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THE REFLEXIVE SUFFIX -*V* IN HUALAPAI [*]

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Abstract: Like many other languages Hualapai employs the reflexive suffix for several different grammatical purposes. Unlike them, however, constructions with a reflexive marker in Hualapai are usually not ambiguous with respect to the expected meanings. The unmarked focus of interest in Hualapai discourse is on the present state of affairs. Thus, it is possible, for example, that a clause yields a reflexive meaning in present tense, but a stative one in past tense, with the reflexive meaning backgrounded. It has been found that the Hualapai reflexive has not extended itself to the passive use. One interesting piece of evidence for the non-extension is that when a verb has both transitive and intransitive uses, only the intransitive one can reflexivize.

I.   Introduction[1]

In many languages the reflexive marker is employed for several different constructions (Langacker and Munro 1975, Shibatani 1985, Givón 1991). In Spanish, for example, the following sentence with a reflexive is ambiguous in three ways (Givón 1991:604):

(1) Se cur-aron   los brujos
     Refl cure-Past/3 the sorcerers
     (a) 'The sorcerers cured themselves.' (Reflexive)
     (b) 'The sorcerers got cured.' (Anticausative)
     (c) 'The sorcerers were cured.' (Passive)

In Imbabura Quechua (Shibatani 1985:828; quoting Cole 1982), the reflexive marker can also be used in reciprocals and anticausatives:

(2) a. Ispiju-pi riku-ri-rka-ni.
         mirror-in see-Refl-Past.1
         'I saw myself in the mirror.'

     b. Wambra-kuna riku-ri-rka.
         child-Pl   see-Refl-Past.3
         'The children saw each other.'

    c. Pungu-kuna-ka paska-ri-rka
        door-Pl-Top   open-Refl-Past.3
        'The door opened.'

Diachronic, typological research has shown that this kind of extension of the reflexive to other uses is very common in languages of the world (see Geniušiene 1987 and Haspelmath 1990, *inter alia*). I will show that Hualapai, an Upland Yuman language spoken in the northwest area of Arizona, also reflects multiple uses of the reflexive by identifying various functions the Hualapai reflexive suffix -*v* may have and the factors that determine what functions it exerts in a clause.

On the other hand, for synchronic formal approaches this kind of ambiguity of the reflexive marker has been handled by positing a different morpheme for each function, all of which happen to be homophonic. This approach makes sense in that the extension of the reflexive to other uses is a process of reanalysis or semantic bleaching through which the reflexive becomes a 'different' thing (if not, there can be no ambiguity). The approaches of this kind (I will call them 'the homophonic theory' for convenience) might work in languages where its functions are complementary, and thus one function excludes other possibilities. However, I will show that, at least in Hualapai, it is not felicitous, even synchronically, to assume an independent but homophonic suffix -*v* for each of the functions it may have, because there is often no ambiguity available where it is expected, and it is sometimes possible for the reflexive to retain two functions simultaneously by foregrounding one and backgrounding the other.

Finally, I will examine Hualapai reflexives to see if they have extended to the passive use or not, and will show that they have not.

II.   Functions of the Suffix -*v*

1.   Reflexive

Most basically, the suffix -*v* is used to indicate that the subject and the object are referentially identical:

    (3) a. Nyihách nya thivdi:va damo:kwiny.
           nyi-ha-ch   nya thivdi:-va   damo:-k-wi-ny
           Spec-Dem/that-Subj I 1.arm-Dem/this 3/1.scratch-SS-
                                             Aux/do-Past
            'S/he scratched my arm.'

  b. Nyach damo:vyuny.

   nya-ch damo:-v-yu-ny.

   I-Subj 1.scratch-Refl-Aux/be-Past

   'I scratched myself.'

Unless otherwise indicated (see 2.3 below), clauses like (3b), which have a singular animate subject, are interpreted as reflexive. When another object or objects are already available, the suffix is interpreted as a reflexive oblique:

 (4) Philch nyijída bes gava:viki

   Phil-ch nyi-jid-a   bes gava:-v-k-i

   Phil-Subj 3.Sub-mother-Def money 3/3.ask-Refl-SS-Aux/say

    'Phil is asking money from his mother (for himself).'

