Syntactic Diversity in Diegueño Dialects
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The purpose of this report is to present data relevant to the description of Diegueño syntax as well as to comparative Yuman syntax, in that the problems discussed are also known to have parallels in other Yuman languages. Unless otherwise specified, the data are from my own field notes, from Larry Gorbet's for the Imperial Valley dialect, and Leanne Hinton's for the La Huerta dialect, and are intended to supplement the descriptions in Langdon (1970), Gorbet (1974), Couro and Langdon (1975). The dialects surveyed are: Mesa Grande (MG), Barona (BA), Baron Long (BL), Campo (CA), Imperial Valley (IV), Jamul (JA), and La Huerta (LH). These form a dialect continuum which, for simplicity, may be diagrammed as follows, with the double line indicating the closer linguistic bond.

MG——BA——IV——BL——CA——JA——LH
'Tipay Kumeyaay Tiipay

The orthography used is the practical orthography of Couro and Hutchison (1973) supplemented by the identification of syntactically relevant morpheme boundaries. Abbreviations used are as follows: 1,2,3 indicate the person of the subject or object prefixes, so that 1-2 means 'first person subject/second person object, dem(onstrative), sub(ject), q(uestion), s(ame)s(ubject), d(ifferent)s(ubject), irr(eals), pl(ural), im-perative), rel(ativizer), em(phatic), d(ependent)f(uture).

1. The suffix -a

The standard use of this suffix in all dialects is to denote a question about non-immediately verifiable events, i.e. past or future, as opposed to another question construction which uses an optionally inflected cliticized form of the verb yuu 'be' as higher predicate following the questioned clause which in turn is marked with the 'same subject' marker -ch. Pairs of sentences illustrating the contrast are:

(1-MG) maa iinyawp-a (you get=lost-a) 'Did you get lost?' (e.g. on the way to my house, since you got here so late)
(2-MG) maa iinyawp-ch-me-yu (you get=lost-ss-2-be) 'Are you lost?' (e.g. to little boy crying)
(3-CA) hatt maa menye-hatt 'e-ttim-a (dog you your-pet l-shoot-a) 'Did I shoot your dog?'
(4-CA) hatt maa menye-hatt 'e-ttim-ch-yu (dog you your-pet l-shoot-ss-be) 'Is that your dog I shot?' (pointing at it)

The suffix -a normally appears on the verb, i.e. sentence final, with no intervening syntactic suffixes. In some dialects it may, however, appear on a nominal or after various morphemes typically marking some kind of embedding, including a -ch 'subject marker', possibly by analogy with the other question construction. Thus

(5-RA) Elinor-ve-ch-a (Elinor-dem-sub-q) 'What about Elinor?'
(6-BL) 'tipach maalich 'ech-w-ii-ch-a (man what what-3-say-ss-q) 'What did the man say?'

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In several dialects, a sentence-final -a is associated also with strong assertions, often with emotional overtones. It can have negative emotional connotations, as in

(10-BA) siny cha'liblich-a (woman ugly-a) 'What an ugly woman!'  
(11-BA) mereyuy-a (ashamed-a) 'Shame on you.'  
(12-CA) haaewal-a (lizard-a) 'A lizard (I hate them).'  
(13-CA) chihiicliblich-a (ugly-pl-a) 'Are they ever ugly.'  
(14-CA) 'eyuullly 'enyyaa 'e-hellytac'h keyaa-h-a (maybe me l-hair-sub be-gray-irr-a) 'Maybe my hair will turn gray (unfortunately).'  

In other cases, it is associated with unusually assertive behavior:

(15-CA) 'enyyaa-ch 'aa-h-keh-a (I-sub l-go-irr-must-a) 'I must be going.'  
(16-CA) 'e-hap-a (l-enter-a) 'I'm going in!' (announcing move in card game)  
(17-CA) arrovilll taanuw-a (car make-run-a) 'I am so too going to drive.'  
(18-CA) nya'aam-a 'Let's anyway.'  
(19-CA) m-uyyaaw-a (2-know-a) 'You know it. You know better.'  
(20-CA) 'aatim mataawar w-aam sheemaa-h w-i'ii-ch-a (bow tired 3-leave sleep-irr 3-say-ss-a) 'Mr. Gunn is tired and going home to bed, that's what he said.'  

