SOME NOTES ON PAIPAI OBJECT ORDER AND OBJECT-MARKING

Judith Joël
Indiana University Southeast

The presence of an object case suffix (¬?) in Paipai is interesting because no such suffix, unless it be zero, occurs in those Yuman languages most closely related to Paipai (see Langdon, 1972). Indeed, it is absent in all other Yuman languages except Kiliwa. Objects (0) in Paipai sentences may take the form of nouns or noun phrases, verb prefixes, pronouns, and demonstratives. This presentation does not deal with the last two categories which are set forth in Joël, 1966. Inflectional verb prefixes in Yuman languages are well known; see, for example, Langdon and Hinton (in press). The brief presentation which follows deals with:

1. Direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) order
2. Object-marking
2.1. With different subject (DS) suffix -m
2.2. Unmarked objects as thematic verb prefixes
2.3. Marked 0-ha¬? objects vs. unmarked 0-ha objects
3. Summary

All illustrations come from text unless otherwise indicated.¹

1. Direct objects stand before the verb (V) and appear both with and without object-marking. In the examples which follow, (6) through (9) are marked with objective case suffix -?:

(1) xēlpu ʔ-yo:w ɪ 'make carrying bags'
carrying=bag 1-make
(2) ?xa čēya:w 'they obtained water'
water get=pl
(3) mēvši-ħa tēkšyeč 'they approached the woman'
woman-the approach=pl
(4) tēyu:č-ħa pai-xe:kē 'they sent (here) for the kin'
kinfolk-the PO-send=for=pl
(5) tēnur-ya R1-ʔ-e:kē 'they sent me this letter'
letter-this 3/l-send=pl
(6) kxo-ħa-? ?-kēwi:k 'I sell the piñon (nuts)'
piñon-the-0 1-sell
(7) ča:mpuy-ħa-? ʔ-ʔ-ev-tem 'we didn't feel hunger'
hunger=pl-the-0 1-feel=pl-not
(8) ŋixay-ya-? tēʔol 'one cooks this juice'
juice-this-0 cook
(9) nēyam ?xa-ʔ čēʔu: ɪ 'they went to see (the) water'
go=pl water-0 see=pl

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Instances like (9), with the object marker attached directly to the noun stem, are exceedingly rare in text (only four cases out of over 300 object nouns).

In dual-object sentences—that is, sentences with both direct and indirect objects—the normal or neutral order is (S +) DO + IO-V, with the IO actualized in the verb prefix complex:

(10) těrščě  ṭi-ʔeːč  'they gave me work'
     work  3/1-give=pl

(11) čalxač  me-ʔeːč-m  'they'll give you medicine'
     medicine  3/2-give=pl-DS

(12) mat-ha  paːviː-h-sumaiːw-m  'he lent us the land'
     land-the  3/us-lend-DS

Occasionally the IO stands outside the verb in addition. Normal order is then DO + IO + IO-V:

(13) těmurr-ya  qaːquwiː-ha(-?)  mě-ʔeːk  ?iːk
     letter-this  cattle=owner-the(-0)  2-give  say
     this letter to the cattle-owner," he said'

(14) xʷulkwa-ha-?  xʷmakipa-ha-?  mě-ʔeːk
     carrying=bag-the-0  'Ia=Gringa'-the-0  2-give
     the carrying bag to the North American lady' (This example comes from direct eliciting; text occurrences of dual-object sentences seldom have such a full complement of noun suffixes.)

When the IO is 3rd person singular, the IO-marking in the verb is zero:

(15) kos  vaː-ha-?  ?eːč-tem
     not  key-the-0  give=pl-not
     'they didn't give her the key'

If the IO is not clear from the context, it may stand outside the verb:

(16) ši-paːy-ha-?  ḥiːlberto  somaiːw  'he lent Gil. the animals'
     animal-the-0  Gilberto  lend

With a plural 3rd person IO, the plural object prefix (paː-) may adequately actualize the IO in the verb (as in the last verb of the following sentence):

(17) paː-y  ḥiː-raːv-m  paː-ʔuːk  čalxač  paː-ʔeːk
     people-S  when-sick-DS  PO-look-at  medicine  PO-give
     'When people get sick, he looks at them and gives them medicine.'

