CLAUSE TYPES AND TRANSITIVITY IN WIXÁRIKA (HUICHOL): A UTO-AZTECAN LANGUAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

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Clause Types and Transitivity in Wixárika (Huichol): A Uto-Aztecan language

Dissertation directed by Professor J. Andrew Cowell

Wixárika, also known as Huichol, is an endangered Uto-Aztecan language spoken in Mexico. Published works on Wixárika include articles and brief sketches on different aspects of the grammar; however, much about the language remains unknown. This dissertation presents a systematic description of simple clauses in Wixárika, based on eight hours of naturally recorded speech and elicited materials. Using a functional-typological perspective, I explore Wixárika's morphosyntactic devices to express different types of events. In keeping with the study of clause types, I also explore the language's morphological devices for modifying the number of arguments. Wixárika has five devices that add a core argument into the clause: causatives *-tia, -ta, -ya,* applicative *-ri(e)*, vowel alternation, lability, and suppletion. Similarly, the language has five devices that reduce the number of arguments: reflexive/reciprocal pronoun prefixes, passive suffixes (*-rie*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-riwa*, *-tsie*), middle voice prefix (*yu-*), and noun incorporation.

The overall analysis discusses the implications of the language's system in existing typological theories. Wixárika shows to be devoid of any clear-cut boundary between clause types, as proposed in typological studies (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Stassen 1997; Næss 2007; Kittilä 2002). Of particular interest are the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* since they provide more evidence of this scalar nature; the speakers use these prefixes to encode the 'effectiveness' of the

action (Cf. Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). These prefixes are explored in relation to other components of transitivity (e.g., the number of arguments and their encoding, tense/aspect/mood, polarity, the individuation of actor and undergoer, and the prefixes *ti-/te-* 'distributive subject') in expressing different degrees of transitivity. I show that these components lack co-variation (Cf. Hopper & Thompson), particularly with the prefixes *ta-/ti-*. However, the presence or absence of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and/or the (de)transitivization devices express different degrees of transitivity. Particularly interesting is the fact that Wixárika has a tendency to polysynthesis, not common in Southern Uto-Aztecan languages. Therefore, this study not only contributes to a growing understanding of the grammatical system of Wixárika but also will clarify the evolution and intra-genetic relations of the Uto-Aztecan family.

To my family and husband-to-be

To the *Wixárika* community

Panpariyutsi

Gracias

Thank you

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
AFF	Affirmative
AGT	Agent
ALL	Allative
ANIM	Animate
APPL	Applicative
AS1	Primary assertion
AS2	Secondary assertion
AUM	Aumentative
CAUS	Causative
CAV	Cavity
COLL	Collective
COM	Comitative
COMPL	Completive
COND	Conditional
CONTR	Contrary
COP	Copula
DEM	Demonstrative
DER	Derivative
DES	Desiderative
DIM	Diminutive
DIST	Distal
DISTR	Distributive
DS	Different subject
EVI	Evidential
EXIST	Existential
EXT	Extension
F.S.	False start
FIG	Figure
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
GRAL	General
HAB	Habitual
ICOMPL	Incompletive
INCH	Inchoactive

IND	Indirect
INDF	Indefinite
INF	Inferior
INSTR	Instrumental
INTER	Interrogative
INTJ	Interjection
IPFV	Imperfective
ITR	Iterative
LN	Linker
LOC	Locative
MID	Middle voice
NARR	Narrative
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NV	Non-visual
NSBJ	Non-subject
OS	Out of sight
OBJ	Object
P	Place
PP	Proper name
PASS	Passive
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
POT	Potential
PR	Property
PRO	Prominent
PROGR	Progressive
PRS	Present
RDP	Reduplication
RECP	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
RES	Resultative
SP	Several parts
SBJ	Subject
SG	Singular
SP	Specific place
SBR	Subordinator
SS	Same subject
ST	Stative

STR	Straight
TR	Transitive
UNSP	Unspecified
VIS	Visible, speaker's area

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Clause types and transitivity in Wixárika (Huichol)

The Uto-Aztecan language family is one of the largest in America both in terms of the extent of distribution, number of languages, and number of speakers (Campbell 1997:133). Despite the relevance of the Uto-Aztecan language family, which includes considerable descriptive tradition (spanning over four centuries), there are still many gaps in our knowledge of this family. This dissertation particularly explores Wixárika, a Corachol language of the Southern Uto-Aztecan language family spoken in the Central-Western part of Mexico in the Sierra Madre Occidental. The language has a small number of papers describing different phonological and morphological aspects (Diguet 1911; McIntosh 1945; McIntosh & Grimes 1954; Grimes 1959; Grimes 1964; Grimes 1981; Comrie 1982, 1983; Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1993; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006; Conti et at. 2012). However, Wixárika lacks comprehensive linguistic description. This dissertation thus seeks to analyze the morphosyntactic features of simple clauses to express different types of events of this language in depth.

This dissertation aims to fulfill four goals. The first goal —addressed in chapters 2 and 3— is to provide a detailed ethnographical and typological characterization of the language. The second goal—addressed in chapters 4, 5, 7, 8, and 9— is devoted to outlining the different clause types of the language by exploring the morphosyntactic features Wixárika uses to encode different types of events. This discussion also offers an analysis on how transitivity is encoded in the language and sheds light in how this system fits in a crosslinguistic perspective. In keeping

with the study of clause types and transitivity, an exploration of Wixárika's different morphological strategies for modifying the number of arguments in this type of clauses is included. This overall analysis discusses the implications of this system in existing intransitive predication and transitivity theories from a crosslinguistic perspective. The third goal is to analyze the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- and *ti*-/*te*—addressed in chapter 6— in order to understand their function in the language and their relation to transitivity. These prefixes have been previously discussed (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1993; Gómez 1993; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) but no consensus has been reached. Finally, the fourth goal is to make an empirical contribution in describing this endangered language's grammatical patterns in depth. It is necessary to provide a precise analysis of Wixárika because there is not a complete study that describes its grammatical behavior.

As we will see in the following chapters, the topic of this study is how Wixárika codes different types of events in simple clauses and how the language manipulates the argument structure of these clauses, based on the speaker's preference in a communicative context. Wixárika's behavior is interesting due to several reasons. Wixárika is devoid of any clear-cut boundary between clause types as recent functional-typological studies suggest (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984, 1995, 2001; Andrews 1985; Langacker 1990; Kemmer 1993; Tsunoda 1994; Davidse 1996; Stassen 1997; Kittilä 2002; Lazard 2003; Næss 2007). In this sense, intransitive and transitive clauses do not exhibit a sharp division but rather a scalar behavior between the two categories. For instance, intransitive clauses in the language show a *continuum* of predication (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) where noun roots present more morphosyntactic restrictions if compared to verbal roots. Attributive roots, on the other hand, constitute a verb subcategory, not without presenting ambiguous functions where the

construction behaves as a noun modifier. All the intransitive clause types vary in terms of morphosyntactic properties depending on the function each clause adopts, thus showing overlaps between categories. Particularly interesting is the function of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- in the clauses since they encode the 'effect' or 'impact' of the action, contrary to what was previously proposed in the literature (Cf. Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). These prefixes occur also in both intransitive and transitive clauses, thus providing more evidence of the scalar nature of the constructions.

Interestingly, Wixárika shows that the components of transitivity (e.g., polarity, the encoding of arguments, individuation, tense/aspect/mood), generally discussed in functional-typological studies, lack co-variation (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), particularly with the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*-. This means that the use of these grammatical components does not affect the marking of the prefixes, or the arguments, as theories on transitivity suggest. However, the language still shows different degrees of 'transitivity' by using several morphosyntactic features. These features include the language-specific prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- 'effect' and the different (de)transitivization devices. The absence or presence of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- as well as the different (de)transitivization strategies code different degrees of transitivity regarding the expression of events. Wixárika, in addition, shows an interesting behavior regarding the 'transitivization' and 'detransitivization' strategies, since a great majority of the morphemes encode different functions in specific contexts (e.g., the causative -*tɨa* is used as an applicative with verbs of transfer like 'to give').

Particularly interesting is the fact that Wixárika has a tendency to polysynthesis, not common in the Uto-Aztecan language family in general. Only a few languages of the Southern Uto-Aztecan sub-branch present a tendency to polysynthesis, like Nahuatl and Cora. The rest of

the languages tend to be agglutinating or in some cases, isolating (e.g., Yaqui, Pápago, Pima Bajo, Tarahumara, etc.). This study thus provides the basis for understanding the grammatical system of this polysynthetic language, which will clarify the intra-genetic relations of Uto-Aztecan languages and their evolution in future research.

For all these reasons, the data from Wixárika in this dissertation will support and contribute to our understanding of this language and the internal processes that occurred in Wixárika and in Uto-Aztecan languages in general.

In the remainder of this introductory chapter, I summarize the previous literature on Wixárika's clause and verb types (§1.2) in order to justify the study (§1.3), I provide the background related to my fieldwork experience in Wixárika (§1.4), I describe the corpus and methodology used for this dissertation (§1.5), I explain the presentation of the examples in this dissertation (§1.6), I present the dissertation's contribution to the field and the Uto-Aztecan language family (§1.7), and I outline the organization of the dissertation (§1.8).

1.2. Previous literature: Clause types in Wixárika

Two works that motivated the topic of my research are Grimes (1964) and Gómez (1993), which explore verb and clause types in Wixárika. Due to their different theoretical frameworks, the description of the phenomenon differs in the two papers. For instance, Grimes (1964) makes an analysis on the simple clause types based on morphosyntactic characteristics, while Gómez (1993) classifies verbs based on their aspectual properties. Both proposals are summarized in the following sections in order to provide an overview of the research, and justify the relevance of my study.

1.2.1. Grimes (1964): 'Major clauses'

Grimes (1964:46-50,95) provides an organized classification of four main clause types: intransitive, transitive, complemented, and complemented transitive. He classifies the categories based on the specific constituent sets that occur in the constructions: verbs, subject nominals, objects, and complements. Although his classification is mainly structural, Grimes (1964) provides some semantic descriptions, like the roles of the arguments: 'actor', 'performer', 'undergoer', 'possessor', etc. This classification is summarized in tables 1.1 and 1.2.[1]

Table 1.1. Grimes (1964) classification of clauses in Wixárika.

CLAUSE TYPE	SUBTYPE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
INTRANSITIVE: Subjects are marked on the verb	*Active intransitive*	-'performer', an 'action' -no special morphemes	*-mie*[2] 'go' *-ʔa* 'arrive'
	Adjectival intransitive	-things described and description - reduplication for number	*pʌzúure* 'it is red' *pʌzúuzúure* 'they are red'
	Stative intransitive	-things that exist in a certain state	*ʔáizʌa pʌʔáane* 'it is good'
	Middle intransitive	-'performer' and 'action' -reflexive prefix *yu-* -directional prefix (sometimes)	*pʌyúutemáawi* 'he is happy'
	Characterizing intransitive	-'owner' and 'possession' -directional prefix (*ka-* 'down')	*máaye níukatúupikai* (*túupi* 'bow'): 'the mountain lion had a bow'
TRANSITIVE: subjects and objects are marked on the verb	*Active transitive*	-no special morphemes	*zéiya* 'see, have, find' *-qaa* 'eat'
	Transitive middle	-locative' prefix (*ka-* 'down') -reflexive prefix *yu-* -distributive prefix *te-*	*wepʌtéyukanaakiʔéeri* 'they love'
	Direct transitive	-'performer', 'action', and 'undergoer'	*Támé maraʔaakáte wetaténíhʌaweeni* 'The chanters speak to us'
	Reflexive transitive	-'performer' who is simultaneously an 'undergoer', and an 'action' - reflexive object prefix *ta-*	*táame tentákunáakíkuni* 'We shall meet each other'

[1] See Grimes (1964) for a detailed description.

[2] Grimes (1964) transcribes /ʁ/ as *z,* /ʔ/ as ʔ instead of the apostrophe, /ɨ/ as ʌ, and /ts/ as c.

Grimes (1964) also divides the four clause types into different sub-types, based on the relationships of primary constituents to the nucleus. For instance, subject and nucleus (=intransitive) denote (i) performer and action, (ii) thing described and description, (iii) thing that exists and state of existence, (iv) owner and possession, (v) undergoer and action undergone, or (vi) thing identified and fact of identification. The object and nucleus (=transitive) denote (i) undergoer and action undergone, (ii) undergoer identical with the subject, and action undergone, (iii) undergoer that acts on the subject, while undergoing the subject's action, and action undergone, or (iv) person whom the action affects and action. The complement and nucleus (=complement or transitive complement) denote (i) undergoer and action undergone, (ii) thing equivalent to or identical with the subject, and type of equivalence, (iii) class of which the subject is a member, and statement of membership, or (iv) repetition of an utterance the subject reports, and statement that a report is made.

Table 1.2. Grimes (1964) classification of complemented clauses in Wixárika.

CLAUSE TYPE	**SUBTYPE**	**DESCRIPTION**	**EXAMPLE**
COMPLEMENTED subject, complement (nominal or a quotational phrase), and a verb	*Objective complemented*	-'performer', 'action', and 'undergoer' -lack of object marker on the verb -subject and complement are nominals	*wiizáaritaari wetentíméimani waazúkúuri* 'The Huichols anointed their (the deities) votive bowls'
	Equivalent complemented	-the complement denotes the same thing as the subject	*ʔéekʌ neʔiwá pekanihʌʌkʌtʌni* 'You are my sibling'
	Quotative complemented	-frequently an appositive phrase	*neapakúnúatʌ niutiyúani téwi* 'I'll be right back'-said the man'
	Middle complemented	-'performer', 'action', and 'undergoer' -reflexive object prefix *yu-*	*-záatʌa* 'make an offering of something'
COMPLEMENTED TRANSITIVE subject, object, complement	*Double object*	-'performer', 'action', and 'undergoer'. -the applicative (*-ri*) or causative (*-tʌa*) suffix	*ʔʌráawéciizi tumíinizéeníu menéikuháaníirietʌkʌʌ téwi* 'The wolves would bring the man money'

	Reflexive complemented	-'performer', 'action', and 'undergoer' -the performer comes into possession of the thing or benefits from the action	*mʌkʌ néikáme wereeme háitémai tepʌtéʔútaatérʌwa tame* 'we give one another names (such as) neicame, vereme, or haitemai'
	Quotative transitive	-frequently an appositive phrase	*zéwítʌ ʔʌráawe, páʌ tinɨikʌhʌawé téwí kenáayéenieréni* 'One wolf said this to the man: 'open your eyes'

Grimes (1964:98) adds that verbs can be classified based on 'stem sets'. He affirms that the verbs can be grouped based on stem suppletion or any other morphological process, but he does not provide an explanation or examples. Instead, he says that "the next stage of grammatical analysis in Huichol will consist largely of tracking down the relationships among forms in such sets and systematizing the whole" (95).

1.2.2. Gómez (1993): 'Predicate types'

Gómez (1993) classifies Wixárika's verbs based on Vendler's (1957) proposal (*state*, *activities*, *accomplishments*, and *achievements*). She groups the verbs according to their ability to take the suffixes *-tɨka* 'PL' and *-xime*/*-rɨme* 'INCH'[3] ('about to do something') versus the suffixes *-ne* (SG)/*-tɨwe* (PL) 'PROGR'. According to Gómez (1993), the suffix *-tɨka* 'PL' expresses plurality of the subject with intransitive verbs. Gómez (1993) asserts that Wixárika has only two main types of verbs: 'static' and 'dynamic'. She affirms that 'static' predicates cannot take aspectual markers (*-xɨ* 'PFV', *-ne*/*tɨwe* 'PROGR', *-wa* 'HAB', *-xime* 'INCH', etc.), but some of them may take

[3] The glosses proposed by Gómez (1993) are not preserved.

-tɨka 'PL'. She further divides these predicates into four semantic classes, as illustrated in tables 1.3 and 1.4.

Table 1.3. Gómez (1993) predicate type classification.

PREDICATE TYPE	SUBTYPE	DESCRIPTION	EXAMPLE
STATIVE	Nominal predicates of identification and inclusion to a class	-intransitive clauses that identify a referent -they cannot take *-tɨka* 'PL'	'ikɨ tiiri me-pɨ-'uki-tsi (*-tɨka) DEM babies 3PL.SBJ-AS1-man-PL 'These babies are boys'
	Possessive predicates (whole-part)	-they accept *-tɨka* due to a 'globality'[4] sense, and take locative predicates	p-a-tsuri p-a-tsuri-tɨka AS1-FIG-nose AS1-FIG-nose-PL 'He has a nose' 'They have nose(s)'
	Quality predicates	-adjectives that accept *-tɨka* 'PL' when they denote the 'distribution of the quality'. Sometimes, the suffix expresses plurality of subject	me-p-anuye-túxa-tɨka 3PL.SBJ-AS1-LOC-white:PL-PL 'They have their knees white' *mitsuri mepeuyɨyɨwitɨka: 'The cats are black'
	State predicates	-intransitive or transitive -the suffix *-tɨka* 'PL' can be used with distributive meaning -it includes verbs of 'location' (*ka* 'be seated'), resultatives (*tari* 'broken'), emotional states (*heka* 'be angry'), and possession verbs (*xeiya*)	xari pɨ-mumu-ri-tɨka pot AS1-RDP.PL-break-RES-PL 'There are broken pots (different types or places)' wakana-ri te-wa-re-xeiya-tɨka hen-PL 1PL.SBJ-3PL.NSBJ-PL-have-PL 'We have chickens (each one of us)'

Gómez (1993) claims that 'dynamic' predicates include 'processes' and 'events' that take a verbal nucleus and do not accept *-tɨka* 'PL'. She adds that some of those verbs can accept the 'limitative prefixes' *ta-*/*ti-*, which have four functions: singularity/plurality of action, collective/distributive action, individuative, inchoative (see §Ch.6 for a more detailed description

[4] Gómez (1993) does not explain the meaning of this term.

of the prefixes in her proposal). For a few examples, she states that the prefixes have not a clear semantic content. In general, she does not discuss the impact of these prefixes in the verb types or elaborate on their main functions.

Table 1.4. Gómez (1993) dynamic predicate classification.

PREDICATE TYPE	SUBTYPE	SUBTYPE	EXAMPLE
DYNAMIC	*Processes*: -non-limited action -take *-ne*/*-tɨwa* 'PROGR' -limitative prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* to express an event	*Primary*	Verbs like *nautsa* 'run'
		Derived	Verbs with a derivative suffix: *xiete-ma* (honey-DER) 'to spread honey'; *winu-ta* (wine-DER) 'make wine', etc.
	Events: -accomplishments and achievements -they only take *-xime/-rɨme* 'INCH' and sometimes *ta-/ti-* 'SG/PL'	*Primary terminatives*	*mɨ* 'die', '*axe* 'arrive', *ku* 'sleep'
		Derived resultatives -verbs take the suffix *-ri* 'RES' -verbs can accept *ta-*/*ti-*	pɨ-yɨwi-ri-rɨme AS1-black-RES-INCH 'Water is about to get black'

On a different note, Gómez (1993) briefly discusses 'transitivity' in the language by describing the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*. She mentions that there are three interesting behaviors regarding the use of *ta-*/*ti-*:

(i) Not all the 'dynamic' verbs can take these prefixes (e.g., *hani* 'to pull/jalar', *hupi* 'to spy/espiar', *nawa* 'to steal/robar', '*i* 'to drink/beber', '*e* 'to sow/sembrar', etc.).

(ii) Some verbs take them obligatorily (e.g., '*itsa* 'to knit/tejer', '*ini* 'to invite/invitar', *hiwa* 'to scream/gritar', etc.).

(iii) Some verbs take them optionally.

According to her, the prefixes express that the action culminates, or that the (countable) patient is affected in a more total way, as in example (1). The lack of the prefixes, on the other

hand, denotes partial affectedness of the object, as in example (2). Gómez (1993) adds that it is likely that a certain degree of 'agentivity' is encoded when the prefixes are used.

(1) a. yaawí wakana pu- kwa -i
coyote hen AS1- eat -PFV
'The coyote ate chicken.' [Gómez 1993:177]

b. yaawí wakana pu- **ta**- kwa -i
coyote hen AS1- SG- eat -PFV
'The coyote ate up the chicken.' [Gómez 1993:177]

(2) a. Wiyeme xari p- e- tara -xɨ
Wiyeme pot AS1- EXT- break -PFV
'Wiyeme broke the pot (partially/accidentally).' [Gómez 1993:179]

b. Wiyeme xari p- e- **ta**- tara -xɨ
Wiyeme pot AS1- EXT- SG- break -PFV
'Wiyeme broke the pot (totally/deliberately)'. [Gómez 1993:180]

1.3. Justification

The previous studies on verbs and clause types provide the basis for proposing a more updated and complete analysis for Wixárika. Although Grimes' (1964) categories clearly establish the different Wixárika clauses, a more detailed explanation on each subcategory and the morphemes that correlate with the semantics of the events is needed. Some categories are described with the same grammatical features, which makes the categories difficult to distinguish from each other. He also includes strategies that modify the number of arguments of the clause within the categories (e.g., reflexives, applicatives, etc.). This creates an unclear view of what the basic clause types of the language are.

On the other hand, Gómez (1993) provides a verb type classification based on Vendler (1957), which proves to have certain limitations crosslinguistically. Her classification is mainly based on two features, specifically the use of the suffixes *-tɨka* 'PL' and *-xime/rɨme* 'INCH' versus

the suffixes *-ne/-ɨwe* 'PROGR', although she gives weight to the presence of *ta-/ti-* 'SG/PL'. However, some of these features do not constitute good criteria for building a classification because they do not apply neatly to some of the verbal categories, or they are not common in natural data (as my corpus shows). For example, Gómez (1993) affirms that 'static' predicates only take *-ɨka* 'PL'. Nonetheless, not all the classes in this category take the suffix (e.g., 'nominal predicates'), or they do but with some limitations (e.g., 'quality' predicates). Her classification needs more detailed description and examples from a corpus of natural speech.

Gómez (1993) adds a brief analysis of the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* SG/PL' in 'dynamic' predicates. She states that there are three patterns: (i) Some verbs obligatorily take the prefixes, (ii) some verbs do not take them, and (ii) some verbs may take them optionally. Although she affirms that there is a correlation between these prefixes and transitivity, she does not analyze this implication deeply.

The gaps in the previous studies justify the development of new research regarding Wixárika clause types and transitivity in natural speech, where a functional-typological explanation that accounts for this crosslinguistic phenomena can be included.

1.4. Background

I began working on Wixárika in the fall of 2011 under the "Meso-American Language Documentation" project conducted by Dr. J. Andrew Cowell in the Center for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the West from the University of Colorado, Boulder. This research sought to document indigenous languages from Central and South America in communities that lived in the Denver/Boulder area in order to help them preserve their language and maintain connections to their culture in the United States. One of the consultants was a Wixárika native

speaker from Santa Catarina, Jalisco (Mexico) who had lived in the area for three years at that moment. I worked with him for about two years by eliciting data and recording some natural narrative materials.

In the summer of 2014, I moved to Tepic, Nayarit (Mexico) to learn the language and do more fieldwork for about six months. While living there, I took a course on Wixárika as a second language offered by the *Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit* that lasted one month. With the help of the faculty from this university and the *Unión de Profesionistas Indígenas de Nayarit* (*UPIN A.C.*)[5], I collected data from Wixárika people who spoke different dialects. In the summer of 2015, I conducted more fieldwork in Nayarit for about a month. Part of my data comes from small communities, like El Saucito Peyotán, El Colorín, and Potrero de las Palmitas, all of them located in the mountains of Mesa del Nayar, Nayarit. I also collected data in Tepic, especially in *Zitacua*, an indigenous settlement inside the city. In addition, I was given access to 3 hours of recorded material in Wixárika from different areas of Jalisco, collected by Dr. Karina Verdín Amaro, a professor at the University of Nayarit.

1.5. Corpus and methodology

The corpus for this dissertation was obtained by two methods. First, I used elicitation for understanding features that were not easily traced in natural data. Elicitation mainly involved two outcomes, that is, I obtained expressions by asking native speakers (in Spanish or Wixárika) how they said a specific statement, and I tested the restrictions in the use of a specific construction. This type of activity comprised contextualized and text-based elicitation, and translation. Thus, some of the data included morphological paradigms that allowed me to test the level of complexity of the verbal morphology. I also discussed the meanings of some forms in contexts

[5] Unión de Profesionistas indígenas de Nayarit (Union of Indigenous professionals from Nayarit).

that would unambiguously indicate that a particular meaning was intended, to verify if the speaker was consistent.

Second, I collected natural data comprising a sample of different speech genres, like stories, descriptions of rituals, interviews, conversations, and monologues given by men and women of varying ages. The amount of (video)recorded texts is around 8 hours.

The corpus for this dissertation comes from different dialects, mainly from Jalisco and Nayarit, but also in a lesser extent from Zacatecas. Speakers from different dialects are constantly found in the field due to migrations, especially from Jalisco to Nayarit. Recognizing the differences is useful for the research so they are highlighted in some parts of the study. However, it is important to mention that there are not big differences among them.

I transcribed, glossed, and translated the recordings in ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) with the help of my main Wixárika consultant, Norma Lucía López Félix who is from Nueva Colonia, Mezquitic, Jalisco. An example of a transcription from the corpus is illustrated in figure 1.1.

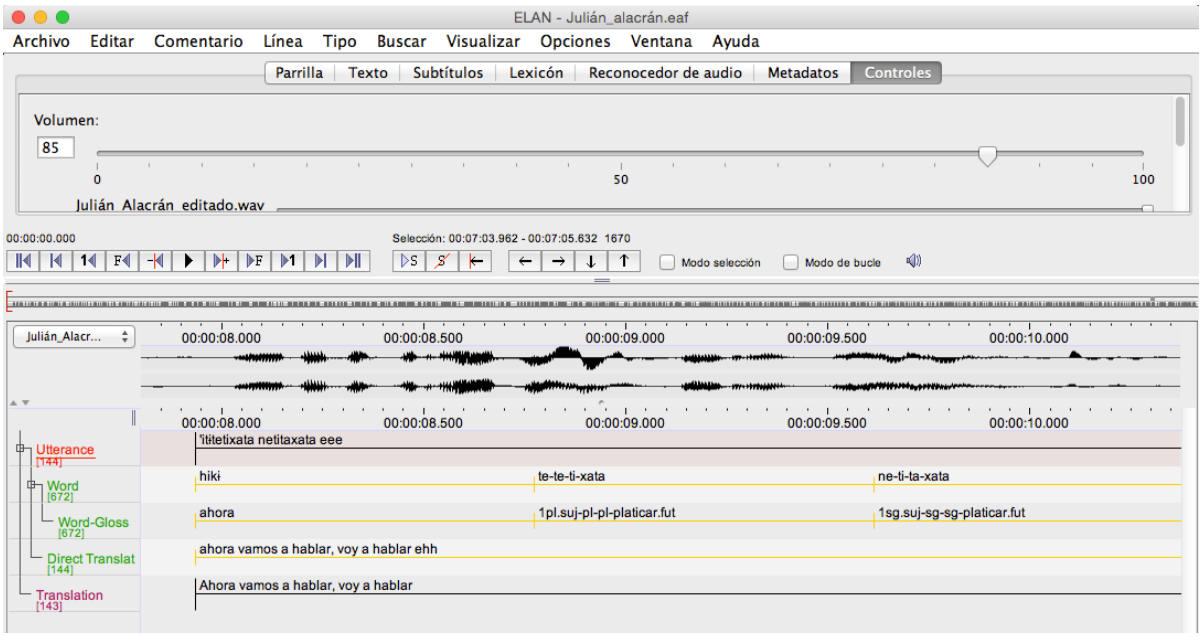

Figure 1.1. Example of ELAN transcription from the corpus.

On the other hand, I consulted the literature on Wixárika mainly from Grimes (1964, 1981), Gómez (1999), and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) to compare my data and results. Data coming from these sources are always indicated in the dissertation.

1.6. Examples

The data presented in this dissertation is organized as follows. Each example gives four lines: Orthographic transcription, gloss, a Spanish translation, and English translation. Information about the source of the example is also included in abbreviations (e.g., *Elicit* 'Elicitation'; SR02 'Story of the rain 02', etc.). A sample is illustrated in (3).

(3) ne- pɨ- ta- tsuaka -kai
1SG.SBJ- AS1- SG- cry -IPFV
'Yo lloraba.'
'I cried.' [Elicit]

When an example is repeated in the same chapter, it keeps the original number. I indicate

the first place where the example was provided.

Although I worked on the data very carefully, I am responsible for any potential misanalysis or erroneous translation.

1.7. Contribution

This dissertation contributes to a growing understanding of the linguistic systems in under-described languages, particularly from Wixárika, a Corachol language from the Uto-Aztecan family. It contributes to the ongoing typological debates regarding the nature of transitivity, which is a central phenomenon for the understanding of languages' structures, and its relation to other parts of the grammar. The research also provides the basis for understanding a particular type of under-described language, specifically known as polysynthetic. These languages are characteristic of the Americas and include Inuit, Mohawk, Cree, and Navajo among others, but a detailed understanding of their structure and actual usage in natural speech remains elusive. Particularly interesting is the fact that whereas the polysynthetic languages mentioned above are parts of larger families (Iroquoian, Algonquian, Athabaskan) where all members show polysynthesis, this is not the case for the Uto-Aztecan family, so this work is the basis for understanding the evolution of polysynthesis, and the intra-genetic relations within the Uto-Aztecan language family for a future research.

Finally, this research contributes to the documentation of Wixárika, which will provide the basis for the creation of materials for educational purposes, since Wixárika speakers are concerned about developing materials for preserving and teaching their language.

1.8. Organization of the dissertation

The rest of this dissertation is organized in nine chapters. Chapter 2 provides relevant information about the Wixárika group. The first part of the chapter describes ethnographical information about the *Wixaritari* such as their alternative name (*Huichol*), their geographical location, and their cultural information. The second part of the chapter focuses on the language, describing its genetic affiliation and number of dialects, its degree of vitality and endangerment, and existing linguistic scholarship on the Wixárika language.

Chapter 3 offers an overview of the linguistic characteristics of Wixárika. The first part of the chapter describes the language's sound system, including the vowel and consonant inventory as well as their allophonic variation. This description includes a summary of the different orthographical conventions created for literacy purposes in the language in order to mention the convention that is being used for my data. The second part of the chapter addresses the different grammatical features of the Wixárika language from a typological perspective. These sections discuss the language's morphological typology, basic constituent order, alignment system, locus of marking, and the expression of core and non-core arguments. The sections also include the discussion of other grammatical features which are related to the encoding of grammatical relations in Wixárika, such as possessive pronouns (*yu-* vs. *-ya* '3SG'), the limited number of case markers (*-tɨ* vs. *-me*) in noun phrases, and the complex switch reference system.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed description of intransitive clauses in Wixárika. The chapter outlines the different intransitive clause types determined by the morphosyntactic properties of the clause (e.g., encoding of arguments, types of roots [nominal, attributive, adverbial, or verbal], temporal/aspectual markers, etc.) in relation to general semantic classes of verbs (e.g., verbs of speech, cognition, etc.). The additional functions each clause type adopts as well as the

alternative strategies used to express the same function are included in the description. The chapter describes two broad categories based on the number of arguments: zero intransitive and intransitive clauses. Subsequently, the chapter subdivides intransitive clauses into 'stative' and 'active' categories. The diversity in terms of types of roots and functions in each category is discussed. The chapter also explains the language's intransitive clause types based on the idea of the *continuum* of predication (Givón 1984; Stassen 1997; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006 for this language) due to the overlaps between the categories regarding functions and morphosyntactic properties.

Chapter 5 explores transitive clauses in Wixárika, which prove to be less diverse in terms of number of categories and morphosyntactic properties if compared with intransitive clauses, since they present the same morphological features for different semantic classes of verbs (subject, object and a verbal root). This chapter centers on the discussion of the number of arguments, the grammatical relations of the language, and the semantic roles of the arguments and their encoding. The chapter also discusses how the language fits in functional-typological theories on transitivity. The language shows to largely express transitivity as a binary category due to its morphosyntactic categories. However, the discussion highlights the importance of considering other grammatical components to account for the phenomenon of transitivity, like the prefixes *ti-*/*ta-* discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6 focuses on determining the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-*, which were previously discussed in the literature on the language (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The analysis describes the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* as encoding semantic nuances of the events related to the 'effectiveness' of the action or impact on the participants; while the

prefixes *ti-*/*te-* as indicating 'distributive' subjects. The discussion also mentions the impact of the prefixes in transitivity theories.

Chapter 7 explores the transitivization strategies of Wixárika, which add a core argument to the clause. The chapter describes two types of transitivization strategies: *coded* strategies (causatives *-tɨa, -ta, -ya*, applicative suffixes *-ri(e)*, vowel alternation *i-/a-*, *a-/i-*) where the verb undergoes a morphological change; and *uncoded* strategies (suppletion and lability) where the form of the verb remains the same with two alternate argument structures or the verb stem is replaced with another stem to add an additional argument. The context where these devices occur as well as their primary and alternative functions are analyzed (e.g., the alternative functions of the suffix *-tɨa* as an applicative, and the suffix *-ri(e)* as a causative).

Chapter 8 provides the detransitivization strategies of Wixárika where the number of arguments is reduced. The chapter explores five *coded* detransitivization strategies found in the language: the reflexive pronouns prefixes (*ne-* '1SG', *'a-* '2SG', *ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '3SG, 2PL, 3PL'), the reciprocal pronouns prefixes (*ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '2PL, 3PL'), the passive suffixes (*-rie*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-rɨwa*, *-tsie*), the middle voice prefix (*yu-*), and noun incorporation. The context where these devices occurs as well as their primary and alternative functions (e.g., the middle voice prefix *yu-* as impersonal marker) are analyzed.

Finally, chapter 9 concludes by summarizing the main findings of this study, highlighting the language-specific characteristics of Wixárika. This chapter also discusses some further theoretical and typological implications on transitivity and the scalar nature of the constructions, and poses questions for further research. For instance, the chapter discusses the components of transitivity in the language (e.g., tense, aspect, modality, polarity, individuation, the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* 'effect' and the prefixes *te-*/*ti-* 'distributive subject'), following the functional-typological

approaches. One of the main findings is that the components of transitivity lack co-variation (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), particularly with prefixes *ta*-/*ti*-, which means that the components do not constitute good morphosyntactic criteria to determine different degrees of transitivity. The chapter instead proposes that the presence or absence of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- as well as the different (de)transitivization devices are morphosyntactic evidence that clearly express different semantic nuances of the event. In this sense, the language shows more evidence that transitivity is a scalar phenomenon (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Næss 2007; Kittilä 2002). However, this chapter highlights that research remains regarding transitivity and languages with a tendency to polysynthesis, since the theories do not apply neatly to languages with these characteristics.

CHAPTER 2

THE WIXÁRIKA PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides general facts on Wixárika people and their language. I present the different alternative names that people use to refer to this ethnic group (§2.2) as well as their geographical location (§2.3). I also include a brief summary of the most well-known cultural characteristics of this group (§2.4), a description on the genetic affiliation and dialects of the language (§2.5), its degree of vitality and endangerment (§2.6), and existing scholarship (§2.7).

2.2. Alternative name

Wixárika is better known as *Huichol* in previous descriptions and in mass media in general, including the *Ethnologue* where the name code of the language is 'hch'. Huichol people use the term Wixárika to refer to themselves and their language as opposed to 'mestizo' (Mexican with Spanish inheritance or both indigenous and Spanish). According to McIntosh (1945) and Iturrioz (2009:110-116), *Huichol* is the result of the reanalysis of the word *wisalika* taken from the Eastern dialects. The former is attested only in the chronicles of the XVIII century transcribed as *guisol* (Rojas 1993).[6]

[6] See Iturrioz (2009) for a detailed discussion of the origin of the word *huichol*.

The meaning of this word is still uncertain. Diguet (1911) states that the word means 'farmer', and comes from the Guachichil word *houtchia* 'coamil'[7], an extinct language once spoken in the north of the Mexican state of Durango. On the other hand, Lumholtz (1986) claims that the word means 'healer, fortune-teller'. Unfortunately, there are no historical records in the language to trace the origin of this term. A more recent study is by Palafox Vargas (1978:9) who states that the word means 'shaman'.

Native speakers of the language prefer to use the name *Wixárika* to refer to themselves and their language, that is the reason why I use this name in this dissertation.

2.3. Geographic location

Wixárika is a language spoken in the Central-Western part of Mexico in the Sierra Madre Occidental, a mountain range that extends from the Southwest United States to Central Mexico (Pintado-Cortina 2008). The Wixaritari (the plural form of Wixárika) live in the Mexican states of Jalisco, Nayarit and to some extent in Durango, and Zacatecas, as shown in figure 2.1 and 2.2.

[7] *Coamil* is a piece of land used to sow manually with the help of animals. It is usually a small area in the mountains where corn, beans, and squash are cultivated. These crops coexist with other types of vegetation, like prickly pear, purslane, and mushrooms.

Figure 2.1. Wixárika area (www.odapi.org).

Figura 1. Zona ocupada por las comunidades huicholas en la zona del río Chapalagana. Mapa realizado a partir de la División política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, incluida en el *Atlas del México prehispánico. Especial Arqueología Mexicana 5*, INAH, 2000:6.

Figure 2.2. Wixárika area (INAH 2000)

Some of the largest communities in terms of number of population are *Tateikie* (San Andrés Cohamiata, Jalisco), *Wautia* (San Sebastián Teponohuastlan, Jalisco), *Tuapurie* (Santa Catarina Cuexcomatitlán, Jalisco), *Tutsipa* (Tuxpan de Bolaños, Jalisco), and *Xatsitsarie* (Guadalupe Ocotán, Nayarit). However, there is a great number of smaller communities or *rancherías*[8] spread across the four states. The locations of some of the Wixárika communities are shown in figure 2.3.

Geographically adjacent Uto-Aztecan languages include Cora, Southern Tepehuan, and Mexicanero, a Nahuatl variety.

[8] *Ranchería* is a small household settlement, usually inhabited by few families.

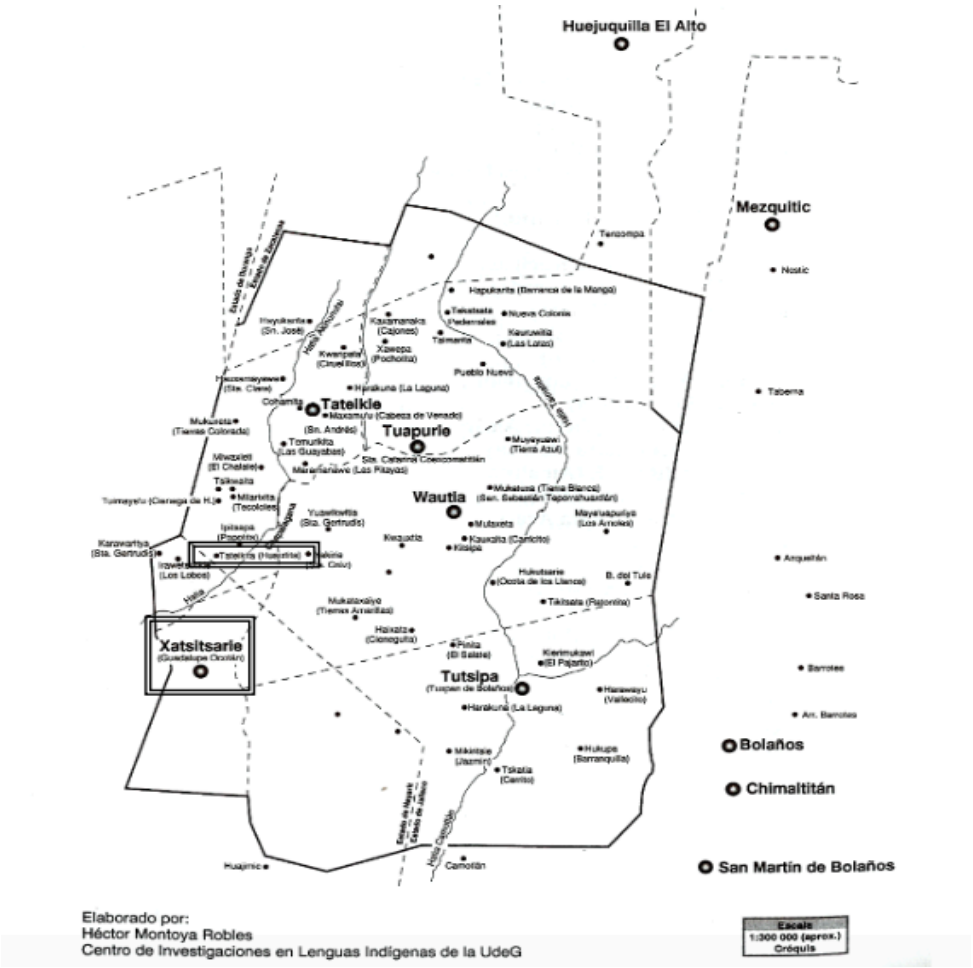

Figure 2.3. Main Wixárika communities (Pacheco & Iturrioz 1995:52).

2.4. Wixárika culture

The Wixaritari are well known in Mexico and around the world due to their effort to keep their culture alive. Two of the cultural traits that stand out are their artwork and their ceremonies. Wixárika art is famous for its colors and beauty. All their work is handcrafted with beads and worsted, as figures 2.4 and 2.5 illustrate.

Figure 2.4. Worsted peyote painting.
(http://www.mind-surf.net/karinamalpica/huichol.htm)

Figure 2.5. Beaded deer.
(http://www.nierika.com.mx)

Although the sale of artwork is a way of survival, it is deeply symbolic since it includes elements from nature or other objects that are considered sacred, like maize, peyote[9], deer, candles, scorpions, arrows, small bowls, drums, eagle or hawk's feathers, and the eye of God. The eye of God is a symbol that represents the five sacred places in Wixárika beliefs, as shown in figure 2.6.

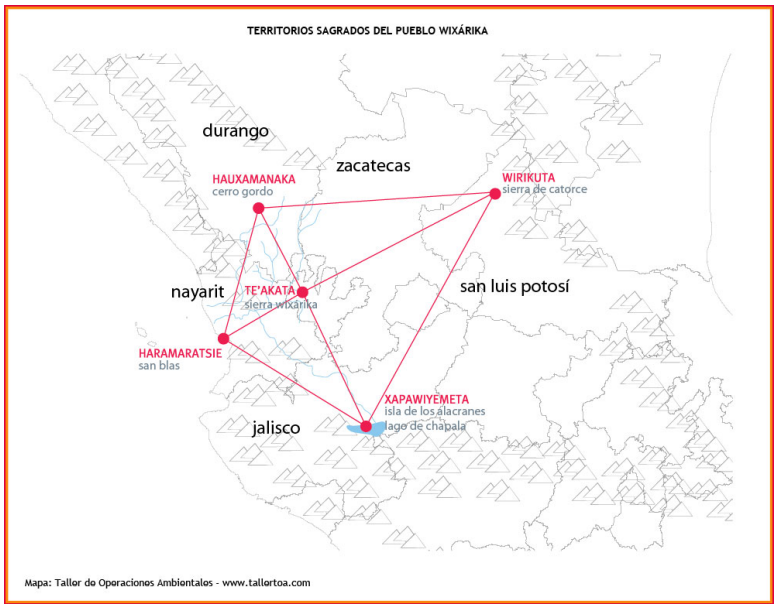

Figure 2.6. Wixárika sacred places and the eye of God.
(http://venadomestizo.blogspot.com/2013/08/territorios-sagrados-del-pueblo-wixarika.html)

[9] Peyote is a hallucinogen cactus that grows in the area within the state of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí.

The design of their artwork comes from either the visions obtained during ceremonies or artisans' individual style. Some of the objects that can be found are earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and figurines, or other objects decorated with beads, as shown in figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7. Wixárika necklace and earrings.
(http://www.nierika.com.mx)

The Wixárika way of life is rich in ceremonial practices, which are intended to bring balance to nature and the community. The *mara'akame* or spiritual leader, who plays a central role in the community, carries out these ceremonies, cures the sick[10], and interprets dreams. He is believed to be the nexus with the gods —invoked through ceremonies— and receives instructions from the spirit world through visions, dreams, and trances. One well-known ceremony is the *Wirikuta* pilgrimage. In this tradition, the *mara'akame* leads the pilgrims on a yearly journey to the land of their ancestors, where the Sun was born. One of the primary ingredients in this ritual activity is the consumption of peyote in *Wirikuta* so that the mysteries of the universe are revealed through visions.

[10] See Verdín Amaro & Santos García (2012) for more information about Wixárika diseases.

2.5. Genetic affiliation and variation

Wixárika belongs to the Uto-Aztecan (or Uto-Nahua) family, one of the largest language families in the Americas in terms of geographical extension, number of languages, and number of speakers (Campbell, 1997:133). According to Dakin's (2004) classification, Wixárika belongs to the Corachol subgroup together with Cora and Nahuatl within the Southern Uto-Aztecan branch. Figure 2.8 illustrates the Uto-Aztecan language family classification.

Subgrouping of the Uto-Aztecan languages has always been controversial since the establishment of the family in 1864 by Orozco & Berra because there is no consensus as to the higher-level grouping of the sub-branches. While Northern languages have been generally recognized as a unit, there is still debate regarding the status of the Southern languages (for discussion see Campbell & Langacker 1977; Heath 1978; Hill 2001).

Northern Uto-Aztecan

1. **Númic**
    - Western Numic: Mono, Northern Payute
    - Central Numic: Tümpisha Shoshone (Paramint), Shoshone, Gosyute, Comanche
    - Southern Numic: Kawaiisu, Chemehuevi, Southern Payute, Ute
2. **Takic**
    - Cupan: Cahuilla, Cupeño, Luiseño†
    - Serran: Gabrielino-Fernandeño†
3. **Tübatulabal (or Río Kern)**
4. **Hopi**

Southern Uto-Aztecan

5. Tepiman
- Pima-Tohono Ootam (Papago)
- Lower Pima o Névome†
- Lower Pima or from the mountain
- Northern Tepehuan
- Southern Tepehuan
- Tepecano† (perhaps= Southeastern Tepehuan)

6**. Opata-Eudeve**
- Opata†
- Eudeve†

7. Tarahumara-Guarijio
- Tarahumara
- Guarijio

8. **Tubar†**
9. **Yaqui-Mayo**

Yaqui
Tehueco†
Mayo
10. **Corachol-Nahuatl**
Corachol
Cora
Huichol
Nahuatl

Figure 2.8. Uto-Aztecan language family classification (Dakin 2004).

The INEGI[11] (2010), a Mexican government census, reports that there are about 47,000 Wixárika speakers in Mexico. However, there is no in-depth assessment of the number of dialects of the language. Different sources concur in that these dialects are mutually intelligible in different degrees but not in the number of attested varieties. It is important to add that their classification is not consistent since some of them use geographical location, linguistic features, or their method remains unclear. For instance, Grimes (1964:13) states that "major dialect divisions follow natural barriers. An Eastern group of dialects is found east of the Sierra Buenavista (Jalisco), which bisects the area from the south to the Río Chapalagana (Jalisco) in the north central portion. From there, the dialect boundary follows the Chapalagana in the north. A Western dialect is spoken in and northeast of the western tip of the region and Central dialects are spoken in the rest of the area".

Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) reports that there are five dialects: Coyultita Huichol, Northern Huichol, Southern Huichol, Western Huichol (San Andrés Cohamiata), and Eastern Huichol (San Sebastián-Santa Catarina). However, the site does not provide a specific location for the Coyultita Huichol and Northern Huichol.

[11] INEGI stands for *Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática* (National Institute of Statistics and Geography).

On the other hand, Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:17) mention that there are two big dialectal zones, the Eastern Huichol (Santa Catarina and other eastern areas) and the Western Huichol. They add that a characteristic of the Eastern dialects is the pronunciation of the phoneme /s/ as a sibilant fricative, while in the Western dialects it is pronounced as a trill.

A more recent study carried out by the INALI[12] (2015) states that there are four main dialects. The Northern Huichol is comprised of the languages spoken in the state of Nayarit mainly in El Nayar, La Yesca, Rosamorada, Ruíz, Santiago Ixcuintla, and in the state of Durango in the Mezquital area. The Southern, Western, and Eastern Huichol are spoken in the state of Jalisco. Southern Huichol is located in the area of Bolaños, San Martín de Bolaños, and Villa Guerrero, Eastern Huichol in the area of Mezquitic, and Western Huichol in the Huejuquilla el alto area.

All the sources mentioned above acknowledge the existence of the Jalisco dialects. However, little is said about the states of Nayarit, Durango, and Zacatecas.

Wixárika speakers recognize the existence of different dialects since they can identify forms peculiar to other varieties, and can find their own equivalent form. Some of my consultants mention that they think there are even more dialects than the ones attested, but further research is needed, especially in the states of Nayarit, Durango, and Zacatecas.

2.6. Language vitality

Wixárika is mainly used in the family nucleus, among friends, in traditional rituals, and local administration in the communities (Marina Carrillo Diaz, UPIN A.C., p.c.). However, there are several factors that suggest that the domains of language use in Wixárika are contracting, which threatens the transmission of the language.

[12] INALI stands for *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (National Institute of Indigenous Languages).

The Wixaritari often switch to Spanish —the dominant language— due to the increasing contact with the mestizo population, thus facing pressure to assimilate mainstream society. The improvements of roads that connect with communities and the Wixaritari migrating to urban centers have led to different levels of bilingualism. Additionally, Mexico lacks resources to bring medical, legal, and educative attention in their language due to the country's linguistic diversity. Although the INALI has made great efforts in preparing translators of indigenous languages, the faculty from the *Universidad Autónoma de Nayarit* has worked on a revitalization program in some communities in the state of Nayarit, and the Mexican government has improved intercultural education, Spanish is still the dominant language. For instance, most of the teachers in indigenous communities are not bilingual, and schools lack official textbooks in Wixárika, especially for secondary and high school (Marina Carrillo Diaz, UPIN A.C., p.c.).

Unfortunately, stigmatization and social exclusion are also other factors that lead young speakers to not use their language anymore, or make some families stop teaching the language to their children. Elders and adults have expressed a lot of concern about the proficiency in Wixárika, especially by younger speakers.

Following the UNESCO's (2003) language vitality and endangerment parameters, Conti et al. (2012) consider that Wixárika is in danger although there are about 47,000 speakers, it is still transmitted to children, and it has been recognized and protected alongside other indigenous languages by the Mexican Constitution since 1992. All the escalating pressures imposed by the Spanish-speaking population mentioned above make Wixárika vulnerable.

2.7. Existing scholarship

Wixárika has been described since the early 1900s in the form of ethnographical studies, grammars, and dictionaries, and more recently in L1 and L2 acquisition, and language teaching and learning. However, material is still scarce at different levels.

Scholars such as Lumboltz (1900, 1903, 1904), Pimentel (1903), Klineberg (1934), and Zingg (1938) provided the first ethnographic studies and lexical data for the language. During this period, Diguet (1911) produced the first linguistic description and a vocabulary. Unfortunately, this material was criticized due to its "lack of descriptive elements of how the language works and its constant mentioning of the supposed obliteration of the native patterns from Spanish" (Grimes 1964:14).

The first phonological study of the language is made by McIntosh (1945) who focused on the description of the consonant and vowel inventory as well as syllabic structure and accent. In the following years, more formal studies were published, like Grimes (1959) who discussed the occurrence of tone and intonation in Wixárika, and Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) who addressed some aspects of the sound system of the language, like accent, consonant/vowel inventory, and phonological changes. Iturrioz et al. (1999) was the last deep study on Wixárika phonology. The sound system in the language is also mentioned in works dedicated to Wixárika language teaching and learning such as Conti & Guerrero (2009) and Santos et al. (2008). However, those are not in-depth studies of the language system.

Wixárika has only two dictionaries, McIntosh & Grimes (1954) and Grimes (1981). The latter is the most complete source for its number of lexical items and examples. Studies on lexeme semantic fields are also found. These studies include an analysis on monetary terms in the language (Grimes 1960), Wixárika kinship relations (Grimes & Grimes 1962), designation of

Wixárika names and their meanings (Santos & Carrillo 2012), and Wixárika disease vocabulary and cultural repercussions (Verdín 2012).

There are more contributions in terms of morphosyntax in the language. Grimes's (1964) *Huichol Syntax* was the first grammatical description under a generative framework; nonetheless, the scholar states that it is not a full-scale grammar since some aspects are not systematized. In this study, Grimes describes Wixárika's words, phrases, clauses, sentences, voice, transitivity, and verbal morphology.

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) published the next grammatical description in which some aspects of the grammar of the language are discussed, especially morphemes, morphological processes, phonology, orthography, history, and genetic affiliation. This grammatical description is the first of two volumes, which is to be published in the coming years. It is important to mention that a few years before Iturrioz & Gómez's (2006) publication, Gómez (1999) published the *Archivo de Lenguas Indígenas de México* (The Archive of Indigenous Languages of Mexico) with the *Huichol* dialect of San Andrés Cohamiata, Jalisco in which she addresses some general grammatical aspects of the language. This work consists of a short section of grammatical notes followed by 594 items glossed in a morpheme-level and the Spanish translation of each item.

Comrie (1982, 1983) contributed to the study of Wixárika through the analysis of more specific morphosyntactic features, like the grammatical relations of the language (subject and primary object) and the switch-reference markers. Both studies are focused on the dialect of Santa Catarina, Jalisco (Eastern dialect). Iturrioz and other contributors have also published a few specific studies (e.g., plurals, modals, etc.) in their magazine called *Función* (Function), which can be accessed online.[13]

[13] The website is http://www.publicaciones.cucsh.udg.mx/pperiod/funcion/index.htm.

On the other hand, the only scholar who has studied first language acquisition of Wixárika is Gómez (1996, 1998, 2007) who claims that it is common to find morphological reduction on the verb in children, particularly on the prefixes due to the ease of processing of the root. In addition, she states that it is more common for children to use verbs than nouns due to the polysynthetic nature of the language.

Materials on Wixárika teaching and learning as first and second language have been produced in the last couple of years. Grimes (1965) created the first book with illustrations and sentences in Spanish and Wixárika with the purpose of helping Wixárika speakers to read in their language. Iturrioz et al. (1999) presented a tool for bilingual teachers to understand the phonology and orthography of Wixárika in order to teach the language. Conti & Guerrero (2009, 2011) created a brief vocabulary, an illustrated alphabet, and a writing notebook for teaching native speakers to write their language. Finally, Santos et al. (2008) elaborated the first book on teaching Wixárika as a second language for adults called *Taniuki*.

More recently Conti et al. (2012) published a book with a series of articles related to the documentation of Wixárika. This book consists of three parts. The first part provides an account of the research, documentation, and didactic efforts for the language. The second part describes articles on the expression of number in several Uto-Aztecan languages, including Wixárika. The third part gives a description of the lexico-semantic aspects of the language. However, Conti et al. (2012) highlight the lack of more proper linguistic studies of the language.

2.8. Summary

In this chapter, I have presented general facts on Wixárika people and their language. The Wixárika people live in the Central-Western part of Mexico in the Sierra Madre Occidental.

Wixárika is a Corachol language that belongs to the Uto-Aztecan language family. The number of dialects is still in debate, but different sources acknowledge at least 5 different varieties. Despite the number of speakers, which is about 47,000, the language is considered endangered due to Spanish pressure in different strata. The number of linguistic studies on Wixárika is limited, which ranges from ethnographic studies to more grammatical description. However, the language lacks more proper linguistic research due to its morphological complexity.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION

3.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a brief overview of the synchronic sound system of Wixárika and the orthography that has been created for literacy purposes. In addition, the main grammatical aspects of the language are delineated.

The phonological system of Wixárika is characterized by a small phoneme inventory of consonants and vowels, with eleven consonants, two semi-consonants, and five vowels with contrastive vowel length.

Wixárika has a tendency to agglutination and polysynthesis. The verb stem in a simple clause contains from four to eight affixes encoding information about the arguments, direction, tense, aspect, and/or modality. The language has a verb agreement system where two grammatical relations are expressed, namely subject and non-subject. Different from other verb-agreement languages, explicit noun phrases tend to occur in a strict OV word order. Wixárika has a nominative-accusative case system and primary object encoded by the subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes on the verb. In addition, the language has a tendency to head marking in certain constructions.

The chapter is organized in two parts. The first part is concerned with the phonology and orthographical conventions of the language. The second part provides a grammatical description delineating its morphological characteristics.

3.2. Phonology and orthography

In this section, I present a brief summary of the phonological studies, the orthographical proposals as well as a brief description of the consonant and vowel sound system of the language. This description does not intend to be a comprehensive analysis of Wixárika's phonology, a topic worthy of a much longer work.

3.2.1. Vowels

Wixárika makes a phonemic distinction among five cardinal vowels (McIntosh 1945; Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999) and contrastive length (Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999), as shown in table 3.1. A contrast between a back high rounded vowel /u/ and a mid rounded vowel /o/ does not exist in the language (Iturrioz et al. 1999). However, the inventory is significantly similar to the proposed reconstructions for the Proto-Uto-Aztecan vowel system (Voeglin et al. 1962; Miller 1967; Langacker 1977).

Table 3.1. Phonemic inventory of Wixárika vowels.

	Front		Central		Back	
High	/i/	/i:/	/ɨ/	/ɨ:/	/u/	/u:/
Mid	/e/	/e:/				
Low	/a/	/a:/				

The examples below show minimal pairs contrasting different vowel segments. In (1), the front low vowel /a/ and the high front vowel /i/ are contrasted.

(1) /a/ vs. /i/

a. ʔuk**á** 'woman/mujer'
b. ʔuk**í** 'man/hombre' [Elicit]

A minimal pair involving the back high rounded vowel /u/ and the central high vowel /ɨ/ is illustrated in (2).

(2) /u/ vs. /ɨ/

a. t**u**kaɾi ‘day/día’
b. t**ɨ**kaɾi ‘night/noche’ [Elicit]

A contrast between the front mid vowel /e/ and both the high front vowel /i/ and the back rounded vowel /u/ is given in (3) and (4).

(3) /e/ vs. /i/

a. ʔ**e**kɨ ‘you (SG)/tú’
b. ʔ**i**kɨ ‘this/esto’ [Elicit]

(4) /e/ vs. /u/

a. ʔ**e**na ‘here/aquí’
b. ʔ**u**na ‘salt/sal’
c. ʔ**e**ká ‘wind/viento’
d. ʔ**u**ká ‘woman/mujer’ [Elicit]

As previously mentioned, vowel length[14] creates phonemic contrast, illustrated in (5-9). However, very few examples of minimal pairs can be found.

(5) /a/ vs. /a:/

a. h**a:**ři ‘crocodile/cocodrilo’
b. h**a**ři ‘gourd/guaje’ [Elicit]

(6) /u/ vs. /u:/

a. t**u:**tú ‘flower/flor’
b. t**u**tu ‘ancestor/antepasado’ [Elicit]

[14] The minimal pair examples of vowel length presented in this dissertation coincide with the ones in Gómez (1999:28).

(7) /e/ vs. /eː/

a. t**eː**wi ‘large, long/largo’
b. t**e**wi ‘person/persona’ [Elicit]

(8) /ɨ/ vs. /ɨː/

a. ʔ**ɨː**ɾa ‘to loosen/aflojar’
b. ʔ**ɨ**ɾa ‘roadrunner/correcaminos’ [Elicit]

(9) /i/ vs. /iː/

a. ʔ**i**ja ‘that/aquel’
b. ʔ**iː**ja ‘to drink/beber’ [Elicit]

Wixárika also creates lexical contrast with stress like other Uto-Aztecan languages, shown in (10).

(10) *Lexical contrast with first and second syllable stress*

a. t**á**ːme ‘we/nosotros’
b. taːm**é** ‘tooth/diente’ [Elicit]

c. m**ú**me ‘beans/frijoles’
d. mum**é** ‘kidney/riñón’ [Elicit]

Some vowel sequences in the same syllable are also found in Wixárika (Iturrioz et al. 1999[15]; Gómez 1999), as shown in (11):

(11)	ai	>	h**ai**ka	‘three/tres’
	au	>	n**au**ka	‘four/cuatro’
	aɨ	>	p**aɨ**	‘that way/así’
	ua	>	ɾ̌**ua**we	‘star/estrella’
	ui	>	t**ui**	‘sell/vender’
	ei	>	ɾ̌**ei**	‘one/uno’
	eɨ	>	t**eɨ**teɾi	‘people/gente’
	eu	>	t**eu**kaɾi	‘grandfather/abuelo’

[15] Iturrioz et al. (1999:58-60) name these vowel sequences as ‘ascendent’ and ‘descendent’ diphthongs (‘diptongos ascendentes’; ‘diptongos descendentes’).

ie	>	ʔutsi**e**ma	‘put away (proper name)/guardado (nombre propio)’	
i**ɨ**	>	tsi**iɨ**raɨje	‘green/verde’	
iu	>	tatsi**u**	‘rabbit/conejo’	
ɨi	>	k**ɨi**pi	‘throat/garganta’	
ɨa	>	hiř**ɨa**	‘center/centro’	[Elicit]

3.2.1.1. Vowel allophonic variation

Some of the vowel allophonic variations in Wixárika are the lowering of the mid front vowel /e/ into [ɛ], which generally occurs before the velar plosive /k/ (Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999), illustrated in (12), the lowering of the high back vowel /u/ into [o] shown in (13) (Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999), and the rounding and backing of /a/ into [o] when preceding the high back rounded vowel /u/ illustrated in (14). Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz et al. (1999) state that the lowering of the high back vowel occurs only in final position, but the corpus shows that this variation occurs in any position.

(12)	/ˈʔekɨ/	>	[ˈʔɛkɨ]	‘2SG’	[Elicit]
(13)	/tejuˈpani/	>	[tejoˈpani]	‘church/iglesia’	[Elicit]
(14)	/ʔauˈřuwe/	>	[ʔouˈřuwe]	‘five/cinco’	[Elicit]

Another common process is vowel deletion in a string of morphemes between consonants, as in (15) where the segment /ɨ/ is lost from the assertion prefix *mɨ-*. Free variation between the high-mid front vowel /e/ and the low front vowel /a/ (Iturrioz et al. 1999) is common as well: *matsi-*/*metsi-* ‘2SG.SBJ’ and ’*atsi*/*’etsi* ‘little, no/poco, no’.

(15) /teiˈyári te- **m**ɨ- ka- ˈʔeni/ > [teiˈyári te**m**kaˈʔeni]
maize 1PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sow
‘…nosotros sembramos maiz…’
‘…we sow corn…’ [DMC02]

3.2.2. Consonants

Wixárika has a relatively small consonant inventory. According to the two existing proposals, the language has between 13 (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) and 15 consonants (McIntosh 1945)[16]. I confirm that Wixárika has 13 sounds, 11 consonants, and 2 semi-consonants, presented in table 3.2. The language has no voiced and voiceless plosive oppositions like some other Uto-Aztecan languages. However, the inventory is significantly similar to the proposed reconstructions for the Proto-Uto-Aztecan consonant system (Voeglin et al. 1962; Miller 1967; Langacker 1977).

Table 3.2. Phonemic inventory of Wixárika consonants.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t		k	k^w	ʔ
Affricate		t͡s				
Nasal	m	n				
Flap		ɾ				
Fricative						h
Approximant			j	w		
Trill		ř				

[16] McIntosh (1945) proposed the following sounds: /p/, /t/, /c/ (alveolar affricate), /č/, /k/, /k^w/, /^{ʔ}/, /h/, /z/ (voiced spirant and somewhat retroflex), /m/, /n/, /1/, /y/, /r/ (retroflex flap), /w/ (with bilabial articulation). Grimes (1964), Gómez (1999), Iturrioz et al (1999), and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) proposed the following sounds: /p/, /t/, /t^s/ (/¢/ in Gómez 1999), /k/, /k^w/, /^{ʔ}/ (/‘/ in Gómez 1999), /h/, /f̄/ (/x/ in Gómez 1999); /z/ in Grimes 1964), /m/, /n/, /ɾ/ (/r/ in Gómez 1999 and Grimes 1964), /w/ and /y/.

Minimal pairs that demonstrate the phonemic status of the consonant sounds are illustrated in the examples below. The minimal pairs in (16) and (17) show the phonemic contrast between alveolar and velar plosives, and glottal and glottal fricative.

(16) /t/ vs. /k/

a. **t**uka ‘noon/medio día’
b. **k**uka ‘bead/chaquira’ [Elicit]

(17) /h/ vs. /ʔ/

a. **ʔ**iki̵ ‘this/éste, ésta’
b. **h**iki̵ ‘now/ahora’ [Elicit]

The contrast between the alveolar trill and the alveolar flap as well as the bilabial nasal and the alveolar affricate are shown in (18) and (19) respectively.

(18) /ř/ vs. /ɾ/

a. hi̵**ř**i ‘eye/ojo’
b. hi̵**ɾ**i ‘hill/cerro’ [Elicit]

(19) /m/ vs. /t͡s /

a. **t͡s**i̵ki̵ ‘dog/perro’
b. **m**i̵ki̵ ‘s/he, demonstrative/él, ella, demonstrativo’ [Elicit]

The bilabial nasal also contrasts with the approximant velar semi-consonant in (20) and with the voiceless bilabial plosive in (21).

(20) /m/ vs. /w/

a. **m**aře ‘deer/venado’
b. **w**aře ‘cornfield/milpa’ [Elicit]

(21) /p/ vs. /m/

a. te**m**u ‘toad/sapo’
b. te**p**u ‘drum/tambor’ [Elicit]

The next examples show the contrast between the glottal fricative and the alveolar nasal in (22), the glottal fricative with the labio-velar plosive in (23), and the glottal fricative with the trill in (24) as well.

(22) /n/ vs. /h/

a. **n**aika ‘mouse/ratón’
b. **h**aika ‘three/tres’ [Elicit]

(23) /k^{w}/ vs. /h/

a. **k^{w}**ařı ‘tail/cola’
b. **h**ařı ‘crocodile/cocodrilo’ [Elicit]

(24) /ř/ vs. /h/

a. **ř**ikuɾi ‘scarf/paliacate’
b. **h**ikuɾi ‘peyote/peyote’ [Elicit]

Finally, examples (25) and (26) illustrate the contrast between the approximant palatal semi-consonant and the alveolar plosive, and the latter with the labio-velar plosive respectively.

(25) /j/ vs. /t/

a. wi**j**aɾi ‘year/año’
b. wi**t**aɾi ‘rain/lluvia’ [Elicit]

(26) /t/ vs. /k^{w}/

a. **t**ai ‘fire/fuego’
b. **k^{w}**ai ‘what!/¡que!’ [Elicit]

3.2.2.1. Consonant allophonic variation

Wixárika has a relative small allophonic variation (McIntosh 1945; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999). In complementary distribution, there are some allophones that do not rise to the level of awareness of the speakers, like the palatalization of /k/ when preceding the mid front vowel /e/ in (27), the deletion of /h/ word initially (McIntosh 1945; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz et al. 1999) in (28), the simplification of the alveolar affricate /t͡s/ into [s] in consonant clusters in (29), and in few cases, the voicing of the bilabial and velar plosives /p/ (Iturrioz et al. 1999) and /k/ between vowels in (30).

(27) /keˈpaɨme/ > [kʲeˈpaɨme] ‘how many/much/cuánto’ [Elicit]
(28) /**h**eiˈpatɨ/ > [eiˈpatɨ] ‘some/algunos’ [Elicit]

(29) /ne- ma**t͡s**- ˈtui - ɾie/ > [nemas**ˈ**tuiɾie]
1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- sell -APPL.ICOMPL
‘Te lo vendo’
‘I sell it to you.’ [Elicit]

(30) a. /te- **p**u- ti- ˈt͡sua/ > [te**b**uti't͡soa]
1PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- cry
‘Nosotros lloramos.’
‘We cried.’ [Elicit]

b. /ˈmɨ**k**ɨ =ˈta ˈʔukí/ > [ˈmɨ**g**ɨˈta ˈʔukí]
DEM = FOC man
‘…ese hombre…’
‘…that man…’ [INTR01]

However, there are other changes which the speakers are aware of, most of them being examples of free variation. Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz et al. (1999) report that most of the phonetic variation, presented in table 3.3, is due to ‘expressive’[17] factors. According to them, the /t͡s/ allophones [s] and [č], the /ɾ/ allophone [l], and the /r̄/ allophones [s] and [š], occur when

[17] It is not clear what Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz et al. (1999) mean by ‘expressive’ factors, but the description points to styles used by the speakers with different pragmatic purposes.

speaking to children or to sound childish, while the /t͡s/ allophone [r̄] is used to show disrespect to someone or something. The /r̄/ allophones occur in different dialects; [r̄] is used in the Western dialects while the sibilant segment is used in the Eastern ones.

Table 3.3. Wixárika allophonic variation proposals

Gómez (1999: 26-31)		Iturrioz et al. (1999: 43, 141)	
/k/	[k] [k^{y}]	/p/	[p] [β]
/h/	[h] [ø]	/k/	[k] [k^{y}]
/ɕ/	[ɕ] [č]	/h/	[h] [ø]
/x/	[s] [r̄]	/t^{s}/	[ts] [s] [č] [r̄]
/r/	[r] [l]	/r/	[r] [l]
/w/	[w] [u]	/ r̄/	[r] [r̄˘] [s] [š] [č]
		/w/	[w] [β]

Iturrioz et al. (1999) add that there are dialectal preferences with respect to the semi-consonant /w/ allophones. According to them, the Western dialects prefer the use of [β]. The [w] allophone is also used but is marked because it is considered to belong to the Eastern dialects. They do not discard the influence of the vowels to trigger allophonic variation in the /w/ phoneme, similarly to McIntosh (1945). For example, they state that [β] always occurs with /ɨ/ but can also be observed with /i/ and /e/. The variation tends to be free when /w/ precedes /a/, although in the Western dialect [w] is more marked.

Although I do not completely disagree with these previous studies, I found less allophonic variation in my data. The alveolar affricate /t͡s/ and the alveolar trill /ř/ has only two allophones, [č] and [s], and [s] and [ɽ], respectively. As Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz et al. (1999) stated —and corroborated in personal communication with some Wixárika speakers—, the allophones that are used to sound childish are [č] and [s] from /t͡s/, [l] from /ɾ/, and [s] from /ř/. The /t͡s/ allophone [č] primarily occurs before a high front vowel /i/ but it can be found with other vowels. Regarding the velar approximant /w/ allophones ([w] and [β]) and the alveolar trill /ř/ allophone ([ɽ]), I agree with Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz et al. (1999) in that they mainly occur as

a dialectal variation; the allophone [w] only occurs in the Eastern dialect, particularly in the Santa Catarina community in the state of Jalisco. In fact, Wixárika speakers recognize this sound as proper to this community. The [w] and [ɽ] allophones are also more common in the Eastern dialect community. However, free variation can be observed across different dialects from Jalisco, Nayarit, and Durango.

3.2.3. Orthography

There have been few attempts to create a standardized orthographical system for Wixárika. The first two proposals were created during the 1980s by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and by Wixárika bilingual teachers from the Mexican institution in charge of the national public education (*Secretaría de Educación Pública* (*SEP*)). This attempt was made to create official textbooks in the language for schools, particularly for elementary education. A few years later, Iturrioz et al. (1999) proposed the next orthographical system. According to them, the previous proposals presented inconsistencies that needed to be corrected. For example, the system proposed by the SEP lacked graphemes for the short and long vowels, and the accent was not systematically represented. Thus, they decided to adopt most of the graphemes from the Wixárika bilingual teachers, but made some additions, as shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4. Wixárika orthographical system proposals (Iturrioz et al. 1999: 100).[18]

Phoneme	SEP	SIL	DELI[19]
/p/	p	p	p
/t/	t	t	t
/k/	k	qu, c	k
/kw/	ku	cu	kw
/ts/	ts, tz	s	ts
/r/	xr, rr	x	x

[18] The Table is kept as the original.

[19] DELI stands for Department of Indigenous Languages (Departamento de Lenguas Indígenas) where Iturrioz and collegues work in Jalisco, Mexico.

/r/	r	r	r
/y/	y	y	y
/m/	m	m	m
/n/	n	n	n
/ʔ/	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
/h/	h, j	h	h
/w/	w	v	w
/a/	a	a	a
/e/	e	e	e
/i/	i	i	i
/u/	u	u	u
/ɨ/	ɨ	Ï, ʌ	ɨ
/a:/	a	aa, a̲	aa
/e:/	e	ee, e̲	ee
/i:/	i	ii, i̲	ii
/u:/	u	uu, u̲	uu
/ɨ:/	i	ïï, ʌ̲	ɨɨ

Iturrioz et al. (1999) proposed double vowel graphemes to represent length, in addition to creating accent rules:

1. Accents in the penultimate syllable will not be marked (*máxa=maxa* ‘deer/venado’; *tumíni=tumini* ‘money/dinero’).
2. Accents in syllables other than the penultimate will be marked (*’ukí=’ukí* ‘man/hombre’; *’ukári=’ukári* ‘woman/mujer’).
3. If the word undergoes derivational processes, the rules above are applied to the new word (*’ukí* vs. *’ukiyari* ‘man/hombre’).
4. Monosyllabic words are not accented (*ki* ‘house/casa’; *ku* ‘snake/víbora’).
5. Monosyllabic words that occur in minimal pairs will be accented to avoid ambiguities (*’aki* ‘river/río’, *’akí* ‘your house/tu casa’), in this sense, the actual phonological accent is considered.
6. When the accent is moved to an external syllable from the lexical word, it will be marked (No example is provided in the original text).

The creation of L2 materials for teaching/learning Wixárika led to the reevaluation of the existing orthographical systems. Santos & Carrillo (2008) proposed the grapheme <'> for the glottal stop, and double vowels for vowel length only when there is a minimal pair. For instance, words that have long vowels are represented without long vowel when they do not have a minimal pair to contrast meaning, like *tsinaakari* 'lime/limón' which is written as *tsinakari*. Regarding the accent, they follow Iturrioz's et al. (1999) rules but adopt a slightly different system. They take rules 1, 2, 4, and 5 and add that the rest of the words –inflected or not— are always marked with an accent.

Conti & Guerrero (2009) and Conti, Guerrero et al. (2011) proposed a slightly different convention where the labio-velar consonant /k^w/ and the glottal stop are represented with <k^w> and <'> respectively, but follow Santos & Carrillo's (2008) rules for accentuation.

Considering the fact that the dissertation should accurately capture the phonology of the language due to its descriptive purpose, I decided to adopt Iturrioz's et al. (1999) orthographical system to represent the data.

3.3. Grammatical aspects of Wixárika

In this section, I present an overview of the grammatical aspects of Wixárika from a typological perspective. The index of fusion and synthesis, basic constituent order, locus of marking as well as a brief discussion of the language's grammatical relations are included in the following sections.

3.3.1. Morphological typology

Wixárika has a tendency to polysynthesis (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) and agglutination (Palafox 1978; Gómez 1999; Cf. Iturrioz 1987). The verb stem contains affixes that are easily identifiable, and one meaning can be roughly assigned to each morpheme. On average, four to six morphemes are attached to the verb, like in (31) although it is not rare to find seven or eight morphemes, as (32) and (33) illustrate (Cf. Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

(31) a. terɨka terɨka meripai ka- ti- yu- kewe -kai mɨkɨ
scorpion scorpion before NEG- DISTR- ANIM- sting -IPFV DEM
'…el alacrán, el alacrán no picaba antes…'
'…scorpions, scorpions did not sting before…' [SCP01]

b. me- niu- 'uwa -kai -tɨ -ni waniu
3PL.SBJ- NARR- wander.PL -IPFV -SS -NARR EVI.IND
'…andaban ellos, según…'
'…people were wandering, they say…' [SCP01]

(32) tetsu tɨ te- mɨ- te- wa- ta- 'ɨi -tɨa -ni
tamal F.S. 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- SG- offer.PRS -CAUS -NARR
'…les ofrecemos tamales…'
'…we offer them tamales…' [DMC02]

(33) 'itsari te te- m- te- wa- ye- hapa -xɨa -ni
food F.S. 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- inside- take.out.small.PRS -ITR -NARR
'…les sacamos comida…'
'…we take out food for them…' [DMC02]

In simple clauses, prefixes mark information about the arguments, location, and modality, while suffixes mark tense and/or aspect or derivational morphemes. The morphemes generally follow the next template:

PERSON.SUBJECT + (ASSERTION) + (DISTRIBUTIVE.SUBJECT)+ (PERSON.NON-SUBJECT) + (LOCATIVE) + (SINGULAR/PLURAL EFFECT) + + **VERB STEM** + (DERIVATION) + ASPECT/TENSE

Figure 3.1. Wixárika verbal template in simple clauses

Like some polysynthetic languages, Wixárika can incorporate its object into the verbal complex (see §Ch.8 for a detailed description). In example (34) *kaitsa* 'rattle/sonaja' is an independent noun, while in (35) the same noun is incorporated into the verb.

(34) ne- mama pɨne nets- e- ta- 'atɨ -wa -kai
1SG- mother F.S. 1SG.NSBJ- OS- SG- take -HAB -IPFV
'…mi mamá me llevaba,'
'…my mother used to take me'

kaitsa m- u- ka- yatsa
rattle AS2- VIS- down- put/stand.PRS
'se lleva una sonaja…'
'a rattle is carried…' [DC01]

(35) te- te- u- **kakaitsa** -wiwa -tɨ mana
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- RDP.PL.rattle -hold.PRS.PL -SS there
'…allí estamos sosteniendo las sonajas…'
'…we are there holding the rattles…' [DC01]

It is also common to find two verbs in the same verbal complex, as in (36) and (37), most commonly with verbs of movement.

