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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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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 overiew 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-moprheme 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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Ø	nought; zero allomorph
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
3C	third person coreferential
ABL	ablative
AGT	agentive
ALL	allative
AUX	auxiliary
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
COLL	collective
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
D.IRR	different subject irrealis
D.SEQ	different subject sequential
D.SIM	different subject simultaneous
DEFOC	defocus
DENOM	denominalizer
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DIFF	diffuse
DIR	directional
DIST	distributive
EMPH	emphatic
ESS	essive
EVID	evidential
F	feminine
FUT	future
GOAL	goal
GS	generational suffix
H	laryngeal increment
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
INCEP	inceptive
INCH	inchoative
INFER	inferential
INSTR	instrumental
INTENT	future intentive
INTER	interrogative
ITER	iterative
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PAT	patient
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PL.ACT	plural act
POSS	possessive
PROH	prohibitive
QUOT	quotative
R	reduplication of preceding stem
ř	reduplication of preceding root
RECIP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
S.IRR	same subject irrealis
S.SEQ	same subject sequential
S.SIM	same subject simultaneous
SG	singular
V	vowel; default vowel
VOC	vocative

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 phonlogical 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 breifly 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 inlude 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).[1]

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, *pʰo:mo:* 'at red earth hole', contains the Northern Pomo words *pʰo:* 'magnesite' and *mo-:* 'hole-at'. The Southern Pomo cognate forms

[1] Southern Pomo speakers have also been referred to as the Gallinomero, a term of uncertain origin with numerous attested variants, including Cainameros, Cainemeros, Calajomanes, 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 *pʰo:ʔo* and *hi:mo* respectively.[2] This form, *pʰo:mo*, was the original source of the English term Pomo. The second source, *pʰoʔmaʔ*, contains the Northern Pomo morpheme *pʰo-* 'reside, live in a group' and was affixed to place-names. It is cognate with the root of the Southern Pomo word *nopʰ: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 (*ǩahšá:ya*) and Northeastern Pomo (*čʰeʔe: foka:*),[3] 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.

[2] The Southern Pomo cognate for the -: 'at' morpheme would be length on the second consonant of the stem, though it is not clear whether the word *hi:mo* '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 *ʔaš:ohčamay* 'Wappo' (literally 'east people') and *wiš:ahčamay* '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:a:kʰe čahnu* 'our speech' which Elsie Allen, who spoke the dialect of Cloverdale, used at least once to reference Southern Pomo (H EA: 10a).[4] 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.[5]

[4] Here is the actual quote:

p[ʰ]al[:]aʔčey	huʔ:u:=t̂on	...	ʔay[:]a:kʰe	čahnu	ʔa:lhoǩo:=t̂ʰoǩ̂,
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

BARRETT	BARRETT'S GLOSS	MODERN ORTHOGRAPHY
Atcai	'man'	ʔač:ay
Baai	'woman'	baʔ:ay
tc!aa	'one'	č'a:ʔa
a-tcen	'mother' [1-mother-AGT]	ʔa:č'en
a-batsen	'father's brother' [1-father's father-AGT]	ʔa:baċen
Kawi	infant [child]	ka:wi
wo´to	'dirty, ashes' [roiled]	wo:ṭo
tca-co´to	'10'	č'a: šoṭ':o

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* [kitsˈsiɾu] '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.[6] 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

[6] 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 (2): Merriam's transcriptions

MERRIAM'S GLOSS	CLOVERDALE	MODERN ORTHOGRAPHY	HEALDSBURG	MODERN ORTHOGRAPHY
'Wood rat, round-tail (Neotoma)'	Me´-he-yōk	*mihyoǩ*	Yoo´-loo	*???*
'Barn owl (Strix)'	Wĕ´-chĕ	*weč:e*	Tah´-lahk	*???*
'Screech owl (Megascops)'	Dah-to´-to	*daʔt̓oṭo*	Mo-kŏ´-to	*???*
'Bald eagle (Halioeetus)'	Kah´-li	*???*	O´-te	*ʔo:ṭʰiy*[7]

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

[7] The form *ʔo:ṭʰiy* '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 <Tah´-lahk>, could represent any of the following possible strings of phonemes:

/t̪a:laƙ/, /t̪al:aƙ/, /t̪ahlaƙ/, /t̪aʔlaƙ/, /t̪ʰa:laƙ/, /t̪ʰal:aƙ/, /t̪ʰaʔlaƙ/, /t̪̓a:laƙ/, /t̪̓al:aƙ/, /t̪̓ahlaƙ/, /ṭa:laƙ/, /ṭal:aƙ/, /ṭahlaƙ/, /ṭaʔlaƙ/, /ṭʰa:laƙ/, /ṭʰal:aƙ/, /ṭʰaʔlaƙ/, /ṭ̓a:laƙ/, /ṭ̓al:aƙ/, /ṭ̓ahlaƙ/

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[i]s[ter’s] d[aughter] is called by the term for f[ather’s] s[i]s[ter] and all of her ♀ descendants through ♀ are similarly designated. F[ather’s] s[i]s[ter’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[i]s[ter] 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[aughter] 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[ncle] 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 <Makauca> [clearly *ma:kʰa-wša* '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:k^{h}a-hmo*) 'salmon-hole', with an estimated pre-contact population of 300-500; the rest lived in <Amakho> (*ʔam:a-k:o*) 'dirt-field', which was politically independent of <Makahmo>, and several smaller towns, including <Mayumo> (*ma:yu-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 *ʔa:ma:la-k:o* 'jackrabbit-field' and the second clearly contains the word *ʔahk^{h}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.[12] 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,[13] 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

[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,[14] 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

[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 kʰaːle*) from which the Pomo collected acorns (their most important food item). In places, the open oak woodland gave way to the *šiːyo,* 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 (*šakːaːka*) was the most important woodland game bird, and its topknot was used in basketry. Reptiles included lizards (*muṯʰːuːnu*), several species of snake (*musːaːla*), including rattlesnakes (*mohṯʰi*), gopher snakes (*čʼoːṭi*), and the California king snake (*ʔohːodːu*). The sole freshwater turtle, the western pond turtle (*kʰaːwana*), was commonly encountered in the wetlands. The mammalian fauna included the mule deer (*hiṇṭilku behše*)[15] and the elk (*ǩasːiːsi*), both of which were important

[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' (*hiṇṭilku behše* is therefore 'the heathens' meat').

sources of food, and the more dangerous cougar (*yamhoṭ'*), bobcat (*do:lon*), wolf (*ce:me:wa*)[16], and coyote (*ʔohkoʔše*).[17]

Southern Pomo speakers were familiar with Clear Lake, and they seem to have visited the lake frequently in order to fish.[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 splittail, 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

[16] Oswalt (p.c.) reported that his consultants translated *ce:me:wa* 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].

[17] This is the word for the animal only; Coyote, the supernatural trickster, is called *do:wi*.

[18] In Halpern (VI) the people travel eastwards (*ʔaš:onhkʰay*) to obtain fish, which is surely a reference to Clear Lake.

salmon (*ma:k^{h}a*) 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 sweathouses 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

[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

[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 *pʰal:aʔčay* versus Cloverdale *pʰal:aʔčey*.[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; *ʔač:ay* is cognate with Central Pomo *ča:č'* and Eastern Pomo *ka:kʰ*, all of which descend from a Proto Pomo form which McLendon reconstructed as *ʔaká:kʔ (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.[23] 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 *yomṭa* 'doctor' and *ʔelši-* '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 *hay:*u 'dog', as it is shared across all seven languages with virtually the same phonological shape, including

[23] My wife and her brother learned four Southern Pomo words as children, three of which had Anglicized pronunciations: *šaʔka* 'black' (Anglicized to ['ʃakə]), *si:li* 'buttocks', *ʔahpʰa* 'excrement' (Anglicized to ['ʌpə]), and *ʔehpʰeṭ'* 'fart' (Anglicized to ['ɛpʰɛt]).

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 *ċa:yi* in Southern Pomo and *ċáy* 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

[24] Thus 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 *hiʔ*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 *yomṭa* 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 *puṭ̂ilka* ‘bottle’ before entering Southern Pomo as *pʰoṭ̂:ilka*.

domestic animals (e.g. *kawa:yu* 'horse' < Sp. *caballo*, *kayi:na* 'chicken' < Sp. *gallina* 'hen', *wese:lu* 'calf' < Sp. *becerro*), new material goods (*kapo:t̰e* 'coat' < Sp. *capote* 'cape', *lame:sa* 'table' < Sp. *la mesa* 'the table', *nawa:ha* 'pocketknife' < Sp. *navaja* 'small knife'), and new food items (*ma:yiš* 'corn' < Sp. *maíz, na:wus* 'turnips' < Sp. *nabos*). 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 *t̰ʰiča=yčon* 'teacher=PATIENT', a word that has clearly been changed to accommodate Southern Pomo phonology and to which native morphology has been encliticized (H EA: 12b-12a).[27]

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

[27] Halpern notes on the facing page (H EA: 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 (3): Quality and quantity of Oswalt's unpublished materials

SCOIL NUMBER	SIZE	SUMMARY OF CONTENTS	QUALITY	USEFULNESS
Oswalt .004.050	30+ pages	drafts of a paper on the causative	High	Moderate
Oswalt .003.007	45+ pages	Letters and comments regarding Halpern's Southern Pomo paper	High	High
Oswalt .002.027	8 pages	Loanwords from Spanish	High	Moderate
Oswalt .001.023	1 page	Lullaby	High	High
Oswalt .001.018	15 pages	Two short texts (both dialects)	High	High

Oswalt .001.015	40 pages	Elicited words	High	High
Oswalt .001.014	5 pages	100 word list	Low	Low
Oswalt .001.013	4 pages	100 word list	Low	Low
Oswalt .001.012	4 pages	100 word list, Effie Luff speaker (only record of her?)	Moderate	Moderate
Oswalt .001.011	4 pages	100 word list	Low	Low
Oswalt .001.010	4 pages	100 word list	Low	Low
Oswalt .001.009	13 pages	Partial verb paradigms	High	High
Oswalt .001.007	20 pages	Halpern's retranscription of Oswalt's notes	Moderate	Low
Oswalt .001.008	10 pages	Word list, Lucy Andrews Macy (only record of her?)	Low	High
Oswalt .001.006	35+ pages	Re-elicitations of Merriam data	High	High
Oswalt .001.005	17 pages	Biographical info on Elizabeth Dollar	High	High
Oswalt .001.005	7 pages	Work with Olive Fulwider	High	High
Oswalt .001.001	110+ pages	Notes, family names, a text	High	High
Oswalt .001.002	300 pages	Verb paradigms, prayers	High	High
Oswalt .001.003	33 pages	Elicited sentences, place names, verb paradigms	High	High
Oswalt electronic dictionary	265 KB (would print out as hundreds of pages)	Lexical entries arranged by the second consonant of the stem with example phrases, incomplete	High	High

Table (4):Quality and quantity of unpublished materials

GROUP	SPEAKER(S)	SIZE	QUALITY	USEFULNESS
Mythic texts*	Annie Burke	9 texts	High (some transcription errors in earlier versions)	High (provides the best examples of dependent clause marking)
First-person narratives	Elsie Allen	300+ pages	Very High	High (provides the most complex affixing on verbs in running discourse)
Verb and kinship	Annie Burke, Elsie	500+ pages	High	Very high (it

phrases and paradigms	Allen			might be impossible to understand the kinship system without these Halpern Materials)
Individually elicited words (mainly nouns)	Annie Burke, Elsie Allen	500+ pages	Moderate	Moderate (much of these data were collected early in Halpern's field work and lack phonetic accuracy and show incorrect word breaks)

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 (H EA) 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 Oswalt, and it appears that she was the only informant with whom both Oswalt 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. Oswalt collected traditional stories from Mrs. Dollar; however, only one (Oswalt 1978) is known to have been translated and transcribed (the others exist as audio records).

Laura Fish Somersal (1890?-1990)[28] 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

[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.[29] 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)

[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

CITATION	COLLECTOR	CONSULTANT	DIALECT	GENRE
(H I-IV)	Halpern	Annie Burke	Cloverdale	Narrative texts
(H ms.)	Halpern	Annie Burke	Cloverdale	Elicited words and phrases
(H EA)	Halpern	Elsie Allen	Cloverdale	First-person narratives; elicited words
(H EA:REC)	Halpern	Elsie Allen	Cloverdale	Audio recording of (H EA)
(O I)	Oswalt	Elizabeth Dollar	Dry Creek	Published narrative text
(O II)	Oswalt	Elsie Allen	Cloverdale	Short narrative text
(O III)	Oswalt	Laura Somersal	Dry Creek (Wappo influenced)	Short narrative text
(O D) (O D: EA) (O D: ED)	Oswalt	Elsie Allen (EA), Annie Burke (rare), & Elizabeth Dollar (ED)	Cloverdale & Dry Creek	My printed copy of Oswalt's electronic dictionary
(T)	Tim Molino (transcribed by me)	Tony Pete	Dry Creek	Elicited words and phrases
(T:REC)	Tim Molino	Tony Pete	Dry Creek	Audio recording of (T)
(S:REC)	Roy Siniard	Maggie Woho and Laura Fish Somersal	Dry Creek	Audio recordings
(W: OF)	Neil Alexander Walker	Olive Fulwider	Dry Creek	Words and phrases

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 in (§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 *ʔahčanhkʰay* 'homeward' might be represented as <ahžáŋkay>, ||ʔahča-n-kʰač||, /ʔahča-nh=kʰay/, or [ʔahˈʧaŋ̃ŋ̃kʰaj].[30]

[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, *ʔahčanhkʰay* 'homeward', might be given in a separate example as follows:

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay (H VIII)
ʔahčanhkʰay
/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.

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down phonemically as /hw-ad-un/ go_2-DIR-SG.IMP 'come!'. When these alternations do not allow easy phonemic divisions, I resort to morphophonemic transcription, as in *hwadem?du* ||hu:w-aded-wadu|| go_2-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.[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

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POSTALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
UNAFFRICATED STOPS	pʰ p b pʼ	t̪ʰ t̪ t̪ʼ	tʰ t d tʼ			kʰ k kʼ	ʔ
AFFRICATED STOPS			ts tsʼ	t̪ʃʰ t̪ʃ t̪ʃʼ			
NASALS	m		n				
FRICATIVES			s	ʃ			h
CENTRAL APPROXIMANT	(w)				j	(w)	
LATERAL APPROXIMANT			l				

Table (7): Southern Pomo consonants in Americanist orthography

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POSTALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
UNAFFRICATED STOPS	pʰ p b ṗ	t̪ʰ t̪ t̪̓	ṭʰ ṭ d ṭ̓			kʰ k ḱ	ʔ
AFFRICATED STOPS			c c̓	čʰ č čʼ			
NASALS	m		n				
FRICATIVES			s	š			h
CENTRAL APPROXIMANT	(w)				y	(w)	
LATERAL APPROXIMANT			l				

[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, /m̀/ and /ǹ/, 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)

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	POST-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	UVULAR	GLOTTAL
UNAFFRICATED STOPS	pʰ p b ṗ	t̪ʰ t̪ t̪̀	tʰ t d t̀			kʰ k k̀	qʰ q q̇	ʔ
AFFRICATED STOPS			c̀	čʰ č č’				
NASALS	**mʰ** m **m̀**		**nʰ** n **ǹ**					
FRICATIVES			s	š				h
CENTRAL APPROXIMANT	**(wʰ)**(w) **(ẁ)**				**yʰ** y **ẏ**	**(wʰ)**(w) **(ẁ)**		
LATERAL APPROXIMANT			**lʰ** l **l’**					

[32] Buckley's symbols <t t̓ tʰ s̓ c c̓ cʰ> have been converted to <t̪ t̪̀ t̪ʰ c̓ č č’ čʰ> 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 [n̓] are in complementary distribution, as seen in the following examples adapted from Buckley (1994: 48):

(1) Allophonic alternation of [d] and [n̓] in Kashaya

/čan̓-u/	/čan̓-pʰi/
[ʧaˈdu]	[ˈʧan̓pʰi]
'look!'	'if he sees'

Though Kashaya does not have any phonological alternations which confirm [b] and [m̓] 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):[33]

N' → C / [σ__

This analysis elegantly captures the synchronic distribution of all four phones ([d], [n̓], [b], and [m̓]) 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 (/y̓/, /yʰ/, /l'/, /lʰ/, /w̓/,

[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 /m̓/ and /n̓/. 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

OSWALT	BUCKLEY	GLOSS
lanhkʰo	lanʰkʰo	'seven'
mo:nʔ	mo:n̓	'is running'
qʰayhčʰi	qʰayʰčʰi	'pelican'
wolʔwo	wol'wo	'badger'

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[34]

(a) /mʔd/
hi:lamʔda 'nose'

(b) /mhč/
kʰomhča 'eight'

(c) /wʔd/
hniwʔdu 'always says'

(d) /nhkʰ/ [ŋ͡ŋ̊kʰ]
ʔahčanhkʰay '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/
pʰal:aʔčayhča ‘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 /m̓/ and /n̓/ 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

miy:aṭʰkʰan	*maʔdakʰden*
||miy:a-dakʰad-Ø||	||maH-dakʰad-en||
/miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø/	/ma-ʔdakʰd-en/
3-spouse-AGT	3c-spouse-PAT
‘his/her spouse’	‘his/her own spouse’

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 [n̓] 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 [ː] (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.[35] 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.[36] This phonological alternation can be schematized as follows:

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[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:a-*); 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 [ʔ]; 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 [ʔ], 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.

CVʔDV(C)- + -DIR → CVDʔV(C)-DIR-

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

Examples (4) and (5) present these phonological alternations on the verb *huʔčak-* 'to be stingy', which has the ejective /č/ as the root consonant around which the laryngeal increment changes, and on the verb *šuʔdi-* 'to take (by pulling)', which has the voiced stop /d/ as the root consonant around which the laryngeal increment moves.

Example (4): Increment movement with the verb *huʔčak-* 'to be stingy'

huʔčakʼwaʔt̂o (O D: AB)[37]	*huč:a:kayʔdu* (O D: EA)
‖hu-ʔča-akʼ=ʔ=wa=ʔat̂:o‖	‖hu-ʔča-ak-kač-wadu‖
/huʔčak=wa=ʔt̂o/	/huč:a:-kay-ʔdu/
to.be.stingy=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT	to.be.stingy-DIR-HAB
'I'm stingy with it'	'always stingy'

Example (5): Increment movement around voiced stops[38]

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.

šoʔdimʔduy (H V: 17)	*šudʔeduy* (O I: 9)
‖šu-ʔdi-maduč-w‖	‖šu-ʔdi-aduč-w‖
/šoʔdi-mʔduy-Ø/	/šudʔe-duy-Ø/
take.by.pulling-DIR-PFV	take.by.pulling-DIR-PFV
[‘brought (them)’]	[‘led (someone) away’]

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

mi:mayʔdu (O I: 25)	*hač’:owʔdu* (O I: 2)
‖mi-:mač-wadu‖	‖ha-č’:o-wadu‖
/mi:may-ʔdu/	/hač’:o-wʔdu/
cry-HAB	arrive-HAB
[‘always crying’]	[‘used to arrive’]

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] The directional -*maduč*- means ‘as far as’; the directional -*aduč*- 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 /m̓/ and /n̓/.

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:lam?da* ‘nose’ (not synchronically segmentable)[39]

hw-adem-?du ‘always goes about’ ||hu:w-aded-wadu||

(b) *kʰo-mhča* ‘eight’ < *?akʰ:o* ‘two’ + *mihča* ‘four’

(c) *hni-w?du* ‘always says’ ||nih:i-wadu||

(d) *?ahča-nh-kʰay* ‘homeward’ ||?ahča=li=kʰač||

(e) *mih:ilhkʰa* ‘ocean’ < *mih:ila* ‘west’ + *?ahkʰa* ‘water’

(f) *muhway-?mi* ‘strawberry’ < *muhway* ‘fawn’ + *?im:i* ‘blackberry’

(g) *pʰal:a?čay-hča* ‘white people’ < *pʰal:a?čay* ‘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 [m̰] and [n̰] 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 [n̰] and the fact that [b] and [m̰], 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 [n̰]—would still participate in allophonic alternations; [d] would not alternate with a glottalized nasal, and there

[39] *hi:lá is the reconstructed word from ‘nose’ (McLendon 1973: 83). The *-m?da* 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. *mV?da) or it might have been inserted between the [m] and the [d] post compounding, which is the case for the second form in (a), *hwadem?du* ‘always going about’.

would still be no evidence that [d] and [m] should be considered allophones of /n̓/ and /m̓/; rather, there would be additional evidence against such an analysis because [d] would still alternate with [n] and not [n̓].[40]

(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, *n, *n̓, *m, *m̓ all collapsed into [n] word-finally. Thus the cognate forms for Kashaya words with word-final [m̓] and [n̓] show [n] in Southern Pomo.

distribution parallel to that of the other augments, h and ʔ ; 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

kʰa:ma	'foot'	*kʰam:a=wi*	['with foot']	(Halpern 1984: 18)
t̂ʰa:na	'hand'	*t̂ʰan:a=wi*	['with hand']	(H EA: 4a)

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':

(9) Allomorphic alternates with /:/ (H ms.)

[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:eč:in	[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:edu:le
ʔapʰ:eč:in	*ʔapʰ:edu:le*
‖ha-hpʰe-aduč-Vn‖	‖ha-hpʰe-aduč-le‖
/ʔapʰ:e-č:-in /	/ʔapʰ:e-du:-le/
carry.on.back-DIR-SG.IMP	carry.on.back-DIR-PL.IMP
['carry it away!']	['y'all carry it away!']

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 /:/ 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 /:/ 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 /:/ 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 *=:meṭ'* '(to be) like', an enclitic (not a suffix like *-:li*) for which the ultimate origin of its initial length is not now known.[41]

(10) Length-initial enclitic *=:meṭ'*

ʔahčahčay mahṭʰe:meṭ' (W: OF)[42]
ʔahčahčay ma-hṭʰe=:meṭ'
Indian 3C-mother=to.be.like
'Indian like his own mother'

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

[41] This morpheme may also be represented morphophemically as ||-V:meṭ'||.
[42] This was said of Nathan Reed Kha'be [=*kʰaʔbe* 'rock'] Walker not long after his birth in 2006.

mi:ṭi- ‘to lie (down)’) versus the same subject sequential switch-reference suffix *-ba* (on the verb stem *čohi̱-* ‘to write’), which are given in (11) below:

(11) Contrast between *-:ba* COND and *-ba* S.SEQ[43]

[ʔ]ay:áǩoʔwénṭ̕oʔma mi:ṭí:ba (H ms.)
ʔay:aǩoʔwenṭ̕oʔma mi:ṭi:ba
/ʔay:a=ǩo=ʔwen=ṭ̕o=ʔma mi:ṭi-:ba/
1PL=COM=be?=EMPH=2SG.AGT lie.SG-COND
‘you ought to lie w[ith] us’

miy:aṭʰe pʰ[ʰ]al[:]aʔča:[č]on pa:pel čohi̱tiba ʔuhṯehṯew (H EA: 16a)
miy:aṭʰe pʰal:aʔča:čon pa:pel čohi̱tiba ʔuhṯehṯew
/miy:a-ṭʰe pʰalaʔča:=čon pa:pel čohi̱ti-ba ʔuhṯehṯe-w/
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 /:/, 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 /:/. Oswalt does not view it as synchronically vowel-initial (1976: 25).

Table (10): Near-minimal contrasts of consonants before front vowels

PHONEME	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
/p/	*piʔni*	little (DISTRIBUTIVE)
/pʰ/	*pʰiʔt̂aw*	to look (like)
/ṗ/	*ṗeʔye*	fish scale
/b/	*biʔdu*	acorn (general term)
/t̂/	*t̂il:i*	killdeer
/t̂ʰ/	*t̂ʰe:*	no
/t̂ʼ/	*t̂ek:e*	beaver
/ṭ/	*ṭil:emi*	sea fig
/ṭʰ/	*ṭʰiw:i*	fork (in tree)
/ṭʼ/	*-ṭiki-*	younger brother (root+generational suffix)
/d/	*diċ:a-*	to break (with the body)
/č/	*čiʔba*	rush (n.)
/čʰ/	*čʰi:lan*	net for burdens
/čʼ/	*čʼi:wi*	acorns which have turned black and sour
/k/	*kic:idu*	little (COLLECTIVE)
/kʰ/	*kʰi:kʰi*	fish gills
/ǩ/	*ǩi:li*	black
/ʔ/	*ʔihsun*	California condor
/c/	*ceṭ*	how
/ċ/	*ċiĥta*	bird
/m/	*miʔdiš*	edible nut
/n/	*nih:i-*	to say
/s/	*si:lun*	acorn bread
/š/	*šiʔdo*	breast
/h/	*hiʔbu*	edible tuber (“Indian potato”)
/l/	*lipʰ:u*	leg
/w/	*wiʔċi*	Jerusalem cricket
/y/	*wi:yi*	acorn of Oregon oak

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

SHORT VOWEL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	LONG VOWEL	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
/i/	*hiʔda*	'road'	/i:/	*hi:mo*	'hole'
/e/	*heʔ:e*	'head hair'	/e:/	*he:ʔey*	'where?'
/a/	*haʔ:a*	'horn'	/a:/	*ha:meṭ'*	'thus'
/o/	*hoʔ:o*	'tooth'	/o:/	*ho:li-*	'go; leave'
/u/	*huʔ:uy*	'face'	/u:/	*hu:lušbe*	'eyelashes'

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 /:/ 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 *boṭ'* 'flour' and *bo:ṭ'* '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 *boṭ'* 'flour' appears to be most common as part of the compound *biʔduboṭ'* 'acorn flour' (indeed, whether or not *boṭ'* regularly occurs outside of such a compound is an open question); (3) Halpern records the compound *biʔduboṭ'* 'acorn flour' as *biʔduboṭ̪'*, 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—their 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 *ʔa:ma* 'thou' and *ʔam:a* 'earth, ground, dirt; thing' and the pair *kʰa:le* 'tree, plant' and *kʰal:e* 'Healdsburg' (from *ʔahkʰa* '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

šá:mhew (H V: 11)
/ša:mhe-w/
cut.up-PFV
‘cuts up’

[ʔ]a:lhoǩoy (H EA: 8a)
/ʔa:lhoǩoy-Ø/
many.talk-PFV
‘talked’

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 *ša:mhe-* ‘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 *ša:mhew*), Oswalt only records *ša:me-*, 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:lhoǩoy*, is even murkier: Oswalt only records this form from Elizabeth Dollar as *ʔalhoǩoy*—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:lhoǩoy* is recorded by Halpern from both Elsie Allen (as seen in example (12) above) and her mother, Annie Burke (H ms.).

Thus *ša:mhe- ~ šamhe- ~ ša:me-* 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 *ʔa:lhoƙoy* is recorded as such from two speakers (mother and daughter) of the Cloverdale dialect by Halpern, but Oswalt records *ʔalhoƙoy* 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]ahloƙo	[ʔ]a:lhoṭaƙ
ʔahloƙo	*ʔa:lhoṭaƙ*
/ʔahloƙ-o/	/ʔa:lho<ṭa>ƙ-Ø/
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-

<?alhotak'> (O D: EA)
ʔalhoṭaƙ
/ʔalho<ṭa>ƙ-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 *-: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

do:hmiy (O D: ED)
||du-:hmič-Ø||
/do:hmiy-Ø/
prepare.well-PFV
'to prepare well and sufficiently'

ʔo:hmiy (O D: EA)
||hu-:hmič-Ø||
/ʔo-:hmiy-Ø/
comprehend-PFV
'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.[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)- ~ 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 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).

[45] Oswalt does record one example of a stem with the root *-:hmič-* where the [h] increment is lost. The stem *pʰi:hmiy* '[to visually] inspect [something] well' is recorded twice in (O D), both times from Elizabeth Dollar, once with [h] and once without [h]: *pʰi:hmičiʔma* 'Did you inspect it well?'; *na:pʰiyow ham:u čaw:an hoʔdod:u ʔa pʰi:miy* 'Everything he does, I watch carefully.'

(16) Example of Oswalt's recording of schwa in (O D: EA)[46]

</ham*i loh$oncwa (c schwa w)/>
ham:i lohšonč^{ə}wa
/ham:i lohšom-č-wa/
there stand.together-SEM-EVID
'They gathered together standing.'

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)

_ə	p	p	m	t̪	t̪	t̪ʼ	t̪ʼ	t̪ʰ	ṭ	ṭʼ	l	č	č	č	čʼ	čʼ	k	k	k	k	k	kʰ	k̓	k̓
ə_	l	y	h	m	l	m	d	M	l	w	m	m	w	l	n	W	b	m	w	d	l	d	m	d
σσ_σ	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
σσ_σσ					✓					✓			✓											
σσ_σσ =σ																			✓					

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 /mᵊh/ in one word from (O D):

(17) Example of schwa before a voiceless obstruent

<?a*ya ?wa $i*ba*t^hmhuy> <(m schwa b)> (O D: EA)
ʔa:yaʔwa ši:ba:t̪ʰmᵊhuy
||ʔa:ya=ʔwa ši:ba:t̪ʰa/i-mhuč'-Ø||[47]
/ʔa:ya=ʔwa ši:ba:t̪ʰ-mᵊhuy-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:ba:t̪ʰᵊmhuy*, conforms to the regular pattern of schwa occurring solely before a voiced consonant. Though both possibilities are counted in the table, the [mᵊh] variant appears to be unusual

[47] ši:ba:t̪ʰi/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 /t͡ʰᵊmh/ and /t͡ʰmᵊh/ (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 *ši:ba:t͡ʰᵊmhuy ~ ši:ba:t͡ʰmᵊhuy* 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)/>
ċa:lalᵊmaw
/ċa:lal-ma-w/
be.bruised-ESSIVE-PFV
'to get bruised'[48]

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).[49] 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: *ċahkil* 'blue' and *baw:ol* '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:alme:le
||ha-hpʰ-alameč'-le||[50]
/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

[50] 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) CəC ~ C'C variation by one speaker (O D: EA)

</lip^h*u miz*ikbiy/> <(Note: k schwa b; later k' preferred)>
lip^{h}:u mic:ik^{ə}biy ~ mic:ikbiy
'foot to go up when knee struck, reflex kick'

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

</ki*likliw/> <(EA sometimes has k schwa l)>
ki:likliw ~ ki:lik^{ə}liw
'sound of fire blazing or motor running [ED]; sound of heater, earthquake, thunder [EA]'

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

</ham*uhca ho?k'o?c'eway./> <Perhaps -e- is a schwa>
ham:uhča ho?k̆o?č'eway ~ ho?k̆o?č^{ə}way

'They're bragging.'

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

</mak^h*ac*(a or schwa)law/>
mak^{h}:ač:alaw ~ mak^{h}:ač:^{ə}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 <^{ə}>, 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 ˆ for loudest stress, sí:ma pʰìʔt̂awâʔt̂o ... '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.[52] 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)

kahmaṭ̂ ka?ma	[ˌkah.maṭ̲ʼ ˈka?.ma]	‘are you angry?’
kac:i yokʰ:e	[ˌkat.tsi ˈyok.kʰe]	‘it will be cold’
ǩo?di biʔṭ̂aw	[ˌkʼo?.di ˈbiʔ.ṭ̲ʼaw]	‘it tastes good’
pe:sa kamkʰe	[ˌpeː.sa ˈkam.kʰe]	‘have you any money?’
ma:li wadun	[ˌmaː.li ˈwa.ɾun]	‘come here!’

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

ʔahkʰa	[ˈʔah.kʰa]	‘water’
ʔahša	[ˈʔah.ʃa]	‘fish’
hay:u	[ˈhaj.ju]	‘dog’
haṭ̓:a	[ˈhat.tʼa]	‘red’
kac:i	[ˈkat.tsi]	‘cold’
kahle	[ˈkah.le]	‘white’
ǩo:ʔo	[ˈkʼoː.ʔo]	‘song’
ǩoʔdi	[ˈkʼoʔ.di]	‘good’
čaʔċa	[ˈtʃaʔ.tsʼa]	‘green’
šaʔǩa	[ˈʃaʔ.kʼa]	‘black’
ċahkil	[ˈtsʼah.kil]	‘blue’
ċihṭ̂a	[ˈtsʼih.ṭ̲a]	‘bird’
pʰa:la	[ˈpʰaː.la]	‘also’
wa:yu	[ˈwaː.ju]	‘yellow’
kic:idu	[ˌkit.ˈtsi.ɾu]	‘small (COLL)’
muṭ̲ʰ:u:nu	[ˌmuṭ̲.ˈṭ̲ʰuː.nu	‘lizard’
mus:a:la	[ˌmus.ˈsaː.la]	‘snake’

[52] 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 *bu:ṭaka* [ˌbu:.ˈta.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 /t̰/ and /d/ as voiceless unaspirated stops; he treats the consonants /ṭ/, /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 /ṭ/ (his 'intermediate' <ḍ>) 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 /t̪/ 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[53]

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

[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 [ŋ] and [n̊j], 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)

WRITTEN WITHOUT ʔ	WRITTEN WITH ʔ		TOTAL
	FOLLOWING VOWEL	FOLLOWING CONSONANT	
147	9	8	**164**

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.[55] 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

FINAL CONSONANT OF PRECEDING WORD	ʔ-INITIAL WORDS	GLOSS	LOCATION
[n]	ʔačʰ:o-w	NEG.EXISTENTAL-PFV	(H I: 3)
[n]	ʔačʰ:o-w	NEG.EXISTENTAL-PFV	(H I: 3) [second occurrence]
[n]	ʔohčo-w	give-PFV	(H I: 4)
[t̓']	ʔe:me:la=yey	flea=AGT	(H I: 5)
[j]	ʔač:a	in.house	(H I: 6)

[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], [ṭ'], [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).[56]

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

WRITTEN WITHOUT ʔ	WRITTEN WITH ʔ	**TOTAL**
360	155	515

[56] 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 (18): Written word-initial glottal stops following C-final words in (H EA)

WRITTEN WITHOUT ʔ	WRITTEN WITH ʔ	**TOTAL**
31	80	**111**

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?

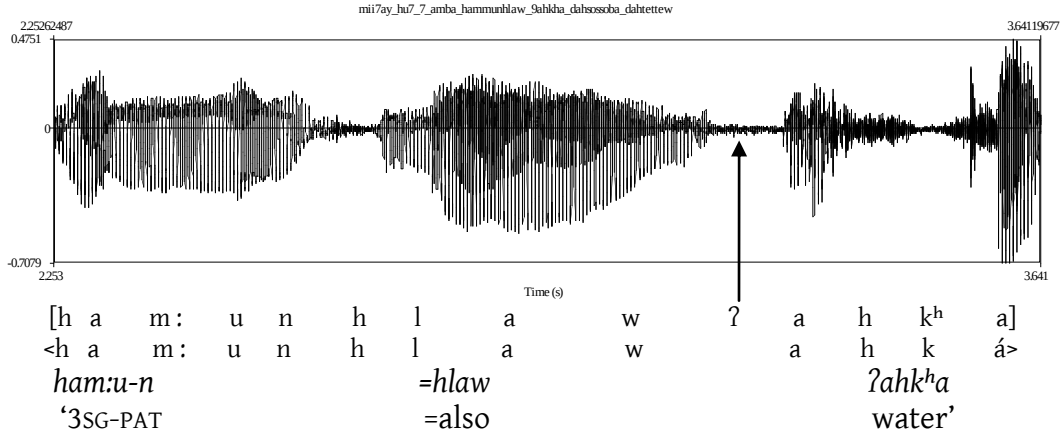
(2) For those words that do immediately follow a consonant-final word, is there phonetic evidence of a glottal stop?

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 ʔahkʰa* [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 ʔ-initial word from Halpern's recordings of Elsie Allen



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

hwadém?du (H VIII: 1)
hwadem?du
||hu:w-aded-wadu||
/hw-adem-?du/
go-DIR-HAB
'always goes around'

(25) Example of *hm*-initial word

[?]ač:a hmay?du (H EA: 23a)
||?ač:a hu:w-mač-wadu||
/?ač:a h-may-?du/
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 ||?ahča-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/, /?/, /:/) and gives the word to which it has been affixed an adverbial 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 (adverbial or oblique meanings) cause the same change in word stems (compare *kʰa:ma* 'foot' and *kʰam:a* 'on foot' with *t̪ʰa:na* 'hand' and *t̪ʰan:a=wi* 'with the hand').

likely a grammaticized variant of a verb like *dahla:li-* '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 *dahla:li-* and *hla:li-* in the same excerpt.[59]

(27) *hla:li-* and *dahla:li-*

behšé dahlá:li. hé: [ʔ]ahšá dahlá:li, (H III: 3)
behše dahla:li he: ʔahša dahla:li
/behše dahla:li he: ʔahša dahla:li/
deer(meat) think or fish think

hiʔ[:]inwán̰tin číyaw ǩóʔdi hla:líʔwen.
hiʔ:inwan̰tin čiyaw ǩoʔdi hla:liʔwen
/hiʔ:inwan̰tin či-ya-w ǩoʔdi hla:li=ʔwen/
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: *kʰma:yow* 'after; following'. This word,

[59] In fact, I am not entirely sure that *hla:li-* and *dahla:li-* are semantically distinct; *hla:li-* might be nothing more than a truncated version of *dahla:li-* 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 *kʰma:yow* is a freestanding word or a rather large enclitic does not affect the fact that it grammaticized from *kʰa:ma* 'foot' and its derivative *kʰam:a* '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

hiṭ̂:ankʰč'in (H EA: 46a)
[hiṭ.ˈṭ̪'aŋ.kʰʧ'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 [hiṭ.ˈṭ̪'aŋkʰ.ʧ'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: hiṭ̂:a-ad-ka-č'-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

[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. *ceṭ'* 'how', *he:č'* '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 *kʰma:yow* '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)

ha:mini:bakʰmá:yow	híd?a	hwá:ba
ha:mini:bakʰma:yow	*hid?a*	*hwa:ba*
/ha:mini:-ba=kʰma:yow	hid?a	hw-a:-ba/
and.then-S.SEQ=after	outside	go-DIR-S.SEQ

[?]ahčáŋhkʰay	hó:liw.
?ahčanhkʰay	*ho:liw*
/?ahča-nh=kʰay	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 kʰma:yow, hid[?]a hwa:-ba, [?]ahca-n-hkʰay ho:li-w>

As can be seen in (29) and (30) above, *kʰma:yow* 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 *kʰma:yow* 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 (19): Identifying phonological and morphological words in Southern Pomo

	PHONOLOGICAL WORD	MORPHOLOGICAL WORD	TYPE
words of any class with attached clitics	YES	NO	1
Clitics	NO	YES	2
monomorphemic nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, function words, kinship terms with case marking, and verbs with TAM marking	YES	YES	3

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.[63] Kinship terms which are likewise treated as morphological words are composed minimally of a root and a case-marking suffix.[64]

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 *hi?du?č'edu=?ka=?ma* 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 *hi?du?č'edu-* 'to know', has a root and affixes)[65]; the noun *nupʰ:e* '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-hood 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-hood (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

[63] Exceptions to this statement include the common verb *ċi?:i-w ~ ċi-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-may-?du* ||hu-:w-mač-wadu|| 'go inside'), which have lost the root, and the hortative forms which use the bare verb stem, such as *ho:li=?ya* [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 ˆ 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 preantepenultimate (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:yaw[66] (H EA: 21a)
kahsa:yaw
||kahsak-ya-w||
/kahsa:-ya-w/
abandon-DEFOC-PFV
'left'

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

mi:má:ba (H VI: 6)
mi:ma:ba
||mi-:mač-ba||
/mi:ma:-ba/
cry-SS1
'having cried'

Case-marking enclitics in Southern Pomo behave like affixes in this regard, as in (33), (34), and (35) with the enclitics *=t̂on* LOCATIVE ('on; over'), *=ǩo* COMITATIVE ('with'), and *=wi* INSTRUMENTAL ('with; at; in').[67]

[66] I do not provide glossing for every morpheme between || || 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 *=t̪on*

kahsa:=t̪on (O I: 17c)
kahsa:t̪on
||kahsak=t̪on||
/kahsa:t̪on/
desert=LOC
'leaving [gerund]'

(34) Consonant deletion within a phonological word with *=ǩo*

mi:má:ǩo (VI: 7)
mi:ma:ǩo
||mi-:mač=ǩo||
/mi:ma:=ǩo/
cry=COM
'[with] weeping'

(35) Consonant deletion within a phonological word with *=wi*

mi:ma:wi (H EA: 6a)
mi:ma:wi
||mi-:mač=wi||
/mi:ma:=wi/
cry=INSTR
'w[ith] crying'

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

[67] *=wi* has idiosyncratic semantics: it carries a true instrumental meaning when attached to body part terms or tools like 'string'; it carries a locative meaning (roughly 'at') when applied to place names (e.g. *baṭʰ:inkʰlehča=wi ~ baṭʰ:inkʰle?čawi* 'at elderberry tree (house?)' [= 'Sebastopol']); it carries a different locative meaning (roughly 'in') when applied to the word *čʰe?:e̱t̪may* '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 *mi:may* 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 enclitcs 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 *=t̂on* on nouns

ʔač:ay=t̂on (O I: 6)
ʔač:ayt̂on
/ʔač:ay=t̂on/
man=LOC
'over the man'

čún:am háyt̂on (H IV: 6)
čun:am hayt̂on
/čun:am hay=t̂on/
drift wood=LOC
'[on] driftwood'

(37) Enclitic *=wi* on noun

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

[68] Compare Southern Pomo *ʔač:ay* 'man' with Central Pomo *čá:č'* 'man', both of which ultimately descend from Proto Pomo *ʔaká:kʔ (McLendon 1973: 81).

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 *huʔ:uy* 'face' does not preserve its final consonant as might be expected on the basis of the previous nominal examples.[69]

(38) *=t͡on* on ||huʔ:uč|| *huʔ:uy* 'face' with verb-like word-internal sandhi

huʔ:u:t͡on (H EA: 10a)
huʔ:u:t͡on
||huʔ:uč=t͡on||
/huʔ:u:=t͡on/
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

[69] One possible reason for this asymmetry (beyond idiolectal variation) is the existence of a derived verbal form *huʔ:u-t͡-* 'to face', a stem that includes at least one as yet inexplicable variant where the /č/ appears to resurface where it is not expected: huʔ[:]ú:čin *huʔ:u:čin* 'look!' (H VI: 3) At this time, I can neither account for the /:/ 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.[70] 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 ~ (ʔ)ka* INTERROGATIVE, *yo ~ =(ʔ)yo* AUXILLIARY, *t̂i ~ =t̂i* 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 ~ (ʔ)ka,* and *yo ~ =(ʔ)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

[70] This is obviously a simplification: clitic variants of English auxiliaries surely carry some subtle sociolinguistic information. But such differences between [=l] and [wɪl] 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. CVXCVC=*ʔe-wa → CVXCVC=*ʔ-wa → CVXCVC=wa), but [ʔ] was preserved if the grammatical word which preceded it was vowel-final (e.g. CVXCV=*ʔe-wa → CVXCV=ʔwa); (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

maʔ[:]éǩoʔwáʔa (H ms.)
*maʔ:eǩo**ʔwa**ʔa*
/maʔ:e=ǩo=ʔwa=ʔa/
father=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I have a father'

(40) *wa* after a vowel-final word

ham:u wa mahčuǩunčon [...] ʔam:a kʰaṭ:ič'aw hwalakʰ:eṯʰoṯ' (H EA: 30a)
*ham:u **wa** mahčuǩunčon ʔam:a kʰaṭ:ič'aw hwalakʰ:eṯʰoṯ'*
/ham:u wa mahčuǩunčon ʔam:a kʰaṭ:ič'aw hw-ala-kʰ:e=ṯʰoṯ'/
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

ham:uʔkaʔmaʔṭo he:menin (H EA: 13a)
*ham:u**ʔka**ʔmaʔṭo he:menin*
/ham:u=ʔka=ʔma=ʔṭo he:menin-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

hé:meni:ṭi kaʔma kʰaʔbéʔwan ban:éduy (H ms.)
*he:meni:ṭi **ka**ʔma kʰaʔbeʔwan ban:eduy*
/he:meni:-ṭi ka=ʔma kʰaʔbe=ʔwan ban:e-duy-Ø/
how.do-INTENT INTER=2SG.AGT rock=DET.OBJ throw.non-long.obj.-DIR-PFV
'why did you throw the rock away[?]'

(43) *=ʔyo* after a vowel-final word

búṭ:eʔyómṭo [ʔ]ahčáči[y] (H ms.)
buṭ:eʔyomṭo ʔahčačiy
/buṭ:e=ʔyo=mṭo ʔahčačiy-Ø/[72]
when=AUX=2SG.PAT awake-PFV
'when did you wake up'

(44) *yo* after a vowel-final word

ha:miní:li yódo miy[:]aṭ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan bíʔdu čóhšin (H I: 1)
ha:mini:li yodo miy:aṭʰkʰan biʔdu čohšin
/ha:mini-:li yo-do miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø biʔdu čohšin-Ø/
and.then-D.SEQ AUX-QUOT 3-spouse-AGT acorn pound-PFV
'Then, it is said, his wife was pounding acorns[.]'

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 *=:meṭ* '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, *=ti* 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

[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* ||-čič'|| 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, *t͡i* ~ *=t͡i* 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.

(3) 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 *=li* 'at' + *=kʰač* 'ward' into *=nhkʰay* [ŋ̊ŋ̊kʰaj] 'toward' as in (45):

(45) Combination of *=li* 'at' + *=kʰač* 'ward'

ʔahčanhkʰay (H EA: 9a)
ʔahčanhkʰay
||ʔahča=li=kʰač||
/ʔahča=nhkʰay/
house=ward
'[to] home'

The two encliticized morphemes in the above combination cannot be reversed. When they are combined with the enclitic *=t͡on* LOCATIVE, they likewise

must be in the fixed order *=t̪onhkʰay* [ˈt̪oŋ̊ŋ̊kʰaj] (where the final of *=t̪on* LOCATIVE either completely merges with the nasal allomorph of *=li* 'at' or the final nasal of *=t̪on* descends from *=li*), as in (46) below:

(46) Combination of *=t̪on* LOC + *=li* 'at' + *=kʰač* 'ward'

ʔaw:it̪onhkʰay (H EA: 1b)
ʔaw:it̪onhkʰay
||ʔaw:i=t̪on=li=kʰač||
/ʔaw:i=t̪onhkʰay/
1SG.OBL=toward
'towards me'

Thus far, in addition to the clitics like *=(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).[73] 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

[73] 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.

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 *=(ʔ)wa*, *=(ʔ)ka*, and *=(ʔ)yo* with their unbound variants *wa*, *ka*, and *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

kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey	dó:lon	čóh:on (H VI: 1)
kʰaʔbekʰač'yey	*do:lon*	*čoh:on*
/kʰaʔbekʰač'=yey	do:lon	čoh:on-Ø/
raptor.species=AGT	bobcat	marry-PFV
'Fish Hawk[74] married Wildcat'		

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:

[74] Halpern records this species as *kʰaʔbekʰačʰ* 'fish hawk' (presumably the osprey); Oswalt records it as *kʰaʔbekʰač'* '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.

(48) OS ordering of pronominal enclitics when combined

mihyanákʰ:eʔwamt̪áʔa (H VIII: 6)
mihyanakʰ:eʔwamt̪aʔa
/mihyana-kʰ:e=ʔwa=mt̪a=ʔa/
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, *=(ʔ)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.[75] 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

mák:aċ šíːbaːt̪[ʰ]aw máṭʰːi miṭːíːčon [ʔ]uht̪éht̪ew (H IX: 8)
[mak:aċši:ba:t̪ʰaw maṭʰ:i miṭ:i]$_{NP}$=:čon ʔuht̪eht̪ew
/ma-k:a-ċ-Ø šiːbaːt̪ʰaw maṭʰːi miṭːi=ːčon ʔuht̪eht̪e-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

t̪[ʰ]a:na ʔakʰ:owi da:ṭʰow (H EA: 4a)
[t̪ʰa:na ʔakʰ:o]$_{NP}$=wi da:ṭʰow
/t̪ʰa:na ʔakʰ:o=wi da:ṭʰo-w/
hand two=INSTR scrape-PFV
'scrapes 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 enclitcs (a.k.a. Wackernagel enclitics), especially in combination with *=(ʔ)wa* COP.EVIDENTIAL, and *=(ʔ)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 COP.EVID and 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

huw:aŋhkʰét̪ʰoʔ̪wáʔya (H V: 34)
*huw:anhkʰ:et̪ʰoʔ̪wa**ʔya***
||hu:w-ad-kʰ:e=t̪ʰoʔ̪=ʔwa=ʔya||
/huw:-anh-kʰ:e-t̪ʰoʔ̪=wa=ʔya/
go-DIR-FUT-NEG=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT
'we will not come'

(51b) huʔ[:]úkʰbe [ʔ]ihna:káʔya (H VI: 8)
huʔ:ukʰbe ʔihna:kaʔya
||huʔ:uč+kʰaʔbe hi-hnaṭ̂-ka=ʔya||
/huʔ:ukʰbe ʔihna:-ka=ʔya/
eye.rock try-CAUS=1PL.AGT
'let's try (to make) eyeballs'

(52) Pronominal enclitics attached to nouns

ċú:ʔuʔ( )waʔya šuhnamhúkʰ:e (H VIII: 1)
ċu:ʔuʔwaʔya šuhnamhukʰ:e
||ċu:ʔu=ʔwa=ʔya šu-hnaṭ̂-mhuč'-kʰ:e||
/ċu:ʔu=ʔwa=ʔya šuhna-mhu-kʰ:e/
arrow=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT try.by.pull=RECIP-FUT
'We'll try each other out in pulling arrows.'

nup[ʰ]:éʔ( )waʔya yókʰ:e (H V: 37)
nupʰ:eʔwaʔya yokʰ:e
/nupʰ:e=ʔwa=ʔya yo-kʰ:e/
striped.skunk=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT AUX-FUT
'We will be skunks[.]'

(53) Pronominal enclitic attached to a free pronoun

[ʔ]á:maʔwáʔyan béhše ǩóʔdi čuh:ukáːṭ̂ʰoṭ̂ (H V: 36)
ʔa:maʔwaʔyan behše ǩoʔdi čuh:ukaːṭ̂ʰoṭ̂
/ʔa:ma=ʔwa=ʔyan behše ǩoʔdi čuh:u-ka-:=ṭ̂ʰoṭ̂/[76]
2SG.AGT=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT meat good eat-CAUS-ʔ-NEG
'You (are the one who) didn't let us eat good meat.'

(54) Pronominal enclitic attached to a kinship term

[ʔ]ákʰ:o má:ṭ̓ikiyačó:ǩoʔwáʔa (H ms.)
ʔakʰ:o ma:ṭ̓ikiyačo:ǩoʔwaʔa
/ʔakʰ:oma-:ṭ̓i-ki-ya-čo:=ǩo=ʔwa=ʔa/
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)

sí:ṭoʔwáʔya ho:líkʰ:e (H V: 3)
*si:ṭoʔwa**ʔya** ho:likʰ:e*
/si:ṭo=ʔwa=ʔya ho:li-kʰ:e/
immediately=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT leave-FUT
'right now we'll go'

[ʔ]iṯ[ʰ]:ín( )waʔya daʔṯ̂amhúkʰ:e (H VIII: 1)
*ʔiṯ̂ʰ:inwa**ʔya** daʔṯ̂amhukʰ:e*
/ʔiṯ̂ʰ:in=waʔya daʔṯ̂a-mhu-kʰ:e/
early=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT encounter-RECIP-FUT
'We will meet each other early.'

ma:liʔkaʔya das:ékʰ:e (H V: 11)
*ma:liʔka**ʔya** das:ekʰ:e*
/ma:li=ʔka=ʔya das:e-kʰ:e/
here=INTER=1PL.AGT wash-FUT
'shall we wash it here?'

(56) Pronominal enclitic attached to numerals

[ʔ]akʰ:óhčaʔ( )waʔya čoh:ókʰ:e (H VI: 11)
*ʔakʰ:ohčaʔwa**ʔya** čoh:okʰ:e*
/ʔakʰ:o=hča=ʔwa=ʔya čoh:o-kʰ:e/
two=COLL=COP.EVID=1PL.AGT marry-FUT
'We'll both marry him.'

ṯ̂ʰé: č'á:hmaʔ( )wáʔya baṭ:íkʰ:e (H VI: 13)
*ṯ̂ʰe: č'a:hmaʔwa**ʔya** baṭ:ikʰ:e*
/ṯ̂ʰe: č'a:=hma=ʔwa=ʔya baṭ:i-kʰ: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

ha:mini(:)p[ʰ]iʔwáʔ( )maya das:ekʰ:e (H V: 10)
*ha:minipʰiʔwa**ʔmaya** das:ekʰ:e*
/ha:mini-pʰi=ʔwa=ʔmaya das:e-kʰ: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 (20): Southern Pomo clitic types on a cline between affixes and free words

AFFIXES	←SPECIAL CLITICS—SPECIAL/SIMPLE—SIMPLE CLITICS→			FREE WORDS
-w PF *-ya* PL	*=k̓o* COM *=yey* AGT	*=(ʔ)wa* COP.EVID *=t̂i* INCHOATIVE	*=(ʔ)ya* 1PL.AGT *=kʰma:yow* 'after'	*ʔe:wen* 'fast' *nupʰ:e* 'striped skunk'

Only a sample of the morphemes which fit the criteria for clitic-hood 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/ → [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.[77] 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 *pʰi-* 'by sight' with and without vowel lowering

pʰiʔt̪ʼa- (W: OF)
||pʰi-ʔt̪ʼa-||
'to look (like)'

pʰey:e- (W: OF)
||pʰi-y:e-||
'to look for'

(59) The pronominal root *mi-* 2SG- with and without vowel lowering

mi:t̪o (W: OF)
||mi:-t̪o||
2SG-PAT
'you'

me:kʰe (H ms: EA)
me:kʰe
||mi:-:kʰe||
2SG-POSS
['your']

[77] For example, *behše* '(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 *i vowel.

(60) The kinship prefix *miH-* 2SG- with and without vowel lowering

mid?íki (H ms.)
mid?iki
||miH-di-ki-Ø||
/mi-d?i-ki-Ø/
2-older.sister-GS-AGT
'your o[lder] sis[ter]'

mé?[:]en (H ms.)
me?:en
||miH-?e-n||
/me-?:e-n/
2-father-PAT
'your father'

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).

(61) /i/ → [e] avoidance in kinship root

[ʔ]a:diké:kʰe (H ms.)
ʔa:dike:kʰe
||ʔa:-di-ki-:kʰe||
/ʔa:-di-ke-:kʰe/
1-older.sister-GS-POSS
'my o[lder] sis[ter's]'

This process of vowel lowering applied in the distant past to common nouns (compare Southern Pomo *behše* '(deer) meat' with Kashaya *bihše* 'deer'), and it is shared to an extent with the geographically distant Northeastern Pomo language

(McLendon 1973: 43).[78] 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/ → [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/ → [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/ → [e] to assimilate to an /e/ in the following syllable is not shared by Eastern Pomo and

[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:lom̀* 'bobcat' with Central Pomo *da:lom* '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/ → [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/ → [o] alternations are shown in (62) and (63) below.

(62) Verbs with the prefixes *šu-* 'by pulling' and *du-* 'by finger'

(62a) [čʰeʔ[:]e̯t̓máywan] šuhkʰečí:le (H ms.)[80]
čʰeʔ:e̯t̓maywan šuhkʰeči:le
||čʰeʔ:e̯t̓may=wan šu-hkʰe-čič'-le||
/čʰeʔ:e̯t̓may=wan šu-hkʰe-či:-le/
basket=DET by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP
['Pull the basket closer to yourselves!']

[79] This is also true of /u/ → [o] when the next syllable has [o].
[80] The suffix *-či:-* ||-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) duhkʰeʔčʼin (H ms.)
duhkʰeʔčʼin
||du-hkʰe-čič'-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-*

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

dóṭ̓:ow (V: 11)
doṭ̓:ow
||du-ṭ̓:o-w||
/do-ṭ̓: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: *mus:a:la* 'snake' (general term), *muṯ̓ʰ:u:nu* 'lizard' (general term), and *mohṯ̓ʰi* '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.[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 *puṭilka* and was perceived as a monomorphemic word in that language. Southern Pomo borrowed Kashaya *puṭilka* and changed it to *pʰoṭ:ilka*, 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 *-ṭ:il-* '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 dissimilatory /u/-lowering rule resulted in the *pʰo-* allomorph of the prefix ||pʰu-||, 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-

[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. *hi:lamʔda* 'nose', which descends from the older word for nose **hi:la* plus an unknown element).

consonant /:/ 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

ċiʔ:i- 'to do; to make'

heʔ:e '(head) hair'

baʔ:ay 'woman'

hoʔ:o 'tooth'

ċu:ʔu 'arrow'

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

máʔ[:]en
maʔ:en
||maH-ʔe-n||
/ma-ʔ:e-n/
3C-father-PAT
'his fa[ther]'

Compare example (65) above, which shows that cross-glottal vowel harmony does not operate across a morpheme boundary, with the form *meʔ:en* ||miH-ʔe-n|| 2-father-PAT 'your father', which shows the /i/→[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 *v̂*, 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/

[ʔ]ehkʰéman (H ms.)
ʔehkʰeman
||ʔehkʰe-m-Vn|| → [ʔeh.ˈkʰe.man]
/ʔehkʰe-m-an/
move.body-DIR-SG.IMP
'move across!'

[ʔ]ekʰːékan (H ms.)
ʔekʰːekan
||ʔekʰːe-ak-Vn|| → [ʔek.ˈkʰe.kan]
/ʔekʰːe-k-an/
move.body-DIR-SG.IMP
'move out! (sp[eaker] in[side])'

(ii) ||V|| → [u] after /d/

[ʔ]ekʰ:édun (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:edun
||ʔekʰ:e-ad-Vn|| → [ʔek.ˈkʰe.dun]
/ʔekʰ:e-d-un/
move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move along, towards me!'

(iii) ||V|| → [o] after /ok/

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékon (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:ekon
||ʔekʰ:e-ok-Vn|| → [ʔek.ˈkʰe.kon]
/ʔekʰ:e-k-on/
move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move out (sp[eaker] out[side])'

(iv) ||V|| → [i] elsewhere

[ʔ]ekʰ:elméč'in (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elmeč'in
||ʔekʰ:e-alameč'-Vn|| → [ˌʔek.kʰel.ˈme.ʧ'in]
/ʔekʰ:e-lmeč'-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

Pomo. 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 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-/)

[ʔ]ekʰ:ekó:baʔwaʔmáya (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:e-k-o:ba=ʔwa=ʔmaya
/ʔekʰ:e-k-o:ba=ʔwa=ʔmaya/
move.body-DIR-COND=COP.EVID=2PL.AGT
'ye ought to move out!'

(2) /-a:ba/ after /m/

duhsuma:ba (H EA: 46a)
duhsuma:ba
/duhsum-a:ba/
quit-COND
'he would stop'

čoh:omá:ba (H VI: 13)
čoh:oma:ba
/čoh:om-a:ba/
marry-COND
'ought to marry him'

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

[ʔ]á:šimʔdú:ba (H II: 4)
ʔa:šimʔdu:ba
/ʔa:ši-mʔd-u:ba/ or /ʔa:ši-mʔdu-:ba/[82]
name-?-COND name-?-COND
'he should name'

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

[ʔ]ahnaṭ̂í:baʔkáʔma (H ms.)
ʔahnaṭ̂i:baʔkaʔma
/ʔa-hnaṭ̂-i:ba=ʔka=ʔma/
with.leg-try-COND=INTER=2SG.AGT
'are you going to try it w[ith] heel?'

(6) /-:ba/ after vowels

mi:ṭí:ba (H ms.)
mi:ṭi-:ba
/mi:ṭi-: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 *-:ba* (i.e. not vowel-initial), but the reflex of the same morpheme in Kashaya is given with an initial *v̂-*,

[82] The stem for 'to name' is *ʔahši-*. Oswalt lists the forms <ʔa*$imʔdu> *ʔa:šimʔdu* 'to call off names' (O D: ED) and <ʔa*$imʔdun> 'Name them!' (O D: AB), but he provides no glossing. I am unsure of the meaning contributed by the morpheme(s) *-mʔdu- ~ -mʔd-*, 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 *ʔa:šimʔdu: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.[83]

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|| → *ʔekʰ:ekon* 'move out! (speaker outside)' and ||ʔekʰ:e-ak-Vn|| → *ʔekʰ: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 [l] 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 *ʔaḥ̬ti-* 'to put foot' and *ʔahpʰi-* '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'[84] (e.g. *ʔaḥ̬ti-may* 'put foot-in from outside' and *ʔahpʰi-čiy* 'carry-to start'), but does not surface before vowel-initial suffixes, such as *-ala-* and *-akač-* (e.g. *haṭ̬:-ala-w* 'put

[83] 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).

[84] 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.

foot-down-PFV' and *ʔapʰː-akay* 'carry-up').[85] 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 *ʔahpʰi-* 'to carry', *ʔehkʰe-* 'to move body', *ʔahča-* 'to fly', and *ʔahṭ̂i-* '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.

[85] This is a simplification. There is a great deal of morphologically conditioned verb stem allomorphy, such as *ʔahṭ̂i-* vs. *haṭ̂:a-* that complicates the picture for some verbs.

Table (21): Sample of verb stem allomorphy of glottal-initial verb stems[86]

Underlying forms		‖ha-hpʰi-‖ 'to carry'	‖ha-hča-‖ 'to fly'	‖ha-h̯t̯i-‖ 'to put foot'	‖hi-hkʰe-‖ 'to move body'
1	Before C-initial suffixes	/ʔa-hpʰi-/	/ʔa-hča-/	/ʔa-h̯t̯i-/	/ʔe-hkʰe-/
2	Before V-initial suffixes (e.g. *-aywač-* 'against' and those with /d/)	/ʔa-pʰːe-/	/ha-čːa-/	/ha-t̯ː-/	/ʔe-kʰːe-/
3	Before other V-initial suffixes	/ʔa-pʰː-/	/ha-čːa-/	/ha-t̯ː-/	/ʔe-kʰːe-/

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

[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 /-oḵ/; (2) after directional suffixes which end in /-ok/; (3) after the directional

[87] This is the evidential suffix that Oswalt transcribes as *-ŵa-* and which he identifies as the factual-indicative/visual evidential suffix in Southern Pomo (1976: 25). Oswalt's symbol <ŵ> 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 *-ma°q-* (1976: 23).[88] 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 [q^{w}] 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-||.

[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)'.[89] The vowel of this suffix is often deleted according to vowel deletion rules described later (§2.6.2.). This suffix is therefore homophonous with the suffix ||-ak-|| 'out (speaker inside)' in many situations (both surfacing 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-hkʰe-ak-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-k-an/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eaker] in[side])[!]’

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

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékon (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:ekon
||hi-hkʰe-ok-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-k-on/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eaker] 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.[90] 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 → Ø / V__ with vowel-initial directional suffixes

[ʔ]ekʰ:élan (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elan
||hi-hk:e-ala-Vn|| → [ʔek.ˈkʰe.lan]
/ʔe-kʰ:e-la-n/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 move down!'

(69) V → Ø / V__ with vowel-initial directional suffixes

[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:éč:in (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:ečːin
||ha-hpʰe-aduč-Vn|| → [ʔap.ˈpʰe̯ṭ.ʧin]
/ʔapʰ:e-čː-in/
carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it away!'

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

hwálaw (H I: 6)
hwalaw
||huːw-ala-w|| → [ˈhwa.law]
/hw-ala-w/
go-DIR-PFV
'went down'

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 → 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.[91] 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.[92]

[91] 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).
[92] 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)

σ	σσ	σσσ	σσσσ	σσσσσ
N/A[93]	HH	HHH HHL HLL HLH	HHHH HHHL HHLL HLHH HLHL HHLH	HHHHL HHLHL HLHHL

Examples of verbs with two underlying non-final light syllables undergoing syncope are given below with the verbs *ʔehkʰe-* 'to move (body)', *ʔahča-* 'to fly', *ʔahʈi-* 'to move the foot', and *ʔahpʰi-* 'to carry'.[94]

(71) $H_1L_2L_3H_4 \rightarrow H_1H_2H_4$

[ʔ]ehkʰémčin (H ms.)
ʔehkʰemčin
||hi-hkʰe-mač-Vn|| → [ʔeh.ˈkʰem.ʧin]
/ʔe-hkʰe-mč-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move in (speaker outside)!'

(72) $H_1L_2L_3L_4 \rightarrow H_1H_2L_4$

[ʔ]ahčámko (H ms.)
ʔahčamko
||ha-hča-mok-a|| → [ʔah.ˈʧam.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, HLHLH, HHHLL, HHHLH, HLHHH, HLHLL, and HHLHH forms as I continue to search my data.

[93] A few very frequent verbs, such as *ċiʔːi-* ~ *ċi(ː)-* 'to do, make' allow an optional monosyllabic form with a suffixed coda in rapid speech (e.g. *ċi-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.

(73) $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5$ → $H_1L_2H_3H_5$

<hat:alokč'in> (O ms.)
haṯ:alokč'in
||ha-hṯ-alokoč'-Vn|| → [ˌhaṯ̪.t̪a.ˈlok.ʧ'in][95]
/haṯ:-alokč'-in/
move.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
'[move foot] up out of[!]'

(74) $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5$ → $H_1H_2L_4H_5$

<?ahtimkocin> (O ms.)
ʔahṯimkočin
||ha-hṯi-mokoč-Vn|| → [ˌʔah.t̪im.ˈko.ʧin]
/ʔahṯi-mkoč-in/
move.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
'[put foot] back[!]'

[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:alméč'in (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:almeč'in
||ha-hpʰ-alameč'-Vn|| → [ˌʔap.pʰal.ˈme.ʧ'in]
/ʔapʰ:-almeč'-in/
carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'[carry] down from above[!]'

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>)

ha:čaṯ'bíča (H ms.)
ha:čaṯ'biča
||ha-hča-ṯ-bič-a|| → [ˌha:.ʧaṯ'.ˈbi.ʧa]
/ha:ča-ṯ'-bič-a/
fly-PL.ACT-raise-EVID
'took off (1 by 1)'

[95] This verb has an irregular root, as shown earlier in Table (#) of §2.6.1.2., and I have chosen to represent this irregular root as ||-hṯ-|| despite its always occurring with a transcremental suffix and therefore surfacing without /h/ as /-ṯ:-/; the same is true of the root ||-hpʰ-|| in *ʔapʰ: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 $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5 \rightarrow H_1H_2L_4H_5$ (as in ||ha-hṭi-mokoč-Vn|| → *ʔahṭimkočin* '[put foot] back[!]') and $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5 \rightarrow H_1L_2H_3H_5$ (as in ||ha-hṭ-alokoč'-Vn|| → *haṭ:alokč'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 $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5 \rightarrow H_1H_2L_4H_5$ and $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5 \rightarrow H_1L_2H_3H_5$

SOURCE	VERB	$H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5 \rightarrow H_1H_2L_4H_5$	$H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5 \rightarrow H_1L_2H_3H_5$
(O ms.)	*ʔahṭi-* 'to move foot'	2	1
(H ms.)	*ʔahpʰi-* 'to carry'	2[96]	0
(H ms.)	*ʔehkʰe-* 'to move body'	2	0
(H ms.)	*ʔahča-* 'to fly'	1	0
	TOTAL	7	1

[96] One of these forms, *ʔapʰ:eywačin* '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 $H_1L_2L_3L_4H_5$ → $H_1H_2L_4H_5$ category, such as ||ha-hi̱ti-mokoč-Vn|| → *ʔahi̱timkočin* '[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) $H_1L_2L_3H_4$ → $H_1H_2H_4$ in kinship terms

miy:áṭʰkʰan (H VI: 1)
miy:aṭʰkʰan
||miy:a-dakʰad-Ø|| → [mij.ˈjatʰ.kʰan]
/miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø/
3-spouse-AGT
'his wife'

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

miy:aṭ́íki (H VI: 1)
miy:aṭ́iki
||miy:a-ṭ́i-ki-Ø|| → [ˌmij.ja.ˈt’i.ki]
/miy:a-ṭ́i-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) $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ + $\sigma_3\sigma_4$ → $\sigma_1\sigma_2\sigma_4$ in compound nouns

muhway?mi (O ms.)
muhway?mi
||muhway + ʔim:i|| → [muh.ˈway?.mi]
/muhway-ʔmi/
fawn-black.berry
‘strawberry’

ʔahkʰapṭaka (O ms.)
ʔahkʰapṭaka
||ʔahkʰa + bu:ṭaka|| → [ˌʔah.kʰap.ˈta.ka]
/ʔahkʰa-pṭaka/
water-bear
‘sea lion’

(79) $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ + $\sigma_3\sigma_4$ → $\sigma_1\sigma_2\sigma_4$ in reduplicated adjectives

p[ʰ]al:áp[ʰ]la (H ms.)
pʰal:apʰla
||pʰal:a + pʰal:a|| → [pʰal.ˈlapʰ.la]
/pʰal:a-pʰla/
each-each
'[various]'[97]

baḥṭʰepṭʰe (W: OF)
baḥṭʰepṭʰe
||baḥṭʰe + baḥṭʰe|| → [bah.ˈtʰep.tʰe]
/baḥṭʰe-pṭʰe/
big.COLL-big.COLL
'huge'

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

p[ʰ]ohn̰ópn̰tow (H VII:2)
pʰuhn̰opn̰tow
||pʰu-hn̰o-pʰu-hn̰o-w|| → [pʰuh.ˈn̰op.n̰tow]
/pʰuhn̰o-pʰuhn̰o-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 *pʰal:a* 'each; also' is derived from *pʰa:la* '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, *šuhnaṭ̂-* '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

šuhnáṯin	(H VIII:4)	šúhnaṯ̓	(H VIII:4)
šuhnaṯin		*šuhnaṯ̓*	
||šu-hnaṯ-Vn||		||šu-hnaṯ-∅||	
/šu-hnaṯ-in/		/šu-hnaṯ̓-∅/	
by.pulling-try-SG.IMP		by.pulling-try-PFV	
‘try (to pull)!’		‘he tries to pull’	

kahsaka	(O I: 25D)	kahsaḵ	(O I: 14)
kahsaka		*kahsaḵ*	
||kahsak-a||		||kahsak-Ø||	
/kahsak-a/		/kahsaḵ-Ø/	
desert-EVID		desert-PFV	
‘deserted’		‘deserting’	

Compare the stems above with the verb stem *him:oḵ-* ‘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

<him*ok'o>	(O D: EA)	<him*ok'>	(O D: ED)
him:oḵo		*him:oḵ*	
||him:oḵ-a||		||him:oḵ-Ø||	
/him:oḵ-o/		/him:oḵ-Ø/	
fall-EVID		fall-PFV	
‘fell down’		‘to fall over (of person)’	

Alternations between word-medial plain stops and word-final ejective stops are attested for /t̰/, /ṭ/, 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.ˈjoqˀ] '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 *mihyokˀ* ['mih.jokˀ] 'woodrat', which has no form corresponding to the assertive in Kashaya.[98] Southern 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 /čˀ/ 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, /c̆/, which undergoes no changes in any position. Both /č/ and /čˀ/ become /y/ [j] in word final position, as shown in (83)

[98] The combination *mihyokˀ=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'/ → [j]/__#

mí:may (H I: 27)
mi:may
||mi-:mač-Ø|| → [ˈmi:.maj]
/mi:mač-Ø/
cry-PFV
'she cries'

čaʔt̂emhuy (W ms.)
||ča-ʔt̂e-mhuč'-Ø|| → [ʧaʔ.ˈt̪'em.huj]
/čaʔt̂e-mhuč'-Ø/
fight-RECIP-PFV
'to fight'

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

mi:mačen (O I: 9)
mi:mačen
||mi-:mač-en||[99] → [mi:.ˈma.ʧen]
/mi:mač-en/
cry-D.SIM
'crying'

dáʔt̂amč'íʔya (H I:6)
daʔt̂amč'iʔya
||da-ʔt̂a-mhuč'-V=ʔya|| → [ˌdaʔ.t̪'am.ˈʧ'iʔ.ja]
/daʔt̂a-mč'-i=ʔya/
encounter-RECIP-HORTATIVE=1PL.AGT
'let's meet together'

[99] 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: *he:č'* 'nail; claw'; *ʔahsič'* 'hard; difficult'; *kʰaʔbekʰač'* 'raptor species'. These words are unlikely to be recent borrowings; *he:č'* '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'

mak:odan (O I:13)
mak:odan
||maH-kod-an|| → [mak.ˈko.dan]
/ma-k:od-an/
3-sister's.husband-PAT
'her own brother-in-law'

miy:akon (O I:14)
miy:akon
||miy:a-kod-Ø|| → [mij.ˈja.kon]
/miy:a-kon-Ø/
3-sister's.husband-AGT
'the sister's husband'

(86) Alternation between [d] and [n] in the suffix ||-aded-|| ‘here and there’

pʰey:ed:u (W: OF)
||pʰi-y:e-aded-u|| → [pʰej.ˈjed.du]
/pʰey:e-d:-u/
look.for-DIR-PFV
‘looking for’

pʰey:edenṯi (W: OF)
||pʰi-y:e-aded-ṯ̂i|| → [ˌpʰej.je.ˈden.ẗ̪i]
/pʰey:e-den-ṯ̂i/
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/ → [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

maʔdákʰden (H IV:1)
maʔdakʰden
||maH-dakʰad-en|| → [maʔ.ˈdakʰ.den]
/ma-ʔdakʰd-en/
3c-spouse-PAT
'her husband'

miy:aṭkʰan (Oswalt 1978: 15)
miy:aṭkʰan
||miy:a-dakʰad-Ø|| → [mij.ˈjat.kʰan]
/miy:a-ṭkʰan-Ø/
3-spouse-AGT
['his spouse']

The morpheme-internal voicing assimilation seen in /d/ above is also found with /b/ (e.g. ||bahṭʰe + bahṭʰe|| → [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’

duhṭʰála (H V: 6)
duhṭʰala
||duhṭʰal-a|| → [duh.ˈtʰa.la]
/duhṭʰal-a/
feel.pain-EVID
‘it pains’

<duh7^han> (O D: ED)
duhṭʰan
||duhṭʰal-Ø|| → [ˈduh.tʰan]
/duhṭʰan-Ø/
feel.pain-PFV
‘[feel]...ache’

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

<?ahtiman> (O ms.)
ʔahṯiman
||ha-hṯi-m-Vn|| → [ʔah.ˈt̪i.man]
/ʔahṯi-m-an/
put.foot-ESSIVE-SG.IMP
[‘hold the foot still!’]

