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The Shasta Language

By

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DISSERTATION

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INTRODUCTION

Mountains mark the four corners of the territory occupied by the Shasta in aboriginal times. In Northern California, the Marble Mountains are to the west and Mount Shasta is to the southeast. In southern Oregon, there is Red Butte to the northwest and Mount Pitt to the northeast.

The Shasta lived in a considerable number of small villages scattered over a rugged, mountainous region that included, in California, the Scott Valley and the Shasta Valley and the stretch along the Klamath River from Shovel Creek to Seiad Valley. The Shasta domain extended across the Siskiyou into Oregon up to that part of the Rogue River Valley drained by Little Butte Creek and the Stewart River.

The groups living along the Klamath from the mouth of Horse Creek to where the town of Hornbrook is now and in Shasta Valley, Scott Valley, and Oregon constituted four loose governmental divisions that were distinguished from each other by slight differences of language and custom.

There were at least three groups in California which seem to have been dialectally divergent from

the main groups and dependent upon them govern-
mentally. The settlements of one of these divergent
groups were scattered along the Klamath from the
mouth of Horse Creek to Seiad Valley. Another
group occupied the canyon area along the Scott
River from the mouth of the river to Scott Valley.
A third was located in a region extending up along
the Klamath from the area where the town of
Hornbrook is now to the mouth of Shovel Creek.

In Oregon, the Shasta were in contact with
Penutian and Athabascan speakers. The Takelma
were to the north, the Klamath and Modoc to the
northeast, and the Applegate Creek Athabascans to
the northwest. Penutian and Hokan speakers were
neighbors of the Shasta in California: the Wintu
to the south, Karok to the west, Achumawi and
Okwanuchu to the southeast, and New River Shasta
to the southwest.

The Shasta themselves were Hokan speakers.¹
In 1957, when I began to collect the data for this
study,² the Shasta language had been moribund for
sixty years or more and there were only known to be
six very elderly people who spoke it with any degree
of fluency.³

My main informant was Sargent Sambo (SS) who is now deceased and who had also been the principal source for ethnographic data collected by R.B. Dixon during the period 1900-1904 (Dixon, 1907) and Catherine Holt in the summer of 1937 (Holt, 1946). SS's paternal grandfather was an Oregon Shasta and his paternal grandmother was a Shasta Valley Shasta. His maternal grandfather was Karok. His maternal grandmother was a *ka·mátwa·* (the dialectally divergent group located along the Klamath between Horse Creek and Seiad Valley). One of his "aunts", i.e. his mother's co-wife, was a Shasta Valley Shasta.

Although SS's father's original home was on the Rogue River, most of his adult life was spent on the Klamath and SS was born and lived all his life in the region along the Klamath River from Horse Creek to Hornbrook.

My supplementary source of data was Miss Clara Wicks (CW), who lived, at least until her early twenties, in the Scott River Canyon area. Her paternal grandmother was a Scott Valley Indian. Her paternal grandfather was white. Her mother's parents were both Shasta, but it is not clear to

which group(s) they belonged.

The speech of each informant can be described as being the result of dialect mixture. Just what mixture each idiolect represents is difficult to determine. In attempting to pinpoint distinguishing features, it is not possible to do more than make random observations or speak of "tendencies". SS was often conscious of dialectal source of a speech form he or CW used; however, CW does not seem to share this awareness of his.

There is no precise information about the degree of divergency that obtained between the Shasta dialects. However, there was no doubt in SS's mind that the "real language" was that variety (or those varieties) spoken by the four main groups of Shasta. SS did not consider the speech of the three dialectally divergent groups mentioned above proper Shasta. For instance, his most frequent term of reference for *ka·mátwa·* was "half-language".⁴ Nevertheless, there are more *ka·mátwa·* forms in his speech than in CW's. On the other hand, in certain vocabulary items, there is a tendency for CW to freely vary /n/ and /r/ or substitute /n/ for /r/; this tendency, according to SS, was prevalent among the Shasta who lived in the Scott River canyon.

Regularly in a few items, and sporadically elsewhere, both speakers freely vary /t/ and /k/, e.g. /tu·čáʔ/ /ku·čáʔ/ , "what". SS identified the t-variant as indicative of the speech of the Shasta Valley Shasta. There are phonetic differences in the degree of length associated with vowels in SS's speech. In two or more repetitions of a sequence, there will be versions in which the long vowels are extra long and there is concomitant extra heavy stress. When questioned about the significance of such differences, SS would reply either that there was no difference or that the "draggin' way of talkin' " was characteristic of the speech of the Shasta Valley Shasta, particularly that of the people who lived in the area where Yreka is now located.

The obvious difference between the two idiolects is the frequency of use of optional morphophonological rules. (See I.240) having to do with consonant syncope, vocalic contraction, and pitch shift. While these phenomena occur very often in SS's speech, their occurrence is more characteristic of CW's.

Although both informants knew that they

differed from each other in their speech, again it was SS who would most likely be able to say whether the difference was phonological, syntactic or lexical.

This description is of Sargent Sambo's speech, an amalgam of some, but not all, of the dialects of a long inactive speech community. Any structural divergences manifested in CW's will be made note of in the appropriate places in the description. Lexical differences will be accounted for in the dictionary.

The organization of the description stems from the assumption that a grammar is a system of rules which has three components: semantic, syntactic, and phonological.⁵

This study provides a description of the phonology and a partial description of the syntax of Shasta. The syntactic statements are concerned with word formation and word classes. There is some nonsystematic comment about phrase and clause formation.

There is no attempt herein to provide rules which specify semantic features and their distributions; instead, each dictionary heading (lexeme)

has associated with it an English gloss and/or pertinent comment that indicates the semantic content represented.

A lexeme (the minimum systematically significant syntactic unit) is represented throughout the description (and in the dictionary) by a morphophonological notation that stands for a set of statements which specify the conversion of a lexeme into a phonemic sequence, i.e. the conversion of a minimum systematically significant syntactic unit to a sequence of minimum systematically significant phonological units, i.e. the phonemes. These rules are called morphophonological rules and are one type of phonological rule (cf. I:200.).

The second type of phonological rule assigns phonetic features to phonemes and phoneme sequences. (See I:100.). These rules cannot be applied until after the morphophonological rules have been applied.

The nature of the data makes even more troublesome the task, difficult under the best of circumstances, of providing an explicit formulation of the intrinsic competence of an ideal speaker-hearer

The present description, therefore, is a non-rigorous one; i.e. where the data do not allow for rigor, I have been content to discuss their limitations in general terms.

In diverse ways, a number of people have given of their time and energies to bring this work to its present form. Inadequacies in this description are my responsibility and do not reflect in any way upon the people mentioned below.

Above all, I am grateful to Sargent Sambo and Clara Wicks, not only for the information they so willingly gave, but also for the warmth and friendliness they extended to me. I will always remember them with deep affection.

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I wish here to express my appreciation to my foremost teachers in linguistics: Professor Haas, Professor Whitfield and Professor Murray B. Emeneau. I consider myself fortunate to have studied descriptive and comparative method and theory under their guidance.

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Finally, I must thank John D. Klingensmith for his assistance in the typing of this manuscript.

FOOTNOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. R.B. Dixon (1905-1906) placed Shasta, New River Shasta, Okwanuchu, Konomihu, Achumawi and Astugewi together into one Hokan subgroup. The validity of this subgrouping has yet to be demonstrated. For discussion, see Bright (1954), Haas (1963), Olmsted (1956, 1957, 1959, 1964, 1965) and Silver (1964, in press).
2. The fieldwork was supported by the Survey of California Indian Languages (Department of Linguistics, Berkeley) during the summers of 1967-61. Six weeks in the summer of 1960 and one week in the summer of 1961 were also supported by a Bollingen Foundation grant. During this seven week period I worked with my informants on twenty-one texts collected by Jaime de Angulo and L.S. Freeland in the summers of 1927 and 1928. Their informants were Lucinda Snelling and Charlie Wicks. A total of eight months was spent in the field gathering data, including texts.
3. It has been estimated that there were not many more than two thousand Shasta at the time of first European contact. The impact of the goldrush produced rapid deterioration of Shasta culture and contributed to the decimation of the population.

(According to Stephen Powers (1877), the Shasta went into decline with a certain style, "...[They] have dwelt so long amid the mining camps and about Yreka that they have become odiously "fast". They sport the daintiest calf-boots and have an Ethiopian passion for fancy shirt-fronts, breast-pins, rings and the like... . Dapper little fellows, impertinent, dancing, card-playing, pony-racing, idle, thoroughly worthless -- there is not another tribe in the State going out of existence so rapidly, in such good clothes, and with more elegance... . Taken in all their qualities, apparent and traditional, they are the Athenians of Northern California... .").

4. The linguistic status of *ka·mátwa·* vis-a-vis Shasta is very unclear. Catherine Holt (1946) has suggested that the *ka·mátwa·* might have been a Konomihu splinter group. If this is true, Sargent Sambo has mixed in his speech remnants of another language, not a dialect, albeit a language closely related to Shasta. He characterized the speech of the Scott River Canyon people (and also the Shovel Creek group) as Shasta but different. The Scott

River Canyon people talked "kinda broken" and the Shovel Creek group talked "sloppy".

5. Although this description is not intended to be a specific example of a particular theoretical orientation, it reflects the influence of current developments in American linguistic theory.

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 BAE Bureau of American Ethnology
 IJAL International Journal of American
 Linguistics
 Lg. Language
 UCPAAE University of California Publications in
 American Archaeology and Ethnography
 UCPL University of California Publications
 in Linguistics

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL SYMBOLS

abl	ablative
addr	addressative
coll	collective
coll-loc	collective locative
cont	continuative
decl	declarative
dem	demonstrative
direct intrans	directional (intransitive) aspect
direct trans	directional (transitive) aspect
dist, distr	distributive
dur	durative
fact	factative
hort	hortative
imper	imperative
instr	instrumental
loc	locative
moment	momentaneous
nt	substantive
pauc	paucal
perf, perf asp	perfective aspect
poss	possessive
pot	potential
prog, prog asp	progressive aspect
ref	referential

sp	species
spec	specific
var	variety of
voc	vocative
vol	volitional
vt	verb theme

[X]	X is optional
[X]	X is phonetic
<X>	X is morphophonological
/X/	X is phonemic
{X,Y}	X and Y are mutually exclusive
X = Y	X is equivalent to Y
X ≠ Y	X is not equivalent to Y
X,Y	X or Y
V	Vowel
C	Consonant
∅	Consonant cluster
T	Apical consonant (cf. 212)
P	Non-apical consonant (cf. 212)
---	'elsewhere' or 'everywhere'
___	specifies the relation of an element to its environment; e.g., X: Y/Z___, i.e. X is realized as Y when Z is the preceding environment.

Chapter I

Phonology

100. Phonemics. There are 26 phonemes in the Shasta sound system, exclusive of junctural and anomalous phonemes: 19 consonants, 4 vowels, a length phoneme and two tonal accents.

Because of morphophonological patterning it is convenient to categorize the consonant phonemes (except for length) as apical and non-apical. The apical and non-apical consonants differ morphophonologically in how they affect vowel assimilation (cf. I.235.2). These are shown below.

	Apical			Non-apical		Length
<u>Consonantal</u>						
Obstruents	t	c	č	p	k	ʔ
	ṭ	c̣	č̣	p̣	ḳ	
		s		x	h	
Sonorants	n			m		
	r		y	w		
<u>Vocalic</u>						
High			i	u		
Low			e	a		

110. The syllable. The Shasta utterance is bounded by pause or silence (i.e. a pause of indefinite length). An utterance consists of one or more syllables. A syllable occurs with tonal accent and is characterized as heavy or light, open or closed.

Any syllable containing the sequence /V•/ is heavy; all others are light. A heavy syllable is strongly stressed; a light syllable is weakly stressed. While it is possible for one heavy syllable to have less stress than another, and for one light syllable to have more stress than another light syllable, it is always the case that a heavy syllable is more strongly stressed than a light one.

In disyllabic sequences, either light-light or heavy-heavy, both syllables are equally stressed. In a sequence of three or more light syllables, or three or more heavy syllables, the penultimate syllable receives the most stress.

In polysyllabic sequences of light and heavy syllables, if the penultimate syllable is light, the first preceding heavy syllable will be the most strongly stressed.

An open syllable is one ending in V [·][L] (where L = /y/, /w/);¹ any other syllable is closed. A light open syllable occurring between two heavy syllables is unstressed.

120. Juncture. There are two phonological junctures: expressive /·/ and pause /#/.

120.1. Expressive juncture. Expressive juncture is phonetically manifested as a fall in pitch from high to low on the preceding vowel, together with extra lengthening of the vowel; e.g., /ma : má·
 ?in·á? skútay?/ 'No! Don't do that (to someone)!' /na : mí· ma·mú ?iskí·k/ 'Well, that's what your life has been like!'

121.2. Pause. Pause is represented in examples by space and in phonological rules by /#/.

It is only possible to make some general statements about prepausal variations, which are primarily concerned with stress, pitch and vowel length. There are variations in degrees of heavy and light stress which continue through the utterance until the first or second syllable following the preceding pause. These variations condition variations in height of tonal accent. There is also

a tendency for vowel length to disappear; however, the strong stress concomitant with vowel length remains.

In addition to the above phenomena, after vowels there is aspiration before pause if the vowel is in a high-pitched open syllable.

Although pause juncture rules that will unequivocally predict these variations have not been formulated, there is no evidence that they are systematically distinctive. Nevertheless, pause as used in the phonological rules must be considered phonetically ill-defined. It corresponds, however, to the boundaries of the word as it is defined by the syntactic rules.

(SS was very definite about phonemic sequences permissible between pauses. What he called a 'word' corresponds to the syntactic definition. What he characterized as 'half a word' corresponds to a bound lexeme or lexemic sequence.)

130. Tonal accent. The Shasta tonal system consists of two contrastive level pitches, high (/´/) and low (unmarked). Every syllable occurs with either high or low pitch,² for example,

kwáp·i·ma	'he's throwing (it); you(sg.) threw (it)'
kwap·í·ma	'I threw it'
kipxá·	'You(sg.) put your shoes on!'
kípxa·	'You(sg.) roast (it)!'
ča·xnúk	'a mussel'
ʔá·xnuk	'a mock orange tree'
ʔáni·	'mother'
ʔaní·	'mother(vocative)'
ʔáni·ni	'little'
ʔáni·níʔ	'mother(referential)'

In the environments /___ʔ#/ or /___w,y[ʔ]#/ ,
the high pitch has a slight rise,

ʔúy	'eye'
ʔáw	'mouth'
ča·skwáyʔ	'stellar jay'

There is a tendency, especially in slow speech,
for the level pitch on a heavy syllable, or on a
light syllable of the shape CVL, to alternate with
a falling glide,³

či·psí·t	:	[či·psi·t]	[či·psi·t]	'ant'
ʔúya·k	;	[ʔu _~ ya·k]	[ʔu ₋ ya·k]	'forehead'
ʔičway	:	[ʔi _~ čway]	[ʔi ₋ čway]	'wildcat'

Given a succession of high-pitched syllables, the last high-pitched syllable before pause will be higher than any preceding high pitch, e.g.

mí·yá·war	'a bunch of them'
kás mí· ké· túti·k	'That's what happened!'

In a series of low pitches preceding a high pitch, the immediately preceding low pitch will be higher than any other low pitch in the series,

kwí·ya·c·uká·?	'I was pretty sure'
----------------	---------------------

In a succession of low pitches following a high pitch, and not preceding another high pitch, the last low-pitched syllable is the lowest,

kúxamehempirakmak·ira·	'He's going from
	chair to chair to
	see which is the
	most comfortable.'

140. Consonants. Voice is the phonemic component⁴ that sets off obstruents from sonorants in Shasta. Obstruents are voiceless and lenis, sonorants are voiced and fortis.

141. Obstruents. The following chart shows the phonemic components that distinguish obstruents.

Sound	Manner	Position	Glottalization	Affrication
t	stop	alveolar	-	-
t̚	"	"	+	-
c	"	"	-	+
c̚	"	"	+	+
č	"	alveolo-palatal	-	+
č̚	"	"	+	+
s	spirant	alveolar	-	-
p	stop	labial	-	-
p̚	"	"	+	-
k	"	velar	-	-
k̚	"	"	+	-
x	spirant	"	-	-
ʔ	stop	glottal	-	-
h	spirant	"	-	-

141.1 Stops. The stops that occur glottalized are glottalized stops; those that occur with affrication are affricated stops; the other stops are plain.

The alveolars /t/ and /t̚/ tend to be dental before /i/. In this environment the tongue tip touches the back of the teeth and the apex is pressed against the alveolus.

The articulation of the velars, /k/ and /ḳ/, when occurring before back vowels often approaches the post-velar position.

Before pause the glottal, /ʔ/, freely varies with its absence, or is aspirated in the environment /V___#/ and occurs as glottalization of the preceding segment in the environment /)r,y,w)___#/.⁵ In the environments /(#,C)___(w,y)/ it occurs as glottalization of the following segment,

?a·kwaý?	'flint'
?a·ráw?	'deer'
?wá·wa·wahú	'everything'
ḳwík?yewik	'she was weaving'
kit·ár?	'salmon'

The articulation of the affricated alveolars, /c/ and /č̣/, is that of an unreleased stop with homorganic sibilant release or prepalatal sibilant release produced with accompanying tongue tip retroflexion. The latter articulation tends to occur before consonants and high vowels,⁶ especially in allegro speech.

The affricated alveolo-palatals, /č/ and /č̣/, have an articulation consisting of an unreleased

alveolar stop with shibilant release.

Glottalization occurs simultaneously with the stop articulation and is normally lenis, although at times it can be quite fortis. With the non-affricated stops, it is accompanied by weak aspiration. In allegro speech the glottalization is often not perceptible.

Before a consonant, plain stops have a phase release [+], i.e. all other articulatory activity is discontinued before the release takes place and it is isolated and distinct. (Cf. I.152.2 for examples). Elsewhere the release of plain stops is lenis.

141.2. Spirants. The alveolar /s/ has a phonetic range of alveolar to pre-palatal. It is pre-palatal in the environments /#__(i,u)/ and /(i,u)___#. In the latter environment there is a tendency toward tongue-tip retroflexion.⁷

The velar /x/ is slightly fronted before front vowels and approaches the post-velar position before back vowels. It has both fortis and lenis articulation, the fortis articulation occurring most often before consonants. At times, its articulation is so

lenis that it is difficult to distinguish from /h/.

The glottal /h/ is partially voiced intervocally. Elsewhere it is voiceless. When /h/ occurs in the environment /(#,C)__(y,w), the sequence /h/ is heard as a voiceless high front vowel,

kwíkyewik 'he heard it'

142. Sonorants. The sonorants include two nasals, a flap, and two semivowels.

The nasals are /n/ an alveolar, and /m/ a labial.

The alveolar /r/ is a voiceless trill in the environment /__(C,#) (when C ≠ /r/); elsewhere it is a voiced flap,

kírkir 'tinware'

rárača·m·ic·ik 'He's eating so he can go.'

kit·árri·? 'Let it be the salmon.'

The semivowel /y/ is a palatal offglide in the environment /V[·]__(C,#)/. When /a/, and sometimes /u/, occurs in the environment /__[·](y,(?,h)[·])i)/ it is accompanied by a palatal onglide as the tongue moves from the low central to high front position. This offglide is predictable, e.g.,

má·ʔiʔ	'you(sg)'
má·hi	'wait'

Elsewhere it is a non-syllabic high front vowel, articulated with slight friction. (See I:131.2 for description of the sequence /hy/).

The semivowel /w/ occurs as a labial offglide [u], as voiceless labial un-glide [W], labialization of the preceding consonantal segment [ʷ], a voiced labial on-glide [w], and an unprotruded (almost retracted) voiced bilabial spirant [ɸ].

Distribution of the allophones of /w/ are given below.

/w/:	<u>Phone</u>	<u>Phonemic Environment</u>
1.	[ɸ]~[w]	(i,e)___i
2.	[u]	V[·]___(C,#)
3.	[W]	(#,k,ḳ)h___
4.	[ʷ]	#C___V (when C≠ sonorant k___x or glottal) V(k,ḳ[·]___ V(C·,CC)___
5.	[ʷ]~[w]	V·C___V (when C≠ /k,ḳ/)
6.	[w]	---

Examples are,

- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. ?íwiwí? | 'body louse' | ?é•čehé•wi | 'ten' |
| 2. xáwk | 'nutshell' | | |
| 3. ?íkhwa? | 'hipbone' | hwítahá•wanta•? | 'he
lost' |
| 4. swíc•ik | 'I'm drinking' | ?íkwikwa•ma | 'roof' |
| ?ík•wa | 'burrow' | kwápxwi•ka | 'he
blackened
out' |
| | wá•sakwxayxér | 'little ground squirrel' | |
| 5. ?é•xwa• | 'awl' | | |
| 6. ?wi•wa•wahú? | 'everything' | ?átitáywi | 'river' |
| | rwí•ha•pay | 'let him pile
it up.' | |

In the environment / (u,w) (k,x,h,?) ([•],[h]) ___ V/
[^W] and [W] may be present or absent. This variation
is considered phonemically predictable. (In some
forms the labialization is always present),

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------|----------------------|
| xúk•a? | : | [k ^W] | 'two' |
| čux•ár | : | [x ^W] | 'lizard(sp.)' |
| ?ác•uk | : | [k ^W]~[k] | 'younger sibling' |
| púruhi? | : | [h ^W]~[h] | 'juniper' |
| ma•pú•khay | : | [k ^W]~[k] | 'dove' |
| mí•hú ké• tútik | : | [k ^W]~[k] | 'that's what he did' |

(Cp. mí· ké· tútik 'that's what he did')

150. Vowels. The Shasta vowels are front, high and low, and back, high and low. /i/ is front-high, /e/ front-low, /u/ back-high, /a/ back-low.

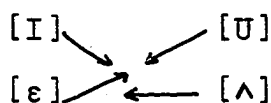
There are two patterns of vowel allophony: positional and assimilatory. The positional pattern has to do with the occurrence of vowels in light or heavy syllables. The assimilatory pattern has to do with the conditioning of the allophony according to preceding or following environment.

151. Positional allophony. The following chart shows the phonetic patterning in light and heavy syllables:

Phoneme	<u>Allophony</u>			
	Light		Heavy	
	Open		Closed	
/i/	[I]~[i]		[I]	[i]
/a/	[ʌ]~[a]		[ʌ]	[a]
/u/	[U]	~	[u]	[U]~[u]
/e/		[ɛ]		[ɛ]

In unstressed syllables or weakly stressed closed syllables, there is a tendency toward centralization. Taking the allophones [I],[U],[ɛ],[ʌ] as

representative of the most frequent station in light syllables, we find the following pattern:



152. Assimilatory Allophony. Shown below is the distribution of allophones before semi-vowels.

Phoneme	Environment	
	/___[·]y/	/___[·]w/
/i/	[i]	[i]
/e/	[E]	[ε]
/a/	[a]	[a]~[ɶ]
/u/	[u]~[u]	[u]

/a/ also has the quality [] in the environment /___[·](h,ʔ)/.

When the sequence /e·/ occurs in the environment /___p,x,h/ or /___C[·](a,u)/, [ε] very often varies with [æ]. However, there are examples of the variation elsewhere, e.g. /ʔe·tískihé·nax/ 'morning star'.

160. Length. /·/ is an anomalous phoneme in that duration is the only phonemic component that all of its allophones share. It represents both vocalic and consonantal length. There is contrast

between VC, V·C, VC·, and V·C·, for example,

ʔá·tak·a	'elk'	kʷá·tak	'coyote'
kʷát·ak̚	'He came hither'	kí·ʔ·ak̚	'You(sg) look hither'

161. Vowel Length. All vowel sounds occur short. All vowel sounds except [I] and [ʌ] occur long. (For statement of vowel allophony see I.140-42). The duration of long vowels is variable and seems to be determined by occurrence in sequences of open and closed syllables. It has not been possible to formulate precise statements about the interaction between syllable sequences, vowel length and stress. (See I:110-120 and Introduction, p. 5). Examples of contrasts between long and short vowels are cited below.

ʔá·psu	'a pipe'	ʔu·khíʔ	'a cane'
ʔá·psu	' a dog'	ʔukhí·	'over there'
kíʔ·ak̚	'You(sg) give me that!'	čé·ʔaʔ	'one'
kí·ʔ·ak̚	'You(sg) look hither'	čéʔ·aʔ	'Let's go!'

162. Consonant Length. All consonants except /r,y,w/ occur long and short. The duration of long

consonants is equivalent to the duration of a consonant cluster, e.g.,

ʔíčukuruwa·psu	'something colored blue'
ʔíčukuruwa·s·u	'a rainbow'

In allegro speech, the length distinction tends to disappear, especially before and between long vowels.

162.1. Contrast between C and C·. Examples of short and long consonants are given below.

ʔátuʔ	'nothing'	čá·pi·s	'worm(sp)'
ʔát·uʔ	'wild sunflower'	xáp·a·	'buckskin string'
ʔíč·a·	'a trail'	čákaráx	'a gnat'
kíča·čiʔ	'You(sg) drink it up'	čak·írʔ	'a board'
ʔisík·aʔ	'a person'	ʔé·xa·	'a bear'
ʔis·ík	'cold'	yé·x·e	'we are sick'
ʔáni·nńk·aʔ	'mother'	tamáčiʔ	'lizard(sp)'
ʔán·itík·aʔ	'aunt'	yam·ár	'he's going to get whipped'
kwéhe·tik	'He's running'	kʷí·ʔacwik	'he went out that way'
swéh·e·ʔik	'I'm packing (wood)'	kʷí·ʔ·icwaʔ	'I looked up'

The situation with the affricated stops is complex. /c·/ is heard as a sequence of unreleased alveolar stop plus a long alveolar or pre-palatal retroflexed sibilant [t̪s·] or [t̪ʂ·]. (There are no examples of /č·/.) /č·/ is a long alveolar stop with shibilant release [t̪·ʂ]. When /č̣·/ occurs, the glottalization is simultaneous with the stop element.

162.2 Contrast between C· and CC. The non-affricated stops and the alveolar and velar spirants have contrasts between long consonant and a sequence of two like consonants.⁸ For all other consonants, except /r,y,w/, there is only the contrast between C and C·.⁹

The following set of forms will serve to demonstrate the problem concerning the stops,

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. ká[t̪·]ayaʔ | 'you(sg) chase him!' |
| 2. wá[t̪·]aʔ | 'a willow' |
| 3. ʔíč̣ni[t̪t̪]úk | 'on the belly' |
| 4. nampá[t̪t̪]úk | 'on the acorn' |

In 2 and 3 we find contrast between a long consonant and a sequence of two like consonants, the first with phase release. In 1 and 4 there is contrast between a long consonant and a sequence of like consonants whose first member is weakly

aspirated. Although, in the examples above, the released consonants precede syntactic boundaries, the rule is that in any sequence of stop plus consonant, the stop is released,

ʔápsu	'a pipe'	púkpu:k	'a salamander'
ʔatká.	'wild plum'	wí·twi·t̚	'Wilson snipe'
ʔaxtákʔam·a.	'a boiling basket'	makmúʔ	'bumblebee'
ʔiti·wákha·ʔ	'Horse Creek'		

(In the last two examples /k̚/ and /k/ precede syntactic boundaries). A sequence of released consonant plus consonant is written phonemically as CC; therefore 3 and 4 above are represented as /ʔíçnittúk/ and /nampáttúk/.

For the spirants /s/ and /x/ there is also a contrast between C· and CC; however, unlike the stop situation, the CC is only in positions that coincide with syntactic boundaries. In slow speech, there is variation between long spirant and a sequence of two spirants, the two-member sequence being signaled by rearticulation,

ʔam·á[x]í·yáx	~	ʔam·á[x,x]í·yáx	'close by'
ká[s·]á·tat·áʔ	~	ká[s,s]á·tat·àʔ	'I'm going to go'

In forms like /yé·x·e/ 'we are sick' and /ʔás·a/ 'rope' such a variation does not occur; here, we find only [C·].

Any sequence where the variation [C·] [CC] is possible is represented by /CC/; therefore, the examples above can be rewritten as, /ʔam·áxxí·yáx/ and /kás sá·tat·áʔ/.