(36) ne- ne- ka- tɨmaiya -tɨ -yeika -ni xexui -me
1SG.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- down- forget.PRS -LN -wander.PRS -NARR each.one -NSBJ
'…se me olvidan algunas palabras…'
'…I forget some words…' [SK01]

(37) ta- teiniwetsika te- mɨ- ka- 'eni- yurie -ni
1PL- sacred.maize 1PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sow.PRS- grow.PRS -NARR
'…sembramos y hacemos crecer el maíz sagrado…'
'…we sow and make the sacred maize grow…' [DMC02]

Clitics with adverbial or pragmatic functions are sometimes attached to the verbal complex, as illustrated with *ya*= 'like that, as it has happened/así como se ha dicho, como ha pasado' in (38), *ye*= 'this way/así' in (39), *=ta* 'FOC' in (40) or *=ri* 'already/ya' in (41). In

complex clauses, suffixes encoding switch-reference (e.g., *-kaku* 'DS', *-tɨ* 'SS', etc.) or clause connectors (e.g., *-kɨ* 'because,for/porque, para', *-tsie* 'when/cuando', etc.) are common.

(38) 'ikɨ'i **ya**= me- ne- ti- ha- hɨawe nee =ta 'ikɨ'i hɨ
this like= 3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- DISTR- ALL- say.PRS 1SG =FOC this INT
'…eso me dicen, yo, esto…'
'…that is what they tell me, I, this…' [Pl02]

(39) 'ikɨ'i hɨ 'ana'i **ye**= ne- p- aine pero paɨmɨ hɨ
this INT here this.way= 1SG.SBJ- AS1- say.PRS but this.way INT
'…esto aquí es lo que digo pero así …'
'…this, here, it is what I say but this way…' [PL02]

(40) te- te- ha- wiya guadalajara wakɨri -xi
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- ALL- belong.PRS Guadalajara tepehuano -PL
'…somos (huicholes) de Guadalajara, los tepehuanos'
'…we (Huichols) are from Guadalajara, Tepehuans'

me- te- ha- wiya =**ta** Durango mɨkɨ me- Durango -tari
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- ALL- belong.PRS =FOC Durango DEM 3PL.SBJ- Durango -PR
'de Durango, ellos son de Durango…'
'are from Durango, they are from Durango…' [PL01]

(41) te- ta- xewi -tɨ =**ri** ta- kie
1PL.SBJ- SG- one -SS =already 1PL- house
'…ya solos a la casa'
'…alone to the house'

te- mɨ- ta- yei -xɨa -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- wander.PRS -ITR -NARR
'nos vamos…'
'we go…' [DC03]

3.3.2. Basic constituent order

Wixárika is mostly a verb-final language (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). In transitive clauses with an explicit object noun, the tendency is to present OV order, as illustrated in (42) and (43).

(42) **O_1** **V_1** **O_2**
werika waniu ne- ti- u- ka- xeiya kwixɨ waniu
eagle EVI.IND 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- down- find/see.PRS eagle EVI.IND
'…si encuentro al águila real'
'…If I find the eagle'

V_2 **O_3** **V_3**
ne- ti- u- 'enie -ni 'eka waniu ne- ti- u- 'enie -ni
1SG.SBJ- DISTR-VIS- hear.PRS -NARR wind EVI.IND 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- hear.PRS -NARR
'si escucho al aguililla, si escucho al viento'
'if I hear the eagle, if I hear the wind'

O_4 **V_4**
kiewa haikɨri m- e- ti- keka -ni
where whirlwind AS2- OS- DISTR- build/make -NARR
'donde el remolino se construye…'
'where the whirldwind is formed..' [SPEY01]

(43) **O_1** **V_1** **O_2** **V_2**
'iku me- pu- ka- 'etsa mume me- pu- ka- 'etsa
corn 3PL.SBJ- AS1- down- sow.PRS beans 3PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sow.PRS
'…siembran maíz, siembran frijol...'
'…they sow corn, they sow beans…' [INTR23]

When the object noun is moved from its prototypical position —right dislocation[20]—a 3SG pronoun prefix *i-* is attached to the verb (Grimes 1964:26-7; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:114), as in (44); otherwise, this prefix is not used. The prefix also occurs when the object is definite and mentioned in discourse, but omitted in the following clauses, as in (45).

(44) te- **'i-** parewie -tɨ xeniu **ta- kiekari**
1PL.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ- help.PRS -SS EVI.IND 1PL- town
'…nosotros lo ayudamos, a nuestro pueblo'
'…we help it, our town'

ka- hau- ye- wautse -ni -kɨ
NEG- all- area- fall/lose.PRS -FUT -for
'para que no se pierda…'

[20] Lambrecht (2001: 1050) defines dislocation as a "sentence structure in which a referential constituent which could function as an argument or adjunct within a predicate-argument structure occurs instead outside the boundaries of the clause containing the predicate either to its left or to its right. The role of the denotatum of the dislocated constituent as an argument or adjunct of the predicate is represented within the clause by a pronominal element which is construed as coreferential with the dislocated phrase."

‘so that we don’t lose it…’ [DEER02]

(45) niu- ta- nautsa hapaɨna na paɨri **nawie** **-ya**
NARR- SG- run.PFV also F.S. that skin -3SG.POSS.DS

m a- ti- ka -tsie
AS2- PRO- PL- sit -LOC
‘….empezó a correr también allí donde estaba el cuero’
‘…he ran to get the dog’s skin’

ra- ti- ta -kai -ta waniu mana ’ana
INDF.place- DISTR- fire -IPFV -LOC EVI.IND there that.moment
‘se fue a donde estaba la lumbre, allí, en ese momento’
‘he approached the fire, there, in that moment’

te mana takwa n- **i-** ta- taiya waniu mɨkɨ
F.S. there backyard NARR- 3SG.OBJ- SG- burn.PFV EVI.IND DEM
‘en el patio lo quemó (el cuero)’
‘he burned it (the skin) at the backyard’

mana n- e- **i-** wiwie -ni tai -pa waniu
DEM NARR- EXT- 3SG.OBJ- throw.PFV -NARR fire -LOC EVI.IND
‘allí lo tiró (el cuero) a la lumbre...’
‘he threw it there (the skin) at the fire…’ [SWM01]

Very rarely, the object is positioned after the verb without the 3SG object prefix *i-*, as in (46). Probably, this behavior is due to focus; however, further research is needed.

(46) ya xewi -tɨ xɨka hau- ’iwau -mɨkɨ -ni
or one -SBJ COND all- ask -DES.SG -NARR
‘…o si alguien quiere preguntar’
‘…If someone wants to ask’

ne- m- i- ta- ’eiya tatsɨ yaxeikɨa
1SG.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- SG- answer.PRS so also
‘le respondo también’
‘I also respond’

ni- ku- yɨ -ne -ni mɨkɨ ka- ti- ne- yu- ti- mamate -ni
NARR- around do -PROGR.SG -NARR DEM NARR- DISTR- EXT-MID-PL-RDP.know.PRS-NARR
‘se hace eso, se conoce’
‘this is what it is done, it is known’

ne- **’iyaritɨarika** ne- **niuki** pero =tsɨ mɨkɨ
1SG- thought 1SG- language but =so DEM
‘mi pensamiento, mi lengua pero eso’
‘my thoughts, my language but’

ne- r- eu- ka- mai -tɨ
1SG.SBJ- SG- all- down- know -SS
‘eso tengo que saber…’
‘I have to know it…’ [INTR09]

The order in elicited sentences is mainly OV. However, VO clauses can be found due to Spanish influence (Spanish word order is commonly VO).

3.3.3. Expression of core arguments

Wixárika marks core arguments on the verb, and non-core arguments with postposition case marking. The language has two types of pronouns, independent and dependent. The independent pronouns can be omitted in the clause while the dependent pronouns are always obligatory on the verb, making it a verb-agreement language (Grimes 1964; Comrie 1982; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The independent pronouns are neutral regarding grammatical relations while the dependent pronouns distinguish two, subject and non-subject (Cf. Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), as table 3.5 shows.

Table 3.5. Wixárika pronominal system.

	INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS	DEPENDENT SUBJECT PRONOUNS	DEPENDENT NON-SUBJECT PRONOUNS	POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS		OBJECT OF POSTPOSITION
1SG	nee	ne-	netsi-	ne-		ne-
2SG	’ekɨ	pe-	matsi-	’a-		’a-
3SG	mɨkɨ/ ’iya	ø	(i)-	-ya ‘POSS.DS’/ [-ma] ‘POSS.DS.PL’ ra- ‘POSS.INDF’	yu- ‘POSS.SS’	ø
1PL	tame	te-	tatsi-	ta-		ta-

2PL	xeme	xe-	xe-[21]	xe-	yu- 'POSS.SS'	xe-
3PL	mɨkɨ/mɨmɨ[22]	me-	wa-	wa-	yu- 'POSS.SS'	wa-

The dependent pronouns agree in person and number with the independent noun. The subject pronouns precede the non-subject pronouns but may be separated from them by other prefixes. The language encodes only animate arguments on the verb except with the 3SG object prefix *i-*, which can mark both definite animate or inanimate arguments, as in examples (43-45) (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

The 1SG/PL and 2SG non-subject pronouns present different forms. They can be reduced to *nes-*, *mas-*, *tas-* or *ne-*, *ma-*, *ta-*. The former pronouns are used in any context, while the latter ones in specific contexts. For example, the 2SG non-subject pronoun *ma-* is used before the prefix *ti-* 'PL'. The 1PL pronoun *ta-* is the exception. It takes this form when occurring before *ti-* 'PL' as well. However, it is in free variation with *tatsi-* because it can freely occur in other contexts.[23]

Wixárika does not mark the 3SG subject pronoun prefix on the verb (Cf. Grimes 1964) but it does mark the object (Grimes 1964:21-26; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:239). The *i-* object prefix is restricted to certain contexts, i.e. where the (animate or inanimate) noun is omitted but used as a referent in the following clauses, or it is not in the prototypical object position (Iturrioz

[21] According to Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:198), the 2PL non-subject pronoun has the form *xetsi-*. However, I did not find any instance of this form in my data.

[22] *Mɨkɨ* is a distal deictic pronoun ('this') that functions as both 3SG and 3PL. In few cases, *'iya* 'that' is also used. The pronoun *mɨmɨ* was only found in the Eastern dialect to refer to 3PL (Cf. Grimes 1964:21 with *mɨme* '3PL.distal'). However, this dialect uses *mɨkɨ* for 3SG/PL very frequently as well.

[23] Grimes (1964:21-26) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:198,222) state that the non-subject pronouns drop *-tsi* when they occur with the prefixes *ti-* 'PL' or *ni-* 'NARR'. Grimes (1964:21-6) considers that the short versions of the pronouns are the allomorphs of the long forms. Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:198), on the other hand, state that forms with *-tsi* are allomorphs of the short versions. I consider that the form without *-tsi* is the allomorph.

& Gómez 2006:115), as described in §3.3.2. Apparently, there are dialectal differences on the use of this object prefix. For example, the Eastern dialect sometimes uses the prefix even if the object noun is in its unmarked preverbal order (Comrie 1982), as illustrated in (47) and (48). However, this use in the Eastern dialect is not very common.

(47) **wakaxi** mu- m- **i-** ’iya -rie -xime mɨkɨ ye- n- ti- ’ane
cow this.way- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- kill -PASS -INCH DEM this.way- NARR- DISTR- be
‘…se mata a la vaca, eso se hace…’
‘…the cow is killed, that is what it is done…’ [DCS01]

(48) me- te- yu- ’ɨkitɨa ’ana’i **’itsɨkame** m- **i-** ku- ’uitɨa -tɨka
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- MID- study here boss AS2- 3SG.OBJ- around- have -ITR
‘…aquí los estudiantes tienen jefe…’
‘…students have a boss here…’ [INTR02]

The language marks both the patient in transitive clauses and the recipient/beneficiary in derived ditransitive clauses through non-subject pronouns on the verb. Comrie (1982:101) coined the term ‘primary object’ (although he uses the term ‘non-subject’ interchangeably in his study) as a neutral label for this type of argument in Wixárika. Examples (49) and (50) show pairs of sentences with transitive and (derived) ditransitive clauses and the non-subject pronouns for both functions, patient and recipient/beneficiary.

(49) a. nee =ri kwatsie ’a- hetsie ne- p- e- tanua -ni ’a- papa
1SG =already AFF 2SG- in 1SG.SBJ- AS1- EXT- defend -FUT 2SG- father
‘…yo te defiendo de tu papá’
‘…I’ll defend you from your dad’

ka- **metsi-** he- ku- waya -ni =ri
NEG- 2SG.NSBJ- EXT- SP- hit -FUT =already
‘para que ya no te pegue…’
‘so that he does not hit you anymore…’ [SR02]

b. ’ikɨ ne- **mes-** ta- tui -rie ’irɨ
this 1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- SG- give -APPL.INCOMPL arrow
‘…esto te doy, una flecha…’
‘…I give you this, an arrow…’ [SR02]

(50) a. ’a- kɨmana ’ekɨ ’axa- pe- **wa**- yurie -ne -kaku
2SG- for 2SG bad- 2SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- do -PROGR.SG -DS
‘…por tu culpa, los lastimas’
‘…it’s your fault, you hurt them’

pe- **wa**- ti- waya -kaku
2SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- hit -DS
‘tú les pegas…’
‘you hit them…’ [SR02]

b. taikai =ri ’iku te- m- tawa -ni xeniu
night =already corn 1PL.SBJ- AS2- give.gift -NARR EVI.IND
‘…ya en la noche, regalamos maiz’
‘…at night, we give maize’

me- m- i- xariki -xɨ ta- kupanieru -ma ta- niwe -ma
3PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- brown -PFV 1PL- partner -PL 1PL- son -PL
‘a los que lo tostaron; a nuestros hermanos, a nuestros hijos’
‘to the ones who roasted it; to our friends, to our children’

mɨkɨ yu- nai -me te- m- **wa**- mi -ni -xɨa
DEM ANIM- all -NSBJ 1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3PL.NSBJ- give.gift -NARR -ITR
‘todo les regalamos…’
‘we give everything to them…’ [DMC04]

The participant marked on the derived (ditransitive) clause is always the recipient/beneficiary, not the non-animate patient even if it is a 3PL as well, like in (51). This relates to Hopper and Thompson’s (1980) statement that ‘animacy’ is more likely to be a characteristic of recipients and benefactives rather than of patients in ditransitive clauses.

(51) wamawari -ri te- wa- xatɨa -me
food.offering -PL 1PL.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- make.offer. -SS
‘…se les dan ofrendas de comida…’
‘…they are given food offerings…’ [DPEY02]

3.3.4. Expression of non-core arguments

Wixárika encodes non-core arguments through either independent postpositions or suffixes (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:110). For spatial relations, the language uses the suffixes *-tsie*

'on/en', *-ta* 'in, inside/en, dentro', *-pa* 'in, inside/en, dentro', *-tɨa* 'under/debajo', *-tsa* 'between/entre', *-pai* 'until/hasta', etc., as illustrated in (52), (53), and (54); or the postposition *'aurie* 'around/alrededor', *warie* 'back/atrás', etc., as in (55) and (56).

(52) m- e- i- ku- wau waniu mɨkɨ pu- mawe -kai
AS2- OS- 3SG.OBJ around- look.for.PFV EVI.IND DEM AS1- lack -IPFV
'…lo fue a buscar, no estaba'
'…he looked for him but he wasn't there'

waniu ki **-ta** kareta **-tsie** naitsarie pu- wau
EVI.IND house -in cart -on every.where AS1- look.for.PFV
'en la casa, en la carreta, en todas partes lo buscó…'
'in the house, on the cart, he looked for him everywhere…' [SR02]

(53) mana ha **-pa** m- au- ka- mie -kai
there water -in AS2- all- down- go -IPFV
'…se fue al agua…'
'… he went into the water…' [SR02]

(54) mexa **-tɨa** narakaxi pu- ka
table- under orange AS1- sit
'La naranja está debajo de la mesa.'
'The orange is under the table.' [Elicit]

(55) mana'i me- n- te- nei -tɨwe tai **'aurie**
there 3PL.SBJ- NARR- DISTR- dance -PROGR.PL fire around
'…allí bailan alrededor del fuego…'
'…they dance there, around the fire…' [YP01]

(56) hɨri **warie** me- m- a- ne- xɨani -ke -kai
mountain back 3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- NARR- go.around -POT -IPFV
'…iban a darle la vuelta al cerro…'
'…they were going to run around the mountain…' [DEER01]

Noun phrases take the suffix *-kɨ* if they function as 'instrument', like in examples (57) and (58).

(57) paɨ- wakana te- mɨ- mie -ni xuriya **-kɨ** =ri
this.way- chicken 1PL.SBJ- AS2- kill.SG -NARR blood -INSTR =already
'…matamos gallinas y con sangre'
'…we kill chickens and with blood'

me- te- ti- meiya
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- PL- cover.PRS
'las (velas) embarramos…'
'we cover them (candles)…' [DMC02]

(58) 'i- mie -ka yɨa -ne -kai =ri mɨkɨ
3SG.OBJ- kill.SG.OBJ -SS be -PROGR.SG -IPFV =already DEM
'…lo mató'
'…he killed him'

yu- 'ɨrɨ **-kɨ**
POSS.SS- arrow -INSTR
'con su flecha…'
'with his arrow…' [SR02]

Beneficiary participants are encoded through postpositions. If they are promoted to core arguments through the use of the completive applicative *-ri*, then the non-subject pronouns are used (see §Ch.7 for a detailed description on applicatives).

(59) xeme nawaxa xe- mɨ- nanai ne- **hetsie** -mieme
2PL knife 2PL.SBJ- AS2- buy.PFV 1SG- in -from
'Ustedes compraron un cuchillo para mi.'
'You (PL) bought a knife for me.' [Elicit]

Concomitance is encoded through the postposition *matɨa*, as in (60) or *hatsa*, as in (62). The comitative postposition *matɨa* can take non-subject pronouns by adding *ha-*, as in (61) (Cf. Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:112).

(60) me- pu- ti- 'ɨwa -xɨ waniu mɨkɨ tɨpina **matɨa** maxa
3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- bathe -PFV EVI.IND DEM hummingbird COM deer
'…ellos se bañaron, el colobrí y el venado…'
'…they took a shower, the hummingbird and the deer…' [DEER01]

(61) terɨka 'ikɨ mu- yeika 'ena ta- kwie -tsie ta- ha- **matɨa**
scorpion this AS2- wander.PRS here 1PL- land -on 1PL- PRO- COM
'…el alacrán anda aquí en nuestra tierra con nosotros…'
'…the scorpion wanders here in our land with us…' [SCP01]

(62) ne =tsɨ a- ne- n- eu- yeika la Mesa del Nayar eee neuxi -te
1SG =so this.way- 1SG.SBJ- NARR-all wander.PRS la Mesa del Nayar eh Cora -PL
'…ando aquí en la Mesa del Nayar, con los coras'
'…I'm here at the Mesa del Nayar, with the Coras'

wa- **hatsa** -ta
3PL- COM -in
'con ellos…'
'with them…' [LCLAKE03]

3.3.5. Alignment system and locus of marking

Wixárika has a nominative-accusative case system mostly manifested through the two sets of dependent pronouns. The subject of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause are encoded by dependent subject pronouns, like *ne-* '1SG.SBJ' in (63a) and (63b). The patient of a transitive clause is encoded by non-subject pronouns, like *netsi-* '1SG.NSBJ' in (63c).

(63) a. **ne-** pɨ- Huichol
1SG.SBJ- AS1- huichol
'…soy Huichol…'
'…I am Huichol…' [INTR11]

b. ne- 'iwa -ma te- 'ɨkitame -te **ne-** wa- parewie
1SG- brother -PL 1PL.SBJ- teach -PL 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- help.PRS
'…apoyo a mis compañeros profesores…'
'…I support my collegues…' [INTR11]

c. xe- **netsi-** ta- 'enie
2PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- hear.PRS
'…me escuchan…'
'…you (PL) hear me…' [P01]

Wixárika is predominantly a head-marking language (Nichols 1992) since the syntactic relations are marked in the nucleus, and not in the dependents in most of the constructions (Iturrioz 1987; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006: 111-112). At the phrase level, the possessed is marked with possessive pronouns (e.g., *ne-* '1SG', *'a-* '2SG', *-ya* '3SG', etc.), as in (64).

(64) **ta-** ’iyari
1PL- life/heart
‘…nuestra vida/nuestro corazón…’
‘…our life/our heart…’ [INTR13]

Postpositions show the same pattern since personal pronouns are attached to them, as in (65).

(65) neuxei xeikɨa teiwa -rixi **ta- heima** me- pu- ye- hu
hey only mestizo -PL 1PL- on 3PL.SBJ- AS1- area- go.PL.PRS
‘…¡oigan! nomás los mestizos están encima de nosotros…’
‘…hey! Only the mestizos are ahead of us…’ [SPS01]

At the clause level, the core arguments are marked on the verb with the subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes, as described in §3.3.3. However, an instance of dependent marking can be observed in some nouns or noun phrases. For example, the instrument suffix *-kɨ* attaches to nouns only, or the subject/non-subject markers (*-tɨ* and *-me*) are found in numerals within noun phrases (see §3.3.5. for a detailed description on these case markers). At the sentence level, there are some postpositions that are restricted to dependent clauses only, and directly identify these clauses as such (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). For example, the suffixes *-kɨ* ‘for, to/para’ and *-tsie* ‘when/cuando’ only occur in dependent clauses, like in (66) and (67).[24]

(66) tɨɨri mana me- ka- niu- ti- ’ɨwa -ni taxari -kɨ kwinie
children there 3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- PL- bathe -NARR dry -INSTR many
‘…los niños allí se bañan en las secas’
‘…the children take a bath there in the dry season’

ti- u- xɨka -ni **-tsie**
DISTR- VIS- hot -NARR -when
‘cuando hace calor…’
‘when it is warm…’ [INTR23]

[24] See Iturrioz & Gómez’s (2006:114) hierarchy.

(67) te- wa- parewieka ’echiwa te- m- te- ti- mamate -ni **-ki**
1PL.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- help.PRS little 1PL.SBJ-AS2- DISTR- PL- RDP.know -FUT -to
‘…ayudarlos un poco para saber…’
‘…help them a little bit to know…’ [YP01]

3.3.6. Other features

This section provides a description of some morphosyntactic features in Wixárika. These features are relevant since they prove the existence of the two grammatical relations ―subject and non-subject (‘primary object’)― in the language, as stated by Comrie (1982:97-99). Some of these include the use of the possessive pronouns, case markers, and switch-reference system. Comrie (1982) also discusses verb agreement and the passive construction as tests. Both constructions are not included in this section since the former is fully described in §3.3.3, while the latter is detailed in §Ch.8. This section also includes some additional facts related to these features in Wixárika as well, like the different types of possessive markers and the grammaticalization of switch-reference markers as case markers.

3.3.6.1. Possessive pronouns

Wixárika’s possessive pronouns encode both person and number (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:110), namely *ne-* ‘1SG’, *’a-* ‘2SG’, *-ya* ‘3SG’, *ta-* ‘1PL’, *xe-* ‘2PL’, and *wa-* ‘3PL’. The language additionally has another possessive prefix that is used for both 3SG/PL and 2PL. This is the case of *yu-* which indicates co-reference between the subject of the action and the possessor (Comrie 1982:102). Example (68) illustrates the use of this prefix in contrast with *-ya*, which marks a 3SG possessor that is not coreferent with the subject of the action. The language does not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

(68) a. p- i- ta- tui -ri waniu mɨkɨ **yu-** ’ɨrɨ
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- SG- give -APPL.COMPL EVI.IND DEM POSS.SS- arrow
‘…se la dio (el niño al papá), su flecha (del niño)’
‘…he (boy) gave it to him (father), the arrow (child’s)’

tatsɨ ’ikɨ nunutsi yɨa -ne -kai tɨtɨ mɨkɨ nunutsi niwe **-ya**
AFF DEM child be -PROGR.SG -IPFV big DEM child son -3SG.POSS.DS
‘el niño era su hijo (del señor)’
‘the boy was the man’s son’

mɨkɨ mana pu- ka- we waniu papa **-ya** tatsɨ =ri
DEM that AS1- down- fall.PFV EVI.IND father -3SG.POSS.DS AFF =already
‘su papá se cayó’
‘his father fell down’

’i- mie -ka yɨa -ne -kai =ri mɨkɨ
3SG.OBJ- kill.OBJ.SG -SS be -PROGR.SG -IPFV =already DEM
‘lo mató, era eso’
‘the boy killed him, it was it’

yu- ’ɨrɨ -kɨ
POSS.SS- arrow -INSTR
‘con su flecha…’
‘with his arrow…’ [SR02]

b. tɨpina ti- ne- hɨawe -ni waniu ’awa **-ya** -tsie
hummingbird DISTR- NARR- say -NARR EVI.SEC horn -3SG.POSS.DS -LOC

’u- ye- kai -tɨ
VIS- area- sit -SS
‘…el colibrí estaba en el cuerno (del venado)…’
‘…the hummingbird was on the (deer’s) horn…’ [DEER01]

Examples with the prefix *yu-* encoding subject co-reference with a 2PL and 3PL possessor are shown in (69) and (70) respectively.

(69) **yu-** prepa xe- na- ye- nɨ -ni
POSS.SS- high.school 2PL.SBJ- NARR- area- finish -NARR
‘…(Ustedes) terminen su prepa…’
‘…. You (PL) finish (your) high school…’ [SPS01]

(70) wixari -tari mana me- pɨ- ti- tei hipatɨ =ta teiwa -rixi
Huichol -PL there 3PL.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- sit.PL some =FOC mestizo -PL
‘…los huicholes habitan junto con algunos mestizos’

'…the Huichols live with some mestizos'

mana kiekatari yu- nai -tɨ **yu-** 'iwi -te 'akuxi
there town.people ANIM- all -SBJ POSS.SS- traditional.cloth -PL still
'allá usan su traje todavía'
'they still use their traditional clothes '

me- u- te- 'ɨhɨwa **yu-** niuki -kɨ
3PL.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- wear.PRS POSS.SS- language -INSTR
'ellos usan, su lengua'
'they use, their language'

me- pu- ti- niuka
3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- speak.PRS
'todavía hablan su lengua…'
'they still speak in their language…' [SPEY01]

The suffix *-ya* '3SG' has an allomorph *-ma* that occurs with kinship relations that are pluralized (Grimes 1964:29); otherwise, the suffix is not used. Example (71) shows the suffix *-ma* attached to the possessed plural noun *teukarima* 'grandparents/abuelos'. The possessor, *nunutsi* 'child/niño', is not co-referent with the subject argument of the action *'ɨya* 'baptize, bath/bautizar, bañar' performed by the possessed participants. On the other hand, example (72) illustrates a case where the plural possessed object *xɨtete* 'nails/uñas' does not take *-ma* but *-ya*. The use of *-ya* in this noun is due to non-co-reference with the subject argument of the action *terɨwa* 'to name/nombrar' by the turkey.

(71) nunutsi xɨka 'u- ti- nuiwa ehh 'auxu -me tukari hau- ti- ne -yu
child COND VIS- PL- born.PRS ehh five -NSBJ day all- PL- pass.PRS -DS
'…si nace el niño, al pasar cinco días'
'…if the child is born, after five days'

teukari -ma **-ma** me- ka- n- i- ka- 'ɨya -ku -ni
grandparent -PL -3SG.POSS.DS 3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR 3SG.OBJ- x- bathe.PRS -DS -NARR
'sus abuelos lo bautizan…'
'his grandparents baptize him…' [P01]

(72) ’aru ’ekɨ ke- pe- re- ’iyari ke- pe- ti- ku- ’eriwa
turkey 2SG.SBJ INTER-2SG.SBJ- EXT- heart INTER- 2SG.SBJ- DISTR- SP- think.PRS
‘…guajolote, tú ¿Qué piensas?, ¿Qué dice tu corazón?’
‘…turkey, what do you think? What does your heart say?’

he ke ke- te- te- ’i- terɨwa ke- pe- ti- ku- ’eriwa
F.S. F.S. INTER- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3SG.OBJ- name.FUT INTER- 2SG.SBJ-DISTR- SP- think PRS
‘¿Cómo le vas a llamar?, ¿Qué piensas?’
‘How are you going to name it? What do you think?’

pa =ta ’ekɨ me- niu- yu- ti- ’iwawiya waniu ’ai =tsɨ
let.see =FOC 2SG.SBJ 3PL.SBJ-NARR- REFL- PL- ask.PFV EVI.IND there =so
‘a ver, tú, se preguntaron ahí, pues.’
‘hey, you! They asked themselves there’

muichu m- au- ye- wetse xeikɨa m- a- na- ti- ne -ni
many AS2- all- area- lack.PRS only AS2- PRO- ALL- up- appear -NARR
‘falta mucho, nada más que salga.’
‘we are waiting it to come out’

xeikɨa =ri yeme =ri waniu aaa tau paɨ =ri
only =already true =already EVI.IND aaa Sun that =already
‘el Sol,’
‘the Sun,’

xɨte -te **-ya** ’a- na- ti- ’u -kaku =ri waniu mikɨ
nail -PL -3SG.POSS AUM- ALL- up- stand -DS =already EVI.IND DEM
‘sus uñas cuando van saliendo…’
‘his nails, when they are rising…’ [SSB02]

The 3SG has other possessive morphemes *ra-* and *-na* that do not make any distinction regarding the grammatical relations of the language, but show other semantic nuances. For example, the prefix *ra-* is used to indicate an unknown possessor, as in (73).

(73) kename reu- yu- ’enieka **ra-** papa **ra-** mama
what all- MID- hear.PRS 3SG.POSS.INDF- father 3SG.POSS.INDF- mother
‘…hay que hacer caso al papa, a la mamá’
‘…we have to listen to dad, to mom’

ra- ’iwa
3SG.POSS.INDF- brother
‘al hermano…’
‘to our brother…’ [SCP01]

The suffix *-na* is known to encode a 'locative possessive' (Grimes 1964: 19). This morpheme generally attaches to nouns that denote location/direction to indicate 3SG possession, like in (74) and (75).

(74) a. 'u xei -tɨ pu- ta- 'axe -kai
or one -SBJ AS1- STR- come -IPFV
'…o alguien venía'
'…or someone came'

p- i- ye- tui -rie- tɨ- yeika -kai kie **-na**
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- area- give -APPL.ICOMPL- LN- wander -IPFV house -3SG
'a dejarlos a su casa…'
'to drop them home…' [SW01]

b. teiwari tau tau tatsu- ta- xei -tsie muwa
mestizo F.S. F.S. 1PL.NSBJ- SG- see.PFV -when there
'…cuando el mestizo nos encontró allá'
'…when the mestizo found us there'

kie **-na** ne- p- e- ku- yei -xɨa
house -3SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- OS- SP- go.SG.PFV -ITR
'fui a su casa (varias veces)…'
'I went to his house (several times)…' [INTR03]

(75) mɨkɨ 'a- ye- 'arɨka -me ne- mu- ka- xeiya
DEM PRO- area- complete -SS 1SG.SBJ- AS2- down- see.FUT
'…lo encontraré (peyote) completo'
'…I will find it (peyote) complete'

tserieta **-na** mieme 'utata **-na** mieme hixɨa -pa mieme
right -3SG in left -3SG in center -LOC in
'de su derecha, de su izquierda, del centro…'
'his right, his left, the center…' [SPEY01]

However, its locative function remains unclear. Although the suffix seems to denote both possession and location, there are some instances where the locative meaning is not observed. For example, the suffix *-na* is found in some postpositions, in (76), (77), and (78). In this type of constructions, the morpheme denotes a 3SG, either animate or inanimate, and the postposition

gives the locative meaning. The locative meaning in examples (74) and (75) is probably due to the type of construction in which it occurs: verbs of movement with a locative noun.

(76) me- kɨxe -kai waniu me- yu- nai -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- heat -IPFV EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- ANIM- all -SS
'…estaban todos calentándose'
'…all of them were warming up'

me- 'a- tetɨ -kai -tɨ **'aurie -na**
3PL.SBJ- PRO- around -IPFV -SS besides -3SG
'alrededor, a un lado (del fuego)…'
'around, next to it (fire)…' [SSB02]

(77) n e- u- ta- nautsa waniu 'aki -tsie mɨ- tɨa
NARR- EXT- VIS- SG- run.PFV EVI.IND river -LOC AS2- go.SG.PFV
'…corrió en el arroyo, él fue'
'…he ran to the river, he went'

waniu tawari =ta ta mɨ- ti- tɨa waniu
EVI.IND again =FOC F.S. AS2- up- go.SG.PFV EVI.IND
'según, pasó otra vez por ahí'
'he passed there again'

warie -na m- au- ku- yɨ -ni -xɨ waniu
back -3SG AS2- all- around- pass -X -PFV EVI.IND
'se fue por atrás de él (del cerro)…'
'he went to the back (of the hill)…' [SSB02]

(78) **hetsie -na** te- matayemari -ri
with -3SG 1PL.SBJ- grow.PFV -PAS
'…con ella crecimos…'
'…we grew up with her…' [PL02]

The data thus suggests that the suffix probably functions as a 3SG marker, but it is reanalyzed as a possessive pronoun in some constructions denoting location. This hypothesis is supported by examples where a locative suffix co-occurs with *-na*, as in (79) and (80). The suffix sometimes co-occurs with *yu-* 'POSS.SS', as in (81), which shows that its prototypical function is not to indicate 'possession'. The suffix *-na* seems to be an old 3SG marker which is not very productive in the synchronic stage of the language.

(79) ki -ta **-na** ne- m- au- mie -ni
house -LOC -3SG 1SG.SBJ- AS2- all- go.SG -NARR
'…vamos a su casa (del creador)…'
'…we go to his house (the creator's)...' [DWIK01]

(80) yu- kutsiuri -ta **-na** niukame -ni
POSS.SS- bag -LOC -3SG put.hand -NARR
'… metió la mano en su moral…'
'….he put his hand in his bag….' [SCP01]

(81) 'e- mɨ- p- i- kwe'eiriwa -kai tsiempre waniu
there- this.way- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- leave/abandon -IPFV always EVI.IND
'…ahí la dejaba (perrita) siempre según'
'…he always left her (dog)'

pork ti- hɨka -kɨ waniu yu- kie **-na**
because DISTR- take.care -for EVI.SEC POSS.SS- house -3SG
'para que cuidara en su casa'
'so that she could take care of the house'

mɨkɨ ti- u- nawa -rie -ni -kɨ
DEM DISTR- VIS- steal -PASS -FUT -for
'para que no robaran …'
'so that they could not steal it…' [SW01]

3.3.6.2. Switch-reference system and case markers

Wixárika has a very productive switch-reference marking system, shown in table 3.6.[25] These morphemes are attached to the dependent clause to indicate whether its subject is coreferent with the subject of the main clause or not.

Table 3.6. Switch reference system in Wixárika (Comrie 1983: 19)[26]

	Same-subject	Different subject
Simultaneous	-tɨ	-kaku
Anterior		
Past	-ka	-ku
Future	-me	-yu

[25] Grimes (1964:64-65) refers to these markers as 'proximate' and 'obviative'.

[26] Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:206) present the same table except for the labels non-future vs. future.

The system defines the grammatical relations (Comrie 1983) because the same-reference marker is used when the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as the main clause; the switch-reference marker is used otherwise, i.e. where the subject of one clause is coreferential with the non-subject of the other clause, as in (82) and (83).

(82) tɨpina ke- mɨ- ti- kwaxiya **-ka** mu- na- ku- ne -kai
hummingbird SBR-AS2- PL- sweat -SS AS2- ALL- SP- pass.SG -IPFV
'…el colibrí venía sudando…'
'…the hummingbird came sweating…' [DEER01]

(83) terɨka mɨkɨ ti- yu- ke -we -ni tatsɨ =ri terɨka xeniu
scorpion DEM DISTR- MID- bite -can -NARR AFF =already scorpion EVI.IND
'el alacrán pica, viene siendo'
'scorpions bite, that is'

'iya ta ta- wewie -kame xɨka 'eit 'i- ta- nɨ'a **-ku** mɨkɨ
DEM F.S. 1PL- do -NMLZ COND X- 3SG.OBJ- SG- send.PFV -DS DEM
'si nuestro creador lo mandó…'
'if our creator sent him…' [SCP01]

The language also uses the pair *-tɨ* and *-me* (Iturrioz 1987) as same and switch-reference marking respectively, as in (84) and (85).

(84) wautɨa me- m- a- ka- ne -xɨa huteikɨ xeniu wanku
wautɨa 3PL.SBJ- AS2- ALL- down- pass.SG -ITR there.far EVI.IND bank
'…vinieron desde Wautɨa, de allá del banco'
'…they came from Wautɨa, from there the bank'

me- te- a- ye- ne -xɨa durangu nai -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- ALL- area- pass.SG -ITR Durango all -SBJ
'ellos vienen de Durango, todos'
'they come from Durango, all of them'

te- u- yu- xeɨrie 'ena pɨ- te- te- ku- xata **-tɨ**
1PL.SBJ- VIS- MID- gather here AS1- 1PL- DISTR- around- talk -SS
'nos reunimos aquí a hablar'
'we are meeting here to talk'

kename ta- heima te- ta- nua -ni ’ikɨri xeniu
what 1PL- on.top.of 1PL.SBJ- RECPR- support -NARR this EVI.IND
‘a apoyarnos entre todos’
‘to support each other’

neuxi -te yu- nai -tɨ pɨ= te- te- ’utawi =ri
cora -PL ANIM- all -SBJ this.way= 1PL-DISTR- join.together =already
‘con los coras, todos unidos’
‘with the Coras, all of us together’

te- yu- nai -tɨ pɨ= te- yu- xewi -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- ANIM- all -SBJ this.way= 1PL.SBJ- ANIM- one -SBJ
‘todos, así uno solo’
‘all of us, we’

te- p- a- kɨ -ne
1PL.SBJ- AS1- FIG- go.PL -FUT
‘vamos a ser…’
‘will become one…’ [LCLAKE01]

(85) tɨpina matɨa maxa meta =ri ’iya xeniu eee tatsiu
hummingbird COM deer also =already DEM EVI.IND eh rabbit
‘…el colibí y el venado, también’
‘…the hummingbird and deer, also’

xeniu tatsiu me- pɨ- ti- ’iwa -xɨ mɨkɨ waniu ’aixɨ waniu pero =tsɨ
EVI.IND rabbit 3PL.SBJ-AS1- PL- bathe -PFV DEM EVI.IND good EVI.IND but =so
‘el conejo, se bañaron’
‘the rabbit, took a bath’

hɨri ’a- ne **-me** hɨri ’a- ne **-me** -tsie muwa
hill AUM- size -DS hill AUM- size -DS -LOC there
‘allá en el cerro grande’
‘there at the big hill’

mɨkɨ waniu me- pu- ta- ’inɨa -tsie
DEM EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- AS1- SG- compete -PASS
‘los hicieron competir…’
‘they made them compete…’ [DEER02]

According to Comrie (1983:33), this is an old system because the most productive morpheme for switch-reference is *-kaku*, as in (86). The suffix *-me* is normally used to indicate

same subject for an anterior future in narratives (Grimes 1964; Comrie 1983; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

(86) kename xɨka -kai mɨkɨ ti- yu- kwaxi -ya -kai waniu mɨkɨ
según hot -IPFV DEM DISTR- ANIM- tail -3SG.POSS.DS -IPFV EVI.IND DEM
'…según estaba caliente (la flama), lo que traía en la cola'
'…they say it was hot (the flame), what he carried on his tail'

n e- na- ye- tu -ni yu- kwaxi -kɨ waniu pe =tsɨ
NARR- EXT- INF- area- take -NARR POSS.SS- tail -INSTR EVI.IND but =so
'la agarró con su cola'
'he took it with his tail'

yepauka me- ka- ne- niere **-kaku**
quickly 3PL.SBJ- NEG- NV- see -DS
'muy rápido cuando no veían…'
'very quickly when they were not looking…' [SSB02]

Interestingly, the suffixes *-tɨ* and *-me* also function as case markers. The suffix *-tɨ* indicates that the noun is subject, but *-me* is used otherwise (non-subject and obliques) (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999). This gives more evidence on the distinction between these two grammatical relations in the language. These suffixes only occur in few environments, they attach to noun phrases with numerals (Comrie 1982), as illustrated in (87), (88), and (89).

(87) waɨka me- pu- 'uwa -kai waniu ee teɨteri
many 3PL.SBJ- AS1- wander.PL -IPFV EVI.IND ee people
'…muchos andaban, según, personas …'
'…a lot of people were wandering…'

wa- papa tsiere pu- yeika -kai waniu yu- huta **-tɨ** tɨɨri
3PL- father also AS1- wander.SG -IPFV EVI.IND ANIM- two -SBJ children
'…su papá también andaba, dos niños (andaban)…'
'…their father was also there, two children…' [SR02]

(88) a. nauka **-me** papa ne- pu- ti- kwa -i
four -NSBJ tortilla 1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- eat -PFV
'I ate four tortillas.' [Elicit]

b. ne- wa- ri- xeiya yu- haika **-me** xei **-me** =ta
1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- have.PRS ANIM- three -NSBJ one -NSBJ =FOC
'…tengo tres (hijos) y'
'…I have three (children) and'

ne- u- re- ka- 'ɨya
1SG.SBJ- VIS- INDF.P.- X- wife
'tengo una esposa…'
'and I have a wife…' [INTR24]

(89) tame tsɨkɨ te- p- au- ku- wa -xɨ kɨye -xɨ
1PL dog 1PL.SBJ- AS1- all- SP- beat -PFV stick -PL

nauka **-me** -kɨ
four -NSBJ -INSTR
'We beat the dog with four sticks.'[27] [Comrie 1983:100]

The suffixes *-tɨ* and *-me* are also attached to the particle *nai* 'all/todo' very frequently, like in (90) and (91).

(90) a. pues ta- nai **-tɨ** te- yɨ- nɨ -tɨ
so 1PL- all -SBJ 1PL.SBJ- REFL- gather -SS
'…pues todos nosotros estamos reunidos…'
'…so we are gathered…' [LCLAKE02]

b. mana nai **-tɨ** ti- ku p- i- kaa =ri
there all -SBJ DISTR- around AS1- 3SG.OBJ- sit =already
'…allí está todo…'
'…all the stuff is there…' [DPEYC02]

(91) a. 'uxa'arieka tsiere waniu papa -ya
next.day also EVI.IND father -3SG.POSS.DS
'…al día siguiente también su papá'
'…next day their father also'

m- e- i- ku- wa -xɨa yu- nai **-me** wa- re- ti- wa
AS2- EXT- 3SG.OBJ- S.P.- hit -ITR ANIM- all -NSBJ 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- hit.PFV
'le pegó, a todos les pegó'
'hit him, he hit all of them'

[27] The glosses and the orthographic convention were changed from the original.

yu- taru -ma -kame
3SG.POSS.SS- older.brother -PL -AGT
'his brothers… [SR02]

b. ne- niwe -ma ne- ti- wa- re- ti- mi- kwa nai **-me** 'ikwai
1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- give- eat.PRS all -NSBJ food
'…les doy de comer a mis hijos, toda la comida…'
'…I feed my children, all the food…' [DTOR02]

The reanalysis of the switch reference system as an indicator of grammatical relations in noun phrases is possible for two reasons. First, Wixárika can make sentences with non-verbal roots. Both numerals and the particle *nai* 'all/todo' can become verbs and take the switch-reference markers, as in (84). Second, *-ti* is used to indicate same subject reference, which can be interpreted as referring to the subject of an action. Both functions of *-ti* as subject and same-reference marker can be found in the same narrative, as in (84) above. However, it is important to mention that the grammaticalization of these suffixes as case markers is still in an intermediate stage, since examples with noun phrases where the suffixes are used as switch-reference markers can be observed. In (92), the numeral *xewi* 'one/uno' takes *-me* when the referent is changed.

(92) ne- niwe -ma nee yu- huta -me ne- wa- re- xeiya
1SG- child -PL 1SG ANIM- two -NSBJ 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL have.PRS
'…tengo dos hijas'
'…I have two daughters'

angelina ti- tewa xewi **-ti**
Angelina DISTR- name.PRS one -SS
'una se llama Angelina…'
'one is called Angelina…'

xei **-me** =ta María de Guadalupe ti- tewa
one -DS =FOC María de Guadalupe DISTR- name.PRS
'la otra se llama María de Guadalupe…'
'the other is called María de Guadalupe…' [INTR17]

A less clear case occurs with the comitative postposition *matɨa* or *matɨ*, illustrated in (93) and (94).[28]

(93) taru -tsie -ya xewi -tɨ tsekuruma ti- tewa mɨkɨ tsiere
young.sister -LOC -3SG.POSS.DS one -SBJ P.P. DISTR- name. PRS DEM also
'…su hermana menor se llama Tsekuruma, también'
'…his younger sister's name is Tsekuruma, also'

trabaho -hɨ meehiku paitɨ m- e- ka yu- tata **matɨa**
job -INSTR Mexico until AS2- OS- sit POSS.SS- uncle COM
'trabaja hasta allá en la ciudad de México con su tío…'
'she works there at Mexico city with his uncle…' [INTR02]

(94) 'aimieme ti- u- ka- mimiwa hikɨ heiwa xɨka
therefore DISTR- VIS- down- RDP.lighting now sometimes COND
'…por eso cae el rayo ahora'
'…that is why there is lightining'

ka- re- ye- 'atɨi -rie -ni 'eka **matɨ**
NEG- INDF.P- area- fulfill -APPL.ICOMPL -FUT wind COM
'con viento, si no cumples…'
'with wind if you don't fulfill your duties…' [SR02]

According to Comrie (1982:100), a similar distinction is found where *maa-* takes the ending *-tɨ* if it is a subject noun phrase; *-me* is used otherwise. However, the function of these suffixes is ambiguous in the constructions. Apparently, *-tɨ* functions as subject indicator of the verbs *ka* 'to stand/parado', in (93), and *nei* 'to dance/bailar', in (95); and as non-subject indicator in (96) with *wa* 'to hit/pegar'.[29]

(95) ne- matsika ne- taru **matɨa** me- pu- te- ka- nei
1SG- old.brother 1SG- young.sister COM 3PL.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- down- dance.PFV
'Mi hermano mayor y hermana menor bailaron.'
'My older brother danced with my younger sister.' [Elicit]

[28] Comrie (1982:109) states that this postposition is a coordinating conjunction, but the corpus does not support this function. The coordinating conjunctions are either *ya* or *o*/*u* (Spanish *o*).

[29] No instance of *mame* in discourse was found to contrast.

(96) ne -yau pu- wa wakaxi tsɨkɨ **mame**
1SG -father AS1- hit.PFV cow dog COM
'My father hit the cow and (together with) the dog.' [Elicit]

However, example (96) can also be used with *matɨa*, as in (97a), or with *tsiere* 'also/también', as in (97b); the construction with *tsiere* is the most common.

(97) a. ne- yau pu- wa wakaxi tsɨkɨ **matɨa**
1SG- father AS1- hit.PFV cow dog COM
'Mi papá le pegó a la vaca y (junto) al perro.'
'My father hit the cow and (together with) the dog.'

b. ne- yau pu- wa wakaxi **tsiere =ta** tsɨkɨ
1SG- father AS1- hit.PFV cow also =FOC dog
'Mi papá le pegó a la vaca, también al perro.'
'My father hit the cow, also the dog.' [Elicit]

In clauses with the verb *xei* 'to see/ver' there is a restriction since *mame* can only be used in the construction, as in (98a). The clause with *matɨ* is ungrammatical.

(98) a. ne- pu- xei ne- matsika ne- taata **mame**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- see.PFV 1SG- brother 1SG- uncle COM
'Vi a mi hermano y a mi tío'
'I saw my brother and my uncle.'

b. ne- pu- xei ne- matsika **tsiere =ta** ne- taata
1SG.SBJ- AS1- see.PFV 1SG- brother also =FOC 1SG- uncle
'Vi a mi hermano y también a mi tío'
'I saw my brother, also my uncle.'

c. *nepuxei nematsika netaata **matɨ** [Elicit]

This variation suggests that a reanalysis of the morphemes as case markers is still occurring. However, no data from discourse was found to contrast examples with *mame*, only with elicitation. Therefore, research remains regarding this particular construction.

3.4. Summary

In this chapter, I presented a brief description of Wixárika's phonological and morphological system. I showed that the language has a small phoneme inventory of consonants and vowels. I also showed that Wixárika has a tendency to agglutination, polysynthesis, and head marking. I presented that the language has a verb agreement system, a nominative-accusative case system, and primary object. The language's word order is mainly OV. Finally, I discussed the different possessive pronouns and the grammaticalization of the switch reference markers into case markers for noun phrases.

CHAPTER 4

CLAUSE TYPES: INTRANSITIVE

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the different types of intransitive clauses in Wixárika. The purpose is to investigate the properties of clauses in relation to different semantic classes of verbs, to see how the language describes particular types of events. For this reason, the classification is based on semantically related verbs sharing morphosyntactic properties in a clause (Levin 1993; Dryer 2007; Givón 1984, 2001; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Stassen 1997; Malchukov & Comrie 2015). The morphosyntactic properties considered in this analysis are mainly the number of arguments and their encoding, the type of root (e.g., nominal, attributive, adverbial, numeral or verbal), and morphological processes such as reduplication or suppletion. Other common morphological markings such as the middle voice prefix (*yu-*) and temporal/aspectual morphemes are considered as well. It is important to mention that the event-type categories proposed for this language are not clear-cut (Stassen 1997; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Givón 2001) since one type of clause can overlap with another category in terms of morphosyntactic properties and functions.

Intransitive clauses in Wixárika contain a subject and a verb; the subject is either a subject pronominal prefix attached to the verb (when it is an animate participant), a determiner, independent pronoun, or a noun phrase. The subject argument can have a range of roles depending on the type of verb, including agent, experiencer, patient, etc. However, the pronominal prefixes are neutral as to the semantic role since they only distinguish two

grammatical relations, subject and non-subject. Therefore, I have decided to describe the arguments' semantic roles by using the macrorole terms 'Actor' and 'Undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). The terms 'actor' and 'undergoer', known as 'macroroles' subsume a number of specific thematic relations: the most 'agent-like' argument is the actor while the most 'patient-like' is the undergoer (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). The two macroroles correspond to the two primary arguments in a prototypical transitive clause; however, the single argument of an intransitive clause can be analyzed as actor or an undergoer depending on the semantic properties of the predicate (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). I mention the specific macrorole of the subject for each event-type category in the language. It is important to mention that the terms 'actor' and 'undergoer' are problematic in languages with the animacy hierarchy, like Wixárika, since other types of objects are not marked on the verb. However, the terms can initially be used to describe the grammatical relations and semantic roles of the language.

The chapter not only centers on identifying the different types of intransitive clauses and their morphosyntactic features. The additional purpose is to provide a complete description of the different functions each clause type adopts, as well as the alternative strategies used to express the same function. For instance, intransitive clauses with nominal roots are used for 'identificational' and 'property' clauses. However, the former is also expressed through other strategies, like noun juxtaposition or the use of a copula, which are therefore included within the 'identificational clauses' subsection. In this sense, this analysis presents a more systematic and complete outline of the different intransitive clause types and strategies to encode similar functions in Wixárika than other proposals in the literature of the language (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1993; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

The chapter is first divided into two main clause types based on the number of arguments: 'Zero intransitive' for those types of clauses that do not require any argument and 'Intransitive' for those with one encoded argument. Subsequently, I have divided 'Intransitive clauses' into 'stative' and 'active', similar to Gómez's (1993) classification ('state' and 'dynamic'). The terms 'stative and 'active' in this chapter are used to broadly define the state or condition of a participant (for the former), and the performance of an action by an argument (for the latter) (Clackson 2007:178). Gómez (1993) proposes 'state' and 'dynamic' predicates (not clauses), following Vendler's classification. She classifies the verbs based only on the use of temporal/aspectual suffixes and the suffix *-tika* 'PL'. I do not base my classification on the same parameters since I do not consider the suffix *-tika* 'PL' as a defining feature of clause types, since it rarely occurs in the corpus.

As previously mentioned, the classification proposed in this chapter is based on broad semantic classes of verbs and their general morphosyntactic properties and functions in the clause rather than the *Aktionsart* (Vendler 1957) of each verb. *Aktionsart* is a classification based on the inherent temporal properties of the verbs and their lexical decomposition that include: 'states' (non-dynamic; temporally unbounded), 'achievements' (instantaneous changes; inherent temporal point), 'accomplishments' (temporally extended changes of state leading to a certain point), and 'activities' (dynamic, temporally unbounded). The criteria for classifying verbs include tests that use the progressive aspect and adverbial phrases (e.g., 'for an hour', 'in and hour' 'quickly', 'actively', etc.). These tests require plenty of elicitation which at times render unnatural clauses.

Classifying intransitive clauses based on broad semantic classes of verbs allow the phenomenon of intransitive predication to be investigated in typological terms. The encoding of

alternative constructions as well as syntactic diagnostics (Vendler 1957; Pinker 1989; Drossard 1991; Levin 1993; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Fillmore et. al 2003) commonly applied for classifying verbs are not universal. Therefore, the taxonomy used for this dissertation is fine-grained enough to account for the language-specific characteristics (Comrie et al 2015). For instance, I have established general classes of verbs (Dixon 2005; Comrie et al. 2015), like verbs of change of state, verbs of perception, verbs of speech, etc. These verbs are then grouped into broader classes, namely 'stative' and 'active', based on their general morphological properties (e.g., tense, aspect, middle voice marker, arguments, etc.). The purpose of this classification is to uncover language-specific (and possibly universal) properties of Wixárika's clauses in terms of their coding properties (Comrie et al. 2015).

The 'stative' clauses in Wixárika have a greater diversity in terms of types of roots, functions, and strategies, while 'active' clauses present two broad semantic categories: 'motion' and 'non-motion' clauses, distinguished by morphosyntactic processes, like suppletion and the use of locative/directional prefixes. I have decided to merge various semantic classes of verbs into one category ('non-motion') since they do not present any morphosyntactic differences. However, I have described each of the semantic classes of verbs that are included in this category to give evidence of the proposed classification.

A general overview of the classification proposed in this chapter is summarized in figure 4.1. The different alternative strategies for constructing event-types are not included in the figure but described in detail in the following sections.

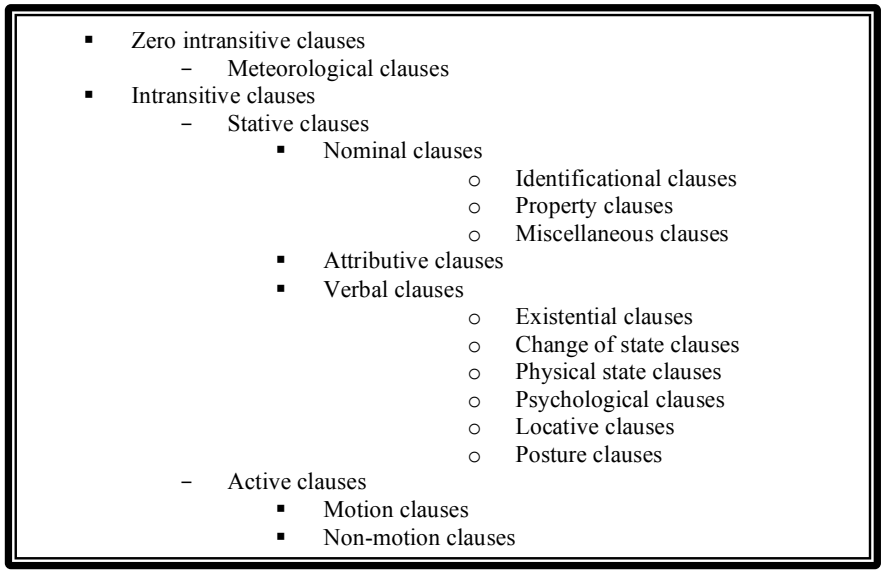

Figure 4.1. Intransitive clause types in Wixárika.

This classification shows different types of roots. Wixárika has a tendency to verbalize different root elements, which means that the root can be a noun, attribute (adjective-like), numeral, or an adverb (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). These four types of predicates tend to be 'state-oriented', in which a state or condition is expressed, as in (a). The verbal roots can be either 'state-oriented' or 'action-oriented'; action-oriented roots express the performance of an activity, as in (b).

a. pu- kuruxi
AS1- cross
'…son cruces…'
'…they are crosses…' [DIMAG01]

b. te- m- ti- nei -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- dance -NARR
'…bailamos…'
'…we dance…' [DMC04]

The different kinds of roots do not share the morphosyntactic properties as broadly described in the literature for the language (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999), and illustrated in this

chapter. For instance, the verbalized noun tends to be restricted in terms of temporal/aspectual markers. The verbal noun can only take temporal/aspectual affixes when the derivative suffix *-tɨ* is attached, as in (c).[30] In addition, the verbalized noun preserves noun morphology, like plural markers, the comitative suffix, possessive affixes, etc.

c. pɨ- tɨpina -tɨ -kai
AS1- hummingbird -DER -IPFV
'Era un colibrí.'
'It was a hummingbird.' [Elicit]

An interesting behavior is observed with 'attributes'. This type of roots is debated in the literature, but no consensus has been reached. According to Iturrioz (1987), the language has an 'adjective' category that shares morphological characteristics with the verb. However, he affirms that the adjective cannot be considered a subcategory of the broader verbal category because it has a different degree of morphological expansion. Gómez (1999), on the other hand, affirms that 'attributive' roots are a subcategory of verbs since they have the same morphosyntactic properties. In this dissertation, I show that attributive roots largely behave as verbs, as in (d), which turns them into a verb subcategory, as Gómez (1999) proposes. However, the language shows that the attributive root is not a clear-cut category since there are a few cases where there is an ambiguity in functions. This means that there are cases where the attributive roots describe a noun in the same way as prototypical adjectives in other languages, and take noun morphology (e.g., subject *-tɨ* and non-subject *-me* case markers), as illustrated in (e).

d. pɨ- yɨwi -kai
AS1- black -IPFV
'…estaba negro…'
'…it was black…' [SSB02]

[30] Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) consider that the suffix *-tɨ* is not a derivative suffix but an 'amplifier of functional domains' (*'amplificador de dominios funcionales'*).

e. tuxa -me pu- hakwita -kai
white -NSBJ AS1- have.diarrhea -IPFV
'…hacía diarrea blanca…'
'…he had white diarrhea…' [DIS05]

The different types of roots, particularly 'nouns', 'attributes', and 'verbs', in Wixárika suggest a *continuum* of 'predication', as proposed by Iturrioz (1987) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) for the language. They place the nominal root on the left side (least predicative) of the continuum and the verbal root on the right side (more predicative). Nominal roots present more restrictions in the use of certain morphemes because they maintain components of their nominal nature even when verbalized, like the 'identificational' and 'referential' functions (Iturrioz 1987; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). Other types of roots are placed throughout the continuum depending on their morphosyntactic restrictions. Roots closer to the verb side, such as attributive roots, tend to be less restricted. Similarly, the outline of the different root types in the language presented in this chapter largely reflects this idea of a continuum, starting with nominal roots, then with attributive roots, and finalizing with verbal roots. The scalar nature of the phenomenon can also be observed with the sub-domains of the 'stative' and 'active' groups since some of the stative clauses, particularly the 'verbal stative' clauses, can take the same temporal/aspect markers as 'active' clauses in general, although with more restrictions.

This idea of a 'continuum of predication' where the different categories are placed on a scale instead of discrete oppositions is supported in the functional-typological literature (Givón 1984; Stassen 1997). Intransitive clauses in Wixárika are largely explained by Stassen's (1997) proposal on the different intransitive predication categories found crosslinguistically. Stassen (1997:11-28) affirms that most languages show a differentiation in their encoding of intransitive predicates, depending on the kind of the predicate at issue. He views the domain of intransitive predication as consisting of four semantic predicate categories, each associated with a specific

formal category in the part-of-speech system: (i) Predicates that indicate events (verbs, including action, processes, and states); (ii) predicates that indicate a property or quality which is ascribed to the subject (adjective); (iii) predicates that designates a class and in which the subject is assigned membership of that class (noun); and (iv) predicates that refer to a location in which the subject is situated (adverb). His approach does not conceive of predicate categories (and sub-domains) as being discrete or clear-cut. According to Stassen (1997), the domain of intransitive predication must be seen as a 'semantic space' in which various categories of predicates are situated in relation to one another. Their arrangement in semantic space is such that they form *continua* of various types, which allow for overlaps and intermediate cases. The strategies used by these predicates guide the decision to group predicate categories in terms of strategy selection. Although Stassen's (1997) study provides a set of properties that each predicate type commonly presents at a crosslinguistic level, he affirms that the number and types of strategies languages use to encode the four predicates within this domain must be defined on a language-particular basis since languages may vary in the number and distribution of the employed strategies. This broad view explains Wixárika's encoding strategies, which are predominantly 'verbalizing' or 'syntax-oriented' in Stassen's (1997) terms, that is, the language employs the 'verbal strategy' to other categories, like nouns, adverbs, and attributes. However, the scale of predicate-types is supported by the number of restrictions each of these roots has regarding their morphological features and functions.

In the following sections, the different intransitive clause types in the language are explored. A detailed explanation of the clause-type functions and strategies is included in each section. The chapter concludes with a summary presenting the major findings of the study.

4.2. Zero intransitive clauses

Wixárika has a set of clauses that do not require any semantic/syntactic argument. These clauses are known as 'zero intransitive' (Dryer 2007:36)[31], which occur with environmental conditions, particularly regarding the weather (Dryer 2007; Eriksen et al. 2010). There is not pronoun or noun as a subject, and the verb does not contain any pronominal prefixes. Semantically, the meteorological event is not purposely directed at other entities in order to affect them nor are they themselves affected. These constructions, called 'meteorological clauses' in this research, are encoded by a root that is responsible for denoting the given event. The language has internal variation in encoding certain meteorological events, as noted in the literature (Eriksen et al. 2010). This variation is observed in the type of root that is used —that is, nominal, attributive, or verbal— since Wixárika is predominantly a predicate-type language (Eriksen et al. 2010:596), i.e., a language where the meteorological event is encoded as a root and where any eventual argument is either semantically empty or irrelevant to expressing the event as such.[32] The following section explores the language's meteorological clauses in detail.

4.2.1. Meteorological clauses

Meteorological clauses in Wixárika encode environmental conditions by using a verbal, nominal, or attributive root in the clause. These clauses do not involve any semantic or syntactic argument. For this reason, the language does not use the subject or non-subject pronouns, as illustrated in (1) with *haiwiti* 'clouding/nublar' and in (2) with *'eka* 'wind/viento'. Examples (1)

[31] Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) call these clauses 'atransitive' because they lack semantic arguments.

[32] Eriksen et al. (2010:9) propose a typology on meteorological expressions. These scholars propose a structural classification where clauses are divided into 'predicate-type', 'argument-type', and 'argument-predicate type' based on the element primarily responsible for coding weather. The predicate-type category has the following subtypes: atransitive, expletive, intransitive, and transitive. Wixárika only encodes meteorological clauses through 'atransitive' types. For this reason, the typology is not further described in this section.

and (2) show two different types of roots. The former example is a verbal root meaning 'clouding/nublar' (Cf. *haiwitɨri* [*-ri* 'NMLZ'] or *hai* 'cloud/nube') whose noun is derived as *hai* 'cloud/nube' in (1b). The latter example is a noun that can be used independently or as a verb (without any derivational morpheme), like in (2a).

(1) a. 'ena waniu n e- ra- ye- **haiwitɨ** -ni
here EVI.IND NARR- EXT- x- area- clouding -NARR
'…aquí se nubla…'
'…it gets cloudy in here…' [DIS05]

b. **hai** tuxa -me -tsie
cloud white -NSBJ -LOC
'…en las nubes blancas…'
'…in the white clouds…' [SR02]

(2) a. nai -me mu mu- **'eka** m- a- ti- xɨrɨ -we
all -NSBJ F.S. AS2- wind AS2- FIG- PL- distribute -can
'…hace viento, todo se cae…'
'…it is windy, everything falls down…' [SR02]

b. m- a- ti- xɨrɨ -we tɨma **'eka** -kɨ
AS2- FIG- PL- distribute -can just wind -INSTR
'…se pueden caer (las cosas) casi por el viento…'
'…they can fall (things) because of the wind…' [SR02]

A verbal element is most commonly used in meteorological clauses, like *wiya* 'to rain/llover' in (3) and *merɨka* 'to lightening/relampaguear' (Cf. *mimi* 'lightening strikes/rayos) in (4). However, the noun referring to the same weather condition can occasionally be used as a verb as well, as in (5a) with *witari* 'rain/lluvia'. Examples (3) and (5b) illustrate the noun *witari* and *wiyeri* 'rain/lluvia' in their prototypical function. The nominal root is generally used to denote a temporal state, like 'raining season', while the verbal root to encode an (ongoing) action, like 'to rain', as illustrated in the examples. Examples with the nouns *'eka* 'wind/viento'

in (6) and *mimi* ‘lightening strikes/rayos’ in (10) below provide more evidence of the nominal roots denoting temporal states.

(3) waniu mɨkɨ eee mu- ka- **wiwiya** -tsie
EVI.IND DEM INTJ AS2- down- RDP.raining -when
‘…cuando llueve’
‘…when it rains’

wiye -**ri** ’erie -kai waniu
rain -NMLZ think -IPFV EVI.IND
‘pensó que era lluvia…’
‘he thought that was rain…’ [SR02]

(4) mu- ku- **merɨka** -kai waniu
AS2- SP- lightening -IPFV EVI.IND
‘relampagueaba…’
‘there was lightening…’ [SK01]

(5) a. pɨ ta- te- m- yuri -ku -ni =ta hikɨ ka- ni- **witari** -tɨ -ni
this.way-x- 1PL.SBJ- AS2- do -DES.PL-NARR =FOC now NARR- NARR-rain -DER -NARR
‘…lo vamos a hacer ahora es tiempo de lluvia…’
‘…we are going to do it now; it is the rainy season…’ [DMC05]

b. xɨka **witari** ha- mie -ni
COND rain ALL- go -NARR
‘…si la lluvia viene…’
‘…if the rain comes…’ [SR01]

(6) ’u- **’eka** -kaku mana
VIS- wind -when.DS DEM
‘…cuando hace viento…’
‘…when it is windy…’ [DIS05]

Meteorological clauses are also constructed with attributes that denote a temporary state, like *haiti* ‘cold/frío’, *xɨka* ‘hot/caliente’ (Cf. *xɨri* ‘heat’, but there is no equivalent for *haiti*), illustrated in (7), and (8).

(7) kwinie ti- **haiti** -kai mɨkɨ
many DISTR- be.cold -IPFV DEM
‘…estaba muy frío…’
‘…it was very cold…’ [SSB02]

(8) taxari -kɨ kwinie ti- u- **xɨka** -ni -tsie
dry.season -INSTR many DISTR- VIS- be.hot -NARR -when
'…cuando hace mucho calor en las secas…'
'…when it is very hot in the dry season…' [INTR23]

Meteorological constructions can occur with temporal/aspectual affixes (*-kai* 'IPFV', *-wa* 'HAB', etc.) as well as with clause connectors (*-tɨ* 'SS', *-tsie* 'when', etc.), like intransitive/transitive clauses, illustrated in (9), (10), and (11). These clauses also take the negative prefix *ka-* as other verbal clauses, as in (12). Meteorological clauses with nominal roots take the derivational suffix *-tɨ* to encode perfective or future, as in (5a). However, there is evidence that some nominal clauses can take clause connectors *-tɨ* 'SS'and *-kaku* 'DS' as verbs, thus showing an overlap with verbal characteristics when they are not used in their prototypical function.

(9) mu- ka- wiwiye **-tsie** ti- u- ka- yaxi -ke -tsie
AS2- down- raining -when DISTR- VIS- down- sit -POT -when
'…cuando llueve, cuando se sientan…'
'…when it rains, when they sit down…' [DC01]

(10) ti- u- ti- mimi **-wa**
DISTR- VIS- PL- lightning.strikes -HAB
'…caen rayos…'
'…there is lightning…' [SR02]

(11) waniu mu- ka- **wiwiya** **-kai** witari -ta
EVI.IND AS2- down- RDP.raining -IPFV rain.season -LOC
'…llovía en tiempo de lluvia'
'…it rained in the rainy season'

'u- **haiti** **-ti** 'u- **'eka** **-ti**
VIS- cold -SS VIS- wind -SS
'hace frío, hace viento…'
'it is cold, it is windy…' [SSB02]

(12) hikɨ m- u- **ka-** **wiya** -mikɨ ke- te- te- n e- yia -ka
today AS2- VIS- NEG- raining -DES.SG INTER- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- NARR- EXT- do -SS
'…ahora no quiere llover, no se lo que vamos a hacer…'

'…it is not raining, I don't know what we are going to do…' [DMC03]

Occasionally, meteorological clauses can take the passive/applicative *-rie* (see §Ch.7,8) to introduce an argument, encoded with subject pronouns, like in (13). In this type of clauses, the subject argument is the undergoer of the meteorological action. However, it is important to mention that this construction is very similar to the Spanish clause 'no nos quiere llover' (Lit. 'it does not want to rain on us'), which means that it is likely that the construction is a Spanish transfer.

(13) matsi hiki **te-** ka- te- **wiya** **-rie** -ku
but today 1PL.SBJ- NEG- DISTR- raining -PASS -DES.PL
'…mas, ahora, no nos quiere llover…'
'…but, now, it doesn't want to rain on us…' [DMC02]

4.3. Intransitive clauses

4.3.1. Stative clauses

Stative clauses in Wixárika describe a state or condition of a participant associated with an undergoer argument (Chafe 1970; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Givón 2001; Clackson 2007). Stative clauses consist of a verb with an argument encoded with subject pronouns. The root can be a verb, a noun, an attribute, or even an adverb and a numeral. The different clause types that derive from the stative group are of three kinds: nominal, attributive, and verbal. Each type derives different clauses types with distinct functions and morphosyntactic properties. For instance, nominal clauses present 'identificational' clauses, 'possessive' clauses, and 'miscellaneous' clauses. Attributive clauses only encode the characteristics of a noun. Verbal clauses include 'existential', 'change of state', 'physical state', 'psychological', 'locative' and

'posture' clauses. Verbal clauses share the characteristic of having more flexibility in occurring with different temporal/aspectual affixes, compared to verbalized nouns and attributes.

As previously mentioned, distinct categories overlap in functions (Stassen 1997). However, the classification is maintained in the chapter to present an organized outline of the clauses in Wixárika.

4.3.1.1. Nominal clauses

4.3.1.1.1. Identificational clauses

Wixárika has a set of constructions that predicate the identity of a referent or membership of a particular group of entities (Matthews 1997; Stassen 1997; Crystal 2008). These clauses express the properties that make an item stand out, which can be used to select the item among others (Stassen 2007:101). In discourse, these clauses generally introduce, identify or declare the existence of a referent. Wixárika uses three strategies to encode identificational clauses. First, the language presents the verbalized noun in which subject pronouns and other verbal affixes are attached to it. Second, two noun phrases are juxtaposed in a clause, and third, the copula *hɨkɨ* is placed in verb-final position along with two noun phrases. The strategies are used differently depending on the purpose of the speaker. The verbalized noun is used to encode 'equational' clauses (Stassen 2007: 101). These assertions indicate that two expressions refer to one and the same object (Matthews 1997:116). The verbalized noun has less degrees of referentiality than prototypical nouns (Mithun 1984). This behavior is due to the overlap with the verbal category, whose function is to express events. The juxtaposed nouns and the copula *hɨkɨ* are generally used for 'presentational' (Stassen 2007:101) clauses with a higher degree of referentiality (demonstrated by the use of demonstratives). Theses clauses make the identity of a referent

known to the hearer as in pointing to an object. The construction with the copula *hɨkɨ* is likely to be a Spanish transfer of a similar construction with the verbs *ser*/*estar*. In both equational and presentational clauses, the only participant is an undergoer entity in a stative event.

The following sections describe each of the strategies and their functions in discourse as well:

I. Verbalized noun. The verbalized noun is used as a strategy for encoding equational clauses (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The verbalized noun reflects a 'state of being' which identifies an undergoer referent in discourse, as illustrated in (14)-(20). The function of the verbalized noun is to demonstrate that two expressions refer to the same identity, not to contrast with others in discourse.

(14) nayari -tari =ta me- **neuxi** -te
Nayarit -PL =FOC 3PL.SBJ- Cora -PL
'…los de Nayarit son coras[33]…'
'…people from Nayarit are Coras…' [PL01]

(15) mɨkɨ mɨ- **tai**
DEM AS2- fire
'…él es fuego (relámpago)…'
'…he is fire (lightening)…' [SK01]

(16) taame **te-** pɨ- **wixari** **-tari**
1PL 1PL.SBJ- AS1- huichol -PL
'…nosotros somos huicholes…'
'…we are huicholes…' [INTR21]

(17) maxa nunutsi kauyumarie pɨ- **hikuri**
deer child brother.deer AS1- peyote
'…el venado chico, el hermano venado, es el peyote…'
'…the young deer, the deer brother, is the peyote…' [DIMA01]

[33] Coras are an indigenous community who speak a closely related language to Wixárika.

(18) nee ne- pɨ- **mara'akame**
1SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- shaman
'…yo soy cantador…'
'…I'm a shaman…' [INTR13]

(19) me- **durango -tari**
3PL.SBJ- durango -PL
'…ellos son duranguenses…'
'…they are from Durango…' [PL01]

(20) pu- **kuruxi**
AS1- cross
'…es una cruz…'
'…it is a cross…' [DIMA01]

Verbalized nouns preserve their noun characteristics, like plural morphemes when used in equative constructions, which confirms that they keep some degrees of their referential function as nouns even though they are used as verbs (Iturrioz 1987; Stassen 1997; Gómez 1999). In addition, verbalized nouns must have the derivational suffix *-tɨ* attached to be able to encode temporal/aspectual markers other than present tense (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), contrary to verbal constructions which take temporal/aspectual markers without any other means. The perfective suffix *-xɨ* is not grammatical in these clauses since they express an ongoing state. The future tense is encoded by using the verb *ya* 'to go/ir' in final position and a prototypical noun, like in (23).

(21) mɨkɨ tewa pɨ- **mitsu -tɨ** -kai
DEM animal AS1- cat -DER -IPFV
'Ese animal era un gato.'
'That animal was a cat.' [Elicit]

(22) mɨkɨ mɨ- '**itsɨkame -tɨ** -kai
DEM AS2- governor -DER -IPFV
'…él era el presidente…'
'…he was the president…' [INTR08]

(23) wane **ma'arakame** m- a- **ya** -ni
Juan shaman AS2- FIG- go -FUT
'Juan va a ser chaman.'
'Juan will become a shaman.' (Lit. 'Juan will go a shaman') [Elicit]

Verbalized nouns, however, can occur with the negative prefix *-ka* to negate the statement as verbal roots, illustrated in (24) and (25).

(24) me- n- **ka-** xinura -tsixi te- m- wixari -tari
3PL.SBJ- NARR- NEG- mestizo -PL 1PL.SBJ- AS2- huichol -PL
'…no son mestizos, somos huicholes…'
'…they are not mestizos, we are huicholes…' [INTR10]

(25) pɨ- **ka-** 'uaye waikɨ
AS1- NEG- medicine no
'…no es medicamento, no…'
'….it is not medicine…' [DIS05]

Verbalized nouns can occasionally express inherent possession (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006; Gómez 2008). This construction most frequently occurs with juxtaposed nouns where one of them carries the suffix *-yari* (Grimes 1964[34]; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), like in (26) and (27). The suffix *-yari* indicates a characteristic or quantity of the main nominal (Grimes 1981:126). When the construction is used as a clause, the noun with the suffix *-yari* is used as a root. The verbalized noun occurs with the assertion and temporal/aspectual markers, as in (27). Examples of the nouns without the suffix *-yari* were not found in the corpus.

(26) tsikɨ tewi **-yari**
dog person -PR
'…el perro con características humanas…'
'…the dog with human features…' [SWM01]

[34] Grimes (1964:40) defines this morpheme as 'specificative' with the following examples: *teetée kíiyári* 'a house made of stone'; *hatika kíiyári* 'three houses'. In a later publication, Grimes (1981) mentions that this suffix is found in the head of a noun phrase to indicate a characteristic or quantity of the noun. Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) state that this suffix creates a noun compound.

(27) mɨkɨ maxa pu- wai **-yari**
DEM deer AS1- meat -PR
'Eso es carne de venado.'
'That is deer meat.' [Elicit]

II. Noun Juxtaposition. Identificational clauses can be constructed by juxtapositing two nominals. The first nominal is the subject while the second one predicates the identity of the subject. A deictic pronoun is used very frequently at the beginning of the clause or in between the two nominals, as in (29) and (30). This behavior is due to the 'presentational' function of the clause. The contexts of examples (28), (29), and (30) are in descriptions provided by the speaker where s/he is pointing to objects or people. This strategy is very common in Uto-Aztecan languages in nominal, adjective, and locational domains (Langacker 1977:40).

(28) tsekuruma mɨkɨ tsiere 'uka
tsekuruma DEM also woman
'…Tsekuruma también es mujer…'
'…Tsekuruma is also a woman…' [INTR01]

(29) a. 'ikɨ =ta waniu 'akila
DEM =FOC EVI.IND eagle
'…esto es un águila…'
'…This is an eagle…' [HW02]

b. 'ikɨ 'ikɨ peyote
DEM DEM peyote
'…esto, esto es peyote…'
'…this, this is peyote…' [HW02]

(30) mɨkɨ nunutsi niwe -ya
DEM child son -3SG.POSS
'…este niño es su hijo…'
'…this boy is his/her son…' [SR02]

III. The copula *hɨkɨ*. Identificational constructions are also constructed by using the copula *hɨkɨ*[35] (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) with two noun phrases, as in (31), (32), (33), and (34). This copula occurs with subject pronoun prefixes —encoding an undergoer participant— and temporal/aspectual markers. As observed in the data, the derivational suffix *-tɨ* is used with the morphemes *ka- -ni* 'NARR' (in (31) and (32)), but not with *-kai* 'IPFV' (in (33)), contrary to what Grimes (1964) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) state. According to them, the copula requires the derivational suffix *-tɨ* to take all temporal/aspectual markers.

