

Long vowels and morpheme boundaries in Nahuatl and Uto-Aztecan: Comments on historical developments

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Introduction

In this paper, the question of vowel length in Uto-Aztecan with special emphasis on the relation of length found in Nahuatl to the proto-language is explored. It is necessary first, however, to describe certain hypothesis about the structure of proto-Uto-Aztecan (PUA) morphemes.

1. Morpheme structure in Proto-Uto-Aztecan

Reconstructions by Sapir (1913, 1915) and Whorf (1935, 1937) and later by Voegelin, Voegelin and Hale (1962) hypothesized morpheme structures for PUA that reflect the final features found in Numic. Later reconstructions, such as those of Miller (1967) and Campbell and Langacker (1978), paid less attention to these features. In a more recent article, I. Miller (1982) reconstructs final features for proto-Numic, but derives them from PUA *CVCV roots, rather than reconstruct them as features of the proto-language. Both Kaufman (1981) and Manaster-Ramer (1993) have shown that there are reflexes of these features in other Uto-Aztecan branches, suggesting that the features should be reconstructed for the proto-language, much in the way that Sapir and the

Voegelins and Hale had done. My own view goes even farther to suggest that the CV_{-final features} syllables are probably mostly, if not all, morphemes, and that combinations of these morphemes have lexicalized to form the CV_{-final feature}CV_{-final feature} shapes more commonly accepted as morphemes of the proto-language. The arguments for this position are given elsewhere (cf. Dakin 1993a, 1993b), and deal more with semantics, while the arguments proposed here are phonological. The following forms are reconstructed because of the relation between vowel length in various other languages and evidence from Numic. In addition to the reconstruction of syllables with features that are spirantizing indicated simply as *CV-; geminating, marked CV"; and nasalizing, indicated by CV_n, all included by one or another of the earlier analyses cited, in this paper syllables with glottalized vowels are also reconstructed. These have been mentioned in different contexts. For instance, Ianucci gives *ʔ as a possible morpheme or word-final consonant for proto-Numic. As will be seen below, evidence for *CVV, or original vowel length, is not completely convincing:

Reconstructed basic PUA syllable types:

*CV_n

*CV"

*CVʔ(V)

*CV

(*CVV ?)

Combinations of the syllables produce additionally the following possible CVCV forms:

*CV_nCV_n

*CV"CV_n

*CVʔ(V)CV_n

*CVCV"

*CV_nCV"

*CV"CV"

*CVʔ(V)CV"

*CVCV_n

*CV_nCVʔ(V)

*CV"CVʔ(V)

*CVʔ(V)CVʔ(V)

*CVCVʔ(V)

*CV_nCV

*CV"CV

*CVʔ(V)CV

*CVCV

2. Long vowels in proto-uto-aztecan

Voegelin, Voegelin and Hale (1962:34) hypothesize the existence of five short vowels, *a, *o, *i, *ɨ and *u, but make the following note about vowel length:

Series generating components which are specified for the daughter languages, as LENGTH and one of three kinds of STRESS—, predictable stress, word stress, alternating stress—remain to be reconstructed for proto Uto-Aztecan.

Some more recent reconstructions of PUA include a series of five long vowels parallel to that of short vowels. For instance, Langacker (1977:22) reconstructs distinctive length mainly on the basis of typology, but notes: "The P-UA vowel system has been retained virtually without modification in Numic, Tubatulabal, and Pimic." However, he does not mention long vowels specifically, but seems to be referring rather to the existence of the five vowels, and that ***i** should be reconstructed rather than ***e**.

Nevertheless, in the list of PUA terms and cognates that is part of "Proto-Aztecan vowels", (1978) Campbell and Langacker include forms with the following long vowels for PUA: ***uu**, ***oo**, ***ii**, and ***aa**, but give no examples for an ***ii**.

Kaufman (1981:3) argues that "Vowel length can be directly reconstructed from at least Tubatulabal, Serrano, Luiseño, Hopi, Pima-Papago, Yaqui-Mayo and Nahuatl (but not from Numic, Cahuilla-Cupeño)" Regarding Numic, he notes that "Original UA vowel length ... was lost in preNumic before the loss of certain intervocalic consonants."

Reconstructions of the various branches of Uto-Aztecan (proto-Numic, proto-Cupan and proto-Takic, proto-Tepiman) have included long vowels, but do not try to reconstruct the contrast to proto-Uto-Aztecan; in addition, in descriptions it is noted often that there are certain processes through which length would have developed in the intermediate parent languages.

2.1. Proto-Numic

Ianucci (1973:65) makes the following statement about Numic vowels:

We can reconstruct both short and long vowel phonemes in Proto-Numic. All of the Numic languages have distinctive vowel length, but the long vowels are far outnumbered by short; this makes the evidence for reconstructing specific long vowels somewhat scanty at times ...

2.2. Proto-Tepiman

Bascom (1965:7) does not reconstruct vowel length for proto-Tepiman. Kaufman (1981) suggests that in many cases, Tepiman reverses original proto-Uto-Aztecan, that is short vowels became long, and long short.

