Notes On Walapai Syntax

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It is indeed a pleasure to see so many people working on Yuman languages. When I first went to work on Walapai in 1959, the only published study of a Yuman language was Halpern’s very valuable study on Yuma. Much of the credit for spurring on the study of Yuman languages must of course go to Voegelin and Langdon. I am grateful for the kind words several of you have said about my work on Walapai. I am also grateful to those of you who have pointed out holes in the Walapai analysis, and I am especially grateful for the solutions to some of the problems which you have proposed.

This paper is an attempt to fill in some more of these holes. I will look at a number of problems that I previously had to shelve for lack of time.¹

Accusative Subjects

Besides in equational sentences,² accusative subjects, i.e., subjects with no case suffix other than zero, occur in statements referring to particular events in opposition to statements of general truth or fact, whose subjects have the nominative suffix /-c/, and in middle or mediopassive constructions.

(1) hó-č ɬəpá’-k # Water freezes.

(water-nom. freeze-3)

41 693

(2) hó-n ɬəpá’-k-yu # The/That water is frozen.

(water-that freeze-3-be)

421 693-702

(3) hó-č ɬipá’-m-ít-k-yu # Water freezes.

(water-nom. freeze-always-imperf.-3-be)

421 731-712-693-702

(4) hó-n ɬipá’-m-ít-k-yu # The water freezes.

(water-that freeze-always-imperf.-3-be)

421 731-712-693-702

(1) and (2) were elicited by asking what happens to water in winter. The informant first gave (1), then rejected it. When asked how one would explain what happens to water in winter if one were explaining it to a child, the informant repeated (1) as appropriate and rejected (2) as inappropriate. (2) was explained as what you would say if you were just talking to somebody, but (1) is a fact or just the way it is. (1), then, is factive, i.e., a fact or general truth; (2) is non-factive or a report.³ Note that (2), the non-factive, requires /-p/, that, the, i.e., some par-
ticular water was meant—in this case, the water in the ditch beside the road. (3) is another instance of factive, and (4) of non-factive. Note the final /-k/ of (1). This would seem to be the third-person /-k/. If it is the mark of the factive, it is just the opposite of what Kendall reported for Yavapai since /-k/ is analyzed as non-factive and /-m/ as factive by her.*

(5) nà sál hwák-t-m čl-č-qát-à # Both of my hands are cut.

(my hand two-set-partitive caus.-caus.-cut-tns.)

| 445 | 342-342 | 661 |

The accusative subject in (5) is doubly marked since /sál/, hand, has a zero case ending and /hwák-tm/ has the /-m/ suffix, the mark of the accusative partitive. Subjects of such middle or medio-passive verbs do not require the /-n/. The /-t-/ of /hwák-tm/ is discussed below in the section on inclusive and exclusive.

(6) ólò-η nà hát-à sít-m hé-η-qårúr-k-m | sít-m hé-kyúl #

(horse my pet-the one-parti. tail-related-short-3-and one-parti. tail-long)

| 31 | 431 | 445 | 321 | 693-731 | 445 |

One of my horses has a short tail, and one has a long tail.

The first subject, /ólò/, horse, is doubly marked as accusative, and the accusative partitive is the pro-subject of the second clause. The sentence would be more literally translated One of my horses is short-tailed, and one long-tailed. This structure is used in many Walapai constructions where English would use have.

(7) kwá-slók-v-η há-η-tâm-pí-r-v-k-yu # The bucket is full of water.

(metal-container-this-the water-related-pour-fill-here-3-be)

| 422-421 | 321 | 627-693-702 |

A more literal translation would be The bucket is waterfilled. Note the /-η/ on the subject.

Inclusive and Exclusive

One of the uses of the partitive is to exclude the hearer from being included in plurals.

(8) ná-č kíkmàn yám-č-áy-u # We are going to Kingman.

(1-nom. Kingman go-pl.fut.-be)

| 441 | 680-662-702 |

(9) ná-č hwák-č-lk kíkmàn yám-č-a-k-yu # We are going to Kingman.

(1-nom. two-only-partitive Kingman go-pl.-tns.-1-be)

| 441 | 443 | 681-676-693/691-702 |

(9) includes the hearer, but (8) excludes the hearer. The only meaning I could get from the informant for /-č-/ was only. As noted earlier, /-č-/
was reported by informants to occur with numerals only when referring to persons, and /-t-/ seems to occur with numerals only when referring to things, including body parts. Crook has suggested that this /-t-/ means the entire set. In (5), this certainly seems to be the case since the /-t-/ refers to both of the hands of the speaker. The /-o-/ in (9) probably means the entire group of persons.

