THE REDUCTION OF idú: be IN MOHAVE

Judith G. Crawford

1. There are several verbal suffixes in Mohave which contain /u/. The fact that they are sometimes stressed and that the consonants of the suffixes can themselves be suffixes points to their further analysis. Some of these compound suffixes are: -um, -čum, -tum, -l̃um, -pl̃um, -sum, and -kum. /m/ in the suffixes can always be analyzed as -m dative or -m different subject. The presence of secondary stress on these syllables containing /u/ suggests that these suffixes may contain a bound verb root -u- or that /u/ may be a contraction of some verb root. There is substantial evidence from within Mohave, as well as from a comparison with other Yuman languages, that /u/ is a contraction or reduction of idú: be. By means of the examples presented below I shall attempt to show that the analysis of /u/ in these various suffixes as a reduced suffixal form of idú: be is the correct analysis.

In a few instances my Mohave consultants were willing to accept either the contracted or uncontracted forms. But in most instances the replacement of /u/ with idú: was rejected. Rejection by consultants does not preclude the analysis of /u/ as a contraction of idú: be, but does suggest that the phenomenon is no longer productive and that this reduction is ancient.

2. The uses of idú: be in Mohave, both as a main verb (Sentences 1-3) and as an auxiliary verb (Sentences 4-6), are illustrated below. It is not uncommon, especially for some older speakers of Mohave, to have a sequence of two, or even three, be verbs (Sentences 7-9). The use of idú: be following e?e say is illustrated in Sentence 10. idú: is not used exclusively with intransitive or stative verbs, as shown by Sentence 11. Whether present in its full form or in its reduced suffixal form, idú: be conveys an additional "argument", so to speak, for what precedes in the sentence. The verb idú: be denotes the existence of someone, something, a state, an activity, etc. Its translation is something like: "what has been said or done exists, is a fact".

(1) sukwíy k-átáy-č idú-m iyém-k.
    hawk rel-big-subj be-dur go-pp

    The hawk which is big goes (next).

(2) ?ahwáy-č idú:-k č-t-k.
    war-subj be-pp say-ass-pp

    "It's war," he said. (Lit., "War exists", he said.)

(3) ?aláy-č idú-m.
    bad-subj be-dur

    It's no good.
(4) ?ahná:y (?-ič?: ?-í-m v-?-ivá-k ?-idú-m-e. 
gourd 1-make 1-say-dur here-1-sit-pp 1-be-dur-say
I'm going to make a gourd now.

(5) havík (?-tayém v-?-u:v?ó:-k ?-idú-m. 
two 1-go=pl here-1-stand=pl-pp 1-be-dur
We are both going.

(6) n'yá-n'y idó:-p-t-če idú:-če. 
dem-dem be-obj-ass-subj be-pl
They do that. (Lit., their being that way is a fact.)

(7) ?añá:-n'y-če ahá:v-m v-iyém isá:m-k 
sun-dem-subj go=down-away here-go see-pp
v-u:v?ó:-h-a m-isá:m-k dú:-m idú:-m-m-e 
here-stand=pl-fut-end 2-see-pp be-dur be-dur-?say
idú:-m. 
be-dur
They see the sun is going down as they're standing there,
you see.

(8) n'yatmaθáv-k idó:-t-k idó:-t-m maká:v-če 
morning=pl-pp be-ass-pp be-ass-dur Mohave-subj
vidá-če. 
this-subj
Until morning that's the way it is (with) these Mohaves.

(9) hočqó1 á:y-e a?wí:-m idú:-o?è idú:-?e é-t-k 
children give-say do-dur be-say be-say say-ass-pp
n'y-u:nú:-t-k idó:-t-k idú:-m idú:-m 
there-be=present=pl-ass-pp be-ass-pp be-dur be-dur
He will feed his children, they are saying it (among themselves).

(10) ?ipá:-če i?i:-m imá:k-θ-k ahá:v-o?è 
man-subj say-diff back-there-loc go=down-say
é-t-k. va-e?é-t-k idú:-m. 
say-ass-pp thus-say-ass-pp be-dur
The man says, "It will go down beyond that one," thus he
says.

long time very-ass something 1-eat-obj-pp 1-be-subj
I took a long time to eat.

In the following paragraphs each of the suffixes will be considered
and illustrated.

