Aspects of Salinan Grammar

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Dedication

To Mrs. O., Barbara and the Doom-Pussy

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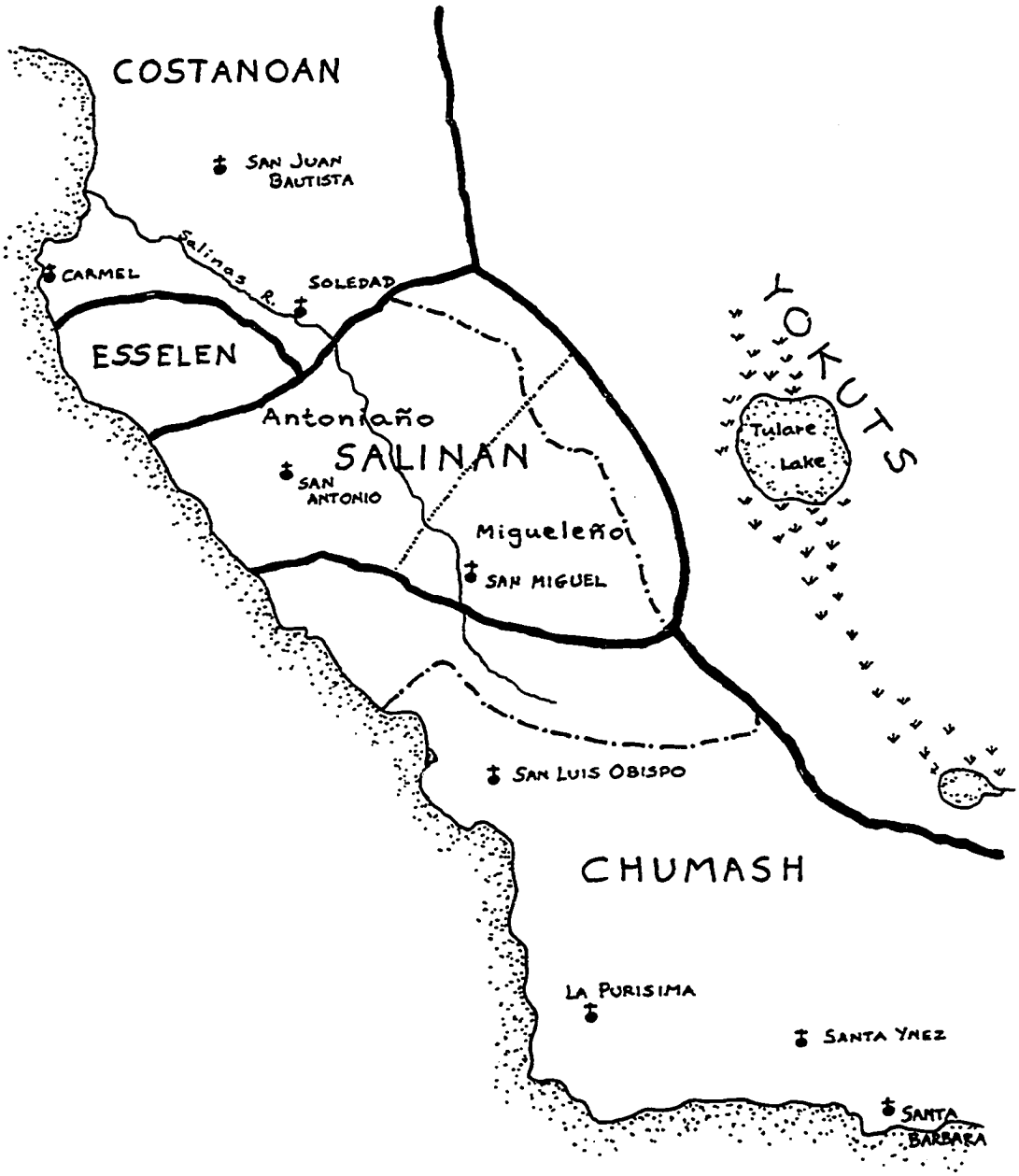
0. Introduction.

0.1. Location. At the time of European contact the Salinan language was spoken in an area along the south central coast of California from just north of the present town of King City south to Paso Robles and east to Coalinga. Milliken's (1982) research with the California mission registers and recent archaeology by Gibson (1975 & 1982), Breschini & Haversat (1980), and Swernoff (p.c.) has refined Kroeber's (1912:415 & 1925:546-549) geographical distribution of Salinan speakers (Turner 1983b). The most significant alteration of Kroeber's boundaries is to move the southern coastal border 40 miles north and to suggest a western-eatern, rather than a northern-southern division between speakers of the two documented dialects of Salinan, Antoniaño and Migueliño, respectively. There is no linguistic evidence to support the possibility that there was a third dialect of Salinan, Playaño. The Salinans' neighbors at the time of European contact were the Esselen (Hokan stock), the Soledad Costanoan (Penutian stock), the Yokuts (Penutian), and the Northern, or Obispeño Chumash (Hokan), (map, page 2).

0.2. Genetic affiliations. The Salinan language is conventionally said to be an isolate within the Hokan stock (Kroeber 1904, Sapir 1917, Dixon & Kroeber 1919, Shipley 1973 & 1978, Jacobsen 1979 & 1986, Campbell & Mithun 1979 and Turner 1983a).



SALINAN TERRITORY AND ADJACENT AREAS

After Gibson (1982)

—·— Boundary of Salinan territory according to Kroeber (1925)

Franciscan mission

Classification of Salinan as a member of the Hokan stock followed a preliminary period starting with Gallatin (1848), during which classifications of the numerous languages of North America (and, specifically, California) were attempted (Latham 1856, Gatschet 1877, Powell 1891, Dixon & Kroeber 1903, Kroeber 1910, Dixon & Kroeber 1913a & b, and Dixon & Kroeber 1919) in an effort to bring order to a "bewilderingly large number of languages" (Langdon 1974:4).

Genetic affiliation even with its closest geographical 'Hokan' neighbors cannot be established. It is possible that a pre-Salinan and proto-Chumash comparison may eventually reveal a relationship at a great time depth: there is such a dearth of linguistic data for Esselen that there is little possibility of establishing a genetic relationship between Salinan and Esselen or between Esselen and any other language family that has been suggested as a member of the Hokan stock.

Attempts to discover genetic relationships with other languages or language families in California have been fruitless. The result of my earlier historical, typological and areal study of Salinan (Turner 1983a) is that the Salinan language shows as much influence from its contacts with unrelated California languages as it does evidence of genetic affiliations with any other putative Hokan languages. It shares about the same number of look-alikes with Uto-Aztecan as it does possible cognates and borrowings

with Chumash. The study does establish the fact of continuous and long term Salinan occupation of, at least, the Salinans' historical territory, as well as continuous and long term contact between Salinan and Chumash and Uto-Aztecan languages.

0.3. Ethnohistory. The Salinan dialects disappeared as active media of communication within less than a century after the Franciscans introduced a mission in their territory. Mission San Antonio de Padua, the third mission established by the Franciscans in Alta California and the first in Salinan territory, was founded on July 14, 1771 by Father Junipero Serra with Fathers Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar. San Miguel, Arcángel was established July 25, 1797 by Fr. Sitjar. These two missions have lent their names to the two attested dialects of Salinan: Antoniaño and Migueliño.

The Franciscans' proselytizing brought about the eventual eradication of Salinan aboriginal culture at all levels. There seem to have been some attempts made to preach in the native language, but the Franciscans' linguistic efforts were primarily directed toward instructing the Indians to speak and read Spanish. The native language was just one of the local curiosities for the padres. In order to evaluate the sincerity of their Indian converts, the missionaries required them to pray, recite, sing, count, confess and conduct most of their daily communication in Spanish (Engelhardt 1929 & 1972).

In 1813 the first datable report on the language of the area was recorded in answer to a royal interrogatorio. Priests from all the missions in Alta California responded to the questionnaire, and this is the source for some of the oldest historical information on the native languages of the coast of California.

Questions 3, 6, 7 & 10 dealt, in part, with language: the other 31 give some insight into the attitudes of the Spaniards to the Indians and vice-versa. Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho replied to the Interrogatorio for San Antonio on February 26,1814. In answer to the third question he wrote,

> "Two distinct languages are known to be spoken by the Indians. The dominant language is that of the site of the Mission, which is understood to the east, south, north, and the circumference of the west. The less important is spoken by those called Playaños, of the sea-coast, because it came from the shore or the ocean. They are few, and they not only understand the dominant idiom, but speak it to perfection. The generality of the Indians understand to a great extent the Spanish language, and they speak it with sufficient fluency, especially those who were born at the Mission. Those who have had opportunities to deal with the Spaniards excel, of course."

The answers to questions 6, 7 and 10 are as follows:

> "In the boys born at the Mission and of better instruction, there is noticed much inclination to read and write in Spanish; but as for reading and writing in their own idiom little or no inclination has been observed, but we doubt not that with facility they would acquit themselves in the one as in the other language were not paper, pen, etc., lacking. On their antiquities nothing is known regarding writers or writings. Their whole writings consist of some line drawn on the soil when they want to commit something to memory which they alone understand. They know

> from short and long lines interpolated, in which state are their accounts. They also make in place of the numerals knots in a string or cord, or notches in a stick, and this do even the most intelligent, when they give account of what has been committed to their charge, as for instance the fanegas of grain sowed or harvested, the number of cattle, etc. Futhermore there are some who know how to explain themselves with certainty when they are questioned on things, which with us it would be necessary to write down.
>
> "On account of what has been expressed in number 3, it will suffice to say that what can be desired has been accomplished in the Spanish language and in the new Missions.
>
> "This Mission has a catechism in the vernacular and the other works for the administration of the sacraments but nothing is approved formally by the Right Reverend Bishop" (Engelhardt 1972: 30-39).

The Fathers Juan Martin and Juan Cabot replied to the Interrogatorio April 15, 1814 from Mission San Miguel. In answer to the third question they wrote,

> "The neophytes of this Mission speak four idioms or languages: a) that of San Antonio, which is reputed the principal one; b) that of the seashore, which is the one spoken by those collected on the sea-coast; c) the Tulareño, which is spoken in the Tulares region; d) and in the fourth place that spoken to the south of the Mission. As yet they understand little Castilian, and that much, thanks to the efforts of the Missionary Fathers."

The Tulareño referred to are Yokuts. The answers to questions 6, 7 and 10 are as follows:

> "The little boys of the Mission in a few months learn anything, as reading in Spanish or Latin, and learn to read from manuscripts, to sing the plain as well as the figured music. Their ancestors had no idea whatever of paper or its equivalent.
>
> "As the Indians have no aversion to Castilian, it seems a sufficient method to instruct them in the Castilian language, which method has been

observed, and particular care is taken to have them all speak to the Fathers at least in Castilian.

"In this Mission, although there is a Catechism in the chief language, it is not formally approved by the Bishop" (Engelhardt 1929:15-21).

0.4. Sources for linguistic data. There are more than twenty sources of linguistic information on Salinan, three quarters of them recorded in idiosyncratic transcriptions. Five are glossed in Spanish of the late 18th and early 19th century: these and other such confirmatory sources are listed in the bibliography.

0.41. Sitjar. The oldest source of purely linguistic information about Salinan is Fr. Buenaventura Sitjar's "Vocabulario de la Lengua de los Naturales de la Mision San Antonio, Alta California," published in Shea's Library of American Linguistics in 1861 but compiled much earlier in the century. The manuscript is in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Sitjar lived in Salinan territory from 1771 until his death in 1808. The Vocabulario is arranged by Spanish nouns and verbs with most of the entries supplemented by a few inflected examples or sample sentences, as well as some grammatical notes by Shea. His corpus is useful as a confirmatory and supplementary linguistic source for more extensive and better recorded material.

0.42. Mason. J. Alden Mason (1918) is the author of

the only linguistic analysis of Salinan that has been published in the 20th century. His material consists of early 20th century grammatical analysis, texts from both dialects, and a stem list in which many of the verb forms are from Sitjar. Unfortunately, Mason did not have the ability to record the language accurately nor to analyze it grammatically. But his work remains the only analysis of Salinan that has been published. Sapir's review of this work (1920c) and his subsequent use of Mason's personal phonetic records of Salinan (1917, 1920a, 1920b, 1921 & 1925) in comparative Hokan studies has provided clues for much of my analysis of Salinan.

0.43. Harrington. The most valuable linguistic record was made by John Peabody Harrington. Harrington worked with speakers of both dialects in 1922 and again in 1931-32, collecting over 5,000 vocabulary items. His elicitations were based on previously elicited material, both published and in manuscript form. Their value lies in the fineness of his phonetic detail rather than in the originality of his elicitations. He had little interest in any aspect of language beyond its phonetics. In the mid 1930's he sent his nephew, Arthur Harrington, to make sound recordings of a speaker of the Miguileño dialect. Arthur was assigned the task of reeliciting some of the texts in the published work of J. Alden Mason.

Arthur Harrington recorded many hours of monolingual texts in Migueleño, but not the texts recorded by Mason.

0.44. Cabot & Dumetz. More limited, but basic, sources for linguistic information are found in the recordings of Frs. Dumetz and Pedro Cabot. In a manuscript composed in the first half of the 19th century and rediscovered recently in the Boston Athenaeum, they recorded about 90 pages of vocabulary, including many noun paradigms, for which this manuscript is the only source. Their contribution to the linguistic documentation of the language was intended as a teaching tool for future missionaries in Salinan territory. They wrote the Salinan glosses with vowels between the consonant clusters wherever Salinan had a consonant cluster not found in Spanish.

0.45. Henshaw. In 1884 Henry Henshaw worked with speakers of both dialects to fill in a BAE schedule of over 100 pages of vocabulary and sentences. There is a limited amount of material and it is inaccurately recorded where Salinan fricatives are involved, but some of the vocabulary and sentences can be found nowehere else.

0.46. Jacobsen. The most recent recording of Salinan was done in 1954, early 1955 and 1958 by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. He recorded both dialects, basing his preliminary elicitations on the Swadesh 1,000 word Penutian list (IJAL 1954). The language was in its terminal stages by the time that Jacobsen heard it and he has accurately recorded phonological and morphological simplification, as well as many noun and verb paradigms. Jacobsen developed a tentative phonemicization of Salinan,

as reportd in Hester (1978:500, fn.). This agrees with the conclusions I have independently reached in regard to the phonemic status of voiceless stops and resonants.

0.5. Method. The materials present philological problems which require knowledge of the phonology of the native language of the recorder. One must be aware of the phonetic values for speakers of Spanish and English, particularly. For example, a Spanish-speaker such as Sitjar or Cabot and Dumetz used x to stand for the-phone [š]; their j stands for a glottal fricative. A variety of consonant symbols are used to transcribe Salinan [ṭ]: tr, trh, cr, sr. Among Harrington's peculiarities was his use of q for the voiceless velar fricative.

A full discussion of the orthographic conventions used by Mason, Harrington and Jacobsen appeared in Turner 1980. For methods of reconstitution see Broadbent (1957) and Okrand (1980). The preponderance of the data on which my phonological analysis is based is from the recordings of Harrington and Jacobsen. Although the language was infrequently spoken by the 1930's, Harrington's attention to phonetic detail was so painstaking that his material compensates for the other sources of linguistic material and can be used to fill in gaps.

1 Phonology. Antoniaño is the dialect of Salinan upon which this study is based, principally because there is more paradigmatic material avaiable for the dialect. The method of reconstitution is similar to Sylvia Broadbent's (1957), although Salinan data was primarily recorded by trained linguists. Marc Okrand, in an evaluation of Broadbent's reconstitution states, "Though reconstitution might not produce forms of as high quality as one might like, its results, and the process of obtaining them, do, nonetheless, lead to a greater understanding of the language as well as of the documents in which it is recorded" (Okrand 1980:176).

1.1. Phonetic inventories. The following phonetic inventories are taken from the entire corpora of Mason, Harrington and Jacobsen. They will be compared and the phones reconciled as far as possible.

1.11. Mason. Mason's description has full articulatory descriptions, but they are not reliable. The chart is from Mason (1918:8, 13) and preserves his terminology.

CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Glottal
Stop					
Sonant	b			g	
Intermed.-surd	p	t	ṭ	k	(ʾ)
Aspirate	pʿ	tʿ	ṭʿ	kʿ	
Glottalized	pʾ	tʾ	ṭʾ	kʾ	
Spirant					
Sonant	β			ɣ	
Surd	ɸ	s	c	x	h
Affricative					
Surd		ts	tc		
Glottalized		tsʾ	tcʾ		
Nasal					
Sonant	m	n		ŋ	
Surd	M	N			
Lateral					
Sonant			l		
Surd			L		
Semi-vowel					
Sonant	w		y		
Surd	W		Y		

VOWELS

ī u

i ɔ o

ē ɑ

e a

These charts are given by Mason as a summary to his articulatory descriptions. These decriptions will be utilized in the phonemics section (1.3). The (’) is not given in Mason's chart but it appears throughout his stem list and the texts. Of special interest are his phonetic descriptions of the places of articulation; alveolar and palatal, in particular. 'Alveolar' should be post-alveolar and 'palatal' should be velar, of course.

1.12. Harrington. Harrington's inventory of consonants and vowels can be given using a conventional lay-out for places and manners of articulation. His notes contain no terms for place or manner of articulation.

CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops						
Voiceless	p	t	tr		k^w, k	?
Aspirated	ph, p^c	th, t^c	trh, tr^c		kh, k^c	
Gltzd.	p'	t'	tr'		k'	
Voiced	b	d			g	
Fricatives						
Voiceless		s		c, ʃ	x, x̂, x̬	h, h̬, ḥ
					q	
Affricates						
Voiceless		ts		tc, tʃ		
Aspirated		tsh		tch, tʃh		
Gltzd.		ts'		tc', tʃ'		
Nasals						
Voiced	m	n			ŋ	
Gltzd.	'm, m'	'n, n'				
Liquids						
Voiceless		ɬ, L, l̥				
Voiced		l		r		
Gltzd.		'l, l'				
Semivowels						
Voiced	w			j, y		
Gltzd.	'w, w'			'y, y'		

VOWELS

i u

e o

ẹ ọ

a

Harrington's notes contain the information that "ẹ equals [ɛ] as in 'bed' and ọ equals [ɔ] as in 'voll'."

1.13. Jacobsen's phones are presented in a similar fashion (and see Jacobsen's phonemicization in Hester (1978:500,fn.).

CONSONANTS

	Labial	Dental	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops						
Voiceless	p	t	tr, t^r, ṭ		k	ʔ
Aspirated	p^h	t^h	$ṭ^h$		k^h	
Gltzd.	p'	t'	ṭ'		k'	
Voiced	b	d			g	
Fricatives						
Voiceless	f	s, ṣ		š	x̂,x,ẋ,x^w	h
Voiced	ƒ	ð			ɣ	
Affricates						
Voiceless		ts		č		
Aspirated		ts^h		$č^h$		
Gltzd.		ts'		tš', č'		

	Labial	Dental	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Nasals					
Voiceless	M	N			
Voiced	m	n			ŋ
Gltzd.	ˀm, mˀ	ˀn, nˀ			
Liquids					
Voiceless		ɬ, L, l̥			
Voiced		l		r	
Semivowels					
Voiced	w			y	
Gltzd.	ˀw, wˀ			ˀy, yˀ	

VOWELS

i u

I U

e ə o

E

ɛ ɔ

a

This chart was compiled with articulatory information supplied by Jacobsen (p.c.). It should be noted that these phonetic inventories include voiced stops and fricatives which appear only in Spanish loan words (Turner 1977).

1.2. Discrepancies.

1.21. Velar fricatives. The greatest dissimilarities among these three

are found in velar fricatives (especially in medial position), vowels and glides, though other consonants and vowels will require discussion as well.

Harrington most frequently wrote a q corresponding to Mason's and Jacobsen's x in all phonetic environments. In 21 of 29 attestations with a medial velar, Mason and Jacobsen recorded x where Harrington writes q, ḫ, x̣, h and ḥ. Mary Haas (p.c.) has pointed out that Harrington regularly used those orthographic symbols for [x] during this period of his work. A few examples will illustrate his use of q.

	MASON	HARRINGTON	JACOBSEN
'bone'	axa·´k'	ʔaqâ·k, ʔax̣â·k	ʔaxá·k, ʔaxák
'cousin'	e´sxa	ʔêsqa, ʔêsḫa, ʔesḫa	ʔésxa
'bird'	ca·xwe	ʃâ·qe, câ·hwe	šá·xwIʔ, ša·xwé ʔ

In one entry Mason writes h, Harrington q and h and Jacobsen has an x.

	MASON	HARRINGTON	JACOBSEN
'door'	laha´m	laqâm, lahâm	laxám

There are three entries where Jacobsen has an h. In the first it corresponds to Harrington's q, in the second to Mason's h and Harrington's ḫ, and in the

third to Mason's x and Harrington's h.

	MASON	HARRINGTON	JACOBSEN
'horseshoe'		triqa?á?jokowá·jo	tIša?á·yo? kowá·yo?
'medicine'	tehoni´	tre·ḫoní?	ṭehoní?
'poor'	ecxo·ni?	ké·ho·nẹ	kí·šho·ne?

In one case Mason records x and Jacobsen x̣:

	MASON	JACOBSEN
'music'	a´xa·ti´?	?ax̣a·tí?

This could be phonetic backing due to the low back vowels which was perceived by Jacobsen but not by Mason.

In word initial position Mason records x and so does Jacobsen, with one exception, which is given last.

	MASON	HARRINGTON	JACOBSEN
'to blow'	xot?	qôt?	xŏtko? ('he blew it')
'dog'	xutc	qotʃ, ḫŏtc	xUč
'crane'	xalau´?	ḫallŏw?	xalŏ?
'mussel'	xaii´k	hayék?	hayÍk^{h}

In final position there is only one example of x. It is recorded by Mason and Harrington.

	MASON	HARRINGTON
'houses'	ţa·ma·tena´x	tramâ·tenaq
"	ţa·ma·niLa´x	tra·nelâq

I have interpreted the items discussed as containing phonetic [x] except in the words for 'medicine', 'poor' and 'mussel' where I posit [h] on the basis of Harrington's and Jacobsen's well-established phonetic reliability and agreement (see 1.28).

1.22. Affricates. A more serious point is the status of the affricates c ([t͡s]) and č ([t͡š]) and their glottalized counterparts c' and č'. In most words the unitary nature of the sounds is not in question. Although they were recorded as ts and tʃ or tc by Mason and Harrington, Jacobsen uniformly records them as ts, with and without the ligature, and č throughout his Salinan field notes. Although no recorder of the language uses a unitary symbol for the sound c ([t͡s]), this affricate is in less doubt than č (Jacobsen, p.c.).

'wind' tsa·kây (JPH, WHJ)
'the part of my hair' sâ·k'ay (JHP, WHJ)

'ridge' tsó'ne (JPH, WHJ)
'one hole' ʃó·lokne (JPH)

'titmouse' tsk̓ó·to·to (JPH)

'worm/snake' (generic) ʃk̓ot (JPH)

'Pico Blanco' (placename) ts̓o·wé·m̓ (JPH)

'my calf' (of leg) ʃó·wan̓ (JPH)

Harrington occasionally placed a period after the t and before the s, ʃ, or c ([š]),

'a point' t.só·t̓o

'my point' tsót̓

'your (sg) point' tromtsót̓

'his point' tsót̓o

but compare:

'killdeer' stót̓

'my killdeer' trêstot̓

'his killdeer' trestót̓o

This minimal pair shows that [ts] and [st] cannot be interchanged.

These near-minimal pairs illustrate that [ts] is distinct from [st], [s] and [š]; and that [ts̓] is distinct from [š], since all these forms were recorded by Harrington and can be treated as pairs, while an

amateur might have written [c] differently each time he heard the sound since there is no unitary symbol for it in English or Spanish.

The situation of t followed by š is more of a problem. In many cases č may be shown to be distinct from [s], [š] and [c̓] and č' from [t̓], [č], [ṭ], [š] or [s], (all examples are, again, from Harrington).

'water' tʃā?
'weasel' sā?

'my back' tretʃōm̓
'my mouth' trê·ʃom̓

'cricket' tʃê·ɪ̓
'woodpecker' ts̓êɪ̓

'tarantula' k̓o·ʃōtʃ'
'frizzled' kō·ʃot̓

'water' tʃā?
'California thrasher' tʃ'ā?

'his dog' trêtʃ'o
'did' tī·trho

'balding' tʃ'ātel
'dew' ʃatō·l

'red-shafted woodpecker' tʃ'am̓

'wildcat' sam̓

However there are two instances showing the nonunitary nature of t followed by š: the inflectional paradigms for 'water' and 'dog'.

tʃâʔ 'water' (= ṭ-šâʔ)

	Singular	Plural
1	trêtaʃ	trâtretaʃ
2	trmêtaʃ	trkôtaʃ
3	tretâ·ʃoʔ	tretâ·ʃoṭ̓

ẖotc 'dog' (sg) ẖoctên 'dog' (pl)

	Singular	Plural
1	trít̓c	tra·trít̓c
2	trhmít̓c	trhkôt̓c
3	trít̓cho	trit̓châ·to

[Note appended by Harrington: "but cannot say trêẖotc it always comes out trêtc (ev. from trêẖotc). Same is true for 3rd poss."]

These should be compared with the inflectional paradigms for 'name' and 'condor', respectively, in order to see the paradigmatic difference in these otherwise nearly identical words.