170. Anomalous Phonemes and Clusters. There are two phonemes and a sequence of phonemes that are obviously anomalous. These anomalies occur in forms borrowed from English. Other English borrowings fit into the Shasta system; e.g. /číkin/ 'chicken', /hé·kiču/ 'handkerchief'.

170.1 /r̥/ There is an r-sound which is phonetically equivalent to English post-vocalic r. It is symbolized as /r̥/ and occurs in /pér̥s/ 'pear' and /pér̥shi·húʔ/ 'a pear tree'.

170.2 /˘/. There is an anomalous tonal accent which occurs in one form, /tì·/ 'tea'. Phonetically it is characterized by a falling glide accompanied by extra vowel length.

170.3 /ia/. Vowel clusters do not occur in Shasta. There are two forms /rákapía/ 'lager beer'

and /pía/ 'beer', which contain the cluster/ia/. This cluster is phonetically distinct from a sequence /iya/ in that no y-sound occurs between /i/ and /a/.

180. Distribution of Phonemes. The syllable canon is $\phi_1 \check{V} \phi_2$ or $\phi_1 V \phi_2$ (where $\phi_1 = (C[C][L]), (C \cdot [L])$; $V = V[\cdot]$; $\phi_2 = ([L][C]), (kw)$.*

As can be seen from the canon, every syllable must begin with a consonant, syllable-final consonants are optional, and there are no vowel clusters (see I.171.3). Other restrictions are as follows,

If $\phi_1 = C \cdot [L]$, ϕ_1 cannot follow # or ϕ_2 (when $\phi_2 = C, (kw)$)

If $\phi_1 = C$ (when $C = w$), ϕ_1 cannot precede L

181. Vowel and Tonal Accent Distributions. There are no restrictions on vowel or tonal accent distributions. It is the case, however, that Shasta utterances, whether monosyllabic or polysyllabic,

* ϕ_1 stands for syllable initial; ϕ_2 syllable final

do not occur without at least one high pitch. **

182. Consonant Distributions. All consonants except /c/ and /c̣/ occur after pause. /h/ does not occur in syllable-final position and /ʔ/ is extremely rare in that position, except before pause-juncture. /p̣/ and /c̣/ are also rare in syllable-final position.¹⁰

182.1 Initial Consonants and Consonant Clusters. Given below are examples of word-initial consonants and consonant clusters. Word-initial clusters consist of Cw, C(t,k,r)[wl]. Most of these clusters represent the verbal prefixes. The clusters with /w/ are the result of operation of morphophonological rules (see I.200.) at either the synchronic or diachronic levels.

/t/		/ṭ/	
tí·cáw	'hornet'	ṭikwá·yax	'bulb(sp.)'
té·cni·k	'he sang'	ṭe·cni	'He's going to sing'
táka·	'who'	ṭáarak	'dirt'

** Except for /ʔe·x/ 'and expression of disgust'.

Here the low pitch is accompanied by extra vowel length and extras heavy stress.

tú·?i	'when'	tú·k·u	'pestle'
twi·púkyá	'Are you(sg) bathing?'	twi·há·pay	'He's going to pile it up'
	/č/		/č/
čírík	'a colt'	čík	'mud'
čé·čutúk	'hot springs' (spec)	čé·?a?	'one'
čási·si?	'gravel'	čák·i?	'redwinged blackbird'
čum·ír?	'a board'	čút·a?	'gray squirrel'
čwín·a·	'It made a noise'	čwé·?i?	'California jay'
	/s/		/n/
sí·rak	'crayfish'	nis·áwk	'You(sg) stay here!'
sé·wa?	'I see it'	né·?akahú	'You(pl) keep on going!'
sámtu?	'a corpse'	nah·ú?	'a cedar'
súk·ax	'a boy'	núk·atay	'a deer trail'
skára·ka?	'You(sg) are lying down'	nwičkúk	'You(sg) keep on eating'
skwé·cni·k	'You(sg) are singing'		

/r/

sréha·wá·?i	'if it's growing'	rí·ptawa	'She's tattooed'
srwí·ha·pay	'if he piles it up'	ré·?·a? rát·a?	'Let them go!' 'Let him go!'
stat·á?	'go(optative)	rumpaka?	'He's swimming.'
stwat·ík·a	'You(sg) come hither'	rwí·ha·pay	'Let him pile it up!'
stí·pu	'You(sg) are going to bathe'		
swíc·ik	'I'm drinking.'		

/p/

/y/

pípa	'paper'	yí·pa?	'He got stung!'
pérs	'pear'	yé·?·i·ma	'We went hither'
papú·?as	'Oregon grape'	yáh·ar	'child'
púkpuK	'salamander (sp)'	yú·mis	'friend'
pwí·c	'magnesite'	ywi·há·panta·?	'We're piling it up'

/p/

/k/

pič·á·?	'I shot it'	kírkir	'tinware'
---------	-------------	--------	-----------

'pé·wa	'I saw it'	ke·cní·?	'You(sg) sing!'
'pútik	'I did it'	káris·á?	'You(sg) be good!'
'pát·i·ma	'I went.'	kurá·	'where'
		kwác	'he'
	/k/		/ʔ/
'kí·,u	'yellowjacket	ʔípta	'powdered snow'
'ké·pxí·k	'the round dance'	ʔé?u·mir	'stirrup'
'káv	'snow'	ʔápka	'hand'
'kuré·tat	'bird(sp)'	ʔúpsi	'flesh'
'kwá·tak	'coyote'	ʔwis·ík	'he's talking'
	/h/		/m/
'hí·k·a·	'evil water spirit'	míri	'snowshoe'
'hé·kiču	'handkerchief'	má·?i	'you(sg)'
'há·hi	'oak bark'	mú·kas	'eagle's down'
'hwí·tahá·wanta·?	'He lost'		
	/x/		/w/
'xá·ta?	'moss'	wí·twi·t	'Wilson snipe'
'xú·tir	'sweathouse center post'	we·psír	'father-in-law'
		wácna?	'storage hole'

182.2 Final Consonants and Consonant Clusters.

/ʔ/ is the most frequent word-final consonant.

Word-final consonant clusters consist of /((y,w)C/, or /kw/. As is the case with word-initial clusters, these are the output of the optional morphophonological rules.

Examples of the occurrence of final consonants and clusters follow. (/kw/ occurs in only three forms, all of which are cited as examples).

<u>Acute Final</u>		<u>Non-Acute Final</u>	
či·psí·t	'ant'	tí·pti·p	'sword fern'
ná·t̚	'mushroom(sp)	čík	'mud'
káka·c	'You(sg) stand up!'	kis·áyk	'You(sg) sit down!'
kwác̚	'he'	ʔin·áwk	'there'
ʔáyč̚	'coyote country'	wá·sakw*	'young ground squirrel'
mí·tič̚	'enough'	* Cw has wá·suk for this form; (cf. fn. 7).	
ʔit·í·č̚	'willow(sp)'	kim·ákw	'You(sg) tell some news'
čá·s	'salmon trout'	čú·k̚	'yellow- hammer'

pá·stin	'white man'	xáw ^h k	'nutshell'
xá·r	'soaproot'	kit·ár?	'salmon'
?ič·í·payr	'cradle basket'	ta·wáy?	'beaver'
?ičáy	'bitter'	?aráw?	'deer'
		?ámpax	'father's sister'
		?epiké·m	'Happy Camp'
		?áw	'mouth'

182.3 Medial Two-consonant Clusters. The chart below shows the medial two-member clusters that are found in the corpus. While non-occurrence of some clusters may be fortuitous, note should be made of the fact that there is no /yy/ cluster. Also, the only examples of C·C are forms containing a velar stop or /h/, e.g. /kwa·h·yú/ 'trail crossing'; /?ík·wa/ 'a burrow'.

SECOND MEMBER

	t	ṭ	c	c̣	č	č̣	s	n	r	y	p	p̣	k	ḳ	ʔ	x	h	m	w
F	+							+	+				+	+		+			
I		+						+	+									+	+
R			+					+	+	+			+	+		+		+	+
S																			
T																			
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182.4 Other Medial Consonant Clusters. Examples of medial three consonant clusters are given below.

There is only one four-consonant cluster in the corpus; it occurs in /ʔin·áwskwa·/ 'Never mind!'

kwíkh ^h yewik	'She's weaving'	ka·rʔyú	'You(sg) separate them!'
kwíkh ^h yewik	'He hears it.'	ká·ʔa·s ^h kyú	'You(sg) part your hair!'
kíč ^h iknyú	'You(sg) get on it!'	kwískwayik	'He's tell- ing a lie'
ʔíkhwaʔ	'hipbone'	tawáykná ^h	'a big beaver'
wá·sakwxá·yxér	'half-grown ground squirrels'	kíč ^h áʔ·aympá	'a robe'
típswik	'He got married'	ʔíčmakara·ypsír	'owl'
kwápxwi·ka	'He blacked out'	čé·thyahámpa·ʔ	'He got left behind'
ʔwis·áwktac·á	'towards the one sitting down'		
ʔáwskak·a	'woolly face (pers. name)'		

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(Footnotes)

1. There are no examples in the corpus of monosyllables ending in a vowel, not followed by /•/ and / or a consonant.
2. All monosyllabic words in the corpus, except two occur with high pitch. (See I.170. for description of the exceptions.)
3. In the following sequences enclosed by brackets, only the tonal features are phonetic; the segmentals are phonemic. To an English ear, the phonemic pitch on a heavy syllable seems to be phonetically higher than the phonemic pitch on a light syllable; therefore, the impression is that low pitch on a CV: is higher than it is on CV, and in a sequence like /CV•CV/ one has the impression of two high pitched syllables.
4. I use phonemic component as defined by William Shipley: "...components which occur in all the speech sounds of any allophonic set..."; cf. A Syllabus for Phonological Analysis, University of California, Berkeley, 1965.
5. There is one item in the corpus that has a

[ṇ] before pause, /ʔanunʔ/ 'wild sunflower'. This form is from one of the divergent dialects, though I was not able to ascertain which one.

6. In these environments it is difficult to distinguish /c/ or /c̣/ and /č/ or /č̣/. In some forms there is definitely free variation, e.g. /xácki/ /xáčki/ 'three'.

7. There are two forms in which there is a pre-palatal retroflexed articulation before /a/; /sastí·kaʔ/ 'the chief of the Shasta Valley people' and /sákʷ/ 'a bulb(sp.)'. Both forms, SS would also pronounce with the alveolar articulation. For /sákʷ/ CW has /súk/.

8. The effect on the ear that the non-affricated stops have is reminiscent of what R-M.S. Heffner calls 'double' consonants; i.e. "a...stop...which serves both to arrest one syllable and release the next...". (General Phonetics, University of Wisconsin Press, 1960, p.176).

9. There are no examples of like affricate clusters; this may well be fortuitous since there are examples of /cč/ clusters. /h/ does not occur in syllable final position; however /h·/ does. The occurrence

of /ʔ/ before another consonant is rare and in one case the cluster /ʔC/ is in free variation with /C·/, a variation which may be indicative of the dialect mixture.

10. There are also no examples of /p̚/ before pause. (The only /p/ in word final position is in /ká·s·ap/ 'big bend in the Klamath river'; SS said this form is ka·mátwa·.) The rarity of /p̚/ before another consonant may be due to mishearing on my part.

200. Morphophonology. Shasta morphophonological rules consist of two subsets: (a) rules that account for systematic alternations occurring in unique environments or in several environments that have no common feature (morpholexical rules), and (b) rules that specify generalized systematic phonological alternations (morphophonemic rules).

An inventory of the lexemes to which morpholexical statements apply is given in I.250. The morpholexical rules are found in Chapter II, accompanying the class-member statements. In the application of morphophonological rules, the morpholexical statements take precedence over the morphophonemic statements.

Assimilation, loss, alternations involving quantity, and tonal alternations are the salient types of phonological modification in Shasta.¹ These automatic alternations, together with other less easily classified changes, are either optional or obligatory. Consonant syncope and the concomitant vowel contractions are optional changes. All other alternations are obligatory. Morphophonemic rules, then, fall into two sets, obligatory and optional, with the obligatory set having priority

of application on the morphophonological string.

210. Symbolization. Below is a description of the symbols used in the morphophonology, the syntactic description and the texts.

211. Orthographic symbols. Space in the morphophonological string marks boundaries between lexemes that are constituents of themes, i.e. affixes and radicals; it signals that the morpholexical rule inventory must be checked before applying the morphophonemic rules.

Boundaries between words, i.e. lexemic constructions that are constituents of clauses, are marked by space both in the syntactic description and in the texts, and by "#" in the morphophonological rules (and, when necessary, in the examples accompanying the rules).

Boundaries between clauses are marked by ". " in the syntactic description and in the texts.

212. Morphophonological symbols. In addition to the morphophonological symbols charted below, and the cover symbols "C" and "V", "T" and "P" occur in rules. "T" is for any apical consonant, "P" for any nonapical consonant. Both symbols

occur in a statement concerning vowel assimilation. Unless otherwise specified, "V" stands for V or V·, "C" stands for C or C·.

A chart of the morphophonological symbols follows. Nonalternating symbols are isomorphic with phonemic symbols. Alternating symbols represent alternations between phonemes or alternations between phonemes and their absence.

	<u>Nonalternating</u>			<u>Alternating</u>		
Consonants	t	c	č	r	y	
	ṭ	c̣	č̣			
	n	s				
	p	k		w	b	ʔ
	p̣	ḳ		ẉ	ḅ	h
	m	x				
Length				N		
					H	
Vowels				i	a	u
				ị	ẹ	ụ
				e	v*	
Tones				˘	˙	
				unmarked		
Junctures				-	!	

* <v> is an unknown vowel that is a tone carrier (cf. I.232.2,236).

220. Predictability of phonological alternations.

The paucity of information about the details of dialect (or even language) coalescence present in the data precludes the formulation of unequivocal statements about the particulars of morphophonological modification.

Whenever possible, phonological variations are described in terms of morphophonological rules, even though there are counterexamples. Examples counter to particular morphophonemic or morpho-lexical rules are discussed in the grammar and/or in the dictionary.

Just how alternations are predictable is sometimes problematical. Some modifications could be described as either morphophonemic or morpho-lexical, others as morpholexical or lexemic. The following three sets of forms illustrate the problem. (In these sets the tonal alternations are ignored.)

1. <iN bú> 'reciprocal'
 - a. /kwá·takwimpá·?/ 'those two are quarrelling'
 - b. /kwá·takwi·wé·ke?/ 'All of them are quarrelling'

c. /ká·takyú·ʔ/ 'You(two)quarrel!'

In the above forms, the phonemic sequences /imp/, /iw/, and /yú·/ could be considered morpholexically predictable. Taking this approach, however, would ignore patterning which parallels patterns occurring elsewhere; consequently, the phonemic shape of <iNbú> is considered predictable by morphophonemic rules;

1.a,b. : /p/, /w/. There are counter-examples to this alternation: cp. /čérehp·a·ʔ/ 'he was asked to go'; /kwérehepe·ki·kaʔ/ 'he went to ask them to go', /kwérehewe·ki·kaʔ/ 'you(pl) were asked to go'.

1.a. <N>: /m/, /·/. The predictability of this alternation is unique to the distribution of <iNbú>; however, the alternation is parallel to <N>: /m/ ~ /·/, /n/ ~ /·/ (cf. 2.b,c,d, and 3.a,b,d,e below).

1.c. <iNbú>: /yú·/. This alternation is unique to this lexeme, but the pattern of contraction is parallel to patterns of contraction accounted for by optional morphophonemic rules; i.e. <iNbú>: *i·wú : /yú·/. It is assumed here that the speakers

* This is not a counterexample; it is included to provide contrast within the set; length is accounted for by another morphophonemic rule.

always make use of the optional rule.

2. <a·hàNpi> 'down on'

a. /kičá·ha·ʔ/ 'You(sg) put it
down!'

b. /k'wíča·hámpik/ 'he put it down'

c. /k'wíča·hámpé·keʔ/ 'they put it down'

d. /k'wíča·há·piruk/ 'he put it down'

Here the phonemic sequence /a·ha·/ could be taken as morphophonemically predictable (cf. /tústehé·ʔ/ 'he's going to dance', /kústehempik/ 'he danced'); however, this would necessitate a proliferation of statements to account for a series of alternations limited to the shapes of two lexemes, and there would have to be an addition to the morphophonological symbol inventory to account for forms such as /tí·pti·p/ 'sword fern', /ʔíwa·pi·ʔ/ 'Karak', /ʔis·ámpiʔ/ 'village name'. As there is no advantage in a morpho-phonemic statement in this situation, the phonemic shape /a·ha·/ for <a·hàNpi> is considered morpho-lexically predictable.

The phonemic sequences, /a·hamp/ and /a·ha·p/ (cf. 2.b,c,d) are considered morphophonemically predictable; i.e. <N>: /m/ ~ /p/ (note that this

alternation is parallel to the alternation in 3.a,b,d,e).

3. <aNti>, <a·ʔi> 'transitive marker'
- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. /kwá·m·uká·ta·ʔ/ | ' |
| /kwá·m·uká·ya·ʔ/ | 'I counted' |
| b. /kwáhus·á·yanta·ʔ/ | 'I talked to him' |
| c. /kwáhus·aya·yik/ | 'He talked to him' |
| d. /kwáhus·ayanti·kaʔ/ | 'he talked to me/
you(sg)' |
| e. /stáhus·á·tay/ | 'talk to someone
(pot.)' |

In the above set, the phonemic sequences /a·t/, /ant/, /a·y/ and /ay/ represent the problem under consideration. /a·t/ and /ant/ seem to be freely varying (3.a,b). /a·y/ and /ay/ seem to be freely varying (3.a,b,c,e). Forms like /kwí·ti·ma/ 'he's running away' and /kwínta·ʔi·ruk/ 'he's chasing them' support the notion that /a·t/ and /ant/ can be accounted for by the morphophonemic rule that accounts for the alternation /m/ ~ /·/ (cf. 2 above). /a·y/ and /ay/ can be considered part of the contraction patterns mentioned above. Therefore, by means of morphophonemic rules (including the rule for vowel apocope, we can

establish two morphophonological shapes <aNti> and <a·?i>.

The question now is whether these forms are morpholexical alternants or different lexemes. They are in free variation (3.a) and also are partially in complementary distribution (3.b,d vs. 3.c,e). Their syntactic patterning parallels that of other lexemes, cp. <ehèmpi> 'iterative' in /kústehémpik/ 'a dance', /kústehémpehémpik/ 'a dance hall'.

It seems best to assume, as has been done, that <aNti> and <a·?i> are different lexemes, i.e. dialectal variants, with equivalent meanings and syntactic distributions and that SS and CW use these forms interchangeably in some syntactic environments, but not in others.

A number of forms in the data presumably are dialectal variants. Such variant representations of radicals are entered in the dictionary. Variant representations of affixes are discussed in appropriate places in the grammar and also are entered in the dictionary.

230. Obligatory morphophonemic rules. In contrast to the optional rules, which describe

phonological modifications that can occur anywhere between word junctures, the obligatory rules, which are given below, describe adaptations that occur at lexeme boundaries.

231. Junctures. There are three morphophonological junctures: glottalic, internal, and expressive.

231.1 Glottalic juncture. The statements about glottalic juncture account for the fact that /ʔ/ has a zero representate in some morphophonological environments;

$$\begin{aligned} \emptyset: & \text{ʔ/\#} _____ [-]V \\ & \text{ʔ} \sim \emptyset / (r, y, w, V) _____ \# \end{aligned}$$

For example,

<apsu>: /ʔápsu/ 'a pipe; <-ečxámpi>: /ʔečxámpi/ 'clear, bright'; <-ixíp·i>: /ʔixíp·i/ 'slippery'; <kw̃im·à Na·>: /kwim·á·ʔ/ ~ /kwim·á·/ 'I saw it'; <kit·ár>: /kit·árʔ/ ~ /kit·ár/ 'summer salmon'; <awáčay>: /ʔawáčayʔ/ ~ /ʔawáčay/ 'creek'; <í ička xáw>: /ííčkaxáwʔ/ ~ /ííčkaxáw/ 'he's going to kill it'.

Cp. forms like <xan·ár>: /xan·ár/ 'leaf'; there are no examples in the data of such forms

occurring with glottalic juncture. Since the morphophonological notation does not distinguish between forms with glottalic juncture and forms without it (there being no evidence that such a distinction is necessary), if a phonemic shape of a lexeme provides evidence for the juncture, that shape will be cited in the dictionary under the appropriate heading.

231.2. Hyphen juncture. This juncture, <-->, represents a morphophonological environment in which vowel and consonant loss takes place; its phonemic representation is always zero. See 232.1,2 for examples.

231.3. Expressive juncture. A phonological statement for this juncture, <!>, has not been completely worked out. <!> marks an intonation contour that occurs with clauses; it is manifested by a rearrangement of tones; e.g.,

<#kurá·#sá·#ké·#wé·#tìv uti#>:/kurá· sá· ké· wé·
túti?/ 'What shall I do?'

<#kurá·#sá·#ké·#wé·#tìv uti#!#>:/kúra· sa· ke·
we· túti?/ 'What in the world shall I do?'

<#má·#!#má·#in·á#sk uti a·?i#>:/ma: má·?in·á?
skútay?/ 'No! Don't do that(to someone)!'

232. Loss. Vowel and consonant loss occur; however, loss is particularly characteristic of the vowel patterning, since the sequence VV is not permissible phonemically.

232.1. Consonant Loss. The rules for loss of consonants are as follows,

	Morphophonological		Environment
	Symbol	: Phoneme /	_____
1.	w	∅	___[v](m,u,H,-w),-r
2.	ẉ	∅ ~ w	#C[C]___[v]V
		∅ ~ ·	s,c___V
		∅	---
3.	r	∅	___-r
4.	y	∅	___[v](y,-aH?i)
5.	h	∅	___[v]C
6.	ḥ	∅	C___
		h	---

Examples are given below,

1. <kẉṿ ikhyaẉṿ me·>: /kẉíkhya·mé·?/ 'I heard it'
- <kẉṿ uṭis·í Na·> : /kúṭis·a·?/ 'I said'
- <t ikhyaẉṿ Hraḳṿ -ik>: /tíḳhya·raḳik/ 'he heard him behind him'

<kw e[?]ew -wak a[·]>: /kwé·waka[·]?/ 'he was
watching (something) in the water'

<kw -wi·hà·p a[·]?i -ik>: /kwí·ha·payik/ 'he
made a pile'

<t im·akw -rakmak·i e>: /tím·akrakmak·e[?]/
'he spread the news'

2. <skw ic·ì -ik>: /skwíc·ik/ ~ /skíc·ik/
'you(sg) are drinking'

<nw^v ic·ì e·ki e>: /nwic·é·ke[?]/ ~ /nic·é·ke[?]/
'You(pl) keep drinking!'

<acwít>: /[?]acwít/ ~ /[?]ac·it/ 'mother's mother'

<kw^v iri asw Na[·]>: /kwíraswa[·]?/ ~ /kwíras·a[·]?/
'I quit'

<k^v aw^v asw>: /kawá·s/ 'You(sg) take it off!'

<sw -wi·hà·p a[·]?i -ik>: /swí·ha·payik/ 'I'm
making a pile'

3. <t iču -ikarkár -rakmak·i e·ki -iru a[·]>:
/tíčukarkáarakmak·e·kíra[·]?/ 'they were lifting a
light load here and there'

4. <s i·hay^v -éH[?]i>: /si·há[?]i/ 'if I/we dream'

<makáy ya# t e·ru kar -ik>: /makáya té·rúkarik/
'Did you(sg) ask him?'

5. <y antu·h̄v me·>: /yántu·me·ʔ/ 'we mentioned it'

6. <ap·ak h̄í>: /ʔáp·akí/ 'mother's brother (ref.)'

<acmu hi>: /ʔácmuhí/ 'father's father(ref.)'

232.2 Vowel loss. The rules for loss of vowels are as follows,

	Morphophonological		Environment
	<u>Symbol</u>	: <u>Phoneme</u>	<u>_____</u>
1.	v	∅	_____
2.	u	∅	_____u
		w	_____V
		u	_____
3.	V (when V ≠ u)	∅	C _____ V, Na·
		∅	V- _____ C

As can be seen in Rule 1 above, there is no phonemic representation for <v>. The evidence for it consists of contrasting tonal patterns (cf. I.236 for description of tonal alternations); cp. the following,

<kw̄v ap·í i·ma>: /kwap·í·ma/ 'I threw it thither'

<kw ap·í i·ma> : /kwáp·i·ma/ 'he's throwing it
thither; you(sg)
threw it thither'

- <kw a·mʔv̄ a·ʔi -ik>: /kwá·mʔa·ʔik/ 'he's fishing
with a hook
and line'
- <kw a·m·ukv̄ a·ʔi -ik>: /kwá·m·uká·ʔik/ 'he's
counting'
- (cp. <kw am·a ka·hú -ik>: /kwám·aka·húk/ 'he's
up on a high
place watching')

Examples of Rule 2 are given below,

- <k̄w ičkũ uhi Hma>: /k̄wíčkuhi·ma/ 'he ate after
the ceremony'
- (cp. k̄w e·cnĩ· uhi Hma>: /k̄we·cnuhi·ma/ 'he
sang for the
burial service')
- <kw ičkũ a·ki e>: /kwíčkwa·keʔ/ 'they are eating'
- <kv̄ ičkũ>: /kičkúʔ/ 'You(sg) eat!' (cp. <kv̄ i·pu>:
/kí·puʔ/ : 'You(sg) bathe!')

Rule 3 accounts for the patterns of apocope and apheresis that occur in Shasta. Apheresis is marked by <->, the hyphen juncture (cf. 231.2). There are a number of exceptions to the apheresis rule, e.g. <kwv̄ umpi -ehé·wi i·ma>: /kúmpihé·wi·ma/ ~ /kúmpehé·wi·ma/ 'I swam downstream', <t is·i·aw -ik>: /tís·awik/ ~ /tís·awk/ 'he stayed a short while'. It has not been possible to determine a

predictable or partially predictable pattern for these exceptions; therefore, they are presumed to be representative of lexemic variants.

233. Nonloss consonant alternations. The predictable alternations are limited to changes involving the sonorants /r/, /n/ and /w/. Other consonant alternations are sporadic and are considered indicative of lexemic variants.

233.1. Lexemic variants. The unpredictable changes include alternations between glottalized and unglottalized stops, the affricated stops, the apical and velar stops, the apical sonorants, the apical and labial sonorants, labials and glottals, the velar and glottal spirants, and the glottals. Examples follow.

<at̚·i> ~ <at·i> as in /rát̚·aykam·ak/ 'he's hasing me'; /rát·aykaʔ/ 'he's chasing him' (see also, <ap̚·a> as in /rát̚·akaʔ/ 'he's carrying an armful' and <ap·i> as in /rát·aʔ/ 'let him throw a round object').

<xacki> ~ <xáčki> 'three'

<tu·čá> ~ <ku·čá> 'what'; <tura·> ~ <kura·> 'where'.

<tuk·urú·ni> ~ <tuk·unú·ni> 'buckskin';

<irike·xá·> ~ <inike·xá·> 'old lady'.

<tuntùn·u> ~ <tamtam> as in /kwán·ituntun·uruk/

~ /kwán·itamtamik/ 'he's drumming' (cp. Atsugewi verb root tom 'to drum').²

<iHwi> ~ <iHhi> 'animal hair' (cf. CW <i·?i> 'fur').

<a·pu> ~ <a·hu> 'older brother'

<a·pv> ~ <a·?v> as in /ráka·?a·?/ ~ /ráka·pa·?/ 'he's standing up in something'

<nah·ú> ~ <in·axa·> 'cedar'

<hay> ~ <?ay> as in /?wat·íwakhaywa·?/ ~ /?wat·íwak?aywa·?/ 'he kept on going around the circle'.

233.2. Sonorant alternations. The sonorant alternations are predictable in only one environment, namely before the paucal perfective marker <Na·>. There is a tendency to extend the alternations into other environments; the conditioning factors determining this extension are unknown.

<r> represents the following alternation:

r: n/___[ul]Na·/, for example,

<y e·wi e·ki -iru Na·>: /yé·we·kin·a·?/ 'we are swimming around (perf.)'; (cp. <y e·wi e·ki -iru a·>: /yé·we·kira·/ 'we are swimming around (dur.)')

<kw̄ eru ka·r Na·>: /kw̄eruka·n·a·?/ 'I asked

about it (perf.)'.

