A Grammar of Southern Pomo
An Indigenous Language of California

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

by

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March 2013
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December 2012
A Grammar of Southern Pomo: An Indigenous Language of California

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by

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ABSTRACT

A Grammar of Southern Pomo: An Indigenous Language of California

by

Neil Alexander Walker

Southern Pomo is a moribund indigenous language, one of seven closely related Pomoan languages once spoken in Northern California in the vicinity of the Russian River drainage, Clear Lake, and the adjacent Pacific coast. This work is the first full-length grammar of the language. It is divided into three parts.

Part I introduces the sociocultural situation. This section introduces the material culture and physical environment of Southern Pomo speakers and the violent upheavals which destroyed their world. It also introduces the data sources on which this grammar is based.

Part II is a detailed structural overview of Southern Pomo. It introduces the sound inventory of the language and delves into its phonological alternations. It also introduces the different word classes together with a morpheme-by-morpheme inventory of the affixes and clitics with which the word classes are associated.

Part III covers the sentence structure of Southern Pomo. It describes the different clauses and clause combining strategies present in the language, including the robust switch-reference system. This section also discusses the agent/patient case system and other clause-level phenomena.
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<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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Introduction

Southern Pomo is a dying language; it will not survive the next two decades. It has not been used a language of daily use during this century. Less than sixty miles separate San Francisco, the seat of wealth and education in California since statehood, and Santa Rosa, the city which grew up on Southern Pomo lands. It is difficult to explain how a language could slowly die within a morning’s drive of the most populous part of Northern California without a single published book (grammar or dictionary) devoted to it. Generations of scholars have come and gone in the Bay Area, but only a handful seem to have taken notice of Southern Pomo. This neglect is inexplicable and, in many ways, criminal.

This grammar thus owes a great debt to those few intrepid investigators who chose to work on Southern Pomo without hope of advancement or compensation for so doing. It owes an even greater debt to the Southern Pomo speakers who patiently worked with the various academics who passed through their ancient homeland in an effort to record the language.

What should be covered in the first grammar of language that is soon to die? Everything, of course, would seem the obvious answer. However, time, ability, and available data constrain what can be covered. This grammar seeks to describe the language to such a degree that future scholars and heritage learners should be able to work through surviving texts and stories with confidence. To this end, I have taken care to provide sources for individual example words, and most examples include a more detailed phonological and morphological breakdown than is usually
provided in descriptive grammars. I have adopted a three-part organization for this grammar, and each of these parts is briefly summarized below.

Part I gives a detailed overview of the culture and history of Southern Pomo speakers. Languages evolve in a specific context, and a knowledge of the Southern Pomo homeland is critical to appreciating the forces which shaped the grammar of the language. This part also lays out the data sources upon which this study is built.

Part II introduces the sound system of Southern Pomo. Great care has been taken to clarify phonetic details, where relevant, and to back up the decisions I have made in crafting a working orthography for the language. This section also introduces the word classes of Southern Pomo. I have included morpheme-by-morpheme listings, where useful, for each major word class.

Part III covers sentence-level phenomena, including clause types, clause combining, and grammatical relations. I have focused on those features which are most important to an understanding of the monologic texts. These texts form the data bedrock upon which my current understanding of sentence-level grammar is based. Thus topics such as case marking, switch-reference, and clause nominalization strategies have been given special emphasis.

The orthography used through this work is identical to the alphabet currently in use by the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians in their language revitalization program. Though this grammar is aimed toward an academic audience, it is my hope that the large number of examples and the consistent use of the current orthography will make this work useful to language revitalization
efforts. To this end, the appendices include Southern Pomo narratives which have been transcribed into the current orthography. These resources have never been published before and otherwise exist only as archived manuscripts recorded in divergent orthographies.
Part I: The cultural, ecological, and sociolinguistic context of the language

1.1. The name of the language

George Gibbs collected the first known linguistic material from Pomoan languages in 1851 in the form of word lists, and the name Hulanapo, one of the titles of these lists, was used by Powell (1891) to form the name Kulanapan to refer to all the Pomoan languages. It was Barrett (1908) who first identified seven distinct Pomoan languages and proposed that they be designated with geographically based terms, all of which used the term Pomo: Northern Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, Central Pomo, Eastern Pomo, Southern Pomo, Southwestern Pomo (now known as Kashaya), and Southeastern Pomo (McLendon and Oswalt 1978: 274).

The word Pomo comes from two different Northern Pomo sources, both of which contain words which are cognate with Southern Pomo forms (McLendon and Oswalt 1978: 277). The first source, $p^h_o:mo$: ‘at red earth hole’, contains the Northern Pomo words $p^h_o$: ‘magnesite’ and $mo$: ‘hole-at’. The Southern Pomo cognate forms

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1 Southern Pomo speakers have also been referred to as the Gallinomero, a term of uncertain origin with numerous attested variants, including Cainameros, Cainemeros, Calajomares, Calle-namares, Calle-Nameras, Canaumanos, Canimares, Gallinomeros, Gallonimero, Gallynomeros, Kainamares, Kanimares, Kanimarres, Kianamares, and Kyanamara; three additional variants likely come from this term: Kainama, Kai-mé, and Kalme; and the Southern Pomo communities from the Cloverdale region were also known by a host of variants based on the native name mus:a:la-hkon (snake-long) ‘Longsnake’ (a mythical creature) (McLendon and Oswalt 1978: 279).
are $p^h{o}ʔo$ and $hiːmo$ respectively. This form, $p^h{o}mo$, was the original source of the English term Pomo. The second source, $p^h{oʔmaʔ$, contains the Northern Pomo morpheme $p^h{o}$- ‘reside, live in a group’ and was affixed to place-names. It is cognate with the root of the Southern Pomo word $nop^h{o}$ ‘village’. This second source came into English as Poma, a term that remained interchangeable with Pomo for a time until Barrett chose to use Pomo to refer to the whole family of languages (McLendon and Oswalt 1978: 277).

Though Barrett’s geographic designation works well enough for Southern Pomo, the choices he made in assigning geographic terms to the other Pomoan languages are somewhat idiosyncratic: Southeastern Pomo is northeast of Southern Pomo and due east of Eastern Pomo, and the Pomoan language that might have been named Western Pomo is instead Central Pomo. Since Barrett’s popularization of the geographically based names, Southern Pomo has been the preferred term used by linguists.

A native term for the language, if one existed, might be preferable to the name Southern Pomo. Pomoan languages, with the exception of Kashaya (kaḥšáya) and Northeastern Pomo (čʰeʔeːfokaː), were not known by specific names in aboriginal times; rather, speakers from specific villages might refer to the relevant place name in order to distinguish speakers between different speech communities.

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2 The Southern Pomo cognate for the -ː ‘at’ morpheme would be length on the second consonant of the stem, though it is not clear whether the word $hiːmo$ ‘hole’ in Southern Pomo may occur with this morpheme.

3 See McLendon and Oswalt (1978: 277, 286) for a discussion these two names’ meanings.
Thus there is no Southern Pomo word for the Southern Pomo language or its speakers.

McLendon and Oswalt (1978: 279-280) suggest that ‘Chamay’ might be used as a native-based term to replace the name Southern Pomo. It is based on the morpheme -(h)čamay ‘people’ used in the formation of Southern Pomo group names like ʔašohčamay ‘Wappo’ (literally ‘east people’) and wišahčamay ‘Ridge People’ (an extinct branch of possible Southern Pomo speakers). However, this morpheme does not appear to have been a freestanding word, and the compound words in which it occurs do not refer to Southern Pomo speakers in particular. For these reasons the Anglicization ‘Chamay’ does not seem to be a suitable replacement for the established name of the language.

Some modern Rancherias have adopted the controversial practice of referring to the Southern Pomo language with the name of a specific village/dialect. For example, the Dry Creek Band of Pomo Indians uses ‘Mihilakhawna’, which is an Anglicization of mih:ilaʔkhawna (mih:ila ‘west’ + ʔ(ah)khawna ‘river; creek’) ‘Dry Creek’, in its literature to refer to the language. This practice is not adopted herein for two reasons: (1) it is inaccurate—the same language was spoken in many villages and not just Dry Creek, and materials from other villages, such as Cloverdale, form a large part of the corpus on which all studies of the language are based; and (2) there is no evidence that the original speech communities identified the language with a local place name.
If Southern Pomo communities were to choose a native term for their language, one possible choice would be ʔay:akʰe čahnu ‘our speech’ which Elsie Allen, who spoke the dialect of Cloverdale, used at least once to reference Southern Pomo (H EA: 10a). This term has in its favor a clear history of usage by native speakers, but there is no reason to believe that ‘our speech’ meant anything more than it does in English. And it is likely that anyone with a different mother tongue might have used ‘our speech’ to refer to languages other than Southern Pomo.

I shall not attempt to introduce a replacement for the name Southern Pomo, but the door is open, and there is at least one good reason why a change in terminology should be considered in the future: Barrett’s geographical terms incorrectly imply that the seven Pomoan languages are merely dialects of one another, an unfortunate reality which might have negative effects on Southern Pomo tribes’ future attempts to apply for language revitalization funding.

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4 Here is the actual quote:

p[h]a[l:]aʔčey huʔ:u=tʰon ... ?ay[ʔ]a:kʰe čahnu ?a:hoko=stʰoʃ,
white,people face=on 1PL.POSS speech sev.speak=NEG
‘We didn’t speak our language in front of Whites.’

5 This confusion is not limited to non-linguists. I have been told by at least one linguist with significant experience with a Pomoan language that he assumed that Southern Pomo would be little different from its closest Pomoan neighbor. He was therefore surprised to find it a completely different language. Though this scholar knew that all seven Pomoan languages were mutually unintelligible, I believe that the unfortunate geographical designations for the Pomoan languages prejudiced his mind.
1.2. Previous research

No one appears to have focused a great deal of attention on Southern Pomo during the nineteenth century. Samuel Barrett (1908: 56-68) provides a comparative word list of the seven Pomoan languages, and this word list includes many Southern Pomo words. Barrett’s transcription is quite good for the time, but it omits so many necessary phonemic contrasts that it is impossible to convert his Southern Pomo words into a phonemically accurate transcription unless the words can be recognized. Table (1) gives examples of Barrett’s transcription together with the modern orthography.

Table (1): Sample of Barrett’s 1908 Southern Pomo records

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barrett</th>
<th>Barrett’s Gloss</th>
<th>Modern orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Atcai</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>ṭač:ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baai</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>baʔ:ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tc!aa</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
<td>č’aʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-tcen</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>ṭač’en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-batsen</td>
<td>‘father’s brother’</td>
<td>ṭa:bač’en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawi</td>
<td>infant [child]</td>
<td>ka:wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo ´to</td>
<td>‘dirty, ashes’ [roiled]</td>
<td>woʔto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tca-co’to</td>
<td>‘10’</td>
<td>č’a: šoʧ:o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table (1), Barrett fails to indicate vowel length and ejectives consistently. He also fails to distinguish different voiceless coronal plosives, all of which he transcribes with <t>. Barrett’s word list is, however, an important source against which later records can be compared to establish lexical continuity. His lists include a surprisingly diverse number of Southern Pomo words,
and the Southern Pomo numerals he includes therein might be the only extant record of the higher numbers. Some of Barrett’s examples can be matched with known words but appear unusual. For example, he lists the form <hamūtcakan> ‘they’, which is quite similar to the well-attested pronoun ham:uhča ‘they (AGENT)’, but the final syllable in Barrett’s form is unexpected and has not yet been identified with any known morphemes. Another unexpected form is Barrett’s <kītcidū> ‘small’ for kic:idu [kis'sirus] ‘small’; Barrett’s <tc> is otherwise used only for the post-alveolar affricates.

Dialect mixing is one possible explanation for some of the observable differences between Barrett’s record and later records. The upheavals of the nineteenth century saw the destruction of Pomo sovereignty and the forced relocation of Pomoan peoples, and there were no government reservations till the decade after the publication of Barrett’s work. This is not, however, an ultimately satisfying explanation. Barrett carefully flags any Southern Pomo words in his list that have a substantially different form in the speech of some consultants. Specifically, his list gives the forms that were in use in the communities north of Healdsburg, and differing forms in use from Healdsburg south to Santa Rosa are given in his notes. Since the speakers who survived to be recorded in greatest detail (and from whom the vast majority of the data upon which this grammar is based) come from the regions from which Barrett collected his primary data, it seems unlikely that dialectal differences can be invoked as a valid explanation for discrepancies between more recent records and his 1908 publication; rather, the
differences most likely come from language change (i.e. Barrett’s consultant’s might have used more conservative words) or idiolectal differences in lexical choices. In the case of ‘small’, Barrett’s transcription does not appear to be an error, and it might be the case that the comparatively rare Southern Pomo phoneme /c/ [ts] had been lost in the speech of certain speakers.

Barrett’s Southern Pomo contribution is most important because he was among the last American scholars to interact with Southern Pomo speakers from the Healdsburg and Santa Rosa areas. His notes on differences in pronunciation and lexical choice between the more northern varieties of Southern Pomo and those further south constitute some of the best evidence of the character of the southern Southern Pomo dialects, all of which died out before the more northerly Southern Pomo dialects.

The next interested party to collect a substantial amount of Southern Pomo data was C. Hart Merriam. In the fall of 1922, Merriam collected hundreds of plant and animal names from Cloverdale speakers. Around the same time, he also collected the equivalent words from Healdsburg speakers.

Merriam was not a formally trained scholar, and his method of transcribing Southern Pomo sounds was beyond inadequate. Though Barrett’s work, which predated Merriam’s by two decades, did lack the sophistication in transcription practices that linguists now employ, his transcriptions are much closer to the actual phonemes of the language than are those of Merriam. Table (2) gives samples of

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*Merriam knew J. P. Harrington, who is justifiably famous for having used IPA transcriptions to record California languages, yet Merriam held the best practices of the day in low regard.*
Merriam’s transcription of both Cloverdale and Healdsburg dialect forms together with their phonemic representation in the modern orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>MERRIAM’S GLOSS</strong></th>
<th><strong>CLOVERDALE</strong></th>
<th><strong>MODERN ORTHOGRAPHY</strong></th>
<th><strong>HEALDSBURG</strong></th>
<th><strong>MODERN ORTHOGRAPHY</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Wood rat, round-tail (Neotoma)’</td>
<td>Meˊ-he-yōk</td>
<td>miḥyok</td>
<td>Yooˊ-loo</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Barn owl (Strix)’</td>
<td>Wĕˊ-chĕ</td>
<td>weč:e</td>
<td>Tahˊ-lahk</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Screech owl (Megascops)’</td>
<td>Dah-toˊ-ťo</td>
<td>daʔtoʔo</td>
<td>Mo-kōˊ-ťo</td>
<td>??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Bald eagle (Halioeetus)’</td>
<td>Kahˊ-li</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Oˊ-ťe</td>
<td>?oʔthiy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is apparent from Table (2) above, Merriam’s transcription practices leave much to be desired. Table (2) also highlights the unique nature of Merriam’s Healdsburg dialect data, much of which shows unique or unexpected forms for scores of words. Sadly, it is impossible to assign the correct (or even potentially correct) phonemes on the basis of Merriam’s records.\(^8\) For example, the Healdsburg

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\(^7\) The form ?oʔthiy ‘eagle’ is recorded from the Dry Creek and Cloverdale dialect region, but I have not heard it pronounced, nor can I testify to the accuracy of the palatal-glide final transcription. I cannot understand why the word for ‘eagle’ is seemingly swapped in these data: Merriam records from Healdsburg the form known from later records based on the Cloverdale and Dry Creek speech forms, but he records an otherwise unknown form for Cloverdale.

\(^8\) It is possible, of course, to compare Merriam’s transcriptions of otherwise unattested Southern Pomo words with possible cognates in other Pomoan languages. It is generally the case that neighboring Pomoan languages agree in the choice of dental versus alveolar plosives, and, in certain positions, it is often possible to determine whether other obstruents should be considered ejectives (i.e. if Central Pomo shows an ejective stop in a cognate word, it can generally be assumed that the under-differentiated form in Merriam’s records must share that feature).
form of ‘barn owl’, which he records as <Tahˈ-lahk>, could represent any of the following possible strings of phonemes:

/ˈtɑːlɑk/, /ˈtɑːlɑk/, /ˈtɑhlahk/, /ˈtʰɑːlɑk/, /ˈtʰɑʔlɑk/, /ˈtʰəlɑk/,
/ˈθɑːlɑk/, /ˈθɑhlahk/, /ˈθɑːlɑk/, /ˈθɑhlahk/, /ˈθɑʔlɑk/, /ˈθʰɑːlɑk/,
/ˈθʰɑʔlɑk/, /ˈθɑːlɑk/, /ˈθɑhlahk/.

Merriam’s records are a valuable source of information when it is necessary to verify the species to which an otherwise attested word refers. His records of Southern Pomo also offer a tantalizing glimpse at the lost Southern Pomo speech communities south of Dry Creek. His records are not, however, a trustworthy source of data for any other purposes.

Edward W. Gifford collected kinship data from Southern Pomo speakers around the same time as Merriam’s fieldwork was being conducted. His description of the Southern Pomo kinship system (Gifford 1922) remains the only detailed source of information on the workings of that system. His transcription of Southern Pomo words was better than Merriam’s work but no more phonetically accurate than Barrett’s earlier work. However, Gifford’s detailed data include tantalizing details about the way the language handled kinship terms, and, thanks to Gifford’s fieldwork on Southern Pomo, it is now known that the language was unique within the Pomoan family with regard to its handling of cross-cousin terms.9 Gifford’s

9 Southern Pomo shared with Wappo a handling of cross-cousins that is otherwise unattested in California: “In the case of the xc [=cross-cousins], the nomenclature [of Southern Pomo] (together with that of the neighboring Wappo) is unique for California. F[ather’s] s[ister’s] d[aughter] is called by the term for f[ather’s] s[ister] and all of her ♀ descendants through ♀ are similarly designated. F[ather’s] s[ister’s] s[on] is called by the term for f[ather’s] y[ounger] b[rother], a term applied to all ♂ descendants of f[ather’s] s[ister] through ♀. The reciprocal term applied by a
small contribution to Southern Pomo research also includes the names of four Southern Pomo consultants, two of whom were from Healdsburg, two of whom were from Cloverdale. These data represent both the northern and southern Southern Pomo dialects, and Gifford’s data therefore join Barrett’s and Merriam’s data as the best evidence still extant of the Healdsburg dialect.

The first systematic work on Southern Pomo began with Abraham M. Halpern. Halpern made a whirlwind tour of all seven Pomoan languages between the late 1930s and 1940 after having cut his teeth on the Yuma language of Southeastern California. He collected traditional stories, phrases, and individual words from all seven languages. His Southern Pomo consultant, Annie Burke, spoke the Cloverdale dialect and provided him with several texts. These texts constitute the only examples of Coyote tales in the Cloverdale dialect (Oswalt 2002: 312-313). Later, after a career spent away from Pomoan studies, Halpern returned to work on Southern Pomo in 1982. During this second period of fieldwork, Halpern worked with Elsie Allen, the daughter of Annie Burke, his earlier consultant. Elsie also spoke the Cloverdale dialect. Halpern did not work with any speakers of the Dry Creek or Healdsburg dialects—whether this was because of time constraints is not now

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w[o]m[an] to her m[other’s] b[rother’s] ch[ild] is that which should normally apply to her b[rother’s] ch[ild], since her m[other’s] b[rother’s] ch[ild] calls her by the term for f[ather’s] s[i]s[ter]. A m[a]n, however, reciprocates to his m[other’s] b[rother’s] ch[ild] with the terms for s[on] and d[au]ghter which he would normally apply to his o[lder] b[rother’s] ch[ild], since they address him as f[ather’s] y[ounger] b[rother].

We, therefore, have with the Southern Pomo a grouping of xc [=cross-cousins] with paternal u[nkle] and a[unt] and with fraternal n[i]e[ce] and n[e]p[hew].” (Gifford 1922: 114)
known—and no linguist after him had the opportunity to work with the Healdsburg dialect.

Halpern was trained in the best practices of phonetic transcription for his time, and his experience with the Yuma language had prepared him well for his work with the Pomoan languages. His transcriptions of Southern Pomo are therefore the first accurate records of the language, and, as covered in (§1.9.), Halpern’s notes, audio recordings, and publications are crucial to this grammar.

Robert Oswalt, who completed a grammar and a book of texts for Kashaya Pomo (Southwestern Pomo) by 1963, began working on Southern Pomo around the same time. Oswalt’s principal consultants were Elizabeth Dollar, a Dry Creek dialect speaker, and Elsie Allen, a speaker of the Cloverdale dialect (the same consultant with whom Halpern worked in the 1980s). He collected Southern Pomo data from these speakers from the 1960s through the 1980s (Oswalt 2002: 313). Oswalt also collected a small amount of data from Laura Fish Somersal, who learned the Dry Creek dialect of Southern Pomo from her father and was also one of the last speakers of Wappo.

Kashaya and Southern Pomo have similar sound inventories, and Oswalt’s ear was well-prepared for work on the language. His unpublished field notes, audio recordings, and publications with Southern Pomo data, all of which are listed in (§1.9.), constitute the best records of the Dry Creek dialect.
1.3. Demography at contact

Estimates of the total number of Pomoan language speakers at the time of European contact vary between eight thousand and twenty-one thousand (Oswalt 2002: 311). Kroeber considers the lower figure, eight thousand, to be appropriate, though he accepts the possibility of an even lower total (1925: 237-238). The Southern Pomo speaking communities constituted about a third of that total (Oswalt 2002: 312).

Southern Pomo speakers lived in villages from as far south as present-day Santa Rosa and Sebastopol north to the greater Cloverdale area. To the west of Cloverdale, speakers lived along Dry Creek, and a small number lived along the highlands west of the Russian River valley and in the redwood forests and coastal land along the Pacific between the Kashaya and the Central Pomo speakers.¹⁰

Southern Pomo speakers were not organized into a single political unit, though larger villages could serve as political and ceremonial centers for smaller villages (Fredrickson 1984: 13). The villages south of Healdsburg were closest to the last of the California Missions and the Rancho Petaluma adobe, both of which were built and maintained with the use of Southern Pomo and other native labor, and were therefore the first Southern Pomo speech communities to be negatively affected by European colonization (Silliman 2004: 65). It is therefore difficult to find

¹⁰ See Barrett (1908) for an extremely detailed list of Southern Pomo place names. Though there is not much extant data on the westernmost Southern Pomo communities, two of the five Southern Pomo consultants from whom Stewart obtained his data were the children of Indians from Southern Pomo villages to the west of the known Dry Creek dialect villages (Stewart 1943: 30, 51-54). These two consultants, Dan Scott, whose mother was from the village of <Makauc> [clearly məkʰa-wəšə ‘Salmon-ridge’], and Sally Ross, whose father was from somewhere named Rock Pile near the coast, appear to have self-identified as being Southern Pomo, and there can be little doubt that Southern Pomo territory did, in fact, extend to the Pacific coast and did divide the Central Pomo from the Kashaya.
reasonable estimates of the population of those southernmost Southern Pomo communities.

The communities situated around Dry Creek and the present-day Cloverdale area, which were less heavily affected by Europeans prior to American colonization, included several villages for which reasonable population estimates do exist. The largest Dry Creek village was <Amalako> ‘rabbit field’, which served as the cultural center; the smaller village of <Ahkamodot> ‘where cold water is’ lay nearby and was within the sphere of influence of the larger village.¹¹ Both villages had an estimated combined population of 500 at the time of European contact. There were an estimated 600-1000 people living in the greater Cloverdale area. The principal Cloverdale towns were <Makahmo> (ma:kh’a-hmo) ‘salmon-hole’, with an estimated pre-contact population of 300-500; the rest lived in <Amakho> (?am:a-kø) ‘dirt-field’, which was politically independent of <Makahmo>, and several smaller towns, including <Mayumo> (mayu-hmo) ‘dove-hole’, were under the political leadership of <Makahmo> (Fredrickson 1984: 11-13).

¹¹ The correct phonemic transcription for the villages of <Amalako> and <Ahkamodot> cannot be uncovered with complete confidence; however, the first is likely ?am:a-la-ko ‘jackrabbit-field’ and the second clearly contains the word ?ahk’a- ‘water’ as its first element.
1.3.1. History after contact

In 1812 the Russians founded Fort Ross on the coast in Kashaya territory. The Russians and their Aleut allies from Alaska had not come to settle Pomoan territory in the manner of subsequent European invaders; Fort Ross existed solely to support the Russians’ lucrative fur trade network. However, the effects of Russia’s small settlement reached the nearby Southern Pomo communities; there was intermarriage between some members of the Russian contingent and Southern Pomo speakers from the Healdsburg area (Fredrickson 1984: 50). It was during this time that some Russian words were borrowed (Russian > Aleut > Kashaya) into Southern Pomo (Oswalt 1958). The Southern Pomo experience with Russians was, no doubt, not completely indirect and benign; however, the Fort Ross period, by any measure, affected the Pomoan speakers less severely than the following period, which saw the coming of the Spanish, Mexicans and the Americans.

The first Spanish expedition into Southern Pomo territory was lead by Luis Arguello in 1821. This expedition was the beginning of the end of native sovereignty. In 1823, Mexico, which had freshly won its independence from Spain, established Mission Solano, the last (and northernmost) of the California missions (Fredrickson 1984: 49-50). Southern Pomo speakers were among those whom the Mexicans forced into service, and native labor built the mission and other structures (Silliman 2004: 65). What followed was cataclysmic: settlements were set

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12 This happened in 1811 according to Oswalt (1961: 6). Bernard Comrie (p.c.) suggests that the discrepancy in dates might be due to Russia’s continued use of the Julian calendar during this time and the possibility of a mismatch with the Gregorian year.

13 It is also known as Mission San Francisco de Solano.
up throughout Pomoan territory, and Pomoan speakers were constantly raided to be sold as slave labor. By 1836, the slave trade in California Indians reached “critical levels,” a crisis which was worsened by the smallpox epidemic of 1838-1839 (Bean and Theodoratus 1978: 299). In 1840, the Russian presence effectively ended with the abandonment of Fort Ross—at a time when increasing numbers of Kashaya had begun to move there—and the Mexican government became the sole non-indigenous power in the region (Oswalt 1961: 6).

The Mexican period ended with America’s successful war for territory and the 1848 treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, but the change in overlords did nothing to improve the lot of suffering Pomoan peoples. California law came to recognize the rights of non-indigenous land owners to indenture Indians who were deemed prisoners of war—a suspicious categorization when one considers that there were no real native polities with which to engage in true war—or who had no settled habitation or means of livelihood (i.e. all Indians living traditional lifestyles). The wages earned by such indentured Indians were to remain in the custody of the non-Indian overseer, though the natives were ostensibly provided with clothes and basic necessities as part of the relationship. In reality, however, the law had legalized slavery for Indians, almost all of whom fell into the two broad categories of prisoners of war or transients. Southern Pomo speakers thus became the legal property of the new land owners (Fredrickson 1984: 58).
Decades of murder, disease, and displacement took an awful toll on all indigenous communities in California, but the fruits of genocide were especially visible among Pomoan communities: only three Indian children are recorded as living in the Southern Pomo homelands in the United States census records of 1860. A traveler who visited the remaining Cloverdale Pomo noted that the survivors had begun to practice infanticide occasionally in order to spare their offspring the suffering they then endured (Fredrickson 1984: 58). Less than forty years after the first Spanish expedition to the Southern Pomo homelands—half a lifetime!—all the Southern Pomo villages which were once filled with children’s voices had fallen silent.

Once America had moved beyond the assignment of de facto slavery for California’s Indians, the status of indigenous peoples in the state hovered in a dark limbo. Bereft of any land rights or other benefits, Southern Pomo speakers were eventually force-marched to the Round Valley reservation after its creation in 1858. Round Valley was not a well-administered reservation, and once it became possible for them to do so, some Southern Pomo speakers began to trickle back down to their riverine homeland in the south. For a time, there was an effort by the government to make treaties with Pomoan groups and provide them with reservation lands; however, all attempts to provide the Pomo and other California Indians with sizeable (if inferior) reservation lands were thwarted by protesting California citizens who feared the Indians might end up with gold-rich land (Fredrickson 1984: 55-57).
It was not till the twentieth century that Southern Pomo speakers were granted official reservation lands (termed 'Rancherias' in California parlance) on which to live. More than a dozen such Rancherias were created for Pomoan people, at least five of which included sizeable Southern Pomo populations: Dry Creek (1915-Present), Graton (1915-1966), Mark West (1916-1961), Cloverdale (1921-1965), and Lytton (1926/27-1961) (Fredrickson 1984: 51). All of these Rancherias were small; none approached the size of reservations commonly encountered in other states bordering California. After the period of termination began with the Rancheria Act of 1958, only the Dry Creek Rancheria (75 acres) remained as sovereign territory for Southern Pomo speakers (Fredrickson 1984: 62; Bean and Theodoratus 1978: 302). Some of these terminated Rancherias have been reconstituted in recent times.

1.4. The natural setting

The Southern Pomo homeland contains a diverse range of habitats set within varied topography. The Russian River and its tributaries contained ample amounts of water year-round. Kroeber summarized the Pomoan landscape succinctly:

It is typical California land: arid to the eye once the winter rains are over, yellow and gray in tone, but fertile; monotonous in the extreme.

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14 Termination was the government policy whereby Indian tribes could give up their sovereign status (and thus free the government from obligations to the tribes) in exchange for full integration into American society and certain services. In reality, however, termination resulted in little more than the political annihilation of native communities: formerly sovereign lands became taxable lands (i.e. lands subject to fines and confiscation).
to the stranger, yet endlessly variegated to those familiar with it and its resources.” (1976 [1925]: 225)

The river valleys and gently rolling hills were populated with several species of oak tree (*biʔdu kʰa:le*) from which the Pomo collected acorns (their most important food item). In places, the open oak woodland gave way to the ši:yo, dense redwood forests. As Kroeber mentioned, the Pomo homeland enjoys California’s famous temperate climate. Winters rarely bring freezing weather (snow is virtually unknown), and summers are rainless and sunny.

The native fauna of the Pomoan homeland has much in common with the rest of California, though it is in many respects different from much of North America. The largest flying bird was the magnificent California condor (*ʔihsun*), a bird which figured in the mythology and rituals of Pomoan groups. The California quail (*šak:aka*) was the most important woodland game bird, and its topknot was used in basketry. Reptiles included lizards (*muʔhunu*), several species of snake (*mus:ala*), including rattlesnakes (*mohtʰi*), gopher snakes (*čʰo:ṭi*), and the California king snake (*ʔoh:od:u*). The sole freshwater turtle, the western pond turtle (*kʰawana*), was commonly encountered in the wetlands. The mammalian fauna included the mule deer (*hinṭilku behše*)\(^{15}\) and the elk (*kasi:si*), both of which were important

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\(^{15}\) The original word for deer was *behše* (from Proto Pomo *bihxe*), but the word came to mean ‘meat’ at some point, and the Spanish word *gentil* ‘gentile; heathen’ was later added to distinguish ‘deer’ from ‘meat’ (*hinṭilku behše* is therefore ‘the heathens’ meat’).
sources of food, and the more dangerous cougar (yamhoř), bobcat (doïlon), wolf (cemewa)\textsuperscript{16}, and coyote (ʔohkoʔše).\textsuperscript{17}

Southern Pomo speakers were familiar with Clear Lake, and they seem to have visited the lake frequently in order to fish.\textsuperscript{18} Clear Lake and the Russian River once contained a unique freshwater fish assemblage that was related to the one found in the Central Valley to the east. Clear Lake contained the Sacramento Perch, the hardhead, and its own subspecies of splitetail, in addition to other fish. None of these year-round freshwater fish were found outside of California, and, sadly, the first researchers to collect Southern Pomo data were ignorant of these unique species. It is therefore often impossible to know which species is being referenced in earlier records because all fish are glossed with names for fish east of the Rockies (e.g. ‘perch’ in these glosses could refer to the Sacramento Perch or the Tule Perch or, perhaps, another fish that appeared perch-like to the researcher). By the mid-twentieth century, it was too late to obtain correct forms because non-native species of freshwater fish had overtaken the native ones—a heart-breaking pattern that mirrored the fate of the Southern Pomo speakers—and most native fish became rare or, as in the case of the Clear Lake splittail, extinct. However, some fish, such as

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] Oswalt (p.c.) reported that his consultants translated cemewa as ‘lion’ but he was sure it must have been the word for the then-already extinct wolf on the basis of cognates in other Pomoan languages. Oswalt almost surely got this form from C. Hart Merriam’s transcription of <Tsā-meu’-wah> ‘Big wolf’, and this word is all the more problematic because so few Southern Pomo words begin with /c/ [ts].
\item[17] This is the word for the animal only; Coyote, the supernatural trickster, is called dośi.
\item[18] In Halpern (VI) the people travel eastwards (ʔaʔonhik’ay) to obtain fish, which is surely a reference to Clear Lake.
\end{footnotes}
salmon (makʰa) and trout (le:wen), which had appropriate counterparts in the eastern part of the United States, were recorded accurately.

The only domesticated animal in pre-European times was the dog (hay:u), and there are good reasons to believe that it was a somewhat recent acquisition (see §1.8.2.).

1.5. Material culture

Southern Pomo speakers practiced a hunter-gatherer culture with comparatively few durable material goods, at least by modern Western standards. Men’s clothing consisted of a skin wrapped around the hips, if present at all. Women would wear a double skirt of deerskin or shredded bark and some ornamentation. Unlike some tribes further north, the Pomo did not wear basket caps. Some workbaskets, however, were supported by means of a tumpline (Kroeber 1976 [1925]: 240).

House construction varied by climate, but the majority of Southern Pomo speakers, who lived along the Russian River and its tributaries, likely constructed their homes according to the manner recorded by Kroeber for the ‘Russian River Pomo’, who “erected a framework of poles, bent together at the top, and thatched [it] with bundles of grass” (1976 [1925]: 241). The type of construction recorded by Kroeber closely matches the description of a seasonal traditional structure recorded by Elsie Allen, the last known speaker of the Cloverdale dialect of Southern Pomo, which she describes as a “house made of leaves put over willow frames” (Allen 1972: 9).
In addition to domiciles, they built sweatshouses and ceremonial dance houses (a.k.a. round houses), of which the latter were substantial structures. The dance house was circular with a large post providing support in the center. These dance houses, according to Kroeber, had two entrances: an entrance was placed at the south of the structure which passed “through a long, descending tunnel” in addition to the smoke hole above the fire (1976 [1925]: 242).19

Boats (čuhse) were known to Southern Pomo speakers, though they were most fully developed among the Pomoan communities of Clear Lake. The tribes along the lakeshore made a balsa boat of tules that included a prow, stern, and raised sides to prevent water washing over into the boat. Boats of this sort might have been used further south (by Southern Pomo speakers?) on Santa Rosa lagoon (Kroeber 1976 [1925]: 243).

At least one stone tool, the pestle (dok:o), was manufactured by Southern Pomo speakers. These were used for preparing acorns and other foodstuffs which needed to be ground.20

The Pomo were famed as the money makers of Northern California.21 They produced money from Bodega Bay shells which their artisans “ground round on

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19 The smoke-hole (ho:popon) was more than simply an opening. Kroeber writes: “One entrance was at the south end, through a long, descending tunnel; another, probably used only in certain ceremonies, was the smoke hole directly over the fire” (1976 [1925]: 242). And the smoke-hole as an entrance through which to converse is a conspicuous part of the story of nupʰ:e baʔ:ay ‘Skunk Woman’: “They looked down in by the smoke-hole. ‘My mother is sick, grandfather. Having done so, my mother had me call you.’ One of the Elk men (said), ‘Say Oh!, say oh! Go, her mo. fa., go. Look at your grandchild!” (H V: 4).

20 I have seen and handled a large dok:o which was shown me by its maker, Olive Fulwider of the Dry Creek Band of Pomo Indians. Mrs. Fulwider related how she and her grandmother traveled to the coast (most likely between 1928 and 1935) to find a rock of appropriate size and quality. The two of them, Mrs. Fulwider and her grandmother, spent approximately two years working the rock till it became perfectly smooth and almost cylindrical.
sandstone, bored, strung, and ... rolled on slab”, a form of wealth that was reckoned to be of less value than special magnesite beads which were “ground down, perforated, baked, and polished” (Kroeber 1976 [1925]: 248-249).

By far the most famous material goods produced by the Pomoan people were their baskets. Pomoan basket weavers employed several types of basket construction: different types of baskets were made with coiling or twining, and certain forms were constructed by use of wickerwork and lattice twining, the latter of which was unique to the Pomo among California Indians (Kroeber 1976 [1925]: 244). Another unusual (and possibly unique) aspect of Pomo basketry art was the creation of small (sometimes tiny) feathered baskets which had no use other than as art/gifts. These baskets were coiled and made use of colorful feathers from woodpeckers, orioles, ducks, and other birds (Allen 1972: 37). Some of these baskets included polished abalone shell ornaments and topknots from California quail with a clamshell string attached to the rim with which such baskets might have been hung from the ceilings of Pomoan houses (Bibby 1996: 80-81).

1.6. Genetic and areal affiliations

Pomoan languages have been placed in the Hokan superfamily, which includes a number of North American languages, most of which were spoken in California (Campbell 1997: 290). The validity of the Hokan hypothesis has not been confirmed by recent inquiry (Mithun 1999: 303-304). Whether or not Southern Pomo and its

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21 Kroeber referred to them as “the principal purveyors of money to central California” (1976 [1925]: 248-249).
Pomoan sister tongues are genetically related to any known language, it is the case that no researcher has claimed that the languages which immediately neighbor the Pomoan languages have any genetic relation to them. The seven Pomoan languages differ substantially and have clearly been in the vicinity of Clear Lake for thousands of years, during which time—in an area that scarcely fills a few counties—they have separated more fully than the Romance languages of Europe. If, therefore, there are extant languages to which Pomoan is related, their shared parent language would have been spoken very deep in the past indeed, perhaps too far in the past to allow modern scholars to distinguish between genetic relatedness and past contact between unrelated languages.

1.7. Dialects

Barrett recognized different dialects within the Southern Pomo speech area early in the twentieth century, including a significant difference between the dialects above present-day Healdsburg and those of Healdsburg and below (1908: 87). Though Barrett made special note of lexical differences between the southern dialects and those further north, and Merriam (1979: 96, 237) also recorded flora and fauna names from Healdsburg (in addition to Cloverdale), neither Halpern nor Oswalt collected data from speakers from Healdsburg and communities south of there. This grammar, therefore, is based almost entirely on the dialects of Dry Creek and Cloverdale. The differences between these northernmost Southern Pomo dialects appear to have been slight, and there does not appear to have been any barrier in
communication between speakers of the two dialects. The most obvious shibboleth that distinguishes Cloverdale from Dry Creek is the raising of /a/ to /e/ before /y/ (which is generally the surface form of [č]) in certain words, especially the words for ‘Indian; person’, Dry Creek ʔahčahčay versus Cloverdale ʔahčahčey, and ‘White person’, Dry Creek pʰaʔčay versus Cloverdale pʰaʔčey.\(^{22}\)

1.8. Sociolinguistic situation

As already discussed, the nineteenth century saw drastic changes in the lives of Southern Pomo speakers. It was into this fragmented world of suffering that the last Southern Pomo speakers were born, and none of the speakers from whom a substantial amount of accurate data was recorded learned the language outside of this awful situation. The upheavals—murder, rape, forced relocation, loss of power—destroyed native forms of government and traditional patterns of marriage and childbirth. Most of the last speakers, all of whom were raised in the first three decades of the twentieth century, attended schools where Southern Pomo (and all other indigenous languages) could not be spoken without the threat of punishment. The pressures and dangers of the time period in which the last speakers learned the language directly caused the functional death of Southern Pomo when it ceased to be learned by any children (circa 1930).

\(^{22}\) Dry Creek would appear to be the more conservative of the two; ʔaʔčay is cognate with Central Pomo čaʔč and Eastern Pomo kaʔkʰ, all of which descend from a Proto Pomo form which McLendon reconstructed as *ʔaká:kʰ (McLendon 1973: 81).
There is some evidence for how this situation affected the use of Southern Pomo within families. Elsie Allen narrated biographical information (in Southern Pomo) wherein she recalled that she and her mother would not speak Southern Pomo loudly when in public and usually did not speak it at all in front of others; the family’s fear of whites was so great in the first decades of the twentieth century that Elsie’s mother would tell the children to run and hide at the sight of an approaching white person. These fears were reinforced by Elsie’s experience in school: she was sent to school as a non-English speaker and faced whipping for speaking her native language. It was for these reasons that Elsie Allen ultimately chose not to teach her children the culture and language (H EA: 9a-10a).

A similar situation played out in the early decades of the twentieth century for most Southern Pomo families, and it is for this reason that the last speakers who were born in this era often failed to learn certain things. No traditional Coyote stories were recorded from Elsie Allen or any younger speakers, and speakers born after Elsie lack full mastery of the complex kinship system and higher numbers.

1.8.1. Viability

Southern Pomo is moribund. No child born after 1920 has learned the language, and as of 2012 there is only one confirmed fluent speaker and another speaker who maintains native phonology and spoke the language as a young man. The remaining speakers do not know each other, and Southern Pomo has therefore not been used as a medium of communication for decades. Though no one under 90 is fluent, there
are scores of tribal members who learned dozens of words as children, and a subset of these words have been passed down to subsequent generations. Since the fall of 2011, the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians has held weekling language classes. Students from all tribes with historic Southern Pomo connections are allowed to attend. At the time of this writing, a half dozen or more tribal members have learned some words and phrases. There is little hope, however, that anything resembling the language described in this grammar will continue to exist beyond the second decade of this century.

1.8.2. Loan words

Most identifiable borrowings in Southern Pomo postdate the coming of Europeans; however, a number of non-European borrowings can be identified and they provide some clues to past cultural changes. Halpern identified the stems yomta ‘doctor’ and ṭelši- ‘to sell’ as borrowings into the Pomoan languages from non-Pomoan languages on the basis of their unusual consonant clusters and almost invariable shape across Pomoan languages, but the source language for these terms is not known (1984: 5). Another word that must be a borrowing into Pomoan is hayu ‘dog’, as it is shared across all seven languages with virtually the same phonological shape, including

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21 My wife and her brother learned four Southern Pomo words as children, three of which had Anglicized pronunciations: šaʔka ‘black’ (Anglicized to [ʃəka]), stíli ‘buttocks’, źahpʰə ‘excrement’ (Anglicized to [ɛpʰə]), and ʔehpʰəf ‘fart’ (Anglicized to [ɛpʰəf]).
languages where Southern Pomo /h/ should correspond to zero in word-initial position.24

The words for ‘dog’, ‘doctor’, and ‘sell’ all appear to be fairly recent borrowings into Pomoan, and though it is possible that they replaced native Pomoan forms for these things (in each language), these borrowings hint at the possibility that Pomoan culture encountered a new type of doctor, the concept of selling, and the domestic dog at a rather late date.25 Some words for animals which sound similar to forms in neighboring non-Pomoan languages might be borrowings, but they are most likely onomatopoeic in origin, as exemplified by the word for ‘western scrub-jay’ (Aphelocoma californica), which is čayi in Southern Pomo and čay in Wappo (Sawyer 1965: 12).

A small number of Russian words came into neighboring Kashaya Pomo during the Fort Ross period, some of which possibly came into the language via Aleuts who had accompanied the Russians (Oswalt 1958). Some of these, such as the word for ‘bottle’, made their way into Southern Pomo (Oswalt 1971: 189; 1971b).26

Many loan words come from Spanish, some of which might have passed through other native languages first. Spanish words were borrowed for new

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24 This Central Pomo shares the h-initial form for ‘dog’ though all other h-initial words in Southern Pomo correspond to Central Pomo forms without the h-initial syllable (compare Southern Pomo hii?bu ‘potato’ with Central Pomo bu ‘potato’). Note that neighboring Wappo also has the same word, <háyu> in Sawyer’s orthography (1965: 31).

25 There is a separate word for a sucking doctor, and this appears to be native. Thompson et al (2006: 43) record the Wappo phrase for ‘I am a doctor’ as <i ceʔeʔ yomtoʔ>, where <yomtoʔ> is glossed as ‘doctor’. It is unclear whether Wappo is the source language for yomta in Pomoan or whether this word was borrowed into both language families from an outside source at the same time.

26 Russian бутылка ‘bottle’ was borrowed into Kashaya Pomo as puطفقة ‘bottle’ before entering Southern Pomo as pʰuʔɨilha.

Some Spanish loan words maintain the non-Southern Pomo sounds /f/ and /r/, though it is unclear whether these sounds were used by monolingual Southern Pomo speakers.

There are comparatively few attested borrowings from English. The last speakers are fully fluent in English, and English words that they produce are therefore not obviously assigned as borrowings into Southern Pomo. One clear example of an English borrowing, however, comes from Elsie Allen’s autobiographical narrative in which she uses the word tʰiča=yčon ‘teacher=patient’, a word that has clearly been changed to accommodate Southern Pomo phonology and to which native morphology has been encliticized (HEA: 12b-12a).

1.9. The corpus

The data corpus from which examples in this grammar come includes both written and audio data collected by several scholars over the last 110 years. These scholars have been covered in §1.2 and will not be covered further. The majority of the data comes from Abraham Halpern’s unpublished notes and transcribed texts and Robert Halpern notes on the facing page (HEA: 12b) that Elsie Allen knew no other word for ‘teacher’ beyond the English borrowing.
Oswalt’s unpublished notes and partial dictionary manuscript. All of these data are now housed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages (SCOIL) at the University of California at Berkeley. Additional data come from a handful of published articles which are cited throughout this grammar. Tables (3) and (4) summarize the nature of the unpublished materials.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCOIL NUMBER</th>
<th>SIZE</th>
<th>SUMMARY OF CONTENTS</th>
<th>QUALITY</th>
<th>USEFULNESS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oswalt .004.050</td>
<td>30+ pages</td>
<td>drafts of a paper on the causative</td>
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<td>Moderate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oswalt .003.007</td>
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<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oswalt .002.027</td>
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<td>Loanwords from Spanish</td>
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<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>High</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oswalt .001.018</td>
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<td>Two short texts (both dialects)</td>
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<td>High</td>
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<td>Group</td>
<td>Speaker(s)</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Quality</td>
<td>Usefulness</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mythic texts*</td>
<td>Annie Burke</td>
<td>9 texts</td>
<td>High (some transcription errors in earlier versions)</td>
<td>High (provides the best examples of dependent clause marking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First-person narratives</td>
<td>Elsie Allen</td>
<td>300+ pages</td>
<td>Very High</td>
<td>High (provides the most complex affixing on verbs in running discourse)</td>
</tr>
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</table>
| Verb and kinship              | Annie Burke, Elsie  | 500+ pages      | High      | Very high (it...
1.9.2. **Consultants and other sources**

The bulk of the data upon which this grammar is based come from three speakers: Annie Burke, Elsie Allen, and Elizabeth Dollar. Each of these speakers is listed with basic biographical information below. Information, where it exists, is also given for several other speakers from whom some data in this work come or whose names are mentioned in previous published works.

**Annie Burke** (1876-1960) spoke the Cloverdale dialect as her first language. She and her family eventually settled in the Hopland Reservation, a Central Pomo-speaking Rancheria, where both she and her daughter, Elsie Allen, learned that language (Oswalt 2002: 313). Annie served as Halpern’s first consultant, and all unpublished Halpern data not cited as (HEA) come from her.

**Elsie Allen** (1899-1990), Annie Burke’s daughter, spoke Southern Pomo as her first language and did not begin learning English till her eleventh year (Allen 1972: 10). She was Halpern’s sole consultant during his second round of field work in the
1980s. Elsie also worked extensively with Oswald, and it appears that she was the only informant with whom both Oswald and Halpern worked extensively.

**Elizabeth Dollar** (1895?–1971) was raised with Southern Pomo as her first language and did not begin learning the English language till her second decade. Unlike Annie Burke and Elsie Allen, Elizabeth Dollar spoke the Dry Creek dialect and was affiliated with a Southern Pomo-speaking reservation, the Dry Creek Rancheria. Oswald collected traditional stories from Mrs. Dollar; however, only one (Oswald 1978) is known to have been translated and transcribed (the others exist as audio records).

**Laura Fish Somersal** (1890?–1990) was raised to be bilingual in Southern Pomo, her father's language, and Wappo, her mother's language and the language of the family with whom she had the most contact. Mrs. Somersal’s mother was blinded with rattlesnake poison by a shaman, and as her mother’s caretaker she avoided being sent to school, where her use of the Wappo language would have been curtailed; however, it does not appear that she used Southern Pomo to the same extent as Wappo, as she “did not interact much with her father’s side of the family” (Thompson et al 2006: xiii-xv). There is no doubt that her Southern Pomo was fluent enough to allow for conversation and that her phonology was native. Roy Siniard recorded Maggie Woho speaking Southern Pomo and used Mrs. Somersal as an interpreter. These recordings include several instances of the two women conversing in Southern Pomo. Laura Somersal’s ability to communicate in

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28 Bibby (1996: 105) gives Laura Somersal’s birth date as 1892; Thompson et al state that she was “born before 1890” (2006: xiii).
Southern Pomo notwithstanding, there are reasons to separate language data produced by her from that produced by all other speakers born before 1920. Oswalt found that Mrs. Somersal’s use of case in Southern Pomo was influenced by Wappo. Southern Pomo has an agent/patient case system; Wappo has a nominative/accusative system, and Mrs. Somersal’s Southern Pomo apparently used the agentive case as though it were the nominative case of Wappo (Oswalt .001.003). Data from Laura Somersal are therefore given less weight in this grammar than data from other speakers.

**Olive Fulwider** (1918-present) was born to a Southern Pomo-speaking mother from Dry Creek. When she was still a child, her mother died, and she was raised by her grandmother. Mrs. Fulwider and her grandmother spoke Southern Pomo with each other while doing many traditional activities, including gathering and preparing various kinds of acorn. Oswalt worked with her briefly in the early 1990s, but that work did not continue for long. I met Mrs. Fulwider in 2000 (before I studied linguistics), and between 2000 and 2006 she met with me on several occasions and shared bits and pieces of language. Though her command of the language is complete (she could and did express anything with her grandmother), certain things—some kinship terms, numbers above 5, names for recently extirpated fauna (condor, elk, etc.)—did not survive in her Southern Pomo.

**Tone Pete** (1919-present) was not officially affiliated with any Rancheria as a young man, though in later life he became a member of the reconstituted Graton Rancheria. He spoke the Dry Creek dialect as a child, but he was unable to use the
language for much of his adult life. At present (at least as of 2012), I cannot confirm his status as a fluent speaker in the sense that Olive Fulwider is fluent; however, Mr. Pete’s phonology is completely native, and it seems likely that his fluency might resurface were there a surviving community of speakers with whom he could speak. Tony Pete’s nephew, Tim Molino, has worked a great deal to record and preserve examples of the Southern Pomo words and phrases his uncle does recall. As the only data spoken by a male that has been recorded with modern devices, Tony Pete’s examples are extremely important.

Several other speakers’ names have been recorded by Pomoan scholars. Oswalt, for example, recorded a small number of words from Lucy Andrews Macy and Effie Luff, speakers about whom little is known and from whom little (if any) unique data come. As mentioned above, there exist recordings of the Southern Pomo speaker Maggie Woho which were made by Roy Siniard in the 1960s. Mrs. Woho’s speech was not transcribed—a task which demands working with a native, fluent speaker and the recordings—by Siniard or any subsequent scholar, and the time to do so has now past. Other speakers, such as those who served as consultants to Barrett (1908) and Gifford (1922), are also comparatively unknown, though Gifford lists the names of his Southern Pomo consultants together with their dialect affiliation: Clara Felis, Cloverdale, Sonoma Co.; Charles Ramon, Cloverdale, Sonoma Co.; Henry Maximilian, Sr., Healdsburg, Sonoma Co.; and Mamie Brown, Healdsburg, Sonoma Co. (1922: 13)

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29 Tim Molino has an undergraduate degree in linguistics from the University of California at Berkeley and has worked extensively with the Kashaya Pomo language.
1.9.3. **Presentation of data**

References which come from published sources are cited in the standard manner.

References to unpublished works (written or audio) are cited in the manner summarized in Table (5).

Table (5): Citing conventions for unpublished data

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<tr>
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<th>CONSULTANT</th>
<th>DIALECT</th>
<th>GENRE</th>
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<td>Annie Burke</td>
<td>Cloverdale</td>
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</tr>
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<td>(H ms.)</td>
<td>Halpern</td>
<td>Annie Burke</td>
<td>Cloverdale</td>
<td>Elicited words and phrases</td>
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<td>Elsie Allen</td>
<td>Cloverdale</td>
<td>First-person narratives; elicited words</td>
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<td>(H EA:REC)</td>
<td>Halpern</td>
<td>Elsie Allen</td>
<td>Cloverdale</td>
<td>Audio recording of (H EA)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Elizabeth Dollar</td>
<td>Dry Creek</td>
<td>Published narrative text</td>
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<td>(O II)</td>
<td>Oswalt</td>
<td>Elsie Allen</td>
<td>Cloverdale</td>
<td>Short narrative text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(O III)</td>
<td>Oswalt</td>
<td>Laura Somersal</td>
<td>Dry Creek</td>
<td>Short narrative text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(O D)</td>
<td>Oswalt</td>
<td>Elsie Allen (EA), Annie Burke (rare), &amp; Elizabeth Dollar (ED)</td>
<td>Cloverdale &amp; Dry Creek</td>
<td>My printed copy of Oswalt’s electronic dictionary</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Tony Pete</td>
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<td>Maggie Woho and Laura Fish Somersal</td>
<td>Dry Creek</td>
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<td>Olive Fulwider</td>
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<td>Words and phrases</td>
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**Part II: Structural overview**

2.1. **Typological sketch**

Southern Pomo is a morphologically complex language with AOV (SV & OV) constituent order. It is primarily suffixing, though almost all verb stems have one instrumental prefix and a handful of verbs may take up to two prefixes. The two
most robust word classes are nouns and verbs. There are also a small number of morphologically distinct adjectives and adverbs, and small classes of pronouns, auxiliaries, and other function words.

Nouns can be divided into distinct subclasses on the basis of morphological patterns: common nouns, personal names, kinship terms, and pronouns. Common noun morphology includes suffixes and enclitics for case and number. In actual usage, however, common noun morphology can appear to be quite simple; most of these nouns may appear without any affixes or enclitics. Personal names include gender-specific morphology, but the data are too few in number to provide a thorough summary of this small subclass. Kinship terms are the most morphologically complex subclass of nouns: they consist of a root, a possessive prefix, and are marked for case and plurality, among other things. The case-marking system is of the agent/patient type on pronouns, kinship terms, and animate common nouns; subject/object (nominative/accusative) case-marking morphemes are optionally applied noun phrases regardless of animacy.

Verbal morphology can be quite complex: verb roots never surface alone and must be combined with an instrumental prefix and a TAM suffix, in addition to other derivational affixes. Southern Pomo, like some of its sister languages, does not have pronominal affixes on the verb. Long sentences in Southern Pomo make use of dependent verbs that take switch-reference suffixes in the TAM slot. For some events, there are completely different verbs depending on whether the agent(s) is/are collective or distributive.
Adjectives generally follow the nouns which they modify. There may be completely different adjectives depending upon whether the noun phrase being modified is collective or distributive.

Pronouns are marked for case and, in the third person, for gender. There is a special third-person coreferential pronoun. Pronouns have phonologically reduced forms when encliticized to other words as second-position clitics.

There are other words that do not fit into the classes listed above, including adverbs, which might be distinguished by a complete lack of morphological complexity, and a small number of function words (e.g. non-numeral quantifiers).

2.2. Phonological inventory and orthography

Both IPA and Americanist symbols are used (§2.2. - §2.3.2.) to describe the sounds of Southern Pomo. Thereafter, only the Americanist system is used for all Southern Pomo examples. This system is also the current practical orthography of the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians.

Throughout this text, angled brackets < > enclose original orthography from another source; double pipes || || enclose morphophonemic transcriptions; single slashes // enclose phonemic transcriptions; square brackets [ ] enclose narrow phonetic transcriptions in the IPA. Thus the word ʔahčañhχɔy ‘homeward’ might be represented as <ahǯ Ŋkay>, ||ʔahča-n-kʰ=hɔy/, /ʔahča-nh=kʰay/, or [ʔahˈʃaʃj̥kʰaj].

---

30 Southern Pomo has complex phonological alternations which can obscure the fundamentally agglutinative nature of the language. When there is no need to draw attention to these alternations, I prefer to show morpheme breaks within phonemic transcription. Thus hwadun might be broken
Within examples which are set off from the body of text, transliterations of other researchers’ transcriptions are not set off by brackets, slashes, or italicization. In such transliterations, square brackets [ ] indicate material missing in the original source that I think should be supplied and not narrow phonetic transcription; parentheses ( ) are used to indicate material present in the original source that I think should be omitted. Italics are used for Southern Pomo words, but the morphological breakdown, if any, is not italicized. Each morpheme is glossed with English words or (in the case of bound morphemes and certain function words) with small caps. A free translation is provided within single quotes. Thus the same word from the previous paragraph, ?ahčanhkʰay ‘homeward’, might be given in a separate example as follows:

[?]ahčáŋhkʰay (H VIII)  
?ahčanhkʰay  
/ʔahča-nh-kʰay/  
house-to-DIR  
‘homeward’

Free translations of (W: OF), (T), isolated words without referenced sources, and those which are enclosed in [ ] are my own. All others are unchanged from the original sources.

down phonemically as /hw-ad-un/ go₂-DIR-SG.IMP ‘come!’. When these alternations do not allow easy phonemic divisions, I resort to morphophonemic transcription, as in hwademʔdu ||huw-aded-wadu|| go₂-DIR-HAB ‘always going about’. However, glossing only follows the morpheme breaks of the phonemic transcription.
2.2.1. Consonants

Southern Pomo, at least in its pre-European-contact form, has no fewer than 28 consonantal phonemes.\textsuperscript{31} This minimum set, which is the number accepted in this grammar, is given in both the IPA and the Americanist system in Table (6) and Table (7) below.

Table (6): Southern Pomo consonants in IPA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>POSTALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNAFFRICATED STOPS</td>
<td>pʰ p b</td>
<td>tʰ t'</td>
<td>tʰ t d</td>
<td>kʰ k'</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATED STOPS</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>tʰ t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL APPROXIMANT</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL APPROXIMANT</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (7): Southern Pomo consonants in Americanist orthography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>POSTALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNAFFRICATED STOPS</td>
<td>pʰ p b</td>
<td>tʰ t'</td>
<td>tʰ t d</td>
<td>kʰ k’</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATED STOPS</td>
<td>p’</td>
<td>t’</td>
<td>tʰ t’</td>
<td>k’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL APPROXIMANT</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL APPROXIMANT</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{31} Spanish words were borrowed, and some of these included non-native phones (such as [f] and [ɾ]), but the extent to which such sounds were an actual feature of monolingual Southern Pomo speakers’ pronunciation of the language is unknown.
The inventory of consonants given in the above tables agrees with the analyses of Oswalt (1978) and Halpern (1984). This, however, does not mean that it is without controversy. Kashaya Pomo, the nearest Pomoan language to Southern Pomo (in both proximity and phonological similarities), has been described with two competing analyses of its consonantal phonemes, one proposed by Oswalt (1961), which is virtually identical to the inventory listed above for Southern Pomo, and one proposed by Buckley (1994), which acknowledges the same sound contrasts as Oswalt (1961) but fits them into a more abstract (if elegant) analysis of the consonantal phonemes of Kashaya. Specifically, Buckley treats the two voiced plosives of Kashaya, [b] and [d], as underlying glottalized nasals, /mʰ/ and /nʰ/, an analysis which neither adds to nor subtracts from the total number of consonants, and he adds eight additional sonorant phonemes not found in Oswalt’s (1961) analysis (1994: 12-15). Buckley’s inventory of Kashaya Pomo consonantal phonemes is given in Table (8) using the Americanist orthography of this work (consonants not treated as phonemes in Oswalt (1961) are in bold).\(^{32}\)

Table (8): Kashaya consonant phonemes according to Buckley (1994)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>DENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>POST-ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>UVULAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>UNAFFRICATED STOPS</strong></td>
<td>pʰ p b</td>
<td>ɾʰ ɾ t ɾ ɾ' d ɾ' ɾʱ ɾʱ ɾ ɾ'</td>
<td>kʰ k</td>
<td>qʰ q</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AFFRICATED STOPS</strong></td>
<td>č čʰ č'</td>
<td>č č'</td>
<td>č čʰ č'</td>
<td>č' čʰ č'</td>
<td>č čʰ č'</td>
<td>č č' čʰ č'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NASALS</strong></td>
<td>mʰ m ɾ ɾ</td>
<td>mʰ m</td>
<td>ɾʰ ɾ'</td>
<td>ɾ' ɾ' ɾ'</td>
<td>ɾ' ɾ' ɾ'</td>
<td>ɾ' ɾ' ɾ'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FRICATIVES</strong></td>
<td>s s</td>
<td>s s</td>
<td>s s</td>
<td>s s</td>
<td>s s</td>
<td>s s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRAL APPROXIMANT</strong></td>
<td>(wʰ)(w)</td>
<td>(wʰ)(w)</td>
<td>(wʰ)(w)</td>
<td>(wʰ)(w)</td>
<td>(wʰ)(w)</td>
<td>(wʰ)(w)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LATERAL APPROXIMANT</strong></td>
<td>pʰ l ɾ' pʰ l'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{32}\) Buckley’s symbols <t tʰ š c č cʰ> have been converted to <t tʰ š c č cʰ> throughout this work.
Though Buckley’s analysis adds additional phonemes in comparison to Oswalt’s analysis, his handling of Kashaya’s sonorants actually simplifies the phonotactic description of the language. In Kashaya, [d] and [ɾ] are in complementary distribution, as seen in the following examples adapted from Buckley (1994: 48):

1) Allophonic alternation of [d] and [ɾ] in Kashaya

- /caɾ-u/ /caɾ-pʰi/
- [tʃa’du] [tʃaɾpʰi]
- ‘look!’ ‘if he sees’

Though Kashaya does not have any phonological alternations which confirm [b] and [ɾ] as allophones of one phoneme, both phones are in complementary distribution, and Buckley was thus able to describe the distribution of all four phones with a single rule (1994: 49):

\[ N' \rightarrow C / [σ__] \]

This analysis elegantly captures the synchronic distribution of all four phones ([d], [ɾ], [b], and [ɾ]) in Kashaya and it also establishes glottalized sonorants as phonemes in the language. Buckley’s handling of the voiced plosives does not increase or reduce the number of Kashaya phonemes relative to Oswalt’s original analysis. The total number of consonants is, however, larger in Buckley’s analysis, as he adds a full set of glottalized and aspirated sonorants (/y/, /yʰ/, /l̩/, /lʰ/, /w/,

---

33 Buckley’s prose explanation of this rule is as follows: “a glottalized nasal becomes a nonnasal, nonglottalized consonant in an onset; the voicing of the resulting stop is derived from the fact that nasals are voiced by default”
/wʰ/, /mʰ/, /nʰ/) in addition to the glottalized nasals /m̃/ and /ñ/. This increase in the total number of phonemes does, however, reduce rather than increase the complexity of Kashaya phonotactics. In Buckley’s analysis, the two-consonant codas (leading to tri-consonantal consonant clusters) of Oswalt’s analysis are replaced by one-consonant codas, as exemplified in the following Kashaya words in Table (9) from Buckley (1994: 45), each of which is listed with Oswalt’s phonemicization and Buckley’s system (all converted to the regularized transcription system of this work).

Table (9): Comparison of Kashaya sonorants by Oswalt and Buckley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oswalt</th>
<th>Buckley</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lanhkʰo</td>
<td>lanʰkʰo</td>
<td>‘seven’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moːnʔ</td>
<td>moːn</td>
<td>‘is running’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qʰayhčʰi</td>
<td>qʰayʰčʰi</td>
<td>‘pelican’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolʔwo</td>
<td>wol’wo</td>
<td>‘badger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Buckley observes, there are no three-consonant clusters in Oswalt’s transcriptions of Kashaya which are not composed of a sonorant-glottal pair (1994: 45). By treating these clusters as unitary phonemes, Buckley removes the would-be exception to a simpler analysis of Kashaya syllable structure.

Buckley’s analysis also simplifies the phonological description of Kashaya roots. Unless a small number of exceptions transcribed by Oswalt with a final /lh/ or /nh/ cluster should be accepted, all roots in Kashaya may end with no more than a single consonant. Buckley removes these exceptions by converting these sonorant-glottal root-final clusters to the phonemes /lʰ/ and /nʰ/ (1994: 44).
At first glance, there appear to be reasons to adapt Buckley’s analysis of Kashaya sonorants to Southern Pomo. Tri-consonantal clusters in Southern Pomo may be composed of a sonorant+glottal+consonant combination, as in the following examples:

(2): Southern Pomo words with sonorant+glottal+consonant clusters

(a) /mʔd/  
    hILamʔda  ‘nose’

(b) /mhč/  
    kʰomhča  ‘eight’

(c) /wʔd/  
    hniwʔdu  ‘always says’

(d) /nhkʰ/ [ŋ̃kʰ]  
    ?ahčanhkʰʔay  ‘homeward’

34 These examples should not be taken as an exhaustive list of sonorant+glottal+consonant combinations.
(e) /lhkʰ/
mih:ilhkʰa ‘ocean’

(f) /yʔm/
muhwayʔmi ‘strawberry’

(g) /yhč/
pʰalaʔcayhča ‘white people’

In addition to a large number of tri-consonantal clusters where the first member is a sonorant and the second a glottal, the voiced plosives /b/ and /d/ of Southern Pomo pattern in a way that differs from all other plosives in the language, a way that is similar to the patterns seen in Kashaya and used to justify Buckley’s analysis of that language with voiced glottalized nasals /m/ and /n/ as the underlying phonemes for surface [b] and [d]. Southern Pomo has synchronically productive alternations between [d] and [n], as seen in the following examples with the kinship root ||-dakʰad-|| ‘spouse’:

(3) synchronic alternations between [d] and [n] in Ps

\[
\begin{align*}
miy:atʰkʰan & \quad maʔdakʰden \\
||miy:a-dakʰad-Ø|| & \quad ||maH-dakʰad-en|| \\
/miy:a-\text{-}tʰkʰan-Ø/ & \quad /ma-ʔdakʰd-en/ \\
3\text{-spouse-AGT} & \quad 3c\text{-spouse-PAT} \\
‘his/her spouse’ & \quad ‘his/her own spouse’
\end{align*}
\]

As shown in the above example, Southern Pomo /d/ has the morpheme-final allophone [n] when the morpheme boundary places the /d/ in coda position. Though /d/ can never surface as [d] in morpheme-final coda position in the
language, /n/ can surface as [n] in onset position. This allophonic distribution is reminiscent of that seen between [d] and [n] in Kashaya.

Although this allophonic pattern does not include a glottalized nasal as one of the allophones, there are two phonological patterns involving both voiced stops and [ʔ] which hint at a past glottalized component to the phonemes from which synchronic /d/ and /b/ in Southern Pomo descend.

Southern Pomo word stems, with rare exception, must include one of three segments as an augment (hereafter termed laryngeal increment), the purpose of which is to prevent words from beginning with a light syllable. It is premature to discuss the complexities of laryngeal increment distributions and movement in Southern Pomo phonology at this point. What follows is necessarily an incomplete overview of a subset of details regarding laryngeal increment distribution and movement which bears upon the question at hand, namely, whether or not the Southern Pomo consonant inventory should be changed and expanded to include aspirated and glottalized sonorants as has been done for its closest sister language, Kashaya.

The vast majority of Southern Pomo words stems are disyllabic with one of three segments, [ʔ], [h], or [:] (lengthening of a preceding vowel or consonant) as an obligatory laryngeal increment on the second consonant of the stem (not counting the laryngeal increment, of course); this second consonant is generally the onset of
the synchronic verb root. The distribution of these three laryngeal increments is in partial complementary distribution: [h] may not occur with ejective consonants as a laryngeal increment; [ʔ] may not occur with aspirated consonants as a laryngeal increment; only sonorants may take any of the three laryngeal increments.

The two voiced stops [b] and [d] do not pattern with the sonorants in their ability to take any of the three laryngeal increments; rather, they may not take [h] as their laryngeal increment, which is the pattern seen with the true ejective consonants. However, if the laryngeal increment follows, then the voiced stops, unlike the ejective consonants, may only take [ʔ], whereas all other consonants, aspirated, ejective, and voiced sonorants, may take [:] as a post-consonantal increment.

This unique characteristic of the voiced stops is apparent when certain affixes are added to verb stems with [b] and [d] as the second non-increment consonant. A subset of verbal affixes cause change and/or movement of the laryngeal increment. For example, some directional suffixes trigger a change whereby a laryngeal increment that precedes the second consonant of the stem is replaced by gemination of the incremented consonant. This phonological alternation can be schematized as follows:

---

35 The same can be said for most kinship stems (save those in the vocative or which are prefixed with the third-person non-coreferential possessive prefix miy-); it cannot be said for pronouns or most common nouns.
36 This is one of the phonological phenomena which lead to my treating /:/ as the third laryngeal increment and a pseudo-consonantal segment within the phoneme inventory. The letter <:\> is listed on current Southern Pomo language-teaching posters as the last letter of the alphabet and has been
CVHCV(C) + -DIR → CVC:V(C)-DIR-

(\(H = \) the laryngeal increments \([h] \) and \([?]\); DIR = directional suffixes which trigger the change)

However, when the same suffixes are added to verb stems with \([b] \) or \([d] \) as their second non-laryngeal increment consonant, the increment, which may only be \([?]\), is not replaced with \([:\] \) to the right of the second consonant; rather, the laryngeal increment is moved to the right of the second consonant unchanged.

CV?DV(C) - + -DIR → CVD?V(C)-DIR-

(\(D = [b] \) or \([d] \); DIR = directional suffixes which trigger the change)

Examples (4) and (5) present these phonological alternations on the verb
\(hu?\text{čak} \) - ‘to be stingy’, which has the ejective \(/\text{č}/ \) as the root consonant around which the laryngeal increment changes, and on the verb \(šu?\text{di} \) - ‘to take (by pulling)’, which has the voiced stop \(/\text{d}/ \) as the root consonant around which the laryngeal increment moves.

Example (4): Increment movement with the verb \(hu?\text{čak} \) - ‘to be stingy’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hu?čakwa?to} & \quad (\text{O D: AB})^37 \\
||\text{hu?-ča-ak=?wa=?ač:o||} \\
\text{/hu?čak=wa=?to/} \\
\text{to.be.stingy=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT} \\
\text{‘I’m stingy with it’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{huč:ak?du} & \quad (\text{O D: EA}) \\
||\text{hu?-ča-ak-kač-wadu||} \\
\text{/huč:a:-č=du/} \\
\text{to.be.stingy\_DIR-HAB} \\
\text{‘always stingy’}
\end{align*}
\]

Example (5): Increment movement around voiced stops\(^38\)

\[
\text{dubbed ‘the doubling sign’ for oral spelling games in language classes held by the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians.}
\]

\(^37\) Oswalt lists this as coming from Annie Burke (AB), Elsie Allen’s (EA) mother, in June 1940, which is more than a decade before he began working with Pomoan languages; it must therefore come from Halpern’s unpublished notes.
Another peculiar feature of the voiced stops in Southern Pomo is their tendency to cause a glottal stop to appear to separate them from a preceding sonorant after the intervening vowel is lost to regular syncopation rules.

Example (6): sonorant+vowel+voiced stop→sonorant+ʔ+voiced stop

\[ \text{Example: } \begin{align*}
\text{mimay}'du & \quad (O I: 25) \\
| |m\text{-}i\text{-}:\text{m\text{-}ač\text{-}wadu} & \\
/\text{mi:may}\text{-}ʔ\text{du}/ & \\
\text{cry-HAB} & \\
[\text{‘always crying’}] & \\
\end{align*} \]

These three phenomena, a nasal allophone for /d/, obligatory incrementing of voiced stops with the glottal stop, and glottal stop insertion between a sonorant and a voiced stop, lend support to an interpretation of Southern Pomo voiced stops as having a glottalized component to them, even if only in a fossilized form that is no longer true of these sounds in isolation; it also hints that /d/ might have been a nasal in the past.

In summary, if the Southern Pomo consonant inventory were to be changed and expanded as has been done for Kashaya by Buckley, such a change would be based on the aforementioned facts: the Southern Pomo sonorants /m/, /w/, /n/, /l/, /y/ may combine with the glottals /h/ and /ʔ/ to form complex clusters that

\[ ^{38} \text{The directional } -\text{maduč} \text{- means ‘as far as’; the directional } -\text{aduč} \text{- means ‘away’} \]
might be more parsimoniously analyzed as unitary phonemes in their own right (i.e. the aspirated or glottalized sonorants /mʰ/, /mʔ/, /wʰ/, /wʔ/, /nʰ/, /nʔ/, /lʰ/, /lʔ/, /yʰ/, /yʔ/); the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ uniquely pattern with [ʔ] in certain phonological alternations; /d/ also has the nasal allophone [n] in coda position at the end of a morpheme, which might warrant an abstract analysis of these voiced stops as the underlying glottalized nasals /m/ and /n/.

Though there are reasons to change and expand the consonant inventory along the lines of Buckley’s analysis of Kashaya, such a reanalysis is not advocated in this work. The more traditional Southern Pomo inventory has been retained and the expanded sonorant inventory has been rejected for three reasons:

1. **Glottalized and aspirated sonorants have a defective distribution**

Most instances of sonorant+glottal clusters are synchronically explainable as the result of vowel syncope after separate morphemes have come together (whether through affixation or compounding), and none of these sonorant+glottal clusters may surface in onset or coda position within a phonological word. If the sample words with sonorant+glottal clusters given in example (7a–g) are more closely scrutinized, the majority of them are synchronically parsable with a morpheme break separating the sonorant from the glottal consonant or a sonorant+glottal cluster that is the outcome of syncopated vowels within compounds:

   (7) Morphological breakdown of words with sonorant+glottal clusters
(a) hi:lámʔda ‘nose’ (not synchronically segmentable)
   hw-ademʔdu ‘always goes about’ ||huw-aded-wadu||
(b) kʰo-mhča ‘eight’ < ?akʰo ‘two’ + mihča ‘four’
(c) hni-wʔdu ‘always says’ ||nihi-wadu||
(d) ?ahča-nh-kʰay ‘homeward’ ||?ahča-li=kʰač||
(e) mihilhkʰa ‘ocean’ < mihila ‘west’ + ?ahkʰa ‘water’
(f) muhwayʔmi ‘strawberry’ < muhway ‘fawn’ + ?im:i ‘blackberry’
(g) pʰalkʰaʔčay-hča ‘white people’ < pʰalkʰaʔčay ‘white person’ + =hča COLL.

(2) There is no synchronic evidence that both of the voiced stops are nasals

Only /d/ has a synchronic nasal allophone, and that allophone is identical to the allophones of the phoneme /n/ -- word-final [m] and [n] in Kashaya correspond to /n/ in Southern Pomo, and there is thus no data to support an analysis of /b/ as a nasal. In Kashaya, it is the allophonic alternations between [d] and [n] and the fact that [b] and [m], though they do not participate in obvious allophonic alternations, are in complementary distribution that warrants an analysis that collapses the voiced stops and the glottalized nasals into two phonemes. In Kashaya, the more abstract analysis of the voiced stops is only possible if nasal+glottal stop clusters are reanalyzed as glottalized nasals. In Southern Pomo, if nasal+glottal stop clusters were reanalyzed as glottalized nasals, [d] and [n]—not [n]—would still participate in allophonic alternations; [d] would not alternate with a glottalized nasal, and there

*hi:lá is the reconstructed word from ‘nose’ (McLendon 1973: 83). The -mʔda portion of the modern word is almost certainly a fossilized morpheme that lost the vowel of its first syllable due to post-compounding syncope processes; the glottal stop might have been the original laryngeal increment (i.e. *mVʔda) or it might have been inserted between the [m] and the [d] post compounding, which is the case for the second form in (a), hwadmʔdu ‘always going about’.
would still be no evidence that [d] and [m] should be considered allophones of /ń/ and /ḿ/; rather, there would be additional evidence against such an analysis because [d] would still alternate with [ń] and not [ń].

(3) Not enough is gained by changing the inventory

The addition of a large number of sonorant phonemes, none of which may begin or end a phonological word and most of which are astride morpheme boundaries, might simplify a schematized description of one corner of Southern Pomo phonotactics, but it would do so at the cost of common sense: language is messy, and there is no reason to disallow that Southern Pomo sonorants may form complex clusters with glottals which are not otherwise to be found in the language.

The inventory of consonants listed in Table (7) above is therefore the one used throughout the rest of this grammar.

The pseudo-consonant /:/ might be added to the phonemic inventory of Southern Pomo: length in Southern Pomo functions in a way that warrants its being treated as something separate and not merely a part of the vowel or consonant which is long or geminate. Halpern (1984: 4) recognizes this and chooses to represent Southern Pomo length in a different way than he does for the other six Pomoan languages:

Length in Ps has a unique phonological role: it closes the syllable; it occurs as an augment [=laryngeal increment] of root-initial consonants, with a

---

40 This is because *l, *ń, *ń̩, *ńm, *ḿ all collapsed into [ń] word-finally. Thus the cognate forms for Kashaya words with word-final [ń] and [ń̩] show [ń] in Southern Pomo.
distribution parallel to that of the other augments, h and ?; and it occurs as an allomorphic alternant of several other consonants.

The first unique property of /:/ listed by Halpern, its closing the syllable, appears at first blush to be an odd way of describing what would otherwise be termed long vowels. Specifically, Halpern views vowel+/:/ combinations as accomplishing the same phonological requirements as vowel+consonant combinations: they result in a heavy syllable. The second, that of /:/ serving as one of three laryngeal increments, supports pseudo-consonantal status for /:/ because some words have /:/ as their underlying laryngeal increment—length is not merely the product of phonological changes. In the case of words with /:/ as their underlying laryngeal increment, /:/ moves around the second consonant of the stem in exactly the same manner as the laryngeal increments /ʔ/ and /h/ do, as in example (8) below:

(8) Movement of /:/ laryngeal increment

\[
\begin{align*}
{k^h}a:ma & \quad \text{‘foot’} & {k^h}am:a=wi & \quad \text{‘with foot’} & \quad \text{(Halpern 1984: 18)} \\
{t^h}a:na & \quad \text{‘hand’} & {t^h}a:na=wi & \quad \text{‘with hand’} & \quad \text{(HEA 4a)}
\end{align*}
\]

Halpern’s third observation regarding /:/, its occurrence as an “allomorphic alternant”, relates to the frequency with which consonants are replaced by/reduced to length on a preceding vowel or consonant. This process is extremely common in the verb paradigms, and it is examined in greater detail in later sections. Example (9) provides a snapshot of this process with two allomorphs of the directional suffix -aduč- ‘away’:
Allomorphic alternates with /ː/ (H ms.)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[ʔ]ap^{h\text{-}}:č:in & [ʔ]ap^{h\text{-}}:edu:le \\
?ap^{h\text{-}}:č:in & ?ap^{h\text{-}}:edu:le \\
||ha-hp^{h\text{-}}e-aduč-Vn|| & ||ha-hp^{h\text{-}}e-aduč-le|| \\
/?ap^{h\text{-}}:e-č:\text{-}in / & /?ap^{h\text{-}}:e-duč-le/ \\
carry.\text{on.} \text{back}-\text{DIR-}SG.\text{IMP} & carry.\text{on.} \text{back}-\text{DIR-}PL.\text{IMP} \\
['\text{carry it away}!!'] & ['\text{y'all carry it away}!!']
\end{array}
\]

The instances of length above are the result of syncope and assimilation (in the case of the allomorph [-č-]) and deletions combined with compensatory lengthening (in the case of the allomorph [-du-]).

Perhaps the most persuasive argument in favor of granting /ː/ special status as a separate segment in its own right is one not put forward by Halpern: several bound morphemes, both suffixes and enclitics, begin with /ː/ as their first segment, though it only surfaces in such cases when the morphemes are attached to vowel-final morphemes. In some cases, it is possible to reconstruct the origin of the length at the beginning of morphemes. For example, the switch-reference suffix -li most likely descends from a combination of the perfective suffix -w and the enclitic *=li, which carried the same (or similar) meaning as the modern suffix. The plausibility of such an origin for morpheme-initial /ː/ in the suffix -li is supported through language-internal evidence by a synchronically productive internal sandhi process of consonant deletion and replacement with compensatory lengthening (as seen in example (9) above with the [-du-] allomorph of the directional suffix -aduč-); such a process, if it happened in the past, would reduce the perfective suffix -w to length before a consonant-initial morpheme like *=li. Robust language-external evidence
from Central Pomo, the sister language to the north of Southern Pomo, supports this theory of the origin of length in the length-initial suffix -:li. In Central Pomo, the cognate morpheme is an enclitic and takes the shape =li and may be placed directly after the Central Pomo suffix -w (cognate with Southern Pomo -w PERFECTIVE) without any internal sandhi changes altering the consonants in the two morphemes (Mithun 1993: 132). Such comparative work could be done for many instances of /:/ in Southern Pomo morphemes; however, diachronic facts notwithstanding, the synchronic distribution of /:/ as a morpheme-initial segment does not include phonological alternations which allow a native speaker to assign any other segment in its place. In fact, it is not now possible to explain the origin of every instance of morpheme-initial /:/ by means of internal reconstruction and comparative data. Example (10) includes the length-initial morpheme =:meʔ ‘(to be) like’, an enclitic (not a suffix like -:li) for which the ultimate origin of its initial length is not now known.\footnote{This morpheme may also be represented morphophemically as ||-V:me$\ddagger$.}

(10) Length-initial enclitic =:meʔ

?ahčahčay maht$^h$e:meʔ (W: OF)\footnote{This was said of Nathan Reed Kha’be [ˈkʰaʔbe ‘rock’] Walker not long after his birth in 2006.}

Some morphemes are only distinguished from others by the presence of a morpheme-initial /:/, as in the case of the conditional suffix -:ba (on the verb stem
miṭi- ‘to lie (down)’) versus the same subject sequential switch-reference suffix -ba (on the verb stem čoḥṭi- ‘to write’), which are given in (11) below:

(11) Contrast between -ba COND and -ba S_SEQ

[ʔ]ayːakoʔwɛnʔoʔma miṭiːba (H ms.)
ʔayːakoʔwenʔoʔma miṭiːba
/ayːa=koʔwen=ʔoʔma miṭiːba/
1PL=COM=beʔ=EMPH=2SG.AGT lie.SG-COND
‘you ought to lie w[ith] us’

miyːatʰe p[h]alː[ː]ʔaʔaːʔon pæːpel čoḥṭiba ?uḥṭeʔew (H EA: 16a)
miyːatʰe pʰalaʔaːʔon pæːpel čoḥṭiba ?uḥṭeʔew
/miːyaʔtʰe pʰalaʔaːʔon pæːpel čoḥṭiːba ?uḥṭeʔeʔw/
3-mother.AGT white.folk=PAT paper write-S_SEQ tell-PFV
[‘Her mother told the white person(s) in writing.’]

Excluding the pseudo-consonant /ː/, all of the consonantal phonemes of Southern Pomo are provided before front vowels with near-minimal contrasting words in Table (10).

---

43 Later in this work I choose to transcribe the conditional as ||-V:ba|| and treat it as though it has a synchronic initial vowel; this vowel, as will be discussed in the section on vowel harmony, originated as an epenthetic vowel, and the conditional therefore originally began with /ː/. Oswalt does not view it as synchronically vowel-initial (1976: 25).
Table (10): Near-minimal contrasts of consonants before front vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONEME</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>piʔni</td>
<td>little (DISTRIBUTIVE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰ/</td>
<td>phʔlaw</td>
<td>to look (like)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>peʔye</td>
<td>fish scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>biʔdu</td>
<td>acorn (general term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tili</td>
<td>kildeer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>tʰeː</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>ʃeke</td>
<td>beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>ʃilemi</td>
<td>sea fig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʰ/</td>
<td>tʰiwi</td>
<td>fork (in tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>ɛiːdan</td>
<td>net for burdens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>ɛiwi</td>
<td>acorns which have turned black and sour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kiːdu</td>
<td>little (COLLECTIVE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰ/</td>
<td>kʰiːkʰi</td>
<td>fish gills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kiːl</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>ʔihsun</td>
<td>California condor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>cɛf</td>
<td>how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>ɛihta</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>miʔdiʃ</td>
<td>edible nut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>niʔiː</td>
<td>to say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>siːluŋ</td>
<td>acorn bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>ʃiːdo</td>
<td>breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>hiʔbu</td>
<td>edible tuber (&quot;Indian potato&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>liʔu</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>wiʔɛi</td>
<td>Jerusalem cricket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>wityi</td>
<td>acorn of Oregon oak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2. Vowels

The Southern Pomo vowel inventory, in contradistinction to its inventory of consonants, is quite simple: there are five vowel qualities, each of which may be short or long, as listed in Table (11) below:
Table (11): Southern Pomo vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SHORT VOWEL</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>LONG VOWEL</th>
<th>EXAMPLE</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>hiʔda</td>
<td>'road'</td>
<td>/i:/</td>
<td>himo</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>heʔ:e</td>
<td>‘head hair’</td>
<td>/e:/</td>
<td>heʔey</td>
<td>‘where?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>haʔ:a</td>
<td>‘horn’</td>
<td>/a:/</td>
<td>haʔmeʔ</td>
<td>‘thus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/o/</td>
<td>hoʔ:o</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>/o:/</td>
<td>hoʔi-</td>
<td>‘go; leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>huʔ:uy</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
<td>/u:/</td>
<td>huʔlušbe</td>
<td>‘eyelashes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinction between long and short vowels is an important one in the language; however, the status of long vowels as unitary phonemes is problematic. As has been discussed, the status of /ː/ as a segment that moves between vowels and consonant in the same word stems forces a careful analysis of long vowels in Southern Pomo. Unlike many of the world’s languages which have a phonemic contrast between long and short vowels (e.g. Thai, Khmer, Afrikaans), Southern Pomo does not have many minimal pairs which are distinguished solely by the length of the vowel. One possible minimal pair is boʔ ‘flour’ and boʔ ‘lungs’.

However, this pair is problematic for at least three reasons: (1) monosyllabic phonological words are extremely rare; this is even truer of content words; (2) the word boʔ ‘flour’ appears to be most common as part of the compound biʔdubot ‘acorn flour’ (indeed, whether or not boʔ regularly occurs outside of such a compound is an open question); (3) Halpern records the compound biʔdubot ‘acorn flour’ as biʔdubot, that is, he heard a dental rather than an alveolar final consonant (H I: 1).44

44 (H I) is one of Halpern’s earlier texts, and the chance that he misheard the coronal plosive (or that Annie Burke had an idiolectal pronunciation different from other speakers) cannot be dismissed. Regardless of whether ‘lungs’ and ‘flour’ are a true minimal pair or a near-minimal pair, there is no way to predict the length of the vowels in either word, and the contrast must therefore be acknowledged as phonemic (though it might be on a less-than-robust level akin to /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in English).
Though there can be no question that long versus short vowel qualities are phonemically distinct—theyir distribution cannot be predicted completely by an appeal to word class or surrounding phones—it is also true that the functional load (at least in terms of crucial avoidance of homophony) of length on vowels in Southern Pomo is not too great.

One reason for this is the preference in Southern Pomo for phonological words of not less than two syllables (only a handful of words, most of them function words, are monosyllabic). This preference complicates the possibility of minimal pairs between long and short vowels because of phonotactic requirements that the first syllable of any disyllabic (and, at least in careful speech, any polysyllabic) word be heavy; both CV: and CVC are heavy syllables in the language. Thus the pair ?ama ‘thou’ and ?am:a ‘earth, ground, dirt; thing’ and the pair kʰa:le ‘tree, plant’ and kʰale ‘Healdsburg’ (from ?ahkʰa ‘water’ + de:le ‘midst’) are the closest things to minimal pair examples for the long vowel versus short vowel distinction in polysyllabic words. In the vast majority of recorded words, a long vowel in an initial syllable must be followed by a singleton-initial syllable; a short vowel in an initial syllable must be closed by consonant, which may be part of a consonant cluster or a geminate.

The only polysyllabic words on record which break with this pattern have the shape CV:RHV(C)- ~ CV:HRV(C)- (where R stands for a sonorant). Halpern records a few words from the Cloverdale dialect of this shape, as given in example (12) below:
(12) CV:RHV- words from the Cloverdale dialect

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šámhew} & \quad (H \text{V: 11}) \\
/\text{šámhé-w}/ & \\
\text{cut.up-PFV} & \\
\text{‘cuts up’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[?]\text{a:lhoṭōy} & \quad (H \text{EA: 8a}) \\
/\text{ʔa:lhoṭōy-Ø}/ & \\
\text{many.talk-PFV} & \\
\text{‘talked’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Such apparent exceptions to the otherwise canonical CV:CV(C)- ~ CVC:V(C)- ~ CVCCV(C)- shape are, however, problematic in their own right. Oswalt collected both of these words independently of Halpern. In the case of šámhe- ‘to cut up’, Oswalt does record the same word with a long vowel and /mh/ cluster from Elizabeth Dollar, a Dry Creek dialect speaker (for whom he also records a short vowel variant), but from Elsie Allen, the daughter of Annie Burke (the speaker from whom Halpern recorded šamhew), Oswalt only records šame-, which agrees in vowel length with her mother’s form and one of Elizabeth Dollar’s variants, yet it disagrees with both speakers’ /h/ post-consonantal incrementing of the root consonant of the verbal stem (O D: ED & EA).

The other example, ʔa:lhoṭōy, is even murkier: Oswalt only records this form from Elizabeth Dollar as ʔalhoṭōy—without the initial long vowel—but with the same /h/ post-consonantal incrementing of the root consonant (O D: ED). The long-vowel version of ʔa:lhoṭōy is recorded by Halpern from both Elsie Allen (as seen in example (12) above) and her mother, Annie Burke (H ms.).
Thus šamhe- ~ šamhe- ~ šame- shares a long vowel in the initial syllable across three speakers and two dialects (though optionally for Elizabeth Dollar’s Dry Creek dialect), but only two speakers and both dialects share the /h/ (one being the mother of the speaker who lacks it!); and ʔalhoko is recorded as such from two speakers (mother and daughter) of the Cloverdale dialect by Halpern, but Oswalt records ʔalhoko from two speakers from two dialects, one of the speakers being the same as one of Halpern’s consultants, namely Elsie Allen.

Halpern (1984: 17) also records some inflected verbs which shift from CVRCV- to CV:CRV- in certain instances:

(13) Example of inflected verbs with the shape CV:CRV-

[ʔ]ahloko  [ʔ]a:lhoʔak
ʔahloko    ʔa:lhoʔak
ʔalhoʔak   /ʔalhoʔak/  /ʔa:lhoʔak/  /ʔa:lhoʔak/  /ʔa:lhoʔak/
(piece.to.fall-EVID) (piece.to.fall<PL.ACT>-PFV) (‘one (piece) falls off’) (‘(pieces) drop off’)

Halpern’s consultants were Annie Burke and (much later) Burke’s daughter, Elsie Allen; these forms in example (13) above must have come from one or both of these speakers. Oswalt also recorded one of these from Elsie Allen, but he does not record a long vowel in the initial syllable, as in (14).

(14) Oswalt’s transcription of verbs which Halpern records as CV:CRV-

<ʔałhotak> (O D: EA)
ʔałhotak
ʔałhotak  /ʔałhoʔa:k-Ø/
(piece.to.fall<PL.ACT>-PFV) (‘sev. to fall’)
The above variations recorded by Oswalt are not all dialectal and are not the result of an inability on the part of Oswalt to hear length in such an environment. Oswalt did consistently hear length in such a phonological environment in other words from speakers of both the Cloverdale and Dry Creek dialect, as in the root -:\text{hmič}- ‘do well, do carefully, do to perfection’, which he recorded in several stems from both Elizabeth Dollar and Elsie Allen:

(15) Examples of CV:HCVC- stems recorded by Oswalt

\begin{verbatim}
dohmiy               (O D: ED)
||du:hm\text{ic}-Ø||
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
dohmiy               (O D: EA)
||hu:hm\text{ic}-Ø||
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\text{prepare.well-PFV}
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
\text{comprehend-PFV}
\end{verbatim}

‘to prepare well and sufficiently’

‘to hear perfectly, to understand well what is said; to come to a verbal understanding, to make a date’

The forms in (15) above confirm what has already been established, namely, that long vowels in Southern Pomo do contrast phonemically with short vowels. Yet the examples in (15) above also hint at the peculiar nature of /:/ in the language: the length on these long vowels, perhaps the only long vowels in closed syllables (in polysyllabic words) which Oswalt heard consistently from speakers of both dialects,
is actually part of the root: these words do not really have underlying long vowels but short vowels abutting a /:/-initial root.\textsuperscript{45}

Long vowels in Southern Pomo exist phonetically and bear a heavy functional load; however, their distribution is unlike that of other phonemes. With the exception of the aforementioned monosyllabic words and, possibly, some stems of the shape CV:HCV(C)- \thickspace\thickspace\thickspace\thickspace~ CV:CHV(C)-, long vowels seem to be short vowels combined with /:/ as a distinct segment (/:/ as a laryngeal increment, /:/ as the result of compensatory lengthening, /:/ as a morpheme-initial segment that only surfaces when preceded by a vowel). Because of these peculiarities, I treat /:/ as a segment separate from the vowels or consonants with which it may be combined.

2.2.2.1 schwa [ə]

In addition to the five vowel qualities listed previously, some polysyllabic words in Southern Pomo have a schwa separating consonants. This schwa has not been regularly transcribed by Halpern or Oswalt, though in his dictionary files Oswalt does indicate the presence of schwa with notes in parentheses following a transcription, as shown in (16).

\textsuperscript{45}Oswalt does record one example of a stem with the root -\textit{hmich}- where the [h] increment is lost. The stem \textit{pʰihmiči} [to visually] inspect [something] well’ is recorded twice in (O D), both times from Elizabeth Dollar, once with [h] and once without [h]: \textit{pʰihmičiʔma} ‘Did you inspect it well?’; \textit{napʰiyow həmə Siw həʔodətə ʔa pʰiːmi} ‘Everything he does, I watch carefully.’
(16) Example of Oswalt’s recording of schwa in (O D: EA)

\[
\text{\begin{center}
\text{\texttt{\textless;/ham\textasciitilde{}i loh\textasciitilde{}soncwə (c schwa w)/\textgreater;}}
\text{\texttt{ham\textasciitilde{}i loh\textasciitilde{}son\textasciitilde{}wa}}
\text{\texttt{/ham\textasciitilde{}i loh\textasciitilde{}son-\textasciitilde{}č-wa/}}
\text{there stand.together-SEM-EVID}
\text{‘They gathered together standing.’}
\end{center}}
\]

A review of all instances of this method of recording schwa in (O D) produces not more than 100 examples and reveals many duplicate entries. It also reveals some instances where Oswalt was unsure of whether a vowel was a schwa or a full vowel and where the speakers varied between a schwa and no vowel at all. The examples for which schwa is indicated in (O D) can be reduced to 24 consonantal environments (taking into consideration only the consonants immediately preceding and following the schwa). If the total number of surface syllables in each word is considered (excluding schwa), only trisyllabic and quadrasyllabic words are indicated as having schwa, though there is a single example of what may be described as a phonological word of five syllables (quadrasyllabic word + monosyllabic pronominal enclitic). In all cases, the schwa surfaces between the second and third syllables counting from the left edge of the word (discounting the schwa as a syllable). And with only two exceptions, which are discussed below, the consonant immediately preceding the schwa is a voiceless obstruent and the one immediately following is a voiced consonant. These data are presented in Table (12).

---

46 The computer files in which (O D) is stored have not transferred to modern operating systems without difficulty; the symbols Oswalt used in these files were idiosyncratic, and some, such as the one for length, have not survived in their original forms in my copies of (O D); I have therefore chosen to use * as a place holder for Oswalt’s length sign in these computer files.
Table (12): Consonants before and after schwa with syllable count found in (O D)

| .a | p | p | m | ŋ | t | tʰ | t | l | č | č | č | č | č | č | k | k | k | k² | k | k |
| a_ | l | y | h | m | l | m | d | M | l | w | m | m | w | l | n | W | b | m | w | d | l | d | m | d |
| 00.o | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 00.00 | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| 00.00 =o | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |

The first exception to the above generalization about the consonantal environments surrounding known occurrences of schwa, as shown above in Table (12), is the sequence /mʰh/ in one word from (O D):

(17) Example of schwa before a voiceless obstruent

```
<ʔa*ya ʔwa $i*ba*tʰhmhuy> <(m schwa b)> (O D: EA)
ʔayaʔwa ši:baṭʰmʰhuy
||ʔa:ya=ʔwa ši:baṭʰa/i-mhuč'=Ø||
/ʔa:ya=ʔwa ši:baṭʰ-mʰhuy-Ø/
1PL.AGT=COP.EVID poor=RECIP-PFV
'We feel sorry for e[ach].o[ther].'
```

Example (17) is aberrant for more than one reason: in addition to the presence of a schwa before a voiceless consonant, the schwa is separating two consonants within one morpheme. Oswalt notes that this is only one variant of the same word as produced by Elsie Allen. The other variant, ši:baṭʰmhuy, conforms to the regular pattern of schwa occurring solely before a voiced consonant. Though both possibilities are counted in the table, the [mʰh] variant appears to be unusual.

---

⁴⁷ ši:baṭʰi/a is irregular; either vowel (/a/ or /i/) may surface as the stem-final syllable nucleus, and the consonants and two example of /:/ within the word defy current attempts at further morphemic segmentation.
and, perhaps, an example of an idiolectal quirk or speech error. Oswalt notes that “E[lsie] A[llen] has trouble with [this] cluster” and shows variation between /tʰamh/ and /tʰm̩h/ (O D). This single possible counterexample to the otherwise straightforward distribution of schwa only before voiced consonants is therefore to be set aside. Note, however, that both variants of this word have the schwa inserted between the second and third surface syllables counting from the left.

The other example of schwa which breaks with an otherwise solid pattern is the presence of a schwa between /l/ and /m/—all other noted instances of schwa in (O D) (setting aside the aberrant šib₂tʰm̩huy ~ šib₂tʰm’huy discussed above) follow voiceless obstruents. There is only one example of this in (O D):

(18) Schwa between /l/ and /m/ (O D: EA)

</s’a*lalmaw (l schwa m)/>
ča:lalmaw
/ča:lal-ma-w/  
be.brushed-ESSIVE-PFV
‘to get bruised’

The phoneme /l/ has undergone some unique changes with respect to Pomoan: it has been replaced by /n/ in word-final position, but it can optionally resurface when followed by a vowel-initial suffix; it can also be replaced by /m/ when followed by a vowel-initial suffix (Oswalt 1976: 21). Word-internal /lm/

48 It is not clear that the -ma- in this word is the essive, which is homophonous with at least two other suffixes (a directional meaning ‘across’ and a plural act suffix). I am not familiar with the word, and Oswalt does not provide much detail in his entry.

49 The phoneme /l/ does occur (remain?) in two known words: čahkil ‘blue’ and bawol ‘lamprey’, forms for which I cannot offer an explanation beyond the possibility of their being very recent borrowings from languages with which I am not familiar.
clusters are recorded elsewhere, as in (19) from Halpern:

(19) Example of /lm/ cluster from Halpern

[ʔ]ap[h]:almé:le (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:almɫe
||ha-hpʰ-alameč'-le||ό
/ʔapʰ:-alme:-le/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
[‘carry it down from above, y’all!”]

Though there is only a single example of schwa preceded by /l/ in (O D), and though this example is also the only invariable example of a voiced consonant preceding schwa therein, this data poverty should be treated as the outcome of a poor sampling rather than evidence of another idiosyncratic speech or recording error. The phoneme /l/ has such synchronic instability—at least three sonorant allophones, some of which are allophones of other voiced consonants—that there are functional reasons for a speaker to keep /l/ distinct from a following voiced consonant. This reason, however, is not the most likely explanation. The syllable counting which holds true for all attested transcriptions of schwa in (O D) provides the best predictive power: a word of three or more surfacing syllables may have a schwa inserted after the second syllable from the left between any consonant and a voiced consonant. All other factors appear to be irrelevant, including morpheme boundaries: the schwa is recorded between an infix and the final consonant of word

* The verb stem ʔahpʰi- ‘carry’ is irregular: it takes the forms ʔahpʰi- ~ ʔapʰ:e- ~ ʔapʰ:a- which can be predicted on the basis of suffix choice. It is possible that the root in this stem (in at least some of the forms) lacks any vowel at all, which is the analysis I have chosen for this example.
stem; between the first and second consonant of a reduplicated stem; between the final consonant of stem and a consonant in following suffix, and between the consonants within a suffix.

In fact, it is quite possible that some or all of the examples which both Oswalt and Halpern transcribe as sequences of C[+/voice]C[+voice] two syllables from the left edge of trisyllabic or greater words were optionally pronounced with an intervening schwa. The word ‘optionally’ is the key term: Oswalt also consistently records variation across speakers and uncertainty within individual speakers with regard to the presence or absence of a schwa. In a couple of instances, Oswalt is unsure of whether a vowel is schwa or another unstressed vowel.

Below are examples of each these problematic instances of schwa as recorded in (O D):

(20) CǝC ~ C‘C variation by one speaker (O D: EA)

<l̃ipʰ*u miz*ikbiy/> <(Note: k schwa b; later k' preferred)>
lipʰ*u mic:i^k'biy ~ mic:i^kbiy
‘foot to go up when knee struck, reflex kick’

(21) CC ~ CaC variation between speakers (O D: ED & EA)

<k*i^likliw/> <(EA sometimes has k schwa l)>
k:i^likliw ~ k:i^likliw
‘sound of fire blazing or motor running [ED]; sound of heater, earthquake, thunder [EA]’

(22) e ~ a confusion by Oswalt (O D: ED)

<ham*uhoa ho?k’o?č’eway./> <Perhaps -e- is a schwa>
'They're bragging.'

(23) a ~ a confusion by Oswalt (O D: EA)

\[ \text{makʰ:ač:alaw} \sim \text{makʰ:ač:law} \]

‘to scrape (leaves) off (limb) with hand’

Of the questionable cases of schwa listed above, only the latter two (Oswalt's uncertainty about the presence of schwa) have any effect on interpretations of written Southern Pomo data—unstressed, unrounded, short vowels which are the nucleus of the third syllable from the left might actually be schwa, at least on the basis of Oswalt’s admitted uncertainty with at some forms. It seems unlikely, however, that such transcription mistakes are widespread in the extant records.\(^{51}\)

The schwa vowel in Southern Pomo is not an additional phoneme: no lexical weight rests upon it. It is also not clearly the allophone of any one vowel or vowels, nor is it mandatory for the breaking up of consonant clusters; it is optional. On the basis of the small sample of recorded instances in (O D), the possibility of its presences can be predicted according the number of syllables in a word (between the second and third surface syllables counting from the left edge of the word), but its actual presence is entirely optional, and speakers’ preferences differ. Hereafter the schwa is transcribed with the superscript symbol \(<\text{ǝ}>\), as has been done throughout this subsection, if it is indicated in some way in the written sources or, when working from an audio record, if it is clearly audible.

\(^{51}\) This knowledge might, however, prove quite valuable should a polysyllabic word be found in which the third post-consonantal vowel from the left precedes a voiced consonant and does not match with the expected allomorphs. In such a situation, a cautious reappraisal of the underlying segments might treat this vowel as a schwa and omit it from the analysis.
2.2.3. **Stress**

Stress in Southern Pomo is predictable: primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of a phrase. In a paper on Northern Pomo prosody, Vihman states that among the seven Pomoan languages only Southern Pomo and Southeastern Pomo have predictable (non-phonemic) stress systems (1976: 55). Halpern confirms this for Southern Pomo and elaborates on the basic stress patterns in the language:

The general rule, subject to some optionality, for non-phonemic accent in [Southern Pomo] is that loudest stress accompanied by raised pitch, both with falling contour, occurs on the penult of a breath-group, with secondary stress normally falling on every second syllable preceding the penult. In the sentence, the loudest and highest-pitched accent occurs on the final word or breath-group. Thus, using ` for secondary, ′ for primary, and ^ for loudest stress, sí:ma pʰiʔawâʔto ... ‘I feel sleepy’. (Halpern 1984: 38 [Southern Pomo converted to my orthography])

Walker (2008: 33-35) includes an investigation of Southern Pomo phrases and individual words (monomorphemic and polymorphemic) that corroborates Halpern’s description of the distribution Southern Pomo stress—penultimate primary stress with secondary stress on every second syllable preceding the penultimate syllable—and his identification of pitch as the primary correlate of stress; it also analyzes a small number of monomorphemic trisyllabic nouns, a type not touched upon by Halpern, and finds that the initial syllable of such words also carries secondary stress, which causes stress clash with the primary stress of the
penultimate syllable. The words and phrases analyzed in Walker (2008) are reproduced in Tables (13) and (14) below:

Table (13): Polymorphemic phrases analyzed for stress in Walker (2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kahmaʔ ka?ma</td>
<td>[.kah.maʔ 'kaʔ.ma]</td>
<td>‘are you angry?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaci yokʰ:e</td>
<td>[.kat.tsi 'yok.kʰe]</td>
<td>‘it will be cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koʔdi biʔtaw</td>
<td>[.k'oʔ.di 'biʔ.taw]</td>
<td>‘it tastes good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pesa kamkʰ:e</td>
<td>[.pe:sa 'kam.kʰe]</td>
<td>‘have you any money?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔli wadun</td>
<td>[.ma:li 'wa.run]</td>
<td>‘come here!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (14): Monomorphemic words analyzed for stress in Walker (2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔahkʰa</td>
<td>['ʔah.kʰa]</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔahša</td>
<td>['ʔah.ʃa]</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hayʔu</td>
<td>['haj.ju]</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʔta</td>
<td>['hat.tʰa]</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaci</td>
<td>['kat.tsi]</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahle</td>
<td>['kah.le]</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koʔo</td>
<td>['k'oʔ.o]</td>
<td>‘song’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koʔdi</td>
<td>['k'oʔ.di]</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čaʔca</td>
<td>['tʃaʔ.tʃa]</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šaʔka</td>
<td>['ʃaʔ.kʰa]</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čahkil</td>
<td>['tsʰah.kil]</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čihʔa</td>
<td>['tsʰih.ta]</td>
<td>‘bird’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pʰaːla</td>
<td>['pʰaː.la]</td>
<td>‘also’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayʔu</td>
<td>['waː.ju]</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kic:idu</td>
<td>[.kit.'tsi.ru]</td>
<td>‘small (COLL)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muʔhːumu</td>
<td>[.muʔ.'tʰuː.nu]</td>
<td>‘lizard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musaːla</td>
<td>[.mus.'saː.la]</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Walker (2008) were originally recorded using an analog tape recorder before being converted to WAV file and analyzed using Praat, and all data come from only one speaker, Olive Fulwider.
That the primary correlate of stress in Southern Pomo would be pitch rather than duration is not a surprise: penultimate short vowels may bear the primary stress in words with long vowels, as in buːˈta.ka ‘bear’, and a great deal of additional homophony at the morpheme level might arise if concomitant lengthening of a stressed vowel (at least to a degree seen in a language like English) were the principle correlate of stress in Southern Pomo.

2.3. Phonetics

2.3.1. Voicing distinction in obstruents

Halpern analyzes the consonants /t/ and /d/ as voiceless unaspirated stops; he treats the consonants /t/, /c/, /č/, /k/ separately as “intermediates” and describes them as having “voiceless onset and voiced release when initial or intervocalic...[and] fully voiced when in direct contact with the voiced sonorants m n l w y” (1984: 4). He therefore makes two striking claims: (1) there is a distinction between the voiceless unaspirated stops and the so-called intermediates (both of which must therefore differ from the voiceless aspirated stops and voiced stops he also lists in the same paragraph); (2) the so-called intermediates are partially or fully voiced in certain environments.

In order to understand the reasons behind Halpern’s analysis, it is important to note that he is alone among Pomoan scholars in treating the single voiced coronal plosive, /d/, as dental rather than alveolar (Walker 2008: 16). He therefore acknowledges a four-way contrast (voiced, voiceless unaspirated, voiceless
aspirated, ejective) among bilabial plosives and dental plosives. Because he incorrectly assigns the voiced coronal plosive to a dental place of articulation, it appears he believes the voiceless unaspirated alveolar plosive /t/ (his ‘intermediate’ <d>) has no voiced counterpart at the same place of articulation with which it might be confused should it be voiced allophonically, and that the voiceless unaspirated dental plosive /t/ does not follow the same pattern as the so-called intermediates further back in the mouth in having allophonic voicing because the dental could be confused with the voiced plosive wrongly assigned to that place of articulation.

However, as has already been stated, the /d/ of Southern Pomo is not dental but alveolar, a place of articulation it shares with the other Pomoan languages. Thus, if Halpern’s analysis of possible voicing of the unaspirated stops were true, the voiceless unaspirated alveolar plosive would share an allophone with /d/ in some environments; it does not do so.

The voiceless unaspirated stops (plosives and affricates) of Southern Pomo have very short VOT, but are clearly voiceless and do not have a voiced release; they sound similar (if not identical) to the voiceless unaspirated plosives of Khmer, Thai, and White Hmong. In the case of Khmer and Thai, the voiceless unaspirated stops must contrast with voiceless aspirated and voiced (optionally implosive in Khmer) stops at two places of articulation; the voiceless unaspirated stops of Southern Pomo bear a similar load. Measurements of a handful of tokens reveal that the voiceless unaspirated stops of Southern Pomo have 8-18 ms of positive VOT, and
the voiceless unaspirated stops have 60 ms or more of positive VOT (Walker 2008: 22). The voiceless unaspirated stops of Southern Pomo are therefore not voiced in the manner described by Halpern.

2.3.2. Phonemic status of the glottal stop

Oswalt records no vowel-initial words in Southern Pomo; all words which do not begin with /h/ or a supralaryngeal consonant are consistently recorded with an initial /ʔ/ in his notes and publications. Halpern, however, does not consider the glottal stop to be phonemic in this position, though he acknowledges the possible phonetic presence of word-initial glottal stops:

In my older (1940) hearing of Ps ... I recorded many initial vowels. In my recent (1982) hearing of Ps I find that such vowels have an optional light glottal attack on the initial vowel. This glottal attack is most frequent when the word is initial in a breath-group or follows another word which ends in a vowel. The glottal attack is normally absent when the preceding form ends in a consonant. (Halpern 1984: 6)

The precise meanings of “normally” and “optional” in this context are not clear, but what is clear is the acknowledgment of the possibility of a phonetically present glottal stop in word-initial position in some instances. Halpern’s Southern Pomo orthography shows no word-initial glottal stops in his published paper, but a review of his unpublished notes from both his early (1939-1940) fieldwork and his

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53 The data collection and analysis done for this section were first presented as Walker (2010).
later (1982) work reveal that he did hear the word-initial glottal stop in a number of words in several environments.

If Halpern’s early work with Southern Pomo included recordings, they cannot be located. It is therefore impossible to know with any surety whether or not his consultant at that time, Annie Burke, produced word-initial glottal stops. It is, however, possible to go back to some of the earliest written versions of the texts Halpern collected from Burke, where he used a more phonetic transcription system.\(^{54}\) The text (H I), the first (and presumably oldest) of the narrative texts collected by Halpern at this time, shows that he transcribed the majority of words which did not have an initial [h] or supralaryngeal consonant as being vowel-initial. However, he also transcribed several words with an initial [ʔ]. Some of the words written with an initial glottal stop are also written without one, for example ‘house’ appears as ʔahča in (H I: 6) but as ahča in (H I: 23). The nature of the final segment of the preceding words, if any, does not seem to affect Halpern’s use of word-initial glottal stops—the examples with ‘house’ above both follow vowel-final words in the text. Table (15) below summarizes the presence or absence of word-initial glottal stops in the (H I) text. For those words that are written with an initial glottal stop in (H I), the table indicates whether the final consonant of the preceding word is a consonant or vowel.

---

\(^{54}\) For example, these versions of the texts record [ɲ] and [ŋ], the pre-velar allophones of /n/ and /nh/, whereas later versions omit any evidence of assimilation.
Table (15): Words with and without written word-initial glottal stop in (H I)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WRITTEN WITHOUT ʔ</th>
<th>WRITTEN WITH ʔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOLLOWING VOWEL</td>
<td>FOLLOWING CONSONANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table (15), those words which Halpern transcribed with an initial glottal stop are almost evenly distributed between those following consonant-final words, and those following vowel-final words. The total number of those following consonant-final words might be slightly misleading, however, because it is possible that some did not immediately follow the preceding word. It is impossible to know which, if any, might fit this scenario without access to the original speech event, but it is possible to make an educated guess on the basis of the presence or absence of a comma following the preceding consonant-final word in Halpern’s text. On the basis of this criterion, the total number of words with a written initial glottal stop that can be assumed to have immediately followed a consonant-final word in speech is reduced to five. Table (16) gives all five words, the consonants they follow, and their place in the (H I).

Table (16): Glottal stop-initial words that immediately follow consonant-final words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FINAL CONSONANT OF PRECEDING WORD</th>
<th>ʔ-INITIAL WORDS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>¯ačʰ:o-w</td>
<td>NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV</td>
<td>(H I: 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>¯ačʰ:o-w</td>
<td>NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV</td>
<td>(H I: 3) [second occurrence]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[n]</td>
<td>¯ohčo-w</td>
<td>give-PFV</td>
<td>(H I: 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
<td>¯e:me:la=yey</td>
<td>flea=AGT</td>
<td>(H I: 5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>¯ač:a</td>
<td>in.house</td>
<td>(H I: 6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55 It is important to note that use of a comma in Halpern’s text does not necessarily mean there was a pause.
These data are few and must be handled with great care, but it is clear that Halpern heard word-initial glottal stops following at least three different consonants ([n], [t’], [j]) and preceding front, back, and low vowels ([e], [o], [a]).

