The Structure of Nominal Modifiers

by

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0. Prologue

In Hualapai, an Upland Yuman language, we find several ways to form noun phrases: 1) a noun followed by a nominalized verbal, 2) a noun followed by a definitized verbal, and 3) a noun followed by a verb stem. Nominal modifying phrases always follow the nominal element.

1. Nominalizing prefix /g/- [k-]

The nominalizing prefix /g/- may appear on the verb and can generally be translated as "the one who; the thing which."

1. a. g-vseo
   Nom-take=care=of 'the one who takes care of (animals)/herder'

   b. g-thye'
      Nom-cure 'the one who cures/doctor'

   c. g-qech
      Nom-be=little 'the little one'

2. a. mi-g-vdē
    foot-Nom-be=big 'the foot-the one that is big/big toe'

   b. sal-g-vdē
      hand-Nom-be=big 'the hand-the one that is big/thumb'

3. a. waksi-g-wi
     cow-Nom-possess 'the one who possesses cows/cattleman'

   b. waksi-g-nyi-hād(-a)
      cow-Nom-Rel-pet(-Def) 'the one who pets cows/cattleman'

The prefix /g/- "may appear on the main verb or verbal auxiliary of a fully expanded sentence modifying a noun, so long as the noun being modified is the subject of the prefixed verb" (Kendall 1974:90; emphasis ours). The nominalization of this form seems to be a general characteristic of Yuman languages, e.g., /kw-/ in Diegueno; /kw/- in Cocopa, Mohave; /k/- in Yavapai, Havasupai; etc. That the noun being modified must be the subject of the prefixed verb is illustrated by the following examples 4.
4. nya-ch waksi: g-séy-ya siʰ-mʰ 'ha:m-yu
   I-Subj cow Nom-brown-Def one-DR 1-see-Aux
   'I see one brown cow.'

5. a. waksi: g-séy-ya vo:-k ya:m-k-yu
    walk-SR go-SR-Aux
    'A brown cow is walking away.'

   b. waksi: g-sey-ch vo:-k ya:m-k-yu
      Nom-brown-Subj
      'A brown cow is walking away.'

6. waksi:-h-ch sëy-k-yu
cow-Dem-Subj brown-SR-Aux
   'The cow is brown.'

   Note that when there is one nominal element in the sentence, the
   subject marking is optional. In place of the subject marker the
   definitizing suffix may appear as in sentence 5.a. When there are
   two or more nominal elements in a sentence, the subject is usually
   overtly marked as in 7.

7. a. nya-ch waksi: g-se:y-ya hwa'g-m ba 'ha:m-yu
    I-Subj cow Nom-brown/pl-Def two-DR all 1-see-Aux
    'I see two brown cows.'

   b. nya-ch waksi: g-se:y-ya afe-m (ha) 'ha:m-yu
      be=numerous-DR
      'I see lots of brown cows.'

   In a natural speech, the term sey 'be brown' among the color
   reference terms is the only one which utilizes the construction of the
   form [noun + g-Verb-{Depinitizer}] most consistently.
   [Case Marker]

2. For other terms, we often find the construction of the form [noun
   + Verb-{Definitizer}] as we see in the following examples.

8. a. nya-ch 'wa: nyimsa:v-a 'u:yu
    house white-Def 1-see-Aux
    'I see a white house.'

   b. 'wa:-h-ch nyimsa:v-k-yu
      house-Dem-Subj white-SR-Aux
      'The house is white.'

9. a. 'hað nyi-j-msa:v-{ch} viya:m-j-k-yu
    dog -pl- run-pl-SR-Aux
    'White dogs are running.'

   b. 'hað-v-ch nyi-j-msa:v-k-yu
      dog-Dem-Subj -pl-
      'These dogs are white.'
However, some speakers consider sentence 9.c. better than 9.a. Note that in 9.c, the prefix /g-/ appears before /nyi-j-msa:v/.

c. 'haď g-nyi-j-msa:v-ch viya:m-j-k-yu
dog Nom-nyi-pl-white-Subj run-pl-SR-Aux
'White dogs are running.'

10. a. nya-ch 'haď nya:-ja 'u:-yu
Black-Def 1-see-Aux
'I see a black dog.'

b. nyiwá 'haď-ch nya:-k-yu
do-g-Subj black-SR-Aux
'That dog is black.'

11. a. 'haď qwanyima:-j-ja (ba) 'u:-yu
grey-pl-Def
'I see grey dogs.'

b. nyiwá 'haď(-j)-ch qwanyima:-j-k-yu
dog(-pl)-Subj grey-pl-SR-Aux
'Those dogs are grey.'