When the IO stands outside the verb, unless it is a 3rd person singular, it is already topicalized to a degree, since otherwise the IO is simply expressed through verb prefixes. It is not surprising,
therefore, that the free-standing IO usually appears before the DO or, rarely, following the verb—both of which positions mark the IO for special emphasis. Topicalization of the IO puts it before the DO:

(18) xëma:n-xkay-ha? pantalon-kamis-te:-olí-m pa:-?e:č
children-other-the-0 pants-shirts-lots-very-DS PO-give=pl
'to the other kids they gave lots of clothing'

(19) xëme?wi:-ha kamis xëmuk-m ?e:č 'they only gave my
my=boy-the shirt three-DS give=pl
boy three shirts'

Rarely, the IO is repeated following the verb, probably for clarity's sake:

(20) kwa:w-gölyev pa:-?e:vwil mi?yak-nëya:m-ha 'they cursed
word-bad PO-throw=pl here-go=pl-the
those who went from here'

(21) xëma:n-kiki mi?sa:-? pa:-kuwi:č xëma:n-ha
baby-bottle these-0 PO-distribute=pl children-the
pa:yt-m 'they distributed nurseries to all the children'
all-DS

There are only two instances, both from direct eliciting, of IO + (IO-)V + DO:

(22) mi?e:ki më?-e:č xëlkwa-ha? 'you gave the carry-
my=mother 2-give carrying=bag-the-0
ing bag to my mother'

(23) he:-I-IY keye:-ha? ?e:-e:č tëmûr 'I gave the letter to
I=S doctor-the-0 1-give letter
the doctor'

Examples (22) and (23) represent acceptable order which, however, is not employed in text. (See section 2.3, however, for examples of DO following the verb in sentences with no IO.)

The topicalized IO may be followed by an object-marked demonstrative—as may also the DO, see (21) above:

(24) xëma:n-këkas-ha mi?sa:-? qaiaqimay pa:-kuwi:č
small=children-the they-0 (cow=)milk PO-distribute=pl
'to the little children they distribute milk'

In (24) the object-marking which is missing on the noun is supplied on the demonstrative which stands for the noun. It would be nice to be able to say that this is generally true wherever object nouns lack the object case suffix, but alas, it is only sometimes true.
2. Of the over 300 text occurrences of object nouns that carry an
articulat suffix (nearly always -ha 'the', but sometimes -ya 'this' or
-ffu 'this here') approximately two-thirds are marked by the object case
suffix -m. Before examining the variation between marked and unmarked
objects, it should be noted that there is another way of marking an ob-
ject as such.

2.1 Objects may be marked by means of the DS suffix -m attached to
a qualifying verb following or substituting for the noun in question:

(25) va:m kos te:-m čewo:č-te-m 'this season they didn't
now not much-DS plant=pl-not
plant much'

(26) x̂maː-k-a?te:-ha-Y ?te:-raiv-m čëya:aw 'large
children-which=are=many-the-S much-more-DS get=pl
families get much more'

(27) xte-ha gërze:-m -čëya:aw 'we take the cleaned tuna
on-the clean-DS take=pl (fruits)'

(28) waːparaw pa:-kë-këmi:c-ha-Y pa:yt-m ōi?yak
car PO-which=bring=pl-the-S all-DS here
pa:-n̥mak 'the car which had brought them left them all here'
PO-leave

(29) buːr x̂waː:k-m čaiwam ?šit-m xo:kte:wč ?šit-m
burro two-DS take=pl one-DS load=pl one-DS
čaičewoč 'they took two burros; one they packed and the
other they rode'

The assumption of object-marking functions by the DS suffix ap-
ppears to be a spreading process in Paipai: e.g., from \((N + V₁-m) + V₂\)
to \(V₁-m + V₂\). This use of DS -m reminds one that Kiliwa--the only
other Yuman language that has an object case suffix, and a close geo-
ographical neighbor of Paipai--uses -m for its object case suffix.