The data from Halpern’s early work confirm that he heard word-initial glottal stops, though he appears to have heard few of them, and that their distribution is not word-specific (i.e. the same word might be recorded with or without an initial glottal stop). A third (or more) of the word-initial glottal stops he did record immediately follow consonant-final words.

Halpern’s transcriptions of his later (1982) work on Southern Pomo with Elsie Allen, the daughter of Annie Burke (his consultant for his 1939-1940 work), give a similar distribution of word-initial glottal stops to that seen in his earlier records. Many more words in the Elsie Allen materials are written as vowel-initial than glottal stop-initial, though the proportion of word-initial glottal stops that are written is greater than that seen in the (H I) data. Table (17) summarizes the total number of words written as vowel-initial or glottal stop-initial in Halpern’s 1982 transcriptions of Elsie Allen’s narratives (H EA).

Table (17): Words with and without written word-initial glottal stop in (H EA)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Without ʔ</th>
<th>Written With ʔ</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This tally includes both words Elsie Allen spoke as part of her discourse and Halpern’s notes on these words on the facing pages. It is therefore likely that some words are written more times than they were spoken. The total number of pages surveyed for this count is roughly 100, though many of the facing pages have large blank spaces. The totals in the table should not be taken as absolute values; rather, they demonstrate that Halpern heard more word-initial glottal stops than in his earlier work.
If the non-narrative pages of (H EA) are excluded, and only the transcription of Elsie Allen’s actual discourse is consulted, there are 111 instances of glottal stop-initial or ostensibly vowel-initial words following consonant-final words. These are summarized in Table (18) below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WRITTEN WITHOUT ʔ</th>
<th>WRITTEN WITH ʔ</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear that Halpern heard many more word-initial glottal stops in his later fieldwork. If there were no extant recordings for (H EA), it would be necessary to accept the tally in Table (18) uncritically. However, Halpern’s recordings of these narratives are accessible. The first 19 words of the 111 of Table (18) above were checked in the recording with Praat for two things:

(1) Does the word immediately follow the preceding consonant-final word or is there a pause between words?

(2) For those words that do immediately follow a consonant-final word, is there phonetic evidence of a glottal stop?

A total of 15 of the 19 words were found to be immediately following the final consonant of the preceding word. Of these words, all were judged to have a phonetically present initial glottal stop on the basis of the observable acoustic record in the waveform or spectrogram (or both).

Figure (1) gives an example of the words ham:u-n=hlaw ?ahkʰa [3SG-PAT=also water]. This example comes from Abraham Halpern’s recording of Elsie Allen, and
his transcription of this string of morphemes omits the clearly audible word-initial glottal stop of ʔahkʰa ‘water’.\(^{57}\) (Halpern’s original transcription is given in < > below the IPA transcription in Figure (1) below.)

Figure (1): Example of ?-initial word from Halpern’s recordings of Elsie Allen

\[
\text{Time (s)}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ham:u-n} & = hlaw \\
\text{‘3SG-PAT} & = \text{also} \\
\text{ʔahkʰa} & \text{water'}
\end{align*}
\]

As can be seen in Figure (1) above, the glottal stop is present word-initially after a consonant-final word (in this case the labiovelar approximant). If word-initial glottal stops were only inserted to avoid vowel hiatus, it seems unlikely that one would be inserted automatically following a \(w\)-final word—the consonant /\(w/\) might be expected to resyllabify as the onset of ‘water’ instead. It is worth noting that Southern Pomo /\(w/\) is a fully developed consonant in the language, one which may occur in any position within a word and which may even follow /\(u/\) as a coda consonant (e.g. \(diʔbuw\) ‘buried’).

On the basis of the evidence, Oswalt’s analysis of zero vowel-initial words in Southern Pomo conforms most closely to the observable distribution of [ʔ] as

\(^{57}\) It should be noted that these words were spoken without any break or pause.
phonetically present in word-initial position in Southern Pomo. The glottal stop as a phoneme in word-initial position is the most parsimonious explanation for the word-initial phonetic presence of [ʔ] in Southern Pomo after both vowels and consonants; the glottal stop is well-attested as a consonant in other positions: as a root consonant, as a laryngeal increment, in clusters with certain suffixes, as, at least in some records, as a final in certain vocative kinship terms. In other words, the glottal stop is clearly a consonantal phoneme in other environments in Southern Pomo and it is clearly phonetically present in word-initial position, and it there is no reason not to treat it as a phoneme in initial position. This grammar therefore follows Oswalt’s analysis and treats all vowel-initial words in Halpern’s records as glottal-stop-initial words.

2.4. Syllable structure

The vast majority of Southern Pomo words begin with a single consonant; none begins with a vowel. There are, however, a small number of words which allow word-initial consonant clusters, all of them /h/+sonorant. The most common of these are contracted speech variants of a subset of the inflected allomorphs of the stem ||hu:w-|| ‘to go (about; toward speaker; of one)’, as in (24) and (25) below.
(24) Example of hw-initial word

   hwadémʔdu  (H VIII: 1)
   hwademʔdu
   ||hu:w-aded-wadu||
   /hw-adem-ʔdu/
   go-DIR-HAB
   ‘always goes around’

(25) Example of hm-initial word

   [ʔ]ač:a hmayʔdu  (H EA: 23a)
   ||ʔač:a hu:w-маč-wadu||
   /ʔač:a  h-may-ʔdu/
   house.in go-DIR-HAB\[58
   ‘they come inside the house’

Another commonly attested word that may begin with an /h/+sonorant cluster is nih:i- ‘to say’, which has the unusual variant /hnihi-/ in rapid speech, as in (26) below.

(26) Example of hn-initial word

   hnihiw  (H EA: 10a)
   ||nih:i-w||
   /hnihi-w/
   say-PFV
   ‘said’

In addition to the two verbs above, both of which only allow C+sonorant onsets as variants, there is another free-standing word which allows a C+sonorant onset cluster, hla:li ‘perhaps; might’, a word which appears to be unique and most

\[58\] The word for ‘inside the house’ could also be analyzed as ||ʔahča-Ø|| where -Ø is a suffix with no phonological form of its own that causes a sort of consonantal ablaut pattern of CVXCV-> CVC:V-(X= /h/, /ʔ/, /:/) and gives the word to which it has been affixed an adverbal or oblique meaning. This is a regular process (it commonly applies to words such as ‘foot’ and ‘up’), and case-marking enclitics with similar semantics (adverbal or oblique meanings) cause the same change in word stems (compare kʰa:ma ‘foot’ and kʰama ‘on foot’ with tʰa:na ‘hand’ and tʰana=wi ‘with the hand’).
likely a grammaticized variant of a verb like *dahlali*-'to think', one which has lost the otherwise obligatory instrumental prefix and now begins with a prefixless root, as shown in (27), which has both *dahlali*- and *hlaali*- in the same excerpt.\(^{59}\)

(27) *hlaali*- and *dahlali*-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{behše dahlá:li. hé: [ʔ]ahšá dahlá:li,} & \quad (\text{H III: 3}) \\
\text{behše dahlá:li he: [ʔ]ahšá dahlá:li} & \\
/\text{behše dahlá:li he: [ʔ]ahšá dahlá:li/} & \\
\text{deer(meat) think or fish think} & \\

\text{hiʔ[jabiwanṭin čiyaw kóʔdi hla:liʔwen.} & \\
\text{hiʔ[abiwanṭin čiyaw kóʔdi hla:liʔwen} & \\
/\text{hiʔ[abiwanṭin či-ya-w kóʔdi hla:liʔwen/} & \\
\text{either? make-DEFOC-PFV good perhaps=BE?} & \\

['Deer, (I) think. Or fish, (I) think. Either (of them) would be good to make, perhaps.'].\(^{60}\)
\]

There are perhaps additional words with limited distribution which also allow /h/+sonorant-initial clusters to begin them in special circumstance, but if so, they are not common. The above forms are restricted to three of the most common concepts in human language (saying, going, epistemic information) and, as such, can be expected to undergo unique phonological changes, and are therefore set aside hereafter.

There is also at least one function word that may begin with a consonant cluster according to some transcriptions: *kʰmayow* 'after; following'. This word,

\(^{59}\) In fact, I am not entirely sure that *hlaali*- and *dahlali*- are semantically distinct; *hlaali*- might be nothing more than a truncated version of *dahlali*- synchronically. Also, the -li component of each does not appear to be segmentable, though it is homophonous with other attested morphemes.

\(^{60}\) I am not sure of the meaning of =ʔwen at this time, but it appears to be similar to the enclitic =ʔwa COPULA.EVIDENTIAL.
however, might be analyzed as an enclitic, a topic covered in greater detail in the subsequent section. Whether or not $k^{\text{h}}\text{ma}\text{yow}$ is a freestanding word or a rather large enclitic does not affect the fact that it grammaticized from $k^{\text{h}}\text{ama}$ ‘foot’ and its derivative $k^{\text{h}}\text{ama}$: ‘on foot’ (i.e. the cluster is clearly a recent development via syncope of the initial vowel).

Laying aside the above exceptions, all Southern Pomo words begin with a heavy syllable with a single consonant onset. Both $CV$: and $CVC$ syllables are heavy in the language. Word-internally, it is possible to have a bi-consonantal onset if the coda of the immediately preceding syllable is a surface sonorant, as in (28) below.

(28) Example of $CCVC$ syllable

$\text{hit}^{\prime}\text{a}^{\prime}k^{\text{h}}\text{ʧ}^{\prime}\text{in}$ (H EA: 46a)

$[\text{hit}^{\prime}\text{a}^{\prime}r^{\prime}k^{\text{h}}\text{ʧ}^{\prime}\text{in}]$

‘thinking’$^{61}$

It is also possible that the above example is actually an instance of a bi-consonantal coda and should be syllabified as $[\text{hit}^{\prime}\text{a}^{\prime}r^{\prime}k^{\text{h}}\text{ʧ}^{\prime}\text{in}]$. The evidence is equivocal: it is not possible to conduct tests or otherwise make observations which would decide the matter. The complex onset has herein been chosen as the preferred analysis for two reasons: (1) convenience—the first of the three consonants in such clusters is always part of a separate morpheme; (2) Pomoan family typology—neighboring Central Pomo and more distant Southeastern Pomo have developed complex onsets but not complex codas.

$^{61}$ The morphemes in this word are not completely understood at this time, but a possible breakdown is as follows: $\text{hi}^{\prime}\text{t}^{\prime}\text{a}^{\prime}\text{ka}^{\prime}\text{č}^{\prime}\text{Vn}$ ‘think/feel-Caus-Reflex-Switch.Reference’
2.5. Word structure

Southern Pomo words are composed of roots, stems, affixes, and enclitics. Verb stems take the shape CV-XCV(C)- ~ CV-CXV(C)- (where X = /:/~/h/~ʔ/) with the first syllable being an obligatory instrumental prefix and the second syllable being the root. Noun stems take the same shape as verbs, but there is no synchronic evidence that the disyllabic common noun stems can be segmented into roots and prefixes (kinship stems, a robust nominal subclass, can be segmented into prefixes and roots).62

The definitions of root and stem for Southern Pomo are the same as those provided by Payne: “a root is an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content...and does not necessarily constitute a fully understandable word in and of itself”, whereas “a stem consists minimally of a root...[or] a root plus derivational morphemes” (1997: 24). Note that roots do not necessarily double as fully understandable words in Southern Pomo; common nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and numerals have roots which are also stems and valid grammatical and phonological words: verbs, kinship terms, and pronouns do not have roots which are also stems.

The precise definition of the word in Southern Pomo is not cut and dried. Indeed, one of the greatest differences between the transcription practices of Halpern and Oswalt lies in where they place spaces between morphemes: Halpern

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62 As already mentioned, there is evidence that a small number of verbs (for some speakers) may take the shape CV:CXV(C)- if the root consonant is a sonorant; a handful of function words and a few content words do not conform to this shape and are monosyllabic (e.g. cet‘how’, hect‘nail; claw’). Also, a very small number of verbs may take the prefix -lV- PLURAL.ACT between the instrumental prefix and the root (e.g. the verbs for ‘break’), and they therefore do not have the root as the second syllable of the stem.
places fewer spaces between morphemes than Oswalt. A clear example of this difference is demonstrated by Oswalt’s retranscription of a portion of (H VI) in the introductory pages to Oswalt’s translation of the same text, which shows the two differ with regard to the status of $k^h$mayow ‘after’ as a free-standing word (Oswalt 2002: 316). Examples (29) and (30) display Halpern’s original transcription and Oswalt’s retranscription of the same section from (H VI).

(29) Halpern’s original transcription of (H VI: 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha:mini:bak$^h$má:yow</th>
<th>híd?a</th>
<th>hwá:ba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha:mini:bak$^h$mayow</td>
<td>hid?a</td>
<td>hwá:ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ha:mini:-ba=k$^h$ma:yow</td>
<td>hid?a</td>
<td>hw-a:-ba/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and.then-S.SEQ=after</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>go-DIR-S.SEQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[ʔ]ahčáňhkʰay    hó:liw.
ʔahčanhkʰay      ho:liw
ʔahča-nh=kʰhay   ho:li-w/
house-to-ward    leave-go-PFV

‘After having done so, having gone outside, he went off homewards.’

(30) Oswalt’s retranscription of (H VI: 3) from (Oswalt 2002: 316)

<ha:mini:ba kʰmayow, hid?a hwa:-ba, ʔahca-n-hkʰay ho:li-w>

As can be seen in (29) and (30) above, $k^h$mayow is written together with the preceding morphemes as a single phonological word by Halpern, and the otherwise unusual initial cluster seems to support such an analysis, whereas Oswalt writes $k^h$mayow as a separate word. This difference holds true throughout each scholar’s work.
These two methods of word division in transcription roughly fall on either side of the divide between the morphological word in Southern Pomo (Oswalt’s preference) and the phonological word (Halpern’s preference). Precisely what constitutes a morphological word and a phonological word is, of course, a language-specific problem. Dixon (2010b: 7) defines the phonological word (as a useful crosslinguistic concept) as “a phonological unit larger than the syllable...which has at least one...phonological defining property” which comes from the following list he provides:

(a) Segmental features—internal syllabic and segmental structure; phonetic realizations in terms of this; word boundary phenomena; pause phenomena.

(b) Prosodic features—stress (or accent) and/or tone assignment; prosodic features such as nasalization, retroflexion, vowel harmony.

(c) Phonological rules—some rules apply only within a phonological word; others (external sandhi rules) apply specifically across a phonological word boundary.

Contrasted with the above list are the more eclectic diagnostic criteria he provides for identifying a grammatical word, only the first three of which are listed below as the others are not directly relevant to Southern Pomo (Dixon 2010b: 12-19):

(a) [A morphological word] has as its base one or more lexical roots to which morphological processes (compounding, reduplication, shift of stress, change of tone, internal change, subtraction, affixation) have applied; and

(b) has conventionalized coherence and meaning.

(c) [when compounding or affixation are involved on the morphological word, they] always occur together, rather than scattered through the clause (the criterion of cohesiveness)
Dixon's above criteria can be used to distinguish morphological words which are not free phonological units from phonological words which are not single morphological words. However, the two types of word are not mutually exclusive: they may coincide (Dixon 2010b: 22).

In Southern Pomo, the criteria for morphological wordhood and phonological wordhood are similar to but less complex than those laid out by Dixon, and in many cases the two do coincide. All three possibilities, which have been assigned type numbers (Type 1 = phonological word, Type 2 = morphological word, Type 3 = both), can be defined for Southern Pomo using Table (19) below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>words of any class with attached clitics</th>
<th>PHONOCLOGICAL WORD</th>
<th>MORPHOLOGICAL WORD</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clitics</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monomorphemic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, function words, kinship terms with case marking, and verbs with TAM marking</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs with TAM marking and kinship terms with case marking are specifically identified in the above table because they, unlike all other words, have roots and stems which do not coincide with phonological or morphological words. Southern Pomo verbs which are treated herein as morphological words are
composed minimally of a root, at least one prefix, and at least one TAM affix. Kinship terms which are likewise treated as morphological words are composed minimally of a root and a case-marking suffix.

As Table (19) makes clear, the single most important diagnostic question for morphological or phonological wordhood is whether or not the morpheme is a clitic or combined with morphemes of which one is a clitic. Thus the agentive case enclitic =yey is a morphological word but not a phonological word; the verb hiʔduʔč’eduʔ=ʔkaʔ=ʔma know=INTER=2SG.AGT ‘do you know?’ is a single phonological word made up of three morphological words (the first of which, the verb stem hiʔduʔč’edu- ‘to know’, has a root and affixes); the noun nupʰ:ɛ ‘striped skunk’ is a root, a stem, a morphological word, and a phonological word. The three types of word in Southern Pomo can only be defined on the basis of clitics; the identification of clitic-ness in Southern Pomo is therefore a crucial matter and is dealt with in great detail throughout the remainder of this section.

There is no shortage of potentially useful definitions and diagnostic tests for clitic-ness (such as Zwicky 1977, 1985; Zwicky and Pullum 1983; Payne 1997: 22; Dixon 2010: 221-225, 2010b: 20), all of which agree that clitics can be identified on the basis of at least three characteristics: (1) they do not fit language-specific

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63 Exceptions to this statement include the common verb čiʔiʔ-w ~ čiʔ-w ‘make-PFV’, which has no prefix, certain combinations of the verb stem hu:w- ‘to go (about, toward here)’ in combination with some directional suffixes (e.g. h-mayʔ-du ||hu:w-mač-wadu|| ‘go inside’), which have lost the root, and the hortative forms which use the bare verb stem, such as hoʔliʔ=ʔya [leave=1PL.AGT] ‘let’s go’.

64 The case of kinship terms is bit more complex, as will be explained further in later sections: all kinship stems must contain a possessive prefix unless they are in the vocative; some case suffixes are indicated by the absence of a suffix (i.e. -Ø). Also, the case-marking morphemes on plural kinship terms might be enclitics rather than suffixes.

65 I cannot now assign clear semantics to the root of this form.
categories of word or affix; (2) they are phonologically bound to an adjacent word in some way; (3) they may attach to units larger than the word (phrase or clause level).

Zwicky (1985: 286-290) lists more specific tests for clitic-hood, four of which are especially useful to the formation of a definition of clitic-hood in Southern Pomo (listed 1-4 and not with original numbering):

1. **Phonological**: “[A] clitic...forms a phonological unit with an independent word.”

2. **Internal/External Sandhi**: “[A]n element affected by or conditioning a sandhi rule otherwise known to be internal should be a clitic, not an independent word...[whereas one] affected by or conditioning a sandhi rule otherwise known to be external should be an independent word, not a clitic.”

3. **Ordering**: “[A]n element that is strictly ordered with respect to adjacent morphemes is almost surely a clitic (or an affix), while an element exhibiting free order with respect to adjacent words is certainly an independent word.”

4. **Distribution**: “[C]litics typically behave like affixes in...having distributions describable by single principles like ‘combines with the head verb of a clause’, ‘combines with the first constituent of a clause’...an element with [such] a simple distribution of this sort is probably a clitic (or an affix), and...[one] with a complex distribution is almost surely an independent word.”

The first type of test, a phonological one, and the second type, one which takes into account sandhi rules, are related, obviously, with sandhi being more appropriately one specific corner of the phonological test for clitic-hood. Therefore in the discussion that follows, tests (1) and (2) are grouped together; (3) and (4) are discussed separately.
(1) Phonological and (2) Sandhi Test

The phonological tests for clitic-hood in Southern Pomo are not as straightforward as they are for a language such as English, where one clear symptom of clitic-hood is the absence of stress on certain morphemes (with syllabic segments) and their corresponding need to bind to an adjacent word with stress. Southern Pomo stress, as described earlier in §2.2.3, is completely regular: the penultimate syllable bears primary stress with every other syllable bearing secondary stress to the left of the penult. However, a matter not touched upon in §2.2.3 is the unit of which the stressed syllable is the penult. Halpern’s description of Southern Pomo stress specifically defines the domain of stress as the “breath-group”, and he notes that there are three levels of stress: (1) loudest primary, which he transcribes with ^ over the stressed vowel; (2) primary stress, which he transcribes with ‘ over the stressed vowel; and (3) secondary stress, which he transcribes with ‘ over the stressed vowel (Halpern 1984: 38). This “breath-group”, at least in the example provided by Halpern, corresponds to a clause-level phrase. The assignment of stress in Southern Pomo, therefore, is not a word or phrase-level phenomenon, but it is assigned at the level of a breath-group, a term for which a working definition for Southern Pomo is unavoidably circular: stress is applied at the level of a breath-group utterance; a breath-group utterance can be identified by the assignment of stress. This definition, whatever its logical faults, points to a stress domain in the language that is not easy to fix within clear bounds. This analysis is supported by an
appeal to data from Neighboring Kashaya Pomo, which also has stress domain with no fixed bounds.

The specifics of the stress system of Kashaya is complicated and bears little resemblance to the Southern Pomo one, but the domain in which stress is assigned in Kashaya does appear to be similar. In Kashaya, “stress can fall on any of the first five syllables (out of a phrasal domain with no fixed limit) [italics mine]” (Buckley 1994: 171). Southern Pomo stress therefore appears to have the same domain as that of Kashaya: stress is assigned at the level of a phrasal domain with no fixed limit.

All of this relates to the identification of clitics in Southern Pomo because stress is assigned after clitics are attached to words and the words are strung together with other words: clitics are not necessarily unstressed. In fact, it is possible for a clitic to bear all three types of stress described by Halpern (loudest primary, primary, and secondary). Though this might not be the expected case, Zwicky notes descriptions of Modern Greek, Bikol, Latin, and Sanskrit where clitics have been reported to take stress (1977: 14-15). Crucially, any Southern Pomo clitic that includes a vowel can bear stress if it is the penultimate or preante penultimate (and so on) in a phrase level domain, and that stress, as already stated, can be of any type allowed in the language. The cases of clitics with stress reported in Zwicky (1977) are not so broad in their application as the case of Southern Pomo, and in this detail, perhaps, Southern Pomo might prove to be typologically unusual.

If stress cannot be used as a phonological diagnostic for clitic-hood in Southern Pomo, sandhi rules are more useful tools for identifying clitics. Zwicky
states that phonological words are the domain in which internal sandhi rules operate and that a morpheme which is not an affix, but which participates in such internal sandhi rules must be a clitic (1985: 286). This insight applies to Southern Pomo with some qualifications.

In Southern Pomo, within a grammatical word, two underlying consonants may not surface together across morpheme boundaries after affixation unless the first consonant is a nasal: the first must be deleted and replaced with compensatory lengthening of the vowel for which it had been a coda, as in (31) and (32) below.

(31) Consonant deletion within a grammatical word with -ya

kahsa:ya:\textsuperscript{w66} (H EA: 21a)
kahsa:ya:\textsuperscript{w}
||kahsak-ya-w||
/kahsa:-ya-w/
abandon-DEFOC-PFV
‘left’

(32) Consonant deletion within a grammatical word with -ba

mi:má:\textsuperscript{b}a (H VI: 6)
mi:má:\textsuperscript{b}a
||mi:-mač-ba||
/mi:ma:-ba/
cry-SS\textsuperscript{1}
‘having cried’

Case-marking enclitics in Southern Pomo behave like affixes in this regard, as in (33), (34), and (35) with the enclitics =ton LOCATIVE (‘on; over’), =k\textsuperscript{o} COMITATIVE (‘with’), and =wi INSTRUMENTAL (‘with; at; in’).\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{66}I do not provide glossing for every morpheme between \textbar \textbar \textbar because the semantics of these root plus prefix combinations are not straightforward when each morpheme is taken separately.
(33) Consonant deletion within a phonological word with =\text{\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ton}}}n

kahsa:=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ton}} (O I: 17c)
kah\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{sa}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ton}}
||kah\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{sak}}=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ton}}||
/kah\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{sa}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ton}}/
desert=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{LOC}}
ˈleaving [\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{gerund}}]ˈ

(34) Consonant deletion within a phonological word with =\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ko}}n

mi:má:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ko}} (VI: 7)
\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{mi}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ma\textchar'\textasciiquote{c}}=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ko}}||
\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{mi}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ma}}:=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ko}}/
cry=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{COM}}
ˈ[\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{with}} \text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{weeping}}ˈ

(35) Consonant deletion within a phonological word with =\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}}n

mi:ma:wi (H EA: 6a)
\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{mi}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ma}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}}
||\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{mi}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ma\textchar'\textasciiquote{c}}=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}}||
\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{mi}}:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ma}}:=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}}/
cry=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{INSTR}}
ˈ[\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{with}} \text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{crying}}ˈ

The above examples confirm that these clitics do participate in internal sandhi rules when applied to verbs. The evidence above proves that the aforementioned morphemes are, in fact, bound morphemes and not separate phonological words.

The case-marking enclitics above may also attach phonologically to other word classes (a distributional fact covered below); however, when they do so, they

\footnote{$=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}}$ has idiosyncratic semantics: it carries a true instrumental meaning when attached to body part terms like ‘string’; it carries a locative meaning (roughly ‘at’) when applied to place names (e.g. batâ:\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{inkle}}\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ha}=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}} \text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ba}}=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{inkle}}\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{ha}=\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}} ‘at elderberry tree (house?)’ [= ‘Sebastopol’]); it carries a different locative meaning (roughly ‘in’) when applied to the word \text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{wi}}\text{\textchar'\textasciiquote{e}j\textchar'\textasciiquote{may} ‘basket (general term)’.}
do not obligatorily participate in the sandhi rules in which they participate when attached to verbs. In the examples above, the verb stem |mi-:mač-| ‘to cry’ was shown to lose its final consonant to compensatory lengthening when the enclitics were bound to it. (The form mimay shows a different final consonant because of a rule whereby morpheme-final /č/ and /č'/ become /y/ before a word boundary.)

The examples below show the same enclitics from above attached to nouns which surface with the same final as ‘to cry’ (some of which underwent the same change of post-alveolar affricate to palatal approximant in an earlier stage of the language).68

(36) Enclitic =ton on nouns

ʔač:ay=ton (O I: 6)
ʔač:ayton
/ʔač:ay=ton/
man=LOC
‘over the man’

čun:am háyton (H IV: 6)
čun:am hayton
/čun:am hay=ton/
drift wood=LOC
‘[on] driftwood’

(37) Enclitic =wi on noun

ʔah:aywi (H EA: 28a)
ʔah:aywi
/ʔah:ay=wi/
wood=INSTR
['with/on wood/stick']

Though the pattern seen in the above examples is the most common in the narrative texts, there is at least one /y/-final noun that does participate in the sandhi rule already discussed for verbs. As given in (38) below, the noun huʔuy ‘face’ does not preserve its final consonant as might be expected on the basis of the previous nominal examples.69

(38) =t on on ||huʔ:uč|| huʔuy ‘face’ with verb-like word-internal sandhi

huʔ:uʔ:ton (H EA: 10a)
huʔ:uʔ:ton
||huʔ:uč=t on||
/huʔ:u:=t on/
face=LOC
‘in front of’

If the counterexample with ‘face’ from (38) above is set aside, the clitics discussed thus far are like verbal affixes in their participating in word-internal sandhi rules when bound to verbs; however, they are unlike verbal affixes in their being able to combine with other word classes with which they do not obligatorily participate in sandhi rules. This distribution in itself sets them apart from affixes and strengthens the case for a separate clitic category.

There is another class of clitics within Southern Pomo, some of which can be treated as clitics only on the basis of phonological considerations. These clitics do not participate in any word-internal sandhi rules. Zwicky divides clitics into two

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69 One possible reason for this asymmetry (beyond idiolectal variation) is the existence of a derived verbal form huʔu-ţ ‘to face’, a stem that includes at least one as yet inexplicable variant where the /č/ appears to resurface where it is not expected: huʔu:[uč]in huʔučin ‘look!’ (H VI: 3) At this time, I can neither account for the /č/ of the penultimate syllable nor explain the /č/ which surfaces.
broad classes: simple clitics and special clitics (1977: 5-6). Simple clitics are those which are merely phonologically reduced variants of full words and show no special semantics or syntax (e.g., the [=l] allomorph of will~shall in English which carries the same meaning as the full form(s)); special clitics do not necessarily represent reduced forms of full words and can show specialized semantic and syntactic properties. The clitics discussed thus far all qualify as special clitics (a claim that is bolstered in the subsequent discussion), but there is another set of phonological words in Southern Pomo that are astride the boundary between special and simple clitics: they show special phonological behavior at times that identifies them as bound morphemes; they may also stand alone or at the head of breath-group and have bound morphemes added to them.

The four most common morphemes which fall into this clitic class are wa~=(ʔ)wa COP.EVIDENTIAL, ka ~ (?)ka INTERROGATIVE, yo ~ =(?yo AUXILIARY, ti ~ =ti INCHOATIVE. The enclitic =meṭ ‘like’ might be added to this list, but the evidence of its ability to surface as a free phonological word is not as strong; however, its status as a clitic is predicated upon similar phonological criteria to those invoked for wa~=(ʔ)wa, ka ~ (?)ka, and yo ~ =(?yo.

The first three of these morphemes are problematic because the glottal stop which may surface before the [wa], [ka], and [yo] was almost surely a separate morpheme in the past, and an analysis for this glottal stop’s synchronic status as a

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70 This is obviously a simplification: clitic variants of English auxiliaries surely carry some subtle sociolinguistic information. But such differences between [=] and [wil] are trivial in comparison to the types of clitics, many of which do not have phonological word counterparts, which qualify as special clitics.
separate morpheme when it precedes [wa] has been put forward by Oswalt (1978: 14). They are treated as single morphemes which each have at least one allomorph which descends from two morphemes throughout the rest of this section. 71

These morphemes can stand alone (and have affixes and enclitics added to them) or they may bind to a preceding morpheme. Crucially, though, they need not be in different positions depending on whether or not they are bound. It is only through one phonological pattern that they can be identified as having enclitic allomorphs: when wa, ka, and yo come immediately after a vowel-final morpheme (without any pause), they surface as =ʔwa =ʔka and =ʔyo. When they come after a vowel-final morpheme but are not bound to it, they are not preceded by the glottal stop. There is no semantic difference between the free forms and the encliticized forms. Thus, in the case of texts where there is no surviving audio record, the presence or absence of a glottal stop before one of these morphemes when they follow a vowel-final morpheme is the best evidence of clitic-hood.

71 This [ʔ] is most likely cognate with ʔe COPULA of neighboring Central Pomo (a glossed example of which can be found in Mithun 1990: 375). It likely underwent the following development: (1) –wa FACTUAL,EVIDENTIAL, -yo AUX (perhaps a verb for ‘go’ in the distant past), and -ka INTERROGATIVE could be added to *ʔe (e.g. *ʔe-wa, *ʔe-yo, *ʔe-ka); (2) these morpheme combinations came to combine with preceding grammatical words into phonological words (e.g. CVXCV(C) *ʔe-wa → CVXCV(C)=*ʔe-wa); (3) regular syncope rules deleted the [e] of *ʔe in such combinations and avoidance of C+[ʔ] clusters across grammatical word boundaries within a phonological word deleted all traces of *ʔe when it followed a consonant-final grammatical word (e.g. CVXCV=C=*ʔe-wa → CVXCV=C=*ʔ-wa → CVXCV=wa), but [ʔ] was preserved if the grammatical word which preceded it was vowel-final (e.g. CVXCV=*=ʔe-wa → CVXCV=*ʔ-wa); (4) speakers, who would have no traces of the old copula morpheme when it came after a consonant or when the morpheme to which it was once attached was not bound phonologically to a preceding vowel-final word, must have reanalyzed the occurrence of the glottal stop in such a tightly constrained environment as an allomorphic phonological alternation akin to the a/an proclitics of English; the weak semantics of the COPULA combined with its disappearance from two of the three environments in which it once occurred would have effectively erased it as a distinct morpheme.
Examples (39)-(44) provide attested illustrations of each of these grammatical words as both clitics and free morphemes (to which other morphemes may be bound). The morphemes under discussion are in bold and underlined.

(39) =ʔwa after a vowel-final word

\[
\text{ma}[:]\text{ékoʔwaʔa} \quad \text{(H ms.)}
\]
\[
\text{ma}?:\text{ekoʔwaʔa}
\]
\[
/\text{ma}?:\text{e}=\text{ko}=\text{ʔwa}=\text{ʔa}/
\]
father=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
‘I have a father’

(40) wa after a vowel-final word

\[
\text{ham}:\text{u wa mahčukunčon [...] ?am:a kʰat}:\text{ič}’aw \text{hwalakʰ}:\text{e}^\text{t}^\text{ho}^\text{f}/ \quad \text{(H EA: 30a)}
\]
\[
\text{ham}:\text{u wa mahčukunčon ?am:a kʰat}:\text{ič}’aw \text{hwalakʰ}:\text{e}^\text{t}^\text{ho}^\text{f}/
\]
3SG COP.EVID they thing bad go-DIR-FUT=NEG
‘so there won’t be bad luck come down to them’

(41) =ʔka after a vowel-final word

\[
\text{ham}:\text{uʔkaʔmaʔto he}:\text{menin} \quad \text{(H EA: 13a)}
\]
\[
\text{ham}:\text{uʔkaʔmaʔto he}:\text{menin}
\]
\[
/\text{ham}:\text{u}=\text{ʔka}=\text{ʔma}=\text{ʔto} \quad \text{he}:\text{menin}=\text{Ø}/
\]
3SG=INTER=2SG.AGT=1SG.PAT how.do-PFV
‘how is it that you never told me about that’

(42) ka after a vowel-final word

\[
\text{he}:\text{meni}:\text{ti} \text{kaʔma} \text{kʰa}ʔ\text{béʔwan ban:éduy} \quad \text{(H ms.)}
\]
\[
\text{he}:\text{meni}:\text{ti} \text{ka}=\text{ma} \text{kʰa}=\text{bé}=\text{wan ban:éduy}
\]
\[
/\text{he}:\text{meni}:\text{ti} \text{ka}=\text{ʔma} \text{kʰa}=\text{ʔbe}=\text{ʔwan ban:éduy}=\text{Ø}/
\]
how.do-INTENT INTER=2SG.AGT rock=DET.OBJ throw.non-long.obj.-DIR-PFV
‘why did you throw the rock away[?]’
The above morphemes are treated as clitics at times (and therefore as a part of larger phonological words) because they show synchronic phonological alternations in the realization of segments (in these cases the glottal stop) only when bound to vowel-final morphemes. Each of these morphemes has a variant which may stand alone without the glottal stop surfacing even after a vowel-final preceding word, which supports such variants being analyzed as phonological and grammatical words in their own right and not clitics.

The clitic =:meʃ ‘like’ shows a similar pattern to that seen for the clitics already discussed, namely, its first segment, */:/, can only surface after a vowel-final morpheme. Another clitic that was already mentioned, =:tʃ INCHOATIVE, does not undergo or trigger any phonological changes, but it is consistently written as part of the preceding word when it occurs with no following clitics. It can also stand

\[\text{bútːeʔyómːto [ʔ]ahčāːci[y]} \quad \text{(H ms.)} \]
\[
\text{butːeʔyːmtːo ahčːiy}
\]
\[
\text{/butːe=ʔyo=mːtːo ahčːiy-ʔ/}\]
\[
\text{when=AUX=2SG.PAT awake-PFV}
\]
\`
‘when did you wake up’
\`

\[\text{haːminːli yódo miyː[ː]aːt-[t]}\text{kHz} \text{an bǐʔ du čóːhʃin} \quad \text{(H I: 1)}\]
\[
\text{hamintli ydo miyat-[t]}\text{kHz} \text{an bǐʔ du čohʃin}
\]
\[
\text{/haːminː-li y大洋 miya-t-[k]an-biʔ du čohʃin-ʔ/}
\]
\[
\text{and.then-D.SEQ AUX-QUOT 3-spouse-AGT acorn pound-PFV}
\]
\`
‘Then, it is said, his wife was pounding acorns[,]’
\`

---

\[\text{72 This verb for ‘to wake up’ appears to be a part of the paradigm for ‘to fly’, and its stem is actually composed of the stem for ‘to fly’ plus the suffix –čiy ||-čiːy|| INCEPTIVE (a suffix which appears to include the suffix –y ||-č|| REFLEXIVE and sometimes has that meaning).} \]
separately from any host word and carry its own bound morphemes. Of the non-case-marking clitics discussed thus far, ꟷi ~ ꟷi is the least like a special clitic and the most like a simple clitic in showing little real variation between its bound and free forms and no special behaviors like those enumerated in the following discussion.

(1) Ordering test

Many of the clitics introduced thus far are enclitics which might be termed postpositions in an analysis less concerned with clitic-hood. Zwicky (1985) identifies strict ordering of a morpheme under consideration for clitic-hood with regard to “adjacent morphemes” as opposed to “free order” as one important piece of evidence in favor of clitic-hood, and many Southern Pomo clitics conform to this observation. The case-marking enclitics and additional clitics indicating location and direction may combine with one another on one word; however, they do so in a particular order. Perhaps the clearest example of this ordering is seen with ꟷi ‘at’ + ꟷkʰač ‘ward’ into ꟷnhkʰay ꟷkʰaj ‘toward’ as in (45):

(45) Combination of ꟷi ‘at’ + ꟷkʰač ‘ward’

?ahčanhkʰay (H EA: 9a)
?ahčanhkʰay
||?ahča=li=kʰač||
/?ahča=nhkʰay/
house=ward
‘[to] home’

The two encliticized morphemes in the above combination cannot be reversed. When they are combined with the enclitic ꟷon LOCATIVE, they likewise
must be in the fixed order \textit{=tonhkʰay} [\textit{=ton}\text{n̥}kʰaj] (where the final of \textit{=ton LOCATIVE} either completely merges with the nasal allomorph of \textit{=li ‘at’} or the final nasal of \textit{=ton} descends from \textit{=li}), as in (46) below:

\begin{equation}
(46) \text{Combination of } =\text{ton LOC} + =\text{li ‘at’} + =\text{kʰač ‘ward’}
\end{equation}

Thus far, in addition to the clitics like \textit{=(ʔ)wa}, a specific type of case-marking special clitic has been discussed, namely, that of the type of morpheme Dixon suggests be called “non-inflectional case markers” (Dixon 2010: 225).\footnote{In fact, the distributional data which I use to bolster my assertion that these case-marking morphemes are clitics is at odds with Dixon’s opinion on clitic-hood; he specifically rejects arguments for clitic-hood for case-marking morphemes which are based on such morphemes attaching at level of an NP and suggests such morphemes are more appropriately analyzed as affixes which attach to a whole NP rather than individual members of it (Dixon 2010: 223). Whatever the merits of such an approach, the subset of enclitics in Southern Pomo which might be susceptible to it do not behave like other affixes in the language in their ability to combine with various word classes and their unique phonological properties (sandhi triggering with verbs; no sandhi with nouns), and an assignment to clitic status seems most appropriate.} There are, however, other clitics in the language, including one subset with very specific ordering properties.

As previously mentioned, Zwicky advocates a distinction between “special” and “simple” clitics (1977: 5-6). In Southern Pomo, most clitics appear to be special clitics; however, there is an important division within this group. The case-marking enclitics (a.k.a. ‘non-inflectional case markers’) discussed thus far are not merely
phonologically reduced forms of otherwise attested free phonological words in the language. This is not the case for the pronominal enclitics, which makes them more like the clitics =(?)* \text{wa}, =(?)* \text{ka}, and =(?)* \text{yo} with their unbound variants \text{wa}, \text{ka}, and \text{yo}.

Southern Pomo does not mark person on the verb and it has a full complement of pronouns which are free phonological words (see §2.8.2 for a complete list). With a few possible exceptions (which might be the result of insufficient data), all pronouns have encliticized versions. These forms, however, are easily related to the full forms, and in that respect they superficially resemble the simple clitics of Zwicky’s analysis. However, they do not show the same ordering as seen in clauses with full pronouns.

SOV is the expected ordering when two core arguments (as full NPs) are present in a clause, as seen in (47) below:

(47) Canonical word order with two full NPs in a clause

\begin{align*}
\text{kʰáʔbekʰáʔyey dó:lon čóh:on} & \quad \text{(H VI: 1)} \\
\text{kʰaʔbekʰaʔyey do:lon čoh:on} \\
\text{/kʰaʔbekʰaʔ=ye} & \text{ do:lon čoh:on-Ø} \\
\text{raptor.species=AGT} & \text{ bobcat marry-PFV} \\
\text{Fish Hawk}^{24} & \text{ married Wildcat}
\end{align*}

The ordering of pronominal enclitics relative to one another when two come together is OS (VOS when they are attached to a verb), the opposite of the order seen in clauses with full NPs, as in (48) below:

\[^{24}\text{Halpern records this species as kʰaʔbekʰaʔ\text{\text{"\text{"\text{"fish hawk}} (presumably the osprey); Oswalt records it as kʰaʔbekʰaʔ\text{\text{"\text{"\text{"sharp-shinned hawk}}, a very different species. I follow Oswalt’s transcription, but neither translation seems sure, and the gloss ‘raptor.species’ must therefore suffice till more data are found.}]}
OS ordering of pronominal enclitics when combined

mihyanakʰ:e?wamtʰ:a (H VIII: 6)
mihyanakʰ:e?wamtaʔa
/mihyana-kʰ:e?=wa=mṭa?=a/
kill-FUT=COP.EVID =2SG.PAT=1SG.AGT
‘I’m going to kill you’

(4) Distribution

Whereas affixes in Southern Pomo are attached to words, clitics may be attached to larger constituents. The Southern Pomo special clitics mentioned thus far, case-marking enclitics, =(?wa type and pronominal enclitics, can be distinguished from affixes by their distributional qualities, though the clitics do not share all of the same distributional qualities with each other. Case-marking enclitics attach at the phrasal level, whereas affixes attach to stems. Example (49) contains the PATIENT case enclitic attaching to multi-word NP (with a relative clause), and example (50) contains the INSTRUMENTAL case enclitic attached to a two-word phrase.

(49) Case-marking enclitic applied to phrasal constituent

má:kacʰi:baʁ³aw má⁴tʰ:i miːʃi:čon [ʔ]uhtʰéhtew (H IX: 8)
[maːkacʰi:baɾ³aw má⁴tʰ:i miːʃiː]ʔ=čon ?uhtʰéhtew
/maːkːaː-Ø ʃiːbaɾ³aw maː⁴tʰ:i miːʃiː]ʔ=čon ?uhtʰéhtew-w/
3C-mo.mo.-GS-AGT poor blind one.lie=PAT tell-PFV
‘told their poor blind grandmother who was lying (there)’

75 When case-marking clitics are applied to verbs the resultant forms translate into English as gerunds or obliques.
(50) Case-marking enclitic applied to phrasal constituent

\[
\begin{align*}
&t^h:a:na \ ?a^h:\text{owi} \ da^h:\text{ow} \quad \text{(H EA: 4a)} \\
&[t^h:a:na \ ?a^h:o]_{\text{NP}} = \text{wi} \ da^h:\text{ow} \\
/t^h:a:na \ ?a^h:o=\text{wi} \ da^h:o=\text{w/} \\
\text{hand} & \quad \text{two=} \text{INSTR} \quad \text{scrape-PFV} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘scraps it off with both hands’

The distributional qualities exemplified above—phrase-end encliticization—apply only to the case-marking clitics. The pronominal enclitics show very different behavior; they often appear to attach as second-position enclitics (a.k.a. Wackernagel enclitics), especially in combination with \(=(?)\text{wa COP.EVIDENTIAL, and}=(?)\text{ka INTERROGATIVE.} \) However, it is not yet clear why these clitics are sometimes attached to the first word (of any word class) in a clause and sometimes to another word further in the clause (often a final verb). Thus far, no appeal to semantics, verb transitivity, or any other reasonable criteria has elucidated the reasons for the varying patterns. Examples (51)-(57) show the pronominal enclitics (often in combination with the \text{COP.EVID} and \text{INTER} enclitics) attaching to a variety of word classes in various positions. The morphemes under discussion are in bold and underlined.

(51a) Pronominal enclitics attached to verbs

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{huw:}\text{an} & \text{hk}^h^e\text{t}^h\text{o}^f\text{w}^a?\text{ya} \quad \text{(H V: 34)} \\
\text{huw:an} & \text{hk}^h^e\text{t}^h\text{o}^f\text{w}^a?\text{ya} \\
\text{||huw:ad-k}^h^e\text{=}\text{t}^h\text{o}^f\text{=}\text{wa=}\text{ya||} \\
\text{/huw:-an} & \text{hk}^h^e\text{=}\text{t}^h\text{o}^f\text{=}\text{wa=}\text{ya/} \\
\text{go-\text{DIR-FUT-NEG=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT} } \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘we will not come’
(51b) huʔ[ː]ukʰbe [ʔ]ihna:káʔya (H VI: 8)
   huʔukʰbe ?ihna:káʔya
   ||huʔ:ukʰbe hi-hnaʔ-kaʔ?ya||
   /huʔ:ukʰbe ?ihna:-kaʔ?ya/
   eye.rock try-CAUS=1PL.AGT
   ‘let’s try (to make) eyeballs’

(52) Pronominal enclitics attached to nouns

   čuʔuʔ( )waʔya šuhnamhúkʰ:e (H VIII: 1)
   čuʔuʔwaʔya šuhnamhukʰ:e
   ||čuʔuʔ=waʔ?ya šu-hnaʔ-mhuč’-kʰ:e||
   /čuʔuʔ=waʔ?ya šuhna-mhu-kʰ:e/
   arrow=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT try.by.pull=RECIP-FUT
   ‘We’ll try each other out in pulling arrows.’

   nupʰ:eʔ( )waʔya yókʰ:e (H V: 37)
   nupʰ:eʔwaʔya yókʰ:e
   /nupʰ:eʔ=waʔ?ya yó-kʰ:e/
   striped.skunk=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT AUX-FUT
   ‘We will be skunks[.]’

(53) Pronominal enclitic attached to a free pronoun

   [ʔ]á:maʔwaʔya yán beḥše koʔdi čuḥ:ukáʔtʰoľ (H V: 36)
   ?á:maʔwaʔya yán beḥše koʔdi čuḥ:ukáʔtʰoľ
   /?á:maʔ=waʔ?ya yán beḥše koʔdi čuḥ:u-kaʔ-ʔtʰoľ/76
   2SG.AGT=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT meat good eat-CAUS-?-.NEG
   ‘You (are the one who) didn’t let us eat good meat.’

(54) Pronominal enclitic attached to a kinship term

   [ʔ]ákʰ:o máʔfikiyačóʔkoʔwaʔa (H ms.)
   ?ákʰ:o maʔfikiyačóʔkoʔwaʔa
   /?ákʰ:o=maʔ=waʔ?a máʔ-fi-ya-čoʔkoʔ=waʔa/
   two 3c-younger.sibling-GS-PL-OBL=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
   ‘I have 2 y[ounger] siblings’

---

76 The /:/ preceding the NEG enclitic might be a part of that clitic or represent a consonant (perhaps the perfective –w) or it might be a mistake made by Halpern.
(55) Pronominal enclitic attached to adverbs (manner, time, location)

\[55\] siːʔoʔwaʔya hoːliːkʰ:e \quad (H V: 3)
\[55\] siːʔoʔwaʔya \quad hoːliːkʰ:e

immediately=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT leave-FUT
‘right now we’ll go’

\[55\] [ʔ]iʔin( )waʔya daʔtamhúkʰ:e \quad (H VIII: 1)
\[55\] [ʔ]iʔinwaʔya daʔtamhúkʰ:e

early=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT encounter-RECIP-FUT
‘We will meet each other early.’

\[55\] ma:liʔkaʔya dasːékʰ:e \quad (H V: 11)
\[55\] ma:liʔkaʔya dasːékʰ:e

here=INTER=1PL.AGT wash-FUT
‘shall we wash it here?’

(56) Pronominal enclitic attached to numerals

\[56\] [ʔ]akʰːoʔhčaʔ( )waʔya čohːokʰ:e \quad (H VI: 11)
\[56\] [ʔ]akʰːoʔhčaʔwaʔya čohːokʰ:e

two=COLL=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT marry-FUT
‘We’ll both marry him.’

\[56\] tʰːeː čːːmahʔ( )wáʔya baːːikʰ:e \quad (H VI: 13)
\[56\] tʰːeː čːːmahʔwaʔya baːːikʰ:e

no one=place=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT lie.PL-FUT
‘No, we’ll lie in one place.’

(57) Pronominal enclitic attached to pro-verb

\[57\] haːmini(ː)pʰ[iʔwavʔ()]maya dasːékʰ:e \quad (H V: 10)
\[57\] haːmini(ː)pʰ[iʔwavʔ()]maya dasːékʰ:e

and.then-S.IRR=COP.EVID=2PL.AGT wash-FUT
‘After having done so, you will wash (them).’
The presence of a clitic is the defining feature of phonological words which are not also single grammatical words, and it is therefore imperative that clitics be identified correctly. In this study, Southern Pomo clitics are analyzed as morphemes which are neither affixes nor independent phonological words; rather, they are phonologically dependent grammatical words. They can be distinguished from affixes by their ability to attach phonologically to words of various word classes at the phrasal level; they can be distinguished from phonological words by their participation in affix-like phonological alternations and unusual distributional properties. There are, however, differences among clitics as to their phonological and syntactic behavior. In reality, Southern Pomo clitics are defined more by what they are not (free phonological words or affixes) than what they are.

This makes sense, of course, as the class of grammatical words that fits with any of the previously stated criteria for clitic-hood in the language descend from varied sources on the grammaticization path towards ever more grammatical usages. And it is not uncommon cross-linguistically to find to find sets of clitics within a language that behave in different ways. Sm’algyax, a polysynthetic Tsimshianic language, has clitics which are distinguished from words and affixes but which may also be sorted into different types within the clitic class (Stebbins 2003).

Earlier in this section, in Table (19), the three types of word in Southern Pomo were charted. Clitics (type 2) do not conform to any neat parameters, as has been demonstrated throughout this section. They are best seen as existing on a
cline between affixes and clitic-less phonological words. Within this border region, some clitics are clearly more affix-like and like prototypical special clitics (and presumably well on their way to becoming affixes), some are more like stand-alone words and therefore like prototypical simple clitics, and most are in between. Table (20) summarizes this with two representative examples of each major morpheme class (note that none of the clitics is as close to simple clitic status as English [=m] for ‘am’, [=v] for ‘have’, etc.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AFFIXES</th>
<th>SPECIAL CLITICS ← SPECIAL/SIMPLE — SIMPLE CLITICS → FREE WORDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-w PF</td>
<td>=kó COM (ʔ)wa COP.EVID (ʔ)ya 1PL.AGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya PL</td>
<td>=yey AGT =ti INCHOATIVE =kʰmayow ‘after’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only a sample of the morphemes which fit the criteria for clitic-ness in Southern Pomo has been introduced in this section. But the criteria for the remainder are the same. In the case of some enclitics, it is difficult to tell whether they are clitics or affixes when applied to certain word classes (especially the pronouns and kinship terms), and these difficulties are addressed in the relevant sections. Henceforth, any morpheme preceded by = in the glosses has been analyzed as a clitic because there is phonological, ordering, or distributional evidence for such an analysis.
2.6. Major phonological and morphophonemic processes

This section focuses on those phonological alternations that apply to large parts of the lexicon; alternations that are restricted to one or two morphemes (e.g. the singular imperative) are covered more fully under later discussion of the individual morphemes. Each process is covered separately, but some are obviously related (e.g. deletion and assimilation often follow on the heels of syncope). Unlike both neighboring Kashaya and Central Pomo, Southern Pomo preserves glottal-initial syllables in both verbs and nouns (Kashaya only does so for nouns; Central Pomo has lost them in both word classes). If Southern Pomo is by far the most phonologically conservative Pomoan language in its handling of the first two syllables of a word, it is also by far the least conservative of any Pomoan language in its handling of final consonants and syllables beyond the first two of the word, and it is in this part of the Southern Pomo word that many of the most productive (and, perhaps, unusual) phonological alternations are to be observed.

2.6.1. Vowel harmony

Southern Pomo displays regressive vowel lowering in which [+high] vowels in the initial syllable are lowered on the basis of the vowel of the second syllable from the left. In the first type, the vowel /i/ in an initial syllable becomes [e] when the vowel of the second syllable is /e/.

\[ /i/ \rightarrow [e] / \#C_C(C)e(C) \]
This applies to verbs, pronouns, and kinship terms, word classes which have stems with synchronically segmentable roots and affixes, and it once applied to all disyllabic stems at some point in the past, including common nouns for which there are no synchronic phonological alternations to indicate that the harmony process is still productive. Examples of the three word classes for which this harmony rule still results in allomorphic alternations are given below in (58)-(60).

(58) The verbal prefix \(\text{p}^\text{hi}\)-‘by sight’ with and without vowel lowering

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p}^\text{hi}\text{ʔa-} & \quad \text{(W: OF)} \\
\text{\underline{\text{p}^\text{hi}-\text{ʔa-}}} & \quad \text{‘to look (like)’} \\
\text{p}^\text{hey:e-} & \quad \text{(W: OF)} \\
\text{\underline{\text{p}^\text{hi}-\text{y:e-}}} & \quad \text{‘to look for’}
\end{align*}
\]

(59) The pronominal root \(\text{mi}\)-\(2\text{SG}\)- with and without vowel lowering

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mits}_0 & \quad \text{(W: OF)} \\
\text{m\text{\_}:t\text{\_}o} & \quad \text{2SG-PAT} \\
\text{\text{\_}t\text{\_}o} & \quad \text{‘you’} \\
\text{me:k}^\text{h}e & \quad \text{(H ms: EA)} \\
\text{\underline{\text{m\text{\_}:}k\text{\_}e}} & \quad \text{2SG-POSS} \\
\text{\text{\_}k\text{\_}e} & \quad \text{‘your’}
\end{align*}
\]

For example, \(\text{beh}\text{še}\) ‘(deer) meat’ underwent vowel lowering at some point during its descent from Proto Pomo *bihxé (compare Kashaya bihše) (McLendon 1973: 72). Common nouns, unlike verbs, kinship terms, and pronouns, do not participate in any synchronic phonological alternations which would allow modern speakers of Southern Pomo to uncover the original \(\text{*i}\) vowel.
The kinship prefix \textit{miH-} 2SG- with and without vowel lowering

\begin{verbatim}
midʔíki (H ms.)
\textit{midʔíki}
||\textit{miH-di-ki-Ø}||
/mi-dʔi-ki-Ø/  
2OLDER.SISTER-GS-\textit{AGT}
ˈyour o[lder] sis[ter]ˈ
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
méʔ[ː]en (H ms.)
\textit{meʔen}
||\textit{miH-ʔe-n}||
/me-ʔe-n/  
2FATHER-PAT
ˈyour fatherˈ
\end{verbatim}

In the kinship terms, there is at least one peculiar example of this vowel lowering alternation applying incompletely, a phenomenon that might be explained as preservation of the root, as in (61).

\begin{verbatim}
\textit{i/} \rightarrow \textit{[e]} avoidance in kinship root

[ʔ]a:diké:kʰe (H ms.)
\textit{ʔadike:kʰe}
||[ʔ]a:-di-ki-kʰe||
/a:-di-ke:kʰe/  
1OLDER.SISTER-GS-\textit{POSS}
ˈmy o[lder] sis[terˈs]ˈ
\end{verbatim}

This process of vowel lowering applied in the distant past to common nouns (compare Southern Pomo \textit{behše} ‘(deer) meat’ with Kashaya \textit{bihše} ‘deer’), and it is shared to an extent with the geographically distant Northeastern Pomo language
However, this specific change applied completely only to Southern Pomo (Oswalt 1976: 17). As already mentioned, there is no synchronic allomorphy in common nouns to allow modern speakers to uncover the older vowel. As such, there is no evidence to support an analysis of this vowel harmony rule as a productive part of nominal phonology.

There are two additional types of productive vowel lowering alternations: an assimilatory one and another that is dissimilatory in nature. The first involves /u/ becoming [o] in an initial syllable when the vowel of the second syllable from the left is [o].

\[ /u/ \rightarrow [o] / \#C_C(C)o(C) \]

The above rule can be combined with the previous vowel-lowering rule, but it can be established with some certainty that the two alternations arose at separate times in the language. The change of /u/ \(\rightarrow\) [o] to assimilate to an /o/ in the following syllable is quite an old alternation and is shared with Southern Pomo by Kashaya Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, and Eastern Pomo, and is therefore reconstructed as part of Proto Pomo phonology; however, the change of /i/ \(\rightarrow\) [e] to assimilate to an /e/ in the following syllable is not shared by Eastern Pomo and

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78 Vowel assimilation across syllable boundaries has been a recurrent process in the history of Southern Pomo. A review of Proto Pomoan reconstructions is outside the scope of the present work, but note that sometime in the distant past a different type of vowel harmony rule operated to raise and round /a/ in some words with /o/ in the second syllable (compare Southern Pomo do:lon 'bobcat' and Kashaya do:lon 'bobcat' with Central Pomo da:lon 'bobcat' (McLendon 1973: 95)).
Kashaya Pomo, and was only applied consistently across the lexicon in Southern Pomo (Oswalt 1976: 17).

The dissimilatory vowel lowering alternation applies when the vowel of the initial syllable in a verb is /u/ and the vowel of the second syllable from the left is /i/. When this occurs, the /u/ lowers to [o].

\[ /u/ \rightarrow [o] / \#C_C(C)i(C) \]

This can only be analyzed as a productive alternation in verbs,\(^79\) which have several prefixes with an underlying /u/ that surfaces as [o] according to the rules above. (There are no prefixes with rounded vowels in the kinship terms or pronouns.) Examples of both of these /u/ \(\rightarrow [o]\) alternations are shown in (62) and (63) below.

(62) Verbs with the prefixes šu- ‘by pulling’ and du- ‘by finger’

(62a) \[ [čʰeʔe[i:]eťmáywan] šuhkʰečːle \] (H ms.)\(^80\)
\[ čʰeʔeťmáywan šuhkʰečːle \]
\[ ||čʰeʔeťmáywan=wan/shu-hkʰe-čiː̂-le|| \]
\[ /čʰeʔeťmáywan=wan šu-hkʰe-čiː̂-le/ \]
\[ basket=DET by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP \]
\[ ‘Pull the basket closer to yourselves!’ \]

---

\(^79\) This is also true of /u/ \(\rightarrow [o]\) when the next syllable has [o].

\(^80\) The suffix -čiː̂- ||-čič-|| includes the reflexive ||-č-|| but generally has an inchoative meaning on verbs; however, it clearly has a simple reflexive meaning when applied to the root ||-hkʰe-|| ‘to move’.
(62b) duhkʰeʔč’in  (H ms.)
   duhkʰeʔč’in
   ||du-hkʰe-čč’-Vn||
   /du-hkʰe-ʔč’-in/
   by.finger-move-REFL-SG.IMP
   ‘move it towards yourself’

(63) šu- ‘by pulling’ and du- ‘by finger’ surfacing as šo- and do-

   /šo?diw/  (O D: ED)
   šo?diw
   ||šu-ʔdi-w||
   /šo-ʔdi-w/
   by.pulling-move.one-PFV
   ‘to go bring s[ome]o[ne]’

   dōʔ:ow  (V: 11)
   doʔ:ow
   ||du-ʔ:o-w||
   /do-ʔ:o-w/
   by.finger-peel-PFV
   ‘skinned’

The /u/-lowering rules do not apply synchronically outside of the verbs of
Southern Pomo; this type of vowel lowering is a distributional fact elsewhere in the
lexicon, but one with no synchronic alternations to allow speakers to know which,
if any, of the initial syllables of non-verbs with /o/ might have originally had /u/.

One possible example of fossilized nominal evidence for this rule is provided
by three reptile terms: musːəla ‘snake’ (general term), muːʔuːnu ‘lizard’ (general
term), and moʔhi ‘rattlesnake’. Though there is no solid evidence at this time, it
seems possible that the initial syllables in all three words might descend from a
single morpheme (perhaps a compounding element meaning something like
‘serpentine’). If this is true, the initial syllable of ‘rattlesnake’ would represent an allomorph with vowel lowering according to the pattern established in verbs.\(^\text{81}\)

There is also one well-documented case of a borrowed word being affected by /u/ lowering in recent times. The Russian word for ‘bottle’ entered Kashaya Pomo as puştîka and was perceived as a monomorphemic word in that language. Southern Pomo borrowed Kashaya puştîka and changed it to pʰot其中包括, a word which Oswalt reports was interpreted as both a verb and a noun and which was parsed by native speakers as containing three morphemes: (1) the instrumental prefix pʰu- ‘by wind or blowing’; (2) a root –t其中包括- ‘the sound of glass breaking’; and (3) –ka the INFERENTIAL evidential suffix. Oswalt records that the word could thus be understood to mean ‘it must have blown over and broken’ (1971: 189). What is most interesting, however, is the fact that the dissimilator /u/-lowering rule resulted in the pʰ其中包括-allomorph of the prefix ||pʰ其中包括-||, a change that can be dated to within a few decades of the Russians’ landing in Pomoan territory. Such a recent application of the vowel-lowering rule supports an analysis of this alternation as a productive one in the language (at least during the last generations of monolingual speakers).

2.6.1.1. Vowel harmony across glottals

There is another phonological phenomenon relating to vowel harmony in the language: monomorphemic stems with /ʔ/ as their second consonant (the pseudo-

\(^\text{81}\) The fact that two of these three nouns are trisyllabic makes it much more likely that the first element is a separable part in what was once a compound. Most nouns are disyllabic in the language, and several trisyllabic nouns can be reconstructed as compounds (e.g. hišamʔda ‘nose’, which descends from the older word for nose *hiša plus an unknown element).
consonant /ː/ may precede or follow the glottal stop in this position) must have the same vowel quality in the syllables preceding and following the glottal stop, as in (64) below.

(64) Vowel harmony across /ʔ/ in monomorphemic stems

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ciiʔi}- ‘to do; to make’
  \item \textit{heʔe} ‘(head) hair’
  \item \textit{baʔay} ‘woman’
  \item \textit{hoʔo} ‘tooth’
  \item \textit{cuiʔu} ‘arrow’
\end{itemize}

This pattern is not true of polymorphemic stems like the kinship term in (65) below:

(65) Lack of vowel harmony across /ʔ/ in polymorphemic stem

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{máʔe}n
  \item \textit{maʔe}n
  \item \textit{3c-father-PAT} ‘his father’
\end{itemize}

Compare example (65) above, which shows that cross-glottal vowel harmony does not operate across a morpheme boundary, with the form \textit{meʔe}n 2-father-PAT ‘your father’, which shows the /i/ \rightarrow [e] lowering rule does apply across morpheme boundaries.
2.6.1.2. Assimilatory variants of the epenthetic/default vowel

The epenthetic/default vowel of Southern Pomo is not properly an example of vowel harmony, but one of its allomorphs might be analyzed as an instance of vowel harmony, and the other allomorphs have a distribution that hints at assimilatory origins. Southern Pomo shares with Kashaya Pomo a most unusual epenthetic vowel. Indeed, the predictable distributions of the peculiar variants of this vowel (nearly identical in both languages) have led to Buckley’s terming it the “crazy rule” (Buckley 2004). This vowel is here labeled as epenthetic/default because it is not clear that all of its occurrences are synchronic instances of epenthesis. Oswalt distinguishes between a vowel, which he symbolizes as ˘, that only surfaces after consonants according to the distributions laid out in (i-iv) below and an epenthetic vowel that only follows patterns seen in (i) and (iv) (1976: 20).

(i) |V| → [a] after /m/ and /ak/

[?]ehkʰéman (H ms.)
?ehkʰeman
||?ehkʰ-e-m-Vn| → [?eh.‘kʰ.e.man]
/?ehkʰ-e-m-an/
move.body-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move across!’

[?]ekʰ:ékan (H ms.)
?ekʰ:ekan
||?ekʰ:e-ak-Vn| → [?ek.‘kʰ.e.kan]
/?ekʰ:e-k-an/
move.body-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out! (sp[eaker] in[side])’
(ii) $||V|| \rightarrow [u]$ after /d/

\[?ek^h:e\text{-}dun\quad (H\text{ ms.})\]
\[?ek^h:edun\]
\[||?ek^h:e\text{-}ad\text{-}Vn|| \rightarrow [?ek.'k^h:e.dun]\]
\[/?ek^h:e\text{-}d\text{-}un/\]
move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move along, towards me!’

(iii) $||V|| \rightarrow [o]$ after /ok/

\[?ek^h:o\text{-}kon\quad (H\text{ ms.})\]
\[?ek^h:ekon\]
\[||?ek^h:e\text{-}ok\text{-}Vn|| \rightarrow [?ek.'k^h:e.kon]\]
\[/?ek^h:e\text{-}k\text{-}on/\]
move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eaker] out[side])’

(iv) $||V|| \rightarrow [i]$ elsewhere

\[?ek^h:e\text{-}lme\text{'c}in\quad (H\text{ ms.})\]
\[?ek^h:elme\text{'c}in\]
\[||?ek^h:e\text{-}alame\text{'c}\text{-}Vn|| \rightarrow [?ek.^h:e.lme.'t\text{'c}in]\]
\[/?ek^h:e\text{-}lme\text{'c}\text{-}in/\]
move.body-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move down from above!’

Suffixes which have an underlying $||V||$ that surfaces according to (i-iv) above include $||-Vn||$ SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE and $||-Vn||$ SAME.SUBJECT.SIMULTANEOUS (these suffixes are homophonous but distributionally distinct: the former is restricted to main verbs; the latter is restricted to dependent verbs). Oswalt states that the epenthetic vowel that developed to break certain consonant clusters in Western Pomoan (a branch which includes Southern Pomo) and other Pomoan languages only surfaces according to (i) and (iv) above (Oswalt 1976: 20). However, this assertion is perhaps a diachronic truth that is not synchronically true in Southern
There are no doubt instances of [i] and [a] in the language which can be traced back to an earlier epenthetic vowel (possible examples of which are discussed later in this section). But it is also possibly the case that all modern instances of an epenthetic vowel do follow (i-iv) above, and ||V|| would therefore be the epenthetic vowel in a synchronic description of Southern Pomo. There are therefore two possible analyses: (1) ||V|| is the retention of an older vowel that is now morpheme-specific and can only surface after consonants as one of four vowel qualities on the basis of preceding phonemes; (2) ||V|| is really the default epenthetic vowel and is not morpheme-specific.

The \textit{conditional} is a good example of a morpheme that might be analyzed as either vowel-initial (and therefore as having ||V|| as its first underlying segment) or not vowel-initial, in which case the vowel which precedes it when it is suffixed to a consonant-final stem is purely epenthetic. It has the following allomorphs in my database (others possibly await discovery):

1. /-o:ba/ after an underlying ||-ok-|| (which surfaces as /-k-/)
   
   \begin{itemize}
   \item [ʔ]ekʰ:ekó:ba?wa?máya (H ms.)
   \item ?ekʰ:e-k-o:ba=?wa=?maya
   \item /ʔekʰ:e-k-o:ba=?wa=?maya/
   \item move.body-\textsc{dir-\textsc{cond}=\textsc{cop, evid}=2pl, \textsc{agt}}
   \item ‘ye ought to move out!’
   \end{itemize}

2. /-a:ba/ after /m/
   
   duhsuma:ba (H EA: 46a)
   
   duhsuma:ba
   /duhsum-a:ba/
   quit-\textsc{cond}
   ‘he would stop’
čoh:omá:ba
(H VI: 13)
čoh:oma:ba
/m/lohl:om-a:ba/
marry-COND
‘ought to marry him’

(3) /-u:ba/ after /d/

[ʔ]á:šim:dú:ba
(H II: 4)
?ašim?du:ba
/?a:ši-m?d-u:ba/ or /?a:ši-m?du:-ba/82
name-?-COND
name-?-COND
‘he should name’

(4) /-i:ba/ after other consonants

[ʔ]ahnaṭi:ba?ká?ma
(H ms.)
?aḥnaṭi:ba?ka?ma
/ʔa-hnaṭ-i:baʔkaʔma/
with.leg-try-COND=INTER=2SG.AGT
‘are you going to try it w[ith] heel?’

(6) /-ːba/ after vowels

mitːi:ba
(H ms.)
/mitːi:-ba/
lie-COND
‘ought to lie [down]’

Oswalt lists the reconstructed morpheme from which the Southern Pomo conditional suffix descends as *-..ba... (the dots represent additional, unknown phonological material); he lists the Southern Pomo reflex as -ːba (i.e. not vowel-initial), but the reflex of the same morpheme in Kashaya is given with an initial ū-,

82 The stem for ‘to name’ is ʔahši-. Oswalt lists the forms <?a*$im?du> ʔašim?du ‘to call off names’ (O D: ED) and <?a*$im?dun> ‘Name them!’ (O D: AB), but he provides no glossing. I am unsure of the meaning contributed by the morheme(s) -m?du- ~ -m?d-, though the sequence is strikingly similar to /-med-/, the post-vocalic allomorph of the durative in Kashaya Pomo (Buckley 1994: 249-250). If it is cognate with the Kashaya morpheme, then there is a strong case to be made that the [u] in ʔašim?du:ba ‘he should name’ is part of the conditional suffix and not the preceding morpheme.
his symbol for what is herein written as \(|V|\) (Oswalt 1976: 25). The allomorphs of the Southern Pomo conditional listed above need only add an instance of \([-a:ba]\) after /ak/ in order to show the same distribution as the \(|V|\) (as seen in the singular imperative), and this missing form is surely an accidental gap in the database from which these examples were drawn. If Oswalt considers the Southern Pomo conditional to be without an initial vowel, \(|-:ba\|\) instead of \(|-V:ba\|\), then the epenthetic vowel of Southern Pomo would be identical to \(|V|\) if his segmenting of the morpheme is correct.

This grammar chooses a middle path: the likelihood that the \(|V|\) of several morphemes is really an epenthetic vowel and that other instances of otherwise unexpected vowels which conform to the peculiar surface variants of \(|V|\) (e.g. [a] after /m/ or /ak/ and [u] after /d/) might also be epenthetic is not denied; however, those suffixes which have consonantal segments which may be separated from the final consonant of a preceding morpheme by \(|V|\) are treated as though \(|V|\) is an inseparable initial segment, one which counts toward the total number of underlying syllables in a word.

The question of whether or not \(|V|\) is an epenthetic vowel or a peculiar vowel attached only to particular morphemes is less important than the recognition that several final-position morphemes (TAM suffixes on main verbs and switch-reference suffixes on dependent verbs) have a vowel the quality of which is entirely
predictable on the basis of preceding underlying phonemes with little sound phonetic motivation for the variants.\footnote{Buckley posits that these variants have diverse origins: the ||V|| → [a] / /ak/__ and ||V|| → [o] / /ok/ (which Buckley handles in a different way) are assimilatory; the ||V|| → [a] / /m/__ and ||V|| → [u] / /d/__ arose at different times, but both developed from phonological changes where final vowels were deleted at some point in the past and only resurfaced when another morpheme was suffixed, thus *...-ma > [...-m]#/ but *...-ma-C... remained [...ma-C...] (the same later for [u] after /d/), and, because of the frequency of the suffixes with the segments /ma/ and /du/, speakers reanalyzed the resurfacing vowels on the basis of the preceding phonemes and not the morphemes of which they were a part (Buckley 2004).}

An understanding of the surface variants of ||V|| is critical in deciphering suffixes that might otherwise surface as homophones (e.g. the previous examples with /-k-/ in ||ʔekʰ:e-ok-Vn|| → ?ekʰ:ekon ‘move out! (speaker outside)’ and ||ʔekʰ:e-ak-Vn|| → ?ekʰ:ekan ‘move out! (speaker inside)’). This vowel interacts with other sound changes to produce otherwise inexplicable allomorphy, the most unusual of which involves the free variation between [I] and [m] in stem-final position before a vowel-initial suffix (covered below in the discussion on consonant allomorphy).

Outside of final position suffixes like those discussed above, there are several affixes and roots which have vowels that might have arisen through epenthesis. Several irregular verbs, such as ?ahti- ‘to put foot’ and ?ahpʰi- ‘to carry’, seem to have developed their root vowel through epenthesis for it only surfaces before consonant-initial suffixes, such as -mač- ‘in from outside’ and -čič- ‘start’\footnote{This suffix is probably composed of the semelfactive and the reflexive and has either an inchoative meaning, as it does here, or a purely reflexive meaning.} (e.g. ?ahti-may ‘put foot-in from outside’ and ?ahpʰi-čiy ‘carry-to start’), but does not surface before vowel-initial suffixes, such as –ala- and –akač- (e.g. haṭ:-ala-w ‘put
foot-down-PFV’ and ?apʰi-akay ‘carry-up’). As is discussed in the section on vowel deletion (§2.6.2.), if [i] were historically present in all forms of the roots of these stems, the expected allomorphs of the vowel-initial suffixes -ala- and -akač- would begin with [l] and [k] respectively.

Southern Pomo verb stems show a great deal of allomorphy, some of which is partially phonologically predictable, some of which is morphologically conditioned, and some of which cannot be predicted on any level. The verb stems for ?ahpʰi- ‘to carry’, ?ehkʰe- ‘to move body’, ?ahča- ‘to fly’, and ?ahtʰi- ‘to put the foot’, which have been used throughout this section, are good examples of this complex allomorphy. Each of these verbs begins with glottal-initial syllables, which are actually the instrumental prefixes ||ha-|| ‘by leg, arm, wing’ (in ‘to carry’, ‘to fly’, and ‘to put the foot’) and ||hi-|| ‘with the body’ (in ‘to move body’). Table (21) gives all of the stem allomorphs for these verbs together with a simplified explanation of their distribution. Note that the forms in || || given thus far for these verbs have been a simplification (the prefixes have not been segmented off of the verbs and the allomorphs in each example have been treated as underlying), but they are fully segmented in the table and in all examples hereafter.

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85 This is a simplification. There is a great deal of morphologically conditioned verb stem allomorphy, such as ?ahtʰi- vs. hača- that complicates the picture for some verbs.
Table (21): Sample of verb stem allomorphy of glottal-initial verb stems

| Underlying forms | ||ha-hpʰi-|| | ||ha-hča-|| | ||ha-hṭi-|| | ||hi-hkʰe-|| |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
1 Before C-initial suffixes | /ʔa-hpʰi-/ | /ʔa-hča-/ | /ʔa-hṭi-/ | /ʔe-hkʰe-/ |
2 Before V-initial suffixes (e.g. -aywaʔ- ‘against’ and those with /d/) | /ʔa-pʰ:e-/ | /ha-č:a/- | /ha-ʔ:-/ | /ʔe-kʰ:e-/ |
3 Before other V-initial suffixes | /ʔa-pʰ:-/ | /ha-č:a/- | /ha-ʔ:-/ | /ʔe-kʰ:e-/ |

Some verb roots have vowel-less allomorphs, as seen for ‘to carry’ and ‘to put foot’ in Table (21) above. As has already been mentioned, the vowel [i] of the root allomorphs of ‘to carry’ and ‘to put foot’ found before consonant-initial suffixes almost surely originated as an epenthetic vowel. As seen in the distribution of ||V||, [i] is the default (or at least the surface variant with the widest distribution), and Buckley treats [i] as the default vowel for epenthesis in Kashaya (subject to similar alternations seen in Southern Pomo ||V||) (1994: 32-34, 103-105). However, vowel epenthesis in roots is rejected as a synchronic analysis because speakers must learn unpredictable verb stem allomorphy (such as the variant with [e] as the root vowel in ‘to carry’) that cannot be explained with epenthesis whether or not a subset of otherwise irregular verbs can be explained through historic epenthesis, and there is no compelling reason to believe that Southern Pomo speakers learn the

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86 There is additional allomorphy with the addition of the plural act affix, but such allomorphy is built upon the allomorphy given in the table (i.e. the various plural act allomorphs cannot be predicted unless the prefixes have already been attached to the verb).
[i] as anything more than an integral part of the root, albeit an irregular one on par with the other irregularities found in verbs.

2.6.1.3. Vowel assimilation after /ok/

The foregoing discussion of the default vowel only relates to vowel harmony in that one variant of ||V||, specifically [o], is conditioned by a preceding /ok/. The factual evidential\(^87\) suffix ||-a|| has three allomorphs, one of which patterns like ||V|| in that its vowel also surfaces as [o] after /ok/:

(i) ||-a|| → [-wa] /V_

(ii) ||-a|| → [-o] / /ok/_

(iii) ||-a|| → [-a] elsewhere

At first blush the [o] variants of the default vowel ||V|| and the factual evidential suffix ||-a|| appear to be examples of vowel assimilation across a consonant to a preceding vowel. The facts are more complex, however. This [o] allomorph has a wider distribution than has thus far been stated and actually occurs in at least three specific environments: (1) after verb stems ending in /-ok/ or /-ok/; (2) after directional suffixes which end in /-ok/; (3) after the directional

\(^{87}\) This is the evidential suffix that Oswalt transcribes as -\textipa{wa}- and which he identifies as the factual-indicative/visual evidential suffix in Southern Pomo (1976: 25). Oswalt’s symbol <\textipa{w}> stands for a [w] that only surfaces after vowels. I believe this is the same suffix that was originally applied to an ancient verb ‘to be’ (which might be reconstructed as *ʔe) and thus took the [w]-initial allomorph [*ʔe-wa] before the vowel of this verb was lost to syncope and the resultant combination ([=ʔwa] after vowels, [=wa] after consonants) was reanalyzed by speakers as a single morpheme with both ‘be’-like and evidential-like properties, hence the gloss EVIDENTIAL.COPULA for this enclitic.
suffix ||-ok-|| ‘out (speaker outside)’, which has several allomorphs, all of which condition a following ||V|| or the factual evidential ||-a|| to surface as [o].

This last environment, that after the directional suffix for ‘out (speaker outside)’ is the most problematic. In Kashaya the cognates for the Southern Pomo suffixes ||-ok-|| ‘out (speaker inside)’ and ||-mok-|| ‘in (speaker inside)’ have /a/ rather than /o/ yet still condition a following default vowel to surface as [o]. Oswalt states that the Southern Pomo forms for these suffixes are –ok- and –mok- respectively, whereas he transcribes the Kashaya cognate forms as –Xâoq- and –maq- (1976: 23). It is because these Kashaya forms cannot be analyzed as simply containing an underlying /ok/ within them that an analysis of the conditioning environment for [o] variants is more problematic than it is in Southern Pomo. Buckley handles this difficulty in Kashaya by positing an elegant analysis with an underlying [qʷ] to which a following vowel assimilates in rounding, an analysis which forces the creation of an underlying phoneme that never surfaces anywhere in the language, which, though not an ideal solution, is necessitated by the fact that no other analysis works for Kashaya, and the [o] variants would otherwise therefore be unpredictable (1994: 105-113). The principal need for such an abstract analysis for this phenomenon in Kashaya is the lack of a rounded vowel in any surface realizations (and, in Buckley’s analysis, any underlying representation) in the two directional suffixes which are cognate with Southern Pomo ||-ok-|| and ||-mok-||.

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88 Kashaya /q/ corresponds to Southern Pomo /k/.
The situation in Southern Pomo is not quite as complex as in Kashaya, and there is therefore no need to posit an underlying rounded dorsal obstruent to deal with the rounded variants of ||V|| and ||-a||. However, the case of ||-ok-|| ‘out (speaker)’ is not quite as straightforward as that of ||-mok-|| ‘in (speaker inside)’.

The vowel of this suffix is often deleted according to vowel deletion rules described later ($\S$2.6.2.). This suffix is therefore homophonous with the suffix ||-ak-|| ‘out (speaker inside)’ in many situations (both surfaceing as /-k-/), and it is solely the quality of the vowel of the following morpheme (if that morpheme begins with ||V|| or is the factual evidential suffix ||-a||) that distinguishes between them. The opacity of the conditioning environment for ||V|| and ||-a|| variants leaves the entire functional load for the identification of the preceding morpheme on these vowels.

Examples (66) and (67) provide two forms of the verb ||hi-hkʰe-|| ‘to move the body’ which differ in only one morpheme, ||-ak-|| ‘out (speaker inside)’ versus ||-ok-|| ‘out (speaker outside)’, but in which the differing morphemes are homophonous and can only be distinguished by the quality of ||V|| in the singular imperative suffix ||-Vn|| that follows these directionals in each word.

---

89 Oswalt notes that most of the directional suffixes are probably compositional in nature (i.e. built up of a subset of independent affixes), but that it is not useful to attempt synchronic segmentation of these affixes along such historical lines. In the case of ||-mok-|| the second part probably originated as a combination of ||-ok-|| preceded by a bilabial nasal with semantics for ‘in’ (compare modern ||-mač-|| ‘in (speaker outside)’, which shares the same initial consonant). However, the glosses which I use do not quite line up with such a diachronic origin, and they also differ from Oswalt’s broad glosses (given for Southern Pomo and sister languages). I follow Halpern’s glossing of ||-ok-|| and ||-mač-|| as being reserved for use by a speaker who is outside, and ||-ak-|| and ||-mok-|| as being used by a speaker who is inside; Oswalt pairs ||-ok-|| and ||-mok-|| together as being ‘hither’ (as in ‘out hither’ and ‘in hither’) and ||-ak-|| and ||-mač-|| as ‘hence’ (as in ‘out hence’ and ‘in hence’), a glossing that might be true for Kashaya or etymologically correct; however, it is at odds with all of Halpern’s handwritten glosses as he worked with Annie Burke (Oswalt 1976: 23).
(66) ||-ak-|| ‘out (speaker inside)’ surfacing as /-k-/  

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékan (H ms.)  
ʔekʰ:ekan  
||hi-hkʰ-e-ak-Vn||  
/?ʔ-e-kʰ:e-k-an/  
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP  
‘move out (sp[eker] in[side])[!]’

(67) ||-ok-|| ‘out (speaker outside)’ surfacing as /-k-/  

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékon (H ms.)  
ʔekʰ:ekon  
||hi-hkʰ-e-ok-Vn||  
/?ʔ-e-kʰ:e-k-on/  
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP  
‘move out (sp[eker] out[side])[!]’

The process whereby the initial vowels of the directional suffixes in the above examples are deleted is explained in the following section.

2.6.2. Vowel deletion

When two underlying vowels come together, the second is deleted with no effect on the quality or quantity of the remaining vowel. This is most clearly observed in a large number of directional suffixes which begin with a vowel. These suffixes can only surface with their initial vowel when affixed to a consonant-final stem, as shown in (68) and (69).

---

90 This is quite unlike the case for neighboring Kashaya Pomo. Buckely states that “Root Elision...changes a sequence of two vowels to a single long vowel” in Kashaya, and his examples include /a/-initial suffixes cognate with those of Southern Pomo (Buckely 1994: 184).
(68) \( V \rightarrow \emptyset / V \_ \) with vowel-initial directional suffixes

\[
\begin{align*}
[ʔ]ek^{h}ː\text{elan} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ʔek}^{h}ː\text{elan} & \\
\|\text{hi-hkːe-ala-Vn}\| & \rightarrow [ʔek.'k^{h}e.lan] \\
/\text{ʔe-}k^{h}ː\text{e-la-n}/ & \\
\text{with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP} & \\
'1 \text{ move down!}'
\end{align*}
\]

(69) \( V \rightarrow \emptyset / V \_ \) with vowel-initial directional suffixes

\[
\begin{align*}
[ʔ]ap^{[h]}ː\text{čːin} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ʔap}^{h}ː\text{čːin} & \\
\|\text{ha-hpʰe-aduč-Vn}\| & \rightarrow [ʔap.'pʰe.tʃin] \\
/\text{ʔap}^{h}ː\text{čː-.in}/ & \\
\text{carry-DIR-SG.IMP} & \\
'\text{carry it away!}'
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the foregoing examples with the combinations of vowel-initial suffix and consonant-final verb stem in (70) below.

(70) Preservation of initial vowel after consonant-final verb stem

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hwá}l\text{aw} & \quad \text{(H I: 6)} \\
\text{hwalaw} & \\
\|\text{hu:w-ala-w}\| & \rightarrow ['\text{hwa.law}] \\
/\text{hw-ala-w}/ & \\
\text{go-DIR-PFV} & \\
'\text{went down}'
\end{align*}
\]

The process of vowel deletion after another vowel is not further considered in §2.6.2.1. on syncope: there is no difference between light syllables which descend from an earlier \( V_{1}+V_{2} \rightarrow V_{1} \) process and those which descend from an original short vowel. (However, to avoid this complication, all examples of light syllable avoidance
in the following section make use of either consonant-initial directional suffixes or consonant-final verb stems.)

2.6.2.1. Vowel syncope

Vowel syncope is one of the most characteristic features of Southern Pomo phonology. Polymorphemic grammatical words with four or more underlying syllables lose a syllable to syncope if two or three light syllables abut one another. In order to prevent two light syllables coming together, one is lost to syncope and has its onset resyllabified as the coda of the preceding light syllable. Both CVC and CVV syllables are heavy in the language. All Southern Pomo words (with the exception of a small number of grammatical morphemes like yo- ~ =yo- aux) must begin with a heavy syllable, and final syllables are extrametrical with regard to syncope, and such a deletion therefore is not necessary when two light syllables end a word. The two aforementioned facts drastically reduce the number of logically possible heavy and short syllable combinations in the language. Table (22) lists the attested patterns of heavy and light syllables found in verbs. Only words of one to four syllables have been found (or not found) in sufficient numbers to be confident of the patterns; however, the verbs of five syllables which have been analyzed are also suggestive of this pattern.\footnote{The only heavy and light syllable patterns which are not to be found in verbs are the following: L (restricted to grammatical words); H (some grammatical words and a tiny number of nouns), HL (perhaps the commonest shape of common nouns); LL (a possible combination for the vocative of some kinship terms, though these forms might actually be HL-LH, and the evidence is unclear). \footnote{In other words, my databases have not been coded for this phenomenon, and it is quite possible that the verb paradigms I have consulted do not contain all of the possible five-syllable...}}
Table (22): Attested surface patterns of heavy and light syllables in verbs (H = CVC and CVV, L = CV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>σ</th>
<th>σσ</th>
<th>σσσ</th>
<th>σσσσ</th>
<th>σσσσσ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>HH</td>
<td>HHH</td>
<td>HHHH</td>
<td>HHHHHL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
<td>HHLHL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HLL</td>
<td>HLH</td>
<td>HLH</td>
<td>HLH</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HLHL</td>
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<tr>
<td>HHL</td>
<td>HHHH</td>
<td>HHHL</td>
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<td>HHHH</td>
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<td>HHHL</td>
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<td>HLHL</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
<td>HHLH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HHLHL</td>
<td>HHLHL</td>
<td>HLHHL</td>
<td>HLHHL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with two underlying non-final light syllables undergoing syncope are given below with the verbs ṭehkʰe- ‘to move (body)’, ṭahča- ‘to fly’, ṭahṭi- ‘to move the foot’, and ṭahpʰi- ‘to carry’.⁹⁴

(71) H₁,L₁,L₃,H₄ → H₁,H₂,H₄

[ʔ]ehkʰémcën (H ms.)
ʔehkʰemčin
||hi-hkʰe-mač-Vn|| → [ʔeh.kʰem.tʃin]
/ʔe-hkʰe-mč-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move in (speaker outside)!’

(72) H₁,L₂,L₁₄ → H₁,H₂,L₄

[ʔ]ahčámko (H ms.)
ʔahčamko
||ha-hča-mok-al|| → [ʔah.tʃam.ko]
/ʔahča-mk-o/
fly-DIR-EVID
‘flew into’

combinations of heavy and light syllables, though my analysis makes strong predictions that no five-syllable words should allow two light syllables, neither of which is the final syllable, to surface adjacent to each other. I expect to find HHHHH, HLHHL, HHHLH, HLHHL, HLHHL, and HHLHH forms as I continue to search my data.

⁹⁰ A few very frequent verbs, such as čiʔet- ~ ʔi(=) ‘to do, make’ allow an optional monosyllabic form with a suffixed coda in rapid speech (e.g. či-w make-PFV).

⁹⁴ These four verbs have been selected because I have found fairly full paradigms for them in which they show many of the same suffixes.
As already stated, two light syllables may surface together only when one is final (and therefore extrametrical), as in (75) below.

(75) HHLL verb with extrametrical final light syllable (HHL< L>)

\[
\begin{align*} 
\text{hačačbiča} & \quad (H\ ms.) \\
\text{hačačbiča} & \\
\text{||ha-hča-t-bič-a|} & \Rightarrow [\text{ha}:tjať.\biča] \\
/\text{hača-č-bič-a}/ & \\
\text{fly-PL.ACT-raise-EVID} & \\
\text{‘took off (1 by 1)’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[95\] This verb has an irregular root, as shown earlier in Table (9) of §2.6.1.2., and I have chosen to represent this irregular root as ||-ht-|| despite its always occurring with a transcremental suffix and therefore surfacing without /h/ as /-t-/:; the same is true of the root ||-hpʰ-|| in /apʰ:almeč‘in ‘[carry] down from above[!]’
Southern Pomo primary stress is always on the penult, and the examples given above make clear that deletion of light syllables is not due to synchronic stress-assignment needs: both heavy and light penultimate syllables may bear stress. More importantly, in forms like those in (73) and (74) above, where HLLLH may be changed to HHLH or HLHH, it is clear that heavy syllables are neither necessary nor preferred for the assignment of penultimate stress. Stress, therefore, is not a factor in the choice of which light syllable’s vowel to delete.

Though both H₁L₂L₃L₄H₅ → H₁H₂L₄H₅ (as in ||ha-hṭ:i-mokoč-Vn|| → ʔahtimkočin ‘[put foot] back[!]’) and H₁L₂L₃L₄H₅ → H₁L₂H₁H₅ (as in ||ha-hṭ-alokoč’-Vn|| → haṭalokč’in ’[move foot] up out of[!]’) are attested, it is actually the former, the one that creates an antepenultimate (and therefore unstressed) heavy syllable, that is most frequent in the verb paradigms which were consulted for this analysis. Table (23) gives the number of such forms found in the four verb paradigms.

Table (23): Examples of H₁L₂L₃L₄H₅ → H₁H₂L₄H₅ and H₁L₂L₃L₄H₅ → H₁L₂H₁H₅

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>H₁L₂L₃L₄H₅ → H₁H₂L₄H₅</th>
<th>H₁L₂L₃L₄H₅ → H₁L₂H₁H₅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(O ms.)</td>
<td>ʔahtî- ‘to move foot’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H ms.)</td>
<td>ʔahpʰî- ‘to carry’</td>
<td>2*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H ms.)</td>
<td>ʔehkʰe- ‘to move body’</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(H ms.)</td>
<td>ʔahcha- ‘to fly’</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* One of these forms, ʔapʰeywačin ‘carry right up to’, is not straightforward. Oswalt lists the directional suffix for '[a]gainst, into contact with, onto' in Southern Pomo as -Xayway- in Southern Pomo (Oswalt 1976: 24). The rest of Oswalt’s form for this suffix is more problematic: the final /y/ of the suffix is actually ||č|| and surfaces as such before a vowel-initial suffix (as in this example); the first /y/ of the suffix might also be ||č||, in which case the underlying form of this suffix might be ||-ačVwač-||, in which a vowel separates the palato-alveolar stop from the next consonant, or ||-čVwač-||, in which there is no morpheme-initial vowel to be deleted. For this table, I treat this form as though there were an underlying vowel between the first and second consonants of the surface form /-ywač-/.
There are relatively few examples of either phenomenon in the large paradigms consulted for the above data; however, it is clear that the creation of an antepenultimate heavy syllable instead of a penultimate heavy syllable is possible across the paradigms. If the distribution seen in Table (23) above is representative of all such forms in the language, then there appears to be a strong preference for the preantepenultimate light syllable to become the antepenultimate (and therefore unstressed) heavy syllable. Whatever the actual frequency of both types of syncope throughout the language, syllable weight is obviously not a factor in synchronic stress assignment and the language not only allows light syllables to bear primary stress but possibly favors the creation of an unstressed heavy syllable when vowel deletion could have instead created a stressed heavy syllable.

This peculiar situation is possibly a fossilized pattern from an earlier time when Southern Pomo had a stress system more like Kashaya Pomo, its sister language, or other Pomoan languages. Kashaya stress can be predicted, but the complex processes behind stress assignment make it possible for any of the first five syllables of the stress domain to bear the primary stress. If the complexities of the Kashaya system are peeled away, it can be summarized as an iambic stress system in which stress falls on the nearest well-formed foot from the left edge of the domain: branching iambic feet include (CV CV), (CV CVV), and (CV CVC); non-branching feet include only heavy syllables (CVV) and (CVC); other processes, such as iambic lengthening, make the strong syllables of surface (CV CV) feet which bear stress do so on long vowels (Buckley 1994: 169-191).
The complexities of the Kashaya system are not necessarily those of an earlier stage of Southern Pomo, but the basic facts of the Kashaya system as a weight-sensitive stress system point to the strong possibility that an earlier stage of Southern Pomo (perhaps more recently than the shared common language of both Kashaya and Southern Pomo) might have assigned stress from the left edge of the stress domain on the basis of syllable weight rather than from the right on the basis of syllable count as is the case now. The Kashaya system suggests the possibility of weight sensitivity as an earlier component of stress, but it does not provide clear evidence for why Southern Pomo might prefer to change the second syllable from the left to a heavy syllable.

Moshinsky notes that stress in Proto Pomo was placed on the “first stem syllable”, which is equivalent to the second syllable of most words, and notes that the seven daughter languages have diverged from this system in various ways: Northern, Eastern, and Central Pomo generally retain stress on the same syllables postulated to have been stressed in Proto Pomo, but various sound changes (including loss of initial syllables) render these daughter languages’ stress systems unpredictable synchronically; only Southeastern Pomo and Southern Pomo have regularized their stress systems, and Moshinsky flatly states that the Southern Pomo stress system is “quite aberrant” and results in stress falling on syllables which historically never bore stress (Moshinsky 1976: 56-57). Two patterns, therefore, are to be observed in the other Pomoan languages: (1) weight-sensitive stress (in Kashaya); (2) a preference for stress on the same syllable that bore it in
Proto Pomo, namely, the root syllable, which in Proto Pomo was generally the second syllable from the left edge of the word.

Southern Pomo forms which fall into the H₁L₁L₃H₅ → H₁H₂L₄H₅ category, such as ||ha-hṭi-mokoč-Vn|| → ʔahtimkočin ‘[put foot] back[!]’, which show a preference for the creation of a heavy syllable on the second syllable from the left, might do so because, like Kashaya, an earlier stage of the language had a weight-sensitive stress system and, like Proto Pomo (and several daughter languages), the first syllable of the root (or second syllable from the left) was the one which bore stress. If this is the case, then the synchronic Southern Pomo phenomenon of vowel syncope is a conventionalized process that does nothing more than prevent adjacent light syllables from surfacing and is not otherwise completely predictable.

Thus far the examples of syncope have been restricted to verbs, but the process may also apply to kinship terms in order to avoid sequences of two light syllables (neither of which is final), as shown in (76).

\[(76) \text{H₁L₁L₃H₄} \rightarrow \text{H₁H₂H₄} \text{ in kinship terms}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
mix:á^h₅kʰan & \quad (\text{H VI: 1}) \\
miyaṭʰkʰan & \\
||\text{miy:a-dakʰad-Ø||} & \rightarrow [\text{mij.'jatʰ.kʰan}] \\
/\text{miy:/***/kʰan-Ø/} & \\
3\text{-spouse-AGT} & \\
‘\text{his wife’}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the avoidance of non-final light syllables appears to be inactive on kinship terms with monosyllabic roots in order to protect the root syllable, as seen in example (77).
(77) $H_1L_2L_3L_4$ remaining $H_1L_2L_3L_4$ in kinship term with monosyllabic root

\[
\text{miy:af'iki} \quad (H\text{ VI}: 1)
\]
\[
\text{miy:af'iki}
\]
\[
||\text{miy:a-fi-ki-Ø}|| \to [.mij.ja.'t'i.ki]
\]
\[
/\text{miy:a-fi-ki-Ø}/
\]
3-younger.sibling-GS-AGT
‘his y[ounger] bro[ther]’

Syncope is also prevalent in word classes other than verbs and kinship terms, though its application in them is not based on syllable weight. Nominal compounds and reduplicated adjectives and reduplicated verb stems (independent of the syllable-weight-based phenomena given above) lose the vowel of the first syllable of the second element to syncope, as shown in (78) – (80).

(78) $\sigma_1\sigma_2 + \sigma_3\sigma_4 \to \sigma_1\sigma_2\sigma_4$ in compound nouns

\[
\text{muhway?mi} \quad (O\text{ ms.})
\]
\[
\text{muhway?mi}
\]
\[
||\text{muhway + ?im:i}|| \to [\text{muh.'way?.mi}]
\]
\[
/\text{muhway-?mi}/
\]
\text{fawn-black.berry}
‘strawberry’

\[
\?ahkʰap'taka \quad (O\text{ ms.})
\]
\[
\?ahkʰap'taka
\]
\[
||\?ahkʰa + bu:ṭaka|| \to [.?ah.kʰap.'ta.ka]
\]
\[
/\text{?ahkʰa-pṭaka}/
\]
\text{water-bear}
‘sea lion’
(79) \(\sigma_1 \sigma_2 + \sigma_3 \sigma_4 \rightarrow \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_4\) in reduplicated adjectives

\[p^{h}al:ap^{h}la \quad (H \text{ ms.})\]
\[p^{h}al:ap^{h}la\]
\|[p^{h}al:a + p^{h}al:a] \rightarrow [p^{h}al.'ap^{h}.la]\]
\[/p^{h}al:a-p^{h}la/\]
each-each
‘[various]’\(^{97}\)

\[baht^{h}ep^{h}e \quad (W: \text{ OF})\]
\[baht^{h}ep^{h}e\]
\|[baht^{h}e + baht^{h}e] \rightarrow [bah.'t^{h}ep.t^{h}e]\]
\[/baht^{h}e-p^{h}e/\]
big._COLL._big._COLL.
‘huge’

(80) \(\sigma_1 \sigma_2 + \sigma_3 \sigma_4 \rightarrow \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_4\) in reduplicated verb stems

\[p^{h}oht^{t}p^{t}tow \quad (H \text{ VII:2})\]
\[p^{h}uht^{t}p^{t}tow\]
\|[p^{h}u-h^{t}o-p^{h}u-h^{t}o-w] \rightarrow [p^{h}uh.'t^{t}p.t^{t}ow]\]
\[/p^{h}uht^{t}o-p^{h}uht^{t}o-w/\]
boil~_ITER._PFV
‘boils’

These two types of word-internal vowel deletion are motivated by different considerations: verbs and kinship terms delete vowels to avoid two or more light syllables surfacing together word-medially, whereas two grammatical words (noun, adjective, verb stem) which come together through compounding or reduplication lose the vowel of the first syllable of the second grammatical word despite that vowel always being in an underlying heavy syllable. Though the two syncope processes operate in different ways, they both tend to produce the same result (though not absolutely so), namely, the second syllable from the left edge tends to

\(^{97}\) The form \(p^{h}ala\) ‘each; also’ is derived from \(p^{h}ula\) ‘also, too’.
become heavy after syncope has taken place. Again, this is not always the case and cannot be used as descriptive option for unifying the two processes. But it is possible that the syncope seen in compounding and reduplication is also a relic from a time when Southern Pomo stress was not penultimate and regular but weight-sensitive and root-borne.

2.6.3. Consonant alternations

With the exception of some morpheme-specific allophony in the instrumental prefixes, consonant alternations are most commonly encountered in syllables other than the first and second syllables of a grammatical word.

2.6.3.1. Stops (plosives and affricates)

Ejective stops are the only voiceless stops which are allowed in final position on phonological words. With the exception of /č/ and /č'/, which show some unique phonological alternations, voiceless stops must surface as ejectives in phonological-word-final position whether or not they are underlying ejectives. Example (81) gives two verb stems, šuhnať- ‘to try by pulling’ and kahsak- ‘to desert’, which have a non-ejective final voiceless stop surface as an ejective in word-final position.
(81) Non-ejective stop surfacing as an ejective word-finally

\[\text{šuhnáťin} \text{(H VIII:4)} \quad \text{šúhnať} \text{(H VIII:4)}\]

\[\text{šuhnaťin} \quad \text{šuhnať}\]

\[||\text{šu-hnať-\text{-vn}}|| \quad ||\text{šu-hnať-\text{-Ø}}||\]

\[/\text{šu-hnať-in}/ \quad /\text{šu-hnať-\text{-Ø}}/\]

\[\text{by.pulling-try-SG.IMP} \quad \text{by.pulling-try-PFV}\]

\[\text{‘try (to pull)!’} \quad \text{‘he tries to pull’}\]

\[\text{kahsaka} \text{(O I: 25D)} \quad \text{kahsak} \text{(O I: 14)}\]

\[\text{kahsaka} \quad \text{kahsak}\]

\[||\text{kahsak-\text{-al}}|| \quad ||\text{kahsak-\text{-Ø}}||\]

\[/\text{kahsak-a}/ \quad /\text{kahsak-\text{-Ø}}/\]

\[\text{desert-EVID} \quad \text{desert-PFV}\]

\[\text{‘deserted’} \quad \text{‘deserting’}\]

Compare the stems above with the verb stem \text{him:oč-} ‘to fall’ in (82) below, which has an underlying ejective stop as the stem-final segment.

(82) Ejective stop surfacing both medially and word-finally

\[\langle \text{him*oč’ō} \rangle \text{(O D: EA)} \quad \langle \text{him*oč’} \rangle \text{(O D: ED)}\]

\[\text{him:očko} \quad \text{him:očk}\]

\[||\text{him:očk-\text{-al}}|| \quad ||\text{him:očk-\text{-Ø}}||\]

\[/\text{him:očk-o}/ \quad /\text{him:očk-\text{-Ø}}/\]

\[\text{fall-EVID} \quad \text{fall-PFV}\]

\[\text{‘fell down’} \quad \text{‘to fall over (of person)’}\]

Alternations between word-medial plain stops and word-final ejective stops are attested for /t/, /t/, and /k/; there are no /p/-final morphemes which can surface in final position within a phonological word.

This cross-linguistically unusual distribution in which only ejective plosives may surface word-finally has a plausible diachronic explanation. Neighboring Kashaya Pomo has a morpheme (the so-called ‘assertive’) which takes the form /-ʔ/
after vowels (e.g. hayu-ʔ ‘it is a dog’). When this morpheme is added to a stem ending in a consonant, it combines with the final consonant to produce a glottalized consonant (thus ||mihyoq-ʔ|| ‘woodrat-ASSERTIVE’ → [mih.ˈjoq] ‘it is a woodrat’); however, when a word with a final plain plosive does not have the assertive added to it, its final consonant debuccalizes to [ʔ] (thus ||mihyoq|| ‘woodrat’ → [mih.ˈjoʔ]). Words with underlying ejective stops do not undergo debuccalization and they are suspected of descending from earlier combinations of final consonants and the assertive (Buckley 1994: 99-103).

Compare the foregoing Kashaya forms for ‘woodrat’ and ‘it is a woodrat’ with the cognate Southern Pomo word mihyoq [ˈmih.jok] ‘woodrat’, which has no form corresponding to the assertive in Kashaya.南方Pomo might have gone through a stage during which a cognate to the Kashaya assertive was applied so often to final stops that speakers reanalyzed word-final glottalization as an obligatory feature of the language and glottalization was applied to new environments. Eventually the over-application of the glottal feature would have erased all semantic force for the assertive and all words with final voiceless plosives would have surfaced as ejectives as the new default.

The phonemes /č/ and /č’/ behave differently in word-final position than the voiceless plosives of Southern Pomo; they also behave differently than the other affricate that may occur word-finally, /č/, which undergoes no changes in any position. Both /č/ and /č’/ become /y/ [j] in word final position, as shown in (83)

---

98 The combination mihyoq=wa ‘woodrat=COP,EVID’, if it were to be found in the records, would presumably provide the same semantics as the Kashaya form and mean roughly ‘it is a woodrat’.
and (84), where morphemes with /č/ and /č'/ are shown in both final and non-final position.

(83) Examples of /č/ and /č'/ \(\to \) [j]/_-#

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi:may</td>
<td>[ˈmiː.maj]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi:mač-Ø/</td>
<td>cry-PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'she cries'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čaʔemhuy</td>
<td>(W ms.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/čaʔfe-mhuč-Ø/</td>
<td>fight-RECIP-PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'to fight'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(84) The same morphemes with /č/ and /č'/ surfacing before a vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>TRANSCRIPTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi:mačen</td>
<td>(O I: 9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimacen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi:mač-en/</td>
<td>cry-D.SIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'crying'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daʔamč'iʔya</td>
<td>(H I: 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daʔamč'iʔya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/daʔa-mč'-i=ʔya/</td>
<td>encounter-RECIP-HORTATIVE=1PL.AGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'let’s meet together'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The switch-reference suffix ||-en|| has the allomorph [-wen] after vowels; I treat the form without the labiovelar approximant as basic. The [w] that surfaces after vowels is a fossilized allomorph of the perfective suffix. At one point, this switch-reference suffix attached after TAM suffixes. Later, speakers reanalyzed the perfective suffix that only surfaced between a vowel-final stem and the switch-reference suffix ||-en|| as a part of the switch-reference morpheme. Because the switch-reference suffix ||-en|| was originally only vowel-initial, it behaves as an underlyingly vowel-initial suffix. Thus the palato-alveolar affricate of 'cry' may surface before it.
There are three words which inexplicably do not conform to the above statements and do surface with a final palato-alveolar affricate, albeit only an ejective one: heć‘nail; claw’; ?ahsić‘hard; difficult’; kʰaʔbekʰač‘raptor species’. These words are unlikely to be recent borrowings; heć‘nail; claw’, for example, can be reconstructed for Proto Pomo (McLendon 1973: 70). In the absence of a clear explanation for these anomalous forms, they must be set aside as aberrancies.

The voiced plosive /d/ behaves in a different way than the other stops in morpheme-final position. (The other voiced stop, /b/, does not appear in this position.) Oswalt states that Southern Pomo /d/ becomes [n] “syllable-finally” (1976: 21). The data show that this is true of underlying syllable structure, as seen in the allomorphy for the root ||-kod-|| ‘sister’s husband’ and the suffix ||-aded-|| ‘hear and there’ in (85) and (86) below.

(85) Alternation between [d] and [n] in the root ||-kod-|| ‘sister’s husband’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mak}\text{:odan} & \quad (O\ I:13) \\
\text{mak\textasciitilde{c}odan} & \\
||\text{maH-kod-an}|| & \rightarrow [\text{mak}.'\text{ko.dan}] \\
/\text{ma-k\textasciitilde{c}od-an}/ & \\
3\text{-sister’s husband-PAT} & \\
\text{‘her own brother-in-law’} & \\
\text{miy}\text{:akon} & \quad (O\ I:14) \\
\text{miy\textasciitilde{c}akon} & \\
||\text{miy:a-kod-Ø}|| & \rightarrow [\text{miy}.\text{ja.kon}] \\
/\text{miy:a-kon-Ø}/ & \\
3\text{-sister’s husband-AGT} & \\
\text{‘the sister’s husband’} & 
\end{align*}
\]
(86) Alternation between [d] and [n] in the suffix ||-aded-|| ‘here and there’

\[pʰey:ed\,u\] (W: OF)
\[||pʰi\,-\,y:e\,-\,aded\,-\,u|| \rightarrow \,[pʰej.\,'jed\,.\,du]\]
\[/pʰey:e\,-\,d\,-\,u/\]
\[\text{look.for-DIR-PFV}\]
‘looking for’

\[pʰey:enedt\,i\] (W: OF)
\[||pʰi\,-\,y:e\,-\,aded\,-\,t\,i|| \rightarrow \,[pʰej\,je\,'den\,t\,i]\]
\[/pʰey:e\,-\,den\,-\,t\,i/\]
\[\text{look.for-DIR-INTENT}\]
‘[in order] to look for’

However, Oswalt’s statement can be emended somewhat to account for both
the underlying and surface syllable structure: /d/ becomes [n] in coda position
before a morpheme boundary.

\[/d/ \rightarrow [n]/_\text{MORPHEME}\{C, #}\]

This change is necessary because once /d/ becomes a non-word-final coda
within a morpheme it assimilates in voicing to the following morpheme-internal
consonant and does not necessarily become [n], as seen in the allomorphs for the
word ||-dakʰad-|| ‘spouse’, which has two /d/ segments in the root: (1) a morpheme-
final one that surfaces as [n] at a word boundary; and (2) a morpheme-initial one
that assimilates in voicing to the following consonant once it has become a coda
through syncope, as shown in (87).
(87) Alternation between [d] and [t] in morpheme-internal coda position

\[
\begin{align*}
maʔdákʰden & \quad (\text{H IV:1}) \\
maʔdakʰden & \\
\|maH-dakʰad-en\| \rightarrow [maʔ.ˈdakʰ.den] \\
/maʔdakʰd-en/ & \\
3\text{-c}-\text{spouse-PAT} & \\
\text{‘her husband’} & \\
\hline
miy:aṭkʰan & \quad (\text{Oswalt 1978: 15}) \\
miy:aṭkʰan & \\
\|miy:a-dakʰad-Ø\| \rightarrow [mij.ˈjad.kʰan] \\
/miṭkʰan-Ø/ & \\
3\text{-spouse-AGT} & \\
[\text{‘his spouse’}] & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The morpheme-internal voicing assimilation seen in /d/ above is also found with /b/ (e.g. \|bahtʰe + bahtʰe\| \rightarrow [bah.ˈtʰep.tʰe] ‘huge’). There is an additional alternation involving /d/ and nasals discussed in the next section.

2.6.3.2. Nasals and liquids

Southern Pomo underwent a sound change after splitting from its sister languages in which all nasals and liquids surface as [n] in word-final position. This change is in addition to the much older alternation between [d] and [n] in coda position before a morpheme boundary. Examples (88) and (89) show word-final alternation between [l] and [n] and between [m] and [n].
(88) Word-final alternation between [l] and [n] in ||du-hṭʰal-|| ‘to feel pain’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{duḥṭʰála} & \quad (H \ V: 6) \\
duḥṭʰala \\
||duḥṭʰal-a|| & \rightarrow [duh.'ṭh.a.la] \\
/duḥṭʰal-a/ \\
\text{feel.pain-EVID} \\
\text{‘it pains’}
\end{align*}
\]

<duḥʔ^han> (O D: ED)
\[
\begin{align*}
duḥʔan \\
||duḥʔal-∅|| & \rightarrow ['duh.'ʔan] \\
/duḥʔan-∅/ \\
\text{feel.pain-PFV} \\
\text{‘[feel]...ache’}
\end{align*}
\]

(89) Word-final alternation between [m] and [n] in the suffix ||-m-|| ESSIVE

<ʔahtiman> (O ms.)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔahtiman} \\
||ha-hṭi-m-Vn|| & \rightarrow ['ʔaht.'ti.man] \\
/ʔahti-m-an/ \\
\text{put.foot-ESSIVE-SG.IMP} \\
\text{‘hold the foot still!’}
\end{align*}
\]

<ʔahtin> (O ms.)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔahtin} \\
||ha-hṭi-m|| & \rightarrow ['ʔaht.ʔin] \\
/ʔahti-n/ \\
\text{put.foot-ESSIVE} \\
\text{‘holding the foot still’}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus /n/, /d/, /l/, and /m/ all surface as [n] in word-final position. The stem ||duḥṭʰal-|| ‘to feel pain’ and the suffix ||-m-|| ESSIVE given in (88) and (89) above show the underlying lateral and bilabial sonorants surfacing before vowel-initial suffixes. The situation is not quite as simple as these examples might suggest.

A morpheme-final consonant that surfaces as [n] when it is also word-final, if it is not an underlying /d/, may freely surface as either [m] or [l] before a vowel-
initial suffix unless it is an allomorph of one of three morphemes (all of which are homophonous): ||-m-|| ESSIVE, ||-m-|| PL.ACT, and ||-m-|| ‘across’; these three suffixes, two of them quite rare, surface only as [m] before vowels (Oswalt 1976: 21). Oswalt points out that even words which have a word-final [n] that descends from Proto Pomo *n have this segment alternate with [l] and [m] before vowels; word-final [n] may never surface before a vowel (1976: 21).

It is only in morpheme-final position that a consonant which surfaces as [n] when it is also word-final may surface as [l] or [m] before a vowel-initial suffix. However, [l] and [m] in this environment vary freely, and the same speaker may choose either allophone.\(^\text{100}\) This free variation has frustrating ramifications when it is combined with the baroque rules which dictate the choice of surface forms for ||V||. If the [l] allophone is chosen, ||V|| surfaces as [i]; if the [m] allophone is chosen, ||V|| surfaces as [a]. Thus Oswalt notes that ||hu:w-mul-Vn|| go-DIR-SSEQ ‘while going around’ may surface as either hu:mum-an [hu:.ˈmu.man] or hu:mul-in [hu:.ˈmu.lin], and he states that these two forms “are freely used in the same contexts with the same meaning” (1976: 21).\(^\text{101}\)

The natural discourse recorded in the texts collected from Annie Burke by Halpern bear out Oswalt’s observations. The following forms in (90) all come from one text and show the stem ||mu:kwel|| ‘to throw and make several slide’ surfaceing

---

\(^{100}\) Note that the [l] or [m] which surface before vowels do not necessarily correlate to *l or *m; rather, they are in free variation in this context.

