Accusative Locatives and Other Locatives in Walapai

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Though Walapai has an illative case marked by /-l/; meaning in, into, inside, an inessive case marked by /-k/, meaning at, by, near, close to, on, and an ablative case marked by /-m/, meaning from, away, along, with, many locatives are in the accusative case, which is marked by zero, which contrasts with the overtly-marked cases. These various case endings combine to indicate more exact meanings, much the way that English uses multiple prepositions.

Abbreviations used are these: NOM, nominative; ACC, accusative; ILL, illative; INS, inessive; ABL, ablative; GAL, general area location; PAF, place action performed; ABS, absent; DIST, distributive; FUT, future/want/irrealis; SS, same subject on next verb; DS, different subject on next verb; TNS, a kind of timeless aorist "tense"; PERF, perfect; IMPF, imperfect; DEF, definite. /ny/ indicates a palatal nasal (as in the orthography used at the Peach Springs school); /ch/, a palatal affricate, usually voiceless; /th/, a dental fricative, usually voiceless; and /ng/, a velar nasal.

1. tinyûrû-ch-ð yám-áy-k-yu #
write.show-DIST-PAF go-FUT-SS-BE
He's going to (the) school.
He's attending classes.

2. tinyûrûçhô l yámûkkyu #
school-ILL
He's going into the school.
He's entering the school building.

3. tinyûrûçhô-1 e yámûkkyu #
school-ILL-GAL
He's going somewhere in/around the school.

4. tinyûrûçhô chipá-k-k-a #
school come=out/emerger-INS-SS-TNS
He's coming out from somewhere in around the school.

5. tinyûrûçhô l chipá-k-k-yu #
school-ILL emerge-INS-SS-BE
He's coming out of/from inside the school building.

6. tinyûrûçhô m chipá-k-k-yu #
school-ABL emerge-INS-SS-BE
He's coming from school/classes.

In 1., school is the direct object of the verb, like English He attends school. In 2., school plus the illative is a direction locative, into, inside. In 3., there is a general-area-location suffix, meaning somewhere in the general area. In 4., school has no case marker and is therefore accusative, and it is the object of come out, emerge, climb out (of), much like the English He left (the) school. In 5., school is marked with the illative case, meaning with the verb from out of the inside/interior. In 6., school has the ablative case, meaning from, away (from).
7. sácha-wè-k yú-k-yu-m-iú-ch-k-yu ¦ He hangs around the store a lot.

buy-PAF-INS BE-SS-EB-ABL-EB-DIST-SS-EB

8. nyà chìta-ch wá-v-m chipá-m-k-yu-ny ¦ My mother went out of the house.

I mother-NOM house-this-ABL emerge-ABL-SS-EB-PERF

In 7., store has the inessive /-k/, meaning at, near, close to, and by extension in close association with. No doubt the same-subject suffix on BE is another use of the inessive /-k/, indicating a close relationship between the first BE and the second BE. The /-m/ on the second BE is not the different-subject suffix, but an ablative meaning along, spread out, distributive. If one asks a Hualapai the word for "always", one gets mičch. Likewise, the distributive /-ch/ indicates repeated action, iterative. In 8., both mother and emerge have the ablative /-a/, indicating away from the speaker. Compare these with 4., 5., and 6., which indicate toward/in the direction of the speaker.

9. kwè-vyám-iny wá-mák-ō mi-chiwó ¦ Put the car in back of the house somewhere.

thing-rum-that house-back-PAF 2-put

10. kwè-vyám-iny wá-mák-a-l mi-chiwó ¦ Put the car in behind the house.

car-that house-back-DEF-ILL 2-put

In 9., the back of the house has no suffix and is therefore accusative; but in 10., in the back of the house has the illative suffix and is much more specific, indicating right in behind the house, whereas the other form with no suffix means just anywhere behind the house.

11. nyà-ch ôl³ i-cha-mán-we ¦ I fell on(to) the horse.

