

- (—)
- (b) Cíkpanahim 'añ ('á:ñi).
 work.PROG AUX1 (I)
 'I have been working.'

Imperfective future:

- (3) (a) Húan 'at o cíkpanad.
 John t-AUX3 FUT work.FI
 'John will be working.'
- (b) 'Á:ñi 'ant pi o cíkpanad.
 I t-AUX1 NEG FUT work.FI
 'I will not be working.'
- (c) Pi 'at o cíkpanad g Húan.
 NEG t-AUX3 FUT work.FI ART John
 'John will not be working.'
- (d) Napt 'á:pi pi o cíkpanad?
 Q.t-AUX2 you NEG FUT work.FI
 'Will you not be working?'

Perfective nonfuture:

- (4) (a) Málí:ya 'at cík.
 Mary t-AUX3 work.PF
 'Mary worked.'
- (b) Cíkpi 'at g Málí:ya.
 work.PF t-AUX3 ART Mary
 'Mary worked.'
- (c) Napt 'á:pi pi cík?
 Q.t-AUX2 you NEG work.PF
 'Didn't you work?'

- (d) Pi 'ant cíkp ('á:ñi).
 NEG t-AUX1 work.PF (I)
 'I didn't work.'

Perfective future:

- (5) (a) Húan 'at o cíkp.
 John t-AUX FUT work.PF
 'John will work.'
- (b) Pi 'ant o cíkp ('á:ñi)
 NEG t-AUX1 FUT work.PF (I)
 'I will not work.'

Transitives:

- (6) (a) No g wákial g wísilo céposid?
 Q.AUX3 ART cowboy ART calf brand.IMPF
 'Is the cowboy branding the calf?'
- (b) No g wákial céposid g wísilo?
 Q.AUX3 ART cowboy brand.IMPF ART calf
 'Is the cowboy branding the calf?'
- (c) No céposid g wákial g wísilo?
 Q.AUX3 brand.IMPF ART cowboy ART calf
 'Is the cowboy branding the calf?'
- (d) (B 'o kaij) mo g wákial céposid g wísilo.
 (he says) C.AUX3 ART cowboy brand.IMPF ART calf
 'He says that the cowboy is branding the calf'
- (e) (B 'o kaij) mo céposid g wákial g wísilo.
 (he says) C.AUX3 brand.IMPF ART cowboy ART calf
 '(He says) that the cowboy is branding the calf'

(f) Wákial 'o g wísilo céposid.
cowboy AUX3 ART calf brand.IMPF
'The cowboy is branding the calf.'

(g) Wákial 'o céposid g wísilo.
cowboy AUX3 brand.IMPF ART calf
'The cowboy is branding the calf.'

(h) Céposid 'o g wákial g wísilo.
brand.IMPF AUX3 ART cowboy ART calf
'The cowboy is branding the calf.'

(i) No g wákial g wísilo pi céposid?
Q.AUX3 ART cowboy ART calf NEG brand.IMPF
'Is the cowboy not branding the calf?'

(j) Pi 'at o cépos g wákial g wísilo.
NEG t-AUX3 FUT brand.PF ART cowboy ART calf
'The cowboy will not brand the calf.'

(k) Wákial 'at g wípsilo ha-cécpas.
cowboy t-AUX3 ART calf.PL 3PL-brand.PL.PF
'The cowboy branded the calves.'

(l) 'Á:pi 'apt 'á:ñi pi o ñ-cépos.
you t-AUX2 me NEG FUT 1-brand.PF
'You will not brand me.'

(m) 'Á:cim 'att g wípsilo o ha-cécpasidad.
we t-AUX1PL ART calf.PL FUT 3PL.brand.PL.FI
'We will be branding the calves.'

(n) Wípsilo 'ac ha-cécposidahim ('á:cim).
 calf.PL AUX1PL 3PL-brand.PL.PROG (we)
 'We have been branding the calves.'

(o) (Ku)nt o héma cépos g wísilo.
 (C.)t-AUX1 FUT one brand.PF ART calf
 'I will brand a calf.'

Locatives:

(7) (a) 'Áli 'o 'am mí:sa wéco cícwi.
 child AUX3 LD table under play
 'The child is playing under the table.'

(b) 'Áli 'o pi 'am-hú mí:sa wéco cícwi.
 child AUX3 NEG LD-hu table under play
 'The child is not playing under the table.'

(c) 'Áli 'o cícwi 'am mí:sa wéco.
 child AUX3 play LD table under
 'The child is playing under the table.'

