The Determiner in Kiliwa
Mauricio J. Mixco
University of Utah

This paper will attempt to sketch briefly the deep-structural relationship obtaining between the Demonstrative, Indefinite and Interrogative pronouns in Kiliwa.

In the following examples it can be seen that the Demonstratives occur as independent pronouns, as post-clitics and as verbal prefixes having an adverbial function:

(1) \text{ki}^{w}=\text{ku}^{s}=\text{mi}=\text{pi}
\quad \text{(woman=this=nom. die)}
\quad \text{This woman died'}

(2) \text{mi}^{t}=\text{pi}
\quad \text{(This=nom. die)}
\quad \text{'This(person,animal) died'}

(3) \text{?that}=\text{pə}^{s}=\text{m} \quad \text{?}=\text{saw}
\quad \text{(dog=that=obj. I-see)}
\quad \text{'I see that dog'}

(4) \text{pə}^{s}=\text{m} \quad \text{?}=\text{saw}
\quad \text{(that=obj. I-see)}
\quad \text{'I see that'}

(5) \text{mi}^{t}=\text{ń}=\text{saw}^{w}=\text{u}
\quad \text{(this=nom.} \quad \text{3-1=see=Q)}
\quad \text{Did this (person,animal) see me?'}

(6) \text{?mat}=\text{ń}=\text{pə}^{s}=\text{q} \quad \text{?}=\text{t}=\text{uham}
\quad \text{(land=dist=that=allat. 1-pl=arrive)}
\quad \text{'We got there'}

(7) \text{ń}=\text{pə}^{s}=\text{q} \quad \text{?}=\text{t}=\text{uham}
\quad \text{(dist=that=allat. 1-pl=arrive)}
\quad \text{'We got there'}

(8) \text{?mat}=\text{mi}=\text{l} \quad \text{mra}^{s} \quad \text{y}
\quad \text{(land=this=illat. good)}
\quad \text{'It's nice here'}

(9) \text{mi}=\text{l} \quad \text{mra}^{s} \quad \text{y}
\quad \text{(this=illat. good)}
\quad \text{'It's nice here'}

(10) \text{mi}=\text{m}=\text{u} \quad \text{y}=\text{u}
\quad \text{(this=obl.=3=do=pl)}
\quad \text{'They do it thus'}

(11) \text{pə}^{s}=\text{m} \quad \text{?i}
\quad \text{(that=obl.=Imp=say)}
\quad \text{'Say it that way!'}

(12) \text{hi}=\text{m}=\text{yu}
\quad \text{(that=obl=Be)}
\quad \text{'That way'}

These data indicate that the Kiliwa noun phrase is composed of a noun followed by a Demonstrative, with the entire noun phrase being marked for surface case (K) as represented by the following figure:
In the absence of a concrete surface noun the Demonstrative occurs as an independent pronoun. When the abstract noun of Manner is involved, the Demonstrative occurs as a prefix on the nearest verb. The /-m/ general oblique case suffix which homonymously marks objects, instruments, committatives also appears on these prefixal Demonstratives.

The prefixal Demonstratives frequently attach to one of the Classificatory Predicates Do, Be, Say which function as the Auxiliary verbs. The occurrence of these higher predicates in a surface structure is determined by the lexical class of the main verb, i.e. if it is ACTIVE, the Auxiliary /?hi: / Do, if STATIVE /yu: / Be, if an Oral/Sensual event /?i:/ say:

(13) ma?p=t l=m=t=ç=ha,y=t m=?i.=p
    (you.nom. 2= sing=s.s. 2=say=Dec)
    'You are singing'

(14) ma?p=t m=ma.=t m=?ñi.=p
    (you.nom. 2=eat=s.s. 2=Do=Dec)
    'You are eating'

(15) ma?p=t m=sma.=t m=yu.=p
    (you.nom. 2=suep=s.s. 2=Be=Dec)
    'You are sleeping'

(16) ma?p=t pà.=m=m=?i.=t l=m=t=ç=ha,y
    (you.nom. that=obl. 2=say=s.s. 2=sing)
    'You are singing that way'

(17) ma?p=t pà.=m=u,y=t m=ma.
    (you.nom. that=obl 2 = Do = s.s 2=eat)
    'You are eating that way'

