Foregndring Constructions in Tolkpaya Yavapai

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In this paper I will describe a number of ways in which non-agentive, affected arguments can be foregrounded or topicalized and agentive arguments backgrounded or de-topicalized in Tolkpaya Yavapai. In so doing I will show that while Tolkpaya does not possess a construction which fits a traditional definition of passive, it does possess structures that fulfill the range of functions usually served by passives. The data from Tolkpaya will thus be shown to support arguments against a universal structural description of passive, and for a more functional definition of the notion. The data for this paper were obtained through elicitation procedures and analysis of narratives. Ms. Molly Starr Fasthorse (M.P.) served as the primary language consultant.

The dialects of Yavapai (Prescott, Verde Valley, Southeastern, and Western) along with Havasupai and Walapai comprise the subgroup of Yuman languages referred to as northern Yuman, northwestern Yuman, Upland Pai, or simply Pai. According to Gifford (1932, quoted in Shaterian, 1976), the Western Yavapai, who spoke Tolkpaya, once "ranged from the western slopes of the Bradshaw Mountains to Castle Dome and the Colorado River near La Paz." It is estimated that there are only a few hundred speakers of Yavapai today and only a handful of speakers of the Tolkpoya dialect.

In Tolkpaya the basic unmarked word order is SOV, although the order of NPS is not rigid. Subjects are marked with a case marker -ch(e), while objects are zero marked.

1. J.P.-che mii-k yu-m
   J.P.-sj cry-ss be-inc 'J.P. is crying'

2. Vqi-v-che Barnabas tkwiv-k wi-ny
   wman-dem-sj B chase-ss do-cmp 'The woman chased Barnabas'

3. Hmany-che kookch-va myala hisaye 'ee-ch-k wu-m
   child-sj grfa-dem bread fry give-pl-ss do-inc fry bread to grand-father'

4. 'kwiv-v-ch nymi-ha lap-k wi-ny
   lghntng-dem-sj cat-dem hit-ss do-cmp 'Lightening hit the cat'

5. John-che nehv-k yu-ny
   J-sj be=killed-ss be-cmp 'John was killed'

Oblique cases such as the locative, ablative, and comitative/instrumental take various case marking suffixes as shown in sentences 6 to 8.

6. Khlo-v-che 'ha-v-l 'am-k yu-m
   boat-dem-sj water-dem-loc go-ss be-inc 'There's a boat on the water'

7. Steve-che hmany-va mat-k chnal-k wi-ny
   S-sj baby-dem ground-ss drop-ss do-cmp on the ground

8. Hme-v-che kthar 'i-v-m 'ave
   boy-dem-sj dog stick-dem-com hit 'The boy hit the dog with a stick'

When there is more than one clause in a sentence, the non-final or subordinate clauses are marked to indicate whether the subjects of the
clauses are the same or different. If the subject of a non-final clause is the same as that of a following clause, the k or same-subject switch reference marker appears at the end of that non-final clause. If the subject of a non-final clause is different from that of a following clause, the m or different-subject switch reference marker appears at the end of the non-final clause (k is often followed by the vocalic increment ğ, and m by ĝ). For a lengthy discussion of switch reference marking and its various complexities in Yuman languages, see Langdon and Munro (1979).

A given sentence may contain, in addition to the main verb, one of three auxiliaries, wi 'do', yu 'be', and ī 'say.' These auxiliaries follow the main verb and switch reference marker and are optionally person marked to agree with the subject of the sentence. In general, wi appears with active, more highly transitive verbs, while yu appears with less transitive (e.g. cognitive, stative) or intransitive verbs, although yu may occur with any verb. ī appears with verbs of communication (e.g. tell, shout) and in certain special constructions (e.g. punctual, inceptive).

In Tolkpaya verbs are marked with pronominal prefixes signifying the subject and object relationships to the verb. In intransitive sentences verbs are marked to agree with the subject and in transitive sentences they are marked to agree with both the subject and object.

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Plural subjects are generally indicated by a -ch plural suffix on the verb, and plural objects (animate or associated with animacy) by a pa- verbal prefix (although a few verbs mark plural with ablauting). These verbal agreement markings provide a great deal of information. In fact, a given sentence may consist solely of a verb marked with the appropriate pronominal affixes. Independent subject and object NPs need not be stated overtly as long as they have been established by either the linguistic or non-linguistic context. Thus, if both the agent and patient have been specified by a previous utterance (e.g. "How did Jack cook the chicken?") or by context (e.g. Jack is serving chicken), the subsequent utterance, "T'ol-k wi-ny" (boil-ss do-cmp), consisting of only the verb (third person is zero pronominalized), suffices as a complete sentence meaning, 'He (Jack) boiled it (the chicken).'

In that an overt subject or object NP need only be present when it provides new or especially salient information, the active structure itself may be used as a sort of foregrounding device. A given subject or object NP is foregrounded (albeit weakly) simply by appearing in sentence-initial position alone with the verb.

9. Jack-che t'ol-k wi-ny
   J-sj boil-ss do-cmp 'Jack boiled it'

10. Owaloyaw t'ol-k wi-ny
    chicken boil-ss do-cmp 'He boiled the chicken' (or 'The chicken was boiled; we know who did it')

In fact, when asked to translate Tolkpaya sentences like 10 into English, my consultant M.F. often gave passive English translations, qualify-
ing them with the phrase, "we know who did it." This construction thus seems to serve a foregrounding function (for objects) in highly anaphoric contexts. It has been claimed that agents in passive sentences in English are often absent due to their lack of saliency; either they are very known or they are unknown (Shintani, 1979). In Tolkpaya active structures can be used to fulfill the same function that certain passives in other languages fulfill in that these active forms may be used to foreground non-agentive NPs in cases where the agent is clearly known. It is thus possible in Tolkpaya to foreground non-agentive NPs without utilizing marked word orders or special verbal morphology. Certain foregrounding constructions however, do involve such marking.

Topicalization

Topicalization is one way in which focus on a non-agentive NP may be achieved in Tolkpaya. This is accomplished by simply changing the order of the sentence constituents without making any accompanying changes in the grammatical relationships of the various NPs to the verb.