Negative and Directive Reversives

Negative reursive and directive reursive are terms I coined some years ago when working on Lingala, a Bantu languages; and the same sort of distinctions occur in Walapai marked by /-p/. Halpern has referred to these as negatives and privatives. This morpheme contrasts in some environments with /-m/, but not in many others; and this has caused numerous difficulties in recognizing and identifying these morphemes.

/-p/ is a privative which is easily identifiable in a form like /pém/, not have, be lacking/missing/in short supply/all gone, be absent/away. It may not be so obvious from the translation; but /-p/ is a privative in /smápí/, be sleepy, and /kwē mapí/, be hungry, but it should be clear that these mean lack/need sleep, and lack/need food, respectively.

/páp/, night, is /pá/, sun, day, plus privative /-p/ plus /-a/, the, i.e., lacking sun, no sunlight.

(10) há-č vá-pú-k-wi # He arrived first./He arrived before I did.

(3-nom. arrive-first-3-do) 441 623-693-701

It might be a bit difficult to see a privative in the /-p/ in (10), but the sense is He arrived lacking (the speaker)(), i.e., previously, before(hand).

(11) pá-ni-t-ó-p-m múna-m-lč-k-yu # When the sun goes down, it gets cool.

(sun-related-?-not-privative-with cold/cool with/always-distrib.-3-be) 321-631-641-651-731 731-661-693-702

/pápitópm/ obviously means when the sun is lacking/absent. (I still have no satisfactory explanation for the /-t-/ (631) that occurs before the negative /-š-/ (641), be not.8)

(12) má múnpá-č a-smá-ta-ó-p-t-m kwē kanáv-m év-yu #

(my 1-nom.nom.1-sleep-?-not-privative-imperf.-with tell-with hear-be) 441 331 631-641-651-712-731 731 702

Grandmother told me a story before I went to sleep.

(13) ná-θa-č kák vá-t-ó-p-t-m ná-č kwé má-m wí-č-a # Before he comes, I always eat.

(related-3-nom. not arrive-?-not-privative-imperf.-with 1-nom. thing 211 441 631-641-651-712-731 441
cat-with do-distrib.-tns.) 731 681-661

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Anteriority of one action or state over another is very often indicated by marking the later state or action with /-p/. Such later actions or states nearly always translate into English as a subordinate clause with the conjunction before. (12) would more literally translate I was lacking sleep/Sleep was absent from me, and I listened to my grandmother tell a story. Likewise, (13) means He lacks arriving/He arrives not yet, and I always eat(.), i.e., Previous to/Before he arrives, I always eat.

(14) lčí má-t-ó-m wí-č-wi # I don't eat fish.
   (fish eat-?not-with do-distrib.-do)
   631-641-731/652    611-701

(15) lčí má-t-ó-p wí-č-wi # I never eat fish.
   (fish eat-?not-yet do-distrib.-do)
   631-641-651    611-701

(16) hàltomín-m vá-t-ó-m-k-yu # He doesn't come on Sundays.
   (Sunday-with arrive-?not-with-3-be)
   445  631-641-652-693-702

(17) hàltomín-m vá-t-ó-p-k-yu # He never comes on Sundays.
   (Sunday-with arrive-?not-yet-3-be)
   445  631-641-651-693-702

Kendall suggests that the habitual-activity /-m/ suffixed to nominalized verbs in Yavapai is the same as the associative-adverbial-case-marking /-m/. Walapai has parallel structures. In (14) this /-m/ is suffixed to an independent verb form followed by the primary-stressed main verb. Literally, (14) means I do with not eating fish(.), i.e., I don't usually/regularly eat fish. In (15) the privative /-p/ indicates the absence of the activity or state, i.e., has not yet has never taken place. Literally then, (15) means I do not yet eat fish(.), i.e., I never eat fish/I have never eaten fish.

Thus, it would seem established that when stem-initial, negative reversive /-p/ means lacking, not present, when suffixed, lacking yet, lacking previously/previous to.