(18) ma?p=t pà.=m=m=yu.=t m=sma.
    (you.nom. that=obl 2 = Be = s.s 2=sleep)
    'You are sleeping/asleep that way'

In addition to the above, there exists a pattern of apparent topicalization in which two classificatory Auxiliaries occur:

(19) pà.=m=?u,y=t ?=ma.=stay ?=ñi.=p
    (That=obl 1=Do=s.s 1=eat=freq. 1=do=Dec)
    'That's the way I usually eat'

(20) pà.=m= ?=yu.=t ?=sma.=stay ?=yu.=p
    (That=obl 1=Be=s.s 1=sleep=freq 1=Be=Dec)
    'That's the way I usually sleep'

(21) pà.=m=?i.=t l=?t=ç=ha,y=stay ?=i.=p
    (That=obl 1=say=s.s 1=sing=freq 1=say=Dec)
    'That's the way I usually sing'
The occurrence of both Auxiliaries indicates that the sentence-initial Auxiliary phrase is some sort of topicalized copy of the higher predicate which should properly occur in sentence-final position as is to be expected in an OV language like Kiliwa.

The Indefinites Interrogatives

The same three-way surface realization described above for Demonstratives can be found in the Indefinite-Interrogatives, with an additional feature of semantic ambiguity between the Indefinite and the Interrogative function of the independent pronouns:

(22) ʔipa=ʔmʔa=si=t yi.
     (person=someone=Art=nom come)
     'Someone is coming'

(23) ʔipa=ʔmʔa=si=t yi=u?
     'Is someone coming?'
     'Who is coming?'

(24) ʔmat=ʔap=si=1 wa.
     (land=somewhere=Art=illat. sit)
     'It's somewhere'

(25) ʔmat=ʔap=si=1 wa=u?
     'Is it somewhere?'
     'Where is it?'

In addition to the fully expanded noun phrase seen in the above sentences optionally reduced indefinite-interrogative noun phrases like those below are synonymous with the preceding ones:

(26) ʔipa=si=t yi.
     ʔipa=t yi.
     ʔmʔa=si=t yi.
     ʔmʔa=t yi.
     si=t yi.
     'Someone is coming'

It must be mentioned that these reductions are not all grammatical for the meanings required. The two ungrammatical forms below are only grammatical with the meanings given: /ʔmat=1 wa/ 'it's on the ground', /si=1 wa/ 'It's on someone'.

(27) ʔmat=ʔap=si=1 wa.
     ʔmat=si=1
     ʔap=1
     *ʔmat=1
     *si=1

     'It's somewhere'

It is interesting to note that in both Demonstrative and Indefinite locative phrases the affix */ʔm=/'distant' can occur; color */ʔm=ʔp/* distant=that is parallel to */ʔm=ʔap/ in */ʔmat=ʔp=ʔap=si=1 ʔmiʔ yaw=ʔ yaw= (land=dist=Ind=Art=illat honey lie[ς]) 'the honey is over there somewhere'.

The indefinite-Demonstrative analogy extends to the verbal-prefix role. While the latter are necessarily represented by multiple deictics, the former only show */p=/*, a general indefinite prefix:
(28) \( \text{ha?}\text{p=t} \Rightarrow \text{k}\text{it} \quad \text{p=}=\text{i}\text{=} \text{u=} \Rightarrow \text{s} \Rightarrow \text{k}\text{ip=m} \Rightarrow \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\[(\text{I=nom something Ind= I= say= sub= Irr=Fut. sub= Obj}) \quad \text{'I know'}\]  
\[\text{I know what I am going to say'}\]

(29) \( \text{?}\text{mat} \Rightarrow \text{p=yu}.\text{=} \text{u=} \Rightarrow \text{1} \)  
\( \text{t=} \text{il=q} \Rightarrow \text{wi}\text{.}\text{y} \)  
\( \text{t=} \text{h=}\text{ha} \Rightarrow \text{t=} \text{t=} \text{u}.\)  
\( \text{?}\text{a} \)  
\[(\text{land} \quad \text{Ind=} \text{Be=} \text{Rel=} \text{illat} \quad \text{north} \quad \text{mtn.} \quad \text{thing=} 3 \Rightarrow \text{hammer=} \)  
\( \text{nom. Be called} \)  
\[\text{'In a place called Smashed Northern Mountain'}\]