11. Barnabas vqi-v-che tkwiv-k wi-ny  'Barnabas was chased by the
   wman-dem-sj chase-ss do-cmp woman'

12. Chpeve Pam-che smee-k yu-m  'The blanket was lost by Pam'
   blanket P-sj lose-ss be-inc

13. Nymi-ha 'kwi-v-ch lap-k wi-ny  'The cat was hit by lightening'
   cat-dem lighten-dem-sj hit-ss do-cmp

In such sentences the non-agentive NP appears sentence-initially and the agentive NP, non-sentence-initially. As sentences 14 to 16 illustrate, oblique as well as object NPs may appear in sentence-initial position.

14. 'kwa-v-m Heather-che J.P. qwakta gech-m chkyat-o-k wi-ny
   knife-dem-com H-sj J.P. meat small-ss cut-app-ss do-cmp
   'With a knife Heather cut a small piece of meat for J.P.'

15. 'waa-ny-l Jack-che Bates avon-m chthul-k wi-ny  'In the house Jack
   house-dem-loc J-sj B soap-com wash-ss do-cmp washed Bates with soap'

16. 'O-ny-k Pan-che 'kweet'ole chwo-m-k wi-ny  'On the fire Pam put
   fire-dem-dir P-sj pot put-dir-ss do-cmp the pot'

That the grammatical relationships of the various NPs do not change with the changes in word order is reflected by the fact that topicalized oblique NPs retain their oblique case marking in sentence-initial position, and by the fact that topicalized objects still trigger object agreement on the verb.

17. Pahmi-ch-ja vqi-v-ch pa-tkwiv-k yu-ny  'The men were chased
   man-pl-dem wman-dem-sj pl obj-chase-ss be-cmp by a woman'

Note in sentences 11 to 13, where a direct object appears sentence-initially, that the English translations reflect a passive voice. In fact, the majority of examples of topicalization of direct object were elicited by requesting Tolkpaya translations for English full passives. Many examples given by M.P. reflect the pattern discussed above, i.e. a change in the order of NPs with no concomitant change in verbal agreement or case marking. However, there are also many examples in which M.P. subject-marks the topicalized object as well as the "real" subject. Semantic features of both the subject and object determine whether or not this phenomenon
will occur. Subject-marking of a topicalized object occurs most frequently if both the object and subject are [+human].

18. Molly-che Jack-ch 'uu-k yu-m M-sj J-sj see-ss be-inc 'Molly was seen by Jack'.

19. Lynn-che vqi-v-che chqaam-k wi-ny L-sj wnaan-dem-sj hit-ss do-cmp 'Lynn was hit by the woman'.

20. Lynn-che Heath-ch 'uu-o-k yu-m I-sj see-app -ss be-inc 'It was Lynn Heath who showed it to'.

-ch marked topicalized objects, while they occupy sentence-initial position and bear subject marking, do not trigger subject agreement marking on the verb; subject-agreement is still controlled by the "real" subject.

21. 'nyae-che maa-che 'm-chqaam-o-k m-wi-ny I-sj 2-sj 1 obj-2-hit-app -ss 2-do-cmp 'I was hit by you'.

Subject-marking of a topicalized object also occurs when the object is [+human] and the subject is [-human], [+animate] (sentence 22) or [-animate] (sentence 23) although object-marking seems more common, especially in the latter case.

22. Jack-(che) nypo-v-ch saq-k wi-ny J-sj bee-dem-sj sting-ss do-cmp 'Jack was stung by a bee'.

23. Pam-(che)) 'wii-v-ch lap-k wu-m P-sj rock-dem-sj hit-ss do-inc 'Pam was hit by a rock'.

Subject-marking of [+human], [+animate] objects is oftentimes judged acceptable, but object-marking is usually preferred.

24. Khar-ya Jeni-che tpe-k wi-ny dog-dem J-sj help-ss do-cmp 'The dog was helped by Jeni'.

Inanimate objects are generally not subject-marked when topicalized.

Sentences like 25 to 27 were judged ungrammatical by M.F.

25. *'waa-che maa-che m'-uu-k m-yu-ny house-sj you-sj 2-see-ss 2-be-cmp 'The house was seen by you'.

26. *Qonve-che Heath-ch throp-m-k wu-m I-sj throw-dir-ss do-inc 'The ball was thrown by Heath'.

27. *'i-che Jack-che throp-m-k wu-m stick-sj J-sj throw-dir-ss do-inc 'The stick was thrown by Jack'.

M.F. commented that subject-marking the objects in 26 and 27 make it seem as if "the ball is throwing" and "the stick is a person." That the -ch marker functions as a syntactic subject marker in Tolkpaya is indicated by the fact that transitive, intransitive, animate, inanimate, agentive, and non-agentive NPs take -ch marking and function as subject, triggering subject agreement marking and same-subject switch reference marking. However, M.F.'s -ch marking of topicalized NPs reflects some overlap or fuzziness in the boundaries between the notions of subject and topic in this language, since in certain topicalized sentences the -ch marker seems to function as a topic marker. Indeed, the topicalized NPs most commonly subject-marked are precisely those which rank highest in topicality, i.e. human NPs (Givon, 1976). That is, it is simply the
case that people frequently talk about people (with regard to topicality human rank above other animate beings which in turn rank above inanimate entities). And whereas human NPs are frequently topics, NPs which are both human and topical are frequently subjects. There is also a high correlation between humaness, topicality, and agency. The -ch marking on topicalized NPs then, simply reflects the high correlation between the features [+human], [+topic], and subjecthood. As noted above, -ch marking of the topicalized object is especially common in sentences where the object and the subject are equally high on the topicality hierarchy, i.e. both are [+human] (sentences 18 to 21). Perhaps, if the object is higher on the hierarchy than the subject, -ch marking the object gives it too much strength, making it seem more subject-like than the actual subject.

That -ch marking of objects is linked to topicality and humaness and not just to sentence-initial position and humaness is illustrated by the fact that human objects which occupy sentence-initial position by default (i.e. there is no independent subject NP) are never inadvertently subject-marked.

