THE COCOPA AUXILIARY VERB ya- be located, happen

James M. Crawford

1. There are five verbs of position in Cocopa. Three of these verbs may signify the positions of both objects and animate beings, according to whether they are perceived as sitting, lying, or standing. Animate beings are perceived as being capable of occupying any one of these positions. All three verbs, therefore, are appropriate to state the positions of animate beings as the circumstances and situations require. On the other hand, only one of these three verbs is, as a rule, proper for signifying the position of objects. Objects which are relatively narrow and long are perceived as either lying or standing, according to whether they are oriented, respectively, horizontally or vertically. Objects which are not narrow and long and objects of indeterminate shape are, for the most part, perceived as sitting. The Cocopa verbs which denote these three positions are: wa sit, yak lie, and p9a. stand. A few objects which are not narrow and long and for which wa sit would seem appropriate, e.g., "bowl", "table", require not wa, but a fourth verb, ya- be located, happen, for signifying their positions. There are a few objects of variable or indeterminate shape, e.g., "house", "lake", "plot of land", whose positions may be stated by either of two verbs, usually by wa or ya. or by yak or ya.

The above statements are applicable only when animate beings and objects are perceived as individuals. The position of animate beings viewed as a collection of individuals which exist or act as a unit is signified by ya-w several (animate) to be located as a group, regardless of whether they are sitting, lying, or standing. The position of two or more objects viewed as a collection or as a unit is denoted by ya-, regardless of the shape and orientation of the individual objects.

Thus, ya- is both a collective inanimate plural verb of position and also the appropriate verb for stating the position of a small class of objects when these objects are viewed as individuals.

2. The five verbs of position may be main verbs in verb phrases or they may follow main verbs as auxiliaries. As main verbs of phrases, they denote explicitly that objects and beings occupy the positions stated. As auxiliaries, they convey the same information as to position, but there is much less emphasis on the particular position occupied. The particular position occupied, as signified by the auxiliary, is incidental and of secondary importance to the action of the main verb. But the position must nevertheless be stated in order to conform to Cocopa conceptions of psychological and semantic completeness and naturalness. Part of the naturalness felt by speakers in the use of verbs of position as auxiliaries is probably due to the fact that it is only these verbs and certain other verbs, including two verbs of motion, which are permitted to attach the locative-temporal prefixes
which locate an action, event, or occurrence in relative space and time. The establishment, therefore, of a separate and special class of verbs as auxiliaries is justified formally as well as semantically.

The locative-temporal prefixes are pa- here, now, pu- here, then (farther in space or time than pa-, but not as far as ça-), and ça- there, then. The ability to attach one of these prefixes serves, therefore, as the criterion for assigning a verb to the class of auxiliaries. The actual affixation of one of the prefixes signifies, or may signify, the employment of the verb as an auxiliary, rather than as a main verb.

Sentences 1-13 illustrate the use of the five verbs of position either as main verbs or as auxiliaries.
His mother (and he), the two (of them) now were there.

(8) q'ák Gala-ya-kúr klxu ?u-yú-m
horse-this-subj then-long boat 3ps-be-sb

1y-ya-w, in-3ps-be=located

The horse for a long time had been a boat and they were in it.

(9) yá-be ṣká-si c lamé-s-i yá-c
located bowl-subj table-on be=located-subj

The bowl is on the table.

(10) wa-c ṣá-yá-m
house-subj there-be=located-sb

p-wá-m-c-a, 3ps-arrive-away-from-ppc-ter
(pwa he arrives)

He arrived at the house there.

(11) n'yáwí-s-c xmuk pu-yá-m n'y pu-n'y
thing-subj be=three here-be=located-sb this-pns

š-u-cú-s-x ṣ-a-c, 3ps-pick=up-fut he=says-ppc
(sču pick up, şcu-s several to pick up)

They said they would pick up the three things there.

(12) pu-yá-m ṣ-u-wí-s-c.
here-be=located-sb 3ps-see-ppc

He looked at (the things) here.

(13) n'yáwí-xcaq yu-m pu-yá-m
thing be=bad be-cont here-be=located-sb
n'y k-u-mís.
3ps-arrive
(n'ykmis coll. pl. of pa-arrive)

They arrived where there was something bad (i.e., at a bad place).

