TYPES OF AGREEMENT IN MOJAVE

Pamela Munro
University of California, Los Angeles

Most descriptions of agreement phenomena in Yuman languages rigidly confine themselves to the standard agreement patterns found in ordinary transitive and intransitive sentences with concrete subjects. The extensive lexical research I am now conducting on Mojave with Nellie Brown and Judith Crawford has brought to my attention a wider variety of Mojave agreement patterns than have been previously described, for Mojave (in, e.g., Munro 1976a, which provides the background for this account) or, indeed, for any Yuman language. The purpose of this paper is simply to present a typology of the various sorts of agreement which may be encountered in Mojave. Such a catalogue will certainly aid future researchers on other Yuman languages, and it will hopefully spur others on to present the facts we need to see how much of what occurs in Mojave is idiosyncratic and how much reflects pan-Yuman patterns.

The topics I will cover are 1. standard Mojave agreement, 2. idiomatic usages, 3. double verb agreement, 4. preprefixes, 5. other constructions with uninflected initial elements, 6. body part constructions, and 7. defective agreement patterns. Finally, in section 8 I will discuss some of the ways a few of these phenomena interact with other aspects of Mojave syntax, particularly in terms of syntactic subjection.

1. Standard Mojave agreement. The use of pronominal agreement prefixes in Mojave is unremarkable and typically Yuman. With intransitive verbs and transitive verbs having third-person objects, a -i- prefix indicates a first-person subject, an -m- prefix indicates a second-person subject, and no prefix (or a Ø prefix—realized as a phonoetic [h] before a stem-initial vowel) indicates a third-person subject. Thus, intransitive examples are given in (1a), and transitive examples with third-person objects are in (1b):

(1a) '-iye'-k 'I go'          (b) '-taypuy'-k 'I kill him'
     m-iye'-k 'you go'         m-taypuy'-k 'you kill him'
     iyem'-k 'he goes' ([hiyemk])

When the object is non-third-person, a more complicated set of prefixes (again typically Yuman; cf. Hinton and Langdon 1976 and Munro 1978) is used:

(2) subject: 1     2     3

object: 1     -- ny-- ny--

2     ny-- -- m--

as exemplified in, e.g. (3) ny--taypuy'-k 'You killed me' (etc.)

Ny-- may appear as 'ny--' or 'ny--', and first-person object, third-person subject ny-- may be 'ny--'. It should be noted that k- replaces m- for the second-person subject of an imperative.

The other aspect of standard agreement which is important here is the case marking on independent nouns for which third-person agreement is marked on the verb. Subject nouns (those which fill the grammatical role which would condition the appearance of -i- to mark a first-person participant, in other words) are marked with a -ch suffix in Mojave; this morpheme may be phonologically reduced but is almost never omitted.
(4a) 'iipa-ny-ch iyem-k
       man-dem-su go-tns 'The man goes'

b) 'iipa-ny-ch thinya’aak-ny tapuy-k
       man-dem-su woman-dem kill-tns 'The man kills the woman'

As sentence (4b) shows, an object noun is unmarked (although a definite
object may frequently have a demonstrative suffix) in Mojave, as in most
other Yuman languages. (4a-b) demonstrate that the -ch subject marking
is used for the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs; in-
animate and non-human subjects also regularly receive -ch marking; and
-ch marks the subjects of stative as well as active verbs.

In fact, there are only two major groups of exceptions to the above
statements which I would not regard as having to be lexically marked.
The first set of exceptions is copular or predicate nominal sentences,
in which the first (subject) noun is unmarked and the second (predicate)
noun is marked with -ch; inclusion of a form of 'be' in such sentences
is not obligatory:

(5) 'iipa kwath’idee-ch (ido-pch)
       man doctor-su be-perf 'The man is a doctor'

The syntax and origin of such constructions is described in Munro (1977).
A second group of exceptions are the sentences which have been called
"-ch passives" or "impersonal" constructions, which seem to correspond
semantically to English nonagentive passives:

(6a) 'iipa-ny tapuy-ch-m
       man-dem kill-pass-tns 'The man was killed'

b) ny-tapuy-ch-m 'I was killed'

In these constructions (cf. Langacker and Munro 1975), the logical object
remains unmarked and, if non-third-person, conditions object agreement
on the verb, which always is marked with a suffixed -ch. The agent can-
not be expressed in any form in these sentences, either as a -ch marked
subject or obliquely.3

2. Idiomatic usages There are two types of sentence which I will
consider to represent "idioms" from the point of view of standard Mojave
agreement. The first is the group of kinship term verbs, which function
in Mojave much as they were described for Yuma by Halpern (1942). All
these verbs (some of which are "self-reciprocal": cf. Gifford (1922))
have the same shape as the corresponding nominal kinship term (which is
perhaps better thought of as derived from the kinship verb). Thus the
noun intay 'mother' sounds just like the corresponding verb intay, and
so on. From an English point of view we would expect the subject of the
verb 'mother' to be the mother: if She mothers me, then she is the mo-
ther, not me. However, consider the Mojave example

(7) '-intay-k 'She is my mother'

Here, the - prefix implies a first-person subject (and potentially a
third-person object); such verbs are indeed transitive, as shown in

(8) ny-m-intay-k 'I am your mother'

where the marking shows a second-person subject, first-person object.