I-NOM horse I-CAUS-fall-DO

12. ahmàny cha-mán-we ¦ I fell on(to) the child.

child CAUS-fall-DO

13. oví-k a-mán-yu ¦ I fell on the rock.

rock-INS 1-fall-BE

14. hmàny-quéch-a-ch màta-tà-k màn-mà-k-yu ¦ The baby fell onto the ground.

child-small-DEF-NOM ground-whole=set-INS fall-INCHO-SS-EB

In 11. and 12., fall has a causative prefix, indicating that something caused the speaker to fall; whereas in 13. and 14., the person just slipped and fell. Also, 11. and 12. have the /-we/ suffix, which indicates a transitive verb; whereas in 13. and 14., the verb has the /-yu/ suffix, which indicates an intransitive verb. Thus in 11. and 12., horse and child are direct objects; but in 13. and 14., rock and ground are locatives with the /-k/ suffix, indicating close proximity. In both these cases, the person was standing on the rock or the ground before falling on it, which is not the case in 11. and 12. Also, in
14. fall has the inchoative suffix /-m/, which means begin, start, which is the way to indicate accidentally, involuntarily, out of control. The /-tā/ suffix on ground would usually mean the whole set/unit/piece/group. Here it must mean that the child fell spreadeagled onto the ground.

15. pē-ch màk-è l ké-k-we # He is carrying wood on his back.
3-NOM back-PAF wood carry-SS-DO

In 15., back has no case suffix, though it is clearly a locative. Perhaps the /-o/ suffix meaning place where action performed should be considered some sort of portmanteau, which incorporates a postposition.

16. hāt-ā-ch chōq-a yāl yāk-k-yu # The dog is lying (in) under the tree.
dog-DEF-NOM cedar-DEF under lie-SS-BE

17. hāt-ā-ch chōq-a pūk-a-l yākkkyu # The dog is lying at the foot of the tree.
dog-DEF-NOM cedar-DEF corner-DEF-ILL lie

18. pā-h nyi-wā-hi-ch māt-a-īl-a pūk yōk-k-yyu # His house is at the foot of the hill/cliff.
3-that POSS-house-that-NOM ground-DEF-steep-DEF corner be-located-at SS-BE

19. wā-v pūk-a-k wā-k-yyu # He is sitting right by the house.
house-this corner-DEF-INS sit-SS-BE

Some locatives seem to be compound nouns. In 16., /yāl/ under or bottom. Perhaps a better analysis would be: The dog lies the cedar-bottom. Likewise, /pūk/, corner, angle, may mean something like: The dog lies (in) the cedar-angle (with the ground). In 18., the idea seems to be: His house is located in the angle formed by the horizontal ground and the vertical cliff. In 19., then, he is sitting in the angle formed by the horizontal ground and the vertical side of the house, would seem to be the meaning. These compound nouns, cedar-corner in 16. and cliff-corner in 18., would be accusative locatives, assuming that the final /-l/ and /-k/ are part of the stem, as here analyzed. Likewise, these compound nouns in 17. and 19. have the illative /-l/ and inessive /-k/, respectively, as most locatives do. Thus, the compound nouns with no suffix would seem to be direct objects of the verbs.

20. tinyū-uch-a xi-vmū-ch hā-m sīlkē-ch-a # The new school has a fence around it.
school-DIST-DEF AGENT-new-NOM there-ABL fence-DIST-INS.

21. mā-ch hamāl-a nya-mi-v-a-k mā-tipōq-am-we # You have spilled beer on my foot.
2-NOM suds-DEF l-foot-this-DEF-INS 2-spill-INCHO-DO

22. wāmpōr-m anyā vô-k yām-k # He's walking along the railroad track.
train-ABL road walk-SS go-SS
23. wàmpòr-m anyá kwách vò-k yâm-k # He's walking along beside the railroad track.
train-ABL road side walk-SS go-SS

24. wàmpòt nyi-v-nyá yâm-ò mi-vò # Walk on the railroad tracks.
train POSS-very-road go-PAF 2-walk

25. wàmpòt nyi-v-nyá kwách-k-a-m mi-vò # Walk along beside the railroad track.
train POSS-very-road side-INS-DEF-ABL 2-walk

In 20., /hám/ means around it, around there. Here the meaning of along has been extended to mean around, i.e. along all sides. In 22., the /-m/ on /tipòq/, spill, no doubt means accidentally, involuntarily, but it could possibly mean: You have spilled beer all along the side of my foot, which is not very likely. In 22. and 23., the /-m/ means along; but one might ask why the /-m/ is attached to train and not to road. Embedded sentences are quite common in Walapai. This sentence seems literally to be: Go along the train, walk the road. This is clearer in 23., which is: Go along the train, walk the tracks aside. In 24., /yámò/ means the roadway, the tracks themselves. Thus the three words preceding the verb /mívò/ are one compound noun, train-road-way, which is the object of the verb. But, in 25., one is to walk along beside the track and not on the track, as in 24.

