"Not" in Yuman, I Say
Carol E. Slater

There is a large amount of diversity in the mechanisms most commonly employed for negating an utterance in the various Yuman languages, and a number of studies have been conducted in this area of Yuman grammar. In this paper, concerned particularly with negation in K'wača:n, I shall reexamine Munro's analysis, suggesting some revisions which it is hoped will lead to a fuller understanding of negation in K'wača:n and which may also be useful in analyses of negatives in other languages. In addition, a negating mechanism seemingly independent of the normal negation patterns will be discussed in a speculative manner.

Munro's analysis of negation in Yuman is very insightful. In particular, I concur with her contention that the principal negation pattern in each language derives (historically) from Proto-Yuman *aw, which in most cases has been lost or at least greatly modified, and that most of the subsequent augmentations have resulted from a need to strengthen the negative or to prepare the hearer for the eventuality that the string of words he is hearing is going to be negated at the end of the utterance.

According to Munro, the underlying structure of negated sentences for some stage of (pre?-) Proto-Yuman was that represented by (a):

(a)

```
     S0
    /  \
   NP  V
  /    |
S1    NEG
```

the negative bearing the sentential (third person) subject marker, Ø. The initial m of the Diegueno negative ma:w she derives from a switch-reference suffix -m which, as it was always present of the verb preceding negative *aw, was reanalyzed as a negative prefix. Later, the subject of the lower (negated) verb was copied into subject position in the higher clause, and the negative verb took on the person marker of the embedded verb. A final Diegueno modification involved marking the lower verb with the general non-indicative unrealized/unaccomplished marker -x in anticipation of the following negative. A sentence like (1), then, presumably had an earlier form approximating (2):

(1) ?-saw-x ?-ma:w
    1-cat-ire, 1-neg
 "I am not eating"; "I didn't eat"
This argument accounts nicely for the Diegueno data. The situation becomes much more complicated as we look at the other languages, however. In K'acain, for example, the negative verb 1⁻em is composed of three morphemes: 1⁻-, parallel to Diegueno 1₂, presumably originated as an anticipatory suffix on the lower (negated) verb, having been reanalyzed as a loose prefix on the negative. In a synchronic grammar of K'acain, 1⁻- is probably best treated as a feature imposed on the lower verb by the negative and transformationally raised and attached to the negative, as the imperative prefix kœ- may intervene between it and the rest of the negative, as in (3):

(3) kœ-namak  l⁻-kœ-?em-ako
imp-sit in-imp-neg-tns
"Don't sit down"

The second morpheme, not discussed at all by Munro, is 2e. In rapid speech, the negative is pronounced l2em, but in careful speech the glottal stop and e-equality vowel are always present. The source of this reduced form of  *aw.

The third morpheme, -m, Munro treats in a manner parallel to the negative-initial m of Diegueno ma₂w, i.e., as a switchreference suffix which has been reinterpreted as a prefix on the negative verb. This treatment is somewhat problematical, as the m actually surfaces as the final, rather than the initial, element of the K'acain negative. The same problem is pointed out by Munro in the Pai languages and in Cocopa, as illustrated in sentences (4)-(6):

(4) (Walapai): ūte₂m
see-emph-neg
"I haven't seen it before"

(5) (Havasupai): kak 2wa₂-ta- ?oom-iyu
pre-neg 1-sit-emph-1-neg-be
"I'm not sitting down"

(6) (Paipai): ma:₂-t-em
eat-emph-neg
"He didn't eat"

In Cocopa, on the assumption that the u of the l(u)₁m construction derives from  *aw, she sets up a series of steps in the historical derivation which include the following progression:

SUBJ-VERB \( \{ 1⁻ \text{Cocopa} l \} \) - SUBJ - m - \{  *aw \text{Cocopa} u \}
becomes

SUBJ-VERB  l - ø - u - m(ə).

Here, she suggests that the switch from m-u to u-m might be due to metathesis or to harmony/conditioning of a preceding ø by the labial m.

I would like to suggest a treatment whereby the development of the negative in K’aça:n (and perhaps also in the Pai languages and in Cocopa) is somewhat more divergent from that shown for Diegueno, partly because I find the idea of accounting for the final placement of m by metathesis to be unattractive. (Although we may call on harmony/conditioning to account for the u-quality of Cocopa l(u)⋯m, such an explanation obviously has no place in a description of the K’aça:n negative, in which the vowel is clearly unrounded).