<?ahtin> (O ms.)
ʔahṯin
||ha-hṯi-m|| → [ˈʔah.t̪in]
/ʔahṯi-n/
put.foot-ESSIVE
[‘holding the foot still’]

Thus /n/, /d/, /l/, and /m/ all surface as [n] in word-final position. The stem ||duhṭʰal-|| ‘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.[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-S.SEQ '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).[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-:kʰel-|| 'to throw and make several slide' surfacing

[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)
mu:kʰelhaywan mu:kʰen
||mu-:kʰel+ʔah:ay=wan mu-:kʰel-Ø|| → [ˌmu:.kʰel.ˈhaj.wan ˈmu:.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]]
mu:kʰélin (H V:3)
mu:kʰelin
||mu-:kʰel-Vn|| → [mu:.ˈkʰe.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)
mu:kʰelhaywan mu:kʰeman
||mu-:kʰel+ʔah:ay=wan mu-:kʰel-Vn|| → [ˌmu:.kʰel.ˈhaj.wan mu:.ˈkʰe.man]
/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. *mu:kʰelin ~ mu:kʰeman* 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.[104] 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 (#) and (#) below show this nasal spreading process with suffix ||-le|| PLURAL.IMPERATIVE and its nasal-spreading-induced allomorph [-ne] after both /d/ and ||N||.[105]

(91) /d/ allophony with and without nasal spreading (/d/ + /le/ → [ːn])

(91a) [without nasal spreading]
huw:ádun (H VI:11)
huw:adun
||huːw-ad-Vn|| → [huw.ˈwa.dun]
/huw:-ad-un/
go-DIR-SG.IMP
'come!'

[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:

čuh:úle (H V: 27)
čuh:ule ||čuhːu-le|| → [ʧuh.ˈhu.le]
/čuh:u-le/
eat-PL.IMP
'eat ye'

(91b) [with nasal spreading]
huw:á:ne (H V:19)
huw:a:ne
||hu:w-ad-le|| → [huw.ˈwa:.ne]
/huw:-a:-ne/
go-DIR-PL.IMP
'come ye[!]'

(92) ||N|| allophony with and without nasal spreading (||N|| + /le/ → [:n])

[without nasal spreading]
[ʔ]ehkʰéma (H ms.)
ʔehkʰema
||hi-hkʰe-m-a|| → [ʔeh.ˈkʰe.ma]
/ʔe-hkʰe-m-a/
with.body-move-DIR-EVID
'1 is moving across'

[with nasal spreading]
[ʔ]ehkʰé:ne (H ms.)
ʔehkʰe:ne
||hi-hkʰe-m-le|| → [ʔeh.ˈkʰe:.ne]
/ʔe-hkʰe-:-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 → ...||N||~[n]-lV → ...[n]-nV → ...[:]-nV

There is evidence, however, that this alternation followed a slightly different path. Oswalt records at least one form in which ||N|| + ||-le|| → [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

||N|| and two nasal variants using the verb ‘to sing’.

(93) Dry Creek dialect nasal spreading with *ʔihmin* ||ʔihmiN-|| ‘to sing’

[without nasal spreading]

<ʔihmin> (O D: ED & EA)	<ʔihmiman> (O D: ED)
ʔihmin	*ʔihmiman*
||ʔihmiN-Ø|| → [ˈʔih.min]	||ʔihmiN-Vn|| → [ʔih.ˈmi.man]
/ʔihmin-Ø/	/ʔihmim-an/
sing-PFV	sing-SG.IMP
‘to sing’	‘Sing!’

[with nasal spreading and glottal variant]
<ʔihmiʔne> (O D: ED)
ʔihmiʔne
||ʔihmiN-le|| → [ʔih.ˈmiʔ.ne]
/ʔihmiʔ-ne/
sing-PL.IMP
‘Sing! (Pl.)’

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 *ṅ, which is preserved in Kashaya Pomo as /ṅ/ 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

...[+nas]-lV → ...[+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) ...[n̓]-nV
(ii) ...[n]-nV

(3) /n̓/ → [ʔ] / __[n]

(i) ...[ʔ]-nV
(ii) ...[n]-nV

(4) Form (ii) → 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 /:/ or it might have skipped steps (3) and (4) entirely and simply replaced all the nasals with /:/ 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:éč:in (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:eč:in
||hi-hkʰe-aduč-Vn|| → [ʔek.ˈkʰeț̥.ʧin]
/ʔe-kʰ:e-č:-in/
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.hon]
/čoh:on-Ø/
marry-PFV
'marry'

[with velar assimilation]
čoh:onhkʰe (O I: 4)
čoh:onhkʰe
||čoh:oN-kʰ:e|| → [ʧoh.ˈhoŋ̊ŋ̊.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).[106]

(96) Nasal assimilation before /w/

hwadémʔdu (H VIII: 1)
hwademʔdu
||hu:w-aded-wadu|| → [hwa.ˈdem̐m̰.du]
/hw-adem-ʔdu/
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

[106] 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/, it might be residual evidence of their former glottalized status as *m̓ and *n̓ in an earlier stage of the language. Outside of these frozen instances of creakiness/glottal-insertion, there is no synchronic evidence that the voiced stops are inherently creaky.

transcribes as *-X b c-*, becomes the ejective [p̓] after syncope (1976: 24). The historic change of *b → [p̓] / __[+cons, -voice] is attested in Central Pomo, which has forms like *p̓še* [p̓ʃe] corresponding to Southern Pomo *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/→ /p/]
bahṭʰepṭʰe (W: OF)
||bahṭʰe + bahṭʰe|| → [bah.ˈtʰep.tʰe]
/bahṭʰe-pṭʰe/
big.COLL -big.COLL
'huge'

(97b) [/b/→ /p/]
[ʔ]ekʰ:épčin (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:epčin
||hi-hkʰe-bič-Vn|| → [ʔek.ˈkʰ:ep.ʧin]
/ʔe-kʰ:e-pč-in
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move up!'

(97c) [/d/→ /ṭ/]
miy:aṭkʰan (Oswalt 1978: 15)
miy:aṭkʰan
||miy:a-dakʰad-Ø|| → [mij.ˈjat.kʰan]
/miy:a-ṭkʰan-Ø/
3-spouse-AGT
['his spouse']

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

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay (H IV: 5)
ʔahčanhkʰay
||ʔahča=li=kʰač|| → [ʔah.ˈʧaŋ̊ŋ̊.kʰaj]
/ʔahča=nhkʰay/
house=ward
'[to] home'

čoh:onhkʰe (O I: 4)
čoh:onhkʰe
||čoh:oN-kʰ:e|| → [ʧoh.ˈhoŋ̊ŋ̊.kʰe]
/čoh:onh-kʰe/
marry-FUT
'will let marry'

(99) Voicing assimilation in sonorant before voiceless unaspirated C

mh̥to (H IV: 7)
mh̥to
||mi:t̥o|| → [m̂m̥̂t̥o][107]
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.
[108] Halpern notes the following exceptions: *ʔa:ʔa* 'I', *ʔa:č'en* 'my mother', and *ho:hon* 'nettle' (1984: 7-8).

C = /p m w t̲ ṭ n l c č y k/ (sonorants and voiceless unaspirated stops)

C^{h} = /p^{h} t̲^{h} ṭ^{h} s č^{h} š k^{h} h/ (fricatives and aspirated stops)

C’ = /ṗ b t̲’ ṭ’ d ċ č’ ǩ ʔ/ (glottalized and voiced stops)

Table (24): Distribution of glottal-initial syllables[109]

SECOND (NON-INCREMENT) CONSONANT OF THE STEM⟶ / LARYNGEAL INCREMENT↓	C	C^{h}	C’
/h/	ʔV-	ʔV-	
/ʔ/			hV-
/:/	ʔV- & hV-	ʔV-	hV-

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

(100) Examples of ʔVhCV...

[with sonorants]		[with voiceless unaspirated stops]	
ʔahloǩ	‘to fall off’	*ʔahka*	‘game’
ʔiyha	‘bone’	*ʔahča*	‘house’

(101) Examples of ʔV:CV...

[with sonorants]		[with voiceless unaspirated stops]	
ʔa:ma	‘thou’	*ʔo:koṭin*	‘pass several!’
ʔam:a	‘earth; thing’	*ʔat̲: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 acros the top, the cell where these two overlap contains only ʔV-; a stem of the shape ʔV-hCV... is therefore permissible, but one of the shape ha-hCV... is not permissible.

(102) Examples of hV:CV...

[with sonorants]		[with voiceless unaspirated stops]	
hi:no	'ash'	*ha:čaṯlawa*	'many fly down'
ham:an	'she'	*hač:alwa*	'one flies down'

(103) Examples of ʔVhC^{h}...

[with fricatives]		[with aspirated stops]	
ʔahša	'fish'	*ʔahk^{h}a*	'water'
ʔohso	'clover'	*ʔehp^{h}eṭ*	'fart'

(104) Examples of ʔV:C^{h}...

[with fricatives]		[with aspirated stops]	
ʔa:suw	'to scratch'	*ʔa:p^{h}aṯkačin*	'carry up several!'
ʔah:a	'mouth'	*ʔap^{h}:akčin*	'carry it up!'

(105) Examples of hVʔC'...

[with voiced stops]		[with ejectives]	
hiʔbu	'potato'	*haʔčaṭ'*	'to whip'
hudʔakay	'to want'	*hoʔǩoy*	'to drink'

(106) Examples of hV:C'...

[with glottal stop]		[with ejectives]	
he:ʔey	'where'	*hi:ṭad:edu:šu*	'touchy'
heʔ:e	'hair (of head)'	*haǩ:an*	'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'

[with /ʔa-/ allomorph]	[with /ha-/ allomorph]
[ʔ]ahčamók^{h}t͡^{h}u (H ms.)	ha:čaʡmók^{h}t͡^{h}u (H ms.)
ʔahčamokt͡^{h}u	*ha:čaʡmokt͡^{h}u*
||ha-hča-mok-ka-t͡^{h}u||	||ha-hča-t-mok-ka-t͡^{h}u||
/ʔa-hča-mo-k-t͡^{h}u/	/ha-:ča-t͡'-mo-k-t͡^{h}u/
w.wing-fly-DIR-CAUS-PROH	w.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-CAUS-PROH
'[don't let] it [fly in]!'	'don't let them fly in!'

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 (*ʔahčamokt͡^{h}u* fits the pattern ʔVhC..., and *ha:čaʡmokt͡^{h}u* 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

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-||

[with /h/ increment]	[with /:/ increment]
<ʔihciw > (O D: EA)	<ʔec*eduy> (O D: EA)
ʔihčiw	*ʔeč:eduy*
||ʔihči-w||	||ʔihči-aduč-Ø||
/ʔihčiw/	/ʔeč:eduy/
‘wear [from neck?]’	‘to carry on back or with handle’

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 /:/ unless it is a liquid or nasal.

[+cons, -son] → [ː] / __[+cons]

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

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

[final consonant of ||-aduč-|| 'away' surfacing]
<dad?eduy> (O D: EA)
dad?eduy
||da-ʔde-aduč-Ø|| → [dad.ˈʔe.duj][111]
/da-dʔe-duy-Ø/
with.palm-move.one-DIR-PFV
'to push s[ome] o[ne] sitting over or away'

[final consonant of ||-aduč-|| 'away' being replaced by /:/]
dadʔedú:t̪[ʰ]u (H ms.)
dad?edu:t̪ʰu
||da-ʔde-aduč-t̪ʰu|| → [ˌdad.ʔe.ˈduː.t̪ʰu]
/da-dʔe-duː-t̪ʰu/
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.[112] 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-consonantally incremented or post-consonantally incremented to the second consonant of the stem (which is generally equal to the root consonant of verbs).[113] When a pre-consonantally incremented laryngeal increment is moved to become a post-consonantal increment (CVHCV- → 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- → C_1VC_2:V- 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.).

[112] Halpern (1984) uses the term augment.
[113] These rather terms are based on my earlier use of 'pre-augmented' and 'post-augmented' (Walker 2008).

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:elméč’in (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:elmeč’in
||hi-hkʰe-alameč’-Vn|| → [ʔek.kʰel.me.ʧ’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 affix 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 /ʔe:kʰe-/ with the decremental plural act affix ||-t̂-|| preceding the transcremental affix ||-alameč'-|| 'down from above'.[114]

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

[ʔ]e:kʰeṯlamé:le (H ms.)
ʔe:kʰeṯlame:le
||hi-hkʰe-t̂-alameč'-le|| → [ʔeːˌkʰeṯ.la.ˈmeː.le]
/ʔe-ːkʰe-t̂-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]

[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 *haʔt̂ʰi-* 'to sneeze' (Halpern 1984: 8).

Table (25): Possible combinations of increment and second consonant of stem

	PRE-CONSONANTAL INCREMENT			POST-CONSONANTAL INCREMENT		
	/ʔ/	/h/	/:/	/ʔ/	/h/	/:/
SONORANTS	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
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/

FULL FORM IN CAREFUL SPEECH	CONTRACTED FORMS	GLOSS
ha:mini-	hni- ~ ni	'and then' (pro-verb)
huw:adu-	hwadu- ~ wadu-	'to go along'
nih:i-	hnihi- ~ hni- ~ nihi- ~ ni-	'to say'

In addition to the above examples, there are words without pre-vocalic /h/ which have contracted forms, such as *kʰaṭ:ič'aw* 'bad' and *ṭʰač':aw ~ ṯeč':aw ~ čeč':aw* 'much', which have the respective contracted variants *kʰač':aw* and *ṭʰač'aw ~ ṯeč'aw ~ čeč'aw* (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 to 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]

[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

núp[ʰ]:e	nóp[ʰ]:ow	ka:wíya	bahṭʰéǩo (H V: 1)
nupʰ:e	*nopʰ:ow*	*ka:wiya*	*bahṭʰeǩo*
/nupʰ:e	nopʰ:o-w	ka:wi-ya	bahṭʰe=ǩo/
striped.skunk	dwell.PL-PFV	child-PL	big.COLL=COM

'Skunk Woman lived, with many children'

(113) The common noun *ʔač:ay* ‘man’ as a phonological word

[ʔ]iš:aw [ʔ]áč:ay (H III: 1)
ʔiš:aw ***ʔač:ay***
/ʔiš:aw ʔač:ay/
take.as.spouse-PFV man
‘He abducted her, a man.’[117]

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

hí:mo číʔ[:]iw (H I: 1)
hi:mo *čiʔ:iw*
/hi:mo čiʔ:i-w/
hole make-PFV
‘(she) made a hole’

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.

2.8.1.1.1. 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

[117] The verb *ʔiš:a-* 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*

ka:wíya	(H V: 1)	ʔu*ya	(O ms.)
ka:wiya		*ʔu:ya*	
/ka:wi-ya/		/ʔu:ya/ or	/ʔu:-ya/
child-PL		twins or	twin-PL?
'children'		'twins'	

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

še:bačʰma (O I: 1)
še:bačʰma
||še:wey+baʔ:ay-čʰma|| → [ʃe:.ˈbaʧʰ.ma]
/še:+ba-čʰma/
young+woman-PL
'young women'

Another bound morpheme which attaches to common nouns and appears to be an affix is the locative suffix ||-:na|| 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.[120] This morpheme appears to be cognate with Eastern Pomo *-n̥a* 'indicating contact' (McLendon 1975: 123-124).[121] This suffix is transcremental, as seen in (117) below.

(117) Common noun with the suffix ||-:na|| *-:na* LOCATIVE

[ʔ]akʰ:á:na (H I: 3)
ʔakʰ:a:na
||ʔahkʰa-:na||
/ʔakʰ:a-:na/
water-LOC
'at water'

There is another transcremental suffix that combines with common nouns, though it has no surface form beyond transcrementation (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).[122] Nouns with this suffix undergo transcrementation; there is no other surface evidence of the affix.

||CVHCV-Ø|| → CVC:V-Ø

Halpern also notes that this pattern is optionally seen when *=wi* INSTRUMENTAL is attached to certain nouns (e.g. *kʰa:ma* 'foot' vs. *kʰam:a=wi* 'with foot'), and that some verbs show the same alternation to indicate a stative meaning (e.g.

[120] 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 ʔakʰ:a-:na kʰaʔbe 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'.
[121] McLendon used the graph <N> for the voiceless coronal nasal of Eastern Pomo.
[122] 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).

miːṭi-w lie-PFV ‘to lie’ vs. *miṭːi-w* ‘lying’) (1984: 18). This morpheme is herein represented as ||-Ø|| *-Ø* 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 ||-Ø||

[ʔ]ačːa (H I: 1)	kalːi (Halpern 1984: 18)
ʔačːa	*kalːi*
||ʔahča-Ø||	||kaːli-Ø||
/ʔačːa-Ø/	/kalːi-Ø/
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 /ː/ 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 *nupʰːe* ‘striped skunk’ and its Kashaya cognate *nupʰeː*), and Southern Pomo forms with the an /h/-post- consonantally incremented sonorant correspond to Kashaya forms which preserve the /h/-increment and show /ː/ on the second vowel of the stem (e.g. Southern Pomo *kawhe* ‘gum; pitch’ and its Kashaya cognate *qahweː*) (Halpern 1984: 19-21). The ||-Ø|| DIFFUSE suffix mostly likely surfaced as final /-ː/ in an earlier stage of the language, and this /ː/ might have originated through compensatory lengthening after the loss of a consonant.

*CVHCV-C > *CVHCV-: > CVC:V

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 ||-Ø|| DIFFUSE is treated as a suffix, it is possible to assign it to the long list of Southern Pomo transcremental 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

ka:wíʔwan [ʔ]ám[:]an bá:neba (H I: 8)
*ka:wiʔwan ʔam:a**n** ba:neba...*
/ka:wi=ʔwan ʔam:a-n ba:ne-ba/
child=DET.OBJ earth-GOAL lay-S.SEQ
'...(he) put the child on the ground...'

ham[:]íṯow [ʔ]am[:]áŋhkʰay hwálaw (H I: 11)
ham:iṯow ʔam:anhkʰay hwalaw
/ham:i=ṯow ʔam:a-nh=kʰay hw-ala-w/
there=ABL earth-GOAL-ward go-DIR-PFV
'thence (he) went downhill'

[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 *nop^{h}:o-*, which can be both a noun ('village~rancheria') and a verb ('to dwell; many sit').

(120) Example of *=li* 'at'

niba ʔyodo ham:i ʔaṯ:iyey nop^{h}:o:=li (O I: 11)
niba?yodo ham:i ʔaṯ:iyey nop^{h}:o:li
/ni-ba=ʔyo-do ham:i ʔaṯ:i-yey nop^{h}:o-:=li/
and.then-S.SEQ=be-QUOT there 3C-PL.AGT live-PFV?=at
'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 ||-k^{h}ač-|| '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 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'

ká:čon	(H V: 29)			
ka:čon				
‖ka:wi-ya-yčon‖ or ‖ka:wi-ya=yčon‖				
/ka:čon/	or	/ka:-čon/	or	/ka:=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 ‖-t̰-‖ -t̰ʾ- ~ -t̰-

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

(122) Example of denominalizer ||-t̪-||

ká[:]li huʔ[:]úṭ̪bi[:]( )ba šó:čiw (H I:5)
ka:li huʔ:uṭ̪bi:ba šo:čiw
||ka:li huʔ:uč-t̪-bič-ba šo:či-w||
/ka:li huʔ:u-t̪-bi:-ba šo:či-w/
up face-DENOM-DIR-S.SEQ listen-PFV
'raised his head and listened'

2.8.1.1.2. 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) $\sigma_1\sigma_2$ + $\sigma_3\sigma_4$ → $\sigma_1\sigma_2\sigma_4$ in compound nouns

ʔahkʰapṭaka (O ms.)
ʔahkʰapṭaka
||ʔahkʰa + bu:ṭaka|| → [ˌʔah.kʰap.ˈta.ka]
/ʔahkʰa-pṭaka/
water-bear
'sea lion'

muhwayʔmi (O ms.)
muhwayʔmi
||muhway + ʔim:i|| → [muh.ˈwayʔ.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 $C_1VC_2{:}VC_3$ + $C_1V\text{ʔ}C_2V$ → $C_1VC_2{:}VC_1C_2V$

huʔ[:]úkʰbe (H VI: 3)
huʔ:ukʰbe
||huʔ:uy + kʰaʔbe|| → [huʔ.ˈʔukʰ.be]
/huʔ:u-kʰbe/
'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[:]ílhkʰa (H VII: 4)
mih:ilhkʰa
||mih:ila + ʔahkʰa||
/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/ → [n] change in the Cloverdale variant).

(126) Dialectal differences in compound 'Dry Creek' (from Oswalt 1981: 49)[124]

[Dry Creek dialect form]	[Cloverdale dialect form]
mih:ilaʔkʰawna	mih[:]inkʰawna
mih:ilaʔkʰawna	*mih:inkʰawna*
‖mih:ila + ʔahkʰa=win:a‖	‖mih:ila + ʔahkʰa=win:a‖
/mih:ila-ʔkʰa-wna/	/mih:in-kʰa-wna/
west-water-LOC	west-water-LOC
'Dry Creek'	'Dry Creek'

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 ‖ʔahkʰa‖ 'water' (*-ʔkʰa-* and *-kʰa-*) with that seen earlier in (125) with the compound *mih:ilhkʰa* 'ocean', which has ‖ʔahkʰa‖ 'water' surfacing as *-hkʰa*.

In addition to being unstable as the second member of a compound, glottal-initial words may optionally undergo aphesis 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 aphesis in glottal-initial compound

ʔahkʰaho( )ʔwa:ni ~ kʰaho( )ʔwa:ni (Oswalt 1981: 30)
ʔahkʰahoʔwa:ni ~ kʰahoʔwa:ni
‖ʔahkʰa + ʔoh:o=ʔwa:ni‖
/(ʔah)kʰa-ho=ʔwa:ni/
water-hot=LOC
'Skaggs Springs'

[124] The morpheme *=win:a* 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 *-win-* in *x̣awinmfo* 'on the water people' (name for the Southeastern Pomo), as recorded by Moshinsky (1974: 96). (Southeastern Pomo *x̣a* 'water' is cognate with Southern Pomo *ʔahkʰa*, and *mfo* 'human plural' is cognate with Southern Pomo *nopʰ:o* '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).[125]

Table (27): Inflectional case-marking on proper names in Northern Pomo

AGENT	PATIENT	OBLIQUE
-Ø	-t̂uh	-wiʔ

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.[126] O'Connor notes that proper names were seldom used for

[125] O'Connor's transcription system has been converted to the one used throughout this study.
[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 *šo:t̂ʰ*, 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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were all meant to be shared. At the present, they may be accessed at the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages at UC Berkeley in the file Oswalt.001.002.0068.

[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

Christian name	Elizabeth Dollar	Christian name unknown	Olive Fulwider	Nellie Cordova
Relationship to Elizabeth Dollar	Self	Elizabeth Dollar's mother's father's father	Elizabeth Dollar's sister's daughter	Elizabeth Dollar's sister's daughter; Olive Fulwider's younger sister
Southern Pomo	*mukʰ:aṭ̓kʰa:nimen* /mukʰ:aṭ̓=kʰa:ni-men/ dry=LOC-FEM	*mok:oli:yey* /mok:oli:=yey/ curly.haired=AGT	*na:hoʔmen* /na:ho-ʔmen/ ?-FEM or /na:hoʔ-men/ ?-FEM	*ṭʰaǩmen* /ṭʰaǩ-men/ ?-FEM
English translation (if any)	'brazen, bold-woman' (lit: 'dry inside') [Oswalt specifically notes this is a 'nickname']	['curly haired man/one']	No known meaning[128]	No known meaning[129]
Type	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
Source	(O D: ED)	(O D: ED)	(W: OF)	(W: OF)

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 ||-ʔmen||. Olive Fulwider remembers that her mother dropped the feminine suffix for direct address, and this vocative form was *na:ho* ['na:.ho] with no final glottal stop. If the /ʔ/ of *na:hoʔmen* 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 *ṭʰaʔméṅ* '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 ṭʰe:ṭʰe' (the child-speech vocative form of 'mother') and is Elizabeth Dollar's mother, was named *ša:kʰedo* [ʃa:.ˈkʰe.ɾo], 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, *ṭʰaǩmen*, 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, *na:hoʔmen* and *ṭʰaǩmen*, 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 *pañuelo* [pa.ˈɲŭe.lo] 'handkerchief', and the final syllable <-men> is

[131] I have heard Olive Fulwider talk often about her mother calling her *na:ho*.

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 *-meṅ* 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 *-meṅ* is underlyingly a feminine suffix ||-me-|| and the agent case suffix ||-eṅ|| (1994: 380).[132] However, the word for 'daughter' given above has *-med-* before what is presumably the patient case suffix *-en* (i.e. *mahṭik-med-en*).[133] An additional possible allomorph of the feminine suffix, *-md-*, appears in Gifford's record of "kademde or kad'emen' 'g[rand]d[aughter]' (1922: 113).[134] 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 'granddaughter' 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 synchronic 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 *mok:oli:-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 *=ya?* AGENT, *=yačul* PATIENT, and *=yaču?* OBLIQUE might have once been "inflected noun stems" and that the first part of these clitics might be cognate with the Kashaya morpheme *ya?* 'person'; however, she observes that her Northern Pomo consultant does not view the Northern Pomo form "as a meaningful nominal element" (1987: 155). This *ya?* of Kashaya is actually ||-yač-||, which has a final allomorph *ya?* after debuccalization of the final consonat; it is a morpheme that "is common[ly 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).[135] If proper names in Southern Pomo make use of *-yey* as a masculine suffix, this gender associaton 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 sublcass 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

POSSESSIVE PREFIX	ROOT	GENERATION SUFFIX/INFORMAL VOCATIVE	NUMBER	$CASE_1$	$CASE_2$

[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

[ʔ]a:káċen (H ms.)	[ʔ]a:káṭo (H ms.)
ʔa:kaċen	*ʔa:kaṭo*
/ʔa:-ka-ċ-en/	/ʔa:-ka-ṭo/
1-mother's.mother-GS-AGT	1-mother's.mother-PAT
'my mo[ther's] mo[ther]'	'my gr[and]mo[ther]'
[ʔ]ay[:]á:k^{h}e [ʔ]á:men (H ms.)	[ʔ]a:méṭo (H ms.)
ʔay:a:k^{h}e ʔa:men	*ʔa:meṭo*
/ʔay:a-:k^{h}e ʔa:-me-n/	/ʔa:-me-ṭo/
1PL-POSS 1-father-AGT	1-father-PAT
'our fa[ther]'	'my father'

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

<awitgan> (Gifford 1922: 115)	<witkade> (Gifford 1922: 115)
ʔaw:iṭk^{h}an	*wiṭk^{h}ade(ʔ)*[136]
/ʔaw:i-ṭk^{h}an-Ø/	/wi-ṭk^{h}ad-e(ʔ)/
1-spouse-AGT	1-spouse-AGT
'[spouse]'[137]	'[spouse!]'

[136] 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.

[137] 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 *ṭ^{h}aʔmeṅ* '[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 *ʔaw: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 *haʔáwí 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'

<hag'kan> (Gifford 1922: 115)
haǩ:an
/ha-ǩ:a-n/
1-friend-AGT
'C[ousin's]w[ife~]friend'

haǩ:áičon (H ms.)
haǩ:ayčon
/ha-ǩ:a-yčon/
1-friend-PL.PAT
'friends'

There are also affinal kinship terms which do take the more common *ʔa:-* allomorph, such as *ʔa:maċen* ‘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’

míkːaċ (H ms.)
mikːaċ
/mi-kːa-ċ-Ø/
2-mother’s.mother-GS-AGT
‘[thy] mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’

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

méʔ[ːen (H ms.)
meʔːen
/me-ʔːe-n/
2-father-PAT
‘[thy] father’

||miyːa-|| miyːa- ‘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 *miyːa-*. 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 ||-t̂-|| (see §2.6.6.). Examples of the third-person possessive prefix with increment-less kinship roots are given below.

(133) Examples of ||miy:a-|| *miy:a-* ‘his/her/their’ (3-)

miy:áṭʰe (H ms.)	miy:aṭ́íki (H ms.)
miy:aṭʰe	*miy:aṭ́iki*
/miy:a-ṭʰe-Ø/	/miy:a-ṭ́i-ki-Ø/
3-mother-AGT	3-younger.sibling-GS-AGT
‘his mother’	‘his y[ounger] bro[ther or] sis[ter]’

There is a single kinship root which does not lose its laryngeal increment after taking the ||miy:a-|| prefix. This kinship term ||-ǩ:a-|| ~ ||-ǩ:ad-|| ‘friend’ has an underlying geminate consonant which descends from a historic change of *-CVCV... > -CCV..., as evidenced by comparing the modern Southern Pomo form with the Kashaya cognate *ǩaṭʰíṅ* ‘my friend (agentive case)’, which has preserved two distinct consonants and an intervening vowel. Example (134) gives ||miy:a-|| with the root for ‘friend’

(134) Example of ||miy:a-|| *miy:a-* ‘his/her/their’ (3-) with ‘friend’

miy[:]aǩ:an( )wám:u (H ms.)
miy:aǩ:anwam:u
/miy:a-ǩ:an-Ø=wa=m:u/
3-friend-AGT=COP.EVID=3SG
‘it’s his friend’

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 *-k:a-* after being prefixed with *miy:a-*, which is most unexpected because this root can otherwise surface with a singleton consonant after other prefixes (e.g. *ʔa:kaćen* ‘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:uba:kʰe* ‘his’ and the use of the prefix *miy:a-*).

(135) Unexpected occurrence of /:/ after *miy:a-* prefixation

hám:ubá:kʰe miy:ak:aċwám:u (H ms.)
ham:uba:kʰe miy:ak:aċwam:u
/ham:uba-:kʰe miy:a-k:a-ċ=wa=m:u/
3SG.MASC-POSS 3-mother’s.mother-GS=COP.EVID=3SG
‘it’s his mo[ther’s] mo[ther]’

||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.[139] 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 *-:ʈ'iki-* '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 kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey ma:ṭ̓ikí( )sa:ma čahčíba,
miy:aki *kʰaʔbekʰačʰyey* ***ma:ṭ̓ikisa:ma*** *čahčiba*

/miy:a-ki-Ø	kʰaʔbekʰačʰ=yey	ma-:ṭ̓i-ki=sa:ma	čahči-ba/
3-older.bro.-AGT	raptor.species=AGT	3c-y.bro.=beside	sit-S.SEQ

[ʔ]ahčipkʰaywi heʔ[:]éʔwan bákʰ:ay.
ʔahčipkʰaywi heʔ:eʔwan bakʰ:ay

/ʔahči-pkʰay=wi	heʔ:e=ʔwan	bakʰ:ay-Ø/
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

maʔ[:]éƙoʔkáʔma (H ms.)
maʔ:eƙoʔkaʔma
/ma-ʔ:e=ƙo=ʔka=ʔma/
3C-father=COM=INTER=2SG.AGT
'have you a father[?]'

maʔ[:]éƙoʔwáʔa (H ms.)
maʔ:eƙoʔwaʔa
/ma-ʔ:e=ƙo=ʔwa=ʔa/
3C-father=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I have a father'

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 ||-ƙːa|| ~ ||-ƙːad-|| ‘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.

||-ba-ċ-||	*-ba-* *-baː-* *-bʔa-* ‘father’s father, father’s father’s brother’
||-ča-ċ-||	*-ča-* *-čː a-* ‘mother’s father, mother’s father’s brother, mother’s older brother’
||-či-ki-||	*-či-* *-čː i-* ‘father’s younger brother, stepfather, mother’s younger sister’s husband, father’s sister’s son’
||-ču-ċ-||	*-ču-* *-čː u-* ‘mother’s younger brother’
||-dakʰad-||	*-ʔdakd-* *-ʔdakan* *-ṭkʰad-* *-ṭkʰan* ‘spouse’
||-di-ki-||	*-di-* *-dʔi-* ‘older sister’

[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.

||-ka-c̓-|| ~ ||k:a-c̓-|| *-ka- -k:a-*
‘mother’s mother, mother’s mother’s sister’

||-ǩ:a-|| ~ ||-ǩ:ad-|| *-ǩ:a- -ǩ:ad- -ǩ:an*
‘friend, cousin’s wife?’

||-kod-|| *-k:od- -kon*
‘sister’s husband’

||-ma-c̓-|| *-ma- -m:a-*
‘father’s mother, father’s mother’s sister, father’s father’s sister, father's brother’s wife’

||-me-|| ~ ||-ʔe-|| *-me- -ʔ:e-*
‘father’

||-mi-ki-|| ~ ||-ki-|| *-mi- -:ki- -ki-*
‘older brother’

||-mu-c̓-|| *-mu- -m:u-*
‘father’s younger brother’s wife, father’s sister, father’s younger brother’s wife’

||-pʰak-ki-|| *-pʰak-*
‘son’

||-ši-ki-|| *-ši-*
‘mother’s younger sister’

||-šu-c̓-|| *-šu- -š:u-*
‘mother’s older sister’

||-ṭ̓i-ki-|| *-ṭ̓i- -:ṭ̓i-*
‘younger sister, younger brother’

||-ṭʰe-|| ~ ||-č’e-|| *-ṭʰe- -hṭʰe- -č’e-*
‘mother’

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; ||-ṭʰe-|| 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 ||-ċ-|| *-ċ-* and ||-ki-|| *-ki- ~ -ke- ~ -k-* (GS)

There are two generational suffixes which attach directly to the kinship root. The suffix ||-ċ-|| *-ċ-* 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 ||-ċ-|| *-ċ-* 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 *-ċ-* 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 ||-ċ-|| *-ċ-* suffix are those which Southern Pomo culture included within a broader consanguineal category.

The ||-ċ-|| suffix is very ancient within Pomoan; it is reconstructed for Proto Pomo as *-:ċi- ‘one’s own kinsman in generations above ego’ (McLendon 1973: 56). Those kinship terms which take the ||-ċ-|| 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 ||-ċ-|| before the *-ṯo* 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-ċ-en* 1-mother’s.younger.brother-GS-AGT ‘my uncle’ and *ču-ċ-eʔ* 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-ṯ:o* 1-mother’s.brother-GS-AGT ‘my uncle’ and is entirely omitted in *ṯu:-ṯu* 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→Ø/__V rule discussed earlier (§2.6.2.). Examples are given below in (138) - (140) of ||-ki-|| surfacing as *-ke-* before each of these suffixes.

(138) *-ke-* allomorph of ||-ki-|| before the suffix ||-en|| AGENTIVE

[ʔ]a:díken (H ms.)
ʔa:diken
||ʔa:-di-ki-en||
/ʔa:-di-ke-n/
1-older.sister-GS-AGT
'my o[lder] sis[ter]'

(139)*-ke-* allomorph of ||-ki-|| before the suffix ||-e?|| VOCATIVE

díkeʔ (H ms.)
dikeʔ
||di-ki-eʔ||
/di-ke-ʔ/
older.sister-GS-VOC
'o[lder] sis[ster !]'

(140) *-ke-* allomorph of ||-ki-|| before the suffix ||-:kʰe|| POSSESSIVE

[ʔ]a:diké:kʰe čʰeʔ[:]eʼ̂may( )wám:u (H ms.)
ʔa:dike:kʰe čʰeʔ:eʼ̂maywam:u
||ʔa:-di-ki-:kʰe čʰeʔ:eʼ̂may=wa=m:u||
/ʔa:-di-ke-:kʰe čʰeʔ:eʼ̂may=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 /-eʔ/ 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|| PL

[ʔ]ákʰ:o má:ṭ'ikiyačó:ǩoʔwáʔa ~ má:ṭ'ikyačó:ǩoʔwáʔa (H ms.)
*ʔakʰ:o ma:ṭ'i**k**yačo:ǩoʔwaʔa*
||ʔakʰ:o maH-ṭ'i-ki-ya-čo:=ǩo=ʔwa=ʔa||
/ʔakʰ:o ma-:ṭ'i-k-ya-čo:=ǩo=ʔwa=ʔa/
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 ||-ċ-|| generational suffix, ||-ki-|| is ancient and has been recontsructed 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 ||-ːřˑ-||. 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 ||-ːřˑ-||

maːmaʔ
||ma-ːřˑ-eʔ||
/ma-ːma-ʔ/
father's.mother~INFORMAL.VOC-VOC
'[grandma!]'

ṭʰeːṭʰe
||ṭʰe-ːrˑ||
/ṭʰe-ːṭʰe/
mother~INFORMAL.VOC
'[mommy!]'

In addition to reduplication of the root, the informal vocative replaces /č/ with /t̲/, 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: *šiki* '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 /t̲/, and /ṭʰ/ by /t̲ʰ/ (Buckley 1994: 381-382).

(143) Examples of /č/ → /t̪/ with informal vocative

t̪a:t̪aʔ
||ča-:ř-eʔ||
/t̪a-:t̪a-ʔ/
mother's.father~INFORMAL.VOC-VOC
'mo[ther's] fa[ther] baby talk'

t̪u:t̪u ~ t̪u:t̪udeʔ
||ču-:r|| ~ ||ču-:ř-deʔ||
/t̪u-:t̪u-deʔ/
mother's.brother~INFORMAL.VOC-VOC
'[uncle!]'

The reduplicative informal vocative does not apply to kinship roots which take the generational suffix ||-ki-||; however, the informal vocative may be kept distinct from the formal vocative with such roots by not combing the ||-ki-|| with the vocative suffix ||-eʔ|| and thereby preserving the vowel of ||-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 ||-ki-|| GS

diki
||di-ki||
/di-ki/
older.sister-GS.INFORMAL.VOC
'[sister!]'

(145) Formal vocative with ||-ki-|| GS

dikeʔ
||di-ki-eʔ||
/di-ke-ʔ/
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 *mike?* in the formal vocative but *ki:ki* in the informal vocative. (The informal version is clearly reduplicated, as evidence by the /:/ of the first syllable; *ki:ki* is not simply the irregular root ||-ki-|| pluse 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 CASE1 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 CASE2 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]a:díkyačó:kʰe čaw:ánwa (H ms.)
ʔa:dikyačo:kʰe čaw:anwa
||ʔa:-di-ki-ya-čo-:kʰe čaw:an=wa||
/ʔa:-di-k-ya-čo-:kʰe čaw:an=wa/
1-older.sister-GS-PL-OBL-POSS stuff=COP.EVID
'these are my older sisters' [things]'

mídʔikyáčon [ʔ]uhṯéhṯen (H ms.)
midʔikyačon ʔuhṯehṯen
||miH-di-ki-ya-čon ʔuhṯehṯe-Vn||
/mi-dʔi-k-ya-čon ʔuhṯehṯe-n/
2-older.sister-GS-PL-PAT tell-SG.IMP
'tell your o[lder] sisters'

The *-ya-* allomorph of ||-ya-|| PLURAL only occurs after the generational suffixes ||-ċ-|| and ||-ki-||. The allomorph *-y-* is seen elsewhere, as shown in (147) below.[144]

(147) The *-y-* allomorph of ||-ya-|| PLURAL

haǩ:áičon (H ms.)
haǩ:ayčon
||ha-ǩ:a-ya-čon||
/ha-ǩ:a-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, *mi:ki:čo:kʰe* /mi-:ki-:-čo-:kʰe/ 2-older.brother-GS-PL-OBL-POSS 'your older brothers' ', should probably have the apparent /-:-/ 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

mibʔáċyey (H ms.)
*mibʔaċ**yey***
/mi-bʔa-ċ-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:maċyey( )wám:u (H ms.)
hiy:o ʔa:maċ**yey**wam:u
/hiy:o ʔa:-ma-ċ-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

	PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE	NOT PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE
SINGULAR	*-(e)n*	*-Ø*
PLURAL	*-yey*	*-yey*

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

[ʔ]a:čáċen (H ms.)	[ʔ]a:díken (H ms.)
*ʔa:čaċ**en***	*ʔa:dike**n***
||ʔa:-ča-ċ-en||	||ʔa:-di-ki-en||
/ʔa:-ča-ċ-en/	/ʔa:-di-ke-n/
1-mother's.father-GS-AGT	1-older.sister-GS-AGT
'my mo[ther's] fa[ther]'	'my o[lder] sis[ter]'

(150) The agentive case suffix ||-Ø|| on non-first-person-possessed terms

míy:ačaċ (H ms.)	midʔíki (H ms.)
miy:ačaċ	*midʔiki*
||miy:a-ča-ċ-Ø||	||miH-di-ki-Ø||
/miy:a-ča-ċ-Ø/	/mi-dʔi-ki-Ø/
3-mother's.father-GS-AGT	2-older.sister-GS-AGT
'his mo[ther's] fa[ther]'	'your o[lder] sis[ter]'

(151) The agentive case suffix ||-yey|| on plural kinship terms

[ʔ]á:čaċyey (H ms.)	míy:ačáċyey (H ms.)
*ʔa:čaċ**yey***	*miy:ačaċ**yey***
||ʔa:-ča-ċ-yey||	||miy:a-ča-ċ-yey||
/ʔa:-ča-ċ-yey/	/miy:a-ča-ċ-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

	PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE	NOT PREFIXED WITH FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE
SINGULAR	*-t͡o*	*-(e)n*
PLURAL	*-y(a)-čon*	*-y(a)-čon*

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 ||-t̰o|| *-t̰o* on first-person-possessed terms

[ʔ]á:ba̰to (H ms.)	[ʔ]a:mḛ́to (H ms.)
*ʔa:ba̰**to***	*ʔa:mḛ**to***
||ʔa:-ba-t̰o||[146]	||ʔa:-me-t̰o||
/ʔa:-ba-t̰o /	/ʔa:-me-t̰o /
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

máb ʔaċen (H ms.)	míy:amen (H ms.)
*mab ʔaċ**en***	*miy:ame**n***
||maH-ba-ċ-en||	||miy:a-me-en||
/ma-bʔa-ċ-en /	/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

[ʔ]á:kaċyáčon (H ms.)	haǩ:áičon (H ms.)
*ʔa:kaċ**yačon***	*haǩ:a**yčon***
||ʔa:-ka-ċ-ya-čon||	||ha-ǩ:a-ya-čon||
/ʔa:-ka-ċ-ya-čon/	/ha-ǩ:a-y-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 /t̰/ and /t̰:/ in this patient case allomorph when if follows the generational suffix ||-ċ-||; this form might have been mistakenly recorded as a singleton (thereby hiding all traces of ||-ċ-||) or any /:/ manifestation of ||-ċ-|| in this environment might be optional. I have chosen not to represent ||-ċ-|| 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

mak:odan (O I:13)
mak:odan
||maH-kod-an||
/ma-k:od-an/
3-sister's.husband-PAT
'her own brother-in-law'

The vocative case on kinship terms

In addition to the reduplicative informal vocative ||-:ř-|| 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: ||-eʔ|| *-eʔ ~ -ʔ ~ -e* and ||-deʔ|| *-deʔ ~ -de*.[147] These suffixes might have been in free variation on some kinship terms (see the vocative forms for ||-ču-ċ-|| 'mother's brother' in Appendix I), and there is

[147] The vocative suffix ||-deʔ|| 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 ||-de?|| 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).[148]

Table (32): Suffixes which mark the patient case on kinship terms

	VOCATIVE CASE SUFFIXES
SINGULAR	||-e?|| *-eʔ ~ -ʔ ~ -e*
	||-de?|| *-deʔ ~ -de*
PLURAL	||ya-čo-|| *-yačo ~ -yčo*

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 ||-e?|| *-eʔ ~ -ʔ ~ -e* on formal vocative kinship terms

báċeʔ	(H ms.)	kaċe	(W: OF)
baċe<u>ʔ</u>		*kaċe*	
||ba-ċ-eʔ||		||ka-ċ-eʔ||	
/ba-ċ-eʔ/		/ka-ċ-e/	
father's.father-GS-VOC		mother's.mother-GS-PAT	
'fa[ther's] fa[ather!]'		'[grandmother!]'[149]	

[148] The informal vocative affix ||-:ř-|| is omitted from this table and is not considered further in this section.

[149] This comes from the saying *ʔay=ṭo ka-ċ-e* Oh=1SG.PAT mother's.mother-GS-VOC 'Oh grandmother!', an idiomatic exclamation said when feeling a chill.

(157) The vocative suffix ||-de?|| *-de? ~ -de* on formal vocative kinship terms

méde? ~ méde (H ms.)	č'éde (H ms.)
*me**de?***	*č'e**de***
||me-de?||	||č'e-de?||
/me-de?/	/č'e-de/
father-VOC	mother-VOC
'father!'	'mo[ther]!'

(158) The plural + oblique vocative ||-ya-čo|| on plural kinship terms

bać́yáčo (H ms.)	dikyáčo (H ms.)
*bać́**yačo***	*dik**yačo***
||ba-ć́-ya-čo||	||di-ki-ya-čo||
/ba-ć́-ya-čo/	/di-k-ya-čo/
father's.father-GS-PL-VOC[150]	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).

[150] 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

[ʔ]a:mikyáčo ~ mikyáčo (H ms.)
ʔa:mikyačo ~ mikyačo
||ʔa:-mi-ki-ya-čo|| ~ ||mi-ki-ya-čo||
/ʔa:-mi-k-ya-čo/ ~ /mi-k-ya-čo /
1-older.brother-GS-PL-VOC ~ older.brother-GS-PL-VOC
'o[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

haƙ:aičóle (H ms.)
haƙ:ayčole
||ha-ƙ:a-ya-čo-le||
/ha-ƙ: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 ||-deʔ|| to the vocative of the unprefixed form. In this form, the only attested allomorph of ||-deʔ|| 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 tecnonyms 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 míy:ač:aċé:de (H VI: 5)
ka:wiʔyoka miy:ač:aċe:de
/ka:wi=ʔyo-ka miy:a-č:a-ċ-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

	suffix	enclitic
ALLATIVE	*-šan*	
COMITATIVE		*=ǩo*[151]
LOCATIVE ('beside')		*=sa:ma*
POSSESSIVE	*-:kʰe*	
SINGULAR.OBLIQUE	*-e(:)-*	

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 ||-ċ-|| or a consonant-final root must have the singular oblique suffix *-e:-* (which is probably a variant of the singular informal vocative suffix ||-eʔ||) between the final consonant of the base (whether that base be a root+||-ċ-|| or a

[151] 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|| POSS on kinship term with ||-ċ-|| GS

míbʔaċéːkʰe [ʔ]ahčaʔwáːni hwákan (H ms.)
*mibʔaċe**:kʰe** ʔahčaʔwaːni hwakan*
||miH-ba-ċ-e:-:kʰe ʔahča=ʔwaːni huːw-ak-Vn||
/mi-bʔa-ċ-e-:kʰe ʔahča=ʔwaːni 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|| POSS on kinship term with ||-ki-|| GS

midʔikíːkʰeʔka[ ]máːmu (H ms.)
*midʔiki**:kʰe**ʔka maːmu*
||miH-di-ki-:kʰe=ʔka maːmu||
/mi-dʔi-ki-:kʰe=ʔka maːmu/
2-older.sister-GS-POSS=INTER DEM
'is this your sister's'

(164) Oblique case marker ||-:kʰe|| POSS attached to vowel-final kinship root

máːmuʔwa [ʔ]aːčʼéːkʰe čʰeʔ[ː]éî̯may (H ms.)
*maːmuʔwa ʔaːčʼe**:kʰe** čʰeʔːeî̯may*
||maːmu=ʔwa ʔaː-čʼe-:kʰe čʰeʔːeî̯may||
/maːmu=ʔwa ʔaː-čʼe-:kʰe čʰeʔːeî̯may/
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.[152] 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

mač:áċyačó:**šan** hač':ow (H V: 4)
*mač:aċyačo:**šan** hač':ow*
||maH-ča-ċ-ya-čo:-šan hač':o-w||
/ma-č:a-ċ-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 ||-ǩo|| COMITATIVE

má:ṭ̓ikiyačó:ǩoʔwáʔa (H ms.)
*ma:ṭ̓ikiyačo:**ǩo**ʔwaʔa*
||maH-ṭ̓i-ki-ya-čo:=ǩo=ʔwa=ʔa||
/ma-:ṭ̓i-ki-ya-čo:=ǩo=ʔwa=ʔa/
3c-younger.sibling-GS-PL-OBL=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I have 2 y[ounger] siblings'

(167) Plural kinship term with oblique case marker ||=sa:ma|| LOCATIVE

miǩ:áičosá:ma čí(:)y[:]on (H ms.)
*miǩ:ayčo**sa:ma** či:y:on*
||miH-ǩ:a-y-čo=sa:ma či:y:o-Vn||
/mi-ǩ:a-y-čo=sa:ma či:y:o-n/
2-friend-PL-OBL=LOC sit-SG.IMP
'sit next to your friends!'

[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 ||-:kʰe|| POSSESSIVE

[ʔ]a:díkyačó:kʰe čaw:ánwa (H ms.)
ʔa:dikyačo:kʰe čaw:anwa
||ʔa:-di-ki-ya-čo-:kʰe čaw:an=wa||
/ʔa:-di-k-ya-čo-:kʰe čaw:an=wa/
1-older.sister-GS-PL-OBL-POSS stuff=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

CASE → PREFIX ↓		AGENTIVE	PATIENT	INFORMAL VOCATIVE	FORMAL VOCATIVE	EMPHATIC FORMAL VOCATIVE	TECNONYMIC VOCATIVE	OBLIQUE
‖ʔa:-‖ ~ ‖ʔaw:i-‖ ~ ‖wi-‖ ~ ‖ha-‖ (FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE PREFIX)	SG	*-(e)n*	*-t̪o*			*-e(ʔ) ~ -de(ʔ)*		*NONE ~ -e(:)-*
	PL	*-yey*	*y(a)-čon*			*y(a)-čo ~ y(a)-čo-le*		*-čo(:)-*
‖miH-‖, ‖miy:a-‖, ‖maH-‖ (NON-FIRST-PERSON POSSESSIVE PREFIXES)	SG	*-Ø*	*-(e)n ~ -an*				*-e:-de(ʔ)*[153]	*NONE ~ -e(:)-*
	PL	*-yey*	*y(a)-čon*				*???*	*-čo(:)-*
NO POSSESSIVE PREFIX	SG			‖-:ř-‖ ~ ‖-:ř-‖+*-e(ʔ)* ~ ‖-:ř-‖+*-de(ʔ)*	*-e(ʔ)~ -de(ʔ)*			
	PL			*???*	*y(a)-čo*			

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)ṅ* and the patient case of kinship terms without the first-person possessive prefix is *-el* (Buckley 1994: 10, 380-383). Both *ṅ and *l 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

kʰaʔbéyey čú:maṭ̓čon [ʔ]óh:ow [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ċú:ʔu (H V: 3)
*kʰaʔbe**yey** ču:maṭ̓**čon** ʔoh:ow ʔaṯ:i:kʰe ċu:ʔu*
||kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maṭ̓=yčon ʔoh:o-w ʔaṯ:i-:kʰe ċu:ʔu||
/kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maṭ̓=čon ʔoh:o-w ʔaṯ:i-:kʰe ċu:ʔu/
rock=AGT gray.squirrel=PAT give-PFV 3C.SG-POSS arrow
'Rock handed his arrow to Squirrel'

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).[154] Northern Pomo has the morphemes *=ya?*, *=yačul*, and *=yaču?* which mark agentive, patient, and oblique cases respectively (O'Connor 1987: 155).[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|| PL.AGT and ||=yey|| AGT split:

Diachronic path for ||-yey|| PL.AGT
*-aya=yač > *-ya=yač > *-ya=yay > *-y:ay > *-yay > -yey

Diachronic path for ||=yey|| AGT
*=yač > *=yay > yey

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

[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 *-ya?* after debuccalization in Kashaya.
[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 *ʔač:ay* '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 ||ya-čon||, which I have heretofore treated as two morphemes. On the basis of Pomoan cognates, this morpheme likely traveled a similar diachronic path:

Diachronic path for ||-ya-čon|| PL-PAT
*-aya=yačol > *-ya=yačol > *-y:ačol > *-yačol > *yačon > 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. *ʔa:ma* 2SG versus *ʔa:ma-ya* 2-PL). This is the analysis adopted herein, but the alternate analysis, namely, that ||-ya-čon|| PLURAL-PATIENT is actually the portmanteau ||-yačon|| 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 marded 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 *-Ø* morpheme as I do for the kinship terms. Only one pronoun, *ʔaṭ:iyey*, shows overt agentive case marking and it is also the only one with the *-:čon*

unrelated morphemes which mark the patient case: *-(a)n*, *-t̲o*, and *-:čon* (which is restricted to the third-person plural coreferential pronoun). In the first and second-person 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 third-person 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 *–šan* ALLATIVE, *=ǩo* COMITATIVE, =sa:ma LOCATIVE ('beside'), =:k^{h}e POSSESSIVE, morphemes which were already discussed in the section on kinship terms (§2.8.1.3.5.); the oblique pronominal stems may also take =t̲on 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).

which translates as ‘over’ or ‘because of’ when applied to pronouns (e.g. *mi:ma:-t̪ʰu ʔaw:i=t̪on* cry-PROH 1SG.OBL=LOC ‘don’t cry over me!’).

Table (35): Southern Pomo pronouns[157]

PERSON↓	NUMBER→ / CASE→	SINGULAR AGENTIVE	SINGULAR PATIENT	SINGULAR OBLIQE	PLURAL AGENTIVE	PLURAL PATIENT	PLURAL OBLIQE
1		*ʔa:ʔa* *ʔa:* *=ʔa*	*ʔaṭ:o* *=ʔṭo* *=ṭo*	*ʔaw:i-* *ʔaw-* *=ʔkʰe* *=kʰe*	*ʔa:ya* *=ʔya* *=ya*	*ʔa:yan* *=ʔyan* *=yan*	*ʔay:a-* *ʔya-* *ya-*
2		*ʔa:ma* *=ʔma* *=ma*	*mi:ṭo* *=mṭo* *(=mṭa)*	*mi-* *(me-)* *=m-*	*ʔa:maya* *=ʔmaya* *=maya*	*ʔa:mayan* *=ʔmayan* *=mayan*	*ʔa:maya-* *=ʔmaya-* *=maya-*
3	MASC	*ham:u*[158] *=m:u* *=mu*	*ham:uban* *=m:uban* *=muban*	*ham:uba-* *=m:uba-* *=muba-*	*ham:uhča* *=m:uhča* *=muhča*	*ham:uhčan* *=m:uhčan* *=muhčan*	*ham:uhča-* *=m:uhča-* *=muhča-*
	FEM	*ham:an* *=m:an* *=man*	*ham:adan* *=m:adan* *=madan*	*ham:ada-* *=m:ada-* *=mada-*			
3COREFERENTIAL		*ʔaṭ:i* *=ʔṭi* *=ṭi*	*ʔaṭ:iṭo* *=ʔṭiṭo* *=ṭiṭo*	*ʔaṭ:i-* *ʔṭi-* *=ṭi-*	*ʔaṭ:iyey* *=ʔṭiyey* *=ṭiyey*	*ʔaṭ:i:čon* *=ʔṭi:čon* *=ṭi:čon*	*ʔaṭ:i:čo-* *=ʔṭi:čo-* *=ṭi:čo-*

In addition to the morphemes already discussed, the oblique stems of pronouns may be suffixed with a special emphatic reflexive morpheme *-mhya* ‘-self’.[159]

Table (35) does not include all morphemes which serve as pronouns. There is the morpheme *wi(:)-*, which is in free variaion 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

[157] This table is a 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 pronoouns. Examples of this *wi(:)-* (and different forms in different cases) are given below in (170) - (172).

(170) Alternate 3SG.M pronoun *wi(:)-* 'he'

wíʔwáʔt̂o kʰáʔbe ba:nét̂way (H ms.)
wiʔwaʔt̂o kʰaʔbe ba:net̂way
/wi=ʔwa=ʔt̂o kʰaʔbe ba:ne-t̂-way-Ø/
3SG.M=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT rock throw-PL.ACT-DIR-PFV
'it's he who threw rocks at me'

(171) Alternate 3SG.F pronoun *wi:man* 'she'

waʔ[:]an mi:máča wí:man (H ms.)
waʔ:an mi:mača wi:man
/waʔ:an mi:mač-a wi:man/
now cry-EVID 3SG.F
'she's starting to cry'

mi:ma:t̂[ʰ]í:baʔwa wí:man (H ms.)
mi:ma:t̂ʰi:baʔwa wi:man
/mi:ma:-t̂ʰ-i:ba=ʔwa wi:man/
cry-NEG-COND=COP.EVID 3SG.F
'she won't cry'

(172) Free variation with *wi:ba:kʰe ~ ham:uba:kʰe* 'his'

wí:ba:kʰe ~ hám:ubá:kʰe miy:ak:aċwám:u (H ms.)
wi:ba:kʰe ~ ham:uba:kʰe miy:ak:aċwam:u
/wi:ba-:kʰe ~ ham:uba-:kʰe miy:a-k:a-ċ=wa=m:u/
3SG.M-POSS ~ 3SG.M-POSS 3-mother's.mother-GS=COP.EVID=3SG
'it's his mo[ther's] mo[ther]'

There are also three enigmatic morphemes which are in free variation with *ham:uhča-* 3PL-, each of which is listed below:

ʔahčuǩun-	‘they’ ~ ‘people (suppletive plural of *ʔahčahčay* ‘human; Indian’); they’
mahčuǩun-	‘they’
wihčuǩun-	‘they’

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 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. Encliticized 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

kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey dó:lon čóh:on (H VI: 1)
kʰaʔbekʰač'yey do:lon čoh:on
/kʰaʔbekʰač'=yey do:lon čoh:on-Ø/
raptor.species=AGT bobcat marry-PFV
'Fish Hawk[160] married Wildcat'

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

mihyanákʰ:eʔwamt̂áʔa (H VIII: 6)
mihyanakʰ:eʔwamt̂aʔa
/mihyana-kʰ:e=ʔwa=mt̂a=ʔa/
kill-FUT=COP.EVID =2SG.PAT=1SG.AGT
'I'm going to kill you'

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 *kʰaʔbekʰač'* '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 *ʔaṯ:i* 3C.SG.AGT and *ʔaṯ:i-* 3C.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 *muʔťakaw* ‘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) *ʔaṯ:i* 3C.SG.AGT within a nominalized clause in a sentence

[ʔ]aṯ[:]i ċíhṯa mí:haǩ( )wanṯóŋhkʰle muʔťákaw (H I: 4)
*[**ʔaṯ:i** ċihṯa mi:haǩwanṯonhkʰle]$_{NP}$ muʔťakaw*
/ʔaṯ:i ċihṯa mi:haǩ=wan=ṯonhkʰle muʔťa-ka-w/
3C.SG.AGT bird bring=DET.OBJ=some heat-CAUS-PFV
‘(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 *-t̂o* suffix to form the patient case. It must be combined with the interrogative clitic *=ka*. 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

čaʔ[:]áʔkam:u	[ʔ]áṭʰ:a	[ʔ]ahsóduy (H ms.)
čaʔ:aʔkam:u	*ʔaṭʰ:a*	*ʔahsoduy*
/čaʔ:a=ʔka=m:u	ʔaṭʰ:a	ʔahso-duy-Ø/
who=INTER=3SG	gravel	throw.many.small-DIR-PFV
'who threw the gravel[ʔ]'		

(177) Interrogative pronoun 'whom' in patient case

čaʔ:aṭ̂oʔkaʔma dihkaw	(Halpern 1984: 7)
čaʔ:aṭ̂oʔkaʔma dihkaw	
/čaʔ:a-t̂o=ʔka=ʔma	dihka-w/
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

CASE⟶ GLOSS↓	SUBJECTIVE	OBJECTIVE
'that, this, it, those, these, they (vague demonstrative or anaphoric reference)'	mu:	mul
'this, these (the closer object)'	maʔu	maʔal
'that, those (the further object)'	haʔu	haʔal

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 *ʔiš:aw* '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

ma: ʔíš:aw (H ms.)
ma: ʔiš:aw
/ma: ʔiš:a-w/
DEM.AGT take.spouse-PFV
'he takes her, reclaims her'

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

ma:muʔwaʔkʰe [ʔ]a:diken (H ms.)
ma:muʔwaʔkʰe ʔa:diken
/ma:mu=ʔwa=ʔkʰe ʔa:-di-ke-n/
DEM.AGT=COP.EVID=1SG.POSS 1-older.sister-GS-AGT
'this is my o[lder] sis[ter]'

There is also a demonstrative, *ma:ʔan*, which is clearly cognate with Kashaya *maʔu* and *maʔal*, though how it differs from *ham:u/ham:un*, *ma:*, and *ma:mu* in terms of semantics is unclear. The final [n] of *ma:ʔan* is probably *-(a)n*, the patient case suffix that is cognate with Kashaya *-al*. Example (180) gives an instance of *ma:ʔan* as the patient of a clause.

(180) The demonstrative *ma:ʔan* as the patient of a clause

má:ʔan yá:laʔwa hodʔómʔdu (H ms.)
ma:ʔan ya:laʔwa hodʔomʔdu
/ma:ʔa-n ya:laʔwa hodʔo-mʔdu/
DEM-PAT always=COP.EVID handle-ʔ[162]
'he always handles this'

Example (181) provides another instance of *ma:ʔan* in which it is non-agentive.

(181) The demonstrative *ma:ʔan*

čá:dun má[:]ʔan [ʔ]áṯ:o héʔ[:]e (H IV: 7)
ča:dun ma:ʔan ʔaṯ:o heʔ:e
/ča:dun ma:ʔan ʔaṯ:o heʔ:e/
look-SG.IMP DEM-PAT 1SG.PAT head.hair
'Look at this hair of mine'
[perhaps: 'Look at this, my hair!']

There is also an additional demonstrative *hi:ʔin*, 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 *hi:ʔin*.

(182) The demonstrative *hi:ʔin*

hí:ʔinnaṯi dan:áṯ[ʰ]u (H ms.)
hi:ʔinnaṯi dan:aṯʰu
/hi:ʔin=naṯi dan:a-ṯʰu/
DEM=but cover-PROH
'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:ʔin*

hi:ʔin:á̱ti duk:elhé:t̲ʰo̱t̓ kʰaʔbéyey (H VIII: 6)
hi:ʔin:a̱ti duk:elhe:t̲ʰo̱t̓ kʰaʔbeyey
/hi:ʔi-n=na̱ti duk:elhe:-t̲ʰo̱t̓ kʰaʔbe=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

AGENT	PATIENT	Kashaya cognates
ham:u	*ham:un*	*mu: / mul*
ma: ~ ma:mu	*ma:ʔan*	*maʔu / maʔal*
[hi:ʔi]	*hi:ʔin*	*haʔu / haʔal*

The form hi:ʔi is postulated on the basis of *hi:ʔin*; 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

INSTRUMENTAL PREFIX	PLURAL ACT PREFIX	ROOT	REDUPLICATIVE AFFIXES	PLURAL ACT INFIX/SUFFX	DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES	VALENCE-CHANGING SUFFIXES	TAM

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. *čoh:o-y* lie.with.someone-SEM 'to lie with (someone) once' versus *čoh:on* '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. *šuhnaʟ̓-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…, CV:CV…, CVC:V…).

be further subdivided into those which are both a root and a stem (e.g. *ċiʔːi-* ‘to do or make’) and those which are only a root (e.g. *-kːelhe-* ‘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: ||-kːelhe-|| ‘to be hard/painful to do; give up trying to do’
sample prefix + root combination:
dekːelːaw (O D: EA)
dekːelːaw
||di-kːelhe-ala-w||
/de-kːel-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.

(186) monosyllabic roots with narrow meaning

root: ||-ċ:a-|| ‘to break’
sample prefix + root combinations:

čaċ:aw	(O D: ED)	šuċ:aw	(O D: ED)
čaċ:aw		*šuċ:aw*	
||ča-ċ:a-w||		||šu-ċ:a-w||	
/ča-ċ:a-w/		/šu-ċ:a-w/	
with.butt-break-PFV		by.pulling-break-PFV	
‘to sit on and break (a spring)’		‘break in two by pulling’	

(187) 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)	ʔus:un	(O D: ED)
mus:un		*ʔus:un*	
||mu-s:uN-Ø||		||hu-s:uN-Ø||	
/mu-s:un-Ø/		/ʔu-s: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. *mi:ṭi-* 'one to lie (down)' vs. *ba:ṭi-* '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 *ʔalhoǩoy-* '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 *hʔo-w* 'give (several)' with its Southern Pomo cognate *ʔoh: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 millenia 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: ||-ċ:a-|| 'to break', ||-hnaṯ-|| 'try, investigate', and ||-ʔṯ̓a-|| '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'.[167] 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.

||ba-|| ba- 'mouth, snout, beak, face striking or pushing against something'

(188) ||ba-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaʦ̲-|| 'try, investigate'

<bahnat'> (O D: EA)
bahnaʦ̲'
||ba-hnaʦ̲-Ø||
/ba-hnaʦ̲'-Ø/
by.poking-try-PFV
'to test (path) with cane by poking (as in going through swamp)'

(189) ||ba-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔʦ̲'a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel'

<ba?t'aw> (O D: ED)
baʔʦ̲'aw
||ba-ʔʦ̲'a-w||
/ba-ʔʦ̲'a-w/
by.poking-feel-PFV
'to poke with a stick'

[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 ||-hnaṭ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<bihnat'> (O D: EA)
bihnaṭ̂'
||bi-hnaṭ̂-Ø||
/bi-hnaṭ̂'-Ø/
with.lips-try-PFV
'to taste (grapes)'

(191) ||bi-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṭ̂'a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel'

<bi?t'aw> (W: OF; O D: ED)
biʔṭ̂'aw
||bi-ʔṭ̂'a-w||
/bi-ʔṭ̂'a-w/
with.lips-perceive-PFV
'to taste (good)'

||da-|| da- 'palm of hand, push, waves, fog; many projecting objects'[168]

This prefix has taken on the meaning of 'by sight' in some verbs (see *daʔṭ̂'aw* 'to find' below).

(192) ||da-|| prefixed to the root ||-ċ:a-|| 'to break'

<das'*ayaw> (O D)
daċ:ayaw
||da-ċ:a-ya-w||
/da-ċ:a-ya-w/
with.palm-break-DEFOC-PFV
'broken'

[168] 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 ||-hnaṯ̂-|| ‘try, investigate’

<dahnat’> (O D: EA)
dahnaṯ̂’
||da-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/da-hnaṯ̂’-Ø/
with.palm-try-PFV
‘to push s[ome]t[thing] (to see how heavy it is)’

(194) ||da-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṯ̂a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<da?t’aw> (O D: EA)
daʔṯ̂aw
||da-ʔṯ̂a-w ||
/da-ʔṯ̂’a-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 ||-ċ:a-|| ‘to break’

díċ:aw (H VIII: 6)
diċ:aw
||di-ċ:a-w||
/di-ċ:a-w/
by.fall-break-PFV
‘he breaks w[ith] body’

(196) ||di-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| ‘try, investigate’

<?ahay dihna*ka*li> (O D: EA)
ʔah:ay dihna:ka:li
||ʔah:ay di-hnaṯ̂-ka:li||
/ʔah:ay di-hna:-ka-:li/
stick by.gravity-try-CAUS-D.SEQ
‘He dropped the stick (testing it)...”

||du-|| du- ~ do- 'finger, work, action'

(197) ||du-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaʈ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<duhnat'> (O D: EA)
duhnaʈ̂'
||du-hnaʈ̂-Ø||
/du-hnaʈ̂'-Ø/
by.finger-try-PFV
'to feel (peaches) to see if ripe'

(198) ||du-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔʈ̂'a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel'

<du?t'aw> (O D: ED)
duʔʈ̂'aw
||du-ʔʈ̂'a-w ||
/du-ʔʈ̂'a-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 ||-ċ:a-|| 'to break'

<mas'*an> (O D: ED)
maċ:an
||ma-ċ:a-Vn||
/ma-ċ:a-n/
by.wrist.twist-break-SG.IMP
'Break in two with a twist of wrist!'