3. The verbs of position in the above sentences signify the positions of objects or of animate beings in space. Of these verbs, only one, ya-be located, happen, is employed to signify position in time, an extension of its employment for expression of position in space. In Sentence 14 pu-yá-c has spatial reference and was translated by a speaker as "there it (the money) is".

(14) pi's š-u-cú-c śxláp-i ṣ-a-s-m
money 3ps-pick=up-ppc blanket-on 3ps-put-sb
(sču pick up)
pu-yá·c.
here-be=located-ppc

He picked up the money and put it on the blanket there.

Actually, puyá·c is ambiguous in Sentence 14. puyá·c could also be interpreted as referring to the action of the preceding verbs: šcu pick up and sa put, with the translation "then it happened". That spatial rather than temporal reference was assumed by the speaker is probably due to the fact that ya· with temporal reference is used more frequently to express future, rather than present or past, actions and events. There is no ambiguity in Sentence 15, in which puyá·c has temporal reference only.

(15) pi·s ʃ-u-cú-k ʃxlá-p-i ʔu-sá-x-m
money 3ps-pick-up-fc blanket-on 3ps-put-fut-sb
(šcu pick up)
pu-yá·c.
then-happen-ppc

He will pick up the money and put it on the blanket.

ya· is employed to express location in time far more frequently than it is employed to express spatial or physical location. Any one of the three locative-temporal prefixes, pa-, pu-, and ʃa-, may be affixed to ya· for denoting spatial reference. Ordinarily, only the two prefixes pa- and pu- are employed with ya· when the reference is temporal and, except when negated with 1u-...-m, prefixation of one or the other is required. pa- signifies that the event will occur in the very near future or has just occurred; pu- signifies a more distant occurrence of the event, either in the past or in the future. Thus, there are only two forms of ya·, with the exception of the negative luyá·m, for expression of temporal location: payá· and puyá·, with the appropriate syntactic suffix or with no suffix.5 The phrase in which the form occurs ordinarily follows the statement of the event, as in Sentence 15. When they follow the main verbs, payá· and puyá· are in effect asseveratives, in that they affirm positively the events expressed by the main verbs. luyá·m may be called a negative asseverative.

Since the subject of payá· or puyá· is the event itself and must therefore be different from the subject of the preceding verb, -m subordinating, which signifies that the following verb has a different subject, is normally affixed to the immediately preceding verb. payá· and puyá· may, like any verb, suffix -m subordinating, provided the sentence continues and is followed by a verb with a different subject. In fact, there are no restrictions as to suffixes; payá· and puyá· may take any suffix permitted for other verbs. However, in their function as asseveratives, the most frequent suffixes are -m continuative and -c present-past coordinating. Occasionally, no suffix is attached. Suffixation of -c present-past coordinating anticipates the completion of the event.6 Suffixation of -m continuative stresses the continuation of the event. The absence of a suffix signifies a lack of reference to both the continuation and the completion of the event.

4. Employment of payá· and puyá· as asseveratives for expression of temporal location will now be illustrated.
In Sentence 16 location of the "going" in the future is precluded by the absence of -x future as a suffix to wa he goes. A nonrecent past is indicated by n[yakúr long ago. Therefore, puyá·, rather than payá·, is the appropriate asseverative.

(16) n’y-a-kúr w-a-m pu-yá·-c-a.
then-long 3ps-go-sb then-happen-ppc-ter
He went some time ago; he has gone already.

The absence of a suffix to puyá· in Sentence 17 signifies an avoidance of reference to both the completion and the durability of the work. The work may be of relatively short duration, perhaps only a single piece of work, or it may continue for an indefinite period of time. The speaker by omitting a suffix expresses his willingness to accept either type of work. The choice of puyá·, rather than payá·, signifies that the speaker does not expect the work to begin immediately. Suffixation of -m continuative to puyá· would indicate that the speaker expected the work to be more or less permanent. Suffixation of -c present-past coordinating would indicate that the speaker contemplated a single piece of work of relatively short duration.

(17) n’yawí· ?a-rá·-r m-n’?a’?ís-k-m
thing ir-work-pl 2p-possess-fc-sb
(rar work, · pl)

n’y-rar-x-m pu-yá· ?i-c.
I .. you-work-fut-sb then-happen I=say-ppc

If you have work, I will work for you.

