

WALAPAI AGENT NOUNS

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If a language has no adjectives, how does it handle modification structures that would be translation equivalents of relative or adjective clauses? Walapai or Hualapai, a Yuman language of Northwest Arizona, has three word classes: nouns, verbs, and particles. Many "adjective equivalents" are nouns or verbs. /hwát/ or /hwátθ/, *red*, and /qályèv/, *big*, can be either nouns or verbs, depending on affixation and function. Walapai has no relative or adjective clauses---unless one counts agent-noun compounds. One could say that the agent nouns in agent-noun compounds are appositives and, therefore, truncated relative or adjective clauses; but the formation of compound nouns in Walapai precludes this possibility. This paper will show that agent-noun compounds are single words which function like words with a single stem, despite the fact that agent nouns can have both subjects and objects, as well as locatives, in agent-noun compounds.

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| 1. kivsó | <i>caregiver, one who looks after/<br/>cares for someone/something</i> |
| 2. kiθié | <i>healer, curer</i>   |

/v(i)só/, is a verb, meaning, *look after, care for*; and /k(i)-/ is the prefix that forms agent nouns. /pákiivsó/ would usually mean, *cowboy, herder*. (/pá/ means *man, person, Indian*, but does not refer to Anglos or Mexicans, and refers to Indian women only in the generic sense.) /hmáŋqéckivsó/, *babysitter*, is composed of /hmáŋ/, *child*, and /qéč/, (BE) *small*. /piqíkiivsó/, containing /piqí/, *woman*, means a *female caregiver*, probably a *babysitter*, but could mean a *nurse*. Thus, the noun that compounds with the agent noun may be either the subject or the object of the agent noun.

/θié/, *heal, cure*, may compound with with subjects such as /pá/ and /háykù/, *Anglo, European*. /páθié/ would be a *shaman, traditional doctor*; and /háykùθié/, would be an *Anglo who could be helpful in healing, such as a pharmacist*. These would contrast with /pákiθié/, a *shaman that spent a large part of his time at healing* or a *shaman who was an expert*, and /háykùkiθié/, *physician, one highly trained in modern medicine*.

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| 3. kipiŋsávpù | <i>the/a white one</i>  |
| 4. kiqéč      | <i>the/a little one</i> |

With verbs meaning *having the quality X*, /ki-/ forms nouns

meaning *item or individual having the quality X*. (The /-pù/ suffixed to /pímsàv/ means *that (one) over there*.)

5. kípíhát *owner/raiser/breeder of animals*

/hát/ means *dog*, but it also means *pet, domestic animal that is a kind of pet*, e.g. *favorite horse, pet calf*. As a verb, it means *raise/breed/herd animals*. The /pi-/ prefix means *close association*, probably *inalienable possession* here. /pákípíhát/ would mean *an Indian who spends a lot of time looking after his own cattle or the cattle of the Hualapai tribe*. /háykùpíhát/ would mean *any Anglo cowboy*, but it is mostly used for the *Anglo ranchers from Southern Arizona who buy Hualapai cattle at auction twice a year to fatten up on the much better pastures further south*.

6. páktáy *old man*

7. pákmúlva *chief, leader*

8. pákiyóva *Creator, God*

9. páhmíyáلكawá *the Man Above, God in Heaven*

10. pákθó *cannibal*

/táy/ means *be adult/old*. It would be used mostly for a man over fifty years of age. The vowel of /ki-/ often drops, especially between strong stresses. As a noun, /múl/ means *name*, but as a verb it means *have a name/authority*. /pákiyóva/ is the usual word for *God*. Literally, it is the *maker/one who makes things*. Another word for *God* is /páhmíyáلكawá/, *the man who sits up there*. /hmí/ means *a male*, and /páhmí/ is the usual word for *husband*. /yál/, is *up, above*. /wá/ means *sit, live, dwell*; and as a noun, it means *house, dwelling place*. /θó/ means *chew*. Walapai does not have the distinction *eat soft food* vs. *eat hard food*, i.e. *eat food that requires chewing*. To *eat meat* requires /má/, *eat*, the same as *to eat vegetables or fruit*. However, if something is unusually tough and requires a lot of chewing, /θó/, *chew*, is used. If one suggests that the Hualapai used to be cannibals, it evokes gales of laughter and statements that humans are too tough to chew. In all of these cases, the noun that compounds with the agent noun is the subject of the agent noun, except possibly /pákθó/.