In LH, the presence of the suffix does not seem to affect the meaning of the sentence, perhaps just stating the obvious.

(21-LH) wa-ha-ch kwatay-a (house-dem-sub big-one-a) 'The house is big.'  
(22-LH) hatt-ch nyilly-a (dog-sub be-black-a) 'The dog is black.'  

In the same dialect, it may appear on object NPs sentence internally, apparently as a clause marker (remember object case is unmarked):

(23-LH) nyaa-ch hatt-a nyilly '-achllap (I-sub dog-a be-black l-hit) 'I hit the black dog. The dog that I hit was black.'  
(24-LH) nyaa-ch hatt nyilly-a '-achllap 'I hit the black dog.'  

Finally, still in LH, -a is suffixed to the plural stem of about 20 verbs, although it is never the sole marker of plurality. To my knowledge, no other Yuman language associates the suffix with plurality.

(25-LH) chuuyaat-t-a (plural of chuyaatt) 'they lie'  
(26-LH) unyaa-y-a (plural of nyay) 'they hunt'  

With the exception of the LH data, a unified feature of the use of the suffix -a is its use in difficult social contexts, where question-like constructions are often preferred in many cultures. In fact, there is evidence (Langdon and Hinton, in press) that direct questions are a form of inappropriate social behavior among Diegueño groups.

2. Predicate nominals

The typical Yuman predicate-nominal construction X Y-ch 'be' X is a Y' (Munro 1974) has a direct equivalent in Diegueño, where the subject marker -ch combines with a special verb yl 'be' and the emphatic -s into a suffix -chis -ches, which also marks statements for emphasis. In the examples, a/ separates the two NPs.
(27-MG) 'ilikwich/kuseyaay-ches (man/docto-is) 'The man is a doctor.'
(28-MG) 'enyaay '-aamuch-vu/gayeen-ches (me 1-kill-dem/chicken-is) 'The one I killed was a chicken.'
(29-MG) 'ewaa m-un-vu/nya'-taat we-chuw-ches (house 2-see-dem/my-1-father 3-make-is) 'The house you see is the one my father built.'
(30-JA) nyip/hatt-ches (that/dog-is) 'It's a dog.'
(31-JA) mat nyip/kwatay-ches (mountain that/big-one-is) 'That's the big mountain.'
(32-CA) hatt kumeppach-vu/maa-ch me-ttim-ve-ches (dog dead-one-dem/you-sub 2-shoot-dem-is) 'The dead dog is the one you shot.'

Other constructions are also found, including the juxtaposition of two NPs unmarked for case.

(33-MG) puu/siny kwa'ash (that/woman beautiful-one) 'She is a pretty girl.'
(34-MG) peyaa/tekemak-m '-aa-h-vu (this/Mesa=Grande-to 1-go-irr-dem) 'This is the way I go to Mesa Grande.'
(35-CA) kuwach-vu'/e-chuyu (the-one=here-dem/1-husband) 'He's my husband.'
(36-CA) siny-vu/'enyaay '-ensiny (woman-dem/me 1-wife) 'She is my wife.'
(37-LH) kunyilly-a,nyip/hatt (black=one-a,that/dog) 'The black one, that's a dog.'

Others show the verb yi 'be' without a preceding -ch. The syntactic analysis of such sentences is far from clear.

(38-MG) 'ewaa m-un-vu nya'-taat we-chuw-m yi-s (house 2-see-dem me-1-father 3-make-ds be-em) 'The house you see is the one my father built.' (a variant of 29-MG)
(39-JA) peyaa 'enyaay-vu 'e-ntaly-yi-s (this me-dem 1-mother-be-em) 'This is my mother.'
(40-JA) maa-pa nyewaay-yi-s (you-dem friend-be-em) 'You are my friend.'

