How many verbs does Walapai have of the shape /é/? There is /é/, hear, and there is /é/, give. Are these the same verb? Are the many other meanings of /é/ just extended references of these verbs? A /-v/ often follows /é/. Is the stem of one of these verbs /év/?

piqi hà ?i-?é-v-a yít-a vi-kók ?u-?ú-taóp # I could hear her, but I
very-not 1-see-not

jà-č ?élnóra ?é-?é-v-a-6-a-m sawár-c-k-in-u # I heard Elnora singing.
1-nom. Elnora 1-hear-close-def.-only-tns.-ES
sing-state-SS-past-be

hmàn-qéč náy ?é-ke-w # She is nursing the baby.
child-small milk give-SS-do

mi-ná-č pícít-a hé ni-vnán-b-k ni-wír-ik pu-wí-k ?é-k-wí-y # When she
very-3-nom. mother-def. dress subord-sew-
finished sewing her mother's
applic.-SS subord.-finish-SS subord.-do-SS
dress, she gave it to her.
give-SS-do-perf.

The first two sentences above illustrate /é/ meaning hear; the second two
illustrate /é/ meaning give.

má-č vi-yà ni-?é-v-a # You'd better listen!
2-nom. very-this 2-hear-close-tns.
You pay attention!

hmàn-a-č kwè ?é-v-a-taóp-k-yu # The boy is bad.
child-def.-nom. thing hear-close-tns.-
not-SS-be

The two sentences above show /é/ meaning listen, pay attention to, obey.

pápa sít-6-k kók tém ?é-?é-v-a-taóp # One potato is enough (for me).
potato one-whole-iness. not much 1-hear-
close-tns.-not

pá-č kók ?é-?í-k yúwa ?í-taóp-a-k-yu # He refuses to come.
man-nom. not hear-say-SS come-tns. say-not-tns.-SS-be

/é/ often means say yes, accept, agree. The first sentence above is literally
I agree that one whole potato is not a lot for me. But the meaning is that
One potato is adequate/sufficient for me. The second sentence is He says
he won't accept to come. or, He won't hear to come.

pá-č vi-kók mátkhwal-6-a-l yá-m-k ?é-?é-v-a-taóp-yu # I've never been to
1-nom. very-not Parker-def.-in go-SS 1-hear-close-
tns.-not-be
nú-č vi-kák kwè-hwál-k ṭè-č-v-a-taóp # I have never been a 
l-nom. very-not thing-dig/cultivate-SS farmer.
l-hear-close-tns.-not

In the two sentences above, /č/ means experience, perceive, endure the 
experience of, (come to) have the experience of, become acquainted with.

nú-č qómt-a-č pák-a-k súh-a-m ṭè-č-v-ik-yu # I can smell the coffee 
l-nom. coffee-def.-nom. boil-tns.-SS smell-tns.- 
DS l-hear-close-SS-be boiling.

kwè ṭa-hwí-k ṭè-č-v-a-m súh-h-a-k-i # I smell something rotten.
thing stink-SS l-hear-close-tns.-DS smell-irreal.-tns.-SS-say

/č/ can mean perceive. In the earlier article on /i/, say, in this volume,
/i/ was also said to mean perceive. /ič/ means perceive in the sense find, 
judge. /č/ means perceive in the sense receive through sense perception.
Consider the following sentence.

kàvayúk ṭè-č-v-a-k múl-a ṭespó-h-k-yu || How could I find out
how l-hear-close-tns.-SS name-def. know-
irreal.-SS-be his name?

Here /č/ means perceive (to know), come (to know). This meaning of come 
to know/be aware of, learn is also illustrated by the next sentence.

vi-kác či-kanúv-č-a-m ṭi-č-v-a-taóp-tá-m nà-hmí-v-a-k yú ṭi-č-ik-i # Nobody told me she got 
very-someone-nom. subord.-tell-pl.-tns.-DS l-hear-close-tns.-not-imperf.-DS
subord.-husband-close-tns.-SS be/come say-pl.-SS-say married.

Literally then, this means Nobody told me to say/make me perceive/understand 
that she husbanded. Consider also the following.

tú tiyé-k kwè ná ṭè-v-ó-k-yu # He just lied to me.
just/only lie-SS thing l hear-close-applic.-SS-be

The same-subject /č/ on /č/ makes this a rather strange reading. It is something
like He lied and perceived something on me. That is, He lied and deceived
me.

Ṭè-č-v-a-č-a-m pés-a hwd-yóv-č-k-we # It looks like he stole the money.
l-hear-close-dubita.-tns.-DS money-def.
steeal-take-applic.-SS-do

The meaning here is something like I perceive/realize that he stole the money.

tapó-m m-če-v-yu # I felt you touch me.
touch-DS 2-hear-close-be

Literally, this is You touched me and I perceived it.
I made him be quiet.

I left because you told me to.

/\/, say yes, agree, accept, often has a causative meaning. Sometimes this use of /\// means let, accept, but most often it is causative, as in the two sentences above. /\// at the end of a sentence is often used to give an explanation or justification for the action or state expressed in the sentence. The last sentence above means something like Look/Perceive that I left because you told me to. In this usage, /\// is also an auxiliary. Consider also the following.

I'm just standing here listening.

The idea conveyed by the sentence above is something like I'm not bothering anyone or anything; so, why can't I just stand here and listen? The /\/-prefix on /sku//, stand still, stop walking/moving, emphasizes that the speaker is not moving around (or disturbing). This intensive /\/- or /vi/- prefix occurs with nouns, verbs, and particles, and it strengthens or emphasizes the meaning of the stem. Probably this prefix is related historically to the /-v/-suffix discussed just below, but in the language today these two affixes serve different functions and meanings.