The standard treatment of such verbs introduced by Halpern (194
is to gloss them in such a way that the expected semantic roles are re-
versed: thus the dictionary definition of intay must be 'have for/as a
mother' or (following Halpern) 'call mother'. So (7) may be glossed 'I
call her mother' or 'I have her for a mother', and so forth. But trans-
lations like this are extremely rarely volunteered, in contrast to those
like the ones given for (7-8), and so I feel that it is justified to con-
sider this usage somewhat idiomatic.
The other phrasal idioms I have encountered in Mojave seem more comparable to conventional English idioms. In the ones which are important at this time from the point of view of agreement, the person who the sentence is about appears as the syntactic object. Thus, for instance, someone who gets sunstroke is said to be "kicked by the sun" (9), or a person with appendicitis is "shot by his appendix" (10):

(9) 'anya-ch ny-ka'aak-k 'I got sunstroke'
(10) 'iito kwiisa-ch ny-akya-m l-stomach soul-su me-shoot-tns'
   'I have appendicitis'

3. Double verb agreement Some entries in the dictionary have two Mojave verbs, both marked for the same subject, which are translated into English with one verb or verb phrase. In some cases, the two verbs are linked by the -k same-subject switch-reference marker (Munro 1976a, etc.); usually the first verb serves to modify or specify the other:

(11) 'atayk suuvaar 'sing as a team': '-atay-k 'suuvaar-k 'We sing 1-many-ss 1-sing-pl-tns as a team'
(12) hayikuyk aspayv 'be a half-breed': '-hayikuy-k 'aspayv-k
   l-be=Anglo-ss l-be=halved-tns
   'I'm a half-breed', 'I'm half white'

In other cases, however, there is no marking on the first verb. This is a less common syntactic pattern than that exemplified in (11-12):

(13) ana ichav 'eat all up': '-ana '-ichav-k
   1-eat 1-finish-eating-tns 'I ate it all up'
(14) chakavar ipuy 'laugh a lot': '-chakavar '-ipuy-k 'I laughed a lot';
   1-laugh 1-die-tns 'I died laughing'

4. Verbs with "preprefixes" A more frequent situation is for a verb to occur with a non-agreeing, invariant element prefixed or cli-
   tized to the beginning of the verb, in front of any agreement prefixes
   preceding the verb stem. Halpern has called some of these (for Yuma)
   "adhering prefixes" (e.g. 1947; I refer to them as "preprefixes". Al-
   though many Yuman languages appear to have some such elements, Mojave
   seems to have more of them than other languages do. A well-known pre-
   prefix is the reflexive/reciprocal marker mat, as in

(15) mat tapuy 'kill oneself, commit suicide': mat '-tapuy-k 'I...

I write preprefixes as separate words for expository reasons: in the
dictionary, the rule is that person markers may be added only at the
beginning of words (almost always to the last in any series of verbs
which forms a phrase). However, the regular preprefixes to be discussed
below all have somewhat reduced stress, may not be displaced from their
position in front of the verb, and do not act like separate phonological
words.

Preprefixes can make analysis rather difficult; for instance, given
a third-person form [hakahav], we may assume that the final -k is a
"tense" marker (cf. Munro 1976a,b, etc.) but even though the third-per-
son subject marker is 0, the assumption that the stem of this verb is
hakahav would be unjustified. First, recall that verb stems beginning
with vowels prefix a phonetic [h] in the third person. This means that
any third-person form beginning with [h] is suspect, and must be further
tested in order to determine whether the [h] is "real" or not. If the
initial [h] in hakahav were "real" and the stem were hakahav, then the
first-person form, for instance, would be '-hakahav-k, but if the [h]
were merely phonetic, the stem would be akahav and the first-person form
'-akahav-k (in which case the proper phonemic recording of the third-
person form would be akahav-k). There is still a third analytical
possibility, however, since Mojave has a preprefix hak. If the hak in hakahavk were a preprefix, the stem would be hak ahav, and the first-person form hak '-ahav-k. This is in fact the case: hak ahav means 'move out of the way'. This example may show why it is almost always necessary to check both a first-person (or a second-person) and a third-person form of any new Mojave verb.

In this section I will present a number of different groups of preprefixes. I have isolated eight classes of these, with over thirty preprefixes in all. The basis for the classification is a combination of semantics and morphophonological resemblance.

4.1 'something' class The preprefixes in this group include 'ich, which is very productive as a dummy argument marker (with 22 listings in the 1979 version of our dictionary files) and nyayuu (variant: 'ayu'), a more normal lexical item meaning 'something', which replaces 'ich in a few verbs. Here are some examples:

(16) 'ich ama 'eat [intr.]: 'ich 'ama- m 'I eat'
(17) 'ich irav 'be sick': 'ich 'irav-k 'I'm sick'
(18) nyayuu iyuu 'be rich': nyayuu 'iyuu-k 'I'm rich'
    (cf. ama 'eat [tr]', irav 'hurt', iyuu 'see, have')

As (16) and (18) show, sometimes this use of 'ich and nyayuu seems extremely straightforward. However, this is not always the case: although 'something hurts me' would seem a reasonable source for 'I'm sick', (17) is the only verb in which 'ich seems to play a semantic subject role; further, of course, the verb is marked for a first-person subject.

4.2 wa/y'a class Wa and ya verbs include incorporated forms of the body part words liwa 'heart' and liya 'mouth' (and sometimes they alternate with expressions containing these words; cf. section 6 below). Verbs with wa preprefixes often refer to emotion, and verbs with ya to language or the mouth, but it is usually impossible to predict the meaning of such verbs from that of the unprefixed source, as the examples below illustrate:

(19) wa 'ahot 'be happy': wa ' 'ahot-k 'I'm happy'
(20) wa apet 'forget': wa 'apet-k 'I forget (it)'
(21) ya 'atay 'talk too much': ya ' 'atay-k 'I talk too much'
(22) ya a'ay 'learn, understand': ya ny-a'ay-k 'I understand you'

    (cf. 'ahot 'be good', apet 'block', 'atay 'be much', a'ay 'hear')

Wa and ya may also appear with the case markers -ly (locative) and -m ('with'/directional):

(23) waly a'ay 'be stingy'; wam aavar 'feel sad'
(24) yaly uupam 'kiss'; Yam iyaa 'be an idiot'

(cf. a'ay 'hear', -var 'lack', uupam 'lie down', iyaa 'go')

4.3 mat class As exemplified in (15), mat is the standard Mojave reflexive/reciprocal marker, derived from jimaat 'body'. In addition to transparent uses like that illustrated in (15), mat appears in apparent inherently reflexive verbs for which no use without mat is known, e.g.

