regard is Sapir’s observation (SP, p. 240) with respect to consonantal affection that glottalization (a clearly prosodic process) and gemination “seem to be equivalent processes.”

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PROTO-NORTHERN UTO-AZTECAN PARTICIPLES

Four suffixes loosely describable as participial may be reconstructed for the northern Uto-Aztecan languages. Reflexes in southern languages bear on the question of whether there was a Proto-Northern-UA (PNUA) distinct from Proto-Southern-UA (PSUA). All four of the following could be followed by nominal suffixes such as “Absolutive” (properly: Absolute) *-t:

*-kka- ‘Agentive (Ag)’

*-ppi- ‘Mediopassive Punctual (MedP)’

*-pi- ‘Mediopassive Distributive (MedD)’ [induces i-ablaut]

*-ppi- ‘Product-of-Action (Prod), also instrumental, etc.’

The *-ppi-/*-pi- alternation, fundamentally the opposition of geminated/plain, parallels stem alternations of the type CVCV- vs. (punctual) CVCCV- reconstructible for the na- verb class of PNUA (Heath 1978). *-ppi- is really *-ppi- plus terminal i-ablaut, which occurs as a nominalizing process by itself in some of these languages (Hopi, Tübatulabal; also Papago in the south).

1 The basic ideas of this note were presented to the Friends of Uto-Aztecan in Long Beach, California, Summer 1975. They presuppose the historical analysis of morphophonemics in Heath (1977), which also lists the published sources of data, to which add Seiler (1977).
The system has survived more or less intact in Hopi: Ag -ʰqa (preaspiration heard after stressed vowel), Medp -vi, Medd -pi, Prod -pi. I am not certain of i-ablaut and preaspiration for the last three due to data limitations.

In Tiibatulabal, by contrast, a number of important developments have occurred. Most importantly, *-pi- and -ppi- switch from mediopassive to agentive function, retaining the aspectual opposition: ‘-bii- ‘habitual Ag’ vs. -pi- ‘temporary/occasional Ag’. Concomitantly, *-kka- disappears except for possible indirect vestiges, and terminal i-ablaut becomes the regular (medio-)passive participial. *-ppi- does not occur.2

I shall focus on Southern Paiute (SoPa) and Mono (Mo) within Numic. Here, *-kka- is replaced as Ag, notably by Proto-Numic *-ti (SoPa -ti, Mo -tih, and variants); this is possibly connected with the first part of Cupenō instrument nominalizer -laʔaʔč. *-ppi- (SoPa -ppi, Mo -ppi) is for transitive passive (sometimes intransitive) participles. *-ppi- survives in SoPa -ppi, not sharply distinct from -ppi but with a more nominal (less verbal or “processual”) character, without the perfective (completive) nuance. SoPa -pi Ag differs from the more common -ti, having a habitual or permanent sense and being lexically restricted; Mo has -pe in a few Prod nominals. These forms may reflect *i-pi- (‘distributive’ aspect > ‘habitual’), perhaps through progressive assimilation (*CV-ci-pi- → *CV-ci-pi-) before the loss of -ablaut with this suffix.

Numic shows some reshuffling of the proposed PNUA system, notably the functional shift of *-kka-, which survives as SoPa switch-subject subordinator -kka (distinct from Pl-subject -kka- and tense suffix -kka-).

For Takic, we can consider Cupan (Luiseño [Lu], Cupeño [Cu], and Cahuilla [Ca]), along with the more divergent Serrano (Se). *-kka- survives in various uses as an aspect marker on verbs, with nominal suffixation (Absolute *-t and/or Pl *-mi) betraying its participial origin: Se -qa- ‘going to’ (Pl -qa-m), Cu inceptive -qat (Pl -qatim, -i-qtim), Ca inceptive -ik or -kaʔ (Pl -katem, -iktem), Lu recent past durative -qat (Pl -qatum), Lu Pl form of inceptive or future relative -kutum or -ktum (vs. Sg. -lut or -lowut).

*-pi- survives in Cu Ag (-i)-vaʔaʔč and in an important set of subordinators, Cu (-i)-va, Ca (-i)-ve, and Lu (-i)-vo, used as complementizers and in relatives (sometimes preferably with nonsubject relativization). With -l < Absolute *-t, note also Cu (-i)-vo-l, Ca (-i)-ve-l, Lu (-i)-vo-l as passive participles. These reflexes of *'-pi- are now opposed as ‘realized’ or ‘perfective’ to another syntactically similar series from *-ppi- ‘unrealized’. *-ppi- was lost, so *'-pi- now an aspectless (medio-)passive participle, acquired (realized) perfective value.

*ppi-, without original tense/aspect value, became its unrealized aspectual counterpart.4 The *-ppi- forms are Cu (-a)-pi, Ca (-a)-pi, and Lu -pi, with

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2 There are some gerundlike subordinators like -biuyu ‘without [VERB]ing’ and -kiyuyu ‘right after [VERB]ing’ which may contain *'-pi- and/or *'-kka-, but I am unable to work out the history.

3 Cf. Se -iʔac, also with apparently innovative Proto-Takic *-ʔac.

4 Se completive verb form in -i-t (PI -i-m) is another case of a specialization of a nominalization as a (tense-)aspect verb form.
Absolute -e possible for all three (the -a- augment historically the stem-final vowel).

Se -ib in kim-ib 'as he came' and -ibi- in ?a-mim?-k-ibi-i 'when he died' (or relative 'who has died') is also from *i-pi-, though there is another -ib with future sense from *'-pa-.

The proposed PNUA reconstruction is rather clear: *-kka- shows up in Ho, Numic, and Takic; *-ppi- in Ho, Tüb, Numic, and Takic; *'-pi in Ho, Tüb, Takic, and possibly Numic; *-ppi- in Ho, Numic, and Takic.

In southern UA I am aware of possible cognates of *-kka- (Aztec -ki, Huichol -ka) used as Ag or as same-subject subordinator (the two functions may both be PUA), but not of the other participial suffixes mentioned. The participial data incline me to the view that PNUA is an intermediate protolanguage distinct from PSUA, compatible with my previous historical work on verbal morphology and morphophonemics (cf. also the fact that PUA *l and *n merge as PNUA *n).

The vagaries of lexicon—on which Uto-Aztecansists continue in many cases to debate subgroupings—are such that we should rather emphasize detailed reconstructions of morphological protosystems and of subsequent historical shifts, as Eric Hamp has been indefatigable in advocating for Amerindian studies.

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References


Sonorants as a Class in Micmac and Proto-Indo-European

Although Micmac, spoken in the Atlantic Provinces of Canada, is typical of languages of the Algonquian family in that voicing is not distinctive, it has nevertheless curious voicing contrasts. Whereas, for example, the form kelpilatl 'he ties him up' will be heard as [kel?piladl], the imperative (formed on a reduced stem) klpil 'tie him up!' will be heard as [klbil]: consonant sequences of plosive plus liquid are interrupted by a glottal catch which clearly indicates the syllable boundary in [kel?piladl], but when the initial syllable appears in the reduced form without the vowel, the l changes its role and becomes syllabic. In klpil the p is consequently intervocalic, a position which in all Algonquian languages gives rise to voiced allophones, hence [klbil]. The role of the l in the initial syllable of kelpilatl is that of syllable coda, whereas in klpil, the l, for lack of a vowel, plays the role of syllable core. This is the decisive factor in the voicing of the following p.