SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY AND POSSESSION IN CHIMARIKO

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]. This paper concerns two points about Chimariko pronominal inflection that are clarified by material and analyses contained in the notes of George Grekoff. The first concerns the distribution of the 'active' subject marker. Considering the complete corpus of available Chimariko data leads to a better understanding of some of the obscure points in Dixon's (1910) grammatical sketch. One such point of obscurity led to a misunderstanding in Sapir (1920). Sapir claimed that the 'active' markers, when suffixed, indicated subjects of S_O ('stative' or 'objective') intransitives, and when prefixed, subjects of S_A ('active' or 'subjective') intransitives, a generalization that is not entirely accurate.

The second point in this paper concerns the distribution of the same pronominal markers on possessed nouns. Pronominal markers distinguish two types of possession, and can be considered to mark an alienable/inalienable distinction. When Dixon's material is augmented by Harrington's and Sapir's, it becomes clear that 1) several nouns can be inflected as either alienably or inalienably possessed, 2) there is significant variation in which nouns are in the inalienable class and 3) the alienable/inalienable distinction is not semantically predictable — though many inalienable nouns are body parts, this semantic designation is neither necessary nor sufficient for classification as inalienable.

Chimariko is classified as Northern Hokan and was spoken in Northwestern California in the area along the Trinity River 'from the mouth of the South Fork up as far as Taylor's Flat at French Creek' and possibly along the South Fork (Dixon 1910:295-6). Their neighbors included the Wintu, Karuk, Shasta and Hupa.

The data for this paper is largely drawn from the notes of George Grekoff. Although Grekoff was not employed as a linguist, he worked on the Chimariko language continuously from the time he was a student of Mary Haas in the 1950s to his death in 1999. The language was no longer spoken by the time he began to work on it, so his work was based on material collected by Dixon, Sapir and Harrington, among others. He meticulously analyzed the corpus of available Chimariko material, standardizing the orthography and developing extensive analyses in Stratificational Grammar. The orthography used in this paper is Grekoff's, and may not be entirely representative

[1] Current and future Chimariko scholars owe tremendous gratitude to George Grekoff for his lifelong commitment to studying the language and the large collection of notes and other material he left to the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at UC Berkeley after his death in 1999.

of the phonemic system of Chimariko. Vowel length in particular is sporadically attested. A summary of the contents of the Grekoff collection is presented in Hinton and Wood (2000).

The most complete published source on the Chimariko language is Dixon (1910), and in addition Sapir's material was recently published in his *Collected Works* (Sapir 2001). This material consists of word lists from several speakers who were not entirely fluent. Despite this, the data is valuable because of the phonetic accuracy in which it is recorded, which provides a basis for comparison with the Dixon material. Dates of major Chimariko fieldwork are given for reference in (1).

(1) DATES OF MAJOR CHIMARIKO FIELDWORK - FIELDWORKER AND CONSULTANTS

1889	J. Curtin
1901-2	A.L. Kroeber (T.[2], Friday)
1902	P.E. Goddard (Sally Noble)
1906	R. B. Dixon (Polly Dyer, Friday)
1920-1	C. H. Merriam
1921-8	J. P. Harrington (Sally Noble, Abe Bush, Lucy Montgomery, Saxy Kidd)
1927	E. Sapir (Saxy Kidd, Abe Bush, Martha Ziegler)

Grekoff not only gave a more modern analysis of many aspects of the language than Dixon, but thoroughly incorporated data from all available sources, including the substantial Harrington material, which proves to be in many ways the most reliable extant record of the Chimariko language. The Harrington notes consist of approximately 2200 pages that include a rehearing of earlier wordlists as well as texts and ethnographic observations.

Some notes on terminology: the term S is used in this paper to identify the single argument of an intransitive verb. S can be divided into subtypes S_A and S_O, as in the usage of Sapir (1920). In split-intransitive languages, S_A arguments are those that pattern as active or unergative, often inflected like the subjects of transitive verbs, while S_O pattern as stative or unaccusative, often inflected like the objects of transitive verbs. Fluid S verbs are those that have an argument that can pattern either with S_A or S_O, depending on semantics or context. In Chimariko, I will refer to three classes of verbs: S_A-inflecting, S_O-inflecting, and Fluid.

