NOTES ON THE INTERPRETATION OF /-m/ AND /-k/ IN WALPAI

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0. The occurrences of /-m/ and /-k/ and their interpretations in Yavapai and in Upland Yuman languages in general are discussed by Martha B. Kendall (1975). As a first approximation, /-m/ and /-k/ are explained as having some general meaning indicating physical or psychological directions; namely, /-k/ indicates a direction toward a point of reference and /-m/ a motion away from a point of reference. This brief note concentrates on a specific use of these case markers, particularly their use in simple sentences. I will not, therefore, directly deal with the phenomenon known as the 'switch-reference' (Langdon 1970). In the following sections I present examples from Walapai to show whether or not the Kendallian type of explanation about these case markers is appropriate for Walapai as well.

1. Kendall observes that in Yavapai the case marker /-m/ occurs with "those constructions describing events or states having existential reality outside of the speaker or at a distance from him" (1975: 8). Thus she sees the connection between the occurrence of /-m/ and the 'factive' construction. Such 'factive' constructions with /-m/ are called allocentric statements. The explanation of /-k/ is, on the other hand, egocentric in that it occurs with "non-factive construction, purposive and explanatory constructions" and all of these "have in common a speaker-centered semantic force" (1975: 8). The same observation seems to apply to sentences in Walapai.

1) a. qwara-hak-aam-l ŋa-č ha-ča 'yaak-k
   Diamond Creek-1 I-Subj water-Loc I-lie-k
   "I swim in the Diamond Creek River."
   b. qwara-hak-aam-l ŋa-č ha-ča 'yaak-m

2) a. čon-m 'hwaak-k 'reev-č-yu-k
   John-with two-k I-play-pl-BE-k
   "I play with John together."
   b. čon-m 'hwaak-k 'reev-č-yu-m

3) a. čon-č meri-m hwaak-k reev-č-yu-k
   "John plays with Mary together."
   b. čon-č meri-m hwaak-k reev-č-yu-m

4) a. ḏaavv1-wiiv-m čon-č kwekiviyaam qowaam-k
   noon-m automobile drive-k
   "John drives a car at noon."
   b. ḏaavv1-wiiv-m čon-č kwekiviyaam qowaam-m
5) a. čon-č qowaaq keyaa-k
   John-Subj deer shoot-k
   "John shoots a deer."
   
b. čon-č qowaaq keyaa-m

For the group a. in above sentences, the speakers of Walapai, in an attempt to explain to me the differences between a. and b., add that they carry the implication of "and that's true, and that's what I am telling you, or and you had better believe it." On the other hand, the sentences in the b. group do not carry the same semantic force, but rather they seem to be uttered as 'matter-of-fact' events or at least the speaker is not committing himself to the truth of the utterances. This type of phenomenon is by no means strange or unique. Similar distinctions of reportatives vs. non-reportatives are widespread in Turkish, for example. The above examples seem to show that the /-k/ marker in the simplex sentences is a syntactic device to show that the speaker is asserting and committed to what he has said. We may call this a 'committal' statement; while the /-m/ marker in the simplex sentences is a syntactic device to show the 'non-committal' or 'detached' statement in that the speaker is merely stating the fact without committing himself to the truth of the statement.

2. The occurrences of these case markers, however, are not as clear as the above sections might suggest. Observe:

6) a. yapaa-m kwekiviyaam qowaam-m misieev-k
    night-m car drive-m dangerous-k
    "Driving a car at night is dangerous."
    
b. *yapaa-m kwekiviyaam qowaam-m misieev-m

Here it is not very clear why sentence b. is unacceptable. We may guess from the following examples 7) and 8) that the unacceptability of /-m/ in sentence 6)b. might have something to do with the predicate itself, namely the occurrences of /-k/ and /-m/ are allowed in the regular verbal forms but not in the predicate adjectives. Observe:

7) a. čon-č kula keyaa-m 'tiee-k
    I-happy-k
    "John's shooting a rabbit made me happy."
    
b. *čon-č kula keyaa-m 'tiee-m

8) a. makaňaa-m čon-č kula keyaa-m 'tiee-k
    yesterday-m
    "Yesterday's John's shooting a rabbit made me happy."
    
b. *makaňaa-m čon-č kula keyaa-m 'tiee-m

In these cases, the final elements are both predicate adjectives. In my data, I find the following sentence in which the last element is a predicate adjective, at least in the English translation.
9) *voo-wayoov-m (but *-k)
    wait-m boring-m
    "Waiting is boring."