28. Molly '-uu-k '-yu-ny
M 1-see-ss l-be-cmp 'I saw Molly'

Sentence-initial objects which appear in unmarked structures are apparently much less topical than those objects which appear sentence-initially in structures containing an independent subject NP. Sentence-initial position seems to be a much more marked position when there are two or more independent NPs in the sentence.

Cleft-like structures as foregrounding devices

Another means of foregrounding an element in Tolkpaya is by setting it off in its own clause (with either the verb yu 'be' or wi 'do') and topicalizing it.

29. Jack wi-ka Heather-che tkwiv-k yu-m
J 1-do-ss H-sj chase-ss be-inc 'It was Jack Heather chased'

30. Heather wi-ka Jack-ch 'wi 'ee-k wu-m
H j-don-ss J-sj rock give-ss do-inc Jack gave the rock'

31. Tchak-va (m)-wi-ka Lynn m-yoo-v-o-k m-wu-m
T dress-dem 2-do-ss L 2-make-app-ss 2-do-inc made for Lynn'

32. Tchak-v-ch (m)-yu-me Lynn m-yoo-v-o-k m-wu-m
T dress-dem-sj 2-be-ds L 2-make-app-ss 2-do-inc made for Lynn'

The Tolkpaya constructions are reminiscent of cleft constructions in English, and in fact are readily elicited when Tolkpaya translations for English cleft sentences are requested. The forms are clearly verbal, with wi 'do' contained in wi-ka and yu 'be' in yu-me. Plural and person marking appear on these forms, affixing their verbal status.

33. 'nyaa ny-wi-ch-ka Heather-ch pa-ny-' uu-o-k wi-ny.
I 1 obj-do-pl sj-ss H-sj pl obj-1 obj-see-app-ss do-cmp
'It was us Heather showed it to'

34. Chpevi m-wi-ch-ka maa-ch-che Pam m-s'aar-ch-o-k m-wi-o-k wu-m
blanket 2-do-pl sj-ss you-pl-sj P 2-sell-pl-app-ss 2-do-app-ss do-inc
'It was a blanket you all sold to Pam'
When the focus NP appears in a clause with wi it generally functions as the object of that clause, as indicated by object (i.e. zero) case marking and the concomitant appearance of the k same-subject switch reference marker, which indicates that the subject of the wi-ka clause is the same as that of the following clause. In contrast, when the focus NP appears in a clause with yu, it is often subject-marked, functioning as the subject of the focus clause. The different-subject marker follows the verb yu, indicating that the subject of the focus clause and that of the following clause differ.

In sentences containing transitive main verbs, either wi-ka or yu-me may be used to foreground an NP.

35. Nymi wi-ka Steve-che Sigrid 'ee-k wu-m 'It was a cat Steve
cat do-ss st-sj S give-ss do-inc gave to Sigrid'

36. Nymi-ch yu-me Steve-che Sigrid 'ee-k wu-m 'It was a cat Steve
cat-sj be-ds S-sj S give-ss do-inc gave to Sigrid'

The forms seem to differ in meaning slightly in that the wi-ka form focuses upon the action of the verb and upon the focus NP as the object of that action ('It was a cat Steve did give Sigrid') while the yu-me form focuses more upon the focus NP itself ('It was a cat Steve gave Sigrid'), comprising a statement of existence or being. The yu-me form is usually preferred when the main verb is either see or hear.

37. Steve-ch yu-me Heather-ch 'ee-k yu-m 'It was Steve Heather
S-sj be-ds H-sj hear-ss be-inc heard'

The use of yu-me to foreground NPs in sentences with main verbs like see, hear, and like may be accounted for by considering the transitivity features of such verbs. These verbs rank lower in transitivity than active verbs in that they do not describe the transference of an event from one participant to another and do not involve highly affected objects (Hopper and Thompson, 1979). Given that wi-ka is used to foreground an object of an action, it is not surprising that it is not used in cases where there is really no such object, as is the case with verbs like see and hear.

While wi-ka and yu-me clauses described above are the more readily elicited forms, other variations have also been observed. -ch marking is characteristic with the yu form, but is sometimes omitted. Also, the forms wi-me and yu-ka were accepted upon suggestion although they were not produced spontaneously.

Wi-ka's commonly appear in sentences containing more than two independent NPs where one of the objects is topicalized. This seems logical since the function of such sentences is likely to focus on a particular object and distinguish it from the other NPs. Like English cleft constructions, sentences with wi-ka clauses most likely serve a contrastive function. Direct and indirect objects as well as benefactive NPs may be foregrounded in wi-ka clauses.

38. Qomwe wi-ka Heather-che Steve throp-m-k wi-ny 'It was a ball
ball do-ss H-sj S throw-dir-ss do-cmp Heather threw
to Steve'

39. Heather wi-ka Jack-che chpve 'ee-k wu-m 'It was Heather
H do-ss J-sj blanket give-ss do-inc Jack gave a
blanket to'
40. J.P. wi-ka Heather-ch qwakta qech-m 'kwich-v-m chkyat-o-k wi-ny
   J.P. do-ss H-sj meat small-ds knife-dim-com cut-app-ss do-cmp
   'It was J.P. Heather cut a small piece of meat for'

Oblique NPs may also be topicalized and set off in a wi-ka clause.

41. Gertrude-m wi-ka Alberto-ch tsmaa-k yu-m 'It was with Gertrude
   G-com do-ss A-sj sleep-ss be-inc that Alberto slept'

Note that the topicalized oblique retains its case-marking.
NPs may appear in wi-ka clauses in unmarked as well as in topicalized
position.

42. Heather-ch Jack wi-ka tkwiv-k yu-m 'Heather chased Jack' (or
   H-sj J do-ss chase-ss be-inc 'Heather did chase Jack')

43. Heather-che Steve wi-ka qomve throp-m-k yu-m 'Heather threw a
   H-sj S do-ss ball throw-dir-ss be-inc ball to Steve'

Even subject NPs can appear in wi-ka clauses.

44. Pahmi-che wi-ka Heather hm许多人 'uu-o-k yu-m 'The man showed the
   man-sj do-ss H baby-dem see-app-ss do-inc baby to Heather'

The focus NP in a wi-ka clause may be either simple or complex.

