

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF SOUTHERN UTE WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON NOUN PHRASES*

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This paper is an initial descriptive analysis of noun phrases in Southern Ute. This analysis begins with a brief sociolinguistic introduction to the Southern Ute tribe located in southwestern Colorado. Next Southern Ute phonemes are presented in the current official tribal orthography and the International Phonetic Alphabet. Various verb phrases are presented to develop a basic understanding of word order in Southern Ute. The internal structure of nouns is discussed followed by examples and discussions of various noun phrases. This paper is a springboard for further analysis of the Southern Ute language.

1. Introduction

This paper presents an initial description of noun phrases in Southern Ute. Section Two discusses the phonology of Southern Ute, incorporating the International Phonetic Alphabet and the current official orthography as well as a few phonological alterations. A quick introduction to word order in Southern Ute is presented in Section Three. Section Four presents the construction of Ute nouns. Section Five discusses several noun phrase constructions including demonstratives, possession, pronouns, adjectives and postpositions. Finally, Section Six presents the conclusion.

1.1 Background of the Southern Ute Tribe

Before contact with Europeans, the Southern Ute people roamed in small family groups in an area about 130,000 square miles in Colorado, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming and Oklahoma (Jefferson et al. 1972). Nowadays, the Southern

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Ute reservation is a checkerboard piece of land in Southwestern Colorado fifteen miles wide and one hundred ten miles long (www.southern-ute.nsn.us). According to the official tribal website, there are 1,316 enrolled tribal members. The northern area of the reservation is very mountainous rich with timber and wildlife. The southern area of the reservation is high desert rich with oil, gas, and coal-bed methane. Natural resources are the main source of tribal revenue. The tribe operates the Sky Ute Lodge and Casino which houses a museum and gift shop. Since the Indian Reconstruction Act, the tribal government is overseen by a chairman and six tribal council members who are elected by the enrolled membership.

1.2 Background of the Southern Ute Language

Southern Ute is a member of the large Uto-Aztecan language family. It is a part of the Southern Numic branch of the Northern Uto-Aztecan subgroup which includes Comanche, Goshute, Southern Paiute, Chemehuevi, Bannock and Hopi (Mithun 1999). Southern Ute is a mildly polysynthetic language. Morphologically Southern Ute is agglutinative with very little fusion. Southern Ute is a dialect spoken in the southwestern corner of Colorado. The Ute Mountain Ute tribe (also in southwestern Colorado) and the Northern Ute tribe (in eastern Utah), speak dialects of Ute. The number of Southern Ute speakers is declining.

The headquarters for the Southern Ute tribe is located in Ignacio, Colorado. Ignacio is a rural community consisting of Southern Utes, Hispanics and Anglos. In social and economic interactions with other community groups, English is the dominant language. In other words, English is used in educational, business and social settings.

1.3 An Informal Assessment of the Southern Ute Language

An informal assessment suggests the absolute number of speakers is fifty-eight, which is 4.5% of the 1,316 tribal members (2003). These speakers are over the age of fifty. There is a severe lack of intergenerational language transmission. Southern Ute children are not learning to speak Ute in the home as a first language.

2. Southern Ute Sounds

There has been some previous research done on Southern Ute¹ but much more is needed. The earliest work published about Southern Ute was done by Sapir (1930), followed by two publications by Givón (1979 & 1980), and most recently

¹ Some previously published references mistakenly identify the Ute language as Southern Paiute. Southern Ute and Southern Paiute are two distinct languages.

by Charney (1996). The body of Southern Ute research consists of two dictionaries and one grammar. These texts although helpful is lacking in the area of practical application. In other words, these resources do not provide much support for tribal members who are attempting to learn to speak Southern Ute, often times as a second language. There is an urgent need for information about the Southern Ute verb system. Although previous works have information about verbs, an in-depth morphological analysis does not exist. This is an unacceptable situation in face of language attrition. Next the sound inventory of Southern Ute is presented.

2.1 Consonants

Chart 1, Consonant Chart of Southern Ute, shows the most recent official Southern Ute orthography developed by Charney² with the International Phonetic Alphabet symbols in brackets.

Chart 1: Southern Ute Consonants (Givón 1980: 3-5)

			Place of Articulation					
	MANNER	VOICE	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Obstruent	Stops	Voiced				g' [g]		
		Voiceless	p [p]	t [t]	ch [tʃ]	k [k] kw [k ^w]	k' [q]	' [ʔ]
	Fricative	Voiced	v [v]			g [ɣ]	g' [ʁ]	
		Voiceless		s [s]		g [x]	k' [χ]	H [h]
	Flap	Voiced		r [r]				
Sonorant	Glide		w [w]		y [j]			
	Nasals		m [m]	n [n]				

Notice that obstruents make up the largest class of Southern Ute consonants. There are five voiced obstruent sounds, written as: *v*, *g*, *g'*, *r*. There are eleven voiceless consonant sounds, written as *p*, *t*, *ch*, *k*, *kw*, *k'*, *'*, *s*, *g*, *H*. There are four sonorant consonants: two glides *w*, *y*, and two nasals *m*, *n*.

² The data in this paper is written in the current Southern Ute orthography developed by Charney in 1996. Data from Givón (1979, 1980, 2001a & 2001b) has been rewritten in the current Southern Ute orthography.

2.2 Vowels

The Southern Ute vowels are shown in Chart 2.

Chart 2: Southern Ute Vowels (Givón 1980: 4-5).

		Front	Central	Back
High	Rounded			u [u]
	Unrounded	i [i]		ü [ɥ]
High-Mid	Rounded	ö [ø]		o [o]
	Unrounded	e [e]		
Mid-Low	Rounded			
	Unrounded	a [æ]		
Low	Rounded			
	Unrounded			a [ɑ]

There is an equal distribution between front and back vowels, four in each. Notice the absence of central vowels. Four of the vowels are unrounded *i*, *ü*, *e*, *a* and three rounded *u*, *ö*, *o*. In addition to the vowels in Chart 2, there are these diphthongs in Southern Ute: *ai*; *ei*; *oi*; *üi*, and *aw*. In the Southern Ute orthography, the second vowel in four of the five diphthongs is *i*. In the future, when the phoneme *w* follows *a*, the two phonemes form a diphthong (Charney 1996: xi). Ute vowels can either be long or short. If a vowel is longer in duration, it will be doubled in the Southern Ute orthography. Vowel length is an important phonological alternation in Southern Ute. Vowel length can mark the difference between minimal pairs as shown in (1-8).

MINIMAL PAIRS SHOWING VOWEL LENGTH DIFFERENCES (Givón 1980: 9)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(1) <u>Short Vowel</u>
kani-<u>vetü</u>³
house-on
'on the house'</p> | <p>(2) <u>Long Vowel</u>
kani-<u>veetü</u>
house-at
'at the house'</p> |
| <p>(3) wH<u>cha</u>
'wrapping'</p> | <p>(4) wH<u>chaa</u>
'swirling'</p> |

³ A voiceless vowel is underlined in both the Givón and Charney orthographies.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (5) sagar_u
white.INAN ⁴
‘white’ | (6) saagar_u
raw. INAN
‘raw’ |
| (7) mai-kya
say.3s-PST
‘said’ | (8) maai-kya
find.3s-PST
‘found’ |

2.3 Diacritics

There are two very important markings or diacritics used in the orthography of Southern Ute. The first is the underscore [] which marks that phoneme, usually a vowel but sometimes glides, as voiceless as in (5) above. The second mark is the accent mark [´] which marks the stressed syllable in Ute words.

2.3.1 Voiceless

Vowels (and sometimes glides) can be either voiced or voiceless depending on their location in words, the phonological processes taking place, and the syntactic function of the word. Notice in (9-14) that most Southern Ute nouns which are subjects end in a final voiceless vowel. Vowels are unvoiced word-finally in nouns, as shown below.

UTE NOUNS

- | | |
|--|---|
| (9) mama-chi_i
woman-AS
‘woman’ | (10) tüvü-pü_i
earth-AS
‘earth’ |
| (11) ta’wa-chi_i
man-AS
‘man’ | (12) kwaa-tü_i
car-AS
‘car’ |
| (13) sinaa-vi_i
wolf-AS
‘wolf’ | (14) pana-pü’i-napü_i
bright-eye-INSTR
‘eye glasses’ |

As with all languages, exceptions do exist. A very small number of Ute nouns end with voiced vowels as in: *pag’a* for ‘cane’ and *mogwei* for ‘blanket’. There are a

⁴ A list of all abbreviation is shown in Appendix A.

few grammatical situations in which the usually voiceless word-final vowels become voiced. This will be discussed in Section 3.3. In general, one can tell a Ute noun which is functioning as the subject from a Ute verb by the devoicing of the final vowel. As is shown in (15-18), the final vowel in Ute verbs is not devoiced.

