Some Maricopa Auxiliaries

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0. An independent verb can be used as the only verb in a sentence, with its full lexical meaning. An auxiliary verb occurs in a simple sentence with a main verb which expresses the main predication. An auxiliary verb (unlike a main verb) belongs to the same simple clause as a lexical main verb. As noted by Langdon (1978:98) "There are also in Yuman languages constructions consisting of sequences of inflected verbs which must be analyzed not as sequences of clauses, but as a single clause."

Some auxiliary verbs occur only as auxiliary verbs and never appear as lexical verbs, e.g., in Maricopa the habitual auxiliary kwish-k only occurs as an auxiliary, as in

1) man-sh m-ashvar-ha m-kwish-k
   you-sj 2-sing-ir 2-habit-asp 'You are always singing'

More problematic are the verbs which can serve either as independent verbs or as auxiliaries. The problem lies in determining whether the verb in question belongs to the same clause as a preceding lexical verb or belongs to another (typically main) clause.

One test which serves to determine whether two verbs belong to different clauses is whether the subject of the first verb is the same as the subject of the second. If the two verbs have the same subject, it is not necessarily the case that the two verbs belong to the same clause. If, on the other hand, they have different subjects, they cannot belong to the same clause.

Typically, Maricopa verbs are each marked with a pronominal prefix which indicates the person of their shared subject. The pronominal prefixes do not, however, offer the best evidence that the subject of the first verb is the same as the subject of the second verb (whether lexical or auxiliary). Better evidence comes from the switch-reference marking which is entirely dependent on the syntactic structure of the sentence for its assignment.\(^2\) The subject of the first verb can also be the subject of the second verb without (necessarily) triggering verb agreement on the second verb (or auxiliary) verb. This lack of marking on a verb which must have the same subject as the lexical verb (to judge by the assignment of switch-reference markers) is also evidence that the two verbs belong to the same clause. Consider

2) m-shma-ha lyvii-k 'ish-m-nyoy-k
   2-sleep-ir be=like-ss uns-2-mean-asp 'You are sleepy and mean'

In (2) lyvii 'be like' is not marked with a pronominal prefix; however, the same-subject suffix -k indicates that it has the same subject as the following verb 'ish-nyoy 'be mean' (which, of course, has a second-person subject as does the lexical verb which precedes lyvii).
More positive characteristics of auxiliary constructions in Maricopa include some presented in Langdon, 1978 in her description of auxiliary constructions in Yuman. These properties include:

(i) The order of the lexical verb and the auxiliary is fixed in the order verb-auxiliary. This restriction is not found on lexical verbs. A subject clause and a main verb (semantically) can have different syntactic relationships in Maricopa which are reflected in different word order. Verbs which express co-occurring events and which are not themselves in an argument-predicate relationship are not restricted in order either.

(ii) The order of the various auxiliaries (in specific constructions), when they co-occur, is fixed.

(iii) No independent lexical items may occur between a verb and its auxiliaries or between auxiliaries of the same verb. This restriction does not hold between separate clauses or separate lexical verbs, as in

3) 'ayuu-m m-ev-m anylyvtil hot-sh
   s.t.-asc 2-work-ds yesterday good-prf
   'It was good yesterday that you worked'

(iv) No intonation break occurs between a verb and its auxiliaries, or between auxiliaries of the same verb.
(v) All verbs which serve as auxiliaries come from a small, fixed class.
(vi) Verbs which can serve as either auxiliaries or main verbs can undergo different morphological processes in their different functions. That is, a verb serving as a main verb may be able to be morphologically marked in ways it cannot be when serving as an auxiliary, and vice versa.

1. Existential and locational verbs in Maricopa serve both as lexical verbs and as auxiliaries in different constructions. The existential verbs in Maricopa are duu-m 'be', wiim 'do', and 'ii-m 'say'. These verbs are used as main verbs, as existential auxiliaries, in emphatic particles, and in a number of inferential constructions.