Indices are included at the end of the paper, listing all the intransitive verbs, and relevant nouns (kin terms, body parts and words derived from body parts) for which there is sufficient evidence to determine their inflection type.[3]

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[2] Full name not recorded.

[3] Some words of caution regarding the forms cited in the indices: Often, words are attested in in several different ways, e.g. **sileychumuni, sileycumuni** 'arm pit'. The status of aspirated and glottalized segments, and the velar/uvular/glottal contrast in particular are often obscure from the data, and I have made no attempt to standardize or correct

Regarding citations, unless otherwise noted, data is compiled from Grekoff's notes. Since the data is culled from disparate locations in the notes, no specific folder or page number is given. Most of the verbs referred to in this paper, however, can be found in some form in the dictionary file slips (file numbers 001.002-001.005).

2. SPLIT INTRANSITIVITY. As introduced above, there are two sets of verbal affixes in Chimariko, which appear both prefixed and suffixed. The sets will be referred to as *set I* and *set II*, and are used with S_A-inflecting and S_O-inflecting verbs, repectively. These are illustrated in (2).

(2) (*Set I*)	/**y**-ama/	/kow-**ʔi**/	(*Set II*) /**čhu**-iman-damu-t/	/čhele?-**či**-t/
	yema	*kow?i*	*čhumandamut*	*čhele?čit*
	1(I)-eat	holler-1(I)	1(II)-fall-down-TENSE	black-1(II)-TENSE
	'I eat.'	'I holler.'	'I fell down.'	'I am black.'

The *set I* affixes are used with many verbs that can be classified as active, or unergative either in terms of lexical aspect, agentivity or control, such as 'I eat,' and 'I holler.' The *set II* affixes are used with many verbs that can be classified as stative, non-agentive, or uncontrolled, such as 'I fell down,' and 'I am black.' The verbal affixes can be either suffixed or prefixed. Though there is a tendency for the sets to align with semantic parameters associated with the active/stative opposition, there are exceptions to semantic generalizations involving agentivity, aspect or control. Descriptions of split intransitivity typically involve the consideration of several different factors, whether lexical categories (Merlan 1985) or semantic attributes of arguments (Van Valin 1990, Mithun 1991). In Chimariko as well, no single attribute characterizes the split, but some generalizations can be made. I will not attempt a complete account for the distribution of S_A and S_O verb classes here, though I will indicate some apparent generalizations.

There are two relevant parameters in the discussion about the distribution of pronominal affixes: affix type and affix position as prefixed or suffixed. As shown by the examples in (2), both sets of affixes can appear prefixed or suffixed. These two parameters will be discussed in §§ 2.1 and 2.2.

2.1. AFFIX TYPE. Examining the types of verbs that fall into each inflection class, it is clear that the distribution of S_A and S_O inflection in Chimariko reflects patterns found in many other languages, but that there are also some peculiarities.

It has been noted (Merlan 1985) that split intransitive languages usually have a minority class and a majority class, and that while the minority class is coherently characterized according to verb

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forms, but have deferred to Grekoff's representations. The segment represented by **R** is of uncertain quality and occurs only in the digraph **tR**. A schwa (ə) represents a vowel of indeterminate quality, and words beginning with schwa are alphabetized by their first consonant.

type, the majority class is not. It is not immediately clear if Chimariko has a majority and a minority class. I have found 63 S_A-inflecting intransitive verbs, 54 S_O-inflecting verbs, and 7 fluid verbs. Interestingly, if one were to assume that the S_O-inflecting class is the minority class, many of Merlan's observations would prove true, for example that the minority class contains verbs of bodily functions or processes (such as verbs of vocalization, S_O-inflecting in Chimariko), and that S_O minority classes tend to be associated with descriptive predicates (in Chimariko, most descriptive predicates such as color and shape terms are S_O-inflecting). It is not true, however, that the minority class is associated with animate subjects, as Merlan observed for Dakota, Seneca, Arikara and other languages.