3. The suffixation of -um alone is not frequent and is usually
translated has to, must.5

(12) a?wí:-u-m-ʔè.
do-be-dur-say

He must do it; (that's something) he has to do.

(13) isvá:r-n'í-ti-ù-m-ʔè.
sing-again-be-dur-say

He just has to sing again; he's going to sing it again.

Closer in meaning to Yuma -um future possible (see fn. 5) is:

(14) isvá:r-pay-ù-m-e.
sing-again-be-dur-say

He'll probably sing again.

4. The suffixification of -čum to the main verb of a sentence usually adds strong emphasis to the statement. ("What has been said or done is a fact"). Sentences with -čum (or -pčum) always refer to either a completed activity or a stative situation. I have analyzed -p as object and -č as subject. -č serves to mark the verb or sentence to which it is attached as the subject of the verb idú: be.6 The cognate suffix in Yuma is -cum, which Halpern (1947:157) glossed as emphatic. For Yuma ?an?i:pa:-cum I am a man! my Mohave consultants gave Sentence 15, with -pčum suffixed to idó.7 Sentences 16-22 illustrate further the suffixation of -čum. Sentence 23, which has the full form of idú: be, is to be compared with Sentence 22. (See also Sentence 3.)

(15) ??-ipá:-č ?-idó-p-č-ù-m.
1-man-subj 1-be-obj-subj-be-dur

I am a man!

(16) u:pa:m-p-č-ù-m.
fall-obj-subj-be-dur

It fell!8

(17) hová-n'y ?ič k'w-irá:v hová-n'y
that-dem something rel-hurt that-dem
?-e?e-p-č-ù-m.
1-say-obj-subj-be-dur.

I mean the sick one!9

(18) m-nakúk kor ipúy-č-ù-m.
2-father now die-obj-subj-be-dur

Your father, now he's dead.

(19) píe ?-amá:-p-č-ù-m.
now 1-eat-obj-subj-be-dur

I already ate. (Cf. Sentence 11.)

(20) mavá:ry-č-ù-m n'ýa-m ?-ae:-t-k ?-a?we-t-k.
flour-subj-be-diff dem-abl 1-mix-ass-pp 1-do-ass-pp
It is flour I mix with it.

(21) iná:y-k v-tayém-h-a ?amáː tó-m
down-pp here-go=pl-fut-end land middle-abl
kʷ-tapét-č-h-m ?amáː ?aví:
rel-close-subj-be-dur land mountain
n’y askó-č-û-m.
carrying=ring-subj-be-dur

They dropped low, going towards Land-in-Between Mountains, Carrying-Ring Mountain.

(22) ?ahót-p-č-h-m.
good-obj-subj-be-dur
It's good; it's all right.

(23) ōen’y aʔak hová-n’y ?ahót-č idu-m.
woman that-dem good-subj be-dur
That woman is pretty.

5. Very few examples of -tum occur in my notes and all examples I have were recorded in texts. In fact, one consultant stated that these forms were not used in conversation, but only in stories. -t is analyzed as assertive, which implies a statement of truth or fact and is mildly emphatic. The Yuma cognate is -tum usitative. A usitative meaning is certainly implied by the context in Sentences 24-28, although it may not be evident from the translations given.

(24) in 1900 kʷ-imá:n’ avá ičé:-č
in 1900 rel-start house build-subj
kʷ in nú:mí:-t-û-m.
different-ass-be-dur

Starting in 1900 the houses were made different.

(25) kaná:v-k iʔi:-č-t-u-m.
tell-pp say-pl-ass-be-dur
It has been foretold.

(26) hukéːr n’y aví:-p-a ĩ:-č-t-u-m.
coyote resemble-obj-end say-pl-ass-be-dur
You're just like a coyote, they say.

(27) n’y aʔe?-č-t-k kór n’y-a-θ ?ič-l’y
when-say-ass-pp then dem-there something-in
tuʔaːč-t-u-m torís torís é-t-k.
turn-ass-be-dur bird=sp. say-ass-pp

When he said that, then there he turned them into kill-deer.

(28) amá-t-û-m.
eat-ass-be-dur
He eats it.
6. There are several complex modal suffixes which contain /u/: -łłum, -płłum, and -pulłi. -łłi is desiderative. -p is object. -i is a reduced form of i?i: say. -łłum was translated let (it be so that).