(30) \( \text{?}\text{mat} \Rightarrow \text{?}\text{t=} \text{m} \)  
\( \text{time} \quad \text{Ind=} \text{say=} \text{sub} \)

(31) \( \text{p=} \text{m=} \text{u} \Rightarrow \text{y} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \text{ima} \Rightarrow \text{?}\text{u} \)  
\( \text{?=} \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{'How do you dance?'} \)  
\( \text{(Ind=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{do} \Rightarrow 2 \Rightarrow \text{dance=} \text{Q}) \)

(32) \( \text{p=} \text{m=} \text{u} \Rightarrow \text{y} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \text{ima} \Rightarrow \text{?}\text{u} \Rightarrow \text{m} \Rightarrow \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{'I know how you dance'} \)  
\( \text{(Ind=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{do} \Rightarrow 2 \Rightarrow \text{dance=} \text{Rel=} \text{obj} \Rightarrow \text{I=know}) \)

(33) \( \text{p=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{?}\text{t=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{ha} \Rightarrow \text{yp=} \Rightarrow \text{u} \)  
\( \text{?=} \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{'How do you speak?'} \)  
\( \text{(Ind=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{say} \Rightarrow 2 \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{p=} \Rightarrow \text{spea}) \)

(34) \( \text{p=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{?}\text{t=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{ha} \Rightarrow \text{yp=} \Rightarrow \text{u} \Rightarrow \text{m} \Rightarrow \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{'I know how you speak'} \)  
\( \text{(Ind=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{say} \Rightarrow 2 \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{p=} \Rightarrow \text{Speak=} \text{Rel=} \text{obj} \Rightarrow \text{I=know}) \)

(35) \( \text{p=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{yu} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{sma} \Rightarrow \text{u} \)  
\( \text{?=} \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{'How do you sleep?'} \)  
\( \text{(Ind=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{Be} \Rightarrow 2 \Rightarrow \text{sleep=} \text{Q}) \)

(36) \( \text{p=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{yu} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{sma} \Rightarrow \text{u} \Rightarrow \text{m} \Rightarrow \text{spu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{'I know how you sleep'} \)  
\( \text{(Ind=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{Be} \Rightarrow 2 \Rightarrow \text{sleep=} \text{Rel=} \text{m} \Rightarrow \text{I=know}) \)

The absence of a noun in the Manner expression involving 'how' is motivated by the same explanation presented for its absence with the Demonstratives above.

Unlike the Demonstrative verbal prefixes which are phonologically identical with the non-prefixal Demonstrative, the /p=\ Indefinite prefix is not identical with any of the Indefinites. However it is possible that /p=\ is a phonologically reduced version of a general Indefinite */?ap/.

We have seen that */?ap/ is normally associated with locative expressions, however there are indications that */?ap/ 'somewhere' at one time had a more general meaning in that an almost identical form */?apu/ means 'which'. Furthermore /p=k^\text{W}it/ 'which', a synonym for */?apu/ 'which' seems to bear the reduced prefixal form. This would argue for a historic relationship between all three: */?apu */?ap */p=.

The nominal case affixes normally suffixed to nouns, also occur prefixed to verbs after a prefix */?z=\ which is a general nominal marker in Yuman:

(37) \( ?=\text{z=} \Rightarrow \text{x}\text{khu}.\text{w} \)  
\( \text{nom=} \Rightarrow \text{illat=} 1 \Rightarrow \text{whistle} \)

(38) \( ?=\text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{x}\text{ha} \)  
\( \text{nom=} \Rightarrow \text{inst=} 1 \Rightarrow \text{hammer} \)

(39) \( ?=\text{z=} \Rightarrow \text{m=} \Rightarrow \text{la}\text{x} \)  
\( \text{nom=} \Rightarrow \text{allat=} 2 \Rightarrow \text{adhere} \)
The nominative /t=/ prefix occurs in a disguised form as a general object prefix 'something, what':

(40) \( t=\text{h}=\text{ma} \). 'food, what they eat'
(41) \( t=\?'=\text{puw} \). 'what I am able to'
(42) \( t=\?'=\text{ki} \). 'what I drink'

This prefix seems to be the prefixal variant of \( \?=\text{ki} \) 'something'. It will be recalled that *\?ap and /p=/ mentioned above seem to be related in the same way.