Besides the negative reversive meanings, there are also directive reversive meanings of /-p/, which mean opposite direction, away from. In this function, /-p/ is opposed by /-l/ (444), which I earlier described as direction into or out of the inside of some point of reference, or location inside/within some point of reference, but I now believe that from out of the inside is not a meaning of /-l/. Again, recognition and analysis of these as a pair of morphemes has been difficult to see because contrasting environments seldom occur.

/pá/ means go/come out/away, go/come up/over, pull/take out/up, grow out/up; /pó/, spill (out); /pú/, die, i.e., go out from being/living. Of course, /pú/ could be considered a negative reversive meaning be absent from living."
(18) wá-m ná-č pú-k-m hát-a-č hé či-wír-wír-wí-n #

(house-from l-nom. come-out-at-and dog-the-nom. tail caus.-wag-wag-do-
 445 441 621-731 431-441 342 701

perf.) When I come out of the house, the dog wags his tail.

711

(19) ná p-kwá-1 ḍèktí-v-1 pés-a yó-k č-pá-č-wi #

(my related-clothes-in pocket-this-in money-the take-and caus.-pull-out-
 211 444 422-444 431 732 342

distrib.-do) I'm taking the money out of my pocket.

611-701

(20) hát-á kúptó-v-a-1 či-wó-k há-m či-č-pá-č-i #

(dog-the basket-this-the-in caus.-put-and that-from caus.-caus.-pull-
 431 422-431-444 342 732 445 342-342

out-pl.-say) We put the dog in a basket and pulled it out (of pit).

681

(21) tát n-i-č túl-yít tú hán či-pá-m-iú-č #

(cactus that-the-nom. hot-but/although very good caus.-come-out-with-be-
 421-432-441 672 342 622-702

distrib.) Cactus grows well even though it's hot.

611

(22) cóq-m či-k-pá-k-yu # I'm climbing a cedar tree.

(cedar-with/along caus.-agent-climb-3-be)

445 342-311 693-702

(23) si-kó si-á-m-pa ni-si-á-m-č-a-t-ó-p-m | wàksí-č há-m či-pá-m-č-ay-

fence gate close cow there go/come out

(cause.-hold caus.-move-away-out-the related-caus.-move-away-pl.-tens-?-
 344 344 622-651-431 321-344 622-681-661-631-

k-wi # If we don't close the gate, the cattle will get out.

not-yet-and cow-nom. that-from caus.-go-out-away-pl.-fut.-3-be)

641-651-731 441 445 342 622-681-662-693-701

In each of the sentences (18) through (23), /pá/ means go/come out
from the inside of or make go/come out from the inside of, except possi-
bly (22). It seems that climbing a tree in Walapai is conceived of as
going up from the inside of a tree, which is of course what one literally
does when climbing a tree.

This, then is the difference between /-m/ (445)/(622), location/
movement from/not near point of reference, and the directive reversion
/-p/ (651), movement from out of the inside of point of reference. /-p/, then, refers to a much more precise location than /-m/ since /-p/ means from inside a particular location, whereas /-m/ is much vaguer and means away from the vicinity/general area.

That /-m/ refers to a larger or more general area, and not just a point, can be seen in these sentences.12

(24) já-m na-yá-m-m lúi ú # As I was walking down the road, I saw a snake.

(road-along related-go-and snake see)

445 321 731

(25) hamáŋ-a-č na-n-m táy-k-yu # The children were playing along the road.

(child-the-nom. road-that/the-abl. play-pl.-3-be)

431-441 421-445 693-702

(/táy/, play, is plural; the singular is /té/.)

(26) wá-kwač-a-m e-sevkó # I built a fence around the house.

(house-side-the-along/around 1-fence)

431-445 331

Sometimes /-p/ seems to be just an intensifier like English up or down. /vi-leŋá/ means squat, stoop; /vi-leŋap/ means squat/steep down low. /élékóm/ means break, crack, break in two; /élékómp/ means break up, break to pieces, shatter. It would seem that /-p/ in these uses has undergone a similar referent-range extension to English up and down, but even here the meaning away from usual position/condition can be seen.

/sli-ómí/, lid, cover, door, gate, contains /si-/ (344) cause to move/ be along side/next to, /á-/ move, /-m/, with/along/around the vicinity of, and/-/, the instrument suffix. It literally means a causer-to-move-around/along side, i.e., a coverer, a closer. Compare /sli-ómí/ with the similar forms in (27) and (28).