2.2 Now it remains to discuss the variation between marked and un-
marked objects. The difference between a "naked" object and one with
an articulat suffix is mostly a matter of semantics and style. In some
cases the naked object is being introduced to the story for the first
time and will in all subsequent instances carry an articulat suffix.
In some cases, the variation corresponds to the difference between a
general statement and a statement about specific occasions and events.
To a degree, then, the variation between zero and -ha(-) is predict-
able.

Often the naked object is closer to the following verb, and it may
be translated by the Paipai speaker as part of the verb. There are
certain naked object plus verb combinations that recur frequently, for
example:
(30) \(\text{Himay-lësk}\) \(<\text{Himay 'milk'}, \text{lësk 'to squeeze out moisture'}\)
\(\text{to=milk(cow)}\)
(Spanish color)

(31) \(\text{yimai-yov}\) \(<\text{yimai: 'dance'}, \text{yov 'to make'}\)
\(\text{to=put=on=a=dance}\)

(32) \(\text{čičič-čaxwil}\) \(<\text{čičič 'mother'}, \text{čaxwil 'to throw repeatedly at someone'}\)
\(\text{to=curse=someone=out}\)
(This is a literal Paipai translation of the Spanish figure of speech they use to refer to cursing someone out with obscene insults.)

(33) \(\text{?xa=?eik}\) \(<\text{?xa 'water'}, \text{?eik 'to give'}\)

irrigate(field)

The combination illustrated in (33) occurs several times with the additional object čëwo 'field':

(34) \(\text{čëwo-ha-?}\) \(\text{?xa}\) \(\text{?eik}\) \(\text{?am}\) 'he was irrigating the field'

At first glance, (34) appears to be IO + DO + V. It is more likely, however, that ?xa + ?eik has become a verb ('to irrigate') and that čëwo is then actually a DO, since why topicalize the fields one regularly waters? (The Paipai, in fact, often use the Spanish verb regar to translate ?xa + ?eik, which suggests such a reanalysis.)

It is surely by a like process that many Paipai verbs have been formed: a naked object immediately preceding the verb becomes attached to the verb as a thematic prefix—one that lends semantic content to the verb. There are many Paipai verbs which can easily be analyzed this way, for example: Ha:šma:k 'get lost' (Ha: 'road, trail', and cf. šme:k 'to seek'), mii:ši:k 'to track' (mii: 'foot', and cf. ši:v 'to count').

While it is not the subject of this presentation, it is worth noting that the process of attaching objects—including "dummy" objects and elements expressing various object notions and relations—to the front of the verb seems to be a widespread process in Paipai. The frequently and productively employed dummy object prefix ča():—may perhaps be traced in such a verb as čqelye: 'give one the creeps' (qelye: 'bad, nasty'). There are several pairs of Paipai verbs partially analogous to that one, for example: ča:ut 'to dump on someone' (čut 'to dump'), čapq 'to befall someone' (poq 'fall; throw, pour'), ča:wak 'be mounted on animal' (wak 'to be [in sedentary state]').

2.3 The variation between 0-ha-? and 0-ha does not appear to be predictable, but certain statements can be made about it. The marked objects are twice as frequent as the unmarked objects in text. Phonetic environment is not a factor, nor is the meaning of the object (e.g., animate objects are just as likely to be unmarked as inanimates).
Also not relevant is the presence or absence of any of the several object-like verb prefixes or the plural object prefix. Whether the subject is animate or not is irrelevant. Subject person is probably irrelevant (although 0-<var>ha</var>-? is somewhat more common than 0-<var>ha</var> with 1st person subjects). Words or phrases that may appear between the object and the verb do not appear to affect the variation. Negation, interrogation, and direct discourse were considered and ruled out on the basis of the corpus at hand. The unmarked object is somewhat more likely than the marked object to be followed by an -<var>m-</var>marked qualifier.

Only one factor was found that made a real difference: position. The marked object is far more frequent in post-verb and sentence-final position (24% of all occurrences of 0-<var>ha</var>-?, versus only 8% of all occurrences of 0-<var>ha</var>, follow the verb). In view of what has been said in earlier sections about order, this looks like a matter of emphasis. All post-verb noun DOs are of course 3rd person, otherwise they would be pronouns. Two-thirds of them are singular, which is suggestive since 3rd person objects—certainly 3rd person singular objects—are not indicated by verb prefixes, and thus may require special treatment. A predicate with a 3rd person singular object is no different in the case of most verbs from the same predicate with no object: e.g., ʔuʔu: 'he looks, sees (or) he looks at him, he sees him', ʔuʔu:i 'I look, see (or) I look at him, I see him'.