2.3. Proto-Takic

Hill and Hill in 1968 argue that proto-Takic must have had length because of the evidence from Serrano (p. 240), and Munro, in her 1990 reconstruction of stress and vowel length in Cupan absolute nouns, states:

Despite the considerable variation in stress patterns among the modern Cupan languages, Proto-Cupan can be shown to have derived immediately from a language with a long/short vowel contrast and a regular stress rule, with the modern daughter languages' basic stress patterns developing gradually out of this reconstructed system. (p.217).

Munro notes at various points that the Luiseño forms are those that preserve length from a parent language; she does not hypothesize further by suggesting that proto-Uto-Aztecan had long vowels, and it seems more reasonable that she is referring to proto-Takic.

2.4. A view from Nahuatl

As is noted above, the existence of long vowels in Nahuatl is one of the principal kinds of evidence that linguists have used for the reconstruction of vowel length in proto-Uto-Aztecan. However, an examination of long vowels in Nahuatl both internally and in comparison with other Uto-Aztecan languages reveals certain patterns that may reconstruct at least in part to an intermediate proto-language. Long vowels in Nahuatl, as in a number of other Uto-Aztecan languages especially in the southern area, have developed from some of the $V?V$ and $CV_{\text{final feature}}CV$ sequences that developed to $CVC_{\text{glide}}V$ sequences. Although these processes have been noted before for the various branches, with the exception of Kaufman's initial work they have not been described for Nahuatl. Such an evolution in Nahuatl as well has implications for the reconstruction of proto-Uto-Aztecan.

Patterns of fusion appear to have been shared by a number of southern Uto-Aztecan languages and possibly Hopi and Takic, but not by Numic and Kern. For that reason, it will be argued that their development was an innovation not shared by the latter two branches. Although Munro's work details the development of vowel length in proto-Cupan, the situation in Takic in relation both to proto-Uto-Aztecan and to Nahuatl is still problematic.

3. Derived vowel length in Uto-Aztecan subbranches

In this section, descriptions drawn from different branches of Uto-Aztecan are cited that have noted the development of vowel length from sequences of VCV, where C is a resonant.

3.1. Vowel length from loss of *h and *ʔ in proto-Cupan

Munro, in her reconstruction of stress and length for proto-Cupan, discusses vowel length in Cahuilla and its implications for proto-Cupan:

Such words illustrate a well-known Cahuilla rule...by which certain intervocalic **h**'s are deleted. Thus we assume that 'basket' is underlyingly /néha-t/ with a syncopated plural whose preconsonantal **h** is preserved. We may extend the same line of argument to propose underlying forms /méhV-t/ and /múhV-t/ for 'gopher' and 'owl'... the fact that Cahuilla preserves vowel clusters in words like **néat** suggests that we should regard the long vowels of **mé:-t** and **mú:-t** as derived from clusters of like short vowels: thus **h**-deletion causes /héhe-t/, for instance, to become **mée-t**, with a medial vowel cluster, which is later simplified to **mé:-t**...(p. 230).

Finally, (p. 248) in a discussion of the term 141. YUCCA SP, Munro notes:

The alternate forms Cu **paná:-l** (HN) and Ca **pánuʔu-l** (SH) apparently reflect another, complex set—cf. also Lu **paná:ʔa-l** 'stalk of Spanish bayonet'—which suggests that Cu long vowels may sometimes derive from the deletion of intervocalic ʔ as well as **h**..."

However, Munro also notes other sources of vowel length. For instance, she divides the development of stress patterns in Cupan into seven stages, but notes of the second stage: "Proto-Cupan probably had a productive pattern of affective length alternations in verb roots (CVCV-/CV:CV-) like those seen in the Luiseño pairs ..

chúŋi- 'to kiss' /chú:ŋi-/ 'to suck'

máha- 'to stop hurting' /má:ha-/ 'to make up a quarrel'

qás.a- 'to make a clashing noise' /qá:s.a-/ 'to talk loudly' (p. 226)

3.2. Numic final features and vowel length

The term consonant gradation in Uto-Aztecan is another way of referring to final features. Although Langacker makes several comments about consonant gradation, he concludes "Outside of Numic only remnants of such a system survive..."(1977:23). However, the remnants are important for historical

analysis, as noted in Manaster-Ramer (1993), and by Kaufman (1981:1-79). Of interest here are the contrasts that involve PUA ***p**.

For proto-Numic, Ianucci contrasts geminates he derives from **/*hC/** and **/*NC-/** clusters with forms with a single consonant **/*-C-/**: "Proto-Numic medial **/*-C-/** can probably be regarded—as in the modern languages—as a spirantized (intervocalic lenition) variant of the plain initial consonant. ... (1973:83-4). The intervocalic lenition of ***p** has produced /w/ in a number of other languages.

In his reconstruction, Ianucci also states that "...some of the long vowels, as well as virtually all of the vowel clusters (i.e. of different vowels), that we find in the various languages are either the result of the deletion of an earlier intervocalic consonant—especially **/*y *w *h *ʔ/** ...—or they occur across morpheme boundaries."

Kaufman, while he argues that "Numic languages should not be taken as the most archaic of the family."(1981: 3), later on comments: "Common Numic has (double) vowels and vowel clusters which result from the loss of intervocalic consonants" (1981:16).

3.3. Hopi

Although Hopi shows CVCV stems in contrast with CV:CV ones, vowel lengthening in open syllables seems to be an innovative, productive process in the language, complemented by the addition of second, probably derivational syllables, to the stems with long vowels.

