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A Kashaya Grammar (Southwestern Pomo)

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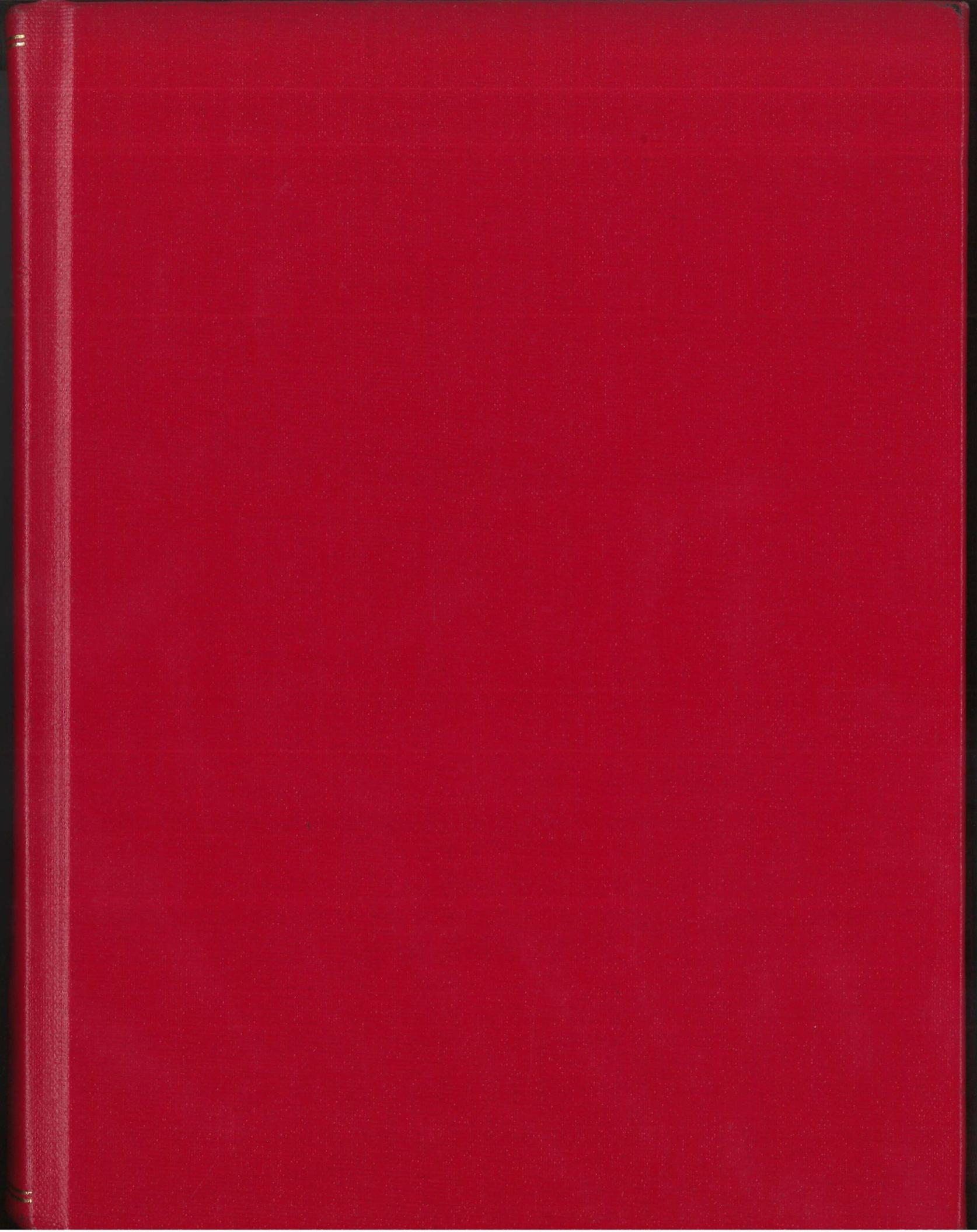
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Publication Date

1961



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PREFACE

The field work underlying the data of this grammar was supported by the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California,

Berkeley. The field trips extended over a period of nearly half a century in the summers of 1912, 1920, and 1948.

A KASHAYA GRAMMAR

Half written in the summers of 1948, 1950, and 1958.

The informants, with an approximation of their year of birth, are as follows: Pomo (Southwestern Pomo) (1912), Herman James (1911), Gladys James (1911), Helen Parish (1911), Eddie James (1911), and Geraldine (1911). My thanks go to them all, and especially to Eddie Parish

by

for providing tirelessly the thousands of forms necessary for the analysis of the ungrammatical and verb conjugations and to Herman James and Gladys, for many hours and

Robert L. Oswalt

for the analysis of the ungrammatical and verb conjugations and to Herman James and Gladys, for many hours and

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values of the old days.

I am grateful to Professor G. B. Lewis, R. D. Knobell, and E. A. Shipton for reading portions of this grammar and offering valuable advice and criticism. My debt is particularly great to Professor Lewis, who has given me generously of his time for reading this and other manuscripts.

I am also grateful to Dr. John C. Boas, Dr. George K. Spangler, and Dr. Robert L. Oswalt for their help in the preparation of this grammar.

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PREFACE

230. Vowel morphophonemics

The field work providing the data for this grammar was supported by the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. The field trips occupied a total of six and one half months in the summers of 1957, 1958, and 1959.

Chapter 100. Phonology

The informants, with an approximation of their years of birth, are as follows: Essie Parrish (1903), Herman James (1882), Gladys James (1913), Violet Parrish (1928), Julia Marrufo (1900), and Isabelle Johnson (1905). My thanks go to them all and especially to Essie Parrish for providing tirelessly the thousands of forms necessary for the analysis of the morphophonemics and verb morphology and to Herman James for recalling so many myths and tales of the old days.

I am grateful to Professors M. R. Haas, M. B. Emeneau, and F. J. Whitfield for reading copies of this grammar and offering valuable advice and criticism. My debt is particularly great to Professor Haas, who has given so generously of her time in assisting the work from its beginning.

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Other terms for the same group are <i>Kashia</i> , <i>Chumpte</i>	
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misspelled in the appropriate places in the grammar and	
spelled variously as <u>kashia</u> in governmental records and	
on the Reservation School sign, and <u>kacia</u> by Stewart (1943).	

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In aboriginal times the territory of the Kashaya
Other terms for the same group are Guatala, Stewart's
Point Indians, Fort Ross Indians, Haupt Ranch Indians.
The people, as long as anyone living can remember,
have considered themselves distinct from all
other Indians.

Kashaya is one of seven languages within the Pomo
family. The Pomo were never a political entity; the
term is a linguistic one referring to a group of related
languages. Each language was given a designation by
Barrett (1908) based on the geographical location of its
speakers within the Pomo area: Southeastern, Eastern,
Northeastern, Northern, Central, Southern, and South-
western. The names are simple and unambiguous but have
given rise to the impression that they refer to mere
dialectal variants of one Pomo language, whereas the
seven are distinct languages with a maximum divergence
among themselves comparable to that within Germanic.
(Section 44.65)

Kashaya corresponds to Barrett's Southwestern Pomo
and is the preferred term because it emphasizes the
individuality of the language and its speakers.

Kashaya (*kešáya*) is what the speakers call themselves
in English, and is derived from the Indian /*kahšá·ya*/.
It is probably derived from {*kahšá*} 'agile, nimble' +
a variant /**ya*/ of {*ya*} 'people, race'. The name is
spelled variously as kashia in governmental records and
on the Reservation School sign, and kacia by Stewart (1943).

In aboriginal times the territory of the Kashaya
Other terms for the same group are Gualala, Stewart's
extended along the Sonoma coast of California. The
Point Indians, Fort Ross Indians, Haupt Ranch Indians.
Southern limit is given as Salmon Creek by Harriet the

The people, as long as anyone living can remember,
have considered themselves one group, distinct from all
other Indians.

The language is remarkably uniform. The speech of
the two main informants, Essie Parrish (from /'aca/ *Siná..*
cawalli/ and Herman James (from Fort Ross), exhibits about
the maximum variation, but still less than that between
the English of New York and Chicago. There is evidence
that there has been a process of adjustment in the last
few generations among the families who formerly lived in
more widely separated areas, but now live on the Kashia
Reservation. The result is called Standard Kashaya.
For example, Essie Parrish has given up using the suffixal
variants *[hi]* and *[hila]* for the Standard *[p^hi]* and *[p^hila]*
(Section 444.65); Gladys, daughter of Herman James, uses
the Standard *[i]* 'at' after *[l]* of the Objective Case
while her father uses *[i]* (Section 445.22). The speech
described in the grammar is that of Essie Parrish and it
is considered to be Standard Kashaya; where the speech
of Herman James or the younger speakers (under 40) or
of former generations is known to have differed, the points
are noted in the appropriate place in the grammar and
dictionary.

In aboriginal times the territory of the Kashaya extended along the Sonoma coast of California. The southern limit is given as Salmon Creek by Barrett (1908a, p.232), Kennedy (MS), Kroeber (1925, map p.356), Merriam (MS), and Stewart (1943, p.49); and as the Russian River by Kniffen (1939, p.381). The northern limit is given as the mouth of the Gualala by Barrett, Kniffen, and Kroeber; as Black Point by Kennedy, Merriam, and Stewart. I favor the northern limit of Black Point because place names north of there are in a form more characteristic of the Southern Pomo language. For example, /se've ton/ for Kashaya /se've tol/ 'on a bush' shows the regular correspondence of Ps /n/ to Pk /l/ in final position.

Between Black Point on the north and Fort Ross in the middle there is a coastal shelf varying irregularly from a width of about half a mile down to nothing. At Fort Ross the terrace widens to about one mile but immediately south of there disappears and from Fort Ross to the mouth of the Russian River the mountains rise precipitously from the sea, making it extremely difficult to descend to the ocean to gather seafood except where occasional streams come down to the sea. Even where there is a coastal shelf north of Fort Ross it meets the ocean in cliffs varying from fifty to hundred feet in height. the coast.

In aboriginal times the bands followed a seasonal route inland from the coastal shelf the territory of the Kashaya extended for about three ridges, approximately eight miles in a straight line but much further by trail. South of Fort Ross, the Kashaya ranged inland as far east as Austin Creek according to Barrett. The living Indians, however, are not very familiar with that territory, as they and their immediate ancestors have only occupied the land north of Fort Ross.

The ridges are about one thousand feet high, rising occasionally to peaks of two thousand feet. They run from southeast to northwest almost parallel to the coast but slanting toward it in the north. Walking is easiest along the tops of the ridges, but procuring a variety of food required the Indians to travel across the ridges.

Much of the interior consists of /Siyo/, as the Kashaya call the somber redwood forests of perpetual shade and produced little of value to the Indians, except bark for house-siding. Plant food--berries, grain, bulbs, acorns--grew in the more open land along the tops of the ridges and along the coastal shelf. Even hunting was poor in the dark forest. Fish were caught in the Gualala River and fish, shellfish, and seaweed gathered along the coast.

Industry provided well-paying jobs for other Indians.

In aboriginal times the bands followed a seasonal round moving from place to place to gather food products as they ripened. In winter they took up more permanent habitations in openings atop the second and third ridges in from the ocean, relatively sheltered from the strong offshore winds and cold fogs. The Indians in the mission~~area~~ Although the land provided a varied diet, it was too rugged and small in extent (250 square miles) to support large numbers. The aboriginal population has~~dens~~ been estimated variously as 800 (Kennedy MS. 1) and 550 (Kroeber 1925), smaller than any other language group of Pomo—that they could acquire in that way.

But the geographical factors which restricted the numbers of the earlier population are the same factors which have helped preserve the Kashaya better than any other Pomo linguistic subdivision, by discouraging the settlement of whitemen on the land in overwhelming force. There are now about 150 Indians who consider themselves Kashaya, although some have married into the group from the Central Pomo of Point Arena and elsewhere. Of these 150, 54 speak the language, several times as many as once speak any other Pomo language, to buy sufficient food. Almost every rancher had a small rancheria on his land providing him with a convenient work force. The growing lumber industry provided well-paying jobs for other~~abor-~~ Indians for the major celebrations such as the Fourth of July.

As far as is documented, the first contact of the Kashaya with whitemen occurred when the Russians founded Fort Ross in 1811. The Russians did not gather the Indians in for forced labor nor for confinement in the Missions. This is a major factor in their escaping the extinction suffered by most of the Indians in the missionized areas.

The Russians hired the Indians to do various unskilled jobs at Fort Ross and in the surrounding gardens. Thus they became gradually accustomed to the idea of working for wages and grew to like the articles--beads, clothing, tools--that they could acquire in that way. The majority of the natives continued a nomadic existence making Fort Ross only one more stop in their seasonal round. However, towards the end of the Russian occupancy, it is recorded (Kostromitonov 1839) that more and more Kashaya families were settling permanently at Fort Ross. The Russians left rather abruptly in 1840 and American settlers began moving in.

The Indians soon found that their food-gathering territory was being occupied by homesteaders and therefore had to work for wages in order to buy sufficient food. Almost every rancher had a small rancheria on his land providing him with a convenient work force. The growing lumber industry provided well-paying jobs for other Indians for the major celebrations such as the Fourth of July.

This more or less permanent residence away from Charlie Haupt (pronounced háp), a German settler, the group is a recent phenomenon dating only since the married a Kashaya woman and made the Indians feel more Second World War. Previously the Kashaya had had a welcome on his place than did the other ranchers. In a succession of prophets or dreamers who preached isolationism and the preservation of the Indian beliefs, Du'kašal and P'eo'tol, on the Haupt Ranch, came to be the chief permanent Indian villages, although even there the strongest of these, Annie Jarvis, held sway from population was constantly in flux as the people followed 1913 to 1943. She prohibited intermarriage with non-various types of seasonal employment, moving to Stewart's Indians, favoring marriages with the Central Pomo of Point Point or Annapolis to work for lumbering outfits, moving Arena if suitable pairing could not be made within the to the Russian River Valley to pick fruit in season. group prohibited sending the children away to school.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the and discouraged any association with men other than owner's of the Haupt Ranch grew cool to the idea of having the minimum necessary in the course of work so many Indians on their land. Finally the State govern-

The spiritual leader since 1943 has been Basie ment stepped in and bought the Kashaya a small forty- Parish, who, although encouraging the preservation of acre plot, now called the Kashia Reservation. All of Kashaya traditions, has dropped the isolationism of her the Indians at the Haupt Ranch moved to their new home, predecessor and advocates as much school education as which soon proved to be inadequate for their numbers. possible for the children.

The Reservation is located on top of a ridge and Thus, the chief factors contributing to the paucity the water supply gives out every summer, making it number of the speakers of Kashaya and their language and necessary for the Indians to haul in by car any water culture to a greater degree than those in neighboring they need for drinking or washing.

Indian groups have been 1) their freedom from subjugation
Only about one third of the population of 150

to forced labor and confinement, 2) their gradual, rather now lives on the Reservation the year around. The rest than abrupt, introduction to a wage economy, 3) their live in scattered spots in the Russian River Valley, seclusion from the areas of heaviest settlement by whites, from Healdsburg to Sebastopol, near their sources of 4) the isolationist teachings of their spiritual leaders. employment. However, they all return to the home Reser-

vation for the major celebrations such as the Fourth of July.

This more or less permanent residence away from
since the conversion to a wage economy is essentially
the group is a recent phenomenon dating only since the
complete-seaweed, berries, and acorns are stillled
Second World War. Previously the Kashaya had had a
garrison, but more as delicacies than as necessities--
succession of prophets or dreamers who preached isolat-
since the retarding force of factors 3) and 4) has
tionism and the preservation of the Indian beliefs.
The strongest of these, Annie Jarvis, held sway from
1913 to 1943. She prohibited intermarriage with non-
Indians, favoring marriages with the Central Pomo of Point
Arena if suitable pairings could not be made within the
group, prohibited sending the children away to school,
and discouraged any association with whitemen other than
the minimum necessary in the course of work.

The spiritual leader since 1943 has been Essie
Parrish, who, although encouraging the preservation of
Kashaya traditions, has dropped the isolationism of her
predecessor and advocates as much school education as
possible for the children.

Thus, the chief factors contributing to the preser-
vations of the speakers of Kashaya and their language and
culture to a greater degree than those in neighboring
Indian groups have been 1) their freedom from subjugation
to forced labor and confinement, 2) their gradual, rather
than abrupt, introduction to a wage economy, 3) their
seclusion from the areas of heaviest settlement by whitemen
4) the isolationist teachings of their spiritual leaders.

Since the conversion to a wage economy is essentially completey-seaweed, berries, and acorns are still gathered, but more as delicacies than as necessities-- since the retarding force of factors 3) and 4) has decreased in the last twenty years, the acculturation of the Kashaya is proceeding more rapidly to completion. The decline of the language can easily be seen.

In the one generation drop between Herman James (78 years old) and Essie Parrish (55) relatively few morphemes have been lost (one example is given in Section 444.25). The next younger generation (30-40 years old) can still handle the language fairly well but there has been heavy attrition in the vocabulary and even in Kashaya morphological elements; examples are given here and there in the grammar but no concerted study has been made of the exact extent. Children under twenty years of age may know occasional words and phrases but do not speak the language.

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Answers

a subepicardial plane from topmost of the sacculae to
Length.

100. PHONOLOGY

OPEN // REBEL SOUL.

The phonemes of Kashaya are as follows:

✓ The general software API fix will be

VOWELS

level terminal contour.

Spread Rounded uttered by the

bilingual speakers. Front, Central and Backish phonemes and glottal High initial utterance ends in one of the three terminal contours. However, examples which are not complete sentences are frequently cited in phonetic synecdoches without a contour phoneme. Such an abstraction

CONSONANTS

CONSONANTS							
102. The Labial Post-dental Labial Alveolar Pal-clar Volar Velar Pest-Velar Uvular Glottal							
GLOTTALICS	Glottalized Stops	p	t	tʃ	c	k	q
	Glottalized Spirant				s		
	Voiced Stops	b	d				
SONOR-ANTS	Nasals	m		n			
	Liquid			l, (r)			
	Semivowels	w		y			
NON-ELLOTTALICS	Plain stops	p	t	tʃ	c	k	q
	Aspirated Stops	pʰ	tʰ	tʰ	ch	kʰ	qʰ
	Spirants	(f)		s	z		

A period is a sentence symbol indicating the end

of a sentence. A consonant sometimes used to separate
Prosodic Phonemes
 a subsequent clause from the rest of the sentence in
 order
 // Length.
 // Raised tone.
 mark // Falling terminal contour, necessarily, capped by one
 of the following which are phonemic.
 // Rising terminal contour.
 // Level terminal contour.
 with // Heightened contrast.
 bilingual speakers according to the English phoneme
 and 101. Every actual utterance ends in one of the
 three terminal contours. However, examples which are not
 complete sentences are frequently cited in phonemic
 brackets without a contour phoneme. Such an abstraction
 is termed a Frustum.

100. The normal phonetic values of the Kashaya
 102. There are a number of symbols which ~~may be~~ are
 used within the phonemic brackets // ^{but} which are not
 phonemic. If the mark is not included in the above list
 of phonemes, it is not phonemic. The commonest of the
 symbols so used are the following:

other (Vocative), /sili/ 'pear'.
 A space between what may be defined morphophonemically
 and morphemically as words has no phonemic status
 but is simply an aid to the reader in isolating the
 syntactic constituents of the text.

Subscript numbers are often employed in multi-word
 examples to key, approximately, the Kashaya words to the
 English translation.

A period is a morphemic symbol indicating the end.

/ə/ [ə] A mean-mid back rounded vowel; /nə^ə/ 'tooth', of a sentence. A comma is sometimes used to separate a subordinate clause from the rest of the sentence in order to clarify the constituent structure. These two marks are usually, but not necessarily, capped by one of the three contour symbols, which are phonemic.

English words and phrases are sometimes employed within a Kashaya context. These are uttered by the bilingual speakers according to the English phonemic and phonetic systems, not the Kashaya. Consequently, they are written in the standard English orthography and underlined with dashes to show that the symbols are not to be taken according to the Kashaya phonemic system.

140. The normal phonetic values of the Kashaya vowels are described in the following summary. Allophonic variations will be given in the succeeding paragraphs.

/i/ [i^v] A little lower than the high front spread vowel; /hi^vi/ 'flight feather', /ki^vki/ 'older brother (Vocative)', /sili^v/ 'rear'.

/e/ [E[̄]] A mean-mid front spread vowel; /he^ve/ 'hair of the head', /behe/ 'pepperwood nut', /tē^vthē/ 'mother (Vocative)'.

/a/ [a] A low central unrounded vowel; /ha^va/ 'horn', /tá·ta/ 'mother's father (Vocative)', /qapa/ 'cheek'.

/ɔ/ [ə] A mean-mid back rounded vowel; /ho^oθ/ 'tooth',

/tɔ^oθo/ 'feather dance', /kɔ^oθo/ 'slope'.

/u/ [u^v] A little lower than the high back rounded

vowel; /hu^ouy/ 'eye', /tú^otu/ 'mother's brother'

(Vocative)', /mu^o/ 'that'.

In syllables closed by a consonant /i, e, o, u/ may be slightly lowered; space between the two lies more in the

/ki^okin^o/ 'my older brother (Nominative)', /cawik^o/ 'by a wide'iron, nail'. Tongue, the blade, pressed against the

/behen^o/ 'pepperwood tree', /te^ot^oon^o/ 'my mother (Nom.)'.

/kohšon^o/ 'wide rut', /monq^o/ 'He must have run.' of the

/tu^otun^o/ 'my mother's brother (Nom.)', /mul/ 'that (Obj.)'.

If the consonant closing the syllable is in the ^{uvular} position, the preceding vowel has a retracted articulation, most noticeable with the front vowels which then have central unrounded allophones:

/e^uluq^o/ [e^ul^vu^vq^o] '(The tide) must have ebbed.'

/neq^o/ [n^ve^vq^o] 'He must have put it (down).' ^{more retracted}

/mu^otaq^o/ 'It must be cooked.'

/bo^ocq^o/ 'He must have hunted.'

of the consonants. For example, the velar /k/ is /m^uluq^o/ 'He must have coughed.'

articulated in about the same place as the initial consonant of English can another a front or back vowel follows or precedes.

^{more retracted} /t^uluq^o/ 'He must have coughed.'

120. The classification of the consonants into three sets--Glottalics, Sonorants, and Non-glottalics--is based upon their distributions within the morpheme (Section 143.).

The positions which are designated post-dental and alveolar are quite close together, in fact overlapping. The important difference between the two lies more in the articulating organ. The post-dental stops are produced by a wider area of the tongue, the blade, pressed against the region between the teeth and the alveolar ridge. The alveolar consonants are produced by a smaller area of the tongue, the tip, touched against the alveolar ridge.

However, the younger speakers seem to have made an adjustment to approximate their pronunciation of English consonants. Their Kashaya /tʰ/ is like English initial /t/; their Kashaya /θ/ is interdental, as is their English /θ/. The two positions of articulation are thus more widely separated and much more easily distinguished aurally than is true among the older speakers.

There is little allophonic variation in the position of any of the consonants. For example, the velar /kʰ/ is always articulated in about the same place as the initial consonant of English can whether a front or back vowel follows or precedes.

Velar glottalized stop: /kʰ/ 'kick'; /kʰ/ 'clock';

/kʰ/ 'kangaroo'.

(Post-velar) glottalized stop, only occurring before

/tʃ, tʃʰ/; /dʒɪl/ 'pigtail'; /dʒət/ 'song, dance'.

occurs in loans from European languages.

121. The glottalized stops are not strongly 'popped' but are exploded from a rather weak glottalic compression which, primarily in connected speech, results in their being difficult to distinguish from the plain stops.

pulmonic pressure rather than glottalic, although the aspirant may still be present at glottal closure.

/p/ Bilabial glottalized stop; /pa^hla/ 'slug', /dupil^h/ 'to feel something sticky with the fingers'.

/t/ Post-dental glottalized stop. When the tongue is in the form having the tip near the alveolar ridge, released it is often withdrawn so little that there is audible friction, but not enough for the stop to be called an affricate. /t̪ile/ 'old, numb', 'no little white', 'short', /tunuw/ 'to be tired'.

/t̪/ Alveolar glottalized stop. Here too, there is often audible friction following release of the stop. Frequently there is an allophonic variant, especially before back vowels, in which the tip of the tongue flutters two or three times after release of the stop.

The nasal only occurs in the labial and alveolar stops. The effect is that of a voiceless trilled r. When /t̪/ occurs between back vowels, whether or not the flutter is present, there is a coloring of the following vowel: /te^hye/ 'intelligent', /t̪a^h/ 'you', 'to spill', /du^htubu^h/ 'to submerge with the finger'.

/č/ Palatal glottalized stop; /čiškan/ 'pretty', /ča^hha^h/ 'to marry', /čoqo^h/ 'stomach'.

/k/ Velar glottalized stop; /kis/ 'red', /kata^h/ 'cloth', /kyu^h/ 'windpipe', /kuk/ 'chicken hawk'.

/q/^{uvular} (Post-velar) glottalized stop, ^{most commonly} only occurring before /q,^a^h/; /qasil/ 'redwood', /qo^ho/ 'song, dance'. occurs in loanwords from European languages.

122. /s/ is usually a glottalized apico-alveolar affricate. However, with many speakers the stop closure is weakened or missing so that /s/ is a glottalized rill spirant. The younger speakers often seem to be producing pulmonic pressure rather than glottalic, although the spirant may still be accompanied by glottal stricture.

The chief ^{perceptual} difference between /s/ and /z/ ^{then} lies in the former having a stronger and sharper hiss; /s/, when /si^z/ 'flesh', /sa^zsa/ 'dirty', /su^zt/ 'gopher snake'.

123. The voiced stops are more fully voiced and a little more fortis than the corresponding English stops:

/b/ Bilabial voiced stop; /bi^du/ 'acorn', /ba^ban/ 'father's father (Nom.)', /bu^bkum/ 'hump'.
or /d/ Alveolar voiced stop; /di^dle/ 'middle', /da^di/ 'to pick up with the hand', /du^di/ 'coyote'.

124. The nasals only occur in the labial and alveolar positions, just as do the voiced stops:

/m/ Bilabial voiced nasal; /mi/ 'there', /ma/ 'you', /mu/ 'that', /do^mə/ 'wildecat', /uh^mə/ 'salt'
/n/ Apico-alveolar voiced nasal; /niⁿ/ 'an elder', /naⁿ/ 'she', /nⁿ/ 'it', /uhⁿə/ 'shot'.

125.

/l/ Apico-alveolar voiced lateral; /lo^le/ 'an oriental', /la^la/ 'goose', /t^holol/ 'chicken hawk'.
/r/ Lamino-domal or apico-domal retroflex just like the English r of the bilingual speakers. It only occurs in loanwords from European languages:

126 /pó·re/ 'poor' < Spanish pobre, /ri·ku/ < Sp.
aspirated rico, /sarté·n/ 'frying pan' < Sp. sartén,
/pá·rus/ 'canvas' < Russian párus 'sail', /pó·ta/

126, f. The semivowels /i/ 'dead body, ghost', /iy/ /w/ Bilabial voiced semivowel; /wi·i/ 'acorn of Quercus Garryana', /weya/ 'supernatural power', /waya/ 'fish net', /chow/ 'not to be', /cʰi·buw/ 'to weave'. /y/ Palatal voiced semivowel. In the sequence /hy/, when word final, is a voiceless palatal semivowel [Y]; elsewhere the sequence /hy/ is [h] followed by a voiced [yl]: /wahy/ 'He just walked out.', /wihum/ 'cold', /yuhu/ 'pinole', /ahtʰiy/ 'sev. big'.

127. The plain stops are all voiceless unaspirated /p/ /paʃi/ 'to bow', /t/ /tavdi/ 'to learn', /t/ /t/ 'two', or very lightly aspirated.

/p/ /pi·un/ 'strange', /paʃi/ 'poison', /polo·lo/ 'round'. /t/ occurs only in loanwords from English /t/ /ti·tc/ 'to one's self', /ta/ 'to stretch out the legs', /tu·tun/ 'my mother's brother (Nom.)', /t/ 'bridle' /t/ /miti/ 'to lie down', /taqo/ 'salt', /tuhšo/ 'five', /tuhšo/ 'several millilitres'; /tihla/ 'flat', /c/ /cehey/ 'bumblebee', /cau/ 'to sit', /cohšo/ 'hand', /cu·dan/ 'to shoot (sev.)', /cebaši/ /k/ /ki·kin/ 'my older brother (Nom.)', /ka·ko/ 'tabu, dangerous', /ka·wa/ 'tobacco'. /q/ /qawi/ 'small', /qohn/ 'hazel bush'.

128. The aspirated stops are all moderately
 129. The two glottalics /h/ and /k/ are set apart
 aspirated and voiceless:
 from the other consonants by their unique distribution
 /p^h/ /pʰiʔtaw/ 'to detect with the eyes', /pʰoʔta/
 /pʰusí/ 'foam, beer', /pʰusí/ 'dead body, ghost', /tɔpʰ/
 'the unmarked stick in the grass game', completely
 /tʰ/ /wɪtʰi/ 'a bulb', /tʰawil/ 'left (hand)', sign
 of the { /tʰoʔo/ 'acorn mush'. Orant, but with glottal stop,
 /t^h/ /tʰilel/ 'abalone shell ornament', /tʰahqaw/
 'to play', /tʰolol/ 'chicken hawk',
 /c^h/ /cʰiʔdi/ 'to pick up by a handle', /cʰada/
 'rough skin', /cʰuliw/ 'to ebb',
 /k^h/ /kʰeya/ 'topknot', /kʰaša·du/ 'to be yawning',
 /kʰošci/ 'to bow'.

/h/ the glottal aspirate is, in syllable initial
 position, a voiceless antecedent of the following vowel.

129. The spirants are all voiceless.
- /f/ Labio-dental occurs only in loanwords from European languages; /kafey/ 'coffee' \neq Russian or Spanish, /stú·fa/ 'stove' < Sp. estufa, /fré·nu/ 'bridle' < Sp. freno.
- /s/ Apico-alveolar rill spirant; /sihla/ 'flat', /seʔe/ 'bush', /sulema/ 'string, rope'.
- /z/ Lamino-postalveolar rill spirant; /ziʔbaži/ 'animal', /zeʔe/ 'basket, vessel', /zune/ 'sweetshrub', /bitəž/ 'head louse'.

*It is a postural mark

laryngals

140. The two glottals /ʔ/ and /h/ are set apart from the other consonants by their unique distribution which will be described in Section 143.

/ʔ/ in syllable initial position is a glottal stop or catch. In syllable final position it may be completely stopped but usually is not; it is typically an extension of the preceding vowel or sonorant, but with glottal ~~no~~^{time} stricture added after the associated vowel. It consists of an /ʔila/ 'nose', /əahay/ 'wood, stick', /heʔen/ 'how'. /yuʔci/ [yuuʔci] 'acorn of the live oak', /teʔne/ [t̪eʔne] 'humpbacked', /daʔdi/ [d̪aʔdi] 'to pick up with the hand', /wolʔwo/ [wolʔwo] 'badger', /ciʔdom/ [ciʔdom] 'flower'. Compare

/əan/ 'small' in all forms (subjective case).
/h/ the glottal aspirate is, in syllable initial position, a voiceless anticipation of the following vowel.

In syllable final position it is a voiceless continuation of the preceding vowel or sonorant:

it is written above the line of the segmental phoneme
/huʔ/ [huuʔ] 'yes', /balha/ [balha] 'paddle',
and over the vowel in /sah/ [saʔ] 'just', /cahla/ [cahla] 'liver'
consists of a rise in pitch higher than that of the
/simhma/ [siʔmma] 'fifteen'.
neighboring syllables by about two-thirds of a tone on
short vowels and about one tone on syllables containing
long vowels; sometimes it is then written over
/h/:

/ihya hni ə̄ nu ʔ/ 'It is a real bone, it is
really strong.' Compare /ihyá hni ə̄ nu ʔ/
'It is a real wind.'

130. The Prosodic phonemes are of diverse types, i/ segmental and suprasegmental, with domains extending from one to many syllables.

133. // Level contour is suprasegmental and consists of a

131. // Length is a segmental phoneme; it occupies a definite interval in the stream of speech not occupied by any other segmental phoneme. Consequently, it is written on the same line as the other segmental phonemes, and is placed after the associated vowel. It consists of an extension of that preceding vowel by a ^{time} factor of from one half to one. It never follows a consonant.

that is /'ihya/* 'bone, strong'; compare /'ihya/ 'wind', rise or /dono/* 'uphill'; compare /dono/ 'hill, mountain', phonemes /gawi 'ó· mu :/ 'It is small.' Compare

in to /gawi 'ómu/ 'the small one (Subjective case)'.

132. // Raised Tone is suprasegmental; it occurs simultaneously with some one syllabic nucleus and its domain is restricted to that one syllable. Consequently, it is written above the line of the segmental phonemes and over the vowel which occurs simultaneously. It consists of a rise in pitch higher than that of the neighboring syllables by about two-thirds of a tone on short vowels and about one tone on syllables containing // :

/'ihya hmi 'ó· mu :/ *It is a real bone, it is
really strong.* Compare /'ihyá hmi 'e· mu :/
is on the term ^{as find 1-1 example 1)} may be occurring when that
It is a real wind.
Syllable contains // the fall is greater, from the

/cumá' li/ 'by the squirrel'; compare /cumá' li/ (example 3) 'where he sat down'. In // or // fall a little further.

133. // Level contour is suprasegmental and consists of a pause of variable duration coupled with a slight lowe^o, :/ lengthening of the antecedent phoneme if that is a vowel, sonorant consonant, or length. A short vowel is not lengthened as much as with /*/. The pause may be permanent, of several seconds, or of so short a duration that the lengthening of the preceding phoneme is the only clue to its presence. The pitch of the preceding syllable is what it would be without the presence of // with no rise or fall as there is before the two other contour phonemes.

In texts // often occurs when the speaker is pausing hesitating or pausing to think through his next few words but does not intend to stop speaking or end the sentence. Such pauses may come anywhere, even in the middle of words, ^{first 1-1 of ex. 1} but occur most frequently at phrase boundaries ^(Second 1-1 of ex. 1) and especially at the border between a subordinate clause and the rest of the sentence. In the latter case it is inscribed over a comma /,/, to mark the limit of a major sentence constituent (example 3.). // may occur between two grammatically complete sentences; it is then written over a non-phonemic period /*/ and the two marks rendered by a semicolon in English (example 2). If // is on the terminal syllable (only so occurring when that syllable contains /*/) then the fall is greater, from the

height of musu·ra·baṭi - - - qabiw - cahti wi : / level.

(example 5.) — syllables ending in /t/ or /d/ fall a little further than 'Logs must have been lying in the bed, lies'.

3. *ma²ú₁ ya₂ taca²₃ cahno₄ lówa²-cal₅ men₆ + lowa², 5/*

*They₇ spoke₇ (a language) like₆ the Indian₃ language₄
cases f/ we₂ are₅ speaking₅ now₁ .*

134. // is suprasegmental and consists of a pause of variable duration coupled with a slight lengthening of a preceding vowel, sonorant, or /*/, and a fall in tone and fade-out or diminution in force on the preceding syllable. *ba-hən* /* *ba-hən'*.

The fall in tone varies from one comparable to a 2-1 drop in English to one barely distinguishable from a level tone. Utterances which contain no // at all have a greater initial stress on the terminal syllable and subsequently greater fade-out and fall of tone than do utterances containing // somewhere other than on the terminal syllable (compare examples 1. and 2.). If // is on the terminal syllable (only so occurring when that syllable contains /•/) then the fall is greater, from the

height of the raised tone to just below the normal level. (example 3.). Syllables ending in /~/ or /°/ fall a little further than do those not so ending (compare examples 4. and 5.).

/~/ is most commonly associated with the end of a sentence, except for those containing the Responsive verbal suffix or an interrogative. The morphemic symbol, period, is written under /~/ when at the end of a sentence. However it is possible for /~/ to occur at a point that the speaker intended to be the end of the sentence but then as an afterthought more material is added. In such cases /~/ without a period is written and the result usually rendered by a dash in English. (example 6.):

1. /wadú·cedu :/ 'Keep coming!'

2. /wa·du ɔ:/ 'Come!'

3. /kahó·n °/ 'box'.

4. /°ihya °/ 'wind'.

5. /°ihya °/ 'bone, strong' go above normal when

the ultimate syllable falls from about a quarter-tone

below 6. /wa·du "butaqá °emu :/ 'It came--the bear.'

/eiba° nahum ɔ:/ 'he came in?'

/modu·əθθə° :/ 'Isn't he continuing to run?'

135. // Rising contour is suprasegmental and has
 If the penult pitch // is low and the ultima short,
 a domain over from one to three syllables. Its precise
 the pattern is often in the preceding part.
 phonetic realization depends upon whether the preceding
 two syllables contain either /* or // . // most
 below normal tone with a level or slightly
 commonly occurs as part of the responsive verbal suffix
 above the normal on the ultima
 or one of the interrogative morphemes.

If the syllable preceding // contains // (only
 occurring when the syllable is long) then the tone on
 that syllable falls from the raised position to about a
 quarter tone below the normal level and rises to about a
 quarter tone above normal:
 /bitel ó: // 'Did she sew?' tone below normal and
 the ultima at about a quarter tone above normal
 /bité·le* // 'Is she sewing?'
 tone slightly from normal. If there
 is *

This situation is especially common with {hni·} Tag Question and {hú·} 'yes'; the penult may extend to
 /bité·l *hni· // hú· // 'She's sewing, isn't she?
 /bité·l *hni· // hú· // 'Did you come Yes.'

When // is on the second syllable before // then
 the final syllable ~~has~~⁵⁸ rises from about a quarter tone
 below normal to about a quarter tone above normal when
 the ultima is short and rises a little more when the ultima is long:

/eiba· máhwa // 'Who came in?'
 /modu·có·the* // 'Isn't he continuing to run?'

If the penult with // is long and the ultima short, the pattern is optionally as in the preceding paragraph or with a fall on the penult from the raised level to somewhat below normal together with a level or slightly rising tone at or a little above the normal on the ultima:

/mɔ̄t̬hə· ma ʔ/ or /mɔ̄t̬hə· ma ʔ/ 'Aren't you running?'
— — — — / Doesn't he run habitually?'

/baqó dá-wa ?/ or /baqó dá-wa ?/ "What do you want?"

If f' does not occur in either of the two syllables preceding f'' , and if the ultima is short, then the penult is depressed about a quarter tone below normal and the ultima is level at about a quarter tone above normal or is optionally rising slightly from normal. If there is a long series of syllables without f'' before f'' , the depression in the tone of the penult may extend to an intermediate degree to the antepenult.

/he'én ma mahwə / 'How did you come in?'

the high tone is higher

(up to twice the number and in stories) and the stress

/modu'cēθə/ ma / 'Aren't you continuing to run?'

(*or longer duration for greater than ten syllables*)

/baqo bárhe *wa ta da·qa? / 'What did he want it

— — — — — motion in the degree of

comes until it tails off to about the same as that of
the quite similar

the surrounding text. From the phonetics alone it is

These three numbers, up to the second impression, impossible to tell at another that point to indicate the

termination of the reign of A. D. 16, the present

expansion of the domain of $\beta = \gamma$. The expedient has

been If $/$ does not occur in either of the two syllables preceding $/$, and if the ultima is long, then the ultima starts at about a quarter tone below normal and rises to about a quarter tone above. The penult may or may not be depressed to an intermediate degree.

If $/$ occurs in either of the two syllables preceding $/$, this is not done because there is no contrast between the same tones between the two forms, and also /modu*cedú*co*the. :/ 'Doesn't he run habitually?' and also /momá*ye* mi*: / 'Did he run in there??' $\overline{\text{the}} \quad \overline{\text{you}}$ 'You $\overline{\text{run}}$ in there?' 'All right,' he said.'

136. $/$ Heightened contrast is suprasegmental, with a domain extending from one to many syllables. It is written above the line before and after the stretch of speech included in its domain like a pair of quotation marks. The symbol was chosen because the phoneme occurs most often in direct quotations.

$/$ indicates that the dynamic and tonal range of the enclosed material is greater than that of the text not so enclosed. That is, the high tone is higher (up to twice the usual interval in stories) and the stress of heavy syllables is greater than customary.

In long quotations (of greater than ten syllables) there is sometimes a gradual diminution in the degree of contrast until it tails off to about the same as that of the surrounding text. From the phonetics alone it is impossible to tell at exactly what point to indicate the termination of the domain of $/$. The expedient has

Some sections in the texts are spoken very quickly and with weakened articulation, with slurring and even loss of expected phonemes. Such stretches are there on phonetic grounds alone.

Conversations usually exhibited a greater dynamic and tonal range than stories and thus might be completely enclosed by // " " / but this is not done because there is no contrast within the same text between the presence and absence of // " " /.

The story /yów hcedu :/ "All right," he said.

/he'én siti *Se* " /nihci? :/ "I wonder what we're going to do now," they said.

137. Stress is non-phonemic. It follows a rather simple pattern of being greater on heavy syllables (closed with a consonant or /*/) than on light syllables. Terminal syllables, heavy or light, are more strongly stressed if there is no // in the utterance. The total dynamic range is quite slight.

In rhythm, the utterance is very evenly paced, without the speeding up and slowing down characteristic of English.

The tonal variation from the normal pitch exhibited by // and the terminal contours is, in the absence of // " / also quite small.

These three factors add up to the acoustic impression of a remarkably lenis and monotonous language.

/zepé-ho/ "mírón" = mazéjo.

Some sections in the texts are spoken very quickly and with weakened articulation, with slurring and even omission of expected phonemes. Such stretches are indicated by overlining but no detailed analysis of allegro speech has been attempted.

140. The distribution of segmental phonemes will be discussed in terms of sequences in phonological units, the syllable and the utterance, and in grammatical units, the morpheme and the word.

Sequences will be described as of a common pattern; examples of any particular combination may be occurrent or non-occurrent, or as being outside of any pattern.

141. The syllable $C_1V(*)C^2C^3$

The distribution of phonemes within the syllable will be discussed in three sections: the onset, the part preceding the peak; the peak, consisting of a single vowel, with or without following length; the coda, the part after the peak.

The onset commonly consists of one and only one consonant, which may be any one of the consonant phonemes. The four known exceptions are the following loanwords from Spanish: /fré·nu/ 'bridle' < freno, /skó·wa/ 'broom' < escoba, /spó·la/ 'spur' < espuela, /stú·fa/ 'stove' < estufa. These anomalous forms are, curiously enough, borrowed from Spanish words not beginning in a consonant cluster and apart from the usual pattern exemplified by /ispé·ho/ 'mirror' < espejo.

The peak consists of one and only one vowel with^(*), or without following length. The vowel is unrestricted except that /i, e, u/ do not succeed a consonant of the post-vocalic position. This restriction is true of all the informants, but Essie Parrish recognizes having heard some now deceased speakers use forms like /woqem/ where she employs /woqom/ 'while flowing'. The former contains a regularization to the more commonly occurring phonemic allomorph /em/ which is employed by all Kashaya speakers after any consonant except those of the post-vocalic position.

Examples are not given here for they may be picked from the dictionary with ease. nihyok 'It is a woodrat.'

Limitations on the occurrence of /* are determined by what consonant follows; consequently, a discussion of such restrictions is deferred until after a description of the coda.

Consonants which do not occur in the coda are the following:

1) Stops of the plain series except in rarely occurring geminate clusters.

2) The labials /p, p̪, b/ and /ph/ except in a few obvious loanwords, the ^{and Inanimate]Imitative} complete list of which follows:

/tapʰla/ 'plank' < Spanish tabla, /tapʰlá·ku/

'diaper' < Spanish? ; and /háph̪the/

'center pole (of dance house)', /baʰápʰthe/

'woman leader', /duvícapʰthe/ 'God, the Creator',

all from Southern Pomo (/pʰthe/ is a syncopated

the morpheme corresponding to Kashaya /bah^he/ 'big').

3) /d/ except in the two morphemes /*eddu/ther^t.

^{< So. Pomo}
tálh^t 'feathered dance skirt' and the negative of the
cah^t enclitic Independent Intentive (Section 444.33).

One-consonant codas are attested for every consonant aside from the restrictions given above; no restrictions are imposed by the preceding vowel: ^{only} and for those with hot^h, 'He is not giving sonant, hat^he lat^h'prune', 'only a long object.'

hot^h occur as phonetic abá·Nk^ho^t 'raspberry',

kólmach^h 'He is not ^(-ll-) hec^h ^{unstressed} finger (or toe)
pecking in hence.', nail'.

kilak^h 'eagle'. mihyok^h 'It is a woodrat.'

Sakitaq^h 'puffin' hosiq^h 'screech owl'.

A three-consonant coda occurs only for the sequence /-sch/ 'just', results from suff: mihyo^h 'woodrat' + final

stem ending in a [d]; this is morphologically
kis^h 'red'. mo^h 'sour, bitter,
on' + one-consonant clusters. m^hay^h 'salty'.
tuluš^h 'whirlwind'.

/mo^h q^h / > /mo^hq^hy/ 'He must have come running.'

*em^h 'the (Subjective case)'. However the coda occurs only in very

le^hwin^h 'trout'. balay^h 'blood'.

buhq^hal^h 'burden basket'. wapó^hr^h 'steamboat'.

Two-consonant codas occur. They are common when all the first consonant is a sonorant /m,n,l,w,y/ and the second is a glottal ^{laryngeal} /h,ʔ/ 'He is running.'

cámhci?	'to shrink'.	dolom?	'wildcat'.
matáhná	'perch (fish)'.	a·pen?	'my father'.
bálhmulí?	'to turn around'.	bitel?	'to sew'.
caháw hku	'one boil'.	ma?táw?du?	'to step on'.
hu?úy líku	'one eye'.	th?o?ó·koy?	'cricket'.

Other two-consonant codas are unsystematic and occur only for /hu?úytbotbo/ 'gnat' and for those with /th^h, q^h, y/ as second consonant, — the latter three only because they occur as phonemic allomorphs of the verbal suffixes {-th^h-} Negative, {-qă-} Circumstantial, and {-yă} Visual. All occurrent combinations are illustrated in morphophonemic Sections 280-281.

A three-consonant coda occurs only for the sequence in /n^hq^h/ which results from suffixing {-qă} Circumstantial to a verb stem ending in a [d]; this is morphophonemically only a two-consonant cluster: mon^hy 'I saw it run in.'

[[mo^hd qă :]] > /mon^hq^h/ 'He must have come running.'

But even in this situation the coda occurs only in very carefully spoken citations; usually the sequence is simplified to /monq^h :/.

Before two-consonant codas except for the sequence /-n^h/, in which case /n^h/ is phonemically two consonants but derives from [d]; one morphophonemic consonant: [[mo^hd a :]] > /mo^hn^h :/ 'He is running,' except in the:

/páulé/ 'capital' 'main' 'pueblo,'

/k^hálylái/ 'the eyes'.

/*/ occurs in syllable-final position, i.e. when there is no coda; /'iMa*/ 'arm', the Spanish loanwords

/*/ occurs before one-consonant codas but only in certain verb forms and in loanwords. Since verbs rarely end in a morphophonemically glottalized consonant (other than the very common [č]) or in [k^h, h], sequences of /*/ followed by /t, t̪, d, s, k^h, h/ are unknown and cannot be constructed. /*/ occurs only in the one example cited below; word-beginning with the occurring combinations

dali·th 'He is waving his hand.' The restrictions on this general state are as follows:

Suka·th 'It is groaning.'

comá·ch 'It is open in another [hence]' but it does not occur before /*/ when succeeded by

qašc·q^h 'He is getting well.' dusókduse·k 'The tip is repeatedly bent with the finger.'

duki·m 'It is streaked.' dá·w 'It is pleasing.'

Suhwe·n 'It is shaking.' momá·y 'I saw it run in.'

bete·l 'She is sewing' mansá·r 'to tame'

'it is a bone.'

pó·spara 'match'

/*/ occurs before pause, /*/, /h/ when succeeded by /*/ and before /*/ in an internal

/*/ does not occur before two-consonant codas except for the sequence /*n^h/, in which case /n^h/ is phonemically two consonants but derives from [d], one morphophonemic consonant: [umod i ɔ] > /mo·n^h i/ 'He is running.'

exceptions:

/pewlo/ 'town' < Spanish pueblo.

/q^ha·lyolo/ 'an egret.'

GOOV /məni/ 'to do perfectly' in /piməni/ 'to see perfectly'.

142. The canonical form of the phonemic allomorphs of different morphemes occurs in more varied shapes than consonant, with the exception of the Spanish loanwords noted in the preceding section. Next comes one and only one vowel with a distribution just as described for the syllable. Sequences of /*/ and consonants following the initial CV- occur in greater variety than is possible within a syllable. In general it may be said that every possible word-ending may be juxtaposed before every possible word-beginning with the occurring combinations being too numerous to exemplify. The restrictions on this general statement are as follows:

- 1) /*/ does not occur before /*,h/ when succeeded by another consonant, but it does occur before /n,h/ followed by a vowel or pause. By regular morphophonemic rule /*/ is /*/ in the position first described:
- 2) /*ihya*/ + /*nati*/ > /*ihya *nati/ 'even a bone'.
but /*ihya*/ *cho/ 'hot bone' and /*ihya*/ */ 'It is a bone.'
- 2) /*w,y/ only occur before pause, /*,h/ when succeeded by another consonant, and before /*/ in an internal sandhi situation:
/*balay*/ + /*k^he*/ > /baláy *k^he/ 'my blood' but /*balá*/ *k^he/ 'blood vessel'.
Notwithstanding this rule there are a few odd exceptions:
/péwlo/ 'town' < Spanish pueblo.
/q^ha*áylolo/ 'an egret'.
CCCCV /shmi/ 'to do perfectly' in /pishmai*/ 'to see perfectly'.

143. The canonical form of the phonemic allomorphs
of different morphemes occurs in more varied shapes than
does that of the syllable. Examples of all occurring
shapes less than two syllables long follow:

/ The Absolutive in /cubuš/ 'to sprout'.
(-) Assertive in /'acac/ 'It is a person.'

C /u/ Absolutive in /cau/ 'one to sit'.

*C /'d/ 'along' in /mo*du/ 'to run along'.

CC /ht/ Plural Act in /mohta/ 'sev. to run along', 'snow'

V /u/ Singular Imperative in /wa*du/ 'Come!', 'Fog'

V* /e*/ Verb Marker in /mo*dé* mu/ 'He is running along.'

VC /em/ 'while' in /mode*m/ 'while he is running along'.

V-C /a*d/ Durative in /cubuša*du/ 'to be sprouting'.

VCC /unn/ Aural in /mo*dúnnam/ 'I heard him run along.'

CV /du/ 'with the Fingers' in /du*di/ 'to pick up
the other with the fingers', the shape -(C)C²V²(D).

CV* /'a*/ 'I', also requires an Instrumental prefix,

CVC /Set/ 'lungs', the construct of the prefix

CV-C /ma*Q/ in /moma*Qo/ 'Run in hither!'

CVCC /balk/ 'turn' in /balhuli/ 'to turn around'.

CCV /'ta/ 'to feel' in /du*taw/ 'to feel with the fingers'.

CCV* /hye*/ 'to stop' in /duhye*thu*/ 'Don't stop working!'

CCVC /hwoq^b/ 'to flow' in /phalá hwoq^b/ 'It is flowing again.'

CCV-C /hwe*n/ 'to shake' in /duhwe*ni/ 'Shake it with
in respect your finger!', one of the tone phones as if they

CCVCC /'panh/ 'to shut' in /du*panhcíw/ 'to shut with'²⁷²
the fingers'.

CCCV /mhmi/ 'to do perfectly' in /pimhmi*/ 'to see perfectly'.

Both / Words which are monomorphemic and of the classes
 Non-^{VI} Verbs VI Verbs

nouns, adjectives, or adverbs are typically dissyllabic
 and fit the formula $Cly^1(G)C^2V^2(D)$. G is /*, h/; D is
 commonly //, a continuant, or /*/, the latter infre-
 quently if G is present. Final stops other than the
 glottal catch are rare.

/deno/ 'hill, mt.'	/ha ² da/ 'sun'	/coh ³ o/ 'hand'
/baco/ 'back'	/yak ³ o/ 'hand'	/ihyu/ 'ice, snow'
/mita/ 'sand'	/q ³ a ² wa/ 'mole'	/dahph ³ ov/ 'fog'
/balay/ 'blood'	/pu ² šul/ 'tip'	/duht ³ al/ 'disease'

A combination of all three classes is not uncommon.
 There are no monomorphemic verbs as words, a suffix
 is always required, but the verb roots not of the Instrumental
 prefix class also typically fit the formula.

The great majority of the Instrumental prefix verbs, on
 the other hand, have roots of the shape -(G)C²V²(D).

Since this verbal class requires an Instrumental prefix,
 whose shape is always Cly^1- , the construct of the prefix

and verb root comes to fit the typical formula

$Cly^1(G)C^2V^2(D)$. With verbs, D is a continuant or a stop (but not // or a labial stop), and is often /*/ (from ||) when G is absent. It is not uncommon for verbs not of the Instrumental prefix class to also follow the formula $(G)C^2V^2(D)$ but they all behave morphophonemically in respect to the placement of the tone phoneme as if they contained a morphophonemic syllable Cly^1- (see Section 272).²⁷²

// does so occur in a few verb roots.

LARYNGEAL
INCREMENT
Symbolized H

Both // and /h/ are common precursors of VI Verbs.

An intramorphemic sequence /h/ or // is impossible:

buwi- 'to string (beads)' -ne- 'to hold'

baq'hao- 'to finish!' -ch'a- 'to grasp'

bawil- 'to put into' -hal-ht 'to dig' riddle'

oh'i'bu- 'to weave!' -hc'h'a- 'to knock over (log)'

cihwinv 'to get red hot' -chuit- 'to pick out (ure)

cu'yal 'abalone' -sik'le- 'snittle'

It is not uncommon for nouns, adjectives, adverbs,
and verb roots to be dissyllabic and of different
distributions or to be trisyllabic or even longer.

A compilation of all occurrent shapes is not attempted;
they would be fortuitous and unrevealing of any typical
structure of the language. A few examples follow:

butaqa 'bear' nchpow 'to boil over'

*ihsilhla 'brown towhee' 'bird'

p^hadó'comco 'a sparrow species' 'fin'

nayak'húlu*lu 'mocking bird' 'knife, flint'

A SIMILAR PRECURSOR is // or /h/ preceding another consonant within the same morpheme. // but not /h/ is the precursor of certain consonants with a glottal articulation, namely glottalized stops, /s/, and voiced stops. /h/ but not // is the precursor of aspirated stops.

The sequence /ht^h/ is non-existent in nouns, adjectives, and adverbs but does occur in a few verb roots. /h/ predominates as the precursor of plain stops and sibilants but // does so occur in a few verb roots.

renamed
LARYNGEAL
INCREMENT
Symbolized H

Both /p/ and /h/ are common precursors of sonorants, ^{increments} consist

An intramorphemic sequence /h*/ or /h/ is impossible, in

turn succeeded by one of the distributionally possible

du⁺pan^{*} 'to shut' dahp^ho^{*} 'fog'

consonants. Current examples illustrate every

ho^{*}'to' 'head' caht^hiht^hi^{*} 'to riddle'

da⁺toto^{*} 'screech owl' qoh^ho^{*} 'ham (of the leg)'

du⁺ce^{*} 'river bullhead' cuhc^hi^{*} 'turkey vulture'

du⁺ka^s 'abalone' ⁺ihk^he^{*} 'spittle'

no⁺qo^{*} 'mussel' buh^hal^{*} 'burden basket'

q^ha⁺be^{*} 'rock' qayn^hchi^{*} 'pelican'

mi⁺di^s 'nut'

ma⁺sa^{*} 'puddle'

qohsa 'elbow'

bih^he 'deer, meat'

mohpow 'to boil over'

sihta 'bird'

sihta 'fin'

qaheca 'knife, flint'

mohkoko 'whippoorwill'

mohqo 'lump'

yahmo^{*} 'panther'

qaheatina⁺na ibat^{*} mahna 'semen'

qahle 'white'

nuhwa^{*} 'fawn'

mihya 'neck'

ku⁺mu 'entire'

ṭowi⁺na 'spotted towhee'

q^hawá⁺la 'heron, crane'

q^ha⁺wa^{*} 'mole'

pi⁺ye 'scale (of fish)'

Since the nature of the morphophonetic alternation is the simplified form of the description of the

varied shapes of morphemes, a decision must be made as

to when the alternation is sufficiently recurrent to

warrant the postulation of an additional morphophoneme.

Three-consonant clusters within one morpheme consist only of a sonorant followed by a precursor which is in turn succeeded by one of the distributionally possible consonants. Occurrent examples do not illustrate every possible combination; a sample follows: a separate morpheme *ba'sim'sivel* 'chipmunk' ^{increment} ~~four or more~~ ²⁰⁰ ~~MORPHOPHONEMICS~~ ~~as~~ ~~cámkmati~~ 'twentynine' *p'micé·dun'na* 'He could say.' *ste:lanhk^h* ~~cole~~ 'seven' *ts* *wól'wo* ~~ts~~ 'badger' ^{addition} *crit·ihsilhla* 'brown towhee' *tuy'tu* ~~levant~~ 'sugar' *háyhehi* 'pelican'

Some morphophonemes have only one phonemic actualization; they are termed NONALTERNATING. Other morphophonemes have more than one; they are termed ALTERNATING. Nonalternating morphophonemes are denoted by the symbol \circ used to represent their actualization on the phonemic level. The alternating morphophonemes are denoted by a symbol that suggests the principal correspondence on the phonemic level. More morphophonemes are required than there are phonemes; consequently, special symbols have been created, chiefly by the use of diacritics. As a mnemonic device the circumflex $\widehat{\circ}$ caps the symbol when the environment conditioning the alternation precedes the morphophoneme in question; the wedge \wedge caps it when the conditioning environment follows.

Since the ultimate purpose of the morphophonemic level is the simplification of the description of the varied shapes of morphemes, a decision must be made as to when the alternation is sufficiently recurrent to merit the postulation of an additional morphophoneme.

The working rule herein adopted is that recurrence in four or more morphemes

200. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The additional symbols are as follows:
Recurrent variations in the phonemic representation of morphemes are handled by setting up a separate morphophonemic level. The phonemic actualization of any particular morphophoneme is determined solely by its morphophonemic environment; criteria from other levels are irrelevant.

Some morphophonemes have only one phonemic actualization; they are termed NONALTERNATING. Other morphophonemes have more than one; they are termed ALTERNATING. Nonalternating morphophonemes are denoted by the symbol \sim used to represent their actualization on the phonemic level. The alternating morphophonemes are denoted by a symbol that suggests the principal correspondence on the phonemic level. More morphophonemes are required than there are phonemes; consequently, special symbols have been created, chiefly by the use of diacritics. As a mnemonic device the circumflex $\widehat{\sim}$ caps the symbol when the environment conditioning the alternation precedes the morphophoneme in question; the wedge $\widehat{\sim}$ caps it when the conditioning environment follows.

Since the ultimate purpose of the morphophonemic level is the simplification of the description of the varied shapes of morphemes, a decision must be made as to when the alternation is sufficiently recurrent to merit the postulation of an additional morphophoneme.

The working rule herein adopted is that recurrence in four or more morphemes is sufficient.

The additional symbols are as follows:

Junctural: a° , e° , i° , v° , ə° , o° , ü°

q° , n

CONSONANTS

* (raised comma)

Glottoles:

° (degree mark)

Placental: p , t , k , d , g , used to separate the parts

, J , + , -(hyphen)

x , Q

Sonorants: m , n , w , l , $\text;r}$ Inflection is denoted in words other than
 f , R , r by the appropriate symbol rather than indicated by

.. (two periods)

$\text{f}>\text{R}$, $\text{X}>\text{W}$, $\text{d}>\text{C}$

— (underline), — (dash underline), — (overline) Plain stops p , t , k , d , g , b , v , q , h

glottal // morphemic brackets.

Aspirates ph , th , kh , dh , gh , bh , h

Sibilants s , z

201. The total morphophonemic inventory is presented below divided in a manner related to that of the phonemes. The subdivisions are named only when pertinent to the morphophonemics, but the arrangement is made to facilitate comparison with the chart of phonemes in Section 100.

* (raised dot) ° (degree mark)

(combined used within morphophonemic brackets) SUPRAREGIMENTAL

(colon). : (period)

., ^, ;, " (paired quotation marks)

ENY VOWELS

(alveolar /d/, provide the conditioning environment for the alternations of other morphophonemic).

Preconsonants: e, e, ə, o, i, directly preceding another

Junctural: #, a, ə, ð- (hyphen) (see also Section 262).

Others: X, Q

CONSONANTS

Glottalic: s' s

OPERATIONAL

Placement:

p, t, ʈ, c, k, q, used to separate the parts
b d of discontinuous morphemes

Sonorant:

m n l r Inflection is described in words wherever
appropriate rather than indicated by

semivowels w y symbols given in the Chart.

Replacements: ȶ>R, X>N, d>d

Non-glottalic Plain Stops pʰ, tʰ, ʈʰ, cʰ, kʰ, q, qʰ
glottalic:

Aspirates pʰ, tʰ, ʈʰ, cʰ, kʰ, qʰ, h

Sibilants s, ʂ

MISCELLANEOUS (see the section in which they

occur)

INDETERMINATE (VOWEL OR CONSONANT)

* (raised comma) derelinking

— (overline)

LENGTH

* (raised dot), ° (degree mark)

(sometimes used in morphophonemic brackets)

(comma), . (period)

" , " , " , " , " " (paired quotation marks)

These are reference sections and are not further discussed.

Other pertinent groupings cutting across the ENVIRONMENTAL (always /θ/; provide the conditioning environment for the alternations of other morphophonemes) are listed below.

Precursors: [t̪] and [h] directly preceding another

Junctural: #, |, +, - (hyphen) (see Sections 240 and 292).

Others: X, O
Peripheral Consonants: Those articulated in the labial and post-vocalic positions (Section 281 and

OPERATIONAL

Chart, Section 280).

Placement: .. (two dots), used to separate the parts
Interior Consonants: Those articulated in the post-dental, alveolar, palatal positions
of discontinuous morphemes
Infixation is described in words wherever
appropriate rather than indicated by

a symbol. Other minor groupings are given in the Chart,

Replacement: ^>R, X>W, d>c

Reduplication: ^, R, r

202. All of the morphophonemes are indexed below, the vowels and the consonants in the order in which they appear in the morphophonemic bracketed dictionary. These are successively underlined, ^ and the other unalphabetized morphophonemes are in the order of the dashed underlining, =, and the overlined ones.

On the line after each morphophoneme, all occurring MORPHEMIC SYMBOLS corresponding phonemes are listed followed, for the (sometimes used within morphophonemic brackets) also, (morpheme), , (comma), . (period), = by a reference to the section describing the alternation. Nonalternating morphophonemes have no reference section and are not further discussed.

Other pertinent groupings cutting across the boundaries of the above are as follows; for example, [n] is filed in with [a] in the dictionary. Precursors: [ə] and [h] directly preceding another consonant (see Sections 240 and 292).

Peripheral Consonants: Those articulated in the labial and ^{uvular} post-velar positions (Section 231 and Chart, Section 280).

Interior Consonants: Those articulated in the post-dental, alveolar, palatal positions (Section 231 and Chart, Section 280).

Other minor groupings are given in the Chart, Section 280.

202. All of the morphophonemes are indexed below, the vowels and the consonants in the order in which they will be alphabetized in the dictionary. These are succeeded by [θ] , [v] , ['] and the other unalphabetized morphophonemes in the classificatory order of the preceding Section.

On the line after each morphophoneme, all occurring corresponding phonemes are listed followed, for the alternating morphophonemes, by a reference to the section describing the alternation. Nonalternating morphophonemes have no reference section and are not further discussed.

