Oblique and Non-Oblique Surface Case in Kiliwa Syntax

Mauricio J. Mixco

1. Relativization

The definition of "Relativization" used here involves the embedding of a Relative Clause (henceforth, RC) which modifies an External Noun Phrase (NPᵪ) of the matrix sentence. The RC contains an Internal Noun Phrase (NPᵢ) identical with the NPᵪ mentioned above. A transformation deleting one of the Noun Phrases intervenes prior to surface structure. The following examples indicate that the deleted structure is the NPᵪ as the surface case suffixes (K) on the NP that surfaces are appropriate only for the NPᵢ; whereas the suffixes appropriate to the deleted NPᵪ are found postfixed to the RC as a whole. This is to be expected as an RC precedes the NP it modifies as in most SOV languages.

Examples:

(1)  t= x=papu = si?=m m-šhin=m
    thing= sew = flesh=Inst.  2-shirt=Obj.
    ?-x=papu=u?= t  ŋî·r
    1-sew=Obl.Rel.=Nomin.  Black
    'The thread with which I sewed your shirt is black'

(2)  ñipâ· =si=m  ŋ-p· xmå·n  š-saw=u?=t
    Person =Art.=Obj. my-yo-sibling  3-see=Obl.Rel=Nom.
    ŋ-p-sît
    3-m/p-Exit
    'A man my younger brother saw went out'

In the preceding examples the surface noun phrases/t=x=papu=si?/ 'thread' in sentence (1), and /ñipâ· =si=m/ 'a man' in (2) are marked with oblique case (viz. Objective) which would be ungrammatical were these noun phrases truly the surface subject of the sentences in question. The oblique is only appropriate if these NP are taken as the surfaced NPᵢ of their respective relative clauses.

The following schemata trace the transformational derivation of the relative clause surface structures just
2. Oblique and Non-Oblique Relativizers

Kiliwa has a prefixed relativizer /kʷ=/ cognate to a similar /k-/ or /kʷ/ prefix in all the Yuman languages deriving historically from *kʷ=. This prefix attaches to the last member of the kiliwa surface verb phrase upon deletion of the NP_k. The /kʷ=/ prefix is grammatical only when the NP_i is the surface subject of the predicate of the relative clause in which it is contained. The following are examples of increasing complexity showing the function of kiliwa /kʷ=/:

(1) ?xa?=kʷ=xâ.
   (water=wh=Bitter) "Liquor, Tequila"

(2) ?wa?= kʷ=i?= hiw
   (house=wh=flies) "Airplane"

(3) ?ipâ=i=sî=t ?xâ·l= haq= 1 kʷ= yâq= t ...
   (man=Art.=Nom. pine =Grove=Il1at. who lie = Nom.)
   "The Forest-dweller ..."

(4) má?p=t kʷ=kû. má?=m Ø-sâw
   you=Nom. woman you=Obl. 3-see
   kʷ= wâ= m = Ø ?írp m-pâ.
   wh= sit(Aux.) = Obl. with 2-leave
   "You left with the woman who was looking at you."

Kiliwa distinguishes between oblique and non-oblique relativization, for the latter /kʷ=/ is prefixed whereas for the former a suffix /-uʔ/ is affixed to the last element of the relative clause and is in turn followed by the surface case suffix (K_k) of the deleted external noun phrase. The Oblique relativizer /-uʔ/ is allowed only when the NP_i is not the surface subject of the relative clause dominating
it, as is illustrated in the following oblique nominalizations:

(1) ʰ-čʰwír = táy = u?
     (3-measure = Frequent=Obl.Rel)
     'surveyor, measurer'

(2) ˢ-kʰíl = táy= u?
     (hand-twist = Frequent = Obl.Rel)
     'strainer, sifter'

(3) ?pá? p-ʔsíl= u?
     (Arrow Medio-Pass=Insert=Obl.Rel)
     'quiver (n.)'