(200) ||ma-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaʈ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<mahnat'du> (O D: EA)
mahnaʈ̂'du
||ma-hnaʈ̂-ad-u||
/ma-hnaʈ̂'-d-u/
with.foot-try-DIR-PFV
'to feel around with foot (testing path)'

(201) ||ma-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔt̓a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<ma?t’aw> (O D: ED)
maʔt̓aw
||ma-ʔt̓a-w||
/ma-ʔt̓a-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 ||-hnat̓-|| ‘try, investigate’

<mi?di$ wan ton(h)k^hle mihnatin> (O D: EA)
miʔdišwant̓onhkʰle mihnat̓in
||miʔdiš=wan=t̓onhkʰle mi-hnat̓-Vn||
/miʔdiš=wan=t̓onhkʰle mi-hnat̓-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 ||-ʔt̓a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<k’o?di mi?t’aw> (O D: ED)
ǩoʔdi miʔt̓aw
||ǩoʔdi miʔt̓aw||
/ǩoʔdi miʔt̓aw/
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 ||-hnat̓-|| ‘try, investigate’

<?ahk^ha muhnat’> (O D)
muhnat̓
||ʔahkʰa mu-hnat̓-Ø||
/ʔahkʰa mu-hnat̓-Ø/
water with.mind?-try-PFV
‘to try out (a swift river to see if it is safe)’

(205) ||mu-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔt̓̂a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<mu?t’aw> (O D: ED)
muʔt̓̂aw
||mu-ʔt̓̂a-w||
/mu-ʔt̓̂a-w/
with.heat-perceive-PFV
‘to be cooked’[169]

||pʰa-|| pʰa- ‘long object move lengthwise into contact with; with hand’[170]

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 *paʔc̓iwč̓ay* ‘policeman’).

(206) ||pʰa-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔc̓i-|| ‘catch hold’

<p^ha?s’iw> (O D: ED)
pʰaʔc̓iw
||pʰa-ʔc̓i-w||
/pʰa-ʔc̓i-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 ||-hnaṯ̂-|| ‘try, investigate’

<p^hihnac*iy> (O D: ED)
pʰihnač̓:iy
||pʰi-hnaṯ̂-čič̓-Ø||
/pʰi-hnač̓-čiy-Ø/
by.sight-try-REFL-PFV
‘to give a quick investigatory look back’

[169] The root ||-ʔt̓̂a-|| does not translate well as ‘perceive’ in this stem.
[170] See footnote 168.

(208) ||pʰi-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔt̓a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<k’o?di p^hi?t’aw> (O D: ED)
ǩoʔdi pʰiʔt̓aw
||ǩoʔdi pʰi-ʔt̓a-w||
/ǩoʔdi pʰi-ʔt̓a-w/
good by.sight-perceive-PFV
‘to look good’

||pʰu-|| pʰu- ~ pʰo- ‘blow, burn transitive’

(209) ||pʰu-|| prefixed to the root ||-c̓:a-|| ‘to break’

<p^hus’*aw> (O D: ED)
pʰuc̓:aw
||pʰu-c̓:a-w||
/pʰu-c̓:a-w/
by.blowing-break-PFV
‘wind to break off one (or branch just fall off)’

(210) ||pʰa-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔt̓a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<p^hu?t’aw> (O D: ED)
maʔt̓aw
||pʰu-ʔt̓a-w||
/pʰu-ʔt̓a-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).

||ka-|| ka- 'hard opposed forces, teeth, jaw, pliers, chew, eat, pry'

(211) ||ka-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<kahnat'> (O D: EA)
kahnaṯ̂'
||ka-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/ka-hnaṯ̂'-Ø/
with.teeth-try-PFV
'to taste'[172]

(212) ||ka-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṯ̂a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel'

<ka?t'aw> (O D: ED)
kaʔṯ̂'aw
||ka-ʔṯ̂'a-w||
/ka-ʔṯ̂'a-w/
with.jaws-perceive-PFV
'to talk to s[ome]o[ne] in no mood to talk'

||si-|| si- ~ se- 'water, rain, tongue, slip, float, drink, whistle, whisper; cut'

(213) ||si-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<sihnat'> (O D: ED)
sihnaṯ̂'
||si-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/si-hnaṯ̂'-Ø/
by.drinking-try-PFV
'sip'

(214) ||si-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṯ̂a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel'

<si?t'aw> (O D: ED)
maʔṯ̂'aw
||si-ʔṯ̂'a-w||
/si-ʔṯ̂'a-w/
involving.liquid-perceive-PFV
'to taste liquid'

[172] Full translation of entry from: "(sounds like to taste; but /bihnat'/ is more common)" (O D)

||ša-|| ša- ‘long object move lengthwise into; through a membrane, skin, net, sieve’

(215) ||ša-|| prefixed to the root ||-ċ:a-|| ‘to break’

<$as’*aw> (O D: ED)
šaċ:aw
||ša-ċ:a-w||
/ša-ċ: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 ||-ċ:a-|| ‘to break’

<$us’*aw> (O D: ED)
šuċ:aw
||šu-ċ:a-w||
/šu-ċ:a-w/
by.pulling-break-PFV
‘to break in two by pulling’

(217) ||šu-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| ‘try, investigate’

<$uhnat’> (O D: EA)
šuhnaṯ̂
||šu-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/šu-hnaṯ̂-Ø/
by.pulling-try-PFV
‘to test by pulling’

(218) ||šu-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṯ̂a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<$u?t’aw> (O D: ED)
šuʔṯ̂aw
||šu-ʔṯ̂a-w||
/šu-ʔṯ̂a-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 ||-hnaṯ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<c^hihnat'> (O D: EA)
čʰihnaṯ̂'
||čʰi-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/čʰi-hnaṯ̂'-Ø/
by.handle-try-PFV
'to test a backpack; try out pack'

||ča-|| ča- 'rear end, massive object, knife, sit, back up'

(220) ||ča-|| prefixed to the root ||-ċ:a-|| 'to break'

<cas'*aw> (O D: ED)
čaċ:aw
||ča-ċ:a-w||
/ča-ċ:a-w/
with.butt-break-PFV
'to sit on and break (a spring)'

(221) ||ča-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<cahnat'> (O D: EA)
čahnaṯ̂'
||ča-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/ča-hnaṯ̂'-Ø/
with.massive.obj.-try-PFV
'to test weight of large object by putting shoulder to it and pushing'

(222) ||ča-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṯ̂a-|| 'seem, perceive, feel'

<ca?t'aw> (O D: ED)
čaʔṯ̂'aw
||ča-ʔṯ̂'a-w||
/ča-ʔṯ̂'a-w/
with.butt-perceive-PFV
'to feel s[ome]t[hing] with butt'

||ču-|| ču- ~ čo- 'non-long object, rock, head; flow; shoot, gamble; vegetative growth'

(223) ||ču-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| 'try, investigate'

<cuhnat'> (O D: EA)
čuhnaṯ̂
||ču-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/ču-hnaṯ̂-Ø/
by.shooting-try-PFV
'to try out a gun on a target'

||ha-|| ha- ~ ʔa- '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:iṯ̂-|| 'fan'

<hal*it> (O D: EA)
hal:iṯ̂
||ha-l:iṯ̂-Ø||
/ha-l:iṯ̂-Ø/
with.long.obj.through.air-fan-PFV
'to wave (branch) to chase flies'

||hi-|| hi- ~ he- ~ ʔi- ~ ʔe- 'with unspecific part of body; without agent'[173]

(225) ||hi-|| prefixed to the root ||-ċ:a-|| 'to break'

<ma*kina his'*aw> (O D: ED)
ma:kina hiċ:aw
||ma:kina hi-ċ:a-w||
/ma:kina hi-ċ:a-w/
machine without.agent-break-PFV
'The car broke down.'

[173] This is my own definition.

(226) ||hi-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| ‘try, investigate’

<?ihnat’> (O D: ED)
ʔihnaṯ̂’
||hi-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/ʔi-hnaṯ̂’-Ø/
without.agent-try-PFV
‘to weigh’

||hu-|| hu- ~ ho- ~ ʔu- ~ ʔo- ‘sound, speak, hear’

(227) ||hu-|| prefixed to the root ||-hnaṯ̂-|| ‘try, investigate’

<?uhnat’> (O D)
ʔuhnaṯ̂’
||hu-hnaṯ̂-Ø||
/ʔu-hnaṯ̂’-Ø/
with.speech-try-PFV
‘to ask a question’

(228) ||hu-|| prefixed to the root ||-ʔṯ̂a-|| ‘seem, perceive, feel’

<huʔt’aw> (O D: ED)
huʔṯ̂aw
||hu-ʔṯ̂a-w||
/hu-ʔṯ̂a-w/
by.sound-perceive-PFV
‘to hear’

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 ||-c̓:a-|| is gone. (The plural act prefix is in bold and underlined.)

(229) The plural act prefix ||-:lv-|| on the verb root ||-c̓:a-|| 'break'

kʰa:lé?wan kú?mu di:lác̓aw, kʰa?béyey (H VIII: 6)
*kʰa:le?wan ku?mu di:**la**c̓aw, kʰa?beyey*
||kʰa:le=?wan ku?mu di-:lv-c̓:a-w kʰa?be=yey||
/kʰa:le=?wan ku?mu di-:la-c̓a-w kʰa?be=yey/
tree=DET.OBJ whole by.fall-PL.ACT-break-PFV rock=AGT
'He broke them all (with his body), the Rock'

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 ||-c̓: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

kʰá:le di:lác̓kaw (H VIII: 6)
*kʰa:le di:la**c̓**kaw*
||kʰa:le di-:lv-c̓:a-ka-w||
/kʰa:le di-:la-c̓-ka-w/
tree by.fall-PL.ACT-break-CAUS-PFV
'He broke all the trees'

||-t̰-|| ~ ||-t̰a-|| <t̰> ~ <t̰a> ~ <t̰'> ~ -t̰- ~ -t̰a- ~ -t̰'- ~ -:- ~ -Ø- plural act affix (infix~suffix)

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 /-t̰ʼ-/ in coda position, whether pre-consonantally within a word or in word-final position. Elsewhere it may surface as /-t̰-/ or /-t̰a-/. 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... + ||-t̰-|| ~ ||-t̰a-|| → CV:CV-||-t̰-|| ~ ||-t̰a-||...

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 ||-t̰-|| ~ ||-t̰a-||

[ʔ]ahkʰa čahčawa	[ʔ]ahkʰa čaːčat̰a
ʔahkʰa čahčawa	*ʔahkʰa čaːčat̰a*
/ʔahkʰa čahča-wa/	/ʔahkʰa ča:ča-t̰-a/
water rise-EVID	water rise-PL.ACT-EVID
‘creek is rising’	‘creeks are rising’

(232) Intransitive verbs with and without the plural act affix ||-t̰-|| ~ ||-t̰a-||

[ʔ]ahčʰaw	[ʔ]aːčʰat̰ʼ
ʔahčʰaw	*ʔaːčʰat̰ʼ*
/ʔahčʰa-w/	/ʔaːčʰa-t̰ʼ-Ø/
fall-PFV	fall-PL.ACT-PFV
‘fall over’	‘sev[eral] 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 ||-t̲̂-|| ~ ||-t̲̂a-||. 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 ||-t̲̂-|| ~ ||-t̲̂a-|| on the verb *dihka-* 'to give one object'

dihkan	dihkat̲̂in
dihkan	*di:kat̲̂in*
/dihka-n/	/di:ka-t̲̂-in/
give.one.obj.-SG.IMP	give.one.obj.-PL.ACT-SG.IMP
'give (one obj. to one person)!	'give (one to each)!'

When the ||-t̲̂-|| variant of the plural act affix comes directly before another consonant, it surfaces as /:/, as seen in (234) below.

(234) /-:-/ allomorph of ||-t̲̂-||

ha:čá:čiw (H ms.)
ha:ča:čiw
||ha-hča-t̲̂-či-w||
/ha:ča-:-či-w/
fly-PL.ACT-SEM-PFV
'birds (flying around) land'

When the ||-t̲̂-|| 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 ||-t̰-||

ċíht̰a ha:čáčwa	(H ms.)
ċiht̰a ha:čačwa	
||ċiht̰a hahča-t̰-či-a||[174]	
/ċiht̰a	ha:ča-Ø-č-wa/
bird	fly-PL.ACT-SEM-EVID
'the birds have landed'	

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. –HCVC- → -HCV<PL.ACT>C-). An example of the plural act affix variant ||-t̰a-|| surfacing as an infix is presented below in the verb stem *ʔahloƙ-* 'one (piece) to fall off' (plural act in bold).

(236) Example verb with and without ||-t̰-|| PL.ACT

[without plural act]		[with plural act]	
[ʔ]ahloƙo	(Halpern 1984: 17)	[ʔ]a:lhot̰aƙ	(Halpern 1984: 17)
ʔahloƙo		*ʔa:lhot̰aƙ*	
/ʔahloƙ-o/		/ʔa:lho<t̰a>ƙ-Ø/	
piece.to.fall-EVID		piece.to.fall<PL.ACT>-PFV	
'one (piece) falls off'		'(pieces) drop off'	

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.[175]

[174] 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 ||-t̂-|| ~ ||-t̂a-||

[without plural act]		[with plural act]	
[ʔ]óhkon	(H ms.)	[ʔ]o:kót̂in	(H ms.)
ʔohkon		*ʔo:kot̂in*	
||ʔohko-Vn||		||ʔohko-t̂-Vn||	
/ʔohko-n/		/ʔo:ko-t̂-in/	
pass-SG.IMP		pass-PL.ACT-SG.IMP	
'1 pass 1!'		'1 pass sev[eral]'	

(238) Singular imperative with and without ||-t̂-|| ~ ||-t̂a-||

[without plural act]		[with plural act]	
[ʔ]ohkóle	(H ms.)	[ʔ]o:kó:le	(H ms.)
ʔohkole		*ʔo:ko:le*	
||ʔohko-le||		||ʔohko-t̂-le||	
/ʔohko-le/		/ʔo:ko-:-le/	
pass-PL.IMP		pass-PL.ACT-SG.IMP	
'2 pass 1!'		'2 pass sev[eral]!'	

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

[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.[176] 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.

(239) 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!'

(240) ||-t̲̂-|| PL.ACT + ||-le|| PL.IMP as plural command to in-law

[ʔ]e:kʰet̲̂lamé:le (H ms.)
*ʔe:kʰet̲̂lame:**le***
||hi-hkʰe-t̲̂-alameč'-le||
/ʔe-:kʰe-t̲̂-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:ne**mk**an*
||su:le šu-:ne-m-ak-Vn||
/su:le šu-:ne-m-k-an/
rope by.pulling-grasp-PL.ACT-PL.ACT-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) ||-ř-||, 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

<mahk^hemk^hed*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

pʰ[ʰ]ohṭ̂óṗṭ̂ow (H VII:2)
pʰuhṭ̂oṗṭ̂ow
||pʰu-hṭ̂o-pʰu-hṭ̂o-w|| → [pʰuh.ˈṭ̤op.ṭ̤ow]
/pʰuhṭ̂o-pʰuhṭ̂o-w/
boil~ITER-PFV
'boils'

(245) Verb with ||-R-|| and iterative meaning

<bahk^hopk^how> (O D: ED)
bahkʰopkʰow
||ba-hkʰo-R-w||
/ba-hkʰo-pkʰo-w /
by.poking-contact[178]~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 ||-ř-|| may also have iterative meaning, as in (246) and (247) below.

(246) Verb with ||-ř-|| and iterative meaning

<du?ba?baw> (O D: ED)
du?ba?baw
||du-?ba-ř-w||
/du-?ba-?ba-w/
by.finger-bother~ITER-PFV
'to bother s[ome]o[ne] with the fingers'

(247) Verb with ||-ř-|| and iterative meaning

<dohohow> (O D: EA)
dohšohšow
||du-hšo-ř-w||
/do-hšo-hšo-w/
by.finger-strip.off~ITER-PFV
'to be removing corn kernels w[ith] finger'

However, some verbs with ||-ř-|| show no obvious iterative meaning, such as the verb for 'to tell', which is given in (248) below.

(248) Verb with ||-ř-|| and no iterative meaning

[ʔ]uhṯehṯew (H ms.)
ʔuhṯeh̲ṯew
||hu-hṯe-ř-w||
/ʔu-hṯe-hṯe-w/
by.sound-tell~?-PFV
'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 ||-ř-||, 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 ||-ř-|| 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 ||-ř-|| 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 congeners; 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 ||-R-|| and ||-ř-|| are distinct in semantics or both iteratives. Both are glossed hereafter as ~ITERATIVE when the semantics warrant such a glossing; when a reduplicative morpheme appears fossilized with no synchronic iterative meaning (as in *ʔuḫ̱tehḫ̱tew* 'to tell'), it is indicated as ~? 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 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 *ʔahča-* 'to fly', *daǩ:aṭ-* 'to lead several', *ʔehkʰe-* 'to move the body', and *ʔahpʰi-* '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 *ʔehkʰe-* 'to move the body'

[ʔ]ehkʰéman (H ms.)
*ʔehkʰe**m**an*
||hi-hkʰe-m-Vn||
/ʔe-hkʰe-ma-n/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move across!'

(250) Example of ||-m-|| 'across' on the verb *ʔehkʰe-* 'to move the body'

[ʔ]ehkʰé:ne (H ms.)
ʔehkʰe:ne
||hi-hkʰe-m-le
/ʔe-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-||[180]

hu:mulin (Oswalt 1976: 21)	hu:muman (Oswalt 1976: 21)
*hu:**mul**in*	*hu:**mum**an*
||hu:w-muN-Vn||	||hu:w-muN-Vn||
/hu:-mul-in/	/hu:-mum-an/
go-DIR-S.SIM	go-DIR-S.SIM
'while going around'	'while going around'

(252) The *-mun-* allomorph of ||-muN-||

kʰá:le hú:mun (H ms.)
*kʰa:le hu:**mun***
||kʰa:le hu:w-muN-Ø||
/kʰa:le hu:-mun-Ø/
tree go-DIR-PFV
'walk around tree'

(253) The *-mu:-* allomorph of ||-muN-||

[ʔ]akʰ:óhča kʰá:le hu:mú:ne (H ms.)
*ʔakʰ:ohča kʰa:le hu:**mu:**ne*
||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]!'

(254) The *-ml-* allomorph of ||-muN-||

ká:wiʔwan [ʔ]áhča [ʔ]ahp[ʰ]ímlin (H ms.)
*ka:wiʔwan ʔahča ʔahpʰi**ml**in*
||ka:wi=ʔwan ʔahča ʔahpʰi-muN-Vn||
/ka:wi=ʔwan ʔahča ʔahpʰi-ml-in/
child=DET.OBJ house carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry baby around house!'

[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:ohča kʰa:le hu:**mu:**ne*
||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

šóʔdimlíle (H ms.)
*šoʔdi**ml**ile*
||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-*

dáǩ:aṭ́mílin (H ms.)
*daǩ:aṭ́**mil**in*
||daǩ:aṭ-muN-Vn||[181]
/daǩ:aṭ́-mil-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/

daǩ:aṭ́mú:ne (H ms.)
*daǩ:aṭ́**mu:**ne*
||daǩ:aṭ-muN-le||
/daǩ:aṭ́-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

[181] The verb stem ||daǩ:aṭ-|| is listed in Oswalt's dictionary manuscript under the root ||-ǩaṭ-|| '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.

[i] 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- ~ -maduy ~ -m?duy) '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 daǩ:áṭ**madú:le** (H ms.)
ma:li daǩ:aṭmadu:le
||ma:li daǩ:aṭ-maduč-le||
/ma:li daǩ:aṭ-madu:-le/
here lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 bring sev[eral] here!'

(260) The *-mač:-* allomorph of ||-maduč-||

daǩ:aṭ**máč:in** (H ms.)
daǩ:aṭmač:in
||daǩ:aṭ-maduč-Vn||
/daǩ:aṭ-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-||

daǩ:aṭ́máčin (H ms.)
*daǩ:aṭ́**mač**in*
||daǩ:aṭ-mač-Vn||
/daǩ:aṭ́-mač-in/
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'take sev. inside'

(262) The *-mč-* allomorph of ||-mač-||

[ʔ]ahp[ʰ]ímčin (H ms.)
*ʔahpʰi**mč**in*
||ʔahpʰi-mač-Vn||
/ʔahpʰi-mč-in/
carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it in (speaker outside)'

(263) The *-ma:-* allomorph of ||-mač-||

[ʔ]ahp[ʰ]imá:le (H ms.)
*ʔahpʰi**ma:**le*
||ʔahpʰi-mač-le||
/ʔahpʰi-ma:-le/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 [carry it in (speaker outside)]'

(264) The *-may* allomorph of ||-mač-||

kʰaʔ[:]áṭ̓may (H I: 6)
*kʰaʔ:aṭ̓**may***
||kʰaʔ:aṭ̓-mač-Ø||
/kʰaʔ:aṭ̓-may-Ø/
run-DIR-PFV
'ran inside'

||-mok-|| -mok- ~ -mk- ~ -mo:- ~ -mok̓ '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-||

daḵ:aṭ̓mókon (H ms.)
*daḵ:aṭ̓**mok**on*
||daḵ:aṭ-mok-Vn||
/daḵ:aṭ̓-mok-on/
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 bring them in!'

(266) Example of ||-mok-||

[ʔ]ehkʰémkon (H ms.)
*ʔehkʰe**mk**on*
||hi-hkʰe-mok-Vn||
/ʔe-hkʰe-mk-on/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move in (speaker inside)!'

(267) Example of ||-mok-||

[ʔ]e:kʰeṭ̓mó:le (H ms.)
*ʔe:kʰeṭ̓**mo:**le*

||hi-hkʰe-t̂ʼ-mok-le||
/ʔe-:kʰe-t̂ʼ-mo:-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move in (Sp[eaker]. in)'

||-ak-|| *-ak- ~-aƙ ~ -a:- ~ -k- ~ -ƙ ~ -:- '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

	MOTION INTO	MOTION OUT OF
SPEAKER INSIDE	||-mok-||	||-ak-||
SPEAKER OUTSIDE	||-mač-||	||-ok-||

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]ap[ʰ]:ákan (H ms.)
*hidʔa ʔapʰ:a**k**an*
||hidʔa ʔapʰ:a-k-Vn||
/hidʔa ʔapʰ:-ak-an/
outside carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it outside (speaker inside)'

(269) Example of ||-ak-||

háč:aǩ (H ms.)
*hač:a**ǩ***
||ha-hča-ak-Ø||
/ha-č:a-ǩ-Ø/
by.wing-fly-DIR-PFV
'flying through'

(270) Example of ||-ak-||

hídʔa ha:čaṯá:le (H ms.)
*hidʔa ha:čaṯ**a:**le*
||hidʔa ha-hča-t̂-ak-le||
/hidʔa ha-:ča-t̂-a:-le/
outside by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 fly out (from here)!'

||-ok-|| -ok- ~ -oǩ ~ -o:- ~ -k- ~ -ǩ- ~ -:- '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-||

hídʔa [ʔ]ap[ʰ]:ákon (H ms.)
hidʔa ʔapʰ:akon
||hidʔa ʔapʰ:a-ok-Vn||
/hidʔa ʔapʰ:a-k-on/
outside carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it outside (speaker outside) [!]'

(272) Example of ||-ok-||

má:li daǩ:aṭó:le (H ms.)
*ma:li daǩ:aṭ**o:**le*
||ma:li daǩ:aṭ-ok-le||
/ma:li daǩ:aṭ-o:-le/
here lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 bring out sev. [!]'

(273) Example of ||-ok-||

má:li daǩ:aṭʰkon (H ms.)
ma:li daǩ:aṭʰkon
||ma:li daǩ:aṭ-ok-Vn||
/ma:li daǩ:aṭʰ-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:e**la**n*
||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:**al**:e*
||ʔapʰ:-ala-le||
/ʔapʰ:-al-:e/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry it down 1 each!'

||-akač-|| -akač- ~ -aka:- ~ -akay ~ -ak(ʰ)č- ~ -k(ʰ)č- ~ -kač- -ka:- ~ -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:**akʰč**in*
||ʔapʰ:-akač-Vn||
/ʔapʰ:-akʰč-in/
carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 carry it up[!]'

(277) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:aká:le (H ms.)
*ʔapʰ:**aka:**le*
||ʔapʰ:-akač-le||
/ʔapʰ:-aka:-le/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry it up[!]'

(278) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]a:p[ʰ]a̱t̂káčin (H ms.)
*ʔa:pʰa̱t̂**kač**in*
||ʔa:pʰa-t̂-akač-Vn||[182]
/ʔa:pʰa-t̂-kač-in/
carry-PL.ACT-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 carry up sev. !'

(279) Example of ||-akač-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékʰčin (H ms.)
*ʔekʰ:e**kʰč**in*
||hi-hkʰe-akač-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-kʰč-in/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'move up onto!'

||-alok-|| -alok- ~ -aloǩ ~ -lok- ~ -loǩ ~ -alo:- ~ -lo:- ~ -alk- ~ -lk- 'up to here'

This is a transcremental 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]ihčáloǩ (H I: 7)
*ʔihč**alǫǩ***
||ʔihč-alok-Ø||[183]
/ʔihč-alǫǩ-Ø/
drag-DIR-PFV
'drags up'

(281) Example of ||-alok-||

má:li šudʔálkon (H ms.)
*ma:li šudʔ**alk**on*
||ma:li šu-ʔd-alok-Vn||[184]
/ma:li šu-dʔ-alk-on/
here by.pulling-move-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 bring it up h[ere!]'

(282) Example of ||-alok-||

má:li dáǩ:al:ókon (H ms.)
*ma:li daǩ:al:**ok**on*
||ma:li daǩ:aṭ-alok-Vn||
/ma:li daǩ:al-lok-on/
here lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 bring them up here!'

(283) Example of ||-alok-||

má:li daǩ:al[:]ó:le (H ms.)
*ma:li daǩ:al:**o:**le*
||ma:li daǩ:aṭ-alok-le||
/ma:li daǩ:al-lo:-le/
here lead.several-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 bring them up here!'

[183] ||ʔihč-|| is an irregular verb stem.
[184] This is an irregular verb.

||-alokoč'-|| -alokoč'- ~ -aloko:- ~ -alokoy ~ -lokoč'- ~ -loko:- ~ -lokoy ~ -lkoč'- ~ -lko:- ~ -lkoy ~ -alok(ʰ)č'- ~ -lok(ʰ)č'- ~ -alkoč'- ~ -alko:- ~ -alkoy 'up out of'

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'-||

haṭ̂:alokč'in (O ms.)
*haṭ̂:**alokč'**in*
||haṭ̂:-alokoč'-Vn||
/haṭ̂:-alokč'-in/
put.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
['put the foot up out of']

(285) Example of ||-alokoč'-||

[ʔ]akʰ:a:náṭ̂ow [ʔ]ekʰ:elkó:le (H ms.)
ʔakʰ:a:naṭ̂ow ʔekʰ:e**lko:**le
||ʔahkʰ:a-:na=ṭ̂ow hi-hkʰe-alokoč'-le||
/ʔakʰ:a-:na=ṭ̂ow ʔe-kʰ:e-lko:-le/
water-LOC=ABL with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
'in-law (move out of water)[!]'

(286) Example of ||-alokoč'-||

hač:alkóč'in (H ms.)
*hač:a**lkoč'**in*
||ha-hča-alakoč'-Vn||
/ha-č:a-lkoč'-in/
by.wing-fly-DIR-SG.IMP
'flyout! (speaker outside)'

(287) Example of ||-alokoč'-||

ha:čaɬ̂lokó:le (H ms.)
*ha:čaɬ̂**loko:**le*
||ha-hča-t̲̂-alokoč'-le||
/ha-:ča-t̲̂-loko:-le/
by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 fly out!'

(288) Example of ||-alokoč'-||

híd?a ha:čaɬ̂lókoy (H ms.)
*hid?a ha:čaɬ̂**lokoy***
||hid?a ha-hča-t̲̂-alokoč'-Ø||
/hid?a ha-:ča-t̲̂-lokoy-Ø/
outside by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-PFV
'birds fly out of [something]'

(289) Example of ||-alokoč'-||

ha:čaɬ̂lókʰč'a (H ms.)
*ha:čaɬ̂**lokʰč'**a*
||ha-hča-t̲̂-alokoč'-a||
/ha-:ča-t̲̂-lokʰč'-a/
by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
'they're flying out'

||-alameč'-|| -alameč'- ~ -alame:- ~ -alamey ~ -lameč'- ~ -lame:- ~ -lamey ~ -lmeč'- ~ -lme:- ~ -lmey ~ -alamč'- (?) ~ -lamč'- (?) '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'-||

haṯ̂:almey (O ms.)
*haṯ̂:**almey***
||haṯ̂:-alameč'-Ø||
/haṯ̂:-almey-Ø/
put.foot-DIR-PFV
['put foot down off of']

(291) Example of ||-alameč'-||

[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:alméč'in (H ms.)
*ʔapʰ:**almeč'**in*
||ʔapʰ:-alameč'-Vn||
/ʔapʰ:-almeč'-in/
carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'climb down from above'

(292) Example of ||-alameč'-||

[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:almé:le (H ms.)
ʔapʰ:alme:le
||ʔapʰ:-alameč'-le||
/ʔapʰ:-alme:-le/
carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry 1 down!'

(293) Example of ||-alameč'-||

[ʔ]a:p[ʰ]aṯ̂lamé:le (H ms.)
ʔa:pʰaṯ̂lame:le
||ʔa:pʰa-ṯ̂-alameč'-le||
/ʔa:pʰa-ṯ̂-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:elmečʹin
||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-||

<?ahtimkoy> (O ms.)
ʔahṯimkoy
||ʔahṯi-mokoč-Ø||
/ʔahṯi-mkoy-Ø/
put.foot-DIR-PFV
['to put the foot back']

(296) Example of ||-mokoč-||

<?ahtimkocin> (O ms.)
ʔahṯimkočin
||ʔahṯi-mokoč-Vn||
/ʔahṯi-mkoč-in/
put.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
['put the foot back!']

(297) Example of ||-mokoč-||

<?ahtimko:le> (O ms.)
ʔahṯimko:le
||ʔahṯi-mokoč-le||
/ʔahṯi-mko:-le/
put.foot-DIR-PL.IMP
['put foot back (in-law~y'all)!']

(298) Example of ||-mokoč-||

<?a:tit'moko:le> (O ms.)
ʔa:ṯiṯ'moko:le
||ʔahṯi-ṯ-mokoč-le||
/ʔa:ṯi-ṯ'-moko:-le/
put.foot-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
['put foot, y'all! (to in-law) ~ put foot several times, y'all!]

||-akoč'-|| -akoč'- ~ -ako:- ~ -akoy ~ -koč'- ~ -ko:- ~ -koy ~ -k(ʰ)č'- 'out from within'

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'-||

čʰidʔákoy (H ms.)
čʰidʔakoy
||čʰi-dʔ-akoč'-Ø||
/čʰi-dʔ-akoy-Ø/
by.small.part-move-DIR-PFV
'to take out 1 rock'

(300) Example of ||-akoč'-||

ho:dó̱tkoy (H ms.)
ho:do̱tkoy
||hoʔdo-t̲-akoč'-Ø||
/ho:do-t̲-koy-Ø/
put.hand-PL.ACT-DIR-PFV
'to put hand in hole and take it out, pull'

(301) Example of ||-akoč'-||

hodʔókʰč'in (H ms.)
hodʔokʰč'in
||hoʔdo-akoč'-Vn||
/hodʔo-kʰč'-in/
put.hand-DIR-SG.IMP
'pull it out[!]'

(302) Example of ||-akoč'-||

hó:do̱tkó:le (H ms.)
ho:do̱tko:le
||hoʔdo-t̲-akoč'-le||
/ho:do-t̲-ko:-le/
put.hand-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 pull arms out!'

||-ad-|| -ad- ~ -a:- ~ -an- ~ -am- ~ -d- ~ -n- ~ -m- ~ -:- ‘along’

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.)
*do:nonhkʰay hwa**d**u*
||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-||

kúṭ:u hač:áŋkan (H ms.)
*kuṭ:u hač:a**n**kan*
||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]ekʰːédu (H ms.)	[ʔ]ekʰːédun (H ms.)
ʔekʰːe<u>d</u>u	*ʔekʰːe<u>d</u>un*
||hi-hkʰe-ad-u||	||hi-hkʰe-ad-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰːe-d-u/	/ʔe-kʰːe-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:kʰe̱t̂á:ne (H ms.)
ʔe:kʰe̱t̂<u>a:</u>ne
||hi-hk̂ʰe-t̂-ad-le||
/ʔe-:kʰe-t̂-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-||

daǩːadːúčin (H ms.)
daǩːad<u>ːuč</u>in
||daǩːaṭ-aduč-Vn||
/daǩːad-duč-in/
lead.several-DIR-SG.IMP
'1 take sev. away!'

(308) Example of ||-aduč-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:edú:le (H ms.)
*ʔekʰ:e**du:**le*
||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-||

ʔa:ʔa kʰaṯ:adukʰ:eṯʰoṭ̓ (W: OF)
||ʔa:ʔa kʰaṯ:-aduč-kʰ:e=ṯʰoṭ̓||[185]
/ʔa:ʔa kʰaṯ:-adu-kʰ:e=ṯʰoṭ̓/
1SG.AGT run-DIR-FUT=NEG
'I didn't run away'

(311) Example of ||-aduč-||

[ʔ]ekʰ:éč:in (H ms.)
ʔekʰ:eč:in
||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] ||kʰaṯ:-|| 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)
*hw**adem**ba*
||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:a**den**kan*
||kuṭ:u ha-hča-aded-ka-Vn||
/kuṭ:u ha-č:a-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:a**d:**u*
||ha-hča-aded-u||
/ha-č:a-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 ǩóʔdi čánho**den̂t**[ʰ]íːbaʔwáʔa (H ms.)
čahnu ǩoʔdi čanhoden̂tʰiːbaʔwaʔa
||čahnu ǩoʔdi čahnu-aded-t̂ʰ-Vːba=ʔwa=ʔa||
/čahnu ǩoʔdi čanho-den-t̂ʰ-iːba=ʔwa=ʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

||-aywač-|| -aywač- ~ -aywaː- ~ -ayway ~ -ywač- ~ -ywaː- ~ -yway- ~ -wač- ~ -waː- ~ -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-||

miːmáːǩoʔyáːlaʔwáʔt̂o hwaywáyʔdu (H ms.)
*miːmaːǩoʔyaːlaʔwaʔt̂o hwa**ayway**ʔdu*
||miːmač=ǩo=ʔyaːla=ʔwa=ʔt̂o huːw-aywač-wadu||
/miːmaː=ǩo=ʔyaːla=ʔwa=ʔt̂o hw-ayway-ʔdu/
cry=COM=only=COP.EVID=1SG.PAT go-DIR-HAB
'he always comes to me crying'

(317) Example of ||-aywač-||

ka:wíʔwan [ʔ]ap[ʰ]:eywáčin (H ms.)
ka:wiʔwan ʔapʰ:eywačin
||ka:wi=ʔwan ʔapʰ:e=aywač-Vn||
/ka:wi=ʔwan ʔapʰ:e-ywač-in/
child=DET.OBJ carry-DIR-SG.IMP
'carry it right up to him'

(318) Example of ||-aywač-||

ka:wíʔwan [ʔ]ap[ʰ]:eywá:le (H ms.)
ka:wiʔwan ʔapʰ:eywa:le
||ka:wi=ʔwan ʔapʰ:e-aywač-le||
/ka:wi=ʔwan ʔapʰ:e-ywa:-le/
child=DET.OBJ carry-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry it right up to him!'

(319) Example of ||-aywač-||

ka:wíya?wan [ʔ]á:p[ʰ]eṭ̂wá:le (H ms.)
ka:wiyaʔwan ʔa:pʰeṭ̂wa:le
||ka:wi-ya=ʔwan ʔapʰ:e-ṭ̂-aywač-le
/ka:wi-ya=ʔwan ʔa:pʰe-ṭ̂-wa:-le/
child-PL=DET.OBJ carry-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 carry babies right up to him 1 each'

||-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:ehkónt̯o há:čat̯ʼbíča (H ms.)
*duw:ehkont̯o ha:čat̯ʼ**bič**a*
||duw:e=ʔahkon=ʔat̯:o ha-hča-t̯-bič-a||[186]
/duw:e=hkon=t̯o ha-:ča-t̯ʼ-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.)
*hat̯:a**biy***
||hat̯:a-bič-Ø||
/hat̯:a-biy-Ø/
put.foot-DIR-PFV
['raise foot']

(322) Example of ||-bič-||

[ʔ]e:kʰet̯ʼbí:le (H ms.)
*ʔe:kʰet̯ʼ**bi:**le*
||hi-hkʰe-t̯-bič-le||
/ʔe-:kʰe-t̯ʼ-bi:-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move up!'

(323) Example of ||-bič-||

<hat:apcin> (O ms.)
*hat̯:a**pč**in*
||hat̯:a-bič-Vn||
/hat̯:a-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 ||-mhuč'-|| 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. (The causative suffix ||-ka-|| is in bold and underlined.)

(324) Example of ||-ka-|| CAUSATIVE

má:ṭ̓ikin [ʔ]uhṯehṯékan (H ms.)
*ma:ṭ̓ikin ʔuhṯehṯe**ka**n*
||maH-ṭ̓i-ki-n ʔuhṯe-hṯe-ka-Vn||
/ma-:ṭ̓i-ki-n ʔuhṯe-hṯe-ka-n/
3C-younger.sibling-GS-PAT tell~tell-CAUS-SG.IMP
'let him tell his y. sibling'

(325) Example of ||-ka-|| CAUSATIVE

mi:mákʰṯ[ʰ]u mádan (H ms.)
*mi:ma**kʰ**ṯʰu madan*
||mi:mač-ka-ṯʰu ham:ad-an||
/mi:ma-kʰ-ṯʰu mad-an/
cry-CAUS-PROH 3SG.F-PAT
'don't make her cry'

||-ya-|| -ya- DEFOCUS

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

míp[ʰ]:ak:i[:]kʰe yúh[:]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw (H III: 1)
*mipʰ:ak:i:kʰe yuh:u ʔohčo**ya**w*
||miH-pʰak-ki-:kʰe yuh:u ʔohčo-ya-w||
/mi-pʰ:ak-ki-:kʰe yuh:u ʔohčo-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

[ʔ]iš:i [ʔ]aṭʰ:éba hám:i čahčíkiyaw (H III: 6)
ʔiš:i ʔaṭʰ:eba ham:i čahčikiyaw
||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']

||-č'-|| ~ ||-čič'-|| -č'- ~ -:- ~ -y ~ -čič'- ~ -či:- ~ -čiy ~ -ʔč'- REFLEXIVE

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

čʰeʔ[:]eṯ́máywan šuhkʰéč'in (H ms.)
*čʰeʔ:eṯ́maywan šuhkʰe**č'**in*
||čʰeʔ:eṯ́may=ʔwan šu-hkʰe-č'-Vn||
/čʰeʔ:eṯ́may=wan šu-hkʰe-č'-in/
basket=DET.OBJ by.pulling-move-REFL-SG.IMP
'move basket closer to self[!]'

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

čʰeʔ[:]eṯ́máywan šuhkʰečí:le (H ms.)
*čʰeʔ:eṯ́maywan šuhkʰe**či:**le*
||čʰeʔ:eṯ́may=ʔwan šu-hkʰe-čič'-le||
/čʰeʔ:eṯ́may=wan šu-hkʰe-či:-le/
basket=DET.OBJ by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP
'2 move basket closer to self!'

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

[ʔ]ahp[ʰ]íči[y] (H ms.)
*ʔahpʰi**čiy***
||ʔahpʰi-čič'-Ø||
/ʔahpʰi-čiy-Ø/
carry-REFL-PFV
'to start carrying on back'

When ||-čič'-|| 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'-||

[ʔ]ihnaṯčíč'in ~ [ʔ]ihnač:íč'in (H ms.)
*ʔihnaṯ**čič'**in ~ ʔihnač**:ič'**in*
||hi-hnaṯ-čič'-Vn||
/ʔi-hnaṯ-čič'-in/
with.body-try-REFL-SG.IMP
'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'-||

duhkʰéč'in [~] duhkʰeʔč'in (H ms.)
duhkʰeč'in ~ duhkʰeʔč'in
||du-hkʰe-č'-Vn|| ~ ||du-hkʰe-čič'-Vn||
/du-hkʰe-č'-in/ ~ /du-hkʰe-ʔč'-in/
with.fingers-move-REFL-SG.IMP with.fingers-move-REFL-SG.IMP
'bring it toward self[!]' [~] 'move it towards yourself[!]'

||-mhuč'-|| -mhuč'- ~ -mhu:- ~ -mhuy ~ -m(ʔ)č'- 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(:)ba ba?[:]áywan hód?ómhuy (H I: 2)
*ha:miniba ba?:aywan hod?o**mhuy***
||ha:mini-ba ba?:ay=?wan hod?o-mhuč'-Ø||
/ha:mini-ba ba?:ay=wan hod?o-mhuy-Ø/
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

méhṭʰen čanhodém?č'in (H ms.)
*mehṭʰen čanhode**m?č'**in*
||miH=ṭʰe-n čahnu-aded-mhuč'-Vn||
/me-hṭʰe-n čanho-de-m?č'-in/
2-mother-PAT speak-DIR-RECIP-SG.IMP
'speak to your mother!'

(335) Example of ||-mhuč'-|| RECIPROCAL

čáhnu [?]á:lhoǩomhú:le (H ms.)
*čahnu ?a:lhoǩo**mhu:**le*
||čahnu ?a:lhoǩoč'-mhuč'-le||
/čahnu ?a:lhoǩo-mhu:-le/
speech several.talk-RECIP-PL.IMP
'2 speak to e[ach] o[ther!]'

(336) Example of ||-mhuč'-|| RECIPROCAL

be:némhuy (H ms.)	bé:nemhú:le (H ms.)
*be:ne**mhuy***	*be:ne**mhu:**le*
||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:nemhút͡ʰ[ʰ]le (H ms)
*be:ne**mhut͡ʰ**le*
||bi-:ne-mhuč'-t͡ʰu-le||
/be-:ne-mhu-t͡ʰ-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- ~ -:- ~ -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.)
*čahnu**č**in*	*čahnu:**l**e*
||čahnu-č-Vn||	||čahnu-č-le||
/čahnu-č-in/	/čahnu-:-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]
méhšey (H ms.)	mehšéčin (H ms.)
*mehše**y***	*mehše**č**in*
||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

ƙoʔdi méhšew (H ms.)
ƙoʔdi mehšew
||ƙoʔdi mi-hše-w||
/ƙoʔdi 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 e]ssive indicat[es] 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

kʰáʔbe č'á:ʔa( )wín:a ba:néman (H ms.)
*kʰaʔbe č'a:ʔawin:a ba:ne**m**an*
||kʰaʔbe č'a:ʔa=win:a ba:ne-m-an||
/kʰaʔbe č'a:ʔa=win:a ba:neman/
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

<?ahtin> (O ms.)	<?ahtiman> (O ms.)
*ʔahṯi**n***	*ʔahṯi**m**an*
||ʔahṯi-m-Ø||	||ʔahṯi-m-Vn||
/ʔahṯi-n-Ø/	/ʔahṯi-m-an/
put.foot-ESSIVE-PFV	put.foot-ESSIVE-PFV
['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.[188] 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 ||=t̪ʰoṭ̓|| 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

qʰá=:l	*yó-hi*	*maʔá*	***qʰa:díway=ʔkʰe***
water=to	go-same	food	**buy=FUTURE**

'He'**ll** go down and **buy** groceries' (adpated from Mithun 1993: 124)[189]

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 ||-t̯i-|| (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 haччʼokʰ[:]eʔwáʔya (H ms.)
*ʔa:baṭo hačʼ:o**kʰ:e**ʔwaʔya*
||ʔa:-ba-ṭo hačʼ:o-kʰ:e=ʔwa=ʔa:ya||
/ʔa:-ba-ṭo hačʼ:o-kʰ:e=ʔwa=ʔya/
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**kʰe*** (W: OF)
||buṭ:e ka=ʔa:ma čoh:oN-kʰ:e||
/buṭ:e ka=ʔma čoh:onh-kʰe/
when INTER=2SG.AGT **marry-FUT**
'when **will** you **get married**?'

(346) Example of ||-kʰ:e-|| FUTURE

[ʔ]á:čʼeṭo [ʔ]uhṭéhṭekʰ[:]eʔwáʔa (H ms.)
*ʔa:čʼeṭo ʔuhṭehṭe**kʰ:e**ʔwaʔa*
||ʔa:-čʼe-ṭo ʔuhṭe-hṭe-kʰ:e=ʔwa=ʔa:ʔa||
/ʔa:-čʼe-ṭo ʔuhṭe-hṭe-kʰ:e=ʔwa=ʔa/
1-mother-PAT **tell~tell-FUT**=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I **will tell** my mother'

(347) Example of ||-kʰ:e-|| FUTURE

[ʔ]a:mayá:ǩo míːṭikʰːéṭʰoṭ̓wáʔa (H ms.)
*ʔa:maya:ǩo miːṭi**kʰ:e**ṭʰoṭ̓waʔa*
||ʔa:maya=:ǩo miːṭi-kʰ:e=ṭʰoṭ̓=ʔwa=ʔa:ʔa||
/ʔa:maya=:ǩo miːṭi-kʰ:e=ṭʰoṭ̓=wa=ʔa/
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 ||-ṭi-||. 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 ||-ṭi-|| or ||-kʰ:e-|| might be lexically determined.

||-ṯi-|| ~ ||-ṯiʔdu-|| -ṯi- ~ -ṯiʔdu- ~ -ṯiʔd- FUTURE INTENTIVE (NEAR FUTURE)

In Oswalt's list of Pomoan suffixes, he lists a distinction in Southern Pomo between ||-ṯi-||, which he glosses as an intentive that expresses "purpose, in order to, near future", and ||-ṯiʔdu||,[191] which he glosses as a near future that means "about to" (1976: 25). Though he gives both a near future meaning, only ||-ṯi-|| 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, ||-ṯi|| and ||-ṯiʔdu|| 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 ||-ṯi-|| with purposive meaning

*ka:wi ʔa: čuh:uka**ṯi** ho:li:na* (W: OF)
/ka:wi ʔa: čuh:u-ka-ṯi ho:li-:na/
child 1SG.AGT **eat-CAUS-FUT.INTENT** leave-FIRST.PERSON
'I'm going **to feed** my baby'

The future intentive is homophonous with the inchoative morpheme ||ṯi-|| ~ ||=ṯi-||, which is applied to verbs and adjectives. The future intentive may be suffixed to the inchoative morpheme, though other affixes generally separate them, as

[191] Oswalt transcribes this as <-ti+ʔd> 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 ||-t̰i-|| FUTURE.INTENTIVE combined with ||t̰i-|| INCHOATIVE

kʰáʔbe [ʔ]oh:óʔwan mi:t̰álaw, (H VI: 6)
kʰaʔbe ʔoh:oʔwan mi:t̰alaw,
/kʰaʔbe ʔoh:o=ʔwan mi:t̰a-la-w/
rock fire=DET.OBJ put.several-DIR-PFV

[ʔ]ahkʰá [ʔ]oh:o t̰ikʰt̰i.
*ʔahkʰa **ʔoh:o t̰ikʰt̰i**.*
/ʔahkʰa ʔoh:o t̰i-kʰ-t̰i/
water **fire** **INCH-CAUS-FUTURE.INTENTIVE**

'...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 ||-t̰iʔdu-|| 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 (||-t̰iʔdu-|| in bold in the text, the glossing, and the translation).

(350) ||-t̰iʔdu-|| with near future meaning in mono-clausal sentence

sí:maʔt̰o mí:ṭit̰íʔda (H ms.)
*si:maʔt̰o mi:ṭi**t̰iʔda***
/si:ma=ʔt̰o mi:ṭi-t̰iʔda/
sleep=1SG.PAT lie-**FUT.INTENT**[192]
'I'm **going to** go to sleep'

[192] I am glossing both forms as FUT.INTENT until there is sufficient evidence that they are truly separate morphemes.

(351) ||-t̂i?du-|| with near future meaning in mono-clausal sentence

ha:čaʔ̌du:t̂í?da ~ hi:bi?du:t̂í?da (H ms.)
*ha:čaʔ̌du:**t̂i?d**a ~ hi:bi?du:**t̂i?d**a*
/ha:ča-ʔ̌-du:-t̂i?d-a/ ~ /hi:bi?-du:-t̂i?d-a/
fly-PL.ACT-DIR-**FUT.INTENT**-EVID sev.fly-DIR-**FUT.INTENT**-EVID
'birds are **going to** fly away'

(352) ||-t̂i?du-|| with near future meaning in mono-clausal sentence

[ʔ]á:baċe:kʰe [ʔ]ahčat̂óŋhkʰay hó:lit̂i?dú:na (H ms.)
*ʔa:baċe:kʰe ʔahčat̂onhkʰay ho:li**t̂i?du**:na*
/ʔa:-ba-č-e-:kʰe ʔahča=t̂onhkʰay ho:li-t̂i?du-:na/
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 (40): Distinguishing between ||-ad|| IPFV and ||-ad-|| DIR

SUFFIX → PROPERTIES ↓	||-ad-|| IMPERFECTIVE	||-ad-|| DIRECTIONAL 'along'
Transcrements the laryngeal increment	NO	YES

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 transcremental directional ||-ad-|| and an non-transcremental 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

šú:kʰay [ʔ]uhnáṭ̂du (H ms.)
*šu:kʰay ʔuhnaṭ̂**du***
||šu:kʰač-Ø hu-hnaṭ̂-adu||[193]
/šu:kʰay-Ø ʔu-hnaṭ̂-du/
breathe-PFV by.speech-try-IPFV
'to tease s[ome]o[ne]'[194]

[193] The final consonant of ||šu:kʰač-|| 'breathe' might be the semelfactive.

(354) Example of *-an-* allomorph ||-ad-|| ~ ||-adu|| IPFV

šú:kʰay [ʔ]uhnaṭánṭ[ʰ]u (H ms.)
*šu:kʰay ʔuhnaṭ**an**ṭʰu*
||šu:kʰač-Ø hu-hnaṭ-ad-ṭʰu||
/šu:kʰay-Ø ʔu-hnaṭ-an-ṭʰu/
breathe-PFV by.speech-try-IPFV-PROH
'don't tease him (w[ith] words)[!]'

||-w|| ~ ||-u|| ~ ||-Ø|| -w ~ -u ~ -Ø PERFECTIVE

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

[194] This collocation is clearly idiomatic; it does not literally mean 'breathe asking'. Oswalt provides an alternate translation: "to hurt my feelings, perhaps 'try my patience'" (O D: ED).

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 competive 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 inconsisently recorded after /u/ by Halpern); ||-u|| *-u* after /d/; ||-Ø|| 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/

[ʔ]uhṯéhṯew (H III: 1)
ʔuhṯehṯew
||ʔuhṯe-hṯe-w||
/ʔuhṯe-hṯe-w/
tell~tell-PFV
'tells it'

(357) Example of ||-w|| PERFECTIVE after /a/

di:láċaw (H VIII: 6)
di:laċaw
||di-:lv-ċa-w||
/di-:la-ċa-w/
by.falling-PL.ACT-break-PFV
'He broke'

(358) Example of ||-w|| PERFECTIVE after /o/

kʰáʔbe [ʔ]áčʰ:ow (H VIII: 8)
kʰaʔbe ʔačʰ:ow
||kʰaʔbe ʔačʰ:o-w||
/kʰaʔbe ʔačʰ:o-w/
rock NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV
'there [was] no rock'

(359) Example of ||-w|| PERFECTIVE after /u/

diʔbuw (O I: 24)
diʔbuw
||diʔbu-w||
/diʔbu-w/
bury-PFV
'buried'

(360) Example of ||-u|| PERFECTIVE after /d/

huw:adu (H I: 12)
huw:adu
||hu:w-ad-u||
/huw:-ad-u/
go-DIR-PFV
'came'

(361) Example of ||-Ø|| PERFECTIVE after consonant other than /d/

šúhnaṭ̂ (H VIII: 4)
šuhnaṭ̂
||šu-hnaṭ̂-Ø||
/šu-hnaṭ̂-Ø/
by.pulling-try-PF
'he tried pulling it'

||-wad-|| ~ ||-wadu-|| -wadu- ~ -wad- ~ -wʔdu- ~ -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 *č'a:šba* '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-w?du-n* 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

líǩlisyey yódo kú:luŋhkʰay ho:líw?dun, (H I: 1)
*liǩlisyey yodo ku:lunhkʰay ho:li**w?du**n*
||liǩlis=yey yo-do ku:lu=li=kʰač ho:li-wadu-Vn||
/liǩlis=yey yo-do ku:lu=nhkʰay ho:li-w?du-n/
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:meṭ́ yá:la?yowám:an ča:máw?du (H ms.)
*ha:meṭ́ ya:la?yowam:an ča:ma**w?du***
||ha:meṭ́ ya:la=?yo-wa=ham:ad ča:ma-wadu||
/ha:meṭ́ ya:la=?yo-wa=m:an ča:ma-w?du/
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’a:šba* ‘always’

č'á:šba?wám:u máb?ačen hačč'ów?du (H ms.)
č'a:šba*?wam:u mab?ačen hač':o****w?du***
||č'a:šba=?wa=ham:u maH-ba-č-en hač':o-wadu||
/č'a:šba=?wa=m:u ma-b?a-č-en hač':o-w?du/
always=COP.EVID=3SG 3C-fa’s.fa-GS-AGT arrive-HAB
'he **always visits** his gr[and]fa[ther]s.'

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|| ~ ||=?ka|| is not an affix, nor does it pattern with the 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 ||-k^{h}: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

[ʔ]ay:áǩoʔwénṭoʔma mi:ṭí:ba (H ms.)
*ʔay:aǩoʔwenṭoʔma mi:ṭi:**ba***
||ʔay:a=ǩo=ʔwen=ṭo-ʔa:ma mi:ṭi-V:ba||
/ʔay:a=ǩo=ʔwen=ṭo=ʔma mi:ṭi-:ba/
1PL=COM=ʔ=CONTRAST=2SG.AGT lie-COND[195]
'you **ought to lie** w[ith] us'

(366) Example of ||-V:ba|| CONDITIONAL used for obligation/request

[ʔ]ekʰ:ekó:baʔwaʔmáya (H ms.)
*ʔekʰ:ek**o:ba**ʔwaʔmaya*
||hi-hkʰe-ok-V:ba=ʔwa=ʔa:maya||
/ʔe-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.

(367) Example of ||-V:ba|| CONDITIONAL used for ability

čáhnu ǩóʔdi čánhodeṇ̂[ʰ]í:baʔwáʔa (H ms.)
*čahnu ǩoʔdi čanhodeṇ̂ʰ**i:ba**ʔwaʔa*
||čahnu ǩoʔdi čahnu-aded-t̂ʰ-V:ba=ʔwa=ʔa:ʔa||
/čahnu ǩoʔdi čanho-den-t̂ʰ-i:ba=ʔwa=ʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

||-V-|| -i ~ -a ~ -o ~ -u ~ -Ø HORTATIVE

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).

(368) Example of ||-V-|| HORTATIVE after a consonant

dáʔt̂ʼamčʼíʔya (H I: 6)
*daʔt̂ʼamčʼ**i**ʔya*
||daʔt̂ʼa-mhučʼ-V=ʔa:ya||
/daʔt̂ʼa-mčʼ-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:ek**an***
||hi-hkʰe-ak-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-k-an/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eaker] in[side])[!]’

(370) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

[ʔ]ekʰ:ékon (H ms.)
*ʔekʰ:ek**on***
||hi-hkʰe-ok-Vn||
/ʔe-kʰ:e-k-on/
with.body-move-DIR-SG.IMP
‘move out (sp[eaker] out[side])[!]’

(371) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

<hat:apcin> (O ms.)
*haṭ̂:apč**in***
||haṭ̂:a-bič-Vn||
/haṭ̂:a-pč-in/
put.foot-DIR-SG.IMP
[‘raise foot!’]

(372) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

huw:ádun (H VI:11)
*huw:ad**un***
||hu:w-ad-Vn||
/huw:-ad-un/
go-DIR-SG.IMP
‘come!’

(373) Example of ||-Vn|| SINGULAR.IMPERATIVE

*čuh:u**n**mkʰe 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 ||-t̲-||. Examples of ||-le|| are given below (the plural imperative suffix is in bold and underlined).

(374) Example of ||-le|| PLURAL.IMPERATIVE

[ʔ]e:kʰeʔ̲bí:le (H ms.)
*ʔe:kʰeʔ̲bi:**le***
||hi-hkʰe-t̲-bič-le||
/ʔe-:kʰe-t̲-bi:-le/
with.body-move-PL.ACT-DIR-PL.IMP
'2 move up!'

[ʔ]ehkʰé:ne (H ms.)
*ʔehkʰe:**ne***
||hi-hkʰe-m-le||
/ʔe-hkʰe-:-ne/
with.body-move-DIR-PL.IMP
'(in-law) move across!'

||=ʔšen|| =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 pronomnal enclitics, the auxiliary enclitic ||=ʔyo-||, and the interrogative enclitc ||=ʔka|| 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 ||=ʔšen|| OPTATIVE

ham:uban( )šen ma:liʔyokan[196] (H ms.)
*ham:uban**šen** ma:liʔyokan*
/ham:uban=šen ma:li=ʔyo-ka-n/
3M.SG.PAT=OPTATIVE here=AUX-CAUS-ʔ[197]
'I wish he were here'

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|| *-a ~ -o ~ -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 ||=ʔwa||, 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:

[V-final verb stem] +*-w PERFECTIVE + *-a FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL > *-wa*
[C-final verb stem] + *-Ø PERFECTIVE + *-a FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL > *-a*

The factual evidential is in bold and underlined in the following examples.

(376) Example of ||-a|| FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL after a vowel

sí:maʔt̰o p[ʰ]iʔt̰́awa (H ms.)
*si:maʔt̰o pʰiʔt̰a**wa***
||si:ma=ʔaṭ:o pʰi-ʔt̰a-wa||
/si:ma=ʔt̰o pʰi-ʔt̰a-wa/
sleep=1SG.PAT by.sight-discover-EVID
'I feel sleepy, getting sleepy'

(377) Example of ||-a|| FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL after a consonant

ha:čaṭlókʰč'a (H ms.)
*ha:čaṭlokʰč'**a***
||ha-hča-t̰-alokoč'-a||
/ha-:ča-t̰-lokʰč'-a/
by.wing-fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
'they're flying out'

When this morpheme is suffixed to a morpheme ending in an underlying ||...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.)
*ʔahčamk**o***
||ha-hča-mok-a||
/ʔahča-mk-o/
fly-DIR-EVID
'flew into'

(379) Example of ||-a|| FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL after ||ok||

<him*ok'o> (O D: EA)
*him:ok̓**o***
||him:ok̓-a||
/him:ok̓-o/
fall-EVID
'fell down'

||-Vnʔda|| *AURAL*

Oswalt reconstructs *-v̂n...- as the Proto Pomo form from which the Southern Pomo suffix ||-Vnʔda|| 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|| ~ ||=ʔyo|| 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

líƙlisyey yódo kú:luŋhkʰay ho:líw?dun, (H I: 1)
*liƙlisyey yo**do** ku:lunhkʰay ho:liw?dun*
||liƙlis=yey yo-do ku:lu=li=kʰač ho:li-wadu-Vn||
/liƙlis=yey yo-do ku:lu=nhkʰay ho:li-w?du-n/
raptor.species=AGT AUX=QUOT outside=ward leave-HAB-S.SIM
'Sparrowhawk, **it is said**, always went to the outside' to trap birds'

||-ka|| -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-|| INFERETNIAL.EVIDENTIAL

[?]ám:awi din:áka (H ms.)
*?am:awi din:a**ka***
/?am:a=wi din:a-ka/
earth=INSTR cover-EVID
'it's [apparently] covered w[ith] dirt'

||-l:a|| -l:a 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

sí:ma mi:ṭíl:a (H ms.)
*si:ma mi:ṭi**l:a***
/si:ma mi:ṭi-l:a/
sleep lie-EVID
'I'm going to sleep

2.8.3.3.5. Negative suffixes

All of the negative suffixes begin with the consonant /t̪ʰ/, which is roughly equivalent to the role /n/ plays in English. I have included the negative enclitic ||=t̪ʰoʔ|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoʔ|| and the negative response particle ||t̪ʰeː|| in this section because of their obvious relationship to the negative suffixes. The negative existential morpheme ||ʔačʰːo-|| is a verb in its own right (e.g. *kʰaʔbe=ʔkʰe ʔačʰːo-w* rock=1SG.POSS NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV 'I have no money' (W: OF)), and it is therefore left out of this section.

||-t̪ʰ-|| -t̪ʰ- 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 ||-t̪ʰ-|| is in bold in the following example).

(383) Example of ||-t̪ʰ-|| -t̪ʰ- NEGATIVE

čáhnu ǩóʔdi čánhodent̪[ʰ]íːbaʔwáʔa (H ms.)
*čahnu ǩoʔdi čanhoden**t̪ʰ**iːbaʔwaʔa*
||čahnu ǩoʔdi čahnu-aded-t̪ʰ-Vːba=ʔwa=ʔaːʔa||
/čahnu ǩoʔdi čanho-den-t̪ʰ-iːba=ʔwa=ʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

||-t̪ʰe-|| -t̪ʰe- NEGATIVE

This suffix is also fairly rare. It is unclear how it differs from ||-t̪ʰ-|| above. Perhaps ||-t̪ʰe-|| is reserved for realis ongoing actions, and ||-t̪ʰ-|| 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 ||-t̪ʰe-|| is given in (384) below.

(384) Example of ||-t̪ʰe-|| NEGATIVE

hudʔat̪ʰé( )[ʔ]t̪o mí:t̪o. (H I: 25)
hudʔat̪ʰeʔt̪o mi:t̪o
/hudʔa-t̪ʰe=ʔt̪o mi:t̪o/
want-NEG=1SG.PAT 2SG.PAT
'I don't want you.'

||-t̪ʰu-|| -t̪ʰu ~ -t̪ʰ- *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 ||-t̪ʰ-||. 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 ||-t̪ʰu-|| PROHIBITIVE in command to one person

mi:mákʰt̪[ʰ]u mádan (H ms.)
*mi:makʰ**t̪ʰu** madan*
||mi:mač-ka-t̪ʰu ham:ad-an||
/mi:ma-kʰ-t̪ʰu mad-an/
cry-CAUS-PROH 3SG.F-PAT
'don't make her cry'

(386) Example of ||-t̪ʰu-|| PROHIBITIVE in command to more than one person

bé:nemhút̪[ʰ]le (H ms)
*be:nemhu**t̪ʰ**le*
||bi-:ne-mhuč'-t̪ʰu-le||
/be-:ne-mhu-t̪ʰ-le/
with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PROH-PL.IMP
'2 don't hug e[ach] o[ther]!'

||-t̪ʰen-|| -t̪ʰen- 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 ||-t̪ʰen-|| NEGATIVE.IMPERFECTIVE

sí:ma mí:ṭit̪ʰeṇ'ó?t̪o dúw:e (H VIII: 2)
*si:ma mi:ṭi**t̪ʰen**ṇ'o?t̪o duw:e*
/si:ma mi:ṭi-t̪ʰen=ṇ'o=?t̪o duw:e/
sleep lie-NEG.IPFV=CONTRAST=1SG.PAT night
'I can't sleep (at) night.'

||=t̪ʰoṭ'|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoṭ'|| =t̪ʰoṭ' ~ =t̪ʰoṭ' 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 ||=t̪ʰoʔ̪|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoʔ̪|| NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

ʔa:ʔa kʰat̪:adukʰ:et̪ʰoʔ̪ (W: OF)
||ʔa:ʔa kʰat̪:-aduč-kʰ:e=t̪ʰoʔ̪||
/ʔa:ʔa kʰat̪:-adu-kʰ:e=t̪ʰoʔ̪/
1SG.AGT run-DIR-FUT=NEG
'I didn't run away'

(389) Example of ||=t̪ʰoʔ̪|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoʔ̪|| NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

[ʔ]a:mayá:ǩo mí:ṭikʰ:ét̪ʰoʔ̪wáʔa (H ms.)
*ʔa:maya:ǩo mi:ṭi**kʰ:et̪ʰoʔ̪**waʔa*
||ʔa:maya=:ǩo mi:ṭi-kʰ:e=t̪ʰoʔ̪=ʔwa=ʔa:ʔa||
/ʔa:maya=:ǩo mi:ṭi-kʰ:e=t̪ʰoʔ̪=wa=ʔa/
2PL.AGT=COM **lie-FUT**=NEG=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I **won't lie** w[ith] ye'

(390) Example of ||=t̪ʰoʔ̪|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoʔ̪|| NEGATIVE.PERFECTIVE

[ʔ]á:čaċyey( )t̪[ʰ]oʔ̪wa (H ms.)
*ʔa:čaċyey**t̪ʰoʔ̪**wa*
||ʔa:-ča-ċ-yey=t̪ʰoʔ̪=ʔwa||
/ʔa:-ča-ċ-yey=t̪ʰoʔ̪=wa/
1-mother's.father-GS-PL.AGT=NEG=COP.EVID
'they are not my mo[ther's] fa[ther]s.'

||t̂ʰe:|| t̂ʰe: 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) Example of ||t̂ʰe|| negative response particle (W: OF)

Elsie Allen:	*pʰal:a?čayka?ma* /pʰal:a?čay=ka=?ma/ white.person=INTER=2SG.AGT 'Are you a white person?'
Olive Fulwider:	*t̂ʰe: ?ahčahčaywa?a* /t̂ʰe: ?ahčahčay=wa=?a/ no Indian=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT 'No, I'm Indian.'

2.8.3.3.6. 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:

(1) ||-V:na||, which consistently translates into English consistently with a first-person argument

(2) ||-:mu||, which consistently translates into English consistently with a second-person argument

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 ho:li:**mu***
/he:ʔey=ka=ʔma ho:li-:mu/
where=INTER=2SG.AGT leave-SECOND.PERSON
'Where are you going?'

A: *ʔa: ʔahčanhkʰay ho:li:na ~ ʔahčanhkʰay ho:li:na*
/ʔa: ʔahča=nhkʰay ho:li-:na/ ~ /ʔahča=nhkʰay ho:li-:na/
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, conjuaged 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[198]—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 Oswlat'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

ṭʰóʔ[:]o p[ʰ]ohṭ́opṭ́ow šo:čí:na (H VII: 2)
*ṭʰoʔ:o pʰohṭ́opṭ́ow šo:či:**na***
/ṭʰoʔ:o pʰohṭ́o-pṭ́o-w šo:či-:na/
acorn.mush boil~ITER-PFV hear-FIRST.PERSON
'I hear acorn soup boiling'

(394) Example of ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON as 'I' without additional pronoun

<wa?*an p^hi*li*na> (O D: EA)
*waʔ:an pʰi:li:**na***
/waʔ:an pʰi:li-:na/
now go-FIRST.PERSON
'I just moved in (to a house).' [199]

(395) ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON as 'I' with pronoun (also in bold and underlined)

*ka:wi **ʔa:** čuh:ukaṭ́i ho:li:**na*** (W: OF)
/ka:wi ʔa: čuh:u-ka-ṭ́i ho:li-:na/
child 1SG.AGT eat-CAUS-FUT.INTENT leave-FIRST.PERSON
'I'm going to feed my baby'

[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.

(396) ||-V:na|| FIRST PERSON as ‘we’ with pronoun (also bold and underlined)

<ya wa?*an p^hi*li*na> (O D: EA)
ya *wa?:an p^{h}i:li****:na***
/ya wa?:an p^{h}i:li-:na/
1PL.AGT now go-FIRST.PERSON
‘We just moved in.’

||-:mu|| -:mu second-person suffix

This suffix translates into English with a second-person argument. Unlike ||-V:na|| 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 ||-:mu|| and the second-person pronoun in bold and underlined).

(397) Example of ||-:mu|| SECOND PERSON

[ʔ]á:ma ṭ^{h}óʔ[:]o p[^{h}]ohṭ̂opṭ̂ow šo:čí:mu (H VII: 2)
ʔa:ma *ṭ^{h}oʔ:o p^{h}ohṭ̂opṭ̂ow šo:či****:mu***
/ʔa:ma ṭ^{h}oʔ:o p^{h}ohṭ̂o-pṭ̂o-w šo:či-:mu/
2SG.AGT acorn.mush boil~ITER-PFV hear-SECOND.PERSON
‘you hear acorn soup boiling’

(398) Example of ||-:mu|| SECOND PERSON

*he:ʔeyka****ʔma*** *ho:li****:mu*** (W: OF)
/he:ʔey=ka=ʔma ho:li-:mu/
where=INTER=2SG.AGT leave-SECOND.PERSON
‘Where are you going?’

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

	SAME SUBJECT	DIFFERENT SUBJECT
SEQUENTIAL	||-ba|| *-ba*	||-:li|| *-li ~ -ni*
SIMULTANEOUS	||-Vn|| *-in ~ -an ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n*	||-en|| *-en ~ -wen*
IRREALIS	||-pʰi|| *-pʰi*	||-pʰla|| *-pʰla*

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)

	SAME SUBJECT	DIFFERENT SUBJECT
OPPOSITIVE	||-naṯi|| *-naṯi*	||-eṯi|| *-eṯi ~ –weṯi*
INFERENTIAL	||-mna|| *-mna*	||-ben|| *-ben*

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 ||-eṯi|| and ||-ben||; the same subject oppositive suffix is almost always encountered as the enclitic *=ʔnaṯi*, 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 sufficent 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:dúba dáʔt̓aw (H ms.)
*ča:du**ba** daʔt̓aw*
/ča:du-ba daʔt̓a-w/
look-S.SEQ find-PFV
'he looked and saw'

||-:li|| *-:li ~ -:ni* *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).

(400) Example of ||-:li|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL

[ʔ]á:ʔa [ʔ]áč:a čá:duka:li dáʔt̓aw (H ms.)
*ʔa:ʔa ʔač:a ča:duka:**li** daʔt̓aw*
/ʔa:ʔa ʔač:a-Ø ča:du-ka-:li daʔt̓a-w/
1SG.AGT house-DIFFUSE look-CAUS-D.SEQ find-PFV
'I let him look inside and he found it'

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).