Indented morphophonemes are not distinguished in alphabetizing from the next unindented one above; for example, ||ā|| is filed in with ||a|| in the dictionary.

a	a - q - i - q - i - q - h - ?	280, 288
a	a	
a	a - q - i - q - i - q - h - ?	280, 288
a	a - φ	232
ā	a - φ	237
b	b	
c	c - c - c ^h - y - ?	280, 281
c ^h	c ^h - c	241
c	c - ?	280, 287
d	d - n? - n - ?	280, 286
e	e	
e	e - +	280, 270
e	e - a - o - φ	233
e	e - i	236
f	f - φ - p - h - ?	280, 288
h	h - φ	250, 251, 252, 292
h	h - φ	242
i	i	
i	i - a - o - φ	234
k	k	
k ^h	k ^h	291
k	k	291
l	l	
m	m	
n	n	
o	o	
Porphophonemic symbols		
- (period), -		

p	$p = p^h + q^h + k^h$	253
p^h	$p^h = p^h + q^h + k^h$ Pollected contour	241 provide
q^h	$p^h + q^h = p^h + q^h + k^h$ $q^h = h = *$	253, 273 phonetic
q	$q = k + q^h + k^h = q^h + h = *$	280, 282 then
q^o	$q = k + q^h + k^h = q^h + h = *$	280, 283 then
$q^h = q^h$		270, 273, 275 phonetic
h	$q = q^h$ (level contour)	253 contours only to
r	$r = r^h$ (falling contour)	253, 273, 275 phonetic
s	$s = s^h$ (rising contour)	253 between morphemes
t	$t = t^h + t^h + h = *$	204, 280, 285 then of
t^h	$t^h = t^h + h = *$	205, 270, 241 then
$t^h + t^h + h = *$		205, 206
$t^h + t^h + t^h + h = *$		205, 206
$t^h + t^h + t^h + t^h + h = *$		205, 206
t^h	t^h (interval position)	270, 273
t^h	by the first of the pairs of morphemes	204
u	$u = u^h$ (interval position)	211
u^h	(interval position only to the preceding (deletion	211
u	(interval position), and inserted morpheme)	238
w	$w = *$	291
y	$y = *$ (interval position)	291
$?$	$?$ (the first symbol)	250, 251, 252, 292, 294
p		225
p	they are not always explicitly indicated	
<u>p</u>	(underlining)	204
<u>p</u>	intervening, terminal contours also occur within	
<u>p</u>	(dashed underlining)	204
<u>p</u>	body "H" as utterance. They are structural morphemes	
<u>p</u>	(overlining)	204
<u>p</u>	but not purely environmental because they	
<u>p</u>	Morphemic symbols: , (comma),	205
<u>p</u>	separated on the phonetic level (see also Section	
<u>p</u>	• (period), *	
51.		

203. *Environmental morphophonemes* 231 always
 phonetically zero; they are postulated solely to provide
 the environment for the alternations of other morphophonemes.
 They have no effect on the actualization of the other
 morphophonemes except as specifically stated; thus, they
 are treated as nonexistent for morphophonemes not mentioned
 herein as affected. For example, [x] pertains only to
 the precursors of (falling contour) sequence [əxə]. It is consequently
 considered to be the (rising contour) between the vowels [ə]
 and [x]. "In which" (heightened contrast) stages of
 the # junctures--utterance initial position, terminal
 contours, |, /, //, ||, and |-| are discussed in Sections 203, 270, 276
 of the word are discussed in Sections 203, 270, 276.
 Other environmental morphophonemes are discussed in
 Sections 203, # and 203.3. 203, 205
 251, 252
- 203. Utterance boundaries** 270, 272
- 203.1 Utterance initial position is unmarked or
 marked by a situation different to the previous 209
 marked only by the first of the pair of morphophonemic
 symbols $\hat{r}>R$ 211
- brackets, i.e. It pertains only to the precursors (Section
 $X>W$ 212), tone phrases (270), and internal morphophonemes
 $d>c$, 213 (203.5).
- 203.2 The utterance final boundary always consists
 of one of the three terminal contours |-|, ||, or ||*. 222
- However they are not always explicitly indicated in
 (underlining) 204
- frustrum citations. Internal contours also occur within
 (dashed underlining) 204
 the body of an utterance. They are funtural morpho-
 phonemes but not purely environmental because they
 Morphemic symbols: , (comma), 205
 are represented on the phonemic level (see also Section
 * (period), = 203.5).

203.0 The ENVIRONMENTAL morphophonemes are always phonemically zero; they are postulated solely to provide the environment for the alternations of other morphophonemes. They have no effect on the actualization of the other morphophonemes except as specifically stated; thus, they are treated as ^{non-}existent for morphophonemes not mentioned herein as affected. For example, ||x|| pertains only to the precursors ||*|| and ||h||. A sequence ||ox2|| is consequently considered to be one of contact between the vowels ||o|| and ||a|| (in which situation ||2|| is /θ/).

The junctures--utterance initial position, terminal contours, ||||, ||+||, ||#||, and ||-||--and the definition of the word are discussed in Sections 203.1-203.6. The other environmental morphophonemes are described in Sections 203.7 and 203.8.

ENVIRONMENTAL morphophonemics (or sandhi) is concerned with alternations indifferent to the presence or absence of tone or tone phrases (but not to the internal morphophonemics (conditioning across |||), only external ones which are (203.5)).

203.2 The utterance final boundary always consists of one of the three terminal contours ||-||, ||^||, or ||*||. However they are not always explicitly indicated in frustymum citations. Terminal contours also occur within the body of an utterance. They are junctural morphophonemes but not purely environmental because they are represented on the phonemic level (see also Section 203.5).

203.3 ||| pertains to the placement of /'/. It marks the beginning of a tone phrase not otherwise indicated by a terminal contour or utterance initial position. See Sections 270, 271, 276, 203.5.

203.4 ||+| pertains only to /'/+. It marks the beginning of a suppressed tone phrase. See Sections 270, 276, 203.5.

203.5 ||#| marks morphophonemic word boundaries laryngeal increments pertaining only to the pronouns. It

203.5 ||#| marks morphophonemic word boundaries not otherwise indicated by utterance initial position, a terminal contour, |||, or ||+. The existence of ||#| is manifested by certain morphophonemic alternations, termed INTERNAL, conditioned solely by the environment within the word or by the junctural morphophoneme itself.

The WORD is defined morphophonemically as the sequence that lies between junctures.

EXTERNAL morphophonemics (or sandhi) is concerned with alternations indifferent to the presence or absence of |||, ||+, or ||#| (but not to the terminal contours). There are no alternations restricted to conditioning across ||#, only external ones which are unaffected by ||#. Unless explicitly stated to be Without external, morphophonemic rules presented in this chapter are internal, on 291). The morphophonemics

are described in the following three subsections. The first is nonalternating;

203.6 ||-|| (hyphen) is an alternate method of marking word boundaries which has, in some examples, slipped in the morphophonemic brackets from the symbolization employed with the morphemic brackets (see Section 205). Its presence signifies the absence of a word boundary.

203.7 ||x|| pertains only to the ^{laryngeal increments} precursors. It conditions ||?|| and ||h|| ^{increment} precursors within the preceding two syllables of the same word to be /θ/. See It Sections 250, 251, and 252.

203.8 ||o|| pertains only to the placement of /'/'. It represents a morphophonemic syllable with no corresponding segmental phonemes, (See Section 272).

204. 204.3 In a phonemic context, overmaterial is spoken rapidly with blurring of contrasts, or even absence of phonemes that are described in the following three subsections.

204.1 ||_|| The symbol underlined is nonalternating; it appears phonemically in the same shape as on the written morphophonemically is also overlined morphophonemic level. Without the underline it would represent an alternating morphophoneme; phonetic form, the ||péwlo|| > /péwlo/ 'town' < Spanish pueblo. Without in order to ||_||, ||péwlo|| would be actualized as /pé·lo/ has two or (see Section 291), two morphophonemic ALLOMORPHS, one is chosen to represent the morpheme, usually the most commonly occurring one. It is never written initially.

204.2.1 || || Segmental material underlined with ~~one~~^{two} dashes is outside the Kashaya system. English words, with English phonemes and phonetics, are often employed in a Kashaya context by the bilingual speakers. Such words are written in the standard English orthography or but with dashed underlining:

204.2.2 ||twéntieth#la·li|| > /twéntieth la·li/
 The hyphen indicates that the morpheme boundary at which it is placed is not a possible word boundary; that the suprasegmental ||| is marked. It does affect the Kashaya part of the text by suppressing a raised tone that might otherwise appear later in the same tone phrase (see Section 276).

204.2.3 || || In a phonemic context, overlined material is spoken rapidly with blurring of phonemic contrasts, or even absence of phonemes that would be expected to be present. The same stretch of speech written morphophonemically is also overlined.

205. If a morpheme has only one morphophonemic form, that form is placed within morphemic brackets, { }, in order to represent the morpheme. If the morpheme has two or more forms, i.e., has morphophonemic ALLOMORPHS, one is chosen to represent the morpheme, usually the most commonly occurring one. It is never utterance initial. It may have either a short or length morphophoneme. (=ba^ke) 'from, for'.

~~What is included inside the morphemic brackets~~ ~~are~~ includes the morphophonemic symbols, plus four additional morphemic ones; =, =, . (period), and , (comma). These symbols will be explained in the following subsections because they are sometimes employed between the morpho-phonemic brackets |||. ~~It comes from the other constituents~~

205.1 {-} (hyphen) indicates that the morpheme boundary at which it is placed is not a possible word boundary.

{da-} 'with the hand' ~~cannot occur~~ occurs; ~~is impossible to use~~

without being prefixed to something (namely a verb).

205. verb). morphophonemic syllable, as does the phonemic {-hye⁰-} 'to stop' is a verb root which requires the ONSET of an affix both before and after itself. consonant. {=ci⁰d-} Durative is an affix that may be neither contact and initial nor final in the word.

sequence {-nnā} Aural is a suffix. Although it may be and [a] and word-final, it is not necessarily so, i.e., before the peak built may be succeeded by another suffix.

As explained in Section 203.6, the hyphen is the complement of ||#. ||#| indicates a word boundary; {-} the absence of a word boundary.

205.2 {=} only occurs at the head of a morpheme and indicates that it is an enclitic; i.e., it is never utterance initial; ~~never on Verb Morphology can~~ does have either a tone or length morphophoneme.

{=bak^he} 'from, for',

205.3 { . } (period) is a morpheme marking the end of a syntactically defined sentence. { . } is customarily written capped with the appropriate morphophonemic terminal contour; in { : } would require exceedingly complex rules.

205.4 { , } (comma) is employed to separate a subordinate verb and its satellites from the other constituents of the sentence. It is not consistently used in the texts, only when it seems advisable to do so in order to clarify the sentence structure. The comma too is capped with a morphophonemic terminal contour when such co-occurs; { : }. At a particular stage the morphophonemes concerned are replaced by others which either are alternating according to

206. The morphophonemic syllable, as does the rules to be given for some later stage or are morphophonemic, consists of three parts: onset, peak, and coda. If they will not alternate by any rules of later stages, then they are said to have reached their final consonant. The PEAK is composed of one vowel or two vowels in phonetic form, and that form is written in the morpho-contact and may contain || * || or || ° || in addition. A sequence [axi] is one peak because [x] does not count and [a] and [i] are thus in contact. The CODA follows before the first of the pair of brackets, indicating the peak but may be absent. If present it may contain how many stages the substitutions have run through, from one to three consonants.

Thus, [cisa'dul] has undergone all of the operations of

A syllable is OPEN if it contains no coda. It is the first five stages and is ready for the application CLOSED if it does contain a coda. It is SHORT if it of the rules of stage contains no length morphophoneme, || * || or || ° ||. It is LONG if it does contain length. The syllable is LIGHT if it is enclosed in morphophonemic ready for stage if it has neither coda nor length. It is HEAVY if it one. At the time the chapter on Verb Morphology was does have either a coda or length morphophoneme, written, these stages were not as clearly differentiated;

conce 207. It would be possible to construct the morphophonemic rules so that any morphophonemic sequence could be converted at one stroke in the corresponding phonemic sequence. But doing so would require exceedingly complex rules with frequent qualifying statements linking the behavior of the morphophoneme in question to the behavior of the other morphophonemes in the sequence, both near and far. Much of this intricate entanglement can be eliminated by recognizing seven stages of transition from the morphophonemic level to the phonemic. At any particular stage the morphophonemes concerned are replaced by others which either are alternating according to rules to be given for some later stage or are nonalternating. If they will not alternate by any rules of later stages, then they are said to have reached their final phonemic form, and that form is written in the morphophonemic brackets. This mixed use of the morphophonemic brackets is clearly indicated by a superscript number before the first of the pair of brackets, indicating how many stages the substitutions have run through. Thus, ⁵ ||cisa⁶du|| has undergone all of the operations of the first five stages and is ready for the application of the rules of stage six.

If no superscript precedes the first bracket, then what is enclosed is purely morphophonemic ready for stage one. At the time the chapter on Verb Morphology was written, these stages were not as clearly differentiated;

consequently, some of what is there included within the morphophonemic brackets with no superscript has actually gone through stage one, in which the placement of the elements has been made; i.e., infix components and separated morpheme partials etc. have been arranged in their proper sequence. However, this one difference in use should not cause any trouble.

The seven stages of transition are as follows:

1. The Placement Stage, wherein the morphophonemes pertinent to later stages are arranged in the correct sequence. See Section 209, and §§ (293).
2. The Replacement Stage, wherein one morphophoneme may be replaced by another. See Sections 210-213.
3. The Reduplicative Stage, wherein one morphophoneme may be replaced by several others according to the pertinent pattern. See Sections 220-223.
4. The Fourth Stage contains three different operations: the dissimilation of the aspirate stops, which must succeed the third stage and precede the fifth stage; (Section 241); and the morphophonemics of ||N|| (Section 242) and of the vowels (Sections 230-238). The latter two must follow the third stage but need not precede the operations of the fifth and sixth stages; in order that they may be described at some spot they are arbitrarily placed here.

5. The Fifth Stage is concerned only with the internal morphemics of the precursors as affected by $\|X\|$. See Section 252.
6. The Sixth Stage is concerned with the internal morphemics of $\|^\circ\|$ (Section 260) and the external morphophonemics of $\|'\|$ (Section 261) and of tone (Sections 270-276). In order to facilitate understanding,
7. The Seventh Stage is concerned with the internal morphophonemics of the stops (Sections 280-287) and the external morphophonemics of the semivowels (Section 291), the precursors (292), and $\|.\|$ (293). Actually $\|c\|$ is the only stop which need follow stage six; the other stop morphophonemes are grouped with it for convenience but, as far as the evidence goes, need only follow stage three.
- If some point is to be exemplified with a polymorphemic verb stem and it is not desired to go into the exact composition of that stem, it will be written in the initial formula or construction in the combined form but will be placed in morphemic brackets rather than phonemic. Thus, in constructions, what is enclosed in () is monomorphemic; in [] polymorphemic.

205. Examples are most often given as a sequence of morphemes, each in separate morphemic brackets and each followed by a brief translation in single quotes or by a name, capitalized but not in quotes, suggesting the meaning. In simple constructions with only two or three elements, the phonemic result follows upon the presentation of the morphemes. However, in order to facilitate understanding, the elements of more complex examples are usually all gathered together between one pair of morphophonemic brackets and placed between the morphemic and phonemic presentations. Intermediate morphophonemic stages are shown only where pertinent to the rule under discussion.

If the allomorph necessary in the occurrent environment is different from the one chosen to represent the morpheme, then the allomorph is given in morphophonemic brackets immediately following the morphemic brackets. For example, {-w}||u|| Absolutive signifies that the ||u|| allomorph of the morpheme {-w} Absolutive is to be employed.

If some point is to be exemplified with a polymorphemic verb stem and it is not desired to go into the exact composition of that stem, it will be written in the initial formula of construction in the combined form but will be placed in morphemic brackets rather than phonemic. Thus, in constructions, what is enclosed in () is monomorphemic; in || | polymorphemic.

Successive examples utilizing, in part, the same morphemes may not contain the translation of the repeated morpheme. It can easily be located by looking at the preceding examples.

Thus, of a series of examples, the first will be given most fully. Later ones may be simplified by combining repeated sequences of morphemes into one morphophonemic or by eliminating the translation of a repeated morpheme.

{dihqa-} 'to give' + {-m..?} Plural Imperative

Ex: [(+) + (into) 'me' + (2) Sentence > [dihqame..?#me :] >
1[dihqame#me :] /dihqame to * :/

2.1. 'Give it to me': in the next example,

Plural Agent. It consists of a replacement of all dots. If the part after the two dots is a terminal contour, following the second syllable peak of the word by 100%, it is written above the final period:

Example: see p. 100 in Section 102.

{dihqa-} + {(-d)}[w] Factual + {(-m..?)} Responsive

+ {(-t)} 'of course' + (3) Sentence >

[dihqawdm..?#ta .] > 1[dihqawdm#ta :] >

/dihqawm ta :/ 'Of course he gave it.'

Other types of placement occur only with single morphemes and are described in words wherever necessary, rather than being given a morphophonemic symbol:

{-Xh-} Plural Movement (infix before final consonant of the verb root).

{-Xt-}[14] Plural Act (place between the instrumental prefix and verb root).

209. ||..|| (two dots) is the only placement operation occurring in a sufficient number of morphemes to be worth symbolizing. It occurs in discontinuous morphemes and signifies that the part before the dots occupies the place in the chain of morphophonemes indicated by the place the morpheme occupies in the chain of morphemes. The part after the dots occurs just before the next { . },⁵⁰ the end of the sentence:

(dihqa-) 'to give' + {-me..?} Plural Imperative
 [x] by [v]. + {into} 'me' + {;} Sentence > ||dihqame..?#nto :|| >
¹ ||dihqame#nto#? :|| /dihqamé to ? :/

213. ||...|| 'Give it to me!' in the one morpheme, the tickle.
 Plural Agents. It consists of a replacement of all Id's. If the part after the two dots is a terminal contour, following the second syllable peak of the word by [cl], it is written above the final period; Examples are given in Section 423.

(dihqa-) + {-ā}||wā|| Factual + {-ēm..?} Responsive
 + {=ta} 'of course' + {.} Sentence >
 ||dihqawēm..?#ta .|| > ¹ ||dihqawēm#ta :|| >
 /dihqawām ta :/ 'Of course he gave it.'

Other types of placement occur only with single morphemes and are described in words wherever necessary, rather than being given a morphophonemic symbol:

{-Xh-} Plural Movement (infix before final consonant of the verb root).

{-Xt-}||1v|| Plural Act (place between the instrumental prefix and verb root).

||dahendahw-1v|| > /dahendahw-1v/ (shake
 and shake your hands!)

210. The three replacement operations constitute the first morphophonemic stage, one syllable, $\|R\|$ reduplication of the two preceding syllables, and $\|\hat{r}\|$ reduplication

211. $\|\hat{r}>R\|$ occurs only in one allomorph of the morpheme Plural Act. It consists of a replacement of $\|r\|$ one-syllable reduplication by $\|R\|$ two-syllable reduplication. See Section 251, example 6, and Section 424,50.

As can be seen from the formula, C^1 is not necessarily present.

212. $\|X>W\|$ only occurs in one allomorph of the present, but if present is complicated by $\|C^1\|$ and $\|C^2\|$, if present are lost:

$\|X\|$ by $\|W\|$. An example is given in Section 252.

($\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{yot-}$) 'to tickle' + (-v) Absolutive

213. $\|d>\acute{c}\|$ only occurs in the one morpheme, Plural Agent. It consists of a replacement of all $\|d\|$'s following the second syllable peak of the word by $\|\acute{c}\|$. Examples are given in Section 421, e.g. $\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{dahwahweh-} > \acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{dahwahweh-} \text{dahwahweh-}$

/dahwahweh- / 'to give a shake with the hand'.

222. $\|R\|$ follows the formula:

$\dots(C^1)C^1V^1(C^2)V^2(C^3)R\dots > \dots(C^1)C^1V^1(C^2)C^2V^2(C^3)$
 $\dots(C^1)C^1V^1(C^2)C^2V^2(\cdot)(C^3)\dots$

C^1 and C^2 are not both present in the same sequence:

($\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{lak-}$) 'to be slippery' + (-v) Absolutive

$\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{lakw-} > \acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{la} \acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{lakw-} > /\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{la} \acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{la} \acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{la}/$

'to be slippery'.

(da-} + {-hu-} + {-n-} Frequentative + {-v}

Singular Imperative + (z) > $\|dahve^*n\bar{v} z\| >$

$\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{dahwendahwe^*n\bar{v} z\|} > /\acute{\text{a}}\text{u}^*\text{dahwendahwe^*n\bar{v} z\|/$ 'Shake and shake your hand!'

210. There are three reduplicating morphophonemes:

$\|\hat{r}\|$ reduplication of the preceding syllable, $\|R\|$ reduplication of the two preceding syllables, and $\|r\|$ reduplication of the preceding syllable but in its own peculiar pattern.

221. It follows the formula:

$$\dots (G^1)C^1V^1(\circ)(G^2)r\dots \rightarrow \dots (G^1)C^1V^1(G^1)C^1V^1r\dots$$

As can be seen from the formula, C^1 is not necessarily present, but if present is reduplicated; $\|^\circ\|$ and C^2 , if present, are lost:

{^soyor-} 'to tickle' + {-w} Absolutive

$\|s\text{ə}^?y\text{o}^?t\text{u}\| > 3 \|s\text{ə}^?y\text{ə}^?y\text{o}\| > /s\text{ə}^?y\text{ə}^?y\text{o}\|$ 'to tickle',

{da-} 'with the hand' + {-hwe^onə} 'to shake' +

{-r-} Iterative + {-c-} Semelfactive + {-w} ||?

Absolutive > ||dahwe^ən̥c^ə|| > 3 ||dahwehwe^ə||

/dahwéhwe?/ 'to give a shake with the hand'.

222. ||R|| follows the formula:

$$\dots (c^1) c^1 v^1 (c^2) c^2 v^2 (\circ) (c^3) R \dots > \dots (c^1) c^1 v^1 (c^2) c^2 v^2 (c^3) \\ (c^1) c^1 v^1 (c^2) c^2 v^2 (\circ) (c^3) \dots$$

G^1 and G^2 are not both present in the same sequence;

{^{su}*laR-} 'to be slippery' + {-w} Absolutive

$\|\dot{s}u^?laRw\| > 3 \|\dot{s}u^?la\dot{s}u^?law\| > \|\dot{s}u^?la\dot{s}u^?law\|$

'to be slippery'.

{da-} + {-hwe^on-} + {-R-} Frequentative + {-f-}

Singular Imperative + { } > ||dahwe^ənRt :|| >

3 ||dahwendahweⁿt̪ :|| > /dahwéndahwe*ni/ *Shake
and shake your hand!

213. ||r|| follows the formula:

...G¹C¹V¹G²r... > ...C¹V¹G²C¹V¹G²V¹...
 or ||r|| is preceded by the vowel in question and a
 ||r|| occurs only with a limited number of verb stems as an
 allomorph of the morpheme Plural Act:

(da-) + {-hq^hat-} 'to rip open' + {-xt-}||r|| Plural
 /u/ after 'Act' + {-w} Absolutive > [dahq^hatr^w] > clars and
 labels), 3[dahq^haq^ha^qaw] > /daq^haq^ha^qaw/ 'to rip' or
 consonants open with the hands'. velar to post-dental
 positions inclusive). See also Section 25D, for a similar
 division of the consonants into peripheral and interior.

{ake^o-} 'to leach' + {-n} 'while' > [ake^on] >
 /ake^on/ 'while leaching'; + {-tla} Participle >
 {chueq^o-} 'to flow' + {-n} > /chueq^on/ 'while flowing'.
 {chulag-} + {-n} > /chulagan/ 'while getting a

stomach ache' / chulagan be like running in there'.

{mo-} 'to run' + {-n} 'across' + {-t} >
 /mon/ 'while running across'.

/mo-/- + {-n} > /moadun/ 'while taking away'.

{mo-} + {mo^o-} + {-n} > /momi-ein/ 'while running
 in hence'.

{mo-} + {mo^o-} 'around' + {-n} > /momir-in/ 'while
 running around'.

{mank^h-} + {-n} > /mank^h-in/ 'while taking'.

{ak-} + {ak^h-} + {-n} > /akak^h-in/ 'while scratching'.

{ad-} + {ad^h-} + {-n} > /adad^h-in/ 'while listening'.

'to startle have many' & 'to startle have few'

230. In the following rules for the various vowel+sonant+
morphophonemes, it should be borne in mind that ||E||, ||X||, ||e°|| >
or ||°|| intervening between the vowel in question and a
preceding vowel or consonant has no effect on the vowel
morphophoneme, or vice versa.

231. ||ə|| is /g/ after a vowel, /e/ after ||e°||,
/a/ after the other peripheral consonants (post-velars and
labials), /u/ after ||d||, and /i/ after the other interior
consonants (articulated from the velar to post-dental
positions inclusive). See also Section 28D. for a similar
division of the consonants into peripheral and interior;

{ə°e°e-} 'to leach' + {-vn} 'while' > ||ə°e°etn|| >

/ə°e°en/ 'while leaching'.

{əhwəq°-} 'to flow' + {-vn} > /woqen/ 'while flowing'.

{əuhlaq-} + {-vn} > /əuhlaqan/ 'while getting a
stomach ache'.

{əmo-} 'to run' + {-m-} 'across' + {-v} >

/moman/ 'while running across'.

{əhsad-} + {-vn} > /mahsadum/ 'while taking away'.

{əmo-} + {ma°e-} + {-v} > /momá·cin/ 'while running
in hence'.

{əmo-} + {-mu°l-} 'around' + {-vn} > /momú·lin/

'while running around'.

{ənsá·r-} + {-vn} > /mansá·rin/ 'while taming'.

{əñ-} + {-kis-} + {-vn} > /duñisin/ 'while scratching'.

{əñ-} + {-te°t-} + {-vn} > /dute·tin/ 'while fastening'.

232. ||ə|| is // after a vowel and /ə/ after a consonant;
 {omo-} 'to run' + {-Xə^oqa^oc-} 'up hence' <||omoXə^oqa^oc||>

/mo^oqa^o/ 'to run up hence';
 {okel-} 'to peer' + {-Xə^oqa^oc-} </kolə^oqa^o/>
 'to peer up hence'.

233. ||ɔ|| is // after a vowel, /o/ after ||q^o||,
 /ə/ after ||q||, and /ə/ after other consonants:

{omo-} 'to run' + {-t^od-} 'along' + {-ɔ} Pactual
 + {-dm..*} Responsive + {..} > ||omot^odñm..*|| >
 /mo^odam/ 'He is running along.'

{omo-} + {-t^od-} + {-dm} 'while' > /mo^odam/

235. 'while he was running', follows; otherwise it
 is //: {omo-} + {-ma^oq^o-} 'in hither' + {-ela} Performative >
 {omo-}/momá^oqola:/ 'I am running in.' or {-m^o-}
 {omo-} + {-ma^oc-} 'in hence' + {-dm} > ||omam^oca|| >
 /momá^ocam/ 'while he was running in hence'.

224. ||i|| is // after a vowel, /o/ after ||q^o||,
 /ə/ after ||q||, and /i/ after other consonants. Some
 speakers are said to use /i/ after all consonants;

{omo-} + {-Xi^obi^oc-} 'to start' + {-w} ||*|| Absolutive
 is // if ||omoxi^obi^oc|| > /mo^obi^o/ 'to start to run'.

||*|| only {ghwoq^o-} 'to flow' + {-Xi^obi^oc-} + {-w} ||*|| >
 (/woqo^obi^o/ 'to start to flow', or /woqi^obi^o/

in some speakers dialect, 'I saw him leach.'

{mahsad-} + {-Xi^obi^oc-} + {-w} ||*|| > /mahsadi^obi^o/

'to start to take away' yam // 'I saw him leach.'

235. ||v|| is the same phonemically as the vowel of the next syllable; or, if followed by ||q°||, is /ə/.

(da-) 'with the hand' + ||-l̥v-|| Plural Act + (-ču°-) 'to break in two' + {-w} Absolutive > |dalčuw°w| > /dalčuw/ 'to break sev. in two with the hands'.

(da-) + (-šu°-) 'to break' / + {-w} > /dalšuw/ → 'to break sev. with the hands'. (or) slightly (philv-) 'sev. to go' + (-xā°q°-) 'out hither' + {-w} ||*|| > ||philvxā°q°*|| > /philo*/ 'sev. to go out hither'.

236. ||ɔ|| is /i/ if a palatal follows; otherwise it is /ə/:

(mo-) 'to run' + (-xā°q°-) 'out hither' + {-uɔ-} 'hither' + {-ȳ} Visual + {;} > || moxā°q°wɔȳȳ ; || > /mohwi� ; / 'I saw him just run out hither.'

(dihqa-) 'to give' + {-uɔ-} 'hither' + {-?} ||...?|| + {;} Singular Imperative / + {-ȳ} > ||dihqawɔ? ; ?|| > /dihqawɔ? ; / 'Give it hither (to me)'.

237. ||ɛ|| is /ø/ if a consonant or ||#|| follows; it is /a/ if ||e|| follows (the only vowel to ever follow ||ɛ||). ||ɛ|| only occurs with the Evidential suffixes:

(chə°e-) 'to leach' + {-ȳ} Visual + {;} > (ph̄i-) ||chə°eȳȳ ; || > /chə°eȳ ; / 'I saw him leach.'

(chə°e-) + {-ȳ} + {-əm..?} Responsive + {;} > ||chə°eȳəm..?|| > /chə°eȳəm ; / 'I saw him leach.'

228. [ə] is /o/ if [ə] is the vowel of the next syllable; otherwise it is /u/. It occurs in five Instrumental prefixes. This alternation pertains to the first

{dū-} 'with the finger' + {-kō-} 'to hit lightly'
if the code + {-v} Absolutive > /dō^kow/ 'to tap lightly
upon'. {dū-} 'with the finger'. or {-b̄-}, then a syllable-
initial {dū-} + {-kā-} 'to crack apart slightly' + {-v}>
they are /du^kaw/ 'to crack apart (an oyster) slightly
(+i-) with the fingers'.

{-v} Absolutive > [p^hikətəv] > /pikau/ 'to grasp
something by means of an instrument with a handle'.
{phā-} 'with the eyes' (+ {-phā-}) 'to do in detail'
subjective: [p^hikətəv] > /phikau/ 'to do in detail'.
(p^hī-)} 'by blowing' (-vətə) 'to move away'.
(h^lā-ka^{la}-) 'down' + {-v} > [p^hihkəla^{la}v] > -v-
/puakau/ 'to blow her downward'. Note that
although there is no aspirate in the final phonemic
form, the prefix has the dissimilated initial.
Compare, *kuakau*, 'to blow around'.

{phā-} + {-kō-} 'to block' > [p^hikō-] > [-vəfəv]>
/p^hikaw/ 'to block by means of an instrument with
a handle'.

{phā-} + {-tāv} 'to detect' + {-v} > [p^hitāv] >
/p^hitav/ 'to detect with the eyes, to see'.

241. Word-initial aspirated stop morphophonemes undergo an alternation between the basic aspirated and an unaspirated form. This alternation pertains to the four Instrumental prefixes which begin with $\{ch^h_i\}$ or $\{ph^h_i\}$. If the coda of the word-initial syllable contains an aspirate (either aspirated stop or $\{h\}$), then a syllable-initial $\{ch^h\}$ or $\{ph^h\}$ is /c/ or /p/ respectively; otherwise they are /ch^h/ or /ph^h/.

$\{ch^h_i\}$ 'with a handle' + {-cha^o-} 'to grasp' + ground

(+w) Absolutive > $\{ch^h_i ch^h a^o w\}$ > /cichaw/ 'to grasp something by means of an instrument with a handle'.

$\{ph^h_i\}$ 'with the eyes' + {-nhmi-} 'to do in detail'

+ (-w) > $\{ph^h_i nhm i w\}$ > /pimhmiw/ 'to see in detail'.

$\{ph^h_i\}$ 'by blowing' + {-hsa-} 'to move sv.' +

(hi) {+X^ola^o-} 'down' + (-w) > $\{ph^h_i hsa X^o la^o w\}$ > /pusa^olaw/ 'to blow sv. downward'. Note that

although there is no aspirate in the final phonemic form, the prefix has the dissimilated initial consonant because of the morphophonemic presence of an aspirate.

$\{ch^h_i\}$ + {-na^o-} 'to block' + (-w) > $\{ch^h_i na^o w\}$ >

/ch^hinaw/ 'to block by means of an instrument with a handle'.

$\{ph^h_i\}$ + {-ta-} 'to detect' + (-w) > $\{ph^h_i ta w\}$ >

/ph^hi^ota w/ 'to detect with the eyes, to see'.

laryngeal
INCREMENT

250. A morphophonemic PRECURSOR is one of the glottals,
 242. ||H|| is /h/ when directly followed by ||m|| or
 ||c||; otherwise ||H|| is /g/. Note that it occurs only in
 by another consonant.
 verb roots of the shape -GC¹VG²H- where G is a glottal
 precursor ||*|| or ||h|| and G² is an alveolar sonorant ||n||
 or ||l||:

(hi-) + Non-glottalic or Sonorant
 (da-) 'with the hand' + {-polH-} 'to cause liquid to
 flow out' + {-*m-} ||ma|| Supraterrestrial +
 precursor {-w} Absolutive > ||dapolhmaw|| > /dapólmaw/ 'to
 squeeze in the hand (orange) held off the ground
 respect' over one spot (perhaps a cup) so that the juice
 flows out'.
 (mi-) 'by throwing' + {-sonH-} 'to dent' + {-c-} ||ci||-
 Semelfactive + {-w} Absolutive > ||mi*sonhcíw|| > /mo*sonhcíw/ 'to dent with a thrown object'.
 (hi-) 'with the body' + {-balH-} 'to turn' + {-mu°l-}
 'around' + {-w} ||°|| Absolutive > ||hi°balHmu°l°|| >
 /hi°bálmul°/ 'to turn the body around'.

Compare: (ai-) + {-haben-} > {-xt-} ||x|| Plural Act +

(hi-) + {-balH-} + {-ela} > (:) > ||hi°balHela :|| >
 /hi°baléla :/ 'I turned around, : out'.

(hi-) + {-balH-} + {-hqa-} ||qa|| Causative + {-w} > uw|| >
 cause to
 ||hi°balHqaw|| > /hi°bálgaw/ 'to/turn the body around'.

(ai-) + {-yuh-} + {-xt-} ||x>xt|| + {-ci°d-} ||°d||
 Durative + {-w} ||u|| Absolutive > ||ai°yuh x>xtci°du|| >
 2 ||ai°yuhx>ci°du|| > 3 ||ai°yuhd°yuhx°du|| >
 /yuh*yuhx°du/ 'to hurt sev.'

INCREMENT

250. A morphophonemic PRECURSOR is one of the glottals, ||*|| or ||h|| followed within the same morphophonemic word by another consonant. Occurrent sequences, with rare exceptions, are restricted to may be seen in the following ||*|| + Glottalic or Sonorant

||h|| + Non-glottalic or Sonorant

251. In an internal morphophonemic situation a precursor is /θ/ if ||X|| lies in the next two syllables of the word. Otherwise ||*|| and ||h|| are /*/ and /h/ respectively. Compare the following examples:

the
DECREMENT

(dū-) 'with the fingers' + {-*ku-} 'to finish' +
{-w} Absolutive > /du^wkuw/ 'to finish working'.

(dū-) + {-*ku-} + {-Xt-} + {-w} ||*|| > /duku^w/
'sev. to finish working'

(dū-) + {-hlabat-} + {-hqa-} ||qa|| Causative +
{-w} > ||dūhlabatqaw|| > /duhlabāt^wqaw/ 'to
knock one out'.

(dū-) + {-hlabat-} + {-Xt-} ||X|| Plural Act +
{-hqa-} ||qa|| + {-w} > ||dūhlabatXqaw|| >
/dūlabāt^wqaw/ 'to knock sev. out'.

(dū-) + {-*yuř-} + {-w} > ||dū^wyurw|| > ³||dū^wyu^wyuw|| >
/du^wyū^wyuw/ 'to injure with the fingers'.

(dū-) + {-*yuř-} + {-Xt-} ||f>RXt|| + {-ci^od-} ||a^od||
Durative + {-w} ||u|| Absolutive > ||dū^wyur^f f>RXta^adu|| >
²||dū^wyurRXta^adu|| > ³||dū^wyuř^ayurRXta^adu|| >
/du^wyudúyuta^adu/ 'to hurt sev.'

250. {ch^ee-} 'to leach' + {-Xt-} Plural Act + {-w} ||^o|| Absolutive > /ch^ee^ə/ 'to leach sev.'
it is said Here, ||^o|| is not a precursor and is not /θ/.
||^o|| only occurs in the middle of the word.

252. The effect of ||X>w|| may be seen in the following examples:

The pair of examples below shows the second syllable of the word {p^hi-} 'with the side of a long object' + {-hs^heX-} 'to wash' + {-w} Absolutive > follows. ||p^hihseXw|| > ⁴||pihseXw|| > ³||pisew|| > /pisew/ a third syllable 'to wash with the side of a long instrument' ||^o|| is activated (as with some window cleaning equipment)'.

{p^hi-} + {-hs^heX-} + {-Xt-} ||X>w|| Plural Act + {-ci^od-} ||^ao^d|| Durative + {-w} ||u|| Absolutive > ||p^hihseX X>wa^odu|| > ²||p^hihsewa^odu|| > ⁴||pihsewa^odu|| > /pihsewa^odu/ 'to clean sev. with the side of a long instrument'. second syllable is activated because the third syllable is closed. then ||^o|| {sq-} + {sqn-} + {-d-} + {-w} ||u|| Absolutive > two examples ||sqn^osq^odu|| > /sqn^osq^odu/ 'to continue to... fly fast saw off'. the ||^o|| of the second syllable is either not activated because the third syllable is open. pertaining {sq-} + {sqn-} + {-d-} + {-w} ||u|| /sqn^osq^odu/ 'I saw another that it off'. ||^o|| is unactivated because there is no third syllable. successive syllables, each with a short syllable saw it off.' ||^o|| is activated because morphophonemically there is an open third syllable even though phonemically there is no third

260. ||°|| may be either /·/ or /∅/. When it is /·/ it is said to be activated; when /∅/, unactivated. That ||°|| only occurs in the second and later syllables of the word. Its behavior depends upon whether it is in the second or some later syllable of the word, morphophonemically.

The activation of ||°|| in the second syllable of the word does not depend on what precedes, only on what follows. If the second syllable is open and if there is a third syllable and that third syllable is closed, then ||°|| is activated; otherwise it is not; is morphophonemically

{Sū-} 'by pulling' + {-q^ha^o-} 'to cut off' +

{-ci^od-} Durative + {-t^h-} Negative + {-d} able of the word Factual + {;} > ||Sūq^ha^oci^odth^h ;|| > the syllable it is /Sūq^ha^oci^ot^h ;/ 'He isn't continuing to saw it has no far off.' The ||°|| in the second syllable is activated because the third syllable is closed.

then ||{Sū-} + {-q^ha^o-} + {-ci^od-} + {-w}||u|| Absolutive > two examples ||Sūq^ha^oci^odu|| > /Sūq^haci^odu/ 'to continue to -ively from saw off'. The ||°|| of the second syllable is

not activated because the third syllable is open. pertinent {Sū-} + {-q^ha^o-} + {-t} + {;} > /Sūq^ha^o t ;/ 'Saw either to it off'; ||°|| is unactivated because there is no third syllable. successive syllables, each with ||°||, are {Sū-} + {-q^ha^o-} + {-y^h} + {;} > /Sūq^ha^oy ;/ 'I saw short syll.'

him saw it off.' ||°|| is activated because morphophonemically there is an open third syllable even though phonemically there is none; third

[[bite[°]l-]] 'to saw' + {-w} ||^o|| Absolutive + {-} Assertive + {-e^o} Non-final Verb + {umu} 'that' defect / : > [[bite[°]l^o e^o umu :]] > /bit'e^olu^o mu :/ 'He sawed it off.' ||^o|| is unactivated because the second syllable is closed morphophonemically even though it is open phonemically.

[[bite[°]l-]] + {-d} Factual + {-e^o} Non-final Verb + {umu} + {;} > [[bite[°]l'de^o umu :]] > /bit'e^olu^o de^o mu :/ 'He is sawing it off.' ||^o|| is activated because here there is morphophonemically an open second syllable.

The activation of ||^o|| in the third or later syllable of the word depends on what precedes and whether the syllable it is in is open or closed; what follows thereafter has no influence. If the syllable containing the ||^o|| in question is open, and the preceding syllable is light, then ||^o|| is activated; otherwise it is not (see the first two examples above). This rule must be applied progressively from the beginning toward the end of the word. Whether the syllable preceding the one containing the pertinent ||^o|| is heavy or light is contingent upon whether that preceding syllable contains an activated or unactivated ||^o||. In verbs, successive syllables, each with ||^o||, are common and give rise to alternately long and short syllables:

- a. The word + {-w}l'dl 'ever thought'.

261 (sú-) 'by pulling' + (-*di-)||d|| 'to move one' +
 161 h{(-X²la⁰-)} 'down' + {-ci⁰d-}||me⁰d|| Durative +
 defective v{-ci⁰d-}||t⁰ce⁰d|| Durative + {-w}||u|| Absolutive >
 161 in actu ||SúdX²la⁰me⁰d⁰t⁰ce⁰du|| > ⁵ ||Súda⁰la⁰me⁰du⁰ce⁰du|| >
 / always/Súdala-medú-cedu/ 'habitually to lead down'.

(Sū-) + [d] + (-ka^ola^o) + (-ōcē) [me^ocē] Reflexive
 (-ci^od-) [e^ocē] Durative + (-ci^od-) [t^oce^od] Dur-
 /s/ a f t a t i v e + (-u) [u] > [Sudaka^ola^ome^ocēd^ot^oce^odu] >
 /s/ a f t a t i v e 5 [Suda^ola^ome^ocēdu^oce^odu] > /Sudala^ome^ocēdu^oce^odu/

Sec. 14. Artshabitually to lead down off¹, sl (Se, Se).

/1/ between any consonants {2d,e; 5d,e; 4d,e; 6d,e}.

Note that often the only phonemic evidence of the presence of [t] is in the actualisation of the morpho-phonemic plain stops as phonemic glottalized stops (see the chart in Section 280 and also the example set 5b-e below).

The examples are all given as frustums, i.e., as if followed by any unspecified one of the terminal contours. The arrangement of the examples within each set is as follows:

- a. The word in isolation, morphophonemically and phonemically.
 - b. The word + (*²) assertive, phonemically only.
 - c. The word + (*², p.4) Non-final Verb + {²mu} 'that'.
 - d. The word + (*², p.4) Circumstantial.
 - e. The word + {-'nati} 'even though'.

- la. [hayu] > /hayu/ 'dog'.
261. ||| follows external morphophonemic rules,
i.e., ||| has no effect. ||| occurs in the important
defective verb {-} Assertive and in many enclitics, the
||| is actualized phonemically as follows:
- a. /balay/ > /balay/ 'blood'
b. /balay/ 'It is blood.'
c. /balay/ 'That is blood.'
- The /balay/ is actualized as ||| 'It must be a dog.' is located
always after a vowel (examples 1a-1e); most of the
after a Sonorant and before a terminal contour
(examples 2b, 3b).
- d. /balay iñ/ 'It must be blood.'
e. /balay iñ/ 'even though blood'
vowel or terminal contour (4b,c; 5b,c).
262. a. after a sonorant and before a vowel (2a, 3c).
b. /i/ between any consonants (2d,e; 3d,e; 4d,e; 5d,e).
- Note that often the only phonemic evidence of the presence of ||| is in the actualization of the morphophonemic plain stops as phonemic glottalized stops (see the chart in Section 280 and also the example set 5b-e below).
- The examples are all given as frustums, i.e., as if followed by any unspecified one of the terminal contours. The arrangement of the examples within each set is as follows: (a) > /waga/ 'frog'.
 a. The word in isolation, morphophonemically and phonemically.
 b. The word + {-} Assertive, phonemically only.
 c. The word + {-} + {-e} Non-final Verb + {Ømu} 'that'.
 d. The word + {-} + {-qđ} Circumstantial.
 e. The word + {=nati} 'even though'.

la. {hayu} > /hayu/ 'dog'.

270. The morphophonemics of the raised tone are
external, i.e., the word boundary [·] has no influence.

b. /hayu ·/ 'It is a dog.'
c. /hayu ·é· mu/ 'That is a dog.'
But there is a different pertinent boundary--that of the
TONE phrase /hayu ·nati/ 'even though a dog'. phrase is located

28. {balayl} > /balay/ 'blood', the case with most of the

b. /balay ·/ 'It is blood.' terminal contour [· · · ·]

c. /balay ·é· mu/ 'That is blood,' and at [·] and [· ·].

d. /balay iq^h/ 'It must be blood.'

e. /balay inati/ 'even though blood' of tone phrases

29. {ciškan} > /ciškan/ 'pretty'

b. /ciškan ·/ 'It is pretty.' a tone phrase can, in

c. /ciškan ·é· mu/ 'That is pretty.' by counting syllables

d. /ciškan iq^h/ 'It must be pretty.' owing to the rather

e. /ciškan inati/ 'even though pretty'; ion 271.

30. {bitəs} > /bitəs/ 'louse'. usual positions is due to

b. /bitəs ·/ 'It is a louse.' [·]; suppression of the rise

c. /bitəs ·é· mu/ 'That is a louse.'

d. /bitəs iq^h/ 'It must be a louse.' immediately following

e. /bitəs inati/ 'even though a louse.'

31. {watac} > /wata/ 'frog'.
ning of the tone phrase (Section 276) light.

b. /watac ·/ 'It is a frog.'

c. /watac ·é· mu/ 'That is a frog.'

d. /watac iq^h/ 'It must be a frog.'

e. /watac inati/ 'even though a frog'.

270. The morphophonemics of the raised tone are external, i.e., the word boundary ||#|| has no influence. But there is a different pertinent boundary--that of the TONE PHRASE. The beginning of a tone phrase is located at the start of the utterance (the case with most of the examples to be given), at each terminal contour ||:, ^, -|| (if more of the utterance follows), and at |||| and ||+||. The latter two morphophonemes are always /θ/; they are only necessary to mark the beginnings of tone phrases not otherwise delineated.

(balay) 'blood' + (qawi) 'that' > /qawi tʰin e̥ mu/

The placement of // within a tone phrase can, in the majority of cases, be predicted by counting syllables. If the second syllable is heavy but does not contain from the beginning of the phrase according to the rather complicated series of rules given in Section 271.

Displacement of // from these usual positions is due to the presence of ||ɔ||, and ||'||, and ||^||; suppression of the raised tone is due to presence of a prior tone in the same tone phrase, a terminal contour immediately following the syllable upon which // would otherwise fall (Section 277), or the suppressing morphophoneme ||+|| at the beginning of the tone phrase (Section 276). light.

(balay) 'blood' + (qawi) 'vessel' > /balá· kəwé/ 'blood vessel'. Note that in this example // is [y] and not [-] or [^]; compare /balay e̥ mu/ 'That is blood.'

S. 271. (Examples continued).

1. The status of the first syllable, whether it is heavy or light, is of no influence.
2. If the second syllable is morphophonemically light, // is on the third syllable:
 $\{butaqá\}$ 'bear' + $\{qawi\}$ 'small' > /butaqá qawi/ 'small bear'.
4. If $\{cohšo\}$ 'hand' + $\{qawi\}$ > /cohšo qáwi/ 'small hand'.
 $\{qawi\} + \{=t^h in\}$ 'not' + {'} Assertive + {-e*} Non-final Verb + {umu} 'that' > /qawi t^hin e* mu/
 a. 'That is not small.' is morphophonemically light.
3. If the second syllable is heavy but does not contain // or //, // lies on the second syllable:
 $\{mawa^la\}$ > /mawá^la/ 'throat'.
 $\{q^ha^dus\}$ 'raccoon' + $\{=t^h in\}$ 'not + {'} Assertive
 + {-e*} Non-final verb + {umu} 'that' >
 /q^ha^dús t^hin e* mu/ 'That is not a raccoon.'
 Compare: $\{q^ha^dus\} + \{'\} + \{-e*\} + \{umul\}$ >
 /q^ha^dus é* mu/ 'That is a raccoon,' where
 the second syllable is light.
 $\{balay\}$ 'blood' + $\{Se^e\}$ 'vessel' > /balá· Se^e/ 'blood vessel'. Note that in this example // is // and not // or //; compare /balay é* mu/ 'That is blood.'

3. (Examples continued).
4. b. If the third syllable is heavy, e.g. /thu/ because
 {yalac-} 'to straighten out' + {-th-} \ Negative +
 it is closed or because it contains /th/, but
 {-θ}/ || *.*| Singular Imperative > /yalact^hu, *.*| >
 does not contain an activatable /^θ/, then
 /yalá·thu/ 'Don't straighten it out!' Note
 that here too // is not ||*|| or ||*||; compare
 {yalac-} + {-ci^od-} Durative + {-w}||u|| Absolu-
 tive > /yalaci·du/ 'to keep straightening out'.
 {aca^oe} 'man' + {baht^oe} > /aca^o baht^oe/

4. If the second syllable contains ||*|| or ||*||, the
 tone is delayed according to rules which are similar
 to 2. and 3. above.

a. If the third syllable is morphophonemically
 light or will be phonemically light because it
 contains ||*|| which is in an unactivatable pos-

c. ifition (see Section 260), then // lies on
 the fourth syllable: the pitch is delayed still
 no{^oiša·} 'arm' + {qawi} 'small' + {st^hin} 'not' >
 3. /^oiša· qawi t^hin/ 'not a small arm'.
 {musa·la} 'nest of snakes' + {qawi} >
 /musa·la qáwi/ 'small nest of snakes'. It
 {aca^oe} 'man' + {st^hin} 'not' + {-} Assertive
 + {-e-} Non-final verb + {u mu} 'that' >
 /aca^o t^hin é· mu/ 'That is not a man',
 because the third syllable, which precedes
 it, does contain an activated ||*||.

4. b. If the third syllable is heavy, either because it is closed or because it contains ||·||, but does not contain an activatable ||°||, then /' / lies on the third syllable:
- {*iša·} 'arm' + {bah^th^e} 'big' > /*iša· báht^th^e/ 'big arm'.
- {*aca°c} 'man' + {bah^th^e} > /*aca° báht^th^e/ 'big man'.
- {*ic^ha·} 'spider' + {su°le} 'net' > /*ic^ha· sú°le/ 'spider web'.
- {*aca°c} 'man' + {ma°ku} 'deaf' > /*aca° má°ku/ 'deaf man'.
- c. If the third syllable will contain /*/ from an activated ||°||, then the pitch is delayed still more in accordance with rules similar to 2. and 3., and 4.a. and 4.b. above, pairs are given in
- (1) If the fourth syllable is morphophonemically or will be phonemically light because it contains an unactivatable ||°||, then /*/ is on the fifth syllable. Note that ||°|| will never be activated in this situation because the third syllable, which precedes it, does contain an activated ||°||.

In certain cases the placement of
 4.4. (2) If {yehe-} 'barely to move' + {-X⁰la⁰-} 'down'
 is such that the tone of the verb
 is on {-c⁰-}||me⁰c|| Reflexive + {-ci⁰d-}||e⁰d||
 is present, but no tones appear on the
 stem. This is true at the phonetic level,
 Durative + {-w}||u|| Absolutive > 'down'
 ||yeheX⁰la⁰me⁰ce⁰du|| > ⁵||yehe⁰la⁰me⁰ce⁰du|| >
 /yehela⁰mecé⁰du/ 'barely to be getting off' >
 'down off'. ⁵||yehe⁰la⁰me⁰ce⁰du|| >
 upon what follows.
 {muna⁰c-} 'to be too shy to do' + {-ci⁰d-}
 always /?/. If {-ci⁰d-} is placed before {-w}||u||, then
 ||f⁰d|| Durative + {-ci⁰d-}||f⁰ce⁰d|| Durative
 is replaced by a toneless
 (+ {-w}||u|| Absolutive > ||muna⁰cf⁰d⁰ce⁰du|| >
⁵||muna⁰ci⁰du⁰ce⁰du|| > /munaci⁰ducé⁰du/ >
 has no effect on the
 'to be habitually too shy to do'.

The replacement of

For minimal contrast compare the preceding with:

{munac-} 'to gather' + {-ci⁰d-}||f⁰d|| + {-ci⁰d-}
 has taken place in the first four examples
 ||f⁰ce⁰d|| + {-w}||u|| Absolutive >
 ||munacf⁰d⁰f⁰ce⁰du|| > ⁵||munaci⁰du⁰ce⁰du|| >
 /munaci⁰duce⁰du/ 'to gather habitually'.

Other examples of minimal pairs are given in

Section 424.12. Such contrasts are lost

phonemically when another word begins the
 tone phrase:

/p^hala múnaci⁰duce⁰du/ is either 'again to
 be habitually too shy to do' or 'again
 to gather habitually'.

17. In the following examples

(naga) 'able' ||nag⁰a|| ||nag⁰a|| > /naj⁰aq⁰a/

'genetic ability'

272. lal. In certain cases the placement of //

4. c. (2) If the fourth syllable is heavy, then // is such that it indicates that a morphophonemic syllable water-teturis on the fourth syllable; the other heavier // is present, but no segmental phonemes appear on the the compound by phonemic level. {yche-} 'barely to go' + {-X&^ola^o-} 'down' [ɔ] and is considered + {-c'-} || me^oc|| Reflexive + {-t^h-} || t^hu|| thus whether it represents a heavy or light syllable depends upon what follows. ||ycheX&^ola^ome^oc^{t^h}u..?|| > ⁵||yche^ola^ome^oc^{t^h}u..?|| always //, if the /yehola^om^ot^hu?/ 'Don't habitually drag yourself down off!' in Section 271 apply. If [ɔ] is {muna^oc-} 'to be too shy to do' + {-ci^od-} has no effect on the ||t^od|| Durative + {-li} || u^oli|| 'afterive The replacement + {-w} || u|| > ||muna^oc^{t^od^ow}li|| > is termed APHEYSIS and ⁵||muna^oci^odu^oli|| > /munaci^odu^oli/ > Kashaya (described in 'after having been too shy to'. Compare /munaci^odu^oli/ 'after having gathered' has taken place in the development of the language.

Compare the following four examples:

{ahq^oa} 'water' + {*ina^ota} 'woman' > It is /yahq^oa*ina^ota/ 'water woman', major classes, Verb, Noun, {ahq^oa} (bound allomorph of {*ahq^oa}) + {*ina^ota} > /yahq^oa*ina^ota/ 'mermaid'. Note that although there are two words in the first example, there is only one less syllable phonemically, the // is on the one corresponding to the one containing the bound allomorph in the first example, words, but which is /nahq^oa/ (nata) 'urine' + {ahq^oa} || ahq^oa|| > /nahq^oa/ (urine). There are two words in the second example, but they are never enunciated as initial, and hence no dielidable effects except in phrase initial position.

272. [ə]. In certain cases the placement of // is such that it indicates that a morphophonemic syllable is present, but no segmental phonemes appear on the phonemic level. Such a morphophonemic syllable is marked [ə] and is considered to be of the canonical shape CV-; thus whether it represents a light or heavy syllable depends upon what follows. It only occurs word-initially and is always // . If the tone phrase begins with [ə], then it is counted as a syllable and the rules given in Section 271 apply. If [ə] is not initial in the tone phrase, then it has no effect on the placement of //.

The replacement of a word-initial syllable by [ə] is termed APHESIS and is both a synchronic process in Kashaya (described in Section 520 and illustrated in the first four examples below) and a diachronic process that has taken place in the development of the language.

Compare the following four examples:

{*ahqʰa} 'water' + {*ima·ta} 'woman' >

It is // ahqʰa *ima·ta/ 'water woman'. Major classes,

Verb, Non-
Verb, Non-
Verb, Non-
Verb, Non-

[əhqʰa] (bound allomorph of {*ahqʰa}) + {*ima·ta} >

that contain /qʰa*ima·ta/ 'mermaid'. Note that although there which are is one less syllable phonemically, the // is there is a on the one corresponding to the one containing be defined // in the first example.

typically {*ata} 'child' + {*ahqʰa} [əhqʰa] > /nətāhqʰa/ morphophonologically determinable; they are never phrase initial, and [ə] has no discernible effect except in phrase initial position.

(ə·x̥-ə) /ə-x̥-ə/ 'raspberries' Central Pomo
/bə-θ̥-əf/

The bound element ||^ghq^ba|| occurs in many names of water creatures and plants, often with the other member of the compound being a cranberry morph: /^ghq^ba-wa^b/ between two consonants.

||^ghq^ba|| + {-wa^bla} > /q^bawá^bla/ 'heron', {-wa^bla} represents [-g] has no occurrence other than in this word.

Other instances of ||^g|| cannot be linked descriptively to an unaphetized allomorph, but that historically they are due to the loss of the segmental phonemes of a syllable is shown by comparison with Southern Pomo. In every case where the cognate is known in the latter language, the presence of another syllable is attested, usually one beginning with /v/ or /h/: 'over there'.

Kashaya ||^gheoma|| 'feast' ; Southern Pomo /^gohcoma/

The Verb: ||^ghp^ba-|| 'to bake' > /^gihp^baw/ 'baked'.

the Word: ||^gw-|| 'one to go' ; huw- historical.

Counting (or -) ||^gnq^bo-|| 'two' (-); *akk^bo- (+)

It is noteworthy that although in the major classes, Verb, Noun, Adjective, and Adverb, there are many words that contain only one phonemic syllable, there are none which are morphophonemically monosyllabic. However, there is a class of morphemes, the enclitics, which may be defined syntactically as independent words, but which typically contain only one phonemic syllable. Their morphophonemic status is not determinable; they are never phrase initial, and ||^g|| has no discernible effect except in phrase initial position.

(ba-^gz^b-o^b) > /ba-z^b-o^b/ 'rasberries' < Central Pomo

/ba-^gz^b-o^b/

273. If by the rules given in the foregoing two sections // is not on a syllable preceding it, then a syllable formed when || becomes /i/ (i.e., between two consonants) contains the //.

representation is $\{\text{a} \cdot \text{ca}^{\circ} \text{c}\}$ 'man' + {='yow} > / $\text{a} \cdot \text{ca}^{\circ} \text{c}$ iyow/

of selecting the more monosyllabic form which does not distort the known historical origin—in the example given,

[no] 274. There are instances in which the location of // cannot be explained by the rules in the three previous sections but require the setting up of ||'. These syllable instances are. Most monosyllabic words with // in the first. The Emphatic morpheme {'} ; compare: or ey in that position {we^oey} > /we^oey/ 'over there', languages:

{we^oey} + {'} > /we^oe'y/ 'way over there'.

2) The Vocative {'} placed on the first syllable of no and of the word; compare: indication of the historical development { $\text{a} \cdot -$ } First Person + (-me) $\overset{\text{||p||}}{\text{P}}$ father! + (-d)

|| are not Subjective > || $\text{a} \cdot \text{ped}$ || > / $\text{a} \cdot \text{pen}$ / 'my father'.

The entr { $\text{a} \cdot -$ } + {-me} ||p|| + {'} Vocative > || $\text{á} \cdot \text{pe}$ || >

In the / $\text{á} \cdot \text{pe}$ / 'Father' which multiple morphophonemic processes certain words, mainly obvious loans; imitatives, interjections

, the fo { $\text{ú} \cdot \text{was}$ } > / $\text{ú} \cdot \text{was}$ / 'grapes' < Spanish uvas, that is considered // is usually on the stressed syllable of,

followed in Spanish and Russian loans but note that not all are deemed loans from these languages have // as other possible but /kawa^oyu/ 'horse' < Spanish caballo, For example:

{cá^oška} 'dishes' < Russian čáška 'cup'.

{bá^ošk^ot} > /bá^ošk^ot/ 'rasberries' < Central Pomo
/bá^ošk^ot/

/ma²⁷⁵, 1o Many words, such as /pepi·na/ 'cucumber' ()
 Spanish pepino, could be written morphophonemically in
 a variety of ways; in this example [pepi·na], [apepi·na],
 [pepi·na], or [pepiyna]. In cases where a choice of
 representations is possible, the policy has been adopted
 of selecting the morphophonemic form which does not
 distort the known historical origin--in the example given
 [pepi·na] would be chosen.

The use of [ə] implies that in the synchronic devel-
 opment of the form, the segmental phonemes of a syllable
 have been lost. Most monomorphemic words with /*/ in the
 first syllable are suspect of having had *w or *y in that
 position at some earlier stage of the language;

Kashaya /ha·ba/ ^{tongue} 'mouth' ; Central Pomo /hawba/
 However, most such forms are without comparative evidence
 and there is no internal indication of the historical
 development--in the first syllable of a word, [·] and
 [w] are not distinguished by the morphophonemics of tone.
 The entry is given in the dictionary with [·].

In those instances in which multiple morphophonemic
 representation is possible but the prototype is unknown,
 the form is entered in the dictionary in the form that
 is considered to be the least deceptive, i.e., with [·],
 followed in parenthesis by alternative methods if such
 are deemed likely. This is not meant to rule out other
 possible but unrepresented historical sources. For example:

/mahšá-loʔ/ is entered: ||mahšá-loq|| (or ||mahšawloq||).
'monkey-faced owl' [ar now]

There is evidence for the final stop being ||q||. The second form given is quite likely because ||w|| often occurs in such a position in constructs of a dissyllabic Absolutive ending in /-w/ and another element which is enclitic or aphetic (neither identifiable in this example). A simple representation such as ||omahša-loq|| is possible within the rules given but is highly unlikely because that would put a precursor at the end of the second syllable rather than the first, otherwise ^{rave} unprecedented in the language.

But in a larger context, not preceding a terminal contour, the final syllables of the two words differ:

/əhuwíla tʰin e' mu t/ 'that is not north.'

/əila tʰin e' mu t/ 'That is not an earthworm.'

- 2) Note, however, that long syllables do not have tone suppression: /mən/ 'Don't buy a melon.'

(meló'n) + |||> /melón/ 'melon'. Spanish melón.

- 2) There is only one / / per tone phrase; thus, if by the rules in Sections 271-274, / / would lie on the next syllable preceding one containing |||, then that ||| is / / . Compare the following two examples:

(kahó'n)> /kahó'n/ 'box'.

(pʰusí) 'corpse' + (kahó'n)> /pʰusí kahó'n/ 'coffin'.

|| + piludu 'bad' + se'atdu... ||> || + piludu

|| + piece'dt'... ||> /piludu '100-tht'/ 'Don't

stay bad'

3) 276. Tone Suppression. When, by the application of the rules in Sections 271-274, /' / is expected but none appears, the tone is said to be SUPPRESSED. Only by Suppression occurs in three types of situations:

- 1) /' / never occurs on a short syllable immediately preceding one of the terminal contours; for example, in isolation the following two words have identical final syllables:

{cuhula} + ||^|| > /cuhula/ 'north', or adjective
{bila} + ||^|| > /bila/ 'earthworm'.

But in a larger context, not preceding a terminal contour, the final syllables of the two words differ:

/cuhulá tʰin e· mu :/ 'That is not north.'

/bila tʰin e· mu :/ 'That is not an earthworm.'

- 2) Note, however, that long syllables do not have tone suppression:
/meló·n/ 'melon' /meló·n/ 'melon' < Spanish melón.

- 2) There is only one /' / per tone phrase; thus, if by the rules in Sections 271-274, /' / would lie on a syllable preceding one containing ||^||, then that ||^|| is /'/. Compare the following two examples:

{kahó·n}> /kahó·n/ 'box'.