This type of clauses has presentational purposes, like the juxtaposed nouns. This means that the clauses are used to make the identity of a referent known to the hearer as in pointing to an object. The context of this strategy is in descriptions provided by the speakers, like describing a picture or a painting. Each entity is assigned a name, and contrasted with others in the same scenario.

(31) a. 'ikɨ =ta tau ka- ni- **hɨkɨ** -tɨ -ni
DEM =FOC Sun NARR- NARR- COP -DER -NARR
'…este es un sol…'
'…this is a Sun…' [HW02]

b. rosario 'ikɨ ka- ni- **hɨkɨ** -tɨ -ni
rosary DEM NARR- NARR- COP -DER -NARR
'…esto es un rosario…'
'…this is a rosary…' [HW02]

(32) mɨkɨ xeniu nierika -ya ka- n- **hɨkɨ** -tɨ -ni
DEM EVI.IND see -3SG.POSS NARR- NARR- COP -DER -NARR
'…esto es su nierika[36]…'
'…this is its nierika…' [DGE01]

[35] Grimes (1964:96) reports *hɨkɨ* for singular and *hɨme* for plural. The corpus of this research does not show any instance of *hɨme*.

[36] *Nierika* is a word that comes from the verb *nieri* 'to see/ver'. It is a complex concept since it refers to different things. For instance, a *nierika* can be a sacred object used to communicate with the deities. The *nierika* is also the shaman's power of vision of the unseen. The *nierika* represents the different elements of nature that can communicate messages, like the Sun, the peyote or a lake (Vázquez Castellanos 1992:6-7,13; Iturrioz 2003:40; Negrín 2003).

(33) tsinu tatsɨ tsɨkɨ **hɨkɨ** -kai
puppy AFF dog COP -IPFV
'…el cachorro, era el perro…'
'…the puppy, she was the dog…' [SWM01]

(34) kiekatari **te-** mɨ- **hɨkɨ**
town 1PL.SBJ- AS2- COP
'…nosotros (huicholes) somos el pueblo…'
'…we (huicholes) are the community…' [LCLAKE01]

The copula is commonly placed in final position as the language's basic word order. However, the copula can occupy a position in between the nominals when the speaker wants to focus on one of the nouns, like in (35).

(35) Huichol pɨ- **hɨkɨ** ne- papa tsiere
huichol AS1- COP 1SG- father also
'…huichol es mi papá también…'
'…huichol, my father is also…' [INTR05]

The order *N copula N* also occurs when Wixárika and Spanish words coexist in the same clause, as in (36), (37), and (38). In this case, the word order is the result of Spanish contact since this language's basic word order is SVO.

(36) maestra =ta ka- n- **hɨkɨ** -tɨ -ni jubilada
teacher =FOC NARR- NARR- COP -DER -NARR retired
'…la maestra es jubilada…'
'…the professor is retired…' [SPS01]

(37) ne nombre pɨ- **hɨkɨ** Marco Lopez Silverio
1SG name AS2- COP Marco Lopez Silverio
'…mi nombre es Marcos Lopez Silverio…'
'…my name is Marcos Lopez Silverio…' [LCLAKE05]

(38) 'iya tɨwame ti- **hɨkɨ** peyote
DEM necklace DISTR- COP peyote
'…este collar es un peyote…'
'…this necklace is a peyote…' [HW02]

The difference between the juxtaposed nouns and the construction with the copula *hɨkɨ* in terms of functions is not clear because both constructions are used in the same descriptive context. It is likely that the construction with the copula is the result of Spanish contact where the syntactic construction is transferred. For this reason, the construction is used with more frequency than the juxtaposed nouns. Although some Uto-Aztecan languages use a copula for this type of constructions, the great majority prefer juxtaposition (Langacker 1977). On very rare occasions, the verbalized noun can be used for presentational purposes, like the example in (39), when the speaker is pointing to her handcraft. However, the preferred strategy is the copula construction.

(39) ’ikɨ =ta waniu rau- yu- ti- **nakɨtsa** -ma
DEM =FOC EVI.IND all- MID- PL- earring -PL
‘…esto es un juego de aretes…’
‘...this is a pair of earrings…’ [HW02]

4.3.1.1.2. Property clauses

Wixárika expresses the property of an entity by using verbalized nouns. This type of clauses has been described as encoding inalienable possession in the language (Gómez 2000; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), contrary to possessive phrases that do not present any inalienable/alienable distinction (see §Ch.2).[37] However, the clauses in the corpus show that they instead express an attribute of a participant (e.g., ‘be tailed’, ‘be spoused’, etc.), like in (40) and (41). The argument in the intransitive clause is an undergoer of the state encoded with subject pronouns. This type of constructions is used when the speaker conveys an assertion or certainty of a property.

[37] Grimes (1964:47) mentions that nouns can function predicatively to indicate possession in his ‘characterizing’ type clause, but he does not provide more syntactic and semantic explanation.

(40) tsɨkɨ -ri me- mɨ- **kwaxi**
perro -PL 3PL.SBJ- AS2- tail
'Los perros tienen cola (Lit. 'Los perros son colados').'
'Dogs have tails (Lit. 'The dogs are tailed').' [Elicit]

(41) xei -me =ta ne- u- re- ka- **'ɨya** ne- 'ɨya
one -NSBJ =FOC 1SG.SBJ- VIS- X- down- wife 1SG- wife
'…tengo una esposa, mi esposa (Lit. 'Soy esposado')'
'…I have a wife, my wife's' (Lit. 'I am wifed')

ti- tewa 'aitsarika
DISTR- name PP
'se llama Aitsarika…'
'her name is Aitsarika…' [INTR24]

These clauses express either an inherent or non-inherent property, similar to the inalienable/alienable distinction in other languages. Inherent properties are encoded in clauses that include body parts, as in (42), (43) and (44), or family relations regarding marriage, as in (41) above. Another less common strategy is using the indefinite pronoun *waɨkawa* 'many/muchos' but only to indicate that a person has a certain age, as an inherent property of the subject, like in (45). In these cases, the verbalized noun can be modified by external attributes or numerals. However, the modifier can occasionally occur suffixed to the noun, as in (42).[38] This last example demonstrates the polysynthetic nature of the language, where a complete idea can be expressed with a complex word.

(42) pɨ- **karutsa- tewi**
AS1- hoof- long
'…tenía las pezuñas largas (colibrí) (Lit. 'ser de pezuñas largas')…'
'…it had long toes (hummingbird) (Lit. 'be of long toes')…' [DEER02]

[38] Gómez (2000) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:128-9) state that the clauses presented in this section are possessive constructions. According to them, possessive clauses contain locative prefixes which encode the position of the possessed entity. They affirm that this behavior shows an overlap between possession and location. However, the corpus of this dissertation does not show any relation with locative prefixes and body parts, as illustrated with the examples.

(43) huan weɨkawa pu- ka- **kɨpa**
Juan many AS1- down- hair
'Juan tiene mucho pelo. (Lit. 'ser de pelo').'
'John has a lot of hair. (Lit. 'be of hair').' [Elicit]

(44) tɨpina ke- mɨ- ti- kwaxiya -ka mu- n- a- ku- ne -ka
hummingbird SBR- AS2- PL- sweat -SS AS2- NARR- ALL- around- come -SS
'…el colibrí venía sudando'
'…the hummingbird came sweating'

maxa =ta paɨna ke- mɨ- re- **'awa** -ni xeikɨa
deer =FOC also SBR- AS2- PL- horn -NARR only
'y el venado que estaba cornudo nada más…'
'and the horned deer only…' [DEER01]

(45) a la mejor ne- u- **waɨkawa**
maybe 1SG.SBJ- VIS- many
'…a lo mejor tengo más (años) (Lit. 'ser mucho')…'
'…maybe I'm older (Lit. 'be many')…' [DIS05]

Clauses expressing non-inherent properties take the comitative marker *-ma* or the instrumental suffix *-kɨ*, as in (46) and (47). For instance, *kukuri* 'chili pepper/chile' is an ingredient that can be optionally added to *xupaxi* 'soup/sopa' as it is not an inherent property of the item. The same case is observed in (46b) with *haxu* 'mud/lodo', which is not an inherent property of *tsamuri* 'basket/canasta'. Example (47) illustrates a case of a noun with the instrumental suffix *-kɨ*, where the property 'youth' is not considered an inherent feature of the entity.

(46) a. xupaxi pu- **kukuri** **-ma**
soup AS1- chili.pepper -COM
'La sopa está picosa.'
'The soup is spicy.' [Elicit]

b. tsamuri pu- **haxu** **-ma**
basket AS1- mud -COM
'La canasta está enlodada.'
'The basket is muddy.' [Elicit]

(47) ne- ka- n- **temai** **-kɨ** -tɨ -ni kuxi
1SG.SBJ- NARR- NARR- youngster -INSTR -DER -NARR still
'…soy joven aún… (Lit. 'Yo con juventud.')'
'…I'm still young… (Lit. 'I with youth.')' [P01]

The domain of 'property' clauses demonstrates that the different intransitive clause types of the language represent instances of a *continuum* in terms of functions and grammatical means used, as stated by Stassen (1997). In this sense, the verbalized nouns overlap with the attribute ones (see §4.3.1.2) regarding the function, as can be contrasted with example (48). This example has two clauses describing the features of 'women's hair' (long and dark). By placing the two clauses after the noun, the construction conveys the idea that *'ukari* 'women/mujeres' have black and long hair as an inherent property. The noun 'hair' is omitted in the clause. Interestingly, the verbalized nouns show variation in the use of the derivative suffix *-tɨ* in property clauses, that is, clauses that denote a non-inherent property show the suffix to add different temporal/aspectual markers while clauses denoting inherent properties lack it. This behavior is not observed in other clause types with verbalized nouns where they obligatorily take the derivative suffix (e.g., identificational clauses, meteorological clauses, etc.). In this subdomain, the clause with the verbalized noun denoting inherent properties is functioning more like an attribute, which largely behaves as verbs morphologically. Therefore, the verbalized noun properties in these cases seem to overlap with the attributive clauses and their properties.

(48) 'uka -ri 'a- m- a- na ka- tɨtɨ mu- yɨsaɨye -tɨ
woman -PL AUG- AS2- PRO- FIG- down- stand.long.PL AS2- dark -SS
'…las mujeres tienen el cabello largo negro…'
'…women have long dark hair…' [SWM01]

4.3.1.1.3. Miscellaneous clauses

Wixárika verbalizes different lexical categories (e.g., nouns, numerals, adverbs). These elements form intransitive clauses that denote states. The resultant meaning of the stative clauses is diverse. This is the reason why this section is called 'miscellaneous'. For instance, if a numeral behaves like a verb, it will denote the meaning 'be number', as in (49). If a noun is used as a verb, the meaning adopted depends on the noun's meaning, like *kie* 'house/casa' which expresses the concept of 'being from a particular place', as in (52). Examples of other lexical categories used as verbs are shown in (49)-(55). In all of these cases, the subject pronouns and the clause connector suffixes (e.g., *-ti*, *-ka* 'SS', etc.) are attached to the clauses. These clauses express the speaker's assertion about a topic or description.

(49) 'uka -ri me- yu- **nauka** uki -tsi me- yu- **nauka**
woman -PL 3PL.SBJ- ANIM- four man -PL 3PL.SBJ- ANIM- four
'…son cuatro mujeres y cuatro hombres…'
'…they are four women and four men…' [INTR01]

(50) te- yu- **nai** -tɨ pɨ- te- yu- **xewi** -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- ANIM- all -SS this.way- 1PL.SBJ- ANIM- one -SS
'…somos todos, somos uno…'
'…we are all, we are one…' [LCLAKE01]

(51) mara'aka -te me- yu- **waɨkawa** -tɨ =ta
shaman -PL 3PL.SBJ- ANIM- many -SS =FOC
'…son muchos los cantadores…'
'…there are a lot of shamans…' [MK01]

(52) 'u- te- u- **kie** -ka =ta =ri hikɨ
here- 1PL.SBJ- VIS- house -SS =FOC =already now
'…de aquí somos ahora…
'…we are from here now…' [INTR21]

(53) ke- ti- u- ka- **yeiyari**
INTER- DISTR- VIS- down- tradition
'…cuál es la costumbre…'
'…which one is the tradition…' [DIS05]

(54) te- ta- **xexui** -tɨ =ri ta- kie te- mɨ- ta- yei -xɨa -ni
1PL.SBJ- SG- each.one -SS =already 1PL- house 1PL.SBJ-AS2- SG- wander -ITR -NARR
'…cada uno de nosotros nos vamos a nuestras casas…'
'…each one of us goes to our places…' [DMC03]

(55) wixarika pɨ- n- ti- u- ka- **'iyari** xeniu
huichol this.way- NARR- DISTR- VIS- down- heart EVI.IND
'…el huichol así es (Lit. 'ser corazón')…'
'…that is the way a huichol is (Lit. 'be heart')…' [DMC05]

(56) kename xɨka -kai mɨkɨ ti- yu- **kwaxi** -ya -kai
according.to hot -IPFV DEM DISTR-ANIM- tail -3SG.POSS -IPFV
'…según estaba caliente su cola (Lit. 'estaba caliente, esto que era su cola')…'
'…they say his tail was hot (Lit. 'it was hot, this thing that was his tail')…' [SSB02]

4.3.1.2. Attributive clauses

Dixon (1982:2) states that not all languages have the major word class 'adjective' and if they do, they just have a small set of non-productive adjectives. Similarly, Stassen (1997) affirms that 'property' or 'quality' ('adjectives') predicates do not form a universal and homogenous category. He states that this type of predicates tends to align with either noun or verbal morphology, but rarely have features of their own. For this reason, their crosslinguistic encoding tends to be very variable. Languages without adjectives tend to find other means to encode attributive expressions. For instance, they express adjectival concepts through intransitive verbs, nouns or other types of verbs. Wixárika aligns with this statement since the language does not have a basic adjective category (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz 1987; Gómez & Iturrioz 1993; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), similar to other Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1977:66). The language mostly describes the property of an entity or referent through three strategies. The first strategy is by using stative verbs denoting attributes, the second is by using verbalized nouns (e.g., property clauses described in §4.3.1.1.2), and the third is by using another type of verbal elements (*'ane* 'to be/ser', verbs that undergo inchoative/causative alternation, posture verbs, and verbs that encode dimension). Other

strategies that construct attributive meanings use nouns that modify other nouns (Gómez & Iturrioz 1993), or a nominalized clause that modifies a noun. These strategies again show that the language uses resources and functions that overlap among the categories (Stassen 1997).

Two of the strategies to encode an attributive meaning, namely stative verbs or other types of verbal elements, are included in this section. Verbalized nouns that construct an attributive meaning were explored in §4.3.1.1.2. The alternative strategies where nouns or nominalized clauses describe the attribute of an entity are included in this section as well.

4.3.1.2.1. Attributive roots

The most common strategy to encode an attribute construction is by using stative verbs denoting a property (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez & Iturrioz 1993; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). This property is undergone by the only argument of the clause, as in (57). The constructions encode features such as color and physical property, which are common semantic types found in other languages (Dixon 1982:16), as illustrated in (57)-(61).[39] The majority of the examples encode a permanent condition.

(57) kename **xɨka** -kai mɨkɨ ti- yu- kwaxi -ya -kai
they.say be.hot -IPFV DEM DISTR- ANIM- tail -3SG.POSS -IPFV
'…según estaba caliente su cola…'
'…they say his tail was hot…' [SSB02]

(58) xeniu tewi mɨ- yɨ- **'ɨraxieta**
EVI.IND person AS2- MID- be.lazy
'…según es una persona floja…'
'…they say he is a lazy person…' [DIS05]

[39] Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:165) state that attributives form a continuum based on morphological and syntactic properties of the clause. However, they do not elaborate on the analysis.

(59) yu- yuriepa me- m- a- n- ku- **hatɨka** ’an- ku- **pinitɨri** mɨkɨ
POSS-stomach 3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- NARR- around- be.bloated AUM- around-be.rotten DEM
‘…sus estómagos están hinchados, está podrido…’
‘…their stomachs are bloated, it is rotten…’ [DIS05]

(60) katira ’iku mu- **yuawi** yu- xutsi
candle corn AS2- be.blue 3SG.POSS- squash
‘…la vela, el maíz azul, su calabaza…’
‘…the candle, the blue corn, its squash…’ [DIMA01]

(61) xutsi pɨ- **tsiiraɨye**
squash AS1- be.green
‘…la calabaza es verde…’
‘…the squash is green…’ [COL01]

Spanish adjective loanwords are also verbalized to describe a property of a noun, like in (62).

(62) tsi- u- ka- ti- **fuerte**
DIM- VIS- NEG- PL- be.strong
‘…es muy fuerte (la enfermedad del venado)…’
‘…it is very strong (the disease of the deer)…’ [DIS05]

The subject pronominal prefixes, encoding an undergoer participant, are attached to the predicate when they express animate participants, as in (63).

(63) ’a- **me**- te- **mamariwe** xeniu tɨwewe -xi
AUG- 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- RDP.be.big/fat EVI.IND tiger -PL
‘…los tigres grandes/gordos…’
‘…the big/fat tigers…’ [SSB02]

These constructions generally take the assertion and temporal/aspectual markers without any restrictions, that is, without using the derivational suffix *-tɨ*, as with nouns (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez & Iturrioz 1993; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), illustrated in (64) and (65). However, the construction takes the incompletive resultative suffix *-re* to indicate a future event, as in (65), and not *-ni* as verbal clauses. This behavior gives more evidence of the attributives to

be a subcategory of verbs. However, the grammatical restrictions point to a category that is not completely verbal as in other languages.

(64) mu- **yɨwi** -kai
AS2- be.dark -IPFV
'…estaba oscuro (el lugar)…'
'…it was dark (the place)…' [LCLAKE05]

(65) kukuri pɨ- ta- **xeta** -re
chili.pepper AS2- SG- be.red -RES.INCOMPL
'El chile se va a hacer rojo'
'The chili pepper is going to turn red.' [Elicit]

The constructions take the negative marker *ka-/kwa-* and reduplicate for plural number (mainly colors), like in (66) and (67).

(66) 'ikɨ ki pɨ- **ka-** hekwa
DEM house AS1- NEG- be.new
'Esta casa no es nueva.'
'This house is not new.' [Elicit]

(67) kukuri mu- **xuxure** =ri
chili.pepper AS2- RDP.PL.be.red =already
'Los chiles ya estan rojos.'
'The chili peppers are already red.' [Elicit]

When the attributes occur in a sequence of clauses, they take the same-subject *-tɨ* or switch-reference marker *-me*, as other intransitive/transitive clauses (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), thus showing their verbal characteristics, as in (68) and (69).

(68) 'axe -tɨ waniu taikai **haa** -tɨ 'axe -kai
come -SS EVI.IND night be.angry -SS come -IPFV
'…(cuando) llegaba en la noche enojado…'
'…(when) he came home angry at night…' [SR02]

(69) ’uka -ri ’a- m- a- na- ka- **tɨtɨ** mu- **yɨsaɨye** -tɨ
woman -PL AUG- AS2- PRO- FIG- down- stand.long.PL AS2- dark -SS
‘…una mujer con el cabello largo y oscuro…’
‘…a woman with long and dark hair…’ [SWM01]

In general, the attributes present verbal characteristics, namely, temporal/aspectual markers without the derivational *-tɨ* (Cf. verbalized nouns), use of the same negative marker (*ka-* or *kwa-*), and clause connectors (e.g., same subject marker *-tɨ*, -tsie ‘when’, etc.). However, the difference can be observed when the attributes are encoded in the future tense, since the resultative suffixes *-ri* ‘COMPL’/*-re* ‘INCOMPL’ is used instead of the suffix *-ni* ‘FUT’ as in prototypical verbs.

Although the attributes in the language mostly behave as verbal elements, there are a few constructions that show a certain degree of ambiguity regarding their status. For example, the attribute can take nominal morphology, like the instrumental suffix *-kɨ* and the non-subject marker *-me*, as in (70). In this example, the attribute modifies the noun *rosario* ‘rosary/rosario’, which is the object of the verb *wewie* ‘to make/hacer’, hence its non-subject marking.

(70) rosario ’ikɨ ka- ni- hɨkɨ -tɨ -ni kaniyɨ kaniyɨ **yɨyɨwi** **-me** **-kɨ**
rosary DEM NARR- NARR- COP -DER -NARR F.S. F.S. RDP.PL.be.black -NSBJ -INSTR
‘…esto es un rosario, con negro’
‘…this is a rosary, with black’

na- n- i- ta- wewie -ni ka ni- yɨyɨwi -ni
FIG- NARR- 3SG.OBJ-SG- make -NARR NARR- NARR- be.black -NARR
‘los hice, son negros…’
‘I made them, they are black…’ [HW02]

Examples (71) and (72) illustrate a similar case. Numerals in a noun phrase usually take the case markers *-tɨ* for the subject and *-me* for the non-subject function. In (71) the attribute *yɨsaɨye* ‘black/negro’ describing the undergoer of the clause (*tsɨkɨ* ‘dog/perro’) takes the non-

subject marker, like the numeral. The difference from example (70) is that the attribute takes the prefixes *'u-* 'out of sight/fuera de vista' and *e-* 'extension/extensión', which only occur with verbal predicates. This shows that in few constructions the attribute is still halfway verbal and adjectival. Example (72) illustrates another case where the attribute takes all verbal prefixes but at the same time the non-subject suffix *-me* and the locative *-tsie* are attached.

(71) tsiki xe -me 'u- e- yisaiye **-me** 'e- xeiya -ti yu- kie
dog one -NSBJ SP.P.- OS- black -NSBJ there- have -SS 3SG.POSS- house
'…él tenía un perro negro, en su casa…'
'…he had a black dog at his house…' [SWM01]

(72) 'echiwa yamuri 'a n- ti- tewi **-me -tsie**
little hill AUM- NARR-PL- stand.long -NSBJ -LOC
'…en el cerrito largo'
'…on the small long hill'

m- a- na- ka- yeri -ni waniu
AS2- PRO- FIG- down- sit -NARR EVI.IND
'se sentó…'
'he sat down…' [SWM01]

Another important aspect to mention is that (70)-(72) show a different type of grammatical structure if compare with previous examples. Examples (57)-(69) show basic attribution where the construction encodes a concept like *X is Y-like*. On the other hand, examples (70)-(72) are functionally restricting the noun (e.g., 'that one that is black') like relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause is known as a subordinate clause which narrows the domain of reference of the head noun and differentiates it from competing referents (Keenan & Comrie 1977; Keenan 1985: Andrews 2007; Bickel 2005). In other words, the restrictive relative clause establishes who the designated entity is (De Vries 2002). This difference from the basic attribution examples is reflected in the morphology of the construction since the restrictive relative clauses take noun morphology, thus a more adjectival form. The context where these

clauses occur in discourse provides more evidence of the designated function, since they occur in legends and descriptions of different handcrafts. The discourse function of the clauses shows that they further establish people and objects by linking them to known referents and situations, as discussed in the literature on relative clauses (Comrie & Thompson 1985; Fox & Thompson 1990).

In sum, the attributes in the language show a strong tendency to behave as stative verbs due to their morphological and syntactic behavior, as demonstrated with the data and described in previous studies (Grimes 1964; Gómez & Iturrioz 1993; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). However, it can be observed that there are a few instances where the attributes can occasionally form a constituent with the noun phrase by taking nominal morphology. The nominal morphology commonly found in attributes is the subject/non-subject suffixes *-ti* and *-me*, the instrumental suffix *-ki*, or the possessive marker *yu-* '3SG'. Although it is correct to assume that attributes are a verb subcategory in the language based on the observed tendency, it is not quite accurate to say that attributes form a strict verbal subcategory, but occasionally waver towards a word class that resembles an adjective category. This behavior is supported by Stassen's (1997) proposal of the scalar nature of these categories.

4.3.1.2.2. Verbal roots

Wixárika also uses the verb *'ane* 'to be/ser', verbs that denote 'general dimension', verbs that attach the ending *-e*, and posture verbs to construct attributive meanings. This behavior proves again the scalar nature of the constructions and functions (Stassen 1997). A brief summary of the strategies is provided below:

I. Verbs with *-e* ending. Wixárika encodes attributive constructions by inserting a final *-e* to different classes of roots. Some types of verbs that undergo this process express an inchoative meaning with the ending *-i* and a causative meaning with the ending *-a*. Examples of these verbs are *tara* 'to break/romper', *mura* 'to break/romper', *tsɨna* 'to untie/desamarrar' (described in §Ch.7).[40] Other types of verbs that take *-e* codes a state but that do not undergo vowel alternation to encode a causative equivalent are *'uxe* 'tired/cansado' (Cf. *'uxipi* 'to get tired/cansarse) and *kuye* 'sick/enfermo' (Cf. *kwi* 'to get sick/enfermarse'), as in (74) and (75). All of these cases express an undergoer participant in a stative event that is temporal. This state is the result of an action.

(73) xatɨ pu- **tare**
comal AS1- broken
'El comal está quebrado.'
'The comal is broken.' [Elicit]

(74) ne- ti- **kuye**
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- sick
'Estoy enfermo.'
'I'm sick.' [Elicit]

(75) 'uki **'uxe** -kai =ri waniu
man tired -IPFV =already EVI.IND
'…el hombre estaba cansado…'
'…the man was tired…' [SWM01]

II. Dimension verbs *pe~pa* and posture verbs. In constructions denoting the dimension of an entity, a verbal element with a general meaning is used. The prefixes *tsi-* DIM or *'a-~'e-* 'AUG' are attached to the clause to specify the dimension. For example, the verb *pe~pa* 'size/tamaño' in (76) and (77) with the prefix (*'i*)*tsi-* 'DIM' means 'small'. The verb *pe* takes subject pronouns that encode an undergoer, and it is reduplicated when the subject is plural (Grimes 1964), as in (77).

[40] Gómez (1993) calls 'state predicates' to this type of verbs along with verbs encoded with resultative suffixes and emotion verbs.

(76) xeniu mɨkɨ tɨpina =ta **tsi-** mɨ- **pe** ’iya wikí
EVI.IND DEM hummingbird =FOC DIM- AS2- size DEM bird
‘…según, el colibrí era chiquito, un pájaro…’
‘…they say, the hummingbird was small, a bird…’

(77) ’anaiya **tsi-** me- **pepe** -me
here DIM- 3PL.SBJ- size.RDP.PL -SS
‘…aquí ellas son chiquitas (lagartijas)…’
‘…here they are small (lizards)…’ [DIS02]

Posture verbs (described in detail in §4.3.1.3.6) with the prefixes (*’i*)*tsi-* ‘DIM’ or *’a-~’e-* ‘AUG’ can denote the dimension of an entity as well. Some of the verbs used for this purpose are *tewi* ‘standing.SG (long)/parado.SG (largo)’, *tɨtɨ* ‘standing.PL/SG (long)/parado.PL (largo)’, and *ne-* ‘ball shape/forma de pelota’, illustrated in (78)-(81).

(78) ’uka nunutsi ’uki nunutsi
woman child man child
‘…niña, niño’
‘…girl, boy’

me- yu- haika tɨiri **’itsi-** **me-** ’u- **tɨtɨ** -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- ANIM- three children DIM- 3PL.SBJ- VIS- stand.long -SS
‘son tres niños chiquitos…’
‘they are three little kids…’ [INTR01]

(79) m- an- ti- ke -ni tewi -paɨ ’ane -tɨ hapaɨna ’ane -tɨ
AS2- FIG- up-stand -NARR person -how be -SS same be -SS
‘…se levantó como persona, era igualita’
‘…she got up as a person, she was the same’

waniu pe =tsɨ **’a-** ka- **tɨtɨ** pɨta waniu mɨkɨ
EVI.IND but =so AUG- down- stand.long CONTR EVI.IND DEM
‘pero larga…’
‘but long…’ [SWM01]

(80) a. ’ɨkɨ kaukari yeme nunutsi **chi-** mu- **tewi**
DEM I.think truth child DIM- AS2- stand.long
‘…creo que el niño chiquito…’
‘…I think that the small kid…’ [SR02]

b. nunutsi -yari **tsi-** ne- m- u- **tewi** -kai -tsie
child -PRO DIM- 1SG- AS2- VIS- stand.long -IPFV -when
'…de niño, cuando estaba chiquito….'
'…as a child, when I was little…' [INTR05]

(81) a. 'ekɨ **'a-** pe- pu- **tewi**
2SG AUG- 2SG.SBJ- AS1- stand.long
'Tú eres alto.'
'You are tall' [Elicit]

b. p- an- ka- **tewi** ta- 'ixɨarari
AS1- FIG- DOWN- stand.long 1PL- ceremony
'…es larga nuestra fiesta…'
'…our ritual is long…' [DMC04]

III. The verb *'ane.* The language also uses the verb *'ane* 'to be/ser' to construct attributive meanings. For example, the verb *'ane* 'to be/ser' is used with particles, like *'axa* 'bad/malo', *'aixɨ* 'good, well/bien', or *tsi-* 'DIM' to denote beauty, ugliness or readiness, as in (82) and (83).[41] The first two particles are generally used to modify an action. These constructions are likely to be a Spanish transfer, replicating the use of the copula verbs *ser*/*estar* with adjectives. This type of clauses seems to have been adapted for epistemic uses. This means that the construction is used when the speaker conveys an evaluation, judgment or belief upon which the proposition is based, in this case, uncertainty or second-hand information.

(82) me- ka- kɨ -ni -ku kename =ri **'axa** re- **'ane**
3PL.SBJ- NEG- go.PL -FUT -DES.PL they.say =already bad INDF- be
'…ellos no quieren ir, según, que está feo (pueblo)…'
'…they do not want to go, they say it is ugly (town)…' [YP01]

(83) yeme chika **chi-** u- le- **'ane**
true F.S. DIM- VIS- PL- be
'…en verdad está bonito (pueblo)…'
'…it's truth, it is beautiful (town)…' [INTR07]

[41] Grimes (1964) calls 'stative intransitives' to constructions with the verb *'ane*.

The verb *'ane* in the language is not a copula because it has semantic content indicating a 'certain condition' (Grimes 1981:138) and it can take temporal/aspectual markers without requiring the derivational suffix *-ti*, different from the copula *hiki*. Examples (84), (85) and (86) encode a temporary state or condition similar to the copular verb *estar* in Spanish.

(84) nai -me **'aixi** te- hau- ti- **'ane** -ti =ri
all -NSBJ good 1PL.SBJ- all- PL- be -SS =already
'…todo, nosotros estamos listos…'
'…everything, we are ready…' [DPEYC03]

(85) xeniu 'ikuri -ri **'aixi** xika **'anene** -**ni**
EVI.IND corn -PL good COND be.RDP.PL -NARR
'…según si ya están listos los elotes…'
'…it is said that if the maize is ready…' [DMC03]

(86) ne- 'iwa -ma **pi-** ka- **'ane** -**kai**
1SG- brother -PL this.way- NEG- be -IPFV
'…mis hermanos no eran así…'
'…my brothers were not like that…' [INTR05]

4.3.1.2.3. Alternative strategies to encode attributive meaning

There are three alternative strategies to encode attributive meanings. These strategies again show the overlap between the categories and functions (Stassen 1997). The first strategy is when the language modifies nouns by juxtapositing two nominals, the one on the right functioning as a modifier, as in (87) and (88). This always occurs with nouns denoting gender or age.

(87) yu- huta -me wa- re- xeiya -kai **tiiri** **'uki** -**tsi**
3SG.POSS- two -NSBJ 3PL.NSBJ- PL- have -IPFV children man -PL
'…tenía dos niños varones…'
'…he had two boys…' [SR02]

(88) **maye** -**tsi** **'ukirawe** -**tsixi** me- pu- ti- te -kai
lion -PL old.person -PL 3PL.SBJ- AS1- up- stand -IPFV
'…los leones viejos estaban parados…'
'…the old lions were standing…' [SSB02]

The second way to modify a noun is by using a similar strategy (e.g., noun juxtaposition) but the suffix *-yari* is attached to the second noun, as in (89). As previously mentioned, the suffix *-yari* indicates a characteristic or quantity of the main nominal (Grimes 1981:126). This construction is used only to indicate inherent possession of some properties (as described in §4.3.1.1.1, II).

(89) tsɨkɨ tewi **-yari**
dog person -PRO
'…el perro con características de persona…'
'…the dog with person features…' [Swm01]

The third strategy for modifying a nominal is by using a nominalized clause. For instance, in (90) the verb *'erie* 'to feel, think, believe/sentir, pensar, creer' with the suffix *-kame* 'NMLZ', together with the particle *'aixɨ* 'good, well/bien' conveys the idea that *nunutsi* 'children/niño' is healthy. This strategy is not as frequent as the verbalized ones but the construction occurs when the speakers convey an event where a more permanent/ongoing state wants to be expressed.

(90) xɨka 'aixɨ **nunutsi** **reu- 'erie -kame** p- au- xeiya -mɨkɨ -ni
COND good child all- feel -NMLZ AS1- all- see -DES.SG -NARR
'…si quiere ver al niño sano…'
'…if you want to see a healthy boy…' [INTR24]

Rarely, an adjective occurs with a noun in the same noun phrase. When it does, it is in lexicalized names, like 'Rosa Morada' (Purple Rose) in (91) which is the name of a Wixárika community in Nayarit, or 'venado azul' (blue deer) in (92), which is one of the most important sacred figures in Wixárika beliefs. Lexicalized nouns can only be found in proper names and religious beliefs.

(91) tutu -ri yɨtsikimawi rawiya -tsie
flor -PL purple belong -LOC
'…pertenece a Rosa morada…'
'…it belongs to Rosa morada…' [LCLAKE01]

(92) maxa yuawi
deer blue
'El venado azul'
'The blue deer' [Elicit]

4.3.1.3. Verbal clauses

4.3.1.3.1. Existential clauses

Existential constructions encode the presence or existence of an entity by using the verb *xuawe* 'there is, are/hay'. For negative existential events, the suppletive verb *mawe* 'there is, are not/no hay' is used instead, as illustrated in (93) and (94). The existential construction encodes both permanent or temporal existence of an entity.

(93) kwiniya waniu mu- **xuawe**
disease EVI.IND AS2- EXIST
'…existen enfermedades…'
'…there are diseases…' [DIS02]

(94) kieri 'a- taru ke- reu- yu -ni -xɨ =ri
where 2SG- young.brother INTER- all- go -X -PFV =already
'…¿dondé está tu hermanito?, ¿a dónde se fue?'
'…where is your younger brother? Where did he go?'

hauki pu- **mawe**
not.know AS1- NEG.EXIST
'no sé, no está…'
'I don't know, he is not (here) (exist)…' [SR02]

These constructions only admit an undergoer argument encoded by the subject pronouns ø- '3SG.SBJ', *te*- '1PL.SBJ' or *me*- '3PL.SBJ' when the participant is animate, as in (95), (96), and (97).

(95) mana n- e i- wiwie -ni tai -pa waniu waɨka
DEM NARR- EXT- 3SG.OBJ throw -NARR fire -LOC EVI.IND many
'…allí lo tiró a la lumbre'
'…he threw it to the fire'

hatinai -ka mexi 'u- **mawe** mɨkɨ kutsi -yari
set.on.fire -SS while OS- NEG.EXIST DEM owner -PRO
'mientras no estaba su dueño…'
'while his owner was not there…' [SWM01]

(96) indígena -tsixi **te-** ka- u- **xuawe** waniu
indigenous -PL 1PL.SBJ- X- VIS- EXIST EVI.IND
'…habemos indígenas…'
'…we are indigenous people…' [SR01]

(97) **me-** te- **xuawe** kawaya -tsixi puritu -tsixi waka -tsixi
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- EXIST horse -PL donkey -PL cow -PL
'…hay caballos, burros, vacas…'
'…there are horses, donkeys, cows…' [PL01]

Inanimate participants are not marked on the verb. However, the construction still takes one argument expressed through an independent noun, as in (98) and (99).

(98) a. ta- kie hikɨ **wiesta** m- au- **xuawe** ta- teimauneiya
1PL- house now ceremony AS2- all- EXIST 1PL- ceremony.drum
'…en mi casa ahora hay fiesta, la fiesta del tambor…'
'…there is a ritual at home, the ritual of the drum…' [INTR02]

b. mɨkɨ =ta tsiempre **'uaye -yari** mu- **xuawe**
DEM =FOC always medicine -PRO AS2- EXIST
'…siempre hay medicamento…'
'…there is always medicine…' [DIS05]

(99) pero =ri ti- **xuawe** -kaku **'iku -ri xuawe** -kaku **xutsi -tɨ**
but =already DISTR- EXIST -when.DS corn -PL EXIST -when.DS squash -PL
'… pero cuando hay elotes, cuando hay calabazas…'
'…but when there is corn, when there is squash…' [DMC05]

Existential constructions denote an ongoing state, which means that they are generally encoded as present (-ø) or imperfective (-*kai*), like in (100), (101), and (102).

(100) a. mana niuki hikɨ mu- **xuawe**
DEM speak now AS2- EXIST
'…allí hay una plática ahora…'
'…there is a talk going on now…' [LCLAKE05]

(101) 'ɨrawe -tsixɨ me- **xuawe** **-kai**
wolf -PL 3PL.SBJ- EXIST -IPFV
'…habían lobos…'
'…there were wolves…' [SSB02]

(102) kumu ne- maine hepaɨ 'ukara -tsi pu- **mawe** **-kai**
how 1SG.SBJ- say- how woman -PL AS1- NEG.EXIST -IPFV
'…como estoy diciendo no había mujeres…'
'…as I'm saying, there were not women…' [SWM01]

The construction rarely occurs in the perfective (*-xɨ*) but when it does, the completive resultative *-ri* is attached before the perfective marker, as in (103).

(103) pɨ'i pues reunion pu- ti- **xuawe** -ri **-xɨ** ana'i
this.way so meeting AS1- PL- EXIST -RES.COMPL -PFV here
'…pues hubo reunión aquí…'
'…so there was a meeting here…' [LCLAKE02]

The verb also undergoes partial reduplication to indicate a habitual state of existence, like in (104) and (105). The incompletive resultative suffix *-re* is occasionally found to indicate a result or a future resultant event, as in (106).

(104) tu i- ti- **xuxuawe** **-re** xutsi
X- 3SG.OBJ PL- RDP.HAB.EXIST -RES.INCOMPL squash
'…se da la calabaza…'
'…squash is borne…' [PL02]

(105) ti- waɨka ka- ti- niu- **xuxuawe** **-re** -ni
PL- many NARR- PL- NARR- RDP.HAB.EXIST -RES.INCOMPL -NARR
'…se da mucho…'
'..it is borne a lot…' [INTR23]

(106) teɨteri me- pɨ- ti- **xuawe** **-re** ki -ta
people 3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- EXIST -RES.INCOMPL house -LOC
'Va a haber gente en la casa.'
'There are going to be people at home' [Elicit]

The negative prefix marker *-ka*/*-kwa* occur in the existential construction, as illustrated in (107) and (108). However, the negative existential *mawe* is more frequently used. This construction is likely to be a Spanish transfer with the verb *existir* 'exist' and the negative marker *no*. Uto-Aztecan languages commonly used a negative suppletive existential verb.

(107) xɨka mɨ- Huichol me- u- **ka**- **xuawe** =ri
COND AS2- huichol 3PL.SBJ- VIS- NEG- EXIST =already
'…si es Huichol, si no existimos…'
'…if it is Huichol, if we do not exist…' [WIX01]

(108) ne- kie teɨteri me- **kwa**- **xuawe** -kai
1SG- house people 3PL.SBJ- NEG- EXIST -IPFV
'En la casa no había gente.'
'There were not people at home.' [Elicit]

Clausal connector morphemes are found in existential constructions as well, like *-tsie* 'where' in (109).

(109) 'uaye mu- wa- **xuawe** **-tsie** memu me- m- a- u- xuawe
medicine AS2- CAV- EXIST -where F.S. 3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- VIS- EXIST
'…donde hay medicina, hay (gente)'
'…where there is medicine, there are (people)' [DIS05]

4.3.1.3.1.1. Alternative strategies to encode existence

Wixárika has the option of using three more strategies to encode existence. These strategies include posture verbs (Langacker 1977; common in other Uto-Aztecan languages), verbalized nouns, and the verbs *'ane* 'to be/ser', and *niere* 'to see/ver'. The difference between the three strategies has to do with the semantic nuances each event encodes. For instance, the

constructions with posture verbs generally encode the constant existence of an entity in a particular location. The verbalized noun denotes the characteristic of a location, which functionally overlaps with attributive clauses. Finally, the verbs *'ane* 'to be/ser' and *niere* 'to see/ver' are used when the former has an attribute in describing a place for the first time, while the latter expresses the 'presence' or timeless quality of existence. It is important to mention that some of these strategies were broadly described in previous sections since the language uses these for other functional domains, thus proving the scalar nature of the categories (Stassen 1997). This section briefly demonstrates how the language uses other means to encode the functional domain of existence:

I. Posture verbs. Posture verbs (described in detail in §4.3.1.3.6) are used to semantically indicate the presence or existence of an entity, as in (110), (111), and (112). The difference from the existential verbs is that these constructions denote the constant existence of an entity in a particular location, hence the use of the posture verb.

(110) maxa -tsi me- m- au- ka- **'u** werika -xi
deer -PL 3PL.SBJ- AS2- all- X- stand.PL eagle -PL
'…hay venados, águilas (en la artesanía) (Lit. 'Venados y águilas están parados)…'
'…there are deer, eagles (in the handcraft) (Lit 'deer and eagles stand'….' [Hw01]

(111) tiukaneniere xeniu hɨ ta- kakaɨ -ma me- m- an- **we** -tɨka
sacred.place EVI.IND AFF 1PL- God -PL 3PL.SBJ-AS2- FIG- stand.SG -ITR
'…el lugar sagrado donde nuestos dioses están (parados)…'
'…the sacred place where our Gods are (standing)…' [HW01]

(112) kiekari mu- ku- **mane**
town AS2- SP- lay.down.PL
'…hay pueblos (acostados)…'
'…there are towns (laying down)…' [LCLAKE04]

II. Nominal predicate. A second strategy to encode existence is through verbalized nouns. The noun is used to denote the existence or presence of an entity as well. The difference from the constructions previously described is that the verbalized nouns encode a characteristic of a location, illustrated in (113) with *hukuyaka* 'pine/pino' and *tuaxaya* 'oak/roble'. The meaning of the verb in the constructions is understood as 'being pine' or 'being oak', thus overlapping with the attributive constructions since a property of a place is encoded, but at the same time, the existence of some entities is conveyed —in this case, the trees.

(113) ka- niu- **hukuyaka** hɨri -tsie paitɨ
NARR- NARR- pine mountain -LOC until
'…hay pinos hasta en la sierra (Lit. 'ser de pinos')'
'…there are pines in the mountains (Lit. 'be of pines')'

mana hulawata xeikɨa ti- u- **tuaxaya**
DEM near only DISTR- VIS- oak
'allí cerca nada más hay roble (Lit. 'ser de roble')…'
'close to there, there are only oak (Lit. 'be of oak')…' [INTR23]

III. The verbs *'ane* and *niere*. An existential construction can also be semantically encoded by using the verbs *'ane* 'to be/ser' or *niere* 'to see, exist/ver, existir' as in (114)-(117). The construction with *'ane* occurs when the speaker is describing a place for the first time and the particle *kwinie* 'many/mucho' is used. This construction seems to be a transfer of Spanish clauses with the verbs *ser*/*estar* 'to be' and the particle *mucho* 'many'. The construction with the verb *niere* is used to encode the 'presence' or timeless quality of existence. This construction expresses the idea of the *nierika* 'the faculty to see' of the shamans in the Wixárika culture. The shamans have the ability to see the 'unseen' and communicate with the Gods. In this sense, the verb *niere* is used only to express the existence of the Gods in the place, which can only be seen by the shamans.

(114) kwinie me- u- te- **'ane**
many 3PL.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- be
'…hay mucho (Lit. 'Son muchos')…'
'…there is a lot (Lit. 'They are a lot')…' [INTR07]

(115) puxu -ri kwinie me- u- te- **'ane**
burro -PL many 3PL.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- be
'…hay muchos burros (Lit. 'Ellos son muchos')…'
'…there are lots of donkeys (Lit. 'They are a lot')…' [INTR07]

(116) ta- tei kiekari m- a- ka -me mɨkɨ 'ana'i ti- **niere** kwie
1PL- mother town AS2- FIG- sit -SS DEM here DISTR- see terrain
'…nuestra madre, pueblo existe aquí en la tierra (Lit. 'Se ve')…'
'…our mother, town exist here in this part (Lit. 'It is seen')…' [PL02]

(117) ta- kakaɨya -rixi ke- me- n- te- 'u- ku- ne- **niere**
1PL- god -PL SBR- 3PL.SBJ- NARR- DISTR- OS- SP- X see
'…donde existen nuestros dioses (Lit. 'Ellos se ven')…'
'…where our gods exist (Lit. 'They are seen')…' [DGE01]

4.3.1.3.2. Change of state clauses

These clauses encode a change of state that an entity undergoes. The change appears to be spontaneous since there is not an actor responsible for the action expressed in the constructions (Haspelmath 1993). The undergoer entity is marked with subject pronouns in the verbal stem. The language uses both verbal and attributive roots to encode the change of state. The former type of root is used with verbs that encode an inchoative/causative relation with vowel alternation, and with verbs that do not undergo any related process. The latter type of root occurs with attributes that contain the resultative suffixes *-ri*/*-re*. The type of strategy used to express a change of state is determined by distribution since the constructions are restricted to a certain class of verbs. As mentioned previously, the distribution, properties, and function of the categories are scalar in nature (Stassen 1997).

The following sections describe the verbal and attributive constructions that express a change of state in intransitive clauses in the language:

I. Verbs with vowel alternation. The language uses verbs that undergo vowel alternation for encoding an inchoative/causative relation (see §Ch.7 for a more detailed description) to express a change of state. The inchoative meaning is encoded via the ending *-i* to denote a change of state caused by an apparently spontaneous event (Haspelmath 1993), as illustrated in (118), (119), and (120). These constructions commonly occur with inanimate objects that undergo a complete change of state. The subject pronouns are not attached to the verb stem due to the animacy hierarchy present in the language. The causative alternation where an actor is introduced into the clause is encoded with the ending *-a*.

(118) ’echiwa p- au- ku- **tari** -xɨ waniu tɨ
little AS1- all- SP- break -PFV EVI.IND coal
‘…se quebró un poco la braza…’
‘…the coal broke a little…’ [SBB02]

(119) kutsira pu- **muri** -xɨ
knife AS2- break -PFV
‘El machete se quebró.’
‘The knife broke.’ [Elicit]

(120) kustari pu- ta- **tsani** -xɨ
sack AS2- SG- tear/break -PFV
‘El costal se rompió.’
‘The sack tore.’ [Elicit]

II. Verbal roots without vowel alternation. Clauses that denote a change of state can also use verbs that do not undergo vowel alternation or any other related morphological process to encode an inchoative/causative relation. These constructions contain intransitive verbs that express the change of state as the result of an apparently spontaneous event, illustrated in (121) and (122) with *kwini* ‘to get sick/enfermar’ and *wa* ‘to get dry/secarse’.

(121) ne- niwé ti- u- ta- **kwini** -xɨ
1SG- son DISTR- VIS- SG- get.sick -PFV
‘Mi hijo se enfermó.’

‘My son got sick.’ [Elicit]

(122) ha m- e- ku- **wa** -xɨa -kɨ mana
water AS2- OS- SP- get.dry -ITR -because DEM
‘…porque el agua se secó allí…’
‘…because water dried up there…’ [DIS05]

Some of these verbs have suppletive roots for number, like the verb ‘to die’ illustrated in (123) and (124) where the root *mɨ* indicates singular subject while the root *kwi* indicates plural subject. This behavior in this class of verbs is not very common across Uto-Aztecan languages. Suppletion generally occurs in two-argument clauses with the change of state roots. The verb is changed based on the number of the undergoer and not the actor. This means that Wixárika shows an instance of ergative number agreement (Langacker 1977) or alignment of the subject of intransitive clauses and non-subject in a transitive clause regarding suppletion. However, this strategy is not frequent in the language.

(123) n- eu- **mɨ** huta- rieka
NARR- all- die.SG.PFV two- times
‘…se murió por segunda vez…’
‘…it died for the second time…’ [DR01]

(124) me- p- eu- ta- **kwi** -xɨa pero
3PL.SBJ- AS1- all- SG- die.PL.PFV -ITR but
‘…ellos murieron (varias veces) pero…’
‘…they died (several times) but…’ [CULT01]

Constructions that express a change of state but with less degree of affectedness on the undergoer use the middle voice marker *yu-* (see §Ch.8 for a detailed description of the middle voice marker). Examples that illustrate this pattern can be observed with *na* ‘to close/cerrar’ and *yepi* ‘to open/abrir’, as in (125) and (126).

(125) ’itúpari p- au- yu- **na**
door AS1- all- MID- close.PFV

‘La puerta se cerró.’
‘The door closed.’ [Elicit]

(126) ’itúpari p- au- yu- **yepi**
door AS1- all- MID- open.PFV
‘La puerta se abrió.’
‘The door opened.’ [Elicit]

III. Attributive constructions. The language uses attributive constructions with the completive and incompletive resultative suffixes *-ri* and *-re* to express a change of state of the property of an undergoer participant, as illustrated in (127) and (128). The suffix *-ya* is used to introducing an actor in this type of constructions (see §Ch.7 for a more detailed description).

(127) ’echiwa =ri me- ’u- ti- **xɨ** **-re** -ku =ri waniu
little =already 3PL.SBJ- OS- PL- hot -RES.INCOMPL -DS =already EVI.IND
‘…ya que se calentaron un poco …’
‘…they got warm a little…’ [SSB02]

(128) mu- ta- **yɨ** **-ri** -xɨ waniu mɨ hai
MOD- SG- dark -RES.COMPL -PFV EVI.IND DEM cloud
‘…la nube se hizo negra…’
‘…the cloud got black…’ [SR02]

4.3.1.3.3. Physical state clauses

These clauses express the physical state or condition of an entity. The argument in these clauses is an undergoer marked with subject pronouns in the verbal stem. There are two types of constructions that encode a physical state. The first type consists of verbs marked with the desiderative suffix *-mɨkɨ* (Cf. plural desiderative suffix *-ku*), like with *haka* ‘be hungry/tener hambre’, *hari* ‘be thristy/tener sed’ or *haixɨa* ‘to be bloated/estar hinchado’ in (129), (130), and (131). The desiderative suffix is reduced to *mɨ* when other suffixes are added to the clause, as in (130).

(129) ne- p- eu- **hari** **-mɨkɨ**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- all- be.thirsty -DES.SG
'Tengo sed.'
'I am thirsty.' [Elicit]

(130) ne- u- **haka** **-mɨ** -tɨ ne- u- 'axe
1SG.SBJ- VIS- be.hungry -DES.SG -SS 1SG.SBJ- ALL- come
'…a veces llego con hambre…'
'…sometimes I arrive hungry…' [SWM01]

(131) 'ena ne- ni- ka- **haixɨa** **-mɨkɨ**
here 1SG.SBJ- NARR- X- be.bloated -DES.SG
'…aquí está hinchado…'
'…here it is bloated…' [DIS05]

The second type contains a verb that do not take the desiderative suffix *-mɨkɨ*, like *maxiya* 'to be dizzy/marearse' or *'erie* 'to feel/sentirse' + the particle *'aixɨ* 'good/bien', in (132) and (133).

(132) te- **maxiya** waniu
1PL.SBJ- be.dizzy EVI.IND
'…nos sentimos mareados…'
'…we feel dizzy…' [DIS05]

(133) 'aixɨ me- te- u- **'erie** -ka -kɨ
good 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- feel -SS -because
'…porque ellos se sienten bien (de salud)…'
'…because they feel well…' [DPEYC03]

4.3.1.3.4. Psychological clauses

Constructions of this type express the emotions and mental states of an entity. The undergoer participant is marked with subject pronouns on the verbal stem. There are three patterns observed in these clauses, most of them detected in verbs of emotions. The first pattern is by using a construction which obligatorily takes the middle voice prefix *yu-*, as with the verbs of emotions *temawe* 'to be happy/estar feliz', *heiwerie* 'to be sad/estar triste' or *'eiwie* 'to be sad/estar triste', illustrated in (134), (135), and (136). The middle voice marker depicts the presence of an initiator who happens to be the affected entity/endpoint of the emotion at the same

time (Kemmer 1993); however, the focus is on affectedness[42] In some cases, the completive resultative suffix *-ri* is used, which indicates that the initiator of the action does not have total control of the effect on itself, as in (136).

(134) kwinie ti- **yu- temawie** -kai -tɨni maxa =ri
many DISTR- MID- be.happy -IPFV -X deer =already
'…el venado estaba muy feliz…'
'…the deer was very happy…' [DEER02]

(135) ne- **yu- heiwerie**
1SG.SBJ- MID- be.sad
'Estoy triste.'
'I'm sad.' [Elicit]

(136) p- e- tɨa 'aumɨ mɨkɨ pu- **yu-** ka- **'eiwe** -ri
AS1- O.S.- go.SG.PFV X DEM AS1- MID- X- be.sad -RES.COMPL
'…se fue, se puso triste…'
'…he left, he got sad…' [SR02]

The second pattern is a clause where the middle voice marker is optional. This case is illustrated with verbs of emotions, like *xeɨma* 'to have a feeling/presentir'. When the middle marker is not used, the entity adopts a more active role. For instance, example (137) with the verb *xeɨma* expresses the idea of 'suspicion' rather than 'having a feeling'. The use of the middle marker in the construction denotes an undergoer which is affected by the state, like in (138).

(137) ne- p- ti- u- **xeɨma** tsiempre
1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- VIS- suspect always
'…siempre sospeché…'
'…I always suspected…' [SWM01]

(138) pero =tsɨ mɨkɨ tɨpina **yu- xeɨma** -ka -kai
but =so DEM hummingbird MID- have.feeling -ST -IPFV
'…pero el colibrí presentía...'
'…but the hummingbird had a feeling…' [DEER02]

[42] Grimes (1964) calls this type of clauses 'middle intransitive'. Contrary to the analysis proposed in this dissertation, Grimes (1964) states that these clauses have a performer.

In a few occasions, some verbs of emotions can take a reflexive marker, as in (139) with the verb *hɨawi* 'to become anxious/angustiarse'. In this case, the roles of the participant, namely actor and undergoer, are clearly distinguished even though they refer to the same entity (see §Ch.8 for a detailed description on reflexives). In other words, the feeling is started by the participant but undergone at the same time.

(139) ne- pu- **ne-** ta- **hɨawi** -xɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS1- 1SG- SG- become.anxious -PFV
'…me angustié…'
'…I became anxious…' [DIS05]

The third pattern consists of a clause with verbs of emotions where the middle voice *yu-* marker never occurs, as in (140), (141), and (142). The use of the middle marker leads to an ungrammatical construction, as in (140b), which means that the participant has a more active role. However, the completive resultative *-ri* can optionally occur in some of these constructions to express the idea that the argument does not have total control of the effect, as in (140a).

(140) a. ne- pɨ- **ha'a** -kai
1SG.SBJ- AS1- get.mad -IPFV
'…yo estaba enojado…'
'…I was angry…' [DIS05]

b. *nepɨyuha'akai

(141) a. mɨkɨ =ta xeikɨa nee ne- u- **ma** -ri
DEM =FOC only 1SG 1SG.SBJ- VIS- get.scared -RES.COMPL
'…solamente me asusté…'
'…I only got scared…' [DIS05]

b. yu- papa me- **ma-** -ka -kai waniu
3SG.POSS- father 3PL.SBJ- get.scared -ST -IPFV EVI.IND
'…ellos tenían miedo, a su papá…'
'…they were scared of their dad…' [SR02]

(142) me- mu- ka- **nuatɨ** -kɨ ’echiwa tsiere
3PL.SBJ- AS2- X- get.calm -X little also
‘…allí se calmaron un poco también…’
‘…they calmed down a little also…’ [LCLAKE04]

This pattern is also found in clauses with mental verbs, like *heinɨ* ‘to dream/soñar’ and *marie* ‘be conscious/estar consciente’ in (143) and (144). The undergoer is marked with subject pronouns and no middle voice suffix is used.

(143) a. ne- u- ti- **heinɨ** =tsa yuri
1SG.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- dream =so truth
‘…pues, estoy soñando de verdad…’
‘…so, I’m dreaming for real…’ [SWM01]

b. kauka =ri paɨ me- te- n- e- **heinɨ** -kai =ri ’echiwa
I.think =already this.way 3PL.SBJ-DISTR- NARR- OS dream -IPFV =already little
‘…yo creo así estaban soñando un poco…’
‘…I think they were dreaming a little…’ [SSB02]

(144) te- m- a- ta- ye- **maririe** -ne katarirɨme -kaku
1PL.SBJ- AS2- FIG- RECP- area- be.conscious -PROGR.SG early.morning -DS
‘…ya que estamos conscientes, en la madrugada’
‘…when we get back to consciousness early in the morning’

’anake xɨa te- mɨ- ti- hari -tɨa -rie -ni
this.moment INTJ 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- drink -CAUS -PASS -NARR
‘en ese momento, nos dan de beber…’
‘at that moment, we are given water…’ [DPEYC02]

The different patterns demonstrate that even though the participant is an undergoer of the psychological state, there are distinct degrees of agentivity depending on the presence of the middle voice marker *-yu* (or reflexive markers).

4.3.1.3.5. Locative clauses

Wixárika has a set of constructions that express the location of an entity. The two main strategies used to encode a locative meaning are posture verbs and verbalized adverbs/locatives.

In both cases, the subject argument is an undergoer encoded with subject pronouns. As a secondary strategy, the language uses the motion verb *yeika* 'to wander/andar' to indicate location. In this case, the subject denotes an actor encoded with subject pronouns. As previously mentioned, the strategies overlap in terms of grammatical properties (and functions) with other categories (Stassen 1997).

The following sections explore the alternative strategies used in the language to encode locative clauses:

I. Verbalized adverbs/locatives. Wixárika encodes locative constructions by using verbalized adverb of location, like *hura* 'near/cerca' and *tewa* 'far/lejos', in (145) and (146). The verbalized element co-occurs with a place containing a locative suffix. These constructions express an ongoing state related to the directions of a place.

(145) 'ana'i kiekari -pa m- e- **hura**
here town -LOC AS2- OS- near
'El pueblo esta cerca de aquí.'
'The town is near here.' [Elicit]

(146) 'ana'i kiekari -pa m- e- **teewa**
here town -LOC AS2- OS- far
'El pueblo está lejos de aquí.'
'The town is far from here.' [Elicit]

A less common strategy to express a locative clause is observed when the location is verbalized, like in (147) where the place name *Tepic* takes verbal affixes. This type of clause resembles the locative meaning encoded in the intransitive clauses described in §4.3.1.1.3 with the noun *ki* 'house/casa', which derives the meaning 'be.from/ser de'. The difference is observed in the resultant meaning of the place name. In this case, the meaning encoded is 'be in Tepic' as locative clauses in other languages. The clause encodes an ongoing temporal state of being in a place, as the

speaker signals by saying that *now* it is in Tepic (an impersonal meaning). This type of construction is uncommon crosslinguistically. Unfortunately, similar examples were not found in the corpus.

(147) ’upaitɨ ne- ka- niu- yeika -ni hikɨ ’ana’i paitɨ
here 1SG.SBJ- down- NARR- wander -NARR now here until
‘…acá ando, ahora hasta acá’
‘…here I am, now here’

hikɨ m- a- ku- **tepiya**
now AS2- FIG- SP- Tepic
‘ahora se está en Tepic…’
‘now it is in Tepic…’ [INTR09]

II. The motion verb *yeika*. The motion verb *yeika* ‘to wander/andar’ with a deictic particle, a postposition, or a nominal with locative suffixes is used to express location, as in (148)-(151). In this construction, the subject of the clause encodes an actor animate participant, which is prefixed to the verb. The constructions express the idea of an active entity moving in a specific location, rather than a static entity.

(148) terɨka **’ikɨ** mu- **yeika** ’ena ta- kwie **-tsie** ta- hamatɨa
scorpion DEM AS2- wander this.moment 1PL- land -LOC 1PL- with
‘… el alacán anda/está aquí en nuestra tierra con nosotros…’
‘…the scorpion wanders/is here with us in our land…’ [SCP01]

(149) hikɨ **’ena- paitɨ** ne- u- ka- **yeika** =ri
now here- until 1SG.SBJ- VIS- down- wander =already
‘…ahora hasta aquí ando/estoy…’
‘…now I’m here/I wander…’ [INTR03]

(150) a- xaɨta m- a- ke- neu- **yeika** -ni kwie **-pa**
2SG.NSBJ alone AS2- FIG- X- all- wander -FUT land -LOC
‘…solo andarás/estarás en la tierra…’
‘…you will be/wander alone in the land…’ [SR02]

(151) ta- wewie -kame **wapai** mu- ka- **yeika** tau xeniu
1PL- make -NMLZ up.there AS2- X- wander Sun EVI.IND
‘…nuestro creador anda/está en lo alto, según el sol…’
‘…Our creator wanders/is up there, the Sun they say…’ [SSB02]

III. Posture clauses. Wixárika uses posture verbs (described in detail in §4.3.1.3.6) with a locative phrase to express location. This strategy is commonly observed crosslinguistically (Stassen 1997). Some of the posture verbs are *ka* 'sit.SG/sentado.SG', *tei* 'sit.PL/sentado.PL', *we* 'standing.SG/parado.SG', *'u* 'standing.PL/parado.PL', and *mane* 'lay down/puesto, tendido', illustrated in (152)-(156). The nominal that specifies the location commonly occurs with a postposition or a locative suffix. The use of the locative suffixes remains unclear, since there are cases where the locative word does not contain the suffix. The hypothesis is that the locative suffixes are not used in natural or unmarked locations (e.g., house), while marked locations would require the suffix (e.g., left, right, objects, etc.). Posture clauses denote a more static participant in a location but describing the positional properties of the entity.

(152) a. ne- yau **ta- kie** pu- **ka**
1SG- father 1PL- house AS1- sit.SG
'Mi papá está en nuestra casa.'
'My father is at our place.' [Elicit]

b. mehiku **paiti** m- e- **ka** yu- tata matia
Mexico until AS2- OS- sit.SG 3SG.POSS- uncle COM
'…está hasta México con su tío…'
'…he is at Mexico City with his uncle…' [INTR01]

(153) mume **xari -ta** pu- ye- **tei**
beans pot -LOC AS1- inside- sit.PL
'Los frijoles están en la olla.'
'The beans are in the pot.' [Elicit]

(154) teyupanie **ki- warie** pu- ti- **we**
church house- back AS1- back- standing.SG
'La iglesia está atrás de la casa.'
'The church is behind the house.' [Elicit]

(155) me- m- an- **we** -tika xeniu **tseria -ta 'uta -ta**
3PL.SBJ- AS2- side- standing -ITR EVI.IND south -LOC left -LOC
'…ellos están en el sur, a la izquierda…'
'…they are in the south, in the left…' [ME01]

(156) papá p- a- ti- **mane** **tsamuri** **-tsie**
tortilla AS1- FIG- back- lay.down basket -LOC
'Las tortillas están en la canasta.'
'The tortillas are in the basket.' [Elicit]

4.3.1.3.6. Posture clauses

Constructions of this type encode the posture of an undergoer participant; the most frequent verbs refer to postures such as 'sitting', 'standing', and 'lying down'. However, other postures like 'laying down' or 'kneel down' can be expressed.[43] These constructions are obtained with a reduced number of verbs, as table 4.1 shows.

Table 4.1. Posture verbs in Wixárika 1.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
ka	*tei*	'sit'
we	*'u*	'standing'
kaa	*hei*	'lie down'
ma	*mane*	'lay down'
'awe	-	'kneel down' (Lit. 'in a ball shape')

A couple of posture verbs encode the shape of the figure in their meaning , which is not common crosslinguistically, as illustrated in table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Posture verbs in Wixárika 2.

SINGULAR	PLURAL	GLOSS
tewi	*titi*	'standing.long'
ne	*nene*	'standing.round'

[43] Gómez (2008) calls these verbs 'stative roots of location'. The scholar only describes *we*, *ka*, *ma*, and *kaa*.

The verbs can be used with both animate and inanimate subjects. Posture verbs undergo suppletion for singular and plural subject number (Gómez 1999), as illustrated in (157), (158), and (159).

(157) a. mana xeniu ’itsɨkame m- a- ka- **we** hetsɨa
DEM EVI.IND president AS2- PRO- X- standing.SG with
‘…allí, según, el presidente está (parado) con él…’
‘…there, they say, the president is (standing) with him…’ [INTR08]

b. maxa -tsi me- m- au- ka- **’u** werika -xi
deer -PL 3pl.SBJ- AS2- all- X- standing.PL eagle -PL
‘…hay venados y águilas (Lit. ‘Están parados los venados y las águilas)…’
‘… there are deer and eagles (Lit. ‘Deer and eagles are standing’) [HW01]

(158) a. meehiku paitɨ m- e- **ka** yu- tata matɨa
Mexico until AS2- OS- sit.SG 3SG.POSS- uncle COM
‘…está (sentado) hasta allá en México con su tío…’
‘…(he) is (sitting) there in Mexico with his uncle…’ [INTR01]

b.taame =ta =ri ’ena xeikɨa te- te- ku- **tei**
1PL =FOC =already DEM only 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- SP- sit.PL
‘…nosotros aquí nomás estamos…’
‘…we are only here…’ [SPS01]

(159) a. mana ta- kiekari mɨkɨ mu- ku- **ma**
DEM 1PL- town DEM AS2- around- lay.down
‘…allí nuestro pueblo está (puesto)…’
‘…our town is there (laying down)…’ [INTR23]

b. nierika pu- ye- **mane** pu- kuruxi pɨ- ye- he
nierika AS1- area- lay.down.PL AS1- cross AS1- area- lie.down.PL
‘…los nierika están (tendidos), las cruces están (acostadas)…’
‘…the nierika are (laying down), the crosses are (laid down)…’ [DIMA01]

The construction depicts a durative situation. For this reason, the clause generally encodes a habitual situation of an undergoer participant. Other suffixes such as the imperfective aspect *-kai* or future suffix *-ni* can be attached to the verbal stem. Affixes denoting a perfective or punctual aspect are not allowed.

The posture verb construction acquires different meanings depending on the context. When the clause denotes a habitual aspect, the posture verb generally means 'to live/vivir' or 'to exist/existir', as in (160) and (161). In other constructions, the posture verb clauses encode a locative meaning when they co-occur with a locative phrase or deictic particles, as previously described and shown in (162) and (163), and existential meaning. This behavior shows the overlap of functions and constructions in the language (Stassen 1997).

(160) yu- waika mana me- u- ti- **tei**
ANIM- many DEM 3PL.SBJ- VIS- up- sit.PL
'…muchos, ellos ahí habitan (Lit. 'están sentados') …'
'…a lot, they inhabit there (Lit. 'They sit')…' [INTR23]

(161) 'ukirawe -tsixi waniu ye- me- te- 'u- ye- xatsi -ka
old -PL EVI.IND this.way- 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- OS- area- talk -SS
'…los ancianos platican que'
'…the elders say that'

ta- tei mu- **we**
1PL- madre AS2- standing.SG
'nuestra madre (diosa) existe (Lit. 'está parada')…'
'our mother exists (Goddess) (Lit. 'is standing')…' [PL02]

(162) nee ne- 'u- kiekame zitakua hiki 'ena ne- pu- **ka**
1SG 1SG.SBJ- OS- be.from P.P. now here 1SG.SBJ- AS1- sit.SG
'…yo soy de Zitacua ahora aquí vivo (Lit. 'sentado')…'
'…I'm from Zitacua, now I live here (Lit. 'sitting')…' [INTR13]

(163) xari kwie -pa pu- **ka**
pot land -LOC AS1- sit.SG
'La olla está (sentada) en el suelo.'
'The pot is (sitting) on the ground.' [Elicit]

4.3.2. Active clauses

Active clauses refer to those constructions where a participant performs an action or activity (Chafe 1970; Givón 2001; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Clackson 2007). The morphosyntactic properties imposed by the different semantic classes of verbs are the same in

terms of marking of arguments and temporal/aspectual markers. However, some of the different semantic classes of verbs differ in morphological processes, like suppletion and use of directional/locative prefixes. For this reason, the active clauses group is divided into two types: 'Motion' clauses and 'non-motion' clauses. The 'motion' clauses category includes voluntary and involuntary motion and change of posture clauses. The 'non-motion' clauses category includes body function, nature processes, and activity verbs.

4.3.2.1. Motion clauses

Motion events are situations containing movement (Talmy 1985: 85). Motion clauses in Wixárika encode two types of events: first the voluntary motion of a participant who performs the action by its own will (e.g., general motion and change of posture); and the second, a motion event where a participant does not perform a voluntary movement, but rather the motion is occasioned by an external causer. In both cases, the subject pronoun prefixes are used.

Motion constructions in the language encode both the 'motion' and 'path' (Talmy 1985) followed by the participant. Most verbs express general motion (e.g., *mie* 'to go/ir') which is further specified by the directional/locative prefixes or deictic particles to indicate the trajectory; a locative phrase is optionally included as well. However, a few of them express both 'motion' and 'path' in the meaning of the verb (e.g., *'axe* 'to come, arrive/venir, llegar'). As in other languages, Wixárika has a few verbs which express both 'motion' and 'manner' in the meaning of the verb (Talmy 1985); that is, the way in which motion is performed (e.g., *kurupe* 'to roll around/revolcarse'). Some of the motion verbs in Wixárika are suppletive based on number and/or aspect, which is a common feature in Uto-Aztecan languages, particularly with verbs like 'to go', 'to sit', and 'to run' (Langacker 1977:127).

The following sections explore motion constructions in Wixárika. Section 4.3.2.1.1 describes the voluntary motion constructions, which include 'change of posture' verbs. Section 4.3.2.1.2 provides the involuntary motion constructions. Although most of the morphosyntactic encoding of both types of motion events are the same in terms of the marking of participants, temporal/aspectual affixes, etc., the voluntary motion events tend to show suppletion based on number and/or aspect while involuntary motion constructions do not, hence, the proposed classification.

4.3.2.1.1. Voluntary motion clauses

Constructions of this type contain verbs that describe the voluntary motion of an animate actor. This argument is marked on the verb by subject pronoun prefixes. Most of the voluntary motion verbs have suppletive roots based on the number of the subject and/or aspect. For instance, the verbs 'to wander' and 'to come' have suppletive roots for singular and plural number, like in (164)-(167).[44]

(164) ya'u -ta waniu mu- **yeika** -kai
forest -LOC EVI.IND AS2 wander.SG -IPFV
'…en el bosque andaba (el niño)…'
'…he was wandering in the forest (the boy)…' [SK01]

(165) hikɨ 'ana me- mu- **'uwa** xeniu
now here 3PL.SBJ- AS2- wander.PL EVI.IND
'…ahora, según, ellos andan aquí…'
'…now, they say, they wander here…' [HW01]

(166) xikepai ne- u- **nua**
while 1SG.SBJ- VIS- arrive.SG.PFV
'…desde hace rato llegué…'
'…I've been here for a while…' [DEER02]

[44] Grimes (1964:46) names this type of clauses 'active intransitive' since there is a performer of the action.

(167) te- m- e- ta- **'axɨa** -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- OS- STR- arrive.PL -NARR
'…llegamos…'
'…we arrived…' [INTR12]

The verb 'to go' has four roots that express number and aspect. When the construction is encoded in the perfective aspect, the root is *tɨa* for singular and *kɨ* for plural, as illustrated in (168) and (169). When the construction is in the imperfective aspect, the root is *mie* for singular and *hu* for plural, like in (170) and (171).

(168) ne- m- a- **tɨa**
1SG.SBJ- AS2- PRO- go.SG.PFV
'…yo fui...'
'…I went…' [INTR5]

(169) ma- te- m- ye- **kɨ** =ta
there- 1PL.SBJ- AS2- out- go.PL.PFV =FOC
'…de allí fuimos…'
'…we went from there…' [DIS05]

(170) hikɨ ne- pu- ti- **mie**
now 1SG.SBJ- AS1- up- go.SG.IPFV
'…ahora voy (arriba, a la sierra)…'
'…now I'm going (up, to the mountains)…' [INTR05]

(171) me- mu- ti- **hu**
3PL.SBJ- AS2- up- go.PL.IPFV
'…ellos (niños) van (arriba, a la sierra)…'
'…they (children) go (up, to the mountains)…' [INTR23]

Motion verbs co-occur with prefixes that specify the direction/location of the motion. Some of the prefixes are (*h)e*- 'far, out of sight/lejos, fuera de la vista', (*h)a*- 'ALL', *ye*- 'flat, inside a limit, area/plano, dentro del límite, area', *ka*- 'down/abajo', *ku*- 'round/rodear', *ti*- 'up/arriba', *ra*- 'indefinite place or not important/lugar indefinido o no importante', *na*- 'this side/este lado', *reu*- 'in the speaker's perception/en la percepción del que lo experimenta', *ta*-

'straight/derecho, directo' (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz et al. 1988; Gómez 1999, 2008)[45] etc., illustrated in (172)-(180). The use of these prefixes results in more specific motion meanings, as observed with the verb 'to go/ir'. When locative prefixes are attached to this verb, the derived meanings are 'to come/venir', 'to get in/entrar', 'to turn/dar la vuelta', etc. The use of the prefixes is optional since the verbs can occur without them, as shown in (172) with the verb 'to go/ir'. Note that the motion verb *mie* 'to go/ir' can co-occur with the imperfective aspect marker *-kai* despite having inherently imperfective meaning.

(172) te- te- kwa -me wa- te- mu- **hu** -ni
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- eat -SS there- 1PL.SBJ- AS2- go.PL.IPFV -NARR
'…comemos, nos vamos…'
'…we eat, we leave…' [DPEY02]

(173) xɨka witari **ha- mie** -ni
COND rain ALL- go.SG.IPFV -FUT
'…si la lluvia viene…'
'…if the rain comes…' [SK01]

(174) mana ha -pa m- au- **ka- mie** -kai
DEM water -LOC AS2- all- down- go.SG.IPFV -IPFV
'…se metía en el agua…'
'…he used to get into the water…' [SR02]

(175) 'uxa'arieka mana niu- **ka- mie** -kai -tɨni
next.day DEM NARR- down go.SG.IPFV -IPFV -X
'…al día siguiente allí bajaba…'
'…next day he was going down…' [SWM01]

(176) 'ana **ra- ti- mie** -tɨ
this.moment INDEF.P- up- go.SG.IPFV -SS
'…en ese momento, subió a un lugar...'
'…in that moment he went up somewhere…' [INTR05]

(177) kiewatsɨ tamɨtsɨri 'ari mmm mɨkɨ
no.know X already INTJ DEM
'…no saben ya'
'…they don't know'

[45] See Grimes (1964), Iturrioz et al. (1988), and Gómez (1999, 2008) for a complete description of the twelve locative prefixes (*a-*, *e-*, *u-*, *na-*, *nu-*, *wa-*, *eu-*, *ta-*, *ti-*, *ku-*, *ka-*, and *ye-*).

ken- re- **he-** **mie** -kai waniu
INTER- INDF.P.- OS- go.SG.IPFV -IPFV EVI.IND
'hasta donde iba…'
'where he was going….' [SSB01]

(178) xɨari =tsɨ ka- **na-** **mie** -ni papa -ya pɨ- ta- yɨ
I.think =so NARR- this.side go.SG.IPFV -FUT father -3SG.POSS AS2- SG- say.PFV
'… "yo creo va a venir", su papá dijo…'
'… "I think he is going to come", his dad said…' [SR02]

(179) tete -tɨa reu- **ta-** **mie** -kai waniu
rock -under all- straight- go.SG.IPFV -IPFV EVI.IND
'…debajo de la piedra se escondió (se fue)…'
'…he hid (went) under the rock…' [SSB01]

(180) me- m- a- ye- **kɨ** -ka
3PL.SBJ- AS2 PRO- area- go.PL.PFV -SS
'…ellos salieron…'
'…they went out…' [DPEYC02]

Some verbs that express both motion and path are *ne* 'to pass, arrive, appear/pasar, llegar, aparecer', *'axe* 'to come/venir, llegar', and *ha* 'to enter/entrar', as illustrated in (181)-(183).

(181) a. mana =ri te- 'a- ku- **ne** -xɨa -me =ta
DEM =already 1PL.SBJ- PRO- around- pass/arrive -ITR -SS =FOC
'…allí pasamos/llegamos…'
'…we passed/arrived there…' [DPEYC02]

b. mu- m- a- ti- **ne** waniu mu- ka- xakwitsa -xɨ
there- AS2- PRO- up- pass/arrive.PFV EVI.IND AS2- down-nixtamal -PFV
'…llegó de allá (arriba), puso el nixtamal…'
'…he arrived from there (up), he set the nixtamal…' [SWM01]

c. 'ena me- m- a- ta- **ne** -xɨa
here 3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- straight- pass/arrive -ITR
'…aquí pasaron…'
'…they passed here…' [LCLAKE05]

(182) 'uwa me- pu- ta- **'axe**
here 3PL.SBJ- AS1- STR- come.IPFV
'…aquí vienen…'
'…they are coming here…' [INTR18]

(183) kwitsi kwie -ta pu- ka- **ha**
worm ground -LOC AS1- down- enter.PFV
'el gusano se metió en la tierra'
'The worm got into the ground.' [Elicit]

Some motion verbs express both manner and motion in their meaning. The change of manner is indicated by the suppletion of the root, as illustrated in (184) and (185). For instance, the verb 'to run/correr' has different roots depending on the type of movement and/or sound it produces: *nautsa* 'to run/correr', *yɨwe* 'to run a lot/correr mucho', *wɨxarikita* 'to run like flying/correr como volando', and *tararikita* 'to run making noise like a bottle/correr haciendo ruido de botella'.

