Hualapai Clause and Word Structures with /nyi-/

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Hualapai has a number of morphemes that either have a very wide reference range or a number of homonymous morphemes that occur in the same or very similar environments with a wide range of meanings and functions. The best known of these are of course /-k/ and /-m/, but /ny-/ i.e. enya, also occurs in a number of environments as a sort of subordination marker, or as some sort of intensity marker. Several of these were discussed in my IJAL article (1966) and in the Hualapai Reference Grammar (1982). I have never been comfortable with the HRG's analysis that some occurrences of /ny-/ mark first-person object and second-person subject simultaneously and other occurrences of /ny-/ mark second-person object and third-person subject simultaneously (207-ff.). Given below are sentences which seem to be counterexamples of this analysis.

Part of the problem is that the language has been changing rapidly. Since I began working on Hualapai in 1959, the language has undergone some very great changes in its grammatical structure. One has to realize that one is not dealing with a single system but with several systems which are in a state of flux.

Older people often used to use the uncontracted form in the possessive with nouns, but younger people always use the contracted form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older forms</th>
<th>Newer forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyâ nyì-lowâ</td>
<td>my wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. sub. wife</td>
<td>nyâ lowâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mà nyì-lowâ</td>
<td>your wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mà lowâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyì-lowâ</td>
<td>his wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nyî lowâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ny-/ and /nyi-/ are allomorphs. The rhythm-stress system determines whether there is a vowel present. Apparently, speakers felt that the zero marker for third person was somehow an unbalanced system and changed it to a more-nearly-regular system.

In demonstratives, /nyi- is an intensity marker.

vâ that (one) nyîvâ that one there, that very one

The HRG (207-ff.) gives examples of /ny-/ as object-subject prefixes to verbs.

Miyâl nyi-kakâv-o-wi. I am buying bread for you.
bread 2-obj./1-subj.-buy-applicative-do
Miyáá hnyi-kákáv-o-k-wii.  He is buying bread for me.  
bread l-obj./3-subj.buy-applicative-do

In other forms with second-person objects, the verb object prefix is /m-/.
In other forms with first-person objects, the verb object prefix is /ʃ-/; i.e.
zero. It would take far too much space to list all the possible sentences with
verb-prefix object forms here. See HRG pp.207-ff. for a complete list.

Hmááy-a-ch hnyi-yám-k-yii.        A/the boy is passing/going by.  
youth-def.-nom. 3-go-SS-be.

In this sentence, there is a /nyi-/ prefix on the verb, but there is no
apparent object. One might say that there is a third-person adverbal object
such as here, this place, which is understood. But, the verb prefix for third-
person objects with third-person subjects is /ʃ-/ according to the HRG. Also,
there is no applicative suffix /-o/. Likewise, this /nyi-/ cannot be a verb
subordinating prefix since there is only one clause in this sentence. (See below.)

Ká-ch hnyi-yám-a hát-a-ch wóhwóh 1-m-i-ch-m. The dog always barks when somebody
indef.-nom. subord.-come-tns. dog-def.-nom. comes.
bark say-inchoative-say-distrib.-implicational

When clauses are coordinate, there is usually not a subordinating prefix
/nyi-/ on a verb. When a clause is subordinate, there is often a /nyi-/ prefix
on the verb of the subordinate clause. Thus, /nyiyáma/ is marked as a verb in
a subordinate clause. (The implicational /-m/ on the main verb indicates that
there is some result or implication. In this case, the implication is that the
speaker doesn’t have to be worried about being surprised by intruders because
the dog will give a warning.)

Hnyi-yó-k hnyi-6-m góth-á év-m thi-m-wi-ch-k-wii. When he comes to visit, I always
subord.-come-SS subord.-see-DS coffee-def. give him coffee to drink.
give-DS drink-habit.-do-distrib.-SS-do

In this sentence, there are two subordinate clauses, when he comes, and
when he visits; and both are marked with /nyi-/ /nyi/- translates when, after,
because, and with other subordinating conjunctions in English since it shows
some sort temporal or causal subordination. The /nyi/- subordinator does not
always occur in the same clause as the subordinate conjunction in the English
translation.

Kwá-yáa-m-a-ch hnyi-namák-5-k-wi-ny na tůmíny-m-ë. I missed the bus because I
thing-go-fast-def.-nom. subord.-stop/leave.abandon-
bus
applic.-SS-do-perf. l be=late-DS-emphat.

Na tůmíny hny6-yú-ny kwá-yáa-m-a-ch hnyi-namák-m-ë. I was late because I missed
l be=very=late tarry/prolong-be-perf.
the bus.
bus-def.-nom. subord.-leave-DS-emphat.

Hualapai clauses usually follow chronological or logical order. Since
both of the sentences have the /nyi/- subordinator on the same verb, it would
 seem the order of the clauses affect the meaning. Thus, the first sentence above
is literally, When I missed the bus, I was late(.); but the English translation
is causal, i.e. I missed the bus because I was late. The second sentence is
literally, I tarried late when I missed the bus(.); but the English translation
is again causal, I was late because I missed the bus. Thus, the order of the
clauses indicates the cause and the result. The cause comes in the first clause, and the result comes in the second clause. In these two cases then, "My missing the bus was the result of my being late(.)," and "My missing the bus was the result of my being late."

Kàk yám-a-tōp-t-a-k nyi-ván yám-yú-ny. I didn't leave before he came. / not-at-all go-tns.-not-imperf.-tns.-SS I didn't leave until after he came. subord.-come go-be-perf.

With negative sentences meaning not before, not until after, the subordinate clause comes first. The meaning is something like I was not in the state of having left until after he came(.), as is indicated also by the use of the imperfect. Thus, the coming of the other person preceded my leaving, as is indicated by /nyi/- on /yám/. If the order of the clauses had been reversed, the meaning would have been, I didn't leave when he came(.); but the order of the clauses as given gives the meaning not before, not until after.