(25) mat chuupily 'sing (someone's) song at his funeral': mat ny-chuupily-k 'I sang your song for you at your funeral'

As this example shows, mat verbs may be transitive. In some other cases the meaning of the mat verb is "idiomatic":

(26) mat chikyoo 'have only one child [w.s.]: mat '-chikyoo-k 'I...
(27) mat humar 'act like a child, be senile': mat '-humar-k 'I...

    (cf. chikyoo 'bite', humar 'be young, be a child')

Finally, some mat verbs have a passive interpretation:

(28) mat nomak 'be divorced': mat '-nomak-k 'I am...'(cf. nomak 'leave')
Mat verbs also occur with case marking—some verbs have preprefixed mat plus locative -ly, and others have mat plus locative/directional (roughly dative) -k:

(29) matk idii 'agree': matk '-idii-k 'We agree' (cf. idii 'come')
(30) matly kuweek 'pull (something) towards oneself': matly '-kuweek-k 'I pull it closer to myself' (cf. kuweek 'bring (something) closer')

4.4 demonstrative class. This class includes all preprefixes which are based on the Mojaw demonstrative morphemes h/th 'far', y/near' and ny 'neutral'. These demonstratives may be combined with a case ending (-ly, -n, or -k), or they may occur only with a support vowel. Some of the vowels occurring in demonstrative preprefixes appear to be predictable either from the first vowel in the following verb or from the consonants in the preprefix itself, but there are some problems about these vowels which will be noted below.

4.41 The h group includes hak (14 listings), haly (21), ham (7), hi (2), and ha (2). I will not continue to exemplify these all fully; in each case, as before, the person-marker appears on the verb stem which follows the preprefix. Here are some case-marked preprefixes:

(31) hak ahav 'move out of the way', hak inakm 'slide over'
(32) haly ichem 'throw pretty far away', haly isam 'imagine'
(33) ham saya 'turn [tr]'
(c.f. ahav 'enter', inakm 'sit down', ichem 'throw down', isam 'see from a distance', saya 'put (something) in')

The vowel a which appears in all the above preprefixes may well be organic (i.e., the demonstrative base here may be ha-), since, for instance, we would expect h-ly to be pronounced with an intermediate vowel of i-like quality. The vowel of the ha/hi preprefixes assimilates to the first vowel of the following stem, however. (Ha verbs are the plurals of hi verbs.)

(34) hi idii 'there come': hi m-idii-k 'There you come'
(35) ha tadii 'there come [pl]': ha m-tadii-k 'There you all come'

4.42 The ny group includes nyi (6 listings), nyak (1), nyam (20), and nyim (6). Here again vowel quality seems to be a problem (nyam and nyim sometimes alternate, but are considered by Dictionary co-author Nellie Brown to be distinct), and it is possible that a vowel must be included in the demonstrative base of the preprefix.

(36) nyi vapay 'lean against (while standing)'
(37) nyak liwee 'pay attention to'
(38) nyam ahav 'go through (with)'; nyam ikye 'end'; *nyam iway
(39) nyim iway 'be waiting for'; nyim ikye 'end'; *nyim ahav

4.43 The th group does not include any preprefixes with case markers; th [θ] preprefixes in many cases seem to be variants of the hi/ha forms exemplified in (34–5). Five verbs occur with thi, and three with tha:

(40) thi idii 'there come'; thi tadii 'there come [pl]'

4.44 The v group also includes parallels to hi/thi and ha/tha:

(41) vi idii 'here come'; va tadii 'here come [pl]'
However, two other uses of v preprefixes must be noted. V preprefixes normally appear with the verbs of bodily position or location which are used as progressive auxiliaries:

(42) vi iva 'be doing (sitting)'; *ich '-aait-k vi '-iva-k 'I'm (sitting) something 1-read-ss P 1-sit-tns reading' Similarly, vi iyem (cf. iyem 'go') is used as a motion-verb auxiliary:

(43) '-ives-k vi '-iyem-k 'I'm running'
Examples like (42) show that the auxiliary may make some semantic contribution to the progressive construction in addition to simply marking its aspect, but the reason why a preprefix should show up in such forms is not clear (some speculations are in Munro 1976a). It is also not clear why there should be no productive parallel use of the n/ch preprefixes.

The second notable use of y preprefixes is with the existential/auxiliary verbs a'wi 'do', iduu 'be', and i'll 'say', where the preprefix adds a strong demonstrative meaning:

(44) va '-a'wi-m 'I did it like this', 'This is how I did it'
When used with a y preprefix, the prestress vowel of the stems iduu and i'll changes to a:
(45) va aduu 'be like this'; va a'll 'say like this'
(Note, however, that no such change occurs with vi iva (42), vi iyem (43), etc.) In addition to the main-clause use of the y preprefixes shown in (44), these verbs are also used in various conjunction constructions (Munro 1976a). Once again, however, there are no parallel uses of the th/n preprefixes.

4.45 The hay group is difficult to describe. Three verbs occur with the hay preprefix, and two with a similar-looking mahay preprefix. These preprefixes appear to include the somewhat contradictory demonstrative elements n ('far') and y ('near'), with an added unidentified ma in the second preprefix. Further, while the hay verbs include a 'this' notion, the mahay verbs include a 'that':
(46) hay idii 'head this way'; hay iduu 'be some way, be this way'
(47) mahay idii 'be just that way, have grown up that way'; mahay iduu 'be just that way'

4.5 case marking class Prefixed case markers with an initial supporting schwa may occur in several different constructions in Mojave.

