HAVASUPAI COMPARATIVES

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Speakers of Havasupai may make use of several devices to indicate a comparative degree, i.e., that one thing has more of a certain quality or quantity than another. These devices are phonological, morphophonemic, lexical and syntactic, singly or in combination. Although strictly speaking a comparative statement should relate two things, the present discussion will include one-place predicates signifying excess or augmentation as well.

One common device for indicating augmentation, mentioned here only for completeness, is vowel overlength: /kur:r rav/ lo-o-ng ago. Perhaps the most usual way of indicating excess or augmentation is by employing the lexeme /rav/.

1. ṇa-mahño-نى-نى v-tay ráv-k-yu
   l-shoe-det-nom emph-big aug-mod-be
   My shoes are too big.

2. ṇa-mahño-نى-نى qač ráv-k-yu
   l-shoe-det-nom small aug-mod-be
   My shoes are too small.

/rav/ is a weakly augmentative verb stem. Its semantic content is purely one of augmentation, while the quality itself is carried by the functional adjectives. The syntactic relation of the two is reversed in that it is the semantically less specified form that is the head of the verb phrase. In 1. and 2. the modifiers /tay/ and /qač/ are the /ay/ forms of the /e/–/ay/ vowel alternation set. In /qač/ the /ay/ occurs before /a/ resulting in deletion of /y/. The /e/–/ay/ (along with /i/–/uy/) alternation signifies variously the contrasts singular vs. plural, individual vs. class, specific vs. general, and in the present context, positive vs. comparative degree. The overt marking of comparative degree is supported by the augmentative /rav/. Notice sentences 18. and 19. where the only difference between equality and inequality is the occurrence of /te/ vs. /tay/. The indication of comparative degree, then, does not only rest in the choice of verb, but is distributed between the augmentative verb and the appropriate form of the attributive adjective.

3. pa-ha-نى v'av'áv i-m rá̄v-k-yu
   man-dem-nom shiver say-mod aug-mod-be
   The man is shivering very hard.

4. vi-ú rá̄v-k-yu v'av'áv-k-a
   emph-emph aug-mod-be shiver-mod-asp
   He is shivering very hard.
In 3. the relations among the components of the predicate are brought out more clearly. The verb which bears the main semantic load is /v'av'av/ to shiver which is an inherently reduplicated form as is its apparent synonym /e'ir'eir/. It carries no inflection. /1-m/ is an intensive construction employing /i/ to say, which is conventionally employed in this sense; /-m/ a subordinating affix is attached to it. Finally comes /rav/ with the closing sequence. The syntactic pattern, although rather complex, is not unique to comparative constructions. /v'av'av/, as are /tay/ and /qač/ in 1. and 2., is a syntactic complement of a higher verb and as such carries no final inflection (compare ma' k'wit-a I want to eat). The main verb phrase displays the same pattern of subordinating one verb to another to indicate duration or intensity as is usually found in constructions employing auxiliaries (wi-m wi-č-e, he always does that) or iteration of a verb (ti-yé-m yé-k-i, he always lies). Sentence 4. has two clauses. It may be rendered as, "He has an extreme condition with regard to shivering." The particle /u/ always bears a primary stress, is often long and indicates a strong augmentation or superlative degree.

Aside from simple augmentation there are construction types which are used in two-term comparisons. Of interest here are those expressing equality or similarity (e.g. same, like, as) and those expressing inequality (e.g. more, less).

5. katôh-v-k mulo-n v-lwi-k
kick-part-mod mule-det emph-like-mod
He kicks like a mule.

6. a. mulo-n u-čel-k
    mule-det emph-resemble-mod
b. mulo-n v-lwi rav-k
    mule-det emph-like aug-mod
He resembles a mule.

7. v-lwi-v θ-čár-k
    emph-like-part con-resemble-mod
He resembles him.

8. k'ë-ka-yú-m v-lwi-k
    indef- pro-be-mod emph-like-mod
They do things the same.

Equality or similarity between any two things being compared, whether nominal or verbal, is usually indicated by the verb /lwi/ which is often preceded by the prefix /-v-/ which is interpreted here as an emphatic. Sentences 5. through 8. give some idea of the range of /lwi/. The verb /čel/ to resemble in its alternate forms /čár/ and /čel/ conveys a similar meaning and they co-occur in the same sentence.
As in all comparative constructions there is a great deal of redundancy, both lexical and structural. Sentence 7., for example, may be glossed, "Their likenesses resemble each other." The prefix /θ-/ in 7. is here regarded as a conditional meaning almost the same. /1wi/ may also be used in interrogative sentences to question a similarity as in 9.

