WALAPA'I 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 /hwátö/, red, and /qáléyév/, 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 appositive 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 locatives, in agent-noun compounds.

1. kivsö caregiver, one who looks after/cares for someone/something
2. kisié healer, curer

/\(i\)sö/, is a verb, meaning, look after, care for; and /k(i)-/ is the prefix that forms agent nouns. /pákivsö/ 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.) /hmánqéciksivsö/, babysitter, is composed of /hmán/, child, and /qéc/, (BE) small. /piqı́ksivsö/, containing /piq/, 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.

/\(i\)ié/, heal, cure, may compound with with subjects such as /pá/ and /hákú/, Anglo, European. /pákíié/ would be a shaman, traditional doctor; and /hákúkiíié/, would be an Anglo who could be helpful in healing, such as a pharmacist. These would contrast with /pákíisié/, a shaman that spent a large part of his time at healing or a shaman who was an expert, and /hákúkiíié/, physician, one highly trained in modern medicine.

3. kípı́tı́wı́ the/a white one
4. kígı́ the/a little one

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

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

5. kipinihát 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. /pākipinihát/ would mean an Indian who spends a lot of time looking after his own cattle or the cattle of the Hualapai tribe. /hāykipinihát/ 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. pāktāy old man
7. pākmūlva chief, leader
8. pākiyōva Creator, God
9. pāhmīyālkawā the Man Above, God in Heaven
10. pākθ6 cannibal

/tāy/ 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, /mūl/ means name, but as a verb it means have a name/authority. /pākiyōva/ is the usual word for God. Literally, it is the maker/one who makes things. Another word for God is /pāhmīyālkawā/, the man who sits up there. /hmī/ means a male, and /pāhmī/ is the usual word for husband. /yāl/, is up, above. /vā/ means sit, live, dwell; and as a noun, it means house, dwelling place. /θ6/ 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 /mā/, eat, the same as to eat vegetables or fruit. However, if something is unusually tough and requires a lot of chewing, /θō/, 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 /pākθ6/.

11. hākiám river, stream, Colorado River

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

12. wākivaθ housekeeper
13. kwēkamāv food
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14. kwêkahwâla  garden, cultivated field
15. kwêkîcwân  butcher

Agent nouns can also take an object. /kwâ/, (some)thing, is the object of the verbs /mâ/, eat, and /c(i)kwân/, kill.

16. kwêkiswâra  record player
17. kwêkiqwâv  radio, taperecorder
18. kwêtiñûrikitiyôvâ  pencil sharpener
19. kwêvyâma  automobile, pick-up truck

/kwâ/ can also be the subject of an agent noun with such verbs as /svâra/, sing, /qvâs/ or /kvâs/, talk, /tiyôv/, sharpen, and /v(i)yôma/, run, go fast. Walapai does have an instrument suffix /-t/, as in /tipûrî/, writing instrument, pen(cil), from /tipûr/, draw, mark, write. The instrument suffix /-t/ is very common, but new words for tools or instruments are formed with the subject /kwâ/ plus /ki-/, in most cases.

20. tipûrpâkâwôh  teacher
21. hâtwâksîkîvô  stockdog

An agent noun can have both a subject and an object. In the word for teacher, the verb /û/, see a nearby object, also has a causative meaning show, demonstrate, cause to see, and means one who shows how to write. /tipûrpâ/ is the subject, and the object is marked by the applicative suffix /-wôj/ (/-/ô/ after a consonant), even though there is no expressed object. /wâksî/, a Spanish loan-word for cattle, is the object of /kîvô/; and /hât/, 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 /û/, /ka-/ alternates with /ki-/; or with just /k-/.

22. mâtkahwâla  Parker, AZ
23. mâtkîsvôô  tribal forestry and wildlife office

The Hualapai and other Indians farmed along the Colorado River long before the Anglos arrived. /mât/, land, earth, ground, forms many agent-noun compounds as the object of agent nouns such as /hwâl/, dog, cultivate, and /visô/. /mâtkahwâla/ 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. /-c/ is the distributive suffix meaning repeated or habitual action, and /-ô/ is the location suffix meaning place where action is performed.
24. hwáλksákéva  
bridge

25. kwéksól  
an orange

26. (o)wíkamán  
Valentine, AZ

27. wíkahváta  
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. /sékéy/ means cross (over), be/tie 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. /gól/ means (BE) round; and /kwéksól/ 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. /ú/ 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 roaming usually.

28. pákumolvákáwamíčćő  
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 /ú/ (or /-yú/), BE. If you ask a Hualapai for the word for always, you will get /-míšć/). This word makes it completely clear that such agent nouns are one large compound word.

29. póskitáyánišáwá téqakwe #  The mother cat is licking her baby.

30. nác wáλkítáltifliva lúčkwe # I am sweeping the floor.

31. pákiváh pátálvacña #  The man who came was my father.

32. kávk(i)yúčkahvákávč wīčkwe|| Which two of them did it?

/pós/, pos, is of course from English pussy cat. /šáw/, (BE) young/immature is the opposite of /tów/, (BE) old/mature/adult. The /-c/ is the nominative-case marker, and the zero on /pišáw/ 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). /tfól/ is (BE) flat/level. /s(i)č/ 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 /-c/ on /yú/, BE, marks a plural subject, but the /-c/ on /hwák/, BE two (which is already plural, since it is dual), is the nominative marker. The /-č/ on /wú/, DO, is also a plural-subject marker. /tál/, father, can also be a verb. Subjects of stative verbs may not take the nominative.
33. hátsikółkimč paphátču # The dog in the yard belongs to me.

34. qóškwétdíkįy̠ųńč munki # The coffee in the cup is cold.

35. kwétdíkimavamqóoavac viy̠ekyu # 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.

/siko/ means a permeable barrier, i.e., fence; and the /-l/ is the illative suffix. /kwétdi/, any sort of dish, also has the /-l/ suffix. /-yu/, BE, occurs with /ki-/ in a large number of such noun compounds. /münk/ 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. /y̠é/, leak, like /y̠am/, 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. čikm’hákwačkiy̠akakhačávé=hélvaýumkyu #

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.

/amk/, ditch, wash, gully, arroyo, and /hą/, road, have the /-h/, that yonder, suffix. The /k/- and the /-č/ on /kwac/, side, are part of the stem and not affixes. /y̠ák/, lie (down), (BE) prone, and /kwac/ both have the /-k/ inessive suffix meaning, at, by, near, close to. /vá/, this, very close, functions much like an article. /héal/, flow, run, makes a compound verb with /yu/, 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.