\(^{101}\) The morphophonemic forms and morpheme breakdowns are my own.
as /mu:kʰen/ without a vowel-initial suffix and as both /mu:kʰel-/ and /mu:kʰem/ before the vowel-initial switch-reference suffix ||-Vn|| s_SEQ.102

(90) Stem-final /n/ surfacing as [l] or [m] before vowel with the same stem

[not prevocalic with [l] and [n]]
mú:kʰel( )háywan mú:kʰen (H V:3)  
mú:kʰelhaywan mú:kʰen  
||mu:-kʰel+ʔah:ay=wan mu:-kʰel-Ø|| \rightarrow [.mu.:kʰel.'haj.wan 'mu.:kʰen]  
/mu:kʰel-hay=wan mu:kʰen-Ø/  
throw.and.slide.sev.-stick=DET.OBJ throw.and.slide.sev.-PFV  
‘scaling their scaling-sticks’

[prevocalic with [l]]
mú:kʰélín (H V:3)
mú:kʰelin  
||mu:-kʰel-Vn|| \rightarrow [.mu.:kʰe.lin]  
/mu:kʰel-in/  
throw.and.slide.sev.-S_SEQ  
[‘while sliding scaling sticks’]

[prevocalic with [m]]
mú:kʰel( )háywan mú:kʰéman (H V:17)  
mú:kʰelhaywan mú:kʰéman  
||mu:-kʰel+ʔah:ay=wan mu:-kʰel-Vn|| \rightarrow [.mu.:kʰel.'haj.wan mu.:kʰéman]  
/mu:kʰel-hay=wan mu:kʰem-an/  
throw.and.slide.sev.-stick=DET.OBJ throw.and.slide.sev.-S_SEQ  
‘scaling (their) scaling-sticks’

Alternations like those above provide the best evidence that Southern Pomo speakers did not distinguish between [n], [m], and [l] in morpheme-final position.103

Hereafter all stems with such endings are transcribed as ||N|| (e.g. mú:kʰelin ~ mú:kʰéman would be ||mu:kʰeN-Vn||).

102 Oswalt notes that this is “a hoop and stick game” and records this stem as /mu:kʰelh-/ in Elizabeth Dollar’s speech (O D: ED). One wonders whether final /-lh/ would vary in the same manner as Annie Burke’s final /-l/ does in these examples.

103 This is true of morphemes of more than one segment. As already mentioned, ||-m|| ESSIVE and the two suffixes with which it homophonous do not alternate with [l] in prevocalic position.
Though /d/ (with its morpheme-final allophones [d] and [n]) does not participate in the alternations just discussed, it does pattern with the nasals in an unusual alternation when immediately followed by a lateral-initial suffix. When /d/ or a nasal is morpheme-final and is followed by an /l/-initial suffix, the first consonant is deleted and replaced by /:/ and the /l/ surfaces as [n]. In other words, the nasality of the nasals (including the [n] allophone of /d/) is transferred to the lateral and provides the only clue as to the nature of the consonant surfacing as /:/.

Examples (91) and (91a) below show this nasal spreading process with suffix ||-le|| PLURAL.IMPERATIVE and its nasal-spreading-induced allomorph [-ne] after both /d/ and ||N||.\(^\text{105}\)

(91) /d/ allophony with and without nasal spreading (/d/ + /le/ \(\rightarrow\) [:n])

(91a) [without nasal spreading]

\begin{verbatim}
  huw:adun   (H VI:11)
  huwadun
  ||huw-ad-Vn|| \(\rightarrow\) [huw.'wa.dun]
  /huw:ad-un/
  go-DIR-SG.IMP
  ‘come!’
\end{verbatim}

\(^{104}\) Note that by ‘nasals’ I mean all true nasals and the archiphoneme ||N|| (which can surface as the lateral [l] in prevocalic position).

\(^{105}\) Compare the forms with the nasal allomorphs with [-le] allomorph of ||-le|| that occurs elsewhere:

\begin{verbatim}
  čuh:úle   (H V: 27)
  čuhule  ||čuh:u-le|| \(\rightarrow\) [ʧuh.'hu.le]
  /čuh:u-le/
  eat-PL.IMP
  ‘eat ye’
\end{verbatim}
(91b) [with nasal spreading]
  huw:á:ne (H V:19)
  /huw:a:ne/
  go-DIR-PL.IMP
  ‘come ye[!]’

(92) \(|N||\) allophony with and without nasal spreading (\(|N|| + /le/ \rightarrow [:n]|\))
[without nasal spreading]
 ʔehkʰéma (H ms.)
  /ʔehkʰema/
  with.body-move-DIR-EVID
  '1 is moving across'

[with nasal spreading]
 ʔehkʰe:ne (H ms.)
  /ʔehkʰe:ne/
  with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
  '(in-law) move across!’

This rather unusual process whereby /d/ and \(|N||\) are replaced by length and spread nasality to the following consonant when they immediately precede a lateral might have originated via the following path:

...\(|N||~/d/-LV \rightarrow ...\(|N||~[n]-LV \rightarrow ...[n]-nV \rightarrow ...[:]-nV

There is evidence, however, that this alternation followed a slightly different path. Oswalt records at least one form in which \(|N|| + \|-le|| \rightarrow [ʔne], and this example comes from Elizabeth Dollar’s Dry Creek dialect rather than the Cloverdale dialect of the above examples. Example (93) provides the glottal form of
and two nasal variants using the verb ‘to sing’.

(93) Dry Creek dialect nasal spreading with ?ihmin ||ihmiN-|| ‘to sing’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>without nasal spreading</th>
<th>with nasal spreading and glottal variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;?ihmin&gt; (O D: ED &amp; EA)</td>
<td>&lt;?ihmiman&gt; (O D: ED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ihmin</td>
<td>?ihmiman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?ihmin-Ø/</td>
<td>/?ihmim-an/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing-PFV</td>
<td>sing-SG.IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘to sing’</td>
<td>‘Sing!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is most unusual about the [ʔne] variant above is that it is caused by a final ||N||, an underspecified sonorant with no evidence of glottalization in any other environment. The most likely explanation for this bears upon the diachronic path postulated earlier. Southern Pomo /d/ descends from a Proto Pomo *n, which is preserved in Kashaya Pomo as /n/ with [d] as its prevocalic allophone (Buckley 1994: 36-47). Though the form in (93) above shows ||N|| alternating with [ʔ] with nasal spreading, it is likely that additional forms are to be uncovered which show that this Dry Creek variant occurs after both ||N|| and /d/ (like the ||N|| or /d/ + /l/ → [ːne] seen in the Cloverdale data earlier). If so, it is perhaps likely that nasal spreading developed via this path:
(1) /l/ assimilated in nasality (but not place) to a preceding nasal
    \[\ldots [+nas]−lV \rightarrow \ldots [+nas]−nV\]

(2) the preceding nasals assimilated in place to the nasal allomorph of /l/, which would leave only two variants, one glottalized and one plain

(i) \ldots [ɾi]-nV
(ii) \ldots [n]-nV

(3) /i/ \rightarrow [ʔ] / __[n]

(i) \ldots [ʔ]-nV
(ii) \ldots [n]-nV

(4) Form (ii) \rightarrow form (i) through analogy

The Cloverdale form [:n] might have first gone through the above developments postulated for Dry Creek and added a fifth step where the glottal stop was replaced by /ː:/ or it might have skipped steps (3) and (4) entirely and simply replaced all the nasals with /ː:/ after nasal spreading.

2.6.4. Consonant assimilation and dissimilation

Consonants show assimilation in place and voicing (sometimes both) within and across morpheme boundaries.

2.6.4.1. Assimilation in place

After syncope, /d/ undergoes complete assimilation in voicing and place if it is followed by /č/ within the same morpheme, as in (94).
(94) Morpheme-internal assimilation of /d/ to /č/ 

[ʔ]ekʰ:či (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:čin
||hi-hkʰe-aduč-Vn|| \[ʔekʰeči\]
/ʔe-kʰ:e-č-i/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move over[!]’

Nasals (including ||N|| and nasals which derive from /d/) assimilate in place to a following consonant.

(95) Examples of nasal place assimilation with the verb ||čoh:oN-|| ‘to marry’

[without assimilation]
čoh:on (O I: 3)
čoh:on
||čoh:oN-Ø|| \[ˈʧoh.on\]
/čoh:on-Ø/
mARRY-PFV
‘marry’

[with velar assimilation]
čoh:onhkʰe (O I: 4)
čoh:onhkʰe
||čoh:oN-kʰ:e|| \[ʧoh.ˈhoŋŋ.kʰe\]
/čoh:onh-kʰe/
mARRY-FUT
‘will let marry’

[with labial assimilation]
čoh:omba (O I: 9)
čoh:omba
||čoh:oN-ba|| \[ʧoh.ˈhom.ba\]
/čoh:om-ba/
mARRY-S.SEQ
‘having married’
When a nasal is followed by /w/ within a grammatical word, the nasal assimilates to the labial nature of /w/ and /w/ disappears and the surfacing nasal may also assimilate in its phonation to the next surface segment, as in (96).\footnote{This is true of the nasal allophone of /d/ in morpheme-final position, but it might be true of other nasals as well. Note that the /d/ of this example, after becoming a nasal and assimilating in place to the /w/ (which then is lost), becomes creaky (or a glottal stop is inserted) before another /d/. This pattern of glottal insertion before a voiced or ejective consonant after a sonorant is common, and in the case of the voiced stops /b/ and /d/ has not been consistently recorded. Oswalt states that the /b/ of the suffix -bič- ‘(part of whole) to raise up; begin’, which he}

(96) Nasal assimilation before /w/

hwadém?du (H VIII: 1)

hwadem?du

||hu:w-aded-wadu|| \rightarrow [hwa.'dem\text{\text{"}{\text{"}}}.du]

/hw-adem?-?du/

go-DIR-HAB

‘always goes around’

2.6.4.2. Assimilation in voicing

In addition to the nasal spreading assimilatory process discussed above and the morpheme-internal voicing assimilation for /d/ discussed earlier (§2.6.3.1.), there are other types of consonant assimilation both within and across morpheme boundaries.

Voiced stops assimilate in voicing to a following voiceless consonant when syncope brings them together within the same morpheme (the same alternation seen for morpheme-internal /d/ earlier). The actual phonetic realization of the devoiced allophones of /b/ and /d/ has not been consistently recorded. Oswalt states that the /b/ of the suffix -bič- ‘(part of whole) to raise up; begin’, which he
transcribes as \( \text{-X b c-} \), becomes the ejective [\( \text{p} \)] after syncope (1976: 24). The historic change of *b \( \rightarrow \) [\( \text{p} \)] / [+cons, -voice] is attested in Central Pomo, which has forms like \( \text{p} \text{še} \) [\( \text{p} \text{e} \)] corresponding to Southern Pomo \( \text{behše} \) ‘(deer) meat’ (McLendon 1973: 72). However, Halpern consistently transcribes a non-ejective voiceless stop in all such positions, and Oswalt does the same in some of his work. These voiceless allophones are also often recorded as aspirated, a feature which is not distinctive in coda position, and any such records should be read as indication of an audible release. The plain unaspirated non-ejective voiceless allophones are used throughout this grammar because they are the most frequent in the records and match up with what I have heard from living speakers.

(97) Morpheme-internal voicing assimilation after syncope

(97a) \([/b/ \rightarrow /p/]\)

\( \text{baḥṭeptʰe} \) (W: OF)

\( \text{[baḥṭʰe + baḥṭʰe]} \rightarrow [\text{bah.ʰep.tʰe}] \)

\( /\text{baḥṭʰe-pᵗʰe/} \)

\( \text{big.COLL -big.COLL} \)

‘huge’

(97b) \([/b/ \rightarrow /p/]\)

\( \text{ʔekʰ:epčin} \) (H ms.)

\( \text{ʔekʰ:epčin} \)

\( \text{[hi-hkʰe-bič-Vn]} \rightarrow [\text{ʔekʰ:ep.tʃin}] \)

\( /\text{ʔe-kʰ:e-pč-in} \)

\( \text{with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP} \)

‘move up!’
Sonorants also show similar voicing assimilation, though this process appears to be more sporadic and, in some cases, might vary according to dialect. Nasals in particular often devoice partially before aspirated consonants, which may occur across morpheme boundaries, but they are also recorded as devoicing before unaspirated voiceless consonants, as shown in (98) and (99).

(98) Voicing assimilation in sonorants before aspirated C

\[ ?\text{ahc'an}\text{h}k^h\text{ay} \quad (\text{H IV: 5}) \]
\[ ?\text{ahc'anhk}^h\text{ay} \]
\[ ||?\text{ahca=li=k}^h\text{a}c|| \rightarrow [?\text{ah.'t}^\text{ajj}.k^h\text{aj}] \]
\[ /?\text{ahca=nhk}^h\text{ay}/ \]
house=ward
'[to] home’

\[ \text{c}^\text{ho}h:n\text{kh}^e \quad (\text{O I: 4}) \]
\[ \text{c}^\text{ho}h:nhk^h\text{e} \]
\[ ||\text{c}^\text{ho}h:O-k^h\text{e}|| \rightarrow [\text{tfoh.'hojij}.k^h\text{e}] \]
\[ /\text{c}^\text{ho}h:nhk^h\text{e}/ \]
marry-FUT
‘will let marry’
(99) Voicing assimilation in sonorant before voiceless unaspirated C

\[ mhto \quad (H\ IV: 7) \]
\[ mhfo \]
\[ \|mi:to\| \rightarrow [m\tilde{m}to]\]
\[ 2SG.PAT \]
\‘you’

2.6.4.3. Glottal dissimilation

Halpern notes that the glottals /ʔ/ and /h/ are in partial complementary
distribution as initials (1984: 7-8). Stems which have /ʔ/, a voiced stop, or an
ejective as their second consonant may not begin with /ʔ/; stems which have /h/,
aspirated obstruents, or fricatives as their second consonant consonant may not
begin with /h/; stems with sonorants or voiceless unaspirated supralaryngeal
consonants as their second consonant may begin with either /ʔ/. 108

The preceding description is an oversimplification: the conditioning
environment is affected by both the second consonant of the stem (which is
equivalent to the root consonant of verbs and most kinship forms) and the
laryngeal increment that precedes or follows the second consonant of the stem (i.e.
the second consonant is understood to be exclusive of the laryngeal increment
which may appear before or after it). Table (24) summarizes the distribution of
glottal-initial syllables with the following abbreviations for the phonetic properties
of the second consonant of the stem:

---

107 This is a most unusual form for two reasons: (1) it was recorded as the first word in a breath group
(it is post-comma in Halpern’s transcription) yet has lost its first syllable to syncope, a process that is
generally expected for the encliticized version of the pronoun; (2) I know of no other record of this
morpheme showing voicing assimilation. However, it appears that Halpern heard it in this instance.
\[C = /p \text{ m w ŋ n c ě y k}/ \text{ (sonorants and voiceless unaspirated stops)}\]

\[C^h = /p^h \text{ ŋ } t^h s ñ ŋ k^h h/ \text{ (fricatives and aspirated stops)}\]

\[C' = /p b ŋ ñ d ě k ?/ \text{ (glottalized and voiced stops)}\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECOND (NON-INCREMENT) CONSONANT OF THE STEM →</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>C^h</th>
<th>C'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LARYNGEAL INCREMENT ↓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>?V-</td>
<td>?V-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>?V &amp; hV-</td>
<td>hV-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ː/</td>
<td>?V-</td>
<td>?V-</td>
<td>hV-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below are examples of attested patterns from Table (24) (only a sample of each consonant type has been included).

(100) Examples of ?VhCV...

[with sonorants] [with voiceless unaspirated stops]

ʔahlok ‘to fall off’ ʔahka ‘game’
ʔiyha ‘bone’ ʔahča ‘house’

(101) Examples of ?V:CV...

[with sonorants] [with voiceless unaspirated stops]

ʔama ‘thou’ ʔokotin ‘pass several!’
ʔama ‘earth; thing’ ʔa: o ‘me’

---

109 In order to read Table (24) correctly, locate the laryngeal increment along the left side and scan across the top for the second (non-increment) consonant of the stem: the cell where the left row and the top column converge contains every permissible glottal-initial syllable which may precede that combination of laryngeal increment and consonant. For example, if /h/ is chosen from the left-hand side of the table, and C (=sonorants and voiceless unaspirated stops) is chosen from across the top, the cell where these two overlap contains only ?V-; a stem of the shape ?V-hCV... is therefore permissible, but one of the shape ha-hCV... is not permissible.
Examples of hV:CV...

[with sonorants] [with voiceless unaspirated stops]

*hino* ‘ash’  *ha:čatlawá*  ‘many fly down’
*ham:an* ‘she’  *hačalwa*  ‘one flies down’

Examples of ʔVhCʰ...

[with fricatives] [with aspirated stops]

*ʔahša* ‘fish’  *ʔahkʰa*  ‘water’
*ʔohso* ‘clover’  *ʔehpʰet*  ‘fart’

Examples of ʔV:Cʰ...

[with fricatives] [with aspirated stops]

*ʔasuv* ‘to scratch’  *ʔapʰa:tkacín*  ‘carry up several!’
*ʔah:sa* ‘mouth’  *ʔapʰakcín*  ‘carry it up!’

Examples of hVʔC’...

[with voiced stops] [with ejectives]

*hi:bu*  ‘potato’  *hačat*  ‘to whip’
*hudʔakay*  ‘to want’  *hoʔkoy*  ‘to drink’

Examples of hV:C’...

[with glottal stop] [with ejectives]

*heʔey*  ‘where’  *haʔfad:edu:šu*  ‘touchy’
*heʔ:e*  ‘hair (of head)’  *hačan*  ‘my friend’

The above distributional facts account for the variants of the glottal-initial instrumental prefixes ||ha-|| ‘long object through air; by limb or wing’, ||hi-|| ‘with body’, and ||hu-|| ‘with/by sound, speech or hearing’, each of which has an /ʔ/-initial allomorph. For a subset of verbs stems with glottal initial prefixes there is a productive alternation between /ʔ/ and /h/ as the initial consonant of the prefix within individual verb paradigms. These productive alternations are caused by morphologically conditioned changes to the laryngeal increment (see §2.6.6. for a
discussion of laryngeal increment behavior and distribution). For some glottal-
initial verb stems with an /h/ increment on a voiceless unaspirated root consonant,
the allomorphs of the glottal-initial instrumental prefix vary between /hV/- and
/ʔV/- on the basis of the presence or absence of the /h/ increment. Example (107)
gives two allomorphs of the verb stem ||ha-hča-|| ‘to fly’, one with the /ha-/ allomorph of the instrumental prefix ||ha-|| ‘long object through air; by limb or
wing’, and one with the /ʔa-/ allomorph of the same prefix.

(107) Glottal dissimilation in the verb ||ha-hča-|| ‘to fly’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[with /ʔa-/ allomorph]</th>
<th>[with /ha-/ allomorph]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ahčamőkʰʰu (H ms.)</td>
<td>hačľmőkʰʰu (H ms.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥčamokʰʰu</td>
<td>hačľmokʰʰu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔa-hča-mo-k-ʔhul/</td>
<td>/ha-čľa-ʔ-mo-k-ʔhul/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w.wing-fly-DIR-CAUS-PROH</td>
<td>w.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-CAUS-PROH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘[don’t let] it [fly in]!’</td>
<td>‘don’t let them fly in!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above examples show that glottal-initial instrumental prefixes may
surface with either glottal phoneme once morphologically conditioned changes
have altered the laryngeal increment and removed the environment that would
otherwise prohibit one or the other glottal from surfacing (ʔahčamokʰʰu fits the
pattern ʔVhC..., and hačľmokʰʰu fits the pattern hV:C...). However, it is not possible
to predict whether a verb stem with an initial glottal and a voiceless unaspirated
root consonant (as in example (107) above) will show productive alternations in the
initial consonant due to glottal dissimilation. Example (108) gives the verb ||ʔihči-||
‘to carry (one) by handle; drag’, which shows the same laryngeal increment

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variations seen with ‘to fly’ above without the same alternations in the initial glottal consonant.

(108) Lack of alternation in the glottal-initial verb stem ||ʔihči-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[with /h/ increment]</th>
<th>[with /ʔ/ increment]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔihčiw (O D: EA)</td>
<td>ʔečeduy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/*ʔihčiw/</td>
<td>/*ʔeč:eduy/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘wear [from neck?]’</td>
<td>‘to carry on back or with handle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There appears to be no sure way to predict whether a given glottal-intial verb stem will show productive alternations between an initial /h/ and /ʔ/. The underlying form ||ʔihči-|| above has been chosen on the basis of Oswalt’s decision not to segment the initial syllable as the instrumental prefix ||hi-|| ‘with the body’ in his entry in (O D), and it is possible that productive alternations in the glottals of glottal-initial stems might be restricted to instrumental prefix allomorphy (i.e. monomorphemic glottal-initial stems might show no alternations). However, the initial syllable in ||ʔihči-|| might well be ||hi-|| ‘with the body’; the semantic range of most instrumental prefixes is sufficiently broad to allow such an analysis.110 The question of why some verb stems do not participate in the variation is unknown at this time and, perhaps, is not susceptible to being answered with the extant data (if there is an answer to be found).

---

110 The verb ||ʔihči-|| is extremely irregular and has several unpredictable stem allomorphs. However, productive alternations in glottal initials are seen in equally irregular verbs.
In addition to the verb stems, there is very restricted allomorphy in the glottal-initial first-person possessed prefix of kinship terms due to glottal dissimilation (discussed in detail in §2.8.1.3.), and there is some evidence of the effects of glottal dissimilation in nominal compounding (discussed in §2.8.1.).

**2.6.5. Consonant deletion**

Within verbs, the first of two underlying consonants is replaced with /ː/ unless it is a liquid or nasal.

\[ [+\text{cons}, -\text{son}] \rightarrow [ː] / \_\_ [+\text{cons}] \]

This rule takes effect before vowel syncope, and consonants which form clusters after syncope are therefore immune to deletion and replacement with /ː/.

(109) Word-internal consonant deletion and replacement with /ː/:

| [final consonant of ||-aduć-|| ‘away’ surfacing] |
|-----------------------------------------------|
| <dadʔeduy> (O D: EA) |
| dadʔeduy |
| ||daʔde-aduć-Ø|| → [dadʔe.duj]111 |
| /daʔe-duy-Ø/ |
| with.palm-move.one-DIR-PFV |
| ‘to push s[ome] o[ne] sitting over or away’ |

| [final consonant of ||-aduć-|| ‘away’ being replaced by /ː/] |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| dadʔeduč̱u (H ms.) |
| dadʔeduč̱u |
| ||daʔde-aduć-č̱u|| → [dadʔe.duč̱u]|
| /daʔe-duč̱u/ |
| with.palm-move.one-DIR-PROH |
| ‘don’t [push it away!’] |

111 The voiced stops /b/ and /d/ may only surface in coda position before a transcremented glottal stop (see §2.6.6. for a discussion of transcremental affixes).
2.6.6. Laryngeal increments

The second consonant of every Southern Pomo stem (save for monosyllabic function words) must be immediately preceded or followed by one of the segments /h/, /ʔ/, or /:/ (notated as H in CVHCV- ~ CVCHV-). Following Oswalt (1976: 20), these three segments are termed 'laryngeal increments' when they are combined with the second consonant of the stem.\footnote{Halpern (1984) uses the term augment.} The laryngeal increments were discussed in some detail already (§2.2.1.). This section introduces specific terminology and summarizes the partial complementary distribution of the increments.

The laryngeal increments /h/, /ʔ/, /:/ may be pre-consonantly incremented or post-consonantly incremented to the second consonant of the stem (which is generally equal to the root consonant of verbs).\footnote{These rather terms are based on my earlier use of 'pre-augmented' and 'post-augmented' (Walker 2008).} When a pre-consonantly incremented laryngeal increment is moved to become a post-consonantal increment (CVHCV- \(\rightarrow\) CVCHV-), it is said to be transcremented. In addition to changing the location of the laryngeal increment from the left of the incremented consonant to the right, the transcremented increment surfaces as /:/ (regardless of its pre-transcremental character) when the incremented consonant is voiceless (\(C_1VHC_2V- \rightarrow C_1VC_2V:-\) when \(C_2\) is [-voice]). Transcrementing is morphologically conditioned; several vowel-initial directional suffixes cause transcrementing and are therefore termed transcremental suffixes. These suffixes are discussed individually in the section on inflectional morphology (§2.8.3.3.1.).
Example (110) shows the verb stem ||hi-hkʰe-|| ‘to move the body’ and its transcremented allomorph /ʔekʰ:e-/ with the transcremental suffix ||-alameč’-|| ‘down from above’. (This verb stem also undergoes vowel lowering and glottal dissimilation in the prefix.)

(110) Laryngeal increment movement with transcremental suffix

[ʔ]ekʰ:elmeč’in (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elmeč’in
||hi-hkʰe-alameč’-Vn|| → [ʔek.kʰel.me.tʃ’in]
/ʔe-kʰ:e-lmeč’-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move down from above!’

Oswalt’s terminology for laryngeal increments as used in the entries in (O D) is adopted throughout this work; however, there is a mismatch between this terminology as it applies to Southern Pomo and its application by Oswalt and Buckley to neighboring Kashaya. The suffixes herein termed transcrements for Southern Pomo are cognate with Kashaya suffixes which Oswalt and Buckley label as decrements (Oswalt 1961, 1976; Buckley 1994). The decrements of Kashaya completely delete the laryngeal augment (they therefore de-increment it). This is never the case in Southern Pomo. Following Oswalt’s usage in (O D), only the plural act suffix is labeled as a decrement, as it does not move the increment and replaces all laryngeal increments (whether /h/, /ʔ/, or /:/) with /:/-. This decremental affix blocks a following transcremental suffix from transcrementing the laryngeal increment. Example (111) shows the verb stem ||hi-hkʰe-|| ‘to move the body’ and its
decremented allomorph /ʔeːkʰe-/ with the decremental plural act affix ||-ʔ-|| preceding the transcremental affix ||-alameč'-'|| ‘down from above’.

(111) Laryngeal increment change with the decremental plural act affix

| ?ʔeːkʰeʔlaméːle | (H ms.) |
| ?ʔeːkʰeʔlameːle |
| ||hi-hkʰe-ʔ-alameč'-le|| → [ʔeː, kʰeʔaˈmeː.le] |
| /ʔeː-kʰe-ʔ-lameː-le/ |

with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
‘2 [move down from above]’

The laryngeal increments are in partial complementary distribution. The increment /:/ has little restriction on which consonants it can precede or follow. The increments /h/ and /ʔ/, however, can be partially predicted depending upon the phonetic quality of the consonant around which they are incremented. Halpern (1984: 16) summarizes the basics of laryngeal increment distribution:

...length occurs before or after all C, except that length does not occur after b, d. Glottal stop occurs before but not after glottalized consonants. The h-[increment] occurs before all voiceless and intermediate [=voiceless unaspirated] stops, affricates and spirants but not after... [The voiced stops are] post-[incremented] only by glottal stop; glottal stop and h, however, are pre- and post-[incremented] only by length.

Halpern also notes that sonorants may be both “pre- and post-augmented by all three” laryngeal increments (1984: 17). Table (25) summarizes the possible combinations of consonants and laryngeal increments.¹¹⁵

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¹¹⁴ The plural act affix has unpredictable allomorphs, some of which are infixes rather than suffixes.
¹¹⁵ There is at least one exception to this distribution: Halpern records the stem haʔʔhi- ‘to sneeze’ (Halpern 1984: 8).
Table (25): Possible combinations of increment and second consonant of stem

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRE-CONSONANTAL INCREMENT</th>
<th>POST-CONSONANTAL INCREMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SONORANTS</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| VOICED STOPS | ✓ | NO | ✓ | ✓ | NO | NO |
| EJECTIVES    | ✓ | NO | ✓ | NO | NO | ✓  |
| GLOTTALS     | NO | NO | ✓ | NO | NO | ✓  |
| OTHER VOICELESS CONSONANTS | NO | ✓  | ✓ | NO | NO | ✓  |

2.7. Relaxed speech rules and contractions

Oswalt states that “[t]he forms of words in Southern Pomo are more variable, more in flux, than in any other language I have heard of—almost all independent words have two or more forms” (1978: 15). However, the majority of the examples which Oswalt lists are properly the domain of predictable phonological stem alternations and not relaxed speech rules. It is not the case that every phonological word of Southern Pomo has one or more variants. In rapid speech, however, it is true that several of the most common words have reduced variants. Words with a pre-vocalic /h/ are most likely to have a reduced variant, examples of which are given in Table (26) below.

Table (26): Contracted variants of words with pre-vocalic /h/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FULL FORM IN CAREFUL SPEECH</th>
<th>CONTRACTED FORMS</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha:min-i</td>
<td>hni- ~ ni</td>
<td>'and then' (pro-verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huw:adu-</td>
<td>hwadu- ~ wadu-</td>
<td>'to go along'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nih:i-</td>
<td>hnihi- ~ hni- ~ nihi- ~ ni-</td>
<td>‘to say’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition to the above examples, there are words without pre-vocalic /h/ which have contracted forms, such as \( kʰaːtʃʰɛː \)aw ‘bad’ and \( ũaːɛːʼaw \sim ũɛːʼaw \sim ěɛːʼaw \) ‘much’, which have the respective contracted variants \( kʰaːɛːaw \) and \( ũaːɛːʼaw \sim ũɛːʼaw \sim ěɛːʼaw \) (the choice of the initial syllable for ‘much’ seems to be based on idiolectal differences).

### 2.8. Word classes

Southern Pomo word classes and subclasses can be established on the basis of phonological, morphological, and syntactic criteria. Of these, morphological criteria are the most useful. The two largest word classes are verbs and nouns, and the vast majority of words in the lexicon fall into these two classes. Nouns can be further divided into four subclasses: common nouns (the largest), proper names, kinship terms, and pronouns. Of these, the kinship terms are the most morphologically divergent from other nouns. Adverbs and adjectives form much smaller word classes, as do more grammatical words (such as auxiliaries and postpositions), which are generally bound morphemes. There are also onomatopoeic words and interjections.\(^{116}\)

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\(^{116}\) Oswalt (O D) employs a different division of words into semantic classes, which leads him to create a large number of nominal subgroups, each with unique abbreviations: A (adjective), B (adverb), V (verb), N (noun), Nah (animate human), Nam (animate mammal), Nab (animate bird), Naf (animate fish), Nar (animate reptile), Nai (animate invertebrate), Nap (animate body part), Np (plant), Nap (plant part), Nk (kin term), Nf (noun fragment), I (atactic forms = onomatopoeic words and interjections), Ii (inanimate imitative), Ia (animate imitative), Ij (interjection).
**2.8.1. Nouns**

Southern Pomo nouns can be defined on the basis of morphological, phonological, and syntactic criteria. As has already been stated, Southern Pomo nouns can be divided into additional subclasses. Common nouns are the most numerous and morphologically simple of these nominal subclasses.

**2.8.1.1. Common nouns**

Common nouns, like verb stems, are overwhelmingly disyllabic. Unlike verbs, common noun stems are monomorphemic and can surface without any additional morphology: a common noun root may also be a stem, a grammatical word, and a phonological word. Examples (112) – (114) show monomorphemic common nouns in connected speech in a variety of grammatical roles without any bound morphemes affixed or cliticized to them (each noun under consideration is in bold and underlined).

(112) The common noun *nupʰ:e* ‘striped skunk’ as a phonological word

\[
\text{núp}^{[h]}:e \text{nóp}^{[h]}:ow \text{ka:wi}^{y}a \text{bahtʰéko} \quad (H \text{ V: 1})
\]

\[
\text{nupʰ:e} \text{nopʰ:ow ka:wi}^{y}a \text{bathʰe}^{ko}
\]

\[/nupʰ:e\text{ nopʰ:o-w ka:wi-ya bahtʰe}=^{ko/}
\]

\text{striped.skunk dwell.PL-PFV child-PL big.COLL=COLM}

‘Skunk Woman lived, with many children’
(113) The common noun ʔač:ay ‘man’ as a phonological word

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔiš:aw} & \text{ [ʔ]ač:ay} \quad (\text{H III: 1}) \\
\text{ʔiš:aw} & \text{ʔač:ay} \\
/\text{ʔiš:aw} & \text{ʔač:ay/} \\
\text{take.as.spouse-PFV} & \text{man} \\
\text{‘He abducted her, a man.’})^{117}
\end{align*}
\]

(114) The common noun hi:mo ‘hole’ as a phonological word

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hi:mo} & \text{ čiʔi:]iw} \quad (\text{H I: 1}) \\
\text{hi:mo} & \text{čiʔiw} \\
/\text{hi:mo} & \text{čiʔi-w/} \\
\text{hole} & \text{make-PFV} \\
\text{‘(she) made a hole’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are very few nominal affixes; most bound morphemes which attach to nouns are actually phrasal enclitics, which are listed in the discussion on noun phrases (§2.10.). The nominal affixes, all of which are suffixes, are listed below.

2.8.1.1. Common noun suffixes

The most clearly attested nominal suffix is ||-ya|| -ya PLURAL, an affix which is also found in the kinship terms and the pronouns. In common nouns, this suffix has a very restricted distribution. It only occurs on animate nouns, and it is possible that

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\[117\] The verb ʔiš: means to take a spouse (man or woman) either for the first time or to go after the wife of another man. It is a transitive verb. This clause shows unusual word order, and Halpern’s free translation supports and interpretation of ‘man’ as something other than a normal S argument of a transitive verb. Possible interpretations notwithstanding, the noun ʔač:ay ‘man’ is clearly free of any bound morphemes.
some of these forms are more appropriately treated as synchronically monomorphemic (as in ‘twins’ below).\(^{118}\)

(115) Examples of common nouns with the plural suffix ||-ya|| -ya

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ka:wiya} & (H V: 1) & ?u*ya \\
\text{ka:wiya} & & ?uya \\
/\text{ka:wi-ya}/ & /?u:ya/ or & /?u:-ya/ \\
\text{child-PL} & \text{twins or} & \text{twin-PL?} \\
\text{‘children’} & \text{‘twins’} & \\
\end{array}
\]

There is an additional plural suffix, ||-čʰma|| -čʰma, one which is not shared with pronouns and kinship terms. This morpheme is so rare and combines with so few stems that those words with this ancient affix might be alternatively analyzed as monomorphemic irregular plurals.\(^{119}\)

(116) Common noun with the suffix ||-čʰma|| -čʰma LOCATIVE

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{še:bačʰma} & (O I: 1) \\
\text{še:bačʰma} & \\
||\text{še:wey+ba?:ay-čʰma}|| \rightarrow [\text{je:’baṭʰ.ma}]
/\text{še:’ba-čʰma}/ \\
\text{young+woman-PL} & \\
\text{‘young women’} & \\
\end{array}
\]

Another bound morpheme which attaches to common nouns and appears to be an affix is the locative suffix ||-ːna|| LOCATIVE, which roughly translates as ‘at’ and

\(^{118}\) This morpheme is ancient and appears to be descended from the Proto Pomoan suffix *-áya that McLendon reconstructs as having been applied to animates (McLendon 1973: 55).

\(^{119}\) Oswalt postulates that -čʰma descends from *yac…ma, though he does not provide a semantic reconstruction (Oswalt 1978: 17).
appears to have a highly restricted distribution. This morpheme appears to be cognate with Eastern Pomo -\eta\ 'indicating contact' (McLendon 1975: 123-124). This suffix is transcremental, as seen in (117) below.

\[(117) \text{Common noun with the suffix } ||\text{-}:\eta\text{a}|| \text{-}\eta\text{a LOCATIVE}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[?]\text{ak}\text{h}:\text{a}:\eta\text{a} & \quad (H I: 3) \\
?\text{ak}\text{h}:\text{a}:\eta\text{a} \\
||?\text{ahk}\text{h}:\text{a}:-\eta\text{a}|| \\
/?\text{ahk}\text{h}:\text{a}:-\eta\text{a}/ \\
\text{water-LOC} \\
\text{‘at water’}
\end{align*}
\]

There is another transcremental suffix that combines with common nouns, though it has no surface form beyond transcremementation (see §2.6.6.). Halpern notes that variation in the laryngeal increments of noun stems may be altered to indicate the “contrast...between point and area” (1984: 18). Nouns with this suffix undergo transcrementation; there is no other surface evidence of the affix.

\[||\text{CVHCV-}\emptyset|| \rightarrow \text{CVC:V-}\emptyset\]

Halpern also notes that this pattern is optionally seen when =\text{wi INSTRUMENTAL} is attached to certain nouns (e.g. \text{k}\text{h}\text{a}:\text{ma} ‘foot’ vs. \text{k}\text{h}\text{a}:\text{ma}=\text{wi} ‘with foot’), and that some verbs show the same alternation to indicate a stative meaning (e.g.

\footnote{The extant texts only show this suffix in combination with ‘water’. The current casino on the Dry Creek Rancheria, known as River Rock Casino, has been given the Southern Pomo name ?ak\text{h}:\text{a}:-\eta\text{a} \text{k}\text{h}\text{a}\text{=}\text{be water-LOC rock ‘river rock’ by Olive Fulwider. In her speech at least, it a seems the combination of ‘water’ and this ancient locative morpheme is fixed and now means ‘creek; river’.} 

\footnote{McLendon used the graph \text{<N>} for the voiceless coronal nasal of Eastern Pomo.} 

\footnote{Halpern terms this phonological alternation as one of “lightness-heaviness of the root”; for convenience, he treats the second (non-increment) consonant of noun stems as the root consonant (1984: 18).}
mi:ṭi-w lie-PFV ‘to lie’ vs. mi:ṭi-w ‘lying’) (1984: 18). This morpheme is herein represented as \(\|--0|--0\) DIFFUSE, and as Halpern correctly observes, its addition to a nominal stem derives a meaning (in English translation) such as ‘at…’ or ‘in (the area of)…’, as seen in (118) below.

(118) The common noun transcremental oblique suffix \(\|--0||\)

| \(ʔač:a\) (H I: 1) | kal:i (Halpern 1984: 18) |
| \(ʔač:a\) | kal:i |
| ||\(ʔahča-0||\) | ||\(ka:li-0||\) |
| /\(ʔač:a-0/\) | /\(ka:li-0/\) |
| house-DIFFUSE | up-DIFFUSE |
| ‘inside [house]’ | ‘up above (as an area)’ |

It would also be possible to treat this as a form of derivational ablaut rather than an affix; however, there is comparative evidence that suggests that the post-consonantal increment /:/ of Southern Pomo stems was historically stem-final rather than combined with the second consonant of the stem (i.e. \(*CVHCV: became CVC:V\)). Southern Pomo common nouns with the shape CVC:V regularly correspond to Kashaya Pomo forms with the shape CVCV: (e.g. Southern Pomo \(nupʰe\) ‘striped skunk’ and its Kashaya cognate \(nupʰe:\)), and Southern Pomo forms with the an /h/-post- consonantally incremented sonorant correspond to Kashaya forms which preserve the /h/-increment and show /:/ on the second vowel of the stem (e.g. Southern Pomo \(kawhe\) ‘gum; pitch’ and its Kashaya cognate \(qahwe:)\) (Halpern 1984: 19-21). The \(\|--0||\) DIFFUSE suffix mostly likely surfaced as final /-:/ in an earlier stage of the language, and this /:/ might have originated through compensatory lengthening after the loss of a consonant.
It is therefore historically plausible that this morpheme was once a suffix represented by a final segment, and it is convenient to represent as such now. If the morpheme \(|-\emptyset|\) **DIFFUSE** is treated as a suffix, it is possible to assign it to the long list of Southern Pomo transcremerental suffixes.

There are two additional morphemes that show suffix-like properties when applied to common nouns. Both appear to be enclitics in certain situations, but it is possible they are actually suffixes when applied to common nouns.

The first one is the problematic morpheme \(-n\) **GOAL**, which Halpern glosses as “object destination” (1984: 18). This morpheme is especially common in combination with \(|=kʰač|\) ‘ward’.\(^{123}\) Example (119) shows this morpheme alone and in combination with \(|=kʰač|\) ‘ward’ \((-n\) is in bold and underlined).

(119) Examples of \(-n\) **GOAL**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka:wi?wan } & \text{ʔam:} \text{jan bá:neba} \quad (H I: 8) \\
\text{ka:wi?wan } & \text{ʔam:} \text{a neba…} \\
/\text{ka:wi=wan } & \text{ʔam:a-n ba:ne-ba/} \\
\text{child=DET.OBJ earth-GOAL lay-SEQ} & \\
‘(he) put the child on the ground...’ \\

\text{ham:} \text{t} \text{ow } & \text{ʔam:} \text{a-} \text{nh=kʰay hwálaw} \quad (H I: 11) \\
\text{ham:} \text{t} \text{ow } & \text{ʔam:} \text{a-nh=kʰay hwálawaw} \\
/\text{ham:i=t} \text{ow } & \text{ʔam:a-nh=kʰay hw-ala-w/} \\
\text{there=ABL earth-GOAL-ward go-DIR-PFV} & \\
‘\text{thence (he) went downhill’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{123}\) Halpern reconstructs this as *-*ahkʰači (1984: 18).
Halpern analyzes -n as a “final position variant” of the “suffix -li” (1984: 18).

The evidence does not, however, point to clear allomorphy between -n\_GOAL and a [li] allomorph. There is a well-attested enclitic =li ‘at’ that surfaces as [li] in final position, though it is unclear whether it attaches to nouns, other word classes, or phrasal constituents. Example (120) gives =li ‘at’ on the stem nopʰ:о-, which can be both a noun (‘village-rancheria’) and a verb (‘to dwell; many sit’).

(120) Example of =li ‘at’

\[
\text{niba ṭyodo ham:i ṭat:iyey nopʰ:о:=li (O I: 11)} \\
\text{niba?yodo ham:i ṭat:iyey nopʰ:о:li} \\
\text{/ni-ba=ʔyo-do ham:i ṭat:i-yey nopʰ:о:=li/} \\
\text{and.then-SEQ=be-QUOT there 3c-PL.AGT live-PFV?=at} \\
\text{‘Then, it is said, there where they were living,’}
\]

The above example is puzzling: if =li and -n are allomorphs of one morpheme (with -n the expected form in word-final position), why does =li surface unchanged in (120) above? However, this example is not a clear refutation of Halpern’s analysis. Until further research proves otherwise, the -n\_GOAL morpheme, though it might be a true suffix separate from =li ‘at’ (at least on common nouns), is treated as an allomorph of ||=li||. It will remain unparsed when in combination with ||=kʰač-|| ‘ward’, as the two appear to be a fused unit.

The second problematic suffix-like morpheme is the patient case marker =\(y\)čon, which attaches to NPs and is therefore treated as a clitic. However, it has some suffix-like properties. In the pronouns and kinship terms, this morpheme is
almost surely a suffix and is one of three allomorphs of the patient case in those word classes. However, its distribution is not quite so random in these word classes.

In the kinship terms, it appears to be restricted to plural forms. In the pronouns, it is also restricted to plural forms; however, it is not the only patient case allomorph allowed to attach to plurals. The plural of at least one common noun, ka:wi-ya child-PL ‘children’, which is not part of the nominal subclass of kinship terms in the language, has an irregular form when the patient case morpheme is attached, as in (121).

(121) Irregular patient form of ka:wi ‘child’

káčon (H V: 29)
kačón
||ka:wi-ya-yčon|| or ||ka:wi-ya=yčon||
/kačón/ or /kaːčon/ or /kaː=čon/
children.PAT child-PL.PAT child.PL=PAT

Though the word ka:wi ‘child’ is not a member of the kinship term subclass, it has obvious semantic similarities to kinship terms, and it is possible that speakers applied the plural patient suffix from the kinship system to this word. (The patient enclitic on common nouns, though it is homophonous with the plural patient suffix of kinship terms, is used on singular common nouns.)

The denominalizer ||-t-|| -t- ~ -t-

Body part nouns maybe turned into verbs by addition of the suffix ||-t-||, as shown in (122) below (the surface form of ||-t-|| is in bold).
Example of denominalizer ||-t-||

ká[:li hu?[:úťbi[:()]ba šó:čiw (H I:5)
ka:li hu?uťbi:ba šo:čiw
∥ka:li hu?uč-ć-bič-ba šo:či-w∥
/ka:li hu?u-ć-bič-ba šo:či-w/
up face-DENOM-DIR-S.SEQ  listen-PFV
‘raised his head and listened’

2.8.1.1. Common noun compounding

As previously mentioned (§2.6.2.1.), there is a robust compounding process in which
two disyllabic stems are reduced to three syllables once compounded. It is the first
syllable of the second noun in the compound is lost to syncope, as in (123).

(123) $\sigma_1 \sigma_2 + \sigma_3 \sigma_4 \rightarrow \sigma_1 \sigma_2 \sigma_4$ in compound nouns

ʔahkʰapṭaka (O ms.)
ʔahkʰapṭaka
∥ʔahkʰa + bu:ṭaka∥ $\rightarrow$ [ʔah.kʰap.'taka]
/?ahkʰa-pṭaka/
water-bear
‘sea lion’

muhwayʔmi (O ms.)
muhwayʔmi
∥muhway + ?im:i∥ $\rightarrow$ [muh.'wayʔ.mi]
/muhway-ʔmi/
fawn-black.berry
‘strawberry’

The final consonant of the initial member of the compound can be lost to
avoid impermissible consonant clusters, as in (124) below.
(124) Consonant deletion in compound $C_1VC_2;VC_3 + C_1VʔC_2V \rightarrow C_1VC_2;VC_1C_2V$

$\text{huʔ}[:]\text{ukʰ}be$ \quad (H VI: 3)
$\text{huʔ:ukʰ}be$
$||\text{huʔ:uy} + \text{kʰaʔbe}|| \rightarrow [\text{huʔ.ʔukʰ}be]$
$/\text{huʔ:u-kʰ}be/$
‘face-rock’
‘eyes’

The final syllable of the first member of the compound may be lost when the first word is trisyllabic, as in (125) below, which also shows the complete loss of the onset and nucleus of the initial syllable in the second member.

(125) Syllable deletion in trisyllabic + disyllabic compounds

$mih[:]\text{il}h\text{kʰ}a$ \quad (H VII: 4)
$mih:il\text{hkʰ}a$
$||mih:ila + \text{ʔahkʰ}a||$
$/mih:il-hkʰa/$
west-water
‘ocean’

However, when the first member of a compound is trisyllabic and the second element has more than two syllables, the only sure phonological change is the loss of the vowel of the initial syllable of the second element. Example (126) illustrates the variation in the forms for ‘Dry Creek’ (Southern Pomo: ‘west water location’, the name for the village and tribal unit from which the modern members of the Dry Creek Rancheria descend), as used in the Dry Creek dialect and the Cloverdale dialect (note the /l/ $\rightarrow$ [n] change in the Cloverdale variant).
(126) Dialectal differences in compound ‘Dry Creek’ (from Oswalt 1981: 49)\(^{124}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Dry Creek dialect form]</th>
<th>[Cloverdale dialect form]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mih:(\text{i})la(\text{h})k(\text{a})(\text{w})na</td>
<td>mih:(\text{i})(\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{k})(\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{w})na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mih:(\text{i})(\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{k})(\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{w})na</td>
<td>mih:(\text{k})(\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{w})na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mih:(\text{i})(\text{h})(\text{a})-?k(\text{h})(\text{a})=(\text{w})(\text{n})(\text{a})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west-water-LOC</td>
<td>west-water-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Dry Creek’</td>
<td>‘Dry Creek’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (126) highlights the great variability in the changes which may occur in the first syllable of the second member of the compound when it is glottal-initial. Compare the two compound-internal variants of ||?ahk\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)|| ‘water’ (-\(\text{h}\)k\(\text{a}\)- and –\(\text{h}\)k\(\text{a}\)-) with that seen earlier in (125) with the compound mih:\(\text{i}\)\(\text{h}\)\(\text{k}\)\(\text{a}\) ‘ocean’, which has ||?ahk\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)|| ‘water’ surfacing as -\(\text{h}\)k\(\text{a}\).

In addition to being unstable as the second member of a compound, glottal-initial words may optionally undergo apheisis when they are the first member of a compound, as seen in the variants for ‘Skaggs Springs’ (a hot spring) in (127) below.

(127) Optional apheisis in glottal-initial compound

\begin{align*}
?ahk\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ho}\) & ?wa:ni \sim k\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ho}\) ?wa:ni \quad \text{(Oswalt 1981: 30)} \\
?ahk\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ho}\)\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ni}\) & k\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ho}\)\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ni}\) \\
||?ahk\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\) + ?oh:o=?\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ni}\)|| \quad \text{water-hot}=\text{LOC} \\
/(?ah)\(\text{k}\)\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\)=\(\text{ho}\)=?\(\text{w}\)\(\text{a}\)\(\text{ni}\) & \quad ‘Skaggs Springs’
\end{align*}

\footnote{The morpheme =\(\text{wina}\) \(\text{LOC}\) is an enclitic; however, in this compound it has under gone syncope which suggests its having been treated as part of a compound with ‘water’ in the past, and I therefore do not treat as an enclitic in the gloss. This morpheme might be cognate with the Southeastern Pomo -\(\text{win}\) in x\(\text{awinmfo}\) ‘on the water people’ (name for the Southeastern Pomo), as recorded by Moshinsky (1974: 96). (Southeastern Pomo \(\text{xa}\) ‘water’ is cognate with Southern Pomo ?ahk\(\text{h}\)\(\text{a}\), and \(\text{mfo}\) ‘human plural’ is cognate with Southern Pomo n\(\text{op}\)\(\text{ho}\) ‘village’.)}
2.8.1.2. Proper names

There is evidence from other Pomoan languages that suggests that proper names should form a robust noun subclass with its own morphology in Southern Pomo. One of the hallmark features of this nominal subclass in other Pomoan languages is the ability to take inflectional case suffixes. Kashaya Pomo, for example, allows for inflectional case-marking suffixes on proper names and includes a vocative form (Oswalt 1961: 112). Northern Pomo makes use of a set of inflectional case-marking morphemes that are restricted to proper names (pronouns and kinship terms have different inflectional case-marking suffixes), as shown in Table (27), which reproduces the Northern Pomo forms given by O’Connor (1987: 159).\(^\text{125}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGENT</th>
<th>PATIENT</th>
<th>OBLIQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-tuh</td>
<td>-wiʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sadly, there is insufficient data in Southern Pomo to establish the case-marking system (if there was one) for proper names.

There are very few Southern Pomo proper names which have been recorded, a fact which might relate to cultural conventions regarding the sparing use of such names.\(^\text{126}\) O’Connor notes that proper names were seldom used for

\(^\text{125}\) O’Connor’s transcription system has been converted to the one used throughout this study.

\(^\text{126}\) Oswalt did record several names from Elsie Allen in his handwritten notes, but many of these notes are difficult to reconcile with other records. They include the name šox³, which seems to be a unique case of final aspiration and is glossed as having no meaning. Borrowing must be suspected in this case. He also lists Elsie Allen’s name and several other names of Elsie Allen’s relatives and others. I do not include these here because the records are not all clear and because I am not sure that they
reference or direct address in Northern Pomo (1987: 158-159). And this avoidance of proper names appears to be shared by Southern Pomo. Oswalt states that “proper names of individuals cannot be used in ordinary secular situations; instead, a kinship term is almost invariably employed as a term of address” (2002: 314). It is not clear, however, whether there was a strict prohibition on all use of personal names in co-called secular situations. The recorded Southern Pomo proper names appear to fall into at least two categories:

(1) names which are based on everyday things (e.g. animals or other parts of the physical world)

(2) names which carry no synchronic meaning beyond their being attached to specific humans (similar to English names like ‘Byron’ or ‘Harry’)

It is unclear whether the first type of name is really in the same class as the second, and it might be the case that individuals had more than one name: type (1) names might therefore be nicknames, and type (2) names might be given names.

Table (28) list the four Southern Pomo names given by fluent speakers before 1930.127

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127 One of the names in the table, that for Elizabeth Dollar’s mother’s father’s father, might have been given by a native speaker to a non-Southern Pomo person. Elizabeth Dollar was reputed to have a Russian ancestor. If this kinsman were the Russian, the name ‘curly haired man/one’ makes more sense (the Pomo have extremely straight hair).
### Table (28): Southern Pomo proper names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Elizabeth Dollar</th>
<th>Christian name</th>
<th>Southern Pomo</th>
<th>English translation (if any)</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Elizabeth Dollar</td>
<td>mukʰɑːkʰɑː:nimen</td>
<td>'brazen, bold-woman' (lit: dry inside) [Oswalt specifically notes this is a 'nickname']</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(O D: ED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Dollar’s mother’s father</td>
<td>Christian name unknown</td>
<td>mokɑliːyey</td>
<td>['curly haired man/one']</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(O D: ED)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Dollar’s sister’s daughter</td>
<td>Olive Fulwider</td>
<td>naːhoʔmen</td>
<td>No known meaning(^{129})</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(W: OF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Dollar’s sister’s daughter; Olive Fulwider’s younger sister</td>
<td>Nellie Cordova</td>
<td>ṭʰak-men/ʔ-men/-FEM</td>
<td>No known meaning(^{129})</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(W: OF)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The name of Elizabeth Dollar is specifically mentioned by Oswalt as being her nickname, and it seems likely that type (1) names are all nicknames.\(^{130}\) The female names in the above table reveal slightly more about this word class and the cultural norms which surround it. The names for all of the women in Table (28) end in a feminine suffix which might be restricted to this word class. It is unclear whether this suffix is |men|| or |ʔ-men||. Olive Fulwider remembers that her mother dropped the feminine suffix for direct address, and this vocative form was naːho [ˈnaː.ho] with no final glottal stop. If the /ʔ/ of naːhoʔmen were part of the

\(^{128}\) Robert Oswalt postulated that this might be an ancient form of hi:no 'ash' (p.c. approx. 2003).

\(^{129}\) This name is very similar to the Kashaya kinship term ṭʰɑʔmɛi 'my wife (agent case)', a word which does not have a synchronic counterpart in Southern Pomo but which did have a cognate in at least one speaker’s idiolect at the time of Gifford’s research: <witakamde> ‘address... [form for] W[ife]' (1922: 115).

\(^{130}\) I should note that Olive Fulwider recalls that her grandmother, Rosa Bill, who is known to her descendants as ‘Grandma ṭʰɛtʰe’ (the child-speech vocative form of ‘mother’) and is Elizabeth Dollar’s mother, was named ṣakʰɛdo [ʃaː.kʰɛ.ro], a name which does not fit well into either of the types in the table: it has no known meaning and does not include the feminine suffix.
proper name stem, its disappearance in the vocative might be an isolated irregularity or a glimpse into a more widespread phenomenon in the proper names for which we have no evidence. Because the majority of the scant records of this suffix show no hint of a preceding glottal stop when the feminine suffix follows a vowel, the form ||-men|| is treated as basic hereafter.

The name of Nellie Cordova, ṭʰᵃᵏᵐᵉⁿ, has been passed down through her oldest daughter’s line as the name for the oldest daughter in each generation. And the modern bearers of the name apparently know it only with the feminine ending. Whether Nellie’s name also took an unsuffixed vocative form is not known at this time. However, both of these type (2) proper names, naːhoʔmen and ṭʰᵃᵏᵐᵉⁿ, do not appear to have been used sparingly in the home environment. It is difficult to determine how remembered usage of proper names in the home environment meshes with previous scholars’ statements about proper name prohibitions.131 There is evidence that the feminine suffix ||-men|| might have functioned as a productive derivational suffix which created proper names from any word class, including borrowed words. The name <Panumen> with the translation “Handkerchief Lady” is listed in the kinship lists for Dry Creek which were created as part of a project by the Army Corps of Engineers (Theodoratus et al. 1975: 283). On the basis of the translation, the first two syllables of the name <Panumen> appear to have been adapted to Southern Pomo phonology from the original Spanish word pañaño [pa.ˈɲu.lo] ‘handkerchief’, and the final syllable <-men> is

131 I have heard Olive Fulwider talk often about her mother calling her naːho.
clearly the feminine suffix ||-men||. It does not appear that this morpheme is restricted to proper names in Southern Pomo. Kashaya Pomo makes use of the cognate morpheme -mei on several feminine kinship terms, such as forms for ‘wife’, ‘grandaughter’, and ‘spouse’s sister’ (Buckley 1994: 375-380). And there is evidence for the use of ||-men|| on kinship terms in Southern Pomo. One possible example is the sequence -med- in the word mahṭikmeden ‘[her own daughter]’ daughter’, but if the -med- of this word is an allomorph of the ||-men|| morpheme seen in female proper names, it behaves quite differently than its Kashaya cognate. Buckley states that the Kashaya feminine suffix -mei is underlingly a feminine suffix ||-me-|| and the agent case suffix ||-en|| (1994: 380). However, the word for ‘daughter’ given above has -med- before what is presumably the patient case suffix -en (i.e. mahṭikmed-en). An additional possible allomorph of the feminine suffix, -md-, appears in Gifford’s record of “kademde or kad’emen’ ‘g[rand]d[daughter]’ (1922: 113). The first variant listed by Gifford might be parsed as kade-md-e, though the component parts could not be glossed at this time if this is the correct parsing. If, however, these forms can have the feminine element parsed and it therefore has the three allomorphs -md-, -med-, -men, only one of two possibilities would hold true: (1) these are all allomorphs of a single feminine suffix and should be represented as ||-med-||

132 Buckley refers to the agent case suffix as the nominative (1994: 375).
133 At an earlier stage in my research I went through Halpern’s notes in an effort to find as many kinship terms as possible. I recorded this form for ‘[her own daughter]’ at this time, but the specific source was not marked. I have not been able to locate the original; however, I believe this form can be parsed in one of the following ways: (1) ma-hṭikmed-en 3c-daughter-PAT; (2) ma-hṭik-med-en 3c-daughter-FEM-PAT; (3) ma-hṭi-k-med-en 3c-daughter-GS-FEM-PAT.
134 Gifford gives several glosses for this term (with its two variants), but he uses abbreviations which do not line up with his key (e.g. Gd and gd are both listed, and each of these should equate to ‘grandaughter’ according to his key to abbreviations) (1922: 113).
and are therefore evidence that the feminine suffix in Southern Pomo is not synchronically a combination with the agent case marker as its second member as in Kashaya; (2) these allomorphs might descend from the same morpheme as the feminine suffix in proper names but our no inseparable parts of the kinship stems to which they were once suffixed are not synchronous allomorphs of the feminine suffix seen on proper names. Without additional data, neither of these possibilities can be ruled out, and no further attempt to do so is attempted hereafter.

The final morpheme -yey of mokolí:-yey ‘[curly haired one/man]’, the name of Elizabeth Dollar’s mother’s father’s father and the sole male name in Table (28) above, appears to serve a different role in this context than is otherwise observed in the use of this morpheme with the pronouns, kinship terms, and common nouns. It seems that this ‘-yey’ is the masculine counterpart of ||-men|| on proper names.

O’Connor notes that the Northern Pomo case enclitics =yaʔ AGENT, =yačul PATIENT, and =yačuʔ OBLIQUE might have once been “inflected noun stems” and that the first part of these clitics might be cognate with the Kashaya morpheme yaʔ ‘person’; however, she observes that her Northern Pomo consultant does not view the Northern Pomo form “as a meaningful nominal element” (1987: 155). This yaʔ of Kashaya is actually ||-yač-||, which has a final allomorph yaʔ after debuccalization of the final consonant; it is a morpheme that “is commonly applied” to Kashaya names in addition to the kinship terms of that language; however, it may be used without regard to the gender of the referent (Buckley 1994: 379-380).
The Southern Pomo morpheme -yey is an enclitic ||=yey|| on common nouns and indicates agentive case (AGENT); on kinship terms and pronouns, this morpheme is actually the suffix ||-yey|| and indicates plurality and agentive case (PLURAL.AGENT).

In each of these nominal subclasses—common nouns, pronouns, kinship terms—this morpheme can only be used on agentive arguments and is affixed or encliticized to such subclasses without respect to gender. The cognate Kashaya morpheme ||-yač-|| is not reported to have any inherent plurality on kinship terms in that language, but it does mark the agentive case (Buckley 1994: 383). If proper names in Southern Pomo make use of -yey as a masculine suffix, this gender association would be unique to this subclass, both within Southern Pomo and to Southern Pomo within Pomoan. It is hoped that further research uncovers additional names which might shed light on the difficulties and possibilities discussed in this section.

2.8.1.3. Kinship terms

Kinship terms are the most morphologically complex subclass of nouns. Unlike common nouns, kinship terms must be inflected and take both prefixes and suffixes. A basic template is given below in Table (29).

Table (29): Kinship term template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSESSIVE PREFIX</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>GENERATION SUFFIX/INFORMAL VOCATIVE</th>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>CASE₁</th>
<th>CASE₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

135 In this instance, this morpheme is specifically said by Buckley to have “special case-marking properties” as a marker of the “subjective” case, which is equivalent to the agentive case in the terminology of this work (1994: 383).
Only the root and at least one marker of case must be present in all kinship forms. The morpheme types listed in the above template are discussed in templatic order with each individual morpheme listed in its own subsection.

2.8.1.3.1. Possessive prefixes

With the exception of two types of vocative (formal direct and informal direct), every kinship term in Southern Pomo must begin with a possessive prefix. These prefixes are not exclusive of possessive pronouns: a speaker may say ʔay:a:kʰe ʔa:-me-n 1PL-POSS 1-father-AGT ‘our father’, which is literally ‘our my/our father’. Each possessive prefix is discussed separately below. Forms are given between pipes only when useful. The glossing convention of this work in included in parentheses at the right of each subheading.

ʔa:- ~ ʔaw:i- ~ wi- ~ ha- ‘my/our’ (1-)

This prefix is used for both singular and plural first-person possession ‘my’ and ‘our’; however, the free pronouns ʔaw:i:kʰe ‘my’ and ʔay:a:kʰe ‘our’ may be combined with kinship terms inflected with this prefix to clarify number. This suffix shows a large number of allomorphs, and these appear to have a non-random distribution. The allomorph ʔa:- is overwhelmingly the commonest of them and the one seen on consanguineal kin terms, as shown in (128).
(128) The ʔa:- allomorph of (1-) on consanguineal kinship terms

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
[ʔ]a:káčen & (H ms.) \\
ʔa:kačen & \text{[回升]} \\
/ʔa:ka-č-en/ & /ʔa:-ka-č/ \\
\text{1-mother’s.mother-AGT} & \text{1-mother’s.mother-PAT} \\
‘my mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’ & ‘my gr[and]mo[ther]’ \\
[ʔ]a:káto & (H ms.) \\
ʔa:kačo & \text{[回升]} \\
/ʔa:-ka-č/ & /ʔa:-ka-č/ \\
\text{1-mother’s.mother-AGT} & \text{1-mother’s.mother-PAT} \\
‘my mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’ & ‘my gr[and]mo[ther]’ \\
\end{array}
\]

The allomorphs ʔaw:i- and wi- are prefixed to affinal kin terms, as illustrated in (129) below.

(129) The ʔaw:i- and wi- allomorph of (1-) on affinal kinship terms

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
<\text{awitgan}> & (\text{Gifford 1922: 115}) \\
ʔaw:i\text{tkh}an & \text{witk}hade(?)^{\text{136}} \\
/ʔaw:i\text{-tkh}an-Ø/ & /wi\text{-tkh}ad-e(?)/ \\
\text{1-spouse-AGT} & \text{1-spouse-AGT} \\
‘[spouse]’ & ‘[spouse!]’ \\
\end{array}
\]

Halpern regularly records a final glottal stop on vocative forms; I have not heard this final glottal stop in Olive Fulwider’s speech, however. Final length might also be possible here.

Gifford records this form as ‘H[usband]’ and provides a different form for ‘wife’; however, the modern speakers of Southern Pomo (and perhaps all speakers of the Cloverdale and Dry Creek dialects) used the root in Gifford’s word for ‘H[usband]’ for ‘spouse’ (Gifford 1922: 115). The forms Gifford records for ‘W[ife]’, <witakamde> (noted by Gifford as for ‘address’) and <awitckamen> (noted by Gifford as for ‘reference’), are clearly cognate with the Kashaya word ʔa:men ‘[my] wife’; however, note that even in Kashaya the paradigm for ‘wife’ is only differentiated in the first-person-possessed form, all other possessive prefixes combine with the same root as seen for ‘husband’ in Kashaya (Buckley 1994: 377). The unusual words for ‘wife’ recorded by Gifford appear to be very old and might be Healdsburg dialect forms. They show the feminine suffix –md- ~ -men already discussed, and the fact that the distinct feminine form ‘wife’ was lost (together with its feminine suffix) in the modern dialects of Southern Pomo might be evidence that the feminine suffix was becoming obsolete outside of proper names.
The choice between ŭaw:i- and wi- appears to be lexically determined and therefore irregular.

The allomorph ha- appears to be entirely restricted to one kinship term, ‘friend’, a word which was used for distant in-law relations and with strangers whom speakers did not consider enemies (hence the English approximation). This form is perhaps one of the most interesting relics within Southern Pomo kinship morphology. Together with the other allomorphs of the first-person possessive prefix, the allomorph ha- lends support to McLendon’s reconstruction of the first-person pronoun of Proto Pomo as *haʔáw for the “Subject” (=agent) first-person pronoun and *haʔáwi for the first-person possessive pronoun (1973: 56). The Southern Pomo word for ‘friend’ is the only corner of the language which preserves an /h/-initial morpheme with first-person semantics. It likely survived in this special context due to glottal dissimilation (though see the suppletive form for ‘my mother’ in the section on kinship roots). Example (130) shows the allomorph ha- on a variety of forms for ‘friend’.

(130) The ha- allomorph of (1-) on the kinship term ‘friend’

\[\text{<hag'kan>} \quad (\text{Gifford 1922: 115})\]
\[\text{hak:an} \]
\[/\text{ha-ka-n/} \]
\[1\text{-friend-AGT} \]
\[\text{‘C[ousin’s ]w[ife~]friend’} \]
\[\text{hak:áičon} \quad (\text{H ms.})\]
\[\text{hak:yčon} \]
\[/\text{ha-ka-yčon/} \]
\[1\text{-friend-PL.PAT} \]
\[\text{‘friends’} \]
There are also affinal kinship terms which do take the more common ʔa:-
allomorph, such as ʔamačen ‘father’s mother, father’s mother’s sister, father’s
father’s sister, father's brother’s wife’, though only one of the relations expressed
by this word is affinal, and that affinal relation is clearly not perceived in the same
way within the culture. Therefore the apparently non-random distribution of the
allomorphs of the first-person possessive kinship prefix do fit a pattern and are
herafter treated as discrete morphemes within || ||, though they are all glossed as 1-
(the translation of the root is sufficient to determine consanguineal vs. affinal
status).

||miH-|| mi- ~ me- ‘thy/your’ (2-)

The second-person possessive prefix has much simpler allomorphy than the first-
person prefix. It is represented with ||-H|| because it must surface with a laryngeal
increment on the following kinship term root. The choice of increment is
determined by the factors covered earlier (§2.6.6.). The me- allomorph is the result
of vowel lowering when the kinship term root has /e/ (see §2.6.1.). This prefix is
used to indicate both second-person singular possession (‘thy’) and second-person
plural possession (‘your’). Examples of each allomorph are given in (131) and (132)
below.
(131) The mi- allomorph of ||miH-|| (2-) ‘thy/your’

mík:ač (H ms.)
/mi-k:a-č-Ø/
2-mother’s.mother-GS-AGT
‘[thy] mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’

(132) The me- allomorph of ||miH-|| (2-) ‘thy/your’

méʔ[:]en (H ms.)
/meʔ:e-n/
2-father-PAT
‘[thy] father’

||miy:a-|| miy:a- ‘his/her/their’ (3-)

This prefix contrasts with the coreferential prefix ||maH-|| of the following section.

In connected speech, it used when the possessor of the kinship term is not the subject of the main verb. This prefix satisfies the need for an initial heavy syllable in Southern Pomo, and as a disyllabic morpheme, it does so without affecting the kinship term root, which does not take a laryngeal increment when prefixed with miy:a-. This prefix is therefore a true decrement (of the type seen in Kashaya) in its ability to remove any trace of a laryngeal increment from the root. As the only kinship prefix to have any effect on laryngeal increments, it is not necessary to create an additional term or to restrict decrement to this prefix and thereby be forced to created a new term for the plural act affix ||-t-|| (see §2.6.6.). Examples of the third-person possessive prefix with increment-less kinship roots are given below.
Examples of \(\text{miy}:-\text{a} \mid \text{miy}:-\text{a} \) ‘his/her/their’ (3-)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{miy:a-ṭʰe} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) & \text{miy:αːki} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
\text{miy:a-ṭʰe} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) & \text{miy:αːki} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
\text{/miy:a-ṭʰe-Ø/} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) & \text{/miy:a-ṭʰe-Ø/} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
3\text{-mother-AGT} & \quad 3\text{-younger.sibling-GS-AGT} & \quad \text{‘his mother’} & \quad \text{‘his younger brother or sister’}
\end{align*}
\]

There is a single kinship root which does not lose its laryngeal increment after taking the \(\text{miy}:-\text{a} \mid \text{miy}:-\text{a} \) prefix. This kinship term \(\text{miy}:-\text{a} \mid \text{miy}:-\text{a} \) ‘friend’ has an underlying geminate consonant which descends from a historic change of \(*\text{-CVCV...} \rightarrow \text{-CCV...}\), as evidenced by comparing the modern Southern Pomo form with the Kashaya cognate \(\text{k}a\text{ṭʰi} \mid \text{k}a\text{ṭʰi} \) ‘my friend (agentive case)’, which has preserved two distinct consonants and an intervening vowel. Example (134) gives \(\text{miy}:-\text{a} \mid \text{miy}:-\text{a} \) with the root for ‘friend’

(134) Example of \(\text{miy}:-\text{a} \mid \text{miy}:-\text{a} \) ‘his/her/their’ (3-) with ‘friend’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{miy:[:kː]a-ṭʰa(w)wám:u} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
\text{miy:a-kanwam:u} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
\text{/miy:a-ṭʰa-Ø=wa=m:u/} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
3\text{-friend-AGT=COP.EVID=3SG} & \quad \text{‘it’s his friend’}
\end{align*}
\]

There is one additional kinship root that surfaces with an increment after prefixation, though this record is somewhat suspect. The root for ‘mother’s mother’ has been recorded as \(\text{–k}:\text{a} \mid \text{–k}:\text{a} \) after being prefixed with \(\text{miy}:-\text{a} \), which is most unexpected because this root can otherwise surface with a singleton consonant after other prefixes (e.g. \(\text{ʔa}k\text{aː} \mid \text{ʔa}k\text{aː} \) ‘my mother’s mother’). This inexplicable form has one of three explanations: (1) it is an error made by Halpern; (2) it reflects a lost
second consonant within the root, much as seen for ‘friend’, but which leaves no evidence elsewhere in the paradigm of the root and that has no corroborating evidence in Kashaya; (1) it an analogical change made more recently by speakers on the basis of ‘friend’ (they might have decided that /:/ must always be applied to velar plosives after miy:a- prefixation). The first explanation seems most probable. Example (135) provides an instance of the unexpected augment on ||-ka-|| ‘mother’s mother’ after miy:a- prefixation (note the double indication of possession with both the free pronoun ham:ubakʰe ‘his’ and the use of the prefix miy:a-).

(135) Unexpected occurrence of /:/ after miy:a- prefixation

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hám:ubákʰe miy:ak:ačwám:u} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ham:ubakʰe miy:akačwam:u} \\
\text{/ham:ubakʰe miy:a-ka-č=wa=m:u/} \\
\text{3SG.MASC-POSS} & \quad \text{3-mother’s.mother-GS=COP.EVID=3SG} \\
\text{‘it’s his mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’}
\end{align*}
\]

||maH-|| ma- ‘his/her/their own’ (3c-)

This morpheme is represented with ||-H|| because the following root must surface with a laryngeal increment, and as is the case with ||miH-|| ‘thy/your’, the choice of increment is conditioned by the factors discussed earlier (§2.6.6.).

This prefix has clear cognates in Kashaya, Central Pomo, and Northern Pomo (Buckley 1994: 378; Mithun 1990: 366; O’Connor 1987: 237, 266-297).138 Oswalt describes this prefix as one which “means the agent of the verb is the possessor” of

---

138 McLendon reports that the kinship prefixes “cannot as yet be completely reconstructed” for Proto Pomo (1973: 56).
the kinship term, a concept he labels “co-reference” (1978: 12). There is a great deal of variety in terminology used over several decades in the description of the cognates for this prefix in the sister languages of Southern Pomo, but for convenience, the terminology used by Oswalt (1978) for Southern Pomo is maintained in this work (without hyphenation), and this prefix is hereafter termed third-person coreferential possessive prefix (3c-).

Oswalt’s statement, however, needs clarification: it is not the agent of the verb that is coreferential with the possessor of kinship terms prefixed with ||maH-||; rather, it is the least patient-like argument, which, for convenience, may be termed the subject, a term which is also useful in order to distinguish this phenomenon from the actual agent/patient case-marking system seen elsewhere in the grammar.

The following sentence in (136) includes both third-person possessive prefixes. In the example, ||miy:a-|| miy:a- is prefixed to –ki- ‘older brother’ because it is the older brother—both brothers are the same species of raptor—who sits beside his own younger brother and combs his own younger brother’s hair. The older brother is the subject of bakʰ:ay, the main verb of the sentence, and it is therefore he who is the third-person possessor of the younger brother, and ||maH-|| ma- is therefore prefixed to -ŋiki- ‘younger brother’. The prefixed kinship terms are in bold in (136) below.

139 The kinship root for ‘older brother’ is irregular: it is –mi-ki- (–ki- is a generational suffix) after the first-person possessive prefix ʔa-; it is –ki- after all other possessive prefixes.
(136) ||miy:a-|| (3-) and ||maH-|| (3c-) in the same sentence (H VI: 3)

miy:aki kʰaʔbékʰaʔcʰyey maʔfikι( )sa:ma čahčiba,

**miy:aki** kʰaʔbékʰaʔcʰyey **maʔfikιsama** čahčiba

/miy:a-ki-∅ kʰaʔbékʰaʔcʰ=yey ma:-fi-ki=sa:ma čahči-ba/
3-older.bro.-AGT raptor.species=AGT 3c-y.bro.=beside sit-S.SEQ

[ʔ]ahčipkʰaywi heʔ[:]eʔwan bákʰ:ay.

ʔahčipkʰaywi heʔ:eʔwan bakʰ:ay

/ʔahči-pkʰay=wi heʔ:eʔwan bakʰ:ay-∅/
louse-comb=INSTR head.hair=DET.OBJ comb-PFV

‘His older bro., the Fish Hawk, having sat down near his y. bro., combed (his) hair with a louse-comb.’

The prefix ||maH-|| ma- works in concert with the switch-reference suffixes (one of which can be seen on ‘sit’ in the example above) and the third-person coreferential pronouns to track subject across multi-clause sentences. Other Pomoan languages which have cognate morphemes for Southern Pomo ||maH-||, its switch-reference suffixes, and its third-person coreferential pronouns show them to behave in a more nuanced manner in certain genres of natural discourse in which the third-person morphemes indicate speaker empathy with a third-person argument and not coreferentiality (Mithun 1990, 1993). However, the data for Southern Pomo, which come from elicitations and monologic narratives, consistently show a simple coreferential function, which might indicate a difference between Southern Pomo and some Pomoan languages; it also might be the result of an incomplete database, one which was not able to make use of a living community of speakers who interact with one another during data collection.
The third-person coreferential suffix ||maH-|| ma- does have one clear non-third-person use in Southern Pomo: kinship terms with this prefix are apparently the citation form and are used in constructions which translate with 'have' in English, as shown in (137) below.

(137) Non-third-person use of ||maH-|| ma- in a 'have' construction

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maʔ[:]ékoʔkáʔma} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{maʔ:ekōʔkaʔma} \\
/\text{maʔ:}=\text{koʔ:}=\text{ma}/ \\
\text{3C-father=COM=INTER=2SG.AGT} \\
\text{‘have you a father[?]’} \\
\text{maʔ[:]ékoʔwaʔa} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{maʔ:ekōʔwaʔa} \\
/\text{maʔ:}=\text{koʔ:}=\text{waʔ:a}/ \\
\text{3C-father=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT} \\
\text{‘I have a father’}
\end{align*}
\]

The glossing 3C- in the above constructions does not in anyway line up with the semantics; however, for the sake of consistency, this morpheme is glossed in the same way throughout this grammar whether it appears in its canonical role or the specialized construction in (137) above.

2.8.1.3.2. Kinship term roots

The kinship term roots show a split between monosyllabic and disyllabic roots. The monosyllabic roots of the shape –CV- are overwhelmingly those which stand for consanguineal kinship terms. Disyllabic roots and monosyllabic roots with a consonant cluster in general stand for affinal terms. The most glaring exception to
these generalizations is ||-k:a|| ~ ||-k:ad-|| ‘friend’, which is an irregular root, one variant of which does have a second consonant, and is cognate with a Kashaya form that suggests this root descends from a root with two consonants, as discussed in the previous section (§2.8.1.3.1.). The following roots are taken from Appendix I, which lists incomplete paradigms for each of these roots. Gifford (1922) lists many more terms, but his inability to hear and record the sounds correctly renders them too inaccurate to be included here.\(^ {140} \) Each of the roots listed below includes a translation that should not be considered exhaustive; they are listed together with the generational suffix (described in the next section) with which each combines in some forms.

\[
\begin{align*}
||-\text{ba-}\text{č-}|| & \quad -\text{ba-} -\text{ba-} -\text{b?a-} \\
& \quad ‘\text{father’s father, father’s father’s brother}’ \\
||-\text{ča-}\text{č-}|| & \quad -\text{ča-} -\text{ča-} \\
& \quad ‘\text{mother’s father, mother’s father’s brother, mother’s older brother}’ \\
||-\text{či-ki-}|| & \quad -\text{či-} -\text{či-} \\
& \quad ‘\text{father’s younger brother, stepfather, mother’s younger sister’s husband, father’s sister’s son}’ \\
||-\text{ču-č-}|| & \quad -\text{ču-} -\text{ču-} \\
& \quad ‘\text{mother’s younger brother}’ \\
||-\text{dakʰad-}|| & \quad -\text{ʔdakd-} -\text{ʔdakan} -\text{ʔtkʰad-} -\text{ʔtkʰan} \\
& \quad ‘\text{spouse}’ \\
||-\text{di-ki-}|| & \quad -\text{di-} -\text{d?i-} \\
& \quad ‘\text{older sister}’
\end{align*}
\]

\(^ {140} \) The forms in Appendix I come from Halpern’s notes, (H I-IX) and (O I), and are included because of the high level of confidence I have in these researchers’ ability to transcribe the sounds correctly.
As can be seen in the list above, there are some irregular roots, such as ‘friend’ and ‘older brother’, and both forms for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ have suppletive forms. McLendon notes that Eastern Pomo uses suppletion together with
prefixation to distinguish between ego’s parent versus a second or third person’s parent (1975: 115). The suppletive forms of Southern Pomo, however, do not seem to serve the same function. The two roots for ‘mother’ are distributed as follows: the root ||-č’e-|| is restricted to first-person-possessed forms and the formal vocative; ||-tʰe-|| is found in all other situations. The suppletive forms for father, however, are not distributed along the same lines: ||-ʔe-|| is restricted to second-person-possessed forms and third-person-coreferential-possessed forms; ||-me-|| is restricted to first-person-possessed forms and third-person-possessed forms.

2.8.1.3.3. The generational suffixes ||-č-|| -č- and ||-ki-|| -ki- ~ -ke- ~ -k- (gs)

There are two generational suffixes which attach directly to the kinship root. The suffix ||-č-|| -č- is attached to roots which stand for consanguineal relations who are of ego’s parents’ generation or above. This should not be taken to mean that only blood relations were referenced with kinship terms bearing the ||-č-|| -č- suffix; Southern Pomo kin terms are more inclusive than the glosses indicate. For example, the attested translations for the root ||-ma-|| ‘father’s mother’, which takes the -č-suffix, actually applies to several female kin, including one affinal relation, and a more complete translation would be: ‘father’s mother, father’s mother’s sister, father’s father’s sister, father's brother’s wife’. However, it is clear that the core meaning of this suffix includes consanguineal kin, and any affinal relations referenced by kinship terms with the ||-č-|| -č- suffix are those which Southern Pomo culture included within a broader consanguineal category.
The ||-ê-|| suffix is very ancient within Pomoan; it is reconstructed for Proto Pomo as *-či- ‘one’s own kinsman in generations above ego’ (McLendon 1973: 56). Those kinship terms which take the ||-ê-|| generational suffix do so in all forms within their respective paradigms with two exceptions: (1) first-person-possessed kin terms in the patient case lose ||-ê-|| before the -fo allomorph of the patient case suffix (an allomorph that is only found on first-person-possessed forms within this subclass), though the patient case suffix may surface with /:/ as evidence of the otherwise missing generational suffix; (2) it is absent from the reduplicated informal (or child speech) vocative. Thus ʔa:-ču-ê-en 1-mother’s.younger.brother-GS-AGT ‘my uncle’ and ʔu-č-e? mother’s.brother-GS-VOC ‘uncle!’ both show this generational suffix surfacing, but it only surfaces as length on the patient suffix in ʔa:-ču-fo 1-mother’s.brother-GS-AGT ‘my uncle’ and is entirely omitted in ʔu-ʔu mother’s.younger.brother-INFORMAL.VOC ‘uncle!’.

The second generational suffix, ||-ki-|| -ki- ~ -ke- ~ -k-, is applied to consanguineal kin terms which stand for relations who are younger than ego’s parents (e.g. father’s younger brother, older brother, older sister, younger sibling, etc.). This suffix has three allomorphs, each which can be predicted on the basis of the following morpheme. Each of the three allomorphs of ||-ki-|| is discussed below.

The -ke- allomorph of ||-ki-||
This form is found before suffixes with an underlying /e/ and is the result of the regular vowel lowering alternation already discussed (§2.6.1.). The following suffixes create the environment for the allomorph -ke-: the first-person-possessed
agentive suffix ||-en||, the vocative suffix ||-e|| (or any allomorph of the vocative with an /e/\(^{141}\)); the possessive suffix ||-kʰe||. The vowel initial suffixes which trigger this allomorph subsequently lose their initial vowel (and therefore the visible evidence of the trigger) due to the \(V \rightarrow \emptyset/\_V\) rule discussed earlier (§2.6.2.).

Examples are given below in (138) - (140) of ||-ki-|| surfaced as -ke- before each of these suffixes.

(138) -ke- allomorph of ||-ki-|| before the suffix ||-en|| **AGENTIVE**

[ʔ]a:díken (H ms.)
\[\mathcal{a}:diken\]
\[\|a:-di-ki-en\|\]
\[/a:-di-ke-en/\]
1-older.sister-GS-AGT
'my o[lder] sis[ter]'

(139) -ke- allomorph of ||-ki-|| before the suffix ||-e|| **VOCATIVE**

díke? (H ms.)
dike?
\[\|d\i:-ki-e\|\]
\[/di-ke-\]/
older.sister-GS-VOC
'o[lder] sis[ter !]'

(140) -ke- allomorph of ||-ki-|| before the suffix ||-kʰe|| **POSSESSIVE**

[ʔ]a:dikʰe:kʰe \(\mathcal{c}h^n\)e?:\(\mathcal{e}\)f\(\mathcal{e}\)may(\(\mathcal{e}\)w\(\mathcal{a}\)m:\u003bu (H ms.)
\[\mathcal{a}:dike:kʰe \(\mathcal{c}h^n\)e?:\(\mathcal{e}\)f\(\mathcal{e}\)maywa\(\mathcal{m}\)u\]
\[\|a:-di-ki-kʰe\| \(\mathcal{c}h^n\)e?:\(\mathcal{e}\)f\(\mathcal{e}\)may=wa=m:u\]
\[/a:-di-ke-kʰe\| \(\mathcal{c}h^n\)e?:\(\mathcal{e}\)f\(\mathcal{e}\)may=wa=m:u/\]
1-older.sister-GS-POSS basket=COP,EVID=3SG
'this is my o[lder] sis[ter's] basket''

\(^{141}\) I have not been able to confirm the final glottal stop that Halpern records on such vocatives, and it might be possible that some speakers used /-e/ or /-e:/ in place of the /-e?/ vocative suffix seen in the tables in Appendix I.
The -k- allomorph of ||-ki-||

This allomorph is in free variation with -ki- before certain /y/-initial suffixes, though the -k- form is by far the most commonly recorded allomorph in this context. Example (141) displays an instance of recorded free variation before the plural suffix -ya (the -k- allomorph is in bold and underlined).

(141) Free variation between -ki- and -k- allomorphs of ||-ki-|| before ||-ya||

ʔakʰ:o ma:škiyačó:koʔwáʔa
two 3c-younger.sibling-GS-PL-OBL=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
‘I have 2 y[ounger] siblings’

The ||-ki-|| generational suffix surfaces as -ki- in all other contexts. Like the ||-č-|| generational suffix, ||-ki-|| is ancient and has been reconstructed for Proto Pomo as *-qi ‘ego’s own older siblings or the younger siblings of one’s parents’ (McLendon 1973: 56). It has been reported that the Kashaya cognate of this morpheme in combination with a case suffix marks kin terms (and proper names) as specifically masculine and does not indicate relative age within generations (Buckley 1994: 379-380). There is no indication that this suffix has any masculine semantics in Southern Pomo. The Kashaya cognate has therefore changed the semantics of this suffix since its split from Southern Pomo or the masculine-only semantics have been incorrectly analyzed.
2.8.1.3.4. The informal vocative (child speech vocative)

Kinship terms have a special informal vocative (child speech vocative) which is formed with the reduplicative affix ||-ːr-||. Forms in the informal vocative may optionally take the vocative suffixes ||-eʔ|| or ||-deʔ||. These forms are associated with child speech and are roughly comparable to English forms like ‘dad~daddy’, ‘mom ~ mama ~ mommy’, ‘sis~sissy’, ‘bubba’, etc. Examples of reduplicated informal vocatives are given in (142) below.\(^{142}\)

(142) Informal vocatives with reduplicative affix ||-ːr-||

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma}\text{-ma} & \text{?} \\
\text{||ma}-ːr\text{-eʔ}|| & \\
\text{/ma\text{-}:ma-ʔ/} & \\
\text{father’s.mother~INFORMAL.VOC~VOC} & \\
\text{‘[grandma!]’} & \\
\text{ṭʰe\text{-ṭʰe}} & \\
\text{||ṭʰe\text{-ːr}||} & \\
\text{/ṭʰe\text{-}:ṭʰe/} & \\
\text{mother~INFORMAL.VOC} & \\
\text{‘[mommy!]’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to reduplication of the root, the informal vocative replaces /č/ with /τ/, as seen in (143) below.\(^{143}\)

---

\(^{142}\) The forms throughout this subsection come from a database I created years before I began writing; they are almost all from Halpern’s notes, but they do not show his accent marks. Because they were not carefully sourced in my original database, I cannot assign them all to Halpern’s notes with complete confidence. They are therefore simply listed in italics. One form definitely does not come from Halpern’s notes: ṣiki ‘auntie!’ (‘mother’s younger sister’) comes from Olive Fulwider and several other Dry Creek members’ memories.

\(^{143}\) In Kashaya Pomo informal first-person-possessed forms these changes are more widespread: /q/ is replaced by /k/, /č/ by /τ/, and /ṭʰ/ by /tʰ/ (Buckley 1994: 381-382).
(143) Examples of /č/ → /ʃ/ with informal vocative

\[\text{tata?}||\text{ča-ř-eʔ}||/\text{ta-šaʔ}/\]
mother’s.father-INFORMAL.VOC-VOC
‘mother’s father’

\[\text{tu:tu} \sim \text{tu:tu:deʔ}||\text{ču-ř} || \sim ||\text{ču-ř-deʔ}||/\text{tu-šu-deʔ}/\]
mother’s.brother-INFORMAL.VOC-VOC
‘[uncle!]’

The reduplicative informal vocative does not apply to kinship roots which take the generational suffix \(||-\text{ki-}||\); however, the informal vocative may be kept distinct from the formal vocative with such roots by not combing the \(||-\text{ki-}||\) with the vocative suffix \(||-\text{eʔ}||\) and thereby preserving the vowel of \(||-\text{ki-}||\); compare (144) and (145) below (the generational suffix on the informal vocative is uniquely marked as gs.INFORMAL.VOC below).

(144) Informal vocative with \(||-\text{ki-}||\) gs

\[\text{diki}||\text{di-ki}||/\text{di-ki}/\]
older.sister-GS.INFORMAL.VOC
‘[sister!]’

(145) Formal vocative with \(||-\text{ki-}||\) gs

\[\text{dikeʔ}||\text{di-ki-eʔ}||/\text{di-keʔ}/\]
older.sister-GS-VOC
‘[sister!]’
The one exception to the prohibition on reduplication with kinship terms which take the generational suffix ||-ki-|| is the irregular root ||-mi-|| ~ ||-ki-|| ‘older brother’, which is mikeʔ in the formal vocative but kiki in the informal vocative. (The informal version is clearly reduplicated, as evidence by the /:/ of the first syllable; kiki is not simply the irregular root ||-ki-|| plus the generational suffix ||-ki-||.)

2.8.1.3.5. Plural marking and case on kinship terms

Plural marking and case cannot be disentangled on the kinship terms, and both are therefore covered in this section. Plural marking is discussed first, and all of the morphemes which may fit into the CASE 1 slot of the template in (§2.8.1.3.) are then discussed before the thorny question of why number and case are combined in some morphemes is addressed. The suffixes and enclitics which may fill the CASE 2 slot of the kinship template are discussed last.

Plural suffixes on kinship terms

Number marking is obligatory on kinship terms; however, the distinct plural suffix ||-ya-|| only appears as a clearly segmentable morpheme when combined with certain non-agentive cases. Example (146) gives kinship terms with the plural suffix ||-ya-|| coming after a generational suffix and before a non-agentive case suffix (the plural suffix is in bold and underlined).
(146) Plural suffix ||-ya-|| on kinship terms

[ʔ]adíkyačókʰe čaw:ánwa (H ms.)
ʔadíkyačókʰe čaw:anwa
||ʔa:-di-ki-ya-čo:-kʰe čaw:an=wa||
/ʔa:-di-k-ya-čo:-kʰe čaw:an=wa/ 1-old.sister-GS-PL-OBL-POSS stuff=COP.EVID
‘these are my older sisters’ [things]’

middíkyačóŋ [ʔ]uhténten (H ms.)
middíkyačóŋ uhténten
||miH-di-ki-ya-čon ?uhténte-Vn||
/mi-díi-k-ya-čon ?uhténte-n/ 2-old.sister-GS-PL-PAT tell-SG.IMP
‘tell your older[s] sisters’

The -ya- allomorph of ||-ya-|| PLURAL only occurs after the generational suffixes ||-c-|| and ||-ki-||. The allomorph -y- is seen elsewhere, as shown in (147) below.144

(147) The -y- allomorph of ||-ya-|| PLURAL

hakáičon (H ms.)
hakayčon
||ha-ča-ya-čon||
/ha-ča-y-čon/ 1-friend-PL-PAT
‘my friends’

The final morpheme combination seen above in (147), namely /-y-čon/ PL-PAT is phonetically identical with =yčon, a post-vocalic allomorph of the patient case enclitic of common nouns, which is encliticized to NPs without regard to number.

144 Appendix I also lists at least one example of the -y- allomorph of ||-ya-|| PLURAL occurring (inexplicably) after a generational suffix. This form, miH:tčóːkʰe /mi:-ki::-čo:-kʰe/ 2-older.brother-GS-PL-OBL-POSS ‘your older brothers’, should probably have the apparent /-ː/ allomorph of ||-ya-|| corrected to /-y-/.
When a plural kinship term is in the agentive case, it is marked with the suffix ||-yey|| -yey PLURAL.AGT, as shown in (148) (-yey is in bold).

(148) Kinship term with the suffix ||-yey|| PLURAL.AGENT

mibʔáčyey (H ms.)
mibʔáčyey
/mi-bʔa-č-yey/
2-father’s.father-GS-PL.AGT
‘your gr[and]fa[ther]s. (i.e. your fa[ther’s]fa[ther] & his bro[ther])’

híy:o [ʔ]á:mačyey( )wám:u (H ms.)
híy:o [ʔ]a:mačyeywam:u
/híy:o [ʔ]a:-ma-č-yey=wa=m:u/
yes 1-father’s.mother-GS-PL.AGT=COP.EVID=3SG
‘yes these are my gr[and]mo[ther]s’

*Kinship term case suffixes*

All kinship terms must be marked for case. There are two core cases, agentive and patient, and a number of oblique cases, most of which are indicated by adding a suffix or enclitic to the oblique suffix used for the formal vocative.\(^{145}\) The case-marking morphemes of the kinship system show morphologically conditioned allomorphy, and there is a division between first-person-possessed kinship terms and all others in terms of case marking allomorphy. Each case is discussed individually.

\(^{145}\) This section focuses on the forms of the kinship terms. The actual usage of the agentive and patient cases in connected speech is discussed in section III.
The agentive case on kinship terms

The agentive case on kinship terms is split two ways: singular and plural are marked with completely unrelated suffixes, and singular kinship terms which are prefixed with the first-person possessive prefix take a different agentive case suffix than all other singular kinship terms. These divisions are summarized in Table (30).

Table (30): Suffixes which mark the agentive case on kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE</th>
<th>NOT PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(e)n</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yey</td>
<td>-yey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each of these agentive case suffixes are given below in (149) – (151) (the overtly expressed agentive case suffixes are in bold and underlined).

(149) The agentive case suffix ||-en|| -en ~ -n on first-person-possessed terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[ʔ]a:čáčen (H ms.)</th>
<th>[ʔ]a:díken (H ms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?a:čáčen</td>
<td>?a:díken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔa:-ča-č-en/</td>
<td>/ʔa:-di-ki-n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-mother’s.father-GS-AGT</td>
<td>1-older.sister-GS-AGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘my mo[ther’s] fa[ther]’</td>
<td>‘my o[lder] sis[ter]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(150) The agentive case suffix ||-Ø|| on non-first-person-possessed terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>míy:ačač (H ms.)</th>
<th>mid?iki (H ms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>míy:ačač</td>
<td>mid?iki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/míy:a-ča-č-Ø/</td>
<td>/mi-d?i-ki-Ø/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-mother’s.father-GS-AGT</td>
<td>2-older.sister-GS-AGT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘his mo[ther’s] fa[ther]’</td>
<td>‘your o[lder] sis[ter]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The agentive case suffix ||-yey|| on plural kinship terms

(151) The agentive case suffix ||-yey|| on plural kinship terms

\[ ?\text{á:čačyey} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \quad \text{míy:ačáčyey} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \]
\[ ?\text{ačyey} \quad \text{miy:ačačyey} \]
\[ ||a:ča-č-yey|| \quad ||\text{miy:a-ča-č-yey}|| \]
\[ /?a:ča-č-yey/ \quad /\text{miy:a-ča-č-yey}/ \]
1-mother’s father-GS-PL.AGT 3-mother’s father-GS-PL.AGT
‘my mo[ther’s] fa[ther)s’ ‘his mo[ther’s] fa[ther)s’

The patient case on kinship terms

Like the agentive case, the patient case on kinship terms is split two ways: singular and plural are marked with completely unrelated suffixes, and singular kinship terms which are prefixed with the first-person possessive prefix take a different agentive case suffix than all other singular kinship terms. These divisions are summarized in Table (31) (the allomorphs of the plural suffix ||-ya-|| are included for the plural patient case forms).

Table (31): Suffixes which mark the patient case on kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE</th>
<th>NOT PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>-tō</td>
<td>-(e)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td>-y(a)-čon</td>
<td>-y(a)-čon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each of these patient case suffixes are given below in (152) – (154) (the patient case suffixes are in bold and underlined).
(152) The patient case suffix \(|-t\)o\| -\(t\)o on first-person-possessed terms

\[\text{ʔa:ba}t\text{ʔo} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \quad \text{ʔa:me}t\text{ʔo} \quad (\text{H ms.})\]

\[\|\text{ʔa:-ba-}t\text{ʔo}\|^{146} \quad \|\text{ʔa:-me-}t\text{ʔo}\|\]

\[/\text{ʔa:-ba-}t\text{ʔo} / \quad /\text{ʔa:-me-}t\text{ʔo} /\]

1-father's.father-PAT 1-father-PAT

‘our fa[ther’s] fa[ther]’ ‘my father’

(153) Patient case suffix \(|-en\| -\(en\) ~ -\(n\) on non-first-person-possessed terms

\[\text{máb?ačen} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \quad \text{míy:amen} \quad (\text{H ms.})\]

\[\text{mab?ačen} \quad \text{míy:amen}\]

\[\|\text{maH-ba-}č\text{-en}\| \quad \|\text{miy:a-me-}en\|\]

\[/\text{ma-b?a-}č\text{-en} / \quad /\text{miy:a-me-}n/\]

3c-father's.father-GS-PAT 3-father-PAT

‘his gr[and]fa[ther]’ ‘his fa[ther]’

(154) The plural + patient case suffixes \(|ya-čon\| on plural kinship terms

\[\text{ʔa:kačyáčon} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \quad \text{hak:áičon} \quad (\text{H ms.})\]

\[\text{ʔa:kačyáčon} \quad \text{hak:áičon}\]

\[\|\text{ʔa:-ka-č-ya-čon}\| \quad \|\text{ha-ka-ya-čon}\|\]

\[/\text{ʔa:-ka-č-ya-čon}/ \quad /\text{ha-ka-ya-čon}/\]

1-mother's.mother-GS-PL-PAT 1-friend-PL-PAT

‘my gr[and]mo[ther]s’ ‘my friends’

There is also the rare patient case allomorph -\(an\) found on at least one singular kinship term; this patient case allomorph is also found on the third-person singular non-coreferential pronouns (see §2.8.2.1.). An example of the -\(an\) patient case allomorph is given in (155) below.

---

146 The records show variation between /\(t\)/ and /\(t:\)/ in this patient case allomorph when if follows the generational suffix \(|-č\|\); this form might have been mistakenly recorded as a singleton (thereby hiding all traces of \(|-č\|\) or any /\(t:\)/ manifestation of \(|-č\|\) in this environment might be optional. I have chosen not to represent \(|-č\|\) in this form because of the complete lack any surface manifestation of the suffix in this record.
(155) The \(-an\) allomorph of the patient case suffix on singular kinship terms

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mak:odan} & \quad (O 1:13) \\
\text{mak:odan} & \\
\text{||maH-kod-an||} & \\
\text{/ma-k:od-an/} & \\
\text{3-sister\'s.husband-PAT} & \\
\text{\textquoteleft her own brother-in-law\textquoteright} & 
\end{align*}
\]

The vocative case on kinship terms

In addition to the reduplicative informal vocative \(|-\tilde{r}-||\) described earlier

(§2.8.1.3.4.), there are other vocative suffixes, all of which can be used to form formal vocatives. The vocative case in Southern Pomo is unique in three ways:

1. The formal vocative is the only corner of the language in which disyllabic (or larger) words take no laryngeal increment.

2. Vocative kinship terms (both formal and informal) are the only forms which do not require a possessive prefix.

3. Word-final glottal stops are only reported from some formal vocative forms within the kinship terms.

There is a division between singular formal vocative kinship terms and plural ones. The singular formal vocative is formed with an unprefixed root, a generational suffix (if one is needed), and one of the vocative suffixes. There are at least two phonologically unrelated vocative suffixes: \(|-\mathcal{e}?||\) \(-\mathcal{e}?\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\mathcal{e}\) and \(|-\mathcal{d}e?||\) \(-\mathcal{d}e?\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\sim\mathcal{d}e\).\(^{147}\) These suffixes might have been in free variation on some kinship terms (see the vocative forms for \(|-\mathcal{c}u-\mathcal{c}||\) ‘mother\’s brother’ in Appendix I), and there is

\(^{147}\) The vocative suffix \(|-\mathcal{d}e?||\) is often preceded by /:/ in some records, but this might be the result of transcription errors on the part of English speakers who expect greater duration in open, stressed syllables (especially with a voiced consonant as the following segment).
no evidence that the choice of one suffix over another carried any semantic weight. There is an observable tendency for the ||-deʔ|| variant to attach to kinship terms without a generational suffix, but the data are not complete enough to confirm this pattern. Unlike the diversity seen in singular vocative suffixes, the plural vocative is simply formed by the combination ||-ya-|| PLURAL + ||-čo-|| OBLIQUE. The singular and plural vocative suffixes are summarized in Table (32) (the allomorphs of the plural suffix ||-ya-|| are included for the plural vocative forms).

Table (32): Suffixes which mark the patient case on kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE</th>
<th>VOCATIVE CASE SUFFIXES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLURAL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each of these vocative case suffixes are given below in (156) – (158) (the vocative case suffixes are in bold and underlined).  

(156) The vocative suffix ||-eʔ|| -eʔ ~ -ʔ ~ -e on formal vocative kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father’s father</th>
<th>Mother’s mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>báčeʔ (H ms.)</td>
<td>kače (W: OF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bačeʔ</td>
<td>kače</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ba-č-eʔ/</td>
<td>/ka-č-e/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father’s father-GS-VOC</td>
<td>mother’s mother-GS-PAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘father’s father’</td>
<td>‘mother’s mother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

148 The informal vocative affix ||-ʔ-|| is omitted from this table and is not considered further in this section.

149 This comes from the saying ?ay=tol ka-č-e Oh=1SG.PAT mother’s.mother-GS-VOC ‘Oh grandmother!’, an idiomatic exclamation said when feeling a chill.
The vocative suffix ||-de?|| -de? ~ -de on formal vocative kinship terms

méde? ~ méde (H ms.)   čéde   (H ms.)
medē   čéde
||me-de?||   ||č-e-de?||
/me-de?/   /č-e-de/
father-VOC   mother-VOC
‘father!’   ‘mo[ther]!’

The plural + oblique vocative ||-ya-čo|| on plural kinship terms

bačyácō   (H ms.)  dikyácō   (H ms.)
bačyačō  dikyačō
||ba-č-ya-čo||  ||di-ki-ya-čo||
/ba-č-ya-čo/  /di-ki-ya-čo/
father’s.father-GS-PL-VOC   older.sister-GS-PL-VOC
‘fa[ther’s] fa[ther]s!’   ‘o[lder] sis[ter]s[!]’

Thus far the vocative forms (both informal and formal) have not borne possessive prefixes. There are, however, two types of vocatives which do take possessive prefixes. The first appears to be an emphatic variant of the prefixless formal forms already discussed; it takes the first-person-possessed prefix and is otherwise formed in the exactly the same way as the formal vocative. Example (159) gives a recorded instance of the prefixed and unprefixed formal vocative in free variation (though the prefixed form, as already stated, is suspected to be an emphatic form).

I gloss the morpheme ||-čo|| as VOCATIVE unless it is followed by other case-marking suffixes or clitics, in which case I gloss it as OBLIQUE.
(159) Variation between prefixed and unprefixed formal vocatives

\[?\]a:mikyáčo ~ mikyáčo (H ms.)
?amikyačo ~ mikyačo
||?a:-mi-ki-ya-čo|| ~ ||mi-ki-ya-čo||
/?a:-mi-k-ya-čo/ ~ /mi-k-ya-čo /
1-older.brother-GS-PL-VOC ~ older.brother-GS-PL-VOC
‘0[lder] bro[ther]s!’

In the plural, a first-person possessed vocative sometimes appears with the suffix ||-le|| PLURAL.IMPERATIVE, an otherwise verbal suffix which is used both for commands to more than one person and as a token of respect when addressing in-laws.

(160) First-person-possessed vocative with ||-le|| PL.IMP

hak:aičôle (H ms.)
hak:ayčole
||ha-k:a-ya-čo-le||
/ha-k:a-y-čo-le/
1-friend-PL-OBL-PL.IMP
‘friends!’

The other type of vocative with a possessive prefix is formed by adding the third-person-possessed prefix ||miy:a-|| to the formal vocative and suffixing ||-de?|| to the vocative of the unprefixed form. In this form, the only attested allomorph of ||-de?|| is -:de, though this might be a function of the small number of attested examples of this formation. Third-person-possessed vocatives are used to address a kinsman by his or her relationship to another person; they are teconyms and formed part of the apparatus with which Southern Pomo speakers could avoid addressing someone with an incorrect or impolite term (Oswalt 2002: 315). The
example in (161) below gives a tecnonymic vocative and includes both Halpern’s free translation and another free translation published later by Oswalt.

(161) Tecnonymic vocative with third-person-possessed prefix ||miy:a-||

ká:wiʔyóka miy:ač:ac:de  (H VI: 5)
kawiʔyoka miy:ač:ac:de
/ka:wiʔy-ka  miy:a-č:č:e:-de/
child=aux-inferential 3-mother’s.father-gs-voc-voc
‘It’s our child, his mo[ther’s] fa[ther]’
“It must be our child...O Father of his Mother!” (Oswalt 2002: 318)

Additional oblique cases on kinship terms

In addition to the vocative affixes, kinship terms may take other oblique case markers. Table (33) lists these additional case markers.

Table (33): Oblique case-marking morphemes on kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Enclitic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-šan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>=ko⁵⁵¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative (‘beside’)</td>
<td>=sama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>-=ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular, Oblique</td>
<td>-e(;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These case markers attach in different ways to different bases, with a major division between singular and plural kinship terms. Singular kinship terms with the generational suffix ||-č-|| or a consonant-final root must have the singular oblique suffix -e:- (which is probably a variant of the singular informal vocative suffix ||-e?||) between the final consonant of the base (whether that base be a root+||-č-|| or a

⁵⁵¹ The status of the comitative as an enclitic on kinship terms is unclear, and further inquiry might find it to be a suffix. It is also unclear whether this morpheme is /:/-initial in the kinship system; the transcription record is unclear.
consonant-final root) and a following oblique case marker. Singular kinship terms with the generational suffix ||-ki-|| may have /;/ between the generational suffix and the oblique case marker, but the details of this phenomenon are unclear at the present. Singular kinship terms with no generational suffix may have the oblique case markers attach directly to the root. Examples of each of these types of singular kinship term combined with the oblique case marker ||-kʰe||

possessive are provided in (162) – (164) below (||-kʰe|| possessive is in bold and underlined).

(162) Oblique case marker ||-kʰe|| possess on kinship term with ||-č-|| GS

mib?iãoč:kʰe ahča?wá:ni hwákan
||miH-ba-č-e::kʰe ?ahča=ʔwá:ni hu:w-ak-Vn||
/mi-b?a-č-e::kʰe ahča=ʔwá:ni hw-ak-an/
2-father’s.father-GS-OBL-POSS house=LOC go-DIR-SG.IMP
‘go down to your gr[and]fa[ther]’s house[!]’

(163) Oblique case marker ||-kʰe|| possess on kinship term with ||-ki-|| GS

mid?ikí:kʰe?ka[ ]má:mu (H ms.)
mid?ikí:kʰe?ka má:mu
||miH-di-ki::kʰe=ʔka má:mu||
/mi-d?i-ki::kʰe=ʔka má:mu/
2-older.sister-GS-POSS=INTER DEM
‘is this your sister’

(164) Oblique case marker ||-kʰe|| possess attached to vowel-final kinship root

má:mu=ʔwa [ʔ]ač’ė:kʰe čʰeʔɛfmay (H ms.)
má:mu=ʔwa ač’ė:kʰe čʰeʔɛfmay
||má:mu=ʔwa ač’ė:kʰe čʰeʔɛfmay||
/má:mu=ʔwa ač’ė:kʰe čʰeʔɛfmay/
DEM=COP.EVID 1-mother-POSS basket
‘this is my mo[ther]’s basket’
When these oblique case markers are attached to plural kinship terms, they must be attached to the plural+oblique combination ||ya-čo-|| regardless of the component morphemes of the kinship term to which the oblique case marker is to be attached. Examples of oblique case markers on plural kinship terms are given below (the oblique case markers are in bold and underlined).

(165) Plural kinship term with oblique case marker ||-šan|| ALLATIVE

mačáčyačó:šan hač’:ow  (H V: 4)
\[\text{mačačyačo:šan hač’ow}\]
\[\text{||maH-ča-č-ya-čo-šan hač’:o-w||}\]
\[\text{/ma-ča-č-ya-čo-šan hač’:o-w/}\]
3c-mother’s, father-GS-PL-OBL-ALL arrive-PFV
‘They arrived at their mother’s fathers’ place.’

(166) Plural kinship term with oblique case marker ||-ko|| COMITATIVE

mátkišyačó:koʔ/waʔa  (H ms.)
\[\text{maťkišyačo:koʔ/waʔa}\]
\[\text{||maH-ťi-ki-ya-čo=koʔ/waʔa||}\]
\[\text{/ma-ťi-ki-ya-čo=koʔ/waʔa/}\]
3c-younger.sibling-GS-PL-OBL=COP,EVID=1SG.AGT
‘I have 2 younger siblings’

(167) Plural kinship term with oblique case marker ||=sa:ma|| LOCATIVE

mikááčosáma čí(():y[:]on  (H ms.)
\[\text{mikayčosama čiyon}\]
\[\text{||miH-k:a-y-čo=sa:ma či:y:o-Vn||}\]
\[\text{/mi-k:a-y-čo=sa:ma či:y:o-n/}\]
2-friend-PL-OBL=LOC sit-SG.IMP
‘sit next to your friends!’

\textsuperscript{152} The length on ||-čo-|| is not recorded consistently, and I have chosen the long form here because it is the form most frequently encountered in Appendix I.
(168) Plural kinship term with oblique case marker ||\textasciitilde kʰe|| POSSESSIVE

\[ \text{ʔaːdɪk\textasciitilde kʰe \textasciitilde cawː\textasciitilde nwa} \hspace{1cm} \text{(H ms.)} \]
\[ \text{ʔaːdi\textasciitilde kɪ\textasciitilde ya\textasciitilde \textasciitilde kʰe \textasciitilde cawː\textasciitilde an\textasciitilde wa} \]
\[ ||\text{ʔaː-di\textasciitilde kɪ\textasciitilde ya\textasciitilde \textasciitilde kʰe \textasciitilde cawː\textasciitilde an\textasciitilde =\textasciitilde wa}|| \]
\[ /\text{ʔaː-di\textasciitilde kɪ\textasciitilde ya\textasciitilde \textasciitilde kʰe \textasciitilde cawː\textasciitilde an\textasciitilde =\textasciitilde wa}/ \]
\[ 1\text{-older.sister-}GS\text{-PL-}OBL\text{-}POSS\text{ stuff=}\text{COP.EVID} \]

‘these are my older sisters’ [things]’

**Summary of number and case in kinship terms**

Southern Pomo uses suffixes and enclitics to indicate number and case on kinship terms. The core cases are the agentive and patient case. Oblique cases include different types of vocative (informal, formal, formal emphatic, and tecnonymic), oblique suffixes based on the vocative affixes, the allative, the comitative, the possessive, and a locative (‘beside’). All kinship terms are obligatorily marked for number, and singular and plural kinship terms may also differ in the allomorphs of the case-marking morphemes with which they combine. umber and case-marking morphemes show a great deal of allomorphic variation, some of which is morphologically conditioned, some of which is phonologically conditioned, and some of which appears to have no synchronic conditioning factors. Table (34) summarizes the number and case-marking patterns discussed in this section. The ALLATIVE, COMITATIVE, LOCATIVE, and POSSESSIVE cases are omitted from the table; they are completely regular across number and prefix category, and all that is shown is the oblique suffix used to connect them (optionally in the case of vowel-final singular bases).
Table (34): Summary of number and case marking on kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE → PREFIX</th>
<th>AGENTIVE</th>
<th>PATIENT</th>
<th>INFORMAL VOCATIVE</th>
<th>FORMAL VOCATIVE</th>
<th>EMPHATIC VOCATIVE</th>
<th>TECNONYMIC VOCATIVE</th>
<th>OBLIQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-(e)n</td>
<td>-xo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-e(ʔ)</td>
<td>-de(ʔ)</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>yey</td>
<td>y(a)-čon</td>
<td></td>
<td>y(a)-čo</td>
<td>y(a)-čo-le</td>
<td></td>
<td>-čo(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-(e)n ~</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-e:-de(ʔ)</td>
<td>NONE ~ -e(-)</td>
<td>-čo(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>yey</td>
<td>y(a)-čon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-čo(-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO POSSESSIVE PREFIX</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>-[-ːp]~</td>
<td>-e(ʔ)~ -de(ʔ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
<td>??</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y(a)-čo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table (34), the agentive case suffix of first-person-possessed kinship terms is homophonous with the patient case of non-first-person-possessed kinship terms. This rather unfortunate situation arose through word-final sonorant neutralizations which are unique to Southern Pomo within Pomoan. In Kashaya Pomo, the agentive case of kinship terms with the first-person possessive prefix is indicative with the suffix -(e)n and the patient case of kinship terms without the first-person possessive prefix is -el (Buckley 1994: 10, 380-383). Both *nì and *lì merged with [n] in word-final position at some point after Southern Pomo split from Kashaya, which gave rise to homophonous agentive and patient case suffixes distinguished only by their privileges of co-occurrence with certain possessive prefixes.

153 These are only attested in combination with the prefix ||miy:a-|| 'his/her/their'.
The above table only covers case marking on kinship terms; however, there is a peculiarity relating to homophonous case-marking morphemes between the kinship terms and common nouns that must be covered here. The plural agentive suffix ||-yey|| of the kinship terms is homophonous with the agentive case enclitic ||=yey|| that attaches to non-kinship NPs regardless of number, a fact which parallels the homophony between one allomorph of ||ya-čon|| PL-PAT and the patient case enclitic ||=yčon|| that attaches to NPs regardless of number. Example (169) provides a sentence in which two common nouns are each singular and marked with case-marking enclitics which are appear identical to allomorphs of the plural case-marking suffixes of the kinship terms (the case-marking morphemes are in bold and underlined).

(169) Agentive and patient case markers on common nouns

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔbéyey ċu:maʃcon [ʔ]όh:ow [ʔ]aʃi:kʰe ċu:ʔu} & \quad (\text{H V: 3}) \\
\text{kʰaʔbe\textcolor{red}{yey} ċu:maʃ\textcolor{red}{con} ?oh:ow ?aʃi:kʰe ċu:ʔu} \\
\text{||kʰaʔbe=ye=yey ċu:maʃ=yačon ?oh:o-w ?aʃi:-kʰe ċu:ʔu||} \\
\text{/kʰaʔbe=yey ċu:maʃ=čon ?oh:o-w ?aʃi:-kʰe ċu:ʔu/} \\
\text{rock=AGT gray.squirrel=PAT give-PFV 3C.SG-POSS arrow} \\
\text{‘Rock handed his arrow to Squirrel’}
\end{align*}
\]

Thus ‘Rock’ and ‘Squirrel’, two individuals represented by common nouns in (H V), are marked with case-marking morphemes that would indicate they were plural were they kinship terms.