UTE VERBS

(15) kar-**i**
sit-IMM
'sit'

(16) kaa-**i**
sing-IMM
'sing'

(17) nūka'n-**i**
listen-IMM
'listen'

(18) wūn-**i**
stand-IMM
'stand'

Thus, the voicing of a word-final vowel morphologically marks the difference between most Ute nouns and verbs. Section 3.3 will discuss other functions of final vowel voicing in nouns.

2.3.2 Stress

Ute words in general “carry only one main stress per word” (Givón 1980: 7). “Ute words normally have their main stress on the second syllable [from the left]. For that reason, stress is only marked when it falls on an unexpected syllable, which is generally the first vowel in the word” (Charney 1996: x-xi). Stress can mark the difference between minimal pairs as (19-24) illustrate below.

MINIMAL PAIRS MARKED BY STRESS (Givón 1980: 6)

Stress on 1st Syllable

(19) sūwa-
'straight out'

(21) págu
'trout'

(23) pūka-
'persistently'

Stress on 2nd Syllable

(20) suwa-
'almost'

(22) pagu
'fish'

(24) pūka-
'vigorously'

Further research is needed to determine if minimal pairs occur which have very distinct meanings versus closely related meanings, like those seen in these pairs.

2.4 Syllable Structure

The basic syllable structure in Southern Ute is (C) (C) C V (V) (C) as (25-33) illustrate.

UTE SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(25) .na.'a.chi.-chi.
.CV.CV.CV.CV.
girl-AS
'girl'</p> | <p>(26) .taa.-g'a.
.CV.CV.
bend-PST
'bent'</p> |
| <p>(27) .ta'.wa.-chi.
.CVC.CV.CV.
man-AS
'man'</p> | <p>(28) .na.g'a.m-i.
.CV.CV.CV.
sick-IMM
'sick'</p> |
| <p>(29) .kwaa.-tü.
.CV.CV.
car-AS
'car'</p> | <p>(30) .ka-i.
.CVV.
sing-IMM
'sing'</p> |
| <p>(31) .uua.-g'a.-tü⁵.
.CVV.CV.CV.
arrow-have-AS
'bullet'</p> | <p>(32) .wHchu.wii.ni.
.CCCV.CV.CV.
'four'</p> |
| <p>(33) .a.va.tü.
.CV.CV.CV.
'big'</p> | |

Notice in examples (25-33) that in these nine Ute words from different syntactic categories only one syllable (27) contains a coda out of twenty-four syllables. Codas seem to be allowed, but native Ute words generally do not have codas except for glottal stops as in (27). Loan words from Spanish and English do contain codas. Also Southern Ute generally avoids complex onsets as in example

⁵ In the official Southern Ute orthography it is understood that a glottal stop occurs before all word-initial vowels although it is not written.

(32) but allows them (they occur rarely). All word-initial vowels are preceded by a glottal stop, which Givón writes but Charney does not (Charney 1996; Givón 1980). Further research is needed to determine if the glottal stop is inserted when a prefix is attached to a word beginning with a vowel in the current orthography.

There are eleven consonants which appear word-initially: six stops *ch, kw, k, p, t, ʔ*; one fricative *s*; the two nasals *m, n* and the two glides *w, y*. These phonemes do not appear word-initially: *r, g, g', k, ' and v*. The phonemes which can appear as onsets are the: six stops *ch, kw, k, p, t, ʔ*; three fricatives *v, s, g'*; the two nasals *m, n*, the two glides *w, y* and the flap *r*. The coda position may be filled by: four stops *v, ch, k', ʔ*, two fricatives *s, H*, one glide *y* and the two nasals *n, m*. An interesting area of further research is the effect the current Southern Ute orthography has regarding the distinguish between separate vowels and diphthongs when a word contains a long series of vowels as in (34).

(34) *tükapüaiag'aiak'*
 'S/he eats it.'

2.5 Southern Ute Phonological Alternation

The current Southern Ute reference grammar does not contain much information on phonological alternations. Southern Ute phonology is an area in need of further study.

2.5.1 Voicing

Voicing is an important phonological alternation. When any suffix is added to a noun, the final vowel of the absolutive suffix (AS) becomes voiced or "alive" (Charney 1996: ix) as in (35-44). This is a common phenomenon cross-linguistically.

VOICING DURING SUFFIXATION (Givón 1980: 8)

(35) Devoiced
kuchu
 buffalo
 'buffalo'

(36) Voiced
kuchu-puku
 buffalo-DOMESTIC
 'cow'

(37) *pacha*
 shoe
 'shoe'

(38) *pacha-n*
 shoe-1s.POSS
 'my shoe'

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| (39) pacha
shoe
'shoe' | (40) pacha-m
shoe-2s.POSS
'your shoe' |
| (41) kani
house
'house' | (42) kani-naag'
house-in
'in the house' |
| (43) kani
house
'house' | (44) kani-vetü
house-on
'on the house' |

Notice in example (36) when the adjective *-puku*, 'domestic' is suffixed, the final vowel becomes voiced. In examples (38) & (40) when the possessive morphemes are suffixed, the final vowels are voiced. The final vowels are voiced in (42) and (44) when the postpositions *-naag'*, 'in' and *-vetü*, 'on' are suffixed onto the root.

3. Southern Ute Word Order

This section presents examples of Southern Ute verb phrases in order to make an initial analysis of word order. Imperative constructions are presented first followed by intransitive, transitive and ditransitive phrases.

3.1 Imperatives

In Southern Ute, imperatives appear to have various levels of politeness and directness (Givón 1980). As in other languages, it is understood that the subject of the imperative is second person singular. Ute imperatives for second person plural often involve suppletion which will not be discussed further in this paper. In other words, this discussion will focus solely on singular imperatives. Examples (45-52) present the construction of Ute imperatives which are the least polite and the most direct. These imperatives are used with a person who is very familiar to the speaker like a family member or a close friend. It would be considered disrespectful or rude to use these imperatives with someone unfamiliar.

UTE IMPERATIVES

- | <u>Verbal Stem</u> | <u>Imperative</u> |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (45) pü-i
sleep-IMM
'sleeps' | (46) pü-i-'
sleep-IMM-IMP
'Sleep!' |

- | | |
|--|--|
| (47) pag'aiwe-i
walk-IMM
'walks' | (48) pag'aiwe-i-'
walk-IMM-IMP
'Walk!' |
| (49) kaa-i
sing-IMM
'sings' | (50) kaa-i-'
sing-IMM-IMP
'Sing!' |
| (51) wün-i
stand-IMM
'stands' | (52) wün-ü-'
stand-??-IMP
'Stand!' |

Examples (45-50) show these imperatives are formed by adding the immediate tense⁶ marker *-i-* to the verb stem followed by a glottal stop which appears to mark imperatives. The morpheme for imperative is the glottal stop. The second person singular imperative word formation rule is:

verb + tense + IMP

Examples (51) & (52) show the preceding word formation rule cannot account for all verbs. In (52) the usual immediate tense marker *-i-* does not appear. Instead *-ü-* is affixed to the verb stem followed by the usual imperative marker. Further research is necessary to determine if this is a case of simpleton or a phonological alternation.

3.2. Intransitive Verbs

The full conjugation of the intransitive verb 'to run' in the present tense is shown in examples (53-62).

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------|
| | <u>Singular</u> | |
| (53) | nü' | piiye-i |
| | 1s.NOM | run-IMM |
| | 'I am running.' | |
| (54) | ümü | piiye-i |
| | 2s.NOM | run-IMM |
| | 'You are running.' | |

⁶ Givón uses the immediate tense (IMM) to refer to events "occurring during the time of speech...but it is possible in Ute to make events in the past 'seem more valid and immediate' by using the immediate suffix without making them translate as 'present' (1980: 82).

(55) maas piiye-i
3s.VS.NOM run-IMM
'S/he (visible) is running.'

(56) uwas piiye-i
3s.INV.NOM run-IMM
'S/he (invisible) is running.'

Dual

(57) tawia piiye-i
1DL.NOM run-IMM
'We (dual) are running.'

Plural

(58) tawiget piiye-**ka-i**
1PL.INCL.NOM run-PL-IMM
'We (inclusive) are running.'

(59) nümü piiye-**ka-i**
1PL.EXCL.NOM run-PL-IMM
'We (exclusive) are running.'

(60) mamüs piiye-**ka-i**
2PL.NOM run-PL-IMM
'You (plural) all are running.'

(61) mamüs piiye-**ka-i**
3PL.VS.NOM run-PL-IMM
'They (visible) are running.'

(62) umüs piiye-**ka-i**
3PL.INV.NOM run-PL-IMM
'They (invisible) are running.'

The word order for intransitive verbs is S (subject)-V (verb). Givón states “dual subjects ...take the singular form of the verbs” as shown in (57) (1980: 40). When the subject is a pronoun, it can appear as an independent subject pronoun before the verb as in examples (53-62), or as a subject pronoun suffix affixed to the verb stem, after the tense marker. Subject pronoun suffixation will not be discussed in this paper. Ute pronouns take different forms depending on their grammatical role

in the sentence. A more in-depth analysis of the Ute pronoun system will be presented in Section 5.3.