The auxiliary verb yu be with -š evidential often follows payá· and puyá· when -c present-past coordinating (but never -m continuative) is suffixed, and provides an emphasis to the asseveration. -š evidential signifies that the speaker vouches for the occurrence of the action or event.

puyá·c in Sentence 18 suggests that only one "eating" will take place.

(18) šcu-k kmi-k lu·p ma-s-x-m
I=pick=up-fc I=take-fc something I=eat-pl-fut-sb

pu-yá·-c yu-š.
then-happen-ppc be-ev

I will pick it (money) up, take it, and we will eat something.

Suffixation of -m continuative to puyá· in Sentence 19 indicates the belief that there will be sufficient money for several "eatings".

(19) šcu-k kmi-k lu·p ma-s-x-m
I=pick=up-fc I=take-fc something I=eat-pl-fut-sb
pu-yá·-m.
then-happen-cont

I will pick it (money) up, take it, and we will (continue to) eat something.
If the speaker wishes to add emphasis to the asseverated event, -nypa emphatic, rather than -q evidential, is suffixed to yu be, as in Sentence 20.

(20) m-psy.-m pu-p-yā.-c
2p-daughter-subj 3ps-marrry-sb now-happen-ppc
yu-nypa.
be-emp

Your daughter has just got married.

Sentences 21-23 illustrate further the employment of puyā- with -c present-past coordinating.

(21) nypa-nypa- yā-x-m pu-yā.-c
that-pns he=says-fut-sb then-happen-ppc be-ev

He will say that.

(22) pi-nypa- p-m-xir-x-m pu-yā.-c
this-pns 3po-2p-tie-fut-sb then-happen-ppc be-ev

This, you will tie him (with it).

(23) nypa-kn wai- aví- m-a?í-x-m pu-yā.-c.
tomorrow thing 2p-do-fut-sb then-happen-ppc

Tomorrow you will do things (i.e., work).

Sentences 24-27 illustrate further the employment of pāy- and puyā- with -m continuous.

(24) nypa-k p-u-k man-k nypa-wil-k
fpp-subj that-toward I=go-fc I=start-fc I=shoo-fc
puyā-k wi-x pa-yā-m.
here-I=come-fc I=see-fut now-happen-cont

I will go and start from that side and come shooing and will see what happens.

(25) nypa-k nypa-m ma-c pu-yā-m.
day-subj be=very=much be=ripe-ppc then-happen-cont

It will take many days (for it) to ripen.

(26) puyā-k wi-x-m pu-yā-m.
I=do-fc I=see-fut-sb then-happen-cont
I will do it and see (what happens).

(27) wai- caš i-x-m pu-yā-m.
thing be=small I=say-fut-sb then-happen-cont
I will have a little something to say.

It is to be noted in Sentences 24 and 25 that -m subordinating is not suffixed to the verbs wi see and ma be ripe, which immediately precede pāy- and puyā-. Suffixation of -m to wi-x in Sentence 24 (but not to mac in Sentence 25) would produce a sentence acceptable to speakers, as is to be expected. Its suffixation in this sentence,
however, modifies the meaning slightly, in a manner not fully understood.8

5. Negation of an event or action may be accomplished by affixing lu-...-m negative to ya-, rather than to the preceding main verb, in which case the preceding verb is not permitted to suffix -m subordinating. luyá-m it does not happen is ordinarily employed only after a verb which suffixes -x future. Sentences 28 and 29 illustrate this use of luyá-m.

(28) sxá-pi-c pxw ay a-x lu-yá-m.
girl-this-subj good she=says-fut neg-happen
(ya- happen)
The girl will not agree to it. (Lit., This girl will say "Good", it (her saying it) does not happen.)

(29) la n'awí ma-x lu-yá-m.
no thing I=eat-fut neg-happen
(ya- happen)
No, I will not eat. (Lit., No, I will eat something, it (my eating something) does not happen.)