1.1 duu-m 'be' in its most basic sense means 'exist', as in

4) 'ishnyoy-sh duu-m
   ghost-sj be-asp 'There are ghosts; ghosts exist'

5) kawit-sh duu-m
   something-sj be-asp 'Something happened'

It is also used to assert that someone (or something) did something intransitive, as in

6) 'iipaa-ny-sh duu-m
   man-dem-sj be-asp 'The man did it'

This verb is also found in predicate nominal sentences, as in

7) (many) '-ny-hat-sh m-duu-m
   you 1-poss-dog-sj 2-be-asp 'You are my dog'
8) 'fipaa kwsede-sh duu-m
   man      doctor-sj be-aspend' The man is a doctor'

1.2 wii-m means 'do (actively and transitively)' in almost all its
occurrences as an independent verb.

9) nyaa '-wii-sh
   I       1-do-prf          'I did it'

   wii-m can also mean 'have', as in

10) nyaa haav hvshuu-m '-wii-m
   I       shirt blue-sj 1-do-aspend 'I have a blue shirt'

1.3 'ji-m means 'say', covering the full semantic range from its physical
property of 'making a sound' to its mental property of 'having meaning' or
'expressing intent or desire'. Thus typically it means 'say, speak', as in

11) ji m-'ji-m
   yes 2-say-aspend   'You said yes'

(11) uses 'ji to mean 'utter some sound to convey a meaning'. 'ji can
also be used just to mean 'make a noise', as in

12) kawit-shh 'ji
   something-sj say+Q   'What is making that noise?'

13) hatkult-sh 'ji-m-shaa
   wolf-sj     say-aspend-inf   'It must be a wolf making that noise'

   and it can be used to mean 'mean, intend some meaning', as in

14) nyaa-sh vany-a 'ji-m
   I-sj     dem-Vaug say-aspend 'I meant that one'

   Finally it can be used to mean 'want', as in

15) shyaal m-'ji
   money 2-say+Q   'Do you want money?'

Thus, 'ji can refer in simple sentences to actual communication by speech,
to expressing (without communication) of semantic content, or to
producing the physical signal of sound.

When these verbs are used as main verbs, they can be prefixed
with demonstratives to indicate that the action or state expressed by
the verb is 'like this, in this way' as in

16) v-duu-m
   dem-be-aspend   'It is like this'

17) v-'-wii-m
   dem-l-do-aspend   'I did it like this'
17) nyaa 'knaav-k dany v-'ii-m
I 1-tell-ss this dem-say-asp 'I told it, saying it this way'

'ii-m' 'do' and 'ii-m 'say' both have transitive forms, used typically when some non-third person object is marked on the verb. These forms are waa-m and 'aa-m, respectively, as in

18) ny-waa-m
3/1-do+trns-asp 'He did it to me'

19) m-'aa-m
3/2-say+trns-asp 'He said it to you'

2. In addition, 'be', 'do', and 'say' can all be used as "existential auxiliaries". I use this term (cf. Langacker, 1974; Munro, 1976a) as a label to designate the lexically-determined auxiliary use of duu-m, wii-m, and 'ii-m. Such auxiliaries have also been referred to as "behavioral auxiliaries" (Emerson and Halpern, 1978; Langdon, 1979). When these verbs are used as existential auxiliaries, they cannot be marked with demonstrative suffixes, nor are the transitive forms ever used.

wii-m 'do' is used with active transitive verbs.

20) Pam-sh hnm- k tspa-k wi-i-sh
Pam-sj chicken fry-ss do-prf 'Pam fried some chicken'

'ii-m 'say' is used with verbs of communication, sound-making, and manifestation (e.g. weather verbs).

21) 'ashvar-k '-'ii-sh
1-sing-ss 1-say-prf 'I was singing'

duu-m 'be' is used with stative verbs and with intransitive verbs (whether active or stative); duu-m is also the default case, in that it can be used with any verb (even those which can be used with the other existential auxiliaries).