Má-ch kwá nyi-mi-simé-wò ma-ú-ch-é. Are you looking for the knife you lost?

2-nom. metal subord.-lose-applic. 2-see/look-distrib.-interrog.

The losing of the knife preceded the searching for it, which is reflected in the order of the clauses. The looking for the knife is the result of losing it; thus, the /nyi/- is prefixed to /simé/.

Hát-a-ch wóhvôh-a-k vokwâ-ch-k-i. I hear (the) dogs barking.
dog-def.-nom. bark-tns.SS hear=a-
distant=sound-distrib.-SS-say

l-nom. El Nora l-hear/perceive-tns.-only-tns.DG
sing-applic.-SS-say-perf.-be

Only adverbial clauses take /nyi/- subordinators on the verb. If the subordinate clause is a noun clause or a clause with the /-i/, say, auxiliary that translates like a noun clause in English, there is no /nyi/- subordinator.

Hát sikô-1 ki-ám-ch nyá ny-hát-ch-ú. The dog in the yard is mine.
dog fence-in agent-move-nom. l-obj./3-subj.-have/raise/breed-distrib.-be

Hát/, dog, pet animal, when used as a verb mean have/own/raise/breed animals, always takes the /nyi/- prefix. In the sentence above, The dog belongs (to) me(.), the pattern does fit the one described in the HRG, but /hát/ would still take a /nyi/- prefix even if the subject were first person and the object were third person, which does not fit the HRG analysis, as in the following sentence.

Nyá-ch kúr hát qâlyév nyi-hát-m-wi-ch-wi-ny. I used to have a big dog.
l-nom. already dog big ?-dog-habit.-distrib.-do-perf.

Thus it would seem that some verbs always have the /nyi/- prefix. It may be that the meaning here is inalienably possess. Some nouns always take the /nyi/- possessive subordinator, e.g., /nyikwâ/., shirt. This seems to mean inalienable possession. In fact, a Hualapai man once said to me, "A shirt always has to belong to somebody." This wouldn't apply to /yám/, to, however, since /yám/ usually occurs without /nyi/-.

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Kwâ-nyâ-nyì-nyé-ch và-k-yu. My husband is coming.
thing-1-subord.-hold/grasp-nom. come-SS-be.

This term of endearment for husband might seem like inalienable possession, but it is more like a relative clause which describes or identifies, as with other uses of /nyì-/ often are. Literally, the thing that I have/hold, is more like this/that thing of mine.

Nyà nyì-vâ-v-e-ch hän-k-yu. This house of mine is good. (I live here.)
1 subord.-house-this-def.-nom. My house is good.
be=good-SS-be

Wà nyà ví-v-ch hän-k-yu. That house of mine is good. (I probably don't)
house 1 have-this/-nom. be=good-SS-be The house I have is good. (live there.)

One has consider whether the /vâ/ in the first sentence is the noun house or the verb live, dwell. Since this use of /nyì-/ is the usual old possessive marker, this /vâ/ has to be house. Where I live is good(.) is not a good translation of this sentence. The meaning of the second sentence is The house that I have/own is good. I may or may not live there, but probably I don't.

Vi-ká nyì-vâ-h-l mi-yâm-ày-k mi-yu? Whose house are you going to be at?
just-indef./interrog. subord.-house-that-in 2-go-fut./intend-SS 2-be.

Here, /vâ/ refers to the house of an unknown person; therefore, it means whose house?.

Nyà tâ-1-kwî-k kwê nyiyé-hi-we. I'm going hunting with my father.
1 father-Def. accompany-SS hunt-fut./intend-do

There are some verbs that have /nyì-/ or /ny-/- as part of the stem. The word hunt is /nyiyé/ in the speech of older people, but younger people have contracted hunt to /nyê/.

Nyà-ch và-k i-vsâvî-k pà nyì-év-k-yu. I'm just standing here listening.
1-nom. here-at 1-stand-SS 3 distance-hear/listen-SS-be

In this sentence, /nyì-/ is not part of the verb stem, nor is it a third-person-object/first-person-subject marker. The object-person marker for this combination according to the HRG is zero. In the adverbal/demonstrative particles, /ny-/ plus a vowel is a common form for there, at a distance. Thus, the last sentence means eavesdropping from a distance. Likewise, the /nyiyâm/ on the second page of this article means passing/going by at a distance. Since Hualapai has such an extensive system of marking close by, fairly close, and at a distance, this fits within the relative-distance system that is so pervasive in the language.

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Occasional Papers On Linguistics

Papers from the 1987 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop and Friends of Uto-Aztecan Workshop, Held at University of Utah, Salt Lake City, June 18-21, 1987.

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PREFACE

For the first time, The Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop and the Friends of Uto-Aztecan Working Conference met together as a single conference, at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, June 18-21, 1987. In the past, the conferences usually met back to back; the Uto-Aztecan meeting usually ended one or two days before the Hokan-Penutian meeting began, which gave people just enough time to travel from one location to the other. Since a number of people attend both meetings, it is hoped that these joint meetings can occur more often.

All the papers except the last one were given in a slightly different form at the meeting in Salt Lake City. The last paper was given at the 1986 Hokan-Penutian meeting, which met as a section the Haas Festival at Santa Cruz. The papers are given in the order they appeared at the meeting at the University of Utah.

The participants of the conference gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor Wick R. Miller, other faculty members, and the students at the University of Utah, which made the conference run so smoothly and enjoyably.

The 1988 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop will meet at the University of Oregon, Eugene, June 16-18, 1988.

James E. Fedden, Editor
Carbondale, March 1988
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