45. J.P.-ch 'wila chkopa-m wi-ka Pam-che Allen 'uu-ch-k yu-m
   J.P.-sj tree climb-ds do-ss P-sj A see-pl-ss be-inc
   'It was J.P. climbing a tree (that) Pam and Allen saw'

Given that NPs can appear in wi-ka clauses in unmarked as well as topicalized
position, it is clear that such clauses serve a focusing rather than
topicalizing function. Wi-ka's function as a focus marker is additionally
confirmed by the fact that more than one NP in a given sentence may appear
in a wi-ka clause.

46. K'u (wi-ka) Jeni-ch (wi-ka) Pam (wi-ka) 'uu-o-k yu-m
   bskt do-ss J-sj do-ss P do-ss see-app-ss be-inc
   'It was a basket Jeni showed to Pam'

The appearance of wi-ka clauses in sentences like 47 further reflects
the emphatic, contrastive function served by such clauses.

47. Nytha wi-ka ny-ha siti-th-m 'e-='yii-k '-yu-m
   pro do-ss pro-dem one-only-ds like-l-like-ss l-be-inc
   'He's the only one I really like'

The focus NP need not be definite or referential, as shown by the fact
that question words may appear in wi-ka clauses.

48. Vka-che wi-ka chpeve kkav-se?
   who-sj do-ss blanket buy-Q 'Who bought the blanket?'

49. Vka wi-ka chpeve kkav-o-w-se? 'Who was it that she bought
   who do-ss blanket buy-app-incr-Q a blanket for?'

With topicalization or focus clauses (with wi-ka) then, it is possible
to foreground a particular NP in a sentence which contains two or
more independent NPs. In such constructions non-agentive NPs may be
made more topical in contrast to the agentive NP or to other NPs in
the sentence.

Still other means of topicalizing or foregrounding non-agentive
arguments and de-topicalizing agentive arguments are discussed in the
following sections.
The -ch impersonal "passive"

One way to foreground a non-agentive NP is through use of the -ch "passive." In this construction the morpheme -ch is suffixed to the main verb and a non-agentive object NP is the only overt argument to appear with the verb. The agent is thus unspecified. -ch "passives" translate into English as agentless or impersonal passives. This morpheme is highly productive and may appear with most any verb.

50. Bonnie 'uu-ch-k wi-ny
    B see-imp-ss do-cmp 'Bonnie was seen'

51. Hloh-va 'mat-k throp-m-ch-k wu-m
    rabbit-dem grnd-loc throw-dir-imp-ss do-inc 'The rabbit was dropped on the ground'

Object agreement markings indicate that the NP in such constructions is indeed the syntactic object of the verb.

52. 'nyaa ny-tkyo-ch-k wi-ny
    I obj-pinch-imp-ss do-cmp 'I was pinched'

53. Nytha-che pa-wakowar-ch-k yu-m
    pro-pl pl obj-love-imp-ss be-inc 'They are loved'

On occasion M.F. inadvertently subject-marked the non-agentive NP which appears in the -ch impersonal "passive" construction, but even then the NP triggered object agreement marking on the verb.4

In addition to appearing in impersonal "passive" constructions the -ch morpheme appears in other impersonal constructions in which the agent is unspecified.

54. Swar-ch-k yu-m
    sing-imp-ss be-inc 'There was singing'

55. 'aa'tata maa-ch-m gleye-ch yu-m
    thorn eat-imp-ds bad-sj be-inc 'Eating the thorns is bad'

56. Tyayvcha-h 'uma 'hana 'i-ch-k '-m
    They say liars are not liar-irr neg good say-imp-ss say-inc 'good' (or 'It's said liars...')

Munro (1974) and Langacker and Munro (1975) have offered an analysis of the underlying structure of the impersonal passive in Mojave which may be used to account for the appearance of the -ch morpheme in impersonal structures in Tolkpya. They posit that the -ch "passive" in Mojave derives from structures consisting of a sentential NP embedded to a higher existential verb. The embedded sentential NP consists of an unspecified subject, object, and verb. Extending L. and M.'s analysis, I would like to propose that the embedded sentence could also consist of an intransitive structure composed of an unspecified subject and a verb. The underlying structure for impersonal constructions would thus be essentially as L. and M. described it except that the object NP would be optional (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Underlying structure of impersonal constructions

Because the embedded sentential NP functions as the subject of the higher existential verb, it is subject-marked. When this embedded sentence is
transitive, the object of this sentence appears in the surface structure. When it is intransitive, no NP appears in the surface, only the verb marked with the -ch morpheme (e.g. sentence 54). Due to the fact that the -ch subject-marker appears following the sentential NP, adjacent to the verb, speakers may have subsequently perceived it to be a verbal suffix, ultimately re-analysing it as an impersonal suffix (The appearance of the k same-subject switch reference marker following the -ch morpheme and preceding the auxiliary verb in Tolkapa clearly indicates that speakers now perceive the -ch to be a verbal suffix).

-ch impersonal "passives" are homophonous with active sentences containing plural subject marking on the verb, and in fact, many would argue that the -ch impersonal morpheme and the -ch plural morpheme are one and the same.

57. Hloh neh-ch-k wi-ny
   rabbit kill-imp-ss do-cmp 'The rabbit was killed'

58. Hloh neh-ch-k wi-ny
   rabbit kill-pl-ss do-cmp 'They killed the rabbit'

However, while the impersonal -ch and the plural -ch may be linked diachronically, it may be argued that they are two distinct morphemes synchronically. -ch on the one hand, is a clear marker of plurality. It usually appears where there are overt plural subjects and is used to reflect anaphoric plural subjects (i.e. The "they" in 58 is not an impersonal "they," but a referential, anaphoric "they" where the referent has been previously established).

59. Hmany-ch nkooch-va myala hisey 'ee-ch-k wu-m
   child-sj grfa-dem bread fry give-pl-ss do-inc fry bread to
   grandfather'

On the other hand, -ch is also unquestionably an impersonal marker. Where-as the -ch in 59 is an indicator of plurality, the -ch in impersonal constructions indicates that the agent of the action is unspecified for number and is not necessarily plural at all. Impersonal "passive" sentences can be qualified with the phrase, "one or many could have done it, we don't know who," attesting to the unspecified nature of the subject in such sentences.