	Attested	Reconstituted	
	tras	ṭ-as	'name'
1	tra·ɬ	ṭ-a·š	
2	trmas	ṭ-m-as	
3	trâ·so?	ṭ-â·s-o? (see 2.22.)	
	tîtc̓	têč̓	'condor'
1	trêtetc̓	ṭ-ê-teč̓	
2	-----	-----	
3	tretîtc̓o?	ṭ-e-têč̓-o?	

Incidentally, as one can see, 'condor' tîtc̓ forms a minimal pair with 'my dog' trîtc̓, showing the distinction between t and ṭ. However the problem of the analysis of tš as an affricate is well illustrated by the separation of the t from the š in the inflectional paradigm for 'water', as opposed to the non-possessed form: and, in the word for 'dog' by the dissimulation with t and š between the singular and the plural non-possessed forms. In inflection, Harrington's note points out that instead of the expected ṭ-ê- prefix denoting first person singular possession, a contraction, or elision of the first CV of the stem produces ṭêč̓ rather than the regular *ṭéxoč (see 2.241).

Another elision produces a possible ç:

tʃék	(sg)	trʃá·kel	(pl)	'knife' (JPH)
(ţ)cek	"	tca·kel	"	" (JAM)

Singular

1 trêʃek

2 trmêʃek

3 treʃéko

More examples of ţ followed by š as a result of the elision of a vowel are 'nail' and 'gill/tonsil':

---------	(sg)	ʃelêhe?	(pl)	'nail'

Singular

1 trêçeleʔ

2 tr'méʃele?

3 trecelêwo ~ trcelêwo

Singular

1	trêʃa·knel	'gill/tonsil'
2	-----	
3	trʃa·knélo	

Here the vowel of the ṭ-e- prefixes is elided in the third person (see Section 2.241). A reason for this is shown by comparing the third person possessive forms for 'gill' and 'Lewis woodpecker'.

Attested	Reconstituted	
trʃa·knêlo	ṭ-ša·knêl-o	'his gill'
treʃa·knêlo	ṭ-e-ša·knêl-o	'his L.w.'

'Gill' has no non-possessed form, so it is always attested with the ṭ- prefix. 'Lewis woodpecker' is attested with the non-possessed form ʃá·knel.

This pair is a morphologically relevant minimal pair showing that vowel-eliding and non-eliding affixes are lexically conditioned. If the vowel of the ṭ-e- prefixes were not elided in the third person, these forms would be homophonous. (Of course, it is rather difficult to imagine a context in which 'his gill' and 'his Lewis woodpecker' are ambiguous.)

In the cases where there is evidence from the inflectional paradigm or the formation of a plural form, I analyze t followed by š as a consonant cluster. Lacking such evidence the occurrences of t followed by š is accepted as an occurence of č. There may be, instead, morphophonemic rules that ts → c and tš → č (see Section 2.111). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any minimal pairs for contrast.

In cases where the vowel of the possessive ṭ-e- prefixes is elided, the resulting juxtaposition of ṭ and š is treated as a cluster and not as ṯ (see Section 2.26).

1.23. Vowels. Mason records 9 vowels which his articulatory descriptions suggest have the following values:

ī = [i]

i = [I]

ē = [e], [E]

e = [ɛ]

ə = [ə]

u = [U]

o = [ɔ]

a = [a]

ɑ = [ʌ]

Harrington's six vowels are reconstituted below. He was aware, certainly, of the conventions adopted by the American Anthropological Association in September 1916, which were used by Mason in his work. Although Harrington never published any of his linguistic work on Salinan, it seems probable that he followed the broader conventions accepted by other linguists, although he was deliberately uncommunicative about his work (Walsh 1976 and James 1984).

i = [i]

e = [e]

ę = [ɛ]

u = [u]

o = [o], [ɔ]

a = [a]

Jacobsen records the twelve vowel phones listed previously.

There is general agreement among the three on frontness or backness of the vowels, with the following minor exceptions:

Attested		Reconstituted	
kacala´	(JAM)	k(ʾ)oš·l(ʾ)ó?	'grasshopper'
k?oco?ló?	(JPH)		
košo·ló?	(WHJ)		
lu·wa´?	(JAM)	lowâ?	'man'
lowâ?	(JPH)		
lUwâ?	(WHJ)		
mɑts?we´l	(JAM)	moc'wêl(ʾ)	'humming bird'
mots?wêl'	(JPH)		
mɛts'wɛ́L	(WHJ)		

Attested			Reconstituted	
matse´ko	(JAM)		mec̓ék̓o?	'chipmunk'
mets?ík?o	(JPH)			
mɛts̓íko?	(WHJ)			
icxe•´u	(JAM)		ṭéšxe?	'foot'
trîʃqe?	(JPH)			
ṭ́ɛ́•šxai,	ṭɛ•sxai?	(WHJ)		
tʊsik?	(JAM)		ṭešék̓	'barn owl'
triʃék?,	treccek?	(JPH)		
tɛsɛ́k?,	tIsík?	(WHJ)		
ṭ?o•´wɑṭ?	(JAM)		ṭ̓ówaṭ̓	'Indian'
tr?ówẹtr?	(JPH)			
ṭ̓Úwəṭ̓	(WHJ)			
mɑkawi´?	(JAM)		makawé?	'flower'
makawî?,	makawî^{y}	(JPH)		
makawî?,	makəwî	(WHJ)		

Attested		Reconstituted	
sm«k?ai	(JAM)	smâk(')ay	'night'
smâk?aj	(JPH)		
smâkai̯	(WHJ)		

The first three are reconstituted as /o/, the next four as /e/ and the final two as /a/. /o/ includes phonetic [U] and [o]; /e/ includes phonetic [I], [e] and [ɛ]; and /a/ includes phonetic [ʌ] and [a]. An examination by Jacobsen (p.c.) of the older recordings suggests that in the original vowel system of Salinan /i/ and /u/ were gradually lowered to /e/ and /o/.

Glides are poorly recorded by Mason. In the absence of comparable entries by Harrington or Jacobsen, there can be only occasional glimpses of their presence in Mason's work.

Attested		Reconstituted	
ṭ?u·ṭ?a·´L	(JAM)	ṭowṭ'âl	'Indians'
tr?owtr?âl	(JPH)		
u·	(JAM)	ṭôw	'face'
trôw	(JPH)		'my face'
ṭôw	(WHJ)		

Attested		Reconstituted	
ck?o´il	(JAM)	šk̂ō(?)yel	'lung'
ʃkṓ?ję̣l	(JPH)		
skoi̯ɛ́l	(WHJ)		
cenii´		š?eneyê?	'fishhook'
ʃ?enijí?, ceneyí?	(JPH)		
šɛniyí?	(WHJ)		
aske´t	(JAM)	?â(·)šwet	'my rib'
?âšwet	(JPH)		
?â·šwet	(WHJ)		

It is not the case, however, that all long vowels recorded by Mason are represented as glides plus a vowel by Harrington or Jacobsen, nor vice-versa. (However, in general, there is phonemic vowel length.)

1.24. Stops. Among the stops all three recorders are in orthographic agreement with respect to the voiceless, unaspirated; aspirated and glottalized stops. The post-alveolar ṭ is writen as ṭ by Mason (and labelled incorrectly as alveolar); tr by Harrington; and as tr, t^r, and then as ṭ by Jacobsen. In the course of his recordings, he quickly came to writing the sound as ṭ. Mason's description of this phone explains the tr

transcriptions (Mason 1918:12):

> "The linguo-alveolar stop is one found in many Californian languages. The place of articulation is slightly more alveolar than for the dental but the difference is caused more by the manner of release than by place of articulation. The occlusion is firmer and more extensive, the release slower, causing a semi-affricative effect approximating tc and ty. It is practically identical, however, with the English combination tr but more truly affricative, a simple sound. The sonant variety is unknown in this position also, the most common forms being the intermediate and the unaspirated surd.
>
> "In rapid speech in initial and intervocalic position, this form is frequently reduced to the rolled r. In the former case this is as in English, untrilled, the tip of the tongue merely approaching the roof of the mouth, but in the latter case there is a single flip of the tongue as in the Spanish single r. The palatogram record shows the typical grooved r occlusion.
>
> "The other varieties, the aspirate and the glottalized articulations, need no comment. Both are pronounced more strongly than is the case with the dental t."

All the sources agree in recording the voiced stops b and g. Mason (1918:11) says only that [pe], the "demonstrative article," is [be] in rapid speech and that this is the only occurrence of [b]. However, Harrington and Jacobsen record [b] in many Spanish loan words and they record [d] as well, again in Spanish loan words. Jacobsen has ^{m}b in the entries ^{m}bṓ·te? 'boot, boat' and ^{m}bā́·so? 'glass'. Mason and Jacobsen record β and ɸ found in some Spanish loans: ɸ is also attested as a variant of [p] in rapid speech. Mason accounts for both voiceless and voiced fricatives as follows: k and p become ɣ and ɸ

before a voiced sound (Mason 1918:10).

1.25. Fricatives. Discrepancies among the transcriptions of the voiceless velar fricatives have already been discussed. Harrington does not record the voiced velar fricative, but both Mason and Jacobsen record it in Spanish loan words.

All three record s to which Jacobsen adds ṣ. As has been seen in several examples already, š is written as c by Mason and Harrington, and Harrington also writes ſ. Harrington and Jacobsen recorded an aspirated variety of c and č not given by Mason.

1.26. Nasals. Harrington did not record the voiceless nasals heard by Mason and Jacobsen, nor the occasional ŋ before x, and sometimes k. Similarly, Mason did not record the glottalized versions of m and n and Jacobsen preferred to analyze them as clusters.

1.27. Liquids. All three recorded the voiceless lateral liquid. Mason writes L; Harrington l̥, ɬ and L; and Jacobsen writes L. All three agree on l. Mason lumped r with ṭ, but Harrington and Jacobsen heard it as distinct from ṭ. r is most frequent in word initial position and it never occurs in syllable final position. Early loans from Spanish have l for Spanish r, but loans coming into

Salinan later in the period of Spanish occupation have r where Spanish has it, e.g.,

alo̱s 'rice' (Spanish arroz)
palê̱l 'barrel' (Spanish barril)
kaparê̱·sa? 'barn' (Spanish caballeriza)

Only Jacobsen did not record the voiceless semivowels, and only Mason did not record the glottalized varieties. In the former case, Jacobsen did not happen to elicit those words with voiceless semivowels. In the latter case Mason simply did not hear them, to judge from his somewhat erratic recording of any glottalization. A few examples illustrate:

Mason	Harrington	Jacobsen	
ilpoi	l̥pó̱y?		'lake'
(k)loi	k?ló̱?j		'lame'
e̥ca·i´	trí̱·tʃ?a?y		'my neck'
t̥o·´i	tró̱?i̥	t̥ó̱i̥?	'seal'

As for the voiceless l, it is always recorded voiced when it occurs between vowels. Harrington records many dual recordings showing the voiced and voiceless l:

'sand'	'tar'	'knives'	'my calf'
ts?ẽnsel	ts?wõsel	trʃá·kel	tc?ẽkel
ts?ẽnseɬ	ts?wõsiɬ	trʃá·keɬ	tc?ẽkel̥

so, in these cases l and ɬ are in free variation. l is often devoiced word initially before and after a voiceless consonant, but not in inflection when preceded by a prefix: ɬk̓ã 'coyote', ţ-ẽ-lk̓a 'my coyote'. A voiceless l becomes voiced at the end of a word when a suffix follows: t̓oL 'one', t̓ol-tẽn 'another'. Therefore I have concluded that ɬ is an allophone of l occurring before voiceless consonants word initially, sometimes word finally, but never between vowels.

1.28. Glottalization. Mason's recordings appear erratic compared to recordings of Antoniaño by Harrington and Jacobsen, although this may possibly reflect Mason's work with a speaker, or speakers, of a slightly different subdialect. Since Mason's principal informant, David Mora, was also Harrington's informant, I have compared the three twentieth-century linguists for their recordings of glottalization in several phonetic environments, and I have compared them for Mason's apparent tendency to

record metathesized segments or syllables (taking Harrington and Jacobsen as the base).

In the entire corpus there are attestations of a total of 85 glottalized resonants. In slightly less than half of these, Mason does not record glottalization where Harrington or Jacobsen do, but in 15% of them only Mason records glottalization. Examples of those cases where Mason did not record glottalization follow.

	MASON	HARRINGTON	JACOBSEN
'my son-in-law'	te´leM	trə̂·le ʾM	---
'my stomach'	skan	skə̂n ʾn̥	---
'my tongue'	elpa·´l	trə̂pa ʾl	ṭɛ́pal
		trə̂pal ʾə	
'fire'	ṭa?a´u‘	tra?áw̓	ṭa?a͡u?
'seal'	t‘o·´i	trə̂·ĭ?	ṭə̂i̯?
		tro?j	
		trə̂?i̯	

Examples of recordings in which only Mason attests to glottalization:

'to fall'	tom̓	ktə̂m	$k^{hə}$·tə̂m̥
		'he falls off'	'he fell off'

	MASON	HARRINGTON	JACOBSEN
'arrow'	et̓oiʔyiN̓	tretőʔyin	t̓ɛtő·yɛn
		trȩt̓oʔjin	
		tret̓őʔjen	
'bark'	awu˝ʔL	tre·wȇl	ţá·wəl
		tra·wȇl	

The evidence for the unitary nature of glottalized resonants is sketchy from the paucity of the recorded data, but Harrington's attestations indicate an analysis of these as unitary phonemes, as the examples which follow illustrate.

m̓: xőm' ~ hő·m' ~ qo'm 'roadrunner'

y̓: trő·ĭʔ ~ troʔj ~ trőʔi̭ 'seal'

l̓: trȇpa'l ~ trȇpal'ᵊ 'my tongue'

w̓: sʔa·nȇ'wo ~ sʔanȇw'o 'his paternal grandmother'

n̓: ts̓epen̓ 'short' ~ ts̓epȇn 'spider'

The first four examples illustrate how Harrington wrote his multiple rehearings with glottalization recorded both before and after the consonant. The last example, n̓, presents a near-minimal pair (since stress was not recorded for 'short') for these phones.

Taking the 142 recorded instances of glottalized obstruents and comparing the recordings, Mason does not record them one-third of the time. In other words, he is more likely to have recorded the same glottalized obstruents as were heard and recorded by Harrington and Jacobsen, but he records glottalized resonants, many of them final, more often than Harrington.

On the other hand, if one breaks down the occurrences of possible glottalized obstruents into their position within the word, Mason recorded initial glottalized obstruents two-thirds, or 67%, of the time, and medially and finally he agrees with Harrington and Jacobsen in half of the recordings.

In over 95% of the recordings of glottal stop before a vowel at the beginning of a word Mason does not record it, but he did record final glottal stop after a vowel at the end of a word 75% of the time when Harrington and Jacobsen record it.

In the comparison of these three for their recordings of glottalization, Mason most frequently recorded word final glottalized resonants. Mason recorded 15 glottalized resonants that Harrington did not from a total of 85 recorded in the entire corpus. Of the 142 recordings of glottalized obstruents, Mason recorded only 13 that the others did not, mainly initial or intervocalic [k̓]. In three cases Mason recorded [c̓] where Jacobsen recorded [č]. There are no instances of

Mason recording a glottal stop before a vowel at the beginning of a word where Harrington or Jacobsen do not. Similarly, there are no instances where Mason recorded a glottal stop after a vowel at the end of a word where the others do not.

Unfortunately there are no semantic categories (e.g., small animals) for the words in which Mason records glottalization differently from the others and there seem to be no regularities or tendencies to Mason's differences except for his more frequent recordings of final glottalized resonants. Fortunately, though, Harrington and Jacobsen agree with each other nearly all of the time. Therefore, Harrington and Jacobsen will be considered the standard, and Mason's discrepancies will be considered variants.

There are only seven attestations of words for which Mason had a metathesized version, so this is not a very serious problem for reconstitution. These metathesized recordings do not fall into a category or suggest a pattern either, but they do indicate caution in the use of Mason's recordings when they are unsupported by either or both Harrington and Jacobsen.

1.3. Phonemes. The phones recorded by Mason, Harrington and Jacobsen can be analyzed to give the following phonemic inventory for 20th century Salinan:

p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	?		i•	u•	
p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓			e•	o•	e o
b	d				g			a•		a
			s	š	x	h				
m	n	l	r	y	w					
m̓	n̓	l̓		y̓	w̓			Stress is phonemic.		

Examination of older recordings suggests the following

phonemic inventory for Salinan before the period of Spanish influence.

p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	?		i	i·	u	u·
p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓						
			s	š	x	h			a	a·	
m	n	l	r	y	w						
m̓	n̓	l̓		y̓	w̓						

Stress is phonemic.

The stop and affricate series occur plain and glottalized. The plain encompasses Mason's intermediate-surd and aspirated stops and surd affricates; Harrington's voiceless plain and aspirated stops and affricates; and Jacobsen's plain and aspirated stops and affricates. Both frequently are aspirated before consonants and word finally, when elicited in isolation. /ṭ/ is occasionally aspirated in a pretonic syllable.

There are two instances of p^h intervocalically (both are from Harrington's notes).

Mason	Harrington	Jacobsen	
sepo	s?é·pho	sé·pxo	'doe'
ṭupa´ha	tropha´		'day after tomorrow'

Comparison suggests that a velar fricative follows p in the first example, and that a phonemic /h/ follows p in

the second. The aspirated series of obstruents have been shown (Turner 1980) to be predictable positional variants of the plain series. This was suggested by Mason's corpus, as the following observation by Sapir (1920c:305-306) illustrates:

> "It is not altogether easy to be clear, for instance, from his data whether the aspirated surds are an organically independent series or merely a secondary development of the intermediate-surds. The former is the impression conveyed in the phonetic portion of the paper, the latter as the data unfold themselves in the body of the work...Meanwhile it seems fairly clear that the great majority of the instances of Salinan aspirated surds are merely due to positional causes."

/p/ is infrequent.

The phone [t^h] occurs occasionally before resonant consonants and word finally.

Most noun stems are prefixed by ṭ-, so this phone occurs frequently in word initial position.

/k/ and /k̓/ are easily established. /k/ occurs in word initial position since it is the stative verb prefix. Medially Harrington often records [kh] before resonants where Mason and Jacobsen have [k].

There is no occurrence of glottalized [r̓] nor does [r] appear word finally. Although a phoneme /r/ must be proposed for the language, it is limited to a few demonstratives, the negative and to many borrowed Spanish words.

Minimal pairs, or near-minimal pairs, have been found for the following consonants and stress in order to support the phonemic analysis. Although the search has not been entirely successful in that occasionally a non-minimal pair is the best available, the examples given will serve to establish the distinctness of most of the phonemes.

/t/ - /ţ/: tete 'to be', téţe 'my otter'
teč' 'condor', ţeč' 'my dog'
/t̓/ - /č'/: kṓ·šot̓ 'frizzled', k̓o·šṓč' 'tarantula'
/ţ/ - /ţ̓/: ţo·y̓ 'sealion', ţ̓o·y̓ 'wood tick'
/ţ/ - /č'/: tḗ·ţo 'did', ţéč'o 'his dog'
/s/ - /š/: ?as 'my son', ?aš 'elk'
/c̓/ - /č/: c̓eĺ 'downy woodpecker', če·ĺ 'cricket'
/c̓/ - /š/: moc̓wḗĺ 'hummingbird', mošwelet 'ivy'
/n/ - /n̓/: ţ̓épen 'my belly', ţ̓épen̓ 'chunk of wood'
/l/ - /ĺ/: ţol 'one', ţo·ĺ 'grasshopper'

Stress:
ţḗ·lek 'my mouth', ţe·lḗk 'hole'
ţá·šax 'my liver', ţa·šáx 'feathers'
pá·talo? 'he danced', pa·tálo? 'he loosened it'
?ḗšxay 'rain', ?ešxáy 'dawn'
kḗša? 'four', kešá? 'how much, how many?'

1.31. 276 two-consonant clusters are attested. Within these data /p̓/ and the glottalized resonants are not found as the second members of two-consonant clusters.

/p/ as the first member of a two-consonant cluster does not combine with /ʔ/, /p̓/, /č̓/, /k̓/ or /r/ in Antoniaño Salinan. It is doubled in some words borrowed from Spanish and recorded by Harrington. -pt-, -pk-, -pt̓-, -pṭ̓-, -pc̓-, -ps-, -px-, -pn- and -pl- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -pṭ-, -pc-, -pš-, -ph- and -pm- are found only at morpheme boundaries within a word. Only #px- is found initially. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /p/ does not combine with /č/, /ʔ/, /p̓/, /č̓/, /h/, /y̓/ or /w̓/. It does combine with /r/ in some words borrowed from Spanish. -ṭp-, -mp- and -lp- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -tp-, -kp-, -k̓p-, -xp-, -np-, -wp-, -m̓p-, -n̓p- and -l̓p- are found only at morpheme boundaries within a word. -cp-, -t̓p-, -ṭ̓p- and -yp- are found medially within a word and not at a morpheme boundary. #ṭp-, #c̓p-, #sp-, #šp-, #mp- and #lp- are found initially, and -mp# and -lp# are found finally. -rp- is found only in Spanish loan words. Only -mp- and -lp- are found initially, medially and finally in Antoniaño Salinan words, as well as at morpheme boundaries

First ↓ / Second →	p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	ʔ	p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓	s	š	x	h	m	n	l	r	y	w
p	S	x	x	x	x	x			x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
t	x					x				x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
ṭ	x	x	x			x							x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x
c	x					x										x							
č		x				x										x		x	x				x
k	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x
ʔ		x	x											x	x	x	x				x		
p̓		x			x	x																x	
t̓	x	x				x												x	x	x			
ṭ̓	x	x				x							x					x	x	x		x	
c̓	x	x				x										x		x	x			x	x
č̓		x				x							x			x		x	x			x	x
k̓	x	x									x			x				x	x	x	x		x
s	x	x	x		x	x	x				x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
š	x	x				x	x		x			x				x	x	x	x	x	x		x
x	x	x	x			x	x		x	x				x					x	x	x	S	x
h																		x	x	x			x
m	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	S	x	x
n	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x
l	x	x			S	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			S	x
r	S	S				S								x					x				S
y	x	x				x	x		x				x				x	x	x	x	x		x
w	x	x	x						x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
m̓	x	x				x						x			x				x				
n̓	x	x									x	x						x					
l̓	x	x				x			x								x		x				
y̓		x								x								x	x	x			x
w̓		x							x					x					x				

Table I Consonant Clusters

legend: x = cluster occurs

S = occurs only in Spanish loans

↓First / Second →	p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	ʔ	p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓	s	š	x	h	m	n	l	r	y	w
p																x							
t						x								x		x		x				x	x
ṭ	x	x				x							x	x	x	x		x	x			x	x
c																x							
č						x										x							x
k	x	x	x		x				x	x	x			x	x			x		x		x	x
ʔ																							
p̓																							
t̓						x																	
ṭ̓																							
c̓	x					x												x	x			x	x
č̓						x																	x
k̓									x		x			x				x	x	x			x
s	x	x			x	x	x					x				x		x	x			x	x
š	x	x				x	x					x				x		x		x			x
x																							x
h																							
m	x																						
n																							
l	x	x				x						x			x	x		x	x				
r																							
y																							
w																							

Table II Initial Consonant Clusters

First → / Second ↓	p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	ʔ	p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓	s	š	x	h	m	n	l	r	y	w
p																							
t																							
ṭ																							
c																							
č																							
k																							
ʔ																x							
p̓																							
t̓																							
ṭ̓																							
c̓																							
č̓																							
k̓																							
s																							
š																							
x																							
h																							
m	x																						
n		x	x						x	x													
l	x	x																					
r																							
y																							
w																x							
m̓																							
n̓		x																					

Table III Final Consonant Clusters

First ↓ / Second →	p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	ʔ	p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓	s	š	x	h	m	n	l	r	y	w
p		x			x	x			x	x	x			x		x			x	x			
t						x										x			x	x			
ṭ	x					x								x		x		x	x	x			
c						x																	
č						x												x					x
k		x			x									x	x			x	x	x		x	x
ʔ		x												x	x								
p̓					x																	x	
t̓	x																	x	x				
ṭ̓	x					x												x	x				
c̓	x																x						x
č̓						x												x	x			x	
k̓		x												x					x				x
s		x				x								x		x	x		x	x		x	x
š		x				x			x					x		x	x	x	x				x
x		x																	x	x			x
h																		x		x			x
m	x	x	x		x	x			x					x	x					x		x	x
n		x			x	x				x				x	x	x	x			x		x	
l	x	x	x			x			x	x				x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x
r																							
y	x	x												x				x		x			x
w		x							x	x		x				x						x	
m̓						x						x				x							
n̓															x	x							
l̓		x				x														x			
y̓														x					x	x	x		
w̓		x									x				x								

Table IV Medial Consonant Clusters

First ↓ / Second →	p	t	ṭ	c	č	k	ʔ	p̓	t̓	ṭ̓	c̓	č̓	k̓	s	š	x	h	m	n	l	r	y	w
p			x	x											x		x					x	x
t	x								x					x	x		x						
ṭ			x											x	x								
c																							
č		x																	x				
k	x		x	x				x	x										x		x		
ʔ			x													x	x				x		
p̓		x				x																	
t̓		x				x														x			
ṭ̓		x																		x			
c̓		x																					
č̓		x																					
k̓	x	x																			x		
s			x									x									x		
š																					x		
x	x		x			x	x		x	x					x								
h																			x				
m				x			x				x	x			x	x	x		x				
n	x						x										x	x	x				
l											x												
r														x					x				
y							x		x	x	x						x		x		x		
w	x		x														x	x	x			x	
m̓	x	x																	x				
n̓	x																	x					
l̓	x										x						x						
y̓		x																				x	
w̓																			x				

Table V Clusters Occurring Only at Morpheme Boundaries

within a word.