(184) pero =tsɨ mɨkɨ mu- ta- **nautsa** -xɨ waniu
but =so DEM AS1- SG- run -PFV EVI.IND
'…pues, pero corrió, según…'
'…but, they say he ran…' [SSB02]

(185) ke- m- a- **yɨwe** -kai
INTR- AS2- PRO- run.lot -IPFV
'…como corría…'
'…how it ran…' [DEER02]

Other motion verbs in the language do not present any kind of changes in the root as with *wi* 'to fly/volar', *kurupe* 'to roll around/revolcarse', *tsuna* 'to jump/brincar', *xɨimana* 'to drag/arrastrarse', and *hau* 'to swim/nadar', illustrated in (186)-(189).

(186) me- te- 'ana- ti- **wi** -we -ni pɨta waniu wiki -xi
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- X- PL- fly -HAB -NARR CONTR EVI.IND bird -PL
'…de ahí volaban los pájaros…'
'…bird flew from there…' [SK01]

(187) mana pu- ti- **tsuna** -xɨ maxa
DEM AS1- PL- jump -PFV deer
'…allí brincó el venado…'
'…the deer jumped there…' [DIS05]

(188) ’a- ta- tsua -tɨ mana niu- ti- **kurupe** -tɨ -ya -ni kwie -pa
there- SG- cry -SS DEM NARR- PL- roll.around -LN -go -NARR ground -LOC
‘…se revolcó ahí en la tierra llorando …’
‘…she rolled around there on the ground crying…’ [SWM01]

(189) p- a- ne- ye- **xiimana** -tɨ -ya waniu
AS1- PRO- down- area- drag -LN -go EVI.IND
‘…se arrastró…’
‘…he dragged himself…’ [SR02]

Motion clauses can indicate the destination by using a locative phrase. The locative phrase contains an individual noun or a noun with a free/bound postposition, like in (190)-(195). Frequently, place names occur without any locative suffix, which indicates that it is likely that natural, common places are unmarked locations, as previously proposed. This hypothesis explains the use of the locative suffix in (191) and (193). The latter example indicates a place where Wixárika people go for sacred rituals once a year. The former is the town that the speaker left to pursue his education, indicating that the speaker’s experience is also used to decide whether to use the suffixes or not.

(190) ne- kiekari **-tsie** ne- p- a- ye- **tɨa**
1SG- town -LOC 1SG.SBJ- AS1- FIG- area- go.SG.PFV
‘…partí a mi pueblo…’
‘…I went to my town…’ [INTR05]

(191) pariya **-tsie** te- m- e- ta- **’axe**
Real.Catorce -LOC 1PL.SBJ- AS2- OS- STR- come
‘…vamos a Real de Catorce…’
‘…we are going to Real de Catorce…’ [DPEYC02]

(192) wa- te- mu- hu -ni =ta =ri ta- tewa **-tsie**
there- 1PL.SBJ- AS2- go.PL.IPFV -NARR =FOC =already 1PL- animal -LOC
‘…nosotros vamos allá, en el animal’
‘…we go there, on the animal’

te- m- au- ti- wɨri -xɨa -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- all- up- climb- -ITR -NARR
‘nos trepamos…’
‘we climb…’ [DPEYC02]

(193) taame =ta **San Andrés** te- p- e- ye- **kɨ**
1PL =FOC San Andrés 1PL.SBJ- AS1- OS- area- go.PL.PFV
'…nosotros venimos de San Andrés…'
'…we come from San Andrés…' [INTR12]

(194) nunutsi pet p- e- **tɨa** =ri **hukɨa**
boy F.S. AS1- OS- go.SG.PFV =already down
'…el niño se fue abajo…'
'…they boy went down…' [SR02]

(195) ne- pu- **nua** **Zoquipan**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- come.PFV Zoquipan
'…llegué a Zoquipan…'
'…I came to Zoquipan…' [DIS05]

Motion constructions take the negative prefix *ka-* to negate the statement like other verbs in the language, illustrated in (196).

(196) nee ne- u- **ka-** ye- **mie**
1SG 1SG.SBJ- VIS- NEG- area- go.SG.IPFV
'…yo no voy a ir…'
'…I'm not going…' [SR02]

Some of the motion verbs present semantic extensions related to motion in time or a change of a state, as shown in (197) and (198). This happens particularly with verbs that express general motion, like *'axe* 'to come/venir' or *tɨa* 'to go, ir'.

(197) tepu me- mu- ta- waya m- a- ya- **'axe** -tsie
drum 3PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- hit.slightly AS2- FIG- area- come -when
'…le pegan al tambor cuando llega el momento'
'…they play the drum when the time comes…' [DC01]

(198) tsɨkɨ tewi p- a- **tɨa** 'uka
dog person AS1- PRO- go.SG.PFV woman
'…el perro humano se convirtió en mujer…'
'…the human dog turned into a woman…' [SWM01]

On the other hand, change of posture verbs encode voluntary motion related to the posture

of the entity. The actor participant is marked with subject pronoun prefixes in the verbal stem. Some of the most common verbs are *ke* 'to stand up/levantarse', *hui* 'to lay down/acostarse', and *ya* 'to sit/sentar', as in (199) and (200).

(199) a. m- an- ti- **ke** -ni tewi pai̵ 'ane -ti̵ hapai̵na
AS2- X- up- stand.up -NARR person this.way be -SS same
'…ella (perro) se paró así como persona…'
'…she (dog) stood up as a person…' [SWM01]

b. nee ximeri ne- m- an- ku- **ke** -ka -tsie
1SG morning 1SG.SBJ- AS2- X- around- stand.up -SS -when
'…yo en la mañana cuando me levanto…'
'…me, in the morning, when I stand up…' [INTR16]

(200) te- ku- **hui** -ti̵we -ti̵
1PL.SBJ- around- lay.down -PROGR.PL -SS
'…nosotros nos estamos acostando…'
'…we are laying down…' [DPEY03]

A few change of posture verbs present different roots based on number and aspect. For example, the verb 'to sit/sentar' has four roots, namely *ya*, *yaxi*, *yeri̵*, and *yaxi*, as illustrated in (201), (202), (203). The first two are used to indicate a completed action with no duration. The last two roots, on the other hand, denote an action that is durative, i.e. the participant keeps doing the action for a period of time. All the roots mark singular or plural subject. Temporal/aspectual markers in these verbs are used to situate the event in a temporal context as a construction.

(201) a. ne- p- an- ka- **ya**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- side- down- sit.PFV
'Yo me senté.'
'I sat down.' [Elicit]

b. Huani pegro me- pu- ka- **yaxi** -xi̵ 'i̵pari -tsie
John peter 3PL.SBJ- AS1- down- sit.PL -PFV chair -LOC
'Pedro y Juan se sentaron en la silla.'
'Peter and John sat on the chair.' [Elicit]

c. mana =ta waniu tɨri me- te- ku- **yaxi** -ke -kai
DEM =FOC EVI.IND children 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- around- sit.PL -POT -IPFV
'…allí los niños se sentaban…'
'…the children seated there…' [SCP01]

(202) te- mɨ- ka- **yaxe**
1PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sit.PL.IPFV
'…nos quedamos sentamos…'
'…we stay seated…' [DC01]

(203) mara'akame mana m- a- **yerɨ** -ni
shaman DEM AS2- PRO- sit.SG.IPFV -NARR
'…el cantador allí se sienta (Lit. 'el chaman se queda sentado')…'
'…the shaman stays seated there…' [DC01]

Change of posture clauses take the negative prefix marker *ka-* to negate the proposition like other verbs in the language, illustrated in (204).

(204) kwitɨ **ka-** pan- ku- **ke** -ni
fast NEG- X- X- stand.up -NARR
'…no se para rápido…'
'…he doesn't stand up fast….' [DIS05]

4.3.2.1.2. Involuntary motion clauses

Clauses that encode involuntary motion contain a subject that undergoes an action that occurred spontaneously. This affectedness is observed in verbs such as *we* or *wautse* 'to fall down/caerse', as in (205) and (206).

(205) m- a- ti- **we** =ta hɨ tewa -ya
AS2- PRO- back- fall =FOC AFF animal -3SG.POSS
'…se cayó su animal…'
'…his animal fell down…' [SPE01]

(206) te- 'iparewie -tɨ xeniu ta- kiekari ka- hau- ye- **wautse** -ni -kɨ
1PL.SBJ- help -SS EVI.IND 1PL- town NEG- all- area- fall -FUT -for
'…nosotros ayudamos a nuestro pueblo para que no se caiga…''
'…we help our town so that it does not fall down…' [DEER02]

4.3.2.2. Non-motion clauses

Non-motion clauses in Wixárika mark the arguments with subject pronouns whatever their semantic role (actor or undergoer) is, and the verbs do not undergo any morphological process like suppletion. The semantic classes of verbs with the same type of encoding include 'activity' verbs, 'nature process' verbs, and 'body functions' verbs, which I classify as 'non-motion' due to their variety of meanings. Each semantic type of verb is described in the following sections to show that their constructions are marked in the same way morphosyntactically.

4.3.2.2.1. Activity clauses

These clauses encode an activity performed by an actor entity.[46] The actor is an animate entity marked with subject pronouns. Some verbs of activity found in the language are 'to sing', 'to dance', and 'to work' as in (207), (208), and (209). The verbs 'to sing' and 'to dance' have different roots based on whether the performance of the action happens in or outside the ceremony, as illustrated in (207) and (208). The constructions can take any temporal/aspectual marker.

(207) a. kwinie me- te- 'u- **tunu** -wa -ti
many 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- OS- sing -HAB -SS
'…ellos cantan mucho (chamanes en la ceremonia)…'
'…they sing a lot (shamans in the ceremony)…' [DIS05]

b. ta- wa -ni ta- **kwika**
SG- hit -NARR SG- sing
'…él toca el tambor y canta…'
'…he plays the drum and sing…' [DC01]

[46] Gómez (1993) categorizes these clauses as 'dynamic predicates' with verbs such as 'to work', 'to snore', 'to kiss', 'to run', 'to die', 'to sleep', etc.

(208) a. te- te- **nei** -tɨwe -ni
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- dance -PROGR.PL -NARR
'…nosotros estamos bailamos…'
'…we are dancing…' [DMC04]

b. taame =ta hikuri te- pu- ti- **ye'a**
1PL =FOC peyote 1PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- dance
'…nosotros, el peyote, bailamos (en la ceremonia)…'
'…we, the peyote, dance (in the ceremony)…' [DMC04]

(209) a. Dirección de Educación Indígena ne- p- ti- **'uximaya**
Direccion of education indigenous 1SG.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- work
'…yo trabajo en la Dirección de Educación Indígena…'
'…I work in the Department of Indigenous Education…' [INTR11]

b. peru =tsɨ te- te- **'uximaya** -tɨ
but =so 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- work -SS
'…pero pues nosotros trabajamos…'
'…but we work…' [DIS05]

Other examples of activity verbs are *waika* 'to play/jugar', *'ɨwa* 'to take a shower/bañarse', and *nenewe* 'to pray/orar', as shown in (210), (211), and (212).

(210) me- ka- niu- ti- kwika -ni me- ka- niu- ti- **waika** -ni
3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- PL- sing -NARR 3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR-PL- play -NARR
'…ellos cantan, juegan…'
'…they sing, play…' [INTR23]

(211) me- pu- ti- **'ɨwa** -xɨ waniu mɨkɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- take.bath -PFV EVI.IND DEM
'…ellos se bañaron (el colibrí y venado)…'
'…they took a shower (the hummingbird and the deer)…' [DEER02]

(212) te- ta- **nenewie** -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- SG- RDP.pray -SS
'…nosotros oramos…'
'…we pray…' [DPEYC02]

Activity clauses sometimes occur with locative phrases, as shown in (213) and (214). The locative phrase includes a noun with a locative suffix or a free/bound postposition indicating the location where the activity is performed.

(213) mana'i me- n- te- **nei** -tɨwe **tai- 'aurie**
DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- DISTR- dance -PROGR.PL fire- around
'…allí bailan alrededor del fuego…'
'…they dance there around fire…' [YP01]

(214) **ha -ta** pu- ti- **waika** -kai waniu
water -LOC AS1- PL- play -IPFV EVI.IND
'…jugaba en el agua…'
'…he played in the water…' [SR02]

4.3.2.2.2. Nature process clauses

The clauses express processes that occur in nature which an entity undergoes, like *nei* 'to come up/salir', *ne* 'to sprout/brotar', *tixu* 'to bloom/florecer' or *pɨni* 'to rot/pudrirse', illustrated in (215), (216), and (217). The entities that occur with these verbs are elements of nature (e.g., plants, Sun, etc.) which are considered inanimate participants in the language. Evidence of this hypothesis is proved with example (217), which does not have the subject pronoun prefix *me-* '3PL.SBJ' even though the argument *tuturi* 'flowers/flores' is in plural.

(215) m- a- ti- **nei** -ka m- a- ka- yuyuipi -ke
AS2- PRO- up- come.up -SS AS2- PRO- down- RDP.close -POT
'…sale, se mete (el Sol)…'
'…comes out, comes down (the Sun)…' [SSB02]

(216) teiyari te- mɨ- ka- 'eni m- u- ti- **ne** -ni
sacred.corn 1PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sow AS2- VIS- up- sprout -FUT
'…sembramos el maíz sagrado, brotará…'
'…we sow the sacred corn, it will sprout…' [DMC02]

(217) yeme tutu -ri chi- u- le- **tixu** -tɨwe
truth flower -PL DIM- VIS- PL- bloom -PROGR.PL
'…de verdad, están floreciendo/brotando flores…'
'… it is true, flowers are blooming/sprouting…' [INTR07]

4.3.2.2.3. Body function clauses

These clauses describe voluntary and involuntary body functions. Both types of events encode the actor/undergoer participant with subject pronoun prefixes. Some examples of

voluntary bodily function events with an actor participant can be observed with *tsua* ‘to cry/llorar’, *’iwe* ‘to breathe/respirar’, *ku* ‘to sleep/dormir’, *nawe* ‘to laugh/reir’, illustrated in (218)-(221). The verbs are used for both singular or plural number without using a suppletive root.

(218) a. ’u- ta- **tsua** -tɨ waniu waika -ne -kai
there- SG- cry -SS EVI.IND play -PROGR.SG -IPFV
‘…estaba jugando llorando…’
‘…he was playing and crying at the same time…’ [SR02]

b. hipatɨ me- pu- ti- **tsua** -ne -kai =ri
some 3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- cry- -PROGR.SG -IPFV =already
‘…algunos, ellos lloraban…’
‘…some, they cried…’ [SSB02]

(219) ne- m- u- ta- **’iwe** -kɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS2- VIS- SG- breath -because
‘…porque respiro…’
‘…because I breathe…’ [DC01]

(220) a. ne- ’iyari -kɨ ne- p- au- **ku** -ni
1SG- heart -INSTR 1SG.SBJ- AS1- all- sleep -FUT
‘…dormiré con bien…’
‘…I’ll sleep well…’ [PR01]

b. me- mu- ka- **kukutsu** -kai -tsie
3PL.SBJ- AS1- down- RDP.sleep -IPFV -when
‘…cuando ellos estaban durmiendo…’
‘…when they were sleeping…’ [SSB02]

(221) a. ke- mɨ- ti- u- **nawe** -ni maxa
INTER- MOD- PL- VIS- laugh -NARR deer
‘…el venado se reía…’
‘…the deer was laughing…’ [DEER02]

b. me- niu- ti- **nawe** -ni xeikɨa
3PL.SBJ- NARR- PL- laugh -NARR only
‘…ellos se reían nomás…’
‘…they just laughed…’ [SSB02]

Examples of involuntary body function clauses where the participant is an undergoer of the action can be observed with *yɨra* 'to grow up/crecer', *nuiwa* 'to be born/nacer', *kwaxiya* 'to sweat/sudar', *hakwita* 'to have diarrhea/tener diarrea', and *kuku* 'to cough/toser', illustrated in (222)-(225). Only the verb *nuiwa* 'to be born/nacer' reduplicate for plural number, as in (222b).

(222) a. ta- tei ke- ti- u- **nuiwa** -xɨ ta- tei ke- tui- **yɨra** -xɨ
1PL- mother INTER- SG- VIS- born -PFV 1PL- mother INTER- X- grow -PFV
'…nuestra madre cómo nació, nuestra madre cómo creció…'
'…our mother how she was born, our mother how she grew up…' [PL02]

b. te- mu- ti- **nunuiwa** -tsie
1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- RDP.born -when
'…cuando nacemos…'
'…when we are born…' [P01]

(223) tɨpina ke- mɨ- ti- **kwaxiya** -ka mu- na- ku- ne -ka
hummingbird INTER- AS2- PL- sweat -SS AS2- ALL- around- come -SS
'…el colibrí venía sudando…'
'…the hummingbird came sweating…' [DEER02]

(224) pu- **hakwita** -kai
AS1- have.diarrhea -IPFV
'…tenía diarrea…'
'…he had diarrhea…' [DIS05]

(225) ne- pu- ta- **kuku**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- SG- cough
'Yo estoy tosiendo.'
'I am coughing' [Elicit]

4.4. Summary

This chapter explored the different types of intransitive clauses in Wixárika. The purpose was to investigate the properties of clauses in relation to different semantic classes of verbs, to see how the language describes single-argument events. The morphosyntactic properties considered in this analysis were mainly the number of arguments and their encoding, the type of root (e.g., nominal, attributive, verbal, etc.), and morphological processes (e.g., suppletion or

reduplication). Other shared morphological markings such as the use of the middle marker *yu*-, directional/locatives or temporal/aspectual morphemes were considered as well.

I determined that Wixárika has intransitive clauses that contain a subject (subject pronoun, a deictic element or a noun phrase) and a verb. The subject's roles were broadly classified as 'actor' and 'undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) since the pronoun prefixes only distinguish subject and non-subject. I divided the clauses into two main groups based on the number of arguments: 'Zero intransitive' and 'Intransitive'. Subsequently, I divided intransitive clauses into 'stative' (state or condition) and 'active' (performance of an action or activity) based on the semantic classes of verbs that share morphosyntactic features. 'Stative' clauses showed variation in terms of types of roots (e.g., nominal, attributive, verbal), functions, and strategies; while 'active' clauses presented two broad semantic categories: 'motion' clauses and 'non-motion', distinguished by the use of suppletion and directional/locative prefixes. In all the categories, I included alternative strategies to express the same functions (e.g., juxtaposition for equational clauses instead of a verbalized noun) in order to provide a complete outline of the phenomenon in the language (Cf. Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

I classified intransitive clauses based on broad semantic classes of verbs (Cf. Gómez 1993) that accounts for the language-specific characteristics (Comrie et al. 2015), rather than on the *Aktionsart* (Vendler 1957) of each verb. For instance, I established general classes of verbs (Dixon 2005; Comrie et al. 2015), like verbs of change of state, verbs of perception, etc. These verbs were then grouped into the two broader classes ('stative' and 'active') based on their general morphological properties (e.g., tense, aspect, middle marker, arguments, etc.).

The analysis of the intransitive clauses and strategies showed that Wixárika's encoding strategies are mainly 'verbalizing' or 'syntax-oriented language' —in Stassen's (1997) terms—

since the language verbalizes other categories, like nouns, adverbs, attributes, and numerals to create intransitive clauses. However, the different roots do not share the same morphosyntactic properties (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999). For instance, the verbalized nouns tend to be restricted in terms of the use of temporal/aspectual markers because they require the derivative suffix *-ti*. In addition, the verbalized noun can preserve noun morphology (e.g., plural markers, the comitative suffix, possessive affixes, etc.). The attributive roots constitute a verbal subcategory but preserve certain 'adjectival' functions since they can take noun morphology (e.g., subject *-ti* and non-subject *-me* case markers). In this sense, I proposed a scalar view of the phenomenon, similar to Iturrioz (1986), Gómez (1999), and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006). The scalar nature of the phenomenon was also observed with the sub-domains of the 'stative' and 'active' groups since some of the stative clauses, particularly the 'verbal stative' clauses, can take the same temporal/aspect markers as 'active' clauses in general, although with more restrictions.

The idea of a *continuum* of the different clause types is supported by Stassen (1997:11-28), who claims that the domain of intransitive predication must be observed as a 'semantic space' in which various categories of predicates are situated in relation to one another. Wixárika showed that the different clause types and strategies allow for overlaps and intermediate cases based on the morphosyntactic behavior, alternative strategies, and functions. Wixárika represents another case which provides more evidence of the scalar nature of intransitivity, particularly with its verbal strategy commonly used across different lexical categories. Although the corpus shows only language-specific features, Wixárika can be largely used to support general crosslinguistic observations regarding intransitivity.

CHAPTER 5

CLAUSE TYPES: TRANSITIVE

5.1. Introduction

This chapter explores transitive clauses in Wixárika. The purpose is to investigate the properties of clauses of different semantic classes of verbs to see how the language describes particular types of events. Transitive clauses in Wixárika are less diverse in terms of categories if compared with intransitive clauses (see §Ch.4). All clauses present the same morphological features for different semantic classes of verbs, that is, subject, object, and a verbal stem (sometimes derived by suffixes, like *-tɨa*, *-ta*, *-ya* 'CAUS'). The subject is a subject pronoun prefixed to the verb when it is an animate participant, a deictic element, or a noun phrase. The object is a non-subject pronoun prefixed to the verb when it is animate, a noun phrase or a deictic particle. This chapter centers on the description of two features in this type of clauses. First, I explore the morphosyntactic features considered from within more traditional frameworks on transitivity, which include the number of arguments and the grammatical relations in the language (Jacobsen 1985; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993; Crystal 2008). Second, I explore the semantic roles that occur in the clause and their encoding in a transitive clause, which are one of the features that functional-typological theories consider (Lyons 1968; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Langacker 1990; Tsunoda 1994; Givón 1984, 1995; Davidse 1996; Wierzbicka 1996; Lazard 1998; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007).

As will be observed in this chapter, the language largely shows that the number of arguments and their grammatical relations can be used to distinguish intransitive from transitive

clauses, similar to traditional frameworks. This is due to the obligatory marking of the arguments in the verbal complex if animate, which are marked with two grammatical relations, subject and non-subject, or the presence of two noun phrases if inanimate. Regarding the semantic roles, Wixárika shows that the subject argument can have a range of semantic roles depending on the type of verb, such as 'agent', 'experiencer', 'patient', etc. However, the pronominal prefixes remain neutral as to the semantic roles, since they only distinguish two grammatical relations, subject, and non-subject. I have decided to describe the arguments' semantic roles by using the macrorole terms 'Actor' and 'Undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), as in intransitive clause. However, as mentioned in §Ch.4, these terms are problematic due to the animacy hierarchy of the language and the only type of object that is marked in the verbal complex.

In general, I claim that although the language largely expresses transitivity as a binary category due to its morphosyntactic properties, I also show that only considering structural aspects of the language, like the number of arguments and grammatical relations, is not enough to account for the phenomenon of transitivity. In the same way, analyzing only the semantic roles in Wixárika do not account for a complete explanation of the phenomenon, since the language only codes two grammatical relations (subject and non-subject) with different semantic roles. Other language-specific prefixes such as *ta-*/*ti-*, described in §Ch.6, must be considered to understand how transitivity works in the language.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section 5.2 summarizes the approaches on transitivity, which I classify into 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' notions. These approaches are discussed throughout the chapter in connection to Wixárika to reach a language-specific description of 'transitivity'. Section 5.3 explores the arguments, their marking, and grammatical

relations in Wixárika by using data from my corpus and from Comrie (1983). Section 5.4 discusses the analysis, and section 5.5 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

5.2. The notion of transitivity

'Transtivity' —derived from Latin *trans* 'across' and *īre* 'go' (Tsunoda 1994:4670)— is a linguistic phenomenon that has gained considerable attention over the last couple of decades. Much has been written about this grammatical phenomenon since it is central to understanding the structure of languages. 'Transitivity' has even been assumed to be a language-universal phenomenon. However, it is less well understood than the large amount of literature suggests. A few definitions focusing on different aspects of the clause/events (e.g., structural or semantic) have been suggested. For this reason, there is no universally accepted definition which captures precisely the range of functions the term is being used to cover.

The proposed frameworks on 'transitivity' can be grouped into two general types: (i) the 'traditional' notions and (ii) the 'non-traditional' notions. Both approaches center in two main aspects of 'transitivity' which are explained in different ways:

1) Transitivity as a property of verbs or clauses.
2) Transitivity as a binary or prototype category.

The two approaches —along with the proposals—are explained in detail throughout this chapter while discussing how Wixárika expresses 'transitivity'. A brief summary of the approaches is provided below:

I. The traditional notions of transitivity. These notions analyze the phenomenon as purely structural, without considering the meaning of the verbs or the larger clause with its argument(s). The number of expressed core arguments necessary to make a predicate grammatical is

considered crucial to determining the 'transitivity' of a *verb*. In this sense, an intransitive verb would take one (subject) argument while a transitive one would take two or more (subject, object, and/or indirect object). For instance, sentences like *Jack killed the chief* and *John saw Jill* are transitive since two noun phrases are mentioned, while examples like *Mary sleeps* and *The dog ran* are purely intransitive due to their single noun argument. These explicit noun phrases correspond to the core arguments of the verb. Consequently, the notions only consider the existence of a strict *binary* opposition where elements are placed into one category or the other (Hartmann & Stork 1972; Jacobsen 1985; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993).

The traditional notions differ in terms of how important they consider the coding of arguments for determining 'transitivity'. A few proposals do not take into account the morphosyntactic characteristics of the arguments, but just the expressed core arguments (Hartmann & Stork 1972; Jacobsen 1985). In this sense, the notions encompass verbs, like *kill*, *eat*, *find*, and *hit* in the same category. Other proposals, however, consider not only the number but the form of the argument (Dixon 1979; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993). For instance, verbs having a direct accusative object or an ergatively marked subject are considered transitive, while others are viewed as intransitive despite the number of expressed core arguments. In principle, the perspectives considering the number and form of the arguments also recognize two categories. However, we can observe that there is a transition towards observing an item to be more or less 'transitive' when a higher number of criteria are invoked (e.g., the number of arguments and accusative objects/ergative subjects). In this latter sense, not any verb with two arguments is considered 'transitive' in these perspectives.

II. The non-traditional notion of transitivity. The discovery of new patterns and behaviors in languages belonging to families other than Indo-European has resulted in a variety of approaches to 'transitivity'. The basic idea of defining 'transitivity' based on one or two features has been rejected. Consequently, new approaches integrating different features that are considered relevant to create a substantial definition of the phenomenon have been adopted to explain the complexity of language structures. The concept of 'transitivity' was broadened to the level of the *clause* in order to consider semantic aspects of the events as a whole.

The transitive clause was broadly defined as a clause that expresses an event with two obligatory participants, the *agent* and the *patient*, where the effect of an action passes over from one participant to the other (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Andrews 1985; Langacker 1990; Kemmer 1993; Tsunoda 1994; Givón 1995; Davidse 1996; Næss 2007). The mapping of morphosyntactic features with the semantics of the events is crucial to determining the 'degree' of transitivity of a clause (Givón 1984; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). In this sense, intransitive and transitive clauses do not exhibit a sharp division but rather they constitute a *continuum*. Each type contains specific features that form a *prototype*. Any deviation from this prototype will lead to a more or less transitive clause (Lakoff 1977; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Lazard 2003; Næss 2007).

There are many attempts in the literature at providing a precise formulation of the 'transitive prototype'. They vary to a certain extent in terms of the number of features to consider (e.g., the number of participants, kinesis, individuation, affectedness, volitionality, etc.), but there is general agreement on the essential features of the prototype: A prototypical transitive clause is taken to be one which describes an event involving a volitionally acting 'agent' participant– performing a concrete, dynamic action– which has a perceptible and lasting effect

on a specific 'patient' (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). In addition, the event should be presented as real and concluded (e.g., perfective aspect, realis mood, affirmative, etc.). Any clause that is formally distinct from the prototype transitive clause in a given language should show deviation from the prototype semantic properties of the event (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). Conversely, clauses which fulfill all the semantic criteria should be formally transitive.

The two groups of approaches contribute to an understanding of the transitivity phenomenon, but at the same time, they show limitations due to the amount of languages that need to be considered to construct a 'universal' concept. Croft (2002:13) cautions against an approach that begins with predetermined forms:

> "The essential problem is that languages vary in their structure to a great extent: indeed, that is what typology (and, more generally, linguistics) aims to study and explain. But the variation in structure makes it impossible to use structural criteria, or only structural criteria, to identify grammatical categories across languages. If we did use structural criteria, we would be prejudging the result of our supposedly empirical analysis, by excluding a priori structural types that do not fit our criteria."

In this sense, the 'non-traditional' notions provide a wider perspective on how to look at other languages different from Indo-European ones —particularly under-described languages—, since they propose observing semantic components, and not only the grammatical structure. These theories incorporate several features that are 'valid' or commonly occur crosslinguistically by first observing language-specific characteristics, and then by comparing them on a larger scale.

As will be demonstrated in this dissertation, Wixárika is an example of a language that largely distinguishes a clear-cut category between intransitive and transitive clauses when

considering the number of arguments and their encoding, due to its morphosyntactic characteristics. The arguments are obligatorily marked in the verbal complex and encoded with the two grammatical relations despite any semantic changes if animate, or two noun phrases occur in the clause if inanimate. However, as functional-typological studies show, the number of arguments and their encoding is not enough to understand the phenomenon as a whole. The language presents the set of prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, described in §Ch.6, that must be considered due to the distinct semantic nuances they express in the clause.

5.3. Transitive clauses in Wixárika

5.3.1 Number of arguments

Wixárika's intransitive and transitive clauses can be structurally distinguished by the number of arguments (Dixon 1979; Jacobsen 1985; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993; Crystal 2008). The language's intransitive clauses contain a subject and a verb, while transitive clauses have a subject, a verb, and an object. The core animate arguments in a transitive clause are marked in the verbal complex with pronominal prefixes if animate (see §Ch. 3 for a complete discussion), which only distinguish two grammatical relations, subject and non-subject (Cf. Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The pronominal prefixes agree in person and number with the independent noun or pronoun of the language when they are present in the clause (except for 3SG). The subject pronouns precede the non-subject pronouns or may be separated from them by other prefixes. The marking of animate arguments on the verb follows the 'animacy hierarchy' proposed by Silverstein (1976) (*human* > *animate* > *inanimate*) where only human and animate participants are encoded in the verbal complex. Inanimate arguments, on the other hand, are explicitly stated as nouns or deictic elements placed right before the verb,

for both, subject and non-subject roles. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate Wixárika's intransitive and transitive clauses with animate and inanimate participants explicitly stated in the clause.

(1) a. **tiiri** mana **me-** ka- niu- ti- ’ɨwa -ni
children DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- PL- take.shower.PRS -NARR
‘…los niños allí se bañan…’
‘…children take a shower there…’ [INTR23]

b. **tɨpina** meri nua -ni
hummingbird first arrive.PFV -NARR
‘…el colibrí llegó primero…’
‘…the hummingbird arrived first…’ [DEER02]

(2) a. **’iku** **ne-** mu- ti- tɨxɨ
maíz 1SG.SBJ- AS2- PL- grind.PRS
‘…muelo maiz…’
‘…I grind corn…’ [DTOR01]

b. **tɨri** =ta **ne-** **wa-** re- xeiya yu- nauka -me
children =FOC 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- have.PRS ANIM- four -NSBJ
‘…tengo cuatro hijos…’
‘…I have four children…’ [INTR02]

Wixárika shows that transitive clauses with two arguments distinguish two grammatical relations in the verb, the subject and non-subject. Traditional frameworks on transitivity consider that grammatical relations are crucial to distinguishing transitive from intransitive verbs (Jacobsen 1985; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993). In the following section, an exploration of the language's grammatical relations as well as a discussion on the accurateness of this proposal to distinguish types of clauses is provided.

5.3.2. ‘Subject’ and ‘non-subject’

Traditional frameworks on transitivity consider that the grammatical concepts of ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are universal and that can be used to distinguish a transitive verb from an

intransitive verb (Jacobsen 1985; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993). These concepts were drawn from the analysis of Indo-European languages where the notions of 'subject' and 'object' are easily defined. However, research has shown that these grammatical relations are not appropriate to all languages and to all clauses in a single language (Keenan 1976; Dryer 1997; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Givón 2001). Considering 'transitivity' in terms of 'subject' and 'object' limits the definition to only languages that have these grammatical relations (Siewierska 1971). For this reason, these concepts were replaced by the labels 'subject' (S) for an intransitive argument and 'agent' (A)/ 'object' (O) for transitive arguments; terms which are more applicable cross-linguistically (Dixon 1979). Wixárika shows another example where the terms 'subject' and 'object', as well as 'subject', 'agent', and 'object' are not relevant due to the 'prime object' characteristics of the language (Comrie 1982:97-99). Wixárika uses the same pronominal prefixes ('non-subject pronouns') to encode the classical conceptions of objects (direct and indirect object).

The grammatical relations 'subject' and 'non-subject' in Wixárika gives language-specific evidence of the distinction of two arguments in transitive clauses, as explained in §Ch. 3. These grammatical relations can be determined by different morphosyntactic tests. Comrie (1982:102) provides five grammatical structures that prove the existence of these grammatical relations in Wixárika (explained in detail in §Ch.3):

I. Verb Agreement. The first piece of evidence is observed with 'verb agreement', where the subject and non-subject pronouns (object and recipient) are marked on the verb, illustrated with *ne-* '1SG.SBJ' in (3a) and *metsi-* '2SG.NSBJ' in (3a) and (3b).

(3) a. nee =ri kwatsie ’a- hetsie **ne**- p- e- tanua -ni ’a- papa
1SG =already AFF 2SG- in 1SG.SBJ- AS1- EXT- defend -NARR 2SG- father
‘…yo te defiendo de tu papá’
‘…I’ll defend you from your dad’

ka- **metsi**- he- ku- waya -ni =ri
NEG- 2SG.NSBJ- EXT- SP- hit -NARR =already
‘para que ya no te pegue…’
‘so that he does not hit you anymore…’ [SR02]

b. ’iki ne- **mes**- ta- tui -rie ’iri
this 1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- SG- give -APPL.ICOMPL arrow
‘…esto te doy, una flecha…’
‘…I give you this, an arrow…’ [SR02]

II. Possessive pronouns. The second piece of evidence is the use of the ‘possessive pronouns’: *yu-* which indicates coreference between the subject of the action and the possessor, and *-ya*, which marks a 3SG possessor that is not coreferent with the subject of the action, as illustrated in (4) and (5).

(4) **yu-** prepa xe- na- ye- ni -ni
POSS.SS- high.school 2PL.SBJ- X- X- finish -NARR
‘…(Ustedes) terminen su prepa…’
‘…. You (PL) finish (your) high school…’ [SPS01]

(5) p- i- ta- tui -ri waniu miki yu- ’iri
AS2- 3SG.OBJ- SG- give -APPL.COMPL EVI.IND DEM 3SG.POSS- arrow
‘…se lo dio, su flecha’
‘…he gave it to him’

tatsi ’iki nunutsi yia -ne -kai titi miki nunutsi niwe **-ya**
AFF DEM child be -PROGR.SG -IPFV EVI DEM child son -3SG.POSS.DS
‘el niño era su hijo (del señor)…’
‘the boy was the man’s son…’ [SR02]

III. Case markers. The third piece of evidence comes from the use of ‘case markers’ in the language. As mentioned in §Ch. 3, Wixárika has a system of case markers that is used in a few constructions. The suffix *-ti* indicates that the noun is subject, but *-me* otherwise (non-subject and obliques) (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999). These suffixes only attach to noun phrases with numerals

(Comrie 1982), as in (6) and (7), attributes in adjectival-prototypical function, and constructions that contain the particle *nai* 'all/todo'.

(6) wa- papa tsiere pu- yeika -kai waniu yu- huta **-ti** tiiri
3PL- father also AS1- wander.SG -IPFV EVI.IND ANIM- two -SBJ children
'…su papá también andaba, dos niños (andaban)…'
'…their father was also there, two children (were wandering)…' [SR02]

(7) nauka **-me** papa ne- pu- ti- kwa -i
four -NSBJ tortilla 1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- eat -PFV
'Comí cuatro tortillas.'
'I ate four tortillas.' [Elicit]

IV. Switch-reference system. The 'switch-reference' marking system is the fourth type of evidence. The 'same-reference' marker is used when the subject of the dependent clause is the same as the main clause. The 'switch-reference' marker is used when the subject of one clause is coreferential with the non-subject of the other clause. The different switch-reference markers in Wixárika are illustrated in table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Switch-reference system in Wixárika (Comrie 1983: 19).[47]

	Same-subject	Different subject
Simultaneous	-ti	-kaku
Anterior		
Past	-ka	-ku
Future	-me	-yu

V. Passive. As the fifth piece of evidence, Comrie (1982) explores the 'passive' construction in the language. 'Passivization' is commonly used in structural perspectives to determine grammatical relations and the 'transitivity' of the verb. According to this framework, passives are only allowed with transitive verbs. The more transitive a clause is, the more readily it can be passivized (Rice 1987; Drossard 1991; Lehmann 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993). However, this

[47] Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:206) present the same table except for the labels non-future vs. future distinction.

tool has been widely criticized due to the lack of passive constructions in most languages, as well as the non-universal grammatical relations 'subject' and 'object (Tsunoda 1994:4670). Moreover, some intransitive verbs can sometimes be passivized. Wixárika does have passive constructions where a set of passive suffixes (see §Ch. 8 for a detailed description) are used to place in focus the object and the recipient undergoer. This means that the passive construction can be used to determine grammatical relations in Wixárika; however, not without problems.

Comrie (1982) states that in a passive clause the 'object' turns into the 'subject' marked with subject pronouns, as in (8). In this example the argument *netsi-* '1SG.NSBJ' is marked as *ne-* '1SG.SBJ' when the passive suffix *-rie* is used.

(8) a. me- **netsi-** ha- 'iwawiya
3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- ALL- ask.PRS
'…me preguntan…'
'…they ask me…' [INTR02]

b. 'ikɨ nee **ne-** 'iwawiya **-rie**
DEM 1SG 1SG.SBJ- ask.PRS -PASS
'….soy preguntado…'
'…I am asked…' [PL01]

The corpus of this dissertation shows that the beneficiary/recipient arguments are most commonly encoded as the subject of the clause in the passive. One of the main reasons is the animacy hierarchy the language follows where only animate arguments are coded in the verb. This behavior again proves the existence of the two grammatical relations, subject and non-subject, derived from the 'prime object' system, as illustrated in (9) and (10). Less commonly, the object/theme in a (derived) ditransitive clause can be promoted as the subject of the clause, as shown in (11).

(9) tetsu me- niu- 'ɨitɨa **-rie** -ni
tamal 3PL.SBJ- NARR- give.PRS -PASS -NARR

‘… ellos son dados tamales…’
‘…they are given tamales…’ [INTR05]

(10) ’uaye ne- p- ti- pitɨa **-rie** -ni
medicine 1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- give.PRS -PASS -NARR
‘…me es dada la medicina…’
‘…I am given the medicine…’ [DIS05]

(11) xapa p- e- nɨ’a **-rie**
letter AS1- OS- send.PFV -PASS
‘Una carta fue enviada.’
‘A letter was sent.’ [Elicit]

However, intransitive clauses can be passivized when the speaker wants to convey an impersonal meaning, as in (13), demonstrating the inaccuracy of the ‘passivization’ tool to distinguish a transitive from an intransitive clause, as suggested in the literature (Tsunoda 1994:4670). Example (12) illustrates the intransitive verb *mawa* ‘to make an offering/hacer ofrenda’ with the actor *te-* ‘1PL.SBJ’. The object ‘offering’ is lexicalized in the meaning of the verb. Example (13) illustrates the impersonal function of the suffix *-rie* where the original subject is demoted.

(12) taikai te- mu- ti- **mawa**
night 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- make.offering.PRS
‘…nosotros hacemos ofrenda al anochecer…’
‘…we make an offering at night…’ [DMC02]

(13) waikɨa re- ti- **mawa** **-rie** -ni
somewhere INDF.P- PL- make.offering.PRS -PASS -NARR
‘…en algún lugar es hecha la ofrenda…’
‘…somewhere, the offering is done…’ [DEER02]

The grammatical relations (subject and non-subject) in Wixárika show that the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ used in traditional frameworks are not universal. These concepts cannot be included in the definition on transitivity if we want to analyze the phenomenon as ‘universal’. The terms ‘subject’ and ‘non-subject’ in Wixárika show the distinction of two arguments in a

transitive clause. The pronominal prefixes mark the 'subject' and 'other animate arguments that are not subjects'; and not a classical direct 'object', as described in the literature. The same is observed with inanimate arguments since the noun phrase can be marked with the subject and non-subject suffixes *-ti* and *-me* if they occur with numerals or other particles. This section also brings up the discussion of the use of 'passives' as a tool to determine if a verb is transitive or intransitive. As observed in the examples, the passive construction is not a completely accurate tool to distinguish a transitive from an intransitive clause since the passive markers can be used with both transitive and intransitive verbs in the language. If we were to consider 'passivization' as evidence of transitivity, we would have to view some intransitive verbs as transitive. In general, we can say that if the grammatical relations 'subject' and 'object' do not apply to all languages, the passive diagnostic is not a completely accurate test for determining 'transitivity'. The study of transitivity must first determine the relationship between semantic roles and syntactic expression instead of presupposing the grammatical functions 'subject' and 'object' in a transitive verb. The semantic expression of the arguments in Wixárika is described in the following section to explore the mapping of the grammatical relations and semantic roles of the language.

5.3.3. 'Actor' and 'undergoer'

Non-traditional frameworks consider that the semantics of the events expressed in a clause is crucial to understanding the notion of 'transitivity' crosslinguistically. They suggest that a transitive clause encodes the effects of an action that passes over from an *agent* to a *patient* (Lakoff 1977; Lyons 1968; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984, 1995; Andrews 1985; Langacker 1990; Kemmer 1993; Tsunoda 1994; Davidse 1996; Lazard 1998; Næss 2007). Some theoretical frameworks consider that the event described can be expressed syntactically in many

different ways, all of which must be regarded as transitive, however, based on its underlying semantic nature of the event (Langacker 1990; Davidse 1996). Other approaches, on the other hand, state that observing both semantic and morphosyntactic criteria is more useful in terms of understanding 'transitivity', since events may have multiple morphosyntactic configurations or expressions (Givón 1984, 1995; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). One of the morphosyntactic features commonly discussed is the expression of the arguments of the clause; that is, do the semantic roles map to the language's grammatical relations (Dryer 1997). Some languages are more sensitive in expressing different semantic roles with different morphosyntactic configurations. This is the reason why the labels 'subject' (S), 'agent' (A), and 'object' (O) were established (Dixon 1979), which conflate both semantic and morphosyntactic expression. Other languages, however, use only a reduced set of markings that encode several semantic roles.

Wixárika represents a case of a language of the latter type since it only distinguishes two grammatical relations, subject and non-subject, which express a variety of semantic roles. For this reason, I have decided to describe the arguments' semantic roles by using the macrorole terms 'Actor' and 'Undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). The terms 'actor' and 'undergoer' known as 'macroroles' generally subsume a number of specific semantic roles: the most 'agent-like' argument is the *actor* while the most 'patient-like' is the *undergoer* (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). The macroroles correspond to Wixárika's two primary arguments marked in the verbal complex in a transitive clause, or the noun phrase marked with case markers when inanimate. In this sense, the transitive verbs in Wixárika are treated similarly due to their transitive pattern, irrespective of their meaning. However, it is important to mention that these concepts are still problematic in the language due to the animacy hierarchy, particularly with the different types

objects that are marked with the non-subject pronominal prefix, which is mentioned in the description below.

Wixárika expresses the 'agent', 'experiencer', and 'possessor' semantic roles with the only two grammatical relations —subject and non-subject—found in the verb. The term 'actor' is assigned to these semantic roles in the language since all of these are marked with the same prefix, the subject pronoun. For instance, example (14) illustrates an agent that performs an action to change the state of the patient; example (15) shows the agent in a modal verb, and example (16) illustrates the agent in a verb of speech. All of them are encoded with subject pronoun prefixes, like *te-* '1PL.SBJ', *ne-* '1SG.SBJ', and *me-* '3PL.SBJ'.

(14) katarirɨme -kaku =ri ta- turu xɨa **te-** **mie** -ni
late.night -DS =already 1PL- bull truth 1PL.SBJ- kill.OBJ.SG -NARR
'…en la madrugada, matamos al toro…'
'…late in the night, we kill the bull…' [DPEYC02]

(15) yu- eskuela **me-** m- a- na- ye- **nɨ** -ni -kɨ
3SG.POSS- school 3PL.SBJ- AS2- FIG- X- X- finish -NARR -for
'…ellos terminan su escuela…'
'…they finish school…' [SPS01]

(16) hikɨ **ne-** ti- wa- ku- **xaxa** -tɨwa
now 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- SP- talk.RDP.PROGR -PROGR.PL
'…ahora les platico…'
'…I'm talking to you now…' [LCLake02]

Experiencer and possessor roles are encoded with subject pronouns as well. Examples (17) and (18) illustrate clauses with perception and possessive verbs, both marked with the subject pronouns *te-* '1PL.SBJ' and *xe-* '2PL.SBJ'.

(17) **xe-** ta- he- **xeiya**
2PL.SBJ- 1PL.NSBJ- x- see.PRS
'…ustedes nos ven…'
'…you (PL) look at us…' [LCLake04]

(18) **te-** mɨ- te- u- **xeiya** -ni ’ikwai
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- VIS- have -NARR food
‘…nosotros tenemos comida…’
‘…we have food…’ [DC01]

The non-subject pronouns mark different types of objects as well, irrespective of their degree of affectedness (e.g., total, partial or non-affectedness). ‘Affectedness’ is one of the key parameters of many transitivity theories, and is generally understood as the “persistent change of an event participant” (Fillmore 1968; Anderson 1971; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Tsunoda 1985; Jackendoff 1990; Lehmann 1991; Dowty 1991; Malchucov 2005; Beavers 2010). As mentioned before, the non-subject pronouns are only marked when the participants are animate (other than 3SG). This means that languages with animacy preferences for objects, like Wixárika, where the most human participant is often promoted to undergoer (rather than the most patient-like participant), it is a corollary that semantic roles and degrees of affectedness are often not key components of structural transitivity, since affectedness and animacy preferences are competing categories. However, I only use the term ‘undergoer’ to cover the number of semantic roles marked with the non-subject pronoun (e.g., patient, theme, recipient, etc.) for active clauses. I also use the term ‘undergoer’ for the promoted object in a passive clause, which is marked with subject pronouns (see §Ch.8 for a detailed description of the passive construction). Examples in (19)-(23) show different types of events with distinct degrees of affectedness of the object, marked with non-subject pronouns. Example (19) illustrates the object’s total affectedness with the verb *kwi* ‘to kill/matar (PL)’; example (20) shows a physical contact without a necessary change of state in the object with the verb *waya* ‘to hit/pegar’; example (21) shows the change of posture of the object with *yatsa* ‘to sit someone/sentar a alguien’; example (22) shows an object that is transferred with the verb *’itɨa* ‘to give/dar’, and example (23) presents an experiencer who is conceived as an undergoer of the experience with the verb *nake* ‘to like/gustar’.

(19) ne- **wa**- ru- **kwi**
1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- kill.OBJ.PL.PFV
'Yo los maté a ellos.'
'I killed them.' [Elicit]

(20) heiwa pe- **wa**- ti- **waya** -kaku
sometimes 2SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- hit -DS
'… a veces les pegas…'
'…sometimes you hit them…' [SR02]

(21) te- n- **wa**- **yatsa** -ni
1PL.SBJ- NARR- 3PL.NSBJ- sit.PRS -NARR
'…nosotros los sentamos (niños)…'
'…we sit them (children)…' [DDrC01]

(22) **nawa** te- te- **wa**- 'itɨa -me
tejuino 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- give.PRS -SS
'…nosotros les damos tejuino…'
'…we give tejuino to them…' [CLCM01]

(23) ne- niwe -ma mɨkɨ pɨ- **wa**- nake papa
1SG- son -PL DEM AS1- 3PL.NSBJ- like.PRS tortillas
'… a mis hijos eso les gusta, las tortilla azules…'
'… my children like them, the blue tortillas…' [INTR10]

Inanimate subjects and objects are not marked in the verbal complex. Objects do not present any structural change regarding affectedness as well. They are marked only when they co-occur with a numeral or the particle *nai* 'all/todo', but with the same grammatical relation: the non-subject case marker *-me*, as described in §Ch.3. Example (24) illustrates the object's total affectedness with the verb *mie* 'to kill/matar (SG)'; example (25) shows the object's partial affectedness with the verb *'uni* 'to destroy, dekernell/destruir, desgranar'; and example (26) illustrates the creation or bring about of an object with the verb *'etsa* 'to sow, harvest/sembrar, cosechar'.

(24) a. **wakana** te- mɨ- **mie** -ni
chicken 1PL.SBJ- AS2- kill.SG.OBJ -NARR
'…nosotros matamos a la gallina…'
'…we kill the chicken…' [DMC02]

(25) **'iku** te- mi- ti- **'uni**
corn 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- destroy/dekernell.PRS
'…el maíz, en serio, el maiz desgranamos…'
'the corn, true, we dekernell the corn…' [DPEY02]

(26) **mume** me- pu- ka- **'etsa**
beans 3PL.SBJ- AS1- down- sow.PRS
'…siembran frijol…'
'…they sow beans…' [INTR23]

5.4. Discussion

Transitive clauses in Wixárika contains a subject, a verb, and an object. This type of clauses show to be less diverse in terms of categories than intransitive clauses. They present the same morphological features for different semantic classes of verbs: subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes or case markers, and a verbal stem. The arguments —subject and non-subject— are marked on the verb with the pronominal prefixes if the participants are animate; otherwise they are not marked on the verb. Traces of case markers with these grammatical relations are only observed when the inanimate noun occurs with a numeral or the particle *nai* 'all/todo', the latter marked with a a subject or non-subject suffix -*ti* and -*me*, respectively.

As observed in the data, Wixárika uses the subject and non-subject grammatical relations to encode different semantic roles. The macrorole terms 'actor' and 'undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) in the language are assigned to subsume the different roles marked with the same morphosyntactic means. This type of morphosyntactic encoding illustrates the idea of 'distinctness of participants' (Næss 2007:5-6) in a language. This means that transitive clauses have 'two syntactically privileged' arguments defined by language-specific criteria such as agreement, case-marking, susceptibility to syntactic processes, like passivization, etc. (Næss 2007:6). Wixárika has shown to have two participants, which are both accorded a high degree of

syntactic prominence. This contrasts to an intransitive clause which has only one syntactic argument. The idea of 'distinctness of participants' construed as part of the transitive clause in the language is supported by the fact that the different semantic roles are encoded with two markers only, and by the different syntactic tests, described in §5.3.2. Semantically speaking, the transitive events have two conceptually prominent participants, the actor and the undergoer, which are mapped with the grammatical relations of the language. In both of these cases, the lack of clear distinction between the actor and undergoer renders the event semantically more similar to an event involving one participant. As a result, these clauses tend to be encoded formally as intransitive constructions, as Næss (2007:23) suggests. These clauses are exemplified with reflexive and middle constructions in Wixárika (see §Ch.8 for a detailed description).

Wixárika also shows to be an example of a language which clearly distinguishes intransitive and transitive clauses when considering the number of arguments and their encoding. The animate arguments are obligatorily marked in the verbal complex and encoded with only two grammatical relations present in the language despite any semantic changes. Inanimate arguments are not marked unless they co-occur with a numeral or other particles that take the case markers -*ɨ́* and -*me*, which mark subject and non-subject, respectively. However, analyzing the 'transitivity' of the clauses based only on the argument marking in Wixárika results in a misleading analysis, since the arguments are encoded the same way in the different types of events. The analysis would lead one to consider all the clauses with actors and undergoers as equally 'transitive' without delineating the semantic nuances of the events. For this reason, other components that express different semantic nuances should be considered, such as the language-specific prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- described in §Ch.6. Example in (27) illustrate a contrast where the use of the prefix *ti*- in the same verb denotes more volitionality regarding the actor and an effect of the

action.

(27) a. mimierika waniu me- mu- **xei**
lightening EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- AS2- see.PFV
'…vieron un rayo, según…'
'…they saw lightening…' [SK01]

b. te- m- i- **ti- xeiya** 'ikɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- see.FUT DEM
'…vamos a revisarlo, esto…'
'…we are going to check it, this…' [DEER02]

Different approaches have argued that focusing only on one aspect of 'transitivity', like the number of arguments or their marking, is inadequate because transitivity is a 'multilayered' phenomenon (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). In the next chapter, I demonstrate that an analysis of 'transitivity' in Wixárika has to consider other components to provide a complete view of language's behavior. Some of these components are the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* in the clause.

5.5. Summary

This chapter explored transitive clauses in Wixárika, which showed to be less diverse in terms of categories than intransitive clauses. These clauses presented the same morphological features for different semantic classes of verbs (subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes and case markers, and a verbal stem). Transitive clauses contained a subject, a verbal stem (sometimes derived by suffixes, like *-tɨa*, *-ta*, *-ya* 'CAUS'), and an object. The animate arguments —subject and non-subject—were marked on the verb with the pronominal prefixes while inanimate were unmarked unless they co-occurred with numerals or other particles, which were

marked with the case markers -*ti* and -*me*. These two grammatical relations were attested through different syntactic tests in the language.

The analysis also showed that Wixárika largely presents a clear-cut category in terms of transitivity due to the obligatory marking of the syntactically prominent arguments in the verbal complex or the noun phrases. However, only observing these features does not account for the phenomenon of transitivity of a whole. For this reason, other language-specific components must be considered to understand the semantic nuances expressed in the events. This is the case of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti* described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

THE PREFIXES *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-*

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores a set of prefixes that commonly occur in Wixárika's clauses. These prefixes are *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-* whose function has been much in debate in the literature (Grimes 1981; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* have been described as markers that indicate unspecified arguments (Langacker 1975), 'totality', or that the action is carried out in various places, ways or iteratively (Grimes 1981:96, 102). A more recent proposal suggests that the prefixes have different functions: singularity (*ta-*)/plurality (*ti-*) of the action, collective (*ta-*)/distributive (*ti-*) action, individuative (marking of singular or plural subject in intransitive clauses and object in transitive clauses), and inchoative (Gómez 1993). However, these proposed functions show vagueness as to the meaning the prefixes convey, since there are no good contrastive examples or examples taken from natural narratives. I claim that these prefixes, which are placed closer to the verbal stem and occur in different semantic classes of verbs, indicate that the action is 'effective' —singular (*ta-*) or plural (*ti-*) effect— or has an impact on the arguments. The absence of *ta-*/*ti-* in the clause conveys a general action without an impact, as examples (a) and (b) illustrate:

(a) mimierika waniu me- mu- **xei**
lightening EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- AS2- see.PFV
'…vieron un rayo, según…'
'…they saw lightning…' [SK01]

(b) te- m- i- **ti- xeiya** ’ikɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- see.FUT DEM
‘…vamos a revisarlo, esto…’
‘…we are going to check it, this…’ [DEER02]

On the other hand, the prefixes *ti-*/*te-*, which occur closer to the subject pronouns in the verbal complex, have been described as markers of ‘generalized complements’, ‘distributives’ (Grimes 1964:89; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), and as object generalizers (Gómez 1999:61; Iturrioz 1987:249). Other proposals suggest that the prefixes function as detransitivizers and that they indicate the number of the subject, the intensity of the action, and that the clause is interrogative (Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). Similar to the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, the function of the prefixes *ti-*/*te-* previously remained unclear since good contrastive examples or examples taken from natural narratives were not provided. I show that the prefixes *ti-*/*te-* —singular and plural subject respectively— mark that the action is performed ‘distributively’ by the participants, in other words, across multiple participants in intransitive and transitive clauses, as illustrated in (c) and (d). In the case of a singular participant, the action is conceived as performed by the same participant; however, the subject is understood as being multiple entities.

(c) tame **te-** **ta-** parewi
1PL 1PL.SBJ- 1PL.RECP- help.PFV
‘Nosotros nos ayudamos.’
‘We helped each other.’ [Elicit]

(d) tame **te-** **te-** **ta-** parewi
1PL 1PL.SBJ- DISTR 1PL.RECP- help.PFV
‘Nosotros nos ayudamos (varios).’
‘We helped each other (several).’ [Elicit]

In this analysis, I also discuss the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-* and their relation to transitivity. For instance, I show that the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* are ungrammatical in verbs that encode a

highly volitional agent and a highly affected patient (e.g., to kill, to explode), which are characterized by their suppletive roots to alternate argument structure (different from the rest of the verbs). The prefixes illustrate the scalar nature of the phenomenon, since the prefixes can be found in both transitive and intransitive clauses, expressing different semantic nuances of the events. In this sense, clauses that do not accept the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* represent the prototypical clauses; either transitive or intransitive, depending on the number of arguments. Prototypical transitive clauses encode a volitionally acting 'agent' participant which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific 'patient', while prototypical intransitive clauses encode the state of a participant. These prototypes are placed in the opposite sides of the scale. The non-prototypical cases —intransitive clauses with *ta-*/*ti-* and transitive clauses with or without *ta-*/*ti-*— are placed on intermediate positions of the scale: ←+ INTR------INTR: *ta-ti*------TR-------TR: *ta-ti*----- TR+→.

On the other hand, I claim that the 'distributive subject' markers are not usually discussed in transitivity theories. Functional-typological approaches generally consider that one of the crucial properties of prototypical objects in a transitive clause is 'singularity' (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Andrews 1985; Langacker 1990; Kemmer 1993; Tsunoda 1994; Givón 1995; Davidse 1996; Næss 2007). The main property of prototypical agents is considered to be just the performance of an action that is transferred to the patient, but not the distinction between singular vs. plural agents. Although Wixárika does not show any co-variation between the distributive markers *ti-*/*te-* and other grammatical components of transitivity, I consider that the distributive subject markings could also represent lesser degrees of transitivity in other languages since the participant is not conceptualized as a singular entity or a group. Following the literature on prototypical objects, a singular subject would have more effect on the action than a number of subjects who perform the same activity.

This chapter starts by discussing the proposals on the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-* from the literature of the language (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1993; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) and other closely-related Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1977) (§6.2 and §6.3). Subsequently, I support my claims on the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-* by using data from my corpus (§6.2.4 and §6.3). I finally discuss their relevance in transitivity theories (§6.2.5 and §6.3.4).

6.2. The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*

Wixárika has a pair of prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* whose function has been much in debate in the literature (Grimes 1981; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). Similar prefixes have been reported as markers of 'unspecified arguments' in other closely related Uto-Aztecan languages, like Cora (Corachol; Casad 1984) and Nahuatl (Campbell 1985). Wixárika's prefixes, however, have developed a particular function that is related to the action (cf. Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). I call this function the 'effect' of the action, since it entails an 'impact' of the action involving the actor's intention/volitionality and the undergoer's impact. In other words, the 'effect' suggests the idea of the extent to which an action succeeds. The term 'affectedness' for the markers is not appropriate since the prefixes occur with different semantic classes of verbs. Some of these verbs do not denote any degree of affectedness on the object (e.g., speech verbs, perception, etc.). These types of markers have not been discussed in theories on transitivity since it is a language-specific feature (Cf. Gómez 1993). However, they are a crucial component to understanding Wixárika speakers' choices in how to present the event.

The presence or absence of the prefixes *ta-/ti-* in the clause denotes different degrees of transitivity. This behavior is explained by the crosslinguistic concept of 'prototypical transitivity'

(Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Andrews 1985; Langacker 1990; Kemmer 1993; Tsunoda 1994; Givón 1995; Davidse 1996; Næss 2007), since it states that languages have prototypical transitive clauses. These clauses express a concluded, real, and affirmative event where an agent acts upon a patient, which is highly affected by the action. Any deviations from this prototype may result in a different morphosyntactic configuration. As will be shown in the following sections, Wixárika aligns with this concept since the speakers express different semantic nuances of the event based on the use of these prefixes.

In the following sections, the proposals on the prefixes' function in Wixárika and in other Uto-Aztecan languages are described. This is followed by my evidence that proves that the prefixes developed a function that is related to the 'effectiveness' of the action. Section 6.2.1 discusses the function of similar prefixes in other Uto-Aztecan languages as marking 'unspecified arguments'. Section 6.2.2 provides the contexts where I found the prefixes. Section 6.2.3 summarizes Grimes (1964), Gómez (1993), and Iturrioz & Gómez's (2006) findings on the prefixes in Wixárika. Subsequently, I propose the label 'effect' for the prefixes in section 6.2.4. Sections 6.2.4.1 and 6.2.4.2 provide evidence of the use of the prefixes in intransitive and transitive clauses found in the corpus. Section 6.2.5 gives a discussion on the implication of this component regarding transitivity.

6.2.1. The Uto-Aztecan family: Unspecified arguments

Langacker (1975:124-130) states that Proto-Uto-Aztecan had two prefixes whose function was to mark 'unspecified arguments': **ta*- for unspecified subjects and **ti*- for unspecified objects. Most of the daughter languages maintained the prefixes with the same functions, as illustrated in table 6.1.

Table 6.1. The unspecified argument prefixes in Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1975).

NORTHERN UTO-AZTECAN LANGUAGES	
Northern Paiute	*ti-* 'unspecified object'
Mono	*ti-* 'unspecified object'
Shoshoni	*ta-* 'unspecified subject' *ti-* 'unspecified object'
Hopi	*tii-* 'unspecified object'
SOUTHERN UTO-AZTECAN LANGUAGES	
Papago	*ta-* 'unspecified subject' (highly restricted) *chu-* 'unspecified object'
Tepecano†	*tu-* 'unspecified object'
Southern Tepehuan	*tu-* 'unspecified object'
Pochutla Azteca	*ta-* 'unspecified non-human object'
Classical Nahuatl	*ɬa-* 'unspecificed non-human object' *te-* 'unspecified human object'

However, a few of the Southern Uto-Aztecan languages developed more specific functions for these prefixes. As observed in table 6.1, Nahuatl (Classical and Pochutla) has a distinction between unspecified human and non-human object, contrary to the rest of the Uto-Aztecan languages. Similarly, Pipil, a language closely related to Nahuatl and currently spoken in El Salvador, contains an 'unspecified object prefix' *ta-* (Campbell 1985:77). Campbell (1985:77) mentions that it "is employed to show that the (non-human) object of a transitive verb is not specified." He adds that the "verbs using the latter prefix are translated with an object 'something' or 'to be doing' whatever the action of the verb is, without specifying what the object of the action is; … the 'unspecified object' *ta-* is natural in contexts where the action of the verb is in focus and the object is of little relevance" (1985:77). The examples are illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) ni- **ta-** hkwilua
1SG.SBJ- UNSP.OBJ- write
'I write (something)' [Campbell 1985:77]

(2) a. ni- **ta**- u:ya
I- UNSP.OBJ- shell
'I am shelling (corn)'

b. ni- k- u:ya
1SG.SBJ- it- shell
'I shell it.' [Campbell 1985:77]

Langacker (1975:132) proposed the reconstructions of the prefixes **te*- 'unspecified human objects' and **ta*- 'unspecified non-human objects' for 'Proto-Aztecan' —the reconstruction of Nahuatl languages— where the Proto-Uto-Aztecan prefixes modified their function. Interestingly, Langacker (1975:139) adds that the 'unspecified argument' prefixes were lost in Proto-Corachol. More recent findings in Wixárika (Grimes 1981; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006; present research), however, show that the language preserves a similar set of prefixes: *ta*- and *ti*-. A few Wixárika examples from my corpus show the Proto-Uto-Aztecan's unspecified function. In some cases, the prefixes illustrate an 'unknown/unidentifiable' function. For instance, when the speaker makes reference of an unspecified object —the object is known but not worth mentioning— the prefix *ti*- is used, as in (3) with the verb *'inɨ* 'to cut/cortar'. In example (4), on the other hand, the speaker expresses doubt about the identity of the object in a previous clause, which conveys the idea of an object that is 'unknown' or 'unidentifiable'.

(3) nunutsi mɨkɨ nɨ n- e- i- nawai -tsi -ri =ri xewi -tɨ
child DEM F.S. NARR- EXT- 3SG.OBJ- steal -CAUS -PASS =already one -SBJ
'…el niño, uno (aguacate) fue robado'
'…the child, one (avocado) was stolen'

mexi **ti- 'inɨ** -ne kuxi
while PL- cut -PROGR.SG still
'mientras aún cortaba…'
'while cutting…' [SP01]

(4) nunutsi mɨkɨ hɨ yauka o pera sabe tita
child DEM AFF avocado CONJ pear know what
'…el niño, eso sí aguacate o pera, sabe que'
'…the child, that avocado or pear, who knows what'

ti- **'inɨ** -ne -kai
PL- cut -PROGR.SG -IPFV
'estaba cortando…'
'he was cutting…' [SP01]

However, a great majority of the examples in the corpus illustrate that marking an unspecified/unknown object is no longer the primary function of the prefixes in the language, as Langacker (1977) suggested for other closely related Uto-Aztecan languages. For instance, the prefix *ti-* can co-occur with objects, unlike the described pattern in other Uto-Aztecan languages. The object placed right before the verb can be indefinite, as shown in (5) and (6).

(5) 'ikwaxi hɨ **ti-** **'inɨ** -ne -kai yauka o mm sabe
ripe.fruit AFF PL- cut -PROGR.SG -IPFV avocado CONJ INTRJ know
'…fruta madura estaba cortando (el niño), aguacate o mm sabe'
'…ripe fruit was cutting (the child), avocado o mm who knows'

kie- n- titita mɨkɨ
INTR NARR- RDP.what DEM
'qué es eso…'
'what that is…'

(6) a. xayuki mu- **ta-** kwa
tomato AS2- SG- cook.PFV
'Se coció un jitomate.'
'A tomato got cooked.' [Elicit]

b. xayuki -te mu- **ti-** kwa
tomato -PL AS2- PL- cook.PFV
'Se cosieron unos jitomates.'
'Tomatoes got cooked.' [Elicit]

Interestingly, other examples show the absence of the prefix *ti-* in the same context, where the indefinite object is explicitly stated with the verb *'inɨ* 'to cut/cortar', as in (7).

(7) yauka kwa- ne- **’inɨ** -ne -kai ’ukiratsi
avocado X- EXT- cut -PROGR.SG -IPFV man
‘…el señor cortaba aguacate…’
‘…the man was cutting avocado…’ [SP01]

These patterns indicate that the prefixes have developed different functions, which are explored in the following sections.

6.2.2. The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*: Other contexts

The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* occur in a variety of contexts in my corpus, different from the ones proposed in other Uto-Aztecan languages. This behavior provides more evidence that the prefixes’ original function of marking ‘unspecified’ arguments have changed considerably. The context where the prefixes are found are the following:

I. Definite Object. The prefixes occur in the clause with definite objects. This object can be omitted but is referenced with the prefix *i-* ‘3SG.OBJ’.

(8) ’ana te mana takwa n- i- **ta-** tai -ya
DEM F.S. DEM yard NARR- 3SG.OBJ- SG- fire -CAUS
‘…allí en el patio lo quemó (el cuero)…’
‘…there in the yard, he burned it (the skin)…’ [SWM01]

(9) kɨye -xi tɨtɨ tete -xi tɨtɨ xɨxɨka -tɨ mɨkɨ -tsie
wood -PL x stone -PL x RDP.hot -SS DEM -LOC
‘…leña, piedras calientes, en eso’
‘…wood, hot stone, in that’

me- m- i- **ti-** tai -ya -kai
3PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- fire -CAUS -PFV
‘los quemaban (cigarros)…’
‘they burned them (cigarrette)…’ [SCP01]

II. Non-subject pronominal prefixes. The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* co-occur with non-subject pronominal prefixes in the clause, thus giving evidence that the prefixes are not used to indicate an unspecified object, as shown in (10), (11), and (12).

(10) trabaho nee ne- **wa-** ru- **ti-** ’ɨkitɨa
trabajo 1SG 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- learn.PFV
‘…yo les enseñé a trabajar…’
‘…I taught them to work…’ [INTR01]

(11) xe- **netsi-** **ta-** ’enie
2PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- listen.PRS
‘…me escuchan (en la radio)…’
‘…you (PL) listen to me (in the radio)…’ [P01]

(12) ’etsiwa neti ne- **wa-** **ta-** ’eiya
little F.S. 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- SG- respond.PRS
‘…poco les respondo…’
‘…I answered them a little…’ [INTR15]

The non-subject pronominal prefixes occur with *ta-* or *ti-* irrespective of their number, as illustrated in (13) and (14). This means that a singular non-subject pronominal prefix co-occurs with either the singular marker *ta-* or the plural marker *ti-*. The same behavior is observed with plural non-subject pronominal prefixes which can occur with either *ta-* or *ti-*. In addition, the prefixes also co-occur with the object prefix *i-*, which indicates a definite object, as illustrated in (8) and (9) above.

(13) me- te- ku- xata -tɨ **wa-** **ta-** ’enie -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- around- talk -SS 3PL.NSBJ- SG- listen -SS
‘…estaban platicando, él los estaba escuchando…’
‘…they were talking, he was listening to them…’ [SSB02]

(14) hipakɨ =ta te- kwa- **wa-** re- **ti-** ’eni -wa
some =FOC 1PL.SBJ- NEG- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- listen -HAB
‘…a algunos no les entendemos (Lit. ‘no le escuchamos a algunos’)…’
‘…we do not understand some people (Lit. ‘we do not listen to some people)…’ [PL02]

III. Subject pronominal prefixes. Subject pronoun prefixes occur with the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* irrespective of their number. This means that the singular subject pronoun can occur with either *ta-* or *ti-*; plural subject pronouns behave in the same way, as shown in (15) and (16).

(15) ’iki’i nee **ne-** u- ka- he- i- **ti-** ’enie -we ’aixi
DEM 1SG 1SG.SBJ- VIS- NEG- EXT- 3SG.OBJ PL- listen -can good
‘…no lo entendemos bien esto (Lit. ‘no lo escuchamos bien esto’)…’
‘…we do not understand this well (Lit. ‘we do not listen to this well’)…’ [SK01]

(16) nee miki **ne-** ka- ka- **ta-** titimaiya
1SG DEM 1SG.SBJ- NARR- NEG- SG- forget.PRS
‘…yo, eso no se me olvida…’
‘…I, that I do not forget…’ [DR01]

All the examples in my corpus provide more evidence that the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* have developed a new function. In the following section, Grimes (1981) and Gómez’s (1993,1999) proposals on the prefixes’ function are summarized. Afterward, I provide my proposal of the newly developed function with a description of both intransitive and transitive clauses with different semantic classes of verbs. The prefixes perform the same function in both intransitive and transitive clauses, which provides more evidence of the speaker’s choice to use these prefixes in expressing different degrees of transitivity.

6.2.3. The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*: Other proposals

The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* have been discussed in the literature considerably (Grimes 1981; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). However, agreement on their function in both transitive and intransitive clauses has not been achieved. Grimes (1981:96, 102), for instance, states that the prefix *ta-* conveys the meaning of ‘totality’ as in *nepi**ta**wata* ‘I’m going to make a whole coamil’/ ‘Voy a hacer un coamil entero’; while the prefix *ti-* expresses that the action of the stem

is carried out in various places, ways or iteratively. However, Grimes (1981) does not provide good contrastive examples with the prefixes used in the same context.

Gómez (1993,1999), on the other hand, affirms that these prefixes are used with 'dynamic'[48] predicates only for both transitive and intransitive clauses. According to her, the prefixes, which she calls 'limitatives', present five different functions:

I. Singularity (*ta*-)/Plurality (*ti*-) of action. The prefixes express singular or plural action; clauses without the prefixes express a nonlimited action.

(17) a. te- pɨ- te- 'u- **ta**- 'uximayata -xɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- VIS- SG- work -PFV[49]
'We worked (once).'

b. te- pɨ- te- 'u- **ti**- 'uximayata -xɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- VIS- PL- work -PFV
'We worked (several times).'

c. te- pɨ- te- 'uximaya -tɨwe
1PL.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- work -PROGR.PL
'We are working.'

II. Collective (*ta*-)/Distributive (*ti*-) action. The prefixes may express collective or distributive action in intransitive verbs with plural subjects.

(18) a. me- pu- **ta**- xurairɨka -xɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS1- SG- snore -PFV
'They snored (all of them together)

b. me- pu- **ti**- xurairɨka -xɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- snore -PFV
'They snored (each one separately).'

[48] According to Gómez (1993), 'dynamic' predicates include 'processes' and 'events', which take the progressive markers.

[49] The glosses were changed from the original.

III. Individuative. The prefixes mark singular or plural subject in intransitive clauses, and singular or plural object in transitive clauses.

(19) a. pu- **ta**- tuxa -ri -xɨ
AS1- SG- white -RES.COMPL -PFV
'One thing was bleached.'

b. pu- **ti**- tuxa -ri -xɨ
AS1- PL- white -RES.COMPL -PFV
'Several things were bleached.'

(20) a. p- i- **ta**- 'itse
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- SG- kiss.PFV
'She kissed him.'

b. pɨ- wa- ru- **ti**- 'itse
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- PL- PL- kiss.PFV
'She kissed them.'

IV. Inchoative. The prefixes denote the beginning of an action: *xeiya* 'to see/ver' vs. *taxeiya* 'to find/encontrar'; *'una* 'to hide/esconder' vs. *tauna* 'to flee/escapar'; *hɨi* 'to take care/cuidar' vs. *tahɨi* 'to take care of something/cuidar algo'. Sometimes they indicate a complete action, like *hɨtsi* 'to blow/soplar' vs. *ta/tihɨtsi* 'to blow up/soplar'. Gómez (1993, 1999) does not provide complete sentences with the verbs provided.

V. Not clear semantic content. The prefixes can delimit space and time as in the verb *hau* 'to swim/nadar'. When it takes *ta*-, the verb expresses the idea of swimming a part or for a certain period of time. Other examples are *kwewi* 'to wait/esperar' vs. *ta/tikwewi* 'to cite/citar' and *teukarita* 'to baptize, name/bautizar, nombrar'.

(21) a. p- i- ka- teukarita -xɨ
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- X- grandparent -PFV
'He baptized him.'

b. p- i- ta- teukarita -xɨ
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- SG- grandparent -PFV
'He gave him a name.'

Gómez (1999:73-4) adds that this semantic variability is complex because there are different factors involved, such as the verb and co-occurrence of other prefixes in the clause. However, she does not elaborate on this statement. It is important to note that the examples she provides only show a limited context, that is, the perfective aspect, which seems to be the result of elicitation.

As observed, the two proposals incline to say that the prefixes encode the plurality or singularity of the action. However, they still show vagueness as to the meaning the prefixes convey, since they do not provide good contrastive examples to understand the prefixes' function. The corpus of this dissertation shows that the prefixes have a specific function. I propose that the prefixes in both transitive and intransitive clauses encode the 'effect' of the action. I use the label 'effect' since it entails a certain 'impact' of the action involving the actor's intention, volitionality/affectedness in intransitive clauses, and the actor's intention/volitionality and the undergoer's affectedness in transitive clauses. In other words, the 'effect' suggests the idea of the extent to which an action succeeds. This effect can be 'singular' or 'plural', similar to the 'singularity' and 'plurality' function proposed by the Grimes (1964) and Gómez (1993,1999). The term 'affectedness' for the markers is not appropriate, since the prefixes occur with different semantic classes of verbs, including non-dynamic verbs[50], contrary to what Gómez (1993, 1999) proposes: Change of state (e.g., break), creation (e.g., make), transfer (e.g., take out), physical contact (e.g. hit), ingestive (e.g., eat), speech (e.g., talk), cognition (e.g., think), perception (e.g.,

[50] According to Gómez (1993), *non-dynamic* verbs refers to 'static' predicates that cannot take aspectual markers (*-xɨ* 'PFV', *-ne*/*tɨwe* 'PROGR', *-wa* 'HAB', *-xime* 'INCH', etc.).

see), activity (e.g., run), existence (e.g. exist), etc. Some of these verbs do not denote any degree of affectedness on the object (e.g., speech verbs, perception, etc.). For this reason, I propose a single term that can cover the different semantic nuances the distinct semantic classes of verbs convey.

In the following sections, the use of the prefixes in intransitive and transitive clauses in my corpus is explored. In addition, a discussion of this component and its contribution to the 'transitivity' of the events in Wixárika is included.

6.2.4. The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*: The effectiveness of the action

6.2.4.1. Transitive clauses

The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* occur in numerous semantic types of verbs. Not all of these events express a prototypical transitive clause since they do not encode an action that passes over from an *agent* to a *patient* with perceptible effects (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Andrews 1985; Langacker 1990; Kemmer 1993; Tsunoda 1994; Givón 1995; Davidse 1996; Næss 2007). However, the prefixes' function entails the 'effect' of the action. The 'effect' suggests the idea of the extent to which an action succeeds; this is the reason why the prefixes occur optionally. This proposal is supported by the fact that there are a few contexts where the prefixes produce an ungrammatical sentence. For instance, verbs that entail a high degree of affectedness and high degree of subject's intention do not accept *ta-* or *ti-*. This is the case with the suppletive verb *mie*/*kwi* 'to kill/matar', as illustrated in (22) and (23), and the verb *tirana* 'to explode/explotar'. Adding the prefixes *ta-* or *ti-* for singular and plural number respectively in any of these verbs results in an ungrammatical sentence: **wakana temi**ta**mie* or **wikixi wa**ti**kwikai*.