The claim that the -ch impersonal morpheme is distinct from the -ch plural morpheme is supported by its appearance in sentences in which the -ch marked verb clearly does not have a plural subject.

60. Heather ktoh-ch-me ny-ktoh-a wami-k yu-m
   H kick-imp-ds rel-kick-abs scold-ss be-inc
   'Heather got kicked, so she scolded the one who did it'

61. 'nyaa ny-skem-ch-me, pahnma 'i-k 'yu-m
   I 1 obj-push-dir-imp-ds man-dem 'tell-app ss 2-stop-ss-abs
   1-say-ss 1-be-inc
   'I got pushed, so I told the man to stop it'

That the -ch impersonal morpheme is distinct from the -ch plural morpheme is also evidenced by the fact that it appears with verbs such as swallow, choke, give birth to, etc., which require or imply a single agent.

62. Nyal-ch-k yu-m
   swallow-imp-ss be-inc (re a pill) 'It was swallowed'
63. 'chať-ch-k yu-ny
choke-imp-ss be-cmp (re meat) 'It was/got choked on'

64. Hmanyä thaw-ch-k yu-m
baby bear-imp-ss be-inc 'The baby was/got born'

Additional persuasive evidence that a distinct -ch impersonal morpheme exists comes from examining verbs which take ablauting forms in the plural. Due to regularizing trends, most verbs in Tolkpayä form their plurals with a -ch verbal suffix. However, a small number of verbs utilize morphological alternations of vowel quality (usually e/ay) to signal plurality (cf. Hardy 1977).

65. Chpe-k wu-m
cover-ss do-inc 'It covered it'
+sing

66. Chpay-k wu-m
cover-ss do-inc 'They covered it'
+pl

67. Qe-k yu-m
dirty-ss be-inc 'It's dirty'
+sing

68. Qay-k yu-m
dirty-ss be-inc 'They're dirty'
+pl

An examination of impersonal passive sentences containing these verbs would seem to constitute an excellent test since the appearance of a -ch morpheme in a passive sentence where the active sentence usually manifests an ablaut form for plural would provide clear proof that the -ch impersonal morpheme is distinct from the -ch plural. Unfortunately the test is less than perfect, since even ablauting verbs may now optionally form their plurals with the -ch plural morpheme.

69. Va-m chawv-k yu-m
dem-com fight-ss be-inc 'They fought him'
+pl

70. Hmanyä nkoocha va-m choov-ch-k yu-ny
baby-sj bear dem-com fight-pl-ss be-cmp the hear'
+sing

Nonetheless, data from such forms are quite revealing. If the -ch impersonal morpheme simply reflected the use of a plural form to express an impersonal or passive sense, one would predict that passives of verbs which ablaut could be formed by ablaut. Significantly, the data show that only the -ch suffix, not ablauting, is consistently used when an impersonal "passive" for an ablauting verb is formed.

71. Hmaanya pa-ch-chpay-ch-ee
baby pl obj-pl-cover-pl-Q 'Did they cover the babies?'
+pl

72. Hmaanya pa-chpe-ch-ee
baby pl obj-cover-imp-Q 'Are the babies covered?'
+pl +sing

Still additional evidence that the -ch impersonal and -ch plural morphemes are synchronically distinct may be found in sentences in which the two morphemes co-occur.

73. K'u-va nyahn tshaa-ch-ch-k yu-ny
6 'The baskets were hung
bskt-dem yest hang-imp-pl-ss be-cmp yesterday'

74. Pa-m-spow-ch-ch-k m-yu-m
pl obj-2 famous -imp-pl-ss 2-be-inc 'You all are well known/famous'

The above discussion indicates that a distinct -ch impersonal morpheme indeed exists. Sentences containing this morpheme translate as
impersonal passives when there is an overt object to the main verb as in sentences 50 and 51. The -ch impersonal "passive" is a transitive structure and comprises an active rather than stative passive construction (note that the active auxiliary wi 'do' characteristically appears with the -ch impersonal "passive"). To re-iterate, the -ch impersonal "passive" seems to serve the function of foregrounding the object of an action when the agent is either unspecified or unknown.

The -v "passive" and other -v's

Yet another way of making a non-agentive NP topical is through use of a set of verbs which end in the morpheme -v. There are many such verbs, and a subset of these translate into English as agentless passives.

75. 'nyaa-ch tkyov-k '-yu-ny
   I-sj  be=pinched-ss 1-be-cmp 'I was pinched'

76. Maa-ch m-chqaamv-k m-yu-ny
    you-sj 2-be=hit-ss 2-be-cmp 'You were hit'

77. Qwaloyaw-ch t'olv-k yu-m
    chicken-sj be=boiled-ss be-inc 'A chicken was boiled'

78. Hmany-che nehv-ch-k yu-o-k yu-m
    child-sj be=killed-pl-ss be-app-ss be-inc 'The children were killed'

This is a single argument construction in which the NP is the syntactic subject but the semantic patient of the action. Subjects of verb+v forms behave like regular subjects, occupying sentence-initial position, bearing subject-marking, and triggering subject agreement markings (for person and number) on the verb. Note that in 75 the auxiliary is marked for subject person agreement and that in 78 the verb carries plural subject marking, not plural object marking. There were some instances in which M.F. omitted subject-marking. However, even without the subject marker the NP in -v "passive" sentences functions as the syntactic subject, as indicated by the fact that the NP triggers subject agreement marking on the verb (see sentence 81).

79. Kthar'hana qlyayv-k yu-m
    coyote  be=disliked-ss be-inc 'Coyotes are not liked'

80. Yure-va 'nyahm tthkwilv-k yu-ny
    'This dress was washed
dress-dem yest be=was=ed-ss be-cmp yesterday'

81. 'waa-ny vam kwakv-ch-k yu-o-k yu-m
    'The doors were
door-dem now be=opened-pl-ss be-app-ss be-inc just opened'

In addition, when verb+v forms appear in sentences with more than one clause, the -ch marked NP triggers same-subject switch reference marking.

82. J.P.-ch hathpuyv-k mii-k yu-m
    J.P.-sj be=bathed-ss cry-ss be-inc 'J.P. was bathed and he cried'

This contrasts with the -ch impersonal "passive" which triggers different-subject switch reference marking.