The S_O-inflecting class is more easily characterized than the S_A-inflecting class. The S_O verbs can be characterized as 1) descriptive predicates (e.g. *imač'al* 'be dried,' *la* 'be weak,' *men* 'be white'), 2) bodily functions or processes (using the terminology of Merlan 1985), especially uncontrolled ones (e.g. *leč* 'hiccup,' *laplap* 'blink,' *q'e?* 'choke'), 3) verbs of vocalization, many of them with repetitive reduplication (e.g. *lax...mu* 'cry out, howl,' *wo?wo?* 'bark,' *?ew?ew* 'utter warcry'), or 4) uncontrolled events, states and activites, usually malefactory and describing sickness, fear and pain (e.g. *ic'ama* 'hurt, ache,' *qhol...?ma* 'have a miscarriage,' *xitR* 'get scared, be startled'). This characterization is informal, yet demonstrates that the set of S_O-inflecting verbs in Chimariko can be characterized in terms of lexical category of the verb. There is no single semantic element (e.g. volitionality, control, agentivity), however, that can adequately include all the S_O-inflecting verbs. Additionally, since the S_A-inflecting class is more heterogeneous than the S_O-inflecting class, and in fact includes verbs of category 1 (descriptive predicates, e.g. *p'ola* 'be alone,' *letRetRi* 'be spotted,' *?elomtu* 'be hot') and verbs of category 4 (uncontrolled (usually malefactory) events, states and activities, e.g. *šiṭk'i* 'bleed,' *wi* 'get burnt,' *hic'a* 'be sick'), the categories outlined above, to the extent that they are useful, can be considered descriptive (but not exclusively) of the S_O inflection type.

In sum, the S_O-inflecting class can be defined according to lexical categories, while the S_A-inflecting class is more heterogeneous and cannot be thus defined. This is consistent with a pattern associated with S_O-minority languages in Merlan (1985).

2.2. AFFIX POSITIONING. According to Dixon, lexical aspect intersects not only with affix type, but also with affix position. In §2.1 it was seen that lexical aspect is not reliable as a predictor of inflection type, since descriptive predicates and other states can be either S_A or S_O-inflected. In this section I will show that lexical aspect cannot reliably be correlated with affix position either. Dixon's comments in (3) summarize his observations:

(3) 'It will be seen that two wholly different forms are given in both singular and plural for the first person. In the use of one or the other of these, there is a fairly clear distinction in use. The first type, tc (čh, here, *set II*), is never employed with verbal stems indicating action or movement, but with those, on the contrary, which **indicate a state or condition.** On the other hand, whereas the second form, i, y (?i, y, here, *set I*), is **invariably used with the former class of verbal stems, it is also employed with the latter, but is then always suffixed'** (Dixon 1910:325, **emphasis added**).

Dixon observes that *set II* generally correlates with stative, and *set I* with active, but that the *set I* markers can be suffixed (never prefixed) to stative verbs. A survey of all the verbs compiled by Grekoff shows that this observation is largely correct. Stative verbs rarely or never have prefixed *set I* markers - when stative verbs have prefixes, they are *set II*. I have found only one possible counterexample. Additionally, transitive verbs almost always have prefixed subject marking, although there is one counterexample (*?o?o-* 'rock something, e.g. a baby'). It is *not* correct, however, that suffixed *set I* markers occur *only* with stative verbs — they also occur with verbs that clearly have 'active' semantics, e.g. controlled activities such as *k'oţ...hu* 'flee,' and *lu?le* 'be swift, move fast.' This calls into question a direct association of *set I* affix position with lexical semantics (that *set I* affixes are prefixed to active verbs and suffixed to stative verbs). It is just that conclusion, however, that Sapir drew when he read Dixon's description.

Sapir (1920) has some very insightful comments on Dixon's grammatical sketch, including a reanalysis of Dixon's morphological segmentation of vowel-initial verbs and nouns. Sapir came to the conclusion that, as suggested by Dixon's description, the positioning of the *set I* affixes as prefixed or suffixed was sensitive to lexical aspect or agentive semantics (that is, the opposition of *active* vs. *stative* verbs), but that no such observation could be made about the *set II* affixes. According to Dixon's observations, the *set II* affixes, whether prefixed or suffixed, always occurred with stative-type verbs, while the positioning of *set I* affixes depended on the lexical semantics of the verb. Dixon did not make any specific observation about the distribution of *set II* prefixes vs. suffixes.