 (5) Hmany qéchach he' dake:vkyu.

   hmany qech-a-ch   he' dake:-v-k-yu

   child 3.be=little-Def-Subj dress 3.change-Refl-SS-Aux/be

    'The little child is changing her dress (by himself).'

2. Reciprocal

When the subject is plural, and they are animate (typically humans), the suffix -v yields a reciprocal meaning. Sometimes (but not always) the suffix -b is used instead when the subject is dual, which seems to be a reflex of an old reflexive dual marking:

 (6) a. Cíndych Joríginem hwak'k gwa:wviki.

    Cindy-ch Jorigine-m hwak-k gwa:w-v-k-i

    Cindy-Subj Jorigine-Com 3.be=two-SS 3.talk-Refl-SS-Aux/be

     'Cindy and Jorigine are talking together (to each other).'

   b. Ba:hch jijqá:mbikyu.

    ba:-h-ch   ji-jiqa:m-b-k-yu

    man-Dem/that-Subj 3.Pl-hit=with=fist-Refl-SS-Aux/be

    'They are hitting each other with their fists.'

   c. Wajimí:jvikyu.

    wa-ji-mi:-j-v-k-yu

    WA-3.Pl-hate-Pl-Refl-SS-Aux/be

    'They (many) hate each other.'

Notice that in Hualapai when the subject is animate plural, and the suffix -*v* is utilized, the clause should be interpreted as reciprocal (i.e., referring to actions done to each other or to one another), not as reflexive (i.e., as a collection of reflexive actions). Thus, the above clauses are not ambiguous with respect to the reciprocal vs. reflexive meaning, even though they are expected to be so in the homophonic theory.

When the subject is inanimate, one can get a reciprocal meaning if the verb itself is semantically reciprocal:

> (7) Nyonya:hch jogae:wvijkyu.
>   nyonya:-h-ch   jogae:w-v-j-k-yu
>   road-Dem/that-Subj 3.cross-Refl-Pl-SS-Aux/be
>   'The roads cross each other.'

3.   Stative

When the subject is an inanimate thing, the suffix -*v* behaves as a resultative/stative marker:

> (8) a. Nya jídach gwèda'óliha da'ámkwiny.
>   nya jid-a-ch   gweda'oli-ha da'am-k-wi-ny
>   I   1.mother-Def-Subj pot-Dem/that 3/3.put=lid=on-SS
>   -Aux/do-Past
>   'My mother put a lid on the pot.'
>
>   b. Gwèda'ólich da'amvikyu.
>   gweda'oli-ch da'am-vi-k-yu
>   pot-Subj   3.put=lid=on-Refl-SS-Aux/be
>   'The pot is covered.'

> (9)   I'sivgóhch nyimsávam jiyálvokyu.
>   i'sivgo'-h-ch   nyimsav-m   jiyal-v-o-k-yu
>   fence-Dem/that-Subj 3.white=Instr 3.paint-Refl-Evid-SS-Aux/be
>   'The fence is painted white.'

> (10) Nya qwáwch sijívikyu.
>   nya qwaw-ch   siji-v-k-yu
>   I   1.hair-Subj 3.brush-Refl-SS-Aux/be
>   'My hair is brushed.'

When the subject is animate but nonvolitional, the clause may be interpreted as stative. The volitionality of the subject, of course, depends on the discourse context.

(11) Hmányach ye:v'm i'ív'm a:vk nahmídvikyuny.
       hmany-a-ch   ye:vm i'i-v-m   a:v-k
       child-Def-Subj 3.alone stick-Dem/this-Instr 3/3.hit-SS
          nahmid-vi-k-yu-ny
          3.hurt-Refl-SS-Aux/be-Past
       'The child hit himself with the stick and was hurt (or hurt himself).'

(12) Waksi:vch sídth'k bí'jvikyu.
       waksi:-v-ch   sidth-k   bi'j-v-k-yu
       cow-Dem/this-Subj 3.be=only-SS 3.leave=behind-Refl-SS-Aux/be
       'This cow is the only one left.'

Notice, however, that in fact the clause (11) does not discard its reflexive meaning, but it refers to the present state (being hurt) that has resulted from the reflexive action (hurting himself). In this respect, the stative and reflexive meaning are not exclusive of each other but coexist in clauses like (11).