This verb paradigm illustrates that singular and dual verb forms are identical. The initial verb formation rule is:

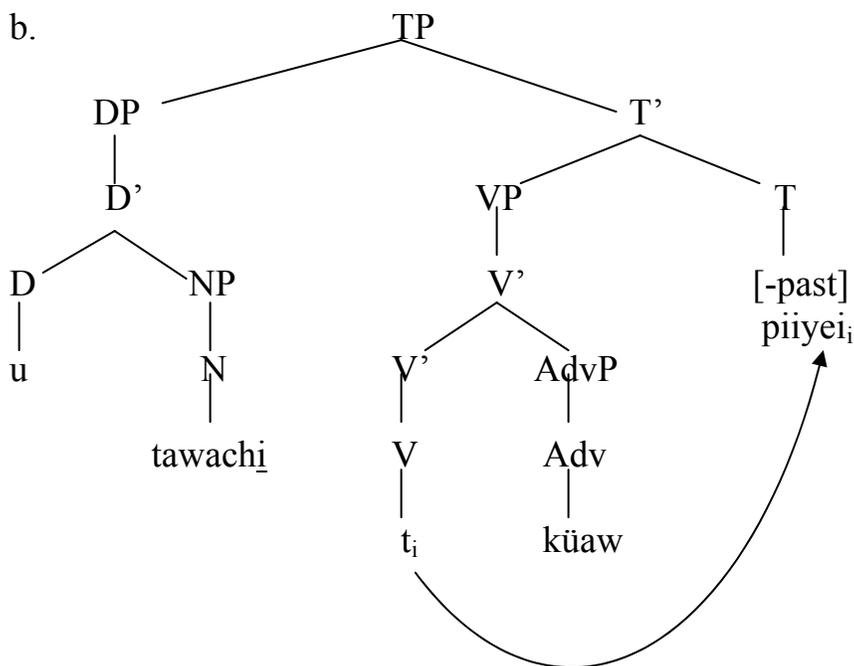
verb + tense

The plural verb forms appear with the plural maker *-ka-* which is inserted between the verb stem and the tense marker. This suggests the intransitive verb formation rule is:

verb + subject number + tense

Example (63) presents the same intransitive verb ‘to run’ in a more complex construction. It appears that the conjugation of the verb does not change from the immediate tense to the past tense which indicates that the presence of the adverb ‘yesterday’ serves as the tense marker. In other words, the verb is marked with the immediate tense marker *-i-* even though the event occurred in the past. More data is needed to determine if this is a common phenomenon or an individual style of speaking. Note the word order is S-V.

- (63) a. u tawachị küaw piiye-i
 DEM.AN.S man yesterday run-IMM
 ‘That man ran yesterday.’



Example (61) shows that the verb rises to get tense. This is consistent with S V word order. Independent pronouns will be discussed in-depth in Section 5.3.

3.3 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs require two arguments, a subject (S) and an object (O). In Southern Ute the canonical word order for transitive verbs is S-O-V as shown in (64-73) which is a complete conjugation of the transitive verb ‘to hear’.

Singular

(64) nū’ maaies nūka-i
1s.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-IMM
‘I hear her/him.’

(65) ümü maaies nūka-i
2s.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-IMM
‘You hear her/him.’

(66) maas maaies nūka-i
3s.vs.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-IMM
‘S/he (visible) hears her/him.’

(67) uwas maaies nūka-i
3s.INV.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-IMM
‘S/he (invisible) hears her/him.’

Dual

(68) tamī maaies nūka-i
1DL.NOM 3s.VS.ACC hear-IMM
‘We (dual) hear her/him.’

Plural

(69) tawigia’ maaies nūka-ke-i
1PL.INCL.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-PL-IMM
‘We (inclusive) hear her/him.’

(70) nümügia’ maaies nūka-ke-i
1PL.EXCL.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-PL-IMM
‘We (exclusive) hear her/him.’

- (71) mamügiat maaies nüka-ke-i
 2PL.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-PL-IMM
 ‘You (plural) hear her/him.’
- (72) mamüs maaies nüka-ke-i
 3PL.VS.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-PL-IMM
 ‘They (visible) hear her/him.’
- (73) umüs maaies nüka-ke-i
 3PL.INV.NOM 3s.vs.ACC hear-PL-IMM
 ‘They (invisible) hear her/him.’

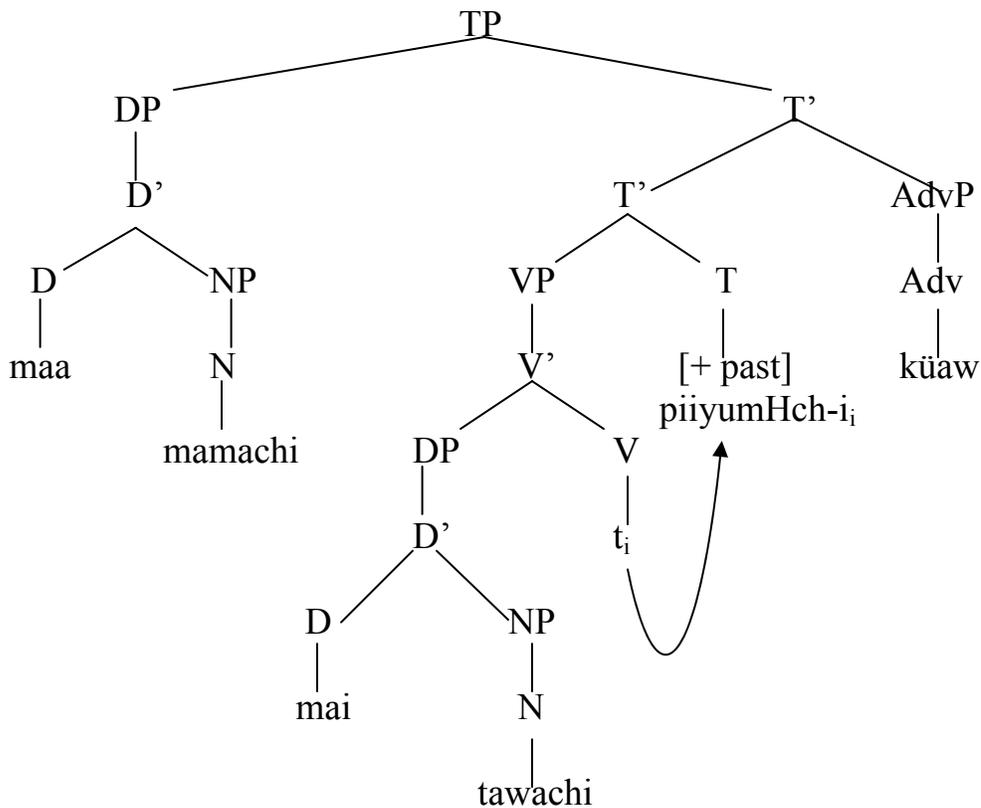
The plural form of ‘to hear’ conforms to the verb formation rule introduced in Section 3.2 (repeated here for convenience):

verb + subject number + tense

Note the first and second plural subjects in examples (69-71) are suffixed with *-gia* and *-giat* which appear to indicate a group of people is doing the activity together, in this case, hearing. More data is necessary to specify the exact nature of these suffixes, *-gia* and *-giat*. (74) contains the transitive verb, ‘love’ in a complete verb phrase. The verb again appears to carry an immediate tense marker although the action occurred yesterday. The singular animate visible demonstrative for the subject is *maa* and object is *mai*. This example also shows that the verb rises to T to get tense. The adverb occurs in the phrase final position which is different from example (61) in which the adverb appears before the verb. This suggests that the position of the adverb is flexible.

- (74) a. maa mamachi mai tawachi
 DEM.AN.VS.NOM woman.NOM DEM.AN.VS.ACC man.ACC
- piiyumHch-i küaw
 love-IMM yesterday
 ‘That woman loved that man yesterday.’

b.



The basic word order is flexible but S-O-V occurs most frequently as shown in (75), (76) & (77).

- (75) S O V
 mama-chi_i nurua-chi suwaakü-i
 woman-AS⁷ baby-AS.ACC kiss-IMM
 ‘The woman is kissing the baby.’

In this example, *mama-chi_i*, woman-AS, ‘woman,’ ends with a voiceless vowel -i which marks it the subject. *Nurua-chi*, baby-AS.ACC, ‘baby’ ends with a voiced vowel which marks it as the object or the accusative case. It is possible to change the word order but get the same meaning as (75), as in (76) & (77).

- (76) O S V
 nurua-chi_i mama-chi_i suwaakü-i
 baby-AS.ACC woman-AS.NOM kiss-IMM
 ‘The woman is kissing the baby.’