(22) wakana te- mi- **mie** -ni
chicken 1PL.SBJ- AS2- kill.SG -NARR
'…matamos gallinas…'
'…we kill chicken…' [DMC02]

(23) wiki -xi wa- **kwi** -kai waniu
bird -PL 3PL.NSBJ- kill.PL -IPFV EVI.IND
'…según mataba pájaros…'
'…they say he used to kill birds…' [SK01]

The different semantic classes of verbs that commonly take the prefixes are the following:

I. Verbs of change of state and physical contact. The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* appear with most of the verbs that entail a change of state or physical contact. In these cases, the morphemes are used optionally depending on the 'effectiveness' of the action. Examples (24) and (25) illustrate a minimal pair of sentences with the verb *tuaxa* 'to stone/apedrear' and the prefixes, where the semantic nuances of the event can be observed. The clause in example (24) does not contain the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, and indicates that the action was not 'effective': the man was throwing rocks at the dog in order to prevent her from following him; however, it was not intended to hurt her since the dog was his pet. Example (25), on the other hand, shows that there is an 'effect' of the action since the undergoer is affected by the actors who are acting with the purpose of hurting the participant.

(24) p- i- ku- e- 'eiriwa -kai -n -ti
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- around- EXT- leave/abandon -IPFV -NARR -SS
'…la dejaba (en su casa)'
'…he left her (at home)'

'i- ku- **tuaxa** -ti p- e- yeika -kai waniu
3SG.OBJ- SP- stone -SS AS1- OS- wander -IPFV EVI.IND
'la apedreaba mientra iba…'
'he stoned her when she was coming…' [SWM01]

(25) mana me- ni- ti- wa -xɨa -ni waniu kɨye -xi -kɨ
DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- PL- hit -ITR -NARR EVI.IND stick -PL -INSTR
‘… allí ellos pegaron’
‘…there they hit’

tete -xi -kɨ me- ni- **ti- tuaxi** -xɨa -ni
stone -PL -INSTR 3PL.SBJ- NARR- PL- stone.PFV -ITR -NARR
‘con palos, con piedras, ellos apedrearon (varias veces)…’
‘with sticks, stones, they stoned him (several times)…’ [SSB02]

Another similar case is illustrated with the verb *xari* ‘to brown/tostar’. The examples in (26) describe the activities carried out in a ceremony. When the speaker wants to encode the effectiveness of the action of ‘grilling’, the prefix *ti-* is added to the clause, as in (27). The connective *pero* ‘but/pero’ in this example is used as a discourse device to highlight that the action is carried out as an affirmation of the statement.

(26) ye- te- te- yurie -me =ta te- te- **xarike**
this.way- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- do -SS =FOC 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- brown.PRS
‘…ya que hacemos eso tostamos’
‘…when we do that we brown’

te- te- **xarike** -tɨ =ri mana te- u- ku- te -ni
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- brown -SS =already DEM 1PL.SBJ- VIS- around- sit -NARR
‘tostando ahí tostando allí estamos sentados’
‘browning there, browning there we are’

mɨkɨ xeniu ’ɨimari mɨkɨ **’iku** mu- **xarike** mɨkɨ
DEM EVI.IND girl DEM corn AS2- brown.PRS DEM
‘la muchacha tuesta el maíz’
‘the girl browns corn.’ [DMC04]

(27) pero ’iku -ri te- ’i- **ti- xariki** -me
but corn -PL 1PL.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ- PL- brown -SS
‘…pero el maiz lo tuestan…’
‘…but they brown the corn…’ [DMC04]

Examples in (28)-(32) with the verb *waya* ‘to hit/pegar’ show that when the action does not succeed, the prefixes are not used. However, when the speaker wants to express the

effectiveness of the action, the prefixes *ta-* for singular, as in (31), and *ti-* for plural, as in (32), can be found.

(28) ’aimieme =ri hikɨ eee nunutsi ee ka- **wai** -wa
that.is =already now eee child ee NEG- hit -PASS
‘…por eso ahora, eeh al niño, no se le pega…’
‘…that is why, now, children are not hit…’ [SR02]

(29) nee ne- kie ne- u- ka- re- ka ne- papa netsi- he- ku- **waya**
1SG 1SG- house 1SG.SBJ-VIS- NEG- INDF- sit 1SG- father 1SG.NSBJ- EXT- SP- hit
‘…yo, en mi casa no vivo, mi papá me pega…’
‘…I, I don’t live at home, my dad hits me…’ [SR02]

(30) tepu mana pe- m- an- ka- **wa** -ni
drum DEM 2SG.SBJ- AS2- this.side- down- hit -NARR
‘…allí le pegas al tambor…’
‘…there you hit the drum…’ [DC01]

(31) tepu me- mu- **ta- waya**
drum 3PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- hit
‘…(los niños) le pegan al tambor…’
‘…(the children) they hit the drum…’ [DC01]

(32) ’uxa’arieka tsiere waniu papa -ya
morning also EVI.IND father -3SG.POSS
‘…al día siguiente también su papá’
‘…next day the dad also’

m- e- i- ku- wa -xɨa yu- nai -me wa- re- **ti- wa**
AS2- EXT- 3SG.OBJ- around- hit -ITR ANIM- all -SS 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- hit.PFV
‘le pegó a todos (varias veces), a todos les pegó…’
‘he hit them (several times), he hit all of them…’ [SR02]

Finally, examples with the verb *hɨa* ‘to knock down/tumbar’ provide more evidence of the prefixes’ function, as in (33) and (34). The prefix *ta-* is used when the effectiveness of the action is highlighted. The absence of *ta-* indicates that an action is intended, but there is no effect.

(33) mɨ- ta- mɨ -ni waniu
AS2- SG- throw.arrows -NARR EVI.IND
'…tiraba flechas'
'…he threw arrows'

'i- **ta- hia** -me waniu kaiwa 'etsa -ta -na
3SG.OBJ- SG- knock.down -SS EVI.IND there side -LOC -3SG.POSS
'le daba por un lado…'
'he hit him in one side…' [SSB01]

(34) ye- me- haitɨ -kai -tɨ kename tekaa -pa
this.way- 3PL.SBJ- say -IPFV -SS what oven -LOC
'…ellos decían que al horno'
'…they were saying that to the oven'

me- he- i- **hia** -ni =ta waniu nunutsi
3PL.SBJ- EXT- 3SG.OBJ knock.down -NARR =FOC EVI.IND child
'ellos tumbarían al niño'
'they would throw the child'

'iyarie -ya ye- kwa- 'u- yɨ
heart -3SG.POSS this.way- NEG- VIS- say.PFV
'el niño se negó…'
'the child didn't accept it…' [SSB01]

II. Verbs of creation. These types of verbs also take the prefixes to indicate the 'effect' of the action as with the verb *wewi* 'to create, make/hacer, crear'. The example in (35) shows a statement describing what people make, without encoding the effect of the action. Examples (36) and (37), on the other hand, take the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* and convey the idea that there is an impact by the action.

(35) hipatɨ matsɨwa me- m- **wewie**
some bracelets 3PL.SBJ- AS2- make.PRS
'…algunos hacen pulseras…'
'…some make bracelets…' [INTR01]

(36) yɨyɨwi -me -kɨ ne- n- i- **ta- wewie** -ni
RDP.PL.black -NSBJ -INSTR 1SB.SBJ- NARR- 3SG.OBJ- SG- make -NARR
'…con negro los hice…'
'…I made them with black…' [HW012]

(37) yu- papa **ti- wewie** -ni
3SG.POSS- tortilla PL- make -NARR
'…hacía sus tortillas…'
'…she was making her tortillas…' [SWM01]

III. Verbs of ingestion. Verbs of ingestion, like *kwai* 'to eat/comer' and *hari* 'to drink/beber', show the same pattern as other semantic classes of verbs. The verb *kwai* 'to eat/comer' without the prefixes do not point to the effectiveness of the action, as shown in (38). The example illustrates a case where the speaker is describing an action without highlighting its impact. Examples (39) and (40) with the prefixes illustrate the opposite where the prefixes denote that the action can succeed in the case of the former, and that the action has an impact as in the latter.

(38) xutsi ti- u- ti- xuxuawe -re tita
squash DISTR- VIS- PL- RDP.EXIST -RES.ICOMPL what
'…se da la calabaza que'
'…the squash is grown that'

te- mɨ- te- 'u- **kwai** -xime
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- VIS- eat -INCH
'comemos…'
'we eat…' [DC01]

hipatɨ ka- ne- u- ti- 'u- ka mu- ka- **kwai** -wa
some NARR- x- x- DISTR- x- stand AS2- NEG- eat -PASS
'…algunos existen que no son comidos…'
'…some of them exist that are not eaten…' [INTR23]

(39) 'ekɨ pɨta m- e- ne- **ta- kwai** -we -ni
2SG CONTR AS2- EXT- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- eat -can -NARR
'…tú, te puede comer (el tigre)…'
'…you, he can eat you (the tiger)…' [SSB01]

(40) mana =ta kietsɨ -te me- te- ye- 'uwa
DEM =FOC fish -PL 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- area- wander.SG
'…allí andan los pescados'
'…there, the fish are wandering'

me- te- wa- ra- na- ti- hapana heiwa
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- x- x- PL- take.out sometimes
'los sacan a veces'

‘they take them out’

me- te- wa- ru- **ti-** **kwa’a**
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- eat
‘los comen…’
‘they eat them…’ [INTR23]

IV. Verbs of cognition. The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* can be found in verbs of cognition, entailing the ‘effect’ of the action as well. For instance, verbs like *mai* ‘to know/saber’ without the prefixes in (41) and (42) denote general ‘knowledge’ or lack of it. The examples in (43), (44), and (45) with the prefix *ta-* points to the effect of ‘acquiring knowledge’ or experience it directly. When the prefix *ti-* is used with the same verb, the intended meaning is that the person acquires knowledge over and over again in a deep and conscious manner (‘analyzing’).

(41) me- **mai** -ku ’ikɨ’i
3PL.SBJ- know -DES.PL DEM
‘…ellos quieren saber esto…’
‘…they want to know this…’ [HW01]

(42) ’echiwa ne- niuki me- m- e- ku- **mate**
little 1SG- speak 3PL.SBJ- AS2- EXT- around- know.PRS
‘…poco saben de nuestra habla…’
‘…they know a little about our language…’ [PL02]

(43) me- **ta-** **mate** =ri mɨkɨ kename hikɨ ti- yɨ -we tsiempɨre
3PL.SBJ- SG- know.PRS =already DEM what now DISTR- do -can always
‘…ya saben ellos que ahora se puede siempre…’
‘…they know that now it can always be done…’ [SCP01]

(44) ’ikɨ =ta xe- te- hau- **ta-** **maika**
DEM =FOC 2PL.SBJ- DISTR- all- SG- know.FUT
‘…esto ustedes sabrán…’
‘…you’ll know this…’ [SSB01]

(45) xe- i- **ti-** **mai** **-xia** -ni xeme ta- ’ukitsie -ma
2PL.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ- PL- know -ITR -NARR 2PL 1PL- jefe -PL
‘…ustedes lo analizan (varias veces), ustedes, nuestros jefes (Lit ‘lo saben’)…’
‘… you (PL) analize it (several times), you (PL), our bosses (Lit. ‘you know’)…’
[LCLAKE01]

The verb *'ɨkitɨa* 'to teach/enseñar' shows a similar pattern. When the speaker conveys the effect of the learning/teaching process, the prefixes are used as in (46). When the action does not convey an impact, the prefixes are omitted, as in (47) and (48).

(46) trabaho nee ne- wa- ru- **ti-** **'ɨkitɨa**
work 1SG 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- teach
'…trabajo yo les enseñé…'
'…to work, I taught them…' [INTR01]

(47) wa- mama -ma me- u- ka- te- wa- **'ɨkitɨa**
3PL.POSS- mother -3PL.POSS 3PL.SBJ- VIS- NEG- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- teach
'…sus mamás no les enseñan…'
'…their mothers do not teach them…' [INTR10]

(48) nee hɨrixɨa ne- niwe -ma ne- u- ti- wa- **'ɨkitɨa**
1SG AFF 1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- teach.PRS
'…yo sí les enseño a mis hijos…'
'…I do teach my children…' [INTR10]

V. Verbs of perception. Verbs of perception, like *xeiya* 'to see/ver', show a contrast between the presence or absence of the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-*. Examples in (49) and (50) without the prefixes denote the action of 'seeing' without any intention. For instance, the former occurs in a context where a family is in the mountains and suddenly, they saw lightning without looking for it. The latter happens in a context where the speaker is describing what people see when arriving at a community.

(49) mimierika waniu me- mu- **xei**
lightening EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- AS2- see.PFV
'…vieron un rayo, según…'
'…they saw lightening…' [SK01]

(50) te- m- wa- re- **xeiya** mɨpaɨ y luego
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- see this.way and then
'…nosotros las vemos (personas) así y luego…' (cuando llegamos a la comunidad)
'…we see them (people) and then…' (when we get to the community) [INTR12]

When the prefixes *ta-* or *ti-* are attached, as in (51) and (52), the effect is encoded in the meaning of the clause. The meaning of the verb expresses the action of 'checking' or 'staring at someone'.

(51) te- m- i- **ti- xeiya** ʼikɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- see.FUT DEM
'…vamos a revisarlo esto…'
'…we are going to check it, this…' [DEER02]

(52) ʼa- ka -kai -tɨ peru =tsɨ ʼawie yɨa -ne -kai mɨkɨ
down- stand -IPFV -SS but =so hidden be/do -PROGR.SG -IPFV DEM
'…estaba parado pero escondiéndose'
'…he was standing but hiding'

ʼi- **ta- xeiya** -tɨ
3SG.OBJ- SG- see -SS
'viendola…'
'watching her…' [SWM01]

VI. Verbs of speech. Verbs like *xata* 'to talk/platicar' convey different meanings depending on the presence or absence of the prefixes. When the prefixes are not used, the clause conveys a general action of 'speaking', as in (53). The prefixes *ta-* or *ti-* are added to convey a specific effect where the speaker is 'talking' to communicate a topic, as in (54) and (55).

(53) ne- ti- wa- re- ku- **xaxa** -tɨwa para
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- around- RDP.talk -PROGR.PL for
'…yo les hablo (a mis hijos en huichol) para que'
'…I speak to them (my children in Huichol) so that'

me- m- au- ʼenanaka -kɨ wixarika -kɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS2- all- listen -for huichol -INSTR
'entiendan huichol…'
'they understand huichol…' [INTR10]

(54) ʼechiwa ʼɨxatsi te- u- **ta- xata**
little story 1PL.SBJ- VIS- SG- talk.FUT
'…vamos a platicar un poco de un cuento…'
'…we are going to talk about a story a little…' [SWM01]

(55) tsiere =ta wa- mama -ma me- te- ’u- ta- ’axe
also =FOC 3PL.POSS- mother -PL 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- OS- straight- come
‘…también sus mamás vienen’
‘…also their mothers come’

mɨkɨ =ta ne- ti- wa- re- **ti-** **xaxa** -tɨ -wa
DEM =FOC 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- RDP.PL.talk -SS -HAB
‘a ellas les doy pláticas…’
‘I give them talks to them…’ [INTR23]

The verb *wau* **‘**to ask for/pedir’ demonstrates a similar behavior where the prefix is used to encode the effect of the action, as in (56). The absence of the prefixes denotes a general action with no impact, as in (57).

(56) ta- tukari xeniu ye- te- te- n- eu- ku- **wau** -ka
1PL- life EVI.IND this.way- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- NARR- all- around- ask.for -SS
‘…así pedimos la vida…’
‘…that is the way we ask for life…’ [DPEYC02]

(57) ne- ni- **ta-** **wau** -ni xeniu mɨkɨ ’uximayatsika
1SG.SBJ- NARR- SG- ask.for -NARR EVI.IND DEM work
‘…pedí trabajo…’
‘…I asked for a job…’ [INTR08]

VII. Verbs of transfer. Verbs of transfer can occur with the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* as well. As with the previous verb classes, these verbs use the prefixes to indicate the effect of the action of transferring. The clauses without the prefixes express just a general action with no impact, as in (58)-(61).

(58) ’itsari te te- m- te- wa- ye- **hapa** -xɨa -ni
food F.S. 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- out- take.out.small.PRS -ITR -NARR
‘…sacamos la comida (varias veces)…’
‘…we take out the food (several times)…’ [DMC02]

(59) xe- kwa- wa- ra- na- ye- **hapana** -ni neuxei
2PL.SBJ- NEG- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- x- out- take.out.small.PRS -NARR hey!
‘…¡Oigan! No saquen a sus hijos (de la escuela)…’

‘…¡Hey! Do not take your children out (from school)…’ [SPS01]

(60) me- te- wa- ra- na- **ti-** **hapana** heiwa
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- x- PL- take.out.small.PRS sometimes
‘…los sacan a veces (pescado)…’
‘…they take them out sometimes (fish)…’ [INTR23]

(61) nawa me- n- **ta-** **hapa** -tɨa -rie -ni
tejuino 3PL.SBJ- NARR- SG- take.out.small -CAUS -PASS -NARR
‘…ellos son dados tejuino (Lit. ‘ellos son sacados tejuino’)…’
‘…they are given tejuino…(Lit. ‘they are taken out tejuino’) [DMC02]

A similar example is observed in (62), (63), and (64) with *nɨ’a* ‘to send/enviar’. Examples (63) and (64) illustrate the use of the prefixes indicating the effect, while (62) a description of the activities without an impact.

(62) nee ne- niwa -ma escuela ne- wa- re- **nɨ’a** -wa
1SG 1SG- son -PL school 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- send -HAB
‘…yo, mis hijos los mando a la escuela…’
‘…I, my children I send them to school…’ [INTR20]

(63) yu- niwe pu- ta- ’aitɨa pu- **ta-** **nɨ’a**
3SG.POSS- son AS1- SG- send AS1- SG- send
‘…la mandó su hijo…’
‘…her son sent her…’ [DPEY02]

(64) mana xɨa te- mu- **ti-** **nɨ’a** -rie -ni
DEM truth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- send -PASS -NARR
‘…allí somos mandados (en carro)…’
‘…there we are sent (by car)…’ [DPEY02]

6.2.4.2. ‘Singular/Plural’ effect

The corpus shows that the prefix *ta-* can occur with a plural subject, while the prefix *ti-* with a singular one. This means that the prefixes express ‘singular’ or ‘plural’ effect (Cf. Gómez 1993), instead of the number of the object or action as stated in the literature (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1993; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), illustrated in (65), (66) and (67).

(65) yu- niwe -ma wa- ru- **ti- waya** -kai waniu
3SG.POSS- son -PL 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- hit -IPFV EVI.IND
'…les pegaba a sus hijos'
'...he used to hit his kids'

xei -me yeme tsi- kwa- **ti-** u- **waya** -kai masi
one -NSBJ truth DIM- X- PL- SP- hit -IPFV more
'le pegaba más a uno…'
'he used to hit one more…' [SR02]

(66) ya- n- ti- **ti- waya** -kai waniu
this.way- NARR- DISTR- PL- hit -IPFV EVI.IND
'…le pegaba…'
'…he used to hit him…' [SR02]

(67) te- m- i- **ti- xeiya** 'iki̵
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- see.FUT DEM
'…vamos a revisarlo esto…'
'…we are going to check it, this…' [DEER02]

This 'singular/plural' effect is different from the iterative suffix *-xi̵a*, which refers to the aspectual characteristics of the event. The iterative suffix indicates that the action takes place repeatedly in different periods of time, as illustrated in (68). The different functions encoded by the morphemes *ti-* and *-xi̵a* can be attested in example (69) and (70) since both can co-occur in the same clause.

(68) mi̵ki̵ papa -ya m- i- ku- **wa -xi̵a** -kai
DEM father -3SG.POSS AS2- 3SG.OBJ- SP- hit -ITR -IPFV
'su papá le pegaba (varias veces)…'
'his dad used to hit him (several times)…' [SR02]

(69) mana me- ni- ti- wa -xi̵a -ni waniu ki̵ye -xi -ki̵
DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- PL- hit -ITR -NARR EVI.IND stick -PL -INSTR
'… allí ellos pegaron'
'…there they hit'

tete -xi -ki̵ me- ni- **ti- tuaxi -xi̵a** -ni
stone -PL -INSTR 3PL.SBJ- NARR- PL- stone -ITR -NARR
'con palos, con piedras, ellos lo apedrearon (varias veces)…'
'with sticks, stones, they stoned him (several times)…' [SSB02]

(70) xe- i- **ti- mai -xia** -ni xeme ta- 'ukitsie -ma
2PL.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ- PL- know -ITR -NARR 2PL 1PL- jefe -PL
'…ustedes lo analizan (varias veces), ustedes, nuestros jefes (Lit 'lo saben')…'
'… you (PL) analize it (several times), you (PL), our bosses (Lit. 'you know')…'
[LCLAKE01]

6.2.4.3. Intransitive clauses

The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* can also be found in intransitive clauses. The prefixes express the 'effect' of the action in the subject of the clause. There are three types of intransitive clauses that can only occur with the prefixes:

I. Existential clauses. Existential clauses contain the verb *xuawe* 'to exist/existir', which denote the existence of an entity in an event, as illustrated in (71). The subject of the 'existence' is encoded with subject pronouns.

(71) me- te- **xuawe** kawaya -tsixi puritu -tsixi waka -tsixi
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- EXIST horse -PL donkey -PL cow -PL
'…existen caballos, burros, vacas…'
'…horses, donkeys, cows exist…' [PL01]

Existential clauses can contain the prefix *ti-* to entail the effect of the action, which reads as 'the effect of becoming existent'. This prefix co-occurs with the completive resultative marker *-ri,* as illustrated in (72) and (73).

(72) me- mu- **ti- xuawe -ri** -xɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- EXIST -RES.COMPL -PFV
'…hubieron maestros (Lit. 'se dieron maestros')…'
'…there were professors…(Lit. 'professors came up)' [PL02]

(73) pɨ- **ti- xuawe -ri** -we
AS1- PL- EXIST -RES.COMPL -can
'…se puede dar (roble)…'
'…it can grow (oak)…' [INTR23]

II. Inchoative. Other intransitive clauses that occur with the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* denote an inchoative state, that is, a change of state caused by an external actor which is not expressed (Haspelmath 1993). The use of the prefixes denotes the effect of the change of state, as in (74), (75), and (76). Interestingly, examples without the prefixes are not found in the corpus.

(74) mu- **ta-** yɨ -ri -xɨ waniu mɨ hai
AS2- SG- black -RES.COMPL -PFV EVI.IND DEM cloud
'…la nube se hizo negra…'
'…the cloud turned black…' [SR02]

(75) ne- 'ɨxatsika pu- **ta-** **teri** -xɨ
1SG- story AS1- SG- lengthen -PFV
'…mi cuento se alargó…'
'…my story lengthened…' [SCP01]

(76) kustari pu- **ta-** **tsani** -xɨ
sack AS1- SG- tear/break -PFV
'El costal se rompió.'
'The sack is torn.' [Elicit]

The prefixes denote the singular or plural effect as in transitive clauses. Examples (77) and (78) illustrate the use of *ti-* and *ta-* with the verb *xɨri* 'to heat/calentar', for plural and singular respectively.

(77) papa mu- **ta-** xɨri -xɨ
tortilla AS2- SG- heat -PFV
'La tortilla se calentó.'
'The tortilla got hot.' [Elicit]

(78) papa mu- **ti-** xɨri -xɨ
tortilla AS2- PL- heat -PFV
'Las tortillas se calentaron.'
'The tortillas got hot.' [Elicit]

III. Action verbs. Intransitive clauses with action verbs can occur with the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-*. Some of the action verbs take the prefixes obligatorily due to the degree of the subject's

affectedness denoted by the verb. The prefixes encode the effect of this action as in transitive clauses. Examples with *tsua* 'to cry/llorar' in (79), *kurupi* 'to roll around/revolcarse' in (80), and *kwaxiya* 'to sweat/sudar in (81) illustrate the previous statement.

(79) a. wa- mama tsiere tsi- kwa- ti- u- **ti- tsua** -ka -kai
3PL.POSS- mother also DIM- X- DISTR- VIS- PL- cry -ST -IPFV
'…su mamá también lloraba…'
'…her mom was also crying…' [SR02]

b. 'u- **ta- tsua** -tɨ waniu waika -ne -kai
there- SG- cry -SS EVI.IND play -PROGR.SG -IPFV
'…estaba jugando llorando…'
'…he was crying while playing…' [SR02]

(80) a. 'a- ta- tsua -tɨ mana niu- **ti- kurupe** -tɨ -ya -ni kwie -pa
there- SG- cry -SS DEM NARR- PL- roll.around LN -go -NARR ground -LOC
'…llorando allí se iba revolcando en la tierra…'
'…she rolled around on the ground while crying…' [SWM02]

b. ne- mu- **ta- kurupi** -xɨ ne- 'u- mie -tɨ kawaya matɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS2- SG- roll.around -PFV 1SG.SBJ- OS- go -SS horse COM
'…me volqué cuando caminaba con el caballo…'
'…I rolled around whan I was walking with the horse…' [DR01]

(81) a. tɨpina ke- mɨ- **ti- kwaxiya** -ka mu- na- ku- ne -ka
hummingbird SBR- AS2- PL- sweat -SS AS2- all- around- come -SS
'…el colibrí venía sudando…'
'…the hummingbird came sweating…' [DEER02]

b. ne- mu- **ta- kwaxiya**
1SG.SBJ- AS2- SG- sweat.PFV
'Yo sudé.'
'I sweated.' [Elicit]

Verbs that denote an activity performed by an actor optionally take the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* depending on the meaning that the speaker wants to express. The presence of the prefixes denotes the effect of the action carried out by the actor, as illustrated with *nautsa* 'to run/correr', *waika* 'to play/jugar', and *nei* 'to dance/bailar' in (82), (83) and (84) respectively. Examples without the prefixes express a general activity without an impact.

(82) a. me- ’u- **nautsa** -xɨa -xime -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- OS- run -ITR -INCH -SS
‘…ellos a punto de correr (varias veces)…’
‘…they are about to run (several times)…’ [SR02]

b. tsɨkɨ tewiyari niu- **ta- nautsa**
dog person NARR- SG- run.PFV
‘…el perro persona corrió…’
‘…the dog person ran…’ [SWM01]

c. ne- mu- **ti- nautsa** -xɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS2- PL- run -PFV
‘yo corrí’
‘I ran’ [Elicit]

(83) a. ku- **waika** -ne -kai waniu
SP- play -PROGR.SG -IPFV EVI.IND
‘…jugaba en varias partes, según…’
‘…he used to play in several places, they say…’ [SSB01]

b. me- ka- niu- **ti- waika** -ni
3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- PL- play -NARR
‘…juegan (en la escuela)…’
‘…they play (in school)…’ [INTR23]

(84) a. mana’i me- n- te- **nei** -tɨwe tai- ’aurie
DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- DISTR- dance -PROGR.PL fire- around
‘…allí bailan alrededor del fuego…’
‘…there they are dancing around the fire…’ [YP01]

b.te- mɨ- te- **ti- nei** -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- PL- dance -NARR
‘…estamos bailando (en la fiesta)…’
‘…we are dancing (in the ceremony)…’ [DMC02]

Other similar examples can be observed in (85) with the verb *xu* ‘to embroider/bordar’. In this case, the absence of the prefixes denotes a general activity without an impact, while the presence of the prefixes indicates an effect.

(85) a. ’uka -ri xeniu me- n- **xu** -tɨwe
woman -PL EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- NARR- embroider -PROGR.PL
‘…las mujeres bordan…’
‘…women embroider…’ [SPEY01]

b. ye- ta- ne- yɨ -me ne- ti- wa- mi -me
this.way- SG- x- make -SS 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- feed -SS
'…ya al hacer eso, al terminar de alimentarlos'
'…when I do that, after feeding them'

ne- ti- **ta-** **xu** -ni
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- SG- embroider -NARR
'…yo bordo…'
'…I embroider…' [DTORT02]

Finally, it is important to mention that there are some intransitive clauses that do not accept the prefixes at all, which provides more evidence of the prefixes' function. Intransitive clauses that encode a 'state' do not contain the prefixes (Cf. Gómez 1993), as illustrated in (86) and (87). The use of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* result in ungrammatical sentences: **meyuta'auxuwi* 'they are five'.

(86) xei- me =ta ne- u- re- ka- 'ɨya
one- NSBJ =FOC 1SG.SBJ- OS- X- X- wife
'…tengo una esposa…'
'…I have a wife…' [INTR24]

(87) mɨkɨ me- n- yu- 'auxuwi
DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- ANIM- five
'…ellos son cinco…'
'…they are five…' [ME01]

6.2.5. Discussion: The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*

The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* constitute an important component for the analysis of 'transitivity' in Wixárika. As observed in the previous sections, the prefixes are used for both transitive and intransitive clauses with different semantic classes of verbs. The only semantic class of transitive verbs that do not accept the prefixes are clauses that inherently encode complete affectedness of the undergoer and high degree of intentionality/volitionality of the actor, like the transitive verbs *mie* 'to kill/matar' or *tɨrana* 'to explode/explotar'. Intransitive

clauses that encode a state do not accept the prefixes, except for the verb *xuawe* 'to exist/existir'. The rest of the clauses take the prefixes depending on the speaker's intention to encode the 'effect' of the action.

The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* also encode number in terms of singular or plural effect, respectively, contrary to what Gómez (1993, 1999) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) proposed, who state that the prefixes encode 'iterativity'. Gómez (1993) suggests that the prefixes encode 'singular or 'plural' number based on the object/action or iterativity in intransitive clauses, not the 'effect', as I claim in this chapter. According to my analysis, the prefixes *ta-/ti-* do not mark iterativity because the suffix *-xɨa* is the one that encodes the 'iterativity' of the action in the clause. This morpheme can co-occur with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, which means that the functions of both morphemes differ in the clause.

Wixárika demonstrates that an analysis of 'transitivity' must consider features other than the number of arguments of the clause and their grammatical relations, as the literature suggests (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). The prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* represent an important component in the language for understanding how the speakers choose to express a specific type of event. The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* delineate different degrees of transitivity of the events, which means that not all of them can be conceived as equally transitive. In this sense, the language presents a scale of transitivity, regarding the use of the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-*:

+ INTR INTR: *ta-ti-* TR TR: *ta-ti-* TR+

Figure 6.1. Transitivity continuum in Wixárika: The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*.

The left side of the scale contains highly intransitive clauses (like stative clauses) while on the right side highly transitive clauses (like clauses with verbs of 'killing' or 'exploding'). Highly transitive clauses cover verbs that are inherently transitive and do not need any other means to indicate the effect of the action on the object (like verbs of killing and exploding). The clauses in between these two poles represent different degrees of transitivity. Intransitive clauses with the prefixes (like clauses with an existential, change of state, or action verbs) are closer to transitive clauses semantically speaking due to the 'effectiveness' of the action they express. Transitive clauses without the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* which are placed in an intermediate position do not express a clear effect between the participants of the events (like clauses with verbs of speech, perception, cognition, physical contact, creation, ingestion, transfer, and modality). All transitive clauses with the prefixes have a higher degree of transitivity, since they encode the effect of the action. This type is closer to the prototypical transitive clause in the left side of the scale.

The diachronic path of the prefixes seems to follow a common development from Proto-Nahuatl: unspecified object> number of object > (singular or plural) effect of the action, the last one being the actual synchronic stage of the prefixes. It is likely that the prefixes will develop an iterative function, which may eventually replace the function of the suffix *-xɨa*. At times, the prefixes in intransitive clauses seem to behave as iterative markers especially in action verbs, which means that the development of ambiguity is in process. However, the suffix *-xɨa* co-occurs with the prefixes, indicating that the grammaticalization process is still in an intermediate stage.

6.3. The prefixes *ti-*/*te-*

Wixárika has a set of prefixes that recurrently occur in clauses. These prefixes are *ti-* and *te-* whose function has been debated in the literature (Grimes 1981; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz 1997;

Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The prefixes *ti-*/*te-* occur in the third position of the verbal template before the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, as shown in figure 6.2:

PERSON.SUBJECT + (ASSERTION) + (DISTRIBUTIVE.SUBJECT)+ (PERSON.NON-SUBJECT) + (LOCATIVE) + (SINGULAR/PLURAL EFFECT) + + **VERB STEM** + (DERIVATION) + ASPECT/TENSE

Figure 6.2. Wixárika verbal template in simple clauses.

Grimes (1964:89) uses two different names for the prefixes, namely 'generalized complement'[51] and 'distributive'[52], stating the following:

> "*te-* occurs with "plural subjects or in nominalized forms with the noun plural affix *-te*, but occasionally it does duty for what appears to be an elided subject: *teni+kɨhia+weeni* for the usual *wetenii+kɨhia+weeni* 'they said to him'. The prefix *ti-* occurs with singular subjects before consonant initial morphs and before *i-* 3sg obj and *u-* 'restrictive'; in nominalized forms it occurs in the singular. *r-* occurs with singular subjects before vowel initial morphs except *i-* and *u-*. In addition, *r-* occurs automatically between *wa-* 'them' 3pl obj and any vowel initial morph including *u-*. In this environment, the subject may be singular or plural, and *te-* or *ti-* may also occur in the same word. Where the distributive prefix is not wholly determined, it appears to denote that the action of the stem is carried out in various places or in various ways, or iteratively; however, no really good examples of contrast of the distributive with its own absence, or with other morphemes, have turned up."

On the other hand, Gómez (1999:61) and Iturrioz (1987:249) argue that the prefix *ti-* (which alternates with *te-* if the subject is plural) functions as an 'object generalizer'. Gómez (1999) adds that the prefixes participate in 'individuation' to express the number of the subject, to express intensity of the action, to act as an interrogative, and in some cases, to act as 'detransitivizer'. Iturrioz & Gómez (2006), in a later publication, only mention that the prefixes behave as 'distributives' without providing examples.

As observed in the previous description, Grimes (1964), Gómez (1999), and Iturrioz (1987) agree that the prefixes function as 'object generalizers' or 'distributives'. However, their function remains unclear, since none of them provide contrastive examples. This corpus shows

[51] 'Complemento generalizado'

[52] 'Distributivo'

that the prefixes are related to the subject of the clause. The prefixes *ti-*/*te-* mark that the action is performed 'distributively' by the participants, in other words, across multiple participants. In the case of a singular participant, the action is conceived as performed by the same participant; however, the subject is understood as being multiple entities.

In the following sections, I provide an exploration of the use of the prefixes *ti-*/*te-* in different contexts. Section 6.3.1 describes the difference between *ti-* and *te-* in terms of number. Section 6.3.2 provides the use of the prefixes in transitive clauses, and section 6.3.3 explores the prefixes in intransitive clauses. Section 6.3.3. discusses the implications of considering these prefixes in transitivity theories.

6.3.1. The prefixes *ti-*/*te-*: Number

The prefixes *ti-* and *te-* mark number as previous studies determined (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The former occurs when the subject pronoun is singular, while the latter when the subject pronoun is plural, as illustrated in (88) and (89), respectively. The prefix *ti-* in example (88) denotes that the same subject carries out the action, but conceived as multiple entities, while the prefix *te-* in example (89) indicates that the action is carried out by different participants, not as a group. Both prefixes occupy a position closer to the subject pronominal prefixes (and before the non-subject pronominal prefixes). Examples of the suffix *ti-* with a plural subject pronominal prefix, or the suffix *te-* with a singular subject pronominal prefix are not grammatical.

(88) Jalisco **ne-** **ti-** yi- 'ɨkitɨa mmm en la escuela
Jalisco 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- MID- study.PRS mmm in the school
'…en Jalisco, yo estudio, en la escuela…'
'…in Jalisco, I study, at school…' [INTR04]

(89) temari **te-** m- **te-** yɨ- ’ɨkitɨa
youngster 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- MID- study.PRS
‘…nosotros los jovenes que estudiamos…’
‘…we the youngster who study…’ [YP01]

The prefixes *ti-* and *te-* occur with different semantic classes of verbs, like stative in (90), modal in (91), change of state/physical contact in (92), and speech in (93). Other semantic classes of verb include verbs of transfer (e.g., to sell), verbs of perception (e.g., to see), verbs of ingestion (e.g., to eat), verbs of action (e.g., to embroider), and verbs of motion (e.g., to arrive).

(90) a. taxari -kɨ kwinie **ti-** u- **xɨka** -ni -tsie
dry -INSTR a.lot DISTR- OS- hot -NARR -when
‘…en secas cuando hace mucho calor…’
‘…in the dry season, when it is very hot…’ [INTR23]

b. hipatɨ me- **te-** yu- **’uaye** -ma -wame -te
some 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- MID- remedy -PL -NMLZ -PL
‘…algunos son médicos…’
‘…some are doctors…’ [INTR05]

(91) istudio **ti-** u- yu- **tsutɨa**
study DISTR- OS- MID- start.PFV
‘…empezó el estudio…’
‘…he started to study…’ [PL02]

(92) ta- ’iwa -ma kwini -mieme me- **te-** an- ye- **hu**
1PL- brother -PL a.lot -x 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- this.side- X- hurt
‘…a nuestros hermanos, los lastiman mucho…’
‘…our brothers, they have hurt them a lot…’ [LCLAKE01]

(93) ’ikɨ’i nee ’ikɨ ne- **ti-** wa- ku- **xa** **-tɨa**
DEM 1SG DEM 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- around- talk -CAUS
‘…esto, yo, esto les platico…’
‘…this, I, I talk about this to them…’ [INTR02]

The use of the prefixes with different semantic classes of verbs with distinct aspectual configurations demonstrates that the speaker chooses the prefixes to express the number of participants who perform an action, and that aspect does not influence the prefixes’ presence.

6.3.2. Transitive clauses

The prefixes *ti-* and *te-* occur in transitive clauses with subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes (or a noun in case of inanimate subjects/objects), as illustrated in (94) and (95). This means that the prefixes do not encode an 'object generalizer' (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999) or behave as a 'detransitivizer' (Gómez 1999) device, like suggested in the literature.

(94) nee hɨrixɨa ne- niwe -ma ne- u- **ti-** wa- **'ɨkitɨa**
1SG AFF 1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- OS- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- study
'…yo, sí, les enseño a mis hijos…'
'…I, yes, teach to my children…' [INTR10]

(95) te- mɨ- **te-** 'u- **kwai** -xime 'ikɨ -ri
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- VIS- eat -INCH corn -PL
'…estamos a punto de comer maiz…' (cada uno)
'…we are about to eat corn…' (each one) [DC01]

These prefixes are optional in the clauses. Clauses with the prefixes involve 'distributive' subjects, as previously mentioned. The singular participant with the prefix *ti-* conveys the idea of the same subject conceived as 'different entities' doing the action at different moments. The plural participant with the prefix *te-* expresses that the action is performed by several participants, not as a group. The contrast of meaning can be observed in (96) and (97) with the verb *parewi* 'to help/ayudar'.

(96) tame **te-** **ta-** parewi
1PL 1PL.SBJ- 1PL.RECP- help.PFV
'Nosotros nos ayudamos.'
'We helped each other.' [Elicit]

(97) tame **te-** **te-** **ta-** parewi
1PL 1PL.SBJ- DISTR 1PL.RECP- help.PFV
'Nosotros nos ayudamos (varios).'
'We helped each other (several).' [Elicit]

Examples with other verbs can be observed in (98) with *’ɨkitɨa* ‘to study/estudiar’ and in (99) with *xeiya* ‘to see/ver’. The former presents pair of sentences, one with the prefix *ti-* and the other sentence without the prefix. The clauses with the prefixes *ti-*/*te-* denote the idea of different participants performing the activity, while the clauses without them convey the idea of performing the action as one person or a group. It is important to note that example (98b) expresses the action done by the same participant several times as if it was composed of different entities. Similar examples can be observed in (99) with the verb *xeiya* ‘to see/ver’. Example (99a) expresses the idea that each one of those people looked at someone, while example (99b) illustrates a group of people doing the action together.

(98) a. trabaho nee ne- **wa-** ru- ti- **’ɨkitɨa**
work 1SG 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- study
‘…trabajo yo les enseñé…’
‘…I taught them work…’ [INTR01]

b. nee hɨrixɨa ne- niwe -ma ne- u- **ti-** **wa-** **’ɨkitɨa**
1SG AFF 1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- OS- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- study
‘…yo, sí, les enseño a mis hijos (Huichol)…’
‘…I, yes, teach my children (Huichol)…’ [INTR10]

c. te- **te-** **wa-** **’ɨkitɨa** -ka -ke
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- learn -ST -POT
‘...nosotros les enseñaríamos (Huichol)...’
‘...we would teach them (Huichol)...’ [DWIK01]

(99) a. ta- tei ka- niu- nawa -rie -ni titayari **xe-** **te-** ’i- **xei**
1PL- mother NARR- NARR- steal -PASS -NARR because 2PL.SBJ-DISTR- 3SG.OBJ- see.PFV
‘…nuestra madre fue robada porque ustedes lo vieron…’
‘…our mother was stolen because you (PL) saw it…’ [SSB02]

b. **xe-** ta- he- **xeiya**
2PL.SBJ- 1PL.NSBJ- ALL- see.PRS
‘…nos están viendo…’
‘…you (PL) are looking at us…’ [LCLAKE04]

Examples in (100), (101), and (102) with the verb *mikwa* ‘to feed/alimentar’ illustrate the same behavior. When the prefix *ti-* is used, the action is understood as done by the same participant at different moments, while the absence of the prefixes denote that the action is done by one participant only once.

(100) mɨkɨ ne- **wa-** ru- **ti-** **mikwa**
DEM 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- feed
‘…eso les doy de comer (tortillas azules) (al mismo tiempo)…’
‘…I feed them with that (blue tortilla) (at the same time)…’ [DTORT01]

(101) yepauka ne- **ti-** **wa-** ru- **mi** -xime
fast 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- feed -INCH
‘…les voy dando de comer rápido…’
‘…I’m feeding them, fast…’ [DTORT01]

(102) niwa -ma ne- **ti-** **wa-** ru- **ti-** **mikwa**
1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- feed.PRS
‘…les doy de comer a mis hijos…’
‘…I feed my children…’ [INTR20]

The prefixes *ti-* and *te-* can co-occur with the prefixes *ta-* and *ti-* in the same clause, as illustrated in (103) with the verb *wewi* ‘to make/hacer’, and (104) with the verb *hapa* ‘to take out small/sacar chaparro’. This demonstrates that the co-occurrence of both types of prefixes do not co-vary.

(103) a.ne- teukari -ma ’ixɨarari me- mu- **wewi** -xime
1SG- grandfather -PL celebration.corn 3PL.SBJ- AS2- make -INCH
‘…mis abuelos van haciendo fiesta…’
‘…my grandparents are doing ceremonies…’ [INTR12]

b.’ikwai ne- **ti-** wa- **wewi** -rie -tɨ me- huxa -kame
food 1SG.SBJ- DISTR-3PL.NSBJ- make -APPL -SS 3PL.SBJ- full -NMLZ
‘…les hago comida, están llenos…’
‘…I make food, they are full…’ [INTR20]

c. ta- pini -te **te-** m- **te-** **ti-** **wewi** -wa muwa paitɨ
1PL- thing -PL 1PL.SBJ-AS2- DISTR- PL- make -HAB DEM until
'…hacemos cosas hasta allá…'
'…we make things there…' [DPEY03]

(104) a. xe- kwa- **wa-** ra- na- ye- **hapana** -ni neuxei miki
2PL.SBJ- NEG- 3PL.NSBJ- X- X- inside- take.out.small -NARR hey DEM
'…¡oigan!, no saquen a sus hijos (de la escuela)…'
'…hey! Do not take your children out (of school)…' [SPS01]

b.'itsari te- **te-** m- **te-** wa- ye- **hapa** -xɨa -ni
food F.S. 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- CAV- inside- take.out -ITR -NARR
'…sacamos comida (varias veces)…'
'…we take out food (several times)…' [DMC02]

c.me- **te-** wa- ra- na- **ti-** **hapana** heiwa
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- X- X- PL- take.out sometimes
'…los sacan a veces (pescados)…'
'…they take them out sometimes (fish)…' [INTR23]

As observed, the iterative marker *-xɨa* co-occurs with the prefix *te-* in example (104b), which indicates that the latter does not mark an iterative action, as previously proposed in the literature (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999).

6.3.3. Intransitive clauses

The prefixes *ti-* and *te-* occur in intransitive clauses as well, as illustrated with the verb *'uximaya* 'to work/trabajar' in (105), the verb *'etsa* 'to sow/sembrar' in (106), and the verbalized noun *'uaye* 'remedy/remedio, medicina'. The function of the prefixes is the same as in transitive clauses: 'distributive' subject'. The prefixes occur with verbs of action and states. Examples in (105) show the use of the prefixes *ti-* and *te-*, for singular and plural subject respectively. The suffix *r-* is an allomorph of *ti-* (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). Examples in (106) show a pair of sentences, one with the prefix *te-* and the other sentence without it. The latter indicates an

activity done by different subjects while the former an activity performed as a group. Example (107) shows a stative verb with the prefix *te-*.

(105) a.ne- re- **r-** ’**uximaya** -tɨ muwa
1SG.SBJ- INDF.P- DISTR- work -SS DEM
‘…allá yo trabajo…’
‘…there I work…’ [INTR16]

b. me- **te-** **’uximaya** maestro -tsixi
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- work teacher -PL
‘…ellos trabajan, los maestros…’
‘…they work, the teachers…’ [PL02]

(106) a. tsiere =ta me- pu- ka- **’etsa** ’epauka
also =FOC 3PL.SBJ- AS1- down- sow these.times
‘…también siembran en estos tiempos…’
‘…they also sow in these times…’ [INTR23]

b. meta tita **te-** **te-** u- ka- **’etsa**
also que 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- down- sow
‘…también lo qué sembramos…’
‘…also what we sow…’ [SR02]

(107) hipatɨ **me-** **te-** yu- **’uaye** -ma -wame -te
some 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- MID- remedy -PL -NMLZ -PL
‘…algunos son médicos…’
‘…some are doctors…’ [INTR05]

The prefixes *ti-* and *te-* can co-occur with the suffixes *ta-* and *ti-*, as in transitive clauses. Examples (108) and (109) show contrastive sentences with the verb *xu* ‘to embroider/bordar’ and *’ɨkitɨa* ‘to study/estudiar’.

(108) a. ’uka -ri xeniu me- n- **xu** -tɨwe
woman -PL EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- NARR- embroider -PROGR.PL
‘…las mujeres están bordando (como grupo)…’
‘…women are embroidering (as a group)…’ [SPEY01]

b. ne- **ti-** **ta-** xu -ni
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- SG- embroider -NARR
'…bordo (cotidianamente)…'
'…I embroider (regularly) [DTORT02]

c. nee tukari -kɨ ʾena ne ne- **ti-** **xu** -tɨ
1SG day -INSTR here F.S 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- embroider -SS
'…yo todos los días aquí bordo…'
'…I embroider here every day…' [INTR15]

(109) a. me- **te-** yu- **ʾɨkitɨa**
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- MID- study.PRS
'ellos estudian (cada uno Wixárika)…'
'they study (each one of them Wixárika)…' [SSB01]

b. ne- **ti-** yɨ- **ti-** ʾɨkitɨa -me
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- MID- PL- study -DS
'…estudiando (Odontología)…'
'…studying (Odontology)…' [INTR06]

6.3.4. Discussion: The prefixes *ti-*/*te-*

An important feature that is not generally discussed in the transitivity literature is the presence of 'distributive' participants in relation to the 'subject'. Different functional-typological approaches consider that one of the crucial properties of prototypical objects in a transitive clause is 'singularity' (Hopper & Thompson 1980:253; Givón 2001; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). An action performed by an agent has more direct effect on a singular object than an action on several objects. On the other hand, these theories consider that the main property of prototypical agents is just the performance of an action that is transferred to the patient, but not the distinction between singular vs. plural agents. The number properties of the 'subject' and its effect in the transitivity of the clause is not clearly stated. As observed in the previous analysis, Wixárika has this set of prefixes *ti-*/*te-* that encodes 'distributive' subjects. Although these prefixes do not co-vary with other grammatical components of transitivity, I consider that this feature in other languages must be considered in a transitivity analysis in order to account for all of the resources

the language has to express certain types of events. Following the literature on prototypical objects, I then consider that the distributive markers of the subject represent lesser degrees of transitivity since the participants are not conceptualized as a singular entity or a group. A singular subject has more effect on the action than several subjects who perform the same action distributively.

6.4. Summary

In this chapter, I determined the function of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and *ti-*/*te-*. These prefixes were discussed in the literature as having different functions (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1993; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) which were unclear due to the lack of examples. Based on my corpus, I determined that the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* indicate that the action is 'effective' —singular or plural—or has an impact on the arguments. The absence of *ta-*/*ti-* in the clauses expresses a general action without an impact. The contribution of these prefixes to the transitivity of the event is justified by the fact that *ta-*/*ti-*are ungrammatical in verbs that encode a highly volitional agent and a highly affected patient (e.g., to kill, to explode). In addition, the corpus shows that these prefixes also occur in certain types of intransitive clauses, like clauses with verbs of existence, and clauses with action and inchoative verbs. The use of these prefixes encodes different semantics nuances of the events, which gives evidence of the scalar nature of the clauses and therefore, of the transitivity of the events.

On the other hand, I also discussed the function of the prefixes *ti-*/*te-*, which occur closer to the subject pronouns in the verbal template. These prefixes were described as having different functions as well (Grimes 1964:89; Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), which were unclear due to the lack of examples. Based on my corpus, I showed that the prefixes *ti-*/*te-*

—singular and plural subject respectively— mark that the action is performed 'distributively' by the participants in intransitive and transitive clauses. In the case of a singular participant, the action is conceived as performed by the same participant; however, the subject is understood as being multiple entities. In this chapter, I also discussed the contribution of this type of features as components of transitivity crosslinguistically. Although Wixárika's prefixes do not co-vary with other grammatical components of transitivity, I considered that this feature would denote less transitivity of the clause in other languages, since the subjects are not individuated. This feature is not usually discussed in transitivity theories, since the focus is on the effect and individuation objects.

CHAPTER 7

TRANSITIVIZATION STRATEGIES

7.1. Introduction

The argument structure of verbs can be changed in various ways depending on the communicative needs. The changes in argument structure are known as 'alternations' (Kittilä 2002; Haspelmath 2015; Malchukov & Comrie 2015), which can be grouped into 'valency/transitivity increasing' or 'valency/transitivity decreasing' strategies (Drossard 1991; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Kittilä 2002; Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004; Malchukov & Comrie 2015). This chapter provides an analysis of the different means Wixárika uses to increase the number of arguments in the clause, which I call 'transitivization' strategies (Kittīla 2002) due to the purposes of this research; the focus is not only on the change of the argument structure but also the effects regarding the degrees of transitivity in the clause. Typically, transitivization strategies add an argument with morphological markings on the verb. However, in some cases, there is only a change in the case frames of arguments (Haspelmath 1987; Drossard 1991; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Kittilä 2002). Semantically speaking, the process has direct consequences for the nature of events since it encodes the promotion of a participant that is not normally part of a scene or the margin to the scene onto a center stage in an event (Comrie 1981; Haspelmath 1993; Payne 1997; Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004).

In Wixárika there are two ways to transitivize a clause, which license additional core arguments: via morphological changes to the verb and via a semantic shift in verb choice. Wixárika uses primarily the former, so I will focus on this but I will include some semantic shifts

as well. Following Haspelmath (2015), Wixárika's strategies are grouped into *coded* where the verb undergoes a morphological change, and *uncoded* where the form of the verb remains the same with two different alternate structures, or the form of the verb is changed to alternate structure. In both classifications, the 'coding' and 'behavioral' properties (Malchukov & Comrie 2015) of the verbs are described highlighting the relation of these properties to the verb's semantic class. The former refers to the marking of the arguments in the clause, which is primarily done by indexating the verb inflectionally, while the latter refers to the different transitivizing strategies that verb classes undergo.

I have identified three coded transitivization strategies marked in the verbal complex: The causatives *-tɨa*, *-ta*, *-ya*, the applicative *-ri(e)*, and vowel alternation. Vowel alternation encodes both an inchoative-causative or intransitive-transitive alternation. The conditions where these strategies occur, their functions, as well as the syntactic and semantic consequences of the arguments and the clause are analyzed. I include an additional function of the suffixes *-tɨa* and *-ta*, which is as 'transitivizer' without a causative meaning. I analyze different degrees of lexicalization of the suffixes as well. The causative function of the suffix *-ri(e)* and the applicative function of the suffix *-tɨa* are also explored. Finally, I analyze two uncoded strategies, suppletion and lability, where there is no structural change but the clause is transitivized or the form of the verb is changed to add another argument.

The terms 'actor' and 'undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) are used throughout the chapter to encompass the various semantic roles of the arguments as well, which are only marked with subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes in Wixárika.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 7.2 describes the different coded strategies: Vowel alternation and the suffixes *-tɨa*, *-ta*, *-ya*, and *-ri(e)*. Sections 7.3 portraits the uncoded

alternations: lability and suppletion. Section 7.4 provides a summary of the findings and a brief discussion on the suffixes' functions found in the language.

7.2. Coded alternations

7.2.1. Vowel alternation

A morphological process common in many Uto-Aztecan languages is vowel alternation. This equipollent alternation —partial stem modification (Haspelmath 1993)— that occurs with the final vowel of the root adds an actor participant, and projects a sense of intentionality and control of the action. Wixárika presents two different vocalic alternation patterns: (i) an inchoative-causative alternation encoded by *-i* and *-a* respectively, which are similar to the proposed reconstructions in Proto-Uto-Aztecan as **-i* 'intransitive, passive, stative' and **-a* 'transitive, active' (Sapir 1930; Whorf 1935; Langacker 1977; Dakin 1982); and (ii) an intransitive-transitive alternation encoded by *-a* and *-i*, respectively.

The alternation *-i*/*-a* commonly occurs in other Southern Uto-Aztecan languages to encode both inchoative-causative and intransitive-transitive alternations, like Yaqui *-(t)e/-(t)a* (Estrada et al. 2015:1366), Nahuatl *-i*/*-a* (Langacker 1977:132), Pima Bajo and Nevome *-i*/*-a* (Estrada, personal communication), and Tarahumara *-i*/*-a*, *-i*/*-e*, and *-o*/*-e* (Caballero 2008:108). In Pima Bajo the vowels can change into *-a*/*-i* for intransitive and transitive verbs, respectively (Estrada, personal communication) as in Wixárika. This behavior indicates that the *-a*/*-i* intransitive-transitive alternation is probably a sub-type of *-i*/*-a*, developed at a later stage in Wixárika. However, research remains to be done to explain and determine the historical changes involved in this process.

Vowel alternation has been claimed to be strictly lexical (Lindenfeld 1973; Jelinek 1998; Jelinek & Escalante 2000), since only a small number of verbs have been reported to exhibit these alternations, and the same distinction can be marked with other morphemes, like the causative suffixes reconstructed in Proto-Uto-Aztecan **na*, **tu-(ya)*, and **kV* (Langacker 1977:132). This statement agrees with what Wixárika shows in the corpus because a small number of verbs undergo vocalic alternation, while numerous cases take the causative suffixes -*tɨa*, -*ta*, and -*ya* (see §7.2.2, 7.2.3, and 7.2.4).

Sections 7.2.1.1 and 7.2.1.2 explore the two vocalic alternation patterns in Wixárika, inchoative-causative and intransitive-transitive, respectively.

7.2.1.1. Inchoative-causative alternation

This equipollent alternation in Wixárika represents intransitive and transitive oppositions encoding inchoative/causative pairs, i.e., "…pairs which express the same basic situation (generally a change of state, more rarely a going-on[53]) and differ only in that the causative verb meaning includes an agent participant who causes the situation, whereas the inchoative verb meaning excludes a causing agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously" (Haspelmath 1993:90)[54].

The inchoative form is expressed by -*i* while the causative one by -*a*.[55] The verbs that undergo this type of vowel alternation encode a change of state of an inanimate undergoer participant. The actor is more commonly an animate participant, which projects control and

[53] The term 'going-on' (a non-agentive activity in the Vendlerian sense) used by Haspelmath (1993) was borrowed from Quirk et al. (1985:201).

[54] See Haspelmath (1993) for a more detailed explanation on the inchoative-causative types.

[55] Grimes (1964, 1981), Gómez (1999), and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) do not describe vowel alternation. The paper where this alternation is briefly mentioned is in Gómez (1992:168-9) where she states that vowel alternation derives a 'resultative' from transitive verbs.

intention, thus encoding a highly agentive participant. However, this participant could be an inanimate one that expresses certain strength, like natural forces (‘wind’ or ‘rain’). In Wixárika culture, human properties are assigned to natural forces due to their relation with the gods in their beliefs. Examples (1a), (2a), and (3a) with *xɨni* ‘to untie/desamarrar’, *’uni* ‘to destroy, dekernell/destruir, desgranar, and *tari* ‘to break/romper’ show the inchoative/intransitive clause, while (1b), (2b), and (3b) illustrate the causative/transitive forms when the actor is included; the actor is encoded by subject pronominal prefixes.

(1) a. kaunari yu- kɨmana pu- **xɨni** -xɨ
rope REFL- alone AS1- untie -PFV
‘La cuerda se desató.’
‘The rope untied.’ [Elicit]

b. nee ne- kaunari ne- pu- **xɨna** -xɨ
1SG 1SG- rope 1SG.SBJ- AS1- untie -PFV
‘Desaté la cuerda.’
‘I untied the rope.’ [Elicit]

(2) a. tetsari pu- ta- **’uni** -xɨ
ceiling AS1- SG- dekernell -PFV
‘El techo se desprendió.’
‘The ceiling detached.’ [Elicit]

b. ’eka tetsari pu- ta- **’una** -xɨ
wind ceiling AS1- SG- detach -PFV
‘El viento desprendió el techo.’
‘The wind detached the ceiling.’ [Elicit]

(3) a. ’echiwa p- a- u- ku- **tari** -xɨ waniu tɨ
little AS1- PRO VIS- S.P.- break -PFV EVI.IND coal
‘…se quebró un poco la braza…’
‘…the coal broke a little…’ [SBB02]

b. ’ukiratsi xari pu- **tara** -xɨ
man pot AS1- break -PFV
‘El hombre quebró la olla.’
‘The man broke the pot.’ [Elicit]

Other verbal roots that undergo vowel alternation include *tsani* ‘to tear, break/rasgar, romper’, *muri* ‘to break/romper’, and *tuni* ‘to bend/doblar’, shown in (4) and (5).

(4) a. kustari pu- ta- **tsani** -xɨ
sack AS1- SG- tear/break -PFV
‘El costal se rompió.’
‘The sack is torn.’ [Elicit]

b. xeme xe- p- i- e- ta- **tsana** -xɨ kustari
2PL 2PL.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- EXT- SG- tear/break -PFV sack
‘Ustedes lo rompieron, el costal’
‘You (PL) tore it, the sack.’ [Elicit]

(5) a. kutsira pu- **muri** -xɨ
knife AS1- break -PFV
‘El machete se quebró.’
‘The knife is broken.’ [Elicit]

b. kutsira ne- pɨ- ta- **mura** -xɨ
knife 1SG.SBJ- AS1- SG- break -PFV
‘Yo quebré el machete.’
‘ I broke the knife.’ [Elicit]

Vowel alternation expresses a particular nuance that has pragmatic implications. For instance, when the action happens accidentally, the inchoative form is used; otherwise, the causative with a subject pronominal prefix is preferred, as in (6) and (7). This example illustrates that the actor’s different degrees of control and intentionality is structurally coded.

(6) a. nee ne- teuri wa- ye- **muri** -xɨ
1SG 1SG- thigh CAV- inside- break -PFV
‘Me rompí mi pierna.’
‘I broke my leg.’ [Elicit]

b. ne- teuri wa- ye- **mura** -xɨ ne- ’iwa
1SG- thigh CAV- inside- break -PFV 1SG- brother
‘Mi hermano me quebró mi pierna.’
‘My brother broke my leg.’ [Elicit]

c. nee ne- teuri ne- wa- ye- **mura** -xɨ
1SG 1SG- thigh 1SG.SBJ- CAV- inside- break -PFV
'Me rompí mi pierna'
'I broke my leg myself' [Elicit]

(7) a. ne- 'ixuriki ne- pu- ta- **tuna** -xɨ
1SG- clothes 1SG.SBJ- AS1- SG- fold -PFV
'Doblé mi ropa'
'I folded my clothes.' [Elicit]

b. ne- 'uka p- an- ta- **tuni** -xɨ
1SG- foot AS1- side- SG- fold -PFV
'Me doblé mi pie.'
'I twisted my foot.' [Elicit]

7.2.1.2. Intransitive-transitive alternation

Vowel alternation is also found in pairs where a causative meaning is not intended. In this case, the intransitive form takes *-a* while the transitive one *-i*. The suffix *-i* adds an affected argument with no control encoded by a non-subject pronominal prefixes, instead of a causer. The ending *-a* involves a participant that codes agency.

This alternation is not very productive in the language because it was only observed in the perception verb *'ena* 'to hear/oír' and the speech verb *hiwa* 'to scream/gritar'. Examples (8) and (9) illustrate the alternation *hiwa*/*hiwi* 'to scream, shout/gritar' and *'ena*/*'eni* 'to hear, listen, understand/oír, escuchar, entender'.[56] The verb *'eni* adds a final *e* when it occurs in the imperfective form, as in (9c) and (9d).

(8) a. 'aru niu- ta- tsua -ni waniu ke n- ti- u- **hiwa**
turkey NARR- SG- cry -NARR EVI.IND SBR- NARR- DISTR- VIS- scream.PRS
'…el guajolote llora, grita…'
'…the turkey cries, screams…' [SSB02]

[56] Grimes (1981:142-3) reports the forms *'ena* and *'enie* with the same meaning as in this research. However, he does not include *hiwa* or *hiwi* as an entry in his dictionary.

b. ’ekɨ pe- nes- ta- **hiwi** -xɨ
2SG 2SG.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- shout -PFV
‘Tú me gritaste.’
‘You shouted at me.’ [Elicit]

(9) a. ne- ti- ku- hɨawa -rɨwa -kai meripaitɨ
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- SP- say -PASS -IPFV long.time.ago
‘…era dicho hace mucho’
‘…I was told long time ago’

nee ne- kwa- ’u- **’ena** -xɨ ’aixɨ
1SG 1SG.SBJ- NEG- OS- hear.SG -PFV good
‘…yo no escuché bien…’
‘…I didn’t hear well…’ [SK01]

b. mɨkɨ =ta kɨmu ’echiwa m- a- u- **’ena**
DEM =FOC like little AS2- FIG- VIS- hear.IPFV
‘…ella como que entiende poco…’
‘…she kinds of understand a little…’ [Wix01]

c. me- netsi- **’enie**
3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- hear.IPFV
‘…ellos me escuchan…’
‘...they listen to me…’ [LCLake01]

d. kwixɨ waniu ne- ti- u- **’enie** -ni
eagle EVI.IND 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- hear.PRS -NARR
‘…escucho al aguila…’
‘…I hear the eagle…’ [Spey01]

When a second argument is included in the intransitive clause with the verb ending in *-a*, a postposition is used. For instance, in (10) the verb *’ena* ‘to hear, listen/oír, escuchar’ occurs with the postposition *-kɨ* ‘INSTR’ attached to the noun *Wixárika*. The same example also shows the verb *’ena* with only one argument, the subject *me-* ‘3PL.SBJ’. An example contrasting both verbs, that is, the intransitive and transitive version, can be observed in (11). The verb *’eni* ‘to hear, listen to something/oír, escuchar algo’ is used with a 3SG object pronominal prefix to refer to the object ‘news’ (announced in the radio), while *’enana* refers to the activity of ‘hearing’.

(10) para me- m- a u- **’enana** -ka -kɨ **Huichol -kɨ** pero hipatɨ
for 3PL.SBJ- AS2- FIG- VIS- hear.PL -SS -for Huichol -INSTR but some
‘…para que escuchen/entiendan (los niños) Huichol pero algunos’
‘…so that they (children) hear/understand Huichol but some’

me- u- ka- **’enana**
3PL.SBJ- VIS- NEG- hear.PL
‘no escuchan/entienden…’
‘they don’t hear/understand’ [INTR10]

(11) xe- m- e- ta- **’enana** niukame
2PL.SBJ- AS2- EXT- SG- hear.PL radio
‘…ustedes oyen, en la radio’
‘…you (PL) hear us, in the radio’

mu- ku- we -tɨka -tsie xɨka ’ikɨ he- ye- tui -ya -mɨkɨ
AS2- SP- stand -PL -LOC COND DEM OS- inside-give -PASS -DES.SG
‘donde estamos, si es entregado eso (documento)’
‘where we are, if it was delivered (document)’

mu- xe- m- e- **i-** ta- **’enie** -ka
this.way- 2PL.SBJ- AS2- EXT- 3SG.OBJ- SG- hear.PRS -SS
‘ustedes lo escuchan…’
‘you (PL) hear it…’ [LCLAKE01]

If elicited, the form ’*ena* combined with non-subject pronominal prefixes is ungrammatical as in (12a). The grammatical version is illustrated in (12b).

(12) a. *ne- matsi- ’u- ’ena -xɨ
1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- OS- hear -PFV
‘Yo te escuché’
‘I listened to you’. [Elicit]

b. ne- matsi- ’u- **’eni**
1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- OS- hear.PFV
‘Te escuché.’
‘I listened to you.’ [Elicit]

7.2.2. The suffix *-ŧia*

Wixárika has a morphological means to transitivize clauses, which is by using the suffix *-ŧia* —a causative reconstructed in Proto-Uto-Aztecan as **-tu-(y)a* (Langacker 1977:144).[57] The suffix is used in two different contexts: (i) to introduce a causer in a causative construction and (ii) to introduce a beneficiary/recipient in a transitive construction. The latter case only occurs with verbs of physical transfer of an object or with nominal roots, which means that the applicative function is a secondary extension of the causativization one because it occurs in restricted contexts. The development of transitivizing functions from the causative function is commonly observed crosslinguistically (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000:5).

Section 7.2.2.1 analyzes the causative function of the suffix in verbal and non-verbal roots, while section 7.2.2.2 explores the applicative function. Section 7.2.2.3 describes different lexicalized cases of the suffix *-ŧia*.

7.2.2.1. The causative suffix *-ŧia*

7.2.2.1.1. Verbal roots

Wixárika encodes causative events by using the suffix *-ŧia* (Grimes 1964, 1981; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) in a wide range of different semantic classes of verbs. A causative situation is defined as a semantic relation that is associated with two different events, one linked to the notion of 'cause' which commonly corresponds to the way the event is initiated, and the other to the notion of 'effect', the resultant state or the performed action (Comrie 1981; Podlesskaya 1993; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002). This relation is associated with the presence of two participants, one prototypical volitional agent and

[57] Langacker (1977:144) also reconstructs the causative suffix as **-kV*. However, he states that a more definite reconstruction for the causative is **-na* with the plural, repetitive or distributive variant **-ca*.

responsible for the change of state and the other, a patient who is affected by that change (Givón 2001). Morphological causatives are considered properly to increase the number of core arguments in a clause because they always imply one more participant than the non-causative equivalent (Comrie 1981; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). In Wixárika, the participant that is required is the 'causer' of the action, as in example (13b). The causer is not encoded in the example because it is a 3SG argument.

(13) a. matsika -ya 'u- ta- tsua -ti
older.brother -3SG.POSS VIS- SG cry -SS
'…su hermano mayor llorando…'
'… his older brother crying…' [SR02]

b. netsi- 'u- ta- tsua -ri -s -**tia**
1SG.NSBJ- VIS- SG- cry -RES.COMPL -X -CAUS
'Me hizo llorar.'
'S/he made me cry.' [Elicit]

The suffix -*tia* only can be used with initially intransitive or transitive clauses of different verbal classes, in the former case a second argument is introduced, while in the latter a third argument is introduced. Introducing more than three arguments gives an ungrammatical clause. Examples of non-causative/causative pairs in intransitive clauses are illustrated in (14) and (15) with the verbs *naanai* 'to laugh/reír' and *ku* 'to sleep/dormir'.

(14) a. tame te- te- naanai -ma -ka
1PL 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- laugh -COM -SS
'…nosotros con burla (Lit. 'Nosotros nos reimos con') …'
'…we, with laughter (Lit. 'We laugh with')…' [DWIK01]

b. ne- metsi- 'u- ta- naanai -**tia**
1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- VIS- SG- laugh -CAUS
'Te hice reir.'
'I made you laugh.' [Elicit]

(15) a. ne- ’iyari -kɨ ne- p- a- u- ku -ni
1SG- heart -INSTR 1SG.SBJ- AS1- FIG- VIS- sleep -FUT
‘…dormiré con bien…’
‘…I’ll sleep well…’ [PR01]

b. Huan nunutsi p- a- u- ku **-tɨa**
Juan boy AS1- FIG -VIS- sleep -CAUS
‘Juan hizo al niño dormir.’
‘Juan made the boy sleep.’ [Elicit]

Examples of causative constructions with transitive clauses are illustrated in (16) with the verb *pi* ‘to cut/cortar’ and (17) with the verb *’ɨkwi* ‘to smell/oler’. The causative suffix in transitive clauses is less common than in intransitive ones.

(16) a. tuutu ne- p- an- pi
flower 1SG.SBJ- AS1- side- cut.PFV
‘Corté las flores.’
‘I cut (PST) the flowers.’ [Elicit]

b. ’ekɨ pe- nest e- ’an- pi -s **-tɨa** tuutu
2SG 2SG.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- OS- this.side- cut -X -CAUS flower
‘Me hiciste cortar las flores.’
‘You made me cut flowers.’ [Elicit]

(17) a. tuutu ne- pɨ- ’ɨkwi -xɨ
flower 1SG.SBJ- AS1- smell -PFV
‘Yo olí las flores.’
‘I smelled the flowers.’ [Elicit]

b. ’ukaratsi tuutu nets- u- ’ɨkwi -s **-tɨa**
woman flower 1SG.NSBJ- VIS- smell -X -CAUS
‘La señora me hizo oler las flores.’
‘The woman made me smell the flowers.’ [Elicit]

In Wixárika, the ‘causer’ of the action is expressed with the subject pronominal prefixes while the ‘causee’ with the non-subject pronominal prefixes. For instance, in (18a) the original subject/actor *ne-* ‘1SG.SBJ’ takes the role of non-subject/undergoer of the action in (19b) which is encoded as *netsi-* ‘1SG.NSBJ’.

(18) a. **ne-** p- e- ’uxi -xɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS1- EXT- get.tired -PFV
‘Me cansé.’
‘I got tired.’ [Elicit]

b. ne- ’iwa **nets-** u- ’uxi -tɨa
1SG- sister 1SG.NSBJ- VIS- get.tired -CAUS
‘Mi hermana me hizo cansarme.’
‘My sister got me tired.’ [Elicit]

In the texts, examples with the causative morpheme and non-subject pronominal prefixes other than 3SG —not marked on the verb— are less commonly found. However, the intended ‘causative’ meaning is expressed. For instance, examples (19) and (20) show that the subject prefix *te-* ‘1PL.SBJ’ is the causer of the actions *nieri* ‘to see, visible/ver, visible’ and *pari* ‘to finish/terminar’. The arguments *tatewari* ‘sacred fire’ and the ‘celebration’ ―this noun omitted in the clause― are the causees of the causative event, respectively.

(19) tatewari xɨa te- m- a- ti- nieri **-tɨa** -ni
sacred.fire truth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- FIG- PL- see -CAUS -NARR
‘…prendemos el fuego sagrado (Lit. ‘Hacemos visible el fuego sagrado)…’
‘…we set the sacred fire (Lit. ‘We make the sacred fire visible)…’ [DPEY02]

(20) mɨkɨ te- u- ti- pari **-tɨa**
DEM 1PL.SBJ- VIS- PL- finish -CAUS
‘…allí terminamos (la fiesta) (Lit. ‘La hacemos terminar’)…’
‘…there we finish (the ceremony) (Lit. ‘We make it finish’)…’ [DPEY02]

On the other hand, the suffix *-tɨa* has two variants, *-tɨ* and *-tɨi* (Grimes 1981; Iturrioz 1987). According to Iturrioz (1987:285), the former is used when the morpheme occurs with the habitual suffix *-wa*. However, the corpus shows that this variant occurs without the habitual as well, as in (21) and (22).

(21) mɨkɨ nunutsi wa- ru- ye- haxe **-tɨ**
DEM child 3PL.NSBJ- PL- X- get.angry -CAUS
'La niña los hizo enojar.'
'The girl made them angry.' [Elicit]

(22) a. mɨkɨ netsi- ta- hiwi -s **-tɨ**
DEM 1SG.NSBJ- SG- shout -X -CAUS
'Ella me hizo gritar.'
'She made me shout.' [Elicit]

b. mɨkɨ netsi- ta- hiwi -s **-tɨ** **-wa**
DEM 1SG.NSBJ- SG- shout -X -CAUS -HAB
'Ella me hace gritar.'
'She makes me shout (at someone).' [Elicit]

The suffix *-tɨa* takes the form *-tɨi* when occurring with the applicative suffix *-ri(e)* (Grimes 1981; Iturrioz 1987), as in (23).[58]

(23) nee ne- matsi- nanai -s **-tɨi** -ri tuutu
1SG 1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- buy -X -CAUS -APPL.COMPL flower
'Yo te compré flores.'
'I bought you flowers.' [Elicit]

7.2.2.1.1.1. Sociative causation

The suffix *-tɨa* can also introduce two co-participants, which is a phenomenon known as 'sociative causation' (Shibatani 2002). Shibatani (2002:96-7) describes 'sociative causation' as a situation in which two agents occur in a single event. He recognizes at least three different sociative events: (i) joint-action, (ii) assistive, and (iii) supervision. The construction in Wixárika expresses joint actions of two co-participants, one encoded by a subject pronominal prefix and the other by a non-subject pronominal prefix. The only type of verb that illustrates this pattern is *nei* 'to dance/bailar', as in (24b). Semantically, example (24a) expresses the action of 'dancing'

[58] Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) glosses this morpheme as causative/applicative while they explain that it is just an allomorph of the causative.

as a group activity where each participant is dancing by its own (marked with the distributive prefix *te-*), while in (24b) two participants are dancing together. Although the two participants appear to encode the same degree of agency, structurally the degree of volition of the two participants differs, that is, the participant marked with a non-subject prefix has less agency than the other as the literal translation reflects: 'I made you dance with me'.

(24) a. te- mɨ- te- ti- nei -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- PL- dance -NARR
'…bailamos (varios en la ceremonia)…'
'…we dance (several in the ceremony)…' [DMC02]

b. ne- **mats-** u- ti- nei **-tɨa**
1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- VIS- PL- dance -CAUS
'Bailé contigo (Lit. 'Te hice bailar conmigo')
'I danced with you.' (Lit. 'I made you dance with me') [Elicit]

Vázquez (2002:226) shows a similar pattern with the same verb in Cora (Corachol, Uto-Aztecan), a closely related language, in (25). She states that this construction signals a causative situation with sociative sense as well.

(25) CORA (UTO-AZTECAN)
Diego Isabel pu tiʔ -u- néʔih **-te**
Diego Isabel 3SG ANTIPASS -CMP- dance -CAUS
'As for Diego, he made Isabel dance (with him).'[59] [Vázquez 2002:226]

7.2.2.1.2. Non-verbal roots

The suffix *-tɨa* in non-verbal roots derives different results. When the suffix *-tɨa* attaches to roots that describe attributes, a causer is introduced and a change of state in the undergoer is encoded, like prototypical causative constructions, illustrated in (26) and (27).

[59] The glosses of this example are kept as in the original paper.

(26) a. ki pɨ- tusa
house AS1- white.PRS
'La casa es blanca.'
'The house is white.' [Elicit]

b. p- i- ti- tusa -ri **-tɨa**
AS1- 3SG.OBJ- PL- white -RES.COMPL -CAUS
'Alguien la hizo blanca (la casa)/La blanqueó'.
'Some one made it white.' [Elicit]

(27) a. ki pɨ- xure
house AS1- red.PRS
'La casa es roja.'
'The house is red.' [Elicit]

b. ne- p- i- ti- xuri -ri **-tɨa**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- PL- red -RES.COMPL -CAUS
'Yo la hice roja/La enrojecí.'
'I made it red.' [Elicit]

However, when the suffix attaches to verbalized nouns, either a *beneficiary* or an *agent* is introduced. Example (28b) illustrates the beneficiary marked with a non-subject pronoun, thus showing an overlap with the applicative domain, described in §7.2.6. The difference from the applicative is that in this construction, the suffix not only introduces the beneficiary but also denotes the actor's action of 'making' or 'creating' an object for someone else. In other words, the construction means that an 'agent does an action that makes the undergoer get a house'. Example (28a) shows the indirect causative *-ta* (see §7.2.3 for a detailed description) when the intended meaning is to denote the activity of making houses, while in (28b) the suffix *-ta* is replaced by *-tɨa* when a second argument is introduced. Example (28c) illustrates the ungrammaticality of the clause when the suffix *-ta* and a non-subject pronominal prefix, encoding the beneficiary of the action, are used together.

(28) a. ne- pɨ- ki -ta
1SG.SBJ- AS1- house -CAUS
'Hago casas.'
'I make houses.' [Elicit]

b. ne- pɨ- **matsi**- ki **-tɨa**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- 2SG.NSBJ- house -APPL
'Te hice una casa.'
'I made you a house.' [Elicit]

c. *ne- pɨ- matsi- ki -ta
1SG.SBJ- AS1- 2SG.NSBJ- house -CAUS
'Yo te hice una casa.'
'I made you a house.' [Elicit]

Example (29b) shows an instance where an *agent* is introduced with the verbalized noun *'iyari* 'heart/corazón'. In this case, the suffix *-tɨa* introduces the agent *tawewiekame* 'creator' and the undergoer of the action is encoded with the non-subject pronominal prefix *ta-* '1PL.NSBJ' in (29b). The new argument is an agent that does not cause a change of state in the patient, as prototypical causatives, but is the responsible of an action that 'makes people get guided'. Example (29a) shows an instance of the verbalized noun without the causative suffix. Cases with verbalized nouns and the suffix *-tɨa* are uncommon.