11. hákiám *river, stream, Colorado River*

Inanimate nouns like /há/, *water*, can also be the subject of an agent noun. /ám/ means *move (around)*.

12. wákiwó *housekeeper*

13. kwèkamáv *food*

14. kwèkahwála garden, cultivated field

15. kwèkíckwán butcher

Agent nouns can also take an object. /kwè/, (some)thing, is the object of the verbs /má/, eat, and /č(i)kwán/, kill.

16. kwèkíswára record player

17. kwèkíqwáw radio, taperecorder

18. kwètínpúrikítíyóva pencil sharpener

19. kwèvyáma automobile, pick-up truck

/kwè/ can also be the subject of an agent noun with such verbs as /swára/, sing, /qwáw/ or /kwáw/, talk, /tiyóv/, sharpen, and /v(i)yáma/, run, go fast. Walapai does have an instrument suffix /-í/, as in /tipúrí/, writing instrument, pencil, from /tipúr/, draw, mark, write. The instrument suffix /-í/ is very common, but new words for tools or instruments are formed with the subject /kwè/ plus /ki-/, in most cases.

20. tipúrpákaúwòh teacher

21. hátwáksíkiwsó stockdog

An agent noun can have both a subject and an object. In the word for teacher, the verb /ú/, see a nearby object, also has a causative meaning show, demonstrate, cause to see, and means one who shows how to write. /tipúrpá/ is the subject, and the object is marked by the applicative suffix /-wò/ (/ -ò/ after a consonant), even though there is no expressed object. /wáksí/, a Spanish loanword for cattle, is the object of /kiwsó/; and /há/, dog, is its subject, therefore a dog that looks after cattle; but it is a compound agent noun and not a relative or adjective clause. Before an /ú/, /ka-/ alternates with /ki-/, or with just /k-/.

22. mátkahwála Parker, AZ

23. mátkiwsóčò tribal forestry and wildlife office

The Hualapai and other Indians farmed along the Colorado River long before the Anglos arrived. /mát/, land, earth, ground, forms many agent-noun compounds as the object of agent nouns such as /hwál/, dig, cultivate, and /visó/. /mátkahwála/ is not only the general word for the area in and around Parker, but it is the usual word for the regional BIA office at Parker. /-č/ is the distributive suffix meaning repeated or habitual action, and /-ò/ is the location suffix meaning place where action is performed.

24. hwáłksàkéva bridge  
 25. kwáθkaól an orange  
 26. (o)wíkamán Valentine, AZ  
 27. wíkahwáta Red Rock Band of Walapai

/hwál/, *pine tree*, is also used to mean *log*, *timber*, and sometimes means *bridge* in the traditional sense of a *log across a gully*. /sàkév/ means *cross (over)*, *be/lie across*, and forms the usual word for a *modern type of bridge* even though the bridge may be made of concrete and steel. /kwáθ/ means *pastel shades of yellow, orange, and tan*. /ól/ means (BE) *round*; and /kwèkaól/ is the usual word for a *child's ball*. At Valentine, a large amount of rock has fallen down. Thus, the place is called *Fallen Rock*, or, *where the rocks fell*. /wí/ means *rock(s)*, *mountain, hill*; /mán/ means *fall (down)*. (Since there is also /mán/, *get/climb up*, confusion is possible if the context is not clear.) One band of the Hualapai was called the *Red Rocks*, from the color of the rocks where the roamed usually.

28. pákmúlvakwámíúčō Hualapai Tribal Office

This is one large compound noun, the *people-having-names-talk-habitually-place*. All of these morphemes are explained above except /-v/, *this*; /-a/, DEFINITE; /-m/, *and, with*, here meaning HABITUAL or REPEATED ACTION; and /íú/ (or /-yú/), BE. If you ask a Hualapai for the word for *always*, you will get /-míúč/. This word makes it completely clear that such agent nouns are one large compound word.