(4) ?kʰít náʔp ʔ-thíp ʔ-haʔ = uʔ= m
     (Something I I-thought 1-place=Obl.Rel=Obl.
     ?mʔ= kwʔn ʔ-spû. māt
     (Person) Indef. = none 3-know not)
     'no one knows what I am thinking'

(5) xám=táy ?-iʔ-pát= uʔ= m  kʰát pá.
     (watermelon 1-extract=Obl.Rel=Obl. Neg that
     kʰ=msír= t = ū= = mat ?pá? ?-iʔ-pát= uʔ=
     wh= one Nom. = Be = not Arrow 1-Extract=Obl.Rel=
     =s= kʰʔíp = uʔ= t = ū, = p
     Irreal. = Fut=Obl.Rel= Nom. = Be = Declar.)
     'The place I got the watermelons
     is not the same as the one I got the arrows.'

(6) máʔ=p t ?kʰít= si m-sáw m-i-wá= uʔ= m
     (you = nom. thing = a 2-see 2-Prog. sit=Obl.Rel=Obl.
     m-gháw
     2-break)
     'You broke the thing you were
     looking at'

3. /=wiʔ/ and /=wn/.

The distinction between Oblique and Non-oblique is carried beyond relativization in Kiliwa. The particles /=wiʔ/ and /=wn/ mark for Non-oblique and Oblique respectively on Indefinite noun phrases. In the following examples two interchangeable synonyms for "which" are noted -- viz. /pkʰí.t/ and /ʔápu/.
The Non-Oblique postclitic /-wi/? occurs with a similar function on predicate nominals as in the following examples:

(1) \( k^w = k\bar{u} \cdot = pk^w i\cdot t = wi? = t \)
    (woman = which = Non-Obl. = Nom.3 1-whistle=Quest)
    'which of the women whistled at me?'

(2) \( ?i\bar{p}i? = ?\bar{ap}u = wn = ?-\bar{a}qi=u? \)
    (stick =which = Obl. 1-drop = Quest.)
    'which of the sticks did I drop?'

The Non-Oblique postclitic /-wi/? occurs with a similar function on predicate nominals as in the following examples:

(1) \( t = x = um\bar{a} = y = wi? = t \)
    (thing = create = Non.Obl.= nom.)
    '(Those are) the creatures (of God)'

(2) \( ?m\bar{a} = wi? = t \)
    ((person) =Indef=Non-Obl.=Nom.)
    'Who is it?'

(3) \( ?m\bar{a} = wi? = t = \bar{u} = \bar{u} \)
    ((person) =Indef=Non-Obl.=Nom.=Be)
    'Who is it?'

(4) \( \bar{n}\bar{a} = p k^w = m\bar{i} = y = wi? = t \)
    (I man = Non-Obl. =Nom.)
    'I'm a man.'

(5) \( m-k\bar{n} = p-u = mat = h\bar{a} = p-m = ?i\cdot-t = mat \)
    (2-quarrel-pl) seek med.pass-q-Say-pl not
    \( p\bar{a} = k^w = ?l\bar{u} = y = wi? = t = \bar{u} = \bar{u} = kh\bar{a} = \)
    that wh= evil = Non-Obl.=Nom=Be=Emph.)

4. Oblique and Non-Oblique in Paipai.

The overt distinction between Oblique and Non-oblique is a heretofore unknown phenomenon in Yuman syntax. This is perhaps evidence that it is a Kiliwa innovation. Nevertheless Paipai which though it is a putative member of the Northern Arizona dialect group is a close geographic and cultural neighbor of Kiliwa, evinces some syntactic patterns which are strikingly reminiscent of the Kiliwa phenomena as the following examples demonstrate:
(1) plu·m ?-t-ñur= u= ha = ?
   (pen I - write Obl.Rel=Art=Obj.
m- yo = e?
2- take = Quest.)
   'Did you take the pen I wrote
   with?'
(2) va·m ?-ma· kuña·r tñe·
   (today) 1-eat spoon yesterday
   ?iĉ-?ma = u = m
   thing -1-eat=Obl.Rel = with
   'Today I ate with the spoon
   I ate with yesterday.'
(3) ?mat m-ñ-wa wa=u=ha=8
   (place 2-pss-house sit=Obl.Rel=Art=Nom. pretty=k)
   'The place where your house
   is, is pretty.'
(4) ?mat = xqaq ?xʷa n-xkYe= u = ha = 1
   (canyon) soldier(s) pl- pass=Obl.Rel=Art=Illat.
   ?-yam
   I - go
   'I'm going to the canyon through
   which the soldiers passed.'