(29) a. wixarika pɨ- n- ti- u- ka- **'iyari** xeniu
huichol AS1- NARR- DISTR- VIS- X- heart.PRS EVI.IND
'…así va/se guía el Huichol (Lit. 'Así es el corazón de los huicholes')…'
'…that's the way the Huichol goes/guides himself…' [DMC05]

b. ta- wewie -kame mɨkɨ ya- 'ane -me ta- ti- u- pitɨa
1PL- do -NMLZ DEM X- be -SS 1PL.NSBJ- PL- VIS- allow.PRS
'…nuestro creador nos permite'
'…our creator allows us'

ye- m- **ta**- ti- u- 'iyari **-tɨa**
inside- AS2- 1PL.NSBJ- PL VIS- heart -TR
' nos encaminó…'
' he guided us…' [DWIK01]

Iturrioz (1987:310) mentions two cases where the suffix *-tɨa* attached to nouns denote the relation of inalienable and alienable possession of objects, illustrated in (30) and (31), respectively. However, after verifying the meaning with the speakers, the examples simply denote the creation of an object with an intended beneficiary. Example (30) codes the action of 'making arms' to the inanimate object *mexa* 'table/mesa', and example (31) the action of 'making guitars' for himself. It is likely that the confusion in meaning is due particularly to conceptualizing the legs as an inherent part of the table. However, the verb only denotes the action of 'making', as in example (28) above with *kitɨa* 'making houses'. Similarly, in (31), the action refers to the 'making' of a musical instrument, but the reflexive marker *ne* '1SG.REFL' denotes only the beneficiary of the action and not a possessive relation. Therefore, the correct meanings are: 'Wiyeme made legs to the table/Wiyeme le hizo patas a la mesa' and 'I made a guitar for me/me hice una guitarra.'

(30) Wiyeme mexa p- a- 'ɨka -tɨa
Wiyeme table AS1- FIG- arm -APPL[60]
'Wiyeme le puso patas a la mesa.'
'Wiyeme gave feet to the table.' [Iturrioz 1987:310]

(31) ne ne- pu- ne- ta- kanari -tɨa
1SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- 1SG.REFL SG- guitar -APPL
'Hice mio el violin/lo escogí/me quedé con él.'
'I made the violin mine/I chose it/I kept it.' [Iturrioz 1987:310]

7.2.2.2. The applicative suffix *-tɨa*

Wixárika uses the suffix *-tɨa* as a transitivizer without a causative meaning. This suffix is attached to the verbal complex to introduce a third argument in a transitive clause. The language uses the suffix *-tɨa* with verbs that denote the physical transfer of an object, like *hapa* 'to take out

[60] The glosses of these examples were changed from the original, but the translations were kept to compare the Iturrioz's original translation with my interpretation.

something small/sacar algo chaparro', *kwei* 'to take out something large/sacar algo largo', and *huri(e)* 'to bring/traer' in (32), (33), and (34), respectively. The participant introduced is a recipient marked with non-subject pronominal prefixes. The introduction of a recipient argument in this construction shows an overlap with the applicative suffix, described in §7.2.6. This phenomenon is known as 'causative/applicative syncretism' (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002:116) because it refers to the split of functions of one single morpheme based generally on the semantics of the verbs. Pragmatically, the constructions with the transitivizing suffix denote the action of 'offering' or 'giving'. According to Iturrioz (1987: 306-8), the suffix *-tɨa* in this type of verbs encodes a direct action of the agent upon the direct object as in a causative construction. However, the examples below show that the use of the suffix is to introduce a recipient argument, and not to encode a causative meaning. It is important to mention that example (34b) has a completive passive suffix *-ri* that promotes the recipient into a subject in the clause.

(32) a. 'itsari te te- m- te- wa- ye- **hapa** -xɨa -ni
food F.S. 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- CAV- inside- take.out.small -ITR -NARR
'…sacamos la comida…'
'…we take out food…' [DMC02]

b. nawa te- wa- ta- **hapa** **-tɨa** -ni
tejuino 1PL.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- SG- take.out.small -APPL -NARR
'…les ofrecemos tejuino…'
'…we offer them tejuino…' [DMC03]

(33) a. ne- p- i- wa- ye- **kwei** katira
1SG.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- CAV- inside- take.out .large.PFV candle
'La saqué, la vela.'
'I took it out, the candle.' [Elicit]

b. mɨkɨ 'itsɨ ti- **kwei** **-tɨa** -ni
DEM walking.stick PL- take.out.large -APPL -NARR
'…ese bastón se le da (a la naturaleza)…'
'…that walking stick is given (to nature)…' [DIS05]

(34) a. ta- muleto te- mu- **hurie** -tsie
1PL- notebook 1PL.SBJ- AS2- bring -when
'…cuando traemos nuestra boleta…'
'…when we bring the notebook…' [DIS05]

b. xapa te- ta- **huri** **-tɨa** -ri -wa
notebook 1PL.SBJ- SG- bring -APPL -PASS -HAB
'…nos entregan cuadernos (Lit. 'Somos entregados cuadernos')…'
'…we are given notebooks…' [DIS05]

Another example is illustrated in (35) with *'ɨi* 'to take out/sacar' where the recipient is encoded with non-subject pronominal prefixes, like *wa-* '3PL.NSBJ'. Example (35c) has the passive suffix *-rie*, which turns the recipient into a subject in the clause. The recipient is marked with the subject pronoun *me-* '3PL.SBJ' instead.

(35) a. yu- purutsa -ta tumini wa- ti- **'ɨi**
3SG.POSS- pocket -LOC money CAV- PL- take.out.PFV
'Sacó el dinero del bolsillo.'
'S/he took out money from the pocket.' [Elicit]

b. tetsu tɨ te- mɨ- te- **wa-** ta- **'ɨi** **-tɨa** -ni
tamal X 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- SG- take.out -APPL -NARR
'…nosotros les ofrecemos tamales (Lit. 'Nosotros les sacamos tamales[61]')…'
'…we offer them tamales (Lit. 'We take out tamales for them')…' [DMC02]

c. tetsu me- ni- u- **'ɨi** **-tɨa** -rie -ni
tamal 3PL.SBJ- NARR- VIS- take.out -APPL -PASS -NARR
'…el tamal se les entrega/ofrece (a ellos) (Lit. 'A ellos se les son sacados')…'
'…they are given/offered tamal (Lit. 'tamales are taken out for them')…' [DIS05]

7.2.2.3. The lexicalized suffix *-tɨa*

The suffix *-tɨa* occurs in some verbal roots with different degrees of lexicalization. Brinton & Traugott (2005:96) define 'lexicalization' as "the gradual change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful

[61] *Tamales* are a Mexican steamed dish made of minced and seasoned meat, chicken or cheese packed with corn meal dough and wrapped in corn husks.

form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss in the internal constituency and the item may become more lexical". In other words, the process involves the modification of an existing form to serve in major classes and is stored permanently in the mental lexicon (Anderson 1992; Plag 2003; Booij 2005; Ogechi 2005).

The suffix *-tɨa* in the language is lexicalized in some instances, since it is reanalyzed as part of the verbal root. However, the examples show different degrees of lexicalization since the causative meaning and function are bleached in distinct degrees. An example of the lexicalized *-tɨa* that preserves a strong causative meaning is illustrated with the verb *'aitɨa* 'to make someone do something/mandar hacer algo a alguien' in (36). This construction implies a controlling actor who is acting upon an undergoer. The suffix cannot be segmented from *'ai* since it does not have meaning in itself. Note that example (36a) does not show the causee, which is a 3SG, while in (36b) the passive suffix *-rie* is used, which turns the causee *tatsi-* '1PL.NSBJ' into the subject of the clause with the subject pronominal prefix *te-* '1PL.SBJ'.

(36) a. yu- yau waniu mu- ti- **'aitɨa** 'ɨrɨ
3SG.POSS- father EVI.IND AS2- PL- make.do.PFV arrow
'…su papá le mandó hacer flechas…'
'…his father made him make arrows…' [SK01]

b. nawa =ta =ri te- mɨ- ta- **'aitɨa** -rie -ni
tejuino[62] =FOC =already 1PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- make.do -PASS -NARR
'…se nos manda hacer el tejuino (Lit. 'Fuimos mandados a hacer el tejuino')…'
'…we are asked to make the tejuino…' [DMC02]

A similar example is illustrated with *pitɨa* 'to allow/permitir'. The verbal root preserves a causative meaning as well, but denotes a softer command. The undergoer of the action is

[62] *Tejuino* is a cold beverage made from fermented corn. It is commonly consumed in Wixárika communities in the ceremonies.

encoded with non-subject pronominal prefixes, like *ta-* '1PL.NSBJ' in (37). The actor/subject is not encoded in the verbal complex, since it is a 3SG argument. Interestingly, the verbal root *pi* exists in the language meaning 'to take out, to peel/quitar, pelar'; however, the meaning 'to allow' is derived only after the root combines with the causative suffix, showing the unpredictability of the meaning from the components of its parts.

(37) ta- wewie -kame mɨkɨ ya- 'ane -me **ta-** ti- u- **pitɨa**
1PL- do -NMLZ DEM X- be -SS 1PL.NSBJ- PL- VIS- allow.PRS
'…nuestro creador nos permite…'
'…our creator allows us…' [DWIK01]

An example of lexicalized *-tɨa* where the causative meaning is bleached but the transitivization function is preserved can be observed with the speech verb *xata* 'to talk (about something), mention, offer/platicar (sobre algo), mencionar, ofrecer'. The verb with the form *xata* can occur in an intransitive clause, in (38), or in a transitive clause in (39) where the object of speaking is encoded with *i-* '3SG.OBJ'.

(38) a. te- ka- ni- ta- **xata** -ku -ni
1PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- SG- talk -DES.PL -FUT
'…vamos a querer platicar…'
'…we would like to talk…' [DNY01]

b. ke- te- te- 'u- **xaxata** waniu
INTER- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- RDP.HAB.talk EVI.IND
'…cómo hablamos…'
'…how we speak…' [SR01]

(39) hikɨ 'ana ne- p- i- ka- **xata**
now here 1SG.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- X- talk.PRS
'…ahora aquí lo hablo…'
'…now I talk about it…' [SR01]

When the verb takes the form *xatɨa*, a new participant —the recipient of the talk— encoded with non-subject pronominal prefixes is introduced into the clause, as in (40) and (41). The function overlaps with the applicative domain. As mentioned in other examples, the suffix is part of the root since *xa* does not have a meaning. However, the verbal root can be found as *xa* in the perfective aspect.

(40) ’ana’i ne- **wa-** ka- **xatɨa** -ni
here 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- X- talk -FUT
‘…aquí les voy a platicar…’
‘…I will talk to them here…’ [SR01]

(41) ’ana **meti-** ta- **xatɨa** -ni titari re- tɨa
that.moment 2SG.NSBJ- SG- talk -FUT because INDF.P- go.SG.PFV
‘…en ese momento te va a platicar porque se fue…’
‘…in that moment, he will talk to you about why he left…’ [SR02]

Note in passing that Uto-Aztecan languages, particularly Tepiman, are known for root truncation in certain aspectual forms, like the perfective (Hill & Zepeda 1992; Fitzgerald 2000; Ramos 2010; Estrada 2014). The examples below show the perfective verbal form of *xata* used in an intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive construction.

(42) ne- pu- ta- **xa** ’echiwa ’ena
1SG.SBJ- AS1- SG- talk.PFV little here
‘…hablé un poco aquí…’
‘…I talked a little…’ [INTR24]

(43) ’ana’i hɨ ne- p- i- ka- **xa**
here AFF 1SG.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- X- talk.PFV
‘…aquí lo hablé…’
‘…I talked about it here…’ [SK01]

(44) ne- **wa-** ru- ti- **xa** kauxaitsi
1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- talk.PFV fox
‘…les hablé del zorro…’
‘…I talked about the fox to them…’ [SSB02]

Examples of the lexicalized suffix without a causative meaning or transitivization function are *yuitɨa* ‘to play an instrument/tocar un instrument’ in (45), *’ikitɨa* ‘to study, teach/estudiar, enseñar’ in (46), *’itɨa* ‘to get ready, hang up/alistar a alguien, tender’ in (47)[63], and *’ayetɨa* ‘to accomplish/cumplir’ in (48). In these cases, the suffix cannot be segmented from the root.

(45) te- mɨ- ti- ’ie -ni ti- ti- **yuitɨa** -rie -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- drink.tejuino -NARR DISTR- PL- play.instrument -APPL.ICOMP -NARR
‘…tomamos tejuino, les tocamos música…’
‘…we drink tejuino, we play music for them…’ [DMC02]

(46) tame xeniu temari te- m- te- yu- **’ikitɨa**
1PL EVI.IND youth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- MID- learn.PRS
‘…nosotros los jóvenes que estudiamos…’
‘…we, the youth who study…’ [YP01]

(47) mana m- i- ka- **’itɨa** -ni =ri
there AS2- 3SG.OBJ- X- get.ready -NARR =already
‘…lo alistó…’
‘…he got it ready…’ [DEER02]

(48) te- u- ta- **’ayetɨa**
1PL.SBJ- VIS- SG- accomplish.PFV
‘…nosotros cumplimos (con la fiesta)…’
‘…we did it (with the ritual)…’ [INTR08]

Similar examples are shown in (49), (50), and (51) with *tsutɨa* ‘to start/empezar’**,** *teutɨa* ‘to say goodbye/despedirse’, and *’ikatɨa* ‘to throw/echar’, respectively.

(49) wiesta m- e- yu- **tsutɨa**
ceremony AS2- OS- MID- start.PROGR
‘…empezando la fiesta (ceremonia)…’
‘…starting the ceremony…’ [INTR02]

[63] The verb *’itɨa* ‘to get ready, hang up/alistar a alguien, tender’ also means ‘to give/dar’ depending on the prefixes attached to it.

(50) ne- niwe -ma ne- wa- ru- ta- **teutɨa**
1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- SG- say.goodbye.PFV
'Me despedí de mis hijos'
'I said goodbye to my kids.' [Elicit]

(51) me- m- i- ka- **'ikatɨa** tawari
3PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- X- throw.PFV again
'…lo echaron otra vez (la pera)…'
'…they threw it again (the pear)…' [SPE01]

Examples where new arguments are introduced, are verbs of transferring, like *netɨa* 'to lend/prestar' in (52), *'itɨa* 'give, offer/dar in (53), ofrecer', *pitɨa* 'to give/dar' in (54), and *'ikitɨa* in (55). All of them show lability since the beneficiary/recipient argument can be included in the clause without further changes in the verbal complex. However, the suffix *-tɨa* can be seen in the root. As noted in the examples, the verbal form can occur both transitively and ditransitively.

(52) a. ne -tumini ne- ti- **netɨa**
1SG -money 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- lend.PRS
'Yo presto dinero.'
'I lend money.' [Elicit]

b. **nets**- u- **netɨa** tumini
1SG.NSBJ- VIS- lend money
'Me prestó dinero.'
'He lent me money.' [Elicit]

(53) a. mɨkɨ 'iku mu- xarike mɨkɨ te- m- i- **'itɨa** -ni
DEM corn AS2- brown DEM 1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- give -NARR
'…lo damos, el maíz tostado…'
'…we give it, the rosted corn…' [DMC04]

b. nawa te- mɨ- **wa**- ta- **'itɨa** -ni 'etsa -me -te
tejuino 1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3PL.NSBJ- SG- give -NARR sow -NMLZ -PL
'…damos/ofrecemos tejuino a los campesinos…'
'…we give/offer tejuino to the sowers…' [DMC02]

(54) a. tukari mu- **pitɨa** -rie -ni
life AS2- give -PASS -NARR
'…es dada la vida…'
'…life is given…' [DWIK01]

b. te- **wa-** **pitɨa** -ni mɨɨ
1PL.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- give -NARR DEM
'…nosotros les damos eso…'
'…we give them that…' [DPEY03]

(55) a. titari ne- ti- u- yu- ta- **'ɨkitɨa**
because 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- learn.PFV
'…porque estudié…'
'…because I studied…' [INTR05]

b. te- te- **wa-** **'ɨkitɨa** -ka -ke ta- niwe -ma
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- learn -SS -POT 1PL- son -PL
'…nosotros les enseñaríamos a nuestros hijos…'
'…we would teach our children…' [YP01]

On the other hand, the verbal root with the lexicalized suffix can undergo a phonological change when the habitual suffix *-wa* is added, as causative constructions with the suffix *-tɨa* (see §7.2.2.1.1). This behavior indicates that although the function and meaning has been largely bleached in most the cases, the combinatorial behavior with other morphemes is still preserved in this stage. For instance, when the habitual suffix *-wa* is attached to the roots *'utɨa* 'to paint, make up, write, enroll/pintar, maquillarse, escribir, inscribirse'[64] and *'atɨa* 'to bring/traer'[65], the verbs take the form *'utɨ* and *'atɨ* in (56c) and (57b) respectively.

(56) a. tawarike =ta ne- m- e- ne- ka- **'utɨa**
again =FOC 1SG.SBJ- AS2- X- 1SG- X- enroll.PFV
'…otra vez me inscribí…'
'…I enrolled again…' [INTR08]

b. me- te- yu- ti- **'utɨa** -ma 'aixɨ
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- REFL- PL- paint -COM good
'…se pintan bien…'
'…they wear make up…' [YP01]

[64] The language has the root *'u* 'be.stand.PL' but the verb *'utia* seems not to be derived from this root. On the other hand, Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:106) state that *'u* means 'paint', but it is not attested in the corpus.

[65] The root can also mean 'to accomplish/cumplir', depending on the prefixes used as in *'ixɨararikɨ neraye'atɨa* 'I carried out the ceremomy/cumplí con la fiesta'.

c. me- u- te- ’u- ti- wewi -wa me- u- te- ’u- ti- **’uti** -wa
3PL.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- X- PL- make -HAB 3PL.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- X- PL- write -HAB
‘…hacen trabajos, escriben…’
‘…they work, write…’
[INTR23]

(57) a. turu =ta te- mi- **’ati**a -ni
bull =FOC 1PL.SBJ- AS2- bring -NARR
‘…traemos al toro…’
‘…we bring the bull…’ [DMC03]

b. nets- e- ta- **’ati** -wa -kai kaitsa
1SG.NSBJ- X- SG- bring -HAB -IPFV rattle
‘…me traía la sonaja…’
‘…she used to bring me the rattle…’ [DC01]

7.2.3. The suffix *-ta*

The suffix *-ta* is a derivational suffix reconstructed in Proto-Uto-Aztecan as *-*tu* ‘become’ or *-*ta* ‘make’ (Langacker 1977:45). This suffix is usually attached to nouns to create verbs in some Southern Uto-Aztecan languages like Papago *-t*, Tepecano† *-ta*, Cora *-ta*, and Classical Nahuatl *-ti* (Langacker 1977:45). The suffix *-ta* in Wixárika not only has a derivative function that turns nouns into verbs as well (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:198), but also has a causative function (Grimes 1964) when attached to verbal roots, as described in sections 7.2.3.2. Section 7.2.3.3 presents a case of the lexicalized suffix *-ta* in verbal roots.

7.2.3.1. The derivative suffix *-ta*: Non-verbal roots

The suffix *-ta* attaches to nouns to create verbs. The construction is a ‘factitive’ (Iturrioz 1987; Iturrioz 2004; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) since it encodes an action that produces a result (Fillmore 1968; Lyons 1977). In other words, the resultant verb stem denotes the action of creating an object, but the object is not explicitly coded in the clause since the verb stem itself refers to the object. The actions refer to daily or more common activities in the community, like

'itsarita 'to make food/hacer de comer' (*'itsari* 'food/comida'), *teukarita*[66] 'to baptize, name/bautizar, nombrar' (*teukari* 'grandparents/abuelos'), *winuta* 'make wine/hacer vino' (*winu* 'wine/vino), *kita* 'make houses/hacer casas' (*ki* 'house/casa'), and *paapata* 'make tortillas/hacer tortillas' (*papa* 'tortilla'). The suffix cannot attach to all nouns; for instance, it is not grammatical to say **tekurinata* 'to make baskets/hacer canastas' or **mumeta* 'to cook beans/hacer frijoles' because those activities are less frequent in the community. Examples (58) and (59) illustrate the use of the derivational morpheme with *'itsari* 'food/comida' and *teukari* 'grandparents/abuelos'.

(58) ne- teukari pu- **'itsari** **-ta** -xɨ
1SG- grandparent AS1- food -DER -PFV
'Mi abuela hizo de comer.'
'My grandmother made food.' [Elicit]

(59) me- m- i- ta- **teukari** **-ta** -xɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- SG- grandparent -DER -PFV
'…ellos lo bautizaron…'
'…they baptized him (they gave him a name)…' [INTR24]

The derivational suffix cannot introduce a second argument with a patient or beneficiary role, as noted in (60), proving its derivative function.

(60) *ne- pu- matsi- 'itsari -ta -xɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS1- 2SG.NSBJ- food -CAUS -PFV
'Te hice de comer.'
'I made you food.' [Elicit]

Iturrioz (1987:302-3) describes other semantic results of the suffix *-ta* attached to nouns, like *'ikuta* 'to harvest/cosechar' (>*'iku* 'corn/maiz') or *maxata* 'to recreate, imitate the deer/recrear imitar al venado' (> *maxa* 'deer/venado'). However, my consultants considered the examples to be ungrammatical.

[66] Traditionally, the *teukari* or grandparents assign names to children in the community in a ceremony. These names are Wixárika and denote sacred objects, animals or elements from nature. For a more detailed description of this practice, see Santos & Carrillo (2012:149).

7.2.3.2. The causative suffix *-ta*: Verbal roots

The causative meaning of the suffix *-ta* is derived when attached to verbal roots. According to Grimes (1964: 96), the morpheme denotes the idea of 'causing something to be done', while the suffix *-tɨa* denotes the action of 'causing someone to do something'. Following, Grimes, the corpus shows that the difference between the suffix *-tɨa* and *-ta* as causative morphemes is that the latter encodes an 'indirect causation' while the former 'direct causation' (see §7.2.5 for a more detailed discussion). 'Indirect causative' is generally defined as a causative event where the effect is brought about indirectly by means of an indirect physical contact by the causer's action. This definition also implies a more independent and controlling patient and more temporal distance between the causing and caused event (Givón 2001; Song 2001; Shibatani 2002).

The suffix *-ta* introduces a causer and the original actor turns into an undergoer who has more control of the action in the case of animate participants, or undergoes no change of state in the case of inanimate participants. For instance, when the suffix *-ta* is attached to the verb *hekɨa* 'to be visible/ser visible' in (62), a causer, responsible for the action, is introduced by subject pronominal prefixes and the construction adopts the meaning 'to show or make visible'. The action of 'showing' or 'making visible' does not entail direct, physical affectedness of the properties of the objects. Example (62c) illustrates a clause with the causative suffix and a reflexive pronoun. This is proof of an undergoer with more degrees of control, volition, or independence to carry out the action started by the causer (see §Ch.8 for a more detailed discussion on reflexives).

(61) a. tɨpina tsi- ka- mɨ- pe -ni mɨkɨ kwa- yu- **hekɨa**
hummingbird DIM- NARR- AS2- size -NARR DEM NEG- MID- visible.PRS
'…el colibrí está chiquito y no se ve…'
'…the hummingbird is small and cannot be seen…' [DEER02]

b. wa- wewie -kame ta- **hekɨa** -re -ke -kai
3PL- do -NMLZ SG- visible -RES.ICOMPL -POT -IPFV
'…el creador iba a aparecer…'
'…the creator was going to appear…' [SSB02]

(62) a. wanapaɨ me- m- i- **hekɨa** **-ta** -xɨ
outside 3PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- visible -CAUS -PFV
'…afuera ellos la mostraron (Lit. Ellos hicieron visible (la artesanía))…'
'…they showed it outside (Lit. They made it visible (handcraft))…' [HW01]

b. me- te- 'u- **hekɨa** **-ta** -xɨ
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- visible -CAUS -PFV
'…ellos mostraron (artesanía)…'
'…they showed (handcraft)…' [HW01]

c. 'ana ne- ne- **hekɨa** **-ta**
this.moment 1SG.SBJ 1SG.REFL- visible -CAUS
'…en ese momento me dejaré ver…'
'…in this moment, I'll show myself…' [SK01]

Similar cases can be observed with *niere* 'to see/ver', and *we* 'to fall down/caerse' in (63) and (64) respectively. Examples with the suffix *-ta* encode instances of the causee's own will of doing the action as 'making themselves visible on purpose' in (63b), or 'dropping itself on purpose' in (64b).

(63) a. ne- na- ye- tu -ni yu- kwaxi -kɨ waniu petsɨ yepauka
inferior- ALL- inside- take -NARR 3SG.POSS- tail -INSTR EVI.IND but fast
'…la tomó (la flama) con la cola pero muy rápido'
'…he took it (the flame) with its tail but very fast'

me- ka- ne- **niere** -kaku
3PL.SBJ- NEG- inferior- see -DS
'cuando no veían…'
'when they were not looking…' [SSB02]

b. me- m- a- **niere** -**ta** michoacan -tari tarasco
3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- see -CAUS Michoacán -PR tarasco[67]
'…los tarascos, ellos se hacen ver (se encuentran) en Michoacán…'
'…the Tarascos, they make themselves visible (can be found) in Michoacán…' [PL01]

(64) a. mɨkɨ mana pu- ka- **we** waniu papa -ya
DEM there AS1- down- fall.PFV EVI.IND father -3SG.POSS
'…su papá se cayó…'
'…his father fell down…' [SR02]

b. m- e- **we** -**ta** xeikɨa mɨkɨ yeuxu
MOD- EXT- fall -CAUS only DEM armadillo
'…el armadillo se dejó caer nada más…'
'…the armadillo just threw itself …' [SSB02]

The difference between the suffix -*tɨa* and -*ta* can be observed with the verb *niere* 'to see/ver' in (65) and (63b). When the suffix -*tɨa* is attached to *niere* in (65), it denotes a change of state of the patient *tatewari* 'sacred fire' from being invisible to visible. Fire cannot occur spontaneously but produced by any animate or inanimate entity. When -*ta* is used with the same verbal root, there is no a complete change of state, as in example (63b) repeated here.

(65) tatewari xɨa te- m- a- ti- **nieri** -**tɨa** -ni
sacred.fire truth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- PL- see -CAUS -NARR
'….prendemos el fuego sagrado (Lit. 'Hacemos visible el fuego sagrado)…'
'…we set the sacred fire (Lit. 'We make the sacred fire visible)…' [DPEY02]

(63b) me- m- a- **niere** -**ta** michoacan -tari tarasco
3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- see/visible -CAUS Michoacán -PR tarasco
'…los tarascos, ellos se hacen ver (se encuentran) en Michoacán…'
'…the Tarascos, they they make themselves visible (can be found) in Michoacán…'
[PL01]

The suffix -*ta* is not as common and the suffix -*tɨa* in the corpus. It is likely that the former only attaches to a limited semantic range of verbs, which combined with the suffix -*ta* can denote an indirect causative meaning.

[67] *Tarascos*, also known as *Purepechas*, are an indigenous group located in Michoacán, Mexico.

7.2.3.3. The lexicalized suffix *-ta*

On very few occasions, instances of the lexicalized suffix *-ta* can be found in a verbal root. One clear example is observed with the verb *'aita* 'take care of/atenderse'. As previously mentioned in (36) with *'aitɨa* 'to make someone do something/mandar hacer algo a alguien', the verb cannot be divided up into *'ai* + the suffix *-tɨa* since together they compose the meaning 'to make someone do something/mandar hacer algo a alguien'. When the same verb occurs with the suffix *-ta*, a more controlling participant is encoded in the meaning. The verb root means 'to take care of/atenderse' in the sense of taking care of their own health and by their own will. The verb is truncated in the perfective as other verbal roots, shown in (67).

(66) kiewa pe- i- ta- **'aita**
where 2SG.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ- SG- take.care.PRS
'…¿dónde la (enfermedad) atiende?…'
'…where do you take care of it (disease)?…' [DIS02]

(67) sikiere xɨa xe- mu- yu- ti- **'ai**
at.least truth 2PL.SBJ- AS2- MID- PL- take.care.PFV
'…al menos se atendieron…'
'…at least you got taken care of…' [HEAL01]

7.2.4. The suffix *-ya*

Wixárika uses the suffix *-ya* to introduce arguments in intransitive clauses. The origin of the suffix may be traced back in the second component of the causative **-tu-(y)a* (Langacker 1977: 145) or applicative **li-ya* (Langacker 1977:146) reconstructions in Proto-Uto-Aztecan. Grimes (1981:126) reports the construction as a 'causative of state' because it changes the original state of the patient, while Gómez (1999) and Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) describe the suffix as a 'transitivizer'. Similar to the former description, the corpus shows that the construction with the suffix *-ya* is used in an inchoative/causative relation (Cf. Grimes 1981;

Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The pair of constructions expresses the same basic situation, that is, a change of state, but they differ only in the expression of the causer participant (Haspelmath 1993:90). The inchoative construction excludes a causing actor and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously, while the transitive includes the actor participant. The equipollent alternation attaches to verbs that denote attributes, like size, color, taste, etc., or numbers, and some nouns that can denote an attribute. The resultant clause is a transitive construction with a causer that performs the action. For instance, in the intransitive construction in (68a), the subject *tsitsi* 'milk/leche' is the undergoer of the action *tsina* 'sour, to get sour/agrio, ponerse agrio'. In (68b), *tsitsi* 'milk/leche' is affected by the action, but the causer *xɨri* 'heat, hot/caliente, calor' is added to the clause. Thus, the argument *tsitsi* 'milk/leche' maintains its undergoer role in both types of constructions.

(68) a. tsitsi pu- **tsina** -ri -xɨ
milk AS1- sour -RES.COMPL -PFV
'La leche se agrió.'
'The milk got sour.' [Elicit]

b. xɨri tsitsi mu- **tsina** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
heat milk AS2- sour -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'EL calor hizo que la leche se agriara.'
'The hot weather caused the milk to sour.' [Elicit]

These constructions generally occur with the completive resultative *-ri*[68], which means that the initiator of the action does not have total control of the effect in the patient, but causes the change of state indirectly by starting a process. For this reason, the construction with the suffix *-ya* can also be called a 'factitive' because it denotes an action in which a cause produces a result (Fillmore 1968; Lyons 1977). Examples (69c), (70c), and (71c) illustrate the causative

[68] Grimes (1981:91) names this suffix as 'completive of change' (*completivo de un proceso de cambio*), while Iturrioz and Gómez (2006) name it 'ingressive' (*ingresivo*).

constructions with the suffix *-ya* in verbs that describe attributes. In all of them, the animate causer initiates the action but an intermediate force —not always expressed in the clause — causes the change of state in the undergoer. The intermediate force can be 'the fire' that heats water in (69c), 'the ice' that cools water in (70c), or the 'smoke' produced by a causer that makes the pot black in (71c).

(69) a. mɨkɨ tai hɨkɨ -ti -kai **xɨ** -ka -kai waniu
DEM fire/flame COP -LN -IPFV hot -SS -IPFV EVI.IND
'…la flama era, estaba caliente…'
'…the flame was, was hot…' [SSB02]

b.'echiwa =ri me- 'u- ti- **xɨ** -re -ku =ri waniu
little =already 3PL.SBJ- OS- PL- hot -RES.ICOMPL -DS =already EVI.IND
'…se calentaron un poco …'
'…they got warm a little…' [SSB02]

c. nee haa ne- pu- **xɨ** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
1SG water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- hot -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Yo calenté el agua.'
'I heated water.' [Elicit]

(70) a. chi- kwa- ti- u- **haɨtɨ** -kai waniu
DIM- X- DISTR- VIS- cold -IPFV EVI.IND
'…según hacía frío…'
'…they say it was cold…' [SSB02]

b. haa pu- **hautɨ** -ri -xɨ
water AS1- cold -RES.COMPL -PFV
'El agua se puso fría.'
'The water got cold.' [Elicit]

c. nee haa ne- p- i- **hautɨ** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
1SG water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.NSBJ- cold -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Yo enfríe el agua.'
'I cooled the water.' [Elicit]

(71) a. pɨ- **yɨyɨwi**
AS1- RDP.PL. dark.PRS
'…son oscuros/negros..'
'…they are dark/black…' [COL01]

b. mu- ta- **yɨ** -ri -xɨ waniu mɨ hai
AS2- SG- dark -RES.COMPL -PFV EVI.IND DEM cloud
'…se hizo negra, la nube…'
'…it got black, the cloud…' [SR02]

c. kɨtsi xari pɨ- ta- **yɨxa** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
smoke pot AS1- SG- black -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'El humo ennegreció la olla.'
'The smoke made the pot black' [Elicit]

More examples are illustrated with *xawa* 'hole/agujero' in (72), *tɨni* 'get dirty/ ensuciar' in (73), and *kɨxauna* 'get thick/duro' in (74). The same pattern can be found in *haxuma* 'to get dirty (mud-COM)/enlodar (lodo-COM)', *pa* 'make big/agrandar', and *kwiema* 'to get dirty (soil-COM)/ensuciar (tierra-COM)' as well.

(72) a. mexa p- a- **xawa**
table AS1- surface- hole
'La mesa está agujerada.'
'The table is full of holes' [Elicit]

b. mexa ne- p- a- **xawa** **-**ri **-ya** -xɨ
table 1SG.SBJ- AS1- surface- hole -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Agujeré la mesa.'
'I made holes in the table.' [Elicit]

(73) a. nunutsi p- au- **tɨni**
boy AS1- all- dirty.PRS
'El niño está sucio.'
'The boy is dirty.' [Elicit]

b. tsamuri -te ne- pu- ti- **tɨni** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
basket -PL 1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- dirty -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Ensucié las canastas.'
'I got the baskets dirty.' [Elicit]

(74) a.'iku mu- ta- **kɨxauna** -ri -xɨ
corn AS2- SG- thick -RES.COMPL -PFV
'El maiz se tostó.'
'The corn got brown.' [Elicit]

b.’iku ne- mu- ta- **kɨxauna** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
corn 1SG.SBJ- AS2- SG- thick -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
‘Yo tosté el maíz.’
‘I browned the corn.’ [Elicit]

Numerals can occur with the suffix *-ya* to introduce a causer, as illustrated with *xewi* ‘one/uno’ in (75).

(75) a. pɨ- **xewi**
AS1- one.PRS
‘Es uno.’
‘It’s one.’ [Elicit]

b. **ne-** ’i- ta- **xewi** -ri **-ya** -tɨ
1SG.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ- SG- one -RES.COMPL -CAUS -SS
‘…yo tomo un camino (Lit. ‘Lo hago uno’)…’
‘…I take one path (Lit. ‘I made it one’)…’ [INTR05]

The suffix *-ya* also occurs in constructions without the completive resultative *-ri* as in (76), (77), and (78). It is likely the case that the lack of the resultative denotes less prominence on the result, different from the effect, which is encoded by the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, described in §Ch.6.

(76) a. papá pu- ti- **tai** (-ri)
tortilla AS1- PL- fire.PFV (-RES.COMPL)
‘Las tortillas se quemaron.’
‘The tortillas were burned’ [Elicit]

b. me- m- i- ti- **tai** (-ri) **-ya** -kai
3PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- fire (-RES.COMPL) -CAUS -IPFV
‘…ellos la quemaban (la leña)…’
‘…they used to burn it (firewood)…’ [SCP01]

(77) a. haa paaso -ta pɨ- ta- **hɨni** -xɨ
water glass -LOC AS1- SG- full -PFV
‘El vaso se llenó.’
‘The glass filled.’ [Elicit]

b. te- m- i- katse ye- te- te- yurie -me kɨxauri -ta
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- strain.PRS this.way- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- do -SS gourd -LOC
'…lo colamos, hacemos en el bule'
'…we strain it, we do it in the gourd'

te- te- ti- **hini -ya** te- 'i- ti- **hini -ya** -me =ta
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- PL- full -CAUS 1PL.SBJ- 3SG.OBJ-PL- full -CAUS -SS =FOC
'llenamos, lo llenamos…'
'we fill, we fill it…' [DMC04]

(78) ta- wewie -kame xeniu tatsi- xeiya tatsi- **kɨxi -ya**
1PL- make -NMLZ EVI.IND 1PL.NSBJ- see.PRS 1PL.NSBJ- light -CAUS
'…nuestro creador nos ve, nos alumbra…'
'…our creator see us, light us…' [SSB02]

The suffix *-ya* does not attach to the verb if the action was accidental, proving that the suffix is used to introduce a causer. This pattern resembles vowel alternation where the root with *-i* encodes the inchoative while *-a*, the causative form. Probably, the suffix *-ya*, the vowel alternations, and the second element of the reconstructed causative **-tu-(y)a* (Langacker 1977: 145) or applicative **li-ya* (Langacker 1977:146) suffixes in Proto-Uto-Aztecan are related. Compare (79a) where the actor causes the action purposely and (79b) where the action occurred accidentally.

(79) a. kamixa -te **ne-** mu- ti- **tai -ya** -xɨ
shirt -PL 1SG.SBJ- AS2- PL- fire -CAUS -PFV
'Quemé las camisas.'
'I burned the shirts.' [Elicit]

b. ne- mama -tsie **ne-** mu- **tai**
1SG- hand -LOC 1SG.SBJ- AS2- fire.PFV
'Me quemé la mano (accidentalmente)'
'I burned my hand (accidentally).' [Elicit]

7.2.5. Direct and indirect causation

The causative construction is associated with a number of different semantic features including directness of causer's action and the degree of control retained in the causative macro-situation by the causee (Comrie 1989:171). According to the literature, the causal relation between the participants involves a direct or indirect physical contact, which is expressed through different morphosyntactic means: (i) lexical, (ii) morphological, and (iii) analytical (Comrie 1989; Song 2005; Dixon 2000). Thus, it is suggested that there is a direct relation between the more integrated events syntactically and semantically speaking —as with lexical causatives— in comparison to the less integrated analytical constructions (Haiman 1985; Comrie 1989; Dixon 2000; Givón 2001). A more recent standpoint, however, suggests that this is not necessarily the case. According to Shibatani (2002: 85-6), there is a great deal of functional overlap among formally distinct types of causatives, which is not predicted by a purely formal typology. Wixárika, a language with a tendency to polysynthesis, is a good example of a case with different morphological causatives with a wider range of functions, proving an exception to the former causation theories.

Wixárika has two morphological devices to encode a causative situation, namely vowel alternation and the suffixes -*tɨa*, -*ta*, and -*ya*. Different degrees of control retained by the causee as well as different degrees of directness of the causer's action are expressed by these strategies. For example, vowel alternation in (3) repeated here occurs with constructions where there is a complete change of state in an inanimate argument as with *tari*/*tara* 'break/romper', which requires a direct physical contact between the causer and cause, and less control of the action by the causee.

(3) a. ’echiwa p- a u- ku- **tari** -xɨ waniu tɨ
little AS1- surface- VIS- S.P.- break -PFV EVI.IND coal
‘…se quebró un poco la braza…’
‘…the coal broke a little…’ [SBB02]

b. ’ukiratsi xari pu- **tara** -xɨ
man pot AS1- break -PFV
‘El hombre quebró la olla.’
‘The man broke the pot.’ [Elicit]

The suffix -*tɨa* encodes both direct and indirect causation. Direct causation generally occurs with inanimate participants, as in (19) and (20) repeated here. The actor(s) in (19) and (20) has the complete control on carrying out the action, in this case, ‘to make the sacred fire visible’ and of ‘finishing the ceremony’, respectively. The actors perform a physical action on the objects in order to bring about the change of state.

(19) tatewari xɨa te- m- a- ti- nieri **-tɨa** -ni
sacred.fire truth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- PL- see -CAUS -NARR
‘…prendemos el fuego sagrado (Lit. ‘Hacemos visible el fuego sagrado)…’
‘…we set the sacred fire (Lit. ‘We make the sacred fire visible)…’ [DPEY02]

(20) mɨkɨ te- u- ti- pari **-tɨa**
DEM 1PL.SBJ- VIS- PL- finish -CAUS
‘…allí la terminamos (la fiesta) (Lit. ‘La hacemos terminar’)…’
‘…there we end it (the ceremony) (Lit. ‘We make it get finished’)…’
[DPEYC02]

A similar example is observed with *nɨi* ‘to join/juntar’ in (80). When the suffix -*tɨa* is attached to the verb, the causer’s action denotes a direct physical contact with the inanimate undergoers, the ‘beans and lentils’, to perform the action of ‘joining, mixing’.

(80) a. te- mu- yu- ti- nɨi
1PL.SBJ- AS2- MID- PL- join.PFV
‘Nosotros nos juntamos’
‘We met up.’ [Elicit]

b. netsi- ’u- ti- nɨi
1SG.NSBJ- VIS- PL- join.PFV
‘Alguien se juntó conmigo.’
‘Some one met up with me.’ [Elicit]

c. ne- m- i- ti- nɨi **-tɨa** mume matɨa lentejas
1SG.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- join -CAUS beans COM lentils
‘Revolví frijol con lentejas (Lit. ‘Hice a los frijoles juntarse con las lentejas’).’
‘I mixed beans with lentils (Lit. ‘I made the beans join with lentils’).’ [Elicit]

The indirect causation expressed with the suffix *-tɨa* (Iturrioz 1987:306-08) occurs with animate actors and undergoers where there is not a direct physical contact in the action. This means that the causer has less control in carrying out the change of state. For instance, causal relations with actions like ‘crying’, ‘sleeping’, ‘laughing’, etc. in (13), (14), and (15) repeated here can show control from both the actor and undergoer, and not necessarily a physical contact, unless specified. Occasionally, the completive resultative *-ri* can be observed in some of the constructions, which means that the actor has no direct influence on the undergoer’s performance of the action.

(13) a. matsika -ya ’u- ta- tsua -tɨ
older.brother -3SG.POSS VIS- SG cry -SS
‘…su hermano mayor llorando…’
‘… his older brother crying…’ [SR02]

b. netsi- ’u- ta- tsua -ri -s **-tɨa**
1SG.NSBJ- VIS- SG- cry -RES.COMPL -X -CAUS
‘Me hizo llorar.’
‘S/he made me cry.’ [Elicit]

(14) a. tame te- te- naanai -ma -ka
1PL 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- laugh -COM -SS
‘…nosotros con burla (Lit. ‘Nosotros nos reimos con’)…’
‘…we with laughter (Lit. ‘We laugh with’)…’ [DWIK01]

b. ne- metsi- ’u- ta- naanai **-tɨa**
1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- VIS- SG- laugh -CAUS
‘Te hice reir.’
‘I made you laugh.’ [Elicit]

(15) a. ne- ’iyari -kɨ ne- p- au- ku -ni
1SG- heart -INSTR 1SG.SBJ- AS1- all- sleep -FUT
‘…dormiré con bien…’
‘…I’ll sleep well…’ [PR01]

b. Huan nunutsi p- au- ku **-tɨa**
Juan boy AS1- all- sleep -CAUS
‘Juan hizo al niño dormir.’
‘Juan made the boy sleep.’ [Elicit]

Another example that depicts indirect causation can be observed with the verb *hare~hari* ‘to drink/beber’. Example (81) denotes an event in which people during a ceremony give something to drink to the participants, but they are not physically forced to carry out the action. Example (82) with the verb *yei* ‘to be/ser’ shows another instance of indirect causation. The intransitive construction describes a state of ‘being’ in (82a). When the suffix *-tɨa* is attached, the construction generates the meaning ‘to consider someone to be something’. The undergoer of this action, the ‘older bother’ has more control in performing the action as expressed with the reflexive marker *yu-*. In the same sentence, the construction with the causative suffix occurs without the reflexive. However, the type of action indicates no direct physical contact between the actor and undergoer, since it is an abstract event.

(81) a. te- mɨ- ti- **hare** -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- drink -NARR
‘…nosotros bebemos agua…’
‘…we drink water…’ [DMC02]

b. ’anake xɨa te- mɨ- ti- **hari** **-tɨa** -rie -ni
that.moment truth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- drink -CAUS -PASS -NARR
‘…en ese momento somos dados de beber (Lit. ‘Nos hacen tomar agua’)…’
‘…in that moment, we are given water (Lit. ‘Were are forced to drink water’)…’
[DPEY02]

(82) a. yu- tsinu ’a- **yei** -kame
3SG.POSS- puppy FIG- ser -NMLZ
‘…viene siendo su cachorro…’
‘…it is his puppy…’ [SW01]

(83) ta- matsi ra- yu- **yei** **-tia** mɨkɨ ta- matsi
1PL- older.brother INDF- REFL- be -CAUS DEM 1PL- older.brother
'…nuestro hermano mayor se nombró, nuestro hermano mayor'
'…our older brother named himself, our older brother'

ra- **yei** **-tia** -rie
INDF- be -CAUS -PASS
'lo consideran (Lit. 'es considerado')…'
'he was considered/named…'

[DEER02]

On the other hand, the suffixes *-ta* and *-ya* encode an indirect causal situation as well. Examples (63b) and (69c) repeated here, express a situation where the undergoer has more control of the action or undergoes a change by an intermediate force, respectively. There is not direct physical contact between the causer and causee. In the case of the constructions with suffix *-ya*, the completive resultative *-ri* occurs very frequently, indicating that the initiator of the action does not have total control of the effect in the patient, but causes the change of state indirectly by starting a process.

(63b) me- m- a- **niere** **-ta** michoacan -tari tarasco
3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- see -CAUS Michoacán -PR tarasco
'…los tarascos, ellos se hacen ver (se encuentran) en Michoacán…'
'…the Tarascos, they make themselves visible (can be found) in Michoacán…'

[PL01]

(69c) nee haa ne- pu- **xɨ** **-**ri **-ya** -xɨ
1SG water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- hot -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Yo calenté el agua.'
'I heated water.' [Elicit]

As observed, Wixárika shows that morphological causatives encode different degrees of directness of causer's action and control retained in the causative macro-situation by the causee, contrary to what it is generally postulated in the literature. The language's polysynthetic tendency in using morphology as the primary means to express different meanings results in the creation of different causative markers with a wide range of functions.

7.2.6. The suffix *-ri(e)*

Wixárika encodes oblique arguments as core participants with the suffix *-ri(e)*, reconstructed as *-*li-ya* in Proto-Southern Uto-Aztecan (Langacker 1977:146). The suffix is used in two different contexts: (i) to introduce benefactive and malefactive participants, and (ii) to introduce a causer. Section 7.2.6.1 explores the applicative function, while section 7.2.6.2 analyzes the causative-applicative syncretism of the suffix.

7.2.6.1. The applicative suffix *-ri(e)*

Wixárika, like other Uto-Aztecan languages, has an applicative suffix *-ri(e)* (Grimes 1964, 1981; Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999). An applicative is typically described as a construction signaled by overt verbal morphology, which allows the coding of a semantically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core argument (Mithun 2002; Polinsky 2005; Peterson 2007). The applicative suffix *-ri(e)* in Wixárika is used to introduce a third argument, encoded by non-subject pronominal prefixes in a clause, as in (84). In example (84a) the clause with the verb stem *wewie* 'to make/hacer' has two arguments, namely *artesanía* 'handcraft' and *ne-* '1SG.SBJ'. When the applicative suffix *-ri(e)* is used, the beneficiary 3PL non-subject pronominal prefix *wa-*, is attached to the verb stem.

(84) a. artesanía =ta ne- ti- **wewie** ne- ti- tua
handcraft =FOC 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- make.PRS 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- sell.PRS
'…hago artesanía, vendo…'
'…I make handcrafts, I sell…' [INTR20]

b. 'ikwai ne- ti- **wa-** **wewi** **-rie** -ti
food 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- make -APPL.ICOMPL -SS
'…les hago comida …'
'…I make them food…' [INTR20]

One of the most common types of arguments introduced by the applicative suffix is either a recipient or a beneficiary participant (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz 1987), as illustrated in (85), (86), and (87). All the recipient/benefactive participants in the examples are encoded with a non-subject pronominal prefix, *matsi-~mes-* '2SG.NSBJ' and *netsi-* '1SG.NSBJ', respectively. When the third participant is not introduced but the prefix *i-* is used in the verbal complex, like in (85a), it refers to the theme/object to be transferred (see §Ch.3).

(85) a. me- u- ka- 'i- **tua** yu- 'etsi -ya hiki
3PL.SBJ- VIS- NEG- 3SG.OBJ- give.PRS 3SG.POSS- sow -NMLZ now
'…no la venden su siembra ahora…'
'…they do not sell their sow now…'[69] [INTR23]

b. 'iki ne- **mes-** ta- **tui** **-rie** 'iri
this 1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- SG- give -APPL.ICOMPL arrow
'…esto te lo doy, la flecha…'
'…I give you this, the arrow…' [SR02]

(86) pini ne- **mats-** u- ti- wewi **-rie**
dress 1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- VIS- PL- make -APPL.ICOMPL
'Te hice un vestido.'
'I made you a dress.' [Elicit]

(87) miki **nets-** u- nanai **-ri**
DEM 1SG.NSBJ- VIS- buy -APPL.COMPL
'Me compró un carro.'
'He bought me a car.' [Elicit]

More examples with the applicative *-ri(e)* can be observed in (8) with *tiki* 'to take/llevar'**,** in (89) with *xatsi* 'to talk/platicar', and (90) with *wawi* 'to ask for/pedir'. In all of them, a non-subject pronominal prefix is used to code the recipient/beneficiary of the action unless it is a 3SG argument.

[69] In the Uto-Aztecan tradition, this phenomenon is considered 'vowel harmony', which is a common phonological process in this language family (Heath 1977; Press 1980; Beckman 1997; Dakin 2004; Caballero 2008).

(88) **wa-** ra- n- **tiki** **-rie** -ni -ke -kai yu- niwa -ma
3PL.NSBJ- INDF.P- NARR- take -APPL.ICOMPL -NARR -POT -IPFV 3SG.POSS- son -PL
'…se los iba a llevar (a su casa) a sus hijos…'
'…he was going to take them to his sons…' [SPE01]

(89) ne- **wa-** ka- **xatsi** **-ri** 'echiwa ye- tewi -me
1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- X- talk -APPL.COMPL little X- small -NSBJ
'…les platiqué un poco corto (la historia)…'
'…I talked to you a little (about a story)…' [SK01]

(90) niuki me- **netsi-** **wawi** **-rie**
speech 3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- ask.for -APPL.ICOMPL
'…me piden hablar…'
'…they ask me to talk…' [INTR02]

The applicative suffix introduces malefactive arguments, participants who are harmed by the action (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz 1987) as well. These arguments are also encoded by non-subject pronominal prefixes like in (91) with *ta-* '1PL.NSBJ' —the reduced form of *tatsi-*.

(91) haa **ta-** ti- **kweri** **-rie** -ka ta- kie ti- mieme
water 1PL.NSBJ- PL- take.out -APPL.ICOMPL -SS 1PL- house DISTR- from
'…nos quita agua de nuestra casa…'
'…he takes water away from our house…' [LCLAKE03]

Grimes (1964:96) states that there are three applicative suffixes in the language, namely *-rie*, *-ri* or *-ya*, which are all allomorphs depending on the verb stem. The corpus shows that there are only two applicatives that differ in aspectual meanings. The form *-ri* denotes completive aspect, while *-rie* non-completive aspect, similar to the resultatives *-ri* and *-re*. The suffix *-ya* does not function as an applicative, but as a causative, discussed in §7.2.4.

On the other hand, Iturrioz (1987:254) states that the suffix *-ri* —what he names 'indirect object'—is not an applicative that 'promotes' an argument since there is no clause that occurs without the suffix and an NP with the indirect object function. The corpus, however, shows that the suffix is an applicative, since it promotes oblique arguments to core ones. As with many other

languages, Wixárika has an alternative oblique realization of the peripheral participant by using the postposition -(*he*)*tsie(meme)* ‘for/para’, like in (92) and (93). However, this is a construction only found in elicitation.

(92) a. xeme nawaxa xe- mu- nanai **ne-** **hetsiemieme**
2PL knife 2PL.SBJ- AS2- buy.PFV 1SG- for
‘Ustedes compraron el cuchillo para mi.’
‘You (PL) bought the knife for me.’ [Elicit]

b. xeme nawara xe- mu- **nats-** u- nanai **-ri**
2PL knife 2SG.SBJ- AS2- 1SG.NSBJ- VIS- buy -APPL.COMPL
‘Ustedes me compraron el cuchillo.’
‘You bought me the knife.’ [Elicit]

(93) ne- kawaya ne- pu- **tua** mɨkɨ ’uki **hetsie**
1SG- horse 1SG.SBJ- AS1- sell.PFV DEM man to
‘Yo vendí mi caballo al señor.’
‘I sold my horse to the man.’ [Elicit]

7.2.6.1.1. Derived ditransitive clauses

Wixárika requires additional devices to have more than two arguments in the clause, as commonly occurs crosslinguistically (Heine & König 2010:75). These devices may be either the causative suffix *-tɨa* (see §7.2.2.2) or the applicative suffix *-ri(e)*. The applicative suffix is generally used with verbs of physical transfer (Malchukov et al. 2010), i.e, a scene in which an agent participant causes an object to pass into possession of an animate receiver (=recipient), like *tui* ‘to give/dar’ in (94), *nɨ’a* ‘to send/enviar’, etc. The applicative is also used with the speech verb *xatsi* ‘to talk/platicar’ in (95), which denote the transfer of some sort of knowledge or information. It is important to mention that just a few verbs are lexicalized with a three-argument frame, like *’iwawiya* ‘to as someone/preguntar a alguien’ (Cf. *’iwau* ‘to ask/preguntar’), *xatɨa* ‘to talk to someone/platicar a alguien’ (Cf. *xata* ‘to talk about something/hablar de algo).

(94) a. me- u- ka- ’i- **tua** yu- ’etsi -ya hikɨ
3PL.SBJ- VIS- NEG- 3SG.OBJ- sell 3SG.POSS- sow -NMLZ now
‘…no venden su siembra ahora…’
‘…they don’t sell their harvest now…’ [LCLAKE02]

b. ’ikɨ ne- **mes-** ta- **tui** **-rie** ’irɨ
DEM 1SG.SBJ- 2SG.NSBJ- SG- sell -APPL.ICOMPL arrow
‘…esto te lo vendo/doy, la flecha…’
‘…I sell/give you this, the arrow…’ [SR02]

(95) ’echiwa xei niuki ne- wa- ka- **xatsi** **-rie**
little one speak 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- X- talk -APPL.ICOMPL
‘…les platico (a ellos) un poco…’
‘…I talk to them a little (about something)…’ [SPEY01]

However, verbs of speech tend to never occur with an applicative, such as *’aine*, *yɨ* ‘to say/decir’, or inherently include the recipient in the clause, like *hɨawe* ‘to say something to someone/decirle algo a alguien’, as in (96).

(96) kamɨ =tsɨ ke’aku **ne-** ti- **xe-** **hiawe** yu- nai -tɨ
look =well hello 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 2PL.NSBJ- say.someone.PRS ANIM- all -SBJ
‘…mire pues, hola, les digo a todos ustedes…’
‘…look, hello, I say to everyone…’ [SSB02]

7.2.6.2. The causative suffix *-ri(e)*

The applicative suffix *-ri(e)* adopts a causative function when it introduces a causer instead of promoting an oblique argument into a core one. The verbs that undergo vowel alternation to indicate an inchoative-causative relation take the applicative suffix to encode a causative meaning. This phenomenon is known as ‘causative/applicative syncretism’ (Shibatani & Pardeshi 2002:116) because it refers to the split of functions of one single morpheme based generally on the semantics of the verbs. The applicative suffix is attached to the verbal complex in the inchoative form of the verb in order to introduce the causer. The original actor is encoded as an undergoer with non-subject pronominal prefixes, like in (97) and (98).

(97) a. xari pu- **tari** -xɨ
pot AS1- break -PFV
'La olla se rompió.'
'The pot is broken.' [Elicit]

b.'ukiratsi xari pu- **tara** -xɨ
man pot AS1- break -PFV
'El hombre rompió la olla.'
'The man broke the pot.' [Elicit]

c. mɨkɨ xari mats- u- **tari** **-ri**
DEM pot 2SG.NSBJ- VIS- break -APPL.COMPL
'Él te hizo romper la olla.'
'He made you break the pot.'[70] [Elicit]

(98) a. kustari pu- ta- **tsani** -xɨ
sack AS1- SG- tear -PFV
'El costal se rasgó.'
'The sack is torn.' [Elicit]

b. xeme xe- p- i- e- ta- **tsana** -xɨ kustari
2PL 2PL.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- EXT- SG- tear -PFV sack
'Ustedes rasgaron el costal.'
'You (PL) tore the sack.' [Elicit]

c. xeme xe- nes- ta- **tsani** **-ri** kustari
2PL 2PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- tear -APPL.COMPL sack
'Me hicieron rasgar el costal.'
'You (PL) made me tear the sack.' [Elicit]

The causative function of the applicative suffix is also found in attribute verbs that take the suffix *-ya* to introduce a causer. The suffix *-ya* is replaced by *-ri(e)* when a third argument —the causer —is introduced into the clause.

(99) a. nee haa ne- pu- **xɨ** **-**ri **-ya** -xɨ
1SG water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- heat -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Yo herví el agua.'
'I boiled water.' [Elicit]

[70] The form of the verb may be due to vowel harmony. However, the examples point out that it is the inchoative form because the causee is not doing the action intentionally.

b. haa me- nets- u- **xɨ** **-**ri **-ri** -xɨ
water 3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- VIS- heat -RES.COMPL -APPL.COMPL -PFV
'Ellos me hicieron calentar el agua.'
'They made me boil water.' [Elicit]

(100) a. nee haa ne- p- i- **hautɨ** **-**ri **-ya** -xɨ
1SG water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.NSBJ- cold -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Yo enfríe el agua.'
'I cooled the water.' [Elicit]

b. 'ekɨ haa pe- netsu- **haitɨ** **-**ri **-ri** -xɨ
2SG water 2SG.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- cold -RES.COMPL -APPL.COMPL -PFV
'Tú me hiciste enfriar agua.'
'You made me cool water.' [Elicit]

7.3. Uncoded alternations

Wixárika presents two strategies that do not require any morphological marking to transitivize clauses, namely suppletion and lability alternations. Both strategies encode an inchoative-causative situation, that is, pairs which express the same basic situation, but differ only in that the inchoative construction excludes an agent and presents the situation as occurring spontaneously (Haspelmath 1993:90). Section 7.3.1 explores the suppletive alternation, while 7.3.2 the lability alternation.

7.3.1. Suppletive alternation

Wixárika has few verbal roots that undergo a stem change to alternate from an intransitive/inchoative to transitive/causative clause. This phenomenon is known as 'lexical causative', defined as a lexical element that inherently expresses both events, the cause and the effect (Payne 1997: 177). The transitive clause expresses the causer, which contrasts with the intransitive/inchoative clause that excludes the causer and presents the event as occurring spontaneously (Haspelmath 1993:90). An example of suppletion is illustrated in (101) with *we* 'to fall down/caerse' vs. *hɨa* 'to throw, knock down/tumbar, tirar'. When the second verb is

used, an actor is introduced into the clause and the original actor is encoded as an undergoer with a non-subject pronominal prefix. Another example of a suppletive verb root is observed with *mɨ* 'to die/morir' vs. *mi(e)* 'to kill/matar' in (102). The verb stem is modified when the actor is introduced into the clause as well.

(101) a. m- a- ti- **we** -ta hɨ tewa -ya
AS2- FIG- PL- fall.down -CAUS AFF animal -3SG.POSS
'…se cayó su animal (Lit. 'Algo lo hizo caerse')…'
'…his animal fell down (Lit. 'Something made it fall down')…' [SPE01]

b. 'i- ta- **hɨa** -me waniu kaiwa
3SG.OBJ- SG- knock.down -SS EVI.IND DEM
'…lo tiraba allá (con las flechas)…'
'…he knocked it down (with the arrows)…' [SPE01]

(102) a. netsi- kwa- ne- tu- yuri pero ne- tewa
1SG.NSBJ- NEG- 1SG.REFL- X- happen.PFV but 1SG- animal
'…nada me pasó pero a mi caballo'
'…nothing happened to me but my horse'

hirixɨa n- e- u- **mɨ**
AFF NARR- EXT- VIS- die.PFV
'sí, se murió…'
'it died…' [DR01]

b. nee ne- n- i- **mie** -mɨkɨ -ni mɨkɨ
1SG 1SG.SBJ- NARR- 3SG.OBJ- kill -DES.SG -NARR DEM
'…yo quiero matarlo…'
'…I want to kill it…' [SSB01]

Example (103) shows the forms *'ɨwa* 'to take a shower/bañarse' vs. *'ɨya* 'to bathe someone/bañar' when the actor is introduced into the clause. It is important to mention that the undergoer in (103a) is not a prototypical one, since the action is done voluntarily, in other words, it does not occur spontaneously.

(103) a. tiiri mana me- ka- niu- ti- **’iwa** -ni
children DEM 3PL.SBJ- X- NARR- PL- take.shower -NARR
‘…los niños allí se bañan…’
‘…the childre take a shower there…’ [INTR23]

b.yu- tsinu ’a- yei -kame m- au- yisaiye
3SG.POSS- puppy FIG- be -NMLZ AS2- all- black.PRS
‘…su cachorro de color negro’
‘…his black puppy’

pu- ka- **’iya** -xi miki
AS1- down- bathe -PFV DEM
‘la bañó…’
‘he bathed her…’ [SW01]

Not all cases of suppletion introduce an actor. Some can introduce a stimulus, like the verbs *ma* ‘to get scared/asustarse’ vs. *texi* ‘to be afraid of/dar miedo’ in (104). In this case, when the stimulus of the experience is introduced, the form *ma* is replaced by *texi*, and the non-subject pronominal prefixes are used if it is an animate participant, like in (104c), or unmarked if it is inanimate, like in (104d). Interestingly, the undergoer is marked with subject pronominal prefixes in both examples, different from (101), (102) and (103) where the undergoer marked with subject pronouns in the intransitive/inchoative form are changed into non-subject pronominal prefixes in the transitive clause with an actor participant.

(104) a. ne- pu- ti- **ma**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- get.scared.PFV
‘Me dio miedo.’
‘I got scared.’ [Elicit]

b. te- pu- ti- **mama**
1PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- RDP.PL.get.scared.PFV
‘Nos dio miedo.’
‘We got scared.’ [Elicit]

c. ne- **wa-** **texie** tuka -tsi
1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- afraid.of.PRS spider -PL
‘Me dan miedo las arañas.’
‘I’m afraid of spiders.’ [Elicit]

d. tai me- **texie** -ti meta
fire 3PL.SBJ- afraid.of -SS also
'…le tenían miedo al fuego…'
'…they feared fire…' [SSB02]

7.3.2. Labile alternation

A small group of typically inchoative/intransitive verbs in Wixárika exhibit no change when the clause alternates to a causative/transitive one. This means that the verb does not present an internal stem change or no affix is added to introduce a second argument. This phenomenon is generally called 'lability' [71], which is defined as verbs that can be used transitively or intransitively without any formal change (Letuchiy 2009). This case is generally observed with inchoative-causative relations (Haspelmath 1993), as in Wixárika. Some examples are illustrated in (105) and (106) with *ti* 'to put out/apagar' and *yauri* 'to spill/derramar', respectively. In both cases, the subject pronoun of the intransitive clause and the non-subject pronoun of the transitive one encode the undergoer of the action. The actor, encoded with subject pronouns, is introduced into the clause without any formal changes. Both examples show a change of state of an inanimate participant.

(105) a. niu- ta- nautsa mexi ka- **ti** -we waniu
NARR- SG- run.PFV while NEG- put.out -can EVI.IND
'…corrió antes de que se pudiera apagar (fuego)…'
'…he ran before it could be put out (fire)…' [SSB02]

b. tai ne- mu- **ti**
fire 1SG.SBJ- AS2- put.out.PFV
'Yo apagué el fuego.'
'I put out the fire.' [Elicit]

[71] Miller (1993) calls this phenomenon 'optionally transitive', while Dixon (2000) 'ambitransitivity'.

(106) a. haa pi- ta- **yauri**
water AS1- SG- spill.PFV
'Se derramó el agua.'
'Water was spilled.' [Elicit]

b. m- i- ti- **yauri** waniu
AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- spill.PFV EVI.IND
'…la derramó (agua de nixtamal[72])…'
'…he spilled it (nixtamal water)…' [SW01

7.4. Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the different transitivization mechanisms of Wixárika. I have identified three coded transitivization strategies: the causative suffixes (*-tia*, *-ta*, *-ya*), the applicative (*-ri(e)*) suffix, and vowel alternation. Each strategy has different functions that occur in specific conditions, as summarized in figure 7.1.

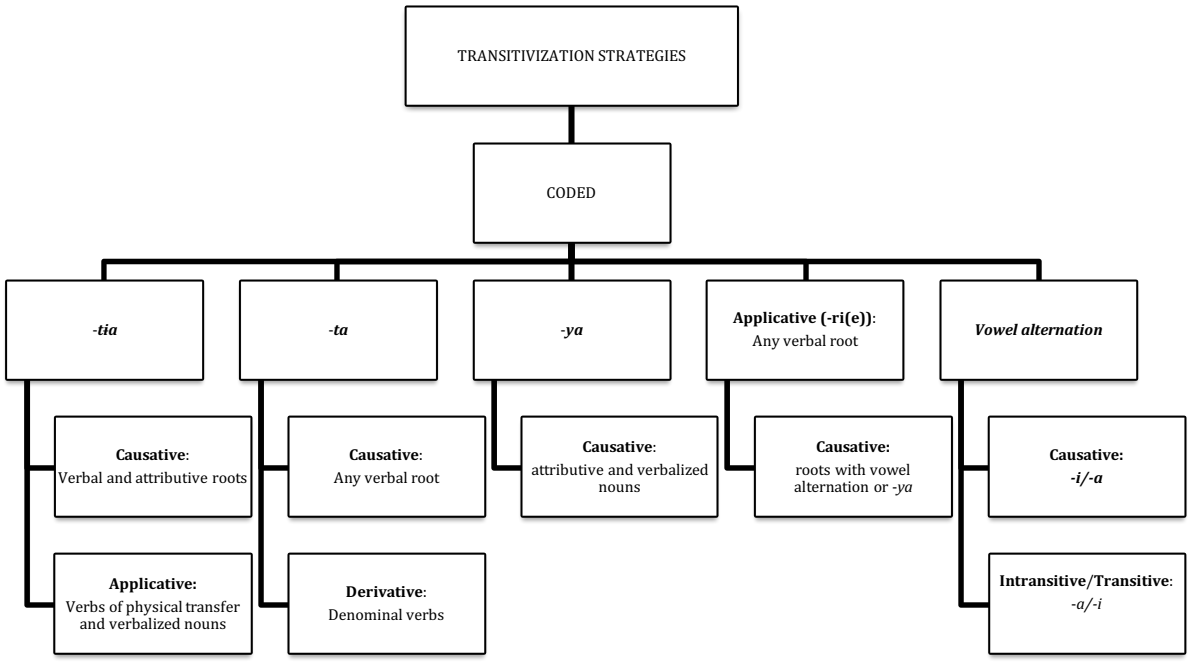

Figure 7.1. Coded transitivization strategies in Wixárika.

[72] *Nixtamal* is the maize kernel that is ready to be ground into dough. Maize kernel undergoes a process of hulling, soaking, and cooking in an alkaline solution before using it for dough.

The suffix *-tɬa* mainly functions as a *causative* morpheme that introduces an actor participant in an intransitive and transitive construction, resulting in two or three arguments, respectively. The causative function attaches to any verbal root and in verbs that describe attributes to encode both direct and indirect causation. The suffix *-tɬa* also functions as an *applicative* morpheme because it introduces beneficiary/recipient arguments, instead of actor participants in some contexts. This function is more restricted since it occurs only with verbal roots that denote a physical transfer of an object and verbalized nouns. The suffix *-ta* also functions as a *causative* morpheme in any verbal root to encode indirect causation. This also creates denominal verbs without a causative function with a restricted set of nouns, i.e., nouns that encode daily common activities in the community.

The suffixes *-tɬa* and *-ta* occur with different degrees of lexicalization in certain verbs as well.

The suffix *-ya* is a *causative* that introduces an actor in attributive roots and verbalized nouns, which encode an inchoative/causative relation. The causative relation denotes a change of state in an inanimate argument but performed indirectly by an intermediate force not always expressed in the clause.

The suffix *-ri(e)* is mainly an *applicative* morpheme because it introduces a beneficiary/recipient argument in transitive clauses with any verbal root. However, the suffix functions as a *causative* when it attaches to roots that undergo vowel alternation to encode an inchoative/causative relation or verbs that take the causative suffix *-ya*. In this construction, the suffix introduces an actor that performs an action to cause a change of state in the undergoer.

Vowel alternation *-i* to *-a* occurs with roots that denote an *inchoative/causative* relation. The final vowel *-a* introduces an actor that performs the action directly to change the state of the

undergoer. The verb with the final vowel *-i* encodes an action underwent by the argument but the actor is omitted. Vowel alternation *-a*/*-i,* on the other hand, encodes an *intransitive*/*transitive* relation without a causative meaning.

Wixárika also has two uncoded strategies where an *inchoative/causative* relation is expressed in some cases, illustrated in figure 7.2. The uncoded alternations, suppletion and lability, do not require any morphological marking to transitivize clauses. The alternations occur with a restricted number of verbs.

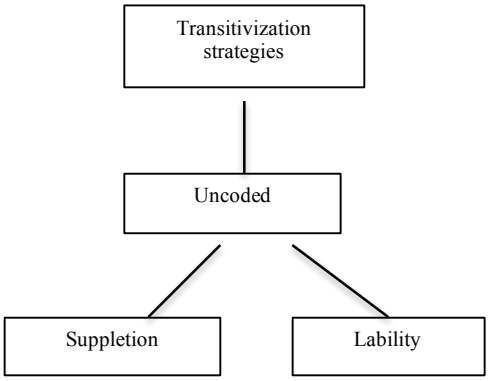

Figure 7.2. Uncoded transitivization strategies in Wixárika.

As observed, Wixárika presents a large number of morphemes to transitivize constructions, particularly in the causative domain. Contrary to typological theories on causative constructions (Haiman 1985; Comrie 1989; Dixon 2000; Givón 2001), the language presents morphological strategies to encode different degrees of causer's directness of the action and causee's control in the event. In addition, there is functional overlap between the suffixes *-tɨa* and *-ri(e)* because both suffixes adopt applicative and causative functions, respectively, in restricted contexts.

It is likely that the primary functions of the suffixes *-tɨa* and *-ri(e)* ―causative and applicative, respectively― were first developed from the Proto-Uto-Aztecan suffixes **-tu-(y)a* and **li-ya* (Langacker 1977:144-46). The suffixes' secondary functions as well as the suffixes *-ta* and *-ya* may have been developed at a later stage as the restricted contexts signal. In fact, the suffix's *-ya* function is reconstructed as a transitivizing morpheme (Langacker 1977:144), which explains its behavior in the synchronic stage. In the current stage of the language, the suffix *-ya* only attaches to attributive roots and verbalized nouns. In addition, the suffix *-ya* and vowel alternations' behavior of encoding the causee's different degrees of control in the event and its formal similarity, point to a possible relation although this relation remains to be tested. Finally, the suffix *-ta* is reconstructed as the derivational morpheme **-tu* 'become' or **-ta* 'make' (Langacker 1977:45). The suffix's formal similarity to the suffix *-tɨa* and the need to express different semantic nuances in the causative event may have triggered the development of a semantic extension to the causative domain.

In general, it is likely that the language developed this number of morphemes, particularly in the causative function, due to its polysynthetic nature. Wixárika rarely uses syntactic patterns to express any domain as all the information is encoded on the verb. Both, the language's need of expressing different semantic nuances and its polysynthetic characteristics led to the development of different morphological strategies for two different domains, the causative and the applicative.

CHAPTER 8

DETRANSITIVIZATION STRATEGIES

8.1. Introduction

The argument structure of verbs can be changed in various ways depending on the speaker's communicative needs. The changes in argument structure are known as 'alternations' (Kittilä 2002; Haspelmath 2015; Malchukov & Comrie 2015), which can be grouped into 'valency/transitivity increasing' or 'valency/transitivity decreasing' strategies (Drossard 1991; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Kittilä 2002; Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004; Malchukov & Comrie 2015). This chapter explores the different means that Wixárika uses to decrease the number of arguments in the clause. I call these 'detransitivization' strategies (Kittilä 2002) due to the purposes of this research; the focus is not only on the change of the argument structure but also the effects regarding the degrees of transitivity in the event. Typically, the reduction of an argument corresponds with the demotion of a central participant to a marginal status or eliminates it from the scene (Haspelmath 1993; Payne 1997; Givón 2001).

Wixárika detransitivizes clauses by reducing the number of core arguments via morphological changes to the verb. I label these changes *coded* strategies, following Haspelmath (2015), since the verb undergoes a morphological change. The language does not have *uncoded* detransitivization strategies where the form of the verb remains the same, but has two different alternate structures. In the classification presented in this chapter, the 'coding' and 'behavioral' properties (Malchukov & Comrie 2015) of the verbs are described highlighting the relation of these properties to the verb's semantic class. The former refers to the overt marking of the

arguments in the clause, which is primarily done by 'indexating' the verb inflectionally, while the latter refers to the fact that distinct semantic classes of verbs undergo different detransitivization strategies.

I have identified five *coded* detransitivization strategies marked on the verb: two make use of pronominal pronouns, like the reflexive (*ne-* '1SG', *'a-* '2SG', *ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '3SG, 2PL, 3PL') and reciprocal (*ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '2PL, 3PL') pronominal prefixes; two are marked with specialized affixes for voice, like the passive suffixes (*-rie*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-rɨwa, -tsi(e)*) and the middle voice suffix (*yu-*); a fifth strategy is noun incorporation, where the object of the transitive verb is inserted in the verbal complex.

The chapter also explores the different functions of the coded strategies identified in the language. For instance, the two functions of the prefix *yu-* are described: Middle voice and impersonal. A similar case occurs with the passive markers, which can also function as passive or impersonal. The overlap of passive/causative functions in one (*-tsi(e)*) of the passive suffixes is examined as well.

The function and origin of the passive suffixes are discussed, since there are different competing proposals on the literature (Langacker 1976; Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The different functions of noun incorporation in Wixárika are explained through Mithun's (1984) typology, and contrasted with Baker's (1996) proposal. In addition, I contrast the noun incorporation types I found in the data with Iturrioz & Gómez's (2006) Wixárika examples.

The terms 'actor' and 'undergoer' (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) are used throughout the chapter to encompass the various semantic roles of the arguments, which are only marked with the subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes in Wixárika.

The chapter is organized as follows. Sections 8.2 and 8.3 describe the reflexive and the reciprocal constructions. The middle voice is addressed in section 8.4, and the passive suffixes in 8.5. Finally, noun incorporation is introduced in section 8.6, and a summary of the findings is provided in section 8.7.

8.2. The reflexive construction

Wixárika uses the reflexive construction to indicate two different facets of the same referent in the expression of an event. This means that the initiator of the action and the affected participant are the same entity —the subject acts on itself or on a part of itself—, thus fulfilling two different semantic roles at the same time (Lyons 1968; Faltz 1985; Kemmer 1993; Lichtenberk 1994; Wierzbicka 1996; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Givón, 2001; Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004). The reflexive construction in Wixárika is used to encode both coreferentiality (Faltz 1985; Kemmer 1993; Lichtenberk 1994; Wierzbicka 1996; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Frajzyngier & Curl 2000; Givón 2001; Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2004) and the subject's affectedness (Frajzyngier & Curl 2000) —which does not necessarily imply lack of control or de-agentivization (Kemmer 1993).

The reflexive construction is encoded morphologically through pronominal prefixes. The construction retains its transitive structure (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000:11) by placing the pronoun right before the verb stem in the non-subject position. In this way, two sets of pronominal prefixes are found since the subject is always marked. The reflexive pronoun prefixes distinguish two persons, first (1SG/PL) and second (2SG). The rest of the pronoun prefixes —3SG/PL and 2PL— are all marked with the prefix *yu-* (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), as illustrated in table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Wixárika pronominal prefixes[73]

	INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS	DEPENDENT SUBJECT PRONOUNS	DEPENDENT NON-SUBJECT PRONOUNS	REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS
1SG	nee	ne-	netsi-	ne-
2SG	’eki	pe-	matsi-	’a-
3SG	miki/ ’iya	ø	(i)-	yu-
1PL	tame	te-	tatsi-	ta-
2PL	xeme	xe-	xe-	yu-
3PL	miki/mimi	me-	wa-	yu-

In terms of individuation —the degree to which an entity is perceived as clearly delimited and identifiable (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Dahl & Fraurud 1996)— the object that is affected has to be distinguished only if it is first (SG/PL) or second (SG) person. Examples of the use of each of these pronominal prefixes can be observed in (1) with the perception verb *xeiya* ‘to see/ver’.