The correlation between the reflexive and stative is very important to account for the following quirky cases:

(13) a. Ba:hch diswi:vkyu.
           ba:-h-ch   diswi:-v-k-yu
           man-Dem/that-Subj 3.shave-Refl-SS-Aux/be
           'The man is shaving (himself).'

       b. Ba:hch diswi:vkyuny.
           ba:-h-ch   diswi:-v-k-yu-ny
           man-Dem/that-Subj 3.shave-Refl-SS-Aux/be-Past
           'The man is shaved.' or 'The man shaved.'

(14) a. Jithúlviyu.
           jithul-v-yu
           1.wash-Refl-Aux/be
           'I am bathing (myself).'

    b. Jithúlviyuny.
        jithul-v-yu-ny
        1.wash-Refl-Aux/be-Past
        'I am bathed.' or 'I bathed.'

Verbs like these yield progressive interpretations when the tense is present (and the action of the verb is durative).[2] However, when the tense is past, the focus goes to the present resultative state, and thus a stative interpretation is yielded. Notice also that in each b-sentence the first gloss is in present tense. This stative interpretation should not be glossed with past tense (e.g., 'He was shaved.'), because it will then become a passive to which the Hualapai reflexive has not extended itself yet (see section 3 below for details). This suggests that in either tense, present or past, the focus of interest is on the present state of affairs. A gloss with past tense (i.e., 'He shaved.', etc), which refers to a reflexive action, is used when it is necessary to move the focus to the past event, especially an event in the distant past. What matters, therefore, is which is foregrounded and which is backgrounded by the speaker, the present state or the past event, although the unmarked reading is that the present state is foregrounded and the past event backgrounded.

The reflexivization of some transitive verbs can render an anticausative meaning along with a stative meaning:

    (15) a. Wa'h s'dákk namákwiny.
              wa'-h   s'dak-k   nama-k-wi-ny
              door-Def 3/3.open-SS 3.leave-SS-Aux/do-Past
                'S/he left the door open.'

         b. Wa'hch s'dákvikyu.
              wa'-h-ch   s'dak-v-k-yu
              door-Def-Subj 3.open-Refl-SS-Aux/be
                'The door is open.' or 'The door opened.'

    (16) a. Babéla lé:lkwi.
              babel-a le:l-k-wi
              paper-Def 3/3.tear-SS-Aux/do
                'S/he tore the paper.'

         b. Babélach lé:lvikyu.
               babel-a-ch   le:l-v-k-yu
               paper-Def-Subj 3.tear-Refl-SS-Aux/be
                'The paper is torn.' or 'The paper tore.'

The context determines which meaning is more prominent, but again it is a matter of foregrounding one and backgrounding the other, not a matter of ambiguity in which one possibility excludes others.

4.   Instantive ('just now') interpretation

A certain class of verbs yield an instantive interpretation when they are suffixed by the reflexive marker, an interpretation that the event in question has happened 'just now'.[3]

      (17) a. Gwede:hch qáwkyu.
             gwede:-h-ch qaw-k-yu
             toy-Def-Subj 3.break-SS-Aux/be
              'The toy is broken.'

           b. Gwede:hch qáwvkyu.
             gwede:-h-ch qaw-v-k-yu
             toy-Def-Subj 3.break-Refl-SS-Aux/be
              'The toy just broke.'

      (18) a. Gwevóyihch lu:thkyu.
             gwevoyi-h-ch lu:th-k-yu
             tire-Def-Subj 3.burst-SS-Aux/be
              'The tire is burst.'

           b. Gwevóyihch lu:thvkyu.
             gwevoyi-h-ch lu:th-v-k-yu
             tire-Def-Subj 3.burst-Refl-SS-Aux/be
              'The tire just burst .'

      (19) a. Bolch dímskyu.
             bol-ch   dims-k-yu
             ball-Subj 3.bounce-SS-Aux/be
              'The ball bounced.' or 'The ball is bouncing.'

           b. Bolch díms'ivkyu.
             bol-ch   dims-i-v-k-yu
             ball-Subj 3.bounce-suddenly-Refl-SS-Aux/be
              'The ball just bounced.'