3.4. Tepiman

For Southern Tepehuan, María Ambriz (1994) has suggested that long vowels have evolved in many cases from a metathesis of CVCV forms to CVVC, in which the diphthongs that arose from the VV sequences, then became long vowels. It may be that this analysis applies to the rest of Tepiman as well, and relates to Kaufman's perception that vowel length has often been reversed in those languages.

3.5. Corachol

Corachol, on the basis of materials available and the analysis of Vázquez (in press) seems to have shared with Nahuatl in the development of length from Uto-Aztecan diphthongs, since contrasts in the stress system relate to the same

length contrasts found in Nahuatl; however, Corachol has innovated in other ways, especially as exemplified in Cora through a laryngealization of vowels that rarely corresponds to the laryngealization in the other languages, while on the other hand, losing the mentioned short/long contrasts that had developed as in Nahuatl, and lengthening vowels under other conditions.

4. Nahuatl

4.1. Short vowels

The evolution of Nahuatl vowels was discussed at length by Campbell and Langacker in 1978. Although their basic points about the fate of PUA ***u** in Nahuatl were disputed in Dakin 1983, Canger and Dakin 1985, and Manaster Ramer and Dakin (ms), they noted several important variants in the reflexes of short vowels, including the frequent loss of short vowels in the first syllable of CVCV forms, and the introduction of an epenthetic /i/ to avoid word-initial CC clusters and word-internal CCC ones following such loss. As noted earlier, it is also necessary to take into account the final features that can be reconstructed for PUA, since Nahuatl short vowels reflect them systematically.

4.2. PUA sources for short vowels in Nahuatl

It now appears that PUA *CV-, *CV_n-, and *CV''- are the sources of short vowels in Nahuatl. They show consistent patterns especially if one considers the reflexes in Numic and Taracahitan languages. The reconstruction and correspondence patterns for representative languages are given below. In the Appendix, additional reconstructions and sets of cognates support each rule.

4.2.1. PUA *CV''(geminating following consonant) > proto-Nah CV

PNum	PCupan	Hopi	Guarijío	Mayo	Tubar	O'odham	Nah
CV''	CV	CV	CV _h	CV''	CV	CV:	CV
Pn pitti(tin)	piti	pehtiáme		bette		we:č	eti:-k
	< PUA * pi''-ti 'heavy'						

4.2.2. PUA *CV_n(nasalizing following consonant) > proto-Nah CV

PNum	PCupan	Hopi	Guarijío	Mayo	Tubar	O'odham	Nah
CV _n	CV	CV _n	CV _h	CV''	CV	CV:	CV
Pn tīm-		tīm	tehté	tétta	te-	če:-	te-tl
	PUA * tī_n-pi 'stone, rock' > proto-Nah te-tl 'rock'						

4.2.3. PUA *CV (spirantizing following consonant) > proto-Nah CV

PNum	PCupan	Hopi	Guarijío	Mayo	Tubar	O'odham	Nah
CV-	CV-	CV		CV''	CV		CV
Kw kovo-				kabba	kova-		ka-kawa-tl
'pod'				'egg'	'egg'		'cacao' (little egg)
				PUA * kapa-	'pod, shell'		> proto-Nah ka-kawa-tl 'cacao'

4.3. Nahuatl short-vowel reflexes of proto-Uto-Aztecan vowels:

4.3.1. PUA *a > proto-Nah *a, *e, and ø

In most environments PUA **a > *a in Nahuatl. However, PUA *a in CaCV stems became *e after the bilabials *m and *p, as in PUA *ma''-ta > Nah **metla-tl** 'grinding stone' and PUA*pa''ta(?) > Nah **petla-tl** 'straw mat' and was lost in some other environments. Suffix final *a was lost word final, or became *e before a following *-t plural suffix.

Also PUA *ahi generally became short *e, as in PUA *tahi > Nah **tle-tl** 'fire' and PUA *ma(h)i¹ > Nah **me-tl** 'agave', from which Nah **me-ka-tl** 'twine' is derived (Dakin, 1996).

4.3.2. PUA *o > proto-Nah *o

Apparently PUA *o became Nah *o in all environments.

4.3.3. PUA *i (mid-vowel) > proto-Nah *e, *o

The unrounded mid-vowel *i², became *e in most environments, but usually *o after *s and in some other environments:

PUA * siki 'acid'	>	Nah šoko-k 'acid'
PUA * si-li-wa 'divide'	>	Nah šolowa 'to wrinkle'
PSUA * mi- 'reflexive prefix'	>	Nah mo-

For instance, the Nahuatl reflexive prefix **mo-** apparently is cognate of the Tepecano prefix **mi-**, which would reflect a PUA ***mi-**. It is easier to understand the morphophonemic variation between **mo-** with the back vowel before most CC- initial stems and **mi-** with the front vowel before a -hC- stem in Nahuatl, if the original vowel were a central one.

1 Since Tubar has mañi-t, it seems probable that the PUA form was *manyi- that then became *mahi.

2 Reconstructions in the Appendix show *e for the PUA *i mentioned here; some linguists reconstruct it as a more anterior *e; however, it probably really was a *ə, as suggested by Kaufman (19481).