(29) a?wi:-łł-u-m-?è.
do-des-be-dur-say
Let it be so that he can do it; let him do it.

(30) m-úrèq-m nłá-ø-č i?í:-łł-ù-m.
2-leave-diff dem-that-subj say-des-be-dur
Leave him alone, let him say it.

The suffix -płłum connotes obligation or necessity.

(31) m-è?é:-p-łł-ù-m.
2-say-obj-des-be-dur
You better say it! Say something!12

(32) m-iná:łł-p-łł-ù-m è-t-k.
2-down-obj-des-be-dur say-ass-pp
"You better come down," he said.

(33) ?-a?wi:-č-p-łł-ù-m.
I-do-pl-obj-des-be-dur
Let's do it; we better do it.

Only one example of -pulłi appears in my notes:

(34) ivá:-ø-k īsivá:r-p-ù-łł-ì.
come-contr-pp sing-obj-be-des-say
If he had come, he could have sung/he would sing.13

7. -s is a puzzling "modal" suffix in Mohave which can combine with u be and -m dur/diff. The Yuma cognate is -?as evidential. "This suffix [-?as] indicates that the speaker has witnessed the act" (Halpern 1947: 159). Although it is hard to see this meaning for all occurrences of -s in Mohave, it is clear that the information conveyed by -s is known to the speaker, and, if not at least first-hand, the speaker does have knowledge or evidence of the certainty or truth of the event.14 I find -s suffixed only to the verbs idú: be, a?wi: do, i?í: say, and a?á:v hear, feel.

(35) iró:h m-è-p-łł-ù-m m-a?á:v-č-pay-s-ù-m.
quiet 2-say-obj-des-be-diff he=you-hear-pl-?-evid-be-dur
You better be quiet or he will hear you.

(36) hačismá:č-p-k idú:-s-ù-m.
sleep=pl-obj-pp be-evid-be-dur
They all must be asleep.15

(37) pi?i?á k'ì?i:dé:-č idó:-p-k idú:-s-ù-m.
person doctor-subj be-obj-pp be-evid-be-dur
He must be a doctor.16
(38) ?u:pa:-o-s-ù-m.
I must lie down; I will have to lie down.17
(39) ku:gy k=an'umé u:wév-k-è-t-e
something different do=pl-pp-say-ass-say
idú:-c-s-ù-m.
be-pl-evid-be-dur
Maybe they were doing something else; they must have been
doing something different.18
(40) ivá:-k-è-t-e
tkávé:k-p-k iyém-k
come-pp-say-ass-say go=back-obj-pp go=pp
idú:-s-ù-m.
be-evid-be-dur
He must have already gone; he must have come and gone
back.
(41) ?-a?wí:-s-ù-m.
1-do-evid-be-dur
I'll do it.19

8. Unlike the preceding suffixes involving u be, -kum appears never
to be sentence final. Mohave -kum is analogous to Yavapai -kyum/-kóm
incompletive (Kendall 1975) and Diegueño -km/-kyum future-different sub-
ject (Hinton 1975).20 The action of the verb to which -kum is suffixed
must either be underway or must have already taken place prior to the
action of the higher clause (see Sentences 42-48). nyə- when, if is fre-
quently prefixed to the verb of the subordinate clause. -k is present-
past. -m is different subject. Sentences 49 and 50 illustrate similar
sentences, the former with nyə- and -kum and the latter with -kum only.
-kum can be suffixed to du: (from idú: be), resulting in the form dú:kum
so, then, as illustrated in Sentence 51. Sentences 52 and 53 illustrate
the use of dú: (from idú: be) so, then, and should be compared with Sen-
tence 54 (as well as Sentences 42-48) for further evidence of /u/ as a
reduced suffixal form of idu: be.

(42) ?in've-c ?-is má:-p-k-ù-m
I-subj 1-sleep-obj-pp-be-diff come-subj
I was asleep when he came.
(43) tin'yám-k-ù-m ?amó-c háca-c hámu sé-c
night-pp-be-diff sheep-subj 7=sisters-subj star-subj
u t'ak-m.
come=pl=pl-dur
It's night and Sheep, Seven Sisters, stars come out.