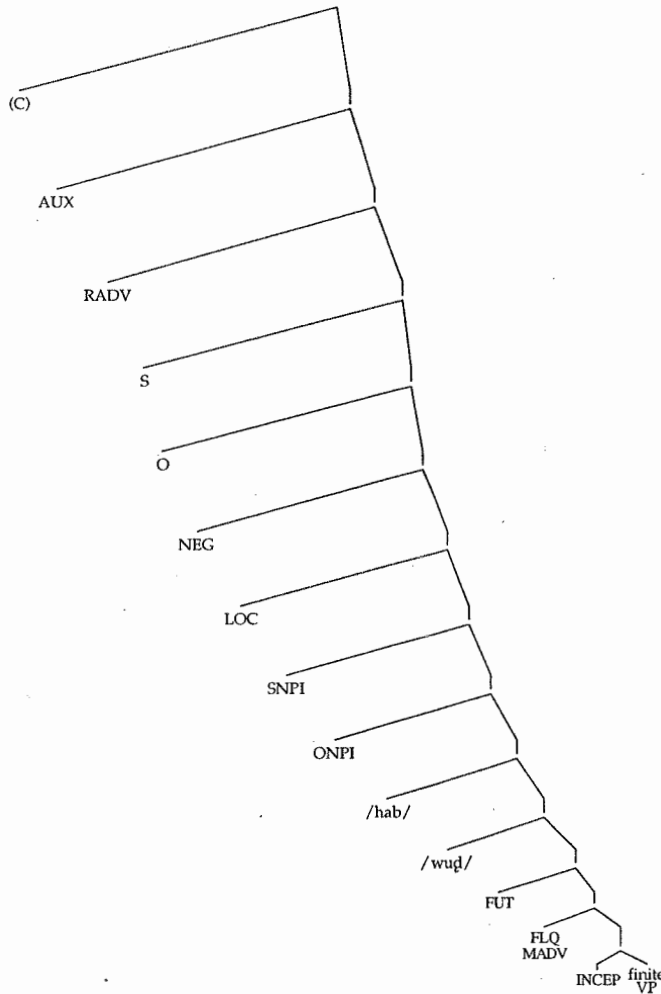
(d) 'Áli 'o cícwi 'am wéco g mí:sa.
 Child AUX3 play LD under ART table
 'The child is playing under the table.'

(e) 'Áli 'o 'am cícwi mí:sa wéco.
 child AUX3 LD play table under
 'The child is playing under the table.'

(f) 'Am 'o cícwi g 'áli mí:sa wéco.
 LD AUX3 play ART child table under
 'The child is playing under the table.'

The Left Field:

(8) A lexical head H (e.g., V) and all left branches in its extended projection.



(9) The Tonal Phrase: The Left Field from the lexical head to highest functional head—e.g., the verb leftward to Aux (or Comp+Aux); P leftward to LD; N leftward to D. A Tonal Phrase is assigned one LHL intonation: assign L to unstressed syllables preceding the leftmost stress, H from the leftmost to the rightmost stress, L to the post-stress syllables of on the lexical head.

(10) Second Position (Aux):

- (i) Aux immediately follows C (/n-/ 'polar Q'; /m-/ 'subordinating', /ku-/ 'connective. obviative');
- (ii) If no C, then AUX follows the next highest constituent present in the clause, or a designated subconstituent thereof. Some elements cannot precede AUX; other strategies must be used to satisfy Aux-Second.

(11) Pre-Aux Position:

With one exception, a constituent in Pre-Aux position constitutes a separate Tonal Phrase, as the examples show. The exception is the content question construction in which the question word precedes the Aux. For certain question words, this situation is characterized by special allomorphy as well:

<u>Pre-Aux</u>	<u>Post-Aux (and isolation)</u>	
ʒa:cu	hascu	'what'
ɖo:	heɖai	'who'
ba:	hebai	'where'
ʒa:	has	'how'

The tonal exceptionality resides in the fact that the pre-auxiliary question word does not constitute its own tonal phrase, unlike other DPs. The following examples illustrate these points:

_____ (* _____)
 (a) ʒá:cu 'o céposid g wákial?
 what AUX3 brand.IMPF ART cowboy
 'What is the cowboy branding?'

_____ (* _____)
 (a') (Ku)t háscu cépos g wákial?
 C.t-AUX3 what brand.PF ART cowboy.
 '(And) what did the cowboy brand?'