I maintain that the -m of K’aça:n lêm (and perhaps of the Pai and Cocopa negatives as well) never existed as a prefix on the negative. Its source is problematic; it might even be related to -m "direction away from", the semantics of which contain a hint of negativity. In the hypothesis advanced here, however, it is treated as a switch-reference suffix which originated on the early negative *aw itself, indicating that the subject of the negative was different from the subject of a still higher verb, ?e, "to say", which functioned as an overt performative verb in earlier K’aça:n. Whether this overt performative was a feature of Proto-Yuman or a later K’aça:n innovation I am not prepared to say at this point.

The evidence for the one-time existence of an overt performative in K’aça:n is compelling. Halpern speaks of a suffix -a/-a?a which "occurs only in the last word of a sentence and appears to indicate nothing more than end of sentence." He goes on to note a suffix -e?e, which "apparently also indicates end of sentence, although in some cases it appears to have a vaguely optative force." These suffixes are clearly remnants of a higher predicate, grammaticized and more or less devoid of semantic content. Their most likely historical source would seem to be a full performative (note modern K’aça:n ?e "to say"). As a performative adds little to the semantics of an utterance, its grammaticization is not surprising.

A K’aça:n negative sentence with a performative would presumably have had a structure like that shown in (b):
The status of the -m of S2, not present in the surface string, is less than clear. Several possibilities might be suggested. First, it may have been deleted at an early (diachronic and synchronic) stage, when ly became subcategorized onto the verb of S2. Since the semantic subject of a negative always differs from the subject of the (lower) negated verb, the -m was redundant, and its deletion should not be considered surprising. Even in non-negative sentences where ly is used with optative force, as in (7), the expected switch-reference -m does not show up in the surface string:

(7) *-aňaxat po:š okyew-ly *-alv?e-t-ka
1-dog cat bite 1-think-emph-tns
"I think my dog should bite the cat".

Secondly, if subject copying does apply in K'acac:n as Munro has shown that it does in Diegueno, then the derived subject of the negative would be the same as that of the lower verb. The -m, instead of being reinterpreted as a negative prefix as in Diegueno, would simply drop out. I have not seen any K'acac:n data in which the negative verb is marked for person (except with the imperative prefix as in (3) above, which obviously derives from a higher predicate and is not a simple person-marker). Langdon has indicated that such a marker is possible; in this case, subject copying would have to be considered a synchronic rule of K'acac:n.

As the performative was grammatizated and its first-person subject disappeared, the -m of S1 no longer functioned as a switch-reference marker (no longer being embedded under a higher performative). This -m, however, had for so long been associated with the negative that it had been reinterpreted as a basic (although still separable) element of the negative. At some point, the entire burden of negation was shifted onto this -m, perhaps due to the fact that *aw had acquired weakened semantic force (perhaps becoming hortatory u). The negative now lacked a vocalic stem; the new very
available /e jumped in to fill the role, giving derived structure (c):

\[
(c) \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NEG} \quad S_0 \quad 2^e-m \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{N} \quad V-L_y
\]

Actually, at this point we are speaking of a process which seems to be synchronically active. The reduction in S-nodes, as Munro points out, is a common functional process in Yuman. The speaker has the option of proceeding to step (c) above or of simply eliminating the performative relic and raising the lower verb into the higher clause to fill the role left by the disappearance of *aw. If the latter option is chosen, the resultant tree is (d):

\[
(d) \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \quad S_0 \quad V-m \quad \text{NP} \quad l_y
\]

Both structures are perfectly acceptable in modern Kwacan, and sentences (8) and (9) are equivalent in meaning (with perhaps a difference in scope): Halpern points out that (9) may be rendered as "You were invisible to me"

(8) \( l_y-i:n^y-ayu: \quad l_y-e-m-s \quad 1=sbj-see \quad neg-tns \quad "I did not see you" \)

(9) \( l_y-n^y-i:n^y-ayu:-me-ta-k \quad in-1=sbj-see-neg-emph-tns \quad "I did not see you" \)

The status of \( l_y \) in (c) and (d) is somewhat vague; I have indicated it as still suffixed to the lower clause, although it is clearly raised and prefixed to the higher verb after the (synchronic) imperative-attachment transformation has applied. When it is finally raised, of course, the lower S-node of (d) will be pruned.

Whether or not this sort of treatment can be motivated to account for the aberrancies noted above in the Pai languages and in Cocopa remains to be seen. I do find it a more satisfying treatment of the Kwacan negative than that proposed in Munro, although I would never have thought of it.
had it not been for her work.