26. vithítêknàkèvà-l kwách-ìk yú-k-a # He's coming from near Kingman. (inner suburbs)
Kingman-ILL side-ILL side-INS come-SS-TNS

27. vithítêknàkèvà-k kwách-a-l yú-k-a # He's coming from around Kingman. (somewhere in the general area)
Kingman-INS side-DEF-ILL come-SS-TNS

In 26., /-k/ has it usual meaning of near, close to, therefore not in Kingman proper but in the close-in suburbs; whereas in 27., the meaning is: from somewhere in the area in and around Kingman.

28. hamán nyá tày-k-yu # The children were playing along/next to the road.
child(ren) road play-SS-BE

29. hamán nyá-ny-m tày-k-yu # The children were going along the road playing.
child(ren) road-that-ABL play-SS-Be

In 28., the children are playing in a place next to or beside the road; but in 29., the children are moving along the road as they play. In 28., /nyà/, road, is accusative, but the children were not playing on the road itself. The road is just the locus of the playing and therefore an accusative locative. But, in 29., where the children are moving along the road while playing, /nyá/ has an ablative suffix indicating along including movement along.

30. wà-sámm-v-ò-v wák-yu # I'm sitting in the doorway.
house-open-this-ABS-this sit-BE
I'm sitting by the door.

In 30., the speaker is sitting right in the opening of the doorway; but in 31., the speaker is sitting right by the door. In 30., doorway is in the accusative and is the object of the verb; but in 31., the compound noun doorway-side has the inessive /-k/.

There are rocks lying on the road.

They are spreading rock(s) on/ along the road.

In 32., there had been a rockslide that brought a number of large and small rocks down onto the highway. The rocks were just lying there in the roadway. In 33., a crew of men was spreading crushed rock on a reservation road. Thus, the inessive /-k/ can mean close to, near, in the sense of in contact with, on. The two ablative /-m/ on road and that emphasize the spreading out along a distance.

The cat is sleeping on top of the house. (my house)

The cat is sleeping on top of the house. (not my house, some other house next door/down the road)

Sometimes, it is difficult to see why a particular locative means a certain thing. In 32., the meaning could be in the attic, among the rafters, but not necessarily so. It could, and in this case did, mean lying on the roof. If /-k/ means near, close to, in close association with, and it does, one would think that /-k/ would be used for at my house on the roof, but this is not the case. This leads one to believe that the /-l/ meaning of in, inside, must mean in even closer proximity/association than /-k/. (The writer discussed this case at length with two informants. Both insisted that the meaning is as given above in 34. and 35.)

Thus, accusative locatives are direction goals, as in 1., 11., and 28., or achieved goals, as in 15., 22., and 30. The /-k/, /-l/, and /-m/ indicate location or movement to or from a location. This difference can be beastly difficult to translate. The accusative locatives focus on having reached the goal or location. The other locatives indicate a relationship between an object/person and one or more other objects/persons. Perhaps an analogy with English would help us understand this. There is a great difference between: I am home(.) and I am in the house(.). The former is a state or condition and includes references to living one's life in many of life's daily occurrences, whereas the latter is just a reference to a location. In 28., the accusative locative indicates a general area. The children were playing the road(.) is very similar to the English The children were playing outside(.), since the children were playing in the general vicinity of the road. That is, we have a description of the children's playing, not of where they are playing.
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PREFACE

The 1991 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop was held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, July 1-2, 1991. Because the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute and the LSA Summer Meeting were also held at UCSC in summer 1991, other Amerindianists also met at UCSC at that time. The Friends of Utic-Aztecan met June 28, 1991; The Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas met June 29-30, 1991; and the Athapaskan Linguistics Conference met July 1-2, 1991.

Presenters from all these groups were invited to submit papers for inclusion along with the Hokan-Penutian papers. Some papers from all these groups are included. The papers appear here in the order that they occurred on the programs. All the papers except the last one were given at UCSC in summer 1991. The last paper was given at the 1989 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop, but the manuscript has not been available until now.

We are grateful to the University of California, Santa Cruz, Professor William Shipley and all the staff that assisted him, and the staff of the Linguistic Society of America Summer Institute for all the help and facilities offered the Amerindian languages groups at these meetings, which made for a most enjoyable week feasting on the wonders of American Indian languages.

James E. Redden, Editor
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