_____ (* _____)
 (b) Bá: p cípkan?
 where AUX2 work.IMPF
 'Where do you work?'

_____ (* _____)
 (b') (Ku)p hébai cíkpan?
 C.AUX2 where work.IMPF
 '(And) where do you work'

Some special features of Left Field:

(12) Single Tonal Phrase (see above).

(13) Short Determiners, Stranded Determiners:

- (a) Nap hég s-má:c?
Q.AUX2 that POS-know.IMPF
'Do you know him/her (that one)?'
- (a') Nap s-má:c hégai?
Q.AUX2 POS-know.IMPF that
'Do you know him/her (that one)?'
- (b) Nap hég s-má:c 'ó'odham?
Q.AUX2 that POS-know.IMPF
'Do you know that person?'
- (b') Nap s-má:c hégai 'ó'odham?
Q.AUX2 POS-know.IMPF that
'Do you know that person?'

(14) Negative Polarity Items:

- (a) Pi 'añ hédai ñéid.
NEG AUX1 anybody see.IMPF
'I don't see anybody.'
- (b) Pi 'at hédai há'icu cé:.
NEG t-AUX3 anybody anything find.PF
'Nobody found anything.'

(15) Content Question Words (see (11) above and the following).

- (a) Şá:cu 'ap táccu [mant heg hékaj o híkkmio g cú:kig]?
what AUX2 want C.t-AUX1 it with FUT cut.PF ART meat
'What do you want me to cut the meat with?'

(16) Extraction from PP:

(a) Bá: 'o ké:k hégai kí:
where AUX3 stand that house

mo g ñ-'ó:g 'am t bá'ic cíkpanahim.
C.AUX3 ART 1-father LD t before work.PROG
'Where is the house that my father has been working in front of?.'

(b) Ñ-'ó:g 'o 'am kí: bá'ic cíkpanahim.
1-father AUX LD house before work.PROG
'My father has been working in front of the house.'

(b') Ñ-'ó:g 'o 'am hég bá'ic cíkpanahim kí:.
1-father AUX LD that before work.PROG house
'My father has been working in front of that house.'

(b'') Ñ-'ó:g 'o 'am cíkpanahim hég bá'ic kí:.
1-father AUX LD work.PROG that before house
'My father has been working in front of that house.'

(17) Secondary Predicates and "Floated" Quantifiers:

(a) (Ku)nt o s-síwma 'i: g káwhí:.
C.t-AUX1 FUT POS-bitter drink.PF ART coffee
'I'll drink the coffee bitter (without sugar).'

(b) (Ku)nt o héma m-béhĩ g mú:ñ-wú:lo.
C.t-AUX1 FUT one 2-get.APPLIC ART bean-burro
'I'll get you a bean burro.'

(c) (Ku)nt o héma kí:-t.
C.t-AUX1 FUT one house-make
'I will build a house.'

- (d) (Ku)nt o héma náí.
 C.t-AUX1 FUT one build.fire.PF
 'I'll make a fire.'

(18) Only head-final constructions within Left Field.

- (a) 'Áli 'o 'an mí:sa dá:m kó:ʒ.
 child AUX3 LD table on sleep.IMPF
 'The child is sleeping on the table.'

- (b) 'Áli 'o 'an kó:ʒ mí:sa dá:m.
 child AUX3 LD sleep.IMPF table on
 'The child is sleeping on the table.'

- (c) 'Áli 'o kó:ʒ 'an dá:m g mí:sa.
 child AUX3 sleep.IMPF table on
 'The child is sleeping on the table.'

- (d) 'Áli 'o 'an dá:m kó:ʒ g mí:sa.
 child AUX3 LD on sleep.IMPF ART table
 'The child is sleeping on the table.'

- (e) *'Áli 'o 'an dá:m g mí:sa kó:ʒ.
 child AUX3 LD on ART table sleep.IMPF
 'The child is sleeping on the table.'

(19) Relatively fixed constituent order (S O unmarked).

- (a) Mat héðai há'icu o 'i táccu-d-c
 C.t-AUX3 who something FUT IND want-FI-PROX
 (hég) (hég) o béi.
 (that) (that) FUT get.PF
 'Whoever wants whatever, he/she can have it.'

The Right Field.

(20) (a) Phrases only. (b) Each phrase constitutes its own Tonal Phrase. (c) No particular order is either marked or unmarked. (d) “Head-medial” sequences possible and frequent. (e) Old information.