83. Pahmi-wa kyaas-ch-m pi-k yu-m
    man-dem shoot-imp-d die-ss be-inc 'The man got shot and he died'

There are many verb+v verbs which have v-less counterparts. Some examples
are given below under 84.

84. chqam 'hit', chqamv 'be hit'; kwiw 'stretch', kwiwv 'be stretched'; neh 'kill', nehv 'be killed'; puv 'weave', puvv 'be woven'; chhav 'paint', chhavv 'be painted'; thuum 'curl', thuumm 'be curled'; wakovar 'love', wakovarv 'be loved'; qchlyep 'insult', qchlyepv 'be insulted'

In contrast with their transitive v-less counterparts, verb+v forms are intransitive, with the single argument functioning as the semantic patient of the verb. Thus, whereas a given verb means 'X', that verb plus -v means 'be Xed.' The difference between many verb+v and v-less verbs then, is a difference in valence. While there are many verb+v verbs in Tolkipaya, certain facts indicate that they are derivationally rather than inflectionally derived.

As illustrated by the above examples, many verb+v forms comprise passive reflexes of the active voice v-less counterparts. However, many do not. The verb 'uuví for example, which consists of the verb 'uu 'to see' and the morpheme -v, translates as 'to be visible' rather than 'to be seen,' and the verb 'eyiiv which consists of 'eyii 'to like/love' and the morpheme -v means 'pretty' or 'nice' rather than simply 'to be liked.'

85. Ma-chta nyaa ny-'uu-k yu-m
2-mthr me 1 obj-see-ss be-inc 'Your mother saw me'
86. 'nyaa-ce '-'uuuv-k yu-m
1-sj 1-be-visible-ss be-inc 'I am visible'
87. 'nyaa 'e-'yii '-qlyat-k yu-m
I like-l-like 1-intns-ss be-inc 'I really like it'
88. 'eyiiv qlyat-k yu-m
nice/pretty intns-ss be-inc 'It's really nice/pretty'

Other such pairs of examples are given below under 89.

89. chkwur 'laugh', chkwurv 'funny'; moloyi 'pity', moloyiy 'sad'; qlye 'dislike', qleyev 'ugly/bad' (qlyev in Kwevkaya Yavapai); spo 'know', spoiv 'famous'; ya'paa 'believe', ya'paaiv 'be responsible for something'; maar 'irrigate', maariv 'covered

The examples listed above indicate that verb+v verbs comprise separate entries in the lexicon, since while they are semantically related to their v-less analogs in many cases, they are at the same time quite semantically distinct from them. The semantically distinct -v forms in the examples above contrast with the -ch forms which consistently form passive reflexes of the active, non-suffixed verbs.

90. spo 'know'
   eyiiv 'like'
   uu 'see'
spo-ch 'be known'
   eyiiv-ch 'be liked'
   uu-ch 'be seen'
spoiv 'famous'
   eyiiviv 'nice/pretty'
   uuiv 'visible'

The majority of verbs which convey a passive meaning when affixed with -v are those which are active, more highly transitive verbs (see examples under 85) while those verbs which possess less predictable, more idiosyncratic meanings when affixed with -v tend to be stative, cognitive, or less transitive (however wakovar 'be loved'; and qchlyepv 'be insulted' seem to be exceptions).
The word "transitive" is being used here in somewhat the way that Hopper and Thompson (1979) have used it. That is, parameters related to the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to the other contribute to the ranking of a clause in terms of its degree of transitivity. Those verbs which describe the transference of an action and which involve a higher degree of affectedness of the object rank higher in transitivity. Thus, action verbs are considered more transitive than cognitive or perceptual verbs, even though both types of verb involve two participants.

The -y suffix then, whether affixed to an active or to a stative verb may be described as serving the unitary function of lowering the transitivity (or reducing the degree of valence) of that verb. When it appears on highly transitive verbs they end up intransitive, while less transitive verbs end up so intransitive as to convey a stative or adjectival meaning. The less transitive the verb, the more stative the verb+y form will be. Consideration of features of the verb associated with the degree of transitivity then, may begin to provide some insight as to why certain verb+y verbs have evolved to form agentless passive reflexes of their y-less analogs, while other verb+y forms have taken on semantically distinct, stative meanings. The semantically distinct meanings of the -y forms as compared to the -ch forms (e.g. 'uu-v vs. 'uu-ch) reflect the intransitive stative nature of the -v structures, e.g. to say that something is visible describes the state of being seen and to say that something is ugly or bad is plausibly semantically related to the state of being disliked.

In spite of the fact that some verb+y forms are more stative than others, the -y "passive" structure in general may be described as a stative construction. While both the -ch impersonal construction and the -y construction can be translated into English as agentless passives, the -y structure conveys a more stative sense.

91. Qwaloyaw-ch t'olv-k yu-m
    chicken-sj be=boiled-ss be-inc 'A chicken was boiled'

92. Qwaloyaw t'ol-ch-k wu-m
    chicken boil-imp-ss do-inc 'A chicken was boiled'

The greater degree of stativity of the -y construction is in part indicated by the fact that it is generally accompanied by the more stative auxiliary yu 'be' as compared to the appearance of the more active auxiliary wi 'do' which occurs with the -ch construction. Also, -y sentences often have the option of being translated as stative, adjectival constructions.

93. Yure-ch styorv-k yu-m 'The dress is torn' or
dress-sj be=torn-ss be-inc 'It's a torn dress'

94. 'wii-v-ch chhanv-k yu-m 'The rock is painted' or
    rock-dem-sj be=painted-ss be-inc 'It's a painted rock'

In contrast, the lesser stativity of the -ch form may be illustrated by the fact that a verb+ch sentence may be given a progressive (and thus more active) translation.

95. Kwathnymaya van poq-ch-k wu-m
    cow milk now spill-imp-ss do-inc 'The milk is (being) spilled'
96. 'wii-ha t-hinya-ch-k wu-m
   house-dem move-imp-ss do-inc 'The rock is (being) moved'

97. Yure yoov-ch-k wu-m
   dress make-imp-ss do-inc 'The dress is (being) made'

   The optional stative/adjectival translations of -v "passives"
   alongside the more active progressive translations of the -ch "passives"
   reflects the greater degree to which agents are de-topicalized in the
   -v forms. While the agent in -ch impersonal structures is unspecified,
   its presence is clearly felt. In contrast, the agent in -v stative forms
   can be so backgrounded as to be totally out of the picture, as shown in
   the following (a) translations.