For instance, such a case marker may be dislocated onto the verb from a relative clause whose semantic head has an oblique role in the main clause (cf. Munro 1976a), as in
(48) 'avii m-uuyuu-ny hatchoq am '-atav-k 'I hit the dog with the rock 2-see=nom-den dog P 1-hit-tns rock you saw'
(49) 'ava m-muchoo-ny ily '-nyavay-k 'I live in the house you house 2-make=nom-den P 1-live-tns built'

The case markers specify the roles of the heads of the underlined relatives in the main clauses (am and ily are the expected phonological realizations of am and ily). The fact that am and ily are preprefixes rather than suffixed case markers can be demonstrated in several ways; for instance, note that an element of the main clause, hatchoq 'dog', intervenes between the relative clause and the case preprefix in (48); while in (49) there must be a word boundary between muchoony and ily, since a -ny-ly# is otherwise prohibited. However, although the am and ily shown in (48-49) are indeed preprefixes, our dictionary will not have separate entries for verbs like am atav and ily nyavay unless these have a use distinct from the productive syntactic one seen in the examples. Our files show 24 verbs which must be entered in the dictionary with an ily preprefix, however. Some of these can be argued to derive from the dislocation of a locative case marker off a zero-pronominalized noun:
(50) ily uunu 'be in there, exist' < PRO-ly+ uunu 'be located'

However, for other ily verbs the semantics is less transparent:
(51) ily ichav 'eat [tr] up before anyone else' (cf. ichav 'finish eating', and (13) above)

4.6 ka class A set of interrogative/indefinite verbs are formed
with a preprefix *ka* plus an existential auxiliary:

(52) *ka a'wi* 'do something, do what, do [+Q]'; *ka aduu* 'be/do something, be/do what, be/do [+Q]'; *ka a'ii* 'say/do something, say/do what, say/do [+Q]'

Note that, like the *va* preprefix exemplified in (45), *ka* causes a change in the initial vowel of the verbs *iduu* 'be' and *i'ii* 'say'. Some investigators have treated cognates to Mojave *ka* as a demonstrative (a recent example is Glover 1979, for Tolkapaya Yavapai); this analysis is perhaps more attractive for languages which lack as extensive a preprefix system as Mojave's, and I am not convinced of the parallelism for synchronic Mojave.

4.7 *hum class* I cannot explain the two verbs with preprefixed *hum*. Parallel to *wan/yam* (23-4) one might suggest an origin from *ihu* 'nose' + the *-m* case suffix, but the semantics of the two *hum* verbs does not seem to justify such an analysis. Perhaps cognates to these two verbs exist in other languages which will help us arrive at a better explanation:

(53) *hum tachuly* 'dive into water from the bank'; *hum tapuuuth* 'carry (someone) on the shoulders with his legs straddling one's head'

4.8 *'amay class* Verbs with preprefixed forms of *'amay* 'sky' (figuratively 'up', 'on top', 'above', etc.) may not strictly speaking belong here, since they certainly have somewhat more independent status and semantic analyzeability than most of the preprefixes considered above. However, *'amay* reduces to *may* in many forms, and its position in the sentence is fixed just as those of the other preprefixes are. Also, the meaning of an *'amay* verb is not always easily predictable from that of the source verb. We have 6 verbs with preprefixed *'amay*, 13 with *'amayk*, and 3 with *'amaym*:

(54) *'amay ahav* 'go up in the air, up in the world' (cf. ahav 'enter')
(55) *'amayk uudaw* 'sprinkle [tr] on' (cf. uudaw 'take aim')
(56) *'amaym ichips* 'jump over' (cf. ichips 'jump')

4.9 The following combinations of two preprefixes have been recorded:

*ich wa*, *'ich wam*, *mat nyi*, *wa nyi*, *wa nyin*, *va mat*, *yal mat*, and *yal nyi* (probably a number of others are possible, particularly in reflexive forms of transitive preprefix verbs). These are consistent with a position class ordering of 4.1 > 4.2 > 4.3 > 4.4; it will be interesting to see whether further research will confirm such an ordering. In each case, as expected, person markers appear only on the final verb stem, as shown in

(57) *'ich wa ahav* 'be stingy, greedy': *'ich wa* '-ahav-k 'I am...'
(58) *wa nyi irav* 'bawl out': *wa nyi ny-irav-k 'I bawl you out'
(cf. ahav 'enter', irav 'hurt')

There is evidence that some preprefixes may be incorporated into the verb stem proper, allowing person markers to appear before the preprefix. I have argued elsewhere (Munro 1973, 1975) that this can happen through reanalysis of case or switch-reference markers positioned immediately before the verb; it also happens with preprefixes, as the following examples show:

(59) *'hak iduu* > *hakaduuch* 'move away': *'-hakaduuch-k 'I move away'
(60) *'mat ipooy* > *matapooy* 'be tired'
(61) *nyi vapay* > *nyavapay* 'lean against' (cf. (41))
(62) *nyi iweev* > *nyi iweev* 'wait for'

All the verb stems written as single words take person marking at the front, as exemplified for *hakaduuch*. In the first two cases above, the change is complete, and the source constructions with preprefixes are not
in use. But the hakh of hakaduuch has the same 'away' sense as the other hak verbs (cf. (31)), and matapoo is paralleled by the use of ipoy 'die [pl]' alone to mean 'tired' in Mojave, and by similar 'tired' constructions in other languages. The second two examples illustrate synchronic variation between preprefix and incorporated forms.

5. Other cases of uninflected preverbal elements As noted in section 4, preprefixes are invariant and form phonological unit with the following inflected verb. There are other cases in Mojave of verbs which must occur with an uninflected element before the person-marked verb, but in which we would probably not say that any phonological union had occurred. Almost all such cases are instances of the "expressive" 'say' construction (Langdon 1977).

5.1 'Say' constructions 181 verbs with an initial uninflected element preceding inflected 'say' occur in the 1979 dictionary files. Langdon (1977) has carefully surveyed the typical semantics of such "expressive" verbs in Mojave and other Yuman languages. Many of the uninflected initial elements are reduplicated (cf. Munro 1979), e.g.