4.3.4. PUA *i > proto-Nah *i

PUA **i became *i in all environments; it was lost when unstressed in many positions.

4.3.5. PUA *u > proto-Nah *i (*i > i, e)

PUA **u, as argued by Canger and Dakin 1985, became *i in pre-Nahuatl, a change probably shared with Corachol; it then split, so that *i must have been retained after *s and *t and before another central consonant, later becoming **i** in Eastern Nahuatl and **e** in the Western Nahuatl. In other environments, pre-Nahuatl *i merged with the reflex of PUA *i as Nah *i. Words showing the change are given below:

* tusu 'to grind'	>	Nah tesi/tisi
* sun- 'nit'	>	Nah ah-selin, ah-silin ³
* sutu-y 'nail, claw; finger'	>	Nah iste, isti
* su''ŋV- 'corn'	>	Nah sen-tli, sin-tli
* tu_n- 'hill, rise'	>	Nah tlatel-li, tlatil-li
* muku 'to die'	>	Nah miki

4.4. Morphophonemic long vowels in Nahuatl

Sapir (1913:424) proposed the existence of processes of assimilation in Nahuatl, particularly that of a short vowel to /o/ before /wa/. This change was described in much more detail by Canger in 1980, who also noted that the long /o:/s that appeared morphophonemically in some verb forms must derive historically from /owa/, which in turn would have come from /Vwa/.

4.4.1. Long o: < /owa/

tla-poli- wa -li-li	>	tla- polo:-l-li 'something lost'
-poli- wa -ti-we	>	-polo:-tiw 'went to lose'
čol wa -s-ka	>	čolo:s 'will flee'

4.4.2. Long i: < /iya/ and /ili/

It is also evident that /iya/ and /ili/ become /i:/ morphophonemically, as in the following constructions:

mo-tla: li -ya-s	>	mo-tla: li :s 'will sit down'
koč i + li -wa	>	koč i :wa 'one sleeps (impersonal subject)'

³ *pa- 'on top' + *sun- 'nit', by lenition of *p > h and metathesis of the *pa > ah-.

e:wa+(li)-wa	> e:o:-wa 'one flies up (impersonal subject)'
koči+li+ti-ya	> koči:tiya 'makes sleep'
piya+li-ya	> pi:-li-ya 'holds for'
ši-mo-tla:li-ya-ka:-m	> ši-mo-tla:li:-ka:n 'sit down (pl. subject)'

In Nahuatl $y > \check{s}/V_+C, \#$ when V is the root vowel; however, a located another mora removed from the root vowel $y > h$

4.4.3. Long a: < /a-ha/

k ^w a-ha-li-ya	>	k ^w a:-li-ya 'eat for'
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4.5. Historical sources of Nahuatl long vowels

The comparison of Nahuatl long vowels with other Uto-Aztecan languages and the reconstruction of PUA shows them to have two principal sources. First, some Nahuatl long vowels correspond to specific types of single syllables in PUA. Secondly, other long vowels in Nahuatl are derived from bisyllabic sequences in words that are minimally trisyllabic.

4.5.1. Long vowels with PUA syllable to proto-Nah syllable correspondences

4.5.1.1. PUA *CV?V > proto-Nah CV:, CVh

Laryngealized vowels in PUA become Vh or V: in Nahuatl. They show the following correspondences with other Uto-Aztecan languages:

PNum	PCupan	Hopi	Guarijío	Mayo	Tubar	O'odham	Nah
CV?V	CV:	CV:	CV	CV?V, CV:	CV-	CVh-	CVhV
*ki?i	*qe?e	ki:ki	ki?-	ke?e	ke-	ki?i	keh-coma

PUA *ki?i 'to bite, use teeth' > Nah **keh-coma** 'to bite'

PUA *si?i 'guts, to urinate' > Nah **ši:ša** 'to urinate'

4.5.1.2. PUA *pV > proto-Nah V:

In Dakin (1991), it was initially suggested that some initial long vowels in Nahuatl derive from PUA *pV sequences, since word-initial *p > *h, and the *h probably voiced to become a long vowel. Apparently, the syllable closing feature could be important as well, but the details are not yet clear. Examples of *pV > *V: follow.

PUA *pu-si > Nah **i:š-tli** 'face'

PUA *pa-ka > Nah **a:-ka-tl** 'reed'

4.5.2. PUA two-syllable sequences > proto-Nah CV: in three-syllable words

4.5.2.1. Kaufman's hypothesis

Kaufman in 1981 noted that many long vowels in Nahuatl, particularly those in none-root-initial syllables, are derived from sequences with either ***w** or spirantized ***p**. These included many cases of /o:/, as seen below:

Long o: < /owa/ (Kaufman)

a:yo:-tl 'turtle' < ***ʔahya-ʔ-wih-ta** (+ augm) (p.225)

tekoloo-tl 'owl' < ****tukuri-wih-ta** (+ augm)

Synchronic descriptions of most Numic languages describe a lenis or fricative allophone for intervocalic /p/, so that it seems probable that through lenition, a [B] allophone of ***p** merged with the intervocalic allophone of ***w**. Kaufman maintains that the first vowel was long, and that the ***w** was simply lost. The alternative suggestion made here is that the length is from coalescence of the sequence. The coalescence does not happen in bisyllabic words where a monosyllabic stem would result because these are avoided in general in the language.