6. payá- and puyá- are employed frequently at the beginning of a clause or sentence with -g adverseeative, in which usage their semantic content is minimal. The contrastive, adverseeative function of the suffix predominates over the temporal element inherent in the two stems, which appear to serve the primary purpose of furnishing a means for attaching the suffix.9 Sentences 30-32 illustrate the use of -g adverseeative with payá- and puyá-.

(30) waž pa-yá-g n'y a.k ra--r
yes now-happen-adv tomorrow I=work-pl
(rar I work, 'pl)
p-a-yá-k p-a-sáw-x-m pa-yá-c
3po-lps-catch-fc 3po-lps-eat=pl-fut-sb now-happen-ppc
yu-g.
be-ev
Yes, therefore, tomorrow we will work, catch them, and eat them.

(31) pu-yá-k-g n'y-m-p-a--xír
then-happen-fc-adv pns-com-3po-3ps-tie
n'y-i-x-m pu-yá-m.
I...you-give-fut-sb then-happen-cont
But I will give you something to tie him with. (n'ympa-xír "that with which one ties him")

(32) pa-yá--g n'y-n'a-wá-c xrapay
now-happen-adv 3pp-ap-house-subj be=near
pu-yá-g pi-k ya-m
then-happen-adv this-toward be=located-sb
pi. -k  
?u-mán-c  
yu-m.

this-toward  3ps-arise-ppc  be-cont

But their house is near here, but as it is on this side, 
they arise from this side. (Both payá· and puyá· occur 
with -š adversative in this sentence.)

In Sentence 31 -k future coordinating is suffixed before -š adversative because the verb of the next clause suffixes -x future. However, 
in Sentence 30 -k is not used, even though future action is indicated 
by suffixation of -x further on (pašawxm). Moreover, in Sentence 30, 
apa-, rather than pu-, is the prefix employed, although pu- is the more 
appropriate, since the temporal reference "tomorrow" is relatively dis- 
tant. 10

7. It would be expected that there are cognates to Cocopa ya· be 
located, happen in some, if not in all, of the other Yuman languages. 
Having examined all the material available to me, both published and un- 
published, in the various languages, I have identified what I believe 
are cognate forms in Diegueño, Maricopa, Mohave, Paipai, Walapai, and 
Yuma. The cognates in these languages are employed, for the most part, 
to denote location in space, rather than location in time. However, 
the lone Diegueño probable cognate clearly has temporal reference. The 
reference appears also to be temporal in the several occurrences of a 
possible Paipai cognate. On the other hand, the Maricopa cognate, of 
which I found only one occurrence, signifies spatial location, as does 
the Walapai cognate in all of its occurrences. The reference is spatial 
also in Yuma, although there are two occurrences which may have temporal 
reference. The Mohave cognate has spatial reference in most occurrences, 
but there are several in which the reference is temporal.

The cognates are:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Cocopa</th>
<th>Diegueño</th>
<th>Maricopa</th>
<th>Mohave</th>
<th>Paipai</th>
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<tr>
<td>ya·</td>
<td>yaw</td>
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<td>Yuma</td>
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There are undoubtedly cognates also in Havasupai, Kiliwa, and Yavapai. 
However, I was unable to discover any in the material available to me 
in these languages.

In summary, cognates to Cocopa ya· be located, happen have been 
found in six languages of the Yuman family. The cognate forms in sev- 
eral languages may denote, like Cocopa ya·, location in time as well as 
in space. Cocopa, however, appears to be unique in employing its cog- 
nate as an asseverative, as has been described in this paper.

Notes

1. If the object or being is in motion, the verbs ?a· go and yi· come 
are employed in a manner similar to the verbs of position. yu be, ?i 
say, ?a?i do, and a few verbs derived from the verbs of position and 
motion can also take the temporal locative-prefixes.
2. A verb with a locative-temporal prefix can be only the main verb in sentences such as:

pa--wa-c   ʔu-yú-s.
here-3ps-sit-ppc 3ps-be-ev

He is here (sitting).

On the other hand, some verbs of the auxiliary class do not always attach a locative-temporal prefix when functioning as an auxiliary, e.g., pʔa· stand. It should be noted that, except before n- diminutive, vowels of these, and of all, prefixes are present only before the consonant which precedes the vowel of the stressed syllable.

