

O'ODHAM FRONTING  
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(1) Complementizer ((if present) precedes AUX in the base, inseparable):

(a) Obviative:

(ku-)t g wakial g wipsilo ha-cecpos. *low information*  
 OBV-tAUX3 ART cowboy ART RED:calf 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
 '... and the cowboy branded the calves.'

(ku-)t g wakial ha-cecpos g wipsilo.  
 (ku-)t g wipsilo ha-cecpos g wakial.  
 (ku-)t ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.  
 (ku-)t ha-cecpos g wipsilo g wakial.

also: na: {must be the case} {I stay's guess}

*ku can be dropped if there's any phon. content in AUX.*

(b) Polar Question:

*C=h*  
 n-at g wakial g wipsilo ha-cecpos?  
 PQ-tAUX3 ART cowboy ART RED:calf 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
 'Did the cowboy brand the calf?'

n-at g wakial ha-cecpos g wipsilo?  
 n-at g wipsilo ha-cecpos g wakial?  
 n-at ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo?  
 n-at ha-cecpos g wipsilo g wakial?

(c) Subordinating:

m-at g wakial g wipsilo ha-cecpos.  
 SUB-tAUX3 ART cowboy ART RED:calf 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
 '... that the cowboy branded the calves.'

m-at g wakial ha-cecpos g wipsilo.  
 m-at g wipsilo ha-cecpos g wakial.  
 m-at ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.  
 m-at ha-cecpos g wipsilo g wakial.

(d) Presentational:

*m = AUX(?)*  
 m gd\* ha ha-cecposid g wakial g wipsilo.  
 PRST|LOC distal 3p-RED:brand ART cowboy ART RED:calf  
 'Down there brands the cowboy the calves.'

(2) Subject, Object, Verb, Object Prefix (only CV-):

(a) Declarative:

Wakial 'at g wipsilo ha-cecpos.  
 cowboy tAUX3 ART RED:calf 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
 'The cowboy branded the calves.'

*subject has its own stress  
 ∴ forms its own tonal unit  
 me-C*

*No C -  
 do something w/ phon. content must precede AUX*

cowboy

Wakial 'at ha-cepos g wipsilo.  
Wipsilo 'at ha-cepos g wakial.  
Ha-cepos 'at g wakial g wipsilo.  
Ha-cepos 'at g wipsilo g wakial.  
Ha-'at ceptos g wakial g wipsilo.  
Ha-'at ceptos g wipsilo g wakial.

#g → #φ

obj 3pl

brand

if V prefix is CV  
the prefix can  
appear on  
its own!

[Hegai wakial [m-at g wijina ñ-nolawt]] 'at ha-cepos g wipsilo.  
that cowboy [SUB-tAUX3 ART rope 1s-buy:PERF] tAUX  
RED:brand:PERF ART RED:calf  
'[The cowboy [who bought the/a rope from me]] branded the  
calves.'

(b) Content Question: D\*E d

D\*o: t ha-cepos g wipsilo?  
who tAUX3 3p-RED:brand ART RED:calves  
'Who branded the calves.'

(Ku-)t hed\*ai ha-ceposid g wipsilo?  
(OBV-)tAUX3 who 3p-RED:brand:PERF ART RED:calves  
'... and who branded the calves.'

S\*a:cu' at ceptos g wakial?  
what tAUX3 brand:PERF ART cowboy  
'What did the cowboy brand?'

(Ku-)t g wakial (hascu) ceptos?  
(OBV-)tAUX3 ART cowboy what brand:PERF  
'What did the cowboy brand?'

(Ku-)t hascu ceptos g wakial?

(c) Imperative AUX (IMPER):

'A:pi g cikpan.  
you:sg IMPER work  
'You work!'

g

Cikpana-ñ ('a:pi).  
work-IMPER (you)  
'Work (you).'

(fuses to V if V is fronted)

'A:pi g pi cikpan.  
you IMPER NEG work  
'Don't you work!'

Pi g cikpan ('a:pi).

'A:pi-m g o cickpan.  
you-pl IMPER FUT RED:work  
'You (all) work!'

Cickpan-o ('a:pi-m).

(d) Determiner:

[Hegai 'o'odham [m-añ heki-hu s-ma:c]] 'o 'am cikpan.  
[that person [SUB-AUX1s long:ago POS-know]] AUX3 LOC work  
'The person that I used to know is working there.'

*extrapolation*

D ----- M  
Heg 'o 'am cikpan ['o'odham [m-añ heki-hu s-ma:c]].

*D stranded in  
left field slot*

(3) Negative:

(a) Simple:

Wakial 'at g wipsilo pi ha-cecpos.  
cowboy tAUX3 ART RED:calf NEG 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
'The cowboy didn't brand the calves.'

