Non-Walapai words in Walapai

Werner Winter

The study of foreign words added to the lexicon of a language can contribute substantially to one's knowledge of the history of this language and of its speakers. Such a study is a legitimate concern of linguists anywhere; in the case of languages unrecorded until very recently, the importance of loanwords as a source of historical information tends to increase considerably.

For the reconstruction of the unrecorded history of a language and its speakers, it is imperative that the immediate source of a loanword (and not some remote ultimate origin) be determined. It is only the immediate contact that counts, not a previous exposure to foreign influence the source language may have undergone. Thus, whether words transferred from English to a language X were of Anglo-Saxon provenience or not, is of no concern for the history of X - only the contact English-X does count.

It is unusual for a loan transfer to affect only isolated entities; it seems to be a rule that clusters of words assignable to specific semantic fields are taken over. This reflects the fact that it is not only words that are borrowed, but usually also the things or skills designated by these words in the source language, and these things or skills tend to be part of natural groups or divisible into such groups. If the name and the thing are both borrowed, then observing borrowing as a linguistic phenomenon will also tell us much about borrowing as a more general cultural event or cluster of events.

There is no compelling need for the transfer of a foreign designation when an element or a feature of a foreign culture is adopted. The designation may be borrowed, but in native guise; for such a loan translation to come into existence, it is, however, necessary that enough of a bilingualism is found to make the foreign term translatable. In the absence of such a bilingualism, or for other reasons, the foreign designation may not be transferred at all, but a native term may be used to name the thing or skill taken over. This purely native solution may be achieved in various ways: the range of applicability of a native designation may be extended, a native designation may cease to be used for its original native point of reference, or native means may be employed to create new native terms - usually by way of coining neologisms with
fully understandable constituents referring to what appears to be taken to be the set of salient features of the item or event named.

In discussing non-Walapai words in Walapai, I shall refrain from including everyday usage of the younger generation. My reason for so doing is that for most of these people English has to be considered the dominant, Walapai, the recessive language. This means, for one thing, that English words in Walapai can no longer be expected to cluster in a significant way; equally important seems to be the fact that words of English origin appear to be fully synonymous with native terms so that they can be used interchangeably, while full-fledged loanwords may be viewed as filling a semantic or stylistic gap not occupied by a native word (though of course even these loanwords are subject to replacement by paraphrase).

My data thus are limited to notes made about the speech of older people (mostly of those that were old even in the 'fifties and 'sixties) and to texts recorded with the help of these older men and women. Information obtained from fully competent younger speakers was not entirely disregarded, but used essentially only as a source of information for the study of productive word-formation processes and thus of importance here only for an evaluation of the respective weight of calques vs. truly native coinages.

My texts include traditional tales as well as oral histories. The former tend to reflect life of a time prior to exposure to Hispanic and Anglo culture and thus are not likely to make a recourse to borrowed words necessary. As a matter of fact, the main body of the mythical tales I was able to record contains, as far as my notes indicate, only one English common noun, viz., /layn/ for 'mountain lion', which the speaker immediately changed to /amit/, thereby indicating that the loanword was somehow not properly used. English place-names can be found, but rather as glosses rendering the native terms more intelligible to the outsider.

Life histories clearly are in a different category. Even for the oldest person telling his story, Kate Crozier who was said, in 1956, to be one hundred years old (and in fact he cannot have been much younger than that), and who reported more of encounters with white soldiers and ranchers than of old-time traditional life, there is no noticeable impact of the English language except when reference is made to persons, places, or dates. The person Kate Crozier becomes completely involved in the activities typical for the frontier, but the English language which he did learn leaves his Walapai unaffected.

The English loanwords I recorded are an odd lot indeed. The list includes, apart from layn just mentioned, two words for
'cat', pos and kíri, kófi for 'coffee', hankàc for 'handkerchief', monkà 'monkey', g'anna for both 'Chinese' and 'Japanese', and sikawí:ci for 75 cents. The last two items will be discussed later on; the others do not invite special comment except that they mostly are terms relating to features of everyday life of White families. They certainly do not form a closed semantic set, though.

The most important observation that can be made is that loanwords from English were extremely rare in Walapai as used by speakers born in the second half of the nineteenth century. This observation applies to speakers who, without any exception, were bilingual in Walapai and at least that variant of English which one might want to call Walapai English and of which I published sample texts in 1963. We shall return to this point later on.