⁷ Ute nouns usually end with an absolutive suffix. This will be discussed in-depth in Section 4.

Recall when a noun functions as the object the word-final vowel is fully voiced. From the data presented in this paper, it appears that the verb rises to T to get tense.

4. Nouns

This section will examine nouns in more depth. “Most Ute words, unlike most English words, have internal grammatical structures” (Givón 2001: 12). This section explores various aspects of Ute nouns. These aspects include the structure of nouns, noun classes, noun pluralization and the possessive construction.

4.1 Noun Structure

In general, Ute nouns consist of a noun stem and a noun-suffix (Givón 1980). Givón uses the term *noun-suffix*, but Charney as well as other linguists use *absolutive suffix*. Sturtevant (1983) states

“Proto-Uto-Aztecan has a suffix called the absolutive suffix that was added to nouns. A reflex of the suffix is found in almost every Uto-Aztecan language...In most [Uto-Aztecan] languages it plays an important role in the grammar, but in some it is found only in vestigial form...The absolutive is...useful for establishing genetic relationship. It has changed its grammatical meaning and function in a number of [Uto-Aztecan] languages, but always in ways that can be understood by common historical processes...And most importantly it is very particular, a kind of grammatical feature that is seldom found in other languages” (116-177).

The term *absolutive suffix* (AS) will be used in the remainder of this discussion. These absolutive suffixes consist of a consonant and a voiceless vowel. Absolutive suffixes may distinguish nouns from verbs. Adjectives may also end with absolutive suffixes, making the distinction between nouns and adjectives difficult. Many Ute nouns are derived from verbs. For example, the noun *aa'wi-pü*, newborn-AS, ‘newborn’ is derived from the intransitive verb, *aa'wi-i*, newborn-IMM, ‘being newborn.’ The verb-derived nouns usually end with the *-rü* or *-tü* absolutive suffixes (Givón 1980). A sample of Ute nouns is shown in (79-85).

UTE NOUNS (Givón 1980: 19)

- | | |
|--|--|
| (79) mama-<u>chi</u>
woman-AS
'woman' | (80) kuna-<u>vü</u>
bag-AS
'bag' |
| (81) sinaa-<u>vi</u>
wolf-AS
'wolf' | (82) nüa-<u>rü</u>
wind-AS
'wind' |
| (83) pia-<u>pi</u>
female-AS
'female' | (84) puwa-g'a-<u>tü</u>
medicine-have-AS
'medicine man' |
| (85) tüvü-<u>pü</u>
earth-AS
'earth' | |

Examples (79-85) show the most common absolutive suffixes: *-chi*, *-vi*, *-pi*, *-vü*, *-pü*, *-rü* and *-tü* (Givón 1980). They are considered suffixes rather than part of the stem because these absolutive suffixes are removed when certain morphological processes occur like compounding as in *mama-kasuuna*, woman-pants, 'panties.' This suggests the preliminary noun formation rule is:

noun stem + absolutive suffix

Ute nouns are marked for number if animate. In other words, only animate nouns can be pluralized. Ute numbers are singular, dual and plural as shown in (86-88). Initial analysis indicates that dual is a combination of the singular noun stem followed by the absolutive suffix and finally the plural morpheme *-u*. More discussion regarding the Ute number system is presented in Section 4.3. Examples (86-88) present a human noun in the Singular, Dual, and Plural number, where plural is three or more.

- | <u>Singular</u> | <u>Dual</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
|--|---|--|
| (86) mama-<u>chi</u>
woman-AS
'woman' | (87) waa-mama-<u>chi-u</u>
two-woman-AS-PL
'two women' | (88) maáma-<u>chi-u</u>
RED.woman-AS-PL
'women' |

Examples (87) and (88) are suffixed with the plural marker *-u*. In *maama-chi-u*, in (88), the first vowel is lengthened and the second vowel is devoiced. Givón

(2001b) calls this stress shift to the left (which is a historical residue of first syllable) *reduplication* (RED). A small set of human nouns undergo reduplication, which will be discussed further in Section 4.3.

- (89) u mama-chi **mamüas** nurua-chi-u suwaakü-i
 DEM.INV.NOM woman-AS.NOM DEM.AN.VS.PL.ACC baby-AS-PL kiss-IMM
 ‘That woman is kissing those babies.’

Recall that Ute nouns are also marked for case which was discussed in examples (75-77). Example (89) shows that animate plural nouns are marked for case by placing the animate plural independent object pronoun *mamüas*, before the object. Notice the demonstrative and pronoun occur before the nouns they modify. The final Ute noun formation rule is:

(Stress Shift/Reduplication) + noun stem + absolutive suffix + (number)⁹

4.2 Noun Classes

Unlike English, Southern Ute makes a distinction between animate and inanimate nouns. This distinction is very important. Another important distinction is based on visibility. This will be discussed in more depth in Section 5.3 regarding pronouns.

“Animates include human beings, animals and beings from Ute stories. Inanimates include all nonliving things...When you make a Ute sentence using an animate subject or object, you have to use forms of pronouns, demonstratives, and adjectives that agree with them in animacy...” (Charney 1996: iii).

Examples (90-93) illustrate this agreement.

ANIMACY AGREEMENT

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------|--------------------------|
| | <u>Animate</u> | | <u>Inanimate</u> |
| (90) | ina ara' kuchu-puku | (91) | icha ara' kwaa-tü |
| | DEM.AN.s is buffalo-DOMESTIC | | DEM.INAN.s is car-AS |
| | ‘This is a cow.’ | | ‘This is a car.’ |

⁹ Nouns are marked for number only if animate.

Animate

- (92) **ina** ara' saga-rü-m kuchu-puku
DEM.AN.S is white-AS-AN buffalo-DOMESTIC
'This is a white cow.'

Inanimate

- (93) **icha** ara' saga-rü kwaa-tü
DEM.INAN.S is white-AS car-AS
'This is a white car.'

Examples (90-93) illustrate that demonstratives and adjectives must agree in animacy with the nouns they modify. The demonstrative 'this' for a visible singular animate noun is *ina* and for a visible singular inanimate noun is *icha*. The adjective *sagarü*, 'white' for the animate noun carries the morpheme *-m* to mark animacy. Note an absolute suffix appears on the color adjective. The construction of Ute colors will be discussed further in Section 5.4.1. Recall that suffixation usually causes a voiceless vowel to become voiced as in *saga-rü-m*, white-AS-AN, 'white' (92).

4.3 Pluralization

As discussed in Section 4.1, Ute has a different system of classifying plurals than English. There are three distinct classifications: singular (one), dual (two) and plural (three or more) in Southern Ute. Recall that only animate nouns are pluralized. In Ute, inanimate nouns are not pluralized. The data in (94-96) illustrate the pluralization process of a human term.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>
(94)	nurua-chi baby-AS 'baby'	(95) waa -nurua-chi- u two-baby-AS-PL 'two babies'	(96) nurua-chi- u baby-AS-PL 'babies'

Examples (94-96) show that the morpheme *waa-* indicates dual and the morpheme *-u* indicates plural. The morpheme *waa-* comes from *waini* for 'two.'

4.3.1 Reduplication

Southern Ute uses partial reduplication when constructing plurals for a small set of human nouns. In this process, the onset and nucleus of the first syllable are reduplicated after either the first or second syllable of the new word as shown in (98) & (100). As is often the case, other phonological processes are occurring at

the same time, but these will not be discussed here. Recall *-u* is the dual and plural morpheme.

PARTIAL REDUPLICATION OF HUMAN TERMS

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural (3 or more)</u>
(97) ta' .wa.-chi man-AS 'man'	(98) ta'. - ta. -wa.-chi-u man-RED-AS-PL 'men'
(99) na. 'a.chi.-chi girl- AS 'girl'	(100) na. ' <u>a</u> . na .chi.-chi-u girl-RED-AS-PL 'girls'

This reduplication may have been “an older method of marking plurals” (Givon 1980: 23). As discussed earlier the more regular way of marking plurality in animate nouns is by adding the suffix *-u* which also appears together with reduplication here.

4.4 Suffixation

Southern Ute morphology is rich with examples of derivational processes. This section presents three nominalizations of the verb stem *pö'ö*, ‘to write’. In this process, nominalization also called deverbalization, nouns are formed from the verb. This nominalization process is illustrated in examples (101-103).

