Notes on Walapai Verb Root Structure

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Walapai has several very-high-frequency verb stems that contain a few ultrahigh-frequency morphemes. These stems, though multimorphic, have the same types of combinatorial possibilities as monomorphic stems.¹ The various morphemes of the stems give the verb stems quite specific meanings. {v} is one of the ultrahigh-frequency morphemes. It means this, very near the speaker. When suffixed to a noun or in the article /vá/, it means within arm's reach of the speaker. In adverbs, e.g., /vák/, here, at/to this place, and /vám/, now, today, at this time, the reference is again to the place where the speaker is or the time when the speaker is talking.

This {v} in combination with {č-}, move (around/about), occurs in the very common verb stem /vá/, which means go/come to this place, arrive at/reach this destination. /vá/ is often combined with /-k/ and /-m/ to give further specificity, e.g., /vák/, arrive here, and /vám/, arrive there.² The meaning arrive very close to can also be seen in these forms since /vá/ can also mean hit/strike against.

\[pá-č vá-k-yu \# \text{I (have) arrived. I am here.} \]
(1-nom. arrive-to/at-here-be)

\[pá-č vá-m-č-a \# \text{We got there. We arrived there.} \]
(1-nom. arrive-there-pl.-acorist)

The opposite meaning of /vá/ is formed with another ultrahigh-frequency morpheme {y}, which also means approximately this, that, and as an article or adverb a medium distance away from the speaker, not as close to speaker as {v}. The verb /yá/ means go (away), leave, depart. /yák/ means leave from there for here; and /yám/, leave from here. In Walapai /yá/, when referring to a person or movable object, also can mean lie down, be located at; but it is clear from comparative evidence from other Yuman languages that two Yuman stems have fallen together phonologically in Walapai. The /yá/ meaning leave, depart from, I refer to as {yá₁}; and the one meaning lie (down), be located at, as {yá₂}.

\[pá-č yá-m-yu \# \text{I'm leaving. I'm going.} \]
(1-nom. lie-at/here-be.)

A different perspective on the matrix can be seen when {v} and {y} are combined with {č-}, (cause to) move (back/away). /vō/ means walk, go, travel. With /-k/ and /-m/, /vō/ has the specialized meaning go/come/return home. /vōk/, come (back)/return home, is said when the speaker is still at home; and /vōm/, go/return home, is said when the speaker is not at home. /vō/ has another specialized usage with /kwí/, rain, cloud, storm. /kwí/ always occurs with /vō/, i.e., rain is always spoken of as returning.

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pá-č vô-m-yu # I'm going home.

(l-nom. return-(from)-away-be)

kwì-vó-k-yu # It's raining.

(rain-return-to/at-be)

{á-} and {¬Ś} are both bound roots and cannot occur as stems without at least one stem-formative affix. {¬Ś} must have at least a prefix to form a stem. {á-} can form a stem with a prefix or with the stem-formative suffixes /¬m/ and /¬l/, as in /á-m/, move/go about a limited area, and /á-l/, go/come into/inside, some (out) into view.

/yó/ means pick up, remove, take away, i.e., make something leave from where it is and move toward the speaker. By extension of this semantic referent range, /yó/ often means get, obtain, take, go/come for. /yó/ also means make, build, fix, repair. It is unclear to me at this time whether this is an extension of the meaning remove, meaning remove the bad parts and replace with good parts or whether there is a pair of homophones /yó/, but I tend toward the latter interpretation.

kwétólya tsámya yó-we # I took the lid off the pot.

(pot lid remove-do)

kwêvyám yó-v-we # I'm working on/repairing the car.

(car make/fix-this/here-do)

/yó/ also means lie/be located in a geographic location. This /yó/ usually refers to natural geographic features, but it can refer to man-made things such as cities and houses. I consider this /yó/ a homophone of /yó/ meaning remove and related to the /yá/ meaning lie (down).

nò và-č mák-a-l yó-k-yu # My house is on the other side (of the road).

(1 house-nom. back-the-in/on located this/here-be)

The opposite of /yó/, pick up, is /wó/, put/set/lay (down). It contains the {w}, which in articles and adverbs means that, far/away from where the speaker is. The causative prefix /ól-/ usually occurs with /wó/, and the meaning is often put/into/up/away.

kló i-yó-m-ik há ki-yú-yi-k č-wó-č-ay-wi # We'll take the boat out of the water and put it up on the riverbank.

(boat 1-remove-SS water agent-be-at/on caus.-put-up/out-pl.-fut.-do)

/wá/ would, if it fits the system, mean move away. This is seen in the meanings it usually has, carry (off/away), take/bring (with). /wá/ can also mean live, dwell, sit, be/hang around, stay, remain, be located at. I consider this second /wá/ not a part of the system being described here, but a part of the system containing also the other /yá/ and /yó/ which don't fit the system under discussion.
When the ants find food, they take it down under the ground.

The car is beside the house.

I just saw him. I saw him today.
ná-č pá-k-yu # The sun is up. It's daylight.
(sun-nom. come-out-3-be)

With [á-], [t], cause to move/change state, means throw/hurl (away). /tám/ means someone throw away from where speaker is; and /ták/, someone throw toward where speaker is. With liquid substances, /tám/ has a specialized meaning, pour (out/off), but the meaning cause to move away is still clear.

kwáslók-v-a wà tá-m-we # I threw the bucket away.
(bucket-this-the that/the throw-away-do)

kwáslók-m há-m tá-m-pír-a # I'm filling the bucket with water.
(bucket-abl. water-abl. throw-away-full-aorist)

The causative {č(i)-} also combines with [á-], and it means throw. With /-m/, it means throw away, pour (out/away), send, make/let go away.

mát nù čá-čà-k-u-ŋ # He piled the dirt up.
(ground/soil that/the throw-throw-3-be-perf.)

mát-a-k há čá-m-k-wa # She's pouring the water on the ground.
(ground-the-on water throw-away-3-do)

kwé-m-wí-we čiá-m-we # I sent your things.
(thing-2-own/belong-do send-away-do)

góth-a-č ni-pá-k-a-m kwášotí i-ča-we # When the coffee boils, I pour it in a cup.
(coffee-the-nom. rel.-come-out/up-at-aorist-D8 cup 1-pour-do)

ni-thá miyál čiá-m yá-m-k-yu # I sent him for bread.
(just-he bread send-away go-away-3-be)

[-r] is another stem formative and means do intensely/completely, finish, do/go all the way. A stem with [-r] often also has the intensive prefix [vi-], do very fast/intensely, only, just. [-r] is not very productive and seems to have fossilized with a small number of stems.

wá-m ná-č pá-k-m hát-c-č hé či-wí-r-wí-r-wí-n #
(house-from 1-nom. come-out-at-D8 dog-the-nom. tail caus.-do-intense-do-intense-do-perf.)

When I come out of the house, the dog wags his tail.
bá-n wi-r-ik kwê má-hî-k-vi # When he finishes that, he will eat.
(that-that/the do-complete-SS thing eat-fut.-3-do)
čipây-a-ĉ vi-yá-r-im # The bird is flying away.
(bird-the-nom. very-go-intense-away)

FOOTNOTES

2. For a discussion of /-k/ and /-m/, see op. cit. 155-56 and 160-61.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Proceedings of the First Yuman 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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James E. Redden, Editor

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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 Munro 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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