As the first consonant in a two-consonant cluster /t/ does not combine with /t/, /ṭ/, /c/, /č/, /ʔ/, /p̓/, /t̓/, /c̓/, /č ʼ/, /k̓/ or /r/. -tk-, -tn- and -tl- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -tp-, -tṭ̓-, -ts-, -tš-.and -th- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word. #tk̓-, #ts-, #tš-, #tx-, #tm-, #tw- occur initially and #ty- occurs only initially. As the second consonant in a two-consonant cluster /t/ does not combine with /t/, /c/ or /h/. It does combine with /r/ in Spanish loans. -pt-, -kt-, -ʔt-, -k̓t-, -st-, -št-, -xt-, -mt-, -nt-, -lt-, -yt-, -wt-, -l̓t- and -w̓t- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -čt-, -p̓t-, -t̓t-, -ṭ̓t-, -c̓t-, -č ʼt-, -m̓t- and -y̓t- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #ṭt-, #kt-, #st-, #št- and #lt- occur initially and -nt# and -lt#, finally. -rp- is found only in Spanish loans and only -lt- is found initially, medially and finally.

/ṭ/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster does not combine with /c/, /č/, /ʔ/, /p̓/, /t̓/, /ṭ̓/, /c̓/, /č̓/, /h/ or /r/. -ṭp-, -ṭk-, -ṭs-, -ṭš-, -ṭx-,-ṭm-, -ṭl- occur both medially and at morpheme boundaries in a word. -ṭṭ- occurs only at morpheme boundaries within a word. #ṭp-, #ṭt-, #ṭk-, #ṭk̓-, #ṭs-, #ṭš-, #ṭx-, #ṭm-, #ṭn-,

#ţy- and #ţw- occur initially. #ţk̓- occurs only word initially. Only -ţl# occurs word finally. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /ţ/ combines with /p/, /ţ/, /k/, /ʔ/, /s/, /x/, /m/, /n/, /l/ and /w/. -mţ- and -lţ- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within the word. -pţ-, -ţţ-, -kţ-, -ʔţ-, -sţ-, -xţ- and -wţ- occur only at morpheme boundaries, and only -nţ# occurs finally.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster /c/ only combines with /p/, /k/ and /x/. -cp- and -ck- occur medially and #cx- occurs initially. As the second consonant /c/ combines with /p/, /k/ and /m/ in a two-consonant cluster. Only -pc-, -kc- and -mc- occur at morpheme boundaries. #Cc- and -Cc# are not attested.

/č/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster is found with -čk-, -čm- and -čw- medially and at morpheme boundaries; and -čt- and -čn- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #čk-, #čx- and #čw- are found initially and #čx- occurs only initially. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /č/ is found with -kč- and -mč- mediallly and at morpheme boundaries in a word. -pč- and -p̓č- occur medially and -lč- occurs only in Spanish loan words. #kč- and #sč- are found initially and -Cč# is not attested.

/k/ does not occur with /k/, /ʔ/, /p̓/, /k̓/, /x/ or /h/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. #kč-, #kc̓-, #kč̓-, #ks-, #kš-, #km-, #kl-, #ky- and #kw- are found initially. -kt-, -kč-, -ks-, -kš-, -km-, -kn-, -kl-, -ky- and -kw- occur both medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -kp-, -kṭ-, -kc-, -kt̓-, -kṭ̓- and -kr- occur only at morpheme boundaries. -kč-, -ks-, -kš-, -km-, -kl-, -ky- and -kw- occur initially and medially as well as at morpheme boundaries within a word. -kc̓- and -kč̓- occur initially and at morpheme boundaries.

As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, /k/ does not combine with /k/, /ʔ/, /k̓/, /h/, /w/, /n̓/, /y̓/ or /w̓/. -pk-, -tk-, -ṭk-, -ṭ̓k-, -sk-, -šk-, -mk-, -nk-, and -lk- occur both medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word: -ck-, -m̓k- and -l̓k- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #tk-, #ṭk-, #čk-, #ṭ̓k-, #c̓k-, #č̓k-, #sk-, #šk- and #lk- occur initially. -rk- appears only in Spanish loans. -tk-, -ṭk-, -ṭ̓k-, -sk-, -šk-, and -lk- occur initially and medially as well as at morpheme boundaries. -Ck# is not attested. -ck-, -m̓k- and -l̓k- occur only at morpheme boundaries, and -čk-, and -č̓k- occur both initially and medially. #c̓k- is found only initially and -p̓k-, -t̓k-, -xk- and -yk- are found only at morpheme boundaries.

/ʔ/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster occurs medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word as -ʔt- and -ʔs-. -ʔṭ-, -ʔx-, -ʔh- and -ʔr- occur only at morpheme boundaries. Only -ʔš# occurs word finally. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #sʔ- and #šʔ- occur initially. -xʔ-, -mʔ-, -nʔ- and -yʔ- are found at morpheme boundaries. -Cʔ# is not attested.

/p̓/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster is found as -p̓č- and -p̓y- medially and only -p̓t- and -p̓k- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. #p̓C- does not occur. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /p̓/ is not attested.

For /t̓/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, only -t̓m- and -t̓n- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -t̓p- occurs medially; -t̓t-, -t̓k- and -t̓l- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #t̓C- and -Ct̓# are not attested. -pt̓-, -mt̓- and -lt̓- occur both medially and at a morpheme boundary within a word. -kt̓-, -xt̓-, -nt̓-, -yt̓- and -lt̓- occur only at morpheme boundaries and only -nt̓# occurs word finally.

For /ṭ̓/ in two-consonant clusters, only #ṭ̓k- occurs initially. -ṭ̓p-, -ṭ̓k-, -ṭ̓m- and -ṭ̓n- occur medially and -ṭ̓t-, -ṭ̓k-, -ṭ̓n-, -ṭ̓l- and -ṭ̓y- occur at morpheme boundaries. -pṭ̓-, -nṭ̓-, -lṭ̓-, -wṭ̓- and -ẘṭ̓-

occur medially and -pt̓-, -tt̓-, -kt̓-, -xt̓-, and -lt̓- occur at morpheme boundaries. Only -nt̓# occurs word finally. -pt̓-, -nt̓-, -lt̓-, -wt̓- and -ẃt̓- occur medially.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, -c̓p- and -c̓w- occur initially and medially. #c̓k-, #c̓m-, #c̓n- and #c̓y- occur only initially. -c̓t- occurs only at a morpheme boundary and -c̓x- occurs medially. -c̓C# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, -pc̓- occurs medially and at morpheme boundaries. -mc̓- occurs only at morpheme boundaries. -kc̓- occurs initially and at a morpheme boundary. -Cc̓# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #c̓̓k-, #c̓̓x- and #c̓̓w- are found initially. -c̓̓k-, -c̓̓m-, -c̓̓n- and -c̓̓y- occur medially. -c̓̓t- and -c̓̓n- occur only at morpheme boundaries and -c̓̓C# does not occur. As the second member of a two-consonant cluster, -wc̓̓- and -mc̓̓- occur medially. -kc̓̓-, -sc̓̓-, -mc̓̓-, -lc̓̓- and -wc̓̓- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. Only #kc̓̓- and #k̓c̓̓- occur initially. -Cc̓̓# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster /k̓/ is found initially in #k̓c̓̓-, #k̓m-, #k̓l- and #k̓w-. -k̓t-, -k̓s-, -k̓n- and -k̓w- occur medially and -k̓p-, -k̓t-, -k̓n-, -k̓l- and -k̓r- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -k̓C# is not attested. As the second

consonant of a two-consonant cluster #ṭǩ-, #sǩ-, #šǩ- and #lǩ- occur initially. -sǩ-, -šǩ-, -mǩ-, -nǩ-, -lǩ-, -yǩ- and -ẏǩ- occur medially. -sǩ-, -mǩ- and -ẏǩ- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word and -Cǩ# is not found.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #sp-, #st-, #sč-, #sk-, #s?-, #sǩ-, #sx-, #sm-, #sn-, #sy- and #sw- are found initially. -st-, -sk-, -sǩ-, -sx-, -sh-, -sn-, -sl-, -sy- and -sw- are found medially. -sp-, -st-, -sṭ-, -sk-, -sǩ-, -sč-, -sx-, -sm-, -sn-, -sr- and -sy- occur at morpheme boundaries. -st-, -sk-, -sǩ-, -sx-, -sm-, -sy- and -sw- occur both initially and medially. -sC# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, only #ks-, #ts- and #ṭs- are found initially. -ps-, -ṭs-, -ks-, -?s-, -ǩs-, -ms-, -ns-, -ls-, -n̓s- and -w̓s- occur medially. -ps-, -ṭs-, -ks-, -?s-, -ms-, -ns-, -ls- and -rs- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -rs- occurs only at morpheme boundaries -Cs# is not attested.

/š/ occurs initially as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster with #šp-, #št-, #šk-, #š?-, #šǩ-, #šx-, #šm-, #šl- and #šw-. Only #šp- occurs only initially. -št-, -šk-, -šť-, -šǩ-, -šx-, -šh-, -šm-, -šn- and -šw- occur medially. -št-, -šk-, -šx-,

-šm-, -šn- and -šr- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. Only -šr- occurs only at morpheme boundaries. -šC# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #tš-, #ṭš- and #kš- occur initially. -kš-, -ʔš-, -nš-, -lš-, -wš-, -m̓š- and -n̓š- occur medially and -pš-, -tš-, -ṭš-,-kš-, -xš-, -mš- and -lš- occur at morpheme boundaries. -ʔš# and -wš# occur word finally.

/x/ occurs initially as the first member of a two-consonant cluster only before /w/: -xw- also occurs medially. -xt-, -xn- and -xl- also occur medially. -xp- -xṯ-, -xṭ-, -xk-, -xʔ-, -xt̓-, -xṭ̓-, -xš-, -xm-, -xl- and -xr- occur at morpheme boundaries. -xy- occurs only in Spanish loan words. -xC# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #px-, #tx-, #ṭx-, #cx-, #čx-, #c̓x-, #sx-, #šx- and #lx- occur initially. #cx-, #čx- and #c̓x- occur only initially. -px-, -tx-, -ṭx-, -c̓x-, -sx-, -šx-, -nx- and -lx- occur medially. -px-, -ṭx-, -ʔx-, -sx-, -šx-, -mx-, -lx- and -wx- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -ʔx-, -mx- and -wx- occur only at morpheme boundaries. -px-, -tx-, -ṭx-, -sx-, -šx- and -lx- occur both initially and medially. -Cx# is not attested.

/h/ does not occur as the first member of a two-

consonant cluster initially. -hn- occurs at morpheme boundaries within a word. -hm-, -hl- and -hw- occur medially. As the second member of a two-consonant cluster -ph-, -th-, -ʔh-, -mh-, -nh-, -ly, -yh-, -wh- and -ɬh- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -sh-, -šh- and -lh- occur medially. -Ch# is not attested.

/m/ occurs with every consonant except /p̓/ as the first member of a two-consonant cluster. #mp- occurs initially. -mp-, -mt-, -mṭ-, -mč-, -mk- -mt̓-, -mk̓-, -ms-, -ml-, -my- and -mw- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -mc-, -mʔ-, -mc̓-, -mč̓-, -mš-, -mx-, -mh- and -mn- occur at morpheme boundaries. -mr- occurs only in Spanish loan words. -mp# occurs word finally. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #tm-, #ṭm-, #km-, #c̓m-, #k̓m-, #sm- and #šm- occur initially. -ṭm-, -čm-, -km-, -t̓m-, -šm- and -lm- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries. -ṭ̓m-, -č̓m-, -hm-, -ym- and -y̓m- occur medially. -pm-, -tm-, -sm-, -nm-, -wm- and -n̓m- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -Cm# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster /n/ does not appear initially. -nt-, -nk-, -ns- and -nl- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries in a word. -nč-, -nc̓-, -nk̓-, -nš-, -nx- and -ny- occur medially.

-np-, -nṭ-, -n?-, -nt̓-, -nh-, -nm- and -nn- occur at morpheme boundaries. -nt#, -nṭ#, -nt̓#, and -nṭ̓# are found word finally. -nc-, -np̓-, -nc̓-, -nč̓- and -nr- do not occur. As the second member of a two-consonant cluster #ṭn-, #c̓n- and #sn- occur initially. -pn-, -tn-, -kn-, -t̓n-, -ṭ̓n-, -č̓n-, -k̓n-, -sn-, -šn-, -xn-, -ln-, -wn-, -l̓n- and -y̓n- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries. -ṭn- and -c̓n- occur medially. -čn-, -hn-, -mn-, -nn-, -rn-, -yn-, -m̓n- and -w̓n- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word. -ṭn-, -c̓n- and -sn- occur both initially and medially. -Cn# is not attested.

/l/ does not occur as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster with /c/, /č/, /p̓/, /?/, /c̓/, /l/ or /r/. It is found initially: #lp-, #lt-, #lk-, #lk̓-, #lx- and #lw-. -lp-, -lt-, -lṭ-, -lk-, -lt̓-, -lṭ̓-, -ls-, -lš-, -lx-, -lh, -lm- and -ln- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries with a word. -lk̓- and -lw- are found medially. -lč̓- occurs only at morpheme boundaries. -lp# and -lt# occur at the end of a word. -lč- and -ly- are found only in Spanish loan words. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #kl-, #k̓l- and #šl- are found initially. -pl-, -tl-, -ṭl-, -kl-, -xl-, -ml-, -nl-, -yl- and -y̓l- are found medially and at morpeheme boundaries. -sl- and -hl- are found medially but not

at morpheme boundaries. -t̓i-, -ṯ̓l-, -k̓l-, -šl- and -wl- are found at morpheme boundaries but not medailly. -ṯl# occurs finally.

/r/ does not occur initially as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. At morpheme boundaries within a word only -rs- and -rn- are found. -rp-, -rt-, -rk- and -rw- are found in Spanish loan words. /r/ does not occur medially nor word finally as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /r/ is only found at the following morpheme boundaries within a word: -kr-, -ʔr-, -k̓r-, -sr-, -šr-, -xr-, -yr- and -wr-. -mr- occurs only in Spanish loan words. There are no attestations of #Cr- initially, -Cr- medially, nor does -Cr# occur word finally.

#yC- is not found nor is -yC#. -yp-, -yt-, -yk̓-, -ym-, -yl- and -yw- occur medially. -yk-, -yʔ-, -yt̓-, -yh-, -yn- and -yr- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #ty-, #ṯy-, #c̓y-, #sy- and #ky- are found initially. -ky-, -p̓y-, -c̓y-, -sy-, -my-, -ny- and -wy- occur medially. -py-, -ṯy- and -ṯ̓y- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -xy- and -ly- occur only in Spanish loan words. -Cy# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster #wC- and -wC# are not found. -wt-, -wt̓-, -wṯ̓-, -wc̓-,

-wš-, -wn- and -wy- occur medially. -wp-, -wṭ-, -wx-, -wh- and -wr- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #tw-, #ṭw-, #čw-, #kw-, #c̓w-, #čˀw-, #k̓w-, #sw-, #šw-, #xw- and #lw- occur initially. -čw-, -kw-, -c̓w-, -k̓w-, -sw-, -šw-, -xw-, -hw-, -mw-, -lw- and -yw- occur medially. -pw-, -ṭw- and -y̓w- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -Cw# is not attested and -rw- occurs only in Spanish loan words.

/m̓/ does not occur in word initial or word final two-consonant clusters. -m̓k-, -m̓čˀ- and -m̓š- occur medially; -m̓p-, -m̓t- and -m̓n- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word and both sets may be triple consonant clusters.

/n̓/ does not occur in word initial nor word final two-consonant clusters, either. Only -n̓s- and -n̓š- occur medially; -n̓p-, -n̓t- and -n̓m- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word, so both of these sets may be triple consonant clusters, too.

/l̓/ does not occur word initially nor word finally in two-consonant clusters. -l̓k- and -l̓n- occur medially; -l̓p-, -l̓t-, -l̓čˀ- and -l̓h- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word.

/y̓/ does not occur as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster word initially nor word finally. -y̓k̓-, -y̓m-, -y̓n- and -y̓l- occur medially. -y̓t- and

-y̓w- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word.

/w̓/ does not occur in word initial nor final position as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. -w̓t-, -w̓ṯ- and -w̓s- occur medially. -w̓n- occurs only at morpheme boundaries within a word.

The glottalized resonants do not combine with any other consonants as the second member of a two-consonant cluster. Looking at these glottalized resonants, then, all or some might be triple consonant clusters (see Section 1.28).

1.32. Consonant clusters (3). Two three-consonant clusters occur word initially with no morpheme boundary: #škw- škwâ·laxêk 'I cut myself', xeyó škwálo 'he cut it' (from Jacobsen's notes), re-šk̓wêltek̓ 'cut oneself' (from Harrington); #sk̓m- sk̓mây̓oʔ 'gopher' (from Harrington). There are two further triple consonant clusters found initially, but a morpheme boundary is involved. The morpheme boundary is indicated by a dash (-). #ṯ-šx ṯ-šxêxeʔ 'lots of tracks' and #s-k-l s-k-lâpay 'three bright stars' (both from Harrington).

Nine triple consonat clusters are found medially without a morpheme boundary. -ʔšx- reʔšxây 'mañana, morning, tomorrow'; -ʔxw-

so?xwá? 'fawn'; -šxw- ?ášxwet 'my rib'; -nčw- tančwá·nel 'star', tančwá·ntel 'stars', kánčwa·nle 'starry' (from Harrington); -lxw- tálxwal xeyó? 'he was working', talxwál 'work!', talxwalné 'a job' (from Jacobsen); -ľkn- ţaľknáyo 'little fork'; -ypk- haypké? 'digging stick'; -wtk- ţowtké? 'salmon spear', ţowtkelé? 'salmon spears'; and -ẃsn- ţekoẃsnay 'my collarbone' (from Harrington).

By far the greatest number of three-consonant clusters occur at morpheme boundaries. Abbreviations for citations are as follows: JAM, J. Alden Mason; T7,6, Text 7, line 6 from Mason (1918); JPH, John Peabody Harrington; WHJ, William H. Jacobsen.

p-t-m	to-p-t-mešem-o	'from the drinking' T7,6
p-sk̓	ţo-p-sk̓ám-kás	'at the near only' T6,6
p-šk̓	ţo-p-šk̓án	'by the hawk' T7,16
p-lk̓	ro-p-lk̓a	'to the coyote' T3,8
t-xw	t-xwen-to	'soon' T3,13
k-š-l	ka-k-š-l-ó?-ax	'both together' T6, 12
k-š?	ţo-k-š?éney-ay	'your (pl) fishook' JPH
k̓-ks	čátelo·mtek̓-ksá	'was very cold' T4,30
?šk	ţ-a?škê·n-o ţ-ê·-lek	'the corner of my mouth' (from Spanish esquina 'corner') JPH
?-r-m	ká?-r-mene? káţowtené	'let's go get piñones' JPH

st-m tast-málox 'what thy desire' T6,11

s-t-m ta·s-t-m-etxá 'what thy possession' T4,1

st-k ká·st-k-á·me·ṭom̓ 'but we will try it' T3,27

s-ṭ-y kás-ṭ-yax 'two fellows' JPH

s-k-š tas-k-šówne·-néḵ̓ 'but kindle will I' T1,6

sč-m tasč-má 'what (did you say)?' WHJ

š-t-m taš-t-m-etá·-wo 'what thy possession' T4,6

šṭ-k sekc̓épkašṭ-kó-k-a·m-ko 'is good only that not kill him' T5,3

š-ṭ-m taš-ṭ-má·lox 'what thy desire' T3,4

x-k-l kákšo-ṭo?e-tax-k-lápay '23' WHJ

mp-t se-k-á·mp-ten 'rises again' T8,22

mp-k p-a·m-ámp-ko 'drew out' T7, 13

m-p-c̓ rá·m-p-c̓é·n-ṭ-ko 'then watches' T1,45

m-p-ṭ̓ rám-p-ṭ̓óxne-w̓o 'then rolled it' T8,13

m-p-n rám-p-new̓o 'then seized' T8,10

m-p-l rám-p-le·t-xo 'then throw them' T1,18

m-p-y rám-p-yá·m-o 'then sees' T1,46

m-t-k yo?-rám-t-kon-l-ox 'then arrived' T6,10

m-ṭ-ṭ pe·lá·ḵ̓ ško? ?om-ṭ-ṭo·-ké·w-o pe·čá? 'an island' ('that land in the middle of the water') JPH

m-ṭ-k hom-ṭ-káw̓ 'my body' JPH

m-ṭx hem-ṭxapéš-o ṭ-óxol 'my back teeth' JPH

m-ṭ-m ?em-ṭ-m-é-kaw̓ 'your (sg) body' JPH

m-k-t̓ ka-?-am-k-t̓e?-leḵ̓ 'we can not' JPH

m-k-c̓ ram-k-c̓e·n-o? 'then content' T4,5

m-k-č̓	ram-k-č̓á·wye?	'then sought' T1,30
m-ks	s-k̓am-ksa	'whirled around' T1,8
m-k-š	ʔem-k-šó·lok-ne	'so that entered hole' T1,12
m-k-m	ţam-k-mé̓ţ̓ow-lo	'then thick already' T4,21
m-k-n	ţe-p-á̓m-k-neɬ̓-ko	'to kill them' T5,11
m-k-l	ram-k-lá̓pay	'then three' T6,7
	ʔom-k-ló̓wa·-we	'are you married?' JPH
m-ţ̓-k	ʔem-ţ̓-ká̓ten-o	'on his rump' T3,2
m-k̓m	ţ-o-m-k̓má·n̓	'your (sg) groin' JPH
m-k̓w	ʔem-k̓wé̓l	'the world' JPH
m-sk	ţ-o-m-skó̓n̓	'your (sg) heart hollow' JPH
m-sk̓	ţ-o-m-sk̓á̓neɬ̓	'your (sg) rib' JPH
m-sm	ko-m-sma-há̓-t	'ugly' WHJ
m-sw	ţ-o-m-swé̓·ktay̓	'your (sg) hat' JPH
m-šp	ko-m-špokté̓	'he is bald' JPH
m-šk	čá̓? rom-šké̓m	'sea water' JPH
m-šk̓	ţ-o-m-šk̓á̓we̓	'your (sg) heel' JPH
m-lk̓	ţ-o-m-lk̓ó̓·yo-ten	'your (sg) beard' JPH
m-xw	ka·m-xwé̓n	'arrived' T1,37
m̓-p-n	yo?-rá̓·m̓-p-ne·wo	'he then seized it' T7,7
nt-x	malé̓nt-xo?	'he remembers it' WHJ
n-t-x	p-eké̓le·n-t-xo	'whirled around' T1,8
n-ţ-k	rá̓·m-p-č̓é̓·n-ţ-ko	'then watches' T1,45
n-ks	wé̓ten-ksá̓	'wished' T1,11
lp-k	č̓e·xolp-ko hé̓k̓ ʔé̓n	'I am going to skin it' (animal) JPH
lp-x	xomó̓ ţ-k̓olp-xá̓y̓o	'he is born bad' JPH

lt̓-k	p-yamá·lt̓-kam hék̓	'I looked at you (pl)' JPH
l-k̓w	mé-t̓ol-k̓wél	'when one time' T8,19
l̓t-k	p-á·leĺt-ko	'asked him' T6,7
l̓-t̓-k	taĺél̓-t̓-ka	'with you (pl)' JPH
rš-t	terš-tom̓	'therefore fell' T4,31
rš-ţ	terš-ţé?	'therefore said' T1,22
rš-c̓	yo?-térš-c̓ép	'therefore good' T5,8
rš-k̓	terš-k̓eš?-pe?	'therefore thus' T5,7
w-št	ţo-p-a?-ke·w-štów̓	'in that her place girl' T6,13

Clusters of four consonants are rare in the corpus. A careful search yields only the following three:

m-p-tx	?om-p-txa·w-o	'do you have it?' JPH
m-ţ-šk	rá·m-ţ-ško?	'then was' T8,5
m-ţ-xw	rám-ţ-xwen-eĺ-ax	'then they came' T3,8

1.33. Vowels. Historically, Antoniano Salinan had three phonemic vowels, short and long. The allophones of /e/, i.e., [i], [e] and [ɛ], occur in free variation according to Harrington's notes. Harrington often reelicited the same word many times to determine all possible pronunciations, and, if possible, to determine an exactly correct pronunciation. In many cases he simply could not pin down one "correct" rendering of a word. A few examples will illustrate the free variation of the

allophones of /e/.

[i] ~ [e]: tritʃ'ú'm ~ tretc'óm' 'my back'

[ɛ] ~ [i]: trʃilé?o ~ trʃẹlé'wo 'plant sp.'

The allophones of /o/, i.e., [u], [o] and [ɔ], similarly are recorded in free variation in Harrington's field notes:

[o] ~ [u]: trhkó'tc ~ trkútʃ 'your (pl) dog'

[ɔ] ~ [u]: trọw ~ trúw 'my face'

trọwhéno ~ truwhéno 'their faces'

This last example, 'their faces', is accompanied by Harrington's note, "or is this the form that ọ takes?" with arrows pointing at the underlined uw, (see Section 1.23).