3. Relative clauses

The standard formation of relative clauses in MG and IV has been described in detail by Gorbet (1979). I will here limit myself to examples from other dialects and somewhat more aberrant constructions not discussed previously. First, some comments on forms with the kw- 'relativizer' prefix, i.e. those where the head noun is subject of the relative clause. A verb stem normalized with kw- may in addition take subject/object prefixes like an inflected verb form.

(41-MG) 'enyaay-ch '-uuyaaay 'ilikwich nye-ku-hwich-vu (I-sub 1-know man 3-rel-hate-dem) 'I know the man who hates me.'

Some verbs take a special form of the stem when normalized by kw-. This special form, which reinforces the nominalization, shows modifications which elsewhere in the language are associated with plurality (see Munro 1973), although there is no correspondence between the plural stem of the verb in question and the form of the stem in the kw- word.

(42-MG) kuwach 'he who is here' (waa 'is located'), kuhnnoch 'the one who is sick (henoo 'is sick'), kumyuch 'which one?' (meyu 'is somehow'), kumuw 'the one who doesn't' (maaw 'is not'), kullyipitwaarp 'the things that are hard to do' (llyepuuwar 'is unable')
(43-BA) kweecheyaay 'singer' ('ech-yaay 'to sing')
(44-RL) kweechmiich 'the one who cries' (-mii 'to cry')
(45-JA) kwechaamch 'dancers' (iimaa 'dances', iimaach 'they dance'), kuuchmaar 'peon players' (uumar 'plays peon')
The verb stem in an oblique (non-kw) relative clause may also show modifications of the same type.

(46-CA) kumespach 'the dead one' (mespaa 'to die')

(47-MG)  'enyaa-ch nya-taats 'ewaa echuw-vu 'e-peshuw-s (I-sub me-l-father house make-dem l-take-care-em) 'I take care of the house my father built.' (in this case, the stem does not change but is missing the third person prefix w-, since we-chuw means 'he makes')

(48-MG) w-ich-vu 'e-yip-s (3-say-dem 1-hear-em) 'I heard what he said.'

(49-BL) nyaa-ch nyawuu 'e-wich-vu me-wuww-a (I-sub thing l-do-dem 2-see-q)

(50-BL) nyaa-ch nyawuu 'e-mawi-h-vu 'uyyaaw (I-sub thing l-do-what-irr-dem 1-know) 'I know what I'll do.'

(51-IV) uwii 'e-wuww hattekchok me-tuch-vu (rock l-see dog 2-hit-dem) 'I see the rock you hit the dog with.'

(52-IV) 'ewaa 'e-pach-ve-ch 'ehwatt (house l-reach-dem-sub be=red) 'The house I came to was red.'

(53-LH) nyap waa-m 'ach-ha-ch nyemshap (me house-to l-go-dem-sub be=white)

In general, it can be seen that the most common stem modification applies to a set of verbs ending in a long vowel, and consists of shortening the vowel and adding -ch.

There is also some indication that the two types of relativization can contrast in the same environment.

(54-CA) 'i'iwy kwe-llyap 'e-wuww (stick rel-burn l-see) 'I see the burning stick.'

(55-CA) 'i'iwy llyap 'e-wuww 'I see the burnt stick.'

The demonstrative suffix which usually identifies the end of the relative clause may be omitted as in (54-55) above and also in

(56-BL) nyaa-ch 'iipach '-uyyaaw siny kw-atrraaap (I-sub man l-know woman rel-beat) 'I see the man who beats his wife.'

(57-BL) hechanwy 'iipach kwe-chmiich mehan (girl man rel-cry like) 'The girl likes the crying man.'

(58-BL) hekwala ku-shmach ku-wach me-mawii-h-a (baby rel-sleep rel-be-there 2-do-what-irr-Q) 'What will you do with the sleeping baby?'