What explains this unusual split between plural-only semantics on kinship terms and number-neutral semantics on common nouns with these morphemes? Other Pomoan languages have similar morphemes which offer clues. In Kashaya,
the morphemes -yač and -yačol indicate agentive and patient case respectively (Buckley 1994: 383).\textsuperscript{154} Northern Pomo has the morphemes =yaʔ, =yačul, and =yačuʔ which mark agentive, patient, and oblique cases respectively (O'Connor 1987: 155).\textsuperscript{155} And Central Pomo has the morpheme ya, glossed as TOPIC by Mithun (1990: 373), which appears to be cognate with the agentive case markers of the other languages. Recall that Southern Pomo marks the plural on highly animate nouns, specifically pronouns, kinship terms, and a few common nouns. In most cases, plurality is marked with the suffix -ya, which is the Southern Pomo reflex of the Proto Pomo plural suffix *-aya (McLendon 1973: 55). On the basis of the cognates listed above, the following diachronic process can be postulated in order to explain how ||-yey|| \textsuperscript{PL,AGT} and ||=yey|| \textsuperscript{AGT} split:

\begin{align*}
\text{Diachronic path for ||-yey||} \textsuperscript{PL,AGT} \\
*=ya\textsave=yač > *=ya=yač > *=ya=ya > *-y:ay > *-yay > -yey
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Diachronic path for ||=yey||} \textsuperscript{AGT} \\
*=yač > *=yay > yey
\end{align*}

In short, the kinship term suffix ||-yey|| is in actuality a portmanteau morpheme made up of the agentive enclitic and the plural suffix. This explains its semantics and its status as a suffix rather than an enclitic. The sound changes

\textsuperscript{154} I have converted Buckley's symbols to the orthography of this work. Buckley actually uses the terms 'subjective' and 'objective'; however, these terms are meant to convey an agent/patient case distinction in Kashaya and have therefore been converted to the terminology of this grammar to avoid distraction or confusion. Note that -yač may appear as -yaʔ after debuccalization in Kashaya.

\textsuperscript{155} I have converted O'Connor's symbols to the orthography of this work. O'Connor actually uses the terms "A case" and "P case"; terminology has been regularized to avoid distraction and confusion.
needed for this hypothesis to be acceptable are known to have happened (or are still happening) in Southern Pomo. Pre-palatal vowel raising is a well-attested process in the language and has been applied haphazardly in the dialects. The Cloverdale dialect has ʔahčahčey ‘human; Indian’ corresponding to Dry Creek dialect ʔahčahčay, both of which forms’ final syllable is a contraction of ʔačay ‘man’, a word which for which both dialects preserve /a/ before /y/. And the change of /č/ → /y/ in word-final position is also a well-established synchronic and diachronic fact of Southern Pomo phonology (see §2.6.3.1.). The other changes (vowel deletion and degemination) are so common cross-linguistically that they need no explanation.

The same argumentation could be applied to the combination ʔya-čon, which I have heretofore treated as two morphemes. On the basis of Pomoan cognates, this morpheme likely traveled a similar diachronic path:

\[\text{Diachronic path for ʔya-čon} \]

\[*\text{-ya}=\text{yačol} > *\text{-ya}=\text{yačol} > *\text{-yačol} > *\text{yačon} > \text{ya-čon}\]

The above path postulates the splitting of the portmanteau by speakers after its creation. In other words, speakers reanalyzed the initial syllable of the case-marking enclitic as the plural through analogy to other plurals (e.g. ʔama 2SG versus ʔama-ya 2-PL). This is the analysis adopted herein, but the alternate analysis, namely, that ʔya-čon PLURAL-PATIENT is actually the portmanteau ʔyačon PLURAL-PATIENT is also valid.
2.8.2. Pronouns

Southern Pomo does not mark person on the verb, and any reference to arguments which are not represented by a full noun phrase may be represented by pronouns or inferred from context. The pronouns also show a third-person coreferential form that parallels the third-person coreferential prefix already seen in the kinship terms (§2.6.3.1.). Personal pronouns are marked for number and both they and the interrogative pronoun are obligatorily marked for case. The demonstrative pronouns are poorly understood at this time.

2.8.2.1 Personal pronouns

Southern Pomo personal pronouns have at least two forms: full forms which conform to the expected disyllabic shape of words stems in the language, and encliticized forms which tend to attach as second-position clitics (see §2.5. for a detailed description of the test for clitic-hood). Though there is no person marking on the verb in Southern Pomo, pronouns are not obligatory. Categories which are frequently seen in North American, such as dual number or a first-person inclusive versus exclusive distinction are not found in Southern Pomo or its pronouns.

The pronouns show diverse number and case-marking affixes, including some irregularities which have not yet been introduced. In all pronouns except the plural third-person coreferential, the agentive case is unmarked.\(^{156}\) There are three

\(^{156}\) I do not treat agentive case in the pronouns as a \(-\emptyset\) morpheme as I do for the kinship terms. Only one pronoun, \(\text{ʔat}:\text{iyey}\), shows overt agentive case marking and it is also the only one with the \(-\text{čon}\)
unrelated morphemes which mark the patient case: -(a)n, -to, and -:čon (which is
restricted to the third-person plural coreferential pronoun). In the first and secondperson pronouns, the ancient Pomoan plural is retained as –ya. The third person
plural appears to be recent innovation: it is composed of the gender-neutral thirdperson singular pronoun ham:u and the collective enclitic =hča.
The second person distinguishes between singular and plural in all cases; the
third-person singular (non-coreferential) distinguishes between masculine and
feminine, though the third-person pronoun used for agentive masculine reference
is not exclusively masculine and is more of a neuter pronoun. In the patient and
oblique cases, however, the third-person singular masculine pronouns are
exclusively masculine.
Each pronoun has one or more truncated forms, most of which are generally
enclitics. The most reduced forms are found as enclitics attached to consonant-final
hosts. Table (35) gives all of the pronouns of Southern Pomo. The encliticized
variants are written below the full forms; post-vocalic clitics are written above
post-consonantal clitics. The oblique stems are those used with oblique case
markers such as – an ALLATIVE, =ko COMITATIVE, =sa:ma LOCATIVE (―beside‖), =:kʰe
POSSESSIVE, morphemes which were already discussed in the section on kinship

terms (§2.8.1.3.5.); the oblique pronominal stems may also take =ton LOCATIVE ―on‖,

allomorph for patient case. I view it as irregular within the pronominal paradigm, and it is the only
non-kinship term to combine case and number by means of –yey and -:čon (probably ||-ya-čon||  yčon with /y/ becoming /:/ after the high front vowel).

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which translates as 'over' or 'because of' when applied to pronouns (e.g. mimaː-tʰuʔaw:i=ʔon cry-PROH 1SG.OBL=LOC 'don’t cry over me').

Table (35): Southern Pomo pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>CASE →</th>
<th>NUMBER →</th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>PATIENT</td>
<td>OBLIQUE</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ʔaʔa</td>
<td>ʔaʔo</td>
<td>ʔaw:iʔa</td>
<td>ʔaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ʔaʔo</td>
<td>=ʔto</td>
<td>=ʔaʔo</td>
<td>=ʔya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=ʔmaʔa</td>
<td>=mʃo</td>
<td>=ʔmaʔo</td>
<td>=ʔmaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ʔmaʔa</td>
<td>=mʃo</td>
<td>=ʔmaʔi</td>
<td>=ʔmaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>ham:uʔa</td>
<td>ham:uban</td>
<td>ham:uʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ʔmaʔa</td>
<td>=mʃo</td>
<td>=ʔmaʔi</td>
<td>=ʔmaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ʔmaʔa</td>
<td>=mʃo</td>
<td>=ʔmaʔi</td>
<td>=ʔmaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>ham:an</td>
<td>ham:adan</td>
<td>ham:an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>=ʔmaʔa</td>
<td>=mʃo</td>
<td>=ʔmaʔi</td>
<td>=ʔmaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the morphemes already discussed, the oblique stems of pronouns may be suffixed with a special emphatic reflexive morpheme –mhya ‘-self’.

Table (35) does not include all morphemes which serve as pronouns. There is the morpheme wi(·)-, which is in free variation with the third-person singular (non-coreferential) stems seen above in Table (35). Outside of the agentive case, this morpheme differs according to gender, and any additional syllables are shared with

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157 This table is based on one from Oswalt (1978); kinship prefixes have been removed, terminology and orthography have been changed, clitics have been overtly indicated, and a few forms have been updated.
158 Note that this pronoun is not exclusively masculine and can be translated as ‘it’, ‘her’, ‘he’, etc.
159 There is a reflexive suffix on verbs that handles most things for which English would use ‘self’. This emphatic reflexive morpheme is apparently optional with pronouns.
the regular third-person singular pronouns. Examples of this wi(·)- (and different forms in different cases) are given below in (170) - (172).

(170) Alternate 3SG.M pronoun wi(·)- ‘he’

\[\begin{align*}
\text{wi}=\text{wa}=\text{ʔo} & \text{ kʰáʔ be ba:néf way } & (\text{H ms.}) \\
\text{wi}=\text{wa}=\text{ʔo} & \text{ kʰáʔ be ba:ne-ʔ-way-Ø/} \\
\text{3SG.M=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT} & \text{ rock throw-PL.ACT-DIR-PFV} \\
\text{it’s he who threw rocks at me’}
\end{align*}\]

(171) Alternate 3SG.F pronoun with ‘she’

\[\begin{align*}
\text{wa?=an mi:mač-a wi:man/} & \text{ wi:man/} \\
\text{now cry-EVID 3SG.F} & \\
\text{‘she’s starting to cry’}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{mi:maː[tʰ]ːbaːwa wí:man } & \text{ (H ms.)} \\
\text{mi:maː[tʰ]ːbaːwa wí:man/} & \text{ wi:man/} \\
\text{cry-NEG-COND=COP.EVID 3SG.F} & \\
\text{‘she won’t cry’}
\end{align*}\]

(172) Free variation with wi:ba:kʰe ~ ham:ub:akʰe ‘his’

\[\begin{align*}
\text{wi:ba:kʰe ~ hám:ubá:kʰe miy:ak:ačwám:u } & \text{ (H ms.)} \\
\text{wi:ba:kʰe ~ ham:ubakʰe miy:ak:ačwam:u} \\
\text{3SG.M-POSS ~ 3SG.M-POSS 3-mother’s.mother-GS=COP.EVID=3SG} & \\
\text{‘it’s his mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’}
\end{align*}\]

There are also three enigmatic morphemes which are in free variation with ham:uhča- 3PL-, each of which is listed below:
Oswalt reports that these enigmatic third-person plurals “perhaps differ in some deictic fashion, though both E[lizabeth] D[ollar] and E[lsie] A[llen] denied a difference among the three” (O D). They are most unusual for a number of reasons: (1) they are trisyllabic but not synchronically segmentable; (2) they only differ in their initial syllables, each of which is homophonous with a kinship prefix, yet they show no signs of shared semantics with prefixed kinship terms; (3) they are in free variation with ham:uhča-, and it is particularly unexpected that there would be no fewer than four trisyllabic words in free variation.

These unexpected third-person plurals and the alternate third-person singular stem wi(·)- hint at a corner of the grammar that might have passed from active usage among speakers in the near past. The fact that wi- is shared as the initial syllable by the alternate third-person singular and one of the alternate third-person plurals seems to indicate that they both might have been part of a shared system, one which distinguished distance from the speaker in space or time (compare ma:li ‘here’ with wi:li ‘yonder’). Whatever their former meanings, there is no modern evidence for any semantic difference between the alternate third-person pronouns and those in Table (35).
2.8.2.1.1. Encliticiized pronouns

AOV (SV & OV) is the expected ordering when two NPs are present in a clause, as seen in (#) below:

(173) Canonical word order with two full NPs in a clause

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰáʔbekʰáčʰ'yey dó:lon čóh:on</td>
<td>(H VI: 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰaʔbekʰačʰ'yey dó:lon čóh:on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰaʔbekʰačʰ'=yey dó:lon čóh:on-Ø/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raptor.species=AGT bobcat marry-PFV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Fish Hawk’₁⁶⁰ married Wildcat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ordering of encliticized pronouns is the reverse; two pronominal enclitics come together have the order OA (VOA when they are attached to a verb), as in (174) below:

(174) OA ordering of pronominal enclitics when combined

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mihyanákʰ:eʔwamṭaʔa</td>
<td>(H VIII: 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mihyanakʰ:eʔwamṭaʔa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mihyana-kʰ:eʔwa=mṭaʔa/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill-FUT=COP,EVID=2SG,PAT=1SG,AGT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’m going to kill you’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.8.2.1.2. Third-person coreferential pronouns

The third-person coreferential pronouns (glossed as 3c) function in the same manner as kinship terms prefixed with the third-person coreferential possessive prefix ||maH-||: these pronouns are coreferential with the subject of the main verb.

₁⁶⁰ Halpern records this species as kʰaʔbekʰačʰ ‘fish hawk’ (presumably the osprey); Oswalt records it as kʰaʔbekʰačʰ ‘sharp-shinned hawk’, a very different species. I follow Oswalt’s transcription, but neither translation seems sure, and the gloss ‘raptor.species’ must therefore suffice till more data are found.
These pronouns translated into English as ‘his/her own’ for the singular or ‘their own’ for the plural. Examples of ʔat:i 3.C.SG.AGT and ʔat:i- 3.C.SG.OBL- in complete clauses are given below together with brief explanations (see §3.4.2. for additional discussion of the coreferential pronouns).

In the following example, the protagonist (a raptor not named in this clause) is the subject of the verb muʔakaw ‘cooked’, and he is also the subject of the verb ‘brought’ within the nominalized clause. The sentence literally means ‘cooked some of what he brought’. It is the coreferential pronoun that allows for the correct interpretation of the unexpressed subject of ‘cooked’. If a non-coreferential third-person pronoun were used within the nominalized clause, there would still be no need for an overt subject of ‘cooked’, but the meaning would change to one of his cooking what another person had brought. (In this example, the relevant pronoun is in bold in Southern Pomo and the English translation, and phrasal constituents of which the pronoun is a part is marked with [ ] in both the Southern Pomo and the English.)

(175) ʔat:i 3.C.SG.AGT within a nominalized clause in a sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ʔat:i:]i ʔih\-ta m\-i\-hak( )wan\-t\-\text{ophk}\-le\ mu\-ʔ\-\text{akaw} } & \quad \text{(H I: 4)} \\
\text{[ʔat:i ʔih\-\text{ta m}\-i\-hak-w\-\text{an\-t\-\text{ophk}}\-\text{le}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ mu\-ʔ\-\text{akaw}} \\
/\text{ʔat:i ʔih\-\text{ta m}\-i\-hak=wan=\text{t\-\text{ophk}}\-\text{le}} \text{ } \text{mu\-ʔa-ka-w/} \\
3 \text{C.SG.AGT bird bring=DET.} \text{OBJ}=\text{some heat-CAUS-} \text{PFV}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(he) cooked [some of the game that he had brought in]_{NP}’
2.8.2.1.3. Interrogative pronoun ‘who’

The interrogative pronoun is čaʔ:a, which is inflected with the -ʔto suffix to form the patient case. It must be combined with the interrogative clitic -ʔka. Examples of the interrogative pronoun in both the agentive and patient case are given in (176) and (177) below.

(176) Interrogative pronoun ‘who’ in agentive case

who=INTER=3SG gravel throw.many.small-DIR-PFV
‘who threw the gravel[?]’

(177) Interrogative pronoun ‘whom’ in patient case

čaʔ:aʔtoʔkaʔma dihkaw (Halpern 1984: 7)
čaʔ:aʔtoʔkaʔma dihkaw
/čaʔ:aʔtoʔkaʔma dihkaw
who-PAT=INTER=2SG.AGT give.one-PFV
‘to whom did you give it?’

2.8.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronoun subclass is poorly understood. The demonstrative pronoun ham:u is used as both the third-person masculine singular pronoun and a demonstrative; Oswalt records that it may be used for ‘that’, ‘it’, ‘he’, and even ‘she’ (1978: 12). It is inflected for patient case with the suffix -n (ham:un). Thus ham:an ‘she’ and the patient case form ham:adan ‘she; her’ can only refer to a feminine argument, but ham:u and ham:un may refer to any third-person singular argument.
There are additional demonstrative pronouns which have been recorded, but there are apparent gaps in the record. Kashaya Pomo has three demonstratives, which inflect for case. Table (36) gives the Kashaya demonstrative pronouns as presented by Oswalt (1961: 112).161

Table (36): Kashaya demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASE→</th>
<th>SUBJECTIVE</th>
<th>OBJECTIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GLOSS↓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that, this, it, those, these, they (vague demonstrative or anaphoric reference)’</td>
<td>mu:</td>
<td>mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this, these (the closer object)’</td>
<td>maʔu</td>
<td>maʔal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘that, those (the further object)’</td>
<td>haʔu</td>
<td>haʔal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attested Southern Pomo forms appear to show a similar three-way distinction with case marking; however, there are gaps in the record and the glosses upon which semantic judgments must now be made are not sure guides to the nuanced glosses Oswalt provides for Kashaya.

In addition to the demonstrative ham:u, the forms ma: and ma:mu are frequently encountered. These are perhaps cognate with the first syllable of Kashaya maʔu of Table (36) above. At this time, it is unclear what semantic differences, if any, distinguish ma: and ma:mu from each other and from ham:u.

Example (178) gives an instance of ma: as the agent of the verb ʔiʔaw ‘to take a wife

---

161 I have preserved Oswalt’s terminology, though it should be noted that ‘objective’ and ‘subjective’ equate to ‘agent’ and ‘patient’ in the terminology of this grammar. Also, Oswalt uses an empty square before certain forms to symbolize a lost syllable that still interacts with stress. (The lost syllable is not lost in Southern Pomo, thus Southern Pomo ham:u = Kashaya □mu: in Oswalt’s transcription.)
(without consent?); the direct object of the verb (translated as ‘her’) is not overtly present in the clause.

(178) The demonstrative ma: as the agent of a clause

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma:} & \text{ʔiš:aw (H ms.)} \\
\text{ma:} & \text{ʔiš:aw} \\
/\text{ma:} & \text{ʔiš:a-w/} \\
\text{DEM.AGT} & \text{take.spouse-PFV} \\
& \text{‘he takes her, reclaims her’}
\end{align*}
\]

The following clause in (179) below is an equational clause which begins with the demonstrative ma:mu.

(179) The demonstrative ma:mu in an equational clause

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma:mu} & \text{ʔwaʔkʰe [ʔ]a:diken (H ms.)} \\
\text{ma:mu} & \text{ʔwaʔkʰe ?a:diken} \\
/\text{ma:mu=} & \text{ʔwa=} \text{kʰe} \text{ʔa:-di-ke-n/} \\
\text{DEM.AGT=} & \text{COP.EVID=}1\text{SG.POSS} \\
& \text{1-older.sister-GS-AGT} \\
& \text{‘this is my o[lder] sis[ter]’}
\end{align*}
\]

There is also a demonstrative, ma:?an, which is clearly cognate with Kashaya ma:?u and ma:?al, though how it differs from ham:u/ham:un, ma:, and ma:mu in terms of semantics is unclear. The final [n] of ma:?an is probably -(a)n, the patient case suffix that is cognate with Kashaya -al. Example (180) gives an instance of ma:?an as the patient of a clause.
(180) The demonstrative *maːan* as the patient of a clause

\[
\begin{align*}
máːan & \text{ yáːla} \text{ wa } hod?om?du \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
maːan & \text{ yaːla} \text{ wa } hod?om?du \\
/maːa-n & \quad yaːla\text{ wa} & \quad hod?o-m?du/ \\
\text{DEM-PAT} & \quad \text{always=COP.EVID} & \quad \text{handle-?}^{162}
\end{align*}
\]

‘he always handles this’

Example (181) provides another instance of *maːan* in which it is non-agentive.

(181) The demonstrative *maːan*

\[
\begin{align*}
čaːdun & \text{ máːa}[ː]an \quad [ʔ]aːt:o \quad \text{hé[ː]e} \quad (\text{H IV: 7}) \\
čaːdun & \text{ maːan } \quad ?aːt:o \quad \text{he?e} \\
/čaːdun & \quad maːan & \quad ?aː & \quad \text{he}:\text{e}/ \\
\text{look-SG.IMP} & \quad \text{DEM-PAT} & \quad \text{1SG.PAT} & \quad \text{head.hair}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Look at this hair of mine’

[perhaps: ‘Look at this, my hair!’]

There is also an additional demonstrative *hiːin*, which is similar to Kashaya *haʔu*, *haʔal* (though the vowel differences suggest separate origins). The [n] of this demonstrative appears to be the patient case suffix –(a)n. Examples (182) and (183) give instances of the demonstrative *hiːin*.

(182) The demonstrative *hiːin*

\[
\begin{align*}
hiːin & \text{naːti } \text{danːaːʔ[ʰ]u} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
hiːin & \text{naːti } \text{danːaːʔʰu} \\
/hiːin=naːti & \quad \text{danːaːʔʰu/} \\
\text{DEM=but} & \quad \text{cover-PRoh}
\end{align*}
\]

‘don’t cover any of them[!]’

---

162 Perhaps this –*mʔdu* is ||-ad|| IMPERFECTIVE + ||-wadu|| HABITUAL. It might also be a single allomorph of either that I have not yet identified as such.
(183) The demonstrative hi?:in

\[
\text{hi?:in:áti duk:elh:}\text{-}t\text{ho}\text{-}kʰa?béyey \quad \text{H VIII: 6}
\]

\[
\text{hi?:in:áti duk:elhe:}\text{-}t\text{ho}\text{-}kʰa?beyey
\]

\[
/\text{hi?:i-n=naṭi duk:elhe:}\text{-}t\text{ho}\text{-}kʰa?be\text{-}yey/
\]

DEM-PAT=but hard.to.do-NEG rock=AGT

‘He broke them all (with his body), the Rock’

[perhaps: ‘(It) was not hard for Rock to [break] them’]

At this point the most useful assumption is that the Southern Pomo demonstratives functioned in ways which were similar to the system reported for Kashaya, its nearest congener. If the attested Southern Pomo demonstratives are converted into a table that resembles the layout of Table (36) of the Kashaya demonstratives, the distribution of Southern Pomo demonstratives might be separated as in Table (37) below.

Table (37): Hypothetical organization of Southern Pomo demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGENT</th>
<th>PATIENT</th>
<th>Kashaya cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ham:u</td>
<td>ham:un</td>
<td>mu: / mul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma: ~ mamu</td>
<td>ma?:an</td>
<td>ma?:u / ma?:al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[hi?:i]</td>
<td>hi?:in</td>
<td>ha?:u / ha?:al</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form hi?:i is postulated on the basis of hi?:in; I have no evidence for it. What semantic differences, if any, these demonstratives have in Southern Pomo cannot be determined at this time.

2.8.3. Verbs

Verbs are the largest word class within Southern Pomo. This section details the shape of the verb and lists the affixes which may attach to the verb. Derivational
affixes are separated from inflectional affixes, and within each broad category of affix, the individual affixes are discussed in left-to-right templatic order.

2.8.3.1. Verb structure

Verb stems are built around roots; most roots are monosyllabic, but some are disyllabic. Monosyllabic roots must combine with an instrumental prefix in order to form a verb stem. Verbs are the most morphologically complex word class within Southern Pomo, and all may take several affixes; no verb may surface without at least one affix. The template in Table (38) provides a simplified summary of the relative ordering of affixes with respect to a monosyllabic verb root.

Table (38): Southern Pomo verb template

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSTRUMENTAL PREFIX</th>
<th>PLURAL ACT PREFIX</th>
<th>ROOT</th>
<th>REDUPLICATIVE AFFIXES</th>
<th>PLURAL ACT INFIX/SUFFIX</th>
<th>DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES</th>
<th>VALENCE-CHANGING SUFFIXES</th>
<th>TAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Each of these slots is discussed in the following sections. The verb root is covered within the remainder of this section. The instrumental prefixes, plural act affixes, reduplicative affixes, directional suffixes, and valence-changing suffixes are covered in the next section (§2.8.3.2.), and the TAM suffixes (which, for the purposes of the template, include the evidentials) are discussed thereafter (§2.8.3.3.).

The final consonants of some verb stems are or were separate morphemes, and the decision to separate these consonants from the stem is a difficult one. In
some cases it is clear that an affix is present (e.g. mehše-y smell-SEM ‘to smell something’ versus mehše-w smell-PFV ‘(something) smells’); however, in other cases, an affix can be identified in one member of the pair with some certainty but not in the other (e.g. čohřo-y lie.with.someone-SEM ‘to lie with (someone) once’ versus čohřon ‘to marry’). And in cases where there are no examples of the verb stem without the final consonant, it is impossible to know with any surety the morphemic status of the stem-final consonant (e.g. šuňatq-Ø by.pulling.try-PFV ‘test by pulling’). In most cases, the final consonants of stems do not have any clear effect on the semantics of the stem.

2.8.3.1.1. Verb roots

Verb roots may have the following shapes:163

(i) -HCV-
(ii) -HCVC-
(iii) -CVHCV-
(iv) -CVHCVC-

Some root-final sonorant consonants may also have an additional glottal consonant as part of the root (e.g. /-lh/, /-lʔ/; see §2.2.1. for a discussion). There are also some roots (most of them irregular allomorphs) which take the shape –HC–; and at least one root, ||hu:w–|| ‘go’, takes the shape CVHC-. Disyllabic verb roots can

---

163 The symbol H stands for the laryngeal increment and is placed before the second consonant of the stem in this schematic regardless of whether it is pre-consonantally incremented or post-consonantally incremented because of the transcremental and decremental processes which affect verbs (i.e. CVHCV… is equivalent to CVhCV…, CVChV…, CVʔCV…, CVCʔV…, CVːCV…, CVCːV…).
be further subdivided into those which are both a root and a stem (e.g. ʰːiʔ:ʰ: ‘to do or make’) and those which are only a root (e.g. -k:elhe- ‘to be difficult to do’).

The semantic content of verb roots varies according to the shape of the root. Disyllabic verb roots tend to have narrower meanings; monosyllabic roots may have obvious meanings, but many are vague or cover such a broad range of concepts that it is not useful to gloss them independently of the instrumental prefix with which they must combine to form a verb stem. ¹⁶⁴

(184) disyllabic root that is only a root

root: ||-k:elhe-|| ‘to be hard/painful to do; give up trying to do’
sample prefix + root combination:

dek:el:aw (O D: EA)
dekelaw
||di-k:elhe-ala-w||
/de-k:el-la-w/
by.gravity-hard.to.do-DIR-PFV
‘to hurt going down throat’

(185) disyllabic root that is also a stem

root: ||dihka-|| ‘to give one thing’
dihkaw (O D: ED)
dihkaw
||dihka-w||
/dihka-w/
give.one-PFV
‘ to give’

¹⁶⁴ Many disyllabic verb roots no doubt descend from earlier prefix-root combinations.
monosyllabic roots with narrow meaning

root: ||-ć:a-|| ‘to break’
sample prefix + root combinations:
čać:aw (O D: ED) šuć:aw (O D: ED)
čać:aw šuć:aw
||ća-ć:a-w|| ||šu-ć:a-w||
/ća-ć:a-w/ /šu-ć:a-w/
with.butt-break-PFV by.pulling-break-PFV
‘to sit on and break (a spring)’ ‘break in two by pulling’

monosyllabic roots with broader meaning

root: ||-s:uN-|| ‘to remove small pieces; liquid to flow; to bother’
sample prefix + root combinations:
mus:un (O D: ED) ?us:un (O D: ED)
musun ?usun
||mus-:uN-Ø|| ||hu-s:uN-Ø||
/mus-:un-Ø/ /hu-:un-Ø/
with.non.long.obj.-ROOT-PFV with.sound-ROOT-PFV
‘[for] fruit to drop’ ‘to make noise for no reason’

Throughout the next section, monosyllabic roots with narrower meanings
are chosen in order to highlight the semantic content of the instrumental prefixes.

Southern Pomo verbs may inherently distinguish number: some verbs may
only be used to describe actions done by more than one agent; some verbs may only
be used to describe an action done by one agent. This dichotomy is an
oversimplification, however, as the precise semantics are affected by the addition of
plural act affixes (which add unpredictable semantics when applied to each verb
stem). And some verbs differ on the basis of the number of non-agential arguments.
The two broad types of verb are hereafter referred to as singular and plural verbs
when there is a pair of verbs to warrant the division; verbs for which there is no
separate plural are not called singular.
Plural verbs are not derived, inflected, or suppletive versions of singular verbs. In some pairs, a root might be shared between them, but the initial syllables are not morphemes with singular or plural meaning (e.g. *miṭi- ‘one to lie (down)’ vs. *baṭi- ‘many to lie (down)’, which have initial syllables which would usually mean ‘with the nose/by counting’ and ‘with the beak/by poking’ respectively). In other cases, there is no relationship between the singular and plural forms (e.g. *čahnu- ‘one to talk’ versus *ʔalhokoy- ‘many to talk’). Other Pomoan languages share this feature. For some concepts, neighboring Central Pomo has different verb stems depending on number of agents or patients of intransitive verbs and the number of patients of transitive verbs (Mithun 1988: 522-523). However, plural verb stems in Central Pomo may have singular cognates in Southern Pomo: compare Central Pomo *hli- ‘(several) went’ with its Southern Pomo cognate *ho:li- ‘(any number) leave’, and Central Pomo *ʔo:w ‘give (several)’ with its Southern Pomo cognate *ʔo:h:o:w ‘give contained mass; give a long object’. Plural verbs are indicated in the gloss with the ‘many’ for a verb indicating plural agents or ‘several’ to a verb indicating plural patients.

2.8.3.2. Derivational affixes

The following derivational affixes are covered in this section: instrumental prefixes, plural act affixes, reduplicative affixes, directional suffixes, and valence-changing suffixes.
2.8.3.2.1. Instrumental prefixes

Every monosyllabic root (with the exception of a few irregular roots like ||hu:w-|| ‘go’) must take one of the instrumental prefixes. These prefixes are ancient and can be reconstructed for Proto Pomo (McLendon 1973; Oswalt 1976). In many Pomoan languages, several instrumental prefixes have merged, and Southern Pomo is reported to retain the largest number of these prefixes within Pomoan (Oswalt 1978: 16). Because of their great age, the prefixes have had millennia in which to undergo various semantic shifts, and the meanings of most are quite broad. It seems likely that the 21 attested instrumental prefixes of Southern Pomo, though no other Pomoan languages distinguishes more, might descend from a larger number in the past. Such a possibility is pure conjecture and cannot be proved with Pomoan-internal reconstructions because Southern Pomo is the most conservative surviving language with regard to these prefixes.165

Each Southern Pomo prefix is listed independently; the expanded definitions all come from Oswalt’s definitions for Kashaya and his notes on Southern Pomo differences therefrom (1976: 15-19).166 Wherever possible, at least one of the following roots are used in examples in order to highlight the instrumental prefixes: ||-č:a-|| ‘to break’, ||-hnaʔ-|| ‘try, investigate’, and ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive,

165 Oswalt (1976) reconstructs only 20 prefixes.
166 Oswalt’s definitions of the instrumental prefixes of Kashaya are the guides I have used as I encounter unfamiliar verbs. Oswalt notes the principal differences between Kashaya and Southern Pomo instrumental prefixes, and any meanings which are clearly not a part of Southern Pomo have been omitted in the headings; those which Oswalt reports are unique to Southern Pomo have likewise been included.
feel’. Below each prefix and definition, the examples are numbered, but there is no additional commentary unless needed to clarify an unexpected root or unusual gloss. In the glosses of each example, the prefix under discussion is given a simplified gloss due to spacing constraints; the same is true of example roots. The allomorphs of each prefix are listed after the morphophonemic form. See (§2.6.1.-2.6.1.2.) and (§2.6.1.2.) for an explanation of vowel lowering and glottal dissimilation, the processes which account for all instrumental prefix allomorphy.

\(\text{\textit{\textit{ba-}}\text{\textit{ba-}}\text{‘mouth, snout, beak, face striking or pushing against something’}}\)

(188) \(\text{\textit{\textit{ba-}}\text{\textit{\textbf{\textit{ba-}}}}\text{prefixed to the root \textit{\textit{-hna-}}} \text{‘try, investigate’}}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\langle \text{bahnat'} \rangle & \quad \text{(O D: EA)} \\
\text{bahnat'} & \\
\text{\textit{\textit{ba-}}} & \text{\textit{\textit{hna-}}} & \text{\textit{-0}} & \\
/\text{ba-hna-0} & \\
\text{by.poking-try-PFV} & \\
\text{‘to test (path) with cane by poking (as in going through swamp)’}
\end{align*}
\]

(189) \(\text{\textit{\textit{ba-}}\text{\textit{\textbf{\textit{ba-}}}}\text{prefixed to the root \textit{\textit{-ʔa-}}} \text{‘seem, perceive, feel’}}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\langle \text{baʔaw} \rangle & \quad \text{(O D: ED)} \\
\text{baʔaw} & \\
\text{\textit{\textit{ba-}}} & \text{\textit{\textit{-ʔa-w}}} & \\
/\text{baʔa-w} & \\
\text{by.poking-feel-PFV} & \\
\text{‘to poke with a stick’}
\end{align*}
\]

---

167 I am using the root definitions of (O D) whenever these are available.
||bi-|| bi- ~ be- ‘soft opposed forces, both arms, lips, encircle, sew’

(190) ||bi-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaʈ-|| ‘try, investigate’

<bihnata> (O D: EA)
bihnata
||bi-hnaʈ-Ø||
/bi-hnaʈ-Ø/
with.lips-try-PFV
‘to taste (grapes)’

(191) ||bi-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔạ-a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel’

<biʔaw> (W: OF; O D: ED)
biʔaw
||bi-ʔa-w||
/bi-ʔa-w/
with.lips-perceive-PFV
‘to taste (good)’

||da-|| da- ‘palm of hand, push, waves, fog; many projecting objects’

This prefix has taken on the meaning of ‘by sight’ in some verbs (see daʔaw ‘to find’ below).

(192) ||da-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔạ-a-|| ‘to break’

<das*ayaw> (O D)
daʔa:ayaw
||da-ʔa-ya-w||
/da-ʔa-ya-w/
with.palm-break-DEFOC-PFV
‘broken’

---

Oswalt notes that much of the semantic range of ‘da’ in Southern Pomo is handled by pʰa-, and ‘da’ “is of rarer occurrence” in the language (1978: 19).
(193) ||da-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnať-|| ‘try, investigate’

<danat’> (O D: EA)
danat’
||da-hnať-Ø||
/da-hnať-Ø/
with.palm-try-PFV
‘to push s[ome]t[thing] (to see how heavy it is)’

(194) ||da-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<daʔaw> (O D: EA)
daʔaw
||da-ʔa-w ||
/da-ʔa-w/
by.sight?-perceive-PFV
‘to find, see, discover’

||di-|| di- ~ de- ‘gravity, fall; genetics, race; many long objects’

(195) ||di-|| prefixed to the root ||-c:a-|| ‘to break’

dič:aw (H VIII: 6)
dič:aw
||di-č:a-w||
/di-č:a-w/
by.fall-break-PFV
‘he breaks w[ith] body’

(196) ||di-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnať-|| ‘try, investigate’

<ʔahay dihna*ka*li> (O D: EA)
ʔahay dihna:ka:li
||ʔah:ay di-hnať-ka:li||
/ʔah:ay di-hna-ka:li/
stick by.gravity-try-CAUS-D.SEQ
‘He dropped the stick (testing it)...’

244
||du-|| du- ~ do- ‘finger, work, action’

(197) ||du-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṭ-|| ‘try, investigate’

<duhnat’> (O D: EA)

duhnāṭ

||du-hnaṭ-Ø||

/du-hnaṭ-Ø/

by.finger-try-PFV

to feel (peaches) to see if ripe

(198) ||du-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<duʔ?’aw> (O D: ED)

duʔ?aw

||du-ʔa-w||

/du-ʔa-w/

by.finger-perceive-PFV

to touch

||ma-|| ma- ‘sole of foot, hoof, claw of bird; twist of wrist’

(199) ||ma-|| prefixed to the root ||-č:a-|| ‘to break’

<mas’an> (O D: ED)

mačan

||ma-č:a-Vn||

/ma-č:a-n/

by.wrist.twist-break-SG.IMP

‘Break in two with a twist of wrist!’

(200) ||ma-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṭ-|| ‘try, investigate’

<mahnaṭ’du> (O D: EA)

mahnaṭādu

||ma-hnaṭ-ad-u||

/ma-hnaṭ-d-ɯ/

with.foot-try-DIR-PFV

to feel around with foot (testing path)’
(201) ||ma-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<maʔt’aw> (O D: ED)

maʔtaw

||ma-ʔa-w||

/maʔa-w/

with.foot-perceive-PFV
‘to feel with the bottom of the foot’

||mi-|| mi- ~ me- ‘protuberance near end of long object, toe, nose, horn; reckon, read’

(202) ||mi-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnat-|| ‘try, investigate’

<mid$ wan ton(h)kʰle mihnatin> (O D: EA)

miʔdišwan$h tonhkle mihnatin

||miʔdiš=wan=tonhkle mi-hnat-Vn||

/miʔdiš=wan=tonhkle mi-hnat-in/

nut=DET.OBJ=some by.reckoning-try-SG.IMP
‘Test some of the nuts by cracking (to see if good inside)!’ (no smell meaning)’

(203) ||ča-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<k’oʔdi miʔt’aw> (O D: ED)

koʔdi miʔtaw

||koʔdi miʔtaw||

/koʔdi miʔtaw/

good with.toe-perceive-PFV
‘to feel good to the toe (no smell meaning)’

||mu-|| mu- ~ mo- ‘non-long object through air; fire, heat, cold, light, emotions, mind’

(204) ||mu-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnat-|| ‘try, investigate’

<?ahkʰa muhnat> (O D)

muhnaf

||?ahkʰa mu-hnat-Ø||

/?ahkʰa mu-hnat-Ø/

water with.mind?-try-PFV
‘to try out (a swift river to see if it is safe)’
(205) ||mu-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<muʔt’aw> (O D: ED)
muʔtaw
||mu-ʔa-w||
/muʔa-w/
with.heat-perceive-PFV
‘to be cooked’

//pʰa-|| pʰa- ‘long object move lengthwise into contact with; with hand’

This prefix has not been found in combination with any of the three roots used throughout this section, and the stem below has been chosen because it is quite common (it is used in the compound paʔciwčay ‘policeman’).

(206) ||pʰa-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔci-|| ‘catch hold’

<pʰaʔciw> (O D: ED)
pʰaʔciw
||pʰaʔci-w||
/pʰaʔci-w/
with.hand-catch.hold-PFV
‘to grab’

//pʰi-|| pʰi- ~ pʰe- ‘long object act sidewise, chop, bat, see, eyes, face, neck

(207) ||pʰi-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnač-|| ‘try, investigate’

<pʰihnač*iy> (O D: ED)
pʰihnač:iy
||pʰi-hnač-či’-Ø||
/pʰi-hnač-čiy-Ø/
by.sight-try-REFL-PFV
‘to give a quick investigatory look back’

---

169 The root ||-ʔa-|| does not translate well as ‘perceive’ in this stem.
170 See footnote 168.
(208) ||pʰi-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔfa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<k’o?di pʰhiʔt’aw> (O D: ED)
ko?di pʰʔt’aw
||ko?di pʰi-ʔfa-w||
/kə?di pʰi-ʔfa-w/
good by.sight-perceive-PFV
‘to look good’

||pʰu-|| pʰu- ~ pʰo- ‘blow, burn transitive’

(209) ||pʰu-|| prefixed to the root ||-č:a-|| ‘to break’

<pʰus”aw> (O D: ED)
pʰučaw
||pʰu-č:a-w||
/pʰu-ča-w/
by.blowing-break-PFV
‘wind to break off one (or branch just fall off)’

(210) ||pʰa-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔfa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<pʰuʔt’aw> (O D: ED)
maʔt’aw
||pʰuʔfa-w||
/pʰuʔfa-w/
with.blowing-perceive-PFV
‘to feel wind on self, feel draft’\[171\]

\[171\] Oswalt adds the note “(only after sug.)”, but it is unclear whether this refers to the entire entry or just the final translation of ‘feel draft’ (O D).
\[\text{ka-} \text{ ka- 'hard opposed forces, teeth, jaw, pliers, chew, eat, pry'}\]

(211) \[\text{ka-} \text{ prefixed to the root } \text{hna-} \text{ ‘try, investigate’}\]

\[<\text{kahnat'}> \quad \text{(O D: EA)}\]
\[\text{kahnat}']\]
\[\text{ka-hna-Ø}||\]
\[/\text{ka-hna-Ø}/\]
\[\text{with.teeth-try-PFV}\]
\[\text{‘to taste’}^{172}\]

(212) \[\text{ka-} \text{ prefixed to the root } \text{ʔa-} \text{ ‘seem, perceive, feel’}\]

\[<\text{kaʔaw}> \quad \text{(O D: ED)}\]
\[\text{kaʔaw}\]
\[\text{kaʔa-w}||\]
\[/\text{kaʔa-w}/\]
\[\text{with.jaws-perceive-PFV}\]
\[\text{‘to talk to s[ome]o[ne] in no mood to talk’}\]

\[\text{si-} \text{ si- ~ se- ‘water, rain, tongue, slip, float, drink, whistle, whisper; cut’}\]

(213) \[\text{si-} \text{ prefixed to the root } \text{hna-} \text{ ‘try, investigate’}\]

\[<\text{sihnat'}> \quad \text{(O D: ED)}\]
\[\text{sihnat}']\]
\[\text{si-hna-Ø}||\]
\[/\text{si-hna-Ø}/\]
\[\text{by.drinking-try-PFV}\]
\[\text{‘sip’}\]

(214) \[\text{si-} \text{ prefixed to the root } \text{ʔa-} \text{ ‘seem, perceive, feel’}\]

\[<\text{siʔaw}> \quad \text{(O D: ED)}\]
\[\text{maʔaw}\]
\[\text{siʔa-w}||\]
\[/\text{siʔa-w}/\]
\[\text{involving.liquid-perceive-PFV}\]
\[\text{‘to taste liquid’}\]

\[^{172}\text{Full translation of entry from: ‘(sounds like to taste; but /bihnhat’ is more common)’ (O D)}\]
||ša-|| ša- ‘long object move lengthwise into; through a membrane, skin, net, sieve’

(215) ||ša-|| prefixed to the root ||-č:a-|| ‘to break’

<šas*aw> (O D: ED)
šač:aw
||ša-č:a-w||
/ša-č:a-w/
long.obj.move.lengthwise.into-break-PFV
‘to break gig, knife, etc. while striking s[ome]t[hing] with it’

||šu-|| šu- ~ šo- ‘pull, breathe, long flexible object, rope, stockings’

(216) ||šu-|| prefixed to the root ||-č:a-|| ‘to break’

<šus*aw> (O D: ED)
šuco:aw
||šu-č:a-w||
/šu-č:a-w/
by.pulling-break-PFV
‘to break in two by pulling’

(217) ||šu-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnať-|| ‘try, investigate’

<šuhnat’> (O D: EA)
šuhnát’
||šu-hnat-Ø||
/šu-hnať-Ø/
by.pulling-try-PFV
‘to test by pulling’

(218) ||šu-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<šuʔt’aw> (O D: ED)
šuoʔaw
||šuʔʔa-w||
/šuʔʔa-w/
by.pulling-perceive-PFV
‘to feel s[ome]t[hing] pulling’
||čʰi-|| čʰi- čʰe- ‘small part of larger object, handle, hook, pendant object’

(219) ||čʰi-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnať-|| ‘try, investigate’

<čʰnihnat’> (O D: EA)
čʰnihnat’
||čʰ-hniţ-Ø||
/čʰ-hniţ-Ø/
by.handle-try-PFV
‘to test a backpack; try out pack’

||čʰ-|| prefixed to the root ||-hniţ-|| ‘handle, hook; try, investigate’

(220) ||čʰ-|| prefixed to the root ||-čːa-|| ‘to break’

<čːaw> (O D: ED)
čːaw
||čː-čːa-w||
/čː-čːa-w/
with.butt-break-PFV
‘to sit on and break (a spring)’

(221) ||čʰ-|| prefixed to the root ||-hniţ-|| ‘try, investigate’

<čːhniţ> (O D: EA)
čːhniţ
||čʰ-hniţ-Ø||
/čʰ-hniţ-Ø/
with.massive.obj.-try-PFV
‘to test weight of large object by putting shoulder to it and pushing’

(222) ||čʰ-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔfa-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<čʰʔfa> (O D: ED)
čʰʔfa
||čʰ-ʔfa-w||
/čʰ-ʔfa-w/
with.butt-perceive-PFV
‘to feel something with butt’
||ču-|| ču- ~ čo- ‘non-long object, rock, head; flow; shoot, gamble; vegetative growth’

(223) ||ču-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnať-|| ‘try, investigate’

<cuhnat’> (O D: EA)
čuhnač
||ču-hnať-Ø||
/ču-hnať-Ø/
by.shooting-try-PFV
‘to try out a gun on a target’

||ha-|| ha- ~ ṭa- ‘long object through air, leg, arm, wing’

This prefix has not been found in combination with any of the three roots used throughout this section.

(224) ||ha-|| prefixed to the root ||-l:it-|| ‘fan’

<hal*it> (O D: EA)
hal:it
||ha-l:it-Ø||
/ha-l:it-Ø/
with.long.obj.through.air-fan-PFV
‘to wave (branch) to chase flies’

||hi-|| hi- ~ he- ~ ṭi- ~ ṭe- ‘with unspecific part of body; without agent’

(225) ||hi-|| prefixed to the root ||-č:a-|| ‘to break’

<ma*kina his*aw> (O D: ED)
ma:kina hić:aw
||ma:kina hi-č:a-w||
/ma:kina hi-č:a-w/
machine without.agent-break-PFV
‘The car broke down.’

173 This is my own definition.
2.8.3.2.2. Plural act affixes

In addition to verb stems which differ according to number, Southern Pomo has a robust (and very ancient) system of derivational affixes which indicate a plurality of things. Kashaya and Central Pomo, the two Pomoan languages with which Southern Pomo shared a common border, share this feature, and fine shades of meaning have been reported in those languages (Oswalt 1961; Mithun 1988). In Southern Pomo,
the data are unclear. The semantics imparted by the following plural act affixes appear lexically determined to a certain extent. And the more rare affixes are largely fossilized in a handful of verbs. Because it is not clear that they have different meanings, all of these affixes are glossed as PLURAL.ACT.

These affixes are a diverse group: one is a prefix (the sole prefix that is not an instrumental prefix); one may be either an infix or a suffix; and the other two are only suffixes and are extremely rare and are homophonous with other affixes. Each plural act affix is discussed below.

[/-lv-] /-la-, /-le-, /-li-, /-lo-, /-lu- plural act prefix

This is the only verbal prefix which is not an instrumental prefix. It must come between an instrumental prefix and the root. It has two phonological properties which are unique within the language: (1) its vowel copied completely from the vowel of the following root; (2) it is the only true decremental verbal affix: roots to which this prefix is affixed completely lose their laryngeal increment. This prefix has a very limited distribution and is only to be found in combination with a small number of roots. One of the clearest examples of this prefix comes from (H VIII), a text in which a massive rock man attempts to kill a cunning gray squirrel in a gambling dispute. Example (229) comes from this text, and the effect of the plural act prefix ||/-lv-|| in this passage is one of multiple patients (the trees); without this affix, there is no indication of number. This example also illustrates the phonological characteristics of this prefix: its allomorph has copied the vowel of the
root, and the laryngeal increment (in this case /:/) of the root ||-č:a-|| is gone. (The plural act prefix is in bold and underlined.)

(229) The plural act prefix ||-lv-|| on the verb root ||-č:a-|| 'break'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰa:le}\wedge\text{wan ku?mu di:láčaw}, & \text{ kʰa?béyey} \quad (H VIII: 6) \\
\text{kʰa:le}\wedge\text{wan ku?mu di:láčaw}, & \text{ kʰa?béyey} \\
\|\|\text{kʰa:le=wan ku?mu di:-lv-ča-}\wedge\text{w kʰa?be=yey}|| \\
/kʰa:le=\wedge\text{wan ku?mu di:-la-ča-w} & \text{ kʰa?be=yey/} \\
\text{tree=} & \text{by.fall-PL.ACT-break-PFV} \quad \text{rock=} \text{AGT} \\
\text{‘He broke them all (with his body), the Rock’}
\end{align*}
\]

Because this prefix copies the vowel of the following root, it is possible for a root to which ||-lv-|| is prefixed to lose its vowel after syncope, the vowel of the prefix thereafter providing the only clue to the lost vowel. Example (230) below gives the same stem as in (229) above, but in this case, the vowel of the root ||-č:a-|| ‘break’ has been completely lost (in addition to the loss of its laryngeal increment). (The affected root is in bold and underlined.)

(230) Surface form of ||-lv-|| as only clue to root vowel

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰá:le di:láčkaw} \quad (H VIII: 6) \\
\text{kʰa:le di:láčkaw} \\
\|\|\text{kʰa:le di:-lv-ča-ka-w}|| \\
/kʰa:le di:-la-č-ka-w/ \\
\text{tree} & \text{by.fall-PL.ACT-break-CAUS-PFV} \\
\text{‘He broke all the trees’}
\end{align*}
\]

This affix is one of the commonest morphemes in the language; it is also one of the most irregular. This affix has a number of allomorphs, which are not completely
predictable. In general, it surfaces as /-t/- in coda position, whether pre-
consonantally within a word or in word-final position. Elsewhere it may surface as
/-t/- or /-ta-/. The most distinctive phonological feature of this affix is its status as
a decrement: the laryngeal increment of the verb root is lost and replaced by /:/ to
the left of the root consonant regardless of the original increment (unless the root
consonant is a sonorant).

CVHCV... ~ CVCHV... + ||-t-|| ~ ||-ta-|| \(\rightarrow\) CV:CV-||-t-|| ~ ||-ta-||...

This morpheme implies multiple events, but the extant translations of verbs
with this affix are not clear enough to be sure of its full semantic range. Multiple
actions (or agents/undergoers performing/undergoing actions) are implied when
this plural act morpheme is affixed to an intransitive verb. The following examples
of intransitive verbs with and without the plural act affix come from Halpern (1984:
17). (The plural act is in bold.)

(231) Intransitive verbs with and without the plural act affix ||-t-|| ~ ||-ta-||

| [ʔ]ahkʰa čahčawa   | [ʔ]ahkʰa čačača    |
| ?ahkʰa čahčawa     | ?ahkʰa čačača      |
| /ʔahkʰa čahča-wa/  | /ʔahkʰa čača-ʔ-ʔa/ |
| water rise-EVID     | water rise-PL.ACT-EVID |
| ‘creek is rising’   | ‘creeks are rising’ |

(232) Intransitive verbs with and without the plural act affix ||-t-|| ~ ||-ta-||

| [ʔ]ahčʰaw           | [ʔ]ačʰaf          |
| ?ahčʰaw             | ?ačʰaf           |
| /ʔahčʰa-ʔw/         | /ʔačʰa-ʔ-ʔa/     |
| fall-PFV            | fall-PL.ACT-PFV  |
| ‘fall over’          | ‘several fall over’ |
When applied to a transitive verb, this plural act affix indicates a distributive sense with many events affecting multiple parties. The example below has the verb stem *dihka*- ‘to give one object’ with and without ||-t-|| ~ ||-t-a-||. The form with the plural act affix means to give one thing to several recipients individually; it does not mean to give one thing to a group. This example comes from Halpern (1984: 17). (The plural act affix is in bold.)

(233) The plural act affix ||-t-|| ~ ||-t-a-|| on the verb *dihka*- ‘to give one object’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dihkan</th>
<th>dihkaṭin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/dihka-n/</td>
<td>/di:ka-ṭ-in/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give.one.obj.-SG.IMP</td>
<td>give.one.obj.-PL.ACT-SG.IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘give (one obj. to one person)!’</td>
<td>‘give (one to each)!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the ||-t-|| variant of the plural act affix comes directly before another consonant, it surfaces as /:/, as seen in (234) below.

(234) /-ː/- allomorph of ||-t-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha:ča:čiːw</th>
<th>(H ms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha:čaːčiːw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ha:čaː-ː-či-w/</td>
<td>fly-PL.ACT-SEM-PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘birds (flying around) land’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the ||-t-|| variant of the plural act affix comes directly before a consonant cluster, it may disappear entirely. In such cases, the only surface evidence of the plural act is the decremental process of removing the laryngeal
increment and replacing it with /:/ to the left of the root consonant. Compare example (235) below with (234) above.

(235) The /-Ø-/ allomorph of ||-t-||

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cīhta ha:čáčwa} & \quad (\text{H ms.}) \\
\text{cīhta ha:čáčwa} \\
||\text{cīhta hahča-či-a}||^{74} \\
/\text{cīhta} & \quad \text{ha:ča-Ø-č-wa/} \\
\text{bird} & \quad \text{fly-PL.ACT-SEM-EVID} \\
\text{‘the birds have landed’}
\end{align*}
\]

When it is attached to a consonant-final verb root, this affix is an infix and separates the final consonant of the root from the root vowel (i.e. –HVC- → -HCV<PL.ACT>C-). An example of the plural act affix variant ||-t-|| surfacing as an infix is presented below in the verb stem ʔahlok- ‘one (piece) to fall off’ (plural act in bold).

(236) Example verb with and without ||-t-|| PL.ACT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[without plural act]</th>
<th>[with plural act]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔahlok o</td>
<td>ʔa:lhoťač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Halpern 1984: 17)</td>
<td>(Halpern 1984: 17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔahlok</td>
<td>ʔa:lhoťač</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔahlok-o/</td>
<td>/ʔa:lhoťač-k-Ø/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piece.to.fall-EVID</td>
<td>piece.to.fall&lt;PL.ACT&gt;-PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘one (piece) falls off’</td>
<td>‘(pieces) drop off’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the laryngeal increment is actually transcremented after the addition of the plural act morpheme in the above example because the root consonant is a sonorant.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{74} This evidential suffix has the allomorph [-wa] after vowels.
This plural act affix may combine with the plural imperative suffix ||-le||. Examples (237) and (238) give four instances of the verb stem ||ʔohko-|| ‘to pass’ in four imperative conjugations, two of which include the plural act affix.

(237) Singular imperative with and without ||-t-|| ~ ||-t-a-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[without plural act]</th>
<th>[with plural act]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʔ]óhkóne (H ms.)</td>
<td>[ʔ]okó:tin (H ms.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?okó:tin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔohko-n/</td>
<td>/ʔo:ko-t-in/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass-SG.IMP</td>
<td>pass-PL.ACT-SG.IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘1 pass 1!’</td>
<td>‘1 pass sev[eral]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(238) Singular imperative with and without ||-t-|| ~ ||-t-a-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[without plural act]</th>
<th>[with plural act]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʔ]ohkóle (H ms.)</td>
<td>[ʔ]okó:le (H ms.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?okó:le</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔohko-le/</td>
<td>/ʔo:ko-t-le/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass-PL.IMP</td>
<td>pass-PL.ACT-SG.IMP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘2 pass 1!’</td>
<td>‘2 pass sev[eral]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above examples, the combination of the plural act affix and the plural imperative suffix results in a distributive meaning. However, this is not the automatic interpretation of such a combination. The Southern Pomo plural imperative suffix descends from an earlier conditional, which Oswalt reconstructs for Proto Pomo as *...le (1976: 25). This suffix has two modern uses in the language: (1) as a true plural imperative used for commands to more than one person; (2) as a politeness suffix for use in commands given to in-laws and other people who

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175 Halpern records these forms with /:/ to the left of the sonorant and the glottal moved to the right; Oswalt’s records are less clear (see §2.2.2. for discussion).
warrant respect, a usage which might descend from its earlier use as a
conditional. In this latter function, the plural imperative must be combined with
the plural act affix in order to be interpreted as a command to more than one
person.

It is unclear whether the meanings of such combinations are pragmatically
conditioned. Can any verb with the combination `PLURAL_ACT+PLURAL_IMPERATIVE` have a
distributive meaning unless addressed to an in-law? Are these interpretations
restricted to certain verbs? The data are insufficient to answer these questions with
complete confidence. However, it seems most likely that the special semantics
involved in addressing in-laws are understood in context, and that the following
examples might have a plural (collective) versus plural distributive meaning if
addressed to someone not deserving of in-law levels of respect in the culture.
Examples (239) and (240) give two instances of the verb ‘to move the body’ with the
plural imperative; only the form with both the plural imperative and the plural act
affix has a true plural meaning. (The plural imperative and the plural act affixes are
in bold.)

---

176 Plural forms are also commonly recruited for such functions (e.g. earlier English ‘ye’ versus
‘thou’), and it might be the case that the older conditional first became a plural imperative before
being used as a token of respect in addressing in-laws.
Example of plural imperative ||-le|| as singular command to in-law

[ʔ]ekʰ:elmé:le (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elme:le
||hi-hkʰe-alameč’-le||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-lme:-le/
with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
‘(in-law) move down from above!’

||-t-|| PL.ACT + ||-le|| PL.IMP as plural command to in-law

[ʔ]e:kʰe tắmé:le (H ms.)
ʔe:kʰetame:le
||hi-hkʰe-ʔ-alameč’-le||
/ʔe:-kʰe-ʔ-lame:-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
‘2 move down from above!’

||-m-|| -m- ~ (other?) and ||-ak-|| -a- ~ -k- ~ (other?) plural act suffixes

The first of these two suffixes is very poorly understood and is quite rare in the records. In Central Pomo, Mithun reports that the suffix –ma-, which is the cognate of the –m- suffix in Southern Pomo, specifically indicates “joint or collective effort” (1988: 524-525). There is no evidence of such a clear meaning in Southern Pomo, and whereas the Central Pomo cognate is reported to be quite productive, this suffix is found only sporadically in the records.\(^{177}\) Part of the problem in the identification of this suffix (if, indeed, many examples await identification) lies in its being homophonous with the essive –m- and the directional suffix ‘across’ –m- (and in its being part of the general phonological confusion that surrounds

\(^{177}\) In one of the digital databases I have made for this project, the number of entries for this suffix stands at 2, both of which show it suffixed to the same stem.
sonorants in word-final position in the language). It is, however, more clearly a separate morpheme than the possible plural act suffix ||-ak-||.

The suffix ||-ak-|| has clear cognates in Central Pomo and Kashaya (||-aq-|| in both); however, it has not been reported from Southern Pomo, and Oswalt lists no Southern Pomo cognate for this suffix in his list of Pomoan affixes (1976: 22). At least one Southern Pomo form appears to have a plural meaning derived from both ||-m-|| and ||-ak-|| combined as plural act suffixes. The two forms in example (241) make no sense unless the sequences -mk- and -ma:- include ||-m-|| as a plural act suffix; and though it is possible that the -k- ~ -a:- is the directional ||-ak-|| ‘out’, the semantics of the translation leave little room for such an analysis. It therefore seems likely that this form contains both ||-m-|| and ||-ak-||. (The possible plural act suffixes are in bold and underlined.)

(241) Possible instance of ||-m-ak-|| PLURAL.ACT+PLURAL.ACT

sú:le šu:némkan  (H ms.)
su:le šu:nemkan
||su:le šu::ne-m-ak-Vn||
/su:le šu::ne-m-k-an/
rope by.pulling-grasp-PL.ACT-PL.ACT-PL.SG.IMP
‘tie several ropes onto it!’

(242) Possible instance of ||-m-ak-|| PLURAL.ACT+PLURAL.ACT

sú:le šu:nemá:le  (H ms.)
su:le šu:ne:ma:le
||su:le šu::ne-m-ak-le||
/su:le šu::ne-m:a:-le/
rope by.pulling-grasp-PL.ACT-PL.ACT-PL.IMP
‘2 tie several ropes onto it!’
2.8.3.2.3. Reduplicative suffixes

There are two reduplicative suffixes in Southern Pomo: (1) ||-R-||, which reduplicates the entire verb stem; (2) ||-R-||, which reduplicates only the verb root.

In the case of ||-R-||, subsequent vowel syncope and assimilatory processes may obscure the sounds of the suffixed portion. Translations of verbs with ||-R-|| generally have an iterative meaning, as in (243) - (245) below.

(243) Verb with ||-R-|| and iterative meaning

<mahkʰemkʰed:u>  (O D: ED)
mahkʰemkʰed:u
||ma-hkʰe-R-ded-u||
/ma-hkʰe-mkʰe-d:u/
by.foot-move.body~ITER-DIR-PFV
‘to shuffle along’

(244) Verb with ||-R-|| and iterative meaning

pʰuh'top'tow  (H VII:2)
pʰuh'top'tow
||pʰu-h'to-pʰu-h'to-w|| → [pʰuh'top'tow]
/pʰuh'to-pʰuh'to-w/
boil~ITER-PFV
‘boils’

(245) Verb with ||-R-|| and iterative meaning

<bahkʰopkʰow>  (O D: ED)
bahkʰopkʰow
||ba-hkʰo-R-w||
/ba-hkʰo-pkʰo-w /
by.poking-contact178~ITER-PFV
‘to give many quick little pokes’

---

178 Oswalt defines this root as ‘catch’ when it does not take the reduplicative affix ||-R-|| and as ‘give many quick jabs’ with the reduplicative affix ||-R-||; however, these two root entries seem to be semantically related and translatable as ‘contact’ or ‘intercept and contact one thing with another’. I have chosen ‘contact’ for its brevity in the gloss.
Verbs with ||-ʁ-|| may also have iterative meaning, as in (246) and (247) below.

(246) Verb with ||-ʁ-|| and iterative meaning

<duʔbaʔbaw> (O D: ED)

duʔbaʔbaw
||duʔbaʔʁ-w||
/duʔbaʔba-w/
by.finger-bother-ITER-PVF
‘to bother s[ome]o[ne] with the fingers’

(247) Verb with ||-ʁ-|| and iterative meaning

<dohšohšow> (O D: EA)

dohšohšow
||du-hšoʔ-ʁ-w||
/do-hšo-hšo-w/
by.finger-strip.off-ITER-PVF
‘to be removing corn kernels w[ith] finger’

However, some verbs with ||-ʁ-|| show no obvious iterative meaning, such as the verb for ‘to tell’, which is given in (248) below.

(248) Verb with ||-ʁ-|| and no iterative meaning

[ʔuhtehˈtew] (H ms.)
ʔuhtehˈtew
||hu-ʔteʔ-ʁ-w||
/?uʔteʔ-ʔte-w/
by.sound-tell-ʔ-PVF
‘tells’

It is unclear how freely either reduplicative suffix may be used with various roots and stems. In the case of ||-R-||, most stems which take this affix do not appear
in the extant records without it. The same situation holds true for ||-r-||, and most stems which take this affix do not appear without it. In the case of verbs like ‘to tell’ (given in (248) above), no discernable semantic content is imparted by ||-r-|| and its presence in such words is simply lexicalized.

Another question is whether these two reduplicative affixes might carry slightly different semantics. Data from neighboring congeners point to two possibilities: (1) the two reduplicative morphemes might have different semantics, as in Kashaya Pomo; (2) both reduplicative morphemes are simple iteratives, as might be the case for Central Pomo. The Kashaya cognate for ||-R-|| is a frequentative morpheme, whereas the Kashaya cognate for ||-r-|| is an iterative morpheme; the semantic difference is one of an “action...repeated in quick succession” (the frequentative) and one of an “action...repeated a few times” (the iterative) (Oswalt 1961: 155-156; Buckley 1994: 354-368). It is therefore possible that Southern Pomo maintains a similar distinction, which it would have inherited from the parent language of both it and Kashaya.

Mithun reports that Central Pomo, Southern Pomo’s sister language to the north, has a similar reduplicative process; reduplication in Central Pomo indicates “single events with repetitive internal structure,” and no mention of a distinction between reduplication of the stem versus reduplication of the root is made (1988: 527). The reduplicative morphemes of Southern Pomo might have collapsed into a single iterative morpheme, as appears to be the case in Central Pomo.
There is no reason to assume that Southern Pomo reduplication is identical to either of its nearest congeneres; the language can, of course, chart its own course with regard to the semantics of its reduplicative morphemes. At this time, it is not possible to say with certainty that both \( \text{||-R-||} \) and \( \text{||-r-||} \) are distinct in semantics or both iteratives. Both are glossed hereafter as \( \sim \text{ITERATIVE} \) when the semantics warrant such a glossing; when a reduplicative morpheme appears fossilized with no synchronic iterative meaning (as in \( \text{ʔuhteh} \text{tew} \) ‘to tell’), it is indicated as \( \sim ? \) in the glossing.

2.8.3.2.4. Directional suffixes

Most verbs of motion in Southern Pomo must take one of the directional suffixes.\(^{179}\) These suffixes indicate very fine shades of meaning, and many of them appear to be compositional in origin, though they cannot be productively parsed in synchronic analysis (Oswalt 1976: 23). Unless they begin with /m/, all directional suffixes are transcremental.

Thus far, all directionals have been simply glossed as \( \text{DIR} \) because there are so many of them and because precise English translations are too long to fit within the glossing; however, the free translations have been adequate for identification of semantic difference between various directional affixes. This practice continues throughout the remainder of this work. Each directional suffix is listed individually

\(^{179}\) Verbs of motion which otherwise must appear with a directional suffix may also appear with only the perfective suffix, in which case a completive meaning is indicated by the perfective. (In some of his notes, Oswalt glosses this use of the perfective as ‘terminate’.)
below. Where possible, the verb stems ?ahča-‘to fly’, dakat-‘to lead several’, ?ehkʰe-‘to move the body’, and ?ahpʰi-‘to carry’ are used in the examples.

||-m-||-m-~:-~n(?)‘across’

This suffix is homophonous with the essive suffix ||-m-|| and the rare plural act suffix ||-m-||. Examples of this suffix are given in (249) and (250) below (the surface from of ||-m-|| is in bold and underlined in each example).

(249) Example of ||-m-||‘across’ on the verb ?ehkʰe-‘to move the body’

[?]ehkʰéman (H ms.)
?ehkʰeman
||hi-hkʰe-m-Vn||
/?e-hkʰe-ma-n/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move across!'

(250) Example of ||-m-||‘across’ on the verb ?ehkʰe-‘to move the body’

[?]ehkʰé:ne (H ms.)
?ehkʰe:ne
||hi-hkʰe-m-le
/?e-hkʰe-:-ne/
with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
'(in-law) move across!'

||-muN-||-mul-~mum-~-ml-~-mu:-~-mun~-mil(?)‘around’

Oswalt identifies cognates of this suffix in every Pomoan language except Northeastern Pomo and he glosses it as “Around, to the other side” (1976: 23). In Southern Pomo, this suffix carries only the meaning of physically going around something; it does not carry the other English sense of verbs modified with ‘around’ (i.e. it does not mean to ‘go around’ as in ‘going about’). Examples (251) – (254)
provide instances of this suffix surfacing with various allomorphs (the surface forms of the suffix ||-muN-|| are in bold and underlined).

(251) The –mul- and –mum- allomorphs of ||-muN-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hu:w-muN-Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go-DIR-S.SIM</td>
<td>go-DIR-S.SIM</td>
<td>'while going around'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(252) The –mun- allomorph of ||-muN-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kʰ:ale hú:mun (H ms.)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kʰ:ale hu:mun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ:ale hu:w-muN-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>go-DIR-PFV</td>
<td>'walk around tree'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(253) The –mu: allomorph of ||-muN-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[ʔ]akʰ:óhča kʰ:ale hu:múne   (H ms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʔ]akʰ:ohča kʰ:ale hu:múne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/[ʔ]akʰ:o=ča kʰ:ale hu:-mu:-ne/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two=COLL tree</td>
<td>go-DIR-PL.IMP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(254) The –ml- allomorph of ||-muN-||

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ká:wiʔwan [ʔ]áhča [ʔ]ahpʰimlin (H ms.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ká:wiʔwan ?ahča ?ahpʰi-mlin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka:wi=ʔwan ?ahča ?ahpʰi-ml-in/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child=DET.OBJ house carry-DIR-SG.IMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'carry baby around house!'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

180 These are in free variation (see §2.6.3.2.).
The allomorphy of this suffix is somewhat problematic. Its expected allomorphs are -mul- ~ -mum- ~ -mu- ~ -mun ~ -ml-; however, there appears to have been confusion between these forms, which conform to patterns seen elsewhere in the language, and inexplicable variants. Annie Burke, Halpern’s first Cloverdale dialect consultant, shows two unexpected variants of this affix. When ||-muN-|| is followed by the plural imperative suffix ||-le||, Halpern records that Burke produced both the expected allomorph -mu- (with nasal spreading to the /l/) and an unexpected form with an epenthetic [i] separating ||-muN-|| from ||-le||, as seen in examples (255) and (256) below (the surface forms of ||-muN-|| are in bold and underlined).

(255) Expected use of allomorph of ||-muN-|| before ||-le|| by Annie Burke

[ʔ]akʰ:óhča kʰá:le hu:mú:ne (H ms.)
ʔakʰ:óhča kʰá:le hu:mume
||ʔakʰ:o-hča kʰa:le hu:w-muN-le||
/ʔakʰ:o-hča kʰa:le hu:-mu:-ne/
two=COLL tree go-DRI-PL.IMP
'2 [walk around tree]!'

(256) Unexpected use of [i] between ||-muN-|| and ||-le|| by Annie Burke

šó?dimlɪle (H ms.)
šo?dimlɪle
||šu-ʔdi-muN-le||
/šo-ʔdi-ml-i-le/
by,pulling-move-DIR-EPENTHETIC>VOWEL-PL.IMP
'2 [lead him around]!'

An even more peculiar allomorph is -mil- for the expected -mul- in Annie Burke’s speech, as seen in (257) below (||-muN-|| is in bold and underlined).
(257) The unexpected allomorph -mil-

dák:afmîlin  (H ms.)
dák:afmîlin
||dák:at-muN-Vn||
/dák:at-mîl-in/
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 lead them around!'

Compare the example above with (258) below, which shows the expected vowel /u/, a form spoken by the same speaker and differing from (257) above only in the final imperative suffix (||-muN-|| is in bold and underlined).

(258) The allomorph -mu:- with the expected vowel /u/

dák:afmû:ne  (H ms.)
dák:afmû:ne
||dák:at-muN-le||
/dák:at-mu:-ne/
lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 lead them around!'

These unusual allomorphs cannot be explained at this time; however, one possible analysis would treat all instances of [i] within or following ||-muN-|| as epenthetic vowels. The directional suffix ||-muN-|| is unique among directionals in its being monosyllabic with two sonorants, and the allophony of sonorants in coda position in the language is such that speakers might have introduced the epenthetic

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181 The verb stem ||dák:at-|| is listed in Oswalt’s dictionary manuscript under the root ||-kat-|| ‘to rub’ in combination with the instrumental prefix ||da-|| ‘with the palm’; however, if this verb stem does have this root, it is the only instance of this root combining with an instrumental prefix to form such an idiosyncratic meaning. I treat is an irreducible verb stem for this reason.
between the final sonorant of ||-muN-|| and a following sonorant-initial affix to avoid confusion. The [i] of the -mil- allomorph would therefore also be an example of an epenthetic vowel, though such an analysis would require the speakers to lose the underlying vowel to syncope and then decide to break up the cluster with [i] rather than the underlying vowel (i.e. ||-muN-|| → -mul- → -ml- → -mil-). Whatever the conditioning factors, if any, the identification of this suffix is not controversial.

||-maduč-|| -madu:- ~ -mač:- (~ -maduč- ~ -madu:y ~ -m?du:y) ‘as far as, up to (here)’

The allomorphs in parentheses above are not in my database but are to be expected on the basis of phonological patterns seen elsewhere in the language. The two allomorphs for which there are examples in my database are given below in (259) and (260) (the surface forms of ||-maduč-|| are in bold and underlined).

(259) The -madu:- allomorph of ||-maduč-||

má:li da:k:á:tmádu:le (H ms.)
ma:li da:k:á:tmadu:le
||ma:li da:k:at-maduč-le||
/ma:li da:k:at-madu-:le/
here lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 bring sev[eral] here!'

(260) The -mač- allomorph of ||-maduč-||

da:k:afmáč:in (H ms.)
da:k:atmač:in
||da:k:at-maduč-Vn||
da:k:at-mač:-in/
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'bring sev. here!'
/mač-/-mač- ~ -mč- ~ -ma- ~ -may ‘in from outside’

The suffix is used for movement into something from outside. Oswalt notes that it may also carry the meaning of ‘northward’ (1976: 23). Examples of this suffix are given below in (261) – (264) (the surface forms of /mač-/) are in bold and underlined).

(261) The -mač- allomorph of /mač-/

\[\text{dak:at'mac' in (H ms.)}
\]
\[\text{dak'at'mac'}
\]
\[\text{||dak:at-mac-Vn||}
\]
\[\text{/dak:at-mac-in/}
\]
\[\text{lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP}
\]
\[\text{'take sev. inside'}
\]

(262) The -mč- allomorph of /mač-/

\[\text{ʔahp[h]imčin (H ms.)}
\]
\[\text{ʔahp[h]mčin}
\]
\[\text{||ʔahp[h]-mač-Vn||}
\]
\[\text{/ʔahp[h]-mč-in/}
\]
\[\text{carry-DIR-SG.IMP}
\]
\[\text{'carry it in (speaker outside)'}
\]

(263) The -ma- allomorph of /mač-/

\[\text{ʔahp[h]im:le (H ms.)}
\]
\[\text{ʔahp[h]ma:le}
\]
\[\text{||ʔahp[h]-mač-le||}
\]
\[\text{/ʔahp[h]-maː-le/}
\]
\[\text{carry-DIR-PL.IMP}
\]
\[\text{'2 [carry it in (speaker outside)]'}
\]
The -may allomorph of ||-mač-||

\[k^h\theta[\sim]a^\acute{t}\acute{h}m\acute{a}y\ (H I: 6)\]
\[k^h\theta[\sim]a^\acute{t}m\acute{a}y\]
\[||k^h\theta[\sim]a^\acute{t}-mač-Ø||\]
\[/k^h\theta[\sim]a^\acute{t}-may-Ø/\]
run-DIR-PFV
‘ran inside’

||-mok-|| -mok- ~ -mk- ~ -mo- ~ -mok ‘in from inside’

This suffix is used for movement into something relative to the speaker’s being inside. Thus a speaker inside a house would use this suffix instead of ||-mač-|| to command someone to enter the same structure. Examples of this suffix are given below in (265) – (267) (surface forms of ||-mok-|| are in bold and underlined).

(265) Example of ||-mok-||

dak:aťmókon (H ms.)
dak:aťmokon
\[dak:ať-mok-Vn||\]
\[/dak:ať-mok-on/\]
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
‘1 bring them in!’

(266) Example of ||-mok-||

[?]ehkʰémbkon (H ms.)
?ehkʰemkon
\[hi-hkʰe-mok-Vn||\]
\[/?e-hkʰe-mk-on/\]
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move in (speaker inside)’

(267) Example of ||-mok-||

[?]e:kʰefmó:le (H ms.)
?e:kʰefmole
||hi-hkʰe-ʔ-mok-le||
/ʔe-kʰe-ʔ-mo-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move in (Sp[eker]. in)'

||-ak-|| -ak- ~-ak ~ -a:~ -k ~ -:* 'out from inside'

This is transcremental suffix. Oswalt glosses this morpheme as ‘out hence, away, off’ (1976: 23). His use of ‘out hence’ is shorthand for ‘out (speaker outside)’, which is at odds with the glossing used herein. This suffix is one of four suffixes which indicate either direction into or direction out of something relative to the speaker’s being inside or outside. Table (39) gives all four suffixes.

Table (39): Directional suffixes indicating motion into or out of something

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MOTION INTO</th>
<th>MOTION OUT OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SPEAKER INSIDE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEAKER OUTSIDE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oswalt (1976) flips the definitions for ||-ak-|| and ||-ok-|| so that they line up with the directionals for motion into something which share the same vowels. Thus ||-mok-|| and ||-ok-|| are for use by a speaker inside and ||-mač-|| and ||-ak-|| are for use by a speaker outside in Oswalt’s glossing.

I follow Halpern’s glossing of ||-ok-|| and ||-mač-|| as being reserved for use by a speaker who is outside, and ||-ak-|| and ||-mok-|| as being used by a speaker who is inside. Oswalt’s glossing might be true for Kashaya or etymologically correct; however, it is at odds with all of Halpern’s handwritten glosses as he worked with Annie Burke (Oswalt 1976: 23).
Examples of ||-ak-|| are given in (268) – (270) below (the surface forms of ||-ak-|| are in bold and underlined).

(268) Example of ||-ak-||

|hídʔa [ʔ]apʰ:ák-an (H ms.)

hidʔa ?apʰ:ák
||hidʔa ?apʰ:a-k-Vn||
/hidʔa ?apʰ:-ak-an/
outside carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it outside (speaker inside)'

(269) Example of ||-ak-||

háč:ák (H ms.)
hač:ák
||ha-hča-ak-Ø||
/ha-č:a-k-Ø/
by.wing-fly-DIR-PFV
'flying through'

(270) Example of ||-ak-||

|hídʔa ha:ččaːle (H ms.)

hidʔa haččaːle
||hidʔa ha-hča-t-ak-le||
/hidʔa ha-č:a-č-a-ːle/
outside by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 fly out (from here)'

||-ok-|| -ok- -ok -o- -k- -k- -: -: 'out from outside’

This directional suffix is transcremental. It is used when the speaker is outside.

Examples of this suffix are given below in (271) – (273) (the surface forms of ||-ok-|| are in bold and underlined).
(271) Example of ||-ok-||

hidʔa [ʔ]ap[h]:ákon  (H ms.)
hidʔa ?ap[h]:akon
hidʔa ?ap[h]:a-ok-Vn||
/hidʔa ?ap[h]:a-k-on/
outside carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it outside (speaker outside) [!]'

(272) Example of ||-ok-||

má:li da:k:ató:le  (H ms.)
má:li da:k:ató:le
ma:li da:k:at-o:le/
here lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 bring out sev. [!]'

(273) Example of ||-ok-||

má:li da:k:atʰkon  (H ms.)
má:li da:k:atʰkon
ma:li da:k:atʰkon
ma:li da:k:at-ok-Vn||
/má:li da:k:atʰ-k-on/
here lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 bring out sev. [!]'

||-ala-|| -ala- ~ -al- ~ -la- ~ -l- ~ -alʔ- ~ -lʔ- ‘down’

This is a transcremental suffix. The allomorphs with the excrescent glottal stop only occur before voiced stops. Examples of ||-ala-|| are given in (274) and (275) below (the morpheme is in bold and underlined).
(274) Example of ||-ala-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:élan  (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elán
||hi-hkʰe-ala-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-la-n/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 move down !'

(275) Example of ||-ala-||

[ʔ]ap[h]:ál:e  (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:ałe
||ʔapʰ:-ala-le||
/ʔapʰ:-alːe/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry it down 1 each!'

||-akač-|| -akač- ~ -akaː- ~ -akay ~ -ak(h)č- ~ -k(h)č- ~ -kač- -kaː- ~ -kay 'up from here’

This is a transcremental suffix. Oswalt glosses this morpheme as 'up hence’ (1976: 23). On the basis of his use of 'hence' in his glossing elsewhere and the examples of this suffix to be found in connected narrative, it appears that this suffix means 'up from here’ and is used for upward movement away from the speaker. Examples of the directional suffix ||-akač-|| are given in (276) – (279) below (surface forms of ||-akač-|| are in bold and underlined).

(276) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]ap[h]:ákʰčin  (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:ákʰčin
||ʔapʰ:-akač-Vn||
/ʔapʰ:-akʰč-č-in/
carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 carry it up[!]’
(277) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]apʰ:-aká:le (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:aká:le
||ʔapʰ:-akač-le||
/ʔapʰ:-aka:-le/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry it up[!]'

(278) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]a:pʰ]atkáčin (H ms.)
ʔa:pʰatkačin
||ʔa:pʰa-t-akač-Vn||\(^{182}\)
/ʔa:pʰa-t-kač-in/
carry-PL.ACT-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 carry up sev. !'

(279) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékʰčin (H ms.)
ʔekʰekčin
||hi-hkʰe-akač-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰe-kʰč-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move up onto!'

||-alok-|| -alok- -alo-k - -lok - -alo:- -lo:- -alo:- -alk- - -lk- ‘up to here’

This is a transcrecremental suffix. Oswalt glosses this morpheme as ‘up hither’ (1976: 23). On the basis of his use of ‘hither’ in his glossing elsewhere and the examples of this suffix to be found in connected narrative, it appears that this suffix means ‘up to here’ and is used for upward movement toward the speaker. Examples of the directional suffix ||-alok-|| are given in (280) – (283) below (surface forms of ||-alok-|| are in bold and underlined).

\(^{182}\) I treat the verb stem as irregular with a final /a/; however, the plural act affix in this form might alternatively be analyzed as in infix splitting the directional suffix.
(280) Example of ||-alok-||

[ʔ]ihčálok  (H I: 7)
ʔihč\text{alok}  
||ʔihč-alok-Ø||^{183}
/ʔihč-alok-Ø/
\text{drag-DIR-PFV}
'drags up'

(281) Example of ||-alok-||

má:li šudʔálkon  (H ms.)
\text{ma:li šudʔalkon}
||ma:li šuʔa-lok-Vn||^{184}
/ma:li šu-dʔ-alk-on/
\text{here  by.pulling-move-DIR-SG.IMP}
'1 bring it up h[ere\text{el}]'

(282) Example of ||-alok-||

má:li dák:al:ókon  (H ms.)
\text{ma:li dák:alkon}
||ma:li dákt-a-lok-Vn||
/ma:li dákt-al-lok-on/
\text{here  lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP}
'1 bring them up here!'

(283) Example of ||-alok-||

má:li dák:al[ʔ]ó:le  (H ms.)
\text{ma:li dák:alole}
||ma:li dákt-a-lok-le||
/ma:li dáktal-lo:-le/
\text{here  lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP}
'2 bring them up here!'

^{183}||ʔihč-|| is an irregular verb stem.
^{184}This is an irregular verb.
This is a transcremental suffix. It is omitted from the list of Pomoan directionals in Oswalt (1976), but it is listed as a separate suffix in a verb paradigm in Oswalt’s unpublished notes and is recorded by Halpern. Examples of ||-alokoč’-|| are given below in (284) – (289) (the surface forms of ||-alokoč’-|| are in bold and underlined).

(284) Example of ||-alokoč’-||

\[ \text{hat:alokč’in (O ms.)} \]

**hat:alokč’**

\[ \|\text{hat:-alokoč’-Vn}\| \]

\[ /\text{hat:-alokoč’-in/} \]

put.foot-DIR-SG.IMP

['put the foot up out of']

(285) Example of ||-alokoč’-||

\[ \text{ʔakʰ:an=tow [ʔ]ekʰ:elko:le (H ms.)} \]

\[ ?akʰ:an=tow ?ekʰ:elko:le \]

\[ /ʔakʰ:a:-na=tow hi-hkʰe-alokoč’-le\| \]

\[ /ʔakʰ:a:-na=tow ?e-kʰ:e-lko:-le/ \]

water-LOC=ABL with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP

'in-law (move out of water)[!]'
(287) Example of ||-aloakoč'-||

hačatloko:le (H ms.)
hačatloko:le
||-hča-č-alokoč'-le||
/ha-ča-č-loko:-le/
by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'fly out!'

(288) Example of ||-aloakoč'-||

hid?a hačatlóko (H ms.)
hid?a hačatlóko
||-hid?a ha-hča-č-alokoč'-Ø||
/hid?a ha-ča-č-loko-Ø/
outside by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-PFV
'birds fly out of [something]'

(289) Example of ||-aloakoč'-||

hačatlókhč'a (H ms.)
hačatlókhč'a
||-hča-č-alokoč'-a||
/ha-ča-č-lokóhč'-a/
by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
'they’re flying out'

||-alameč‖-|| -alameč' - -alame- - -alamey - -lameč' - -lame- - -lamey - -lmeč' - -lme- - -lmey - -alaméč' (? - -lameč' - (? 'down off of'

This is a transcremental suffix. It is not listed in Oswalt (1976); however, it is found in a verb paradigm in Oswalt’s unpublished notes and in Halpern’s records. The allomorphs followed by (?) are yet to be found, but they are expected on the basis of phonological patterns in the language. This suffix means ‘down off of ~ down from above’. Examples of ||-alameč'-|| are given in below in (290) – (294) (the surface forms of ||-alameč'-|| are in bold and underlined).
(290) Example of ||-alameč’-||

| haṭ:almey (O ms.) |
| haṭ:alme | ||haṭ:-alameč’-Ø|| |
| /haṭ:-almey-Ø/ |
| put.foot-DIR-PFV |
| ['put foot down off of'] |

(291) Example of ||-alameč’-||

| '?'ap[h]:alméč’in (H ms.) |
| ?apʰ:almeč’in |
| ||?apʰ:-alameč’-Vn|| |
| /?apʰ:-almeč’-in/ |
| carry-DIR-SG.IMP |
| 'climb down from above' |

(292) Example of ||-alameč’-||

| '?'ap[h]:almé:le (H ms.) |
| ?apʰ:alme:le |
| ||?apʰ:-alameč’-le|| |
| /?apʰ:-alme:le/ |
| carry-DIR-PL.IMP |
| '2 carry 1 down!' |

(293) Example of ||-alameč’-||

| '?'a:p[h]aṭ:lamé:le (H ms.) |
| ?apʰaṭ:lamame:le |
| ||?apʰa-ṭ-alameč’-le|| |
| /?apʰa-ṭ-lame:le/ |
| carry-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP |
| '2 carry 1 down 1 each!' |
(294) Example of ||-alameč’-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:elméč’in (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elmeč’in
||hi-hkʰe-alameč’-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-lmeč’-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move down from above!'

||-mokoč-|| -mokoč~ ~ -moko- ~ -mokoy ~ -mkoč- ~ -mko- ~ -mkoy ~ -mok(ʰ)č- (?) ‘back’

This directional suffix is not transcremental, as is the case for all /m/-initial suffixes. It is absent from the list of Pomoan directional suffixes in Oswalt (1976). I have not yet found examples of this suffix in Halpern’s notes; however, it is present in a verb paradigm in Oswalt’s unpublished notes. Oswalt glosses it as ‘back’, and in the absence of additional examples, it is impossible to give more information on the semantics of this suffix. Examples of ||-mokoč-|| are given below in (295) – (298) (surface forms of the suffix are in bold and underlined). The allomorph followed by (?) above is not in the current record but is to be expected on the basis of phonological patterns in the language. Because the extant examples of this suffix come from an unfinished paradigm table, one which did not directly gloss each entry, the glosses are my own and are based on Oswalt’s definition of the verb stem as written across the top of the page (glossed as ‘to put the foot’) and the directional definition written to the left of the row from which these forms come (glossed as ‘back’).
(295) Example of ||-mokoč-||

rustimkoy (O ms.)
||rusti-mokoč-Ø||
/raht-mkoy-Ø/
puf.foot-DIR-PFV
['to put the foot back']

(296) Example of ||-mokoč-||

rustimkočin (O ms.)
||rusti-mokoč-Vn||
/raht-mkoč-in/
puf.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
['put the foot back!']

(297) Example of ||-mokoč-||

rustimkolec (O ms.)
||rusti-mokoč-le||
/raht-mkoc-le/
puf.foot-DIR-PL.IMP
['put foot back (in-law-yall)!']

(298) Example of ||-mokoč-||

rustimkolec (O ms.)
||rusti-mokoč-le||
/raht-mkoc-le/
puf.foot-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
['put foot, y'all! (to in-law) ~ put foot several times, y'all!']

This is a transcremental suffix. It is not in the list of Pomoan directional suffixes in Oswalt (1976), but it is present in verbs elicited by Halpern. The extant examples suggest that this morpheme specifically means movement of an object (inanimate
or body part) out of a container or hole. Examples are provided below in (299) – (302) (the surface forms of ||-akoč’-|| are in bold and underlined).

(299) Example of ||-akoč’-||

čʰiʔáko (H ms.)
čʰidʔakoy
||čʰi-dʔ-akoč’-Ø||
/čʰi-dʔ-akoχy-Ø/
by.small.part-move-DIR-PFV
'to take out 1 rock'

(300) Example of ||-akoč’-||

ho:dotkoy (H ms.)
ho:dotkoy
||hoʔdo-t-akoč’-Ø||
/ho:do-t-koy-Ø/
put.hand-PL.ACT-DIR-PFV
'to put hand in hole and take it out, pull'

(301) Example of ||-akoč’-||

hodʔokʰč’in (H ms.)
hodʔokʰč’in
||hoʔdo-akoč’-Vn||
/hoʔo-kʰč’-in/
put.hand-DIR-SG.IMP
'pull it out[!]'

(302) Example of ||-akoč’-||

ho:dotkóle (H ms.)
ho:dotkóle
||hoʔdo-t-akoč’-le||
/ho:do-t-kó-le/
put.hand-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 pull arms out!'
This is a transcremental suffix. It is homophonous with the suffix ||-ad-|| imperfective; however, only the directional suffix ||-ad-|| is transcremental, and this is only phonological distinction between them. The two suffixes are probably related historically, and the directional suffix ||-ad-|| has an imperfective-like meaning of moving about or along (i.e. continuous movement in no particular direction). When followed by an imperative suffix, this directional carries the meaning of motion toward the speaker. The allomorphs with [m] only occur before labial consonants. Examples of the directional suffix ||-ad-|| are given below in (303) – (306) (surface forms of ||-ad-|| are in bold and underlined).

(303) Example of directional ||-ad-||

dó:noŋhkʰay hwadu (H ms.)
dononhkʰay hwadu
||do:no=li=kʰač hu:w-ad-u||
/do:no=nhkʰay hw-ad-u/
hill=ward go-DIR-PFV
'went uphill' (H I:6)

(304) Example of directional ||-ad-||

kuṭ:u hač:ánkan (H ms.)
kuṭ:u hač:ánkan
||kuṭ:u ha-hča-ad-ka-Vn||
/kuṭ:u ha-č:a-n-ka-n/
just by.wing-fly-DIR-CAUS-SG.IMP
'let it fly towards here'
(305) Example of directional ||-ad-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:édəu (H ms.)  [ʔ]ekʰ:édən (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:édəu ʔekʰ:édən
∥hi-hkʰe-ad-u∥  ∥hi-hkʰe-ad-Vn∥
/ʔe-kʰ:e-d-u/  /ʔe-kʰ:e-d-un/
with.body-DIR-PFV with.body-DIR-SG.IMP
'to move along' 'move along, towards me'

(306) Example of directional ||-ad-||

[ʔ]e:kʰeṭá:ne (H ms.)
ʔe:kʰeṭáne
∥hi-hkʰe-t-ad-le∥
/ʔe-kʰ:t-a-ne/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move along, towards me!

∥-aduč-∥ -aduč- ~ -adu- ~ -aduy ~ -duč- ~ -du- ~ -duy ~ -du- ~ -č- 'away'

This is a transcremental suffix. When combined with an imperative suffix, it means motion away from the speaker. The form -du- occurs only before a geminate consonant or consonant cluster. Examples of the directional suffix ||-aduč-|| are given below in (307) – (311) (surface forms of ||-aduč-|| are in bold and underlined).

(307) Example of ||-aduč-||

da:k:ad:učin (H ms.)
dak:adučin
∥da:k:at-aduč-Vn∥
/da:k:ad-duč-in/
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 take sev. away!'
(308) Example of ||-aduč-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:edú:le  (H ms.)
?ekʰ:edul
||hi-hkʰe-aduč-le||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-du:-le/
with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move away! (sitting or lying)'

(309) Example of ||-aduč-||

hač:áduy  (H ms.)
hač:aduy
||ha-hča-aduč-Ø||
/ha-č:a-duy-Ø/
by.wing-fly-DIR-PFV
'1 flies away'

(310) Example of ||-aduč-||

?aʔa kʰat:adukʰ:etʰof  (W: OF)
||?aʔa kʰat:-aduč-kʰ:e=ṭʰof||185
/ʔaʔa kʰat:-adu-kʰ:e=ṭʰof/
1SG.AGT  run-DIR-FUT=NEG
'I didn’t run away'

(311) Example of ||-aduč-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:éč:in  (H ms.)
?ekʰ:éčin
||hi-hkʰe-aduč-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-č:-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move over! away!'

||-aded-||-aded- ~ -ade-: ~ -aden- ~ -adem- -ad:- ~ -ded- ~ -de:- ~ -den- ~ -dem- ~ -d:- 'here and there'

This is a transcremental suffix. It is absent from the list of Pomoan directional suffixes in Oswalt (1976), but Oswalt glosses it in his notes as ‘here & there’. The

185 ||kʰat:-|| is an irregular verb.
allomorphs with [m] are only found before labial consonants. Examples of ||-aded-|| are given below in (312) – (314) (the surface forms of ||-aded-|| are in bold and underlined).

(312) Example of ||-aded-||

hwademba (H EA: 14a)
hwademba
||hu:w-aded-ba||
/hw-adem-ba/
go-DIR-S,SEQ
[‘having gone’]

(313) Example of ||-aded-||

kuṭ:u hač:adéŋkan (H ms.)
kuṭ:u hač:adenkan
||kuṭ:u ha-hča-aded-ka-Vn||
/kuṭ:u ha-ča-den-ka-n/
just by.wing-fly-DIR-CAUS-SG,IMP
‘let it fly away’

(314) Example of ||-aded-||

hač:ád:u (H ms.)
hač:ad:u
||ha-hča-aded-u||
/ha-ča-d:-u/
by.wing-fly-DIR-PFV
‘flying around’

This affix is also found on some verbs which are not verbs of motion. It is unclear what semantic content, if any, is added in such cases. The most common combination of this sort is with the verb stem ||čahnu-|| ‘to speak’, which has an unpredictable vowel change in combination with ||-aded-|| (||čahnu-aded-|| →
/čanhoded-/. An example is given in (315) below (the surface form of ||-aded-|| is in bold and underlined).

(315) Example of ||-aded-|| on ||čahnu-|| ‘speak’

čáhnu kó?di čándhodent[h]:ba?wá?a (H ms.)
čahnu ko?di čándhodent[h]:i:ba?wa?a
||čahnu ko?di čahn-aded-tʰ-V:ba=?wa=?a||
/čahnu kó?di čanhodent ʰi:baʔwaʔa/
speech good say=V-NEG=COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

/||-aywač-||-aywač- ~ -aywa- ~ -ayway ~ -ywač- ~ -ywa- ~ -wač- ~ -wa- ~ -way ‘right up to’

This is a transcremental suffix. Oswalt glosses this directional as ‘against, into contact with, onto’ (1976: 24). When used with an imperative suffix, this directional may mean motion away from the speaker or toward the speaker. Examples of the directional suffix ||-aywač-|| are given below in (316) – (319) (the surface forms of the suffix are in bold and underlined).

(316) Example of ||-aywač-||

||mi:mač=kó?ya:la=?wa=?to huw-aywač-wadu||
cry=COP=only=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT go=DIR-HAB
'he always comes to me crying'
(317) Example of ||-aywáč-||

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka:wi?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{eywáčin} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ka:wí?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{eywáčin} & \\
\text{|[ka:wí?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{e=aywáč-Vm]} & \\
\text{/ka:wí?=wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{e-ywáč-in/} & \\
\text{child=DET.OBJ carry-DIR-SG_IMP} & \\
\text{'carry it right up to him'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(318) Example of ||-aywáč-||

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka:wi?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{eywálc} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ka:wí?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{eywálc} & \\
\text{|[ka:wí?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{e-aywáč-le/} & \\
\text{/ka:wí?=wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{e-ywálc-le/} & \\
\text{child=DET.OBJ carry-DIR-PL_IMP} & \\
\text{'2 carry it right up to him!'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(319) Example of ||-aywáč-||

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka:wí?ya?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{eywálc} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ka:wí?ya?wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{eywálc} & \\
\text{|[ka:wí?ya?=wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{e-ť-aywáč-le} & \\
\text{/ka:wí?ya?=wan } \text{ʔap}^{h}:\text{e-ť-wa:le/} & \\
\text{child-PL=DET.OBJ carry-PL.ACT-DIR-PL_IMP} & \\
\text{'2 carry babies right up to him 1 each'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

||-bič-|| -bič- ~ -biy ~ -bi- ~ -pč- 'up; begin'

This is a transcremental suffix. Oswalt (1976: 24) believes the voiceless bilabial stop of the syncopated allomorph -pč- is actually the ejective [p’]; however, I have not heard this, and Halpern also consistently records a plain [p] for this allomorph. Oswalt later treats this -pč- allomorph as [ptʃ] rather than [p’tʃ] in an unpublished verb paradigm that appears to have been written out in 1995; his analysis, it would seem, changed over time with regard to the allomorphy of this morpheme. Oswalt notes that this suffix is reserved for short upward distance or the raising of “one
part of the body relative to the rest” (1976: 24). This suffix may also carry an inceptive meaning. Examples of ||-bič-|| are given below in (320) – (323) (surface forms of ||-bič-|| are in bold and underlined).

(320) Example of ||-bič-||


dúw:ehkónyo há:čafbiča (H ms.)

</duw:ehkóny ha:čaf[biča]
||duw:eʔahkon=ʔat:o ha-hča-ʔ-bič-a||186
/duw:eʔhkon=ʔo ha-ča-ʔ-bič-a/
night=long=1SG.PAT by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
'I kept getting up all night'

(321) Example of ||-bič-||

<hat:abiy> (O ms.)

</hat:abiy
||ha:ta-bič-Ø||
/ha:ta-biy-Ø/
put.foot-DIR-PFV
['raise foot']

(322) Example of ||-bič-||

[ʔ]e:kʰejębičle (H ms.)

</e:kʰe[bičle
||hi-ħe-ʔ-bič-le||
/e-ʔe-ʔ-bi-ː-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move up!'

(323) Example of ||-bič-||

<hat:apčin> (O ms.)

</hat:apčin
||ha:ta-bič-Vn||
/ha:ta-pč-in/
put.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
['raise foot!']

186 The verb stem ||ha-hča-|| ‘fly’ may translate as ‘arise’ or ‘flee’ when suffixed with ||-bič-||.
2.8.3.2.5. Valence-changing suffixes

There are four valence-changing suffixes: ||-ka-|| CAUSATIVE, ||-ya-|| DEFOCUS, ||-č’-|| REFLEXIVE, and ||-muč’-|| RECIPROCAL. Each of these is discussed in the following subsections together with examples.

||-ka-|| -ka- ~ -ki- ~ -k- ~ -kʰ- CAUSATIVE

The causative suffix ||-ka-|| adds an argument to the verb to which it is affixed. This additional argument need not be overtly expressed. This morpheme has two meanings (at least in English translation): forcing and allowing. The -ki- allomorph only occurs before the suffix ||-ya-|| DEFOCUS and is in free variation with the allomorph -k- in that position. Examples of the other allomorphs are given below.

(324) Example of ||-ka-|| CAUSATIVE

maːfiʃin [ʔ]uhtehtékan  (H ms.)
maʃiʃin ?uhtehtekan
||maH ti-ki-n ūhte-hte-ka-Vn||
/ma:-fi-ki-n ūhte-hte-ka-n/  
3C-younger.sibling-GS-PAT tell-tell-CAUS-SG,IMP
'let him tell his y. sibling'

(325) Example of ||-ka-|| CAUSATIVE

miːmákhṭ[ʰ]u mádan  (H ms.)
miːmákʰu madan
||miːmač-ka-[ʰ]u ham:ad-an||
/miːma-[kʰ-]u mad-an/
cry-CAUS-PROH 3SG,F-PAT
'don’t make her cry'
The defocus suffix ||-ya-|| removes the most agentive argument of a verb. Though it may be translated with a passive construction in English, it shares little in common with the English passive. Unlike the English passive, the argument removed by ||-ya-|| may not reappear in an oblique, and the remaining non-agentive argument does not take on a new syntactic role; rather, this suffix removes the most agentive argument completely without affecting the remaining arguments. Because there is no argument marking on the verb and overt arguments (full NPs and pronouns) are not obligatory in Southern Pomo, this suffix may be applied to a verb with no overt arguments present. Halpern often translates verbs with this suffix by means of an impersonal ‘they’ in the English, which might lead to a mistaken impression that this suffix carries some number-marking function, which it does not. This suffix may be combined with the perfective suffix ||-w|| to derive nouns from verbs (e.g. ||čuh:u-|| ‘eat’ vs. ||čuh:u-ya-w|| ‘food’, which is literally ‘(it) is eaten’), though this combination does not derive nouns by default. Examples of this suffix are given below (with the suffix in bold and underlined).

(326) Example of ||-ya-|| DEFOCUS

\[\text{míp[h]:ak:i:]-kʰe yúh[?]-u ?ohčóyaw} \quad (\text{H III: 1})
\]

\[\text{míp[h]:ak:ki:kʰe yuh:u ?ohčóyaw}
\]

\[\text{||miH-p[h]ak-ki-kʰe yuh:u ?ohčo-ya-w||}
\]

\[\text{/mi-p[h]:ak-ki-kʰe yuh:u ?ohčo-ya-w/}
\]

2-son-GS-POSS pinole put.shapeless.mass-DEFOC-PFV “They have put up pinole for your son.”

[lit: ‘Pinole has been put up for your son’]
As mentioned above in the section on the causative suffix ||-ka-||, the defocus suffix follows the causative when both are present in the valence-changing slot of the verb. In this position, the causative may surface as the allomorph -ki-, as shown in (327) below (the defocus suffix ||-ya-|| is in bold and underlined).

(327) Example of ||-ya-|| DEFOCUS following ||-ka-|| CAUSATIVE

ʔiš:i ʔaṭʰ:e-ba hám:i čahčíkiyaw (H III: 6)
ʔiš:i ʔaṭʰ:eba ham:i čahčíkiyaw
||ʔiš:i ʔaṭʰ:e-ba ham:i čahči-ka-ya-w||
/ʔiš:i ʔaṭʰ:e-ba ham:i čahči-ki-ya-w/
blanket  spread-S.SEQ there  sit-CAUS-DEFOC-PFV
‘Having spread a blanket, they let her sit down there’
[lit: ‘After having spread a blanket, she was allowed to sit there’]

There are two unpredictable underlying forms of the reflexive, ||-č‖-|| and ||-čič‖-||, the second of which might be a fossilized combination with the semelfactive ||-č-||. This ||-čič‖-|| form may also carry an inceptive meaning, and the assignment of reflexive or inceptive meaning appears to be lexically conditioned. This suffix occurs after the causative when both occur together on a verb (as in the common form hudʔa-ka-y want-CAUS-REFL ‘like’ (literally: ‘cause(s) self to want’). Examples of the reflexive suffix are given below (the suffix is in bold and underlined).
(328) Example of ||-č'-|| REFLEXIVE

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰčʰeč'ın (H ms.)} \\
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰčʰeč'ın} \\
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰčʰeč'ın} \\
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰeč'ın} \\
/\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰeč'ın/} \\
\text{basket}=\text{DET.OBJ} & \text{by.pulling-move-REFL-SG.IMP} \\
\text{'move basket closer to self!'}
\end{align*}
\]

The form ||-čič‖-|| is often found before a consonant, as in (329) below, which is the plural imperative version of the clause from (328) above (the surface form of ||-čič‖-|| is in bold and underlined).

(329) Example of ||-čič‖-|| REFLEXIVE

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰečičle (H ms.)} \\
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰečičle} \\
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰečičle} \\
\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰečičle} \\
/\text{čʰeʔ}:&\text{emywan šuhkʰečičle/} \\
\text{basket}=\text{DET.OBJ} & \text{by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP} \\
\text{'2 move basket closer to self!'}
\end{align*}
\]

The form ||-čič‖-|| carries an inceptive meaning on some verbs, as in (330) below (where the surface form of the suffix is in bold and underlined).

(330) Example of ||-čič‖-|| REFLEXIVE with an inceptive meaning

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔahpʰičiy} & \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ʔahpʰičiy} & \text{carry-REFL-PFV} \\
\text{'to start carrying on back'}
\end{align*}
\]
When ||-čič'-'|| \textsc{reflexive} is preceded by a coronal stop, that stop may optionally assimilate to the first consonant of the suffix, as in (331) below (with the surface forms of ||-čič'-'|| in bold and underlined).

(331) Optional assimilation of coronal before ||-čič'-'||

\[\text{ʔ}i\text{hnat čič'}\text{'in} \sim \text{ʔ}i\text{hnac čič'}\text{'in} \text{(H ms.)}\]
\[\text{ʔi}h\text{nac čič'}\text{'in} \sim \text{ʔi}h\text{nac čič'}\text{'in}\]
\[\text{hi-hnat-čič'-'Vn}\]
\[\text{/ʔi-hnat-čič'-'in/} \text{with.body-try-\textsc{refl}-sg.imp}\]
\[\text{'try on clothes[!]'}\]

The choice between the two underlying forms fo the reflex, ||-č'-'|| and ||-čič'-'||, is apparently arbitrary in most cases, and some verbs show free variation between the two, as in (332) below (where the surface forms of ||-č'-'|| and ||-čič'-'|| are in bold and underlined).

(332) Free variation between ||-č'-'|| and ||-čič'-'||

\[\text{duhkʰčč'}\text{'in} \sim \text{duhkʰeʔčč'}\text{'in} \text{(H ms.)}\]
\[\text{duhkʰečč'}\text{'in} \sim \text{duhkʰeʔčč'}\text{'in}\]
\[\text{[du-hkʰe-čč'-'Vn]} \sim \text{[du-hkʰe-čič'-'Vn]}\]
\[\text{/du-hkʰe-čč'-'in/} \sim \text{/du-hkʰe-ʔčč'-'in/} \text{with.fingers-move-\textsc{refl}-sg.imp with.fingers-move-\textsc{refl}-sg.imp}\]
\[\text{'bring it toward self[!]'} \sim \text{'move it towards yourself[!]'}\]

||-mhuč'-'|| -mhuč'-' - mhuč' - -mhu ~ -mhy ~ -m(ʔ)č'-' \textsc{reciprocal}

Verbs with the reciprocal suffix ||-mhuč'-'|| have two arguments. These arguments need not be overtly expressed. The final segment of this morpheme likely descends from the reflexive ||-č'-'||, but there is no reason to parse it off from the rest of
||-mhuč’-|| as the sequence [-mhu-] has no meaning of its own. Examples of ||-mhuč’-|| reciprocal are given below (with the surface forms of the suffix in bold and underlined).

(333) Example of ||-mhuč’-|| reciprocal

há:miní(ː)baʔ:já:ywan hó:dʔómhu:y (H I: 2)
and.then-S,SEQ.woman=DET.OBJ handle-RECIP-PFV
"Then (he) made love to the woman"

Additional examples of this suffix are given below (the surface forms are of the reciprocal are in bold and underlined in each example).

(334) Example of ||-mhuč’-|| reciprocal

mé:h³:n=čanho:ðemʔe’i:n (H ms.)
mé:h³:n=čanho:ðemʔe’i:n
||miH=t³:e-n čanho:aded-mhuč’-Vn||
/me-h³:e-n čanho-de-mʔe’i:n/
2-mother-PAT speak-DIR-RECIP-SG.IMP
'speak to your mother!'

(335) Example of ||-mhuč’-|| reciprocal

čá:hu[n][ʔ]á:lho:komhú:le (H ms.)
čá:hu[n][ʔ]á:lho:komhú:le
||čá:hu[n][ʔ]á:lho:koč’-mhuč’-le||
speech several.talk-RECIP-PL.IMP
'2 speak to e[ach] o[ther!]'

298
(336) Example of ||-mhuč’-|| reciprocal

be:némhuy (H ms.) bé:nemhú:le (H ms.)
be:nemhuy
||bi::ne-mhuč’-Ø|| ||bi::ne-mhuč’-le||
/be::ne-mhuy-Ø/ /be::ne-mhu::le/
with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PFV with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PL-IMP
'they hug e[ach] o[ther]' '2 hug e[ach] o[ther]'

(337) Example of ||-mhuč’-|| reciprocal

bé:nemhút[ʰ]le (H ms)
be:nemhút[ʰ]le
||bi::ne-mhuč’-tʰu-le||
/be::ne-mhu-tʰ-le/
with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PROH-PL-IMP
'2 don't hug e[ach] o[ther]'!

2.8.3.2.6. Other derivational suffixes

||-č-|| -č- ~ -:o ~ -y semelfactive

The semelfactive is an aspectual suffix that indicates punctuated action, whether in
realis or irrealis conjugations. As such, it is quite unlike the inflectional aspectual
suffixes which do not combine with other TAM suffixes. The semelfactive may also
affect the valence of some words by deriving transitive verbs from intransitive
verbs, though it is unclear whether this phenomenon extends beyond a few attested
words. Because the effects of the affix on the semantics of a verb stem are not
completely predictable and may result in transitivity changes, it is treated as a
derivational suffix herein. The identification of this affix can be challenging. Two of
its allophones are completely homophonous with the reflexive suffix ||-č’-||, and
though it shares little with the reflexive in terms of semantic contribution, it is
quite possible that the variant form of the reflexive ||-čič’-|| once began with the
semelfactive. Examples of ||-č-|| are given below (with the surface forms of ||-č-|| are in bold and underlined).

(338) Example of ||-č-|| SEMELFACTIVE

| čahnúčin (H ms.) | čahnú:le (H ms.) |
| čahnúčin | čahnú:le |
| ||čahnu-č-Vn|| | ||čahnu-č-le|| |
| /čahnu-č-in/ | /čahnu-č-le/ |
| speak-SEM-SG.IMP | speak-SEM-PL.IMP |
| 'speak up!' | '2 [speak up]!' |

On some verbs, the addition of the semelfactive appears to derive a transitive verb. Example (339) gives two verbs for ‘to smell’, one without the semelfactive is intransitive, and one with the semelfactive is transitive (though not syntactically transitive in the example because overt arguments are not necessary in Southern Pomo clauses). (The surface forms of ||-č-|| SEMELFACTIVE are in bold and underlined.)

(339) Example of ||-č-|| SEMELFACTIVE deriving a the transitive verb ‘to smell’

| [with the semelfactive] | [with the semelfactive] |
| měhšey (H ms.) | mehščin (H ms.) |
| měhšey | mehščin |
| ||mi-hše-č||187 | ||mi-hše-č-Vn|| |
| /me-hše-y/ | /me-hše-č-in/ |
| with.nose-smell-SEM | with.nose-smell-SEM-SG.IMP |
| ‘to smell something’ | ‘smell it!’ |

187 It is possible that the zero allomorph of the perfective is actually present after the semelfactive in this form. Because the semelfactive may be followed by at least some TAM suffixes, it cannot be assumed that it and the perfective are mutually exclusive. In the absence of any persuasive evidence, I choose to treat the semelfactive as the final affix.
Compare the foregoing example with the verb for ‘smell’ without the semelfactive, as given in (340) below.

(340) Example of the intransitive verb ‘to smell’ without the semelfactive

koʔdi méhšew  (H ms.)
koʔdi měhšew
||koʔdi mi-hše-w||
/kkoʔdi me-hše-w/  
good  with.nose-smell-PFV
‘it smells good’

||-m-|| -m- ~ -~ -n ESSIVE

The essive is homophonous with the directional suffix ||-m-|| ‘across’ and the plural act suffix ||-m-||. Oswalt (1976: 22) describes this suffix as follows:

[The essive indicates] a steady condition or state, action in a delimited area, or, when the verb root already denotes an unmoving position (verbs for ‘lie’, ‘sit’, ‘stand’), then that position is on something up off the ground.

I have not found evidence for all of the meanings given by Oswalt. The examples which follow show the essive used to indicate an action in a delimited area (as mentioned by Oswalt) and to indicate an unmoving position off the ground.

(Surface forms of the essive are in bold and underlined.)

(341) Example of ||-m-|| ESSIVE indicating action in delimited area

khʔaʔbe čʔɑːʔa( )wín:a bɑ:néman  (H ms.)
kʰaʔbe čʔaːʔawina bɑnɛman
||kʰaʔbe  čʔaːʔa=wín:a  ba:ne-m-an||
/kʰaʔbe  čʔaːʔa=wín:a  bɑnɛman/  
rock  one=atop  put.one.nonlong.object-ESSIVE-SG.IMP
‘put a rock on it’
(342) ||-m-|| ESSIVE indicating an unmoving position off the ground

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔahtin} & \quad \text{(O ms.)} \\
\text{ʔahtiman} & \quad \text{(O ms.)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔahtim-Ø} & \\
\text{ʔahtim-Vn} & \\
\text{ʔahtim-an} & \\
\text{put.foot-ESSIVE-PFV} & \\
\text{put.foot-ESSIVE-PFV} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

['hold the foot still above ground'] ['hold the foot still above ground!']

2.8.3.3. Inflectional suffixes

The inflectional affixes include suffixes for tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, negation, and, possibly, person marking. Every finite verb in Southern Pomo must have at least one of these suffixes. Other inflectional affixes include the dependent clause suffixes, most of which are clearly switch-reference markers. These dependent clause suffixes may not be combined with the TAM suffixes; the TAM-bearing main verb supplies tense/aspect/mood to the dependent verbs. (At least some of the evidential suffixes may follow the dependent clause suffixes in special situations, such as on the pro-verb ha:mini-; see the section on evidentials (§2.8.3.3.4.) for an example of this). Each of these categories of inflectional suffixes is covered in the following subsections. A few enclitics have been included in these sections when they share semantic similarities with a group of affixes (e.g. the negative enclitic = tʰof limi-NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE has been included with the negative suffixes to which it is historically related and with which it shares negative semantics; it only differs in its not being an affix).

---

188 As discussed later (§2.8.3.3.6.), there are two suffixes which appear to indicate first and second person, though they are not obligatory when first and second person arguments are overtly present or implied, and I suspect they might have some sort of evidential meaning and might not be true person-marking affixes.
2.8.3.3.1. Tense

There are only two tense suffixes in Southern Pomo, both of which are futures.
Thus the only tense markers in the language are irrealis suffixes, and the only aspectual suffixes are realis. Indeed, it might be more productive to divide all TAM suffixes not by the categories tense/aspect/mood, as I have done here, but between realis (aspectual suffixes) and irrealis (tense and mood suffixes), a division that is clearly made in the dependent clause suffixes. The two futures are discussed below together with examples.

||-kʰ:e-|| -kʰ:e- ~ -kʰe FUTURE

This is a simple future. Its cognate in neighboring Central Pomo is an enclitic rather than affix and may be used as part of a purposive complementation strategy, as shown in (343) (the Central Pomo verb marked with the future enclitic is in bold and underlined in the text, glossing, and the translation).