NOMINALIZATION

<u>Verb</u>	+	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Noun</u>
(101) pö'ö-i write-IMM 'is writing'		-napü INSTR	pö'ö'-napü write-INSTR 'pencil, pen, crayon'
(102) pö'ö-i write-IMM 'is writing'		-timitü -one who	pö'ö-timitü write-one who 'teacher'
(103) pö'ö-i write-IMM 'is writing'		-gani -house	pö'ö-gani write-house 'school'

In example (101) the instrumental suffix *-napü*, ‘instrument’ is attached to the verb root after the tense marker is removed to create an instrument used for writing. This instrumental suffix is very productive. It can be used to create nouns from many different verbs. Notice in (101) a glottal stop is inserted between the verb root and the instrumental suffix. The reason for this is not clear and needs further research. In example (102) the derivational suffix *-timitü*, ‘one who’ is suffixed to the verb stem to create the noun ‘teacher’. This is also a very productive suffix in Southern Ute. In example (103) the word *-gani*, ‘house’ is suffixed to create a compound word for ‘school’ or literally ‘writing building’ as most children learn to write at school. The initial consonant of the suffix *-gani*, ‘house’ has undergone a voicing phonological alternation as the word for ‘house’ is *kani*. This derivational process can be iterative, creating very long words as in *yüchi-chi-cha’e-i-warü*, flying-thing-drive-one who-does; ‘pilot’.

5. Noun Phrases

This section discusses several noun phrase structures in Ute. Specifically demonstrative, possessive, pronominal, adjectival and postpositional noun phrases will be discussed. Note that indefinite articles do not occur in Ute. Demonstratives are used for definite articles.

5.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Ute must agree in animacy, number and visibility with the nouns they modify. Recall the word final vowel is voiced when the noun is the object of the phrase. The Southern Ute case marking system is reflected in the construction of the demonstratives. Chart 3 shows the Ute demonstratives.

Chart 3: Ute Demonstratives (Givón 1980: 55)

Category	Near		Remote Visible		Remote Invisible	
	NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC	NOM	ACC
Inanimate	icha	ichai	marü	marü	uru	uru
Animate-S	ina	inai	maa	maai	u	uwai
Animate-PL	imü	imü	mamü	mamü	umü	umü

Southern Ute makes an important distinction between items which are far from the speaker that the speaker can see, or *visible* (VIS), as in example (106), and items which are far from the speaker that the speaker cannot see, or *invisible* (INV) as in (107). Ute demonstratives in phrases are shown in (104-107).

(104) **icha** pacha aa-g'a-rü
 DEM.INAN.VS shoe new-have-AS
 'These shoes are new.'

(105) **maa** na'achi-chi chai'ekipü
 DEM.AN.VS.S.NOM girl- AS.NOM skinny
 'That girl is skinny.'

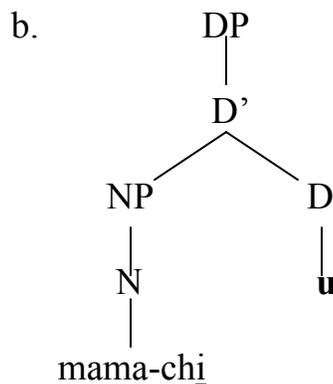
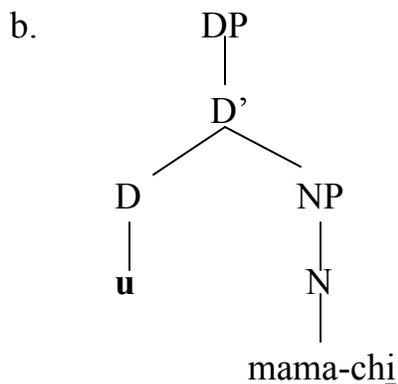
(106) **marü** kapi iyevupuni
 DEM.INAN.VS.S coffee strong
 'That coffee is strong.'

(107) **umü** n'naash-chi-u paa'a-ka-i
 DEM.AN.INV.PL girl-AS-PL tall-PL-IMM
 'Those girls are tall.'

Examples (104-107) illustrate that Ute demonstratives appear before the nouns they modify when the information is new to the discourse. In other words, the pragmatics of the noun phrase (NP) may affect the word order. Examples (108-109) illustrate this effect of pragmatics on word order of demonstratives and the nouns they modify.

(108)
 a. **u** mama-chi
 DEM.AN.INV.S woman-AS
 'that woman'

(109)
 a. mama-chi **u**
 woman-AS DEM.AN.INV.S
 'that woman'



Word order of these NPs is determined by pragmatics. When the determiner appears before the noun as in (108), the emphasis is on “that” particular noun which is newly introduced into the discourse. In other words, when the determiner

follows the noun as in (109), it means that noun has already been mentioned before (Givón 2004: pc). This confirms Ute word order is flexible.

5.2. Possessive

This section will present three methods of showing possession. Southern Ute makes the distinction between nouns that are alienable and inalienable possessions. Alienable possessed items do not indicate the possessor. In other words, alienable items are not considered a central part of the person. But inalienable possessions must indicate the possessor either as a possessive suffix or an independent possessive pronoun.

Kin terms and body parts are inalienably possessed which means that the possessor must be indicated. It is impossible to use a kin term without referring to whose kin it is. Relatives must be related to someone. Body parts must belong to a body. If the possessor is not indicated when mentioning a body part, it is considered to be detached from the rest of the body.

“In normal usage, these [body parts] nouns cannot be used by themselves, but must always indicate their possessor, most commonly marked as a suffix pronoun...if one uses one of the body-part words without reference to who it belongs, this could only mean that it is detached from the body, or being used as food. Otherwise, if the [body part] is still attached to its original body, it must always be referred to with its possessor...In this possessive form, some body-part nouns retain their original suffix...” (Givon 1980: 21).

5.2.1 Possessive Pronoun Suffixes

Chart 4: Possessive Pronoun Suffixes (Charney 1996)

Person		Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st	inclusive ¹⁰	-n	-rami	-rawi
	exclusive			-nümü
2 nd		-m		-amü
3 rd	visible, animate	-ʔá		-amü
	visible, inanimate	-akʔ		-akʔ
	invisible, animate	-u		-amü
	invisible, inanimate	-ug		-ug

¹⁰ Inclusive includes the listener while exclusive excludes the listener as in ‘we, but not you.’

The possessive pronoun suffix is affixed onto the noun it modifies. These possessive pronoun suffixes are clitics which must affix to a noun and cannot appear alone. A sample of phrases with possessive pronoun suffixes is shown in examples (110-112).

(110) *mama-chi tua-chi-a*
 woman-AS child-AS-3s.POSS
 ‘woman’s child’

(111) *kagu-chi-n tüü-üar*
 grandma-AS-1s.POSS well-cultivates
 ‘my maternal grandmother plants well’

(112) *ava-tü tua-chi-n*
 big-AS child-AS-1s.POSS
 ‘my big child’

In example (110) the third person singular possessive pronoun suffix *-a* is affixed to *tua-chi*, ‘child’ causing the usually voiceless word-final vowel *-i-* to become voiced. Examples (111-112) show the first person singular possessive pronoun suffix *-n* also causes the usually voiceless word-final vowels to become voiced. Example (111) is an inalienably possessed noun which must be marked for possession.

5.2.2 Independent Possessive Pronouns

Southern Ute also has a system of independent possessive pronouns as shown in Chart 5. These independent possessive pronouns appear before the possessed item.

Chart 5: Independent Possessive Pronouns (Charney 1996)

Person		Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st	inclusive	nünei, nünai ¹¹	tami	tawi
	exclusive			nümü
2 nd		ümüi		müni
3 rd	visible	maaias		mamüas
	invisible	uwaias		umüas

Phrases containing independent possessive pronouns are shown in (113-116).

¹¹ As with all world languages, dialectal differences occur.

- (113) **mama-chi maaias tua-chi**
 woman-AS 3s.POSS child-AS
 ‘woman’s child’
- (114) **nünei pi na’awapüni-ni-ni-rü**
 1s.POSS mother beautiful-do-HAB-AS
 ‘My mother is gentle.’
- (115) **maaias tachi pö’ökapö’öwa-tü**
 3s.POSS head round-AS
 ‘Her/his head is round.’
- (116) **nünei pi maaias tachi pö’ökapö’öwa-tü**
 1s.POSS mother 3s.POSS head round-AS
 ‘My mother, her head is round.’

In example (116) notice the possessive phrase and the possessive pronoun appear together. In other words, possessive pronouns allow the co-referent noun to appear simultaneously. The use of either the possessive pronoun suffixes or independent possessive pronouns is correct. Examples (117-124) show the use of both the possessive pronoun suffix and the independent possessive pronouns.

POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

<u>Pronoun-suffixes</u>	<u>Independent Pronouns</u>
(117) pía-n mother-1s.POSS ‘my mother’	(118) nünei pía 1s.POSS mother ‘my mother’
(119) pacha-n shoe-1s.POSS ‘my shoe’	(120) nünei pacha 1s.POSS shoe ‘my shoe’
(121) pacha-m shoe-2s.POSS ‘your shoe’	(122) ümüi pacha 2s.POSS shoe ‘your shoe’
(123) napa-’a foot-3s.POSS ‘her/his foot’	(124) maaias napa 3s.POSS foot ‘her/his foot’

Notice in (117-120) the final vowels becomes voiced when the possessive pronoun suffixes are affixed.