The verbs show two characteristics: first, they denote an instantaneous change of state, i.e. the beginning and the end of the action is non-durative, momentary; second, they already have a non-reflexive intransitive use,[4] but not

necessarily a transitive use. That is to say, the instantive meaning associated with this class of instantaneous verbs when suffixed with -*v*, emerges relative to their non-reflexive intransitive uses. Therefore, a reflexive use of such verbs as *ha:ch* 'to melt (intr)', which is a durative verb, yields a progressive reading:

(20)   Hanbáchach ha:chvikyu.
      hanbach-ch ha:ch-v-k-yu
      snow-Subj 3.melt-Refl-SS-Aux/be
        'The snow is melting.'

A reflexive use of such verb as *s'amk* 'to close', which is exclusively transitive, yields a stative (or anticausative reading), even though it is an instantaneous verb:

(21)   a.   *Wa'hch s'amkyu

      b.   Wa'hch s'amvikyu.
          wa-h-ch   s'am-v-k-yu
          door-Def-Subj 3.close-Refl-SS-Aux/be
            'The door is closed.' or 'The door closed.'

This clause may also imply an instantive meaning, since the verb is an instantaneous verb.[5] That is, clauses like (21) can denote a present state of affairs which has resulted from an event just happened. Unlike in (17b-19b), however, their instantive meanings are secondary, i.e., backgrounded. The reflexive suffix is not responsible for this phenomenon, but rather the semantics of the verb itself.

As mentioned above, the instantive reading is obtained when the verb already has a non-reflexive intransitive use like a-sentences in (17-19). It suggests that such use of the reflexive suffix applies not to the transitive but to the intransitive verb. A supporting evidence is the verb *machk* 'to go off'. It belongs to the instantaneous verb class and can be used either intransitively without -*v* or reflexively with -*v*. Its transitive counterpart is *dimáchk* 'to turn something off', and it does not have a reflexive use **dimáchvik*:

(22)   a.   O'u:lich ma:chkyu.
          o'u:li-ch   ma:ch-k-yu
          light-Subj 3.go=off-SS-Aux /be
            'The light went off.'

    b. O'u:lich ma:chvikyu.
        o'u:li-ch   ma:ch-v-k-yu
        light-Subj 3.go=off-Refl-SS-Aux /be
         'The light just went off.'

(23) a. Tomch o'u:li dimáchkwiny.
        Tom-ch   o'u:li dimach-k-wi-ny
        Tom-Subj light 3/3.turn=off-SS-Aux/do-Past
         'Tom turned the light off.'

    b. *O'u:lich dimáchvikyuny.

In this respect, the instantive function of the reflexive can be seen as a sort of transitivization which shifts the focus of interest to the dynamic aspect from the resultative stative aspect of the event. It is important to note that with instantaneous verbs the actual tense marking does not matter, present or past (see Note 3), unless it is necessary to move the focus of interest to the event in the distant past. Their interpretations are the same, and the focus of interest is the present state of affairs resulted from the event just happened. Therefore, the a-sentences in (17-19) and (22) are more like the stative, and the reflexive suffix applies to these stative clauses. Thereby, the focus of interest shifts to the dynamic aspect of the event, and this event is one that has just happened. Hence the instantive meaning.[6]

III. Stative vs. Passive: Non-development of the Passive

The reader will recall that the English glosses should not be relied on to identify the passivity of Hualapai clauses. Typical English passives are also resultative-stative. But, at the same time, they imply agents. This fact, of course, does not guarantee that the case is the same in Hualapai. We need Hualapai-specific evidence that one of the functions of the reflexive is passive, or none of them. The reader will also recall that I have mentioned that the Hualapai reflexive has not been extended to the passive use yet. This section is to discuss this in more detail, and show that the so-called stative clauses in Hualapai must not be construed as passives (cf. Ichihashi 1991).

Indeed, some evidence has already been presented implicitly above. In 2.4, it was shown that, in case of instantaneous verbs which have both intransitive and transitive use, the reflexive does not apply to the transitive but to the intransitive one to yield an instantive meaning. It also seems to be the case that most transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive ones by adding a causative prefix are not subject to reflexivization, unless they are reinterpreted

as a lexicalized non-derived form. We have seen this in (23) above. Especially, when the verb is semantically adjectival, its derived transitive verb does not take reflexive suffix. The reason is that the intransitive is already stative, and stativization through reflexivization is not necessary:

(24) a. Nya qwáwvach búlkyu.
      nya qwaw-va-ch   bul-k-yu
      I   1.hair-Dem/this-Subj 3.be=wet-SS-Aux/be
        'My hair is wet.'

    b. Baqi:hch qwáwa dabúlkwi.
      baqi:-h-ch   qwaw-a   dabul-k-wi
      lady-Dem/that-Subj 3.hair-Def 3/3.wet-SS-Aux/do
        'The lady is wetting her hair.'

    c. *Nya qwáwvach dabúlvikyu.