(63) 'as-a-as i 'nod the head yes': 'as-a-as m-i-m 'you nodded yes'
(64) halahal i 'make a hollow, empty sound'; thupathup i 'be soft and overwrite'

However, many other such verbs do not have a reduplicated initial part:
(65) 'i=hayv i 'close the eyes for a while to rest then'; 'iish i 'sneeze (accidentally)'; nudey i 'suffer a sudden calamity' etc. Incidentally, the Mojave verb 'say' has two forms, a long form with a root-initial glottal stop (i'ii/e'e) and a short form which is by far the shortest Mojave verb stem (i/e). The short form of 'say' is usually used in the expressive construction. Both 'say' and the uninflected element preceding it receive word stress, differentiating this construction from preprefixation. In most cases the initial element may not occur alone.

Four of the expressive 'say' verbs in our 1979 corpus have an initial element which agrees in person with the inflected 'say' it precedes:
(66) 'ahaly ik-yathk i 'float in water': 'ahaly m-ik-yathk m-i-m 'You... water-in 2-float? 2-say-tns

Transitive verbs of this type may take object marking on the initial element:
(67) iyoot i 'stare at': ny-m-iyoot m-e-t-m vaa 'You're staring at me-2-stare? 2-say-em-tns huh ne (nuh?)'

5.2 Related constructions Many other verbs are listed in the dictionary with an initial uninflected element. In many cases this initial element, like the 'ahaly 'in the water' of (66), would be expected from the translation of the verb phrase. Some other such examples are
(68) 'aha ahav (water enter) 'go upstream'; 'aha-ly ipuy (water-in die) 'drown'; 'ahat-ly iva (horse-on sit) 'ride a horse'; 'amat kuuvus kuchich (land rider steal) 'hop a ride on a train'; 'avii ichoo (money make) 'sell money orders'

There are very few examples indeed for which no such analysis can be offered. Names of diseases used with the verb ahnoo 'catch (a disease)' form one such class:
(69) hooq ahnoo 'have whooping cough': hooq '-ahnoo-k 'I have...'

--the apparently onomatopoeic word hooq does not occur elsewhere, for instance. I originally believed that such expressions as
(70) kinya'a'eev a'aa 'insult': kinya'a'eev ny-a'aa-taahan-e 'I'll really insult you'

(71) kwimuul ev 'be poor'; kwimuul a'aa 'feel sorry for'
were genuine cases of expressive-like initial elements used before a verb other than 'say', but I now believe that the inflected verbs *ev* and *a'aa*
in these expressions are in fact forms of 'say'. *Ev* would seem to be a
"meidopassive" of 'say' with the typical Mojave -v suffix, while *a'aa* is
an explicitly transitive form of 'say', also seen in the recent recording
(72) 'inyep 'ny-a'aa-m

me=Say=to-tns 'He said it to me'
The standard 'say' verbs described earlier are normally only inferentially transitive: they only rarely take personal objects, and the object status of a quotation used with a 'say' verb is never marked explicitly. Lynn Gordon learned recently that Maricopa 'say' virtually requires the a'aa alternant when used with an object prefix, which led me to discover the Mojave cognate in sentences like (72). This makes cases like (70-1) merely special cases of the expressive construction discussed in 5.1.

A final set of expressive-like verbs are productively derived from 'say' constructions, and only representative examples will appear in the dictionary. Causative forms of intransitive expressive 'say' verbs may be formed by substituting 'do' for 'say':
(73) heaq i 'be calm, quiet'; heaq a'wii 'keep (someone) calm, quiet'
(74) varavar i 'have one's hair cut unevenly'; varavar a'wii 'cut (someone)'s hair unevenly'

Lynn Gordon has now found the same construction in Maricopa, where, she observes, it seems to show a very direct, physical sort of causation.

5. Body part constructions

A number of different constructions make use of body part words before the inflected verb.

5.1 Object body parts

In some expressions, the possessor of a body part which serves as the syntactic object of a Mojave verb corresponds to the direct object in the English translation:
(75) iiya anyiik 'bridle': iiya '-anyiik-k

mouth 1-tie-tns 'I bridled him'
(76) itony aadap 'perform a Caesarian': m-ito-ny '-aadap-k 'I...on
2-belly-dem 1-tear-tns you'

5.2 Agreeing body parts

In other cases, the body part noun preceding the verb agrees with the subject of the verb. If unmarked for case, these body parts can also be interpreted as syntactic objects:
(77) icherq tapet 'be constipated': 'icherq 'tapet-m 'I am con-
1-excrement 1-plug-up-tns stipated'
(78) iimaat takuuhav (body cover) 'wear a shirt'; isaly avaly (hand
wave) 'wave (once)'; iimamipik takyev (knee bring=together) 'have
a friendly talk, confer'

Or, the body part may be case-marked:
(79) iiwem ahav 'go backwards': '-iiwe-m '-ahav-k 'I go back-
1-buttocks-with 1-enter-tns wards'

5.3 Subject body parts

Many verbal expressions in the dictionary consist of a body part which serves as the logical and syntactic subject of a following verb, but which is used to say something about the condition of the body part's possessor:
(80) iido-ny-ch havasu (eye-dem-su blue) 'have a black eye': '-iido-ny-
ch havasu-k 'I have a black eye', lit. 'My eye is blue'
(81) iimaat-ny-ch thi i (body-dem-su faint? say) 'faint': 'iimaat-ny-ch
thii i-m 'I fainted', lit. apparently 'My body fainted'
(82) iiwa-ny-ch 'alay (heart-dem-su bad) 'be sad': '-iiwa-ny-ch 'alay-k
'I am sad', lit. 'My heart is bad'