5.2.3 Voicing

Another method of forming a possessive NP requires a change of the voicing of the possessor noun. The possessor noun is the dependent noun in the phrase. The head is marked for possession. The possessor and possessed forms are juxtaposed and a voicing change occurs, as shown in (125) & (126).

(125) *mama-chi*
woman-AS
'woman'

(126) *mama-chi* *tua-chi*
woman-AS.POSS child-AS
'woman's child'

In example (125), *mama-chi*, woman-AS, ends with a voiceless vowel *-i*. In example (126), to mark that *mama-chi*, woman-AS, is the possessor noun, the word-final *-i* is voiced. This is a featural morpheme ie. [+ voice] = possession (Ohala 2003: pc). The speaker may choose any of these three types of possessive construction as they all occur in varied environments.

5.3 Pronominal

This section presents an initial discussion of Ute pronominal phrases. Ute pronouns, like English, take different forms depending on their role in the sentence. In other words, pronouns have subject (nominative) and object (accusative) forms. The Southern Ute pronoun system has three number distinctions: singular, dual and plural. The dual form is used only in the first person in Ute. First person, dual refers to "we-two" (Givón 1980: 50). In other words, second and third person pronouns have singular and plural forms, but no dual. Note the third person singular pronouns do not indicate the gender of the person they refer to.

5.3.1 Subject Pronouns

The pronouns that refer to the subject of the sentence are shown in Chart 6. Recall the distinction between visible/invisible is important. Note Southern Ute has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive in first person plural in the pronoun system. In other words,

"Dual refers to two animates...inclusive (including the listener with the speaker) from exclusive (excluding the listener). If

someone uses *tami* in a sentence, it means he or she is saying to you that the two of you (and no one else) are involved in the sentence. If the speaker uses *tawi*, it means the speaker, you and one or more others are included in the sentence. However, if the speaker uses *nümü*, it means that you, the listener, are excluded from the sentence.” Maybe the speaker is talking about something s/he did last week when you were out of town, or perhaps the speakers is talking about something involving the members of her/his family, and you, the listener, do not belong to the family” (Charney 1997: 11).

Chart 6: Independent Subject Pronouns (Givón 1980: 50)

Person		Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st	inclusive	nü'	tami	tawi
	exclusive			nümü
2 nd		ümü		müni
3 rd	visible	maas		mamüs
	invisible	uwas		umüs

As discussed in Section Three, word order in Southern Ute is flexible. It is understood that if a pronoun listed in chart 6 is used, it is the subject of the sentence as shown in examples (127-128).

(127) **ümü** piiye-i
 2s.NOM run-IMM
 ‘You are running.’

(128) **maas** piiye-i
 3s.VS.NOM run-IMM
 ‘S/he is running.’

5.3.2 Object Pronouns

The independent pronouns that are used to refer to the object of the sentence are shown in Chart 7. Notice that the independent object pronouns are identical to the independent possessive pronouns discussed in 5.2.1.

Chart 7: Independent Object Pronouns (Givón 1980: 51)

Person		Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st	inclusive	nünei, nünai	tami	tawi
	exclusive			nümü
2 nd		ümüi		müni
3 rd	visible	maaias		mamüas
	invisible	uwaias		umüas

“The independent object pronouns in Ute are used in three grammatical environments: direct objects, indirect (post-positional) object and possessive/genitive” (Givón 1980: 51). Examples (129) & (130) illustrate the use of the object pronouns.

(129) nü’ **üümü** panakarü küaw murugwei
 1s.NOM 2s.ACC money.DAT yesterday give
 ‘I gave you money yesterday.’

(130) maas **nünei** asti’it
 3s.NOM 1s.ACC like
 ‘He likes me.’

In example (129) the second person, singular object pronoun *ümü* appears in the second position. In example (130) the first person, singular object pronoun *nünei* also appears in the second position.

5.4 Adjectives

This section focuses on Ute adjectives. As mentioned in Section 4.2, Ute adjectives must agree in number and animacy with the nouns they. Adjectives can appear with an animate singular or animate plural suffix depending on the nouns they modify, as shown in examples (131-136).

UTE ADJECTIVE AGREEMENT

(131) ava-tü
 big-AS
 ‘big’

(132) paa’a-tü
 tall-AS
 ‘tall’

(133) ava-tü-**mü**
 big-AS-AN
 ‘big (animate)’

(134) paa’a-tü-**mü**
 tall-AS-AN
 ‘tall (animate)’

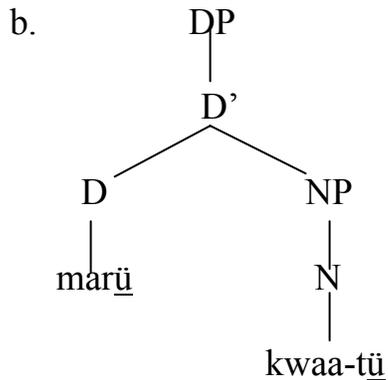
(135) ava-tü-**m-ü**
 big-AS-AN-PL
 ‘big (pl. animate)’

(136) paa’a-tü-**m-ü**
 tall-AS-AN-PL
 ‘tall (pl. animate)’

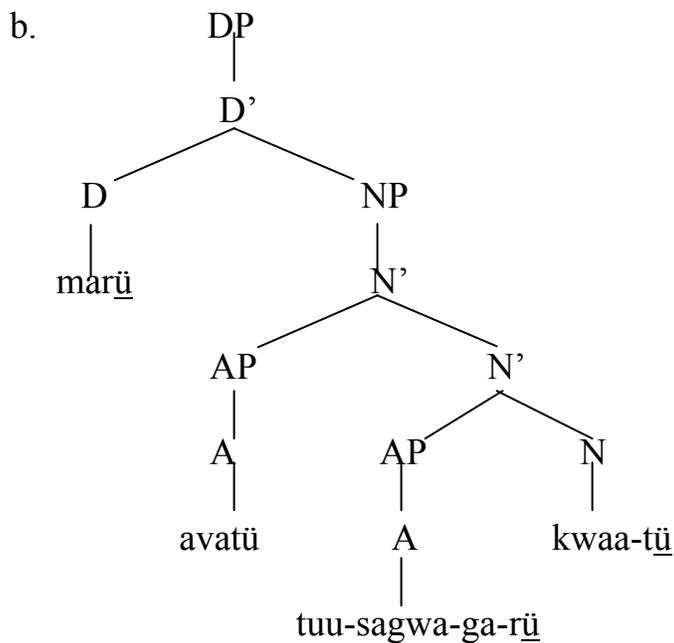
As discussed earlier, it is not possible to mark inanimate nouns as plural in Ute. The animate suffix is almost always *-mü* as shown in (133 – 136). The final vowel *-ü* of the animate suffix *-mü* is voiced to mark plurality as in (135) & (136). The

following noun phrases focus on the placement of demonstratives and adjectives. Consider the order of the demonstratives and adjectives with regards to the noun they modify in examples (137) & (138).

- (137) a. marü kwaa-tü
 DEM.INAN.VS.NOM car-AS
 ‘that car’



- (138) a. marü avatü tuu-sagwa-ga-rü kwaa-tü
 DEM.INAN.VS.NOM big dark-green-have-AS car-AS
 ‘that big, blue car’



Examples (137) & (138) illustrate that Ute noun phrases are head-final when the subject is new to the discourse.

In Ute, adjectives can function as attributive noun-modifiers or as predicates (Givón 1980). Attributive noun-modifier examples are shown in (139) & (140).

(139) **avatü** pa-cha
big shoe-AS
'big shoe'

(140) **paa'a-tü** wa'a-pü
tall-AS cedar-AS
'tall cedar tree'

In examples (139-140) the adjectives are describing attributes of the nouns. Adjectives appear *before* the nouns they modify when functioning as attributive noun-modifiers. Examples (141-144) illustrate the predicate function of adjectives.

(141) kava maa **k'o-tü-mü**
horse DEM.AN.VS.S.ACC fat-AS-AN
'That horse is fat.'

(142) June-a **süwai-tü-mü**
June-NOM happy-AS-AN
'June is happy.'

(143) June-a maas **marüpüni**
June-NOM 3s.VS.NOM huge
'That June, s/he is huge.'

(144) marü **aa-g'a-rü**
DEM.INAN.VS.NOM new-have-AS
'That is new (that has newness).'

When an adjective is acting as a predicate, it appears *after* the noun. In other words, it appears in the phrase final position where the verb usually appears. Notice the absence of a copula verb. Unlike English, the presence of the copula verb 'to be' is not necessary in Ute to allow an adjective to act as a predicate. Example (142) illustrates that a morphological marker *-a* is used in Ute to mark proper names. This marker is either *-a* or *-i* due to Ute phonotactics which require that Ute words end with a vowel. For example, John becomes John-*i*. Examples (143) & (144) show that pronouns can appear in adjective predicate constructions.