(25) a. Gwevóyi'yach lápkyu.
      gwevoyi-ya-ch   lap-k-yu
      tire-Dem/that-Subj 3.be=flat-SS-Aux/be
        'The tire is flat.'

    b. Gwevóyi dalápkwi.
      gwevoyi dalap-k-wi
      tire   3/3.flatten-SS-Aux/do
        'He flattened the tire.'

    c. *Gwevóyi'yach dalápvikyu.

The distribution of verbs like these constitutes good evidence that the passive is not a function of the reflexive.

Some verbs require, as one of their semantic components, an instrumental phrase. Among them are *jigáedk* 'to cut (with a knife)', *da:k* 'to grind with a rock', *v'qamk* 'to stab with a knife', *a:vk* 'to hit with a long and hard object', and *daqávk* 'to hit with a hammer'. These verbs may not be reflexivized with an inanimate subject, because the instrumental phrase implies an external (human) agent, and thus reflexivization of them will yield not a purely stative meaning, but a passive interpretation.

(26) a. Miyál jigáedkwi
     miyal jigaed-k-wi
     bread 3/3.cut-SS-Aux/do
     'He cut the bread.'

    b. *Miyálch jigáedvikyu.
      'The bread was cut.'

(27) a. Waksí'ma:da da:kwi.
     waksi'ma:d-a da:-k-wi
     meat-Def   3/3.grind-SS-Aux/do
     'He is grinding the meat.'

(28) b. *Waksí'ma:dach da:vkyuny.
      'The meat is ground.'

Since Hualapai has not extended the reflexive to the passive, it has instead developed different ways of expressing the latter notion. It makes use of the plural subject marker -*j* for the agentless passive, or the word order change of the subject and object for the agentive passive:

(29) Lily jiqámjokwiny.
     Lily jiqam-j-o-k-wi-ny
     Lily 3/3.hit=with=fist-Pass-Evid-SS-Aux/do-Past
     'Lily was hit.'

(30) a. Ba:hch Josie yu'h jiyálkwiny
     ba:-h-ch   J. yu'-h   jiyal-k-wi-ny
     person-Dem/that-Subj J. face-Dem/that 3/3.paint-SS
                               -Aux/do-Past
      'The man painted Josie's face.'

    b. Josie yu'h ba:hch jiyálokwiny
     Josie yu'-h   ba:-h-ch   jiyal-o-k-wi-ny
     J. face-Dem/that person-Dem-Subj 3/3.paint-Evid-SS
                                 -Aux/do-Past
     'Josie's face was painted by the man.'

As the passive utilizes the plural subject marker without changing its position, the clause is always ambiguous between the active and the passive. Note, however, that when the speaker has no idea about the number of the agent, -*j* is the default form to be taken and the subject must be deleted. If not, the

clause is active, unless the word order is changed from subject-object to object-subject.

IV.   Summary

I have identified four functions which the reflexive suffix may have: reflexive, reciprocal, stative, and instantive. We have seen that the constructions with a reflexive -*v* are usually not ambiguous, but have clearly separate functions. The clauses which are interpreted reciprocally, for example, do not render reflexive meanings which are expected by the homophonic theory. When the subject is animate and volitional, the stative clauses do not discard the reflexive meaning but background it. So, in present tense, they yield a reflexive meaning, but in past tense a stative meaning with the reflexive meaning backgrounded. The stative and anticausative meaning can also coexist in a clause with a reflexive. This interpretive distribution is allowable because the unmarked focus of interest in Hualapai discourse is on the present state of the subject NP, and thus it is possible to foreground one (e.g., present state) and background the other (e.g., event happened).