22) Pam-sh ny-shuupaw-m duu-m
Pam-sj 3/1-know-m be-asp 'Pam knows me'

23) Pam-sh fima-k duu-sh
Pam-sj dance-ss be-prf 'Pam danced'

24) Pam-sh hnm- k tspa-k duu-sh
Pam-sj chicken fry-ss be-sj 'Pam fried the chicken' (cf. 20)

25) 'ashvar-k '-'duu-sh
1-sing-ss 1-be-prf 'I was singing' (cf. 21)

'ii-m 'say' as in (20) above is used to reflect the noise-making aspects of the predication. A paraphrase offered for (20), for example, was 'That noise was me singing' in which the noise-making aspect of the predication is clearly highlighted. In (25) where the auxiliary is duu, there is no emphasis on the noise-making aspect of the event. In fact, though speakers can not be explicit about this, as they are in discussing
other constructions, the existential auxiliaries appear to be evidential in nature. That is, the choice of auxiliary reflects the source of the information contained in the clause. This existential sense does not appear to be prominent (particularly with first-person-subject clauses) nor can it transcend the lexical constraints. It does, however, limit the choice of existential auxiliary. For example,

26) Pam-sh ashvar-k 'i-m
   Pam-sj sing-ss say-asp 'Pam was singing'

could not be said by a deaf person. Nor could

27) sny'ak-ny-sh iima-k duu-sh
    woman-dem-sj dance-ss be-sj 'The woman was dancing'

be said by a blind person. They are not unrestricted evidentials, however. The lexical constraints of the main verb still hold—even if the speaker clearly heard dancing, he could not use iima-k with 'i-m in this construction. In other evidential constructions, it would be perfectly appropriate to use 'i-m with iima-k, as in

28) sny'ak-ny-sh iima-k 'ii-ny-uuvaal
    woman-dem-sj dance-ss say-dem-be=located 'The woman is dancing'
    (I know, I can hear it)

'ii-m is used when the speaker heard the event or action; wii-m is used when the event had an active effect on another person or thing and that served to make the speaker aware of the event; duu-m is used when the speaker saw the event occur (thus it was made manifest by its appearance). Obviously duu-m represents the most typical case and this is reflected in the fact that it can be used with all verbs and is the only auxiliary used with statives and intransitives.

The realis form of this construction has the first verb marked with the same subject suffix -k. In the reconstructed version of this construction, Langdon (1978) only reconstructs -k on the lexical verb. In Maricopa a number of verb forms do not participate in switch reference and instead are always marked with -m. These verbs are marked with -m in this construction as well. Consider (22) above and

29) 'mii-m 'dii-m
    1-cry-m 1-be-asp 'I cried'

30) 'akshvar-m 'i-m
    1-lahv-m 1-say-asp 'I laughed'

31) m-tpuy-m wii-m
    2-kill-m 2-do-asp 'You killed it'

In Maricopa the imperatives can also take existential auxiliaries. The choice of auxiliary is determined by the same features discussed above. The existential auxiliary is marked with the imperative prefix k-. The existential auxiliary typically takes no suffix and its root vowel is lowered and shortened.
32) k-yem-k k-do
   imp-go-ss imp-be  'Go away!'

33) aly-nyk-aham-ma-k k-we
    neg-imp/1-hit-neg-ss imp-do  'Don't hit me!'

34) k-ashvar-k k-'e
    imp-sing-ss imp-say

The existential auxiliaries are also used after verbs marked
with the incompletion suffix -uum. A verb marked with -uum and followed
by an existential auxiliary has the sense of an action or state which
has shown some sign of beginning without being in any way realized. Again,
the same criteria determine the distribution of the auxiliaries and
the lexical verb and auxiliary are marked as having the same subject,
as shown by the pronominal prefixes (not switch reference marking on the
lexical verb):

35) vakpaly-ly -yem-uum -duu-m
    Phoenix-in 1-go-inc 1-be-as  'I am going/am on my way to Phoenix'

36) hnorm -tpuy-uum -wii-m
    chicken 1-kill-inc 1-do-as  'I am going to kill the chicken'

37) m-mii-uum m-'if-m
    2-cry-inc 2-say-as  'You are going to cry'

In another auxiliary intervenes between the existential
auxiliary and the lexical verb, the lexical verb is what determines
the choice of existential, not the intervening auxiliary verb. If
a locational auxiliary intervenes, then the choice of existential
auxiliary is not limited to duu-m 'be' as it would be if the
locational verb were the main verb rather than an auxiliary.