(27) sl-á-p-ó vi-té wó-k-č-ó-k kwá-v-yá-m há-m yá-m-a-ylt či-vlí-wí-k

gateway automobile

(caus.-move-lack-place very-much make-to-pl.-benef.-and thing-very-go
344 651-810 121 621-681-626-732 321

yó-v-č-a # We made a gate big enough for a car to go through.

that-from go-tns.-intend caus.-measure/surpass-and make-here-pl.-tns.)

445 661-672 342 732 627-681-661

(28) sl-á-m-ó sl-á-m-č-im wí-č-m wí-č óló-č yút-ik či-pá-im-áy-m #

gate clos horse go/come out

(caus.-move-away-place caus.-move-pl.-and do-distrib.-and do-pl. horse-
344 622-810 681-731 611-731 681

nom. come-and caus.-go/come-out-away-fut.-with) We keep the gate closed so the horses can't get out.

622-662-731

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In (27) /slámp/ has the /-p/ (810) suffix meaning place where verb-
ing performed/place where located and refers to an opening in a fence
large enough for an automobile to pass through. /-p/ here is a privative
and means a place where a causer-to-move-along-side is lacking, i.e., a
gap, gateway, doorway. In (28) /slámp/ refers to a movable gate that can
be closed (or opened). Thus, /slámp/ means a place with a causer-to-move-
along-side/next-to, i.e., a gate/door which can be closed.

(29) wá-n slá-m-wo # I closed the door.

(house-that caus.-move-around-tns.-do)

421 344 622-661-701

(30) wá-n slá-m-p-a-k-yu # The door is closed.

(house-that caus.-move-around-away-3-be)

421 344 622-651-693-702

Note that /wá/, house, is used in (29) and (30). The meaning here is
that The house is closed(., i.e., The door is used for closing the house.
The /-m/ and /-p/ also occur in agent nouns with /ki-/ (311) with
the same meanings. It should be remembered that such agent constructions
in Walapai often function very much like adjective relative clauses in
English.13

(31) wí ki-á-m-p-a # mountain range, ridge of mountain peaks

(rock agent-go/move-along-away-the)

311 622-651-431

(32) yá-m ná ki-á-m-p-a-č háúmú-a-l wá-v-m-ik-yu # From here the road
goes to Supai.

(this-from road agent-go-along-away-the-nom. Supai-the-to arrive-this-
445 311 622-651-431-444 431-444 627

along-3-be)

622-693-702

/wí/ means rock, stone, rocky canyon/cliff/mountain. In (31) and
(32) the agent noun /kiámpa/ describes two features of the landscape
around Peach Springs, Arizona. In both cases, it describes something
that starts at a specific place and goes off into the distance.

Thus, it would seem clear that /-p/ also has the directive reversive
meanings out of/away from some precise location/point.
FOOTNOTES

1. In order to keep this article to manageable size, I must assume that the reader has at least some acquaintance with a Yuman language, such as my article in IJAL 32:2:141-163, Apr.66. The numbering system for the morphemes is taken from this article.

2. Redden, op.cit., p.160.


5. Redden, loc.cit.

6. Crook, this volume.

7. Professor Abraham Halpern presented an oral paper on Yuma at this workshop, but was unable to prepare a paper for this volume before it went to press. In the presentation, he discussed negatives meaning not and privativs meaning opposite of or not so.


9. Kendall, op.cit., p.6. I suggested this earlier; see Redden, op.cit., p.158.


11. For a discussion of what root and stem mean, see Redden op.cit., pp. 144-148. Also, I am preparing a paper on etymology and root structure for the 1976 Hokan-Yuman conference, which will no doubt be published in the proceedings of the conference.

12. Kendall makes a similar point for Yavapai and suggests that /-m/ might mean in association with in sentences like these. See Kendall op.cit., pp-2-3.

NOTE: I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Office of Research and Projects, the College of Liberal Arts, and the Department of Linguistics at Southern Illinois University for funds and released time to do research on the Walapai language, which directly contributed to the writing of this paper.
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1976    Number 1

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
FIRST YUMAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

by

James E. Redden, Editor

University Museum Studies

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Number 7

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OF THE

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Library of Congress Catalog
Card Number 76-20016
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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 GSO-C-7418043 (Yuman Languages of the Southwest--Margaret Langdon, Principal Investigator).

Margaret Langdon
La Jolla, January 1976.
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