(44) súyá:-k-ù-m isály satúc-m.
reach-pp-be-diff hand peck=pl-dur
When he reached in there, it (the bird) pecked his hands.
(45) kam?itó kʷa?akúy nʸa-m-á:y-k-ù-m ?inⁿé-p
melon old lady if-2-give-pp-be-diff 1-obj
?i:wa^-nʸ-č
1-heart-dem-subj good-pp-say
?ahó[^]-k-è.

If you give the melon to the old lady, I will be happy. 21

(46) nʸa-i?:i:-k-ù-m é:-moṭ-t-k.
when-say-pp-be-diff say-neg-ass-pp

When he said that, they didn't answer him.

(47) numé^-č a?wi:-nʸapöt i:-k-ù-m
mountain=lion-subj do-too say-pp-be-diff
kavá:r-k é:-t-m.
no-pp say-ass-dur

Mountain Lion wants to do it too, but he (Jaguar) said "no" to him.

(48) k-u:dí:k-k-ù-m ?-tasá:w ?-a?á:v-o.
imp-bring-pp-be-diff 1-taste 1-feel-be

Bring it here so I can taste it.

(49) nʸa-v-č nʸa-irö:v-k-ù-m čamá:n-ve-nʸ
dem-this-subj when-dry-pp-be-diff start-place-dem
čamá:n-m.
start-dur

When it is dry, he starts where he started (in the beginning).

(50) irö:v-k-ù-m ?amá:y-k vado:m a?wi: i-m.
dry-pp-be-diff up-loc aim do say-dur

When it is dry, he'll do it from there going on up.

(51) ?íč idú:-e?è í-č-k-?e dú:-k-ù-m
something be-say say-pl-pp-say be-pp-be-diff
yayú:-č idó:-t-k-?è.
something-subj be-ass-pp-say

Somebody says it will happen and so it does happen. 22

(52) humkumö:jí:v-č i?:é:-nʸ nʸamá:r-k-e idú-m kór
dragonfly-subj hair-dem win-pp-say be-diff now
?asé: hová^-č i?:é: iyú:-moṭ-m.
buzzard that-subj hair have-neg-dur

Dragonfly said he won his hair, so now Buzzard has no hair.

(53) ?i:má:ṭ tačvasö:y-è dú-m pi?ipá:
1-body make=no=salt-say be-diff people
?aví:-k idík-č sitemú:1'y ?aví:-k
mountain-loc be=lying-subj tribe mountain-loc

51
idík-č  n'y-106:-è
be-lying-subj he=me-eat=meat-say
n'y-n'tamá:č-è  è-c-k.
pl=obj-poss-food-say say-ass-pp

"I'll make my body good to eat, so the people on the
desert, Indians on the desert, they'll eat me, I'll
be their food," he said.

(54) va=-a?wi:-k-u-m  pi?i:pá:-č  ?aví:-k
thus-1-do-pp-be-diff people-subj mountain-loc
idík-č  sitemú:l'y  ?aví:-k  idík-č
be-lying-subj tribe  mountain-loc be-lying-subj
n'y-u:nú:-k  n'y-táyá:m-k  ?íč
there-be=present=pl-pp there-move=pl-pp something
nsu:má:-è.
dream=pl(?)-say

"I'll do it so people on the desert, Indians on the
desert going around there, moving here and there, will
dream."

Footnotes

1. I have recorded both idú and idú: be. The vowel is /o/ (or /o:/) be-
fore /p/, /t/, /θ/, or /h/.
2. This is in accord with the analysis of analogous constructions in
other Yuman languages. James M. Crawford, to whom I am grateful for dis-
cussing these problems with me, has told me that he had similar problems
in Cocopa. He was at first inclined to consider Cocopa yu be a suffix,
but concluded that it was not a suffix since the form always had the ap-
propriate second and third person prefixes and speakers readily accepted
his suggestion that the form meant be. The situation in Mohave is dif-
ferent, however, in that the reduced form /u/ is not inflected for first
or second person. Redden (1966) treats Walapai -wi have and -yu be as
weak-stressed verb suffixes. Kendall (1975) analyzes Yavapai (Tolkapaya)
-kyum as -k egocentric, yu be, -m allocentric (e.g., ?ña-eʔ ?mášay-kyum
we're afraid). Hinton (1975) has presented examples of auxiliary re-
duction in Havasupai: m-smá-ŋ-yu? Are you asleep? Munro (1975) dis-
cusses the process of "auxiliarization" in Mohave, for which the examples
presented here should lend support.