98. Pocv-k yu-m       (a)'It spilled'
    be=spilled-ss be-inc    (b)'It is spilled'

99. 'waa-ny-je s'amv-k yu-m   (a)'The door closed'
    house-dem-sj be=closed-ss be-inc    (b)'The door is closed'

100. t-hinyv-k yu-m      (a)'It moved'
       be=moved-ss be-inc      (b)'It is moved'

   The -v construction then, can be used to convey a relatively greater
   degree of control over the action on the part of the patient or experiencer
   of the action, while the -ch construction, what with its more marked
   presence of the agent implies more external motivation for the action.
   Hardy (1979) has found evidence for this in the following construction
   where the appearance of the -v implies volition or intentionality on
   the part of the experiencer while the appearance of the -ch does not.

101. Pam-che yu-ra-ka ktoh-k yu-m      'Pam got kicked on purpose'
    P-sj be-intns-ss be=kicked-ss be-inc (Pam got herself kicked)

102. Lynn wi-ch-ra-k 'av-ch-k wu-m
    L do-imp-intns-ss hit-imp-ss do-inc 'Lynn was hit deliberately'

   Yet another illustration of the stative sense of the -v morpheme
   may be found in various normalized forms.9

103. styor (v) 'tear'  hwal (v) 'dig'  kthpal (v) 'tie'
     styorva (n) 'tear'  hwalva (n) 'well'  kthpalva (n) 'knot'
     tnyur (v) 'write'  chkwar (v) 'laugh'  chpe (v) 'cover'
     tnyurva (n) 'design'  chkwarva (n) 'laugh'  chpeve (m) 'blanket'

   A -v verbal suffix also appears in reflexive and reciprocal cons-
   tructions. In fact, in cases where it is semantically plausible, verb-v
   sentences are interpretable as either reflexives or agentless passives.

104. Jack-che chhathv-k yu-m      'Jack got/was shaved' or
    J-sj be=shaved-ss be-inc 'Jack shaved himself'

105. J.P.-ch chhulu-v-k yu-m     'J.P. got/was washed' or
    J.P.-sj be=washed-ss be-inc 'J.P. washed himself'

106. Qwaloyaw-ch t'ovl-k yu-m     'The chicken got/was boiled' but not
   chicken-sj be=boiled-ss be-inc '*'The chicken boiled itself'

   Sentence 105 for example, indicates that J.P. got washed, either by him-
   self or by someone else. The focus is on the patient of the action; the
   agent is not of central importance. It is de-topicalized. Therefore, it
does not really matter who did the washing. In this sentence we are primarily concerned with J.P.'s role in the event. 10

An unambiguously reflexive structure may be produced by adding the particle *yem 'self' following the NP and preceding the verb.

107. Jack-che *yem chkwarv-k yu-m \[Jack is laughing at J-sj self be=laughed at ss be-inc \] himself'

108. *yem m-ktohv-k m-yu-m
self 2-be=kicked ss 2-be-inc 'You kicked yourself'

109. 'nyaa-ch *yem chthulv-i
I-sj self be=washed-abs 'I washed myself'.

When used by itself without the -v morpheme, *yem functions as an emphatic pronoun.

110. 'nyaa-ch *yem chthulv-i
I-sj self wash-abs 'I washed it myself'

111. *yem m-ktoh-k m-yu-m
self 2-kick ss 2-be-inc 'You kicked it yourself'

The -v morpheme also appears in reciprocal forms in Tolulpaya.

112. Hwak-k 'ch-chthulv-k 'yu-m
two ss 1-pl be=washed ss 1-be-inc 'We washed each other'

113. t-tkyov-k yu-m
pl be=pinched ss be-inc 'They're pinching each other'

114. 'ch-thulv-k 'yu-m
1-be=washed ss 1-be-inc 'We got washed'

115. Tkyov-ch-k yu-m
be-pinched-pl ss be-inc 'They got pinched'

Generally, in reciprocal forms, M.F. uses the plural/distributive prefix ch/t, while in corresponding 'passive' structures the plural verbal suffix -ch appears. Hinton (1977) has described the ch- prefix in Havasupai as indicating that an action is performed many times or on many objects, and the ch- prefix in Tolulpaya seems to serve the same or similar function.

116. J.P.-ch 'waa-ch pay-l-he ch-chnal-m wi-ch-k wu-m
J.P.-sj house pl all loc pl drop-dir do pl ss do-inc
'J.P. has dropped things at all of their houses'

Semantically it is logical for the ch/t distributive prefix to appear in reciprocal sentences since the same action is being performed many times and/or by a number of agents.

As in many languages there is an ambiguity between reflexives with multiple subjects and reciprocals with multiple subjects.

117. Lynn-che Heather-m hwak-ka ch-chqaanv-k yu-m
L-sj H-com two ss pl be=hit ss be-inc
'Lynn and Heather hit each other' or 'Lynn and Heather hit themselves'

The -v morpheme then, appears in a variety of constructions. Structures featuring -v verbal suffixes are linked in that all contain subject-marked NPs which are non-agentive and are affected by the action of the verb. (For a discussion of various v's in Havasupai, see Hinton, 1972)
A semantic, functional conceptualization of the active, passive, reflexive, and reciprocal notions may provide some insight into why the latter three involve similar morphological marking in Tolkpaya.

- **Active voice**: S → (subject does X/action goes out)
- **Passive voice**: S ← (action comes in)
- **Reflexive**: S ↔ (subject does X and X affects subject)
- **Reciprocal**: S ↔ (S₁ does X to S₂ and S₂ does X to S₁)

Note that the passive, reflexive, and reciprocal notions all involve the action coming back on or affecting the subject, while the active voice does not. Other languages such as English divide up the morphology differently, marking the passive voice differently from the others by merit of the fact that it is the only case in which the action comes in on the subject without going out.