(401) Example of *-:ni* allomorph of ||-:li|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL

kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey [ʔ]ahkʰalá:nṭi [ƙ]aṭ:aƙ daṗ:ó:ni (H VII: 11)
*kʰaʔbekʰačʰyey ʔahkʰala:nṭi ƙaṭ:aƙ daṗ:o**:ni***
||kʰaʔbekʰač=yey ʔahkʰa=la:nṭi ƙaṭ:aƙ daṗ:oN-:li||
/kʰaʔbekʰačʰ=yey ʔahkʰa=la:nṭi ƙaṭ:aƙ daṗ:o-:ni/
raptor.species=AGT water=LOC acorn.woodpecker steal-D.SEQ

ma: waʔ[:]an má:li bíʔdu híʔbay
ma: waʔ:an ma:li biʔdu hiʔbay
||ma: waʔ:an ma:li biʔdu hiʔbač-Ø||
/ma: waʔ:an ma:li biʔdu hiʔbay-Ø/
DEM now here acorn grow-PFV

'now, acorns grew in this place, **when** Fish Hawk **stole** the woodpeckers across the water'

||-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

> ká:liŋhkʰay ha:čaṯkáčin [ʔ]ám:aŋhkʰay ha:čaṯláwa (H ms.)
> *ka:linhkʰay ha:čaṯkač**in** ʔam:anhkʰay ha:čaṯlawa*
> /ka:li=nhkʰay ha:ča-ṯ-kač-in ʔam:a=nhkʰay ha:ča-ṯ-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

má:mu kʰaʔbéyey wí:miŋhkʰáyʔden (H VIII: 4)
*ma:mu kʰaʔbeyey wi:minhkʰayʔd**en***
||ma:mu kʰaʔbe=yey wi:mi=li=kʰač-wad-en||
/ma:mu kʰaʔbe=yey wi:mi-nhkʰay-ʔd-en/
DEM rock=AGT there-ward-HAB-D.SIM[200]

čú:maṭ̓wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
ču:maṭ̓wam:u hoʔ:owi biʔǩik:iw šiʔmiʔwan
||ču:maṭ̓=ʔwam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔǩi-R-w šiʔmi=ʔwan||
/ču:maṭ̓=wam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔǩi-ǩ:i-w šiʔmi=ʔwan/
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

ʔaṯ̂:i=ṯ̂on mi:mačen, či:yowen, (O I:9)
*ʔaṯ̂:iṯ̂on mi:mač**en**, či:yo**wen**,*
||ʔaṯ̂:i=ṯ̂on mi:mač-en či:yo-en||
/ʔaṯ̂:i=ṯ̂on mi:mač-en či:yo-wen/
3C.SG=LOC cry-D.SIM sit-D.SIM

daʔṯ̂aba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
daʔṯ̂aba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
||daʔṯ̂a-ba čoh:oN-ba šu-ʔde-aduč-Ø||
/daʔṯ̂a-ba čoh:om-ba šu-dʔe-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 intentive ||-ṯ̂i||), the singluar imperative ||-Vn||, the plural imperative ||-le||, and the conditional ||-V:ba||, and the prohibitive ||-ṯ̂ʰu||. 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

kʰaʔ[:]á:le[ʔ]waʔ( )máya kú:lun hó:lip[ʰ]i (H II: 1)
*kʰaʔ:a:leʔwaʔmaya ku:lun ho:li**pʰi***
||kʰaʔ:a:le=ʔwa=ʔa:maya ku:lu-n ho:li-pʰi||
/kʰaʔ:a:le=ʔwa=ʔmaya ku:lu-n ho:li-pʰi/
tomorrow=COP.EVID=2PL.AGT outside-GOAL leave-S.IRR

baʔ[:]á:yey híʔbu [ʔ]ehčʰékʰ[:]e
baʔ:a:yey hiʔbu ʔehčʰekʰ:e
||baʔ:ay=yey hiʔbu ʔehčʰe-kʰ:e||
/baʔ:a:=yey hiʔbu ʔehčʰe-kʰ:e
woman=AGT potato dig-FUT

'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 intentive ||-t̂i||), the singular imperative ||-Vn||, the plural imperative ||-le||, and the conditional ||-V:ba||, and the prohibitive ||-t̂ʰu||. 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

[ʔ]a: ho:líp[ʰ]la [ʔ]aw[:]íṭon mi:má:ṭ[ʰ]u (H ms.)
*ʔa: ho:lip**ʰla** ʔaw:iṭon mi:ma:ṭʰu*
/ʔa: ho:li-pʰla ʔaw:i=ṭon mi:ma:-ṭʰu/
1SG.AGT leave-D.IRR 1SG.OBL=LOC cry-PROH
'**when** I'**m gone** don't cry for me[!]'

(407) Example of ||-pʰla|| DIFFERENT SUBJECT IRREALIS

mič:áċyey mehšekʰ[:]éʔwa (H V:26)
mič:aċyey mehšekʰ:eʔwa
/mi-č:a-ċ-yey me-hše-kʰ:e=ʔwa/
2-mother's.father-GS-PL.AGT with.nose-smell-FUT=COP.EVID

[ʔ]á:maya híʔṭ̓a das:ép[ʰ]la.
ʔa:maya hiʔṭ̓a das:epʰla
/ʔa:maya hiʔṭ̓a da-s:e-pʰla/
2PL.AGT nearby with.palm-wash-D.IRR

'Your grandfathers will smell (it) if you wash them nearby.'

||=naṭi|| =ʔnaṭi ~ =naṭi ~ naṭi 'but' (SAME SUBJECT OPPOSITIVE?)

As stated earlier, this morpheme is analyzed by Oswalt as a same subject oppositive 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 oppositive 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 oppositive morpheme and its translation in bold).

(408) Example of ||=ʔnaṯi|| OPPOSITIVE

hí:ʔinnaṯi dan:áṯ[ʰ]u (H ms.)
*hi:ʔin**naṯi** dan:aṯʰu*
/hi:ʔin=naṯi dan:a-ṯʰu/
DEM=but cover-PROH
'don't cover **any** of them[!]'

||-eṯi|| -eṯi ~ -weṯi 'but' (DIFFERENT SUBJECT OPPOSITIVE)

Oswalt (1978) lists this as the different subject equivalent of ||=ʔnaṯi||. 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 oppositive morpheme. Of course, without examples of this oppositive, it is not possible to be sure of the actual distribution of [w].

||-mna|| -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 my be replaced with ||-ba|| SAME SUBJECT SEQUENTIAL, at least in the sole example, which is given below (with ||-mna|| and the translation of the verb to which it is suffixed in bold and underlined).

(409) Example of ||-mna|| SAME SUBJECT INFERENTIAL

hidʔáwi či:yóba ~ čahčímna hiʔda čan:áwa (H ms.)
*hidʔawi či:yoba hiʔda čan:awa ~ hidʔawi čahči**mna** hiʔda čan:awa*
/hidʔa=wi čiːyo-ba hiʔda čan:a-wa / ~ /hidʔawi čahči-mna hiʔda čan:a-wa/
road=INSTR sit-S.SEQ road block-EVID ~ road=INSTR sit-S.INFER road block-EVID
'1 **sat** in road and blocked road'

||-ben|| -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.

-ʔč'edu- ~ -ʔč'ed- ~ -ʔč'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 híʔduʔč'eduʔwám:u		(H ms.)
*čahnu čanhodu hiʔdu**ʔč'edu**ʔwam:u*		
/čahnu	čanho-du	hiʔdu-ʔč'edu=ʔwa=m:u
speech	speack-IPFV	know-ʔ=COP.EVID=3SG
'he knows how to talk'		

-(a)ṭway ???

This suffix might be a misrecording of the plural act affix ||-t̰-||, 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 ||biʔde-|| ‘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)
*hw**aṭway***	
/hw-aṭway/	
go-ʔ	
‘Sev. walking’	

-yi:- ???

This suffix might be a lexically conditioned allomorph of the reflective ||-č'-|| (perhaps ||-yič'-||; there is not enough data to make such a determination at this time. An example is given in (412) below with *-yi:-* in bold and underlined.

(412) Example of unidentified morpheme *-yi-*

sí:ma ba:ṭiyí:le (H ms.)
*si:ma ba:ṭi**yi:**le*
/si:ma ba:ṭi-yi:-le/
sleep sev.lie-?-PL.IMP
'2 go to sleep!'

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. *baḥṭʰepṭʰe* ||baḥṭʰe-R|| 'huge' from *baḥṭʰe* '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

	'big'	'small'
COLLECTIVE	*baḥṭʰe*	*kic:idu*
DISTRIBUTIVE	*ʔaḥṭʰiy*	*piʔni*

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

nóp[ʰ]:o nop[ʰ]:óyaw nóp[ʰ]:o báḥṭʰe (H VI: 1)
nopʰ:o nopʰ:oyaw, [nopʰ:o baḥṭʰe]$_{NP}$
/nopʰ:o nopʰ:o-ya-w nopʰ:o baḥṭʰe/
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

CATEGORY	SOUTHERN POMO	GLOSS
SIZE AND AGE	*bahṭʰe* *ʔahṭʰiy* *kic:idu* *piʔni* *ʔahkon* *še:wey* *bahṭʰepṭʰe*	'big.COLLECTIVE' 'big.DISTRIBUTIVE' 'small.COLLECTIVE' 'small.DISTRIBUTIVE' 'long' 'new; young' 'huge'
TEMPERATURE	*kac:i* *ʔoh:o*	'cold' 'hot' (also the noun for 'fire')
QUALITY	*ƙoʔdi* *kʰaṭ:ič'aw*[202]	'good' 'bad; hateful'
COLOR	*kahle* *šaʔƙa* *haṭ:a* *ċahkil* *čaʔċa* *wa:yu*	'white' 'black' 'red' 'blue'[203] 'green' 'yellow'[204]

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 *ṭʰeč':aw ~ t̲ʰeč':aw ~ t̲ʰač':aw ~čeč':aw ~ ṭʰeč'aw ~ t̲ʰeč'aw ~ t̲ʰač'aw ~čeč'aw* 'many, much, a lot' is the most frequently encountered non-numeral quantifier. The various pronuncications 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' (O I: 17b)

ham:u( )ʔnaṯi( )ʔma maʔben ṭʰač'aw ma hodʔodenkʰe.
ham:uʔnaṯiʔma maʔben ṭʰač'aw ma hodʔodenkʰe

/ham:u=ʔnaṯi=ʔma	maʔben	ṭʰač'aw	ma	hodʔo-den-kʰe/
3SG=but=2SG.AGT	there?	much	thing	get-DIR-FUT

'But because of this you will get lots of [bad] things.'

The other non-numeral quantifier is *beṭ'bu* 'some', which is used for an indeterminate quantity that is not part of a larger whole. There is a nominal enclitic *=ṯonhkʰle* 'some', which is used in a partitive sense (e.g. 'some of...'). An example of *beṭ'bu* 'some' is given in (415) below.

(415) Example of non-numeral quantifier *beṭ'bu* 'some'

beṭ'bu ʔal:a:ša beṭ'bu sema:nu (O I: 6)
beṭ'bu ʔal:a:ša beṭ'bu sema:nu
/beṭ'bu ʔal:a:ša beṭ'bu 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. *mis:ibohma* 'three places'); this morpheme has not yet been identified with any full noun; it may also apply to adverbs (e.g. *na:piyo-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'ay:ikan* '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:wíya bahṭʰéǩo, lá:ṭʰkʰo ka:wíya.
*[nupʰ:e]$_{NP}$ nopʰ:ow [ka:wiya bahṭʰe]$_{NP}$ǩo, [**la:ṭʰkʰo** ka:wiya]$_{NP}$*
/nupʰ:e nopʰ:o-w ka:wi-ya bahṭʰe=ǩo la:ṭʰkʰo 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 *ʔakʰ: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) čá:ʔa	*č'a:ʔa*	(11) ná:nč'a
(2) [ʔ]ákʰ:o	*ʔakʰ:o*	(12) ná:nkʰo
(3) mis:íbo	*mis:ibo*	(13) ná:n síbo
(4) míhčá	*mihča*	(14) sím hmá šon
(5) ṭú:šo	*ṭu:šo*	(15) símhma [or] símhma ṭéǩ
(6) lá:Ṇč'a	*la:nhč'a*	(16) símhma ná:nč'a
(7) lá:ṭʰkʰo	*la:ṭʰkʰo*	(17) símhma ná:nkʰo
(8) kʰóMča	*kʰomhča*	(18) símhma ná:n síbo
(9) č'áʔčʰo		(19) čámhmá šon
(10) č'ášóṭo		(20) čámhma [or] čámhma ṭeǩ

(25) ṭu:šóhma [or] čámhma wína ṭú:šo	(30) la:Ṇč'áhma
(40) č'á: hay	(100) č'a: sénṯu

Several of the numbers in the above list are clearly compositional. The number č'áʔčʰo 'nine' probably comes from *č'a:ʔa* 'one' + *ʔačʰ:o-* '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 *na:n*, 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 *mis:ibo* '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: seṇ̲tu* '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 (45): Three-way division of locative adverbs

'here'	'there'	'yonder'
ma:li	*ham:i ~ ha:mi*	*wi:li*

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 *ha:min* and *ham:il*. There are other words which appear to be part of the system, including the word *we:y* '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:min-* ‘here’(?) and *ha:min-* ‘there’ may be made into to verbs with the suffix *-(h)kʰe-*, as in *ha:min-hkʰe-w* there-VERBALIZER-PFV ‘moved that way’. These two bases, *wi:min-* ‘here’(?) and *ha:min-* ‘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

wí:li hwákʰčin hám:i hwa:ká?ya (H ms.)
wi:li hwakʰčin ham:i hwa:ka?ya
/wi:li hw-akʰč-in ham:i hw-a:-ka=?ya/
yonder go-DIR-SG.IMP there go-DIR-CAUS=1PL.AGT
'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 *ʔiṯ̂ʰ:in* ‘early’, *kʰaʔ:ašǩaden* ‘morning’ (which is also a noun), *duw:e* ‘night’ (also a noun; its derived verb is *duw:ey* ‘night falls’). Of these, only *ʔiṯ̂ʰ:in* ‘early’ is only an adverb; it is also unique in that takes unidentified suffixes in

the form *ʔiṯʰ:inmawi* ‘once upon a time’ (sometimes pronounced *ʔiṯʰ:enmawi*). This latter form, much like the English ‘once upon a time’, only appears at the beginning of tales. The adverb *ʔiṯʰ:in* ‘early’ may combine with *kʰaʔ:ašǩaden* ‘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 *ʔiṯʰ:in* ‘early’ and *kʰaʔ:ašǩaden* ‘morning’ (H I:1)

miy[:]a[ṭʰ]kʰan bíʔdu čóhšin, kʰaʔ[:]áškaden [ʔ]íṯ[ʰ]:in
miy:aṭʰkʰan biʔdu čohšin, kʰaʔ:ašǩaden ʔiṯʰ:in

/miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø	biʔdu	čohšin-Ø	kʰaʔ:ašǩaden	ʔiṯʰ:in/
3-spouse-AGT	acorn	pound-PFV	morning	early

‘his wife was pounding acorns, early in the morning’

Additional adverbs include *ʔe:wen* ‘fast, quickly’, *maṯ:i* ‘long time’, *si:ṭo* ‘immediately’, and *waʔ:an* ‘now’, and *ha:meṭ* ‘thus’ (which also appears as *ha:meṭna*), and *pʰa:la* ‘too; also; again’[205]. There are also numerals (and other words?) which can be converted into adverbs by *=mčin* ‘days’ worth’ (e.g. *ʔakʰ:omčin* ‘for two days’), which is an adverbializing enclitic related to the noun *ma:či* ‘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 *pʰa:la* is peculiar: it is sometimes recorded as *pʰal:a*, in which case it is not entirely clear whether transcremented /:/ signifies a difference in meaning; it may be reduplicated, *pʰal:apʰla*, to mean ‘each; various’.

(419) Example of manner adverb preceding verb

ṭʰoʔ:o hi:mayaw waʔ:a si:ťo čanhodenhkʰe (H ms.)
/ṭʰoʔ:o hi:ma-y-aw waʔ:a si:ťo čanhodenhkʰe/
acorn.mush leach-DEFOC-PFV now immediately speak-DIR-FUT
'Now I'm going to talk about leaching acorns.'

Other adverbs which are frequently encountered include *kuṭ:u* 'just', *ya:la* 'only', and *kuʔmu* 'all; wholly'. The word *na:pʰiyo-* 'all' is also quite common; however, its status as an adverb is not as clear. This word is derived from *na:pʰi* 'all', which is a pronoun that is morphologically a common noun. In (420) below, *na:pʰiyo-* 'all' is suffixed with *-hma* 'place' (a suffix already encountered in the numerals) and behaves like an adverb.

(420) Example of *na:pʰiyo-* as an adverb

ná:p[ʰ]iyohma ká:new (H ms.)
na:pʰiyohma ka:new
/na:pʰiyo-hma ka-:ne-w/
all-place with.jaws-grasp-PFV
'bite all over'

At least one word may function as both an adjective and an adverb: *ʔahsič'* 'hard; strong; difficult'. As an adverb modifying a verb of motion, it means 'hard; with great effor' (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

bú̱ṭ:eʔyómṭo [ʔ]ahčáči[y] (H ms.)
*bu̱ṭ:eʔ**yo**mṭo ʔahčačiy*
/bu̱ṭ:e=ʔyo=mṭo ʔahčačiy-Ø/
when=AUX=2SG.PAT awake-PFV
'when did you wake up'

When it follows the pro-verb *ha:mini-* 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

ha:miní:li yódo miy[:]a[ṭʰ]kʰan bíʔdu čóhšin (H I: 1)
*ha:mini:li **yo**do miy:aṭʰkʰan biʔdu čohšin*
/ha:mini-:li yo-do miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø biʔdu čohšin-Ø/
and.then-D.SEQ AUX-QUOT 3-spouse-AGT acorn pound-PFV
'Then, it is said, his wife was pounding acorns[.]'

The auxiliary ||yo|| ~ ||=ʔyo|| 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|| ~ ||=ʔyo|| AUX forming a predicate adjective

kac:i yokʰ:e (W: OF)
/kac:i yo-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 *ceṭ* 'how', *buṭ:e* 'when', *meṭ'bu* 'how many', *he:ʔey* 'where', and *he:meṭ* 'why', which function as a pronouns when not combined with the interrogative morpheme ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka||. The word *ʔiy: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 ||ṭ'o|| ~ ||=ṭ'o|| 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) $[N]_{NP}$
A noun phrase may consist of a single noun with no modifiers or enclitics.

(2) $[N\text{-}POSS\ N]_{NP}$
A noun with the possessive suffix (behaving as an adjective) precedes the possessed noun with the NP.

(3) $[DEM\ N]_{NP}$
Demonstratives precede the nouns they modify within the NP.

(4) $[N\ Adj]_{NP} \sim [Adj\ N]_{NP}$
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) $[N\ Num]_{NP}$
Numerals generally follow the nouns they modify within the NP.

(6) $[DEM\ N\ Adj]_{NP}$
When both a demonstrative and an adjective are modifiying the noun, the demonstrative precedes and adjective follows within the NP.

(7) [N Adj Adj V]=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.

||=yey|| =yey 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 ||-yey|| is a portmanteau suffix combing 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 ||=yey||

kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey dó:lon čóh:on		(H VI: 1)
*[kʰaʔbekʰač']**yey** do:lon čoh:on*		
/kʰaʔbekʰač'=yey	do:lon	čoh:on-Ø/
raptor.species=AGT	bobcat	marry-PFV
'Fish Hawk married Wildcat'		

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)

kʰaʔbéyey hó:liw
*[kʰaʔbe]**yey** ho:liw*
/kʰaʔbe=yey ho:li-w/
rock=AGT leave-PFV
'Rock [Man] went off.'

||=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 intranstitive verb (H VIII)

ha:mini(:)ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw
*ha:miniba [kʰaʔbe]**yčon** si:ma mi:ṭiw*
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
and.then-S.SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV
'Having done so, Rock [Man] went to sleep.'

(427) ||=yčon|| on most-affected argument of transtitive verb (H VI: 3)

ha:mini:li kʰáʔbekʰáč:on ċa:yíyey [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew,
ha:mini:li [kʰaʔbekʰač]<u>čon</u> ċa:yiyey ʔuhṯehṯew
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ċa:yi=yey ʔuhṯe-hṯe-w/
and.then-D.SEQraptor.species=PAT scrubjay=AGT tell~tell-PFV
'They having done so, the Jay told Fish Hawk'

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.

||=yčo|| =yčo ~ =:čo: ~ =yčow(?) 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) Example of the vocative enclitic ||=yčo|| (H VI: 15)

[ʔ]ám:ačahṯimúyčo
[ʔam:ačahṯimu]<u>yčo</u>
/ʔam:a-čahṯimu=yčo/
earth-lie.extended?=VOC
'[<u>O</u>] Earth lying extended[!]'

||=čo:kʰe|| =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||

čú:maʦ̌čó:kʰe šiʔmíʔwan (H VIII: 4)
*[ču:maʦ̌]**<u>čo:kʰe</u>** šiʔmiʔwan*
/ču:maʦ̌=čo:kʰe šiʔmi=ʔwan/
gray.squirrel=POSS bow=DET.OBJ
'Squirrel**<u>'s</u>** bow'

||=ǩo|| =ǩo 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 ||=ǩo||

núp[ʰ]:e nóp[ʰ]:ow ka:wíya bahʦ̣ʰéǩo (H V: 1)
*nupʰ:e nopʰ:ow [ka:wiya bahʦ̣ʰe]$_{NP}$**<u>ǩo</u>***
/nupʰ:e nopʰ:o-w ka:wi-ya bahʦ̣ʰe=ǩo/
striped.skunk sev.dwell-PFV child-PL big.COLL=COM
'Skunk Woman lived, **<u>with</u>** 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. *ʦ̂ʰan:a=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. *ċol:i-k:o=wi* blackbird-field=INSTR 'at blackbird field', the original name for the village that is now Windsor, CA) and 'in' for containers (e.g. *čʰeʔ:e̱t̓may=wi* basket=INSTR 'in the basket'). When applied directly to handful of words, such as 'hand', this enclitic is transcremental (e.g. *t̲̂ʰa:na* 'hand' but *t̲̂ʰan:a=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

t̲̂[ʰ]a:na	ʔakʰ:owi	da:ṭʰow (H EA: 4a)
[t̲̂ʰa:na	*ʔakʰ:o]$_{NP}$*	***wi*** *da:ṭʰow*
/t̲̂ʰa:na	ʔakʰ:o=wi	da:ṭʰo-w/
hand	two=INSTR	scrape-PFV

'scrapes it off **with** both hands'

(432) Example of instrumental ||=wi|| with locative meaning

čó:low:i	[ʔ]ahkʰa	[ʔ]ohčóba, (H VI: 6)
[čo:low]$_{NP}$	***wi*** *ʔahkʰa*	*ʔohčoba,*
/čo:low=wi		ʔahkʰa ʔohčo-ba/
baby.bath.basket=INSTR		water place.shapeless.mass-S.SEQ

'having put water **into** a baby-bath basket'

||=t̲̂on|| =t̲̂on 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. (||=t̲̂on|| is in bold, and its translation is also in bold.)

(433) Examples of ||=t͡on|| ‘on’

ʔač:ay=t͡on	(O I: 6)	čún:am háyt͡on	(H IV: 6)
[ʔač:ay]t͡on		*[čun:am hay]t͡on*	
/ʔač:ay=t͡on/		/čun:am	hay=t͡on/
man=LOC		drift	wood=LOC
‘**over** the man’		‘[**on**] driftwood’	

||=t͡ow|| =t͡ow ABLATIVE

The ablative enclitic is used to indicate origin (‘from’) and can be combined with the question word *he:ʔey* ‘where’ to form *he:t͡ow* ‘whence’. An example of this enclitic is given in (434) below (with the ablative and its translation in bold).

(434) Example of ||=t͡ow|| ABLATIVE

[ʔ]akʰ:a:nát͡ow	[ʔ]ekʰ:elkó:le (H ms.)
[ʔakʰ:a:na]t͡ow[206]	*ʔekʰ:elko:le*
/ʔakʰ:a-:na=t͡ow	ʔe-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 ||=ʔwam:u|| DETERMINER.SUBJECT and ||=ʔwan|| DETERMINER.OBJECT, both

[206] The locative suffix ||-:na|| is probably frozen in this form. Olive Fulwider uses the word *ʔakʰ:a:na* for ‘river’ with no obvious locative meaning. She has used it to translate the name of the River Rock Casino as *ʔakʰ:a:na kʰaʔbe* ‘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:[207]

*ʔe COPULA + *-wa FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL + *ham:u 3SG.AGT > *=ʔwam:u*

*ʔe COPULA + *-wa FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL + *-l PATIENT > *=ʔwan*

*ʔe COPULA + *yo- ‘go’ + *-wa FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL + *ham:u 3SG.AGT > *=ʔyo:mu*

*ʔe COPULA + *yo- ‘go’ + *-wa FACTUAL.EVIDENTIAL + *-l PATIENT > *=ʔyowan*

Each of these enclitics is described in the subsections below.

||=ʔwam:u|| =ʔwam:u ~ =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) ||=ʔwam:u|| on least patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H VIII: 4)

čú:maṭ́wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
*[ču:maṭ́]**wam:u** hoʔ:owi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan*
/ču:maṭ́=wam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔǩi-ǩ: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.'

(436) ||=ʔwam:u|| on the single argument of intransitive verb (H V: 7&8)

kʰaʔbéʔwam:u [ʔ]iy:óṯ̂ow čí:yow.
*[kʰaʔbe]**ʔwam:u** ʔiy:oṯ̂ow či:yow*
/kʰaʔbe=ʔwam:u ʔiy:o=ṯ̂ow či:yo-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:miní(:)ba baʔ[:]áywan hódʔómhuy (H I: 2)
*ha:miniba [baʔ:ay]**wan** hodʔomhuy*
/ha:mini-ba baʔ:ay=wan hodʔo-mhuy-Ø/
and.then-S.SEQ woman=DET.OBJ handle-RECIP-PFV
'Then (he) made love to **the** woman'

(438) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on inanimate NP (H ms.)

čʰeʔ[:]eṯ́máywan šuhkʰečí:le
*[čʰeʔ:eṯ́may]**wan** šuhkʰe**či:**le*
/čʰeʔ:eṯ́̂may=wan šu-hkʰe-či:-le/
basket=DET.OBJ by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP
'2 move basket closer to self!'

(439) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on inanimate NP (H VIII: 4)

čú:maṭ́wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
*čuːmaṭ́wamːu hoʔːowi biʔǩiǩːiw[šiʔmi]**ʔwan***
/čuːmaṭ́=wamːu hoʔːo=wi biʔǩi-ǩːi-w šiʔmi=ʔwan/
gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ
'the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, **the** bow.'

||=ʔyoːmu|| =ʔyoːmu ~ =yoːmu DETERMINER.SUBJECT 'aforementioned'

This enclitic, like ||=ʔwamːu||, 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 ||=ʔyoːmu|| DET.SUBJECT (H IX: 9)

šíːbaːt̰[ʰ]aw kaːwíyaʔyóːmu hámːi kúṭːu
*[šiːbaːt̰ʰaw kaːwiya]**ʔyoːmu** hamːi kuṭːu*
/šiːbaːt̰ʰaw[208] kaːwi-ya=ʔyoːmu hamːi kuṭːu/
poor child-PL=DET.SUBJ there just

čʼaːt̰úṭːow čʰíːlan šúːnew.
čʼaːt̰uṭːow čʰiːlan šuːnew
čʼaːt̰uṭ=t̰ow čʰiːlan šu-ːne-w/
one-side?=ABL tumpline with.pulling-grasp-PFV

'**The** poor children stretched the tump-line there just on one side.'

||=ʔyowan|| =ʔyowan ~ =yowan DETERMINER.OBJECT 'aforementioned'

This enclitic may be attached to a NP that is the object of verb. It is not clear how it differs from ||=ʔwan|| 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'.

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 baʔ:ay( )yowan kahsaƙ
pʰa:la [baʔ:ay]**<u>yowan</u>** kahsaƙ
/pʰa:la baʔ:ay=yowan kahsak-Ø/
also woman=DET.OBJ desert-PFV
'he also deserted **<u>that aforementioned</u>** 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)

čú:maṭ̓yey hó:liw
ču:maṭ̓yey ho:liw
/ču:maṭ̓=yey ho:li-w/
gray.squirrel=AGT leave-PFV

[ʔ]aṯ̂:íyey daʔṯ̂ámhukʰ:eʔyowanṯ̂óŋhkʰay
*[ʔaṯ̂:iyey daʔṯ̂amhukʰ:e]**<u>ʔyowanṯ̂</u>**onhkʰay*
/ʔaṯ̂:i-yey daʔṯ̂a-mhu-kʰ:e=ʔyowan=ṯ̂onhkʰay/
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 *ʔahča* '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)

[ʔ]akʰ:óhčaʔ( )waʔya čoh:ókʰ:e
*[ʔakʰ:o]**hča**ʔwaʔya čoh:okʰ:e*
/ʔakʰ:o=hča=ʔwa=ʔya 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)

ha:meṭna ʔa: hiṇtilku [ʔ]aht̰ʰi[y] [ʔ]am:aʔwan
ha:meṭna ʔa: hiṇtilku ʔaht̰ʰiy ʔam:aʔwan
/ha:meṭna ʔa: hiṇtilku ʔaht̰ʰiy ʔam:a=ʔwan
thus 1SG.AGT Indian big.DISTR thing=DET.OBJ[209]

kuʔmu ʔawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwanhčan [ʔ]uhṭehṭe:ṭʰoʔ.
*kuʔmu [ʔawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwan]**hča**n ʔuhṭehṭe:ṭʰoʔ*
/kuʔmu ʔawi-:kʰe ka:wi-ya=ʔwan=hča-n ʔuhṭehṭe:-ṭʰoʔ/
whole 1SG.OBL-POSS child-PL=DET.OBJ=COLL-PAT tell-NEG

'That's why I never told my kid**s** everything about Indian things'

[209] The word *ʔam:a* means both 'earth, dirt' and 'thing'.

2.9.2.2. Locative enclitics

These enclitics, unlike ||=t̲on||, 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)

mi:t̲o šiʔbakʰa:ni duhṭʰan kʰaṭ:ič'aw
*[mi:t̲o šiʔba]**kʰa:ni** duhṭʰan kʰaṭ:ič'aw*
/mi:t̲o šiʔba=kʰa:ni duhṭʰan-Ø kʰaṭ:ič'aw/
2SG.PAT body=LOC pain-PFV bad
['within your body (it) badly hurts']

||=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)

niba ʔyodo ham:i ʔaṭ̲:iyey nopʰ:o:=li
*niba?yodo[ham:i [ʔaṭ̲:iyey nopʰ:o:]**li***
/ni-ba=ʔyo-do ham:i ʔaṭ̲:i-yey nopʰ:o-:=li/
and.then-S.SEQ=AUX-QUOT there 3C-PL.AGT live-PFV?=at
'Then, it is said, there where they were living,'

||=li=kʰač|| =nhkʰay ~ =nhkʰč (?) '-ward'

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.)

ká:liŋhkʰay ha:čaṯkáčin [ʔ]ám:aŋhkʰay ha:čaṯláwa
*[ka:li]**nhkʰay** ha:čaṯkačin [ʔam:a]**nhkʰay** ha:čaṯlawa*
/ka:li=nhkʰay ha:ča-ṯ-kač-in ʔam:a=nhkʰay ha:ča-ṯ-la-wa/
up=ward fly-PL.ACT-DIR-S.SEQ earth=ward fly-PL.ACT-DIR-EVID
'bird keeps flying up[**ward**] and flying down[**ward**]'

||=ṯon=kʰač|| =ṯonhkʰay 'toward'

This enclitic appears to carry the same meaning as '-ward' above. An example is given in (447) below with a nominalized clause.

(447) Example of ||=ṯon=kʰač|| *=ṯonhkʰay* (H VIII: 2)

[ʔ]aṯ:íyey daʔťámhukʰ:eʔyowanṯóŋhkʰay
*[ʔaṯ:iyey daʔťamhukʰ:eʔyowan]**ṯonhkʰay***
/ʔaṯ:i-yey daʔťa-mhu-kʰ:e=ʔyowan=ṯonhkʰay/
3C-PL.AGT find-RECIP-FUT=DET.OBJ=toward
'**to** where they will meet each other'

||=sa:ma|| =sa:ma 'beside; near'

This morpheme is translated as 'next', 'near', 'beside'. An example is given in (448) below.

(448) Example of ||=sa:ma|| ‘beside; near’ (H EA: 43a)

kʰa:le( )sa:ma
*[kʰa:le]**sa:ma***
/kʰa:le=sa:ma/
tree=beside
[‘beside a tree’]

||=wa:ni|| =wa:ni ‘inside’

This enclitic means ‘inside’, as seen in (449) below.

(449) Example of ||=wa:ni|| (H VIII: 8)

ƙohṭokʰṭowá:ni [ʔ]íhčoƙ ču:máṭ̓yey kʰaʔbéyčon.
*[ƙohṭokʰṭo]**wa:ni** ʔihčoƙ ču:maṭ̓yey kʰaʔbeyčon*
/ƙohṭokʰṭo=wa:ni ʔihčoƙ-Ø ču:maṭ=yey 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].’

||win:a|| ~ ||=win:a|| ‘atop’

This morpheme is often written as a separate word. An example is given in (#)

below.

(450) Example of ||win:a|| ~ ||=win:a|| ‘atop’ (H ms.)

kʰáʔbe č'á:ʔa( )wín:a ba:néman
[*kʰaʔbe č'a:ʔa]**win:a** ba:neman*
/kʰaʔbe č'a:ʔa win:a ba:neman/
rock one atop put.one.nonlong.object-ESSIVE-SG.IMP
'put a rock **on** it'

||=nhi|| ~ ||-:ni|| 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 ||-nhi|| ~ ||-:ni|| 'in; beneath'

ša?ǩanhi	(H EA: 43a)	kʰá:lešǩá:ni	(H V: 14)
*[ša?ǩa]**nhi***		*[kʰa:lešǩa]**:ni***	
/ša?ǩa-nhi/		/kʰa:le-šǩa=:ni/	
black-LOC		tree-black=LOC	
'in the shade'		'in the shade of a tree'	

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.

||=hlaw|| =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 ||=hlaw|| 'too, also' (H V: 26)

[ʔ]í[y]haʔwánhlaw	(H V: 26)
*[ʔiyhaʔwan]**hlaw***	
/ʔiyha=ʔwan=hlaw/	
bone=DET.OBJ=too	
'bones and all'	

||=V:meʦ̓|| =:meʦ̓ 'like, same as'

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:meʦ̓|| 'like, same as' (O I: 17E)

mi:t̪o pʰala ha:meʦ̓( )wa( )ʔma čaht̪inčikʰ:e,
mi:t̪o pʰala ha:meʦ̓waʔma čaht̪inčikʰ:e,
/mi:t̪o pʰala ha:meʦ̓=wa=ʔma čaht̪in-či-kʰ:e/
2SG.PAT also thus=COP.EVID=2SG.ABT happen-SEMʔ-FUT

ʔat̪:o ʔam:a čaht̪inwa( ):meʦ̓.
*[ʔat̪:o ʔam:a čaht̪inwa]**:meʦ̓***
/ʔat̪:o ʔam:a čaht̪in=wa=:meʦ̓/
1SG.PAT thing happen=COP.EVID=like
'That same thing will happen to you, as happened to me.'

||=t̪on=kʰle|| =t̪onhkʰ(l)e 'some of'

This enclitic means 'some of' and has a partitive meaning that is not a part of the semantics of the non-numeral quantifier *beʦ̓bu* '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 ||=t̪on=kʰle|| *=t̪onhkʰle* 'some of' (O D: EA)

<mi?di$ wan ton(h)k^hle mihnatin>
*[mi?dišwan]**t̪onhkʰle** mihnat̪in*
/mi?diš=wan=t̪onhkʰle mi-hnat̪-in/
nut=DET.OBJ=some by.reckoning-try-SG.IMP
'Test **some of** the nuts by cracking (to see if good inside)!'

||t̂i-|| ~ ||=t̂i-|| INCHOATIVE

This morpheme is often transcribed as an independent word when it has suffixes affixed to it. When it is unaffixed, it is often written together with the preceding NP. This morpheme indicates a change of state, as seen in the examples below (where the inchoative and its translations are in bold).

(455) Example of ||t̂i|| ~ ||=t̂i|| INCH without affixes (H V: 37)

nup[ʰ]:ét̂i
nupʰ:et̂i
/nupʰ:e=t̂i/
striped.skunk=INCH
'they **turned into** skunks'

(456) Example of ||t̂i|| ~ ||=t̂i|| INCH with affixes (H VI: 6)

[ʔ]ahkʰá [ʔ]oh:o t̂ikʰt̂i.
[ʔahkʰa ʔoh:o] t̂ikʰt̂i.
/ʔahkʰa ʔoh:o t̂i-kʰ-t̂i/
water fire INCH-CAUS-FUTURE.INTENTIVE
'in order to have the water **become** hot'
['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 (§2.8.1.3.1.), and they are not considered in this section. The suffix ||-:kʰe|| 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) ||-:kʰe|| POSSESSIVE used for alienable possession of animate (H EA: 9a)

ha:meṭna ʔa: hiṇ̂tilku [ʔ]ahṭ̂ʰi[y] [ʔ]am:aʔwan
ha:meṭna ʔa: hiṇ̂tilku ʔahṭ̂ʰiy ʔam:aʔwan
/ha:meṭna ʔa: hiṇ̂tilku ʔahṭ̂ʰiy ʔam:a=ʔwan
thus 1SG.AGT Indian big.DISTR thing=DET.OBJ[210]

kuʔmu ʔawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwanhčan [ʔ]uhṭ̂ehṭ̂e:ṭ̂ʰoṭ̂.
*kuʔmu ʔawi:**kʰe** ka:wiyaʔwanhčan ʔuhṭ̂ehṭ̂e:ṭ̂ʰoṭ̂*
/kuʔmu ʔawi-:kʰe ka:wi-ya=ʔwan=hča-n ʔuhṭ̂ehṭ̂e:-ṭ̂ʰoṭ̂/
whole 1SG.OBL-POSS child-PL=DET.OBJ=COLL-PAT tell-NEG

'That's why I never told **my** kids everything about Indian things'

(458) ||-:kʰe|| POSSESSIVE used for alienable possession of a man-made thing (H ms.)

[ʔ]á:baċe:kʰe [ʔ]ahčaṭ̂óŋhkʰay hó:liṭ̂iʔdú:na
*ʔa:baċe:**kʰe** ʔahčaṭ̂onhkʰay ho:liṭ̂**iʔdu**:na*
/ʔa:-ba-ċ-e-:kʰe ʔahča=ṭ̂onhkʰay ho:li-ṭ̂iʔdu-:na/
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'

(459) ||-:kʰe|| POSSESSIVE used as a benefactive suffix (H III: 1)

míp[ʰ]:ak:i[:]kʰe yúh[:]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw
*mipʰ:ak:i:**kʰe** yuh:u ʔohčoyaw*
/mi-pʰ:ak-ki-:kʰe yuh:u ʔohčo-ya-w/
2-son-GS-POSS pinole put.shapeless.mass-DEFOC-PFV
'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 *ʔam: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

ʔaṭ̂:o ʔi:šan duhṭ̣ʰan (W: OF)
/ʔaṭ̂:o ʔi:šan duhṭ̣ʰan-Ø/
1SG.PAT arm hurt-PFV
'my arm hurts'

(461) Use of patient case to show inalienable possession

mi:ṭ̂o ʔahši:yaw hiʔduʔč'enṭ̂ʰoṭ̂waʔa (H ms.)[212]
/mi:ṭ̂o ʔahši:yaw hiʔduʔč'en=ṭ̂ʰoṭ̂=wa=ʔa/
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 ||-V:na|| FIRST.PERSON and ||-:mu|| 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.

[212] 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 difficultly. 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 semanitcally—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.[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. Intranstive 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 instransitive verbs, ||hu:w-|| 'go' and ||ho:li-|| 'leave', are given below.

[213] Ditransitives, of course, can alternatively be considered to consist of only two core arguments plus an additional non-core argument.

(462) SV intransitive clause (H VIII: 2)

kʰaʔbéyey hó:liw
[kʰaʔbeyey]$_S$ ho:liw
||kʰaʔbe=yey ho:li-w||
/kʰaʔbe=yey ho:li-w/
rock=AGT leave-PFV
'Rock [Man] went off.'

(463) VS intransitive clause (H I: 21)

hó:liw liƙlísyey
ho:liw [liƙlisyey]$_S$
/ho:li-w liƙlis=yey/
leave-PFV raptor.species=AGT
'(He) went off, Sparrowhawk'

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).

(464) V intransitive clause (H VI: 17)

ča:dédun hwád:u
ča:dedun hwad:u
||ča:de-ad-Vn hu:w-aded-u||
/ča:de-d-un hw-ad:-u/
look-DIR-S.SIM go-DIR-PFV

'He walked around looking around.'

3.2. Transitives

Transitive verbs are defined as those verbs which may take no more than two core arguments. Transtive 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[:]á[ṭʰ]kʰan wéč:é(:)yčon bé:new míṭ:iw (H I:6)
[miy:aṭʰkʰan]$_A$ [weč:eyčon]$_O$ ***be:new*** *miṭ:iw*
/miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø weč:e=yčon be-:ne-w miṭ:i-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)

ha:mini:li kʰáʔbekʰáč:on ċa:yíyey [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew,
ha:mini:li [kʰaʔbekʰač:on]$_O$ [ċa:yiyey]$_A$ ***ʔuhṯehṯew***
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ċa:yi=yey ʔuhṯe-hṯe-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'

(467) VAO transitive clause (H VIII: 8)

ǩohṯokʰṯowá:ni [ʔ]íhčoǩ ču:máṭ'yey kʰaʔbéyčon.
ǩohṯokʰṯowa:ni ***ʔihčoǩ*** *[ču:maṭ'yey]$_A$ [kʰaʔbeyčon]$_O$*
/ǩohṯokʰṯo=wa:ni ʔihčoǩ-Ø ču:maṭ'=yey 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].'
[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 *šu:kʰaw* ‘finish’; there is no overt A in the clause.

(468) OV transitive clause (H I: 1)

ma:číl:e bíʔdu čóhšinwan šú:kʰaw
ma:čil:e [biʔdu čohšinwan]$_O$ ***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.’]

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: *daʔt̓a-* ‘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)

ʔat̓:i=t̓on mi:mačen, či:yowen,
ʔat̓:it̓on mi:mačen, či:yowen,
||ʔat̓:i=t̓on mi:mač-en či:yo-en||
/ʔat̓:i=t̓on mi:mač-en či:yo-wen/
3C.SG=LOC cry-D.SIM sit-D.SIM

daʔt̓aba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
daʔt̓aba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
||daʔt̓a-ba čoh:oN-ba šu-ʔde-aduč-Ø||
/daʔt̓a-ba čoh:om-ba šu-dʔe-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**.’

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 *ʔoh: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 transitve clause (H VIII: 3)

kʰaʔbéyey čú:maṭ̓čon [ʔ]óh:ow [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ċú:ʔu.
[kʰaʔbeyey]$_A$ [ču:maṭ̓čon]$_{IO}$ ***ʔoh:ow*** *[ʔaṯ:i:kʰe ċu:ʔu]$_O$*
/kʰaʔbe=yey čuːmaṭ̓=čon ʔohːo-w ʔaṯːi-ːkʰe ċuːʔu/
rock=AGT gray.squirrel=PAT give-PFV 3C.SG-POSS arrow
'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 sytem 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. *ya?čʰo-* '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[ṭʰ]kʰan wéč:é(:)yčon bé:new míṭ:iw
miy:aṭʰkʰan-**Ø** weč:e**yčon** be:new miṭ:iw
/miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø weč:e=yčon be-:ne-w miṭ: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 kʰáʔbekʰáč:on ċa:yíyey [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew,
*ha:mini:li kʰaʔbekʰač**:on** ċa:yi**yey** ʔuhṯehṯew*
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ċa:yi=yey ʔuhṯe-hṯe-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)

ƙohṯokʰṯowá:ni [ʔ]íhčoƙ ču:máṭ'yey kʰaʔbéyčon.
*ƙohṯokʰṯowa:ni ʔihčoƙ ču:maṭ'**yey** kʰaʔbe**yčon***
/ƙohṯokʰṯo=wa:ni ʔihčoƙ-Ø ču:maṭ=yey 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$_{AGT}$ (did it) to Rock [Man]$_{PAT}$.'
[Alternative translation: 'In the base of the neck, Gray Squirrel$_{AGT}$ shot Rock (Man)$_{PAT}$.']

In example (474) below, the ditransitive verb *ʔoh: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)

kʰaʔbéyey čú:maṭ'čon [ʔ]óh:ow [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ċú:ʔu.
*kʰaʔbe**yey** ču:maṭ'**čon** ʔoh:ow ʔaṯ:i:kʰe ċu:ʔu*
/kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maṭ'=čon ʔoh:o-w ʔaṯ:i-:kʰe ċu:ʔu/
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)

<ya?c^howa ?to mi*to.>
*ya?čʰowa**ʔt̰o mi:t̰o***
/ya?čʰo-wa=ʔt̰o mi:t̰o/
not.want-EVID=1SG.PAT 2SG.PAT
'I_{PAT} don't like you_{PAT}.'

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)

kʰa?béyey hó:liw
*kʰa?be**yey** ho:liw*
||kʰa?be=yey ho:li-w||
/kʰa?be=yey ho:li-w/
rock=AGT leave-PFV
'Rock [Man]$_{AGT}$ went off.'

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)

ha:mini(:)ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw
*ha:miniba kʰaʔbe**yčon** si:ma mi:ṭiw*
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
and.then-S.SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV
'Having done so, Rock [Man]$_{PAT}$ went to sleep.'

In (478) below, this same 'Rock [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)

ha:mini:li kʰaʔbéyčon ƙál:aw.
*ha:mini:li kʰaʔbe**yčon** ƙal:aw*
||ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbe=yčon ƙal:a-w||
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbe=yčon ƙal:a-w/
and.then-D.SEQ rock=PAT die-PFV
'He having done so, Rock [Man]$_{PAT}$ died.'

3.4.2. 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

	SUBJECT CASE	OBJECT CASE
'the'	*=ʔwam:u*	*=ʔwan*
'the aforementioned'	*=ʔyo:mu*	*=ʔyowan*

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.

||=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).

(479) ||=ʔwam:u|| on least patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H VIII: 4)

čú:maṭ̓wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔkiḵ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
*ču:maṭ̓**wam:u** hoʔ:owi biʔḵiḵ:iw šiʔmiʔwan*
/ču:maṭ̓=wam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔḵi-ḵ: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.'

(480) ||=ʔyo:mu|| on most patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H V: 11)

ma: nup[ʰ]:é baʔ[:]áy:o:mu ḵas[:]ísiʔyowan dóṭ̓:ow
*ma: nupʰ:e baʔ:ay**:o:mu** ḵas:isiʔyowan doṭ̓:ow*
/ma: nupʰ:e baʔ:ay=yo:mu ḵas:isi=ʔyowan do-ṭ̓:o-w/
DEM striped.skunk woman=DET.SUBJ elk=DET.OBJ by.finger-skin-PFV
'**This Skunk woman** skinned the Elk.'

||=ʔwan|| 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) ||=ʔwan|| on the most patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H VIII: 4)

čú:maṭ̓wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
*čuːmaṭ̓wamːu hoʔːowi biʔǩiǩːiw šiʔmi**ʔwan***
/čuːmaṭ̓=wamːu hoʔːo=wi biʔǩi-ǩːi-w šiʔmi=ʔwan/
gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ
'the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, **the bow**.'

(482) ||=ʔyowan|| on the most patient-like core argument of transitive verb (H V: 11)

ma: nup[ʰ]:é baʔ[:]áy:o:mu ǩas[:]ísiʔyowan dóṭ̓:ow
*ma: nupʰːe baʔːayːoːmu ǩasːisi**ʔyowan** doṭ̓ːow*
/ma: nupʰːe baʔːay=yoːmu ǩasːisi=ʔyowan do-ṭ̓ːo-w/
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 ||=ʔwamːu|| and ||=ʔyoːmu|| 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) ||=ʔwamːu|| on the single argument of intransitive verb (H V: 7&8)

kʰaʔbéʔwam:u [ʔ]iy:óṯow čí:yow.
*[kʰaʔbe]**ʔwamːu** ʔiyːoṯow čiːyow*
/kʰaʔbe=ʔwamːu ʔiyːo=ṯow čiːyo-w/
rock=DET.SUBJ under=ABL stay-PFV
'**Rock [Man]** sat below.'

(484) ||=ʔyo:mu|| on the single argument of intransitive verb (H V: 6)

nup[ʰ]:é baʔ[:]ay( )yó:mu miṭ:iw
*nupʰ:e baʔ:ay**:o:mu** miṭ:iw*
/nupʰ:e baʔ:ay=yo:mu miṭ: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) ||=ʔwam:u|| DET.SUBJ and ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJ in multi-clause sentence (H I: 21)

(485a) muʔt̂á:li ká:wiʔwan čuh:úkaw,
*muʔt̂a:li ka:wi**ʔwan** čuh:ukaw*
/muʔt̂a-:li ka:wi=ʔwan čuh:u-ka-w/
cook-D.SEQ child=DET.OBJ eat-CAUS-PFV

(485b) bihsúmbakʰmá:yow ká:wiʔwam[:]u sí:ma mí:ṭiw.
*bihsumbakʰma:yow ka:wi**ʔwam:u** si:ma mi:ṭiw*
/bi-hsum-ba=kʰma:yow ka:wi=ʔwam:u si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
with.lips-stop-S.SEQ child=DET.SUBJ sleep lie-PFV

(485c) ha:miní:li mí(:)y[:]ame ká:wiʔwan čóh:oy.
*ha:mini:li miy:ame ka:wi**ʔwan** čoh:oy*
/ha:mini-:li miy:a-me-Ø ka:wi=ʔwan čoh:oy-Ø/
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:u|| 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)

ha:mini(:)ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw
*ha:miniba kʰaʔbe**yčon** si:ma mi:ṭiw*
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
and.then-S.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

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:maṭ́wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
*čuːmaṭ́wamːu hoʔːowi biʔǩiǩːiw šiʔmi<u>**ʔwan**</u>*
/čuːmaṭ́=wamːu hoʔːo=wi biʔǩi-ǩːi-w šiʔmi=ʔwan/
gray.squirrel=DET.SUBJ teeth=INSTR gnaw~ITER-PFV bow=DET.OBJ
'the Squirrel gnawed it with his teeth, <u>**the bow**</u>.'

(488) ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJECT on inanimate NP (H ms.)

čʰeʔ[:]eṭ́máywan šuhkʰečí:le
*čʰeʔːeṭ́mây<u>**wan**</u> šuhkʰečiːle*
/čʰeʔːeṭ́may=wan šu-hkʰe-či:-le/
basket=DET.OBJ by.pulling-move-REFL-PL.IMP
'2 move <u>**basket**</u> 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.

Table (47): Summary of agent/patient and subject/object case-marking systems

CLAUSE TYPE →		TRANSITIVE VERB		INTRANSITIVE VERB			
ANIMACY →		ANIMATE ARGUMENTS	INANIMATE ARGUMENTS	ANIMATE ARGUMENTS			INANIMATE ARGUMENTS
CASE-MARKING TYPE ↓				volitional, not affected, e.g. 'go', 'swim'	not volitional, not affected, e.g. 'be tall', 'be strong'	affected, not volitional, e.g. 'be cold', 'be angry'	
AGENT/PATIENT		A-*yey* (AGENT) O-*yčon* (PATIENT)	N/A	S-*yey* (AGENT)		S-*yčon* (PATIENT)	N/A
SUBJECT/OBJECT	'the'	A=*ʔwam:u* (DET.SUBJECT) O=*ʔwan* (DET.OBJECT)		S=*ʔwam:u* (DET.SUBJECT)			
	'the afore-mentioned'	A=*ʔyo:mu* (DET.SUBJECT) O=*ʔyowan* (DET.OBJECT)		S=*ʔyo:mu* (DET.SUBJECT)			

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 elswhere, and this section summarizes the system of valence-changing affixes with reference to the relevant sections in which more detailed examles 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]
ʔa *mul* *čʰiʔdimáʔ* *da:qaʔ*
I that carry-in want
'I want to carry that in'

[with causative *-qa-* (in bold): each verb has different subject]
ʔa *mul* *čʰiʔdimáčʰ**qa:*** *da:qaʔ*
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 transtitive 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 caustionary 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.[214] 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 sí:ma mí:ṭiw (H VIII: 8)
ha:miniba [kʰaʔbeyčon]$_S$ si:ma mi:ṭiw
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-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[:]á[ṭʰ]kʰan wéč:é(:)yčon bé:new míṭ:iw (H I:6)
[miy:aṭʰkʰan]$_A$ [weč:eyčon]$_O$ be:new miṭ:iw
/miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø weč:e=yčon be-:ne-w miṭ:i-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 kʰáʔbekʰáč:on ċa:yíyey [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew, (H VI: 3)
ha:mini:li [kʰaʔbekʰač:on]$_O$ [ċa:yiyey]$_A$ ʔuhṯehṯew
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ċa:yi=yey ʔuhṯe-hṯe-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

ƙohn̂tokʰn̂towá:ni [ʔ]íhčoƙ ču:máṭ'yey kʰaʔbéyčon. (H VIII: 8)
ƙohn̂tokʰn̂towa:ni ʔihčoƙ [ču:maṭ'yey]$_A$ [kʰaʔbeyčon]$_O$
/ƙohn̂tokʰn̂to=wa:ni ʔihčoƙ-Ø ču:maṭ'=yey 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].'

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 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 motiviations 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 /n̂tʰ/; (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.[215]

Table (48): Bound negative pronouns and negative response particle

||-t̪ʰ-||	||-t̪ʰe-||	||-t̪ʰen-||	||-t̪ʰu-||	||=t̪ʰoʔ||~||=t̪ʰoʔ||	||t̪ʰe:||
NEGATIVE (IRREALIS?)	NEGATIVE (REALIS?)	NEGATIVE IMPERFECTIVE	PROHIBITIVE (SINGULAR)	NEGATIVE (PERFECTIVE?)	NEGATIVE RESPONSE PARTICLE

Examples of each of the bound negative morphemes are repeated below.

(494) Example of ||-t̪ʰ-|| -t̪ʰ- NEGATIVE

čáhnu ǩóʔdi čánhodent̪[ʰ]íːbaʔwáʔa (H ms.)
čahnu ǩoʔdi čanhodent̪ʰiːbaʔwaʔa
/čahnu ǩoʔdi čanho-den-t̪ʰ-iːba=ʔwa=ʔa/
speech good speak-DIR-NEG-COND=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'I can't talk well'

(495) Example of ||-t̪ʰe-|| NEGATIVE

hudʔat̪ʰé( )[ʔ]t̪o míːt̪o. (H I: 25)
hudʔat̪ʰeʔt̪o miːt̪o
/hudʔa-t̪ʰe=ʔt̪o miːt̪o/
want-NEG=1SG.PAT 2SG.PAT
'I don't want you.'

[215] I have also seen /-t̪ʰi/ 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.

(496) Example of ||-t̪ʰen-|| NEGATIVE.IMPERFECTIVE

sí:ma mí:ṭiṭ̪ʰenṭ̓ó?t̪o dúw:e (H VIII: 2)
si:ma mi:ṭiṭ̪ʰenṭ̓o?t̪o duw:e
/si:ma mi:ṭi-t̪ʰen=ṭ̓o=?t̪o duw:e/
sleep lie-NEG.IPFV=CONTRAST=1SG.PAT night
'I can't sleep (at) night.'

(497) Example of ||-t̪ʰu-|| PROHIBITIVE in command to one person

mi:mákʰt̪[ʰ]u mádan (H ms.)
mi:makʰt̪ʰu madan
/mi:ma-kʰ-t̪ʰu mad-an/
cry-CAUS-PROH 3SG.F-PAT
'don't make her cry'

(498) Example of ||-t̪ʰu-|| PROHIBITIVE in command to more than one person

bé:nemhút̪[ʰ]le (H ms)
be:nemhut̪ʰle
/be-:ne-mhu-t̪ʰ-le/
with.arms-grasp-RECIP-PROH-PL.IMP
'2 don't hug e[ach] o[ther]!'

(499) ||=t̪ʰoṭ̓|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoṭ̓|| NEGATIVE (PERFECTIVE?) negating verb

?a:?a kʰat̪:adukʰ:et̪ʰoṭ̓ (W: OF)
/?a:?a kʰat̪:-adu-kʰ:e=t̪ʰoṭ̓/
1SG.AGT run-DIR-FUT=NEG
'I didn't run away'

(500) ||=t̪ʰoṭ̓|| ~ ||=t̪ʰoṭ̓|| NEGATIVE (PERFECTIVE?) negating predicate nominal

[?]á:čaċyey( )t̪[ʰ]oṭ̓wa (H ms.)
?a:čaċyeyt̪ʰoṭ̓wa
/?a:-ča-ċ-yey=t̪ʰoṭ̓=wa/
1-mother's.father-GS-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.

||ʔačʰ:o-|| ~ ||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 ||*ʔačʰ:o-*|| NEGATIVE.EXISTENTIAL with perfective suffix (W: OF)

kʰaʔbeʔkʰe ʔačʰ:ow
/kʰaʔbe=ʔkʰe ʔačʰ:o-w/
rock=1SG.POSS NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV
'I have no money'

(502) Example of ||*ʔačʰ:o-*|| NEGATIVE.EXISTENTIAL with perfective suffix (H I:3)

há:miní:li miy[:]a[ṭʰ]kʰan ʔačʰ:ow
ha:mini:li miy:aṭʰkʰan ʔačʰ:ow
/ha:mini-:li miy:a-ṭʰkʰan-Ø ʔačʰ:o-w/
and.then-D.SEQ 3-spouse-AGT NEG.EXISTENTIAL-PFV
'Then his wife was not there'

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 ||ʔahčʰo-č-ka-|| NEG.EXISTENTIAL-SEM-CAUS- (O D: ED)

<tada*pu ʔahc^ho*kaw.>
t̂ada:pu ʔahčʰo:kaw
/t̂ada:pu ʔahčʰo-:-ka-w/
clothes NEG.EXISTENTIAL-SEM-CAUS-PFV
(He) wore out his clothes.

When suffixed with ||-čič'-|| REFLEXIVE~INCEPTIVE, 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 ||ʔahčo-čič'-|| NEG.EXISTENTIAL-REFLEXIVE (O D: ED)

<ʔahc^hociy>
ʔahčʰočiy
/ʔahčʰo-čiy-Ø/
NEG.EXISTENTIAL-REFL-PFV
'to die'

||yaʔčʰo-|| '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 ||ʔačʰ:o-|| 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 ||yaʔčʰo-|| 'to not like, not want' (O D: EA)

<yaʔc^howa ʔto mi*to.>
yaʔčʰowaʔt̂o mi:t̂o
/yaʔčʰo-wa=ʔt̂o mi:t̂o/
not.want-EVID=1SG.PAT 2SG.PAT
'I don't like you.'

(506) Example of ||yaʔčʰo-|| ‘to not like, not want’ (O D: EA)

<?at*o ya?c^howa.>
ʔaṯ:o yaʔčʰowa
/ʔaṯ:o 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)

<beh$e bo*?odenti ?to la?bay>
behše bo:ʔodeṇtiʔṭo laʔbay
/behše bo:ʔo-den-ṯi=ʔṭo laʔbay-Ø/
deer hunt-DIR-FUT.INTENT=1SG.PAT be.unable-PFV
‘I don't know how to hunt deer’

(508) Example of ||laʔbač-|| ‘to be unable’ (H ms.)

čáhnu láʔbaywáʔṭo
čahnu laʔbaywaʔṭo
/čahnu laʔbay=wa=ʔṭo/
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(t̰o)* 'who(m)' and all other question words (*ceṭ'* 'how', *ba:ǩo* 'what', *buṯ:e* 'when', *he:ʔey* 'where', *he:meṭ'* 'why', *meṭ'bu* 'how many') when they are used as interrogatives. Question words come first within the interrogative clause, and it is to them that the second positon clitic ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attaches. Examples are given below in (509) – (512).

(509) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with *čaʔ:a* 'who'

čaʔ[:]áʔkam:u	[ʔ]áṭʰ:a	[ʔ]ahsóduy (H ms.)
čaʔ:aʔkam:u	*ʔaṭʰ:a*	*ʔahsoduy*
/čaʔ:a=ʔka=m:u	ʔaṭʰ:a	ʔahso-duy-Ø/
who=INTER=3SG	gravel	throw.many.small-DIR-PFV

'who threw the gravel[?]'

(510) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with *čaʔ:at̰o* 'whom'

čaʔ:at̰oʔkaʔma dihkaw	(Halpern 1984: 7)
čaʔ:at̰oʔkaʔma dihkaw	
/čaʔ:a-t̰o=ʔka=ʔma	dihka-w/
who-PAT=INTER=2SG.AGT	give.one-PFV

'to whom did you give it?'

(511) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with *he:ʔey* 'where'

he:ʔeykaʔma ho:li:mu	(W: OF)
/he:ʔey=ka=ʔma	ho:li-:mu/
where=INTER=2SG.AGT	leave-SECOND.PERSON

'Where are you going?'

(512) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| with *ceṭ̓* 'how'

ceṭ̓ kaʔma (W: OF)
/ceṭ̓ ka=ʔma/
how INTER=2SG.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

[ʔ]ahnaṭ̂íːbaʔkáʔma (H ms.)
ʔahnaṭ̂iːbaʔkaʔma
/ʔa-hnaṭ̂-iːba=ʔka=ʔma/
with.leg-try-COND=INTER=2SG.AGT
'are you going to try it w[ith] heel?'

(514) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attached to adverb

maːliʔkaʔya dasːékʰːe (H V: 11)
maːliʔkaʔya dasːekʰːe
/maːli=ʔka=ʔya dasːe-kʰːe/
here=INTER=1PL.AGT wash-FUT
'shall we wash it here?'

(515) Interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka|| attached to nominal

midʔikíːkʰeʔka[ ]máːmu (H ms.)
midʔikiːkʰeʔka maːmu
/mi-dʔi-ki-ːkʰe=ʔka maːmu/
2-older.sister-GS-POSS=INTER 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 *buṯ:e* ‘when’; however, the second example shows this word followed by the auxiliary ||yo|| ~ ||=ʔyo|| without the interrogative clitc. 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 *buṯ:e* ‘when’

buṯ:e kaʔma čoh:onhkʰe (W: OF)
||buṯ:e ka=ʔa:ma čoh:oN-kʰ:e||
/buṯ:e ka=ʔma čoh:onh-kʰe/
when INTER=2SG.AGT marry-FUT
'when will you get married?'

(517) *buṯ:e* ‘when’ as question without interrogative ||ka|| ~ ||=ʔka||

búṯ:eʔyómṯo [ʔ]ahčáči[y] (H ms.)
buṯ:eʔyomṯo ʔahčačiy
/buṯ:e=ʔyo=mṯo ʔahčačiy-Ø/
when=AUX=2SG.PAT awake-PFV
‘when did you wake up[ʔ]’

There are two response particles which may be used in reply to a yes/no question: *hiy:o* ‘yes’ (sometimes recorded as *hiy:ow*); *ṯʰe:* ‘no’. Examples of recorded exchanges with the response particles are given in (518) and (519) below.

(518) Example of *hiy:o* positive response particle (H ms.)

Question: mabʔaċé:ƙoʔkáʔma
mabʔaċe:ƙoʔkaʔma
/ma-bʔa-ċ-e:=ƙo=ʔka=ʔma/
3C-father's.father-GS-OBL=COM=INTER=2SG.AGT
'have you a gr.fa.[?]'

Answer: híy:o mábʔaċé:ƙoʔwáʔa
hiy:o mabʔaċe:ƙoʔwaʔa
/hiy:o ma-bʔa-ċ-e:=ƙo=ʔwa=ʔa/
yes 3C-father's.father-GS-OBL=COM=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'yes I have a gr.fa.' (H .030: 5)

(519) Example of *t̂ʰe:* negative response particle (W: OF)

Elsie Allen: *pʰal:aʔčaykaʔma*
/pʰal:aʔčay=ka=ʔma/
white.person=INTER=2SG.AGT
'Are you a white person?'

Olive Fulwider: *t̂ʰe: ʔahčahčaywaʔa*
/t̂ʰe: ʔahčahčay=wa=ʔa/
no Indian=COP.EVID=1SG.AGT
'No, I'm Indian.'

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 labled with a subscript C).

(520) Example of CTV *hiʔduʔčʼedu-* ‘to know’ with complement clause

čáhnu čanhódu híʔduʔčˈeduʔwám:u (H ms.)
[čahnu čanhodu]$_C$ *hiʔduʔčˈeduʔwam:u*
/čahnu čanho-du hiʔduʔčˈedu=ʔwa=m:u/
speech speak-IPFV know=COP.EVID=3SG
'he knows how to talk'

An example of the CTV *hud?a-* 'to want, like' is given in (521) below.

(521) Example of CTV *hud?a-* 'to want, like' with complement clause

[?]a:mayá:ǩo mí:ṭiw hud?á:t̲ʰo̲ʔ̲ ṭá?t̲o (H ms.)
[?a:maya:ǩo mi:ṭiw]$_C$ hud?a:t̲ʰo̲ʔ̲ ṭa?t̲o
/?a:maya=:ǩo mi:ṭi-w hud?a:=t̲ʰo̲ʔ̲ ṭa=?t̲o/[216]
2PL.AGT=COM lie-PFV want=NEG EMPHATIVE=1SG.PAT
'I don't like to sleep w. ye'

The CTV *nih:i- ~ nihi- ~ hnih- ~ hni- ~ 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 *nih:i- ~ nihi- ~ hnih- ~ hni- ~ ni-* 'say' with reflexive suffix

<?it^h*in ho*liw hnic'a.>
[?it̲ʰ:in ho:liw]$_C$ hnič'a
/?it̲ʰ:in ho:li-w hni-č'-a/
early leave-PFV say-REFL-EVID
'He said he had gone there.'

Unlike the CTVs discussed thus far, the verb *lab?ay-* 'to be unable' does have overt morphology on the complement clause. The complement clause with this verb must be inflected with the future intentive suffix *-t̲i-*, as shown in (523) below.

[216] Halpern habitually records length before the comitative enclitic *=ǩo*. This could be speaker variation or a mistake on his part. The length before the negative enclitic *=t̲ʰo̲ʔ̲* might hide an undidentified inflectional suffix or be the product of speaker variation or linguist error.

(523) Example of complement clause with *laʔbay-* ‘to be unable’

<beh$e bo*ʔodenti ʔto laʔbay> (O D: ED)
[behše boːʔodenṯi]꜀ʔṯo laʔbay
/behše boːʔo-den-ṯi=ʔṯo 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

kaːwi ʔaː čuhːukaṯi hoːliːna (W: OF)
/kaːwi ʔaː čuhːu-ka-ṯi hoːli-ːna/
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

	SAME SUBJECT	DIFFERENT SUBJECT
SEQUENTIAL	||-ba||	||-ːli||
SIMULTANEOUS	||-Vn||	||-en||
IRREALIS	||-pʰi||	||-pʰla||

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

	SAME SUBJECT	DIFFERENT SUBJECT
OPPOSITIVE	||=ʔnaṭ̂i||	||-eṭ̂i||
INFERENTIAL	||-mna||	||-ben||

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 (51): Southern Pomo switch-reference suffixes and cognates

	REALIS				IRREALIS	
	SEQUENTIAL		SIMULTANEOUS			
	SAME	DIFFERENT	SAME	DIFFERENT	SAME	DIFFERENT
KASHAYA	*-ba*	*-...li*	*-in ~ -an ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n*	*-em ~ -wem*	*-pʰi ~ -čʰi ~ -hi*	*-pʰila ~ -čʰila ~ -hila*
CENTRAL POMO	*-ba*	*=li*	*-in*	*=da*	*-hi*	*=hla*
SOUTHERN POMO	*-ba*	*-:li ~ -:ni*	*-in ~ -an ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n*	*-en ~ -wen*	*-pʰi*	*-pʰla*

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

[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.[218] 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

[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 /:/ 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)
||-ːli|| *-ːli ~ -ːni* 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 *-ːli* and their glossing and translation are in bold and underlined).

(525) Example of ||-ba|| (H VI:3)

šin:ákʰle héʔ[:]e p[ʰ]aʔčiba ma:ṭ́íkin,
šin:akʰle heʔ:e ***pʰaʔčiba*** *ma:ṭ́ikin*
||šin:a-kʰle heʔ:e pʰa-ʔči-ba maH-ṭ́i-ki-n||
/šin:a-kʰle heʔ:e pʰa-ʔči-ba ma-ːṭ́i-ki-n/
head-crown hair **with.hand-grab-S.SEQ** 3C-younger.sibling-GS-PAT

ká:liŋhkʰay huʔ[:]ú:čin nih[:]iw.
ka:linhkʰay huʔ:u:čin nih:iw
||ka:li=li=kʰač huʔ:uy-t̰-č-Vn nih:i-w||[220]
/ka:li-nhkʰay huʔ:u-ː-č-in nih:i-w/
up-ward face-DENOM-SEM-SG.IMP say-PFV

'**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 ||huʔ:uč-|| 'face' followed by the denominalizing suffix ||-t̰-||; however, the expected outcome from such a combination would be /huʔ:uč:-/ or /huʔ:ut̰-/, and the semelfactive, if it is present, would explain the surface form.

(526) Example of ||-ba|| and ||-:li|| (H VI:12)

hám:un hniba duw:é:li
ham:un ***hniba duw:e:li***
||ham:u-n nih:i-ba duw:eč-:li||[221]
/ham:u-n hni-ba duw:e-:li/
3SG-PAT **say-S.SEQ** **night.falls-D.SEQ**

č'á:t̲on mis:íbo mí:ṭiw.
č'a:t̲on mis:ibo mi:ṭiw
||č'a:ʔa=t̲on mis:ibo mi:ṭi-w||
/č'a:=t̲on mis:ibo mi:ṭi-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:dédun hwád:u
ča:dedun hwad:u
||ča:de-ad-Vn hu:w-aded-u||
/ča:de-d-un hw-ad:-u/
look-DIR-S.SIM go-DIR-PFV
'He walked around **looking around**.'