The simplest explanation for the strong syntactic and semantic parallels between Demonstratives and Indefinites is to consider both to be members of a single Determiner constituent in the Kiliwa noun phrase:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{NP} \\
\text{NR} \\
\text{DET} \\
\{+\text{Specific}\} \\
\end{array}
\]

The ambiguity between Indefinites and Interrogatives can be resolved by postulating a phonologically unrealized Question predicate to underlie all Questions. Thus a Yes-No question is distinguished from an Information Question by a difference in the domain of the Question predicate. If the domain is the entire proposition the result is a Yes-No question; if the topic of the predicate is a semantically unspecified noun phrase, an Information Question seeking to specify that noun is involved. The two diagrams below capture this difference:

(a) \( S \) Question
(b) \( S \) Question

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{The data discussed previously show that the Noun Phrase may involve either concrete nouns like Place, Person, and Time or abstract ones like Manner. In Manner questions the /p=/ Indefinite appears as a verbal prefix on a topicalized copy of the Classificatory Auxiliary that expresses the semantic indefiniteness of the abstract Noun Phrase. It will be recalled that the Auxiliaries were topicalized for emphasis in non-interrogative demonstrative manner adverbials as well.}
\end{array}
\]

The River and Pai languages show the same patterns involving a Determiner; notable is the strong similarity between the Indefinite prefix \( \text{kama} \) and the pronominal Indefinite \( \text{makar} \). This recalls the hypothesized alternation between *\?ap and *p= described for Kiliwa above. These facts would seem to indicate that the analysis presented here might well be extended to Proto-Yuman. Subsequent study will test this hypothesis which must remain outside the scope of this presentation.
NOTES

1 Abbreviations: allat. = allative
   Art. = indefinite article
   Dec. = declarative complementizer
   Det. = determiner
   dist. = distant
   d.s. = different subject
   illat. = illative
   Ind. = indefinite
   Inst. = instrumental
   Irr. = irrealis
   freq. = frequentative
   Fut. = subordinate future
   m.p. = medio-passive
   nom. = nominative
   obj. = objective case
   obl. = general oblique case
   pl. = plural
   Q = question
   Rel. = oblique relativizer
   s.s. = same subject
   sub. = subordinator

   Pronominal prefixes are numbered: 1, 2, 3.

2 Note that the main verb /u:y/ 'do' is employed in
   pre-verb position, i.e. sentence initial position as opposed
   to /'hi:/, the Auxiliary 'do' which is used in post-verb
   position.

3 This expression is probably best considered a fossilized
   construction.
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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Proceedings of the First Xuman Languages Workshop, published in this series last year, are now out of print. They are available in either microfiche or hard-bound copy from the ERIC Clearinghouse. This volume will also be available from the ERIC Clearinghouse after it goes out of print.

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In 1970 numerous linguists working on Hokan and Yuman languages were invited by Margaret Langdon to attend a conference at the University of California, San Diego. This made it possible for specialist to get to know each other and to learn in detail what each other was doing. The meeting was so successful that participants soon began asking when we would meet again. In 1975 Margaret Langdon invited the Yumanists to a workshop in conjunction with the research being done at the Yuman Languages Archives which she had established with the aid of a National Science Foundation grant. Again, the participants felt that the workshop was so successful that we ought to meet every year if possible. In 1976 another workshop was held at UCSD to which both Hokanists and Yumanists were invited. These proceedings are the result of that workshop. It is now expected that Hokanists and Yumanists will meet every year. The 1977 meeting will be at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City.

The participants of the 1976 Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work that Sandra Chung and Pamela Mumro did in organizing and running the workshop. Thanks are also due to Donald Crook and Susan Norwood for looking after the many details that helped make the workshop run smoothly.

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1976 Hokan-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 1976 workshop except the ones by Langdon and Webb, which were not ready in time for presentation for the workshop. However, since many of the points they contain were discussed at the workshop, they are included here.

The papers are presented according to the groups of languages presented at the 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. The Langdon and Webb papers are included in the appropriate groups.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, May 1977
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