Therefore the high and mid short vowels do not contrast in native Antoniaño Salinan words. There are a few cases in which [i] is always recorded, but these are limited to a small number of attested frozen forms, although there is some evidence for a marginal contrast between short [i] and [e] in Jacobsen's data, especially before final ?:

mošé? 'coal'

lo·ší? 'birthday'

where stress may reveal an otherwise weakly attested

contrast. However, a possible minimal pair is suggested by an example from Jacobsen's notes where short [i] and [e] occur unstressed:

šk̂á·we? 'heel' ~ šk̂á·wi? 'his heels'

In addition to Harrington's multiple rehearings which reflect free variation of the allophones of /e/ and /o/, it is possible to state the environments in which the [i] and [u] allophones are <u>usually</u> recorded.

/e/ → [i]/ ___ {š, č, č̓}

/ ___ {č, y} ___

[ę] never occurs long and is in free variation with [e].

/o/ → [u]/ ___ labials (w, m, p, w̓)

[ǫ] never occurs long and is in free variation with [o].

The following minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs support the phonemic analysis.

/a/ - /a·/ ṭetâl̓o 'shoulder', ṭetâ·l̓o 'his shoulder'

/e/ - /e·/ ć̓eľ 'woodpecker sp.', čé·ľ 'cricket'

/o/ - /o·/ cóť̓o 'his point', có·ť̓o 'point'

/a·/ - /e·/ ṭá·šax 'my liver', ṭé·šax 'my feathers'

/a/ - /e/ ʔâkata? 'blood', ʔékato 'his blood'

/e/ - /o/ ṭéšaṭ̓ 'my saltwater bullhead', ṭóšat 'my tears'

All the examples are from Harrington's notes.

2. Noun morphology: overview of morphology.

Nouns, verbs and particles are the three morphologically defined word classes in Salinan. The morphology is characterized by prefixes, suffixes and infixes, and, sometimes, complex morphophonemics and active fusional processes such as vowel ablaut. Both nouns and verbs are inflected for singular and plural. Nouns are inflected to show the person and number of the possessor and verbs are inflected for number, aspect and pronominal reference of subject, agent and object. Numerals and demonstartives may be nominal or verbal. Affixation is extensive: a stem is rarely used without an affix. Most stems are nominal or verbal: some stems may be either.

2.1. Introduction to noun morphology: morpheme order in the noun maximally includes the following: (locative)-(articular prefix)-(stative prefix - stative)-(demonstrative)-(nominal article)-(possessive pronominal prefix)-noun stem-(possessive pronominal suffix)-(plural suffix)-(possessive pronominal suffix), for which examples follow.

ro-p-k-ő́solol na-ṭ-ʔaḱaṭ 'of the straight tree'

ro- locative prefix

-p- articular prefix

-k- stative prefix

-osolol- stative verb, 'straight'

na- demonstrative

-ṭ- nominal article

-ʔaḵaṭ noun, 'tree'

wáḵ 'night heron'

ṭ-é-waḵ 'my night heron'

ṭ- nominal article

-e- singular or third person plural possessor

-waḵ noun, 'night heron'

ṭ-e-wáḵ-o 'his night heron'

ṭ- nominal article

-e- singular or third person plural possessor

-waḵ- noun, 'night heron'

-o third person possessor

Most nouns are marked for alienable or inalienable possession, but there is a complete lack of gender class or surface case marking. Examples of a noun that may be either alienably or inalienably possessed are shown at the end of Section 2.52 with the words for 'dimple' and 'molar'.

2.2. Inflectional morphology: pronominal possession.

Although there are subcategories and a small set of exceptions, pronominal possession is morphologically marked by placement of stress, affixation and the

presence of the ţ nominal article, which also occurs as a nominalizing prefix with verbs, as the initial prefix.

2.21. Affixes. The third person possessor is shown by penultimate stress, plus a combination of affixes: the ţ nominal article immediately followed by the vowel -e- preceding the noun stem, and the possessive suffix -o. Examples:

sanâť	'hide, skin'	ţ-e-sanáť-o	'his hide'
ţay	'whale'	ţ-e-ţáy-o	'his whale'
ţa·šâx	'liver'	ţ-e-šâx-o	'his liver'

(The deletion and replacement of the initial stem vowel in the last example is discussed in Section 2.23.) The -o suffix follows stems ending in a consonant or replaces the vowel /a/. -o becomes -ẃo after stems ending in a vowel other than /a/:

ţâ·ḱata	'wood'	ţ-e-ḱât-o	'his wood'
ţe·xoxô?	'brain'	ţ-e-·xoxô-ẃo	'his brain'

For the plural third person possessed form a plural morpheme immediately follows the stem:

sanâť	'hide, skin'	ţ-e-sanať-êl-o	'their hide(s)'

The -el- plural morpheme is discussed in Section 2.32.

For the first person possessed form the stress falls on the first syllable, or the -e- prefix. The first person is also marked by the initial ɬ- prefix.

sanâʔ	'hide, skin'	ɬ-ê-sanaʔ	'my hide'
ɬay	'whale'	ɬ-ê-ɬay	'my whale'
ɬ-a·šâx	'liver'	ɬ-ê-·šax	'my liver'

For the plural first person possessed form, the first person singular prefixes are preceded by a ɬ-aˀ prefix:

sanâʔ	'hide, skin'	ɬ-áˀ-ɬ-e-sanaʔ	'our hide(s)'

The second person singular possessed form is also preceded by the ɬ- nominal article and the -ê- prefix, but an -m- prefix is placed after the ɬ-.

sanâʔ	'hide, skin'	ɬ-m-ê-sanaʔ	'your hide'
ɬay	'whale'	ɬ-m-ê-ɬay	'your whale'
ɬ-a·šâx	'liver'	ɬ-m-ê-·šax	'your liver'

Before a noun stem beginning with a vowel, the prefixes are ɬ-m-:

*aƙʔ	'head'	ɬ-m-âƙʔ	'your head'
*e·nɬʔ	'nose'	ɬ-m-ê·nɬʔ	'your nose'

*ow 'face' ţ-m-ő́w 'your face'

(The starred forms are not attested since they are inalienably possessed body parts.)

This combination of affixes is ţ-o-m- (unstressed) mainly with inalienably possessed nouns, but not always, as shown by the first example:

ţowtkê?	'salmon spear'	ţ-o-m-ţő́wtkay̓	'your salmon spear'
*me•n	'hand'	ţ-o-m-mê•n	'your hand'
*t̓o•s	'younger brother'	ţ-o-m-t̓ó•s	'your younger brother'

For the second person plural possessed form, the ţ- nominal article is followed by -k-ő- and -o-k-:

sanât̓	'hide, skin'	ţ-k-ő-sanat̓	'your hide'
ţowtkê?	'salmon spear'	ţ-o-k-ţő́wtkay̓	'your salmon spear'

The ţ-o-k- order of prefixes is very poorly attested, so it is difficult to determine if this order occurs mainly with inalienably possessed nouns as the ţ-o-m- set of prefixes for the second person singular does.

This analysis is complicated by the presence of

the vowel -a- as the initial vowel in all first person plural possessed forms and of -o- in all second person plural possessed forms. (These vowels also appear as the initial vowel marking the subject of the verb in first and second person pronominal plurals: see Sections 4.651 and 4.654).

The following chart of the possessive pronominal affixes for the nouns examined so far includes the ṭ- nominal prefix.

	Singular	Plural
1	ṭ-ê-	ṭ-â-ṭ-e-
2	{ṭ-m-ê- / ṭ-o-m-}	{ṭ-k-ô- / ṭ-o-k-}
3	ṭ-e- -a → -o -o/C__ -wo/V(ʔ)__ penultimate stress	all of the singular plus a plural marker

2.22. Regular paradigm. Following are examples of pronominal possessive affixation in stems of one, two and three syllables.

	Singular non-poss.	Plural non-poss.
	sanâ't	sana't-él 'hide, skin'
	Singular poss.	**Plural poss.**
1	ţ-é-sana't	ţ-á·-ţ-e-sana't
2	ţ-m-é-sana't	ţ-k-ó-sana't
3	ţ-e-sanâ't-o	ţ-e-sana't-él-o

	Singular non-poss.	Plural non-poss.
	no attestation	c'éns-el 'sand'
	Singular poss.	**Plural poss.**
1	ţ-é-c'ens-el	ţ-á·-ţ-e-c'ens-el
2	ţ-m-é-c'ens-el	ţ-k-ó-c'ens-el
3	ţ-e-c'ens-él-o	ţ-e-c'ens-él-o

The potential ambiguity between plural possessed nouns and plural possessors is here exemplified by the plural, -el, expressed in the attested non-possessed form.

	Singular non-poss.	Plural non-poss.
	ṭáy	no attestation 'whale'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṭ-é-ṭay	no attestation
2	ṭ-m-é-ṭay	" "
3	ṭ-e-ṭáy-o	" "

As illustrated in these examples of the regular and most common inflectional paradigm for possessed nouns, the affixes and accompanying identifying stress look like:

	Singular	Plural
1	ṭ-é-	ṭ-á-ṭ-e-
2	ṭ-m-é-	ṭ-k-ó-
3	ṭ-e- ´ -o	ṭ-e- -(pl) ´ -o

2.23. Change of initial vowel in some vowel-initial stems. A change of the initial vowel occurs in the possessed forms that follow, because the initial vowel of the noun stem is replaced by the appropriate vowel of the possessive paradigm (note that if the non-possessed stem ends in a vowel, it will become -o in the third person possessed forms):

	Singular non-poss.	Plural non-poss.	
	ţ-ā·ǩata	ţ-ā·ǩatet	'wood'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ē ǩata	ţ-ā-ţ-e-·ǩata
2	ţ-m-ē-ǩata	ţ-k-ō-·ǩata
3	ţ-e-·ǩāt-o	ţ-e-ǩat-ē·l-o

	Singular non-poss.	Plural non-poss.	
	ţ-a·šax	no attestation	'liver'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ē-·šax	no attestation
2	ţ-m-ē-·šax	" "
3	ţ-e-·šāx-o	" "

The identity of the stem-initial vowel is lost through its replacement by the paradigmatic vowels. It is a great pity that no plural forms of this word were recorded.

The vowels, however, simply reflect the vowels of the possessive paradigm, -e- for singular (all persons); -a- for first person plural, -o- for second person plural and back to -e- for third person plural. These vowels for first and second person plural are of overriding importance as will be

seen in the sections on verbal morphology (see Sections 3, 4.653 and 8.5 especially), but these vowels can apparently obscure the root of the non-possessed form of the stem, e.g. the root for 'house' is -am(a); and with metathesis, the word for 'water', ţ-ša?, becomes quite opaque, since the vowel of the root may appear before or after the -š- depending on whether a non-possessed or possessed form of the word for 'water' occurs. Taking the stem of the non-possessed form as basic, then, the root for the word for 'water' is -ša(-) with metathesized -aš(-) as the form for possessed forms for the word.

	Singular non-poss.	ţ-a·m 'house'.
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ê-ma	ţ-â-ţ-e·m
2	ţ-m-ê-·ma	ţ-k-ô-·ma
3	ţ-e-·m-ô	ţ-e-·má-l-o

	Singular non-poss.	ţ-ša? 'water'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ê-ţ-a·š	ţ-â-ţ-e-ţ-aš
2	ţ-m-ê-ţ-aš	ţ-k-ô-ţ-aš
3	ţ-e-ţ-á·š-o	ţ-e-ţ-á·š-o-t̓

These examples serve to illustrate the interplay of morphophonemics, required by the vowels for the possessive paradigm, with metathesis to preserve the root vowel of the possessed noun. It is only with roots of one syllable that this pattern is necessary, however.

2.24. Exceptions. Regular possession markings have several exceptions which fall into the following overlapping classes:

I. Vowel Changes
   A. Vowel elided in the third person, singular and plural.
   B. Non-possessive stems ending in -eʔ become -ayʔ in the possessed forms.

II. Stress
   A. Stress stays on the stem vowel in the possessed forms.
   B. Stress shifts over two syllable stems.
   C. Stress shifts over three syllable stems.

2.241. Vowel changes. In the first type of exception to the regular paradigm for possessed noun stems, the vowel is elided from the possessive pronominal -e- prefix in the third person, singular and plural (see Section 1.22):

Singular non-poss. ţ-etâ'ol 'flute'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ê-ta'ol	ţ-â·-ţ-e-ta'ol
2	ţ-m-ê-ta'ol	ţ-k-ô-ta'ol
3	ţ-tâ'ol-o	ţ-ta'ol-tên-o

Singular non-poss. ţ-ekâ·kel 'song'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ê-ka·kel	ţ-â·-ţ-ka·kel
2	ţ-m-ê-ka·kel	ţ-k-ô-ka·kel
3	ţ-ka·kêl-o	ţ-ka·k-lêt-o

Note that even though there is elision of the vowel in the third person forms, the stress pattern, as established for the regular paradigm, is still maintained, unlike the examples for 'house' and 'water'. Note also the vowel elision in the second syllable of the first person plural possessed form for 'song'.

Another type of vowel elision involves the stem-final vowel:

Singular non-poss. ṭ-e·lék 'mouth'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṭ-é·lek	no attestation
2	ṭ-m-é·lek	" "
3	ṭ-é·lk-o	" "

2.242. -e? → -ay'. Another small set of only five nouns differentiates possessed from non-possessed forms by shift of stress accompanied by a change of final suffix from -e? to -ay' without the -e- prefix in the first person singular or third person singular and plural. Sapir (1917) had identified the -ay' suffix as "suffixed to verbs to form nouns" but this is not an explanation for the following:

Singular non-poss. š?eney-é? 'fish hawk'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	š?éney-ay'	ṭ-á·-š?eney-ay'
2	ṭ-o-m-š?éney-ay'	ṭ-o-k-š?éney-ay'
3	š?eney-áy'-o	š?eney-l-áy'-o

	Singular non-poss.	ṯ-owtk-ê? 'salmon spear'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṯ-ő́wtk-ay̓	ṯ-á·-ṯ-owtk-ay̓
2	ṯ-o-m-ṯ-ő́wtk-ay̓	ṯ-o-k-ṯ-ő́wtk-ay̓
3	ṯ-owtk-á́y̓-o	ṯ-o·wtk-el-á́y̓-o
	Singular non-poss.	ṯ-?é́wt-e? 'fuzz'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṯ-?é́wt-ay̓	ṯ-á́-ṯ-?ewt-ay̓
2	ṯ-o-m-ṯ-?é́wt-ay̓	ṯ-o-k-ṯ-?é́wt-ay̓
3	ṯ-?ewt-á́y̓-o	ṯ-?ewt-el-á́y̓-o
	Singular non-poss.	ṯ-olol-é? 'flute'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṯ-ő́lo·l-ay̓	no attestation
2	ṯ-m-ő́lo·l-ay̓	" "
3	ṯ-olo·l-á́y̓-o	" "

	Singular non-poss.	ma·w-ɛ́? 'watch'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	mɛ́·w-ay̓	no attestation
2	ṯ-o-m-mɛ́·w-ay̓	" "
3	no attestation	" "

2.243. Stress stays on stem vowel. The following are examples illustrating the second set of exceptions to the regular possession markings involving stress placement. In the first set of examples the stress stays on the stem vowel in the possessed form naturally, since it is monosyllabic.

	Singular non-poss.	cɔ́·t̓o 'point'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	cɔ́t̓	no attestation
2	ṯ-o-m-cɔ́t̓	" "
3	cɔ́t̓-o	" "

Singular non-poss. (Unattested) 'sugar'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	k̓ʷóm̓aš	no attestation
2	ţ-o-m-k̓ʷóm̓aš	" "
3	k̓ʷóm̓aš-o	" "

(There is an unusual stress attested with the third person singular possessed form.)

Singular non-poss. *ak̓ 'head'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ák̓	no attestation
2	ţ-m-ák̓	" "
3	ţ-ák̓-o	" "

Singular non-poss. *me·n 'hand'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	mé·n	no attestation
2	ţ-o-m-mé·n	" "
3	mé·n-o	" "

The last two examples are inalienably, i.e. obligatorily,

possessed so I have supplied starred forms for the stems for the non-existent non-possessed forms.

2.244. Stress shift over two syllables. Examples of the stress shifting in the possessed forms over two syllable stems beginning with an initial ṭ-e- follow. Only the predictable first syllable stress marks the first person singular possessed form.

	Singular non-poss.	ṭ-e·kē(·)n 'nest'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṭ-ē·ken	ṭ-ā-ṭ-e·ke·n
2	ṭ-m-ē·ken	ṭ-k-ō·ke·n
3	ṭ-e·kē·n-o	ṭ-e·ke·n-lāx-o

	Singular non-poss.	ṭ-ekān 'paunch'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṭ-ēkan	no attestation
2	ṭ-m-ēkan	" "
3	ṭ-ekān-o	" "

2.245. Stress shift over three syllables. Examples of the shift of stress to mark possession by first person singular over three syllable words are:

	Singular non-poss.	ţ-ekalêt 'egg'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ékalet	no attestation
2	ţ-o-m-ţ-ékalet	" "
3	ţ-ekâ·lt-o	ţeţe-ţ-ekâ·lt-o

	Singular non-poss.	ţ-e·xoxô? 'brain'
	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ê·xoxo?	ţ-â·-ţ-e·xoxo?
2	ţ-m-ê·xoxo?	ţ-k-ô·xo·xo?
3	ţ-e·xoxô-ẘo	ţ-e·xoxo-lô-ẘo

2.246. Unpredictable stem variants. The last category of exceptions to the regular marking for possession is an unpredictable variation of the stem. Among this small group of exceptions using the ţ-e- prefix are the following examples involving deletion of a syllable:

	Singular non-poss.	xoč 'dog'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-é-č	ţ-á-ţ-e-č-at
2	ţ-m-é-č	ţ-k-ó-č-at
3	ţ-é-č-o	no attestation

The only third person possessed form attested is really just a plural. The attestation is from Harrington and glossed in Spanish: ţó?o·čele? 'un monton de perros'.

	Singular non-poss.	ţ-et'óy'en 'arrow'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-é-t'en'-ay'	no attestation
2	ţ-m-é-t'en'-ay'	" "
3	ţ-e-t'en'-áy'-o	" "

	Singular non-poss.	ţ-esxáy'al 'urine'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ésxal	no attestation
2	ţ-m-ésxal	" "
3	ţ-esxá·l-o	" "

2.25. Nouns marking possession differently. A small set of nouns do not use the combination of stress placement and affixation to mark pronominal possession. Within this set are many kinship terms; inalienably possessed nouns, such as body parts; some nouns derived from verbs; and some nouns whose stem begins with ṭ-a-. In most cases the stem is prefixed with ṭ-e- in the non-possessive, singular form.

2.251. Kinship terms. In possession marking of kinship terms the first person singular form consists of the bare stem. ṭ-m-ê- or ṭ-o-m- is prefixed for second person singular, but the ʔa- prefix and the usual -o suffix are used for third person.

'elder sister'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	pe?	no attestation
2	ṭ-o-m-pê?	" "
3	ʔa-pê-ẘo	" "

'younger brother'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	t̓ó·s	no attestation
2	ṯ-o-m-t̓ó·s	" "
3	ʔa-t̓ó·s-o	" "

'younger sister'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	t̓ón	no attestation
2	ṯ-o-m-t̓ón	" "
3	ʔa-t̓ó·n-o	" "

2.252. Inalienable possession. Possession marking in inalienably possessed nouns does not use the -e- prefix for the first person singular possessor nor for the third person singular or plural, so pronominal possession follows the pattern:

	Singular	Plural
1	first syllable stress	ṭ-á(·)-
2	ṭ-m-é-	ṭ-k-ó-
	ṭ-o-m-	ṭ-o-k-
3	penultimate stress	all of the singular,
	-o	plus a plural morpheme

Examples include:

'right hand'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	lám̓-ay̓	ṭ-á·-lam̓-ay̓
2	ṭ-o-m-lám̓-ay̓	ṭ-o-k-lám̓-ay̓
3	lam̓-áy̓-o	lam̓-el-áy̓-o

This word shows the -ay̓ suffix with the stem lam 'to eat'. This fits Sapir's (1917) identification of -ay̓ (see Section 2.242: however, see Section 2.81 where another suffix, -ay, is discussed).

'part of (one's) hair'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	sâ·k̓ -ay̓	ṯ-â·-sa·k̓-ay̓
2	ṯ-o-m-sâ·k̓-ay̓	ṯ-o-k-sâ·k̓-ay̓
3	sa·k̓ -ây̓-o	sa·k̓-el-ây̓-o

It looks as is this word carries the same -ay̓ suffix, but sa·k̓ is not attested.

'nose'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṯ-ê·nṯ̓	ṯ-â·-ṯ-e·nṯ̓
2	ṯ-m-ê·nṯ̓	ṯ-k-ô·nṯ̓
3	ṯ-ê·nṯ̓-o	ṯ-ê·nṯ̓-o-t̓

'face'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ṯ-ow	ṯ-â-ṯ-ow
2	ṯ-m-ôw	ṯ-k-ôw
3	ṯ-ô·w-o	ṯ-ow-hên-o ~ ṯ-ôw-o-t̓

The difference from the regular pronominal possessive paradigm can be shown in the following examples of a stem used for both an alienably and an inalienably possessed noun. The alienable stem is given first and has a non-possessed attested form but no third person form is attested. The inalienable stem follows with, of course, no non-possessed form. Unfortunately no plural pronominally possessed forms were recorded.

Singular non-poss. ţ-oxǒl 'dimple'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ê-ţ-oxol	no attestation
2	ţ-m-ê-ţ-oxol	" "
3	no attestation	" "

'molar'

	Singular poss.	Plural poss.
1	ţ-ǒxo·l	no attestation
2	ţ-m-ǒxo·l	" "
3	ţ-xǒ·l-o	" "

2.26. Types of noun stems. 145 noun stems are attested for Antoniaño Salinan. 111 of these, 77%, are consonant-initial and 34, 23%, are vowel-initial stems (always preceded by t̰-).

The largest group of consonant-initial noun stems, or 29%, have the shape CVCVC; closely followed numerically, 25%, by stems of the shape CVC and the variant with a long vowel, CV•C, at 13%. These account for two-thirds of all the consonant-initial noun stems.

All the remaining consonant-initial stems are listed by frequency of their occurrence.

CV•CVC	9%
CVCCVC	9%
CV•CCVC	4%
CVCVCVC	4%
CVCV•C	3%
CVCV•CVC	2%
CVCV•CC	1%
CVCVCC	1%
CV•CV•C	1%
CV•CV•CVC	1%

This analysis is based upon stems which do not include the affricates [ts], [tš], [t̰s] and [t̰š] for purposes of comparing these stem shapes with the shapes of stems which are produced by an analysis of these

affricates as, a) consonant clusters (except at morpheme boundaries) or b) unit phonemes, in order to discover if the shapes of noun stems without these sounds are significantly altered by analyzing them as consonant clusters.

If [ts], [tš], [t͡s] and [t͡š] are analyzed as clusters, ten infrequently occurring shapes must be added to the list:

CCVC	6	occurrences
CCV•C	3	"
CCVCVC	2	"
CCCVC	2	"
CCV•CVC	1	occurrence
CCVCC	1	"
CCV•CC	1	"
CVCVCCV•C	1	"
CVCC	1	"
CV•CV•CC	1	"

If, on the other hand, [ts], [tš], [t͡s] and [t͡š] are analyzed as unit phonemes, six of the shapes of noun stems are further exemplified: CVC shapes receive seven more attestations; CVCVC, four; CV•C, three and one more attestation each for the shapes CV•CVC; CVCV•C and CV•CV•C. Only three infrequently occurring shapes must be added to the original list if the affricates are analyzed as unit phonemes:

CVCC, CCVC and CVCVCV•C.

Turning to the shapes of vowel-initial stems, the most frequently occurring group have the shape VCVC, 44%, or almost half. 24% of vowel-initial stems have the shape V•CVC, followed by VC and VCCVC at 9%, respectively; VCV•C 6% and V•C, VCC and V•CC all at 3%.

Again, this analysis is based upon stems not containing [ts], [tš], [t̓s] or [t̓š] for purposes of comparison with those which do contain them. Analyzed as consonant clusters, four stem shapes must be added to the list: V•CCVC, VCV•CC, VCCCV•C and V•CCV•C.

However, if [ts], [tš], [t̓s] and [t̓š] are analyzed as unit phonemes, no new stem types need to be recognized. V•CV•C is attested ten times with other consonants, VCV•C four and V•CVC three.

These data added to the discussion in Section 1.22 serve to persuade me that [ts], [tš], [t̓s] and [t̓š] should be analyzed as unit phonemes /c/, /č/, /c̓/ and /č̓/, except as noted in that Section.

2.3. Plurals. The fascinating array of plural suffixes can only suggest the richness of the native system. All parts of speech in Salinan may be marked for plurality. 'Plural' includes notions such as distributive, dual, collective, or iterative. Only a few examples are necessary to show the types of

plurals, all suffixes, because 'plural' was simplified to the suffix -ten in nearly all attested examples starting with Mason's work (1918). Under the influence of English and Spanish, comparatively regular plural forms were used increasingly as the language approached extinction. Unfortunately, very few 'plurals' were recorded by Fr. Sitjar, so most of the data comes from the 20th century, 150 years after the first Spanish influence on Salinan.

2.31. -ten, the most frequently occurring plural suffix, reflects the elicitations of animal terms. It is used simply as a suffix to the noun stem to indicate plurality for specific words for birds and animals, as well as a couple of plants, animal body parts and for several borrowings from Spanish for animal terms.

