Notes on Walapai Syntax III*

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Walapai has alienable and inalienable possession. Relatives, body parts, and certain other items are usually inalienable, i.e. having some close or permanent relationship to the possessor. In these cases, the possessive morpheme(s) precede(s) the thing possessed. Most other items are alienable, i.e. not having a close or permanent relationship with the possessor. In these cases, the thing possessed is followed by the possessive morpheme(s) and /ći/, have, own.

1. ŋà ḫwàì my wife
2. ŋà sàì my hand
3. wàksí ŋà wi-ći sèy-k-yu My cow is fat.
   (cow l have-nom. fat-3-be)
4. wà ŋà wí-ći qàlyév-k-yu My house is big.
   (house l have-nom. big-3-be)

But when what looks like a possessive pronoun precedes an alienable item, the meaning is to me, in my opinion.

5. ŋà wàksìč sèykù To me, the cow is fat.
6. ŋà wàč qàlyévkyu To me, the house is big.

To express former and future possession, the particles /kùra/, already, past, and /vàm/, now, today, are used, respectively.

7. wà kùra ŋà wí my former house
8. kùra ŋà ḫwàì my former wife
9. vàm wà ŋà wí my future house
10. vàm ŋà ḫwàì my future wife

In a somewhat similar manner, the speaker expresses his relationship to a situation or his knowledge of a situation by an /-č/ suffix, which means something like I have concluded, I think it to be the case. In some cases, there is an opposition between nominative and accusative subjects, and additional pronouns may also occur.

11. ŋà-v-č páy pèm-k-yu The water is all gone.
   (water-this-nom. all lack-3-be)
12. hā-v-ō pay póm-ō-k-yu
   The water is all gone.
   (water-this-nom. all lack-evidence/reason-3-be)

In 11, the water has run out just now and the speaker saw it run out. Therefore the speakers vouches for the accuracy of the statement. In 12, the water was all gone when the speaker saw the container. The speaker presents a conclusion, which seems reasonable given the situation, i.e. since the container is empty, the water must have all run out, leaving the container empty. 11 is factive—speaker is reporting something he witnessed; but 12 is non-factive—speaker is reporting something he has concluded or assumed, based on the evidence he has.

13. neqóv kwán-ō-k-ū-h-a
   He was killed by a bear.
   A bear killed him.
   (bear kill-applic.-3-be-perf.-aor.)

14. neqóv-ō wà kwán-ō-k-u-h
   A bear killed him.
   (bear-nom. 3 kill-applic.-3-be-perf.)

13 is reported speech and non-factive. Note the accusative subject in 13. This indicates that speaker has come to this conclusion based on whatever report or other evidence he has. In 14, a fact is presented. The dead body is visibly present and no doubt bears the marks of the attack by the bear. Speaker is presenting a fact.

It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the conclusional or evidential /-ò/ from the stative /-ō/, especially if the stress is the same.

15. mā tō-p-k-yu
   The sun has gone down.
   (sun be=not-lack-3-be)

16. mā tō-m-ō-k-yu
   The sun is going down.
   (sun be=not-already-state-3-be)

In 15, it is night; the sun is lacking/not present. In 16, the sun is not already in the condition of lacking/being absent, i.e. the sun is almost down, but not quite. The informant did not want to state that 16 means that he had concluded that the sun must have gone down because of lack of light. Also, the informant rejected substituting /-p/ for /-m/ in 16, but the researcher thinks that other speakers would probably accept it and intends to pursue this point with other speakers.

17. hát-ō (y)ō-k-yu
   It's a dog.

18. hát-ō (y)ō
   It's a dog.

In 17, the speaker has gone to see what made a noise and has returned and reported that it was a dog, i.e. this is factive and the speaker vouches for the information. In 18, the speaker is responding to the question, "What's that (noise)?". Speaker concludes that the barking or other noise was made by a dog, i.e. this represents speaker's conclusion based on the evidence of the sound he heard.
   (1-nom. 1 hand cut-do)

20. ṭa-č ṭa sāl čiikiat  I cut my hand.