4.5.2.2. Sequences in three-syllable words with ***V_pV** and ***V_wV** >V:

PUA lenis ****p** > ***w** in pre-Nahua, and in most cases, the VwV sequence became a long vowel in three-syllable words.

4.5.2.2.1. PUA ***CV_(n)pV**, ***CV_(n)wV** (one vowel is ***a**) > **proto-Nah Co:**

(the other is not **i** or **a**)

PUA ***ta-pu(-ci)** 'rabbit' > Nah **to:-či-n** 'rabbit'

PUA ***ti_n-wa-(ka)** (or ***ti_n-pa-kaʔ**) 'name' > Nah **to:-ka-yi-tl** 'name'

4.5.2.2.2. PUA ***CV_(n)pV**, ***CV_(n)wV** (both vowels are ***a**) > **proto-Nah Ca:**

PUA ***ta_n-wa(-ka)** 'man, person' > Nah **tla:-ka-tl** 'man'

The reason for a form such as ***si_n-wa_n** giving /a:/ may be that the accent fell on the ***a**, or that the ***r** blocked rounding.

PUA ***si_n-wa_n(-ri)** 'sand' > Nah **ša:-li** 'sand'

4.5.2.2.3. PUA ***CV_(n)pV**, ***CV_(n)wV** (both vowels ***i** or ***u**) > **proto-Nah Ci:**

PUA ***ci-pu** 'bitter' > Nah **či-či:-k** 'bitter' (reduplication)

4.5.2.2.4. PUA *CV_(n)pV, *CV_(n)wV (both vowels are *i) > proto-Nah Ce:

PUA ***t_i-pi-ŋi** 'mouth, lip' > Nah **te:-n-tli** 'mouth'

PUA ***si-pi** 'cold' > Nah **se-se:-k** 'cold' (reduplication)

When the syllable is a geminating one or has a glottalized vowel, the coalescence does not occur:

4.5.2.2.5. PUA *CV''pV, *CV?VpV > proto-Nah CVpV

In contrast to the forms derived from *CVpV sequences discussed in section 4.5.2.1, the following examples contrast because *p does not soften after the glottalized vowel, or before a geminate consonant, since these block lenition.

PUA ***si?i-pi-** 'to peel' > Nah **ši:-pe:-wa** 'to skin, peel'

PUA ***ta''-pa-** 'to break' > Nah **tla-pa:-ni** 'to break'

4.5.2.3. PUA *V_nV > SUA *V_rV *CV_nnV_i (V₁ is *u or *i) > proto-Nah i:

PUA ***CVCi-ni+wa** > Nah **CVCi:-wa** 'impersonal'

*'verb+nominalizer *ni + non-specified agent*

PUA ***koci-ni-wa** > Nah **koči:-wa**⁴ 'one sleeps'

4.5.2.4. PUA *V_(n)yV > proto-Nah *V:

PUA ***miya(-ca)**⁵ 'moon' > Nah **me:-c-tli** 'moon'

4.5.2.5. PUA *aha > proto-Nah a:

PUA ***taha''/teha''** 'put away' > Nah **tla:-li-ya** 'to put', Nah **tla:-ti-ya**
'to hide', Nah **tla:-sa** 'to throw'

4.5.2.6. PUA *ayi > proto-Nah a:

PUA ***payi** > Nah **pa:-ki** 'to be happy'

4 PUA *n > pre-Nahuatl -r-/V_V, which is found as Nahuatl -l- when not between two high vowels, as in *tla-kwa-lo* 'one eats', from **tla-kwa-li-wa* (Dakin, 1990).

5 Manaster Ramer (1992) has identified and strongly argued for an important NUA innovation by which PUA *c > NUA *y. Manaster Ramer includes the terms for 'moon' as examples of the correspondence, and analyzes the NUA *y as cognate with Nah *c. Although I am in agreement with his identification of the innovation, I think that in the case of 'moon', the NUA forms with *mlya* are cognate with Nah *me:-*, and that the Nah -c is a suffix not found in the NUA words.

4.5.2.7. PUA *VN- > Nah V; VNya > Nah V:

PUA ***mi_n-si** 'cloud' > Nah **miš-tli/meš-tli** 'cloud'

***mi_n-ya-(ca)** 'moon, month' > Nah **me:-c-tli** 'moon, month'

4.5.2.8. PUA *ahi > proto-Nah e

Although these are not original three syllable formations, through coalescence of *ahi*, one would expect Nah *e*: here, but it shortens to *e*. Given that Corachol forms show a metathesis of the second CV, from ***tahi** > *taih*, and ***ma_nyi** > ***mahi** > *maih*, and that Southern Tepehuan also had such metatheses, it seems possible that Nahuatl shared in the development in this case, and that the resulting **e*: shortened before the glottal.

PUA ***tahi** 'fire' > Nah **tle-tl** 'fire'

4.5.3. PUA *CV-CV > proto-Nah *CVCV or *iCCV

It is important to note again that two-syllable sequences did not coalesce because monosyllables are avoided.