{phusi} 'corpse' + {kahó·n}> /phusi kahó·n/ 'coffin'.

periphrases involving adverbials and postpositions
a'i'ee'at'u' 2] > /pišudu 'icá'tu' 2/ 'Don't
with the addition of [ə] (only occurring in the
stay bad).

two morphemes Intransitive and Terrestrial.

- 3) Often there is no /' / at all within a phrase where one would be expected from the rules given so far. Such situations are indicated morphophonemically by placing ||+|| at the beginning of the tone phrase.
- (a) One example of the regular occurrence of this phenomenon is with the Negative morpheme, which consists not only of the suffix ||t^h|| ~ ||t^hu|| but also of ||+|| placed at the preceding word boundary and ||+|| placed before the phrase containing a noun or adjective complement. Compare the following pairs:

- (karé·ta) 'wagon' + {tumhu-} 'buy' + {-me..?} Plural Imperative + {;} Sentence > ||karé·ta tumhume..? ;|| > /karé·ta tumhume? ;/ 'Buy a wagon!' occurring {karé·ta} + {tumhu-} + {-t^h-}||t^hu|| (with ||+|| before the verb and ||+|| before the noun object) + {stinc-} (-me..?) + {;} > ||+karé·ta | tumhut^hume..? ;|| > /kare·ta tumhut^hume? ;/ 'Don't buy a wagon!'
- 2) The glottalizing environment, which is subdivided {pišudu} 'bad' + {o⁹i-} 'to stay' + {-ci⁰d-} on a basis that pertains only to |i|, o⁹, o¹, o², o³ ||t⁰ce⁰d|| Durative + {-v} Singular Imperative + {;} > ||pišudu o⁹i⁰ce⁰dv ;|| > ⁵||pišudu o⁹i⁰ce⁰du ;|| b) ||b|| > /pišudú 'icé·du ;/ 'Stay bad!'
- 3) The aspirating environment, which is also subdivided {pišudu} + {o⁹i-} + {-ci⁰d-}||t⁰ce⁰d|| + {-t^h-}||t^hu|| on a basis that pertains only to |i|, o⁹, o¹, o², o³ (with ||+|| before the verb and ||+|| before the adjective complement) + {-v}||..?|| + {;} > || + pišudu | o⁹i⁰ce⁰dthu..? ;|| > ⁵|| + pišudu | o⁹i⁰ce⁰dthu⁰ ;|| > /pišudu 'icé⁰thu⁰ ;/ 'Don't stay bad!' with the addition of |e| (only occurring in the two morphemes Semelfactive and Terrestrial).

- 4) 250. The reducing environment, consisting of the interior consonants (those articulated in the post-dental-alveolar-ardent positions) with the exception of the affricates. Attested verbal suffixes are left blank.
- The minimising environments are divided into five main sections:
- Examples are given in the following sections.

The following environments are divided into five main sections:

- | | Basic | Front | Palatal | Back | Inter- |
|----|---|-------|---------|------|--------|
| 1) | The vowel environment is subdivided into | | | | |
| a) | basic, wherein the phonemic representation is the same as the morphophonemic. It contains all vowel morphophonemes not included in b) below. Occurring in verbal suffixes are ə, ʌ, ɪ, ʊ . | | | | |
| b) | front vowels e, ɛ, ē, i, ɪ , which have a distinctive effect only on q, q° . | | | | |
| c) | palatalizing sequences i°c, i°c', ē°c which have a distinctive effect only on c . | | | | |
| 2) | The glottalizing environment, which is subdivided on a basis that pertains only to q, q° . | | | | |
| a) | f | | | | |
| b) | b | | | | |
| 3) | The aspirating environment, which is also subdivided on a basis that pertains only to q, q° . | | | | |
| a) | h# | | | | |
| b) | The peripheral consonants (those articulated at the periphery of the mouth--labials and post-velars) with the addition of c (only occurring in the two morphemes Semelfactive and Terrestrial). | | | | |

- 4) The reducing environment, consisting of the interior consonants (those articulated in the post-dental, -225), alveolar, and palatal positions) with the exception of [c]. Attested in suffixes are [ch, y, s, t, th].
 5) The minimizing environment [d, #]. Common realization in such an environment.

(d) When the sequence /v/ would come to stand before another vowel follow:

Morpho-phoneme	Basic vowel	Front vowel	Palatal vowel	Glottalizing	Aspirating	Reducing	Minimizing
[a]	a	ə	ɛ	'	b	h	peripheral for
[ɔ]	ɔ	ə	ɛ	'	h	ch	interior
[i]	i	i	ɪ	'	h	y	advised
[u]	u	ʊ	ʊ	'	h	w	d
[e]	e	e	e	'	h	s	#
[ə]	ə	ə	ə	'	h	th	
[t]	t	t	t	t'	t'	t'	
[d]	d	d	d	d'	d'	d'	
[n]	n	n	n	n'	n'	n'	
[l]	l	l	l	l'	l'	l'	
[s]	s	s	s	s'	s'	s'	
[ʃ]	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ'	ʃ'	ʃ'	
[χ]	χ	χ	χ	χ'	χ'	χ'	
[h]	h	h	h	h	h	h	

representation the same as the morphophonemics in all environments (v). Visual (11) /yədʒər/ 'it will dry' (12)

(13) + (-s) Speculative (+) → /yədʒə'stʃəv/ 'it will dry if it gets dry.'

(14) + (-s) Intitative → /yədʒə'stʃɪv/ 'in order to dry'.
 (15) + (-s) Mandative + (+) → /yədʒə'mædəv/ 'it will dry.'

(16) + (-s) Negative + (-s) Factual + (+) → /yədʒə'næfɪv/ 'it won't keep dry.'

1. ||q|| and ||q^o|| act the same except for their environmental influence on a following ||t|| (Section 221-225).

2. There seems to be an option in that /q/ may be the phonemic realization when it will be the final phoneme of the utterance, but /k/ is still the commoner realization in such an environment.

3. When the sequence /n^o/ would come to stand before another consonant followed by #, then /n/ is usually omitted, except in very careful speech. /n/ is also customarily omitted in quick speech when the sequence would come to be n^oC whether or not the C would be followed by # or a vowel.

4. When the word final sequence would come to be -y#, then metathesis takes place to y^o.

Morphophonemic glottalized stops other than ||c|| are quite rare in syllable final position, and in verb roots are treated with variability, either as ||c|| with /n/ in the reducing and minimizing environments and with the basic form elsewhere, or as invariants, with the phonemic representation the same as the morphophonemic in all environments.

Visual (?) + /yodó-y/ : 'He can't keep it.'

(+má) + (+sá) Speculative (?) + /suwá-sun/ : 'I wonder if'

it got dry.'

(+má) + (-ti) Intensive : /suwá-ti/ 'in order to dry'.

(+má) + (-sun) Mandatory + (?) : /suwá-suñ/ 'It will dry.'

(+yodó-) + (-th-) Negative + (-i) Factual + (?) >

/yodó-th/ : 'He isn't keeping it.'

{suwac-} Examples of the Variable Stop Morphophonemes

/s/ 'got dry' 281. /c/ 'will happen'

{suwac-} 'to get dry' + {ci^od-} ||^od|| Durative + {-u} ||u|| Absolutive

> /suwaci·du/ 'to be getting dry'.

{yoqoc-} 'to keep' + {-s} Factual + {-m..?} + {?} > /yoqocam ?/ 'He keeps it.' Response
/yoqocam ?/ 'He keeps it.' > /usá·kibi?/ 'Is he keeping his face?'.

{suwac-} + {-Xi^obi^oc-} + {-u} ||?|| Absolutive >

/suwaci·bi?/ 'to start to get dry' > /usá·kibi?/ 'He fell asleep.'

{suwac-} + {=?yow} + {?} > /suwac iyw ?/ 'It got dry.'

{yoqoc-} + {-ba} > /yoqocba/ 'having kept'.

{suwac-} + {-s} Factual + {?} > /suwach/ 'It gets dry.'

{suwac-} + {-qd} Circumstantial + {?} > /suwachq?/ 'It must have got dry.'

{suwac-} + {ph?i} 'if' > /suwachph?i/ 'if it gets dry'.

{yoqoc-} + {-mo..?} Plural Imperative + {?} > /yoqochme? ?/ 'Keep it!'

'Keep it!' > /usá·kibi?/ 'He fell asleep.'

{suwac-} + {-wa..?} Interrogative + {?} > /suwachwa ?/ 'Was it spoiled.'

'Did it dry?' > /usá·kibi?/ 'You have to go to sleep.'

{suwac-} + {-e?i} 'if' > /suwa·e?i/ 'if it dries'

{yoqoc-} + {-yd} Visual {?} > /yoqó·y ?/ 'I saw him keep it.'

{suwac-} + {-Se} Speculative {?} > /suwa·Se ?/ 'I wonder if it got dry.'

'it got dry!' > /usá·do ?/ 'They say it spoiled.'

{suwac-} + {-ti} Intentive > /suwá·ti/ 'in order to dry'.

{suwac-} + {-suw} Mandatory + {?} > /suwá·suw ?/ 'It will dry.'

{yoqoc-} + {-th-} Negative + {-d} Factual + {?} >

/yoqó·th ?/ 'He isn't keeping it.'

{suwac-} + {-do} Quotative + {;} > /suwa^odo ;/ 'They say

[it got dry.] > /pa^oa^osocon/ 'while mashing'.

{yogoo-} + {-v} ||^o|| Absolutive > /yogoo^o/ 'to keep' 'to set upright on one's face'

282. /q/

{usa^oq-} + {-vn} 'while' > /usá^oqan/ 'while washing his face'.

{usa^oq-} + {-ki^obí^oq-} + {-u} ||^o|| > /usá^okibi^o/

[to start to wash one's face] 'having set upright'.

{sima^oq-} + {'} Assertive + {;} > /simak^o ;/ 'He fell asleep.'

{sima^oq} + {-ba} > /sima^oba/ 'having fallen asleep'.

{chee^oq} + {-d} Factual + {;} /chee^oq^d/ 'It is open out hence, it

{chee^oq} + {-qd} Circumstantial {;} > /chehq^d ;/ 'It must have just been opened out hence, it gets sick'.

{mich^oa^oq-} + {-ph^oi} > /michahph^oi/ 'if he sweats'.

{sima^oq-} + {-me^o} + {;} > /simahme^o ;/ 'Go to sleep!'

{usa^oq} + {-wa^o} + {;} > /usáhwa^o ;/ 'Did he wash his face?'

{sima^oq} + {-yd} + {;} > /simahy^o ;/ 'I see he fell asleep.'

{k^ounu^oq-} + {-de} + {;} > /k^ounuhde/ 'I wonder if it spoiled.'

{sima^oq} + {-suw} + {;} > /simahsuw^o ;/ 'You have to go to sleep.'

{sima^oq-} + {-ti} > /simahti/ 'about to go to sleep'.

{sima^oq} + {-d} + {;} > /simahd^o ;/ 'He hasn't gone to sleep.'

{k^ounu^oq-} + {-do} + {;} > /simado^o ;/ 'They say it spoiled.'

{sima^oq-} + {-v} ||^o|| > /sima^o/ 'to go to sleep'.

283. /ə°/

[[pʰə°šoq°]] + {-ən} > /pʰə°šoqən/ 'while mashing',
 [[pahqʰoq°]] + {-əd-} || i°d|| + {-w} || w|| > /pahqʰokiʷ/ 'to set
 upright on one's self'.

[[pʰə°šoq°]] + {-} Assertive + {;} > /pʰəšoqʰ t/ 'He
 mashed (potatoes).'

[[pahqʰoq°]] + {-ba} > /pahqʰoqbə/ 'having set upright'.

[[uhce°q°]] + {-d} > /uhce°d/ 'He is huming.'

[[uhce°q°]] + {-d} Factual + {;} > /uhce°qʰ/ 'It is open out
 hither.'

[[uhce°q°]] + {-qā} Circumstantial + {;} > /uhce°qā t/ 'It must
 have just been opened out hither.'

{qašo°q°-} + {-pʰi} > /qašohpʰi/ 'if he gets sick'.

[[pʰə°šoq°-}} + {-me..?} + {;} > /pʰə°šome° t/ 'Mash it!'

{qašo°q°-} + {-yā} + {;} > /qašohy t/ 'I see he got well.'

{uhloq°-} + {-sə} + {;} > /uhlohsə t/ 'I wonder if it fall off.'

{qašo°q°-} + {-ti} > /qašohti/ 'in order to get well'.

{qašo°q°-} + {-tʰ} + {-d} + {;} > /qašohth t/ 'He isn't
 getting well.'

{qašo°q°-} + {-do} + {;} > /qašo°do t/ 'They say he is
 getting well.'

{uhloq°-} + {-w} || w|| > /uhloqʷ/ 'to fall off'.

285. /t/

(kašit-) + (-ci^od-) || a^o || 284. (-/t/u) > /kašitā·du/ 'to be pesty'.

[libut-] + (-xt^obi^oe-) + (-w) || o || > /libuti·bi^o/ 'to start'

[dahyut] + (-vn) > /dahyutin/ 'while pressing with the hand',
to whistle.

[chığa^ot] + (-c-) || i^oc || + (-w) || o || > /chığa·ti^o/ 'to scrape

[libut] off with an instrument' // 'He whistled.'

[dahyut] + (-ba) > /dahyutba/ 'having sorted'.

[miku^ot-] + (-) + (ɔ) > /miku^ɔt/ // 'He hummed.'

[biqa^ot-] + (-ba) > /biqaṭba/ 'having grazed'.

[dahyut] + (-chq-) || ci|| Causal Intensive + (-u) > /dahyut^hchq/.

[miku^ot] + (-d) + (ɔ) > /miku^hɔt/ // 'He is humming.'

(uhp^hot-) + (-q^h) + (ɔ) > /ph^hot^hq^h/ // 'He must have knocked
it off.'

'to break with'

[biqa^ot] + (-phi) > /biqaṭ^hphi/ 'if it grazes'.

[dahyut] + (-c-) || ci|| + (-w) > /dahyut^hciw/ 'to press once
with the hand'.

[libut] + (-chq-) + (-) > /libut^hma/ // 'Is he whistling?'

[chıwo^ot] + (-te) || te^o|| Performative Intentive + (ɔ) >

[libu] /chıwot^hɔt/ // 'Let's stir.' order to whistle.'

(uhp^hot-) + (-y^h) + (ɔ) > /ph^hohy/ // 'I saw him just knock it off.'

[miku^ot] + (-t^hl) + (ɔ) + (ɔ) > /mikuht^hɔt/ // 'He didn't hum.'

'overflowing.'

(uhp^hot-) + (-do) + (ɔ) > /ph^hoodo/ // 'They say he knocked
it off.'

'moving his hands.'

[miku^ot] + (-w) || o || > /miku^o/ 'to hum'.

(koyot-) + (-do) + (ɔ) > /koyō^hdo/ // 'They say it overflowed.'

[libut] + (-w) || o || > /libu^o/ 'to whistle.'

[libu] + (-do) + (ɔ) > /libu^hdo/ // 'They say he does.'

285. /t/

{kašit-} + {-ci^od-}||a^od|| + {-u}||u|| > /kašitá·du/ 'to be pesty'.

||libut-|| + {-xi^obi^oc-} + {-u}||o|| > /libuti·bi^o/ 'to start
to whistle'.

||dahwit-|| + {-ba} + {-u}||o|| > /dahwiti·bi^o/ 'to start

||libut|| + {-} + {ɔ} > /libut^ɔ/ 'He whistled.'

||dahwit|| + {-ba} > /dahwitba/ 'having sorted'.

||libut|| + {-} + {ɔ} > /libut^h ɔ/ 'He is whistling.'

||dali^ot|| + {-hqa-}||qa|| Causative + {-u} > /dalith^hqaw/ ·

'to let wave the hand'.

||dahyut|| + {-e-}||ci|| Semelfactive + {-u} > /dahyút^hciw/
'to break with the hands'.

{Soyot-} + {-ph̩i} > /Soyót^hp̩i/ 'if it is overflowing'.

||dahwit|| + {-me..*} + {ɔ} > /dahwit^hme^h ɔ/ 'Sort them!'

||libut|| + {-wa..*} + {ɔ} > /libut^hwa ɔ/ 'Is he whistling?' ·

||libut|| + {-ti} > /libuhti/ 'in order to whistle'.

||qap^hut|| + {-yă} + {ɔ} > /qap^huhhy ɔ/ 'I just saw him spit.'

{Soyot-} + {-ħe} + {ɔ} > /Soyohħe ɔ/ 'I wonder if it is
overflowing.'

||dali^ot|| + {-th-} + {-ħ} + {ɔ} > /dalith^h ɔ/ 'He isn't
waving his hands.'

{Soyot-} + {-do} + {ɔ} > /Soyó^odo ɔ/ 'They say it overflowed.'

||libut|| + {-u}||o|| > /libu^o/ 'to whistle'.

(dahwit) + {-do} + {ɔ} > /dahwiti^h ɔ/ 'They say he saw.'

286. /ə/

- (mahsad-) + {-tn} > /mahsadun/ 'while taking it away'.
- ||duhlud|| + {-xi⁰bi⁰c-} + {-w}||*|| > /duhludi·bi⁰/ 'to start to pick off'.
- {-w} + {-v}||*|| > /didi·bi⁰/ 'to start to tell'.
- (mahsad-) + {-k^ho}|| k^ho|| > /mahsan^hk^ho/ 'He will take it away.'
- ||duhlud|| + {-ba} > /duhlun^hba/ 'having picked up'.
- (mahsad-) + {-q^h} + {;} > /mahsan^hq^h ;/ or more commonly /mahsanq^h ;/ 'He must have taken it away.'
- {cad-} + {phⁱ} > /can^hphⁱ/ 'if he sees'.
- {cad-} + {-ci⁰d-}||t⁰d|| + {-wa⁰d-} + {mi-} + {-y^h} + {;} > /can^hwān^hmīy ;/ 'I saw it fly here and there long ago.'
- ||duhlud|| + {-y^h} + {;} > /duhluy^h/ (with metathesis)
 'I just saw him pick it off.' Compare with the following:
- ||duhlud|| + {-y^h} + {-sm.} + {;} > /duhlu^hyam ;/ 'I saw him pick it off.'
- {cad-} + {-ti} > /ca^hti/ 'in order to see'.
- (mahsad-) + {-t^h-} + {-y^h} + {;} > /mahsa^ht^h ;/ 'He isn't taking it away.'
- ||mo⁰d|| + {-Se} + {;} > /mo⁰Se ;/ 'I wonder if he is running.'
- {cad-} + {-do} + {;} & /ca^hdo ;/ 'They say he saw,'
- (salay) + (salay) + {;} > /salay^hsalay/ 'They say he saw'
- Salay *long too much blood'

291. 287. /c/ In internal sandhi situations, i.e.,

||qanemá°c|| + {-vns} + {;} > /qanemá·cins/ ^{possibly the semi-vowel they are related,} I suppose

{didi°c-} + {-xí°bi°c-} + {-w} ||*| > /didi·bi*/ 'to start to tell'.

||cac c|| + {'} + {;} > /cac / 'They saw.' ^{respectively}

||Subili°c|| + {-ba} > /Subiličba/ 'having blazed up'.

||cac|| + {-z} + {;} > /cac / 'They see.' ^{latter} such they are not

||umota°c|| + {-qñ} + {;} > /mótačqñ / 'They must have ^{cooker} been running.'

||Subili°c|| + {-pñi} > /Subiličpñi/ 'if it blazes up'.

||cac|| + {-mu°c-} Reciprocal + {-me..?} Plural Imperative
+ {;} > /cacmuome? / 'Look at each other!'

||cac|| + {-ti} > /ca°ti/ 'in order (for them) to see'.

||Subili°c|| + {-yñ} + {;} > /Subiliy° / (with metathesis)
'I saw it just blaze up.' ^{touching it.}

{dú°du·cic-} + {chí} > /dú·ci°chí/ 'if he knows'.

||cac|| + {-w} ||*| > /ca°/ 'sev. to see' / ^ [mu°tan] :| >

||Subili°c-} + {-do} > /Subili°do / 'They say it blazed up.'

(balay) + {'} + {;} > [balay' ;] > /balay * /
'It is blood.'

(dil-) + {-htay-} + {-w} ||*| > [dilhtay'] >
/dilhtay/ 'to touch'

(balay) + {n°tgo-} + {-u} > [balay n°tgu] >
/balay n°tgu/ 'to such blood'.

291. In internal and external sandhi situations, i.e., both within the word and across a word boundary, the semi-vowels follow the same morphophonemic rules except for 1. d) below:

1. ||w|| and ||y|| appear as /w/ and /y/ respectively^{ing}, when preceding

a) a terminal contour ||; ; - || (although they are not usually written in the frustum citations):

{mu^{ta-}} + {-w} + ||^|| > /mu^{taw} / 'to be cooked',
 {ahsiy} + ||^|| > /ahsiy / 'hard, difficult';
 quoted /ahsiy/ in frustum form.

b) a vowel:

{mu^{ta-}} + {-w} ||w|| Factual + {-əm, .} + {.}
 ||mu^{tawem} .|| > /mu^{tawem} / 'It is cooked.'
 {dū-} + {-htay-} + {-əla} + {.} > ||dūhtayəla .|| >
 /duhtayəla ./ 'I am touching it.'

c) before a syllable-final ||*|| or ||h||, or ||'||

{mu^{ta-}} + {-w} + {'} Assertive / ^{+{.} >} ||mu^{taw} '|| >
 /mu^{taw} '/ 'It is cooked.'

{balay} + {'} + {.} > ||balay' .|| > /balay * ./
 'It is blood.'

{dū-} + {-htay-} + {-w} ||*|| > ||dūhtay*|| >
 /duhtay*/ 'to touch'

{balay} + {u^otgo-} + {-w} > ||balay u^otou|| >
 /balay *tou/ 'to such blood!'

292. ||mu^vtaw|| + {=hmi} > ||mu^vtaw hmi|| > /mu^vtaw hmi/ 'situation 'really cooked'. After a vowel or sonorant [v] and {balay} + {=hmi} > /balay hmi/ 'real blood'. b) and d) " ||b|| in an internal sandhi situation: sonorant ||mu^vtaw|| + {=bak^{he}} > /mu^vtaw bak^{he}/ 'for cooking'. {balay} + {=bak^{he}} > /balay bak^{he}/ 'for blood'.

2. In other situations both [w] and [y] are /*/ :
 (bitəl) 'louse' + (chla'lil) 'perhaps' >
 /bitəl latli/ 'perhaps a louse'.
 (doləm) 'wildcat' + (*ihmi)[chmi] 'real' >
 /doləm^v mi/ 'a real wildcat'.
 (hi^vda) 'trail' + (c^vda-) 'to extend (as a road or
 trail)' + (-v-) 'across' + (-v) [v] Absolutive >
 [hi^vda c^vda-] > /hi^vda c^vda-/ 'the trail
 (v)-'with the road' + (-htay-) 'to touch' +
 'extends across.'
 (*ama-) 'something' + (*vdu'sic-) 'to know'
 (*vdu'sic-) + (-v) [v] Absolutive > /*ama vdu'sic/ 'to know
 something'.

292. ^{language increment} A precursor in an external/morphophonemic situation behaves as follows: After a vowel or sonorant ||*|| and ||h|| are /*/ and /h/ respectively (intervening ||*||ject and ||"..."|| have no effect). After consonants other than sonorants, a precursor morphophoneme is /θ:/ and not /*/.

{q^hale} 'tree' + {=hla*li} 'perhaps' > following.

/q^halé hla*li/ 'perhaps a tree'.

{ci^škan} 'pretty' + {*ihmi}||chmi|| 'really' >

/ci^škan hmi/ 'really pretty'. *li* 'perhaps' >

{yów} 'all right' + {"..."} (indicates direct quote) ·

[hcedu] 'he said' > ||"yów" hcedu|| > ent between

/yów" hcedu/ '"All right," he said.' Note that

there is no morphophonemic boundary, ^{pertinent to the precursors} between a

quote and the external sentence.

{biteš} 'louse' + {=hla*li} 'perhaps' >

/bitéš la*li/ 'perhaps a louse'.

{dolom[?]} 'wildcat' + {*ihmi}||chmi|| 'real' >

/dolóm? mi/ 'a real wildcat'. Absolutive >

{hi[?]da} 'trail' + {c[?]da-} 'to extend (as a road or

trail)' + {-m-} 'across' + {-w}||*|| Absolutive >

/hi[?]da c[?]dam[?]|| > /hi[?]dá ?dam[?]/ 'The trail sprout'.

{-m-} 'across' + {-h[?]ay-} 'to touch' +

extends across.'

{*ama-} 'something' + { *dú*cic-} 'to know' +

{-w}||*|| Absolutive > /[?]ama *dú*cí?/ 'to know

something'.

293. ||*|| before a precursor is /∅/; elsewhere it is

/?/ :

into three subclasses

{baco*} 'boat' + {n^odane^{o-}} 'to abandon a long object'
Subdivided:

+ {me..?} Plural Imperative + {;} Sentence >

||baco* n^odane^ome..? ;|| > /baco *dane^ome? ;/

Verbs, 'Abandon the boat!' Compare with the following.

four major {baco*} + {'} Assertive + {;} > /baco* ? ;/

morphologically 'It is a boat,' & class coincides completely

with the syntactical: {imo} 'hole' + {x} 'in' + {=hla·li} 'perhaps' >

||*imo hla·li|| > /*imo hla·li/ 'perhaps in a hole'.
by which all are even

Compare the difference in tone placement between
one of the classes, e.g., adverb, may be
this example and the following.

{imo} + {=hla·li} > ||*imo hla·li|| > /*imo hla·li/
that group of three. The adverbs have no morphology at
all. A few derivative suffixes are added to a limited

294. In an internal morphophonemic situation, ||?||

after a stop or sibilant is /∅/; after a sonorant or vowel, /?/; phonologically, they are delineated below and described
in detail.

{qanema^oč-} 'to pray' + {-w}||?|| Absolutive >

/qanema^o/ 'to pray'. The /?/ is from ||č|| not
||?||; see Section 280.

{cubuš-} 'to sprout' + {-w}||?|| > /cubuš/ 'to sprout'.

{dū-} 'with the finger' + {-htay-} 'to touch' +

{-w}||?|| > /duhtay^o/ 'to touch with the finger'.

{bite^ol-} + {-w}||?|| > /bitel^o/ 'to sew'.

The morphologically distinctive nouns are divided into three subclasses, the first of which is further subdivided; also other alternations in the stem, the following examples are cited.

300. NONVERB MORPHOLOGY

1. Nouns with an objective case but no vocative.

Verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs constitute the four major, syntactically defined, word classes. The morphologically defined verb class coincides completely with the syntactically defined one and is described in Chapter 400. However, there are no morphological criteria by which all, or even a majority, of the members of any one of the classes, noun, adjective, and adverb, may be distinguished from the members of the other classes of that group of three. The adverbs have no morphology at all. A few derivative suffixes are added to a limited number of nouns and adjectives (Sections 350-363). There are several subclasses of nouns which are distinguished morphologically; they are delineated below and described in detail in Sections 310-343.4, of kinship terms

(Sections 340-343.4).

All occurrent allomorphs of the case suffixes are listed below, but statements on the selection of the proper allomorphs are only given in the sections on the subclasses of nouns: Subjective [ɪ] ~ [d] ~ [y]; Objective [ɪ] ~ [ə] ~ [tə]; Vocative [əʊ] ~ [*]; The Comitative [yɪ] ~ [ɪ] ~ [eyɪ], with the Assertive zero (*), in which case the verb is better translated by

The morphologically distinctive nouns are divided all take into three subclasses, the first of which is further subdivided; the following

examples are cited morphologically:

1. Nouns with an objective case but no vocative.
 - a) Nouns with an unmarked subjective case (demonstratives, Section 311; personal names, 312).
 - b) Nouns with a distinct marker in the subjective case (nominalized verb expressions, Section 315).
 - c) Nouns with a distinct plural form (this, these (the) closer
2. Nouns with objective and vocative cases, Sections 330-332.
3. Nouns with objective, vocative, comitative cases (and a marked subjective case in some forms). This subclass is also delineated by requiring one of a mutually exclusive set of inalienable possessive prefixes and coincides almost completely with the semantic group of kinship terms (Sections 340-343.4).

All occurrent allomorphs of the case suffixes are listed below, but statements on the selection of the proper allomorphs are only given in the sections on the subclasses of nouns: Subjective ||m|| - ||d|| - ||g||; Objective ||l|| - ||el|| - ||to||; Vocative ||de|| - ||'||; The Comitative ||yyi|| - ||yi|| - ||eyyi|| with the Assertive verb {-}, in which case the verb is better translated by

'the' 311. The demonstratives are three in number and all take the ||1|| allomorph of the objective case suffix. Two forms have irregular alternations in the stem; the following examples are cited morphophonemically: on or before an

entity /'pacád, em, 'timata, *'él, eadu, /: 'The (sub-
jective objective gloss
objective case), man sees, the (objective case),
gmu ~ gmu gmul that, this, it, those,
but yepang. Other examples are in Section 445.
these, they (vague demon.)

320. Pronouns are distinguished by either singular or plural. They (reference) are according to category em'alson, other 'this, these (the closer language only by the possessive preobject), the kinship noun ha'uation 340)ha'al may be seen 'that, those (the further both allomorphs of the Objective subject)'. and [to],

312. Personal names other than those in the second subclass (those with vocative forms) are placed here. Included are all English personal names in a kashaya context. The allomorph of the Objective case suffix is ||to||:

	Singular	Plural
	Subj. Subjective Objective	Objective
1.	Elizabeth ~ uto Elizabethto	uyal
2.	Soli mito Solito	mayał
	Masculine mu'kid	mu'kito

315. Verbal expressions nominalized by means of the suffix {-e-} Nominalizer require either the Subjective or Reflexive uti ~ uti tito. The same as in the case suffix {-m} or the Objective case suffix {-1}. The construction is especially common with the Assertive verb {-}, in which case the verb is better translated by

'the' rather than the more literal 'the one who is', and then seems to be principally a means by which to indicate whether the preceding noun is the subject or object: long allomorph occurs in isolation or before an enclitic /³acac₁ em₂ ²ima·ta₃ ³é1₄ cadug :/ 'The (subject, [objective case]₂ man₁ sees₃ the (objective case)₄ woman₃.!' Other examples are in Section 445.

320. Pronouns are distinguished by number; they are either singular or plural. They also are divided according to a category of person, otherwise expressed in the language only by the possessive prefixes of the kinship nouns (Section 340). As may be seen in the chart below, both allomorphs of the Objective suffix, ||1|| and ||to||, occur in the pronominal system. Also occurring is a plural element {-ya}, but the formations with these two suffixes are so irregular that it is simpler to present a paradigm than to give a wordy analysis:

	Singular	Plural
	Subjective Objective	Subjective Objective
1.	□?a* ~ □?a ite* ~ ito	uya uyal
2.	□ ma mito	maya mayal
Masculine	mu·kid	mu·kito
3.	mu·bal	ma·cac ma·cal
Feminine	□mad	ma·dal
4. Reflexive	uti* ~ uti	tito
		The same as in the Singular column

The alternating long and short allomorphs in the First Person Singular and the Reflexive are distributed as follows: α between one of the two syntactic affixes;

(The long allomorph occurs in isolation or before an enclitic; α a single word or a phrase of the Verb, Noun, or $\{\alpha\} \rightarrow /a/$; β again and again);

$\{\alpha\} \rightarrow /ti^*/ + \{\beta\}$ 'not' $\rightarrow /ti^* t^{\text{hin}}/$ 'not himself'.

The short allomorph is customarily employed elsewhere but the long form is always possible; thus, 'I see,' is usually rendered $/a$ cadu :/ but may be $/a^* cadu :/$.

'one' $\{\mu\} \rightarrow /mu^* kito/$ is the more usual form for 'him' but nouns $\{\mu\} \rightarrow /mu^* bal/$ may always be substituted; thus, 'I saw him,' may be $/a mu^* kitó cadu :/$ or $/a^* mu^* \overset{bal}{kito} cadu :/$. In many derived personal names,

$\{\alpha\}$ occurs before word boundary; i.e., in the subjective case ($\{\alpha\} \rightarrow /yá/$ 'youth' + $\{\alpha\} \rightarrow /-d/$)

$\{\alpha\}$ occurs before the suffixes; (a) Objective ($\{\alpha\} \rightarrow /-d/$) (b) Vocative ($\{\alpha\} \rightarrow /-ya/$)

$(adi^*e-) \rightarrow /adi^*e/$ 'to tell' + $(-n-) \{\alpha\} \rightarrow /-n/$ 'across' + $(-u)$

$(heyu) \rightarrow /heyu/$ 'say' + $(-n-) \{\alpha\} \rightarrow /-n/$ 'across'

Absolutive ($\rightarrow /adi^*eaw/$ 'to translate') +

$(=ya^*e) \rightarrow /adi^*e ya^*/$ 'translater'.

$/diómá \cdot ya \{\alpha\} \rightarrow /diómá \cdot ya/$ 'Listen to the translater.'

$(qo^*di) \rightarrow /qo^*di/$ 'good' + $(=ya^*e) \rightarrow /qo^*di ya^*/$ 'a good person',
'a good one'.

330*. Nouns with a distinct vocative form but no possessive prefix are all derivatives resulting from a construction between one of the two syntactic affixes, (=ya^oc) or (=^o-), and another immediate constituent which may be a single word or a phrase of the Verb, Noun, or Adjective classes.

331. {=ya^oc}||ya^oc|| ~ ||ya^oco|| is often employed with verbs or verb expansions to form agentives, and it then is translated by the suffix '-er' or by a relative clause.

It is combined with an adjective and is then translated

'one' or 'person'. Frequently, it is combined with nouns denoting animate beings as a device to indicate unequivocally the subject or object of the verb. It occurs in many derived personal names:

||ya^oc|| occurs before word boundary; i.e., in the subjective case.

||ya^oco|| occurs before the suffixes, {-1} Objective and {-de}||g|| Vocative.

{udi^oc-} 'to tell' + {-m-}||ma|| 'across' + {-u}

Absolutive (> ||udi^ocmaw|| 'to translate') + (=ya^oc) > /diomá·ya^o/ 'translator'.

/diomá· yacl̥oci :/ 'Listen to the translator.'

{qo^odi} 'good' + {=ya^oc} > /qo^odi ya^o/ 'a good person', 'a good one'.

With this prefix but is required with the other possessive prefixes.

340. /bu^taqá₁ ya^a₂ mo^du₃/ 'The bear' (subjective), morphology is running₃' nouns. Included in the form class are not {mi-} 'with the nose' + {-Se-R}! to smell' + {-R-} but also { Frequentative + {-Xt-} Plural Act + {-ci^od-}}||a^od||
 All || Durative + {-v}||u|| Absolutive (> ||miSeRXta^odu|| = set of four 'to keep stinking again and again') + {'•} Third Person, and Emphasis (placed in the first syllable) + {L^o} First Person {=ya^oc}||ya^oco|| + {-de}||∅|| Vocative > minimal terms for /mi[•]Se*ta*•du ya^odo/ 'You big stinkers!'

So there are four cases: Subjective, Objective, Vocative, 332. {=°-} derives personal names or appellations and Comitative, the latter only with forms containing the from nouns and adjectives. It also frequently occurs in Second Person or Relative Person prefixes, in kinship nouns (Section 340). It is always followed by eight kinship terms, those for the grandparent generation of three suffixes; {-m}||d|| Subjective, {-l}||to|| action term for the parents' siblings, contain an additional Objective, and {-de} Vocative; {-s-} between the root and the case, and no

{kuhnu} 'bead' + {°aha}||ha|| 'mouth' + {=°-} + {-d}

341. The prefix /kuhnuhan/ 'Bead-Mouth (a personal name)'.

{Siyókkö} 'a squirrel species' + {=°-} + ||to|| >

/Siyókkotó/ 'Squirrel (objective case)'.

{hayu} 'dog' + {=°-} + {-de} > /hayu^ode/ 'here'

{t^o} 'You dog!' person Informal /spouse 'only with the'

following eleven consanguineal terms: father, mother, older brother, and the eight suffixed by {-°s-}. The suffix {-°s-} does not co-occur with this prefix but is required with the other possessive prefixes.

340. The KINSHIP NOUNS have the most elaborate morphology of any of the nouns. Included in the form class are not only nouns that are semantically kinship terms but also {-kad-} 'friend'. ~~prefix~~ is one of the two first

All kinship nouns require one of a mutually exclusive set of four prefixes: First Person, Second Person, Third Person, and Reflexive Person. There is a fifth prefix, ~~parent~~ First Person Informal, occurring with the consanguineal terms for the ascending generations. ~~These are described in~~

~~Section 33.~~ There are four cases: Subjective, Objective, Vocative, and Comitative, the latter only with forms containing the Second Person or Reflexive Person prefixes.

Eight kinship terms, those for the grandparent generation and for the parents' siblings, contain an additional suffix {-^os-} between the root and the case endings.

(^oa-) + (-ki-) + (-^os-) + [d] > /*a·kin*/ 'my (our)

341. The prefixes are the following:
 (mi-) {^oa-}||^oa|| ~ ||^oa|| First Person. ||^oa|| occurs with other
 (un)ya- dissyllabic roots and with the eight terms, its, suffixed by {-^os-}. ||^oa|| occurs elsewhere.
 other'

(ma-) {^oa-} First Person Informal occurs only with the following eleven consanguineal terms: father, brother', mother, older brother, and the eight suffixed by {-^os-}. The suffix {-^os-} does not co-occur with this prefix but is required with the other possessive prefixes.

{mi-} Second Person Allomorphy of the kinship root is common; the correct choice of allomorph is determined by the preceding suffix.
 {umiya-} Third Person A paradigm with the root {-ki-} ~ [me] 'father' father
 When the possessive prefix is one of the two First Person ones, then {=°-} Appellation is suffixed immediately after the root, or after {-°s-} in the Informal construction. {=°-} determines the selection of a different set of allomorphs of the case suffixes than occurs with the other three prefixes. The details are described in Section 343.

(mi-) + [-ki-] + [l] > /me°·ki·l/ 'my older brother'.
 A paradigm follows with the root {-ki-} 'older brother', all forms with the Subjective suffix:
 (umiya-) + [-ki-] + [me] > /umiya°·ki·me/ 'this father', 'our brother', all forms with the Subjective suffix:
 (ma-) + [-ki-] + [me] > /ma°·ki·me/ 'his own father'.
 {p-} + {-ki-} + {=°-} + [d] > /ki·kin°/ 'my (our) older brother'.
 The only instance in which the allomorph just
 the Second Person prefix is used is with this noun root.
 {a-} + {-ki-} + {=°-} + [d] > /*a·kin°/ 'my (our) older brother'.
 It is an example of what appears to have been a common
 synchronic process in Kashaya vowel assimilation across
 {mi-} + {-ki-} + [Ø] > /miki/ 'your older brother'
 a glottal ** or *h.
 {umiya-} + {-ki-} + [Ø] > /umiya°·ki/ 'his (her, its,
 their) older brother'.
 {ma-} + {-ki-} + [Ø] > /maki/ 'his (her, its,
 their) own older brother'.

Allomorphy of the kinship root is common; the correct choice of allomorph is determined by the preceding suffix. A paradigm with {-²e-} ||pe|| ~ ||²e|| ~ ||me|| 'father' is given below with the proper allomorph of the objective suffix. Note that no matter how complex the root variation, the Second and Reflexive Persons always use the same allomorph:

{-²e-} + ||diki|| + {-²e-} + ||to|| > /diki²e²to/ 'my older sister'.
 {mi-} + {-de²ki} + {-²e-} + ||1|| > /mide²ki²1/ 'your older brother'.
 {²a-} + ||pe|| + {-²e-} + ||to|| > /pe²e²to/ 'my father', or
 {²a-} + ||pe|| + {-²e-} + ||1|| > /²a²e²to/ 'my father', or
 {mi-} ||ne|| ||²e|| + {-²e-} + ||1|| > /me²e²1/ 'your father'.
 {omiya-} + ||ne|| de²ki + {-²e-} + ||1|| > /miyá²ne²1/ 'his father'; older
 {ma-} + ||²e|| + {-²e-} + ||1|| > /ma²e²1/ 'his own father'.

The only instance in which the allomorph ||me|| of the Second Person prefix is used is with this noun root. It is an example of what appears to have been a common synchronic process in Kashaya; vowel assimilation across a glottal ** or *h.

A paradigm with a dissyllabic root will be given below for {-de^oki} || de^oki || ~ || diki || 'older sister' with the Objective suffix. In the three kinship roots with the alternation || e^o || ~ || i ||, Herman James does not have the alternative, only the allomorph with || e^o ||. This suffix but not the one for 'father's younger brother' or 'brother || 6 || + || diki || + {-e^o-} + || to || > /diki·to/ 'my older sister'. occurs with these roots which are preceded by the {mi-} + {-de^oki} + || l || > /mide·kil/ 'your older son' generally occurring possessive prefixes but never sister'.

Second with the First Person Informal prefix the {umiya⁻} + || diki || i || + || l || > /miyá·diki/ 'his older son' [se] occurs before the suffixes (-i) Objective and sister'. {mo-} Appellation || 6 || occurs elsewhere. First Person Informal {ma-} + {-de^oki} + || l || > /made·ki/ 'his own older sister'. Its only deducible meaning is that which it has as an indicator of a Raising subclass, perhaps with a connotation of respect since it is absent when the First Person Informal prefix is present.

The illustrative paradigm will be with {-qa-} || qa || ~ || ka || 'mother's mother'.

{qa-} + {-e^o||ka|| + || l || > /mige^ol/ + || q || > /ha·kan/ 'my grandmother'

343.3 The Vocative suffix occurs with the grandfather prefix {-ga-} + {-e^o||ka|| + {-e^o||ka|| + || l || > /gat^oken/ 'my grandfather'. The -e^o is placed on the first syllable of the 'grandfather'.mixing the {-ga-} + {-e^o||ka|| + {-e^o||ka|| + || l || > /mige^oken/ 'my grandfather'. The -e^o is optionally employed with some forms 'grandfather'. {umiya⁻} + {-qa-} + {-e^o||ka|| + || l || > /miyá·qan/ 'my grandmother'. This would indicate that that 'grandmother' (no morpheme {-qa-}) + {-e^o||ka||} are actually > /maga/ 'this own grandmother'.

342. $\{-^o s\} \parallel ^o s \parallel \sim \parallel se$ occurs with eight kinship roots denoting members of ^{the} grandparent generation and the siblings of the parents which are either older than the parent or of the opposite sex. That is, the terms for father's older brother and father's sister take this suffix but not the one for father's younger brother. It always occurs with these roots when they are prefixed by the four generally occurring possessive prefixes but never occur with the First Person Informal objective suffix that occurs $\parallel se$ occurs before the suffixes $\{-1\}$ Objective and $\{=^o\}$ Appellation, $\parallel s$ occurs elsewhere First Person Informal. With its only deducible meaning is that which it has as an indicator of a kinship subclass, perhaps with a connotation of respect since it is absent when the First Person Informal prefix is present.

The illustrative paradigm will be with $\{-qa-\} \parallel qa \parallel \sim \parallel ka$ 'mother's mother'.

$\{^o s\} + \{-1\} \parallel ka \parallel \sim \parallel qa \parallel \sim \parallel ka$ 'you and my son (objective)' occurs after $\{mi-\} \parallel mi \parallel \sim \parallel ka$ 'your mother (subject)'.

343(a). The Venative only occurs with 'grandma'. $\{o\}$ son pref $\{-qa-\} + \{-^o s\} + \{=^o\} + \{d\} \parallel d$ 'my' is placed on the first syllable of the 'grandmother', $\{mi-\}$ sing $\{t\} \{-qa-\} + \{-^o s\}$ 'my' used + $\{\emptyset\} \parallel \emptyset$ 'your'. $\{de\}$ is optionally employed with some forms 'grandmother'. $\{omiya\}$ pref $\{-qa-\} + \{-^o s\}$ has $\{+\emptyset\} \parallel \emptyset$ 'his' connotation. This would indicate that what 'grandmother' $\{ma-$ morph $\} + \{-qa-\} + \{-^o s\}$ are actually $\{\emptyset\} \parallel \emptyset$ 'his own grandmother'.

note 343.0 The four case suffixes will be described in the following subsections together in the same morpheme:

343.1 The allomorphs of the Subjective suffix that occur on the kinship nouns are ||d|| and ||ø||. ||d|| occurs when the prefix ^{is} First Person or First Person Informal. ||ø|| occurs when the prefix is one of the other three. Ample illustrations have been given in the paradigms of Sections 341 and 342.

343.2 The allomorphs of the Objective suffix that occur on kinship nouns are ||to||, ||l||, and ||el||.

||to|| occurs with the First Person and First Person Informal.

With the other three prefixes, ||l|| occurs when the stem ends in a vowel; ||el|| when it ends in a consonant.

(^{pa-}) ||ø|| + (q^aade) 'grandson' + {=-} + ||to|| > /pa-a-yil/ 'my daddy' (relative); or 'he and his son'; when the /q^aadéto/ 'my grandson (objective)', occurs after (^{mi-}ha-n{-}heut^ki) + ||l|| > /mihéut^kil/ 'your nephew (man's

sister's son)'.

(^{mi-}) + (-cad) + ||el|| > /micasel/ 'your child's parent-in-law'.

343.3 The Vocative only occurs with the two First Person prefixes and has the allomorphs ||de|| and ||'||.

||'|| is placed on the first syllable of the word, not counting ||ø|| and is generally used in the kinship class.

||de|| is optionally employed with some forms (not the Informal prefix) and perhaps has a slightly more formal connotation. This would indicate that what are here called allomorphs of one morpheme are actually two morphemes, but

not definite difference could be elicited and the two are consequently grouped together in the same morpheme; describe $\{\text{pi}\text{-}\} + \{-\text{o}\}[\text{pe}] + \{=\text{o}\} + \|\text{'}\| > /pó·pe/ 'Daddy!'; adverbs $\{\text{pa}\text{-}\} + \{-\text{o}\}[\text{pe}] + \{=\text{o}\} + \|\text{'}\| > /pá·pe/ 'Father!'$$

351. Compare the latter with the common term of any body part address for God; verb meaning to do something with the /yásk'he·pá-pede/ 'Our Father!' is often further aff. 343.4 $\{-yyi\}[\text{yyi}] - \|\text{yi}\| - \|\text{eyyi}\|$ Comitative occurs only with the Second Person and Reflexive Person prefixes and then means 'you and your (relative)' or 'he and his (relative)' respectively.

$\|\text{yyi}\|$ occurs after a vowel when the preceding syllable is light or will be phonemically light because it contains an unactivatable $\|\text{o}\|$. $\|\text{yi}\|$ occurs after a vowel even when the preceding syllable is heavy. $\|\text{eyyi}\|$ occurs after a consonant (-v) Absolutive > /no^ochqaw/ 'to champ'

$\{\text{mi}\text{-}\} + \{-\text{de}^{\circ}\text{ki}\} + \|\text{yyi}\| > /mideki·yi/ 'you and your older sister'; 'to move downward with the$

$\{\text{mi}\text{-}\} + \{-\text{hcú}^{\circ}\text{ki}\} + \|\text{yi}\| > /mihcú^okiyi/ 'you and you nephew'. Doctor, it has the specialized$

$\{\text{ma}\text{-}\} + \{-\text{cad}\} + \|\text{eyyi}\| > /macadé·yi/ 'he and his child's parent-in-law'.$

(hu^ouy) 'eye' + {-x-} + {-v} > /hu^outv/ 'face (toward the specified place)'. With {-m-} Supraterestrial, the verb has the specialized meaning /hu^oút^omgu/ 'to sit'.

350. Derivative suffixes are quite few in number. Those that derive verbs from nouns and adjectives are described in this decade of Sections. Those that derive adverbs from nouns are described in the 360 decade.

351. {-Xt-} n,av may be suffixed to the name of any body part and then forms a verb meaning to do something with the specified part. The meaning is often further affected by additional verbal suffixes and is frequently specialized. {-Xt-} occasionally occurs with other nouns and with adjectives. A consonant or ||*|| directly preceding {-Xt-} is lost;

{ho²to} 'head' + {-Xt-} + {-t} Singular Imperative > /hototi/ 'Do with the head!' In a fuller

sentence /mil hototi ?/ 'Put your head on there!'

{ho²o} 'tooth' + {-Xt-} + {-hqa-}||qa|| Causative +

{-w} Absolutive > /ho²chqaw/ 'to champ'.

{*aha}||ha|| 'mouth' + {-Xt-} + {-Xa²la⁰-} 'down'

+ {-w} > /hata²law/ 'to move downward with the mouth', but since this action is typically done

by a sucking doctor, it has the specialized

meaning of doing ~~like~~^{as} one does 'to bend down

to suck'.

{hu²uy} 'eye' + {-Xt-} + {-t} > /hu²uti/ 'Face

(toward the specified place)!. With {-²m-}

Supraterrestrial, the verb has the specialized meaning another son and parent'.

meaning /hu²ut²maw/ 'to sit'.

{libu⁺} 'whistle' + {-Xt-} + {+w}||?|| Absolutive

> /libu⁺/ 'to whistle' (a bida' root absolute)

{sihlā} 'flat' + {-Xt-} + {-X⁰d-} 'hitherative' >

{-t} Singular Imperative + {?} Sentence >

{silatā⁺du[?]} / 'Come here Flatty!' (Either 'ive,
flat-faced or flat-chested).

The latter meaning is by analogy to a similar
352. {-d⁰q-} n,AV may be suffixed to the Reflexive
action of 'hit'ing with a stick, formerly done

Person form of any kinship noun and then means 'to address
to make but'.

by the kinship term' or often 'to acknowledge the rela-

tionship expressed by the root'. {-mu⁰c-} Reciprocal

is often suffixed to these verbs. {-d⁰q-} is sometimes

added to other nouns and to adjectives, meaning to come

to the state indicated by the base morpheme:

{ma-} + {-ht⁰e-} 'mother' + {-d⁰q-} + {-t} Sing-

ular Imperative > /maht⁰e⁺qa/ 'Call her mother!'

{ma-} + {-e⁰l⁺} + {-d⁰q-} + {-mu⁰c-} Reciprocal +

{?} {+w}||?|| Absolutive > /ma⁰ehmu[?]/ 'to call one's

another father and child'. Note that even

(q) though only a one-way relationship is specified

by the root, the verbal suffix {-mu⁰c-} implies

a two-way or reciprocal relationship. Compare

the above with the following.

{ma-} + {-ph⁰a⁰ki-} 'son' + {-d⁰q-} + {-mu⁰c-} +

+ {+w}||?|| > /map⁰a⁺kihmu[?]/ 'to call one's

another son and parent'.

354 {sima} 'sleep' + {- α^0 q-} + {-v} Singular Imperative
adjectives active > /sima·qa/ 'Go to bed!' root denotes '

{duyam?} 'old' + {- α^0 q-} + {-w} ||?|| Absolutive >
/duyama?/ 'to grow old'

{abo⁰t} 'soft' + {- α^0 q-} + {-hqa-} ||qa|| Causative,
(-w) > /bo·tāhqaw/ 'to make soft, to iron'.

The latter meaning is by analogy to a similar action of pressing with a stick, formerly done. The following two derivatives show a loss of the to make buckskins soft.
precursor, indicating an allomorph of the form [X⁰s].

353. a {- α^0 m-} n, aV is added to many nouns and adjectives (but not freely) to form verbs meaning 'to become what the root denotes':

{abo⁰t} 'soft' + {- α^0 m-} + {-w} ||?|| Absolutive >

{- α^0 -, /bo·tam?/ 'to become soft'.
of {- α^0 -} {ihp⁰uy} 'fat' + {- α^0 m-} + {-w} ||?|| > /ihp⁰uyam?/ >
'to get fat'.

{do⁰di} 'good' + {- α^0 m-} + {-w} ||?|| + {-v} Singular
(Siwey) 'new' + {- α^0 m-} + {-v} Singular Imperative
Imperative > /Siweyā·ma/ 'Renew it!',

{qawiya} 'young man' + {- α^0 m-} + {-w} ||?|| Absolutive
/ihiyā·ma/ 'Renew yourself'
> /qawiyam?/ 'to grow young (of a man)'.

355 {q⁰osa?} 'winter' + {- α^0 m-} + {-w} ||?|| > adjective
of the shape /q⁰osam?/ 'to become winter', requires a
Directive {yahwiyl} 'thanks' + {- α^0 m-} + {-w} ||?|| Absolutive >
that there /yahwiym?/ 'to thank', the following Directional:

354. {buh¹u} 'having a bump, humped' + (X>g) + n, av is added to a few nouns and adjectives and means 'to become what the root denotes':
 along humped or hunched over'.
 (ahqol) 'long' + {-a⁰c-} + {-t} Singular
 (pihki) 'having a slender neck' + (X>g) + both verb Imperative > /ahqolá·ci/ 'Grow tall!'
 (-ia⁰la⁻) 'down' + {-v} Absolutive > /pihki·law/
 (ma·ku) 'deaf' + {-a⁰c-} + {-Xi⁰bi⁰c-} 'to start'
 'to stretch a slender neck downward (as a horse
 + {-w}) || Absolutive > /ma·kuei·bi⁰/ 'to
 drinking water'
 start to grow deaf'.
 (puht¹) 'lone' + (X>g) + (-ia⁰qa⁰c-) 'up hence'

The following two derivatives show a loss of the precursor, indicating an allomorph of the form ||Xa⁰c||.

355. The first example also has a loss of the final consonant:
 verbal suffix {-hqa-} Causative is added to words of other
 classes to derive verbs.
 (bah¹e) 'big' 5 ||bah¹e⁰c-|| 'to get big, to grow up'.

(ah¹hiy) 'several big' 5 ||ah¹i⁰c-|| 'several to
 begin' (ayat¹o) 'the exalt' + (hqa⁻) + {-v} Absolutive >

/aya·yéhqa/ 'to baptize'.
 {-a⁰c-} is often followed by the ||t⁰c|| allomorph
 (kilu·ca) 'locked' (cf Russian ключ 'key') +
 of {-⁰c-} Reflexive:
 (an unidentified element) + {-hqa-} ||ca||

{qo⁰di} 'good' + {-a⁰c-} + ||t⁰c|| + {-t} Singular

Imperative /qo⁰diyi·ci/ 'Better yourself!'

{ihya⁻} 'strong' + {-a⁰c-} + ||t⁰c|| + {-t}

/ihayi·ci/ 'Strengthen yourself!'

355. (X>g) + [v] av is added to any descriptive adjective of the shape CVGCV and the resulting verb requires a Directional suffix. The morphemic symbolization signifies that there is a removal of ||X|| in the following Directional:

- {buhku} 'having a hump, humped' + {X>Ø} +
 355. It is extremely rare for a root to be used
 in words of more than one major class without some
 specific derivative suffixes, but there are a few which are
 both verb and noun or verb and adjective:
 {pihki} 'having a slender neck' + {X>Ø} +
 {-X⁰la⁰-} 'down' + {-w} Absolutive > /pihki·law/
 {mata} 'to stretch a slender neck downward (as a horse
 drinking water)'.
 {puh̄ti} 'alone' + {X>Ø} + {-X⁰qa⁰c-} 'up hence'
 {-w} || * || > /puh̄ti·qa?/ 'to go up alone'.
 {cahno} 'sound produced by vocal chords, word,

356. In a few instances what appears to be the
 verbal suffix {-hqa-} Causative is added to words of other
 classes to derive verbs:

- begins {aya·yo} 'the cross' + {-hqa-} + {-w} Absolutive >
 /*aya·yohqaw/ 'to baptize'.
 {kilu·ea} 'locked' (< Russian klyuč 'key') +
 || (an unidentified element) + {-hqa-} || qa ||
 + {-w} > /kilu·ca·qaw/ 'to lock'.
 {pupu} 'bowel movement' (an interjection and baby
 word) + {-hqa-} || qa || (an anomalous selection of
 an allomorph regularly only used after consonants)+{-w}> /pupuqaw/ 'to have a bowel movement'.

357. {-w} is suffixed to a few nouns and means 'in':
 {tahow} 'house' + {-w} > /tahow/ 'in the house'.
 {tigow} 'dense forest' (-w) > /tigow/ 'in the
 canyon (where the dense redwood forests grew)'.

557. It is extremely rare for a root to be used in words of more than one major class without some specific derivative suffix, but there are a few which are both verb and noun or verb and adjective:

{mu^{ta}} 'cooked'; {mu^{ta-}} 'to be cooked + {-w} > /mu^{ta}w/ 'to be cooked'.

(b) Absolutive > /mu^{ta}w/ 'to be cooked'

{muhqa} 'stiff'; {muhqa-} 'to be stiff + {-w} >

/muhqaw/ 'to be stiff'.

{cahno} 'sound produced by vocal chords, word,

{speech}; {cahno-} + {-w} > /cahnow/ 'to make'

562. A sound with vocal chords, to speak, sing, bark.

feat: If the first syllable of the noun or adjective begins with [h] or [h], it is aphetized in the verb:

{*ihya} 'wind'; {ghya-} 'to blow (of the wind only)'.

{hi^{da}} 'road, path'; {u^{da-}} 'to extend (as a

road, path, or river)' > /vida/ 'below, downward'.

{*ahq^{al}} 'water' + {-x-} > /aqha-/ 'at the water,
to the water'.

The following verbs are distinguished in that all
(kulu) 'wilderness' + {-x-} > /kulu-/ 'in the

wilderness or woods, to the wilderness'.

{taha^a} 'house' + {-x-} > /taca-/ 'homewards, at home'.

563. {-w} is suffixed to a few nouns and means 'in':

{taha^a} 'house + {-w}' > /tahcaw/ 'in the house'.

{liye} 'dense forest' {-w} > /liyow/ 'in the
canyon (where the dense redwood forests grow)'.

360. There are three suffixes by which adverbs are derived from nouns. None are freely used.

361. {-X1} '-ward' is suffixed to terms for common geographic features and for the cardinal directions:

- {dono} 'hill, mountain' + {-X1} > /donol/ 'hillward'.
 {bi²da} 'stream' + {-X1} > /bidal/ 'downstream,
 downward (not necessarily down a stream)'.
 {²ahq^ha} // shq^ha // 'water' + {-X1} > /q^hal/ 'to the
 coast', the only example with aphesis
 root {cuhula} 'north' + {-X1} > /cuhulal/ 'northward'.
 (see Section 44)

362. {-X*} is suffixed to terms for common geographic features and to a few other nouns. Its meaning includes 'in, at, to';

the Inner, the Middle, and the Outer. Each of the latter three categories is subdivided into three groups of suffixes,

- {dono} 'hill, mountain + {-X*} > /dono*/ 'to the mountains, in the mountains'.
 {bi²da} 'stream' + {-X*} > /bida*/ 'below, downward'.
 {²ahq^ha} 'water' + {-X*} > /²aq^ha*/ 'at the water,
 to the water'.
 (The Noun {-X*} is distinguished in that all
 suffixes are added to the verb form, while
 other suffixes are added to the noun.)

{kulu} 'wilderness' + {-X*} > /kulu*/ 'in the
 wilderness or woods, to the wilderness'.

{²ahca} 'house' + {-X*} > /²aca*/ 'homewards, at home'.
 (Other suffixes are added to the verb form.)

363. {-w} is suffixed to a few nouns and means 'in':

{²ahca} 'house + {-w} > /ahcaw/ 'in the house'.
 (Other suffixes are added to the verb form.)

{Siyo} 'dense forest' {-w} > /Siyow/ 'in the
 canyon (where the dense redwood forests grow)'.

All members of the OUTER GROUP (Sections 440-448, 3) follow all numbers of the Middle Group. Furthermore, the suffixes of the Outer Group occur in quite rigid order. The language does have a fine distinction between the classes, with respect to each other, but usually occur only once in any one verb form. However, there are two members of the Outer Group but none of the Middle (or Inner). The VERB ROOT is defined morphologically as the only class of morphemes which enters into constructions with the suffixes to be described in this chapter. Every VERB that is a complete word contains at least a verb root and some one member of the suffix class v14V (see Section 444).

The verbal affixes are divided into four groups: The Instrumental Prefixes and three groups of suffixes, the Inner, the Middle, and the Outer. Each of the latter three consists of several classes. (Sections 450-454, 7)

The INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES constitute one mutually exclusive class and are the only verbal prefixes. See Sections 410-415.

The MIDDLE GROUP is distinguished in that all suffixes of the group can be used at least twice in one verb form, some in immediate succession to themselves, others only after the interposition of some other suffix of the Middle Group. The complicated interrelationships of the members of this group are described in Sections 430-439, 8, with certain suffices of the Outer Group.

For Kachaya verb roots are neither active nor passive. All members of the OUTER GROUP (Sections 440-445.3) transitive nor intransitive. Such considerations must follow all members of the Middle Group. Furthermore, the be supplied to the English translation. However, the suffixes of the Outer Group occur in quite rigid order language does have a fine distinction between the concept with respect to each other and typically occur only once of Subject (linked to a noun case suffix) and Agent in any one verb form. However, there are two members of the Outer Group which may each occur twice, but only in direct succession to itself: {-cōd-} Defunctive and {-ni-} Remote Past. The dividing line between the Middle and Outer Groups is also almost precisely determined by the important defective verb {-} Assertive, which takes suffixes of the Outer Group but none of the Middle (or Inner) Group with the one exception of the Causative, imperfective verbs that it is incomplete or broken and the latter only when it will be directly followed by several times. More formally, the separation may be made the Optative (Section 444.21).

The members of the INNER GROUP (Sections 420-424.7) is added only to imperfective verbs or those indifferently precede all members of the Middle Group. Furthermore, imperfective or perfective, the resultant form is perfective. In the Middle Group the Directional suffixes may one verb form and in a fixed order with respect to each other. However, the Plural Agent suffix of the Inner Group is suprasegmental in the sense that its effect the Dirative suffix may be added to any verb the result extends from the verb root through all of the suffixes, being imperfective.

The test whether a verb at any particular stage is perfective or imperfective lies in its privileges of occurrence with certain suffixes of the Outer Group.

For Kashaya verb roots are neither active nor passive, transitive nor intransitive. Such considerations must be supplied to the English translation. However, the language does have a fine distinction between the concept of Subject (linked to a noun case suffix) and Agent (linked to a verb suffix); see Section 421.

Another classificatory concept running through the verb morphology is concerned with the distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs. Some verb roots are perfective; some are imperfective; many are indifferent to the distinction. Semantically, perfective verbs indicate that the action is complete or occurs only once; imperfective verbs that it is incomplete or happens several times. More formally, the separation may be made as follows. The Semelfactive suffix of the Inner Group is added only to imperfective verbs or those indifferently imperfective or perfective. The resultant form is perfective. In the Middle Group, the Directional suffixes may be affixed to either perfective or imperfective verbs, the result being perfective. Also in the Middle Group, the Durative suffix may be added to any verb, the result being imperfective.

The test whether a verb at any particular stage is perfective or imperfective lies in its privileges of occurrence with certain suffixes of the Outer Group.

411.01 (-m) is restricted in occurrence to about
For example: {-dm} 'while' is customarily added only
to imperfective verbs; {-mela} Performative Complete
the dictionary. It means no specified agent and is
only to perfective verbs. The qualifier, "customarily,"
frequently, but not always, appears in a passive
is used because the informant will say that the contrary
or as *The TIGER HAD EAT THE ROCK* (symbolized vi),
form is acceptable although usually not preferable.
constitute a class of forms which must be analyzed.

Because, for most verb roots, clear-cut evidence
by some one number of *i*, usually exclusive class of
could not be elicited differentiating the perfective,
INSTRUMENTAL, PROGRESSIVE, etc., good (or happy),
imperfective, and undifferentiated from each other,

The class Pi has
the distinction is not formally made in the dictionary
of which, (i.e.) and (i.e.), by means of a symbol,
by means of a special class symbol, but rather is only
majority of Vi roots take up the same
suggested by the translation: for the probable imperfective.
However, there are some roots which combine with a
tives, an English verb of state or progressive form; for
restricted set of Pi's. These are so noted in the
the probable perfectives, a simple English form.
dictionary and the restricted list given in full, insofar

{Suhem-} 'to be quiet'
as it is known.