(528) Example of ||-en|| D.SIM (H VIII: 4)

[221] ||duw:e|| is the noun 'night', and ||duw:eč-|| is the verb for 'night falls'.

má:mu kʰaʔbéyey wí:miŋhkʰáyʔden
ma:mu kʰaʔbeyey ***wi:minhkʰayʔden***
||ma:mu kʰaʔbe=yey wi:mi=li=kʰač-wad-en||
/ma:mu kʰaʔbe=yey wi:mi-nhkʰay-ʔd-en/
DEM rock=AGT **there-ward-HAB-D.SIM**[222]

čú:maṭ́wám:u hoʔ[:]ówi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
ču:maṭ́wam:u hoʔ:owi biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan
||ču:maṭ́=ʔwam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔǩi-R-w šiʔmi=ʔwan||
/ču:maṭ́=wam:u hoʔ:o=wi biʔǩi-ǩ:i-w šiʔmi=ʔwan/
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'.

kʰaʔ[:]á:le[ʔ]waʔ( )máya kú:lun hó:lip[ʰ]i
kʰaʔ:a:leʔwaʔmaya ku:lun ***ho:lipʰi***
||kʰaʔ:a:le=ʔwa=ʔa:maya ku:lu-n ho:li-pʰi||
/kʰaʔ:a:le=ʔwa=ʔmaya ku:lu-n ho:li-pʰi/
tomorrow=COP.EVID=2PL.AGT outside-GOAL **leave-S.IRR**

baʔ[:]á:yey híʔbu [ʔ]ehčʰékʰ[:]e
baʔ:a:yey hiʔbu ʔehčʰekʰ:e
||baʔ:ay=yey hiʔbu ʔehčʰe-kʰ:e||[223]
/baʔ:a:=yey hiʔbu ʔehčʰe-kʰ:e
woman=AGT potato dig-FUT

'Tomorrow, you women **will go** to the outside and dig wild potatoes'

(530) Example of ||-pʰla|| D.IRR(H V:26)

mič:áċyey mehšekʰ[:]éʔwa
mič:aċyey mehšekʰ:eʔwa
||miH-ča-ċ-yey mi-hše-kʰ:e=ʔwa||
/mi-č:a-ċ-yey me-hše-kʰ:e=ʔwa/
2-mother's.father-GS-PL.AGT with.nose-smell-FUT=COP.EVID

[ʔ]á:maya híʔt̂a das:ép[ʰ]la.
ʔa:maya hiʔt̂a ***das:epʰla***
ʔa:maya hiʔt̂a da-s:e-pʰla||
/ʔa:maya hiʔt̂a da-s:e-pʰla/
2PL.AGT nearby **with.palm-wash-D.IRR**

'Your grandfathers will smell (it) **if** you **wash** them nearby.'

3.10.2.4. The *ha:mini-* construction

In addition to the switch-reference suffixes on dependent verbs, Southern Pomo contains a pro-verb, *ha:mini-* (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 ||ʔehčʰe-|| '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( )háywan mú:kʰen.
mu:kʰelhaywan mu:kʰen
||mu-:kʰeN-ʔah:ay=ʔwan mu-:kʰeN-Ø||
/mu-:kʰel-hay=wan mu-:kʰen-Ø/
object.thru.air-sev.slide-wood=DET.OBJ object.thru.air-sev.slide-PFV

ha:miní(:)ba [ʔ]íhmin.
ha:miniba *ʔihmin*
||ha:mini-ba ʔihmiN-Ø||
/ha:mini-ba ʔihmin-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)

[ʔ]ahšáʔwan [ʔ]áč:a mí:haṭaǩ.
ʔahšaʔwan ʔač:a mi:haṭaǩ
||ʔahša=ʔwan ʔahča-Ø mi:ha<ṭa>k-Ø||
/ʔahša=ʔwan ʔač:a-Ø mi:ha<ṭa>ǩ-Ø/
fish=DET.OBJ house-DIFFUSE bring<PL.ACT>-PFV

ha:mini:li kʰáʔbekʰáč:on ċa:yíyey [ʔ]uhṭéhṭew,
ha:mini:li *kʰaʔbekʰač:on ċa:yiyey ʔuhṭehṭew*
||ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbekʰač=yčon ċa:yi=yey ʔuhṭe-ř-w||
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbekʰač=čon ċa:yi=yey ʔuhṭe-hṭe-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 *ha:mini-* construction is unique. It combines sentences. The switch-reference suffixes on regular verbs (i.e. not on the pro-verb *ha:mini-*) 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 enclitc ||=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 (H VIII: 8)

ha:mini(:)ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw
ha:miniba ***kʰaʔbeyčon*** *si:ma mi:ṭiw*
||ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w||
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
and.then-S.SEQ **rock=PAT** sleep lie-PFV

'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:mini:li kʰaʔbéyčon ƙál:aw.
ha:mini:li ***kʰaʔbeyčon*** *ƙal:aw*
||ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbe=yčon ƙal:a-w||
/ha:mini-:li kʰaʔbe=yčon ƙal:a-w/
and.then-D.SEQ **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 ||ʔihčoƙ-|| '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)

ƙohṯokʰṯowá:ni [ʔ]íhčoƙ ču:máṭ'yey kʰaʔbéyčon.
ƙohṯokʰṯowa:ni ʔihčoƙ ču:maṭ'yey ***kʰaʔbeyčon***
||ƙohṯokʰṯo=wa:ni ʔihčoƙ-Ø ču:maṭ'=yey kʰaʔbe=yčon||
/ƙohṯokʰṯo=wa:ni ʔihčoƙ-Ø ču:maṭ'=yey 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)

kʰaʔbéyey hó:liw
kʰaʔbeyey *ho:liw*
||kʰaʔbe=yey ho:li-w||
/kʰaʔbe=yey ho:li-w/
rock=AGT leave-PFV

'**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)

kʰaʔbéyey čú:maṭ̓čon [ʔ]óh:ow [ʔ]a̱ṭ:íːkʰe ċú:ʔu.
kʰaʔbeyey *ču:maṭ̓čon ʔoh:ow ʔa̱ṭ:i:kʰe ċu:ʔu*
||kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maṭ̓=čon ʔoh:o-w ʔa̱ṭ:i-:kʰe ċu:ʔu||
/kʰaʔbe=yey ču:maṭ̓=čon ʔoh:o-w ʔa̱ṭ:i-:kʰe ċu:ʔu/
rock=AGT gray.squirrel=PAT give-PFV 3C.SG-POSS arrow

'**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 (*či:yo-w* stay-PFV) and the TAM-bearing main verb of the second sentence (*mi:ṭi-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=yčon* rock=PAT). (The pro-verb bearing the switch-reference suffix is in bold and underlined in the text, the glossing, and in the translation.)

(538) Example of switch-reference not coreferencing agentive case (H V: 7&8)

kʰaʔbéʔwam:u [ʔ]iy:ó̱tow čí:yow.
kʰaʔbeʔwam:u ʔiy:o̱tow či:yow
||kʰaʔbe=ʔwam:u ʔiy:o=t̲ow či:yo-w||
/kʰaʔbe=ʔwam:u ʔiy:o=t̲ow či:yo-w/
rock=DET.SUBJ under=ABL[224] stay-PFV

ha:mini(:)ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw
ha:miniba kʰaʔbeyčon si:ma mi:ṭiw
||ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w||
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
and.then-S.SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV

'Rock [Man] sat below. Having done so, Rock [Man] went to sleep.'

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 *šul:ad-u* sick-PFV in the first sentence; 'my mother' is in the agentive case as the least affected argument of the verb *kaʔdi-ka-w* call-CAUS-PFV 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

[224] The ablative enclitic ||=t̲ow|| 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]á:č'e̱ṭóʔyowaʔ šul:ádu, čáċeʔ.
ʔa:č'e̱ṭoʔyowaʔ šul:adu, čaċeʔ
||ʔa:-č'e-e̱ṭo=ʔyowaʔ šul:a-ad-u ča-ċ-eʔ||
/ʔa:-č'e-e̱ṭo=ʔyowaʔ šul:ad-u ča-ċ-eʔ/[225]
1-mother-PAT=DET.? sick-PFV mother's.father-GS-VOC

ha:miní(:)baʔe̱ṭo [ʔ]á:č'en mí:e̱ṭo kʰaʔdíkaw.
ha:miniba?e̱ṭo *ʔa:č'en mi:e̱ṭo kʰaʔdikaw*
||ha:mini-ba=ʔaṭ:o ʔa:-č'e-n mi:e̱ṭo kʰaʔdi-ka-w||
/ha:mini-ba=ʔe̱ṭo ʔa:-č'e-n mi:e̱ṭo kʰaʔdi-ka-w/
and.then-S.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 *=ʔyo:mu* 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( )k^{h}má:yow (H VI: 6)
mi:ma:ba*k^{h}ma:yow,*
/mi:ma:-ba=k^{h}ma:yow/
cry-S.SEQ=after

(540b) [ʔ]óh:o bá:maba,
ʔoh:o ***ba:maba,***
/ʔoh:o ba:ma-ba/
fire **build-S.SEQ**

(540c) k^{h}áʔbe ču:má:ba,
k^{h}aʔbe ***ču:ma:ba***,
/k^{h}aʔbe ču:ma:-ba/
rock **set-S.SEQ**[226]

[226] The verb stem ||čum:a-|| 'sit' may also mean 'several non-long objects to sit (off ground)', and the verb of this clause, *ču:ma:-* 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.

(540d) čó:low:i [ʔ]ahkʰa [ʔ]ohčóba,
čo:low:i ʔahkʰa ***ʔohčoba,***
/čo:low=wi ʔahkʰa ʔohčo-ba/
baby.bath.basket=INSTR water **place.shapeless.mass-S.SEQ**

(540e) kʰaʔbéʔwan [ʔ]oh:o t̂í:li, kʰaʔbe [ʔ]oh:óʔwan
kʰaʔbeʔwan ***ʔoh:o t̂i:li****—kʰaʔbe ʔoh:oʔwan—*
/kʰaʔbe=ʔwan ʔoh:o t̂i-:li kʰaʔbe ʔoh:o=ʔwan/
rock=DET.OBJ **fire** **INCH-D.SEQ** rock place.shapeless.mass=DET.OBJ

(540f) čó:low [ʔ]áhkʰa [ʔ]ohčó:yawa:níwi
—čo:low ʔahkʰa ʔohčo:yawa:niwi—
/čo:low ʔahkʰa ʔohčo:-ya=wa:ni=wi/
baby.bath.basket water place.shapeless.mass-DEFOC=LOC=INSTR

(540g) kʰaʔbéʔwan čó:low[:]a:níwi
kʰaʔbeʔwan čo:low:a:niwi
/kʰaʔbe=ʔwan čo:low=wa:ni=wi/
rock=DET.OBJ baby.bath.basket=LOC=INSTR

(540h) kʰáʔbe [ʔ]oh:óʔwan mi:t̂álaw,
kʰaʔbe ʔoh:oʔwan ***mi:t̂alaw,***
/kʰaʔbe ʔoh:o=ʔwan mi:t̂a-la-w/
rock fire=DET.OBJ **put.several-DIR-PFV**

(540i) [ʔ]ahkʰá [ʔ]oh:o t̂ikʰt̂i.
ʔahkʰa ʔoh:o t̂ikʰt̂i.
/ʔahkʰa ʔoh:o t̂i-kʰ-t̂i/
water fire INCH-CAUS-FUTURE.INTENTIVE

‘(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

[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).

basket are marked as same with ||-ba|| S.SEQ in relation to the main verb in (540h), *mi:ʦ̂ta-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 ?oh:o ʦ̂ti-:li* rock fire INCH-D.SEQ 'when the rocks became hot' is marked as different in relation to the same main verb with ||-:li|| 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" switich-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 languge, 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-SS V_i-DS V_j-SS V_j-SS 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:

V_i-SS V_j-DS V_i-SS V_i-SS V_i

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 *ʔa̱t̲:i=t̲on* 3C.SG=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.)

(541) Multi-clause sentence with no overt core arguments (O I: 9)

ʔaṯ̂:i=ṯ̂on mi:mačen, či:yowen,
ʔaṯ̂:iṯ̂on mi:mačen, či:yowen,
||ʔaṯ̂:i=ṯ̂on mi:mač-en či:yo-en||
/ʔaṯ̂:i=ṯ̂on mi:mač-en či:yo-wen/
3C.SG=LOC cry-D.SIM sit-D.SIM

daʔṯ̂aba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
daʔṯ̂aba, čoh:omba, šudʔeduy.
||daʔṯ̂a-ba čoh:oN-ba šu-ʔde-aduč-Ø||
/daʔṯ̂a-ba čoh:om-ba šu-dʔe-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**.'

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).

(542) Example of disreferential switch-reference suffix (H V: 13)

das:ébakʰmá:yow ǩóʔdi das:ébakʰmá:yow
das:ebakʰma:yow ǩoʔdi das:ebakʰma:yow
/da-s:e-ba=kʰma:yow ǩoʔdi da-s:e-ba=kʰma:yow/
with.palm-wash-S.SEQ=after good with.palm-wash-S.SEQ=after

kič[=c]:ídu [ʔ]ahkʰáʔwan múkʰ:aťká:li
*kic:idu ʔahkʰaʔwan **mukʰ:aťka:li***
/kic:idu ʔahkʰa=ʔwan mukʰ:ať-ka-:li/
little water=DET.OBJ **dry-CAUS-D.SEQ**

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay [ʔ]ahkó:či[y]
*ʔahčanhkʰay **ʔahko:čiy***
/ʔahča=nhkʰay ʔahko: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 *ʔahko: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 *mukʰ: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 *ʔahkʰa* '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 mono-clausal 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 *ʔihčok-* '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

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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 kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw,
ha:miniba kʰaʔbeyčon si:ma mi:ṭiw,
/ha:mini-ba kʰaʔbe=yčon si:ma mi:ṭi-w/
and.then-S.SEQ rock=PAT sleep lie-PFV

(543b) ha:mini:li čú:maṭ̓yey sí:ma <u>mikʰ:ó:li</u>
ha:mini:li ču:maṭ̓yey si:ma mikʰ:o:li
/ha:mini-:li ču:maṭ̓=yey si:ma mikʰ:o-:li/
and.then-D.SEQ gray.squirrel=AGT sleep <u>snore-D.SEQ</u>

(543c) [ʔ]am:áŋhkʰay p[ʰ]il:álʔba,
*ʔam:anhkʰay **pʰil:alʔba**,*
/ʔam:a=nhkʰay pʰil:-alʔ-ba/
earth=ward <u>crawl-DIR-S.SEQ</u>

(543d) —kʰaʔbéyey ká:liŋhkʰay huʔ[:]úṭ̓maw,
—kʰaʔbeyey ka:linhkʰay huʔ:uṭ̓maw—
/kʰaʔbe=yey ka:li=nhkʰay huʔ:u-ṭ̓-ma-w/
rock=AGT up=ward face-DENOM-ESSIVE-PFV

(543e) ƙohṭokʰṭowá:ni [ʔ]íhčoƙ ču:máṭ̓yey kʰaʔbéyčon.
*ƙohṭokʰṭowa:ni **ʔihčoƙ** ču:maṭ̓yey kʰaʔbeyčon.*
/ƙohṭokʰṭo=wa:ni ʔihčoƙ-Ø ču:maṭ̓=yey kʰaʔbe=yčon/
base.of.neck=LOC **<u>shoot-PFV</u>** gray.squirrel=AGT rock=PAT

'Having done so, Rock went to sleep. He having done so, <u>when</u> he <u>snored</u>, Squirrel, **having crawled down** to the ground--Rock turned his face upwards--**<u>shot</u>** 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 *ha:mini-*, and subscripts are used to mark the relationship between arguments and main verbs):

(543a) ProV-S.SEQ$_i$ NP$_i$ MV$_i$

(543b) ProV-D.SEQ$_j$ NP$_j$ DV-DS$_k$

(543c) Obl DV-SS$_j$

(543d) —NP Obl MV—

(543e) Obl MV$_j$ NP$_j$ 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 nominalizaton 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 ||=yčon|| does not appear to be used to nominalize a verb which will not be part of a relative clause.[230] The enclitics ||=ʔwan|| DET.OBJ and ||=ʔyowan|| 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 (H I: 1)

ma:číl:e bíʔdu čóhšinwan šú:kʰaw
ma:čil:e [biʔdu čohšinwan]$_{O}$ 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.']

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)

[ʔ]aṭ̂[:]i ċíhṭ̂a mí:haǩ( )wanṭ̂óŋhkʰle muʔṭ̂ákaw.
[ʔaṭ̂:i ċihṭ̂a mi:haǩwanṭ̂onhkʰle]$_{RC:O}$ muʔṭ̂akaw
/ʔaṭ̂:i ċihṭ̂a mi:haǩ-Ø=wan=ṭ̂onhkʰle muʔṭ̂a-ka-w/
3C.SG.AGT 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 *ʔaṭ̂: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 *=t̂onhkʰle* ‘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, *ʔačʰ: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)

ʔaṭ̂:íːkʰe ċíhṭ̂a [ʔ]ačʰːáwːan dóhloƙ
[ʔaṭ̂ːiːkʰe ċihṭ̂a ʔačʰːawːan]$_{RC:O}$ dohloƙ
/ʔaṭ̂ːi-ːkʰe ċihṭ̂a ʔačʰːa-w=wan dohlo-ƙ-Ø/
3C.SG-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

mák:aċ ší:ba:t̯[ʰ]aw mát̯ʰ:i miṭ:í:čon [ʔ]uht̯éht̯ew (H IX: 8)
[mak:aċši:ba:t̯ʰaw mat̯ʰ:i miṭ:i:čon]$_{RC:O}$ *ʔuht̯eht̯ew*

/ma-k:a-ċ-Ø	ši:ba:t̯ʰaw	mat̯ʰ:i	miṭ:i-Ø=:čon	ʔuht̯eht̯e-w/
3C-mo.mo.-GS-AGT	poor	blind	lie-DIFFUSE=PAT[232]	tell-PFV

'[They] told their poor blind grandmother who was lying (there)'

Note that the use of the third-person-possessed kinship prefix ||maH-|| *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.

[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)

čú:maʼyey hó:liw [ʔ]aṯ:íyey daʔṯámhukʰ:eʔyowanṯónŋhkʰay
čuːmaʼyey hoːliw [ʔaṯːiyey daʔṯamhukʰːeʔyowanṯonhkʰay]$_{RC:Obl}$
/čuːmaʼ=yey hoːli-w ʔaṯːi-yey daʔṯa-mhu-kʰː=ʔyowan=ṯonhkʰay/
squirrel=AGT leave-PFV 3C-PL.AGT find-RECIP-FUT=DET.OBJ=toward
'Squirrel went off to where they will meet each other'

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 *=ṯonhkʰay* '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)

ʔaṯ̂:íːkʰe ċíhṯ̂a [ʔ]ačʰːáwːan dóhloƙ
[ʔaṯ̂ːiːkʰe ċihṯ̂a ʔačʰːawːan]$_{RC:O}$ dohloƙ
/ʔaṯ̂ːi-ːkʰe ċihṯ̂a ʔačʰːa-w=wan dohlo-ƙ-Ø/
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)

ċíhṯ̂a [ʔ]áčʰːaw dólhow,
ċihṯ̂a ʔačʰːaw dolhow
/ċihṯ̂a ʔačʰːa-w 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 liƛ̓klísyey
ho:liw liƛ̓klisyey
/ho:li-w liƛ̓klis=yey/
leave-PFV raptor.species=AGT

(551b) [ʔ]aṯ̂:i ċihṯ̂a mín:an( )yowan( )ṯ̂óŋhkʰay,
[ʔaṯ̂:i ċihṯ̂a min:anyowanṯ̂oŋhkʰay]$_{RC:Obl}$
/ʔaṯ̂:i ċihṯ̂a min:an-Ø=yowan=ṯ̂oŋhkʰay/
3C.SG.AGT bird~game trap-PFV=DET.OBJ=toward

(551c) ċíhṯ̂aʔwan dólhow,
ċihṯ̂aʔwan dolhow
/ċihṯ̂a=ʔwan dolho-w/
bird~game=DET.OBJ take.off-PFV

(551d) ċíhṯ̂a [ʔ]áčʰ:aw dólhow
ċihṯ̂a ʔačʰ:aw dolhow
/ċihṯ̂a ʔačʰ: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)

ċíh᷼ṯaʔwan dólhow,
ċih᷼ṯaʔwan dolhow

/ċih᷼ṯa=ʔwan	dolho-w/
game=DET.OBJ	take.off-PFV

'(he) took the game off the snares'

(551d) (repeated from above)

ċíh᷼ṯa [ʔ]áčʰ:aw dólhow
ċih᷼ṯa ʔačʰ:aw dolhow

/ċih᷼ṯa	ʔačʰ:a-w	dolho-w/
game	catch-PFV	take.off-PFV

'(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)

[ʔ]aṭ̂:í:kʰe ċíhṭ̂a [ʔ]áčʰ:aw dólhow
[ʔaṭ̂:i:kʰe ċihṭ̂a ʔačʰ:aw]$_{RC:O}$ dolhow
/ʔaṭ̂:i:kʰe ċihṭ̂a ʔačʰ:aw dolhow/
3C.SG-POSS bird~game catch-PFV 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

	NOMINALIZED CLAUSES WHICH ARE NOT RCS	NOMINALIZED CLAUSE WHICH ARE RCS		JUXTAPOSED CLAUSES WHICH MAY FUNCTION AS RCS
		As core argument	*As oblique*	
Overt nominalizing morphology on clause	YES	YES	YES	NO
Functions as a relative clause	NO	YES	YES	YES
Internal-head, non-reduction type	N/A	YES	NO	YES
Internal-head, gap type	N/A	NO	YES	NO
RC includes coreferential pronoun or kinship prefix	N/A	YES (OPTIONAL?)	YES (OPTIONAL?)	OPTIONAL

3.10.4. Coordination

In addition to the types of clause combination which have already been discussed, such as switch-reference suffixes and the oppositive enclitic ||=ʔnaṭ̂i|| '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 I: 24)

miy:ame miy:aṭʰe he:miniw
miy:ame miy:aṭʰe he:miniw
/miy:a-me-Ø miy:a-ṭʰe-Ø he:mini-w/
3-father-AGT 3-mother-AGT how.do-PFV

diʔbuw he: muʔkukaw.
diʔbuw ***he:*** *muʔkukaw*
/diʔbu-w he: mu-ʔku-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: *miy:ame* ‘her father’ and *miy:aṭʰe* ‘[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: *ʔa:t̪ʰeṅ* 'my mother (formal) and *mihṭʰe* '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.

||-ba-ċ-|| father's father, father's father's brother

-ba-ċ- fa.fa.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:baċen	
	2	mibʔaċ	mibʔaċyey
	3	miy:abaċ	
	3C	mabʔaċ	
PAT	1	ʔa:baṭo	
	2	mibʔaċen	
	3		
	3C	mabʔaċen	
POSS	1	ʔa:baċe:kʰe	
	2	mibʔaċe:kʰe	
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	baċeʔ	baċyačo
	CHILD SPEECH	ba:baʔ	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	mabʔaċe	
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	mabʔaċe:ǩo	
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-ča-c̓-|| mother's father, mother's father's brother, mother's older brother

-ča-c̓- mo.fa.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:čac̓en	ʔa:čac̓yey
	2	mič:ac̓	mič:ac̓yey
	3	miy:ačac̓	miy:ačac̓yey
	3C		
PAT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	mač:ac̓en	mač:ac̓yačon
POSS	1		
	2	mič:ac̓e:kʰe	
	3		
	3C		mač:ac̓yačo:kʰe
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	čac̓eʔ	čac̓yačo
	CHILD SPEECH	t̪a:t̪aʔ ~ t̪a:t̪a	
	1		
	3	miy:ačac̓e:deʔ ~ miy:ač(:)ac̓e[:]de	
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ƙo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3c		mač:ac̓yačo:šan

||-či-ki-|| father’s younger brother, stepfather, mother’s younger sister’s husband,

father’s sister’s son

-či-ki- fa.y.bro.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:čiken	ʔa:čikyey
	2	mič:iki	
	3	miy:ačiki	
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:čik(ʰ)t̪o	ʔa:čikyačon
	2		
	3		
	3C	mač:ikin	
POSS	1	ʔa:čike:kʰe	
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	čikeʔ	
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ƙo	1		ʔa:čikyačo:ƙo
	2		
	3		
	3C	mač:iki:ƙo	
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3c		

||-ču-c̓-|| mother's brother (younger and older?)

-ču-c̓- mo.y.bro.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:čuc̓en	ʔa:čuc̓yey
	2	mič:uc̓	
	3		
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:čuṯ:o	
	2		
	3		
	3C	mač:uc̓en	
POSS	1		
	2		
	3	miy:ačuc̓e:kʰe	
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	čuc̓eʔ	
	CHILD SPEECH	ṯu:ṯu ~ ṯu:ṯude?	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1	ʔa:čuc̓e:ǩo	
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-dakʰad-|| spouse

-dakʰad- spouse		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔaw: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		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

*From Gifford's <awitkan> 'H[usband]'

||-di-ki-|| older sister

-di-ki- o.sis.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:diken	ʔa:dikyey
	2	midʔiki	midʔikyey
	3	miy:adiki	
	3C	madʔiki	
PAT	1		
	2	midʔikin	
	3		
	3C		
POSS	1	ʔa:dike:kʰe	ʔa:dikyačo:kʰe
	2	midʔiki:kʰe	midʔikyačon
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	dikeʔ	dikyačo
	CHILD SPEECH	diki	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	madʔiki:ǩo	madʔikiyačo:ǩo
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-ka-ċ-|| mother's mother, mother's mother's sister

-ka-ċ- mo.mo.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:kaċen	
	2	mik:aċ	
	3	miy:ak:aċ (?)	
	3C	mak:aċ	
PAT	1	ʔa:kaṭo	ʔa:kaċyačon
	2		
	3		
	3C	mak:aċen	mak:aċyačon
POSS	1	ʔa:kaċe:kʰe	
	2	mik:aċe:kʰe	
	3		
	3C	mak:aċe:kʰe	
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	kaċeʔ	
	CHILD SPEECH	ka:kaʔ	
	1		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	mak:aċe:ǩo	mak:aċyačo:ǩo
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-ǩ:a-|| ~ ||-ǩ:ad-|| friend; cousin's wife(?)

-ǩ:a- ~ -ǩ:ad- friend		SG	PL
AGT	1	haǩ:an	haǩ:ayey
	2	miǩ:an	miǩ:ayey
	3	miy[:]aǩ:an	miy[:]aǩ:ayey
	3C		
PAT	1	haǩ:a̰to	haǩ:ayčon
	2	miǩ:an (?)	miǩ:ayčon
	3		
	3C	maǩ:aden	maǩ:ayčon
POSS	1	haǩ:ade:kʰe	haǩ:ayčo:kʰe
	2	miǩ:ade:kʰe	
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	ǩa:de	
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1		haǩ:ayčole
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2	miǩ:ade:ǩo	
	3		
	3C	maǩ:ade:ǩo	maǩ:ayčoǩo
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=sa:ma	1		
	2	miǩ:ade:sa:ma	miǩ:ayčosa:ma
	3		
	3C		

||-kod-|| sister's husband

-kod- sis.hus.		SG	PL
AGT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
PAT	1		
	2		
	3	miy:akon	
	3C	mak:odan	
POSS	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH		
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan			

-k(ʰ)...čač- ??? wife’s brother; wife’s nephew

-k(ʰ)...čač- ??? wife's brother		SG	PL
AGT	1		
	2		
	3	miy[:]akʰčay	
	3C		
PAT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
POSS	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH		
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1	wikʰča:de	
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan			

||-ma-ċ-|| father’s mother, father’s mother’s sister, father’s father’s sister, father's brother’s wife

-ma-ċ- fa.mo.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:maċen	ʔa:maċyey
	2	mim:aċ	mim:aċyey
	3	miy:amaċ	
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:maṭo	
	2	mim:aċen	
	3		
	3C	mam:aċen	
POSS	1	ʔa:maċe:kʰe	
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	maċeʔ	maċyačo
	CHILD SPEECH	ma:maʔ	
	1		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2	mim:aċe:ǩo	
	3		
	3C	mam:aċe:ǩo	
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-me-|| ~ ||-ʔe-|| father

-me- ~ -ʔe- father		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:men	
	2	meʔe	
	3	miy:ame	
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:me̯to	
	2	meʔ[:]en	
	3	miy:amen	
	3C	maʔ[:]en	
POSS	1	ʔa:me:kʰe	
	2	meʔ[:]e:kʰe	
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	medeʔ ~ me:de	
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	maʔ[:]eǩo	
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-mi-ki-|| ~ ||-ki-|| older brother

-(mi)-ki older brother		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:miken	ʔa:mikyey
	2	mi:ki	mi:kiyey
	3	miy:aki	
	3C	ma:ki (?)	
PAT	1	ʔa:mikʰt͡o	
	2		
	3		
	3C	ma:kin	
POSS	1	ʔa:mike:kʰe	
	2	mi:ki:kʰe	mi:ki:čo:kʰe (?)
	3		
	3C	ma:kin	
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	mikeʔ	mikyačo
	CHILD SPEECH	ki:ki	
	1		ʔa:mikyačo
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	ma:kiǩo	
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-mu-ċ-|| father's younger brother's wife, father's sister, father's younger brother's wife

-mu-ċ- fa.sis.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:muċen	ʔa:muċyey
	2	mim:uċ	
	3	miy:amuċ	
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:muṯ:o	ʔa:muċyačon
	2		
	3		
	3C	mam:uċen	
POSS	1	ʔa:muċe:kʰe	
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	muċeʔ	
	CHILD SPEECH	mu:mu	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1	ʔa:muċe:ǩo	
	2		
	3		
	3C	mam:uċe:ǩo	
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-pʰak-ki-|| ‘son’

-pʰak-ki- ‘son’		SG	PL
AGT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
PAT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
POSS	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH		
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-ːkʰe	1		
	2	míp[ʰ]ːakːi[ː]kʰe	
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-ši-ki-|| mother's younger sister

-ši-ki- mother's younger sister		SG	PL
AGT	1		
	2		
	3	miy[:]ašiki	
	3C		
PAT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
POSS	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH		
	CHILD SPEECH	Šiki	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-šu-ċ-|| mother's older sister

-šu-ċ- mo.o.sis.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:šuċen	
	2	miš:uċ	
	3		
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:šuṯ:o	
	2		
	3		
	3C	maš:uċen	
POSS	1	ʔa:šuċe:kʰe	
	2		
	3	miy:ašuċe:kʰe	
	3C	maš:uċe:kʰe	
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	šuċeʔ	
	CHILD SPEECH	šu:šuʔ	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	maš:uċe:ǩo	
-šan	1	ʔa:šuċe:šan	
	2		
	3		
	3C		

||-ʈi-ki-|| younger sister; younger brother

-ʈi-ki- y.sis.; y.bro.		SG	PL
AGT	1		
	2	mi:ʈiki	mi:ʈikyey
	3	miy:aʈiki	
	3C		
PAT	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	ma:ʈikin	
POSS	1		
	2	mi:ʈiki:kʰe	mi:ʈikyačo:kʰe
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH		
	CHILD SPEECH		
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	ma:ʈiki:ǩo	ma:ʈikiyačo:ǩo ~ ma:ʈikyačo:ǩo
-šan			

||-ṭʰe-|| ~ ||č’e-|| mother

-tʰe- ~ -č’e- mo.		SG	PL
AGT	1	ʔa:č’en	
	2	mehṭʰe	
	3	miy:aṭʰe	
	3C		
PAT	1	ʔa:č’eṭo	
	2	mehṭʰen	
	3		
	3C	mahṭʰen	
POSS	1	ʔa:č’e:kʰe	
	2	mehṭʰe:kʰe	
	3		
	3C		
VOC	ADULT SPEECH	č'e[:]de	
	CHILD SPEECH	ṭʰe:ṭʰe	
	1		
	3		
OBL			
-e	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
=ǩo	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C		
-šan	1		
	2		
	3		
	3C	mahṭʰešan	

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:a hič':o:li, nop^{h}:ow
that be-Quot. first world become-D lived
They say that when the world first came into being there lived

ma?dekdeƙ:o -- ʔahṭ^{h}ihča=ƙo še:bač^{h}ma ʔak^{h}:o.
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 hač':owʔdu.
there be-Quot. man always used to visit.
It is said that a man always used to visit there.

3. ham:u ʔyodo ʔahkad:u bahṭ^{h}e ʔwan čoh: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:aṭ^{h}e hiʔdiʔduy, hudʔaka:=t̂^{h}oṭ'
thus-do-D mother-subj. drove away, wanting=none
The mother drove him away, not wanting

mahṭ̂ikmeden čoh:onhk^{h}e.
own-daughter-obj. will let marry
him to marry her daughter.

5. ham:u ʔyodo ha:min kuṭ:u šu:k^{h}ay ʔik^{h}:aw,
that be-Quot. on that just breathing break,
Simply broken-hearted over that,

miy:aṯikmeden do:no ho:liwʔdu, ho:liwʔdu.
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 ʔyodo maṭ:i, beṭ'bu ʔal:a:ša beṭ'bu sema:nu,
that be-quot. long time, some months some weeks,
For a long time, some months or some weeks, she used to

ha:meṭ' ʔač:ay=ṯon mi:mayʔdedu do:no huw:ad:u,
like that man=on cry here and there mountain wandering,
cry over the man like that, wandering around the mountains,

mahṭʰe ʔaṯ:i:kʰe ʔač:ay kʰaṭ:i:ka:li.
own-mother own man hate-D.
because her mother hated her man.

7. ni:li ʔyodo ma: ʔač:ay maṭ:i ʔyo=ʔdaw huw:ad:u,
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,

ʔač:ay ham:u pʰa:la kʰaṭ:ič'aw hiṯ':ankč'in.
man that also bad feeling-C
that man also feeling bad.

8. niba ʔyodo daʔṯ'aw ham:i do:no.
thus-do-C be-quot. found there mountain.
Then, it is said, he found her there in the mountains.

9. ʔaṯ:i=ṯon mi:mačen, či:yowen, daʔṯ'aba, čoh:omba,
self=on crying-D sitting-D, having found-C, having married-C
Having found her sitting, crying for him, he married her

šudʔeduy.
led away.
and led her away.

10. niba daṗ:omba, šudʔeduy.

thus-do-C having stolen-C led away.
Having done so, having stolen her, he led her away.

11. niba ʔyodo ham:i ʔaṯ̂:iyey nop^{h}:o:=li,
thus-do-C be-Quot. there selves-Sbj. Live=at,
Then, it is said, there where they were living,

ʔahk^{h}ahmo nop^{h}:o:=li, ham:un šul:adu.
creek live=at that-Obj. got sick.
Where they were living by a creek, she got sick.

12. ni:li ʔyodo miy:aṯ̕iki ham:i huw:adu mač:eṯ̂i.
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 ʔyodo madʔiki:k^{h}e ʔač:ay
thus-do-C be-Quot. own-older sister's man
Having done so, she married her older sister's man,

mak:odan čoh:on.
own-sister's husband-obj married
her own brother-in-law.

14. niba ham:un kahsaƙ
thus-do-C that-Obj. deserting
Then, deserting her,

maṯ̂:ikčamṯ̂o čoh:on miy:akon.
own-wife's sister-Obj. married sister's husband-Sbj.
the sister's husband married his own sister-in-law.

15. niba ham:i=ṯ̂ow hač:abiy ho:liw.
thus-do-C there=from fleeing left.
Having done so, he left fleeing from there.

16. niba ham:un yodo ham:i baʔ:ay kahsaƙ--
thus-do-C that-Obj. be-Quot. there woman desert

maʔdakden.
own-spouse-Obj.
Then, it is said, he deserted that woman there – his own wife.

17. ni:li ʔyodo miy:aṭkʰan, ham:uhča ho:li:li,
thus-do-D be-Quot. spouse-Obj., they-Sbj. having left-D
Meanwhile, the wife, when they had left,

17A. “hi:yow, ƙoʔdi ʔwa ʔmaya ʔt̰o beṭ̓ do:yoʔt̰aw.
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 ʔnaṯi ʔma maʔben ṭʰač’aw
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:baṯʰyaw hodʔodenkʰe ʔa:maya
sorry will get you-Pl.-Sbj.
You’ll be sorry

ʔa:maya ʔt̰o du:mačan=t̰on,
you-Pl.-Sbj. me cheating=on,
for your cheating me,

ʔa:maya ʔt̰o ma:li ƙay:ama kahsa:=t̰on.
you-Pl.-Sbj. me here alone deserted=on
for your leaving me here alone.

17D. ham:un mi:t̰o pʰa:la ha:meṭ̓ wa ʔma čahṯinčikʰ: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. mi:t̰o pʰala ha:meṭ̓ wa ʔma čahṯinčikʰ:e, ʔaṯ:o
you-Sg.-Obj. also like that be thing will happen me

ʔam:a čahn̥inwa :meṭ."
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:ṭ'ikin ʔaṭ:iṭo ʔčay 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 ʔahkʰahmo ṭʰač':aw yowen,
thus-do-D be-Quot. creek big being-D

ʔahkʰa wo:ṭo čahča:li.
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,

18A. "ho:likʰ:e ʔwa ʔa.
will leave be I.
"I am going to leave.

18B. kahsakʰ:e ʔwa mṭa ʔa,"
will desert be you-Sg.-Obj. I
I am going to desert you,"

18 (return). nih:iw ham:un
said that-Obj.
said to that

maʔdakden	pʰa:la	maṭ:ikčamṭo	ʔṭi		čoh: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=ṭon	čohloƙ	ʔah:ay	baḥṭʰe --
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	čohlo:=ṭon	--	ha:min	čum:aba,
tree	washed loose=on		on that	having sat-C

-- on a tree washed loose – having sat on that,

pʰa:la	baʔ:ay	yowan	kahsaƙ.
also	woman	aforementioned-Obj.	deserted.

he also deserted that aforementioned woman [floating away].

20.

ham:u	ʔyodo	ham:i	ʔaṭ:iṭo	maʔdakʰan	kahsa:=li,
that	be-Quot.	there	self-Obj.	own-spouse-Sbj.	desert=at,

They say that there where her spouse had abandoned her,

ham:i	ƙay:ama	či:yow.
there	alone	sat.

[the first wife] sat alone.

21.

ham:u	ʔyodo	ba:ƙo	čuh:uyaw	ʔačʰ:ow.
that	be-Quot.	something	to be eaten	was absent.

There was nothing to eat.

22.

ni:li	ʔyowa	m:u	biʔdu
thus-do-D	be	that	acorn

It was then that she found acorns

kʰa:le=ṭon	ƙaṭ:aƙ=yey	daʔdiw	ham:un	daʔṭaba,
tree=on	woodpecker=Sbj.	stored away	that-Obj.	found-C

that a woodpecker had stored away on a tree,

ham:un	ʔakʰ:a:na	dadʔalʔba,	ham:un	čuh:uba,
that-Obj.	in water	set down-C,	that-Obj.	ate-C

set them down into water [to leach], ate them,

ha:min kuṭ:u nop^{h}:ow.
on that just lived.
and lived on just that.

23. ham:u ʔyodo ham:i ʔahč^{h}oči:li, ʔiyha daʔt̲ayaw --
That be-Quot. there died-D, bones were found --
They say that, when she died there, bones were found --

madan ʔiyha daʔt̲ayaw.
her bones were found.
her bones were found.

24. miy:ame miy:aṭ^{h}e he:miniw diʔbuw he: muʔk̲ukaw.
father-Sbj. mother-Sbj. how do buried or burned up.
Her father and mother somehow buried or cremated her.

25. ham:i ʔyodo baʔ:ay mi:mayʔdu č'a:šba šo:čiyaw.
there be-Quot. woman used to cry always was heard
There, they say, a woman always used to be heard crying,

25A. "ʔa:maya ʔaṯ:o ši:baṯ^{h}yaw hodʔodenkaw.
you-Pl.-Sbj. me sorry make become.
"You made me suffer.

25B. ha:min maya či:li:kak^{h}:e ʔwa.
on that you-Pl.-Sbj. will pay be
you will pay.

25C. ha:min maya ham:un ʔa:maya ʔṯo do:yoʔt̲'a:=ṯon
on that you-Pl.-Sbj. that-Obj. you-Pl.-Sbj. me played trick=on

maya či:li:kak^{h}:e ʔwa na:p^{h}iyow.
you-Pl.-Sbj. will pay be all.
For that, for the trick you played on me, you will pay for all of it.

25D. mayan p^{h}a:la k^{h}ač':aw ʔam:a čahṯinčik^{h}:e ʔwa,

you-Pl.-Obj. also bad things will happen be
Bad things will happen to you too

ʔaṯ:o ʔa:maya kahsaka :meṭ'.
me you-Pl.-Sbj. deserted like.
like the way you deserted me.

26. ham:u ʔwa na:pʰi.
that be all.
That isa ll.

(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)

pʰalaʔčeyhča ʔahčahčey ʔiyha da:čʰaṭ'.
whitemen Indian bone dug up.
Whitemen dug up Indian bones.

ʔam:a ʔehčʰečin čaw:an daʔṯaw wan. . .
ground digging in things found the
The things found while digging in the ground. . .

mahčuƙun yowa ʔṯo kʰaʔdiba pʰal:a ha:meṭ' ca:dukaw.
they past me invite another like that cause to see
they invited me to watch another such occasion.

ham:u ʔyowa ʔa ča:du mahčuƙun ʔam:a ʔehčʰey.
that past I see they ground dig in.
Thus it was I watched them digging in the ground.

ham:u ʔyowa mahčuƙun ʔam:a ʔehčʰe:ba,
that past they ground having dug,
When they dug in the ground,

hoʔ:o č'a:ʔa daʔṯenkaw.
tooth one came upon.
they came upon one tooth.

hoʔ:o	daʔt̓enkaw	wan,	ham:un	yowa	ʔyan,				
tooth	came upon	the,	that	past	us,				

The tooth they came upon, that they,

ʔam:a	dihkaba,	ham:i	diʔbukyaw --	hoʔ:o	č'a:ʔa	ʔya	diʔbuw.	
ground	having given,	there	cause to bury --	tooth	one	we	buried.	

having given the land, had us bury -- we buried one tooth.

niba,	ʔahčahčey	ʔoh:o:naw,	hi:no	mahsiy	ba:ƙo	hlaw	yowa	daʔt̓ayaw.	
then	Indian	cremated,	ashes	burnt	something	also	past	was found.	

Then, cremated Indians, and also remains of something burnt were found.

ham:un	hlaw	yowa	ʔyan	diʔbukyaw	mun	yowa	ʔyan	ʔam:a	dihkayaw
that	also	past	us	cause to bury	that	past	us	ground	was given

Whatever they had us bury on the land that had been given to us

yowa:ni	ʔya	diʔbuw.	ha:niba	pʰal:a	ʔiyha,	šuṭ:u	ʔiyha	hlaw	
past place	we	buried	then	another	bone,	basket	bone	also	

we buried there. Then another bone, also a basket awl bone,

yowa	ʔya	diʔbuw.	ham:u	ʔyowa	ʔa	kuʔmu	ʔuhnaʔ̣du.
past	we	bury.	That	past	I	everything	go around asking

we buried. I went around asking about everything.

ham:u	ʔyowa	ʔyan	ʔuhṯehṯeyaw,	ham:i	ʔam:a	čaw:an	da:čʰiṭin,
then	past	us	they told,	there	ground	things	out of ground.

Then they told us, while they were taking things out of the ground

ham:un	yodo,	ʔa:yan	ʔuhṯehṯeya:ba	meʔ̣bu	ʔam:aṯon
that	they say,	us	they could tell	how many	years

They said that they could tell us how many years

ham:u	ʔahčahčey	mal:i	diʔbuyaw	wan,	ʔiṯʰ:in	mawi	
that	Indian	here	were buried	the,	in past time		

that it had been that Indians were buried here,

meʔ̣bu	ʔam:aṯon	mal:i	ʔahčahčey	nopʰ:ow	wan.
how many	years	here	Indian	lived	the.

how many years in the past that Indians had lived here.

ha:mini:li	. . .	ʔaṯ:o	ham:un	yaʔčʰow	wan;	
having done so		me	that	dislike	the;	

When they had done so ... I had disliked that [digging up bones];

čahnu	ʔalhoko:yaw	wan,	ʔa	čahn̥i	ʔehnew.	ʔehnew.
word	talk about	the	I	position	stopped.	stopped.

but after this talk, I quit that position. Stopped.

t̥o	hiť̥:aduy.	ham:un	seť [ceť]	maṭ̥:i	hinṭ̥ilkuhča
me	feeling left	that	how	long	Indian people

That feeling left me. Wanting to know how long the Indian people

ʔam:a	win:a	nop^{h}:ow	wan	hiʔdu:čiy	hudʔaka:ba,
land	on	lived	the	to learn	wanting

had been living on this land,

ʔa:	mahčuǩunčoǩo	ham:un	ha:meť	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 liḱlis and weč:e

1. líḱlisyey yódo kú:luŋhkʰay ho:líw?dun, čihtá min[:]á:nṭi,/
hawk it is said outwards went, bird trapping

ha:miní:li yódo miy[:]aṭ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan bí?du čóhšin,/ kʰa?[:]ášḱaden
then it is said his wife acorn pounds morning

[?]íṭ[ʰ]:in,/ ma:číl:e bí?du čóhšinwan šú:kʰaw./
early noon acorn pounding she finished.

ha:miní: bi?dúboṭ čʰe?[:]éṭmaywi ?óhčow,/ ká:wi?wan
then acorn flour basket-in put that child

[?]áč:a káhsaḱ,/há:miní:ba ?akʰ[:]a:na hó:liw,/
home left then down to water she went

hí:mo čí?[:]iw, bí?dubóṭwan hí:mo wá:ni hú:ṭay,/
she makes a hole in sand for leaching that flour in hole she pours

há:miní:ba hí:maḱ, [?]ahkʰa hu:ṭáṭmaw./
then there, into there? water keeps pouring in.

2. há:miní:lido [?]á(h)č[:]ay kahkóṭi[y],/ há:miní:ba
then it is said man comes then

ba?[:]áywan hód?ómhuy,/ há:miní:ba ba?[:]áywan šud?éduy/
that woman he loves then that woman he takes away

má:mu hó:liw [?]aṭ:i:kʰe [?]ahčaṭóŋhkʰay, ba?[:]áy [?]íš:aw./
this one go his house-to woman [blank]

3. [?]ahšíyan, ma: ká:wi yó:mi [?]ač:a ḱayáma čí:yow./
twilight his child [blank] inside alone sits

há:miní:li miy[:]áme ku:lúṯ:ow háč':ow,/
then his fa. from outside he comes back
há:miní:li miy[:]aṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan ʔačʰ:ow,/ ƙay[:]áma
then his wife was not there alone

[ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ka:wi ʔač:a dáʔṯaw. hí:no yá:la
his child at home he finds all covered with ashes

[ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ká:wi čí:yow dáʔṯaw./
his child sits he finds.

há:miní:ba [ʔ]a(h)kʰ[:]á:na wálaw, maʔdákʰan čónhi
then to water he goes down his wife acorn meal

hí:maƙwa:ni ča:du./
where (she was) soaking he looks

há:miní:li [ʔ]akʰ:á:na miy[:]áṯ[=ṭʰ]kʰan ʔáčʰ:ow,/
then at water his wife was not

čónhiyowá:ni [ʔ]ahkʰa hu:ṭa:na:ṯʰóṯ, múkʰ:aṭ.
in acorn-soaking place water didn't pour in (dry)

4. há:miní:li [ʔ]ač[:]áywamo[=m:u] čʰeʔ[:]éṯmay
then the man basket

dihčíba hamílwi čónhi wan ʔóhčow./
picked up into this acorn flour he put in.

ha:miní:ba [ʔ]ahkʰ[–č-, my error?]áŋhkʰay hebʔéduy./
then home he took it.

ha:miní:ba [ʔ]oh:ó bá:maw [ʔ]áč:a,/ [ʔ]aṯ[:]i
then fire he makes inside he

číhṯa mí:haƙ wanṯóŋhkʰle muʔṯákaw./
bird which he brought in (/) some of it he cooks.

ha:miní:ba [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ká:wi wan čuh:úkaw./
then his child that he feeds

5. ha:miní:bakʰmá:yow sí:ma mí:ṭiw.
then after that he sleeps.

sí:ma mi:ṭí:ṯʰoṯ ʔe:mé:layey ká:new,/ má:mun waʔ[:]an
he can't sleep flea bites this ?

kʰáʔ[:]a [ʔ]ekʰ[:]édu,/ má:mu wéč:éyey ƙó:ʔo [ʔ]íhmin,/
daylight comes this monkey-faced owl song sings

líƙlísyey káli huʔ[:]úʟ̭bi [ʔ] ba šó:čiw, kʰáʔ[:]aw
---- up he raises head [blank] hears in morning

líƙlísyey ʈ̭ó:bi[y],/
---- he gets up

kólo:šé: kólo:šé:

má:ʈo hú:čiyáka šú:ya:yáka

6. má:mu líƙlisyey hó:liw,/ dó:noŋhkʰay hwádu,/
this hawk goes to hill goes

dó:noŋhkʰay hwádu,/ dó:no pʰuš:u kahkóʈ̭i[y]
to hill [blank] hill top he came to

ʈʰiwí:ni kahkóʈ̭i[y],/ maʔám:aŋhkʰay hwálaw,/
pass [blank] downhill he went down

má:mu ʈelʔewíhwaƙ,/ há:miní:ba ʔáhča dáʔʈ̭aw,
this he goes on the flat then house he finds

ʔáhča dáʔʈ̭aw, ʔáč:a ča:démay,/ miy[:]áʈ̭[=ʈ(ʰ)]kʰan
house he finds inside he looks in his wife

wéč:é:(i)čon bé:new míʈ:iw./
---- hugs lies down, is lying down

líƙlísyey ʔáč:a kʰaʔ[:]áʟ̭may, maʔdákʰden héʔ[:]e
---- inside he runs into his wife hair

pʰ[:]áʔčiw,/ hídʔa ʔíč:aƙ, ma: ʔíš:aw.
čʰí[:]kʰačʰkʰádu./
he grabs outside he drags he takes her, reclaims her he drags her along

wéčeičo: wéčeičo:

kʰaʔbe ƙí[:]li dáʔʈ̭amč'íʔya
rock black let's meet together

húwolkón
coming out on top of the ridge

7.	má:mu	wéč:eyey	kʰaṯ:áduy,	hí?da	mís:aṯow	kʰaṯ[:]áduy,
	this	----	runs	road	beside	he runs

waʔ[:]á:ṯon	ṭʰíw[:]ima:ni	čí:yow,	(wéč:éyey)./ [Halpern's ( )]
before (them)	onto pass	he sits	(----)

líǩlísyey ṭʰíw[:]ima:ni	maʔdákʰden	[ʔ]ihčáloǩ./	
----	onto pass	his wife	he drags up

wéč:éyey	líǩlis čóǩo	čaʔṯémhuy	mádʔen./
---	--- with (?)	fights (e.o.)	is jealous.

húʔ[:]uy [ʔ]a:súmhuy,	[ʔ]ákʰ:o	čún:aw,	duhsúmhuy,/	
face	they scratch e.o	both	tired	they quit

[ʔ]aṯ:íyey	čaʔṯémhuy	yáwan [=yowan?],/	líǩlísyey ǩoʔdíʔwa	
they (selves)	fight e.o.	that?	----	good

ǩá:de	čun:awáʔṯo,	ká:wi	čá:dedúl:a/	ma:	hó:liw.
Partner (?)	I'm tired child	to see	[blank]	going	

8.	[ʔ]áṯ:i	ċíhṯa	mín:an	yowá:ni,	ċíhṯa	dólhow,/
	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	game	he takes off

ha:miní:ba	[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay	hó:liw,/	[ʔ]áh:ay	mukʰ:aṭ̓	
then	home	he goes	wood	dry	

čóʔdoči ba	hwádu./
puts on shoulder	he goes, walks.

[ʔ]áč:a	háč':ow,	[ʔ]aṯí:kʰe	ká:wi	biʔdíči[:],/	
home	he arrives	his	child	he picks up and puts on lap	

bíʔdičí:ba	hí:no	dáhp[ʰʔ]un,	hoʔṯóʔṯow./	
having picked him up	ashes	he brushes off	he goes tsk, tsk; he clucks sympathy	

ha:miní:bakʰmá:yow	ka:wíʔwan	[ʔ]ám[:]an	bá:neba	[ʔ]oh:ó	bá:maw./
after that	that child	on ground	he put	fire	he builds, starts.

[ʔ]áṯ:i	ċíhṯa	mí:haǩ	wanṯóŋhkʰe	muʔṯákaw,/	muʔṯá:li	[ʔ]aṯ[:]í:kʰe
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.

9. ha:miní:ba ka:wíʔwan sí:ma mi:ṭíƙba ka:wíʔwan čóh:oy./
then that baby he puts to sleep that baby he sleeps with

kʰáʔ[:]aw má:muṭo wéč:eyey ƙó:ʔo [ʔ]íhmin./
in morning [blank] [blank] song sings.

líƙlísyey šol:óbi[y]./
[blank] he listens.

10. líƙlísyey ṭ́ó:bi[y], [ʔ]oh[:]ó bá:maw,/ čónhi dókʰ:oy bah
[blank] he gets up fire he makes flour he picks off
[bah=??]

p[ʰ]aʔló:loy,/ [ʔ]íhšuṭ́ héʔbey hí:no čʰihkóduy/ hám:i
[ʔ]áṭ́:i
he rolls it in hands poker he picks up ashes he pokes right there
he

čónhi p[ʰ]aʔló:loy-yówan [- in Halpern] dáʔdiw ba ʔíhp[ʰ]aw./
flour that wh. he rolled in hands he places ? [H] he covers, cooks
under ashes

hám[:]un šádʔaƙ šádʔá:ba hí:no daʔṭ́óʔṭ́óba ƙóʔdi
this, same one he takes out he took it out ashes he flicks off w. hand, pats it well

čúhkayhíba ká:wiʔwánkʰe bá:new/ há:miní:ba

he brushes off w. rag (?), bunch of grass for his child he puts it down then

[ʔ]íhšuṭ́ héʔbečí:ba [ʔ]óh:o yówan ƙóʔdi dán:aw./
poker having picked up fire [blank] well he covers (w. dirt).

11. há:miní:ba hó:liw. dó:noŋhkʰay hwádu (repeat sev.),
then he goes to hill, uphill he goes

ṭʰíw[:]ima:ni kahkóṭ́i[y]/ ham[:]íṭ́ow [ʔ]am[:]áŋhkʰay hwálaw,
[blank] he arrived from there downhill he goes down

ṭ́élʔéwi hwádu./ há:miní:ba [ʔ]áč:a kʰaʔ[:]áṭ́may./
--- ---. then inside he runs into

ha:mini:ba maʔdákʰden héʔ[:]e p[ʰ]áʔčiw ba hídʔa
ʔíč:aƙ./
then his wife hair he grabs [blank] outside he drags.

há:miní:ba čʰíhkʰačʰkʰádu./
then he drags her along.

Song 2.

12. wéč:eyey ṯó:bi[y], ba kʰaṯ:áduy, hí?damsaṯ:ów da
[blank] gets up [blank] he runs beside the road ---

kʰaṯ:áduy,/ wa?[:]á:ṯon ṭʰíw[:]ima:ni čahčiw,/ham[:]íṯ:ow máč:ey./
he runs ahead of them [blank] he sits from here he waits

líƙlísyey ma?dákʰden ṭʰíw[:]ima:ni [?]ihčáloƙ./ ma: ča?ṯémhuy,/
[blank] his wife [blank] he drags up [blank] they fight e.o.

ba?[:]áy wámo [=wam:u] hač:ábi[y] [?]áč:ay šé:wey ṯóŋhkʰay kʰaṯ:áduy./
woman that ran away man new to she runs.

líƙlísyey čún:awá?ṯo há:miní:p[ʰ]i ya ƙá:de, duhsúmhúl:a, ká:wi
[blank] I'm tiredtherefore [blank] friend let's quitchild

čá:dedukʰ[:]éw?a./
I'm going to see my child.

13. hó:liw [?]aṯ:í číhṯa mín:á:ni číhṯa dólhow./
he goes [blank] [blank] to his traps game he takes off

číhṯáwan dólhon čáhṯi mín:an./ sú:le?wan
that game taking off he resets his traps, puts them back. that rope

mí:ṯmaw./ ma: dú?ƙu, ha:miní:ba čihṯá?wan [?]íhčičí:ba
he puts back (sev.) [blank] he finishes then that game he puts on back

[?]ahčáŋhkʰay hó:liw./ [?]áh:ay múkʰ:aṯ čó?dočí:ba
to house he goes wood dry he puts on

čod?ódu./ [?]áč:a háč':ow ká:wi hí:no yá:la čí:yow./
he carries on shoulder inside he comes back [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[?]aṯ:í:kʰe ka:wi bi?díči[y]./ hí:no dáhp[ʰ]un ká:wi?wánṯon,
[blank] [blank] he picks up on lap [blank] [blank] from on the child

ho?ṯó?ṯow./ ha:miní:bakʰmá:yow ka:wí?wan [?]ám[:]aṯon bá:neba
[blank] [blank] [blank] on ground he put down

hí?da	hwá:ba	[?]áh:ay	bí?dimkó:ba	[?]óh[:]o	bá:maw./		
outside	after he went	wood	he brings in	[blank]	[blank]		

číhṯa	[?]áṯ:i	mí:haǩyówanṯoŋhkʰe	muʔṯáǩba	ka:wíʔwan	čuh:úkaw/		
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]some of that	after he cooked	[blank]	he feeds		

kʰa:má:yow	duw:é	mí:ṭiw,	sí:ma./
[blank]	night time	he lies down	asleep.

14. song – wéč:e's song

káli [length?]	p[ʰ]ik:ášbi[y] ba	šó:čiw	ǩó:ʔo	máǩ[:]an	[?]íhmin,/		
up	he raises head [blank]	[blank]	song	his friend	sing		

ṯó:bí:ba	[?]óh:o	bá:maw,/	čónhi	dokʰ:óy p[ʰ]aʔló:loy		[?]ihšúṯ [-ṯ?]	
after he got up	[blank]	[blank]	flour	he picks off with hand		[blank]	

héʔbey	ba [?]óh:o	hí:no	čʰihkʰóduy	čónhi yówan		hám[:]i	bá:new,	hí:no	
[blank]	[blank] [blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	

dán:aw	[?]íhp[ʰ]aw,/ ǩóʔdi	há:miní:ba	šadʔáǩ,	hí:no	dahkáyhiw		
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	he takes it out	ashes	he brushes off w. hand		well
čiʔ[:]íba	bá:new./		ha:miní:ba	[?]íhšuṯ [-ṯ?]	héʔbey		
when he made it	he puts it down	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]			

[?]óh:o wan	dán:aw.		
[blank] [blank]	[blank]		

15.	há:miní:ba	hó:liw,/	ká:wi wan		[?]áč:a	sí:ma	kahsá:ba,	
	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	he left	

dó:noŋhkʰay	wádu./	dó:no	p[ʰ]úš:u	káhkoṯi:ba	ṭʰíw[:]ima:ni	
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	

[?]ám:aŋhkʰay	huwalba,	ṭélʔewi	hwamba,	weč:é(y)čo:kʰe	[?]áč:a	
[blank]	he went down	on flat	he went, came (?)----		[blank]	

háč':ow,/	[?]áč:a	kʰaʔ[:]aṯmay./	baʔ[:]áy yowan	héʔ[:]e	p[ʰ]aʔčíba		
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank] [blank]	[blank]	[blank]		

hídʔa	[?]íč:aǩ	čʰíhkʰačʰkʰádu,	[?]eč:édu./	
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	carrying.	

song – líƙlis song

16.	weč:eʔwám[:]u	ṭ̲ó:bi[y],	kʰaṭ̲[:]áduy		híʔda	mís:aṭ̲owda			
	[blank]		gets up		[blank]		[blank]	[blank]	
kʰaṭ̲:áduy,/	há:miní:ba		ṭʰíw[:]imá:ni,		ṭʰíw[:]imá:ni		čáhčiw./líƙlisyey		
[blank]	[blank]		[blank]		[blank]		he sits	[blank]	
má:	baʔ[:]áy	[ʔ]ihčáloƙ		ṭʰíw[:]imá:ni,		čaʔṭ̲émhuy,/	baʔá:yo:mu		[ʔ]áč:ay
his	[blank]	[blank]		[blank]		[blank]	[blank]		
	man								
šé:wey ṭ̲óŋhkʰay		hač:ábi[y]./			líƙlísyey	há:miní:p[ʰ]iya [ʔ]			
new	to	she runs away.			[blank]	therefore			
duhsúmhul:a	ƙá:de,	čún:awáʔṭ̲o		ká:wi	ʔa	čá:dedukʰ[:]éʔwa./			
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]		child	I	am going to see.			
17.	[ʔ]áṭ̲:i	ċíhṭ̲a	mín:an	yówan	ṭ̲óŋhkʰay	hó:liw./			
	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]	[blank]			
ʔaṭ̲:í:kʰe	ċíhṭ̲a	[ʔ]ačʰ:áw:an			dóhloƙ,/	há:miní:ba			
[blank]	[blank]	which he caught			he took off	---			
[ʔ]ihčičí:ba	[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay,		hó:liw,	[ʔ]áh:ay	múkʰ:aṭ̕	čóʔdočí:ba,			
[blank]	[blank]			[blank]	[blank]	[blank]		[blank]	
hu:wádu	[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay,	[ʔ]áč:a	háč':ow,	há:miní:ba		[ʔ]aṭ̲:í:kʰe			
he goes	[blank]		[blank]	[blank]		[blank]		[blank]	
ká:wi yówan		bi ʔdíči[y],		ka:wíʔwan		hí:no	dáhp[ʰ]un,		hoʔṭ̲óʔṭ̲ow,
that same child		[blank]		[blank]		[blank]		[blank]	
[ʔ]am:áṭ̲on	ka:wíʔwan		bá:new,/		ha:miní:ba		[ʔ]óh:o	bá:maw.	
on ground	this child		he puts	[blank]		[blank]	[blank]		
ċíhṭ̲a	muʔṭ̲ákaw,	ká:wiʔwan		čuh:úkaw/		ċíhṭ̲a	muʔṭ̲á:li		
[blank]	[blank]	[blank]		[blank]		[blank]	[blank]		
bihsúmba			mí:ṭiw	sí:ma,/	ka:wíʔwan		čóh:oy.		
after he stopped eating		[blank]	[blank]	[blank]		[blank]			
18.	kʰáʔ[:]aw		weč[:]éyey		[ʔ]íhmin	ƙó:ʔo,			
	[blank]		[blank]		[blank]	[blank]			

wéč:e's song.

líƙlísyey šol:óbi[y], káli [length] p[ʰ]ik:ášbi[y], ṯó:bi[y].
[blank] [blank] up he raises head [blank]

[ʔ]óh:o bá:maw, čónhi dókʰ:oy, čónhi dokʰ[:]ó:ba p[ʰ]aʔló:loy,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]íhšuṯ [-ṯ?] héʔbey,/ hí:no čʰihkʰódu:ba čónhi hám:i bá:neba
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]íhp[ʰ]aw./ čónhi wan mú:ʔṯaw, šádʔaƙ./ hí:no dahkáyhiw,
[blank] that flour is cooked he takes out --- he cleans off w. hand

ƙóʔdi dahkáyhiw mi bá:new,/ [ʔ]íhšuṯ [-ṯ?] héʔbey [ʔ]oh:óʔwan
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

dán:aw [ʔ]ihšúṯwi [-ṯ?],/
[blank] w. poker

19. ha:miní:ba hó:liw, dó:noŋhkʰay hwákay,/ dó:no p[ʰ]úš:u
[blank] [blank] [blank] he went up (?) [blank] [blank]

ṭʰíw[:]imá:ni, hám:iṯow [ʔ]ám:aŋhkʰay wálaw./ ṯélʔéwi hwaƙ,/
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he goes

ha:miní:ba weč:é(y)čo:kʰe [ʔ]áč:a kʰaʔ[:]áṯmay, maʔdákʰden héʔ[:]e
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

p[ʰ]aʔčíba, hídʔa [ʔ]íč:aƙ,/ čʰíhkʰačʰkʰáduy liƙlísyey,/
[blank] [blank] [blank] he drags along [blank]

ha:miní:ba ƙó:ʔo [ʔ]íhmin.
[blank] [blank] [blank]

líƙlis song.

20. wéč:eyey ṯó:bi[y], kʰaṯ:áduy híʔdamsáṯ:ow kʰaṯ:ádu,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ṭʰíwimá:ni waʔá:ṯon čáhčiw, ham:íṯ:ow máč:ey.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he waits.

líƙlisyey maʔdákʰden [ʔ]ič:áloƙ, čaʔṯémhuy, huʔ[:]úy [ʔ]a:súmhuy,/
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

huʔ[:]úywan [ʔ]akʰ:óhčan bá:lay yá:la./ líƙlisyey duhsúmhulaʔya

those faces both blood all over. [blank] let's quit

ƙoʔdíʔwa ƙá:de,/ békʰma:yowáʔya čaʔt̓émhukʰ[:]ét̓ʰot̓./ ƙóʔdi wáʔma
it's good friend after this we will not fight e.o. it's good you

ƙa:de čoh:óŋhkʰe.
friend will get married.

21. máʔwaná:pʰ[]i. hó:liw liƙlísyey [ʔ]at̓:i čihṭa
that's all. he goes [blank] [blank] [blank]

mín:an yowan ṭóŋhkʰay, číhṭaʔwan dólhow, číhṭa [ʔ]áčʰ:aw dólhow,
[blank] [blank] [blank] that game he takes off [blank] wh. he caught
[blank]

ham[:]un šú:kʰaw, čihṭáʔwan [ʔ]ihčíči[y], ma hó:liw
this he gets through [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay,/ [ʔ]ah[:]áy mukʰ[:]at̓ héʔbey, hám[:]un
[blank] [blank] [blank] he picks up in hand this, that
stick

čoʔdóči[y], [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay čodʔódu, [ʔ]áč:a háč':ow,/

he picked up on back, shoulder [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]at̓:í:kʰe [ʔ]áč:a húm:ay,/ [ʔ]at̓:í:kʰe ká:wiyon [ʔ] biʔdíči[y],/
his house he went into [blank] [blank] [blank]

hí:no daʔṗóṗow hí:no yá:la čí:yow daʔt̓ába,/ ha:miní:ba
ashes he dusts it off all over ashes sitting after he found ---

hoʔt̓óʔt̓ow, [ʔ]ám:aṭon bá:new ka:wíʔwan, ha:miní:ba [ʔ]óh:o
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

bá:maw./ číhṭaʔwanṭoŋhkʰe muʔt̓ákaw, muʔt̓á:li ká:wiʔwan
[blank] some of the game[blank] [blank] [blank]

čuh:úkaw,/ bihsúmbakʰmá:yow ká:wiʔwam[:]u sí:ma mí:ṭiw./
[blank] after he stopped eating this boy went to sleep.

ha:miní:li mí:yame [=miy:ame] ká:wiʔwan čóh:oy./
[blank] his father that boy sleeps with.

22. kʰáʔ[:]ašƙáden, líƙlisyey ṭó:bi[y], [ʔ]óh:o bá:maw,
morning [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]aṯ:íːkʰe ċíhṯa yówanṯoŋhkʰe muʔt̓ákaw,/ káːwiʔwam[ːu] pʰ]íʔč’oy.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] the boy wakes up.

káːwiʔwam[ːu] pʰ]iʔč’óːli ċíhṯa čuh[ːú]kaw./ káːwiʔwam[ːu] bíhsun,/
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he stops eating,

haːminíːli líḱlisyey hóːliw, kuːlúŋhkʰay.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

kʰáːle bóṭːo[ʔ]pʰ]eːyédu, dóːno huwːádu, maːčíhkon huːwádːu,/
tree old he looks for (on) hill he goes all day he walks around

haːminíːba kʰáːle dáʔt̓aw,/ kʰáːle báhṭʰe bóṭːo[ʔ] čóṭːow./
then tree he found tree big old stands.

23. háːminíːba [ʔ]aṯ:íːkʰe ċíhṯa míːn:an yówanṯoŋhkʰay
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

hóːliw. [ʔ]aṯ:íːkʰe ċíhṯa [ʔ]áčʰːaw dólhow, náːpʰiyow
he goes [blank] [blank] wh. he caught [blank] everything

dólhow. háːminíːba [ʔ]ihčíči[y], [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay hóːliw./
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]áhːay múkʰ[ːaṭ̓ heʔbéːba hám[ːun čóʔdočíːba [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay
wood dry he picked up [blank] [blank] [blank]

wádu./ [ʔ]áhča sáːma hwádu, haːminíːba [ʔ]aṯ:íːkʰe [ʔ]áhča wáːni
[blank] close to house he comes [blank] his house ? [in H]

[ʔ]óhːosa dáʔt̓aw./ héle, héle, heːmét̓ʰka ma
smoke he sees, finds exclamation of surprise what’s the matter [blank]

ʔáčːa [ʔ]ohːósa,/ [ʔ]ahčáʔkʰe muʔḱúka laːle./
at home smoke my house might catch fire.

24. háːminíːba [ʔ]áhsič’ hóːliw, [ʔ]eːwen hóːliw,/ [ʔ]aṯ:íːkʰe
[blank] fast, hard he goes fast he goes his

káːwi múʔḱu hiṯ[ːáŋkay./ [ʔ]ačːa háč’ːow, hiʔdáhmo,
child burnt he thought home he arrived in front of it, in front of door

[ʔ]éːwen [ʔ]áčːa pʰ]ihṭʰíṭʰmay [=/pʰihṭʰi-pʰihṭʰi-mač-Ø/?]./
quickly inside he peeped in.

há:miní:li miy[:]áṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan [ʔ]ač:a čí:yow,/ p[ʰ]ihṭʰiṭʰmá:ba
[blank] his wife inside she sits when he peepd in

maʔdákʰden dáʔťaw. miy[:]áṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan čahṯi háč':ow.
his wife he saw his wife (again ?) [in H] come back

25. ha:miní:li [ʔ]ač:áhmay liƙlísyey, bá:ƙo číṭi [length?] kaʔma
[blank] he wnt inside [blank] what [blank] [blank]

béŋhkʰay wádu./ čóh:omá:ba wáʔma, p[ʰ]á[:]la[ʔ]ač:áywan./
here came. you ought to get married [blank] other man

hudʔaṯʰé ṯo mí:ṯo./ ha:miní:ba [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ká:wi wáŋhkʰe čihṯa
muʔťákaw.
I don't like you [blank] his child for him game he cooks.

[ʔ]ahšíyan číhṯa muʔťá:li ká:wiʔwan čuh:úkaw./ hám[:]un bihsú:ni
evening [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] this he finished

ká:wi wám[:]u sí:ma mí:ṭiw./
child [blank] went to sleep.