3. Abbreviations used in the analysis of the sentences are: 1ps first person subject, 2p second person, 3pp third person possessive, 3po third person object, 3ps third person subject, adv adversative, ap animate possessive, com comitative-instrumental, cont continuative, dim diminutive, emp emphatic, ev evidential, fc future coordinating, fpp first person pronoun, fut future, ir indefinite relative, neg negative, pl plural, pns pronominal nonsubject, ppc present-past coordinating, sb subordinating, subj subject, ter terminal.

4. Repetition of any of the verbs of position is a common device for expressing passage of time in a given position, e.g.:

pa--wa-c    pa·wa·c    pa·wa·c    pa·wa·c.
here-3ps-sit-ppc

He sat and sat and sat and sat.

p-n'ya--ya-k    pn'ya·ya·k.
here-then-3ps-lie

He continued to lie here.

5. ʔgayā· has occurred occasionally in texts to refer to events which happened in the very distant past.

6. -c present-past coordinating is mutually exclusive with -k future coordinating. -k is, or may be, suffixed when some following verb in the clause suffixes -x future. -c is suffixed, or may be suffixed, when there is no verb in the clause which suffixes -x future. -c also signifies that the next verb, if there is one, has the same subject. (If the subject of the next verb is different, -m subordinating is suffixed instead. -m, on the other hand, does not replace -k future coordinating when the subject of the next verb is different, but is suffixed following -k.) -c present-past coordinating when suffixed to auxiliary verbs, perhaps to all verbs, is, in addition, completive in aspect.

7. -c present-past coordinating in some contexts is semelfactive, rather than completive, in aspect, as is the case here.

8. Employment of -m subordinating is not appropriate in all circumstances for indicating that the subject of the next verb is different. In several instances where its affixation would seem appropriate and required as a 'switch referent', the suffix is absent and its suffixation is considered improper or less preferable to its absence. For example, the referents can be switched, and are properly switched, without
suffixation of -m after -x future in the following sentences:
\[ n'\text{- p\text{-}x\text{-}ay-k} \quad \text{px ay-}x \quad \text{pu-yá-}m. \]
if-be-good-fc be=good-fut then-happen-cont

If it's all right, (then) it's all right.
\[ n'\text{- pu-n'\text{-}m} \quad \text{m-ya-}x \quad \text{pu-yá.} \quad \text{m-a-}n'\text{-á-m} \quad \text{p-m-wa-c} \]
this-pns 2p-get-fut then-happen 2p-3ps-he=says-sb here-2p-sit-ppc
\[ m-yu-s' \quad \text{mapá-y.} \quad \text{2p-be-ev now} \]

You will get it, she said you who are sitting here now (will do it).

9. Other auxiliary verbs are employed similarly. The particular auxiliary verb chosen for affixation of -s depends, as a rule, on the one used in, or which would be appropriate in, the context of the preceding clause or sentence, regardless of whether it was spoken by the same or by a different person. The anticipated auxiliary of the following clause may also determine the verb chosen for suffixation of -s.

10. I have not had an opportunity to discuss these discrepancies with speakers. I feel certain, however, that puyá-k would be preferable to payá-s in Sentence 30, although I do not go so far as to say that payá-s is "ungrammatical."

11. Diegueño yaw occurs in the word ta-yawcm, translated as "be" with a query, in Margaret Langdon, "Diegueño Dialects," p. 8, sentence 206 (June, 1975), typescript. The expected Diegueño cognate, however, is not yaw, but ya-w (Margaret Hoffmann [Langdon], "Diegueño and Cocopa: A Binary Comparison," p. 18 [1963], typescript).

12. There are two occurrences of Maricopa sāw, as a main verb and as a following auxiliary, in [Hank] Harwell, "Some Remarks on the AUX in Maricopa, and like that," p. 2, sentence 19 (June, 1975), typescript. sāw in Harwell's Sentence 19 has reference to the location of plural inanimate objects ("two watermelons").