{-?ba-} 'to be cracking'

411.00 The individual Pi's are defined and illus-
trated below; the translations are typical of those

which would fit in the given context. Whenever possible,
the following three Vi roots are used in the exemplifica-
tion of each prefix: {-holat} 'to knock over', {-la-},
'to feel', to detect', {-iddi-}, {-idi-}, {-id}, {-id} 'to
pick up, hold, put', and, with Directional suffixes, 'to
move, carry'. Other roots frequently employed in the
examples are: {-vlu-} 'to finish', {-vra-} 'to block',
{-éa-} 'to break'. Other, occasionally used roots are
defined as they occur literally 'to move over with the mouth'

boden-wadu 'to drink around'; {-v'd-} locative,

{-v'w-} Distributive, {-v'w'w-} Locative

411.01 {-} is restricted in occurrence to about two dozen of the class VI, which are all so indicated in the dictionary. It means 'with no specified agent' and is

410. INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES frequently, but not always, best translated as a passive.

or as THE INSTRUMENTAL PREFIX VERB ROOTS (symbolized VI) constitute a class of morphemes which must be prefixed by some one member of the mutually exclusive class of INSTRUMENTAL PREFIXES (symbolized PI). good (or happy).

The class PI has twenty-one members, all but two of which, {g-} and {ka-}, are freely used. The great majority of VI roots take any of the common prefixes. However, there are some roots which only combine with a restricted set of PI's. These are so noted in the dictionary and the restricted list given in full, insofar as it is known.

411.02 The individual PI's are defined and illustrated below; the translations are typical of those which would fit in the given context. Whenever possible, the following three VI roots are used in the exemplification of each prefix: {-hcha-} 'to knock over', {-ta-} 'to feel', to detect', {-di-} ||di|| ~ ||de|| ~ ||d|| 'to pick up, hold, put' and, with Directional suffixes, 'to move, carry'. Other roots frequently employed in the examples are: {-ku-} 'to finish', {-na^o-} 'to block', {-sa^o-} 'to break'. Other, occasionally used roots are defined as they occur.

(literally 'to move over with the mouth') baden^owadu 'to direct around'; {-v^od-} Durative,

{-va^od-} Distributive, {-u||u} Common

411.01 { $\square-$ } is restricted in occurrence to about two dozen of the class Vi, which are all so indicated in the dictionary. It means 'with no specified agent' and is frequently, but not always, best translated as a passive or as an intransitive verb:

chaw₃: 'It fell over.' { $\square-$ } + {hcha} + { \square with
{-w} Common Form

do^odi tā^odu : 'He is feeling good (or happy). take
{v^od} Durative, { \square } {-w}||u|| ^{Absolute} Common Form.

wa^odū hnati^odi: 'Try to walk!' {-hnat-} 'to try,
'with { \square to investigate', {-^od-} Reflexive,
{-v} Singular Imperative.

411.02 {ba-} 'with the lips (of human beings), with which the snout (of animals), with the beak (of birds)'. The meaning includes both the organ that produces speech, the mouth, and the organ that detects speech, the ear; thus the translation is often best given by an English verb expressing speaking or hearing:

koei^ona₁ qhale₂ bānhchaw₃: 'The pig₁ knocked the
bush₂ over₃ with₃ its snout₃.'

do^oci do^odi₂ bā^otaw₃: 'The song₁ sounds₃ good₂.'

sikta₁ bi^odug bā^odi₃: 'The bird₁ picked₃ an acorn₂
up₃ in₃ its beak₃.

ba^odim^o 'to urge, to encourage'; {-^om-} 'over',

(literally 'to move over with the mouth')

baden^owadu 'to direct around'; {-v^od-} Durative,
{-wa^od-} Distributive, {-w}||u|| Common

Form, (literally 'to move around with the mouth').

bahna* 'to ask (a question)'; {-hnat-} 'to try, to investigate', {-v-} Common Form,

411.04. (-v*) (literally 'to investigate with the ^{mouth} Lips').

object, with banav 'to keep secret', (literally 'to block with ^{the mouth} Lips' or backing up).

ba^goli* 'to smack one's lips'; {-gol-} 'to make a smacking sound', {-v^od-} Reflexive.

411.03. {bi-} 'by encircling'. It is often translated

'with both arms (wrapped around something), by sewing (because the thread entwines the cloth), by eating (especially something with a spoon, which the lips encircle)', {-hoo-} 'to obstruct'.

bihchaw 'to throw someone in wrestling'.

baht^he bi^gfaw* 'It feels big (as measured by ^{low} encircling with the arms)'.

do^odi vi^gfaw* 'It tastes good.' or 'It feels good to hug.', {-e-} Satisfactive.

411.05. bi^gfaw also commonly means 'to catch up, to reach, to be almost ready', not necessarily with any encircling movement involved.

bide^{du} 'to carry in both arms'; {-v^od-} Durative.

kawa^yu₁ q^a₂d₂ bida₃* 'The horse is grazing', ³ (knock over the body or other instrument); to be knocked over by flowing water; to shoot over; to be pushed over by the front end (of a bulldozer etc.)'.

{qa^odi} 'grass'; {-qa^og-} 'to remove surface material'.

kata bitel^o 'to sew cloth'; {-te^ol-} 'to stick'.

411.04 {ca-} 'with the rear end, with a massive or bulky object, with a knife.'

cahehaw 'to knock over backing up'; instead of {ma-}

do^odi ca^otaw^o: 'It's comfortable to sit in.'

cade^odu 'to push along (either a stump,

object); to shoot at an unseen object'; {-hol-}

butaqai hōhwaz ca^opan^o; 'A bear, was blocking the door, (with its bulky body not necessarily just with its rear end)'.

cahcaw 'a dam, to dam'; {-hoe-} 'to obstruct'.

Cf. {phu-}.

cahp^how 'to overflow a dam'; {-hp^ho-} 'to overflow'.

Cf. {mu-}

caht^hihthi^o 'to cut to pieces'; {-hthir-} 'to do to pieces', {-^oc-} Semelfactive.

411.05. {cu-} 'with a rounded object, with flowing water, by shooting, with the front end'.

chihchaw 'to knock over with the head, elbow, knee,

nose, chin, or any rounded projection of

the body or other instrument; to be knocked over by flowing water; to shoot over; to be pushed over by the front end

(of a bulldozer etc.)'.

41 muhk^buy^a cu^ctaw^b 'It feels burnt.' (This was said together in while washing a pot with a scouring pad--the contexts, (rounded object.) especially the palm, with the paw cude^adu^b 'to float along, to be pushed along by a finger'; but the front end (of a bulldozer, etc.)^c, going to the ~~sun~~ bakh^a bku^b =wi^c cude^adu^b 'He is hopping along, on₃ one₂ leg₁. {cu-} is used instead of {ma-})

because the foot isn't acting as the foot usually does, but rather as a stump.

echo^a 'to shoot at an unseen object'; {-hol-} da^a 'to try to locate an unseen object'.
meaning is 'to find' (by any means, not just

511.06 {chi-} 'by holding a small or constricted part of a larger object', often 'by an instrument with a handle'.

eihohaw 'to knock over with something dragged past (as with a bush which is pulled by one branch)'.

pu^aba chi^btaw^c 'It feels light.' (This was said was said when picking a suitcase up by the handle.)

chide^adu 'to carry or drag something by a handle, to lead someone by the hand,' and commonly with no further context, 'to carry in a sack held by the neck and slung over the shoulder'.

chi^ata^bli 'paintbrush' + chi^afa^b 'to paint' + (=li) 'instrument'; {-tag-} 'to smear, to rub'.

411.07 and .08. {da-} and {du-} are illustrated together in order to contrast their meanings in various contexts. {da-} 'with the hand, especially the palm, with the paw of animals, by waves' contrasts with {du-} 'with a finger'; but the semantic difference varies according to the associated verb and other words in the sentence.

dahchaw 'to push over with the hand or paw, to be knocked over by waves', rson.

duhchaw 'to push over with a finger',

da*faw 'to feel with the hand' but the commonest meaning is 'to find' (by any means, not just with the hand)'.

du*faw 'to feel with a finger', but with the suffix

{-Xt-} Plural Action the verb has several

specialized meanings: dufa* 'to feel several times, to fidget with the fingers' but most commonly 'to work (on any job for pay, not

just with the fingers)'. This ^{Absolute} infinitive also means 'one of the five working days of the week': ku*yi dafa* 'the first working day, Monday'.

With {Xt-} and {-mu^oc-} Reciprocal added:

datat^hmu* 'to find each other, to meet, to encounter'.

datat^hmu* is one of several euphemistic terms for 'to have sexual intercourse'.

dade^{-du} 'to push along with the hand or paw, to carry in the palm of the hand or with the fingers opposed to the palm'.

dude^{-du} 'to push along with a finger, to carry with the fingers opposed to the thumb, very weight

placed on top of the object'.

With different objects and the suffix {-la-} 'down':

dadā^{-law}₁ dadā^{-law}₂ 'to bury₂ a person₁', would be

hisu⁻¹ dadā^{-law}₂ 'to nock₂ and arrow₁'.

With {-ki⁻} 'to mark, to scratch'.

dakiw 'to scratch with the fingernails (or claws of animals) with the fingers moving perpendicular to the plane of the nails (toward the palm)'.

dukiw 'to scratch with the fingers moving parallel to the plane of the nails'.

With {-fir-} 'repeatedly to touch lightly'.

*icha⁻¹ dā^{-sida}^{-sida}⁻₂ ma^{-fug}₂ 'A spider₁ is crawling₂ here'. This verb would not be used for all spiders or insects, only those with a very light touch.

du^{-si}^{-si}⁻₂ div 'to tickle lightly', (batted) a ball across.'

diy⁻ With {-da⁻} 'to break', 'wave is breaking', 'the dasaw 'to break in the hands', but *ahqha dasaw⁻.

'The wave broke.' This is said of whitecaps,

preceding example, a hawk would a fish in its

claws).

not of waves breaking over a rock, cf. (phi-).

dasaw 'to break in the fingers (something small like any of the individual parts of the body specified by other pref.)'.

{d_i-} pref. 411.09. 'by gravity; by falling or from a heavy weight placed on top of' of the individual part. E.g. hihobaw could be, 'be knocked over with the hand if a person walked by and he fell over it.'

dihs^haw 'to be knocked over by a falling object'.

mihsá* di^hfaw: 'It feels heavy.' This would be said when hefting an object in the hand.

diden^hwadu 'to fall floating here and there (as a feather would do)'.

hi^hda dinaw: 'The road is blocked (by a landslide or fallen tree).'

dinam* 'to choke from food stuck in the esophagus';

{-^hm-} 'above'. {-^ha-} Reflexive = 'up out of'

di^hlum 'to die off (as a race might)'; {-^hh-} (-^hu-), 'to finish'.

411.10 (ha-) 'with a swinging motion'.

hah^haw 'to kick over, to knock over by swinging'.

(ayastan) 'to hold'.

phi^hko há^hdim*: 'He kicked (or batted) a ball across.' {-^hm-} 'across'.

diya* há^hdim*: 'A redtailed hawk is hovering.'

{-^hm-} 'above, in one place above the ground'.

This is a different morpheme than in the preceding example.

A hawk would a fish in its claws).

qe^odi₁ mul₂ ha^oluw₃; 'He pulled up all that grass.'

411.11. {hi-} 'on something on something sharp barefooted'. This can include any of the individual parts of the body specified by other prefixes if the action is due to motion of the body and not to a purposeful act of the individual part. E.g. hihehaw could be 'to knock over' with the hand if a person walked by and brushed against a vase with his hand and so knocked it over, or, by counting, by reading, etc., being asked for

saw^o hi^ofaw; 'It feels tight.' This would be

nihihaw 'to knock over, to knock over with the toes' / . said when trying on clothes that are too small.

hide^odu 'to push along with the body'.

hida^oqa^o 'to figure out (a problem)'; (-^oqa^oe-)
'up hence'.

hidalo^oqo^o 'to put out of business'; (-^oloq^o-)

'up hither' + (-^od-) Reflexive = 'up out of'

hi^osi^odiw 'to nudge repeatedly', Cf. {da-}, {du-}.

*ina^ota, hiya^otamu^odo^o mu^okito₃; This was

translated freely as, 'His wife is running

around with another man,' but more literally

is, 'It is said that (his) wife, is sharing,

her body, with him.' (-ya^ota-) 'to help +

(-mu^od-) Reciprocal = 'to share', (=do) Quotative.

psychic by a quick movement, with something moving

411.121 {na-} 'with the sole of the foot, with the foot or claws of a bird, with the butt of the hand'.

mahchaw 'to push over with the bottom of the foot'.

made^odu 'to carry (as a hawk would a fish in its

claws).' cocked is the only meaning.

si⁺ta mā⁺taw^o 'It feels sharp.' This would be said when stepping on something sharp barefooted.

hahse n̄d̄av^o 'to break a branch in a special way by pressing with the butt of the hand'.

mānew^o 'to dance'; (-ne-) 'to hold'.

411.13. {mi-} 'with a small projection near the end' of a long object, with the toes, with the nose, by kicking, by smelling, by counting, by reading.

mihe⁺aw^o 'to kick over, to knock over with the toes'.

This kick is not necessarily with the full swing that is meant by the prefix (ha-), 'to spread'

mi⁺taw^o 'to feel with the toes'. 'to smell' is commonly expressed with another verb stem: mihsou^o.

midē⁺du^o 'to kick along with the toes'.

misitā⁺na^o 'safety pin'; (-di-) 'to pinch, fold'.

{Xt-} [ta] Plural Action, (-^om-) 'over',

(-^od-) Reflexive, (-u-) [o] ^{Absolute} Common Form, Infinitive,

411.14. {mū-} 'with the end of a long object, with the fist (neither (da-) nor (du-) is used for notions of reading, etc.)'

{mū-}

411.14. ^ 'with energy--kinetic, thermal, photo, or psychic; by a quick movement, with something moving quickly, with heat, with light, or with the mind or emotions.'

mihe⁺aw^o 'to knock over by running into or under, to

throwing something at', over^o, abstract, etc., (-n-).

mu⁺taw^o 'to be cooked' is the only meaning.

mu²di² 'to hit with a thrown object or by running into so as to cause to move'; {-di²-} 'to mark,

muda-law¹ 'to dance down (into the dance house);

{-d²la-} 'down', with an ¹action, ²object, ³place, ⁴time, ⁵cause, ⁶result

mu²kuv¹ 'to burn up, to use up (the thread by

running a sewing machine)', 'side of a long

mohso² 'to melt'; {-hsot-} 'to liquefy'. Cf. {si-},

mo²baw¹ 'to swell from being inflamed (as an infection), to swell or rise from being cooked (as

bread in the oven)', 'off (as at a train

ci²dōm¹, k²he², *ūl³, m²heltay⁴; 'My flowers, have',

already blossomed, out₄', {-θe²l-} 'to spread

out from a point of attachment', {-Xt-} Plural

Action. The prefix refers to the influence of

the sun. {-θe²l-} 'over',

mu²taw¹ 'to be scared stiff'; {-θe²l-} 'to fasten',

mu²thaw¹ 'to become conscious'; {-ht²a-} 'to open',

Cf. {θu-}; ¹order. 'The fender was straightened

{pounding with a hammer}', {-θe²l-} 'with the end of a long object, with

the fist (neither {da-} nor {d²l-} is used for actions of the closed hand); by wrapping', {-θe²l-} 'spurting, etc.'

pahchaw¹ 'to poke over',

pba²taw¹ 'to feel by poking', ²cold,

p²ha²di² 'to poke so as to move', ³the wind', ⁴liquid).

p²ha²e²bi² 'to shovel up'; {-θe²bi²e-} 'up',

phanam¹ 'to cover by wrapping (paper) around, to

puh²cover by poking (dirt) over', ³obstruct, Cf. {ea-},

p²hakiw¹ 'to make a mark (on the skin)

411.1 p^halikw 'to make a mark (on the skin) by wrapping.
 The most common (a bandage on too tight); {-ki^o-} 'to mark',
 ing, by etc. {p^hi-} 411.16. ^ 'with the side of a long object, with the eyes,
 soft foods (etc.) for liquids), retarding, calling, etc.)'

pihchaw 'to knock over with the side of a long
 object'.

phi^haw 'to look, to seem, to appear' and more
 rarely 'to feel with the side of a long object'.

phide^hdu^h 'to see someone off (as at a train
 station)' or 'to bat (a ball) off to a distance';
 (-d^odu^oc-) 'to a distance' (or between the knees,

phi^hdim^h 'to keep aiming at (an animal with a gun
 or bow and arrow while it approaches within
 physical p range); {-^om-} 'over'.

by (etc.) *ahcha phisaw; 'A wave broke over (a rock).'

The meaning Cf. {da-}.

(because) pihtchiné* mu fender; 'The fender was straightened
 (because of by pounding (with a hammer).'; {-ht^hin-},
 by rain, etc. 'to correct a defect'; cf. {si-}.

by 411.17. {ph^u-} 'by blowing'; (spelling, etc.)

puhchaw 'to blow over'.

*ihyum p^hu^hlaw; 'The wind feels cold.'

p^hude^hdu 'to be blown along by the wind'.

hi^hda ph^unaw; 'The road is blocked by drifts
 (of snow or sand).'

puheew 'a windbreak'; {-hce-} 'to obstruct, cf. {ca-},

411.18 {qa-} 'between two strongly opposed forces'.

The most common translations are: 'with the teeth, by chewing, by eating (chewed food, as contrasted with {bi-} for soft foods and {si-} for liquids)', 'biting, raining, sailing, etc.'.

sihchaw 'to knock over by sucking out (as the tongue or a doctor does) or might do'.

pišudu qa*taw² 'It tastes bad.'

qade*bi² 'to pick up in the teeth'; {j^obi*c-}

411.19 {up}, 'by a long object moving lengthwise, with a qade*bic²qaw 'to pry up'; {-hqa-} Causative.

qacow 'to grab with the teeth (or between the knees, Note: This prefix was only discovered as a productive with pliers, etc.)'; result of field work. It was first suggested by the language forty or fifty years ago.'

411.19 {si-} 'by water' because of its chemical and physical properties not because it is flowing, indicated by {cu-}, nor because of wave action, indicated by {da-}. The meaning includes: 'by wetting, dissolving, slipping (because of the slickness of wet objects), floating (because of water's buoyancy, not because it is flowing), by rain, and by many actions of the tongue such as 'by licking, drinking, sucking, whispering, etc.'

sihchaw 'to knock over with the tongue, to be knocked over by the rain'.

caha si*taw² 'It tastes bitter (only of liquids)'.

side*du 'to be floating, or sailing in a boat'

(the movement of the boat must be because of sailing on land); {-dene*-} 'to abandon'.

a motor or sail, not because the water is flowing); *sinam-* 'the feel of my child's sinam' 'to drown'; {-m-} 'over' child's body; *sikhu-* 'to finish (drinking, raining, sailing, etc.)'; *sikhin-* 'to cure by sucking out (snake poison, or as a sucking doctor does)'; a disease copulatory *sihs-* 'to dissolve, to vanish'; {-hoopt-} 'feeling is 'to liquefy', cf. {mu-}, which would

411.20 {Sa-} 'by a long object moving lengthwise, with a meash.', 'long fibrous object'.

Note: This prefix was only discovered as a productive element in the seventh month of field work. It was first suppressed in the language forty or fifty years ago through the moral teachings of the religious leaders because of its ever-present sexual meaning. Speakers under 45 years of age do not know it at all, and older ones avoided using words containing it when citing forms (except for *Sa²di-* and *Sali-*). After persistent questioning (because de Angulo had recorded it in Eastern Pomo in the meaning 'copulating') the dam finally broke and the following sentence was given describing a rape that took place on the reservation many years ago:

*mu₁-=ta₂ na₃-*ima₄-ta₅ daeabin₆, Saht₇on₈polodbin₉,*
Sa¹⁰d¹¹-dicbin₁₂, Sa¹³kubina₁₄, dan₁₅-bidom₁₆; or west-

'He₁ must have caught₅ the girl₃₄, raped₆ her, done₇ it for₇ good₈, finished₉ her off₁₀, and abandoned₁₁ her, so they say.' {-bina-} 'must have', {-ca-} 'grab', {-h¹ont²oloc-} 'to ream', *Sal-* 'cut', {-d¹o²dic-} 'to do for good', {-¹ku-} or 'to finish (often with the implication of killing, as here)', {-dano-} 'to abandon'.

lbo₁ n̄pa₂ qewi₃ ſt̄ba₄ dat̄-dič̄wiyē₅ toḡ-əf,

'That reminds me of the feel of my child's skin,' or more literally 'My₁ child's₂ body₄ [hi-] is feeling me₅ from a distance₅ (in the past).'

This shows that the sexual meaning may apply in a vaguer sense than that of a direct copulatory movement. {Sa-} here means that the feeling is of areas of bare skin against bare skin; {hi-} would also include this case and also the case where the bodies in contact are clothed, 'by pulling, by alternately pushing and pulling, with a long flexible object'.

to* qa n̄f̄bakh₁ tho^o₂ hahmu^ol₃; da^o-wa₄ to^o₅ p^hala₆* : 'Leave₃ some₁ acorn₂ mush₂; I₅ want₄ some too₅!' (-hahmu^ol-) 'to do incompletely, to leave'. {Sa-} is used because the action that will be done incompletely was done with a ladle which moved into the pot lengthwise, along the strand (with a string or rope)'.

cubni^o bada^o 'to take bread out of (an oven)';

but {f^oq^o} 'out hence, northward or westward';

bada^o 'to be a ridge extending northward or westward'. This very common verb is shown to contain

the root {-*di-} by its undergoing all the

irregular alternations that the latter does,

Instrumental including having the suppletive plural [hsa].

losses hahthiht^hir^o 'to stab to pieces'; {-ht^hir-} 'to do

'by' or 'to pieces', cf. {ca-}. {p^ha-} now supplants

in mind that {Sa-} in this form, be representing the agent

of 'stabbing on the beach in /falling/; although {da-} is the

*ahqha **Sá*kwu^s** 'The water all leaked out'; cf.

mul¹ with the translation in the first sentence of
this section.

Sali*li 'a sifter'; {-li-} 'to move circularly,
(=li) 'instrument'.

Sá*royá*du₁ mul₂ Sihp^heg kúkan₄ tó₅ si*bonal₅ 'cot',
but using {-} 'Not₁ those₂ few₄ scattered₄ floating₅ leaves₅',
or even {-*roy-} 'to do to scattered objects'; suitable
translation depends on the context, and the prefix

411.21 {Sú-} 'by pulling, by alternately pushing and
pulling, with a long flexible object'.

Itself, **Kuhkaw** 'to pull over, to upset (by pulling a rug
the verb root out from under), to knock over with a twirled
an adverb or rope'; this or the English verb may be a
single ***ahša Kú*taw** 'to feel a fish pulling (on the line)'.

Sude*du 'to pull along, to lead'. Of these two

Muyu Kúnw 'to strangle (with a string or rope)'.

Sug^haw 'to saw apart'; {-qha^c-} 'to cut off'.

Suhthaw 'to pull open (a door); {-hth^a-} 'to open';
cf. {mí-}.

There are other instrumental prefixes which occur universally. They have
probably arisen from a variety of causes; one is metaphorical.

412. These prefixes have been called instrumental
because they correspond, by and large, in meaning to the
instrumental prefixes of other Indian languages, and the
glosses are frequently most conveniently given by means of
a 'by' or 'with' phrase. However it should always be borne
in mind that the prefix need not be representing the agent
advancing on the beach is /máhu/, although {-du-} is the

is like 'but may denote the object undergoing the action' advancing on the beach ~~when I tried to scratch across that with my finger, my fingers got scratched.~~

~~mul₁ dulim² naticha₃, to₄ dulimwiy₅: 'When I usual prof. for me to try to scratch across that with my finger, my fingers got scratched.'~~

A second source for the various uses of an instrumental prefix. A closer translation of {di-} would be 'finger involved', but using some such phrase would usually lead to cumbersome or even incomprehensible English. The choice of a suitable translation depends on the context, and the prefix is frequently best rendered, not as a prepositional phrase, but as a noun subject, or noun object, or as the main verb itself. In conjunction with a translation like the latter, the verb root in Kashaya may be represented in English by an adverb or by nothing; or the English verb may be a single morpheme denoting what is analyzed semantically into two morphemes in Kashaya. Examples of all of these have occurred in Section 411.

413. The examples of Section 411 have illustrated meanings which recur again and again. Besides those there are other meanings which occur uniquely. They have probably arisen from a variety of causes; one is metaphor: {-da'm-} 'to make a hissing or rustling sound' occurs with {mu-} meaning 'to sizzle', with {di-} 'to rustle from falling leaves', and with {phu-} '(leaves) to rustle from being blown by the wind'---but the hiss of the wind through the tops of the forest trees is /mułam/, because the sound is like the hiss of steam. Similarly, the swish of waves advancing on the beach is /mułam/, although {da-} is the

is like the hiss of steam. Similarly, the swish of waves advancing on the beach is /mušam^o/, although {da-} is the usual prefix for wave action (the boom of breakers is ~~also~~ described by /kitikitiw/ 'to thunder', a non-Visualling).

A second source for the unique use of an instrumental prefix is translation loans: /qahqal^o/ 'corrosive action of lye' probably uses {qa-} because of English terms referring to lye 'eating away' material. Since {qa-} otherwise implies a pincers movement, {mu-} would seem more natural here. /muba^o/ 'the crack of rifle fire' < {mí-} + {-?ba-} 'to crack open' + {c-}||X^oc|| Semelfactive + {-v}||?|| ^{Absolu-}
^{tive} ~~Common~~ Form; only in this word does {-?ba-} refer to crack as a noise. {cu-} is usually used for 'fire' in the sense 'shoot', consequently the use here of {mí-} is probably due to the influence of English, is probably a loan.

Other divergent meanings cannot be explained without resorting to some sort of speculation such as that they reflect an earlier mode of action whose instrument has now been changed: {-?o^o-} 'to peel' is used with a full set of prefixes including {ca-} 'to peel (an apple or many other things) with a knife. But 'to skin (an animal)' is /batów/ although the mouth or lips have never been used in such an operation within the memory of anyone living--only a knife and the hands. {-o-} 'to clip'.

{-yata-} 'to help'. And: + {-?o-} & {-?o?o-} and {-?o-}

{-?o?o-} 'to do permanently, to do for good'.

{-htanjal-} 'to race'.

Although the verb and the subject are usually not
 414. It is not possible, on the basis of meaning,
 to draw a firm line which would divide into two or more
 morphemes any of the twenty-one different phonemic shapes
 of the instrumental prefixes. 'Sucking' and 'Sailing'
 may seem unrelated in meaning, but {si-} exhibits a
 semantic continuum connecting the two. 'Seeing' and 'chop-
 ping' are apparently quite different actions, but {p^hi-} includes both as an 'operation proceeding from the side
 of a long object.' Similarly for {mi-}; both the transla-
 tions 'smelling' and 'kicking' are included in 'with a
 small projecting part near the end of a long object'.
 And, as has been exemplified, even a safety pin has a
 'nose'. The 'counting' meaning could easily have been
 derived from the use of the toes in enumeration (or even
 from 'counting noses'); 'reading' is probably a semantic
 extension of 'counting'.

415. All instrumental prefixes have the canonical
 form CV-. The overwhelming majority of Vi roots are
 monosyllabic and fit in the formula (C)CV(•)(C) as has
 been amply illustrated in Section 411. But roots of two
 or three syllables and other canonical forms do occur:

- {-mhmic-} 'to do perfectly'; *e.g. (fruit) while moving'.*
- {-laya^oc-} 'to slip'.
- {-ya^ata-} 'to help'.
- {-do^odi-} 'to do permanently, to do for good'.
- {-htantala-} 'to fade'.

Although the agent and the subject are usually the same they are not necessarily so; consider the following.

The Inner Group of verbal suffixes consists of four position classes and nine morphemes.

421. vVl, the first class, contains one morpheme--
 (d>d) Plural Agent. The symbolization indicates that all
 [d]s which occur in the basic form of the verb after the
 second vowel of the verb (including the vowel of any
 Instrumental Prefix which may be present) ^{are} replaced by
 [d]. The replacement applies to [d]'s in both the verb
 root and in the verbal suffixes--and [d] is quite common
 in suffixes of the Middle Group. In order to clarify
 this, the first example will be given in more than
 customary detail, both with and without the Plural Agent--
 the construction will be written first morphemically,
 then morphophonemically (with the correct choice of allo-
 morphs for the morphemes that have more than one), and
 finally the phonemic form will be given:

{dū-} 'with the fingers' + {-hlud-} 'to remove an
 appendage' + {-a^od-} Locativity + {-ci^od-}
 Durative + {-v} ^{Absolute} Infinitive >
 /dū hlud a^od a^od u/ > /duhludā•dadu/ 'one to
 keep (trying) to pick one (fruit) while moving'.

{dū-} + {-hlud-} + {d>d} + {-a^od-} + {-ci^od-} + {-v} >
 /dū hlud a^od a^od u/ > /duhludā•dāv/ 'several
 to keep picking one while moving'. (d>d), then
 the consequences (all) over one fire, the last example.

Although the Agent and the Subject are usually the same, they are not necessarily so; consider the following on, examples one of the Plural Agent morpheme is reported given only one verb or predicate.

(mo-) 'to run' + (-^od-) 'along' + {-ā} Factual it {;}
for a while.

/mo-n^o-n^o :/ 'He is running along.' He over one

(mo-) + (d>d) + (-Xht-) Plural Movement + {-} + {;}
one movement.

/mohtad :/ 'They are running along. (each of his
own will and power).'

But: /katō-te mohtan^o :/ 'The marbles are running along.'

This sentence contains {-Xht-} Plural Movement
because each marble is moving on its own path,
repeated action.

but does not contain (d>d) because the Agent
(ha-) or original impelling force was singular--i. e.,
(ha-) one bag of marbles may have been spilled all
at once and then they scattered independently.

56°6° mophoci-n^o : 'The pot keeps boiling over.'

(containing (-ci^od-) Durative).

56°6° mophota-n^o : 'The pots keep boiling over.'

(containing (-Xt-) Plural Action, and (-ci^od-)
||a^od|| Durative).

56°6° mophota-d : 'Shake that tree.'

56°6° mophota-d : 'Give that tree a shake.'

Since this sentence contains (d>d) in addition
to the morphemes of the preceding sentence, con-
dition is that the meaning is that the pots are on different
or shaking burners (the unexpressed agent). In the preced-
ing example, which does not contain (d>d), theon
or the Semelpota are (all) over one fire. the last example.

Since the absence of {d>d} means that the Agent is singular; however, unless [d] is present in a substitutable position, the presence of the Plural Agent morpheme is covert; it gives only one pull or push-pull and the tree continues shaking.

No'ē' mophoth : 'The pots boiled over.' Here, it
for a while from the one act.

is ambiguous whether the pots were over one
fire or several.

Verbal verbs which can also occur in an unreduplicated form:

422.0 vV2, the second class of verbal suffixes,
consists of two mutually exclusive morphemes; {-f-} at 422.1
Iterative and {-R-} Frequentative, allomorphs of the suffix
of 422.1 {-r-} Iterative means that the action is
repeated a few times; vary with [r] as part of the root.

although the [r] may often be equated with the separate
morpheme

{ha-} + {-lu-} + {-v} > /ha^vluw/ 'to wrap',
repeated or continued action, the action is
'to wrap around several times'.

/ñata puh^hthew :/ 'The cloth was spread out by
action: the wind.' {-ht^he-} 'to spread'.

/ñata puh^hht^hew :/ 'The cloth is flapping in
the wind.'

breaking up clouds (or 'earth').'

/chale₁ mil₂ Suhwe-ni₃/ 'Shake₃ that₂ tree₁.'

/chale mil Suhwe-hwei :/ 'Give that tree a shake,'

{-hweⁿ-} 'to shake' is imperfective and the implication in the next to the last sentence is that the action of shaking by the agent continues. The {-r-} form of this verb must be followed by either the suffix of Plural Action or the Semelfactive {-c-}, as it is in the last example.

Since the meanings of the Iterative and the Semelfactive are opposed to each other the net effect of the two is often obscure, but here it seems to be that the agent gives (chabil-) 'to hang' + (-R-) + (-v) | *| > /chabiliv/ only one pull or push-pull and the tree continues shaking for a while from the one act. This stage in the spot off (-r̄-) is not freely used; it is added to only a dozen or so verbs which can also occur in an unreuplicated [-v] form. However there are many verbs which require ||^hR|| (at least in the singular, some of these require that ||^hR|| be replaced by ||R|| before certain allomorphs of the suffix of Plural Action--see Section 424.50). Such verbs are recorded in the dictionary with ||R|| as part of the root although the ||^hR|| may often be equated with the separate morpheme {-R-} because such verbs frequently represent repeated or continued action--unless the Semelfactive is suffixed; considered to be the separate morpheme {-v-} because such verbs usually represent quickly repeated actions:

{shimir-} + (-v) > /shimihmiw/ 'to glitter'.

{si-} + (-hm̄w-) 'to break up clods' + (-) ||v|| the

{si-} Factual + (-) > /sihm̄hw/ 'The rain is breaking up clods (of earth)'.

{tolo-} + (-) > /tolotolow/ 'to rattle' (like

422.2 {-R-}) Prequential means that the action is repeated in quick succession:

{hu²kulu-} + (-v) > /hu²kuluw/ 'to cough up'.

{hu²kulu-} + (-R-) + (-v) > /hu²kulu-R-kuluw/ 'to cough and cough in quick succession'.

It tests for {-v-} (m̄oy-2) + (-R-) + (-v) ||v|| -> /m̄oy-R-v/ 'to cough' may be followed by {-v-} Semelfactive; 'coughs' is

spot. $\langle /qha\text{lo} \text{ m}\ddot{\text{o}} \text{ l} \text{uhw}\text{en} \text{uhw}\text{e-ni}\text{st} \rangle$ 'Shake land shake that contains trees, houses--the Supraterestrial, and the Terrestrial.'

$\langle \text{chchil-} \rangle$ 'to hang' + $\{-R\}$ + $\{-v\} // \rangle$ $\langle /chilchil \rangle$ /
423, 1 $\langle /chilchil \rangle$ 'Supraterestrial
'to dangle',

usually means that the action takes place in one spot off actually with two syllable verbs, the first syllable of which is $\langle \text{ch} \rangle$, it is not possible to tell whether the $\langle \text{ch} \rangle$ is reduplicated because // always falls on a preceding syllable and the presence of the second $\langle \text{ch} \rangle$ would only be noticed if // could come after it. When the syllable pre $\{-R\}$ is quite freely used, although there are some verbs which do not have a Frequentative form: $\langle \text{ono-} \rangle$
 $\langle \text{ono} \rangle + \{-R\}$ 'to block' + $\{-m\}$ + $\{-v\}$ Sg. Imp. >
'to run', and $\langle \text{ghph}_n\text{-} \rangle$ 'to bake! lack it.'

Many verbs require // and are recorded in the dictionary with it as part of the root although it may often be considered to be the separate morpheme $\{-R\}$ because such verbs usually represent quickly repeated action:

$\langle \text{tili-} \rangle$ / tilitiliw / / tilitiliw / 'to move the (tiliR-) + $\{-v\}$ ^ 'to spin' (or 'to roll' with directional suffixes).

$\langle \text{toloR-} \rangle + \{-v\} > / \text{tolotolow} /$ 'to rattle (like tincans)' and it also means 'tinsant'.

Verbs: $\langle \text{ditir-} \rangle + \{-v\} > / \text{ditidisitiw} /$ 'to twinkle',

$\langle \text{duku}^y\text{R-} \rangle + \{-v\} // \rangle > / \text{dukuydukiy} //$ 'to sob', 'across'.

(with an anomalous /y/ at the end of the confused with second syllable; compare /han^b·hanoy// 'to limp' from $\langle \text{hanoy-} \rangle + \{-R\} + \{-v\} // \rangle$). Final may be followed by {-o-} Semelfactive; 'across' is

not: 423.0 vv3, the third class of verbal suffixes, contains two morphemes--the Supraterrestrial (and the Terrestrial). /əm²/ 'to hold the hand extended'.

423.1 {-əm-} ||-əm-|| ~ ||-n-|| Supraterrestrial

usually means that the action takes place in one spot off the ground or floor, but it also has diverse abstract meanings. However it is often difficult to elicit a Semelfactive

after the Supraterrestrial so that the second test is more ||-əm-|| is used directly after a vowel when the syllable preceding the vowel is light; ||-n-|| is used as Perfective (-əm²) or Semelfactive while 'across' after a consonant and after a vowel when the syllable the Supraterrestrial. But the Durative (lasted) must be preceding the vowel is heavy; added to the 'across' form before {-əm} may be suffixed:

{da-} + {-na-} 'to block' + {-əm-} + {-v} Sg. Imp. >

/dəna²ma ə/ 'Cover (it) with your hand!'

{qhel-} 'to peer + {-əm-} + {-w}||{-vw}||

/kélmaw/ 'to hold the head directly over an object and peer down at it'.

{ght-} 'to put the foot' + {-Xht-} Plural Movement

Unter + {-əm-} + {-w}||{-v}|| /t̪ɪhtim²/ 'to move the every verb feet above the ground, a ladder', not been applied and the suffix is not clearly identifiable by

The Supraterrestrial frequently coincides in phonemic form with three other suffixes occurring in verbs: the verbalizing suffix {-əm-} nv 'to become', {-Xt-}||{-m}|| Plural Action, and the directional {-n-} 'across'. The 'across' suffix is the one most easily confused with the Supraterrestrial, but there are two formal tests but in a more abstract meaning are:

formal tests for distinguishing them: The Supraterrestrial may be followed by {-ə-} Semelfactive; 'across' is

not: {ba-} 'with the mouth' + {-dələ} 'to put' /bədələ/ chair
 {-dədə-} 'to put the hand' + {-m-} + {-v}/vədə/ vəde';
 /dəmə/ 'to hold the hand extended'; thing) up;
 {-dədə-} + {-m-} + {-c-} + {-v}/vv/ dətəccə;
 /dəncəlv/ 'to extend the hand'; to find suddenly';

However it is often difficult to elicit a Semelfactive after the Supraterrestrial so that the second test is more useful: The Supraterrestrial is Imperfective while 'across' is Perfective---{~om} 'while' may be suffixed directly to the Supraterrestrial, but the Durative {-a^od-} must be added to the 'across' form before {~om} may be suffixed:

/chi^odimo/ is ambiguously 'to hold in the air' or
in an order 'to drag across'.
arity args:

/chidinem/ is only 'while holding in the air'.

/chi^odini^odem/ is 'while dragging across' and also
'while continuing to hold in the air'.

Unfortunately these tests have not been applied to every verb containing an /m/. If the test has not been applied and the suffix is not clearly identifiable by meaning, it is glossed as 'over' in the examples in the grammar and dictionary. This 'cover' gloss seems to include meanings from both morphemes 'movement across' and 'above, in a stationary position'.

Examples which contain the Supraterrestrial by the 'while' test but in a more abstract meaning are:

(ba-) 'with the mouth' + (-edie-) 'to put' + (-^əm-) chain,
 tone to + (-w) ||?|| > /ba^ədim^w/ 'to encourage, to urge';
 compare English 'to talk (doing something) up'.
 (da-) 'with the hand' + (-^əta-) 'to detect' +
 (-^əm-) + (-w) ||?|| > /da^ətam^w/ 'to find suddenly';
 compare English 'to come upon, to come across'.
 (phi-) 'with the eyes' + (-^əta-) + (-^əm-) + (-w) >
 /phi^ətam^w/ 'to look quickly'.
 tone to sit down

Many verbs contain what could be the Supraterrestrial suffix but do not occur without it; these are listed in the dictionary with the ||m|| or ||^əm|| as part of the verb root unless the meaning is completely obvious. Examples in an order of increasing obscurity are:

{bohkōm-} contains the Semelfactive suffix, which leads {bohkōm-} 'to be squatting' (with the Semelfactive we get /bohkōmciv/ 'to squat down').

{doto^əm-} 'to drip'. I mean that the action is taking place.

{phalū^ən-} 'to kill, to beat up'. With most verbs the absence of the Supraterrestrial means that the action takes place.

The verbs for 'to lie' and 'to sit' have some irregular Supraterrestrial forms--the complete list, written morphophonemically, both regular and irregular, and with the Semelfactive is given below:

(di-) 'by falling' + (-grut-) 'to crumble' + (-^əo-) + (-w) ||v|| > /di^əgrut^w/ 'to break something crumbly by dropping it on the ground.'

'on the ground.	Supraterrestrial
'or floor'	'on a bed or chair'
'one to be lying	miti- 'object off the ground.'
'sev. to be lying'	bati- 'body is lying'
'one to lie down'	miti'-e-
'sev. to lie down'	bati'-e- 'are about'
'the ground.'	bana'-e- 'off'
'one to be sitting'	de- 'is the man is not lying on'
'sev. to be sitting'	hihkoc- 'is sitting, lying on a bed, or'
'one to sit down'	hihkoc- 'to be sitting'
'sev. to sit down'	ehei- 'cuma'-e-
	Bug'ac- 'phenomenon'
	Bug'ac m-the
usual allative, or the Semelfactive, but it is distinguished	
If the c of the last form is the Semelfactive, then	
from the Semelfactive, the Supraterrestrial is in the anomalous position of	
with the Semelfactive, which the Semelfactive may follow;	
following it,	
and hihkoc- contains the Terrestrial suffix, which	
leads us to the next section.	

423.2 {-b-} Terrestrial means that the action is taking place on the ground or floor. With most verbs the absence of the Supraterrestrial means that the action takes place on the ground, or that the locale is unimportant. With a few verbs, however, the Terrestrial and Supraterrestrial act as a pair; either one or the other must be suffixed to the verb:

(di-) 'by falling' + (-hyut-) 'to crumble + environment with (-'e-) + {-w} [vu] > /dihyut'heiw/ 'to break something crumbly by dropping it on the ground.'

Compare /dihyúth'nav/ 'to break something crumbly' preceded by dropping it on an object off the ground.

/so^vo₁ dāhealhei_w:/ 'The brush₁ is lying bare-branched on the ground.'

/misa^v₁ dāhealhmaw_w:/ 'His ribs are showing up off the ground.' That is the man is not lying on the ground, but is sitting, lying on a bed, or standing still. (-healh-) 'to be skeletal'.

This morpheme is identical, morphophonemically, to the usual allomorphs of the Semelfactive, but it is distinguished from the latter because it forms a mutually exclusive set with the Suppaterrestrial, which the Semelfactive may follow; and it forms Imperfective verbs, not Perfective, as does the latter.

424.0. vV4, the fourth class of verbal suffixes, contains four morphemes--the Semelfactive, Inceptive, Plural Action, and Plural Movement, may take:

424.10. {-c-} ||c|| ~ ||^vc|| ~ ||ci|| ~ ||hc|| ~ ||cc|| ~ ||v^vc|| ~ etc. Semelfactive usually means that the action is done once, but it may also mean 'to start' and 'away', the latter with verbs of motion. The first three allomorphs are the commonest and are in complementary distribution with respect to the preceding morphophonemic environment. The rest of the allomorphs are of more restricted occurrence.

This allomorph of the Semelfactive is always overtly

||°c|| Durative

424.11. ||c|| is used after a vowel when the vowel is overtive preceded by a heavy syllable: to be eating one (bite):

(ma^va-) + (-c-) + (-v^d-) [ci^v] + (-v) [ɔ] > /ma^va^diciɔ:/

'Pick it up!' or 'Take it away!'

(uh^he-) + (-c-) + (-v) + (ɔ) > /checi/ 'Pry one
out the eye' or 'the preceding pair of
up!' or 'Start to pry!'

Note that in the Durative the presence of the Semelfactive is covert: (-ecl) [-ɔ] + (-v^d-) + (-v) [u] >

||uhchee-|| + (-v^d-) + (-v) + (ɔ) > /checi^vduɔ:/

'Keep prying on one!' + (-v) [u] >

[uh^he-] + (-v^d-) [ci^v] + (-v) [ɔ] > /checi^vduɔ:/

'Keep prying!' Here again is the presence of [ɔ] in the allomorph of the Semelfactive before the suffix.

424.12. ||°c|| is used after a vowel when the vowel is overtive preceded by a light syllable. Examples are given with and without the Semelfactive before several different suffixes in order to demonstrate the various phonemic shapes one allomorph of this suffix may take:

(ma^va-) + (-c-) ||°c|| + (-v) + (ɔ) > /ma^va^dciɔ:/

'Eat one (bite)! In eating (an unlimited amount) of'

Cf. /ma^vaɔ:/ 'Eat!'

||ma^va^vc-|| + (-v) Visual + (ɔ) > /ma^va^vyɔ:/ 'He

just ate, one.'

(d^v-) + (-v^d-) 'to sort out' + (-e-) [ɔi] + (-v) >

Cf. /ma^vay/ 'He just ate.'

/ma^vidu/ 'to pick out one'.

This allomorph of the Semelfactive is always overtly

||°c|| Durative

present, {mata-} + {a d} + {-c-} + {-v⁰d-} + {-w} ||°|| Absolutive

> /ma^ayⁱ/ 'nev. to be eating one (bite)!'.

{mata-} + {a d} + {-v⁰d-} ||ci⁰d-} + {-w} ||°|| >

/ma^aci⁰d- / 'to keep on eating'.

{mata-} + {a d} + {-c-} ||ci|| + {-v⁰d-} ||ci⁰d-| + {-w} ||°|| >

/ma^aayⁱ/ 'nev. to be eating'. The length

{chel-} + {-c-} ||ci|| + {-v⁰d-} ||ci⁰d-| + {-w} ||°|| >

in the Semelfactive form is due to ||°|| and

/ma^aaci⁰d- / 'to be picking (once)'.

not the ||c|| as the preceding pair of

424.14. [examples, restricted to use with four verbs,

all four verbs are of two syllables, the first of which

{mata-} + {-c-} ||°c|| + {-v⁰d-} + {-w} ||u|| >

is ||c||. In the Semelfactive the ||c|| is lost together with:

/ma^aaci⁰d- / 'to be eating one'.

with any plotted onset, may be used, indicate one:

{mata-} + {-v⁰d-} ||ci⁰d|| + {-w} ||u|| >

(or v⁰d-) /ma^aaci⁰d- / 'to keep on eating'.

{sca-} 'to sit' {sakoi-} 'to sit down'

Here again it is the presence of ||°|| in the allomorph
of the Semelfactive that brings about the phonemic difference

{ska-} 'to hold' {sakoi-} 'to pick up'

{ska-} 'to be hot' {sakoi-} 'to get hot'

in //|. However it should be noted that when the verb is

phrased with a preceding word the distinction is hidden

because //| then lies on an earlier syllable before the

||°|| can make its presence known, acting as derived from it.

/bih⁰ mā^aaci⁰d- / 'to be eating one piece of meat'

or 'to keep on eating (an unlimited amount) of'

meat'.

(bih⁰) - {v⁰t-} + {-w} ||°|| > /hvit⁰/ 'to wrap around'.

424.15. {ci} is used after a consonant; /hvit⁰/, etc.,

as 'to wrap around one', 'to a little in wine'

{dil-} + {-hwit-} 'to sort out' + {-c-} ||ci|| + {-w} >

/duhwithei⁰/ 'to pick out one'.

The second sentence is considered a little more polite.

This allomorph of the Semelfactive is always overtly

present, even in the Durative: being formed by means of the above recurrent allomorphs, the Semelfactive is derived in a way similar to the other types.

{-kel-} 'to peer' + {-v^od-} Durative + {-w}||u|| > /kəlā·du/ 'to keep on peering'.

{-kel-} + {-c-}||ci|| + {-v^od-}||me^od-|| + {-w}||u|| > /kélcime·du/ 'to be peeking (once)'.

424.14. [hcl] is restricted to use with four verbs. All four verbs are of two syllables, the first of which is [cl]. In the Semelfactive, the [cl] is lost together with any glottal onset that may be present; inflate one:

{g^oba-} 'to grow' [bahci-] 'to sprout'

{sca-} 'to sit' [cahci-] 'to sit down'

{gdi-} 'to hold' [dihci-] 'to pick up'

{aho-} 'to be hot' [hohci-] 'to get hot'

424.15. [eci] is used after verbs ending in a vowel and before the Reflexive. See the examples under Reflexive Section and the plural action is derived from it.

424.16. [v^oc] is used after a few verbs ending in a consonant; as abrupt a request; compare the following two:

{ha-} + {-ti^ot-} + {-w}||ɔ|| > /hati^o/ 'to wrap around'.

{hati^ot-} + {-c-}||v^oc|| + {-w}||ɔ|| > /hati^o·ti^o/, please₂, 'to wrap around once'. 'Put a little in mine please.'

The second sentence is considered a little more polite.

424.17. In addition to being formed by means of the above recurrent allomorphs, the Semelfactive is derived in a variety of other ways: allomorphs of the latter, as
 -¹co²bol- 'to be clumped' -¹co²boc- 'to get clumped' .
 -¹ba²- 'to crack sev.' -¹ba²c- 'to crack one' start,
 to -¹luhlu² 'to stream out in sev. places' -¹luhlu²c- 'to stream out of one place'
 -¹shqowil- 'sev. to return' -¹shqowi²c- 'one to return'
 -¹q²bot- 'to take sev. out by the roots' -¹q²ho³c- 'to take one out by the roots'
 -¹ti²hi³i- 'to inflate sev.' -¹ti²hi³c- 'to inflate one'
 -¹hyol- 'to mix sev. together' -¹hyo²c- 'to mix in one'
 ending in -¹si² 'within this limit it is free'. All of the above verbs have a further peculiarity in that the suffix of Plural Action can be added to none. For all except the first verb, the root functions as the Plural Action form and the singular is derived from it. This is contrary to the usual situation wherein the singular is basic and the Plural Action is derived from it.

424.18. The Semelfactive is also used to soften or make less abrupt a request; compare the following two sentences:
 [1] - na₁ qāy₂ ¹k²e₃ mul₄ bawilci₅ 'Put it₄ in₅ mine₃ please₂'
 [2] - na qāy ¹ke mul bawilci₅ 'Put a little in mine please.'

The second sentence is considered a little more polite.

424.2. {-yi^oc-} Inceptive is obviously similar to the Semelfactive in form and meaning. In fact it could be composed of two different allomorphs of the latter; ||c|| + ||v^oc|| would give the same phonemic result as ||yi^oc||. However, the meaning of {-yi^oc-} is restricted to 'to start, to begin'; it has none of the other applications of {-c-}. And the Inceptive belongs to class vV4 of the Inner Group which otherwise has no members that can be suffixed twice to the same verb. Consequently {-yi^oc-} is classified as a separate morpheme, because then the men would be acting. The Inceptive is restricted to occurrence with verb stems ending in a vowel, but within this limit it is freely used (for a more generally employed suffix with this meaning see {-i^obi^oc-} Section 431.2):

given in the
diction. {::} >
(buwi-) + (-yi^oc-) + (-v) Sg. Imp. /buwiyi•ci ɔ/ illustrate 'Start stringing (beads)!'

Cf. /buwi•ci ɔ/ 'String one (bead)!' or 'Start vowel and stringing!' containing {-c-} ||°c||,

in t 424.30. {-Xt-} Plural Action has a great many allomorphs: ||Xt|| - ||Xta|| - ||a^ot|| - ||x^ata|| - ||ta||- ||Xt|| infixed - ||Xta^o|| infixed - ||Xh|| infixed - ||X|| ɔ + (ɔ) > ||a^oq|| - ||xa^oq|| - ||a^otaq|| - ||xa^otaq|| - ||Xwa^od|| - ||m|| - ||l^ov|| - miscellaneous others. ^{grab} + ||Xt|| + {-v}, e. (ɔ) > /dachati ɔ/ 'Grab several!'

424.34. ||Xta|| is often suffixed to verb stems ending in ||L, n, m, d, ɔ||.

The meaning is that the act is plural, either because the object that is undergoing the action is plural or because the act is performed on the same object more than once. Thus, picking up two marbles in one movement or picking up one marble twice would both require this morpheme. A verb describing two men picking up one sofa would not contain Plural Action, because they would be acting concertedly (but the Plural Agent would be used). A verb describing two men touching the one sofa would require Plural Action, because then the men would be acting independently--even though the acts were simultaneous and the object singular.

~~Form for the Plural Action and Reflexive, though, of course,~~
 The patterns are so varied and unpredictable that ~~and the latter two are often~~ the Plural Action form for each verb must be given in the dictionary. However, the recurrent allomorphs will be illustrated in the following sections.

424.31. $[\text{Xt}]$ is suffixed to verb stems ending in a vowel and is the allomorph most commonly used in that position. The presence of $[\text{X}]$ often leads to syncretism in the plural form of verbs which are different in the sev., singular:

$(\text{da-}) + (-\text{ha}^{\text{h}}\text{a-})$ 'to knock over' + $[\text{Xt}]$ + {-v} + {?} >
 $/\text{dachati} \text{ ?/}$ 'Knock sev., over!'

$(\text{da-}) + (-\text{cha-})$ 'to grab' + $[\text{Xt}]$ + {-v} + {?} >
 $/\text{dachati} \text{ ?/}$ 'Grab several!'

424.32. $[\text{xta}]$ is often suffixed to verb stems ending in $\text{ti}, \text{n}, \text{m}, \text{d}, \text{g}$. 'to stab one',
 $/\text{pheditqam/}$ 'to stab sev.'

Before certain suffixes, such as the Absolutive, this Plural Action allomorph is frequently syncretic with the Semelfactive and Reflexive; also, one by dropping:

~~/da^ha-~~ + [Xt] + {-u} ||*|| > /da^hav/ 'to grab sev.'

~~/da^ha-~~ + {-v'd-} + {-u} ||*|| > /da^hav/ 'to hold
tightly against one's self'.

~~/da^ha-~~ + {-e-} (the allomorph [e] is used with
this verb instead of the more regular [°e])
+ {-u} ||*|| > /da^hav/ 'to pick away, to steal'.

If there is a ^{longed increment} glottal onset in the basic form of the verb, its absence in the Plural always distinguishes that form from the Semelfactive and Reflexive, though, of course, not the latter two from each other;

/da^hav/ 'to knock sev. over'.

/da^hav/ 'to start to knock over, to knock over one'.

/da^hav/ 'to knock one's self over'.

Some verbs require that the Durative be used in the Plural, although it isn't obligatory in the singular:

~~cons.~~ /sidaw/ 'to leach one' : /sidatā*du/ 'to leach sev.'

Other verbs require the Durative in both the Plural and singular:

/qawa*du/ 'to chew one thing'.

/qavatā*du/ 'to chew sev. things or one at differ-
ent times'.

424.32. [Xta] is often suffixed to verb stems ending in [l, n, m, d, ə]. 'to stab one'.

/p²adət^hqow/ 'to stab sev.'

- 424.32. {-hqoto^ol-} /dahqotol^o/ 'to fail (to do) one'.
 [l, n]. This allomorph /daqbtol^otaw/ 'to fail sev. (projects)'.
 {-r^od-} {-fan-} /di^rfan^o/ 'to bruise one by dropping'.
 of most {-fan-} /di^rfantaw/ 'to bruise sev. by dropping'.
 other {-fan-} /Su^rfan^o/ 'to pull one closed'.
 /dihwintaw/ 'to pull sev. closed'.
 {-hlud-} /duhludu/ 'to pick one (berry)'.
 /dulū^rtaw/ 'to pick sev.'.
 424.33. [-yed-] /daye^o/ 'to press the hand against something'
 of some verbs ending in [-yed-] /dayetaw/ 'to press the hand against something'.
 The /diniya^o/ /daye^otaw/ 'to press the hand against something' is the active in the singular /diniyat^oa/ 'sev., sev., things'.

424.33. ||X^rta|| is often suffixed to verb stems ending in ||y||:

- {-htay-} /duhtay^o/ 'to touch one'.
 /dutay^rtaw/ 'to touch sev.'.
 {-hk^huy-} /muhk^huy^o/ 'to burn up one'.
 /muk^huy^rtaw/ 'to burn up sev.'

Verbs derived from the following stems of
 424.34. ||Xt|| is often infixated before the final consonant of the verb stems ending in ||m, q, q^o||; and the epenthetic vowel develops after the resulting two-consonant cluster:

- {-nom-} /phanom^o/ 'to hit one with the fist'.
 /phanethmaw/ 'to hit sev. with the fist'.
 {+^rya^oq-} /phi^rya^o/ 'to recognize one'.
 /phi^ryathqaw/ 'to recognize sev., something'.
 {-do^oq-} /phado^o/ 'to stab one', out of something'.
 /phadethqow/ 'to stab sev.'

424.35. [a^ot] is suffixed to some verbs ending [l, n]. This allomorph must be followed by the Durative {-v^od-}. Note that [X] is absent from this allomorph of most {-hal-} /dahal^o/ 'to dig one (hole)', in other cases /dahala^o*tadu/ 'one to dig sev.', (dihwind) /dihwind^o/ 'one to get red-hot', /dihwind*tadu/ 'sev. to get redhot'. Note, this distinction

424.36. [xta^o] is infixes before the final consonant of some verbs ending [m, q, q^o, c]; 'sev.'

(diniya^oq-) /diniya^o/ 'one to get dwarfed', factive in the singular /diniyā^ota^o/ 'sev. to get dwarfed'.

(qa^oq^oq-) /qa^oq^o/ 'one to get well'.

/s/ /qa^oota^o/ 'sev. to get well'.

(duqa^oc-) /duqa^o/ 'one to get lost', 'ing. net'.

/s/ /duqata^o/ 'sev. to get lost', 'ing. net'.

(blaqhār-) /hilaqhār^o/ 'to feed one'.

(blaqhār-) /bilaqhār*tam^o/ 'to feed sev.'.

Verbs derived from nouns and adjectives by means of the suffixes {-a^oq-} and {-a^on-} form their plural in this way--in fact some of the above examples may be such derivatives, but if so, the stems to which the derivative suffixes are added have not other use.

(sima) 'sleep' + {-a^oq-} + {-w} ||| Absolutive >

/simat^o/ 'to go to sleep'; Cf. /simata^o/ 'sev.

{- to go to sleep', / 'one to fall out of something'.

/stā^ota^o/ 'sev. to fall out of something'.

424.37. {Siwey} 'newt + {-əⁿ-} + {-v}||^o /Siwayan^o/ or
 ||^o b^v |x| 'to renew one'; cf. /Siweyastam^o/ 'to renew sev.'
 of the 424.37. [Xh] is infixes before the final consonant
 of most verb stems ending in ||e|| and to a few ending in
 other consonants:

/mə·lə·də·sə·də/ 'sev. to habitually fall out'.

{mahsae} /mahsa^o/ 'one to be damp-dry'.
 However, when the verb is preceded with a preceding
 word, this distinction is lost:

{-əⁿHolN-} /da^vHol^o/ 'to spill one',
 /də·mə dicit^o/ 'the handkerchief(s)
 /dəföhliw/ 'to spill sev.'

is(are) habitually falling out (of a pocket).
 The examples ending in stops all require the Semel-
 factive in the singular:

in ||s||:

{-tat-} /Sutāt^vciw/ 'to twist one',
 {bigat-} /Sutāhti^vw/ 'to twist sev.'

/Sutāhti^vw/ 'to twist sev.'

{-huat-} /aihuāt^vciw/ 'one to sag from getting wet',

424.40. [-huat-] /aihudhfiw/ 'sev. to sag from getting wet',

tions, /qahlūt^vciw/ 'to fail to bite off one'.

{toler-} /qalūt^vfiw/ 'to fail to bite off sev.'

424.38. [X] is suffixed to most verbs ending in
 ||t|| or ||t̪||. If there is no glottal onset in a preceding
 syllable, or no ||^o|| in the second syllable of the word,
 then the plural is phonemically the same as the singular
 in all cases:

{-əⁿtu^v-} /dətubu^v/ 'to shake one'.

{-əⁿtubu^t-} /da^vtubu^t/ 'to submerge one'.

/datubu^t/ 'to submerge sev.'

{-əⁿdi^v-} /dich^v/ 'one to fall out of something'.

/dich^v/ 'sev. to fall out of something'.

In a longer form, the cancellation of the effect of
 [°] b'y [X] would be manifest in the latter verb because
 of the different placement of the pitch:
 /di'chit'a/ 'to prune one.'
 /di'chit'a·ducō·du/ 'one to habitually fall out'.
 /di'chit'a·duce·du/ 'sev. to habitually fall out'.

However, when the verb is phrased with a preceding word, this distinction is lost:

/pá·nu di'chit'a·duce·du / 'The handkerchief(s)
 is(are) habitually falling out (of a pocket).'

424,39. [m] is sometimes added to stems ending in [°]:

{baqha°-} /baqhaw/ 'to finish~~s~~ one',
 /baqham°/ 'to finish sev.'

424,40. [m] is often added in a variety of situations, after vowels or consonants:

{tolor-} /tolotólow/ 'one to have a clear true
 (galpui-) /tolotólmaw/ 'one to have one (graying) voice'.

/tolotólmaw/ 'sev. to have clear true
 voices'.

{-əfil-} /ba'fil°/ 'one to be too noisy'.

The other form, a less acceptable plural of the same

{-hwe°n-} /Suhwen°/ 'to shake one'.

424,46. [n] /Suhwermaw/ 'to shake sev.' (There is

a plural form /Suhwena·tadu/ with the
 {-hti-} /pihtname meaning.) one with an ax'.

/pihtname du/ 'to chip sev. with an ax'.

424.42. [a^oq] is added to some stems ending in [l]: must be followed by the Durative {-v^od-}.

- {-kol-} /di^vkol^v/ 'to prune one (branch)*,
 /di^vkol^v-la^v/ 'to build one (house)*,
 /di^vkol^v-ta^v/ 'to prune sev.'

424.43. [Xa^oq] is added to a few verbs in [l]:

- {bahe^hita^ol-} /bahe^hital^v/ 'to string one
 by the Durative 'batch of meat' (batch of meat)*.
 ends in [l]; it is the /bae^hitā·la^v/ 'to string sev.'

424.44. [a^otaq] is added to a few stems in [l]:
 That the {-hkul-} /muhkul^v/ 'to stir one (pot) while even
 in the singular is of the cooking' + dissimilating effect on
 Instrumental prefix

- /muhkulā·ta^v/ 'to stir sev. while cook-
 {-hkul-} + (sev). But /muhkula^v/, containing the
 'to stir' allomorph [a^oq] is an equally accept-
 {-hkul-} + (sev) able plural of the same meaning.

424.45. [Xa^otaq] is added to a few stems in [l]:

- {qahpul-} /qāhpul^v/ 'to winnow one (trayful)*.
 all similar in case: /qahpula^v-ta^v/ 'to winnow sev.' But

{-du^o-} /qa^hu^v/ qahp^huli^v-tadu/, containing the allo-
 /du^omorph [a^ot] + Durative {-v^od-}, is an
 equally acceptable plural of the same
 'to break so that the meaning. come out', {-q^vl} 'to bend',

{-q^vl-} 424.46. [w] is added to a few stems ending in a vowel.

This allomorph must be followed by the Durative: {-du^v}/.

- {-hti^v-} /pihti^v/ 'to chip one with an ax',

- {-hti^vw-} /pihti^vw^v-du^v/ 'to chip sev. with an ax',

This 424.47. ||Xw|| is added to a few verbs in ||^o||. It must be followed by the Durative; form of the verb should be {-qasi^o-} /qawiu/ 'to build one (house)'.

424.48. /qawind^o·du/ 'to build sev.' be that end in ||^o||.