(59-JA) 'iiipa arroviil ku-taanw semray teewaa (man car rel-make-run drunk was=sitting) 'The driver of the car was drunk.'

(60-BL) mensap nyaa-ch 'iipach nye-siny tenaay aarrap 'e-wiiw-h (tomorrow I-sub man his-wife yesterday beat 1-see-irr) 'Tomorrow, I'll see the man who beat his wife yesterday.'

(61-BL) hechanwy 'iipach we-waaw mehan (girl man 3-holler like) 'The girl likes the man who hollered.'

Since in (55,60,61) there is no overt indication that the construction is a relative clause (i.e. no nominalizing morphemes are present), alternate analyses of these sentences are undoubtedly possible.

4. Other sentence nominalizations

Object complements, complements of 'know', 'teach', etc. are formed by the same device as relative clauses, namely suffixation of a demonstrative morpheme to the embedded predicate.
Since relative clauses can be headless, as shown in (48-49), it is evident that there is no formal difference between this type of complement and oblique relative clauses. As (67) shows, even the special nominalized forms of some verb stems are used, in this case ach, nominalized form of aa 'go'. I therefore conclude that relative clauses and object complements are instances of the same construction in Diegueño.

Verbs meaning 'think' as well as special uses of the verb ii 'say' with the meaning 'try, intend, think' are similar, but it is the clause containing the 'think' verb that is nominalized. All available examples are first person, so the construction is probably best translated by '.... (that's) what I think.'

Similarly, subject complements, which are rare, represent the same constructions as headless oblique relative clauses serving as subject of the matrix verb.
5. Switch-reference

Most nominalized constructions described in sections 3 and 4 can be paraphrased by an appropriate use of the all-purpose sentence conjoining/embedding mechanism of switch-reference which marks the lower clause with -ch if it has the same subject as the higher clause, and with -m if their subjects are different. Subtle differences of meaning or at least appropriateness are undoubtedly conveyed by the various constructions, but are not sufficiently understood to allow insightful discussion. Object complement examples are:

(75-MG) nya-’-taly nya-’-taat yullp nyeway n-aam-h-ch (me-1-mother me-1-father be-ready be-pl pl-leave-irr-ss) 'My mother and my father are getting ready to leave.' (cf. 64-MG)

(76-MG) 'enyaa-ch ’e-nur lili shawii we-chuw-m (I-sub 1-know Lillie acorn=mush 3-make-ds) 'I know that Lillie made acorn mush.'

(77-BL) nyaa hachany-ch hemii-m ’e-wuuw (I girl-sub grow-ds 1-see) 'I see that the girl has grown.'

(78-BL) m-uyyaaw-h maaw-m nyaa-’-chuyu kush apsiiw (2-know-irr not-ds me-1-husband be-tall be-very) 'You didn’t know my husband was so tall.'

(79-BL) ’iipach u-matt-ch shewii we-saaw-h (man 3-wonder-ss acorn=mush 3-eat-irr) 'The man was wondering whether he would get to eat acorn mush.'

(80-IV) nyaa kur we-saaw-m ’-uyyaaw (already 3-eat-ds 1-know) 'I know he already ate.'

(81-JA) nyaa-ch ’-iimaa-ch ’-uyyaaw (I-sub 1-dance-ss 1-know) 'I know how to dance.'

Relative clause examples are:

(82-BL) ’iipach hatt aarp hatt hekuwl chuukuw-chem (man dog hit dog child bite-ds) 'The man hit the dog that bit the child.'

(83-BL) teneay tiwuu waa we-llyyap-chem (yesterday indeed-I-see house 3-burn-ds) 'Only yesterday did I see the house that burned down.'