Working from Dixon's data[4], Sapir described a system in which subjects of transitive verbs and S_A arguments are indicated by a prefixed *set I* marker, S_O arguments are indicated by a suffixed *set I* marker, and objects of transitive verbs and S_O arguments are indicated by a prefixed, suffixed or infixed *set II* marker. The chart in (4) is from Sapir (1920). Though this chart puts suffixed *set I* and all *set II* markers together in one category as indicating an 'objective' relation, Sapir did not intend to assert that *set I* markers could ever indicate objects of transitive verbs, given his description of the affix.

[4] Sapir's fieldwork was in 1927, after he wrote the 1920 IJAL article.

(4)

	Sing.	Pl.
Subjective (i.e. subject of active verb)	**y-** (before vowels) **i-** (before consonants)	ya-
Objective (i.e. subject of static verb and object of transitive verb)	**-i** tcu- (before consonants) tc- (before vowels); -tcu, -tc-	-ya tca-; -tca

(Sapir 1920:292, **emphasis added**)

Additional data from the Grekoff collection bring to light several facts that challenge the description in (4). The original statement that Dixon made is mostly correct, which is that *set I* markers, when used with 'stative' verbs, are suffixed. Only one example has surfaced that might be counter to this — the verb *učhe* 'to be diligent' — which describes a state, though it is one that is a controlled state or a state that requires effort on the part of the person described.

As mentioned above, it is not the case that the suffixed *set I* markers are limited to stative verbs. Two transitive verbs with optional object deletion, and several intransitive verbs that are not prototypical statives take the suffixed *set I* marker. Examples are listed in (5).

(5) TRANSITIVE:

lu? 'drink'; **lu?-i** 'I drink (something)' (001.035)

?o?o 'rock (a baby)'; **?o?o-?i** 'I rock (a baby)' (001.035:IIA6)

INTRANSITIVE:

kow 'shout, holler (punctual)'; **kow-?i** 'I shout, holler (punctual)' (003.004)

he?uma 'play grass game'; **he?uma-?i** 'I play grass game' (001.035)

šiši 'wardance, praydance (v.)'; **šiši-?** 'I wardance, praydance' (001.035)

yapha '(woman) to get married'; **yapha-?** 'I (a woman) get married' (001.035)

xoʈuʈu 'snore'; **xoʈuʈu-?i** 'I snore' (001.035)

k'oʈ...hu 'run away, flee'; **k'oʈ-i-hu** 'I run away, flee' (001.035)

la...čim 'give out'; **la-?-čim** 'I give out'

?ewo...mu 'cry'; **?ewo-?-mu** 'I cry' (001.035)

Verbs such as those in (5) call into question the correlation of affix positioning and lexical semantics. In the remainder of this section I will examine Dixon's and Grekoff's generalizations about affix positioning. Dixon's comments on the distribution of the prefixed vs. suffixed markers are in (6).

(6) 'In use these pronominal elements seem normally to be prefixed, being so used in over seventy per cent. of the cases known. In the remainder of the instances they are suffixed ... What principle determines the use of one or the other of these positions is obscure, such verbs as sing, work, be good, be blind, taking the elements as prefixes, whereas grow, die, be hungry, sick, take them as suffixes. One distinction can however be made, namely that **verbs indicating action or movement invariably take the pronominal affixes prefixed'** (Dixon 1910: 324-5, **emphasis added**).

Though Dixon had in his data several 'action or movement' verbs that were prefixing, a survey of Grekoff's compiled data shows exceptions to this. Some possible exceptions — verbs that indicate action or movement, but take suffixes — are listed in (7).

(7) **k'oţ...hu** flee I
he?uma play grass game I
šiši dance (a wardance or praydance) I
lu?le be swift, move fast I

Grekoff has an alternative analysis in which the distribution of prefixes vs. suffixes is purely phonologically conditioned, with vowel-initial roots taking prefixes, and consonant-initial roots taking suffixes. The nouns and verbs that take prefixes are clearly vowel initial, though the initial consonants of some suffixing forms may be epenthetic glottal stops. In (8) are the verbs mentioned in the above quote from Dixon, along with the form he gives them, and the form Grekoff proposes for them. Grekoff proposes initial glottal stops for verbs such as *?iţi* 'grow' and *?amemtu* 'be hungry.' According to Grekoff, any correlation with lexical aspect would be only secondary to the phonological generalization.