Occurrences of post-verb DOs are illustrated below:

(35) Lugarda sal ʔi-xai:v m̥vši:i-<var>ha</var>-<var>Y</var> v̥ra:r
Lugarda in=there when-enter women-the-S stand-up

k̥m̥n̥i:v̥ Lugar-da-<var>ha</var>-? Lugar-da-the-O
Lugard-ha-?

'embrace(her)=pl
the women rose and greeted her.'

(36) Naʔpa:yɛm m̥t̥mak xaw:i:n pa:r:i:w ?iʔipsi:i-<var>tu</var>-<var>v</var>
and=then leave=off=pl Juan run brush-middle-

-<var>ha</var>-m m̥mir̥ xai:v x̥ma:r-<var>ha</var>-<var>Y</var> pa:yti-k
-the-thither straight enter youths-the-S all-SS

ʔuʔu: xaw:i:n-<var>ha</var>-?
Juan see(him)

'then they left off (fighting). Juan took off and ran straight into the middle of the brush. The youths all saw him.'

(37) pa:yiʔm ʔeʔɔi pa:-m̥še;kukwa-<var>ha</var> ʔiʔsa?- Benito
and=then my=mother Fo-express-fear-the this-O Benito

ku:n̥a:v̥u ɔκ̥ wary:li-<var>ki</var> ke:yv̥u:m m̥m̥-m̥šː
tell(him) laugh-very-SS 2-fear(him) doctor-

-<var>ha</var>-? ?i-<var>k</var> ɔk̥wi:k̥a
-value-the-0 say-SS ask(her)

'then I told Benito that my mother was afraid (of them). He laughed hard. "Why are you afraid of the doctor?" he asked her.'
3. In summary, Pailal object nouns—both direct and indirect—may be marked by object case suffix -? or unmarked. The rules governing the variation are not clear yet, but unmarked objects which also lack an articular suffix may sometimes be on their way to becoming thematic verb prefixes. Object nouns which carry an articular suffix are more apt to carry the object case suffix than not. Object nouns in post-verb position—a position of emphasis—are far more likely to have an object marker. Whether objects are marked with the case suffix -? or not, they may be marked as objects by the different subject suffix -m on a qualifying verb which follows or substitutes for them.

Notes

1. The orthography employs: ? for glottal stop, € for schwa and all other non-phonemic breve vowels. -Y is the subject case noun suffix (pronunciation varies but is often that of a voiceless, slightly noisy [y]). Other symbols have their usual values.

Abreviations employed are: PO = plural object (a verb prefix), S = subject or subject case suffix, O = object or object case suffix, DS = different subject (a verb suffix sometimes termed a switch referent marker), SS = same subject (verb suffix).

Verbs are singular or indifferent as to subject number unless marked plural (=pl); both subject and object person are indicated in verb object prefixes (e.g., 3/1 = 3rd person subject and 1st person object).

Vowel length is variable in many morphemes, always long in some, always short in others. Following Langdon's (in press) hypothesis that the first category represents conditioned variants of the second, only two degrees of vowel length are distinguished here: short (e.g. yok, phonetically [bʊk] 'rain'), and long (e.g. soxk 'one eats meat') plus variable (e.g. yoik 'one picks up').

Breve vowels are always unstressed and although not phonemic, are included to indicate syllabic composition of words (an exception is verb-final DS suffix -m, which is usually syllabic, but is written here only as -m.

Illustrations are presented in a modified phonemic transcription; the main modifications relate to vowel length and stress (the phonemics of which are in question), breve vowels as noted above, and a glottal stop which appears and disappears in certain words (e.g., ?xa ~ xa 'water').
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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 Hokanists 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 GSOC-7418043 (Yuman Languages of the Southwest--Margaret Langdon, Principal Investigator).

Margaret Langdon
La Jolla, January 1976.
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