I have used the following abbreviations in the analysis of the sen-
tences: 1 = first person subject or possessor, 2 = second person subject
or possessor, abl = ablative, ass = assertive, contr = contrastive,
dem = demonstrative (this/that), des = desiderative, diff = different
subject, dur = durative, evid = evidential, fut = future, imp = impera-
tive, indef = indefinite pronoun, loc = locative, neg = negative, obj =
object, pl = plural, poss = alienable possession, pp = present-past,
refl = reflexive-reciprocal, rel = definite relative, subj = subject.
3. One speaker stated that mavářč idúm and mavářčum meant the same:
It is flour. (See Sentence 20.) Pamela Munro (1975) has had more
success in eliciting such expanded sentences as: ʔinʔeč ʔipuyp ʔidú:č (idu:m) I died, I have died, which should be compared with the shortened ipúypč he died and Sentence 18.

I am grateful for the help given me on the Mohave language by the following native speakers: Nellie Brown, Rose Martin, Robert Martin, Emmett Van Fleet, and Duane Drennon.

4. There is evidence for a similar contraction of iʔi: say to /i/ or /e/ (see fn. 18).


6. This is in agreement with the analysis by Pamela Munro (1974) of -p and -č in Mohave -pč and ...-p...-č perfective sentences.

7. Also correct are ʔipá:č ʔidóptč I am a man (ʔipa: man, -č subj, -č subj, ido be, -p obj, -č ass, -č subj) and ʔinʔeč ʔipá:č I am a man (ʔinʔe- I, -p obj, ʔipa: man, -č subj).

8. Cf. the Cocopa sentence: ʔupámc ʔuyúm he fell (-č present-past coordinating, yú be) (J. M. Crawford, personal communication).

9. Cf. étk vaʔétk iasco that's what he said with Sentences 10 and 17.


11. torís torís bird sp. was variously identified as a sandpiper (Scolopacidae) or a killdeer (Charadriidae).

12. Cf. meʔe:plvě say something (lit., I wish you would say something).

-e is a reduced form of iʔi: say, which is often used to express desire in Mohave.

13. Note that -1ʔ desiderative follows u be. Cf. ʔanʔá: ʔiyú:θk ʔaʔwi:yʔaʔč if I had time, I would do it.

14. -s evidential is illustrated in the sentence: kavátkè hanʔimasá:tpk avá:mk idó:s miyó:mpk no, they're turning to whitish color as you see.

15. hačismá:č may be the collective plural for ismá: sleep. Cf. u:isma:m they are sleeping.

16. Also correct is: piʔipá: kʷʔiθʔi:dečč idó:psüm he must be a doctor.

17. The consultant added, "He lies down all the time and that's what he is going to do." I am analyzing -o (sometimes heard as [U]) also as a reduced form of idú: be. Cf. ʔu:pa:θ I'm going to lie down (I'm so tired); I will have to lie down, ʔu:pa:θ I'll lie down (-ʔe say).

18. -e is a reduced suffixal form of iʔi: say (which has the variants i, eʔe and e). I have recorded -e usually with secondary stress. -e was sometimes heard as [1], sometimes as [a]. The complex suffix -et(e) appears to be cognate with Yavapai yite: but and with Walapai yit but (Kendall 1975). However, in my analysis so far I have not found -et(e) said in isolation, and so I am treating it as a suffix.

19. -sum may be preceded by -1ʔ desiderative: -aʔwe:-p-1ʔ-o-s-ù-m I would have done it (had she asked me).


21. The following sentence uses -θ contrastive and idú: be: ʔaqʷaqnʔ spiʔipá:θk ?idú:m θu?u:nú:θ ahít:ʔeʔe if we create this deer, we'll be all right.
22. n'ayú: is the usual word for something, anything. Compare the following sentence with Sentence 51:

yayú:č va-idú:-oʔè ɨ-č-k-ù-m idó:-t-k-ʔè.
something-subj thus-be-say say-pl-pp-be-diff be-ass-pp-say

(Long ago) they said something will happen and so (today) it does happen.
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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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