29. pōskítáyáč pīθáwa tēqakwe # *The mother cat is licking her baby.*  
 30. pāč wáłkítíłtíłva íščíkwe # *I am sweeping the floor.*  
 31. pākiváh pātálvača # *The man who came was my father.*  
 32. kávk(i)yúčkahwákváč wíčkvé|| *Which two of them did it?*

/pōs/, *pos*, is of course from English *pussy cat*. /θáw/, (BE) *young/immature* is the opposite of /táy/, (BE) *old/mature/adult*. The /-č/ is the nominative-case marker, and the zero on /pīθáwa/ marks the accusative case. The /pi-/ marks inalienable possession. The /pá/ is the first-person pronoun with the nominative suffix. The /-l/ on /wá/, *house*, is illative, i.e. IN(TO). /tíł/ is (BE) *flat/level*. /s(i)čí/ is *sweep/comb*. /ká/, *who/what/which*, plus /-v/, a definitizer something like *this* or *just* compounds with two agent nouns, /ki-/ BE, and /ki-/ BE *two*. The /-č/ on /yú/, BE, marks a plural subject, but the /-č/ on /hwák/, BE *two* (which is already plural, since it is dual), is the nominative marker. The /-č/ on /wí/, *DO*, is also a plural-subject marker. /tál/, *father*, can also be a verb. Subjects of stative verbs may not take the nominative.

33. hátsikólkíámč nāphátč # *The dog in the yard belongs to me.*
34. qóθkwāstítkiyúñč múnki # *The coffee in the cup is cold.*
35. kwāstíkkikávamqóθavāč viyékyu # *The coffee is leaking from the cracked cup.*
- 33a. The-in-the-yard-runner-around-dog belongs-me.
- 34a The-in-the-cup-be-er-coffee-that is-becold-perceived.
- 35a. The-from-the-cracked-cup-coffee is-much-leaking.

/sikó/ means a *permeable barrier*, i.e., *fence*; and the /-l/ is the illative suffix. /kwāstí/, any sort of *dish*, also has the /-l/ suffix. /-yú/, *BE*, occurs with /ki-/ in a large number of such noun compounds. /mún/ means (*BE*) *cold*. /káv/, (*BE*) *cracked*, has an ablative suffix /-m/; and the fact that the /-m/ is not attached to *cup*, but to *leak*, shows conclusively that this is all one large compound word. Likewise, since the /-č/ nominative suffix is attached at the end of all three of these words, it again shows that they are all single words, i.e. noun compounds. /yé/, *leak*, like /yám/, *go*, *leave*, illustrated above, has the /vi-/ prefix meaning *very much*.

(I will not discuss the /-k/ NEXT-VERB-HAS-SAME-SUBJECT prefix and the auxiliary-verb suffixes /-yu/, *BE*, /-wi/, *DO*, and /-i/, *SAY*, *PERCEIVE*, since there is an extensive literature on this.)

36. čikmíhřák wāčkkiyákahāvāč hēlvayúmkyu #

*A lot of water is running in the ditch alongside the road.*

- 36a. The-beside-the-road-lie-er-ditch-water-this is-flowing-is-much.

/čikmí/, *ditch*, *wash*, *gully*, *arroyo*, and /řá/, *road*, have the /-h/, *that yonder*, suffix. The /k-/ and the /-c/ on /kwāč/, *side*, are part of the stem and not affixes. /yák/, *lie (down)*, (*BE*) *prone*, and /kwāč/ both have the /-k/ inessive suffix meaning, *at*, *by*, *near*, *close to*. /vá/, *this*, *very close*, functions much like an article. /hél/, *flow*, *run*, makes a compound verb with /yú/, *BE*, which has the intensive prefix /va-/ and the habitual, iterative suffix /-m/.

Thus, since agent compound nouns take both class-transformative derivational suffixes and noun-case suffixes just like words with a single stem, it is clear that agent compound nouns are a single long compound word.