As yet no Paipai data pointing to a symmetrical
Non-Oblique marker have been found. Perhaps future research
will turn one up.

Paipai and Kiliwa belonging to different branches
of the Yuman family as they do, share no other innovations.
It is not implausible that a Kiliwa innovation has been
borrowed by Paipai as the result of long social intercourse
between the two groups which essentially constitute a single
complex social unit.

The syntactic borrowing must have taken place some
time before the modern historical period, as Kiliwa is
spoken by only one Paipai fluently, whereas most Kiliwa are
at least minimally bilingual in both languages. Such a
borrowing would indicate that at one time Kiliwa was spoken
more extensively in Paipai families than it is at present.
NOTES

1. The research on which the data presented here are based was collected during field trips in lower California, Mexico. Kiliwa field work was sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley Survey of California and Other Indian Languages during the summers 1966-1970. The University of Utah Research Committee sponsored further field work on Kiliwa during the summers of 1974 and 1975. The Paipai data was collected under the same grant during these same field trips in Santa Catarina, Lower California.

2. Kiliwa surface case suffixes on nouns are the following: in addition to /-t/ "Nominative", there are /-l/ "illative", /-q/ "Allative/Ablative", and /-am/ "Comitative, Instrumental, Objective". The latter will henceforth be called simply the "Oblique" in contrast to the Nominative and strictly Locative cases mentioned above. Surface case is only loosely obligatory.

3. Note that this is a predicate nominal which accounts for the object case suffixed to "where I got the watermelons..." (xám=táy...) The Irrealis aspect in embedded sentences is expressed by the complex particle /-s=kʷʔíp=/ post fixed to the clause. This provides independent syntactic motivation from Kiliwa for the analysis of Yuman predicate nominals, in which the predicate nominal is the subject complement of a higher Be. See P. Munro UCSD 1974 dissertation Topics in Mojave Syntax.

4. The first two examples involve predicate nominals with only the predicate surfacing. Note that neither "those" nor the upper verb "Be" are present on the surface. This is the result of an optional transformational process. See example (3).
Alpher, Barry, n.d., Unpublished Maricopa fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives at the University of California, San Diego.

Baker, Carol E., 1970, Tense Nonsense in Diegueño, Linguistics Notes from La Jolla 4:29-42

Chung, Sandra, n.d., Unpublished Yavapai fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives at UCSD.


Crook, Donald, n.d., Unpublished Yuma fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives at UCSD.


Gorbet, Larry, n.d., Unpublished Diegueño fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives, UCSD.


Hinton, Leanne, Unpublished Havasupai fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives at UCSD.

Jacobs, Roderick, n.d., Unpublished Diegueño fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives at UCSD.


Joël, Judith, 1974, The -k and -m suffixes in Paipai, paper read at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, Mexico City.


Kendall, Martha, 1972, Selected Problems in Yavapai Syntax, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington.


Kendall, Martha B., 1975, Yavape Modals, Conditionals, Counterfactuals, and Other Unreal States, Paper presented to the Yuman Languages Workshop, San Diego.


Langdon, Margaret, 1974, Auxiliary Verb Constructions in Yuman Languages, paper read at American Anthropological Association Meeting, Mexico City.

Langdon, Margaret, 1975, Boundaries and Lenition in Yuman Languages, IJAL 41:218-233.


Langdon, Margaret, n.d., Unpublished Diegueño fieldnotes on file with the Yuman Archives at UCSD.