Wakial 'at pi ha-cecpos g wipsilo.  
Wipsilo 'at pi ha-cecpos g wakial.  
Pi 'at ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.  
Pi 'at ha-cecpos g wipsilo g wakial.

*The next element  
down from ART  
must find.*

(b) Polarity:

Pi 'at 'am-hu hed\*ai ha'icu s\*a'i ce:.  
NEG tAUX3 LOC-NEG anyone anything PRT find:PERF  
'Nobody found anything at all there.'

Pi 'at hed\*ai ha'icu s\*a'i ce: 'amai.

Wakial 'at pi hed\*ai s\*a'i ñei.  
cowboy tAUX3 NEG anybody PRT see:PERF  
'The cowboy didn't see anyone at all.'

Pi 'at hed\*ai s\*a'i ñei g wakial.

N-at g wakial pi hed\*ai s\*a'i ñei?  
PQ-tAUX3 cowboy NEG anybody PRT see:PERF  
'Did the cowboy see no one at all?'

N-at pi hed\*ai s\*a'i ñei g wakial?  
(Ambiguously also, 'Did no one at all see the cowboy?')

(4) Locative Preverb:

(a) Autonomous:

Wakial 'o 'am ke:k.  
cowboy AUX3 LOC stand:SG  
'The cowboy is standing there.'

(A)m 'o ke:k g wakial.

(b) With associate PP:

Wakial 'o 'am kolhai-c 'ed\* ke:k.  
cowboy AUX3 LOC corral-ACC in stand  
'The cowboy is standing there in the corral.'

Wakial 'o 'am kolhai-c 'ed\* ke:k.  
Wakial 'o 'am ke:k kolhai-c 'ed\*.  
( 'A)m 'o ke:k g wakial kolhai-c 'ed\*.  
( 'A)m 'o kolhai-c 'ed\* ke:k g wakial.  
Ke:k 'o g wakial 'am kolhai-c 'ed\*.  
(Cf. Wakial 'o 'am ke:k 'ed\*a g kolhai.  
Wakial 'o ke:k 'am 'ed\*a g kolhai.)

(c) Negative:

Wakial 'o pi 'am-hu ke:k.  
cowboy AUX3 NEG LOC-NEG stand  
'The cowboy is not standing there.'

Wakial 'o pi 'am-hu kolhai-c 'ed\* ke:k.  
cowboy AUX3 NEG LOC-NEG corral-ACC in stand  
'The cowboy is not standing there in the corral.'

Wakial 'o pi 'am-hu ke:k kolhai-c 'ed\*.  
Pi 'o 'am-hu kolhai-c 'ed\* ke:k g wakial.  
Pi 'o 'am-hu ke:k g wakial kolhai-c 'ed\*.  
(Cf. Wakial 'o pi 'am-hu ke:k 'ed\*a g kolhai.)

(d) Content Question:

Ba: 'o ke:k g wakial?  
where AUX3 stand ART cowboy  
'Where is the cowboy standing?'

K hebai ke:k g wakial?  
OBV:AUX3 where stand ART cowboy  
'... and where is the cowboy standing?'

(5) Adverbial "Expletive" Preverb /hab/ (HAB):

(a) Declarative:

'I:da ceoj 'o hab ce:gig "Huan".  
this man AUX3 HAB named "John".  
'This man is named "John".'

B 'o ce:gig "Huan" 'i:da ceoj. (~ b-o ce:gig ...)

Huan 'o (pi) hab ma:s [m-o s-baga].  
John AUX3 (NEG) HAB seem [SUB-AUX3 POS-be:angry]  
'John looks (does not look) like he is angry.'

B 'o ma:s g Huan [m-o s-baga].

Pi 'o hab ma:s g Huan [m-o s-baga].

Huan 'at hab (ñ-)ju: [m-ant 'i gei].

John tAUX3 HAB (1s-)do:PERF [SUB-tAUX1s INCEP fall:PERF]  
'John made me fall down.'

B 'at (ñ-)ju: g Huan [m-ant 'i gei].

(b) Content Question:

S\*a: 'o ma:s g Huan?  
how AUX3 seem ART John  
'How does John seem/appear?'

K g Huan has ma:s?  
OBV-AUX3 ART John how seem  
'... and John how does he seem?'

K has ma:s g Huan?  
'... and how does John seem?'

(6) Equational and Identificational /wud\*/ (EQ, see SULA paper):

(a) Declarative:

Huan 'o wud\* wakial.  
John AUX3 EQ cowboy:COP  
'John is a cowboy.'

D\* 'o wakial g Huan. (~ Do wakial g Huan.)

Huan 'at wud\* o wakial-k(ad)  
John tAUX3 EQ FUT cowboy-COP(IMPF)  
'John will be a cowboy.'