424.48. ||u|| is added to the few verbs ending in ||^o||, in which case it replaces the ||X||. It must be followed by the Durative. Note that with the verbs whose basic form ends in ||X||, it is the plural that displays a phonemic glottal onset and not the singular as is usually the case. That the glottal onset is morphophonemically present even in the singular is shown by its dissimilating effect on Instrumental prefixes beginning with an aspirated stop:

{g^hi-} + {-hseX^o} 'to wash' + {-v} > /ciseu/
'to mop one (room)', 'to talk brokenly'.

{g^hi-} + {-hseX-} + ||X>u|| + {-q^od-} + {-v} ||u|| >
/cihsewā·du/ 'to mop sev.', 'to be silent'

424.49. ||lv|| is prefixed to five verbs which are all similar in canonical form and in meanings.

{-du^o-} /dađuw/ 'to break one in two with the hands',
/daluduw/ 'to break sev. in two',
reduplicated plur. /dalotow/ 'to break in several patterns'

The other four verbs are: {-sa^o-} 'to break', {-q^oa^o-} 'to break so that the insides come out', {-q^oi^o-} 'to bend', {-q^oo^o-} 'to peel'. But besides the plural form /dalotow/, the latter verb has an equally acceptable plural /da^oq^oond^o·du/.

{-q^oad^o-} /dil^oq^oad^o·du/ 'sev. to choke',

{-hqod^o-} /dihqōd^odu/ 'he spill one onto something'.

(This verb

This appears to contain the Plural allomorph $\{X>W\}$ which suggests that the morphophonemic form of the verb should be $\{-^v\phi X^0-\}$. (material) was used here, restricted to

removed
ESTIVE

424.50. Many, but by no means all, verbs that end in $\{F\}$ in their basic form substitute $\{R\}$ for $\{F\}$ before adding one of the many allomorphs of the Plural. Note in the first two examples that $\{X\}$ in the suffix affects only the nearest preceding ~~glottal onset~~^{laryngeal increment}, not any earlier in the word, morphophonemically. See also Section 424.17 and the $\{-^vba^{\circ}\}$ /ba^vba^vbaw/ 'to bother one by talking'.

/ba^vbababata^vdu/ 'to bother sev.'

{hihlā^v} /hihlāhlaw/ 'one to gossip'.

/hihlāhlata^v/ 'sev. to gossip'.

{-^vlo^v-} /ba^vlo^vlaw/ 'one to talk brokenly'.

/ba^vloblobom^v/ 'sev. to talk brokenly'.

{Suhla^v-} /Suhla^vlaw/ 'one to be shiny'.

/Suhla^vlata^v/ } 'sev. to be shiny'

/Suhla^vhlam^v/ } 'sev. to be shiny'.

/Suhla^vlam^v/ } 'of something'.

424.51. There are three V1 roots which form a reduplicated plural in an otherwise unencountered pattern:

$-C^1CV^1C^2 \rightarrow -C^1V^1C^2C^1V^1C^2V^1$

{-hq^ha^v-} /Suhq^hav/ 'to rip one open'.

/Suhq^haq^ha^vlaw/ 'to rip sev. open'.

{-hk^hi^v-} /sikh^hi^v/ 'sev. one to choke'.

/sik^hi^vk^hi^vsiw/ 'sev. to choke'.

{-hqo^v-} /dahqo^vmaw/ 'to spill one onto something'.

(This verb

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424.60. This verb requires some suffix of the Inner Movement Indic or Middle Group in the singular--the (Supra moving from terrestrial) was used here as restricted to occurred /dagósqo?dow/ 'to spill; sev., Indication,' either see 424.52. Besides the preceding recurrent patterns there are many which do not occur more than twice. These are too numerous to list completely, but a representative sample is given below with the singular and plural forms both cited morphophonemically. See also Section 424.17 and the end of Section 425.1.

424.61. 'from a single impelling force'.

~~verb~~ mo?on- mo?ota- 'to strike, hit'.

424.62. 'to slam', Plural Movements
do?o?m- do?ohwim- 'to excrete',
u?a?e- u?ahyi- 'to pour'.

424.63. malum- maluch?ma- 'to bake in an earth oven'.

424.64. qahqa- || dae?qa- 'to rescue', ending in a

consonant qahq- the qahq- portion 'long object to move', final

consonant -hle?o? -lol- cluster 'to clean, to take something out right after the final consonant 'out of something'.

-?bol? -bol?bohlo- 'to turn upside down'.

u?al? - pac?ula?q- 'to miss (hitting)'.

424.65. A [final-] + [initial] + (-?l?) + (type given to
mention of /initial/ 'you, to peer down') + for certain
stages (dil?) + (-?l?) + (-?l?) [half + (-?l?)] in the expression
Final Act /Affirmative/ 'one to scratch across one', otherwise
in which (dil?) last stage of (dil?, v) + (-?l?) + (-?l?) + (-?l?)
/u?uhsim/ 'to scratch across sev.'

424.62. $\{\text{Xh}\}$ is suffixed to verbs ending in a vowel.
 424.60. $\{-\text{Xh}, \cdot \text{v}\} \parallel \text{[Xh}, \cdot \text{v]} \sim \text{[Xhtv]} \sim \text{[Xt]}$ Plural
 Agent movement would be followed by the Distributive;
 Movement indicates that two or more people or things are
 moving from one place to another. It is restricted to 'several'.
 occurrence with verbs which denote translocation, either
 because of the meaning of the verb root or because the
 verb form contains a Directional suffix. Although the
 suffix, Plural Act, does not customarily occur with such
 verbs, the two morphemes do contrast: $\{-\text{v}\}$ > or such
 forms 424.61.

/mo*du/ 'one to run' > 'to roll along'.

/mōhtadu/ 'sev. to run from a single impelling force'.

424.63. $\{\text{Xh}\}$ is suffixed to verbs ending in
 vowel when it is followed by the Distributive.

And with the Plural Act instead of Plural Movement:

/panahayi* motá*du/ 'one to run important news

'down' to sev. (people)'. This allomorph is also optionally used with some

verb 424.61. $\{\text{Xh}, \cdot \text{v}\}$ is affixed to stems ending in a
 consonant. The $\{\text{Xh}\}$ portion is infixated before the final
 consonant or consonant cluster. The $\{\text{v}\}$ portion is suffixed
 right after the final consonant of the stem.

(ukel-) + {-d²la-} 'down' + {-v} Absolutive >

424.67 /keli*law/ 'to peer down'.

which is (ukel-) + $\{\text{Xh}, \cdot \text{v}\}$ + {-d²la-} + {-v} > seen to

function as /kēhlalaw/ 'sev. to peer down'.

singular (dū-) + {-kis-} + {-n-} ||ma|| + {-v} > in the morphemes

Plural Act /dukihamaw/ 'one to scratch across one',

in which (dū-) + (-kis-) + $\{\text{Xh}, \cdot \text{v}\}$ + {-n-} + {-v} ||v|| >

/dukihsim*/ 'to scratch across sev.'

424.62. ||Xhti|| is suffixed to verbs ending in a vowel except when it would be followed by the Distributive:

a group {uca-} + {-m-} + {-w} ||?|| > /cam²/ 'one to fly across'.

do the a {uca-} + ||Xhtv|| + {-m-} {-w} ||?|| > /cāhtim²/

semantic 'sev. to fly across' can to be a rigid one.

The more important plural {tiliR-} + {-a⁰d-} + {-w} ||u|| > /tilitili·du/

for those already given at the end of Section 423.1.) 'one to roll along'.

together

{tiliR-} + ||Xhtv|| + {-a⁰d-} + {-w} ||u|| > all such forms have /tilitilihtadu/ 'sev. to roll along'.

424.63. ||Xt|| is suffixed to verbs ending in a vowel when it is followed by the Distributive:

{uca-} + ||Xt|| + {-wa⁰d-} ||mud|| + {-w} ||?|| /cāt^hmu²/ 'sev. to fly here and there'.

This allomorph is also optionally used with some verbs before Directional suffixes beginning with ||m||:

/cāt^hmul²/ 'sev. to fly around (an object)' is as acceptable as the more usual /cāhtimul²/.

However there is no form /mōt^hmul²/, only

/mōhtimul²/ 'sev. to run around'.

424.7. There are some monomorphemic verb stems which are inherently plural. Although these seem to function syntactically as a suppletive plural for certain singular verbs, they cannot be said to contain the morphemes Plural Act or Plural Movement because there are instances in which the latter are suffixed to a plural verb. The

Plural Act or Plural Movement because there are instances

in which the latter are suffixed to a plural verb. The

long objects separately'.

usual difference in meaning is that without one of the plural suffixes the objects undergo or do the action in a group. (With one of the plural suffixes they undergo or do the action separately or in several groups--but the semantic distinction does not seem to be a rigid one.

The more important plural verbs are listed below (except, for those already given at the end of Section 423, 1.)

together with forms with an added plural suffix when such forms have been noted; ^{such as 'to stand (as a tree')} 'sev. to stand or past does)', intrans. ^{in a group'}

ghe- - gh- 'to put one long object'.

mihca- 'to put a group ^{of objects} (any shape)'.

bane- - ban- 'to put one non-long object'.

mite- 'to put sev. separately (any shape)'.

u*dane- - 'to throw away one long object'.

edamiheca- 'to throw away a group (any shape)'.

-te*t- 'to implant one long object upright', only with

edamit- 'to throw away a group (any shape)'.

u*daba*ne- 'to throw away one Pi (ph-a-)

non-long object'.

Cf. -te*t- 'to attach one', with Pi's other than (ph-a-).

ghe- - g- 'one to get'

bi*di- - phia- 'sev. go in a group'

u*be- 'to hold one long object'.

'to hold or carry a group (any shape)'.

udi- 'to hold one non-

hayom- 'sev. go in a group (any shape)'.

long object'.

abeht- 'to carry sev. long objects separately or in a group (any shape)'.

p*abah*te- 'sev. go sep-

ediht- 'to carry sev. non-

separately or in sev.

long objects separately (any shape)'.

groups'.

-^adih-^ade-^and- 'to hold al-^{ha}la-^ato hold or carrying
or carry one object a sev. in a group or
(any shape; note this is ^aiyal-^aseparately', 'and or
a Vi, the preceding verbs a-dih- 'to carry sev.
the were not'). the middle groups separately'.

may all occur as bases twice within -sahty- 'to carry sev.',
gheog- 'to shoot one'. ou'dan- 'to shoot sev.'
They are divided into six classes on 'separately'.

dihay- 'to give one', o'doge- 'to give sev.'
eoh-to- ^{one} 'to stand (as a tree nqo'la- 'sev. to stand
or post does)', intrans. in a group'.

golata'd- 'sev. to stand
directly one thing! all or any other member of the
not in a group'.

o'e't- 'one to stand (on qohqho- 'sev. to stand',
feet)', intransitive. These are 'inclinations'

-te't- 'to implant one long -hq'hog- 'to implant
object upright', only with sev. long objects
Pi {ph'a-} upright'.

Cf. -te't- 'to attach one', with -tet- 'to attach sev.',
Pi's other than {ph'a-}.
Cf. each contain one member which may directly succeed
itself, in that instance ph'ah- 'one to go',

ph'ah- - ph'i- 'sev. go
in a group'.
contains an element {ph'a-} which occurs in
blanks in a row.

hayom- = hayohm- -
hayohwi- 'sev. go
separately or in a group'.
ph'alaht- 'sev. go sep-
arately or in sev.
groups'.

ciw- 'one to crawl or
swim'. ciy- 'sev. to crawl or swim
as a group'.

Group 3 is the smallest except v. 450. The Middle Group
to which belonging is somewhat like swim separately or in
and 'the members of the Middle are several groups'. They
may all occur at least once within the same verb form:

gheeq^o- 'to shoot one'. ou^odan- 'to shoot sev.'
They are divided into six classes on the following basis:
dihqa- 'to give one'. co^odoq^o- 'to give sev.'
(See She^oll- 'to hang one's). siwi^oe- 'to hang sev.'
(See p^oafu^om- 'to kill one'). dihuk^ouy- 'to slaughter'.
dist^o-lac- 'to fail to do number +?daya^oe- 'to fail to do
directly one thing' +self or any other member of the
same class (with the partial exception of subclass vV5a,
described in Section 451.2). These are 'exclusion'
classes only in a limited sense, for the members of one
class may co-occur in the same verb if a member of another
class intervenes.

2) The classes vV7 Causative (453.0-453.3),
vV8 Locomotory (454.0-454.6), and vV9 Durative (455.0-
456.0) each contain one member which may directly succeed
itself. In fact, there are instances of the Causative
occurring three times in succession and the Locomotory
contains an element [e^oe] which occurs from one to five
times in a row.

(431.0-431.2) vV5 Directionals
 (432.0-432.5) vV6 Reflexive and Reciprocal
 (437.0-437.1) vV10 Distributive

Since the order of the classes of the Middle Group is to a certain extent variable, the decision as to their numbering is somewhat arbitrary. The order of the members of the Middle Group of verbal suffixes may all occur at least twice within the same verb form. They are divided into six classes on the following basis:

- 1) The classes herein designated vV5 Directionals (Sections 431.00-431.2), vV6 Reflexive and Reciprocal (432.0-432.5), and vV10 Distributive (437.0-437.1) are distinguished because no member of any one class may directly succeed itself or any other member of the same class (with the partial exception of subclass vV5a, described in Section 431.2). These are 'exclusion' classes only in a limited sense, for the members of one class may co-occur in the same verb if a member of another class intervenes.

- 2) The classes vV7 Causative (433.0-433.3), vV8 Locomotory (434.0-434.6), and vV9 Durative (435.0-436.0) each contain one member which may directly succeed itself. In fact, there are instances of the Causative occurring three times in succession and the Locomotory contains an element ||a°d|| which occurs from one to five times in a row.

431.00 vV5, the Directional class, is divided into three groups. Since the order of the classes of the Middle Group is to a certain extent variable, the decision as to their numbering is somewhat arbitrary. The order employed here is that most frequently encountered in texts. Examples of classes in a sequence other than the most frequent and examples of the double use of members of the classes vV5, vV6, and vV10 (Sections 439.0-439.8) will be reserved until after all of the suffixes have been presented and described.

Three of the Directionals having a 'hither' meaning terminate in [e^o]. Consequently [ej] 'hence' and [e^o] 'hither' are recognized as morphemes, but their distribution is so restricted that they are presented and illustrated as an unsegmented element in the imperative paradigm and as part of the Directional suffix. Otherwise, if it is necessary to make the 'hither' meaning explicit in a non-imperative sentence, some other word, Inner Group except for restrictions that appear to be semantic. The Supraterrestrial and the Terrestrial, which denote action in a stationary spot, are never followed by Directionals, which denote movement. It is rare for Plural Act to precede a Directional; Plural Movement fits the meaning better. The Semelfactive seldom comes before a Directional but it should be noted that 'hence' is one of the meanings of the Semelfactive as it also is for the similarly shaped element [ej].

451.00 vV5, the Directional class, is divided into two subclasses, a and b. vV5a consists of thirteen suffixes, none of which may directly follow any other member of vV5, a or b. vV5b consists of the two morphemes, {-X¹⁰b¹c-} 'up' and {-X²⁰I¹a-} 'down', neither of which may immediately come after itself; however, either may succeed any member of the subclass vV5a when employed in the specialized sense 'to begin', e.g. *tino*, *m¹el*.

Four out of five of the Directionals ending in the 'c' element [c] have a 'hence' connotation. (Three of the ~~four~~), Directionals having a 'hither' meaning terminate in [q⁰]. Consequently [c] 'hence' and [q⁰] 'hither' are recognized as morphemes, but their distribution is so restricted that they are presented and illustrated as an unsegmented part of the Directional suffix.

Otherwise, it is necessary to make the 'hither' meaning explicit in a non-implied sentence, some other word

Inner Group except for restrictions that appear to be semantic. The Supraterrestrial and the Terrestrial, which denote action in a stationary spot, are never followed by Directionals, which denote movement. It is rare for Plural Act to precede a Directional; Plural Movement fits the meaning better. The Semelfactive seldom comes before a Directional but it should be noted that 'hence' is one of the meanings of the Semelfactive as it also is for the similarly shaped element [c]. *l¹adu*/ 'Come here!'

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[] is used often enough ending in a consonant and

431.01. { $\star\alpha^o y-$ } 'against': ~~means form a mass~~
 also means 'away to a distance', {omo-} 'to run' + { $\star\alpha^o y-$ } + {-w} ||?|| Absolutive >
 the latter /moy?/ 'to run into (an object)'. ~~on Object:~~
 {ufe^ot-} 'one to stand' + { $\star\alpha^o y-$ } + {-w} ||?|| >
 /te^otay?/ 'one to stand right next to (something)'.
 {udi^od-} 'to tell' + { $\star\alpha^o y-$ } + {-w} ||?|| >
 /di^oday?/ 'to tell (a story) to (someone)'.
 /p^hufe^olā^oqa₁ mul₂ toloto^olō₃?imo₄ =^oel₅ :/
 'Weld₁ that₂ cans over₃ the₅ hole₄.' The verb
 contains {phd-} 'by blowing (with a blow torch)',
 {-fe^ol-} 'to spread something sticky', {- $\alpha^o y-$ },
 {-hqa-} Causative, and {-v} Sg. Imperative.

431.02. {- $\alpha^o d-$ } 'along' or 'hither'. The meaning
 is usually 'hither' in an Imperative sentence and 'along'
 otherwise. If it is necessary to make the 'hither' meaning
 explicit in a non-imperative sentence, some other word
 must be added: in the distant past, {-vij} 1st Person Obj.

{^hhi=} + {-^odi-}||de|| 'to move' + { $\star\alpha^o d-$ } + {-v}
 Sg. Imperative > /c^hide^odu/ (Bring (it) here!)
 [hi de^od] + {-w}||u|| Absolutive > /c^hide^odu/
 '(He) is carrying (it) along.'
 /be^oli₁ c^hide^odu :/ '(He) is bringing (it) here.₁'
 {p^hill-} 'sev. to go' + {d>c} + { $\star\alpha^o d-$ } + {me..?}
 Plural Imperative > /p^hiladme?/ 'Come here!'
 [me] followed after stems ending in a consonant and
 after) ncp + {-w}||u||

after a few stems which would otherwise form a mono-

431.03. $\{\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\}$ 'afar' also means 'away to a distance', 'at a distance', 'from a distance (in space or time)',

the latter when coupled with {-wiy} '1st Person Object':

/mo^u- / 'to fly across or past'

{(u mo-) + \(\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\) + (-v)} Sg. Imp. + (:) >

/modu^u*c1/ 'Run away!'

\(\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\) + (-t^h-) Negative + (-v) || u.., * || + (:) >

/mo^u*dū^u*t^hu^u/ 'Don't run away!' the same

{(u mo-) + (d>g) + (-Xhtv-) + (\(\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\)) + (-w)} || * ||

See verbs $\{\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\}$ > /mōhtadi^u/ 'sev. to run away'.

{Sīt^ha-} 'to search' + (\(\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\)) + (-v) || * || >

/Sīt^ha^u*du^u/ 'to search afar', 'to go across'

/ma^u₁ trūck cahnowāhwiyam₂ to₃ q^hanilahwal₄

bata^u*duc^hwiy : / 'This₁ truck making₂ a noise₂ coming₂ westward₂ reminds me₃ of the sounds of San Francisco₄.' The final verb contains

(ba-) 'by sound', (-ta-) 'to detect', (\(\times^{\text{d}v^{\text{c}}}\)) 'from the distant past', (-wiy) 1st Person Obj. sitting in a circle).

431.04. {-m-} 'across, past'. See Section 423.1

for the distinction between this morpheme and the Supra-terrestrial (an obstruction).

[m] is used after stems ending in a vowel:

place 2 {(u mo-) + (-m-) + (-v)} || * || > /mōmt/ 'one to run past in the con across (a bridge), one to run past (a tree)'.

{nca-} + (-Xhtv-) + (-m-) + (-v) || * || > /cāhtim^u/

'sev. to fly across or past', 'to run here and

[ma] is used after stems ending in a consonant and

after {mo-) + (-ma^ud-)

after a few stems which would otherwise form a mono-syllabic word.

$\{ca-\} + \{-Xhtv-\} \{t\} + \{-m\} \{ma\} \{-w\} > /cāt^{\text{h}}maw/$ 'sev. to fly across or past'.

$\{philv-\} \{p^{\text{h}}i\} + \{-m\} + \{-w\} > /phimaw/$ 'sev. to go across or past'.

$\{mam\}$, which is apparently the use of the same suffix twice in succession, is used optionally after the two verbs $\{\text{sw-}\} \{z\}$ 'one to go' and $\{\text{ciw-}\} \{ci\}$:

$\{z\} + \{ma\} + \{-w\} > /maw/$ 'one to go across'.

$\{ci\} + \{mam\} + \{-w\} \{z\} > /mam^z/$ 'one to go across'.

431.05. $\{-mu^{\circ}l-\}$ 'around'; Sg. Imp. + (z) >

$\{\text{um}\} + \{-mu^{\circ}l-\} + \{-w\} \{z\} > /momul^z/$ 'to run

around in a circle, to run around (an object)'.

$\{\text{di}^{\circ}d-\}$ 'to tell' + $\{-mu^{\circ}l-\} + \{-w\} \{z\} > /dimmul^z/$ 'to take a message around (to people

sitting in a circle)'.

$\{k\} \{kel-\} + \{Xh., v-\}$ Plural Movement + $\{-mu^{\circ}l-\}$

$\{-w\} \{z\} > /kéhlimul^z/$ 'sev. to peer around

(an obstruction)'.

431.06. $\{-ma^{\circ}d-\}$ 'at' can mean 'within an enclosed

place like a house or pasture' or 'at a place identified in the context, enclosed or not'.

$\{\text{um}\} + \{-ma^{\circ}d-\} + \{vwa^{\circ}d-\}$ Distributive +

$\{-w\} \{u\} > /momá·duva·du/$ 'one to run here and there at a place (like a baby does)'.

$\{mo-\} + \{-ma^{\circ}d-\}$

431.06 + {d>d} Plural Agent + {-Xh..v-} || Xhtv || eastward hither Plural Movement + {-ma^od-} + {-vma^od-} + {-w} || * || > /mōhtima·dim^o/ 'sev. to run here and there at a place'.

431.07 or {-ma^odv^oc-} 'arrive' or 'as far as a place':
 (umo-) + {-ma^odv^oc-} (-w) || * || ^{> /moma·du^o/}
 'to arrive running'.
 /maca₁, mōhtima·di^o/ 'They ran home₁.'
 {ukel-} + {-ma^odv^oc-} (-w) || * || > /kēlmadu^o/
 'to inspect, look at'. 'hither' forms are homo-

431.08. {-ma^oc-} 'in hence' or 'southward or eastward hence':

meaning equivalent /silba^o ma^o/ 'to run'
 (umo-) + {-ma^oc-} + {-v} Sg. Imp. + {;} >
 /momā·ci :/ 'Run in hence!' or 'Run southward
 or eastward hence!'
 ||umo ma^oc|| + {-th-} Negative + {-v} ||u..*|| + {;} >
 /momā·thuv :/ 'Don't run in hence! (etc.)'.
 ||umo ma^oc|| + {-w} || * || Absolutive > /moma^o/ 'to
 (s) run in hence (etc.)'. Cf. the homonymous form
 in the next section. 'Run from here northward'
 {udi^od-} 'to tell' + {-ma^oc-} + {-v} + {;} >
 ||u/didnaci/ 'Take a message in or southward or
 eastward!' / 'Don't run out hence (etc.)'.
 ||umo^oz^oc|| + {-w} || * || > /mo^o/ 'to run out hence (etc.)'.
 {uhtv-} 'to put the foot' + {-z^oq^o-} + {-v} + {;} >
 /taga :/ 'Stretch your leg out!'

431.09. {-ma^oq^o-} 'in hither' or 'southward or eastward hither', 'from the north or west!'; [sil-] 'with an

{umō-} + {-ma^oq^o-} + {-v} {;} > /moma^oqo ɔ:/

'Run in hither!' or 'Run hither from the north or west!'

westward ||umō ma^oq^o|| + {-th-} + {-v} ||u..?|| > /momahth^u ɔ:/

'Don't run in hither (etc.,)!!'

/moma^o/
||umō ma^oq^o|| + {-w} ||?|| > ^ 'one to run in hither'.

Since the 'hence' and 'hither' forms are homonymous when suffixed by the Absolutive, it is necessary to use a separate word to make the meaning explicit: /silhq^{ha} moma^o/ 'to run towards here', /ha^{di} moma^o/ 'to run there'.

{u^{di}o^d-} + {ma^oq^o-} + {-v} + {;} > /didmaqo ɔ:/

'Bring the message in or from the north or west!'

431.10. {-ta^oq-} 'out hence' or 'northward or westward hence'; those beginning with 191. There are a few

{umō-} + {-ta^oq-} + {-v} + {;} > /mo^oqa/

'Run out hence!' or 'Run from here northward or westward!'

{umōta^oq-} + {-v} + {;} > /midaqo ɔ:/
||umōta^oq|| + {-th-} Negative + {-v} ||u..?|| + {;} >

/moht^hu^o ɔ:/ 'Don't run out hence (etc.,)!!'

||umōta^oq|| + {-w} ||?|| > /mo^o/ 'to run out hence (etc.,)'.

{uhtv-} 'to put the foot' + {-ta^oq-} + {-v} + {;} >
/taqa ɔ:/ 'Stretch your leg out!'

/ma^a chifeta/ 'to feed (someone else) with a spoon or fork'; {ma^al} 'food', {chi-} 'with an instrument with a handle (spoon or fork here)', {-lo^ot-} 'to attach', {-x^oq-}, {-v} || *||.

431.11. {-x^oq^o-} 'out hither' or 'northward or westward hither, from the south or east hither':

{umo-} + {-x^oq^o-} + {-v} + {;} > /mo^aqo :/

'Run out hither!' or 'Run here from the south or east!'

{umo^ax^oq^o} + {-t^o-} + {-v} || u...? || + {;} >

431.12. /mohth^au? :/ 'Don't run out hither (etc.)'; that it behav

{umo^ax^oq^o} + {-v} || *|| > /mo^a/ 'to run out hither

(etc.). Note that there is syncretism of the 'out hence' and 'out hither' forms, not only

when followed with the Absolutive as with the

'in' suffixes, but before all suffixes except

those beginning with ||?||. There are a few

verbs which have a harmonizing vowel in the

root which distinguish the two forms; see

examples in the table in Section 433.

{udi^od-} + {-x^oq^o-} + {-v} + {;} > /dida^aqo :/

'Bring a message in!' or 'Bring a message from the south or east!'

/host folo^aqoo :/ 'Smoke is coming up (out of a chimney).'; {folo-} 'to move in a cloud'.

/tulasaw/ 'to put the feet down, to sit down, to put on (pants or shoes)'.

/simlaw/ 'to crawl down, a shirt'.

- 431.12. $\{*\text{qa}^0\text{c}\}$ 'up hence'; neither 'up hence'
nor 'up' $\{\text{mo-}\} + \{*\text{qa}^0\text{c}\} + \{-v\} + \{z\} > /m\text{qa}\cdot\text{ci} z/$
Separated 'Run up hence!' mo- attached to
of note $\{\text{mo}\text{x}\text{a}^0\text{qa}^0\text{c}\} + \{-v\} z > /m\text{a}\cdot\text{qa}^0/$ 'to run up hence'.
 inc. $/w\text{a}\cdot\text{yi}=\text{qan}_1 \text{ mo}\cdot\text{du}=\text{yad}_2 \text{ e}^0_3 \text{ mo}\cdot\text{qa}^0 z/$ 'The front,
 Section 432 runner₂ ran up (to the finish line).'
 $/q^0\text{ale}_1 \text{ t}\dot{\text{a}}\cdot\text{qa}^0/$ 'to climb up a tree'; $\{\text{nhtv}\}$ 'to
put the foot'.
 $/\text{ahq}^0\text{a}_1 \text{ e}^0\text{eta}\cdot\text{qa}^0/$ 'to dip water₁ and throw it
up'; $\{\text{e}^0\text{et}\}$ 'to dip'.

- 431.13. $\{-\text{x}\text{a}^0\text{lo}^0\text{q}^0\}$ 'up hither'; $\{\cdot\}$ here means that
it behaves like $\{\cdot\}$ as far as the placement of $/z/$ is
concerned, but it is not $\{\cdot\}$ because it does not become
 $/z/$ when the following syllable is closed; $/m\text{oli}\cdot\text{ai} z/$

$\{\text{mo-}\} + \{-\text{x}\text{a}^0\text{lo}^0\text{q}^0\} + \{-v\} \{\cdot\} > /m\text{olo}^0/$ 'to
run up hither'; cf. $/m\text{qa}^0/$ 'to run up hence'.
 $\{\text{mo}\text{x}\text{a}^0\text{lo}^0\text{q}^0\} + \{-\text{t}^0\text{d}\}$ Durative + $\{-\text{ce}^0\text{d}\}$
Habitual + $\{-v\} \{\cdot\} u > /m\text{olo}\cdot\text{qod}\dot{\text{u}}\cdot\text{cedu}/$ 'to

- 431.1 run up hither habitually'; cf. $/m\text{qa}\cdot\text{ced}\dot{\text{u}}\cdot\text{cedu}/$
'hither'; 'to run up hence habitually' with the same
meaning w/ pitch pattern. In Section 431.2;

(baheu-) 'to jump' + $\{-\text{x}\text{a}^0\text{lo}^0\text{q}^0\}$ + $\{-v\} \{\cdot\} >$
 $/\text{baculo}^0/$ 'to jump up hither'. $\{\text{baheu-}\} + \{z\} >$
 $/\text{hos}\dot{\text{a}} \text{tolo}\cdot\text{qodu} z/$ 'Smoke is coming up (out of a
chimney).'; (nito-) 'to move in a cloud'.
 $/\text{atitlaw}/$ 'to put the feet down, to climb
down, to put on (pants or shoes)'.
 $/\text{aiwalaw}/$ 'to crawl down, a shirt'.

431.14. {-Xf^obi^oc-} 'up' means neither 'up hence' nor 'up hither' because what is moving up does not become separated from what it has been attached to. With verbs of motion it also signifies 'away'. Its inchoative meaning as a member of class vV5a will be discussed in Section 432.2:
 There appears to be a {omo-} + {-Xf^obi^oc-} + {-v} ||?|| > /mo^obi^o/ 'may be
 mostly' or 'to run away'.

{-fet^ot-} + {-Xf^obi^oc-} + {-v} ||?|| > /feti^obi^o/

'to stand up', 'an involuntary act'.

{-kol-} + {-Xf^obi^oc-} + {-v} ||?|| > /coli^obi^o/

'to peer by raising the head (while lying down)'.

{-d^ode-} + {-Xf^obi^oc-} + {-v} + {?} > /dobi^oci ?/

'Raise your hand!'

/ahq^{ha} ch^ooti^obi^o/ 'to dip up water'.

/cham^{os}, dade^obi^o/ 'The ocean is rising up.'

{da-} 'with waves', {-di-} ||de|| 'one to move'.

431.15. {-Xf^ola^o-} 'down'. There is no 'hence' or 'hither' connotation to this suffix. Its inchoative meaning will be discussed in Section 431.2:

{omo-} + {-Xf^ola^o-} + {-v} > /mo^olaw/ 'to run down'.

{omo Xf^ola^o} + {-th-} Negative + {-v} ||u...?|| + {?} >

/mola^othu^o ?/ 'Don't run down!'

{uhtv-} 'to put the foot' + {-Xf^ola^o-} + {-v} >

/t^{ah}talaw/ 'to put the feet down, to climb down, to put on (pants or shoes)'.

/ciwalaw/ 'to crawl down, a shirt'.

/cahq^ha c^hó̄ta·law/ 'to dip up water and pour

it down (into a jug)', then, they say,

after everyone else had begun to dance

431.2. The two suffixes in class VV5a, (-Xf^obi^oc-) 'up' and (-Xf^ola^oc-) 'down', both have the additional meaning 'to start, to begin'. The former is a much more frequently occurring suffix than the latter. There appears to be a difference in connotation which may not always be strictly adhered to:

(-Xf^obi^oc-) 'to begin a voluntary act',

(-Xf^ola^oc-) 'to begin an involuntary act'.

{ di^od-} + {-Xf^obi^oc-} + { -v } || > /didi·bi^o/

'to start to tell, to bring up a topic'.

{ q^hi dell } + {-Xf^obi^oc-} + { -v } || > /chide·bi^o/

'to start to carry, to lift up'.

/caq^hani·bi^o/ 'to start to cut with a knife',

/caq^hamí·law/ 'to cut downward'. There is no

'start' meaning, presumably because such an action would always be voluntary.

/caq^hamí·lawi·bi^o/ 'to start to cut downward'.

{q^hodan|| 'to be winter' + {-X^ha^ola^o-} + { -v }

/q^hodaná·law/ 'winter to begin'. But

in a verb /q^hodani·bi^o/ means the same thing.

/pu^há₁ fá·law₂ / '(The burden) began₂ to₂ feel₂ in the light₁.'

/bimáci₁ to₂ du^hyaq^h·law₃ / 'A thought₃ came₃ to me₂ today₁.' (du^hyaq-) 'to think'.

/mulido₁ f₁·₂ mane·bi²lig, phi¹tang₄ mace·yá⁵
 =la⁶ mane·law₇ / 'And₁, then₁, they say₁,
 after₃ everyone₂, else₃ had₃ begun₃ to₃ dance₃,
 the guard₅ started₇ to₇ dance₇, too₆.
 432.10

Presumably the guard was carried away by the excitement and started to dance involuntarily, after everyone else had started to dance voluntarily.

allomorphs exemplified in these various meanings together with a sampling of some of the unique semantic specifications. Then the various other important cases of the Reflexive will be discussed in succeeding sections.

432.11. [təd̪i] is the usual allomorph after a verb root ending in a vowel:

{ta-} 'with the hand' + {-təd̪i} 'to scratch'

[təd̪i] + (-v) Scratching + {t̪i} > /təd̪iyi/ / /

{ch̪i} 'with a handle' + {t̪i} 'to move'

[t̪i] + (-v) + {t̪i} > /ch̪it̪iyi-t̪i/ / /
 'it's moving' / / moving / /

432.12. [-d̪i] is optional with some verb roots ending in a vowel (alternating with [təd̪i]); it is the only possible allomorph after other roots ending in a vowel, and is the customary allomorph when preceded by a suffix terminating in a vowel:

{d̪i} + {-d̪i} 'scratch' + {t̪a-ləd̪-i} + {t̪o-d̪i} -
 (-v) + {t̪i} > /t̪a-d̪i/ / / scratch down -
 on yourself / /

432.0. VV6 consists of two suffixes, the Reflexive and the Reciprocal, neither of which may immediately follow itself or the other member of the class.

432.10. (-°d-) ||yi°d|| ~ ||°d|| ~ ||d|| ~ ||me°d|| ~ ... , ||i°d|| ~ ||v°d|| ~ ||i°yi°d|| ~ ||v°yi°d|| Reflexive most commonly signifies that the agent is acting on itself, for itself, or on something along with itself. The allomorphs will first be exemplified in these central meanings together with a sampling of some of the unique semantic specializations. Then the various other important senses of the Reflexive will be discussed in succeeding sections.

432.11. ||yi°d|| is the usual allomorph after a verb root ending in a vowel:

{da-} 'with the hand + {-su-} 'to scratch' + ||yi°d|| + {-v} Sg. Imp. + {;} > /dasuyi°di :/ 'Scratch yourself!' Note that this uses {ch'i-} 'with a handle' + {-di-} 'to move' + ||yi°d|| + {-v} + {;} > /ch'i°diyi°di :/ 'Take it along!'

432.12. ||°d|| is optional with some verb roots ending in a vowel (alternating with ||yi°d||); it is the only if, possible allomorph after other roots ending in a vowel, and is the customary allomorph when preceded by a suffix (-°-), terminating in a vowel:

{di-} + {-laf-} 'to scratch' + {-la°laf-} + ||me°d|| + {-v} + {;} > /dilafid°lafme°di :/ 'Scratch downward on yourself!'

432. {da-} + {-su-} + ||°d|| + {-v}+{:} > /dasu·di :/ means
except for 'Scratch yourself!', i.e., reflexive self.

{nhšic-} + {-xt-}||ma|| Plural Act + ||°d|| + {-u}||°|| >
/šic^hma[?]/ 'Sv. to say that they themselves...',
used with indirect quotations.

{šulam-} 'to be sick' + {-hqa}||qa|| Causative +
||°d|| + {-u}||°|| > /šulámqayi[?]/ 'to make one's self
sick'. But /šulámqayi[?]/, with the allomorph
||yi°d|| means the same thing. cited minimal pairs
(ma-) 'with the foot' + {-ce-} 'to hold tightly'
(> ||mace-|| 'to guard, to take care of') + ||°d||
+ {-v}+{:} > /mace·di :/ 'Wait!'

432.13. ||d|| is used with a limited number of verbs
ending in a vowel:

{da-} + {-ce-} 'to hold tightly' + ||d||+{-v} +
{:} > /dacedi :/ 'Hold tightly to yourself,
detain (someone from going)!'. Note that this
is the same verb root as in the preceding
example but a different allomorph of the
Reflexive is required.

{cadv-} 'to see' + ||d|| + {-v}+{:} > /cadudi :/
'Look at yourself (in a mirror), watch yourself,
&c.' ||cadv-|| 'to ask for (something, or
for p.)

432.14. ||me°d|| is used after the Directional {-xa°la°-}:.

{du-} + {-kis-} 'to scratch' + {-xa°la°-} + ||me°d|| +
{-v} + {:} > /dukisá·lame·di :/ 'Scratch downward
on yourself!'

432.05. $\{i^{\circ}d\}$ is the usual allomorph after consonants except for suffixes ending in $\{q, q^{\circ}, m\}$.

as in for $\{da-\} + \{-su-\} + \{-e-\}\}^{\circ}c\} \text{ Semelfactive} + \{i^{\circ}d\}$

432.06. $\{-v\} + \{\ddot{z}\} > /dasuyi^{\circ}di :/ \text{ 'Scratch yourself'}$

suffixes once! Cf. with the first example in Section

Section 4: 432.01., $/dasuyi^{\circ}di :/$ where the pitch on the

after $\{d\}$, third syllable indicates that it is not the form

containing the Semelfactive with the morphopheno-

neme $\{^{\circ}\}$. As in previously cited minimal pairs

of this type, the phonemic distinction is lost

432.07. $\{da-\} + \{-ce-\} + \{-Xt-\} \text{ Plural Act} + \{i^{\circ}d\} +$

$\{-v\} + \{\ddot{z}\} > /daceti^{\circ}di :/ \text{ 'Hold sev. tightly}$

to yourself, detain sev.' to yourself'

$/cahno_1 daceti^{\circ}ya^{\circ}/$ 'tape recorder', literally

'word, holder'. / implant sev. long objects

$\{nhSic-\} + \{i^{\circ}d\} + \{-v\}\}^{\circ} \} > /Siyi^{\circ}/$ 'one to say

432.08. that he himself... really used after stems

ending in $\{cahno-\}$ 'to make a sound' + $\{-ci^{\circ}d-\}\}^{\circ}d\} + \{i^{\circ}d\}$

$\{-v\} + \{\ddot{z}\} > /cahnodi^{\circ}di :/ \text{ 'Talk to yourself'}$

$\{ba-\}$ 'with the mouth' + $\{-hnat-\}$ 'to investigate'

($> \{bahnat-\}$ 'to ask a question') + $\{i^{\circ}d\} +$

$\{-v\}\}^{\circ} \} > /bahnati^{\circ}/$ 'to ask for (something, or

for permission)'.

$\{p^h a-\} + \{-hq^h chq^{\circ}-\} + \{i^{\circ}d\} \{-v\}\}^{\circ} \} > /pahq^h oki^{\circ}/$

'to implant sev. long objects on one's self'.

/hō·tow, ht̪heya·yi/ 'apron' or literally 'to back with spread against the front, of one's self', as a forced {-ht̪hey-} 'to spread', {-ay-} 'against'.

432.16. [v̪d] is the most common allomorph after suffixes ending in [q, q°, m]. Examples are given in Section 432.5. This allomorph is also optionally used after [d]:

(cahnoc-) + (-ci°d-) [v̪d] + [v̪d] + {-v} + (:) >
/cahnodu·di :/ 'Talk to yourself!'

432.17. [i°yi°d] is optionally used after some stems ending in a consonant:

(cahnoc-) + (-ci°d-) [v̪d] + [i°yi°d] + {-v} + (:) > /cahnodi·yidi :/ 'Talk to yourself!'
alternatively (p̪ha-) + (-hq̪oq°-) + [i°yi°d] + {-v} + (:) >
/pahq̪oki·yidi :/ 'Implant sev. long objects
on yourself!'

432.18. [v̪yi°d] is optionally used after stems ending in [d]: (to look at people) + (-i°lə°d-) 'down'

/cahnodu·yidi :/ 'Talk to yourself!'
'Look down at yourself, look back down at yourself, stop staring up (at others)'.

432.19. (-aq̪od-) 'in without' + (-i°d-) [v̪d] >
/ala·log̪o·di :/ 'Look back up, don't look down
a little bit. There is no hitner, lance, in,
(into a hole)'

North, west, south, or east walking so the combined
/alo·qodi :/ 'run up out (of a cave), run right
but the gloss 'back' needs a particularized interpretation with some verbs!

432.20. The Reflexive is also employed in the sense 'back with a quick movement' and, with the Imperative, as a forceful way of telling someone to stop doing the reverse. Three environments are distinguished: 1) after a Directional suffix, the Reflexive alone is used; 2) after verb roots ending in a vowel, ||cci|| + {-°d-} is used; 3) after verb roots ending in a consonant, ||ci|| + {-°d-} is used. The element ||ci|| is identical to the allomorph of the Semelfactive encountered after a consonant and may be identified with it. However, ||cci|| contrasts in form and meaning with the Semelfactive (to which it may be related historically). Thus ||cci|| - ||ci|| are set up as a morpheme {-cci-} which is always linked to a following Reflexive to form a suffix {-ccid-} at be Retraactive, separately.

^{latter}
There are no examples of the occurring with the morphemes Plural Act or Plural Movement.

432.21. After Directional suffixes: ^{way} _{all the 'around'}.

{ukel-} 'to look, to peer' + {-Xa°la°-} 'down'
+ {-°d-} ||mo°d|| + {-v} + {;} > /kela°lamo°di ;/
'Look down at yourself, look back down at your-
self, stop staring up (at others);'

432.22. (-na°qod) 'in hither' + {-°d-} ||vo°d|| >
/kela°logo°di ;/ 'Look back up, don't look down
'back a little bit'. There is no hither, hence, in,
(into a hole);'

out, north, west, south, or east meaning to the combined
/molo°qodi ;/ 'Run up out (of a cave), run right
form but the gloss 'back' needs a particularized inter-
back out of (down into a cave);'

432.22. After a verb root ending in a vowel:

$\{\text{u}^{\circ}\text{do-}\}$ 'to put the hand' + $\{-\text{ccid-}\}$ + $\{-\text{v}\}$ + $\{:\}$ >

/d^occidi :/ 'Jerk your hand back!'

/c^hi[°]diccidⁱ :/ 'Move (the bucket) back beside

yourself!' Cf. /c^hi[°]diyiⁱ :/ 'Start off taking it along!' with the Semelfactive.

432.23. After a verb root ending in a consonant:

(libit-) 'to glimpse' + [cid] + $\{-\text{v}\}$ + $\{:\}$ >

/libit^hcidi :/ 'Duck back out of sight!'

432.30. Five Directional suffixes, three with a 'hither' meaning and the other two non-committal as to 'hither' or 'hence', combine with the Reflexive to give constructs, which, in addition to their 'literal' meaning, signify something so specialized that each must be illustrated separately:

432.31. $\{-\text{mu}^{\circ}\text{l-}\}$ 'around' + $\{-\text{o}\text{d-}\}$ || i[°]d || >

'all the way around, around in a complete circle'.

$\{-\text{mu}^{\circ}\text{l-}\}$ alone means either part way or all the way 'around'.

/momu^liⁱ :/ 'Run all the way around!'

/didmuli^liⁱ :/ 'Take the message all the way around (a group sitting in a circle)!'

432.32. $\{-\text{ma}^{\circ}\text{q}^{\circ}\text{-}\}$ 'in hither' + $\{-\text{o}\text{d-}\}$ || v[°]d || >

'back a little bit'. There is no hither, hence, in, out, north, west, south, or east meaning to the combined form but the gloss 'back' needs a particularized interpretation with some verbs:

/moma^oqodi :/ 'Run backwards a little bit!'

/kölmaqo^odi :/ 'Peek backwards (through the legs and sometimes through the hands) or under the arm);'

432.33. (-xa^oq^o-) 'out hither' + (-^od-) [v^od] > 'out hence' with no north, west, south, or east meaning. This combined form is perhaps more frequently used than -(-xaq-) for 'out hence'. It is less easily confused with 'out hither'; [-^od] here is the Reflexive. Thus the final element /moqo^odi :/ 'Run out hence!', suffix even though it is not /dida^oqodi :/ 'Take a message out!' the combination.

[-yed-] 'to press against' has a Plural Agent form
432.34. (-xa^olo^oq^o-) 'up hither' + (-^od-) [v^od] > [-yedta-]. Here [-yed] does not belong to the Reflexive, 'up out' with no hither or hence meaning; because the Reflexive does precede the Plural Agent.

/kolá^oloqodi:/ 'Look up out (of a cave)!'

(qanu^o - /^oq^oha₁ =you₂ ciwolo^oqodi :/ 'Crawl up out from the inner [in, ing, the water]!')

432.35. (-xa^ola^o-) 'down' + (-^od-) [mo^od] > 'down off, down out'; these are listed in the dictionary with [d] as prefix.

/mola^omedi :/ 'Run down off (the hill);'
historical
/chidala^omedi :/ 'Take it down off (the table);'

432.40. Many verbs always occur with an element usually $\{d\}$ which can sometimes be associated with the Reflexive and sometimes not. (d) Plural Agent although the latter has pre $\{\ddot{\text{y}}\text{ay}^{\circ}\text{d}\}$ 'to sacrifice, to make an offering' has a Plural Act form $\{\ddot{\text{y}}\text{ayot}^{\circ}\text{id}\}$. This would be a unique pattern for the formation of the Plural Act if $\{\ddot{\text{y}}\text{ay}^{\circ}\text{d}\}$ were monomorphemic, but would be a common pattern if the root were $\{\ddot{\text{y}}\text{ay}\}$ and $\{\text{id}\} \sim \{\text{i}^{\circ}\text{d}\}$ were the Reflexive. Thus the final element is judged to be part of that suffix even though it is not identifiable from the meaning of the combination.

$\{-\text{yed}-\}$ 'to press against' has a Plural Act form $\{-\text{yedta}-\}$. Here, $\{d\}$ cannot belong to the Reflexive, because the Reflexive never precedes the Plural Act.

Other verbs such as $\{\text{q}^{\circ}\text{du}\cdot\text{cid}-\}$ 'to know' and $\{\text{qanem}^{\circ}\text{d}-\}$ 'to pray, to be related' take no suffixes of the Inner Group (except (d,d) Plural Agent) and thus $\{d\}$ cannot be attributed to the Reflexive by the order of affixation. Such verbs are listed in the dictionary with $\{d\}$ as part of the root although it may be segmentable historically.

/\text{yed}/ 'to press (against someone)'

Start with the agent:

/\text{yedta}/ 'to hold against, to introduce, to meet; (practicing) to marry (a woman)'

/\text{qan}/ 'to let out, to show; irregular Causes of /adverb/ 'to shoot'

432.5. {-mu^od-} Reciprocal may be translate variously as 'each other, together, apart, etc.' It is always associated with {d>d} Plural Agent although the latter's presence will not be manifest if there is no [d] in a substitutable position in the verb; root may have a derived meaning. /Sū- + {-q^{ha}a^o-} (> /Suq^{ha}a^o-/ 'to pull off, to saw off') + {-Xt-} [m] Plural Act + {-mu^od-} a consonant + {-w} ||?| > /Suq^{ha}amnu^o/ 'to pull apart, to saw apart'.

{ni-} + {-yi-} (> /niyi-/ 'to count') + {-mu^od-} [ar] + /not {-w} ||?| > /miyimu^o/ 'to count together, to add', /eahwenmū^oli/ 'a seesaw'; {ca-} 'by sitting', /{-hwo^on-} 'to shake', {=li} 'instrument', /eah^o, dācemu^o/ 'to hold hands, to marry (by governmental laws)'.

/da^omu^o/ 'to leave each other, to separate (of a married couple)'; { da^o-} 'to leave (alone)', /^{PAST} da^odat-| 'to leave sev. + {-w} | [ma] (> /da^ohma-| 'to run past, to outrun') + {-mu^od-} + {-w} ||?| > /da^ohma^omu^o/ 'to race (against someone)'.

/eah^o dācemu^o/ 'the cause to hold hands, to join for introduction, to meet, (proacher) to marry (a couple); choice of couple'; choice of choice in here. /ca^oqau/ 'to let see, to show'; irregular Causative of (adv-) 'to see'.

433.0. VV7 consists of one morpheme, {-hqə-} + ate
 ||hqə|| ~ ||qa|| Causative. It has both a causative and a
 permissive meaning and is usually translated as 'to cause,
 to make, to let' but it may be included in the meaning of
 the English verb root, or the construct may have a derived
 meaning.

433.1. ||hqə|| is used after a vowel and ||qa|| after
 a consonant. All of the following examples are given
 with the Absolutive suffix:

- /mohqaw/ 'to make run, to let run, to drive (a car)'.
- /molahqaw/ 'to drive down, etc.'
- /mo*qáč'hqaw/ 'to drive up hence'.
- /momahqaw/ 'to drive hither into (a garage)'.
- /mu*cáhqaw/ 'to cause to be cooked, to cook';
 ||mu*faw|| 'to be cooked'.

433.2. /mu*faw/ 'to cook sev.' {-Xt-} Plural Act.
 derives /dáč'hqaw/ 'to make (someone) leave (someone else)
 (' alone, to rescue (from molestation); > ||náč'c||

'to leave sev., to baptize', the last two, the last two
 /cu*dánqaw/ 'to let (someone) shoot sev., to
 flirt with the eyes', 'ous'.

/cohšo dícomi?/ 'to cause to hold hands, to qə-||qa||
 introduce, to meet, (preacher) to marry (a
 couple)'. Choice of Causative allomorph here.

/ca*qaw/ 'to let see, to show'; irregular Causa-
 tive of (adv-) 'to see',
 a. bbd. The rhythm will thus always be that the

433.2. The Causative is often used in immediate succession to itself. In certain instances, there may be three {-hqa-}'s in a row, but doing so is not that may be used from one to five times in succession, considered very good style because such constructions are usually ambiguous as to who is causing whom.

complimentary distribution with respect to the preceding environment /mu^včāhqahqaw/ 'to let (someone) cook, to make of the surface (someone) cook'. The first use of [-v] is a duplicate {-hqa-} 'a long object to move lengthwise' +

On a {-hqa-} (> ||uhqahqa-|| 'to shoot (an arrow)') location, + {-hqa-} + {-v} > /qāhqahqaw/ 'to let performing (someone) shoot an (arrow)'. moving from one place to /mohqāhqaaw/ 'to let (someone) drive'. duplicate /mohqāhqaaw/ 'to make (someone) let (someone else) in definite drive', imminent. the preferred sequence after verb On a verb of action, the suffix signifies that the

433.3. In small number of cases the Causative movement (i.e. intermittent) is a duplicate use intensifies derives verbs from other word classes; this meaning-i.e., it is more intermittent or continuous

{*aya*yo} 'cross' Noun + {-hqa-} + {-v} > /aya'yōhqaaw/ 'to baptize'. In a class verb, the Loconotory indicates {-uked} 'shared' Adjective + {-hqa-} + {-v} > /kōšqaw/ 'to be generous'.

All (púpu) 'feces' Imitative (a baby word) + {-hqa-} ||qa|| + {-v} > /púpuqaw/ 'to defecate'; there is an 434.1. irregular choice of Causative allomorph here, the preceding morphophonologic environment is such that the first ||*|| is activated to /*/, otherwise ||xu^vda^vda^vd|| is the allomorph. The rhythm will thus always be that the

{xu^vda^vd} + {-v} ||ub||, 'to sign on a hillside';

suffix terminates in a short syllable preceded by a longe
 434.0. Class vV8 consists of the one suffix,
 $\{-Xa^{\circ}da^{\circ}d\}$ Locomotory, which contains an element $\{a^{\circ}d\}$
 that may be used from one to five times in succession.
 The double and triple occurrences of $\{a^{\circ}d\}$ are in
 complimentary distribution with respect to the preceding
 environment and are considered to be a single instance
 of the suffix. The four and five fold use of $\{a^{\circ}\}$ is a
 duplicate occurrence of the suffix.

On a verb which does not otherwise express trans-self'.
 location, the Locomotory signifies that the Agent, while
 performing the action of the verb, is moving from one
 place to another, or is intermittently doing so. The
 duplicate use of this suffix indicates that the movement
 is definitely intermittent. the preferred sequence after
 verb On a verb of motion, the suffix signifies that the
 movement is intermittent. Its duplicate use intensifies
 this meaning--i.e. it is more intermittent or continues
 for a longer distance. so it cannot be $\{-w\}$, which is in
 a class on verbs denoting a change of state, the Locomotory
 indicates that the action continues steadily or gradually
 on--there is no movement implied.

All examples will be given with the Absolutive:

434.1. After a consonant, $\{Xa^{\circ}da^{\circ}d\}$ is employed if
 the preceding morphophonemic environment is such that
 the first $\{^{\circ}\}$ is activated to $/^{\circ}/$, otherwise $\{Xa^{\circ}da^{\circ}da^{\circ}d\}$
 is the used

(*ahli-) 'to go along a hillside (as a road does)'
 $>/Tahliwá-dadul/$
 $+ \{u^{\circ}da^{\circ}d\} + (-w) [u]$, 'to zigzag over a hillside'.

suffix terminates in a short syllable preceded by a long time, i.e. {ukel-} is /xelā•dadu/ 'to look at while riding' (in a car).

{pihmoy-} 'to smile' /pihmoyā•dadu/ 'to smile along while walking along'. and tree to tree etc. {ch'i-} 'with a handle' + {-di-} 'to put' + /ccid/ Retractive + {-Xa^oda^od-} + {-w}||u|| > to /ch'i•ccida•dadu/ 'to walk along picking up things and pulling them in close to one's self'.

{ahqol} 'long' + {-a^om-} av. (> ||ahqola^om-|| 'to become long') + ||Xa^oda^od|| + {-w}||u|| >

/ahqolā•mada•dadu/ 'to get longer and longer'.

434.2. After a vowel, ||X^oda^oda^od|| or ||wa^oda^od|| is used. Since the latter is the preferred sequence after verb roots which do not imply motion, the initial morphophoneme is probably identifiable with {-w-} Movement.

However, ||wa^oda^od|| is also used after Directionals ending in a vowel, in which case it cannot be {-w-}, which is in a class which precedes the Directionals:

{omo-} /moda^odadu/ 'to run intermittently'.

/mola^owadā•dadu/ 'to run downward intermittently around'.

434.3. Since this suffix is also affected by (d>ð), /mala^omedā•dadu/ 'to run downward intermittently', where ||me^od|| is an allo-morph of the Durative, Plural Agent

{-di-} /ch'ideda•dadu/ 'to carry in stages'.

{ahli-} 'to go along a hillside (as a road does)'.

+ ||wa^oda^od|| + {-w}||u||, 'to zigzag onea hillside'.

434.3. If the Locomotory is to be employed a second time, $\{a^{\circ}da^{\circ}d\}$ is added to whatever sequence was appropriate for the first use: /.../ 'as, so flit down'.

{-ca-} 'to fly' /cada·dadá·dadu/ 'to flit along
the back of (from branch to branch and tree to tree as a
bird does)', one readily imagines, it is
easy for /cada·wadá·dada·dadu/ 'to flit down (from tree to
tree down a hillside)', intended to be absolute-
ly ~~wadá~~.

434.4. Before Directional suffixes and the Dis-
tributive, the final $\{a^{\circ}d\}$ of any of the above sequences
is removed: /'d-/) 'to tell' /cada·dadá·dadu/ or

/cada·dadá·dalaw/ 'to flit down'; cf. the exam-
ples in the preceding section.

/chí^odicá·dalaw/ 'to pick up while moving down
with 434.6 (a hill)', cf. /chí^odicá·dadu/ 'to pick up
successively while moving'.

Subordinating /mul₁ cumáthma₂ batíwal₃ chí^odimí₄ lada₅ duwa₆ du₇/
represent 'Take₄ it intermittently₄ here₄ and₄ there₄
around₄ those₁ chairs₂ lying₃ down₅! (as in
playing an intermittent game like musical chairs)';
cf. /chí^odimú₁ lada₂ dadu₃/ 'to carry intermittently
around/

434.5. Since this suffix is one of those most
affected by {d>d} Plural Agent, the examples of Section
434.3 will be repeated including both the Plural Agent
and Plural Movement:

435 /cáhtada·dada·da²/ 'sev. to flit along', the Non-Durative /cáhtala·wada·dada·da²/ 'sev. to flit down', [e²] /cáhtada·dadá·dalau/ 'sev. to flit down', sequences formed by the action.

434.6. The description of the Locomotory which has been given is of forms which the informants consider the best usage. As one might readily imagine, it is easy for a speaker to slip and shift the position of /*/. The shifted forms are not considered to be absolutely wrong, but they are not as good. Below is given a pair with the preferable form first:

{odi⁰d-} 'to tell' /dida⁰dadá·dadu/ or is given both ways, and Plural Movement is included if

/didadá·dadá·dadu/ 'to move along stopping now

it would customarily be used with the Plural Agent.

and then to give a message, then moving on

The distribution of the allomorphs without (-d) again'.

is described in Sections 434.1-7. The exemplification with 434.6. Frequently two verbs will be used in succession, both with the Locomotory. One will have the subordinating suffix {-vn} 'while'. These verbs particular represent alternating or concurrent activities; this

simple r /teta·dadán vocada·dadu/ 'to move along, stop, s.

The D stand still, and listen; then move along again, progressive stop, stand still, and listen, etc. {uto⁰t-} ...ing'. 'to stand still', {u⁰oc-} 'to heart. Durative suffix, it is not necessary to render it overtly when the English verb implies continued action: /quatadu/ 'to chew' or 'to be chewing' (different cases).

435.0. Class VV9 consists of one morpheme, the ~~base~~^{result} Durative, {-ci^od-} ||ci^od|| ~ ||me^od|| ~ ||a^od|| ~ ||v^od|| ~ ||e^od|| ~ ||v^oce^od|| ~ ||wa^od||. The expectable sequences formed by the action of {d d} Plural Agent are all found except for those from ||e^od|| and ||v^oce^od||, which are replaced in part by ||v^oyi^od|| and ||v^owa^od|| giving a list: ||ci^od|| (which will always give the same phonemic result as ||yi^od||) ~ ||me^od|| ~ ||a^od|| ~ ||v^od|| ~ ||v^oyi^od|| (which always acts like ||v^oci^od||) ~ ||wa^oc|| ~ ||v^owa^oc||.

Since the phonemic effect with {d>d} is often quite different than it is without it, each Durative example is given both ways, and Plural Movement is included if it would customarily be used with the Plural Agent.

The distribution of the allomorphs without {d>d} is described in Sections 435.1-.7. The exemplification with the Plural Agent is given without further explanation if it follows from the simple replacement of ||d|| by ||d||. If the choice of allomorphs of the Durative in a particular environment is different than would follow from this simple replacement, such is described in Sections 435.8.

The Durative is most frequently translated with a progressive tense in English or with the phrase 'keep on ...ing'. With Kashaya verbs which require the Durative suffix, it is not necessary to render it overtly when the English verb implies continued action: /qawa-du/ 'to chew' or 'to be chewing' (different ears); /tine-wa/, certain

(unclear) Plural Adv.

/tine-1B-1C-1D/ 'hold on/ time to have running'; /tine-1B-1C-1D/ 'hold on/ time to have running up'

When the Durative is employed a second time, it has a habitual meaning. This usage will be described in greater detail in Section 436.

- 435.1. [ci^od] is used after a vowel or vowel + [i^o, r, R] when that preceding vowel is in the second syllable of the verb; /buli^olu^o·modu/ 'one to keep on coughing'; /buli^olu^o·mo^o/ 'sev. to keep on coughing'; (buwi^o) 'to string (beads)' + [ci^od] + {-w} [u] /buwici·du/ 'to keep on stringing'; /buwiyi^o/ 'sev. to keep on stringing'; /s^ogo^o·-/ 'to peel by pulling'; /s^ogo^oci·du/ 'to not [do] or keep on peeling'; /s^ogo^o·yi^o/ 'sev. to keep on peeling (one)'; /one to keep running out, north'; /simeR/ 'to sprinkle'; /sime^osimeci·du/ 'to keep but etc. on sprinkling'; /sime^osimeyi^o/ 'sev. (clouds) to keep on sprinkling'; /dahm^or-/ 'to break up clods by hand'; /dahm^ohmoci·du/ 'to keep on breaking up clods'; /dahm^ohnoyi^o/ 'sev. to keep on breaking up clods'.

435. 435.2. [mo^od] is used after a vowel or vowel + [i^o, R] (there are no examples of [r] except after the second syllable of the word) when that preceding vowel is in the third or later syllable of the word:

- 1) [mohqa-]; /mohqam^o·du/ 'one to drive'; /mohqame^o/ [i^o] 'sev. to drive (one car)'; /m^ohtahqame^o/ 'sev. to drive (different cars)'; [mo^oh^oq^o·-] Plural Act. /one to keep stringing'; /mo^oh^oq^o·lo^oq^o/ /mo^oh^oq^odu/ 'one to keep running up hither'; /m^ohtalo^oq^o/ 'sev. to keep running up

2) ||dū ^hil ci||; /dūlilcimo*du/ 'one to keep pointing once'; there is no Plural Agent form with this Semelfactive.

Section 435.3. Examples are given after ||mo X^ala^o||; /mola*medu/ 'one to run down;

/mōhtala*me^o/ 'sev. to keep running down'; ||v^od^o kulu^o R||; /kulu^okulu*medu/ 'one to keep on coughing'; /kulu^okulu*me^o/ 'sev. to keep on coughing'.

for #435.3. ||a^od|| is used after all consonants except ||q^o, e, t, d||. It is used after ||d|| of a verb root, but not ||d|| of a suffix; if used in the second syllable would be light ||mo X^aq||; /moqa*du/ 'one to keep running out, north or west hence'; /mōhtaqa^o/ 'sev. to keep running out etc.' (long as |||| of the durative allomorph is in an activatable position); /mo n||; /momā*du/ 'one to keep running across'; /mōhtima^o/ 'sev. to keep running across'.

||t^oe^ot^oy||; /tetaya*du/ 'one to keep standing against'; /qohq^oowā*ya^o/ 'sev. to keep standing against'. over their heads', see

||dū hluđ||; /duhludā*du/ 'one to keep picking one';

||du^o /duhludā^o/ 'sev. to keep picking one'. (nothes)

435.4. ||v^od||: ||v^oločo^očim^o||; /v^oločo^očim^o*du/ 'sev. to be peeling

1) ||v^od|| is always used after ||q^o||: // 'Don't keep

||qašo^oq||; /qašoqo*du/ 'to be getting well';

||bu^o /qašotā*qc^o/ 'sev. to be getting well', containing Plural Act. //

||mo X^alo^oqc^o||; /molo*qodu/ 'one to keep running up hither'; /mōhtalo*qc^o/ 'sev. to keep running up

2) When the Plural Agent is present in the verb, $\|v^o d\|$ is always used after $\|c\|$ but never after $\|d\|$ (see Section 435.9. for the latter). Examples are given after the next rule and in Section 435.5.