There is another seemingly unrelated mechanism available to speakers of K'acä'n for negating a sentence, namely the use of the stem -var, often used with a ka- prefix (presumably related to pre-negative Yavapai ke-, Havasupai kak, Pai-pai kos, Mojave k-, and Kiliwa k"-); it is also used with the prefix va-, related to Diegueno pu-war. (K'acä'n vavar "to fail", Diegueno pu-war, Lya pu-war).

The interesting thing here is that there is a homophonous stem -var, used with the same prefixes, meaning "to be fond of." I wish merely to suggest here that these two stems are derived (diachronically at least) from the stem ar "to want", and that their semantic relationship is something akin to that of English "want" and "be wanting in" (meaning "be lacking in").

The following constitutes an exhaustive list of the utterances I have come across containing these stems:

wan'ya-m=a:-var-v
with the heart?-caus.?-var-passive
"to yearn for, long for"

wa-k-avar
heart?-pre-neg?-var
"to be fond of, to-like"

mat wa:-ka-var-3k
refl. heart?-pre-neg?-var-tns
"They are fond of each other" (also: "He is fond of himself")

va-var-3k
"He fails"
?-var-tns

mat ?-ac-avar-i:
refl. 1-caus.?-var-hortatory
"Let me be inadequate"; i.e., "let me die"

?a-ka-avar
1-pre-neg?-var
"I love", "I want"

ka-avar-
ta
pre-neg?-var-emph
"I don't want it"; "I am not able to do it"

mi:do-ny
?-iyu:-s
ma-ka+var-am
2-eyes-dem 1-see-tns 2-pre-neg?-var-tns.
"I can see by your face that you don't want to do it"

ma-ka-var
1'-em-um
?-iyu:-s
2-pre-neg?-var not-hort? 1-see-tns
"I can see that you don't love him"

ma-ka-avar-am
?-iyu:-s
"I can see you don't want
2-pre-neg?-var-tns 1-see-tns to"; "... you love him"
Footnotes

1. In deference to the preferences of speakers of Kwakan, I have used this appellation rather than the term more familiar to linguists, "Yuma".

2. Munro, Pamela: "Reanalysis and Elaboration in Yuman Negatives". The present work was largely inspired by Munro's insightful treatment of negation on a Pan-Yuman scale.

3. There are two switch-reference suffixes, -m and -k. The former indicates that the subject of the embedded clause differs from that of the higher clause; the latter indicates that the two subjects are the same, in some sense; cf. Munro, "Comitative Conjunction: A Syntactic Reinterpretation in Yuman". For purposes of this paper, -m is referred to in examples as "diff".

4. This l_Y seems to be related to the n_Y "inessive/allative" (which functions either as a prefix on verbs or as a suffix on noun phrases); it is also related to the l_Y "optative" suffix. In examples here it is referred to simply by the label "in".


6. I have taken these sentences from Munro, who attributes her Walapai data to Redden, her Havasupai data to Hinton, her Pai Pai data to Joel, her Cocopa data to Crawford, her Diegueno data to Langdon, and her Kiliwa data to Mixco.

7. Halpern, "Yuma VI, Miscellaneous Morphemes", IJAL.

8. Langdon, personal communication.

9. Halpern, "Yuma VI"

10. The first five utterances are taken from Halpern; the remainder are from my own field notes and from the notes of the Kwakan field methods class held in 1975 at UCSD.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

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, Yavapai Modals, Conditionals, Counterfactuels, and Other Unreal States, Paper presented to the Yuman Languages Workshop, San Diego.


Langacker, Ronald, 1974, Movement Rules in Functional Perspective, Language 50;626-664.


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.

Steels, 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.
Research Records

1976  Number 1

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

Mesoamerican Studies

Editor: J. Charles Kelley

Co-editors: Ellen Abbot Kelley

Southern Illinois University

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

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

Each series contains detailed reports on specific topics, sites, artifacts, ethno-archaeological, and other studies in anthropology, ethnology, history, geography; and the general ecology of Mesoamerica and southern Illinois will be treated in the appropriate series as they become available. While the series were published primarily as an outlet for researchers of the Southern Illinois University, reports on related research by others may be included as space permits. The series will utilize inexpensive means of reproduction in order to make possible issuance of the maximum number of reports that will find their way into limited numbers. Single copy purchase or subscription available for all titles issued since the series was begun. For information write to: University Museum, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

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
Mohave 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 iyvii as an Enclitic 78

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

Kozlowski, Edwin
Havasupai Comparatives 93

Kendall, Martha B.
Yavpe 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