Words with a Spanish background are considerably more common. My list includes ṭarucù 'rice', ṭa:s 'ace', halavuro 'burro', halmùni 'Sunday; week', cil 'chili', kanelo 'sheep', kapitan 'captain', karet or katet 'cart', mulo 'mule', kàve or kòwe 'coffee', sáwa:to 'goat', soltaw 'soldier', tarhà:t 'work'.

Some semantic groupings can immediately be made: domestic animals unknown in Arizona prior to the coming of the Spaniards; food and drink; military terminology, and of course the generalized term for 'work' so ubiquitous in the Spanish-Indian contact area of the Southwest and West. The groupings can be extended in interesting ways, but a very important question should be asked first:

Is it likely that these words of Spanish provenience were taken over directly from Spanish-speaking people - are they Spanish loanwords in the proper narrow sense?

From what we know about the pre-Anglo history of Northern Arizona, we have to conclude that the answer can only be in the negative. The next question follows immediately:

Can we determine a source, or sources, closer to Spanish-speaking areas, yet still located near enough to Walapai territory, or in known contact with speakers of Walapai, to facilitate a linguistic transfer?

Two channels of transmission appear likely: one up the Colorado River, the other from New Mexico by way of the Hopis (the third, from the South, is less probable because of what is reported about the traditional enmity between Walapai and Yavapai).

When one inspects Hopi domains by Voegelin and Voegelin, one notes that the Walapai terms for 'sheep' and 'goat' agree with the Hopi words for 'sheep' and 'male goat' to the point of even showing preservation of final -c. More important, however, is the fact that the agreement extends to the word for
'cow', Walapai waksi? : Hopi waqasi, which must be a Hopi adaptation of Spanish vaca(s). Transfer of a Hopi term for a fruit and fruit tree introduced by the Spaniards is found in the word for 'peach', Walapai Opal : Hopi sipala.

Mohave, on the other hand, shows even more agreement with Walapai in words of Spanish origin. 'Rice', 'week', 'chili', 'coffee', 'soldier', 'work' have closely matching forms. Mohave thivat 'goat' poses some interesting problems: it cannot be the source of the Walapai word because of its /∅/ and its lack of -o; on the other hand, /∅/ is, as Leanne Hinton has shown, just what one would expect to find in an early Walapai borrowing from Hopi (cf. the word for 'peach'). It may be tentatively suggested that an early loanword *qovat was borrowed from Walapai by Mohave before it was replaced, in Walapai, by a later loanword from Hopi, lacking, because of its recency, the replacement of *∅ by /∅/.

If Mohave hanidal 'government' is indeed, as Pamela Munro suggests, a development from Spanish general, one may possibly take the occurrence of /∅/ in this borrowed item as an indication that the specific phonetic properties of this phoneme developed fairly late at least in Mohave; be that as it may, it seems highly probable that Walapai hanidal (with substitution of Walapai /∅/ for /∅/ of its source) is a loanword from Mohave; if so, it appears likely that Walapai soltaw 'soldier' was also borrowed from Mohave.

For 'coffee', a surprising number of variants occurs in Walapai. Apart from English-based kōfi mentioned earlier, kōvea, kōmēa, and ko∅ (James Redden has go∅) can be listed. The Mohave equivalent is kathvee. The Mohave form is most readily explained if one assumes that the interchangeability of h and ∅ observed by Pamela Munro affected an earlier form *kahve with the sequence -hv- reflecting a decomposed ∅ of the Spanish source form. Walapai, which does not seem to have a vacillation between h and ∅, took over the Mohave variant with -hv-. Contamination with English-based kōfi resulted in the introduction of -o- instead of -a- and the stressing of the first syllable; this in turn made it possible to re-interpret -y- as a suffix -y-, the deletion of which yielded ko∅ attested in the speech of Malinda Powskey and, possibly through her, in the tribal five-hundred word dictionary.