In verbs it is glossed as 'much, more, again, another' or 'also'. -ten seems to be an iterative plural when used with nouns, and the nouns are the words whose meaning is involved with hunting. -ten may also be suffixed to pronouns, e.g. heḵ-tēn, 'me too', and to statives, e.g. keča?-tēn 'big (pl)'.

2.32. Comparison of Mason and Harrington. -ten may also occur with other suffixes, e.g. ṭ-a·m 'house', ṭ-a·m-á·n-ten 'houses'. Mason (1918:22-23) was so intrigued by Salinan plurals that he included a list of the forms for the plural for 'house' with the following observations.

> "One of the most striking peculiarities of Salinan is the development of the plural. Every noun, verb, and adjective must display in its form its number, the plural of the verb conveying ordinarily the idea of repetition as frequentative or iterative, and frequently implying plurality of the pronominal subject or object.
>
> "The methods of plural formation fall into several different types, but the details are very variant and almost inexplicable. The two principal methods are by suffixes and by infixes. As subdivisions may be differentiated the various elements employed, which are, generally speaking, composed of one or more of the three elements t, n, and l.
>
> "The majority of stems permit of but one plural form, and it seems to be impossible to determine which of the many types of plural formation any given stem will follow. But certain other stems permit of several different forms, according to the several types of plural. It is probable that each of them carries a slightly different significance, such as distributive and iterative, but it has not been possible to differentiate them according to meaning. Thus the following plural forms of one stem, claimed to be of identical meaning were given..."

Harrington (1932-33) used Mason's list of plurals for 'house' as a basis for re-eliciting all the forms and glosses from one of Mason's informants, David

Mora. Harrington managed to clarify the list somewhat, since Mason identified each entry only as 'plural'.

Mason's forms are given on the left and Harrington's re-elicitations and glosses on the right. The hyphenation of the forms for morpheme boundaries in the Harrington forms is mine.

MASON	HARRINGTON	GLOSS 1932-33
ţama·ˊneL	ţ-a·m-á·n-el	'a bunch of houses'
ţamelax	ţ-a·m-el-ax	'Dave does not use'
ţa·ma·tén	ţ-a·m-á·n-ten	'Did not V. without inserting -ten'.
ţemhal	ţ-e·m-hál-o	'their house (of a family)'
ţa·ma·tenáx	ţ-a·m-á·n-ten-ax	'the little bunch of houses over where Apolonio goes to shit'
ţa·ma·niLáx	ţ-a·m-á·n-l-ax	(no comment)
ţamaNiLten	ţ-am-an-él-ten	'The -ten is too much'

(The possessed pronominal paradigm is listed in Section 2.23. The 'V' in one of Harrington's glosses means 'volunteer'.)

The first form given in Mason's list, ţama·ˊneL, seems to be the form that is most easily translated as the usual English (or Spanish) plural. In fact,

-a·nel is a recognizable plural, occurring with many noun stems and glossed simply as 'plural'. The -el is segmentable, however, since it can occur alone as the only suffix to the stem of a mass noun, such as 'sand' or 'snow', (see Section 2.21 'hide, skin'). -a·n never occurs alone in nouns.

For the second form on Mason's list, Harrington's comment 'Dave does not use', indicates that -el- cannot be used with the stem for the word for 'house' with -ax. Examination of other occurrences of -ax (~ -ak) shows that it is an infrequently occurring adjective plural. So, combined with -el-, the suffix used with mass nouns, Harrington's comment is understandable.

The third form listed by Mason shows -ten preceded by -â·n- in Harrington's correction. The fourth plural example from Mason's list, ţemhal, is also explained by Harrington's gloss. The fifth form, ţa·ma·tenâx is an example of these three suffixes occurring together in a rare example. This clarifies the meaning of -a·n- somewhat, and it can be more accurately defined as a suffix used with indefinite plurals of nouns as an intensifier.

This analysis is borne out by Harrington's comment on Mason's last form, ţamaNiLten, 'the -ten is too much', showing that these three do not co-occur.

2.33. -h- dual. One more obvious plural is the dual -h(-), which is either suffixed immediately after the stem or, more commonly, infixed in the stem with the repetition of the stem vowel.

mê·n 'my hand'
mêhen 'my two hands'

sônon 'my leg'
sônohon 'my two legs'

sokento 'eye' (from Mason's 1918 stem list)
sokehenet 'pl' " " " " "

A couple of examples with verbs, rather than nouns, serve to demonstrate the dual (or trial) nature of this morpheme:

k-sê-h-ne? 'they are walking' (two men)
St-V_S-pl-D_{sf}

kâ-ha-w-lô xeyôt' 'two or three are asleep'
V_S-pl-V_S-Cl 3pl

2.34. Suppletion. There are a few suppletive plurals in Antoniaño Salinan as well:

lowâ? 'man'

tá·m̓ 'men'

sep̓xá·? 'child'

semtán 'children'

?ás 'my son'

sé?emten 'my sons'

2.35. Other plurals. There are plural morphemes which may occur as the only plural affix with a noun stem. That is, a noun will have a plural gloss only with the addition of such a morpheme. These cases may be listed as follows:

SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
č̓á·kay	'wind'	čá·kay-ak	'winds'
mošé?	'flame'	moš-al-é?	'flames'
ṭ̓ówaṭ̓	'person'	ṭ̓owṭ̓-á·l	'people'
ṭ-e-škém	'Tulareño'	ṭ-e-škm-ál	'Tulareños'
ṭ-ólet	'my tooth'	ṭ-ólet-al	'my teeth'
?ešxáy	'dawn'	?ešxáy-al	'pl'
šlá?	'dish'	šla?-at	'dishes'
škoy̓-él-o	'his lungs'	šky̓l-áx-o	'their lungs'
ṭ̓-káten	'anus'	ṭ̓-káten-a·x	'pl'

SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
ʔašó·l̓	'string'	ʔašo·l̓-et	'strings'
ţ-á·k̓ata	'wood'	ţ-á·k̓at-et	'lots of wood'
ţ-é-šk̓ol	'my ear'	ţ-e-šk̓ol-et	'pl'
ţ-ká·w̓-o	'his body'	ţ-kaw̓-é?	'their bodies, also sayable of a bunch sleeping'
ţ-ʔépeń	'chunk of wood'	ţ-ʔepe·n-e?	'pl'
skóko·ye	'crest'	skóko·y-l-e	'pl'
š?eneyé?	'fish hook'	šéney-l-é?	'pl'
ţ-e-šxaʔa·yé?	'shoe'	ţ-e-šxaʔa·y-l-é?	'pl'
xátep	'corpse'	xát-l-ep	'pl'
ţ-é·-ken	'my nest'	ţ-é·-ke·n-lax	'pl'
keţ̓póy	'hill'	keţ̓póy-lax	'hills'
ʔáxweḿ	'skin'	ʔaxweḿ-lax	'pl'
c̓epén	'spider'	c̓epen-lax	'pl'
ţ-et̓óy̓en	'arrow'	ţ-et̓óy̓en-lax	'arrows'
k-é·šewc̓e	'drunkard'	k-é·šewc̓e·-lax	'pl'
ţ-e·xoxó?	'(non-poss.) brain'	ţ-exoxó?-lax	'pl but Dave never uses'
ţ-ʔópoy	'knee'	ţ-ʔopoy-lax	'pl'
ţ-ʔépen	'belly'	ţ-ʔepen-lax	'pl'
keţepoy	'cedar'	keţepoy-lax	'pl'
ʔaxá·k	'(non-poss.) bone'	ʔaxa·k-lét	'pl'
ţ-ʔópok̓	'arm'	ţ-ʔopok̓-lét	'pl'

SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
ţ-oweyê?	'boat'	ţ-oweye-lê?	'pl'
ţ-owt̓kê?	'salmon spear'	ţ-owt̓ke-lê?	'pl'
sk̓e•te?	'toy'	sk̓e•te-lê?	'pl'
makawê?	'flower'	makawe-lê?	'pl'
sâyo?	'eagle'	sayo-nêl	'eagles'
lk̓a	'coyote'	lk̓a-nêl	'pl'
kâlak	'goose'	kalak-nêl	'geese'
ţ-êlek	'hole'	ţ-elek-nêl	'holes'
?akata	'blood'	?akat-nêl	'pl'
ţ-á?âẃ	'fire'	ţ-á•ẃ-nel	'pl'
ţ-e-k̓ê?	'means you (he) has head like headlouse'	ţ-e-k̓e-nel	'pl'
ţ-ešék̓	'owl sp'	ţ-ešek̓-nel	'pl'
šowâ?	'skunk'	šowâ-nel	'pl'
ţ-ta•lâk	'(non-poss.) horn'	ţ-ta•lak-nel	'antlers'
čxo?	'earth'	čxo•-nel	'pl'
c̓opô?	'fog'	c̓opo-nel	'pl'
ţ-e•šax	'feather'	ţ-ešax-nel	'pl'
?at	'oak sp.'	?at-nel	'pl'
ţ-ê:-šxe?	'my foot'	ţ-šxe•-plét	'pl feet'
kô•laĺe?	'penis'	kô•la-t-le?	'pl'
ţ-ek̓es	'blanket'	ţ-ê•k̓se-t	'pl'
kowâ•yo	'horse'	koyâ•-ta	'pl'
ţ-ê-sx̌âl	'plaything'	ţ-ê-šxal-tây̓	'pl'

SINGULAR	GLOSS	PLURAL	GLOSS
šo·n	'ghost'	šo·n-tel	'pl'
ţ-ó·kena?	'day'	ţ-ó·kena·-tel	'days'
ka?	'acorn'	ka?-tél	'pl'
?á·xol	'tule'	?axo·l-tél	'pl'
ţ-é-la·?	'relative'	ţ-é-la·-tel	'pl'
kámeţ	'hunter'	kámeţ-tene	'pl'
šal	'bud'	šál-tene	'pl'
leme·m	'wasp'	leme·m-teyax	'pl'
sá·mel	'Migueleño'	sá·mel-ţám	'Migueleños'
c̓kámal	'dimple'	c̓kámal-t̓	'pl'
lam	'food'	lám-xat	'pl'
?ek	'father'	?ek-xel	'pl'
k-šé·k̓e·ţ̓e?	'slope'	k-šé·k̓e·ţ̓-y-e?	'pl'

These forms were not attested with an indicated stress where it is not marked. Most of them come from Harrington's re-elicitations of Mason's (1918) stem list, and, in most cases Harrington only re-elicited those words in Mason's 'singular' column: he did not re-elicit most of the plurals. This may help to explain anomalies in the glosses, such as 'anus', 'knee' and 'arm', which one would expect to require the obligatorily possessed affixes. Mason tried to list uninflected stems.

It may be that several of these 'plural' affixes are related constellations; i.e. -el, -nel, -tel and -xel; -et, -let and -plet; -ax and -lax look like variants of each other as do -et and -e?, perhaps, but there are not enough attestations to state this with confidence.

Many of the plural suffixes co-occur and even trade positions with each other after the noun stem:

1.	-at-ten	šôka?-at-tên	'rivers'
	-ten-at	?aš-ten-at	'elks'
		?ašak̓-tên-at	'flints'
		c̓a·kay-tên-at	'winds'
		šká·k̓-ten-at	'crows'
		map̓-ten-at	'rabbits'
2.	-ak-ten	ṭ-axa·y-ak-ten	'bears'
	-a·n-ten-ax	ṭ-am-á·n-ten-ax	'bunch of houses'
3.	-ax-nel	čxáp-ax-nel	'stones'
	-a·n-el-ax	ṭ-am-a·n-el-áx	'houses'

Other co-occurrences of the 'plural' morphemes are:

4.	el-ak	maṭ̓-él-ak	'animals'
5.	-ak-nel	ṭ-a·šx-ak-nel	'livers'
6.	-al-ax	ṭ-exox-ál-ax	'brains'
7.	-at-el	smakay-at-él	'nights'

8.	-ay-ak	k-lám-ay-ak	'Goldfinches'
9.	-le-ten	lk̓a-le-ten	'coyotes'
10.	-pax-nel	čxá-pax-nel	'stones'
11.	-ta(·)-nel	lšé-ta-nel	'years'
		k̓ewel-tá·-nel	'West people'
12.	-ten-ax	k-á·kel-ten-ax	'songs'

Only one fact emerges clearly from this intensive study: -ten and -nel do not co-occur.

2.4. Roots: nouns. It is possible to attempt to identify the root in only a few isolated cases, and this is rare in Salinan, because a) analytical problems are raised, especially with vowel-initial stems, by fusional processes and b) unusually full attestations of a form, both from a multiplicity of sources and with a variety of inflected and derived forms are necessary to begin. It is only once in a great while that a root may be provisionaly discernable.

An example is the following discussion, which uses the stem for 'foot' as illustration. Since this is a vowel-initial stem, the possible complexities previously mentioned in Sections 2.2-2.241 should be taken into account. In addition the discussion involving the final vowel of the stem is not wholly

satisfying, but with these cautions in mind, the following discussion illustrates an attempt at this procedure.

On the immediately following pages I have reproduced all of the attestations of all words whose meaning (in translation) is in any way associated with the word for 'foot' in Antoniaño.

The first set of forms are from J. Alden Mason (1918), starting with five forms from his stem list on page 126. The one Antoniaño form for 'foot' is followed by four plual forms and then there are four textual citations in which the abbreviation 'T' stands for 'text' and 'line' for the line of the text on which the form appears in his publication.

The first thing that appears from the Mason data is that the forms which he gives for stems, when compared to his textual forms, lack the ţ- prefix. The ţ- prefix occurs with nouns as the nominal article (see Section 2.2), and he has correctly omitted it from his stem list.

Many of the forms have the -wo or -o suffix, indicating that the 'foot' is possessed by the third person (see Section 2.21).

At first glance, it seems that

From J. Alden Mason

icxe·´u /ešxéw/ 'foot' Stem list, p. 126.

icxepa·´l /ešxe-pá·l/ 'feet' Stem list, p. 126

icxe´'e /ešxé-ʔe/ " " " " "

icxe´xe' /ešxé-heʔ/ " " " " "

icxe·ple´t /ešxe·-plét/ " " " " "

ţicxe´'wu /ţ-ešxé-ẃo/ 'his foot' Text 5, line 8.

ti´cxeple´to /t-éšxe-plét-o/ 'his foot' Text 2, ling 2.

pe-ţ-icxe·p-le´t-o /pe-ţ-ešxep-lét-o/ 'their feet' Text 1, line 16.

ţicxe´heʔ /ţ-ešxé-heʔ/ 'feet' (height) Text 8, line 4.

From Harrington

trîʃqeʔ /ţ-é-šxeʔ/ 'my foot'

khťsó·kʔa trêcẹ̊eʔ /k-ć̊ó·ǩa ţ-é-šxeʔ/ 'tengo comezones en los pies'

trᶜmêʃqeʔ /ţ-m-é-šxeʔ/ 'tu (your sg) foot'

triʃqéʔwo /ţ-e-šxé-ẃo/ 'his foot'

ʃá·hkẹʔ triʃqéʔwo /šá·k-eʔ ţ-e-šxé-ẃo/ 'his foot is all cracked up. Said of chillblains.'

triʃqéʔwo qotʃ /ţ-e-šxé-ẃo xoč/ 'dog's foot'

triʃqéʔwo /ţ-e-šxé-ẃo/ 'his track'

tr^{c}ʃqe·p^{c}lêt /ṭ-šxe·-plêt/ 'feet, good and used. E.g., if Dave gathers up feet in a bunch in a butcher shop and brings them home and says that all he has are feet.'

trʃqêqe? /ṭ-šxêxe?/ 'un monton de rastros, lots of tracks'

qâja? trʃqêqe? /xâya? ṭ-šxêxe?/ 'lots of tracks, not used of feet.'

qâja? trʃqe·p^{c}lêto tra?â? /xâya? ṭ-šxe·-plêt-o ṭ-a?â?/ 'lots of deer tracks'

tret̓cô̓mo trêcxe? /ṭ-eč̓ô̓m̓-o ṭ-ê-šxe?/ 'el lomo del pie, instep'

tre·lêco trêcxe? /ṭ-e·lêš-o ṭ-ê-šxe?/ 'the bottom of my foot'

tricẖa?a·yî? /ṭ-e-šx-a?a·y-ê?/ 'shoe'

tricẖa?a·ylî? /ṭ-e-šx-a?a·y-l-ê?/ 'shoes'

triʃqa?â?jo kowâ·jo /ṭ-e-šx-a?áy̓-o kowâ·y-o/ 'horseshoe'

From Padres Cabot and Dumetz (/// = blot)

Tixjeu /t-e-šxew/ 'pies'

tixje /t-e-šxe/ 'mio pie'

temixje /t-e-m-ešxe/ 'tuo pie'

Za///xje /ṭ-a---šxe/ 'nuestro pie'

Zucuxje /ṭ-o-k-ošxe/ 'vuestro pie'

tixjebilito /t-e-šxe-pelet-o/ 'pies' (pl)

tixjebelet /t-e-šxe-pelet/ 'mio pie' (pl)

temixjebelet /t-e-m-ešxe-pelet/ 'tuo pie' (pl)

Za///xjebilit /ţ-a---šxe-pelet/ 'nuestro pie' (pl)

Zucuxjebilit /ţ-o-k-ošxe-pelet/ 'vuestro pie' (pl)

From Fr. Sitjar

tixjeplip /t-e-šxe-plep/ 'mis pies'

From Pinart

tešxe /t-e-šxe/ 'foot'

From Henshaw

Ti-ce´-hĕ /t-e-šêhe/ 'foot' (No. 83)

From Merriam

Tish´-rĕ /t-ê-šre/ 'foot'

Te-chōm´-tish´-kĕ /t-e-čô·m t-ê-ške/ 'instep'

Kālestish´-shup /k-e(·)les t-ê-šŝop/ 'sole'

Ap´-pe-li tish´-re /âppelay t-ê-šre/ 'toes'

From Jacobsen

tɪ́šxɛʔ /t-ɛ́-šxeʔ/ 'foot'

tɪ́šhɪʔ /t-ɛ́-šheʔ/ 'foot'

tɛ́·šxaiʔ /t-ɛ́-sxayʔ/ 'foot'

ʈɛ́šxai /ʈ-ɛ́-šxay/ 'foot'

ʈɪ́šhəʔay /ʈ-ɛ́-šh-aʔay/ 'shoe'

šxeχ̣íʔ /šxexɛ́ʔ/ 'shoe'

tɪ́šxaʔai /t-ɛ́-šx-aʔay/ 'my shoe'

tɪšhaʔá·yoʔ kowá·yoʔ /t-e-šh-aʔá·y-oʔ kowá·y-oʔ/
'horseshoe'

Mason successfully segmented off the ţ- prefix, but he left part of the third person possessor suffix on the stem for 'foot'.

Looking at his plural forms from the stem list, there are four forms given. The first two /ešxe-pâ·l/ and /ešxê-ʔe/ are not elucidated by further data from any other source, and none of the forms is identified as anything but 'plural'. Mason's textual citations reflect his fourth plural. I have put them in Mason's own segmentation to show that in the first text, which is the only one he gives a segmentation for, he identifies the stem as /-ešxep-/ not with final u or w. He identified -let- as 'plural'. One must look at the other data to determine a more precise definition for these plural forms. Given the Mason data a working hypothesis for the stem would be /-ešxe-/ or /-ešxeʔ/.

The first two forms from the field notes of John Peabody Harrington give the words for 'my foot' and 'my feet' (in 'my feet itch'). These two forms show no morphological difference between the singular and plural forms for the first person singular possessor of one or two feet, so they do not shed any new light on Mason's plurals.

Segmenting off the initial ţ- prefix, the stem is very much like the one inferred from the Mason data,

/-eš̆xe-/. The third Harrington form shows the -m- prefix just after the ṯ- prefix for second person singular possessor of the noun (Section 2.21). The next four forms show the third person possessive suffix, as well as adding 'track' to the meaning of 'foot'.

Next we come to the only plural form for 'foot' which Harrington was able to elicit and find that it is identical to the last plural form given by Mason, /-plet/. Harrington's recording of his informants comments help to shed a little light on the meaning of this plural form as well. It is not dual, it may be collective, and it is inanimate, or, perhaps, formerly animate.

Then there are three forms giving the plural of the 'foot' word in its meaning as 'track'. The first two show the form given by Mason as one of the plurals in his stem list, /ṯ-šxêxe?/ 'lots of tracks'. There are two additional bits of information in these forms: first, that the reduplicated plural is not available for the meaning 'foot', and, second, that the stem /-eš̆xe-/ reflects the root, tentatively, /-šxe-/. This seems to indicate that the -plet plural form is one or more morphemes indicating either the animate, or formerly animate, plural of the word for 'foot' and the reduplicated form is for the plural inanimate, or 'track'.

Harrington has a couple of forms in which the stem for 'foot' is used with other forms: 'instep', which is the stem for 'back' with the third person possessor suffix; and the form for 'the bottom of my foot'.

Finally, Harrington has some forms for 'shoe'. After segmenting off the ṯ- prefix, /-eš̌x-/ remains plus -a?a(·)y-e?, -l-e? or -o for 'shoe', 'shoes' and 'horseshoe', so the root /-š̌xe-/ must be shortened to /-š̌x-/.

Following the Harrington list, an almost complete paradigm for the word for 'foot' is supplied from the Boston Athenaeum manuscript by Frs. Cabot and Dumetz. The parallel strokes show an ink blot on the original, but apparently this occurred at the time of composition because nothing seems to be omitted. Unfortunately, Cabot and Dumetz did not mark stress, but this is a relatively minor complaint because of the invaluable paradigmatic information which is lacking from any other source. It confirms the deletion of the initial vowel of the root for 'foot' since that vowel obviously carries information about the person and number of the possessor (and see Section 2.21), as can be seen from the first and second person plural forms.

The form from Fr. Sitjar shows a final -p, which can be explained as a misprint for t in the published version of his vocabulary. This, then, is identical to the second form in the plural part of

the Cabot and Dumetz forms, showing the same plural formation as Harrington's form.

Pinart's form shows a t rather than the ṭ- prefix. Henshaw has the same problem, as well as putting a vowel between the š and the fricative recorded as h.

Merriam, like Henshaw, has trouble with the velar fricative. His attempts to record it, however, give us some insight into its phonetic character to his 'English ear'. Merriam has r, s and k for [x].

From William H. Jacobsen's material we have two new pieces of information. First, it is clear that as the language reached its terminal stages, the ṭ- prefix could be deleted, and, secondly, that there is a great deal of phonological decay. Compare Harrington's form for 'shoe' /ṭ-e-šx-aʔa·y-ê?/ with either of the two forms Jacobsen was able to elicit: /ṭ-ê-šh-aʔay/ or /šxexêʔ/, for instance.

It should be borne in mind that both Harrington and Jacobsen are entirely reliable phonetically. So, this serves as an example of the phonological and morphological simplification, or neutralization, that was taking place as the language became moribund.

2.5. Reduplication. Grammatical reduplication to indicate iterative or collective is possibly used with verbs, e.g. tayʔayʔ 'to smell', and statives, e.g. keṭʔpelel 'striped' meaning 'several instances' or 'repetitive'. Use of reduplication for this purpose is very limited, however.

More commonly lexical reduplication is used in descriptive terms for birds and some animals, e.g. čekček 'fish hawk', ččemčem 'bat', šawšawš 'snake sp'. Examples of reduplication using less than the entire stem are final VC, e.g. la·čʔačʔ 'slug', xa·čā·č 'pajaro pinto'; final CV, e.g. swakakā 'lizard'; initial CV, e.g. skōkoy 'marsh/ pigeon hawk'.

2.6. Men's and women's speech. There is only one attestation, which is dubious in itself, for evidence of men's and women's speech in Antoniaño Salinan. The elicitation is from Harrington: ṭčʔewʔe 'my cuñada, woman says this to woman, used only between women'. This is an affinal kin term, which may depend on the sex and the age of the speaker and a man may possibly say this when speaking to a woman or in the second or third person.

2.7. High and low speech. There is a little more evidence, however, for the use of 'high' versus 'low' speech. This usually involves the elision of a vowel for the 'high' form of the word, e.g. ţekalêt 'egg' (low), ţeká·lt 'egg' (high) and sánaťêl 'hide, skin' (low), saťťêl 'hide, skin' (high), but, again the attestation is only by Harrington.

2.8. Nouns derived from verbs. Derivation of the noun from a verb is, perhaps, best exemplified by the form for 'to talk'. The stem is sa, as in k-sá 'he is taking', k-sá··tel-lo 'they are talking'. This stem undergoes a vowel ablaut to se· for the stem for 'language', e.g. ţ-á··se··tel 'my language', ţ-á-t-a··se··tel 'our language'.

2.81. Suffixation. There are other methods employed besides vowel ablaut of the stem vowel to derive nouns from verbs, e.g., suffixation: lam 'to eat', lam-ây 'food', lâm-xat 'my food'; and sok-ay 'to kick', sok-ây-kes 'floor'.

2.82. Agentives. The agentive suffix -mak may be placed directly after the verb stem:

p-éntel hâk' 'he is making fun of us'

k-éntel-mak 'a mocker'

or it may follow a derivational suffix:

k-âmece 'he lies'

k-âmece-n 'a lie'

k-âmece-n-mak 'liar'

Note that the derived noun is preceded by the k- (stative) prefix, which is discussed in Section 4.4.