The following counterexamples have been taken to be evidence of dialect mixture,³

(SS) /ráwaswin·u/ 'let him take away a container having objects distributed in it'

(CW) /kawás·ir/ ~ /kawás·in·u/ 'you(sg) take away the container having objects distributed in it'

(SS) /kwáwaswe·kira·?/ ~ /kwáwaswe·kin·a·?/ 'he took the container . . . away from them'

It is assumed that there are two representations of the distributive marker, <-iru> and <in·u>.

 represents the following alternation:

b: p/___[u]Na·

w/___

Examples are:

<č erū eheb Na·>: /čérehewik·a·?/ 'he was asked to go'.

<kw am·ar iNbú Na·>: /kwám·arimpá·?/ 'those two are fighting'.

<t eru eheb -ik>: /térehewik/ 'he asked him to go'.

<kw am·ar iNbú e·ki e>: /kwám·ari·wé·ke?/ 'they are all fighting'.

Again, there are counterexamples:

cp. (SS) /k'wérehepe·ki·kaʔ/ 'he went to ask them to go'; /k'wérehepe·ki·kaʔ/ 'you(pl) were asked to go'; /k'wérehepe·kaʔ/ 'I was asked to go'.

In the first two examples, /p/ and /w/ are in contrasting environments; in the third example we find /p/ instead of the expected /w/. It is concluded from this evidence that there are two lexemes <ehēp> and <ehēp> with the same meaning and syntactic distribution. This conclusion is supported by the forms /yéhiyawa·ʔ/ (CW) ~ /yéhiyap·a·ʔ/ (SS, CW) 'we are getting dressed' for which it is necessary to set up two radical lexemes <ehiyaw> and <ehiyab>.

<h> represents the following alternation:

h: h ~ w/u ___ V; for example, <k'w e·cni· uhi Hma>: /k'wé·cnuhi·ma/ ~ /k'wé·cnuwi·ma/ 'he was singing for a burial service'; <k'v epxù har>: /kep'xúhar/ ~ /kep'xúwar/ 'You(sg) blow!'.

234. Alternations with length. There are two alternations with length, sporadic and predictable.

234.1 Lexemic variants. There are unpredictable alternations between short vowels and long vowels,

single consonants and consonants plus length and length and consonants. There are also alternations between /ʔ/ and /·/. Examples follow.

<u·pč̣i> ~ <upč̣i> as in /čú·pč̣iʔ·a·ʔ/ ~ /čúpč̣iʔ·a·ʔ/ 'he got elbowed/shouldered'.

<Na·> ~ <Na> as in /kupč̣iʔ·a·ʔ/ ~ /kupč̣i·a·ʔ/ 'I elbowed/shouldered him'.

<i·ču> ~ <iču> as in /čí·ču·ta·ʔ/ ~ /číču·ta·ʔ/ 'he gave it to him'.

<ikī> ~ <ik·ī> ~ <i·kī> as in /kíka·čik/ 'the way the Shasta use their language', /swí·ki·wáyayik/ 'I'm teaching her to talk/sing', /kwík·i·waykák/ 'it sounds like (a dog)'.

<a·mʔv> ~ <a·m·v> as in /kwá·mʔa·kayra·ʔ/ ~ /kwá·m·a·kayra·ʔ/ 'they are fishing with hook and line'.

<u·ma> (SS) ~ <upma> (CW) as in /kú·mapnuk·uk/ ~ /kúpmapnuk·uk/ 'it sticks'

<eheʔ> ~ <ehe·> ~ <ehe> as in /kwéheʔn·ucwik/ (CW) ~ /kwéhe·n·ucwik/(SS) 'he jumped up', /kwéhečuk·u·ma/ 'he jumped from here to there'.

234.2. Predictable alternations. It is possible to predict an alternation between vowel

plus length and vowel plus nasal (<N>).⁴ There is also a predictable alternation between V• and C• (<H>).

<N> represents the following alternations;

<u>Representation</u>	<u>Morphophonological Environment</u>
1. m ~ •	_____p
2. n ~ •	_____t
3. m	_____b[u]Na•
4. •	(Vp, Vb, r, h)[V]____; ____b[u] (when b[u] is not followed by Na•)
5. ø	_____

Examples are,

1. <kw ip•i iru tì eheNpi e•ki e>: kwíp•irutehempe•ke?/
'They are tying up a bunch (of horses)'
<kwì•ipi iru tì eheNpi iru Na•>:
/kwíp•irutéhe•pin•a•?/ 'I tied up a bunch of things'
2. <kwù•ūw -aNti Na•>: /kúwanta•?/ 'I bought it'
<č i•ču -aNti Na•>: /čí•ču•ta•?/ 'He gave
it to him'
3. <sw ahu wak•i iNbú Na•>: /swáhuwak•impá•?/
'I'm opening my mouth'
4. <č eru ehép Na•>: /čèrehép•a•?/ 'He was asked
to go'.

<y ari hu·p Na·>: /yárihu·p·a·?/ 'we felt
sorry for him'

<kw am·àr iN bú e·ki e>: /kwám·ari·wé·ke?/
'they are all fighting'

<y u·mata·há Na·>: /yú·mata·h·á·?/ 'we got
mad'

<č am·àr Na·>: /čám·an·a·?/ 'he got beaten'

<y usti ehèNpi·cw Na·>: /yústehempicwa·?/
'we got through dancing'

<kwv̄ e·cnì· Na·>: /kwe·cná·?/ 'I sang'

<kwv̄ ičkų Na>: /kwičkwá·?/ 'I ate'

<H> represents the following alternation (in
this rule, V= any short vowel; V· any long vowel),
H: ∅/V·, (y, w, [v]) - V ____.

·/ _ _ _

Examples are:

<aní· -éHtu>: /?aní·tu?/ 'mother's'; <ičway -éHtu>:
/?ičwáytu?/ 'wildcat's'; <sr i·hayv̄ -ih?i>:
/sri·há?i/ 'if he dreams'; <ča·ráw -əHtuhú>:
/ča·ráwtuhú?/ 'at the head end of the body';
/sr ikhyawv̄ -iH?i>: /srikhyáv?i/ 'if he hears it';
<t ikhyawv̄ Hrakv̄ -ik>: /tíkhyá·rakik/ 'he heard
him behind him'; nwv̄ i?·± cw -ékHa>:
/ní?·icwík·a?/ 'You(sg.) pick it up!!'

235. Nonloss vowel alternations. The sporadic alternations in the data seem to be due in part to assimilation and in part (possibly) to remnants of an ablaut pattern that played a derivational role.

The predictable alternations are of two types, (1) a partly predictable alternation between /a/ and /i/, and (2) an assimilatory pattern for vowels in which the set of apical consonants and the set of nonapical consonants contrast as conditioning environments.

235.1. Lexemic variants. Examples of lexemic variation are given below. Group 1 is made up of examples of variations thought to be due to assimilation. The forms in group 2 are thought due to ablaut.

Group 1.

<a> ~ <e>	ahaNpi ~ eheNpi	'down on'
	ča·ʔa(CW) ~ če·ʔa(SS)	'one'
<a> ~ <i>	takas(CW) ~ tikis(SS,	'motion in-
	CW)	volved in
		sticking
		something
		in/on something'

<a> ~ <u> uk·arí(SS) ~ ak·wará(CW) 'a lot of'
 suk(CW) ~ sakw(SS) 'bulb(var.)'
 tamtam ~ tuntun·u 'motion involved
 in drumming'

<i> ~ <u> <-iču·kiní> ~ <-či·kiní> 'slender'

See also <inaku·na> ~ <iniku·na·> ~ <inuku·na>
 'buzzard', <ipsíra> ~ <ipsú·na·> 'arrowwood berry'.

Group 2.

upč²i ~ upči 'with elbow/shoulder' (cf. 210.4.1
 for <u·pč²i>)

<ehena>(nt.), <eheni>(vt.) 'tongue'; <ac·a>
 'water', <ic·i> 'drink'(cp. <uč·i> 'precipitate
 as rain does'; <a·ka>(vt) 'carry on back (e.g.
 a deer)', <i·ki>(vt.) 'carry on back (e.g. pack-
 basket)' (cp. <uxu>(vt.) 'carry on back (e.g.
 sack)', <ehē·?i>(vt.) 'carry on back by means of
 a packstrap').

235.2. Predictable alternations. The alternation
 between /a/ and /i/ represents a partially predict-
 able pattern and is symbolized by <±>. The pattern
 is as follows,

±: a/___#

i/ _ _ _

Take the following sets, for example,

<i[?]·i̇> as in: /kí[?]·a[?]/ 'You(sg) take it!'

/kí[?]·i̇čax/ 'You(sg) put it out
into it!'

/kí[?]·ika·hu[?]/ 'You(sg) take it
inside!'

<at·i̇> as in: /kat·á[?]/ 'You(sg) go!'

/kát·íc·ay/ 'You(sg) go after him!'

/kát·ika·hú[?]/ 'You(sg) go up the
creek!'

<im·i̇> as in: /rím·a[?]/ 'Let him see it!'

/kwím·ik/ 'He sees it'

<umpi̇> as in: /kumpá[?]/ 'You(sg) swim!'

/rúmpikwaya·ka[?]/ 'he's swimming
upstream'

/kúmpihé·wi·ma/ 'I swam down the
creek'

Although the above examples demonstrate the regularity of the pattern, there are numerous counterexamples,

<iri̇> as in: /kíra[?]/ 'You(sg) reach!'

/kíríčaxir/ 'You(sg) put it out
into it!'

/kírakasac/ 'You(sg) toss it up
overhead!'

<čá·m·i> as in: /ká·ʔa·čá·m·a/ ~ /ká·ʔa·čá·mi/
 'You(sg) hold on tight!' (In the data, the most
 frequent sequence found before juncture is
 /čá·m·i/)

<iraxi> as in: /k'íraxačúm·u/ 'greyheaded'
 /k'wíraxiwakirik/ 'he washed
 his hair'
 /k'wíraxapuk·ucwik/ 'he pushed it
 up with the
 top of his
 head'

In spite of the number of counterexamples,
 it is assumed that the alternation as stated is
 the underlying pattern; therefore, lexemes whose
 representations give evidence for the alternation
 are marked by <í>. If there are exceptions to
 the rule, statements about the irregularities
 accompany the dictionary entry.

<e> symbolizes an assimilatory alternation,

e: i/(e[·]C), T_____

V₁/V₁P_____ (when V₁≠e)

Examples are,

<e·x -écHu> : /ʔe·xíc·uʔ/ 'a village at the
 mouth of Canyon
 Creek'

- <kwač -ékHa> : /kwačík·a?/ '3rd pers. sg.
pron.(dem.)
- <yah·ar -éHtu> : /yáh·arí·tu?/ 'the child's'
- <kwas -éHta> : /kwasí·ta?/ 'digging stick
(instr.)
- <acwít -éHna> : /?ác·ití·na/ 'grandmother(addr.)
- <uy -éHta> : /?uyí·ta/ 'eye' (instr.)⁵
- <ikánkán ékHa> : /?íkánkáník·a?/ 'a marble(dem.)'
- <a·k -éHta> : /?a·ká·ta/ 'bone (instr.)
- <čik -əpá·k> : /číkipá·k/ 'muddy water'
- <xuk -ékHa> : /xukúk·a?/ 'coals(dem.)
- <ma·na·cá·x -əknak> : /má·na·cá·xaknak/ 'a
big skunk'

There is one counterexample to the above rule, /yá·kamí·ta?/ 'cloth(instr.); <ya·kam> is a borrowing from Chinook jargon.

236. Tonal alternations. There are two types of tonal pattern in Shasta, junctional and lexical. These patterns are manifested through the behavior of four tonal morphophonemes, <'>, <`>, <"/>, and unmarked (represented in the rules by the breve, ˇ).

The junctional pattern, so-called because the

tonal alternation is associated with the first vowel following word juncture (when $V \neq \langle v \rangle$), is a 'regularizing' tendency in Shasta for the first syllable of the phonemic shapes of all words to occur with high tone (except when the second syllable has a high tone). There are counterexamples to this pattern; for example, /ʔán·ití/ ~ /ʔan·ití/ 'aunt(voc.)', /kári·wáʔ/ ~ /kari·wáʔ/ 'brother', /ʔáp·akík·aʔ/ ~ /ʔap·akík·aʔ/ 'uncle(ref. -dem.)', /stíkhyewé·kiʔ/ ~ /stikhyewé·kiʔ/ 'You(pl) will hear it', /skíkhyewe·kí·ʔi/ ~ /skikhyewe·kí·ʔi/ 'if you(pl) hear it'. In forms such as these, the tone on the first syllable freely varies between high and low if the third or fourth syllable occurs with high tone;⁶ if there is no high tone on the third or fourth syllable, the tone on the first syllable will always be the high tone.

It has been assumed for forms like the ones above, that the first vowel occurs morphophonemically with the unmarked tone and that the phonemic representation, with high tone ~ low tone, is predictable.

The lexical pattern is made up of tonal alternations that occur when lexemes are juxtaposed between word boundaries. The following "principal parts" presentation of a set of verb forms will afford the reader a cursory impression of the complexities of the patterning. (The examples are phonemic and are organized by verbal prefix; the symbols accompanying the prefixes are: D=declarative mode, H=hortative mode, 1=first person, 2=second person, 3=third person, s=singular, p=plural, Pa=past tense.)

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>'kill'</u>	<u>'dream'</u>	<u>'bathe'</u>
<kw>	D3Pa	k'wíčkaxá·wik	k'wí·hayk·	k'wí·puk
<kwv>	D1sPa	k'wíčkaxá·wa·?	k'wí·haymé·?	k'wí·pa·?
<y>	D1pPa	yíčkaxá·wa·?	yí·hayme·?	yí·pa·?
<kv>	H2	kíčkaxáw?	ki·háy	kí·pu?

In all the examples, the occurrence of high tone on the first syllable is predictable in terms of the junctural pattern rules. In the forms for 'kill', the regularity of the high tone on the third syllable is due to the fact that the syllable happens to coincide with the lexeme <xá·w>, and the conditions under which <'> may

be low tone or zero are not present. In the forms for 'dream', the seeming "displacement" is due, primarily, to (1) the junctural pattern rules and (2) the rules for the phonemic representations of <`>, which occurs in the morphological shapes <kẁv̂>, <kv̂>, and <i·haỳv̂> 'dream'. In the forms for 'bathe', the regularity is the result of the junctural pattern rules and the rules for <`> and unmarked tone.

The merging of junctural and lexical patterns, especially in the verb system, produces a regularity of phonemic tonal configurations that suggests the possibility of a classification of verbs according to tonal configuration types. To quote deAngulo and Freeland (page 91), "Shasta verbs might well be divided into two groups, according to whether or not they are subject to tone-displacement". However, in the preceding paragraph they comment that although 'in a large number of verbs, this tonic accent [i.e. high tone] on the initial syllable seems to be an essential semantic characteristic of the radical, and is never lost in any of the forms of the verb

[;] in the rest of the verbs, the shifting of the accent away from the first syllable is a very characteristic factor in the formation of certain of the modes and tenses [and] just what syllable will then receive the accent must be ascertained separately for every verb." In other words, the association of a phonemic tone pattern with a subset of verb constructions is a fortuitous byproduct of the juxtaposition of lexemes participating in the verb constructions. It is not just the case that this 'regularity' is only apparent; it is also the case that classes based upon such a regularity would be nonsignificant, both syntactically and semantically.

The nonverbal system in Shasta does not display such regularity of phonemic tone configurations. There are partial patterns that are characteristic of constructions if those constructions contain particular lexemes. Again, however, the patterns are fortuitous. Let us take, for example, the noun themes <umé·> 'child' and <e·xa·> 'bear', and the suffixes <epsi> 'pitiful', <xa·yxér> 'paucal diminutive', <yá·war> 'collective',

<-éHtu> 'possessive', <túk> 'locative', <-écHu> 'ablative'. With these forms we can form substantial constructions, e.g. (the following forms are phonemic),

ʔumé·psi	'the pitiful child'	ʔé·xa·psi	'the pitiful bear'
ʔumé·xa·yxér	'the babies'	ʔé·xa·xa·yxér	'the bearcubs'
ʔumé·yá·war	'the children'	ʔé·xa·yá·war	'the bears'
ʔumé·tuʔ	'child(poss.)'	ʔe·xá·tuʔ	'bear (poss.)'
ʔumé·túk	'child(loc.)'	ʔé·xa·túk	'bear (loc.)'
ʔumé·cuʔ	'child(abl.)'	ʔe·xá·cuʔ	'bear (abl.)'
ʔumé·psixa·yxerí·tutukúc·uʔ			'from the pitiful babies' place'
ʔumé·psiyá·warí·tutukúc·uʔ			'from the pitiful children's place'
ʔumé·xa·yxerí·tutukúc·uʔ			'from the babies' place'

ʔumé·yá·warí·tutukú·uʔ	'from the children's place'
ʔumé·yá·warí·tutúk	'at the children's place'
ʔumé·xa·yxerí·tutúk	'at the babies' place'
ʔé·xa·xa·yxerí·tutúk	'at the bearcubs' place'

And so on.

As can be seen from the above examples, it is the morphophonological shapes of particular lexemes and the junctural pattern rules that determine the tonal pattern for any one phonemic representation of a construction. In the rules that follow, the junctural pattern rules cannot be applied until after the lexical rules.

For purposes of making the tonal alternation statements, it is necessary to introduce the following symbols: ^ = ' , `; \bar{V} = locus of tone in relation to conditioning environment; ... \bar{V} ...# stands for "anywhere \bar{V} occurs before #"; \emptyset = consonant, consonant cluster.

236.1. Lexical pattern rules. Again, as with the vowel, consonant, and length alternations, it is necessary to point out exceptions to the statements accounting for tonal modifications, e.g. <ʔwv̄ a·ʔa·ʔ·i -ik>: /ʔwa·ʔá·ʔ ·ik/ ~ /ʔwá·ʔa·ʔ·ik/ 'she pulled at it', <ʔwv̄ is·ī -k>:

/ʔwis·ík/ ~ /ʔwís·ik/ 'he said', <t ehiyab e·ki e>:
/téhiyawé·keʔ/ ~ /tehíyawé·keʔ/ 'they got dressed'.

As is the case with the junctural pattern (cf. discussion in 210.6 and fn.6), it is not known whether these exceptions are evidence of dialect variation or evidence of an ongoing change that affects the whole language.

The rules are presented below in tabular form. Examples follow the presentation. The numbers associated with an example corresponds to rule numbers.

Morphophonological		Environment		
No.	Symbol	Phoneme/Preceding	Locus	Following
1a	^	∅	\hat{V} -	\bar{V}
1b		∅		\bar{V} V,me:,Na·
2a	`	∅		\bar{v} #
2b		'	(w,w)v̇	... \bar{V} ...#
2c		~		\bar{V} ∅V
3	'	~		\bar{V} ∅[V]-V̇
4a	~	'	(V̇,V̇)N,V̇	\bar{V}
4b		'	(V̇,V̇)m	\bar{V} #
4c		'		\bar{V} ∅v̇#,[-]V, (w,y[v̇]-V̇
5a	"	~		\bar{V} ∅-V
5b		'		---

- 1a,3,4c <ipxa·n·à· há·ki -écHu>: /ʔípxa·n·a·kíc·uʔ/
'from the lake country'
- 1b,2a,4c <čv̂ i·hayv̂> : /či·háý/ 'we're going to
dream'
- 1a,5a,5b <umé· -əpsi ya·war -éHtu túk -écHu>:
/ʔumé·psiyá·warí·tutukúc·uʔ/
'from the pitiful children's
place'
- 2c,5b <ipxa·n·à· túk> : /ʔípxa·n·a·túk/ 'in
the lake'
- 1a,4b <sr i·hayv̂ -éHʔi> : /sri·háʔi/ 'if he
dreams'
- 1b,2b <kwv̂ a·xì·wi eheNpi ika·> : /kwa·xí·wehempika·ʔ/
'I took him along home'
- 1b,4a <kwv̂ ičkų Na·> : /kwičkwá·ʔ/ 'I ate'

236.2. Junctural pattern rules. The remarks made in 210.6 about the junctural pattern, together with the following statement, describe the occurrence of phonemic high or low tone on the first syllable of a word: ˘ : ˙ ~ ∅ in the morphophonological environment. /#[∅[v̂]]V/ when the immediately following V=V, unless the phonemic product of the lexical pattern rules is high tone on the second

syllable of a word,⁷ cp. <ičway>: /ʔičway/ 'wild-cat'; <ičway ya·war>: /ʔičwayá·war/ 'wildcats'; /ičway -éHtu>: /ʔičwáytuʔ/ 'wildcat(poss.)'; <sr i·hayv -éHʔi>: /sri·háʔi/ 'if he dreams'.

240. Optional morphophonemic rules. The optional morphophonemic rules account for consonant syncope and vowel contraction which can occur anywhere between word junctures.⁸

241. Consonant syncope. Optional syncope affects the nonapical consonants <ʔ,h,ḥ,b,w,k,x> when they are intervocalic.⁹ Syncope of <k,x>, which is sporadic, has been accounted for in terms of lexemic variation, e.g. <a·ykàk> ~ <e·yà·k> as in /kúwata·ykák/ ~ /kúwate·yá·k/ 'I wanted to...', <xa·yxér> ~ /xé·r> as in /ʔé·xa·xa·yxér/ ~ /ʔé·xa·xé·r/ 'bearcubs'.

The rules for syncope of <ʔ,h,ḥ,b,w> are given below (G=ʔ,h,ḥ; W=b,w; vowel length (i.e. <·,N> is irrelevant).

Morphophonological		Environment
Symbol	Phoneme	
G	: G ~ ∅	V ₁ ___V ₁ ; i__(e,a,u); (e,u)___i
W	: W ~ ∅	a___a; i___u

For examples see below (242.)

242. Vowel contraction. Once the syncope takes place, there is vowel contraction (Ç=synco-
pating consonant),

$V_1[.]$:	\emptyset	$__CV_1$
		$V_1\cdot$	$V_1[.]Ç__$
$i[.]$:	y	$__Ç(a,u,e),((a,u,e)[.])Ç__$
$u[.]$:	w	$__Çi, a[.]Ç__$

For example,

$/kat\cdot i\cdot ?i/$	~	$/kat\cdot i\cdot /$	'You(pl) go down- stream!'		
$/k'wé?e\cdot k'ik/$	~	$/k'wé\cdot k'ik/$	'it's cooked'		
$/ká\cdot ?a\cdot kakiru?/$	~	$/ká\cdot kakiru?/$	'You(sg) drag it away!'		
$/kú\cdot ?uta\cdot s/$	~	$/kú\cdot ta\cdot s/$	'a skillet'		
$/k'wíhi\cdot yi\cdot ka?/$	~	$/k'wí\cdot yi\cdot ka?/$	'he came to visit me'		
$/k'wát\cdot ehé\cdot ha\cdot ma/$	~	$/k'wat\cdot é\cdot ha\cdot ma/$	'he went across'		
$/ríkahakwaya\cdot ?/$	~	$/ríka\cdot kwaya\cdot ?/$	'he is dressed up'		
$/káp\cdot uhú?/$	~	$/kap\cdot ú\cdot ?/$	'You(sg) leach acorns!'		
$\langle acmu\ hí\rangle$:		$/?ácmuhí/$	~	$/?acmwí/$	'grandfather(ref.)'
$/yú\cdot hikwaya\cdot ?/$	~	$/ywí\cdot kwaya\cdot ?/$			'he walked up the hill'

/ʔahúčuč·uʔ/ ~ /ʔáwčuč·uʔ/ 'beard' (cp. /ʔáw/
'mouth')

When the morphophonological sequence
<u[·]Çi> occurs, there are two types of contraction
possible; e.g., /kwípxuʔi·k/ ~ /kwípxuyk/ ~
/kwípxwi·k/ 'he's smoking something out of a hole'
(cp. <uy> ~ <wi> 'eye').

There are exceptions to the above rules in
some environments, i.e. when the morphophonological
sequence is <Vʔ(i,u) V>, <Vʔ(i,u -V)>, or
<Vʔ(i,u) Na·>. Further study is needed before
a definite statement can be made about these ex-
ceptions.¹⁰

250. Morpholexical Rule Inventory. The lexemes to which morpholexical rules apply are listed below, accompanied by cross references to the sections in the description where discussion appropriate to the morpholexical rules is found.

ahá·w	412.2.2.2	cw	412.2.2.2.
aka	412.3.2.1.2	ča·ká	422.3
aNti	412.2.3	če·ʔa	422.4
asw	412.2.2.2	hi	422.1.2.
awa·	412.3.2.1.2	kwac	422.3
a·ʔi	412.2.3	kwa·ká	422.3
ehé·ha·w	412.2.2.2	kwa·ʔi	412.2.4
ehéNpi	412.2.5	ma·ká	422.3
i·	p.171 fn.	ma·ʔi	422.3
ika·	412.3.2.1.2	wáha·w	412.2.2.2
ipsiru	412.2.2.2	wa·te·há	422.4
-ik	412.3.2.1.1.	xuk·a	422.4
-éHtu	421.4	ya·ʔa	422.3
iru	412.3.	yí·	412.2.4.
		ʔiNbu	412.2.2.2.
		ʔi·rú	422.4

Morphophonology

(Footnotes)

1. It is interesting from the comparative point of view to note that there is no morphophonemic alternation between glottalized and unglottalized consonants. Glottalization vrs. non-glottalization falls into the category of unpredictable alternations (cf. I.210.3.1.).
2. The Atsugewi form is from data collected by Leonard Talmy, who worked with an Atsugewi speaker during the summers of 1964-65 under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages. The form is in morphophonemic transcription.
3. deAngulo and Freeland, in their unpublished description of Shasta (p. 98) give the form yitsura as the first person plural in the paradigm for the verb 'to dry' in the declarative mode. According to my analysis, the paradigm they give is for the perfective aspect in the declarative mode; the morphophonological shape of yitsura would be <yic·urNa·>. There is a form /yíc·un·a·?/ 'we're drying(something)' (CW)

in my data. It would seem that there may have been different dialect forms for the paucal perfective or that in my data the occurrence of <Na·> in the perfective paradigm may be due to analogical change.

4. There are variant forms which cannot be predicted by this rule; e.g. <a·tax> ~ <amtax> 'salt' (<amtax> was identified by SS as ¹ka·mátwa·).

5. A frequent variant of this form is /¹wí·ta²/.

6. It is not known whether this variation is evidence of dialect difference or is indicative of an historical change in process that affects the whole language; the speech of both SS and CW contains the variation.

7. The possibility of predicting tonal alternations (and other alternations) in term of a morphophonological syllabic canon was considered; however, all attempts proved fruitless.

8. To quote Sargent Sambo, "ʔin·áyá·war is the word; ʔin·áyá·r is the way of talk." This succinct description of the consonant syncope and vowel contraction in Shasta leaves out crucial information; i.e. in many cases "the way of talk" has

become the morphophonological shape of a lexeme and it is no longer possible to account for the phonemic representation in terms of optional morphophonemic rules. For example, <wi·hà·p> as in /ywí·ha·panta·ʔ/ 'we piled it up' is the only first position radical lexeme that begins in a consonant; all others begin in a vowel. It is highly likely that the sequence /wi·/ is the result of consonant syncope and vowel contraction; however, as there is no evidence for which consonant underwent syncope, there is nothing to do but assume the aberrant shape <wi·hà·p>.

9. Presumably <ḳ> undergoes syncope too; however, there are no examples in the data. It is not possible to state the conditions under which the speakers employ the syncope rules. One obvious difference between the speech of CW and that of SS is due to the fact that CW uses the syncope rules (and the concomitant vowel contraction rules) more often than SS does. Because of this use, CW's speech has an extra vowel phoneme /o/ e.g. <ahu>, <aʔu> : /aw/ (SS), /o/ (CW). It may also be the case that it is necessary to set

up an extra mid front vowel phoneme for her speech, i.e. <a?i, ahi> : [E·], which would only occur with length; however, as yet this problem is unsolved.

10. The tonal changes resulting from the syncope and contraction are also as yet unaccounted for.

Chapter II

Syntax

300. Introduction to the syntax. The description of syntactic classes and word formation is found in II.400.

Presented here is an overview of Shasta grammatical structure and discussion of quasi-productive derivational patterns.

310. General remarks on structure. The most widely used techniques for expressing relations between grammatical elements are affixation and

compounding. The most important grammatical structures are the clause and the theme.

311. Affixation. Affixation is used in theme formation and in the establishment of relations between the VERB and its satellites.