5.4.1 Ute Colors

This section focuses on Ute colors which are structurally complex. In other words, Ute color words contain several grammatical parts. The typological hierarchy of color presented by Whaley (1997: 49) is as follows:

white/black > red > green/yellow > blue > brown

Ute has words for all the colors listed in this hierarchy as shown in (145-151).

(145) *tuu-kwa-rü*
black-have-AS
'it has blackness'

(146) *öa-ka-rü*
yellow-have-AS
'it has yellowness'

(147) *sa-g'a-rü*
white-have-AS
'it has whiteness'

(148) *tuu-sag'wa-g'a-rü*
black-green-have-AS
'it has blue, dark greenness'

(149) *aka-g'a-rü*
red-have-AS
'it has redness'

(150) *ato-kwa-rü*
brown-have-AS
'it has brownness'

(151) *sag'wa-g'a-rü*
green-have-AS
'it has greenness'

Notice that in (148), *tuu-sag'wa-g'a-rü*, 'blue' is black (dark) green. This suggests the initial color formation rule is:

color stem + have + AS

Givón suggests that the verb, 'to have' is "a defective verb, [which] cannot appear without the noun object incorporated to it as a prefix" (Givón 1979: 114). In the color adjectives, the color root (instead of a noun object) is prefixed onto the verb root followed by an absolutive suffix. The surface forms of the verb 'to have' are phonologically conditioned depending on the final vowel of the stem as shown in (152-155) from (Givón 1979: 114).

	<u>Stem-Final Vowel</u>	<u>Surface Form of ‘to have’</u>
(152)	i	-ge-
(153)	u	-gwa-
(154)	a	-g’a-
(155)	else where	-ga-

A full paradigm of a Ute color is shown in examples (156-158).

UTE COLOR AGREEMENT PARADIGM (Givón 1980: 29)

Inanimate

- (156) sa-ga-rü
white-have-NOM
‘white’

Animate (S)

- (157) sa-ga-rü-mü
white-have-AS-AN
‘white’

Animate (PL)

- (158) sa-k’a-k’a-tü-mü
white-have-PL-AS-AN
‘white’

Examples (156-158) illustrate Ute adjectives must agree with the number and animacy of the nouns they modify. Notice that in (156) the word final voiceless –ü becomes voiced when the animate morpheme –mü is suffixed, as in (157).

In the animate plural, *sa-k’a-k’a-tü-mü* (158) the ‘to have’ morpheme was altered from –ga- , as in (157), to –k’a- when the plural marker -k’a- is added. This process is described by Givón as reduplication of the verbal morpheme to mark plurality (2001a). Finally, the noun-suffix –rü was altered to become –tü. This is a common pattern for many Ute adjectives. Example (158) show color adjectives have these obligatory morphemes:

color stem + have + (number) + absolutive suffix + (animate)

All adjectives are inflected for inanimate by default. Animate is the marked form. A sample of Ute color adjectival phrases is shown in (159-162).

- (159) marus öa-ka-rü
 DEM.INAN.NOM yellow-have-AS
 ‘This is yellow.’
- (160) icha ag’a tüka-kani öa-ka-rü
 DEM.INAN.NOM is eat-house yellow-have-AS
 ‘This kitchen is yellow.’
- (161) maa saa-aga-rü-mü kava iyevipüni
 DEM.AN.VS.NOM white-young-AS-AN horse fast
 ‘That white, young horse is fast.’
- (162) marü aka-tuvu-pü tukwute ura pachati’i
 DEM.INAN.VS.NOM red-dirt- AS thick be sticky
 ‘That red mud is thick and sticky.’

Notice example (162) has the adjective stem *aka-*, ‘red’ prefixed to the noun *tuvu-pü*, ‘dirt’ it modifies. This is another way of creating adjectival phrases in Ute. This affixation of the adjective stem onto the noun is mostly used when there are several adjectives in the phrase modifying one noun as in (161) & (162).

5.4.2 Noun-derived Adjectives

This section presents adjectives which are derived from nouns. As discussed earlier, the distinction between nouns and adjectives is difficult to distinguish. They both occur with absolutive suffixes which display voicing alternations. Southern Ute uses postpositions which are suffixed to the noun they modify, rather than, prepositions as in English. The postposition *-ni*, ‘like’ is a derivational suffix (Givón 1980). In this derivational process, *-ni* is suffixed onto a concrete or abstract noun to create an adjective which means ‘being like’ (Givón 1980). A paradigm of this derivational process is shown in (163-168).

-NI DERIVATIONAL PARADIGM (Givón 1980: 372)

- | <u>Noun</u> | <u>Adjective</u> |
|---|--|
| (163) <u>tüaa-pü</u>
pity-AS
‘pity’ | (164) <u>tüaa-pü-ni</u>
pity-AS-like
‘pitiful’ |

(165) na'awaa-pü
beauty-AS
'beauty'

(166) na'awaa-pü-ni
beauty-AS-like
'beautiful'

(167) paasüna-pü
dirt-AS
'dirt'

(168) paasüna-pü-ni
dirt-AS-like
'dirty'

(169) & (170) illustrate the use of these derived adjectives in noun phrases.

(169) marü kapi iyevu-pü-ni
DEM.INAN.VS.NOM coffee strong-AS-like
'That coffee is strong.'

(170) maa wii-sari-chi tüaa-pü-ni
DEM.AN.VS.NOM old-dog-AS weak-AS-like
'That old dog is weak.'

Note these adjectives are acting as predicates. The adjectives created with this derivational suffix occur quite frequently in Ute discourse. Recall that both nouns and adjectives display case marking in Ute.

5.4.3 Verb-derived Adjectives

Like Ute nouns, Ute adjectives can be derived from verbs. In other words, some adjectives can consist of a verbal stem and a suffix. The suffix that occurs on the adjective is determined by the derivational process used to create it.

*-tü*¹² is a “derivational suffix which marks modifying adjectives derived from stative verb” (Givón 1980: 369). The verbs that are used to form these adjectives tend to denote a permanent, inherent, or long-enduring state or quality (Givón 1980). Examples (171-178) illustrate a full paradigm of this derivational process.

-TÜ DERIVATIONAL PARADIGM (Givón 1980: 369)

Verb:
(171) ak'o-i
thick-IMM
'to be thick'

(172) pa'a-i
tall-IMM
'to be tall'

¹² The distinction between an absolutive suffix and a derivational suffix is an area in need of further research.

Inanimate:

(173) ak'o-**tü**
thick-AS
'thick'

(174) pa'a-**tü**
tall-AS
'tall'

Animate (S):

(175) ak'o-tü-**mü**
thick-AS-AN
'thick'

(176) pa'a-tü-**mü**
tall-AS-AN
'tall'

Animate (PL):

(177) ak'o-**kwa**-tü-mü
thick-PL-AS-AN
'thick'

(178) pa'a-**ka**-tü-mü
tall-PL-AS-AN
'tall'

In this derivational process, the tense marker is removed from the verb stem. For inanimate, the derivational marker *-tü* is suffixed, as in (173) & (174). For the animate singular, the animate suffix *-mü* is added after the derivational suffix *-tü* as shown in (175) & (176). For the animate plural, the plural morpheme *-kwa-*, *-g'a* or *-ka-* is inserted after the verbal stem before the derivational suffix *-tü* and the animate marker *-mü* as in (177) & (178). A sample of *-tü* derivational adjectives in noun phrases is shown in (179) & (180).

(179) naa'awapünümu-g'a-**tü**-mü mümun na'-naash-chi-u
beautiful-PL-AS-AN them RED-girl-AS-PL
'beautiful girls'

(180) marü paa-kwi-pü tükoi ura awana-**tü**
DEM.INAN.VS.NOM water-flow-AS deep is wide-AS
'That river is deep and wide.'

5.4.4 Numbers and Adjectives

This section discusses the word order of numbers in adjectival phrases. A sample of numbers in adjectival phrases is shown in (181) & (182).

(181) maa pem mamasag'o-chi-u na'awaa-ka-tu-mu-ni
DEM.AN.VS.NOM three.NOM old.women-AS-PL beautiful-PL-AS-AN-like
'Those three old women are very kind.'

- (182) pürisi-chi **peiku** tuu-sagwa-g'a-rü-mü wich-**vuku-g'**at
 police-AS three.ACC dark-green-have-AS-AN bird-DIM-have
 'The police officer has three blue birds.'

In Ute, the numeral 'three' is *peini*. The adjective in (181) is functioning as a predicate. In example (181) the number 'three' takes the form of *pem* and appears before the noun it modifies. In example (182) the adjective is functioning as a noun-modifier. In example (182) the number 'three' appears as *peiku* and appears before the noun it is modifying. Charney (1996: 148) notes that *peiku* is the object form of 'three' as in example (182). The predicate in (182) appears with the diminutive *-vuku-*, between the noun stem and the verb 'to have'. These two examples suggest that the number must precede the noun it modifies. These examples also suggest that the surface realization of the number 'three' varies depending on the noun it is modifying and the grammatical function of the noun, *pem* for the animate plural subject and *paiku* for the animate plural object.