(21) Binding unaffected by order in Right Field.

(a) (Ku)t o sí:lɔad g 'e-ʒóiga g Húan.
 (C.)t-AUX3 FUT saddle ART REFL-pet ART John

(b) (Ku)t o sí:lɔad g Húan g 'e-ʒóiga.
 (C.)t-AUX3 FUT saddle ART John ART REFL-pet
 ‘John, will saddle his, horse.’

Compare:

(c) (Ku)t g Huan g 'e-ʒóiga o sí:lɔad
 (C.)t-AUX3 ART John ART REFL-pet FUT saddle
 ‘John, will saddle his, horse.’ (Counter-c-command, O S, order available in the Left Field for focus/topicalization only.)

(d) Nat g 'e-ʒóiga g Húan sí:lɔad?
 Q.t-AUX3 REFL-pet ART John saddle
 ‘Did John, saddle his horse?’ (Foc/Top with reconstruction)

(e) Húan gógs-ga 'o hég gégosid.
 John dog-GA AUX3 he feed.IMP
 ‘John,‘s dog he, is feeding.’ (Foc/Top with reconstruction)

Stative Verbal Predicates.

(22) (a) Nap s-má:c g 'Ó'odham ñí'okī?
 Q.AUX2 POS-know ART O'odham language
 ‘Do you know the O'odham language?’

(b) 'I:da 'áli 'at o s-má:c-k(a-d) g ñí'okī.
 this child t-AUX3 FUT POS-know-K(-FI) ART O'odham
 ‘This child will know the language.’

II: Nonverbal Predicates.

Adjectival Predicates.

- (23) (a) $\overline{\text{Wíjina}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{céwa-j.}}$
 rope AUX3 long-PRD
 'The rope is long.'
- (b) $\overline{\text{No}} \text{ g } \overline{\text{wíjina}} \text{ pi } \overline{\text{céwa-j?}}$
 Q.AUX3 ART rope NEG long-PRD
 'Isn't the rope long?'
- (c) $\overline{(\text{Ku})\text{t}} \text{ o } \overline{\text{céwa-j-k(a-d)}} \text{ g } \overline{\text{wíjina.}}$
 (C.)t-AUX3 FUT long-PRD-K(-FI) ART rope
 'The rope will be long.'
- (d) $\overline{\text{Cé'ecewa-j}} \text{ 'o } \text{ g } \overline{\text{wípijina.}}$
 long.PL-PRD AUX3 ART rope.PL
 'The ropes are long.'
- (e) $\overline{\text{Hé'es}} \text{ 'o } \text{ 'i } \overline{\text{céwa-j}} \text{ g } \overline{\text{'áli?}}$
 how AUX3 IND tall-PRD ART child
 'How tall is the child?'
- (f) $\overline{\text{Há'as}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{céwa-j}} \text{ [mo } \text{ g } \overline{\text{wáks}} \text{ hé'es 'i } \overline{\text{s-táđañ].}}$
 thus AUX3 tall-PRD C.AUX3 ART mat how IND POS-wide
 '(S)he is as tall as the mat is wide.'
- (g) $\overline{\text{Şá:}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{má:s}} \text{ g } \overline{\text{hú:ñ?}} \text{ No } \text{ ge } \overline{\text{cé'ecewaj?}}$
 how AUX3 seem ART corn Q.AUX3 GE tall.PL
 'How is the corn? Is it tall?'
- (h) $\overline{\text{Pi}} \text{ 'at } \text{ o } \overline{\text{táđañ-k(a-d)}} \text{ g } \overline{\text{wó:g.}}$
 NEG t-AUX3 FUT wide-K(-FI) ART road
 'The road will not be wide.'

(i) 'Í:da hówij 'o s-cé:dag-ka-him (c hémuc s-'óam).
 this banana AUX3 POS-green-K-PROG (PROX now POS-yellow).
 'This banana was green (and now it's yellow).'

(j) (Ku)nt o héma béi g céw wíjina.
 (C.)t-AUX1 FUT one get.PF ART long rope
 'I'm going to get a long rope.'

Possessum Predicates.

(24) (a) Húan 'o ge má:gina.
 John AUX3 GE car
 'John has a car.'

(b) Ge 'o má:gina g Húan.
 GE AUX3 car ART John
 'John has a car.'

(c) Húan 'o pi ha- má:gina.
 John AUX3 NEG PLI car
 'John doesn't have a/any car.'