PUA ***sa_n-wa** 'leaf' > Nah **iswa-tl** 'leaf'

PUA ***ta-pi** 'sun, day' > Nah **ilwi-tl**⁶ 'day'

but: PUA ***ta-pi-na-** 'to be hot (the sun to go along)' > Nah **to:-na** 'to be hot'

5. Conclusions

While the case for most if not all of Nahuatl long vowels being derived from different types of sequences seems quite strong, the question of long vowels in proto-Uto-Aztecan having a similar derivation has only been tentatively explored. A word of caution is necessary, because in general in languages long vowels tend to develop from such secondary sequences only when a short/long vowel contrast already exists, since drastic typological changes tend to be avoided⁷. However, the Nahuatl evidence is presented here in the hope that such a situation can be explored for the different branches and the proto-language in greater detail. It would be interesting to find that to the contrary of the general rule, no original long vowels can be reconstructed for PUA, which is precisely what Nahuatl evidence would suggest.

⁶ PUA **t* > **tl* or **l*/_a, **p* > *w/V*_V, then **a* is lost before Nahuatl /*w*/, and an epenthetic *i* is prefixed before the stem-initial consonant group to give the proper phonological form in Nahuatl *ilwi-tl*; by a similar process PUA **tappi-* 'to tie', with the geminate *p* > **tlapi-* > Nahuatl *ilpi-a* (Dakin, 1989).

⁷ Here I am grateful to comments by Drs. Wolfgang Dressler, Verónica Vázquez, and Ricardo Maldonado, and Heriberto Avelino at a recent presentation of these hypotheses in the CILI of Guadalajara.

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APPENDIX : SAMPLE COGNATE SETS

(Numbering follows sections in paper)

Abbreviations:

Ca	Cahuilla (Munro; Hill & Hill)
Cu	Cupeño (Munro; Hill & Hill)
Eud	Eudeve (Lionnet)
Gu	Eastern Guarijio (Miller)
GuO	Western Guarijio (Barreras)
Hp	Hopi (Shaul)
Hui	Huichol (Grimes et al)
Kw	Kawaiisu (Zigmond, Booth and Munro)
Ls	Luisseño (Munro; Hill & Hill; Bright)
My	Mayo (Lionnet, Collard and Collard)
Nah	Nahuatl
O'o	O'othham (Saxton et al.)
PCu	Proto-Cupan (Munro)
Pn	Panamint (Dayley)
Se	Serrano (Munro; Hill & Hill)
SP	Southern Paiute, Sapir
Tbr	Tubar (Lionnet)

4.2.1. PUA *V"-, *V- > Nah V (and Nah Ø)

*ka"-ni-	house, shelter
SP	qanni-s house (n geminates in SP, but goes to hn in Pn and some other Numic languages)
Pn	kahni
Tu	hani:-l
Hp	qeni place, room
My	ka:ri (r does not geminate, but lengthens preceding vowel in Mayo)
Eud	kal/i,-, -kal
Nah	kalli house
*ku"-na-/*ku _n -na	sack (M ku-11)
SP	qunna-s sack
PCu	*kú:ni-la
Nah	ki- (čiki-witl, šikipilli) basket, bag
*sa"-na-	gum, to stick
SP	sanna-g gum
Tu	sa:na-t pitch
Hp	sa:na gum
Nah	salo-wa to stick

*kwasi"	to ripen, cook
Pn	kwasi"- to ripen (s does not geminate in Numic)
My	bwasse to ripen
Tbr	kvase-, kvasi- to ripen
Nah	[i]kwsɪ to ripen, cook
*kwi"-ta	excrement
Mn	k ^w itta-ppi excrement
Gu	wihtá (s.) excrement wih-tá-ra
My	bwitta excrement
Tbr	kvitá-t excrement
Nah	kwitla-tl excrement
*kwi"-ca-	excrement
SP	qwitca- to defecate
*pi"-ti	heavy
Pn	pi ^t ti(tin) heavy
Tu	pi ^l i:ʔit heavy
O'o	we:č
GuO	pehtiáme heavy
My	bette to be heavy
Nah	eti:-k heavy

*su"-tu	nail, finger (this set is problematic, especially in comparison with that of *pe"-ti 'heavy') (M su-01)
Pn	-situn nail
SP	šiču-ppi nail (č se interpreta como -tt- ante u)
Tu	sulun-t
SP	sit-su- finger-nail, claw
GuO	suhtú-ra finger
My	súttu nail
Nah	iste-/isti- nail

4.2.2. PUA *VN > Gua Vh = My V" = Nah V

*t _n -pi"	stone, rock
SP	t _n m-pi-" rock, iron
O'o	če:- rock
GuO	tehté rock
My	tétta rock
Nah	te-tl rock
*ta _n -mi	tooth
Pn	taman
SP	ta _n wa-N tooth
Tu	tamant teeth