(343) Central Pomo ||-ʔkʰe|| cognate of S. Pomo ||-kʰ:e-|| as a purposive

\[
\begin{align*}
qʰá=\_l & \quad yó-hi & \quad maʔá & \quad qʰad\text{way}=ʔkʰe \\
\text{water}=\text{to} & \quad \text{go}=\text{same} & \quad \text{food} & \quad \text{buy}=\text{FUTURE} \\
\text{‘He’ll go down and } & \quad \textbf{buy} & \quad \text{groceries’ (adapted from Mithun 1993: 124)}^{189}
\end{align*}
\]

The Southern Pomo morpheme does not appear to be used as a purposive; that function is handled by the future intentive discussed in the next section.\(^{190}\)

\(^{189}\) I have converted Mithun’s orthography to the one used in this work.

\(^{190}\) Oswalt reports no Central Pomo cognate for the future intentive suffix ||-tʰ-|| (1976: 25). If Central Pomo lacks a reflex of the old future intentive to use for purposive complementation strategies, this
Examples of the future suffix ||-kʰ:e-|| are given below (verbs marked with the future are in bold and underlined in the text, glossing, and translation).

(344) Example of ||-kʰ:e-|| FUTURE

[ʔ]á:baṭo hač'okʰ[:]e?wá?ya (H ms.)
||?a:-ba-to hač':o-kʰ:e=?wa=?a:ya||
/ʔa:-ba-to hač':o-kʰ:e=?wa=?a:ya/
1-father's.father-PAT arrive-fut=COP,EVID=1PL.AGT
'we're going to visit our fa. fa.'

(345) Example of ||-kʰ:e-|| FUTURE

buṭ:e kaʔma čoh:onh[kʰ:e] (W: OF)
/buṭ:e kaʔma čoh:onh-kʰ:e/
when INTER=2SG.AGT marry-fut
'when will you get married?'

(346) Example of ||-kʰ:e-|| FUTURE

?ač'e-tō ?uhtéhtekʰ:e?wa?a
/ʔa:-č'e-to ?uhté-hte-kʰ:e=?wa=?a/ 1-mother-PAT tell-tell-fut=COP,EVID=1SG.AGT  
'I will tell my mother'

(347) Example of ||-kʰ:e-|| FUTURE

?amaya:ko mítikʰ:tʰof?wa?a
/ʔa:mayá:ko mít-t-kʰ:e=tʰof=?wa=?a/ 2PL.AGT=COM lie-fut=NEG=COP,EVID=1SG.AGT  
'I won't lie w[ith] ye''

might explain its use of the future where Southern Pomo uses ||-ti-||. However, it is also possible that my database is deficient, and Southern Pomo does use the simple future ||-kʰ:e-|| for purposive complementation strategies, in which case the choice of ||-ti-|| or ||-kʰ:e-|| might be lexically determined.
In Oswalt's list of Pomoan suffixes, he lists a distinction in Southern Pomo between ||-ti-||, which he glosses as an intentive that expresses "purpose, in order to, near future", and ||-ti?du||,²⁸ which he glosses as a near future that means "about to" (1976: 25). Though he gives both a near future meaning, only ||-ti-|| is ascribed a purposive meaning. The examples below support such an interpretation of the data; however, it is quite possible that more data might reveal these two forms, ||-ti-|| and ||-ti?du|| to be in free variation or lexically conditioned. Minimal pairs showing the contrast between a purposive (intentive) meaning and near future meaning have not been found. I have therefore chosen to treat them as variants of a single morpheme for the present work. Examples of the variants of the future intentive are given below (verbs with the suffix are in bold in the text, the glossing, and the translation).

(348) Example of ||-ti-|| with purposive meaning

\[
\text{ka:wi } ?\text{a: } \text{čuh:ka}-\text{ṭi ho:li:na (W: OF)}\\
/\text{ka:wi } ?\text{a: } \text{čuh:u-ka-ṭi ho:li:na/}\\
\text{child 1SG.AGT eat-CAUS-FUT.INTENT leave-FIRST.PERSON}\\
'\text{I'm going to feed my baby}'
\]

The future intentive is homophonous with the inchoative morpheme ||-ti-|| ~ ||-ti-||, which is applied to verbs and adjectives. The future intentive may be suffixed to the inchoative morpheme, though other affixes generally separate them, as

²⁸ Oswalt transcribes this as <-ti-?d> without discussion of the second element.
shown in (349) below (where only the predicate marked with the future intentive is in bold in the text, glossing, and translation).

(349) Example of ||-ti-|| FUTURE.INTENTIVE combined with ||ti-|| INCHOATIVE

\[
\begin{align*}
  kʰ\acute{a}be \ [?] \ &oh:ό wan mi:ṭ ál\w, \quad \text{(H VI: 6)} \\
  kʰa\acute{e}be \ ?o\acute{h}:\acute{e} wan mi:ṭ ál\w, \\
  /kʰa\acute{e}b & \ ?oh:ό=wan \ mi:ṭ a-la-w/ \\
  rock & \text{fire=DET.OBJ put.several-DIR-PFV} \\

  [?] ahkʰ\acute{a} \ [?] oh:o ti:kʰ\acute{t}i. \\
  \text{ʔa}hkʰ\acute{a} oh:o \ ti:kʰ\acute{t}i. \\
  /\text{ʔa}hkʰ\acute{a} \ ?oh:o \ ti-kʰ-\acute{t}i/ \\
  water & \text{fire INCH-CAUS-FUTURE.INTENTIVE} \\

\end{align*}
\]

‘...they dropped the rocks, the hot rocks...in order to have the water become hot.’

As shown in the previous two examples, the future intentive is often part of a sentence with more than one clause when it carries a purposive meaning. Mono-clausal sentences are more likely to take the ||-ti?du-|| form in my database, and in these sentences the English translations line up with a near future meaning rather than a purposive one. Examples of this are given below (||-ti?du-|| in bold in the text, the glossing, and the translation).

(350) ||-ti?du-|| with near future meaning in mono-clausal sentence

\[
\begin{align*}
si:ma\acute{t}o \ mi:ṭ t\acute{i} \da \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
  si:ma\acute{t}o \ mi:ṭ t\acute{i} \da \\
  /si:ma=\acute{t}o \ mi:ṭ \dot{t} \da/ \\
  \text{sleep=1SG.PAT lie-FUT.INTENT}^{192} \\
  'I'm \textbf{going to} go to sleep'
\end{align*}
\]

\[^{192}\text{I am glossing both forms as FUT.INTENT until there is sufficient evidence that they are truly separate morphemes.}\]
(351) ||-ti?du-|| with near future meaning in mono-clausal sentence

```
fly-PL.ACT-DIR-FUT.INTENT-EVID sev.fly-DIR-FUT.INTENT-EVID
'birds are going to fly away'
```

(352) ||-ti?du-|| with near future meaning in mono-clausal sentence

```
1-fa's.fa-GS-OBL-POSS house=toward leave-FUT.INTENT-FIRST.PERSON
'I am going to my fa[ther’s] fa[ther]’s house after a while'
```

2.8.3.3.2. Aspectual suffixes

There are three inflectional aspectual suffixes in Southern Pomo: an imperfective, a perfective, and a habitual. Following Comrie, aspect is herein defined as a way “of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (1976: 3). Each of these inflectional aspectual affixes is amenable to being fit within such a definition; however, the commonest of these suffixes, the perfective, has many more uses and cannot be analyzed as a strictly aspectual affix. Each of these suffixes is described individually below.

```
||-ad-|| ~ ||-adu-|| -ad- ~ -an- ~ -n ~ - (-?) ~ -adu ~ -du IMPERFECTIVE
```

The imperfective is used to indicate an ongoing realis event. In Oswalt’s terminology, this is the “durative” (1976: 24). The allomorphs of this affix are homophonous with the directional suffix ||-ad-|| ‘along’. Though the imperfective shares much in its semantics with this suffix (and might be historically related to
it), it can be distinguished from it, though identification of isolated instances can be challenging if the phonological context is insufficient for correct diagnosis. Table (40) sets out the differences between these two suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUFFIX → PROPERTIES</th>
<th>IMPERFECTIVE</th>
<th>DIRECTIONAL ‘along’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transcrements the laryngeal increment</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table (40) above, it is not the case that there are clear semantic differences among these affixes. The directional ||-ad-|| does not have any real directional meaning to it; rather, it translates well as ‘along’ as in ‘going along’, which carries an imperfective meaning. Indeed, Halpern specifically identifies this directional suffix as the “durative” (1984: 18). Thus both Oswalt and Halpern identify an imperfective morpheme, which they term durative, but Oswalt assigns this to the morpheme herein termed the imperfective, and Halpern assigns this to the morpheme herein termed the directional ‘along’.

Though Oswalt (1976 & 1978) consistently lists this suffix as having no final vowel, the examples below clearly show ||-ad-|| suffixed to a verb that is not a verb of motion (and therefore should not be expected to take a directional suffix) without transcrementing the laryngeal increment. In these examples, the allomorph of ||-ad-|| is -adu in word final position. It is worth returning to Halpern’s identification of his so-called durative suffix: it is not the case that he assigned an imperfective meaning to the transcrementing directional ||-ad-||; rather, he
conflates imperfective ||-ad-|| with the directional ||-ad-||, both of which he internally reconstructs as *-de, a reconstruction he uses to explain their word-final form of -du as the product of an earlier combination with the perfective suffix ||-w|| (i.e. *-de + *-w > -du). Though Oswalt’s distinction between a transcrememental directional ||-ad-|| and an non-transcremenemental imperfective ||-ad-|| is maintained in this work, I agree with Halpern’s historical analysis and his synchronic identification of -du as the word-final variant; however, I also keep the initial vowel from Oswalt’s analysis. I therefore treat -(a)du as the word-final allomorph of both ||-ad-|| suffixes. Thus the word-final allomorph of the imperfective was once a combination of the earlier imperfective suffix *-ade- and a perfective suffix *-w in word-final position. A similar process of combining several aspectual suffixes can be reconstructed for the word-final habitual suffix ||-wadu-||, which probably descends from a combination of the the perfective *-w + imperfective *-ade + the perfective *-w. Of course, these historical data do not affect the synchronic semantics of these suffixes. Examples of the imperfective suffix are given below (with the imperfective suffix in bold and underlined in the text).

(353) Example of -du allomorph ||-ad-|| ~ ||-adu|| IPFV

\[\begin{align*}
\text{šú:kʰay} \; [?]\text{uhnát-du} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{šú:kʰay} \; ʔ\text{uhnát-du} & \\
||\text{šú:kʰač-Ø hu-hnať-adu}||^{193} & \\
/\text{šú:kʰač-Ø} & \; ʔ\text{u-hnať-du/} \\
\text{breathe-PFV} & \; \text{by.speech-try-IPFV} \\
\text{'to tease someone'}^{194}
\end{align*}\]

\[193\] The final consonant of ||šú:kʰač-|| 'breathe’ might be the semelfactive.
The perfective is by far the commonest suffix in Southern Pomo. This suffix, which Oswalt (1976 & 1978) glosses as an “absolutive”, has several functions. Oswalt states that in Kashaya, Central Pomo, and Southern Pomo, this suffix “is the citation form of verbs, forms verbal nouns and adjectives, and is the main verb of sentences in stories” (1976: 24). In reference to Southern Pomo alone, Oswalt writes that this suffix is “roughly comparable to the English infinitive or –ing form” (1978: 13). All of the above uses of this suffix are confirmed by the extant data.

The use of the term perfective for this suffix within this work is more of a convenience that a statement of fact about its only value. There are three choices with regard to glossing this morpheme: (1) follow Pomoan scholarly tradition as set forth by Oswalt (1976 and throughout his work on Kashaya, Central Pomo, and Southern Pomo) and gloss this suffix with the problematic term absolutive; (2) follow Pomoan scholarly tradition as set forth by Mithun (1993 and throughout her work on Central Pomo) and gloss it as perfective; (3) create a new term. Because this suffix has several functions, one of which is perfective aspect, the decision has been made...
to pick the most accurate gloss that stays within Pomoan scholarly tradition, one which avoids the unwanted baggage of Oswalt’s use of the term *absolutive*, rather than introduce something new.

The perfective suffix is the citation form of verbs and it may be used derive nouns from verbs (especially in combination with the defocus suffix ||-ya-||). However, it does have a clear perfective aspectual meaning in most instance, and Oswalt’s characterization of its being analogous to an English infinitive is rather misleading. Comrie states that the perfective aspect does not give “direct expression to the internal structure of a situation” and “denote[s] a complete situation, with beginning, middle, and end” (1976: 17-18). This definition fits the most common usage of the perfective in Southern Pomo discourse. It is the default suffix on verbs and does not refer to time (i.e. is not past tense), nor does it provide any information about the internal structure of the event.

When applied to verbs of motion which do not have a directional suffix preceding the perfective, there is a completive meaning, which Oswalt glosses as “terminate” in his notes. Even this completive meaning, however, is not outside the bounds of what perfective aspect might do (even if it is not expected function). Comrie states that the use of the perfective to indicate “the end of a situation [i.e. as a completive] is at best only one of the possible meanings” to be ascribed to this aspect (1976: 19). Though this is hardly enthusiastic support for a perfective that functions as a completive in some corners of the grammar, that fact that this completive meaning is restricted to verbs of motion with no directional suffixes (an
uncommon phenomenon) confirms it as “only one of the possible meanings” allowed by Comrie’s definition of perfective aspect.

Every finite verb in Southern Pomo which does not have another TAM suffix must bear the perfective suffix. The perfective has three forms: |-w| -w after all five vowel qualities (though is exceedingly uncommon after /e/ and is inconsistently recorded after /u/ by Halpern); |-u| -u after /d/; |0| after all other consonants. Examples of each of the variants are given below.

(355) Example of |-w| PERFECTIVE after /i/

ho:liw (W: OF)
||ho:li-w||
/ho:li-w/
leave-PFV
‘went’

(356) Example of |-w| PERFECTIVE after /e/

ʔuhtéhtew (H III: 1)
ʔuhtéhtew
||ʔuhte-hте-w||
/ʔuhte-hте-w/
tell-tell-PFV
‘tells it’

(357) Example of |-w| PERFECTIVE after /a/

di:lаčaw (H VIII: 6)
di:lаčaw
||di:-lв-чa-w||
/di:-la-чa-w/
by.falling-PL.ACT-break-PFV
‘He broke’
(358) Example of ||-w|| PERFECTIVE after /o/

\[ kʰáʔbe \ ?ačʰ:o \ (H \ VIII: \ 8) \]
\[ kʰaʔbe \ ?ačʰ:ow \]
\[ /kʰaʔbe \ ?ačʰ:o-w/ \]

rock NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV ‘there [was] no rock’

(359) Example of ||-w|| PERFECTIVE after /u/

\[ diʔbuw \ (O \ I: \ 24) \]
\[ diʔbuw \]
\[ /diʔbu-w/ \]
bury-PFV ‘buried’

(360) Example of ||-u|| PERFECTIVE after /d/

\[ huw:adu \ (H \ I: \ 12) \]
\[ huw:adu \]
\[ /huw:ad-u/ \]
go-DIR-PFV ‘came’

(361) Example of ||-Ø|| PERFECTIVE after consonant other than /d/

\[ šúḥnaʧ \ (H \ VIII: \ 4) \]
\[ šuḥnaʧ \]
\[ /šu-hnaṭ-Ø/ \]
by.pulling-try-PF ‘he tried pulling it’

\[ /-wad-/ ~ /-wadu-/ ~ -wad- ~ -w?du- ~ -ʔdu \ HABITUAL \]

The habitual is used for actions which happen often, and this suffix may be used on verbs which are preceded by the adverb čašba ‘always’. Comrie states that habitual aspect (in the world’s languages) is used to “describe a situation which is
characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period” (1976: 28). The Southern Pomo habitual fits this definition. In the narrative texts, it is often used to set the stage when characters are introduced (e.g. ho:li-wʔdun leave-HAB-S.SIM ‘always went’ from the beginning of (H I): "Sparrowhawk, it is said, always went to the outside to trap birds"). Examples of the habitual are given below (the surface forms of the suffix are in bold and underlined; the verbs affected by it are in bold and underlined in the translations).

(362) Example of ||-wad-|| ~ ||-wadu-|| HABITUAL

liklisyey yodo ku:lu:nhkʰay ho:li:wʔdun
||li:klis=yey yo-do ku:lu=li=kʰač ho:li-wadu-Vn||
/liklis=yey y o-do ku:lu=nhkʰay ho:li-wʔdun/
raptor.species=AGT AUX=QUOT outside=ward leave-HAB-S.SIM
‘Sparrowhawk, it is said, always went to the outside’ to trap birds’

(363) Example of ||-wad-|| ~ ||-wadu-|| HABITUAL

há:meʃ yá:laʔyowá:man ča:máwʔdu (H ms.)
hameʃ ya:laʔyowá:man ča:mawʔdu
||ha:meʃ ya:laʔyo:wa=ham:ad ča:ma-wadu||
/ha:meʃ ya:laʔyo:wa=m:an ča:ma-wʔdu/
thus only=AUX-EVID=3F.SG.AGT twine-HAB
'she's always twining this kind of basket'

As already stated, the habitual may be suffixed to verbs which are also modified by the adverb č’a:šba ‘always’, as shown in the following example (where both the adverb č’a:šba ‘always’ and the habitual suffix are in bold and underlined;
the translations for the verb with the habitual and the adverb 'always' are also in bold and underlined).

(364) Example of habitual together with adverb č'ašba 'always'

č'ašba+wám:u máb?ačen hačč'ów?du (H ms.)
č'ašba+wam:u mab?ačen hačč'ow?du
||č'ašba=wa=ham:u maH-ba-č-en hačč':o-wadul||
/č'ašba=wa=m:u ma-b?a-č-en hačč':o-w?du/
always=COP.EVID=3SG 3C-fa's,fa-GS-AGT arrive-HAB
'he always visits his gr[and]fa[ther].'

2.8.3.3.3. Mood and modality

Dixon states that the term mood is properly applied only to the declarative, interrogative, and imperative moods; modality must be kept separate (2010a: 95-97). If this division is to be followed, the imperative suffixes discussed in this section are the only true mood markers. There is no declarative mood morpheme, and the interrogative morpheme ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| is not an affix, nor does it pattern with the other mood/modality morphemes. Modal suffixes include a conditional and a hortative. There is also an optative enclitic. Whatever usefulness might be had by distinguishing between mood and modality in cross-linguistic work, it is the case that the mood and modality suffixes of Southern Pomo pattern together, and it is useful to discuss them in the same section. All of these mood/modality suffixes are irrealis. They are mutually exclusive with one another on a verb and cannot co-occur on the same verb; when they are the final inflection on a main verb with a dependent verb, that dependent verb must take an irrealis dependent clause suffix (this is also true of the future ||-kʰ:e||). One of the mood suffixes, the plural
imperative, descends from an earlier conditional. Each of the mood/modal suffixes is discussed below.

||-V:ba|| -i:ba ~ -a:ba ~ -o:ba ~ -u:ba ~ -:ba CONDITIONAL

The conditional can be used to indicate obligation or ability. It can also be used to form a polite command (separate from the plural imperative, which is used as a sign of respect in commands to in-laws). Examples are given below with the conditional in bold and underlined (the words corresponding to the conditional verb in the translations are also in bold and underlined).

(365) Example of ||-V:ba|| CONDITIONAL used for obligation/request

||ʔay:a=ko=ʔwen=ʔo=ʔa:ma mi:tı-V:ba||
/ʔay:a=ko=ʔwen=ʔo=ʔma mi:tı-=ba/
1PL=COM=?=CONTRAST=2SG.AGT lie-COND
'you ought to lie with us'

(366) Example of ||-V:ba|| CONDITIONAL used for obligation/request

[ʔ]ekʰ:ekó:ba?wa?máya (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:ekó:wa?maya
||hi-hkʰ-e-ok-V:ba=ʔwa=ʔa:maya|
/ʔ-e-kʰ:e-k-o:ba=ʔwa=ʔmaya/
with.body-move-DIR-COND=COP.EVID=2PL.AGT
'(in-law) move out (Sp[eaker]. out)! = ye ought to move out[!]'

195 The morpheme =ʔwen is problematic. It is quite common in some of the records, but the English translations do not elucidate its function.
Example of \(-V:ba\) CONDITIONAL used for ability

čáhnu kó?di čáhnu[ʰ]dě[ʰ]-ba?wá?a (H ms.)
čahnu ko?di čáhnu[ʰ]-t[ʰ]-ba?wa?a
čáhnu ko?di čáhnu-aded-[ʰ]-t[ʰ]-ba=ʔwa=ʔa:ya\|
čahnu ko?di čáhnu-t[ʰ]-i:ba=ʔwa=ʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

When applied to a vowel-final verb, the hortative surfaces as zero, and it appears that the bare stem is being used for the hortative (e.g. ho:li=ʔya || ho:li-V=ʔa:ya\|
leave-HORT=1PL.AGT 'let's go!'). An example of the hortative after a consonant is given in (368) below (with the hortative suffix in bold and underlined).

Example of \(-V-V\) HORTATIVE after a consonant

dáʔtamČ'iʔya (H I: 6)
daʔtamč'iʔya
dáʔta-mč'-i=ʔya/
find-RECIP-HORT=1PL.AGT
'Let's meet'

\(-Vn\) -in -an -on -un -n SINGULAR IMPERATIVE

The singular imperative is used for commands to one individual. The plural imperative \(-le\) may replace it as a sign of respect when commands are given to in-laws. Examples of the singular imperative are given below with the suffix in bold and underlined in the text.
(369) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékan (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:ekan
||hi-hkʰe-ak-Vn||
/ʔ-e-kʰ:e-k-an/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eker] in[side])[!]’

(370) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékon (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:ekon
||hi-hkʰe-ok-Vn||
/ʔ-e-kʰ:e-k-on/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eker] out[side])[!]’

(371) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

<hat:apcin> (O ms.)
hat:apčin
||haτ:αι-bo-Vn||
/haτ:a-pč-in/
put.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
[‘raise foot!’]

(372) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

huw:ádun (H VI:11)
huw:adun
||huw:w-ad-Vn||
/huw:w-ad-un/
go-DIR-SG.IMP
‘come!’

(373) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

čuh:unmkʰe čaw:an (W: OF)
||čuh:u-Vn=mkʰe čaw:an||
/čuh:u-n=mkʰe čaw:an/
eat-SG.IMP=2SG.POSS stuff
‘eat your food!’
||-le|| -le ~ -ne PLURAL IMPERATIVE (respect suffix for addressing in-laws)

The plural imperative is used for commands to two or more people. It is also used as a sign of respect in giving commands to one in-law. When more than one in-law is being addressed, it is combined with the plural act affix ||-t-||. Examples of ||-le|| are given below (the plural imperative suffix is in bold and underlined).

(374) Example of ||-le|| PLURAL IMPERATIVE

[ʔ]e:kʰeʔbi:le (H ms.)
ʔe:kʰeʔbi:le
||hi-hkʰe-ʔ-bič-le||
/?e:-kʰe-ʔ-bič-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move up!'

[ʔ]ehkʰe:ne (H ms.)
ʔehkʰe:ne
||hi-hkʰe-m-le||
/?e-hkʰe:-ne/
with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
'(in-law) move across!'

||=?šen|| =ʔšen ~ =šen OPTATIVE

The optative is not a suffix in Southern Pomo, though it descends from a Proto Pomo suffix, *-Vš, and is cognate with optative suffixes in Kashaya, Central Pomo, and Eastern Pomo (Oswalt 1976: 25). This morpheme is an enclitic, and it behaves like the pronominal enclitics, the auxiliary enclitic ||=ʔyo-||, and the interrogative enclitic ||=ʔkal|| in behaving like a second-position (i.e. Wackernagel) clitic in most examples; it may attach to any word class. An example of the optative morpheme is given in (375) below (with the optative in bold and underlined).
(375) Example of $||/=ʔ\text{sen}||$ OPTATIVE

\begin{verbatim}
ham:uban(\text{sen} ma:liʔyokan}^{196} \text{ (H ms.)}
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
/ham:uban=\text{sen ma:li=}ʔyokan/
3M.SG.PAT=OPTATIVE here=AUX-CAUS-ʔ^{197}

'I wish he were here'
\end{verbatim}

2.8.3.3.4. Evidentials

Southern Pomo has a rich set of evidential suffixes. Unfortunately, the spontaneous conversations (daily gossip, arguments, etc.) in which these suffixes might have been common are not part of the extant records. In the narrative texts, the evidential suffixes are not particularly frequent. Oswalt (1976: 25) lists the Southern Pomo cognates for the reconstructed evidentials of Proto Pomo, and each of the evidentials from his list is given below. However, I have no examples for his reported aural evidential.

$||a|| ^{196}~a ~ ^{197}-o ~ ^{197}-wa$ FACTUAL

This evidential fills the roles of the both factual and visual evidentials of neighboring Pomoan languages (there is no separate visual evidential in Southern Pomo) (Oswalt 1976: 25). The factual evidential suffix is used with events that have been or are being witnessed/or experienced (in a non-auditory way). This suffix is part of the copula evidential clitic $||=ʔ\text{wal}||$, which is frequently encountered (examples of which are strewn throughout this grammar); however, I treat the

---

^{196} This form is drawn from an early database I made in which I did not keep Halpern’s accent marks.

^{197} I am unsure of the identity of this morpheme. If it is the singular imperative, it as an unexpected use of that morpheme.
copula evidential as an independent morpheme, and the examples below are solely those with the factual evidential suffixed to verb stems. This suffix has the allomorph -wa after vowels. This variant is likely the result of an earlier distribution in which this evidential was *-a and applied after the perfective suffix on verbs, and the current allomorphy probably developed along the following paths:

\[
\text{[V-final verb stem]} + ^*\text{-w PERFECTIVE} + ^*\text{-a FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} > -wa \\
\text{[C-final verb stem]} + ^*\text{-Ø PERFECTIVE} + ^*\text{-a FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} > -a
\]

The factual evidential is in bold and underlined in the following examples.

(376) Example of -\textit{a} \text{FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} after a vowel

\[
sí:maʔto p[h]iʔáwa \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
símaʔto pʰiʔáwa \\
\|\text{si:maʔto pʰiʔáwa}| \\
/símaʔto pʰiʔáwa/ \\
\text{sleep=1SG.PAT by.sight-discover-EVID} \\
'I feel sleepy, getting sleepy'
\]

(377) Example of -\textit{a} \text{FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} after a consonant

\[
haččččôkʰč'o:a \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
haččččôkʰč'o: \\
\|\text{ha-hčč-čč-alokoč'-a}| \\
/ha-hčč-čč-alokoč'-a/ \\
\text{by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID} \\
'they're flying out'
\]

When this morpheme is suffixed to a morpheme ending in an underlying ||\text{...ok}|| (regardless of the morpheme), it surfaces as the allomorph -o, as seen in (378) and (379) below.
(378) Example of ||-a|| FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL after ||ok||

[ʔ]ahčámko   (H ms.)
ʔahčamkō
||ha-hča-mok-al||
/ʔahča-mk-o/
fly-DIR-EVID
‘flew into’

(379) Example of ||-a|| FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL after ||ok||

<him*ok’o>   (O D: EA)
him:okō
||him:ok-a||
/him:ok-o/
fall-EVID
‘fell down’

|--Vn?da|-- AURAL

Oswalt reconstructs *-vn...- as the Proto Pomo form from which the Southern Pomo suffix |--Vn?da|-- descends; he lists the meaning of this evidential for Pomoan as “Aural, the speaker is telling of what he just heard happen but did not see” (1976: 25). I have not yet uncovered examples of this suffix.

|--do|-- do QUOTATIVE

The quotative is used for hearsay information. It is frequently suffixed to the auxiliary ||yo|| ~ ||=?yo|| at the beginning of a story to indicate that the tale that follows was transmitted by word of mouth. An example of |--do|| is given in (380) below (the suffix is in bold and underlined in the text; the translation of the suffix is in bold and underlined).
(380) Example of ||-do|| QUOTATIVE.EVIDENTIAL

\[
\text{liklis}yey \text{ yo-} \text{do} \text{ ku:lu} \text{=} \text{n} \text{h} \text{k}^{-} \text{ay ho} \text{liw?} \text{dun,} \quad (H \text{ I: 1})
\]

\[
\text{liklis}yey \text{ yod} \text{ ku:lu} \text{n} \text{h} \text{k}^{-} \text{ay ho} \text{liw?} \text{dun}
\]

\[
\text{liklis}yey \text{ yo-} \text{do} \text{ ku:lu} \text{=} \text{li} \text{=} \text{k}^{-} \text{a} \text{c} \text{ ho} \text{li-wadu-} \text{Vn}||
\]

\[
/\text{liklis}yey \text{ yo-} \text{do} \text{ ku:lu} \text{n} \text{h} \text{k}^{-} \text{ay ho} \text{li-w} \text{d} \text{u-n/}
\]

\[
\text{raptor.species=AGT} \text{ AUX=QUOT} \text{ outside=ward leave=HAB-S.SIM}
\]

‘Sparrowhawk, it is said, always went to the outside’ to trap birds’

//-kal/-ka INFERENTIAL

Oswalt states that the inferential suffix in Pomoan is used when “the speaker is
telling what he deduces has happened” (1976: 25). An example of the inferential
evidential suffix ||-ka-|| is given in (381) below (the suffix is in bold and underlined).

(381) Example of ||-ka-|| INFERENTIAL.EVIDENTIAL

\[
[?]\text{am:awi din:ák}a \quad (H \text{ ms.})
\]

\[
?\text{am:awi din:ák}a
\]

\[
/\text{am:a=wi} \text{ din:a-ka/}
\]

\[
\text{earth=INST} \text{ cover=EVID}
\]

‘it’s [apparently] covered w[ith] dirt’

//-ka/-ka PERFORMATIVE

Oswalt states that the performative suffix in Pomoan is used when “the speaker is
telling what he himself is doing” (1976: 25). An example of the performative
evidential suffix ||-l:a-|| is given in (382) below (the suffix is in bold and underlined).

(382) Example of ||-l:a|| PERFORMATIVE.EVIDENTIAL

\[
\text{si:ma mi} \text{ṭi} \text{la} \quad (H \text{ ms.})
\]

\[
\text{si} \text{ma mi} \text{ṭi} \text{la}
\]

\[
/\text{si:ma mi} \text{ṭi}-\text{l:a/}
\]

‘I’m going to sleep'
2.8.3.3.5. Negative suffixes

All of the negative suffixes begin with the consonant /tʰ/, which is roughly equivalent to the role /n/ plays in English. I have included the negative enclitic ||tʰo|| ~ ||tʰof|| and the negative response particle ||tʰe:|| in this section because of their obvious relationship to the negative suffixes. The negative existential morpheme ||ʔačʰ:o-|| is a verb in its own right (e.g. kʰaʔbeʔkʰeʔačʰ:o-w rock=1SG.POSS NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV ‘I have no money’ (W: OF)), and it is therefore left out of this section.

||tʰ-|| -tʰ- NEGATIVE

This suffix has not been encountered much in the data. In (#) below, it negates a conditional clause. It is unclear whether this negative is restricted to irrealis clauses or whether it has a wider distribution (the surface form of ||tʰ-|| is in bold in the following example).

(383) Example of ||tʰ-|| -tʰ- NEGATIVE

čahnu kó?di čanhoden[tʰ]jib:baʔwaʔa (H ms.)
čahnu koʔdi čanhodentʰi:baʔwaʔa
||čahnu koʔ?di čahnu-aded-tʰ-V:baʔwaʔaʔa?ʔa||
/čahnu koʔdi čanho-den-tʰ-i:baʔwaʔaʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
‘I can't talk well’

||tʰe-|| -tʰe- NEGATIVE

This suffix is also fairly rare. It is unclear how it differs from ||tʰ-|| above. Perhaps ||tʰe-|| is reserved for realis ongoing actions, and ||tʰ-|| is used with irrealis suffixes.
like the conditional (though the semantics of the above example of its use to indicate lack of ability make this a messy theory). An example of ||-tʰe-|| is given in (384) below.

(384) Example of ||-tʰe-|| NEGATIVE

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hudʔaʔé( )ʔtмо́jo.} & \quad \text{(H I: 25)} \\
\text{hudʔaʔeʔtмо́jo} & \\
\text{/hudʔa-tʰe=ʔtмо́jo} & \quad \text{miːjo} \\
\text{want-NEG=1SG.PAT} & \quad \text{2SG.PAT} \\
\text{‘I don’t want you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

||-tʰu-|| - tʰu - tʰ\text{ PROHIBITIVE}

The prohibitive is a negative imperative. It is used to give negative commands to one person. When negative commands are given to two or more people, the prohibitive is followed by the plural imperative suffix ||-le||. When it is combined with ||-le||, the prohibitive is homophonous with the general negative ||-tʰ-||. I have chosen to treat it as an allomorph of the prohibitive in this situation for two reasons: (1) it has a prohibitive meaning; (2) on the basis of syncope patterns seen elsewhere in the language it is expected that the /u/ of the prohibitive would dissappear in this context. Examples of the prohibitive are given in (385) and (386) below (with the suffix in bold in the text).
(385) Example of ||-tʰu-|| PROHIBITIVE in command to one person

mi:mákh[ʰ]u mádan  (H ms.)
/ mimakʰ'hu mada n /
||mi:mač-ka-ʈʰu ham:ad-an||
'm:ka-kʰ-'tʰu mad-an/
cry-CAUS-PROH 3SG.F-PAT
'don't make her cry'

(386) Example of ||-tʰu-|| PROHIBITIVE in command to more than one person

bénemhú[tʰ]le  (H ms)
benemhu[tʰ]le
||bi:-ne-mhu='tʰu-le||
/be:-ne-mhu-tʰ-le/
with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PROH-PL.IMP
'2 don't hug e[ach] o[ther]!'

||-tʰen-|| -tʰen- NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE

I have found few examples of this negative. It appears to negate events with a continuous meaning (as in the example below, where the subject of the verb could not sleep all throughout the night). The negative imperfective is in bold in the (387) below.

(387) Example of ||-tʰen-|| NEGATIVE.IMPERFECTIVE

si:ma mi:tʰenfóʔto dúw:e  (H VIII: 2)
si:ma mi:tʰenfόʔto dúwe
/si:ma mi:tʰen=ʔto=ʔto dúwe/
sleep  lie-NEG.IPVF=CONTRAST=1SG.PAT night
‘I can’t sleep (at) night.’

||-tʰof|| ~ ||-tʰof|| = tʰof ~ = tʰof NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

This enclitic functions negates prefective actions. It also negates predicate nominals and predicate adjectives. It is by far the commonest negative morpheme in the
extant records, though this might be an artifact of the types of elicited forms and narrative discourse which make up the bulk of the data. It is frequently found negating clauses with the future suffix ||-kʰ:e||. The variant with a final alveolar is used by Dry Creek speakers; the variant with a final dental is used by Cloverdale speakers. Examples of this morpheme are given in (388) and (389) below (with the enclitic in bold).

(388) Example of ||=tʰo|| ~ ||=tʰo|| NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

```
?q:a:?a kʰat:adukʰ:e=tʰo|| (W: OF)
||?a:a kʰat:-aduč-kʰ:e=tʰo||
/ʔa:a kʰat:-adu-kʰ:e=tʰo/  
1SG.AGT run-DIR-FUT=NEG
'I didn’t run away'
```

(389) Example of ||=tʰo|| ~ ||=tʰo|| NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

```
[ʔ]a:mayá:ko mitikʰ:ţʰoʃwaʔa (H ms.)  
ʔamaya:ko mitikʰ:ţʰoʃwaʔa  
||ʔa:mayá=:ko miti-kʰ:e=tʰoʃw=ʔwa=ʔa:a||  
/ʔa:mayá=:ko miti-kʰ:e=tʰoʃw=ʔa/  
2PL.AGT=COM lie-FUT=NEG=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT  
'I won't lie with ye'
```

(390) Example of ||=tʰo|| ~ ||=tʰo|| NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

```
[ʔ]á:čačye(y)č[tʰ]oʃwa (H ms.)  
ʔačačye(y)tʰoʃwa  
||ʔa:ča-č-yey=tʰoʃw=ʔwa||  
/ʔa:ča-č-yey=tʰoʃw=wa/  
1-mother’s.father-PL.AGT=NEG=COP.EVID  
'they are not my mo[ther’s] fa[ther’s].'
```
\[ \text{\textit{t}ʰe}\text{: negative response particle} \]

This morpheme is used as a negative response to a yes/no question, as shown in (\#) below, which is an exchange between Olive Fulwider and Elsie Allen as remembered by Olive Fulwider.

\[ (391) \text{Example of } \text{\textit{t}ʰe} \text{|| negative response particle (W: OF)} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{Elsie Allen:} & \quad \text{pʰa}kə\text{ʔ}\text{cykə}\text{ʔ}\text{ma} \\
& \quad /\text{pʰa}lə\text{ʔ}\text{cay}\text{ʔ}\text{ka}=\text{ʔ}\text{ma}/ \\
& \quad \text{white.person=}\text{INTER}=2\text{SG.AGT} \\
& \quad \text{‘Are you a white person?’} \\
\text{Olive Fulwider:} & \quad \text{\textit{t}ʰe} : \text{ʔ} \text{ahčahčaywə} \text{ʔ} \text{a} \\
& \quad /\text{\textit{t}ʰe} : \text{ʔ} \text{ahčahčay} = \text{ʔ} \text{a}/ \\
& \quad \text{no } \text{Indian=}\text{COP.EVID}=1\text{SG.AGT} \\
& \quad \text{‘No, I’m Indian.’}
\end{align*}

2.8.3.3.6. \textit{Person-marking suffixes}

Thus far, the claim has been made that Southern Pomo lacks person-marking suffixes. This claim must, however, be qualified. There are two enigmatic suffixes:

\begin{enumerate}
\item \[ \text{\textit{V}na}, \text{which consistently translates into English consistently with a first-person argument} \]
\item \[ \text{\textit{mu}}, \text{which consistently translates into English consistently with a second-person argument} \]
\end{enumerate}

These are actually the first two verbal suffixes I learned when I began studying the language with Olive Fulwider, and it is a point of continuing frustration that I do not feel comfortable with their actual meaning after more than
a decade. When I first encountered these suffixes, I learned question and response pairs like the following (the person-marking suffixes are in bold and underlined):

(392) Sample of question and answer exchange with person-marking suffixes

Q:  he:ʔeykaʔma hoːliːmu
   /heʔey=kaʔma hoːliːmu/
   where=INTER=2SG.AGT leave-SECOND.PERSON
   ‘Where are you going?’

A: ʔaʔahčaʔnaʔahčaʔnaʔahčaʔna
   /ʔaʔahča=nhkʰay hoːliːna/ ~ /ʔahča=nhkʰay hoːliːna/
   1SG.AGT house=ward leave-FIRST.PERSON house=ward leave-FIRST.PERSON
   ‘I’m going home.’

When these morphemes were first encountered, I naturally assumed that Southern Pomo, like Spanish, conjugated its verbs according to person and number. It is clear, however, that the language is not concerned about person and number in ways that are familiar to students of Indo-European languages. The question remains, however, whether Southern Pomo allows two person-marking suffixes to exist in one corner of the grammar. And I think the answer to such a question is resounding ‘maybe’.

These two suffixes consistently translate with first or second-person arguments, but they are not concerned with number, and, most importantly, they are not obligatory (first-person and second-person arguments may be overtly present on a verb without these suffixes). I suspect two things are possible with regard to the identity of these suffixes: (1) one or both are either previously unrecognized evidentials (the first-person suffix ||-V:na|| bears a striking similarity to the performative evidential suffix ||-l:a|| if one weaves a tale of hidden
consonants and nasal spreading), and their person-marking translations are artifacts of the arguments with which they are most frequently used; (2) the foregoing possibility might have been true, but Southern Pomo speakers have grammaticized these suffixes as having solely a person-marking function.

Nothing I have done—asking for forms from a living speaker, searching Oswalt’s and Halpern’s notes, asking Oswalt directly—has clarified the function of these suffixes. Neither of these suffixes is mentioned in Oswalt’s publications, though there is passing reference to a “1st person” morpheme in (O D). However, Oswalt’s translations of verbs with these suffixes conforms to those given by Halpern and those which I learned before accessing Halpern’s or Oswalt’s work. In fact, both of these morphemes often translate well with a present progressive meaning, though by no means do all of the glosses and translations appear in the progressive. Thus, without evidence to the contrary, these suffixes are hereafter treated as optional person-marking morphemes which are unconcerned with number, take no other inflection, and are especially common in active conversation, and which might carry some sort of continuous aspectual meaning.

198 Right before Oswalt’s death (2005-2006), I asked him specifically (via phone) about [[-mu]]. Unfortunately, his advanced age and failing health made it difficult for him to remember this affix (or, at least, understand me), and he simply referred me to his publication on Pomoan affixes (Oswalt 1976), a paper which does not contain any trace of either of these suffixes.
||-V:na|| -i:na ~ -a:na ~ -o:na ~ -u:na ~ -na  

first-person suffix

The suffix ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON is always the final suffix on the verb to which it is affixed, and its addition to a verb adds a singular first-person argument by default; it may also be used for a first-person plural with the addition of a first-person plural pronoun (or, presumably, when unambiguous context points to a plural argument), as seen in the following examples (where the surface forms of ||-V:na|| are in bold and underlined).

(393) Example of ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON as ‘I’ without additional pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H VII: 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʈʰóʔ[.:]o pʰ̚oht⁹p⁹o[w Šo:či:]na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʈʰoʔ:o pʰ̚oht⁹p⁹o[w Šo:či:]na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʈʰoʔ:o pʰ̚oht⁹p⁹o[w Šo:či:]na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acorn.mush boil~ITER-PFV hear-FIRST PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I hear acorn soup boiling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(394) Example of ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON as ‘I’ without additional pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O D: EA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;waʔ*an pʰ̚i:li^[na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waʔ:an pʰ̚i:li^[na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/waʔ:an pʰ̚i:li^[na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now go-FIRST PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I just moved in (to a house).’ ¹⁹⁹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(395) ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON as ‘I’ with pronoun (also in bold and underlined)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>W: OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ƙa:wi ƙu:ku:ka:ti hoːli^[na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ƙaːwi ƙa: ƙu:ku:ka:ti hoːli^[na]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child 1SG.AGT eat-CAUS-FUT.INTENT leave-FIRST PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’m going to feed my baby’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁹⁹ Oswalt glosses this verb stem as “go (of sev. in a group)”, though it is clearly be used of one person in this instance.
FIRST PERSON as ‘we’ with pronoun (also bold and underlined)

<ya waʔ*an pʰi:li:na> (O D: EA)
\textbf{ya} waʔ:an \textbf{pʰi:li:na}/
1PL.AGT now \textbf{go-FIRSTPERSON}
‘We just moved in.’

\textbf{\textless \textless -mu\textgreater \textless -mu second-person suffix}

This suffix translates into English with a second-person argument. Unlike \textbf{\textless -V:na\textless} FIRST PERSON above, which may be used without an overt pronominal element elsewhere in the clause, this suffix often co-occurs with a second-person pronoun. Examples are given below (with \textbf{\textless -mu\textless} and the second-person pronoun in bold and underlined).

\textbf{(397) Example of \textless -mu\textless SECOND PERSON}

\textbf{ʔa:ma tʰoʔ:o pʰohţoʔ:o shoči:mu} (H VII: 2)
\textbf{ʔama tʰoʔ:o pʰohţoʔ:o shoči:mu}/
2SG.AGT acorn.mush boil-ITER-PFV hear-SECONDPERSON
‘you hear acorn soup boiling’

\textbf{(398) Example of \textless -mu\textless SECOND PERSON}

\textbf{heʔeykaʔma ho:li:mu} (W: OF)
\textbf{heʔey=kaʔma ho=li:-mu}/
\textbf{where=INTER=2SG.AGT leave-SECONDPERSON}
‘Where are you going?’

\textbf{2.8.3.3.7. Dependent clause suffixes}

Southern Pomo has a rich set of dependent clause suffixes. These suffixes serve both to combine clauses and to indicate whether the subject of a dependent verb is
the same or different as that of the main verb of a sentence. The complexities of the switch-reference system are discussed in a later section (§3.10.2.). Each of these morphemes is provided in Table (41) below, which is adapted from Oswalt (1978: 11).

Table (41): Switch-reference suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SAME SUBJECT</th>
<th>DIFFERENT SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SEQUENTIAL</td>
<td>![ba] - ba</td>
<td>![li] - li ~ -ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMULTANEOUS</td>
<td>![in ~ -an ~ on ~ -un ~ n]</td>
<td>![en ~ -wen]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>![pʰi] - pʰi</td>
<td>![pʰla] - pʰla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the switch-reference dependent clause markers in Table (41) above, all of which are well-attested in the extant records, Oswalt sets forth four additional morphemes which he analyzes as participating in the switch-reference system, as shown in Table (42) below, which is adapted from from Oswalt (1978: 11).

Table (42): Additional switch-reference morphemes from Oswalt (1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SAME SUBJECT</th>
<th>DIFFERENT SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OPPOSITIVE</td>
<td>![nati] - nati</td>
<td>![eti] - eti ~ -weti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFERENTIAL</td>
<td>![mna] - mna</td>
<td>![ben] - ben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphemes in Table (42) above are more problematic. I have not been able to find any examples of either of the different subject suffixes ![eti] and ![ben]; the same subject opposite suffix is almost always encountered as the enclitic =?nati, and does not appear to have any actual switch-reference function; the same subject inferential is extremely rare in the records, and though the example of it presented below does fit a same subject inferential meaning, one
example hardly constitutes sufficient evidence to accept the morphemes from Table (42) above as true switch-reference morphemes. Each of the morphemes from Tables (41) and (42) above is discussed individually in the subsections below.

||-ba|| -ba **SAME SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL**
This suffix marks a dependent verb as having been completed prior to the action of the main verb on which it is dependent for TAM; it also marks the dependent verb as having the same subject as the main verb. An example is given in (399) below (with ||-ba|| in bold and underlined).

(399) Example of ||-ba|| **SAME SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL**

| ča:du:ba daʔfw | (H ms.) |
| ča:du:ba daʔfw |
| /ča:du-|ba daʔfw |
| look-SEQ find-PFV |
'he looked and saw'

||-li|| -li ~ -:mi **DIFFERENT SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL**
This suffix marks a dependent verb as having been completed prior to the action of the main verb on which it is dependent for TAM; it also marks the dependent verb as having a different subject from the main verb. An example is given in (400) below (with ||-li|| in bold and underlined).
Example of ||=li|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ʔ]á:ʔa [ʔ]á:ča čá:duka:li dáʔa:wa} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{ʔa:ʔa ?a:ča ča:duka:li dáʔa:wa} & \\
\text{(/ʔa:ʔa \ ?a:ča-Ø ċa:du-ka-li} & \text{daʔa-w/} \\
\text{1SG,AGT house-DIFFUSE look-CAUS-D,SEQ} & \text{find-PFV} \\
\text{'I let him look inside and he found it'}
\end{align*}
\]

This suffix participates in nasal spreading (see §2.6.3.2. for a discussion of this phenomenon), as shown in (401) below (with the surface form of ||=li|| in bold and underlined; the translation of the dependent verb to which it is affixed is also in bold and underlined).

Example of -=ni allomorph of ||=li|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey \ [ʔ]ahkʰalánti [k]at:ak dap:όni} & \quad \text{(H VII: 11)} \\
\text{kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey ?ahkʰalánti kat:ak dap:ömni} & \\
\text{|kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey ?ahkʰalánti kat:ak dap:όN-lli|} & \\
\text{/kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey ?ahkʰalánti kat:ak} & \text{dap:ό:-ni/} \\
\text{raptor.species=AGT water=LOC acorn.woodpecker steal-D,SEQ} & \\
\text{ma: waʔan má:li biʔdu hiʔbay} & \\
\text{ma: waʔan má:li biʔdu hiʔbay} & \\
\text{|ma: waʔan má:li biʔdu hiʔbač-Ø|} & \\
\text{/ma: waʔan má:li biʔdu hiʔbay-Ø/} & \text{DEM now here acorn grow-PFV} \\
\text{'now, acorns grew in this place, \textbf{when} Fish Hawk \textbf{stole} the woodpeckers across the water'}
\end{align*}
\]

|--Vn|-- -in ~ -an ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n SAME SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS

This suffix marks a dependent verb as ongoing during the action of the main verb on which it is dependent for TAM; it also marks the dependent verb as having the same subject as the main verb, as shown in (402) below (with the surface form of
the suffix in bold and underlined; the translation of the dependent verb to which it is affixed is also in bold and underlined).

(402) Example of ||-Vn|| SAME SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS

kái:li¼nkʰay ha:çatkáčin ʔám:a¼nkʰay ha:çatláwa (H ms.)
ka:li¼nkʰay ha:çatkačin ?ám:a¼nkʰay ha:çatláwa
/ka:li¼nkʰay ha:ça-ţi-kač-in ʔám:a¼nkʰay ha:ça-ţi-la-wa/
up-ward fly-PL.ACT-DIR-S.SEQ earth=ward fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
‘bird keeps flying up and [flying] down’

||-en|| -en ~ -wen DIFFERENT SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS

This suffix marks a dependent verb as ongoing during the action of the main verb on which it is dependent for TAM; it also marks the dependent verb as having a different subject from the main verb, as shown in (403) below (with the surface form of the suffix in bold and underlined; the translation of the dependent verb to which it is affixed is also in bold and underlined).
(403) Example of \|--en|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS

\[\text{má:mu kʰaʔbéyey wí:míŋhkʰáy?den (H VIII: 4)}\]
\[\text{mamú kʰaʔbeyey wi:míŋhkʰáy?d} \text{en}\]
\[\text{||ma:mu kʰaʔbe=yey wi:mi=li=kʰač-wad-en||}\]
\[\text{/ma:mu kʰaʔbe=yey wi:mi-nhkʰay-ʔd-en/}\]
\[\text{DEM rock=AGT there-ward-HAB-D.SIM}^{200}\]

\[\text{čú:mafwá:m:u ho?[:]ówi biʔki:kʰiw šiʔmiʔwan}\]
\[\text{čú:mafwam:u hoʔ:owi biʔki:kʰiw šiʔmiʔwan}\]
\[\text{||čú:maʃ=ʔwam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔki-R-w šiʔmiʔwan||}\]
\[\text{/čú:maʃ=wam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔki-k:Ř-w šiʔmiʔwan/}\]
\[\text{gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ}\]

‘**While** this Rock **was facing towards there**, the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.’

This suffix has an epenthetic initial [w] when it follows vowels,\(^{201}\) as shown in (404) below, which is a multi-clause sentence with four dependent verbs, two of which have this suffix, one with the post-consonantal allomorph –en, and one with the post-vocalic allomorph –wen (both of these allomorphs are in bold and underlined; the translations of the dependent verbs to which the different subject simultaneous suffixes are affixed are also in bold and underlined).

\(^{200}\) This combination of ‘there’ and ‘-ward’, when suffixed with verbal suffixes, means ‘to face’.
\(^{201}\) This epenthetic [w] is a fossilized perfective suffix from a period when the different subject switch-references were enclitics which followed TAM suffixes; the Central Pomo cognates are still enclitics in that language, and the Central Pomo perfective may still precede different event dependent clause markers which are cognate with the Southern Pomo forms (Mithun 1993).
(404) The -wen allomorph of ||-en|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS

?atai=ton mi:mačen, či:yowen, (O 1:9)
||ʔatai=ton mi:mač-en či:y-o-en||
/ʔata=ton mi:mač-en či:y-o-wen/
3C.SG=LOC cry-D.SIM sit-D.SIM

daʔaba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
daʔaba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
||daʔa-ba čoh:om-ba šu-ʔd-e-duy-Ø||
/daʔa-ba čoh:om-ba šu-ʔd-e-duy-Ø/
find-S.SEQ marry-S.SEQ by.pulling-move-DIR-PFV

‘Having found her sitting, crying for him, he married her and led her away.’

||pʰi|| -pʰi SAME SUBJECT IRREALIS

This suffix marks a dependent verb as irrealis, often as being expected to be completed prior to the action of the irrealis main verb; it also marks the dependent verb as having the same subject as the main verb. The translations of bi-clausal sentences with the suffix marking the dependent verb may be translated into English as ‘if...then’, though this is not an exact translation (as sentences like ‘if you go, you will wash it’ and ‘you go and wash it’ are different in English, but ‘go’ would be marked the same in both sentences in Southern Pomo with ||-pʰi||).

This suffix is used when the main verb is inflected with the future ||-kʰ:e|| (though not with the future intensive ||-tʰi||), the singular imperative ||-Vn||, the plural imperative ||-le||, and the conditional ||-V:ba||, and the prohibitive ||-tʰu||. I have no data for its participation with the hortative ||-V-||. An example is given
below (with the surface form of the suffix in bold and underlined; the translation of
the dependent verb to which it is affixed is also in bold and underlined).

(405) Example of ||-pʰi|| SAME SUBJECT IRREALIS

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔ[:a:leʔwaʔ( )máya kù:luŋ hô:li}[h]\text{i} & \quad (\text{H II: 1}) \\
\text{kʰaʔ[:a:leʔwaʔmáya kù:luŋ ho:li}[pʰi] \\
/\text{kʰaʔ[:a:leʔwaʔmáya kù:lu-n ho:li-pʰi} & \\
\text{tomorrow=COP.EVID=2PL.AGT outside-GOAL leave-S.IRR} \\
\text{baʔ[:yey hiʔbu [ʔ]ehčʰékʰ[:e} & \\
/\text{baʔ[:yey hiʔbu [ʔ]ehčʰékʰ:e} & \\
\text{woman=AGT potato dig-FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Tomorrow, you women will go to the outside and dig wild potatoes’

||-pʰla|| -pʰla DIFFERENT SUBJECT IRREALIS

This suffix marks a dependent verb as irrealis, often as being expected to be
completed prior to the action of the irrealis main verb; it also marks the dependent
verb as having a different subject from the main verb. As with ||-pʰi||, translations of
bi-clausal sentences with this suffix marking the dependent verb may be translated
into English as ‘if...then’. This suffix is used when the main verb is inflected with the
future ||-kʰ:e|| (though not with the future intensive ||-ti||), the singular imperative
||-Vn||, the plural imperative ||-le||, and the conditional ||-V:ba||, and the prohibitive
||-fʰu||. I have no data for its participation with the hortative ||-V-||. Examples are
given in (406) and (407) below (with the surface form of the suffix in bold and
underlined; the translations of the dependent verbs to which it is affixed are also in bold and underlined).

(406) Example of ||-pʰla|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT IRREALIS

ʔa: hoːli[pʰ]laʔawːiːʔon miːmáːʔu
/
1SG.AGT leave=D.IRR 1SG.OBL=LOC cry=PROH

'when I'm gone' don't cry for me![i]'

(407) Example of ||-pʰla|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT IRREALIS

miːčːáːcyey mehšekʰ[:ʔ]wa (H V:26)
miːčːáːcyey mehšekʰːeʔwa

/miːčːaːcːyey meːhʃeːkʰːeʔwa/
2-mother's.father=GS-PL.AGT with.nose-smell=FUT=COP.EVID

[ʔ]áːmaya hiʔ[a daːeːpʰ]la.
ʔaːmaya hiʔ[a daːsɛpʰ]la
/
2PL.AGT nearby with.palm-wash=D.IRR

‘Your grandfathers will smell (it) if you wash them nearby.’

//nati// =nəti =nəti ~ naṭi ‘but’ (SAME SUBJECT OPPOSITIVE?)

As stated earlier, this morpheme is analyzed by Oswalt as a same subject opposition switch-reference marker. I have no evidence that would suggest that this morpheme is either a suffix or a switch-reference marker. It is most commonly encountered as an enclitic and may attach to more than one word class. It is generally translated as ‘but’ or ‘however’, and this oppositional meaning is all that can be isolated for this morpheme. However, even this meaning is not always clear, and it is sometimes translated as ‘any’ or ‘whatsoever’. An example of this
morpheme as an enclitic attached to a demonstrative is given in (408) below (with the opposite morpheme and its translation in bold).

(408) Example of ||-ʔnaṭi|| OPPOSITIVE

hi:ʔinnati dan:āṭ[h]u (H ms.)
hi:ʔinnaṭi danːaṭ[h]u
/hiːʔin=naṭi ːdanːaːʔu/
DEM=but cover-PROH
‘don’t cover any of them[!]’

||-eṭi||-eṭi ~ -weṭi ‘but’ (DIFFERENT SUBJECT OPPOSITIVE)

Oswalt (1978) lists this as the different subject equivalent of ||-ʔnaṭi||. I have no evidence of this morpheme, and it is therefore impossible to offer a critique of Oswalt’s analysis. Oswalt transcribes this morpheme with a special symbol that indicates that a [w] precedes it when it follows a vowel-final morpheme. I have chose to omit the [w] from the underlying form because this same alternation is seen elsewhere in the factual evidential suffix ||-a|| and the different subject simultaneous suffix ||-en||, both of which appear to have developed the epenthetic post-vocalic [w] from an earlier perfective *-w, and this seems like the most probable origin for the [w] of this opposite morpheme. Of course, without examples of this opposite, it is not possible to be sure of the actual distribution of [w].
\textit{\texttt{\textendash}mna} same subject inferential

This suffix is supposed to mark a dependent verb as having the same subject as the main verb on which it is dependent. The action of the dependent verb is also indicated as having been inferred. I have found one example of this suffix, and it is only optional (according to Halpern’s notes) and may be replaced with \textit{\texttt{\textendash}ba} same subject sequential, at least in the sole example, which is given below (with \textit{\texttt{\textendash}mna} and the translation of the verb to which it is suffixed in bold and underlined).

(409) Example of \textit{\texttt{\textendash}mna} same subject inferential

\begin{verbatim}
hidʔawi či:yóba ~ čahčímna hiʔda čan:áwa (H ms.)
hidʔawi či:yóba hiʔda čan:awa ~ hiʔawi čahčimna hiʔda čan:awa
hidʔawi =wi či:yóba hiʔda čan:awa / ~ /hidʔawi čahči-mna hiʔda čan:awa/
road=instr sit-S.SEQ road block-EVID ~ road=instr sit-S.INFER road block-EVID
\end{verbatim}

'1 sat in road and blocked road'

\textit{\texttt{\textendash}ben} different subject inferential

According to Oswalt (1978), this is the different subject of the above inferential switch-reference suffix. I have found no evidence of this morpheme, and it is therefore not possible to confirm or deny Oswalt’s analysis at this time.

2.8.3.3.8. Unidentified suffixes

In addition to the verbal suffixes which have already been discussed, there are a few suffixes which have not yet been identified. Each is discussed individually below.

\textit{?-č’edu}~ ~ \textit{?-č’ed}~ ~ \textit{?-č’en} ??
This suffix (these suffixes?) may attach to the verb ‘to know’ and, perhaps, other verbs; an example is given in (410) below (with the mystery suffix in bold and underlined).

(410) Example of possible suffix -ʔč’edu-

čáhnu čanhódu hi?duʔč’eduʔwám:u  (H ms.)
čahnu čanhodu hi?duʔč’eduʔwam:u
/čahnu čanho-du hi?du-ʔč’edu=ʔwa=m:u
speech speack-IPFV know-=COP,EVID=3SG

'he knows how to talk'

-(a)ṭway ???

This suffix might be a misrecording of the plural act affix ||-t-||, though Halpern does not otherwise make many errors of this sort, and he records instances of this ending with both the verb stem ||hu:w-|| ‘go’ and ||bi?de-|| ‘handle’; he records this sequence on one or both of these stems during both his first field work in the 1930s and later in the 1980s. An example of this mystery morpheme is given in (411) below (in bold).

(411) Example of -(a)ṭway

hwaṭway  (H EA)
hwaṭway
/hwu-aṭway/
go-?
‘Sev. walking’

-yi- ???
This suffix might be a lexically conditioned allomorph of the reflective \(\text{-č'}\) (perhaps \(\text{-yič'}\)); there is not enough data to make such a determination at this time. An example is given in (412) below with \(-\text{yi-}\) in bold and underlined.

(412) Example of unidentified morpheme \(-\text{yi-}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sí:ma ba:tiyí:le} & \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{sí:ma ba:tiyí:le} \\
/\text{sí:ma ba:ti-yí:-le/} \\
\text{sleep sev.lie?-PLIMP} \\
'2 \text{ go to sleep!}'
\end{align*}
\]

2.8.4. **Modifiers**

This section covers the following small word classes: descriptive adjectives, non-numeral quantifiers, and numerals.

2.8.4.1. **Descriptive adjectives**

Only a small number of words can be confidently assigned to the adjective word class. These words include the words for size, age, temperature, and color terms. Descriptive adjectives differ from verbs in their being monomorphemic. They need no additional morphology and take no inflectional suffixes. At least some adjectives may be reduplicated to indicate greater intensity (e.g. \textit{baht/hept/he |||baht/he-R||} ‘huge’ from \textit{baht/he ‘big.coll.’}); however, this does not appear to be a productive synchronic process. Descriptive adjectives differ from nouns in their inability to take case-marking suffixes, and they may only take case-marking enclitics when they are modifying a noun as part of a noun phrase. They also differ from all nouns in that
some of the adjectives for size are inherently collective or distributive (singular versus plural in Oswalt’s notes). Table (43) lists the size words which show this distinction.

Table (43): Collective vs. distributive adjectives for size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Collective</th>
<th>‘big’</th>
<th>‘small’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COLLECTIVE</td>
<td>bahtʰe</td>
<td>kicidu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE</td>
<td>ṭahṭʰiy</td>
<td>pilni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within NPs, a descriptive adjective generally follows the noun that it modifies, as in (413) below.

(413) Example of descriptive adjective following the noun it modifies

\[
\text{nóp[h]:o nóp[h]:óyaw nóp[h]:o bahtʰe} \quad \text{(H VI: 1)}
\]

\[
\text{nóp[h]:o nóp[h]:óyaw, [nóp[h]:o bahtʰe]_{NP}}
\]

\[
\text{/nóp[h]:o nóp[h]:o-ya-w nóp[h]:o bahtʰe/}
\]

village sev.dwell-DEFOC-PFV village big.COLL

‘They lived in a Rancheria, a big Rancheria.’

Table (44) lists some of the commonest adjectives; however, it is not an exhaustive list.
### Table (44): Common adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>SOUTHERN POMO</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIZE AND AGE</td>
<td><strong>bahṭ</strong>e</td>
<td>‘big.Collective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ʔahṭ</strong>iy</td>
<td>‘big.Distributive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>kicidu</strong></td>
<td>‘small.Collective’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>piʔni</strong></td>
<td>‘small.Distributive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ʔahkon</strong></td>
<td>‘long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>še:wey</strong></td>
<td>‘new; young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bahṭept</strong>e</td>
<td>‘huge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMPERATURE</td>
<td><strong>kac:i</strong></td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ʔoh:o</strong></td>
<td>‘hot’ (also the noun for ‘fire’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUALITY</td>
<td><strong>koʔdi</strong></td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>kʰaṭič’aw</strong></td>
<td>‘bad; hateful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLOR</td>
<td><strong>kahle</strong></td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>šaʔka</strong></td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>haʔa</strong></td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>čahkil</strong></td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>čaʔca</strong></td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>wayu</strong></td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.8.4.2. Non-numeral quantifiers

Payne states that non-numeral quantifiers include such concepts as “much, many, few, some, a lot of, a great deal of, tons of” (1997: 65). Only two words clearly fits within this category, and it is perhaps not useful to set up an entire subclass for two lexical items. The word **tʰeč’aw** ~ **tʰeč’aw** ~ **tʰač’aw** ~ **čeč’aw** ~ **tʰeč’aw** ~ **tʰač’aw** ~ **čeč’aw** ‘many, much, a lot’ is the most frequently encountered non-numeral quantifier. The various pronunciations are used by different speakers or reflect the

---

202 This is actually a verb (or was one, hence the perfective suffix –w on the end) that serves as an adjective.

203 This probably meant blue/green, but the living speaker reserves it for ‘blue’. It is likely present in truncated form as the second syllable of ‘green’.

204 This has the feel of a borrowing; perhaps it comes from Spanish amarillo ‘yellow’.
rate of speech of an individual speaker. This word takes no morphology. In general, Halpern (working only with Cloverdale speakers) transcribes this word with an initial dental, an /e/ in the initial syllable and no length on the second consonant; Oswalt transcribes it with an initial alveolar, an /a/ in the initial syllable and, generally, no length on the second consonant; Tony Pete (in my hearing of his speech) generally (though not always) uses an palatoalveolar affricate as the initial. The initial vowel is generally a schwa in rapid speech, and this explains the disagreement over which non-high, unrounded vowel to use for this vowel in Halpern’s and Oswalt’s transcriptions.

Unlike the descriptive adjectives, this non-numeral quantifier precedes nouns which it modifies. An example is given in (414) below.

(414) Example of ṭʰač’aw ‘much’

\[
\text{ham:u(ʔnaṭi(?)ma ma?ben ṭʰač’aw ma hodʔodenkʰe.} \\
\text{ham:uʔnaṭiʔma ma?ben ṭʰač’aw ma hodʔodenkʰe} \\
\text{/ham:uʔnaṭiʔma ma?ben ṭʰač’aw ma hodʔodenkʰe/} \\
\text{3SG=but=2SG.AGT there? much thing get-DIR-FUT} \\
\text{‘But because of this you will get lots of [bad] things.’}
\]

The other non-numeral quantifier is beṭbu ‘some’, which is used for an indeterminate quantity that is not part of a larger whole. There is a nominal enclitic =トンヌkʰle ‘some’, which is used in a partitive sense (e.g. ‘some of...’). An example of beṭbu ‘some’ is given in (415) below.
Example of non-numeral quantifier beʔbu ‘some’

beʔbu ?al:a:ša beʔbu sema:nu
some moon some week
‘some months [and] some weeks’

2.8.4.3. Numerals

The numerals show some unique morphological characteristics. They may be suffixed with ||-hma|| ‘place’ (e.g. misibohma ‘three places’); this morpheme has not yet been identified with any full noun; it may also apply to adverbs (e.g. napiyo-hma ka:ne-w all-place bite-PFV ‘bite all over’). Numerals may also be made into adverbs with the adverbializing suffix ||-y:i-|| (e.g. č‘ay:i ‘once’), and this suffix may take an additional suffix ||-kan|| to form the adverb č‘ayikan ‘sometimes; once in a while’. A numeral may precede a noun it modifies, as in (416) below (each of the three NPs is marked off with brackets; the numeral is in bold).

(416) Numeral preceding modified noun  (H V: 1)

núp[h]:e nóp[h]:ow ka:wiya baht[h]:ko, lá[t]:hko ka:wiya.
/núp[h]:e nóp[h]:o-w ka:wi-ya baht[h]=ko la[t]:hko ka:wi-ya/
striped.skunk sev.dwell-PFV child-PL big COLL COM seven child-PL
‘Skunk Woman lived, with many children, seven children.’

The Southern Pomo numeral system shows traces of an earlier base four (e.g. kʰomhča ‘eight’ comes from ?akʰ:o ‘two’ + mihča ‘four’), but there is no synchronic evidence that the system is built around four. In the past, before
European and American expansion into Pomo lands, Southern Pomo people must have counted to very high numbers as part of their production and trade in shell money. Though this might have been the case, there is no record of higher numbers. All known numbers, as recorded by Halpern from Annie Burke, are given below (I have provided a regularized transcription for 1-8; the numbers above eight are unfamiliar to me, and Halpern’s transcription is therefore allowed to stand alone).

**Southern Pomo numerals 1-20, 25, 30, 40, 100**

1. č:ʔa
2. [ʔ]á:kʰ:o
3. mis:iбо
4. mихčа
5. tų:šo
6. лá:nča
7. лá:тʰkʰ:o
8. кʰ奥林匹克
9. ċʼá:kʰo
10. ċʼá:šófo
11. нá:nčʼa
12. нá:nkʰo
13. нá:n síbo
14. сím há šon
15. сímhma [or] сímhma тék
16. сímhma нá:nčʼa
17. сímhma нá:nkʰo
18. сímhma нá:n síbo
19. čáhmá šon
20. čáhmма [or] čáhmма тék
21. la:Nčʼáhma
22. la:Nčʼáhma
23. čʼá: hay
24. čʼá: hay
25. tu:šóhma [or] čáhmма wíна тų:šo
26. čʼá: hay
27. čʼá: hay
28. čʼá: hay
29. čʼá: hay
30. čʼá: hay
31. čʼá: hay
32. čʼá: hay
33. čʼá: hay
34. čʼá: hay
35. čʼá: hay
36. čʼá: hay
37. čʼá: hay
38. čʼá: hay
39. čʼá: hay
40. čʼá: hay
41. čʼá: hay
42. čʼá: hay
43. čʼá: hay
44. čʼá: hay
45. čʼá: hay
46. čʼá: hay
47. čʼá: hay
48. čʼá: hay
49. čʼá: hay
50. čʼá: hay
51. čʼá: hay
52. čʼá: hay
53. čʼá: hay
54. čʼá: hay
55. čʼá: hay
56. čʼá: hay
57. čʼá: hay
58. čʼá: hay
59. čʼá: hay
60. čʼá: hay
61. čʼá: hay
62. čʼá: hay
63. čʼá: hay
64. čʼá: hay
65. čʼá: hay
66. čʼá: hay
67. čʼá: hay
68. čʼá: hay
69. čʼá: hay
70. čʼá: hay
71. čʼá: hay
72. čʼá: hay
73. čʼá: hay
74. čʼá: hay
75. čʼá: hay
76. čʼá: hay
77. čʼá: hay
78. čʼá: hay
79. čʼá: hay
80. čʼá: hay
81. čʼá: hay
82. čʼá: hay
83. čʼá: hay
84. čʼá: hay
85. čʼá: hay
86. čʼá: hay
87. čʼá: hay
88. čʼá: hay
89. čʼá: hay
90. čʼá: hay
91. čʼá: hay
92. čʼá: hay
93. čʼá: hay
94. čʼá: hay
95. čʼá: hay
96. čʼá: hay
97. čʼá: hay
98. čʼá: hay
99. čʼá: hay
100. čʼá: sènțu

Several of the numbers in the above list are clearly compositional. The number čʼá:kʰo ‘nine’ probably comes from čʼaːʔa ‘one’ + kʰa: ‘there is none’ (literally ‘one is absent’). The numbers above nine and below nineteen are a mystery. Ten has ‘one’ as its first syllable, but the following element is unknown. Similarly, the numbers for eleven through thirteen clearly have ‘one’, ‘two’, and ‘three’ added to the element nam, but what this element might mean (or have
meant in the past) is not clear. Fourteen through eighteen begin with the element *sim-* and it is possible that this is an ancient variant of *misibo* ‘three’. If this analysis is correct, then *simhma*, one of the variants for ‘fifteen’, might literally mean ‘three places’ (*-hma* is the suffix for ‘place’ which may be attached to numerals), which might indicate that something was set down (in piles perhaps) in several places by fives during counting.

I believe the above analysis is correct for ‘fifteen’, and it lines up well with a possible analysis for the numbers for ‘twenty’, ‘twenty-five’, and ‘thirty’, which might be ‘four places’, ‘five places’, and ‘six places’ respectively. These numbers seem to show evidence of counting by fives. However, note that the form for ‘forty’ is literally ‘one stick’. Though I have no oral or written evidence, I believe the stick was literally—at some point, anyway—laid on the ground as part of counting, perhaps in trade, and that this is the origin of the term for ‘forty’. If smaller items (shells, stones, etc.) were laid out for numbers below forty (perhaps by fives), the reservation of the stick for the unit ‘forty’ suggests that remnants of a base four system were part of the numeral system in the higher numbers. The number č’a: *sențu* ‘hundred’ is a combination of č’a:(ʔa) ‘one’ and an obvious borrowing of Spanish *ciento* ‘hundred’.

2.8.5. Adverbs

Adverbs in Southern Pomo are a small word class. Like the descriptive adjectives, they are not morphologically complex, and are not inflected. They are free words
(i.e. both grammatical and phonological words), and can be divided according to semantic criteria into two broad groups: (1) locative adverbs, which include words for ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘yonder’; (2) all other adverbs, which include temporal adverbs, manner adverbs (most of which relate how quickly or when the action takes place), and other adverbs, such concepts as ‘only’, ‘just’, and ‘wholly. These types of adverb are discussed in the following sections.

2.8.5.1. Locative adverbs

The locative adverbs include words for ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘yonder’, which are poorly understood at this time. Table (45) gives the three locative adverbs for which there is good evidence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘here’</th>
<th>‘there’</th>
<th>‘yonder’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma:li</td>
<td>ham:i ~ ha:mi</td>
<td>wi:li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The system of locative adverbs is not as simple as the above table suggests. There is a patient case version of ham:i ~ ha:mi ‘there’, which is variously recorded as ham:in and ham:il. There are other words which appear to be part of the system, including the word wey ‘far off’, the base wi:min-, which is only recorded as a derived verb meaning ‘this way’, the base be- ~ ben-, which also translates as ‘here’, and the especially enigmatic form ma?ben (glossed as ‘on this’ by Oswalt), which seems to be a combination of the demonstrative ma: ‘this’ with be- ~ ben-.
Both wi:mi-‘here’(?) and ha:mi-‘there’ may be made into verbs with the suffix -(h)kʰe-, as in ha:mi-hkʰe-w there-VERBALIZER-PFV ‘moved that way’. These two bases, wi:mi- ‘here’(?) and ha:mi- ‘there’, together with be- ~ ben-, may have locative enclitics attached to them (e.g. =nhkʰay ‘-ward’, =sa:ma ‘near’); however, there is no evidence that ma:li ‘here’ and wi:li ‘yonder’ may take the same additional morphology. The examples are too few and the overall picture too incomplete to hazard an analysis of the locative adverbs beyond that given in Table (45) above.

Locative adverbs are generally clause-initial, as in (417) below, which shows two of the three locative adverbs of Table (45) in a single utterance (I have provided a more literal translation below Halpern’s free translation).

(417) Example of locative adverb preceding clause

\[
\text{wí:li hwákʰčin hám:i hwa:ká?ya} \quad \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{wi:li hwakʰčin ham:i hwaká?ya} \\
/\text{wi:li\quad hw-akʰč-in\quad hám:i\quad hw-ā:-ka=?ya/} \\
\text{yonder\quad go-DIR-SG.IMP\quad there\quad go-DIR-CAUS=1PL.AGT} \\
\text{‘walk to one side, we’ll let him go through here’} \\
[‘Go up yonder! We shall allow (him) to pass through there.’]
\]

2.8.5.2. Other adverbs

The remaining adverbs are generally morphologically simple. With rare exception, they do not take any inflectional or derivational morphology. These adverbs include words such as ʔitʰ:in ‘early’, kʰa?:aškaden ‘morning’ (which is also a noun), duwe ‘night’ (also a noun; its derived verb is duwey ‘night falls’). Of these, only ʔitʰ:in ‘early’ is only an adverb; it is also unique in that takes unidentified suffixes in
the form \(\text{ʔit}^h:\text{inmawi}\) ‘once upon a time’ (sometimes pronounced \(\text{ʔit}^h:\text{enmawi}\)). This latter form, much like the English ‘once upon a time’, only appears at the beginning of tales. The adverb \(\text{ʔit}^h:\text{in}\) ‘early’ may combine with \(k^h:\text{a}^?:\text{aškaden}\) ‘morning’ to mean ‘early in the morning’ with no overt morphology connecting the two, as seen in (418) below, where they come clause-finally.

(418) The temporal adverbs \(\text{ʔit}^h:\text{in}\) ‘early’ and \(k^h:\text{a}^?:\text{aškaden}\) ‘morning’

\[
\text{miy}:^[h]\text{a}^[t]h^a\text{b}^\text{?d}^\text{u} \text{č}^\text{o}^\text{h}^\text{š}^\text{in}, \text{ka}^\text{?a}^[t]h:\text{a}^?:\text{aškaden} [?]\text{ʔit}^h:\text{in}
\]
\[
\text{miy}:^[a]t^h^a\text{b}^\text{?d}^\text{u} \text{č}^\text{o}^\text{h}^\text{š}^\text{in}, \text{ka}^\text{?a}^?:\text{aškaden} \text{ʔit}^h:\text{in}
\]
\[
/\text{miy}:^a\text{t}^h^a\text{b}^\text{?d}^\text{u}\text{Ø} \text{b}^\text{?d}^\text{u} \text{č}^\text{o}^\text{h}^\text{š}^\text{in}\text{Ø} \text{ka}^\text{?a}^?:\text{aškaden} \text{ʔit}^h:\text{in}/
\]
3-spouse-\text{AGT} acorn pound-\text{PFV} morning early

‘his wife was pounding acorns, early in the morning’

Additional adverbs include \(\text{ʔe}^\text{wen}\) ‘fast, quickly’, \(\text{ma}^\text{ti}\) ‘long time’, \(\text{s}^\text{it}^\text{ înt}\) ‘immediately’, and \(\text{wa}^\text{?an}\) ‘now’, and \(\text{ha}^\text{me}^\text{fi}\) ‘thus’ (which also appears as \(\text{hame}^\text{fi}^\text{na}\)), and \(\text{p}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{a}\) ‘too; also; again’. There are also numerals (and other words?) which can be converted into adverbs by \(=\text{mčin}\) ‘days’ worth’ (e.g. \(\text{ʔak}^h:\text{omčin}\) ‘for two days’), which is an adverbializing enclitic related to the noun \(\text{mač}^\text{i}\) ‘day’. These adverbs are most frequently placed before the verb in a clause, as in (419) below, which has both ‘now’ and ‘immediately’ in the same clause.

\[205\] The adverb \(\text{p}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{a}\) is peculiar: it is sometimes recorded as \(\text{p}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{a}\), in which case it is not entirely clear whether transcremented /:/ signifies a difference in meaning; it may be reduplicated, \(\text{p}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{a}\text{p}^\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{l}^\text{a}\), to mean ‘each; various’.
Other adverbs which are frequently encountered include kuṭu ‘just’, yaːla ‘only’, and kuʔmu ‘all; wholly’. The word naːpʰiyo- ‘all’ is also quite common; however, its status as an adverb is not as clear. This word is derived from naːpʰi ‘all’, which is a pronoun that is morphologically a common noun. In (420) below, naːpʰiyo- ‘all’ is suffixed with -hma ‘place’ (a suffix already encountered in the numerals) and behaves like an adverb.

(420) Example of naːpʰiyo- as an adverb

náːpʰiyohma káːnew
/Hms./
naːpʰiyo-hma kaːneːw
all-place with.jaws-grasp-PFV
'bite all over'

At least one word may function as both an adjective and an adverb: ?ahsič’ ‘hard; strong; difficult’. As an adverb modifying a verb of motion, it means ‘hard; with great effort’ (as in colloquial English ‘he ran real hard’). This peculiar word, which is alone in the Southern Pomo lexicon as a disyllabic word with a word-final palato-alveolar affricate that does not surface as /y/, may also be used as a verb imperative constructions (e.g. ‘be strong!’).
2.8.6. The Auxiliary ||yo|| ~ ||ʔyo||

Only one morpheme is analyzed as an auxiliary in the language: ||yo|| ~ ||ʔyo|| ‘be’. This morpheme appears to be cognate with the Central Pomo word yo- ‘go’ (Mithun 1993: 124). If it does descend from an earlier verb of motion, it has not preserved any semantic traces. This auxiliary most frequently occurs as a second-position clitic, as seen in (421) below, where it follows the question word ‘when’ (the auxiliary is in bold and underlined).

(421) Example of ||yo|| ~ ||ʔyo|| AUX as a second-position clitic

\[
\text{búːʔeʔyómtó} \text{ʔahčáci[y]} \quad \text{(H ms.)}
\]
\[
\text{butːeʔyómtó} \text{ʔahčáci[y]}
\]
\[
/búːʔeʔyómtó \text{ʔahčáci[ʔ]}/
\]
\[
\text{when=AUX=2SG.PAT awake-PFV}
\]
\[
\text{‘when did you wake up’}
\]

When it follows the pro-verb hamini- it may be suffixed with the quotative evidential, which sets off the entire following sentence as hearsay, as seen in (422) below (the auxiliary is in bold and underlined).

(422) Example of ||yo|| ~ ||ʔyo|| AUX suffixed with ||-do|| QUOTATIVE EVIDENTIAL

\[
\text{ha:miniːli yódo miyːa[ʔ]kʰan biʔdu čohšin (H I: 1)}
\]
\[
\text{haminːiːli yódo miyːa[tʰ]kʰan biʔdu čohšin}
\]
\[
/haːminiːli yóːdo miyːa-tʰkʰan-ʔ biʔdu čohšin-ʔ/\]
\[
\text{and.then-DSEQ AUX-QUOT 3-spouse-AGT acorn pound-PFV}
\]
\[
\text{‘Then, it is said, his wife was pounding acorns[.]’}
\]
The auxiliary ||yo|| ~ ||=?yo|| may also be suffixed with irrealis affixes, such as the future ||-kʰ:e||. It may be used in such a combination to form a predicate adjective, as shown in (423) below.

(423) Example of ||yo|| ~ ||=?yo|| AUX forming a predicate adjective

\[ kacı yokʰ:e \] (W: OF)
\[ /kacı yο-kʰ:e/ \]
cold AUX-FUT
‘it will be cold’

2.8.7. **Particles or other minor word classes**

In addition to the foregoing word classes, there are several small words, most of which are function words or may be clitics (at least optionally). These include the question words cei‘how’, buːxe ‘when’, meṭbu ‘how many’, heʔey ‘where’, and hemef ‘why’, which function as pronouns when not combined with the interrogative morpheme ||ka|| ~ ||=?ka||. The word ?iy:o- ‘under’, which is not an enclitic like most morphemes in the language which represent location, fits in this catch-all class of function words. Additional words (which are often clitics) which should be included in this section are ||ṭa|| ~ ||=?ṭa|| **EMPHATIC** and ||ʔo|| ~ ||=?ʔo|| **CONTRASTIVE**.

2.9. **The noun phrase**

Noun phrases in Southern Pomo are composed of a noun (whether a monomorphemic noun or one derived from another word class) and its modifiers, which are generally demonstratives, descriptive adjectives, another noun (as a
possessive), or numerals. Within the noun phrase, demonstratives, when present, precede the noun, and adjectives, when present, generally follow the noun; numerals may come before or after the noun. When a noun phrase is a nominalized clause, the elements within the nominalized clause show the same word order as regular clauses (SOV). Below are some of the most frequently encountered orderings within NPs in Southern Pomo. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, nor should the statements made me construed as absolutes.

(1) \([\text{N}]_{\text{NP}}\)
A noun phrase may consist of a single noun with no modifiers or enclitics.

(2) \([\text{N-POSS N}]_{\text{NP}}\)
A noun with the possessive suffix (behaving as an adjective) precedes the possessed noun with the NP.

(3) \([\text{DEM N}]_{\text{NP}}\)
Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify within the NP.

(4) \([\text{N Adj}]_{\text{NP}} \sim [\text{Adj N}]_{\text{NP}}\)
Adjectives often follow the nouns they modify within the NP, but they may also precede them; no difference in meaning on the basis of this ordering difference has been detected.

(5) \([\text{N Num}]_{\text{NP}}\)
Numerals generally follow the nouns they modify within the NP.

(6) \([\text{DEM N Adj}]_{\text{NP}}\)
When both a demonstrative and an adjective are modifying the noun, the demonstrative precedes and adjective follows within the NP.
(7) \[ N \text{ Adj Adj V} = \text{nominalizing.enclitic(s)}_{NP} \]

NPs which are composed of a nominalized clause and its arguments show the same ordering as a standard clause: core arguments, if any are present, precede the verb; descriptive adjectives (and other modifiers) remain in their usual positions relative to the nouns they modify; the entire clause is nominalized by a nominal enclitic.

Whereas individual nouns in Southern Pomo have very little morphological complexity, NPs in the language may be marked with a large number of enclitics. These enclitics include case-marking morphemes, determiners (which are conflated with case), a collectivizing suffix, and various oblique markers (mainly locatives). Each of these enclitics is briefly introduced below.

2.9.1. Case-marking NP enclitics

The agent/patient case system may be marked on animate NPs. In addition to the core agentive and patient cases, NPs may be marked for the vocative case, and a variety of oblique cases, including the ablative, the instrumental, the comitative, and the locative (there are several locative enclitics, but only one which is treated herein as case-marking enclitic). Each subgroup of case-marking NP enclitics is discussed below.

2.9.1.1. Agent/patient case-marking enclitics

Animate nominals in Southern Pomo may be marked with case-marking morphemes in an agent/patient system. In transitive clauses, the least-affected animate argument may take the agentive case, and the most-affected argument
may take the patient case; in intransitive clauses, the single argument may be in either case (agentive case if not greatly affected by the event; patient case if greatly affected by the event). Unlike the complex system of case-marking suffixes observed in the kinship terms and pronouns, there is only a single agentive case enclitic and a single patient case enclitic used on NPs. These are discussed below.

\[\text{\textbar\textbar} = \text{yey} \text{ AGENTIVE CASE}\]

This enclitic may be attached to NPs which have an animate noun as their head on the basis of the semantic criteria laid out in the previous paragraph. The agentive case-marking enclitic for NPs is homophonous with the plural agentive case-marking suffix of the kinship terms; however, unlike in the kinship terms, where \[\text{\textbar\textbar} \text{yey} \textbar\textbar\] is a portmanteau suffix combining the historic *-ya PLURAL and the agentive case, the agentive case marker on NPs is an enclitic with no inherent number. An example of this enclitic is given in (424) below; note that the non-agentive argument of the transitive verb ‘marry’ does not have any case-marking morphology (the agentive case is in bold and underlined, and the NP to which it is attached is set off by brackets).

(424) Example of agentive case-marking enclitic \[\text{\textbar\textbar} \text{yey} \textbar\textbar\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰáʔbekʰáčh} \text{yey} & \text{ do:lon } \text{čoh:on} \\
\text{[kʰaʔbekʰač]} \text{yey} & \text{ do:lon } \text{čoh:on} \\
\text{/kʰaʔbekʰač=yey } & \text{ do:lon } \text{čoh:on-Ø/} \\
\text{raptor.species=} & \text{AGT} \\
\text{bobcat} & \\
\text{marr\text-y-PFV} \\
\text{‘Fish Hawk married Wildcat’}
\end{align*}
\]

(H VI: 1)
As already stated, the agentive case may be used on the single argument of an intransitive verb if that argument is not greatly affected by the event, as seen in (425) below (with the agentive case in bold and underlined and the NP to which it is attached set off by brackets).

(425) Example of ||=yey|| on the single argument of an intransitive verb (H VIII: 2)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔbey} & \text{ey hó:liw} \\
\text{[kʰaʔbe} & \underline{\text{yey}} \text{ hó:liw} \\
\text{/kʰaʔbe} & \underline{\text{yey}} \text{ hó:li-w/} \\
\text{rock}= & \text{AGT} \text{ leave-PFV} \\
\text{‘Rock [Man] went off.’}
\end{align*}
\]

||=yčon ||=yčon ||=čon ||=čon PATIENT CASE

This case-marking enclitic may be applied to the single animate argument of an intransitive clause if that argument is greatly affected by the action; it may be applied to the most affected animate argument in a transitive clause. Examples are given in (426) and (427) below (with the patient case enclitic in bold and underlined and the NP to which it is attached set off with brackets).

(426) Patient case enclitic ||=yčon|| on single argument of intransitive verb (H VIII)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha:mini} & \text{()} \text{ba kʰaʔbeyčon sí:ma mí:tiw} \\
\text{haminiba} & \text{[kʰaʔbe} \underline{\text{yčon}} \text{ sí:ma mi:tiw} \\
\text{/ha:mini} & \text{-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon sí:ma mí:ti-w/} \\
\text{and.then-S} & \text{SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV} \\
\text{‘Having done so, Rock [Man] went to sleep.’}
\end{align*}
\]
2.9.1.2. Oblique case-marking enclitics

The remaining case-marking enclitics do not attach to NPs which are core arguments. Oblique case-marking enclitics include the vocative, the possessive, the comitative, the instrumental, the ablative, and the locative. Each is discussed below.

\[\|=\text{yčo}\| = \text{yčo} \sim \text{=čo:} \sim = \text{yčow(?)} \text{ VOCATIVE}\]

The vocative is used for direct address. The allomorphs listed above might be the result of transcription errors or idiolectal variation. An example of the vocative enclitic is given in (428) below (with the vocative morpheme in bold and underlined and the NP to which it is attached set off with brackets).

\[(428) \text{Example of the vocative enclitic } \|=\text{yčo}\| \quad (\text{H VI: 15})\]

\[\text{[?]ám:ačahtimu=yčo} \]
\[\text{[?]am:ačahtimu=yčo} \]
\[\text{/?am:a-čahtimu=yčo/} \]
\[\text{earth-lying extended?=VOC} \]
\[\text{[O] Earth lying extended[!]'}\]

\[\|=\text{čo:kʰe}\| = \text{čo:kʰe BENEFACTIVE~POSSESSIVE}\]

The possessive enclitic is used for alienable possession and as a benefactive (see §2.9.1.). An example of this morpheme is given in (429) below (with the possessive
enclitic in bold and underlined and the NP to which it is attached set off by brackets).

(429) Example of possessive enclitic ||=čo:kʰe||

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čú:maʃčó:kʰe šiʔmiʔwan} & \quad (H \text{ VIII: 4}) \\
[\text{čú:maʃčo:kʰe šiʔmiʔwan}] & \\
/\text{čú:maʃ=čo:kʰe} & \quad \text{šiʔmiʔwan/} \\
\text{gray.squirrel=POSS} & \quad \text{bow=DET.OBJ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Squirrel’s bow'

//ko// =ko COMITATIVE

The comitative enclitic is applied to NPs and strictly supplies a comitative meaning; it is not an instrumental or an associative. This enclitic may also attach to kinship terms and pronouns. An example is given in (430) below (with the comitative in bold and underlined and the NP to which it is attached set off with brackets).

(430) Example of comitative enclitic ||=ko||

\[
\begin{align*}
núp[hː]e nóp[hː]ow \text{ ka:wiya bahtʰéko} & \quad (H \text{ V: 1}) \\
nūp[hː]e nōp[hː]ow [ka:wiya bahtʰe]_n=ko & \\
/nûp[hː]e & \quad nōp[hː]ow \quad \text{ka:wi}-\text{ya} & \quad \text{bahtʰe}=\text{ko/} \\
\text{striped.skunk} & \quad \text{sev.dwell-PFV} & \quad \text{child-PL} & \quad \text{big.COLL}=\text{COM} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Skunk Woman lived, with many children’

//wi// =wi INSTRUMENTAL

The instrumental enclitic has two different meanings, at least in English translation. When applied to objects which are susceptible to being manipulated and cannot be used as a container, ||=wi|| has a true instrumental meaning (e.g. Ḗ=wi hand=INSTR ‘with hand(s)’); when applied to a location or container, ||=wi||
has a locative meaning, which is roughly ‘at’ for places (e.g. ćoːli-kːo=wi blackbird-field=instr ‘at blackbird field’, the original name for the village that is now Windsor, CA) and ‘in’ for containers (e.g. čʰeʔɛʔm=wi basket=instr ‘in the basket’). When applied directly to handful of words, such as ‘hand’, this enclitic is transcremental (e.g. tʰaːna ‘hand’ but tʰanːa=wi ‘with hand’); however, the laryngeal increment of such words is unaffected if they are not the portion of the NP to which ||=wi|| is directly attached (see the example ‘with two hands’ in (431) below). This morpheme is given in examples in (431) and (432) below. (The instrumental is in bold and underlined; its translation is also in bold and underlined.)

(431) Example of instrumental ||=wi|| with true instrumental meaning

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tʰ[aːna ?akʰːowi daːtʰow} & \quad \text{(H EA: 4a)} \\
\text{[tʰ[aːna ?akʰːo]=wi daːtʰow} & \\
\text{/tʰ[aːna ?akʰːo=wi daːtʰo-w/} \\
\text{hand two=instr scrape-PFV} \\
\text{‘scrapes it off \textbf{with} both hands’}
\end{align*}
\]

(432) Example of instrumental ||=wi|| with locative meaning

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čoːlowːi [ʔ]ahkʰa [ʔ]ohčóba,} & \quad \text{(H VI: 6)} \\
\text{[čoːlowːwi ?ahkʰa ?ohčóba,} & \\
\text{/čoːlow=wi} & \quad \text{?ahkʰa ?ohčo-ba/} \\
\text{baby.bath.basket=instr water place.shapeless.mass-SSEQ} \\
\text{‘having put water \textbf{into} a baby-bath basket’}
\end{align*}
\]

||=tʰon|| =tʰon LOCATIVE ‘on’

This morpheme means ‘on’. It may be used to show more than just location.

Example (433) gives two instances of this morpheme, including one in which it does not indicate actual location. (||=tʰon|| is in bold, and its translation is also in bold.)
The ablative enclitic is used to indicate origin (‘from’) and can be combined with the question word he:?ey ‘where’ to form hegi=ow ‘whence’. An example of this enclitic is given in (434) below (with the ablative and its translation in bold).

(434) Example of ||=?ow|| ABLATIVE

[ʔakʰ:a:ná=tow [ʔ]ekʰ:elkʰ:le (H ms.)
[ʔakʰ:a=ná=tow206 ?ekʰ:elkʰ:le
/ʔakʰ:a=n-a=tow ?e-kʰ:e-lko:-le/
water=LOC=ABL with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
'in-law move out of water ['

### 2.9.1.3. Subject/object case-marking determiner enclitics

Noun phrases in Southern Pomo have an additional type of case-marking, one which is not found in the pronouns and kinship terms. NPs, whether animate or not, may have determiner enclitics attached to them which indicate subject or object in addition to indicating their use as determiners. There is a two-way split between the pair ||=?am:u|| DETERMINER.SUBJECT and ||=?an|| DETERMINER.OBJECT, both

---

206 The locative suffix ||=nal|| is probably frozen in this form. Olive Fulwider uses the word ?akʰ:ana for ‘river’ with no obvious locative meaning. She has used it to translate the name of the River Rock Casino as ?akʰ:ana kʰu?be ‘river rock’ (as opposed to a meaning like ‘river-ward rock’).
of which are most often translated as ‘the’ in the records, and the pair ||=ʔyo:mu||
DETERMINER.SUBJECT and ||=ʔyowan|| DETERMINER.OBJECT, which are variously translated
as ‘the’ or ‘the aforementioned’ in the records. The exact nature of the semantics of
these morphemes is not well understood. The extant glosses are too vague to make
a precise distinction between the two sets, and as it is impossible to obtain native
speaker intuitions, these glosses are not susceptible to improvement.

These clitics probably descend from the following combinations at an earlier
stage in the language:

\[
\begin{align*}
*ʔe & \text{COPULA} + *-wa \text{FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} + *ham:u \text{3SG.AGT} > =ʔwam:u \\
*ʔe & \text{COPULA} + *-wa \text{FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} + *-l \text{PATIENT} > =ʔwan \\
*ʔe & \text{COPULA} + *yo- ‘go’ + *-wa \text{FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} + *ham:u \text{3SG.AGT} > =ʔyom:u \\
*ʔe & \text{COPULA} + *yo- ‘go’ + *-wa \text{FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL} + *-l \text{PATIENT} > =ʔyowan
\end{align*}
\]

Each of these enclitics is described in the subsections below.

||=ʔwam:u|| =ʔwam:u \sim =wam:u DETERMINER.SUBJECT

This enclitic may be attached to NP that is the subject of a clause. Subject is here
defined as the sole argument of intransitive verbs and the least patent-like core
argument of transitive verbs. Examples are given in (435) and (436) below (with the
enclitic and its translations in bold and underlined).

---

207 The form and translation for the reconstructed copula and verb ‘go’ are based on forms which
retain this shape and meaning in Central Pomo.
(435) ||=ʔwan:u|| on least patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H VIII: 4)

/čú:mať=wan:u ho?:o=wi bi?ki-k:i-w ši?mi?=wan/
gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ
‘the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.’

(436) ||=ʔwan:u|| on the single argument of intransitive verb (H V: 7&8)

[kʰaʔcẹʔwan:u ?iy:őtow či:yow
/kʰaʔcẹʔ=wan:u ?iy:o=őtow či:y-o-w/
rock=DET.SUBJ under=ABL stay-PFV
‘Rock [Man] sat below.’

//=ʔwan// =ʔwan ~ =wan DETERMINER.OBJECT

This enclitic is the one most commonly translated with ‘the’ in the records. It is
commonly found on both animate and inanimate NPs. Examples are given in (437) -
(439) below (with the enclitic and its translations in bold and underlined; the NPs to
which it is attached are set off with brackets).

(437) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on animate NP

há:minís)ba ba?[:]áywan hód?ómhyu (H I: 2)
haminina ba?ay=wan hod?omhuy
/ha:miní-ba ba?:ay=wan hod?o-mhuy-Ø/
and.then-S.human=DET.OBJ handle-RECP-PFV
‘Then (he) made love to the woman’

(438) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on inanimate NP (H ms.)

čʰe?[::]cęmáywan šuhkʰęči:le
[čʰe?:cęmáy=wan šuhkʰęči:le
/čʰe?:cęmáy=wan šu-hkʰę-či:-le/
basket=DET.OBJ by.pulling-move-RECP-PL.IMP
‘2 move basket closer to self!’
(439) \(?=\text{wan}\) \text{DET.OBJECT} on inanimate NP \hspace{1em} (H VIII: 4)

\(\text{čú:maťwám}:u\ \text{ho?i[\:\]}\text{ówi} \text{bi?ki:ik} \text{ši?mi?wan}\)
\(\text{čú:maťwam}:u\ \text{ho?i} \text{ówi} \text{bi?ki:ik} \text{ši?mi?wan}\)
\(\text{/čú:mať=wam}:u\ \text{ho?i} \text{ówi} \text{bi?ki-ik-ši?mi?wan}/\)

\(\text{gray.squirrel}\text{=DET.SBJ} \text{teeth}=\text{INST}\text{r} \text{gnaw}\text{~ITER-PFV} \text{bow}=\text{DET.OBJ}\)

‘the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.’

\(\text{\|=}?=\text{yo:mu}\ \text{=}?=\text{yo:mu} \text{DET.SBJ} \text{SUBJ} \text{ECT} \text{―aforementioned‘}

This enclitic, like \(\|=?\text{wan}\|\), is placed on a NP that is the subject of the verb, as shown in (440) below (with the enclitic and its translation in bold and underlined; the NP to which it is attached is set off by brackets).

(440) Example of \(\text{\|=}?=\text{yo:mu}\|\) \text{DET.SBJ} \hspace{1em} (H IX: 9)

\(\text{ší:bať\^{h}aw} \text{ka:wiya}?=\text{yo:mu} \text{hámi} \text{kúč}:\text{u}\)
\(\text{/ší:bať\^{h}aw} \text{ka:wiya}\text{=?yo:mu} \text{hami} \text{kúč}:\text{u}/\)

\(\text{poor} \text{child-PL}=\text{DET.SBJ} \text{there} \text{just}\)

\(\text{č\^{a}túč:ow} \text{č\^{h}i:lan} \text{šú=new}.\)
\(\text{č\^{a}túč:ow} \text{č\^{h}i:lan} \text{šú=new}\)
\(\text{č\^{a}:túč=\text{low} \text{č\^{h}i:lan} \text{šu-\text{ne-w}/}\)

\(\text{one-side?=ABL} \text{tumpline with.pulling-grasp-PFV}\)

‘The poor children stretched the tump-line there just on one side.’

\(\|=?\text{yowan}\|\) \(?=\text{yowan} \text{DET.OBJ} \text{SUBJ} \text{ECT} \text{―aforementioned‘}

This enclitic may be attached to a NP that is the object of verb. It is not clear how it differs from \(\|=?\text{wan}\|\) in terms of semantics, but Oswalt occasionally translates NPs with this enclitic with the gloss ‘that aforementioned...‘, as in (440) below (where

\(^{208}\) This word is an adjective in this sentence; as a verb, it means ‘to pity’.

367
the enclitic and its translation are in bold and underlined; the NP to which it is
attached is set off with brackets).

(440) Example of ||=ʔyowan|| DET.OBJECT (O I: 19)

pʰa:la ba?:ay(ʔ)yowan kahsak
pʰa:la [ba?:ay]yowan kahsak
/pʰa:la ba?:ay=yowan kahsak-Ø/
also   woman=DET.OBJ  desert-PFV
‘he also deserted that aforementioned woman’

This enclitic may also be used to nominalize clauses, especially those which
function as obliques, as in (441) below.

(441) Example of ||=ʔyowan|| DET.OBJECT nominalizing clause (H VIII: 2)

ču:mafyey hó:liw
ču:mafyey ho:liw
/ču:maʔ=yey ho:li-w/
gray.squirrel=AGT leave-PFV

[ʔ]aʔi:yey daʔtámhkʰ:eʔyowanʔonhkʰay
[ʔaʔi:yey daʔtámhkʰ:e]ʔyowanʔonhkʰay
/ʔaʔi-yey daʔt-ʔa-mhu-kʰ:eʔyowanʔonhkʰay/
3c-PL.AGT find-RECIP-FUT=DET.OBJ=toward

‘Squirrel went off to where they will meet each other’

2.9.2. Other NP enclitics

This section introduces the remaining NP enclitics, many of which have locative
meanings which are handled by adpositions in other languages.
2.9.2.1. The collectivizer enclitic ||=hča||

This enclitic is often translated as a plural or as ‘a bunch/group’. It appears to mark groups as a collective, and might have grammaticized from the word ?a:ha:ča ‘house’ (perhaps something like ‘X’s house(hold)’ > ‘X=house(hold)’ > ‘X=COLL’). Examples are given below (with the enclitic and its translation in bold and underlined).

(442) Example of ||=hča|| COLL (H VI: 11)

[ʔakʰ:ólča?()]wa?ya čoh:ókʰ:e
/?akʰ:o=hča=wa?=ya čoh:o-kʰ:e/
two=COLL=COP=EVID=1PL.AGT marry-FUT
‘We’ll both marry him.’

This enclitic may attach to a NP that already has plural marking, and it is also unusual in that it may be marked for case. It takes the ||-n|| allomorph of the patient case, as seen below in (443).

(443) Example of ||=hča-n|| (H EA: 9a)

thus 1SG.AGT Indian big.DISTR thing=DET.OBJ209

whole 1SG.OBL-POSS child-PL=DET.OBJ=COLL-PAT tell-NEG

‘That’s why I never told my kids everything about Indian things’

209 The word ?am:a means both ‘earth, dirt’ and ‘thing’.
2.9.2.2. Locative enclitics

These enclitics, unlike ||=t=on||, refer solely to physical location. Each is discussed separately.

||=kʰa:ni|| =kʰa:ni ‘within’

This enclitic indicates a location within something, as shown in (444) below. (The enclitic is in bold and underlined; the NP to which it is attached is set off by brackets.)

(444) Example of ||=kʰa:ni|| ‘within’ (H EA: 35a)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mito } \text{ši} & \text{bakʰa:ni duhtʰan kʰaːtːič’aw} \\
\text{[mito } \text{ši} & \text{ba} \text{kʰa:ni } \text{duhtʰan kʰaːtːič’aw} \\
\text{/mito } \text{ši} & \text{ba=kʰa:ni duhtʰan-Ø kʰaːtːič’aw/} \\
\text{2SG.PAT body=} & \text{LOC pain-PFV bad} \\
\text{[]} & \text{‘within your body (it) badly hurts’}
\end{align*}
\]

||=li|| =li ‘at’

This enclitic indicates a static location without reference to the NP being in, on, atop something. It is most commonly translated with ‘at’, as in (445) below (with the enclitic in bold and underlined; the NP to which it is attached is set off with brackets).

(445) Example of ||=li|| ‘at’ (O I: 11)

\[
\begin{align*}
niba & \text{?yodo ham:i } \text{?atːi-yey nopʰ:o:=li} \\
niba & \text{?yodo[ham:i } [\text{?atːi-yey nopʰ:o:=li]}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{/ni-ba=?y-o-do} & \text{ham:i } \text{?atːi-yey} \text{ nopʰ:o:-=li/} \\
\text{and.then=AUX-QUOT there } & \text{3C-PLAGT live-PFV?=at}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Then, it is said, there where they were living,’
This enclitic indicates direction and is applied to obliques within sentences which have a verb of motion as the main verb. It is conveniently translated into English as ‘-ward’; examples are given below (with the enclitic and its translation in bold and underlined; the NPs to which it attaches are set off with brackets).

(446) Example of ||=li=kʰač|| =nhkʰay ‘-ward’ (H ms.)

up=ward fly-PL.ACT-DIR-SEQ earth=ward fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
'bird keeps flying up[ward] and flying down[ward]'
Example of \(|=sa:ma\) ‘beside; near’  
(H EA: 43a)

\[kʰa:le()sa:ma\]

\[kʰa:le\] _sama_

\[/kʰa:le=sa:ma/\]

tree=beside

[‘beside a tree’]

\(=\)=\(wani\)

This enclitic means ‘inside’, as seen in (449) below.

Example of \(=\)=\(wani\)  
(H VIII: 8)

\[kohtokʰ\text{tôwâ}ni \text{[?]} iħčok \text{cuː}maturity kʰaʔbéyc̔on.\]

\[kohtokʰ\text{tol} wani \text{[?]} iħčok \text{cūː}maturity kʰaʔbeyc̔on\]

\[/kohtokʰ\text{tol}=wani \text{[?]} iħčok-Ø \text{cūː}matur=ye \text{[kʰaʔbe=y}\text{çon/}\]

base.of.neck=LOC shoot-PFV gray.squirrel=AGT rock=PAT

‘[He] shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, [Gray] Squirrel (did it) to Rock [Man].’

\(=\)=\(win:a\)  \(\sim\) \(=\)=\(win:a\) ‘atop’

This morpheme is often written as a separate word. An example is given in (#) below.

Example of \(=\)=\(win:a\)  \(\sim\) \(=\)=\(win:a\) ‘atop’  
(H ms.)

\[kʰaʔbe \text{č̓aʔa}(\text{wín:a baː}nə\text{mən}\]

\[kʰaʔbe \text{č̓aʔa}\] _wina_ baneman

\[/kʰaʔbe \text{č̓aʔa} wín:a baːnēman/\]

rock one atop put.one.nonlong.object-ESSIVE-SG.IMP

‘put a rock on it’
\[|-\text{nhi}| \sim |:-\text{ni}| \text{locative 'in; beneath(?)}\]

This clitic is poorly understood. The two recorded forms do not come from different dialects. Halpern recorded this as /:-ni/ from Annie Burke and as /-nhi/ from Burke’s daughter, Elsie Allen. Examples are provided in (451) below.

(451) Examples of \[|-\text{nhi}| \sim |:-\text{ni}| \text{‘in; beneath’}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šaʔkanhi} & \quad (\text{H EA: 43a}) & \text{kʰá:leškáni} & \quad (\text{H V: 14}) \\
[\text{šaʔka}]\text{nhi} & \quad \quad [\text{kʰa:lešká}]\text{ni} \\
/\text{šaʔka-nhi/} & \quad \quad /\text{kʰa:lešká=ni/} \\
\text{black-loc} & \quad \quad \text{tree-black=loc} \\
\text{‘in the shade’} & \quad \quad \text{‘in the shade of a tree’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.9.2.3. Miscellaneous NP enclitics

These enclitics express things that are often handled with adverbs or verbs in other languages. Each is discussed individually below.

\[|=\text{hlaw}| =\text{hlaw ‘too, also’}\]

This enclitic is used for ‘too, also’, as shown in (452) below. (The clitic and its translation are in bold and underlined; the NP to which it is attached is set off by brackets.)

(452) Example of \[|=\text{hlaw}| \text{‘too, also’} \quad (\text{H V: 26})\]

\[
\begin{align*}
[?]\text{[y]haʔwánhlaw} & \quad (\text{H V: 26}) \\
[?]\text{iyhaʔwan}\text{hlaw} & \quad (\text{H V: 26}) \\
/\text{iyhaʔwan=hlaw/} & \quad \text{bone=DET.OBJ=too} \\
\text{‘bones and all’}
\end{align*}
\]
This enclitic means ‘like, same as’, as shown in example (453) below, where the clitic is in bold and the constituent to which it is attached is set off by brackets.

(453) Example of ||=V:me=t ‘like, same as’

<miʔo pʰala ha:me=t()wa()?ma čahtinčikʰ:e,
miʔo pʰala ha:me=twa?ma čahtinčikʰ:e,
/miʔo pʰala ha:me=t=wa=ʔma čahtin-či-kʰ:e/ 2SG.PAT also thus=COP.EVID=2SG.ABT happen-SEM?-FUT

ʔat:o ḥa:me=wa=ʔma čaht in-či-kʰ:e,
[ʔat:o ḥa:me=wa=ʔma čaht in-či-kʰ:e/ 1SG.PAT thing happen=COP.EVID=like
‘That same thing will happen to you, as happened to me.’

This enclitic means ‘some of’ and has a partitive meaning that is not a part of the semantics of the non-numeral quantifier beʔbu ‘some’. An example is given in (454) below with the enclitic and its translation in bold (the NP to which it is attached is set off with brackets).

(454) Example of ||=t=on=kʰle=t ‘some of’

<miʔo diš wan ton(h)kʰle mihnatin>
[miiʔo diš wan ton(h)kʰle mihnatin
/ miʔo diš wan ton(h)kʰle mi-hnaʔ-in/
nut=DET.OBJ=some by.reckoning-try-SG.IMP
‘Test some of the nuts by cracking (to see if good inside)!’
\[\text{\textit{nup}[^h]:\textit{ti}} \]  
\[\text{nup}[^h]:\textit{eti} \]  
\[/\text{nup}[^h]:\textit{eti}/ \]  
\[\text{striped.skunk} = \text{INCH} \]  
\[\text{‘they turned into skunks’} \]

\[\text{[ʔ]ahk}[^h]\text{[ʔ]oh:o} \text{ti-ki}[^h]\text{ti}.\]  
\[/\text{[ʔ]ahk}[^h]\text{[ʔ]oh:o} \text{ti-ki}[^h]\text{ti}/ \]  
\[\text{water} \text{fire} \text{INCH-CAUS-FUTURE.INTENTIVE} \]  
\[\text{‘in order to have the water become hot’} \]  
\[\text{[‘in order to make it become hot water’} \]

### 2.9.3. Alienable and inalienable possession

The possessive prefixes of the kinship terms have already been discussed
\((\S 2.8.1.3.1.),\) and they are not considered in this section. The suffix \[\text{\textit{ji}-:k}[^h]\text{e}[\text{POSSESSIVE}]\] has two specific uses: (1) it indicates alienable possession; (2) it is used as a benefactive. Examples of each of these usages are given in (457) - (459) below.
(457) \(|-ːkʰe|\) **possessive** used for alienable possession of animate  
(H EA: 9a)

```
ha:meṭna ṭa: hinṭilku [ʔ]ahtʰi[y] [ʔ]am:aʔwan
ha:meṭna ṭa: hinṭilku ahtʰi[y] am:aʔwan
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ha:meṭna ṭa: hinṭilku ahtʰi[y] am:aʔwan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

```
kuʔmu ṭawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwanhčan [ʔ]uhṭehtʰeʔhoʃ
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/kuʔmu ṭawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwanhčan [ʔ]uhṭehtʰeʔhoʃ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>whole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'That’s why I never told my kids everything about Indian things'

(458) \(|-ːkʰe|\) **possessive** used for alienable possession of a man-made thing (H ms.)

```
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-fa’s.fa=GS-OBL=POSS house=toward leave-FUT.INTENT-FIRST.PERSON</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I am going to my fa[ther’s] fa[ther]’s house after a while'

(459) \(|-ːkʰe|\) **possessive** used as a benefactive suffix (H III: 1)

```
mípʰ[:akːi[:kʰe yúh[:j]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw
mípʰ[:akːi[:kʰe yúh[:j]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/mípʰ[:akːi[:kʰe yúh[:j]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-son=GS=POSS pinole put.shapeless.mass=DEFOC-PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘They have put up pinole for your son.’

Virtually everything that is not a part of an individual may be alienably possessed (e.g. food, man-made items, children, spouses, things). Body parts and names, however, are always inalienably possessed, which is indicated by the use of the patient case form of a pronoun with no possessive suffix, as shown below.\(^{211}\)

\(^{210}\) The word ṭam:a means both ‘earth, dirt’ and ‘thing’.

\(^{211}\) It is unclear how inalienable possession is marked on full NPs or proper names.
(460) Use of patient case to show inalienable possession

ʔaʔo ʔiːːan duʔtʰan (W: OF)
/ʔaʔo ʔiːːan duʔtʰan-Ø/
1SG.PAT arm hurt-PFV
‘my arm hurts’

(461) Use of patient case to show inalienable possession

miːʔo ʔahšiyaw hiʔduʔeʔenʔoʔwaʔa (H ms.)
/miːʔo ʔahšiyaw hiʔduʔeʔenʔoʔwaʔa/
2SG.PAT name know=NEG=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
[‘I don’t know your name’]

Part III: Sentence structure

Southern Pomo clauses are composed of single predicates, including verbs (the most common predicates), predicate nominals, and predicate adjectives. Southern Pomo sentences are composed of one or more clauses. Southern Pomo verbs do not have any obligatory person marking, and if the suffixes ||-Vːna|| FIRST PERSON and ||-ːmu|| SECOND PERSON are not accepted as person-marking morphemes, Southern Pomo verbs have no person marking whatsoever. Southern Pomo clauses, however, often lack any overt mention of any argument (via full NP or pronoun), and it is often only context and the use of coreferential devices (switch-reference suffixes and third-person coreferential pronouns and kinship prefixes) which allow for the identification of who does what to whom in the clauses of a sentence.