Note that in (82-83), an apparent combination of the two switch-reference markers, -chem, is used instead of -m to indicate 'different subject'. This combination never occurs in MG, is fairly common in BL, CA, and JA where it coexists with both -ch and -m (whether -m and -chem are interchangeable there or convey separate meanings is far from clear at this time), and seems to be on the way to replacing -m in LH, where the switch-reference system tends to be represented now by -b 'same subject' and -chem 'different subject.' Thus

(84-IH) pii shuukatt waar-a (here be-cold=b be-very-Q) 'Is it very cold here?'

(85-IH) nya-llyyap-chem nyemuhay (when-be-hot-ds I-don’t-like) 'I don’t like it when it’s hot.'

(86-IH) nyo-ch nye-hway-h taayaw-chem kway ’e-yiw (he-sub 3+1-kill-irr 3-beings-ds return 1-come) 'He was going to kill me, so I came back.'

In addition, dialects other than LH also occasionally omit the switch-reference markers, so that the results are sentences whose structure (as already noted for 60-61) is essentially ambiguous. An additional example is

(87-BL) hechany nye-mhan nyaa-ch ’-ip (girl 3+1-like I-sub 1-hear) 'I heard that the girl likes me.'

6. 'Say'

As in most other Yuman languages, the verb ii (i’ii or i’i depending on the dialect) 'say' enters into many syntactically and semantically specialized constructions. The full details are not well understood but some sample sen-
sentences will illustrate the various patterns.

A common construction is for the clause containing the verb 'say' to be the embedded one contrary to expectations (cf. 69-72).

(88-MG) me-taat k-ii-m 'ily tuakkatt (2-father im-say-ds wood chop) 'Tell your father to chop wood.'

(89-MG) puu-ch nye-kenaa-s paa-taat henoo w-ii-ch (he-sub 3+1-tell-em 3-father be-sick 3-say-ss) 'He told me that his father was sick.'

(90-BL) nyaa haakwal hatt k-uusuw '-i'ii-chem (I child dog im-feed 1-say-ds) 'I told the child to feed the dog.'

(91-IV) nyaa-ch '-i'ii-chem cheyuuw (I-sub 1-say-ds 3-sing) 'I asked him to sing.'

(92-IV) nyaa-ch ke-chuyuw '-i'ii-m cheyuw-ches (I-sub im-sing 1-say-ds 3-sing- indeed) 'I made him sing.'

(93-CA) maaw-h '-i-ch (not-irr 1-say-ss) 'I say no.' 'I won't.'

(94-LH) nyi-ch nyaa-ch '-aa-h w-i'i-ch (he-sub I-sub 1-go-irr 3-say-ss?) 'He told me to go.'

(95-LH) nyi-ch maa-ch m-aa-h w-i'i-ch (he-sub you-sub 2-go-irr 3-say-ss?) 'He told you to go.'

Also common is the situation where both the 'say' clause and the other clause of the sentence are unmarked for embedding. Often the 'say' clause carries the emphatic markers -s or -ches, clearly identifying it as the main clause.

(96-MG) 'enyaa-ch ke-saaw '-i'i-s (I-sub im-eat 1-say-em) 'I said:"Eat it."'

(97-MG) puu-ch 'e-yw-h maaw w-ii-s (he-sub l-come-irr not 3-say-em) 'He said for me not to come.'

(98-MG) 'enyaa-ch 'elymaam-vu 'exatt k-uusuw '-ii-s (I-sub child-dem dog im-feed 1-say-em) 'I told the child to feed the dog.

(99-MG) 'elymaam-vu '-uuchutt 'ehatt uusuw-h '-ii-s (child-dem l-order dog feed-irr 1-say-em) 'I ordered the child to feed the dog.'

(100-BA) peyii tuuyuw-h w-ii (here 3=be=standing-irr 3-say) 'He said he would be here.'

(101-BL) nyaa maa-vu nye-kenaap sakwill 'e-lus-h '-i'i (I you-dem l*2-tell dishes 1-wash-irr 1-say) 'I told you I would wash the dishes.'

(102-IV) tiipay nye-kenaap maa-ch cheyuu w-ii-s (person l*2-tell you-sub sing 3-say-em) 'Someone told me you were a singer.'