Two other agentive suffixes used with nouns derived from verbs should be mentioned: -a·č and -e?š. Both are final suffixes:

k-âmeţ-e 'he is hunting'

k-âmeţ-a·č 'hunter'

k-âmeţ-a·h-a·č re-šwâń 'fisherman'

k-môlox-a·č 'leaper, hopper'

k-sê?h-a·č 'mocking'

k-sê?h-le-a·č 'proud'

lešxay-ťel-e?š 'rainmakers'

ţ-e-p-xâţ-e?š 'public latrine

ţ- nominal prefix

-e- possessive prefix

-p- articular prefix

-xaţ- 'excrement'

-e?š agentive suffix

2.9. Affixes. The prefix pe- ~ p- prefixed to nouns is the articular prefix occurring in connected speech in Mason's (1918) texts and in some phrases, translated as 'the'. Examples may be found starting with Section 3.3 and in the accomapnying text, Section 9.

The prefix l- is found with nouns and was glossed as 'seasonal' by Mason (1918:22):

l-pâl 'summer'
l-tê 'manzanita'
l-k̓â 'coyote'
l-nê 'summer'
l-xôy̓ 'plant sp.' (Spanish 'jamatay')
l-pôn̓en 'blackberry'
l-šê 'year'

Since an animal and a couple of plants appear to have this prefix, 'seasonal' does not seem to cover the case, but there are few attestations, so a precise identification is not possible and they do not appear without l-.

There is a well-attested s- prefix for animals:

s-kâṭa·lakne 'fish sp.'
s-kayâ? 'racoon'
s-kay̓â? 'skunk sp.'
s-ko·kô? 'butterfly'
s-lô·t 'gull'

s-matê·xan 'quail'

s-nâ·k 'kangaroo rat'

s-tamkâ·l 'bat'

s-tô·t' 'killdeer'

and many more as already listed by Sapir (1925:498-9) and see Section 4.7.

A poorly attested but probably related prefix is č'- with only two examples:

č'-kô·to·to 'plain titmouse'

č'-pe·le·l-tên 'butcher birds'

There is also a prefixed s- or š- diminutive:

s-ʔaxâ·k-o šwân' 'little fish bone'
bone-his fish

š-k'âw'yo 'fetlock' (kowâ·yo? 'horse')

Suffixes include -tel, -way and -yeʔš. -tel has only three examples:

lowaʔ-tel 'old, disused'

lowaʔ-tel čxâʔ 'an old rock'

lowaʔ-tel ţ-â·m 'an old house'

but its exact semantics is unclear compared to the one attestation of -yeʔš, which seems to have a meaning of 'old' or 'deserted'.

ṯ-ê-·mâ-ye?š 'a deserted house or rancheria'

-way seems to act as a nominalizer in its one attestation:

k-wâl 'it swelled up'
k-wâl-way 'swelling, irritation'

2.100. Diminutive. There is one other possible example in Salinan (see brief examples in 2.9) of a diminutive. The following is the one example of consonant diminutivism:

k-sôy̓-ne 'little tassel'
k-šôy̓-ne 'tassel'
k-sôy̓-te-ne 'bis tassles'.

However, this may indicate only a change of size.

2.110. Morphophonemics: review. In the preceding discussion of pronominal possession, the following morphophonemic processes were exemplified in third person possessed forms: -a → -o, Sections 2.21-2.252; -o? + -wo → -wo̓, Sections 2.21, 2.245 and 2.251.

Vowel elision from the possessive pronominal prefix in the third person is discussed in Section 2.241 and elision of the stem vowel is exemplified in Section 2.241.

Vowel lengthening in the stressed penultimate syllable of the third person possessed forms is exemplified in Sections 2.23, 2.244, 2.245 and 2.246.

Vowel insertion in the second person possessed forms in the absence of stress or when the first vowel of the noun stem is o: ṭ-m- → ṭ-o-m- in the singular and ṭ-k- → ṭ-o-k- in the plural is exemplified in Sections 2.21, 2.22, 2.242, 2.243, 2.245, 2.251 and 2.252.

The influence of the vowels a in the first person plural and o in the second person plural is first discussed in Section 2.21.

Stress shift has been discussed and exemplified in Sections 2.243-2.245.

Ablaut of the stem vowel is exemplified in the derivation of nouns from some verbs in Section 2.8.

In the Section on affricates (1.22) the possibilty of a morphophonemic rule ts → c and tš → č was mentioned.

3. Pronouns.

3.1. Personal pronouns. Salinan has an aspect system expressed in the personal pronouns for first person singular and plural. For the first person singular they are heḵ', imperfective (most often durative); neḵ', perfective non-past (often glossed 'future'); and leḵ', perfective (or completed action). For the first person plural they are haḵ', naḵ' and laḵ', respectively. (hé̱ḵ' may either precede or follow the verb, though the unmarked case is after the verb.)

hé̱ḵ' k-ʔá̱mes 'I shout'
1sg St-V_S
hé̱ḵ' šó̱·k-oʔ 'I tore it'
1sg V_S-3sg
hé̱ḵ' p-oxó̱·m-oʔ 'I am hiding it'
1sg Act-V_S-3sg
xá̱·t'a hé̱ḵ' 'I am crying'
V_S 1sg
k-é̱šem hé̱ḵ' 'I am drinking'
St-V_S 1sg

xá̱·t'a né̱ḵ' 'I am going to cry'
V_S 1sg
mé̱t'ek né̱ḵ' 'I am going to run'
V_S 1sg

k-šétep nék' 'I am going to die'

St-V_s 1sg

k-lám nék' 'I am going to eat'

St-V_s 1sg

xá·t'a lék' 'I cried'

V_s 1sg

k-éšem lék' 'I drank'

St-V_s 1sg

p-éšem-o? lék' 'I drank it'

Act-V_s-3sg 1sg

k-éč'a lék' 'I got up already'

St-V_s 1sg

p-é·šx-o? lék' 'I already ate it'

Act-V_s-3sg 1sg

k-ónox lék' 'I arrived already'

St-V_s 1sg

hák' k-lam-hál 'we eat'

1pl St-V_s-pl

k-lám-hal hák' 'we are eating'

St-V_s-pl 1pl

k-éš-t-em hák' 'we are drinking'

St-V_s-pl-V_s 1pl

k-šét-l-ep nák' 'we are going to die'

$St-V_S-pl-V_S$ lpl

ké-ya-l nák' 'we are going'

V_Z-V_S-pl lpl

k-on-l-ox lák' 'we arrived already'

$St-V_S-pl-V_S$ lpl

k-éš-t-em lák' 'we drank'

$St-V_S-pl-V_S$ lpl

The examples are organized to show the first person pronouns, singular and plural, with their variable positions both before and after the verb, and in the sub-order imperfective, perfective non-past and perfective (completed action). I have used only attested examples, which accounts for the fewer examples of nák': there are only five.

A variant of the first person singular independent pronoun should be mentioned although there is only one attestation of it: a variant of hék', the imperfective first person singular pronoun. Compare:

ké-yax hék' 'I am coming'

V_Z-V_S 1sg

kê-yax he?še? 'I am coming alright' (with Harrington's
V_z-V_s 1sg note: "-š added when vexed").

Harrington wrote these first person pronouns as separate words, before or after the verb, when they are stressed. When they are not stressed they only appear after the verb and suffixed to it (see Section 3.2), and the first consonant drops when the verb ends with a consonant. The first person pronouns appear before the verb as a method of topicalization, apparently. Jacobsen wrote them as verbal suffixes.

hêk' and hâk', the first person singular and plural, respectively, are the most commonly occurring, or unmarked, forms. The forms nêk' and lêk' for the first person singular and the forms nâk' and lâk' for the first person plural reflect the initial consonants of the aspect clitics no? (future) and lo? (completed action), (see Section 4.63). Whether or not these forms are stressed, they appear only after the verb.

It should also be mentioned here that Jacobsen (p.c.)rarely heard these forms with the final glottalized [k'], only e.g. [hek].

The second person independent personal pronouns are mó?, singular and móm, plural, expressing no aspect. The third person singular is xeyó? and the third person plural is xeyóṭ', which also express no aspectual notions. Instead, a set of clitics are used with these pronouns, as well as with the first person pronouns (see Section 4.63, Aspect). Note the enclitic lo?, completed action, found usually with third person. Unlike the first person, there is no easily discernable trace of the aspectual clitics fusing with the second and third person independent pronouns. However, it should be noted that the o of the second person forms together with the e and a of first person singular and plural is a pattern seen also in pronominal possession of nouns (see Section 2.21). Examples of second and third person independent pronouns:

mó? xá·ṭ'a 'you were crying'
2sg V_s
k-éšcm mó? 'you are drinking'
St-V_s 2sg
k-šétep no-mó? 'you are going to die' (see Section 4.63)
St-V_s Cl-2sg
k-éšem-lo? mó? 'you drank'
St-V_s-Cl 2sg

k-ʔéš-t-em móm 'you (pl) are drinking'

St-V_s-pl-V_s 2pl

k-šét-l-ep-no? móm 'you (pl) are going to die'(see 4.63)

St-V_s-pl-V_s-Cl 2pl

p-ʔéšx-o-t'-móm-ta? 'you (pl) are going to eat it'

Act-V_s-3sg-pl-2pl-Cl

p-ʔéšx-o-lo? móm 'you (pl) already ate it'

Act-V_s-3sg-Cl 2pl

k-ʔéš-t-cm-lo? móm 'you (pl) drank'

St-V_s-pl-V_s-Cl 2pl

xeyó? xá·t'a 'he is crying'

3sg V_s

xeyó? k-ʔéšem 'he drank it'

3sg St-V_s

k-ʔéšem xeyó? 'he is drinking'

St-V_s 3sg

k-šétep-nó? 'he is going to die'

St-V_s-Cl

p-ʔéšx-o-ta? 'he is going to eat it'

Act-V_s-3sg-Cl

k-ʔéšem-lo? 'he drank'

St-V_s-Cl

k-šétep-lóʔ 'he died already'

St-V_s-Cl

p-éšx-o-lóʔ 'he already ate it'

Act-V_s-3sg-Cl

k-éš-t-em 'they are drinking'

St-V_s-pl-V_s

k-šét-l-ep 'they died'

St-V_s-pl-V_s

k-šét-l-ep-noʔ 'they are going to die'

St-V_s-pl-V_s-Cl

k-éš-t-em-loʔ 'they drank'

St-V_s-pl-V_s-Cl

p-éšx-o-t'-lóʔ 'they already ate it'

Act-V_s-3sg-pl-Cl

Again, the examples are organized to illustrate the second person, singular and plural, with their variable positons both before and after the verb, and in the sub-order imperfective, perfective non-past and perfective. The examples of third person pronouns which follow are organized in the same fashion. From these examples it should be noted that the third person pronoun need not be expressed in either the singular or the plural.

A table of the pronouns, then, looks like this:

Independent personal pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	hêk'	hâk'
2	mô?	môm
3	(xeyô?)	(xeyôt')

3.2. Pronominal affixes. A table of the pronominal verbal affixes is given below:

	Subject pronouns		Object pronouns	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	-ek'	-ak'	-ek	-tak, -hak, -kan
2	m-	k-	-ka?	kan
3	-o?	ø	-(k)o?	-ot'

(see Section 3.1 for discussion of first person subject suffixes). Whatever the first vowel of the verb stem, it is replaced by a in the first person plural and by o in the second person plural. The plural pronominal forms are all accompanied by a separate plural

morpheme. As with the nouns, plurals associated with the verb are made up of t, l and n. There is a great deal of interaction with the aspectual clitics (see Section 4.63). Examples of the pronominal affixes follow, with the verb stem ma 'to give' ordered according to first, second and third persons, singular and plural agents and parallelly ordered pronominal patients. -ṭ'- represents the indirect object 'it' (in translation). Unfortunately I have few other attestations of verbs requiring an indirect object, or dative, in the English translation, so little is known about its uses and function in Salinan.

mâ-ka? lêk' 'I gave it to you (sg)'
V_s-2sg 1sg

ma-t-kan lêk' 'I gave it to you (pl)'
V_s-pl-2pl 1sg

mâ-ṭ'-ka? hêk' 'I gave it to him'
V_s-3sg -3sg 1sg
i.o.

mâ-ṭ'-el-ko? lêk' 'I gave it to them'
V_s-3sg -pl-3sg 1sg
i.o.

mô? ma-tak 'you(sg) give it to us'
2sg V_s-pl

mâ-ka-lo? 'he gives it to you(sg)'

V_s-2sg-Cl

mâ-ka? lâk' 'we gave it to you (sg)'

V_s-2sg 1pl

hâk' mâ-ɬ'-ko? 'we give it to him'

1pl V_s-3sg -3sg
i.o.

môm mâ-tak 'you (pl) give it to us'

2pl V_s-1pl

OR

mâ-hak-le môm 'you will give it to us'

V_s-1pl-Cl 2pl

mâ-ko? hêk' 'they give it to me'

V_s-3sg 1sg

where no plural is expressed. Compare:

xeyô? mâ-hak' 'he will give it to us'

3sg V_s-1pl

The paradigm is incomplete unfortunately, but it was chosen as the best attested example of a transitive verb paradigm without an active or stative prefix (Sections 4.3-4.52).

3.21. Negative pronouns. Negative constructions often are preceded by the negative particle kárа? and the following pronominal affixes before an active verb (see Sections 4.3-4.52):

Negative pronominal subject affixes

	Singular	Plural
1	kʷé?-	ká?-
2	kʷóm-	kʷók-
3	kʷóp- -o?	kʷóp- -oť

In addition the first vowel of the verb stem becomes a in the first person plural and o in the second person plural. Examples:

kárа? kʷé?-ešax 'I did not eat it'
Neg 1sg-V_s

kárа? kʷóm-ešax 'you (sg) did not eat it'
Neg 2sg-V_s

kárа? kʷóp-ešx-o? 'he did not eat it'
Neg 3sg-V_s-3sg

kárа? ká?-ašax 'we did not eat it'
Neg 1pl-V_s

kâra? kôk-ošax 'you (pl) did not eat it'

Neg 2pl-V_S

kâra? kôp-ešx-oť 'they did not eat it'

Neg 3sg-V_S-3pl

Before a stative (see Sections 4.4-4.51) the negative pronominal prefixes are:

	Singular	Plural
1	kêk-	kâk-
2	kôm-	kôk-
3	kôk-	kôţ-

kâra-kek-ʔo·ǩêʔ 'I did not vomit'

Neg-1sg-V_S

kâra-kom-šon 'you (sg) did not/are not shave/d'

Neg-2sg-V_S

kâra-kôk-ʔo·ǩeʔ 'he did not vomit'

Neg-3sg-V_S

kâra-kâk-omaţ-el-ek 'we did not buy it'

Neg-1pl-V_S-pl-V_S

kok-ošay 'don't raise it! (pl)'

2pl-V_S

kâra? koṭ-am-ay' 'they can't'
Neg 3pl-V_s-pl

Before a verb with neither the k- or p- prefix (see Sections 4.2-4.52), the negative pronominal affixes are:

	Singular	Plural
1	ke-	ka-
2	kom-	kok-
3	ko-	ko-

kâra? kê-c'ok'ox 'I am not scared'
Neg 1sg-V_s

kâra? kom-c'ok'ox 'you (sg) are not scared'
Neg 2sg-V_s

kâra? ko-c'ok'ox 'he is not scared'
Neg 3sg-V_s

kâra? kâ-c'ok'-t-ox 'we are not scared'
Neg 1pl-V_s-pl-V_s

kâra? kôk-c'ok'-t-ox 'you (pl) are not scared'
Neg 2pl-V_s-pl-V_s

kâra? ko-c'ok'-t-ox 'they are not scared'
Neg 3pl-V_s-pl-V_s

3.22. Interrogative pronouns. Questions are prefixed by

	Singular
1	ʔe-
2	ʔom-
3	ʔo-

in the singular. There are no attestations of the interrogative pronouns for the plural, but one would suspect ʔok- for the second person plural and ʔa- for the first person plural, based on the morphophonemic importance of these vowels to indicate the second and first person, plural. The paradigm also bears a close resemblance to the negative paradim for verbs prefixed with neither k- or p-.

3.3. Demonstrative pronouns. naʔ 'this/these' and paʔ 'that/those' are not inflected. When they occur alone they appear as naʔ and paʔ before the noun they refer to. They may also be incorporated into the verb complex after an initial prefix (e.g. the sentence connective ţam- ~ ram-), or appear as the initial prefix. In both cases (-)na- and (-)pa- are without the final glottal stop.

pa? lowʔâ? 'that man'

D N_s

re-na-smâkʔay 'through this night'

Loc-D-N_s

lê-ʸa-x ma-čén pa? šmêš 'throw that cat outside!'

V_s-pl-V_s Loc-Loc D N_s

na-ṯ-á·m 'this house'

D-N_p-N_s

pa-lowʔâ? 'that man'

D-N_s

3.4. Indefinite pronouns. yo? is often translated as 'he', 'one' or 'it'. yo? can appear alone in a phrase or affixed. Examples of the occurrences of yo?:

ʔo-yo? 'is that him?' 'is that it?'

Q-D

kô-yo? 'not that!'

Neg-D

yo·-pe? 'that is'

D-AP

yo•-nâ? 'this is'
D-D

yô•-pâ? 'that one'
D-D

yo-râ•m-pâ? 'over there'
D-SC-D

k-mâ•y-re yô? 'he lives over there'
St-V_S-Loc D

yo? appears to be derived from the third person singular pronoun, xeyô?, but the mechanics of that derivation and the function of xe- are far from clear.

ta•š-nel, 'what-pl', (see Section 3.5) is glossed as 'some' or 'the others'. Harrington also has an attestation of one form which may give more phonetic detail:

râšra?kê 'something'.

There are no forms in the entire Antoniaño Salinan corpus which are glossed 'any', the only clue to such an indefinite pronoun being rake 'anywhere' (Mason 1918:Text 1, line 28), rasrake 'anything' (Mason:Text 5, line 9) and tâ•rakê 'anyone' (Mason: Text 3, line 53). Apparently there is a stem rake

but it is attested only in these examples.

3.5. Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns 'who' and 'what' are ta(·) and ta(·)š, respectively. They are not inflected, except as mentioned in the previous section (3.4), and each of them is always the first prefix.

tâ·š ṭo-mâ?at ṭ-acop'e? 'what does the moon bring?'
IP Loc-V_s N_p-N_s

tâ·-ten ta-pe? 'who is that?'
IP-pl IP-AP

ta·-p-yem-o? 'who knows?'
IP-Act-V_s-3sg

tâ·š-ten 'what again?'
IP-pl

4. Verb morphology. Verbs are either stative or active, indicated by the prefixed k- (stative) or p- (active). The ṯ- prefix appears as a nominalizer, as Sapir noted in his (1920c:308) review of Mason (1918). All of these prefixes are replaced by m- in the second person singular and by k- in the second person plural.

4.1. Morpheme order. Morpheme order within the verb complex is as follows: (independent pronoun)-$\left(\begin{Bmatrix} k- \\ p- \\ ṯ- \end{Bmatrix}\right)$-$\begin{bmatrix} m- \\ k- \end{bmatrix}$- verb stem-(plural object)-(object pronoun)-subject pronoun (if other than third person)-(aspect)-(independent pronoun). In addition plurality of the subject or a plural verb stem may be indicated by an infix within the singular stem. All of these possible occurrences are exemplified and discussed in the sections which follow: the morpheme order is listed here as an overview.

4.2. Verbs without prefixes. There are a small set of verbs which take no prefixes. Most verb stems in Salinan are vowel-initial, but a few stems with an initial affricate (c, ć, č and č̓), and the fricatives š and x and the glottalized ṯ̓ take no prefixes, even in the second person singular

imperative. There are other verbs with these initial consonants which do take prefixes (see Section 4.8). The set also includes verbs with an initial m for the stem. Examples are ma 'give', as shown in Section 3.2, which also illustrates the use of the pronominal affixes. A complete list of the verbs which take no prefixes follows:

ma 'give'
ma·t 'kill'
ma?a 'carry'
male·nt 'remember'
maxo·wa? 'rest'
mal 'tell, show'
ma·w 'bring'
maṯek 'run'
me(·)s 'smell
mokop 'drown'
moṯox 'tighten'
mo·t 'watch'

šxalo 'afraid'
šamle 'close the eyes'
škwal 'cut'
šo·t 'drive'
šap 'extinguish'
šokay 'kick'

šaˑxataʔ 'open (one's) mouth'

šowal 'plow'

škwel 'throw'

caˑsene 'chew'

čokˀox 'frighten'

čkak 'cough'

čexolp 'peel'

čaxaˑlte 'spit'

čop 'wash'

ča(ˑ)hom 'wash'

čeˑle 'wrap up'

čeˑxenˀ 'angry'

čapa 'clap'

ţˀat 'bite'

ţˀakˀ 'break'

ţˀak 'cut'

ţˀokˀ 'crack'

ţˀokot 'pierce'

ţˀotoy 'pound'

ţˀaʔa-x 'pour'

ţˀaʔa-p 'spill'

ţˀoxon 'snore'

ţˀopokˀ 'tie'

xot 'blow'

xoy 'breathe'

xaˑtˀa 'cry'

xwelˀ 'hit (with a stick'

xoţˀop 'pass'

xap 'die'

xans 'sell'

xačapˀ 'split'

The examples to follow will show that many statives are intransitive, but some appear to be transitive: see e.g. 'drink', 'eat' Section 3.1, 'to smoke out' Section 4.61 and 'wound' Section 9. Similarly, many actives are transitive, but some appear to be intranstive: see e.g. 'whisper' Section 4.3, 'enter' Section 7.3 and 'hear' Section 9.

4.3. p- prefix. Examples of verbs with the p- active prefix are:

p-ayê·m-o? 'he carried it'
Act-V_S-3sg

p-ayê·m-o? hâk' 'we are carrying it'
Act-V_S-3sg 1pl

p-apaw-êk 'I caught it'
Act-V_S-1sg

p-apâw-o? 'he caught it'
Act-V_S-3sg

p-olṭê-ko lêk' 'I cut it'
Act-V_S-3sg 1sg

p-olţê-ko-lo? 'he cut it'

Act-V_s-3sg-3sg

p-akâsel hêk' 'I am whispering'

Act-V_s 1sg

mô? p-akâsel 'you (sg) are whispering'

2sg Act-V_s

xeyô? p-akâsel 'he is whispering'

3sg Act-V_s

From the last example, 'whisper', it may be observed that p- prefixed verbs are not always transitive and do not always have objects. Some verbs with the p- prefix are inherently transitive, such as 'caught', and 'carry'. In the example of 'I caught it', only the subject pronoun is expressed, but in the examples of 'carry' the object is expressed, following immediately after the verb stem.

J. Alden Mason in his (1918) analysis of Salinan verb prefixes k- and p- had tentatively suggested that the distinction was intransitive-transitive. Sapir, who had a personal correspondence with Mason and access to Mason's phonetic files, felt that Mason had mis-analyzed a basically stative-active distinction.

> "The use of the perplexing verbal prefixes p- and k- suggests a fundamental generic

classification of verbs. Mason himself doubtfully describes the p- verbs as transitive, the k- verbs as intransitives (e.g. k-enai 'to hurt oneself', p-enai 'to wound'). This is the most obvious explanation but there are many difficulties in the way of its acceptance. That p- verbs embrace such ideas as 'to think' and 'to circle around' seems to suggest that the proper basis of classification is not so much transitive and intransitive as active and static, as in Haida-Tlingit, Siouan, and Chimariko. A more intensive study of the Salinan material, supplemented eventually by comaprison with Chumash, Yuman, Seri, and, possibly, Coahuiltecan-Tonkawa (cf. Comecrudo pa- verbs and Seri, like Salinan adjectives in k-), will doubtless clear up this fundamental problem of Salinan morphology" (Sapir 1920c: 307-308).

"In the first place Mason's account of the function of the Salinan k- and p- elements does not strike me as quite hitting the mark. He calls them 'intransitive' and 'transitive' prefixes respectively, yet, as he himself remarks, 'many cases are found in which p- introduces an intransitive phrase'. An examination of his verb material leads to the feeling that the k- verbs prefix primarily characteristic static verbs, i.e. verbs of state, quality (adjectives), and non-agentive process (e.g. 'to wake up', 'to snow', 'it is hot', 'to be fat'), also passives and reflexives (examples of 'transitives' with k- are probably merely inadequately translated passives, e.g. 'they sought him' is to be understood as 'he was sought'). Practically all Salinan adjectives have k-. Verbs with p- are evidently active, whether transitive or not (e.g. 'to think', 'to circle around', 'to try', 'to heat', 'to wound', 'to seize'). Naturally, it is often a matter of idiom whether a verbal idea is conceived of in terms of action or state, but the nature of the Salinan classification of verbs seems clear enough. This classification seems to be a deep-rooted Hokan feature, while the Penutian languages classify their verbs into true transitives. Neither Yana nor Chimariko use k- or p- prefixes, but the distinction of active and

> static verbs is made by other means. In Chimariko (as in Siouan) they are distinguished by differences of pronominal treatment, in Yana by differences of stem vocalism" (Sapir 1921:69-70).