There are two types of affixation: prefixation and suffixation. All affixes except the verbal prefixes are optional.

The VERB is defined by means of prefixation. Prefixation also has a limited use in the formation of satellite themes.

Suffixation is used in substantive theme formation.

The members of the class ENCLITIC are suffixes that differ from others in that they play no role in theme formation or in the establishment of classes.

Enclitics mark word boundaries, i.e. an enclitic can only be followed by another enclitic (or the clitic) or juncture.

312. Compounding. Compounding is used in the formation of verb radicals and substantive phrases. A compound verb radical can consist of two or

three members. Substantive compounds consist of two or more members. The verb radical compounds are endocentric and coordinate. The noun compounds are endocentric and both coordinate and attributive.

313. The clause. The clause is the most important structure that results from syntactic combination. There are two types of clause, the MINOR and the MAJOR.

A minor clause is verbless. A major clause must contain a verb.

Major clauses are categorized as equational and nonequational. The equational clause must contain a satellite, or another verb. In the nonequational clause all constituents are optional except the verb; therefore, an unexpanded nonequational clause consists of verb, e.g. /kúwa·tika·/ 'He went(somewhere) to buy(something).' In addition to the verb (and optional elements such as the clause marker), an expanded nonequational clause contains satellites that reiterate relationships explicitly or implicitly, expressed within the verb,

- /táka· kúwa·tika·/ 'Someone went(somewhere)
to buy(something).'
- /sápirí táka· kúwa·tika·/ 'Someone went(somewhere)
to buy bread.'
- /sápirí táka· kúwa·tika· stúwatúk/ 'Someone went
to the store to buy
bread.'

The ordering of clause elements is more or less free; however, there are preferred orders, given the presence of certain constructions in a clause.

A clause or a combination of two or more clauses can be a sentence; however, the sentence is insignificant syntactically (it is yet to be determined if the concept of sentence is useful in a description of Shasta narrative style).

314. The theme. The theme is the cornerstone of the syntax. It is any monolexic or polylexemic sequence that can occur as a word, i.e. that can occur with an enclitic or the clitic.

A theme may consist of a single lexeme or two or more lexemes whose order of occurrence is fixed. A polylexemic theme contains a simple

radical with one or more affixes or a compound radical with or without affixes. The following examples are all themes which share the lexeme <ahu> 'mouth' : <ahu> 'mouth' (simple substantive/verb radical); <ahu -is·t̄> 'talk' (compound verb radical); <ahu -is·t̄ rí·ʔi> 'talk right' (compound verb radical plus verb suffix); <k̄v̄ ahu -is·t̄ rí·ʔi>: 'plainspoken' (deverbative nominalizing prefix plus verb theme); <k̄v̄ ahu -is·t̄ rí·ʔi é·ki> 'among the Shasta (i.e. the plainspoken)'.

315. Number. In Shasta, number is a lexical phenomenon expressed in the noun substantive and in the verb.

Except for forms discussed in 323, and the pronouns, noun themes are undifferentiated for number. The pronouns are inherently singular or plural. Other noun themes can be optionally marked for non-singularity; take, for an instance, the collective marker <ya·war> as in /ʔísyá·war kwehétap̄·e·keʔ/; 'The Indians(coll.) are gambling.' It is also possible to say /ʔís kwehétap̄·e·keʔ/, since the verb is marked for collectiveness by the suffix <e·ki>. Lack of

differentiation for number is shown by the occurrence of <is> in /ʔís kwehétap'ik/ 'An Indian is gambling.' vs. /ʔís kwehétap'e.keʔ/ 'The Indians are gambling.'

Verbal number consists of singularity, plurality, paucality (i.e. a few), collectiveness (i.e. an unindividuated group), and distributiveness (i.e. an individuated group).

The following paradigm shows some of the kinds of number and how they are expressed. (The forms are phonemic; the paradigm is in the perfective aspect of the declarative mode.) In addition there is marking in the verbs for reciprocalness, which often is used to express the concept of dualness.

<u>First Person</u>		<u>Second Person</u>	
kwíc'á'ʔ	'I drank'	kwíc'ik	'you(sg) drank'
kwíc'a'ʔ	'we drank'	kwíc'e.keʔ	'you(coll.) drank'
kwíc'e.keʔ	'we(coll.) drank'		

Third Person

'kwíc'ik	'he drank'
'kwíc'e'ke?	'they(coll.) drank'

As can be seen from the paradigm, the first person prefixes are inherently singular or plural and number is unspecified in the second and third person prefixes.

The first person forms show a differentiation between singular, paucal and collective; i.e., the first person singular prefix and a theme that is unmarked for collectiveness (or distributiveness) forms a construction that is singular, the first person plural prefix and a theme unmarked for collectiveness (or distributiveness) forms a paucal construction. This distinction between paucality and collectiveness (or distributiveness) is unique to the first person verb formation. (Cp.

/yumpihé'wi'ma/ 'we(pauc.) swam downstream;
/yumpihé'wiru'ma/ 'we(dist.) swam downstream').

The marker for distributiveness is <iru>, e.g., /'kwá'yakniruk/ 'they(dist.) passed by (something)',

/kwá·yakniruk/ 'you(dist.) passed by(something)',
 /yá·yaknin·a·ʔ/ 'we(dist.) passed by(something)'.

It is appropriate at this point to note complex semantic relationships that are not within the scope of this descriptive study.

In the preceding examples, the concepts of collectiveness and distributiveness were associated with the subject of the verb, which is marked by the verbal prefixes. In motion verbs, these concepts can be associated with verb subject, object or action. All the logical combinatory possibilities are not expressed, e.g. there are no examples of a verb which simultaneously differentiates distributive subject, distributive object and distributive action. However, it is possible to get such combinations as collective subject, collective object and collective action; or, collective subject, collective object, distributive action. Examples are,

/kʷí·p·irute·ke·keʔ/ 'they(coll.) led them(coll.)
 around(coll.)'
 /kʷí·p·irute·kira·ʔ/ 'they(coll.) led them(coll.)
 around(dist.)'

In these examples, collective object is marked

by <i·p·t̄> (cp. kwip·irute·ke? 'He is leading them around'), collectiveness associated with the subject (or verb action, in the first example) is marked by <e·ki>, and distributiveness associated with verb action (in the second example) is marked by <iru> (the <iru> following <i·p·t̄> is the radical 'action involving hand/arm').

320. Quasiproductive features. There are patterns of derivation whose description cannot be generalized. These quasiproductive patterns involve syntactic ambivalence, the petrification of lexemic sequences, suppletion and reduplication.

321. Syntactic ambivalence. It is a general pattern of derivation in Shasta that themes beginning in a vowel can be verb, substantive, or adverb themes. Themes that begin in a consonant can be either substantive themes or adverb themes. The restrictions are semantic. It is also the case that verb themes can be nominalized or adverbialized.

There are analogous patterns of derivation in which some verb suffixes can also occur as adverbs, enclitics, or substantive themes. For

example:

- (1) <si·way> occurs as an attributive verb suffix in <t e·xi si·way -iru Hma>: /té·xisi·wayru·ma/ 'It is said that she got sick from worrying.', and as an adverb in /sí·way ʔa·yé·kiʔ/ 'They might cry.'.
- (2) <ča·m·i> occurs as an enclitic in such as <ičkákča·m·i> 'too heavy' and as an attributive verb suffix in the verb <kw á·ʔa· ča·m·i -ik>: /kwá·ʔa·ča·m·ik/ 'It is storming hard'.
- (3) <Hma> 'continuative aspect' occurs as a verb suffix in <t e·xi si·way -iru Hma>:/té·xisi·wayru·ma/ 'it is said she got sick from worrying' and as a locative substantive thematic suffix in <a·yax·í Hma> 'again tomorrow'.
- (4) <čik> 'mud' occurs as radical in nominal substantive /kíčikícwiruk/ 'a chimney flue' and as the noun, /čík/ 'mud'.
- (5) <ka·hú> occurs as a directional verb suffix in

/yúmpikahu·ma/ 'we swam upstream' and as an enclitic in /ʔawáčayka·húʔ/ 'up the creek'.

In the case of 1,2,4 there is generality in the patterning in that any perception attributive suffix is syntactically ambivalent but it is impossible to predict what the overlapping classes will be.

(3) and (5) are examples of sporadic syntactic ambivalence that is an even less predictable phenomenon than that of the attributive suffixes.

As it is not possible to describe the situation exemplified above with rules of sufficient generality, in the dictionary such syntactically ambivalent lexemes will be accompanied by the class symbols necessary to account for their unique distributions.

322. Petrification. There are sequences that are historically analyzable, but synchronically opaque; in other words, they are petrified combinations of lexemes. <si·way> 'possible' is an example of such a phenomenon. It can be analyzed as <s> 'adverbializing prefix', <i·way> a radical meaning 'perceive' (which in turn could be

analyzed into the verb radical <i·w> and the transitive marker <a·ʔi>). However, it is not possible, descriptively, to economically account for the embedding of such a construction as prefix plus verb radical within the verb theme; therefore, <si·way> is considered monolexemic.

There is another type of petrified combination, for example;

/tíčkaxáracwik/ 'She bound up the hair on
top of the head'

/tíčkapárahampik/ 'She bound up the hair in
back of the head'

/tíčkahárahampik/ 'She undid the hair'

In these examples the sequences <xára>, <pára>, and <hára> are being considered. Here we find the recurrent partial <ára> and the unique elements <x>, <p>, and <h>. It is not possible, however, to account for these segments synchronically, therefore they are treated as single lexemes.

323. Suppletion. Suppletion is associated with the concept of number discussed in 315. There are ~~three~~ examples of suppletion which are not associated with number; these are the verb radicals

<is·i̇>, <ik·is> 'sound', <utis·i̇>, <utik·is> 'speak' and <i·>, <ik·i>, 'be(momentaneous)'. The alternation between <i·> and <ik·i> is morpholexical. The other two alternations are lexemic variants.

Suppletion occurs as a nonproductive pattern in the verb theme formation. The only examples of suppletion occurring elsewhere in the corpus are two examples among the noun themes:

/súk·ax/ 'boy'; /súk·axyá·war/ 'boys';
 /ʔé·warár/ 'boys(paucal)'
 /kíyaxáʔ/ 'girl'; /kíyaxáyá·war/ 'girls';
 /yač·ápxa·/ 'girls(paucal)'

The suppletion in the verb theme formation involves both monolexemic and dilexemic radicals. For instance the radical in /kwícmasa·kaʔ/ 'He's sleeping' is analyzable into <icma si·> whereas the radical in /kwí·wan·akaʔ/ 'They are sleeping' is <i·wan·i̇>. On the other hand the radical in /kúč·í·kaʔ/ 'He fell.' is <uč·i̇> whereas the radical in /kwárákwí·kaʔ/ 'They fell.' is <ara kw> 'linear movement in a vertical manner'.

There is also <i·ʔ·i̇> in /kwí·ʔakaʔ/ 'He looked' and <ip·i̇> in /kwíp·akaʔ/ 'They looked'. Here the suppletion is monolexemic.

With the verbs that supplete for non-singular it is possible to get both collective and paucal formations in the 1st plural of the verb, e.g. /yí·ʔ·a·ʔ/ 'we(paucal) looked' and /yíp·a·ʔ/ 'we (coll.) looked'.

The exact nature of this suppletive patterning is difficult to determine. The only thing that can be said is that suppletion of monolexic or dilexic verb radicals marks nonsingularity of subject, object or verb action.

This suppletion does not always occur, e.g.

/k'wá·ʔača·m·ik/	'He held on tight'
/k'wá·piča·m·e·keʔ/	'They held on tight.'
/k'wá·ʔa·kaka·ma/	'He dragged it away'
/k'wá·pikaka·ma/	'He dragged them away'

but:

/k'wá·ʔa·čikwá·kaʔ/	'He pumped'
/k'wá·ʔa·čikwá·kikaʔ/	'They pumped'

It is assumed that the seeming suppletion is semantically conditioned. Therefore, such semantic information must accompany the dictionary entries.

Given below is a list of the suppletive or

apparent suppletive forms found in the corpus,

<icma>	'sleep'	/k'wícmasa·ka?/	'He slept'
<i·wan·#>	'sleep(coll.)'	/k'wí·wan·aka?/	'They slept'
<at·i>	'walk'	/k'wát·aka?/	'He was walking along'
<e?·i>	'walk(coll.)'	/k'wé?·aka?/	'They were walking along'
<ip·i>	'look'	/k'wí·?aka?/	'He looked'
<ip·i>	'look(coll.)'	/k'wíp·aka?/	'They looked'
<uhu>	'along in space'	/k'úhuka?/	'He was flying/crawling'
<aha>	'along in space (coll.)'	/k'wáhaka?/	'They were flying/crawling'
<aki·>	'lean'	/k'wáki·kwaya·?/	'He leaned against it'
<a·cwiki>	'lean(coll.)'	/k'wá·cwíki·kwaya·?/	'They leaned against it'
<aka>	'stand'	/k'wákawa·?/	'He was standing'
<e·ruka>	'stand(coll.)'	/k'wé·rukawa·?/	'They were standing'

<uč·i>	'fall'	/kuč·í·ka?/	'He fell'
<arāk>	'fall(coll.)'	/kwárakwí·ka?/	'They fell'
<itíkw>	'fall(coll.)'	/kwítíkwí·ka?/	'They fell'
<iri>	'run'	/kwíritip·í·kahuk/	'He ran and fell'
<u·mpi>	'run(coll.)'	/túmpitip·í·kahuk/	'They ran and fell'
<epxù>	'go out to camp'	/kwépxu·ma/	'He went out to camp'
<axisu>	'go out to camp(coll.)'	/kwáxisa·ki·ma/	'They (the family) went out to camp'
<is·a·>	'sit'	/kwís·a·kni·wá?/	'He was sitting up on top of it'
<ará·>	'sit(coll.)'	/kwára·kni·wá·?/	'They were sitting up on top of it'

<umpi>	'swim'	/kúmpe·ke?/	'He swam around'
<e·w>	'swim(coll.)'	/kwé·we·kira·?/	'They (coll.) swam around (dist.)'
<i·m·a>	'hunt/dig/mine'	/kwí·m·a·ke?/	'He hunted'
<ayk>	'hunt/dig/mine (coll.)'	/kwáyke?/	'They hunted'
<a?u>	'mouth'	/kwá?uxáwik/	'He bit once'
<e·p>	'mouth(coll.)'	/kwe·pxáw?·ik/	'He bit every once in a while'
<a·?a·>	'with hand/arm'	/kwá·?a·ča·m·ik/	'He held on tight'
<a·pi>	'with hand/arm (coll.)'	/kwá·piča·m·e·ke?/	'They held on tight'
<ehe>	'jump'	/kwéhečuk·u·ma/	'He jumped from one place to another'
<é·pxa·>	'jump(coll.)'	/kwé·pxa·čuk·a·ki·ma/	'They jumped from one place to another'

<ehe·ti>	'run'	/kwéhe·ta·ka?/	'He ran'
<aska>	'run(coll.)'	/kwáskaka?/	'They ran'
<itantu>	'sudden movement'	/kwítantuk/	'It jumped and ran'
<atkara>	'sudden movement (coll.)'	/kwátkarahampik/	'They jumped and ran'

324. Reduplication. The reduplication that occurs is not associated with particular syntactic or semantic patterns. There is a partial pattern of reduplication that is associated with the phonological representation of the referential <hí>. This has been accounted for by morpho-lexical rules (II.422.1.2.). Elsewhere reduplication is distributed randomly throughout the lexicon, e.g. <parpar> 'skunk cabbage', <pukpuk> 'salamander', <ehikhik·> 'to pant'.

400. Syntactic classes. The discussion in this section is organized according to the syntactic classes that provide the basis for clause formation. The major syntactic classes include the VERB and its satellites, ADVERB, SUBSTANTIVE (including nouns, locatives, pronouns, numerals, and deverbatives), and DEMONSTRATIVE. Included in the discussion of the VERB and satellites is the description of associated affix and theme classes. The minor classes include CONJUNCTIVE PARTICLE, CLAUSE MARKER, ENCLITIC, CLITIC and INTERJECTION.

410. The verb. The verb consists of verb prefix plus verb theme, and is the most complex part of Shasta structure, encapsulating much of the syntactic and semantic information present in a clause.

411. The verb prefixes. The verb prefixes are represented by a number of morphophonological sequences having the following canonical shapes: \emptyset , $\emptyset\dot{v}$, $\emptyset\dot{w}$, $\emptyset\dot{w}\dot{v}$, $\emptyset w$, $\emptyset w\dot{v}$. These sequences, given below, are representations of syncretisms of grammatical categories of mode, subject-person, number, and tense.

<u>\emptyset</u>	<u>$\emptyset\dot{v}$</u>	<u>$\emptyset\dot{w}$</u>	<u>$\emptyset\dot{w}\dot{v}$</u>	<u>$\emptyset w$</u>	<u>$\emptyset w\dot{v}$</u>
p					
\dot{p}	$\dot{p}\dot{v}$				
t	$t\dot{v}$			tw	$tw\dot{v}$
\dot{t}	$\dot{t}\dot{v}$			$\dot{t}w$	
\check{c}	$\check{c}\dot{v}$				
s		sw			
sk		sk \dot{w}			
sr	$st\dot{v}$		$s\dot{t}\dot{w}\dot{v}$		
r			$nr\dot{v}$		
y	$k\dot{v}$			kw	$kw\dot{v}$
			$hw\dot{v}$	$\dot{k}w$	$?w\dot{v}$

Each of the grammatical categories associated with the prefixes is defined by a set of grammatical properties:*

<u>Category symbol</u>	<u>Property symbol</u>	
M mode	H hortative	
	I imperative	
	V volitional	
	P potential	
	S subjunctive	
	D declarative	
	S subject-person	U undifferentiated for person
		1 first person
		2p second person prohibitory
		2m second person mandatory
2u second person undifferentiated		
3d third person- direct evidential		
3i third person- inferential		

* The properties of negation and interrogation discussed in 411.6.7. should be included in the set of properties discussed here.

		3r	third person- reportative
		3g	third person- gerundial
		3p	third person- passive
		3u	third person undifferentiated
N	number	S	singular
		P	plural
		U	undifferentiated
T	tense	Pr	present
		Pn	near past
		Pd	distant past
		U	undifferentiated

The grammatical categories combine as follows:

<u>Mode</u>	<u>Subject-person</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Tense</u>
H	1, 2u, 3u	S, P, U	U
I	2p, 2m	U	U
V	1, 2u, 3p, 3u	S, P, U	U
P	1, 2u, 3u	U	U
S	U	U	U
D	1, 2u, 3d, 3i, 3r, 3g, 3p, 3u	S, P, U	Pr, Pn, Pd, U

In the sections that follow, the discussion consists of a paradigmatic presentation, organized by mode and containing the prefixes representing each combination of grammatical categories and phonemic examples of occurrence of the prefixes with verb themes. The verb radical as a paradigmatic example used is <ahu -is·i> 'talk'. In the paradigmatic examples for all modes except the declarative, <ahu -is·i> occurs in a neutral theme, the theme type most common with the prefixes of the non-declarative mode. In the examples for the declarative mode, <ahu -is·i> occurs in a perfective theme. When necessary, the presentation is accompanied by explication of grammatical restrictions, semantic content and usage.

411.1. The hortative. The hortative is used to urge or tell someone to do something. It differs from the imperative in that there is no implication that the action must always be done or continue to be done.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>	
H	1	S	U	<t̂v̂>	táhu·sá?	'Let me talk!'
H	1	P	U	<č̂v̂>	čáhus·á?	'Let us talk!'
H	2u	U	U	<k̂v̂>	káhus·á?	'You(sg.) talk!'
					káhus·á·ki?	'You(coll.) talk!'
H	3u	U	U	<r>	ráhus·a?	'Let him talk!'
					ráhus·a·ki?	'Let them(coll.) talk!'

The examples above are formed with the neutral theme; however, the hortative prefixes, particularly <k̂v̂> and <r>, often occur with the perfective theme, e.g. <káhus·í·k>, <ráhus·i·k>. Such forms are then translated '...keep...ing'.

Examples of uses of the hortative:

- /kis·áy ?in·á? ráhus·a?/ 'Tell him; let him
talk (i.e. You(sg.)
tell him to talk!')
- /skwís·anti·ka? wé· kútik·is/ 'He's telling
you(sg.): you(sg.)
say this! (i.e. He
says that you are to
say this)'

411.2. The imperative. The imperative occurs

only in the second person. There is a prohibitory and a mandatory imperative. The prohibitory form of a verb always occurs with the adverb <ma-> 'not'.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>		<u>Example</u>
I	2p	U	U	<y>	má· yáhus·a?	'You(sg.) don't ever talk!'
					má· yáhus·a·ki?	'You(coll.) don't ever talk!'
I	2m	U	U	<nwv̄>	náhus·í·k	'You(sg.) always talk!'
					náhus·a·ke?	'You(coll.) always talk!'

As in the examples above, the mandatory hortative is most often used with a perfective theme. Such use is not obligatory. The mandatory hortative is primarily used when instructing someone in how to do something or how to act or behave.

Examples of usage follow:

/má·ká? yáxiwísni?/ 'You(sg.) mustn't get scared!'
 /kíké·kim·u stá·? má·ká? yikehé?/ 'Carry him constantly; don't set him down!'

/má· yári·tay/

'Don't ever bother
him!'(cp. /má· skarí·tay / 'Don't bother him (just for
now)!')

/nipxúye·kík·a? mí·čax ničkwá·ki?/ 'You(coll.)

go and smoke it
out; then you(pl.)
can eat it!'

/nwi·púk/ 'You(sg.) keep on bathing (i.e. bathe

repeatedly, every
once in a while)!'

411.3. The volitional. The volitional implies intention to do something. It is most often translated by '...will...' or '...going to...'. The first person volitional form of a verb most often occurs with the adverb <sa·> '1st person volitional marker'; however, the occurrence of <sa·> is not obligatory.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>
V	1	S	U	<t̥v̥>	sá· t̥áhus·á? 'I'll talk.'
V	1	P	U	<čv̥>	sá· čáhus·á? 'We'll talk.'
V	2u	U	U	<stv̥>	stáhus·á? 'You(sg.)'ll talk.'
					stáhus·á·ki? 'You(coll.)'ll talk.'
V	3u	U	U	<t̥>	t̥áhus·a? 'He'll talk.'
					t̥áhus·a·ki? 'They'll talk.'
V	3p	U	U	<y>	yáhus·antay 'They/he will talk to him.'
					yáhus·aya·kay 'They/he will talk to them(coll.)'

<y>, third person passive volitional, is used here with a transitive neutral theme; however, such use is not obligatory. Cf. /yam·ár/ 'He's going to get whipped,' which in <y> is used with a neutral theme unmarked for transitive. Although the forms are translated as active, the translations for forms in the declarative mode are often rendered as English passives. (For discussion of

problems concerning the passive prefixes, cf. 411.6.)

411.4. The potential. The potential implies the ability to do something or the possibility of the occurrence of certain actions or conditions. Potential verb forms enter into the substantive system as deverbative when occurring with the temporal locative substantive suffix <-śH?i>.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>		<u>Example</u>
P	1	U	U	<s>	sáhus•a?	'I might talk.'
					sáhus•a•ki?	'We might talk.'
P	2u	U	U	<sk>	skáhus•a?	'You(sg.) might talk.'
					skáhus•a•ki?	'You(coll.) might talk.'
P	3u	U	U	<sr>	sráhus•a?	'He might talk.'
					sráhus•a•ki?	'They might talk.'
P	3p	U	U	<č>	čáhus•antay	'They/he might talk to him.'
					čáhus•aya•kay	'They/he might talk to them.'

Examples of usage are:

/ku·čá sá· ké· číčku? ʔátuka sá·ʔi ke·hú·ti·k/
 'What are we going to eat
if we don't have any money?'

/ma·húka mí· sríp·eheʔ/ 'He hasn't made retri-
 bution yet.'

/skáwe·čí·ʔi ʔin·áʔ kimpíʔ ʔin·áʔ stik·íʔ/ 'If
you(sg.) eat it all up,
 you'll get big.'

/ma·húka mí· sríp·ehempe·kiʔ/ 'They haven't been
 paid retribution yet.'

411.5. The subjunctive. The subjunctive expresses an action or a state that is contingent and dependent. It often translates with an optative ('might', 'may') or an obligative ('must', 'have to') force. A subjunctive verb can occur as the main verb in a clause or as a dependent verb in a verb phrase.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>
S	U	U	U	<stwv̄> ~ <stwv̄>	
					stáhus·áʔ sú·wataykak 'I want to talk.'
					stáhus·á·kiʔ yú·wataykak 'We want to talk.'

stáhus·á? rú·wataykak

'He wants to talk.'

stáhus·á·ki? rú·wata·kaykak

'They want to talk.'

Examples of usage are:

/yap·ú? ?in·á? stíwa·?i kwá·?/ 'I was going to
start a fire.'

/makáy čí·mi stwat·é·ke?/ 'You(sg.) come around
here again!'

/?is·ík sí·way stik·í?/ 'you(sg.) might get cold.'

/stáhu?·uhúm·u mí· kwá·/ 'He was just about to
say something.'

411.6. The declarative. The declarative mode denotes actions or states as fact. The declarative prefixes mark not only mode, subject-person and number, but also tense. A proliferation of third person prefixes differentiate other semantic and grammatical notions. The prefixes that require little or no special comment are presented first.

411.6.1. Present tense. The present tense describes an action or state of being at the time of speech. It is also used when talking about immediately past actions or states if the context for them is still in force at the time of speech.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>
D	1	S	Pr	<sw>	swáhus·i·k 'I'm talking.'
D	2u	U	Pr	<skw>	skwáhus·i·k 'You(sg.) are talking.'
D	3i	U	Pr	<kw>	kwáhus·i·k 'He is talk- ing.'
					kwáhus·a·ke? 'They are talking.'
D	3d	U	Pr	<r>	rári·čača·? 'He's look- ing (at him).'
					rári·čača·ke? 'They are looking (at him).'

The use of <kw> and <r> needs comment. <kw> 'inferential' is more frequently used than <r> 'direct evidential'. Its meaning roughly translates 'on the basis of what I have perceived, either directly or indirectly, I have inferred that a third person is...'.
'

<r>, used with a durative perfective theme in the paradigm above, is semantically complex. <r> is used when the speaker knows of what he speaks from immediate direct (usually visual) evidence; e.g. /rát·aka?/ 'he's going along on foot(prog.)', /rúč·akak/ 'a storm is coming(prog.)'.

It is also often used when the subject is indefinite, e.g. /ráhutiskicwa· ?ácnak/ 'everything's quiet outside(dur.)'. The use of <r> is most frequent with themes that have an imperfective, continuous, durative or progressive aspect as an element of semantic content.

411.6.2. Near past tense. The near past is used in conversation and anecdote to describe events relatively recent in time from the speaker's point of view; for example, in an anecdote involving himself, SS might use the near past to refer to an event that happened any time from the day before to fifty or sixty years ago.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>		<u>Example</u>
D	1	S	Pn	<kwv>	kwáhus·á·?	'I talked.'
D	2u	U	Pn	<kw>	kwáhus·i·k	'You(sg.) talked.'
					kwáhus·a·ke?	'You(coll.) talked.'
D	3i	U	Pn	<kw>	kwáhus·i·k	'He talked.'
					kwáhus·a·ke?	'They(coll.) talked.'
D	3r	U	Pn	<t>	táhus·i·k	'it is said that he talked.'

táhus·a·ke? 'It is said
that you(coll.)
talked.'

<kw> is near past inferential. <t> 'reportative' is used when describing events of which the speaker has no personal knowledge; however, there is a tendency to substitute <t> for the other forms in the near past and use it simply as a past time marker.

411.6.3. Distant past tense. The distant past prefixes are usitative or simply markers of distant past time.

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>		<u>Example</u>
D	1	S	Pd	<pv̄>	pa'hus·á·?	'I used to talk.'
D	2u	U	Pd	<p>	pa'hus·i·k	'You(sg.) used to talk.'
					pa'hus·a·ke?	'You(coll.) used to talk.'
D	3i	U	Pd	<p̄>	pa'hus·i·k	'He used to talk.'
					pa'hus·a·ke?	'They(coll.) used to talk.'
D	3r	U	tw	<tw̄>	twáhus·i·k	'It is said that he used to talk.'
					twáhus·a·ke?	'It is said

that they used to
talk.'