Note that when the verb phrase is clearly marked in respect to plurality, the subject noun is optionally marked by the plural suffix as in 11.b. Sentence 12.a. shows that the nominalized phrase is marked with the subject marker:

12. a. 'haď qwanyima:-j-ch viya:m-j-k-yu
grey-pl-Subj run-pl-SR-Aux
'Grey dogs are running.'

b. nyiwá 'haď-ch qwanyima:-j-k-yu
grey-pl-SR-Aux
'Those dogs are grey.'

3. The most commonly found form which the color reference terms employ in the formation of the noun phrase is [noun + verb-{Case Marker}].

13. a. nya-ch nyigwayli:li:i'ja hwa'd 'wi:-wi
sweater red 1-have-Aux
'I have a red sweater.'

b. nyiwá nyigwayli:li:i'ja hwa'd-k-yu
that red-SR-Aux
'That sweater is red.'

14. a. nya-ch 'wa: hwa'd-1 'l-wåy-yu
house red-in 1-live/sit-Aux
'I live in a red house.'

b. 'wa:-h-ch hwa'd-k-yu
house-Dem-Subj
'The house is red.'
c. 'wa:-h hwa:]-v-ch yu
   house-Dem red-Dem-Subj be
   'The house is red.'

15. a. nya-ch nyigwayli:li:]-ja hwa:]- wi:-wi
    red/pl 1-have-Aux
    'I have red sweaters.'

   b. nya-ch nyigwayli:li:]-ja hwa:]- ge-m wi:-wi
    be=nom-numerous-DR
    'I have lots of red sweaters.'

16. a. meri-ch he' qwath wi:-k-wi
    Mary-Subj dress yellow have-SR-Aux
    'Mary has a yellow dress.'

   b. he'-v-ch qwáth-k-yu
    dress-Dem-Subj yellow-SR-Aux
    'This dress is yellow.'

17. a. meri-ch he' qwa:th (ge-m) wi:-k-wi
    Mary-Subj yellow/pl have-SR-Aux
    'Mary has yellow dresses.'

   b. he'-j-v-ch qwa:th-k-yu
    'These dresses are yellow.'

18. a. nya-ch nyigwáy vasu:]-gaga:v-wi
    shirt blue 1-buy-Aux
    'I am buying a blue shirt.'

   b. nyigwáy-h-ch vasu:-k-yu
    shirt-Dem-Subj
    'That shirt is blue.'

The plural is again formed by vowel lengthening, but with subsequent changes [vasu: + length $\Rightarrow$ vasu:w + vowel increment] as shown in 19.

19. a. nya-ch nyigwáy { vasu:wa }
    'gaga:v-wi
    va:-j-su:wa
    'I am buying blue shirts.'

   b. ba:-h-ch 'wa: vasu:wa-l 'wa:-k-yu
    man-Dem-Subj house blue/pl-in live/sit-SR-Aux
    'The man lives in blue houses.'

4. We have observed three cases of nominal modification processes. The examples included the one-argument verbals referring to colors, [i.e., each verb required one noun--subject]. From what we have seen in those examples, we can generalize that they represent a simple case of relativization; for example, the sentence 'the dog is black' is embedded into the sentence 'John has a dog' to form a new complex
sentence 'John has a dog that is black/John has a black dog.'

When we look at the three processes carefully, we find a hierarchy of cohesiveness of the noun-verb combination in which the noun is the semantic head. The cohesiveness-hierarchy from tight to loose is: i) Noun + g-Verb-(Definitizer), ii) Noun + Verb-(Definitizer), and iii) Noun + Verb-(Case Marker).

i) The nominalizing prefix /g-/ often participates in the formation of compounds. See examples 1. through 3, and also the following examples 20. and 21.

20. jīlq-g-lō:h-ya hla:
bowel-Nom-break-Def month
'bowl-breaking month/January'

21. hla:-g-smā:-v-a
month-Nom-sleep-dist-Def
'always sleepy-month/May'

Among younger speakers, the nominalizing prefix /g-/ tends to be dropped as shown below:

22. gwe(-g)-viyām
thing (-Nom)-run
'thing that runs/car'

23. gwe(-g)-j-kwān
thing (-Nom)-cause-kill
'one who kills/trapper'

This may reflect that the traditional nominal compound formation is being simplified. Younger speakers tend to use the second type ii) over the traditional first type i).

ii) Nominal compounds may be formed by adding the definitizing suffix, thus keeping the verbness in the construction.

24. bēs-a-sī'd-a
money-Def-one-Def
'one dollar bill'

25. miyāl-sēy-ya
bread-fry-Def
'fried bread'

iii) In the formation of NP, the third type optionally takes the relational marker /ny(V)-/. The relational marker occurs most often with the verb in the subordinate clause, thus marking the subordinate status of the clause overtly as shown in 26. and 27.
26. a. jon-ch gweviyám gwa:m-k banya:nyiwa-l wa:m-k-wi
   car drive-SR Phoenix-into take-SR-Aux
   'John drives a car and takes it to Phoenix.'

   b. jon-ch gweviyám nyi-gwa:m-k banya:nyiwa-l wa:m-k-wi
   'John, driving a car, takes it to Phoenix.'