(d) Pi 'o ha- má:gina g Húan.
 NEG AUX3 PLI car ART John
 'John doesn't have a/any car.'

(e) Húan 'at o ge má:gina-k(a-d).
 John t-AUX3 FUT GE car-K(-FI).
 'John will have a car.'

(f) Ge 'añ má:gina-ka-him (c hému áhawa pi ha-má:gina).
 GE AUX1 car-K-PROG (PROX now then NEG PLI-car)
 'I had a car (and now I don't).'

(g) Bán 'o céw báhi.
 coyote AUX3 long tail
 'The coyote has a long tail.'

(h) Céw 'o báhi g bán.
 long AUX3 tail ART coyote
 'The coyote has a long tail.'

[Cf.]

(i) Céw wíjina 'ant héma ha-nólawt.
 long rope t-AUX1 one 3PL-buy
 'I bought a long rope (from someone).'

(j) Húan má:gina 'at 'e-páđ-c.
 John car t-AUX3 REFL-bad-TR.PF
 'John's car got wrecked.'

(25) (a) Húan 'o ge jéweđ-ga.
 John AUX3 GE land-AL
 'John has (some) land.'

(b) (Ku)nt o ge jéweđ-ga-k(a-d).
 (C.)AUX1 FUT GE land-AL-K(-FI)
 'I will have land.'

(c) Hé'es 'ap 'i jéweđ-ga ('á:pi)?
 how.much AUX2 IND land-AL (you)
 'How much land do you have?'

(d) Pi 'ant o gágđa g ñ-jéweđ-ga.
 NEG t-AUX1 FUT sell ART 1-land-AL
 'I will not sell my land.'

(26) (a) $\overline{\text{Şá:cu}} \text{ 'ap } \overline{\text{'éñga.}}$ (“Light Noun” construction)
 what AUX2 goods.AL
 ‘What do you have?’

(b) $\overline{\text{Jéweđ}} \text{ 'añ } \overline{\text{'éñga.}}$ (“Light Noun” construction)
 land AUX1 goods.AL
 ‘I have land.’

Existential Predicates.

(27) (a) $\overline{\text{'Am}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{cého-g.}}$
 LD AUX3 cave-EXIST
 ‘There is a cave there.’

(b) $\overline{\text{S-kúi-g}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{('í:ya)..}}$
 POS-mesquite-EXIST AUX3 (here)
 ‘There are many mesquites (here).’

(c) $\overline{\text{Pi}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{kúi-g}} \text{ ('í:ya).}$
 NEG AUX3 mesquite-EXIST (here)
 ‘There aren’t any mesquites (here).’

(d) $\overline{\text{'Am}} \text{ 'at } \overline{\text{o}} \text{ s-kúi-g-k(a-d).}$
 LD t-AUX3 FUT POS-mesquite-EXIST-K(-FI)
 ‘There will be lots of mesquites there.’

(e) $\overline{\text{Şá:cu}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{'am}} \text{ há'icu-g?}$ (“Light Noun” construction)
 what AUX3 LD something-EXIST
 ‘What is there there?’

(f) $\overline{\text{Há:şañ}} \text{ 'o } \overline{\text{'am}} \text{ há'icu-g.}$ (“Light Noun” construction)
 saguaro AUX3 LD something-EXIST
 ‘There is/are saguaro there.’

- (g) 'Am 'o cum há'icu-g-ka-him.
 LD AUX3 IRR something-EXIST-K-PROG
 'There used to be some (of them/it) there.'

Nominal Predicates.

- (28) (a) Ñ-wé:nag 'o wuḍ wákial.
 1-brother AUX3 WUḍ cowboy.
 'My brother is a cowboy.'
- (b) Ḑ 'o wákial g ñ-wé:nag.
 WUḍ AUX3 cowboy ART 1-brother
 'My brother is a cowboy.'
- (c) Pi 'añ wuḍ wákial ('á:ñi).
 NEG AUX1 WUḍ cowboy (I)
 'I am not a cowboy.'
- (d) 'Á:pi 'apt wuḍ o wákial-k(a-d).
 you tAUX2 WUḍ FUT cowboy-K(-FI)
 'You will be a cowboy.'
- (e) Ḑ 'añ wákial-ka-him.
 WUḍ AUX1 cowboy-K-PROG
 'I was/have been a cowboy.'
- (f) Hég 'o gé'ë wuḍ 'ó'odham.
 that AUX3 big WUḍ person
 'He is a big person.'
- (g) Hég 'o wuḍ gé'ë 'ó'odham.
 that AUX3 WUḍ big person
 'He is a big person.'