<ᵑ̣> is distant past inferential. <ᵑ̣tw>, which has a variant <tw>, is distant past reportative. <ᵑ̣tw> and <t> (cf. 411.6.2.) are used in the narration of myths. They are also used in conversation and anecdote, along with the other near past and distant past forms.

411.6.4. <y> first person plural. <y> represents a syncretism of the following: M=D, S=l, N=P, T=U; thus /yáhus·a·/ translates as 'we are talking (or) we talked (near past/distant past)'.
An example of usage is:

/kí·su yíwan·aka? ká·ᵑ̣uči· yíwan·aka?/ 'Yesterday we slept; now-
again we are sleeping.'

If it is necessary to overtly mark tense, the demonstratives (cf. 440.) are used:

/yáhus·a· wé·/ 'We-are-talking right-now.'
/yáhus:a· ᵑ̣in·á?/ 'We-were-talking a-while-ago.'
/yáhus·a· mí·/ 'We-were-talking some-time-ago.'

411.6.5. The passive prefixes. There are three third person prefixes in the declarative mode which are considered passive markers:

<u>M</u>	<u>S</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Prefix</u>
D	3p	U	?	<č>
D	3p	U	?	<y>
D	3p	U	Pd	<hwv̄>

Verb forms occurring with these prefixes are translated either as passive or transitive:

/čís·anta·ʔ/	'He was told (or) he/they told him.'
/yís·anta·ʔ/	'He was told (or) he/they told him.'
/hís·anta·ʔ/	'He was told (or) he/they told him.'
/čís·a·kenta·ʔ/	'They were told (or) he/they told them.'

The implication is that action is being done to the subject by a third person agent:

/čáʔuxáwa·ʔ/ as in /ʔa·psúk·aʔ čáʔuxáwa·ʔ/

'The dog-demons bit him.'

(For discussion of the demonstrative enclitic, see 452.1.)

/čírí·ʔ·á·ʔ/ as in /ʔic·á·taʔ ʔin·áʔ čírí·ʔ·á·ʔ/

'He got hit with a rock.'

(cp. /ʔá·psu kwírí·ʔ·ík ʔic·á·taʔ/ 'he hit the dog with a rock(perf.asp.)' which is not structurally different from /táka·kwát·akaʔ ʔič·á·taʔ/ 'somebody was going along a trail on foot(prog.asp.)').

<č> and <y> are problematical in that there is no way to know whether the difference between them marks a difference in tense or in type of evidential; also, <č> is the third person passive marker in the potential mode, and <y> has the same function in the volitional mode (cf. 411.3,4.).

<hw̄> marks not only third person passive but also distant past. Its use is restricted to narration, usually of myths.

411.6.6. <ʔw̄> gerundial. Forms marked by this prefix function either as verbs or as substantive themes. (Cf. 422.7. for a description of the substantival function). <ʔw̄> does not mark number or tense and is never used with a neutral theme.

Although gerundial verbs are used primarily in the narration of myths, they also occur in anecdotal narration.

A gerundial verb never occurs in clause which opens narration. It always has reference to a verb that is marked for third person declarative, e.g.,

/twé·weʔe ʔi·s·i· kwač·úʔ ʔap·akí·par

'He lived Panther his uncle-alongwith

čá·xari·ná·ʔi·/

Mud Turtle.'

/kwač'ík·aʔ ʔúk·ik ču·kír. ʔí·s·i·čú

'He(Turtle) pounded acorns. Panther

ʔwi·m·á·keʔ ʔaráwpaw./

hunted deer-nothing but'.

411.6.7. Negative/interrogative prefixes. The following analysis is tentative as it is not known whether the variation described in this section is due to dialect difference or to failure in eliciting forms which would throw into contrast differences that are structurally significant.

A subset of declarative prefixes that represent a syncretism of mode, number, person, negation and interrogation is presented below, arranged in a paradigm according to subject-person and number:

1S, 2S, 3U	<t> ~ <tṽ>
2S	<tw> ~ <twṽ>
2P	<st> ~ <stṽ>
1P	<č> ~ <čṽ>

The above paradigm shows an overall variation that seems to be free; take, for instance, the verb radical <i·hayṽ> 'dream' in a perfective theme:

/tí·haykya/ ~ /ti·háykya/ 'Did he dream?'

/má· tí·hayk/ ~ /má· ti·háyk/ 'He didn't dream.'

This is presumably a lexemic variation that is explained by dialect mixture.

There is also a seemingly nondistinctive variation involving the markers for second person singular: (<t> ~ <tṽ>) ~ (<tw> ~ <twṽ>); for example,

/má· twíkyewik/ 'You(sg.) didn't hear it(perf.)'
 /má· táwtiskeʔ/ 'You(sg.) didn't sit still(perf.).'
 /twíkyewikya/ 'Did you(sg.) hear it?(perf.)'
 /táwtiskeya/ 'Did you(sg.) sit still?(perf.)'

A verb marked by a negation/interrogation prefix occurs with the adverb <ma·> 'not' and/or

- (1) the enclitic <ya> 'question marker'
- (2) a satellite construction of which <ya> is a constituent
- (3) a satellite that has the property 'interrogation' as one of its semantic components.

Such verb forms are translated into English in either the present or past tenses.

Examples of usage follow.

/mi·čí· má·ya twim·í·k/ 'There, can't
 you(sg.) see
 it?'
 /kú·čá ké· ʔin·áʔ twári·čača·m·ak/ 'Why do you
 look at me?'

- /ku·čá ké· tí·k/ 'What's he doing?'
- /makáya tá·ʔa·čiyaxe?/ 'Are you (sg.) holding on carefully?'
- /kurá·tičí·ʔi tát·i·ma/ 'What time did he go?'
- /kú·pičite·kika? ste·wá·ya?/ 'He winked at you (coll.); did you (pl.) see him?'
- /má· ʔin·á? číču·ti?/ 'We didn't see that.'

412. The verb theme. The verb theme (VT) consists of a radical plus one or more optional suffixes that are organized into ten position classes.

Given below is a list of the functional/semantic categories associated with the theme classes:

<u>Category</u>	<u>Class symbol</u>
radical	rV
suffix categories:	
attributive	sV1
location/direction	sV2
transitive	sV3
benefactive	sV4
reflexive	sV4
reciprocal	sV5
punctual aspects	sV6
collective	sV7
distributive	sV8
characteristic	sV8
nonpunctual aspects	sV9, sV10

A neutral theme (NVT) is a theme that is unmarked for nonpunctual aspect (i.e. a theme that does not include sV9 or sV10; an aspectual

theme (AVT) is a theme that is marked by one or more of the nonpunctual aspects: imperfective, perfectives, continuative, progressive, ambulative, directional (intransitive), or directional (transitive). The structure of the verb theme can be summarized as follows (... = any one or any selected group of specified classes):

VT : AVT, NVT
 AVT : NVT sV9...10
 NVT : rV [sV1...8]

The suffix classes are divided into two groups: inner and outer. Classes sV1...7 are inner thematic classes. Classes sV8...10 are outer thematic classes. This division is based upon the fact that it is possible, before the addition of an outer thematic suffix, to extend the theme through reiteration of the radical and/or one or more of the inner classes. (Theme extension is described in 413.).

There are no formal restrictions on the cooccurrence of theme classes or members of theme classes. However, expansion of the theme by filling all the suffixal positions, or extension of the theme by reiteration of the radical and all inner

thematic classes, is only hypothetical.

412.1. The radical (rV). The verb radical differs from the suffixes in the morphophonological restriction that a radical must begin with a vowel.* The common canonical shapes of radical lexemes are VC(V) and VCCV. Lexemes of the other shapes, e.g. <utik·is> 'speak', <eni·³ci> 'rest', although synchronically unsegmentable, most likely represent historical sequences of more than one lexeme.

It is possible to have compound radicals of two members. For example, <ahu> 'mouth' and <is·³i> 'say' occur as a compound radical in <kw ahu -is·³ Na·> : /kwáhus·á·ʔ/ 'I talked'. <ahu> occurs as a single radical in <skw ahu hí·ʔi hamp ak> : /skáhu hí·hámpak/ 'he will suck you(as a shaman does)'. (<hí·ʔi> is a location/direction suffix); <-is·³i> occurs as

* The exception to this restriction is <wi·há·p> 'pile up' as in /ywí·ha·panta·ʔ/ 'we piled it up!'. There are no restrictions on the canonical shapes of suffixes.

a single radical in <kw is·ǝ Na·> : /kwis·á·ʔ/
'I said'.

Except for the phonological restriction that a radical must begin with a vowel, the combinatory possibilities for compounding are lexically conditioned. The occurrence of a lexeme in the data only as first member of a compound is considered fortuitous.

412.2. Inner thematic suffixes. Suffixes that are members of classes sV1...7, the inner thematic classes, are described in this section. In the discussion of sV1 (attributives) and sV2 (location/direction suffixes), classes with a membership of more than fifteen suffixes, only suffixes that need special comment will be discussed; however, sample lists will be given.

412.2.1. Attributives (sV1). Attributive suffixes do not participate in the extension of the theme (cf. 413.). The attributives fall into two semantic categories, perception and motion.

412.2.1.1. Perception attributives. The semantic range of perception attributives mostly involves sensory perception; however, there are a few lexemes whose meanings involve contingency.

Some of the perception attributes occur not only as verb thematic suffixes but also as either noun substantives, adverbs, or enclitics; e.g. <ča·m·i> 'intensifier' as in /kwé·kača·m·e·ke?/ 'They are talking loudly.' also occurs as an enclitic in /ʔá·taxára·ča·m·i/ 'too salty'.

<kirkir> 'a sharp, quick sound' as in /ke·tikirkire·ke?/ 'You(coll.) break the ice!' occurs as the noun substantive /kirkir/ 'tinware'. <si·way> 'it is possible that...' as in /twé·xisi·wayru·ma/ 'It is said that she got sick from worrying.'

Other examples of perception attributes are:

<-iksùmpi>	'rigid'
<rí·ʔi>	'good, correct'
<čik>	'mud' (also occurs as a noun substantive)
<čis·í>	'lacking motion or sound'
<u·tki>	'unexpectedly, accidentally'
<taraki>	'black'
<či·yaxi>	'careful'
<-e·čàk·a>	'bright'
<-ičumpaxi>	'yellow, green'
<-itiski>	'lacking sound'

<-ičum·u>	'roan-colored'
<-ikhwip·i>	'stiff'
<kisni>	'sharp, prickly'
<kat·i> ? as in /kwícmakat·i·m ^s /	'He went sound asleep'.

412.2.1.2. Motion attributives. Unlike the perception attributives, motion attributives only occur as verb thematic suffixes.* A motion attributive specifies the kind of motion involved in the performance of an action. A partial listing, with examples, follows.

	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Example</u>
<čak·à>	'jerking motion'	/k'wán·ičak·acwik/ 'He jerked him up.'
<čuk·u>	'movement from one place to another'	/k'wéhečuk·u·ma/ 'He jumped from one place to another.' /k'wá·ʔa·čuk·u·ma/ 'He pulled it out (e.g. sliver, nail).'

* They differ also in that all the examples in the corpus begin in a consonant.

<č̣i>	'pressing, squeezing motion'	/k'wá·ʔa·č̣ik/ 'He pressed, cranked it.'
<č̣ip·>	'whipping motion'	/k'wán·ič̣ip·ik/ 'He beat it with a whip.'
<Hnú>	'upward motion'	/k'wéhe·nucwik/ 'It went off up into the air.'
<kaká>	'motion across a surface'	/k'wá·ʔa·kaká·ma/ 'He dragged it away.'
<ka·ru>	'up and down motion'	/k'wéheka·nucwik/ ~ /k'wéheka·rucwik/
<ka·nu>		'It bobbed up and down in the air.'
<kwit·i>	'motion involving a rigid, long object'	/k'wá·ʔa·kwit·ik/ 'He broke up sticks.'
<kat·i>	'motion involving a flexible object'	/k'wá·ʔa·kat·ik/ 'He broke it (e.g. a string).'

<m·i>	'motion involving steady pressure of arm'	/kwícmam·i·k/ 'He pushed on it to see if it were solid.'
<puk·u>	'motion involving projection forward'	/kúkapuk·uc·ik/ 'He pushed it up with his forehead.'
<ruxi>	'motion involving extension of arm/leg'	/kwákarux·ik/ 'He kicked it out of the way.'
<tì>	'iterative motion'	/kwán·iti·k/ 'He was chopping(wood).'
<tír>	'motion involved in breaking a surface'	/kúpitírik/ 'He punched a hole through a thin shell'
<xi>	'splitting motion'	/kú·pixi·k/ 'He was splitting(wood).'

412.2.2. Location/direction suffixes (sV2).

Restrictions on the occurrence of location/direction suffixes with particular sequences of rV [sV1] are semantic.

The suffixes discussed here manifest one or more of the following features: (1) lexemic variation presumed to be due to dialect difference (cf. I.220. for discussion of predictability of phonological alternations), (2) morphological alternation (cf. I.220.), (3) cooccurrence possibilities, (4) occurrence as an enclitic (cf. 451.), (5) role in the extension of the verb theme (cf. 413.).

412.2.2.1. Lexemic variants. The variations described below are thought to represent dialect variation.

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Variation</u>	
'ablative'	<cw> ~ <cwɨ>	/t̥at·íc·a/ 'I'm going to go(vol.).'
		/kap·ácwi/ 'You(sg.) go get an arm- load(hort.)!'
		/čé?·a·?a·c/ 'We're going to go out hunting(vol.).'

<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Variation</u>	<u>Example</u>
'across'	<ehé·haw> ~ <ehá·haw>	/tíyu?·ehéhé·ha·na/ 'It's frozen over (cont.).' /kwehehá·ha·ma/ 'I covered it (wit a lid) (cont.).'
Cf. 412.3.2. for discussion of morpholexical variations.		
'downstream'	<ehé·wi> ~ <hé·wi>	/rúmpehé·waka?/ 'He's swimming downstream (prog.).' /kúmpihé·wi·ma/ 'I swam down- stream(cont.).'
'out of a container'	<ehé·w> ~ <ahé·w> ~ <ahá·w>	/kwéhe·nahá·wik·a?/ 'He jumped out of (a corral).' /kwírakwehé·wik·a?/ 'He dipped (dry stuff) out of a container.'

<u>Meaning</u>	< <u>Variation</u>	<u>Example</u>
		/kúč·ahé·wik·a?/ 'He fell out of (a boat).'
'into a circumscribed area'	<aha·b> ~ <aha·?>	/kwá·ya·?·aha·?ik/ 'He gathered it together with his hands(perf.).' /kwá·ya·?·aha·wak'/ ~ /kwá·ya·?·aha·pi·ka/ 'With his hand, he scraped in the winnings that he won from me.' /kwán·isaha·?iruk/ ~ /kwán·isaha·piruk/ 'He herded them all together into one place(perf.).'
'in liquid'	<-wa·k> ~ <-epá·k>	/kač·ipá·k/ 'Put it to soak!' /túč·iwa·kik/ 'He fell in the water.' /rí?·iwaka·/ 'It's put to soak.'

The <-pá·k> variant only occurs in final position in the verb theme.* <-wa·k> has the variants /wa·k/ and /wak/.

The following suffixes have the meaning 'downward' or 'outward'. The morphophonological shapes are presumed to be <a·háNpi>, <haNpi> and <ehéNpi> with the morpholexically conditioned variants /a·ha·/, /ehá·/ and /ehé·/, which occur when these suffixes are in final position in a theme.* The following examples demonstrate the complications.

/kwíča·hámpik/	'he put it down'	/kičá·ha·/	'You(sg.) put it down(hort.)'
/rí·kiwakhampa·/	'He's placed with his back to the outside(dur.)'	/kí·kiwake·ha·/	'place yourself so that your back is to the outside (hort.)'
/kúkawehémpik/	'He bowed his head'	/kúkawehá·/	'Hold your head down (hort.)'
/kwíkehémpik/	'She put her pack down(from off her back)'	/kikehé·?/	'You(sg.) put your pack down(hort.)'

*i.e. before juncture.

See also /tírikwaxehe·piruk/ 'Something smashed the fence down'.

/kwáwakha·piruk/ 'He took it outside.'

The tonal irregularities are unexplained.

412.2.2.2. Morpholexical variants. The location/direction suffixes that show morpholexical variation are presented in the following table. Those forms that have similar patterning are grouped together. Discussion and examples follow the table.

No.	Morphophonological	:	Morpholexical
	<u>Shape</u>		<u>Variant</u>
1.	<asw>	:	asw ~ aHsw
2.	<cw>	:	cw ~ Hcw
3.	<ahá·w>	:	ahá·
4.	<ehé·ha·w>	:	ehé·ha·
5.	<wáha·w>	:	wáha·
6.	<?iNbú>	:	?iNbú ~ ?iNpú ~ ?eNpú
7.	<ipsiru>	:	ipsiru ~ ipsir

The following discussion is organized by numbering which matches the numbers in the table above.

1. <asw> 'away, off'. The variation, as shown in the table, is free. It most often occurs when <asw> is in final position in a theme;* e.g., /kawá·s/ 'You(sg.) take it away(hort.)', /čawás·ir/ 'Let us take it away(hort.)!'.
 2. <cw> 'upward'. Same as in 1; e.g., /kat·ikí·c/ 'You(sg.) lift up your feet(hort.)!', /kat·ikí·c·e·ki?/ 'You(coll.) lift up your feet(hort.)!', /kwát·ikíc·ik/ 'He lifted up his feet(perf.)'.
 3,4,5. As these suffixes share the same pattern of morpholexical variation, 4 and 5 are presumably petrified combinations containing 3. variant shapes occur when the suffixes are in final position in a theme.*

<ahá·w> 'along in space, uphill'. Examples are:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| /tárahahá·wa·kayru·ma/ | 'They(coll.) stretched
a long object over and
across (something)(cont.)' |
| /kat·ahá·?/ | 'You(sg.) go up the hill
(hort.)!' |
| /rá·wahá·wa·ka?/ | 'The path goes up the
hill(prog.)' |

 *i.e before juncture.

/ráp·arahá·waka?/ 'It's down the gulch
(when at upper end
looking down)(prog.)'

<ehé·ha·w> ~ <ehá·na·w> 'across'. Examples
are:

/kumpehé·ha·?/ 'You(sg.) swim across
(hort.)!'

/rúč·ehé·há·wayka?/ 'It(a boat) is crossing
still water(prog.)'

/tíyu?·ehé·ha·ma/ 'It's frozen over(cont.)'

/kwehehá·ha·ma/ 'I covered it (with a
lid)(cont.)'

<wáha·w> 'along the edge'. Examples are:

/kwí·?·iwá·ha·ma/ 'He's sighting along
(e.g., a gun)(cont.)'

/kwé·?iwáha·wa·ka?/ 'He's crawling along the
upper edge of a bank
(prog.)'

/ké·?iwáha·/ 'You(sg.) crawl along
the edge(hort.)!'

The following is an example of optional
syncope of <w> (cf. I.241.): /ké·?iwáha·ki/ 'You
(sg.) crawl(coll.) along the edge! (i.e. crawl
back and forth); the expected shape should be

/kwé·ʔiwáha·wa·kiʔ/.

6. <ʔiNbú> 'through a circular/tubular space'.
 The morpholexical variants ʔiNpú and ʔeNpú occur when the suffix is in final position in the theme.* ʔiNpú occurs as /ʔi·pú/ and ʔeNpú occurs as /ʔe·pú/; e.g. /ké·yehéʔi·pú/ ~ /ké·yehéʔe·pú/ 'You(sg.) crawl through (a hollow log)(hort.)!'. ʔiNbú occurs as morphophonologically predicted, before <Na·> 'paucal perfective'; e.g. /kwé·yehéʔimpá·ʔ/ 'I crawled through.'. ʔiNbú and ʔeNpú vary elsewhere; e.g. /ríp·ehéʔempá·ʔ/ ~ /ríp·ehéʔi·wá·ʔ/ 'They(coll.) are looking through (a hole in the wall)(dur.).'

The above analysis is tentative. A paucity of distributional evidence and semantic opaqueness leaves open the possibility that <ʔiNbú> is identifiable with <iNbú> 'reciprocal' (cf. 412.2.5.). If such is the case, a form like /ripehéʔempá·ʔ/ may contain such a sequence as <ehé eʔe iNbú>.

7. <ipsiru> 'down into'. The variant<ipsir> occurs when the suffix is in final position in the theme;* e.g.,

i.e. before juncture.

/kaxí·ya·psir/	'You(sg.) fill it up (e.g., a hole in the ground)'
/kwí·m·apsiruk/	'He went down into the hole to hunt for it.'

This suffix is a petrified form which contains <iru> 'distributive' (cf. 412.3.1.).

412.2.2.3. Cooccurrence possibilities. A sampling of the location/direction suffixes found to cooccur are listed below. In none of the examples is cooccurrence formally obligatory. The combinatory possibilities are semantically restricted.

The examples are ordered according to first member in a sequence. The individual forms are first listed with glosses. This listing is followed by the sequences and examples.

First members of a sequence.

<-wak>	'located in relation to a circumscribed area'
<uhi>	'along with; after'
<è?e>	'?'
<hí·?i>	'into'
<tac·á>	'allative'

<kni> 'up over'
 <ehéNpi> 'downward; outward'

Second members of a sequence.

<haNpi>, <a·haNpi>, <ehéNpi> 'downward; outward'
 <hay> ~ <?ay> ~ <e·> '?'
 <kway> 'up along'
 <í·?i> 'down along'
 <awhi> 'straight ahead into a circular/
 tubular space'
 <wa·k> 'in liquid'
 <ak·i> 'encircling a long object'
 <ahá·w> 'along in space'
 <ka·hú> 'upstream from the mouth of a stream'
 <rakmaki> 'here and there'

Examples of sequences.

<-wak haNpi> as in /kwáwakha·piruk/ 'He took it
 outside.'
 <-wak ?ay> as in /réhe·tiwak?aywa·?/ 'He's run-
 ning around a
 circle.'
 <-wak e·> as in /ríriwake·ka/ 'He's got his arm
 around something.'
 <uhi kway> as in /kwíruhikwaya·ka?/ 'He walked
 along the river
 upstream.'

<uhi í·?i> as in /kwíruhí·ka?/ 'He went downstream.'

<è?e awhi> as in /rí·?·e?awhi?/ 'Let him look
straight ahead
into the hole.'

<è?e ehéNpi> as in /kan·ité?ehá·?/ 'Take off
your shirt!'

<hí·?i haNpi> as in /kwáhuhi·hámpik/ 'He puts
mouth on body
and sucks.'

<hí·?i wa·k> as in /yarakwí·?iwaka·/ 'We fell
into the water.'

<ehéNpi rakmak·i> as in /kúxam·ehempirakmak·ira·?/
'He's going from
chair to chair
(to see which is
the most comfort-
able).'

<tac·á ka·hú> as in /kwí·ritac·áka·húru·ma/ 'He
took it(distr.)
straight up the
creek.'

<tac·á ahá·w> as in /kwí·ritac·ahá·wiru·ma/ 'He
took it(distr.)
straight up the
creek.'

- <tač·á a·haNpi> as in /rán·itac·á·hampa·ʔ/ 'the
middle of the day.'
- <kni í·ʔi> as in /ʔwap·akní·kaʔ/ 'a river bank-
downstream direction'
- <kni kway> as in /ʔwap·áknikwaya·kaʔ/ 'a river
bank-upstream direc-
tion'
- <kni ak·i> as in /kíraknak·aʔ/ 'You(sg.) hang it
up!'

412.2.2.4. Occurrence as enclitics. A few of the location/direction suffixes are found functioning as postpositions, a subclass of enclitics (cf. 451.). These suffixes are:

- <tač·á> 'allative'
- <ka·hú> 'upstream from the mouth of a stream'
- <-pá·k> 'in liquid'
- <awhi> 'straight ahead into a circular/
tubular space'.

412.2.2.5. Role in expansion of verb theme. There is sparse evidence that it is possible for location/direction suffixes to participate in extension of the verb theme. (Cf. 413.); the suffixes that do so are <rakmak·i> 'here and there' and <e·rak> 'all day long'.

412.2.3. Transitive marker (sV3). The transitive marker is represented by <aNti> and <a·?i>, dialect variants. These forms are both in free variation and in partial complementary distribution (cf. discussion in I.220.). The predominant pattern of occurrence is as follows: <aNti> occurs before the paucal perfective marker <Na·> and the directional transitive marker <i·ka>; <a·?i> occurs elsewhere. However, there are rare examples of <a·?i> occurring before <Na·>, e.g. /kwá·m·uká·ya·?/ ~ /kwá·m·uká·ta·?/ 'I counted' and many examples of <aNti> occurring in environments other than those given above.

<aNti> and <a·?i> show morpholexical variation:

Morphophonological	Morpholexical	
<u>Shape</u>	<u>Variant</u>	<u>Environment</u>
<aNti>	eNti	/e·ki, a·ki__
	aNti ~ Nti	/__ __
<a·?i>	a?i ~ e?i	/e·ki, a·ki__
	a·?i ~ a?i	/__ __

The lexemes providing the conditioning environments are the collective markers (cf. 412.2.8.).

In accordance with the morphophonemic rules

concerning syncope of <?> and resulting vowel contraction, the phonemic representations of <a·?i> are usually /ay/, /ey/ and /a·y/.

The transitive marker is a highly productive suffix. There are no grammatical restrictions on its occurrence. Its semantic function is not completely understood; one of its meaning components is 'causative'. The following examples give an idea of the range of meanings (forms unmarked for transitive are contrasted with those marked for transitive):

<u>Nontransitive</u>	<u>Transitive</u>
/réhe·nuka?/ 'He's running along (on foot (prog.))'	/réhe·nayka?/ 'He's going along on horseback(prog.)'
/rát·aka?/ 'He's going along on foot(prog.)'	/rát·ayka?/ 'He's chasing him.'
/kwáskakak/ 'They ran hither(prog.)'	/kwáska·yik·a?/ 'They came run- ning hither (direct.intrans.)'
/kawá·s/ 'You(sg.) take it off(hort.)'	/kawásway/ 'You(sg.) make him take it off!(hort.)'

/tírikni·ma/ 'She put her arm over something (direct.intrans.)'	/tíriknayma/ 'He took her arm and put it over something(direct. intrans.)'
/kwís·ik/ 'He said(perf.)'	/kwís·ayik/ 'He told something to someone(perf.)'
/kwáhus·i·k/ 'He talked(perf.)'	/kwáhus·aya·yik/ 'He talked to him(perf.)'
/sú·mata·hík/ 'I'm angry (perf)'	/sú·mata·há·yaka'/ 'I'm making you angry(prog.)'

In the following examples, there is no difference in meaning, according to the informants:

/kwá·tem·i·kaʔ/	'He swore at me(direct.trans.)'
/kwá·tem·anti·kaʔ/	

<aNti> and <a·ʔi> frequently participate in extension of the verb theme, i.e. one or the other can occur after any one of the inner group position classes (sV1-7) and before the addition of one of the outer group classes (sV8-10). The examples below, marked by the outer thematic suffix <-ik> ~ <-i·k> 'perfective', demonstrate the situation:

- (1) /kwáhus·i·k/ 'He's talking'
 (2) /kwáhus·aya·keyik/ 'He's talking to
 them'
 (3) /kwáhus·aya·yik/ 'He's talking to
 him'

In (1) the transitive marker does not occur. In (2) we find the sequence <a·ʔi a·ki a·ʔi> in which <a·ʔi> follows <a·ki> 'collective' which belongs to sV7, the final position class in the inner group; this occurrence of <a·ʔi> is an example of extension of the verb theme by reiteration. In (3), in the sequence <a·ʔi a·ʔi>, the same phenomenon occurs.

412.2.4. Benefactive and reflexive (sV4). The members of sV4 are <yí·> 'benefactive' and <kwa·ʔi> 'reflexive'. These lexemes have the following morpholexical variants:

Morphophonological		Morpholexical	
Shape	:	Variant	Environment
<yí·>		yínt	/__Na:, I·ka
		yí·	/_ _ _
<kwa·ʔi>		kwant	/__Na·
		kwa·ʔi	/_ _ _

The morpholexical variants <yínt> and <kwant> are petrified combinations which contain <aNti> 'transitive'. The lexemes providing the conditioning environments for these variants are the paucal perfective <Na·> and the directional transitive <i·ka>.