---

This form comes from Halpern’s notes; however, I cannot locate the original. This phrase was lifted from his notes for use in the Southern Pomo classes being held by the Dry Creek Rancheria, and it is familiar to the tribe’s students. The free translation is probably identical to his, but I have placed it within [] to show that it is from my memory (and therefore possibly of my own creation).
Because a verb need not surface with any overt arguments and no person-marking affixes, it is often the case that verbs that may be syntactically transitive may also surface with only one overt argument or none. The definition of transitivity is not without difficulty. Dixon takes the position that it is purely a syntactic phenomenon:

“...transitivity is a syntactic matter. When a clause is said to have a certain transitivity value, and when a verb is said to show certain transitivity possibilities, these are syntactic—not semantic—specifications.” (2010b: 116)

The above definition is useful: English verbs like ‘hear’ are clearly syntactically transitive (as Dixon notes), but semantically—if transitivity is treated as a semantic and not a syntactic phenomenon—the verb ‘hear’ does not share much with more prototypical transitive verbs (e.g. ‘kill’). I adopt a modified form of the above definition of transitivity—a language-specific definition—that fits with the nature of Southern Pomo sentence structure. The transitivity of a Southern Pomo verb is purely a lexical matter (to borrow some of Dixon’s phraseology) in the sense that it is not possible to predict transitivity via semantics, and the ability or inability of a verb to surface with one or more than one core argument is lexically determined: a verb is transitive or intransitive on the basis of how that word may behave syntactically.

The distinctions drawn between different transitivity types, then, are among verbs which may surface with three core arguments (ditransitives), verbs which may surface with no more than two core arguments (transitives), and verbs which may surface with only one core argument (intransitives). Any of these three types
of verbs may surface with fewer arguments than the maximum amount by which they are assigned to a transitivity type.

The following subsections on intransitives, transitives, and ditransitives are solely devoted to a discussion of verbs which maximally surface with one, two, or three core arguments respectively.\textsuperscript{213} The overt marking of core arguments via pronominal enclitics is not considered in the following examples, as the order of the enclitics, which are second-position (Wackernagel) clitics, is dictated by the number of constituents which precede the verb: any constituent may bear these clitics, and their location relative to the verb (whether before or after) is largely predictable.

3.1. Intransitives

Intransitive verbs are defined as those verbs which may take no more than one core argument. Intransitive verbs are preceded by their single argument (S), if that argument is overtly present as a full NP. However, the order VS is also to be found. Examples of two prototypical intransitive verbs, \textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbackslash{}\textbacklash
The following example is of a bi-clausal sentence. The first verb is dependent upon the final main verb, the intransitive verb ||hu:w-|| 'go', and no overt argument is present anywhere within the sentence (nor is there any other morphological indication within the sentence of who the argument(s) is/are, though the switch-reference suffix on the dependent verb indicates that the unexpressed argument(s) is/are shared by both verbs).
3.2. Transitives

Transitive verbs are defined as those verbs which may take no more than two core arguments. Transitive verbs are generally preceded by their single arguments (A and O), if any argument is overtly present as a full NP. The following orders of a transitive verb and its overtly present core arguments are attested: AOV, OAV, VAO, OV, AV, and V. Examples of transitive verbs are given below in (465) – (467) (the transitive verbs are in bold in the text and translation).

(465) AOV transitive clause  (H I:6)

miy[ː][tʰ]kʰan wéčːéː(ː)yčon bé:ne new mítːiw  (H I:6)
\[miyːatʰkʰan, [weːcyčon], beːnew mítːiw\]
\[/miyːaː-tʰkʰan-Ø  weːːe=yčon  beːːne-w  mítːi-Ø-w/\]
3-spouse-AGT barn.owl=PAT with.arms-grasp-PFV lie-DIFFUSE-PFV
‘his wife was lying hugging Screech-owl’

(466) OAV transitive clause  (H VI: 3)

häuser[ː]li kʰáʔbekʰáːːon čːaːyi=yey [ʔ]uhtěːjte:w,
\[häminili [kʰaʔbekʰaːːon, [čːaːyi:yey], ūʔtejte:w\]
\[/häminːiː-li  kʰaʔbekʰaːːon ĉːaːyi=yey ūʔte-h̩t-e-w/\]
and.then-SEQ raptor.species=PAT scrubj']+AGT tell·tell-PFV
‘They brought in the fish. They having done so, the Jay told Fish Hawk’

(467) VAO transitive clause  (H VIII: 8)

kōtʰtʰoːwáːni [ʔ]ihčok čuːmát:yey kʰaʔbeyčon.
\[kōtʰkʰoːwáːni ūʔhčok [čːuːmátyey], [kʰaʔbeyčon]\]
\[/kōtʰkʰoːtoːwáːni ūʔhčok-Ø  čːuːmátyey  kʰaʔbeyčon/\]
base.of.neck=LOC shoot-PFV gray.squirrel=AGT rock=PAT
‘[He] shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, [Gray] Squirrel (did it) to Rock [Man].’
[Alternative translation: ‘In the base of the neck, Gray Squirrel shot Rock Man.’]
The example below has the NP biʔdu čohšin=wan ‘acorn pound=the’ as the O of the transitive verb šukʰaw ‘finish’; there is no overt A in the clause.

(468) OV transitive clause  (H I: 1)

mačíle biʔdu čohšinwan šukʰaw
mačíle [biʔdu čohšinwan], šukʰaw
/mači-le biʔdu čohšin-Ø=wan šukʰa-w/
day-mid acorn pound-PFV=DET.OBJ finish-PFV
‘(at) noon (she) finished pounding acorns.’
[lit: ‘At midday (she) finished the acorn pounding/pounding of acorns.’]

The example below presents a multi-clause sentence without a single core argument overtly present. Three of the five verbs in this sentence are transitive:

daʔtʰa- ‘to find or encounter someone or something’, čoh:om- ‘to marry somone’,
šudʔe- ‘to drag someone or something’; each of the transitive verbs is in bold in the text and the translation.

(469) Transitive clauses with no overt core arguments present  (O I: 9)

ʔaʔi=ʔon mi:mačen, či:yo-wen,
ʔaʔi ton mi:mačen, či:yo-wen,
||ʔaʔi=ʔon mi:mač-en či:yo-en||
/ʔaʔi=ʔon mi:mač-en či:yo-wen/
3C.SG=LOC cry-D.SIM sit-D.SIM

daʔtʰaba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.

‘Having found her sitting, crying for him, he married her and led her away.’
3.3. Ditransitives

Ditransitive verbs, such as the verbs for ‘to give’, may take three core arguments (if the indirect object is treated as a core argument). The attested order is A IO V O. In the example below, the ditransitive verb ?oh:o- ‘to give (long object or contained mass)’ appears with its three arguments present as full NPs (the ditransitive verb is in bold in the text and translation; each argument is marked as A, O, or IO and bracketed off in the text).

(470) A IO V O transitive clause (H VIII: 3)

\[
\]

\[
/kʰa\be=yey \text{cu:маč=чон} \text{ʔoh:ow} [ʔat:i:kʰe \text{cu:ʔu}]
\]

‘Rock [Man] handed his arrow to Squirrel.

3.4. Grammatical relations

Southern Pomo is a case-marking language. Pronouns, kinship terms, and highly animate common nouns (e.g. humans, some animals, plants, anthropomorphized weather events) are marked according to an agent/patient case-marking system.

The agent/patient case system of Southern Pomo is identical to the one reported for Central Pomo by Mithun (1991). The basics of the system are laid out below. For a detailed list of all the agent/patient case-marking morphemes, consult the following sections: (§2.8.2.) for the pronouns (personal and demonstrative); (§2.8.1.3.5.) for the kinship terms; and (§2.9.1.) for NP enclitics.
3.4.1. Agent/patient case system

The defining feature of the Southern Pomo (and Central Pomo) agent/patient case-marking system is the marking of the single argument of intransitive verbs in the agentive or patient case on the basis of whether or not the argument is affected. For the core arguments of transitive verbs, the least most agent-like argument takes the agentive case and the least-agentive argument takes the patient case. In Southern Pomo, it is also possible to mark both arguments of certain verbs of emotion (e.g. yaʔčʰo- ‘to not like’ and čun:a- ‘to tire/exhaust’) with the patient case. Agent/patient case marking is only obligatory in the pronouns and kinship terms. It is optional on NPs with animate heads.

When both core arguments of a transitive verb are overtly present (and animate), the most agentive argument takes the agentive case; the least agentive argument takes the patient case. The actual semantic roles of the argument marked by the patient case vary between experiencer/undergoer/recipient to highly affected patient. Examples (471) – (473), which are repeated elsewhere in the text, give three different transitive clauses with agent/patient case marking on the arguments. Note that it is often the case marking alone which disambiguates who does what to whom. (The case-marking morphemes are in bold; the arguments marked for case are subscripted with AGT or PAT in the translation.)
(471) Agent/patient case on NPs of transitive verb (H I:6)

miy[:]á\[ṭ\]h\[k\]an wéč:é:yčon bén\[w\] new mít:iw
miy:at\[k\]h\[k\]an-Ø weč:é:yčon be:ne-w mít:i-Ø-w/
3-spouse-AGT barn.owl=PAT with.arms-grasp-PFV lie-DIFFUSE-PFV
‘his wife\[AGT\] was lying hugging Screech-owl\[PAT\]’

(472) Agent/patient case on NPs of transitive verb (H VI: 3)

ha:mini:li kʰá?bekʰáč:on ča:yíyey [ʔ]uhtehtew,
hamini:li kʰá?bekʰáč on ča:yíyey [ʔ]uhtehtew
/hamini:li kʰá?bekʰáč=čon ča:yí=ye yuhtehta-w/
and.then-D,SEQ raptor.species=PAT scrubjay=AGT tell-tell-PFV
‘They brought in the fish. They having done so, the Jay\[AGT\] told Fish Hawk\[PAT\]’

(473) Agent/patient case on NPs of transitive verb (H VIII: 8)

kohtokʰ towání [ʔ]ihčok ču:maře:yey kʰa?béyčon
/kohtokʰ to=wa:ni [ʔ]ihčok-Ø ču:maře=yey kʰa?bé=yčon/
base.of.neck=LOC shoot-PFV gray.squirrel=AGT rock=PAT
‘[He] shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, [Gray] Squirrel\[AGT\] (did it) to Rock \[Man\]\[PAT\].’
[Alternative translation: ‘In the base of the neck, Gray Squirrel\[AGT\] shot Rock \(\text{Man}\)\[PAT\].’]

In example (474) below, the ditransitive verb ?oh:o- ‘give’, has three arguments, but it only on the animate arguments to which agent/case marking applies. In this case, the recipient, as the most affected animate argument, is marked in the patient case.

(474) Agent/patient case on NPs of ditransitive verb (H VIII: 3)

rock=AGT gray.squirrel=PAT give-PFV 3C,SG-POSS arrow
‘Rock \[Man\]\[AGT\] handed his arrow to Squirrel\[PAT\].’
A few verbs of emotion which express actions/states over which none of the arguments has any control may have both arguments in the patient case. The examples of this phenomenon are limited, and a first-person argument seems to be present in all of them. An illustration of this is given in (475) below.

(475) Verb of emotion with two arguments marked in patient case (O D)

<yaʔčʰowaʔto miʔto>
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaʔčʰo-wa=ʔto} & \quad \text{miʔto/} \\
\text{not.want=EVID=1SG.PAT} & \quad 2\text{SG.PAT} \\
\text{I\textsubscript{PAT} don't like you\textsubscript{PAT}.}'
\end{align*}
\]

When the single argument of an intransitive verb is animate and has some control over the action or is not significantly affected, the agentive case may be used, as in (476) below (the agentive case marker is in bold; the case-marked argument is indicated in the translation with subscript).

(476) Example of agentive case with intransitive verb (H VIII: 2)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔbèyey hó:\liw} \\
\text{kʰaʔbèyey hó:\liw} \\
||kʰaʔbè=\text{yey hó:li-w}|| \\
/\text{kʰaʔbè=\text{yey hó:li-w/} \\
\text{rock=AGT leave-PFV} \\
\text{‘Rock [Man]\text{\textsubscript{AGT} went off.’}
\end{align*}
\]

When the single argument of an intransitive verb is animate and has little control over the action or is significantly affected by it, the patient case may be used. In example (477) below, ‘Rock [Man]’ falls asleep and is marked with the patient case to his being affected by the activity and his lack of control over falling
asleep. (The patient case marker is in bold; the case-marked argument is indicated in the translation with subscript).

(477) Example of patient case on single argument of intransitive verb \((H VIII: 8)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha:mini(\(c\))ba} & \quad k^h\text{a?bey\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{sí:ma} \quad \text{mít\(\text{t\)}iw} \\
\text{haminiba} & \quad k^h\text{a?bcy\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{si:ma} \quad \text{mít\(\text{t\)}iw} \\
/\text{ha:mini-ba} & \quad k^h\text{a?be=y\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{si:ma} \quad \text{mít\(\text{t\)}-w/}
\end{align*}
\]

and.then-\(S,SEQ\) rock=\(PAT\) sleep lie-\(PFV\)

‘Having done so, Rock [\(\text{Man}\)\_\(PAT\)] went to sleep.’

In (478) below, this same ‘Rock [\(\text{Man}\)]’ has no control over his dying after having been shot by the narrative’s protagonist and is therefore marked with the patient case. (The patient case marker is in bold; the case-marked argument is indicated in the translation with subscript).

(478) Example of patient case on single argument of intransitive verb \((H VIII: 9)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha:mini:li} & \quad k^h\text{a?bey\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{ká:law}. \\
\text{haminili} & \quad k^h\text{a?bcy\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{ká:l} \quad \text{law} \\
||\text{ha:mini:-li} & \quad k^h\text{a?be=y\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{ká:a-w||} \\
/\text{ha:mini:-li} & \quad k^h\text{a?be=y\(\text{c\)}on} \quad \text{ká:a-w/}
\end{align*}
\]

and.then-\(D,SEQ\) rock=\(PAT\) die-\(PFV\)

‘He having done so, Rock [\(\text{Man}\)\_\(PAT\)] died.’

\[3.4.2.\text{ Subject/object determiner enclitics}\]

Though the agent/patient case system described above is a robust part of Southern Pomo grammar and is quite conspicuous in clauses with animate arguments, another corner of the language is unconcerned with agent/patient case marking and has grammaticized case-marking enclitics which are attached to NPs on the
basis of nominative/accusative case distinctions. Nominative/accusative is hereafter marked as subject/object for convenience and because subject is a relevant category elsewhere in the language (e.g. in the switch-reference system). The definition of subject used herein is language-specific: the subject is the single core argument of an intransitive verb or the least patient-like argument of an intransitive verb. Thus the definition of subject is strictly syntactic with regard to intransitive clauses; it is semantic with regard to transitive clauses (there being no fixed word order upon which to hang a syntactic definition).

These enclitics are actually determiners which indicate definiteness and identifiability in addition to subject or object case, but the specifics of their semantic contribution as determiners are not fully understood at this time. The case-marking functions of these NP enclitics are explored in the remainder of this section. Many of the examples are repeated from the earlier discussion of the shapes of these clitics and their diachronic development (see §2.9.1.3.). Table (46) summarized these subject/object case-marking enclitics.

Table (46): Subject/object case-marking determiner enclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SUBJECT CASE</th>
<th>OBJECT CASE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘the’</td>
<td>=ʔwam:u</td>
<td>=ʔwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘the aforementioned’</td>
<td>=ʔyom:mu</td>
<td>=ʔyowan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whereas the agent/patient case markers are sensitive to animacy and—in intransitive clauses—affectedness, the subject/object case-marking determiner enclitics are not sensitive to affectedness or animacy: both animate and inanimate
NPs may be marked with the subject/object determiner enclitics, and when these clitics are attached to the single argument of an intransitive verb, the subject case forms are employed regardless of the level of control or affectedness. The specifics of this distribution are laid out with examples below.

**(479)** | |=ʔwam:u|| DET.SUBJ ‘the’ and | |=ʔyo:mu|| DET.SUBJ ‘the aforementioned’
---
These clitics may be attached to the least patient-like argument of a transitive verb to mark it as definite and the subject, as seen in (479) and (480) below (the subject-marking clitics are in bold and underlined in the text; the translations of the NPs to which they are attached are in bold and underlined).

**Gray Squirrel** gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.

**(480)** | |=ʔyo:mu|| DET.OBJ ‘the’ and | |=ʔyowan|| DET.OBJ ‘the aforementioned’
---
These clitics may be attached to the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb to mark it as definite and the object, as seen in (481) and (482) below, which are
repeated from above, but with the object-marking clitics are in bold and underlined
in the text; the translations of the NPs to which they are attached are in bold and
underlined).

(481) ||=?wan|| on the most patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H VIII: 4)
/čú:ma:wam:u ho?:o=wi bi?ki-k:i-w ši?mi|=wan/
grey.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ
‘the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.’

(482) ||=?yowan|| on the most patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H V: 11)
DEM striped.skunk woman=DET.SUBJ elk=DET.OBJ by.finger-skin-PFV
‘This Skunk woman skinned the Elk.’

When the subject/object clitics are attached to the single argument of an
intransitive verb, only the subject-marking clitics ||=?wam:u|| and ||=?yo:mu|| may
be used, as seen in (483) - (485) below (the object-marking clitics are in bold and
underlined in the text; the translations of the NPs to which they are attached are in
bold and underlined).

(483) ||=?wam:u|| on the single argument of intransitive verb (H V: 7&8)
[kʰa?be]?wam:u ?iyoːtow či:yow
/kʰa?be=ʔwam:u ?iyoːtow či:yow
rock=DET.SUBJ under=ABL stay-PFV
‘Rock [Mari] sat below.’
(484) ||=ʔyo:mu|| on the single argument of intransitive verb (H V: 6)

nupʰ:é baʔ[:]ay( )yó:mu mit:iw
nupʰ:e baʔ:ay:o:mu mit:iw
/nupʰ:e baʔ:ay=yo:mu mit:i-w/
striped.skunk woman=DET.SUBJ lie-PFV
'That Skunk woman lay (there).'

Example (485) below presents a connected stretch of narrative discourse
made up of three sentences. Each sentence ends with a finite verb suffixed with the
perfective. The protagonist of the story from which this selection comes is the
father of the child who is mentioned in each sentence. In each sentence, the NP
‘child’ is marked with either ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJ or ||=ʔwam:u|| DET.SUBJ (the
subject/object case-marking enclitics are in bold and underlined; the NPs--all
‘child’—to which they are attached are in bold and underlined in the translation;
the three sentences have been subdivided into (485a-c) for ease of reference).

(485) ||=ʔwan|| DET.SUBJ and ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJ in multi-clause sentence (H I: 21)

(485a) muʔ:jáli ká:wiʔ wan čuh:úkaw,
    muʔ:jáli ka:wiʔ wan čuh:úkaw
    /muʔ:jáli ka:wiʔ wan čuh:ú-ka-w/
    cook-D.SEQ child=DET.OBJ eat-CAUS-PFV

(485b) bihsúmbakʰmá:yow ká:wiʔ wan[:]u sí:ma mít:íw.
    bihsúmbakʰmá:yow ká:wiʔ wan su:ma mít:íw
    /bi-hsúm-ba=kʰmá:yow ká:wiʔ wan su:ma mít:i-w/
    with.lips-stop-3.SEQ child=DET.SUBJ sleep lie-PFV

(485c) ha:miní:li mì():y[:]ame ká:wiʔ wan čoh:øy.
    ha:miní:li mì():y[:]ame ká:wiʔ wan čoh:øy
    /ha:miní:li mì():y[:]ame ká:wiʔ wan čoh:øyØ/
    and.then-D.SEQ 3-father-AGT child=DET.OBJ sleep.next.to-PFV
‘(485a) when (it) was cooked (he) fed the child. (485b) After (he) had finished eating, the child went to sleep. (485c) Then his father slept with the child.’

[Lit: ‘(485a) After (it) cooked, (the child’s father) fed the child. (485b) After (the child) finished eating, the child fell asleep. (485c) And then his (the child’s) father slept with the child.’]

In (485b) above, the single argument of the intransitive verb ‘sleep’ is ‘child’, which is marked with ||=ʔwam:ul DET.SUBJ. Compare this with (477) from the earlier discussion of agent/patient case marking (§3.4.1.), which is repeated in (486) below:

(486) Example of patient case on single argument of intransitive verb (H VIII: 8)

hamini(ː)ba kʰaʔbey,:,on sːma mːtiw
hamina ba kʰaʔbeyc:,on sːma mːtiw
/hamini-ba kʰaʔbe=yc,on sːma mːti-w/
and.then-SEQ rock= PAT sleep lie-PFV
‘Having done so, Rock [Man]PAT went to sleep.’

Both (485b) and (486) above involve a single argument of the verb ‘sleep’ that is animate. The agent/patient case-marking system codes the animate single argument of (486) in the patient case because ‘Rock [Man]’ has no control over his falling asleep and is highly affected by the activity. However, in (485b) the subject/object case-marking system codes the animate single argument as a subject—the level of control/affectedness is irrelevant.

The subject/object case-marking enclitics differ from the agent/patient case-marking system in another crucial way: these enclitics may attach to inanimate noun phrases, as seen in (487) and (488) below (the case-marking

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enclitics are in bold and underlined in the text; the translations of the NPs to which they are attached are in bold and underlined).

(487) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on inanimate NP (H VIII: 4)
čú:maṯwám:u ho?[:]ówi biʔki:k: iw šiʔmiʔwan
čú:maṯwam:u ho?:owi biʔkik: iw šiʔmiʔwan
/čú:maṯ=wam:u ho?:o=wi biʔki:k:i-w šiʔmi=ʔwan/
gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw=ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ
‘the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.’

(488) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on inanimate NP (H ms.)
čʰe?[:]efmáywan šuhkʰečí:le
čʰe?:efmøyawan šuhkʰecíle
/čʰeʔ:efmøy=wan  šu-hkʰe-čí:le/
basket=DET.OBJ by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP
'2 move basket closer to self!'

The two systems—agent/patient and subject/object—may combine, in which case the agent/patient case-marking morphemes offer strictly clause-level information (e.g. the animacy of the arguments of the verb and the degree of control and affectedness related to the animate arguments); the subject/object case-marking enclitics, however, offer both clause-level information (which argument is the subject) and broader discourse-level information as determiners indicating some sort of identifiability/discourse relevance relating to whether or not the NP has been previously mentioned or is otherwise and understood part of the discourse. Table (47) summarizes the split between agent/patient case-marking system and the subject/object case-marking enclitics.
The above table is a bit of a simplification. I have few clear examples of inanimate arguments marked with the subject case-marking enclitics ||=ʔwam:u|| and ||=ʔyo:mu||. This could be the result of a prohibition on such marking, the effect of an incomplete database, or, most likely, it could be explained by the fact that inanimate arguments are much less likely to be doing anything. Remember that all of these case-marking strategies are optional on common nouns, and it is often the case that an inanimate argument lacks any case marking whatsoever.

### 3.5. Voice and valence-related constructions

Southern Pomo uses affixation for valence-related constructions. Each of these affixes is discussed elsewhere, and this section summarizes the system of valence-changing affixes with reference to the relevant sections in which more detailed examples can be found.

There are four productive valence-changing suffixes: ||-ka-|| **causative**, ||-č'-|| ~ ||-čič'-|| **reflexive**, ||-mhuč'-|| **reciprocal**, and ||-ya|| **defocus** (see §2.8.3.2.5. for a
discussion of all four of these suffixes). To this list might be added ||-č-||
SEMELFACTIVE, which is used to derive transitive verbs to limited extent (see §2.8.3.2.6.).

The causative suffix is the only method (uncovered to date) by which causative constructions are formed in Southern Pomo. There is no periphrastic construction (e.g. make/force/cause X to do...), and words which are inherently causative in English, such as ‘teach’ and ‘feed’, are simply derived by the the causative suffix (e.g. čuh:u- ‘eat’ vs. čuh:u-ka- ‘feed’). The causative is also used to express allowance (‘let’).

Oswalt notes that the Kashaya, Central Pomo, and Southern Pomo may use the causative suffix to indicate switch-reference in certain constructions (1976: 26). In Kashaya, such constructions are specifically reported for “certain verbs of volition or emotional attitude” (Oswalt 1983: 285-286). The following Kashaya examples of this phenomenon are adapted from Oswalt (1983: 285).

(489) Use of causative in Kashaya to indicate lack of shared subject across clauses

[without causative: both verbs have same subject]
?a mul čhɨʔdimáʔ daqa?
I that carry-in want
‘I want to carry that in’

[with causative -qa- (in bold): each verb has different subject]
?a mul čhɨʔdimáʔ qa daqa?
I that carry-in-CAUS want
‘I want someone else to carry that in’
I have no similar examples for Southern Pomo, but Oswalt’s passing reference to such constructions as a part of Southern Pomo grammar warrant the assumption that such constructions are a part of the language.

### 3.6. Tense/aspect/modality and evidentials

All Southern Pomo main verbs (i.e. verbs which are not dependent verbs) are marked with a TAM suffix. Within the TAM suffixes, there is a strict division between realis and irrealis: tense and modality suffixes are all irrealis; aspectual suffixes are all realis. There are also several evidential suffixes which may occupy the same slot on the verb as the TAM suffixes. All of these affixes are discussed elsewhere, and this section provides a brief summary with reference to the relevant sections in which more detailed examples can be found.

Tense is restricted to two future suffixes, a general future and a future intentive, and is not a robust category within the language (see §2.8.3.3.1. for examples). Modal suffixes include a conditional, a hortative, two imperatives, and a prohibitive; there is also an optative enclitic (see §2.8.3.3.3. for a discussion with examples). Aspectual suffixes include a perfective (the citation form of verbs), an imperfective, and a habitual (see §2.8.3.3.2. for a list of these morphemes together with examples); there is also an iterative which is indicated with reduplication (see §2.8.3.2.3.) and a semelfactive, which may be used for punctual aspect, though it is more often used idiosyncratically to derive transitive verbs (see §2.8.3.2.6.).

Evidential suffixes included a quotative, an aural, a inferential, a factual/visual, and
a performative. These suffixes are not obligatory and, when present, are often not found on more than one verb in a sentence (see §2.8.3.3.4. for a discussion of the evidentials together with examples).

The switch-reference suffixes, which are restricted to dependent verbs which do not take TAM suffixes, mirror the TAM system. Realis dependent verbs are marked for same or different subject and prefective or imperfective aspect (sequential versus simultaneous action); irrealis dependent verbs are marked differently than realis ones but do not included an aspectual distinction (see §2.8.3.3.7. and §3.10.2. for discussion of the dependent clause markers).

3.7. Constituent order

The constituents of a clause in Southern Pomo are not rigidly ordered; however, there are common patterns, and it is possible to make some useful observations about the more common ordering possibilities. Word order and constituent order are not necessarily the same thing, and it should be borne in mind that examples which show words relative to other words do so as words which are also constituents (e.g. a NP made of up of a single word is still a NP). Before discussing the more robust patterns of constituent ordering, the following cautionary words bear repeating:

The most insidious fad which has infiltrated linguistics during past decades is the idea that every language has an underlying structure involving a fixed order of phrasal constituents (often mislabelled ‘word order’), and that the ordering of elements is one of the (or is the) most fundamental typological feature(s) of a language. (Dixon 2010a: 71)
This section is not meant to add to the “insidious fad” of word-order madness, and the following brief statements should be taken as broad generalizations that are true of much of the data for Southern Pomo. Throughout the remainder of the discussion, $S =$ single argument of an intransitive verb, $A =$ subject (or least patient-like argument) of a transitive verb, $O =$ object (or most patient-like argument) of a transitive verb.

Southern Pomo is a predicate-final language. It is rare for a clause to contain more than one overt argument. Indeed, in lengthy narratives, it is possible to find two or more clauses back to back without any core arguments overtly expressed with NPs. When a core argument of a verb is overtly expressed within a clause, it generally precedes the verb, whether it is the single argument of an intransitive verb or the $A$ or $O$ argument of a transitive verb. When a transitive verb has two arguments overtly present as full NPs, one possible ordering of these constituents is AOV. Because Southern Pomo is a case-marking language, there is no need for fixed ordering of overt arguments of transitive verbs, and the order OAV is also attested, as is the order VAO. However, there is reason to believe that orderings other than AOV are not merely free-ranging variants with no ordering privileged over another. Examples of these four constituent orders: SV, AOV, OAV, and VAO are given below.

---

214 Transitive in the sense that if all understood core arguments of the verb were to be overtly expressed within the clause there would be both an $A$ and an $O$ argument.
(490) Example of SV constituent ordering

ha:mini():ba kʰaʔbéyčon si:ma miːtiw  

(H VIII: 8)

haminiba [kʰaʔbeyčon]₃ si:ma miːtiw

/hamini:-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma miːti-w/

and.then-S.SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV

‘Having done so, Rock [Man] went to sleep.’

(491) Example of AOV constituent ordering

miy[:][tʰ]kʰan wěč:á():yčon bé:new miːtiw  (H I:6)


/myi:a-tʰkʰan-Ø weč:eyčon be-ne-w miːti-Ø-w/

3-spouse-AGT barn.owl=PAT with.arms-grasp-PFV lie-DIFFUSE-PFV

‘his wife was lying hugging Screech-owl’

In example (492) below, the ordering of the NPs is different, but the

agent/patient case-marking enclitics remove any potential ambiguity.

(492) Example of OAV constituent ordering

ha:mini:li kʰáʔbekʰác:on ča:yíyey [ʔ]uhtéhṭew,  (H VI: 3)

hamini:li [kʰaʔbekʰačon]₃ [ča:yíyey], ṭuhtéhṭew

/hamini:-li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ča:yí=yey ṭuhtéhṭe-w/

and.then-D.SEQ raptor.species=PAT scrubjay=AGT tell-tell-PFV

‘They brought in the fish. They having done so, the Jay told Fish Hawk’

There are good, discourse-based reasons to suspect that the OAV ordering in

(492) above is not in free variation with the AOV ordering of the previous example.

In (492), the narrative is about ‘Fish Hawk’, and ‘Jay’ is not actually a character of

any importance beyond this cameo appearance. The OAV ordering above is

therefore being used to focus on the protagonist of the tale. In (493) below, the

order of the NPs relative to one another is AO, but they are given after the verb.
(493) Example of VAO constituent ordering

kohtokʰtowáni [ʔ]ihčok čumáʃye kʰaʔbeyčon.  (H VIII: 8)
/kkohtokʰtow=ani ʔihčok-Ø čum=ʃye kʰaʔbe=yc=on/
base.of.neck=LOC shoot-PFV gray.squirrel=AGT rock=PAT
‘[He] shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, [Gray] Squirrel (did it) to Rock [Man].’

In (493) above, Halpern’s free translation suggests that the addition of the A
and O arguments was an afterthought on the part of the speaker in order to remove
potential confusion about who shot whom, and this seems right. The discourse
context for example (493) is a multi-clause sentence in which ‘[Gray] Squirrel’,
the protagonist of the narrative, is not mentioned for several clauses leading up to
his shooting of ‘Rock [Man]’, a serious event about which the speaker did not want
to risk confusion for her listeners. If the foregoing examples are accepted, Southern
Pomo does have a default constituent order for NPs which are also core arguments:
SV in intransitive clauses and AOV intransitive clauses. Deviations from AOV order
might have functional motivations and might used for topic continuity, focus, or to
disambiguate a clause that would otherwise have surfaced without overt
arguments.

3.8. Negation

Negation is handled in two ways: (1) through bound morphemes (and one free
particle), all of which begin with the phoneme /tʰ/; (2) by means of a lexical words
with an inherently negative meaning. Both of these types is discussed below.
3.8.1. Bound negative morphemes (and response particle)

This type of negation is by far the most prevalent in the extant records. The negative suffixes, enclitics, and negative response particle have already been discussed, and examples of each negative morpheme can be found in the relevant section (§2.8.3.3.5.). Table (48) lists the recorded bound negative morphemes and the negative response particle.\textsuperscript{215}

Table (48): Bound negative pronouns and negative response particle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-tʰ-</th>
<th>-tʰ-e-</th>
<th>-tʰ-en-</th>
<th>-tʰ-u-</th>
<th>-tʰ-of-</th>
<th>-tʰ-e:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE (IRREALIS?)</td>
<td>NEGATIVE (REALIS?)</td>
<td>NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE</td>
<td>PROHIBITIVE (SINGULAR)</td>
<td>NEGATIVE (PERFECTIVE?)</td>
<td>NEGATIVE RESPONSE PARTICLE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each of the bound negative morphemes are repeated below.

(494) Example of \(-tʰ-\) -tʰ- NEGATIVE

čahnu kó?di čánho-den[tʰ]-ibāwāʔa (H ms.)
čahnu kó?di čánjob[tʰ]-ibāwāʔa
/čahnu kó?di čánho-den-tʰ-ibä=wa=ʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

(495) Example of \(-tʰ-e-\) NEGATIVE

hudʔatʰέ( )[ʔ]tǒ mìʔo. (H I: 25)
hudʔatʰeʔtǒ mìʔo
/hudʔa-tʰe=ʔtǒ mìʔo/
want-NEG=1SG.PAT 2SG.PAT
'I don't want you.'

\textsuperscript{215} I have also seen /-tʰi/ as a negative morpheme, which I believe is used in questions of the sort ‘do you not want…?’ I cannot locate examples of this in my current database, however.
Example of \( \text{-}t^h\text{en-} \) NEGATIVE.IMPERFECTIVE

\[ \text{sí:ma mít\text{-}t^h\text{en\text{-}fóʔ}tə duw:e} \quad (H VIII: 2) \]
\[ \text{sí:ma mít\text{-}t^h\text{en}tə duw:e} \]
\[ /\text{sí:ma mít\text{-}t^h\text{en}=tə=ʔ}tə duw:e/ \]
sleep lie-NEG,IPFV=CONTRAST=1SG.PAT night
'I can't sleep (at) night.'

Example of \( \text{-}t^h\text{u-} \) PROHIBITIVE in command to one person

\[ \text{mi:má\text{-}kʰ[t^h]u má\text{-}dan} \quad (H ms.) \]
\[ \text{mi:makʰ\text{-}tu madan} \]
\[ /\text{mi:makʰ-t^h\text{-}u mad-an/} \]
cry-CAUS-PROH 3SG.F-PAT
'don't make her cry'

Example of \( \text{-}t^h\text{u-} \) PROHIBITIVE in command to more than one person

\[ \text{bënemhú[t^h]}t\text{-}le} \quad (H ms) \]
\[ \text{bënemhú[t^h]} \]
\[ /\text{be\text{-}ne\text{-}mhu-t^h\text{-}le/} \]
with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PROH.PL.IMP
'2 don't hug e[ach] o[ther]!'

Example of \( \text{-}t^h\text{of\text{-}f} \) ~ \( \text{-}t^h\text{of\text{-}f} \) NEGATIVE (PERFECTIVE?) negating verb

\[ ?\text{a\text{-}ʔa kʰ\text{-}at\text{-}adukʰ\text{-}et^h\text{-}of} \quad (W: OF) \]
\[ /\text{ʔa\text{-}ʔa kʰ\text{-}at\text{-}adu-kʰ\text{-}e=t^h\text{-}of/} \]
1SG.AGT run-DIR-FUT=NEG
'I didn't run away'

Example of \( \text{-}t^h\text{of\text{-}f} \) ~ \( \text{-}t^h\text{of\text{-}f} \) NEGATIVE (PERFECTIVE?) negating predicate nominal

\[ ?\text{ʔa\text{-}ča\text{-}cyey( )t^h\text{-}of\text{wa}} \quad (H ms.) \]
\[ ?\text{ʔa\text{-}ča\text{-}cyey\text{-}of\text{wa}} \]
\[ /\text{ʔa\text{-}ča\text{-}čyey=t^h\text{-}of=wa/} \]
1-mother's.father-GEN.PL.AGT=NEG=COP,EVID
'they are not my mo[ther's] fa[ther]'s.'
3.8.2. Words with inherently negative meaning

This section highlights three verbs which are inherently negative meaning.

\[ |\text{ʔačʰ:o} - | \sim |\text{ʔahčʰo-} | \] NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL

This verb stem literally means ‘there is none’ when suffixed with the perfective, as in (501) and (502) below.

(501) Example of \[ |\text{ʔačʰ:o} - | \] NEGATIVE,EXISTENTIAL with perfective suffix (W: OF)

\[
\begin{align*}
    k^h\text{aʔ} & k^h\text{eʔ}\text{ačʰ:ow} \\
    /k^h\text{aʔ} & = k^h\text{eʔ} & \text{ʔačʰ:o-w/} \\
    \text{rock=1SG.POSS} & \text{NEG,EXISTENTIAL-PFV} \\
    \text{‘I have no money’}
\end{align*}
\]

(502) Example of \[ |\text{ʔačʰ:o} - | \] NEGATIVE,EXISTENTIAL with perfective suffix (H 1:3)

\[
\begin{align*}
    \text{há:mi}:\text{li miy[:a[ᵗʰ]kʰan} & \text{ʔačʰ:ow} \\
    \text{hamini:li miy:atʰkʰan} & \text{ʔačʰ:ow} \\
    /\text{ha:mini:li} & \text{miy:a-tʰkʰan-Ø} & \text{ʔačʰ:o-w/} \\
    \text{and.then-D,SEQ} & \text{3-spouse-AGT} & \text{NEG,EXISTENTIAL-PFV} \\
    \text{‘Then his wife was not there’}
\end{align*}
\]

When suffixed with \[ |-č-ka-| \] SEMELFACTIVE-CAUSATIVE, it becomes a transitive verb with the meaning ‘to wear out’ (lit: ‘to cause to become nonexistent’), and it surfaces with the laryngeal increment /h/ to the left of the root consoant, as shown in (503) below.
(503) Example of \(\text{||?ah} čʰ\text{o-č-ka-||} \text{NEG.EXISTENTIAL-SEM-CAUS-} \) (O D: ED)

\(<\text{tada}^*\text{pu} \text{?ah} čʰ\text{o}*\text{kaw}.>\)
\(\text{tada}^*\text{pu} \text{?ah} čʰ\text{o:}\text{kaw}\)
\(/\text{tada}^*\text{pu} \text{?ah} čʰ\text{o-}:\text{-ka-w/}\)
clothes \(\text{NEG.EXISTENTIAL-SEM-CAUS-PFV}\)
(He) wore out his clothes.

When suffixed with \(\text{||-čč‖} \text{REFLEXIVE~INCEPTEIVE, it means 'to die' (lit: 'oneself to come not to exist'), and it surfaces with the laryngeal increment /h/ to the left of the root consoant, as shown in (504) below.}\)

(504) Example of \(\text{||?ah} čʰ\text{o-čč‖} \text{NEG.EXISTENTIAL-REFLEXIVE} \) (O D: ED)

\(<\text{?ah} čʰ\text{o}^\text{cicy}>\)
\(?\text{ah} čʰ\text{o}^\text{cicy}\)
\(/\text{?ah} čʰ\text{o-čc-ō/}\)
\(\text{NEG.EXISTENTIAL-REFL-PFV}\)
‘to die’

\(\text{||ya} čʰ\text{o-|| 'to not like, not want’}\)

This word violates the expected pattern of laryngeal augments, and it seems likely that is (or was) a compound with \(\text{||?ačʰ-o-||} \text{NEG.EXISTENTIAL} \) as its second component.

However, there is no obvious source for the first syllable, and it is best treated as monomorphemeic word synchronically. Examples are given below.

(505) Example of \(\text{||ya} čʰ\text{o-|| 'to not like, not want’} \) (O D: EA)

\(<\text{ya} čʰ\text{howa} \text{?to mi*to.}>\)
\(\text{ya} čʰ\text{howa} \text{?to mišo}\)
\(/\text{ya} čʰ\text{o-:wa=?to}\)
\(\text{not.want-EVID=1SG.PAT} \text{2SG.PAT}\)
‘I don't like you.’
(506) Example of ||yaʔčʰo-|| ‘to not like, not want’ (O D: EA)

<?at* o yaʔcʰowa.>
yaʔčʰowa
/ʔaʔo yaʔčʰo-wa/
1SG.PAT not.want-EVID
I don't want it (dislike).

||laʔbač-|| ‘be unable to do’

This word is used for inability. The conditional suffix ||V:ba|| may be used to show ability, and this suffix, when negated, is translated is ‘can~could not/will~would not’. Whether this word is equivalent to a negated verb with the conditional is unknown. Examples are given below.

(507) Example of ||laʔbač-|| ‘to be unable’ (O D: ED)

<behše bo*?odenți ?to laʔbay>
behše boʔodențiʔto laʔbay
/deer hunt=INTENT=1SG.PAT be.unable-PFV
‘I don’t know how to hunt deer’

(508) Example of ||laʔbač-|| ‘to be unable’ (H ms.)

čáhnu láʔbaywáʔto
čáhnu laʔbaywaʔto
/speech be.unable=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT
‘I don’t know how to talk’
3.9. Questions

All questions are formed by means of the interrogative morpheme ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka||. This morpheme is used for all types of questions, including polar questions, and is also attached to the interrogative pronoun čaʔ:a(to) ‘who(m)’ and all other question words (ceť ‘how’, bako ‘what’, buťxe ‘when’, heʔey ‘where’, hemeť ‘why’, meťbu ‘how many’) when they are used as interrogatives. Question words come first within the interrogative clause, and it is to them that the second position clitic ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attaches. Examples are given below in (509) – (512).

(509) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with čaʔ:a ‘who’

/čaʔ:a=ʔka=m:u ?áltʰ:a ?ahsoduy-
who=INTER=3SG gravel throw many small-Dir-Pfv
‘who threw the gravel[?]’

(510) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with čaʔ:a(to) ‘whom’

čaʔ:a(to)ʔkaʔima dihkaw (Halpern 1984: 7)
čaʔ:a(to)ʔkaʔima dihkaw
/čaʔ:a-ʔo=ʔka=ʔima dihkaw-w/
who-Pat=INTER=2SG.AGT give one-Pfv
‘to whom did you give it?’

(511) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with heʔey ‘where’

heʔeykaʔima hoʔli:mu (W: OF)
/heʔey=ka=ʔima ho-li:mu/
where=INTER=2SG.AGT leave second person-Pfv
‘Where are you going?’
(512) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with cet ‘how’

\[ cət\ ka?ma \quad (W:\ OF) \]
/\[ \text{cet} \quad ka=ʔma/ \]
\text{how} \quad \text{INTER}=2\text{SG}\text{.AGT}

‘How are you?’ (used for ‘hello’)

When there is no question word present, ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attaches to the first large constituent and may be followed by pronominal enclitics, as seen in (513) – (515) below.

(513) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attached to verb

\[ \text{ʔahnaṭiː}:ba?káʔma \quad (\text{H ms.}) \]
\text{ʔahnaṭiː}:ba?káʔma
/\[ \text{ʔa-} \text{hnaṭ-}:ba=ʔka=ʔma/ \]
\text{with.leg-try-COND}=\text{INTER}=2\text{SG}\text{.AGT}

‘are you going to try it with[ith] heel?’

(514) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attached to adverb

\[ \text{maːliʔkáʔya daś:ékʰ:e} \quad (\text{H V: 11}) \]
\text{maːliʔkáʔya daśekʰ:e}
/\[ \text{maːli}=ʔ\text{ya} \quad \text{daśe-kʰ:e}/ \]
\text{here}=\text{INTER}=\text{1PL}\text{.AGT} \quad \text{wash-FUT}

‘shall we wash it here?’

(515) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attached to nominal

\[ \text{mi̱dʔikiːkʰ:eʔka } ]\text{má:mu} \quad (\text{H ms.}) \]
\text{mi̱dʔikiːkʰ:eʔka maːmu}
/\[ \text{mi̱-dʔi-ki̱-kʰ:e}=ʔ\text{ka} \quad \text{maːmu}/ \]
\text{2-older.sister-GS-POSS}=\text{INTER} \quad \text{DEM}

‘is this your sister’s’

There is a possibility that ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| might be restricted to questions about things that are only possible (irrealis) or unknown. Examples (516) and (517)
below both begin with the question word butće ‘when’; however, the second example shows this word followed by the auxiliary yo~ʔyo without the interrogative clitic. The translation suggests the speaker knew the addressee had awoken at some point (a logical situation). Perhaps questions about details of known events are not formed with ka~ʔka. The data are too few at this time to know whether the pair below is evidence of a robust pattern, one that would easily be missed by most elicitation, or simply a case of variation among speakers.

(516) Interrogative ka~ʔka attached to butće ‘when’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{butće } & \text{kaʔma } \text{coh:onhkʰe} & \text{ (W: OF)} \\
\text{buṱ:e } & \text{ka=}ʔ\text{a:ma } \text{coh:on}\text{N-kʰ:e} \\
\text{buṱ:e } & \text{ka=}ʔ\text{ma } \text{coh:onh-kʰe/} \\
\text{when } & \text{INTER=2SG.AGT marry-FUT} \\
\text{‘when will you get married?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(517) buṱ:e ‘when’ as question without interrogative ka~ʔka

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{buṱ:e=yomtō } & \text{ʔahčáci[y] } \text{(H ms.)} \\
\text{buṱ:e=yomtō } & \text{ʔahčačiy} \\
\text{buṱ:e=ʔyo=mtō } & \text{ʔahčačiy-Ø/} \\
\text{when=AUX=2SG.PAT awake-PFV} \\
\text{‘when did you wake up[?]’}
\end{align*}
\]

There are two response particles which may be used in reply to a yes/no question: hiyo ‘yes’ (sometimes recorded as hiy:ow); tʰe: ‘no’. Examples of recorded exchanges with the response particles are given in (518) and (519) below.
3.10. Clause combinations

There are four types of clause combining to be found in Southern Pomo: (1) complement clauses, which are a very small component of the grammar; (2) multi-clause sentences with one main verb and one or more dependent verbs which are marked with switch-references suffixes, which are very common in narrative texts; (3) nominalized clauses which behave as arguments of a main verb; (4) clause coordination, which is generally marked by means of the switch-reference suffixes, and what would be translated as coordinate clauses in English are therefore most
often handled with dependent verbs marked with switch-reference suffixes in relation to a main verb with TAM marking—there is no known word for ‘and’ in Southern Pomo—however, there is one true conjunction (actually a disjunction), *he*: ‘or’, which may be used to conjoin two main verbs. Each of these types of clause combining is discussed below.

### 3.10.1. Complement clauses

Payne (citing Noonan 1985) notes that one definition of “a prototypical complement clause is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause” (1997: 313). If this definition is accepted (depending upon the working definition of clause versus nominalized clause), then it could be argued that Southern Pomo nominalized clause constructions discussed later (§3.10.3.) are a type of complement clause strategy. Such an analysis is not accepted here, however, and a more narrow definition must be sought. Dixon states that “all languages have a set of ‘complement-taking verbs’” and lists ‘see’, ‘think’, ‘know’, and ‘like’ as typical examples of such verbs; he also notes that “there are languages whose grammars have no instance of a clause filling a core argument slot in a higher clause”, languages which use what he terms “complementation strategies,” such as serial verb constructions, relative clause constructions, clause nominalization, and “complementation strategies involving linked clauses,” such as juxtaposition of clauses, clause chaining, and “purposive linking” (2010b: 405). Whatever the merits of the various proposed categories of complementation and complementation
strategies, this work restricts the use of the term to constructions involving a handful of verbs of utterance or perception, such as ‘say’, ‘want’, and ‘feel’, which, fit into the category of complement-taking verbs listed by Dixion (hereafter abbreviated as CTVs).

Many of the epistemic functions handled by verbs of utterance or perception in English (and other languages) are rendered in Southern Pomo by means of the evidential suffixes or other bound morphology (e.g. the optative enclitic ||=ʔšen||). Thus the number of CTVs of the sort considered in this section is smaller in the language than might otherwise be the case.

Southern Pomo CTVs may be in a multi-clause sentence without any morphogical indication of subordination, dependency, nominalization, or any other type of morphological marking that might be construed to overtly indicate clause combining. The only structural hint that CTVs take the adjacent clause as an argument is constituent order: Southern Pomo is an AOV language, and multi-clause sentences with CTVs typically have the complement clause precede the CTV, in OV order, as shown in examples below (where the complement clauses are set off by brackets and labeled with a subscript c).

(520) Example of CTV hiʔduʔč’edu- ‘to know’ with complement clause

čáhnu čanhódu hiʔduʔč’eduʔwám:u (H ms.)
[čahnu čanhodu], hiʔduʔč’eduʔwam:u
/čahnu čanho-du hiʔduʔč’eduʔwa=m:u/
speech speak-IPFV know=COP.EVID=3SG
‘he knows how to talk’
An example of the CTV \textit{hud}?a- ‘to want, like’ is given in (521) below.

(521) Example of CTV \textit{hud}?a- ‘to want, like’ with complement clause

\begin{verbatim}
[?]:mayá:ko mí:tiw hud?á:to ṭá?to (H ms.)
[?]:maya:ko mí:tiw hud?á:to ṭá?to
?/:maya=:ko mí:ti-w hud?a=ṭ?o ṭa=ʔt?o/216
2PL.AGT=COM lie-PFV want=NEG EMPHATIVE=1SG.PAT
'I don't like to sleep w. ye'
\end{verbatim}

The CTV \textit{nih:i}- \textit{nihi}- \textit{hni}- \textit{ni}- ‘say’ follows the same pattern as the CTVs seen in (520) and (521) above; however, it shows the peculiarity that when the complement clause is about the speaker, the CTV takes the reflexive suffix [|$-č$-|], as shown in (522) below.

(522) Example of CTV \textit{nih:i}- \textit{nihi}- \textit{hni}- \textit{ni}- ‘say’ with reflexive suffix

\begin{verbatim}
<?it^h*in ho*liw hnic'a.>
[ʔit^hin liw hnic'a]
/ʔit^hin liw hnic'a/
early leave-PFV say=REFL-EVID
'He said he had gone there.'
\end{verbatim}

Unlike the CTVs discussed thus far, the verb \textit{lab}ʔay- ‘to be unable’ does have overt morphology on the complement clause. The complement clause with this verb must be inflected with the future intensive suffix \textit{–ti-}, as shown in (523) below.

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\footnote{216 Halpern habitually records length before the comitative enclitic =ʔko. This could be speaker variation or a mistake on his part. The length before the negative enclitic =ʔho does not hide an unidentified inflectional suffix or be the product of speaker variation or linguist error.}
(523) Example of complement clause with laʔbay- ‘to be unable’

<behše bo*ʔodenći ?to laʔbay> (O D: ED)
[behše boʔodenściʔ to laʔbay]
/behše boʔo-deniʔ to laʔbay-Ø/
deer hunt-DIR-FUT.INTENT=1SG.PAT be.unable-PFV
‘I don’t know how to hunt deer’

The above example is similar to sentences in which the future intentive has a purposive meaning (‘in order to’), as seen in (524) below.

(524) Multi-clause sentence with purposive verb suffixed with future intentive

/kɑːwiʔaː ʧuːhːʊkaːطي hoːliːna/
child 1SG.AGT eat-CAUS-FUT.INTENT leave-FIRST.PERSON
‘I’m going to feed my baby’

Though these two examples with the future intentive suffix are superficially similar, they are actually quite different. The use of the future intentive with laʔbay- ‘to be unable’ is automatic; its selection is not based on semantics. The future intentive in the sentence above expresses real purpose and near future semantics; it is not merely an automatic feature required by a CTV.

It is possible that the use of the future intentive suffix stretches across a cline: on one end, CTVs (such as laʔbay- ‘to be unable’) demand its presence on complement clauses; on the other end, it is used purely for its semantic contributions as a near future and purposive suffix with no need to be combined with another clause.
3.10.2. *Switch-reference*

Southern Pomo has a rich system of switch-reference suffixes. These suffixes, like their cognates in the neighboring sister languages of Kashaya and Central Pomo, mark verbs as being dependent, indicate the temporal ordering of dependent verbs in relation to a main verb, and whether the main verb is realis or irrealis. The Southern Pomo affixes follow the same pattern reported for Kashaya in which all dependent verbs are marked in relation to the main verb, a system which differs from the switch-reference systems known in New Guinea (Roberts 1988). Unlike the cognate morphemes in Central Pomo, where the closeness of the relationship between events appears to be the sole consideration, the Southern Pomo suffixes indicate whether the subject of the dependent verb is coreferential or disreferential with that of the main verb. Table (49) gives the six most common switch-reference suffixes.

Table (49): Switch-reference suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SAME SUBJECT</th>
<th>DIFFERENT SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td>[-ba]</td>
<td>[-3li]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
<td>[-Vn]</td>
<td>[-en]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>[-pʰi]</td>
<td>[-pʰla]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oswalt also reports four additional switch-reference morphemes, which are given in Table (50) below.

Table (50): Additional morphemes treated as switch-reference markers by Oswalt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SAME SUBJECT</th>
<th>DIFFERENT SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opposite</td>
<td>[ʔ-\textit{na}tj]</td>
<td>[-\textit{eti}]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferential</td>
<td>[-\textit{mna}]</td>
<td>[-\textit{ben}]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I have not found any examples of the different-subject morphemes from the above table, and the two same-subject morphemes are as yet poorly understood (there are very few examples of ||-mna||). These are not considered further, and the remainder of this section focuses on the well-attested switch-reference suffixes laid out in Table (49).

Switch-reference systems have been described for three of the Pomoan languages: Kashaya, Central Pomo, and Southern Pomo. The switch-reference morphemes of Southern Pomo are remarkably similar in form to those of both Kashaya and Central Pomo. Table (51) gives the Southern Pomo switch-reference from Table (49) above together with those for Kashaya and Central Pomo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table (51): Southern Pomo switch-reference suffixes and cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KASHAYA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL POMO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN POMO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table (51), the Southern Pomo forms are clearly cognate with those of both Central Pomo and Kashaya.217 Oswalt (1983) analyses the Kashaya system as one of switch-reference marking with dependent verbs being marked in

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217 Except Central Pomo =da.
relation to a main verb. He terms this system as a sentential focal reference one: dependent verbs in Kashaya are marked with switch-reference suffixes which indicate whether each dependent verb shares its subject with one main verb—dependent verbs are not marked in relation to one another. Mithun, basing her analysis on data from spontaneous speech, finds that the primary function of the dependent clause markers of Central Pomo listed in the above table, which are cognate with the Kashaya switch-reference markers, is one of clause combining (1993: 119). Also, she concludes that these markers in Central Pomo, unlike their Kashaya cognates, do not track subjects or agents; rather, they are primarily used to “specify relations between actions, states, or events, not participants...[and] mark same versus different eventhood, rather than same versus different subject” (1993: 134).

Oswalt (1978) provides the only published description of the Southern Pomo switch-reference system. He analyzes the Southern Pomo system of dependent markers as consisting of “pairs of subordinating verbal suffixes...indicat[ing] that the agent [=subject] of the subordinate verb is the same as that of the superordinate...[or] different” (1978: 12). This analysis appears similar to his analysis of Kashaya (minus any reference to sentential focus). However, unlike his detailed and thoroughly explained analysis of the Kashaya system, Oswalt’s analysis

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218 Oswalt uses the term agent rather than subject; however, this usage is due to Oswalt’s analysis of the agent/patient case-marking system of Kashaya as subject/object and his desire to avoid analyzing the switch-reference system of Kashaya as one which tracked the same thing as the case-marking system found on animate arguments. Thus Oswalt’s terminology is the mirror image of that used in this work: Oswalt’s subject = agent; Oswalt’s agent = subject.
of switch-reference in Southern Pomo does not include significant amounts of detail and examples.

Careful investigation shows that the Southern Pomo switch-reference suffixes do function as described by Oswalt. Dependent verbs are marked with these suffixes in relation to a single main verb, just as Oswalt describes for the sentential focus system of Kashaya. The main verb is most often final in the sentence, but it need not be in that position. Dependent verbs are therefore not marked as having the same or different subject as a following dependent verb.

The following sections flesh out the switch-reference system. Each of the six suffixes from Table (49) is introduced as pairs, and the basics of the system are laid out. Each pair of switch-reference suffixes is introduced below together with examples. It should be noted at the outset, however, that the ‘main verb’, though usually represented by a sentence-final verb in the data, is not always final. The main verb carries TAM marking, whereas the dependent verbs marked with switch-reference suffixes do not carry such marking, but are marked as dependent upon the main verb for TAM information.²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Historically, the switch-reference markers ||:li|| -:li ~ -:ni and ||-en|| -en ~ -wen were both applied after the perfective suffix -w, so that an earlier stage of the language they would not have been amenable to the definition of dependent clause and main verb given here. In fact, the /s/ of ||-li|| and the /w/ of the -wen allomorph of ||-en|| that occurs after vowel final morphemes are actually the phonologically obscured remnants of the perfective suffix.
3.10.2.1. Same subject and different subject sequential suffixes

| -ba | -ba same subject sequential (S_SEQ) |
| -li | -li ~ -mi different subject sequential (D_SEQ) |

These suffixes attach after all other suffixes on dependent verbs and mark them as having been completed prior to the action of the main verb. Examples of both are given in (525) and (526) below (where verbs marked with -ba and -li and their glossing and translation are in bold and underlined).

(525) Example of ||-ba||

(H VI:3)

šin:ákʰle hé?[:]e pʰ[a]čiba ma:jíkin, šin:ákʰle he?:e pʰ[a]čiba ma:jíkin ||šin:a-kʰle he?:e pʰa-ʔči-ba maH-ʔi-ki-n|| /šin:a-kʰle he?:e pʰa-ʔči-ba maH-ʔi-ki-n/ head-crown hair **with hand-grab-s_seq** 3c-younger.sibling-GS-PAT


‘**Having grabbed** the hair on top of his head, he said to his y[ounger] bro[ther], ‘Look upwards.’”

²²⁰ It is possible that there is not semelfactive ||-č-|| suffix in this form and it is simply the stem ||hu?:uč-|| ‘face’ followed by the denominalizing suffix ||-t-||; however, the expected outcome from such a combination would be /hu?:uč-/- or /hu?:uť-/, and the semelfactive, if it is present, would explain the surface form.
Example of ||-ba|| and ||-li|| (H VI:12)

hám:un hni:ba duw:é:li
ham:un **hni:ba duw:é:li**

||ham:u-n nih:i:-ba duw:é:-li||

/ham:u-n hni-ba duw:é:-li/
3SG-PAT say-S.SEO night.falls-D.SEO

č’a:ton misibo mi:ti:w

||č’a:qi=ton mis:i:bo mi:ti-w||

/č’a:qi=ton mis:i:bo mi:ti-w/
one=LOC three lie-PFV

‘**Having said** this, **when night came on**, (the) three lay down in one (place).’

3.10.2.2. Same subject and different subject simultaneous suffixes

||-Vn|| -in ~ -an ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n SAME SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS (S.SIM)
and ||-en|| -en ~ -wen DIFFERENT SUBJECT SIMULTANEOUS (D.SIM)

These suffixes attach to dependent verbs after all other suffixes and indicate that the action occurred simultaneously with the main verb. Examples of each are given in (527) and (528) below (where -ba and -li and their glossing and translation are in bold and underlined):

(527) Example of ||-Vn|| S.SIM (H VI: 17)

ča:de:dun hwád:u
ča:de:dun hwád:u

||ča:de-ad-Vn hu:w-adé:u||

/ča:de-d-un hw-adé:u/
look-DIR-S.SIM go-DIR-PFV
‘He walked around looking around.’

(528) Example of ||-en|| D.SIM (H VIII: 4)

221 ||duw:é|| is the noun ‘night’, and ||duw:é:-|| is the verb for ‘night falls’.
má:mu kʰaʔbéye y wí:mighkʰáy?den
ma:mú kʰaʔbéyey wí:míghkʰáy?den
||ma:mú kʰaʔbey wi:mi=li=kʰač-wad-en||
/ma:mú kʰaʔbey wi:mi-nhkʰáy-ʔd-en/
DEM rock=AGT there-ward-HAB-D.SIM

čú:maʧwám:u hoʔ[:w]ówi biʔki:k.ix šiʔmiʔwan
čú:maʧwám:u hoʔ:owi biʔki:k.iw šiʔmiʔwan
||čú:maʧ=ʔwam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔk-i-R-w šiʔmiʔwan||
/čú:maʧ=wam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔk-i:w šiʔmiʔwan/
gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ

‘While this Rock was facing towards there, the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow.’

3.10.2.3. Same subject and different subject irrealis suffixes

||-pʰi|| -pʰi SAME SUBJECT IRREALIS (s.IRR)
||-pʰla|| -pʰla DIFFERENT SUBJECT IRREALIS (d.IRR)

These suffixes indicate that the event expressed by the dependent clause would occur prior to an irrealis main clause, which may be suffixed with a future, an imperative, or the conditional. Examples of each these switch-reference suffixes are given in (529) and (530) below (where ||-pʰi|| and ||-pʰla|| and their glossing and translation are in bold and underlined).

(529) Example of ||-pʰi|| s.IRR (H II: 1)

222 This combination of ‘there’ and ‘-ward’, when suffixed with verbal suffixes, means ‘to face’.
3.10.2.4. The hamini- construction

In addition to the switch-reference suffixes on dependent verbs, Southern Pomo contains a pro-verb, hamini- (and its dialectal variant ni-), which links sentences together. This pro-verb can be roughly translated as ‘and then’ or ‘and it came to

223 The verb ||ehčʰe-|| ‘dig’ appears to consist of the instrumental prefix ||hi-|| and a root ||hčʰe-||; however, Oswalt does not parse this word in his dictionary manuscript, and I can find no evidence of this root in use in any other words. I have therefore chosen to treat this verb stem as a
pass’. Switch-reference markers suffixed to ha:mini- relate anaphorically to the last clause of the previous sentence and cataphorically to the first clause of the following sentence. Examples (531) and (532) show two sentences linked by the pro-verb ha:mini- with the s_seq suffix ||-ba||.

(531) Example of ha:mini- with ||-ba|| s_seq (H V: 3)

mú:kʰel( ḋá)háywan mú:kʰen.
mukʰelhaywan mukʰen
||mu:-kʰeN-ʔah:ay=ʔwanmu:-kʰeN-Ø||
/mu:-kʰel-hay=wanmu:-kʰen-Ø/ object.thru.air-sev.slide-wood=det.obj object.thru.air-sev.slide-pfv

ha:mini(ʔ)ba [ʔ]ihmin.
ha:mini:ba [ʔ]ihmin
||ha:mini-ba [ʔ]ihmiN-Ø||
/ha:mini-ba [ʔ]ihmin-Ø/
and.then-s_seq sing-pfv

‘they went off, scaling their scaling-sticks. Having done so, they sang.’

(532) Example of ha:mini- with ||-li|| d_seq (H VI: 3)

ʔahšáʔwan ʔača mi:haťaʔ
||ʔahšá=ʔwan ʔahča-Ø mi:ha-ʔa=k-Ø||
/?ahšá=ʔwan ʔača-Ø mi:ha-ʔa=k-Ø/
/ʔahša=ʔwan ʔača-Ø mi:ha-ʔa=k-Ø/
fish=det.obj house-diffuse bring<pl_act>-pfv

ha:miní:li kʰáʔbekʰáč:on ʔa:yíye [ʔ]uḥtehtew,
ha:mini:li kʰaʔbekʰač:on ʔa:yíye ʔuḥtehtew
||ha:mini:-li kʰaʔbekʰač=ȳcon ʔa:yí=yey ʔuḥte-ʔ-w||
/ha:mini:-li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ʔa:yí=yey ʔuḥte-hťe-w/
and.then-d_seq raptor.species=pat scrubjay=agt tell-tell-pfv

‘They brought in the fish. They having done so, the Jay told Fish Hawk’
The *hamini-* construction is unique. It combines sentences. The switch-reference suffixes on regular verbs (i.e. not on the pro-verb *hamini-*) combine clauses into a single sentence. Hereafter, the examples of switch-reference suffixes are restricted to those which are applied to regular verbs as part of their being combined into a single sentence unless otherwise noted.

3.10.2.5. The basics of the switch-reference system

In the following subsections I lay out the nature of the switch-reference system in Southern Pomo:

(i) The system is not sensitive to the agent/patient case-marking system found on animate arguments;

(ii) It does not indicate the closeness or lack of closeness between events (as in Central Pomo);

(iii) It is sensitive to the category of subject, and it is subjects which are marked as being shared or not shared with the TAM-bearing main verb;

(iv) Switch-reference suffixes may occur without any core arguments being overtly present in the sentence;

(v) Dependent verbs are marked with switch-reference suffixes in relation to a single main verb, and they are not marked in relation to other dependent verbs (as reported for other languages).

Each of these points is fleshed out in greater detail in the subsections below.

*Switch-reference suffixes are not sensitive to agent/patient case-marking*
As previously mentioned, Southern Pomo case marking shows an agent/patient case pattern on animate nouns. Both kinship terms and pronouns are obligatorily marked for case, and animate common nouns may also be marked for case, but this is not obligatory. Single arguments of intransitive verbs over which participants do not have complete control and are significantly affected can be marked with the patient case. In example (533) below, ‘Rock [Man]’ has no control over his falling asleep and is therefore marked with the patient case enclitic ||=yčon|| (the word marked with the patient case is in bold and underlined in the text, the gloss, and the translation).

(533) Example of patient case on single argument of intransitive verb  

(534) Example of patient case on single argument of intransitive verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ha:mini()ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mít:ĭw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe-yčon sí:ma mít:ĭ-w/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon sí:ma mít:i-w/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and.then-SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Having done so, Rock [Man] went to sleep.’

In (534) below, this same ‘Rock [Man]’ has no control over his dying after having been shot by the narrative’s protagonist, Gray Squirrel (the word marked with the patient case is in bold and underlined in the text, the gloss, and the translation).
(534) Example of patient case on single argument of intransitive verb  (H VIII: 9)

ha:minili kʰaʔbeyčon ká:law.
ha:minili kʰaʔbeyčon ká:law
||ha:minili:kʰaʔbe=yčon ká:a-w||
/h:a:minili:kʰaʔbe=yčon ká:a-w/
and.then-DSEQ    rock=PAT    die-PFV

‘He having done so, **Rock [Man]** died.’

‘**Rock [Man]**’ is the single argument of intransitive verbs in both of the previous examples. In (535) below, where ‘**Rock [Man]**’ is one of two arguments associated with the verb ||ʔihčok-|| 'shoot', the use of the patient case enclitic ||=yčon|| leaves no room for confusion as to who was shot.

(535) Example of patient case marking with a transitive verb  (H VIII: 8)

kohtokʰto:ni:ʔiḥčok ču:mmafyey kʰaʔbeyčon.
kohtokʰto:ni:ʔiḥčok ču:mmafyey kʰaʔbeyčon
||kohtokʰto:wani:ʔiḥčok-Ø ču:mmaf=ye y kʰaʔbe=yčon||
/kkohtokʰto:wani:ʔiḥčok-Ø ču:mmaf=ye y kʰaʔbe=yčon/
base.of.neck=LOC    shoot-PFV    gray.squirrel=AGT    rock=PAT

‘[He] shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, [Gray] Squirrel (did it) to **Rock [Man]**.’

The three foregoing examples all show ‘**Rock [Man]**’ in the patient case. Though the actual thematic roles for him vary from undergoer to true patient, in none of these examples in which ‘**Rock [Man]**’ is in the patient case can he be analyzed as having control over the action. Notice that in both (533) and (534) the argument in the patient case is the single argument of the intransitive verb, which is not true of (535). When the single argument of an intransitive verb is animate and
has some control over the action or is not significantly affected, the agentive case may be used, as in (536) below (the word with the agentive case enclitic is in bold and underlined in the text, the glossing, and the translation).

(536) Example of agentive case with intransitive verb (H VIII: 2)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔbeyey hó:liw} & \quad \text{rock=AGT} \\
\text{kʰaʔbeyey hó:liw} & \quad \text{leave-PFV} \\
\text{||kʰaʔbe=yey hó:li-w||} & \\
/\text{kʰaʔbe=yey hó:li-w/} & \\
/\text{rock=AGT leave-PFV} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Rock [Man] went off.’

The agentive case marker \(||=yey||\) is also used on arguments with control over the action or which are the least affected by the action in clauses with more than one argument. Example (537) below gives an instance of ‘Rock [Man]’ as the agent in a ditransitive clause. (The word marked with the agentive enclitic is in bold and underlined in the text, the glossing, and the translation).

(537) Example of agentive case in a ditransitive clause (H VIII: 3)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kʰaʔbéyey ču:maʃcon ?oh:ow ?a:t:i:kʰe ču:?u} & \\
\text{||kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maʃ=ycon ?oh:o-w ?a:t:i:-kʰe ču:?u||} & \\
/\text{kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maʃ=čon} & \text{oh:o-w} \quad \text{?a:t:i:-kʰe} \\
/\text{rock=AGT gray.squirrel=PAT give-PFV 3C.SG-POSS arrow} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Rock [Man] handed his arrow to Squirrel.

The above examples clearly demonstrate that the Southern Pomo patient case can be applied to arguments which have little or no control over the action and
which are significantly affected by it, whether they be the single argument of an intransitive verb or the direct object or the indirect object of transitive and ditransitive verbs. The agentive case, on the other hand, can be applied to arguments with some or full control over the action which are not significantly affected by it, whether they be the single argument of an intransitive clause or the least affected argument of transitive clauses.

If the switch-reference markers of Southern Pomo were sensitive to the distribution of agent/patient case marking system and marked agents as being the same or different as that of the main verb, the use of same or different switch-reference suffixes should agree with the use of the agent/patient case morphemes. In example (538) below, two sentences are linked by the pro-verb ||ha:mini-||, which is suffixed with the same subject sequential suffix ||-ba|| that indicates that an argument (in this case overtly expressed) is shared between the TAM-bearing main verb of the first sentence (čiyo-w stay-PFV) and the TAM-bearing main verb of the second sentence (miṭi-w lie-PFV). This example shows that it is not arguments in the agentive case which are marked as coreferential: the argument in the example below that is marked as subject with the subject determiner ||=ʔwam:u|| in the first sentence (kʰaʔbe=ʔwam:u rock=DET.SUBJ) is marked as coreferential with the argument marked with the patient case in the second sentence (kʰaʔbe=yḥon rock=PAT). (The pro-verb bearing the switch-reference suffix is in bold and underlined in the text, the glossing, and in the translation.)
In the above example, the same argument is coreferenced across a sentence boundary despite its being marked as a subject in the first sentence and its bearing the patient case in the second sentence. Example (539) below shows that the switch-reference suffixes are not sensitive to the agent/patient case system when the single argument of the first sentence is in the patient case and that of the second in the agentive case. In this example, two sentences are linked by the pro-verb *ha:mini*- , which is suffixed with the same subject sequential suffix **||-ba**. In these combined sentences, ‘my mother’ is in the patient case as the single argument of the predicate ųulad-*u sick-* in the first sentence; ‘my mother’ is in the agentive case as the least affected argument of the verb *ka?di-ka-* call-*caus-* in the second sentence. Yet is clear that what is the same between the two sentences (and therefore indicated as such by **||-ba**) is the argument ‘my mother’. (The pro-verb

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224 The ablative enclitic **||-tow** appears to have a locative meaning in this example; the reason for this is unknown at this time.
bearing the switch-reference suffix is in bold in the text, the glossing, and in the translation.)

(539) Example of switch-reference not coreferencing patient case (H V: 4)

[ʔ]: ččeyowaʔ šul:ádu, čačeʔ.
ʔačeʔyowaʔ šul:adu, čačeʔ
||ʔa:-šč-e-tő=ʔyowaʔ šul:a-ad-u ča-č-eʔ||
/ʔa:-šč-e-tő=ʔyowaʔ šul:ad-u ča-č-eʔ/²²⁵
1-mother-PAT=DET.? sick-PFV mother’s.father-GS-VOC

ha:miní(ʔ)baʔtő [ʔ]:ččen miʔto kʰaʔdíkaw.
haminibaʔtő ʔaččen miʔto kʰaʔdíkaw
||ha:minibi=ʔaʔtő ʔa:-šč-e-n miʔto kʰaʔdi-ka-w||
/haminibi=ʔtő ʔa:-šč-e-n miʔto kʰaʔdi-ka-w/
and.then-SEQ=1SG.PAT 1-mother-PAT 2SG.PAT call-CAUS-PFV

‘My mother is sick, grandfather. Having done so, my mother had me call you.’

Switch-reference suffixes do not indicate the closeness or lack of closeness between events

Mithun (1993) analyzes the cognate dependent clause markers of Central Pomo as indicating events as more loosely or closely connected. The Southern Pomo markers certainly do link events in the sense that they link dependent clauses. In fact, most examples of dependent verbs in the Southern Pomo texts do not counter an analysis like that for Central Pomo: dependent verbs with different subjects are expected to be less closely bound to the event described by the main verb than dependent verbs that share their subject with the main verb.

²²⁵ Halpern’s record of <ʔyowaʔ> is inexplicable. It is probably an error for =ʔyomu or =ʔyowan, but that cannot be known with any surety, and I therefore make not attempt to suggest a different form. Regardless of the correct form of this enclitic, it is applied to a kinship term that is unambiguously marked with a patient case suffix, and this example is useful whether or not the enclitic following the patient case is identifiable.
In example (540) below, a lengthy sentence with several dependent clauses marked in relation to a single TAM-bearing main verb by means of switch-reference suffixes provides strong evidence that the switch-reference markers of Southern Pomo do not mark events, rather than arguments, as same or different. (All predicates marked with same subject sequential switch-reference suffix ||-ba|| and the main verb are in bold in the text, the glossing, and the free translation; the predicate marked with the different subject sequential suffix ||-li|| is in bold and underlined in the text, the glossing and the translation; each line has been numbered to aid in the following discussion; the special numbering is also added to Halpern’s free translation.)

(540) Closely linked events marked as different with switch-reference suffixes

(540a) mi:má:ba( )kʰmá:yow (H VI: 6)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{míma:ba} & : k^h \text{ma:yow}, \\
\text{/míma:-ba=} & k^h \text{ma:yow/} \\
\text{cry-SSEQ} & = \text{after}
\end{align*}
\]

(540b) [ʔ]h:o bámaba,
?
\[ʔ\h:o \text{bamaba},
\]
?
\[ʔ\h:o \text{ba:ma-ba/}
\]

fire build-SSEQ

(540c) kʰáʔbe ču:má:ba,

\[
\begin{align*}
k^h \text{aʔbe} & : \text{ču:ma:-ba}, \\
\text{/k^h\aʔbe} & \text{ču:ma:-ba/} \\
\text{rock} & \text{set-SSEQ}^{226}
\end{align*}
\]

---

226 The verb stem ||čuma:-|| ‘sit’ may also mean ‘several non-long objects to sit (off ground)’, and the verb of this clause, čuma:- certainly appears to be related phonologically and semantically; however, it is not clear it is the same stem as ‘sit’, and I have therefore chosen to translate it as ‘set’ without reference to distributive meaning.
‘(540a) After having wept, (540b) having built a fire, (540c) having placed rocks in it, (540d) having put water into a baby-bath basket, (540e) when the rocks became hot—the hot rocks—(540f) the baby-bath basket into which they had put water—(540h) they dropped the rocks, the hot rocks, 227 (540g) into the baby-bath basket, (540i) in order to have the water become hot.’

In (540a-d) above, the crying, the making of the fire, the putting of rocks into the fire, and the placing of the same rocks into the water in the baby-bath

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227 Halpern reversed the order of these items in his English translation; the reversed order is reflected in the numbering of Halpern’s free translation by flipping (g) and (h).
baskets are marked as same with ||-bal|| s.seq in relation to the main verb in (540h),
mita-la-w put several-dir-pfv ‘dropped’. That this series of events might be
construed as closely related is not in question; however, in (540e) the clause kha?be
ʔohw tli: rock fire inch-d.seq ‘when the rocks became hot’ is marked as different in
relation to the same main verb with ||-lil|| d.seq. It is difficult to imagine that the
rocks becoming hot might warrant different eventhood status in comparison to the
creation of the fire, putting these rocks in the fire, and the placing them in the
water-filled baby bath basket to heat the water, all of which are ostensibly being
marked as the same event.

Switch-reference suffixes are sensitive to the category of subject

The switch-reference markers of Southern Pomo do not mark events as being more
closely or loosely related to a main verb, nor do they indicate whether agentive-
case marked arguments across clauses are shared with a main verb; rather, they
indicate whether the subject of a dependent verb is the same as or different from
that of a main verb. This definition of switch-reference for Southern Pomo appears
to fit well with the definition of “canonical” switch-reference systems provided by
Haiman and Munro: “canonical switch-reference is an inflectional category of the
verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some
other verb” (1983: ix). The definition of subject used by Haiman and Munro is
“strictly syntactic, rather than semantic or pragmatic in most cases: it is not the
agent or the topic whose identity is being traced” (1983: xi). Despite the similarity
between the definition of switch-reference given by Haiman and Munro and the analysis of the Southern Pomo switch-reference system put forward in this work, their definition of subject is not applicable to Southern Pomo.

Southern Pomo has several subject-sensitive areas of its grammar, such as the determiner enclitics, the coreferential third-person pronouns, and the coreferential kinship prefix, all of which point to syntactic definition of the category of subject in the language, though semantics also play a role: subject in Southern Pomo is the least affected core argument of a clause that could be overtly expressed. Thus the single argument of an intransitive verb, whatever its level of affectedness, is both the least and most affected core argument—it is the only argument. For transitive verbs, the subject would correspond to animate nouns marked with the agentive case, where present, but also to whichever core argument is the least affected in the clause. The crucial point to remember is that the argument that is analyzed as the subject of a clause need not be overtly present anywhere in the sentence. And it is most commonly absent from most clauses.

This definition of subject in Southern Pomo is strictly a language-internal one. It fits with the distribution of the subject/object case-marking enclitics, and it explains the distribution of the switch-reference suffixes as they are recorded in both elicited sentences and in lengthy narrative texts. In the foregoing examples, which were provided to show that agentive case and eventhood closeness are not things to which Southern Pomo switch-reference are sensitive, the subject (as just defined) is what is marked as shared or not shared with the TAM-bearing main
verb. The remaining sections fill out the specifics of the subject-tracking switch-reference system.

*Switch-reference suffixes may occur without any overt core arguments present in the sentence.*

The relationship between dependent verbs and main verbs in Southern Pomo that is expressed by means of these switch-reference morphemes differs markedly from patterns reported from languages with switch-reference suffixes in New Guinea, an area famous for switch-reference systems. In a more traditional New Guinea system, switch-reference markers are applied to dependent verbs (*medial verbs* in New Guinea linguistics literature) with respect to the following clause, be it another medial verb or the main verb, which in New Guinea languages is the final verb. MacDonald describes the switch-reference system of Tauya, a Papuan language, as “indicat[ing] whether or not the subject of the medial clause is co-referential with the subject of the following clause” (1990: 6). This system is schematized below (where the final verb has scope over all medial verbs with regards to TAM):

\[
V_i^{\text{-ss}} \quad V_i^{\text{-ds}} \quad V_j^{\text{-ss}} \quad V_j^{\text{ss}} \quad V_j
\]

In a New Guinea system as schematized above, the first verb is marked in relation to the following verb with which it shares the same subject, but it is not marked in any way in relation to the third, fourth, and final verb; the second verb is marked in relation to the following verb with which it does not share a subject. Compare this with the Southern Pomo pattern:
The first verb in the Southern Pomo system and all subsequent dependent verbs are marked with relation to the main verb (which is often final). Evidence that the Southern Pomo system cannot function like the New Guinea system is given in (541) below, which contains a single sentence with five clauses and not one overt core argument. In this sentence, if overt core arguments were present, they would be a man, who was mentioned earlier in the narrative, and a woman, who was also mentioned earlier in the narrative. The man finds the woman crying over him. While she is sitting and crying, he finds her, marries her (surely a euphemism in this case), and drags her away. The switch-reference suffixes show both who was doing what to whom and whether the various actions were completed relative to the main verb. The only non-verb in the entire sentence is the oblique $\text{ʔat}:i=t:\text{ton} \ 3\text{c}.\text{SG}=\text{LOC}$ ‘for him’, which is a coreferential pronoun that helps to indicate that one over whom someone someone was crying is the subject of the main verb. (The coreferential switch-reference suffixes and the main verb are in bold in the text, the glossing, and the translation; the disreferential switch-reference suffixes are underlined in the text, the gloss, and the translation.)
Multi-clause sentence with no overt core arguments (O I: 9)

ʔatːi=ton mi:mačen, či:yowen,
ʔatːi=ton mimačen, či:yowen.
||ʔatːi=ton mimač-en či:yo-en||
/ʔatːi=ton mimač-en či:yo-wen/
3C.SG=LOC cry-D.SIM sit-D.SIM

daʔ taboo, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
daʔ taboo, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
||daʔ taboo-čoh:omba-šudʔeduy||
/daʔ taboo-čoh:omba-šu-de-aduč-Ø/
find-S.SEQ marry-S.SEQ by.pulling-move-DIR-PFV

'Having found her sitting, crying for him, he married her and led her away.'

If the example above were analyzed using the New Guinea system, the person doing the sitting would be different from the one doing the crying. In the example above, the unexpressed arguments are characters which are overtly mentioned elsewhere in the narrative from which the sentence comes. It is also possible to use switch-reference suffixes to mark the subject of a clause as different than that of the main verb when that subject is not otherwise expressed anywhere in the text. In these cases the English translation ‘it’ is often appropriate, as shown in (542) below (dependent verbs with same subject switch-reference suffixes and the main verb are underlined in the text, glossing, and translation; different subject switch-reference suffixes are in bold in the text, glossing, and translation; the main verb is both in bold and underlined).
Example of disreferential switch-reference suffix (H V: 13)

dasebakʰmá:yow kó? di dasebakʰmá:yow
/da-se-ba=kʰmá:yow kó? di da-se-ba=kʰmá:yow/
with.palm-wash-S.SEQ=after good with.palm-wash-S.SEQ=after

kič[-c]:ídu [ʔ]ahkʰáʔwan múkʰ:aťká:li
kic:idu ?ahkʰaʔwan múkʰ:aťka:li
little water=DET.OBJ dry-CAUS-D.SEQ

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay [ʔ]ahkó:či[y]
?ahčanhkʰay Zahko:čiy
/?ahča=nhkʰay ?ahko:čiy-Ø/228
house=ward return-PFV

‘After having washed it, after having washed it well, when the water had dried off [lit: had been dried] a little, they started homewards.’

In (542) above, the main verb is ?ahko:čiy-Ø return-PFV ‘start’. The subject of this verb is the children (who are not overtly expressed in this excerpt). The verb ‘wash’ is marked with the same subject sequential suffix ||-ba|| to coreference its subject with that of the main verb. The verb múkʰ:ať-ka- dry-CAUS ‘dry’ is marked with the different subject sequential suffix marker ||-li|| to indicate that something other than the children dried the water off (presumably the sun). The enclitic ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJ on ?ahkʰa ‘water’ marks ‘water’ as the object of the causative verb and not the subject of ‘dry’ (a more literal translation would be ‘it caused the water to dry’).229

228 This verb stem cannot be meaningfully segmented, but its last syllable appears to be a frozen form of the inceptive-reflexive suffix ||-čič||.
229 This example also does not fit well with the system of tracking events as more closely or loosely connected that is found in Central Pomo. It seems unlikely that ‘wash’ and ‘return’ are more closely
Switch-reference markers on dependent verbs relate to only one main verb

The switch-reference suffixes of Southern Pomo appear to function like the sentential focus system of Kashaya (Oswalt 1983: 278). Oswalt notes that the Kashaya switch-reference system may display something he terms “FOCAL NESTING.” One sentence may be “nested” within another, and the switch-reference suffixes of the larger sentence within which the additional sentence is “nested” skip over that sentence (1983: 283-285). Something similar to the focal nesting of Kashaya is also found in Southern Pomo.

An example of a three sentences, including one multi-clause sentence, is given below in (543). Within the multi-clause sentence there is a separate monoclusal sentence that is interjected to provide additional background information within the larger sentence. The dependent verbs of the larger sentence, though they come before the unmarked (non-dependent) verb of the interjected clause, are marked with respect to the final verb ŋiňćok- ‘shoot’, but not with respect to the verb of the interjected clause (which carries its own TAM information). In other words, the dependent verbs skip over an interjected clause to focus on the main verb of the sentence. The first sentence of (543a) has been included because it overtly mentions a subject, ‘Rock’, who is marked as not being the subject of the second sentence by means of ||:-li|| on the pro-verb ha:mini-. (This example has been broken up into subsections for easy reference; the interjected clause is marked off related events than ‘wash’ and ‘dry’ (remember that the dependent verbs are not marked in relation to one another).
by em dashes in the text and in Halpern’s free translation; within the multi-clause sentence, verbs with same subject switch-reference suffixes are in bold; verbs with different subject switch-reference suffixes are underlined; the main verb on which the dependent verbs are dependent is in bold and underlined.)

(543)  (H VIII: 8)

(543a) ha:mini(·)ba kʰa?beyčon sì:ma mît:tiw,
       ha:miniba kʰa?beyčon sima mît:tiw,
 and.then-S.SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV

(543b) ha:minili čú:mafyey sì:ma mikʰ:ó:li
       ha:minili čú:mafyey sima mikʰ:ó:li
 and.then-D.SEQ gray.squirrel=AGT sleep snore-D.SEQ

(543c) [ʔ]am:áŋhkhʰay pʰil:álʔba,
       ?am:ánhkʰay pʰil:alʔ-ba/
 earth=ward crawl-DIR-S.SEQ

(543d) —kʰa?béyey ká:línjhkhʰay hu?[ː]úľmaw,
 —kʰa?béyey ká:línjhkhʰay hu?[ː]úľmaw—
 /kʰa?be=yey ka:li=nhkʰay hu?:u-f=ma-w/
 rock=AGT up=ward face-DENOM-ESSIVE-PFV

 /kohtokʰ:to=wa:ni řihčok=Ø ču:mať=yey kʰa?be=yčon/
 base.of.neck=LOC shoot-PFV gray.squirrel=AGT rock=PAT

‘Having done so, Rock went to sleep. He having done so, when he snored, Squirrel, having crawled down to the ground—Rock turned his face upwards—shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, Squirrel (did it) to Rock.’
The rather lengthy example above can be schematized as follows (where MV = main verb, DP = dependent verb, ProV = the pro-verb *hamini-* , and subscripts are used to mark the relationship between arguments and main verbs):

\[(543a) \text{ProV} - \text{SSEQ}_i \quad \text{NP}_i \quad \text{MV}_i \]

\[(543b) \text{ProV} - \text{DSEQ}_j \quad \text{NP}_j \quad \text{DV-DS}_k \]

\[(543c) \text{Obl} \quad \text{DV-SS}_j \]

\[(543d) -\text{NP} \text{ Obl} \text{ MV} - \]

\[(543e) \text{Obl} \quad \text{MV}_j \quad \text{NP}_j \quad \text{NP}_k \]

The structure of the example above, though it might appear unduly complex, is most likely the result of the speaker adding additional, unplanned information (‘Rock turned his face upwards’) after building up toward a different main verb. This analysis seems especially likely because of the unusual addition of overt core arguments after the final verb, which are translated by Halpern as ‘Squirrel (did it) to Rock’; these two arguments were most likely added because the speaker worried that the earlier interjected sentence had made who did what to whom unnecessarily ambiguous.

3.10.2.6. Summary of switch-reference system

Southern Pomo makes use of switch-reference suffixes to mark dependent verbs. Unlike their cognates in neighboring Central Pomo, the Southern Pomo switch-
reference suffixes do not mark events as being more closely or loosely bound. The switch-reference suffixes of Southern Pomo perform two principal functions:

1. They mark one or more clauses as dependent upon a single main verb.

2. They mark dependent verbs as having either the same or a different subject (defined here as the least affected core argument of a clause, whether expressed or implied) as the main verb; they do not mark same or different subject with respect to another dependent verb.

The Southern Pomo dependent clause suffixes thus behave like the sentential focus reference system of Kashaya (Oswalt 1983). The Southern Pomo switch-reference system therefore differs substantially from the types of switch-reference marking reported from New Guinea (Roberts 1988; MacDonald 1990), where long chains of medial verbs are marked as having the same or different subject with respect to a following medial verb. One likely explanation for the differences between the two systems is the number of medial verbs that may be strung together in New Guinea languages versus the number of dependent verbs that may be strung together in Southern Pomo. The Southern Pomo data upon which this study is based rarely show chunks of discourse with more than two or three dependent verbs relating to a main verb. Descriptions of New Guinea languages, by contrast, report the possibility of much longer strings of medial verbs.

If Southern Pomo dependent clauses were strung together in much longer series preceding a main verb, it seems likely that both speaker and listener might be unduly burdened by a sentential focus reference system. The Southern Pomo
system requires the speaker to know the subject of the main verb from the beginning of the first dependent verb, which would be nigh impossible in the New Guinea system. However, Southern Pomo speakers, using but few dependent clauses per sentence, do not appear to labor under any such burden. The relative frequency with which finite verbs appear in Southern Pomo narratives—the genre where the longest possible clause chains might be expected—shows Southern Pomo speakers need to use relatively few dependent verbs per main (finite) verb, which, in turn, makes possible a sentential focus system in which each dependent verb is marked with reference to the main verb, not in relation to a neighboring dependent verb (as in New Guinea).

3.10.3. Nominalized clauses

Southern Pomo clauses may be nominalized by means of NP enclitics in order to serve as core arguments of another verb or as nominal obliques. Nominalized clauses without a nominal head (overtly present or understood) may function as the core argument of another verb. Nominalized clauses which include a nominal head (either overtly present or understood) may serve as the core argument of another verb and additionally function as internal-head (circumnominal) restrictive relative clauses. There is no evidence for non-restrictive relative clauses in the language. Two finite clauses may be juxtaposed without any dependent verb morphology or nominalizing morphology; such clauses mirror the nominalized internal-head relative clauses in every way but the lack of nominalizing morphology. In at least
some instances, such constructions might be analyzed as internal-head relative clauses which lack overt morphology but do fit the syntactic patterns of an argument of another verb. These are included within the section on nominalization despite their lacking overt nominalizing morphology.

The following abbreviations are used throughout the remainder of this section:

- A = subject of a transitive clause
- O = object of a transitive clause;
- S = single argument of an intransitive clause;
- Obl = non-core argument (oblique)
- RC = relative clause

Each of the three types of clause nominalization is discussed below.

3.10.3.1. Nominalized clauses which are not relative clauses

Verbs may be nominalized to serve as the core argument of another verb or as an oblique. If there is no nominal head in the nominalized verb (overt or understood)—whether or not there is an overt nominal argument within the nominalized clause, then the nominalized verb does not function as a relative clause. Nominalized verbs which serve as core arguments do so as objects (though this observation might be biased by my database and should be accepted with caution).
Nominalization is accomplished by means of the case-marking and locative NP enclitics discussed earlier ($2.9.1$). The patient case enclitic \(=\text{y}^\text{çon}\) does not appear to be used to nominalize a verb which will not be part of a relative clause.$^{230}$ The enclitics \(=\text{ʔ}^\text{wan}\) \text{DET.OBJ} and \(=\text{ʔ}^\text{yowan}\) may be used to mark the clause as the core argument of another verb. These clitics may also be combined with additional enclitics (generally the locative NP enclitics) to form an oblique NP from a verb. The locative NP enclitics, when attached to a clause, always create an oblique NP. An example of a nominalized clause serving as the core argument of another clause is given in (544) below.

(544) Nominalized clause as core argument of a verb \hspace{1cm} (H I: 1)

\begin{verbatim}
ma:či-le biʔdu čohšinwan šú:kʰaw
ma:či-le [biʔdu čohšinwan], šu:kʰaw
/ma:či-l:e biʔdu čohšin-Ø=wan šu:kʰa-w/
day-mid acorn pound-PFV=DET.OBJ finish-PFV
'(at) noon (she) finished pounding acorns.'
[lit: 'At midday (she) finished the acorn pounding/pounding of acorns.']
\end{verbatim}

The head of the above nominalized clause is not 'acorns', and the clause does not serve to disambiguate which acorns out of all acorns in the world were pounded.

$^{230}$ This is the expected distribution. The agent/patient case markers are restricted to animate arguments (sentient beings, including insects), and the use these morphemes to nominalize a verb with no nominal component (and thus no sentient argument) would be unexpected.
3.10.3.2. Nominalized clauses which function as relative clauses

The definition of relative clause used herein is taken from Comrie (1989: 143):

A relative clause...consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the over-all construction.

Comrie notes that there must be “some construction or constructions correlating highly” with this definition within a language in order to claim it has relative clauses (1989: 144). A subset of nominalized clauses in Southern Pomo fit the criteria for relative clauses. They have a nominal head (overt or understood) that is restricted—set off from other nominals—by the nominalized clause.

Specifically, the relative clause construction in Southern Pomo is of the internal-head (circumnominal) variety: the head noun is expressed inside of the relative clause in the relative order it would be found in a main clause; the head is not overtly present in the main clause (Comrie 1989: 145-146). When a nominalized clause functions as a relative clause as part of the core argument of the main verb, it is of the non-reduction type, and the head noun is overtly present and unreduced in the nominalized clause (though, as stated before, such an assertion might be too specific and is subject to change as more data are processed). Nominalized clauses which function as relative clauses which are oblique arguments of a main verb generally are not of the non-reduction type: they do not have an overt nominal (the understood nominal in such cases is most often ‘place/location’).
There are two overt morphological manifestations of this relative clause construction in Southern Pomo: (1) a nominal enclitic is attached to the end of the clause that functions as an internal-head relative clause; (2) a third-person coreferential device (either one of the third-person coreferential pronouns or a kinship term with the third-person-coreferential prefix) is present within the internal-head relative clause. There is also a potential morphological distinction between nominalized clauses which function as relative clauses (at least those which function the a core argument of a main clause) and nominalized clauses which are not also relative clauses (i.e. which do not restrict a nominal head). If the head noun of a relative clause is animate, it is possible to nominalize the clause by means of the patient case enclitic ||-yčon||; this is in contradistinction to simple nominalized clauses which may be nominalized with the object-marking determiner enclitics but which may not take the agent/patient case-marking morphemes. Examples of internal-head relative clauses with nominalizing morphology are given below. In each example, the nominalized constituent that is also an internal-head relative clause is set off by brackets, and its role as O or Obl is indicated with subscripts.

(545) Example of nominalized clause functioning as internal-head RC  (H I: 4)

\[\text{ʔat}:i\text{ c}í\text{hta m}í\text{h}ak\text{ kw}ant\text{ónh}k\text{h}le\text{ mu}ʔ\text{tákaw.} \]
\[\text{ʔat}:i\text{ c}í\text{hta m}í\text{h}ak\text{ kw}ant\text{ónh}k\text{h}le\text{ j}\text{co m}ú\text{ʔákaw} \]
\[\text{ʔat}:i\text{ c}í\text{hta m}í\text{h}ak-Ø\text{ wan}\text{t}\text{ónh}k\text{h}le\text{ muʔtá-}k\text{a-w/} \]
\[\text{3c.SG.AGT} \text{ bird-game bring-PFV=DET.OBJ=some.of cook-CAUS-PFV} \]
‘(he) cooked some of the game that he had brought in.’
In the above example the head noun is ‘game’, and the RC restricts the interpretation of this noun to only the game which had been brought in. This example highlights several features of this relative clause construction in the language. Note the use of ?at:i 3COREFERENTIAL.SINGULAR.AGENTIVE, which indicates that the third-person subject responsible for the bringing of the game is the same as the subject of the main clause ‘cause to cook’. As already states, a coreferential pronoun or kinship prefix is generally (possibly always) present within a nominalized clause that is also a relative clause.

Two other features of the above example bear mentioning. Note that it is the enclitic =wan DET.OBJ that nominalizes the clause, and the partitive enclitic =tonhkʰle ‘some.of’ is attached to the NP made by =wan DET.OBJ. Also note that the verb within the relative clause is glossed as taking finite morphology: it is suffixed with the post-consonantal –Ø allomorph of the perfective suffix. The zero allomorph is not convincing evidence that clauses keep their finite inflection when nominalized. Example (546) below gives another nominalized clause which functions as relative clause, and the verb within that nominalization, ?aʔh:a- ‘to catch’, is vowel-final and takes the –w allomorph of the perfective suffix, which provides unequivocal evidence that the nominalized clause retains its finite inflection within relative clause constructions.²³¹

²³¹ This example proves this in two ways: (1) the geminate /w/ in Halpern’s transcription is clearly the perfective allomorph –w followed by the initial /w/ of the =wan allomorph of the object-marking determiner; (2) this is a vowel-final verb stem, and the post-vocalic =ʔwan allomorph of the object-marking enclitic would surface here if the perfective allomorph –w did not come between this stem and the enclitic.
(546) Example of nominalized clause functioning as internal-head RC  (H I: 17)

3.CSG-POSS bird-game catch-PFV=DET.OBJ take.off-DIR-PFV
‘(He) took off his own game that (he) had caught’

Note that the use of the possessive form of the third-person coreferential
pronoun in (546) above indicates that the possessor of the head noun of the relative
clause is coreferential with the subject of the main verb. This sentence therefore
has no overt mention of the subject of either the nominalized clause or the main
clause.

Two possible features of Southern Pomo relative clauses have been
mentioned without exemplification: (1) a kinship term with a coreferential prefix
may be used instead of a third-person coreferential pronoun within the relative
clause; (2) a relative clause that has as its head an animate noun may take the
patient case enclitic ||=yčon|| for nominalization. Both of these phenomena are
present in example (547) below (note that the verb ‘tell’ is transitive and does take
an object).
(547) RC with animate argument and patient case nominalization

\[\text{mák}:\text{ač:ši:baːt}[^h]\text{aw }\text{máːt}[^h]:i\text{ mit}:i:\text{čon }[ʔ]\text{uḥtéhtew}\ (\text{H IX: 8})\]
\[\text{[makačːši:baːt}[^h]\text{aw }\text{máːt}[^h]:i\text{ mit}:i:\text{čon}\]_{\text{RC}}\quad ?uḥtēhtew\]
\[\text{/ma-kaː-ɕØ }\text{ši:baːt}[^h]\text{aw }\text{máːt}[^h]:i\text{ mit}:i-Ø:=\text{čon }\quad ?uḥtēht-e-w/}\]
\[3C-\text{mo.mo.}-\text{GS-AGT poor blind lie-DIFFUSE=\text{PAT}232 }\text{tell-PFV}\]

‘[They] told their poor blind grandmother who was lying (there)’

Note that the use of the third-person possessed kinship prefix \(|\text{maH-}|\) \text{ma-}
indicates that the possessor of the noun head of the relative clause (‘their poor
blind grandmother’) is coreferential with the subject of the main verb ‘tell’. Because
it is the grandmother whom they tell who is the head noun of the relative clause,
the patient case enclitic is used to indicate her highly animate status.

Thus far the examples of relative clauses have included only those
nominalized clauses which are core arguments of a main verb. Example (548)
illustrates a nominalized clause that functions as an oblique. Note that the pattern
seen in (548) below fits into the so-called gap type of relative clause: there is no
“overt indication of the role of the head within the relative clause” (Comrie 1989:
151). This is quite unlike the nominalized clauses seen above which function as core
arguments of a main verb and have the noun head of the relative clause overtly
present.

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232 What is glossed as DIFFUSE here is simply the pattern whereby the laryngeal increment \(/::/\) moves
to the right of the root consonant of ‘lie’ to indicate a stative meaning on a handful of verbs,
including this one; on nouns this same pattern can indicate location in or over an area rather than a
single point. Halpern does not distinguish between \(/i:/\ and \(/iy/\, so it is possible that the \(/::/\ is, in
fact, \(/y/\).
(548) Gap-type RC as oblique nominalization \( (H\ VIII:\ 2)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{čú:maṭye} & \text{y hó:liw [ʔaṭ:íye} \text{y daʔčámhukʰ:} \text{eʔyowanṭó} \text{tόhkʰay} \\
\text{čú:maṭye} & \text{y ho:liw [ʔaṭ:íye} \text{y daʔčamhukʰ:} \text{eʔyowanṭonhkʰay}]_{\text{RC(on)}} \\
/\text{ču:maṭ}=\text{yey} & \text{ ho:li-w } \text{ʔat:i-yey } \text{daʔfa-mhu-kʰ:e=ʔyowan=} \text{ṭonhkʰay/} \\
\text{squirrel}=&\text{AGT } \text{ leave-PFV } 3\text{C-PL.AGT } \text{ find-RECIP-FUT=} \text{DET.OBJ=toward} \\
\text{‘Squirrel went off to where they will meet each other’}
\end{align*}
\]

The understood head of (548) above is the physical location where ‘Squirrel’ will meet with the antagonist (Rock Man), though this is nowhere explicitly mentioned within the nominalized clause. Note that the above example is otherwise quite similar to the previous relative clause examples: it makes use of a third-person coreferential pronoun, and the nominalized verb retains its inflectional morphology (i.e. the clause, were it to be stripped of the nominalizing enclitics, could stand alone as a fully grammatical sentence). And, as seen earlier, the locative enclitic =ṭonhkʰay ‘toward’ is added after a nominalizing object-marking determiner enclitic, which is =ʔyowan in this case.

3.10.3.3. Juxtaposed clauses which may function as relative clauses

In addition to the robust strategies for forming internal-head relative clauses which were discussed in the previous section, there are examples of what appear to be single sentences composed of two finite verbs. These examples do show any verbal morphology that would indicate one verb is dependent upon or embedded within another verb. Before specific examples of this phenomenon are introduced, it is worthwhile to repeat an example from the previous section, which is given in (549) below.
(549) Example of nominalized clause functioning as internal-head RC (H I: 17)

\[?at\text{-i}:k\text{-he} \, \tilde{c}\text{hi} \tilde{t}a \, [?]a\text{c}h:\text{-aw}:an \, \text{dohlo} \text{Ok}\]
\[?at\text{-i}:k\text{-he} \, \tilde{c}\text{hi} \tilde{t}a \, ?a\text{c}h:\text{-aw}:an]_{RCO} \text{dohlo} \text{Ok}\]
\[/\tilde{c}\text{hi} \tilde{t}a \, ?a\text{c}h:\text{-a-w=wan} \, \text{dohlo-}k\text{-}\varnothing/\]
3C.SG-POSS bird~game catch-PFV=DET.OBJ take.off-DIR-PFV

‘(He) took off his own game that (he) had caught’

The narrative from which the above example comes is quite repetitive. The same events (a quarrel between jilted lovers who eventually transform into animal species) are repeated over and over again. This somewhat tedious oral literature device has the happy side effect that the speaker is given the opportunity to produce slight variations in what are functionally the same statements. Compare (549) above with the following example from the same text in (550) below.

(550) Possible RC with juxtaposed finite clauses and no nominalization (H I: 21)

\[\tilde{c}\text{hi} \tilde{t}a \, [?]a\text{c}h:\text{aw} \, \text{dolho},\]
\[\tilde{c}\text{hi} \tilde{t}a \, ?a\text{c}h:\text{aw} \, \text{dolho}\]
\[/\tilde{c}\text{hi} \tilde{t}a \, ?a\text{c}h:\text{a-w} \, \text{dolho-}w/\]
bird~game catch-PFV take.off-PFV

‘(the) game (he) caught (he) took off’

The two clauses in (550) above have exactly the same verb stems as found in (549) above. In fact, they describe the same thing. The character repeatedly returns to traps to retrieve small game. Example (550) appears to have no overt indication that it might include a relative clause: there is no nominalized verb, nor is there a coreferential pronoun or kinship prefix. Yet the meaning of these two clauses does not appear to be one of ‘(he) caught game; (he) took (them) off’; rather, the verb ‘catch-PFV’ is restricting the interpretation of the noun ‘bird-game’ to only those
which were caught in the trap. If this example is viewed in the larger discourse chunk of which it is a part, it is even more evident that it functions as a relative clause. Example (551) below gives the (550) in context (it is broken down into subparts for easy reference).

(551) The discourse context for example (550)  (H I: 21)

(551a) hó:liw liklisyey
    hō:liw liklisyey
    /hō:li-w   liklis=yey/
    leave-PFV   raptor.species=AGT

(551b) []št:i čihtà mín:an( )yowan( )tóŋh[ʰ]ay,
    []št:i čihtà min:an=yowan=tóŋh[ʰ]ay
    /št:i            čihtà    min:an-Ø=yowan=tóŋh[ʰ]ay/
    3C.SG.AGT       bird~game   trap=DET.OBJ=toward

(551c) čihtà?wan dólhow,
    čihtà?wan dolhow
    /čihtà=ʔwan    dolho-w/
    bird~game=DET.OBJ  take.off-PFV

(551d) čihtà []ćʰ:aw dólhow
    čihtà ?ćʰ:aw dolhow
    /čihtà        ?ćʰ:a-w    dolho-w/
    bird~game    catch-PFV    take.off-PFV

‘(551a) (He) went off, Sparrowhawk, (551b) to the game that he himself trapped; (551c) (he) took the game off the snares; (551d) (the) game (he) caught (he) took off.’

A careful investigation of (551a-d) reveals two things: (1) the normal relative clause strategy is employed in (551b) to form an oblique (‘to the game that he himself trapped’); (2) the utterance in (551d) is presented as a clarification of (551c) as to which game were taken off of traps. This leaves no room for an interpretation
of (551d) other than that of a relative clause strategy: the game animals are being restricted to only those caught (in the traps) from all other game animals.

But is this a relative clause strategy with no overt morphology? If the clause from (551c) is examined, it will be seen that it is identical to the forms of (551d) in all but two ways. Both of these are repeated below (with same numbering).

(551c) (repeated from above)  (551d) (repeated from above)

číhtāʔwan dólhow,  číhtāʔʔáčʰ:aw dólhow
číhtāʔwan dolhow  číhtāʔʔačʰ:dolhow
/číhtāʔwan dolho-w/ /číhtāʔʔačʰ:dolho-w/
game=DET.OBJ take.off-PFV game catch-PFV take.off-PFV

‘(he) took the game off the snares’  ‘(the) game (he) caught (he) took off.’

As seen above, (551c) differs from (551d) in having only one verb (it does not have the verb ‘catch’ following ‘game’) and in the presence of the object-marking determiner enclitic =ʔwan on the noun ‘game’. This last difference is important: (551d) shows no nominalizing morphology on the verb, but it also lacks any case-marking morphology on the noun ‘game’. Recall that all case-marking morphology outside of the pronouns and kinship terms is represented by enclitics which attach to constituents larger than the phonological word. Nominalized clauses are, by definition, NPs, and it is only at the end of the NP that a case-marking enclitic may attach. In other words, the lack of any nominal enclitics on ‘game’ in (551d) is evidence that it is within a larger NP, albeit one with no unambiguous overt morphological indication of its nominal status. Example (552) below comes from later in the same narrative and shows the same game-collection event with an
internal-head relative clause composed of juxtaposed finite verbs with no nominal enclitics present on the head noun; however, this example includes a coreferential pronoun as part of the relative clause and therefore shows more similarity to those seen in the relative clauses with overt clause nominalization.

(552) RC with juxtaposed finite verbs and coreferential pronoun  (H I: 23)

\[
\text{ʔat}:i:k^h: e \text{či}:ta [ʔ]\text{ʔa}:\text{čʰ}:aw \text{dól} \text{how}
\]

\[
/\text{ʔat}:i:k^h: e \text{či}:ta ?\text{ʔa}:\text{čʰ}:aw \text{dól} \text{how}/
\]

\[
3c.\text{SG-POSS} \quad \text{bird-game} \quad \text{catch-PFV} \quad \text{take.off-PFV}
\]

‘(He) took off his own game (that he) caught’

Juxtaposition of two finite verbs without any nominalizing morphology, then, may be used as a relative clause formation strategy. Note that it is not just the lack of nominal morphology on the noun head of the relative clause that suggests a NP analysis for the first clause in (552) above. Southern Pomo is an AOV language (AV & OV), and the object of a transitive verb generally comes immediately before the verb. The juxtaposed clauses above, which show no argument between the verbs, fit the syntax of an OV sentence type.

3.10.3.4. Summary of clause nominalization strategies

The different clause nominalization types discussed thus far, including both relative clause strategies and more basic clause nominalization, are summarized below in Table (52).
Table (52): Summary of nominalized clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOMINALIZED CLAUSES WHICH ARE NOT RCs</th>
<th>NOMINALIZED CLAUSE WHICH ARE RCs</th>
<th>JUXTAPOSED CLAUSES WHICH MAY FUNCTION AS RCs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overt nominalizing morphology on clause</strong></td>
<td><strong>As core argument</strong></td>
<td><strong>As oblique</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Functions as a relative clause</em></td>
<td><strong>NO</strong></td>
<td><strong>YES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Internal-head, non-reduction type</em></td>
<td><strong>N/A</strong></td>
<td><strong>YES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Internal-head, gap type</em></td>
<td><strong>N/A</strong></td>
<td><strong>NO</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>RC includes coreferential pronoun or kinship prefix</em></td>
<td><strong>N/A</strong></td>
<td><strong>YES (OPTIONAL?)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10.4. Coordination

In addition to the types of clause combination which have already been discussed, such as switch-reference suffixes and the opposite enclitic ||=ʔnaṭill| ‘but; however’, clauses may be linked by the conjunction (really a disjunction) word he: ‘or’, as seen in (553) below (with he: and its translation in bold and underlined).

(553) Example of two clauses linked by he: ‘or’ (O 1: 24)

miy:ame miy:aṭʰe he:miniw
miy:ame miy:aṭʰe he:miniw
/miy:a-me-Ø miy:a-tʰe-Ø he:mini-w/ 3-father-AGT 3-mother-AGT how.do-PFV

diʔbuw he: muʔkukaw.
diʔbuw he: muʔkukaw
/diʔbu-w he: muʔku-ka-w/ bury-PFV or with.heat-finish-CAUS-PFV
‘Her father and mother somehow buried or cremated her.’
Example (553) above also highlights the main method of conjoining nominals: *miyame* ‘her father’ and *miyatʰe* ‘[her] mother’ are simply listed one after the other with no conjunction or bound morphemes to indicate the relationship.
Appendix I: Partial paradigms for kinship terms

These paradigms draw upon Halpern’s notes, (H I-IX), and (O I). As in the main body of the grammar, symbols in ( ) were found in the original but are presently considered suspect; symbols in [ ] have been added by me; forms with ? after them are possible errors or are otherwise problematic. I have not included Gifford’s interesting material (with the exception of one noted form for ‘spouse’) for three reasons:

(1) Gifford’s transcription system makes it virtually impossible to be sure of many sounds without outside evidence (e.g. he collapses all six voiceless coronal plosives to <t>), and there is evidence from neighboring Kashaya that leads me to feel great caution must be exercised in any efforts to fill in a kinship paradigm on the basis of only some forms: Kashaya (unlike Southern Pomo) has suppletive forms of the root for ‘mother’ which are distinguished solely by alveolar versus dental articulation: ʔaʔkei ‘my mother (formal) and miθke ‘your mother’ (retranscribed in my orthography from Buckley 1994: 65). Gifford’s forms might therefore hide important phonetic differences.

(2) Gifford did not know anything of the language and it is an open question as to whether the translations he provides are always accurate.

(3) At least one of the consultants with whom Gifford worked might have spoken a divergent dialect for which I do not otherwise have good documentation; his distinction between ‘husband’ and ‘wife’, though I accept it as accurate, is at odds with the modern usage (‘modern’ = speakers born in late 19th century) of Gifford’s ‘husband’ term for both sexes of spouse.

Though these tables are as yet incomplete, they should prove invaluable for anyone seeking to understand the morphology of Southern Pomo kinship terms. Each Kinship term is arranged alphabetically by root.
<p>| (\text{||-ba-č-||}) | father’s father, father’s father’s brother |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| -ba-č- fa.fa.       | SG          | PL          |
| AGT                 |             |             |
| 1                   | ?a:bačen    |             |
| 2                   | mib?ač      | mib?ačye    |
| 3                   | miy:abač    |             |
| 3c                  | mib?ač      |             |
| PAT                 |             |             |
| 1                   | ?a:bato     |             |
| 2                   | mib?ačen    |             |
| 3                   |             |             |
| 3c                  | mib?ačen    |             |
| POSS                |             |             |
| 1                   | ?a:bače:kʰe |             |
| 2                   | mib?ače:kʰe |             |
| 3                   |             |             |
| 3c                  |             |             |
| VOC                 |             |             |
| ADULT SPEECH        |             |             |
| bače?               | bačyačo     |             |
| CHILD SPEECH        |             |             |
| ba:ba?              |             |             |
| OBL                 |             |             |
| -e                  |             |             |
| 1                   |             |             |
| 2                   |             |             |
| 3                   |             |             |
| 3c                  | mib?ače     |             |
| -ko                 |             |             |
| 1                   |             |             |
| 2                   |             |             |
| 3                   |             |             |
| 3c                  | mib?ače:kʰo |             |
| -šan                |             |             |
| 1                   |             |             |
| 2                   |             |             |
| 3                   |             |             |
| 3c                  |             |             |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
<th>-ča-č- mo.fa.</th>
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<th>PL</th>
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</thead>
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<td>3c</td>
<td>mač:aćen</td>
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<td>POSS</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mič:ače:kʰe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3c</td>
<td>mač:aćyačo:kʰe</td>
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<td>VOC</td>
<td>ADULT SPEECH</td>
<td>čačeʔ</td>
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<td>CHILD SPEECH</td>
<td>ťa:ţaʔ ~ ťa:ţa</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>miy:ačače:deʔ ~ miy:ač(č)če[.]de</td>
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<td>=šo</td>
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<td>3c</td>
<td>mač:aćyačo:šan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
father's younger brother, stepfather, mother's younger sister's husband, father's sister's son

| ||-či-ki-|| | father's younger brother, stepfather, mother's younger sister’s husband, father’s sister’s son |
|---|---|
| -či-ki- | fa.y.bro. | |
| AGT | 1 | ?ačičen | ?ačikyey |
| | 2 | mičiki | |
| | 3 | miy:ačiki | |
| | 3c | | |
| PAT | 1 | ?ačik(ʰ)to | ?ačikyačon |
| | 2 | | |
| | 3 | | |
| | 3c | mač:ikin | |
| POSS | 1 | ?ačike:kʰe | |
| | 2 | | |
| | 3 | | |
| | 3c | | |
| VOC | ADULT SPEECH | čikeʔ | |
| | CHILD SPEECH | | |
| | 1 | | |
| | 3 | | |
| OBL | -e | 1 | |
| | | 2 | |
| | | 3 | |
| | | 3c | |
| | =ko | 1 | ?ačikyačo:ko | |
| | | 2 | |
| | | 3 | |
| | | 3c | mač:iki:ko | |
| | -šan | 1 | | |
| | | 2 | |
| | | 3 | |
| | | 3c | |
### mother’s brother (younger and older?)