5.4.5 Multiple Adjectives

This section discusses adjectival phrases with multiple adjectives. A sample of multiple adjectives in a phrase appears in examples (183) & (184).

- (183) marü taa'a **paa-g'ako-pü**
 that dress long-torn-AS
 'That long dress is torn.'

- (184) maa **wii-chai'eki-pü** kava **nagami**
 that old-skinny-AS horse sick
 'That old, skinny horse is sick.'

In example (183) the adjective *paa-*, 'tall' is suffixed to the stem *g'ako*, 'torn' creating a compound adjective. This compound adjective is functioning as the predicate. In example (184) the Ute consultant was asked to translate 'that old, skinny, sick horse.' The adjective *wii-*, 'old' is suffixed to *chai'eki-*, 'skinny' creating a compound adjective. The third adjective *nagami* is functioning as the predicate. This example suggests that Ute allows two adjectives to form a compound adjective with the third adjective functioning as a predicate.

5.4.6 Comparative and Superlative

Examples (185-189) illustrate a comparative and superlative paradigm.

COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE

Adjective

- (185) Gilbert maa ko-tü-**mü**
Gilbert 3s.AN fat-AS-AN
'Gilbert is fat.'

Degree + Adjective

- (186) Gilbert-a **iyevini** ko-tü-mü
Gilbert very fat-AS-AN
'Gilbert is very fat.'

Comparative

- (187) Gilbert maa Robert-**i** **ipeni** ko-tü-mü
Gilbert 3s.AN Robert-ACC like fat-AS-AN
'Gilbert is fat like Robert.'

Superlative

- (188) Gilbert maa ta'-tawachi-u umu-**ka**-puni ko-tü-mü
Gilbert 3s.AN RED-men-PL 3 PL-NEG-like fat-AS-AN
'Gilbert is the fattest of all the men.'

The structure of (185) in which the adjective is functioning as a predicate consists of the subject, the demonstrative and the adjective which carries the animate morpheme *-mü*. When a degree word or quantifier *iyevini*, 'very' is added to the adjective phrase as in (186), it is inserted between the demonstrative and adjective. Notice in the comparative (187), the object *Robert* is case-marked as ACC with a voiced *-i* and *ipeni*, 'like' appears before the adjective. Finally, the superlative (188) includes the negative morpheme *-ka-* which would literally translate to, 'men those are not fat like Gilbert.'

5.5 Negation of Predicate Adjectives

Southern Ute uses a set of negative morphemes which affix onto the predicate to form negation. In adjective phrases, the negative morphemes affix to the adjective predicate as shown in (189-192).

- (189) marü kapi **ka'**-atü-kamai-**wa**
 that coffee NEG-good-taste-NEG
 'That coffee does not taste good.'
- (190) maa sapua **ka'**-chichi-g'a-**wa**
 3s.AN stomach NEG-hard-have-NEG
 'Her belly is not hard.'
- (191) maa ta'wa-chi kapi **ka'**-ivi-**wa**
 3s.AN man-AS coffee NEG-drink-NEG
 'That man is not drinking coffee.'
- (192) maamu püa **ka'**-ai-**wa-tü-mü**
 their relative NEG-good-NEG-AS-AN
 'This family is not good.'

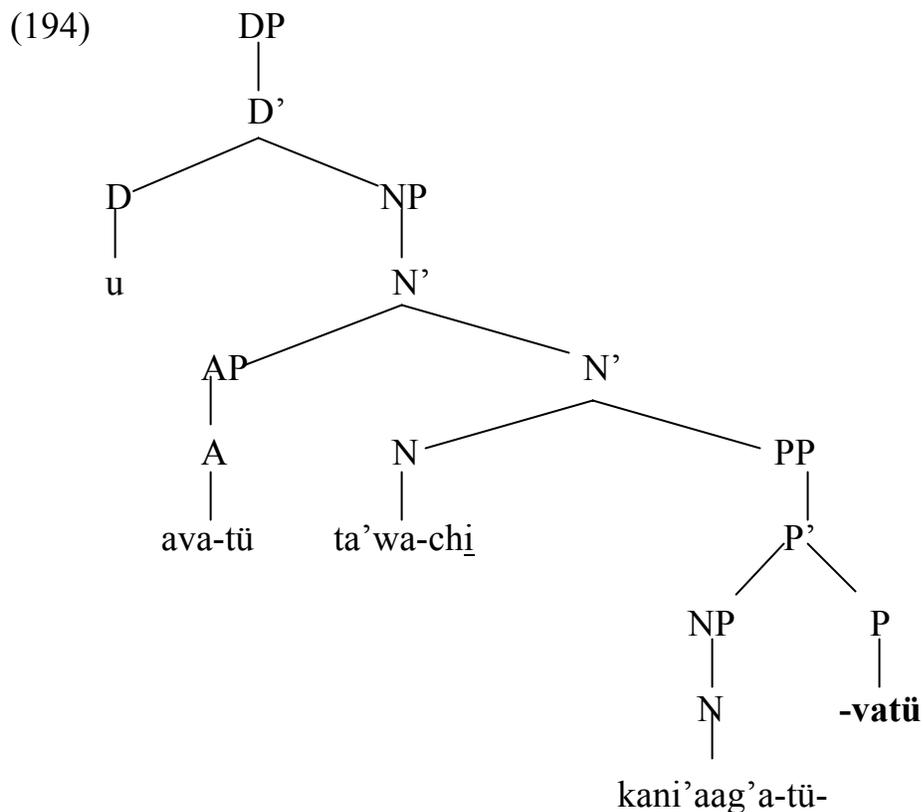
Example (189 – 192) illustrates how the negative morphemes *ka-* and *-wa* affix to the verb. This proves that the negative morphemes are circumfixed onto the predicate in Ute phrases. In (192) the negative morphemes affix to the verb stem *-ai-*, 'good' followed by the absolutive suffix *-tü* and the animate marker *-mü*.

5.6 Postposition

The final NP construction highlights the structure of postpositions in Ute. Consider the placement of the postposition *-vatü*, 'from,' which contrasts with English prepositions.

- (193) u ava-tü ta'wa-chi kani'aag'a-tü-**vatü**
 DEM.AN.INV big-AS man-AS town-AS-from
 'That big man from town.'

Example (193) illustrates that the location NP *kani-aag'a-tü-*, town-AS, 'town' rises to the postposition *-vatü*, 'from' instead of appearing as an independent word as in English. Notice Ute uses postpositions instead of prepositions. In other words, the source, goal or location is marked by "postpositions which are suffixed on the location noun" (Givón 1980: 45). The tree structure of example (193) is shown in (194).



More examples of prepositions are shown in (195-206).

POSTPOSITIONS (Givón 1980: 45)

Animate
 (195) ta'wa-chi-wa
 man-AS-with
 'with the man'

Inanimate
 (196) wii-chi-m
 knife-AS-with
 'with the knife'

(197) ta'wa-chi-naag'a
 man-AS-in
 'in the man'

(199) kani-naag'a
 house-in
 'in the house'

(199) ta'wa-chi-vee-cuk'
 man-AS-at-to
 'toward the man'

(200) kani-vee-tuk'
 house-at-to
 'toward the house'

(201) ta'wa-chi-naag'a-tuk'
 man-AS-in-to
 'into the man'

(202) kani-naag'a-tuk'
 house-in-to
 'into the house'

(203) ta'wa-chi-kovaa-va
man-AS-face-at
'in front of the man'

(204) kani-kovaa-va
house-face-at
'in front of the house'

(205) ta'wa-chi-türagwaa-va
man-AS-middle-at
'in the middle of the man'

(206) kani-türagwaa-va
house-middle-at
'in middle of the house'

Notice in examples (195) & (200) the surface form for 'with' for animate is '-wa' and inanimate is '-m'. Examples (199-206) show that postpositions can have complex internal structures. In other words, postpositions can be composed of more than one morpheme or multi-morphemic.

6. Conclusion

This paper presents a descriptive summary of several linguistic phenomena which appear in Southern Ute noun phrases. The main focus is on nouns, noun structure and noun phrases. There are several areas in need of further research especially the area of verbal morphology.

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APPENDIX A: ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviation	Term
AS	Absolutive Suffix
ACC	Accusative
AN	Animate
DAT	Dative
DEM	Demonstrative
DL	Dual
DIM	Diminutive
EXCL	Exclusive
HAB	Habitual
INCL	Inclusive
IMM	Immediate
IMP	Imperative
INAN	Inanimate
INSTR	Instrument
PST	Past
INV	Invisible
HAB	Habitual
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
NOM	Nominative
RED	Reduplication
s	Singular
VS	Visible