The Walapai /-ð/ Suffixes

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Abstract: Walapai expresses several meanings by /-ð/ suffixes. These include locative, former, lost, not present, result, changed or resulting state, distant, applicative, evidential, negative, completive, intensive, and other meanings. Except for the /-ð/ meaning place where action performed, there is only one other suffix, which occurs with both nouns and verbs. Its meaning is negative, both negative of direction, i.e. away from, not here, and negative of reality, i.e. non-occuring, changed or resulting state, result of changed state.

Walapai is a Yuman language of Northwest Arizona. There are several meanings expressed by /-ð/ suffixes. One of these is the morpheme meaning place where action is performed.

smúwa
place where sleeping was done once or a very few times

smúčo
place where sleeping is done regularly/habitually, bedroom

All the /-ð/ suffixes have the allomorph /-wð/ after consonants. In most cases, the allomorph is /-wð/ after vowels; but sometimes it is /-ð/ after vowels, especially after /e/. The /-č/ above is the distributive morpheme, meaning repeated or iterative.

There are a variety of other meanings expressed by /-ð/ suffixes, but they all seem to be the same morpheme meaning either negative of direction, i.e. away from, not here, or negative of actuality, i.e. non-occuring, changed or resulting state, result of changed state.

nà hmeð
my son who isn't with me

nútó
dog I used to have, dog that is gone/dead now

nà Ɂit-ð-č niwá I-k-i-n #
l mother-ð-nom say-SS-say-perf.

nà púro
the hat I was wearing/had on

nà hmpnúðó
the shoes I've (just) taken off

These uses of /-ð/ all mean not present or not present in former way.
The change can be either temporary such as removing one's hat or shoes or permanent such as death or loss.

An /-ð/ can also be an applicative, meaning action directed toward a direct object; but the direct object may not be expressed.

\[ \text{wōc wōwki} \# \quad \text{He's talking/speaking.} \]

\[ \text{wōc wōwōki} \# \quad \text{He's talking/speaking to him/them.} \]

\[ \text{pá-h ni-swār-ð-k-1} \# \quad \text{He's singing to me.} \]

\[ \text{man-that subord-sing-ð-SS-say} \]

\[ \text{wāksí-qē-ð-k čikyär-þ-we} \# \quad \text{I cut a slice/piece of meat off.} \]

\[ \text{beef-small-ð-iness. cut-ð-do} \]

\[ \text{píθéc ná nūtārhár-ð-k-wí} \# \quad \text{He works for me.} \]

\[ \text{3 l work-ð-SS=do} \]

\[ \text{oří-těk pā-hā-m mān-ð-k-yu} \# \quad \text{A lot of rocks fell on the road.} \]

\[ \text{rock-many/much road-that-abl. fall-ð-SS-be} \]

In the last sentence above, the /-ð/ is necessary in order to indicate that the rocks fell onto the road. Without the /-ð/ on the verb, the ablative /-m/ on road would indicate that A lot of rocks fell along(side) the road. Thus, the applicative use of /-ð/ indicates that A lot of rocks fell onto the road along a section of the road.

An /-ð/ can indicate a state or condition exists, but means it is a new or changed condition.

\[ \text{ohúc čēkyú} \# \quad \text{The cottonwood tree is leafed out.} \]

\[ \text{ohúc čēdēkyú} \# \quad \text{The cottonwood tree has leafed out.} \]

\[ \text{šūlín māčkyú} \# \quad \text{The electricity is/vent off.} \]

\[ \text{šūlínč māčdēkyú} \# \quad \text{The electricity has been off for quite awhile.} \]

\[ \text{mātqēkyú} \# \quad \text{It is muddy (outdoors).} \]

\[ \text{mātqēdēkyú} \# \quad \text{It has gotten/is very muddy out.} \]

In these three pairs of sentences, the verbs with /-ð/ indicate a change of state has taken place. Without /-ð/, /Ø̄/ describes the condition of a tree that one would find in midsummer when trees
are fully leafed out. With /-ő/, the tree has just leafed out, and the leaves are still small, as would be the case in early spring. Without /-ő/, /māč/ indicates that the electricity has just gone off or has only been off a short time. With /-ő/, it indicates that the state or condition has existed for some time, i.e. the electricity has been off for a long time. In the last pair of sentences, the first one means just that it is muddy; but the second one indicates that it is very muddy, i.e. a condition of muddiness has developed.

When the speaker wishes to indicate that something is the case, but that the speaker has no knowledge of how the condition arose, the speaker will use an /-ő/ on the verb with the /-yu/, be, auxiliary.

qāvōkyu #
It is broken.

kwēvōč lāpōkyu #
The tire is/has gone flat.

nā nkwōč lēlōgyu #
My shirt is torn.