While up to this point some doubt might still prevail as to the role of Mohave as an immediate source language for loanwords in Walapai, we can be absolutely certain about some forms from a different semantic field. The Walapai terms for 'quarter' and 'half-dollar' contain the Mohave numerals 'two' and 'four' respectively: Walapai mlhvik or mîfik reflects Mohave me hivik 'two bits' and does not contain Walapai hwak 'two'; Walapai mîchëmpap 'four bits' agrees with Mohave me chumpap and does not show Walapai hupā 'four'. The word for 'time', on the other hand, has Walapai 'one' in mîsita: corresponding to Mohave me fassent. While these observations should suffice to prove borrowing from Mohave, it is tempting to raise the question whether Mohave me can be ex-
The answer to this question seems clear. Mohave -me (with obligatory possessive prefix) means 'foot, feet'. One may assume that a speaker of Mohave, a language which possessed neither /f/ nor /b/, could assign the labial of two bit to the same sound class as the labiodental of feet and could therefore provide an 'etymology' for bit which enabled him to find a loan translation. Speakers of Walapai, in their turn, may then have identified Mohave me in me hiviik as the word for 'foot' and proceeded to replacing it by its Walapai counterpart ?mi?.

With one exception, the entire system of names for small amounts of money appears to derive from Mohave: The word for 'nickel' is Walapai hol, Mohave hool; its source is Spanish joa, used in the North and Northwest of Mexico for a small coin (cf. Santamaria, Diccionario de mejicanismo /Mejico, 1959/ 642). Corresponding to Mohave hool ?akwath 'yellow jola' we find Walapai hól'at 'red jola' or hólkwá1 ráp 'little flat red jola' (in Yavapai, we have 'small yellow war bonnet', clearly a reference to the Indian-head penny) for 'one cent'. The use of 'one bit' for 'dime', also found in Yavapai, has already been mentioned; so has that of šikswí:ci, obviously a replica of English six bits, for '75¢'. It is noteworthy that this is the first term discussed here that does not refer to a single United States coin; this may have been sufficient reasons for its having come into existence independently of that of other bit terms. In Mohave, '75¢ also remained outside of the bit system, but with quite different results: here a Spanish term survived, Mohave seriálk : Spanish seis reales.

The availability of a coin may be taken to be the cause for the adoption of the expression '(one) peso' for 'one dollar' in both Mohave and Walapai: Mohave has ?umpées; for Walapai, I recorded ?umpéés for the one-dollar piece, pes as a general term for 'dollar' and 'money' (alongside ?umpéés and ?umpes); I do not think that Walapai pes has to be viewed as stemming from a different transmission chain.

Among words of ultimately Spanish origin, I mentioned Walapai ?áis 'ace'. This form is matched by Mohave ?ás. The agreement between Mohave and Walapai extends to other names of cards and suits of cards: Mohave ?áreé, Walapai réya 'king'; Mohave kaayáy, Walapai káyáya 'queen'; Mohave sōot, Walapai sóta 'jack'; Mohave vústa, Walapai vásta 'clubs'; Mohave ?ásapay, Walapai spá:sa 'spades'; Mohave koop, Walapai kópa 'hearts'; Mohave ra?cor, Walapai ródrá 'diamonds'. The substitution of -y- for -a- in Mohave is curious in view of the fact that a voiced interdental fricative is well established in this language; it occurs, however, only in prestress position, and we may take note of phonotactic rules taking precedence over considerations of phonetic similarity. In some cases, the Walapai form is closer to Spanish.
than is its Mohave counterpart - e.g., Mohave Yaree : Walapai réva : Spanish rey 'king'; the reason may be that my Monte expert, knowing some Spanish, had re-Hispanized Walapai forms (he also gave alternative forms for some of the card names - los and dos 'deuce', sóisa and seys 'six', syéta and siete 'seven'); it seems best to ascribe his use of a voiced interdental fricative in the word for 'spades' to this cause - which would not preclude the assumption of a borrowing of card names from Mohave into Walapai.

It thus appears that a good case can be made for words of Spanish origin having been brought into Walapai by way of another Indian language, viz., Hopi or Mohave. In some instances, such as Walapai mulo 'mule', we lack an indication of a link between Spanish and Walapai.

In the case of the bit words, we find Mohave mediation even for a term of English provenience. The same may hold true for Walapai c'áama 'Chinese', Mohave chanama 'Chinese'. Pamela Munro derives the Mohave word from English Chinaman, which seems perfectly reasonable. The word seems to be a fairly early loan from English, and it is highly probable that contacts with Chinese occurred sooner within the sphere of experience of the more westerly Mohave than in that of the Walapai. We thus seem well advised to exclude c'áama from the list of items borrowed by speakers of Walapai directly from English.