Mixco, Mauricio, 1975, The Syntax of Proto-Yuman Indefinites, Unpublished manuscript.

Munro, Pamela, 1973, Nominalization and Plurality in Mojave, in You Take the High Node and I'll Take the Low Node, Proceedings of the CLS Comparative Syntax Festival, Corum, C. Ed., 53-64, Chicago

Munro, Pamela, 1973, Reanalysis and Elaboration in Yuman Negatives, in Linguistic Notes from La Jolla 5:56-62.


Munro, Pamela, Comitative Conjunctions: A Syntactic Reinterpretation in Yuman, preliminary draft, November 1975.

Munro, Pamela, 1975, Subject Copying, Auxiliaries and Predicate Raising, typescript.


Steele, Susan, 1974, Conjunction, Emphasis, and Modality in Classical Aztec, unpublished manuscript.

Steele, Susan, 1975, Past and Irrealis: Just What Does It All Mean?, IJAL 41:3:200-217.


Winter, Werner, n.d., Manuscripts of Walapai Texts, on file at the Yuman Archives at UCSD.
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

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at

University of California, San Diego

June 16-21, 1975

University Museum
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Library of Congress Catalog
Card Number 76-20016
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM STUDIES

RESEARCH RECORDS OF THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERIES

Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois 62901

Chief Editor:  Basil C. Hedrick
Associate Editor:  Carroll L. Riley

Mesoamerican Studies:
Editor:  J. Charles Kelley
Co-editor:  Ellen Abbott Kelley

Southern Illinois Studies:
Editor:  Frank Rackerby
Co-editor:  Edwin A. Cook

University Museum Studies:
Editor:  Basil C. Hedrick

Research Records, publications of the University Museum and Art Galleries, provide early release to interested colleagues of the miscellaneous research reports and records of the multiple programs carried out by the University Museum and Art Galleries of Southern Illinois University--Carbondale. The Research Records consist of three series:

1. Mesoamerican Studies
2. Southern Illinois Studies
3. University Museum Studies

Somewhat detailed reports on specific topics, sites, artifacts, ethnic groups, and other studies in archaeology, ethnology, history, geography, and cultural ecology of Mesoamerica and southern Illinois will be released in the appropriate series as they become available. While the series were established primarily as an outlet for researchers of the Southern Illinois University, reports on related research by others may be included on occasion. The series will utilize inexpensive means of reproduction in order to make possible issuance of the maximum number of reports but will be published in limited numbers. Single copy purchase or continuing subscription for all titles issued in all series may be effected by writing to: University Museum and Art Galleries, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois 62901.
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.
CONTENTS

Langdon, Margaret
Syntactic Diversity in Diegueño Dialects 1

Gorbet, Larry
Diegueño Case Marking: Conditions of Optionality 10

Crawford, James M.
The Cocopa Auxiliary Verb ya', be located, happen 18

Mixco, Mauricio J.
Oblique and Non-Oblique Surface Case in Kiliwa Syntax 29

Crook, Donald E.
Yuman *t 35

Crawford, Judith C.
The Reduction of idú: be in Mohave 45

Munro, Pamela
Mojave Modals 55

Harwell, Henry O.
The Say Auxiliary in Maricopa: Some Notes and Speculations 63

Slater, Carol E.
Not, in Yuman, I say 71

Norwood, Susan
Kwtsaan lyvii as an Enclitic 78

Sundheim, Beth M.
Internal and External Heads in Kwtsaan Relative Clauses 88

Kozlowski, Edwin
Havasupai Comparatives 93

Kendall, Martha B.
Yavap Irrealis Constructions 98

Chung, Sandra
Compound Tense Markers in Tolkapaya 119

Shaterian, A. V.
No More Schwa for Yavapai 129

Redden, James E.
Notes On Walapai Syntax 134

Joël, Judith
Some Notes on Paipai Object Order and Object-Marking 142

Yamamoto, Akira Y.
Notes on the Interpretation of /-m/ and /-k/ in Walapai 149