(103-CA) taaniw-ch eyuu w-ii-ches (they-were=there-ss be 3-say-em) 'They were there, he said.' 'They were there, I was told.'

(104-LH) nyaa-ch maa-ch m-aa-h '-i-ches (I-sub you-sub 2-go-irr 1-say-em) 'I told you to go.'

Note that in some of these sentences the complement of 'say' is in direct discourse (96,98), in others indirect discourse (97,99,102), while the remainder are ambiguous in that respect.

A mysterious suffix -m occasionally appears on a main-clause 'say' predicate in CA.

(105-CA) 'enyaa-ch ke-ttim '-i-m-s (I-sub im-shoot 1-say-m-em) 'I told him to shoot.'

(106-CA) w-i'i-m-s (3-say-m-em) 'He said it.'
7. Modals

Modal notions are expressed by a wide variety of constructions, the majority of which involve the use of the 'irrealis' morpheme -h in combination with various other affixes, often surrounding a reduced form of the verb yuu 'be'. A common combination used as a suffix on the main predicate is -keh or -kuh which I assume to be composed of k 'dependent future' + the reduced unstressed form of yuu 'be' + h 'irrealis'. Its most common translation is 'must be'. Another common modal element is 'eyuhhly', an independent word most frequently appearing in sentence-initial position and translated 'maybe'. Etymologically, it is undoubtedly composed of 'e-yuhh-lly' (1-be-irr-into) 'It seems to me.' or 'it might be the case that.' A few very rare instances of this form inflected for other than first person confirm the analysis of 'a- as 'first person'. In some dialects, a main verb suffixed with -h 'irrealis' and followed by the word wach of unidentified origin conveys the meaning 'should, ought to, supposed to'. Examples illustrate some of the possible combinations.

(107-MG) Palomar-m n-aah-keh-s '-iichach-vu (Palomar-to pl-go-must-em l-think-dem) 'I think they must be going (or must have gone) to Palomar.'

(108-MG) me-miij '-a-h-llly-a (2-go-with 1-go-irr-into-q) 'Can I go with you?'

(109-MG) 'aahh-ches (1-go-irr-em) 'I must go.'

(110-MG) n-aahh-keh (pl-leave-irr-must-em) 'I guess they'll be leaving.'

(111-MG) Tekemak-m n-aahh-m tuuyuuw-s (Mesa=Grande-to 2-go-irr-ds 3-being-em) 'You should go to Mesa Grande.'

(112-MG) we-yiiw-ch nyewaayp-kuh 'kwach (3-come-ss live-must 1-be=with-pl) 'He came to live with us;' 'He came with the intention of living with us.'

(113-BL) hekwaal skweel n-aah wach (children school pl-go-irr should) 'Children are supposed to go to school.'

(114-BL) siny we-lllyully uyuchuyw-p h wach (woman 3-cook know-pl-irr should) 'Women should know how to cook.'

(115-BL) 'eyuhhly nyim Map 'n-aahh (maybe tomorrow 1-pl-go-irr) 'Maybe we'll go tomorrow.'

(116-BL) kuseyyaay nyam pa-pek siny mespyaah maawh tuuyuw (doctor just arrive-if woman die-irr not-irr 3-being) 'If the doctor had only come, the woman would not have died.'

(117-CA) 'e-yiiw-h-llly-a (1-come irr-into-q) 'Can I come?'

(118-CA) muuluu w-ii-ch aamauch-kuh-a (why 3-say-ss kill-must-q) 'Why should he kill him?'

(119-CA) 'eyuhhly 'iipach-w-ch w-iip-kuh-hlly-a (maybe man-dem-sub 3-hear-must-into-q) 'Can the man hear (me)?'

(120-CA) n-aahh wach (pl-go-irr should) 'They must go.'

(121-CA) 'eweaa-ch 'eyuhhly '-ii-s (house-sub maybe 1-say-em) 'I guess it must be a house.'