/-ő/ is also used on verbs to indicate that speaker has no knowledge of a situation but has observed the evidence and has drawn a conclusion. This often means something like It must be that..., It seems to be the case that....

nīqōvāč kwānkwe #
A bear killed him.

nīqōvač kwānkwe #
A bear must have killed him.

pič-k wō-h-m əm-ő-k-yu-n #
He must have gone by the house. 3-nom. house-that-abl. go-ő-SS-be-perf.

pič-k ɾiyōrdōkwinn #
He must have chopped the wood.

In the first sentence with /kwān/, kill, the sentences is presented as a fact. Perhaps the corpse is still lying there visible. In the second sentence, the speaker offers a hypothesis. Based on the fact the body was badly mauled, speaker concludes that a bear must have killed him. In the sentence with /əm/, speaker saw the footprints or tiretracks and concluded that someone passed along by the house. In the last sentence, speaker sees the chopped and stacked wood and concludes that her son (or someone else in the family) has spent the time to chop the wood.

Change of condition can mean completion, much like out and up in English.

nīlki61-a-č pīl-ő-k-yu #
The lightbulb is burnt out.
lightbulb-the-nom. burn-ő-SS-be

wilki66 pīlkyu #
The leaves are burning.
In the first sentence above, the change of state indicated by /-ɔ/ is completion. In the second sentence, the leaves are burning still. Completion can be in the sense of through or all the way.

qwódտу ռա իցիկյարուև #  
melon that I-cut

wəկսու են կիպումցուկյու #  
The cattle got out.

պուըա կե մուէկկու #  
The cat ate the mouse (up).

In the first sentence above, I cut the melon in two. I didn't just cut a piece out of it. In the second sentence, the cattle are out and gone and will have to be rounded up. In the third sentence, the cat consumed the mouse. I didn't just eat a part of it.

/-ɔ/ often occurs with verbs of motion in the sense of be away, not present.

ռու-չ յարոկ վա-դ-կ-ա-ն #  
3-nom. first arrive/come-դ-SS-be-perf.

Դու յումո  ||  
Was I gone? Did you find me gone?

յումոկկուն #  
He left before I did.

In each of these three cases, the meaning is that someone is not present or left. The primary stress on /յում/ is interrogative.

Almost certainly, the tertiary-stressed suffix /-ɔ/ is related to the independent primary-stressed verb /6/, be not.

ռու յումոտաբուրու #  
I'm not going/didn't go/don't go.

հումալու եպկկու #  
The sack is gone/missing.

Compare this with the following sentences, using /պեմ/, be exhausted/used up/all gone. /կվե/ means thing, something.

հումալ կվե պեմքկու #  
The sack is empty.

հումալ պեմքկու #  
The sacks are all used up/gone.

հուվջ պու պեմքկու #  
The water is all gone
The water has run out just now.

հուվջ պու պեմուկու #  
The water is all gone.
The water was all gone when I came.
There's been no water for some time.

Thus, it seems clear that the primary-stressed independent verb /6/
means factually not true, does not exist, it is not the case that; whereas the tertiary-stressed noun and verb suffix /-δ/ means not present, absent, gone away, changed location or condition.

Sometimes, however, /-δ/ indicates a difference of distance.

πул skówki # He’s standing here close by.
πул skówky # He’s standing over there.

This no doubt is the result of having gone away from here close by, even though there is nothing in the verb /sków/, stand, to indicate movement. The indication then is his condition of being close by has changed to a condition of being somewhat further away.

This change of condition often best translates into English with a present perfect, meaning current resulting state.

wú stük-v-δ-k-yu # The door has come open.
θikómpökky # It has gotten broken.
púrökky # It has gotten wet.

This change of condition can also be seen when /-δ/ occurs in combination with the suffixes /-θ/ and /-m/.

kwí vó-k-yu-θ-δ wó-há-1 wó-hi-yu # If it had rained, I would have cloud come-SS-be-if-δ house-that-in stayed home.
stay/live-fut./irreal.-be

píhá-č smó-m-k-yu-m-δ # He might have gone to sleep.
He may be asleep by now.

With the /-θ/, a conditional if, the contemplated change did not take place, i.e. negative reality, which is indicated by /-δ/.
With the /-m/ as the clause-final "conjunction", it is implied that the sentence is not finished, i.e. some result can be anticipated. For example, the television can probably be turned on softly now because the baby is surely asleep by now. This is a conclusion the speaker draws from the evidence, i.e. the passage of a certain amount of time.

Also, one must wonder about the two verbs that end in /-δ/, /yδ/, take, grasp, pick up, and /kδ/, carry, whether they contain the negative verb /δ/. /y/- means use a body part. Thus, use a body part to remove is a good morphological analysis of /yδ/. For /k/-, there is no morpheme except the /k(1)-/, which makes agent nouns from verbs. Even so, perhaps /kδ/ does contain the negative verb. Most Walapai verbs contain several such morphemes. This paper has solved a few of the /-δ/ problems, but many remain.
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.


James E. Fedden, Editor
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