Passive, reflexive, and reciprocal notions are also similar, as Langacker and Munro (1975) have pointed out, in that each of these constructions contains non-distinct arguments. Indeed, in the -v lexical passive construction the agent is unspecified and is thus not distinct from the patient, and in the -v reflexive and reciprocal constructions the agent and patient are in an identity relationship and thus are also not distinct from one another. All these forms contain non-distinct arguments and are reduced in transitivity.

**Summary**

In the preceding sections I have described a number of structures in which non-agentive arguments can be made especially salient or topical while agentive arguments are backgrounded or de-topicalized to varying degrees. With topicalization a non-agent is made more topical by appearing in sentence-initial position, retaining its object relationship to the verb. The agent in such cases is de-topicalized by merit of its occurrence in non-sentence initial position. In the -ch impersonal construction no agent is expressed and the patient of a -ch suffixed verb functions as the topic of the sentence. However, this non-agentive argument is not a derived subject, maintaining an object relationship to the verb. Non-agentive NPs can also be topicalized by appearing with -v final verbs. In this case the NPs are subject-marked, but this is due to the fact that -v final verbs comprise separate dictionary entries rather than to promotional processes. In a traditional sense then, no constructions in Tolkpaya fit a structural description of the notion "passive."

Linguists interested in establishing a universal description of the passive have had similar difficulty in fitting data from other languages into a uniform structural characterization. It has become quite clear that the notion of passive cannot be defined in terms of word order, case marking, or morphology (Perlmutter and Postal, 1977; Sinha, 1978). In addition, promotional accounts (Perlmutter and Postal, 1977; Keenan, 1975) fail in that they depend heavily upon the notions "subject" and "object", notions which in themselves are by no means defined (or definable) in universal terms.

Some (Givon, 1979, Thompson, p.c.) have now begun to support the notion of a universal definition of "passive" based on functional rather than structural terms. To be sure, while there is significant structural diversity among languages of the world, all seem to possess some
means of presenting a non-agent as the topic of the sentence.
In Tokpaya a variety of constructions, none of which fit the structural definition of "passive," fulfill the range of functions normally served by the passive. The facts from this language then, support the universal characterization of passive in semantic and functional rather than purely structural terms.

NOTES
1. I would like to thank my Tokpaya teacher, Molly Starr Fasthorne for so generously sharing her language with me. I would also like to thank Pamela Munro for many insightful comments and criticisms and the UCLA Tokpaya group for the helpful exchange of ideas and data: Bonnie Glover, Lynn Gordon, Heather Hardy, and Jack Kriender.

2. Abbreviations used in this paper:

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<th>abl</th>
<th>ablative</th>
<th>irr</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
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<tr>
<td>abs</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>loc</td>
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<td>app</td>
<td>applicative</td>
<td>neg</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
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<td>cmp</td>
<td>completive aspect</td>
<td>obj</td>
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<td>com</td>
<td>comitative</td>
<td>pl</td>
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<td>dem</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>pro</td>
<td>pronominal form</td>
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<td>dir</td>
<td>directional</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>ds</td>
<td>different-subject</td>
<td>rel</td>
<td>relative clause marker</td>
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<td></td>
<td>switch reference marker</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imp</td>
<td>impersonal marker</td>
<td>ss</td>
<td>same-subject switch</td>
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<tr>
<td>inc</td>
<td>incompletive aspect</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>reference marker</td>
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<tr>
<td>intns</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
<td>sj</td>
<td>subject</td>
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The numbers 1 and 2 in a gloss represent 1st and 2nd person respectively. 3rd person marking is Ø and therefore unglossed.

Numbers separated by a slash, e.g. 1/2 indicate person-marking on transitive verbs. The first number represents person agreement marking of the subject and the second number, the person agreement marking of the object.

= is used to separate phonemes, e.g. t=h represents a sequence of t followed by h, not th (Ø).

= is also used when more than one English word is required to gloss a word in Tokpaya, e.g. chqaamv 'be=hit'

Orthography used is that developed by the UCLA Tokpaya group:

ch = c      ny = n      qw = q
sh = s      kw = k      hw = h
th = Ø      ky = k      ' = glottal stop

Long vowels are indicated by double letters, e.g. aa = a:

3. M.F. has stated that pa is used "when you speak of people." Generally it appears whenever the object is human (or animate) and is not used for inanimate object. However, Lynn Gordon and I have found that pa can appear on an inanimate object when it is associated with people, e.g. 'chpere pa-kchi-chv-ch-k yu-o-k yu-m (blanket pl object-steal-im-p be-app-ss be-inc) 'The blankets have been stolen.' When asked if pa was really o.k. here, M.F. said, "Yes, because it
refers to the people that have the blankets."  

4. Inadvertent subject-marking usually happened when the topicalized object was human, again illustrating the speaker's tendency to subject-mark human topics.

5. Thanks to Pam Munro for suggesting this test to me.

6. I am not certain of the order of the morphemes (i.e. whether the impersonal precedes or follows the plural morpheme) in these sentences.

7. Inadvertent omission of the subject-marker usually occurred when the subject of the sentence was low in topicality, i.e. [-human], [+animate], or [-animate], again reflecting that topicality and humaness are linked. While the -ch marker is generally a marker of syntactic subject, such "errors" reflect the influence of semantic and pragmatic factors upon its usage.

8. The Tolkpayá -y suffix derives from a Proto-Yuman -p*, indicating that qiyep became lexicalized before the sound change.

9. There are a few interesting examples in which the -y appears to be affixed to nominal forms, e.g. kwa 'horn', kwav 'horned'; hma 'testes', hmava 'male'.

10. The Tolkpayá facts differ from those in Havasupai in that verb+y constructions with subject-marked NPs are obligatorily interpreted as reflexives (in Havasupai) (Hinton, 1977).

11. Note that the idiosyncratic verb+y forms do not possess their idiosyncratic meanings when used in reflexive or reciprocal forms. For example, chkvarv seems better translated as 'be laughed at' than 'funny' in the reflexive sentence 107.

12. This conceptualization was presented and discussed by Sandra Thompson in a UCLA seminar on Transitivity in Fall 1979.
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Number 7

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James E. Redden

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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
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