(122-CA) m-uyuyau me-yuhhlyl '-ii-s (2-know 3-maybe 1-say-em) 'I guess you must know.'

(123-IV) eyuh w-i'i puu cheyak-h (maybe 3-say he sing-irr) 'Maybe he'll sing.'

(124-LH) nyaa-ch cheyuw-h-kum (I-sub sing-kum(k+yu+m?)) 'Should I sing?'
The suffix -vek, normally suffixed to embedded 'if' clauses, can be used with modal meanings in CA:

(125-CA) 'enyaach 'e-yiw-vek-a (I-sub l-come-if-a) 'I might come.'
(126-CA) 'eyuhlly 'i-imaa-ch-vek-a (maybe l-dance-pl-if-q) 'Shall we dance?'
(127-CA) ke-saaw-vek (im-eat-if) 'Eat then.'

In MG, the meaning 'maybe' is typically conveyed by a form of the predicate iimuy, either unmarked or suffixed by -vek 'if' or -k 'dependent future'.

(128-MG) iimuy w-asam-s (maybe 3-leave-em) 'Maybe he left.'
(129-MG) iimuy-vek 'i-imaa-h-s (maybe-if l-dance-irr-em) 'Maybe I'll dance.'
(130-MG) iimuy-vek aalap-h-s (maybe-df snow-irr-em) 'Maybe it'll snow.'

8. Emphatic te-

A prefix te- acting as an emphatic or focusing device was recorded with inordinate frequency in the speech of a speaker of the Iñaja dialect, an 'Iipay dialect otherwise very close to MG. All data for this dialect are from Roderick Jacobs' fieldnotes as well as from Jacobs (1969ms). The phonological shape assigned to the prefix requires some comment, since e is an inorganic vowel typically inserted by rule. It is given here as part of the underlying representation of this morpheme to indicate that the vowel is always present even before a word beginning in a vowel, an environment where e is not normally inserted by rule. The explanation is probably that the prefix is separated from the word to which it is attached by a strong syntactic boundary similar to that associated with the prefix nya- 'when' which occasionally has similar effects. The origin of the te- prefix is obscure, though I suspect it is cognate with the t- prefix on auxiliary verbs describing non-immediately verifiable events (Baker 1970). Synchronously, the two prefixes must be kept distinct since they serve different functions.

(131-IN) no, te-we-maaw, ke-wuww-na (no, te-3-not im-look-im) 'No, nothing doing, look at it!'
(132-IN) nyipily te-nye-saaw-h (right-now te-l+2-eat-irr) 'Now I'll really eat you.'
(133-IN) puu-ch te-usahaan (he-sub te-laugh) 'He was laughing.'
(134-IN) te-kc-yiw (te-im-come) 'Come on!'
(135-IN) te-metenayya-ches (te-tomorrow-em) 'Tomorrow!'
(136-IN) menyawap puy te-temenam (you=pl there te-you-were=there=pl) 'You all were really there.'
(137-IN) peyaa te-hattepaa(ches) (this te-coyote-(em)) 'This is a coyote.'
(138-IN) peyaa te-'elymaam kwa-stik (this te-child rel-little) 'This is a little baby.'

Note the prefix appears typically on a verb, it may cooccur with emphatic suffixes (135), with the t- prefix on auxiliary verbs (136), and may even appear on nouns (137,138) In which case it seems to supplement or replace the standard predicate nominal construction. Except for the use on nouns, which seems to be unique to Iñaja, examples have been recorded in all other dialects, but much less frequently. The prefix is rarest in MG, and most common in RL, illustrating as has so much else in this paper, the lack of explanatory power of any rigid subgrouping.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST YUMAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

by

James E. Redden, Editor

University Museum Studies

University Museum
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
University Museum Studies

Number 7

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

FIRST YUMAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

Neotropical Studies

Editor: J. Charles Kelley

Co-editor: Ellen Ashott Kelley

Southern Illinois University

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

Margaret Langdon
La Jolla, January 1976.
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