5.4 Possessor Raising verbs

Often similar expressions appear with
the body part word unmarked for case and the following verb marked to agree for subject with the possessor of the body part, as in
(83) iido thichathich (face speckle) 'have freckles': '-iido
   'thichathich-i 'I have freckles', lit. 'I speckle my face'
(84) icherq 'ahay (excrement watery) 'have diarrhea': '-icherq '-ahay-k
   'I have diarrhea', lit. 'I watery my bowels'
(85) iidoo irav (tooth hurt) 'have a toothache': '-iidoo '-irav-k 'I
   have a toothache', lit. 'I hurt my tooth'
As the translations indicate, the possessor cannot be the underlying semantic subject of these verbs—rather, these expressions are derived by a synchronically productive process of Possessor Raising (cf. Munro and Gordon 1980—in earlier work I have described this as a form of Subject Copying; cf. Munro 1976b). Most expressions with the structure exemplified in (83-5) accept a Mojave paraphrase in which the body part is the syntactic subject, and in some cases the alternation is even more complete:
(86) 'I'm happy': '-iiva-ny-ch 'ahot-k (lit. 'My heart is good')
   'iiva '-'ahot-k (lit. 'I good my heart')
   wa '-'ahot-k (cf. section 4.2 above)
It seems likely that the change from expressions like those in (80-2) to expressions like those in (83-5) occurs because the possessor is a more interesting thing to talk about: as the translations for (83-5) indicate, these sentences are already used to talk about the possessor, so the reanalysis of the possessor as a subject simply makes the syntax mirror the surface semantics. Possessor Raising accomplishes the same sort of "personalization" seen in the change from English My hair is brown to I have brown hair with far less apparatus.
There are instances in the dictionary of the same kind of process having applied even to inalienable possessions:
(87) 'avii 'atay (money much) 'be rich': 'inych 'avii '-'atay-k 'I am
   rich', lit. 'I much the money'
7. Defective agreement In most of the examples presented so far, the verb has been capable of taking a ch-marked subject with which it agrees. As noted in section 1, however, Mojave has a regular case of subjectless sentences in the -ch passives, and there are other exceptional cases of defective agreement in the language.
7.1 Subjectless verbs Although Mojave weather verbs are normally subjectless, they may occasionally occur with cognate subjects:
(88) matahay-ny-ch matahay-k 'The wind blew'
However, time words never occur with -ch marked subjects in Mojave:
(89) nyamathav=m 'It's dawn, early morning'; *nyamathav-ny-ch
   nyamathav=m; *NP-ch nyamathav=m
Such verbs seem to be truly subjectless. (In a complex sentence, they will always be marked with different-subject -m, showing that whatever their subject is, it is different from that of the next verb.) (See also Langdon and Munro to appear a).
7.2 Unmarked subjects Some body part expressions like those discussed in section 6 can take no verbal agreement prefixes:
(90) iiva-ny tev i 'be real happy': '-iiva-ny tev i-m 'I'm real happy'
Since iiva-ny 'heart' is not marked as a subject, this expression looks like one of the Possessor Raising constructions exemplified in (83-6), but if that were the case we would expect the first person possessor in the example to show up as a subject marker on the finite verb i 'say'. It is not at all clear what the subject of (90) is. A similar case is in (91):
91) 'I have a stomach ache,' "-iito-ny-ch ivay-k (lit. 'My stomach hurts')

I am in labor'  
"-iito-ny '-iivay-k (lit. 'I hurt my stomach')

"-iito ivay-k

The first two examples illustrate the constructions described in 6.3 and 6.4 above. The third can be pronounced slowly as ["iito hivayk], or it can be run together, with the onset vowel of the verb acquiring the quality of the preceding stressed o, as ["iitooravk]. Possibly iitooravk is a new reanalyzed compound verb, but at this point it is not clear what its subject is. We have seven expressions like this in our corpus.

Body part subjects are not the only ones which may inexplicably go unmarked. Most expressions describing natural phenomena take normal case marking:

92) 'amat-ch i'en (earth-su shake) 'be an earthquake'; haly'a-ch ipuy

(moon-su die) 'be the moon's last quarter'

However, some of these show no -ch marking on the logical subject:

93) 'asha 'ataa (water much) 'be a flood'; 'amat 'aqwath (earth yellow)

'be just after sundown'; 'anaya ahav (sun enter) 'be sundown'

Once again, it's not clear what the subject of these verbs is.

7.3 Nonagreeing verbs Three verbs referring to unsatisfaction show no agreement with non-third-person subjects. Here are some examples of how machay 'be hungry', mat-hay 'be thirsty', and thav'oor 'be sleepy' are used:

94) machay-m: 'I'm hungry', 'we're hungry' (no -)

machay-k: 'you're hungry' (no m-), 'I'm hungry' (no -)

95) mat-hay-k 'I'm thirsty', 'we're thirsty' (no -)

mat-hay-e 'Are you thirsty?' (no m-)

96) many-ch thav'oor-k vaas

you-su sleep-ty-nu huh 'You're sleepy, aren't you?'

As (96) shows, such sentences can't really be considered 'impersonal',

since they may freely occur with -ch marked subjects.

8. The use of verbs with unusual agreement patterns in complex sentences As suggested in section 7, switch-reference marking is often a useful tool for determination of whether a given argument of a verb really is its subject, since such marking unambiguously reveals whether that verb's subject is the same as or different from that of some other verb.

For instance, switch-reference marking confirms our earlier conclusion that the logical agent of a -ch passive verb is not its subject (cf. (6) above):

97) ham posh-ny tanpuy-ch-m

hatcheq-ny-ch a'we-phet

alas cat-dem kill-dm-pass-ds dog-dem-su do-perf-em

'The poor cat got killed by the dog' (or '...and the dog did it')

'Dog' is the subject of 'do', but the appearance of m- on the subordinate passive clause shows that 'dog' is not the subject of that clause. However, the logical object/passive "subject" is not counted as a subject for purposes of switch-reference either, as (98) shows:

98) 'Iipa-ny tanpuy-iyem-k

man-dem kill-pass-ds HHG-to go-tns

'The man got killed and went to the happy hunting ground'

In fact, the switch-reference data unambiguously indicates that in order to be a subject for clause-linking purposes an NP must be a potential -ch marked subject of the verb of its clause (obviously, it need not actually appear in the sentence, since zero-pronominalization is so common: it must simply have the potential of occurring).