(8)

		Dixon	Harrington/Grekoff
Prefixed	'sing'	*tak*	*ataq'*
	'work'	*pu*	
	'be good'	*hisikni*	*isi?*
	'be blind'	*xosanmun*[5]	*əχusanmu*
Suffixed	'grow'	*itri*	*?iţi*
	'die'	*qè*	*q'e*
	'be hungry'	*amemtu*	*?amemtu*
	'be sick'	*qè...ok*	*q'e...ok*

It is likely that an accurate understanding of affix positioning in Chimariko will involve both elements proposed as explanations: lexical semantics and phonology. The distribution of prefixes can indeed be accurately correlated with vowel-initial words, but the status of these initial vowels remains unclear - it is possible, for example, that they were at one point auxiliary verbs or indicators of lexical aspect, and thus the phonological correlation may be epiphenomenal of the derivational morphology.

3. ALIENABILITY. The two sets of affixes are also used for nominal possession. Roughly, the *set I* affixes are used with alienable possession, such as 'my belt,' while *set II* is used with inalienable possession, such as 'my waist.' Three observations on the use of these affixes will be presented here: 1) there is considerable variation in what nouns are attested to belong to the *set II* (inalienable) class; 2) several nouns can be marked with either *set I* or *set II* affixes; 3) the set of inalienable nouns is not entirely predictable in terms of semantic class. Just as with verbs, there are unpredictable exceptions to semantic generalizations about inflection type. The use of the two sets in marking possession is illustrated in (9).

(9)	(*set I*)	/k'osusu-**?i**/	(*set II*)	/**čhu**-ičiči/
		k'osusu?i		čhučiči
		belt-1(I)		1(II)-waist
		'my belt'		'my waist'

Dixon identified two types of possession in his sketch, what he called *accidental* and *inherent*. Dixon's description of these two classes is in (10).

[5] The *-n* in this form is a tense suffix.

(10) 'Two classes of possession are recognized, **accidental** and **inherent**. In the former, the pronominal elements are always suffixed, and are (*set I*[6]); in the latter they are always prefixed, and are (*set II*)' (Dixon 1910:232; **emphasis** added).

Dixon's accidental possession (which is equivalent to *alienable*) is marked with suffixed *set I* markers. *Set I* markers are never prefixed to nouns, only suffixed. Inherent possession (equivalent to *inalienable*) is marked with prefixed *set II* markers. *Set II* markers are never suffixed to nouns. With respect to their distribution, the pronominal marking on nouns differs from that on verbs, where both sets of affixes appear prefixed and suffixed. Additionally, all nominal roots of inalienable nouns are vowel-initial. The class consists of body parts and a few kin terms, though there is significant variation among data sets. In data from one speaker who Sapir worked with (Abe Bush), for example, only certain in-laws were classified as inalienable, while other data sets included many body parts as well.

3.1. VARIATION IN THE INALIENABLE CLASS. The glossary in Dixon (1910) indicates which nouns are in the inalienable (inherent possession) class by listing them with the third person possessive prefix. For example, 'anus' is listed as *hi-wi*. Sapir, Kroeber and Grekoff revised Dixon's morphological segmentation, and agreed that such words are better analyzed as *h-iwi*, with the 3rd person prefix *h-*, and it is the latter citation that will be used here. Alienable nouns, especially kin terms, are sometimes listed with the 1st person possessive suffix *-ʔi* (Dixon usually wrote *-i*). These conventions provide a basis of comparison (although perhaps not an entirely accurate one) with later elicitation work (by Sapir and Harrington) that more pointedly investigated the opposition of the two possession types.

A phenomenon not present in Dixon's material is the alternation of possession type on a single root. Later material, including Harrington's, shows that the same roots can appear prefixed or suffixed with a lexicalized difference in meaning. In the Dixon material both 'head' and 'hair' are given as inalienable, with prefixed possession (*h-ima*). In Harrington's data the same root, when used with a suffixed possessive, means 'hair,' while when used with a prefixed possessive, means 'head,' as illustrated in (11).