9. hót-ŋ k'weŋ v-1wi
   dog-det indef-det emph-like
   What is a dog like?

10. nač ólo té-m ñ-hát-k, īn wi̩-ha v-1wi ə-čár
    l-nom horse many part 3-own-mod, John own-det emph-like
    cond-resemble
    I have as many horses as John does.

11. nač kak ólo qeč-m té-m ka-wi̩-ha v-1wi t-um-k.
    l-nom neg horse little-part much-part pro-own-mod,
    John own-det emph-like neg-neg-mod
    I don't have as many horses as John does.

Comparing the final verb of 10. and 11. it would appear that /čár/ in 10. serves principally as an emphatic, or affirmative, comparable to /rav/ or an auxiliary since the negative sequence /t-um/ immediately follows /vilwi/. This sort of redundancy is also conspicuous in 11., which may be literally rendered, "The few many horses that I own don't equal John's holdings."

Finally, /čal/ may occur in one-term predicates to indicate feeling or supposition.

12. hamčay-m i-čal-k-i
    hunger-partitive say-resemble-mod-say
    I feel hungry.

13. kwe-kwimač-k kYu̩-čal-k-yu
    indef- rain-mod
    It looks like its going to rain.

In 12. the verb /i/ is to be taken not in the sense of say, but in the sense of a personal feeling, orientation or emphasis. It may also be used in the sense of to desire or to want. In 13., the /kYu̩/ is a form whose distribution and meaning largely parallel that of /yu/ to be, but which expresses doubt, uncertainty or withholding commitment in the affirmation of some state of affairs.
Last of all, there are comparative constructions in which one term is not equal to the other. These constructions express relations or more or less.

14. hatkʷ'íl-ʔn-č v-ték, kθar-ʔn t-kʷ'il-k
wolf-det-nom emph-big, coyote-det mut-surpass-mod
The wolf is bigger than the coyote.

15. v-ólo-ʔn-č viyám eθkʷ'ay-k, kθar-ʔn t-kʷ'il-k
emph-horse-det-nom run fast-mod, coyote-det mut-surpass-mod
The horse runs faster than the coyote.

16. ňá-č a-mí-k, ján kʷ'il-wi
l-nom l-tall-mod, John surpass-do.
I am taller than John.

Basically the inequality is expressed by the juxtaposition of two clauses. The first clause is a predication of some attribute or action. This is followed by another clause where the same subject is stated to surpass another with whom the comparison is being made. That /kʷ'il/ to surpass is not a stative verb can be inferred from its co-occurrence with the auxiliary /wi/ to do. The prefix /t-/ on /kʷ'il/ is optional. It is often used to express involvement of two parties in some action. The verb /kʷ'il/ may also be used in interrogative sentences.

17. ka-ʔn kʷ'ú-č-č sél-k t-kʷ'il-v-e
pro-det might-nom-nom fat-mod mut-surpass-part-affirm
Which one is fatter?

The /v-/ serves to direct attention to the subject as having or being characterized by the action of the verb. It has somewhat of a participial sense in that it has more of a sense of description than that of a finite active verb.

18. ňá-č olo-č te-m ň-háť-k, ján wi'-ha v-lwi ŋεčár
I-nom horse-pl much-part 3-own-mod, John own-det emph-same-cond-resemble
I have as many horses as John does.

19. ňá-č olo tāy ň-háť-k, ján v-lwi ŋεčár
I-nom horse many 3-own-mod, John emph-same cond-resemble
I have more horses than John does.

20. ján-č pes te-m wi', ňa-wí'-v-a t-kʷ'il
John-nom money much-part own 1-own-det-det mut-surpass
John has more money than I have.
Sentence 18, and 19. are offered here to call attention to alternative forms of expression of comparatives. As was mentioned with regard to 1. and 2., although the augmentative /rav/ may indicate a comparative degree, the /ay/ forms of those morphemes in the /e/-/a/y alternation class may also express it. The only difference between 18. and 19. is that 18. has /te/ with a partitive affix /-m/ while 19. has /tay/ and this difference marks the difference between as many and more without the use of /kwil/ to surpass. In 20., by contrast, /te/ occurs with /kwil/ to mark inequality.

This brief discussion illustrates some of the more frequent methods of expressing degrees of comparison, and that comparatives and augmentatives employ the same devices. Finally, it illustrates the range of alternatives in choice among lexical items and construction types.
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Proceedings of the First Yuman Languages Workshop

by

James E. Redden, Editor

University Museum Studies

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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 GSSC-7418043 (Yuman Languages of the Southwest--Margaret Langdon, Principal Investigator).

Margaret Langdon
La Jolla, January 1976.
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