For instance, although the possessor may be the "topic" of a
sentence like those in 6.3, it is not the grammatical subject of such sentences (as the -ch marking on the body parts confirms): note the different-subject marking on the subordinate clauses in (99a) and (100a) below. However, after Possessor Raising or wa formation the possessor is the grammatical subject, as in the (b) examples confirm:

(99a) 'ilwa-ny-ch 'ahot-m 'isvar-ke
   1-heart-dem-su good-ds 1-sing-tns 'When I'm happy, I sing'

b) 'ilwa 'ahot-k 'isvar-ke

(100a) 'iipa ilwa-ny-ch nya-chalalop-m isma-mot-e 'When a man's man heart-dem-su when-empty-ds sleep-neg-fut lonely, he
can't sleep'

b) 'iipa-ch wa nya-chalalop-k isma-mot-e

An indication that the subject body-part expressions like those in 6.3 are no longer interpreted literally is provided by sentences like (101) 'ilwa-ny-ch 'alay-t-m 'ilwa-ny-ch isay-m 'I'm sad that my heart is enlarged.'

Here, both clauses seem to have 'ilwa-ny-ch 'my heart' as their subject. But the fact that the subject is repeated in both clauses, plus the appearance of different-subject *m on the subordinate (second) clause, is enough to indicate that in expressions like 'my heart is bad' > 'I am sad' the speaker is no longer referring to any actual internal organ.

Another test for subject status in addition to switch-reference is the use of the subject relative prefix kw-, whose standard use is illustrated in

(102) 'iipa kw-ives-ny '-iyuu-m
   man rel-run-dem 1-see-tns 'I saw the man who ran'

Subject relative constructions are thus differentiated from non-subject relatives (illustrated in (48-9) above; cf. Gobet 1976, Munro 1976a, etc) -- only when the head of the relative clause is the subject of the verb of that clause does the kw- prefix occur. Appearance of the kw- prefix in sentences like

(103) 'iipa ilwa kw-'ahot-ny '-ichuy-h 'aar-ka 'I want to marry a man heart rel-good-dem 1-marry-irr 1-want-tns happy man'

is another confirmation that the logical possessor really does become the syntactic subject of Possessor Raising sentences, since otherwise we would not expect 'ahot to be marked with kw-. Similarly, the failure of kw- to show up in relative clauses whose head is the logical object of a -ch passive confirms the analysis that such constructions are syntactically subjectless:

(104) 'iipa-ny tuupuy-ch-ny '-iyuu-m
   man-dem kill-non-pass-dem 1-see-tns 'I saw the man who got killed'

Further research will doubtless reveal other ways in which larger syntactic processes may shed light on the full analysis of problematical agreement patterns like those surveyed in this paper, and the degree to which such nonstandard patterns must be postulated to have existed at the Proto-Yuman stage.

Footnotes
1. The examples and citations are all given in the practical orthography to be used in Munro, Brown, and Crawford (in preparation): _ = glottal stop, superscripts are lowered, etc. Since hyphens are used in this paper to separate Mojave morphemes, I have replaced the orthographic hyphen used in the Dictionary to separate sequences of phonemes which might be taken for digraphs with a = : thus, t-h = [th], not [b], and so forth. Finally, because hyphens are written in the examples here, I have
been able to eliminate some predictable prestress schwas (inserted at morpheme boundaries) which would have appeared in Dictionary forms.

2. The abbreviations I use in this paper include dom(constractive), dim(inutive), d(different)s(subject), em(phatic), fut(ure), intr(ansitive), irr(ealis), neg(ative), nom(inalization), p(reprefix), pass(ive), perf(ective), pl(ural), q(uestion), rel(ative), same(s)subject), su(subject), tns (=tense), tr(ansitive), and w(oman)s(peaking). I use a = to separate the words of a complex English gloss. 1 and 2 show the person of the subject.

3. The same construction, with similar restrictions, has been documented for Tolkapaya Yavapai (Yamada, this volume) and for Maricopa (Gordon, in preparation). The similarity of the -ch suffix used in this construction to one of the most common of Yuman plural markers has led some to question whether sentences like those in (6) really represent distinct passive/impersonal constructions, or whether such sentences are actually just plural sentences with the subjects suppressed. Three good arguments against this last suggestion are: (a) such sentences are perfectly appropriate when the agent is unknown (and thus not clearly plural) or known to be singular; (b) the form of the Impersonal/passive construction never varies, while Mojave plural formation is characteristically quixotic (Murro 1976a), with many verbs having plurals formed in a different way than by -ch suffixation, and others unable to take the -ch suffix; (c) finally, -ch passives may be formed from verbs like 'give birth', for which it is impossible to imagine a plural agent acting upon any given object.

Further discussion of related issues is in Yamada (this volume).

4. Other syntactic prefixes also occur in this position, e.g. the relative prefix ku- and the subordinating prefix nya- 'when' (examples of the use of both of these are given in section 8 below). These can prove useful in elucidating the prefix structure of verbs which cannot occur with non-third-person subjects.

5. As may be obvious, it is usually not enough just to check the first- or second-person form either. First, given a first-person form [′ahakahav], the assumption that the verb stem was hakahav and that the first a in the phonetic form was inorganic would probably be correct, but it could have been the case that the stem was ahakahav. Similarly, as will be seen below, some preprefixes begin with ′ and m, so an initial ′ on a first-person form is not unambiguously analyzable as a first-person prefix. The phonetic form [′iʰiɾavʰ] 'I am sick' would suggest two possible analyses: ′-(i)chirav-k and ′ich ′irav-k. Only by comparing this with the third- or second-person form can weascertain which is correct.

6. Lynn Gordon has suggested that ′ich irav might represent a generalization of the same construction that is illustrated in section 8.4 below, where a semantic subject body part becomes the syntactic object in a sentence whose subject is that body part's possessor. Thus something of mine hurts' would become 'I hurt something'. The problem, of course, is that nowhere do we see 'ich possessed. We might argue that the 'ich irav construction arose by analogy to the other body part constructions, after they had been syntactically changed by Possessor Raising, but cognates to 'ich irav are used for 'sick' in languages like Tolkapaya Yavapai in which there is no extensive use of constructions like those in 8.4.