412.2.4.1. The benefactive. Themes containing the benefactive marker do not occur with passive verb prefixes (cf. 411.6.5.). Examples of usage follow.

/kwátituyínta·?/	'I worked for him(perf.).'
/kwátituyí·k/	'He worked for him(perf.).'
/kwírahampiyínti·ka·?/	'He brought me (a bucket of water)(i.e., reached down for me)(direct. trans.).'

In the following examples <yí·> occurs after the transitive marker <a·?i>:

/kwírirakmak·eyínta·?/	'I did the work for her (i.e., reached here and there for her)(perf.).'
------------------------	---

/kúwa·kayí·kák/ 'I bought it for you(coll.)'
(prog.)'

/kúwa·kayínti·ka?/ 'He bought it for you(coll.)
(direct.trans.)'

412.2.4.2. The reflexive. There are no examples of the reflexive preceded by the transitive marker. <kwa·?i> is tentatively assigned to sV4 because it is not followed by the benefactive and it is followed by the reciprocal (sV5). It is possible that <kwa·?i> could be identified with <kway> 'up along' (sV3); however, there are no examples in the data of <kway> having a morphological variant.

Examples follow:

/kwíru·tkikwanta·/ 'I unexpectedly ran up
against something(perf.)'

/ráx·akwaya·ka?/ 'He's got something in his
mouth(prog.).'

/tíkaha·kwayik/ 'He got dressed up(perf.).'

/túhucíkwa·?impá·?/ 'They were fighting because
they were jealous(perf.).'

The above examples show <kwa·?i> followed by <iN bú> 'reciprocal'.

412.2.5. Reciprocal (sV5). <iN bú> 'reciprocal'

does not occur after the benefactive. For discussion of the phonological alternations involved in the phonemic representation of <iNbú> cf. I.220.

Examples are:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| /kwí ³ čiknimpá·ʔ/ | 'He's getting up on(something) (perf.).' |
| /kwíkatikimpá·ʔ/ | 'They were having an argument(perf.).' |
| /tá·ʔa·kwitimpá·ʔ/ | 'He broke the stick in two (perf.).' |
| /kéhe·kni·wír/ | 'You(sg.)(a container with something in it) up on top of something!(hort.)' |
| /ká·ʔa·kwit·yú/ | 'You(sg.) break a stick in two(hort.)!' |

For discussion of possible identification with <ʔiNbú> 'through a circular/tubular space,' cf. 412.2.2.2.

412.2.6. Punctual Aspects (sV6). The punctual aspects are <-icw> 'completive' and <ehéNpi> ~ <a·háNpi> 'iterative'. <ehéNpi> has the morpho-lexical variants <ehé·> and <e·há·> when occurring in final position in a theme;* elsewhere the variant <ehéNpi> occurs. <a·háNpi> has the morpho-lexical variant <a·há·> when occurring in final i.e. before juncture.

position in a theme; elsewhere the morpholexical variant <a[•]háNpi> occurs.*

The completive and the iterative occur after the transitive marker (sV3) and the benefactive (sV4), and before the collective marker (sV7). Although there are no examples of occurrence before or after the reflexive (sV4) or the reciprocal (sV5), it is assumed the completive and iterative could occur after the reciprocal (sV5). The punctual aspects are considered to be in a different class from the reciprocal primarily for semantic reasons; therefore, the establishment of sV6 must be considered tentative.

The iterative often has a habitual meaning. Examples of use of the punctual aspects are:

/tikwáyac/ 'He's going to finish building
(something)(vol.).'

/riwa[•]yehémpa[•]?/ 'The fire was started and is
burning(dur.).'

/kwírukasehempik/ 'He tied a bandage on his

* The shapes of the markers for completive and iterative aspect are similar to or identical with the shape of the direction/location suffixes <cw> 'up', <cwí> 'ablative' and <a[•]háNpi> ~ <haNpi> ~ <ehéNpi> 'downward; outward'.

wrist(perf.).'

/kwirakaká·ʔac·e·keʔ/ 'They are all done scrap-
ing out the container(perf.).'

/kiʔ·ehempe·ki·ma/ 'You(sg.) take them where-
ever they want to go(ambul.).'

/kwérapsiraha·piruk/ 'He's coming back from
putting water in a hole!(perf.).'

/rehiyawac·a·/ 'He's dressed and ready to go
(dur.).'

/te·ma·há·/ 'He's going to stay up all night
(perf.).'

/kustehé·ʔ/ 'You(sg.) dance!(hort.)'

/kwé·ma·hámpé·keʔ/ 'They stayed up all night
(perf.).'

In some of the examples above, the iterative unaccountably occurs without expected high tone.

412.2.7. The collective markers (sV7). There are two collective markers, <e·ki> and <a·ki>. These lexemes occur in the final position class in the inner group of thematic suffixes. There are no grammatical restrictions on their occurrence in themes. Both have the meaning 'an individuated group'. In addition, <e·ki> has the semantic component 'momentaneous/inceptive' and <a·ki> has the

semantic component 'durative/stative'; e.g.

/kwéhiyawacwe·ke?/ 'they are getting ready to
move',

/kwéhiyawacwa·ke?/ 'they are all ready to move'.

In theme extensions <e·ki> and <a·ki> can cooccur,
e.g.,

/kwíć·apura·ke·ke?/ 'They are all hunched over.'

Semantically, the collective markers are used
in reference to the subject, object or action of a
verb (cf. discussion in 315.). In the examples be-
low, noncollective themes are contrasted with col-
lective themes in order to demonstrate the situation:

/kwím·ákwa·yanta·?/ 'I told him' /kwím·ákwaya·kenta·?

'I told them'

/kwím·akwík/ 'He told it' /kwím·akwe·ke?/

'They told it'

/kwíricwe·ke?/ 'He worked' /kwíricwe·ke·ke?/

(i.e., 'They worked'

reached (i.e., they(coll.)

upward reached up(coll.)

(coll.)

/kwam·arimpá·?/ 'They(2) /kwám·ariwe·ke/

people are 'They(two groups)

having a were all fight-

fight' ing'

412.3. Outer thematic suffixes. Suffixes that are members of classes sV8...10, the outer thematic classes, are described in this section. These classes include the distributive marker and the characteristic marker, both of which belong to sV8, and the nonpunctual aspect markers (sV9...10). Extension of the verb theme can take place before sV8...10 are added to a theme, i.e. reiteration of (vR sV1...7) is hypothetically possible.

sV8 marks the final position class in the neutral theme, whether or not the theme is extended. Any theme containing a member of classes sV9...10, nonpunctual aspects, is an aspectual theme.

412.3.1. The distributive and the characteristic (sV8). The distributive marker <iru> and the characteristic marker <-ir> are the members of sV8. These suffixes are described below.

412.3.1.1. The distributive. <iru> 'distributive' has the following morpholexical variants:

<i·ru> ~ <i·r>, <iru> ~ <ir>, <-iru> ~ <-ir> occur before juncture.

<-iru>, <-ir> occur after forms that end morphophonologically in <w,u,u>.

<i·ru> ~ <iru> occur elsewhere.

There is also a dialect variant <in·u> (cf. 233.2.).

<iru> has the meaning 'an individuated group'. It can refer to the subject, object, or actor of a verb (cf. discussion in 315.).

Examples are:

/kirayú·wiru?/ ~ /kirayú·wi·rū?/ 'You(sg.) cover
the coals(hort.).'

/kwíčkuruk/ 'He's eating something(perf.).'

/típsisurur/ 'He's going to be buried(vol.).'

/kéraxip·ir/ 'You(sg.) pull it(e.g. a spring or
trigger)(hort.).'

/kwát·icwayruk/ 'He chased them(perf.).'

/kwat·ic·a·kayra·?/ 'They chased them(dur.).'

/ráwra·ka?/ 'He's carrying a bundle.'

/kwéhe·núka·huru·ma/ 'I jumped in the house with
it(i.e. a con-
tainer of individ-
uable objects).'

412.311.2. The characteristic. <-ir> 'the characteristic' is found in final position in a neutral theme and before the nonpunctual aspect marker for durative <a·>(sV9). The only examples of themes containing the characteristic marker

occur with <ḳṿ> and <ʔṿ>, the deverbative substantivizing prefixes which form substantive themes (cf. 422.6.).

The meaning of <ir> is "characteristic of what the verb theme describes", e.g.,

/ḳán·itaraxir/ 'a negro(i.e. characteristic of a black face).'

/ʔíçutatac·ir/ 'an umbrella(i.e. characteristic of pushing up and spreading out).'

/ʔí·pa·kir/ ~ /ʔí·pa·kíra·/ ~ /ḳí·pa·kíra·/ 'a stinger.'

412.3.2. Nonpunctual aspects(sV9...10). The suffixes that mark the nonpunctual aspects fall into two position classes, sV9 and sV10. There are markers for eight aspects in sV9 and markers for three aspects in sV10.

412.3.2.1. sV9 aspects. The aspects in this class are as follows (the alternate forms are lexemic variants):

<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Marker</u>
<u>Perfective:</u>	
momentaneous	<-ik>
momentaneous paucal	<Na•> ~ <me•>
durative	<a•>
collective	<e>
<u>Nonperfective:</u>	
continuative	<Hma>
imperfective	<awa•>
progressive	<aka>
ambulative	(<a•mi> ~ <i•ma>) ~ <ika•>

412.3.2.1.1. Perfective aspects. The collective perfective aspect marker, <e>, only occurs after the collective markers (sV7), which include in their semantic content the concepts 'momentaneous/inceptive' (<e•ki>) and 'durative/stative' (<a•ki>). The momentaneous paucal aspectual suffixes (<Na•> ~ <me•>), the momentaneous (<-ik>), and the durative aspect marker (<a•>) never occur after the collective suffixes; however, there are no formal restrictions on their occurrence with other position classes in the nonpunctual theme.

Semantic components. The collective perfective aspect has reference to an activity or state that takes place within a span of time that has definite limits. The momentaneous, momentaneous paucal, and durative distinguish semantic concepts which are neutralized in the perfective marker when it occurs after the collective markers; e.g.,

- /kwíruhutá•nik/ 'He touched it.' (moment.)
- /kwíruhutá•na•?/ 'He rubbed it.' (dur.)
- /yíruhutá•na•?/ 'We(pauc.) touched/rubbed it'
- /yíruhutá•na•ke?/ 'We(coll.)rubbed it.'
- /yíruhutá•ne•ke?/ 'We (coll.) touched it.'

The momentaneous expresses momentary occurrence, including the notion of transition into states and states of activity; e.g.,

/wa·psahú kwí·k/*'She's starting to menstruate.'

The momentaneous paucal has the semantic component of 'a few' (cf. discussion in 315).

The durative expresses a continued state of activity, e.g.,

/séhiyawac·a·?/ 'I'm dressed.'

Morpholexical and lexemic variants. <-ik>

'momentaneous' has the morpholexical variants <-ik> ~ <-iHk> after forms ending morphophonologically in <i,ɨ>.

<me·> is a lexemic variant of <Na·> 'momentaneous paucal'. This variation is assumed to be dialectal.

Limitations on distribution. Momentaneous paucal themes only occur with the prefixes of the declarative

*The verb radical in /kwí·k/ is <i·> 'be(momentaneous)'. <i·> has the morpholexical variants <i·> and <ik·i>; <ik·i> occurs before juncture and <i·> occurs before <-ik> 'momentaneous' and <e·ki> 'collective momentaneous'. <i·> and <a·> 'be(durative)' occur only with the perfective and collective markers. They enter into construction with verb prefixes to form equational verbs which are the basis for one type of clause (cf. 313).

mode; themes marked by other perfective suffixes most frequently occur with the declarative, hortative, and subjunctive modal prefixes.

<e> is the only perfective member that is followed by a sV10 suffix; i.e., it can be followed by <m·ak> 'directional transitive', e.g. /ne·wá·kem·ak/ 'You(coll.) watch over us!'(imper.)

412.3.2.1.2. Nonperfective aspects. The nonperfective aspects are <Hma> 'continuative', <awa·> 'imperfective', <aka> 'progressive', and (<i·ma> ~ <a·mi>) ~ <ika·> 'ambulative'; examples are:

/kwí·ʔi·wáha·ma/ 'He's sighting along(a gun).'

/réhi·čawa·ʔ/ 'He's resting.'

/rát·ačičíkirakam·ak/ 'It's tight on me.'

The ambulative translates as 'go and....':

/te·wáka·mi/ 'He's going to go and look in the water.'

/čim·á·ki·ma/ 'Let's go and see them!'

/kwí·pa·kika·ʔ/ 'They went to bathe.'

< Morpholexical and lexemic variation. <aka> and <ika·> have the morpholexical variants <-aka> and <-ika·> after forms ending morphophonologically in <u>; e.g. /kwí·puka·ʔ/ 'He went and bathed.'

<-aka> also occurs after forms ending morphophonologic-

ally in <y> ; cf. /rehé·naykak/ 'He's coming hither
on horseback.'

Elsewhere, <aka> has the variants <aka> ~ <a·ka>
and <i·ka> has the variants <ika·> ~ <i·ka·>, e.g.

/rúra·ka?/ ~ /rúraka?/ 'He's carrying a
torchlight.'

/kwírirakmak·ika·?/ 'He went to work.'

/kwérehepe·ki·ka?/ 'He went to ask them
to go.'

<awa·> 'imperfective' has the variation
<awa·> ~ <-awa·>. <-awa·> occurs after the col-
lective markers <e·ki> and <a·ki>; <awa·> occurs
elsewhere, e.g. <réhi·ča·kiwa·?/ 'They are rest-
ing.'

The ambulative markers (<a·mi>, <i·ma>)
and <ika·> occur in the same environments; however,
the themes that <ika·> occurs in enter into cons-
truction with the prefixes of the declarative mode;
whereas, <a·mi> and <i·ma> vary unpredictably in
themes entering into construction with the prefixes
marking the volitional and hortative modes. These
two suffixes are in partial complementary distri-
bution; i.e., <i·ma> occurs after the collective
markers <e·ki> and <a·ki> and <a·mi> does not.

Limitations on distribution. <Hma> 'continuative', <awa·> 'imperfective', and the ambulative markers never occur before the suffixes in sV10. The progressive marker <aka> can occur before <m·ak> 'directional transitive' and <aḳ> 'directional intransitive(hither)', both of which belong to sV10.

412.3.2.2. sV10 aspects. The suffixes which belong to the final position class in the verb theme, i.e. sV10, are as follows:

<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Marker</u>
Directional(transitive)	<i·ka> ~ <aḳ> ~ <m·ak>
Directional (intransitive-higher)	<-iḳ·a> ~ <aḳ>
Directional (intransitive-thither)	<-iHma>

The above set of forms are problematical. There are questions as to position class assignment and the number of lexemes represented. <-

<-Hma> 'directional(intransitive-thither)' is assigned to sV10 on the basis of semantic parallelism to <-iḳ·a>. <-iḳ·a> is assigned to sV10 because it has the same meaning as, and has similarity in distribution with, <aḳ> 'directional(intransitive)(hither)'. The two suffixes differ in that <aḳ> can

occur after the progressive marker (sV9) and <-ik'a> cannot; also <-ik'a> only occurs in themes that are in construction with the prefixes of the declarative mode, while there are no prefixal restrictions on the themes <ak'> occurs in.

<ak'> 'directional(intransitive-hither) is phonologically identical with <ak'> 'directional transitive' and could be considered to have a meaning similar to that of the directional transitive markers.

<m.ak'> is a directional(transitive) marker that often occurs in verb themes that are semantically directional; however, it can also occur with other verb themes, e.g. /kútayaym.ak'/ 'Let me alone!' Both <m.ak'> and <ak'> (directional transitive) occur after the progressive marker; it is these two forms that establish the position class.

The directional transitives <ak'> and <i.ka'> are in partial complementary distribution; i.e. <i.ka'> occurs after <aNti> (sV3) and <ak'> doesn't; however, both suffixes occur after <a.ʔi> (sV3), which is in more or less free variation with <aNti>.

The directional transitives translate as marking first singular and second person object;

e.g.,

/kúwa·kayínti·kaʔ/	'He bought it for you(coll.)'
/kwáwɪ·kaʔ/	'They gave it to me.'
/rát·aykam·ak/	'He's chasing me.'
/skahuhí·hampayák/	'You(sg) go get doctored!'
/típxan·áswayák/	'I'm going to wash your(sg) 'face.'

Since these suffixes do not mark other objects, it is possible that the function of the directional transitive markers is equivalent to that of the passive prefixes (cf. discussion in 411.6).

413. Extension of the verb theme. The neutral verb theme (cf. 412.) is extended by the reiteration of position class rV and/or one or more of the position classes making up the inner group of thematic suffixes, i.e. NVT : rV[sV1...8] can be expanded to read NVT : rV[sV1...7[rV sV1...7]sV8]. Such an expansion, which allows for maximal extension, is hypothetical only.

Reiteration does not imply reduplication; also, it is not necessary for a position class to have been filled in the nonextended theme in order for reiteration to take place, e.g., in the form

/kwi·pa·ke·ráki·ma/ 'They swam all day'
 the location/direction suffix <e·ráki> 'all day long' occurs only in the extension of the theme.

There are no examples in the data of sV1 (attributives) or sV5 (reciprocal) occurring in reiterated positions. Of the members of sV4 (benefactive and reflexive) only the benefactive is found in a reiterated position. There are infrequent examples of reiteration of sV2 (direction/location suffixes) and of vR (verb radicals). The benefactive, the transitive marker, the collective markers and the nonpunctual aspects occur most often in

reiterated positions; of these the transitive marker occurs the most frequently.

Examples of extended themes are:

- <k[?]v usti ehempi ehempi -ik> : /k[?]ústehémpehémpik/
 rV sV6 sV6 'a dance hall'
- <k[?]w usti ehempi e·ki cw -ik> : /k[?]ústehémpe·kic·ik/
 rV sV6 sV7 sV6 'They got through dancing'.
 dancing'.
- <k[?]w at·i cw i a·ki a·?i iru a·> : /k[?]wát·ic·a·kayra·?/
 rV sV2 sV7 sV3 sV8 'They chased them.'
- <t iču xixí cw e·ki -rakmak·i iru a·> :
 rV sV1 sV2 sV7 sV2 sV8
 /tíčuxixíc·e·kirakmak·ira·?/
 'They(coll.) were barely lifting it(distr.) up here and there.'
- <t iču karkar -rakmak·i e·ki iru a·?>:
 rV sV1 sV2 sV7 sV8
 /tíčukarkarakmak·e·kira·?/
 'They were lifting it here and there.'

420. The substantive. Substantives are verb satellite expressions that can occur unmarked or with one or more substantival suffixes. Substantives are divided into themes called NOUNS, LOCATIVES, NUMERALS, PRONOUNS, and DEVERBATIVE (NOMINAL, GERUNDIAL, TEMPORAL).

421. The substantival suffixes. The substantival suffixes are as follows:

<-éH>	(V)	'vocative'
<-éHpar>	(C)	'comitative'
<-éHta>	(I)	'instrumental'
<-éHtu>	(P)	'possessive'
<-éHtuhú>	(Dt)	'directional(thither)'
<-éHtuhúk>	(Dh)	'directional(hither)'
<-écHu>	(A)	'ablative'
<-éH'i>	(Lt)	'locative(temporal)'
<tuk>	(Ls)	'locative(spatial)'

These suffixes fall into sets depending upon patterns of occurrence with substantive themes. A schematic presentation of theme-suffix occurrence is given below.

<u>Theme</u>	<u>Suffix Pattern</u>
NOUN ₁ (cf. 422.1.)	[V,C,I,Dh, { [P][Ls] } A] { [Dt] }
NOUN ₂ (cf. 422.1.)	[C,I,Dh, { [P][Ls] } A] { [Dt] }
LOCATIVE	[[Ls,Dt]A,Dh,Lt]
NUMERAL	[[Ls,Dt]A,Dh]
PRONOUN	[C],[P][Ls A]
NOMINAL	[C,I,Dh, { [P][Ls] } A],Lt]
GERUNDIAL	
TEMPORAL	[Lt]

421.1. <-éH> Vocative. The vocative does not occur with other substantival suffixes and there are no examples in the corpus of expanded vocative expressions. The use of this suffix is usually limited to kinship terms and the lexeme <yah·ar> 'child'. In tales, <yumaxá> 'old man', especially as an epithet for Coyote, occurs with vocative. Occasionally, in stories, the vocative is also found with animal names and terms for inanimate objects.

When occurring in conjunction with the clitic <na·> 'addressative' (cf. II.480.), the vocative is used as a form of direct address.

Examples follow.

<ač·uk -éH> as in /ʔáč·ukú· ʔí·s·i· ʔin·áʔ

ʔwis·ík/ 'Sister, this is Panther,' (the
elder sister) said.'

<umé· -əpsi ya·war éH> as in /yo: ʔumé·psiyáwarí·/

'Oh, you poor children!'

<ic·a -éH !> as in /ʔíc·a: kití·yak/ 'Rock,

come near!'

<ac·it -éH na·> as in /ʔác·ití·na·/ 'Grandmother...'

421.2. -éHpar Comitative. The comitative does not occur with other substantival suffixes. It coordinates substantive expressions. A comitative substantive occurs as unexpanded or expanded. When it occurs as the satellite of two verbs, the result is a compound clause.

Unexpanded comitative expression.

<an·it -éHpar> as in /ʔán·ití·par kʷíru·ki·wá·ʔ/

'(She and her) aunt went together.'

Expanded comitative expression.

The following are examples of expanded comitative expressions as satellites of one verb:

<ap·ak hí -éHpar> as in /twé·weʔ·eʔ ʔí·s·i·

kwač·úʔ ʔap·akí·par čá·xari·ná·ʔi/ 'Panther

lived with his uncle, Mud Turtle'

In this example <-éHpar> occurs after <hí> 'referential'.

<ukhí -éHpar> as in /má·ʔiʔ ʔin·áʔ ʔukhí·par
ʔi·sax ské·hu·ya·kaʔ/ 'You(sg.) own a cane
and a pole.'

An example of a comitative expression occurring as the satellite of two verbs:

<i·čisí·rak -éHpar> as in /k'wá·tak té·ʔi·ma
té·pxiya·kika ʔí·čisí·raká·par/ 'Coyote and
Raccoon set out on foot;
they were going to a dance.'

421.3. <-éHta> Instrumental. The instrumental does not occur with other substantival markers. For the most part it has the meaning 'by means of'. Instrumental expressions can be expanded.

Unexpanded instrumental expressions.

<pu·ʔas -éHta> as in /ʔakí·ra· tumpí·čahak·ira·
pú·ʔasí·ta/ 'Serviceberries were set up along
the wall in sacks.'

<k'v u·p a·ʔi -ik -éHta> as in /k'aris·áčuhú
ʔwí·k yáx·axé·r kú·pa·yikí·ta/ 'The children
became pretty indeed by
means of the painting.'

<um·aká·ʔi -éHta> as in /kí·ʔučú ti·m·á·kira·ka
ʔum·akáyta/ 'The yellowjackets carried the
 pack upward.'

Expanded instrumental expressions.

<ḳṿ·e·mà -éHta> as in /kásčú čúwa·te·há·ʔ
ḳe·má·ta yúkma·ʔ ḳwač̣·úʔ ḳari·wák·aʔ/ 'On
the sixth day his brother
 found him.'

<ḳṿ e·hù·t -ik -éHta> as in /má·ʔin·áʔ ʔisí·tuʔ
ḳe·hú·tikí·ta skúwan·ay/ 'You can't buy that
with Indian money.'

421.4. <-éHtu> Possessive. <-éHtu> has an irregular
 phonemic shape in the environment of pronouns, i.e.
 -éHtu : ú /ya·ʔa, ma·ʔi, ḳwač̣, ča·ḳá, ma·ḳá, ḳwa·ḳá _____

The possessive can form a theme which can
 occur with the substantive suffixes <tuk> 'locative
 (spatial)' and <-écHu> 'ablative'. Its occurrence
 is obligatory in order for pronouns to occur with
 these suffixes, e.g.,

<ya·ʔa -éHtu tuk> : /yap·útúk/ 'at my place'

<ma·ʔi -éHtu -écHu> : /ma·múc·uʔ/ 'from yours'

<ča·ḳá -éHtu tuk -écHu> : /ča·ḳútukúc·uʔ/ 'from
 our place'

A possessive expression occurs as the expansion

of any substantive expression except the vocative, locative(temporal), and the directional(hither). It is not known whether the exceptions are fortuitous or not.

Examples follow.

<pá·stin éHtu> as in /pá·stini·tu? káhus·ik/
'English(i.e. white man's
talk)!

<?arapxa éHtu> as in /?uswé·?e ?árapxá·tu?
?ám·a·/ 'a brothel (i.e. devil woman's house)'

<is -éHtu> as in /má· ?in·á ?isí·tu? ke·húti·kí·ta
skúwam·ay/ 'You(sg.) can't buy that with
Indian money.'

<tari·č̣i -éHtu> as in /tári·č̣i·tu? ?úk·axá·tuhú
kúč̣·ir ?ak·ír/ 'The arrow fell on the other
side of the woman.'

<kwač̣ -éHtu> as in /yawwé·ne té·we·?e kwač̣·ú
wa·tí·par/ 'Yawwé·ne and his father were
living together (someplace).'

421.5. <-éHtuhú> Directional(thither). The meaning of <-éHtuhú> is unclear. It is presumed to involve the concept of direction thither.

The directional(thither) suffix can form a theme to which the ablative suffix is added, e.g.,

<uwá· -éHtuhú -écHu> as in /kwá·takçi·

?uwá·tuhú·u tíri?awhík·a? / 'Coyote, too,
stuck his hand in the
hole from this side.'

Directional(thither) substantive expressions
can be expanded, e.g.,

<kv̄ is·a· aw ehempi -ik -éHtuhú> as in

/?wíčkarí·?ic·e·ke? kwač·ú kís·awehempikí·tuhú?/
'He cleaned up everything
on the side where he always
stays.'

421.6. <-éHtuhúk> Directional(hither). This suffix
is a petrified form of <-éHtuhú> (cf. 421.5) and the
verb suffix <-ak̄> ~ <-ak> 'hither'. It's distribu-
tion is similar to that of <-éHtuhú>, with the
restriction that it cannot occur with <-écHu>
'ablative'.

There are very few examples of this suffix in
the corpus. One such example is <am·í -éHtuhúk>:
/?am·í·tuhúk/ 'on this side'.

421.7 <-écHu> Ablative. The ablative marks the
origin of an entity, e.g. <ač·áy -écHu#ču·war>:
/?ač·áyc·u čú·war/ 'luminary from the day (i.e.
the sun'), or it denotes 'motion away from', e.g.

<tú·rus tuk -échu> : /tú·rustukúc·u?/ 'from
inside the basket'.

The ablative expression, like the possessive, occurs as the expansion of any substantive expression except the vocative, locative(temporal), and the directional(hither).

(See II.421.4,5 for examples of cooccurrence of the ablative with other substantival suffixes).

421.8. <-éH?i> Locative(temporal). The temporal locative occurs in constituency with locative themes, the derived themes, nominal and gerundial, and with clauses containing verbs in the potential or declarative mode. When it is in constituency with a clause, it is suffixed to the verb.

Examples of its usage follow.

with locative theme:

/kwísmisí·?i/ 'at Christmas time'

/kurá·tičí·?i ?i·tná?/ 'until spring'

with clauses:

/ku·čá sá· ké· číčku? ?átuka sá·?i ke·hú·ti·k/

'What are we going to eat if we haven't any money?'

/?u·?ik·ačí· yi·pá·?i/ 'when we were swimming'

421.9. <túk> Locative(spatial). <túk> is a marker of location in space. The best translation for it is "...is the place"; e.g.,

<e·čá ehé·wi túk> as in /ʔé·čehé·witúk xúk·a kehe·há·ʔ/ 'ten is the place two lying across (i.e. twelve)'.

<aka·ha·túk> as in /ʔáka·ha·túk ʔin·áʔ tárakwí·ka/ 'They fell out of the tree.'

<awáčay túk> as in /ʔawáčaytúk/ 'down to the creek'

<ipxa·n·a·túk> as in /ʔípxa·n·a·túk/ 'in the lake'

<is túk> as in /ʔístúk rú·wayakaʔ/ 'He is among those people.'

<túk> cooccurs with <-éHtu> 'possessive' and <-écHu> 'ablative'. For examples, cf. 421.4,7.