38) 'ashvar-k v-'va-k  'if-sh
    1-sing-ss dem-l-sit-ss 1-say-prf  'I am/was singing'

It is possible to use duu-m 'be' as the existential auxiliary in
this case just as it is always possible to use duu-m as the existential
auxiliary (if the source of the information is the appearance of the
event):

39) 'ashvar-k v-'va-k  'duu-sh
    1-sing-ss dem-l-sit-ss 1-be-prf  'I am/was singing'

It is interesting to note that the existential auxiliary does
not appear to establish the aspect of the sentence. The aspect of the
sentence is determined by the aspect-marking on the lexical verb and
by the other auxiliaries in the sentence. (This is in keeping with
the evidential nature of these auxiliaries in Maricopa--the evidence
is real whether or not the event is if the auxiliary is to be used.)

The verb + k existential auxiliary construction has been the
subject of some discussion in the Yuman literature. This construction
has been analyzed in Mojave (Munro 1976a and b) and a historical
development has been proposed. This auxiliary construction has been reconstructed for Proto-Yuman (Langdon, 1976) as part of the fuller auxiliary construction and auxiliary system involving locational auxiliaries, as well. Langdon (1978:100) characterized the Proto-Yuman construction in such a way as to correspond clearly to the Maricopa structure:

There is also a second set of auxiliary verbs consisting of only the verbs normally meaning 'be', 'do', and 'say'. Phrases with 'be' characterize static sentences, while active ones tend to be separated into those describing verbal behavior (with 'say') and those pertaining to non-verbal actions (with 'do').

In discussing the parallel construction in Mojave, Munro (1976a and b) hypothesized that the historical source of such sentences is sentences in which the existential auxiliary was the main verb and the remainder of the sentence was a subject clause, as in

Figure I: Source Construction of Existential Auxiliaries

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NP  S  V  S  EXISTENTIAL
|   |   |
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This tree is proposed as the source of the existential auxiliary construction in Yuman. The proposed development for Mojave (cf. Munro 1976b) involves a stage at which the subject of the subject clause is copied as the subject of the existential verb. Concomitant with this subject raising-copying was the marking of the verb of the subject clause with -k since the two verbs would have the same syntactic subject. Finally, the existential is fully reduced to an auxiliary and a simple sentence is derived from this complex source. A further proposal by Munro (1976a and b) is that the final aspect marker -k (in Mojave, it would have to be -k and -m in Maricopa) is actually the same subject marker left on the lexical verb when the existential auxiliary is deleted.

Both these hypotheses are supported by the Maricopa data. Maricopa provides interesting evidence for the kind of source use of existentials which are not lexically determined by the main verb of the sentence (in inferential constructions, see Gordon 1980, 1981). The second claim (that the realis markers are historically switch reference markers) is supported by the structure of the imperative in Maricopa. Imperatives in Maricopa typically end in -k or -m. This use of these markers is semantically inappropriate since all other uses of these affixes on final main verbs indicate that some part of the event expressed by the verb has been realized. However, (32-34) demonstrate that the full form of the imperative also contains an existential auxiliary (which does not have to be marked with -m). The final -k or -m marking on the imperatives is present because of the (synchronously or historically) deleted final auxiliary. Another piece of evidence to support the identity of the switch reference suffixes and the final realis suffixes is the completely symmetrical assignment of -m as a final aspect marker and of verbs which are -m marked even when followed by a verb with the same subject.
3. The locational verbs, va-k 'sit', w'aw-m 'stand', dik-k 'lie', and uuvaa-k 'be located at, move around in', can serve as both independent verbs and auxiliary verbs. These verbs are morphologically odd in that, unlike other verbs, it is possible for them to occur as the main verb of an assertion or as the final auxiliary of an assertion without any final aspect/mood suffix. If the verb stem is vowel final, no suffix appears, as in

40) posh-sh svif va
cat-sj there sit 'The cat is sitting over there'

If the verb stem is consonant final, a vocalic increment (-i) is added, as in

41) 'ipaa-ny-sh ny-w'aw-i
man-dem-sj dem-stand-Vinc 'The man is standing there'

Like the existential verbs, the locational verbs can be marked with demonstrative prefixes (as in (41)). (Unlike the existential verbs the locational verbs can be marked with demonstrative prefixes when they are acting as auxiliaries.)