7. A further problem here, of course, is the recurrent one of how to explain the i which begins so many Mojave verb stems. 'Come' in most Yuman languages is cognate simply to -di, without the i, so that this i looks simply like an inorganic schwa—but the i quality is not what would be predicted for many forms. Consider, for instance, the word 'house'
(Proto-Yuman *-wa), believed to be derived from Proto-Yuman *wa 'sit' by addition of the *- noun formative. In most Yuman languages 'house' and 'I sit' differ only in that the verb may have final tense/aspect marking, but in Mojave, while 'house' is *ava, which could be analyzed as *-va (with Mojave v in this position regularly reflecting Proto-Yuman *w; cf. Langdon and Munro to appear b), 'I sit' is *iva-k. These presress i's also figure in the discussion of the *v and ka prefixes below.

8. The idi* in mahav idi* looks like idii 'come' (cf. (29) etc.), but is most likely a reflex of a rare Yuman *be' verb *yi. The existence of such a verb in Diegueño was originally brought to my attention by Margaret Langdon; cf. also the discussion of Tolcapaya yiyuy in e.g. Hardy (1979).

9. It is possible that some of the nyi's in these combined forms reflect the plural object prefix *nyi-, which also precedes the person markers but which I would not consider to be a preprefix.

10. While there is no agreement with a third-person object in Mojave, a clausal object may either be nominalized and followed by the *ny demonstrative suffix or (if its subject is different from that of the main clause, as is common) be followed by the different-subject subordinate *m. Neither of these options is possible with quotation-complements of 'say'.

11. The discovery of the verb *a'aa 'say to' has led me to an interesting hypothesis. It seems very likely to me now that the Yuman verb *hear' (cf. Wares 1968 #215) is derived from *say' by the addition of the "mediopassive" *p/y suffix. This will explain several facts: the otherwise unexpected alternation between i/e and a vowels in 'hear' words, and the fact that some *hear' words have glottals while others do not. Since both of these alternations must be postulated for *say' words, a derivation of *hear' from *say' is most expedient and economical. In a sense, *hear' is the reverse of *say to', since the object of *say to' is the subject of *hear'. The only exceptional thing about this proposal is syntactic: normally "passive" verbs derived with the *p/y suffix are intransitive, while *hear' works like any ordinary transitive verb. A further factor is that in many languages *hear' can be generalized to mean 'sense' or 'experience' (often somewhat intransitively); this broadening of meaning is easier to understand if we compare it with the broad "expressive" use of *say' throughout Yuman (Langdon 1977). (I have fruitfully discussed the ideas in this footnote with Lynn Gordon.)

12. I thank Allen Munro for this useful term and much else.

13. Since the usual Mojave tense/aspect suffixes on non-future sentences are *-k and *-m, which are identical with the switch-reference markers for same- and different-subject, it is sometimes difficult to tell which of two clauses both ending in *k or *m is "main" and which "subordinate". Happily, there are other factors: I can identify the first clause of (101) as main because its verb is followed by the "emphatic" *-t-, which does not usually show up on complement clauses; similarly, the last clause must be main in (99), because the *ke variant of *k is not used as a same-subject subordinate.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


____, 1936, Northeastern and Western Yavapai, UCPAAE 34:247-354.


Glover, Bonnie, 1979, Tolkapaya Demonstratives, ms.


____ & Lynn Gordon, 1979, Types of Adverbial and Modal constructions in Tolkapaya, IJAL


Hopper, P., & S. Thompson, 1979, Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse, ms.


_____, The /-k/, /-m/ Problem in Yavapai Syntax, IJAL 41:1-9.


Kriender, Jack, Approaches to Tolkapaya Relative Clauses, UCLA, ms.


_____, & Pamela Munro, to appear a, Subject and (Switch-) Reference in Yuman Languages, Folia Linguistica.


Munro, Pamela, 1973, Reanalysis and Elaboration in Yuman Negatives, Linguistic Notes from La Jolla 5:36-62.

_____, 1974, Topics in Mojave Syntax, UCSD dissertation.


_____, Nellie Brown, & Judith Crawford, in prep., A Mojave Dictionary

_____, & Lynn Gordon, 1980, "Role Dominance" and Pragmatic Structure, ms.


Shaterian, A., 1976, Untitled work on Yavapai phonology and morphology with lexicon, UCB.


Webb, N. M., Subtiaba Consonant Development and Hokean Interrelationships, ms.

_____, 1977, The Lexical Evidence for Falahnihan as a Hokean Stock Member, ms.

Occasional Papers On Linguistics


Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
at Carbondale
OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON LINGUISTICS

Number 7

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

1979 HOKAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at

University of California, Los Angeles

June 25-28, 1979

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Library of Congress Catalog
Card Number 60-52744
PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1979 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 1979 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the workshop.

The participants of the 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Lynn Gordon, Heather K. Hardy, and others in the Department of Linguistics at the University of California at Los Angeles, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably.

Copies of the 1977 and 1978 workshop proceedings 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 series University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard-bound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 N. Kent St., Arlington, VA 22209.

The 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet jointly with the Penutian Language Conference at the University of California, Berkeley, June 30 to July 3, 1980. The proceedings of the 1980 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in late 1980 or early 1981. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, June 1980
CONTENTS

Munro, Pamela
Types of Agreement in Mojave 1

Gordon, Lynn
Relative Clauses in Maricopa 15

Yamada, Jeni E.
Foregrounding Constructions in Tolulpaya 25

Clover, Bonnie
Tolulpaya Demonstratives 43

Hardy, Heather K.
The Story of /o/ in Tolulpaya: A Problem of Homophony 53

Powskey, Malinda, Lucille J. Watahomigie, & Akira Y. Yamamoto
Language Use: Explorations in Language and Meaning 60

Redden, James E.
On Walapai /-k/ and /-m/ 68

Webb, Nancy M.
Esselen-Hokan Relationships 72

Bibliography 78