The locative suffix can form a theme to which the ablative suffix is added:

<tu·rus túk -écHu> : /tú·rustukúc·uʔ/ 'from inside the basket'.

Locative expressions occur expanded and unexpanded. An example of an expanded locative is

/yap·ú? čikiman kúkmi·ruktúk/ 'my gold finding
place' (i.e. 'where I found
gold)'

422. The substantive theme. Deverbative themes are based upon verb themes or verbs. The other substantive themes are subclassed on the basis of patterns of thematic suffixes, whose occurrence is optional. A nondeverbative theme consists of a radical with or without thematic suffix(es). There are only semantic restrictions against a substantive radical being a member of more than one theme class. Many radicals rarely occur with thematic suffixes or with substantival markers.

422.1. The noun thematic suffixes. There are eleven noun thematic suffixes that are synchronically isolable. Some of them are only marginally productive. These suffixes are discussed in the following sections.

422.1.1. <-əHná·?i> definitive. This suffix, and also <hí> 'referential' with which it can cooccur (cf. 422.1.2.), forms noun themes that occur with all substantival markers except the vocative and the locative(temporal). There are no

examples in the corpus of its occurrence with thematic suffixes other than <hí>. Examples of its usage follow.

/mí·paw kimpí·ná·?i·paw ?wícmasayma ?átuku·ná·?i·ču/

'He slept only with the big one(i.e. elder one), not the small one(i.e. younger one)'

/čá·xari·na·?í·tu? ?ám·a·/ 'Turtle's house'

422.1.2. <hí> referential. All examples in the data have <hí> occurring with kinship terms. In the environment of <aní·> 'mother', <atá·> 'father' and <á·pu·> 'older brother', <hí> has the following phonemic shapes,

<aní· hí> : /?áni·ní?/

<atá· hí> : /?áta·tá?/

<a·pu· hí> : /?á·pu·pú?/

This suffix, like <-əHná·?i·> (cf. 422.1.1.) forms noun themes that occur with all substantival markers except the vocative and the locative (temporal). Examples of usage are given below.

/mí· ké· kwác ?u·?í ?a·khwí·na·?í·ka?/ 'That would be the son'.

In the example above, we find <hí> cooccurring with <-əHná·?i·>; i.e. <a·khwi hí -əHná·?i·>

'son-referential-definitive'

/ʔíwa·súr té·xe·keʔ ʔu·má·nucí·tuʔ ʔá·hu·híyá·war/

'ʔu·má·nuc's brothers were
sick at heart.'

/ʔáni·níʔ ʔáta·tá·par kʷéʔ·a·ma/ 'Mother and

Father went hunting.'

422.1.3. Number suffixes. The two thematic suffixes that mark number are described below. Themes formed with these suffixes can occur with all substantival suffixes except the locative (temporal). These suffixes cannot be followed by other thematic markers. Although they can be preceded by other suffixes, they, themselves, are mutually exclusive.

422.1.3.1. <yá·war> collective. This lexeme, which has a frequent variant <yá·r>, primarily refers to animate things; however, it is infrequently used in reference to things inanimate, e.g. /čínkiniyá·war/ 'shells(var.)'. Examples of the more usual usage are as follows:

/ʔú·pitaktakyá·war/ 'a bunch of hounds'

/tarí·čiyá·war/ 'a group of women'

/ʔin·áyá·warik·áskwa·mí· ʔíkhwi kʷáwi·kaʔ/

'They are the ones that
gave me a boat.'

In the example above, the verb /k'wáwi·k'a?/ is unmarked for collectiveness. Although, collective noun themes often occur with verbs marked for collectiveness, agreement as to collectiveness between a noun satellite and the verb is not obligatory.

422.1.3.2. <xa·yxér> paucal diminutive. This lexeme, which has the frequent variant <xé·r>, is most often used in reference to the young of animals that bear only a few offspring, e.g. /ʔé·xa·xa·yxér/ 'bear cubs', as opposed to animals that bear litters. An example of usage is

/kás mí· kimpíxa·yxér rá·ke?/ 'They are getting pretty big.'

The lexeme <yah·ar> 'child' has an irregular phonemic shape when occurring with <xa·yxér>; i.e.

<yah·ar xa·yxér> : /yáx·axa·yxér/ 'children'.

422.1.4. Attributive suffixes. There are a few suffixes that stand in an attributive relationship to the radicals they occur with. There are only semantic restrictions on their cooccurrence with the number suffixes.

422.1.4.1. <-ehé·nax> ~ <-ehé·rax> 'female'.

The following are examples of usage of this suffix

whose occurrence is infrequent:

<ʔe·tiski -ehé·nax> : /ʔé·tiskehé·nax/ 'morning
star (Venus)'

<u·sa -ehé·nax> : /ʔú·sahé·nax/ 'a promiscuous
woman'

<uswé·ʔe -ehé·nax>: /ʔuswé·ʔehé·nax/ 'a she-
devil'

<kičuk̆ -ehé·rax> : /kíčuk̆ehe·rax/ 'a woman
doctor'

It also occurs in the form /yú·čehé·nax/ 'a
Yuki(?) woman'.

Presumably the radical in this form ends morpho-
phonologically in a vowel. If so, we have here
an example of an irregular phonemic shape for
<-ehé·nax>, i.e. the expected vowel apheresis
does not take place.

In the form /ʔá·rakahé·nax/ 'evening star
(Venus)', we find the variant shape <-ahé·nax>.

422.1.4.2. <taktak>. The translations for
<taktak> are 'loose, floppy, baggy'. It is
marginally productive. Examples of usage are:
/míritaktak/ 'Floppy Mary (pers. name)' and
/ʔú·pitaktak/ 'a lopeared dog (i.e. hound)'.

422.1.4.3. <-epsi> 'pitiful'. Examples of

usage are as follows:

/yap·ú[́]kupsi/ 'a bucket belonging to someone
who is dead'

/sú[́]k·axapsi/ 'a pitiful boy' (as used in
reference to a bachelor)

422.1.4.4. <xí·yáx> 'diminutive'. Examples
of usage are as follows:

/ʔá·psuxí·yáx/ 'a little dog'

/ʔípxa·n·a·xí·yáx/ 'a little lake'

This suffix can also occur as an enclitic
(cf. 450.). In /ʔam·axxí·yáx/, 'a little way',
it occurs with a locative, and in /ʔí·yaxá
túp·iyá·raxí·yáx/, 'I'd better have a little nap',
it occurs with a verb in the volitional mode.

422.1.4.5. <-əknak> 'big'. Examples of usage
are:

<apka -əknak> : 'hand-big' : /ʔápkaknak/ 'thumb'

<kimpí -əknak> 'big-big' : /kimpíknak/ 'a great
big one'

<kári·wá -əknak> 'brother-big' : /kári·wáknak/
'eldest
brother'

422.1.5. <-iHhi> ~ <iHwi> 'animal hair'. This
suffix also has the variant shapes <-a·hi> ~ <-a·wi>.

It is not possible to predict which of the four variants will occur. Cp. /kwa·taka·hi/ ~ /kwá·taka·wi/ 'coyote hide' and /tiní·čxuki·wi/ 'raccoon hide', /ʔa·ráwi·hi/ 'deerhide'.

422.1.6. <yé·yu> factitive. This suffix can follow <-iHhi> ~ <-iHwi> 'animal hair'. It has the variant shape <-vHyu>; e.g.,

/čút·a·wí·yu/ 'something made out of gray squirrel hide.

Other examples are:

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <atká·-vHyu>: /ʔatká·yu/ | 'a lot of wild plums' |
| <čítuk·u yé·yu>: /čítuk·uyé·yu/ | 'fat around the kidney' |

422.2. Locative thematic affixes. There is one locative thematic prefix and there are eight locative thematic suffixes. These are described in the following sections.

The discussion of the suffixes is organized according to the following patterns which are mutually exclusive.

(1) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} <-éra> <hi·hú> \\ <hi·> \end{array} \right\} \\ <há·ki> \sim <é·ki> \end{array} \right]$

(See 422.2,3,4,5).

(2) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \langle \text{tíč} \rangle \\ \langle \text{m} \cdot \text{a} \rangle \end{array} \right] \langle \text{axá} \rangle$

(See 422,6,7,8).

422.2.1. <ku> place name prefix. Examples follow:

<čáwa·k> 'jaw' : /kúčáwa·k/ 'name of a little hill(spec.)'

<či·ták> 'head louse' : /kúči·ták/ 'a deerlick (spec.)'

422.2.2. <-éra> characterized by. This suffix can occur before <hi·hú> 'plant, bush' and before <há·ki> 'collective locative'. Examples are:

<atká· -éra· hi·hú há·ki> 'wild-plum characterized-by bush collective-locative':

/ʔatká·ra·hi·huwá·ki/ 'wild plum bush country'.

<ac·a -éra·>: /ʔac·ára·/ 'water-characterized-by (i.e. wet)'

<tarak -éra·>: /tárákára·/ 'dirty'

422.2.3. <hi·hú> plant, bush. This suffix can occur before <há·ki> 'collective locative'. Examples are as follows:

<čitat hi·hú>: /čítathi·hú/ 'applebird-plant(i.e. fern(var.))'

<mantá·x hi·hú há·ki> 'grapes plant collective-locative': /mantá·xhi·huwá·ki?/ 'where there are grapevines'.

<pičis hi·hú>: /píčishi·hú?/ 'a peach tree'

There are petrified forms containing this suffix; e.g. /na·h·ú/ ~ /nah·ú/ ~ /ʔánaxa·hú/ ~ /ʔínaxa·hú?/ 'cedar'.

422.2.4. <hi·> (?). The meaning of this lexeme is uncertain. It does not occur after other locative thematic suffixes. It only occurs before <há·ki>~ <é·ki> 'collective locative (cf. 422.2.5.)'. Examples are:

<ikni·his hi· há·ki> 'celeryroot' ? coll-loc.':
/ʔíkni·hishi·wá·ki/ 'where wild celery grows thick'

<yumaxá hi· há·ki> 'oldman ? coll-loc.' :
/yúmaxáhi·wá·ki/ '(with) the old men'

<e·wará·r hi·há·ki> 'boy-paucal ? coll-loc.':
/ʔé·wará·rhi·wá·ki/ '(with) the boys'

<ipxa·n·a· hi· é·ki> 'lake ? coll-loc.':
/ʔípxa·n·a·yé·ki/ 'a lot of little lakes'

(cp. <ipxa·n·a· há·ki>: /ʔípa·n·á·ki/ 'lake country').

422.2.5. Collective locative. The collective locative has the variant shapes <há·ki> and <é·ki>.

These shapes are in partial complementary distribution: <é·ki> occurs after lexemes whose morphophonological shapes end in a front vowel, or front vowel plus consonant, or apical consonant (i.e. <i,e[C],T>; <há·ki> occurs as /wá·ki/ after <hi·hú> 'plant, bush' and <hi·> '?' and as /á·ki/ after lexemes whose morphophonological shapes end in a back vowel or back vowel plus nonapical consonant (i.e. <u,a[P]>. Examples are:

- <wak·we· é·ki> : /wak·wé·ki/ 'mountain country'
 <čik é·ki> : /čiké·ki/ 'in the mud'
 <kika·č é·ki> : /kíka·cé·ki/ 'kíka·č country'
 <a·wá·s hi·hú há·ki> 'madrone
 tree coll-loc.' : /ʔa·wá·shi·húwá·ki/ 'where
 madrones grow'
 <e·wará·r hi· há·ki> 'boy-
 paucal ? coll-loc.' : /ʔé·wará·rhi·wá·ki/ '(with)
 the boys'
 <čururu há·ki> : /čúrurá·ki/ 'brush country'
 <ac·a há·ki> ; /ʔac·á·ki/ 'swampy ground'
 <ičkák há·ki> 'heavy, strong
 coll-loc.' : /ʔíčkaká·ki/ 'hard ground'

<há·ki> and <é·ki> also occur in the same environments; e.g.:

<uswé·ʔe há·ki> : /ʔuswé·ʔehá·ki/ 'devil country (i.e. hell)'; <wak·we· é·ki> : /wak·wé·ki/ 'mountain country.' (n.b. /ʔúswé·ʔá·ki/ 'hell(CW))'.

<ipxa·n·a· hi· é·ki> : /ʔípxa·n·a·yé·ki/ 'a lot of little lakes'; <yač·apxá· hi· há·ki> 'girl-paucal ? coll-loc.': /yáč·apxá·hi·wá·ki/ '(with) the girls'.

422.2.6. <tíč> quantitative. The only locative thematic suffix this lexeme occurs before is <-axá> '?' (cp. 422.2.8.). Examples of its usage are as follows:

<is·í· tíč> 'middle quant.' : /ʔis·i·tíč/ 'half of'

<in·á tíč axá> 'that one quant. ?': /ʔin·atíčaxáʔ/
'as big as that one'

<kurá·tíč> 'where/quant.' : /kura·tíč/ 'How much?'

<kurá·tíč -éHʔi> 'where quant. loc(temp)';

/kurá·tičí·ʔi/ 'at what
time...?'

422.2.7. <m·a·> hither. This suffix has the phonemic shape /ma·/ after a morphophonological shape that ends in a consonant; e.g.

<uk·áx m·a·> 'a-long-way hither' : /ʔuk·áxma·/
'far away'

<m·a·> occurs before <-axá> ? (cp. 422.2.8.).

Examples of this and other usage follow:

<ihí·ni m·a·> 'a-length-of-time hither' :
 /ʔihí·nim·a·/ 'afterward'
 <ihí·ni m·a· -axá> 'a-length-of-time hither ?':
 /ʔihí·nim·a·xá/ 'quite a while
 afterwards'
 <ká·ʔu m·a·> 'now hither' : /ká·ʔum·a·/ 'right
 now'

422.2.8. <-axá·> (?). The meaning of this suffix
 is uncertain. Examples are:

<ʔihí·ni m·a· -axá> 'a-length-of-time hither ?' :
 /ʔihí·nim·a·xá/ 'quite a while
 afterwards'
 <kurá· -axá -écHu> as in /kura·xác·uči· steʔ·akak/
 'Where are
 you(coll.) coming
 from?'
 <mi· -axá> : /mi·xá> 'over that way'
 <ká·ʔu -axá -écHu> 'now ? abl.': /ká·ʔuxác·u/
 'not long ago'
 <am·áx -axá> 'close by ?': /ʔam·áxaxáʔ/ 'not far
 away'

The following example, in contrast to the
 immediately preceding one, contradicts the morpho-
 phonological rule concerning behavior of vowels

after consonants, e.g.

<uk·áx -axá -éHtuhú> 'a long way ? direct.(thither):

/ʔúk·axxá·tuhúʔ/

'on the other side'

422.3. Pronouns. Pronouns are characterized by inherent number and person and the fact that they cannot be expanded. They can occur with the noun thematic suffix <-əHná·ʔi·> definitive, and the substantival markers <-éHtu> possessive and <-éHpar> comitative; however, they do not occur with other suffixes. The pronominal paradigm is given below.

| | <u>Singular</u> | <u>Plural</u> |
|----|-----------------|---------------|
| 1P | <ya·ʔa> | <ča·ká> |
| 2P | <ma·ʔi> | <ma·ká> |
| 3P | <kwač> | <kwa·ká> |

When occurring with the possessive marker, pronouns have the following phonological shapes:

| <u>Morphophonological</u> | <u>Phonemic</u> |
|---------------------------|-----------------|
| <u>Shape</u> | <u>Shape</u> |
| ya·ʔa | yap· ~ ya·p̣ |
| ma·ʔi | ma·m |
| kwač | kwač̣· |
| ča·ká | ča·ḳ |
| ma·ká | ma·ḳ |
| kwa·ká | kwa·ḳ |

Examples are as follows:

/yap·útúk/ ~ /ya·p̣útúk/ 'at my place'

| | |
|-------------|----------------------|
| /ma·mítúk/ | 'at your(sg.) place' |
| /kwač·útúk/ | 'at his place' |
| /ča·kútúk/ | 'at our place' |
| /ma·kútúk/ | 'at your(pl.) place' |
| /kwa·kútúk/ | 'at their place' |

422.4. Numeral themes. The Shasta counting system is based on five substantive radicals and six thematic suffixes. The lexemes involved are charted below. The numbers in the chart represent the glosses for constructions resulting from the combination of radical and thematic suffix; read 'x' beside a number as 'times'. (Assume the thematic suffixes are mutually exclusive; discussion of their cooccurrence possibilities follows the morpholexical statements below.).

| RADICAL | THEMATIC SUFFIX | | | | | | |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|----------|---------|-------|---------|---------|
| | | <wa·te·há·> | <ehé·wi> | <Hhi·s> | <nay> | <?i·rú> | <-vHyu> |
| <če·ʔa> | 6 | | | 20 | 1x | | |
| 'one' | | | | | | | |
| <xuk·a> | 7 | | | 40 | | 2x | 2x |
| 'two' | | | | | | | |
| <xački> | 8 | | | 60 | | | 3x |
| 'three' | | | | | | | |
| <iraha·ya·> | 9 | | | 80 | | 4x | |
| 'four' | | | | | | | |
| <e·čá> | | 10 | | 100 | | 5x | |
| 'five' | | | | | | | |

No glosses can be assigned to <wa·te·há·> or <ehé·wi>. <Hhi·s> is a vigesimal marker. <ʔi·rú> and <-vHyu> are multiplicatives. <nay> and a variant shape <n·imá·ʔi> occur only with <čé·ʔa> and the resulting constructions are translated 'once'.

<xački> has the variant shape <xacki>. <Hhi·s> has the phonemic variants /^hhi·s/ and /·his/.

The following morpholexical variations occur:
Morphophonological Morpholexical Morphophonological

| Shape | Variant | Environment |
|----------|-----------|------------------|
| čé·ʔa | : ču | /__wa·te·há· |
| | : če· | /__nay, n·imá·ʔi |
| wa·te·há | : wa·t | /__ʔi·rú |
| xuk'·a | : xuk'·a· | /__ʔi·rú |
| ʔi·rú | : ʔír | /xuk'·a__ |
| | : e·rú | /íraha·ya·__ |
| | : i·rú | /wa·t__ |
| | : ír | /_ _ _ _ |

The constructions formed with <wa·te·há·> and <Hhi·s> can occur with <ʔi·rú>; <e·čá ehé·wi> 'ten', like <xački> 'three', occurs with <-vHyu>:

| | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| /čúwa·ti·rú/ | 'six times' |
| /ʔíraha·ya·wa·ti·rú/ | 'nine times' |
| /čé·hi·sír/ | 'twenty times' |
| /ʔé·čehe·wí·yu/ | 'ten times' |

Constructions formed with <wa·te·há·> cannot occur with <Hhi·s>.

The numeral themes are rarely used with substantival markers. There are no examples of multiplicatives formed with <ʔi·ru> or <-vHyu> occurring with substantival markers. <ʔi·rú> and <-vHyu> also occur with <tá·wí> 'amount'. Cp. the following dialogs:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Question: /ta·wí·yu ké·ʔ túwata·yrak/ | 'How many
shall I
bring?' |
| Answer: /xackí·yu/ | 'Three.' |
| Question: /ta·wírri·kéké· tá·ʔ/ | 'How many
were there?' |
| Answer: /xuká·yu/ | 'Two.' |

Number concepts, excluding 1-10 and multiples of 20 and 100, are expressed by a substantival construction formed with <túk>, 'loc.(spat.) and the nominal deverbative <kv e·he·há·> 'lying across', e.g.,

| | |
|---|------------------|
| /ʔé.čehé.witúk ʔe.čáʔ k̑e.he.há.ʔ/ | 'fifteen' |
| /xúk̑.a.hi.stúk ʔe.čehé.wi k̑e.he.há.ʔ/ | 'fifty' |
| /č̑é.histúk ʔíraha.ya.wa.te.há.ʔ k̑e.he.há.ʔ/ | 'twenty
nine' |

The adverb <č̑í.mi> 'again' is optionally used in such constructions, e.g.,

/xáčki.histúk č̑í.mi ʔe.čehé.wi k̑e.he.há.ʔ/ 'seventy'

Multiples of 100, excluding 1000, are expressed as follows:

/xáčkiwa.ti.rú ʔe.čá.hi.s/ 'eight hundred (i.e. eight times one hundred)'.
'eight hundred (i.e. eight times one hundred)'

The form for 1000 is /ʔé.čehé.wi.his/, (i.e. 'ten-vigesimal' (or 2000 ?)).

422.5. Residual thematic suffixes. Lack of distributional evidence militates against unequivocal class assignment of a residue of suffixes. These forms have tentatively been considered as substantival or as locative thematic.

422.5.1. <-əHrú> (?). This lexeme is arbitrarily categorized as a substantival suffix. It seems to mark the concept of comitative. The examples extant in the data are given below:

<yah·ar -əHrú> 'child' ?' as in /ʔac·e·

yáh·ara·rúʔ/ 'a female grizzly bear with one cub'

<čirik -əHrú> 'young elk ?' as in /číriki·rúʔ/

'a female elk with a young elk'

<čup·ax -əHrú> 'fawn ?' as in /čúp·axa·rúʔ/ 'a

doe with a fawn'

422.5.2. Residual locative thematic suffixes. The residual suffixes which have been tentatively categorized locative thematic fall into three semantic groups: aspectual, body part locative, and directional.

422.5.2.1. Aspectual residue. The two suffixes in this group are described below.

422.5.2.1.1. <yá·ki> durative. This suffix has the lexemic variant <hí·ya·ki> which occurs in one example, i.e. <wak·wí hí·ya·ki>: /wák·wihí·ya·ki/ 'all winter long'.

Other examples are:

- <ač·áy yá·ki>: /ʔáč·ayá·ki/ 'all day long'
 <apxá· yá·ki>: /ʔapxa·yá·ki/ 'all night long'
 <ata·hí· yá·ki>: /ʔáta·hi·yá·ki/ 'all summer long'

422.5.2.1.2. <Hma> continuative. This lexeme is also an verb thematic suffix. It occurs in the substantive system in the following example:

- <ʔa·yax·í Hma> as in /ʔá·yax·í·ma číricwe·kiʔ/ 'We're going to work again tomorrow.'

422.5.2.2. <-əHwí·ma> body part locative. This suffix occurs with the substantive radicals <ičwat> 'chest' and <e·pka> 'nape of neck':

- /ʔíčwati·wí·ma/ 'all over the chest'
 /ʔé·pka·wí·ma/ 'the whole back of the head'

It also occurs with nominal themes:

- <k̀v eheni -əHwí·ma>: /k̀éheni·wí·ma/ 'around the tongue'
 <k̀v e·ri -əHwí·ma>: /k̀é·ri·wí·ma/ 'the end of the nose'

<ḳṿ iru -əHwí·ma>: /ḳíru·wí·ma/ 'male genitalia'

<ḳṿ u·p̣ci -əHwí·ma>: /ḳú·p̣ci·wí·ma/ 'on the shoulder'

This suffix cannot be used with body part terms such as:

<é·raw> 'navel', <apka> 'hand, fingers, arm',

<ičxí·k> 'penis', <a·rawá·ʔi> 'leg'.

422.5.2.3. Directional residue. There are three residual suffixes which have directional meaning.

422.5.2.3.1. <á·ʔay> ~ <yá·ʔay>. The two examples in the corpus are as follows:

/mí·tičá·ʔay/ 'quite a ways'

/mí·yá·ʔay/ 'way over yonder'

422.5.2.3.2. <hu·rú> upstream(creek). The examples are:

<ụka· hu·rú>: /ʔụka·hu·rú/ 'upstream(creek)'

cf. /ʔúka·hu·rú·tuhúʔ/ 'up the creek from there'

/ʔụka·hu·rú·u/ 'from up the creek' (as name for the Scott River Shasta)

422.5.2.3.3. <tú> upstream(river). The examples are:

<ụka· tú>: /ʔúka·túʔ/ 'up the river'

cf. /ʔụka·tú·u ʔís/ 'a person from up the river'

422.6. The nominal theme. The deverbative nominalizing prefix <k̂v̂>, which has the variant <ʔv̂>, occurs with verb themes to form a construction that can enter into constituency with a substantival marker. This type of theme formation is very productive. The restrictions on the kinds of verb themes that can be nominalized are unknown.

Examples are as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| /k̂an·ití·k/ | 'chopping(perf.)' |
| /k̂íʔ·e·keʔ/ | 'the ones they had with them(perf.)' |
| /k̂é·k̂aha·ma/ | 'father(i.e. 'watching ahead')(cont.) as in |
| /k̂é·k̂aha·má·tuʔ sá·tawac/ | 'Father's horse'. |
| /k̂í·pa·kira·ʔ/ ~ /ʔí·pa·kira·ʔ/ | 'a stinger(dur.)' |
| /k̂áris·á·kiʔ/ | 'a suitable place(neut.)' |

422.7. The gerundial theme. A gerundial verb (i.e. a verb construction containing the declarative gerundial prefix <ʔŵv̂> plus an aspectual theme) functions as a deverbative substantival theme which occurs with substantival marker to form verb satellite expressions that can occur expanded or unexpanded, e.g.

/ʔwík·wahá·wa·túk/ 'up in the corner there'

/ʔum·akáy ʔwis·á·kwaya·/ 'God (i.e. the one sitting up over head).'

In both the examples above, the verb theme is in the durative aspect.

422.8. The temporal theme. Verbs in the potential, subjunctive and declarative modes function as deverbative substantive themes that occur only with the temporal locative suffix <-éHʔi>. The resulting construction is a temporal locative expression that is a satellite of a verb, e.g.

/yím·akwantay mí· ṣteruka·rí·ʔi/ 'He would tell him if he asked.'

/yičkwá·ʔi/ 'When we (pauc.) were eating.'

/yičkwa·ké·ʔi/ 'When a whole bunch of us were eating.'

430. The adverb. An adverb is a verb satellite that is never in constituency with thematic or substantival suffixes. Adverbs never occur expanded.

The above statements characterize all the lexemes in this class; however, it is possible that further analysis would reveal the necessity for a more refined classification than has been made.

The adverbs found in the corpus are discussed below.

430.1. Invocatory adverbs. The invocatory adverbs form a semantic group. They divide into maledictory and neutral groups. These adverbs always occur in first tactic position in an utterance.

The maledictory group consists of <huswa> and <na·má·>. <huswa> is used with verbs in the hortative mode; <na·má·> is used with verbs in the volitional mode. Examples are:

/húswa kakácki?/ 'Would that you would trip!' (A variant form <hawa> was elicited from CW).

/na·má· stakácki?/ 'Would that you would trip!'

The neutral group of adverbs consists of <i·ya>.

<i·yaxá> (and <i·ya·sú> (CW)), and <taha>.

<i·yaxá> and <i·ya·sú> are petrified forms containing <i·ya>. These forms are used with verbs in hortative and volitional modes. Examples of usage are:

- /ʔí·yaxá čé·kahaʔ kehétap·ik/ 'Let's watch the
gambling!' (hort.)
- /ʔí·yaxá wé·tičí·ʔi tic·ík/ 'Would that I could
drink now!' (vol.)
- /ʔí·yaxáʔ tup·iyá·raxí·yáx/ 'He'd better have a
little nap!' (vol.)
- /ʔí·ya·sú mí· kwaččí· rú·wa·ʔi/ 'Let him be
with the group!'
(hort.)
- /táha čim·á·mi/ 'Let's go and see!'
(hort.)
- /táhaču yá·ʔaʔ tá·raʔ/ 'Let me throw the
long object!' (vol.)
- /táhaču kim·ákwaya·yak/ 'Please tell me
about it!' (hort.)

430.2. Emotive adverbs. There are three adverbs whose meaning are unknown; they seem to mark emotive, or expressive, content:

<sira·> as in /kwi·yá·čáča· makáy síra·
 yá·ʔaʔ ku·čáʔ síkhyewa·/ 'I thought that I
 hear something!'

<isa·> as in /ku·čáʔ ʔísa·ʔ tis·áy/ 'What
 are you saying?'

<makáy> as in (1) above and: /kwi·yá·čáča·
 makáy kás sá· tú·ʔihú ʔat·aʔ/ 'I thought I
 would go some
 other time.'

/makáy ʔis tíc·e·keʔ rákapía/ 'They were
 drinking lager
 beer.'

/makáyču mí· xuwá·tirík·aʔ stúwaʔ·ak/ 'Would
 that a rattlesnake
 will strike you!'