(h) Matp hédai o wépo má:s-k
C.t-AUX2 who FUT alike seem-K

hég wuḍ o 'ó:ga-j-k.
that WUḍ FUT father-3-K

'Whoever it looks like, that'll be its father.' (SS252)

()
(i) (Ku)tt híg o cícwi hégai [matt o t-'é'estoḍad
(C.)t-AUX11 EXH FUT play that C.t-AUX11 FUT 11-hide.FI

()
(ku)pt 'á:pi wuḍ o hégai-k [mapt o t-cécga-d]].
(C.)t-AUX2 you WUḍ FUT that-K C.t-AUX2 FUT 11-find-FI

'Let's play that (game) where we hide and you are the one that finds us.'

(j) Şá:cu 'o wuḍ g Húan?
what AUX3 WUḍ ART John

'What is John?'

(k) Wákial 'o wuḍ (g Húan). ~ ḍ 'o wákial (g Húan).
cowboy AUX3 WUḍ (ART John).

'A cowboy he (John) is.' ~ 'He (John) is a cowboy.'

(l) Wákial 'o wuḍ Húan.
cowboy AUX3 WUḍ John

'The cowboy is John.'

(m) No g wákial wuḍ Húan?
Q.AUX3 ART cowboy WUḍ John

'Is the cowboy John?'

(n) Şá:cu 'apt wuḍ o k ('á:pi)?
what t-AUX2 WUḍ FUT K (you)

'What are you going to be?'

(o) Wákial 'ant wuḍ o k.
 cowboy t-AUX1 WUḍ FUT K
 'A cowboy I'll be.'

(p) Ḑó: 'o wuḍ gógs-ga hégai?
 who AUX3 WUḍ dog-AL that
 'Whose dog is that?'

(q) Húan 'o wuḍ gógs-ga.
 John AUX3 WUḍ dog-AL
 'It's John's dog.'

(r) No g Húan wuḍ gógs-ga?
 Q.AUX3 ART John WUḍ dog-AL
 'Is it John's dog?'

(s) No 'íd wuḍ gógs-ga-j g Húan?
 Q.AUX3 this WUḍ dog-AL-3 ART John
 'Is this John's dog?'

(t) No 'íd wuḍ gógs-ga hégai?
 Q.AUX3 this WUḍ dog-AL that?
 'Is that this one's dog?'

Verbal Noun Predicate.

(29) (a) Ḑó: t gátwi 'í:da húawi?
 who t-AUX3 shoot,PERF this muledeer
 'Who shot this muledeer?'

(b) 'Á:ñi 'o wuḍ ñ-gátwida.
 I AUX3 WUḍ 1-shoot.NM
 'It is my shooting.' (I.e., 'I shot it.')

(c) Hégai [m 'am sú:dagi] 'o wuḍ ñ-kú:pa.
 that [PRS there water] AUX3 WUḍ 1-dam.NM
 'That water there is my damming.'

'A pt hékid 'am 'i kú:?
 Oh, t-AUX2 when there INCEP dam.PF
 'Oh, when did you dam it up?'

Cardinality Predicates.

(30) (a) Hé'ekia 'at wuḍ o k?
 how.many t-AUX3 WUḍ FUT K
 'How many will there be?' (S201)

(b) Gó:k 'at wuḍ o k.
 two t-AUX3 WUḍ FUT K
 'There will be twó.'

(c) Ḑ 'at o gó:k-k.
 WUḍ t-AUX3 FUT two-K
 'There will be two.'

Locative Predicates.

(31) (a) K hébai g m-cíkpan?
 C.AUX3 where ART 2-work
 'Where is your work?'

(b) Bá: 'o hégai wáckĩ?
 where AUX3 that charco
 'Where is that charco?'

(c) 'Á:mai 'o.
 there AUX3
 'It's there.'

- (d) 'Ámai-ka-him 'o.
 there-K-PROG AUX3
 '(S)he has been there.'
- (e) (Ku)t 'am o 'ámai-k.
 (C.)t-AUX3 LD FUT there-K
 '(S)he will be there.'
- (f) (Ku)pt hébai o k(a-d).
 (C.)t-AUX2 where FUT K(-FL)
 'Where will you be?' (S197)
- (g) (Ku)nt 'ámai o k(a-d).
 (C.)t-AUX1 there FUT K(-FL)
 'I will be there.'