We also have seen that the reflexive -*v* in Hualapai has not extended itself to the passive use yet. When the verb has both transitive and intransitive uses, the reflexive applies to the intransitive use and fails to operate in the transitive use of the verb. The transitive verbs derived from intransitive verbs by causative prefixation do not take the reflexive. The verbs which require an instrumental component as their essential semantic component do not take it, either. Hualapai has different ways of expressing the passive notion: making use of the plural subject marker, or word order change. These facts constitute highly compelling evidence that the Hualapai reflexive does not have a passive function.

It remains for future research to compare the Yuman and related languages to see the ways in which the reflexive has extended itself for other uses in those languages.

NOTES

with him when he went to Peach Springs. I also thank the reviewer of this paper and Professor Ken Miner for their helpful comments.

[1] Hualapai has developed its own writing system. Most characters correspond to IPA, but some must be specified: b = [p], p = [pʰ], j = [ʝ], ch = [ʝʰ], ꝺ = [ṭ], d = [ɾ], t = [tʰ], th = [θ], g = [k], k = [kʰ], ny = [ɲ], ng = [ŋ], ' = [ʔ]. There is no phonemic stress.

Abbreviations:

1	1st person	2	2nd person
3	3rd person	3/1	3rd person subject/1st person object
Aux	Auxiliary	3/3	3rd person subject/3rd person object
Com	Comitative	Def	Definitizer
Dem	Demonstrative	DS	Different subject
Evid	Evidential	Instr	Instrumental
Obj	Object	Pass	Passive
Pl	Plural	Refl	Reflexive
SS	Same subject	Sub	Subordinator
Subj	Subject	Top	Topic

When the gloss of a word is composed of more than one word they are conjoined by equal signs (=) in the analyses. All the Hualapai examples are from Watahomigie, et al. (1994) and the Structure of Hualapai course which was offered in Fall 1994 at the University of Kansas.

[2] The English glosses should be such as 'He is shaving', 'He is bathing', etc., not '...shaving himself', '...bathing himself', etc., which are emphatic in English.

[3] While discussing the Hualapai intensive prefix *v(i)*-, Redden (1977) advanced the following pair of clauses which happened to be containing reflexive suffixes (transliteration modified; parsing done only for relevant affixes):

(i) a. Hàlyóyà qáw-v-kyu. 'The glass is cracked.'
     b. Hàlyóyà vi-qáw-v-kyu. 'The glass has just cracked.'

He did not give the non-reflexive counterpart of (a) *Hàlyóyà qáwkyu*. According to the consultants in this study, the meaning of this clause is 'The glass is broken', and the gloss of (a) is 'The glass just broke.' It is presumable that the Hualapai speakers might have reanalyzed the two homophonic affixes. This question is open for future research.

4 The verb *mank* 'to fall' has an intransitive use but does not have a reflexive counterpart.

5 Thus, the transitive sentence in (i), which has an instantaneous verb, is normally glossed in past tense regardless of the actual tense marking. In its reflexive counterpart, the stative meaning is glossed in present tense; whereas the anticausative reading is glossed in past tense as in (i), again regardless of the actual tense marking. The tense in the gloss, therefore, depends on which one is focused, state or event.

   (ii) Johnach wa:h s'amkwi(ny).
         John-ch wa-h   s'am-k-wi(-ny)
         John-Subj door-Def 3.close-SS-Aux/do(-Past)
            'John closed the door.'

   (iii) Wa'hch s'amvikyu(ny).
         wa-h-ch   s'am-v-k-yu(-ny)
         door-Def-Subj 3.close-Refl-SS-Aux/be(-Past)
            'The door is closed.' or 'The door closed.'

6 If we disregard the instantive meaning, we can find a somewhat similar case in Spanish, in which the reflexive marking shifts a nonpunctual state to a punctual action or event (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 266, quoting from García 1975):

   (iv) a. Juan durmió (toda la noche).
           John slept (all   the night)
           'John slept (all night).'
       b. Juan se   durmió (*toda la noche).
           John Refl slept   all the night
           'John went to sleep (*all night).'
   (v) a. La paja ardió (toda la noche).
           the straw burned all   the night
           'The straw burned (all night).'
       b. La paja se ardió (*toda la noche).
           the straw Refl burned all the night
           'The straw caught fire (*all night).'

In each pair, sentence (a) represents a nonpunctual state, whereas sentence (b), which has a reflexive morpheme, represents a punctual action or event.

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