(11)	(I)			(II)		
		ʔima-ʔi	'my hair'		***čhuma (/čhu-ima/)***	'my head'
		ʔima-me	'your hair'		***m-ima***	'your head'
		ʔima-yta	'his/her hair'		***h-ima***	'his/her head'

There are also several other pairs of words in which the alternation in type of marking changes the type or intimacy of possession involved, for example such words as 'fish eggs', 'horns,' and

[6] The first person suffixed possessive suffix is *-ʔi*. Third person suffixed possessive has a form distinct from verbal affixes: *-yta*, in Dixon's orthography *-ida*.

'bone.' (This also contrasts with the Dixon material, where 'antlers,' 'bone,' and 'roe' are recorded only as inalienably possessed.) With suffixed *set I* markers, the nouns refer to a detached body part possessed by a human, while with prefixed *set II* markers, the nouns refer to the animal's own body part. This alternation is illustrated in (12).

(12)	(I)	/h-itxayi-**ʔi**/	(II)	/**čhu**-itxayi/
		hitxayiʔi		*čhutxayi*
		3(II)-fish_eggs-1(I)		1(II)-fish_eggs
		'my fish eggs' (person speaking)		'my eggs' (salmon speaking)
		(lit. 'my it's fish eggs')		

The opposition illustrated in (12) has so far been found only in elicitation, and thus the semantic interpretation is that of Harrington and the speaker in an elicitation context.

3.2. SEMANTIC UNPREDICTIBILITY. The Dixon material provides evidence that the distinction between the two sets of nouns can not be entirely explained by semantic class. Most body parts are in the inalienable class, but others, such as 'armpit,' 'breast,' and 'tail' are not. Instances of semantically close pairs that are inflected differently are found in the Harrington material as well. For example, *čačhaye* 'lymph gland' is consistently inflected as alienable, while *uši* 'liver' and other organs are inalienable; *ʔima* 'hair' is alienable, while *ic'asko* 'forelock' is inalienable. It is possible that there are cultural reasons (akin to those cited in Nida 1958) for why certain body parts are inflected with the unexpected *set I* suffixes. This type of distribution is not surprising, given the existence of similar patterns in other languages. Nichols (1988) cites several examples of anomalies to purely semantic criteria for determining alienability status.

4. CONCLUSIONS. The Grekoff collection has proved and will continue to prove an invaluable resource for scholars interested in Chimariko and other Hokan and California languages. In this paper I hope to have clarified a few points about pronominal inflection, though I have also left several open questions about the exact parameters determining the distribution of affix sets *I* and *II*, and their appearance as prefixes and suffixes. It is clear that the data published in Dixon (1910) was not sufficient to provide an accurate representation, and led to a misunderstanding published in the account of Sapir (1920). In particular several exceptions can be found to a distinction, whether in the active/stative or the prefixed/suffixed alternation, based purely on lexical aspect. In the nouns, certain exceptions to the semantic generalization that body parts are inalienable have also been identified, as well as several nominal roots that can appear with either possession type.

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APPENDIX I: List of verbs, by inflection type[7]

S_A-inflecting (set I) verbs

a?a- root for several verbs of movement I
ačektu jump around I
ama eat I
(cf. **?amaq'e** I, **?amemtu** I/II be hungry)
ataq' sing I
č^{h}isamra be a bear I
čitxa yamulla be naked (blankletless) I
ec^{h}umta (man) to get married I
ema- act with the foot I
he?uma play grass game I
hic'a be sick I
hic'a?...ma be sick I

[7] I = Set I; II = Set II; Trans. = Transitive. Prefixing verbs are vowel initial; suffixing verbs consonant initial. A discontinuous root is indicated by ... (e.g. **čhew...u** be pregnant).