4.4. k- prefix. Stative verbs express intransitive states or change of state, such as 'burn', 'die', 'finish' and 'laugh'.

k-šétep nék' 'I am going to die'

St-V_s 1sg

k-šétep 'he died'

St-V_s

k-éyeta lék' 'I'm laughing'

St-V_s 1sg

k-éyeta hék' 'I laughed'

St-V_s 1sg

k-éyeta 'he laughed'

St-V_s

k-sé·ne? hék' 'I am walking'

St-V_s 1sg

k-sé·ne? 'he is walking'

St-V_s

4.5. Verbs with both k- and p- prefixes. There are a few verbs which may take either of the two prefixes:

k-ó·may̓e 'it began'
St-V_S

p-omá·y̓e 'he started it'
Act-V_S

k-éwe·n-ax 'he returned'
St-V_S

p-ewé·n-t-xo? 'he brought it back'
Act-V_S-?-3sg

k-áp̓e·l 'it was filled'
St-V_S

p-ap̓e-né·k̓-o? 'it covered me'
Act-V_S-1sg-3sg

k-énay 'he was wounded'
St-V_S

p-enáy-ko? 'he hit it'
Act-V_S-3sg

k-la·we? 'it left'

St-V_s

p-law-o? 'he left her'

Act-V_s-3sg

k-akê·l-o? 'it hung there'

St-V_s-3sg

p-ake·l-o? 'he hung it up'

Act-V_s-3sg

4.51. Characteristics of k- verbs. The following examples of verb stems further illustrate the interplay of the k- and p- prefixes with vowel ablaut.

k-yem 'was seen'

p-yem 'look at, see' (transitive)

p-yam 'know' (transitive)

p-ya·m 'see, find' (transitive)

k-a(·)m 'to be able', 'to be killed'

p-a(·)m 'to be able', 'to kill' (transitive)

k-sa(·) 'to talk', 'to speak'

p-se· 'to tell' (transitive)

k-a(·)š 'to sit', 'to sit down'

p-a·š 'to put (it) down' (transitive)

By examining verbs which may appear with either prefix, it becomes clearer that k- may be used as a detransitivizer, as in:

k-ó̌xo·m-a 'he hides'

St-V_S-?

p-oxó̌·m-o? 'he hid it'

Act-V_S-3sg

k- may be used, secondly, to show that the subject of the verb is independent of the unstated agent, as in:

k-álok̓ 'it is broken'

St-V_S

p-alǒ·k̓-o? hēk̓ 'I broke it'

Act-V_S-3sg 1sg

k-ǒ·may̓e 'it began'

St-V_S

p-omâ·y̓e 'he started it'

Act-V_S

And, finally, in the stative, of course, the

subject is characterized by a state, change of state or quality (see Section 4.8).

4.52. Characteristics of p- verbs. p- verbs are primarily active. p- is used with transitive verbs to distinguish the agent and patient and to indicate the causative (the agent causes the patient to be in the k- state). Compare:

k-ênay 'he was wounded'
St-V_S

p-enây-ko? 'he hit it'
Act-V_S-3sg

With the p- prefix a verb becomes active, an agent is added to the valence.

4.6. Inflectional verb morphology: object marking. As seen in Section 4.2, the pronominal object morpheme follows immediately after the verb stem. The examples for singular object given in the preceding paragraphs and for the verb ma 'to give' (Section 3.2) should be compared with the following:

ma-t-kan lêk' 'I gave it to you (pl)'
V_S-pl-2pl 1sg

mâ-tak-le-mo? 'you (sg) give it to us' or

V_s-1pl-C-2sg

mo? ma-tak 'you (sg) give it to us'

2sg V_s-1pl

mâ-ʈ'-el-ko? lêk' 'I gave it to them'

V_s-3sg -pl-3sg 1sg
d.o.

mâ-hak 'give us!' (sg, imp)

V_s-1pl

mâ-t-el-tak 'give it to us!' (pl, imp)

V_s-3sg -pl-1pl
d.o.

k-mâ-hak 'give it to us!' (pl, imp)

2pl imp-V_s-1pl

(see Section 4.651, Imperative).

These examples with the examples for ma 'to give' from Sections 3.2 and 4.62 are all of the attestations for this verb.

4.61. Object, singular and plural. When a plural object occurs, the mark of plurality follows the stem and an independent personal pronoun may be employed

for the subject, rather than the appropriate pronominal suffix, as in the second example of 'you (sg) give it to us'.

A brief example of plurality of the subject and object is from the partial paradigm collected by Harrington:

k-âxo·t-e? 'lots of men smoke one animal'
St-V_s-S_{sf}

k-âxo·t-en '2 or 3 fellows go to smoke out animals'
St-V_s-pl?

k-âxo·t-el-ax 'lots of men smoke lots of animals'
St-V_s-pl

These examples are given to illustrate the difficulties of trying to sort out the plural morphemes and their referents (see Section 2.3 for a full discussion).

Also, 'to smoke out' would seem to be an active and transitive verb, so it seems strange that the k- prefix should be used. However, the examples are included for completeness.

4.62. Plurality of agent. The plurality of the agent can be shown using the same verb as Section 3.2 and 4.6:

ma-ka? lâk' 'we gave it to you (sg)'
V_S-2sg 1pl

which illustrates that plurality does not need to be marked for the agent as subject.

4.621. Other means of expressing the plural. There are two other means of expressing plurality in the verb: an infix may be inserted in the verb stem to show plurality of the stative subject or, in the other case, a partially suppletive stem may be used for the plural.

4.622 Infixation. When an infix is used to indicate the plurality of the subject of a stative verb, the infix will usually be placed before the second consonant of the singular stem:

k-lô·l 'it burned'
St-V_S

k-lo-x-l 'they burned'
St-V_S-pl-V_S

k-â·mp 'he came out'
St-V_S

k-â·m-ele-p 'they came out'
St-V_S-pl-V_S

k-olpax 'it grew'

$St\text{-}V_s$

k-ő̀l-ta-pax 'they grew'

$St\text{-}V_s\text{-}pl\text{-}V_s$

but the following examples will not allow the formulation of a regular rule in light of having so few attestations:

k-ê̌šem 'he drinks'

$St\text{-}V_s$

k-ê̌š-t-em 'they drink'

$St\text{-}V_s\text{-}pl\text{-}V_s$

k-ő̀nox 'he arrives'

$St\text{-}V_s$

k-ő̀n-l-ox 'they arrive'

$St\text{-}Vs\text{-}pl\text{-}V_s$

4.62 3. Partial suppletion. There are only a few examples of the use of a partially suppletive stem used to indicate plurality. In all three cases the x infix before the t of the stem results in -xl-.

ke-yô·t-e hêk' 'I moved'

$Vz-V_s-S_{sf}$ 1sg

ke-yo-xl-e lâk' 'we moved'

$Vz-V_s$-pl-S_{sf} 1pl

šô·t-o? 'he drove it'

V_s-3sg

šô-xl-o? 'he drove them'

V_s-pl-o?

šô·t 'drive it away!' (sg, imp)

V_s

šo-xla? 'drive them away!' (pl, imp)

V_s-pl

The last example 'to drive away', demonstrates, perhaps, that it need not be the subject of the verb which dictates the partial suppletion for plurality.

There is only one recorded attestation of fully

suppletive forms:

ɬeĉaypxayʔo lóʔ na-taʔâ 'one sheep is lambing now'
? Cl D-Adv

ḱaseyʔa lóʔ 'the sheep is going to lamb'
? Cl

Harrington comments that "the above is a high word seldom used by informant. The low word that informant uses commonly is (the second form)."

4.63. Aspect. loʔ, which occurs as an affix and as a free morpheme, is used with third person verbs in most attestations to express completed action, but note that it is attested with other persons and even with no pronominal reference at all:

k-epɬâʔ hêḱ lóʔ 'I am cold'
St-V_S 1sg Cl

Harrington notes that loʔ may be omitted, and then one would say:

k-epɬa-lêḱ 'I am cold'
St-V_S-1sg

(see Section 3.1).

kâra? lô? kê?-ya 'I am going to stay'
Neg Cl 1sg-V_S

lo-p-c̓axêl 'already snow'
Cl-AP-N_S

lo-k̓olop 'already much'
Cl-Adv

(see Section 7.4 for adverbs and Section 3.1 for aspectual interaction with the first person independent pronouns.)

no? is usually suffixed to a verb in the third person and refers to future, punctual or present time:

kê-ˑyax-nô? 'he will come'
3sg-V_S-Cl

kê-ˑyax-lô? 'he came'
3sg-V_S-Cl

lo? and no? also appear as separate unbound morphemes following immediately after the verb but not suffixed to it. Their status as enclitics is enhanced by the fact that no? may occur as a reduplicated particle, noˑnô?, translated as 'just now, a little while ago'. However, no? is mainly attested with third person singular verbs and as a reduplicated particle, while

lo? is attested with other persons and without pronominal reference. no? may occur alone, as in

k-ĉa·lxe·le nṓ? 'it is going to snow'
St-V_S C1

xṓlom nṓ? na-pá·lte 'the pail is leaking'
V_S C1 D-N_S

There is a third particle (-)ta? suffixed to the pronoun in most cases, but similarly found suffixed to any part of speech. It is most common, however, suffixed to an independent pronoun or the verb and its meaning is to indicate an action to be attempted in the near future:

mṓ·m-ta? 'you (pl) soon'
2pl-C1

mḗ?-k-onxa-ta? 'this evening'
Loc-St-V_S-C1

hḗk' mṓ·t-ko-ta? 'I am going to watch it'
1sg V_S-3sg-C1

xánse hḗk'-ta? 'I am going to sell it soon'
V_S 1sg-C1

hḗk' ţa?áp-ko-ta? 'I am going to spill it'
1sg V_S-3sg-C1

p-oxó·m-o? hék'-ta? 'I am going to hide it pretty soon'
Act-V_s-3sg 1sg-Cl

hék' k-sá?-ta? 'I will talk'
1sg St-V_s-Cl

k-éšem hék'-ta? 'I will drink'
St-V_s 1sg-Cl

xwén-ta? 'today he is coming'
V_s-Cl

There is a particle ?é·n, which most often occurs with the first person singular independent pronoun hék', indicating some type of future reference in translation. Its meaning is so close to nék' that I can not be more specific. ?é·n may appear just before or after the hék' with a verb and is always glossed as 'I'm going to (verb)'. Sapir identified ?é·n as an adverb meaning 'yet, still' and this does seem to be its meaning when used in those cases without the first person singular pronoun:

ran-kó-?ešxay-a-ksa·-é·n 'then not dawned more yet'
SC-Neg-V_s-?-Adv-Cl

ksa· ?e·n k'ólop 'more yet much'
Adv Cl Adv

(both examples are from Mason's 1918 Antoniaño texts and I have reproduced his morpheme-by-morpheme English translation).

The more common use of ʔé·n is shown in the following examples:

p-etâ·k-oʔ hék' ʔé·n 'I am going to make bread'
Act-V_S-3sg 1sg Cl

k-éšem hék' ʔé·n 'I will drink'
St-V_S 1sg Cl

kâraʔ ké-šon-ʔé·n 'I didn't shave yet'
Neg 1sg-V_S-Cl

k-sé·ne hék' ʔé·n 'I am going to walk'
St-V_S 1sg Cl

me- 'once', 'next' is prefixed to nouns and verbs in a state of progress and is translated as 'when' or 'during'.

me-t'ol-l-šé 'next year'
Cl-Num-N_p-N_S

me-l-pál 'in the summer'
Cl-N_p-N_S

k-sé·ne hék' mé-šak 'I am walking'
St-Vs 1sg Cl-ʔ

mẽ-ta·š-nel 'sometimes'
C1-IP-pl

mẽ-yem-an-e-l-k 'when I see them'
C1-V_S-pl-1sg-pl-1sg

-me may also be found as a suffix with the same meaning:

ţam-alamxal-ţo-mẽ 'then we ate next'
SC-V_S-Loc-C1

halã́-ţo-me 'shoot now!' (sg)
V_S-Loc-C1

4.64. Voice. Verbal inflection for an active verb has already been discussed (see Section 4.52). There is some very slight evidence for a causative -te, identified as such by Sapir (1917) and by Mason (1918:49), but there is only one attestation which may be so construed:

kã́ra? lõ? kẽ?-škon-te 'I am blind'
Neg C1 1sg-N_S-?

possibly 'cause not to see' since the noun stem means 'eye'.

4.65. Mood. Inflection for a simple declarative sentence has already been discussed (see, e.g. Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

4.651. Imperative. The singular imperative form is usually the bare stem of the verb and the plural imperative is further inflected for plurality:

m-axnê? 'bet!' (sg)
2sg-imp-V_s

k-axnê-l 'bet!' (pl)
2pl imp-V_s-pl

m-etâk 'make it!' (sg)
2sg imp-V_s

k-otâk 'make it!' (pl)
2pl imp-V_s

mêt 'try!' (sg)
V_s

k-mêt 'try!' (pl)
2pl imp-V_s

These three examples illustrate the three variations for the form of the imperative. In the first examples, 'bet', the second person singular m- precedes the verb

stem and in the plural imperative, the second person plural k- precedes the verb stem with a plural -l immediately after the verb.

In the second example, 'make it', (an inherently transitive verb), the singular example is formed in the same manner, but the plural imperative shows the vowel ablaut characteristic of the second person plural, and there is no plural morpheme needed in addition.

In the third example, 'try', the verb stem begins with an m-, so the bare stem represents the second person singular imperative and only the second person plural k- is used to indicate the plural imperative.

A puzzling illustration of the reflexive that does not fit the pattern is from a single attestation with a comment from Harrington:

k-cŏp-ek ţ-k-ŏw 'ye wash yer faces!' (pl,imp)
2pl imp-V_s-1sg N_p-2pl-N_s

"This is the form addressed to youngsters--not usable addressed to grownups."

k-că·xom-el 'wash your faces!' (pl, imp)
2pl imp-V_s-pl

When ma- is used with verbs it gives them an imperative meaning:

má-mašál 'light it!' (sg)

Loc-V_S

lê-ỷa-x ma-čén 'throw it out!' (sg)

V_S-pl-V_S Loc-N_S

(see Section 6.3 for ma- used as a locative.)

4.652. Interrogative. A verb is inflected for the interrogative by prefixing ʔe-, ʔom- or ʔo- to the entire verbal construction. This is discussed in Section 3.22.

4.653. Optative. The optative may be expressed as a separate verb or as palatalization of the final consonant. Following are examples of the lexicalized form 'to want', a·l:

p-á·l-xoʔ hék' 'I wanted it'
Act-V_S-3sg 1sg

xeyóʔ p-a·l-xoʔ 'he wanted it'
3sg Act-V_S-3sg

p-éšem-o lék' 'I drank it'
Act-V_S-3sg 1sg

p-a·l hék'-re-éšem 'I want to drink'
Act-V_S 1sg-Loc-V_S

Palatalization is used to indicate a desire for the action of another verb:

k-âxla? 'he is fighting'

$St\text{-}V_S$

?om-k-âxl^{y}a? 'do you (sg) want to fight?'

$Q\text{-}2sg\text{-}St\text{-}V_S\text{-}O\text{-}V_S$

k-ê̌xala? 'he played'

$St\text{-}V_S$

k-ê̌xal^{y}a? 'he wants to play'

$St\text{-}V_S\text{-}O\text{-}V_S$

ke-ya 'he went'

$V_Z\text{-}V_S$

xeyô? ke-ya-t^{y}a? 'he wanted to go'

3sg $V_Z\text{-}V_S\text{-}O$

There is nothing in the last example, ke-ya, to get palatalized, so a consonant is inserted. Whether this is the underlying form of the optative morpheme which only surfaces in these conditions or whether the consonant is phonologically determined is unknown because of poor attestations. -t^{y} is not found anywhere else in the data.

The examples above show that a lexicalized optative is used with p- verbs and final palatization is used with k- verbs.

4.654. Hortative. The hortative is expressed with the first person plural as a prefix to the verb:

ka-čék-ax 'let's kill it'
H-V_S-3sg

ka-yá-l ro-mé? 'let's go!'
H-V_S-pl Loc-Loc

ka-ke-ye-t^{y}á? 'let's ride' (we want to ride!)
H-V_z-V_S-pl-V_S

4.66. Plurals. Statives may be inflected for plural notions just as verbs and nouns are:

c̓ep 'good'
S

k-c̓ep 'it is good'
St-S

c̓ép-ha·k 'good (pl)'
S-pl

(xáya? c̓ép-ha·né? 'many thanks')
(Adv S-pl)

k-ečâ·? 'big'

St-V_S

k-eča?-tên 'big (pl)'

St-V_S-pl

šôwet 'black'

S

šôwet-lax 'black (pl)'

S-pl

k-šôwet 'it is black'

St-S

šowâ?	'skunk'
N_S	

4.7. Derivational morphology.

4.71. Affixal derivation.

4.711. Verbs derived from nouns. A few verbs derived from nouns are 'to kneel', derived from 'knee'; 'to tie', derived from 'arm' and 'to fall', derived from 'back' (body part). In these examples derivation is accomplished by means of verbalizing suffixes added to the body part noun stem:

*-ečoḿ 'back'

ečom-nox 'to fall'

*-ʔopok 'arm/wing'

ṯ-ʔopoǩ-ây̓o 'one to tie 'anything)'

*-opoy 'knee'

ṯ-ő́po·-ltek-ếk 'I'm kneeling'

ṯ-ő́po·lteʔ 'he kneeled down'

4.712. Stress shift. In verbs derived from non-body part nouns, stress seems to be a part of the derivational mechanism:

lâ·ṯ̓ 'duck' (generic)

k-lâ·ṯ̓-neʔ 'a swim'

laṯ̓-nêʔ 'swim!' (sg)

used with the suffix -ne(ʔ) identified by Sapir (1917) as a "denominative suffix apparently durative intransitive."

Shift of stress and the possibility of derivation by means of reduplication have already been mentioned as derivational mechanisms (see Section 2.5).

4.72. Statives. The term 'stative' is used to refer to the category of adjective. An adjective in Salinan is simply a stative verb with its k- prefix, as in:

k-â·w-e? 'hot'

St-V_s-S_{sf}

k-tâ·y̓ 'it smelled'

St-V_s

k-čô?o·y 'is is hazy'

St-V_s

k-šâ·to·l-e? 'it is dewy'

St-V_s-S_{sf}

k-c̓o·n-e? 'he is dirty'

St-V_s-S_{sf}

k-c̓âtel 'it is cold (weather)'

St-V_s

k-ṯo?oy-ê? 'it is dusty'

St-V_s-S_{sf}

k-pâṯ̓ 'hard'

St-V_s

k-eṯ̓pêlel 'spotted'

St-V_s

k-ṯâ 'he is bald'

St-V_s

Not all statives in Salinan need be prefixed with

k-, however. The k- prefix simply indicates the verbal stative nature of the adjective. Other derivational suffixes that occur with adjectives:

syó-k' 'sweet'
syó-hol 'salty'
syó-hol-ó? 'it is sour'

There is a well-attested adjectival s- prefix for adjectives and for animals (see Section 2.9). Examples of the prefix with adjectives:

s-ke·ntoy' 'small, thin'

s-mat 'beautiful'

4.721. Use as verbs. As may be observed from some of the examples in Section 4.72, statives may be used as verbs (predicates) by suffixing -e(?) to the stem, again originally noted by Sapir (1917) as a suffix that "makes denominative verbs." His examples are:

šwan' 'fish' (generic)
N_s

k-šowa·n'-e? 'to be fishing'
$St\text{-}N_s\text{-}S_{sf}$

Other examples are:

ć̓a·kấy 'wind'

N_s

ć̓a·kay̓-e? 'wind is blowing'

N_s-S_{sf}

k-šấ·to·l-e? 'it is dewy'

St-N_s-S_{sf}

k-pấ·y-e? 'it is cloudy'

St-N_s-S_{sf}

kṓ-yo·t-e? pe-šḱém 'the ocean is very calm'

Neg-V_s-S_{sf} AP-N_s

ṯ-ṓpent 'my fat'

N_p-N_s

ṯ-opent-ḗ? 'fatness'

N_p-N_s-S_{sf}

k-âmeṯ-a·ć̓ 'hunter'

St-V_s-Agt

k-ámeṭ-e? 'he is hunting'
St-V_S-S_{sf}

4.722. Use as nouns. As modifiers of nouns the adjective preceds the noun it modifies:

k-máṭa·l ṭ-ák-o? sâyo 'white-headed eagle'
St-V_S N_p-N_S-3sg N_S
white head-its eagle

4.8. Conjoining. Conjoining verbal compounds is accomplished by juxtaposition connected with the sentence connective ṭam- ~ ram-:

?aha·tel-ê-râ·m-eč̌a 'he is going to play first and
V_S-S_{sf}-SC-V_S then is going to stop'
play-first-then-stop

4.9. Morphophonemics: review. In the preceding two sections (3-4), the following morphophonemic processes have been observed: the first consonant of the first person pronouns is dropped when they are suffixed to a verb ending with a consonant and the pronominal affix is unstressed (Section 3.2.); the morphophonemic vowels /a/ for first person plural and /o/ for second person plural examples are found in Sections 4.64, 4.651 and 4.653 especially; and the uses of stress in the derivation of verbs from

nouns is exemplified in Section 4.712. In Section 4.623 there is a small amount of evidence for a possible t → 1/x__.

5. Numerals. The table on the following page shows the first sixteen cardinal numbers for Antoniaño Salinan. Three of the recordings show the ke- verbalizer prefix (see Sections 4.71, 4.711 and 4.721) in the words for 'one', 'four' and 'seven'. Also segmentable is a plural suffix (Section 2.3) in the forms for 'six' and 'eight'. In the numbers above 'ten', the particle tax appears, meaning 'and'. In 'nine' the prefix te- is present.

5.1. Two systems. The recordings show two counting systems: a quaternary multiplicative system to 'six-teen', which is certainly the basic pattern, shared with neighboring Chumash abd reflected also in the Yuki and Kato systems in Northern California. The second system is decimal.

5.11. Numbers to 'ten'. All the recordings agree on the numbers from 'one' to 'ten'. The recordings of Thomas Coulter (1834) have been included here as further evidence of a basic quaternary multiplicative system. (His recordings of the Chumash of Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo were used by Madison Beeler in his (1964) article on 'Ventureñ (Chumash) Numerals', Kathryn Klar in her (1980) article on 'Northern Chumash Numerals' and by Dixon and Kroeber in their (1907) article on 'The Numeral Systems of

1 /(ke-)ťol

2 /kakeše/ ~ /kakešo/ (1834) /kâkšo/

3 /(k-)lâ-pay/

4 /kë-ša?/

5 /?ól-ţaw/

6 /pay-á·nel/

7 /(ke-)tê?/

8 /ša-?á·nel/

9 /tete-ţó?e/

10 /ţó?e/

11 /ţó?e-tax-ťól/

12 /lâ-pay-kša/ ~ /ţó?e-tax-kâkšo/

13 /lâ-pay-kša-tax-ťol/ ~ /ţó?e-tax-k-lâ-pay/

14 /wošóšo/ ~ /ţó?e-tax-kêša/

15 /lâ-pay-?ol-ţaw/ ~ /ţó?e-tax-ól-ţaw/

16 /kpeš/ ~ /ţó?e-tax-pay-á·nel/

Table VI Antoniaño Cardinal Numbers

the languages of California'.) He gives the numbers to 'sixteen'. Coulter and Mason (1912) show the older quaternary system of counting above 'ten'.

5.12. Numbers above 'ten'. Coulter and Mason agree on 'three-four' for 'twelve', 'three-four-and-one' for 'thirteen', /wošóšo/ for 'fourteen', 'three-five' for 'fifteen' and /kpeš/ for 'sixteen'. This is clearly a quaternary multiplicative system with differences only in detail from the quaternary systems of Chumash, Yuki and Kato. This was recognized by Dixon and Kroeber (1907) in their study of California numeral systems, even though their analysis of the Salinan system was based only on the short vocabulary collected by Coulter in 1834.

5.121. Decimal system. The decimal counting system is shown in the other recorded forms for 'twelve', 'thirteen', 'fifteen' and 'sixteen': 'ten-and-two' /ṭó?e-tax-kâkšo/, 'ten-and-three' /ṭó?e-tax-k-la-pay/, 'ten-and-five' /ṭó?e-tax-ól-ṭaw/ and 'ten-and-six' /ṭó?e-tax-pay-â·nel/. These seem to be newer forms imposed on the native counting system through European contact.

Above 'sixteen' the counting system for Antoniaño is decimal and additive in all of the recordings.

For the numbers 'one' to 'eight' we have the older native system. From 'nine' to 'eleven' we have only a decimal system based on 'ten' and, with 'twelve',

we begin to get two recordings for the numbers to 'sixteen'.

5.2. Unanalyzable morphemes. The apparently unanalyzable morphemes in the Salinan counting system are the words for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', 'five', 'seven', 'ten', 'fourteen' and 'sixteen'.

5.21. Mason's etymologies. In his 1912 'Ethnology of the Salinan Indians' J. Alden Mason suggested etymologies for these numbers. 'one' [tᶜoL] means 'all alone', 'two' [ka´kᶜcu] means 'half of four', 'three' [kLa´pai] means 'it is three', 'four' [kᶜi´ca?] is identified as 'the smaller unit: the root is [ca?] with the [k-] prefix. 'five' [o´Lţau] 'appears to contain the same root as ten and is said by Dr. Henshaw to refer to the fists. which is very probable. It would then be [(t)o´L-ţᶜa´o], one-his-fist!. He says that 'six' [payā´neL] is derived from 'three' by adding a plural and that 'seven' [te?] is 'simple'. 'eight' [caa´neL] means 'fours', 'nine' [te´teţᶜo´ˀe] is 'one-from-ten', and 'ten' [ţᶜo´?e] is analogous with 'five' and may be one of the numerous Salinan forms,'fists'. 'eleven' [ţᶜo´?e-ta´x-tᶜoL] means 'one-and-ten', 'twelve' [ţᶜo´?e-ta´x-ka´kᶜcu] is 'two-and-ten'.