13. Mohave sāw occurs in Judy Crawford, "Mohave," pp. 1 (sentence 10) and 3 (sentence 45) (June, 1975), typescript. In both occurrences the reference is to the spatial location of singular objects ("it" [not specified] and "kernel"). There are also three occurrences of sāw with animate plural reference: pp. 3 (sentences 47 and 50) and 5 (sentence 76). sāw on p. 1, sentence 11, is the homophonous morpheme pick up.

sāw also appears in the form nyidawm in Pamela Munro, "Two Stories by Nellie Brown," p. 1 (sentence 9 of the first story) [1975], typescript (to appear in the Native American Text Series volume of Yuman texts, ed. Margaret Langdon). From the translation of nyidawm as "meanwhile", it appears that the reference is temporal. I am grateful to Pamela Munro for sending me a copy of her paper.

Many other occurrences of sāw in forms with spatial and temporal reference have been extracted by Judith Crawford from her extensive collection of Mohave texts. I am grateful to her for bringing them to my attention. We have discussed this matter of sāw in Mohave in considerable detail. She has given me permission to state that it is her opinion that what she has written sometimes sāw and sometimes sā-w may actually represent two morphemes. The form has more frequently been recorded by her with a long vowel when the reference is to plural animate
beings, but with a short vowel when the reference is singular; the reference when singular may be animate or inanimate and spatial or temporal. However, further checking in the field is needed, she believes, to verify this opinion.


16. Yuma ñaw occurs in [A. M.] Halpern, "k'ak'wamá-τəq 'acarav ađáw, Kukumat Became Sick," (Yuma) manuscript, (English) typescript (June, 1975), with inanimate and animate reference, singular and plural; with inanimate singular (relativized with k'w-) in par. 14, with animate singular in par. 29, with inanimate plural in par. 41, and with animate plural in par. 8, 9, 10, 17 (3 times), 19, 28 (2 times), 30 (2 times), 35 (nominalized), and 41 (2 times). ñaw in the last word of the title and in par. 1, translated by Halpern "became", is probably pick up. ñaw pick up occurs in several other paragraphs and is translated either "pick up" or "take". There are two additional occurrences of ñaw, both in sentences in par. 7 and in the form n'yá-ñawantik. In its first occurrence n'yá-ñawantik is translated "pick up". In its second occurrence, according to the translation of the sentence, the reference apparently is animate singular, but it may, on the other hand, be inanimate, with temporal reference, i.e., to the future event expressed by the following verb. It seems to me that n'yá-ñawantik in the first sentence could also have temporal reference, with the translation "then it happens that", instead of, or alternately with, "pick up".
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PREFACE

The study and analysis of Yuman languages in the last decade have drawn many researchers into a field where previously there had been only a half-dozen active workers. Much of the credit for encouraging the study of these languages must go to Margaret Langdon. Her efforts in finding funding for the Yuman Archives and two conferences on Hokan and Yuman languages have spurred many researchers to put forth determined efforts to describe these languages while speakers who really control these languages are still available for consultation. These conferences have been especially fruitful in permitting face-to-face study and discussion of mutual problems, and many insights into the analysis of Yuman languages have resulted from these discussions. All of us in the study of Hokan and Yuman languages are especially grateful to her for all she has done for the study of these languages.

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the First Yuman Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume before it went to press. All the papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the Yuman workshop except the one by Yamamoto, who was unable to attend the workshop.

The papers are presented according to the groups of languages presented at the Yuman workshop. Since there were some last minute changes in the program, I must plead faulty memory if I inadvertently placed some papers in an order different from that of the workshop presentation.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, March 1976
INTRODUCTION

The papers in this volume represent revised versions of presentations made at the First Workshop on Yuman Languages held on the campus of the University of California, San Diego, June 17-21, 1975. The specific aim of the Workshop was to allow for close interaction between all linguists interested in the structure of Yuman languages and exchange of data. The focus was on the area of syntax, where the least amount of published information had previously been available, with emphasis more on the discussion of interesting problems than on theoretical agreement. New data were presented for all Yuman languages still spoken. The decision to make the results of the Workshop more generally available was unanimously supported by the participants. This volume then is offered in the hope that the syntactic patterns illustrated and described will be interest not only to other Hakanists but to students of syntax in general.

Thanks are due to James Redden for arranging the publication of this volume and assuming responsibility for all editorial details, and to the National Science Foundation for including support for consultants in Grant GSO-7418043 (Yuman Languages of the Southwest--Margaret Langdon, Principal Investigator).

Margaret Langdon
La Jolla, January 1976.
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