Hp	tama	
GuO	tamé-ra	tooth
My	támmi	tooth
Nah	tlan-tli	tooth
<i>*t_n-ma/t_n-wa</i> to steam (to use stones?)		
SP	t _i ?ma-	to roast under ashes; to bury
Hp	tima	griddle
Gu	teméi (s.)	tortilla (PUA *VN > V/_C _{+nasal})
Nah	tema	to steam
Nah	tama-l-li	tamale
<i>*wi_nca</i> thorn		
Pn	winnu(pi)	thorn (PUA wi _n ca > PNUA wi _{ny} V > winnu-)
GuO	wehcha-ra	thorn
Nah	wic-tli	thorn
<i>*woŋko</i> pine		
SP	ɔgɔ-	fir
Pn	wo _n kopin	
Tu	wo: _n hal	
PCu	*wəxé-	pine
GuO	ohkó	pine
Nah	oko-tl	pine
<i>PSUA *pahc-</i> first		
GuO	pahčá	first
Nah	ač-to	first
<i>PSUA *tah-ku</i> palm		
Gu	tahkú (s.)	'palmilla, tipo de planta'
GuO	tahkú (s.)	palmilla
Eud	tákut (J)takát, (J)takít	palm
Nah	tlako-tl	palm
<i>PSUA *yah-ka</i> nose		
GuO	yahká-ra	nose
My	yékka	nose
Nah	yaka-tl	nose

4.2.3. PUA *V-pV > Nah VwV

<i>*ka-pa</i> pod; pot, shell		
Kw	kovonigwi=	pod
My	kabba	to lay an egg
Tbr	kɔva-	egg
Nah	kakawa-tl	cacao
<i>*yi-paN-na"</i> autumn		
Pn	y _i pani	autumn
SP	-y _i van:a-g	autumn
Nah	yowa-l-li	night, dark

4.5.1.1. *V?V > Nah Vh

<i>*ci?i</i> to spit		
Kw	čičii?i-	
Nah	čihča	to spit
<i>*ki?i</i> to use teeth		
SP	q _i ?i	to bite
My	ké?e-	to bite
Tbr	kéra-k	
Eud	ké, ket	bite, mouthful
Nah	ke?-coma	to bite
<i>*su?u</i> grandmother		
Hp	so?o	grandmother
Nah	sih-tli	grandmother
<i>*su?i</i> jackrabbit		
Hp	sowi	jackrabbit
PCu	*su?iš	jackrabbit
Nah	sih-tli	jackrabbit

PUA *V?V > Nah V:

<i>*ko?o</i> to hurt		
My	kó?ko	illness
Tbr	kɔ-, kɔ-kɔ'	
Nah	koko-ya, koko-wa	to get sick
<i>*kwa?a</i> skirt		
My	koá'ari	enaguas
Tbr	koayí-t	
Eud	kóa	edge; skirt
Nah	kwe:yi-tl	skirt
<i>*kwa?a-we-</i> eagle		
Gu	wa?-wé (s.)	eagle
Nah	kwa:w-tli	eagle
<i>*o?o</i> bone		
SP	ɔɔ-	bone
SP	ɔ	round object
SP	ɔ-paq:i-, ɔ-vagi-	there is a hole
SP	ɔɔ-mpa	fist-fight
SP	ɔɔ-y'ai-	to be lean, starved
My	óttá	
Eud	ho-wa-t (-ouh-, -owa-	reduced forms) bone
Nah	o:mi-tl	bone
<i>*po?i</i> to lie down		
SP	pe?ti/pe?ti-pó, suj. pl.	to be lying down, sg. subj.

- Gu poʔi/poʔi-má to be lying down
 Tbr hōne-
 Eud boʔó-n to lie down
 Nah o:- to be lying down
- *siʔi guts, to urinate
 Kw siʔi-gwi to urinate
 Kw siʔi-pi urine
 PCu *ša:ʔi-š guts
 SP si'i-s to urinate
 EU sísa-n to urinate
- *siʔi-ka, siʔi-ku navel
 SP sigu-n navel
 Gu sikú (s.) navel
 MY si:ku navel
 EU siikát navel
 Tbr sikú-r
 Nah ši:k-tli navel
- *siʔi-wa guts
 EU siwát stomach, guts
- *siʔ-pi to scrape, peel
 Pn -sipeh, -saape to peel
 Pn -sii-wah to scratch
 SP si-va= to whittle
 Gu si-ba-ná/-má to scrape
 Gu siʔ-pána-ni (siʔpáca-ni) (v.t.)
 to tear, split apart a rag
 Tbr si-pe-, si-pe-daʔa-m to be peeled
 (as a snake that has shed its skin)
 Nah ši:-pe:-wa to peel, skin
- PSUA *si:-ta sprouting corn ear (probably <
 PUA *siʔ-ta)
 Gu sitá, (or) sita-póa cornsilk
 Hui sita sprouting corn ear
 Nah ši:-lo:-tl sprouting corn ear
 (probably < PUA *siʔ-ta-pe or
 *siʔ-ta-hawi)
- *suʔu- star
 Hp soohu star
 PCu *sú:ʔu-la
 Gu soʔpóri (s.) estrella
 Nah si:-tla-li-n star (<*si:-la-li-n)
- *toʔi cattail
 SP toʔi-vi 'cattail'
 Nah to:-li-n cattail
- *-paʔi to have, possess
- Pn -paʔi-n to have
 Nah -wa:-n, -waʔ mediated possession
- *waʔi(-ke) to dry, roast
 SP wai- to roast in the ashes
 Eud wáke-n to dry up, get thin
 Tbr ^mwai-
 Eud wa:wa (guaagua) to dry; roast
 Nah wa:-ki to dry (iv)
 Nah wa:-ča to dry (tv)
- *waʔai- fibrous and flat
 SP waʔai- grass seed
 SP waʔa-" cedar