4. These locational verbs are used as auxiliaries to express that the action or state expressed in the clause is on-going. The positional quality is not neutralized, however; the subject is asserted not only to be performing the on-going action or to be in the on-going state, but he is also asserted to be in the position expressed by the locational verb. The lexical main verb can be marked with the same subject marker -k (or with -m verbs, -m) or with the incompletive suffix -uum. If the verb is marked with switch reference, then the subject of the sentence must be in the position expressed by the locational auxiliary at the time of the event, as in

(42) nyaa '-nak-k vny-va
I 1-sit-ss dem-sit 'I am sitting here'

(43) *nyaa '-nak-k vny-w'aw-i 'I am sitting here (standing)'

As with the existential construction, the lexical verb is marked with -k when the action is to some extent realized and when the verb is a -k verb. If the verb is an -m verb, then the verb is marked with -m or Ø, as in

(44) '-wii(-m) vny-va
1-do(-m) dem-sit 'I am doing it (sitting down)'

As with the existential auxiliaries, however, it is also possible to mark the main verb with the incompletive suffix -uum. This is used to express future progressives, as in

(45) nyaa svii nak-uum vny-w'aw-i
I there sit-inc dem-stand-Vinc 'I am going to be sitting there
(46) nyaa 'puy uum vny'-uuvaa
I 1-die-inc dem-1-be=loc 'I am dying'

-k/-m on the lexical verb explicitly indicates that some or all of
the action is completed at the time of the speech act. -uum on the lexical
verb indicates that the event is not yet realized. Durative and iterative
actions can have a present progressive reading with -k or -m on the lexical
verb (alone or followed by the appropriate locational auxiliary). Non-
iterative, punctual acts cannot have such a progressive reading when
marked with -k or -m; these verbs must be marked with the incompleitive
suffix whether alone or with a locational auxiliary (as in (46)) to
have a non-completed reading.

Another interesting point about this construction is that
the locational auxiliary does not refer to the position of the subject
at the time of the event expressed by the main verb. When the main
verb is marked as incompleitive, the locational auxiliary refers to
the position of the subject at the time of the speech act. Note
that in (45) the lexical verb and the auxiliary would be incompatible
if they referred to the same point in time (compare (45) with (43)
in which the same two verbs cannot co-occur in these roles).

As noted earlier both a locational auxiliary and a lexically
determined existential auxiliary can occur in the same clause. When
both occur, the order is locational auxiliary followed by existential
auxiliary, just as reconstructed by Langdon (1978) (cf. ((38) above).

5. As discussed at the beginning of this paper, auxiliary verbs have
certain features which reflect their grammaticized status in Maricopa.
In auxiliary constructions the order of independent elements is fixed
to a much greater extent than in constructions involving independent
verbs. No independent lexical items can occur between the lexical
verb and its auxiliary or between auxiliaries.

Other features reflect this grammaticized status as well:
some verbs do not have recourse to their full range of morphology
when they function as auxiliaries; verbs used as auxiliaries have
elements of meaning which are not inerrable from their use
as independent verbs--continuous action is not inherent in locational
verbs nor is, for example, it essential for the speaker to hear
something to know someone 'said' it--whereas 'is' used as an auxiliary
requires that the speaker hear some manifestation of the event.
There is a relationship between the semantic content of the lexical
verb and the auxiliary derived from it, as can be inferred from the
number of languages which use specific verbs for specific grammatical
purposes.)

Another feature of auxiliary verbs is that they do not have
the control that main verbs have. For example, the features of
the main verb (and of how the speaker becomes aware of the event)
determine the choice of existential auxiliary, event when another
auxiliary intervenes between the main verb and existential auxiliary.
If these auxiliaries were main verbs, there would be no way to account
for the differences in existential auxiliary selection after y'aw-m
'stan' when it is a main verb (restricted to dun-m 'be') from when
it is an auxiliary (any auxiliary can be used, depending on the
features of the main verb).
Footnotes

1Maricopa is a Yuman language of the River Branch, most closely related to Mojave and Yuma. I would like to thank Pollyanna Heath and Jasper Donahue for sharing their language with me and for their patience in answering my innumerable questions. I would also like to thank Pamela Munro for her help, patience, and comments on earlier versions of this work. Most of this data and analysis appears in my dissertation, *Maricopa Morphology and Syntax* (Gordon, 1980).