3) When the Plural Agent is not present in the verb, $\|v^o d\|$ is used; a) after $\|c\|$ or $\|d\|$ when the $\|v\|$ of this Durative allomorph will be in the third syllable of the verb and the $\|^\circ\|$ will be in an activatable position as 'ince'. far as the preceding environment is concerned--i.e. even if the third syllable is closed/cannot be activated, this allomorph will still be used if the second syllable would be light if the third syllable were open. b) after $\{-ma^o c-\}$ 'in hence', no matter what syllable $\|v\|$ will be in, as long as $\|^\circ\|$ of the Durative allomorph is in an activatable position in respect to the preceding environment:

running down off /m̥tala-wa^o/ 'to run off'
 $\|halud\|$; /haludi^o-du/ 'to be putting something over one's head'; /halúcw^o/ 'sev. to be putting something over their heads', see to Section 435.9. about this Durative allomorph.

$\|su^o c^o o d\|$; /Sofodi^o-du/ 'one to keep peeling (clothes) from himself'; /Sofofó^o-diwa^o/ 'sev. to be peeling from themselves'; /Sofo^o-ci^othu^o / 'Don't keep peeling (clothes) from yourself!'

$\|buwi^o c\|$; /buwici^o-du/ 'one to keep stringing (beads)'; /buwi^o-yiz^o/ 'sev. to keep stringing'; /buwi^o-ci^othu^o / 'Don't keep stringing!'

||dú ba^oc ma^oc||; /dubac^hmacl·du/ 'one to keep cracking one inward'; /du^obamá·yi^o/ 'sev. to ..'; /keep cracking sev. inward'.

part 435.5. ||e^oa|| is used after ||c, d|| when ||v^od|| is not the appropriate allomorph. That is: 'in hence'.

- 1) When the Plural Agent is not present, final suffix
- 2) when ||e|| of this allomorph will be in the fourth or later syllable, unless after {-ma^oc-} 'in hence'.
- 3) when ||e|| of this allomorph will be in an unactivatable position because of the preceding environment, whether or not the vowel of the allomorph is in the third syllable or after {-ma^oc-}.

the Causative ||o^odú·cid||; /dú·cide·du/ 'one to keep on thinking in the now'; /dú·cidwa^o/ 'sev. to keep on thinking', distributive Xa^ola^o mo^od||; /mola·medé·du/ 'one to keep running down off'; /móhtala·medwa^o/ 'sev. to keep running down off'.

||idi^od Xa^oqa^oc||; /ida·qacé·du/ 'one to keep carrying a message up hence'; /idida·qayi^o/ 'sev. to

435.6. keep carrying a message up hence'.

containing the Plural Agent ||mo Xa^oqa^oc||; /moqa·cedu/ 'one to keep running up a [d] which has resulted from the replacement of a suffix through the action of (ed). As such it is the hence'.

Plural Agent ||su ŋo^o yi^od||; /Soyoyi·dedu/ 'one to be peeling given in Section (clothes) from himself'; /Solefó·yidwa^o/ 'sev. to be peeling from themselves'.

435.5. ||^amo X^bbi^cd||; /mobi*cedu/ 'one to run away'; which is /mōhtibi*yi*/ 'sev. to run away'; /mobi*cē^bt^chu*/; As such, 'Don't run away!' The Plural Agent counterpart parts of ||^amo ma^cd||; /momā*cedu/ 'one to run in hence'; distribution /mōhtima*yi*/ 'sev. to run in hence', often

435.6. ||v^ace^bd|| is used after ||d|| of a verbal suffix; environment will be such that the first ||v^a|| of this ||^amo v^bd||; /modu*cedu/ 'one to keep running along'; cannot be activated, if the first /mōhtadi*yi*/ 'sev. to keep running along'. environment where it is used instead of ||^amo X^bda^cda^dd||; /moda*dadū*cedu/ 'one to keep ||^ada^dd|| is used instead of ||^amo X^bda^cda^dd||; /moda*dadū*cedu/ 'one to keep running intermittently'; /mōhtada*dadi*yi*/ Sections 435.4 and 435.5; others follow in contrasting pairs 'sev. to keep running intermittently'.

435.7. ||wa^ad|| is used optionally and freely after the Causative (instead of ||me^ad||). The Plural Agent form is the normal ||wa^ad||, which has an additional peculiar distribution of its own to be described in Section 435.9.

||^amo hq^b||; /mohqawā*du/ 'one to keep driving one'; /mohqawa*/ 'sev. to keep driving one'; /mōhtahqawa*/ 'sev. to keep driving sev.'

435.8. ||v^ayi^bd|| is an allomorph of the Durative containing the Plural Agent morpheme. It is used after a ||d|| which has resulted from the replacement of ||d|| of a suffix through the action of {d>d}. As such it is the Plural Agent counterpart of ||v^ace^bd||. Examples were given in Section 435.6.

But there seems to be some option.

435.3. [v^owa^od] - [wa^od] are used after a [d] consonant, which is not the result of the replacement of a [d]. As such, they are partially the Plural Agent counter-parts of [v^od] and [e^od] but with quite different ² of the distributions. Absolutive examples in the grammar are often

[v^owa^od] is used when the morphophonemic environment will be such that the first [o] of this allomorph cannot be activated. If the first [o] would be in an environment where it would be activated, the allomorph [wa^od] is used instead. Some examples were given in Sections 435.4 and 435.5.; others follow in contrasting pairs:

[mo hti mu^ol i^od wa^od •] > /mōhtimū·lidwa^o/;

[di^od mu^ol i^od v^owa^od •] > /dīmūli·diwa^o/;

In such meaning 'sev. to keep running all the way around' and 'sev. to keep taking a message all the way around'. This is described in Section 435.5.

[mo hti ma^oq^o v^od wa^od •] > /mōhtimā·qodwa^o/;

[di^od ma^oq^o v^od v^owa^od •] > /dīmaqō·diwa^o/;

'sev. to keep running back' and

'sev. to keep taking a message back'. In this case it also signifies past tense action.

If a different vowel follows the Durative, the allomorph of the Durative may follow the Distributive allomorph which contains [d], and [v^owa^od] or [wa^od] if the distributive allomorph contains [d]. But there seems to be some option.

436.0. The Durative often occurs twice in succession, examples are given in the choice on the following two pages. The presence of the Plural Agent morpheme is shown by marking + in the box and marking the replacement with the simple present tense of English or by means of the phrase 'used to...'. Absolutive examples in the grammar are often translated by an infinitive phrase in English, in which case an adverb such as 'habitually' or 'customarily' is necessary to render the full sense of the Kashaya verb.

With no Plural Agent morpheme present, the allomorph is $\{v^{\circ}ce^{\circ}d\}$, the one always used after $\{d\}$ of a suffix. With the Plural Agent present, the allomorphs are: -
 $\{v^{\circ}yi^{\circ}d\} \sim \{v^{\circ}wa^{\circ}d\} \sim \{va^{\circ}d\}$. If the vowel of the first occurrence of the Durative is $\{a\}$, then $\{v^{\circ}yi^{\circ}d\}$ is used. If the vowel of the first occurrence of the Durative is $\{i\}$ in such an environment that it will be /i/, then $\{v^{\circ}wa^{\circ}d\}$ or $\{va^{\circ}d\}$ are employed. The selection between the latter two is made as described in Section 435.9.

If a different vowel than these two precedes, the choice seems to be optional with $\{v^{\circ}yi^{\circ}d\}$ being favored in the majority of cases along, the Locative, or the Distributive.

The Durative may follow the Distributive, in which case it also signifies habitual action. With the Plural Agent morpheme present, the allomorph of the Durative is $\{v^{\circ}yi^{\circ}d\}$ if the Distributive allomorph contains $\{a\}$, and $\{v^{\circ}wa^{\circ}d\} \sim \{va^{\circ}d\}$ if the distributive allomorph contains $\{u\}$. But there seems to be some option.

Examples are given in the charts on the following two pages. The presence of the Plural Agent morpheme is shown by marking + in its slot and making the replacement d>d in the allomorphs of the suffixes affected.

Class VbV?

437.0. $\wedge \{-wa^d\}$ $\|\hat{v}^o wa^d\| \sim \|wa^d\|$ Distributive means that the action takes place in different places or moves in a haphazard manner. It is usually translated 'here and there' or 'about'.

The selection of the proper allomorph is made by rules completely analogous to those given in Section 435.9. If the preceding morphophonemic environment is such that the first $\|^o\|$ of $\|\hat{v}^o wa^d\|$ will not be activated, then $\|\hat{v}^o wa^d\|$ is the allomorph to use. If the first $\|^o\|$ of $\|\hat{v}^o wa^d\|$ would be activated, then it is not the correct allomorph, $\|wa^d\|$ is the required one.

The Plural Agent forms are fashioned regularly and are selected in the same manner, except for the portmanteau morphs described in Section 437.1.

The Distributive is restricted to occurrence after the Directional 'along', the Locomotory, or the Ddirative. It cannot occur after a Directional suffix containing the morpheme (-qo-) 'hither' unless the latter is followed by the Reflexive.

When succeeding the Locomotory, the last $|a^d\|$ sequence of that morpheme is omitted.

Translation of the forms on the chart

1. 'one to run'

/mon'quaddū•cedu/

2. 'one to peer'

/hol'du•duua•duu/

3. 'one to run around'

/mon'd'lan'quaddū•cedu/

4. 'one to peer around'

/hol'du•duua•duu/

5. 'one to run here'

/mon'quaddū•cedu/

6. 'one to peer here'

/hol'du•duua•duu/

1p. 'gov. to run alone'

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Absolutive

/mon'quaddū•duu/

2p. 'gov. to run around'

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Durative

/mon'quaddū•duu/

3p. 'gov. to run around'

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Distributive

/mon'quaddū•duu/

4d. 'one to run here'

/mon'quaddū•duu/

5d. 'one to peer here'

/hol'du•duua•duu/

Durative

/hol'du•duua•duu/

6d. 'one to run around'

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Reflexive

/mon'quaddū•duu/

7d. 'one to peer around'

/hol'du•duua•duu/

Directional

/mon'quaddū•duu/

1pd. Plural Movement

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Pl. Agent

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Verb Root

/mon'quaddū•duu/

2pd. 1p. Agent

/mon'quaddū•duu/

3pd. 2p. Agent

/mon'quaddū•duu/

4pd. 3p. Agent

/mon'quaddū•duu/

5pd. 4p. Agent

/mon'quaddū•duu/

6pd. 5p. Agent

/mon'quaddū•duu/

Translation of the forms on the charts: -m°-d° + (-n) [u]>

1. 'one to run along (or hither) habitually'.
 2. 'one to peer habitually'.
 3. 'one to run around habitually'.
 4. 'one to peer around habitually'.
 5. 'one to run all the way around habitually'.
 6. 'one to peer all the way around habitually'.
-
- 1p. 'sev. to run along (or hither) habitually'.
 - 2p. 'sev. to peer habitually'.
 - 3p. 'sev. to run around habitually'.
 - 4p. 'sev. to peer around habitually'.
 - 5p. 'sev. to run all the way around habitually'.
 - 6p. 'sev. to peer all the way around habitually'.
-
- 1d. 'one to run here and there habitually'.
 - 2d. 'one to peer here and there habitually'.
 - 3d. 'one to run around here and around there habitually'.
 - 4d. 'one to peer around this and that habitually'.
 - 5d. 'one to run all the way around this and that habitually'.
 - 6d. 'one to peer all the way around this and that habitually'.
-
- 1pd. 'sev. to run here and there habitually'.
 - 2pd. 'sev. to peer here and there habitually'.
 - 3pd. 'sev. to run around this and that habitually'.
 - 4pd. 'sev. to peer around this and that habitually'.
 - 5pd. 'sev. to run all the way around this and that habitually'.
 - 6pd. 'sev. to peer all the way around this and that habitually'.

436 {ca-} 'to fly' + {Xv⁰d-} 'along' + {-wa⁰d-} + {-w} || u || > combining /can⁰wadu/ 'to fly about, to fly here and there'. Direct {indi⁰d} 'to tell' + {-ci⁰d-} || v⁰d || Durative + -tive in the first {-wa⁰d-} || v⁰wa⁰d || + {-w} || u || > /didi⁰duwā⁰du/ and an imperative 'to tell about (a happening)'. And plural verbs, {indi⁰d} + {-xa⁰da⁰d-} || Xa⁰d || Locomotory + {-wa⁰d-} suffix is || v⁰wa⁰d || + {-w} || u || > /dida⁰duwā⁰du/ 'to go about verb the telling, to go here and there telling'.

Many other examples are given in the charts on the preceding pages. [uwl ~ lwl ~ lwl 'one to go' is also a suppletive]

437.1. When the three morphemes Plural Agent, 'along', and the Distributive occur together, they are represented by one of two portmanteau morphs: ||mud|| [ahmud]. ||mud|| occurs after a consonant, commonly ^{that of} the ||t|| allomorph of Plural Movement (which is only used before ||mud||). ||ahmud|| occurs after a vowel, commonly ^{that of} the ||h..v|| allomorph of Plural Movement;

{di⁰d} 'to tell' + ||mud|| Plural Agent, 'along', {-w} || u || Absolutive >

Distributive /didmud/ 'sev. to tell about

(what has happened to them)', 'on to go'. The

{ca-} 'to fly' + ||t|| Plural Movement + ||mud|| + ||?|| >

/cāthmu?/ 'sev. to fly about, here and there', a-

{kele} 'to peer, look + ||h..v|| + ||ahmud|| + ||?|| > od||

/kéhlahmu?/ 'sev. to look about, here and there'.

438. An illustrative paradigm will now be presented combining three very common verbs with fourteen different Directionals.¹ Each form is followed by the an imperative in the first column of examples and by two Duratives and an imperative in the second. With the dual and plural verbs, the Plural Agent is also present and the imperative suffix is {-mo.~?} Plural Imperative. With the singular verb the suffix is {-v} Singular Imperative, beginning with

The three verbs are:

p. Note {||w-}, ||wo|| ~ ||w̄|| ~ ||o|| 'one to go' is also a suppletive ||wo|| occurs before {-X⁰q⁰-} 'out hither and where it is exp. {-X⁰lo⁰q⁰-} 'up hither'. ||w|| occurs before other Directionals beginning 'around', 'around', with a vowel.

||o|| occurs before Directionals beginning with a consonant.

{||da-} 'to extend (of a path or road)' + {-hqa-}

Causative together might literally mean something like 'to make trail', but it is only employed in the specialized meanings 'two to go (either sex)' or 'a few men to go'. The Directional commonly precedes the Causative in this meaning. The allomorph of the first Dative is ||wa⁰d|| in the examples cited, but ||me⁰d|| would be perfectly acceptable.

hither:

sende⁰da⁰

sende⁰da⁰ - diy⁰da⁰

y⁰laha⁰da⁰

y⁰laha⁰da⁰ - diy⁰da⁰

{p^{hi}l-} ||p^{hi}lo|| ~ ||p^{hi}le|| ~ ||p^{hi}l|| ~ ||p^{hi}||
 Directional Imperative Double Durative Imperative
 Meaning 'sev. to go in a group'.

||p^{hi}lo|| occurs before {X^aoq^o} 'out hither' and
 'along' {-X^ao^lc^oq^o} 'up hither', ced^u·ced^u

||p^{hi}le|| occurs before {Xi^obi^oc^o} 'up'.

||p^{hi}l|| occurs before other Directionals beginning

with ||X|| plus a vowel, ced^u·ced^u

||p^{hi}l|| occurs before Directionals beginning with
 a consonant, p^{hi}laci·yid^u·du

Note that with {nw-} 'one to go' there is also a
 suppletive stem and several irregular forms without // where it is expectable; namely /he ones glossed 'up, away',
 'around', 'in hence' (but not 'in hither'), 'out hence',
 'out hither', and 'down'.

1. 'hither'	sal ^u	p ^{hi} laci·yid ^u ·du
2. 'around'	muli	muli·du ^u ·du
	damálcqame?	damálcqawa·diyid ^u ?
3. 'up'	p ^{hi} laci·yid ^u ·du	p ^{hi} laci·yid ^u ·du
4. 'away'	da·bi	da·bi·du ^u ·du
5. 'at'	na·du	na ^u du·ced ^u ·ced ^u
	p ^{hi} laci·yid ^u ·du	damálcqawa·ciyicme?
6. 'down'	p ^{hi} macme?	p ^{hi} maci·yicwacme?
	dalahawu?	dalahawu·diyid ^u ?
7. 'arrive'	madu·si	madu·ced ^u ·ced ^u
	dumá·di ^u qawu?	p ^{hi} laci·muli·yid ^u ?
	p ^{hi} ma·di ^u mo?	dumá·di ^u qawu·diyid ^u ?
8. 'in'	maoi	maoi·du ^u ·du
'hither'	damálcqame?	damálcqawa·diyid ^u ?
	p ^{hi} macme?	p ^{hi} mayi·diwadue?

8. Directional Imperative Double Durative Imperative
Meaning

1.	'along'	wa·du	wadu·cedú·cedu
	'out'		
	'hence'	daqame?	daqawá·diyidme?
	'there'	p ^h iladme?	p ^h iladi·yidwadme?
2.	'afar'	wadu·ci	wadu·cedú·cedu
10.	'out'	wege	wege·duce·du
	suffixed may be 'hither'	da·bich ^h qame?	da·bich ^h qawa·diyidme?
	of the Durative	p ^h ila·dich ^h me?	p ^h iladi·yidwadme?
		p ^h ilame?	p ^h ilope·diyidme?
3.	'across'	{ ma	maci·duce·du
11.	'up'	maed·ci	maed·duce·du
	or	mama	mama·duce·du
	'hence'	da·cóchame?	dámqawé·diyidme?
	'since'	dámqame?	p ^h imayi·diwadme?
		p ^h imame?	p ^h imamá·du
12.	'up'	{ p ^h imáume?	p ^h imamá·du
	or	dalohqame?	dalohqawa·diyidme?
	'hither'	muli	muli·duwa·du
	'around'	p ^h ilohqame?	p ^h ilohqawa·diyidme?
		damílqame?	damílqawa·diyidme? 17?
13.	'up' or 'away'	p ^h imílime?	p ^h imulá·diyidme? 17?
		da·bich ^h qame?	da·bich ^h qawa·diyidme?
5.	'at'	ma·du	madu·cedú·cedu
		damáćqame?	damáćqawa·ciyicme?
14.	'down'	p ^h imacme?	p ^h imaci·yicwacme?
		dalohqame?	dalohqawa·diyidme?
6.	'arrive'	madu·ci	madu·cedú·cedu
		damá·dich ^h ame?	damá·dich ^h qawa·diyidme?
		p ^h ima·dich ^h me?	p ^h imadi·yidwadme?
7.	'in'	maci	maci·duce·du
	'hither'	damáć ^h qame?	damáć ^h qawa·diyidme?
		p ^h imáć ^h me?	p ^h imayi·diwadme?

8. 'in' & 'di ma*go' ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~used~~ ^{maqó} du affixes of
the 'hither' & ^{dañhme?} ~~be~~ ill ^{dahqawa} diyiðme? with
an indication of ^{p'himáhme?} the ^{p'himaðó} diyiðme? thing.
9. 'out' feasible waqa try to pre waqá du affixes combin-
ation hence? ^{dahqame?} ~~be~~ ^{dahqawá} diyiðme?
there does ^{p'hiláhme?} ~~be~~ ^{p'hilaqa} diyiðme? ~~thing~~
limit to the number of words any class of
10. 'out' woqo ^{woqó} du affixes may be used. However, ^{be} ^{dahqawa} diyiðme?
hither' ^{dahqame?} ~~be~~ ^{p'hilóhme?} ~~be~~ ^{p'iloqo} diyiðme?
of the Durative ^{easy understand} ~~be~~ less in certain cases.
11. 'up' varying from ^{waqá*ci} ~~be~~ ^{waqá} cedu cedu
hence! once in handling any ^{da*qáchqame?} ~~be~~ ^{da*qáchqawa} diyiðme?
pick ^{p'hilaqáchme?} ~~be~~ ^{p'hilaqá} yidwadme?
439.1. 775 and
12. 'up' ^{woló*go} ~~be~~ ^{woló} qodu cedu
hither' ^{daloqhame?} ~~be~~ ^{daloqhawa} diyiðme?
^{'Point down at (the person)}
^{or yourself'} ^{p'hilolóhme?} ~~be~~ ^{p'hiloló} qodi yidme?
^{/dulili} / Point at yourself while going down!
13. 'up' or cohtcei ^{cohtoci} ~~be~~ ^{cohtoci} duce du
'away' da*bichqame? ^{da*bichqawa} diyiðme?
^{/dulili} / Point at each other while
going down!
14. 'down' wala ^{wala*modu} cedu
More complex examples are Directional + Reciprocal +
dalohqame? ^{dalohqawa} diyiðme?
Directional, and Reciprocal + Directional + Reciprocals
^{p'hilala*me?} ~~be~~ ^{p'hilala} medi yidme?
^{/ayóhwimilimide*lamet?} / 'Go around each other'
(i.e. exchange places) while walking down!
^{/guifilmidahundme?} / 'Point at each other while
passing each other!'

439.0. Different arrangements of the suffixes of the Middle Group will now be illustrated together with an indication of the effect that order has on meaning. It is not feasible to try to present all possible combinations; only a sampling can be exemplified.

There does not seem to be any definite grammatical limit to the number of times any one suffix or class of longer suffixes may be used. However, two of one class (or four of the Durative) appears to be a practical quota for easy understanding. It may be less in certain cases, varying from speaker to speaker according to his experience in handling any particular combination.

439.1. VV5 and VV6:

Combinations such as these credit usually such meanings as /dukilā·lame²·di²/ 'Point down at yourself!' or /dukilmuda²·lame²·di²/ 'Point down out of (the window)!'. The differences are apparently handled with the Distributive or syntactically.

/dukili²·dala²/ 'Point at yourself while going down!'

439.2. VV5 + VV6: This is given in the formula. /dukilā·lamudme²/ 'Point down at each other!' is the Directional + Reciprocal which precedes the /dukilmuda²·lame²·di²/ 'Point at each other while going down!' Distributive. A Directional cannot immediately follow and vice versa. It may be singular or plural either the Durative or Distributive. It might be possible

More complex examples are Directional + Reciprocal + Directional, and Reciprocal + Directional + Reciprocal; but there are no such examples.

/hayóhwimulmuda²·lame²·di²/ 'Go around each other

(i.e. exchange places) while walking down!'

/dukilmudahmudme²·di²/ 'Point at each other while

passing each other!' Possible but that of the first example is more usual.

439.2. VV5 and VV7:

Ref? /molahqa :/ 'Drive (the car) down'; to act on (B):

/mohqawa-la :/ 'Drive while going down'; at himself;

Causative + Reciprocal: (A) causes (B) to act on (A);
The first example is more usual.

/dulkili-mukito :/ 'Make him point at you!'

439.3. VV5 and VV6:

/ch'it-dim-maca-dadu/ 'to pick up going in going along';

which would i.e., 'to go along (a hall) going in (each door),

very common picking up (outgoing mail) just in the act of
going in', pointing at yourself!

/ch'it-dicä-dima/ 'to pick up going along inward';

i.e., 'to go along inward (through a tunnel)

picking up (a rope)!'.

/ch'it, b'w'la/ 'to believe' or more literally
Combinations such as these aren't usual; such meaning differences are customarily handled with the Distributive or syntactically.

439.4. VV5 + VV9 ± VV10. As given in the formula,

the Directional precedes the Durative which precedes the
Distributive. A Directional cannot immediately follow
and vice versa. (A) and (B) may be singular or plural;
either the Durative or Distributive. It might be possible
for the Directional to succeed the latter two if class
VV6 or VV7 intervened, but there are no such examples in
the corpus: VV6 and VV7

/dulkili-degu/ 'Keep pointing at yourself!'

/dulkili-duyi-di / seems to mean the same thing.

Both arrangements are acceptable but that of the first example is more usual.

439.5. vv6 and vv7;

Reflexive + Causative. (A) causes (B) to act on (B):

/dulkiliqqa nu'kito * :/ 'Make him point at himself!'

Causative + Reflexive. (A) causes (B) to act on (A);

/dulkilqadi nu'kito * :/ 'Make him point at you!'

/da'faqā-di :/ 'Let him find you!'

This sequence also means (A) causes [A] to act on (A), which would seem to be an otiose construction but it is very commonly used to signify 'deliberately'. Compare:

/dulkili-di :/ 'Point at yourself!'

/dulkilqadi :/ 'Make yourself point at yourself, and Point at yourself deliberately!'

/qimmi bā'faqa*/ 'to believe' or more literally

'to make it sound true, to one's self'.

Reciprocal + Causative. (A) causes group (B) to

act on other members of group (B); at himself.

/dulkilmadqa :/ 'Make them point at each other!'

Causative + Reciprocal. (A) causes (B) to act on (A) and vice versa. (A) and (B) may be singular or plural:

/dulkilqamudme* :/ 'Make yourselves point at each other; yourself.'

439.6. vv6 and vv9;

/dulkili-dedu/ 'Keep pointing at yourself!'

/dulkila-duyi-di :/ seems to mean the same thing.

Both arrangements are acceptable but that of the first example is more usual.

439.7. vV7 and vV9:

/dulkilqame·du:/ 'Keep making him point!'

/dulkilán·qa :/ 'Make him keep pointing!'

/dulkilán·qame·du :/ 'Keep making him keep pointing!'

Suffix classes of the Outer Group are characterized by the property of being able to be added after any of the above first occurrences up to a maximum form.

/dulkila·ducen·qame·duce·du :/ 'Habitually make him point habitually!' A native speaker would consider this example overdone except for unusually emphatic circumstances, just as an English speaker would 'He kept pointing and pointing and pointing.'

Outer Group may be affixed to the defective verb ("y" for ASL) 439.8. vV6, vV7, and vV9: the Middle or Inner Groups to be at /dulkili·qame·duce·du :/ 'Habitually make him point then only at himself!' as follows (Section 444.21).

a) ~~keep~~ /dulkili·dedu·con·qa :/ 'Make him point at himself habitually!' Past (Section 445.2), no member of the o /dulkilade·duce·du :/ 'Habitually make him point at yourself!'

/dulkila·ducen·qadi :/ 'Make him point habitually at yourself!'

441. Class VIII consists of one morpheme {-add-}.

444.0 Defunctive, with a Plural Agent form [-céd-]. It is one of two morphemes in the Outer Group which can be used twice in one chain of suffixes.

440. The Outer Group

Suffix classes of the Outer Group are characterized by one property differentiating them from the classes of the Middle Group: They all occur in a fixed position with respect to each other and they all follow any class or of the Middle Group. With an inanimate Agent it may occur twice. In addition there are two other distinguishing features which, although not without exceptions, do hold for the vast majority of suffixes:

1) Suffixes of the Active, Outer Group may be affixed to the defective verb {-} Active-Assertive. The only suffix of the Middle or Inner Groups to be affixed to the Assertive is {-hqa-} Causative, and then only when the Optative follows (Section 444.21).

2) Except for the two suffixes {-céd-} Defunctive (Section 441.0) and {-mi-} Remote Past (Section 443.2), no member of the Outer Group occurs twice in one suffix chain.

live₂, there₁

/mən₁ siyitcithiniyə₂ / 'They, the departed,

generations, never used₂ to do that₁'.

/mən₁ nch'oyitcī'do₂ / 'It₂ is₂ said₂ they, the

former₂ (Indians), used to live₂ like₁ that₁'.

This and succeeding examples contain {-do} Quotative.

441. Class vVII consists of one morpheme {-céd-} Defunctive, with a Plural Agent form ||*cédé|. It is one of two morphemes in the Outer Group which can be used twice in one chain of suffixes.

It signifies that the action was done by someone now dead. It is often preceded by the Durative, and then refers to habitual action of the deceased person.

If the Agent is inanimate, the action has gone on for a generation or more. With an inanimate Agent it may occur twice in succession and then signifies that the action has gone on for many generations.

The Defunctive is frequently followed by the Quotative, in which case it may often be best translated by 'traditionally' or 'handed down'.

The Defunctive is not obligatory in any of the above situations and is now employed more rarely than it used to be.

- 442.0 Class vVII contains one suffix: {-t̄h-} (th) Negation.
Examples with the Defunctive underlined are:
- /ni₁ *icecēdū₂:/ 'He, now₂ dead₂ used₂ to₂ live₂ there₁.' /noht:/ 'It isn't running.
 - /men₁ siyicithimiyam₂:/ 'They, the departed,₂ generation₂, never₂ used₂ to₂ do₂ that₁.'
 - /men₁ nohp^hoyicithdo₂:/ 'It₂ is₂ said₂ they, the former₂ (Indians), used₂ to₂ live₂ like₁ that₁.'

This and succeeding examples contain {-do} Quotative.

/ko^o·kó₁ ce^odo₂ :/ 'It₂ is₂ traditionally₂ said₂ to₂
and 2nd Pl. be₂ tabu₁.' or as the phrase is more commonly
translated 'It's dangerous'. This and the
following examples contain the verb {-} Assertive.

(-z) /men₁ ci^odom₂ mul₃ cahnow₄ :/ 'That₂ is₂ the
traditional₂ way₁ to₄ sing₄ that₃.'

443.0 Class vV12 contains three suffixes, all of
very restricted distribution.
/ya₁ phila^oli₂, phila^oti₃, do^o6 ci^odo₅ cahnow₆ :/
443.1 'In₃ order₃ to₃ go₃ (back), where₂ we₁ came₂
suffix never
(from), (we are supposed to) sing₆ a song₄ that
one of two
is₅ handed₅ down₅.'
and [wə] is

/bi^oda₁ bi^odama*cedu^oce^ocedu^odo₂ duweni₃ =lto^o4
dičmu^o5 :/ 'It has been told₅ since₄ the early₃
but the first person pronoun object is always expressed
days₃ that the river₁ has flowed₂ southward₂ for₂
syntactically. On this occasion is used
many₂ generations₂.' The verb form contains
before /

{-ma^oc-} 'in hence, southward or eastward Hence'.

442.0 Class vV12 contains one suffixes.
but

442.1 {-t^h-} ||th|| ~ ||t^hi|| ~ ||t^hu|| Negative.

||th|| occurs before a vowel or ||ă||:

{ mo- } {to run} + {-Xa^oq-} {out} + ^{hence*} ||th|| + {- }

Factual + {;} > /moht^h :/ 'It isn't running

across.'

||th^h|| occurs before consonants except those of the
two morphemes; 2nd Sg. Imp. and 2nd Pl. Imp.

||omo Xa^oq th^h|| + {-q } Circumstantial + {;} >

/moht^hiq^h :/ 'It didn't run out.' movement not
containing a Directional with a 'hence' meaning and then

(-wi-) [thu] occurs before the two morphemes: 2nd Sg. Imperative and 2nd Pl. Imp; independent pronoun object and consequently is not called no X² c. th² u] + (-v) || . ; || 2nd Sg. Imp. This is limited by /noht² u² /, 'Don't run out!' only occurs before (-y) Visual Subordinative or close VV14 (this is)

443.0 Class VV13 contains three morphemes, all of very restricted distribution. {-q²-} 'out either' + (-wi-) +

443.1 (-wi-) [vi] ~ [ve] 1st Person/Object. This suffix never occurs with the Negative and always precedes either one of two morphemes: [vi] is used before (-y) Visual and [ve] is used before (-v) 2nd Sg. Imperative. It is not obligatory when there is a first person object; but the first person pronoun object is almost always expressed syntactically when this morpheme is present: to occur once before /ma²a₁ tō₂ dihqave₃ / 'Give₃ me₂ food₁' The verb long (over form contains (dihqa-) 'one to give'; (-wi-) [ve]; but the pr (-v) || . . . || 2nd Sg. Imp. or that the Indians of preceding /ma²a₁ tō₂ dihqav₃ / 'Give₃ me₂ food₁' There is no personal difference in meaning even though this sentence in succession ends contains no (-wi-);s on the remoteness of the past but no definite difference in meaning could be (-wi-) is often used when the Objective case of the first person is employed to indicate an involuntary act:

/ma²a₁ *dawa-lawiye₂ tō₃ / 'I₃ am₂ starting₂ to₂
get₂ hungry_{1,2} *' I₃ did₂ not₁
live₁ long₁ ago₁

This suffix is also added to verbs of movement not containing a Directional with a 'hence' meaning and then the food, being having arrived, this was judged

(-wi-) means 'hither'. In this sense it is not necessarily linked with an independent pronoun object and consequently is not completely redundant. However, its usefulness is limited because in this meaning it may only occur before {-y} Visual:

{mō-} 'to run' + {-Xā^oq^o-} 'out Hither' + (-wi-) + {-y} Visual + {;} > /mohwiy :/ 'He is running

(-bi-) 'out hither.' There is no ambiguity as to whether hither or hence is meant. Without (-wi-) the sentence would be /mohy :/ which might contain either {-Xā^oq^o-} 'out hence' or {-Xā^oq^o-} 'out hither'.

Compare final Circumstantial, Section 444.13.

443.2 (-mi-) Remote Past is restricted to occurrence before {-yā} Visual. It means that the action happened long (over ten years) before. It is not much used anymore but the present informants remember that the Indians of preceding generations often employed it in recalling personal experiences of their youth. It may be used twice in succession with perhaps an emphasis on the remoteness of the past by no definite difference in meaning could be elicited:

/mi¹ nōhp^homiy₂ :/ 'He lived₂ there₁ long₂ ago₂.'

/nōhp^hothiminiye¹ mi² mi³ :/ 'He₂ did₁ not₁,

live₁ there₃ long₁ long₁ ago₁.'

at 17971, 2/ shiny, say, who must, have prepared, the food, before, he arrived, 2/ this was judged

443.5 {-bi-} Inferential has a wider privilege of occurrence than the preceding two suffixes but it is still restricted to employment before only four suffixes: {-q} Circumstantial and {-do} Quotative of class vV14a; {-na} Inferential Subordinative of class vV14b (which is itself only used after {-bi-}, see Section 444.68); and {-w} Absolutive of vV14c. By far its most frequent use is preceding the Absolutive.

{-bi-} means that the action of the verb is inferred or deduced to be true either from the logic of the situation or from information acquired later on. It is best translated by 'must have + past participle' or 'to turn out to ...'. Compare {-qä} Circumstantial, Section 444.13.

divided /¹ihmi₁ ²bi₂ mu₃/ 'It₁ turned₂ out₂ to₂ be₂ true₁' of the case. The verb is {'} Assertive. / / is from [w] of other class the Absolutive suffix. This sentence was said verbal, ad. of a prophecy which later events proved to be

The correct. It could be translated 'It must have succeed when been true.' if the prophecy were judged to be {-nala} Invalid not because later events had already shown it to be so, but because the prophet was

The believed to be always right. may succeed the Negative /¹ace² =yách³na₂ mul₃ dičmu⁴ Sočbiw₅ / 'He must₅ proceed v₁ have₅ heard₅ people_{1,2} talking₄ about₄ it₃.'

/¹an² na³a₂ dútatan⁷bidom₃ =ta₄ mu⁵kin⁶ na⁶dú₇ / and the Negative /¹swa²yi₁ / 'They₃ say₃ she₁ must₅ have₃ prepared₅ position at the food₂ before₇ he₅ arrived₆.' This was judged certain cases). See se

before the Responsive (Sections 444.80-.84).
 to be the case because the food was said to
 The constituents of v14T, the Futures, may either
 have been ready when he arrived, and she was
 succeed the Negative, nor precede any member of the fifteenth
 position except for (-tel) Performative Intensive before the
 Response.

Sometimes the suffix is best translated by nothing
 in English or by a less forceful phrase, such as 'to
 happen to...':

/ma⁷ú₁ *ul₂ nata₃ *yowan₄ hi⁷bayá₅ nata₆ *biu₇ :/
 Class 1,2 the aforementioned₄ child₃ happened,
 Negative b to₇ be₇ a boy_{5,6}.'

posi 444.0 Class v14V contains more suffixes than any
 other position class and is the most important because
 some one member must be affixed to every verb. It is
 divided into six subclasses on the basis of the restrictions
 of the occurrence of their members with the members of
 other classes, and whether the resulting construction is
 verbal, adverbial, or nominal.

The constituents of v14eV, the Evidentials, may
 succeed v12V, the Negative (except for {-yil} Visual and
 {-mela} Performative Complete) and may precede all members
 of the fifteenth position class (Sections 444.10-.17).

The members of v14mV, the Modals, may succeed the
 Negative and precede the members of v15V, but may not
 precede v15N nor v15B, (Sections 444.20-.25).

The constituents of v14iV, the Imperatives, may succeed
 the Negative but not precede any member of the fifteenth
 position class (except for {-v} Singular Imperative in
 certain cases). See se

before the Responsive (Sections 444.30-.34).

The constituents of v14fV, the Futures, may neither succeed the Negative nor precede any member of the fifteenth position except for {-te} Performative Intentive before the Responsive (Sections 444.40-.46).

Class v14V,N,B consists of the one morpheme Absolutive which neither succeeds the Negative nor precedes members of the fifteenth position class (Sections 444.50-55).

Class v14B, the Adverbializers, may succeed the Negative but never precede any member of the fifteenth position class (Sections 444.60-.68).

These distributions are shown in the following chart with the minor exceptions elaborated in the preceding paragraphs unindicated:

between the Responsive of Class v13V, then the implication

v12V	v13V	v14	v15
Negative	Special statement required for each member		v15N, v15B
		v14eV	v15V
		v14mV	
		v14iV and v14B	
			v14fV and v14V,N,B

the act described by the verb. Such a concept is not usually 444.10 v14eV contains seven suffixes which are termed Evidentials because they all tell by what means is or kind of evidence the speaker learned what he is in this telling about. These suffixes will only occasionally be translated in the English versions of the texts since suffix, they must be rendered by phrases such as 'I have been told' or 'I saw' which would sound quite awkward if repeated sentence after sentence. However, in the following grammatical illustrations they will be translated.

From the nature of their meanings the Evidentials must correspond to a present or past time in English. Moreover, if the main verb of the sentence contains the Visual, Aural, Circumstantial, or Performative Complete but not the Responsive of Class v15V, then the implication is that the utterance was spontaneous or was prompted by

~~die, two, yesterday, or, 'I just saw him die two years ago!'~~

With the Responsive present, the utterance was prompted by a question (or remark, see Section 444.12) spoken and heard by the telling speaker before the action; it may be indicated by 'I heard',

~~Minang 2/ 'I heard his dream'~~

~~/anu, balyu, adomang, v14 2/ 'Boy, the dog is really barking, heard but not seen'~~

the act described by the verb. Such a concept is not usually expressed in English, although the adverb 'just' in the sense of 'in the immediately preceding moment' is sometimes used in a similar situation. When 'just' in this sense is employed in the English translation it is only partially derived from the presence of an Evidential suffix, partially from the absence of the Responsive, and partially from the context:

/hayu₁ cahnon₂:/ 'A dog₁ just barked₂;' or 'I just suffixed + heard a dog bark.' The verb contains (cahno-1) Assertive 'to make a sound with the vocal chords', (depending upon {-vnn} Aural, or wants to place the emphasis) but it. Of course the context may show that the act did not occur in the immediately preceding moment but then English 'just' has an expandable temporal significance too; words:

/oⁿo₁ näl₂ =hqcⁿg =tow₃ hoⁿoyiy₅:/ 'He (just) died₂ two₁ years₂ ago_{3,4}.' or 'I (just) saw him die two years ago.'

With the Responsive present, the utterance was prompted by a question or remark; see Section 446.12. speaker did not see what he is talking about but heard the sounds of the action; it may be rendered by 'I heard' the range in

/ainamⁿ:/ 'I heard him drown.'

/ənnⁿ hayu₁ cahnon₂ ən₃ ə/ 'The dog₂ is₃ really barking' (heard but not seen); or because the person was known to have gone out sailing and was long overdue in returning.

444.11 {-do} ||do|| ~ ||^odo|| Quotative means that the speaker learned what he is talking about by hearsay only. It may be translated by 'I was told, it is said, they say, etc.'

||^odo|| occurs after sonorants; ||do|| otherwise:
 /sinam^odo :/ 'They say he drowned.'

/mi¹ nōhp^hodo₂ :/ 'It is said he₂ lives₂ there₁'
 444.13 {-o} Circumstantial means that the speaker did not see the action but heard it or inferred it from the context. The Quotative occurs very frequently in the recounting of stories that have been learned from another. It may be suffixed to the main verb, but is usually attached to {-} Assertive which may succeed any word in the sentence (depending upon where the speaker wants to place the emphasis) but it customarily follows the introductory word or verb phrase linking the sentence with the preceding one. Besides the following examples, see Section 560 on Introductory words:

happened /sinam₁ ido :/ *They₂ say₂ he₁ drowned₁

/ma¹ cac¹ idom₂ ma^odaqáhmu³ :/ 'I₂ was₂ told₂
they₁ married₃ each₃ other₃'

/mulido².../ 'They₂ say₂ that then₁ ...'

444.12 {-vññ} Aural means that the speaker did not see what he is telling about but heard the sounds of the action; it may be rendered by 'I heard'. In the

/sinaman :/ 'I heard him drown.'

/Pana₁ háyu₂ eahnonne³ chi₄ :/ 'Boy₄, the dog₂
is₃ really₁ barking₃ (heard but not seen),'

because the person was known to have gone out sailing and was long overdue in returning.

/baćó *wa₂ta₃ mu₄ bē·li₅ dićwacinnam₆ ečlp̥iliba₇:/

*What_{1,2} was₂ it I₆ heard₆ them₄ talking₆ about₆
here₅ when₇ they₇ arrived₇?*

/makil₁ q̥a²di₂ min₃ Siyi·cinnam₄:/ 'I₄ heard₄
him₄ say₄ something like₃ he₂ was₂ going₂ to₂
get₂ his₁ brother₁.'

the person's manner of walking is now over.

444.13 {-qä} Circumstantial means that the speaker did not see happen what he is telling about but deduced the action from circumstantial evidence. {-qä} is the preferred suffix when the evidence is discovered soon after the action or is incontrovertible, but {-bi-} Inferential may be used in such cases and also when the inference takes more involved reasoning. The Circumstantial may be translated variously by 'must have; seem to, evidently, apparently' but there is usually less doubt of the certainty of the action having happened than is implied by the English translations:

which the speaker knew to be true because he saw it happen. /sinamq^h:/ 'He must have drowned.' This might

have been deduced because the speaker saw the body cast up on a beach or floating in the water, or saw the capsized boat in which the person spoken of had been sailing. But the latter evidence is getting into the range in which {-bi-} would be preferred.

/sinam^hbiw:/ 'He must have drowned.' This might have been inferred from the above evidence or generally have an imperfective meaning). The Factual is employed in such cases. sailing and was long overdue in returning.

/'ahq'na₁ p'himagan=tog₂/ 'They₂ must₂ have₂ gone₂'
 across₂ the river₁.' This was judged from the
 tracks.' The verb consists of (chee-) 'to be

/sapa*tu₁ mihtontolowa*du₂ tala*gh₃:/ 'He₃ must₃
 when, be₃ wearing₃ shoes₁ that₂ are₂ rubbing₂ sore₂
 the verb w_ospots₂ on₂ his₂ toes₂.' This was deduced from
 the person's manner of walking in new shoes.

/ha*vú₁ =tó₂ ya₃ qo*di₄ nohp'k'he₅*qa*6/ nihcedu, :/
 'Now₁, however₂, we₃ are₅ going₅ to₅ live₅ :/
 happily₄,' he₇ said.₇ The circumstances were
 judged to be such as to assure that this would
 happen, case the additional suffix (-an).

444.14. {-yá} Visual seems to be paired semantically,
 at least partially, with {-a} Factual, illustrated in the
 the following section.

The Visual is used for perfective or completed actions
 which the speaker knows to be true because he saw them
 happen. When translated, it may be rendered by 'I saw'.
 The Factual is used for imperfective or uncompleted
 actions being watched by the speaker and also for facts
 or general truths which are known by everybody to be so,
 whether or not the action has actually been seen by the
 speaker.

The Visual is never used after {-th-} Negative nor
 after ||d|| of any suffix of the Middle group (the latter
 generally have an imperfective meaning). The Factual is
 employed in such cases.

/sinamy²/ 'He just drowned, I just saw him drown.'
 /hōhwa₁ hcema²y³/ 'I just saw the door open inward
 hence.' The verb consists of {-hees-} 'to be
 opened', {-ma⁰c-} 'in hence', {-yā} Visual.

some relationship with {-ela} Prolative (illustrated in
 When, by the operation of the morphophonemic rules,
 the next section) as the VISUAL form, the result of
 the verb would come to end in /²y/, metathesis occurs to
 {-mela} and {-ela} both signify that the speaker knows that
 /y²/:

what he is saying is true because he actually saw the
 {-mo-} 'to run' + {-mu¹l-} 'around' + {-oč-}||i⁰č||
 action himself. They will always be translatable as first

Reflexive + {-y } Visual + /²l/ > /momū·liy²/:
 person form in English but should not be considered to
 'I just saw him run all the way around.'

indicate that /ashay/ is a category or erasure in the verb;
 Cf. /momū·li²yan³/ 'He ran all the way around.' In

they just constitute a type of Evidence like
 this case the additional suffix {-am}

{-mela} indicates that the action is completed. It
 Responsive obviates the metathesis,

is never used in the Negative or after a suffix of the

444.15 {-ă} Factual. See the discussion in the
 preceding Section.

/sina²m³/ 'He is drowning, I see him drowning.'
 or other/sinant²/: 'He is not drowning, I see he isn't
 occur after drowning, he didn't drown, I see he didn't drown.'

the Nidd /hōhwa hcema²ch³/ 'I see the door is open inward

Although hence,³ will often be translated as a past
 tense an/mən²₁ ŋana² ŋāhya₃ mo⁰n²/: 'She₁ runs₄ very
 of tense but fast₃' The verb consists of {-mo-} 'to run',
 tive, or ad{-t⁰d-} 'along', {-ă} Visual, action of long
 duration/kaw²yu₁ =yáč²ma₂ qa²dig bimuyi²č₄ ă/ 'Horses_{1,2}
 eat₄ grass₃.'

/q^hamós¹ dahsana·q^h²:/ 'The ocean's waves₂ola)
roll₁ in₂ /máh-mála:/ 'I come in' or 'I am

444.16 {-mela} Performative Complete lies in the same relationship with {-ela} Performative (illustrated in the next Section) as the Visual does to the Factual. In {-mela} and {-ela} both signify that the speaker knows that what he is saying is true because he actually performed the action himself. They will always be translated by a first person form in English but should not be considered to indicate that Kashaya has a category of person in the verb; they just constitute another type of Evidential suffix.

{-mela} indicates that the action is completed. It is never used in the Negative or after a suffix of the Middle group ending in ||d||; such suffixes have an imperfective meaning. {-ela} indicates that the action is incomplete. It does not occur directly after the Semelfactive or other suffixes with a perfective meaning, but it may occur after such suffixes if the Negative of a suffix of the Middle Group ending in ||d|| intervenes.

Although {-mela} will often be translated as a past tense and {-ela} as a present, the difference is not one of tense but rather of aspect; perfective versus imperfective, or action of short duration versus action of long duration;

/nafu₁ bañiléla₂:/ 'They are now cutting₁ its grass.₂
now, net₂ running₁ away.'

{nmo-} 'to run' + {-ma⁰c-} 'in hence' + {-mela}

+ {;} > /momáč⁰mola ;/ 'I came in' or 'I am coming in.' But even with the latter translation the act should still be one of short duration. {-ela} may not be substituted for {-mela} in this example.

/ma⁰u₁ bawilmela₂ ;/ 'I₂ just_{1,2} now₁ put₂ it₂ in₂.' speaker. /duwé⁰₁ kuhnu₂ buwiméla₃⁰a₄ ;/ 'I₄ strung₃ beads₂ that if {ti-ca} 'could' 'night' is present, then it is yesterday₁.' rendered 'I wish.' The desire is that the speaker himself /há·t⁰e⁰₁ a⁰₂ cuye⁰₃ ba⁰áč⁰mela⁰₄ cedug₅ ;/ do the action unless the negative immediate /'Mother₁, I₂ am₄ going₄ after₄ sugar₃ pine₃ the Optative, in which case the speaker wishes someone else nuts₃.' he₅ said₅.' It is the only instance in which a sum 444.17 {-ela} ||ela|| ~ ||wela||. ||ela|| occurs after consonants and ||wela|| after vowels. The meaning is described in the preceding Sections.

/go'ði 'oas ;/ 'it is good.'

{nmo-} 'to run' + {-ma⁰c-} 'in hence' + {-th-}

Negative + {-ela} {;} > /momá·thela ;/ 'I didn't come in, I'm not coming in.' (-mela) may not be substituted for {-ela}.

{nmo-} + {-ma⁰c-} + {-ci⁰d-} ||e⁰d|| Durative +

{-ela} + {;} > /moma·codéla ;/ 'I keep on coming in, I kept on coming in.' (-mela) not₃ may not be substituted for {-ela}.

/ma⁰u₁ bawiléla₂ ;/ 'I₂ am₂ now₁ putting₂ it₂ in₂.' more₃ not₃ running₃ away₃.

(ti·qa) is a defective verb because (25) and no other verbal suffix may be added to it. Perhaps it is stringing₃ beads₂ yesterday₁.* Sometimes the historically a Causative Imperative meaning something like

444.20 Class vV14b contains five suffixes which are termed the Modals. These are the Optative, Speculative, Suppositional, Conditional, and Potential.

expresses

444.21. (48) Optative/the hope or desire of the speaker. It will usually be translated by 'I hope' except that if (ti·qa) 'could, might' is present, then it is rendered by 'I wish'. The desire is that the speaker himself do the action unless the Causative immediately precedes the Optative, in which case the speaker wishes someone else to be the Agent. This is the only instance in which a suffix of the Middle group may be added to (49) Assertive (illustrated by the first two examples below);

/qo·di ·qas :/ 'I hope it is good.'

/hayu₁ thinq₂ ihqa₃ :/ 'I₃ hope₃ it₃ is₃ not₂
a dog₁.'

/ti·qa₁ taqⁿma₂ ciSkang₃ qaq·ci₄ :/ 'I₄ wish_{2,4}'
I₄ might_{1,4} wear₄ a pretty₃ dress₂.'

/ti·qa₁ mitⁿtaqⁿma₂ ciSkang₃ Saqaćqal₅ :/ 'I₅
wish_{1,5} you₂ might_{1,4} wears₅ a pretty₄ dress₃.'

/ti·qa₁ ja₂ phila·la₃ :/ 'I₃ wish_{1,3} we₂ were₃ not₃
going₃ down₃.'

/ti·qa₁ mul₂ móhtibichqathik₃ :/ 'I₃ wish_{1,3} they_{2,3}
were₃ not₃ running₃ away₃.'

{ti·qa} is a defective verb because {q̄s} and no
 other verbal suffix may be added to it. Perhaps it is
 historically a Causative Imperative meaning something
 like 'Grant that...!' There is ^{no} discernible difference in
 meaning whether or not {ti·qa} has {q̄s} suffixed to it;
 the latter must still be added to the main verb;

/ti·qaš mohqawá·duš / 'I wish ^I could go driving.'

/ti·qa mohqawá·duš / means the same thing.

444.22 {-Se} Speculative means that the speaker is
 speculating or theorizing about the action. It will
 usually be translated by 'I wonder' or by a speculative
 type of question:

/Sogot iše / 'I wonder if it is a mouse (making
 the noise).'

/hevén₁ sitig *Se₂ ya₄ maúg mu₆ p̄ilahqam₇ yal₈ /
 'I₃ wonder₃ what₁ we₄ are₂ going₂ to₂ do₂ now₅
 that they_{6,7} have, apparently, left₇ us₈.'

/yuúdul₁ iše₂ ma₃ t̄aba·du₄ / 'I₂ wonder₂ if you₃
 do hurt₄ yourself₁.' or 'Did you hurt yourself ?'

/hevén₁ siwa₂ mil₃ *ama₄ siúta₅ tol₆ cahciba₇,
 caki₈, he₉, caki₁₀ thiSe₁₀ / 'What_{1,2} happened₂
 when₇ he₈ sat₉ down₉ there₃ on₆ that sharp₅
 object₄; did₈ he₈ cut₈ his₈ rear₉ end₈, or₉
 didn't₁₀ he₁₀ cut₁₀ it₁₀ ?₂!

444.23 (-vns) Suppositional is variously rendered by I suppose, probably, may, might, could. Sometimes the likelihood of the action lies in the range suggested by the first two translations, sometimes in that denoted by the English modal auxiliaries. Most textual examples have the Suppositional suffixed to {-} Assertive, but elicitation has shown it to be freely occurring:

may still /mo'lans :/ 'He might have run down, I suppose
[v'ba] occurs before suffixes of class v165
he ran down.'

(examples /ya₁ lōwa₂ Socinginse₄ p'hala₅ :/ 'I₄ suppose₄
interchangeably in other situations; that is, when (-v'ba)
they are₄ listening₃ to₃ us₁ talk₂ too₅.'
is the final part of the sentence.)

/time up 'inse₁ ya'khe₂ :/ 'I₁ suppose₁ our₂
evidence that [v'ba] may have slightly differ-
time is₁ up.'

/sōh₁ maya₂ ba'yá₃ thin₄ inse₅ men₆ siw₇ :/
no more clauses. It₅ was₅ probably₅ because you₂ just₁ didn't₄
with [v'ba] understand₃ that you did₇ that₆.'

/mu₁ 'nati₂ 'em₃ to₄ tō₅ agree₆ thing he'én₇
difference, but the evidence is no longer that the
thing inse₁₀ maya₁₁ fo₁₂ :/ 'Well_{1,2} S, this
doesn't agree₆ with₆ me, however_{8,9,12} you₁₁

might₁₀ feel about it.' /Soyamphi₄ fo₅ mal₆ hadu₇
sicí·du'be₈ :/ 'If₄ I were₆ young₄ again₃,

I would₈ do₉ that₆ differently.' [v'ba]
might be substituted for [v'be₈] on word 8.

444.24 $\{-v^{\circ}ba\}$ || $v^{\circ}ba$ || \sim || $v^{\circ}be^{\circ}$ || \sim || $v^{\circ}be$ ||

Conditional is often linked to a condition which may be expressed explicitly in a subordinate clause containing the verbal suffix {-phi} or {-phila} (see example 1.) or the condition may only be implied (example 2.). In such cases $\{-v^{\circ}ba\}$ is translated by 'would' or 'could'. In other cases the condition is not obvious but 'could' may still be used as the translation (examples 3, 4).

|| $v^{\circ}be$ || occurs before suffixes of class vV15b (examples 2, 3, 4). || $v^{\circ}ba$ || and || $v^{\circ}be^{\circ}$ || occur almost interchangeably in other situations; that is, when $\{-v^{\circ}ba\}$ is the final suffix of the verb. There is one piece of evidence that || $v^{\circ}ba$ || and || $v^{\circ}be^{\circ}$ || may have slightly different connotations. With || $v^{\circ}be^{\circ}$ || the expectation is that no more clauses containing the Conditional will follow; with || $v^{\circ}ba$ || there may or may not be more clauses (examples 1, 5). This, of course, would indicate a morphemic difference, but the evidence is so scanty that the segmentation is not here made:

1. /'á₁ tó₂ pʰalag náʃoyampʰi₄ tó₅ mul₆ hadu⁷
cici·du⁸be⁹:/ 'If₄ I were₄ young₄ again,
I would₅ dog that₆ differently.⁷' || $v^{\circ}ba$ ||
might be substituted for || $v^{\circ}be^{\circ}$ || on word 8.

ing in term did go int.

2. /maŋd¹ t²l³ŋ⁴ / 'So wasn't enough
running in.'

- 444 2. /men₁ si⁶be₂ hni₃ mu₄ :/ hu⁶₆ mon₇ suffix
 Kasie Passis sit⁶bem₉ ta₁₀ mu₁₁ :/ 'Would₂ he₄ do₂ that₁?'_{3,5}
 in a sequence of Verb + [-] Future List [-t] not!
 Yes_{6,7} he₁₁ would₉ do₉ that₈.'
3. /doci⁶bem₁ ta₂ ma₃ mul₄ :/ 'You₃ could₁ drink₁
 being translated 'can'. That is, it is safe to drink.
 environment
4. /men₁ thing₂ i⁶be⁹₃ ma⁶ca⁴ :/ 'They₄ should₃
 (-) be₂ like₃ that₁.' without the addition
 of 'like'.
5. /mu⁶kin⁹₁ tito₂ *ama₃ dūta₄ dihq⁶a⁷khe⁵
 bell Norman dūci⁶cip⁷to₈, daqa⁶ci⁷ba₉ : mon₉ siph₁₀
 suffix in a much wider variety of environments. However,
 mi₁₁ nohp⁶oyf⁷ci⁸ba₁₂ :/ 'If₆ he₁ knew₆
 someone was₅ going₅ to₅ give₅ him₂ a job_{3,4}:
 he₈ would₉ like₈ it. When_{9,10} he₁₀ could₁₂
 be concerned with a capability or ability which may
 keep₁₂ on₁₂ living₁₂ there₁₁. ||v⁶be⁹|| may
 or may not be carried over in the translation yet
 not be substituted for ||v⁶ba|| in word 8. If not
 widely; as is usual, the informant supplies such as the
 English version from a situation which he has in mind but
 it could be substituted.
 which is not explicitly stated in the Kashaya sentence)
 always followed by the responsive:
1. /idhyak⁶ta₁ thing⁶in⁷na₂ tem₃ ta₄ mu₅
 /v⁶be⁹ / because₂ he₃ know₃ he₄ can't_{1,2,3}
 2. /vi⁶in₁ he₂ isn't₃ gambling₄ about
 3. /sic⁶quntna /: He could say that:
 the next day the sentence was translated, 'He could say
 that but chickened out.' Compare with the following.
 4. /mon⁶ti⁷ntna /: 'He had it in mind he was go-
 ing in (and did go in).'
 5. /mon⁶ti⁷ntna /: 'He wasn't thinking of it to run
 running in.'

444.25 {-vn²na} Potential (?) is an archaic suffix. Essie Parrish can only remember her grandmother using it, in a sequence of Verb + {-²k^ho} Future II + {-t^hin} 'not' + {-'} Assertive + {-vn²na}, with the whole construction being translated 'can't' (see example 1). But in such an environment {-vn²na} has no isolatable meaning because native {-²k^ho} + {-t^hin} means 'can't' even without the addition of {-'} or {-vn²na}. In invocations, unless the speaker tells Herman James, being a generation older, has heard the suffix in a much wider variety of environments. However, the examples which he has supplied are not diverse enough to pin down the precise meaning of {-vn²na}. It seems to be concerned with a capability of doing an act which may or may not be carried through. The translations vary widely; as is usual, the informant supplies much of the English version from a situation which he has in mind but which is not explicitly stated in the Kashaya sentence.

1. /mihyáck^ho₁ t^hin₂ in²ná₃ ?em₄ t₅ mu₆
[v...?] oon qama²t^ham₇ ;/ 'Because₄ he knows₅ he can't_{1,2,3}
1. the win₁, he₆ isn't₇ gambling₇.
2. /micé·dun²na ;/ 'He could say that'. The next
day the sentence was translated, 'He could say
that but chickened out.' Compare with the following.
3. /moná·cin²na ;/ 'He had it in mind he was go-
ing in (and did go in).'
4. /moná·t^hin²na ;/ 'He wasn't thinking of it to me!'
running in.'
/yik² carme to ;/ 'You pl.) Please look at me!'

444.30 Class VV14c contains four suffixes which are termed the Imperatives. These are the Singular Imperative, Plural Imperative, Formal Imperative, Indirect Imperative. The first two are Direct Imperatives; i.e., spoken directly to the person (or persons) who will be the Agent. Consequently, they refer only to the second person. The Formal Imperative is intermediate in that it is usually direct but could be considered to be indirect in invocations, unless the speaker believes that he is addressing a spirit. The Indirect Imperative is not said to the one who will be the Agent and thus refers to the first or third person.

444.31 {-v} ||v|| ~ ||v..*|| Singular Imperative.

||v|| occurs;

1. when the verb is final in the sentence and does not contain the Negative nor {-wé} 'hither';

/be·li wá·du ?/ 'Come here!' Before the Responsive

2. always when followed by the Responsive;

/wa·dum be·li ?/ 'Come here!' Agent, thus the Agent

||v..*|| occurs when not followed by the Responsive and;

1. the verb is not final in its sentence;

/wa·du bé·li ?/ 'Come here!' The final /?/ is part of the discontinuous morph ||v..*||.

2. the verb contains {-th-}/Negative or {-wé-} 'hither';

/be·li wá·thu ?/ or /wa·thu bé·li ?/ 'Don't come here!' the responsive which has then

/to dihqawé ?/ or /dihqawé to ?/ 'Give it to me!'*
/yáh to eadu ?/ '(You pl.) Please look at me!'*

/yáh can*me to ?/ '(You sg.) Please look at me!'*

(-v) is one of two Imperatives which may be followed by the Responsive (Section 445.12). The resulting form is nearly identical to that with the Formal Imperative (Section 444.33). The two are only distinguished by the rising intonation with the Responsive ||~|| and the falling ||^|| without it: (-v) + {m..?} vs. (-vm) + {?}

There is unique Singular Imperative form ||te^...?|| 'give'; /te² te² ?/ or /te² to ?/ 'Give it to me, gimme!'

444.32 [me..?] ~ [me] Plural Imperative has two uses: 1. as a Direct Imperative to any two or more persons, 2. as a Direct Imperative to a child-in-law, parent-in-law, or parent of one's child-in-law. The informants say that the younger speakers disregard this latter use but that to do so is disrespectful.

[me..?] occurs in all environments except before the Responsive:

/be·li p^hilacme? ?:/ or /philacme bē·li ?:/ is said to someone who is the Agent, thus the Agent will be either of the addressee or third person. However, the

/be·li wān^hme? ?:/ or /wan^hme bē·li? ?:/ person addressed is involved in the action in some way, by participation.

/p^hila^t^hume? ?:/ '(Your pl.) Don't Come!' Involvement is not to be expressed in the context or

/wāt^hume? ?:/ '(You sg.) Don't come!' Context

/Soc^hme mā·al ?/: 'Listen to me!'

[me] occurs before the Responsive which has then the allomorph {...?}:

/yūk^h to caōme ?:/ '(You pl.) Please look at me!'

/yūk^h can^hme to ?:/ '(You sg.) Please look at me!'

/bahku₁ qâhqo₂ moq^hó₃ 'i·li₄ hla₅* hayohmala*thime₆
 beii₇ :/ *Do₆ not₆ come_{6,7} down₆ here₇ bare₂-
 legged₁ to₅ the knees₃! / Watch us when we run.¹

444.33 (-vn) Formal Imperative is now employed in prayers and invocations, and in ordinary situations by the characters in myths. The informants say that former generations used this suffix more in their daily life but to do so now would sound old-fashioned; 'n't let me run up!

/hite·tim :/ 'Let it be ready!' Compare

/hite·tim :/ 'Well, get ready!' containing the Responsive.

/yuhsuwe* bahya mó·dum :/ 'May you run swiftly!'

444.4 /yuhsuwe/ is a word often used in invocations. three may /'ihya₁ báht^ho₂ hyá·dum₃ 'ahsiy₄:/ 'May₄ a big₂ (-t-) wind₁ blow₃ strong₄!' the future not will be done.

444.34 (-vy..?|||vy..?|||vya|| Indirect Imperative is said to someone who will not be the Agent, thus the Agent will be either of the first or third person. However, the person addressed is involved in the action in some way, by participation, acquiescence, disapproval, etc. Such involvement will not always be expressed in the context or translation.

||vy..?|| occurs in all environments except after (-th-) Negative or (-) Assertive (examples 1-4).

||vya|| occurs after the Negative or the Assertive (examples 5-8);

Future 'to intend to, to be going to, to be about to.'