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<th>mo.y.bro.</th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
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<td>ʔa:čučyey</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3c</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAT</td>
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<td>ʔa:čuť:o</td>
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<td>3c</td>
<td>mačučen</td>
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<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>ADULT SPEECH</td>
<td>čuče?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>CHILD SPEECH</td>
<td>ťu:tu ~ źu:ţude?</td>
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<td>ʔa:čuče:ko</td>
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<td>-dakʰad-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-dakʰad-</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| AGT  | 1      | ?aw:iṭkʰan* |
|      | 2      | miʔdakʰan   |
|      | 3      | miy:aṭ(h)kan|
|      | 3C     |             |

| PAT  | 1      |             |
|      | 2      |             |
|      | 3      | miy:aṭ(h)kʰaden |
|      | 3C     | maʔdakʰden   |

| POSS | 1      |             |
|      | 2      |             |
|      | 3      |             |
|      | 3C     |             |

| VOC  | ADULT SPEECH | CHILD SPEECH |
|      | 1            |              |
|      | 3            |              |

| OBL  | -e         | 1            |
|      | 2          | 3            |
|      | 3C         |              |

| -ko  | 1          |              |
|      | 2          |              |
|      | 3          |              |
|      | 3C         |              |

| -šan | 1          |              |
|      | 2          |              |
|      | 3          |              |
|      | 3C         |              |

*From Gifford’s <awitkan> ‘H[usbands]’.\*
| ||-di-ki-|| | older sister |
|---|---|---|
| -di-ki-o.sis. |  |  |
| **AGT** | 1 | ?a:diken | ?a:dikyey |
|  | 2 | mid?iki | mid?ikyey |
|  | 3 | miy:adiki |  |
|  | 3c | mad?iki |  |
| **PAT** | 1 |  |  |
|  | 2 | mid?ikin |  |
|  | 3 |  |  |
|  | 3c |  |  |
| **POSS** | 1 | ?a:dike:kʰe | ?a:dikyačo:kʰe |
|  | 2 | mid?iki:kʰe | mid?ikyačon |
|  | 3 |  |  |
|  | 3c |  |  |
| **VOC** | **ADULT SPEECH** | dikeʔ | dikyačo |
|  | **CHILD SPEECH** | diki |  |
|  | 1 |  |  |
|  | 3 |  |  |
| **OBL** | -e | 1 |  |
|  | 2 |  |  |
|  | 3 |  |  |
|  | 3c |  |  |
|  | -ko | 1 |  |
|  | 2 |  |  |
|  | 3 |  |  |
|  | 3c | mad?iki:ko | mad?ikiyačo:ko |
|  | -šan | 1 |  |
|  | 2 |  |  |
|  | 3 |  |  |
|  | 3c |  |  |
### -ka-č-

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<tr>
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#### AGT

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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mikač</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>miy:ak:ač (?)</td>
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<td>3c</td>
<td>mak:ač</td>
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#### PAT

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<td>mak:ačen mak:ačyačon</td>
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#### POSS

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#### VOC

**ADULT SPEECH**

kače?  

**CHILD SPEECH**

ka:ka?  

#### OBL

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#### -ko

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<tr>
<td>3c</td>
<td>mak:ače:ko mak:ačyačo:ko</td>
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#### -šan

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<tr>
<td>3c</td>
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<tr>
<td>-k:a-</td>
<td>friend; cousin's wife(?)</td>
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<td>SG</td>
</tr>
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<td>AGT</td>
<td>1  haḵ:an</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  mik:an</td>
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<tr>
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<td>3  miy[:]ak:an</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAT</td>
<td>1  haḵ:aṭo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  mik:an (?)</td>
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<td>3c mak:aden</td>
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<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>1  haḵ:ade:kʰe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2  mik:ade:kʰe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3c</td>
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<td>3c</td>
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<td>-kod-</td>
<td>sister’s husband</td>
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Appendix II: Texts (H I-IX) and (O I-II)

(O I) Text of Elizabeth Dollar

[Adapted in my orthography from (Oswalt 1978)]

Retribution for Mate-Stealing -- A Southern Pomo Tale, Dry Creek dialect
Told by Elizabeth Dollar. Recorded and analyzed by Robert Oswalt, California Indian Language Center

1. ham:u ʔyodo yal:abiy ʔam:ahič':o:li, nopʰ:ow
   that be-Quot. first world become-D lived
   They say that when the world first came into being there lived

   own-spouse-with adults=with young women two.
   a husband and a wife -- with the adults were two young children

2. ham:i ʔyodo ʔač:ay č'a:šba hačʰ:owʔdu.
   there be-Quot. man always used to visit.
   It is said that a man always used to visit there.

3. ham:u ʔyodo ʔahkadːu baḥ孵ʔwan ʔoh:on hudʔakay.
   that be-Quot. pubescent big be-obj. marry wanted.
   It is said he wanted to marry the more mature girl.

4. ni:li miy:atʰe hiʔdiʔduy, hudʔaka:ʔoʃ
thus-do-D mother-subj. drove away, wanting=none
   The mother drove him away, not wanting

   maḥṭikmeden ʔoh:onhkʰ:e.
   own-daughter-obj. will let marry
   him to marry her daughter.

5. ham:u ʔyodo haːmin kuṭ:u šuːkʰ:ay ʔikʰ:aw,
   that be-Quot. on that just breathing break,
   Simply broken-hearted over that,
daughter-obj. mountains used to go off used to go off.
the daughter used to go off to the mountains, used to go off.

6. ham:u ?yodo ma:?i, befishu ?al:a:ša befishu semanu,
that be-quot. long time, some months some weeks,
For a long time, some months or some weeks, she used to

ha:meť ?ač:ay=ton mi:may?dedu do:no huw:adu,
like that man=on cry here and there mountain wandering,
cry over the man like that, wandering around the mountains,

own-mother own man hate-D.
because her mother hated her man.

thus-do-D be-quot. this man long time be=wont wander
Meanwhile, this man had, for a long time, been wont to wander around,

man that also bad feeling-C
that man also feeling bad.

8. niba ?yodo daʔaw ham:i do:no.
thus-do-C be-quot. found there mountain.
Then, it is said, he found her there in the mountains.

9. ?ać:i=ton mi:mačen, či:yowen, daʔaba, čoh:omba,
self=on crying-D sitting-D, having found-C, having married-C
Having found her sitting, crying for him, he married her

šud?eduy.
led away.
and led her away.

10. niba dap:omba, šud?eduy.
thus-do-C having stolen-C led away. Having done so, having stolen her, he led her away.

11. niba ?yodo ham:i ?aṭ:iyey nopʰ:oː=li, thus-do-C be-Quot. there selves-Sbj. Live=at, Then, it is said, there where they were living, ?aḥkʰahmo nopʰ:oː=li, ham:un šul:adu. creek live=at that-Obj. got sick. Where they were living by a creek, she got sick.

12. niːli ?yodo miy:ʔikí ham:i huwːadu mačeti. thus-do-D be-Quot. younger sibling-Sbj. there came to guard. When that happened, her younger sister came there to take care of her.

13. niba ?yodo maʃʔikiːʔe ?aːʔay thus-do-C be-Quot. own-older sister’s man Having done so, she married her older sister’s man, makːodan ʔcohːon. own-sister’s husband-obj married her own brother-in-law.

14. niba hamːun kahsaʔ thus-do-C that-Obj. deserting Then, deserting her, maṭ:ikčamṭo ʔcohːon miyaːkon. own-wife’s sister-Obj. married sister’s husband-Sbj, the sister’s husband married his own sister-in-law.

15. niba hamːiːʔow haːːbiy hoːliw. thus-do-C there=from fleeing left. Having done so, he left fleeing from there.

16. niba hamːun yodo hamːi baʔːaʔ kahsaʔ-- thus-do-C that-Obj. be-Quot. there woman desert
Then, it is said, he deserted that woman there – his own wife.

Meanwhile, the wife, when they had left,

17A. “hi:yow, ko?di ʔwa ʔmaya ʔto beʃ do:yoʔaw. Yes good is you-pl.-Sbj. me this time play trick on.
“Yes, that’s a good trick you played on me this time [sarcasm].

17B. ham:u ʔnaṭi ʔma maʔben ŏaʔaw that be-although-C you-Sg.-Sbj. on this much

ma hodʔodenkʰe.
things will get
But because of this you will get lots of [bad] things.

17C. ši:baʔyaw hodʔodenkʰe ʔa:maya
sorry will get you-Pl.-Sbj.
You’ll be sorry

ʔa:maya ʔto du:mačan=ʔon,
you-Pl.-Sbj. me cheating=on,
for your cheating me,

ʔa:maya ʔto ma:li ʔkay:ama kahsa=ʔon.
you-Pl.-Sbj. me here alone deserted=on
for your leaving me here alone.

17D. ham:un miʔo pʰa:la ha:meʃ wa ḵa Mana čahtinčikʰ:e. that-Obj. you-Sg.-Obj. also like that be thing will happen
That same thing will happen to you too [cursing the sister]. [in O]

17E. miʔo pʰala ha:meʃ wa ḵa Mana čahtinčikʰ:e, ḵaʒo
you-Sg.-Obj. also like that be thing will happen me
ʔam:a čahtinwa :meʃ.”
thing happened like.
That same thing will happen to you, as happened to me.

17. (return to outer sentence) nihi: yodo maʔdakden
    said be-Quot. own-spouse-Obj.
said to her husband and

    ma:ʃikin ?aʔiʔo ʔcay mahsamba
    own-younger sibling-Obj. self-Obj. man having taken-C

    pʰil:abi:li.
    having run away-D
    younger sister when they had run away taking her man.

18. ni:li ʔyodo ʔakhʰahmo ʔač:əʔaw yowen,
    thus-do-D be-Quot. creek big being-D

    ʔakhʰa woʔo ʔač:əli.
    water roiled having risen.
Meanwhile, when the creek was big, the water having risen roiled,

    ʔač:ay yo:mu,
    man same-Sbj.
    that very same man,

    will leave be 1.
    “I am going to leave.

18B. kahsakʰ:e ʔwa mṯaʔa,”
    will desert be you-Sg.-Obj. I
    I am going to desert you,”

18 (return). nihiw ham:un
    said that-Obj.
said to that
maʔdakden pʰa:la maʔ:ikčamʔo ʔti ʔoh:on.

own-spouse-Obj. other own-wife’s sister-Obj. self-Sbj. married.

other wife of his, his own sister-in-law that he had married.

19. niba ʔyodo ʔam:a ʔahkʰa=ʔon ʔohloκ ʔah:ay bahtʰe --

Thus-do-C be-Quot. thing water=on washed loose wood big

Then, it is said, something on the water, a big piece of wood washed loose

kʰa:le ʔohlo:=ʔon -- ha:min ʔum:aba,

tree washed loose=on on that having sat-C

-- on a tree washed loose – having sat on that,

pʰa:la ʔaʔ:ay yowan kahsak.

also woman aforementioned-Obj. deserted.

he also deserted that aforementioned woman [floating away].

20. ham:u ʔyodo ham:i ʔaʔ:iʔo maʔdakʰan kahs:=li,

that be-Quot. there self-Obj. own-spouse-Sbj. desert=at,

They say that there where her spouse had abandoned her,

ham:i ʔayama ʔi:yow.

there alone sat.

[the first wife] sat alone.


that be-Quot. something to be eaten was absent.

There was nothing to eat.

22. ni:li ʔyowa mu biʔdu

Thus-do-D be that acorn

It was then that she found acorns

kʰa:le=ʔon ʔat:ak=yey daʔdiw ham:un daʔʔaba,

tree=on woodpecker=Sbj. stored away that-Obj. found-C

that a woodpecker had stored away on a tree,

ham:un ʔakʰ:a:na dadʔaʔ:ba, ham:un ʔuh:uba,

that-Obj. in water set down-C, that-Obj. ate-C
set them down into water [to leach], ate them,

ha:min kuṭu nopʰ:ow.
on that just lived.
and lived on just that.

That be-Quot. there died-D, bones were found --
They say that, when she died there, bones were found --

madan ?iyha daʔayaw.
her bones were found.
her bones were found.

24. miy:ame miy:atʰe he:miniw diʔbuw he: muʔkukaw.
father-Sbj. mother-Sbj. how do buried or burned up.
Her father and mother somehow buried or cremated her.

there be-Quot. woman used to cry always was heard
There, they say, a woman always used to be heard crying,

you-Pl.-Sbj. me sorry make become.
“You made me suffer.

on that you-Pl.-Sbj. will pay be
you will pay.

25C. ha:min maya ham:un ?a:maya ?to do:yοʔa=ʔon
on that you-Pl.-Sbj. that-Obj. you-Pl.-Sbj. me played trick=on

you-Pl.-Sbj. will pay be all.
For that, for the trick you played on me, you will pay for all of it.

you-Pl.-Obj. also bad things will happen be
Bad things will happen to you too

ʔaʔ:o ʔa:maya kahsaka :meʔ.
me you-Pl.-Sbj. deserted like.
like the way you deserted me.

that be all.
That is all.

(O II) Text of Elsie Allen

ELSIE ALLEN SPEAKING IN SOUTHERN POMO, MAKAHMO DIALECT
ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK AT THE DAM SITE
(transcribed by R. L. Oswalt)

Pʰalaʔčeyhčaʔahčahčeyʔiyha da:čʰat.
whitemen Indian bone dug up.
Whitemen dug up Indian bones.

ʔaʔ:a ʔehčʰečin čaw:an daʔfaw wan... ground digging in things found the
The things found while digging in the ground...

Mahčukun yowa ʔto kʰaʔdiba Pʰa:la ha:meʔ ca:dukaw.
they past me invite another like that cause to see
they invited me to watch another such occasion.

Ham:u ?yowa a čadu mahčukun ʔaʔa ʔehčʰey.
that past I see they ground dig in.
Thus it was I watched them digging in the ground.

Ham:u ?yowa mahčukun ʔaʔa ʔehčʰe:ba,
that past they ground having dug,
When they dug in the ground,

Hoʔ:o čaʔa daʔfenkaw.
tooth one came upon.
they came upon one tooth.
The tooth they came upon, that they,


having given the land, had us bury -- tooth one we buried.

Then, cremated Indians, and also remains of something burnt were found.

Whatever they had us bury on the land that had been given to us


past place we buried then another bone, basket bone also

we buried there. Then another bone, also a basket awl bone,


past we bury. That past I everything go around asking

we buried. I went around asking about everything.

Then they told us, while they were taking things out of the ground

They said that they could tell us how many years

that Indian here were buried the, in past time

that it had been that Indians were buried here,

how many years in the past that Indians had lived here.

having done so me that dislike the;
When they had done so ... I had disliked that [digging up bones];

čahnu ʔalhokoyaw wan, ʔa ʔačhṭi ʔehnew. ʔehnew.
word talk about the I position stopped. stopped.

but after this talk, I quit that position. Stopped.

ʔo hiʔ:aduy. ham:un seʔ [ceʔ] maʔi hinṭilkukḥča
me feeling left that how long Indian people
That feeling left me. Wanting to know how long the Indian people

ʔa: mahčukunčoko ham:un ha:meʔ hodʔod:u.
I with them that like doing
I was with them in what they were doing.

Halpern’s texts (H I-IX)

Retyped versions of (H I-IX)

The originals of these documents are housed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at the University of California at Berkeley. Halpern’s symbols have been converted to the orthography of this grammar; however, every effort has been made to preserve the original distribution of Halpern’s symbols. Thus accent marks, transcription mistakes, non-phonemic nasals (e.g. the velar nasal), vowel nasalization, and incorrect word breaks have all been kept. Only items within brackets [ ] are additions by me (usually possible corrections). Anything in parentheses ( ) is in Halpern’s original but is suspected of being an error. Letters within ( ) should not be taken to be errors by default. For example, the /y/ of the patient case enclitic ||=yčon|| is recorded by Halpern as <i> following a vowel. At an
earlier stage of my analysis, I considered this <i> an error, and many instances of the patient case enclitic have this <i> (which is really /y/) enclosed within ( ) in error. Following each Southern Pomo text is Halpern’s free translation of the story.

[Halpern Version 1]
So. Pomo
Text I, 14:73-15:7
Story of lik lis and weč

1. liklisey yódo kú:lughkʰyay ho:liw?dun, čihtá min[.]ánṭi,/_
hawk it is said outwards went, bird trapping
ha: míní:li yódo miy[:aṭ[-t(h)]]kʰan biʔdu čóhšin, kʰaʔ[:]áškaden
then it is said his wife acorn pounds morning

2. hí:mo čiʔ[:]liw, biʔduóbóʔwan hí:mo wá:ní hú:ʃay,/_
she makes a hole in sand for leaching that flour in hole she pours
há:miní:ba hí:mak, [ʔ]ahkʰa huʃʃmaw,/_
then there, into there? water keeps pouring in.

3. baʔ[:]áywan hó:ʔómhuy, há:miní:ba baʔ[:]áywan šuʔéduy,/ that woman he loves then that woman he takes away
má:mu hó:liw [ʔ]aʃtikʰe [ʔ]ahčatóɡhkhʰyay, baʔ[:]áy [ʔ]ʃ:aw,/ this one go his house-to woman [blank]

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há:miní:li miy[.]:áme kуlu:tw háč:ow./
then his fa. from outside he comes back
há:miní:li miy[.]:á[t=ṭʰ]kʰan ṭač:ow./ káy[.]áma
then his wife was not there alone

[ʔ]at:ikkʰe káwi ṭač:a dáʔjaw. hí:no yá:la
his child at home he finds all covered with ashes

[ʔ]at:ikkʰe káwi či:yow dáʔjaw./
his child sits he finds.

há:miní:ba [ʔ]a(h)kʰ:á:na wá:la, maʔdákʰan čónhi
then to water he goes down his wife acorn meal

tí:ka:wa ni ča:du./
where (she was) soaking he looks

then at water his wife was not

in acorn-soaking place water didn’t pour in (dry)

then the man basket
dihčíba hamíwi čónhi wan ṭóhčow./
picked up into this acorn flour he put in.

há:miní:ba [ʔ]ahkʰ[--č-, my error?]ájhkʰay hebʔéduy./
then home he took it.

then fire he makes inside he

či:hta mí:hač wantόjhkʰ:le muʔjákaw./
bird which he brought in (/) some of it he cooks.

há:miní:ba [ʔ]at:ikkʰe ká:wi wan čuhúkaw./
then his child that he feeds

then after that he sleeps.
síma mití:ṭʰó:ff emé:layey kánew,/ má:mun waʔ[.]an
he can’t sleep flea bites this ?
daylight comes this monkey-faced owl song sings

líklísyey káli huʔ[:]ɗbi [ʔ] ba šóčiw, kʰáʔ[:]law
--- up he raises head [blank] hears in morning

líklísyey tó:b[i:]y.,/
--- he gets up

kóloːšé: kóloːšé:
máʔo húčiyáka šú:yayáka

6. má:mu líklísyey hó:liw.,/ dó:noʔhkʰay hwádu./
this hawk goes to hill goes
dó:noʔhkʰay hwádu./ dó:noʔ [ʰ]uʃu kahkóʔi[y]
to hill [blank] hill top he came to

⁹iwiʔni kahkóʔi[y],/ maʔám:aŋhkʰay hwálaw./
pass [blank] downhill he went down

má:mu fêliʔewihwaʔ,/ há:miní:ba ?áhča dáʔčaw,
this he goes on the flat then house he finds

house he finds inside he looks in his wife

wéčéː(ʔ)čon bē:new mít:iw./
--- hugs lies down, is lying down

líklísyey ?áčːa kʰaʔ[:]áʃmay, maʔá:kʰden héʔ[:]e
--- inside he runs into his wife hair

⁹h[ʃ:]bákʰʔkʰádu./
he grabs outside he drags he takes her, reclaims her he drags her along

wéčei:ko:wéčeiːko:
kʰaʔbe kʃ[:]li dáʔʃamčiʔya
rock black let’s meet together

húwolkón
coming out on top of the ridge
7. má:mu wéč:eyey kʰat:áduy, hiʔda mí:sa:to̦w kʰa[t:]áduy, 
this runs road beside he runs

waʔ[ː]jatón tʰiʔ[ː]jimani či:yow, (wéč:eyey)./ [Halpern’s ( )]
before (them) onto pass he sits (----)

liklisyey tʰiʔ[ː]jimani maʔdá:kʰden [ʔ]jihálok./
---- onto pass his wife he drags up

wéč:eyey liklis čóko čaʔjèmhuy mád?en./
--- with (?) fights (e.o.) is jealous.

face they scratch e.o both tired they quit

[ʔ]aʔ:eyey čaʔjèmhuy yáwan [=yowɔ?],/ liklisyey koʔdiʔwa
they (selves) fight e.o. that? ---- good

Partner (?) I’m tired child to see [blank] going

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] game he takes off

ten home he goes wood dry

cóʔdoci ba hwádu./
puts on shoulder he goes, walks.

home he arrives his child he picks up and puts on lap

biʔ:díči ba hí:no dáhkʰ[ʔ]un, hoʔjóʔjow./
having picked him up ashes he brushes off he goes tsk, tsk; he clucks sympathy

after that that child on ground he put fire he builds,
starts.

he, self game he brings in some of it he cooks when it is cooked his

ká:wi wan čuh:úkaw./
child [blank] he feeds.
   then that baby he puts to sleep that baby he sleeps with

kʰá:w[:]aw má:mu:fo wé:č:eyey kó:ʔo [ʔ]i:min./
in morning [blank] [blank] song sings.

líklisyey šok:őbi[y]./
[blank] he listens.

10. líklisyey tó:bi[y], [ʔ]oh[:]ó:bá:ma:w./
    [blank] he gets up fire he makes bah
    [bah=??]

pʰ[aʔlő:loy./ [ʔ]i:šuʃ hē?bey hí:no či:hkö:dyu:/ hâ:m:
    he rolls it in hands poker he picks up ashes he pokes right there
    he

flour that wh. he rolled in hands he places ? [H] he covers, cooks under ashes

hâ:m[:]un šá:dʔak šá:dʔá:ba hí:no daʔiʔí:ña ba kó?:di
this, same one he takes out he took it out ashes he flicks off w. hand, pats it well

čúhkayhíba kâ:wi?wânkʰ e bâ:new/ hâ:mi:ni:ba
he brushes off w. rag (?), bunch of grass for his child he puts it down then

poker having picked up fire [blank] well he covers (w. dirt).

11. há:mi:ni:ba hó:liw. dón:oŋhːay hwádu (repeat sev.),
    then he goes to hill, uphill he goes

tʰíw[:j]ím:ni: kahkó:ši[y]/ hâ:m[:]iːtow [ʔ]am[:]áŋhːay hwálaw,
[blank] he arrived from there downhill he goes down

fēl:šëwi hwádu./hâ:mi:ni:ba [ʔ]â:ča kʰ[aʔ]:]áfmay./
--- --- then inside he runs into

hâ:mi:ni:ba then his wife hair he grabs [blank] outside he drags.

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háminiːba čʰʔhkaɕʰkʰádu./
then he drags her along.

Song 2.

12. wēcːeyey tóːbi[y], ba kʰaːtːáduy, hiʔdamsːtóːw da
[blank] gets up [blank] he runs beside the road ---
kʰaːtːáduy./ waʔ[ː]ʔaːtːon tʰiːwː[ː]imani čahciw./ hamiːʔːow máːcːey./
he runs ahead of them [blank] he sits from here he waits

lɪklɪsyey maʔdákʰːden tʰiːwː[ː]imani [ʔ]ihcːálok./ maː čaʔťɛmːhuy./
[blank] his wife [blank] he drags up [blank] they fight e.o.

baʔ[ː]jǎːy wámːu [ː=waː]haːbːi[y] [ʔ]ǎːcːay sɛːwey tóŋkʰːay kʰaːtːáduy./
woman that ran away man new to she runs.

lɪklɪsyey cūːmːawaʔto háminiːp[ʰ]ːi ya káːde, duhsːùmahːa, káːwi
[blank] I’m tired therefore [blank] friend let’s quitchild
čːdedukʰːːjɛwʔa./
I’m going to see my child.

13. hóːliw [ʔ]aːtːi čʰtːa mínːaːni čʰtːa dólhow./
he goes [blank] [blank] to his traps game he takes off
čʰtáwan dólhoːn čaːhti mínːaːn./ súːleʔwan
that game taking off he resets his traps, puts them back. that rope
míːmːaw./ maː dúːkːu, hamiːnːa čʰtːaʔːwan [ʔ]ihcːícːaːba
he puts back (sev.) [blank] he finishes then that game he puts on back
[ʔ]əːhchːánkʰːay hóːliw./ [ʔ]aːhːay múkʰːːaʃ čːʔdoːcːiːba
to house he goes wood dry he puts on
čːddːódːudːu./ [ʔ]aːcːa hàːʃːow káːwi híːnːo yáːla čːyːow./
he carries on shoulder inside he comes back [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[ʔ]aːtːiːkʰːe káːwi bɨːdːičː[iː]/ híːnːo dáhp[ʰ]ːun káːwiːwánːtːon,
[blank] [blank] he picks up on lap [blank] [blank] [blank] from on the child
hoʔʃːoːʔow./ hamiːnːaːkʰːmːaːyow káːwiʔːwan [ʔ]aːmːːaːtːon bǎːneba
[blank] [blank] [blank] on ground he put down
After he got up he went outside. He fed his friend some of that wood and when he left he brought in some ashes and took them out.

14. Song – Wé:če’s song


He?bey ba hí:no čʰhkhóduy čónhi yówan hám[:li] bá:new, hi:no [ʔ]óho [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]


Kó?di [blank] [blank] he takes it out ashes he brushes off w. hand well

Cí?[:]íba bá:new, when he made it hà:mini:ba [ʔ]íhšùŋ [-ʔ?] hé?bey he puts it down [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he left

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] he went down on flat he went, came (?)---- [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] carrying.
16. wečeʔ:wám[:j] tu:b[ł], kʰaʔ[ł]:áduy hiʔ:da míšaʔowda
   [blank]   gets up [blank] [blank] [blank]
   kʰaʔ:áduy,/ há:miń:ba tʰ:w[:j]:imá:ni, tʰ:w[:j]:imá:ni čahči:w./líkísye
   [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he sits [blank]
   his [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
man
new to she runs away. [blank] therefore
[blank] [blank] [blank] child 1 am going to see.

    [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
    [blank] which he caught he took off ---
    [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
    he goes [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
ká:wi yówan biʔ:dič[i], kawí:wán hín:ö dáhpiʔ[ł]un, hoʔtʃ:óʔ:ʃ:ow,
that same child [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
    on ground this child he puts [blank] [blank] [blank]
    [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
    bihsúmba miʔtiw sí:ma,/ kawí:wán čóh:oy.
after he stopped eating [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

18. kʰáʔ[l]:aw weč[ł]:éye [ʔ]iḥmiŋkóʔo,
    [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
weč:e’s song.
líklisye šol:óbí[y], káli [length] p[h]iš:ášbi[y], ʃó:bi[y].
[blank] [blank] up he raises head [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]hpfʰ:aw./ čô:nhí wá:n múʔaw,šádʔa:k./ hí:no dahnáhyiw,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

kóʔdi dahnáhyiw mi bá:neu,/ [ʔ]hšuf [-ʔ?] hēʔbey [ʔ]ohnó:wan
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

dán:aw [ʔ]hšúʔwi [-ʔ?]/
[blank] w. poker

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he went up (?) [blank]

ʧʰiw[ʔ]imá:ni, hámítow [ʔ]ám:ânhkʰay wálaw./ ʧé:lé:wi hwaːk,/ [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he goes

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

p[h]aʔčí:ba, híʔa [ʔ]čːak,/ ʧʰihkʰaʔkʰádu:ly líklisye:/
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

haminí:ba kóʔo [ʔ]imín.
[blank] [blank] [blank]

líklis song.

20. wéč:eyey ʃó:bi[y], ʃá:tʰádu:ly híʔdamsát:ów kʰa:tʰádu,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he waits.

líklisye maʔdákʰ:den [ʔ]ičːáːlo:k, čaʔčéṃhuy, huʔ[ʔ]:úy [ʔ]aʔsúhmuy,/ [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

huʔ[ʔ]:úywan [ʔ]akʰ:őːhčan bá:lay yá:lə,/ líklisye duhsúmhulaʔya
those faces both blood all over. [blank] let’s quit

it’s good friend after this we will not fight e.o. it’s good you

friend will get married.

mín:an yowan tóŋkhay, čihta?wan dólhow, čihta [ʔ]áč:aw dólhow, [blank] [blank] [blank] that game he takes off [blank] wh. he caught [blank]

[ʔ]ahčánghk/ay, [ʔ]ah:[j]áy muk[ʔ:]ať he?bey, hám[j]un [blank] [blank] [blank] he picks up in hand this, that stick

čo?dóći[y], [ʔ]ahčánghk/ay čo?ódú, [ʔ]áča háč’ow,/ he picked up on back, shoulder [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]


hí:no da? pópow hí:no yá:la črí:ow da? tá:ba,/ ashes he dusts it off all over ashes sitting after he found ---


bá:maw,/ čihta?wan?ŋkh[e muʔjá:kaw, muʔčá:li káwi?wan [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] some of the game[blank]

ču:ukaw,/ bihsúmbak[há:yow káwi?wam[:u sí:ma mítiw./ [blank] after he stopped eating this boy went to sleep.


22. kʰáʔ[/]:aškáden, liklisyey tó:bi[y], [ʔ]óho bá:maw, morning [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
The boy wakes up.

He stops eating,

Then tree he found tree big old stands.

He goes dry he picked up [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

Wood dry he picked up [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

He comes close to house he comes [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

Quickly inside he peeped in.
háminí:li miy[.]á[t=τ(ʰ)]kʰan [ʔ]ač:a čí:yow,/ ḫi[.]hó:tʰi[.]hʰmá:ba
[blank] his wife inside she sits when he peepd in

ma?dákʰden dáʔtaw. miy[.]á[t=τ(ʰ)]kʰan čahtí háčʰ:ow.
his wife he saw his wife (again ?) in H come back

[blank] he went inside [blank] what [blank] [blank]

bégʰ:ay wádu./ čó:omá:ba wáʔma, pʰá[.]la[ʔ]ač:áywan./
here came. you ought to get married [blank] other man

hudʔa:thé to múʔto./ háminí:ba [ʔ]aṭːiːkʰe ká:wi wáŋhkʰe čihta
I don’t like you [blank] his child for him game he cooks.

[ʔ]ahšíyan čihta muʔtálí ká:wiːwan čuhᵘːkaw./ hámːːun bihsúːni
evening [blank] [blank] [blank] this he finished

ká:wi wámːːu súma múːtiːw./
child [blank] went to sleep.

26. kʰáʔ[.]laškáden pʰːʔoʔy/ háminí:ba ḫó:bi[y], [ʔ]oːhó báːmaw,
[blank] he awoke [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ba čihta muʔʃakaw./ háminí:ba [ʔ]aṭːiːkʰe ká:wiːwan duwːːyi,/
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] his child he wakes

háminí:ba čihta čuhːukaw./ máʔdakʰ:den čuhː[.]ukáʔʰof, ká:wiːwamːːu
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] his wife he didn’t feed [blank]

čihta bihsun, maʔdákʰ:den hídʔa hwáːkan, hóːlikʰːːe wáʔyá,
[blank] [blank] [blank] his wife outside he made her go out we’re going away

[ʔ]aṭːiːkʰe ká:wiyon biʔdiːčːiba hídʔa bidʔá:k, hídʔa
--- [blank] he picked up outside he carried him out outside

ká:wiːwan báːnew. liklísíyey čahtí [ʔ]ačːa húːmːay,/ háminí:ba
--- he put [blank] again in house he went in [blank]

inside fire he set fire his house he burned, set afire

kʰá:le bót:o [ʔ] yowanṭónhkʰa:y,/[huwádu huwádu huwádu,/
--- [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]


háːcw.:ow./ ká:wiyon [ʔ]ahp[ʰ]ič[i]y káːli ťá:k:ay, káːli came child carrying up he climbs up up

p[ʰ]úːšu,/ [ʔ]áːh:ay ťʰiw[-]ĩni ká:wi?wan báːnen,/ top wood fork [blank] [blank]

ha:miní:ba waʔ[:jːan li:k li:k li:k li:k ní:h:iw./ [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he says

ká:wi?wan[:j]u hi:lái čánu[:d] doːlónyey miy[:áːf[-tʰ)]kʰan kʰá:le (too) talks [blank] [blank] [blank] tree

saːmaːṭin či:yow miː:may,/[ʔ]uːt[-tʰ)]kʰadéː ní:h[:j]iw, close to, under tree sits she cries my husband she says

wuːt[-tʰ)]kʰadéː ťáːlːan,/ [ʔ]áːw[kʰ]eká:wi?wan to heudáːwa, my husband come down. my child me want

miː:may baʔ[:jːan wáːm[:j]u./ li:k li:k li:k li:k li:k ní:h[:j]iw./ crying woman that [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he said


hiʔ[:j]i hiʔbay./ ha:miní:ba čiːhtaː:bi híːb:dun./ ha:miní:li down feathers grow [blank] become birds they fly way [blank]

miy[:áːf[-tʰ)]kʰan baʔ[:jːan yó:mu, [ʔ]áːʔa p[ʰ]aːla dōːl:n ťikʰ:e,/[his wife the woman I likewise, too wildcat will become

ní:h[:j]ibá čihsiːkʰaːne kʰaːtːalaw./ when she said this into brush she ran in.

[H 1 Free Translation]
So. Pomo Text 1, Translation

Story of Sparrowhawk and Screech-owl

1. Sparrowhawk, it is said, always went to the outside to trap birds, Then, it is said, his wife was pounding acorns, early in the morning; (at) noon (she) finished pounding acorns. Then (she) put the unleached acorn meal into a basket; the child (she) left at home. Then (she) went away to the water; (she) made a hole; (she) poured the unleached acorn meal into the hole. Then (she) soaked (it); (she) repeatedly poured water on (it).

2. Then, it is said, a man came there. Then (he) made love to the woman. Then (he) took the woman away; that man went towards his own house; (he) abducted the woman.

3. At dusk, that child sat at home alone. Then his father came from the outside. Then his wife was not there; (he) found his own child at home alone; (he) found his own child sitting covered with ashes. Then (he) went down to the water; (he) looked at (the place) where his wife had soaked acorn meal. Then his wife was not at the water; where the acorn meal (was) (she) had not poured water; (it) was dry.

4. Then the man picked up the basket and put the acorn meal into it. Then (he) carried (it) home. Then (he) built a fire in the house; (he) cooked some of the game that he had brought in. Then (he) fed his own child.

5. Then after that (he) went to sleep. The fleas bit him (while) he didn’t sleep. In that way now dawn came. That Screech-owl sang a song. Sparrowhawk raised his head and listened. At dawn Sparrowhawk got up.

   kolo:še kolo:še:

   maṭo hučiyaka šu:ya:ka

6. This Sparrowhawk went away; (he) went uphill, went uphill; (he) arrived (at the) hill top, arrived in the pass; so (he) went downhill; that man came out on the flat. Then (he) saw a house; (he) looked inside the house; his wife was lying hugging Screech-owl. Sparrowhawk ran inside the house; (he) grabbed his wife (by the) hair; (he) took (her) outside; so (he) abducted (her); (he) dragged (her) along.

   Screech-owl Screech-owl

   Let’s meet at Black Rock.

   Come up!

7. This Screech-owl ran off; (he) ran off beside the road; beforehand (he) was sitting on the pass, Screech-owl. Sparrowhawk dragged his wife up onto the pass. Screech-owl fought (a) jealous (fight) with Sparrowhawk. (They) scratched each other’s faces; (they) were both tired; (they) quit their fighting of each other. Sparrowhawk (said), ‘All right, my friend, I am tired; I’ll go see (my) child;’ so (he) went off.
8. (He) took (some) game off from where he had trapped game. Then (he) went home; (he) put dry wood on his shoulder and went along. (He) arrived at home; (he) lifted up his own child; (he) lifted (him) up and brushed off the ashes with his hand; (he) made clucking noises (in sympathy). Then after that (he) put the child on the ground and made a fire. (He) cooked some of the game that he had brought in. When (it) was cooked (he) fed his own child. 

9. Then (he) put the child to sleep and slept with the child. At dawn the same man, Screech-owl, sang a song.

\[
\text{kolo:še: kolo:še:} \\
\text{mačo hučiyaka šuyayaka} \\
\text{Sparrowhawk listened.} \\
\text{kolo:še: kolo:še:} \\
\text{mačo hučiyaka šuyayaka}
\]

10. Sparrowhawk got up; (he) built a fire; (he) picked off (some) acorn meal, and rolled it in his hands; (he) picked up the poker; (he) poked the ashes; here (he) placed the acorn meal that he himself had rolled in his hands, and baked (it). (He) took it out; (he) took (it) out, flicked off the ashes, wiped it well, and put it down for the child. Then (he) picked up the poker and covered the fire well (with dirt).

11. Then (he) went off. (He) went uphill, went uphill, went uphill, arrived in the pass; thence (he) went downhill; (he) went on the flat. Then (he) ran into the house. Then (he) grabbed his own wife (by the) hair and took (her) outside. Then (he) dragged her along.

\[
\text{Screech-owl Screech-owl,} \\
\text{Let’s meet at Black Rock,} \\
\text{Come up!}
\]

12. Screech-owl got up, and ran off, beside the road (he) ran off; beforehand (he) was sitting on the pass; thence (he) waited. Sparrowhawk dragged his own wife up onto the pass. Now (they) fight each other; that woman ran away, to the new man she ran away. Sparrowhawk (said), ‘I’m tired; then, let’s quit each other, friend; I’ll go see (my) child.’

13. (He) went; where he himself trapped game (he) took the game off (the snares). Taking the game off, (he) set the traps again. (He) set the ropes on. Now (he) finished. Then (he) took the game and went home. (He) picked up (some) dry wood on his shoulder and carried it along. (He) arrived at home; (the) child was sitting all covered with ashes. (He) picked up his own child on his lap; (he) brushed the ashes (off from) on the child; (he) made clucking noises. Then after that (he) put the child down, went outside, brought the wood in, and built a fire. (He) cooked some of the game that he had brought in and fed the child; after that, (at) night he lay down, to sleep.

\[
kolo:še: kolo:še:
\]
maŋ₃ọ huŋiyäka šuŋayaka

14.  (He) lifted his head, and heard his own friend singing a song. (He) arose and built a fire. (He) picked off a piece of acorn meal, rolled (it) in his hands; (he) took the poker, and poked a hole in the ashes; there (he) put the acorn meal; (he) covered the fire with ashes (and) baked (it). Then (he) took (it) out; (he) flicked off the ashes; (he) made (it) good and laid (it down). Then (he) took the poker; (he) covered the fire.

15.  Then (he) went off, having left the child at home asleep; (he) went uphill. (He) arrived at the top of the hill, in the pass, went downhill, went along the flat, and arrived at Screech-owl’s house; (he) ran into the house. (He) grabbed the woman (by the) hair and took (her) outside, dragged (her) along; (he) took (her) along.

Screech-owl Screech-owl,

We meet at Black Rock,

Come up!

16.  Screech-owl arose; (he) ran off, beside the road (he) ran off; then (he) was sitting on the pass. Sparrowhawk brought this woman up onto the pass. (They) fought each other. That woman ran away to the new man. Sparrowhawk (said), ‘Then let’s quit each other, friend; I’m tired; I’ll go see (my) child.’

17.  (He) went to the game that he himself trapped. (He) took off his own game that (he) had caught; then (he) picked up and went home; (he) picked up (some) dry wood on his shoulder and went along home. (He) arrived at home; then (he) picked up his own child on his lap; (he) brushed the ashes (off) the child; (he) made clucking noises. (He) put the child down; then (he) built a fire. (He) cooked game; (he) fed the child. When the game was cooked and (he) had finished eating, (he) lay down to sleep; (he) slept with the child.

18.  In the morning Screech-owl sang a song.

kolo:še kolo:še:

maŋ₃ọ huŋiyäka šuŋayaka

Sparrowhawk listened; (he) lifted his head; (he) arose. (He) built a fire; (he) picked off a piece of acorn meal and rolled it in his hands; (he) took the poker; (he) poked a hole in the ashes, put the acorn meal there, and baked (it). The acorn meal was cooked; (he) took (it) out. (He) flicked off the ashes; (he) flicked (them) off well; (he) placed (it) there; (he) took the poker; (he) covered the fire with the poker.

19.  Then (he) went off; (he) went uphill; (at) the top of the hill, in the pass, thence (he) went downhill. (He) went along the flat; then (he) ran into Screech-owl’s house. (He) grabbed his own wife (by the) hair and took (her) outside; (he) dragged (her) away, Sparrowhawk. Then (he) sang a song.

Screech-owl Screech-owl,
We meet at Black Rock,

Come up!

20. Screech-owl arose; (he) ran off, beside the road (he) ran along; beforehand (he) was sitting in the pass; thence (he) waited. Sparrowhawk brought his own wife up. (They) fought each other; (they) scratched each other’s faces; the faces of both (of them were) all covered with blood. Sparrowhawk (said), ‘Let us quit each other; it is good, friend; hereafter we will not fight each other. Happily, friend, you will be married.’

21. That is all. (He) went off, Sparrowhawk, to the game that he himself trapped; (he) took the game off the snares; (the) game (he) caught (he) took off. This (he) finished; (he) picked up the game; now (he) went home. (He) picked up (some) dry wood; this (he) lifted on his shoulder; (he) carried (it) home on his shoulder. (He) arrived at home; (he) went into his own house; (he) lifted his own child on his lap; (he) dusted off the ashes, having found (him) sitting all covered with ashes. Then (he) made clucking noises; (he) put the child down. Then (he) built a fire. (He) cooked some of the game; when (it) was cooked (he) fed the child. After (he) had finished eating, the child went to sleep. Then his father slept with the child.

22. At dawn Sparrowhawk arose; (he) built a fire; (he) cooked some of his own game. The child awoke. When the child was awake, (he) fed (him) game. The child finished eating; then Sparrowhawk went off, to the outside. (He) looked for an old tree; (he) travelled over the hills; all day long (he) walked around. Then (he) found a tree, a big old tree standing.

23. Then (he) went off to the game that he himself trapped. (He) took off his own game (that he) caught; (he) took off all (of it). Then (he) picked it up; (he) went home. (He) picked up (some) dry wood, put this on his shoulder, and went home. (He) came close to the house; then (he) saw smoke in his own house. ‘Oh! Oh! Why (is there) now smoke in the house? Perhaps my house is burned up.’

24. Then (he) went fast; quickly (he) went; (he) thought his own child was burned up. (He) arrived at home, at the door; quickly (he) looked into the house. Then his wife was sitting in the house; (he) look inside and saw his own wife. His wife came back.

25. Then Sparrowhawk went into the house. ‘For what purpose have you come here? You ought to be married, to another man. I don’t want you.’ Then (he) cooked for his own child. When the child finished eating this, (he) went to sleep.

26. At dawn (he) awoke; then (he) arose; (he) built a fire, and cooked game. Then (he) woke his own child; then (he) fed (him) game; (he) didn’t feed his own wife. The child finished eating the game. (He said) to his wife, ‘Go outside. We will go away.’ (He) picked up his own child and carried (him) outside; (he) put the child outside. Sparrowhawk went back into the house. Then (he) set fire to the inside of the house. (He) set his own house afire.

27. Then (he) lifted the child on his back, and went, uphill, to the old tree, (he) went, went, went. His wife went behind (him), the woman. He arrived at his own tree. (He) lifted the child on his back; (he) climbed up high, up to the top, placing the child in a fork of the tree; then, ‘liḵ liḵ liḵ liḵ,’ (he) said. The child for his own part gave a call. Wildcat, his wife, sat close to the tree; (she)
wailed; ‘My husband,’ she said; ‘My husband, come down. I want my child.’ the woman wailed. ‘liŋ liŋ liŋ liŋ,’ (he) said.

28. That arm disappeared; (it) became a wing; down grew; feathers grew; then (they) became birds and flew away. Then his wife, the woman, ‘I in turn will become a wildcat,’ (she) said and ran down into the brush.

[Halpern II]
So. Pomo Text II
Picnics 15:9-21

[1] ʔahšiyan ʔačaptʰéy šabʔáči[y], šábʔačí:ba baʔ[ː]jáčon/ evening [blank] speaks he spoke to women


tomorrow  ye  out  when  go  woman  potato  will  dig

híʔbu wayínjti./ kʰaʔ[ː]jáškaden baʔ[ː]jáyey kʰómhča hó:liw./ potato [blank] morning  woman 8 go

carrying  basket  they  carry  cane  sharp  pointed,  i.e. digging stick

bídičí:ba, híʔbu [ʔ]éhχey./
each  took  one  potato  they  dig

much  they  dug  evening  home  they  go  back

kʰaʔ[ː]jáškaden muʃːánhi híʔbúʔwan dáːli,
morning  (sun  is  hot)  in  hot  sun  potato  they  spread

moč[:jínkʰtı. (or močíŋkʰtı) [()  in  H]/ hámi kʰaʔ[ː]jáškaden
they  wilt  them  next  morning

wáʔ[ː]jan maːlúti [ʔ]ámːa dáklóːba, [ʔ]átʰːa  now  they’re  going  to  bake  dirt  they  make  hole  in  gravel

[ʔ]ay[ː]jóːtw [ʔ]á⇔tuʔa wínːa [ʔ]óhːo bámːaw./ underneath  they  spread  on  top  fire  make

[ʔ]óhːowáːni wínːa kʰaʔbe [ʔ]á⇔tuʔa miːhčan./ háːmin(ʔ)iːba
fire  on  rocks  big  ones  they  put  on  then

kʰaʔbéʔwan kóʔdi [ʔ]ohːoːtíːdi wáʔ[ː]jan kʰaʔbéʔwan balːif (or báːif)/
rocks well become hot now rocks they take out

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>potato</td>
<td>they hull by rolling in hands</td>
<td>they sift the skins from the potato</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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má:lu./ má:čiwi má:lu./ háminí:ba muʔčá:li

then daytime bake then when it’s cooked

hi?bú?wan wa?[t]an dá:țow./ dá:țoba

potato now they open the oven when have opened the oven

šá:kʰanwi [ʔ]óhcow míhča šá:kʰan./
in basket (“sifter” basket) the put 4 basket

| háminí:ba | wéy huwá:ne hi?bu čuh[.]ú?ya, |
|---|---|---|---|
| potato | then ready come on! (all of you) potatoes we (will) eat |


potato we are eating for first time this after eating

wa? máya [=wa?maya] [ʔ]a:ț:iyey húdʔakay hi?bu
[blank] ye ye selves whenever ye want potatoes

digging will eat potato after we have eaten first

[ʔ]ohčóma wá?ya síʔo čuh[.]úkʰ:[e]./
“picnic”, public feast we now will eat

| šuládu | mít:iw, kʰá:diw yómṭa/ |
|---|---|---|---|
| person | sick lies calls dr. |

má:?an [ʔ]ahčáhčey šuládu wán (or šuláduwán) hodʔóhkʰtí/
this one the sick person he lets him doctor

má:mu p[h]ús:u, háminíp[h]la šuládu wani miy:áṭʰ:e, this one doctors w. song then if sick one [blank] his mother

| šuládu wani | miy:ámemá:mu p[h]ús:uwani sáma nop[h]ó(j)ba |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| sick person | his father this doctor close by they sit |

háminíp[h]i wa?[t]i jan [ʔ]ohčoma [ʔ]ahšíchwákʰ:ba,/ then [blank] feast he’s going to call for

food he named soup in with 4 pinole
mičáwi, sí:lun mihčá náts(ʰ)u [error for náčʰu??], behše [ʔ]ákʰ:o
4 bread 4 trays deer 2
lamésa báḥtʰe čuh[:júyaw napʰ]yow, table big food all kinds
[yo hám[:]uwaná:pʰ]i] [outside brackets in H] káwa mičáwi, [blank] [blank] tobacco (in) 4
yó hám[:]u waná:pʰ]i./ [blank] this here is all
má:?an kaš[:]ópʰ]la wá? ya [wáʔya] má:?an, this if it is well [blank] we this
[ʔ]ohčóma?wan čiʔ[:]ikʰ:]e./ picnic will make
[5] mámuwáʔ[:]jan [ʔ]ohčóma čiʔ[:]iw, mámu wáʔ[:]an now picnic (they) make [blank] now
lamésa [ʔ]ákhon čiʔ[:]iw./ mámuwáʔ[:]an tʰoʔ[:]jó table long make now soup
mičáwi, yúh[:]u mihčáwi, sí:lun mičáwi, béhše with 4 pinole w. 40 bread with 4 deer
[ʔ]ákʰ:o káwa mičáwi, čuh[:júyaw pʰ]al[:]áʔwam[:]u, 2 tobacco w. four food other kinds
kúτu [kuʔu?] [ʔ]ójóčtmáyaw [–f- or –tʰ-?]/ they put on the table
[6] wéy yóm táyčow [??] hu:wádun, maʔwámkʰe čuh[:júyaw, now doctor come! Yours is food
we make you feast wh. you called for
hí:, ko?diʔ:wa,/ mámu čáw[:]an díči[:y], yes it is good this thing he picks up in hand
ha:miní:ba čuh[:júya[w?] ýowanhšiʔhkʰe napʰ]jyokʰle then food some of it all of them

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In the evening, the chief speaks. Having spoken, (he says) to the women, ‘Tomorrow, you women will go to the outside and dig wild potatoes, in order to initiate the wild potatoes.’ In the morning eight women went. Each of them having taken up her carrying basket, having taken up a digging stick, they dig wild potatoes.

Having scooped out a hole in the dirt with their hands, having spread gravel underneath, they make a fire on top of it. They put big rocks on the fire. Having done so, when the rocks become very hot, now they take out the rocks. Having done so, having hulled the wild potatoes by rolling them in their hands, having sifted them from their skins, they bake them. By day they bake. Having done so, when they are cooked, now they uncover the potatoes. Having uncovered them, they put them in wickerwork baskets, four wickerwork baskets.
3. Having done so, 'Now, come here.' We are eating wild potatoes, we are initiating wild potatoes. After having eaten these, now, you will dig and eat wild potatoes (as) you yourselves wish, after having initiated the wild potatoes.

'Now we will eat the feast.'

IIb. Naming off a Feast (Feast Rule) [Naming of a Feast?]

4. A person is lying sick. They call (some one), a doctor, in order to have him take care of the sick person. He treats him with son [?] If he has done so, the sick person’s mother (and) the sick person’s father should sit close to the one who did the singing treatment. When they do so, now, he should name a feast to them. He should name the foods, with four (baskets) of acorn soup, with four (baskets) of pinole, four trays of acorn bread, two deer, a big table, all foods with four (packages) of tobacco—well.' that’s all. 'If he recovers, we’ll make a feast.'

5. Now they make a feast. Now they make a long table. Now with four (baskets) of acorn soup, with four (baskets) of pinole, with four (trays) of acorn bread, two deer, with four (packages) of tobacco, there are other kinds of food, they just put things down (on the table).

6. 'Oh, doctor.' Come.' It is your food we make, it is the feast you named to (us). 'Yes, it’s good.' He picks up his things. Having done so, he stands near the fire and faces east. Having done so, now, he talks. 'This I eat (sharing it) with you, world that lies extended. With this offering let me be healthy. I speak humbly. I humbly call you my kin. I talk humbly to you. With this offering let me be healthy. With this offering let (things) be clear (for me). I eat this food (sharing it) with you.' He drops the food into the fire. This is all.

[Halpern III]
So. Pomo Text III
Marriage
15:31-47
woman told young man [blank] his mother your son's pinole they have put up yes it's good I will get it

then woman blanket one she got picked up

hó:liw dí:mo yúh[:]u [?]ohčóyaw he?bé:ti she goes out wedding pinole they put she's going to get

mačáden háč:ow. ha:mini:ba, [?]iši:wan díma:y. her cháde she visits then blanket she takes in

ha:mini:ba [?]iši:wan dihkába,yúh[:]u hе?bey čʰé[?]efmá:wi./ then blanket she gave pinole she took in basket

ha:mini:ba [?]ahčāngkʰ:ay heb?édyu yuh[:]u?wan./ then home she takes the pinole [3] ba?[?]jáywāni [?]uhtèhtéyay dí:mo? wádu yódo máyan to woman they tell wedding beads to ye

díhkayákʰ:e./ [??as:ičí:pʰ]i yuh[:]ú čohši:ne./ yów ko?di?wa they will give being strong pinole pound ye! Yes it's good

[?]akʰ[?]é kánémayhčan [?]uhtèhtékʰ:e wá?a./ my my relatives I will tell

má?:yodo wá?[?]an [?]uhtehlèmhuy, dí:mo?wadu yódo yan now they tell it around wedding-beads is [blank]
díhkayákʰ:e./ yów (3) [in H] ----- yuh[:]úwa ya čohšinkʰ:e, they will give all right pinole we will pound

sí:lunwa? ya [=?ya] malúkʰ:e yáhwíh./ bread we will bake thank you

bi?du?wa?ya čohšinkʰ:e dí:mo?wadu di:hkwá:ti [+]?/ acorns we will pound wedding beads (we) will give (to many)

bá:ko kaya ši?baši či:ba. bá:ko ka hmiyo čiyá:ba./ what we meat or fish could we make what [blank] [blank] make

hú:hu. behše dahlá:li./ hé: [?]ahšá dahlá:li, hi?[:]linwántin I don't know deer I think perhaps fish I think either one
čiyaw kó?di hla2i?wen./ bēḥše?ta ya čikʰ:e dím:mo, bēḥše./ make good I think deer we will make wedding

dím:moʔwadu dihkáti./ ʔiʔnaʔon [ʔ]iʔwadu wedding beads they will give on hand, wrist beads they tie
bads they put on neck dress they put on her (new dress)
[ʔ]iʔš:i pʰ[iʔ]iʔtakúkiyaw./ čónhi [ʔ]jákʰ:o blanket they put on her shoulders, drape on her acorn meal 2
mánta ma: baʔ[i:]ayawan ʔúʔedú:yaw, míy:atʰ[ʔ]eʔkʰe [ʔ]ahčatʰόhkhʰay./ calico this woman they take her mother’s towards house
[5] [ʔ]áča ʔoʔdimduyaw míy:atʰ[ʔ]eʔkʰaʔa ʔóʔdow, máʔtʰikméden./ (inside) house they bring her in front of her mother’s house her mother hidʔa kʰáʔtak miy:atʰ[ʔ]eʔkʰaʔa ʔóʔdow, máʔtʰikméden./ out runs out her mother hand she grabs her daughter
šé:by wáʔni miy:ámuč, čʰáʔa čʰiʔláʔnaw ʔóʔdow máʔčáːden./ girl [blank] her fa’s. sister one bundle she takes her ----
míy:aški čʰáʔa čʰiʔláʔnaw ʔóʔdow./ míy:áʔač čónhi
míy:áʔač čónhi ʔóʔdow,
her mo. sis. 1 bundle she takes her mo. acorn meal takes
míy:áʔač čónhi ʔóʔdow,
her mo. acorn meal takes
máʔcáːden./ míy:amebēhše čóm:ow, dím:mo bēhše./ her — her fa. meat takes [ʔ] wedding meat
há:mní:ba [ʔ]áča hmó:kaw/
then inside (they went) they take her in
[ʔ]i:waďu blanket spread (on ground) there they let her sit girl beads

Which had been put on her neck then beads they take off

ʃ(ʰ)ánaːṭon báːrfe:máyiaw šuhtʰáyaw./ ham:ní:ba máːmu
maːč:áden on hand what they tied on they take off then this their ----
from woman’s side the pinole they give 2 baskets blanket spread (on ground) there they let her sit girl beads

plʰ:]já:lːa wh. baked in wicker basket in 2 they give then another

šúːu koʔdíːwi, yúːhú kóʔdi díːmoʔ čaːčǒː:kʰ:e [ʔ]ohčóyaw, hám:un
3-stick in good one pinole good for bridegroom they put this one to him

[ʔ]ohːjóyaw./ baʔ:ʃ:]áːlːt:ow [ʔ]ahːčáːhčəy báːhʰ:e kahkóːti[y]./
[ʔ]i:waːdúʔyan they gave from woman’s side people many they came beads

miyːiːyaw, čokː:]óbimhúkiyaw,/
they count they exchange, they even up w. e. o.

[ʔ] kʰámːakʰ:díːyakʰ[-]:eːyódo máːyan;/ hiyːo koʔdíʔwa.
they are going to kʰamːːakʰːdiw [see free trans] ye yes it’s good
koʔdíʔwa yan kʰmáːkʰ:díːyakʰ[-]:eː/
it’s good is [ʔ] they will ----

móʔː:]joy mihčːa, baʔː:]áːyey mihčːa [ʔ]ihčiːčʰkʰ[-]:eː/
carrying baskets 4 woman 4 will carry

móʔː:]oywːːniwi čʰeʔː:]efmːay náːsu šúːu čʰicʰːacːiyaw [-cː~ːčʔ],
with packing baskets basket tray 3-stick 1-stick basket

hámː[:i] yuhː:]ú [ʔ]oːčːóyaw, náːpʰː]iyːːwi mihčːa moʔː:]jóywi
this pinole they put in, load in in all 4 in pack-
baskets


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this one man beads they put around neck they tie on

on wrist bead belt 2 they tie on wrist the man

they take him to his mother's house [blank] they go

other woman carrying basket they carry

walking they see from inside now they come

wáʔ[ː]an hwá:naw (bis) [()] in H nih[ː]jy:awan./ hiʔ:daḥmo
[blank] [blank] they say right in front of door

they spread in the shade [blank] they ask him to sit down

[blank] blanket they spread the man

čahčikiyaw./ ma: [ʔ]i:wa:du:ba:čéf:mayaw dohló:yaw./
they make him sit this beads wh. were tied on they take off

yówan belts [blank] they take off carrying baskets women wh. were carrying

čóʔdo:yaw./ hiʔ:daḥmo čahčiyaw
they lift down, or take from them in front of door they sit

duhkʰ:ečʰ:iyaw.
they invite them to sit

this now from man's side acorn meal they give

běhːe díhkayaw, dí:mo běhːe./
meat they give bridegroom meat

ma: [ʔ]i:waduywan miy:iyaw, čoʔ[ː]bimhukʰ:ti./
this beads they count they're going to trade

ma: čoʔ[ː]bimhukʰ:ba čáhːti díhkayaw./
III. Maiden and Youth (Running Tra####)

1. When the girl was going around outside, the boy caught her. He kept her out all night. He having done so, the girl’s mo.y.sis. called them. ‘Come into the house.’ Lie down in the house.” He abducted her, a man. Having done so, pounding pinole, she puts it in a good basket. Another woman tells it, to the boy’s mother. ‘They have put up pinole for your son.’ ‘Yes, it’s good, I’ll get it.’

2. Having done so, that woman, having picked up on blanket, goes. In order to get the wedding pinole which they put up, she visits her child’s parent-in-law. Having done so, she brings the blanket inside. Having done so, having given the blanket, she takes the pinole, in a basket. Having done so, she takes it home, the pinole.

3. They tell the woman, ‘Wedding beads, it is said, they will give you. Collect your strength and pound pinole.’ ‘Oh, it is good. I’ll tell my relatives.’

These people, it is said, now, they tell it to each other. ‘Wedding beads, it is said, they will give us.’ ‘Oh. oh. oh.’ We will pound pinole. We will bake acorn bread. Thanks.” We’ll pound acorns, in order to give away (as) wedding beads. What should we make (as) game? What do you suppose one should make? Mm. Meat is the thing, maybe. Um, fish is the thing, maybe. Whichever one is more might be good, I guess. Meat is what we’ll make, wedding meat.’

4. It is they from the man’s side (that) take the woman, now, in order to give her wedding beads. They tie beads on her wrists. They hang beads (on her neck). They dress her in a dress. They drape a blanket on her. They put up acorn meal in two baskets. They make three bundles, blankets, dresses, calico. They take the woman away, to her mother’s house.

5. They bring her into the house, into her mother’s house. Her mother runs out. Her mother takes hold of the hand (of) her daughter. The girl’s fa. sis. takes hold of one bundle (from) her čade. Her mother’s younger sister takes hold of one bundle. Her mo. mo. takes hold of the acorn meal (from) her child’s parent-in-law. Her fa. takes the meat, the wedding meat. Having done so, they let her go into the house.

6. Having spread a blanket, they let her sit down there, the girl on whose (neck) beads were hung. Having done so, they take off the beads, they take off what had been tied on her wrists. Having done so, these from the woman’s side gave the pinole to their child’s parents-in-law in two baskets, they gave them the bread they had baked in wicker baskets, in two (baskets). Having done so, again, they put up good pinole in a good three-stick basket for the bridegroom. They give it to him.
Many people come from the woman’s side. They count the beads, they exchange evenly with each other.

7. ‘They will make the return visit on you, it is said.’ ‘Yes, it’s good. It’s good that they will make the return visit on us.’

Four packing-baskets, four women will carry. In the packing baskets (are) baskets, trays, there-stick baskets, one-stick baskets, here they put in pinole, in all of them, in the four packing-baskets. They, it is said, hang beads on the man’s (neck), they tie them, on his wrists, bead belts, two, they tie on his waist. They take the man away, to his mother’s house. They go on the return visit. The other women carry the packing baskets.

8. They see them coming, from inside the house. ‘How they’re coming, now they’re coming,’ they say. In front of the door they spread (something), in the shade, they invite him to sit in front of the door. Having spread a blanket in front of the door, they let the man sit (on it). They take off the beads that were tied on him. They take off the bead belts. They take hold of the packing baskets the women were carrying. They invite them to sit in front of the door.

9. Here, now, from the man’s side they give acorn meal. They give meat, wedding meat. They count these beads, in order to make an even trade. They having made an even trade, they give (things) back.

10. This one, the woman, will live with her mother-in-law. She will stay (as) a bride.
The man no I won’t skin it I abstain from it basket
game blood [blank] ? This is dangerous

the woman you’re too proud, stuck up

don’t want to refuse

This is dangerous

he skins after that long while passes

rains falls water rises leaf water rises

he skins after this long time passes again it rains

then this man he’s going over to trap, moving to trapping-place his own

he’s going [blank]

he sets

on north side = right bank of Sulphur creek basket hole hole goes through

See p. 65 [in Halpern]
on west [south?] side here

over water runs on that side [blank]
šúniwá:naw  hak:óbaya  báhtʰe./
[blank]  [blank]  big

with wild grapevine  on both sides  he ties  water  [blank]

wá:ni,  lítʃi(ʃ)ŋkiyay./
[blank]  he hangs it

then  [blank]  basket  he sets  basket-hole

pʰːjála  [ʔ]ahčükun  nísibo  nópʰːjow  čáːdun,
other men  3  sit  looking

wáʔːjan  [ʔ]ačʰːándaʔdíːni./  [ʔ]áhsha  méːbu
basket  basket  when he sets it  fish  how many

číːwiw  miːiːti  kʰáʔbewínːa  čóʔtoy,  [ʔ]áhkʰːasáːma,
they go in  he’s going to count  rock on  he stands  water—close to

water  falling  close to  then  that man

mahlúcbíːba  wéːy  [ʔ]áhkʰːaʔáːsumáníi  hak:álaw./
his foot slipped  now  water  he falls in, down into

[ʔ]ámːákːlaw  čaːʃduyu.  hilːiːnaːti  húʔːjuːbíːtofʃ,
[he completely disappears]  nowhere  he didn’t peep out, he didn’t appear

entirely, just
dúːkːay./  ha:miniːli  [ʔ]ahčükun  nísibo  yóːmu(ʔ)ča  [−hča]
lost  then  men  3  [blank]

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay  nuːháːduːy./
home  [blank]

his wife  they tell your man  he’s gone

[ʔ]akʰːána  hakːálwa./  héʔey naːti  huʔːjuːbíːtofʃ,  [ʔ]ačʰːówa./
in water fell  never  appeared  he’s gone

[ʔ]uːhṭéːtɛmhuːyayaw,  [ʔ]ačːáptʰeːy  čan  [−čon]  [ʔ]uːhṭehʃéyayaw./  [ʔ]ačːáptʰey
they tell it around to chief [blank] they tell chief


he makes speech, gives instructions in the creek, by the creek look for! be brave


look for! these ye somewhere driftwood on ye it stops against s. t.

dáʔakʰ:e  hláliʔwa./  ye might find [blank]


this his wife cries breast she beats face scratches

[ʔ]  hḥːʔi:j košáyej,  kʰatːícʰ:aw  ma  hódʔodéŋka(w)  má:mu
[blank]  mermaid not good you do (?) this


salmon this my children this you basket hole

kó:yey  mahláčaw  hwáːŋkaw,/  ŋʰ[ʔ]á:namtːo  bá:lay  yaːlawa,/  have [ʔ] you dirty walk around hand you blood full of, covered with

hámɛt[ʔʃ]  ŋʰːɡ  wáʔma  [ʔ]áwkʰek[i:jwiya  may[ʔi:júčʰ:ba./

thus not you my children stalk, should stalk

kʰátːícʰ-[eʔ]awáʔma  čiʔtːa  bá:lay  hodʔómba,  mhːjo  ŋʰ[ʔ]áːnːatːo

wrong you game blood having touched, handled you on hand

bá:lay yáːla  méːšew,  maʔ[ʔiː:jikʰékʰ:wiya  may[ʔi:júːčːw./

blood-covered stinks you my children stalk

čáːdun  máʔ[i:janʔ[ʔ]áːʃo  hḥːʔi:j  máʔ:iː  hḥːʔiː  šúːtʰaːčʰːédun

look! this me hair this hair loosens own hair


I on water I float them down me hair following it


my children they come then


after this you baskets set if you wish you
Refer to p. 52 – [in Halpern]

[Halpern Text IV: Free Translation]

IV. The Fisherman and the Mermaid

1. They lived at Rock-field, a big Rancheria. One man used to set baskets (i.e., fishweirs), all the time, (at) Salmon-hole. He had strict taboos. He didn’t want to touch the blood of small game. His
wife’s brother brought him home a rabbit. (His wife’s bro.) having done so, his wife (said) to her husband, ‘Skin this rabbit.’

2. The man (said), ‘No, I won’t skin it. I taboo it. In order to set basketry fish-traps, will I handle the blood of small game? It’s dangerous. It’s unclean.’ The woman (said), ‘(It is) being proud (that) you refuse to skin small game.’

‘Yes, just (on account of) your talking I’ll skin the small game. Perhaps it is really good.’ Having done so, he skinned the small game, he skinned a rabbit.

3. Afterwards, a long time having passed, it rained, the water rose, the leaf-water rose. After that, a long time having passed, it rained again. It having done so, the man went out, to his fish weir, in order to stay at Rock House, Salmon-hole.

4. Having done so, now, he set the baskets. On the north side the fish weir was open; on the west side, there he tied on a wide-mouth basketry trap. The water ran down over the big rocks. On that side he tied on a wide-mouthed basketry trap, a big wide-mouthed basketry trap. He tied it on at two places with wild grapevines. He hung it where the water ran down. the salmon, jumping up into the air, hitting the rocks, falling back down, fell into the wide-mouthed basketry trap.

5. Having done so, now, he set his baskets, his fish weir. Three other men sat, looking, when he set his baskets. In order to count how many fish went in, he stood on a rock, near the water, near the water (that was) running down. He having done so, that man’s foot having slipped, now, he fell down into where the water foamed up. He completely disappeared. He didn’t lift his head out anywhere at all. He was just lost. He having done so, the three men ran away towards home.

6. They told his wife, ‘That man of yours disappeared. He fell into the water. He never lifted his head out. He’s gone.’ They told each other, they told the chief. The chief made a speech, ‘Search by the creek. Collect your strength and search. There you, somewhere perhaps you will find (him) stopped up against (a piece) of driftwood.’ She, his wife, wept. She beat her breast. She scratched her face.

7. The (Long-Haired Fish) (Woman) (said), ‘You have handled unclean (things). These salmon are my children. You, the owner of the basket-hole, made them go around a polluted place. Your hands are all over blood. Not in this way should you stalk my children. You are unclean, having the blood of small game. On your hands but blood stinks, (and) you stalk my children. Look at this hair of mine. Loosening this hair (of mine) I let it float out on the water. It is behind my hair that my children come. This being the case, after this if you wish to set baskets, you shall not touch the blood of small game. It is in order to tell (you) this (that) I took you for a while. This being the case, go home.’

8. He fell into the water, it dawned four times, that man arrived at home, after they had burned all his possessions. Having thought that he disappeared, they destroyed all the man’s possessions. His relatives cut their hair. His wife cut her hair. His wife sat in mourning. That man came back, they having thought he disappeared.

[Halpern V: Later Version]
So. Pomo Text V
Skunk Woman
15:69-16:25


ka:wiya. children

2. kâ:wiya?wam[l]uhča kahyawʔédu, mûkʰel hay the children were playing all the time ---- [blank]
mûkʰém?du, kʰâ[l]aškáden miy:átʰe máhčʰa má:li hwáne. [blank] in morning their mo. little while here come ye


3. kâ:wiya?wam:uhča yów, síʔo?wáʔya hol:kʰ:e. the children yes quickly, right we will go

haminí:ba hói:lw, mûkʰel háywan mûkʰen. haminí:ba then they went [blank] [blank] [blank] then

[ʔ]íhmin. they sing

heʔe heʔe, heʔe heʔe
ťšmi tišmi; tišmi tišmi:
hówʔi hówʔi; howʔi howʔi

ma wéy, hwádu. mûkʰélin hwádu. [blank] far they go [blank] they go

4. mač:ácyāčó:san hač’:ow, hó:popó:níʔow huʔ[l]útfaw. to their mo. fas. they arrived by the smoke-hole they put faces in


míʔo kʰa?díkaw./ kâsiʔwamúhča čá:ýey yów hnín, you she made me summon those elks one of them yes say

5. yów hnibá mámu hid?áhwak, ma:  
ka:wi'ya'yo:wančakʰma  
yes having said this one went out these children behind
hó:liw. ka:wi'ya  waʔ:jʰon hwádu, mu:kʰélín hwádu.  
he goes children ahead walk they keep playing they walk
ka:wi'ya'yo:muhča  
the children inside house they take him to

6. kas[:si]'yó:muč:ye  
[ʔ]ač:ahmay, nupʰ:]é baʔ:]ay yó:mu  
this elk, the same went inside skunk the woman
is lying this elk beside her, near her sat down
šú:laduʔ:kámto  
šulu:du./ híyo šulu:dáʔ:to,  
are you sick? did you get sick? sick yes I’m sick forehead-on me
it pains this same elk forehead-on sucks

7. biʔdánhkʰáytʰ kʰa:tʰáda čahc? biʔdánhkʰay./  
downwards me it moves, runs, it keeps moving mo.fa. downwards
[ʔ]ah[:]áske:wániʔ:to móʔ:on čahc?  
[ʔ]ah[:]áske:wáni. mihyakʰ:áni
on chin me suck mo. fa. on chin into throat
kʰa:tʰádaʔ:to čahc?, mihyawáníʔ:to móʔ:on čahc?  
it runs me [blank] throat on suck ---
throat on on middle of chest [blank] [blank] xiphoid process
[blank] [blank] diaphragm [blank] ---
koʔkóhmo:wáni čahc? koʔkóhmo:wáni koʔkóhmo biʔtʰow  
on belly-button [blank] [blank] navel below
čahc?, hámi biʔtʰow, čahc?.  
[blank] this below [blank]

8. kas[:si]'wam  
[ʔ]ehpʰ:]é:fma:w, nupʰ:]é:yey  
this elk she farts upon him this skunk farts upon him
elk face he covered w. hands ouch grdtr. you me

mihyánwa. haminí:ba kas[isí?wam[?u] [ʔ]áheʔaw, [ʔ]am:áton
(you) kill then this elk fell over on ground

bámaw. he fell, dropped.

9. núp[ʰ]e baʔ[?ájýwam[?u] to:bí:ba kʰá:win
skunk woman this having got up flint

moʔčíba p[ʰ]éːtɛːtɛnwaːni čákʰ:aw biʔdaŋkʰáywənī
having chipped a large piece on --- she cuts downwards

čahkʰáːlaw [čakʰ:alaw??], biʔčadːúʔwan mícːálkɔy, [ʔ]íp[ʰ]:aʔwan
she rips it down the stomach (tripe) she throws out guts

mičːálkɔy, biʔčadːúʔton čʰːlɛp[ʰ]úy ʃòfːow,
haːminí:ba she throws out on stomach tallow, stomach fat she pulls off, strips then

[ʔ]áːtːikʰe kawíːyaʔówan kʰá:diw.
her children she calls.

10. haːminíːli kawíːyaʔóːmu kahkóti, maːʔánwaʔmáya
then the children come this ye

biʔčadːúʔwan [ʔ]íp[ʰ]:aʔwan wéːy haʔďúwaʔwaʔmaya [=ʔmaya]
stomach guts far away off ye

[ʔ]éːčɛdũkʰ:he, haːminíːp[ʰ]:iʔwáʔmaya [=ʔmaya] das:ekʰ:e. yów
will carry back, pack then ye will wash yes

hníhiw kawíːya wáʔ[?an[ʔ]éːčɛduy.
said children now they carry (it) away.

11. maː nup[ʰ]e baʔ[?ájýoːmu kas[isí?yowan dőfːow,
this skunk woman the elk skins

having skinned cuts up all of it after having cut up fire

bámaw. misibóhma [ʔ]óːhə bámaw, maː kawíːyaʔóːmu
builds in 3 places fire builds these children
mo. here? we will wash no far away off
das:éle. ma: núp[ʰ]-e baʔ[-j]ayóm:mu mahşí: [-mahsiy]
wash ye this skunk woman coals
when fire has burned to coals the meat self which had cut while cooking
kút:u [-t-?] čuh:úma:w.
al the time keeps eating

gain again the children [blank] [blank] [blank]
wéy ha?dúwa das:éle. ma: núp[ʰ]-e baʔ[-j]áywm[:u] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] this skunk woman
all the time eats meat eats water find each time, each one
the children their own mo. keep asking [blank] [blank] [blank]
they keep saying when they repet. did that their mo. [blank] [blank]
[blank] kept saying all the time meat eats their mo.

these children tripe, belly-skin far
ocean-to they brought down then here they wash
to ocean they wash after having washed good ---
little water when it was dry homewards they go
tripe homewards they carry

their mother  the meat  ate up  all   all
having eaten-after  tree-in shade  she is lying  much  having eaten her fill.

haminí:li  kawíyaʔyó:mu  háʔ:ow, ʔ[ʔ]úhkʰačdaʔyówan  míːhak,
then  children  came home  tripe  they bring in

[ʔ]áːca,  čédeʔ  híːmuʔkaʔáːya  běhše  čuhːúkʰ:e,  hiʔka
inside house  mo.  where is we  meat  will eat  where?

our  meat  your mo. fas.  here  having done  ate up  ate up

čáːdle  máːmu,  misːíbːhma  [ʔ]óːːo  baːmáyaw,  haminí(ː)ba
see  this  3 places  fire  they made  then

biʔkuwa běhšeʔyówan.  [ʔ]áːmaya  [ʔ]úhkʰačda
ate up  the, that meat (connotes wh. ye have seen)  ye  tripe

míːhakan  wáʔmaya  čuhːúkʰ:e.
wh. ye brought in  ye  will eat

15.  hámːun  čúːːun  kawíyaʔwámtːu  [ʔ]úhkʰačda  yáːla.
this  they eat the children  tripe  only
duːwːelːi  mítːiw  kʰáʔ[ː]aʃkáːden  [ʔ]ítʰːːin
when night came they lie down, go to bed  morning  early

kawíyaʔwámtːu  tôːbː[ː]:y.  haminí(ː)ba  hidʔáhwak  tʃːkoːkʰe
children  get up  then  they went out  their

mukʰéːhay  kahyaːwáːti,  hidʔa  kahyáwʔcːen  hwáːdway,

[blank]  to play with, going to play outside  playing  they walk around

haminí:li  míːyaːtːe kʰáʔdiːw  kawíyáʔwan.  máːhːa  hwáːne,
then  their mo.  calls them  the children  little while  come ye

kawíyaʔwámtːu  [ʔ]áːcːahmo kʰaːdːli.  haminí:li
the children  come inside  their mo.  when she called  then

miːyaːtːe  šulːaːdːʔo  míːčaːkʰaːdːli,  míːčaːkʰaːdːle.
their mo.  I am sick  your mo. fa.  call, summon, get ye  ---
16. káwiya?yomúhča yów hidáhwak. ma: hó:liw
these same children [blank] they walked out now they go
mačá:čen kʰaʔditi, múkʰen hay múkʰɛlin hwádu,
their mo. fa. in order to call [blank] [blank] they keep playing they go
kahyáwʔč’in hwádu, kóʔo [ʔ]hmíman hwádu. mačá:čyačo:kʰe
playing they walk song singing they walk their mo.fas.

they walk to sweat house they go then one of the by smoke-hole

húʔ[:jút]law, čá:čéy [ʔ] [ʔ]áč’ęto šú:la:ni,
he puts his face down into mo.fa my mo. since it sickens (her)
you call I come

then quickly go their mo.fa. quickly
čá:décín káwi. yów čá:dedukʰ[.]é:wáʔa, nihí:ba hídʔa
go over and see child [blank] I’m going to see having said outside

húwak, ka:wíyaʔwáŋhko:ma hwádu. kawíyaʔwám[.]u waʔ[ʔ]á:ton
he walked out behind children he walk the children ahead

huwádu, múkʰel háywan múkʰéman hwádu, kahyáwʔč’in
they go [blank] [blank] [blank] they go playing

go then their mo. fa. to house, home they brought

their mo.fa. inside went skunk woman is lying sick

is lying her mo. fa. the elk near, beside her sat down from where

kamtó šú:la:du, nihí:wi:
? you does it sicken he said.

skunk woman head-from-me it sickens hard, much me

it pains now he sucks on forehead he sucks her (hers)
on forehead when he was sucking downwards me it goes (runs) said

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

mó?:ow, pʰléːtěːtěːnwaːni  mó?:ow, bi?daŋŋh:k:áyto  kʰat:áda
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

níhːiw.  sektéːnwaːni  mó?:ow, koʔkóhmə?wá:ni mó?:ow,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

bi?daŋŋh:k:áyto  kʰat:áda čáːčeʔ  níhːiw.  koʔkóhmə  bidːáʔo [?]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

mó?:ow, bíʔaːda mó?:ow. haːminːiːli  waʔ[::]an núb[ʰ]eʔwamːːu
[blank] further down he sucks then this skunk

[?]hːpʰ[ʰ]eʃ,  haːminːiːli  káːsːiʔwaːmːuʔčáːyeʔ  kʰadːéʔmaʔmáʔto
breaks wind [blank] this same elk grdtr. you me

mihyáːnwaː.  haːminːiːli?wan  [?]láʔčʰaw  [?]amːʔon  báːnːew.
are killing, have killed then he fell over on ground he drops

19.  maː  núb[ʰ]e baʔ[::]jáyaːmu  tóːbi[y].  tóːbiːba
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

kʰáːwin móʔtin.  maː  waʔ[::]an pʰléːtěːtěːnwaːni
flint breaking off a large piece now this on end of breastbone

čáːkʰaw, biʔdaŋŋh:kʰay  čakːáːlaw [-ala-?]  biʔčʰ:`adːu  [?]hːpʰ[ʰ]aʔwan
cuts downwards she cuts down stomach guts

miːčːályoy.  haːminːiːba  biʔčʰ:`adːuʔon  čʰːiːlámːhpʰ[ʰ]uʔ  šōːʔow.
she takes out then from stomach ‘string fat’ she strips off

haːminːiːbaʔwan  kawːíyaʔwan  [?]atːíkʰe  kawːíyáʔwan  kʰáʔdiw.
then children her children calls

huwːáːne  máːli, máʔ:an  biʔčʰ:`adːu  [?]hːpʰ[ʰ]aʔwan  [?]ɛːːdːúːle.
come ye here this tripe guts carry ye away.

wéy  haʔdúwaʔwáʔmaya  dasːékʰ:e.  miːčːáːyeʔ  méːʃkʰːéʔwa,
[blank] [blank] [blank] your mo. fas. will smell it
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ye close by if ye wash.

now these children carry it away [blank] [blank]

baʔ:jáywámːu behšeʔyówan dóʔ[mu]
doːʔobakʰmáyaw
[blank] the meat she skins all after having skinned

having finished she cuts up after having cut up
she self fire

baːmáyóːni báːmaːw, míːsibóhma. wáʔ:jːan máː muʔfákaw,
where she made makes three places this now she cooks

béːšɛ muʔfákaw. múʔfakaŋ kúːʔu [-t-?] čuːhːːmáw, ma:
--- [blank] while cooking all the time she keeps eating [blank]

kaːwiyaʔwamːuhča maːliʔkaʔya dasːékʰe čeːdɛʔ[ʔ], níːhːiw.
--- [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ʧ[ʰ]ːjəː haʔdúwa dasːeːle haʔdúwa[ʔ]. ma: kúːʔu [-t-] čuːhːu,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

núp[ʰ]e baʔ:jáyoːmu kúːʔu [-t-?] čuːhːːmu. ma: kaːwiyaʔyóːmu
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

máːliʔkaʔya dasːékʰe, níːhːiw. ʧ[ʰ]ːjəː haʔdúwa dasːeːle, mǐːʃaːcyɛy
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

měːʃe̱kʰːeːʔwa. ma: núp[ʰ]e baʔ:jáyoːmu kúːʔu [-t-?] čuːhːu.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

míːsibóhma múʔfakuːn čuːhːu.
3 places cooking eats.

21. kaːwiyaʔyóːmu wéːy mihːːlìh希望通过 [ʔ]iːɕáːləw
the children far to coast water brought down

[ʔ]uhkʰːáʔdáʔyówan, haːmínːba hámːi dáːʃeːw, mihːːlìh希望通过 [ʔ]iːɕáːləw
the tripe then here they wash in ocean water

dáːʃeːw, kóːʔdi dáːʃeːw. ʔuhkʰːáʔdáʔyówan kʰáːʔbewíːnːa
wash [blank] [blank] the tripe rock on

míːʃčan, [ʔ]ákʰːa šalíːkʰtjí, múːkːalkːakʰmáyaw,
they put on water in order to let it drain off after it has dried off a little

having taken it (up) home they start, go to these, this one home

22. má:mu nüp[h:]:e ba?[:]-ayó:mu behšé?yowan nap[h:]yow

biʔku, biʔkúmay, ma: kʰá:lešká:ni mít:iw, hám:i


while she lies now, these children arrive the tripe


they bring in where? mo. our meat we will eat

nih [:]i:u. míč:ačyey háč’:oba biʔkuwa [ʔ] běhšé?yowan,

they say your mo.fas. having come ate up the meat


all see ye 3 places fire having built


-- all ate up ye tripe wh. brought in -- ye

čuh:ůkʰ:e.

will eat.


they selves tripe wh. they brought in the children


eat when evening came sleeping they lie down morning


having got up the children went outside played their

muckʰénaw múkʰ:en, ha: míy:atʰ:e mahčukúnčon

shooting along, throwing they throw [blank] their mo. them

kʰá:diw, máhčʰa máli hwá:ne, míč:áč kʰa?:díle míč:áč,
calls [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
I got sick [blank] right away we will go

24. ma: hó:liw, káiwiyaʔó:mu, mačá:če
[blank] they go the children their mo. fa.
kʰa?díʔi, mukʰélhay mú:kʰedun hwádu. háméʔ in order to call [blank] continually throwing they go thus

they go to their mo. fas. they come ---- one looks in

my mo. since it sickens here mo.fa. you call come

yów, yów, nih:šba hidʔáhwak, káiwiyaʔwančákʰma hó:liw.
[blank] [blank] having said he went out behind the children goes

káiwiyaʔwam[ʔ]:hča mukʰélin waʔ:[já]:tɔn hwádu, kʰáːma
[blank] [blank] ahead [blank] behind

goes

miy:áčač their mo.fa.

home they bring their mo.fa. [blank] elk went inside

went inside skunk woman where she is nearby sat down

are you sick? yes I’m sick head-in-me it is sick head me
duḥʰá:lə. má:mú miy:áčačmóʔ:ow, lé:leʔwá:ni móʔ:ow,
it pains this one, now their mo.fa. sucks [blank] [blank]
bì:dánghkʰay kʰaːt:akáʔto biʔdánghkʰay, [ʔ]ah[ʔ]:áskéʔwá:ni móʔ:ow,
[blank] it’s going down me downwards [blank] [blank]
further down, lower [blank] [blank] [blank] she says in throat
čošo?wáni mó?ow, kohtokʰjowáni
on windpipe [blank] on soft spot betw. collar-bones [blank] [blank]
mó?ow, pʰléjetenwáni mó?ow, bi?dánhkʰáyto kʰá:tada
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] further down [blank]
[blank] further down when he sucks [blank] [blank] [blank]
[ʔ]ám: kʰad?ém?deʔ máʔto maʔčéma, hámun hníba
ouch grdtr. you me kill this having said
the elk rolls over.

[blank] [blank] having jumped up quickly flint
dihčíba muhlalá:ba pʰléjetenwáni čákʰ:aw,
having grabbed in hand she breaks it open [blank] [blank]
downwards she cuts down [blank] guts, belly she takes out
[blank] from stomach [blank] [blank] then
children she calls, themselves when she calls they answer
huwá:ne máli níh:iw. máʔ:an biʔčʰ:adú:wá wan [ʔ]čé:čedu:le,
come ye here she says this stomach carry ye away
[blank] [blank] far off when ye have carried it away ye
wil wash --- [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
baʔ[\textipa{Jay:ómu}] dót\textipa{ow} k\textipa{as[is]}\textipa{yówan}. nap\textipa{h}iyow kó\textipa{di} dót\textipa{óba},

[blank] skins the elk all good having skinned

ma: wáʔ[\textipa{Jan sá:mhew}. [ʔ]haʔwan [ʔiy-]\textipa{čahlú:lyu}

now this she cuts up bone she disjoints, cuts at the joint

čiʔiʔwan bahé\textipa{ji}liw, šú:kabakbá\textipa{máyow} [ʔ]at:í [ʔ]ó:h:o

flesh [ʔ] she cuts lengthwise after having finished she, self fire

ba:máyow:áni míš:ibóhmá [ʔ]áhlay bá:maw. máh sí[y]

where she built 3 places [blank] she makes fire coals

molhóni wáʔ[\textipa{Jan muʔfákaw} [ʔ]i:\textipa{hpá}úywan

when it comes to coals this she cooks fat

ká:hó ču:hútaʔíin, čiʔiʔwan muʔfákaw, ma: ká:wíya\textipa{yó:mu},

raw she keeps flesh [ʔ] she cooks [blank] [blank]

má:líʔ káʔya dasék\textipa{h}:e, h[\textipa{b}]é: haʔdúwa daséle haʔdúwa.

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

míč:ácyey méhšek\textipa{h}:e\textipa{wa}, ma: čú:hú, núp\textipa{h}:e báʔ[\textipa{Jaywám}:]\textipa{Ju}

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ču:hú, behšéʔwan, múʔfákany p\textipa{h}:álap[h]\textipa{á}wán múʔfákany

[blank] [blank] while cooking diff. ones cooking

[ʔ]cháwá:nhlaw [ʔi:y-] múʔfákany, p\textipa{h}:ála ká:wíya\textipa{yó:muhča}

bones too cooking again the children

má:líʔkáʔya dasék\textipa{h}:e, wé:y haʔdúwa daséle

[blank] [blank] away off far off wash ye

ká:wíyamúhča [ʔ]ečédú huw:ádu, wé:y [ʔ]ak\textipa{h}:á\textipa{t}ow

the children carry along walk along far to water, coast

[ʔ]čá:law. mih[\textipa{Jihk}:á\textipa{tón} dá\textipa{s}:éw [ʔ]u:hk\textipa{h}:á\textipa{d}á\textipa{yówan}.

they bring down [blank] [blank]

kó\textipa{di} daséba k\textipa{h}:ábewí:na mihčámba [ʔ]ahk\textipa{h}:á\textipa{w}an

well having washed rock on having placed them on water

mú:kalká:li wáʔ[\textipa{J}:]an [ʔ]ihčíčíba, wáʔ[\textipa{J}:]an

when it dries off a bit this having started to carry this now
[ʔ]ahčʔanhkʰay [ʔ]ahkó:č[i][y].
home they start they go back

[27] miy:á티e behšéʔyowan biʔku, na:ʔ[ŋ]ýow, their mo. meat ate up all

haminí:ba kʰá:le( )škáni mít:iw biʔkumá:ba.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] having eaten her fill

máʔtʰe kʰá:le škáni biʔkumá:ba
their mo. tree in shade having eaten her fill

mítːiwən kawíyaʔyó:mu háč:ow.
while lying children arrive

čeʔeʔ maʔ( ) yákʰe béhšé bi:biʔhí nihiːw. míc:áyey
mo. you our, for us meat didn’t leave they said your mo.fas.

ate it up here they came ate up there is none ye tripe

brought in eat ye they selves tripe wh. they brought in ate

haminí:ba.kʰáyaw híʔa kahyáway mu:kʰéh:ayah kahyáway.

after that outside they play [blank] [blank] night falls

duːwːli [ʔ]áːhmoːba mítːiw síːma.
when night comes having come in they lie down to sleep

[28] kʰáʔ[ŋ]:aškáden tɔːbíːba híʔa kahyáway.
morning having got up [blank] [blank]

haminiːli miy:á티e máli hwáːne máhčʰa nihiːw
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

wéy hóːlip[ʰ]i míc:áːč kʰaʔdíːle,ší:k:admúʔ:to
far going, when you go your mo. fa. summon? I got sick

kawíyaʔyó:mu yów hníba hóːlin,
[blank] [blank] having said they go

mu:kʰéh:ay mu:kʰeman hwáːdu, kahyáʔeʔːin
[blank] [blank] [blank] playing
hwádu. ha minibá č'á:yey mač:áčyačó:šan hač:ow, ha minibá
they go then one to their mo. fas. came [blank]
č'á:yey hó:popó:nítow huʔ:[j]útlaw, ha minibá čačé:y [ʔ],
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] mo. fa.
having become sick they went to call you “yow” he says
[blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank]
hwádu mu:kʰé:lhay mu:kʰé:man hwadu, kʰám:á hwádu
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
kas[·]isí:wám:u. [ʔ]áča šō:dím?duy, mahtʰé:šan,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] núp[hː]je
to their mother [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
to woman
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
to woman
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
móʔoká:ti kʰa?dikwáʔa káč:ón. móʔow kas[·]isí:yey,
[blank]
to make (you) suck (I) [ʔ] sent to call (you) the children [blank]
[blank]
lé:leʔáwi biʔdarhkʰayto kʰaːt:áda čáčeʔ biʔdarhkʰay.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
čó:šóʔwá:ni míhyakʰá:ni kóhṭokʰjó:wá:ni kú:muʔčá́wi
[blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
kóʔkóhmó móʔow, koʔkóhmó bidʔátow. há:mi bidʔátow. má:mu
there below
[blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
gr. child you kill me [blank]

kas:[jisiʔwan kok:óduy[.] [blank] he rolls over

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
quickness having stood up flint

having broken a piece off [blank] she cuts downwards

cuts down then stomach she takes out with guts

she takes out [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] she calls

ka:wíyaʔy:omu bayádí huwá:ne hníh[.]jiw.
[blank] they answer come ye she says

maʔánwa? máya [ʔ=ʔmaya] [ʔ]eːtʃ:edúkʰ:e, [ʔ]eːtʃ:edúːle máʔan
this ye will carry away [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] close by if (ye) wash

mičácyey mehšekʰ:éʔwa.
your mo. fas. will smell it

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] they carry it away the guts

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] she scrapes w. knife she skins

kóʔdi šúːkʰ:aw, ha:mini:ba [ʔ]óːho báːmaw, [ʔ]áːti
well she finishes it [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] she self

fire where she had built [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

534
The document appears to be a page from a language study, possibly in a Native American or Indigenous context. It contains various phrases and sentences written in what seems to be a language with distinct phonetic notation. The text includes words and phrases such as "ka:wiya?yó:mu má:lí:ká?ya", "dasékʰ:xe, ṭʰ[ʔ]:é: ha?dúwa", and "múʔčakaw. she cooks". There are also phrases that seem to be in a different language paradigm, such as "möhšëkakʰ[ʔ]eʔwám[ʔ]u. ká:wiyaʔyó:mu:huča [ʔ]eč: du, [ʔ]eč: mba (bis) [in H]".

The text is written in a script that is not immediately recognizable due to its complexity and context-specific nature. It seems to be discussing actions and situations related to food, movement, and other daily activities. The specific context or meaning of the text is not immediately clear from the transcription alone.

The page number 535 is visible at the bottom of the page.
[blank] you tripe brought eat
eat the children the tripe after stopping eating out
hwábə kahyáway. dúw:ey
having gone (they) play night falls
[34] [ʔ]á:cmathó:ba síma mátiw kawíyaʔyé:mu.
inside having come sleep they lie down the children
kʰáʔ[ʔ]aškáden tóbí[y] hamínibá hída kahyáway
[blank] they get up then outside they play
hída hwába. miy:atʰe kʰáʔdiw kawíya. hole wéy, outside having gone out [blank] calls [blank] go! far
go! [blank] call!, get! [blank] I am sick[blank] [blank]
múkʰelháywan múkʰéman hwádu. kahyáw?č in hwádu.
[blank] [blank] playing they go
h uwámба hač’:ow mač:cačyačó:šan. čačéy -- [ʔ]ěh
having walked along they arrive at their mo. fas. [blank] [blank]
[blank] [blank] my mo. me you
kʰáʔdíkaw šul:ámə. baḥᵗʰéwaʔánwa há:mí hól:lw,
sent me to call having become sick many há:mí hól:lw,
mahčukúnka héméniw, he:yékamahčú:kun hól:lw.
they (?) [in H] what has become of them where? they went?

[blank] the children in smoke-hole 3
dišíslaw, híʔdahmótów míhča dišísmay,
put butt down into through door hole 4 put butts into
then elk 3 they kill in sweat-house

into house break wind [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] they skin having skinned [blank] [blank]
having cut up

in sweat-house fire they make then these

the children meat eat

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] having missed them

her own children having missed towards there

after them she goes [blank] there she arrives her own

children meat while they are eating the children become angry

their mo. when she arrives their mo. they chase away you us

meat good did not let us eat now we meat good are eating

máli hum:óʔhú hó:lin, here don’t come in! go

[37] ha:mini:li miyátʰe hó:di:bá núpʰ:éti, ma:
Then their mo. having gone away became skunk
[blank]

[blank] [blank] ate up elks all

ate up then this the sweat house they burn then

wáʔ:lan nupʰ:jéʔ: [waʔyóyó:kʰe nupʰ:jéti

537
Skunk Woman lived, with many children, seven children.

The children were playing. They were scaling their scaling-sticks. In the morning their mother (said), 'Come here a while. Go far off and call your mother's father, I'm sick.'

The children (said), 'Oh, right now we'll go.' Having done so, they went off, scaling their scaling-sticks. Having done so, they sang.

They went far off, they went.

They arrived at their mother's fathers' place. They looked down in by the smoke-hole. 'My mother is sick, grandfather. Having done so, my mother had me call you.' One of the Elk men (said), 'Say Oh!, say oh! Go, her mo. fa., go. Look at your grandchild.'

Having said 'Oh.', that one went out. He went behind those children. The children went ahead, they went along scaling (their sticks). The children took him away to the house.
6. The Elk man went inside the house. That Skunk woman lay (there). The Elk sat down near her. ‘Are you sick, (are you) sick?’ ‘Yes, I’m sick. I have a pain in my forehead.’ This Elk man sucked on (her) forehead.

7. ‘It’s running downwards on me, grandfather, downwards. Suck on my chin, grandfather, on my chin. It’s running into my throat, grandfather. Suck on my throat, grandfather, on my throat. On the chest, grandfather, on the chest. On the bottom of the breast-bone grandfather, on the bottom of the breastbone. On the diaphragm, grandfather, on the diaphragm. On the navel, grandfather, on the navel. Below the navel, grandfather, below there, grandfather.’

8. She broke wind on the Elk, the Skunk broke wind on him. The Elk, having covered his face with his hands, (said), ‘Ow: Grand-daughter, you killed me.’ Having done so, the Elk fell over, he dropped on the ground.

9. Skunk woman, having gotten up, having chipped a flint, cut (him) on the bottom of the breastbone. She cut downwards towards below. She removed the stomach. She removed the guts. She stripped the tallow from the stomach. Having done so, she called her children

10. She having done so, the children returned. ‘Now you, this stomach (and) guts you will take far away. After having done so, you will wash (them).’ The children said, ‘Oh.’ Now they took it away.

11. This Skunk woman skinned the Elk. Having skinned it, she cut it up. After having cut it all up, she built a fire. She built fire (in) three places. The children (said), ‘Mother, shall we wash it here?’ ‘No, wash it ‘way far off.’ This Skunk Woman, (the fire) having burned down to coals, cooking the meat that she cut up, just kept on eating.

12. Again the children (said), ‘Shall we wash (it) here?’ ‘No, wash it ‘way far off.’ This Skunk Woman just ate, she ate the meat. Each time they found water the children kept asking their mother, ‘Shall we wash it here?’ they kept saying. While they kept doing so, their mother, ‘No, you will wash it far off,’ kept saying. Their mother just ate the meat.

13. These children took the tripe far down to the ocean. Having done so, they washed it there, they washed it at the ocean. After having washed it, after having washed it well, when the water had dried off a little, they started homewards. They took the tripe homewards.

14. Their mother ate up the meat, all of it. After having eaten it all up, she lay in the shade of a tree, having eaten her fill. She having done so, the children arrived. They brought home the tripe, into the house. ‘Mother, where is it, the meat we will eat? Where is our meat?’ ‘Your grandfathers, having come here, ate it up, ate it up. See.’ This (is where in) three places they built fires. Having done so, they ate it up, the meat. You, bringing home the tripe, you will eat it.’

15. The children ate this, nothing but tripe. When night came on, they lay down. Early in the morning the children got up. Having done so, they went out, in order to play with their scaling-sticks. They went around playing outside. They having done so, their mother called (them), the children. ‘Come here a while.’ The children came inside, their mother having called them. They having done so, their mother (said), ‘I am sick. Call your grandfather, call your grandfather.’
16. These children (said) ‘Oh.’ (and) went out. Now they went, in order to call their mo. fa. They went along scaling (their) scaling-sticks. They went along playing. They went along singing a song. They came to their grandfathers’, sweathouse. Having done so, one (of them) looked down in by the smoke-hole. ‘Grandfather, my mother having become sick, I come calling you.’

17. He having done so, (one of the Elks said), ‘Go quickly, his grandfather, quickly. Look at (your) child.’ ‘Oh, I’ll look at (her),’ (one of them) having said, he came out. He went along behind the children. The children went along ahead. They went along scaling (their) scaling-sticks. They went along playing. Having done so, they took their grandfather away to (their) home. Their grandfather went inside the house. Skunk woman was lying (there), she was lying sick. Her grandfather, Elk, sat down near her. ‘Where are you sick?’ he said.

18. Skunk woman (said), ‘I am sick in the head. I am in great pain.’ Now he sucked, he sucked on the forehead. He having sucked on her forehead, ‘It’s running downwards on me,’ she said. He sucked on the chin, he sucked on the throat, he sucked on the bottom of the breast-bone, ‘It’s running downwards on me,’ she said. He sucked on the diaphragm, he sucked on the navel, ‘It’s running downwards on me, grandfather,’ she said. He sucked below the navel, he sucked further down. He having done so, now Skunk broke wind. She having done so, the Elk man (said), ‘Granddaughter, you have killed me.’ She having done so, he fell over, he dropped to the ground.

19. Now Skunk woman got up. Having done so, she chipped off (a piece of) flint. Now she cut (him) on the bottom of the breast-bone. She cut downwards. She removed the stomach (and) the guts. Having done so, she stripped the fat from the stomach. Having done so, now, she called the children, her children. ‘Come here. Take away this stomach (and) guts. ‘Way far off you will wash (them). Your grandfathers will smell (it), if you wash (them) nearby.’

20. Now these children took it away. This Skunk woman skinned the meat. After having skinned it all, having finished, she cut it up. After having cut it up, she made (fires) where she had made fires, (in) three places. Now she cooked it, she cooked the meat. While cooking, she just kept eating. Those children said, ‘Shall we wash (it) here, mother?’ ‘No, wash (it) far away, far away. Now she just ate, Skunk woman just ate. Those children said, ‘Shall we wash (it) here?’ ‘No, wash (it) far away. Your grandfathers will smell (it).’ This Skunk woman just ate. Cooking (in) three places, she ate.

21. The children took the tripe ‘way down to the ocean. Having done so, they washed (it) there, they washed (it) at the ocean, they washed (it) well. They put the tripe on a rock, in order to let the water drain off. After it had dried a little, having picked it up, they started off towards home. They went along towards home.

22. That Skunk Woman ate all the meat. She was full. Now she lay in the shade of a tree. While she was lying there, those children arrived. They brought home the tripe. ‘Where, mother, (is) our meat (that) we will eat?’ they said. ‘Your grandfathers, having arrived, ate it up, that meat, all (of it). Look.’ Having built fires (in) three places, they ate it all. You bringing home the tripe, you will eat (it).’
23. The children ate the tripe that they brought home. When evening came, they went to sleep. In the morning, having gotten up, the children went outside. They played, they scaled their scaling-sticks. ‘Ha’, their mother called them, ‘Come here a while. Call your grandfather, your grandfather. I am sick.’ ‘Oh.’ ‘We’ll go right away.’

24. Now they went, the children, in order to call their grandfather. They went scaling their scaling-sticks. In this way they went along. They got to their grandfathers’ place. They looked down in by the smoke-hole. ‘Our mother having become sick, grandfather, we come calling you.’ Having said, ‘Oh.’ ‘Oh.’ he went out. He went behind the children. The children went along ahead scaling (their sticks), behind (them) went along their grandfather.

25. They brought (him) away to the house, their grandfather. Their grandfather, the Elk, went inside the house. He sat down near Skunk woman. ‘Are you sick?’ ‘Yes, I’m sick. I’m sick in the head. My head hurts.’ That one, her grandfather, sucked. He sucked on the forehead. ‘It’s running downwards on me, downwards.’ He sucked on the chin. ‘Lower, grandfather.’ ‘Lower, grandfather.’ she said. He sucked on the throat, on the windpipe. He sucked on the soft spot between the collarbones. He sucked on the chest. He sucked on the bottom of the breastbone. ‘It’s running downwards on me, grandfather, downwards.’ He sucked on the diaphragm. He sucked on the navel. He sucked below the navel. ‘Lower, grandfather.’ ‘Lower, grandfather.’ she said. When he sucked lower down, Skunk Woman broke wind. ‘Ow.’ Granddaughter, you have killed me.’ Having said this, that Elk rolled over.

26. Skunk woman, having sprung up, having picked up a flint, having cracked it open, cut on the bottom of the breastbone. She cut down downwards. Having done so, she removed the belly. Having done so, she stripped the fat from the stomach. Having done so, she called in the children. When she called them in, they answered. ‘Come here,’ she said. ‘Take away this stomach. Take away the guts. You will take them far away and wash them. Your grandfathers will smell (it) if you wash them nearby.’ ‘Now the children, having said ‘Oh’, took them away. Now Skunk woman skinned it, the Elk. Having skinned it all well, now she cut it up. She disjointed the bones. She cut the flesh into lengthwise strips. After having finished, where she had built fires, (in) three places she made fires in the same way. When it burned down to coals, she cooked that. While eating pieces of raw fat, she cooked the flesh. Those children (said), ‘Shall we wash (it) here?’ ‘No, wash it far off, far off. Your grandfathers will smell (it).’ Now she ate, Skunk Woman ate it, the meat, while cooking it, while cooking it bones and all. Again the children (said), ‘Shall we wash it here?’ ‘Wash it ‘way far off.’ The children carried it along. They went along. They carried it down ‘way by the water. They washed it in the ocean, the tripe. Having washed it well, having put it on a rock, when the water dried off a little, having picked it up, now they started off homewards.

27. Their mother ate up the meat, all of it. Having done so, she lay in the shade of a tree, having eaten her fill. While their mother, having eaten her fill, was lying in the shade of a tree, those children arrived. ‘Mother, you didn’t leave (any) meat for us,’ they said. ‘Your grandfathers ate it up. They arrived here. They ate it up. There isn’t any. You, bringing home the tripe, eat (that).’ They ate the tripe that they brought home. After having done so, they played outside, they played with (their) scaling-sticks. Night came on. When night came on, having gone into the house, they went to sleep.
28. In the morning having gotten up, they played outside. They having done so, their mother said, ‘Come here a while. Go ’way off and call your grandfather. I am sick.’ Those children, having said ‘Oh.’, while going, went along scaling (their) scaling-sticks. They went along playing. Having done so, one (of them) (they) [H has this written above to be inserted] arrived at their grandfathers’ place. Having done so, one (of them) looked down in by the smoke-hole. Having done so, ‘Grandfather, my mother, having become sick, had me call you.’ ‘Oh.’ said the Elk.

29. Having done so, he went out. Those children went along ahead, they went along scaling their scaling-sticks, behind (them) went along the Elk. They took him away into the house, to their mother’s place. Skunk woman lay (there). The Elk sat down near her. ‘Are you sick?’ he said, to the Skunk woman. ‘Yes, I am sick. I am sick in the head. In order to have you suck me, I had them call you, the children.’ He sucked, the Elk, on the forehead. ‘It’s running downwards on me, grandfather, downwards.’ He sucked on the chin. ‘It’s running downwards on me, grandfather. On the windpipe, on the throat, on the soft spot between the collarbones, on the chest, on the diaphragm, on the navel it’s running, grandfather, on the navel.’ He sucked the navel, below the navel, below that. She broke wind. ‘Ow.’ Grandchild, you have killed me.’ Having done so, the Elk rolled over.

30. That Skunk woman, having quickly gotten up, having cracked off a (piece of) flint, cut on the end of (his) breastbone, she cut down downwards. Having done so, now, she pulled out the stomach, she pulled it out together with the guts. Having done so, she called in her children. The children answered. ‘Come here,’ she said. This, now, you will carry away. Carry this away ’way off. Far away you will wash (it). If you wash it nearby, your grandfathers will smell (it).’

31. Having said ‘Oh.’, the children carried it away, the belly. That Skunk woman scraped (and) skinned the Elk. She finished it well. Having done so, she built fires. Where she had built fires, (in) three places she built fires. Those children (said), ‘Shall we wash (it) here?’ ‘No, carry it away far. Carry it away ’way off.’ That Skunk woman cooked the meat on the fire, when it had burned down to coals. While continually eating, she cooked.

32. She ate, she ate. Those children (said), ‘Mother, shall we wash (it) here?’ ‘No, carry it away far, far. It’s (because) your grandfathers will catch the scent.’ The children carried (it) along. Having carried it along, having carried it along, they carried it down to the ocean. Having done so, now, they washed the stomach, they washed it in the ocean water. Having washed it well, having put it on the rock, when the water had dried off a little, having picked it up, now, they went off homewards. They started off. They carried it along homewards.

33. Now, that Skunk Woman ate it up, the meat, she ate it all up. Having let herself get full, she lay in the shade. She having done so, the children arrived. They brought it home, the tripe. ‘Mother, you didn’t leave (any) meat for us.’ ‘There isn’t any. Your grandfathers, having arrived, ate it all up. You, bringing home the tripe, eat it.’ They ate it, the children, the tripe. After having finished eating, having gone outside, they played. Night came on.

34. Having gone inside the house, they went to sleep, those children. In the morning they got up. Having done so, they played, having gone outside. Their mother called them, the children. ‘Go, ’way off, go. Call your grandfather, your grandfather. I am sick.’ Having said ‘Oh.’, they went off. They went along scaling their scaling-sticks. They went along playing. Having gone along, they arrived, at their grandfathers’ place. ‘Grandfather, eh.’ He looked down in by the smoke-hole.
‘Grandfather, my mother had me call you, having become sick.’ ‘Now, it is (a fact that) many went there. What has become of them? Where did they go? We won’t come. We won’t go.’

35. They having done so, those children inserted three sharp butts down by the smoke-hole, inserted four sharp butts in by the door-hole. Having done so, they killed three Elks, in the sweat-house, having broken wind towards the house. Having done so, now, those children skinned the Elks. Having skinned them, having skinned them well, having cut them up, they built fires in the sweat-house. Having done so, now, those children ate meat.

36. They having done so, their mother, Skunk Woman, having missed them, having missed her children, went off towards there after (them). Having done so, she arrived there, while her children were eating meat. Those children became angry, when their mother came, they [H here inserts J and writes ‘p. 25’ in the left margin] chased their mother away. ‘You (are the one who) didn’t let us eat good meat. (It is) now (that) we eat good meat. Don’t come in here.’ Go away.”

37. They having done so, their mother, having gone off, turned into a skunk. Now, those children ate up the meat, they ate up all the Elks. Having done so, now, they burned the sweat-house. Having done so, now, ‘We will be skunks,’ (they said, and) they turned into skunks.