In conclusion, a few comments seem called for about the striking absence of a substantial number of English loanwords in Walapai as used by speakers born and raised in the second half of the nineteenth century. When we look at the lexicon as a whole, we find that the equivalents of English words denoting well-known and completely accepted items of what one might choose to call Common Southwestern Culture are Walapai neologisms, as a rule without any reference to the English terms as such - that is, we find very many native coinages and very few calques. One has the impression that while material and even nonmaterial culture was quite readily accepted, the language of the Whites was found objectionable, at least for about two generations. To me, this seems to have been due to an attitude generated by essential parts of the educational system imposed from the outside, including, as it were, a force-feeding of English (no matter how well-intentioned it may have been) to Indian children who thus became alienated from their elders and their native culture - and whose newly acquired skill in the language of the country was not appreciated, let alone emulated, at home, at least not as long as there were monolingual speakers of Walapai around, holding positions of respect in their families and in the tribe as a whole. The absence of English loanwords at a time when the youngsters of the tribe were made to attend school - and thus could have provided their elders with some access to the foreign language - can only be interpreted as the
result of a more or less deliberate rejection of the language of the newcomers, in spite of—or maybe even because of—the overpowering political and economic role the strangers had begun to play then and there. As I said before, the attitude towards the English language differed strikingly from that towards other aspects of the White Man's civilization: tools, skills, and way of life of the rancher and the cowboy were accepted without, so it seems, any reluctance, even with great eagerness—but the technical vocabulary of the trade was recast (except that the term hakmo 'hackamore' was borrowed for no obvious reason), and native Walapai coinages prevailed to this day.

We may take, or at least feel tempted to take, these observations as one more indication of the central role of language and its use in the life of human beings, much more central than many other activities and even attitudes; but then of course, linguists might not be totally unbiased in such matters.
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Proceedings of the 1990 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop, Held at the University of California, San Diego, June 22-23, 1990.

SIU

Department of Linguistics
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PREFACE

The 1990 meeting was the twentieth anniversary of the First Hokan conference, which met at the University of California, San Diego. From time to time, the conference has met with other groups such as the Penutian conference and the Uto-Aztecan conference. It now regularly meets with the Penutian conference.

The conference is again indebted to Margaret Langdon and the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, San Diego, for hosting the conference. Our thanks are also due to the various graduate students who took care of the numerous details such as supplying the endless coffee.

The papers in this volume appear in the same order as they did on the program at the conference. Unfortunately, a few of the presenters were not able to send in a paper for publication. All of the papers in the volume except the last one were presented at the 1990 meeting.

In 1983, 1984, and 1985, very few of the presenters sent in their papers for publication. In 1986, a few papers from each of these years were assembled into a single volume. Werner Winter sent his 1983 paper in so early that the editor lost it in the files, and Winter's paper was omitted from the 1986 volume. It is now egg-on-the-face time for the editor. Winter's paper is included in this volume as the last paper. Mea culpa.

Arrangements have been made with Coyote Press, P.O. Box 3377, Salinas, CA 93912, 408-422-4912, to reprint the various Hokan and Hokan-Penutian conference volumes. Dr. Gary S. Brezina of Coyote Press has told me that he will try to keep all the volumes in print. I have just sent him part of the original manuscripts and will be sending him the rest of the manuscripts very shortly. Only a very few of the original publications are still available. Please see the list at the end of the volume for details on the few remaining original volumes. I do not know how long it will be until Coyote Press will begin issuing reprints of the backissues.

James E. Redden

Carbondale, December 1990

Historical Note: The proceedings of the First Hokan conference were edited by Margaret Langdon and published by Mouton. I have edited all the other volumes of proceedings except those of 1988 and 1989, when I was in Africa. The 1988 and 1989 volumes of proceedings were edited by Scott Delancey in the series published by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oregon. Please do not request these two volumes from me. Please address orders for the 1988 and 1989 volumes to: Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403. I hope that Scott will be willing to publish the Hokan-Penutian volumes regularly, when I retire in a few years.

JER
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