26. kʰáʔ[:]ašƙáden p[ʰ]íʔč'oy/ ha:miní:ba ṯó:bi[y], [ʔ]oh:ó bá:maw,
[blank] he awoke [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ba číhṯa muʔťákaw,/ ha:miní:ba [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ka:wiʔwan duw:áyi,/
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] his child he wakes

ha:miní:ba číhṯa čuh:úkaw./ máʔdakʰden čuh[:]ukáːṯʰoť,/ ká:wiʔwam[:]u
[blank] [blank] [blank] his wife he didn't feed [blank]

číhṯa bíhsun, maʔdákʰden híd?a hwákan, hó:likʰ[:]e waʔyá./
[blank] [blank] his wife outside he made her go out we're going away

[ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ká:wiyon bíʔdičí:ba híd?a bíd?aƙ,/ híd?a
--- [blank] he picked up outside he carried him out outside

ká:wiʔwan bá:new. líƙlisyey čahṯi [ʔ]áč:a hú:m:ay./ ha:miní:ba
--- he put [blank] again in house he went in [blank]

[ʔ]áč:a [ʔ]óh:o čúʔťaw. [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe [ʔ]áhča čúʔťaw./
inside fire he set fire his house he burned, set afire

27. ha:miní:ba ka:wíʔyowan [ʔ]ahp[ʰ]íči[y] ba hó:liw,
do:nóŋhkʰay,
[blank] that child he put on his back [blank] he goes [blank]

kʰá:le bóṭ:o [ʔ] yowanṯóŋhkʰay,/huwádu huwádu huwádu./
--- [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

miy[:]áṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan kʰám:a hó:liw, baʔ[:]áy yó:mu, [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe kʰá:le yowá:ni
his wife behind came that woman [blank] his to tree [blank]

háč':ow./ ká:wiyon [ʔ]ahp[ʰ]íči[y] ká:li ṯák:ay, kál:i
came child carrying up he climbs up up

p[ʰ]úš:u,/ [ʔ]áh:ay ṭʰiw[:]í:ni ká:wiʔwan bá:nen,/
top wood fork [blank] [blank]

ha:miní:ba waʔ[:]an liǩ liǩ liǩ liǩ liǩ níh:iw./
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he says

ká:wiʔwam[:]u hihláw čáhnu./ do:lónyey miy[:]áṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan kʰá:le
[blank] (too) talks [blank] [blank] tree

sa:máṯin čí:yow mí:may,/ wíṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰadé: níh[:]iw,
close to, under tree sits she cries my husband she says

wíṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰadé: ṯál:an,/ [ʔ]áwkʰeká:wiʔwan ṯo hudʔáwa,
my husband come down. my child me want

mí:may baʔ[:]áy wám[:]u./ liǩ liǩ liǩ liǩ liǩ níh[:]iw./
crying woman that [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] he said

28. má:mu [ʔ]í:šanyowan [ʔ]áhčʰoy, [ʔ]íš:ahlóṯi, [ʔ]éhṭʰe híʔbay,
this that arm becomes into wing feathers grow

híʔ[:]i híʔbay,/ ha:miní:ba číhṯaṯí:ba hi:bíʔduy./ ha:miní:li
down feathers grow [blank] become birds they fly way [blank]

miy[:]áṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan baʔ[:]áy yó:mu,/ [ʔ]á:ʔa pʰ[:]á:la dó:lon ṯíkʰ:e,/
his wife the woman I likewise, too wildcat will become

níh[:]íba číhsikʰa:ne kʰaṯ:álaw./
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:

ma:ṭo hu:čiyaka 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.

kolo:še: kolo:še:

ma:ṭo hu:čiyaka šu:ya:yaka

Sparrowhawk listened.

kolo:še: kolo:še:

ma:ṭo hu:čiyaka šu:ya:yaka

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.

Screech-owl Screech-owl,

Let's meet at Black Rock,

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:

ma:ṭo hu:čiyaka šu:ya:yaka

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:

ma:ṭo hu:čiyaka šu:ya:yaka

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. 'Oh̆. Oh̆. 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 outsidĕ. 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, 'liḱ liḱ liḱ liḱ liḱ,' (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. ‘liḱ liḱ liḱ liḱ liḱ,’ (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]	[ʔ]ahšíyan	[ʔ]ač:apṭʰéy	šabʔáči[y],	šábʔačí:ba	baʔ[:]á:čon/		
	evening	[blank]	speaks	he spoke	to women		
kʰaʔ[:]á:lewaʔ	máya [=ʔmaya]	kú:lun	hó:lip[ʰ]i	baʔ[:]á:yey	híʔbu		
tomorrow	[ʔ]ehčʰékʰ[:]e, ye		out	when go woman	potato	will dig	
híʔbu	wa:yínṭi./	kʰaʔ[:]áškaden		baʔ[:]á:yey	kʰómhča	hó:liw./	
potato	[blank]	morning		woman 8	go		
[ʔ]áčʰ:an	[ʔ]í:či:čí:ba,	waʔ[:]áli					
carrying basket	they carry	cane sharp pointed, i.e. digging stick					
bíʔdičí:ba,	híʔbu	[ʔ]éhčʰey./					
each took one	potatoes	they dig					
[2]	báhṭʰe	[ʔ]ehčʰé:ba	[ʔ]ahšíyan	[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay	[ʔ]ahkó:či[y]./		
	much	they dug	evening home		they go back		
kʰaʔ[:]áškaden		muṭ:ánhi		hiʔbúʔwan	dál:i,		
morning		(sun is hot) in hot sun		potatoes	they spread		
moc̀[:]íŋkʰṭi. (or moc̀íŋhkʰṭi) [( ) in H]/			há:mi	kʰaʔ[:]áškaden			
they wilt them			next	morning			
wáʔ[:]an	ma:lúṭi	[ʔ]ám:a	dá:ḱló:ba,	[ʔ]áṭʰ:a			
now		they’re going to bake	dirt	they make hole in		gravel	
[ʔ]iy[:]óṭ:ow	[ʔ]aṭʰ:éba	wín:a	[ʔ]óh[:]o	bá:maw./			
underneath	they spread	on top	fire	make			
[ʔ]óh:owá:ni	wín:a	kʰáʔbe	[ʔ]áhṭʰi[y]	míhčan./	há:min(ʔ)í:ba		
fire	on	rocks	big ones	they put on	then		
kʰaʔbéʔwan	ḱóʔdi	[ʔ]oh:oṭí:li	wáʔ[:]an	kʰaʔbéʔwan	bal:íṭ̓ (or bál:iṭ̓)/		

rocks well become hot now rocks they take out

há:miní:ba hiʔbúʔwan damhí:ba kahp[ʰ]úmba
then potato they hull by rolling in hands they sift the skins from the potato

má:lu./ má:čiwi má:lu./ ha:miní:ba muʔt̰á:li
they bake daytime bake then when it's cooked

hiʔbúʔwan waʔ[:]an dá:ṭʰow./ dá:ṭʰoba
potato now they open the oven when have opened the oven

šá:kʰanwi [ʔ]óhčow míhča šá:kʰan./
in basket ("sifter" basket) the put 4 basket

[3] ha:miní:ba wéy huwá:ne híʔbu čuh[:]úʔya,
then ready come on! (all of you) potatoes we (will) eat

híʔbu wa:yimáʔya/ hám:un čuh[:]úp[ʰ]ikʰmá:yow
potato we are eating for first time this after eating

waʔ máya [=waʔmaya] [ʔ]aṯ:iyey húdʔakay híʔbu
[blank] ye ye selves whenever ye want potatoes

[ʔ]ehčʰéčin čuh[:]úkʰ:e, híʔbuʔwan wá:yimp[ʰ]ikʰmá:yow./
digging will eat potato after we have eaten first

[ʔ]ohčóma wáʔya sí:t̰o čuh[:]úkʰ[:]e./
"picnic", public feast we now will eat

[4] [ʔ]ahčáhčey šul:ádu míṭ:iw, kʰáʔdiw yómṯa/
person sick lies calls dr.

má:ʔan [ʔ]ahčáhčey šul:adu wán (or šul:adúwan) hodʔǫ́ŋhkʰṯ̂i/
this one the sick person he lets him doctor

má:mu p[ʰ]ús:u, ha:miníp[ʰ]la šul:ádu wa:ni miy:áṭʰe,
this one doctors w. song then if sick one [blank] his mother

šúl:adu wa:ni miy:áme má:mu p[ʰ]ús:uwa:ni sá:ma nop[ʰ]ó(:)ba
sick person his father this doctor close by they sit

ha:mini:p[ʰ]i wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]óhčoma [ʔ]ahšíčiwa:ká:ba./
then [blank] feast he's going to call for

čuh[:]úyaw[:]an [ʔ]á:šimʔdú:ba, ṭʰoʔ[:]ó mič:áwi, yúh[:]u

food		he named		soup		in with 4	pinole

mič:áwi, sí:lun		mihča	ná:ts(ʰ)u [error for ná:čʰu??],			behše	[ʔ]ákʰ:o
4		bread	4	trays			deer 2

lamé:sa	báhṭʰe	čuh[:]úyaw	na:p[ʰ]íyow,	
table		big	food	all kinds

[yo	hám[:]uwaná:p[ʰ]i]	[outside brackets in H]		ká:wa		mič:áwi,
[blank]	[blank]			tobacco	(in) 4	

yó	hám[:]u	waná:p[ʰ]i./	
[blank]	this here	is all	

má:ʔan	kaš[:]óp[ʰ]la	wáʔ	ya [=wáʔya]	má:ʔan,	
this	if it is well	[blank]	we	this	

[ʔ]ohčóma ʔan	čiʔ[:]íkʰ[:]e./
picnic	will make

[5]	má:muwáʔ[:]an	[ʔ]ohčóma		čiʔ[:]iw,	má:mu	wáʔ[:]an	
	now	picnic			(they) make	[blank]	now

lamé:sa	[ʔ]áhkon	číʔ[:]iw,/		má:muwáʔ[:]an	ṭʰoʔ[:]ó	
table	long	make		now		soup

mič:áwi,	yúh[:]u	mihčáwi,	sí:lun	mič:áwi,	béhše	
with 4	pinole	w. 40		bread	with 4	deer

[ʔ]ákʰ:o	ká:wa	mič:áwi,	čuh[:]úyaw	p[ʰ]al[:]áʔwam[:]u,	
2	tobacco	w. four	food	other kinds	

kúṭ:u [kuṭ:uʔ]	[ʔ]ó:čo̱tmáyaw [-t̰- or –t̰ᵊ-ʔ]./
they	put on the table

[6]	wéy	yómṭ̰áyčow [??]	hu:wádun,		maʔwámkʰe	čuh[:]úyaw,
	now	doctor	come!		Yours is	food

[ʔ]á:ya	číʔ[:]iw,	[ʔ]á:ma	[ʔ]óhčóma	[ʔ]ahšíčiway	yó:mu/
we	make	you	feast	wh. you called for	

híy:o	ƙoʔdíʔwa./	má:mu	čáw[:]an	díč:i[y],	
yes	it is good	this	thing	he picks up in hand	

ha:miní:ba	čuh[:]úya[wʔ]	yówanhṭ̰óŋhkʰe	na:p[ʰ]íyokʰle	
then	food	some of it	all of them	

čʰe:ṯéṯ̓bi[y],/ ha:miní:ba [ʔ]oh:óʔyowa:nisá:ma čóhṯoy
he takes a spoonful out then close to fire he stands

[ʔ]ahšą́ŋhkʰay [ʔaš:oŋhkʰay?]./ ha:miní:ba wáʔ[:]an čánhun,
facing east then now he talks

máʔwaʔamṯo bi:yámhuy, [ʔ]ám:ačáhṯimuyčo/
this I will eat with you world!

máʔbénlí:ǩo [ʔ]kʰé kaš[:]ó:kan,/ [ʔ]á:ʔa ší:baṯaw me:dedúʔwa,
[blank] mine making well I poor am talking

[ʔ]á: ši:baṯámṯo ká:nimč'edúʔwa, [ʔ]á: sí:ba:ṯawmí:ṯo
I poor you am calling relation I poor you

čanhodúʔwa,/ máʔben lí:(ǩ)o [( ) in H, <ǩ> written above <k>] kʰe
am talking [blank] [blank] [blank]

kaš[:]ó:kan (?) [(?) in H] máʔbenlí:ǩo čaːṭí:kan [H's <ḍ> might be <d>],/
[blank] [blank] make it clear, clean

maʔwaʔámṯo čuh[:]úyaw bi:yámhuy/
this I you food this food I am eating with you, sharing w. you.

čuh[:]úya[w?]yowan [ʔ]óh:o hú:ṭay máʔwa[ ]ná:p[ʰ]i.
food fire he throws into this is all

[Halpern's free translation of II]

IIa. New Potato Taboo

1. 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.

2. Having dug much, in the evening they start for home. In the morning, when it is hot, they spread the wild potatoes out, in order to wilt them. Next morning, now, they are going to bake them. 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 cocked, 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 slick 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

[1]	šé:bay	še:wé:čay	šé:bay	hidʔa	hwadé:ney,	šé:we:ča:yey	
	Girl	young man	girl	outside	walks around	young man	
dú:new,	hidʔa	kʰaʔ[:]ákaw./	ha:mini:li	šé:baywá:ni			
catch	outside	keep	then	girl			
mi:yašiki	kʰáʔdiw,/	[ʔ]áč:a	huwá:ne,	[ʔ]ač:a	mi:ṭíle,/		
her mo. sis.	went out	inside	come!	inside	lie down, sleep		
[ʔ]iš:aw	[ʔ]áč:ay./	ha:mini:ba	yúh[:]u	čóhšin,			
[blank]	man	then	pinole	pounding			
čʰeʔ[:]éṯma[y]	ǩoʔdíwi	yúh[:]u	[ʔ]óhčow,	pʰá[:]la			
basket	in good	pinole	puts	other			
baʔ[:]á:yey	[ʔ]uhṯéhṯew,/	še:wé:čay	yo:ni	miy:áṭʰen./	míp[ʰ]:ak:i[:]kʰe		

woman told young man [blank] his mother your son's

yúh[:]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw, híy:o ƙoʔdíʔwa héʔbekʰ[:]ewáʔa./
pinole they have put up yes it's good I will get it

[2] ha:mini:ba baʔ[:]a:yó:mu [ʔ]í(h)ši [( ) in H], č'á:ʔa dič:í:ba,
then woman blanket one she got picked up

hó:liw dí:mo yúh[:]u [ʔ]ohčóyaw heʔbé:t̯i
she goes out wedding pinole they put she's going to get

mač:áden háč':ow./ ha:mini:ba, [ʔ]iš:íʔwan dím:ay,/
her čáde she visits then blanket she takes in

ha:mini:ba [ʔ]iš:íʔwan dihkába, yúh[:]u héʔbey čʰéʔ[:]et̯'má:wi./
then blanket she gave pinole she took in basket

ha:mini:ba [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay hebʔédu yuh[:]úʔwan./
then home she takes the pinole
[3] baʔ[:]áywa:ni [ʔ]úht̯eht̯éyaw dí:moʔ wád:u yódo máyan
to woman they tell wedding beads to ye

díhkayákʰ:e./ [ʔ]as:ičí:p[ʰ]i yuh[:]ú čohší:ne,/ yów ƙoʔdíʔwa
they will give being strong pinole pound ye! Yes it's good

[ʔ]akʰ[:]é ka:némayhčan [ʔ]uht̯éht̯ékʰ:e wáʔa./
my my relatives I will tell

má:ʔyodo wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]uht̯eht̯émhuy, dí:moʔwadu yódo yan
now they tell it around wedding-beads is [blank]

dihkayákʰ:e,/ yów (3) [in H] ----- yuh[:]úʔwa ya čohšinkʰe,
they will give all right pinole we will pound

sí:lunwaʔ ya [=ʔya] ma:lúkʰ:e yáhwíh./
bread we will bake thank you

bíʔduʔwaʔya čohšinkʰe dí:moʔwadu di:kat̯wá:t̯i [-t̯-ʔ]/
acorns we will pound wedding beads (we) will give (to many)

bá:ƙo kaya šiʔbaši ċí:ba. bá:ƙo ka hmiyo ċiyá:ba./
what we meat or fish could we make what [blank] [blank] make

hụ́:hụ. behšé dahlá:li./ hé: [ʔ]ahšá dahlá:li, hiʔ[:]inwánt̯in
I don't know deer I think perhaps fish I think either one

číyaw ƙóʔdi hla:líʔwen./ béhšeṯa ya čikʰ:e dí:mo, béhše./
make good I think deer we will make wedding
meat

[4] ma:ṭa [ʔ]ač:á:líṯ:ow báʔ[:]ay šoʔdí:yaw, wáʔ[:]an
this, thus? from man's side girl they get now

dí:moʔwadu dihkáṯi./ ṯ(ʰ)á:naṯon [ʔ]í:wadu
bá:ṯeṯmáyaw,
wedding beads they will give on hand, wrist beads they tie

[ʔ]í:wadu [ʔ]ihčikyaw ṯú:niƙo pʰ[íʔṯakákiyaw.
beads they put on neck dress they put on her (new dress)

[ʔ]íš:i pʰ[íʔṯakákiyaw,/ čónhi [ʔ]ákʰ:o
blanket they put on her shoulders, drape on her acorn meal 2

čʰeʔ[:]éṯma:wi [ʔ]ohčóyaw./ mís:ibo čʰiʔluʔlú:yaw./ [ʔ]ihši ṯú:niƙo
on baskets they put in 3 they make bundles blanket dress

mánṯa ma: baʔ[:]áyowan šúdʔedú:yaw, míy:aṭʰé[:]kʰe [ʔ]ahčaṯóŋhkʰay./
calico this woman they take her mother's towards house

[5] [ʔ]áč:a šóʔdimdú:yaw miy:aṭʰé[:]kʰe [ʔ]áč:a./ miy:aṭʰe
(inside) house they bring her in front of her mother's house her mother

hidʔa kʰáṯ:aƙ miy:aṭʰe ṯ(ʰ)á:na čóʔdow, máhṯikméden./
out runs out her mother hand she grabs her daughter

šé:bay wá:ni miy:ámuċ, č'á:ʔa čʰí:lá:naw čóʔdow mač:áden./
girl [blank] her fa's. sister one bundle she takes her ----

miy:ašíki č'á:ʔa čʰí:lá:naw čóʔdow./ míy:ák:aċ čónhi
čóʔdow./
her mo. sis. 1 bundle she takes her mo. acorn meal takes

míy:ák:aċ čónhi čóʔdow,
her mo. acorn meal takes

mač:áden./ míy:ame béhše čóm:ow, dí:mo béhše./
her — her fa. meat takes [?] wedding meat

ha:mini:ba [ʔ]áč:a hmó:kaw/
then inside (they went) they take her in

[6] [ʔ]iš:i [ʔ]aṭʰ:éba hám:i čahčíkiyaw,/ šé:bay [ʔ]í:wadu
blanket spread (on ground) there they let her sit girl beads

[ʔ]ihčíkiyaw yów:an. ha:mini:ba [ʔ]í:wadu dohló:yaw,/
Which had been put on her neck then beads they take off

t̰(ʰ)á:naṭon bá:t̰eṭ̰máyaw šuhṭʰáyaw./ ha:mini:ba má:mu mač:áden
on hand what they tied on they take off then this their ----

baʔ[:]á:líṭ:ow. yuh[:]úʔwan [ʔ]oh[:]óyaw, [ʔ]ákʰ:o čʰeʔ[:]eṭ̰má:wi, sí:lun bread
from woman's side the pinole they give 2 baskets

ma:lúyaw ša:kʰánwi, [ʔ]akʰ:ówi [ʔ]oh[:]óyaw./ ha:mini:ba p[ʰ]ál:a
wh. baked in wicker basket in 2 they give then another

šúṭ:u ƙoʔdíwi, yúh:u ƙóʔdi dí:moʔ ča:čó:kʰe [ʔ]ohčóyaw, hám:un
3-stick in good one pinole good for bridegroom they put this one to him

[ʔ]oh:óyaw./ baʔ[:]á:líṭ:ow [ʔ]ahčáhčey báhṭʰe kahkóṭi[y]./ [ʔ]í:wadúʔyan
they gave from woman's side people many they came beads

miy:íyaw, čoƙ[:]óbimhúkiyaw./
they count they exchange, they even up w. e. o.

[7] kʰám:akʰdíyakʰ[:]éyódo máyan,/ hiy:o ƙoʔdíʔwa.
they are going to kʰam[:]ákʰdiw [see free trans] ye yes it's good

ƙoʔdíʔwa yan kʰmákʰdiy:akʰ[:]é./
it's good is [ʔ] they will ----

móʔ[:]oy mihča, baʔ[:]á:yey mihča [ʔ]íhčíčikʰ[:]e,/
carrying baskets 4 woman 4 will carry

móʔ[:]oywá:niwi čʰeʔ[:]éṭ̰may ná:su šúṭ:u čʰic(ʰ):ačí:yaw [-c-~-č-ʔ],
with packing baskets basket tray 3-stick 1-stick basket

hám[:]i yúh[:]u [ʔ]oč:ólyaw./ ná:p[ʰ]iyó:wi mihča moʔ[:]óywi
this pinole they put in, load in in all 4 in pack-baskets

máʔyodo [ʔ]áč:aywan [ʔ]í:wadu[ʔ]ihčíkiyaw, bá:t̰eṭ̰máyaw

this one man beads they put around neck they tie on

ṯ(ʰ)a:náṯon dú?ṭ̓ekʰlé:yaw, [?]ákʰ:o, bán:amákiyaw./ [?]ač:áywan,
on wrist bead belt 2 they tie on wrist the man

šúd?edú:yaw miy:aṭʰé:kʰahčáṯónhkʰay/ kʰam:ákʰdiw hó:liyaw
they take him to his mother's house [blank] they go

p[ʰ]á:l(:)a ba?[:]á:yey mó?[:]oy:owan [?]é:čeṭ̓du./
other woman carrying basket they carry

[8] huw:á:naw dá?ṯ̓áyaw [?]ač:áṯow, wá?[:]an huw:á:naw./
walking they see from inside now they come

wá?[:]an hwá:naw (bis) [( ) in H] nih[:]íyaw./ hí?dahmo
[blank] [blank] they say right in front of door

[?]aṭʰ:éyaw ša?ƙá:nhi, hi?dahmo duhkʰeč'í:yaw./
they spread in the shade [blank] they ask him to sit down

hi?dahmo [?]í[h]ši [?]aṭʰ[:]éba, [?]ač[:]ay[w]an
[blank] blanket they spread the man

čahčikiyaw./ ma: [?]í:wadubá:ṯ̓eṭ̓mayaw dohló:yaw./
they make him sit this beads wh. were tied on they take off

dú?ṭ̓ekʰlé:yaw yowan dólhoṯá:yaw./ mó?[:]oy ba?[:]á:yey [?]é:čeṭ̓du yówan
belts [blank] they take off carrying baskets women wh. were carrying

čó?doyaw./ hi?dahmo čahčiyaw
they lift down, or take from them in front of door they sit

duhkʰeč'í:yaw.
they invite them to sit

[9] hám:i wá?[:]an [?]ač:aliṯ:ow čónhi [?]oh[:]ó:yaw./
this now from man's side acorn meal they give

béhše díhkayaw, dí:mo béhše./
meat they give bridegroom meat

ma: [?]í:waduywan miy:iyaw, čoƙ[:]obimhukʰṯi./
this beads they count they're going to trade

ma: čoƙ[:]óbimhukʰba čáhṭi díhkayaw./

this they have traded back they give, they return it

[10]	má:mu	ba?[:]áywam[:]u	maš[:]ášan	čiy:ók^{h}:e.
	this	woman	with her mo-in-law	she will stay

dí:mo nop[^{h}:]ók^{h}:e.
in-law she will stay

[Halpern III Free Translation]

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.ˇ Lie down in the house.ˇ' 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.ˇ oh.ˇoh.ˇ We will pound pinole. We will bake acorn bread. Thanks.ˇ 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.

[Halpern IV]

So. Pomo Text IV
Fisherman and Mermaid
15:49-65

[1]	nóp[ʰ:]ow	kʰaʔbék:o,	nóp[ʰ:]o	báhṭʰe,/	č'á:ʔa	
	they lived	place name	ra.		big	1

[ʔ]ač:áyey [-:yey ~ -y:ey]	[ʔ]ačʰ[:]án	daʔdimdu,		č'á:šba	ma:kʰáhmo./
man	basket	he set (for fish trap)			all the time
[blank]					

t̰éč'[:]aw	[ʔ]áhkadémʔdu,	číht̰a	bá:lay	dúʔt̰aw	húdʔaká:t̰ʰot̰'./	
[blank]	wise [ʔ]		game	blood	touch	he doesn't want

hám:un	míy[:]akʰčay	ʔá:ma:la	mí:haƙ/	ha:mini:li	míy[:]at̰kʰan [=ṭ(ʰ)]	
this one	his wife's bro.	rabbit		he brings	then	his wife

maʔdákʰden	má:mu	ʔa:má:laʔwan	dóṭ'[:]on./	
her husband	this	rabbit	skin!	

[2] [ʔ]áč:aywam[:]u ṯʰé: doť[:]ókʰ[:]éṯʰoť wáʔa [ʔ]áhkanwáʔa [ʔ]ačʰ:an
The man no I won't skin it I abstain from it basket

daʔdinṭi čihṭa bá:lay kaʔa hodʔónkʰe./ kó:koʔwánmu. [-m:u]
going to set game blood [blank] ? This is dangerous

kʰáṯ:ič'aʔwánmu [-ṭ:-m:u]./ baʔ[:]áywam[:]u hiǩ[:]oʔč'édun wáʔma
? the woman you're too proud, stuck up

čihṭa dóť:ow yáʔčʰokʰč'ámu [ʔ]./
game [blank] don't want to refuse

[3] hiy:o [ʔ]á:ma čanhódu dáʔa čihṭaʔwan doť[:]ókʰ:e./
yes you talk therefore I game will skin

ǩoʔ(:)diʔwen [-wan?] ṭóm:u,/ ha:mini:ba čihṭaʔwen [-wan?] dóť:ow,
good then then the game he skins

ʔa:má:la dóť:ow./ kʰa:má:yow maṯ:i čahṭí:ni
[blank] he skins after that long while passes
čéhčʰe báʔči [ʔ]áhkʰa čáhčaw, ši:máhkʰa čáhčaw,/
rain falls water rises leaf water rises

há:mikʰmá:yow maṯ:i čahṭí:ne pʰá:la čehčʰe báʔči./
after this long time passes again it rains

ha:mini:li [ʔ]áč:ayó:mu p[ʰ]í:laǩ, [ʔ]aṯ:i:kʰe
then this manhe's going over to trap, moving to trapping-place his own

[ʔ]ačʰ:ánhmoṯóŋhkʰay, kʰáʔbeʔčáwi či:yóṭi, ma:kʰáhmo./
to basket-hole [blank] he's going [blank]

[4] ha:mini:ba wan [ʔ]ačʰ:ándáʔdin./
then [blank] basket he sets

čuh[:]ulá:nṭow [ʔ]ačʰ:ánhmo [ʔ]áhčey,/
on north side = right bank of Sulphur creek basket hole hole goes through

[ʔ]iy:okolá:nṭow/ hám:ini (hám:i*) *See p. 65 [in Halpern]
on west [south?] side here

hak:ó:baya(w) šu:newá:naw./ kʰáʔbe báhṭʰe wá:ni
long wide-mouthed basketry trap [blank] rock big [blank]

win:a [ʔ]áhkʰa hak:álaw. hám:idow hak:ó:baya(w)
over water runs on that side [blank]

šu:niwá:naw hak:ó:baya báhṭʰe./
[blank] [blank] big

šič:únwi [ʔ]ákʰ:ohmáṯow šú:niwá:naw, [ʔ]áhkʰa hak:ála
with wild grapevine on both sides he ties water [blank]

wá:ni, líʔt̓i(:)ŋkiyaw./
[blank] he hangs it

[5] ha:mini:ba wan [ʔ]ačʰ[:]án dáʔdin, [ʔ]ačʰ[:]ánhmo./
then [blank] basket he sets basket-hole

pʰ[:]ál:a [ʔ]ahčúk̓un mís:ibo nópʰ[:]ow čá:dun,
other men 3 sit looking

wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]ačʰ:ándaʔdí:ni./ [ʔ]áhša méṭ̓bu
basket basket when he sets it fish how many

čí:wiw miy:íṯi kʰáʔbewín:a čóhṯoy, [ʔ]áhkʰasá:ma,
they go in he’s going to count rock on he stands water—close to

[ʔ]áhkʰa hak:álaw sá:ma./ ha:mini:li [ʔ]áč:ay[:]owan
water falling close to then that man

mahlučbí:ba wé:y [ʔ]áhkʰa [ʔ]ás:umá:ni hak:álaw./
his foot slipped now water where it foams he falls in, down into

[ʔ]ám:aǩál:aw čaṯ:éduy. hil:iʔnaṯi húʔ[:]uṯ̓bí:ṯʰoṯ̓ ,
kúṭ:u
[he completely disappears] nowhere he didn’t peep out, he didn’t appear
entirely, just

dúk:ay,/ ha:mini:li [ʔ]ahčúk̓un mis:íbo yó:mu(ʔ)ča [=hča]
lost then men 3 [blank]

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay nu:háṯ̓duy./
home [blank]

[6] míy[:]aṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰaden [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew, [ʔ]áč:ay:ówanmkʰe [ʔ]ahčʰóyʔča
his wife they tell your man he’s gone

[ʔ]akʰ:á:na hak:álwa,/ hé:ʔey naṯi huʔ[:]uṯ̓bí:ṯʰe, [ʔ]ačʰ:ówa./
in water fell never appeared he’s gone

[ʔ]uhṯéhṯemhú:yaw, [ʔ]ač:ápṭʰey čan [-čon] [ʔ]uhṯehṯé:yaw,/ [ʔ]ač:ápṭʰey

they tell it around to chief [blank] they tell chief

šabʔáč:i [ʔ]áhkʰahwo:li pʰe:yé:ne./ [ʔ]as:íčí:pʰi

he makes speech, gives instructions in the creek, by the creek look for! be brave

pʰe:yé:ne/ ham[:]íʔ( )maya híl:i čún:am háyt̰on maya čúčʰ:aw
look for! these ye somewhere driftwood on ye it stops against s. t.

dáʔt̰akʰ:e hlá:liʔwa./
ye might find [blank]

má: míy[:]at̰[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan mí:may kú:nu ba:kíli húʔ[:]uy [ʔ]a:súčʼi[y]./
this his wife cries breast she beats face scratches self

[7] héʔ[:]e ǩošáyey, kʰaṭ:íčʼaw ma hódʔodéŋka(w) má:mu
[blank] mermaid not good you do (?) this

má:kʰaʔwam[:]u, waʔ[:]awí:kʰe ká:wiya,/ há:mun [ʔ]á:ma [ʔ]áčʰ:an hmo
salmon this my children this you basket hole

ǩó:yey mahláčaw hwádeŋkaw,/ t̰[ʰ]á:namt̰o bá:lay ya:lawa,/
have [?] you dirty walk around hand you blood full of, covered with

há:met[=t̰] t̰ʰót̰ waʔma [ʔ]áwkʰeka[:]wiya may[:]ú:čí:ba./
thus not you my children stalk, should stalk

kʰát̰:ič[=čʼ]awáʔma čihṭa bá:lay hodʔómba, mhṭo t̰[ʰ]á:naṭon

wrong you game blood having touched, handled you on hand

bá:lay yá:la méhšew, maʔ áw[:]i[:]kʰeká:wiya may[:]ú:čiw./
blood-covered stinks you my children stalk

čá:dun máʔ[:]an[ʔ]áṭ:o héʔ[:]e, má:ʔan héʔ[:]e šúhṭʰačʼédun
look! this me hair this hair loosens own hair

wáʔa [ʔ]akʰ:á:na čúdʔakwádu./ [ʔ]áṭ:o heʔ[:]éʔwan kʰam[:]áʔwa
I on water I float them down me hair following it

[ʔ]áwkʰeká:wiya huw[:]áʔmdu [=mʔdu ʔ]./ ha:mini:pʰi
my children they come then

békʰmá:yow [ʔ]á:ma [ʔ]áčʰ:andáʔdin húdʔaká:pʰi wáʔma
after this you baskets set if you wish you

čihṯa bá:lay hódʔọŋhkʰéṯʰoṯ./ hám:un [ʔ]uhṯéhṯéṯi wa ʔa:mṯo
game blood will not bother this going to tell [blank] I you

máhča šóʔdi/ ha:mini:p[ʰ]i hó:lin [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay.
for a while I got youthen go home

[8] [ʔ]akʰ:á:na hak:álaw mič[:]áyikʰáʔ[:]aw [ʔ]áč:ay yó:mu
in water falls in 4 days, mornings man [blank]

[ʔ]áč:a kahkóṯi[y]./ [ʔ]aṯ:i:kʰe čáw:an ná:p[ʰ]iyow ču[ʔ]ṯáyaw
man came (back) to his things all they burned

kʰmá:yow/
after

[9] [ʔ]ahčʰóči[y] híṯ:a:ká:ba [ʔ]áč:awáŋkʰe čáw:an kúʔmu
died they thought the man's things all

[ʔ]ahčʰókiyaw./ ká:neméyhča héʔ[:]e diǩ:óy, míy:aṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan héʔ[:]e
destroyed relations hair cut his wife hair

diǩ:óy, miy:aṯ[=ṭ(ʰ)]kʰan dúhkali či:yow,/ [ʔ]ač:áy:o:mu
cut his wife in morning sits the man

čahṯe [čahṯi ʔ] háč':ow, [ʔ]ahčʰóči[y] hiṯ:á:ka:yá:li./
back again came back died they thought

Refer to p. 52 – [in Halpern]

má:kʰa kál:i hak:apčédun kʰáʔbe čoʔǩówdun čáhṯi
bán:alwád:un
salmon up jump up rock they hit back again they fall in

hak:ó:bayawá:ni hák:alwádu./
into fish trap long obj. falls into

[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 nothing 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

1. nú:p[ʰ]:e nó:p[ʰ]:ow ka:wíya baḥṭʰéǩo, lá:ṭ(ʰ)kʰo
skunk lived children many-with 7

ka:wíya.
children

2. ká:wiya?wam[:]uhča kahyaw?č'édu, mu:kʰél hay
the children were playing all the time ---- [blank]

mu:kʰém?du, kʰá?[:]ašǩáden miy:áṭʰe máhčʰa má:li hwá:ne.
[blank] in morning their mo. little while here come ye

wé:y ho:líp[ʰ]i míč:ač kʰa?díle, šul:admú?ṯo./
far off going mo. fa. go call him. summon him. I'm sick.

3. ká:wiya?wám:uhča yów, sí:ṭo?wá?ya ho:líkʰ:e.
the children yes quickly, right we will go

ha:miní:ba hó:liw, mú:kʰel háywan mú:kʰen. ha:miní:ba
then they went [blank] [blank] [blank] then

[?]íhmin.
they sing

hę?ę hé́:?ę, hę?ę hé́:?ę
ṯíšmi ṯíšmí:, ṯišmi ṯišmi:
hów?i hów?í:, how?i how?í

ma wé:y, hwádu. mu:kʰélin hwádu.
[blank] far they go [blank] they go

4. mač:áčyačó:šan hač':ow, hó:popó:niṯow hu?[:]úṯlaw.
to their mo. fas. they arrived by the smoke-hole they put faces in

[?]á:č'eṭó?yowa? šul:ádu, čáče?. ha:miní:ba?ṯo [?]á:č'en
my mother is sick mo. fa. then me my mo.

mí:ṯo kʰa?díkaw./ ǩasísi?wamúhča č'á:yey yów hnin,
you she made me summon those elks one of them yes say

yów hnin. hó:lin míy:ačačé:de? hó:lin ča:déč:inmihkʰáwhkʰan.
yes say go her grfa. go go see your grdtr.

5. yów hníba má:mu hidʔáhwaƙ, ma:
ka:wíyaʔyowančakʰma
yes having said this one went out these children behind

hó:liw. ka:wíya waʔ[:]á:ṯon hwádu, mu:kʰélin hwádu.
he goes children ahead walk they keep playing they walk

ka:wíyaʔyó:muhča [ʔ]ač:a šoʔdímʔduy.
the children inside house they take him to

6. ƙas[:]isiʔyó:muʔčá:yey [ʔ]ač:áhmay, nup[ʰ]:é baʔ[:]ay yó:mu
this elk, the same went inside skunk the woman

miṭ:iw. ƙas[:]ísiʔyó:mu há:misá:ma čáhčiw.
is lying this elk beside her, near her sat down

šúl:aduʔkámṯo šul:ádu./ híy:o šul:adáʔṯo,
lé:leʔwá·niʔṯo
are you sick? did you get sick? sick yes I'm sick forehead-on me

duhṭʰála. má:mu ƙas[:]isíʔwam[:]uʔčá:yey lé:leʔwá:ni mó:ʔow.
it pains this same elk forehead-on sucks

7. bíʔdaŋhkʰáyṯo kʰaṯ:áda čáċeʔ biʔdáŋhkʰay./
downwards me it moves, runs, it keeps moving mo.fa. downwards

[ʔ]ah[:]áskeʔwá:niʔṯo mó:ʔon čáċeʔ [ʔ]ah[:]áskeʔwá:ni. míhyakʰá:ni
on chin me suck mo. fa. on chin into throat

kʰáṯ:adaʔṯo čáċeʔ, míhyawá:niʔṯo mó:ʔon čáċeʔ
it runs me [blank] throat on suck ---

míhyawá:ni. kú:nuʔč'áwi čáċeʔ kú:nuʔč'áwi. p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni
throat on on middle of chest [blank] [blank] xiphoid process
čáċeʔ, p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni. seƙ:énaʔwá:ni čáċeʔ seƙ:énaʔwá:ni.
[blank] blank] diaphragm [blank] ---

koʔƙóhmoʔwá:ni čáċeʔ koʔƙóhmoʔwá:ni.koʔƙóhmo bídʔaṯow
on belly-button [blank] [blank] navel below

čáċeʔ, há:mi bídʔaṯow, čáċeʔ.
[blank] this below [blank]

8. ƙas[:]isíʔwan [ʔ]ehp[ʰ]éṭ̓maw, nup[ʰ]:éyey [ʔ]ehp[ʰ]eṭ̓maw,
this elk she farts upon him this skunk farts upon him

ƙas[:]isíyey húʔ[:]uy daʔƙončí:ba [ʔ]ám: kʰadʔemʔdéʔmaʔt̰o
elk face he covered w. hands ouch grdtr. you me

mihyánwa. ha:miní:ba ƙas[:]ísiʔwam[:]u [ʔ]áhčʰaw, [ʔ]am:át̰on
(you) kill then this elk fell over on ground

bá:new.
he fell, dropped.

9. núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]áywam[:]u t̰o:bí:ba kʰá:win
skunk woman this having got up flint

moʔčíba p[ʰ]é:t̰eṭenwá:ni čákʰ:aw biʔdaŋhkʰáywa:ni
having chipped a large piece on --- she cuts downwards

čahkʰál:aw [čakʰ:al:aw??], bíʔč'ad:úʔwan mič:álkoy, [ʔ]íhp[ʰ]aʔwan
she rips it down the stomach (tripe) she throws out guts

mič:álkoy, biʔč'ad:út̰on čʰí:lanp[ʰ]úy šóṭ':ow,
ha:miní:ba
she throws out on stomach tallow, stomach fat she pulls off, strips then

[ʔ]at̰:í:kʰe ka:wíyaʔyówan kʰáʔdiw.
her children she calls.

10. ha:miní:li ka:wíyaʔyó:mu kahkót̰i, ma:ʔánwaʔmáya
then the children come this ye

biʔč'ad:úʔwan [ʔ]ihp[ʰ]áʔwan wé:y haʔdúwaʔwaʔ maya [=ʔmaya]
stomach guts far away off ye

[ʔ]eč:edúkʰ:e, ha:mini:p[ʰ]iʔwáʔ maya [=ʔmaya] das:ekʰ:e. yów
will carry back, pack then ye will wash yes

hníhiw ka:wíya wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]eč:éduy.
said children now they carry (it) away.

11. ma: nup[ʰ]:é baʔ[:]áy:o:mu ƙas[:]ísiʔyowan dóṭ':ow,
this skunk woman the elk skins

doṭ':óba šá:mhew. na:p[ʰ]íyow ša:mhébakʰmá:yow, [ʔ]óh:o
having skinned cuts up all of it after having cut up fire

bá:maw. mís:ibóhma [ʔ]óh:o bá:maw, ma: ká:wiyaʔyó:mu
builds in 3 places fire builds these children

č’edé:y [č’e:de???] ma:liʔkaʔya das:ékʰ:e. t̰ʰé: wé:y haʔdúwa
mo. here ? we will wash no far away off

das:éle. ma: núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu mahsí: [=mahsiy]
wash ye this skunk woman coals

molhó:ni béhšeʔyówan [ʔ]áṭ:i ša:mhéʔyowan múʔt̰akan
when fire has burned to coalsthe meat she self which had cut while cooking

kúṭ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] čuh:ú:maw.
all the time keeps eating

12. p[ʰ]á:la ka:wíyaʔyó:mu má:liʔkáʔya das:ékʰ:e, t̰[ʰ]é:
again the children [blank] [blank] [blank]

wé:y haʔdúwa das:éle. ma: núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]áywam[:]u
[blank] [blank] [blank] this skunk woman

kúṭ:u [-ṭ-ʔ] čúh:u behšéʔwan čúh:u. [ʔ]áhkʰa daʔt̰aw do:míṭa
all the time eats meat eats water find each time,
each one

ka:wíyaʔwam[:]úhča máhṭʰen[ʔ]uhnáṭ̓du ma:líʔka ya das:ékʰ:e
the children their own mo. keep asking [blank] [blank] [blank]
nih[:]íwʔdu. ha:miníwʔden míy:aṭʰe t̰ʰé: haʔdúwaʔwaʔmáya
they keep saying when they repet. did that their mo. [blank] [blank]

das:ékʰ:e nih[:]íwʔdu. kúṭ:u [-ṭ-ʔ] behšéʔwan čúh:u miy:áṭʰe.
[blank] kept saying all the time meat eats their mo.

13. ma: ka:wíyaʔyo:múhča [ʔ]uhkʰáċdaʔyówan wé:y
these children tripe, belly-skin far

mih[:]ílhkʰaʔwá:ni [ʔ]ič:álaw. ha:miní:ba hám:i dás:ew,
ocean-to they brought down then here they wash

míh[:]ilhkʰáṭ̰on dás:ew. das:ébakʰmá:yow ƙóʔdi das:ébakʰmá:yow
to ocean they wash after having washed good ---

kič[=c]:ídu [ʔ]ahkʰáʔwan múkʰ:aṭ̓ká:li [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay [ʔ]ahkó:či[y],
little water when it was dry homewards they go

[ʔ]uhkʰáċdaʔyówan [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay [ʔ]eč:édu.
tripe homewards they carry

14. miy:áṭʰe behšéʔyowan bíʔku na:p[ʰ]íyow, ná:p[ʰ]iyow

their mother the meat ate up all all

biʔkúbakʰmá:yow kʰá:lešká:ni míṭ:iw, báhṭʰe bíʔkumá:ba.
having eaten-after tree-in shade she is lying much having eaten her fill.

ha:miní:li ka:wíyaʔyó:mu háč':ow, [ʔ]úhkʰaċdaʔyówan mí:haƙ,
then children came home tripe they bring in

[ʔ]áč:a, č'édeʔ hí:muʔkaʔá:ya béhše čuh:úkʰ:e, híʔka
inside house mo. where is ? we meat will eat where?

[ʔ]ay[:]a:kʰe béhše. míč:aċyey má:li kahkoṯí:ba bíʔkuwa bíʔku.
our meat your mo. fas. here having done ate up ate up

čá:dule má:mu, mís:ibóhma [ʔ]óh:o ba:máyaw, ha:miní(:)ba
see this 3 places fire they made then

bíʔkuwa béhšeʔyówan. [ʔ]á:maya [ʔ]úhkʰaċda
ate up the, that meat (connotes wh. ye have seen) ye tripe

mí:hakan wáʔmaya čuh:úkʰ:e.
wh. ye brought in ye will eat

15. hám:un čúh:un ka:wíyaʔwám:u [ʔ]uhkʰáċda yá:la.
this they eat the children tripe only

duw:é:li mí:ṭiw kʰáʔ[:]ašƙáden [ʔ]íṯ[ʰ]:in

when night came they lie down, go to bed morning early

ka:wíyaʔwám:u ṯó:bi[y]. ha:miní(:)ba hidʔáhwaƙ ṯí:čo:kʰe
children get up then they went out their

mu:kʰélhay kahyawá:ṯi, hidʔa kahyáwʔč'en hwádway,

[blank] to play with, going to play outside playing they walk around

ha:miní:li míy:aṭʰe kʰáʔdiw ka:wiyáʔwan. máhčʰa hwá:ne,
then their mo. calls them the children little while come ye

ka:wíyaʔwám[:]u [ʔ]ač:áhmoƙ maḥṭʰe kʰaʔdí:li. ha:miní:li
the children come inside their mo. when she called then

miy:áṭʰe šul:adáʔṯo míč:aċ kʰaʔdíle, míč:aċ kʰaʔdíle.
their mo. I am sickyour mo.fa. call, summon, get ye ---

16. ká:wiya?yo:múhča yów hid?áhwaƙ. ma: hó:liw
these same children [blank] they walked out now they go

mač:áčen kʰa?díṯi, mú:kʰen hay mú:kʰélin hwádu,
their mo. fa. in order to call [blank] [blank] they keep playing they go

kahyáw?č'in hwádu, ƙó:?o [?]ihmíman hwádu. mač:áčyačó:kʰe
playing they walk song singing they walk their mo.fas.

[?]ám:aywá:ni kahkóṯi, ha:miní:ba č'á:yey hó:popó:niṯow
to sweat house they come to then one of the by smoke-hole

hu?[:]úṯlaw, čačé:y [?] [?]á:č'eṯo šúl:a:ni,
he puts his face down into mo.fa. my mo. since it sickens (her)
[?]amí:ṯo [?a: mi:ṯo ??] kʰá?diw hwadú?wa.
you call I come

17. ha:miní:li [?]é:wen hó:lin míy:ačačé:de, [?]é:wen.
then quickly go their mo.fa. quickly

ča:déč:in ká:wi. yów čá:dedukʰ[:]é?wá?a, nih:íba híd?a
go over and see child [blank] I'm going to see having said outside

húw:aƙ, ka:wíya?wáŋhkʰma hwádu. ka:wíya?wám[:]u wa?[:]á:ṯon
he walked out behind children he walks the children ahead

huw:ádu, mú:kʰel háywan mú:kʰéman hwádu, kahyáw?č'in
they go [blank] [blank] [blank] they go playing

hwádu ha:miní:ba mač:áčen [?]áč:a šo?dím?duy.
go then their mo. fa. to house, home they brought

miy:áčač[?]ač:áhmay, núp[ʰ]:e ba?[:]ay:ó:mu míṭ:iw, šúl:adu
their mo.fa. inside went skunk woman is lying sick

míṭ:iw. míy:ačačƙas[:]isíyey há:misá:ma čáhčiw, cé:liṯow [?]
is lying her mo. fa. the elk near, beside her sat down from where

kamṯo šul:ádu, níh:iw.
? you does it sicken he said.

18. núp[ʰ]:e ba?[:]áy:o:mu šín:aṯówṯo šul:áda, ṯeč'[:]áwṯo
skunk woman head-from-me it sickens hard, much me

duhṭʰála. ma: mó:?ow, lé:le?wá:ni mó:?ow, [?]aṯ:íṯo
it pains now he sucks on forehead he sucks her (hers)

lé:leʔwá:ni mo:ʔó:li bíʔdaŋhkʰáyt̪o kʰaṯ:áda níh[:]iw.
on forehead when he was sucking downwards me it goes (runs) said

[ʔ]ah:áskeʔwá:ni mó:ʔow, míhyaʔwá:ni mó:ʔow, kú:nuʔč’áwi
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

mó:ʔow, p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni mó:ʔow, bíʔdaŋhkʰáyt̪o kʰaṯ:áda
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

níh:iw. seǩ:énaʔwá:ni mó:ʔow, koʔǩóhmoʔwá:ni mó:ʔow,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

bíʔdaŋhkʰáyt̪o kʰaṯ:áda čáċeʔ níh:iw. koʔǩóhmo bidʔáṯo [ʔ]
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]
[blank]

mó:ʔow, bídʔa:da mó:ʔow. ha:miní:li waʔ[:]an núp[ʰ]:eʔwam[:]u
[blank] further down he sucks then this skunk

[ʔ]éhp[ʰ]eṭ’, ha:mini:li ǩas[:]ísiʔwám:uʔčá:yey kʰadʔémʔdeʔmáʔt̪o
breaks wind [blank] this same elk grdtr. you me

mihyánwwa. ha:miní:liʔwan [ʔ]áhčʰaw [ʔ]am:áṯon bá:new.
are killing, have killed then he fell over on ground he drops

19. ma: núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]áy:o:mu ṯ̪ó:bi[y] . ṯ̪o:bí:ba
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] having stood up

kʰá:win móʔċin. ma: waʔ[:]an p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni
flint breaking off a large piece now this on end of breastbone

čákʰ:aw, bíʔdaŋhkʰay čak:ál:aw [-ala-ʔ] bíʔč’ad:u [ʔ]íhp[ʰ]aʔwan
cuts downwards she cuts down stomach guts

mič:álkoy. ha:miní:ba biʔč’ad:úṯ̪on čʰí:lamhp[ʰ]uy šóṭ’:ow.
she takes out then from stomach ‘string fat’ she strips off

ha:miní:baʔwan ka:wíyaʔwan [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ka:wiyáʔwan kʰáʔdiw.
then children her children calls

huw:á:ne má:li, má:ʔan bíʔč’ad:u [ʔ]íhp[ʰ]aʔwan [ʔ]éč:edú:le.
come ye here this tripe guts carry ye away.

wé:y haʔdúwaʔwáʔmaya das:ékʰ:e. mič:áċyey méhšekʰ:éʔwa,
[blank] [blank] [blank] your mo. fas. will smell it

[ʔ]á:maya híʔṯa das:ép[ʰ]la.
ye close by if ye wash.
20. ma: ka:wíyaʔwám:uhča [ʔ]eč:éduy, ma: núp[ʰ]:e
now these children carry it away [blank] [blank]

baʔ[:]áywám:u behšeʔyówan dóṯ:ow. kúʔmu doṯ:óbakʰmá:yow
[blank] the meat she skins all after having skinned

šú:kʰaba šá:mhew. ša:mhébakʰmá:yow [ʔ]aṯ:í [ʔ]oh:o
having finished she cuts up after having cut up she self fire

ba:máyowá:ni bá:maw, mís:ibóhma. wáʔ[:]an má: muʔṯákaw,
where she made makes three places this now she cooks

béhše muʔṯákaw. múʔṯakaŋ kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] čuh:ú:maw, ma:
--- [blank] while cooking all the time she keeps eating [blank]

ka:wíyaʔwam:úhča ma:líʔkaʔya das:ékʰ:e č’edé:y [ʔ], níh:iw.
--- [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ṯ[ʰ]é: haʔdúwa das:éle haʔdúwaʔ [ʔ]. ma: kúṯ:u [-ṭ-] čúh:u,
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] now all the time eats

núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]áy:ó:mu kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] čúh[:]u. ma: ka:wíyaʔyó:mu
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

má:liʔkáʔya das:ékʰ:e, níh:iw. ṯ[ʰ]é: haʔdúwa das:éle, míč:ačyey
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

méhšekʰ:éʔwa. ma: núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]áy:o:mu kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] čúh:u.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

mis:íbohma múʔṯakan čúh:u.
3 places cooking eats.

21. ka:wíyaʔyó:mu wé:y mih[:]ílhkʰaṯon [ʔ]ič:álaw
the children far to coast water brought down

[ʔ]uhkʰáċdaʔyówan, ha:miní:ba hám:i dás:ew, mih[:]ílhkʰaṯon
the tripe then here they wash in ocean water

dás:ew, ƙóʔdi dás:ew. ʔuhkʰáċdaʔyowan kʰáʔbewín:a
wash [blank] [blank] the tripe rock on

míhčan, [ʔ]áhkʰa ša:líkʰṯi, múk:alká:likʰmá:yow,

they put on water in order to let it drain off after it has dried off a little

[ʔ]íhčičí:ba [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay [ʔ]ahkó:či[y], má:ʔan
[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay
having taken it (up) home they start, go to these, this one home

hwádu.
they go.

22. má:mu núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu behšéʔyowan na:p[ʰ]íyow
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

bíʔku, biʔkúmay, ma: kʰá:lešǩá:ni míṭ:iw, hám:i
[blank] she is sated [blank] [blank] [blank] here

miṭ:íwen ma: ka:wíyaʔwám:u háč':ow, [ʔ]uhkʰáċdaʔyówan
while she lies now, these children arrive the tripe

mí:haǩ. hí:muʔka č'é[:]de [ʔ]ay[:]á:kʰe béhše [ʔ]á:ya čuh:úkʰ:e
they bring in where ? mo. our meat we will eat

níh[:]iw. míč:aċyey háč':oba bíʔkuwa [ʔ] béhšeʔyowan,
they say your mo.fas. having come ate up the meat

kúʔmu. čá:dule mís:ibóhma [ʔ]óh:o bá:maba,
all see ye 3 places fire having built

waʔ [ʔ] ná:p[ʰ]iyow bíʔku. [ʔ]á:maya [ʔ]úhkʰaċda mí:hakan
wáʔmaya
-- all ate up ye tripe wh. brought in -- ye

čuh:úkʰ:e.
will eat.

23. [ʔ]aṯ:íyey [ʔ]uhkʰáċda mí:haǩyówan ka:wíyaʔwám[:]u
they selves tripe wh. they brought in the children

čúh:u. [ʔ]áhšiyančí:li sí:ma mí:ṭiw. kʰaʔ[:]ášǩaden
eat when evening came sleeping they lie down morning
ṯo:bí:ba ka:wíyaʔwám[:]u hidʔáhwaǩ kahyáway [ʔ]aṯ:í:čó:kʰe
having got up the children went outside played their

mu:kʰé:naw mú:kʰen, ha: míy:aṭʰe mahčuǩúnčon
shooting along, throwing they throw [blank] their mo. them

kʰáʔdiw, máhčʰa má:li hwá:ne, míč:aċ kʰaʔdíle míč:aċ,

calls [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

šúl:admú?ṯo. yów, sí:ṭo?wá?ya ho:lík^{h}:e.
I got sick [blank] right away we will go

24. ma: hó:liw, ká:wiya?yó:mu, mač:áčen
[blank] they go the children their mo. fa.

k^{h}a?díṭi, mu:k^{h}élhay mú:k^{h}edun hwádu. ha:méṭ
in order to call [blank] continually throwing they go thus

hwádu mač:áčyačó:šan kahkoṯi[y], hó:popó:niṯow hu?[:]úṯlaw.
they go to their mo. fas. they come ---- one looks in

[?]á:č'eṯo šul:á:ni?ya čáče [?] mí:ṯo k^{h}á?diw hwadú?wa.
my mo. since it sickens here mo.fa. you call come

yów, yów. nih:íba hid?áhwaƙ, ka:wíya?wančák^{h}ma hó:liw.
[blank] [blank] having said he went out behind the children goes

ka:wíya?wam[:]úhča mu:k^{h}élin wa?[:]á:ṯon hwádu, k^{h}ám:a
hwádu
[blank] [blank] ahead [blank] behind
goes

miy:áčač
their mo.fa.

25. [?]áč:a šo?dím?duy mač:ačen. miy:áčačƙas[:]isíyey [?]ač:áhmay,
home they bring their mo.fa. [blank] elk went inside

[?]ač:áhmay, núp[^{h}]:e ba?[:]áy:owá:ni sá:ma čáhčiw.
went inside skunk woman where she is nearby sat down

[š]úl:adu?kámṯo, híy:o šúl:adá?ṯo. šín:aṯówṯo šúl:ada, šin:á?ṯo
are you sick? yes I'm sick head-in-me it is sick head me

duhṭ^{h}ála. má:mu míy:ačačmó:?ow, lé:le?wá:ni mó:?ow,
it pains this one, now their mo.fa. sucks [blank] [blank]

bi?dáŋhk^{h}ay k^{h}aṯ:aká?ṯo bi?dáŋhk^{h}ay, [?]ah[:]áske?wá:ni mó:?ow,
[blank] it's going down me downwards [blank] [blank]

bid?á:da čáče? bid?á:da čáče? níh:iw. míhyak^{h}á:ni
further down, lower [blank] [blank] [blank] she says in throat

čó:šoʔwá:ni mó:ʔow, ƙohṯókʰṯowá:ni mó:ʔow, kú:nuʔč’awi
on windpipe [blank] on soft spot betw. collar-bones [blank] [blank]

mó:ʔow, p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni mó:ʔow, bíʔdaŋhkʰáyṯo kʰáṯ:ada
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

čáče [ʔ], biʔdáŋhkʰay. seƙ:énaʔwá:ni mó:ʔow, koʔƙóhmoʔwá:ni
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

mó:ʔow, koʔƙóhmo bidʔáṯow mó:ʔow. bidʔá:da čáčeʔ
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] further down [blank]

níh:iw. bidʔá:da mo:ʔó:le núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu [ʔ]éhp[ʰ]eṭ.
[blank] further down when he sucks [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]ám: kʰadʔémʔdeʔ máʔṯo maʔṯéma, hám:un hníba
ouch grdtr. you me kill this having said

ƙas[:]ísiʔyó:mu kok:óduy.
the elk rolls over.

26. núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu hák:asbí:ba kʰá:win
[blank] [blank] having jumped up quickly flint

dihčíba muhlalá:ba p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni čákʰ:aw,
having grabbed in hand she breaks it open [blank] [blank]

biʔdáŋhkʰay čakʰ:áwlaw. ha:miní:baʔwan [ʔ]uhkʰáʔwan mič:álkoy,
downwards she cuts down [blank] guts, belly she takes out
ha:miní:ba bíʔč’ad:uṯon čʰí:lamhp[ʰ]uy šóṭ:ow. ha:miní:ba
[blank] from stomach [blank] [blank] then

ka:wíyaʔyowan hú:beṭ [ʔ], [ʔ]aṯ:í:čon hu:bé:li ba:yádi.
children she calls, themselves when she calls they answer

huw:á:ne má:li níh:iw. má:ʔan bíʔč’ad:úʔwan [ʔ]éč:edú:le,
come ye here she says this stomach carry ye away

[ʔ]ihp[ʰ]áʔwan [ʔ]eč:edú:le, haʔdúwa [ʔ]eč:edú:p[ʰ]i waʔmáya
[blank] [blank] far off when ye have carried it away ye

das:ékʰ:e. mič:áčyey mehšekʰ[:]éʔwa [ʔ]á:maya híʔṯa das:ép[ʰ]la.
will wash --- [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ma: ká:wiyaʔyó:mu yów hníba [ʔ]eč:éduy. ma: núp[ʰ]:e
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu dóṭ:ow ƙas[:]ísiʔyówan. na:p[ʰ]íyow ƙóʔdi doṭ:óba,
[blank] skins the elk all good having skinned

ma: wáʔ[:]an šá:mhew. [ʔ]í:haʔwan [ʔiy-]čahlú:luy
now this she cuts up bone she disjoints, cuts at the joint

čí:ʔiʔwan bahčʰíṭliw, šú:kʰabakʰmá:yow [ʔ]aṭ:í [ʔ]óh:o
flesh [ʔ] she cuts lengthwise after having finished she, self fire

ba:máyow:á:ni mís:ibóhma [ʔ]áhlay bá:maw. mahsí[y]
where she built 3 places [blank] she makes fire coals

molhó:ni wáʔ[:]an muʔṭ̂ákaw [ʔ]ihp[ʰ]úywan
when it comes to coals this she cooks fat

káhšo čuh:uṭáč'in, čí:ʔíʔwan muʔṭ̂ákaw, ma: ka:wíyaʔyó:mu,
raw she keeps eating flesh [ʔ] she cooks [blank] [blank]

má:liʔ káʔya das:ékʰ:e, ṭ[ʰ]é: haʔdúwa das:éle haʔdúwa.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

mič:áčyey méhšekʰ[:]éʔwa, ma: čúh:u, núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]aywám[:]u
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

čuh:u, behšéʔwan, múʔṭ̂akan p[ʰ]ál:ap[h]láwan múʔṭ̂akan
[blank] [blank] while cooking diff. ones cooking

[ʔ]í:haʔwánhlaw [ʔiy-] múʔṭ̂akan, p[ʰ]á:la ká:wiyaʔyó:muhča
bones too cooking again the children

má:liʔkáʔya das:ékʰ:e, wé:y haʔdúwa das:éle
[blank] [blank] away off far off wash ye

ka:wíyamúhča [ʔ]eč:édu huw:ádu, wé:y [ʔ]akʰ:áṭ̂ow
the children carry along walk along far to water, coast

[ʔ]ič:álaw. mih[:]ilhkʰáṭ̂on dás:ew [ʔ]uhkʰáčdaʔyówan.
they bring down [blank] [blank] [blank]

ƙóʔdi das:éba kʰáʔbewín:a mihčámba [ʔ]ahkʰáʔwan
well having washed rock on having placed them on water

múk:alká:li wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]íhčičí:ba, wáʔ[:]an
when it dries off a bit this having started to carry this now

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay [ʔ]ahkó:či[y].
home they start they go back

[27] miy:áṭʰe behšéʔyowan bíʔǩu, na:p[ʰ]íyow,
their mo. meat ate up all

ha:mini:ba kʰá:le( )šǩá:ni míṭ:iw bíʔǩumá:ba.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] having eaten her fill

máhṭʰe kʰá:le šǩá:ni bíʔǩumá:ba
their mo. tree in shade having eaten her fill

miṭ:íwen ka:wíyaʔyó:mu háč':ow.
while lying children arrive

č'édeʔ maʔ( ) yá:kʰe béhše bi:bíṯʰi níh:iw. mič:áčyey
mo. you our, for us meat didn't leave they said your mo.fas.

biʔǩúwa má:li hač':ówa, bíʔǩu. [ʔ]ačʰ:ów:a [ʔ]á:maya [ʔ]úhkʰačda
ate it up here they came ate up there is none ye tripe

mí:hakan čuh:úle. [ʔ]aṯ:íyey [ʔ]uhkʰáčda mí:haǩwan čúh:u.
brought in eat ye they selves tripe wh. they brought in ate

ha:mini:bakʰmá:yaw dúw:ey. híd ʔa kahyáway mu:kʰélhay kahyáway.
after that outside they play [blank] [blank] night falls

duw:é:li [ʔ]áč:ahmó:ba mí:ṭiw sí:ma.
when night comes having come in they lie down to sleep

[28] kʰáʔ[:]ašǩáden ṯo:bí:ba híd ʔa kahyáway.
morning having got up [blank] [blank]

ha:mini:li míy:aṭʰe má:li hwá:ne máhčʰa níh:iw
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

wé:y hó:lip[ʰ]i míč:ačʰ kʰaʔdíle,šúl:admúʔṯo
far going, when you go your mo. fa. summon? I got sick

ka:wíyaʔyó:mu yów hníba hó:lin,
[blank] [blank] having said they go

mu:kʰélhay mú:kʰeman hwádu, kahyáwʔč'in
[blank] [blank] [blank] playing

hwádu. ha:mini:ba č’á:yey mač:áčyačó:šan hač’:ow, ha:mini:ba
they go then one to their mo. fas. came [blank]

č’á:yey hó:popó:niṯow huʔ[:]úṯlaw, ha:mini:ba čaćé:y [ʔ],
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] mo. fa.

[ʔ]á:č’en šul:ámba kʰáʔdikwáʔṭo. yów níh:iw ƙas[:]isíyey.
[blank] having become sick sent me to call you “yow” he says
[blank]

[29] ha:mini:ba hidʔáhwaƙ, ka:wíyaʔyó:mu waʔ[:]a(:)ṭon
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

hwádu mu:kʰélhay mu:kʰéman hwadu, kʰám:a hwádu
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

ƙas[:]isiʔwám:u. [ʔ]áč:a šoʔdimʔduy, mahṭʰéšan, núp[ʰ]:e
[blank] [blank] [blank] to their mother [blank]

baʔ[:]áywam:u míṭ:iw, ƙas[:]isíʔwam[:]u há:mi sá:ma čáhčiw
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

šúl:aduʔkámṯo níh:iw núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]aywánčon.
[blank] [blank] [blank] to woman

hiy:o šúl:adu wáʔṭo, šín:aṯowṯo šul:ádu, hám:un mí:ṯo
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] this you

mó:ʔoká:ṯi kʰaʔdíkaw:áʔa ká:čon. mó:ʔow ƙas[:]isíyey,
to make (you) suck (I) [ʔ] sent to call (you) the children [blank] [blank]

lé:leʔč’áwi biʔdáŋhkʰayṯo kʰaṯ:áda čáćeʔ biʔdáŋhkʰay.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[ʔ]ah:áskeʔwá:ni mó:ʔow, biʔdáŋkay kʰaṯ:adáʔṭo čáće.
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

čó:šoʔwá:ni míhyakʰá:ni ƙóhṯokʰṯowá:ni kú:nuʔč’áwi
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

seƙ:énaʔwa:ni koʔƙóhmoʔwá:ni kʰaṯ:íwa čáće koʔƙohmoʔwá:ni.
[blank] [blank] it has run into [blank] [blank]

kóʔƙohmo mó:ʔow, koʔƙóhmo bidʔáṯow. há:mi bidʔáṯow. má:mu

[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] there below
[blank]

[ʔ]éhp[ʰ]eʼ [ʔ]ám: kʰáwhkʰa mihyánwaʔmaʔṭó, ha:mini:ba
[blank] [blank] gr. child you kill me [blank]

ƙas[:]ísiʔwan kok:óduy[.]
[blank] he rolls over

[30] núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]áy:o:mu [ʔ]é:wen ṭo:bí:ba kʰá:win
[blank] [blank] quickly having stood up flint

mubʔá:ba p[ʰ]é:ṭeṭenwá:ni čákʰ:aw, bíʔdaŋhkʰay
having broken a piece off [blank] she cuts downwards

čakʰ:ál:aw. ha:mini:baʔwan bíʔčʼad:ú dadʔálkoy [ʔ]ihp[ʰ]áƙo
cuts down then stomach she takes out with guts

dadʔálkoy ha:mini:ba [ʔ]aṭ:í:kʰe ká:wiyaʔyowan hú:beʼ
she takes out [blank] [blank] [blank] she calls

ka:wíyaʔyó:mu ba:yádi huw:á:ne hníh[:]iw.
[blank] they answer come ye she says

ma:ʔánwaʔ máya [=ʔmaya] [ʔ]eč:edúkʰ:e, [ʔ]eč:edú:le má:ʔan
wé:y,
this ye will carry away [blank] [blank] [blank]

haʔdúwa wáʔmaya das:ékʰ:e. híʔʼa das:ép[ʰ]la
[blank] [blank] [blank] close by if (ye) wash

mič:áċyey mehšekʰ:éʔwa.
your mo. fas. will smell it

[31] yów hniba ká:wiya [ʔ]eč:éduy [ʔ]uhkʰaʔyówan.
[blank] [blank] [blank] they carry it away the guts

núp[ʰ]e baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu ƙas[:]isíʔwan čóʼ:ow dóʼ:ow.
[blank] [blank] [blank] she scrapes w. knife she skins

ƙóʔdi šú:kʰaw, ha:mini:ba [ʔ]óh:o bá:maw, [ʔ]áṭ:i
well she finishes it [blank] [blank] [blank] she self

[ʔ]óh:o bá:mayowá:ni, mís:ibóhma [ʔ]óh:o bá:maw.
fire where she had built [blank] [blank] [blank]

ka:wíya?yó:mu má:li?ká?ya das:ék^{h}:e, t̪[^{h}]é: ha?dúwa
[blank] [blank] [blank] no way off, far away

[?]eč:edú:le, wé:y [?]eč:edú:le. núp[^{h}]:e bá?[:]ay:ó:mu [?]óh:o?yowá:ni
carry it away way off [blank] [blank] [blank] where fire is
mahsí: [-siy] molhó:ni béhše?yówan mu?t̪̂ákaw. čuh:ú:man
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] continually eating

mu?t̪̂ákaw.
she cooks

[32] čúh:u, čúh:u. ka:wíya?yó:mu č'edé:y [?] ma:lí?ka?ya
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

das:ék^{h}:e. t̪[^{h}]é: há?duwa [?]eč:edú:le há?duwa. míč:ač̣yey
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] your mo. fas.

méhšekak^{h}[:]e?wám[:]u. ká:wiya?yó:muhča [?]eč:édu, [?]eč:émba (bis) [in H]
will catch scent [blank] they carry along having carried along

mih[:]ílhk^{h}aṭ̪̂on [?]ič:álaw. ha:mini:ba?wá?[:]an bí?č'ad:u? yówan [=?yowan]
to ocean they carry it down [blank] [blank] [blank]

dás:ew, mih[:]ílhk^{h}a [?]ahk^{h}áṭ̪̂on dás:ew. ɬ́ó?di das:éba
[blank] coast water on water they wash [blank] [blank]

k^{h}á?bewín:a mihčámba [?]ahk^{h}á?wan múk:alká:li [?]ihčičí:ba
wá?[:]an
[blank] having placed on [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

[?]ahčáŋhk^{h}ay hó:liw, [?]ahkó:či[y], [?]ahčáŋhk^{h}ay [?]eč:édu.
[blank] [blank] they go back [blank] they carry
along

[33] ma: núp[^{h}]:e ba?[:]ay:ó:mu bi?ɬ́u, behše?yówan ná:p[^{h}]íyow
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

bí?ɬ́u, bi?ɬ́uma:ká:ba ša?ɬ́á:nhi míṭ̪:iw. ha:mini:li
ka:wíya?yó:mu
[blank] after eating her fill in shade she is lying [blank] [blank]

háč':ow. mí:haɬ́ [?]uhk^{h}áċda. č'edé?ma?yá:k^{h}e béhše
[blank] they bring in tripe mo. for us meat

bi:bít̪̂^{h}i? [?]áč^{h}:ow míč:ač̣yey háč':oba ná:p[^{h}]iyow
didn't you leave? there is none [blank] [blank] [blank]

bíʔƙuwa. [ʔ]á:maya [ʔ]úhkʰaċda mí:hakan čuh:úle.
[blank] you tripe brought eat

čúh:u ká:wiyaʔwám[:]u [ʔ]úhkʰaċdáʔwan. bihsúmbakʰmá:yow híʔa
eat the children the tripe after stopping eating out

hwá:ba kahyáway. dúw:ey
having gone (they) play night falls

[34] [ʔ]áč:ahmó:ba sí:ma mí:ṭiw ka:wíyaʔyó:mu.
inside having come sleep they lie down the children

kʰáʔ[:]ašƙáden ṯó:bi[y] ha:mini:ba híʔa kahyáway
[blank] they get up then outside they play

híʔa hwá:ba. míy:aṭʰe kʰáʔdiw ka:wíya. ho:líle wé:y,
outside having gone out [blank] calls [blank] go! far

hó:lile. míč:aċ kʰaʔdíle míč:aċ šúl:admúʔṯo. yów[ ]hniba hó:liw.
go! [blank] call!, get! [blank] I am sick[blank] [blank]

mú:kʰelháywan mú:kʰéman hwádu. kahyáwʔč’in hwádu.
[blank] [blank] [blank] playing they go

huw:ámba hač’:ow mač:aċyačó:šan. čaċé:y -- [ʔ]éh
having walked along they arrive at their mo. fas. [blank] [blank]

hó:popó:niṯow huʔ[:]úṯlaw čaċé:y [ʔ]á:č’en yówaʔṯo míːṯo
[blank] [blank] [blank] my mo. me you

kʰaʔdíkaw šul:ámba. baḥṭʰéwaʔánwa hám:i hó:liw,
sent me to call having become sick many there have gone

mahčuƙúŋka he:méniw, he:ʔéykamahčúƙun hó:liw.
they (?) [in H] what has become of them where? they went?

huw:aŋhkʰéṯʰoʈwáʔya. hó:likʰ:éṯʰoʈwáʔya,
we will not come we won’t go

[35] ha:mini:li ka:wíyaʔyo:múhča hó:popó:niṯow mís:ibo
[blank] the children in smoke-hole 3
di:ṭíslaw, híʔdahmóṯow míhča di:ṭísmay,
put butt down into through door hole 4 put butts into

ha:mini:ba ƙas[:]ísi mis:íbo dúʔku, [ʔ]am:áča.

then elk 3 they kill in sweat-house

[ʔ]ahčaŋhkʰay [ʔ]ehp[ʰ]é:ba. ha:mini:ba ma: ka:wíyaʔyó:muhča
into house break wind [blank] [blank] [blank]

ƙas[:]isíʔwan dóṭ:ow, dóṭ:oba ƙóʔdi doṭ:óba šá:mheba
[blank] they skin having skinned [blank] [blank] having cut up

[ʔ]ám:ača ([ʔ]am:áča) [in H] [ʔ]óh:o bá:maw. ha:mini:ba wáʔ[:]an
in sweat-house fire they make then these

ka:wíyaʔyó:muhča béhše čúh:u.
the children meat eat

[36] ha:mini:li míy:aṭʰe núp[ʰ]:e baʔ[:]ay:ó:mu dúk:aƙba
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] having missed them

[ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ka:wíyaʔyówan dúk:aƙba ha:míŋhkʰay
her own children having missed towards there

kʰám:a hó:liw. ha:mini:ba hám:i háč':ow [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe
after them she goes [blank] there she arrives her own

ka:wíya béhše čuh:úwen. ka:wíyaʔyo:muhča kahmá:ṯi
children meat while they are eating the children become angry

maḥṭʰé kahkoṯí:li maḥṭʰen[ʔ]uhp[ʰ]úli, [ʔ]á:maʔwáʔyan
their mo. when she arrives their mo. they chase away you us

béhše ƙóʔdi čuh:uká:ṯʰoṭ, maʔwáʔya béhše ƙóʔdi čúh:u.
meat good did not let us eat now we meat good are eating

má:li hum:ó:ṯʰu hó:lin,
here don't come in! go

[37] ha:mini:li míy:aṭʰe hó:liba nup[ʰ]:éṯi, ma:
Then their mo. having gone away became skunk
[blank]

ka:wíyaʔ[ ]yó:mu behšéʔyowan bíʔƙu, ƙas[:]ísiʔyówan na:p[ʰ]íyow
[blank] [blank] ate up elks all

bíʔƙu, ha:mini:ba wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]ám:ay:ówan čuʔṯaw. ha:mini:ba
ate up then this the sweat house they burn then

wáʔ[:]an nup[ʰ]:éʔ[ ]waʔyayókʰ:e nup[ʰ]:éṯi

this skunk we will be skunk (they) turned into.