The element /wayoov/ may in fact be a regular verb in Walapai which
must be checked at a next visit to Peach Springs. There are some other
cases, though the sentences presented here are not simplex, in which
only one case marker is allowed to be used.

10) *miiv raav-m (or -k) wayyi-m tokoohv-k yuu-č-m (but *-k)
    I foot hurt-m (or -k) chair-Inst bump-k BE-č-m
    "My foot hurts because I bumped into a chair."

11) *miiv wayyi qato-k wii-č-m (but *-k)
    kick-k
    "I kicked a chair with my foot."

It may be argued that the reason why /-k/ is not permitted is because
the sentences express the habitual events which are not influenced by
the speaker's assertion but rather those habitual events are more or
less known to the individuals in the speech community, and so those
events have existential reality outside of the speaker.

3. Kenneth Hale (personal communication) has pointed out that in Papago
same kind of case markers are used in certain adverbial forms or verbal
constructions which have something to do with the temporal notion. M.
Kendall (personal communication) also noted the same phenomenon in
Yavapai. According to them, the time adverbials such as 'in the
morning,' 'at dawn' may be marked with /-k/, while 'in the afternoon,'
'in the evening' will be marked with /-m/. However, in Walapai, all
these time adverbials including 'yesterday,' 'today,' 'tomorrow' are
always marked with /-m/ when occurring in sentences. In verbal construc-
tions such as '(the sun's) rising or sinking', Yavapai shows consistent
use of /-k/ and /-m/ respectively so that we may be able to state that
the markers /-k/ and /-m/ are the part of the verbal form and together
they are lexicalized. This is also pointed out to me by Margaret Langdon
(personal communication). Again in Walapai, the occurrences of /-k/ and
/-m/ in similar constructions do not seem consistent. At this stage of
the investigation, it seems safer to apply the explanation of 'committal'
vs. 'detached' statements to these sentences, while it is possible to
explain the similar phenomenon in other Upland Yuman languages stating
that the reference point is the midst of the sky, and that anytime
before that point is represented by the use of /-k/ and anytime after
that point by /-m/ (taking the middle of the sky as the reference point).
Sentences 12) - 14) show regularity, i.e. the consistent uses of /-k/ and
/-m/ as they should be used. Sentence 15) does not cause any problem
since the sun in the middle of the sky may be interpreted either way --
toward the middle of the sky or away from the middle. However, sentence
16) is not marked by either one of the case markers. Now observe:
12) ŋaa č'al-k yuu-k
sun rise-k BE-k
"The sun is soon to come up."

13) ŋaa č'al-k
"The sun is up in the sky."

14) ŋaa-č miyaaq-k vawaaq-k
go up-k be in the sky-k
"The sun is in the sky."

15) ŋaa viwiiv-k (or -m)
be in the middle-k (or -m)
"The sun is in the middle."

16) ŋaa toop
sink
"The sun goes down."

Sentences 17) and 18) are marked by the incorrect case marker /-k/ and so is sentence 19) in which the /-m/ instead of /-k/ is used.

17) tuučv ŋaa toop-ay-k
almost
"The sun is about to go down."

18) ŋaa toop-k
"The sun is going down."

19) ŋaa č'al-m
"The sun is barely up."

4. In sum, the principle of egocentricity and allocentricity seems to work in Walapai. In simplex sentences, the /-k/ marker is the syntactic device to indicate the speaker's assertion or commitment, while the /-m/ marker represents the 'detached' statement. In some constructions, however, Walapai shows inconsistency which leaves with the investigator some questions to be solved: is Walapai undergoing a rapid linguistic change to the degree that some parts of the grammar must be left indeterminant?; are the speakers who supplied me with the data either not-fluent speakers or giving me unreliable data?; or is the approach I am taking altogether incorrect?
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by

James E. Redden, Editor

University Museum Studies

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P R O C E E D I N G S

O F T H E

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James E. Redden, Editor

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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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