4.5.1.2. PUA *pV> Proto-Nah V:

- *payi three
 SP pai three
 Gu paiká three
 Nah e:-yi three

4.5.2.2. Long vowels from VCV sequences

4.5.2.2.1. PUA *V-pV > *V:

- *ci-pu bitter
 PCu *či:vu-t
 Eud cipu
 Nah či:či:k bitter
- *haya-pi- turtle
 Tbr haya-wé-t turtle
 Nah a:yo:-tl turtle
- *haya-pi-ʔ (Kaufman) squash
 Tbr haya- squash
 Nah a:yo'-tli squash
- *na-pu prickly pear; nopal
 PCu *ná:və-t
 My naábo; nabo-taáka-m prickly pear
 Eud nabúc
 Nah no:-č-tli prickly pear fruit
 Nah noh-pal-li nopal prickly pear
- *ta-pi sun, day
 Pn tape(ttsi)m tapai(ttsi) sun; day;
 in the daytime
 Nah [i]lwi-tl day
 Nah to:-na 'to be warm, to shine (sun)'
 Nah tlap-ko-pa east

(Contrast with CCV sequence in
*tape > Nah ilwi-tl 'day')

*ta-pu	rabbit
SP	tavu- cotton-tailed rabbit
Pn	tapu-n, tapu"-ci cottontail
Kw	tavu-ci cottontail
My	taábu rabbit
Eud	tábu
Nah	to:-či-n rabbit

**4.5.2.2.2. PUA *Vŋ-wa > Gu Vwa =
My V:wa = Nah V:**

*siŋ-waN	sand
SP	siŋ-wa-mpU- sand, gravel
Pn	pa-siŋo-mpin
Gu	se-té
Eud	sá
Nah	ša:-l-li sand

(*siŋ-wa?) > PSUA *siwa flower

Gu	sewá flower.
My	seéwa flower
Nah	šo:-či-tl flower

*ta _n wa-ka-	person, man M273a (*tawa)
Nah	tla:-ka-tl man, person

*ti _n -pi-	mouth, to name
Pn	timpe- mouth
SP	timpa- mouth
My	teé-ni/te-m- mouth
Nah	te:-n-tli mouth
Hp	tujwa name it
PCu	*təə:wa-la
Gu	tewá, (o) rewá name
Nah	to:-ka-yi-tl name

4.5.2.2.3. PUA *CV_(n)pV, *CV_(N)WV_(b)

(oth vowels are *i or *u) > **Nah Ci:**

PUA *ci-pu	bitter
Ls	cívu-t
Hp	cí:vo
Pg	sív
My	ciibu
Nah	či-či:-k bitter (reduplication)

4.5.2.2.4 PUA *CV_(n)pV, *CV_(n)wV

(both vowels are *i) > **Nah Ce:**

*te-N-Ha	tell, order
Pn	tija to tell

Nah tena to complain
(perhaps Nah [i]htowa to speak ?< *pu-tiŋ-wa)

4.5.2.2.5 PUA *CV"pV > Nah CVpV

Notice the contrast with geminated *p:

*ta"-pa	to split
Gu	taʔpá-ni/-ma (v.i.) to split
Gu	taʔpána-ni (taʔpáca-ni) (v.t.) to split
Nah	tlapa:ni to split
*ta"-pV	to tie
SP	tap:it:ca- to tie
Hui	tapi- to tie
Nah	ilpiya to tie

4.5.2.5. PUA *aha > Nah a:

*taha/teha	put away
Pn	taha" put (away), locate, situate, place
Nah	tla:tia to hide
Nah	tla:lia to put

4.5.2.6. PUA *ayi > Proto-Nah a:

*payi	to be happy
Eud	báde-ce-n to be happy
Gu	pohá-ni/-ma (v.i.) to be happy
Nah	pa:-ki to be happy

4.5.2.7. PUA *VN- > Nah V; VNya > Nah V:

*me _n -si	cloud
Eud	mosít cloud
Gu	to-mó-a-ri cloud
Nah	miš-tli/mes-tli cloud
*me _n -ya	moon, month
PCu	*məəyi-la
Eud	me-cá-t moon, month
Tub	
Nah	me:-c-tli moon, month

4.5.2.8. PUA *ahi > Nah e

*mahi, *ma _n yi	agave, maguey
PCu	*ʔamú:-l
Gu	to-to-sá, (o) mahí totośá (s.) kind of agave

	Eud	méit	agave
	Nah	me-tl	maguey
*tahi		fīre	
	Eud	té, J té'e	fire
	Nah	tletl, tat, tlitl	fire
*tah-		to be hot, to burn	
	Gu	tahtá-ni/tahtaré-ma	
		(o) tahtá-wa/tahtaré-ma (v.i)	
	Nah	tlatla	to burn
*sa _n -wa		leaf	
	SP	saṅwa-s	sagebrush
	Pn	samapi	juniper, cedar
	PCu	*ṣa:ma-t	
	GuO	sawá-ra	leaf
	My	sawwa (saugua)	grass
	Tbr	samoá-r, samwá-t	
	Nah	[i]swa-tl	corn leaf