The abbreviations used in this paper are:

- **asp**: realis
- **dem**: demonstrative
- **ds**: different subject
- **imp**: imperative
- **inc**: incompletive
- **inf**: inerferential clitic
- **ir**: irrealis
- **neg**: negative
- **poss**: possessive prefix
- **prf**: perfective
- **q**: question
- **sj**: subject
- **ss**: same subject
- **s.t.**: something
- **trns**: transitive
- **uns**: unspecified object
- **Vinc**: vocalic increment

The data are presented in practical orthography:

- ' = [ʔ], h = [x], ly = [l̩], ny = [n̩], sh = [ʃ], d = [ʥ], VY = long vowel.

2Switch reference is the system of marking dependent clauses with respect to whether their subject is the same as or different from the subject of their matrix clauses. -k indicates that the clauses have the same subject; -m indicates that the two clauses have different subjects. Maricopa has a large number of verbs which do not participate in switch reference.

3The first person subject prefix ' - is optional before consonants and, in fact, is rare before ' - initial stems. 'Say' in Maricopa has a number of forms: 'ii, iʔ, 'i, i. Since the ' - first person prefix is obligatory before vowels, forms like 'ii' or 'i might also be analyzed as being ' = first person + 11 = say. It is impossible to distinguish between the two.

4As noted above (fn2), Maricopa has a number of verbs which do not participate in switch reference. These verbs are always marked with -m (even if their subject is the same as another subject in the sentence). These -m verbs also always mark realis aspect/mood with -m; whereas the verbs which participate in switch reference mark realis aspect/mood with -k.

5Before a number of suffixes including -ha 'irrealis' certain vowel final stems lower and shorten their vowel. 'ii and wi when irrealis, for example, are ʔ-e-ha and we-ha. Other non-suffixed forms of the verb do not short this toning, e.g.

i) wi 'ii-m
   do say-asp  'He tried to do it'
6 These verbs all mean to be in a position. \( y^{\text{aw-m}} \) is the only one of these verbs which also means to get into a position, in this case standing. \( \text{nak-k} \) means 'to get into a sitting position, to sit, to be sitting' and \( \text{paa-m} \) 'to get into a lying position, to lie, to be lying'. Neither \( \text{nak-k} \) nor \( \text{paa-m} \) can serve as progressive auxiliaries.

7 This contrasts with the non-lexically determined use of existentials as in (28) and

(ii) \( \text{Pam-sh ilma-k 'ii-nydawi} \)
    \( \text{Pam-sh dance-ss say-perfect=inference} \)
    'Pam must have been dancing, Pam sounds like she's been dancing'

In (28) you can see that the existential precedes the locational verb. This is obviously a different construction, however, since the same constraints do not apply in it (i.e., any existential can be used with any verb depending only on the source of the speaker's information).
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Occasional Papers On Linguistics


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

Number 11

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

1982 CONFERENCE ON FAR WESTERN AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at
University of California, Santa Cruz
July 27-July 30, 1982

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number

83-050504
PREFACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1982 Conference on Far Western American Indian Languages 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 1982 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order they appeared on the program.

The participants of the conference gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor William Shipley and his students, which made the conference run so smoothly and enjoyably. We also wish to thank the Center for Syntactic Research at the University of California, Santa Cruz, for the support of the conference, without which the conference would not have been possible.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, 1980, and 1981 workshop proceedings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes of the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SIU-C series, University Museum Studies, and of the 1979 workshop, which appeared in the OPOL series, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hard bound volumes from the ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3250 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, DC 20007.

The 1983 Hokan Languages Workshop will meet at The University of California, San Diego, June 16-18, 1983.

James E. Redden, Editor
Carbondale, July 1983
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