The Hualapai Auxiliary */-i/,

say

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Researchers on Yuman languages are very familiar with the suffixed auxiliary verbs, */-yu/*, /-", and */-wi/*, /-", which act in many ways like intransitive and transitive markers, respectively; but they also serve other functions. In addition, there is the suffixed auxiliary */-i/*, say, which is suffixed to verbs of saying. When with primary stress, */-i/* is not an auxiliary, but an independent verb, meaning say, tell, order; but when with a weak stress or tertiary stress at slower speed than normal conversation, */-i/* is the auxiliary that occurs with verbs of saying and when the meaning of the auxiliary is perceive, be aware of, and also when the meaning of the auxiliary is find, think, be of the opinion of.

čivó-m ?-í-ŋ # send-home-DS 1-say-perf.

Yám-qv-k-yu ?-í-m čiyó-m ?-í-ŋ # He wanted to go, so I let him.
go-will/want-to-SS-be 1-say-DS send-DS 1-say-perf.

In the sentences above, */-i/* is an independent verb meaning, say, tell, order, let, permit, accept, agree. The first sentence above could also mean I had him go (.), I let him go (.), or I made him go home. Literally, the second sentence above means He said he wanted to go and I told him to go; but a better translation in English is He said he wanted to go, so I let him.

Má m(i)-sík-k-i # He is calling you/(your name).
2 2-call-SS-say

Pá-c qváw-i # I am speaking/talking/saying something.
1-nom. speak-say

Pá-c qváw-yu # I am making a speech/speaking to a crowd.
1-nom. speak-be

In the first two sentences above, */-i/* means someone is vocalizing/saying something. The last sentence above illustrates the stative or intransitive-continuous meaning of */-yu/*, main activity at the time referred to, descriptive of what is taking place.

Mún-k-i # It's cold. The weather is cold.
cold-SS-say

Munt-k-i # I'm cold. I feel cold.
cold-open transition-SS-say

e The first sentence above means I find/perceive/say that the weather is cold. The second sentence above means My body is cold and I perceive/realize/notice this fact. Note the plus juncture in the second sentence. This is a minimal pair much like the well-known nitrate-night rate difference in English, where the plus juncture separates this pair.
I'm laughing.
I'm whispering.
He's singing.
The horse is whinnying.
The dog is barking.
The dog just keeps on barking and barking.
The dog has been barking a long time.

The verbs in the first five sentences above are all verbs of saying or vocal activity, including the ones referring to animals making their characteristic calls. The last sentence describes a continuous or long-term state or activity.

I'm speaking in Walapai.
I speak Walapai. I know Walapai.

The first sentence above means I'm using the Walapai language to express my thoughts(.). I'm using the Walapai language to talk to someone. The second sentence means I am fluent in Walapai(.), I have very good control of the Walapai language. Again, the first sentence above means vocal activity is taking place, but the second sentence refers to a continued or long-term state.

This food is tasty/tastes good.

This child is too heavy to carry.
I heard that your children got lost last night.

The first sentence above literally means I say the food tastes good(.); but it means I find/perceive the food to taste good. The second sentence above means likewise literally means I say the child is too heavy to carry(.); but it means I judge/find this child too heavy for me to carry. The last sentence is one way of expressing reported speech. It could translate I heard that..., Someone told me that..., It is said that..., It often is translated as a passive, i.e. I was told that...
pa taq'ó v-tav-k-i # My stomach hurts.
1 stomach intense-hurt/be-sick-SS-say

In the above sentence, it is easier to see the meaning perceive, feel. Perhaps a good literal translation would be I note/observe that my stomach hurts. Note that /taq'ó/, stomach, does not have a nominative case ending, and is a middle or ergative verb. Note also that the /-k/, same subject suffix, is on /v-tav/, hurt, be sick. A literal translation could be The stomach hurts me( ), but if so, one would expect a primary stress on /pa/. I consider this sentence to have a middle verb; and since the subject of both the verb and the auxiliary are the same, the same-subject suffix occurs on the verb.

ka-mul-v-a-č kwè-ka-v-yú qwáv-v-ič-k-yu || What is the council talking about?
agent-name-this-def.-nom. thing-interrog.-this-be talk-reflex.-pl.-SS-be
ka-mul-v-a-č kwè-ka-v-yú qwáv-v-ič-k-i || What is the council talking about?

The first sentence above means that Everyone is talking at once and/or arguing in a heated manner. The second sentence means that People are taking turns and talking in an orderly, normal fashion. If /-yu/ means characteristic, descriptive, as it often does, this is not very complementary. Since /-i/ normally occurs with verbs of saying, one would expect the /-i/ suffix if no expressive meaning occurs.

vom-kwâl-yí-k-yu-k-i # She wants/intends to go home.
go=home-like/want-intend/think-SS-be-SS-say
/-i/ is regularly used for reported speech. If there is a direct quote, an independent /i/ with a primary stress occurs. /kwâl/, like, is regularly used to express habitual actions. The above sentence could also translate She is always wanting to go home. A good translation would be She would like to go home() or She would like to go home at any time she can. But, this does not get across the idea of planning/thinking about/intending to do something. Probably the best short translation is She intends to go home(), but to really get the flavor or the context, one would have to say something like I hear she is always planning on going home whenever she can, or They say she is always making plans to go home at any opportunity.

Thus, /-i/ has two main uses: (1.) the normal auxiliary with verbs of saying and perception, and (2.) for reported speech when no agent or speaker is known or referred to. Use of /-yu/, which is the descriptive-characteristic auxiliary, adds some sort of expressive meaning to the sentence in addition to the basic meaning of the sentence.

/kamúlva/, literally name-haver, means chief, elder, leader, and is now regularly used to mean members of the tribal council or other tribal official.
Occasional Papers On Linguistics

Papers from the 1983, 1984, and 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conferences

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PAPERS
HOKAN-PENUTIAN LANGUAGES CONFERENCES

James E. Redden, Editor

The papers were presented in the order in which they were read at the
meetings except the HOKAN-22 sessions where Peter J. Verhelst and
Helen DeLancey, which were presented at Langue on an earlier
occasion, were presented out of order. It is also regretted that these
collections have not been published.

The 1983 HOKAN-Penutian Languages Conference was at the University of
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at UC Berkeley and the HOKAN-22 sessions, which are presented here.

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arrangements, planning, and hosting the meeting.

The 1986 Penutian Languages Conference will be held at the University of
California, Santa Cruz, June 19-22, 1986, as part of the Mary Jane
School Conference.

Only a few copies of the proceedings of earlier meetings are still
available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University,
Carbondale, IL 62901. We are considering the future of the HOKAN-Penutian
Languages Conference proceedings in some annual form.

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In 1981 the Hokan-Yuman Languages Workshop began meeting jointly with the Penutian Languages Conference. In 1982 the Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference began meeting with specialists from other disciplines, anthropologists, archeologists, geographers, and others. Because of the very diverse nature of such a group, various specialists desired to publish their papers in a variety of places in order for specialists in their disciplines to have ready access to them. This meant that there were no proceedings for the 1983, 1984, and 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conferences. Papers from linguists who gave papers at these three meetings have been assembled in this volume.

The papers are presented in the order in which they were read at the meetings except the Callaghan paper on patridominace and Proto-Utian, which was discussed at length at the 1984 meeting, though it was not formally presented.

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Only a very few copies of the proceedings of earlier meetings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. We are endeavoring to have the ERIC Clearing House on Languages and Linguistics offer these publications in some demand form.

James E. Redden

Carbondale, May 1986
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