- 444.31 1. /Noci to miku²tiy³ :/ 'Listen to me, I am containing (-) going to him.' no negative with these suff.
2. /cadu yá¹ ya móhtaciy² :/ 'Watch us when we run.'
- 444.31 3. /ha²a báñema³ciy⁴ :/ 'Let me put the horns on.'
4. /mul₁ kihla² dihciti₃ waqá⁴ciy⁵ :/ 'I'm₁ still₂ with others₃ going₄ up₄ to₅ get₃ it₁ (even though you person in photo disapprove.) I am going to...', 'We are going'
5. /mo²qá³t⁴iya⁵ :/ 'Don't let me run up!'
6. /mo²qá³t⁴iya⁵ mu⁶kin⁷ :/ 'Don't let him run up!'
[tel] occurs or 'He is not allowed to run up.'
7. /hú² ; men iya :/ 'It will be that way.'
8. /men t²hin iya :/ 'It won't be like that.'

444.40 Class VV14d, termed the Futures, contains three morphemes referring to future time:

{-te} Intentive means that the future act will be done by the will of the Agent. {-te} is always associated with other morphemes which are unique, only occurring with {-te}. For simplicity, these associations are presented partly as unitary suffixes in Sections 444.31-.34.

{-^{General}l^ho} Simple Future, or Future, as it is usually referred to, is semantically undifferentiated in respect to whose will the act will be done; it often signifies 'ability', especially in the negative (Section 444.36.).

{-suw} Mandatory means that the act will be done at the will of the speaker, not the Agent (Section 444.⁵37.).

main verb of the sentence and then refers to intention or near future 'to intend to, to be going to, to be about to,

will. None of the Futures may be suffixed to a verb form containing (-th-) Negative; the negative with these suffixes is made by means of the enclitic (=th'in) 'not'.

444.41 {-te} Performative Intentive means that the speaker plans to do the action himself, alone or in association with others. It is thus always translated as a first person in phrases such as 'I am going to...', 'We are going to ...', 'Let us ...', etc. i.e. *sabgati* /te/

||te|| occurs when this suffix is final in the sentence,
||te|| occurs elsewhere:

• /ə* wá*te* :/ or /wá*te* ə :/ 'I am going to come.'

/p'iláhte*₁ ya₂ bináci₃, maci₄ má*ca₅ aimag
nóhp'hó*₇ tol₈ ya₉ philáhte*₁₀/ 'Let's_{1,2} go₁ today₃;
let's_{9,10} go while₈ they₅ are, sleeping_{6,7} in₄ the
daytime₃.' *shayi*, *su-pisilla*, *q'amata*, *an-hatig*:/

/hú*:, men₂ sitém₃ ta₄ ya₅:/ 'OK₁, we₅ will₃ do₃
it that₂ way₂ then₄.'

/mu*₁ ta₂ ya₃ da*faton₄:/ 'Oh₂, we'll_{3,4} find₄
them₁.' *hu* would, race, with, everyone.

7. /dih*l*á, mi*l*á, ní*l*á, si*l*á, ai*l*á:/ 'That, pimple,

444.42 {-ti} General Intentive is the most commonly occurring of the Intentives, at least in stories. It is usually a complement to the main verb, referring to purpose 'in order to, to'. As a complement, it customarily precedes the main verb (examples 1,2.), but not necessarily so (examples 3,4.).

In some cases it is the main verb of the sentence and then refers to intention or near future 'to intend to, to be going to, to be about to,

will, etc.' (examples 5,6.). When the Agent is inanimate the sense is restricted to reference to the near future (example 7.):

1. /ma*dál₁ ca*tí₂ cohto*y₃:/ 'He₃ left₃ in₂ order₂ almost all₂ to₂ see₂ her₁.' used as a complementary verb.

and 2. /ma*dál₁ ca*tí₂ t'hin cohto*y₃:/ 'He left in order phrase, not to see her.'

3. /mul₁ q*ha*diw₂ - he*eng₃ si₄ cahqati₅:/ 'They₂ fetched₂ him₁ to₅ show₅ him what₃ the matter_{3,4} was_{3,4}'

4. /*aca⁷₁ bat⁶₂ - dihsamu⁵₃ - *ul₄ ca*tí₅ yihe₆ , ma*cá⁷₁ philebich⁶₂ ilag ca*tí₅:/ 'Many₂ people₁ gathered₃ together₄ then₄ as if₆ to₅ see₅, to₅ watch₅ when₇ they₇ began₈ to₈ leave₈.'

5. /mu₁ t'og₂ choyi³₃ dú-ci*chila₄ q*amá-to⁵₅ ca*há*ti₆:/ 'He, after₅ she finds₄ out₄ (her husband) is₃ dead₃, intends₆ to₆ marry₆ her.'

6. /duwi₁ yá²₂ ti³₃ qáchmamu⁴₄ Siyi⁵₅:/ 'Coyote₁, said₅ that₅ he would₄ race₄ with₄ everyone₅.'

7. /sulhú¹₁ mu₂ mito₃ cihsí₄ ci*tí₅:/ 'That₂ pimple₁ of yours₃ is₅ about₅ to₅ become₅ festered₄.'

444.63 [ti] + [-d] Independent Intentive contains a morpheme {=-d} which appears to be a defective verb; leave. Suffixes of Class vV15 may be added to it, as may {-ela} Performative of Class vV14a. It is an enclitic which follows the enclitic {=t'hin} 'not' when the latter is present.

{=d} has no other use than in association with [ti].

The meaning is that of intention or near future. [ti] alone means the same thing when it is suffixed to an + {;} > independent verb, but in conversational Kashaya [ti] is almost always restricted to use as a complementary verb and [ti] + [=d] are used together as an independent verb phrase. /'cohtoo-ti t̥in d/ 'They are not about to leave.'

1. [cohtoo-] 'to leave' + [ti] + [=d] {;} 'about to leave.'

/cohto·t̥inne/ 'He is about to leave, he intends

to leave.' This illustrates the regular morpho-

phonemic rules: [d] > /n/ when final and not

after [n], [=] > // before what will be a final

two-consonant cluster phonemically, [c] > /-/ ^{young}, before [t].

/cohto·t̥ine/ 'It is already becoming,

2. [cohtoo ti *d] + {-e-} + [mu] 'he' + {;} >

/cohto·ti *de· mu/ 'He is about to leave.'

3. [cohtoo-] + [ti] + [=t̥in] 'not' [=d] + {;} >

/cohto·ti t̥in d/ 'He is not about to leave.'

[d] > /d/ when final after [n]. This is the only instance in the language in which there is a syllable-final voiced stop, than [=d] ^{follows [-t̥in]}

4. [cohtoo ti t̥in *d] + {-e-} + [mu] 'he' + {;} >

/cohto·ti t̥in *de· mu/ 'He is not about to leave.' by no further suffixes, and it has no distinct plural.

Agent form (examples 3, 4) while creating the ovens,

/m̥i·w̥ing/ /m̥i·w̥ing/ it's tall when playing ...

/m̥i·w̥ing/ /m̥i·w̥ing/ 'Well, what, now, a

new dog?'

The morpheme ($d>c$) Plural Agent affects this enclitic verb; examples corresponding to the four above are:

1. $/p^{\text{hile}}\text{-bi}^{\text{c}}\text{e}/$ 'Sov. to go away' + [ti] + [-d] + {d>c} + {::} > /p^{\text{hile}}\text{-bi}\cdot\text{ti } \overset{c}{\text{e}}/ 'They are about to leave.'
2. $/p^{\text{hile}}\text{-bi}^{\text{c}}\text{e}$ ti thin $\overset{c}{\text{e}}$:: > /p^{\text{hile}}\text{-bi}\cdot\text{ti } \overset{c}{\text{e}}\text{en mu } \overset{c}{\text{e}}/ 'They are about to leave.'
3. /p^{\text{hile}}\text{-bi}\cdot\text{ti } \overset{c}{\text{in}} \overset{c}{\text{e}}/ 'They are not about to leave.'
4. /p^{\text{hile}}\text{-bi}\cdot\text{ti } \overset{c}{\text{in}} \overset{c}{\text{e}}\text{ mu } \overset{c}{\text{e}}/ 'They are not about to leave.'

Other examples are: a substitute for /a/ in a .

- /ama₁ mitō₂ *ag₃ ninetan^aqati₄ *da^ag₅ ::/
 'I'm going to teach you something.'
 /go^adi₁ eaduci₂ mito₃ mo^aónti₄ *da^ag₅ ::/
 'Watch out! he is about to hit you.'
 /ul₁ duwé·tip^an₂ ::/ 'It is already becoming night.' Or, 'Night is falling.'

going 44, 44 [ti] + [-du] Unfulfilled Intention contains a second element {=-du} which is similar in meaning, form, and behavior to {-d} of the preceding Section. It is a defective enclitic verb which follows {=th'in} 'not' in position. It may be followed by a wider variety of suffixes than {=-d}, namely the Evidentials of Class vV14a (except for {-ela} Performative), the members of Class vV15, or by no further suffixes. But it has no distinct Plural Agent form (examples 3, 5.).

- /ub^ay^adu^ag₁ ::/ 'You are it's pat when playing tag.
 /ub^adu₁ di^adu^ag₂ ya₃ ::/ 'Well, that can we₄ dog?'

The association signifies that the Act was intended but was abandoned, or, especially with an inanimate Agent, that the Act almost took place; 'intended to, was going to, was about to, almost, etc.'; future act

regardless of time.

1. /baqó₁ *wa₂ *a₃ nihce^oti₄ *duyam₅ ?/ 'What_{1,2}
own initiate₃ or Int₄, say₅?'
2. /a^hoyi^oti₁ *duwe^o₂ mu₃ ?/ 'He₃ almost_{1,2} died₁.'
3. /chóy^ota^oti₁ *duwe^o₂ mu₃ ?/ 'They₃ almost_{1,2}
died₁.' /c/ may not substitute for /d/ in word 2.
It is often
4. /da^o₁ ; eohbtó^oti₂ thing^o *duw₄ ?/ 'No₁, he₂ had_{2,4}
not₃ intended_{2,4} to_{2,4} leave₂.'
5. /p^hiláhti₁ thin₂ *duw₃ ?/ 'They₁ did_{1,3} not₂
intend_{1,3} to_{1,3} go₁ (but they did).'

444.45 (-suw) Mandatory signifies that the Agent is not the person (or thing) at whose will a future act is going to be done; 'must' or 'to have to' are possible translations but frequently these are too forceful and 'may, will,' etc. or no modal auxiliary at all fit into the English sentence better:

- /wáhsuwe^o₁ *a₂ ?/ 'I₂ have₁ to₁ go₁ out₁.' or
'I may (am allowed to) go out.'
2. /mi^o₁ nophóta^osuwem₂ ?/ 'They₂ may₂ stay₂ there₁. Mu₂.'
 3. /chomós^o₁ isuw₂ ?/ 'It₁ will₂ be₂ the ocean₁.' This was said by Coyote while creating the ocean.
 4. /má₁ *suw₂ ?/ 'You₁ are₂ it₂.' Said when playing tag.
 5. /no^oón₁ sisuma₂ ta₃ ya₄ ?/ 'Well₃, what₁ can_{1,2}
we₄ do₂ ?'

||^hk^he|| ~ ||k^he||
 444.46 {-^hk^he}/ General Future or Future, as it is usually referred to, has a considerable semantic range including the meanings of the other members of Class vV14d and more. It commonly expresses future action regardless of whether the Agent will do the Act on his own initiative or not (examples 1,2,3.). It may also be a verb complement expressing purpose (examples 4,5.), or it may denote obligation (examples 6,7.), permission (example 8.), a request or polite imperative (example 9.); it is often employed in giving directions (example 10.) {-^hk^he} + {=t^hin} 'not' (usually with {he^oen} 'how' somewhere in the sentence) together signify inability 'cannot' (examples 11, 12.).

||^hk^he|| occurs after all plain stops except ||q, q^o||.

||^hk^he|| occurs elsewhere:

1. /sikúhti₁ *iméck^he₂ hla·li₃? ya·4 fo₅ *aya+yo₆ cámno₇ ehto₈ *em, fo₁₀ *i^hk^he₁₁?/ 'Drunkards₁ will₂ probably₃ be₂ there. But₅ we₄ will₁₁ stay₁₁ with₈ the Christians_{6,7}'
2. /ama^o₁ dó^o₂ me^o₃ yal₄ recognizek^he₅ ma^obiluw₆?/ 'At the Time₃ of Judgment_{1,2} we₄ will₅ be₅ recognized (judged ?)₅ by₆ these₆ (actions of ours)'.
3. /á^o₁ mito₂ qach'mamuck^he₃?/ 'I₁ will₃ race₃ with₃ you₂'
4. /baðo₁ cibal₂ qané^og^he₃ etow₄?/ 'There₄ was₄ nobody_{1,2,4} to₃ bite₃'
5. /...p^hakim^he₁ hitovli₂?/ 'when₂ they₂ were₂ ready₂ to₁ kill₁'.

6. /maya₁ ma²al₂ t̄et³ma₃ da⁴qáck⁵he₄:/ 'You₁ should₄
want₄ to₃ stand₃ up₃ for₃ these₂ (traditions).'
Note that the suffixes are omitted.
7. /maya₁ miyá²t̄e₂ yač³ma₃ *e⁴ maya₅ tráin₆ *i⁷k⁸he₇:/
'You_{1,5} mothers_{2,3} are₃ the ones₄ who₄ are,
supposed₇ to₇ train₆ (the children in the old ways).'
Note that the suffixes are omitted.
8. /t̄ihca₁ *e² bimuyick³he₃:/ 'Everybody₁ may₃ eat₄!'
9. /*ama¹la₁ yá²cc₂* mag³ *wuyi₄ wáci⁵duwan⁶k⁷he₅:/
'Rabbit_{1,2}, you₃ be₅ captain₅ first₄.'
10. /saqa¹qáhp²ha₁ *e² mag³ da⁴t̄av⁵k⁶he₄* men₅ sī₆
ph₇ mag⁸ qasil⁹qáhwe¹⁰ siwóle¹¹ ma¹² dihsci¹³k¹⁴he₁₃*
men₁₄ sīp¹⁵ *e¹⁶ ma¹⁷ mul¹⁸ p̄av¹⁹toná-muck²⁰he₁₉:/
'Young should₄ find₄ some quail₁ droppings₁. Having,
done₅ so₅, you₃ should₁₃ pick₁₃ out₁₃ some sticky₁₁
redwood₉ pitch₁₀. Having₁₅ done₁₅ so₁₄, you₁₇,
should₁₉ stick₁₉ them₁₈ together₁₉.'
11. /ne¹ón₁ duhk²uy³k⁴he₂ thing₅:/ 'They₂ could₂ not₂
kill₂ (them).'
Note that the suffixes are omitted.
12. /ya₁ t̄o₂ *ahq³he₃ ciyan⁴ok⁵he₄ thing₅:/ 'We₁ can₄
not₅ swim_{5,4}'
Jan $\{\text{t}^1\text{ n }^2\text{ a }^3\}$ 'one to bend one in hence'.
Jan $\{\text{t}^1\text{ n }^2\text{ r }^3\}$ 'one to bend one across himself'.
Jan $\{\text{t}^1\text{ n }^2\text{ a }^3\}$ 'adv. to keep bending one across'.
(The final $\{\cdot\}$ results from the action of $\{\text{a }\cdot\}$ Pl. Age
on the Durative allomorph $\{\text{a }^2\text{d}\}.$)
Jan $\{\text{t}^1\text{ n }^2\text{ a }^3\}$ 'one to bend', Jan $\{\text{t}^1\text{ n }^2\text{ a }^3\}$ 'the bending'.
The Absolute is followed by an adjective which
modifies it:
/mash¹ de²di/ 'good dance'.

444.50 Class VV,N,A consists of the one morpheme $\{-u\}$; $\{u\}$; $\{u\} - \{u\} - \{^o\}$. Absolutive, by an infinitive. See the $\{u\}$ occurs after vowels or $\{^o, X\}$ preceded by a vowel. Note that except before a pause or a glottal onset $\{w\}$ is $/-/$:

$\{\text{mo X}^o\text{la}^o\} + \{w\} > /mɔ̄.law/$ 'to run down'; but
the main verb is $\{\text{mo X}^o\text{la}^o\text{ mi}\cdot\}$ 'to run down there'.

$\{u\}$ occurs after $\{d\}$:

$\{\text{mo X}^o\text{la}^o \text{me}^o\text{d}\} + \{d\} > /mɔ̄la^o.mɛdʊ/$ 'to keep
running down'.

$\{^o\}$ occurs after all consonants except $\{d\}$. Note that $\{^o\}$ is $/θ/$ after the sibilants $\{s, s̄, ʂ\}$:

$\{\text{mo n}\} + \{^o\} > /mɔ̄m^o/$ 'to run across'.

$\{\text{cubu}ʂ\} + \{^o\} > /cubu}ʂ/$ 'to sprout'.

By the regular morphophonemic rules, stops are $/θ/$ before $\{^o\}$ (unless $\{l\}$ follows). This is unfortunate because it leads to syncretism in this, the commonest verb form; for example, $/duti^o.ma^o/$ may result from suffixing $\{^o\}$ to any of the following:

$\{dū t̪i^o ma^o c\}$ 'one to bend one in hence',

$\{dū t̪i^o ma^o q^o\}$ 'one to bend one out hence',

$\{dū t̪i^o m v^o c\}$ 'one to bend one across himself',

$\{dūt̪i^o m a^o c\}$ 'sev. to keep bending one across'.

(The final $\{c\}$ results from the action of {d c} Pl. Age)

on the Durative allomorph $\{a^o d\}$.)

$/mané. do^o/$ 'dancing song'; $[ma, pe, xi]$ 'to dance';

The Absolutive is followed by an adjective which modifies it:

$/mané. do^o di/$ 'good dance'.

444.52 The Absolutive is the citation form for verbs; as such it is usually translated by an infinitive. See the examples in the preceding Section and below:

/t^hahqaw/ 'to play (as children do)', etc.

In stories, the Absolutive is the commonest form for the main verb of a sentence when referring to completed action and is translated by any appropriate tense (in conversations, the Evidentials are customarily employed in a similar situation, but the Absolutive is still permissible). of the /nata₁ qáwi₂ t^hahqaw₃ :/ 'The small₂ child₁ was₃ a noun playing₃.!' plural. Of course such

444.53 As a noun the Absolutive is translated by an infinitive, a gerund, a noun derived by some other suffix, or by a monomorphemic noun; Absolutive follows the noun if /t^hahqaw/ 'to play, laying, recreation, play, game'. distinct /Sihcima'/ < ||Sihcima^c °|| 'to name, naming, name'. past part /qanema'/ < ||qanema^c °|| 'to call someone by aice, whatever kinship term, relative, kin; to pray, praying, a prayer'. /haa w/ 'to be too small'.

The Absolutive behaves syntactically just like a common noun; for example it precedes any other noun it may modify, and in turn is preceded by a noun modifying it:

In the /t^hahqá Sihcima'/ 'game name, nickname'. Absolutive /mané· qo^oo/ 'dancing song'; ||ma no w/ 'to dance'.

The Absolutive is followed by an adjective which modifies it:

/mané· qo^odi/ 'good dancer'.

/taq^hma saw/ 'the fall spread out'; *lakhsal* 'to spread' The Absolutive may be the object of another verb;

/mané* nineta*du/ 'to practice dancing' or 'He practices dancing.' As a N>N construction this would be translated 'dance practice'.

The Absolutive form may be used so predominantly as a noun that there is tendency to lose sight of its verbal origin. For example /ciwalaw/ 'crawling down' is the ordinary word for 'shirt'. Essie Parrish remembers when most people said /ciyalaw/ the irregular Plural Act form of the verb for 'shirts'. Now /ciwalá* ya/, following a noun pattern, is the customary plural. Of course such a formation is always possible, though not usual, for Absolutives in their function as a noun.

144.54 As an adjective, the Absolutive follows the noun it modifies. Since the Kashaya has no active-passive distinction, nor any tense, the translation may be by a past participle, present participle, or by some other device, whatever is indicated by the context:

/taq^hma saw/ 'tight dress'; || hsa w|| 'to be too small'.

/hi*bu phá*so/ 'mashed potatoes' or 'mashing potatoes (potatoes for mashing)'; ||phá *soqo || 'to mash with the end of a long object'.

In the adverbial function of an adjective, the Absolutive customarily precedes the verb of which it is a satellite:

/ma^a chaw/ 'to fall spread out'; ||ohšaq|| 'to spread on Adverb: out' + suffixed. Six of these are grouped into the /nicha^a qohq^hóčwa^a/ 'sev. to stand around arm in indicates arm'; ||hi cha 'c|| 'to hold to one's body'.

Line 444,55. As is apparent from some of the preceding examples, there is frequently structural ambiguity in respect to what function the Absolutive may be performing in any given instance. There are no intonational or pitch pattern clues; if the larger context does not resolve the problem, then the ambiguity remains.

Consider /'ahq^ha diht^hom^a/. With ||diht^hom^a|| 'to boil' in its verbal function, the phrase may be translated literally 'The water is boiling.' /'ahq^ha/ as the subject of the verb; or '(The heat) is boiling the water.' /'ahq^ha/ as the object of the verb.

With the Absolutive in its noun function 'to boil water, water-boiling, boiling of water' in either of the senses of boiling done to water or boiling done by water.

With the Absolutive in its adjective function 'boiled water, boiling water (water which is boiling), etc.'

Similarly a sentence such as /ma^a₁ diht^hom^a₂ da^awé^a₃ to^a₄ / may mean among other things 'I₁ like₃ to₂ boil₂ food' or 'I like boiled food.'

Subordinate Act has preceded the Main Act (-ba)

(-lī)

Subordinate Act will precede the Main Act [p^a1] - [c^a1] - [hi] [p^a2a] - [c^a2a] - [hila]

444.60. Class vA14 consists of eight Subordinative or Adverbializing suffixes. Six of these are grouped into three pairs such that one member of each pair indicates that the subordinated verb and the main verb have the same Agent; the other member of the suffix pair indicates that they have different Agents; see the table below and Sections 444.61-.62. The remaining two of the eight Subordinatives do not exhibit this semantic distinction; see Sections 444.67-.68.

The clause which results from the affixation of one of the members of vA14 may consist of only one word, the verbal, or may contain the verbal with its own satellites—Subject, Object, Adverbs, etc. However, the whole subordinated clause, no matter how complex, still functions syntactically like an adverb.

The members of Class vA14 close the form; no more suffixes may be added. They are translated by various appropriate types of participial phrases or subordinating conjunctions which will be detailed in Sections 444.61-.68.

SUFFIXES OF KASHAYA, THESE ARE NONE, AND THE RESULT

Relative Timing of the Two Actions	Same Agent	Different Agent
Simultaneous	{-vn}	{-em} em - vm
Subordinate Act has preceded the Main Act	{-ba}	{-li}
Subordinate Act will precede the Main Act	{-p ^{hi} i} p ^{hi} i - c ^{hi} i - hi	{-p ^{hila} i} p ^{hila} i - c ^{hila} i - hila

The main verb of a sentence contains reference only to the number of the Agent, and the independent third person pronouns and demonstratives, when used, have only vague anaphoric allusion. Consequently, finding one's way through a Kashaya text, through the tortuous continuations and shifts in Agents, depends upon a thorough understanding of the suffixes in the table. In sentence after sentence they may be affixed to an introductory verb which serves no other purpose than to carry one of these suffixes which then indicate whether the Agents of the successive sentences are the same or different. See example 1 of Section 444.51, and also Section 570 on Introductory Words and Phrases.

It is interesting to note that when the Kashaya informants speak or translate into English, they usually employ a pronoun such as 'he' to refer indiscriminately and ambiguously to both near and distant antecedents, just as they do in their own language. Since they know no compensating device in English comparable to these paired suffixes of Kashaya, they use none, and the resulting discourse is frequently so equivocal as to be incomprehensible.

No. 1. "out of bed?" Because he is sick, he can't

get up out of bed.'

4. /'il ma'u₂ *olo*qodung₃ moy-a-du₄:/ 'Then_{1,2}

by₃, poking (his head) up₂, he checked

whether (the captive) was still there.₄'

/ni;je-dam/ 'while he is lying down in

to a lying position'.

444.61 {-vn} indicates that the action denoted by the subordinated verb is simultaneous with that of the main verb and both have the same Agent. It frequently may be partially translated by a present participle (examples 1, 3) or by 'while' or 'when' (example 1.); 'whenever' is often appropriate when one of the verbs contains the Durative. actions of the subordinated verb or the main verb are (example 2). Sometimes 'because' (example 3.) or 'by' simultaneous, but the two have different Agents, plus a gerund (example 4.) form a better rendition. This it may be partially translated by 'while' (example 4., 5.), suffix is also often employed to link two actions which are not strictly simultaneous but are alternated (example 5.).

1. /tubidba₁ mcn₂ hómala₃ can₄ *ul₅ mcn₆
 qá*ca⁷ : we⁸ taoqang₉ batí¹⁰ miyá¹¹ :// 'After₁, getting₂
 up₃, while₄, sitting₅ by₆ the fire₇, (the child)
 cried₈. But₉ both₁₀ her₁₁ mother₁₂ and₁₃
 her₁₃ father₁₄ lay₁₅ paying_{8,9} no_{8,9} attention_{8,9}*
 2. /mu₁ tó₂ hát₃ Sa*an₄ kumi⁵ dumulá⁶ taqa⁷ du₈ :/
 (-en), 'Whenever₄ he₁ picks₄ up₄ prunes₃, he always₅
 misses₅ some₆.' perfective ones*
3. /hulam₁ in₂ e³ mu₄ cahti₅ yo⁶ tubidba₇,
 thing₈ :// 'Being sick₁, he₄, ⁷ can't_{7,8} get₇ up₇,
 out₆ of₆ bed₅.' Because he is sick, he can't
 before. (-en) with Semelfaction*
4. /*úl₁ ma2 *elo³ qodun₃ moyá⁴ du₅ :// Then_{1,2},
 by₃ poking₃ (his head) up₃, he₄ checked₄
 whether₄ (the captive) was₄ still₄ there₄.'
 to a lying position).

5. /moca-dun momá-qodu/ is literally 'while running out hence to keep running in hither',
 6. but is better translated by 'to run in and out' (or 'north and south' or back and forth').

444.62 {-om} ||om|| ~ ||vm|| ~ ||wem|| means that the actions of the subordinated verb and of the main verb are simultaneous, but the verbs have different Agents. It may be partially translated by 'while' (examples 4, 5.), 'when' (example 5.), or 'whenever' (example 6.).

||vm|| occurs after ||q, q°||, ||om|| after other consonants (example 1.), and ||wem|| after a vowel (example 2.).

The subordinated verb has been completed and precedes the main verb, and the two verbs have the same Agent. The most frequent method of rendering a similar situation as equally correct /woqom/, which contains a phonemic sequence /qe/ which she does not conjunction 'and' (examples 1, 2, 3.). However, a present perfect participle (examples 1, 4.) or the conjunctions 'when' or 'after' plus a clause with a past or past perfect imperfective verbs, not to perfective ones; often form a more precise rendition (examples 1, 2.).

If a caus. {miti-} 'one to be lying' + {-em} ||wem|| > {-ba} may be /mitiwem/ 'while he is lying' (example 4.).

No form /miti-em, containing the Semelfactive just before {-em} is possible, but one with Semelfactive + Durative + {-em} is: holding (its rim) tightly, against,

3. {miti-} + {-em} ||ac|| 'has{-ciqd-}||vod||' + {-em} > /mitici-dem/ 'while he is lying down (moving to a lying position)'.

4. /p^hala₁ c^hto₂, duwoci·dem₃;/ 'He₂ left₂,
again₁ while₃ night₃ was₃ falling₃.'
5. /to·₁ t^o₂ ?aná₃ ?ama₄ d^huk^heni·dam₅, ma₆ mul,
meng cicí·dem₉, *ch^ho m^hú·tawem₁₁;/ 'I₁ felt_{4,5},
so₃ lazy_{4,5} while₉ young were₉ doing₉ that₇, that₈
way₈ when₁₁ it₁₁ was₁₁ burning₁₁ hot₁₀.'
- or past 6. /qahqo₁ ?á₂ qačata·dem₃ e^h₄; ?ašott^h₅ ?ihche₆
night₆ mihsa^h₇, dibucin^ho₈;/ 'It₄ will be₄ apparent₁,
whenever₃ I₂ cry₃; from₅ the south₅ a heavy₅
rain₆ will₆ fall₆.'

444.63 {-ba} means that the action described by the subordinated verb has been completed and precedes that of the main verb, and the two verbs have the same Agent. The most frequent method of handling a similar situation in English is to join both verbs with the coordinating conjunction 'and' (examples 1, 2, 3.). However, a present perfect participle (examples 1, 4.) or the conjunctions 'when' or 'after' plus a clause with a past or past perfect tense often form a more precise rendition (examples 1, 2.). If a causal relation is implied between the verbs then {-ba} may be construed as 'because' (example 4.).

1. /mai₁ co^hbolá·lamečba₂, duyenang, eaw₄;/
'She put₂ (the basket) down₂ over₂ herself₂
and₂ sat₄ holding₃ (its rim) tightly₃ against₃
(the ground).* Or 'Having put...'; or 'After
having put...'; or 'After she had put... etc.'

2. /mi¹ p̄iloló²ba₂ y hák₃ mala⁴sa₄ ba₄ / *ul₅
 the action Náhku₆ Súskay⁷ t⁸ tiyá⁹·co₉ t̄umuwl¹⁰he₉ been
 completed / t̄ánqan₁₀ / 'After₂ they₂ came₂ up₂ there₁,
 two verbs: they broke₄ off₄ branches₃ and₄ then₅ switched,
 English is their_y legs₆ thinking₁₀ they₈ would₉ get₉
 'after' or 'tired'₉ (if they didn't switch their legs).'
 or past 3. /men₁ siba₂ *ul₃ mul₄ *amaduw₅ tubihciba₆ /
 might use a *ama⁷, t⁸ do⁹dó⁹diwacba₉, *ul₁₀ tiyá¹¹·co¹²k¹³he₁₁
 subject (ex chéevk¹² baki¹³buhqál¹⁴ li¹⁵ bawilba¹⁶
 implied, *b¹⁷*ul¹⁷ dabichqau¹⁸ f¹⁹bi¹⁹dabáht¹⁹ el¹⁹ tol²⁰

[*li¹ hqha²¹ : men₂₂ siba₂₃ mi²⁴ *ul₂₅ *ahqba₂₆
 other than li²⁷ li²⁸ *ul₂₉ p̄imá³⁰ ci³⁰ / 'Then₃ having₂
 ample₂ done₂ so₁ (i.e., the action described in the

The preceding sentence) they₆ got₆ up₆ in₅ the
 those that morning₅, prepared₉ everything_{7,8}, put₁₆ their₁₁
 allomorphs things to₁₃ be₁₃ leached₁₂ into₁₅ burden₁₄
 are distributed baskets₁₄, and set₁₆ out₁₈ towards₂₀, 21 the
 forms with river₁₉. Having₂₃ done₂₃ so₂₂, they₃₀ arrived₃₀
 with those there₂₄ where₂₈ the water₂₆ was₂₇. In this

(=li) 4. /cahtó¹ da²qucha₂ cahtó³y₃ / 'Having₂ wanted₂
 (-li) to₁ go₁, he₃ went₃.' Or 'He went because heutive
 + (-li) be wanted to,' due to a structured set of six
 morphemes which are otherwise mutually exclusive with the
 Absolutive. Nor is it identified with (=li) 'with, at'
 for the same reason, and because of the meaning difference.

*ahca₁₂ *i¹³ *ul¹³ wa¹⁴ *mdar¹⁵ *ahca¹⁶ *ahca¹⁷ *ahca¹⁸ /

444.64. $\{-\cdot li\}$ $\|\cdot li\| \sim \|v\cdot li\| \sim \|wli\|$ means that the action described by the subordinated verb has been completed and precedes that of the main verb, and the two verbs have different agents. A similar situation in English is most frequently handled with a conjunction 'after' or 'when' plus a clause with a past, or present or past perfect tense (examples 1,4,5,6.). However, one might use a present perfect participle phrase with a subject (examples 1-6.). If a causal relationship is implied, 'because' might be used (example 7).

$\|\cdot li\|$ occurs after verb stems ending in a consonant other than $\|d\|$ (examples 1,4,5.); $\|v\cdot li\|$ after $\|d\|$ (example 2.); $\|wli\|$ after a vowel (examples 3,6,7.).

The resulting forms are phonemically identical with those that would obtain from adding $\|li\|$ to the Absolutive allomorphs $\|-\cdot\|$ and $\|w\|$, and $\|\cdot li\|$ to $\|v\|$, which allomorphs are distributed as given above for $\{-\cdot li\}$. In fact the forms with the various allomorphs of $\{-\cdot li\}$ are homophonous with those resulting from the addition of the enclitic $\{=li\}$ $\|li\| \sim \|\cdot li\|$ 'with, at' to the Absolutive (Section

$\{-\cdot li\}$ is not considered to be a sequence of Absolutive + $\{-li\}$ because it belongs to a structured set of six morphemes which are otherwise mutually exclusive with the Absolutive. Nor is it identified with $\{=li\}$ 'with, at' for the same reason, and because of the meaning difference.

*ahen₁₂ *i·li₁₃ wan·wadun₁₄ bahnatá·duu·du₁₅:/

Whether the similarity between {-^oli} and {=li} is due to convergence of two historically more distinct forms or to divergence in function of what was earlier one form ₁₁ is undeterminable without comparative evidence. ₁₂ ₁₃ them.

1. {buwi-} 'to string (sev.) + {-c-}||^oc|| + {-^oli} ▶ /buwi^oli/ 'He having strung one (bead), someone else...,' or 'After having strung one...,' ₁₂ ₁₃
 *'After he strung one...,' 'when he had strung one...,' etc. ₁₂ ₁₃ Father ₁₀ inspired ₁₂ ₁₃
2. {buwi-} + {-ci^od-} Durative + {-^oli}||v^oli|| > ord /buwici^odu^oli/ 'He having been stringing sev., someone else...', etc.
3. {buwi-} + {-^oli}||wli|| > /buwi^oli/ 'He having strung sev., someone else...,' etc.
4. /we^oč₁ bičul^o₂ ba^otá^olaw₃; *ama^o₄ *el₅ di^ocolhei^oli₆:/ 'The ground₄ having₆ dropped₆ away₆ (from under them), they₃ fell₃ screaming_{2,3}.' Or, 'They fell screaming when the ground dropped away.' In other situations {-^oli} will be rendered 5. /ma^ou₁ *ul₂*ama^o₃ q^oa^oa^o·dú^oli₄; ma^odaq^oá^o·del₅ 'unless' (example) mi^o₆ neba₇ káyé^o·na^o₈ cohto^o₉:/ 'Then_{1,2}, when₄ morning_{3,4} had₄ come₄, she₇ laid₇ her₅ husband₅ there₆, and₇ left₉ alone₉.'
- (example 6.) /mul₁ ido₂ men₃ si^o·li₄ miyá^o·the₅; ma^oea^o₆ damá^o·čic^oqa^o·li₇ t^oing₈; mu^o p^ohal₉ ti^o·ma^o₁₀ *ahca₁₂ *i^o·li₁₃ wan^owadun₁₄; bahnatá^o·duwa^o·du₁₅:/

||phii|| is 'Then₁, they₂ say₂, having₄ done₄ so₃, the
|chii|| is an mother₅, when₇ they₆ (her children) did₇ not₈
after verb return₉, again₁₀ wandered₁₁ around₁₄ everywhere₁₁
(examples 3, where₃ houses₁₂ were₁₃ asking₁₅ about₁₅ them.)

||hi|| * /maya₁ *ama₂ ma*talg daba*né*li₄ *o₅ ma*u₆
Kashia Parrish₇ to₈ yá*k^he₉ *a*pen⁹ ₁₀ ma*cal₁₁ inspire₁₂
in favor of *ive₁₃ .../ 'Because₄ your₁ (younger Indians).

It is noted we have₄ cast₄ aside₄ these₃ things₂ (old ways),
Central Pomo from₈ heaven, our₉ Father₁₀ inspires_{12,13}
sound change them₁₁ (linguists and anthropologists to record
mother, who the language and customs etc.) 8. t / am* hind.
camp 11/, only half a mile from the present reservation,
444.65 (-phii) ||phii|| ~ ||chi|| ~ ||hi|| means that the
action described by the subordinated verb has not taken
place but that if and when it does, it precedes that of the
main verb; the two verbs have the same Agent.

Where Kashaya uses {-phii}, English will often link the
two verbs with the coordinating conjunction 'and' or put
the second verb in the infinitive to express purpose
(examples 1,2,3.). In other situations {-phii} will be
rendered by 'when' (example 4.), 'if' (example 5.), or
'unless' (example 6.) plus a tense of the verb whose
choice depends on that of the main verb; i.e., whether
in Kashaya it is one of the Futures or the Conditional
(example 7.).

4. /guyanahp^h1. yo² nulg nito⁴ dihog^he⁵/
'when₁ he₂ gets₃ old, he₅ will give₆ it₇ to₈
young.' ^{to₃} ^{the} ^{same as word 1.}

||p^{hi}|| is the common allomorph in all environments. ||c^{hi}|| is an optionally occurring allomorph employed freely after verb stems ending in the palatals ||c|| and ||d|| (examples 3,5.).

||hi|| is an obsolete dialectal variant (example 2.). Essie Parrish grew up using ||hi|| but has since dropped it in favor of the standard Kashaya allomorphs ||p^{hi}|| and ||c^{hi}||. It is noteworthy that cognate with Kashaya ||p^{hi}|| is Central Pomo /hi/, the latter having developed by regular sound change from *p^{hi}i. However, Essie Parrish's grandmother, who used ||hi||, was born and raised at /acaⁿ Níná-cawal li/, only half a mile from the present reservation, well within Kashaya territory, and had no known significant contact with the Central Pomo.

1. /teti¹·bie²p^{hi}₁maya₂ miyick³e₃:/ 'You₂ should₃ stand₁ up₁ and₁ speak.₃' Or, 'You should stand up to speak.'
2. /mul₁ Sibáth²hi₂ meng₃ si₄:/ 'Move₂ your₂ body₂ and₂ do₄ it₁ that₃ way₃.' Or, 'Move your body to do it that way.' /Sibáth²p^{hi}/ means the same as word 2.
3. /tubiyi¹c^{hi}₁ mi²·li₂ cák³ana⁴·qaci₃:/ 'Start₁ to₃ cut₃ upwards₃ there₂.' /tubiyic¹p^{hi}/ means the same as word 1.
4. /duyamáhp^{hi}₁ *e² mul₂ mito₄ dihqáv⁵khe₅:/ 'When₁ he₁ gets₁ old₁ he₅ will₅ give₅ it₃ to₄ you₂.'

5. /da·qá·chí₁ na·vá₂:/ 'Eat₂ if₁ you_{1,2} like₁.'

/da·qá·phí/ means the same as word 1.

6. /ṣulam₁ ip^hi₂ na·yul₃ e^o₄ wan^kh₅ th^hin₆:/

'Only₃ if₂ he₁ is₂ sick₁ will₅ he₅ not₆ come_{5,14}.'

Or better, 'He will come unless he is sick.'

7. /ə·₁ tó₂ mu·king ip^hi₄ meng sith^hib^he^o₆:/

'However₂, if₄ I₁ were₄ him₃, I₄ would₆ not₆ do₆ that₅.'

*even though

444.66 {-phila} [phila] ~ [chila] ~ [hila] means
that the action described by the subordinated verb has
not taken place, but that if and when it does, it precedes
that of the main verb, and the two verbs have different
Agents. {-phila} is partially translated by 'when, if,
unless' plus an appropriate tense of the verb.

The remarks in Section 444.65 concerning [chí] and
[hi] apply equally well to [chila] and [hila] respectively.

1. /duyamáhp^hila₁ e^o₂ mul₃ mito₄ dihqá·kh₅:/

'When₁ you_{1,4} set₂ old₁, he₅ will₅ give₅ it₃

to₄ you₄.' Compare example 4, Section 444.65.

2. /ma₁ htalá·me^thiphila₂ e^o₃ mi·li₄ kihla^h₅

talóhp^hi₆ mito₇ chidalá·meck^he^o₉:/

'If₂ you₁ don't₂ climb₂ down₂, I₃ will₆ climb₆
up₆ there₄ anyway₅ and₅ drag₈ you₇ down₇.'

3. /ma·a₁ he^hochphila₂ ho^o₃ ho·ón₄ siphila₅ e^o₆

ma^o₆ cili^ho₇ ci^hhila₈ meng *ama^o₁₀

tha^hbámeip^hila₁₁ ma^oa₁₂ há·da₁₃ ḷulamth^hib^he^o₁₄:/

kol^ho^hq^hu^h / 'He must₆ think₆ young like₆ him,
that₆ is₆ say he₇ han₇, apparently, because, anyway.'

If₂ there₂ were₂ a lack₂ of₂ food₁, or₃ if₅
occupied₄ (a catastrophe) happened_{4,5}, if₅ foods became₆
expensive₇; if₁₁ something₁₀ like₉ that₉
happened₁₁, we₁₁₊ would₁₄ not₁₄ starve_{12, 13, 14}.'

(because Indians know how to gather food from
nature)."

be₃ built₃, although it is very expensive.
444.67 {-eti} ||eti|| ~ ||vti|| ~ ||weti|| 'although' or
'even though' ~~does not discriminate whether the subordin-~~

~~ated verb and the main verb have the same Agents.~~

Paired with -nati for same Agent.

||eti|| occurs after all consonants except ||q, q^o||:

{mō-} 'to run' + {-tobi^o-} 'away' + {-eti} >

Circumst. /mobi•ceti/ 'although he ran away'. On the con-

text ||vti|| occurs after ||q, q^o||: t version is on

{mō-} + {-ma^oq^o-} + {-eti} ||vti|| > /momā•qoti/
independ. 'although he ran in hither'. without making the

main ||weti|| occurs after a vowel: use in English.

That is, {mō-} + {-ta^ola^o-} 'down' + {-eti} > the reason

for the infere /mola•weti/ 'although he ran down' paired with b.c.m
for different Agent.

/mīl₁ ido₂ kū•yīg₃ *anā₄ bat^oe₅ phīlā•dī₆?

* naṭayya₇ tī₈ hi•bayā₉ he₁₀ *imā•ta₁₁

* nāṭayya₁₂ tiyā•col₁₃ dāhsatā•ceti₁₄?/ 'Then,₁

/ they₂ say₂: once₃ a great₄ many₅ went₆, all₆
the children₁₂, boys_{9,12} and₁₀ girls_{11,12}, even₁₄

though₁₄ they₁₄ had₁₄ been₁₄ warned₁₄ (not to
go to the tabu place),'

/tīt₁ *imā•ta₂, dāhsatā₃ tangabina₄ *imā•ta₅

inlechqan₆?/ (he₄ must₄ think₄ women₂ like₂ him₁;

that₆ is₅ why he₆ has₆, apparently, become₆, aroused₇.'

445. /'a¹ cahno² da³ qá⁴ t⁵etig to⁴ kihlá⁵ to⁶ qo⁷oy
occupied ⁸émg cahno⁹ bó¹⁰ cahno¹¹ tol¹² // 'Although I₁
didn't₃ want₃ to₂ sing₂, still₅ the₈ song₇ was₉
singing₉ here₁₀ in₁₂ my₆ heart₁₁.'

448. /he¹ en² sick³ thing³ *ahca⁴ qani⁵k⁶ o⁷ ana⁸
occur after⁹ ciliq¹⁰ t¹¹tig¹² // 'The house₄ has_{1,2,3,5} to_{1,2,3,5}
and only ar₁₀ be₅ built₅, although it₈ is₈ very₆ expensive₇.'

Perf 444.66 {-na} is a subordinating suffix which is added only to {-bi-} Inferential. The subordinate clause which it forms is usually, but not necessarily, coupled with a main clause containing {-bi-} Inferential or {-qá} Circumstantial. The exact translation depends on the context and varies, but the smoothest version is often achieved by making the subordinate clause in Kashaya an independent clause in English, without without making the main clause in Kashaya a 'because' clause in English.

That is, the main clause in Kashaya often gives the reason for the inference in the subordinate clause;

Paired with b-em
For different Agent.

/t¹i¹ p²hilá³bina² kaye⁴ na³daw⁴ iqa⁵ mu⁶; //

'They₂ must₂ have₂ all₁ gone₂, because₂ he₆ is₅ evidently₅ left₄ alone₃.'

/mon¹bina¹ *é² ma³úg *ohc⁴ *em⁵ // 'It₁ must₁

(mi have₁ been₁ running₁; this₃ (motor) is₅ hot₄.'

'It must have been running, because this motor
is hot.'

/tito¹ *ima²táhca² da³ qá⁴ t⁵anqabina⁴ *o⁵ mu⁶ //
kulec⁷qam⁷ // 'He₄ must₄ think₄ women₂ like₃ him₁;
that₆ is₅ why he₇ has₇ apparently₇ become₇ aroused₇.'

445.0 The fifteenth position of verbal suffixes is occupied by suffixes of three classes; v15V, v15M, and v15A.

running." Compare /mu miku^ga-n^h/ of the same

meaning.
 445.10 Class v15V contains four morphemes which occur after members of v14aV Evidentials and v14bV Modals, and only after those suffixes, except for {-em..} Responsive which also succeeds {-v} Singular Imperative and {-te} Performative Intentive.

445.11 {-e^o} ||e^o|| ~ ||t^o|| occurs whenever a main verb which would otherwise end in an Evidential or Modal suffix is not final in the sentence. Its only significance seems to consist of indicating which is the main verb in such circumstances.

||e^o|| occurs after any consonant or after ||k|| preceded by any consonant except ||q, q^o||.

||t^o|| occurs after any vowel except ||k||, but after an ||g|| preceded by ||q, q^o||; and v14bV Modals as do the other members {cohtee-} 'to leave' + {-yd} Visual + ||e^o|| + Imperative (see {duwec} 'yesterday' + (:) > /cohtó-yé· duwe^o:/) Performative 'I saw him leave yesterday.' Compare /duwé-

cohto'y / of the same meaning but different

The word order employed when the utterance is in response (miku^g) 'to hum' + (-d) 'Factual' + ||e^o|| + 'on to. The stimulus (mu) 'hot' + (:) > /miku^g-tó, mu / 'He is humming/' comment. Compare /mu miku^g-t^o / of the same meaning, it is spontaneous or stimulated solely by the action being described. It is an extremely frequent suffix in conversations but is

relatively rare in stories. {miku^oč-} + {-ci^od-} ||á^od|| Durative + {-d} + ||e·|| + {mu} + {č} > /mikuča·dé· mu č/ 'He keeps on the sentence with (-d) with or without it the humming.' Compare /mu mikuča·n^o č/ of the same meaning is the same as the one above.

A precise translation of the Kachaya utterance is difficult because the suffixes are not always co-occurring in the same order as in the English. In response to your last remark, I something like 'In response to your last remark, I that ... but such is too cumbersome for use in the text, the suffixes are left untranslated. {mo-} 'to run' + {-Xá^olo^oqo-} 'up hither' + {-do-} However, Quotative + ||e·|| + {mu} + {č} > /mo·ló^odo· mu č/ ally be rendered as 'They say he ran up hither.' Compare These cannot be said to be a literal translation except /mu mó·ló^odo č/. Insofar as the English suffixes are used in a similar way and do not follow the conversational tone of the Kachaya utterance, word order /mu qó^odi ?/ is possible but is impossible but much less frequent.

445.12 {-Gm...?}. Responsive not only follows suffixes of Class v14aV Evidentials and v14bV Modals as do the other members of v15V, but also occurs after {-v} Singular Imperative (see Section 444.31, second example) and {-te} Performative Intentive (see Section 444.41, last two examples).

The Responsive is employed when the utterance is in response to something said by the one (or ones) spoken to. The stimulus may have been a question, statement, or other comment. The Responsive is not used when the utterance is spontaneous or stimulated solely by the action being described. It is an extremely frequent suffix in conversations but is

relatively rare in stories.

The enclitic {=ta} more often than not co-occurs in the sentence with {-əm.."}, but with or without it the meaning is the same.¹⁶

A precise translation of the Responsive would be something like 'In response to your last remark, I say that ...', but such is entirely too cumbersome for use in the texts; the suffix is usually left untranslated. However, {=ta} together with the Responsive will occasionally be rendered 'well, then, of course' or similar phrases.¹⁷ These cannot be said to be a literal translation except insofar as the English words are used in a similar context, and do no more than convey the conversational tone of the Kashaya utterance:

{buwi-} 'to string' + {-E}||w|| Factual + {-əm.."}
exhibit an + {;}||g|| > /buwiwam ə/ 'He is stringing (beads).'
{buwi-} + {-w} Absolutive + {'} Assertive +
it to be { -E } + {-əm.."} + {;}||g|| > /buwiw em ə/ 'He
strung (beads).' The only phonemic difference
between these two examples showing the presence
of the Assertive is in the vowel.

The following multiple example is from a conversation between Essie Parrish (abbreviated E.) and her daughter Violet (V.). Occurrences of the Responsive are underlined for ready identification.

4. *E. says, "What you doing now?"*
V. says, "Well, this person is my dog."

1. /ba^qo₁ wá₂ t₃ qacuhse₄:/ 'What is the grass game?'
 2. /má₁ t₂ qacuhse₃ - qamcém₄ noni⁵ duweni₆ qan₇
 Interrogative f₉ ca¹⁰ thin₁₁ óm₁₂ mul₁₃ f₁₄ qan₁₅ bak^h₁₆
 These Iryachma₁₇ : 'Well₄, let's see₅, in_{6,7} the old_{6,7} d
 who, in days_{6,7} they₁ used₄ to₄ gamble₄ at the grass₃
 present game₃; you₈ people₁₇ nowadays_{14,15,16} have₁₀ not₁₁
 seen₁₀ that₁₃.'
 Related to the main verb of the sentV. mi₁ t₂ to₃ f₄ cídu₅ da-wam₆ b⁷ I₈ want₆ to₅
 Assertive see₅ it₁ then_{2,6}! like the Interrogative word
 (examp. 1. /má₁ óm₂ t₃ maya₄ cack^h₅:/ non₆ bak^h₇ óm₈
 (example) f₉ f₁₀ mul₁₁ dací-dú₁₂ : 'Well_{2,3}, you₄ 'll₅
 by the see₅ it₁. It₃ is₈, of course₈, for₇ that₆ reason₇

that I₉ 've₁₂ wanted₁₂ it₁₁ (a demonstration of main ver the grass game). another suffix of Class v157 and the The older speakers, in fast conversation, sometimes exhibit an assimilation of [m] to /n/ before the two common enclitics {=t_a} and {=f_c} Contrast; however, they consider it to be poor Kashaya and never do so when being recorded. The younger speakers, on the other hand, always assimilate and were surprised to learn that their elders considered doing so incorrect; for example: /'what, do you want,₂/' 1-6).

/buwiwám t_a:/ for /buwiwám t_a / 'He is stringing.'

/buwiwán f_c:/ for /buwiwám f_c:/ 'But he is
 3. stringing.' /má₁ t₂ ma₃ da-qat₄:/ 'what,
 do you want, it for₂?'

4. /ba^qo₁ 'áca₂ yut₃ iut₄ hui₅ nón₆ siwá₇:/
 'Well₇, what₁ person₃ is₄ doing, that₇?'

5. /he'ón₁ ma₂

445.13 /{-wa.."} ||wa..|| ~ ||a..|| Interrogative. This is always linked syntactically to one of the class of young Interrogative Words which occur first in the clause. These Interrogative Words are then translated as 'what', 'who', 'when', 'where', 'how', etc. depending on which one is present. after {-su} ~~function~~

{-wa.."} may be suffixed to the main verb of the sentence (examples 1,2,7.) or it may be suffixed to the Assertive which in turn follows the Interrogative Word (examples 2,6.) or any other major word of the sentence (examples 3,4.), the query being about what is indicated by the preceding word.

When {-wa.."} is affixed to the Assertive {-}, the main verb is free to take another suffix of Class v15V and the Responsive is frequently so used (example 4).

It is assumed that {-wa.."} may follow any suffix of Class v14AV or v14bV but only a variety of combinations occur in the texts and elicited corpus. (example 5)

||wa..|| occurs everywhere except after ||w|| (examples 1-6).

||a..|| occurs after ||w|| (example 7.)

1. /baqo₁ dá·qaćwa₂ ma₃ ?/ 'what₁ do₂ you₃ want₂?'

the noun classifier the subject satellite of the sentence.

2. /baqo₁ ?wa₂ ma₃ da·qa₄ ?/ 'what₁ is₂ it₂ young want₄ ?'

morphs:

3. /baqo₁ bák^be₂ ?wa₃ ta₄ ma₅ da·qa₆ ?/ 'what₁ dog₂ you₃ want₄ it₅ for₆?'

4. /baqo₁ ?áca₂ yać₃ iwa₄ iug₅ meng₆ siwan₇ ?/ 'Well₇, what₁ person_{2,3} is₄ doing₅ that₆?'

5. /he^ben₁ ma₂

5. /he²én₁ ne₂ mahwag₃ :/ 'How₁ dd₃ you₂ come₃ in₃?'

6. /he²ón₁ lwa₂ na₃ na²₄ :/ 'How₁ is₂ it₂ you₃

3. came₄ in₄?'

7. /he²é¹ ta₂ maya₃ dacqasuna₄ :/ 'Where₁ are₄

you₃ supposed₄ to₄ go₄?'. Here, ||a..|| occurs
after {-suw} Mandatory.

445.20 Class v15N contains one morpheme {-e-} Nominalizer. It only occurs after members of Class v14av Evidentials, and it must be succeeded by either {-m} Subjective or {-l} Objective. With the suffix {-e-}, the verb and all of its satellites form a noun clause which functions like a noun in the larger sentence.

In translation, a nominal which is a subject or object in the Kashaya clause is usually made a head noun (or pronoun) in English modified by an adjective clause or participial phrase. If the Kashaya clause has no expressed subject or object, a pronoun is supplied in English (example 3. in Section 445.21 and example 3. in Section 445.23).

445.21 {-m} ||m|| ~ ||mu|| Subjective is employed when the noun clause is the subject satellite of the larger sentence. ||m|| and ||mu|| are freely interchangeable allo-morphs:

1. /*ahen₁ qawiti₂ *cam₃ ciliqo₄ *5 :/

'The house₁ we₃ intend_{2,3} to_{2,3} build₂ is₅ expensive₄.'

2. /muy₁ naṣaq₂ duqac₃ iyowal₄ ha'daw₅?/ 'The child₂
who₄ was₄ lost₃ is₅ hungry₅.'

3. /duqac₁ iyowal₂ ha'daw₃?/ 'The one who was lost
is hungry.'

445.22 {-l} Objective occurs in a wider variety of environments than the Subjective suffix. In such cases the best As the object satellite of the verb in a clause.

Thus 1. /vahoa₁ qáwival₂ cadé₃ 'a₄?/ 'I see₃ the car₁,
not² the² house₁ he₅ is₂ building₂' this construction is

not required.
2. /muy₁ naṣaq₂ duqac₃ iyowal₄ da'taqh₅?/ 'They₅
English 'they must₃ have₅ found₅ the₁ child₂ who₄ was₄ lost₃.'

as a device /daco₁ mil₂ mo'bibi₃ medial₄ 's₅?/ 'Catch₁ that₂
is the subject one running₄ to₃ get₃ away₃.' The final // is

part of the Singular Imperative ||+..?|.

In an object relation with a Locative enclitic:

4. { mo- } 'to run' + {-mu'l-} 'around' + {yd} Visual +
+ (=li) 'at, where'
(-s-) + (-l) ~ /momilyal li/ 'where I saw him
run around'. In Herman James speech the double

2. /* /l/ resulting from the collocation of {-l} and
{=li} is always simplified to a single /l/;
thus, /momilyali/. This is recognized as a
feature of the Fort Ross dialect. Herman
James' daughter Gladys pronounces this phrase
/momilyal li/ as in standard Kashaya.

Plural /s/ is also because the speaker tended
to stop the sentence there, but an enclitic
was added on and the /*/ repeated after the
subordinate clause.

In an object relationship with a pronoun: (-s)

Explanation /tahqéme₁ mul₂ maya₃ *aca⁴ qáhles₅ ta:wí₆ ma:yul₇
and only ^{*ama*}s daqa:calg⁷/ 'Stop₁ that₂ you₃ who₉
Imperative only₇ like₉ the Whiteman's_{4,5} ways₆!' gives the
reason for the command.

445.23 The most frequent use of the Nominalizer is on the defective verb {(-)} Assertive. In such cases the best translation is simply 'the' rather than a clause. Thus /butaqá *em/ in the first example below is 'the bear', not 'the one who is a bear'. Since this construction is not required, it often has a more emphatic meaning than English 'the'; however, it is frequently employed merely as a device to mark unequivocally which verbal satellite is the subject and which is the object; e.g. /listen to

1. /"butaqá₁ *om₂ *ul₃ wa:dé⁴" niheedu₅ bihðeg₆ qáwi₇
construction *elg⁸/ "The₂ bear₁ is₄ already₃ coming₄," If /*em/
were substituted for word 6, then the transla-
tion would be '***, the little deer said.'

2. /"q'hawá:ls₁ *em₂ *óáy₃ to₄ mihya₅" niheen⁷ba₆
mihya, *elg⁸ *óccí⁹/ 'The₂ (with Subjective
affiliation) crane₁ said₅, "Oh₃, my₄ neck₅,"
and₆ jerked₉ his₈ (with Objective suffix {-1})
neck₇ back₉.' (Note that elg⁸ and
are always /-/ occurs after word 5 or part of [-1])

The noun may plural deponentive because the speaker intended many words, to stop the sentence there, but an explanation was added on and the [+] repeated after the subordinate clause.

445.3 Class v15B consists of one suffix {-e} Explanatory which forms a subordinate adverbial clause and only occurs in a sentence containing one of the Imperative suffixes. The clause explains or gives the reason for the command. It may be translated by 'because' but a semi-colon and independent clause usually serve better.

The concept, free form, has two aspects: The Explanatory is only added to suffixes of freedom to occur in isolation and freedom to occur in a Class v14av. Relatively wide variety of positions within larger construction /Soci, cahnowá, ? / 'Listen, he's singing.' The verb, non final, /?/ is part of {-v} [v, .?]. Singular aspects: Imperative. Compare /cahnowá Soci ? / with the enclitics- same meaning and /cahnowé! Soci ? / 'Listen to me! I see the one singing.' A large number of larger constructions /wan²p¹i₁ na²a₂ bimuci-dug₃ ul₄ maya₅ hitchya₆ ? / isolation, 'Come₁ and₁ eat₃; I₆ see₅ the food₅ is₆ do occur in a large already₄ ready₆' positions. The term enclitics includes /men₁ sit² ko³ko₃ *e₄ *? / 'Don't₂ do that₁; positional it₁e₄ tabug.' so restricted that the determination to /men₁ ?ama² ciéwá?t³une₃ maya₄ fo₅ * duwenic difficulty. fo₅ men₆ ?aca⁹, du¹⁰kumiya₁₀ ? ? / 'Don't₅ you₄ is necessary dog things₂ like₁ that₁; in₆ the old₆ days₆ cities only enter people₉ were₁₀ killed₁₀ for₈ that₈ object Hero and are always /?/ occurs after word 5. as part of {-me, .?} The noun may Plural Imperative because the speaker intended many words. to stop the sentence there, but an explanation was added on and the |?| repeated after the subordinate clause.

than a word, i.e., a phrase; the other immediate constituent is considered to be at least of word rank. Enclitics deemed to be words by this modified definition are also.

500. SYNTAX

SYNTAX is concerned with the constructions between words. The WORD is defined syntactically as the minimum free form. The concept, free form, has two aspects: freedom to occur in isolation and freedom to occur in a relatively wide variety of positions within larger constructions. Words belonging to a MAJOR CLASS--verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs--possess both aspects. Words of a MINOR CLASS--interjections and enclitics--possess only one. Interjections occur freely in isolation but in only a quite limited number of larger constructions. (Section 550). Enclitics never occur in isolation, nor in utterance-initial position, but do occur in a large variety of other positions. The term enclitics includes diverse subclasses with differing degrees of positional freedom, some so restricted that the determination to call them words or affixes is made only with difficulty. An elaboration of the definition of the word is necessary for them. For example, the locative enclitics only enter into constructions with nouns or adjectives and are always positioned at the end of the construction. The noun may be a single word or an expansion containing many words. Since one immediate constituent may be more

than a word, i.e., a phrase; the other immediate constituent is considered to be at least of word rank. Enclitics deemed to be words by this modified definition are also, words by the morphophonemic definition with a few exceptions. The exceptions are termed SYNTACTIC AFFIXES: they are morphophonemic affixes but are attached to syntactic constructions.

The major classes are differentiated from one another by privileges of occurrence in a wide variety of or of constructions. For simplicity, the constructions illustrated in Sections 511 and 512 may be taken as the defining ones for nouns and adjectives; exclusion from those constructions, but occurrence as sentence nucleus and sentence satellite (Section 501) are the defining ones for verbs and adverbs respectively.

A PHRASE is a construction containing no verb or verb derivatives other than the Absolute functioning as noun, name, or adjective. A CLAUSE is a construction containing a SUBORDINATE VERB, a verb with a suffix of the class VI4A Adverbializer, VI5B Nominalizer, or VI5C Explanatory. The subordinate verb is a SUBORDINATE NOUNUS which may have satellites of its own, all of the constituents, with together composing the subordinate clause, explicating the reflexive or reciprocal action.

501. A SENTENCE consists of a NUCLEUS with or without SATELLITES. The nucleus is a FINITE VERB, a verb with a suffix of one of the classes v14eV Evidential, v14mV Modal, v14iV Imperative, v14fV Future, or v14VNAB Absolutive; but not one of the subordinating suffixes of the classes v15N Nominalizer nor v15B Explanatory.

A sentence contains only one finite verb; there is no coordinate construction for verbs. The Absolutive form of the verb is an apparent exception; it is a member of all the major classes. As a verb it is finite and the nucleus of the sentence. As a noun, adjective, or adverb it is not finite and is not the nucleus but a satellite or a constituent of a satellite. *Finite Verb* (Section 502).

511. Satellites are of the classes noun, adjective, and adverb.¹¹ They may be single words, phrases, or clauses. A PHRASE is a construction containing no verb or verb derivative other than an Absolutive functioning as a noun or adjective. A CLAUSE is a construction containing a SUBORDINATE VERB, a verb with a suffix of the classes v14A Adverbializer, v15N Nominalizer, or v15A Explanatory. The subordinate verb is a SUBORDINATE NUCLEUS which may have satellites of its own, all of the constituents, with together composing the subordinate clause, explicating the reflexive or reciprocal action.

502. An utterance need not be a sentence; it may be a nonsentence. A NONSENSE is an utterance with no finite verb. It consists of either an interjection or any of the classes that are sentence satellites (except that enclitics can never be the whole utterance).

Only interjections normally occur spontaneously or in response to a nonlinguistic stimulus. Other types of nonsentences regularly occur only as a response to a linguistic stimulus; e.g. a question.

503. Nouns stand in two kinds of satellite relationship to the nucleus, either as subject or as object. Formally, the two are distinguished by the case on the nouns possessing a distinct objective form (Sections 311-343.4). With other nouns, an overt indication is optionally made by means of various syntactic devices (Sections 315, 330-332).

Semantically, the subject participates in performing the action or bringing about the state indicated by the verb; the object undergoes the action or merely suffers the state described by the verb. If the subject and object are the same, or partially the same, the verb will normally contain the Reflexive or Reciprocal suffix, with or without concomitant syntactic elements explicating the reflexive or reciprocal action.

(classifying cases, the collective case)
Nouns may appear in the verb now containing the suffixes listed above + -^l-genitive, genitive after the Distributive and the 1st allomorph of the Absolutive.