huweš...ah be horned I
ik'o speak I
ik'o?na address, speak (to) I
imelušlušu shake head (to say 'no') I
imum run I
inahmu walk draggingly, drag along I
inahta limp, be lame I/II
isa breathe I
isakitmi hide I
isamut stop, turn around (and come back) I
i?ec'am swim I
i?em swim I
koko holler I
kow shout, holler I/II
k'oţ...hu flee I
la...čim give out I
law...puk be exhausted, give out I/II
law...tam be tired, give out I/II
letRetRi be spotted I
lu? drink I
lu?le be swift, move fast I
maţ'i believe, listen I
ma...imat be alive I
pač^{h}a?a be no account I
po...imu be asleep I
po...mu sleep I
po...muye be sleepy I
p'ola be alone I
q^{h}ap^{h}ama lie (tell falsehood) I
q'amumu...ta confer I
q'e die; be ailing I
q'iwuwu tremble I
šiţk'i bleed I
šiši dance wardance, praydance I
ţewu be big, get big, grow, be grown I
(cf. **ţew...u** II)
ţ^{h}aţa...ta be foolish, silly, worthless I
ţ^{h}upu be strong, stout I
učhe be diligent, energetic I
uc'u fly I
uţanraha? raise hand I
uwak come I
uwašmu cross (water, e.g. a river) I
wi get burnt I
winini be shivering (from cold) I
xama...ta have gray hair I
(cf. **xama** n. gray hair I)
xoţuţu snore I
yap^{h}a (woman) to get married (to someone) I
?aman?iţi be young I
(cf. **?iţi** grow, be growing I/II)
?amaq'e be hungry I
?amemtu be hungry I/II
?aq^{h}aq'e be thirsty I
?aq^{h}emtu be thirsty I
?elomtu be (feel) hot I
?ešomtu be (feel) cold I/II
?ešoq'e feel cold, be freezing I
?ewo cry I
?ewo...mu cry I
?iţi grow, be growing I/II
?uwella have a boy, son I

S_O-inflecting (set II) verbs

ačič^{h}e sneeze II
ac'am (woman) to be lactescent II
ak^{h}o to be a good hunter II
(cf. **ak^{h}o** to kill (trans.))
amusos to have a rash, irritation II
(cf. **amusos** to scratch (trans.))
awi catch II
awi to be afraid, to fear II
čel be black II
č^{h}ew...u be pregnant II
č'imar be an Indian II
ic'ama hurt, ache II
imač'al be dried, parched II

iman fall II
inahta limp, be lame I/II
ino?k get well, be recovered II
isaƫ' o?mu give out, be short of breath II
(cf. **isa** breathe I)
isaxni cough II
(cf. **isa** breathe I)
isi? be good II
iƫ' i?nima be glad II
kaw...ku give out, be exhausted II
kow shout, holler I/II
la be weak II
laplap blink II
lawi be weak, debilitated, exhausted II
law...mu give out, be exhausted II
law...puk be exhausted, give out I/II
law...tam be tired, give out I/II
lax...mu cry out, howl II
laxlax yell; whine, (animal) to utter its cry; II
leč hiccup II
lot'...hu be soft, decayed, rotten II
lot'ih be soft, decayed, rotten II
lot'o? be genitally diseased II
mac' be clean, clear, bright II
mac'a? be clean, clear, bright II
men be white II
noro? be round (spherical) II
phala? be strong, stout, sturdy, robust II
puš...mu be bent over (as with age) II
q^{h}ayq^{h}ay to have rheumatic pain II
q^{h}ol...?ma to have a miscarriage II
q^{h}olq^{h}ol (animal) to growl; (cat) to purr II
q'e? choke II
q'ew...ok be sick II
əsuwo?na hiccough II
šeƫe? be blue II
šiči? be wet, get wet, soaked II
turim be stiff II
turu? be stiff II
txere? be wide II
ƫew...u be big, get big, grow, be grown II
(cf. **ƫewu** I; **?iƫi** grow, be growing I/II)
ƫuk be tired, exhausted II
wi?...mu be mad, be angry II
wili? be red II
wo?...puk bark II
wo?wo? bark II
xitR get scared, be startled II
?amemtu be hungry I/II
?ešo...ic^{h}aq'e? freeze to death, be very cold II
?ešomtu be (feel) cold I/II
?ew?ew utter warcry II
?iƫi grow, be growing I/II

APPENDIX II: Body parts and kin terms, with possession type(s) attested.