It is sometimes difficult to see and state a difference between factive
and non-factive, as in 19 and 20. 19 is factive, but 20 is non-factive. It
seems that 20 is a sort of offhanded remark, or just a casual remark. The
informant says that 19 is telling a definite person; and 20, not telling a
definite person, i.e. 19 is stating a fact, but 20 is just a remark.

/-k/ and /-m/ make some additional differences not previusly reported.

21. ṭa-ʊč-k kvāu-k  I talked about him.
    (intense-that-allat. speak-3)

22. ṭa-ʊč-m kvāu-v-ɪk  I talked to/with him.
    (intense-abl. speak-this/here-3)

The allative, which means toward, in the direction of, here is extended to
mean concerning, with reference to. The ablative and commitative have the
same form and are the same surface case.

23. ṭač ūmyu  I will be next. It is my turn next.

24. ṭač ūmyu  I am next. It is my turn next.

25. ṭač ūkyu  It is MY turn next.

There seems to be little difference in 23 and 24 except that 23 is a present
form and 24, a future. Both have the ablative /-m/, which no doubt means
switch reference, i.e. when the person whose turn it now is is finished, then
it will be my turn. 24 implies that someone else has tried to take speaker's
turn or to take a turn out of turn. Thus, the /-k/ is same referent and
means something like It is still my turn.

/-k/ also has the meaning start, begin. This can also mean to do on
purpose/intentionally, i.e. when one starts to do something, one does it
intentionally.

26. kwī vč-k-yu  It is raining.
    (cloud arrive-3-be)

27. kwī vo-k-k-yu  It is starting to rain.
    (Cloud arrive-toward-3-be)
28. wi-m kisaka-k-ju
   (hill-abl. slide-to-be)
   I slid down the hill on purpose.

29. wi-m kisaka-yu
   (hill-abl. slide-be)
   I slid down the hill involuntarily.
   I slipped and slid down the hill.

Thus, it can been seen that moving toward doing something, as the allative
/-k/ implies, means begin, start, and by extension do on purpose.

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Addendum


Occasional Papers on Linguistics

Proceedings of the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop, Held at the University of California, Berkeley, June 30-July 2, 1980.

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Copies of the 1980 Hokan Languages 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 UNL series, University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies
are obtainable in microfilm or microfiche volumes from HIC Vistaslinguisas,
University of California, Berkeley, for a cost of $40.00 each.

The 1982 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet jointly with the Palaeo
Ocean Sciences Conference at Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California,
in the Occasional Papers on Linguistics early in 1983. For the first time, the
proceedings of the Palaeo Ocean Sciences Conference will be published in the same
issue as the Hokan papers. Copies may be ordered from the Department of
Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

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PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All papers in this volume except two were presented in an earlier version at the 1980 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order they appeared on the program.

The paper by Birgitte Bendixen was presented at the 1979 Hokan Languages Workshop. The camera-ready manuscript for her article arrived at the editor’s office more than three months before the publication deadline. The editor is so used to having to call up contributors and begging them to get their manuscripts in that he totally forgot Dr. Bendixen’s paper was in his files and left it out of the 1979 volume. The editor humbly apologizes for this oversight. The second paper by Pamela Munro was discussed in part at the 1980 workshop, and the editor asked her to include it in this volume.

The participants of the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Leanne Hinton and several of her students, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably. We also wish to thank the College of Letters and Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley, for a grant to help defray the costs of holding the workshop.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, and 1979 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 hardbound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3250 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, DC 20008.

The 1981 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet jointly with the Penutian Language Conference at Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California, June 29 to July 2, 1981. The proceedings of the 1981 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in early 1982. For the first time, the papers of the Penutian Language Conference will be published in the same volume as the Hokan papers. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
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