Subject and object satellites are no more required by any verb than are other satellite classes. Some verbs denoting states or conditions customarily occur without subject satellites but they do not constitute a formal impersonal class because it is always possible to employ a subject with them just as it is always possible to omit the subject with other verbs.

If it is desired /sinatám²dom₁ ma·ca²/ 'I've heard₁ that₁ they₂ verb; then (object)₂ drowned₁.' The subject satellite and the /sinatám²dom₁ ma·ca²/ 'I've heard₁ that₁ they₂ (subject)₂ drowned₁.' Here, 'they' do the

action consciously; in the first example 'they'

merely underwent the action. Since no object satellite is in the context, the implication is that 'they drowned themselves' but such a meaning would normally be expressed with a

Reflexive suffix as in the following example.

The suffix of the plural subject is from the Plural

/sinatáma²dom₁ ma·ca²/ or /sinatáma²dom₁:/

'They drowned themselves, I've heard.'

Agent morpheme (-s) is absent; therefore the

/qahsilé¹ to²:/ 'I (object)₂ am₁ cold₁.'

This verb normally has no expressed subject

but it is perfectly possible to put in

one meaning 'the weather'. /man²qav₁:/ 'My

older₁ brother, let₂, the (objective case),

marbles₂ run₄ around₄.' The verb now contains

the suffixes listed above + {-hqa-} [qa] Causative

after the Distributive and the [w] allomorph

of the Absolutive.

Verbal suffixes comprehend a semantic concept termed the Agent, the prime causative force of the action, which does not coincide with the meaning of the subject satellite. The latter might be the primary force or a secondary actor. When the Agent is different from the subject, it may be deduced from the context or expressed by an instrumental prefix, but it is not demonstrated syntactically. If it is desired to do so, the Causative must be added to the verb; then the Agent may be made the subject satellite and the former subject made the object. This is illustrated by an elaboration of an example from Section 421.

same case /kato¹*te₁ *em₂ móhtan³wadu₃:/ 'The (subjective case)₂ marbles₁ are₃ running₃ around₃.' The verb contains {amo-} 'to run' + {-Xht-} Plural Movement + {-ci⁰d-}||²d|| Durative + {-wa⁰d-} Distributive + {-w}||u|| Absolutive. The plural suffix of the English subject is from the Plural Movement suffix of the Kashaya verb. The Plural Agent morpheme {d>c} is absent; therefore the Agent is singular, not the marbles but perhaps refer to the unnamed person who dropped a bagful letting them scatter.

/a·kin¹ kato¹*te₂ *el₃ móhtan³wan⁴qa₄:/ 'My₁ older₁ brother₁ let₄ the (objective case)₃ marbles₂ run₄ around₄.' The verb now contains the suffixes listed above + {-hqa-}||qa|| Causative after the Distributive and the ||w|| allomorph of the Absolutive.

If the verb contains the Reciprocal suffix {-mu^oc-} and two noun satellites are mentioned, it is customary, ^{is} however, for one satellite to be in the subjective case and the other in the objective; however, it is possible for a verb to have two objects /'a:₁ mit₂ qáchmamuk₃ he₄:/ 'I (subjective case)₁ often ^{are} going₃ to₂ race₃ you (objective case)₂ suffixed and₃ young₄' /to₁ na₂ qáchmamuk₃ he₄:/ 'You (subjective case)₂ are₃ going₃ to₂ race₃ me (objective case)₁ and₃ I₄ young₅.' On (objective)₅

If there is but one noun satellite it may be in the subjective case or the objective, both with the denote same meaning; the construction is avoided because there is no /qac^hmamu^oye⁺ ma⁺ca⁺/ and /qac^hmamu^oye⁺ ma⁺ca^o/ action. They are both translated, 'They are racing each other,' on the ^{one} although the first example contains /ma⁺ca⁺/ Section 43 'they (objective case)' and the second /ma⁺ca^o/ 'they (subjective case)'.

504. Adjective satellites and verb satellites exhibit no A verb is not restricted to one subject satellite. If there is more than one, they are appositive; they both refer to the same extralinguistic entity. Two objective satellites are also appositive if they both refer to the same entity. Apposition is especially common when one of the nouns is a demonstrative:

/p'ala mó:n/ 'He is running again,' to have the satellite /món mó:n/ 'He is running like that.' (example above).

503. /mul₁ hayu₂ cadú₃ *yow₄ mi₅ *aca₆ :/ immediate constituent
 'That (subjective)₅ mang saw_{3,4} that (objective)₁
 in quite free. The only restriction is that the
 dog₂.'

immediate constituents of the sentence do not break into
 However, it is possible for a verb to have two
 object satellites which are not appositive. The situation
 often arises with verbs containing one or two Causative
 suffixes which is not a constituent of that clause but rather of
 the sentence. Exceptions to this statement are the
 discontinuous suffixes.

/'acac₁ em₂ map^{ha}.kil₃ car₄ *ol₅ mohqahqaw₆ :/
 'The (subjective)₂ man₁ let₆ his₃ son (objective)₃
 several satellites between the two parts of the morpheme;
 drive₆ the (objective)₅ car₄.'

for example /'acac₁ em₂ map^{ha}.kil₃ car₄ *ol₅ mohqahqaw₆ :/
 If the two nonappositive satellites would both denote
 animate beings, the construction is avoided because there
 is no way to distinguish which object is undergoing which
 action. This limitation imposes a practical restriction
 on the number of Causative suffixes in one verb (see
 Section 435).

(base), (hayu) 'dog', (cadú) 'see': (mohqahqaw)

'to see' + (-X) Pastual.

504. The adjective and adverb satellites exhibit
 no complications and may be simply illustrated.

Adjective satellites:

/qo²di mó³du :/ 'He is running well.'

If the /bahya mó³du :/ 'He is running fast.' classes

Adverb satellites: (these examples) or viamV Models
 and is not /p^hala mó³du :/ 'He is running again.' have
 the suffix /men mó³du :/ 'He is running like that.'

examples above).

505. The relative word order of the immediate constituents of a sentence, the verb and its satellites, is quite free. The only restriction is that the immediate constituents of the sentence do not break into the middle of other, multi-word constituents. Thus an adverbial clause will not contain in its midst an element which is not a constituent of that clause but rather of the sentence. Exceptions to this statement are the discontinuous suffixes of the verb which may have one or several satellites between the two parts of the morpheme; for example f-mo..?} Plural Imperative (described in Section 444.32).

A sentence so simple as to contain only four elements may occur in twenty-four different combinations. A few will be illustrated for 'I see that dog,' containing: morphemes {sval} 'I' (subjective case), {mul} 'that' (objective also occurs case), {hayu} 'dog', ||read|| 'see' (read-) 'to see' + {-d} Factual.
 above the /hayu mul 'a can? :/
 speech, /hayu 'a mul can? :/ is otherwise associated with the full /hayu 'a cadé* mul :/
 a sentence /cadé* 'a mul hayu :/ with /-/ or with no contour on phonetic realization.

If the nuclear verb contains a suffix of the classes v14eV Evidentials (as in these examples) or v14mV Modals regularly set off by a comma as well as by a space and is not final in the sentence, then it must also have the suffix {-e*} Nonfinal Verb (as in the last two examples above).

is. It should be noted that /hayu/ and /mul/ are clauses appositive satellites and are positionally independent; /mul/ 'that' is not a modifier of /hayu/ 'dog'. However, in a more complex sentence the two would not be greatly separated from each other or from the verb, ^{or at other} point. Although the freedom of word order is great, one in which the verb is last is statistically more frequent. Among younger speakers, however, there seems to have been a shift to a preference for the English word order—^{can} Subject + Verb + Object. ^{only,} having changed his mind about In subordinate clauses, the verb is always final, while he gathers his thoughts.

506a. In the texts and some of the grammatical examples, a period is employed to mark the termination of a sentence. If the Responsive or one of the Interrogative morphemes is in the sentence, then the rising contour also occurs at the end of the sentence and is written above the period, /?/. In careful, well-thought-out speech, the end of a sentence is otherwise associated with the falling contour, /:/-. However, in texts the end of a sentence may be associated with /-/ or with no contour or phonetic marking at all.

In conformity with English usage, direct quotations are regularly set off by commas as well as by the presence of the phoneme of heightened contrast /" ". The comma

is also sometimes used to separate a subordinate clause from the rest of the sentence. It is then frequently accompanied by /-/ and on occasion by /'Y or /"/, or by no contour.

All three contours, especially /-/ occur at other points within the sentence, usually at the boundaries between the immediate constituents of the sentence, but frequently enough at structurally insignificant spots, even with morphemes. These odd occurrences usually happen when the speaker stops suddenly, having changed his mind about what he had intended to say, or are hesitations while he gathers his thoughts.

Thus, the terminal contours are phonological and the period and comma are structural symbols, ^{which} help to judge the order of constituency in constructions with three nouns. The meaning helps in the second example above, but not in the following, one in which the noun is the head, *naʃe:te* 'head' + *dənt'æl* 'disease, pain, ache' is employed + *{qə'zə}* 'song, dance' > /naʃe:te dənt'æl {qə'zə}/ with an implied 'ache-song' (doctoring song for curing a headache). The immediate constituency cannot phonologically be indicated. It might be either /naʃe:te dənt'æl {qə'zə}/ or (naʃe:te + dənt'æl) {qə'zə}. Either first-step construction is common, /naʃe:te dənt'æl/ ('headache'), or /dənt'æl {qə'zə}/ ('disease song').

510. Constructions between major classes will be mentioned.
described in the following decade. In the formulas, different
N stands for noun, A for adjective, B for adverb, and
V for verb. the head of the construction is the chief means
of differentiating the classes.

511. N + N > N The modifying noun is placed first
and the head noun second. Since the result of the
construction is a noun, the process may be repeated.

The {*aya*yo} 'cross' + {cahno} 'word, talk, speech'
adjective, /*aya*yo|kahno/ 'Christianity'. Using this noun
[hoto] to modify another, we have ||*aya*yo cahno|| +
{kalikak^h} 'book, letter, paper'
[hoto] /*aya*yo cahno kalikak^h/ 'Bible'.

There are no phonological criteria by which to judge
the order of constituency in constructions with three
nouns. The meaning helps in the second example above
but not in the following: one in which the noun is the
head, as {ho^oto} 'head' + {duht^hal} 'disease, pain, ache'
is employed + {qo^oo} 'song, dance' > /ho^oto duht^hal qo^oo/
with an implied meaning 'head ache song (doctoring song for curing a
headache)'. The immediate constituency cannot
phonologically be indicated. It might be either [ho^oto duht^hal]
{qo^oo} or {ho^oto} + [|duht^hal|{qo^oo}]. Either
first-step construction is common; /ho^oto duht^hal/
'headache' or /duht^hal qo^oo/ 'disease song'.
structure were [q^oo|ale kihp^ha] 'tree leaf' +

512. N + A > N The noun, the head of the construction, stands first; the modifying adjective, second. The difference in position of noun and adjective modifiers with respect to the head of the construction is the chief means of differentiating the two classes; the name of the example, usually $\{ho^{\circ}to\}$ 'head' + $\{saq^{\circ}a \cdot la\}$ 'green' > the constituent / $ho^{\circ}to$ $saq^{\circ}a \cdot la$ / 'green head'.
 The resulting noun may be modified by a following adjective, or modify another noun which it precedes:

$\{ho^{\circ}to$ $saq^{\circ}a \cdot la\}$ + $\{qawi\}$ 'little' >

/ $ho^{\circ}to$ $saq^{\circ}a \cdot la$ $qawi$ / 'little green head'.

$\{ho^{\circ}to$ $saq^{\circ}a \cdot la\}$ + $\{qayal\}$ 'duck' >

/ $ho^{\circ}to$ $saq^{\circ}a \cdot la$ $qayal$ / 'green-headed duck'.

513. N + A > A The noun modifier precedes the adjective head of the construction. This formation is quite rare compared to the one in which the noun is the head, and it only occurs when the consequent adjective is employed to modify a noun. The result is ambiguous with an immediate constituency that can only be inferred from the meaning; there are no junctural, tonal, or other phonological criteria for distinguishing the structures.

$\{q^{\circ}ale\}$ 'tree, plant' + $\{Sihp^{\circ}a\}$ 'leaf' +

$\{^{\circ}ah^{\circ}hiy\}$ 'several big' > / $q^{\circ}ale$ $Sihp^{\circ}a$ $^{\circ}ah^{\circ}hiy$ /

which could mean 'big tree leaves' if the

structure were $\{q^{\circ}ale$ $Sihp^{\circ}a\}$ 'tree leaf' +

520. {*aht^{hiy}*} 'several big', or 'big-leaved tree' is basic, if {*q^hale*} 'tree' + ||*sihp^{ha}* *aht^{hiy}*|| 'big-leaved, APHEYSIS is with big leaves'. The latter interpretation is vowel of more likely in a context that does not distinguish the two, for it is the name of the catalpa, usually be an introduced tree. In one of the constituents {**ahay*} 'wood, stick' + {*q^hama*} 'foot (body part or of compound unit of measurement)' + {*hsibo*} 'three' >

There /**ahá* q^hama hsibo*/ which is 'three wooden legs' all nouns with a structure ||**ahay q^hama*|| 'wooden leg' + rare for other {*hsibo*} 'three', or 'three-foot stick' with a personal structure {**ahay*} 'wood, stick' + ||*q^hama Hsibo*|| the compound 'three feet'. The latter interpretation, patterned normally on after English, is the commoner in this particular situation, as H + H compounds are the only common type. Compounds between other combinations of words of the major classes occur and, when attested, are exemplified here.

The compound frequently has a specialized meaning while the construction with the unaphectized allomorph has the more literal or general sense; compare the first two examples below:

*qaet*ha** / 'the small place', taken as adjective meaning 'small'.

*tsil*ha** / 'street + (*tsa* + *l*ha**) 'place, place' >

*q*ha*ma* / 'three places'. (Three = compounds with many members).

N + N > N

520. *Many words have two allomorphs, one of which is basic, the other aphetized. Morphophonemically, APHESIS is the replacement of the initial consonant and vowel of a word by [ə]. The aphetized allomorph never occurs in isolation (although a few interjections could historically be aphetized nouns). Aphesis in one of the constituents of a construction is considered to be evidence of compounding and the form is written together.

There are examples of aphesis occurring with almost all nouns beginning with [t] or [h] but the process is rare for other nouns. ^{However,} but it does occur, especially in personal and place names. If both noun constituents of the compound begin, in their basic form, with [t] or [h], normally only one is aphetized. The preceding general statements were about nouns because N + N compounds are the only common type. Compounds between other combinations of words of the major classes occur and, when attested, are exemplified here.

The compound frequently has a specialized meaning while the construction with the unaphetized allomorph has the more literal or general sense; compare the first two examples below:

/q̃a'ma'/ 'small places'; (also an adjective meaning 'narrow'); /q̃a'ma/ 'land, place' ; (hsibə) 'three' + (*ama*) [ma.] 'land, place' ; /siboma/ 'three places'. (*ama*) compounds with any number).

N + N > N

- *{^ocho} 'heat, fire, light' (this word is also an adjective meaning 'hot, bright') + {karé·ta} 'wagon' > /^ocho káre·ta/ 'fire wagon', the [^ocho]||sho|| + {karé·ta} > /hokáre·ta/ 'trains', [^oshokaré·ta] + {hi²da}||u²da|| 'road, path' > /hokáre·ta²da/ 'railroad track'. (sho²da-)
- {^oahqa}||shqa|| 'game, gambling' + {cuhsé} 'baby-carrying basket' > /qacúhse/ 'the grass game', the [^oahq²a]||shq²a|| 'water' + {q²a²ts} 'pond' (this word may historically be related to the one for water but the tone pattern shows that it does not contain ||s|| and thus not the allomorph long ||shq²a|| of 'water') > /q²aq²asto/ 'tidal pool'.

N + A > N

- *{^oahq²a}||shq²a|| 'water' + {t²hu²ul} 'old' > /^oahq²a t²hu²ul/ 'stagnant water', 'heat, fire, light' > {^oahq²a} 'water' + {*cho}||sho|| 'hot' > /^oahq²a ho/ 'hot drink'; compare /^oahq²a *^oho/ > 'hot water', 'the Southern Pomo of Cloverdale

A + N > N (A class order only occurring in compounds.)

- {qawi} 'small' + {*ama*}||mma*|| 'land, place' > /qawima*/ 'a small place', (also an adjective meaning 'narrow'), strong, 'very hard', 'sharp'
- {shsibo} 'three' + {*ama*}||ma*|| 'land, place' > /sibóma*/ 'three places'. (||mma*|| compounds with any number).

$A + N > A$ nouns ending in {-} exhibit, in certain constructions, /bah^the/ 'big' + {*ama*}||ama|| 'land, place' is called /bah^them^a/ 'wide' (also a noun meaning 'a big place; compare /qawima*/ above), substituted for it. $N + V > V$ nouns in many cases, however, the speakers have used {*ahay}||thay|| 'wood, stick, pole' + {shéhil-} syntactic 'to hang up' (>/nahayahéhil-/ 'to celebrate') on the sent + {-v}||?|| Absolutive > /háyhehil*/ 'to celebrate, the speaker's celebration'. At celebrations, beads used to be hung up on a pole to pay singers and others (who) performed services.

{hi^tda} 'road, path'||n^tda|| + {gne*-} 'to put a long object' + {-v} Absolutive > /danew/ 'to cast off, throw away, abandon a long object'.

$B + N > N$ Placement of / / is different according to the

{*uhwa*} 'outside' + {*oho}||ho|| 'heat, fire, light' > /uhwa-ho/ 'campfire'.

The commonest noun {p^tala} 'again, otherwise' + {*aha}||ha|| 'mouth' > avoided with /p^talah^a/ 'the Southern Pomo of Cloverdale and Geyserville'.

'world, + A > A' land, place, ground, dirt' etc. There are no constructions in which only one or the other occur.

{*ihya*} 'strong' + {*ahsiy}||hsiy|| 'hard' > or the longer /?ihyáhsiy/ 'very strong, very hard'.

Constructions in which only one or the other occur. Supraregional

{-v}||?|| Absolutive > /?ana bikkun/ 'is bad' - ||maa*|| + {híyán} 'he held authority' - ||maa*|| 'person' > /?anahíyán/ 'the person'

521. Some nouns ending in ||·|| exhibit, in certain constructions, allomorphs without the ||·||. This phenomenon is called SHORTENING. When the shortened allomorph occurs, the basic or long allomorph may usually be substituted for it with no difference in meaning. However, the speakers have a preference for one or the other in any given syntactic situation. The choice seems to depend somewhat on the sentence rhythm but no definite rule can be made. The speakers of the language vary among themselves in their preference:

{samo·} 'fly' + {saqʰa·la} 'green, blue' > /samo·/ + /saqʰa·la/ > /samo·#saqʰa·la/ > /samo· saqʰa·la/ 'blowfly'.

{samo·} ||samo|| + {saqʰa·la} > ||samo#saqʰa·la|| > Construction with 'thing' from above
In the next example 'thing' from above
the noun /samo saqʰa·la/ 'blowfly'. Note that the other specialised meanings must be given in the dictionary. The placement of / / is different according to the dictionary:
whether ||·|| is present or absent.

||*ama| + {ama·} 'mite' + {ama} 'thing'
522. {*ama·} ||*ama·|| ~ ||*ama|| is by far the commonest noun displaying shortening. Aphaesis seems to be / / avoided with this word, possibly to eliminate some of the coincidence in form with {*ama·}. ||*ama·|| ~ ||ama·|| 'world, country, land, place, ground, dirt'. / 'thoughtless, There are many constructions in which either the basic or the long allomorphs may be used, and other constructions in which only one or the other occur. Supraterrestrial +

(-v) | *| Absolutive > /*ama büküm/ 'a knoll'.

||*ama·| + [hiyama] 'to hold authority' + (-ya*) 'person' > /*ama· hiyama/ 'the President'.

With {pišudu} 'bad', both allomorphs of {*ama*} occur:
 ||*ama*#pišudu|| > /*ama· pišúdu/ 'bad thing, crime'.
 ||*ama/#pišudu|| > /*ama pišudu/ 'bad thing, crime'.
 With {qoʔdi} 'good', only ||*ama*|| occurs:
 of any ||*ama*#qoʔdi|| > /*ama· qoʔdi/ 'good thing'.
 A set with {bahtʰe} 'big', only ||vama|| occurs; opposite
 extreme ||*ama/bahtʰe|| > /*ama báhtʰe/ 'big thing, big doings,
 thought-out festivities', marked by heart from frequent
 repeat But with the other morpheme {*ama*} 'land, etc.' there is:
 In such ||*ama*#bahtʰe|| > /*ama· báhtʰe/ 'big land, big ranch'.
 the sentence And with an aphotized, shortened allomorph:
 lengthy ||vma/bahtʰe|| > /mabáhtʰe/ a place name.

The raised tone is normally in a tone phrase, and in
 Constructions with {*ama*} 'thing' frequently have
 ing the nucleus out of it. In some cases one or more speaker
 specialized meanings which must be given individually in
 desires to give it emphasis over the verb. The other tone
 the dictionary; either the meaning in the
 phrases are suppressed; this is indicated by ||*|| at the
 initial boundary of the tone phrase.
 ||*ama|| + {qahca} 'knife' > /*ama qáhca/ 'flint'.

||*ama*|| + {*ihpʰuy}||ihpʰuy|| 'grease, fat' >
 Although each of these words is potentially
 /*amahpʰuy/ 'kerosene'. The placement of // / /
 a tone phrase, it is necessary for there to be a
 shows that ||*|| is present.

||*ama|| + {cʰimi-} 'to decide' {-w} Absolutive +
 sentence conditions, either of the two together
 (=tʰin) 'not' > /*ama cʰimiu *tʰin/ 'thoughtless,
 not different conditions are given in the following
 sections.

- ||*ama|| + {buhku} 'humped' + {X>Ø} (deriving verbs
 from adjectives) + {-⁰m-} Supraterrestrial +
 {-w}||*|| Absolutive > /*ama búhkum⁰/ 'a knoll'.
- ||*ama*|| + {hiyome} 'to hold authority' + {=ya⁰c}
 'person' > /*ama· hiyémya⁰/ 'the President'.

530. Tone phrases, satellite preceding or following

The maximum number of raised tones possible within a sentence would be achieved if the nucleus and each satellite of the sentence, and each immediate constituent^{ed} of any subordinate clause contained in the sentence were a separate unsuppressed tone phrase.¹ At the opposite extreme from this is a sentence which has been well-thought-out or has been learned by heart from frequent repetition and is delivered in an emotionless manner. In such a case there is usually only one raised tone in the sentence, but sometimes additional ones for each of lengthy subordinate clauses. /mədju:nɪəl/ 'Go there.'

The raised tone is normally in a tone phrase containing the nucleus but may be in some other one if the speaker desires to give it emphasis over the verb. The other tone phrases are suppressed; this is indicated by ||+|| at the initial boundary of the suppressed phrases.

Although each sentence constituent is potentially a tone phrase, it is not necessary for there to be a tone phrase juncture, ||+||, at the boundaries between the sentence constituents. Examples of the phrasing together of different constituents are given in the following sections.

(a) *Good* when 'also the new wall' -
 (b) *good* (*gʊd*) where the verb has two satellites, the object (*gʊd*) and an adjective (*gʊd*) 'good, will'.

53 531. A one-word satellite preceding or following
 a verb not containing the Negative is phrased with the
 verb: boundary of the verb, and |+| placed at the beginning

- {qo^odi} 'good' + {n^oi-} 'to be, stay' + {-ci^od-} ||ce^od||
 Durative + (-t) Singular Imperative > ||ce^od||
 /qo^odi *ice^odu/ 'Be good!' (with ||+|| and
 ||pišudu#n^oice^odt|| > /pišudu *ice^odu/ 'Be bad!'
 ||ciškan#n^oice^odt|| > /ciškan *ice^odu/ 'Be pretty!'
 ||*aca^oc#n^oice^odt|| > /*aca^o *icé^odu/ 'Be a man!'
 ||mi^oli#n^oice^odt|| > /mi^oli *ice^odu/ 'Stay there!'
 ||n^oice^odt#mi^oli|| > /*icé^odu mi^oli/ 'Stay there!'
 ||wa^odt#mi^oli|| > /wa^odu mi^oli/ 'Go there!'

532. Multiword satellites may be phrased with a
 verb not containing the Negative or may be phrased sepa-
 rately, with or without suppression in the satellite:

- 534 ||*aca^oc#qo^odi#n^oice^odt|| > /*aca^o qo^odi *ice^odu/
 to the con 'Be a good man!' of the sentence
 ||*aca^oc#qo^odi|n^oice^odt|| > /*aca^o qo^odi *icé^odu/
 ||+*aca^oc#qo^odi||n^oice^odt|| > /*aca^o qo^odi *icé^odu/

There is no difference in the meaning of any of
 these examples.

- /qo^oo qo^odi cahnø/ 'Sing the song well!' <
 ||qo^oo||qo^odi/ceahnot/ where the verb has two satel-
 lites, the object (qo^oo) and an adjective
 (qo^odi) 'good, well'.

533. The Negative morpheme includes the element ||t^h|| suffixed to the verb, ||| placed at the initial word boundary of the verb, and ||+|| placed at the beginning of the neighboring satellites:

{qo^odi} 'good' + {u^oi-} 'to be, stay' + {-ci^od-}||ce^od||

Durative + {-t^h-} Negative (with ||| and ||+||

placed as described above) + {-t}||..*|| >

||+qo^odi|m^oice^odt^hu^o|| > /qo^odi *icé^ot^hu^o/

'Don't be good!'

The verb is phrased with, and is a satellite of the subordinate verb (5).

be bad!'

||+ciškan|m^oice^odt^hu^o|| > /ciškan *icé^ot^hu^o/

'Don't be pretty!'

||s^oice^odt^hu+ni·li#|| > /icé^ot^hu mi·li #/

||*ima·ta|niya|| > /*ima·ta niya siki/

'Don't stay there!'

||*ima·ta|niya|| > /*ima·ta niya siki/

534. The placement of /*/ sometimes gives a hint to the constituent structure of the sentence elements:

/qo^o qo^odi cahno/ 'Sing a good song!' <

||qo^o||qo^odi||cahnot|| where ||qo^o||qo^odi|| is an object satellite consisting of the noun {qo^oo} 'song, dance' modified by the adjective {qo^odi} 'good'. No noun satellites do not normally

/qo^o qo^odi cahno/ 'Sing the song well!' <

||qo^oo||qo^odi||cahnot|| where the verb has two satellites, the object {qo^oo} and an adjective {qo^odi} 'good, well'.

However, such hints are only ~~that~~^{hints} and cannot be used to translate the texts with certainty; in the texts, the sentences are broken into smaller tone phrases;

/qo⁷di₁ mū⁸kito₂ pimkicig he⁹én₃ hu¹⁰ut¹¹ma₅ /

'Look₃ at₂ him₂ well₁ to₃ see₃ exactly₃ how₄ he₅ looks₅!' Here, the object satellite (2)

is phrased with the preceding adjective satellite

(1) although they are not in immediate constituency without the Nucleus (3).

The adverb (4) is phrased with, and is a satellite of the subordinate verb (5).

A complete analysis of the deviation in the placement of {?ima-ta} 'woman' + {(mihya} 'neck' +(pihki) cause in 'slender-necked') can result in two morphophonemic and phonetic forms;

||?ima-ta|mihya|pihki|| > /?ima-ta mihya pihki/

||?ima-ta|mihya/pihki|| > /?ima-ta mihya pihki/

both meaning 'slender-necked woman'. The

placement of ||| in the middle of a noun

phrase is only possible because the immediate

constituents of the phrase are {?ima-ta} and

{mihya} + {pihki}. Within a longer sentence

the first of the pair would be preferable

because noun satellites do not normally

contain ||| in their midst.

535. What has been described is the unemotional phrasing of a sentence well-known by the speaker. In the texts, the sentences are broken into smaller tone phrases; there are many more tone junctures. This ^{is} partly because of the desire of the informants to avoid mistakes or lapses when actually recording by pausing more frequently than normal to gather their thoughts, and partly because of their greater nervousness while recording. In telling a story without the recorder operating, the informants spoke with fewer terminal contours and raised tones.

A complete analysis of the deviations in the placement of /' / from that expected is not attempted. One cause is the presence of a morpheme of contrast. Consider the following example:

Sinota /musu₁ q^ho₂- kāta₃ Sahnabina₄= bīh^he₅ kāta₆
borderline Sahnabina₇ bat^hqabiw₈:/ 'They must₄ have₄ something
from I covered₄ the two₂ legs₁ with₄ cloth₃--must₇ have₇,
and then I covered₇ them with₇ deer skin₆--and let₈ them lie₈.'

The difference between the two subordinate (in Kashaya) clauses lies in the word /bīh^he/, which has /' / because the contrast and emphasis possibilities in meaning is 'deer skin' not some other fabric. Much of the acoustical evidence that shows up in the kashaya and might be subject to revision if more data becomes available.

In some cases there seems to be a raised tone of intermediate height placed where the /' / would be if the the tone phrase were not suppressed: the major class which the enclitic follows, *hayónt^hume²* / 'Don't go far!' The second tone is optional and indicates the enclitic. This phenomenon does not occur if the sentence is repeated by the informant. The indication is that there is perhaps an additional tone phoneme, but it is not included in the phonemic inventory because it is impossible to ever elicit in careful speech and in the recorded texts it is difficult to judge when it would be present or absent, even if it were considered phonemic. for nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Indeed it is sometimes difficult to judge when /' / is present or absent, the tonal variation is so slight. Since a quick decision has had to be made for each to be borderline case, it is often swung towards what is expectable from the morphophonemic rules and from the structures and the result of the same class as the constituent preceding the enclitic (not a member of all four classes).

Systematic elicitations have been made of the privileges of occurrence of only a few of the most common enclitics. The others are assigned to a class on the basis of the scantier evidence that shows up in the texts and might be subject to revision if more data becomes available.

paonq'ut 'good man' is given further

540. The enclitics include many diverse subclasses. These classes are designated by a two-letter symbol. The first letter is small and indicates the major class which the enclitic follows and is in construction with. The second letter is capitalized and indicates the syntactic class of the resulting construction. For example, nn designates an enclitic class the members of which follow nouns and form with them a noun phrase. The letter symbols for the major classes are N for nouns, A for adjectives, B for adverbs, and V for verbs. Three additional letters are employed as cover symbols for combinations of classes; x for nouns and adjectives, y for nouns, adjectives, and verbs, and z for all four major classes. Thus $\{=ya^o\} yn$ 'person' is added to nouns, adjectives, and verbs and the result is a noun. Note the special interpretation to be given to the capitals X , Y , and Z : $\{=t\} o$ Contrast of class zz is added to words of any of the four major classes and the result ^{is} of the same class as the constituent preceding the enclitic (not a member of all four classes).

Systematic elicitations have been made of the privileges of occurrence of only a few of the most common enclitics. The others are assigned to a class on the basis of the scantier evidence that shows up in the texts and might be subject to revision if more data becomes available.

/nacat^ofot^odil/, 'good man' (a noun phrase) + /yay/ >
/nacat fot^o yya/ 'good men, good people'.

541. (A sample of each of the occurrent classes is given below; with, accompanied by, characterized by, and -zzI [=thin] 'not'. This enclitic is usually employed (**aca^oc*) 'man' + (=thin) > /'aca^o thin/ 'not a man', (*qo^odi*) 'good' + (=thin) > /qo^odi thin/ 'not good', ||cohto^o|| 'to go' + (=thin) > /cohto^o thin/ 'not in: to go, isn't going', or with nouns: (*baqo*) 'what' + (=thin) > /baqo thin/ 'something' When added to interrogative adverbs, (=thin) forms an indefinite, while bi^o / 'both his' y^oY (=yihe) 'sham, make-believe, as if', /'aca^o yihe/ 'make-believe man, a doll', /qo^odi yihe/ 'deceitfully good', ||cohto^ot^o|| 'in order to go' + (=yihe) > bB. [-cohto^o·ti yihe/ 'as if to go', (=yihe) very often follows a verb with the suffix {-ti} Intentive, often with ^{no}perceptible effect on the meaning of the construction.
- xx. (=min) 'like, similar, somewhat'. [xii] in /'aca^o min/ 'like a man', in a vowel, [-li] after a few en /qo^odi min/ 'somewhat good, rather good', [liu] optional {=yya} ||yya|| ~ ||'ay|| Plural. ||yya|| occurs after vowels and ||'ay|| after consonants. (current ite... at the tree'. (**acaac*) + ||'ay|| > /'acaac ay/ 'men, people', ||'acaac/qo^odi|| 'good man' (a noun phrase' + ||yya|| > /'aca^o qo^odi yya/ 'good men, good people'.

nN,A (forms what are both nouns and adjectives, from nouns) (=qo) 'with, accompanied by, characterized by, pen' and'. In the meaning 'and' this enclitic is usually employed in pairs, one after each of two coordinate nouns, in:

longer /haʔa/ 'horn' + (=qo) 'with horns, horned' > nA (bak̥a) /baʔa/ 'bakhel' /haʔa qo/. As an adjective modifying a noun: sonorants and /bihše/ 'deer'; /bihše háʔa qo/ 'deer with horns'.

(*ime) 'fuzz' + (=qo) > /*ime qo/ 'fuzzy' or, as a noun it has the specialized sense 'peach'.

/miyá·t̥e qo miyá·me qo phile·bi/ 'Both his mother and his father went away.' /sak̥e/ 'modern, recent'.

ñB (=yow) 'under' /t̥ow/ 'from, by, since' /t̥ow/, ocf *ahq'a/ 'water' + (=yow) > /yahq'a yow/ 'below:

/ahq'a/ 'under the water'. Goose Spring. An adverb of Many /dative, locative or less similar to word.

bB [=qan] There is no detectable difference in meaning with or without this enclitic:

{duwəni} 'in the old days' + (=qan) > /duwəni qan/ 'in the old days'.

||wi|| ~ ||li|| ~ ||·li|| ~ ||liwi|| 'in, at; with, by'. (be this)
||wi|| is used after most words ending in a vowel, ||·li|| after a few ending in a vowel, ||li|| after consonants, and ||liwi|| optionally after verbs as a means of distinguishing this enclitic from the verbal suffix {-li} 'when'. /duwəni t̥ow/

{q'ałe} 'tree, plant' + ||wi|| > /q'ałe wi/ 'at the tree'.

{qawi} 'small' + ||·li|| > /qawi ·li/ 'in, at the little one; with the little one'.

This enclitic freely forms nouns meaning 'instrument'.

[cuhti] 'design' + ||-li|| > /cuhti -li/ 'pencil, pen'.

[Saliw] 'to sift' + ||-li|| > /Sali -li/ 'sifter'.

isolatic ||dati^{t?}|| 'to roll' + ||-li|| > /dati^{t?}-li/ 'rolling pin'.

longer utterance but are not constituents of any sentence

ZA {bak^he} ||bak^he|| ~ ||=bak^he||. ||bak^he|| occurs after
except as quote

sonorants and ||bak^he|| elsewhere; 'from, of, for';

/la^alahq^ha/ 'Goose Spring' + {bak^he} of walking on

/la^alahq^ha bak^he/ 'from, of, for Goose Spring'

[ma^aaw] 'to eat' + {=bak^he} > /ma^aaw "bak^he/

'for eating, suitable for eating, in order to eat'.
[t^ao] 'now' + {=bak^he} > /t^ao bak^he/ 'modern, recent'.

ZB (:tow) ||tow|| ~ ||ltow|| 'from, by, since'.

||tow|| occurs after consonants and ||ltow|| after vowels;

/la^alahq^ha ltow/ 'from Goose Spring'. An adverb of

Many direction are more or less similar to
movement not an adjective as in the preceding
words of the major class. In the two remaining forms
set of examples.

are identical; they are regarded to be one morpheme

[maya] 'you, plural' + ||ltow|| > /mayal^atow/
with membership in another class, so that they
'by you, done by you'.

are two different forms. Often it is possible to say
(qawi) 'little' + ||ltow|| > /qawi ltow/ 'since
say that (historical past) the pain has been reduced
(he was) little'.

from the other often used as a dead relative of a

||ma^aaw|| 'to eat' + {=tow} > /ma^aaw - tow/ 'from
(past) eating, caused by eating'. Is derived by

(duweni) 'in the old days' + ||ltow|| > /duweni ltow/ .

(tā:t^a) 'sit down' (a baby word only used with

young children) has probably been derived

from a young child's pronunciation of

/cahei/ 'Sit down'.

550. Interjections are invariable in phonemic form and are consequently written morphophonemically the same as phonemically. They are customarily employed in isolation; however, they may occur in the body of a longer utterance but are not constituents of any sentence except as quotations; has a unique tone pattern, but seg-

{q̥aθ̥q̥aθ̥} Imitative of the sound of walking on gravel. /mu·kin¹ "aθ̥a² tol₃ wa·dom₄ iqa₅ mu₆ "q̥aθ̥q̥aθ̥₇" cedam₈ :/ 'He₁ must₅ be₅ walking₄ on₃ gravel₂; it₆ is₈ going₈ "q̥aθ̥q̥aθ̥₉'

Bəs{t̥op'} 'pop' /baqo₁ t̥in₂ "t̥op'₃ ci₄/ 'Something_{1,2} above, the making₄ a "pop"₃ of other types'

Many interjections are more or less similar to words of the major classes. If the two resemblant forms are identical, they are considered to be one morpheme with membership in two syntactic classes. Otherwise they are two different morphemes. Often it is possible to next, say that historically one of the pair has been derived from the other, often not, of a dead relative or a

{p̥a} 'Nasty!' (a baby word) is derived by simplification of {ahp̥a} 'excrement'.

{t̥á·ti} 'Sit down!' (a baby word only used with young children) has probably been derived from a young child's pronunciation of /cahei/ 'Sit down!'

{*t̪ipt̪hip*} as an interjection is imitative of a sound; as a noun it means 'flivver'. Here the noun is used with interjections to the following historically derived from the interjection.

{**imoṭa·sibasidey*} Imitative of the song of the meadowlark has a unique tone pattern, but segmentally contains an adjustment to a meaningful Kashaya sequence with the same rhythmic pattern, /**imo₁ t̪á·si₂ bas₃*/ 'You probably remember the hole.'

The final syllables of the song /idey/ have no meaning.

Besides the imitatives and baby words illustrated above, there are interjections of other types:

{**ini**} 'Beware!'

{*yohwe*} 'Let's go!' An exhortation to put more effort into a project.

{*neni?*} 'Let's see now.' Often said while the speaker is thinking about what he will say next.

{*way*} Said to warn someone that he has just uttered the name of a dead relative of a person present.

This is followed by the relative verb (-yā) and a negative if the event has taken place and was actually seen or experienced by the speaker. The latter condition is then satisfied if (1) the verb is either (a) Radical Verb or by (b) Responsive.

The only two instances of verbal suffixes being used with interjections are the following, which would be said to little children:

{púpu} 'bowel movement' + {-hqa-}||qa|| Causative of introduction or causation.

(-t) Singular Imperative > /púpuqa/ 'Make a "pupu"!' The choice of Causative allomorph is irregular, for ||qa|| is customarily employed only after consonants.

2) relative {váy} 'touch' + (-'k^he) General Future > given in successive /váy'k^he/ '(Be careful), that will hurt you!' The subject marker {-v-} and the relative {-e} have been learned by the speaker-hearsay or personal experience. In conversations the Evidential morphemes are suffixed to the main verb of the sentence. In narratives the main verb is usually in the Absolutive form and the Evidential is attached to the Assertive verb in the introductory clause.

An introductory sequence not indicating whether there is a change of subject usually begins with (gvnl) 'and, then' or (m^au) 'not, next'. These are immediately followed by (-) Assertive with the suffix {-e-} Nonfinal Verb if the event has not yet taken place or with the suffix {-de-} if the event has taken place and was learned by hearsay; or they are followed by the enclitic verb {-go-} Past Performative if the event has taken place and was actually seen or experienced by the speaker. The latter enclitic is then suffixed by {-d} |uk| Factual and by either {-e-} Nonfinal Verb or by {-dg..-} |dm| Responsive.

/mul e/ 'Then it will happen that...'

560. Introductory sequences.

Narratives, which contain many sentences, are structured, although in a less strict way than sentences, then... The most noteworthy feature of this structure is the use of introductory or linking words, phrases, or clauses at the beginning of most sentences in order to connect them.

Information contained may include 1) whether or not there is a change of subject between the two sentences, then followed by one or more subordinating suffixes;

2) relative timing of the actions--i.e., simultaneous or successive, 3) the manner in which the information has been learned by the speaker--hearsay or personal experience.

In conversations the Evidential morphemes are suffixed to the main verb of the sentence. In narratives the main verb is usually in the Absolutive form and the Evidential is attached to the Assertive verb in the introductory clause.

An introductory sequence not indicating whether there is a change of subject usually begins with {mul} 'and, then' or {mau} 'now, next'. These are immediately followed by {-} Assertive with the suffix {-e} Nonfinal verb if the event has not yet taken place or with the suffix {-do}, if the event has taken place and was learned by hearsay; or they are followed by the enclitic verb [= 'yo-'] Past Performative if the event has taken place and was actually seen or experienced by the speaker. The latter enclitic is then suffixed by {-d} || wi || Factual and by either {-e} Nonfinal Verb or by {-g...} || ēm || Responsive;

/mul e-/ 'Then it will happen that...'

or /ma?u ?do-/ 'It is said that next...'

reduced /mul idom/ 'It is said that then...'

the /mul iyowe-/ 'I know from my own experience that then...'

too also /mul iyowam/ 'I know from my own experience that then...'

ASSERTIVE, AND

If a change or continuation of the subject is to be indicated, then either the main verb of the preceding sentence is repeated, or, more commonly, {men} 'thus, so' + {=si-} 'to do' is employed. The introductory verb is then followed by one of the six subordinating suffixes given in the table in Section 444.60, which tell whether the subject changes or not and give the relative timing of the actions; if speech these sequences are reduced still

more /men siba/ 'Having done so,...'

(=yow) /men si.li/ 'One having done so, another...'

These sequences are often succeeded in turn by forms either {-} or {= 'yo-} which in turn are suffixed by the elements described two paragraphs above; because that is

/men si.li *yowe-/ 'When he had done so, I know

from my own experience that the other...'

Any of the linking sequences so far described may be followed by {mul} 'then, next' which adds little detectable meaning to that already contained in the sequence.

In narratives, these linking clauses are often reduced. Of most frequent occurrence is the omission of the ||•|| of the suffix {-e•} Nonfinal Verb in either of the two allomorphs ||e•|| or ||•||, the omission of /r/ from {-'-} Assertive, and the suppression of the tone expectable on /i/ derived from {-'}. The sequences are transcribed as heard without restoring the full forms. The different ^{hom} elements are all written together as one word, as a measure of economy because they occur so frequently:

/mensi·lido/ for the full form /men si·li "do/ in
 "It is said that when he had done so the other..."

In rapid speech these sequences are reduced still more. Omitted are /i/ from {-'} Assertive, /r/ from {-'yo-} Past, and /u/ from {-k}||w|| Factual, in addition to the elements described above. These most reduced forms have often been transcribed as if restored to at least the level depicted in the preceding paragraph because that is why the informants dictate the material after having heard the recording of the allegro speech. Examples are the following:

~~English sentence~~ /mulyam/ for /mul iyowan/
~~Kashaya~~ /muldo/ for /mul ido/

One example of the importance of these sequences for keeping track of the subject is given below. Other examples are in Sections 444.60-444.66:

"be¹li₁ 'é² ya₂ thahqa³k⁴e₄," cedu₅? mensi⁶li₆,
 "baqó₇ 'wa₈ ta₉,'" cedu₇? "Here₁ is₂ where we₃
 will₄ play₄," said₅ (someone). He₆ having₆ done₆
 so₆ (When the one person had said that, another)₆
 someone₅ else₅ said₁₀, "What is it?" There is
 no subject satellite in either sentence; the
 only evidence for the change of subject lies in
 the suffix {-li} in the linking sequence at the
 beginning of the second sentence.

In the texts, except for their use in keeping track of the subject, these sequences are often translated only by 'then' or are left untranslated. The policy has been to omit or shorten the rendition when the sentence is otherwise complex^{or} lengthy, or the effect in English would be awkward or childish. When the English would otherwise be short or simple, they are rendered more ^{completely} fully to give the English sentence more of the fullness and sonority of the Kashaya.

570. The analyzed text is written phonemically etc except that periods are employed to demark the sentence boundaries, commas to separate from the rest of the sentence all subordinate clauses except those formed by the Assertive verb when it is only giving emphasis to the preceding word, and vertical lines to set off the immediate constituents of the sentence and of the subordinate clauses. Subscript numbers key the constituents preceding them to the notes following the text. When there is more than one word in the sentence or clause constituent, subscript letters are employed to key the individual words to their place of analysis within the discussion of the numbered constituent.

It should be noted that this text abounds in appositive noun satellites consisting of the same form, /ma/ 'you'. This is not considered poor Kashaya but is a feature that occurs frequently with the pronouns of the first and second persons. The differing placements of the appositives illustrate well the great freedom in the order of sentence constituents.

bado¹ sho² nia³ da⁴ yio⁵ gak⁶ s⁷ me⁸ na⁹
pi¹⁰ kudi¹¹ *oti¹² cedu¹³

On Arapá
A Love Charm

Paragraph 3rd
in Karape 12th

Saqa·qáhy^a_a *e·b|₁ ma|₂ da·tak^he|₃·
 men_a siph^b_b|₄ ma|₅ qáhsil_a qáhwe^b siwol_c e·d|₆ ma|₇-
 dihei^k_e|₈ men_a siph^b *e·c|₉ ma|₁₀ mul|₁₁- should
 pha^tená·mick^he|₁₂ men_a siph^b|₁₃ báqo_a ·li_b thinc_c|₁₄
 qe^d|₁₅ du^lú^vk^he|₁₆ men^sip^hi^e·|₁₇ ma|₁₈ mul|₁₉-
 mi^vk^he_a pá·mu_b qawi_c tol_d|₂₀ ma|₂₁ phanam^k_e|₂₂·
 men|₂₃ ma|₂₄ yoqocin^vk^he|₂₅ (ma^ú_a *e·b|₂₆ ma|₂₇ hi^vbayá_a
 da·qa^b|₂₈ da·tap^hi|₂₉ ma|₃₀ mul|₃₁ ma|₃₂- yalá·|₃₃
 ma|₃₄ mul_a chó^b|₃₅ natick^he|₃₆ me^v|₃₇ mito|₃₈
 mu_a *cay^vya^b|₃₉ da·qá^vthiphila|₄₀ ma^ú|₄₁ ma|₄₂
 mul|₄₃ *ul|₄₄ mi^vk^he|₄₅ mul|₄₆ ma|₄₇- wemu_a *el_b|₄₈
 ma|₄₉ milúw|₅₀ hnatick^he|₅₁ men^sip^hi^e·|₅₂ ma|₅₃
 mul|₅₄- cahnnon^vmuéén^vk^he|₅₅ men|₅₆ ma|₅₇
 cahnnon^vmuéén^vk^he|₅₈ men^sip^hi^e·|₅₉ ma|₅₈ *ul|₅₉ just
 mul|₆₀ *ul|₆₁ mito|₆₂ da·yie^vqa^vqahqati|₆₃ ma|₆₄
 mul|₆₅- cohso_a vi_b|₆₆ kumi^vda^v|₆₇ pá·mu_a *el_b|₆₈ ma|₆₉
 din^{wán}^vk^he|₇₀ men^sip^hi^e·|₇₁ ma|₇₂ mul|₇₃ pá·mu|₇₄
 dihei^vy^v|₇₅ ma|₇₆ mu^vkito|₇₇ mul|₇₈- biné^vk^he|₇₉·
 men_a siphila_b *e·c|₈₀ mu_a *cay^vya^b|₈₁ mito|₈₂ sch₈₃
 baqo_b chó^b min_a|₈₅- da·yie^vqack^ve|₈₄, me^vna|₈₅
 piškudú|₈₆ *eti|₈₇* cedu R

at of this song is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence. Section 60 is redundant in meaning and unnecessary at this point because the subject has already been introduced.

1. /Saq-a-nip/ A Love Charm ~~will drop in~~

You should find quail droppings. Having done so, you should take some sticky redwood pitch. Then you should mix them together with a stick. Then you should wrap it up well in something. Having done that you should envelop it in a little handkerchief of yours. You should keep it that way.^{fd} Now, having found a man that you like, you should first try without that [charm]. However, if that person does not like you, you should then try with your charm. You should hold a conversation with him. Keep on talking with him. In order to make him fall in love with you, you should always go around holding that handkerchief in your hand. Take that handkerchief along with you. You should put your arm around him with that. If you do so, that person will fall in love with you just as if it were nothing, even though you are ugly.

2. /dat-i-sip-i/ should find in the nucleus -(da-) 'wish the hand' Instrumental prefix -(e-)-go etc., -doteot' Instrumental prefix verb root -(e-)-go etc. General Future, verb suffix of class VI&V, i.e. subordinates nucleus,
 3. /men dip'i/ 'having done so' is an Introductory clause indicating that the subject of this sentence is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence (see Section 560). It is redundant in most of the sentences of this analyzed text because the subject satellites are explicitly stated.

1. /Saqa·qáhp^{ha}_a *e^b/ 'It_b is_b quail_a droppings_a that_b...' is a noun clause and object satellite of the sentence.

1a. is a noun compound and subject satellite of the subordinate clause < {Saqa·qa} 'quail' + {·ahp^{ha}} || {ahp^{ha}} 'excrement'. (see Section 520 on Aphesis). of the subordinate nucleus and consists of the verb ('-) Assertive + (-e-) Nonfinal verb. The chief use of the Assertive is to emphasize the preceding word. Although the clause is perhaps literally equivalent to 'It is the quail droppings that...', such a rendition is, in English, overly full with a greater prominence and emphasis than there is in the corresponding Kashaya segment. As a subordinate verb, the Assertive is often better left untranslated; or it may be rendered by 'the' in certain situations (as in 48b).

2. /ma/ '{gma}' 'you singular, subjective case' is a pronoun serving as the subject satellite.

3. /da·tav^kh^e/ 'should find' is the Nucleus < (da-) 'with the hand' Instrumental Prefix + (-v^kh^e) 'to etc.' detect' Instrumental prefix verb root + (-^kh^e) General Future, verb suffix of class v14fv. the subordinate nucleus,

4. /men siphⁱ/ 'having done so' is an Introductory clause indicating that the subject of this sentence is the same as the subject of the preceding sentence (see Section 560). It is redundant in most of the sentences of this analyzed text because the subject satellites are explicitly stated.

4a. /men/ < {men} 'thus, so (referring to the verb of the preceding sentence) is an adverb satellite of the subordinate clause. 4b. /sip^{hi}/ 'having done' < {si-} 'to do' + {-phⁱ} 'if, when', an adverbializing suffix of finite class v14A which indicates that the action of the subordinated verb has not yet taken place but that if and when it does it precedes the action of the main verb and has the same subject.

In this analyzed text, Introductory sequences will be written without word-spacing except when new elements appear and are to be discussed.

5. See 2. 1. /in/ 'with something', adverb
 6. /qahsil_a qahwe_b, siwol_c e^cd/ 'sticky_a redwood_b pitch_d', noun clause object satellite of the sentence. The immediate constituents are {qahsil} 'redwood' + {qahwe} 'pitch' > ||qahsil#qahwe||; the latter plus ||siwo^cl^d|| 'sticky', an Absolutive in its adjective function. The resulting noun phrase is the subject satellite of the subordinate clause. ||siwo^cl^d|| < {si-} 'by liquid, etc.' Instrumental Prefix + {-wo^cl-} 'to be soft, yielding' + {-ul}||^d|| Absolutive. 6d. /e/ is the subordinate nucleus, see 1b. /an¹iv²e/ 'should wrap with the fingers', the 7. /ma/ 'you', see 2. the Fingers' Instrumental Prefix + {-e-} /diheci^kh^e/ 'should take', is the Nucleus < {gdi-} 'to do to one nonlong object' + ||hei|| a rare allomorph of {-c-} Semelfactive + {-^kh^e} General Future.

17. See 4 and 1b.
9. /mən^a siph^b *é^c/ 'Having done so, when you
have done so'; see 4. for 9a and 9b, and see 1b for 9c.
18. See 1b.
10. /ma/ 'you'; see 2.
11. /mul/ 'them, object satellite < {mu} an indefinite
demonstrative + {-l} Objective case suffix.
12. /p^aa^btená^cmuck^de/ 'should mix together with a
stick', the Nucleus < {p^aa-} 'with the end of a long object',
Instrumental Prefix + {-^bten-} 'to attach' + {-X^co^dy-}
'against' + {-mu^ec-} Reciprocal + {-^dk^ee}|| 'k^ee|| General
Future.
13. See 4.
14. /baq^a *li^b t^cin^d/ 'with something', adverb
satellite < {baq^a} 'what', a noun + ||-li|| a relatively
uncommon allomorph of {-wi} 'with, etc.', an enclitic
of subclass yB,N (see Section 540) + {=t^cin^d}, an enclitic
of subclass zZ (see Section 540). {=t^cin^d} usually means
'not' but when coupled with an element with an interrogative meaning, the two form a construction with an indefinite
meaning---'something' in this case.
15. /qo^adi/ 'well' < {qo^adi} 'good, well', an
adjective satellite.
16. /du^alu^bk^ce/ 'should wrap with the fingers',
the nucleus < {du-} 'with the fingers' Instrumental Prefix
consisting of {du-} 'with' an adverb + {-a-}, for
+ {-lu-} 'to wrap' + {-^bk^ce} General Future.
which see 1b.
17. See 2.

17. See 4 and 1b.
18. See 2.
noun phrase, object satellite of the 'subordinate' nucleus
19. See 11.
20. /mi²k^he a pā-nu_b qawi_c tol_d/ 'on your ^{little} handkerchief',
adverbial satellite with the following constituency,
[pā-nu] 'handkerchief' noun + {qawi} 'little' >
[pā-nu/qawi] noun. [mi] and allomorph of {ma} used with
the enclitic {=k^he} Possessive > [mi=k^he] 'your',
[mi=k^he] + [pā-nu/qawi] > [mi=k^he/pā-nu/qawi] noun phrase;
the latter + {=tol} 'on' of subclass yB > the adverbial
satellite at the top of the paragraph.
21. See 2.
22. /p^hanam²k^he/ 'should encase', the nucleus <
(p^ha-) 'by wrapping', instrumental prefix + {-na²-} 'to the
interpose' + {-m-} Supraterrestrial + {-^hk^he} General
Future. The adverbial satellite of the
sentence < (y^han) 'thus, so, in that manner', adverbial satellite of
the sentence.
23. /men/ 'thus, so, in that manner', adverbial
satellite < [Umen].
24. See 2.
of the sentence. /mul/ 'that' is the object satellite
25. /yoqocin²k^he/ 'should keep', the nucleus <
{yoqoc-} 'to keep' + {-ci²d-} ||²d|| Durative + {-^hk^he}
General Future. The alternative form is here used in an
adverbial function.
26. /ma²u_a ²e²b/ 'Now, Next', Introductory sequence
consisting of {ma²u} 'now, next' an adverb + /²e²/, for
which see 1b, (-nu²) 'to investigate' + {-²d-} ||²d|| Reflexive
27. See 2.
(-²d-) ||²d|| 'to try' + {-^hk^he} ||²k^he|| General Future.

28. /hi^abayā_a da^bqa^b/ 'a man that you like' a noun phrase, object satellite of the subordinate nucleus.

29. < {hi^abayā} 'man', noun + ||da^aqa^bc^b|| 'liked' Absolutive form in its adjective function. The latter consists of {cda^a-} 'to be pleasing' + {-hqa-}||qa|| Causative + {-^ac^b-} Reflexive.

29. /da^ataphi/ 'when (you) find', the nucleus of the subordinate clause < {da-} 'with the hand' + {-^ata-} 'to detect', (>||da^ata-|| 'to find, not necessarily with the hand') + {-phi} 'if, when' (described in more detail in 28), || Negative + {-phi} 'if, when'. The latter is an

30. See 2. suffix of class viia which indicates that the

31. See 11. subordinated verb has not yet taken place but

32. See 2. when it does it precedes the action of the main

33. /yalā-/ 'at first', adverbial satellite of the sentence < {yalaw} 'at first', an adverb.

34. See 2. {yalaw} 'at first, next, then'

35. /mul_a chō_b/ 'without_b that', adverbial satellite of the sentence. /mul/ 'that' is the object satellite of /chō-/ (see 11). /chō-/ < {ghchō-} 'to be absent' + {-w} Absolutive. The Absolutive form is here used in an adverbial function, and is often otherwise redundant and left

36. /natick^ae/ 'should try', the nucleus < {g-} 'with no specified agent', instrumental prefix + {-hnat-} 'to investigate' + {-^ac^b-}||^ac^b|| Reflexive (>||ghnatt^ac^b|| 'to try') + {-^ak^be}||^ak^be|| General Future,

37. See 2.

37. /me²/ 'However', adverbial satellite of the subordinate nucleus 40. < {met} 'however, but', an adverb, < { }

38. /mito/ 'you singular, objective case' object satellite of the subordinate nucleus 40. (See Section 320 on pronouns.)

39. /mu^a *cay²ya²/ 'that person', subject satellite of the subordinate nucleus 40, < {umu} 'indefinite demonstrative, + {=cay²ya²} 'person', enclitic of subclass yN.

40. /da^a*qá²thiphila/ 'if (he) does not like you', subordinate nucleus < ||da^a*qa²c|| 'to like (see Section 28) + {t^h-}||t^hi|| Negative + {phila} 'if, when'. The latter is an adverbializing suffix of class v14A which indicates that the action of the subordinated verb has not yet taken place but that if and when it does it precedes the action of the main verb and has a different subject.

41. /ma²ú/ 'now, next, then', adverb satellite of the sentence < {ma²u} 'now, next, then'.

42. See 2.

43. See 11.

44. /p^hul/ 'then, next', adverb satellite of the sentence < {u²ul} 'then, next'. It is often used several

times in one clause and is often otherwise redundant and left untranslated (here it is approximately equivalent to 41).

45. /mi²k^he/ 'your', see 20.

46. See 11.

47. See 2.

48. See 43. 'homosexual', object satellite of the noun < {pá²im} bandiakash, a noun.

48. /wenu^a *él/ 'the charm', object satellite of the sentence. wenu 'charm, medicine' a noun + ||*el|| 'the' < {'} Assertive + {-e-} Nominaliser + {-1} Objective case. The construction is a noun clause with {wenu} subject satellite of the subordinate verb and could be more literally translated 'that which is the charm', but such a translation gives the clause more prominence than it has in Kashaya; consequently 'the' is used as the English the equivalent of the verb form. [-12] General Antecedent.

49. See 2.

50. /miluw/ 'therewith', adverbial satellite of the sentence < {miluw} 'therewith, thereupon', verb satellite.

51. /natick^{ao}/ 'should try', the nucleus. See 36.

52. See 4 and 1b. 7B, II (see Section 54c).

53. See 2. ^{da^a}/ 'always', adverb satellite of the sentence.

54. See 11. ^{da^a} 'always'.

55. /cahnōn^amucén^ak^he/ '(you and he) should keep talking together', the nucleus < {cahnō-} 'to make a sound with the vocal chords, to talk' + {-ci^od-} ||*d|| Durative + {-mu^oc-} Reciprocal + {-ci^od-} ||e^od|| Durative + {-*k^he} General Future.

56. /men/ 'thus, so', adverbial satellite. See 23, 54.

57. See 2. ^{da^a} Distributive + {-v^hka} General Future.

58. See 55.

59. See 4 and 1b.

60. See 2.

61. See 44. /pá·nu/ 'handkerchief', object satellite appositive to 73 < [pá·nu] handkerchief, a noun.

60. See 11. $/tak̚i^w̚i/$ 'take with self', the nucleus < [tak̚i-] + [-w̚i-]. See 44. one nonlong object + [hei] a rarely occurs 62. See 38. η of [- $w̚i^c̚i$] Infective + {- $c̚i^c̚i$ } Reflexive 63. $/da^yichqacqahqati/$ 'in order to make him fall in love with', subordinate nucleus < [uda^o-] 'to be pleasing' + [-yi^oc-] Inceptive + {-hqa-} || qal || Causative + {- $c̚i^c̚i$ } Reflexive (> || uda^oyic^ocqa^oc-|| 'to fall in love') + [-hqa-] ^{|| qar} Causative + {-hqa} (this third occurrence of the Causative is unexplainable) + {-ti} General Intentive, nucleus 64. < See 2. 'by controlling (with the arms in this case)' + {- $w̚i^c̚i$ } See 11. η + [- $w̚i^c̚i$] General Future.
65. $/cohšo^wi/$ 'in the hand', adverb satellite of the sentence < {cohšo} 'hand', a noun + {=wi} 'in, at, with', an enclitic of subclass yB,N (see Section 540).
66. $/cohšo^wi^c̚i/$ 'in the hand', adverb satellite of the sentence < {kumi^oda^o} 'always', adverb satellite of the sentence < {kumi^odac} 'always'.
67. $/pá^mu^w̚i^c̚i/$ 'the handkerchief', object satellite of the sentence < {pá^mu} 'handkerchief' + {-w̚i^c̚i} (see 48). η , adverb satellite of the subordinate Absolutive See 2 {badó} 'what, nothing (with the negative verb) η sub /dín^owán^ok^oe/ 'should carry-around', the nucleus < [dín^o] 'to do{to} one nonlong object' + {-c^oi^od-} || qod || Durative + {-w̚i^c̚i} Distributive + {- $w̚i^c̚i$ } || k^oe || General Future.
68. See 4 and 1b. $/pá^mu^w̚i^c̚i/$ 'will fall in love with', the nucleus 69. See 2. $/da^yic^ocqa^oc-||$ 'to fall in love with'
70. See 673. See 11.
71. See 4 and 1b. $/pá^mu^w̚i^c̚i/$ 'will fall in love with', the nucleus 72. See 2. $/da^yic^ocqa^oc-||$ 'to fall in love with'
73. See 673. See 11.
74. $/pá^mu/$ 'handkerchief', object satellite appositive to 73 < {pá^mu} handkerchief, a noun.

85. 75. /dihciyi^o/ 'take to one's self', the nucleus < {ndi-} 'to do to one nonlong object' + ||hei|| a rarely occurring allomorph of {-e-} Semelfactive + {-'c-} ||yi^oc|| Reflexive + [-w] ||*|| Absolutive.

76. See 2.

77. /mu^okito/ 'him', object satellite. See pronouns in Section 320.

78. See 11.

79 /biné^ok^he/ 'should put your arm around', the nucleus < {bi-} 'by encircling (with the arms in this case)' + {-né-} 'to grasp' + {-'k^he} General Future.

80. /men_a siphila_b *e_c/ 'when (you) do that...', an Introductory clause. For a, see 4a; for b, see 4b and 40; for c, see 1b.

81. See 39.

82. See 38.

83. /soh_a baqó_b ch^o_c min_d/ 'just as if it were nothing (=easily)', adverbial satellite of the sentence. 83a {osoh} 'just', adverb satellite of the subordinate Absolutive c; {baqó} 'what, nothing (with the negative verb)' subject satellite of c; {ch^o-} 'to be absent, not to be' + {-w} Absolutive; {=min} 'like, as if', an enclitic of the subclass XX, (see Section 541).

84. /da^oyichqack^he/ 'will fall in love with', the nucleus. For ||uda^oyi^ocqa^oc-|| 'to fall in love with' see 63.

85. /me·na/ 'even though, notwithstanding', adverb satellite of the subordinate nucleus 87 < {me·na}.

86 /piškudu/ 'ugly', adjective satellite of the subordinate nucleus 87 < {piškudu} 'bad, ugly'.

87. /°eti/ 'even though (you) are', subordinate nucleus < {'}-} Assertive + {-eti} 'even though, although', an adverbializing suffix of class v14A.