[Halpern V Free Translation]

So. Pomo Text V

1. Skunk Woman lived, with many children, seven children.

2. 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.’

3. The children (said), ‘Oh, right now we’ll go.’ Having done so, they went off, scaling their scaling-sticks. Having done so, they sang.

hé̱ʔę hé̱:ʔé̱, hé̱ʔę hé̱:ʔé̱

t̰íšmi t̰íšmí:, t̰íšmi t̰íšmí:

hówʔi hówʔí:, hówʔi hówʔí:

They went far off, they went.

4. 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.’

5. 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), ‘Owˇ 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, ‘Ohˇ’ 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. Seeˇ 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.ˇ' (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 chest, 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.ˇ 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.ˇ 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.ˇ Oh.ˇ’ 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.ˇ Lower, grandfather.ˇ’ 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.ˇ Lower, grandfather.ˇ.’ she said. When he sucked lower down, Skunk Woman broke wind. ‘Ow.ˇ 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.ˇ, 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 different (parts), 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 have[ing] 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.ˇ', 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.ˇ' 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.ˇ 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.ˇ', 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.ˇ' 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.ˇ', 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 ⅂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

[1]	nóp[ʰ]:o	nop[ʰ]:óyaw	nóp[ʰ]:o	báhṭʰeǩo,		čihṯa	
	ra.	they lived	ra.		big		animals, birds

ná:p[ʰ]iyow	[ʔ]ahčáhčey./	kʰaʔbékʰač[’]	ma:ṭ́ikí:ǩo	
all	human beings	chicken hawk	with his own y. bro.	

nóp[ʰ]:ow,/	kʰaʔbékʰač[’]	miy:aṭ́íki	kúṭ:u [-ṭ-]	kál:i	čúm:aw,
lives	[blank]	his y. bro.	always	up	stays

[ʔ]ám:ay	[ʔ]oh:óṯow./	kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey	dó:lon	čóh:on	
sweat-house	inside	[blank]		wildcat	married

miy:áṭʰkʰan [in H]		dó:lon	báʔ[:]ay./	
his wife	wildcat	woman		

[2]	[ʔ]ahčáhčey	báhṭʰe	hó:liw	[ʔ]ahšóŋhkʰay [ʔaš:o- ʔ],
	people	many	go	westwards [east-], i.e. to Lake Co.

[ʔ]áhša [ʔ]i:čičʰt̰i,/ na:p[ʰ]íyow hó:liyawkʰmá:yow
fish to carry, to start packing all after they went

dó:lon báʔ[:]aywám:u maṯikʰča:ṯo [ʔ]am:áča hwálʔba,
[blank] [blank] to her husb. bro. in sweat-house having walked down into

máṯ:ikʰčá:ṯo kál:i čum:áwan [ʔ] [ʔ]ič:álmey,/ [ʔ]íč:almé:ba
her husb. bro. up who was sitting she pulls down having pulled down

[ʔ]aṯ:i:kʰe [ʔ]ač:a šudʔéduy./ niba háʔku,
húʔ[:]uy
her home she takes him away then she scratches him face

na:p[ʰ]iyóhma háʔku./ šiʔbáhlaw háʔku./ [ʔ]aṯ:íto
all over scratches body tooscratches himself

haʔkú:likʰma:yow hač:ábi[y] [ʔ]ám:aywá:ni kʰaṯ:álaw,/
after she scratched runs away into sw. house runs down into

ha:mini:ba [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe kál:i čahṯíʔwa:ni čúm:ay./
then his own up bed into he sits up onto

[3] [ʔ]ahšóŋhkʰay [ʔaš:o- ʔ] hó:liyo:múhča wáʔ[:]an [ʔ]ahkó:či[y],/
westwards [east-] those who had gone now go back

[ʔ]ahšáʔwan [ʔ]áč:a mí:haṯaƙ./ ha:mini:li kʰáʔbekʰáč:on čа:yíyey [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew,
fish home they bring then hawk jay tells

miʔdakʰan mí:ṯiki [case ʔ] haʔkúwa./ há:mi kʰaʔ[:]áškaden
your wife your y. bro. scratched next morning

kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey [ʔ]am:áča hwálaw,/ ha:mini:ba
hawk in sweat-house went down into then

ma:ṯikin ṯál:an heʔ[:]é bakʰ:ačímṯo,/
to his y. bro. climb down! hair (I will) comb you

hám:u ṯál:akʰ:éwi bák:o [ʔ]áṯʰ:ew,/ miy:aṯíki
this one on wh. he will climb hide [n.] he spread his y. bro.

ṯal:ába bák:oʔwá:ni wín:a čáhčiw,/miy:aki
having climbed down on hide on sat his o. bro.

kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey ma:ṯikí( )sa:ma čahčíba, [ʔ]ahčipkʰaywi
[blank] by his own y. bro. having sat w. brush

heʔ[:]éʔwan bákʰ:ay./ na:p[ʰ]íyow ƙóʔdi bákʰ:ay heʔ[:]éʔwan.
hair combs all well combs hair

šin:ákʰle héʔ[:]e p[ʰ]aʔčiba ma:ṭ́íkin, ká:liŋhkʰay
top of head hair having grabbed his own y. bro. upward

huʔ[:]ú:čin [-:- = /t̰/ ʔ] nih[:]iw./ ha:mini:ba má:ṭ́ikin huʔ[:]úkʰbe
look! he said then his own y. bro.
eyes

[ʔ]ákʰ:o bá:čʰiṭ́./ ha:mini:bakʰmá:yow híḍʔa
2 he took out w. s. t., sharp stick after that outside

hwá:ba [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay hó:liw./
having gone out home he went

[4] miy:aṭ́íki mí:may kahkʰač:édu čiw:ád:u kahkʰač:édu,/
his y. bro. cries he screams he rolls around on ground he screams

čaʔ[:]áʔnaṯi ča:dú:ṯʰoṯ́, kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] ƙay:ama [ʔ]ám:a
nobody didn't look at him always alon[e] [blank]

[ʔ]ikʰ:aʔč'édu./ ma: dúw:ey [ʔ]ahčahčéywan ná:p[ʰ]iyow
he suffered now it is night people all

sí:ma mi:ṭí:li číw:adémba híʔda daʔṯ́éŋhƙba [ʔ]ám:ay
when they went to sleep having rolled around door having felt sw. house

híʔda ham:í:da híḍʔa p[ʰ]íl:aƙ,/ ma: kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ]
door through there outside he crawls out now always, just

p[ʰ]il:áduy hi:miŋhkʰay [ʔ]áṯ:i p[ʰ]il:áduy
he crawls away where, which way he self crawls away

hiʔduʔč'énṯʰoṯ́./ mí:ma:ƙo p[ʰ]il:ádu, [š]uƙ:áṭin
he doesn't know crying he crawls along groaning

čiw:ád:u,/ číhsikʰá:ni ha:káṯlan [ʔ]ám:a
he rolls around, crawls w. body in brush he keeps falling into place

ƙa:ṭímha ko:kóṯlaw./
steep he keeps falling into [ʔ]

[5] há:meṭ̓ p[ʰ]il:adémba [ʔ]ám:ay wín:a
thus having crawled around (on hands and knees) on top of sw. house

p[ʰ]il:ákay,/ ha:mini:li ṯ̓ék:e má:[ṭ̓]ikí:ǩo nóp[ʰ]:ow [ʔ]ákʰ:o
he crawls up then beaver w. y. bro. live 2

šó:čiw,/ [ʔ]aṯ:í:čo:kʰe [ʔ]ám:ay wín:a p[ʰ]il:ádu,/ ṯ̓ék:e
they hear their own on top of sweat house he crawls beaver

miy:áki ʔwám:u má:ṭ̓ikin híd ʔa čá:dun háb ʔe,/
his o. bro. to his own y. bro. outside look! up here
[ʔ]ahčáhčey ṯ̓éč'[:]aw [ṭʰ-ʔ] šuǩ:áṭin dám:u./ ha:mini:li
people just--lots--a good deal (I hear) groaning [blank] then

míy:aṭ̓íki yów hniba hid ʔáhwaǩ./ ha:mini:ba [ʔ]áš:okʰbékʰač:on
his y. bro. [blank] having said went out then [blank]

dáʔṯ̓aw,/ ši:bá:ṯ̓awkʰe ká:wi, [ʔ]ay[:]á:kʰe ká:wi ʔyóka míy:ač:aċé:de/
he finds poor my child our child his mo. fa. (address)

čiw:ad:ámu míy:akí p[ʰ]á:la híd ʔa kʰáṯ̓:aǩ, ṯ̓ék:e
is crawling around his o. bro. again outside runs out beaver

miy:áki./
his o. bro.

[6] [ʔ]akʰ:óhča kʰaʔbékʰačʰyówan [ʔ]ám:ača bid ʔálaw./
the two [blank] in sw. house carried him down into

ha:mini:ba míy:ačáċyey mí:may,/ mi:má:ba kʰmá:yow [ʔ]óh:o
then his mo. fas. cry having cried after fire

bá:maba,/ kʰáʔbe ču:má:ba,/ čó:low:i [ʔ]ahkʰa
having built rock having placed sev. in baby-bath basket water

[ʔ]ohčóba,/ kʰaʔbéʔwan [ʔ]oh:o ṯ̓í:li,/ kʰaʔbe
having placed rocks hot when they became rocks

[ʔ]oh:óʔwan čó:low [ʔ]áhkʰa [ʔ]ohčó:yawa:níwi kʰaʔbéʔwan
hot baby-bath water in which they had put (water) rocks

čó:lowa:níwi kʰáʔbe [ʔ]oh:óʔwan mi:ṯ̓álaw, [ʔ]ahkʰá
in baby bath rock hot they keep throwing water

[ʔ]oh:o ṯikʰṯi./ [ʔ]ahkʰáʔwan [ʔ]oh:o ṯí:li
kʰáʔbekʰáč:on
hot in order to make water hot when it became hawk

dás:ew ši?báʔwan./ heʔ[:]éʔwánhlaw dó:ƙdi, héʔ[:]e
they wash body hair too they fix hair

ča?lú:luy:ówan, káʔdi ya:lá ṯiy:ówan
who is all tangled up (that) wh. had become full of dry grass

čóʔčoƙ yá:la ṯiy:ówan./ ká:se ší:mawi héʔ[:]e
(that) wh. had become full of foxtail (bears) twig leaf (with) hair

ƙóʔdiʔyówan kúʔmu čʰiʔló:loy,/ [ʔ]akʰ:óhča há:misá:ma
good all tangled up both by him

nóp[ʰ]:on dó:ƙdi,/ ná:p[ʰ]iyow ƙodʔí:kaw,/ ha:mini:ba
sitting fix him up all they fix him then

kʰmá:yow ma: huʔ[:]úkʰbeʔwá:ni [ʔ]áh:ayṯóŋhkʰe lup:úyha
after this in eyeballs from sticks round one

biy:ukú:ba, huʔ[:]ukʰbéʔwa:ni dú:ṯeṯ, huʔ[:]úkʰbe
having gnawed out in eyes they put in eye

čiʔ[:]iw,/ ƙóʔdi p[ʰ]iʔṯá:ṯʰoṯ./ káhle kúṯ:u [-ṭ-] ná:p[ʰ]iyow
they make good it doesn't look white just all

kahléʔna./
it's all white

[7] dúw:e mač:áčya:čon si:ma mi:ṭí:li p[ʰ]íl:adémba
night his own mo. fas. when they went to sleep having crawled around

hidʔa p[ʰ]il:aƙ/ p[ʰ]il:áduy,/ hi:miŋhkʰay [ʔ]áṯ:i
outside he crawls out crawls away wh[i]ther he self

p[ʰ]il:áduy hiʔduʔč'énṯʰoṯ./ kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] p[ʰ]il:ád:u mi:má:ƙo
crawls away he doesn't know just crawls along weeping

p[ʰ]il:ád:u,/ há:meṭ p[ʰ]il:ádémba [ʔ]á:lamehčá:kʰe
crawls along thus having crawled along gopher's [-rs']

[ʔ]ám:ay wín:a p[ʰ]il:ákay,/ [ʔ]á:laméhča má:ṭikí:ƙo
sw. house sw. house he crawls up gophers w. his own y. bro.

nóp[ʰ]:ow,/ [ʔ]á:lamé:yey má:ṭ̓ikin hábʔe [ʔ]ám:aywín:a
live gopher to his y. bro. up there on sw. house
[ʔ]ahčáhčey šúk:aṭínʔda ča:dékʰčin./ hiy:o [ʔ]a: čá:dekakʰ[:]éʔwa,/
person keeps groaning look up there Yes I will look up

[ʔ]á:maṭ̓o ṭʰíyayʔdúʔwa,/ nih:íba hidʔáhwaƙ,/ ha:mini:ba
you are a coward, afraid having said he went out then

kʰaʔbékʰačʰčon dáʔṭ̓aw./
[blank] he finds

[8] ha:mini:ba má:kin ka:wíʔyókaʔyá:kʰe míy:ačaċé:de,/
this [=then] his own o. bro. it's our child his mo. fa.!

ha:mini:li míy:aki kʰám:a hidʔáhwaƙ [ʔ]akʰ:óhča
then his o. bro. after (him) comes out both

biʔdí:ba [ʔ]am:áča bidʔálaw,/ [ʔ]aṭʰ:éba
having picked him up in sw. house they take him down into having spread (s.t.)

hám:i čahčíkaw,/ ha:mini:ba mí:may [ʔ]akʰ:óhča,
there let him sit then weep both

mahkʰawhkʰadé:ṯ̲on./ mí:may [ʔ]uhsúmba [ʔ]áṯ̲:i:čó:kʰe [ʔ]óh:oʔwá:ni
over their gr. child cry having finished their own on fire

win:a kʰáʔbe míhčan, čo:ló:wi [ʔ]áhkʰa [ʔ]óhčow./
on rocks they put on to in baby-bath water they put

ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbéʔyowan [ʔ]óh:o ṯ̲̂í:li [ʔ]ahkʰaʔwá:ni
kʰaʔbé
then rock hot when it became in water rocks

[ʔ]oh:óʔwan čʰi:dáṯ̲̂law./ [ʔ]áhkʰaʔwan
[ʔ]oh:ólmaw,/
hot they drop into water (w. sticks) water becomes hot

ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbékʰačʰčon dás:ew,/ šíʔbaʔwan dás:ew,
then hawk they wash body they wash

bá:lay yá:la ká:sewi čʰí:su,/ heʔ[:]éʔwanhlaw
blood only, all over w. twigs scratch hair too

ƙóʔdi bákʰ:ay, ƙóʔdi dó:ƙdi./ ha:mini:ba
well they come [=comb] well they fix then

[ʔ]á:la:mé:yey ma:ṭ́íkin čaš:éʔyowanṯóŋhkʰe biʔdíčin
Gopher to his own y. bro.small sunflower or aster some of them

huʔ[:]úkʰbe [ʔ]ihna:káʔya./
eyes let us try.

[9] míy:aṭ́iki yów nih:iba hidʔáhwaǩ,/ čáš:e číʔdo
his y. bro. [blank] having said went out [blank] flower

ǩóʔdiṭ́oʔwá:meṭ́, máč:aba biʔdičí:ba
the best ones he breaks off pieces, having broken off w. hand taking a bunch

[ʔ]am:áča bidʔálaw./ há:miŋhkʰe ǩóʔdi
in sw. house he takes them down into (from here) one of these well

číba čiʔdóʔwan huʔ[:]úkʰbeʔwá:ni dú:ṯ́eṭ́,/
having made it, having fixed it flower in eye he put into

ha:mini:ba čá:du, ǩóʔdi p[ʰ]iʔṯ́áwa./ ǩoʔdíʔwa
then he looks good it looks it's good

ha:mini:li kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey ǩóʔdi daʔṯ́á:na [ʔ]ám:a./
then [blank] good I see [blank]

yahwi[y]čaċyáčo mayáʔṯo húʔ[:]ukʰbe díhkaw./
thanks mo. fas. ye me eyes gave

[10] míy:ač(:)áċyey má:liʔwáʔma [ʔ]áy:aǩo čiy:ókʰ:e./
his mo. fas. here you with us will live

hó:liṯ́ʰu./ kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey ṯ́ʰé: hó:likʰ[:]eʔwáʔa kúṯ́:u [-ṭ- ʔ]
don't go away [blank] no I will go just

[ʔ]a hwadeŋhkʰéʔwa./ [ʔ]á:ʔa hwadé:niʔwaʔa hwadéŋhkʰe,/
I will go around I where I go around will go around

ha:mini:li míy:ačaċhíy:o, ǩoʔdíʔwa, díhka:kʰéʔwamṯóʔya [-kʰ:e ʔ]
then his mo. fa. yes it is good we will give to you

ċú:ʔu [ʔ]ah:áyšmi ǩa:yánšmi bíʔdaǩ/
(bow and) arrows bow finest bow they give him

p[ʰ]ahsóǩwi ċú:ʔu mič:ályaw./ hám:un bíʔdičí:ba hó:liw
in quiver arrows they put into this having taken goes

kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey./ há:meṭ́ hwád:un (3 times) [in H] ma:číhkon

hawk thus going along all day

hwád:u./ ha:mini:ba [ʔ]áhča kic:ídu čóṯ:ow
he goes along then house small stands

dáʔṯaw,/ hám:i [ʔ]is:ó:ṭa baʔ[:]á:yey [ʔ]ákʰ:o
(he) seesthere red ants women 2

ma:ṭikí:ǩo nóp[ʰ]:ow./
w. her own y. sis. lives, they live

[11] [ʔ]ač:áy:owan dáʔṯaw baʔ[:]á:yeywam[:]úhča./
man they see the women

ʔé:y [ʔ]áč:ay ǩóʔdi huw:áda./ míy:adíkiʔyó:yey [ʔ]aw[:]í:kʰe
[blank] [blank] good comes her o. sis. my

[ʔ]ač:áy yokʰ[:]éʔwa./ míy:aṭikiṯʰé: [ʔ]aw[:]i:kʰéʔwa,/
man will be her y. sis. no it's mine

[ʔ]á:maʔwa máṭ:i [ʔ]á:ʔaʔwa čoh:óŋhkʰe./ huw:ádun
you (are) old I will marry him come!

má:li huw:ádun níh:iw kʰaʔbekʰáčʰčon./ ha:mini:ba
here come! she says to hawk then

[ʔ]áč:a hmó:kaw./ míy:adikiʔyó:yey [ʔ]á:ʔwa čoh:ókʰ:e,/
inside she lets him come in her o. sis. I will sleep w. him

[ʔ]aw[:]í:ǩoʔwa mi:ṭíkʰ:e,/ ha:mini:li miy:aṭiki ṯʰé:,
w. me he will lie down then her y. sis. No

[ʔ]aw[:]í:ǩoʔwaʔa mi:ṭikákʰ:e,/ [ʔ]á:maṭo maṭʰ[:]ipṭéʔwa [ʔ],
w. me I will let him lie down you are an old lady

[ʔ]á:ʔaʔwa čoh:ókʰ:e,/ miy:adiki ṯʰé: dé:leʔwa
I will sleep w. him her o. sis. no betw., in middle

miṭ:ikákʰ:e [ʔ]akʰ:óhčaʔ waʔya [=ʔwaʔya] čoh:ókʰ:e./
will let him lie both we will sleep w. him

[12] hám:un hniba duw:é:li č'á:ṯon mis:íbo
this having said when night came together 3

mí:ṭiw./ ha:mini:ba má:mu baʔ[:]á:yeywam[:]úhča [ʔ]ač:áywan

lie down then these women man

si:ma mí:ṭiká:t̪ʰoṭ̪/ duw:éhkon ká:new,/ ha:mini:li [ʔ]ač:áywam[:]u
did not let sleep all night they bite then man

kʰaʔ[:]áškaden [ʔ]íṭ[ʰ]:in, [ʔ]áš:o kʰáʔ[:]a ṭálheló:li [d- ʔ] hó:liw./
morning early east daylight when it come[s] he goes

[13] ho:líba hwád:u ma:číhkon hwádu,/ ha:mini:ba
Having gone he walks all day walks then

[ʔ]áhča kic:ídu dáʔt̪aw, [ʔ]áhča kic:idu čóṭ̪:ow,/
house small sees house small stands

kahlemšú:šu baʔ[:]á:yey [ʔ]ákʰ:o nóp[ʰ]:ow ma:ṭ̪iki:ko./
field mouse women 2 live w. her y. sis.

[ʔ]ahšíyan má:mu míy:aṭ̪iki ʔyó:yey díkeʔ [ʔ]áč:ay hwáda
twilight this her y. sis. o. sis.! man comes

[ʔ]áč:ay,/ [ʔ]áč:ay ǩóʔdi hwáda./ ʔé:y.
man man good comes [blank]

nih:iba hidʔáhwaǩ, [ʔ]ákʰ:o hidʔáhwaǩ
having said went out 2 went out

baʔ[:]á:yeywám[:]u./ ha:mini:ba kʰáʔbekʰáč:on huw:ádun má:li
the women then [blank] come! here

hwádun./ máʔma hé:t̪ow hwadúʔ ka. [ʔ]áč:a hmókon
come! you whence come ? inside come in

[ʔ]áč:a čahčíkaw, ha:mini:ba wáʔ[:]an míy:adikiʔyó:yey
inside they let him sit then now her o. sis.

[ʔ]á:ʔwa čoh:óŋhkʰe níh:iw./ ha:mini:li míy:aṭ̪íki
I will marry him she says then her y. sis.

[ʔ]á:ʔaʔwáyiʔwa dáʔt̪aw,/ [ʔ]á:ʔaʔwa čoh[:]óŋhkʰe.
I first saw him I will marry

[ʔ]á:maṭ̪o maṭ̪ʰ[:]ipṭ̪éʔwa. t̪ʰé: [ʔ]á:ʔaʔwénṭ̪o čoh:omá:ba,
you are an old woman No I ought to marry him

[ʔ]á:maʔwen t̪éč'[:]awt̪úl:a,/ dúw:ey t̪ʰé: č'á:hmaʔ wáʔya
you just, too young night comes no 1 place we

baṭ:íkʰ:e, dé:leʔ waʔya miṭ:ikákʰ:e.
will lie betw., in midde we will let him lie

[14] ha:mini:ba mí:ṭiw [ʔ]áč:ay:ówan dé:le miṭ:íkaw,/
then he lies down man middle they let him lie

ha:mini:li [ʔ]ač:áywan sí:ma šul:ádu,/ ha:mini:li
then man [blank] [blank] then

wáʔ[:]an ma: baʔ[:]á:yey:o:múhča heʔ[:]éʔyowan čúh:u/
now these women hair eat

hu:lú:ci[yʔ] biʔǩu hú:lušbéʔwan bihkʰaṭ́/
eyebrows eat up eyelashes they pull out

ha:yánwan kúʔmu biʔǩu, šiʔbáṯon hé:me(n) na:pʰíyow
face hairall they eat on body hair all

biʔǩu,/ kʰáʔ[:]ašǩáden [ʔ]áč:aywám[:]u [ʔ]i:wáyči/
eat up morning man wakes up
heʔ[:]éʔyowan [ʔ]áčʰ:ow [ʔ]í:wayčí:li, kuṯ:u [-ṭ-ʔ]
hair is gone when he wakes up just

čál:uṭ́ ṯó:bi[y]/ ǩa:yánšmiʔyowánhlaw biʔǩúyaw,
slick he arisesfinest bow too they have eaten up

pʰ]ahsóǩyowánhlaw biʔúyaw,/ baʔ[:]á:yey:ó:mu [ʔ]áčʰ:ow,
quiver too they have eaten up women are not there

ǩáy:ama ṯó:bi[y],/ [ʔ]aṯ:i:ṯohéʔ[:]eʔyówan duhnáč:i: [=-č:iy]
alone he gets up himself hair he feels

ṯ[ʰ]an:áwi,/ bá:ǩo [ʔ]áčʰ:ow, kúṯ:u [-ṭ- ʔ] čál:uṭ́.
w. hand what? is gone just slick

[15] ha:mini:li hidʔáhwaǩ hó:liw/ ha:mini:ba kʰá:ṯon [-ṭon]
then he went out went then pool

[ʔ]óhčow dáʔṯ́aw./ ha:mini:ba héʔ[:]eʔ wáʔmaʔṯo hiʔba:kákʰ:e
stands he sees then hair you me will let grow

nih:iw./ ha:mini:ba [ʔ]ám:ačahṯimúyčo [ʔ]áṯ:o ší:baṯka:pʰ]íʔṯo
he says then this world me feel sorry for and me

héʔ[:]e hiʔbá:kan,/ mič:ayíʔ waʔa huʔṯ́ubíkʰ:e./ ma:

hair let grow 4 times I will duck under this

kʰá:ṭon [-ṭon] wá:ni hám:un hníbakʰmá:yow [ʔ]akʰ:á:na hwálaw./
pool in this after having said into water he goes down

[16] ha:mini:ba huʔt̰úbi[y], [ʔ]aṭ:íṭo šú:kʰay hil:á:li
then he ducks himself breath gave up

huʔ[:]út̰bi[y]./ bá:ƙo [ʔ]áčʰ:ow huʔ[:]út̰bi[y], čá:luṭ̰
he lifted head up all gone, nothing there he lifted head slick

huʔ[:]út̰bi[y]./ pʰ[ʰ]á:la huʔt̰úbi[y], huʔ[:]út̰bi[y] pʰ[ʰ]á:la,
he lift again he ducks he lifts up head again

bá:ƙo [ʔ]áčʰ:ow čál:uṭ̰ huʔ[:]út̰bi[y]./ pʰ[ʰ]á:la
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

huʔt̰úbi[y] [ʔ]aṭ:íṭo šú:kʰay hil:á:li huʔ[:]út̰bi[y]./
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

hám:un wáʔ[:]an hé:men búṭ̰:uy, heʔ[:]éhlaw
this now body hair sprouts head hair too

búṭ̰:uy./ pʰ[ʰ]á:la huʔt̰úbi[y], máṭ:i huʔ[:]út̰maw
sprouts [blank] [blank] long time he keeps head in

[ʔ]ahkʰakʰá:ni./ [ʔ]aṭ:iṭo šú:kʰay híl:a:li huʔ[:]út̰bi[y]
in water [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank]

há:yan híʔbay hu:lú:ci[y] híʔbay (or hiʔbámná:) [in H]/
face hairgrows eyebrows grow

heʔ[:]éʔyowan hak:ómna:,/ na:pʰ[ʰ]iyow he:méʔyowan híʔba:ba: [??],
hair gets long all body hair grows out

[ʔ]ah:áyšmiʔyówan šé:wey ṭ́ímna: [ʔ],/ pʰ[ʰ]áhsoƙyówan
bow new becomes quiver

šé:wey ṭ́ímna: [ʔ], naːpʰ[ʰ]íyow ƙóʔdi./
new becomesall good

[17] ma: hwád:u,/ hó:liw, kúṭ:u [-ṭ-] hwádu. ča:dédun
now goes just walks along looking around walks

ha:mini:ba [ʔ]ahča dáʔt̬aw, [ʔ]áhča kic:idu čó̱t̬:ow./
then house finds house little stands

hám:i maṭʰ:ipt̬e č'á:ʔa či:yow./ [ʔ]a̱t̬:ít̬o [ʔ]ahčahčey
there old lady 1 stays herself people

háč':ow, mihyanwádu./ hám:u maṭʰ:i:wá:ni [ʔ]ahčahčey
visit she always kills this old lady--to people

háč':ow čaʔ[:]áʔna̱t̬i c̓í:mun ho:lí:t̬ʰo̱t̬./ [ʔ]a̱t̬:ít̬o
vist nobody alive doesn't go away herself

[ʔ]ahčáhčey hač':ów:an na:p[ʰ]íyow mihyanwádu./
people who visit all she always kills

[18] maṭʰ:ipt̬eʔwam[:]u má̱t̬ʰ:i [.] kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey(,) hám:i
this old woman blind [blank] here

háč':ow./ má:li čahčin [ʔ]áw[:]isa:ma čahčin, kʰádʔede./

comes here sit! by me sit! gr. child

čaʔ[:]á̱t̬:o [ʔ] šo:čiba, káʔma ma:li [ʔ]á̱t̬:o mák:ačen
from whom having heard ? you here me own gr. mother, mo. mo.

hač':ó:mu./ há:misá:ma čáhčiw kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey./ [ʔ]a̱t̬:í:kʰe
visit by her he sits down [blank] her(e)

kʰáʔbewʔáli heʔbečí:ba ham:ílwikʰáʔbekʰáč:on néh:en./
rock-cane having picked upwith this [blank] she strikes

kʰáʔbekʰáčʰyey čá:dumhá:ba [ʔ]ám:a č'ohlíle neh:éŋkaw./
[blank] having dodged ground bare, empty let her strike

bál:ay maṭʰ:ipt̬eʔwám[:]u,/ ha:mini:li kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey [ʔ]a̱t̬:í:kʰe
She missed [blank] [blank] [blank] his own

c̓ú:ʔuʔwá:niwi [ʔ]íhčoƙ,maṭʰ[:]ípt̬eʔyówan./ čohčʰíwʔduy,
w. arrow he shoots that old lady he kills w. first shot

ƙal:ákaw./ ha:mini:ba kʰmá:yow híd'ahwá:ba
maṭʰ[:]ípt̬eʔyó:mu
he kills her dead [blank] [blank] having gone out old lady

[ʔ]áč:a ƙál:aw [ʔ]ahčʰočíƙba./
inside is dead having killed her

[ʔ]áhča ʔwánt̰on [ʔ]óh:o p[ʰ]úht̰en [-t̰ʰ- ʔ], [ʔ]ahčáʔwan čúʔt̰aw./
house onto fire he sets house he burns up

maṭʰ[:]ípṭ̰eʔwánhlaw múʔǩu./
old lady too is burned up

[19] ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbékʰačʰyey hó:liw,/ kút̰:u [-ṭ-ʔ] hwád:u
[blank] [blank] goes just walking along

hó:liw, [ʔ]ám:a ča:dédu hó:liw./ ma: kʰabʔáčiw,
goes place looking around goes now it becomes cloudy

mahkála čáhnu./
thunder [blank]

t̰éč'[:]aw čáhnu mahkála./ kʰáʔbekʰáč:on mahkalá:yey
lots thunder [blank] thunder

ma:lámʔdu./ [ʔ]aṭ:íṭ̰o mahkalá:yey ma:la:má:ni kál:i
keeps missing himself thunder when he keeps missing up

kʰa:lét̰on káṭ:aǩ (or kaṭ:aǩčó:kʰe) [in H; ǩaṭ:aǩ ?] hí:mo [ʔ]áhčey dáʔt̰aw./
on tree woodpecker hole is open he seeks

ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey hi:moʔwá:ni p[ʰ]il:áduy./
[blank] [blank] hole into crawls

ha:mini:li mahkalá:yey hí:moʔwá:ni sa:ma haʔdinčiw [H dot under first <i> ?]./
[blank] thunder hole- -in --near [blank]

ha:mini:li kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey mahkalá:čon ǩóht̰okʰt̰owá:ni
[blank] [blank] [blank] in soft spot betw. collar bones

[ʔ]íhčoǩ./ [ʔ]ihčó:lič'ol níh:iw, [ʔ]am:áṭ̰on dihp[ʰ]úd:uy./
shoots. when he shot noise, thud it says on ground he dropped

ha:mini:li kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey hí:moʔyowa:níṭ̰ow p[ʰ]il:ólkoy, [ʔ]ám:aṭ̰on
he dropped [blank] from in the hole crawls out on ground

p[ʰ]il:álaw./
crawls down

[20] mahkála [ʔ]aṭ:í:hčóǩyowan [ʔ] čá:du./ ná:p[ʰ]íyow [ʔ]íhši
thunder wh. he self had shot he looks at all blanket

[ʔ]ahp[ʰ]íčiyódow mahkalá:yey/ čehčʰéš:i, sin:awhčʰéš:i,
he wore on shoulders thunder rain blanket fog rain blanket

[ʔ]í:hukʰbésohší, [ʔ]i:húš:i, [ʔ]ihyáhší, sin:áwhší, hám:un
hail blanket snow blanket wind blanket fog blanket these

yodo kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey [ʔ]áṯ:i p[ʰ]iʔṯákay./ dó:lhoṯá:ba
[blank] [blank] he self put on self having taken them off

ha:mini:ba wáʔ[:]an wé:y [ʔ]aṯ:íṯo má:ki
then now far himself his own o. bro.

mihyánayówanṯóŋhkʰay mahkála ṯí:ba hó:liw./
to where his (o. bro.) had whipped him thunder having become goes

hač:áduy ha:mini:ba ma:kí:kʰe nop[ʰ]:óʔyowá:ni baʔčí:kaw./
he flies then his own o. bros. on ra. he makes it rain

mahkála čahnúkaw./ ṯéč'[:]aw baʔčí:kaw,/ ṯéč'[:]aw
he makes it thunder much he makes it rain much

baʔčí:ba [ʔ]ám:ača [ʔ]áhkʰa[ʔ]áhyaǩ./ ha:mini:li míy:aki
it having rain in sw. house water fills it up then his o. bro.

híʔduʔč'édu./ míy:aki nadé: nadé: na:p[ʰ]í
knows (who it is) his o. bro. y. bro.! y. bro.! all, last

baʔči:kan na:p[ʰ]í baʔčí:kan,/ híʔduʔč'éduʔwaʔa [ʔ]á:maʔwa
make rain [blank] [blank] I know you

baʔčíǩwam[:]u náde./
who make rain y. bro.!

[21] ha:mini:li hó:liw, mahkálaʔyó:mu hó:liw./
then he goes thunder goes

hám:uʔwa ná:p[ʰ]i./
this is end

[Halpern VI: Free Translation]

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.ˇ (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.ˇ', 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.ˇ', 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.ˇ It's good.ˇ 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.ˇ Come here.ˇ' 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.ˇ', they went outside, the two went outside, the women. Having done so, (they said) to Fish Hawk, 'Come.ˇ Come here.ˇ 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]	nóp[ʰ]:o	nop[ʰ]:óyaw	bahṭʰé	nop[ʰ]:óyaw./	kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey		
	ra.	they lived	big	they lived	[blank]		

kʰáʔ[:]ašk̆áden	ṭo:bí:ba,	ṭʰóʔ[:]o	p[ʰ]ohṭópṭow	šó:čiw,/		
morning	got up	soup, acorn mush	boiling	he hears		

kʰáʔbe	[ʔ]óh:o	čónhihkʰáwi	mi:ṭályan		ṭóp ṭop ṭop ṭop	
rock	hot	in raw acorn mush	they put sev. in, while putting		[blank]	

níh:iw,	p[ʰ]ohṭópṭon./	hám:un	kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey	šó:čiw.	
it says	while boiling	this	[blank]		he hears

[2]	baċéʔ.	háy	níh:iw	miy:ábaċ./	ṭʰóʔ[:]o	p[ʰ]ohṭópṭow	šo:čí:na./	
	fa. fa.	what?	says	his fa. fa.	soup	boils		I hear

kó:koʔwa/	haʔdúwaʔwa./	sen:eṭʰóṭwa./	[ʔ]ahkʰalá:nṭow:a,
it’s dangerous	it’s too far	it’s not easy	from across the water

[ʔ]á:ma	ṭʰóʔ[:]o	p[ʰ]ohṭópṭow		šo:čí:mu/	hám:i	ʔa	
you	soup	boiling			hear	there	I

hó:liṭʰi:báʔka,	báċeʔ./	ṭéč’[:]aw haʔdúwaʔ wám:u

can I not go?, ought I not to go? fa. fa. very far off it is

hó:liṯʰí:bahlá:liʔ wáʔma./ [ʔ]ahšíyan p[ʰ]á:la šó:čiw ṭʰoʔ[:]ó
I don't think you can go evening again he hears soup

p[ʰ]ohṯopṯówen./ p[ʰ]á:la šo:čí:na báčeʔ, níh:iw mabʔáčen./
boiling again I hear fa. fa. he says to his own
fa. fa.

ṯéč'[:]aw:ám:u, ṯéč'[:]aw haʔdúwaʔ wám:u./ sén:eṯʰoṯwám:u./
it's too much too far away it is it's not easy
kó:koʔwám:u./ híy:o kʰaʔ[:]áškaden [ʔ]iṯ[ʰ]:inṭáʔ [ʔ]
it's dangerous yes morning early

ma [ʔ]ihnákʰ:e hó:liw hudʔaká:p[ʰ]i./
you will try go if you want

[3] dúw:ey ma: míːṭiw sí:ma, kʰaʔ[:]áškaden [ʔ]íṯ[ʰ]:in
it is night [blank] they sleep, he sleeps morning early

ṯó:bi[y],/ hó:liṯ[ʰ]iʔdú:na báče,/ híy:o hó:lin./ nih:íba
he gets up I'm going to go fa. fa.! Yes go! having said

baʔč'ówha díhkaw mahkʰawhkʰáden./ si:ma p[ʰ]aš:i díhkaw
angelica he gives to his own gr. child sleep poison gives

mahkʰawhkʰáden./ yómṭa čáw:an bíʔdaǩ./ kóʔše
to his own gr. child doctor outfit he gives things coyote

čahnúkʰ:e daʔṭóṭo čahnúkʰ:e,/ muhčúṭu čahnúkʰ:e.
will talk small owl will talk large owl [blank]

wéč:e čahnúkʰ:e,/ ma: hám:un [ʔ]ihčičí:ba hó:liw.
monkey-faced owl [blank] [blank] this having taken he goes

[4] mih[:]ílhkʰa sá:ma kahkóṭi,/ ha:mini:ba [ʔ]áh:ay báhṭʰe
ocean near he arrives then big log

hám:un mih[:]ílhkʰaṭon dadʔálaw./ ha:mini:ba čúm:ay
this in water he rolls it down into then he sits down

[ʔ]ah:áywa:ni wín:a./ ha:mini:ba [ʔ]akʰ:á:na čudʔálaw,/
ha:mini:li
on top of the log then in water he floats down into then

mih[:]ílhkʰa dadʔebí:ba kʰaʔbekʰáč:on háʔduwa kúl:u
[ʔ]ám:a
ocean waves having come up [blank] far off out land

múkʰ:aṭíl:e ba:nékaw.
on dry place it throws him out

[5] ma: pʰ[ʰ]á:la [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe [ʔ]ah:ay:ówan,
mih[:]ílhkʰaṯon
[blank] again his log to ocean

dadʔálaw./ ha:mini:ba pʰ[ʰ]á:la čúm:ay./
he takes it down, pushes, rolls it down then again he sits on it

ma: čudʔéduy./ ma: pʰ[ʰ]á:la mih[:]ílhkʰa dadʔebí:ba
[blank] floats away [blank] again ocean waves come
up

kʰaʔbekʰáč:on wé:y mukʰ:aṭíl:e dadʔákay./ ma:
pʰ[ʰ]á:la
[blank] far on dry place it throws him up onto [blank]
again

[ʔ]ah:áy:owan [ʔ]akʰ:á:na dadʔálaw míh[:]ilhkʰáṯon./
log in water he pushes down into in ocean

máb ʔaċ [ʔ]aṯ:íṯo baʔč'ówha díhkaw yówanṯóŋhkʰle
his own fa. fa. to himself angelica gave some of it

bíʔčiw,/ hám:un biʔčokó:ba biʔčokó:ba,
he bites off piece this having chewed to pulp [blank]

mih[:]ílhkʰaʔwanṯóŋhkʰay kahsól:aw./ ha:mini:li mih[:]ílhkʰaʔyó:mu
into ocean he spits and blows it then ocean

da:powyó:mu [based on H correction] kúṭ:u [ʔ]o:čóyi./ ha:mini:li
which had been waving all is still, stopped then

[ʔ]ah:áy:owánṯon čum:á:ba čudʔálaw,/ ma:waʔan
on log having sat down he floats down [blank]

čudʔéduy [ʔ]áhkʰalá:nṭiṯóŋhkʰay./
he floats away to across water

[6] čudʔédu (3 times) [in H]/ má:waʔ[:]an mih[:]ilá ʔda čúm:ay
he floats (along) [blank] way down to west goes down

ha?dáwmu mih[:]íla čúm:ay, há:meṭ čud?édu./
the sun down in west it settles thus he floats along

ma:wa?[:]an [?]ahšiyáančiw./ ma: kó?še čahnúkaw,/
[blank] evening comes on [blank] coyote he makes to sing
lá:nṭi wé:y [?]ahkʰalá:nṯow [?]ahčáhčey nop[ʰ]:ow:amúhča
across far across water people those who live

šó:čiw kó?še čahnú:li./ ba?[:]já:yey nóp[ʰ]:o nop[ʰ]:óhča.
hear coyote when he talks women ra. who live in

sí:lun ma:lúyaw ná:p[ʰ]iyowhča má:lu,/ [?]ahkʰa [?]aš[:]ol?anṯó:tow
bread they bake all bake from across the water

huw:áda kʰa?bekʰáčʰyey, bí?du daṗ:ónṯi,/ hám:un
comes this way [blank] acorn to steal this

ƙó?di mač:éle,/ hi?da čahčíle níh:iw [?]ač:apṭʰéy šab?ačí:ba./
well watch ye! road sit in he said the chief having made speech

[7] ha:mini:li nop[ʰ]:óhča hí:li čus:éwi čud?alokʰ:éwi
then inhabitants where with boat, in boat where he is going to come up

hi?da čahčíyaw./ kʰa?bekʰačʰyéybeṭ [?] muhčúṭu čahnúkaw./
road they sit in [blank] owl he makes sing

kʰa:má:yow da?ṭóṭo čahnúkaw,/ wa?[:]an hí?ṯaṯi:ba?wám:u
after that [blank] he makes sing [blank] he’s getting close

wéč:e čahnúkaw./ ha:mini:bakʰmá:yow máb?ac̀ [?]aṯ:íṯo sí:ma
[blank] he makes sing thereafter his own fa.fa. to himself sleep

p[ʰ]áš:i bi?daƙyówan šúhṭʰaw./
poison which had given he opens

wá?[:]an nop[ʰ]:óywan sí:ma p[ʰ]áš:in./ ha:mini:ba?wá?[:]an
[blank] the ranch he sleep- poisons then

čud?ákay./ [?]aṯ:í:kʰe [?]áh:ay:ówan ƙó?di [?]ahkʰasá:ma
he floats up onto his own log good by water

ha:néba sí:ma p[ʰ]aš:í:wan [?] bi?dičí:ba p[ʰ]aš:íʔyowan
having laid sleep- poison having taken the poison

mihčahmáṭow kú:laǩ nóp[ʰ]:oʔwánṭon./
in 4 places he places, stands them on the ra., around the ra.

[8] ha:mini:baʔwáʔ[:]an [ʔ]aṭ:í:kʰe šiċ:iʔyowá:niwi [ʔ]áč:a
[blank] his in packing net [blank]

hmaṭmáčin biʔdúʔwan šíċ:iʔwa:níwi
he goes into everyone acorns into packing net

hu:ṭáyhlaw./ yus:wé:li [ʔ] [ʔ]ahya:ṭʰúʔkʰe,/ má:mu
he pours into (sev. times) [blank] don't fill up for me this

šiċ:iʔwa:níwi ma: biʔdu máʔ[:]a ná:p[ʰ]iyow [ʔ]íhči[y],/
in packing net [blank] acorn (shelled acorns) all he takes, carries

ha:mini:ba baʔ[:]á:yey si:lun ma:lu:yówan ná:p[ʰ]iyow [ʔ]á:ṭʰow./
then women bread wh. they baked all he opens

[ʔ]ahčahča:čó:kʰe[ʔ]áč:a čónhi [ʔ]o:čóṭduʔwan
people inside house acorn flour which they had put in container

náṭi na:p[ʰ]íyow [ʔ]íhči[y]./
[blank] all he take

[9] [ʔ]aṭ:i daṗ:ónyowan kúʔmu šú:kʰaba,
[ʔ]ám:ača
he, self what he steals all having finished in sw. house

hwálʔba, kál:i [ʔ]ám:ayhóṭow ǩáṭ[:]amyáṭʰen [ʔ]ákʰ:o
having gone into up under sw. house (roof) large woodpecker 2

bám:aw hám:un bedʔébi[y],/ ha:mini:li kaṭ:aǩwam:úhča [ǩ-]
sit [ʔ] this, these he picks up, off then these woodpeckers

ǩaṭą́:ns (3 times) [in H] nih:iw, kaṭ:áǩča [ǩ-]./
[blank] they say these woodpeckers

ha:mini:li ma: [ʔ]ahčáhčey:ó:muhča yí:h (or yíy) [in H] čuhmáʔwa
then [blank] the people exclamation it's enemy

čúhma čúhma čúhma./
[blank] [blank] [blank]
kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey huw:ádu šo:či:yó:muʔkaʔ máya sí:ma
[blank] he comes this way hearing him ? ye asleep

díʔǩu báṭ:iw./ ma: kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey hač:ábi[y], ha:mini:li
[blank] lay? [blank] [blank] he runs away then

čú:ʔuʔwam[:]u číw číw níh:iw haʔ[:]ašmá:naw./
arrows [blank] [blank] they said, sounded they missed him

[10] ha:mini:ba má:muʔwan [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe [ʔ]ah:áy:owáṇ̠ton
then this his own on log

čúm:ay, ma: čudʔéduy [ʔ]ahkó:či[y]./ mač:adú:ba náṭi
he sat down now he floats away he starts back having chased him
but

bíʔṯ̠aʔ [ʔ] biy:á:ṯ̠ʰoṯ̠./ ma: waʔ[:]an kóʔše čahnúkaw, muhčúṭu
they didn't overtake him [blank] [blank] [blank] he made it talk [blank]

čahnúkaw, daʔṯ̠óṯ̠o čahnúkaw, wéč:e čahnúkaw./ ha:mini:ba
[blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] [blank] then

wáʔ[:]an má:mu belá:nṭ̠ow [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe [ʔ]am:áwi
[blank] this on this side his own in place [ʔ]

čudʔáloǩ káš:oǩ,/ [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe biʔdúʔwan
he came up onto, he floated up onto alive, saved his own acorn

[ʔ]ihčičí:ba [ʔ]áč:a háč':ow kʰáʔ[:]ašǩáden,/
having carried house he arrived morning

kaṭ:aǩyowan [ǩ-] mí:haǩ [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe nop[ʰ]:oʔyowánhčan
woodpecker he brought home his own to inhabitants

[ʔ]ahčáhčey:owánhčan na:p[ʰ]iyóhčan bíʔdu dá:čʰay,/
to people to all acorns he divides

sí:lun báhṭʰe [ʔ]áṯ:i [ʔ]ihčíy:owanṭ̠oŋhkʰéhlaw,
bread much he, self also some of that wh. he had brought

ná:p[ʰ]iyóhčan dí:kaṯ̠./
to all he gives (to sev.)

[11] čónhiʔyówanṭ̠oŋhkʰéhlaw maʔí: [maʔ:iy ??] kʰadíkʰč'in [ʔ] nop[ʰ]:óyaw,
also some of the acorn flour [blank] being glad they live

ṭʰóʔ[:]o sí:ṭ̠an, sí:lun čúh:un,/ ha:mini:li wáʔ[:]an ben máwi
soup eating bread they eat then [blank] on this place

bíʔdu híʔbay, kʰaʔbekʰáčʰyey [ʔ]ahkʰalá:nṭi kaṭ:aǩ [ǩ-] daṗ:ó:ni,/
acorns grow [blank] across water woodpecker having stolen

ma: waʔ[:]an má:li bíʔdu híʔbay, yá:law bíʔdu
[blank] [blank] here acorns grow at first acorns

[ʔ]áčʰ:ow nop[ʰ]:óyaw./
not being, being absent they lived

máṯ:ičʰbóli (or maṯ:íč'bolin) [in H] ǩilíṭi daǩá:ṯa.
signature

[H VII Free Translation]

So. Pomo Text VII

1. 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 'ṯop ṯop ṯop ṯop,' boiling. Fish Hawk heard this.

2. 'Fa. fa. ˇ' '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.'

3. Night came on. Now, they went to sleep. Early in the morning he got up. 'I'm going to go, fa. fa.' 'Yes, goˇ' 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.

4. 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.

5. 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.

6. 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, 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, ‘ƙaṭą:ns, ƙaṭą:ns, ƙaṭą:ns,’ 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, ‘čiw čiw,’ (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 racheria, 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 ƙiliṯi daƙa:ṯa.

[H VIII]
So. Pomo Text VIII
Rock Man
16:103-17:3

[1]	ču:máṯyey	č’á:šba	kúl:u	hwadémʔdu,			ƙay:áma
	grey squirrel	always	outside	always goes around		alone	

čí:yow./	ma:	kʰáʔbe	[ʔ]ač:áywan	dáʔṯaw	kúl:u./	
stays	[blank]	rock	man	he finds	outside	

kʰaʔbe	[ʔ]ač:áy:ey	[ʔ]é:	maʔkaʔma	hé:ṯow	ƙá:de	

rock man well now ? you whence friend!

[ʔ]ahčahčéy daʔt̓áw hudʔakaywáʔa, ƙá:de./
People find I want friend

[ʔ]áhka hodʔó:t̰i ƙá:de [ʔ]a:ʔ( )ahčahčéy daʔt̓áw hudʔakáywa./
in order to gamble friend! I people find want

híy:o ƙoʔdíʔwa, [ʔ]át̰:o p[h]á:la kʰáč’:aw hit̓:adúw:a
Yes it is good we [ʔ] in turn lonesome, had feel

ƙay:áma čí:yon./
alone staying

[ʔ]a: p[h]á:la [ʔ]ahčahčéy daʔt̓áw hudʔákay./
I in turn people find want

híy:o [ʔ]áhkaʔwaʔya hodʔókʰ:e, čú:ʔuʔ waʔya
Yes we will gamble [blank] arrows we

šuhnamhúkʰ:e./ híy:o ƙoʔdíʔwa.
will try e. o. out Yes it’s good

má:liʔ waʔya kʰaʔ[:já:le daʔt̓amhúkʰ:e ƙá:de./
here we in morning we will meet friend

[ʔ]it̰[h]:ín waʔya daʔt̓amhúkʰ:e./
early we will meet
híy:o má:liʔwaʔa kahkot̰íkʰ:e./
Yes here I will arrive

híy:o [ʔ]a: p[h]á:la má:li kahkot̰íkʰ:e,/ má:liʔ wáʔya
Yes I in turn here will arrive here we

daʔt̓amhúkʰ:e.
will meet

[2] čú:maťyey [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay hó:liw./ kʰaʔbéyey p[h]á:la
[blank] home goes rock also

hó:liw, [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay./ čú:maťyey [ʔ]áč:a háč’:ow,
goes home [blank] home arrives

[ʔ]at̰:í:kʰe [ʔ]áč:a./
his own home

dúw:ey mí:ṭiw kʰaʔ[:]ašǩáden kʰaʔbéyey ṯó:bi[y],
it is night he lies down morning rock gets up

ču:máṯyey ṯó:bi[y] ,/ ma: čú:maṯyey hó:liw, [ʔ]aṯ:íyey
Squirrel gets up now squirrel goes they (selves)

daʔṯ́ámhukʰ:eʔyowanṯóŋhkʰay./
to where they will meet

kʰaʔbéyey hó:liw, čú:maṯyey waʔ[:]á:ṯon háč':ow./
rock goes squirrel before, ahead, first arrives

hám:i čí:yow, mač:éč'in./ kʰaʔbéyey kahkóṯi[y]./
there he sits waiting rock arrives

[ʔ]iṯ[ʰ]:íŋkaʔ( )ma hwád:u
early ? you walk around

ǩá:de, kʰaʔbéyey./ ču:máṯyey, híy:o, sí:ma mí:ṭiṯʰenṯóʔṯo
friend rock [blank] yes I can't sleep

dúw:e, [ʔ]áhka húdʔan./
night gambling wanting to

[3] ču:máṯyey kʰaʔbé(y)čon [ʔ]á:ma wayíʔwaʔkʰe ċú:ʔu
squirrel to rock you first my bow

šuhnákʰ:e./ híy:o. [ʔ]óh:ow[ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ċú:ʔu, kʰaʔbéyey
will try Yes he gives his own bow rock

čú:maṯčon [ʔ]óh:ow[ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe ċú:ʔu./ čú:maṯyey,
to squirrel gives his own bow squirrel

hahá ṯéč'[:]aw wámkʰe ǩá:de./ ṯéč'[:]aw[ʔ]ahsič'
aha too much is yours friend too much hard, tough

duʔṯ́aw:ámkʰe ċú:ʔuʔwám:u ǩá:de./
feels your bow friend

[4] ma: waʔ[:]an bedʔéṭway [ʔ]akʰ:óhča./ má:mu kʰaʔbéyey
now this they handle both this rock

wí:miŋhkʰáyʔden čú:maṯwám:u hoʔ[:]ówi
when every time he (turns) this way squirrel w. tooth

biʔǩiǩ:iw šiʔmiʔwan,/ má:mu kʰaʔbéyey

he bites, gnaws the bow this rock

hí:maʔwan cím cím hníkaw duhnáʟ̓dun./ má:mu kuṭ:u
sinew [blank] [blank] makes it say always trying it this all the time

čú:maʟ̓yey biʔkíǩ:iw, wí:miŋhkʰay huʔ[:]učwáden./ ču:máʟ̓yey
squirrel gnaws this way while he always faces [blank]

kʰaʔbé(y)čon wéy šuhnáʟ̓in ǩá:de,/ yów hniba šúhnaʟ̓,
[blank] now try (to pull)! friend [blank] having said he tries to pull

čú:maʟ̓čó:kʰe ši?mí?wan./ šuċ:á:ʟ̓[ʰ]oʟ̓, kúṭ:u [ʔ]ah:áy daʟ̓:i:yáwmeʟ̓
squirrel's bow he doesn't break it just wood flexible, easily

de:dédu./
he pulls it, handles it

[5] kúṭ:u č'á:šba biʔkíǩ:iw ču:máʟ̓yey./ kʰaʔbéyey
just all the time he chews, gnaws squirrel rock

ʟ̓éč':aw [ʔ]ahsičwa ǩá:de hniba ši?mí?wan [ʔ]ám:aʟ̓on há:new,
too hard is friend! having said bow on ground he lays

dúhsun,/ ma: čú:maʟ̓yey ma: šuhnákʰ:e, kú?mu
he quits now [blank] now will try all

biʔkíǩ:ibakʰmá:yow./ (or biʔkipkíbakʰmá:yow)/ ma: čú:maʟ̓yey
after having gnawed up [blank] [blank] [blank]

šúhnaʟ̓, [ʔ]áʟ̓:i bíʔkiǩi:wá:ni šúċ:aw./
tries, pulls he self where he gnawed he broke it

[6] kʰáʟ̓:ič'á:čo šúċ:awaʔmáʔkʰe/hí:liʔ( )ma kaš:ókʰ:eʟ̓ʰóʟ̓wa
nasty one! you broke mine where? will not be safe

mihyanákʰ:eʔwamʟ̓áʔa./ ha:mini:li čú:maʟ̓yey [ʔ]aʟ̓:í:kʰe
I'm going to kill you then squirrel his own

šíʔmiʔyówan heʔbé:ba kál:i kʰaʟ̓:ákay hač:ábi[y],/ ma: kʰaʔbéyey
bow having taken up ran away [blank] [blank] [blank]

kʰaʟ̓:á:bakʰa:léʔyowan díċ:aw dihná:ba/
having run tree he breaks w. body having (tried) pushed w. body

ma: čú:maʼčóǩo kʰa:léʔyowan [ʔ]áhčʰaw./ ma: čú:maʼyey
[blank] with squirrel tree [blank] [blank] [blank]

kʰaʼ:ád:u, p[ʰ]ál:a kʰá:leʼton kʰaʼ:ákay./ kʰa:léʔwan
runs around again on tree runs up trees

kúʔmu di:láċaw,kʰaʔbéyey./ [ʔ]aʼ:íʼto šiʔbáwi
all he breaks rock his w. body

kʰá:le di:láċkaw mo:ǩóʼtin./
tree he breaks striking them w. body

há:meʼ nú:haʼdúway./ kʰá:wan [ʔ]ahʼʰi:ʼton
thus they keep running (around) fir tree on big ones

kʰa:ʼtáʼkay,/ hi:ʔin:áʼti duk:elhé:ʼtʰoʼ kʰaʔbéyey,
he keeps running up anyone not he doesn't find it hard rock

kʰá:wan [ʔ]ahʼʰí:wan náʼti di:láċaw./
fir big ones (but) even he breaks them

[7] [ʔ]ahšíyančí:li [ʔ]akʰ:áʼtow nu:háʼtlaw,/ hám:i wáʔ[:]an
when evening comes at coast they run down to here now

ču:máʼyey šahčoŋhkʰléʼton pʰ[ʰ]il:ákay,/ pʰ[ʰ]íl:aká:ba čú:maʼyey
[blank] on (sugar?) pine he runs up having run up squirrel

yúhswé:li [ʔ] ma: kʰá:leʔwám:u diċ:áʼtʰu./ ma: waʔ[:]an kʰaʔbéyey
[blank] this tree don't break it! and now rock

dihnáʼdu kʰa:léʔwan, haʔduwá:ʼtow kʰaʼ:áǩdun
he keeps pushing, bumping w. body the tree from far always running

dihnáʼdu./ ma: waʔ[:]an kʰá:leʔwám:u hiċ:á:ʼtʰoʼ.
he keeps bumping [blank] now the tree didn't break

duk:élhey./ ha:mini:ba kʰá:le sá:maʼtin čáhčiw./
it's hard for him, he can't do it [blank] tree near, beside he sits down

kʰa:léʔwan haʼtʰ:íhlaw, ha:mini:ba kʰa:léʔwan bé:new,/
tree he puts legs around then tree he hugs

čú:maʼwám:u kál:i čúm:aw, kʰaʔbéʔwam:u [ʔ]iy:óʼtow
squirrel up is sitting [blank] under

čí:yow./
he sits

[8] ha:mini:ba kʰaʔbéyčon sí:ma mí:ṭiw,/
then rock went to sleep

ha:mini:li čú:maʟyey sí:ma mikʰ:ó:li
then squirrel (asleep) when he snored, started to snore
[ʔ]am:áŋhkʰay p[ʰ]il:álʔba, ---/ kʰaʔbéyey ká:liŋhkʰay
to ground having run down rock upwards

huʔ[:]úʟ̭maw,/ ƙohṭokʰṭowá:ni [-ƙṭ- ʔ] [ʔ]íhčoƙ
turns his face in soft spot between collar bones shoots

ču:máʟyey kʰaʔbéyčon./ hám:i yá:la kʰáʔbe [ʔ]áčʰ:ow
squirrel rock here only rock was absent

čáhṭin./ čohčʰiwʔduy./
(place ?) [in H] he kills him dead w. first shot

[9] ha:mini:li kʰaʔbéyčon ƙál:aw./ ha:mini:ba má:mu
then rock dies then this

[ʔ]akʰ:áṭow kʰaʔbé ya:láṭi, kʰaʔbé(y)čon muhlámba./
on coast rock only bécame 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.ˇ', 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.ˇ 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

[1] nóp[ʰ]:o nop[ʰ]:óyaw báhṭʰe nóp[ʰ]:ow,/ [ʔ]ah:áʔdaw díʔǩu/
ra. lived big lived starve

bá:ǩo [ʔ]áčʰ:ow, bíʔdu [ʔ]áčʰ:ow, bíʔdu kʰúʔčaw./ [ʔ]ahčáhčey
what? there is not acorns there are not acorn don't bear people

[ʔ]ah:áʔdaw díʔǩu.
are starving

[2] [ʔ]ah:áʔdaw díʔǩuʔwáʔyan [ʔ]ah:áʔdaw./ dó:wi baːṭʰíːyey
we are starving [blank] o. m. c.

síːlun [ʔ]úhkakʰːeʔwáʔa[ʔ]ám:a čahṯimánčon./ nih:íba [ʔ]úhkay,/
bread I will ask for of this world having said he asks

[ʔ]ám:a čáhṯimúyčo, šíːbaṯkačʼínyan, šíːbaṯkačʼínkʰe ka:wíya,
[blank] oh [O], world have pity on us have pity on my children

šíːbaṯkačʼínkʰe nóp[ʰ]:o./ dó:no wín:a buhkúṇton
číːyon
have pity on my ra. mt., hill on top on knoll, bump sitting

čanhód:u, dó:wi baːṭʰíːyey./ kúːluŋhkʰay kaːnimʔčʼédu./
he speaks [blank] [blank] to outside he calls his relation, he claims kinship

hám:un [ʔ]uhsúmba ká:liŋhkʰay míṭːiw./ ha:mini:li hám:uba:sá:ma
this having quit upwards he is lying then right beside him

síːlunyowan bá:new./ kúṭːu híčʼːoy,/
bread is put down just appears (by itself) [in H]

[3] dó:wi baːṭʰíːyey hám:un dihčíːṯʰoṯ,/ líbʔu
[blank] [blank] this did not get, take (whistle) [in H]

šúʔyušyúčin míṭːiw, kúːnu pʰaṯːámčʼin míṭːiw,/ ha:mini:ba
whistling softly he is lying chest patting himself he is lying then
ṯʰá:na hódʔoǩ doʔčíṯi./ ha:mini:li síːlunyóːmuʔčáːyey
hand he puts out to pinch off a piece then the bread

kahmá:ṯi ṯʰá:na hodʔóǩwan biːdílʔbi[y],/ kic:ídun héːčʼ
got mad hand wh. was put out to not reach a little fingernail

pʰuš:u yá:la čobʔóːčiw./
tip only it stuck to (his nail)

[4] [ʔ]ah:akʰá:ni hodʔókoy hám:un čúh:u,/ ha:mini:ba
in mouth he put hand in this ate then

pʰ[á:la šuʔyúšyuy, kú:nu pʰ[aṯ:ámay,/ ha:mini:ba pʰ[á:la
again he whistles chest he pats self then again

hódʔoǩ doʔčíṯi./ ha:mini:ba duʔt̓á:ṯʰoṯ̓./ ha:mini:li
he put out hand to pinch off then he didn't touch it then

kic:ídu ha:míŋhkʰew./ ha:mini:li kic:idu pʰ[á:la
a little he moved that way then a little again

hé:č' pʰ[úš:u čobʔó:čiw./
tip of finger-nail it stuck to

[5] ha:mini:ba pʰ[á:la líbʔu šuʔyúšyuy, kú:nu
then again he whistles softly chest

pʰ[aṯ:ámay./ ha:mini:ba pʰ[á:la dúbʔeṯ̓,
he pats own then again he felt for it w. hand

duʔt̓énṯʰoṯ̓./ ha:mini:li kál:i huʔ[:]uṯ̓bí:ba
he didn't touch it then up having looked up, having raised head

čá:du si:lúnwan./ beṯ̓ ki[c]:ídu haʔdúwa čí:yow./
he sees the bread this time little--far away it sits it sits

ha:mini:li dó:wi ba:ṭʰí:yey ṭó:bi[y],/ ṭo:bí:ba há:miŋhkʰáy
then [blank] [blank] gets up having got up towards this

hwaǩ, dihčíṯi dikʰ:íl:aw./ ha:mini:li sí:lunyó:mu
he walksto pick it up he stoops down then the bread

hač:ábi[y] sihlásla pʰ[il:i:cíṯmeṯ̓ kok:ódu,/ ma: kʰám:a
ran away flat like a wheel it rolls now after it

kʰaṯ:ád:u mač:ád:u./
he runs (around) he chases (around)

[6] hám:un há:meṯ̓ biʔt̓aʔbí:ṭʰoṯ̓/ dúw:ey./
this thus he didn't get to it, catch up w. it it is night

ha:mini:li [ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay hó:liw./ ha:mini:ba [ʔ]aṯ:í:kʰe
then home he goes then his own

nop[ʰ]:oʔwánhčan [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew./ [ʔ]a: sí:lun [ʔ]úhkay[ʔ]aṯ:o
ra. people he tells I bread ask for me

sí:lun dihkáyaw, naṯíʔkʰe hač:ápča./ hám:un waʔmáya
bread they gave but me it ran away from this ye

kʰaʔ[:]á:le sú:le ha:nékʰ:e./
(in morning), tomorrow [blank] [blank]

ha:mini:p[ʰ]i waʔya [ʔ]ačʰ:akákʰ:e./
then we will catch (w. trap)

[7] ma: dúw:ey, má:mu mi:ṭíyaw sí:ma,
[blank] it is night these they went to sleep

na:p[ʰ]íyow./ ma: kʰáʔ[:]ašǩáden [ʔ]íṯ[ʰ]:in, [ʔ]ač:apṭʰéyey
all now morning early chief

šabʔáč:i[y],/ dó:wi ba:ṭʰí:čon sí:lun háč:abí[y]yodoʔṯiṯo,/
makes speech o. m. c. bread it ran away from him, he says

ha:mini:p[ʰ]i na:p[ʰ]iyóhča sú:le ha:néle, [ʔ]ačʰ:ákaw hudʔaká:le./
then all (of you) traps set! catch try! [ʔ]

[8] híy:o hníyaw ha:mini:ba wáʔ[:]an ho:líyaw ku:lúŋhkʰay./
Yes they said then now they went out to outside
ha:mini:li má:mu ká:wiya ši:bá:ṯawhaǩ:á:da ka:wíya
then these children poor [blank] children

[ʔ]ákʰ:o, mák:ač́ ší:ba:ṯawmáṯʰ:i miṭ:í:čon [ʔ]uhṯéhṯew/
two their gr. mo. poor blind who is lying they tell

“kač́éʔ sí:lun sú:le ha:neyákʰ:e yódo,” níh:iw./
gr. mo. bread traps they said they will set they said

ha:mini:li míy:akač́ čʰí:lan díhkaw ka:wíyaʔwánhčan./
then their gr. mo. net tump-line gives to the children

[9] ma: ho:líyaw:áʔ[:]an, ha:mini:li ka:wíyaʔyó:muhča
now they go now then the children

[ʔ]ahčahčákʰma hó:liw,/ ma: wáʔ[:]an sú:le ha:néyaw sí:lun
behind the people they go [blank] now they set traps bread

háč:abíy:owá:ni,/ čihsíč’nadó:nolkoʔwáṇton sú:le há:nemú:naw.
where it had run away chamise knoll on they set traps around

šíːbaːt̰awkaːwíyaʔyóːmu hámːi kúṭːu čʼaːt̰úṭːow
poor children here just on one side

čʰíːlan šúːnew.
tump-line they put on brush

[10] maː súːle haːnéwyowan šuːkʰáyaw.
now the setting of traps they get through

haːminiːba wáʔ[ː]an síːlunyówan máčːaṭwáːyaw/
then now bread they chase around

maː síːlunyowan kúṭːu kʰaṭ̰ːádːu [ʔ]ahčahčey waʔáːt̰on./
[blank] bread just runs around people ahead of

haːminiːba máːmu kaːwíya šíʔbaːt̰awyowanhčáːkʰe čʰiːlanwáːniwi
then these children poor—belonging to into tump-line

kʰáṭ̰ːin, síːlun yówan./
runs, goes

[11] maː kaːwíyaʔyóːmu síːlunyowan háːkaṯ̰dúːba
[blank] the children bread they dive in head first

diːṭísmaw./ maː waʔ[ː]an [ʔ]ahčahčéyːoːmuhámːi kahkóṭ̰i, maː
butt stick out [blank] now people there come
and [ʔ]

kaːwiyaʔyoːmu šoːčʰíːba wíːli mičːaká:yaw./ haːminiːba
children they pull out way off from it they throw out then

wáʔ[ː]an [ʔ]aṭ̰ːíyey yáːla daːčʰámhuy./ kaːwíyaʔwánhčan
now they selves only divide among themselves to children

dihkayáːṭ̰ʰoṯ̰,/ kúṭːu šíːbaːt̰awp[ʰ]íːk̓oṯ̰.
they didn't give just poor they wish for s. t. (also = to envy?) [in H]

[12] maː wáʔ[ː]an [ʔ]a[h]čáŋhkʰay hoːlíyaːlikʰmaːyow háːbalát̰on
[blank] now home after they have gone soaproot
leaves

píʔni čoʔbóyʔdu,/ hámːun doːkʰóːba pʰ[ʰ]aʔloːlóːba mákːaċéːkʰe
little pieces are stuck on this having picked off sev. having rolled up for gr. mo.