(1) a. nee **ne-** pu- **ne-** xei xikiri -tsie
1SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- 1SG.REFL- see.PFV mirror -LOC
‘Me ví en el espejo.’
‘I looked at myself in the mirror.’ [Elicit]

b. **pe-** pu- **a-** xei xikiri -tsie
2SG.SBJ- AS1- 2SG.REFL- see.PFV mirror -LOC
‘Te viste en el espejo.’
‘You looked at yourself in the mirror.’ [Elicit]

c. pu- **yu-** xei xikiri -tsie
AS1- REFL- see.PFV mirror -LOC
‘Se vio en el espejo.’
‘He looked at himself in the mirror.’ [Elicit]

[73] Langacker (1976:47) states that Proto-Uto-Aztecan had a reciprocal verb prefix **na-*, and a paradigm of specifically reflexive verb prefixes: **ni-* for 1SG; **ta-* 1PL; **i-* 2SG; and **mo-* for all other persons. According to him, the reflexive prefixes have been lost in all the Northern languages, and **na-* has generalized to indicate both reflexive and reciprocal in those languages where it has been retained (Numic and Hopi). **na-* RCPR disappeared in all the Southern languages (outside of Taracahitic), with the result that the reflexive prefixes have generalized to assume reciprocal and reflexive sense.

d. **te-** pu- **ta-** xei xɨkɨri -tsie
1PL.SBJ- AS1- 1PL.REFL- see.PFV mirror -LOC
'Nos vimos en el espejo.'
'We looked at ourselves in the mirror.' [Elicit]

e. **xe-** pu- **yu-** xei xɨkɨri -tsie
2PL.SBJ- AS1- REFL- see.PFV mirror -LOC
'Ustedes se vieron en el espejo.'
'You (PL) looked at yourselves in the mirror.' [Elicit]

f. **me-** pu- **yu-** xei xɨkɨri -tsie
3PL.SBJ- AS1- REFL- see.PFV mirror -LOC
'Ellos se vieron en el espejo.'
'They looked at themselves in the mirror.' [Elicit]

Certain semantic classes of verbs tend to be encoded in reflexive constructions although they are subject to crosslinguistic variation (Kemmer 1993; Wichmann 2015). According to Kemmer (1993: 70), the verbs that show more degrees of distinguishability of participants from each other tend to be encoded as reflexives, while the verbs with less degree are marked with middle voice markers, or encoded as intransitive verbs. For example, Kemmer (1993) predicts that in the body action subdomain, grooming verbs occur with reflexives more commonly than 'non-translational motion verbs' ('turn', 'bow', 'stretch'), 'change in body posture verbs' ('sit down', 'kneel down', 'get up'), or 'translational motion verbs' ('go', 'climb up', 'leave', 'walk') because in the former, two participants —the actor and the undergoer— are distinguished, while in last three semantic classes of verbs, two participants are not conceptualized in the event.[74] Wixárika follows Kemmer's (1993) proposal on the degree of distinguishability of the participants, particularly in differentiating the reflexive from the middle voice construction, described in §8.4. The language uses the reflexive pronoun prefixes in transitive verbs where the actor and undergoer are coreferential, but conceptually distinguished, particularly regarding the prominence of the subject's affectedness. This behavior is observed with body care, grooming,

[74] Kemmer (1993) proposes these semantic classes of verbs.

perception, cognition, and some activity verbs. However, the language has a tendency to encode verbs that can occur in reflexive constructions in other languages as intransitive constructions. In the examples below, each different type of semantic class of verbs that occurs with reflexive pronoun prefixes is illustrated. In addition, individual cases where the subject's affectedness and distinguishability properties encoded by reflexives are illustrated in contrast with the middle voice construction, where participants are not distinguished as two entities conceptually (see §8.4).

The reflexive construction commonly occurs with some body care or grooming verbs where an actor acts on a part of itself, like *'utɨa* 'to paint, wear make up/pintar, maquillarse', *hatɨya* 'to get ready/alistarse', or *'aita* 'to take care of/atenderse' in (2-4). Other grooming verbs, which are usually encoded with a reflexive construction across languages (Faltz 1985; Kemmer 1993) occur as intransitive verbs in Wixárika, like *'ɨwa* 'to take a shower/bañarse', illustrated in (5).

(2) me- te- **yu-** ti- 'utɨa -ma 'aixɨ
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- REFL- PL- paint -COM good
'…se maquillan bien…'
'…they make themselves up well…' [YP01]

(3) tɨpina xeikɨa m- a- **yu-** hatɨya waniu
hummingbird only AS2- FIG- REFL- get.ready.PFV EVI.IND
'…el colibrí nada más se alistó…'
'…the hummingbird only got himself ready…' [DEER02]

(4) mara'aka -te wa- hatsɨa ne- **ne-** 'aita
shaman -PL 3PL- with 1SG.SBJ- 1SG.REFL- get.treatment.PRS
'…me atiendo con los cantadores…'
'…I get treatment with the shamans…' [DIS02]

(5) tɨɨri mana me- ka- niu- ti- **'ɨwa** -ni
children DEM 3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- PL- take.shower -NARR
'…los niños allí se bañan…'
'…the children take a shower there…' [INTR23]

The affectedness of the subject in the reflexive construction can be observed with the body care verb *'aita* 'to take care of/atenderse'. In example (6a), the construction with the reflexive pronoun prefix explicitly expresses the idea of an undergoer affected by the action. In (8b) with the middle voice marker, the speaker conveys a certain degree of affectedness of the action without regard to the fact that the participant is both the initiator as well as the affected entity.

(6) a. mara'aka -te wa- hatsɨa **ne-** **ne-** 'aita
shaman -PL 3PL- with 1SG.SBJ- 1SG.REFL- take.care.PRS
'…me atiendo con los cantadores…'
'…I get treatment with the shamans…' [DIS02]

b. **ne-** ka- he- **yu-** ku- 'aita -we
1SG.SBJ- NEG- EXT- MID- around- take.care -can
'…no he podido atenderme…'
'…I couldn't take care of myself…' [DIS02]

As mentioned before, the reflexive pronoun prefixes can occur in verbs of cognition, like *mate* 'to know/saber', *'ɨkitɨa* 'to study, learn/estudiar, aprender', and *'eriwa* 'to think/pensar'. However, the reflexive construction is only used when the affectedness of the subject in the cognitive process is prominent; otherwise, the reflexive pronoun prefixes do not occur. The construction, at the same time, reflects a certain degree of 'subjectivity' (Lyons 1982; Traugott 2010), that is, the relationship to the speaker and the speaker's belief and attitudes to a statement. For instance, the difference between (7a) and (7b) with *'eriwa* 'to think/pensar' is that in the latter, the speaker wants to highlight that the idea occurred in him, in other words, the speaker's belief is the consequence of a thinking process about a topic. The former example, on the other hand, reflects a general opinion that occurred at the moment of speaking, without the speaker claiming responsibility for the idea.

(7) a. ti- ku- yeika ta- hetsie miemeyari **ne**- ti- ku- ’eriwa -t̶i̶
DISTR- around- wander.SG 1PL- in for.us 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- around- think -SS
‘…(el cantador) ahí anda por nosotros, yo pienso/creo…’
‘…(the shaman) is there for us, (I) think/believe…’ [DIS05]

b. kwinie me- te- ’u- tu- nuwa -t̶i̶
many 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- OS- x- sing -SS
‘…ellos cantan mucho’
‘…they sing a lot’

mana me- mu- ’uwa -k̶i̶ tsiet̶i̶ **ne**- ti- **ne**- ku- ’eriwa
DEM 3PL.SBJ- AS2- wander.PL -for X 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- 1SG.REFL-around- think.PRS
‘para eso están, eso mismo pienso…’
‘that’s what they have to do, I think…’ [DIS05]

More examples of reflexives used to encode the subject’s affectedness with verbs of cognition are shown in (8) with *’ik̶it̶a* ‘to study, learn/estudiar, aprender’ and (9) with *mate* ‘to know/saber’. Examples (8a-b) illustrate that two coreferential participants are distinguished —the agent and the undergoer— in the process of learning. In this sense, the speaker highlights that the undergoer of the learning process is himself, encoded with the reflexive pronoun prefix *ne-* ‘1SG.REFL’ in (8a), or a second person with *’a-* ‘2SG.REFL’ in (8b). Example (8c) instead uses the middle voice prefix *yu-* ‘MID’ in order for the speaker to reflect the process of ‘studying/learning’, without regard to the fact that the participant is the initiator as well as the affected entity or endpoint.

(8) a. ne- trabaho **ne**- mu- **ne**- ti- ’ik̶it̶a
1SG- job 1SG.SBJ- AS2- 1SG.REFL- PL- teach.PFV
‘…en mi trabajo yo me enseñé…’
‘…in my job, I taught myself…’ [INTR01]

b. **pe**- ti- u- **’a**- ta- ’ik̶it̶a -me
2SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- 2SG.REFL- SG- teach -SS
‘…ya que tú te enseñes…’
‘…when you teach yourself…’ [INTR05]

c. ’ena ne- m- a- ka- ne estado de Nayarit
this.moment 1SG.SBJ- AS2- FIG- down- pass state of Nayarit
‘…en ese momento llegué al estado de Nayarit’
‘…in that moment I came to the state of Nayarit’

ne- ti- u- **yu-** ta- ’ɨkitɨa
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- teach
‘a estudiar…’
‘to study…’ [INTR05]

Similarly in (9a), the verb *mate* ‘to know/saber’ with the reflexive pronoun prefix indicates that the speaker himself knows about a topic well as the result of a possible previous preparation. Thus, the construction reflects the subject’s affectedness in the cognitive process. Example (9b), on the other hand, illustrates the verb without the reflexive pronoun prefix when the speaker’s intention is to show less knowledge on him.

(9) a. ya- ’a- **ne-** **ne-** ra- ku- mate indigena -tsixi
this.way- there- 1SG.SBJ- 1SG- INDF- around- know.PRS indigenous -PL
‘…todo lo que yo mismo sé sobre indígena….’
‘…everything I know myself about indigenous people…’ [PL01]

b. mɨkɨ nai **ne-** ka- na- ku- maika
DEM all 1SG.SBJ- NEG- FIG- around- know.ST
‘…eso todo no me lo sé’
‘…I don’t know all of it’

ya- tewi -me ’aixɨ nai **ne-** ra- ku- maika
X- small -NSBJ good all 1SG.SBJ- INDF- around- know.PRS
‘me sé bien un poco (de la historia)…’
‘I know part of the story well…’ [INTR09]

Other semantic classes of verbs, like activity verbs, can occasionally occur with the reflexive pronoun prefixes. The construction encodes both an actor and an undergoer that are coreferential. This is illustrated in (10) with the verb *’inɨa* ‘to count, compete/contar, calarse’. In (10a), the construction expresses one participant, *te-* ‘1PL.SBJ’ competing for an object, while in (10b), the action is carried out by an actor but undergone by the same participant.

(10) a. te- p- i- ta- **’inɨa** -ta
1PL.SBJ- AS1- 3SG.OBJ- SG- count -CAUS
‘…lo competimos…’
‘…we competed for it…’ [SSB02]

b. nee tserie -ta **ne-** **ne-** ’inɨa -ta -mɨkɨ
1SG north -LOC 1SG.SBJ- 1SG.REFL- count -CAUS -DES.SG
‘…quise intentar/calarme en el norte…’
‘…I wanted to try in the north…’ [SSB01]

However, Wixárika has the tendency to treat verbs, like *ke* (SG)*/’ui* (PL) ‘to get up/levantarse’, *kutsu* ‘to fall asleep/dormirse’, *we* ‘to fall down/caerse’, *kukuye* ‘to get sick/enfermarse’, or *’uxipi* ‘to get tired/cansarse’ as intransitive as is most common crosslinguistically, with Romance languages being the exception in their rempant use of reflexives.

8.3. The reciprocal construction

Wixárika encodes reciprocal constructions by using the already existing reflexive pronoun prefixes *ta-* for 1PL and *yu-* for 2PL, 3PL, as illustrated in table 8.2. This is due to the fact that reciprocal constructions are similar conceptually to reflexives, except that in the former the prerequisite is the plurality of participants (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Frajzyngier 2000; Givón 2001). The prefixes are placed right before the verb stem in the non-subject position, like in the reflexive construction. The reciprocal meaning is obtained as a result of computing the meaning of the verb, the number of participants, and the marker.

Table 8.2. Reflexive/Reciprocal pronoun prefixes in Wixárika

	REFLEXIVE /RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS	
1SG	ne-	-
2SG	'a-	-
3SG	yu-	-
1PL	ta-	ta-
2PL	yu-	yu-
3PL	yu-	yu-

The reciprocal construction occurs with transitive verbs where two entities equally act upon each other, i.e, both are actors and undergoers, but they stand in a coreferential relation (Lichtenberk 1985; Payne 1997; Kemmer 2003; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Givón 2001; Nedjalkov 2007). In this way, the subject prefixes *te-* '1PL.SBJ', *xe-* '2PL.SBJ', and *me-* '3PL.SBJ' in Wixárika are always attached to the verb, as in (11). Even though there are two entities involved in the event there is less degree of distinguishability between them (Kemmer 1993; Givón 2001) because both are actors and undergoers at the same time. However, there is more elaboration of the events since the construction depicts two events where the participants change the roles (Kemmer 1993). Examples of verbs that often take a derived reciprocal meaning are *parewi* 'to help/ayudar' in (12) and (13), *kwi* 'to fight/pelear', *'iwawiya* 'to ask/preguntar', *xeiri* 'to gather/reunir', *xei* 'to find/encontrar', *wiwiya* 'to meet/juntarse', and *xeiya* 'to see/ver'.

(11) a. tame **te-** **ta-** parewi
1PL 1PL.SBJ- 1PL.RECP- help.PFV
'Nosotros nos ayudamos.'
'We helped each other.' [Elicit]

b. tame **te-** te- **ta-** parewi
1PL 1PL.SBJ- DISTR 1PL.RECP- help.PFV
'Nosotros nos ayudamos (varios).'
'We helped each other (several).' [Elicit]

c. **te-** **ta-** kwi -tɨwe
1PL.SBJ- 1PL.RECP- fight -PROGR.PL
'…nosotros nos estamos peleando…'
'…we are fighting against each other…' [PL02]

(12) xeme **xe-** **yu-** parewi
2PL 2PL.SBJ- RECP- help.PFV
'Ustedes se ayudaron.'
'You (PL) helped each other.' [Elicit]

(13) **me-** pu- **yu-** parewi
3PL.SBJ- AS1- RECP- help.PFV
'Ellos se ayudaron.'
'They helped each other.' [Elicit]

Reciprocal constructions in Wixárika can encode a sequential or simultaneous action (Lichtenberk 1985; Kemmer 1993; Evans 2008), which depends entirely on the context. For instance, the context of example (14) occurs in a formal meeting carried out by the members of some communities. The meeting's goal is to discuss topics of concerns about the communities. During this meeting, members of different communities ask questions in an orderly way, one after the other, which means that the action of 'asking' in the example is done sequentially. Example (15), on the other hand, expresses a simultaneous action where the participants 'meet' at the same time and place.

(14) **me-** niu- **yu-** ti- 'iwawiya waniu
3PL.SBJ- NARR- RECP- PL- ask.PFV EVI.IND
'…se preguntaron entre ellos, según…'
'…they asked each other, they say…' [SSB02]

(15) **te-** **ta-** xeɨrie -tɨ indigena
1PL.SBJ- 1PL.COLL- meet/gather -SS indigenous
'…nos reunimos los indígenas…'
'…we meet/gather as indigenous people…' [PL02]

Reciprocal constructions commonly occur with singular subject participants that act upon each other. This means that in some events only two entities act upon each other but they are

encoded with the plural subject pronominal prefixes *te-*, *xe-*, or *me-* due to the reciprocal meaning. However, the event can refer to plural participants as well, that is, a group of people encoded with the subject plural markers, like in example (16). The example's context occurs at an annual meeting of the Wixárika governors. In this meeting both traditional governors and members of the community gather to talk about social, cultural, and political aspects of the communities. The speaker in the examples refers to the meeting of different communities with his.

(16) **te-** mu- **ta-** ka- xei
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 1PL.RECP- X- find.PFV
'…aquí nos encontramos…'
'…we found each other here…' [PL02]

The plurality of participants in a reciprocal construction along with the inherent semantic properties of the verb, also allows a number of permutations in terms of the relations between all participants. For example, the language not only encodes a reciprocal meaning, but also a collective meaning in the appropriate context (Langendoen 1978; Wierzbicka 1980; Lichtenberk 1985; Kemmer 1993; Frajzyngier 2000; Givón 2001; Maslova 2007; Nedjalkov 2007; Evans 2008). In this case, participants carry out an action jointly instead of acting upon each other due to the meaning of the verb, as in (17) with the verb *xeɨrie* 'to meet, gather/reunir' repeated here.

(17) **te-** **ta-** xeɨrie -tɨ indigena
1PL.SBJ- 1PL.COLL- meet/gather -SS indian
'…nos reunimos los indígenas…'
'…we meet/gather as indigenous people…' [PL02]

The evidence of a collective meaning in the construction is observed when contrasting examples (18) and (19). The collective meaning is obtained with verbs that do not express an event with an actor and an undergoer, like *xeɨri* 'to meet, gather/reunir' and *wiwiya*

'meet/reunirse'. The reciprocal meaning results with verbs that require the expression of two participants, the actor and undergoer, as with the verb *xeiya* 'to see/ver'. This shows the interrelation of the number of participants and the inherent semantic properties of the verb in the language.

(18) **me-** pu- **yu-** ku- **xexeiri** -wa -kai 'ipaɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS1- RECP- around- RDP.gather -HAB -IPFV this.way
'…ellos se juntaban así'
'…they used to gather'

me- ka- **yu-** **xeiya** -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- NEG- RECP- see -SS
'pero no se podían ver…'
'but they could not see each other…' [SBB02]

(19) tɨkari -te **me-** mu- **yu-** **wiwiya**
night -PL 3PL.SBJ- AS2- RECP- meet.PRS
'…se reunen en las noches…'
'…they meet at nights…' [SR01]

8.4. The prefix *yu-*

Wixárika uses the prefix *yu-* to encode two functions. The first function primarily expresses the subject's affectedness of the action. In this sense, the construction encodes an event depicting the presence of an actor/initiator who happens to be the affected entity/endpoint at the same time. The difference from the reflexive or reciprocal construction is that the event focuses on the affected entity without regard to the fact that the same participant has both roles, that is, the two entities are not conceptualized as distinct (Kemmer 1993). This construction is generally known as 'middle voice' in the literature (Benveniste 1950; Smyth 1956; Lyons 1968; Klaiman 1992; Maldonado 1992; Kemmer 1993; Manney 1998; Givón 2001; Shibatani 2006).[75] The

[75] Neither Grimes (1964) nor Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) describe the middle voice construction in Wixárika. Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) only mention that the reflexives can be associated with the middle voice, while Grimes

prefix *yu-* in transitive constructions functions as a detransitivization mechanism, since the two entities are conceptualized as one. However, when the prefix is used in intransitive clauses, no argument is lost but the focus changes on the subject's affectedness.

The second function is used to express a situation where no reference is made to the initiator entity. The construction, referred to as 'impersonal' (Malchukov & Siewierska 2001) in this research[76], is usually agentless and implies an indefinite human subject. The impersonal overlaps with the passive construction in that in both cases the agent is omitted, but the difference is that in the impersonal construction the agent is usually unspecified.

The middle voice construction is explored in section 8.4.1, while the impersonal construction in section 8.4.2.

8.4.1. The middle voice construction

The prefix *yu-* is used to express the subject's affectedness without considering that the same entity is both the actor and the undergoer of the action. The prefix *yu-* is used for all persons and numbers, indicating the lack of coreference or distinction of entities, as in (20) with the verb *'ɨkitɨa* 'to study/estudiar'.[77] In all the examples, the affected subject in the cognitive process is highlighted instead of expressing two different entities, the actor and the undergoer in the action. The function of the prefix *yu-* as reflexive/reciprocal or middle voice marker for 2PL

(1964) identifies two types of clauses called the 'middle intransitive' and 'transitive middle'. These clauses contain the prefix *yu-* with emotional verbs, like 'to be happy' or 'to love'. However, there is no detailed description of each type of clause.

[76] This construction is also known as 'impersonal passive' (Frajzyngier 1982), or 'passive middle' (Kemmer 1993).

[77] Estrada (2010) reports that Pima Bajo, a Southern Uto-Aztecan language, encodes the middle construction with the prefix *a-*, which no longer indicates coreference with person/number.

and 3PL is distinguished through the verb's lexical meaning and the context in which the construction occurs.

(20) a. **ne-** ti- u- **yu-** ta- ’ɨkitɨa
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- learn.PRS
‘…yo estudio…’
‘…I study…’ [INTR05]

b. xɨka **pe-** ti- u- **yu-** ta- ’ɨkitɨa -ni
COND 2SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- learn -NARR
‘…si estudias…’
‘…if you study…’ [INTR05]

c. tsi- **te-** te- **yu-** ’ɨkitɨa -tɨ
DIM- 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- MID- learn -SS
‘…estamos aprendiendo un poco…’
‘…we are learning a little…’ [DEER02]

d. **xe-** te- **yu-** ’ɨkitɨa
2PL.SBJ- DISTR- MID- learn.PRS
‘…ustedes estudian…’
‘…you(PL) study…’ [LCLAKE04]

e. **me-** n- te- **yu-** ’ɨkitɨa
3PL.SBJ- NARR- DISTR- MID- learn.PRS
‘…ellos estudian…’
‘…they study…’ [HW01]

The middle voice construction can be used with a range of semantic classes of verbs in the language, which includes verbs of cognition, activity, perception, speech, processes in nature, and some motion verbs (Kemmer 1993). Other semantic classes that tend to occur in middle voice constructions crosslinguistically, like grooming verbs, change in body position, and spontaneous events (Kemmer 1993) are encoded as intransitive construction in Wixárika, as illustrated in (21-25).

(21) me- pu- ti- **’ɨwa** -xɨ waniu mɨkɨ
3PL.SBJ- AS1- PL- bath -PFV EVI.IND DEM
‘…según, ellos se bañaron (el colibrí y venado)…’
‘…they took a shower, they say (the hummingbird and the deer)…’ [DEER02]

(22) ne- ’uka p- an- ta- **tuni** -xɨ
1SG- foot AS1- this.side- SG- fold -PFV
‘Me doblé el pie.’
‘I twisted my foot.’ [Elicit]

(23) me- mu- ka- **yaxi** -ke tɨɨri
3PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sit -POT children
‘…ellos se sientan, los niños…’
‘…they sit down, the children…’ [DC01]

(24) ne- mu- ta- **kurupi** -xɨ ne- ’u- **mie** -tɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS2- SG- roll -PFV 1SG.SBJ- VIS- go -SS
‘…yendo me rodeé…’
‘… while going I rolled down….’ [DR01]

(25) yu- yuriepa me- m- an- ku- **hatika**
POSS- stomach 3PL.SBJ- AS2- this.side- round- swell.PRS
‘…su estómago se les hincha…’
‘…their stomach get swollen…’ [DIS05]

8.4.1.1. The use of the middle voice prefix

The use of the prefix *yu-* to encode a middle voice construction is usually optional in most of the semantic classes of verbs, and depends entirely on the speaker’s intention to highlight the subject’s affectedness in the event. The prefix is only used obligatorily with verbs encoding emotions, since they always express the experiencer’s affectedeness due to emotion. Examples with *’eiweri* ‘to be sad/triste’, *temawie* ‘to be happy/ser feliz’, and *hɨwa* ‘to love/querer’ are illustrated in (26) and (27).

(26) a. p- e- tɨa ’aumɨ mɨkɨ pu- **yu-** ka- ’eiweri
AS1- OS- go.SG.PFV X DEM AS1- MID- X- be.sad.PFV
‘…se fue, se puso triste…’
‘…he left, he got sad…’ [SR02]

b. ne- **yu-** temawie
1SG.SBJ- MID- be.happy.PRS
'Estoy feliz.'
'I'm happy.' [Elicit]

(27) ta- nai -tɨ te- p- au- **yu-** ye- hɨwa
1PL- all -SBJ 1PL.SBJ- AS1- all- MID- X- love.PRS
'…todos nos queremos…'
'…we all love each other…' [LCLAKE04]

The optional use of the prefix *yu-* to encode a middle voice construction can be particularly observed in cognitive verbs. The prefix *yu-* in verbs of cognition is subject to context, since the prefix can be omitted or replaced by a reflexive pronominal prefix; this means that the suffix is not an inherent part of the clause. In example (28) repeated here, the verb *'ɨkitɨa* 'to learn, teach/aprender, enseñar' contains the prefix *yu-*, which together highlight the process of 'learning'. In addition, the construction's meaning refers to one entity undergoing the process of 'learning' without distinguishing an actor and undergoer.[78] In example (29), on the other hand, the reflexive prefix pronoun *ne-* is used. In this case, the pronoun prefix serves the purpose of distinguishing two clear entities, an initiator and an endpoint, which are coreferent. The endpoint is clearly the participant that undergoes the cognitive process since the sentence conveys the process of 'teaching oneself'. Example (30) shows the same verb without the prefix *yu-* or the reflexive pronoun prefix. In this case, the speaker conveys the process of 'teaching' where two distinct participants interact in the event. The actor is encoded with the subject pronoun *ne-* '1SG.SBJ' while the undergoer with the non-subject pronominal prefix *wa-* '3PL.NSBJ'.

[78] Kemmer (1993:268) refers to the construction with verbs like '*ɨkitɨa* 'estudiar/to study' as 'indirect middle' because the subject receives the benefit of the action performed by her/himself, in other words, there is coreference between initiator and non-patient/recipient, beneficiary.

(28) **ne-** ti- u- **yu-** ta- ’ɨkitɨa
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- learn.PRS
‘…yo estudio…’
‘…I study…’ [INTR05]

(29) ne- trabaho **ne-** mu- **ne-** ti- ’ɨkitɨa
1SG- job 1SG.SBJ- AS2- 1SG- PL- teach.PFV
‘…en mi trabajo yo me enseñé…’
‘…in my job, I taught myself…’ [INTR01]

(30) ne- niwe -ma ne- u- ti- **wa-** ’ɨkitɨa
1SG- son -PL 1SG.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- learn/teach.PRS
‘…yo les enseño a mis hijos (el Huichol)…’
‘…I teach it (Huichol) to my children…’ [INTR10]

The use of the pronoun *yu-* as middle voice marker can also be contrasted in the nominalization of the verb *’ɨkitɨa* ‘to teach, learn/enseñar, aprender’. When the clause is nominalized to create the noun ‘students/estudiantes’, as in (31), the middle voice marker *yu-* is preserved which denotes the subject’s affectedness by the cognitive process. On the contrary, when the clause is nominalized to create the noun ‘professor’, the pronoun *yu-* is not used, as in (32).

(31) te- **yu- ’ɨkitɨ** -wa -me -te
1PL.SBJ- MID- learn -HAB -NMLZ -PL
‘…nosotros los estudiantes…’
‘…we, the students…’ [HW01]

(32) te- **’ɨkita** -me -te
1PL.SBJ- learn -NMLZ -PL
‘…nosotros los profesores…’
‘…we, the professors…’ [PL02]

A similar example is observed in (33), (34), and (23) where three instances of the verb *mai*/*mate* ‘to know, think/saber, pensar’ are used. In (33) the speaker uses the reflexive pronominal prefix *ne-* to distinguish two participants, the initiator of the cognitive process and

the endpoint/undergoer. In this sense, the speaker conveys the idea of 'knowledge happening to himself' as a process where two different entities are involved. Clauses in example (34), on the other hand, have the prefix *yu-* which denotes that the speaker is undergoing the process of thinking; the subject's affectedness is still implied but two distinct entities are not encoded. The construction's meaning reflects an internal process affecting the subject, particularly in (34b) and (34c) where a state of 'awareness' or 'confusion' is conveyed. Example (35) shows a clause without any of the prefixes. In this case, the speaker conveys the idea of the general process of 'thinking, knowing', but without any undergoer of the cognitive process carried out. Instead, the clause shows only the volitional participant through the subject pronominal prefix *ne-*. The verb frequently occurs without the prefix *yu-*, indicating just a general mental process of 'knowing something', as in (35).

(33) ya- 'a- **ne-** **ne-** ra- ku- **mate** indígena -tsixi
like.that- there- 1SG.SBJ- 1SG- INDF- around- know.PRS indigenous -PL
'…todo lo que yo mismo sé sobre indígenas…'
'…everything I know about indigenous people…' [PL01]

(34) a. ne- **yu-** ta- **mai** -xɨa -ni
1SG.SBJ- MID- SG- know -ITR -FUT
'…me voy a poner a pensar…' (varias veces)
'…I'm going to start thinking…' (several times) [SSB02]

b. ne- papa 'uxa'awarie pɨ- xe- te- ne- ta- hɨawi 'auxuwi -me
1SG- father after.tomorrow this.way- 2PL.SBJ- DISTR- X- SG- say five -NSBJ
'…a mi papá pasado mañana díganle'
'…tell my dad the day after tomorrow'

tukari hau- ti- ne -yu pɨ- **yu-** **mai** -ka
day all- DISTR- X- pass/happen AS1- MID- know -SS
'ya que pasen cinco días y que esté conciente…'
'after five days when he is aware…' [SR02]

c. ne- u- ka- **yu-** **ma** -we
1SG.SBJ- VIS- NEG- MID- know -HAB
'…estoy confundido (Lit. 'no sé')…'
'…I'm confused (Lit. 'I don't know')…' [INTR05]

(35) a. nee ne- ta- **mai** -xɨa -ni
1SG 1SG.SBJ- SG- know -ITR -FUT
'…voy a pensar…' (varias veces)
'…I'm going to think…' (several times) [SSB02]

b. pe- n- ti- **mai** -we weɨkawa
2SG.SBJ- NARR- DISTR- know -HAB many
'…sabes mucho…'
'…you know a lot…' [DEER02]

Verbs conveying processes in nature, like *hekɨa* 'visible, sunrise/visible, amanecer', can occur in middle voice constructions. The intransitive construction without the prefix *yu-* in (36) and (37c), conveys an event where an entity appears spontaneously, as lacking control. This meaning is attested by the use of the resultatives *ri-* 'RES.COMPL' and *re-* 'RES.ICOMPL'. When the prefix *yu-* is used with the same verb, the construction denotes an action initiated by an agent and undergone by the same entity, as in (37a-c). However, the two entities are not distinguished but conceived as one, since the prominent meaning is the subject's affectedness.

(36) ta- wewie -kame mu- ta- **hekɨa** -ri -xɨ
1PL- make -NMLZ AS2- SG- visible -RES.COMPL -PFV
'…nuestro creador apareció…'
'…our creator appeared…' [SSB01]

(37) a. kwa- ti- **yu-** hekɨa -kai
NEG- DISTR- MID- visible -IPFV
'…no amanecía (Lit. 'no se veía, no se dejaba ver')…'
'…it didn't begin to get light (Lit. 'it could not be seen, it didn't let itself be seen.')…'
[LCLAKE05]

b. kiewa m- e- **yu-** ta- **hekɨa** -ta -xɨ
where AS2- OS- MID- SG- visible -CAUS -PFV
'…donde se apareció (el creador/Sol) (Lit. 'donde se hizo visible, se dejó ver')…'
'…where it appeared (the creator/Sun) (Lit 'where it made itself visible, let itself be seen'…' [SSB01]

c. manapai mu- **yu-** **hekɨa** -ta -xɨ waniu
DEM.DIST AS2- MID- visible -CAUS -PFV EVI.IND
'…hasta allá se dejó ver, según'
'…he let himself be seen there, they say'

wa- wewie -kame ta- **hekɨa** -re -ke -kai
3PL -make -NMLZ SG- visible -RES.ICOMPL -POT -IPFV
'el creador iba a aparecer…'
'the creator was going to appear…' [SSB02]

A similar example with another verb denoting a process in nature is illustrated with *ne* 'to appear, come out/salir, aparecer'. Example (38) shows an intransitive construction with one argument, expressing the initiator of the action. When the prefix *yu-* is added to the clause as in (39), the construction denotes an action initiated and undergone by the same entity. The construction's meaning focuses on the subject's affectedness without distinguishing two entities.

(38) ta- wewie -kame xeniu tatsi- xeiya tatsi- kɨxi -ya
1PL- make -NMLZ EVI.IND 1PL.NSBJ- see.PRS 1PL.NSBJ- light -CAUS
'…nuestro creador nos ve, nos alumbra'
'…our creator sees us, iluminates us'

m- a- ti- **neika** m- a- ka- yuyuipi -ke
AS2- PRO- up- come.out/appear.PRS AS2- PRO- down- RDP.come.down -PRS
'sale, se mete…'
'it comes out, sets….' [SSB02]

(39) 'uwa'i m- au- ta- **yu- ne** -tɨka pariyatsie
DEM AS2- all- SG- MID- come.out/appear -ITR Real de Catorce
'…allá se salió/apareció en Real de Catorce (el creador)…'
'…it came out there in Real de Catorce…' [SSB01]

Other semantic classes of verbs that can optionally appear with the middle voice prefix as well are verbs of perception, like *'ena* 'to hear/oír' in (40), and verbs of motion, like *kɨxeɨ* 'to move, gather/mover, juntar' in (41), and *hayewa* 'to leave, stay/dejar, quedarse' in (42).

(40) te- **yu-** 'ena -kai -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- MID- hear -IPFV -SS
'…ellos oían…'
'…they heard…' [SSB02]

(41) te- **yu-** kɨxeɨ -rie -ni yu- weɨkawa tɨɨri
1PL.SBJ- MID- move/gather -PASS -NARR ANIM- many children
'…nos juntamos muchos niños (Lit. 'Somos juntados')…'
'…we gather, a lot of children (Lit. 'We are gathered')…' [DC01]

(42) pastunie -ya -ta mɨ- **yu-** hayewa -xɨ
walking.stick -3SG -LOC AS2- MID- stay -PFV
'…su bastón se quedó
'…his walking stick stayed….' [PL03]

Verbs of speech like *terɨwa* 'to be called, named/llamarse' in (43), verbs of body care like *'aita* 'to take care/atenderse' in (44), and verbs of activity like *hɨaka* 'to lose/perder' in (45) can occur with the prefix *yu-* to encode a middle voice construction.

(43) union de profesionista -tsixi te- ka- ne- 'uwa -ni
unión de profesionistas -PL 1PL.SBJ- NARR- X- wander.PL -NARR
'…nosotros somos la unión de profesionistas'
'…we are the union of professionals'

te- te- 'u- **yu-** terɨwa -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- name -SS
'nos llamamos…'
'we called ourselves…' [SPS01]

(44) pe- **yu-** 'aita -tɨ 'a 'aixɨ
2SG.SBJ- MID- attend -SS F.S good
'…tú te atiendes bien…'
'…you take care of yourself well…' [DIS02]

(45) te- te- u- **yu-** hɨaka =ri
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- lose.PRS =already
'…nosotros nos estamos perdiendo (nuestra cultura)…'
'…we are losing ourselves (our culture)…' [YP01]

8.4.2. The impersonal construction

The language uses the prefix *yu-* in impersonal constructions. The constructions are characterized by the implied actor, like in passive clauses. However, the difference between the passive and impersonal clauses is that in the latter, the actor is unspecified (Frajzyngier 1982;

Malchukov & Siewierska 2011). The unspecified external causer, who is usually a human, is understood to exist, but it is omitted due to relative unimportance from the speaker's point of view as compared to the undergoer (Kemmer 1993).[79] In this sense, the prominence is on the affected entity in the event, like in the middle voice construction. However, the difference is observed in the distinguishability of participants, since impersonal constructions conceptualize two distinct entities, while middle voice constructions only one.

There is a large semantic class of verbs that occur with this type of construction, like activity, speech, and change of state verbs, illustrated in (46-50).

(46) ta-tata wiesta -ya mu- **yu**- wewi -xime weiya -kɨ
1PL-father ceremony -3SG.POSS AS2- MID- make -INCH holy.week -INSTR
'…se hace su fiesta a nuestro padre el sol en semana santa…'
'…the ceremony for our creator is done in Holy Week…' [DSC01]

(47) tɨkari =ta kepauka =ri mɨ- **yu**- mie -ni
night =FOC when =already AS2- MID- kill.OBJ.SG -NARR
'…en la noche, cuando sea, se mata (toro)…'
'…at night, at any time, it is killed (the bull)…' [DMC03]

(48) yuimakwaxa ee ti- u- **yu**- terɨwa
ceremony.maize ee DISTR- VIS- MID- name.PRS
'…se le llama fiesta del maíz…'
'…it is called the ceremony of maize…' [DGE01]

(49) mana Presidio de los Reyes mɨkɨ mana
there presidio de los reyes DEM there
'…allá en Presidio de los Reyes de eso'
'…there in Presidio de los Reyes'

ya- ti- 'ane -tɨ re- **yu**- ta- xata
like.that- DISTR- be -SS INDF- MID- SG- talk.FUT
'lo que es, se va a hablar…'
'it is going to be talked on…' [LCLAKE05]

[79] Kemmer (1993) names this construction 'passive middle'.

(50) ’ana nawa m- au- **yu-** ’ɨitɨa -ni
here tejuino AS2- all- MID- put.vertical -NARR
‘…aquí se pone el tejuino[80]…’
‘…here we put the tejuino…’ [DMC03]

8.5. The passive construction

Wixárika has passive morphology as other Uto-Aztecan languages. The passive construction in the language is characterized by the use of a passive suffix attached to the verbal stem. The suffixes are used when the speaker wants to defocus the actor in discourse. This means that the passive occurs in contexts where the actor is downgraded in topicality with respect to the undergoer (Siewierska 1984; Keenan 1985; Shibatani 1988; Haspelmath 1990; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000; Givón 2001; Keenan & Dryer 2007; Comrie 2008). For this reason, the actor is generally omitted in the constructions (Comrie 1982, 1989). The non-actor participant is then promoted into the main topic of the sentence, acquiring subject properties (Givón 1979, 2007; Comrie 1989, 2008; Shibatani 1988; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). The subject properties are observed when the non-actor is encoded with subject pronoun prefixes (Comrie 1982:105-6). However, the non-actor subject still undergoes the action (Shibatani 1988). The actor can optionally be included with the postpositional phrase (*-he)tsiemieme*, but only in elicitation, probably due to Spanish influence.

The passive construction in the language has an active counterpart, which is commonly a transitive clause, as in (51) and (52).

(51) a. xeme maxa xe- te- ’u- mi
2PL deer 2PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- kill.SG.PFV
‘Ustedes mataron un venado.’
‘You killed a deer.’ [Elicit]

[80] *Tejuino* is a cold beverage made from fermented corn. It is commonly consumed in Wixárika communities in the ceremonies.

b. maxa pu- mie **-rie**
deer AS1- kill.SG -PASS
'El venado fue matado.'
'The deer was killed.' [Elicit]

(52) a. ne- tei paapa pu- nanai
1SG- mother tortilla AS1- buy.PFV
'Mi mamá compró tortillas.'
'My mother bought tortillas.' [Elicit]

b. paapa pu- nanai **-ya** (mɨkɨ hetsiemieme)
tortilla AS1- buy -PASS (DEM by)
'Las tortillas fueron compradas.'
'The tortillas were bought (by her).' [Elicit]

The number of passive suffixes in the language has been briefly mentioned in previous studies (Grimes 1964; Langacker 1976; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006; Chablé 2007). The suffixes described in the literature are *-ri(e)*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-ki~ke* (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006; Chablé 2007), *-rɨwa* (Grimes 1964; Langacker 1976) and *-tsi* (Grimes 1964). Similarly, I have identified the suffixes *-rie*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-rɨwa,* and *-tsi(e)*, but not the suffix *-ki~ke*. Instead, I have observed cases where the passive suffix *-rie* is lexicalized in the verb stem when the verb contains the consonant /k/ or /w/. The suffix *-rie* loses the consonant /r/ resulting in the form *-ie*. The verb stem drops the vowel after /k/ or /w/ and forms the ending *kie/wie*.

On the other hand, the literature has shown no consensus regarding the suffixes' function and distribution. For instance, Grimes (1964:54-5) and Chablé (2007) state that the suffixes are allomorphs because they are phonologically conditioned by the stem they attach to (see §8.5.7). Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:217), on the other hand, affirm that each passive marker has a different grammatical status. According to them, the suffix *-ke* is more 'derivative' than the others because it is restricted to a certain number of verbs while choosing *-ya* or *-rie* depends on the

combination of different 'exponents'[81] in a word. In other words, they consider that each passive suffix presents a different number of restrictions determined by the verb stem or by the affixes they co-occur with, particularly related to the idea of the polyfunctionality of the suffixes. The corpus of this dissertation will show that the difference in their distribution is due to aspectual distinctions related to the action, rather than phonological contexts or distribution of other affixes in the verb stem. Before explaining this hypothesis, a description of each of the passive suffixes found in the corpus is provided below. I will also show an overlap of the impersonal with the passive function in intransitive constructions, which has been documented in the literature (Langacker 1975).

The following sections will address the different passive suffixes, the impersonal function of the passive, the passive's function and distribution as well as a discussion on their origin.

8.5.1. The suffixes *-rie* and *-ya*

There are two passive suffixes that are very frequent in the data, namely *-rie* and *-ya*. The suffix *-rie* is used in both transitive and derived ditransitive verbs/lexicalized three-argument frame verbs, while the suffix *-ya* for transitive verbs only. In these cases, the actor participant is defocused in the clause and the undergoer encoded by non-subject pronominal prefixes (or zero for 3SG) adopts the actor function. The undergoer then takes the subject pronominal prefixes and the clause is reduced in valency to one. It is important to mention that the undergoer is marked in the clause only if it is an animate participant. Examples (53), (54), (55), and (56) illustrate the suffixes *-rie* and *-ya* in contrast with their active counterparts.

[81] The scholar names 'exponents' to the different affixes attached to the verb stem.

(53) a. me- **netsi-** ha- ’iwawiya
3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- ALL- ask.someone.PRS
‘…me preguntan…’
‘…they ask me…’ [INTR02]

b. ’iki nee **ne-** ’iwawiya **-rie**
DEM 1SG 1SG.SBJ- ask.someone.PRS -PASS
‘…soy preguntado…’
‘…I am asked…’ [PL01]

(54) a. me- ka- ni- ka- ’iya -ku -ni
3PL.SBJ- NARR- NARR- down- bathe -DS -NARR
‘…ellos bañan/bautizar (niño)…’
‘…they bathe/baptize (a child)…’ [DNY01]

b. ’auxume tukari hau- ti- ne -yu mu- ka- ’iya **-rie** -ni
five day all- DISTR- pass.time -DS AS2- X- bathe -PASS -NARR
‘…ya que pasan cinco días (el niño) es bañado…’
‘…after five days, (the child) is bathed…’ [DNY01]

(55) a. wani paapa pu- ta- kwa -i
John tortilla AS1- SG- eat -PFV
‘Juan comió tortilla.’
‘John ate a tortilla.’ [Elicit]

b. paapa pu- ti- kwai **-ya**
tortilla AS1- PL- eat -PASS
‘Las tortillas fueron comidas.’
‘The tortillas were eaten.’ [Elicit]

(56) a. haa ne- p- an- hari
water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- X- water.PFV
‘Tomé agua.’
‘I drank water.’ [Elicit]

b. haa p- an- hari **-ya**
water AS1- X- water -PASS
‘El agua fue bebida.’
‘The water was drunk.’ [Elicit]

The suffixes are found in different semantic classes of verbs. For example, (57) illustrates the passive suffix *-rie* with verbs of perception, like *xeiya* ‘to see/ver’ and *’enie* ‘to hear/oír’; (58) verbs of speech, like *xatia* ‘to talk to someone/platicar a alguien’; (59) verbs

denoting a change of state of the undergoer, like *mie* ‘to kill/matar’; and (60) verbs of prohibiton, like *kweriya* ‘to forbid/prohibir’.

(57) a. te- xeiya **-rie** -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- see -PASS -SS
‘…somos vistos…’
‘…we are looked at…’ [DIS05]

b. ta- niuki ke- u- ’enie **-rie** -ni
1PL- speak NEG- VIS- hear -PASS -NARR
‘…nuestras palabras no son escuchadas…’
‘…our words are not listened to…’ [LCLAKE01]

(58) ne- ti- u- ta- xatɨa **-rie** ’echiwa
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- SG- talk.to -PASS little
‘…fui platicado un poco…’
‘…I was talked to a little…’ [LCLAKE05]

(59) mɨ- mie **-rie** -ni -xɨa me- mɨ- ye- wie -ka
AS2- kill.OBJ.SG -PASS -NARR -ITR 3PL.SBJ- AS2- area- tie -SS
‘…(el toro) es matado, ellos (lo)amarran…’
‘…(the bull) is killed, they tie (it)…’ [DMC03]

(60) ta- kie ’ɨkitsika **te-** m- e- kweriya **-rie**
1PL- house drawing 1PL.SBJ- AS2- OS- forbid -PASS
‘…mi casa dibujo/muestra, nos es prohibido…’
‘…my house, the drawing, we are forbidden…’ [INTR02]

The suffix *-ya* is found in change of state verbs, like *kwi* ‘to kill/matar’ in (61) and *pi* ‘to cut/cortar’ in (62); verbs of transfer, like *nanai* ‘to buy/comprar’ in (63); verbs that denote the creation of an object, like *wewi* ‘to make/hacer’ in (64); and verbs of activities, like *’iti* ‘to heal/hacer limpia’ in (65). There are no verbs that can take both suffixes *-rie* and *-ya* in the same clause.

(61) me- n- ka- kwi **-ya**
3PL.SBJ NARR- X- kill.OBJ.PL -PASS
‘…(los toros) ellos son matados…’
‘…(the bulls) they are killed…’ [DMC03]

(62) tutu p- an- pi **-ya**
flower AS2- this.side- cut -PASS
'Las flores fueron cortadas.'
'The flowers were cut.' [Elicit]

(63) teiwari -xi pero m- an- titika ka- ti- nanai **-ya** -mɨkɨ
mestizo -PL but AS2- this.side- be NEG- PL- buy -PASS -DES.SG
'…los mestizos, pero allí está (el cinturón), no quiere ser comprado…'
'…the mestizos, but there it is (the belt), it is not bought…' [HW02]

(64) papa pu- ti- wewi **-ya**
tortilla AS1- PL- make -PASS
'Las tortillas fueron hechas.'
'The tortillas were made.' [Elicit]

(65) mana pe- mɨ- ta- 'iti **-ya** -ni mara'akame
DEM 2SG.SBJ- AS2- SG- heal -PASS -NARR shaman
'…allí te es hecha una limpia, el cantador…'
'…there, you are healed, the shaman…' [DC01]

The passive suffix *-rie* is also used in clauses with beneficiary/recipient participants in contrast with the suffix *-ya*, which was not found in any related instance in the corpus. In these types of clauses, the receptor is most commonly encoded as the subject of the sentence in the passive. This behavior is due to the system of the language where there are only two grammatical relations encoded in the verb, subject and non-subject; these prefixes only encode animate participants as previously mentioned. The receptor is introduced as a core argument by the suffix *-tɨa* (see §Ch.7), and then, the suffix *-rie* promotes this argument to subject position. Some of the verbs where the suffix *-rie* occurs do not use an applicative suffix to introduce the receptor/beneficiary as a core argument. Instead, the verbs have a three-argument frame lexicalized in their meaning, like *'iwawiya* 'to ask someone/preguntar a alguien' (Cf. *'iwau* 'to ask/preguntar', *pitɨa* 'to give/dar' (labile verb with two argument frames), and *xatɨa* 'to talk to someone/platicar a alguien' (Cf. *xata* 'to talk about something/hablar de algo'). Examples (66), (67), and (68) illustrate the use of the passive suffix with *'ɨitɨa*, *pitɨa*, and *huri* 'to give/dar'.

(53b) ’ikɨ nee **ne-** ’iwawiya **-rie**
DEM 1SG 1SG.SBJ- ask.PRS -PASS
‘…soy preguntado…’
‘…I am asked…’

(66) tetsu me- niu- ’ii -tɨa **-rie** -ni
tamal 3PL.SBJ- NARR- give APPL -PASS -NARR
‘… ellos son dados tamales…’
‘…they are given tamales…’ [INTR05]

(67) ’uaye ne- p- ti- pitɨa **-rie** -ni
medicine 1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- give -PASS -NARR
‘…me es dada la medicina…’
‘…I am given the medicine…’ [Dis05]

(68) te- m- ta- huri -tɨa **-rie** -xɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- give -APPL -PASS -PFV
‘…fuimos entregados (una libreta)…’
‘…we were given (a notebook)…’ [LCLAKE01]

Less commonly, the object/theme in a derived ditransitive clause can be promoted, as (69) illustrates. The clause, however, does not present a subject pronominal prefix, since the language does not mark 3SG or inanimate participants on the verb. Examples with promoted objects/themes in a passive can only be found in elicitation.

(69) xapa p- e- nɨ’a **-rie**
letter AS1- OS- send -PASS
‘Una carta fue enviada.’
‘A letter was sent.’ [Elicit]

In sum, both suffixes are attached to transitive clauses in order to reduce the valency into one, and highlight the undergoer of the action. The suffix *-rie* can also be attached to derived ditransitive verbs or lexicalized three-argument frame verbs where the beneficiary/recipient or object/theme can be promoted to the subject of the clause. The suffix *-rie* is the most frequent passive marker found in the corpus. The suffix *-ya*, on the contrary, is not found in derived ditransitive verbs or elements of its class in the corpus. The suffix *-ya* appears to have more

restrictions in its distribution, since its tendency is to occur in verb stems that end in the high front vowel /i/. The suffix *-rie* undergoes a phonological change when the habitual suffix *-wa* co-exists in the clause. The suffix drops the final /e/ deriving the form *-ri,* as in (70) and (71).

(70) te- p- a- ’inie **-ri** **-wa**
1PL.SBJ- AS1- FIG- invite -PASS -HAB
‘…estamos siendo invitados’
‘…we are (regularly) invited…’ [LCLAKE05]

(71) xapa te- ta- huri -tɨa **-ri** **-wa**
notebook 1PL.SBJ- 1SG- give -APPL -PASS -HAB
‘…estamos siendo entregados cuadernos…’
‘…we are (regularly) given a notebook…’ [DIS05]

In terms of the function, the language uses both suffixes to denote the completion of an action, which is the default interpretation. However, the suffixes can co-occur with aspectual markers, such as the habitual suffix *-wa*, illustrated in (71) above, and the imperfective marker *-kai*, illustrated in (72), which nuance an imperfective interpretation of the construction as a whole.

(72) pero mɨkɨ ’ana ti- tui **-ya** -kai -tɨka
but DEM that.moment DISTR- sell -PASS -IPFV -ITR
‘…pero no era vendida (artesanía)…’
‘…but it was not sold (handcraft)…’ [SSB01]

8.5.2. The suffixes *-wa* and *-rɨwa*

Other passive markers in the language are *-wa* and *-rɨwa*, which occur less frequently in the corpus than the previous passive markers. The suffix *-wa* can be found in transitive verbs and verbs with a three-argument frame lexicalized in their meaning; while the suffix *-rɨwa* is restricted to verbs with lexicalized three-argument frame. The suffix *-wa* can occur with verbs of ingestion, like *kwai* ‘to eat/comer’, activity as *’utsi* ‘to write someone/escribir a alguien’ (Cf.

'utɨa ‘to write something/escribir algo’) in (73), and verbs of speech as *niu* ‘to speak/hablar’ in (74). The last example shows an overlap with the impersonal construction, since it occurs with an indefinite subject.

(73) **te-** p- a- ka- ’utsi **-wa**
1PL.SBJ- AS1- PRO- X- write -PASS
‘…nos anotan (Lit. ‘estamos siendo anotados’)…’
‘…we are noted down…’ [DIS05]

(74) xɨka =ta wawai ya- waikɨ pɨ- ka- ra- niu **-wa** -ni
COND =FOC F.S. or- NEG AS1- NEG- INDF- speak -PASS -NARR
‘…si no está siendo dicho nada (mis padres)…’
‘…if nothing is being said (by my parents)’

ne- p- a- ye- ne -ni
1SG.SBJ- AS1- ALL- area- come -FUT
‘vendré…’
‘I’ll come…’ [INTR06]

The suffix *-rɨwa* is more restricted in terms of semantic classes of verbs it attaches to. The suffix commonly occurs with verbs of speech, like *’iwawiya* ‘to ask someone/preguntar a alguien’, *hɨawa* ‘to say something to someone/decir algo a alguien’, and *terɨwa* ‘to name someone/nombrar a alguien’ in (75-77). The corpus has not shown any instance with other semantic classes of verbs. It is likely that this suffix was derived from the passive *-rie* + the habitual suffix *-wa*.

(75) ’ikɨ ye- **ne-** ra- hɨawa **-rɨwa**
this this.way- 1SG.SBJ- INDEF- say -PASS
‘…ahora estoy siendo dicho…’
‘…now I am told…’ [HW01]

(76) **ne-** p- a- ’iwawiya **-rɨwa** waniu
1SG.SBJ- AS1- ALL- ask -PASS EVI.IND
‘…estoy siendo preguntado, según (los estudiantes)…’
‘…I am being asked (by students)…’ [INTR01]

(77) mɨkɨ xeniu tsikɨri mɨ- ti- u- terɨwa **-rɨwa**
DEM EVI.IND God.eye AS2- DISTR- VIS- name -PASS
'…es llamado ojo de dios (regularmente)…'
'….it is (regularly) called the eye of God…' [DGE01]

In terms of function, the suffixes' default interpretation is the incompletive aspect, similar to other related Uto-Aztecan languages, like Tarahumara (Caballero 2008:93), Cora (Casad 1984:191), and Guarijio (Miller 1991:521), which present the passive suffixes *-riwa*～*-wa*, *-iwa,* and *-wa* respectively, with an imperfective function as well.

8.5.3. The suffix *-tsi(e)*

The function of the suffix *-tsi(e)* differs from the other passive suffixes to a certain extent. In previous studies, the status of the suffix as a passive marker is recognized (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). However, another function is proposed. Grimes (1964:97) states that the suffix has an additional causative function, which he calls 'passive causative'. According to him, the construction with the suffix denotes an action performed by a causer and undergone by a causee. However, the actor is demoted in the clause, thus giving the causee a subject function.

Although not attested, I have concluded that the origin of the suffix is likely to be the result of the merger of the causative suffix *-tɨa* and the passive suffix *-rie*. This suffix is not very productive, since it is not frequently found in the corpus. The only instances observed are with the verb *'inɨa* 'count, compete/contar, competir' in (78) and *ma* 'to scare/asustar' in (79). In the first example, the undergoers 'deer' and 'hummingbird' of the action *'inɨa* 'count, compete/contar, competir' are encoded with the subject pronominal prefix *me-* '3PL.SBJ' instead of *wa-* '3PL.NSBJ', while the original actors are omitted. In this sense, the suffix encodes a passive construction as do other suffixes, described in the previous sections. Semantically, however, the

causative sense of the action where the participants were made to compete is maintained (Cf. the use of *-tɨa* and *-ta* with the same verb in §Ch.7). The passive/causative interpretation can also be observed with example (79). The verb *ma* 'to scare/asustar' with the suffix *-tsi(e)* encodes the action of 'scaring' performed by a causer and undergone by a causee. However, the original actor of the action is omitted and the undergoer is promoted to subject position —marked with ø as it is a 3SG. The suffix *-tsi(e)* encodes a general indirect causative meaning where the performer does not have a direct, physical contact with the undergoer. The actor performs an activity that makes the causee undergo an action caused by an external source.

(78) mɨkɨ waniu me- pu- ta- 'inɨa **-tsie**
DEM EVI.IND 3PL.SBJ- AS1- SG- count -PASS.CAUS
'…los hicieron competir (al venado y el colibrí)…'
'…they made them compete (the deer and the hummingbird)…' [DEER02]

(79) a. nee ne- pu- ti- ma
1SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- scare.PFV
'Me asusté.'
'I got scared.' [Elicit]

b. 'ukiaratsi pu- ti- ma -ri **-tsie**
man AS1- DISTR- scare -RES.COMPL -PASS.CAUS
'El hombre fue asustado.'
'The man was scared.' [Elicit]

The suffix is also attached to non-verbal roots, like *teukari* 'grandfather, to baptize/abuelo, bautizar', as in (80). As mentioned before, the grandparents in the Wixárika culture have the tradition of naming children. The noun *teukari* is used as a verb to refer to the action of 'naming, baptizing'. When the suffix *-tsi(e)* is attached to the non-verbal stem, the meaning encodes an action of 'making someone to be named', where a causative meaning is implied, but the actor is omitted. The causative meaning is also indirect as the example described previously. It is important to note that example (80) shows the nominalization *teukaritsika* 'the

baptism/el bautizo'. In addition, the example also illustrates the suffix *-tsie*, which drops vowel /e/ in the presence of another morpheme.[82]

(80) para que 'uxa'at**i**ni warie wixarika -k**i** teukari **-tsi** -ka
so what tomorrow back huichol -INSTR grandfather -PASS.CAUS -NMLZ
'…para que el día de mañana el bautizo en huichol'
'…so that tomorrow the Huichol baptism'

m**i**- ka- hau- yewe -ka -ni
AS2- NEG- all- lack -SS -NARR
'no falte…'
'is not omitted…' [P01]

8.5.4. Lexicalized passive

The literature identifies the marker *-ki~ke* (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006; Chablé 2007) as a passive suffix. The corpus of this dissertation shows that the language does not have a suffix like that. Instead, the suffix is lexicalized in the verbal stem when the verb's second syllable has a /k/ or /w/, as illustrated in examples (81) and (82) with *mikwa* 'to feed/alimentar' and *wewie* 'to make/hacer'. In these cases, the passive denotes completive aspect.

(81) a. yu- nai -me **te-** m**i**- wa- **mikwa**
ANIM- all -NSBJ 1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3PL.NSBJ- feed.PRS
'…a todos les damos de comer…'
'…we feed all of them…' [DDR01]

b. **te-** u- ka- te- **mikie**
1PL.SBJ- VIS- NEG- DISTR- feed.PASS
'…no nos dieron de comer (Lit. 'No fuimos dados de comer')…'
'…we were not fed…' [DDR01]

[82] See Santos & Carrillo (2012) for a description of the names and ceremony. As part of their culture, the Wixaritari have a special ceremony where the grandparents assign names to children. This name is obtained in a dream.

(82) ’itsari pu- **wewie**
food AS1- make.PASS
‘La comida fue hecha.’
‘The food was made.’ [Elicit]

8.5.5. The passive/impersonal construction

The passive suffixes in Wixárika occasionally show an overlap with the impersonal domain. The passive/impersonal overlap is generally reported in other languages as occurring with both intransitive and transitive verb stems (Frajzyngier 1982; Shibatani 1988). In Wixárika, the overlap is only observed with the passive suffix *-rie* in intransitive constructions (Cf. Comrie 1982 who stated that the passive suffixes in the language do not occur in intransitive clauses). The construction is intransitive, since it only has one actor argument in the active counterpart and no undergoer. When the passive suffix is used, the actor is demoted and it turns into an indeterminate actor who performs the action. The constructions resemble the impersonal clauses encoded with the middle voice marker *yu-* in that there is an unreferential actor implied. The difference is that the middle voice marker attaches to previous transitive stems where an actor exists but the undergoer is promoted to the subject position. Langacker (1977) notes this overlap in reconstructing the passive suffixes and state that the passive suffixes also present impersonal function in intransitive clauses in Uto-Aztecan languages.

The passive/impersonal construction with the passive suffixes is not frequent, which means that this is not the main coding means for the impersonal domain as the middle voice construction does. Example (83) illustrates the intransitive verb *mawa* ‘to make an offering/hacer ofrenda’ with the actor *te-* ‘1PL.SBJ’; the object ‘offering’ is lexicalized in the meaning of the verb. Example (84) illustrates the impersonal function of the suffix *-rie* where the original

subject is demoted. The subject is also unreferential in discourse since the speaker's purpose is to highlight the action, not the doers of the action.

(83) taikai te- mu- ti- **mawa**
night 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- make.offering
'…nosotros hacemos ofrenda al anochecer…'
'…we make an offering at night…' [DMC02]

(84) waikɨa re- ti- mawa **-rie** -ni
somewhere INDF.P.- PL- make.offering -PASS -NARR
'…en algún lugar es hecha la ofrenda…'
'…somewhere, the offering is done…' [DEER02]

The suffix *-rie* in the impersonal function denotes completive aspect of the action as when functioning as a passive.

8.5.6. The distribution of the passive suffixes

The Uto-Aztecan languages are known by the different number of passive suffixes (Langacker 1975). Wixárika has five passive suffixes (*-ri(e)*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-rɨwa*, and *-tsi(e)*) and one case where the passive is lexicalized in the verbal stem. According to Keenan & Dryer (2007:329), if a language has two or more basic passives they are likely to differ semantically with respect to aspect, which is the case of Wixárika. I propose that the distribution of the passive suffixes is related to aspectual differences regarding the action rather than a conditioned phonological context (Grimes 1964; Chablé 2007) or other morphosyntactic contexts (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). The suffixes *-rie* and *-ya* denote completive aspect, while the suffixes *-wa* and *-rɨwa* denote incompletive aspect.

In section §8.5, I mentioned that studies on Wixárika's passives propose that the suffixes are determined by the phonological contexts they attach to (Grimes 1964; Chablé 2007). For instance, Chablé (2007) affirms that the suffix *-rie* generally occurs with verbs stems ending in

/a/, while the suffix -*ya* with verb stems ending in /i/. However, Chablé (2007) mentions that it is not possible to provide an accurate characterization of this distribution because the data show that the process is not regular. This free variation can be observed in the data of this dissertation as well. Although at first sight, it is true that the suffix -*ya* generally occurs with verb stems ending in /i/ in the corpus, there are cases where the same verb can take -*ya* or other passive suffixes, as illustrated in (55b) and (85). For instance, the verb *kwai* 'to eat/comer' can occur with either –*ya*, as in (55b) ―repeated here―, or -*wa* in (85). Each example conveys a different aspectual meaning, the former completive aspect while the latter incompletive aspect. It is likely that the phonological context triggered the distribution of this suffixes, hence the case of -*ya* with /i/. The suffix -*ya* could have derived from -*wa* (Langacker 1975). However, this free variation in the synchronic stage points to the suffixes have adopted the proposed complementary functions.

(55b) papa pu- ti- **kwai** **-ya**
tortilla AS1- PL- eat -PASS
'Las tortillas fueron comidas.'
'The tortillas were eaten.' [Elicit]

(85) hipati ka- ne- u- ti- 'uka mu- ka- **kwai** **-wa**
some NARR- NARR- VIS- PL- exist.PRS AS2- NEG- eat -PASS
'…algunos existen, no se comen (fruto) (Lit. 'no es comido')…'
'…some exist, it is not eaten…' [INTR23]

The same phenomenon can be observed with the verb *'iwawiya* 'to ask someone/preguntar a alguien' in (86), and *hiawa* 'to say something to someon/decir algo a alguien' in (87) where -*riwa* or -*rie* can be used. The former conveys incompletive aspect while the latter completive aspect.

(86) a. mɨkɨ =ta ne- p- a- **’iwawiya** **-rɨwa**
DEM =FOC 1SG.SBJ- AS1- ALL- ask -PASS
‘…y estoy siendo preguntado…’
‘…I am being asked…’ [SR01]

b. ne- **’iwawiya** **-rie**
1SG.SBJ- ask -PASS
‘…fui preguntado…’
‘…I was asked…’ [SR01]

(87) a. pɨ’i ne- ra- **hɨawa** **-rɨwa** -tɨ nee
this.way 1SG.SBJ- INDF- say -PASS -SS 1SG
‘…así me es dicho…’
‘…I am being told…’ [SR01]

b. nee hɨ ne- p- u- ta- **hɨawa** **-rie**
1SG AFF 1SG.SBJ- AS1- VIS- SG- say -PASS
‘…fui dicho…’
‘…I was told…’ [SR01]

The distribution of the passive suffixes cannot be explained by Iturrioz & Gómez’s (2006) proposal on the polyfunctionality of the morphemes. The idea is that each morpheme is ‘polifunctional’ in the language, and its function is determined by the affixes the morpheme co-occurs with, or the morphosyntactic behavior of the clause in general. For instance, they propose that the suffix *-rie* functions as an applicative and passive, the suffix *-ya* as transitivizer, passive, or factitive, and the suffix *-wa* as habitual and passive. According to them, the use of *-ya*, *-rie*, and *-wa* as passives depends on the combination of different affixes or other morphosyntactic information. For example, the passive function of the suffixes can be determined when the clause does not allow the introduction of an argument (in elicitation), or when other affixes, like the causative are present. They add that in some cases the use of *-wa* vs. *-rie* depends on the number of participants; they affirm that the suffix *-rie* occurs when the clause has singular arguments, while the suffix *-wa* for plural, as illustrated in (88) and (89).

(88) wakana -ri waikawa me- pu- kui'i **-wa** -xɨ
chicken -PL many 3PL.SBJ- AS1- kill.PL.OBJ -PASS -PFV
'Fueron matadas muchas gallinas.'
'A lot of chickens were killed.' [Iturrioz 1987: 334]

(89) wakana pu- mie **-rie**
chicken AS1- kill.SG.OBJ -PASS
'Fue matada una gallina.'
'A chicken was killed.' [Iturrioz 1987: 334]

As mentioned previously, this proposal cannot be supported since the examples presented in (55b), (85), (86), and (87) demonstrate that different passive suffixes can occur on the same verb stem, that the suffixes are not determined by the affixes they co-occur with, and they are not determined by the number of the participants in the clause, as examples in (88) and (89) suggest. The passive suffixes are distributed based on the aspectual meaning the speaker wants to convey. The idea of polyfunctionality of the morphemes cannot be sustained, since historical data from Proto-Uto-Aztecan refutes the hypothesis.

The complementary functions of the suffixes have been attested in other Uto-Aztecan languages, thus giving more evidence to my analysis. This phenomenon has been reported in Tarahumara (Caballero 2008), Guarijio (Miller 1991), and Cora (Casad 1984). The languages' passive suffixes are *-riwa~-wa*, *-iwa,* and *-wa* respectively, and all of them encode an imperfective/completive function as well. The historical development of the aspectual function in the passives has not been discussed in Uto-Aztecan languages.

In the case of Wixárika, I can say that probably, the aspectual interpretation of the suffixes was developed due to the homophony of other suffixes in the language. For instance, the suffix *-wa* rarely functions as passive but when it does, it denotes an ongoing action. This behavior is probably due to the presence of a homophonous suffix *-wa* with the habitual function. The examples are illustrated in (90) and (91).

(90) pe =tsɨ ka- ha- ’iwa **-wa** -tɨ mɨkɨ p- i- ti- kwa’a -kai
but =so NEG- ALL- ask -HAB -SS DEM AS1- 3SG.OBJ- PL- eat -IPFV
‘…pero sin preguntar el comía (tortillas todos los días)…’
‘…but he ate without asking (tortillas every day)…’ [SWM01]

(91) te- wa- ra- ’ini **-wa**
1PL.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- INDF- invite -HAB
‘…los invitamos (a las reuniones siempre)…’
‘…we invite them (to the meetings, always)…’ [LCLAKE02]

A similar situation is observed with the suffix *-ya*. The suffix *-ya* is a causative marker (§see Ch.7) that is attached to non-verbal intransitive roots to introduce an actor. Although the causative construction with the suffix *-ya* can occur with different aspectual markers, since its main function is to introduce the actor entity to the clause, the causative marker encodes the completion of an action along with the completive resultative suffix, as illustrated in (92). This hypothesis means that the language probably developed two different *-ya* suffixes. The causative *-ya* is secondarily completive, thus the passive can be interpreted the same way.

(92) kɨtsi xari pɨ- ta- **yɨxa** -ri **-ya** -xɨ
smoke pot AS1- SG- black -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
‘El humo ennegreció la olla.’
‘The smoke made the pot black’ [Elicit]

The complementary function of the passive suffixes in interaction with temporal/aspectual markers remains to be tested. In general, the passive suffixes mark aspectual distinctions of the action, i.e. completion vs. non-completion, but not of the construction as a whole. This conclusion comes from the fact that the passive suffix can occur with different aspectual markers, like *-kai* ‘IPFV’ in (93) and (94).

(93) ne- ti- ku- hɨawa **-rɨwa** **-kai** meri- paitɨ
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- around- say -PASS -IPFV before- until
‘…me decían hace mucho…’
‘…I was being told long time ago…’ [SK01]

(94) ne- ti- ni- xeiya **-rie** **-kai** -ku
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- X- see -PASS -IPFV -DES.PL
'…estaba siendo visto…'
'…I was being watched…' [INTR05]

On the other hand, the status of the suffix *-tsi(e)* regarding aspectual functions cannot be determined based on the few examples found in the corpus. The low productivity may be due to two reasons. First, its specificity in meaning (passive-causative) and second, the non-passive homophonous suffix *-tsie*. This suffix is used to encode either a temporal or locative adverbial construction (Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), as illustrated in (95) and (96). Although the passive and temporal/local suffixes *-tsie* do not share functions, the examples illustrate the high degree of homophony which could trigger the reanalysis of functions.

(95) nunutsi -yari tsi- ne- m- u- tewi -kai **-tsie**
child -PRO DIM- 1SG.SBJ- AS2- VIS- person -IPFV -when
'…de niño cuando estaba chiquito'
'…When I was a child'

me- ne- te- 'u- ti- 'ɨkitɨa ne- niuki
3PL.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- DISTR- OS- PL- learn.PFV 1SG- speak
'me enseñaron mi lengua…'
'…they taught my language to me…' [INTR05]

(96) te- m- an- ta- yaxike
1PL.SBJ- AS2- X- SG- sit.PRS
'…nosotros entramos/vamos (a la escuela)'
'…we go (to school)'

teiwari -xi me- n- ta- 'ɨkitɨa -rie **-tsie** mana'i
mestizo -PL 3PL.SBJ- NARR- SG- learn -PASS -where DEM
'donde son enseñados los mestizos…'
'where the mestizos are taught…' [YP01]

The temporal or locative suffix *-tsie* generally occupies an external position; it tends to occur after temporal or passive markers, as in (96) above. In some occasions, it can occur next to

the verb stem, as in (97), similar to the passive-causative suffix. This behavior can lead to a reanalysis of functions.

(97) nee ne- mɨ- ti- u- yu- ta- ’ɨkitɨa **-tsie** hikɨ pɨta =ta =ri
1SG 1SG.SBJ-AS2- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- learn -when now CONTR =FOC =already
‘…cuando entré a la escuela’
‘…when I started school’

mana tsi- ne- kwa- ra- mai -kai
DEM DIM- 1SG.SBJ- NEG- INDF- know -IPFV
‘no sabía…’
‘I didn’t know…’ [INTR05]

In sum, the passive suffix markers are used to encode different aspectual situations as shown in table 8.3. The suffixes *-ya* and *-rie* encode completive action, while *-wa* and *-rɨwa* an incompletive one. The aspectual status of the suffix *-tsie* cannot be determined by the data, reason why it is placed in between the ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ columns in the table. It is likely that this complementary function was developed due to the homophony of other morphemes in the language as a reanalysis process. However, research remains to determine the origin of the homophonous affixes in Wixárika and to explain in what stage the passive suffixes configured the incompletive function in the language. Unfortunately, a reconstruction of the aspectual markers in Uto-Aztecan languages is not available.

Table 8.3. Passive suffixes in Wixárika.

	COMPLETIVE		**INCOMPLETIVE**
‘Pure’ Passive	*-ya*		*-wa*
	-rie		*-rɨwa*
Passive Causative		*-tsie*	

The passive suffixes show different distributions regarding the type of verb stem they attach to. The suffix *-ya* only occurs in transitive verbs, while the suffixes *-rie* and *-wa* occur with both

transitive or derived ditransitive verbs/lexicalized three-argument frame verbs. The suffix *-ɾiwa*, on the other hand, only occurs in lexicalized three-argument frame verbs. The suffix *-tsie* attaches to transitive verbs, and is the only morpheme with a fused passive-causative function.

8.5.7. The origin of the passive suffixes

The number of passive suffixes in the language has opened a question on the morphemes' possible origin. Langacker (1975) proposes that the Proto-Uto-Aztecan passive/impersonal suffix is reconstructed as **-tɨwa*; the passive function occurs in transitive stems, while the impersonal function with intransitive stems. He adds that due to the number of suffixes found across Northern and Southern Uto-Aztecan languages, the suffix may have occurred in several dialectal variants, including **-tɨwa, *-tiwa*, *-liwa, *-lɨwa* and *-kiwa*, the last two only in Southern Proto-Uto-Aztecan. He also mentions that the first syllable could have been optional, while *-*wa* is reconstructed from a derivational morpheme that attaches to verbs to form nominals. According to him, this hypothesis is supported by the i- ablaut caused by the suffix when attached to verbs, which frequently occurs in passive constructions.

Langacker (1975:152-191) states that Proto-Corachol's passive/impersonal suffixes were *-*riwa* (>*liwa*) and *-*kia (>kiwa)*. He mentions that *-*kiwa* developed into *-*kia*, while *-*riwa* into different reflexes. The suffix *-*kia* rendered -*ki*, while *-*riwa* developed four suffixes: -*ri*, -*rie*, -*ya*, -*wa*, and -*ɾɨwa*. Langacker (1975) affirms that Wixárika developed -*ria* from **-riwa*, which was rendered phonetically as -*riya*, which then became -*rie* through phonetic modification, and gave rise to -*ya* by morphological reanalysis. However, this proposal does not explain why a single morpheme (**-riwa*) developed four different suffixes. I believe that the different suffixes were developed in distinct synchronic stages, as some theories of

grammaticalization suggest (Bybee 2013). The forms were probably reanalyzed and took slightly different aspectual functions, as proposed in section §8.5.7. For instance, it is particularly interesting to observe that the suffix *-ya* usually occurs with verb stems ending in /i/. This behavior shows that it is likely that the original suffix (probably *-wa*) underwent palatalization and developed a different aspectual function in a later stage. The source of the suffix *-rɨwa* is unclear from the Proto-Corachol reconstructions since Langacker (1975) does not posit *-*lɨwa* as the proto-form of the subfamily. Langacker (1975:151) only mentions that this form is more recent than the other suffixes, taking the following path: *-*rɨwa* > *-*ruwa* > *-*rɨwa*; the vowel *ɨ* changed into *u* by assimilation, and then to *ɨ* again by regular sound change.[83] Based on Langacker's conclusion on the two Proto-Corachol suffixes, I would suggest that *-*lɨwa* could have developed the suffix *-rɨwa*. The suffix *-tsi* —identified by Grimes (1964) and in the corpus— is not included in Langacker's hypothesis, which indicates that further changes to the proposed reconstructions must be made. The analysis on the suffixes' diachronic development remains to be discussed in further research.

8.6. Noun incorporation

Noun incorporation is a common phenomenon found in Uto-Aztecan languages (Langacker 1976). This detransitivization strategy is largely defined as the process whereby a noun in direct object position is morphologically integrated into the verb (Mithun 1984; Matthews 1997; Payne 1997; Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000). Wixárika presents cases of noun incorporation (Grimes 1964; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006) that is performed in transitive verbs. The undergoer argument is incorporated into the verbal stem right before the verbal root; other

[83] See Langacker (1975) for a more detailed explanation on vowel change in Uto-Aztecan languages.

affixes between the incorporated noun and the verbal root are not allowed.

Noun incorporation in Wixárika is not as frequent, as previous literature suggested (Cf. Iturrioz 2005; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137), since only a limited number of examples were found.

The function and morphosyntactic encoding of noun incorporation in the language can be largely explained by Mithun's (1984) typology. This typology proposes four types of noun incorporation commonly found, with an eye toward explaining their diachronic development in different languages: Type I lexical compounding, Type II the manipulation of case, Type III the manipulation of discourse structures, and Type IV the classificatory noun incorporation. Mithun (1984:847) observes noun incorporation as "…nearly syntactic of all morphological processes…" since it tends to be productive and it has discursive functions. However, for her, noun incorporation is not entirely free, and it is prone to lexicalization. Baker (1996), from a generative perspective, conceives noun incorporation as a purely syntactic process. According to him, this process involves a movement operation wherein the underlying theme or object moves up to three into the verbal position. Baker (1996) affirms that syntactic noun incorporation has the following properties: N-V order with no intervening inflection, it applies to direct objects, the incorporated noun is discourse-referential, the language has rich agreement system, and the incorporated noun is stripped of its inflectional morphology. I will show that Wixárika's noun incorporation is better explained by Mithun's (1984) typology, since the language presents examples with different morphological and/or syntactic characteristics. This behavior points to distinct diachronic developments, which Baker's approach cannot explain. Baker (1996) limits the observation of the phenomenon by stating that the lack of the proposed properties indicates that the language does not have syntactic incorporation. He adds that a language without this

syntactic process cannot be a truly polysynthetic language. Baker's approach does not account for the evolution of languages regarding incorporation and polysynthesis, and the intermediate stages that result from them.

Wixárika presents the four types of incorporation proposed by Mithun (1984): lexical compounding, manipulation of case, manipulation of discourse structure, and classificatory noun incorporation. In all of these, the incorporated noun is a non-human element (e.g., object, plant, animal, body part), which is common across languages (Mithun 1984). The noun can incorporate to different semantic classes of verbs where different degrees of the object's affectedness can be observed (Mithun 1984). These findings are contrasted with Iturrioz & Gómez's (2006) proposal on noun incorporation in the language who found four types of incorporation: 'lexical', 'syntactic', 'pragmatic', and 'nuclear. I propose that not all the examples they provide are cases of noun incorporation.

The following sections describe the four different types of incorporation in the language. Section 8.6.5 provides a discussion on the types of incorporation Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) propose and the findings in the corpus.