/makáy ríkaha·kwaya·/ 'He's sure dressed
 up!'

/makáy kwač·ú ke·kwáyik kwántu·me·/ 'I mentioned
 his name.'

430.3. <sa·> first person volitional marker.

<sa·> is used optionally with the first person volitional; e.g.

/tíčku sá·/ 'I'll eat', /číčku sá·/ 'we'll eat'.

Although its occurrence is optional, <sa·> is often

used to differentiate both first person and volitional when there is a possibility of ambiguity;

e.g.,

/čé?·a?/ 'Let's go!' (hort.)

/čé?·a? sá·/ 'We'll go.' (vol.)

/wá·ra sá· ?in·á? tí?·e?e· pú·?astúk/ 'I'll
put dried salmon in a sack.'
(vol.)

/wá·ra ?in·á? tí?·e?e· pú·?astúk/ 'He'll put
dried salmon in a sack.' (vol.)

430.4. <ma·> 'not'. <ma·> is the negative marker. It occurs not only as a verb satellite, but also in expansions of substantive expressions:

/má· ?in·á? skutis·a·yak/ 'Don't say that to
me!'

/má· tá·wi ké·mám·u/ 'not a few days hence
(i.e. before long)'

/má· mí· ?in·á? túta·/ 'That's not the way to
do.'

/?í·ya mí· má· kwaččí· rú·wa·?i/ 'Don't let
him be with the group!'

430.5. Adverbs expressing uncertainty. There are two lexemes in this group <xamí> 'maybe' and

<sí·way> 'it is possible that...'. <si·way> is used with verbs in volitional mode. <xamí> is used with verbs in the volitional and declarative modes.

Examples are:

/xamí sá· te·wí·ka·hu?/ 'Maybe I'll move in.'
(vol.)

/tíkwacá·?i·ma xamí/ 'He must have gotten
hungry.' (decl.rep.)

/makáy xamí, té?e·kik/ 'Maybe it's cooked!'
(decl.rep.)

/sí·way ta·yé·ke?/ 'They might cry.' (vol.)

/?is·ík sí·way stik·í?/ 'You might get cold.'
(vol.)

430.6. Miscellaneous adverbs. The adverbs in their group represent a semantic miscellany.

(1) <čí·mi> 'again'. <čí·mi> occurs in utterances such as /čí·mi ?a·yax·í típ·iknam·ika?/
'Again the next day they went to look up over[it].'

It also can occur in expansions of substantival expressions, e.g.,

/čí·mi čé·?atúk/ 'again one-loc.(spat.)' (i.e.
at another place)'

(See 422.4. for an example of <čí·mi> occurring in

a substantival expression used in counting.)

(2) <ma·hi> 'first'. Examples of usage are:

/yá·ʔaʔ má·hi t̥e·cní·ʔ/ 'I'll sing first!'

/ʔu·ʔí má·hi m̥í· kwá·yaknik/ 'He was the first
one who went by.'

(3) <xakáw> '?!'. Examples of usage are:

/kás xakáw ʔin·áʔ číčkuʔ/ 'We're going to
eat some grease now.'

/xakáwčú ké· ʔin·áʔ ku·čá kwís·a·keʔ/ 'What
are they saying?'

(4) <xa·hú> 'still, yet'. An example of usage
is /xa·kú tá·ʔ/ 'It was still there.'

(5) <maka·> 'no matter that...'. An example
of usage is:

/máka· ku·čá skwís·ik/ 'No matter what you say'

The most frequent occurrence of <máka·> is
in a set phrase /máka· stá· mí·/ 'as it was' which
is used as a conjunctive phrase in narrative.

<maka·> also occurs in a line from a trans-
lation from English into Shasta by Clara Wicks
of the Twenty-third Psalm: /yé· máka· yá·ʔaʔ
kwat·ehé·ha·ma ʔahúture·ʔe čá·purák ʔíkiwí·wiwá·ki/
'Yea, although I crossed the valley in the dark-
ness among the dead.'

- (6) <axmá·?i> 'undisturbed'. An example is:
 /ʔaxmá·?ihú ʔin·áʔ kwára·keʔ/ 'They were sit-
 ting there
 undisturbed.'

(In this example <axmá·?i> occurs with the enclitic <hú>. Cf. 452.).

- (7) <an·éx> 'nearly'. An example of usage is:
 /ʔan·éx kúč·i·ma/ 'I nearly fell'.

440. Demonstratives. <we·>, <in·á>, and <mi·> are the members of a major syntactic class that functions as verb satellites, with or without substantive or thematic suffixes, and can occur as nouns, locatives, or a connective in satellite expansions.

No matter how it is used, a demonstrative primarily signifies, from the speaker's point of view, location in time or space. <we·> specifies relative immediacy, <mi·> specifies relative remoteness, and <in·á> specifies, as it were, the absence of immediacy or remoteness. These forms can also be used to express aspectual concepts; <we·> marks inceptive/momentaneous, <mi·> marks durative/stative and <in·á> seems to designate imperfective (i.e. 'in the process of...').

440.1. Substantive/Adverb function. Demonstratives can be bases for substantive suffixation or they can occur unsuffixed in a substantive or adverbial function, with the restriction that a demonstrative never occurs at the head of a substantive phrase.

There are only semantic restrictions on occurrence of the demonstratives with the substantive

suffixes; e.g. demonstratives don't occur with <-éH> 'vocative' or <hí> 'referential'; however, a noun theme that has a demonstrative base can occur with the vocative; e.g. /ʔin·áyá·warí·/ 'Oh, you fellows there!'

440.2. The connective function. The precise nature of the connective function of demonstratives is not fully understood; consequently, the analysis that follows must be considered tentative.

440.2.1. Connection of clauses. A demonstrative can connect two unexpanded clauses (i.e. verbs),* the resulting construction being a compound clause; e.g.

| | |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| /kwát·i·ma mi·kwé·ra·kik/ | 'He's-going-hither- |
| | on-foot that-one |
| | he's-turning-back |
| | (i.e. 'He's going |
| | back and forth')' |

It is also possible to express the above idea as follows:

* There are no examples in the corpus of a demonstrative acting as a connective between two expanded clauses.

/kwát·i·ma mí· kás kwé·ra·kik/ or ?kwát·i·ma
kás mí· kwé·ra·kik/.

As the clause marker <kas> is always in constituency with a following clause, the last two examples are evidence that it is possible for <mí·> to be a constituent of both clauses. It is assumed for the original example that <mí·> is functioning as a connective and that the constituency relationship is a ternary one.

440.2.2. Role of demonstratives in satellite expansions. Demonstratives occur as connectives in various types of substantive phrases. Because of the freedom of Shasta word order and because the demonstratives have multiple class membership, syntactic ambiguity is possible, i.e. there are optional parsings for expressions containing connectives.

The following are examples of a demonstrative occurring in coordinate substantive expression:

(1) /?á·watickwá·par ?in·á? tarí·čí?/ 'man-com.

that-one woman (i.e. a
man and a woman)'

(2) /?áni·ní mí· ?áta·tápaw mí·ri·wáykaha·ke?/

'Mother-ref. that-one

father-ref.-only that-one
 they-know (i.e. Mother and
 Father are the only ones
 who know.)'

Both these examples are representative of ambiguous structures. The structure of (1) is either N D N (where N= /ʔá.watikhwá.par tari.č̣iʔ/) or N₁ N₂ (where N₂= /ʔin.á tari.č̣iʔ/). In the first parsing <in.á> is a connective; in the second it is adnominal.

(2) has the alternative structures N [N,A]V and N N V. In the structure N[N,A]V, N= N D N (D is connective) and the second <mi.> is either a substantival or an adverbial satellite. In the structure N N V, N= N N (i.e. <mi.>) is adnominal.

440.2.3. Occurrence with <ké.>. The demonstratives occur with the conjunctive particle <ke.> in a connective pattern that hasn't been completely analyzed yet. The following examples demonstrate the pattern:

/mí.ké.mí.kwá.ʔ/ 'That was what it was!'

/máritus srik.í.ʔiʔ ʔin.áʔ ké.mí.kwérisnikwá.ma
 ʔértúk/ 'a cold to be(pot.)-temporal loc. this
 one it-is-so-that that-one it-nose-snuffs-up-

cont. nose-loc. (i.e. When I get a cold, this is
what I snuff up my nose.)'

/wé· ké· wé· túti?/ 'This is what he'll do.'

450. Enclitics. Enclitics can occur with other syntactic classes. An enclitic is only followed by another enclitic, the clitic <na·> (cf. 460.) or juncture; thus, a word in Shasta has the structure W[E][C] (where W= verb, substantive, demonstrative, particle, clause marker, or interjection).

Enclitics are constituents of endocentric constructions. As many as three enclitics can cooccur. A two or three member sequence is called a cluster.

An enclitic that never occurs in a cluster or whose occurrence is restricted to first position in a cluster is referred to as a postposition. An enclitic whose positional occurrence in clusters is unrestricted, except when the first position is filled by a postposition, is called a postfix.

451. Postpositions. Postpositions occur with verbs, substantives, adverbs, or demonstratives. Twelve forms have been identified as members of this class; however, since verb thematic suffixes and substantive thematic suffixes are found functioning as postpositions, it is assumed that

the class is potentially an open one. For example, the substantive thematic <xí·yáx> 'diminutive' (cf. 422.1.4.4.) occurs with a verb in the volitional mode in

/ʔí·yaxá túp·irá·raxí·yáx/ 'I'd better have a little nap'. Some directional/locational verb thematic suffixes (cf. 412.2.2.4.) occur as enclitic particles with substantive themes; e.g. <tac·á> 'allative' as in /má·ʔitac·á/ 'towards you(sg.)', <ka·hú> 'upstream from the mouth of a stream' as in /ʔam·íka·hú mí·kwá·ʔ/ 'It's up the creek here.', <-əpá·k> 'in liquid' as in /tárapá·k/ 'dirty water'. Also found occurring with substantive themes are attributive verb thematic suffixes (cf. 412.2.2.1.); e.g. <ča·m·i> 'intensifier' as in /ʔá·taxára·ča·m·i ʔin·áʔ rá·ʔ/ 'It's too salty.'

The twelve forms identified as enclitic particles are listed below. Accompanying the items on the list are symbols indicating the syntactic classes the forms occur with (V= verb, S=substantive, A= adverb, D= demonstrative). Examples of usage follow the list.

1. <wa·yax> 'alone' (S) 6. <-éHparuru> 'at once'
(V)
2. <ri·way> 'both' (S) 7. <tuwax> '?' (V)
3. <ki·wír> 'two to-
gether' (S) 8. <é?e·haw> ~ <hyaw>
'That's the reason'
(S,D)
4. <rí·?ay> 'good' (S) 9. <-əṭkay> 'severally'
(V,S)
5. <hampe·ki> 'it is
possible that..' 10. <kamax> '?' (S,A)
11. <čax> '?' (D)
(S,A) 12. <knawa·?í> 'always'
(D)

1. /ma·káv·yaxhúya wé· stá·?/ 'You(pl.) are all
alone, are you?'
2. /?é·wará·rxá·yxérri·way/ 'they were both
boys'
3. /kári·wáki·wír/ 'two brothers'
4. /ká·m·ukayrí·?ay/ 'a good counter'
5. /yáwe·ke? ku·čá? ?ikaráyhampe·ke/ (S) 'They
gave them some-
thing-maybe a
knife.'

- /xamíhampe·ki ʔam·í rá·ʔ/ (A) 'He might/could
be here.'
6. /tí·ti·má·paruru/ 'He ran away at once.'
7. /yíhi·ruxnarín·a·tuwax stúwasá·s/ 'He growled
back at him to order
him away.'
8. /ku·čéʔe·hawna· mí·/ (S) 'Why is it that...?'
/kíhí·táyikhyaw mí· ké· túta·yik/ (S) 'Because
of the speaking of
the name, he did this.'
- /mí·hyawʔ/ (D) 'That's the reason.'
9. /kás kwéʔ·i·matkay ʔwi·wawáw/ (V) 'Everything is
all gone.'
- /kás ʔwé·há·wá·ʔ kás ʔim·átkay ʔwe·hú·ya·kaʔ/ (S)
'All that are living -
each one has fire.'
10. /ʔátuʔ má·kúra·xákamáx stíwa·ʔi/ (S) 'There's
no place to build a
fire.'
- /má·kamáx kurá· tutik/ (A) 'He didn't in the
least do anything.'
11. /nipxúye·kík·aʔ mí·čax ničkwá·ki/ 'You(coll.)
go and smoke it out;
then you(coll.) can
eat it.'

12. /mí·knawa·?ihú títik ?ihíni·hú/ 'That's what
was always done all
 the time'

In the examples above, postpositions occur with postfixes in 1 and 12. The first item in 8 contains an example of a postposition occurring with the clitic <na·> (cf. 460.).

452. Postfixes. There are fifteen members of this class. Postfix occurs with other classes, alone or in clusters. The table below shows the distribution of single postfixes. Discussion, accompanied by examples, follows the table. Following the discussion is a list of enclitic clusters which covers all the cooccurrence possibilities found.

452.1. Single postfixes. In the table that follows a blank space in a row indicates that no example of cooccurrence was found in the data. Whether or not a blank is fortuitous is unknown. The class symbols used in the table and discussion are: V, S, A, D; and P= conjunctive particle, CM= clause marker, I= interjection.

Syntactic Class

| <u>No.</u> | <u>Postfix</u> | <u>V</u> | <u>S</u> | <u>A</u> | <u>D</u> | <u>P</u> | <u>CM</u> | <u>I</u> |
|------------|-----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| 1 | <-əp·ahu> | + | + | | + | | | |
| 2 | <-əskwa·> | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 3 | <-əm·u> | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 4 | <-é'kHa> | + | + | + | + | | + | |
| 5 | <č̣i·> ~ <č̣i·> | | + | | + | + | | |
| 6 | <č̣i·> | | + | + | | | | |
| 7 | <ču> ~ <ču> | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 8 | <hú> | + | + | + | + | | + | + |
| 9 | <kwa·?ís> | | + | | + | | | |
| 10 | <ḳa> | | + | + | ? | | | |
| 11 | <ri·> | + | + | | + | | | |
| 12 | <ya> | + | + | | + | | + | |
| 13 | <yamí·> | | + | | | | | |
| 14 | <yahú> | | + | | | | | |
| 15 | <tam·í> | | + | | | | | |

The discussion below is organized according to the ordering of the postfixes in the table above.

1 <-əp·ahu>. This lexeme has the variant shapes <-əpaw> and <-e'paw>. Its English equivalents are usually "nothing but" or "only".

/tá·ye·kep·aw/(V) 'It is said they did nothing
but cry.'

/ʔá·pupú·parip·aw wé· yára·keʔ/(S) 'Only older
brother and I remain here.'

/ʔáta·hisé·kipaw yéʔ·ihi·yi·ma/(S) 'It was noth-
ing but deserted when we got
there.'

/mí·pahu kéʔ kás mí· yap·úʔ kát·é·keʔ/(D)
'That's the only time I was
[ever] around there.'

2 <-éskwa>. This postfix is a marker of
emphasis.

/tičkúskwa· kit·árʔ/(V) 'I'm going to eat summer
salmon.'

/ʔac·áwskwa· ʔátuʔ ʔátuʔ ʔac·áw/(S) 'pine nuts,
no more, no more pine nuts'

/kasískwa· kičkwá·kiʔ/(CM) 'You(pl.) eat now!'

/ča·káʔ ʔin·áʔ sí·wan·á·ʔi mí·skwa· ké· ʔumé·
tik·íʔ/(D) 'If we should sleep (to-
gether), there will be
children!'

/mahískwa· ʔin·áʔ túč·awa·sir/(A) 'Wait until
the storm is over.'

3 <-əm·u>. This lexeme has a variant shape

<him·u> as in /čé·hisim·u/ ~ /čé·hishim·u/ 'only twenty'. Its semantic content, which seems to contain the component 'locative', is uncertain.

/ʔam·áxam·u/(S) 'not far away'
 /stáhuʔ·úm·u mí·kwá·ʔ/(V) 'He was just about to say something.'

/ʔis·í·m·u/(S) 'in the middle'

/mí·m·u/ 'at that time'

/čí·mim·uhú ʔu·ʔík·am·uhú ʔwíkhyewik ʔwikhyewá·ku·čáʔ/ 'Again, the same one heard(moment.perf.) kept-on-hearing(dur.perf.) something.'

(There are two occurrences of <-em·u> in this example; it occurs with the adverb <čí·mi> and also in /ʔu·ʔík·am·uhú/ which is an example of a substantive occurring with a three member postfix cluster). See also:

/kwíc·ikim·u/(V) 'He drinks all the time.'

4 <-ékHa> 'demonstrative'. The demonstrative is often used to single out the subject satellite in a clause; however, since it is also used for purely emphatic effect, it occurs with other clause constituents as well. (See 10 for a discussion of possibility of confusion with <ka>.)

/níʔ·as·e·kík·aʔ/(V) 'You(sg.) take it away
from them!'

(This example shows the use of <-éʔHa> with a verb in the mandatory imperative mode; such use is very frequent, especially in the speech of CW).

/kwá·takák·aʔ/(S) 'Coyote's the one'

/ʔáyaxí·tuhúk·aʔ narí·thih·yák/(S) 'Day after
tomorrow you(sg.) come
here after him!'

/či·mík·aʔ stuhu·yák/(A) 'Come again!'

/kasík·aʔ ʔin·áʔ kírík kútíp·aw ʔís kéʔ·ihí·yák/
(C) 'Afterwhile the only kind
of people who come back
(will be) the dead.'

5 <či> ~<čí>. The meaning of this lexeme is uncertain.

/té·rukarik ʔim·áči·/(S) 'Where's the fire?'

/mí·či má·ya twe·wáʔ/(D) 'There, don't you see
it?'

/ʔukhí·cu ke·čí· t'éʔ·ak/(P) 'Some are going to
come here from there.'

See also:

/kurá·či· ké· wé· túta·yik yap·úʔ kís·awehémpik/
'What did you do to my sit-
ting place?'

/ku·čáči· tapsík/ 'Whatever are you looking for?'

6 <či·>. 'too, also'.

/xátukwi·wači· ʔuk·waríʔ/(N) 'Lots of Wintu, too.'

/te·pxúʔ sá· wé· xamíči· wé· xúk·aʔ sé·pxuʔ/(A)

'I'm going to stay overnight -
maybe I'll stay two nights.'

7 <ču> ~ <ču>. The meaning of this lexeme is
uncertain.

/rát·ayra·kakčú/(V) 'They are running this way
after it.'

/ʔáp·akčú ʔám·a·túk rá·ʔ/(S) 'Mother's brother is
in the house.'

/má·ču mí· ʔamí/(A) 'not here'

/wé·ču ké· ma·káʔ stis·ánti·kaʔ réʔ·akák·aʔ/(D)
'You(pl.) were asked to
come.'

/kás ké·čú twé·rukwarik/(P) 'Then he asked...'

8 <hú>. 'emphatic'.

/rúhu·yan·ákikhú/(V) 'Let him come back again!'

/ʔapká·tahú ʔin·áʔ sí·čukaʔ/(S) 'I'm carrying it
in my hands.'

/mí·hú ké· té·cni·k/(D) 'He kept on singing.'

/kashú mí· rá·? má· mí· ?ihiní·ri· rá·?/(CM)

'He's that way; it won't
be very long.' (said when
someone is the verge of
dying).

/?e·xhú ma·mú? káhus·í·k/(I) 'e·x, your way of
talking!'

/?axmá·?ihú ?in·á? kwára·ke?/(A) 'They were sit-
ting there undisturbed.'

9 <kwa·?ís>. 'emphatic'. In all the examples
found, this postfix only occurs following the
postfix <ču>.

/?á·psučúkwa·?ís tíčkaxáwi·k/(S) 'He killed
that dog.'

/mí·čúkwa·?ís ?ís ?uk·arí rá·? ?am·áx ?warirá·ka?/
(D) 'There were many people
nearby, close in line.'

See also,

/má·ičúkwa·?ís/(S) 'Of course it was you!'

10 <ká> ~ <ka>. The meaning of this lexeme seems
to be the same as that of <-ékHa> 'demonstrative'.
In some environments, it is difficult to determine
which postfix is present, e.g. /má·ká/(A) 'Don't
do that!' could represent either <ma· -ékHa> or

<ma·ká>. In this case, it is assumed that <ká> is the form that occurs since a form like /ma·húka/ ~ /ma·húka/ 'not yet' does not show the expected shape for <-é'kHa>. <-é'kHa> occurs frequently; the occurrence of <ká> is rare. In an utterance such as /mí·kačú ké·? ?ás·u·hú stárahú·yákni?/(D) 'May you grow as tall as a yellow pine!', whether /mí·ka/ contains <-é'kHa> or <ká> is not known. See also

/makáyka sá·tat·á?/(A) 'I'll go afterwhile.'

/kás ?átuka ?wí·k kwač·ú stíwe·há·?/(CS) 'There was nothing for him to eat.'

11 <ri·> 'contrastive emphatic'.

/kás ké·čú kú·pičiyaxikri·/(V) 'He listened carefully.'

/wé:ri· ké· stuta·yik kičkúk/(D) 'This is the way food should be fixed.'

/kwač·ú tari·čiri·/(S) 'Let it be his wife.'

13 <yamí·> 'sequentitive'. Examples of usage are:

/kás ?ayá·kiyamí· kwač·ú? tiwíčax·i·ma/(S)

'Then he started in betting his daughter.'

/kás ʔin.áʔ má.ʔiyamí. sté.ka.ʔí.k/(S) 'It's
your turn to give a
 speech.'

14 <yahú> 'deictic'. Examples of usage are
 /ʔakíyaxák.aʔ tíc.aw ʔim.áyahú kwá.takák.aʔ
 sríswir ʔim.áʔ/(S) 'Surely that very fire
 will go out if Coyote
 takes the fire.'

/ʔin.awkhúyahú tíčurúxiwa.kik yap.úʔ ʔa.huhí/
 (S) 'In that very spot he
 threw my brothers into
 the water.'

15 <tam.i> 'even'. An example of usage is
 /kwí.ʔ.aswe.keʔ sá.tawactam.i ʔú.pičukiniʔ ʔ
 ʔú.wa.xa.ʔ/(S) 'They took away even the
horses, mules, and rabbits.'

452.2. Postfix clusters. In the preceding
 section examples were given of single postfixes
 occurring with syntactic classes. Clusters of
 two or three postfixes also occur. It is not
 profitable to make statements about ordering pos-
 sibilities as too little is known about the factors
 that condition occurrence; therefore, what follows
 is a list of the clusters found in the data. (The

forms are in morphophonological notation).

| | |
|------------------|------------------|
| -ep·ahu | -ékHa |
| -ep·ahu ču | -ékHa -eskwa· |
| -ep·ahu hú | -ékHa ču |
| -ékHa -ep·ahu | -ékHa ču kwa·ʔís |
| -éskwa· | -ékHa -ep·ahu |
| -ču -éskwa· | -ékHa či· |
| -či· -éskwa· | -ékHa yamí· |
| -em·u hú -éskwa· | -ékHa hú ču |
| -ékHa éskwa· | -ékHa ya hú |
| -em·u | -étkay -ékHa |
| -em·u ču | yamí· -ékHa |
| -em·u ka hú | ri· -ékHa |
| -em·u hú -éskwa· | -ékHa hú ri· |
| -ékHa -em·u hú | -ékHa ri· či· |
| hú -em·u | -ékHa -em·u |
| -em·u hú | -ékHa ya |
| či· | kwa·ʔís |
| či· ču | ču kwa·ʔís |
| -ékHa či· | -ékHa ču kwa·ʔís |
| -ékHa ri· či· | ka |
| či· | ka hú |
| či· ya | -em·u ka hú |
| či· -éskwa· | ka ču |

ču

ču hú

či• ču

ču -éskwa•

-ep•ahu ču

-em•u ču

-ék'Ha ču

ka ču

ri• ču

-ék'Ha ču kwa•'ís

-ék'Ha hú ču

hú

hú ya

hú ka

hú -em•u

hú yahú

hú ri•

-ep•ahu hú

ču hú

-ék'Ha hú ču

-em•u ka hú

-em•u hú -éskwa•

-ék'Ha hú ri•

ka hú

-ék'Ha ya hú

ri•

ri• -ék'Ha

ri• ču

-ék'Ha hú ri•

hú ri•

-éHka ri• či•

ya

-ék'Ha ya

-ék'Ha ya hú

ya hú

či• ya

hú ya

yamí•

-ék'Ha yamí•

yamí• -ék'Ha

yahú

-ék'Ha yamí•

yamí• -ék'Ha

yahú

hú yahú

tam•í

-ék'Ha tam•í

460. Clitic. <na·>, 'addressative', occurs both as an enclitic and as an interjection that occurs in the first tactic position in an utterance. As an enclitic, it follows all other enclitics, most often occurs with question words or forms in the vocative, and enters into the construction it occurs with. As an interjection, it is always followed by <!>, expressive juncture.

<na·> is used in conversation when the speaker wishes to address someone. Examples of its usage follow.

- | | |
|--|---|
| /yáćin·a· wé·. tú·ʔi·na· sá· wé· čí·mac/ | 'We're braiding. Wonder when we'll finish?' |
| /taká·tuna· wé· ʔí·nax/ | 'Whose hair is this?' |
| /kurá·či·na· ʔin·á? kwát·a?/ | 'Where has he gone?' |
| /ʔac·ití·na·/ | 'Grandmother,' |
| /taká·kari·na·/ | 'whoever he is' |
| /na·: mí· ma·mú? ʔiskí·k/ | 'That's your life!
(implying life has been hard)' |
| /na·: wé· ʔwipsí·k yúmaxá? ʔwis·á·yik/ | 'You'll get married, will you, old man!' he said to him.' |

470. Conjunctive Particle. <ke> 'so it is/was that...', is the only member of this class. It occurs alone or with an enclitic. It marks a clause as the final one in a sequence.

/kás ké·čú kwá·tak kú·pičiyax·ikri./ 'Then
Coyote listened
carefully.'

/mípaw ké· kás mí· yap·ú? kat·é·ke?. 'That's
the only time I
was (ever) around
there.'

/máritus srik·í·?i ?in·á? ké· mí· kwérisnikwá·ma
?értúk/ 'When getting a cold, so this is that
(which) I snuffed
up my nose.'

/kurá·či· ké· wé· tútayik yap·ú? kís·awehémpik/
'So what did you just do to my sitting
place?'

-- /?am·íri· ké· káris·á? kičkúk/ 'That way it is
good to eat.'

/ku·čá ké· ?in·á? tí·k/ 'What's he doing?'

480. Clause marker. In narrative, <kas> marks a loose conjunctive relationship between a clause and the clause that precedes it. It is always in constituency with the clause that follows.

In conversation, <kas> can occur as an interruptive device or as a hesitation form. With a postfix, it can be used as an interjection, e.g. <kas éskwa·>: /kasiskwa·/ 'Goodbye!'. .

Examples of its use as a clause marker follow.

/kásčú táka·ka· tis·ík/ 'Then Quail said....'

/kás ké·čú kwá·tak kú·pičiyax·ikri·/ 'Then

Coyote listened carefully.'

/kás wé· sá·ya·pú·ma yá·?ači·/ 'I'm getting old too.'

/kás mí·tičim·u ké·? rúkatehempik/ 'At this point, it ends.'

/o·: kás wé· rán·iwáya·kikak/ 'Oh, here come the brides-to-be!'

/mí·paw ké·? kás mí· yap·ú? kat·é·ke?/ 'That's the only time I was (ever) around there.'

/má· yá·ʔa kím·á ču·kír ʔin·á·tini·hú ʔac·áw
kas xáčki čikí·su kwik·íʔ/ 'I haven't seen any
acorns or pine nuts
for three years.'

490. Interjections. Interjections are lexemes that occur alone or with expressive juncture (<!>) and form complete utterances. They are as follows:

- <hay> 'What!' (an answer given when someone calls your attention)
- <ha·?á·> 'yes'
- <e·x> An expression of disgust. This interjection always occurs in construction with expressive juncture, i.e. <e·x !>: /?é·x/.
- <ís·e> 'Here!' as in /?ís·e. wé· pía kic·í?/
'Here, drink this beer!'
- <e·huhu> An exclamation made when you are pleased that you have gotten the best of someone.

The adverb <má·> 'not', together with <!>, forms a construction that is an interjection, e.g.

<má· !>: /má·/.