[Halpern’s Text VI]
So. Pomo Text VI
Fish Hawk and his brother
16:29-77

| ra.   | they lived ra. big animals, birds |
| nápʰ:lyow                       | [ʔ]ahčáhčey./ kʰaʔbékʰač[ʼ] maʔfikíːko |
| all human beings               | chicken hawk with his own y. bro. |
| nópʰ:ow./                      | kʰaʔbékʰač[ʼ] miy:afiki kút:u [-t-] káːi čúːːaw, |
| lives [blank]                 | his y. bro. always up stays |
| [ʔ]ám:ay [ʔ]ohːôtow./ kʰáʔbekʰáčʰey  dóːlon čóːːon |
| sweat-house inside [blank]   | wildcat married |
| miy:áːtʰkʰan [in H] dóːlon báʔ[ː]ay./ |
| his wife wildcat woman       |

| people many go westwards [east-], i.e. to Lake Co. |

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fish to carry, to start packing all after they went
dólon báʔ[ajywámːu maṭːikːčaːto [ʔamːáča hwálʔba,
[blank] [blank] to her husb. bro. in sweat-house having walked down into
máṭːikːčaːto káːli čumːáwan [ʔ] [ʔ]ěːlːmyeːr,/ [ʔ]ěːlːmːéːba
her husb. bro. up who was sitting she pulls down having pulled down
[ʔ]ajːːtːkʰe [ʔ]jaːča šudːéduːy./ niba háʔku,
húʔ[ajy her home she takes him away then she scratches him face
nap[ʰ]jyːhmːa háʔku./ šiʔbáhlaw háʔku./ [ʔ]ajːːtːo
all over scratches body to scratches himself
haʔkúːlikʰmːayow hačːáb[iːy [ʔ]ámːaywːani kʰaːtːálaw,/ after she scratched runs away into sw. house runs down into
haminːiːba [ʔ]ajːːtːkʰe káːli čahṭːiːwːani čúmːay./
then his own up bed into he sits up onto
[ʔ]ahːsáʔwan [ʔ]áča mːihːtaːkː/ haminːiːli kʰaːʔbækʰaːčːon čaːyːiy [ʔ]uːhːtːéːtw, fish home they bring then hawk jay tells
miʔdakʰan mːifːiki [case?] haʔkúːwa./ hámi kʰaʔ[ʔ]:jǎːskːaden
your wife your y. bro. scratched next morning
kʰaʔbækʰaːčʰyey [ʔ]amːáča hwálʔwaː/ haminːiːba hawk in sweat-house went down into then
maːfːikːin tǎːlːan heʔ[ʔ]:e bákʰːaːcǐːntːo,/ to his y. bro. climb down! hair (I will) comb you
háːmu tǎːlːakʰːéwi báːkːo [ʔ]átːew, miːfːiki this one on wh. he will climb hide [n.] he spread his y. bro.
ṭːalːába báːkːoːwːáni wːíːnːa čáːhːiːw, miːfːiki
having climbed down on hide on sat his o. bro.
kʰaʔbækʰaːčʰyey maːfːikːiːsaːma čahːčǐːba, [ʔ]ahːčipkʰaywi
[blank] by his own y. bro. having sat w. brush

hair combs all well combs hair

top of head hair having grabbed his own y. bro. upward

huʔ[ː]:účin [ː=: /ʔ/?] nih[ː]:iw./ hamini:ba máʔčin huʔ[ː]:úkʰ:be
look!

ha:mini:ba

he said

then his own y. bro.

hair combs all well combs hair

top of head hair having grabbed his own y. bro. upward

huʔ[ː]:účin [ː=: /ʔ/?] nih[ː]:iw./ hamini:ba máʔčin huʔ[ː]:úkʰ:be
look!

eyes

2 he took out w. s. t., sharp stick after that outside

hwá:ba [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰ:ay hó:liw./ having gone out home he went


nobody didn’t look at him always alone [blank]

he suffered now it is night people all

síma mič:ži čiwa:démba hídʔa daʔšéngkba [ʔ]áma:
when they went to sleep having rolled around door having felt sw. house

hídʔa hámí:da hídʔa p[ʰ]íla:k/, ma: kúṭ:u [-t- ?]
door through there outside he crawls out now always, just

he crawls away where, which way he self crawls away

he doesn’t know crying he crawls along groaning

čiwa:ádu,/ čihsikʰ:áni ha:kátlan [ʔ]áma:
he rolls around, crawls w. body in brush he keeps falling into place

kačíma ha: kokótlaw./
steep he keeps falling into [ʔ]
thus having crawled around (on hands and knees) on top of sw. house

he crawls up then beaver w. y. bro. live 2

they hear their own on top of sweat house he crawls beaver

his o. bro. to his own y. bro. outside look! up here

people just--lots--a good deal (i hear) groaning [blank] then

his y. bro. [blank] having said went out then [blank]

he finds poor my child our child his mo. fa. (address)

čiw:adÁ:mu míy:ákí pÁ:šÁ:la híd?a kÁ:tÁ:ak, čé:ke
is crawling around his o. bro. again outside runs out beaver

miyáki,/
his o. bro.

the two [blank] in sw. house carried him down into

then his mo. fas. cry having cried after fire

bá:maba,/
kÁ:be čumÁ:ba, čó:lowi [?]ahkÁ:a
having built rock having placed sev. in baby-bath basket water

[?]ohÁ:bo,/
having placed kÁ:šbÁ:wan [?]oh:ó tšlí, kÁ:be
rocks hot when they became rocks

hot baby-bath water in which they had put (water) rocks

čó:lowÁ:niwi kÁ:be [?]oh:ó:wan mi:ti:law, [?]ahkÁ:a
in baby bath rock hot they keep throwing water
hot in order to make water

dás:ew ši:báwan. he?:[:]é:wánh law dú:kdi, he?:[:]e
they wash body hair too they fix hair

who is all tangled up (that) wh. had become full of dry grass

čó?ćök yá:la ti:yówan./ káse ší:mawi hé?:[:]e
(that) wh. had become full of foxtail (bears) twig leaf (with) hair

good all tangled up both by him

nóp[ʰ]:on dú:kdi, náp[ʰ]:liyow kod?:ikaw,/ ha:miní:ba
sitting fix him up all they fix him then

after this in eye balls from sticks round one

biy:ucú:ba,
having gnawed out in eyes they put in eye

they make good it doesn‘t look white just all

kahlé?na./
it’s all white

night his own mo. fas when they went to sleep having crawled around

hid?a p[ʰ]:ila:k/ p[ʰ]:il:ádú:y./ hi:míŋhkʰay [?]á:tí
outside he crawls out crawls away wh[í]ther he self

crawls away he doesn‘t know just crawls along weeping

p[ʰ]:il:ádú:y/, há:meʃ p[ʰ]:il:á:démba [?]á:lameh¢ákʰe
crews along thus having crawled along gopher’s [-rs‘]

[?]ám:ay wí:na p[ʰ]:ila:kay,/ [?]á:lamehča má:tikí:ko
sw. house sw. house he crawls up gophers w. his own y. bro.
nóp[ʰ]:ow,/ [ʔ]álaméyey máːṭikin háb?e [ʔ]ám:iaywíma
live gopher to his y. bro. up there on sw. house
person keeps groaning look up there Yes I will look up

you are a coward, afraid having said he went out then

kʰaʔbékʰačʰčon dáʔāwaw./
[blank] he finds

this [-then] his own o. bro. it’s our child his mo. fa.!

then his o. bro. after (him) comes out both

biʔdíʔba [ʔ]am:máča bidʔálaw,/ [ʔ]atʰ:éba
having picked him up in sw. house they take him down into having spread (s.t.)

hámi čahčíkaw./ ha:mini:ba míːmay [ʔ]akʰ:óhča,
there let him sit then weep both

over their gr. child cry having finished their own on fire

winːa kʰáʔbe míhčan, čolóːwi [ʔ]áhkhʰa [ʔ]óhčow./
on rocks they put on to in baby-bath water they put

ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbéʔyowan [ʔ]óhːo τíːli [ʔ]ahkhʰaʔwáni
kʰaʔbé then rock hot when it became in water rocks

[ʔ]ohːôʔwan čʰiːdáʔlaw./ [ʔ]ahkhʰaʔwan
[ʔ]ohːólmaːw,/ hot they drop into water (w. sticks) water becomes hot

ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbékʰačʰčon dáʔeːw./ šíʔbaʔwan dáʔeːw,
then hawk they wash body they wash

bálay yála káːswéi čʰiːsu,/ heʔː[ː]éʔwanhlaw
blood only, all over w. twigs scratch hair too

kóʔdi bákhʰay, kóʔdi dóːkdi,/ ha:mini:ba
well they come [=comb] well they fix then
Gopher to his own y. bro. small sunflower or aster some of them

eyes let us try.

his y. bro. [blank] having said went out [blank] flower

he breaks off pieces, having broken off w. hand taking a bunch

in sw. house he takes them down into (from here) one of these well

having made it, having fixed it flower in eye he put into

then he looks good it looks it’s good

then [blank] good I see [blank]

thanks mo. fas. ye me eyes gave

his mo. fas. here you with us will live

don’t go away [blank] no I will go just

I will go around 1 where I go around will go around

then his mo. fa. yes it is good we will give to you

(bow and) arrows bow finest bow they give him

in quiver arrows they put into this having taken goes

kʰa?bekʰáčʰyey./ há:meʃ hwá:dun (3 times) [in H] ma:číhkən
hawk thus going along all day

he goes along then house small stands

dá?faw./ há:mi [ʔ]isó:ta ba?[:]á:yey [ʔ]ákʰ:o (he) see there red ants women 2

maːfi:ko nóp[ʰ]:ow./ w. her own y. sis. lives, they live

[11] [ʔ]aːcːy:owán dá?faw ba?[:]á:yeywam[:]úːhča./ man they see the women


[ʔ]áːmaʔwa máːtí [ʔ]áːʔaʔwa čohːójí:kʰ:e,/ huwːáːdun you (are) old I will marry him come!

máːli huwːáːdun níːhːiw kʰaʔbekʰáːːʔcon./ ha:miní:ba here come! she says to hawk then


[ʔ]aw[ː]jí:kʰːe?wa miːtí:kʰ:e,/ ha:miní:li miy:afí:kí ʔʰé:, w. me he will lie down then her y. sis. No

[ʔ]aw[ː]jí:kʰːe?wa a miːtiká:kʰːe,/ [ʔ]áːmaʃo maːʔ[ː]jíptéʔwa [ʔ], w. me I will let him lie down you are an old lady

[ʔ]áːʔaʔwa čohːókʰ:e,/ miy:adí:kí ʔʰéː déːleʔwa I will sleep w. him her o. sis. no betw., in middle

miːtiká:kʰ:e [ʔ]akʰːóhča? waʔya [ʔ]waʔya čohːókʰ:e./ will let him lie both we will sleep w. him

[12] háːm:un hniba duːːli č’áːtɔn miːsí:bo this having said when night came together 3

miːtiːw./ ha:miní:ba máːmu ba?[:]á:yeywam[:]úːhča [ʔ]aːcːáːywan
lie down then these women man

did not let sleep all night they bite then man

morning early east daylight when it come[s] he goes

Having gone he walks all day walks then

Having said went out 2 went out

I first saw him I will marry him

you are an old woman you

just, too young night comes no 1 place we
batːikʰ:e, déːle? waʔya mitːíkákʰ:e.
will lie betw., in midde we will let him lie

[14] haːminiːba mítiːw [ʔ]áːcːayːwáŋ déːle mitːíkaw,/
then he lies down man middle they let him lie

haːminiːli [ʔ]áːcːaywáŋ síːma šulːádu,/
then man [blank] haːminiːli

wáʔ[ː]an maː baʔ[ː]yeyyːomúːhča heʔ[ː]jéʔyowan čūːhau/
now these women hair eat

huːlúːci[yʔ] biʔku húːluːšbɛʔwan bihkʰaːt/
eyebrows eat up eyelashes they pull out

hayáːnwan kúʔmu biʔku, šiʔbáʔton héːme(n) naːpʰ:jyow
face hair all they eat on body hair all

eat up morning man wakes up
hair is gone when he wakes up just

čáluf̩ tóːbi[yʔ]/kayːánšmiʔyowáŋhlaw biʔkúyaw,
slick he arises finest bow too they have eaten up

plʰahasʔkoyowáŋhlaw biʔúyaw,/
quiver too baʔ[ː]jeyːoːmu [ʔ]áːćːow,
they have eaten up women are not there

káːyːama tóːbi[yʔ]/[ʔ]áːtːoːhɛʔ[ː]jːeʔyow tan duhnaːcːiː[ː]-čiːj
alone he gets up himself hair he feels

w. hand what? is gone just slick

then he went out went then pool

[ʔ]áːhɔw dáʔʃaw. haːminiːba heʔ[ː]jɛʔ waʔmaʔto hiʔbaːkákʰ:ɛ
stands he sees then hair you me will let grow

nihːiw./ haːminiːba [ʔ]áːmaːcːaʃtimúːyo [ʔ]áːtːo šiːbáːtkapʰ:jʔto
he says then this world me feel sorry for and me

heʔ[ː]jɛ hiʔbáːkàn, miːʔayʔ waʔa huʔʃúbíkʰ:ɛ./ ma:
hair  let grow 4 times I will duck under this

pool in this after having said into water he goes down

[16] ha:mini:ba huʔtíbi[y], [ʔ]ačʰ:ow huʔ:júbi[y], čáluːf
then he ducks himself breath gave up

huʔ:júbi[y]./ báːko [ʔ]áčʰ:ow huʔ:júbi[y], čáluːf
he lifted head up all gone, nothing there he lifted head

huʔ:júbi[y]./ he lift pʰáːla huʔtíbi[y], huʔ:júbi[y] pʰáːla,
p[ʰ]áːla, he lifts up head again he lifts up head again

báːko [ʔ]áčʰ:ow čáluːf huʔ:júbi[y]./ pʰáːla
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

huʔtíbi[y] [ʔ]aːːto šú:kʰ:ay híː:li huʔ:júbi[y]./
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

hám:un wáʔ[:]jən hέ:mɛn buːcʰuy, heʔ[:]ělɛw
this now body hair sprouts head hair too

búcʰuy./ pʰáːla huʔtíbi[y], máːi huʔ:júmaw
sprouts [blank] [blank] [blank] long time he keeps head in

[ʔ]ahkʰ:akʰá:ni./ in water [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

háːyan híː:bay húdːúː:ci[y] híː:bay (or híʔbámnáː) [in H]/
face hair grows eyebrows grow

heʔ[:]ěʔyowan hakːóːmːaːː, naːpʰiyow heːmɛʔyowan híʔbaːbaː:
[ʔʔ], hair gets long all body hair grows out

[ʔ]ah:áːʃmíʔyówan šéːwey tímːaː [ʔ]./ [ʔ] pʰáːhsokýówan
bow new becomes quiver

šéːwey tímːaː [ʔ], naːpʰiyow kʰː̃di./
new becomes all good

[17] maː hóːliːw, kúːtũ [-t-] hwáːdu.
now goes just walks along looking around walks
ha:mini:ba  [?] ahča  dáʔjaw,  [?] ahča  kicidu  čóʔtow./
then  house  finds  house  little  stands

hám:u  matʰ:ipfe  čáʔa  czyow./  [?] atíto  [?] ahčahčey
there  old lady 1  stays  herself  people

háč:ow,  mihyanwádu./  hám:u  matʰ:iwáni  [?] ahčahčey
visit  she always kills  this  old lady--to  people

háč:ow  čaʔiʔatí  čimun  hodíʔhoʃ./  [?] atíto
visit  nobody alive  doesn' go away  herself

[?] ahčahčey  háč:ówan  nap[ʰ]jyow  mihyanwádu./
people  who visit  all  she always kills

this old woman  blind  [blank]  here

háč:ów./  máli  čahčin  [ʔ] áw[ː]:isima  čahčin,  kʰáʔdeːe./
comes  here  sit!  by me  sit!  gr. child

čaʔiʔatí  [ʔ]  sóčiba,  káʔma  máli  [ʔ] atíto  mákachen
from whom  having heard  ? you  here  me  own gr. mother, mo. mo.

hač:ó:mu./  hámisáma  čáhčiw  kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey/.  [ʔ] atíːkʰe
visit  by her  he sits down  [blank]  her(e)

kʰáʔbewʔaʔi  heʔbečíba  ham:ilwikʰáʔbekʰáčːon  néʔh:n.
rock-cane  having picked up with this[blank]  she strikes

kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey  čáдумhába  [ʔ] áma  čólile  neh:énkaw./
[blank]  having dodged  ground  bare, empty  let her strike

She missed  [blank]  [blank]  [blank]  his own

čáʔuʔwáníwi  [ʔ] ihčok,  matʰ[ː]:jipfeʔyówan./  čohčʰiwʔduy,
w. arrow  he shoots  that old lady  he kills w. first shot

kal:ákaw./  ha:mini:ba  kʰamáyw  hídʔahwába
he kills her dead  [blank]  [blank]  having gone out  old lady

inside  is dead  having killed her
house onto fire he sets house he burns up

matʰ[-j]íʃeʔwánhla w múʔku./
old lady too is burned up

[19] ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbékʰáčʰyey hóliw./ kútʰu [-tʔ-] hwádu
[blank] [blank] goes just walking along

hóliw, [ʔ]áma čax:édų hóliw./ ma kʰabʔáčiw,
goes place looking around goes now it becomes cloudy

mahkála čáhnu./ thunder [blank]

[ʔ]éč[-:]aw čáhnu mahkála./ kʰáʔbekʰáčʰon mahkalá:yey
lots thunder [blank] thunder

malámiʔdu./ [ʔ]aṭito mahkalá:yey malamáni kálí
keeps missing himself thunder when he keeps missing up

kʰádékʰon káʔak (or káʔačʰókʰe) [in H; káʔak ?] hímo [ʔ]áhčey dáʔṭaw./
on tree woodpecker hole is open he

seeks

ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbékʰáčʰyey hímoʔwáni pʰiláduy./
[blank] [blank] hole into crawls

ha:mini:li mahkalá:yey hímoʔwáni sama haʔdinčiw [H dot under first <i> ?]./
[blank] thunder hole-in --near [blank]

ha:mini:li kʰaʔbékʰáčʰyey mahkalá:čon kóhtokʰtowáni
[blank] [blank] in soft spot betw. collar bones

shoots. when he shot noise, thud it says on ground he dropped

ha:mini:li kʰaʔbékʰáčʰyey hímoʔyowániʔow pʰilókoy, [ʔ]ámáʔton
he dropped [blank] from in the hole crawls out on ground

pʰilálaw./ crawls down

thunder wh. he self had shot he looks at all blanket
he wore on shoulders thunder  rain blanket  fog rain blanket

yodo  kʰa?bekʰáčʰyey  [ʔ]áːti  p[ʰ]jiʔákay./  dólhoːtába
[blank] [blank] he self  put on self  having taken them off

haminiːba  wáʔ[ʔ]an wéːy  [ʔ]atːto máki
then  now  far  himself  his own o. bro.

mihyánayówanṭóghkʰay  mahkála tʰiːba  hóːliw./
to where his (o. bro.) had whipped him  thunder having become  goes

haːcáduy  haminiːba  maːkiːkʰe  nɑp[ʰ]:óʔyowání baʔcʰkaw./
he flies  then  his own o. bro.  on ra.  he makes it rain

mahkála  čahnúkaw./  tɛčʰːlaw baʔcʰkaw./  tɛčʰːlaw
he makes it thunder  much  he makes it rain  much

it having rain  in sw. house  water  fills it up  then  his o. bro.

híːduʔcʰédu./  míaːki  nadéː  nadéː  nɑp[ʰ]jí
knows (who it is)  his o. bro.  y. bro!  y. bro!  all, last

baʔcʰːkan  nɑp[ʰ]jí  baʔcʰːkan./
make rain  [blank]  [blank]  I know  you

baʔcʰkwam[ʰ]:u  náde./
who make rain  y. bro!

[21]  haminiːli  hóːliw,  mahkálaʔyóːmu  hóːliw./
then  he goes  thunder  goes

hámːuʔwa  nɑp[ʰ]jí:/
this  is end
VI. Fish Hawk and his Brother

1. They lived in a Rancheria, a big Rancheria. The birds all (were) human beings. Fish Hawk lived with his y. bro. Fish Hawk’s y. bro. just perched up above, under the sweat-house roof. Fish Hawk married Wildcat, his wife (was) Wildcat Woman.

2. Many people went off eastwards, in order to pick up fish. After they were all gone away, the Wildcat Woman, having gone down into the sweathouse to her bro.-in-law, pulled down her bro.-in-law who was perched up above. Having pulled him down, she took him away to her house. Having done so, she scratched (him). She scratched (his) face all over. She scratched (his) body as well. After she had scratched him, he ran away. He ran down into the sweat-house. Having done so, he perched on his bed up above.

3. Those who went off eastwards now started back. They brought in the fish. They having done so, the Jay told Fish Hawk, ‘Your wife scratched your y. bro.’ The next morning, Fish Hawk went down into the sweat-house. Having done so, (he said) to his y. bro., ‘Climb down.’ (I will) comb your hair.’ He spread a hide where he will climb down. His y. bro., having climbed down, sat down on the hide. His older bro., the Fish Hawk, having sat down near his y. bro., combed (his) hair with a louse-comb. He combed it all well, the hair. Having grabbed the hair on top of his head, he said to his y. bro., ‘Look upwards.’ Having done so, he gouged out his y. bro.’s. two eyeballs. After having done so, having gone outside, he went off homewards.

4. His y. bro. wept, he screamed, he rolled around on the ground, he screamed. Nobody at all looked (at him). Just alone he suffered things. Now night came on. When the people all went to sleep, (he) having rolled around on the ground, having felt the door, the sweat-house door, through there he crawled outside. Now, he just crawled away. He didn’t know towards where he crawled away. With weeping he crawled along, he rolled around on the ground groaning. He kept falling into brush. He kept rolling down steep places.

5. Having crawled around in this way, he crawled up onto a sweat-house. He having done so, Beaver and his y. bro. living there both heard him crawling along on their sweat-house. Beaver’s o. bro. (said) to his y. bro., ‘(Go) outside (and) look there above. (It is) a person groaning a lot.’ He having done so, his y. bro., having said ‘Oh:’ went outside. Having done so, he found Eastern Fish Hawk. ‘My poor child. It’s our child, his mo. fa., (who) is rolling around on the ground.’ His o. bro. next ran outside, Beaver’s o. bro.

6. The two of them took that Fish Hawk down into the sweathouse. Having done so, his mo. fas. wept. After having wept, having built a fire, having placed rocks in it, having put water into a baby-bath basket, when the rocks became hot—the hot rocks—the baby-bath basket into which they had put water—they dropped the rocks, the hot rocks, into the baby-bath basket, in order to have the water become hot. When the water became hot, they washed Fish Hawk, (his) body. They fixed up his hair as well, the hair which had become tangled, which had become full of dry grass, which
had become full of foxtails. All that fine hair was tangled with twigs (and) leaves. Both of them,
sitting near him, fixed him up. They let (him) become all good. After having done so, now, into his
eyeballs, after having gnawed out round (pieces) from wood, they put them into his eyeballs. They
made eyeballs. It didn’t look good. White, it was just all white.

7. At night when his mo. fas. went to sleep, having crawled around, he crawled outside. He
crawled away. He didn’t know towards where he crawled away. He just crawled around, with
weeping his crawled around. Having crawled around in this way, he crawled up onto Gopher’s sweat-
house. Gopher lived (there) with his y. bro. Gopher (said) to his y. bro., ‘Up there on top of the sweat-
house, (it is) a person groaning. Look (at him).’ Having said, ‘Yes, I’ll lock up (at him). You’re
certainly timid,’ he went outside. Having done so, he found Fish Hawk.

8. Having done so, (he said) to his o. bro., ‘It’s our child, his mo. fa.’ He having done so, his o.
bro. went outside after (him). The two of them, having picked him up, took him down inside the
sweat-house. Having spread (a blanket), they let him sit down there. Having done so, they wept, both
of them, for their grandchild. Having finished weeping, they put rocks on their fire, they put water
in (their) baby-bath basket. Having done so, when the water became hot, they dropped the hot rocks
into the water. The water heated up. Having done so, they washed Fish Hawk. They washed his body,
(which was) all over blood (and) scratched with twigs. They combed his hair well, too, they fixed him
up well. Gopher (said) to his y. bro., ‘From aster, picking it up, let’s try (to make) eyeballs.’

9. His y. bro., having said ‘Oh’, went outside. Having broken off the best aster blossoms,
having picked (them) up, he brought (them) down inside the sweat-house. Having made good (ones)
from this, they put the flowers into his eyeballs. Having done so, they looked at (it). It looks good.’
They having done so, Fish Hawk (said), ‘I see things well. Thanks, grfas., (that) you give me
eyeballs.’

10. His mo. fas. (said), ‘You will live here with us. Don’t go away.’ Fish Hawk (said), ‘No. I will go
away. I will just go about. I’ll go about wherever I go about.’ He having done so, his mo. fas. (said),
‘Yes, it is good. We will give you (something).’ They gave him arrows, a bow, a fine bow, they had put
the arrows into a quiver. Having picked this up, he went off, Fish Hawk. Going about, going about,
going about in this way, he went about all day long. Having done so, he saw a small house standing.
There two Red Ant Women, (the older) along with her y. sis., lived.

11. They saw that man, those women. ‘Ah, a fine man is coming along.’ Her o. sis. (said), ‘He’ll
be my man.’ Her y. sis. (said), ‘No, he’s mine. You’re old. I will marry him. Come.’ Come here,’” she
said, to Fish Hawk. Having done so, she had him come inside the house. Her o. sis. (said), ‘I will marry
him, he’ll sleep with me.’ She having done so, her y. sis. (said), ‘No, I’ll have him sleep with me.
You’re an old woman. I will marry him.’ Her o. sis. (said), ‘No, (we) will have him sleep (in) the
middle. We’ll both marry him.’

12. Having said this, when night came on, (the) three lay down in one (place). Having done so,
these women didn’t let the man sleep. All night long they bit him. They having done so, early in the
morning, when the eastern dawn glowed, the man went off.

13. Having gone off, he went about, he went along all day long. Having done so, he saw a small
house standing. Two Fieldmouse Women, (the elder) along with her y. sis., lived (there). At twilight,
this y. sis. of hers (said), ‘O. sis., a man is coming, a man, a fine man is coming.’ Having said ‘Ah:’; they went outside, the two went outside, the women. Having done so, (they said) to Fish Hawk, ‘Come.’ Come here.” Now, where do you come from? Come inside the house.” They let him sit down in the house. Having done so, now, her o. sis. said, ‘I will marry him.’ She having done so, her y. sis. (said), ‘I saw him first. I’ll marry him. You’re an old woman.’ ‘No, I surely should marry him. You’re surely very young.’ Night came on. ‘No, we’ll lie in one place. We’ll have (him) lie (in) the middle.’

14. Having done so, they lay down. They had the man lie (in) the middle. They having done so, the man was dying for sleep. He having done so, now, those women ate his hair, they chewed up his eyebrows, they bit out his eyelashes, they chewed up all his face hair, they chewed up all the hair on his body. In the morning the man awoke. His hair was gone when he awoke. He got up perfectly smooth. They had eaten up his fine bow as well. They had eaten up his quiver as well. Those women were gone. He got up alone. He felt for his hair, with his hand. There was nothing there, (he) was perfectly smooth.

15. It being so, he went outside. He went off. Having done so, he saw a pool lying (there). Having done so, he said, ‘You will make my hair grow.’ Having done so, (he said,) ‘Earth lying extended, have pity on me and let my hair grow. I will duck under (the water) four times.’ Now, in the pool, after having said that, he went down into the water.

16. Having done so, he ducked under. When his breath gave out, he lifted his head up cut. He lifted his head up out (with) nothing there, he lifted his head up out smooth. Again he ducked under, he lifted his head up out again, he lifted his head up cut (with) nothing there, smooth. Again he ducked under. When his breath gave out, he lifted his head up out. That, now, his body hair sprouted, his (head) hair also sprouted. Again he ducked under, he kept his head in for a long time, in the water. When his breath gave out, he lifted his head up out. His face hair grew. His eyebrows grew. Behold, his (head) hair was long. His body hair all grew. Behold, that wooden bow became new. Behold, that quiver became new. It was all good.

17. Now, he went off. He just walked along. He walked around looking around. Having done so, he saw a house, a small house standing. There one old woman lived. She used to kill the people (that) visited her. People visited that old woman, (and) nobody went away alive. She used to kill all the people that visited her.

18. The old woman (was) blind. Fish Hawk arrived there. ‘Sit down near me, grandchild. From whom having heard, do you visit me, your mo. mo., here?’ He sat down near her, the Fish Hawk. Having picked up her rock-cane, she struck Fish Hawk with it. Fish Hawk, having dodged, let her strike on bare ground. She missed him, the old woman. She having done so, Fish Hawk shot her with his arrow, that old woman. He killed her right off, he made her die. After having done so, having gone outside—that old woman was dead in the house—having put an end to her. He set fire to the house, he burned the house. The old woman, too, burned up.

19. Having done so, Fish Hawk went off. He just went around, he went off. He looked around at things, he went off. Now, it became cloudy, thunder spoke. Very much it spoke, thunder. The thunder kept missing Fish Hawk. When the thunder kept missing him, he found a woodpecker hole open up high on a tree. Having done so, Fish Hawk crawled off into the hole. He having done so, the thunder hovered near the hole. It having done so, Fish Hawk shot Thunder in the soft spot between
the collarbones. When he shot it, it said ‘č’ol’ (and) dropped onto the ground. It having done so, Fish Hawk crawled down from the hole, he crawled down onto the ground.

20. He looked at the Thunder that he shot. He wore every blanket on his shoulders, it is said, the Thunder—rain blanket, fog-rain blanket, hail blanket, snow blanket, wind blanket, fog blanket. In these, it is said, Fish Hawk dressed himself, having removed them (from Thunder). Having done so, now, he went off, having turned into Thunder, to where his o. bro. had maimed him. He flew away. Having done so, he let (rain) fall on his o. bro.'s. Rancheria. He let thunder speak. He let (rain) fall very much. Much having fallen, inside the sweat-house filled up (with) water. He having done so, his o. bro. knew (what it was). His o. bro. (said), ‘Y. bro., y. bro., let the last of it fall, let the last of it fall. I know it is you who lets it fall, y. bro.’

21. He having done so, he went away, the thunder went away. That is all.

[H VII]

So. Pomo Text VII
Fish Hawk steals acorns
16:79-101

(kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey)

[1] nɔp[h]:o nop[h]:őyaw baḥᵗʰé nop[h]:őyaw./ kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey ra. they lived big they lived [blank]

kʰáʔ[:]aškáden  tôbí:ba, tʰóʔ[:]o p[ʰ]johṭóptow šóčiw./ morning got up soup, acorn mush boiling he hears

kʰáʔbe [ʔ]óh:o čonhikʰáwi mitályan  tóp tóp tóp top rock hot in raw acorn mush they put sev. in, while putting [blank]

nǐh:iw, p[ʰ]johṭópton./ hám:un kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey šóčiw. it says while boiling this [blank] he hears


kó:kɔ:wa/ haʔdúwaʔwa./ senɛtʰóʔwa./ [ʔ]ahkʰałáːntow:a, it’s dangerous it’s too far it’s not easy from across the water

[ʔ]áːma tʰóʔ[:]o p[ʰ]johṭóptow šóčiːmu/ hám:í ʔa you soup boiling hear there I

hó:litʰi:báʔka, bačéʔ./ ʔɛtʰːʔaw haʔdúwaʔ wáːmu
can I not go?, ought I not to go? fa. fa. very far off it is

I don’t think you can go evening again he hears soup

p[ʰ]ohótoptówen./ p[ʰ]á:la šočiʔ:na báčeʔ, níhiw mabʔáčen./
boiling again I hear fa. fa. he says to his own
fa. fa.

téčːːawːám:u, téčːːawhaʔ dúwaʔ wá:m:u./ sén:eːfo:wá:m:u./
it’s too much too far away it is it’s not easy
it’s dangerous yes morning early

ma [ʔ]íhnákʰ:e hólːiw hudʔaká:p[ʰ]:i./
you will try go if you want

it is night [blank] they sleep, he sleeps morning early

jóbi[yː]/ hólːit[hː]:iʔ dúː:na báčeʔ, híyːo hólːin./ níhiːba
he gets up I’m going to go fa. fa.! Yes go! having said

baʔčːówha díhkaw mahkʰːawkʰáːden./ síma p[ʰ]aːʃiː díhkaw
angelica he gives to his own gr. child sleep poison gives

mahkʰːawkʰáːden./ yómta čáːwːan bíʔdaʔ./ kóʔše
to his own gr. child doctor outfit he gives things coyote

čahnúkʰːe daʔʔóto čahnúkʰːeː/ muhčːtu čahnúkʰːe.
will talk small owl will talk large owl [blank]

monkey-faced owl [blank] [blank] this having taken he
goes

ocean near he arrives then big log

hámːun miːhːː[iːh]:kʰ aːtoŋ dáːʔáːlaw./ háːmínːiba čúːmːay
this in water he rolls it down into then he sits down

[ʔ]áːhːaywaʔːni wína./ háːmínːiba [ʔ]ákʰːːːna čudʔáːlaw./
on top of the log then in water he floats down into then
mih[ː]ílhkʰa  dadʔebːiːba  kʰaʔbekʰáːčːon  háʔduwa  kúːu

ocean waves having come up [blank] far off out land

múkʰːaṭiːle  bznékaw.
on dry place it throws him out

mih[ː]ílhkʰaːṭon  [blank]  again his log to ocean
dadʔálaw./
he takes it down, pushes, rolls it down then again he sits on it

maː  čudʔéduː./  maː  pʰːáːla  mih[ː]ílhkʰa  dadʔebːiːba
[blank]  floats away  [blank]  again ocean waves come up

kʰaʔbekʰáːčːon  wéy  mukʰːaṭiːle  dadʔákay./  maː:
pʰːáːla
[blank]  far on dry place it throws him up onto [blank]
again

[ʔ]ahːayːowan  [ʔ]akʰːáːna  dadʔálaw  mih[ː]ílhkʰáːṭon./
log in water he pushes down into in ocean

mábʔač  [ʔ]atːíːto  baʔeʔówha  dǐhkaw  yówanτóŋh[kʰ]le
his own fa. fa. to himself angelica gave some of it

biʔčiw./  hámːun  biʔčokóːba  biʔčokóːba,
he bites off piece this having chewed to pulp [blank]
into ocean he spits and blows it then ocean
dapowỳːːmu [based on H correction]  kúːtu  [ʔ]oːçóːyi./  haːmːinːiːli
which had been waving all is still, stopped then

[ʔ]ahːayːowanτon  čumːáːba  čudʔálaw./  maːwaʔan
on log having sat down he floats down [blank]

čudʔéduː  [ʔ]áhkʰaláːntjítójh[kʰ]ay./
he floats away to across water

he floats (along) [blank] way down to west goes down
The sun down in west it settles thus he floats along

Across far across water people those who live

After that he makes sing thereafter his own fa.fa. to himself sleep

Having laid sleep-poison then he floats up onto his own log good by water

Having taken the poison having taken the poison
mihčahmátwòkú:laknóp[ʰ]o?wánton./
in 4 placeshe places, stands them on the ra., around the ra.

[blank]his in packing net[blank]

hmaṭmáčín bî?dú?wan shíč:i?waníwi
he goes into everyone acorns into packing net

he pours into (sev. times) [blank] don’t fill up for me this

in packing net[blank] acorn (shelled acorns) all he takes, carries

hamíni:ba bâ?[animal]:yey sidun ma:uyówan náp[ʰ]iyow[jáč:ów./
then women bread wh. they baked all he opens

[jáč:a čónhi [ʔ]o:čófdu?wan
people inside house acorn flour which they had put in container

náti náp[ʰ]iyow[jíhč[i]y/]
[blank] all he take

[9] [ʔ]ájí dâp:ónyowankú?mušú:kʰ:aba,
[ʔ]ám:ača he, self what he steals all having finished in sw. house

having gone into under sw. house (roof) large woodpecker 2

bâm:âw hám:un béd?ébi[y/]
hamíni:li kâ:kwamú?hcâ[k-]
sit[ʔ] this, these he picks up, off then these woodpeckers

kâ:tâns (3 times) [in H] nih:iw, kâ:ákâ[k-]/
[blank] they say these woodpeckers

hamíni:li ma: [ʔ]ahácháyey:ómuhčâ yíh (or yí) [in H] čuhmá?wa
then [blank] the people exclamation it’s enemy

čúhmakčúhmacúhma/
[blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank] he comes this way hearing him ? ye asleep
díʔku báːtːiːw./ maː kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey haːʃáːbi[y], haːminiːli
[blank] lay? [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he runs away then

čúʔuʔwamːːu čiːw čiːw nihːiːw haʔːːjaʃmáːnaw./
arrows [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] they said, sounded

then this his own on log

čúʔmːay, maː čuːdːéduy [ʔ]ahːóčːi[y]/ maːčːadúmera máːti
he sat down now he floats away he starts back having chased him

but

bíʔɡaʔ [ʔ] biyːáʔtoːʃ./ maː waʔːːjan kóʔʃe ʔaχnúkaw, muhčːuːtu
they didn’t overtake him [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he made it talk [blank]

čaŋnúkaw, daʔʃoːt ahːóʃahːúkaw, wéːcːe čaŋnúkaw./ haːminiːba
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] then

wáʔːːjan máːmu belːáŋtow [ʔ]ajːíkʰe [ʔ]amːawi
[blank] this on this side his own in place [ʔ]

čuːdːʔáloːk káːʃːoːk./ [ʔ]ajːíkʰe biʔdúʔwan
he came up onto, he floated up onto alive, saved his own acorn

[ʔ]ihčːiːʔba [ʔ]áːcːa haːʃːow kʰáʔːːjaʃkáːデン./
having carried house he arrived morning

kaːtːakyowan [k-] máːhaːk [ʔ]ajːíkʰe nop[hː]oːʔyowáníːhčan
woodpecker he brought home his own to inhabitants

[ʔ]ahːcáʔčeyːowáníːhčan naːp[hː]lyoːʔhčan biʔdu dáːʔhayː,/ to people to all acorns he divides

síːluːn báʔhʰe [ʔ]ajːi [ʔ]ihčːyːowántoːʔhḥéhław,
bread much he, self also some of that wh. he had brought

náːp[hː]lyoːʔhčan díːkaʃː/
to all he gives (to sev.)


tʰóʔːːjan síːfːan, síːluːn čúːhːun./ haːminiːli wáʔːːjan bennáwi
soup eating bread they eat then [blank] on this place

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They lived in a rancheria, many lived. In the morning, Fish Hawk, having gotten up, heard acorn soup boiling. While (someone) kept putting hot rocks into raw acorn mush, it said `tɔp tɔp tɔp tɔp,' boiling. Fish Hawk heard this.

`Fa. fa. ‟What?‚' said his fa. fa. ‟I hear acorn soup boiling.' ‟It's dangerous. It's far away. It's not easy. It's from across the water (that) you hear acorn soup boiling.' ‟Shouldn't I go there, fa. fa.?' ‟It's very far away. I think you shouldn't go.' In the evening again he heard, while the acorn soup was boiling. ‟I hear it again, fa. fa.‚' he said to his fa. fa. ‟It's too much, it's very far away. It's not easy. It's dangerous. Yes, exactly early in the morning you will try, if you want to go.'

Night came on. Now, they went to sleep. Early in the morning he got up. ‟I'm going to go, fa. fa.' ‟Yes, go.' Having said (it), he gave angelica to his grchild. He gave sleep-poison to his grchild. He gave him a doctor outfit, it will talk (like) coyote, it will talk hoot owl, it will talk large owl, it will talk screech owl. Now, having picked these up, he went off.

He arrived near the ocean. Having done so, a big log, this he rolled down into the ocean. Having done so, he sat, on top of the log. Having done so, he floated down into the water. He having done so, the ocean, having risen in waves, threw Fish Hawk far out on a dry place.

Now, again he rolled his log down into the ocean. Having done so, again he sat (on it). Now, again the ocean, having risen in waves, threw Fish Hawk `way off up onto where it was dry. Now, again he rolled the log down into the water, into the ocean. He hit off a piece from the angelica that fa. fa. gave him. Having chewed this to a pulp, having chewed it to a pulp, he spit it down towards the ocean. He having done so, that ocean which was turbulent became quite still. It having done so, having sat on the log, he floated down. Now, he floated away, towards the other side of the water.

He floated along, floated along, floated along. Now, it settled over in the west, the sun settled in the west. In this way he floated along. Now, evening came on. Now, he made (it) talk coyote. On the other side, ‟way off across the water, the people who lived (there) heard (it), when it talked coyote. The women who lived in the rancheria had baked acorn bread, all of them baked.
'From the eastern side of the water he is coming along, Fish Hawk, in order to steal acorns. Watch closely for him. Sit in the road,' he said, the chief, having made a speech.

7. He having done so, the inhabitants sat in the road where he will float up in his boat. Fish Hawk in this very way made it talk large owl, after that he made it talk hoot owl. Now, (it is) having gotten close (that) he made it talk screech owl. After having done so, he opened the sleep-poison that his fa. fa. gave him. Now he sleep-poisoned the rancheria. Having done so, now, he floated up onto (the beach). Having laid his log safely near the water, having picked up the sleep-poison, he set the poison in the four places, on the rancheria.

8. Having done so, now, into his packing net, while going into the houses, he kept pouring the acorns into his packing net. ‘So be it. Do not fill up for me.’ In this packing net, now, he picked it. ‘Do not fill up for me.’ In this packing net, now, he picks up all the acorns. Having done so, now, he uncovered all the acorn bread the women baked. Whatever acorn meal they put up, he picked it all up in the people’s houses.

9. Having finished entirely what he was stealing, having gone down into the sweat-house -- up under the sweat-house roof two large woodpeckers were perched. These he picked up. He having done so, the woodpeckers, ʔaʔaʔaʔaʔa, they said, the woodpeckers. They having done so, those people (said), ‘yí: it’s enemy, enemy, enemy, enemy. Do you who hear Fish Hawk coming along lie dead asleep?’ Now Fish Hawk ran away. He having done so, the arrows said, ‘ćiw ćiw,’ (and) kept missing him.

10. Having done so, he sat on that log of his. Now he floated away (and) started back. Having chased him, they didn’t in any way overtake him. Now he made it talk coyote, he made it talk large owl, he made it talk hoot owl, he made it talk screech owl. Having done so, now, he floated up onto his own place on this side, safe. Having picked up his acorns, he arrived in the house, in the morning. He brought in the woodpeckers. He distributed the acorns to his own rancheria, to the people, to everybody. He gave everybody some of the large amount of acorn bread that he picked up as well, some of the acorn meal as well.

11. Now, they lived rejoining, eating acorn soup, eating acorn bread. They having done so, now, acorns grew in this place, when Fish Hawk stole the woodpeckers across the water. Now, acorns grew here, (but) they lived at first (with) acorns not existing. Live long kiliği dahta.
rock man well now? you whence friend!

[?]ahčahčéy daʔtáw hudʔakaywáʔa, ká:de./
People find I want friend

[?]áhka hodó:kí ká:de [?]aʔ(ahčahčéy daʔtáw hudʔakáywa./
in order to gamble friend! 1 people find want

Yes it is good we [?] in turn lonesome, had feel

kayáma čí:yon./
alone staying

[?]a: p[ʰ]á:la [?]ahčahčéy daʔtáw hudʔákay./
I in turn people find want

híy:o [?]áhkaʔwaʔya hodó:kʰ:e, čúʔu? waʔya
Yes we will gamble [blank] arrows we

šuhnhamúkʰ:e./ híy:o koʔdíʔwa.
will try e. o. out Yes it’s good

má:liʔ waʔya kʰáʔ[ʰ]á:le daʔtamhúkʰ:e ká:de./
here we in morning we will meet friend

[?]áʔ:in waʔya daʔtamhúkʰ:e./
early we will meet
híy:o má:liʔwaʔa kahkoʔtʰ:kʰ:e./
Yes here I will arrive

Yes I in turn here will arrive here we

daʔtamhúkʰ:e.
will meet

[blank] home goes rock also

hó:liw, [?]ahčáŋhkʰ:ay/ čú:mafey [?]áč:a háč:ow,
goes home [blank] home arrives

[?]áʔ:í:kʰ:e [?]áč:a./
his own home
it is night, he lies down, morning, rock gets up

Squirrel gets up now, squirrel goes they (selves)

to where they will meet

rock goes squirrel before, ahead, first arrives

there he sits waiting rock arrives

early? you walk around

friend rock [blank] yes I can't sleep

night gambling wanting to

squirrel to rock you first my bow

will try Yes he gives his own bow rock

to squirrel gives his own bow squirrel

too much is yours friend too much hard, tough

feels your bow friend

now this they handle both this rock

when every time he (turns) this way squirrel w. tooth

when every time he (turns) this way
he bites, gnaws the bow this rock

hí:maʔwan cím cím hnίkaw duhnáʃdun./ má:mu kuṭ:u
sinew [blank] [blank] makes it say always trying it this all the time

čú:maʃyeý biʔkí:kw, wímíŋhí:kay huʔ[to:]ucwádeň./ čú:maʃyeý
squirrel gnaws this way while he always faces [blank]

kʰa?bé(y)čon wéy šuhnáťin ká:de./ yów hniba šúhnaʃ,
[blank] now try (to pull)! friend [blank] having said he tries to

pull

squirrel's bow he doesn't break it just wood flexible,

easily
d:de:du./ he pulls it, handles it

just all the time he chews, gnaws squirrel rock

šúhnaʃ [ʔ]áti biʔkí:kí:wáni šúć:aw./
tries, pulls he self where he gnawed he broke it

nasty one! you broke mine where? will not be safe

I'm going to kill you then squirrel his own

bow having taken up ran away [blank] [blank] [blank]

kʰaʔá:kí:biʔuə?yow dích:aw dhína:ba/
having run tree he breaks w. body having (tried) pushed w. body
ma: čúmaťčoko kʰaːləʔyowan [ʔ]áhčʰaw./ ma: čúmaťfyey
[blank] with squirrel tree [blank] [blank] [blank]

kʰaːťádu, pʰːjá:l a kʰáleːtən kʰaːťákay./ kʰaːləʔwan runs around again on tree runs up trees

kúʔmu diláćaw,kʰaʔbéyey./ [ʔ]aṭːíʔo šiʔbáwi all he breaks rock his w. body

kʰále diláćkaw moːkótiŋ./ tree he breaks striking them w. body

háːmeť nú:haṭdúway./ kʰá:wan [ʔ]aṭːí:ton thus they keep running (around) fir tree on big ones

kʰaːťáktay,/ hiːʔinːáti dukːelhɛːʰoʃ kʰaʔbéyey, he keeps running up anyone not he doesn’t find it hard rock

kʰá:wan [ʔ]aṭːí:wan náti diláćaw./ fir big ones (but) even he breaks them

[7] [ʔ]ahšiːyančíli [ʔ]akʰːáːtow nuːháːtlaw./ háːmi wáʔː]an when evening comes at coast they run down to here now

čúmaťfyey šahčoŋhkʰlíːtən pʰːjilːákay,/ pʰːjilːakáːba čúmaťfyey [blank] on (sugar?) pine he runs up having run up squirrel

yǔsẉéːli [ʔ] ma: kʰáleʔwámːu dičːáːtʰu./ ma: waʔː]an kʰaʔbéyey [blank] this tree don’t break it! and now rock

dihnáːdu he keeps pushing, bumping w. body kʰaːləʔwan, haʔduwáːtow kʰaːťákduń

dihnáːdu./ ma: waʔː]an kʰáleʔwámːu hiːcːáːtʰoʃ. he keeps bumping [blank] now the tree didn’t break

dukːelhɛː./ haːminiːba kʰále sáːmaːtʃin čáːhčiw./ it’s hard for him, he can’t do it [blank] tree near, beside he sits down

kʰaːləʔwan haːtʰːiːlaw, haːminiːba kʰaːləʔwan bėːnew./ tree he puts legs around then tree he hugs

čúmaʃwámːu kāːli čúmaːw, kʰaʔbɛʔwámːu [ʔ]iːːʃɔːw squirrel up is sitting[blank] under
číyow./
he sits

[8] ha:minibiː kʰaʔbeyʔon síːma míːtiw./
then rock went to sleep

ha:minili čúːmaʃeʃey síːma mikʰóːli
then squirrel (asleep) when he snored, started to snore

[ʔ]amːágʰkʰay pʰiːlʔba, ---/ kʰaʔbeyey kálːiːɡʰkʰay
to ground having run down rock upwards

huʔːʃ-worker,
turns his face

čúːmaʃeʃey kʰaʔbeyʔon./ háːmːi ʃaːla kʰaʔbe [ʔ]áːeːow
squirrel rock here only rock was absent

čáːtʃin./ ɬohɛiʔ’duy./
(place ?) [in H] he kills him dead w. first shot

[9] ha:minili kʰaʔbeyʔon káːlaːw./ ha:minibiː máːmu
then rock dies then this

[ʔ]akʰːatow kʰaʔbeyʔonáʃti, kʰaʔbeyʔon muhláma./
on coast rock only became rock having gotten cracked up

[H VIII Free Translation]
So. Pomo Text VIII

1. Grey Squirrel always used to go about in the outside. He lived alone. Now he found Rock
Man, in the outside.

Rock Man (said), ‘Well, now, where (are) you from, friend. I want to find people, friend. In
order to gamble, friend, I want to find people.’

‘Yes, it is good. I in turn feel lonesome, living alone. I in turn want to find people.’

‘Yes, we’ll gamble. We’ll try each other out in pulling arrows.’

‘Yes, it is good.’

‘Here we will meet each other in the morning, friend. We will meet each other early.’

‘Yes, I will will arrive here.’

‘Yes, I in turn will arrive here. Here we will meet each other.’

2. Squirrel went off home. Rock in turn went off, home. Squirrel arrived at home, at his home.

Night came on. He lay down. In the morning, Rock got up, Squirrel got up. Now, Squirrel went off to
where they will meet each other. Rock went off. Squirrel arrived ahead (of Rock). He sat there,
waiting. Rock arrived.
‘Do you walk around (so) early, friend,’ (said) Rock. Squirrel (said), ‘Yes, I guess I can’t sleep (at) night, desiring gambling.’

3. Squirrel (said) to Rock, ‘You will try pulling my arrow first.’
   ‘Yes.’
   He handed it to him, his arrow. Rock handed his arrow to Squirrel. Squirrel (said), ‘Aha, yours (is) too (tough), friend. It feels awfully tough, this arrow of yours, friend.’

4. Now they kept stretching them, both of them. While this Rock was facing towards there, the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, the bow. This Rock made the sinew say ‘cim cim’, while repeatedly trying it. This Squirrel just gnawed, while (Rock) kept looking towards there.
   Squirrel (said) to Rock, ‘Now, try pulling it, friend.’
   Having said ‘Oh,’ he tried pulling it, Squirrel’s bow. He didn’t break it. He just kept pulling it like a flexible stick.

5. Squirrel just continually gnawed. Rock, having said ‘It’s too tough, friend,’ laid the bow on the ground. He quit. Now, Squirrel tried pulling. He broke it where he gnawed it.

6. ‘Dirty thing: You broke mine. You will not be safe anywhere. I’ll kill you.’
   He having done so, Squirrel, having picked up his own bow, ran up high (and) ran away.
   Now, Rock, having run (after him), having tried to break the tree by pushing with his body—now, the tree fell over together with Squirrel. Now Squirrel ran around, he climbed up onto another tree. He broke them all (with his body), the Rock. He broke all the trees with his body, striking against them.
   They kept running around in this way. He kept running up onto big firs. He had no difficulty with any of them whatever, the Rock. He broke any big firs whatever.

7. When evening came on, they ran down by the water. There, now, Squirrel crawled up onto a sugar pine. Having crawled up onto it, Squirrel (said), ‘So be it. Don’t break this tree.’ Now Rock kept pushing against it (with his body), the tree. Running (at it) from far off, he kept pushing against it.
   Now, that tree didn’t break. He had trouble with it.
   Having done so, he sat down near the tree. He put his legs around the tree. Having done so, he hugged the tree. Squirrel perched above, Rock sat below.

8. Having done so, Rock went to sleep. He having done so, when he snored, Squirrel, having crawled down to the ground—Rock turned his face upwards—shot him in the soft spot between the collarbones, Squirrel (did it) to Rock. Only there was there no rock, that place being there. He killed him outright.

9. He having done so, Rock died. Having done so, he turned into (the) rocks all over on the coast, Rock having cracked up.

[H IX]

So. Pomo Text IX
Rolling Bread

573
17:5-21

[1] nop[ʰ]:o nop[ʰ]:őyaw báhtʰe nop[ʰ]:ow./ [ʔ]ah:áʔdaw diʔku/
r. lived big lived starve
what? there is not acorns there are not acorn don’t bear people

[ʔ]ah:áʔdaw diʔku.
are starving

we are starving [blank] o. m. c.

bread I will ask for of this world having said he asks

[ʔ]ám:a čahtimáyčo, šébaṭčaʔi:ńyan, šébaṭčaʔi:ńkʰe ka:wi:ya,
[blank] oh [O], world have pity on us have pity on my children

šébaṭčaʔi:ńkʰe nóp[ʰ]:o./ dó:no wí:n:ah buhkńoń
čí:yn
have pity on my ra. mt., hill on top on knoll, bump sitting

čanhódú, dó:wi baṭʰi:ụyey./ kúluʔŋkʰay ka:nimʔédu./
he speaks [blank] [blank] to outside he calls his relation, he claims kinship

this having quit upwards he is lying then right beside him

sí:luńyowan bá:new./ kúṭ:u hič:oy./
bread is put down just appears (by itself) [in H]

[blank] [blank] this did not get, take (whistle) [in H]

šúʔyušyučín mít:iw, kúnu p[ʰ]aṭ:ámč'i:n mít:iw./ hámi:ni:ba
whistling softly he is lying chest patting himself he is lying then

hand he puts out to pinch off a piece then the bread

kahmáti ʃ[ʰ]án:á hóʔoʃkwan bidoʃ:bi[y],/ kicí:dun héč'
got mad hand wh. was put out to not reach a little fingernail

p[ʰ]uš:u yá:la čoʔočiw./
tip only it stuck to (his nail)
[4] [ʔ]ah:akʰá:ni hodʔókoy hám:un čúh:u./ ha:miní:ba in mouth he put hand in this ate then

pʰá:la šuʔyúšuyu, kú:nu pʰat:ámay./ ha:miní:ba pʰá:la
again he whistles chest he pats self then again

hódʔók doʔčiti./ ha:miní:ba duʔʃáʔtʰof./ ha:miní:li he put out hand to pinch off then he didn’t touch it then

kic:ídu ha:miní:khkʰew./ ha:miní:li kic:ídu pʰá:la
a little he moved that way then a little again

héː’ pʰá:kšu čobʔó:čiw./ tip of finger-nail it stuck to

[5] ha:miní:ba pʰá:la libʔu šuʔyúšuyu, kú:nu then again he whistles softly chest

pʰat:ámay./ ha:miní:ba pʰá:la dúbʔeʃ, he pats own then again he felt for it w. hand

duʔʃentʰof./ ha:miní:li ká:li huʔʃi:ʃbí:ba he didn’t touch it then up having looked up, having raised head

čá:du sí:lúńwan./ beʃ kí[c]:ídu haʔdúwa čí:yow./ he sees the bread this time little--far away it sits it sits

ha:miní:li dó:wi bašʰi:yey ʃóbi[y]./ ʃóbí:ba ha:miní:khkʰáy then [blank] [blank] gets up having got up towards this

hwaʔ, dihčíti dikʰ:law./ ha:miní:li sí:lúnýoːmu he walksto pick it up he stoops down then the bread

hačábí[y] sihlásla pʰ[ ]li:ičiːmeʃ kokːódu./ ma: kʰámːa ran away flat like a wheel it rolls now after it

kʰatːá:du mač:á:du./ he runs (around) he chases (around)

[6] hám:un há:meʃ biʔʃaʔbítʰof/ dúwey./ this thus he didn’t get to it, catch up w. it it is night

ha:miní:li [ʔ]a:khčáŋhkʰay hóːliw./ ha:miní:ba [ʔ]atːíːkʰe then home he goes then his own
ra. people  he tells  I  bread  ask for  me

sí:lun  dihkáyaw,  náʧíʔ̣kʰe hač:ápci./  hámun waʔmáya
bread  they gave  but me  it ran away from  this  ye

kʰaʔ[ʰ]:ái:le  sú:le  hanékʰ:e./
(in morning), tomorrow  [blank]  [blank]

ha:miniːp[ʰ]i  waʔya  [ʔ]aʔʰ:ákakʰ:e./
then  we  will catch (w. trap)

[7]  ma:  dúwey,  mámu  mišiyawísíma,
[blank]  it is night  these  they went to sleep

all  now  morning  early  chief

šabʔáčiː[ʔ]y./  dówí  baŋtʰːčːon  sí:lun  háč:abiː[y]yodoʔːtʃo./
makes speech  o. m. c.  bread  it ran away from him, he says

then  all (of you)  traps  set!  catch  try! [ʔ]

[8]  híyːo  hniyaw  ha:miniːba  wáʔ[ʰ]:jan  hoʔliyaw  kuːlúŋh[kʰ]ay./
Yes  they said  then  now  they went out  to outside
ha:miniːli  mámu  káwiya  šibáːtawhákʰːćaːda  kaːwiya
then  these  children poor  [blank]  children

[ʔ]ákʰːo, mákːaːc  šiːbaːtawmáːtʰ:i  mišiːčːon  [ʔ]uhtéhtew/
two  their gr. mo.  poor  blind  who is lying  they tell

“kačéʔ?
sí:lun  sú:le  hanéyákʰ:e  yóːdó,”
gr. mo.  bread  traps  they said they will set  they said

ha:miniːli  míyːakaːc  čʰːlan  dihkaw  kaːwiyaʔwánhčan./
then  their gr. mo.  net tump-line  gives  to the children

[9]  ma:  hoʔliyawːáʔ[ʰ]:jan,  ha:miniːli  kaːwiyaʔyóːmuːhča
now  they go  then  the children

[ʔ]ahčahčákʰ:ma  hóːliw./  ma:  wáʔ[ʰ]:jan  súːle  hanéyaw  sí:lun
behind the people  they go  [blank]  now  they set traps  bread

hač:abíyːowáníː,
where it had run away  číhísčːnadónkóʔwánčonːsúːle  háměnúʔːnaw.
čihsíčːnadónkóʔwánčonːsúːle  háměnúʔːnaw.
poor children here just on one side

cʰi:lan šú:new.
tump-line they put on brush

now the setting of traps they get through

ha:mini:ba wáʔ[ʔ]jan sí:lunyówan máčiatwá:yaw/
then now bread they chase around

[blank] bread just runs around people ahead of

then these children poor—belonging to into tump-line

kʰá:tín, sí:lun yówan./
runs, goes

[blank] the children bread they dive in head first

butt stick out [blank] now people there come
and [ʔ]

children they pull out way off from it they throw out then

now they selves only divide among themselves to children

they didn’t give just poor they wish for s. t. (also = to envy?) [in H]

[blank] now home after they have gone soaproot
leaves

little pieces are stuck on this having picked off sev. having rolled up for gr. mo.
So. Pomo Text IX

1. They lived in a rancheria, many lived. They were dying of starvation. There was nothing, there were no acorns, the acorns didn’t bear. The people were starving.

2. ‘We are dying of starvation, starvation.’ Old Man Coyote (said), ‘I’ll ask the Earth lying there for acorn bread.’ Having said (so), he asked for it. ‘Earth lying there, have pity on us. Have pity on my children. Have pity on my rancheria.’ Sitting on a knoll on top of a mountain, he kept talking, Old Man Coyote. He claimed relationship with the outside.

   Having stopped saying this, he lay facing upwards. He having done so, (someone) laid the acorn bread near him. It just appear(e)es.

3. Old Man Coyote didn’t take it. He lay (there) whistling softly, he lay (there) patting his chest. Having done so, he put out his hand, in order to pinch off a piece. He having done so, that Bread Man became angry. It was out of reach of his outstretched hand, only a little of it stuck to the tip of his fingernail.

4. He put his hand into his mouth. He ate it. Having done so, he whistled again, he patted his chest. Having done so, he put out his hand again, in order to pinch off a piece. Having done so, he didn’t touch it. He having done so, it moved towards there a little. He having done so, a little stuck to the tip of his fingernail again.

5. Having done so, again he whistled softly, he patted his chest. Having done so, he felt for it again, he didn’t touch it. It having done so, having raised his head up, he saw it, the bread. This time it sat a little far off. It having done so, Old Man Coyote got up. Having gotten up, he went towards there. He stopped down to pick it up. He having done so, that bread ran away. (It was) flat (and) rolled along like a wheel. Now he ran around after it, he chased (it) around.

6. In this way he didn’t overtake it. Night came on. It having done so, he went home. Having done so, he told his rancheria, ‘I asked for bread. Whatever bread they gave me has escaped from me. Tomorrow you will lay ropes (for) it. If so, we’ll trap it.’
7. Now night came on. These (people) went to sleep, all (of them). Now, early in the morning the chief made a speech. 'Old Man Coyote, the bread escaped from him, he says. If so, all of you lay ropes, try to catch it.'

8. ‘Yes,’ they said. Having done so, they went off, to the outside. They having done so, these children, two poor Chickadee children, told their poor blind grandmother who was lying (there). ‘Grandmother, it is said they will lay ropes (for) the bread,’ they said. They having done so, their grandmother gave them a tump-line, to the children.

9. Now those (people) had gone off. They having done so, the children went off after the people. Now those (people) had laid ropes, where the bread escaped, they had laid ropes around on a chamise brush knoll. The poor children stretched the tump-line there just on one side.

10. Now they had finished laying ropes. Having done so, those (people) were chasing the bread around. Now the bread just ran around ahead of the people. Having done so, it ran into the poor children’s tump-line, the bread.

11. Now the children, having dived in (after) the bread, their sharp butts stuck out. Now, those people arrived there. Now, having pulled out the children, they threw them up over there. Having done so, only they themselves divided it up. They didn’t give (any) to the children. They just pitifully wished for (some).

12. Now, after those (people) had gone off home, little pieces (of bread) were stuck onto the soaproot leaves. Having picked them off, having rolled them up, they took it away to their grandmother’s house, the children. At home, those people, just eating bread, were rejoicing.
Appendix III: (H EA)

[H EA] [page 1]

Southern Pomo

Transcriptions of Texts recorded on Cassettes

Speaker: Elsie Allen

Transcriber: Abe Halpern

The left hand (unnumbered) pages contain corrections or expansions of the material on the right-hand (numbered) pages

R.L.O. [Robert L. Oswalt]
[page 1b]

✓ daʔ:ef:ew—
  Pressing it a little harder than the first time—motion round & smoothing

✓ daʔ:el:aw— pressing down hard, motion vertical
  daʔ:ew—to bend tall grass over

✓ slowly, laterally, pushing out of way

muʔtuk ok?— no—chg— muʔtu
muʔtukan imper.— smooth it out

[ʔ]ahkʰoma— back & forth, moving around, lateral

ʔakʰ:ohmhma [unsure of last <h>— 2 places [ʔ]akʰ:omhma?

but not used w.o. hkʰay [linked to [ʔ]ahkʰoma above]

ʔawiʔonhkʰay— towards me

wi:miʔhkʰay— away from me

wi:miʔkʰaʔto— he turns face away from me, to side (only if s.o. knows you)

✓ mič:eden = pushing around w. hand

✓ mič:edu sounds as if pushing w. foot
Leaching acorns

0-55
(0-12-false
start-English)

(calculation)

\text{ṭʰoʔo} \text{ hi:mayaw—} \text{ṭʰoʔo} \text{ hi:mayaw waʔa siʔo ċanhodenkh\text{e}}

✓ \text{ʔahkʰasama, bidʔahkʰasama ťʰoʔo}

✓ \text{hi:mayaw ma: baʔaywam:u \text{ʔama}}

✓ \text{da:} — [ʔam:a \text{da:klo}ba} — [ʔa: - kʰaʔbe}


✓ [ʔ]a:- kʰaʔbe [ʔ]ahtʰi:meʃ mihčaw — \text{and} —

✓ dahtə:eba, muʔu ŭikba, \text{p[h]}a:la kʰaʔbe packing it down
smooth the bottom out

✓ piʔni mihčaw. ha:mini:ba ham:un

✓ \text{p[h]}a:la dahtə:ew. \text{and} muʔuciw.

✓ \text{hniba} miʔay, miʔay huʔ:amba
could have said mihčaba

instead of mihčaw — and —

✔ dahtętew — pack down, smooth out, level, w. rather hard hitting motion

muṭu — even, straight, level

w.o. bumps

chg. țiiba țo țikba, w. pem. [???] kʰ- [?? H <q> or <g>] sounds better

kʰaʔbe piʔni — these are pebbles

piʔni = small size — piʔni — — imposs.

— use ṭeبا muṭučiw —

hniba = ha:mini:ba
[2a]

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✓ ham:unhlaw [ʔ]ahkʰá dahsos:oba dah'teːew. more of the same sprinkled and
✓ ha:minii:ba ?ahsič' daʃ:ef:eba
✓ kʰma:yow, p[ʰ]:a:la miːtay huʃ:amba ham:un
✓ p[ʰ]:a:la [ʔ]ahkʰa dahsos:oba daʃ:ef:eba
✓ koʔdi ?ahsič' daʃ:el:aba, waʔ:an
✓ biʔduboʃ —is acorn— biʔduboʃ:wan huʃ:an.
✓ ha:minii:ba ham:un muʔtu
✓ [ʔ]ahkʰomahkʰay biʔduboʃ:wan mič:eden
around back & forth
✓ wa koʔdi t̪ikba kʰma:yow, kʰaːle šiːma twigs
✓ pʰ:ni, kʰaːleːtõnkhʰe maːč:aba ham:un
having broken off from tree
✓ biʔduboʃ:waní wina kicidu mihčan
[3b]

✔ hu:fafmaw — keep pouring, pour repeatedly

she pours water in one place, but it runs all over. Then she has to wait for it to drain completely

хи:амху — every once in a while

✔ c[oul]d have said  čo:liňba kʰma:yow, in wh. case it would be all one sentence

✔ rd  čah:a wo?oy yow?den
if it’s still bitter

✔ wo?oy čah:a?wa = it’s still bitter

✔ yow?den = implies still

cf. ham:i yowa man ) čiyow that’s where
 ) čiy:ow she stays

(ʔam:a  čah:a — false start)
čonhi  čah:a  čuh:ukʰbu — don’t feed (s.o.) bitter acorn meal

ma?wa  čonhi  čah:a — that’s the bitter čonhi
(some like it bitter)

cf. ko?di siʔa:li wa?a tʰoʔo mihkun
when it tastes good is when (I) start cooking
[3a]

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✓ [ʔ]ahkʰa huːmaːk — misspoke [ʔ]ahkʰa huː- huː-
✓ [ʔ]ahkʰa huːfaːmayakʰːewi.
on the place where water is going to be poured
✓ hamini:ba waʔ:an, [ʔ]ahkʰa huːfaːmaba
now
✓ maːcːew.
waits
✓ hamun waʔ:an — [ʔ]:e — hiː:amhuy.
✓ sihnaːdu, ceʃ siʔfaw
tastes it how it tastes
✓ čaha waʔ:oyoʔ:den pʰːaːla[ʔ]ahkʰa
✓ koʔdi siʔfayili ma:ʔahkʰaʔwan maːcːew,
when it tastes good She watches
when it has gotten to
when it tastes good
✓ huːfaːmaw haːmini:ba waʔ:an
✓ [ʔ]ahkʰaʔwan kuʔmu čʰːolikaw
she lets it all drain
✓ hamun čʰːolikaw kʰmaːyow waʔ:an
she lets it drain & after that
daːtʰow — she just scrapes away
or scoops away gently two top layer
of acorn meal so as not to get it
mixed w. sand—remove top layer

the biduʔboŋ that’s left that
has sand sticking to it

haːmin — on that (i.e. on
the hand)

if haːmilwi would refer to a

container— e.g. haːmilwiːmaw

she puts the biʔduboiŋ into
the water that’s in the basket —
? or into the basket in wh. the water
is sitting— first preferred

actually puts hand in and lets
clean biʔduʔboŋ drip off
[4a]

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✓ winaʔ:ow — biʔdubọʔwan daʔow.


✓ ha:ni:bi biʔdubọʔwanṭonhkʰle
the remaining meal
the part of the acorn ##

✓ miʔ̱aywanṭon [ʔ]:biw:an ham:un ŋ[ŋ]an:awi
the sand that is left (adhering
to the meal)

kali di:biʔbi; [-biy]. ha:ni:bi ham:un
lifts it, she removes the
clot of meal that
sticks to her palm

✓ [ʔ]ahkʰ:a ha:min, ŋ[ŋ]an:awi dḥososon
she sprinkles water on it w. her hand

✓ miʔ̱aywan das:ew.
& washes off the sand

✓ omit—han miʔ̱aywan kuʔmu das:ew

✓ kʰma:yow ham:un ŋʰoʔoʔwan—omit mistake & hesitation—biʔdubọʔwan

the basket is sitting there

✓ ha:ni:wi, miʔ̱maw.
[sb]

✓ da:wof — to stir (once)

✓ da:woṭi:ba — repeatedly
   Stirring hand in water—
   i.e. to get water circulating so
   sand will sink to bottom (my comment is—it’s like panning gold—laughter)

✓ siʔfa hiw:alkaw would be better form

✓ čʰi:wof čʰi:wof — to stir w. spoon (once)

✓ čʰi:woṭoy — to stir w. spoon (once in
   a while) > čʰi:woč:in — imper.

   sit# omitted—sh[ou]ld
   čʰeʔeʔmâywa:ni čonhiʔwan ?ahkʰa


✓ muʔfakʰti.
   into the basket in wh. the meal was
   already prepared, these she drops in hot
   rocks, in order to cook
   i.e. the čonhi & [ʔ]ahkʰa together are already
   sitting (not putting)

✓ c[ou]ld. have used ?e:wen muʔtaw instead
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✓ ham:un kuʔmu šu:- šu:kʰaba
after having finished all that

✓ kʰma:yow ma:mu — ?aʔi miʔay
this stuff the sand that she washed off


✓ kicidu čahči:jkaw, miʔaywan čahči[-]

✓ kʰma:yow, -ʔaʔh⁴aʔwan čʰeʔ:eʔmaywa:ni
into the basket

✓ hiw:alkaw, siʔča.
pour it off slowly lets it run down

✓ čʰi:woṭo:kaʔ⁴oʃ
without stirring (occasionally?) [in H]
she doesn’t stir it

✓ ha:mini:ba waʔan ?aʔh⁴a — kʰaʔbe — omit [for both]

✓ kʰaʔbeʔ oh:o miʔalaw, waʔan muʔʃakʰṭi.

✓ kʰaʔbeʔoh oho miʔalaw kʰma:yow ʔoʔkhoy
right away

✓ tʰoʔoʔwan muʔʃaw.
mush gets cooked

* * *
adopted no[rthern]. Pomo word for Round Valley — mašá perhaps a willow?

She was 11 years old at the time, 1910

by train to Sherwood, wagon from Laytonville

✓ [ʔeč:edu] also if in a basket etc.
✓ diduy not specific for means

— c[oul]d. have used [ʔa:lhoːkomhuːli— yaw — what they spoke — to me, to e.o.

✓✓ kalːaw hoʔčʰʔoːɕin is idiomatic— mng. [ʔ] too much, more than you should
65-99 maš:á xaytonhkʰay [ʔ]aːːo did:uyaw, took me up Round Valley there # from[?] did:uy

✓ paːpel čaːduktʰi.

✓ ?aːːa p[ʰ]aːːaʔcey čahnu hiʔduʔeʔenṭʰof, didn’t know white man’s language

✓ čaʔ(ʔ) čahnuʔnạti hiʔduʔeʔenṭʰiːli ka haːmin [not in recording] even 1 word

✓ haːminhkʰay ʔeːʔeduːyaw they took (in a wagon) < [ʔ]eːʔedu

✓ hamːun ʔaːːo čahnu aːlhokomhuːyaw when they talked to me, i or when they talked to e.o.

✓ p[ʰ]aːːaʔcey čahnu [ʔ]aːlhokomhuːyaw ??aː bako I didn’t understand what they were saying

✓ ?omːiːʔʰof duːʔeyʔden ??aː miːmaːwi at night w. crying every night

✓ kalaːw hoʔeʔoːɕin ??a miːʔin miːmayʔdu ??a

✓ duːʔey doːmiːʔa ??aː miːmayʔdu. every night I cried (all the time)

✓ ba — omit ʔaːːo bako neneκyaːʔʰof. they didn’t teach me anything
They left her alone in a corner w# cards, & a needle, on which she made pictures of dog, cat, etc., w. yarn

S##. reported on her to the matron. She didn’t know why they strapped her—other girls explained to her

haʔcaʃ (haʔcaṭin)—w. stick, strap

ha:meʃ — m[ean]ng hard to explain in that way

They had taken us up there in order to make us unable to speak Indian

—they’s a speaker, talker

✓ ham:uʔwa čahnu [hamu circled] šabʔač:i:čečʰma — they are
✓ " — šabʔač:iʔčey — he’s a good speaker

✓ ham:anwa šuʔu čʰiʔbúʔčey she’s basket maker
?aʔa šuʔu čʰiʔbukʰ:ewi ʔo [ʔo ??] kʰaʔdiya:li ʔa: ḥodiw they called me when I was going to make a basket, & I went
[?]a: čahnu [?]om:iʔʰoʧ waniwiʔто ne:nekya: — omit repet
how could they teach me when I didn’t
understand the language

čahnu pʰ[aː]čey čahnu ne:nekiya:ʔʰoʧ,

ba:ko ?ː)a koʔdi ?aː ne:neɡʰoʧ, ʔa:
I didn’t learn anything well

hamːjow hoːliw.
I left from there (in June)

hamːniːba ʔa hinṭil kučahnu
When I spoke the Indian

čanhodeniʔto haʔčayaw
language, they strapped [=whipped] me
< haʔcaʧ

haːmeʃ  hinṭil kučahnu čanhoden
not to talk Indian language

kʰ[ʔaː]leʃʰoʧ, ʔitiʔyokan [H wrote čiʔti- first] yan
to make us keep from talking etc.

haːminhʰay ʔeːcɛːduyayaw.
they brought us away these

now — hamːniːli kʰaːmayow, ʔa:

hinṭil kučahnuʔwan čanhodːu ʔehnew.
so, after that I stopped talking Indian
ha:meţna = that’s why

✓ if [ʔ]aṭʰ:i:li kʰma:yow — after they had
grown up [ʔ]aṭʰ:i:yaw impossible.

what they spoke of concerning the early days

what the Indians used to tell about religion, doctoring — what they’re supposed to do & not do.

(e.g., dresses were marked w. initial letters— she picked up s.o. else’s dress and she was pushed against wall, knocked around by other girls. So she waited until last to get dresses.

I didn’t want things to be done to them as had been done to me — didn’t want them to be treated the way I had been treated.
when they grew up—were growing up

anything of the early days, things that they talked about

the Indians talked about things

[?]?ahkon [-an ?] hinšilku čahnu [?]a:loko[yawwan

[?]?ahkon [-an ?] hinšilku čahnu [?]a:loko[yawwan

?am:a hodoṭwa[yaw wa:meʃ hodoṭwa[yaw
[9b]

correct all to $\tilde{t}^{\text{h}}$ ʔ$\tilde{t}^{\text{h}}$:inčo:kʰe  early day

✓ [oul]d have said si:kay hwadu — I whispered
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✓ ?a: hudʔakaʔhoʔ, mahčuʔunčon kuʔu
I didn’t want them

✓ dič’oyakʰe ?a: hudʔakaʔhoʔ.
to be beaten for nothing

✓ hametna ?a: hinčilku [ʔ]ahtʰi: [-iy]
That’s why I never told my

[ʔ]am:aʔwan
✓ kuʔmu ?awikʰe kwimyaʔwančan
kids everything about Indian things

✓ [ʔ]uhteh⁴tʰoʔ.

✓ čaʔaʔa am:aʔa ham:i čiyow
I stayed there for one year

✓ hamʔitow ?a ahčanhkʰay ho:liba ?a: ahčeko
I went home from there, & when I was going

✓ ?a ṭεnṭawi hwad:unʔa: [circled by H]
around town w. my mo.

✓ hinčil [circled by H] ?a: madan hinčilku čanhodemʔeʔedu
when I was talking the Indian language

✓ ?a: madan, ahsič’ čahnu
w. her I didn’t talk loud to her

✓ čanhoden⁴h₀ʔ, siʔaʔa ?a: madan čahnu
slowly, in a low voice
Sh[oul]d. be čanhodemhuy,
poss ʔaya:kʰe čahnu lahčak

ʔa: nihiw (nih:iw)

ha:meṭna ʔač’en ʔiṭʰ:inmawi in early days

to let them?

hiṭ:awi:kay — to be around, to associate w., to have anything to do w. them prob. they were afraid the whites would steal the kids

sh[oul]d have said — čahṭi [ʔ]iːyːow
čanhodemhuy, p[ʰ]alaʔcey huʔ:uʔ:on ʔa: [circled in H] ʔaya:kʰe
in front of whites

cahnu ʔa:lhokoʔbʰoʔ, ʔa: ʔa:z’eʔo lahčak.
we didn’t speak our language, I told my mo. not to

__________________________ ʔaya:kʰe cahnu p[ʰ]alaʔcey huʔ:uʔ:on

c[ʔ]:lhokoʔywanu kʰaːtiːʔaw, ʔa: hnihiw, to talk indian before whites I said

ʔa:z’eʔo ʔa: [ʔ]uhtehw.

hamin ʔaːz’eʔen ʔenʔawi p[ʰ]alaʔcey
# a white

kahkoʔtiʔla ʔawi:ʔe ka:wiyaʔwan p[ʰ]alaʔcyeʔon
person came to the house

hiʔawi:k aʔʔbːokay
she [they] forbid the children to be around them

diʔbokʰːiːle hniwʔdu, ʔahʔi sa:ma
she told the kids to hide

over there in the other room (house)

hnihiwʔdu, ka:wiyaʔwanhčan, p[ʰ]alaʔcyeʔwanhčan
to the kids
but now they grow up
among whites & don’t know the
Indian language
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✓ ṭʰi:yakʰ č’ in hamefwa ʔa ya: kʰe
being afraid of them that’s the way
we raise our children

beforetime we raise

✓ ham:un naṭi mahčůkun wa
even so, even at that

now

✓ hinṭil ku čahnu hiʔduʔ:čewaʔ:boʃ, 

✓ hinṭilku čahnu [ʔ]a:hoʔoʔ:boʃ

✓ * * *
Story is about Genevieve

d. p[l]alaʔeyhča čahnu

i.e., [?]a:lokoומhuy:oka

[th]iʔayčon — (there is no other word for it
(makes up ?am:a ne:n:ke:ayey but can’t easily
use it in context) čohtiw to write

-na- for sure
d. [?]uhnakʰa:liʔwam:u ?

cf. [?]aʃ:ə ?wa miʃo [?]uhna
I once visited my young woman (i.e., daughter.)

Then white people were talking to her

Before I came

She was at home with her monthly period

The teacher wrote a letter [or letter written] [in H]

Her (i.e. my daughter)

This thing she after looks at

She doesn’t understand

I never taught her those things

They told her to ask me

Once when I came there
[13b]

yowen—a connected word—can’t explain in English

I couldn’t answer right away

wa:niwi gives reason

that’s our way of observing the rule in the old days, we Indians

-ma = [ʔ]am:a
[13a]

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✓ ham:un čahnu ṭumna:,- ham:un [ʔaː]ʊ: this (she) asked me

✓ čahnu ṭumna:li — yowen, ṭeːwen ṭaː čahnu right away

✓ baːyadikʰ:eʔwanṭo ṭaːʔow ʔi ṭaː madan

✓ čahnu neːneːkaːʔboːf, waːniwi — because I never taught her

✓ ham:un ṭa maːtiːɁ’ baːyadiːʔboːf čiːyoːba

✓ naːti ṭyowan ṭa hiːyo, haːmeʃ — ṭaːmaː but anyhow

✓ ṭahkaːnːaː ṭiːʰːin mawi, ṭaːya hinʃilkuhča in the early days

✓ yowa ṭa hniːiwi, haː(mi)niːli [( ) in H] yowaʔto ma [ʔ] that’s the way

✓ ṭawːiːkʰe ʃeːbaywamːu; hamːuʔkaːmaʔto how is it

✓ heːmenin, hamːun čahnu ʔuːhṭeːʔboːf that you never told me about that

✓ ṭamaʔto heːmenin neːneːkaːʔboːf, ṭo hniːiwi why didn’t you teach me says to me
ni:p[ʰ]iyow  for words
na:p[ʰ]iyow  for objects (potatoes, etc.)

never told anybody

that perhaps is the reason

why I don't feel good,
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✓ ham:un naṭi ham:in kʰmøyow ĭeč’aw
Anyhow after that

✓ maṭ:i hwademba kʰmøyow siṭo— wa-
after a long time had passed lately

I find out although I knew the whole thing

✓ hi?dum:ć’edu naṭi ham:un ?a: čahnu —
I never came out

✓ hwolok:atʰof. čahnu di?bok ?a:
with these words I let the words sit hidden

✓ čiy:okaw ham:u čayey
that thing

✓ hla:li?wá?to šu:kʰaywami kʰaṭ:ič’aw
perhaps

✓ hi:adu, ?a:?a ham:un čahodenṭʰofna.
because I didn’t talk about it


✓ he:?ey da?šaw?dun, ?a: mahčukunčon ?a: [circled in H]
wherever I see them whenever

[15b]

✓ hwolo:kaw
Short hwo-?
maːmu ʔaː siːfo, teːʔaw

maʃ:iːba siːfo maːmu ʔaː hamːun

čahnuʔwan kuʔmu, hwolːokaw.

ʔaʃo šuːkʰaywani koʔdiʔakʰʔi.

so that I’ll feel better

* * *


interrupted {✓ ʔeʔwa ?aʃiːʔoːkʰe, šeːbaːʔma ʔamːa [circled in H]

omit {✓ ʔahkay— ʔamːa ʔahkayen— [all three circled in H]

interruption — telephone

* * *


✓

✓ hodʔoʃwəyaːw. ʔamːa – šeːbərəy
If ʔa: ham:adan č’ay:i hač’x:li —

would be ok too, but here has

already mentioned — or will mention

Genevieve, same sbj. as ʔuhnaŋ
The woman came to the place where there was a white man. She said, "My people didn't understand what she was talking about, but these white people didn't understand, too."

The white people didn't know what she was talking about. Then they said to her, "Ask your mother."

Then once when I visited her...
[19a] [unkown whether pages 17a-18b are missing or Halpern’s numbering is wrong]

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✓ ha:mini:li ʔa ham:un ?uhťehťew
✓ hniyaw ha:meta̱ — ha:meta̱ hoʔdoťwayaw
✓ ?it[h]:inhkʰe [ʔ]ahčahčeyhča maťač’man [ʔʰman?] —
young girls
✓ ?am:a ʔahkala:akyaw čaťima:yaw [H writed <o> over the <a> of -yaw], č’a:ʔa
✓ [ʔ]ala:ša ūto ʔyodo [ʔ]itʰ:enmawi baštifdu
in the old days used to lie #
✓ yowàʔto [ʔ]uhťehťeyaw.

very faint [in H]
✓ naći sičo ʔa: ha:metař:oř, ʔat:o ʔyo:
✓ č’a:ʔalaša ūto miš:ikyaw

omit [in H]
✓ interruption — battery trouble
✓
\[\text{čaš:imayaw}\]
\[\text{in bed}\]

if really long ago \[\text{ʔiṭʰe:n mawi}\]

\[\text{ṭara:pu} \quad \text{1[l?] - flap r}\]
[20a]

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167-234 ------ ṭ[tʰ]inhkʰe še:bačʰma— (correction[])

✓ [ʔ]lt[tʰ]:inhkʰe še:bačʰma ት ṭ ṭ — omit [both, in H] ṭam:a

✓ [ʔ]ahkadu ṭ wa #h čan չատ:իմայուծ mahču:kunčon


✓ ṭačʰ’en yowa ṭačʰo mič:ay:imčin yala —

✓ չատ:իմայուծ միտիկավ. let me lie in bed

✓ ham:un waʔan ṭ[tʰ]:enmawi ha:meʃ now

✓ še:bačʰma չատ:իմայուծ միտիվեն waʔa [ʔ:a circled in H] քլա]

✓ p[tʰ]:al:ahča kanimayhča [<i> above <→>] miy:akan hčak [the -k is circled in H] other people relatives her friends

✓ [ʔ]lačʰ:očkʰe տարապու mi:hakan, ṭam:i

✓ še:bywanhkʰe տարապուʔwan kuʔmu ṭiḥči: [-cce].
should — [ʔʰoʃ] yodóʔya

✓ < sq. [ʔ]ap:ɛdːu — I am wearing
ha:meʃ wey:a hodʔoʔwaya
“rule”


hodʔoʔwačin.
when they are handling her

ha:meʃ yowa ?a: č’ayi čadu
that’s how I saw it one time

ṭara:pu č’ayeyčokʰe kuʔmu ?ihči:yaw
of 1 person

ni ha:(mi)ni:ba ?aṭi:kʰe šebay

ʔahtʰihča čaw:an p[ʰ]iʔakaywa:meʃ
big girls

mada:kʰe kahsaryaw,
& left them for (or with) her


waʔaṭon ʔaṭi:kʰe ṭara:puʔwan

y they don’t wear
in Cloverdale; Hopland don’t do it

correct to \(\text{miţiwen} \quad \text{only}\)

1 girl \(\text{baţiw} \quad \text{is plu[r]al}.\) — also

have to chg. others — \(^\wedge \text{[written above two single quotes]} \text{better}\)

leave as is. \(\text{sē:bay} = 1\)

\(\text{sē:bačʰma}\)
p[h]ala:hc’a čaw:an dihkawan
they wear things others gave

ʔap[h]j’maw. ʔam: a ahkaŋyay

kʰamayow, ha:meť yowa ʔa: čad: [-uw ?]
that’s the way I saw it

še:bačʰma ʔam: [ʔ]ahkančat:ima:yow

bاه⁴⁴b pró ʔam: [ʔ]ahkančat:ima:yow

baḥlə baṭ:iwen mahčukančon
correct mi-

beḥše čukyaṭʰoṭ (=čuh:ukaṭʰoṭ) [in H]. [ʔ]ahša čukyaṭʰoṭ (=čuh:ukaṭʰoṭ),
[note that H varies between dental and alveolar for final of negative morpheme]

ham:un ʔahkaŋkyay.

ham:un mahčukan kʰamayow

č’alalə:ša kʰmayaːw mahčukančon

ʔohkomłakyaːli li:mpyow čiyaw, hamı kʰmayaːw:a
when they let her bathe

mahčukan — [ʔ]a: — čuh:uyaw ————
[23b]

✓ [ʔ]ahkad:u is within the 4 days
✓ [ʔ]ahkal:aw refs beginning of fasting? or that she abstains from diff. things?
✓ { yomṭa či:wa madan } she’s in this
✓ yomṭa či:yow special condition

She uses these utensils all her life until menopause—these are kept in the menstrual hut—she also doesn’t cook

✓ kaw:iw to build

-du endings prob customary — the regular way
[23a]

[EA]
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✔ ------ ʔaʃiyey hudʔakay čuh:u: [-huw]

✔ ʔam:a ʔahkad:u — ʔam:a ʔahkal:aw

✔ kʰa:mayow pʰal:a ʔala:šaʃton ʔama ʔahkal:awa:me [?]

✔ the following month

✔ ʔo mahčuʔunčo:kʰe čuh:uyaw ču:kʰale

✔ they eat of, of wh. they eat, i.e. the plates & tools.

✔ mayʔma: [?] čahṭin. kuča:la pilaʔuʔwa

✔ separately

✔ mayʔma: mahčuʔunčo:kʰe.ʔahčahčey de:le

✔ in a separate place

✔ huw:aʔtʰoʃ. mahčuʔun pʰal:aʔi

✔ hwaʔtʰoʃ

✔ hidʔa [ʔ]ahča kicidu kawiyədi ham:i yow:a

✔ they built and

✔ mahčuʔun mičayimčin čiy:owʔdu.

✔ 4 days

✔ haʔminiwʔdun ʔoʔkomʔeʔ dun kʰa:mayow

✔ after she takes a bath

✔ yaʔla ʔač:aka — omit [in H] [ʔ]ač:ə hmayʔdu.

✔ only

✔ they come inside the house
She can’t step on the doorway—
she would be stepping on her fa’s (or
bro’s.) track

he = or — sh[oul]d be long he:

ʔahčuğun = the men folks
mahčuğun = them
wihčuğun = them (past) — the other

✓ baʔ:ay- baʔ:ayʔdu —
he’s hunting

✓ baʔ:ayʔkʰale — a hunter

rd. ḵʰatʰičʰač:edu

(cf. ḳʔam:ʔa hiʃ:ʔakayaw)—
(that’s what they think)
if she is proceeding in fasting condition?

on door feet she won’t step on in front of door

on door feet she won’t step on

when travelling around hunting

step on

what it’s named, what it’s called

hunter

the hunters always have bad luck

they don’t let her associate w. them

when she is abstaining from thing [?, could be other t-initial word]
[25b]

correct to ham:unwaʔyan — that’s
✓ if – I taught her - what they taught us
ham:adan ?a: ne:ne:kaw

✓ rd Šo:čad:edu – I heard it from diff. ones
✓ rd hod?oʔway — they still do that — i.e. (in Nevada/Idaho) still use menstrual hut
✓ or ma: ?a: či:yo:li for short
that what they taught us in old days

but I didn’t
tell my children

they beat us because they wanted to make

because our speaking

us into whites

they beat us because our speaking

that’s why we stopped all that

lately elsewhere

In[ian] yet, still

here, where
at present, only thing is that
some girls won’t cook at that time of month

comment: “before it was all closed up w. me”
also feels same about teaching basketry
making to whites—some others object that
whites will enrich selves.
"I don't know whether they're going to do that now or not."

"Perhaps, again perhaps."
I feel not good inside by not telling or teaching

rd baḥṭʰehčatʰonʰof — to not too many people ("just when they ask me") [in H]

This refs her present activity In the HIS [?] project at Santa Rosa
They always call for, to have me tell them

I never talked about it

I go to (wherever I’m called from) I tell

Yet, still that’s the way it sounds to me

When they’re telling # e.g. the health director

Rest
[28b]

✓ rd duʔčaːcǐ: [ː-čiy] when she touches her hair w. hand

✓ ch[an]g[e] to ʔahsiʔiʔʰoʔ — she doesn’t scratch
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258  ✓  še:bačʰma  [ʔ]ama  ?ahkan  wa:meʃ  wa

✓  še:bačʰma  ?a:t:i:čon  ši:ma  duʔfaṭi  heʔe

✓  duʔfaṭʰof  [circled in H]  [ʃ]i:na  ?ahsiṭiʔʰof

✓  [ʔ]ah:aywi  boʃ:oyhawa  mahčukun  he:beʃdu,  
short ones  
6”  they have it  
on them, w. them  
in possession

✓  ši:na  ?ahsiṭi:klʰale’.  
w. wh. to scratch head

✓  šiʔba  pʰ[a]:la  ?ahsiṭiʔʰof.

✓  ham:unwa  mahčukunčon  ?ahkapkyaw  [ʔ circled by H].

✓  ham:unwa  mahčukun  haminiʔʰof,

✓  ba:kø  ?ah:aywa  hebʔetway,  ?ah:aywi  
they carry w.  
them all the time

✓  ?ahsiṭi:ti.

266  ✓  ham:unwa  mahčukunčon  ne:nekyaw.

*  *  *
das:č'i'tʰof

✓ [ʔ]ahkama — if you’re describing present
✓ [ʔ]ahkančiw — start to fast
   (but no –bi: [-biy])
✓ hil:aw — it ends — goes to
   that point —
✓ hak:abi: [-biy] — to jump out of bed fast
✓✓ [ʔ]am:ajon  či:yoba  hak:abi: [-biy]
✓✓ ʔenṭaʔwani  hil:aw  waʔa  ho:likʰ:e
   as far as town  I’ll go
   (but not past town)
   (no verb forms possible for hil:aw ?) [in H]
ši:nə dasːeˈčːiːtʰoːf
she doesn't wash her head

čːamčin, čːamčin wa mahčuʔunčon
a day after they're all right

koʔdi tiː [-iy] kʰmaːyow [ʔ]maː duʔtakaːyaʔtʰoːf
they don't let her touch

miːyaːtʰehcʰa miyaːkaːcyʔa hʔaʔwaː [line connecting –y to –c-] madan

heʔeʔwan dasːew.

kʰamaːyow [ʔ]aːtʰiːcʰon heʔe

dasːeˈciː [-ˈciːy]。“

pʰaːlaʔaːmːaː [ʔ]ahkanʔiːw hilːaw.
until the next fasting time
* * *

hamːaːdan aʔmaː aʔahkanʔkʰtʰi

hidʔa aʔhča kicidu kawːiːyaːli—

čiːyːow wamːaʔwaː, miyaːmen miyaːkinh[e ?]
o bro.
(surprised that tip[ʰ]la came to her)

that’s why they have her stay in the house that stands outside near the (main) house
EA
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✓ pʰal:a ʔahčahčey ʔahčukun — ča, kʰa:ma
any other male

✓ ?ahṭiw maːčakaw lahča:yaw, hamːu wa
prints let her step forbid

✓ mahčukunčon — behše baʔaːčin,ʔamːa [? circled in H]

✓ kʰatːiːcʰaw hwalakʰ:etʰoːf.
so there won’t be bad luck come down to them

✓ hamːan haːmini ʔipʰlaʔwa
if she didn’t do [both circled in H] that
if she did step on their tracks

✓ mahčukunčon behšeʔwan — behše daʔatʰoːf,

✓ behše ʔihokʰ:etʰoːf.

✓ hamːetna ?wamːu šeːbaywan

✓ kulːuṭow, ʔahčasaːma kulːuṭow
near house outside

✓ [ʔ]ahča [H writes below crossed-out forms with initial ?] ʔoːtːoliːčiːy:okyaw
in the one that is *

✓ standing there
[31b]

- rd [ʔ]ahkalen — while she is fasting

- c[oul]d. be [ʔ]aːlhokomhukʰ:etʰoʃ

- [ʔ]aːlhokomhukʰ:aleʔʰoʃ [-kʰe- ? or e → Ø/ा?] — same but a little longer
309  
miy:ame hwaywakʰ:etʰof, šetbay:ey  
he father can't come close  
to her  

\[\text{ʔahkʰa} \ \text{ʔahkalen} \ wa \ miy:ame\]  

\[\text{hwaywakʰ:etʰof, miyaki čahnu čanhoden —}\]  
he (can't) talk to her  
(musn't)  

\[\text{kʰaleťʰof.} \ \text{ʔahčűku} \ \text{nhča} \ čahnu\]  

\[\text{ʔa|lokomu kʰa|le ţʰofwa, mičayimčin.}\]  

\[\text{ham:u} \ \text{ʔahčǎ|wa:nitow} \ \text{hwolopʰ[i] —}\]  
come out  

\[\text{limp(i)yow [(] in H] ţipʰ[i]} \ \text{ʔač:ahmay — ŋača —}\]  
when she's clean  
goes inside  

\[\text{ča:hma} \ \text{čuh:uyaw} \ \text{ču: (= cuh:u:) [in H] mahčukun.}\]  
they all eat together  

\[\text{ham:meʃ ye|la} \ \text{madan}\]  
that's the only time they talk to her  

\[\text{čahnu} \ \text{ʔa|lokomhu} \ \text{yaw} \ naʃi} \ \text{ham:an}\]  
start talking to her  

\[\text{ʔam:a} \ \text{ʔahkanwa:nį|wa} \ \text{ham:an} \ kay:ama}\]  
at the time of her  
fasting
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✓ čaʔ:a ʔaˈhːow. čaʔ:a čahnu
no one there

✓ čanhodemhu:ʔoʃmiy:atʰe yała  he:

✓ miy:akač ya:la, ʔahčukunhča
menfolks

327✓ ʔaːlhokomhuːkʰetʰof.

*     *     *
side A ends short 3#2

✓

✓

✓

✓

✓

✓
bahkača čapuluč
bay leaves    wormwood
child birth

Side B

when I had

✓ doč:ow kʰma:yow, mič:ayimčin kʰma:yow:a

✓ mahčukun ?ama da:?ay, haʔahtʔiʔmeť
dughole in ground like a bed
hesitation form [refering to haʔ portion]
she forgot what
she was going to say—omit

✓ [ʔ]ama da:?ay.

✓ ha:mini:ba ham:i [ʔ]oh:o ba:maw, haniba

✓ bahka bahka: p[ʰ]uluk [all 3 circled in H], ši:maʔwan
leaves

✓ mihčan, [ʔ]oh:oʔwameť siʔbaw [ši- ?] kʰma:yow

✓ mahsi:[-siy], hi:no ya:lala ţi:li, ha:niba
coals ashes only it becomes then

✓ ha:min kic:idu ?ahkʰa dahsos:oba kʰma:yow

✓ wa mahčukun — kaʔća ?ahči:ba win:a
dry grass pick it
and

✓ mihčan — ba, [ʔ]iši:wi [circled in H]— [ʔ]išiʔiʔatʰeiba
blanket spread
[34b]

actually /ham:i:/

rd ham:un ?a: ham:i
so there I
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✓ ham:i ?aʔo mit:ikyaw. kʰaʔ(a)škaden [()] in H. morning

✓ hun [written above win:a] ham:i, maːcihkôn mitːiw.

✓ hamːun [ʔ]aʔo maʔhːak, [ʔ]aʔo maʔhːak —

✓ wanṭon _____ panːu dihkaba hamːilwi ṭo

✓ huʔuy čuhkayhčikyaw.
  they let me wipe my face

✓ hamːun ṭa huʔuy čuhkayhčič’iṅ

✓ mitːiw. hamːun wa ṭaʔaːčen

✓ koʔo ṭihmin, pl[ʰ]uhsu: ṭo ṭaʔo kawʔiʔwanhlaw
  he doctors me the baby too

✓ omit—hun [circled in H] ṭahšiyan waʔaːn ṭaʔʔaː da
  evening when the sun

✓ haʔalaːliʔwa hamːitow ṭa ṭoːbiː [-biy].
  went down from there I got up

✓ hamːun waʔa ṭuhnaʔ - bːaː - bːaː -
[35b]

[this page is full of lines connecting various forms, this typed version is an approximation]

better word w[oul]d. be [connected to ‘this is better than bahčʰikʰti’]

✓ muk:ačʰkaš — in order to tighten

✓ < muk:ačiw — to tighten s.t.

✓ bahčiw would be used on basket weaving-
If make mistakes uncoil it, when come to

✓ that place, then bahčiw

✓ kuṭ:u šuhtʰaba ʔa: bahčiw -bahčikaw make to tighten

✓ [ʔ]oh:o:naw —

✓ also ʔahčahčey [ʔ]oh:oma — [ʔ]oh:o:naw used for cremating

✓ c[oul]d say [ʔ]i:ha muk:ačiw —

✓ [ʔ]i:ha muk:ačʰkaši to tighten up your bones this is better than bahčʰikʰti
(“your womb is loose, this is to draw it up, get it in place”)
—afterwards tie on belly-band,
you lie there 4 days w. tied-up stomach.)

✓ bahčʰiw is used for repairing basket e.g.

✓ čuhkayhči: [-čiy]

✓ mak:on čahnu [switch these two?]čanhod:u — used the wrong word

✓ mak:on — s.t. that’s not right
not as it should be

✓ čahnu pʰal:a čanhod:u — speaks a diff. language
✓ moč’ow — color comes out, funny color
✓ moč’owa mţo — you got burned
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✓ bako ṭka ma:mu ṭmaya ṭto hodʔøwač’mu
what’s this that you’ve doing to me

✓ bako ṭka ham:un ṭahšiyaw ṭa:

✓ nihi:ili ṭwa ka, ṭoh:Χ:aw ṭa, šiʔba
heating (?) that’s it

✓ ṭoh:Χ:aw. miʔo šiʔba ṭi:ha muʔtu

✓ bahčʰi [circled in H] bahčikʰti, miʔo mačʰ:akʰti, [ʔ]:ma mačʰ:akwan
make [sic] you sweat

✓ miʔo šiʔbakʰ:ani duhṭʰan kʰat:iič’aw

✓ čiy:ow, duhṭʰan laʔca čiy:ow:an kuʔmu

✓ miʔo hwolokʰ:ti ham:un waʔma
make it go out

✓ čuhkayhči: na: na—omit mumble ḥuʔun:to ḥuʔuy miʔo

✓ wi:nimʔ:un ḥuʔuy, baʔa:čon ḥuʔuy,
when you get pregnant

✓ mak:on ḥuʔuy moč’:owʔdu.
have dark blotches on cheeks, around eyes
I lay there, even though suffering, (from) the fire being very hot

rd.  [ʔ]ikʰ:ačʰɨnɨ — (just like)
     ( naṭi)

[ʔ]amːa  [ʔ]ikʰ:ayʔdu — to be suffering

sh[oul]d be muʔfawen —
✓ ham:un — ham:un wa?ma
✓ čuhkayhč’amu wa?t:o [?]nihi:yaw.
✓ ha:miniba ham:u yodo ?a:
  clean, healthy          pain
✓ yokʰ:e, hiʔe?i  duhṭʰan [?]ačʰ:ow   yokʰ:e,
✓ lip:u  duhṭʰan [?]ačʰ:ow   yokʰ:e,  [?]i:šan
✓ duhṭʰan [?]ačʰ:ow   yokʰ:e.
✓ koʔdi  ḍi:kakʰ:e,  waʔto  hnihi:yaw.
✓ ham:etna  ?waʔ:a  [?]am:a ʔikʰ:ač’iŋti
  things I am suffering
  from
  even if I’m suffering
✓ ham:i  mi:t:iw  [?]oh:o  ṭeʔaw  muʔtaw’en.
She uses ha:niw for laying (placing) long obj. — baniw for rd. obj.

rd [ʔ]ač:ayawam:u — my husb. (used only by young people — at her age must say ?aw:iʔh⁴kʰan [-tʰkʰan])

my spouse —

ceʔ ka mi:ʔtʰkʰan [-tʰkʰan] — how is your husb[and]

miʔdakʰan [mʔd-] how is your wife

to young people w[oul]d say

me:kʰe ?ač:ay

me:kʰe baʔ:ay

Sh[oul]d be elderberry tree batʰ:inkʰle

(Sebastopol Indians were baʔ:injkʰle ?čawi)

stick was 4’ long, 3-4” thick
doʔkiŋkiis a tree that grows straight & tall

and not thick— 11/2-2”, new growth —

she used to cut it for fishing pole —
grows around (Cloverdale, never saw here

next 4 days, when husb. goes to work,

stick is laid next to wife as surrogate,

then nothing bad will happen to husb[and].
and — e: — [both circled in H]  

mič:ayimčin  

kʰmayow  

✓ ham:un ʔa  

ham: i ʔoh:o  

ham:niyaw  

they lay (me) down  

placed  

✓ kʰmayow,  

mič:ayimčin  

wa ʔma: ?awikʰe  

✓ č’aiyi ʔma  

tawhal  

yoŋʰof, [ʔ]ač:a  

čiy:ow  

✓ ham:un  

mič:ayimčin  

kʰmayow  

✓ wa  

tawhal  

yokʰ:e,  

ham:u  

tawhal  

when he goes to work  

✓ yokʰ:ewiʔwa  

doʔkiŋki,  

doʔkiŋki: [-iy] [bith circled]  

✓ ?ah:ay  

pʰikʰ:aba  

wa  

?aw:isama  

chopped  

✓ ham:niyaw,  

ham:uʔwa  

?awikʰe  

they laid it down  

✓ ?ač:ay,  

mi:tiŋyayaw,  

[ʔ]ah:aywam:u  

as my husb.  

✓ ?awikʰe  

?ač:ay  

mi:tiw,  

?awikʰe [ʔ]ač:aywam:u  

lies (as) my husb.
[38b]

✓ limpyow čiyaw — to purify

when travelling, if ♀ menstruating,

would hold soaproot in front of her &

wave it, while singing song.

On trail, if spiderwebs, must use

stick to sweep it away, mustn't rub off

on you.

✓ yalːadːu is last baby — or last fawn [?]

born in spring — if man goes hunting when

wife is w. baby or period, the yalːadːu

fawn will hoodoo him —

✓ kulaːtow ?amːa ?iːhcinːikaw —

✓ imper dafːiːčin
[38a]

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42 ✓ ţawhal yo:li, when he goes to work

* * *

✓ šaʔka ţi — (ti) [-tiy]

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98 ✓ kul:u hodliwʔdun waʔya kawi
✓ čuhse ?ah:ay baʔ:ayʔdu, ham:un baʔ:ayʔdun
✓ kʰmayow ?ač:a miʔaʔdun, waʔya ham:un
✓ ?ah:aywan mikhʰ:ʔatdu [H changes from -k:ʔa-], čiʔda-w, scrape it outer bark
✓ tuʔšoṭo [ʔ]ahay č’aʔhma miʔin [H writes above -t-] laying sev.
5 at a time
✓ ham:un p[ʰ]aʔbečin, ţarepuwi p[ʰ]aʔbečin waʔya
✓ ham:un dač:i: [-iy]. bend it in a curve
čamhna wina tušo ?ah:aywan 20 25
mu?ya ďačiy?du (? wam:u [( ) in H].
ha?:anṭokʰ:e?wan p[h]a:la ha:meф
on the back side from
ha?:anṭokʰ:e?wan hlaw mikʰ:ačin, ya muːtu
the up & lay down
ham:un ya — [ʔ]akʰ:o semaːnu, [ʔ]akʰ:o
keep it in order today
when it gets dry
wan wa?ya — ham:un čʰi?bubɑ — sus:lewi —
weave w. string
on the side first
čʰi?bup[h]i kʰmaːyow ham:un šu:kʰaba kʰmaːyow:a
[40b]

[drawings in the original]

then do sides

[drawings in the original]

then insert bottom stick & bend ends towards head & sew across

bahṭen—to insert one

behṭeman—imper[ative].

c’a:?a win:a refs. Sewing over each stick

when sewing on hoop (= rim) [( ) in H]

ha:kat’kay refs. Weaving string in &

ont[o] (over & under) [( ) in H] — e. stick

[drawings]

ha?din is when you’re talking about

putting it onto the basket

ma:li ha?diwan — put the hoop on there
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✓ wa, haʔ:anʔokʰ:e [ʔ]ah:aywan baʔeʃmayan [-te- written above - di -] from below wh. have been insert

✓ ham:un hlaw sulewí čʰiʔbuyaw.

✓ ham:miniw?dun wa mu ?ah:ay


✓ čʔ:aʔ win:a, haʔ:katkačin, sulewí #ewing over, weaving

✓ pʰaʔ:ciɣ haʔ:anʔow. catch sev from underneath (< paʔ:ciw)

✓ ham:un waʔ:an šuʔkʰapʰ:jí

✓ kʰmayow wa — haʔ:diywán [ʔ]iʔ:in hoop wh# is already

✓ daʃ:i:yaw ham:unhlaw, haʔ:diywán [-y- written above -:] naʔa — omit bent into hoop

✓ baʔniʔaʔnaw [-i- written above -e-].

✓ haʔ:diŋ baʔ:nin [-i- written above -e-] kʰmayow — ?a—omit hoop
old times - made string of milkweed -
2 kinds -  names forgotten?
  fibres taken from dry stalks in fall

ch[an]lg[e] to  ha:nimp[ʰ]ji  <  haniman
  lay baby on
[41a]

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✓ čakʰ:awa:naw. cut (ends) off
✓ 
✓ ha:miniw?dun—[ʔ]a—— čuhseʔwan
✓ šu:kʰawa:naw.
✓ su:leʔwan čʰiʔbuwa:naw,

132 ✓ su:le ?ahkon čipʰ[ʔ]i pa?beyakʰ:ewi make long strings w. wh. to tie baby in bask[et]
   *   *   *

152 ✓ čuhse šukʰ:a:liʔow ʔis:i: [-: double underlined]
✓ miːtiʔma[pʰ]i, kaʔwiʔwan miːtiw kʰale čiy:aw
✓ ha:minipʰ[ʔ]i ʔiš:iʔwan čuhseʔwan:iwi
✓ čipʰ[ʔ]i, kaʔwiʔwan han:a[pʰ]i [H writes <h> above], pen:eyahlaw pillow too
[42b]

put blankets over arms

alternately

✓ da?lu: to wrap, cover w.

blanket

✓ ha?lu: wrap w. string

baby is sitting at base of basket, legs hanging out. Wrap w. blankets, the and tuck under legs.

✓ [ʔjy:oʃow  daʃeʃʃ] — tuck under

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✓ ham:i ha:nip[h]i, ha:min[i:p[h]i ʔišanwan
when lay down

✓ muːtːu, ŋiʔba ʔahkʰulːətːow čip[h]iʔwan,
on both sides

✓ ʔišiʔawaniwi daʔlukʰ:e ʔalabːiː [-biːy],
will wrap time before

✓ hamːun daʔlup[h]i kʰa:mːoy waʔːan—ʔʔoː—

✓ wiːnaːtːow suːleʔawaniwi ʔalukʰ:e.

✓ ha:nip[h]i kʰaːmaʔwan p[h]aːla li[pʰ]uʔwan

✓ muːtːu ḥiʔkʰp[h]i, kʰaːmaʔwan muːtːu mihčap[h]i,

✓ mu ʔišiʔawaniwi daʔlu [circled in H], kʰaːmaʔwan

✓ daʔlup[h]i, p[h]uʔʃːtoːw ʔiši (ʔ)ːbiːʔːan [( ) in H]
at the end

✓ ʔʔiʃoːtːow daːʃːep[h]i waʔːan suːleʔawaniwi

✓ suːleʔawaniwi li[pʰ]uʔwan ʔalukʰ:e
Tap [ʔ] ends of blanket over the baby’s feet —

✓ šu:new to tie

✓ [ʔ]ihtʰaw — it comes loose, comes off
ch[an]g[e] from stutter — just [ʔ]oč:olyaw

if cold, thin blanket over hoop
if hot, a mosquito bar over
never, let baby stay wet

hiʔdan ho:liw refs.

✓✓ bowel movement
[43a]

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✓ ha:ni:pʰ][i winaːtow, šuːnekʰ:e lip[h]:u

then on top

✓ winaːtow, suːleʔwan ?ihtʰakʰ:eʔhoʃ.
so it won't come loose

170 ✓ hamuʔwa kaːwi čʰokʔohčʰoyaw [circled] waːmu

* * *

175 ✓ kaːwiya miyaːtʰehča ʔawhal yoʔ[ʰ]i

✓ ʔaːtiːkʰe kaːwiyaʔwan čuːseʔwaní

✓ siːma miːtiːw seʔeːnaw.
covered

✓ čawːan saːma kʰaːle saːma —

✓ [ʔ]ah:ay saːma, šaʔkanhi kaːwiʔwan
in the shade

✓ miːtikwaːnaw. pʰ][iʔoʔden yaːla
when it wakes up

✓ kaːwiʔwan šuhtʰawaːnaw.

✓ hiʔdan hoːliwʔden yada kaːwiʔwan
[44b]

✓ miṭiba — emphasize would

✓ just ?aṭ:imhya laʔcaʔcedun

✓ ka:wi mi:mayʔdu
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✓ šuhtʰawʔdun, limp(i)yow [( ) in H] yoyaw, take him out (uncover) clean him up (usually by putting in water, but in field wipe w[ith]-wet diaper)

✓ nipʰli čahṭi pʰlaʔbeči:ba omit (and “)

185 ✓ -------- ka:wiʔwam:u čahṭi si:ma miṭi:ba he would go back to sleep

* * * *

190 ✓ ʔaʔimhya laʔčaka:wi [circled in H] — omit

✓ laʔčaʔcedun — ka:wi mi:mayʔdu,

✓ ha:miniwʔden mu ka:wiwan šuhtʰewʔdun, then uncover baby

✓ čaw:an limp(i)yowi — čahṭi ʔoč:olwana:n mu


* * *

201 ✓ čay:ikan ka:wiyaʔwamuhča Sometimes

✓ čuhseʔwan ʔe:neyči:pʰji čuhse ʔačʰow when got used to w.o. the basket

✓ si:ma miṭi:wa hudʔaka:ṭʰof.
✓ p[h]iːaːk — to crawl
✓ p[h]iːadːu — crawling around
When it gets too small, it gets tough to be eaten:

- kalaye he chayikan misibo
  2 times or once in a while

While

208 sima mitikhti.

* * *

225 chuhse misibo chihibuyaw —

* *

235 ka:wiya ?ama p[h]il:ak kmayow

* *

na?i?wa chuhsewi sima mitikwanaw,

walking even though

unusual case

note: -ba — would

yal:abikʰ:e ka:wi — first born child

hiː ankʰɛ’in shortened > ʃankʰɛ’in

✓ himːokʰ:e — will fall down

✓ [ʔ]aː⁶o himːokʰ:əʔwa — I might

✓ miːʔo “ you might

✓ himːokʰ:ə⁶o — I fell down

✓ himːokʰ:u — don’t fall

✓ ✓ sh[oul]d. be hwadeŋkyaw — hwatway — Sev. walking

✓ hwaṭwakaw is plu. obj.

✓ ✓ shudʔedːu — lead him around
[46a]

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✓ ________ s:ima — omit, čus:ewi han:alwadun

✓ s:ima mi:ṭikwa:naw.

✓ bahṭʰe ṣnaṭi ṣam:a hwak naṭi.

✓ he: mis:ibo, mis:ibo ṣam:atohnkʰe perhaps even if he becomes 3 yrs old

✓ yop[ʰ]i ya:la hla:liʔwa ḡa:wiʔwamu {only, } might be {altogether }

244 duhsuma:ba s:ima miṭiw, čus:ewi. he would stop

* * *

273 ✓ kawiya ya:labi: [-biy] ṣam:a hwakwa:ni at first when the child first starts walking

✓ ṣwa ṭeč’aw miya:meḥča miya:ṭeḥča

✓ mač:ew, kawiʔwa:ni him:okʰe hiʔ:ankʰč’in thinking he might fall down

✓ [?]i:šaŋ p[ʰ]aʔčiw ḡa:khʰomanhkhʰay hwatwa:kaw to & fro

✓ hča ṣam:a hwad:u-n nene:kaw, they teach him to walk
They must not have given instruction

They didn’t reprove the child

you didn’t instruct

I never gave/must not have given?)

enough instruction
growl at s[ome].o[ne]. —
to growl at s[ome].o[ne].

to scold children

They don’t realize how much they’ll have to watch her

2 people quarrel, scold e.o.

whip a child
mahčukun hodʔotwayʔdu ka:wiyaʔ-
that’s what they do to get him
to walk

wanhčan, ʔaμa hwakʰti.

ka:wiyaʔwam:uhča ʔaμa hwakdun

hodziʔe:waťoťof ya ka:wiyaʔ[circled] ʔaμa

hwakaw tʰe:faʔaw. hwakaw tʰe dʔaw [whole line circled in H]
omit repetitions [referring to line above]

ʔe:wen ʔaμa hwaka [circle], ka:wiyaʔwan
[first two underlined with arrow pointing to beginning of next line]

hwakaw hudʔakay. ʔaʔay:tiz:koʔ[circled] — omit
ham

ham:an [circled] omit ʔaʔay:iyeʔ mačekʰ:eʔwan — omit superfluous
ʔeʔaw

mačekʰ:eʔwan hiʔduʔe:waťoťof.

šiʔdo hoʔka hoʔtšokaw.
let it drink milk — i.e. breast feed
refs. her dtr. feeding baby at age of 1 mo. Gen[, EA’s daughter] — had twins —

one died of pneumonia at 6 wee]ks.

twins = ?uyha ka:wiya
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307 ✔ ka:wiyahčan mahťe čuh:uyaw


✔ šiʔdo ya:la hoʔtokaw.

✔ ham:un naṭiʔwa mis:ibo ?am:ajon

✔ kʰmayow wamu ka:wiya.muhča ?aṭi:čomhya [ʔ circled in H]

✔ čuh:uyaw čuwan (=čuh:uwan) [in H] ?e:neyči: [-čiy]. to eat

✔ dičʰ:anhkʰe hič:ankʰčin yo thinking they would choke

✔ ka:wiyahčan čawan čuk:atʰoʃ.

✔ ham:etna [ʔ]iṭʰ:enmawi [ʔ]awikʰe


✔ kʰmayow čuh:uyaw čuk:ali, to ham:un [k written above ?]
thinking that child was going
to choke, I just walked the floor

nin  ḇankbē’in

čiʔiyaw w[oul]d. be better?

✓  da:wi: — to roll — (poss. as string
on thigh ?) — used for rolling a fire stick
when starting fire — i.e. to rotate the
male stick w. hands. Sh[oul]d. not be used
here.  Perhaps this sh[oul]d. be  daw:iw — but
not sure.  Also  da:wiw  for drilling beads —
but this motion is lateral rolling — #  da:wiw
not right  ?ah:ay  da:wiw  —  drill fire
?i:wadu  da:wiw  —  drill clamshell
?iš:i  da:wiyaw — a blanket (of rabbit, or
bearskin) — remember this — so word is ok as long
as material specified
it scares me          I feel faint

he might choke

I was so etc.

*    *    *

*    *

cut it in pieces, strips

Eng —

omit —

ham:un mahčukun

broken sentence
[50a]

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✔ su:lemeʃ wi darwiba ?iʃ:i čiw.
on string

✔ ha:mini:ba hamu ?iʃ:i?wan
That

have them wear it

  *   *   *

✔

395 miy:at⁴ehčak⁴e p[ʰ]aːla ?aːmaːla
the parents, fa & mo.


✔ č'aːʔa — omit, [ʔ]amaːton čaːʔa č'aːʔa ?aːʔewan [-an might be -en]

✔ č'aːʔa p[ʰ]iʔak.
     Eng—

  *   *   *

✔ tape ends 408
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