27. a. jon-ch malinda bæq-m mi:-k-i-ny
    hit-DR cry-SR-Aux-perf
    'John hit Malinda and she cried.'

   b. jon-ch malinda nyi-bæq-m mi:-k-i-ny
   'Because John hit Malinda, she cried.'

The optional occurrence of /ny(V)-/ with the verb within the NP seems to indicate that the verbness is most strongly retained in this construction in comparison with the other types i) and ii). Observe the following:

28. a. ba:-h-ch nyi-'wa: (nyi)-vasu:-l 'wa:-k-yu
    'The man lives in a blue house.'

29. a. meri-ch nyi-hé' (nyi)-hala'e: wi:-k-wi
    'Mary has a bright dress.'

30. a. waksi: ba:v-a ma:-j-m wi:-j-k-wi
    cow bake/roast-Def eat-pl-D do-dist.-SR-Aux
    'They regularly eat roast beef/meat.'

   b. waksi: nyi-ba:v-j-k ma:-j-m wi:-j-k-wi
    -pl-SR
    'When they roast beef/meat, they eat it.'

The occurrence of /ny(V)-/ within the NP seems relatively infrequent in Hualapai. The prefix /ny(V)-/ appears more often in a clausal construction as in sentences 30.b. above or 31. below:

31. viyál nyi-nyú'-j-k ma:-j-m wi:-j-k-wi
    mescal Rel-bake-pl-SR eat-pl-DR do-dist.-SR-Aux
    'When they bake mescal, they eat it.'

The relational marker /ny(V)-/, however, does appear in some lexicalized forms as in 32, 33 and 34.

32. waksi:-nyi-mañy
cow-Red-breast
'milk'

33. haikú-nyi-wá'
whiteman-Red-house
'town/city'
34. \textit{wambo:d-nyu-v-nyän(-a)}
    train-Rel-Dem-make=tracks(-Def)
    'railroad tracks'

5. **Summary**

Nominalization is seen as a special case of the relative formation. The prefix /g-/ not only nominalizes the verb but also states explicitly the cohesion of the verb and the noun it modifies. The prefix /g-/ also describes that the noun being modified is the semantic head (or subject) of the prefixed verb.

The use of /g-/ seems to have become less productive in Hualapai, especially among younger speakers. More often used alternative processes include the following: 1) A verb is placed after the noun to be modified, and the definitizing suffix is attached to the verb if the resulting Noun Phrase functions as the object of the matrix verb. Otherwise, the Noun Phrase takes other case markers as appropriate. 2) A verb-stem is simply placed after the noun it modifies without the nominalizing prefix nor the definitizing suffix if the resulting Noun Phrase functions as the object of the matrix verb.

In these alternative processes, the verb in the Noun Phrase complex seems to retain its verbness more strongly than in the /g-/ nominalized noun phrase.

**Footnotes**

*We extend our special thanks to Professor Margaret Langdon who has been our constant inspiration and support. Without her and also Leanne Hinton, our on-going research could not have reached the stage they are in.*

1. Examples given below are written in accordance with the Hualapai writing system. Special symbols employed include the following:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{p} = fortis or aspirated \textit{p}
  \item \textit{b} = lenis \textit{p}
  \item \textit{t} = fortis or aspirated dental \textit{t}
  \item \textit{d} = lenis interdental voiceless stop
  \item \textit{k} = fortis or aspirated \textit{k}
  \item \textit{g} = lenis \textit{k}
  \item \textit{ch} = fortis \textit{č}
  \item \textit{j} = lenis \textit{č}
  \item \textit{v} = bilabial voiced fricative
\end{itemize}
th = interdental θ
ny = palatal nasal ñ
d = alveolar ŋ

2. In the actual writing of the Hualapai text, the following rules have been adopted.

The plural marker is written as j; the subject marker ch; and the same reference marker (SR) k. The following sentences illustrate these:

i) he'-j-v-ch   qwa:th-k-yu
   dress-pl-Dem-Subj  be=yellow-SR-Aux
   'These dresses are yellow.'

ii) waksi: nyi-ha:v-j-k   ma:-j-m   wi:-j-k-wi
    'When they roast beef/meat, they eat it.'
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PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1978 Hokan Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All the papers in this volume were presented in an earlier version at the 1978 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the workshop.

The participants of the 1978 Hokan Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor Carol Baker Slater and the students at the University of California, San Diego, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably.

Copies of the 1977 workshop are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes for the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SIU-C University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound copies from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent Street, Arlington, VA 22209.

The 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop will be held at the University of California, Los Angeles, June 26-28. The proceedings of the 1979 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in late spring 1980. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, May 1979
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