[ʔ]ahčáŋhkʰay kúṭ:u	di:duy,	ka:wíya?yo:múhča./	[ʔ]áč:a	
home	they take it (away)	the children	home	just

sí:lunwan	čúh:un	nop[ʰ]:óʔyo:múhča,
bread	eating	ra. people

hiʔkoʔč'éway.
they're happy, they're pleased, they're proud of themselves
[H IX Free Translation]

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)s.

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]

✓ daʔ̭:eʔ̭:ew—
Pressing it a little harder than the first time—motion round & smoothing

✓ daʔ̭:el:aw— pressing down hard, motion vertical

daʔ̭:ew—to bend tall grass over

✓ slowly, laterally, pushing out of way

mu:ṱuk̆ ok?— no—chg— mu:ṱu

mu:ṱu:kan 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]

ʔaw:iṱonhkʰay— towards me

wi:miŋhkʰay— away from me

wi:miŋkʰačaʔ̭to— he turns face away from me, to side (only if s.o. knows you)

✓ mič:eden = pushing around w. hand

✓ mič:ed:u sounds as if pushing w. foot

[page 1a]

Elsie Allen
2/4/82

Leaching acorns

0-55
(0-12-false
start-English)

ṭʰoʔ:o hi:mayaw—

ṭʰoʔ:o hi:mayaw waʔ:a si:ṭ̓o čanhodenhkʰe

✓ ʔahkʰasa:ma, bidʔahkʰasa:ma ṭʰoʔ:o

✓ hi:mayaw ma: baʔ:aywam:u ʔam:a

✓ da: —— [ʔ]am:a da:ƙlo:ba —[ʔ]a: - kʰaʔbe

✓ [ʔ]ahṭʰi:meṭ̓ [ʔ]iy:o̱tow mihčaba win:a, p[ʰ]a:la—

✓ [ʔ]a:— kʰaʔbe [ʔ]ahṭi:meṭ̓ mihčaw — and —

✓ daẖte̱t:eba, mu:ṯu ṯiƙba, p[ʰ]a:la kʰaʔbe
packing it down
smooth the bottom out

✓ piʔni mihčaw. ha:mini:ba ham:un

✓ p[ʰ]a:la daẖte̱t:ew. and mu:ṯučiw.

✓ hniba mi:ṭay, mi:ṭay huṭ̓:amba

[2b]

could have said mihčaba

instead of mihčaw —and—

✓ dahṯeṯ:ew — pack down, smooth out, level, w. rather hard hitting motion

mu:ṯu — even, straight, level

w.o. bumps

chg. ṯiba ṯo ṯiǩba, w. pem. [???] k(ʰ)- [?? H <q> or <g>]
sounds better

kʰaʔbe piʔni — these are pebbles

piʔni = small size — piʔni imposs.

— use ṯ:eba mu:ṯuċiw
—
hniba = ha:mini:ba

[2a]

EA
2/4
-2-

✓ ham:unhlaw [ʔ]ahkʰá dahsos:oba dahṯeṯ:ew.
more of the same sprinkled and

✓ ha:mini:ba ʔahsič' daṯ:eṯ:eba

✓ kʰma:yow, p[ʰ]a:la mi:ṭay huṯ:amba ham:un

✓ p[ʰ]a:la [ʔ]ahkʰa dahsos:oba daṯ:eṯ:eba

✓ ǩoʔdi ʔahsič' daṯ:el:aba, waʔ:an

✓ biʔduboṯ —is acorn— biʔduboṯwan huṯ:an.

✓ ha:mini:ba ham:un mu:ṭu

✓ [ʔ]ahkʰomanhkʰay biʔduboṯwan mič:eden
around back & forth

✓ wa ǩoʔdi ṭiǩba kʰma:yow, kʰa:le ši:ma
twigs

✓ piʔni, kʰa:leṭonhkʰe mač:aba ham:un
having broken off from tree

✓ biʔduboṯwa:ni win:a kic:idu mihčan

[3b]

✓ hu:ṭaṭmaw — 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

hiṭ̲:amhuy — every once in a while

✓ c[oul]d have said čo:liǩba kʰma:yow, in wh. case it would be all one sentence

✓ rd čah:a woʔ:oy yowʔden
if it's still bitter

✓ woʔ:oy čah:aʔwa = it's still bitter

✓ yowʔden = implies still

cf. ham:i yowa man) či:yow that's where
) čiy:ow she stays

(ʔam:a čah:a — false start)
čonhi čah:a čuh:ukʰṭ̲ʰu — don't feed (s.o.) bitter acorn meal

maʔwa čonhi čah:a — that's the bitter čonhi
(some like it bitter)

cf. ǩoʔdi siʔṭ̲a:li waʔ:a ṭʰoʔ:o mihkun
when it tastes good is when (I) start cooking

[3a]

EA
2/4/82
-3-

✓ [ʔ]ahkʰa huːṭ̓maḵ — misspoke [ʔ]ahkʰa huː- huː- huː-

✓ [ʔ]ahkʰa huːṭ̓aṭ̓mayakʰːewi.
on the place where water is going to be poured

✓ haːminiːba waʔːan, [ʔ]ahkʰa huːṭ̓aṭ̓maba
now

✓ mačːew.
waits

✓ hamːun waʔːan — [ʔ]eː — hiṭ̓ːamhuy.

✓ sihnaṭ̓du, ceṭ̓ siʔṭ̓aw
tastes it how it tastes

✓ ~~čahːa waʔoːyoʔden~~ pʰaːla [ʔ]ahkʰa

✓ ḵoʔdi siʔṭ̓ayiːli maː ʔahkʰaʔwan mačːew,
when it tastes good She watches
when it has gotten to is watching
taste good

✓ huːṭ̓aṭ̓maw haːminiːba waʔːan

✓ [ʔ]ahkʰaʔwan kuʔmu čʰoːlikaw
she lets it all drain

✓ hamːun čʰoːlikaw kʰmaːyow waʔːan
she lets it drain & after that

[4b]

✓ da:ṭʰow — 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 bidu?boṭ̓ that's left that
has sand sticking to it

ha:min — on that (i.e. on
the hand)
if ha:milwiwould refer to a
✓ container— e.g. ha:milwimi:ṭ̓maw

she puts the bi?duboṭ̓ 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 bi?du?boṭ̓ drip off

[4a]

EA
2/4/82
-4-

✓ win:at̯:ow — biʔdubot̯ʼwan da:ṭʰow.

✓ t̯[ʰ]a:na ʔakʰ:owi da:ṭʰow.

✓ ha:niba biʔdubot̯ʼwant̯onhkʰle
the remaining meal
the part of the acorn ##

✓ mi:ṭaywant̯on [ʔ]i:biw:an ham:un t̯[ʰ]an:awi
the sand that is left (adhering
to the meal)

kal:i di:bit̯ʼbi: [-biy]. hniba ham:un
lifts it, she removes the
clot of meal that
sticks to her palm

✓ [ʔ]ahkʰa ha:min, t̯[ʰ]an:awi dahsos:on
she sprinkles water on it w. her hand

✓ mi:ṭaywan das:ew.
& washes off the sand

✓ omit—han mi:ṭaywan kuʔmu das:ew

✓ kʰma:yow ham:un ṭʰoʔ:oʔwan—omit mistake & hesitation—biʔdubot̯ʼwan

✓ čʰeʔ:et̯ʼmay či:yo:li ʔahkʰa ʔohčo:li
the basket is sitting there

✓ ham:ilwi, mi:t̯ʼmaw.

[5b]

✓ da:woṭ̓ — 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)

✓ si?ṭ̓̂a hiw:alkaw would be better form

✓ čʰi:woṭ̓ čʰi:woṭ̓ — to stir w. spoon (once)

✓ čʰi:woṭoy — to stir w. spoon (once in
a while) > čʰi:woč:in — imper.

sit# omitted—sh[oul]d
čʰe?:eṭ̓̂maywa:ni čonhi?wan ?ahkʰa

✓✓ ?it[ʰ]:in ?ohčow, ha:mi kʰa?be ?oh:o mi:ṭ̓̂maw

✓ mu?ṭ̓̂akʰṭ̂i.
into the basket in wh. the meal was
already prepared, these she drops in hot
rocks, in order to cook
i.e. the čonhi & [?]ahkʰa together are already
sitting (not putting)

✓ c[oul]d. have used ?e:wen mu?ṭ̓̂aw instead

[5a]

EA
2/4/82
-5-

✓ ham:un ku?mu šu:- šu:kʰaba
after having finished all that

✓ kʰma:yow ma:mu — ʔaṯ:i mi:ṭay
this stuff the sand that she washed off

✓ das:ey:owan ham:un da:woṭi:ba da:woṭi:ba

✓ kic:idu čahčiŋkaw, mi:ṭaywan čahčiŋ[-]

✓ kʰma:yow, ~~ʔ~~ahkʰaʔwan čʰeʔ:eṯmaywa:ni
into the basket

✓ hiw:alkaw, siʔṯa.
pour it off slowly
slowly
lets it run down

✓ čʰi:woṭo:ka:ṯʰoṯ
without stirring (occasionally?) [in H]
she doesn't stir it

✓ ha:mini:ba waʔ:an ʔahkʰa — kʰaʔbe — omit [for both]

✓ kʰaʔbe ʔoh:o mi:ṭalaw, waʔ:an muʔṯakʰṭi.

✓ kʰaʔbeʔoho mi:ṭalaw kʰma:yow č'ohkoy
right away

✓ ṭʰoʔ:oʔwan muʔṯaw.
mush gets cooked

* * *

[6b]

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

✓ [ʔ]eč:edu also if in a basket etc.

✓ di:duy not specific for means

c[oul]d. have used [ʔ]a:lhoƙomhu:li—
—yaw — what they spoke — to me,
to e.o.

✓✓ ƙal:aw hoʔč'óčin is idiomatic—
mng. [ʔ] too much, more than you should

[6a]

EA
2/5/82—
-6-

girls' puberty

65-99 maš:á xayṯonhkʰay [ʔ]aṯ:o di:du:yaw,
Round Valley took me up
there # from[ʔ]
di:duy

✓ pa:pel ča:dukʰṯi.

✓ ʔa:ʔa p[ʰ]al:aʔčey čahnu hiʔduʔč'enṯʰoṯ',
didn't know white man's language

✓ č'a:ʔ(a) čahnuʔnaṯi hiʔduʔč'enṯʰi:li ka ha:min [not in recording]
even 1 word

✓ ha:minhkʰay ʔeč:edu:yaw
they took (in a wagon) < [ʔ]eč:eduy

✓ ham:un ʔaṯ:o čahnu ʔa:lhoƙomhu:yaw
when they talked to me, I
or when they talked to e.o.

✓ p[ʰ]al:aʔčey čahnu [ʔ]a:lhoƙomhu:yaw ʔa: ba:ƙo
I didn't understand what they were saying

✓ ʔom:i:ṯʰoṯ' duw:eyʔden ʔa: mi:ma:wi
at night w. crying
every night

✓ ƙal:aw hoʔč'očin ʔa miṭ:in mi:mayʔdu ʔa

✓ duw:ey do:miṭa ʔa: mi:mayʔdu.
every night I cried (all the time)

✓ ba — omit ʔaṯ:o ba:ƙo ne:nekya:ṯʰoṯ'.
they didn't teach me anything

[7b]

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
haʔčaṭ̓ (haʔčaṭin)— w. stick,
strap

ha:meṭ̓ — m[eani]ng hard to explain
in that way

They had taken us up there in
order to make us unable to speak
Indian

—ƙleʔwam:u [-kʰle ?]— he's a speaker, talker
✓ ham:uʔwa čahnu [ham:u circled] šabʔač:i:čečʰma — they are
✓ " šabʔač:iʔčey — he's a good
speaker

✓ ham:anwa šuṭ:u čʰiʔbúʔčey she's basket maker
ʔa:ʔa šuṭ:u čʰiʔbukʰ:ewi ṯ:o [ʔṯo ??] kʰaʔdiya:li ʔa: ho:liw
they called me when I was going to make a basket, & I went

[7a]

EA
2/5/82
-7-

✓ [ʔ]a:ʔa čahnu [ʔ]om:i:t̯ʰo̯t̓ wa:niwiʔt̯o ne:nekya: — omit repet
how could they teach me when I didn't
understand the language

✓ čahnu p[ʰ]al:aʔčey čahnu ne:nekya:t̯ʰo̯t̓,

✓ ba:k̓o ʔ(:)a k̓oʔdi ʔam:a ne:ne:t̯ʰo̯t̓, ʔa:
I didn't learn anything well

✓ ham:it̯ow ho:liw.
I left from there (in June)

✓ ha:mini:ba ʔa hint̯il kučahnu
When I spoke the Indian

✓ čanhode:niʔt̯o haʔċa:yaw
language, they strapped [=whipped] me
< haʔċaṭ̓

✓ ha:meṭ̓ hint̯il kučahnu čanhoden
not to talk Indian language

✓ kʰa:let̯ʰo̯t̓, ċit̯iʔyokan [H wrote ċiʔt̯i- first] yan
to make us keep from talking etc.

✓ ha:minhkʰay ʔeč:edu:yaw.
they brought us away these

✓ now — ha:mini:li kʰa:ma:yow, ʔa:

✓ hint̯il kučahnuʔwan čanhod:u ʔehnew.
so, after that I stopped talking Indian

[8b]

		haːmeṭna =	that's why
✓	if	[ʔ]aṭʰːiːliːkʰmaːyow —	after they had
✓	grown up	[ʔ]aṭʰːiːyaw	imposs[ible].

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.

[8a]

EA
2/5/82
-8-

✓ ha:meṭna ʔaw:i:kʰe ka:wiya

✓ ʔaṭʰ:i:li [-ṭ:i- ʔ] ʔa mahčuǩunčon hiṇ̱ṭilku
when they grew up—
were growing up

✓ ʔam:a ne:ne:ka:ṭ̱ʰoṭ̱. hiṇ̱ṭilku čahnu

✓ ne:ne:ka:ṭ̱ʰoṭ̱. ~~hiṇ̱ṭilku čahnu~~

✓ ~~ne:ne:ka:ṭ̱ʰoṭ̱.~~

✓ ʔiṭ̱ʰ:inmawikʰ:e ʔam:a ʔa:lhoǩo:yaw,
anything of the early days, things that they talked about

✓ hiṇ̱ṭilkuhča ʔam:a [ʔ]a:lhoǩoy, hiṇ̱ṭilkuhča
the Indians talked about things

✓ ʔam:a ʔahkon [-an ʔ] ~~hiṇ̱ṭilku~~ čahnu [ʔ]a:lhoǩoywan

✓ kuʔmu ʔa: ʔawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwančon

✓ [ʔ](u)hṭ̱ehṭ̱e:ṭ̱ʰoṭ̱ [( ) in H] mahčuǩunčon ʔaṭ̱:o

✓ ʔam:a hodʔoṭwa:yaw wa:meṭ̱ hodʔoṭwa:yaw

[9b]

correct all to t̪ʰ ʔiṯ̪ʰ:inčo:kʰe early day

✓ c[oul]d have said si:ɬ̌ay hwadu — I whispered

[9a]

EA
2/5/82
-9-

✓ ʔa: hudʔaka:t̪ʰot̪̓, mahčuk̓unčon kuṭ:u
I didn't want them

✓ dič':oyakʰ:e ʔa: hudʔaka:t̪ʰot̪̓.
to be beaten for nothing

✓ ha:meṭna ʔa: hint̪ilku [ʔ]ahṭʰi: [-iy]
That's why I never told my

[ʔ]am:aʔwan
✓ kuʔmu ʔawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwanhčan
kids everything about Indian things

✓ [ʔ]uht̪eht̪e:t̪ʰot̪̓.

✓ č'a:ʔa ʔam:a ʔa ham:i či:yow
I stayed there for one year

✓ ham:it̪ow ʔa ʔahčanhkʰay ho:liba ʔa: ʔa:č'ek̓o
I went home from there, & when I was going

✓ ʔa t̪ent̪awi hwad:unʔa: [circled by H]
around town w. my mo.

✓ hint̪il [circled by H] ʔa: madan hint̪ilku čanhodemʔč'edu
when I was talking the Indian language

✓ ʔa: madan, ʔahsič' čahnu
w. her I didn't talk loud to her

✓ čanhodent̪ʰot̪̓, siʔt̪̓a ʔa: madan čahnu
slowly, in a low voice

[10b]

Sh[oul]d. be čanhodemhuy,

poss ʔaya:kʰe čahnu lahčaƙ

ʔa: nihiw (nih:iw)

ha:meṭna ʔa:č'en ʔiṯ̲ʰ:inmawi
in early days

to let them?
✓ hiṯ̲: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 — čahṯ̲i [ʔ]iy:ow

[10a]

EA
2/5/82
-10-

✓ čanhodemhuy, p[ʰ]alaʔčey huʔ:u:t̯on ʔa: [circled in H] ʔaya:kʰe
in front of whites

✓ čahnu ʔa:lhok̓o:t̯ʰot̯̓, ʔa: ʔa:č’et̯o lahčak̓.
we didn't speak our language, I told my mo. not to

✓ _____ _____ ʔaya:kʰe čahnu p[ʰ]alaʔčey huʔ:u:t̯on

✓ [ʔ]a:lhok̓oywamu kʰaṭ:ič’aw, ʔa: hnihiw,
to talk Indian before whites I said

✓ ʔa:č’et̯o ʔa: [ʔ]uht̯eht̯ew.

✓ ~~ha:min ʔa:č’en t̯ent̯awi~~ p[ʰ]alaʔčey
a white

✓ kahkot̯ipʰla ʔawi:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwan p[ʰ]alaʔčeyčon
person came to the house

✓ hit̯̓:awi:ka # yaʔčʰokay
she [they] forbid the children to be around them

✓ diʔbokʰči:le hniwʔdu, čaht̯i sa:ma
she told the kids to hide

✓ we:ʔey p[ʰ]al:a—omit p[ʰ]alaʔčeywi [-ʔčewi ?] hwa:la
over there go in to the other room
in the other room (house)

✓ hnihiwʔdu, ka:wiyaʔwanhčan, p[ʰ]alaʔčeywanhčan
to the kids

[11b]

but now they grow up
among whites & don't know the
Indian language

[11a]

EA
2/5/82
-11

✓ ṭʰi:yakʰč’in ha:meṭwa ʔay:a:kʰe
being afraid of them that’s the way
we raise our children

✓ yal:abi: [-biy] ka:wiyaʔwanya, [ʔ]aṭʰ:i:kaw.
beforetime we raise

✓ ham:un naṯi mahčuǩun wa
even so, even at that

✓ si:ṭo p[ʰ]alaʔčey de:le [ʔ]aṭʰ:i:ba
now

✓ hinṯil ku čahnu hiʔduʔčʰewa:ṯʰoṯ,

✓ hinṯilku čahnu [ʔ]a:lhoǩo:ṯʰoṯ

✓ * * *

[12b]

Story is about Genevieve

rd. p[ʰ]alaʔčeyhča čahnu

✓ i.e., [ʔ]a:lhoƙomhuy:oka

t̰ʰíčayčon — (there is no other word for it
(makes up ʔam:a ✓ne:ne:ka:yey but can't easily use it in context)
✓ čoht̰iw to write

✓ -na- for sure
rd [ʔ]uhnakʰa:liʔwam:u ?
✓ cf. [ʔ] [ʔ]at̰:o ʔwa mi:t̰o [ʔ]uhna

[12a]

EA
2/5/82
-12-

106-132✓ ʔawi:kʰe še:baywan ʔa: č’ay:i hač’:ow
I once
I once visited my young woman (i.e., d[augh]t[e]r.)

✓ ha:mini:li ham:adan ~~pʰ[ala?čeyhčiča/čahnu~~ [ʔ]a:lhoǩomhuy
then white people were talking to her

✓ yoka ʔa:ʔa hač’:ow waʔ:a:ṯon, pʰ[al:a baʔ:ay-
before I came

✓ -čo:kʰe miy:aṭikʰmeden ʔam:a [ʔ]ahkan [ʔ] miṭ:iw,
d[augh]t[e]r she was at home w. her
monthly period

✓ ham:un ṯʰičayčon [ʔ]uhṯehṯew, pa:pel čohṭiw
the teacher wrote a letter
[or letter written] [in H]

✓ ham:un madan dihkayaw.
her
(i.e. my d[augh]t[e]r.)

✓ ham:un man— ham:un ča:duba:mu,
this thing she this she after
looks at

✓ ham:an ham:un pʰ[a:la hiʔduʔč’enṯʰoṯ, ʔa:ʔa
she this thing again she doesn’t
understand

✓ ~~ham:un~~ madan ha:meṯ čahnu [ʔ]uhṯehṯe:ṯʰoṯna.
I never taught her those things

✓ ham:un madan [ʔ]aṭ:o ʔuhnakya:liʔmu
they told her
to ask me

✓ ʔa:ʔa ham:i č’ay:i ʔa hač’:o:li, [ʔ]aṭ:o
once when I came there me

[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]

EA
2/5/82
-13-

✓ ham:un čahnu ʔuhnaʦ̓. ham:un [ʔ]aʦ:o
this (she) asked me

✓ čahnu ʔuhna:li — yowen, ʔe:wen ʔa: čahnu
right away

✓ ba:yadikʰ:eʔwanʦo ʔačʰ:ow ʦi ʔa: madan

✓ čahnu ne:ne:ka:ʦʰoʦ̓, wa:niwi —
because I never taught her

✓ ham:un ʔa maʦ:ič’ ba:yadi:ʦʰoʦ̓ či:yoba

✓ naʦi ʔyowan ʔa hiy:o, ha:meʦ̓ — ʔam:a
but anyhow

✓ ʔahka:naw:a ʔiʦʰ:in mawi, ʔa:ya hinʦilkuhča
in the early days

✓ yowa ʔa hnihiw, ha:(mi)ni:li [( ) in H] yowaʔʦo ma [ʔ]
that’s the way

✓ ʔaw:i:kʰe še:baywam:u; ham:uʔkaʔmaʔʦo
how is it

✓ he:menin, ham:un čahnu ʔuhʦehʦe:ʦʰoʦ̓
that you never told me about that

✓ ʔamaʔʦo he:menin ne:ne:ka:ʦʰoʦ̓, ʦo hnihiw
why didn’t you teach me says to me

[14b]

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,

[14a]

EA
2/5/82
-14-

✓ ham:un naṯi ha:min kʰma:yow ṯeč'aw
Anyhow after that

✓ maṯ:i hwademba kʰma:yow si:ṭo— wa-
after a long time had passed lately

✓ ṯ:o hiʔdu:či: [-čiy] ʔa:ʔa — čahnu ni:p[ʰ]iyow
I find out although I knew the whole thing

✓ hiʔduʔč'edu naṯi ham:un ʔa: čahnu —
I never came out

✓ hwolo:ka:ṯʰoṯ'. čahnu diʔboǩ ʔa:
with these words I let the words sit hidden

✓ čiy:okaw ham:u ʔča:yey
that thing

✓ hla:liʔwáʔṯo šu:kʰaywa:ni kʰaṭ:ič'aw
perhaps

✓ hiṯ':adu, ʔa:ʔa ham:un čanhodenṯʰoṯ'na.
because I didn't talk about it

✓ ham:un ʔa p[ʰ]al:a [written above p[ʰ]alaʔčey] še:bačʰmahčan ##

✓ he:ʔey daʔṯawʔdun, ʔa: mahčuǩunčon ʔa: [circled in H]
wherever I see them
whenever

✓ ham:un ʔuhṯehṯewʔdu.

[15b]

✓ hwolo:kaw
Short hwo- ?

[15a]

EA
2/5/82
-15-

✓ ma:mu ʔa: si:ṭ̓o, teč’:aw

✓ maṭ̓:i:ba si:ṭ̓o ma:mu ʔa: ham:un

✓ čahnuʔwan kuʔmu, hwo:lo:kaw.

✓ ʔaṯ:o šu:kʰaywa:ni k̓oʔdi ʔṯ̓akʰṯi.
so that I’ll feel better

✓ * * *

145-148 ʔiṯ[ʰ]:inhkʰe — ʔiṯ[ʰ]:inhkʰe ʔahčahčeyhča ʔa [ʔu ʔ]
✓
interrupted {✓ ~~č’eʔwa~~ ʔaṯ:i:čo:kʰe, še:bačʰma ʔam:a [circled in H]
omit {✓
{✓ ʔahkay— ʔam:a ʔahkayen— [all three circled in H]

interruption — telephone

✓ * * *

150-166 ʔiṯ[ʰ]:inhkʰe — ʔiṯ[ʰ]:inmawi sa:ma

✓

✓ hodʔoṭwa:yaw. ʔam:a – še:ba:yey

[16b]

If ʔa: ham:adan č’ay:i hač’:o:li —

would be ok too, but here has

already mentioned — or will mention

Genevieve, same sbj. as ʔuhnaʟ̭

[16a]

EA
2/5/82
-16-

✓ ʔam:a ʔahkanči:li — miy:aṭʰe p[ʰ]alaʔča:[č]on
the ♀came to

✓ papel [written above pa:pel] čohṯiba ʔuhṯehṯew, ma:mu

✓ p[ʰ]al:aʔčeywam:uhča čahnu ʔom:iːṯʰoṯ,
but these white people didn't understand

✓ laʔba:kay ba:ƙo ʔma baʔ:aywam:u
didn't know what that ♀ was talking about

✓ čanhod:u. ha:niba, ʔawi:kʰe

✓ ka:wiʔwančon — ča:dukaw, papelwan

✓ and [ʔ]aw:i:kʰe ka:wiʔwan p[ʰ]a:la hiʔduʔč'enṯʰoṯna

✓ ham:un — ceṭ ʔuhṯehṯew laʔba:kay
she didn't know how to tell it

✓ ha:(m)ni:li madan mehṭʰen wa ʔma
then they said to her "ask your

✓ ʔuhnakʰ:e nih:iyaw
mother" [ʔuhnakʰ:e = 'will ask']

✓ ha:(m)ni:li ʔaṯ:iṯo č'ay:i
then once when I visited her

[19a] [unkown whether pages 17a-18b are missing or Halpern's numbering is wrong]

EA
2/5/82
-19-

✓ hač':o:li, ham:un t̰o ʔuhnaṯ̰.

✓ ha:mini:li ʔa ham:un ʔuht̰eht̰ew

✓ hniyaw ha:meṭ̰ — ha:meṭ̰ ho?doṭwa:yaw

✓ ʔiṯ[ʰ]:inhkʰe [ʔ]ahčahčeyhča ma:t̰ač'man [-čʰman ?] —
young girls

✓ ʔam:a ʔahkal:akyaw čaht̰ima:yaw [H writed <o> over the <a> of –yaw], č'a:ʔa

✓ [ʔ]ala:ša ʔt̰o ʔyodo [ʔ]iṯʰ:enmawi ba:ṭiṯ̰du
in the old days used to lie #

✓ yowáʔt̰o [ʔ]uht̰eht̰eyaw.

very faint [in H]

✓ nat̰i si:ṭ̰o ʔa: ha:meṯʰ:oṯ̰, ʔat̰:o ʔyo:

✓ č'a:ʔala:ša ʔt̰o miṭ:ikyaw

omit [in H]

✓ interruption — battery trouble

✓

[20b]

✓ čaṯ:ima:yaw
in bed

if really long ago ʔiṯʰ:e:n mawi

ṯara:pu — 1[l ʔ] – flap r

[20a]

EA
2/5/82
-20-

167-234 ------ ʔiṯ[ʰ]:inhkʰe še:bačʰma—
(correction[])

✓ [ʔ]ṯ[ʰ]:ínhkʰe še:bačʰma ṯe ʔo — omit [both, in H]
ʔam:a

✓ [ʔ]ahkad:u ʔ wa #h čan čaṯ:ima:yow mahčuǩunčon

✓ nop[ʰ]:okwa:naw [circled in H] č'a: ʔala:ša, ham:un naṯi
correct to miṭ:ikwa:naw

✓ ʔa:č'en yowa ʔaṯ:o mič:ay:imčin ya:la —

✓ čaṯ:ima:yow miṭ:ikaw.
let me lie in bed

✓ ham:un waʔ:an ʔiṯʰ:e:nmawi ha:meṯ
now

✓ še:bačʰma čaṯ:ima:yow miṭ:iwen waʔ:a [ʔ:a circled in H] ~~p[ʰ]a:la~~

✓ p[ʰ]al:ahča ka:nimayhča [<i> above <~~e~~>] miy:aǩan hčaǩ [the -ǩ is circled in H]
other people relatives her friends

✓ [ʔ]aṯ:i:čo:kʰe ṯara:pu mi:hakan, ʔam:a
own clothes

✓ še:baywanhkʰe ṯara:puʔwan kuʔmu ʔihči: [-čiy].

[21b]

sh[oul]d — t͡ʰo͡ʔ yodóʔya

✓ < sq. [ʔ]ap:ed:u — I am wearing

[21a]

EA
2/5/82
-21-

✓ ha:meṭ̓ wey:a hodʔoṭwa:ya
"rule"

✓ ʔiṯʰ:enmawi — še:bačʰma ʔam:a [ʔ]ahkad:u

✓ hodʔoṭwačin.
when they are handling her

✓ ha:meṭ̓ yowa ʔa: č'ay:i ča:du
that's how I saw it one time

✓ ṯara:pu č'a:yeyčo:kʰe ku ʔmu ʔihči:yaw
of 1 person

✓ ni ha:(mi)ni:ba ʔaṯ:i:čo:kʰe še:bay

✓ ʔahṭʰihča čaw:an p[ʰ]iʔṯ̓akaywa:meṭ̓
big girls

✓ mada:kʰe kahsa:yaw.
& left them for (or with) her

✓ ʔaṯ:i:kʰe čaw:an ʔam:a [ʔ]ahkal:aw

✓ waʔ:a:ṯon ʔaṯ:i:kʰe tara:puʔwan

✓ ʔa:p[ʰ]iṯ̓ma:ṯʰoṯ̓ ya [circled] ←? [in H], yodo.
they don't wear

[22b]

in Cloverdale; Hopland don't do it

correct to miṭːiwen — only

1 girl baṭːiw is plu[ral]. — also

have to chg. others — ^ [written above two single quotes] better

leave as is. šeːbay = 1

šeːbačʰma

[22a]

EA
2/5/82

✓ p[ʰ]al:ahča čaw:an dihkawan
they wear things others gave

✓ ʔa:p[ʰ]iṯ̂maw. ʔam:a ʔahkaŋkyaw

✓ kʰama:yow, ha:meṭ̓ yow:a ʔa: ča:du: [-uw ʔ]
that's the way I saw it

✓ še:bačʰma ʔam:a [ʔ]ahkančaṯ̂:ima:yow

✓ ~~bahṭʰe~~ baṭ:iwen mahčuƙunčon
correct mi-

✓ behše čukya:ṯ̂ʰoṭ̓ (=čuh:ukya:ṯ̂ʰoṭ̓) [in H], [ʔ]ahša čukya:ṯ̂ʰoṭ̓ (= čuh:ukya:ṯ̂ʰoṭ̓),
[note that H varies between dental and alveolar for final of negative morpheme]

✓ ham:un ʔahkaŋkyaw.

✓ ham:un mahčuƙun kʰa:ma:yow

✓ č'a:ʔala:ša kʰma:yow mahčuƙunčon

✓ ʔohkomaƙya:li li:mpyow ċi:yaw, ham:i kʰma:yow:a
when they let her
bathe

✓ mahčuƙun — [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?

✓{ yom̱ta ċi:wa madan } she's in this
✓ yom̱ta 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
2/5/82
-23-

✓ ------- ʔaṯ:iyey hudʔakay čuh:u: [-h:uw]

✓ ʔam:a ʔahkad:u — ʔam:a ʔahkal:aw

✓ kʰa:ma:yow p[ʰ]al:a ʔala:šaṯon ʔam:a ʔahkal:aw:a:me [ʔ]
the following month

✓ ṯo mahčuǩunčo:kʰe čuh:uyaw ču:kʰale
they eat of, of wh.
they eat, i.e. the plates
& tools.

✓ mayʔma: [ʔ] čahṯin. kuča:la pila:ṯuʔwa
separately

✓ mayʔma: mahčuǩunčo:kʰe. ʔahčahčey de:le
in a separate place

✓ huw:a:ṯʰoṯ. mahčuǩun p[ʰ]al:a~~wi~~
hwa:ṯʰoṯ

✓ hidʔa [ʔ]ahča kic:idu kaw:iya:li ham:i yow:a
they built
and

✓ mahčuǩun mič:ayimčin čiy:owʔdu.
4 days

✓ ha:miniwʔdun ʔohkomʔč’edun kʰma:yow
after she takes
a bath

✓ ya:la ʔač:aka — omit [in H] [ʔ]ač:a hmayʔdu.
only they come inside the house

[24b]

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:
ʔahčuǩun	=	the men folks		
mahčuǩun	=	them		
wihčuǩun	=	them (past) — the other		

✓	baʔ:ay-	baʔ:ayʔdu — he's hunting	
✓	baʔ:aykʰale	—	a hunter

rd. kʰaṭ:ič'ač:edu

(cf. ʔam:a hiṯ̰:a:ka:yaw)—
(that's what they think)

[24a]

EA
2/5/82
-24-

✓ ʔam:a ʔahkad:u hwademp[ʰ]iʔwa
if she is proceeding in fasting condition?

✓ hiʔdaʔwa:ni kʰa:ma ʔahṯikʰ:eṯʰoṯʼ mahčuǩun.
on door feet she won't step on
in front of door

✓ ham:uʔwa miy:aki: [-ki ʔ] he: miy:ame: he:

✓ ʔahčuǩunčon behše baʔ:ay hwaṭwačin
when travelling around hunting

✓ ham:un mahčuǩunčon kʰa:ma maṭʼ:aw
step on

✓ ʔahši:yaw:amu ham:uʔwa mahčuǩunčon —
what it's named,
what it's called

✓ čuh:uyaw, ku:lun baʔ:ay kʰaleʔwan [H idiosyncratically writes /kʰ/ as <k‘>]
hunter

✓ kʰaṭ:ičʼačːedu
the hunters always have bad
luck

✓ behše baʔ:ay kʰa:leʔwan kʰaṭ:ičʼaʔčʼedu,

✓ ha:meṭna — hiṯʼ:aʔbikya:ṯʰoṯʼ
they don't let her
associate w. them

✓ še:bay ʔam:a ʔahkal:awen.
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 ʔa: ne:ne:kaw

✓ rd šo:čad:edu – I heard it from diff. ones

✓ rd hodʔoṭway — they still do that — i.e. (in Nevada/Idaho) still use menstrual hut

✓ or ma: ʔa: či:yo:li for short

[25a]

EA
2/5/82
-25-

✓ ham:unwa?ya ne:nekyaw [?]iṯʰ:e:nmawi
that what they taught us in old days

✓ ham:un naṯi ?a ham:un [?]aw:i:kʰe ka:wiya-
I but I didn't

✓ -?wanhčon [?]uhṯehṯe:ṯʰoṯ.
tell my children

✓ [?]a:yan pʰal:a?čey — čiw hud?akʰč'inya
they beat us because they wanted to make

✓ dič':oyaw ?a:ya hinṯilku čahnu ?a:lhoǩo:ṯon
us into whites because our
speaking

✓ dič':oyaw; ham:un ṭʰi:yaǩč'in [arrow connecting this to next]

✓ ha:meṭna ?a:ya ham:un ku?mu
that's why we stopped all that

✓ ?ehnew. ham:un naṯi

✓ si:ṭo ?a: šo:č'endedu [circled in H] pʰal:ahma –
lately elsewhere

✓ ha:meṭ ho:doṯway [circled in H] hinṯilkuhča wo?:oy.
In[dian] yet, still

✓ ham:un naṯi ma:mu [written over ?wa?:a] ?a: či:yo:li?wa
here, where
T/I##

[26b]

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.

[26a]

EA
2/5/82
-26-

✓ ha:meṭ ʔam:a hodʔoṭwa:yaw:anku ʔmu

✓ ʔehneyaw, [ʔ]ačʰ:ow:a si:ṭo ham:un —
none lately

✓ ham:un — si:ṭo ha:meṭ hodʔoṭwa:yakʰ:e ʔa:
I don't know whether they're
going to do that now or not

✓ si:ṭo hiʔduʔč'enṯʰoṯ.

✓ he čahṯi ham:un hodʔoṭwa:yakʰ:e
or, again
perhaps,

✓ hla:li ham:un ʔa hiʔduʔč'enṯʰoṯ.
perhaps

✓ ha:meṭna ʔa: — ham:u — ka:wiyahčan

✓ ~~čahnu~~ čanhodenṯʰoṯ naṯi ʔa: si:ṭo ham:un

✓ ʔaṯ:o ʔuhna:ya:li [glottal stop circled in H], ʔa: si:ṭo ~~ham:un~~ waʔ:an

✓ ham:un, čahnuʔwan, čahṯi šuhṭʰaw.
opened it up again

✓ čahnuʔwan ʔa mahčuǩunčon [ʔ]uhṯehṯew

[27b]

I feel not good inside by
not telling or teaching

rd baḥṭʰehčaṯonṯʰoṯ̓ —
to not too many people
(“just when they ask me”) [in H]

This refs her present activity
In the HIS [?] project at Santa Rosa

[27a]

EA
2/5/82
-27-

✓ [ʔ]aṯ:o kʰaʔdiwa:naw čahnu [ʔ]a:lhoƙokʰṯi —
they always call for, to have me tell them
summon me

✓ ʔa: ham:un čanhodenṯʰoṯ'na, ʔa šiʔbakʰa:n[i]
I never talked about it

✓ [ʔ]am:a kʰaṭ:ič'aw hiṯ':aduʔna ʔa: ham:un
when I

✓ ho:liwʔdun ʔa: ʔ( )uhṯehṯewʔdu, ham:un kic:idu
go to (wherever I'm called from) I tell

✓ ʔa čanhodu[bahṭehčaṯonṯʰoṯ']

✓ ham:un naṯi bahṭʰehčan hla:liʔwaʔ:an

✓ čanhodemhukʰ:e woʔ:oy, ha:meṭ' ʔaṯ:o ʔam:a
yet, still that's the way
it sounds to me

✓ huʔṯ'awa. (when they're telling #
e.g. the health director

* * *

✓ rest

✓

✓

[28b]

✓ rd duʔt̪̂ači: [-čiy]
when she touches her hair
w. hand

✓ ch[an]g[e] to ʔahsiṭ̂i:t̪̂ʰoṭ̂ —
she doesn't scratch

[28a]

EA
2/5/82
-28-

258 ✓ še:bačʰma [ʔ]am:a ʔahkan wa:meṭ̓ wa

✓ še:bačʰma ʔaṯ:i:čon šin:a duʔṭ̓aṯi heʔ:e

✓ duʔṭ̓a:ṯʰoṭ̓ [circled in H] [š]in:a ʔahsiṯi:ṯʰoṭ̓

✓ [ʔ]ah:aywi boṭ̓:oyhawa mahčuǩun he:beṭ̓du,
short ones they have it
6” on them, w. them
in possession

✓ šin:a ʔahsiṯi:kʰaleˀ.
w. wh. to scratch head

✓ šiʔba p[ʰ]a:la ʔahsiṯi:ṯʰoṭ̓.

✓ ham:unwa mahčuǩunčon ʔahkaŋkyaw [ʔ circled by H].

✓ ham:unwa mahčuǩun haːmini:ṯʰoṭ̓,

✓ baːǩo ʔah:aywa hebʔeṭway, ʔah:aywi
they carry w.
them all the time

✓ ʔahsiṯi:ṯi.

266 ✓ ham:unwa mahčuǩunčon ne:nekyaw.

* * *

[29b]

das:eč'i:t̪ʰoʈ̪

✓ [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:at̪on či:yoba hak:abi: [-biy]

✓✓ t̪ent̪aʔwa:ni hil:aw waʔ:a ho:likʰ:e
as far as town I'll go
(but not past town)
(no verb forms possible for hil:aw ?) [in H]

[29a]

EA
2/5/82
-29-

271 ✓ šin:a das:eč'i:t̪ʰoʔ̪
she doesn't wash her head

✓ č'a:mčin, č'a:mčin wa mahčuk̓unčon
a day after they're all righit

✓ k̓oʔdi t̪i: [-iy] kʰma:yow [š]in:a duʔt̪aka:ya:t̪ʰoʔ̪
they don't let
her touch

✓ miy:aṭʰehča miy:akaċya ~~a~~ hča?wa~~n~~ [line connecting –ya to –č-] madan

✓ heʔ:eʔwan das:ew.

✓ kʰa:ma:yow [ʔ]aṭ:i:čon heʔ:e

✓ das:eč'i: [-č'iy].

282 ✓ p[ʰ]a:la ʔam:a [ʔ]ahkančiw hil:aw.
until the next fasting time
* * *

290 ✓ ham:adan ʔam:a ʔahkanhkʰt̪i

✓ hidʔa ʔahča kic:idu kaw:iya:li—

✓ čiy:ow wam:uʔwa, miy:amen miy:akinh[e ʔ]
o bro.

[30b]

(surprised that ʈ̂ip[ʰ]la came
to her)

that's why they have her stay in
the house that stands outside near
the (main) house

[30a]

EA
2/5/82
-30-

✓ p[ʰ]al:a ʔahčahčey ʔahčuǩun — ča, kʰa:ma
any other male

✓ ʔahṯiw maṭ':akaw lahča:yaw, ham:u wa
prints let her step forbid

✓ mahčuǩunčon — behše baʔ:ačin,ʔam:a [ʔ circled in H]

✓ kʰaṭ:ič'aw hwalakʰ:eṯʰoṯ'.
so there won't be bad luck come down to them

✓ ham:an ha:mini ṯipʰlaʔwa
if she didn't do [both circled in H] that
if she did step on their tracks

✓ mahčuǩunčon behšeʔwan — behše daʔṯ'a:ṯʰoṯ',

✓ behše ~~ʔ~~ihokʰ:eṯʰoṯ'.

✓ ha:meṭna ʔwam:u še:baywan

✓ kul:uṯow, ʔahčasa:ma kul:uṯow
near house outside

✓ [ʔ]ahča [H writes below crossed-out forms with initial ʔ] čoṯ:oliwičiy:okyaw
in the one that is * *
✓ standing there

[31b]

✓ rd [ʔ]ahkalen —
while she is fasting

✓ c[oul]d. be [ʔ]a:lhok̓omhukʰ:et̯ʰot̯̓

✓ [ʔ]a:lhok̓omhukʰ:alet̯ʰot̯̓ [-kʰ:e- ?, or e → Ø/__a ?] —
same but a little longer

[31a]

EA
2/5/82
-31-

309 ✓ miy:ame hwaywakʰ:eṯʰoṯ’, še:bay:ey
he father can’t come close
to her

✓ ~~ʔahkʰa~~ ʔam:a ʔahkalen wa miy:ame

✓ hwaywakʰ:eṯʰoṯ’, miy:aki čahnu čanhoden —
he (can’t) talk to her
(musn’t)

✓ kʰaleṯʰoṯ’. ʔahčuǩunhča čahnu

✓ ʔa:lhoǩomu kʰa:le ṯʰoṯ’wa, mič:ayimčin.

✓ ham:u ʔahča?wa:niṯow hwolo:p[ʰ]i —
come out

✓ li:mp(i)yow [( ) in H] ṯi:p[ʰ]i ʔač:ahmay — ʔač:a —
when she’s clean goes inside

✓ č’a:hma čuh:uyaw ču: (= čuh:u:) [in H] mahčuǩun.
they all eat together

✓ ham:i meṯ’ ya:la madan
that’s the only time they talk to her

✓ čahnu ʔa:lhoǩomhu:yaw naṯi ham:an
start talking to her

✓ ʔam:a ʔahkanwa:niʔwa ham:an ǩay:ama
at the time of her
fasting

[32a]

EA
2/5/82
-32-

✓ čaʔ:a ʔačʰ:ow. čaʔ:a čahnu
no one there

✓ čanhodemhu:t̲ʰo̲ʼmiy:aṭʰe ya:la he:

✓ miy:akač ya:la, ʔahčuk̓unhča
menfolks

327 ✓ ʔa:lhok̓omhukʰ:e̲t̲ʰo̲ʼ.

* * *

side A ends short 3#2

✓

✓

✓

✓

✓

✓

[33b]

bahkaʔa ʔa:puluk
bay leaves wormwood

[33a]

EA
2/5/82
-33-

child birth

Side B

✓ ʔa:ʔa — ka:wi doč':o:li, ʔa: ka:wi
when I had

✓ doč':ow kʰma:yow, mič:ayimčin kʰma:yow:a

✓ mahčuǩun ʔam:a daʔ:ay, haʔčahṯiʔmeṯ̓
dughole in ground like a bed
hesitation form [refering to haʔ portion]
she forgot what
she was going to
say—omit

✓ [ʔ]am:a daʔ:ay.

✓ ha:mini:ba ham:i [ʔ]oh:o ba:maw, ha:niba

✓ bahka bahka: p[ʰ]uluǩ [all 3 circled in H], ši:maʔwan
leaves

✓ mihčan, [ʔ]oh:oʔwameṯ̓ siʔbaw [ši- ʔ] kʰma:yow

✓ mahsi: [-siy], hi:no ya:la ṯi:li, ha:niba
coals ashes only it becomes then

✓ ha:min kic:idu ʔahkʰa dahsos:oba kʰma:yow

✓ wa mahčuǩun — kaʔča ʔahči:ba win:a
dry grass pick it
and

✓ mihčan — ba, [ʔ]iš:iw [circled in H]— [ʔ]iš:i ʔaṭʰ:eba
blanket spread

[34b]

actually ham:î̪:o

rd	ham:un ʔa:	ham:i
	so there I	

[34a]

EA
2/5/82
-34-

✓ ham:i ʔaṯ:o miṭ:ikyaw. kʰaʔ(:a)šǩaden [( ) in H].
morning

✓ hun [written above win:a] ham:i, ma:čihkon miṭ:iw.

✓ ham:un [ʔ]aṯ:o mačʰ:aǩ, [ʔ]aṯ:o mačʰ:aǩ —

✓ wanṯon _____ pan:u dihkaba ham:ilwi ʔṯo
^ ^

✓ huʔ:uy čuhkayhčikyaw.
they let me wipe my face

✓ ham:un ʔa huʔ:uy čuhkayhčič'in

✓ miṭ:iw. ham:un wa ʔa:čaċen

✓ ǩo:ʔo ʔihmin, p[ʰ]uhsu:ṯo ʔaṯ:o ka:wiʔwanhlaw
he doctors me the baby too

✓ omit—hun [circled in H] ʔahšiyan waʔ:an haʔda
evening when the sun

✓ hač:ala:liʔwa ham:iṯow ʔa ṯo:bi: [-biy].
went down from there I got up

✓ ham:un waʔ:a ʔuhnaṯ' - ba: - ba: -

[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 bahčʰikʰt̰i']

✓ muǩ:ačʰkat̰i — in order to tighten

✓ < muǩ:a:čiw — 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 šuhṭʰaba 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 muǩ:a:čiw —

✓ [ʔ]i:ha muǩ:ačʰkat̰i
to tighten up your bones
this is better than bahčʰikʰt̰i
("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]

✓✓ maǩ:on čahnu [switch these two?] čanhod:u — used the wrong word

✓ maǩ:on — s.t. that's not right
not as it should be

✓ čahnu p[ʰ]al:a čanhod:u — speaks a diff. language

✓ moč’:ow — color comes out, funny color

✓ moč’:owa mṯo — you got burned

[35a]

EA
2/5/82
-35-

✓ baːƙo ʔka maːmu ʔmaya ʔt̰o hodʔoṭwač’mu
what’s this that you’ve doing to me

✓ baːƙo ʔka ham:un ʔahšiyaw ʔaː

✓ nih:iːli ʔwa ka, ʔohːoːnaw ṭa, šiʔba
heating (?) that’s it

✓ ʔohːoːnaw. miːt̰o šiʔba ʔiːha muːt̰u

✓ bahčʰi [circled in H] bahčikʰt̰i, miːt̰o mačʰːakʰt̰i, [ʔ]aːma mačʰːaƙwan
to make make [sic] you sweat

✓ miːt̰o šiʔbakʰaːni duhṭʰan kʰaṭːič’aw
✓ čiyːow, duhṭʰan laʔča čiyːowːan kuʔmu

✓ miːt̰o hwolokʰt̰i ham:un waʔma
clean you out
make it go out

✓ čuhkayhči: na: na—omit mumble ~~huʔːun t̰o~~ huʔːuy miːt̰o

✓ wiːnimʔdun huʔːuy, baʔːaːčon huʔːuy,
when you get pregnant

✓ maƙːon huʔːuy moč’ːowʔdu.
have dark blotches on cheeks, around eyes

[36b]

✓ better — čuhkayhčič'mu

I lay there, even though suffering, (from) the fire being very hot

✓ rd. [ʔ]ikʰːač'inn̰i — (just like) (naṯi)

✓ [ʔ]amːa [ʔ]ikʰːayʔdu — to be suffering

sh[oul]d be muʔt̰awen —

[36a]

EA
2/5/82
-36-

✓ ham:un — ham:un waʔma

✓ čuhkayhč'amu waṯ:o [ʔ]nih:iyaw.

✓ ha:mini:ba ham:u yodo ʔa:

✓ ċa:ṭi ʔyokʰ:e, ši?ba duhṭʰan ʔačʰ:ow
clean, healthy pain

✓ yokʰ:e, hiʔč'i duhṭʰan [ʔ]ačʰ:ow yokʰ:e,

✓ lip:u duhṭʰan [ʔ]ačʰ:ow yokʰ:e, [ʔ]i:šan

✓ duhṭʰan [ʔ]ačʰ:ow yokʰ:e.

✓ ham:u ʔoh:oʔwam:uʔča:yey [ʔ]aṯ:o

✓ ƙoʔdi ṯi:kakʰ:e, waʔṯo hnih:iyaw.

✓ ha:meṭna ʔwaʔ:a [ʔ]am:a ʔikʰ:ač'inṯi
things I am suffering from
even if I'm suffering

✓ ham:i miṭ:iw [ʔ]oh:o ṯeč'aw muʔṯawén.
^

[37b]

She uses ha:niw for laying (placing)
long obj. — ba:niw for rd. obj.

rd [ʔ]ač:aywam:u — my husb.
(used only by young people — at
her age must say ʔaw:iṯʰkʰan [-ṭʰkʰan])
my spouse —

ceṭ' ka mi:ṯʰkʰan [-ṭʰkʰan] — how is your husb[and]
miṯdakʰan [miʔd-] how is your wife

to young people w[oul]d say

me:kʰe ʔač:ay

me:kʰe baʔ:ay

Sh[oul]d be elderberry tree baṭʰ:inkʰle

(Sebastopol Indians were

baṭʰ:iŋkʰle ʔčawi)

stick was 4' long, 3-4" thick

doʔǩiŋǩi is 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].

[37a]

EA
2/5/82
-37-

and — e: — [both circled in H] mič:ayimčin kʰma:yow

✓ ham:un ʔa ham:i ʔoh:o ha:niyaw
they lay (me) down
placed

✓ kʰma:yow, mič:ayimčin wa ʔma: ʔawi:kʰe

✓ č'a:yi ʔma t̪awhal yo:t̪ʰoṯ', [ʔ]ač:a čiy:ow

✓ ham:un mič:ayimčin kʰma:yow

✓ wa t̪awhal yokʰ:e, ham:u t̪awhal
when he goes to work

✓ yokʰ:ewiʔwa doʔkiŋkʔi, doʔkiʔki: [-iy] [bith circled]

✓ ʔah:ay p[ʰ]ikʰ:aba wa ʔaw:isa:ma
chopped

✓ ha:niyaw, ham:uʔwa ʔaw:i:kʰe
they laid it down

✓ ʔač:ay, mi:ṭikyaw, [ʔ]ah:aywam:u
as my husb.

✓ ʔaw:i:kʰe ʔač:ay miṭ:iw, ʔawi:kʰe [ʔ]ač:aywam:u
lies (as) my husb.

[38b]

✓ li:mpyow č̓iyaw — 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.

✓ yal:ad:u is last baby — or last fawn [?]

born in spring — if man goes hunting when

wife is w. baby or period, the yal:ad:u

fawn will hoodoo him —

✓ kul:uṭ̓ow ʔam:a ʔihcini:kaw —

✓ imper daṭ̓:ičin

[38a]

EA
2/5/82
-38-

42 ✓ ṯawhal yo:li,
when he goes to work

* * *

✓ šaʔǩa ṯi — (ṯi:) [-ṯiy]

2/8/82

98 ✓ kul:u ho:liwʔdun waʔya ka:wi

✓ čuhse ʔah:ay baʔ:ayʔdu, ham:un baʔ:ayʔdun

✓ kʰma:yow ʔač:a mi:haǩdun, waʔya ham:un

✓ ʔah:aywan mikʰ:aṯ̓du [H changes from -ǩ:a-], čiʔda~~-w~~ .
scrape it outer bark

✓ win:aṯokʰ:eʔwan mikʰ:aṯ̓du.

✓ ṭu:šoṭo [ʔ]ah:ay č’a:hma mi:ṯin [H writes above –ṭ-]
5 at a time laying sev.

✓ ham:un p[ʰ]aʔbečin, ṯare:puwi p[ʰ]aʔbečin waʔya

✓ ham:un daṭ̓:i: [-iy].
bend it in a curve

[39a]

EA
2/8/82
-39-

✓ čamhna win:a ṭu:šo ʔah:aywan
20 25

✓ muʔya daṭ':iyʔdu (ʔ) wam:u [( ) in H].

✓ haʔ:anṯokʰ:eʔwan p[ʰ]a:la ha:meṭ'
on the back side
from

✓ haʔ:anṯokʰ:eʔwan hlaw mikʰ:ačin, ya mu:ṯu

✓ ṯi:kan yaʔwa ham:un p[ʰ]aʔbey miṭ:ikaw.
the up & lay down

✓ ham:un ya — [ʔ]akʰ:o sema:nu, [ʔ]akʰ:o

✓ sema:nu ʔwaʔya ʔmu čakʰ:ayʔdu mukʰ:akʰṯi
keep it in order today

✓ [ʔ]akʰ:o sima:nu [se-] kʰma:yow, ʔah:aywan mukʰ:ap[ʰ]la~~-w~~
when it gets dry

✓ wan waʔya — ham:un čʰiʔbu:ba — su:lewi —
weave w. string

✓ mal:aṯinṯokʰ:e [ʔ]ah:ay daṭ':i:yaw:an way:i
on the side first

✓ čʰiʔbup[ʰ]i kʰma:yow ham:un šu:kʰaba kʰma:yow:a

[40b]

[drawings in the original]

then do sides

[drawing in the original]

then insert bottom stick
& bend ends towards head
& sew across

bahṯen—to insert one

behṯeman—imper[ative].

č'a:ʔa win:a refs. Sewing over e[ach]. stick

when sewing on hoop (= rim) [( ) in H]

ha:kaṯkay refs. Weaving string in &

ont[o] (over & under) [( ) in H] — e. stick

[drawing]

haʔdin is when you're talking about

putting it onto the basket

ma:li haʔdiwan — put the hoop on there

[40a]

EA
2/8/82
-40-

✓ wa, haʔ:anṯokʰ:e [ʔ]ah:aywan ba:ṯeṯ'mayan [-ṯe- written above - ~~di~~ -]
from below wh. have been
insert

✓ ham:un hlaw su:lewi čʰiʔbuyaw.

✓ ha:miniwʔdun wa mu ʔah:ay

✓ daṯ':i:yawa:ni mu haʔ:anṯokʰ:eʔwan — č'a:ʔaw [circled] —

✓ č'a:ʔa win:a, ha:kaṯkačin, su:lewi
#ewing over,
weaving

✓ p[ʰ]a:čiṯ' haʔ:anṯow.
catch sev from underneath
(< paʔčiw)

✓ ham:un waʔ:an šu:kʰap[ʰ]i

✓ kʰma:yow wa — haʔdiywan [ʔ]iṯʰ:in
hoop wh# is already

✓ daṯ':i:yaw ham:unhlaw, haʔdiywan [-y- written above -:-] naṯa — omit
bent into hoop

✓ ba:nima:naw [-i- written above -e-].

✓ haʔdin ba:nin [-i- written above -e-] kʰma:yow — ʔa—omit
hoop

[41b]

old times - made string of milkweed –
2 kinds - names forgotten?
fibres taken from dry stalks in fall

ch[an]g[e] to	ha:nimp[ʰ]i lay baby on	<	ha:niman

[41a]

EA
2/8/82
-41-

✓ haʔ:anṯokʰ:e ʔah:ay ʔahkon tak:ul:aw:an [H circles tak:- and writes omit]

✓ čakʰ:awa:naw.
cut (ends) off

✓ ha:miniw?dun—[ʔ]a—— čuhseʔwan

✓ šu:kʰawa:naw.

✓ ha:mini:p[ʰ]iʔmu haʔdiy [H writes –y above -:] ċip[ʰ]i ʔwamu

✓ su:leʔwan čʰiʔbuwa:naw,

132 ✓ su:le ʔahkon ċip[ʰ]i paʔbeyakʰ:ewi
make long strings w. wh. to tie baby in bask[et]

* * *

152 ✓ čuhse šukʰ:a:liṯow ʔis:i: [-: double underlined]

✓ mi:ṯ̲map[ʰ]i, ka:wiʔwan miṭ:iw kʰale ċiy:aw

✓ ha:ni:p[ʰ]i ʔiš:iʔwan čuhseʔwa:niwi

✓ ċip[ʰ]i, ka:wiʔwan han:a:p[ʰ]i [H writes <h> above], pen:eyahlaw
pillow too

[42b]

put blankets over arms

alternately

✓ daʔlu: to wrap, cover w.

blanket

✓ haʔlu: wrap w. string

baby is sitting at base of basket, legs hanging out. Wrap w. blankets, the and tuck under legs.

✓ [ʔ]iy:oṯow daṯ̓:eḵ — tuck under

✓ [ʔ]iy:oṯow daṯ̓:el:an — imper.

[42a]

EA
2/8/82
-42-

✓ ham:i ha:nip[ʰ]i, ha:mini:p[ʰ]i ʔi:šanwan
when lay down

✓ mu:t̪u, ši ʔba ʔahkʰulut̪:ow čip[ʰ]iʔwan,
on both sides

✓ ʔiš:iʔwa:niwi daʔlukʰ:e yal:abi: [-biy],
will wrap time before

✓ ham:un daʔlup[ʰ]i kʰma:yow waʔ:an— [ʔ]o: —

✓ win:at̪ow su:leʔwa:niwi haʔlukʰ:e.

✓ ha:ni:p[ʰ]i kʰa:maʔwan p[ʰ]a:la lip[ʰ]:uʔwan

✓ mu:t̪u t̪ikʰp[ʰ]i, kʰa:maʔwan mu:t̪u mihčap[ʰ]i,

✓ mu ʔiš:iʔwa:niwi daʔlu [circled in H], kʰa:maʔwan

✓ daʔlup[ʰ]i, p[ʰ]uš:ut̪ow ʔiš:i (ʔ)i:biw:an [( ) in H]
at the end

✓ [ʔ]iy:ot̪ow daṭ̪:e:p[ʰ]i waʔ:an ~~su:leʔwan~~

✓ su:leʔwa:niwi lip[ʰ]:uʔwan haʔlukʰ:e

[43b]

Tap [ʔ] ends of blanket <u>over</u> the

baby's feet —

✓ šu:new to tie

✓ [ʔ]ihṭʰaw — 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]

EA
2/8/82
-43-

✓ ha:ni:p[ʰ]i win:aṯow, šu:nekʰ:e lip[ʰ]:u
then on top

✓ win:aṯow, su:leʔwan ʔihṭʰakʰ:eṯʰoṯ.
so it won't come loose

170 ✓ ham:uʔwa ka:wi čʰok:ohčʰo:yaw [circled] wam:u

* * *

175 ✓ ka:wiya miy:aṭʰehča ṯawhal yop[ʰ]i

✓ ʔaṯ:i:čo:kʰe ka:wiyaʔwan čuhseʔwa:ni

✓ si:ma miṭ:iw seʔ:e:naw.
covered

✓ čaw:an sa:ma kʰa:le sa:ma —

✓ [ʔ]ah:ay sa:ma, ša?ƙanhi ka:wiʔwan
in the shade

✓ miṭ:ikwa:naw. p[ʰ]iʔč'oyʔden ya:la
when it wakes
up

✓ ka:wiʔwan šuhṭʰawa:naw.

✓ hiʔdan ho:liwʔden ya:la ka:wiʔwan

[44b]

			✓ mi:ṭi:ba —	emphasize <u>would</u>
✓		just	ʔaṯ:imhya	laʔčaʔčedun
✓	ka:wi	mi:mayʔdu		

[44a]

EA
2/8/82
-44-

✓ šuhṭʰawʔdun, li:mp(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)

✓ nip[ʰ]i čahṯi p[ʰ]aʔbeči:ba ~~omit~~
(and “)

185 ✓ --------- ka:wiʔwam:u čahṯi si:ma mi:ṭi:ba
he would
go back to sleep

* * *

190 ✓ ʔaṯ:imhya laʔčaka:wi [circled in H] — omit

✓ laʔčaʔčedun — ka:wi mi:mayʔdu,

✓ ha:miniwʔden mu ka:wiʔwan šuhṭʰewʔdun,
then uncover baby

✓ čaw:an li:mpiyowi-~~w~~ ___ čahṯi ʔoč:olwa:nan mu

195 ✓ ka:wiʔwam:u čahṯi si:ma ƙoʔdi mi:ṭiwʔdu.

* * *

201 ✓ čay:ikan ka:wiyaʔwamuhča
Sometimes

✓ čuhseʔwan ʔe:neyči:p[ʰ]i čuhse ʔačʰ:ow
when got used to w.o. the basket

✓ si:ma mi:ṭiw hudʔaka:ṯʰoṯ.

[45b]

✓	p[ʰ]il:aǩ —	to crawl
✓	p[ʰ]il:ad:u —	crawling around

[45a]

EA
2/8/82
-45-

✓ ha:miniw?den čuhse?wan kic:idu?čeden
when it gets too
small

✓ p[ʰ]al:a bahṭʰe:meṭ̓ čʰi?buwa:naw.

✓ ---------- ʔakʰ:oyi he čʼay:ikan mis:ibo
2 times or once in a
While

✓ čuhse čʰi?buwa:naw, ka:wiyahča:kʰe,

208 ✓ si:ma mi:ṭikʰṯi.

* * *

225 ✓ čuhse mis:ibo čʰi?buyaw —

* *

✓ ham:u?wa na:p[ʰ]i.

* * *

235 ✓ ka:wiya ʔam:a p[ʰ]il:aƙ kʰma:yow

✓ naṯi?wa čuhsewi si:ma mi:ṭikwa:naw,

✓ bahṭʰe — ʔam:a hwaƙ — naṯi — ka:wi?wam:u
walking even
though

✓ čuhse ʔačʰ:o: [-ow] si:ma mi:ṭikʰ:eṯʰoṯ̓ yow?den

[45b]

unusual case

note: -:ba — would

yal:abikʰ:e ka:wi — first born child

hiʈ̂:ankʰč’in shortened > ʈ̂ankʰč’in

✓ him:okʰ:e — will fall down

✓ [ʔ]aṯ̂:o him:okʰ:eʔwa I might

✓ mi:ṯ̂o “ you might

✓ him:oǩoʔṯ̂o — I fell down

✓ him:o:ṯ̂ʰu don’t fall

✓✓ sh[oul]d. be hwadeŋkyaw — hwaṭway — Sev. walking

✓ hwaṭwa:kaw is plu. obj.

✓ šudʔed:u — lead him around

[46a]

EA
2/8/82
-46-

✓ _____ si:ma — omit, čus:ewi han:alwadun

✓ si:ma mi:ṭikwa:naw.

✓ baḥṭʰe ʔnaṯi ʔam:a hwaǩ naṯi,

✓ he: mis:ibo, mis:ibo ʔam:aṯonhkʰe
perhaps even if he becomes 3 yrs old

✓ yop[ʰ]i ya:la hla:liʔwa ka:wiʔwam:u
{only, } might be
{altogether }

244 duhsuma:ba si:ma mi:ṭiw, čus:ewi.
he would stop

* * *

273 ✓ ka:wiya yal:abi: [-biy] ʔam:a hwaǩwa:ni
at first
when the child first starts walking

✓ ʔwa ṯeč'aw miy:amehča miy:aṭʰehča

✓ mač:ew, ka:wiʔwan him:okʰ:e hiṯ:ankʰč'in
thinking he might
fall down

✓ [ʔ]i:šan p[ʰ]aʔčiw ʔahkʰomanhkʰay hwaṭwa:kaw
to & fro

✓ hča ʔam:a hwad:u~~n~~ ne:ne:kaw,
they teach him to walk

[47b]

✓ čahnu šabʔade:na:t̪ʰot̪ʼna,
They must not have given instruction

✓ ka:wiʔ wam:u [ʔ]am:a šo:či:t̪ʰot̪ʼ

✓ ka:wiʔwan ʔam:a lahča:ya:t̪ʰot̪ʼ
didn't reprove the child

✓ ʔa:ma ka:wi čahnu šabʔadent̪ʰot̪ʼna, —
you didn't instruct

✓ ʔa:ʔa bahṭʰe čahnu šabʔadent̪ʰot̪ʼnaʔwa, —
I never gave/must not have given?)
enough instruction

growl at s[ome].o[ne]. —
✓ ʔač:ay [ʔ]a:ʔa šuʔ:ut̪ʼmuy
to growl at s[ome].o[ne].

kʰaṭ:i:kay — to scold children

They don't realize how much they'll
have to watch her

✓ N.P. doʔómuʔun — 2 people quarrel, scold e.o.

✓ dič':ow = N.P. diwawčin — whip a child

[47a]

EA
2/8/82
-47

✓ mahčuǩun hodʔoṭwayʔdu ka:wiyaʔ-
that's what they do to get him
to walk

280 ✓ wanhčan, ʔam:a hwakʰt̲i.

* * *

✓ ka:wiyaʔwam:uhča [ʔ]am:a hwaǩdun

✓ [ʔ]am:a ni:p[ʰ]iyow hodʔoṭwaywan

✓ hiʔduʔč'ewat̲ʰoq̲' ya ka:wi~~ya~~ [circled] [ʔ]am:a

✓ hwa:kaw t̲ʰeq̲'aw. hwa:kaw t̲ʰe dʔaw [whole line circled in H]
omit repetitions [referring to line above]

✓ [ʔ]e:wen [ʔ]am:a hwaka [circle], ka:wiyaʔwan
[first two underlined with arrow pointing to beginning of next line]

✓ hwa:kaw hudʔakay. [ʔ]aṭ:i:čo:kʰe [circled] — omit
~~ham~~

✓ ham:an [circled] omit [ʔ]aṭ:iyey mač:ekʰ:eʔwan — omit superfluous
t̲eč'aw

291 ✓ mač:ekʰ:eʔwan hiʔduʔč'ewat̲ʰoq̲'.

* * *

✓ šiʔdo ~~hoʔǩo~~ hoʔq̲'okaw.
let it drink milk — i.e. breast feed

[48b]

refs. her dtr. feeding baby at

age of 1 mo. Gen[., EA's daughter] — had twins —

one died of pneumonia at 6 w[ee]ks.

twins = ʔuyha ka:wiya

[48a]

EA
2/8/82
-48-

307 ✓ ka:wiyahčan maht̩ʰe čuh:uyaw

✓ čuk:a:t̲ʰo̲ť̲wa [ʔ]i̲t̲ʰ:enmawikʰ:e [ʔ]ahčahčehča
old-time people

✓ ši?do ya:la ho?ť̲o̲kaw.

✓ ham:un na̲t̩i?wa mis:ibo ʔam:a̲t̩on

✓ kʰma:yow wam:u ka:wiya muhča ʔa̲t̩:i:čomhya [ʔ circled in H]

✓ čuh:uyaw čuwan (=čuh:uwan) [in H] ʔe:neyči: [-čiy].
to eat

✓ dičʰ:anhkʰe hi̲ť̲:ankʰč'in yo
thinking they would choke

✓ ka:wiyahčan čaw:an čuk:a:t̲ʰo̲ť̲.

✓ ha:met̩na [ʔ]t̲ʰ:enmawi [ʔ]aw:i:kʰe

✓ ka:wiya — ka:wi doč':oba waʔ:a č'a: ʔala:ša
interrupted—
pushed record button
by mistake [in H]

✓ kʰma:yow čuh:uyaw čuk:a:li, t̲o ham:un [k written above ?]

[48b]

thinking that child was going

to choke, I just walked the floor

nin ʈ̓ankʰx̌č’in

čiʔ:iyaw 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 ʔah:ay da:wiw — drill fire

ʔi:wadu da:wiw — drill clamshell

ʔiš:i da:wíyaw — a blanket (of rabbit, or

bearskin) — remember this — so word is ok as long

as material specified

[49a]

EA
2/8/82
-49-

✓ ṭʰi:yačin ƙal:aṭiʔdu.
it scares me I feel faint

✓ ma:mu ka:wi dičʰ:aŋkʰṭiʔda hnin ṭaŋkʰč'in
he might choke

320 ✓ ʔa:, ~~ba:ƙo~~ [ʔ]akʰ:omanhkʰay hwad:u ~~ʔa:~~ — I did.

✓ I was so etc. * * *

358 ✓ ʔa:kaċen wa ṭ:o ʔuhṭehṭeba, ʔa:ma:la

✓ ʔiš:i ċiyo:mu, ---- ʔa:ma:la ʔiš:iʔwan ča:siṭ'bičin
cut it in
pieces,
strips

✓ ham:un da:wi:,

✓ ha:niba mu ʔiš:i — ʔiš:iṭu [circled] — omit —

✓ Eng —

380 ✓ ʔa:ma:la — ʔa:ma:laʔwan, ʔa:ma:la

✓ ċiʔdaʔwan — čakʰ:aba ham:un mahčuƙun

[50b]

✓ if 1 child[ʔ]ap[ʰ]:edeŋkaw < [ʔ]ap[ʰ]:ed:u

broken sentence

[50a]

EA
2/8/82
-50-

✓ su:lemeṭ wi da:wiba ʔiš:i čiw.
on string

✓ ha:mini:ba ham:u ʔiš:iʔwan
That

388✓ ka:wiyaʔwan [ʔ]a:p[ʰ]eṭaŋkaw.
have them wear it

* * *

✓

395 miy:aṭʰehča:kʰe p[ʰ]a:la ʔa:ma:la
the parents, fa & mo.

✓ ʔiš:i, ʔahṭʰi: [-ṭʰiy] čiyawa [-a circled in H] wamahčuǩun ʔakʰ:o — omit

✓ č'a:ʔa — omit, [ʔ]am:aṭon ~~ʔač':a:ʔa~~ č'a:ʔa ʔaṭ:ewan [-an might be –en]

✓ č'a:ʔa p[ʰ]iʔṭaǩ. Eng—

* * *

✓ tape ends 408

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