D\* 'at o wakial g Huan. (~ Dat o ... )

(b) Content Question:

S\*a:cu 'at wud\* o k g Huan?  
what tAUX3 EQ FUT COP ART John  
'What will John be?'

(Ku-)t g Huan hascu wud\* o k?  
(OBV-)tAUX3 ART John what EQ FUT COP  
'... and what will John be?'

(c) Focus (Answer):

Wakial 'at wud\* o k.  
cowboy tAUX3 FUT COP  
'He will be a cowboy.'

(d) Negative:

Huan 'at pi wud\* o wakial-k(ad).  
John tAUX3 NEG EQ FUT cowboy-COP(IMPF)  
'John will not be a cowboy.'

Pi 'at wud\* o wakial-k g Huan.

(7) Future (cannot precede AUX, vowel initial):

(a) Declarative.

Wakial 'at g wipsilo o ha-cecpos.  
cowboy tAUX ART RED:calf FUT 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
'The cowboy will brand the calves.'

Wipsilo 'at o ha-cecpos g wakial.  
(Ku-)t o ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.  
\*o 'at ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.  
(Cf. #w-at o ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.)

(b) Content Question:

D\*o: t o ha-cecpos g wipsilo?  
who tAUX3 FUT 3p-RED:brand:PERF ART RED:calf  
'Who will brand the calves?'

(Ku-)t hed\*ai o ha-cecpos g wipsilo?

S\*a:cu 'at o cepos g wakial?  
what tAUX3 FUT brand:PERF ART cowboy  
'What will the cowboy brand?'

(Ku-)t hascu o cepos g wakial?

(c) Negative:

Wakial 'at g wipsilo pi o ha-cecpos.  
cowboy tAUX3 ART RED:calf NEG FUT 3p-RED:brand:PERF  
'The cowboy will not brand the calves.'

Wakial 'at pi o ha-cecpos g wipsilo.  
Pi 'at o ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.  
(Ku-)t g wakial g wipsilo pi o ha-cecpos  
(Ku-)t g wakial pi o ha-cecpos g wipsilo.  
(Ku-)t pi o ha-cecpos g wakial g wipsilo.

(8) Floated Quantifier, Modifier, Affermative /ge/:

(a) Declarative:

Huan 'at g cu:wī hema gatwi.  
John tAUX3 ART jackrabbit one shoot:PERF  
'John shot a jackrabbit.'

Cu:wī 'at hema gatwi g Huan.  
Hema 'at gatwi g Huan g cu:wī.

Huan 'o ge ce'ecew no:nhoi.  
John AUX3 GE RED:long RED:arm/hand  
'John has long arms.'

Huan 'o ce'ecew no:nhoi.  
Ge 'o ce'ecew no:nhoi g Huan.  
Ce'ecew 'o no:nhoi g Huan.

(b) Content Question:

He'ekia 'at 'i ha-gagtwi g Huan g cu:wī?  
how:many tAUX3 INCEP 3p-RED:shoot:PERF ART John  
ART RED:jackrabbit  
'How many jackrabbits did John shoot?'

(Ku-)t g Huan he'ekia 'i ha-gagtwi g Huan g cu:wī?  
(OBV-)tAUX3 ART John how:many INCEP RED:shoot:PERF  
ART John ART jackrabbit  
'... and how many jackrabbits did John shoot?'

(9) Inceptive Preverb (INCEP):

(a) Declarative:

'Ali 'at o 'i gei.  
child tAUX3 FUT INCEP fall:PERF  
'The child will fall.'

(Ku-)t g 'ali o 'i gei.  
(Ku-)t o 'i gei g 'ali.  
'... and the child will fall.'

'Ali 'at 'i gei.  
child tAUX3 INCEP fall:PERF  
'The child fell.'

(Ku-)t g 'ali 'i gei.  
'I 'at gei g 'ali. > ['i 'it gei g 'ali]

(b) Negative:

'Ali 'at pi o 'i gei.  
child tAUX3 NEG FUT INCEP fall:PERF  
'The child will not fall.'

(Ku-)t g 'ali pi o 'i gei.  
Pi 'at o 'i gei g 'ali. > [pi 'it o 'i gei g 'ali]

(10) The Verb (see also (2) above):

Gew 'o ge:s\*.  
snow AUX3 fall  
'It is snowing.'

Ge:s\* 'o g gew.

Ju:k 'o.  
rain AUX3  
'It is raining.'

Huan 'at g si:kī mea.  
John tAUX3 ART deer kill:PERF  
John killed the deer.'

Huan 'at mea g si:kī.  
Mea 'at g Huan g si:kī.  
Mea 'at g si:kī g Huan.