The /-k/-on /\// continues to be a problem for me to explain. It adds a kind of emphasis. It seems to mean something like I really want to, I (would) like.

My kids are misbehaving.

Children got lost last night.

Most occurrences of /\/, hear, are followed by /-v/-; whereas, /\/, give, is seldom followed by /-v//. This intensive /-v/-suffix also occurs with nouns, verbs, and particles. It means something like closely associated with. With nouns it seems to be something like inalienable possession. It adds definitiveness to the noun and often is translated as this; but it is often difficult to indicate in translation. For example, /pá hó/tav/ means something like this dog of mine. With verbs the /-v/-suffix gives a kind of middle or stative meaning. When one hears something, this is hardly a transitive, active operation but more of a passive experiencing.

The moon is shining.

I told him/made him to look after the dog.
Are the sentences above instances of /é/, give, and /é/, hear, correct as glossed? Since /hái/, moon, is in the accusative case, i.e., has no case ending, could not the translation be Someone perceives the moon shining(.)? This does not seem to be the case. Walapai regularly uses accusative subjects with middle and descriptive verbs. Could not the second sentence above mean I see/perceive that he looked after the dog(.)? This may be the case. /é/, hear, agree, accept, often has a causative meaning. However, perhaps /é/, give, which often means send is the meaning here. Consider the following examples.

pés é-m-we # money give-away-do

I sent the money.

nárjórí pés é-k mónika é-m-k-a # I sent the money to Monica
Marjorie. money give-SS Monica give-away-SS-tns. by Marjorie.

In the two sentences above, /é/, give, means send. Could the sentence I told him to look after the dog(.) also be an instance of /é/, give? If this is the case, does this mean that there is only one morpheme /é/? I don't think so, but it is a possibility.

/é/ and /í/ can both mean perceive and were distinguished above. /ú/, see, can also mean perceive, but it is a different kind of perception. /ú/ means see a close-by object in contrast to /hái-, which means see a distant object. The very first sentence of this article gives a case of /ú/.

yút-a-k hãktakwív-a-k pi-ma-vdk ma-vóm-a-k ?a-ma-ú # If you ever come to
may=te-tns.-SS Peach=Springs=def.-iness. subord.- Peach Springs, come
2-arrive 2-come-tns.-SS l-2-see to see me.

tínúr-a ú-hi-m é-č-a-m ú-k-yu # I made him look at the book.
writing-def. see-irreal.=DS hear-pl.-tns.=DS see-SS-be

The two sentences above illustrate common uses of /ú/. The second sentence also gives a causative use of /é/.

tónvè té-k ?u?-ú-wò-we # I'm showing him how to
cards play-SS l-see-applic.-do play cards.

piqí-č ?atié-k-yu hāmn wí pi-ú-k-a # The woman is happy because
woman-nom. happy-SS-be child have subjord.-see-SS-tns. she had a baby.

/ú/, like /á/, can have a causative meaning. The first sentence above means cause to see, i.e., show, but there is also the meaning have the experience of here. In the second sentence above, /ú/ means see to completion, realize, experience. Thus, /é/ can mean perceive, but in the sense of perceive through experiencing. Perhaps the last sentence should best be translated The woman realized her ambition of having a baby, and she is happy to have done so.

The three articles in this volume have tried to explore the range of meanings of /í/, /é/, and /ú/. Obviously, there is much more that needs to be done on these verbs and on /ví/, do, and /ú/, be. For example, why do /í/, /é/, and /ú/ usually occur with the /-yu/ auxiliary even when they have objects? Are they considered as some sort of state or middle verb? Likewise, whether there is one or two verbs /é/ is still an open question.
OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON LINGUISTICS

Number 13


James E. Redden, Editor

The papers are reproduced in the order in which they were read at the meetings arranged for the有关的大会, and also arranged in the sequence in which they were presented.

The 1983 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference was held at the University of California, San Diego, June 19-22, 1983. We greatly acknowledge all the work done by the editor and others in the Department of Linguistics at UCSD, and all students in general at UCSD.

The 1984 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference was held at the University of California, Berkeley, June 18-20, 1984, and was held in honor of Robert Dodds. Our thanks to Lemme Nuske and others in the Department of Linguistics at UCSD for all the work they did to make the meeting enjoyable and productive.

The 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference was held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, June 23-25, 1985, as part of the Harry Navek Conference.

Only a very few copies of the proceedings of earlier meetings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. It is our intention to make this Ph.D. thesis available in some annual form.

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PREFACE

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 patridominance and Proto-Utian, which was discussed at length at the 1984 meeting, though it was not formally presented.

The 1983 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference met at the University of California, San Diego, June 16-18, 1983. We greatly acknowledge all the work done by Margaret Langdon and others in the Department of Linguistics at UCSD, which made the meeting so enjoyable and useful.

The 1984 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference met at the University of California, Berkeley, June 22-24, 1984, and was held in honor of Abraham Halpern. Our thanks go to Leanne Hinton and others in the Department of Linguistics at UCB for all they did to make the meeting enjoyable and productive.

The 1985 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference met at the University of California, San Diego, June 19-21, 1985. We are again indebted to Margaret Langdon and the Department of Linguistics at UCSD for all the work they did in hosting another pleasant and useful meeting.

The 1986 Hokan-Penutian Languages Conference will be held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, June 23-27, 1986, as part of the Mary Haas Festival Conference.

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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