8.6.1. Lexical compounding

The first type of noun incorporation in Wixárika is commonly found with verb stems that denote conventionalized activities, that is, activities that are sufficiently recognized to be considered name-worthy. Mithun (1984) calls this kind of incorporation *Type I lexical compounding*, since it is the derivation of a complex lexical item from a combination of two or more stems. In this case, a generic noun adjoins to the verb to specify its meaning. The incorporated noun in Wixárika loses its inflection (e.g., plural markers) and becomes more

closely integrated with the verb, since it cannot receive a referential interpretation. The noun is not previously mentioned in discourse as an independent element, but mentioned for the first time in the verbal complex. The incorporated noun has a specific semantic relationship to the verb, that is, it is the undergoer of the clause but loses its syntactic status as an argument. Instances of Type I in Wixárika are illustrated in (98), (99), and (100). Example (98) shows the noun *ketsɨ* 'fish/pescado' incorporated in the verbal complex to encode the speaker's daily activity. The meaning of the compound is transparent, since it denotes the activity of 'fishing' by using the verb *waiya* 'to follow/seguir' and the noun *ketsɨ* 'fish/pescado'. The verbal complex bears the subject pronoun *ne-* '1SG.SBJ' to mark the only argument of the clause. The context of the examples occurs with a Wixárika speaker describing his daily activities in a dam, where 'fishing' is the most common activity. Example (99) shows a similar case where *'iku* 'corn/maiz' is incorporated in the verbal complex to convey a daily activity carried out by Wixárika people in the fields. The clause also contains the subject pronoun *ne-* '1SG.SBJ' to mark the only argument of the clause. Finally, example (100) illustrates another case where a daily activity is encoded with noun incorporation. The speaker is describing a story where a man brings water to his house daily. The clause shows the noun *ha* 'water/agua' that is incorporated right before the verbal root *nɨ* 'to bring/traer'. There is only one argument, a 3SG which is not encoded in the clause.

(98) nee **ne-** pu- ti- **ketsi-** **waiya** pesca ne- p- a- ye- xeiya
1SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- fish follow fishing 1SG.SBJ- AS1- FIG- area- have.PRS
'…yo pesco, tengo pesca…'
'…I fish, I do fishing…' [INTR17]

(99) **ne-** p- e- **iku-** **wite**
1SG.SBJ- AS1- OS- corn- cut.HAB
'Corto maiz.'
'I cut corn.' [Elicit]

(100) mu- ti- **ha-** **nɨ** -we -kai
AS2- DISTR- water- bring -HAB -IPFV
'…traía agua…'
'…she used to bring water…' [SW01]

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:138) call this strategy 'lexical incorporation', which they analyze as a word formation process. According to them, in most of the cases, the incorporated unit undergoes lexicalization where the final meaning does not correspond to the meaning of each element, like in *haipiya* (*hai* 'cloud/nube', *piya* 'take out/quitar') 'to reduce the swelling/deshincharse' or *'ɨkaripiya* 'to uncover/descobijar' (*'ɨkari* 'hand/mano', *piya* 'to take out/quitar'). Although lexicalization –a word formation process to create lexical items– in noun incorporation commonly leads to this outcome (Mithun 1984), the examples presented in the corpus show that they are still in a stage where the components of the parts preserve their meaning. For instance, the data show an example where the Spanish word *agua* 'water' is inserted in the place of *ha* 'water/agua' in *'agua-nɨi-mie* (water-bring-go). This means that the speakers are aware of the meanings of each component, and that the examples are in a previous stage before full lexicalization. In addition, this type of incorporation does not have analytic alternatives. Different from Iturrioz & Gómez's (2006) examples, it is likely that the meaning of the incorporated noun of this type will be preserved since they represent daily/common activities.

Wixárika presents a few lexical compounds similar to the ones presented by Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) where the meaning of the compounds is not exactly equivalent to the meanings of their parts, since they convey more specialized meanings. The lexical compound of this type tends to be derived from a metaphorical abstraction. For instance, the verb *haipiya* 'to reduce the swelling/deshinchar', which literally means 'to take out clouds/sacar nubes' is not a conventional activity, but a metaphorical representation of a part of the body that is swollen and looks like a 'cloud/nube'. This type of compounds does not show an analytic construction in the language.

In Baker's (1996) terms, lexical compounding does not count as noun incorporation since it is not discourse-referential and the object loses syntactic status. However, proposals like Mithun (1984) explain this type of behavior as part of an evolutive process in the language, without discarding constructions that do not have all the properties proposed. These views place the constructions into an intermediate stage of diachronic development, which is common crosslinguistically. It is likely that Wixárika's lexical compounding started as a more syntactic process in a previous stage where the incorporated noun has discursive and syntactic status. However, frequency and use of the incorporated construction is leading to the creation of a lexical item in the speaker's mind (Bybee 2013), similar to a morphological process.

8.6.2. The manipulation of case

The second type of incorporation called 'the manipulation of case' in Mithun's (1984) typology is found in verb stems that denote affectedness of the participant's body parts. The most common incorporated construction occurs with verbs denoting pain, like *kukwi* 'to hurt, pain/doler, dolor' as in (101). The non-incorporated construction with the verb *kukwi* 'to hurt, pain/doler' marks the animate argument with non-subject pronominal prefixes to denote the participant's affectedness. The body part generally occurs in an external noun phrase with a possessive pronoun, as in (101).

(101) ne- **mu'u** **netsi-** 'u- kukwi -ne
1SG- head 1SG.NSBJ- VIS- hurt -PROGR.SG
'Me duele la cabeza.'
'I have a headache.' [Elicit]

The body part is incorporated into the verbal stem when the intended meaning is to express that the speaker suffers from chronic pain in one part of the body. The animate argument

can still be marked with non-subject pronominal prefixes even though the noun is incorporated, as in (102-104).

(102) netsu- **mu'u- kukwi** -ne
1SG.NSBJ- head- hurt -PROGR.SG
'Me duele la cabeza.'
'I have headaches.' [Elicit]

(103) netsu- **tawi- kukwi** -ne
1SG.NSBJ- neck- hurt -PROGR.SG
'Me duele el cuello'
'My neck hurts.' [Elicit]

(104) netsu- **huka- kukwi** -ne
1SG.NSBJ- stomach- hurt -PROGR.SG
'Me duele el estomago.'
'I have a stomach ache.' [Elicit]

In a few cases, the possessor pronominal prefix can be promoted to subject status (Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:138) without a change of meaning, as is (105). I consider this type of construction Type II since an oblique argument advances into the case position vacated by the incorporated noun.

(105) **ne-** mu'u- kukwi -ne
1SG.SBJ- head- hurt -PROGR.SG
'Mi cabeza me duele.'
'I have a headache.' [Elicit]

A similar phenomenon can be observed in cases where the construction conveys the participant's accident involving a body part, as in examples (106) and (107) with the verbs *tari* 'to hit, break/pegar, quebrar' and *miri* 'to fall down/caerse'. In both cases, the possessor is promoted to subject status in the verbal complex. Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:138) calls the incorporation process with these semantic class of verbs 'lexical incorporation' as well (as *Type I* previously explored). They affirm it is a 'lexical' process, since the incorporated noun cannot

take any kind of inflection (e.g., plural, instrumental, etc.), or undergo any morphosyntactic process. However, example (108) provided by them show the plural marker *-te*, which contradicts their statement.

(106) ’itupari -tsie **ne-** pu- ti- **mu’u-** tari -xɨ
door -LOC 1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- head- break -PFV
‘Me pegué en mi cabeza con la puerta.’
‘I hit my head with the door.’ [Elicit]

(107) **ne-** pu- ti- **huka-** mɨri -xɨ
1SG.SBJ- AS1- PL- stomach- break -PFV
‘Me caí de panzaso (Lit. ‘Me caí en mi panza’)’
‘I fell down on my stomach.’ [Elicit]

(108) kaxu pɨ- netsi- ’u- ti- **’ɨka -te- mura** -xɨ
car AS1- 1SG.NSBJ- OS- PL- leg -PL- break -PFV
‘El carro me quebró las piernas.’
‘The car broke my legs.’ [Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137]

As observed in the data, this type of incorporation is limited to a set of verbs that denote affectedness. The speakers generally prefer the none-incoporated construction unless they want to convey chronic pain or accidents involving body parts. The incorporated construction is not frequently found in discourse. In fact, most of the incorporated constructions were obtained via elicitation.

In Baker’s (1996) proposal, the manipulation of case in Wixárika does not represent an example of syntactic incorporation, since the incorporated noun contains inflectional information, even though the process involves syntactic movement of the object and the possessor. As previously mentioned, the diachronic approaches of noun incorporation better explain these intermediate stages where the noun’s case is manipulated as in a syntactic process, but inflectional information is still contained in the object. This type of incorporation represents a previous stage to lexical compounding due to the morphological and syntactic characteristics

found in the process.

8.6.3. The manipulation of discourse structure

Wixárika presents a type of noun incorporation that is used to background known or incidental information within discourse, making it less salient. This function represents Type III proposed by Mithun (1984), which is common in polysynthetic languages, like Wixárika. In this case, the incorporated noun can receive a referential interpretation. For instance, when the speaker wants to introduce new information, a noun occurs independently, as in (109) with *kaitsa* 'rattle/sonaja', which stands in the prototypical object position (SOV). After the introduction of the noun, the speaker describes the ceremony for several lines where he adds new information. When the speaker gets to the point where the 'rattle' has to be mentioned again, the noun is incorporated to background this old information, making it less salient. The noun preserves its inflective information, like plurality (reduplication). Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) do not mention any similar function of Wixárika's noun incorporation.

(109) ne- mama pɨne nets- e- ta- 'atɨ -wa -kai **kaitsa**
1SG- mother F.S. 1SG.NSBJ- OS- SG- bring -HAB -IPFV rattle
'…mi mamá me llevaba, la sonaja'
'…my mother took for me, the rattle'

mu- ka- yatsa mɨkɨ =ri nee ne- 'atɨkɨ -tɨ
AS2- down- put/stand DEM =already 1SG 1SG.SBJ- bring.round -SS
'se pone, yo me la traía'
'it is placed, I took it with me'

tɨri te- mu- hu xiriki muwa m- a- nu- we -tsie
children 1PL.SBJ- AS1- go.PL kaliwei DEM.DIST AS2- FIG-X- stand -LOC
'los niños vamos allá al kaliwei donde nos paramos'
'children go there, to the kaliwei[84] where we stand'

[84] *Kaliwei* is a kind of temple where the ceremonies are performed. The word *kaliwei* is used when speaking with outsiders. The original name of the temple is *tuki*.

meyu te- yu- kɨxeɨ -rie -ni yu- weɨkawa tɨiri mana
F.S. 1PL.SBJ- MID- join -PASS -NARR ANIM- many children DEM
‘somos reunidos muchos niños’
‘we, lots of children, are gathered’

te- m- a- yaxe- tɨkɨ -ne ke- te- yu- paɨme -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- sit- join.round -PROGR.SG INTR- 1PL.SBJ- ANIM- many -SS
‘allí nos sentamos alrededor, los que estemos’
‘there we sit in a circle, the ones we are ther’

tɨiri te- mɨ- ka- yaxe mmmm mara’akame mana
children 1PL.SBJ- AS2- down- sit.PL INTRJ shaman DEM
‘nos sentamos, el mara’akame ahí’
‘we sit, the shaman there’

m- a- yerɨ -ni tepu ta- wa -ni ta- kwika ximeri
AS2- PRO -sit -NARR drum SG- hit -NARR SG- sing morning
‘se sienta, le pega al tambor, canta, en la mañana’
‘sits, plays the drum, sings, in the morning’

te- mɨ- ta- yua -ni ya- te- yɨa -tɨ temu tame =ta =ri
1PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- start -NARR this.way- 1PL.SBJ- do -SS F.S. 1PL =FOC =already
‘nosotros empezamos, eso hacemos, nosotros’
‘we start, that’s what we do, we’

ke- mɨ- ti- u- kwika -ni mara’akame teukakaitɨ
INTR- AS2- PL- VIS- sing -NARR shaman F.S.
‘cuando canta el cantador’
‘when the shaman sings’

te- te- u- **kakaitsa-** **wiwa** -tɨ mana
1PL.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- RDP.PL.rattle- hold.PL -SS DEM
‘allí sostenemos las sonajas…’
‘we hold the rattles there…’ [DC01]

In Baker’s (1996) proposal, this type of incorporation better represents a syntactic process. However, the reduplication mechanism for plural in the language rules out the construction as entirely syntactic. Mithun (1984) includes this type of cases as incorporation, since it gives evidence of what she calls “…a nearly syntactic of all morphological processes…”.

8.6.4. The classificatory noun incorporation

The fourth type of incorporation found in Mithun's (1984) typology is called the classificatory noun incorporation. This type of incorporation occurs when a semantically general noun is incorporated to narrow the scope of the verb. The difference from Type I lexical compounding is that the compound stem can be accompanied by a more specific external noun phrase (or modifiers), which identifies the argument implied by the incorporated noun. Wixárika shows only one example in the corpus of a type of classificatory noun incorporation. This is the case of the verb *ha-nɨ* (water-bring) mentioned in section §8.6.1. This case of incorporation is considered to be in an intermediate stage of lexicalization since the construction does not have a syntactic alternative. However, this verb can be used with an external noun as well, thus preserving a transitive structure. This means that this type of incorporation does not represent a proper detransitivization strategy. Example (110) illustrates the external noun *ha* which means 'holy water' in the context. The incorporated noun *ha* classifies the external argument as 'water' or 'liquid'; the external noun at the same time, adopts a more specific meaning in the construction. The noun *ha* generally means 'water/agua', but when it is used with the verb *nɨ* with the incorporated noun *ha* 'water/agua', it adopts the meaning 'holy water'.

(110) muwa **ha** te- m- a- **ha-** **nɨ**
DEM.DIST holy.water 1PL.SBJ- AS2- ALL- water- bring.PRS
'…allá, traemos agua bendita…'
'…there, we bring holy water…' [DGE01]

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:138) affirm that the language has an extensive use of Type IV incorporation, but they call it 'syntactic incorporation'. According to them, syntactic incorporation occurs when the direct object is inserted into the verbal complex but its modifiers, (demonstrative or adjective), are kept outside the verbal complex, like in (111). However, the

corpus did not show any similar case, except for example (110) with an external noun. The speakers considered examples (111) and (112) ungrammatical; instead, they proposed clauses without incorporation like: *timɨmɨweme pa'ɨkai 'iki haikame 'ɨirɨte* or *maxa waiyari nepukwai*.

(111)*tiweweiyame 'ikɨ haika -me pɨ- 'a- ɨirɨ- 'ɨ -kai
hunter this three -NSBJ AS1- FIG- arrow- take -IPFV
'El cazador portaba esas tres flechas.'
'The hunter carried those three arrows with him.' [Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137]

(112) * *maxa nepuwaikwai*
'Comí carne de venado.'
'I ate deer meat.' [Elicit]

More research remains to observe if there are more incorporation constructions of this type that occur with external noun phrases or modifiers. However, it is likely that the language presents a very limited number of examples given the productivity of noun incorporation, which is not as frequent as proposed in the previous literature (Cf. Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137).

8.6.5. Discussion

Wixárika presents four types of noun incorporation, similar to what is proposed for Nahuatl, a closely related Uto-Aztecan language (Merlan 1979)[85]: Lexical compounding, manipulation of case, manipulation of discourse, and classificatory incorporation (Mithun 1984). The language shows that this device is not as frequent as proposed in the previous literature (Cf. Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137). The corpus, consisting of 8 hours of audio recordings of natural speech, only illustrates four instances of noun incorporation. The rest of the examples were obtained via elicitation, which means that it is likely that the strategy is falling out of use. This behavior may be due to Spanish influence or by the simplification of the grammatical structures

[85] Merlan (1979) affirms that Nahuatl has three types of incorporation: lexical compounding, manipulation of case, and manipulation of discourse.

in the language. It is important to mention that young adults tend to simplify the constructions in comparison with elders regarding the number of morphemes attached to the verbal stem and processes, like incorporation.

In previous literature, Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:137) stated that Wixárika has four types of noun incorporation: 'Lexical', 'syntactic', 'pragmatic', and 'nuclear'. As discussed in the previous sections, the scholars cover 'lexical incorporation' for *Type I* and *Type II* proposed in this dissertation. Although they consider the two types a word formation process due to the incorporated noun's limitation in undergoing morphosyntactic processes, the corpus showed that one of them (Type II) is used as a discursive device to encode specialized/contextual meanings, like affectedness of body parts. The incorporated noun in Wixárika's Type 3, in addition, can take inflectional affixes (e.g., plural), which proves that it is not a word formation process.

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:138) add that the language has a 'syntactic' type of incorporation, described in §7.6.4. This incorporation type represents Baker's (1996) syntactic incorporation, and Type IV in Mithun's (1984) typology, where the compound stem can be accompanied by a specific external noun phrase. However, the corpus did not show any similar case, except for an example with an external noun where the construction is transitive. The Wixárika speakers considered the examples provided by Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) to be ungrammatical.

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:138) proposed two more types of incorporation: 'Pragmatic' and 'nuclear'. Based on the corpus and the analysis of the examples presented by them, I conclude that these types do not represent cases of noun incorporation. For instance, Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) affirm that 'pragmatic' incorporation refers to the weak incorporation of lexical words to the verbal complex. According to them, this case looks like the interruption of the word but in

reality, it has focalization purposes, i.e., one part of the clause is put out of focus, like in (112). Example (112a) shows the complete clause without the proposed incorporation, while (113b) illustrates the noun *tai* 'fire/fuego' and the negative particle *tixaɨ* inside the verbal complex. The corpus of this dissertation does not show any similar examples, except for instances of word interruption due to a false start in discourse, as in (114). The complete word is repeated right after the false start, but no instance of an inserted noun or another type of particle in the clause is shown.

(113) a. tai tixaɨ mɨ- ka- ti- ye- hekɨa -kai
fire NEG AS2- NEG- DISTR- area- see/visible -IPFV
'El fuego no había aparecido en absoluto.'
'Fire did not appear at all.'[86] [Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137]

b. mɨ- ka- **/tai tixaɨ/** ti- ye- hekɨa -kai
AS2 NEG- fire NEG DISTR- area- see/visible -IPFV
'La aparición del sol todavía no tenía lugar.'
'The Sun didn't come out.' [Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:137]

(114) kauka yeme =ta 'echiwa **mete**
I.think truth =FOC little F.S.
'…yo creo, de verdad poco'
'I think, it is true that a few'

me- te- mai -wa -we -tɨ **mene**
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- know -HAB -can -SS F.S.
'sabían'
'knew'

me- ne- yua -kai mɨkɨ
3PL.SBJ- X- be -IPFV DEM
'ellos eran eso…'
'they were that…' [SSB02]

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006:139) suggest that 'nuclear' incorporation occurs when a "…complex non-predicative syntagm is disarticulated to form a predicative element…", as in

[86] Glosses were changed from the original.

(115) and (116). In (115) the nouns *kiekali pinieya* 'town's things' are separated into two different clauses, while in (116) the noun *'ɨkiyari* from *maxa 'ɨkiyari* 'deer's figure' is used as a root. This type is not considered incorporation because the latter only corresponds to a common process of verbalization in the language. Noun incorporation occurs when the object of a transitive verb is inserted in the verb stem, turning it into an intransitive verbal stem, as Mithun (1984) suggests. The examples presented below only show a verbalization process of a non-verbal element, which results in an intransitive clause.

(115) pini ya pɨ- ti- yɨneme..kiekali pɨ- ti- pinie -ya
thing X AS1- DISTR- common…town AS1- DISTR- thing -3SG.POSS
'Las cosas en cierta medida no son de nadie, las cosas son del pueblo.'
'In certain way, things do not belong to anyone, they are town's things.'
[Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:139]

(116) maxa pɨ- 'ɨki -yari
deer AS1- figure -PR
'Es una figura de venado.'
'It is a deer's figure.' [Iturrioz & Gómez 2006:140]

Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) present four types of incorporation that only explain the morphosyntactic criteria, but not the functions of incorporation. In addition, the proposed incorporation types are not attested in the language and do not fit into the noun incorporation definition proposed for a crosslinguistic analysis, where an object of transitive verb is inserted in the verb to detransitivize the clause.

Finally, I conclude that Wixárika's incorporation process can be explained by Mithun's (1984) typology due to the variety of morphosyntactic encoding and the functions incorporation performs. A structural model like Baker (1996) does not explain the intermediate stages of the incorporation process in a language, where more lexical or discursive/syntactic instances can be found. In his view, Wixárika would not have any type of noun incorporation, which discards it as a polysynthetic language, compared to Mohawk. Mithun (1984) proposes a model that explains a

phenomenon that is not homogenous crosslinguistically, nor necessarily static over time. The constructions examined here reflect different stages of development. Wixárika shows, on one hand, early stages of noun incorporation with a more syntactic and less integrated construction (e.g., Type III, IV). On the other hand, the language also shows cases of more advanced stages where the constructions are more integrated and are prone to lexicalization (e.g., Type I, II). This types, however, must be understood as being on a scale of development (e.g., Type I<-II<-III<-IV). Over time, these combinations come to be processed as chunks, the formal and semantic bonds grew stronger, and the process becomes increasingly morphological (Bybee 2013). This view gives more evidence of noun incorporation as a process that is closer to morphology than to syntax.

8.7. Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the different detransitivization mechanisms of Wixárika. I have identified five *coded* detransitivization strategies marked in the verbal complex: two marked with pronominal prefixes, like the reflexive (*ne*- '1SG', *'a*- '2SG', *ta*- '1PL', *yu*- '3SG, 2PL, 3PL') and reciprocal (*ta*- '1PL', *yu*- '2PL, 3PL') prefixes, two marked with specialized affixes for voice like the passive suffixes (*-rie*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-rɨwa*) and the middle voice suffix (*yu*-), and noun incorporation where the object of the transitive verb is inserted in the verbal complex. An additional voice mechanism where a causative and passive function overlaps is explored with the suffix *-tsie*. Each strategy has different functions that occur in specific conditions as summarized in figure 8.1.

The *reflexive* pronominal prefixes (*ne*- '1SG', *'a*- '2SG', *ta*- '1PL', *yu*- '3SG, 2PL, 3PL') are used to express that an initiator of the action and the affected participant are the same entity, thus fulfilling two different semantic roles at the same time. The reflexive construction encodes both

coreferentiality and affectedness. The reflexive construction usually occurs with verbs of body care, grooming, perception, cognition, and activity. The *reciprocal* pronominal prefixes (*ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '2PL, 3PL') in Wixárika occur with transitive clauses where two entities equally act upon each other, that is, both are actors and undergoers. The reciprocal construction encodes the plurality of participants and either a sequential or simultaneous event. The construction also conveys collectivity where the participants of the event perform an action jointly.

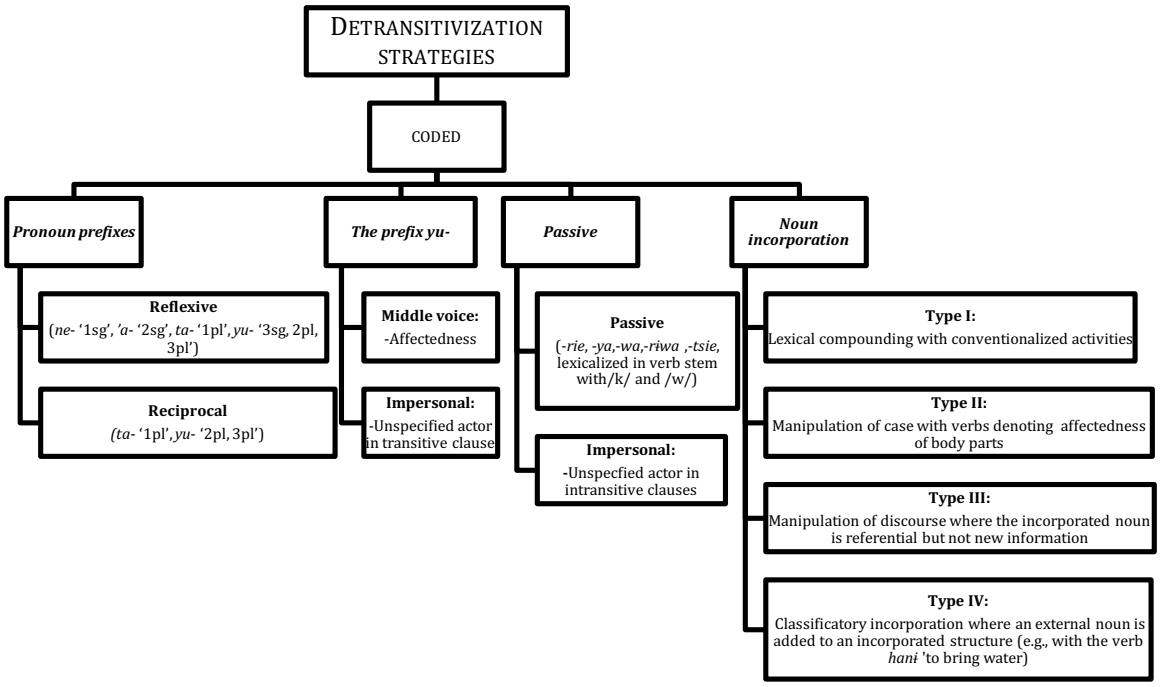

Figure 8.1. Detransitivization strategies in Wixárika and their functions.

The prefix *yu-* has two main functions in the languages. The first is to encode affectedness where two entities are not conceptualized as distinct, which is best known as *middle voice*. The suffix in this function is used obligatorily with verbs of emotions, and optionally with other semantic classes of verbs (e.g., cognition, activity, perception, speech, etc.). The second is the *impersonal* function of the suffix where an actor is unspecified. The unspecified external

causer is understood to exist, but it is omitted due to relative unimportance from the speaker's point of view compared to the undergoer.

The language has a set of *passive* suffixes that are used in specific conditions as figure 8.3 illustrates, repeated here.

Table 8.3. Passive suffixes in Wixárika.

	COMPLETIVE	INCOMPLETIVE
'Pure' Passive	*-ya*	*-wa*
	-rie	*-rɨwa*
Passive Causative	*-tsie*	

The suffix *-rie* is the most productive since it occurs with both transitive or derived ditransitive/lexicalized three-argument frame stems, and with different semantic classes of verbs. The suffix *-ya* tends to occur with transitive stems that end in /i/. Both suffixes, *-rie* and *-ya*, are used to indicate the completion of the action. The suffix *-wa* occurs in both transitive and derived ditransitive/lexicalized three-argument frame verbs with different semantic classes, while *-rɨwa* is more restricted to derived ditransitive verbs/lexicalized three-argument frame, like verbs of speech. In terms of function, the last two suffixes are used to indicate imperfective aspect of the action. The language also presents the suffix *-tsie* described as a causative/passive (Grimes 1964). This suffix denotes an indirect action performed by a causer and underwent by a causee. However, the actor is demoted in the clause, thus giving the causee a subject function. The suffix is not productive in the corpus due to its specificity in meaning. I proposed that this suffix is probably a merger of the causative *-tɨa* and the passive suffix *-rie*. The language also shows a case of a lexicalized passive suffix in roots that end in /k/ or /w/.

The passive suffixes also present an *impersonal* function with intransitive clauses only

where the actor is unspecified. On the other hand, the origin of the suffixes was discussed. After exploring Langacker's (1975:152-191) proposal where he stated that Proto-Corachol's passive/impersonal suffixes were *-*ɾiwa* (<*liwa*) and *-*kia (>kiwa)* which rendered -*ki* and -*ri*, -*rie*, -*ya*, -*wa*, and -*ɾɨwa*, respectively, I concluded that the different suffixes were developed in different synchronic stages. The forms were probably reanalyzed and took slightly different aspectual functions. The source of the suffix -*ɾɨwa* is unclear from the Proto-Corachol reconstructions and I suggested that *-*lɨwa* could have developed the suffix -*ɾɨwa*. The suffix -*tsi* is not included in Langacker's hypothesis, which indicates that further changes to the proposed reconstructions have to be made.

Wixárika presents some instances of *noun incorporation* where the object of the transitive verb is inserted in the verbal complex. The language has four types of incorporation, following Mithun's (1984) typology: (i) lexical compounding which encodes conventionalized activities, (ii) manipulation of case where the possessor is promoted to subject position in verbs that encode affectedness of body parts, (iii) manipulation of discourse where a noun which is not new in discourse but is referential is inserted in the verbal complex; and (iv) classificatory incorporation where a noun is incorporated to the verb to specify its meaning, but the construction can contain an external noun or modifiers. The different types of incorporation found in the corpus were contrasted with the ones proposed in Iturrioz & Gómez (2006): 'Lexical', 'syntactic', 'pragmatic', and 'nuclear'. I concluded that two of the incorporation types proposed by them, namely pragmatic and nuclear, are not instances of incorporation. 'Lexical' incorporation is observed in *Type I* and *II* in this corpus although I stated that the second one does not constitute a word formation process as they suggest. Instances of 'syntactic' incorporation as proposed by Iturrioz & Gómez (2006) are not found in the corpus, except for the

case of an external noun with the verb *hanɨ* 'to bring water/traer agua'.

In this discussion, I contrasted Mithun (1984) and Baker's (1996) proposal on noun incorporation where the former considers the process a "…nearly syntactic morphological process…", while the latter a syntactic process. I conclude that Wixárika's incorporation process can be better explained by Mithun's (1984) typology due to the variety of morphosyntactic encoding and the functions incorporation performs. A structural model like Baker (1996) does not explain the intermediate stages of the incorporation process in a language, where more lexical or discursive/syntactic instances can be found. In his view, Wixárika would not have any instance of noun incorporation. Mithun (1984) proposes a model that explains a phenomenon that is not homogenous crosslinguistically, nor necessarily static over time. For instance, the constructions examined in Wixárika reflect different stages of development: Early stages of noun incorporation with a more syntactic and less integrated construction (Type III, IV) vs. more advanced stages where the constructions are more integrated and are prone to lexicalization (Type I, II). These types, however, must be conceived as being on a scale of diachronic development, as Mithun (1984) proposed. This view gives more evidence of noun incorporation as a process that is closer to morphology than to syntax.

Finally, the phenomenon of 'polyfunctionality' in Wixárika's affixes proposed by Iturrioz (1987:336-56) is also discussed in the chapter. I concluded that the suffixes are not polyfunctional because they have different historical origins. The resemblance of affixes may be due to reanalysis and phonological processes.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

9.1. The Wixárika language and its clauses

In this study, I presented a systematic description of the clause types in Wixárika, a Corachol language from the Uto-Aztecan family, as well as its different morphological devices to increase or decrease the number of arguments in the clause. While many issues are still unresolved, I sought to identify the main characteristics of the system and to evaluate the complexities of this language, through the lens of discussing the phenomenon in current functional-typological theories.

This study started with a typological characterization of Wixárika, describing the properties of the phonology and morphology in order to understand its basic characteristics. Similar to previous literature (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), I determined that Wixárika has a small sound inventory (11 consonants, 2 semi-consonants, and 5 vowels) with contrastive vowel length. I showed that the language has a tendency to agglutination and polysynthesis, where four to eight affixes are attached to the verb. Despite its polysynthetic nature, Wixárika has a relatively strict SOV word order when explicit nouns occur in the clause. The language presents a verb agreement system where two grammatical relations are marked, the subject and non-subject; only animate arguments are encoded on the verb. The language marks a few types of noun phrases with these two grammatical relations by using the suffixes *-ti* 'subject' and *-me* 'non-subject' (e.g., with numerals and particles, such as *nai* 'all/todo'or some attributes). I also showed that Wixárika has a prefix *i-* that is used to reference back to an omitted definite

inanimate argument or a 3SG person; otherwise, the prefix is not used on the verb. Non-core arguments are marked with postpositions or suffixes (e.g., *-kɨ* 'instrumental'). The marking of core arguments and the characteristics of the verbs in the language align with a nominative-accusative case system and a tendency to head marking.

Having clarified these aspects of the Wixárika grammar, I then examined the different simple clause types, which I broadly classified as intransitive and transitive in chapters 4 and 5. I determined the clause types based on the morphosyntactic properties of clauses in relation to general semantic classes of verbs to see how the language describes different types of events (Levin 1993; Dryer 2007; Givón 1984, 2001; Stassen 1997; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Malchukov & Comrie 2015). The morphosyntactic properties I considered in this analysis were the number of arguments and their encoding, type of root (e.g., nominal, attributive, adverbial, or verbal), morphological processes (e.g., reduplication or suppletion), as well as temporal/aspectual markers or language-specific affixes (e.g., middle voice prefix *yu-*, etc.).

Due to the two grammatical relations in the language that express a range of semantic roles, I named 'actor' ('agent-like') and 'undergoer' ('patient-like') (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) the subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes, respectively, in both intransitive and transitive clause. We must nevertheless note the problematic nature of these terms for a language with an animacy hierarchy, since different kinds of subjects and objects are not marked on the verb if they are not animate.

In this study, I broadly established that the language has 'zero intransitive', 'intransitive', and 'transitive' clauses. Zero intransitive clauses do not require any argument and are only used to encode meteorological events, as in (1). Intransitive clauses contain a subject and a verb as in (2), while transitive clauses have a subject, a verb, and an object, as in (3). The subject in both

clause types is a subject pronominal prefix, a deictic particle, independent pronoun or a noun phrase; the object is a non-subject pronominal prefix, a noun phrase or a deictic particle. Intransitive and transitive clauses are used to express different types of events.

(1) waniu miki eee mu- ka- **wiwiya** -tsie
EVI.IND DEM INTJ AS2- down- RDP.raining -when
'…cuando llueve…'
'…when it rains…' [SR02]

(2) **te-** m- ti- **nei** -ni
1PL.SBJ- AS2- PL- dance -NARR
'…bailamos…'
'…we dance…' [DMC04]

(3) **tiri** =ta **ne-** **wa-** re- **xeiya** yu- nauka -me
children =FOC 1SG.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- have.PRS ANIM- four -NSBJ
'…tengo cuatro hijos…'
'…I have four children…' [INTR02]

I showed that intransitive clauses have a greater diversity in types of constructions, functions, and strategies if compared with transitive clauses. Transitive clauses present the same construction for different semantic classes of verbs (subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes or noun phrase, and a verbal stem). Intransitive clauses, on the other hand, have different types of roots (e.g., noun, attribute, verb, numeral, adverb), since the language is predominantly 'verbalizing' (Stassen 1997), which produces constructions with different functions, as observed in figure 9.1.

I broadly classified intransitive clauses into 'stative' and 'active', similar to Gómez (1993) who presented 'state' and 'dynamic' verbs in the language. However, my classification differs from Gómez (1993) in that I considered different grammatical elements of the clause instead of just exploring the *Aktionsart* of the verb.

- Intransitive clauses
  - Stative clauses
    - Nominal clauses
      - Identificational clauses
      - Property clauses
      - Miscellaneous clauses
    - Attributive clauses
    - Verbal clauses
      - Existential clauses
      - Change of state clauses
      - Physical state clauses
      - Psychological clauses
      - Locative clauses
      - Posture clauses
  - Active clauses
    - Motion clauses
    - Non-motion clauses

Figure 9.1. Intransitive clause types in Wixárika.

As I mentioned before, this outline of intransitive clause types included a description of the different functions each clause type adopts and the alternative strategies used to express the same function. In this way, this study represented a more complete outline than previous works (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). For instance, I mentioned that intransitive clauses with nominal roots are used for 'identificational' clauses, as in (4). This same function can be expressed through noun juxtaposition or with a copula, as in (5) and (6). The difference of examples (5) and (6) from (4) is that the first two examples illustrate cases where the clauses are used for 'presentational' purposes in descriptions, and the last example for 'equational' purposes. However, I determined that it is likely that the construction with the copula is the result of Spanish contact where the syntactic construction is transferred.

(4) taame **te-** pi- **wixari** **-tari**
1PL 1PL.SBJ- AS1- huichol -PL
'…nosotros somos huicholes…'
'…we are huicholes…' [INTR21]

(5) ’iki̵ =ta waniu ’akila
DEM =FOC EVI.IND eagle
‘…esto es un águila…’
‘…This is an eagle…’ [HW02]

(6) ’iki̵ =ta tau ka- ni- **hiki̵** -ti̵ -ni
DEM =FOC Sun NARR- NARR- COP -DER -NARR
‘…este es un sol…’
‘…this is a Sun…’ [HW02]

The discussion of intransitive and transitive clauses was not only focused on their grammatical features, but was also centered on the idea that these constructions show a scalar nature, based on the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the clauses.

9.2. The scalar nature

As discussed in functional-typological approaches (Lakoff 1977; Givón 1984, 2001; Stassen 1997; Kittilä 2002; Lazard 2003; Næss 2007), the linguistic elements of a language cannot be understood as clear-cut categories, but must be conceived as *continua*. Wixárika is a language that shows this scalar nature in three different ways: intransitive predication, transitivity, and argument alternations, as explained in the following sections.

9.2.1. Intransitive predication

In chapter 4, I showed that the different kinds of roots in intransitive clause types do not share the same morphosyntactic properties, as proposed in previous studies (Iturrioz 1987; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006). For instance, verbalized nouns need the derivative suffix *-ti̵* to take temporal/aspectual affixes because they maintain components of their nominal nature (‘identificational’ and ‘referential’ functions), as in (7). The verbalized nouns also preserve noun morphology, like plural markers, the comitative suffix *-ma*, possessive affixes, etc. On the other

hand, I showed that attributive roots largely behave as verbs, making them a verb subcategory (Gómez 1999), as in (8). However, I also showed that the attributive roots are not a clear-cut category, since there are a few instances where the roots take noun morphology (e.g., subject *-ti* and non-subject *-me* case markers), and describe a noun in the same way as prototypical adjectives in other languages, as illustrated in (9).

(7) mɨkɨ mɨ- ’**itsɨkame** **-tɨ** -kai
DEM AS2- governor -DER -IPFV
‘…él era el presidente…’
‘…he was the president…’ [INTR08]

(8) pɨ- yɨwi -kai
AS1- black -IPFV
‘…estaba negro…’
‘…it was black…’ [SSB02]

(9) tsɨkɨ xe -me ’u- e- yɨsaɨye **-me** ’e- xeiya -tɨ yu- kie
dog one -NSBJ SP.P.- OS- black -NSBJ there- have -SS 3SG.POSS- house
‘…él tenía un perro negro, en su casa…’
‘…he had a black dog at his house…’ [SWM01]

I confirmed that the different types of roots, particularly ‘nouns’, ‘attributes’, and ‘verbs’, in Wixárika suggest a *continuum* of ‘predication’, as proposed in the previous literature (Iturrioz 1987; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), illustrated in figure 9.2.

←-------- Nominal----------Attributive----------Verbal----------→

Figure 9.2. Continuum of predication in intransitive clauses in Wixárika.

Similarly, I also showed that the scalar nature can be observed with the sub-domains of the ‘stative’ and ‘active’ groups in intransitive clauses, since some of the stative clauses,

particularly the 'verbal stative' ones, can take the same temporal/aspect markers as 'active' clauses in general, although with more restrictions.

I explained the scalar nature of intransitive clauses types in Wixárika through Stassen's (1997) proposal on the different intransitive predication categories found crosslinguistically. He affirms that the domain of intransitive predication (verbs, adjectives, nouns, and adverb predicates) must be understood as a 'semantic space' in which various categories of predicates are situated in relation to one another. Their arrangement in semantic space is such that they form *continua* of various types, which allow for overlaps and intermediate cases. This broad view explained Wixárika's strategies and the number of restrictions each of these predicates has regarding their morphological features and functions.

9.2.2. Transitivity

The second evidence of the scalar nature of the linguistics elements is observed in the phenomenon of 'transitivity'. In chapter 5, I described the morphological features of transitive clauses in Wixárika. I determined that the language largely shows that the number of arguments and their grammatical relations can be used to distinguish intransitive from transitive clauses, similar to traditional frameworks. This is due to the obligatory marking of the arguments in the verbal complex, which are marked with two grammatical relations, subject and non-subject. However, I also showed that only considering structural aspects of the language, like the number of arguments and grammatical relations (Jacobsen 1985; Drossard 1991; Helbig & Buscha 1993), is not enough to account for the phenomenon of transitivity. In the same way, analyzing only the semantic roles (Lyons 1968) in Wixárika do not account for a complete explanation of the phenomenon, since the language only encodes two grammatical relations (subject and non-

subject) with different semantic roles. Other language-specific prefixes such as the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* were considered in order to understand how transitivity works in the language. I provided ample evidence of the functions of these prefixes, which have been in debate in the literature on the language (Grimes 1964; Gómez 1999; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006).

Different from previous literature (Cf. Langacker 1975; Grimes 1964; Gómez 1993; Iturrioz & Gómez 2006), I claimed that the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* indicate that the action is 'effective' —singular (*ta-*) or plural (*ti-*) effect— or has an impact on the arguments, as illustrated in (10), and (11). The absence of *ta-*/*ti-* in the clause conveys a general action without an impact, as in (12). I demonstrated that these prefixes are ungrammatical in verbs that encode a highly volitional agent and a highly affected patient (e.g., to kill, to explode).

(10) yɨyɨwi -me -kɨ ne- n- i- **ta- wewie** -ni
RDP.PL.black -NSBJ -INSTR 1SB.SBJ- NARR- 3SG.OBJ- SG- make -NARR
'…con negro los hice…'
'…I made them with black…' [HW012]

(11) yu- papa **ti- wewie** -ni
3SG.POSS- tortilla PL- make -NARR
'…hacía tortillas…'
'…she used to make tortillas…' [SWM01]

(12) hipatɨ matsɨwa me- m- **wewie**
some bracelets 3PL.SBJ- AS2- make.PRS
'…algunos hacen pulseras…'
'…some make bracelets…' [INTR01]

I discussed the scalar nature of transitivity in Wixárika by showing that the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* are also used in some intransitive clause types (existential, inchoative, action verbs), as shown in (13) and (14).

(13) pi- **ti-** **xuawe** **-ri** -we
AS1- PL- EXIST -RES.COMPL -can
'…se puede dar (roble)…'
'…it can grow (oak)…' [INTR23]

(14) 'u- **ta-** **tsua** -tɨ waniu waika -ne -kai
there- SG- cry -SS EVI.IND play -PROGR.SG -IPFV
'…estaba jugando llorando…'
'…he was crying while playing…'

I showed that clauses that do not accept the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* in Wixárika represent the prototypical transitive clauses. Prototypical transitive clauses encode a volitionally acting 'agent' participant which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific 'patient', while prototypical intransitive clauses encode the state of a participant. The non-prototypical cases are placed in intermediate positions of the scale, as figure 9.3 illustrates. Most importantly, the data showed that the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* augment the transitivity of whatever they are applied to.

+ INTR INTR: *ta-ti-* TR TR: *ta-ti-* TR+

Figure 9.3. Transitivity continuum in Wixárika: The prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*.

On the other hand, functional-typological approaches suggest that other grammatical features (e.g., tense, aspect, mood, polarity, individuation) in the clause constitute components of transitivity (Lyons 1968; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Langacker 1990; Tsunoda 1994; Givón 1984, 1995; Davidse 1996; Wierzbicka 1996; Lazard 1998; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). These approaches affirm that the correlation of these grammatical features expresses different semantic nuances of the event. I discuss these components in the following sections in relation to the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* due to their function in the clause to augment transitivity. As will

be observed in the following sections, the components of transitivity in Wixárika lack co-variation in general (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), but particularly with the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*-.

9.2.2.1. Grammatical components of transitivity: Lack of co-variation

The 'non-traditional' approaches suggest that other grammatical features in the clause constitute components of transitivity. The correlation among these grammatical features expresses different semantic nuances of the event. They agree that tense, aspect, and mood markers as well as polarity (e.g., affirmative or negative), and individuation (e.g., definiteness and animacy) produce different morphosyntactic configurations, creating distinct degrees of transitivity in the clause (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). In some languages with case markers, for example, the dative case marker is attached to the object of a transitive clause, instead of the accusative marker, when an imperfective affix/verb is used. This is due to the fact that the event is construed as not concluded, and therefore, the action is not passed onto the patient as in prototypical transitive clauses. Similarly, a negated clause commonly shows a distinct morphological configuration different from the prototypical affirmative transitive clause of the language, since it denotes that the action was deflected.

Interestingly, these grammatical components in Wixárika do not co-vary in general (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), and particularly with the use of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*-. For instance, the language shows that an imperfective or negative clause with an indefinite inanimate object does not prevent the presence of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- (or change the encoding of the arguments). This is a piece of evidence that the components of transitivity generally discussed in functional-typological theories do not constitute good morphosyntactic criteria in Wixárika to determining

different degrees of transitivity. The following sections explore three components of transitivity in the language, namely temporal/aspectual/modal, polarity and individuation, to provide evidence of their lack of co-variation with the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*-, which augment transitivity.

9.2.2.1.1. Tense, aspect, and mood

Temporal, aspectual, and modality markers are considered crucial components of transitivity since they can produce more or less transitive clauses (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 2001; Kittïla 2002; Lazard 2003; Næss 2007). This scalarity can be demonstrated through showing correlations between morphosyntactic structures of transitivity and intransitivity and the occurrence of the temporal/aspectual/modal markers and other features. Generally, a prototypical transitive clause is construed as an event that involves a concrete, dynamic action, which is real and concluded (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). These characteristics are reflected through an affirmative clause with perfective aspect, and realis mood (and accusative marker in the arguments). Any clause that is formally distinct from this prototypical transitive clause in a given language is considered less transitive (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007).

Temporal/aspectual markers do not affect the use of the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*-, the marking of the arguments (subject or non-subject) or any other components in Wixárika. For instance, clauses with perfective, imperfective, or progressive aspect are encoded with a subject pronominal prefix (for the actor) and a non-subject pronominal prefix (for the undergoer) in the case of clauses with two arguments, and the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- can be used. For clauses with one argument, the single participant (actor or undegoer) is encoded with subject pronominal prefixes, and the prefixes *ta*-/*ti*- can occur in the clause despite the type of aspectual marker as well.

Examples in (15) and (16) with the verb *'ɨkitɨa* 'to study/estudiar' illustrate different aspectual distinctions, perfective and progressive, respectively. Both clauses are encoded similarly, with one argument marked with subject pronominal prefixes and the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*. Examples (17) and (18) show the perfective codification with the marker *-xɨ*. The latter contains the prefix *ti-* while the former omits it. Examples (19) and (20) show a similar case but with the habitual marker *-wa*.

(15) nee ne- ti- u- yu- **ta- 'ɨkitɨa**
1SG 1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- MID- SG- study.PFV
'Yo estudié.'
'I studied.' [Elicit]

(16) te- m- te- **ta- 'ɨkitɨa -tɨwe** 'ɨkɨ 'uwa'i
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- SG- study -PROGR.PL DEM here
'…estamos estudiando aquí …'
'…we are studying here…' [INTR10]

(17) mɨkɨ m- i- **ti- 'ɨya -xɨ** waniu
DEM AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- bathe -PFV EVI.IND
'…él la bañó…'
'…he bathed her…' [SWM01]

(18) m- i- ka- **'ɨya -xɨ** mɨkɨ para wereke -kai
AS2- 3SG.OBJ- X- bathe -PFV DEM for stick -IPFV
'…la bañó para que se pegara (su piel)…'
'…he bathed her so that it got stuck to (her skin)…' [SWM01]

(19) me- te- **wewi -wa** -we artesanía
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- make -HAB -can handcraft
'…saben hacer artesanía…'
'…they know how to make handcraft…' [INTR01]

(20) te- m- i- **ti- wewi -wa** -tsie 'ixɨarari
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- make -HAB -when ceremony
'…cuando la hacemos, la fiesta…'
'…when we make it, the ceremony…' [DGE01]

Clauses with present and future tense, which are accorded to express less transitivity crosslinguistically (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007), can occur with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* in the language as well. Examples in (21) and (22) illustrate the clause in the present tense, while clauses in (23) and (24) show future tense with the prefixes.

(21) ’iku ne- mu- **ti-** **tɨxɨ**
maíz 1SG.SBJ- AS2- PL- grind.PRS
‘…muelo maiz…’
‘…I grind corn…’ [DTORT01]

(22) mana me- u- te- ’u- **ti-** **kwa’a**
DEM 3PL.SBJ- VIS- DISTR- X- PL- eat.PRS
‘…eso comen…’
‘…they eat that…’ [INTR23]

(23) hikɨ =ta te- te- **ti-** **xata** ’ena ’echiwa ra- ye- waɨkawa -me
now =FOC 1PL.SBJ- DISTR- PL- talk.FUT here little X- X- many -NSBJ
‘…ahora vamos a platicar un poco de ’
‘…now we are going to talk’

’ɨxatsi
story
‘una historia larga…’
‘a long story…’ [SR02]

(24) ’echiwa temta’aku waɨka =ri te- m- **ta-** ’a- ku- **maika** hipatɨ
little F.S. many =already 1PL.SBJ- AS2- SG- X-around- know.FUT other
‘…poco mucho vamos a saber de otros (historias)…’
‘…a little, a lot we’ll know of others (stories)…’ [INTR08]

Mood does not present co-variation with any other component in the language. Irrealis mood is a feature that is generally considered to contribute to the encoding of less transitivity, while realis is a component of more degrees of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). Interestingly, the prefixes *ta-*/*ti* are omitted more frequently in subordinate clauses than in independent ones, as in example (25) with the purpose clause marked with the suffix *-kɨ*. However, some examples show the use of the prefixes, like in (26) with the

pair of conditional sentences —one with the prefix *ta-* and the other one without the prefix—, thus demonstrating again the lack of co-variation of the grammatical features (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980). Further research on types of subordinate clauses remains to be done in the language to see the use of the prefixes *ta-/ti-*. However, the focus of this dissertation is only on simple clauses.

(25) para tɨɨri para tɨɨri
for children for children
'…para los niños, para los niños'
'…for children, for children'

te- m- te- wa- re- **'ɨkitɨaka** -kɨ waniu hɨkɨa Colorín
1PL.SBJ- AS2- DISTR- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- study -for EVI.IND there Colorin
'para enseñarles allá en el Colorín…'
'to teach there at Colorín…' [INTR10]

(26) a. **xɨka** te- u- **'ɨke** -tɨka -ni tutu -ri
COND 1PL.SBJ- VIS- copy/photograph -ITR -NARR flor -PL
'…si fotografían flores…'
'…if you photograph flowers…' [COL03]

b. hixɨa -ta mieme ne- **xka-** 'u- **ta-** **kwa** -ni
center -LOC from 1SG.SBJ- COND- VIS- SG- eat -NARR
'…si me lo como del centro…'
'…if I eat it from the center…' [SPEY01]

Clauses with the desiderative markers *-mɨkɨ* and *-ku*, for singular and plural, respectively allow the prefixes *ta-/ti-* as well, even though the actions are 'irrealis', as illustrated in (27) and (28) with *-mɨkɨ*. The same behavior is observed with the modal verb *we* 'can/poder' in examples (29) and (30).

(27) heiwa ne- kwa- reu- **pi** **-mɨkɨ** -ni
sometimes 1SG.SBJ- NEG- all- make.tortillas- -DES.SG -NARR
'…a veces no quiero tortear…'
'…sometimes I don't want to make tortillas…' [SWM01]

(28) ne- ti- na- **ta-** ’eiya **-miki** tinakeme -ki
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- x- SG- respond -DES.SG firm -INSTR
‘…le quiero responder con firmeza…’
‘…I want to respond firmly…’ [INTR02]

(29) ’eki pita m- e- ne- **ta-** kwai **-we** -ni
2SG CONTR AS2- EXT- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- eat -can -NARR
‘…tú, te puede comer…’
‘…you, he can eat you…’ [SSB01]

(30) ’iki xeniu teri terika titari ti- yu- ke **-we**
DEM EVI.IND F.S. scorpion because DISTR- MID- bite -can
‘…el alacrán porque puede morder…’
‘…the scorpion because, it can bite…’ [SCP01]

9.2.2.1.2. Polarity

Non-traditional transitivity theories agree that other grammatical features influence the transitivity of an event. All of them state that ‘polarity’ plays an important role in the clause (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 2001; Kittïla 2002; Lazard 2003; Næss 2007), since a prototypical transitive clause must express a real, affirmative, and concluded event. Negated clauses naturally profile less transitive events than affirmative ones since the action is not instigated, and there is neither affected patient nor volitional agent (Kittïla 2002:122; Næss 2007:43). In this sense, negation reduces the semantic distinction between the two arguments of a transitive clause (Næss 2007:116). For instance, a negated clause in a language with case markers would codify arguments in a dative case instead of accusative case due to the non-completion of the event.

As the other grammatical features, Wixárika’s negative markers co-occur with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, thus showing the lack of co-variation as well. Examples (31)-(34) show that the use of a negative marker does not prevent the presence of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, and the arguments are not affected by either of these affixes.

(31) me- te- ku- xata -tɨ **wa-** **ta-** ’enie -tɨ
3PL.SBJ- DISTR- around- talk -SS 3PL.NSBJ- SG- listen -SS
‘…estaban platicando, él los estaba escuchando…’
‘…they were talking, he was listening to them…’ [SSB02]

(32) hipakɨ =ta te- **kwa-** **wa-** re- **ti-** ’eni -wa
some =FOC 1PL.SBJ- NEG- 3PL.NSBJ- PL- PL- listen -HAB
‘…a algunos no les entendemos (Lit. ‘no le escuchamos a algunos’)…’
‘…we do not understand some people (Lit. ‘we do not listen to some people)…’
[PL02]

(33) ’ekɨ papá pe- netsi- **ta-** wawi -ri
2SG tortilla 2SG.SBJ- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- ask.for -APPL.COMPL
‘Tú me pediste tortillas.’
‘You asked me for tortillas.’ [Elicit]

(34) ’ekɨ papá pe- **kwa-** nes- **ta-** wawi -ri
2SG tortilla 2SG.SBJ- NEG- 1SG.NSBJ- SG- ask.for -APPL.COMPL
‘Tú no me pediste tortillas.’
‘You didn’t ask me for tortillas.’ [Elicit]

9.2.2.1.3. Individuation

The main properties of argument noun phrases are usually taken to be relevant for transitivity. The functional-typological theories state that a prototypical transitive clause has a highly ‘individuated’ object argument (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 2001; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). The term ‘individuation’ is used to refer to a number of properties which determine the extent to which a participant is perceived as an independent entity in the context; the most frequently cited are ‘definiteness’ and ‘animacy’ (Næss 2007). Hopper and Thompson (1980:253) state that the link between transitivity and the degree of individuation of the O can be explained in terms of the perceived effect of an act on a highly individuated entity, which is claimed to be stronger or more salient than on an entity low in individuation: “An action can be more effectively transferred to a patient which is individuated than one which is not; thus a *definite* O is often viewed as more completely affected than an *indefinite* one”. They add that “the effect of an action on an animate entity is more likely to be the focus of attention than a

similar effect on an inanimate entity". Similarly, Næss (2007) affirms that individuation contributes to the distinctness of participants insofar as the participants are required to be distinct, not just from each other in a semantic sense but from the background in that both are conceived of as independent entities worthy of individual attention. For instance, in languages with case markers, the case-marking of objects in transitive clauses is frequently found to depend on specific properties of the object noun. Definite objects receive overt case-marking but indefinite ones do not, since the latter are partially affected, while the former are related to total affectedness. Næss (2007) illustrates this notion by saying that in a pair of sentences like *We killed a pig* vs. *We killed the pig*, the actual, physical pig is not less affected in either situation. However, in the former case, the *pig* is presented as the only affected part of a larger whole, and the degree of affectedness inherent to the situation as a whole is therefore construed as being lower. In other words, entities presented as being definite are presented as embodying a greater degree of affectedness than entities presented as indefinite. Similarly, in some languages, case markers are used only for direct objects that are animate/human as opposed to inanimates (Comrie 1989; Bossong 1991; Aissen 2003).

The cases where a language marks an animate participant rather than an inanimate one lead to some approaches to contradict the previous statement that prototypical transitive clauses have highly individuated O arguments (Comrie 1989; Kemmer 1993). The observation sometimes referred to as "Comrie's generalisation" (De Swart 2003, Næss 2007) states that "the most natural kind of transitive construction is one where the A is high in animacy and definiteness, and the P [= O] is lower in animacy and definiteness; and any deviation from this pattern leads to a more marked construction" (Comrie 1989 :128). Discussion on these matters is still in debate, however, all the approaches signal that the distinction in marking involved in

languages is subject to language-specific variation.

Wixárika illustrates this language-specific variation, since animate arguments, 1SG, 2SG, 1PL, 2PL, 3PL, are the only ones marked on the verb, while third singular animate objects or inanimate ones are presented as nouns placed preverbally, illustrated in (35) and (36).

(35) **netsi-** u- ’u- ta- ’inie -ku
1SG.NSBJ- VIS- X- SG- invite -DS
‘…me invitó…’
‘…he invited me…’ [INTR03]

(36) a. **turu** =ta te- mi- mie -ni
bull =FOC 1PL.SBJ- AS2- kill.OBJ.SG -NARR
‘…matamos al toro…’
‘…we kill the bull…’ [DMC02]

b. **nawa** =ri m- u- yi- ti- ’ie -ni
tejuino =already AS2- VIS- MID- PL- drink -NARR
‘…se toma tejuino…’
‘…tejuino is drunk...’ [DMC03]

The marking of animate participants, other than 3SG, shows that the language considers prominent two animate participants to mark on the verb. These two arguments are highly distinguished since they are animate, following Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Næss (2007). In the language, animacy is relevant for the degree to which the participant is construed as affected for the purpose of grammatical marking. It is likely that this occurs since we perceive the effects of actions on certain types of entities as more salient.

On the other hand, Wixárika shows an interesting behavior regarding definiteness. The non-subject pronominal prefixes on the verb which encode animate participants are definite since they point to referential participants in the event. Interestingly, 3SG animate arguments which are inherently definite and referential as well as definite inanimate nouns, are not marked on the verb; the latter does not present any specific particle or affix in the noun that distinguishes them

from indefinite inanimate objects, since they are basically distinguished by context. However, definite animate objects and 3SG animate arguments are given prominence when they are referenced back in discourse. In this sense, the verb uses the prefix *i-*, as in (37). If the object is indefinite and inanimate, the prefix is not used, as in (38).

(37) mɨkɨ =ta xɨka **'i-** ti- pini
DEM =FOC COND 3SG.OBJ- PL- cut
'…eso, si lo cortas (peyote)…'
'…that, if you cut it (peyote)…' [INTR23]

(38) ne- ti- u- ta- wewi
1SG.SBJ- DISTR- VIS- SG- make.PFV
'…hice (cinturones)…'
'…I made (belts)…' [HW02]

Indefinite inanimate objects usually occur encoded in plural number or with particles such as *xewi* 'one/uno', *nai* 'todo/all', *'echiwa* 'a little/un poco', etc, as illustrated in (39) and (40).

(39) **katira** -te me- te- utɨtɨ
candle -PL 3PL.SBJ- DISTR- carry.PL
'…ellos cargan velas…'
'…they carry candles…' [DMC02]

(40) **'etchiwa** =ta =ri **nawa** te- wa- **ta-** hapa -tɨa -ni
litte =FOC =already tejuino 1PL.SBJ- 3PL.NSBJ-SG- take.out.round -CAUS -NARR
'…les sacamos un poco de tejuino…'
'…we take out a little of tejuino for them…' [DMC02]

As with the other grammatical features (tense, aspect, mood, and polarity), the prefixes *ta-/ti-* co-occur with the pronominal prefixes, as observed in previous examples with non-subject pronominal prefixes, as well as in example (41) below, where the prefix *i-* co-occurs with the prefixes. Example (42) shows a contrast with the same verb but without the prefixes. Clauses with inanimate objects can also co-occur with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* as in (40).

(41) te- m- **i-** **ti-** xeiya ’ikɨ
1PL.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- PL- see DEM
‘…vamos a revisarlo, eso…’
‘…we are going to check it, that…’ [DEER02]

(42) ne- m- **i-** xeiya -ni
1SG.SBJ- AS2- 3SG.OBJ- see -FUT
‘…lo estaré viendo…’
‘…I will see it…’

Wixárika shows that the inherent properties of the arguments contribute to the semantic properties relevant to transitivity, defined through the opposition of animate vs. inanimate arguments as well as definite vs. indefinite arguments. However, these features are not enough criteria to determine the different degrees of transitivity since they lack co-variation with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* or with any other grammatical component in the language (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980).

9.2.2.1.4. Discussion

Transitivity is a phenomenon assumed to be a feature of all languages. There is agreement that clauses can be categorized into ‘intransitive’ or ‘transitive’ according to the number of obligatory arguments. For instance, Dixon (1994:39) states that “every language has intransitive clauses with a predicate and a single core argument (subject) and transitive clauses, with a predicate and two arguments (A O). He adds that “all languages have a class of ‘transitive verbs’ whose semantic effect is defined in terms of the universally occurring ‘controllable’ verbs, like ‘cut’ and ‘carry’” (1994:118). More recent studies on transitivity have agreed that the phenomenon is more complex than just the number of arguments. For instance, some languages may have multiple constructions for a semantic relationship that is expressed by one construction in other languages. This means that the effects of an action that passes from an *agent* to a *patient*

may be construed with different morphological features depending on the degrees of the effect; while in others, the same morphological configuration is used despite differences in the semantics of the events. Even the use of a transitive construction to express different semantic relationships varies in closely related languages. In order to account for all these differences, the principle of transitivity is retheorized based on the idea of a universal gradient notion, along with the principle that transitivity is in part a property of clauses and the construal of events, and in part a property of events themselves. This is defined by a set of semantic components of transitivity. The traditional definition —which considers the number of arguments only— is decomposed into distinct components, and each one of them is defined as a parameter (Lakoff 1977; Hopper & Thompson 1980). Clauses are then ranked from high semantically transitive clauses to high semantically intransitive clauses, which in turn are expressed differently morphologically. Crucial to this claim is the fact that differing degrees of transitivity result in different morphosyntactic treatments of the arguments in terms of occurrence/non-occurrence, anaphora, case-marking, word order, and other criteria. In this sense, "no feature is a necessary characteristic of transitivity but each feature contributes to the transitivity of clauses" (Croft 1990:134). The concept of a 'prototypical' transitive clause is then used as a basis of comparison to rank the different types of clauses. A prototypical transitive clause is taken to be one which describes an event involving a volitionally acting 'agent' participant –performing a concrete, dynamic action– which has a perceptible and lasting effect on a specific 'patient' (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). In addition, the event is presented as real and concluded (e.g., perfective aspect, realis mood, affirmative, etc.). Any clause that is formally distinct from the prototypical transitive clause in a given language should show

deviation from the prototypical semantic properties of the event (Hopper & Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007).

Interestingly, Wixárika is a language that shows to largely express transitivity as a binary category due to its morphosyntactic categories. The language marks the arguments as subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes on the verb; the first an actor, and the second one an undergoer. The different semantic roles accounted for in the literature are only encoded by these two pronominal prefixes, which show that the language does not code different types of participants morphologically, as other languages.

Other grammatical features were analyzed in the language to understand the way transitivity is encoded in Wixárika. As previously observed, the language uses another resource that expresses different semantic nuances of the events. This is the set of prefixes *ta-* and *ti-*, which are one of the most interesting components of transitivity, since these are language-specific to Wixárika. In addition, their function is not attested in other closely related Uto-Aztecan languages, or it is not discussed in transitivity theories. These prefixes encode the 'effect' of the action; the prefix *ta-* is used to indicate 'singular' effect while the prefix *ti-* expresses 'plural' effect. The prefixes are not grammatical in verbs that express the object's complete affectedness and a high degree of the subject's intention, like the verbs *mie* 'to kill/matar' and *ti̱rana* 'to explode/explotar'. When the event does not encode a prototypical event but the speaker chooses to highlight the effect or impact of the action, the prefixes are used. Clauses without the prefixes denote a less transitive event. These prefixes can also be found in limited types of intransitive clauses, like verbs of existence (*xuawe* 'to exist/existir') –which denote the idea of a result– and inchoative (e.g., to tear, to lengthen, etc.) or action (e.g., to cry, roll around, etc.) verbs. Clauses with inchoative verbs obligatorily take the prefixes. Prototypical

intransitive clauses in the language only constitute clauses with stative verbs (except for the existential construction). In this way, the language shows that these components –the prefixes *ta-/ti–* illustrate that transitivity is a matter of degrees. The presence or absence of the prefixes expresses different semantic nuances of the events, and therefore, distinct degrees of transitivity from prototypical intransitive clauses to prototypical transitive clauses.

In addition to the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*, other grammatical components of the language were analyzed, like temporal, aspectual, and mood markers, polarity, and individuation. However, all of them did not show evidence of a possible correlation between the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and the encoding of different degrees of transitivity. I discussed that the different components of transitivity lack co-variation (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), particularly with the prefixes *ta-/ti-*. For instance, the presence of imperfective aspect, future tense, negative marker or indefinite arguments does not prevent the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* to encode the 'effect' or impact of the action.

In sum, Wixárika shows that transitive clauses have two arguments marked on the verb with subject and non-subject pronominal prefixes for different semantic classes of verbs. These grammatical relations are also observed in noun phrases with inanimate objects. However, the different degrees of transitivity are encoded with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*. The rest of the grammatical components discussed in functional-typological approaches lack co-variation with the prefixes *ta-/ti-*. This type of markers is not discussed in the literature, thus showing that further research is needed for the notion of 'transitivity'. In addition, it is important to mention that most of the transitivity theories revolve around the marking of the arguments. For instance, the arguments tend to be marked differently depending on the aspectual markers of the clause. Wixárika shows that this is a feature that is not sensitive to other components of transitivity, since different semantic roles are only marked with two grammatical relations. Instead the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* are

used to express different degrees of transitivity. However, the use of these grammatical features (or others like aspect, tense, negation, etc.) does not affect the marking of the pronominal prefixes. This is another piece of evidence that research still remains for 'transitivity', particularly with languages with a tendency to polysynthesis, where all the elements are marked on the verbal stem.

9.3. Argument alternations and degrees of transitivity

In this study, I also explored the different devices Wixárika uses to modify the number of arguments in the clause. The purpose was not only to determine how the language changes the argument structure of the clauses, but also to observe the effects regarding the degrees of transitivity. In general, I showed that the different devices not only modify the number of arguments of the clause, but also express different nuances of the events. I concluded that the language shows great complexity in terms of morphological devices and how the speakers manipulate these means to express different types of events; particularly with the distinct functions of the suffixes, which occur in specific contexts to avoid ambiguity. However, further research remains to observe the interaction of these devices with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* to encode different degrees of transitivity in the clause.

In chapter 7, I explored the different devices that increase the number of arguments in the clause. I identified three coded strategies marked on the verbal complex: the causatives *-tɨa*, *-ta*, *-ya*, the applicative *-ri(e)*, and vowel alternation; and two uncoded strategies: suppletion and lability. I determined that Wixárika has two morphological devices to encode a causative situation: vowel alternation and the suffixes *-tɨa*, *-ta*, and *-ya;* different degrees of control retained by the causee and different degrees of directness of the causer's action are expressed by

the strategies. Vowel alternation in (43) occurs with constructions where there is a complete change of state in an inanimate argument as with *tari*/*tara* ‘break/romper’, which requires a direct physical contact between the causer and causee, and less control of the action by the causee.

(43) a. ’echiwa p- a u- ku- **tari** -xɨ waniu tɨ
little AS1- surface- VIS- S.P.- break -PFV EVI.IND coal
‘…se quebró un poco la braza…’
‘…the coal broke a little…’ [SBB02]

b. ’ukiratsi xari pu- **tara** -xɨ
man pot AS1- break -PFV
‘El hombre quebró la olla.’
‘The man broke the pot.’ [Elicit]

I showed that the suffix *-tɨa* encodes both direct and indirect causation. Direct causation generally occurs with inanimate participants where the actor has complete control on carrying out the action with physical contact, as in (44). The indirect causation expressed with the suffix *-tɨa* (Iturrioz 1987:306-08) occurs with animate actors and undergoers where there is not a direct physical contact in the action, as in (45). This means that the causer has less control in carrying out the change of state.

(44) tatewari xɨa te- m- a- ti- nieri **-tɨa** -ni
sacred.fire truth 1PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- PL- see -CAUS -NARR
‘…prendemos el fuego sagrado (Lit. ‘Hacemos visible el fuego sagrado)…’
‘…we set the sacred fire (Lit. ‘We make the sacred fire visible)…’ [DPEY02]

(45) netsi- ’u- ta- tsua -ri -s **-tɨa**
1SG.NSBJ- VIS- SG- cry -RES.COMPL -X -CAUS
‘Me hizo llorar.’
‘S/he made me cry.’ [Elicit]

I showed that the suffixes *-ta* and *-ya* encode an indirect causal situation, as in (46) and (47). The examples express a situation where the undergoer has more control of the action or undergoes a change by an intermediate force, respectively. There is not direct physical contact between the causer and causee.

(46) me- m- a- **niere** **-ta** michoacan -tari tarasco
3PL.SBJ- AS2- PRO- see -CAUS Michoacán -PR tarasco
'…los tarascos, ellos se hacen ver (se encuentran) en Michoacán…'
'…the Tarascos, they make themselves visible (can be found) in Michoacán…'
[PL01]

(47) nee haa ne- pu- **xi** **-**ri **-ya** -xi
1SG water 1SG.SBJ- AS1- hot -RES.COMPL -CAUS -PFV
'Yo calenté el agua.'
'I heated water.' [Elicit]

In this way, I provided evidence that morphological causatives in Wixárika encode different degrees of directness of causer's action, and control retained in the causative macro-situation by the causee; contrary to what it is generally postulated in the literature. It is commonly suggested that there is a direct relation between the more integrated events syntactically and semantically speaking —as with lexical causatives— in comparison to the less integrated analytical constructions (Haiman 1985; Comrie 1989; Dixon 2000; Givón 2001). However, Wixárika shows that the morphological devices can express different nuances of the event. The language's polysynthetic tendency in using morphology as the primary means to express different meanings results in the creation of distinct causative markers with a wide range of functions. This difference in the semantics of the events can also be understood as a *continuum*, as illustrated in figure 9.4. This *continuum* is also attested, particularly with the interaction with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* 'effect'. The prefixes occur in all the strategies except for the causative *-ta*; this means that the speakers express a 'purely' indirect causative event with the suffix *-ta*, while the rest express different degrees of affectedness depending on the suffix and the

presence or absence of the prefixes. However, more research remains to determine the nuances of the events that result from the interaction with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*.

I placed the applicative suffix *-ri(e)* in an intermediate stage when used as a causative, since the construction indicates more indirect causation; the same behavior can be observed with the suppletive and labile roots, which encode distinct degrees of causation depending on the semantics of the verb. The last two strategies can also optionally take the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*.

←+INDIRECT CAUSATION----------+DIRECT CAUSATION--->
-ta *-ya* *-ṫia* vowel alternation *-i*/*-a*
(*-rie*) suppletion/lability

Figure 9.4. Continuum of causation in the Wixárika morphological devices.

In chapter 8, I explored five strategies that reduce the number of arguments, marked on the verb: the reflexive (*ne-* '1SG', *'a-* '2SG', *ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '3SG, 2PL, 3PL') and reciprocal (*ta-* '1PL', *yu-* '2PL, 3PL') pronominal prefixes, the passive (*-rie*, *-ya*, *-wa*, *-ṙiwa, -tsi(e)*) and the middle voice (*yu-*) prefix, and noun incorporation. Similar to the transitivization strategies, these devices show different degrees of transitivity. For instance, the reflexive pronouns are used to express that an initiator of an action and the affected participant are the same entity; however, the speaker conceptually distinguishes two participants, as in (48). The middle voice prefix *yu-*, on the other hand, is used only to focus on the affected entity without regard to the fact that the same participant has both roles, that is, the two entities are not conceptualized as distinct (Kemmer 1993), as in (49). This means that the reflexive construction has more degrees of transitivity than the middle voice construction.

(48) mara'aka -te wa- hatsɨa **ne-** **ne-** 'aita
shaman -PL 3PL- with 1SG.SBJ- 1SG.REFL- take.care.PRS
'…me atiendo con los cantadores…'
'…I get treatment with the shamans…' [DIS02]

(49) **ne-** ka- he- **yu-** ku- 'aita -we
1SG.SBJ- NEG- EXT- MID- around- take.care -can
'…no he podido atenderme…'
'…I couldn't take care of myself…' [DIS02]

The passive construction in Wixárika has five suffixes, which encode distinct aspectual nuances of the event. The passive demotes the actor participant into a non-core argument, and the undergoer is promoted to subject position. In terms of scalarity, I consider that the passive is closer to intransitive clauses than middle voice or reflexive/reciprocal constructions, since only one argument is marked and focalized, as in (50). Noun incorporation, illustrated in (51), on the other hand, shows more complexity in terms of scalarity, since there are different types of constructions. Following Mithun (1984), Wixárika has Type I lexical compounding, Type II the manipulation of case, Type III the manipulation of discourse structures, and Type IV the classificatory noun incorporation. The incorporated noun has different degrees of integration, which shows distinct diachronic development. For instance, some examples with incorporated nouns show referential functions, which means that the incorporated object is still conceptualized as an argument to a certain extent. However, there are other cases where the incorporated noun is in the process of lexicalization, thus creating a more intransitive construction. The interaction of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* and noun incorporation remains to be researched.

(50) te- xeiya **-rie** -tɨ
1PL.SBJ- see -PASS -SS
'…somos vistos…'
'…we are looked at…' [DIS05]

(51) nee **ne-** pu- ti- **ketsi-** **waiya** pesca ne- p- a- ye- xeiya
1SG 1SG.SBJ- AS1- DISTR- fish follow fishing 1SG.SBJ- AS1- FIG- area- have.PRS
'…yo pesco, tengo pesca…'
'…I fish, I do fishing…' [INTR17]

The different detransitivization strategies identified in the corpus can be placed in a *continuum* of intransitivity, similar to the clause types presented before, as in figure 9.5.

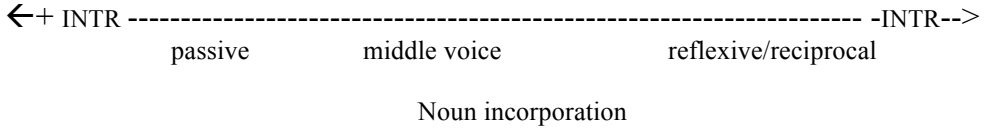

Figure 9.5. Continuum of detransitivization strategies in Wixárika.

In sum, I showed that the different strategies Wixárika uses to increase or reduce the number of arguments of the clause also give evidence of the scalar nature of the constructions. However, the interaction of these strategies with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* remains to be researched.

9.4. Implications and questions for further research

9.4.1. Theoretical implications

There are several theoretically relevant issues raised by the Wixárika data. I addressed each of these issues in each individual chapter, but I can now consider more general questions. The most relevant issues are the following:

I. Arguments. One relevant discovery is that Wixárika provides evidence of the inadequacy of only using the arguments as indicators of transitivity. The literature states that the arguments are sensitive to other components of transitivity, like tense, aspect, mood, polarity, and individuation

(Hopper and Thompson 1980; Givón 1984; Testelec 1998; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). In some languages with case markers, for example, the dative case marker is attached to the object of a transitive clause, instead of the accusative marker, when an imperfective affix/verb is used. However, I showed that Wixárika only marks two grammatical relations (subject and non-subject) with different semantic roles. These arguments are not altered by other components of transitivity.

II. Language-specific markers. I showed that Wixárika has language-specific markers that contribute to the different degrees of transitivity to the clause. These markers are the prefixes *ta-/ti-* which encode the 'effect' of the action. The prefixes *ta-/ti-*, for example, suggest that the effect of an action is not necessarily inherent to the semantics of a specific verb in the language, but is introduced by these elements in the clause, depending on the speaker's needs. I also discussed the distributive subject markers *ti-/te-* in Wixárika. Although they do not co-vary with other components of transitivity, I highlighted that the presence of 'distributive' subjects in the clause is not generally discussed in the literature. I claimed that distributive subjects would express less degrees of transitivity crosslinguistically, since the participant is not conceptualized as a singular entity or a group. A singular subject has more effect on the action than a number of subjects who perform the same activity. I sustained this idea by following the literature on prototypical objects, which consider that one of the crucial properties of prototypical objects in a transitive clause is 'singularity' (Hopper & Thompson 1980:253; Givón 2001; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007).

III. Scalar nature. Derived from the previous observations, I noted that the language shows

examples of 'scalarity' in different types of contructions, particularly, intransitive and argument-alternations. Transitive clauses largely show a clear-cut category when considering the number of arguments and their encoding, except when the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* are used, which augment the transitivity in the clause.

IV. Lack of co-variation. I showed that the components of transitivity in Wixárika lack co-variation in general (Cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980), and particularly with the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-*. This means that the use of these grammatical components does not affect the marking of the prefixes *ta-*/*ti-* or the pronominal prefixes. This means that the components discussed in the literature do not constitute good morphosyntactic criteria to determine the different degrees of transitivity.

V. Polysynthetic languages and transitivity. As Wixárika showed, languages with a tendency to polysynthesis present cases that have not been discussed in transitivity theories, such as the obligatory marking of the arguments and their limited encoding regarding different semantic classes of verbs, the animacy hierarchy, distributive markers, etc. This means that research remains to understand transitivity in different types of languages.

Despite the theoretical implications I mentioned, many issues are still unresolved. Some of these are the understanding of the temporal/aspectual/modality system, polarity of the language, and the behavior of arguments in discourse. Although I provided a description of these components, I consider that a deeper study of the grammatical system as well as the arguments, would give a better view of the phenomenon of transitivity. The historical development of the

different suffixes, described in chapters 7 and 8, remains as well. However, this dissertation brought to light two main aspects. First, the different theoretical issues that should be considered in the theories of transitivity based on the data of this language. Second, the importance of studying under-described languages to complement the current linguistic theories.

9.4.2. Uto-Aztecan family: Typological implications

I consider that this study contributed to a growing understanding of the linguistic systems in under-described languages, and an under-described type of language more generally: the polysynthetic languages. These languages are characteristic of the Americas, and include Inuit, Mohawk, Cree and Navajo among others, but detailed understanding of their structure and actual usage in natural speech remains elusive. Particularly interesting is the fact that whereas the polysynthetic languages mentioned above are parts of larger families (Iroquioan, Algonquian, Athabaskan) where all members show polysynthesis, this is not the case for the Uto-Aztecan family generally. Other Southern Uto-Aztecan languages with tendency to polysynthesis are Nahuatl and Cora, which are closely related to Wixárika. This work then provides the basis for understanding the evolution of polysynthesis in the Uto-Aztecan language family as well as the intra-genetic relations of these languages.

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