Alienable (set I)

čačxaye lymph gland I
čatxun bone I
č^{h}umakosa mother in law I
(cf. **ičhum** to borrow)
c^{h}umaku father in law I
(cf. **ičhum** to borrow)
himolla grandchild (also nephew, niece) I
[h]uweš horns, antlers I/II
?ič^{h}illa father I
[h]itxaye fish eggs I/II
koƫ^{h}ol thyroid cartilage, windpipe I
mačolla grandmother I
mak'olla maternal uncle I
mala maternal aunt, also step-mother I
masola daughter I
mašuy relation (used by children) I

matq'i paternal uncle I
mek^{h}u brother in law I
mičinlalla relative, relation I
misak^{h}u nephew I
p^{h}unsar woman, wife I
šito mother I
[h]uṭunew stomach, guts I/II
xama gray hair I
(cf. **xama...ta** have gray hair I)
xara child I
xaralla baby, child I
xawila grandfather (mat. or pat.) I
?anoq^{h}a egg, honey, pitch I
?anxala nephew, ?male cousin I
?anxasa niece, female cousin I
?ima head hair I
?itusa (man's) sister I
?iṭi husband, man I
(cf. **?iṭi** to grow I/II)
?uluyta sibling I
?uwela son I

Inalienable (set II)

awa mouth II
[h]uweš horns, antlers I/II
ičeqmu cheek II
ič^{h}ema armpit II
ič^{h}umta son in law II
ičiči waist II
ičip^{h}e thigh, lap II
ic'asko forelock II
ic'e?p^{h}e side (of body) II
iki neck, throat II
ima head II
imasu dorsal muscle along the backbone II
imi fur, body hair II
(cf. **ima** head II; **?ima** head hair I)
imina back II
iminančatxu backbone, spine II
(cf. **imina** back II; **čatxun** bone I)
ini brain, snot, phlegm II
ipxa guts II
ip^{h}en tongue II
ip^{h}u buttocks II
isam ear II
isimta daughter in law II
[h]itxaye fish eggs I/II
iṭa finger, hand II
iṭiy flesh II
ohu nose II
onapu navel II
uc'u teeth II
uc'una face, chin, jaw II
uc'unančatxu lower jaw bone II
(cf. **uc'una** face, chin, jaw II; **čatxun** bone I)
upuṭu lip II
up^{h}o foot II
usanč^{h}ey heart II
usot eye II
uši liver II
ušixaye kidney II
(cf. **uši** kidney II)
ušiy marrow II
[h]uṭunew stomach, guts I/II
uwečatxuy lungs II
(cf. **čatxun** bone I)

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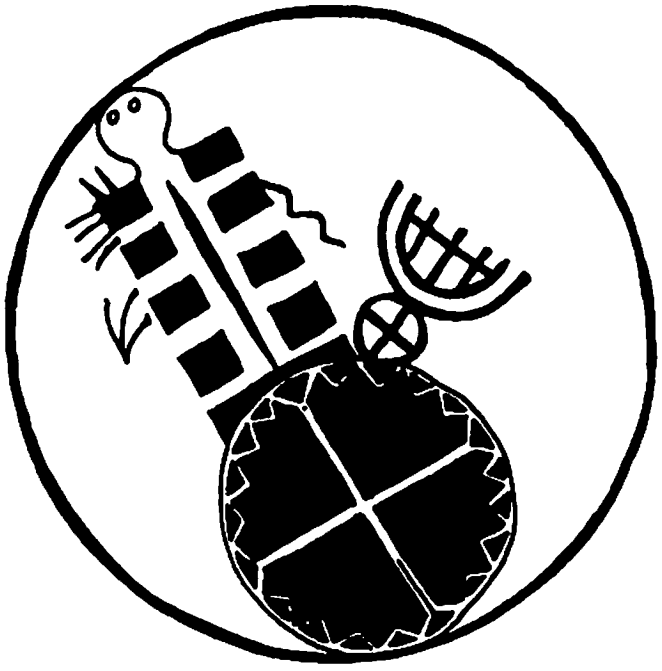
REPORT 12

SURVEY OF CALIFORNIA AND OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES



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