This is as far as Mason went and he refers to Coulter (1834) for the numbers 'eleven' to 'sixteen'. Of all Mason's etymologies, only one bears close

scrutiny.

5.3. Analysis of individual numbers.

5.31. 'one' and 'five'. The words for 'one' and 'five' do indeed show some similarity. The common element /ʔol/, /(t)ʔol/, which may be assumed to mean 'one', appears in the numeral 'one' with initial /t̓/ and in 'five' with initial /ʔ/. Mason assumed, from Henshaw, /ʔol/ to be a reduction of /t̓ol/, preposed to an element meaning 'fist'. However, a further possibility is that the numeral 'ten' is related to 'five' through metathesis: /ṭoʔᵉ/a(l)/ from */ʔol-ṭaw/ 'five'. If so, however, an earlier form for 'five' is indicated.

This would, in turn, suggest the possibility that the form for 'one' /t̓ol/, may not be basic, but a contraction of */te-ʔol/.

5.32. 'two'. 'Two' /kâkeš/ (and variants), is both unanalyzable and isolated within the system. It is the only numerical lexeme in Salinan whose 'Hokan' parentage seems possible, being relatively easily accommodated within Sapir's (1925:418) reconstructions: *axwa-, *axwaka, *axwasku. The morpheme appears nowhere else among Salinan numerals.

5.33. 'three' and 'six'. 'Three' /lâpay/ contains an element /pay/ that is also contained in the word for 'six'. In the word for 'six' /pay/ is, as I have indicated, followed by a plural suffix which recurs

in the forms for 'eight'.

Here we have a striking similarity to Uto-Aztecan where the word for 'three' in the protolanguage is reconstructed as *pahi. (This form occurs throughout Takic, e.g., Luiseño /pa·hi/.) This was first mentioned by William H. Jacobsen fifteen or more years ago.

5.34. 'four' and 'eight'. 'Four' /keša?/ is easily segmentable into proclitic kè- and a stem, /ša?/. This stem is found in the word for 'eight' followed by the same plural suffix as in the word for 'six'.

Once again, there is a striking parallel in Uto-Aztecan, here confined to Takic; Luiseño /wasá?/ 'four'. This Takic form also seems to be connected with the otherwise unanalyzable numeral 'fourteen' /wošóšo/.

5.35. 'seven'. 'Seven' /te?/ is a simple unanalyzable stem, about which nothing more can be said at present. (It is, perhaps, worthy of note, though, that both 'seven' and 'fourteen' are unanalyzable. Does this hint at some sort of septenary count?)

5.36. 'ten'. 'Ten' /ṭó?e/, as I have noted above, seems to be a metathesized form of 'five'. Metathesis could be functioning here as a sort of pluralizer (parallel to the pluralization of 'three' in 'six' and of 'four' in 'eight').

5.37. 'nine'. 'Nine' is the word for 'ten' with a preceding /te(·)te-/, which may be a reduplication of /te-/, but this has no standing as a regular prefix.

It seems to mean 'less'.

5.38. 'sixteen'. 'Sixteen', the end of the count in the quaternary system, i.e., 'four-fours', has two recorded forms, one of which /kpeš/, appears to be a simple unanalyzable stem. It is possible, however, that k-, here, as in some of the lower numerals is simply stative k-. We will return to this form when we consider the ordinals.

5.39. Other systems. Two more subsystems are barely discernable in these numbers to sixteen. The first is the system involving the forms for 'three' and 'six', although 'nine' and 'twelve' show no participation in such a system in Salinan. These number names were borrowed from Uto-Aztecan, after all.

The other barely discernable system which may have existed in the native counting system is quinary, and is reflected in one of the attested forms for 'fifteen': /lâ-pay-ʔol-ţaw/, 'three-fives'. Although 'ten' does not show a form 'two-fives' a quinary system may be reflected by the 'three-fives' form.

5.4. Ordinals. The first five ordinal numerals, next page, from the Antoniaño dialect are shown in their original orthographic forms since reconstitution should be based on more than one attestation, and in the case of the ordinals, we are limited to Henshaw's recordings, with a couple of interesting exceptions, which will be discussed later.

first	te-luˊ (Henshaw)
first one	a-ţe?ēl (Jacobsen)
second	toˊ-kĭˊ
third	trûp-pecˊ-cu
fourth	ti-trā-kuˊ (Henshaw)
northwest	tiţaku (Mason)
fifth	trup-pêct

Table VII Antoniaño Ordinal Numbers

The two other recordings are a second recording of 'first' from Jacobsen (1954) and a second recording of 'fourth' from Mason. Mason, however, glossed the word as 'northwest' (perhaps the fourth of the traditional directions).

These forms, besides being imperfectly recorded, are structurally puzzling. To some extent, though, they confirm the analysis of the cardinal numbers.

5.41. 'first'. 'First' te-luˆ, a-ţe?ê̂l, if we take Jacobsen's recording as authoritative, partly confirms the supposition that the basic shape of the word for 'one' is /?V1/. The prefixes ţe- may or

may not be related to the hypothesized te- prefix in the cardinal /ťol/.

5.42. 'second'. 'Second' to´-kĭ´ appears to contain the element -ke from the cardinal, possibly with a prefix to- or ţo-.

5.43. 'third'. 'Third' trup-pec´-cu and 'fifth' trup-pĕct are evidently based on the same stem element, quite likely the same as occus in the cardinal /kpeš/, 'sixteen', again, with the prefix ţo- (see Section 6.5).

5.44. 'fourth'. 'Fourth' ti-trā-ku´ (tiţaku) is not easily relatable to the cardinal /keša?/ (a morphophonemic alternation between [š] and [ţ] is not otherwise attested). It possibly contains a prefixed te- but apparently not ţe-.

5.5. Conclusions. I have noted that the root morphemes for '3', '4' and '14' are close look-alikes to or shared forms with Uto-Aztecan. This is consistent with the data I gathered for a paper on areal chacteristics of south central California (Turner 1983a). I identified many ancient linguistic ties between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan. I found that there are more lexcial look-alikes between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan than there are between Salinan and any other language or language family in California, though contact with all historically present languages of the area is

evident.

Salinan lexical resemblances with Takic and Numic lend a little support to Whistler's hypothesis (p.c.) of a movement of Chumash-speaking people from the interior of California.

The linguistic evidence suggests Chumash as the first intrusive movement of a population between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan speakers. (The Salinan-speaking group were later pushed farther south and west by Yokuts expansion.)

Ancient and long-term contact is clearly shown for Salinan and Uto-Aztecan, with linguistic contact continuing with various Uto-Aztecan languages after their differentiation.

6.0. Locatives.

6.1. ʔom- meaning 'on' or 'over' as in:

yə̓ʔ-om-paʔ 'over there'
D-Loc-D

ʔom-ṯ-ʔáʷkat 'on (the) stick'
Loc-N_p-N_s

is homophonous with the question prefix formation for second person singular. It is better exemplified in full phrases.

k-ə́ṯ̓ololnox ra•m-mə́m lá•k̓ ʔom-šqə́m
St-V_s SC-ʔ N_s Loc-N_s
it sank ground sea
'it sank way to the bottom of the sea'

kə́w ṯ-ṯə́na•y náʔ ʔom-šə́•k-eṯ̓-e
Loc N_p-V_s N_s Loc-Loc-ʔ-S_{sf}
place that hits sun here
'the sun hits it right here'

ke• hə́k̓ ʔom-ṯo-me•lo šqə́m
V_s 1sg Loc-Loc-Adv N_s
go I along sea
'I go along the beach'

ʔom-ṯe-kə̓w̓-oʔ 'on his side'

Loc-Loc-Loc-3sg

on-Loc-place-his

ʔom-čə̓n 'outside'

Loc-N_S

čen (from the previous example) itself means 'a flat' and can be intensified:

čen-kčáʔ 'a big flat'

N_S-S

Similarly ʔom- may accompany another morpheme, kew:

ʔom-kə̓w 'to where'

Loc-Loc

ṯ̓ol-kə̓w 'near place'

Num-Loc

ma-sḵ̓á·m-kew 'to near him'

Imp-Adv-Loc

ṯo-p-kew 'at the place'

Loc-AP-Loc

A fuller example of kew from Harrington:

c̓ép-e ʔé·n kéw ṯ-saʔ kʷ̓él
S-S_{sf} Cl Loc N_p-N_s N_s
good will place talk people
'they are fixing up the telephone (what the people talk with)', literally: 'make-good future what talk people'.

6.2. <u>škoʔ</u> Although its precise definition is unclear as demonstrated by the following examples, škoʔ can be suffixed (cliticized) to verbs to indicate ongoing activity.

k-éyeʔa škóʔ 'he is laughing'
St-V_s Loc

k-sáʔ hékʷ̓ škóʔ 'I am speaking'
St-V_s 1sg Loc

ṯám-te-škoʔ 'then he was'
SC-Loc-Loc

škoʔ can also function as a verb stem as indicated by the example below:

šk̂ó?-ra? aské·n pe-x̂óč

-Loc N_s AP-N_s

corner the-dog

'the dog is in the corner (of the room)'

which appears to be a copular use of šk̂o?.

6.3. ma- is prefixed to nouns and means 'when' or 'where' (cf Section 4.63 Aspect):

ma-k̂éw-o? 'where they (are)'

Loc-Loc-3sg

ma-k̂éw 'to him' (where he was)

Loc-Loc

ma-ţ-kak-o? 'at the top'

Loc-N_p-N_s-3sg

ma-k-lê·he? 'downhill'

Loc-St-V_s

6.4. ţa(?)- ~ ra(?)- acts as a preposition before a noun, meaning 'in', 'on', 'along' and 'with'. With a verb ra? seems to behave as an infinitivizer, or nominalizer.

ra-mošê? 'in flames'

Loc-N_s

m-âx-ra?-ṭ-m-ô-ńaẏe 'put it on your (sg) waist'

2sg-V_s-Loc-N_p-2sg-2sg-N_s

k-ê·šaɬa? ra?-lâ·k̓ 'it grows along the ground'

St-V_s Loc-N_s

ra?-mê·t-el-ak̓ 'to beat us'

Loc-V_s-pl-1pl

ra?-sk̓âm 'to be close'

Loc-Adv

ra?-c̓ê̓k̓ 'to see'

Loc-V_s

6.5. <u>ṭo(?)- ~ ro(?)-</u> also acts as a preposition before nouns with the meanings 'of', 'to', 'in' and 'by'.

ro-pê-t̓ol-ṭ-eyâ 'of every one'

Loc-AP-Num-N_p-N_s

of-the-one-every

ro-p-k̓ewêl 'to the west'

Loc-AP-N_s

to-the-west

ro-p-lk̓a 'to the coyote'

Loc-AP-N_s

to-the-coyote

ro-p-kew-hâ·l 'in the places'

Loc-AP-Loc-pl

in-the-place-pl

ro-p-ţ-e·m-ô? 'by his house'

Loc-AP-N_p-N_s-3sg

by-the-house-his

Obviously these locative adverbs intersect with the meanings of the indefinite pronouns, and there are not enough attestations to straighten them out, although a careful study of Mason's (1918) texts may help to clarify the situation.

There is also not enough information to say anything about the possible modals, although there do exist a couple of glosses with the word 'must'.

6.6. ţe- ~ re- In Mason's (1918) published texts of Antoniaño Salinan told by David Mora (as opposed to one of the other informants), there appear the prefixed elements ţe- and re-. These appear to be prepositions, usually glossed by Mason as 'to'.

ţe-hêk' 'to me' (Text 3, line 23)
Loc-1sg

ţe-ţ-ya 'to go' (Text 1, line 47)
Loc-N_p-V_s

ţe-šêtep 'to die' (Text 2, line 4)
Loc-V_s

ţe-sk'âm 'to come near(er)' (Text 2, line 22)
Loc-Adv

There is also an example from the elicitations by Harrington (also from David Mora), that confuse the issue:

kâra? lamây' ţe-ţ-â·m 'there isn't any food in the
Neg N Loc-N_p-N_s house'

As for the variant re-:

re-mâk-1-op 'to drown (them)' (Text 3, line 14)
Loc-V_s-pl-V_s

re-pâ·ta 'to dance' (Text 1, line 7)
Loc-V

And from Jacobsen's notes:

ʔo-p-ā̂l-o(ʔ) re-lā̂m 'does he want to eat?'
Q-Act-V_S-3sg Loc-V_S

6.61. -re. Mason (1918) glosses the sufix -re as 'here'

m-ā̂n̓-tē̂n̓-re 'come here, too' (Text 1, line 19)
2sg imp-V_S-pl-Loc

And Harrington has:

k-mā̂·y-re yō̂ʔ 'he lives here'
St-V_S-Loc D

ško?-hē̂k̓-re 'I am here' ('aquí estoy')
Loc-1sg-Loc

6.7. ṭoke is a clitic glossed in the texts as 'within', 'in' or 'inside'. From its few attestations it seems to be a locative adverb.

ʔom-ṭō̂ke 'to within' (Text 3, line 52)

Harrington has one or two examples of ṭō̂·ke as well:

k-ʔō̂·pek ram-ṭō̂·ke 'to order to sweep the house
2pl imp-V_S SC-Loc inside'

k-c̓ép̓ ṭô·ke-na? 'it is a clear day'
St-S Loc-N_S

(as well as the example in Section 8.6 Metaphors).

6.8. -rom̓ occurs only three times in Mason's (1918) texts and not at all in the elicitations of anyone else. The only text in which it is specifically glossed, Mason translates as 'wherefrom'.

ranke-rom̓ 'then wherefrom?' (text 1, line 26)
Adv-Loc

no-k-ê·š-rom̓ '(it) seems' (Text 4, line 29)
?-St-V_S-Loc

kâ·s-tkâ·-mệ·ṭ-rom̓ 'but we will try it' 'Text 3,
Adv-?-V_S-Loc line 27)

(for the adverbial nature of kâ·s, see Section 7.3).

6.9. ?em- acts as a preposition before nouns and is glossed 'on' or 'in' in Mason's (1918) texts. There is an attestation by Harrington, as well, however:

k-ê·l no· ?em-k̓wél 'the earth is dry'
St-V_S Cl Loc-N_S

7. Minor Form Classes.

7.1. Conjunctions. The particle glossed as 'and' has already been mentioned in the section on numerals (Section 5). In Mason's (1918) texts, tan- prefixed to a verb is translated as 'and' and 'well'.

tas- is glossed by Mason as 'but'. However in attestations from Harrington and Jacobsen tas- is apparently 'what':

tas-ţ-m-ẽlek' 'at what are you (sg) laughing?'

N_p-2sg-V_s

tas-nõ·-pe? 'what happened?'

Cl-AP

from Harrington and:

tãs-lo? 'what time is it?'

Cl

from Jacobsen.

7.2. Sentence Connective. A sentence connective has been referred to (Section 4.71), ţam- ~ ram- usually translated as 'then' in Mason's (1918) texts. terš-, 'therefore' appears rarely
examples in Section 3.3 and following.)

7.3. Adverbs. The majority of adverbial notions are

expressed as free morphemes. The exceptions are a prefix and one suffix: ake(·)- an interrogative adverb and -e·ya·te? 'always'.

akê-ṭ-o-m-tê·y̓o? 'how thy ability?'
N_p-2sg-2sg-N_s

ake·-m-hala 'what to use?'
2sg-V_s

ake·-m-xâla-nôn 'what to use just now?'
2sg-V_s-Cl

(All of these examples come from the texts in Mason 1918 and are his translations.)

There is only one example of the suffix -e·ya·te?.

p-ox-nek̓-e·ya·te? 'enter will I always'
Act-V_s-1sg-Adv

again, from Mason's (1918) texts.

The remaining adverbs are those expressed as free morphemes. To take them in alphabetical order, kas is usually translated as 'only' when occurring alone, the glosses occurring with kas as a prefix or suffix suggest a further refinement of that gloss:

šô·k̓a? kâs re?-ya 'he follows along the creek'
N_s Adv Loc-V_s

has kas related to the gloss 'along'.

an-kâs-no-steyôwen 'only just now beautiful'
SC-Adv-Cl-S

has kas related to the gloss 'only' as do

xeyô·-kas 'only him'
3sg-Adv

ṭam-kâs-ko? 'then only'
SC-Adv-3sg

kâs-skomo 'only small'.
Adv-Adv

However, there are three occurrences in Mason's texts where he translates kas as 'but':

kas-p-âm-ko? 'but killed'
Adv-Act-V_S-3sg

kas-kêra 'but not'
Adv-Neg

ran-kâ·s-na 'then but this'
SC-Adv-D

And, finally, there is an interesting occurrence of kas from Jacobsen's notes:

hek-kas 'I myself'
1sg-Adv

where kas seems to have an emphatic meaning, but this may be misleading in light of another example from his notes:

xeyó·-kas 'only him'
3sg-Adv

Like the two preceding adverbs ksa occurs as a free morpheme and also affixed but always with the meaning of 'more'.

k-ʔá·noʔ ksá hék' 'I am very weak'
St-V_s Adv 1sg

ke-ṯ-xáwet ksá p-ak'atá 'a person is very yellow'
V_z-N_p-S Adv AP-N_s (jaundice)

yoʔ pe skê·ten a-ksá ṯ-k-é·sele?
D AP S ʔ-Adv N_p-St-S
he the little more all
'the youngest child in the family'

k-apetnap ksá 'it is full' (of water)
St-V_s Adv

k-é·l ksá hék' 'I am dried up'
St-S Adv 1sg

mas occurs frequently in Mason's (1918) texts, meaning 'more' (a borrowing from Spanish).

mâ?s occurs as a free morpheme as in the folowing, meaning 'maybe':

sê?-ko? ma?s hêk' 'maybe I am going to talk to him'
V_s-3sg Adv 1sg

xâ·t'a ma?s nêk' 'I think I am going to cry'
V_s Adv 1sg
(xa·t'a nêk' 'I am going to cry')

mênak'o 'why' also occurs as a prefix without the -o:

mênak'o ţ-k-ô-ašem 'why are you (sg) not drinking?'
Adv N_p-2sg-2sg-V_s

mênak'-rom-xâ·t'a 'why are you (sg) crying?'
Adv-Loc-V_s

Unlike the previous adverb, mešak, 'continually' always appears as a free morpheme in Mason's texts.

p-ekê·n-tx-o? mêšak 'he whirled continually'
Act-V_s-?-3sg Adv

č'â·we? mêša·k yô? 'he looked continually'
V_s Adv D

The adverb ta?a 'now' is derived from ta? (see Section 4.63 Aspect):

xwə̂n-ta? 'today he is coming'
V_s-Cl

xwə̂n-ta?a '(is higher language)' (Harrington)
V_s-Adv

Other examples are:

k-ə̂xap na-ta?ə́ 'he died just now' (= no·nṓ, see
St-V_s D-Adv Section 4.63)

and an attestation from Harrington which illustrates its use and offers a comment:

na-ta?ə́ 'now', common word, 'just now', 'today'.
D-Adv

sx̌am is a frequently occurring adverb meaning 'close'. It may be written as a free morpheme or affixed to another adverb:

sx̌am-ksa 'close more'
Adv-Adv

xaya? is also well-attested, meaning 'many' or 'much':

xə́ya? 'many'
Adv

xə́ya? čep-a·nê? 'many thanks'
Adv S-pl

xə́ya? ṭ-šxə́xe? 'lots of tracks'
Adv N_p-N

xə́ya? ṭ-šxep-let-o ṭ-a?ə́? 'lots of deer tracks'
Adv N_p-N_s-pl-3sg N_p-N_s

There is only one attestation (from Harrington) of the final adverb in this list ?ə́teš 'maybe'

?ə́teš-a·m-ko? 'maybe I can't'
Adv-V_s-3sg

This gloss is supplemented by Harrington: 'I'm afraid to tackle (lifting a big load)'.

7.4. Interjections. Very little data is available about other minor form classes such as interjections. There are two interjections in Mason's texts: ay and aha 'yes'.

7.5. Quotative. In the texts collected by Mason (1918) there is a quotative particle ṭe?, although there is no trace of this quotative in the recordings

of Antoniaño outside the texts.

rə̂m-ţe?-tak̓ 'then (he) said to them'

SC-Qo-pl

rə̂m-ţe? 'then (he) said'

SC-Qo

terš-ţê? 'therefore (he) said'

Con-Qo

kə̄-ţe? 'not said'

Neg-Qo

8. Syntactic patterns.

8.1. Equational. There is no copula: Antoniaño Salinan uses parataxis.

ṭ-ê-č̓-o? Juan na? 'this is John's dog'

N_p-N_p-N_s-3sg John D

yo-nâ-ṭ-etoyen 'this is my arrow'

D-D-N_p-N_s

8.2. Possessive constructions. As well as the example just given, a noun may be verbalized and used with a subject pronoun to include possession:

ṭ-é-šxa? 'my money'

N_p-1sg-N_s

ke-šxâ·?-e hék̓ 'I have some money'

V_z-N_s-D_{sf} 1sg

k-lom '(have) a wound'

St-V_s

k-lóm-t-e· hék̓ 'I have a wound'

St-V_s-?-D_{sf} 1sg

k-lóm-t-e· mó? 'you (sg) have a wound'

St-V_s-?-D_{sf} 2sg

Another possessive construction uses the verb stem -etxaw 'have' with the p- prefix, so the verb is active and transitive:

p-etxâw hêk' 'I have it'
Act-V_S 1sg

p-etxâw xeyô? 'he has it'
Act-V_S 3sg

hâk' p-etxâw 'we have it'
1pl Act-V_S

In simple possessed constructions, such as 'John's dog', it is the possessed noun which is affixed and the possessor, the bare stem. The possessor follows the possessed noun.

8.3. Locative phrases: ško(?) 'here'. ško(?) may be used in the locative construction 'X is here':

škô? hêk' 'I am here'
Loc 1sg

škô? lêk' 'I am here already'
Loc 1sg

(see Section 6.2).

8.4. Existential. Constructions translated in this

way in English use juxtaposition in Salinan.

kâra? kô-k-?aṭ-e 'there is no grass'
Neg Neg-St-S-D_{sf}

kâra? ṭ-acʼô·pe? 'there is no moon'
Neg N_p-N_s

k-yôt-e? lâ·kʼ 'there is an earthquake'
St-V_s-D_{sf} N_s

lo·l ?om-kʼwêl 'there is a forest fire'
V_s Loc-N_s

xâya? ṭ-kʼât-et om-ṭ-a·k-ê?
Adv N_p-N_s-pl Loc-N_p-N_s-D_{sf}
'there is much wood on the road'

8.5. Word order. Word order is free, although morpheme order within the verb or noun complex is rigid. In unmarked constructions word order is VOS and VSO is used for emphasis and topicalization, as will be seen in the interlinear text (Section 9).

8.6. Metaphors. The following metaphors have been culled from the Harrington notes:

k-ê̓seńa? pa? nâ? 'the sun is sick' = eclipse

St-V_S D N_S

is-sick sun

k-êta·ha? ṯ-šâ? ro·-?ákata

St-V_S N_p-N_S Loc-N_S

becomes water blood

'the blood turns out water' = dropsy

ke-ṯ-xâwet ksâ pa-?akatâ

V_Z-N_p-S Adv D-N_S

be-yellow very blood

'a person is very yellow' = jaundice

kom-špok-t-ê ṯ-ák̓-o?

Neg-N_S-?-D_{sf} N_p-N_S-3sg

no-fur head-his

'no fur his head' = bald

p-etxâ·w-o? keṯ́mél rom-ṯ-e-·čay̓-o?

Act-V_S-3sg N Loc-N_p-N_p-N_S-3sg

(he)-has-it ball in-neck-his

'he has a ball in the neck' = goiter

c̓ép-e? ʔén kéw ṯ-sa? k̓wél

S-D_{sf} Cl Loc N_p-V_s N_s

good will talk people

'what the people talk with' = telephone

9. Text with grammatical analysis. The text I have chosen is the first Antoniaño Salinan text published in Mason (1918) in which he gives a complete grammatical morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, interlinear glosses and segmentation of the morphemes. I have used his published text as well as his original field notebook to transcribe the text phonemically according to my reconstitution. In several cases I have used a more accurate segmentation and I have re-translated many of his glosses, both from the Spanish he supplied in the original notebook and from the English of the published version. I have completely re-analyzed the text and provided a more accurate free translation as well.

I have re-titled the text "The Killers," following Henshaw's (1884) title, rather than following Mason's (1918) published title "Prairie-Falcon, Raven and Coyote" or the title in his original notes, "Coyote, Raven and Skunk." The text appears to include four related stories about mythical killers who are identified in the stories as Coyote, Skunk, Little Birds (children of Skunk), Raven, Hawk, Bear and Mouse.

Nothing has been added to or deleted from the Antoniaño Salinan text Mason elicited from David Mora on June 6, 1916.

The Killers

k-lâpay	pe-xeyô·ṭ	râm-ṭ-yâ··tel[1]
St-Num	AP-3pl	SC-N_p-V_s-pl
There were three (of) them.		Then, as they went along,

xôṭ-l-op	ro-p-ṭ-e·m-ô	râ·m-ṭe?
V_s-pl-V_s	Loc-AP-N_p-N_s-3sg	SC-Qo
they passed	his (Skunk's) house.	Then he said

pe-lk̓â	k-c̓ék	na-šte··lwâ?
AP-N_s	St-V_s	D-N_p-N_s
the Coyote,	"He appears	this old man

k-šawenâ··ne	p-o-lô-x	ṭa-ṭô·ke
St-V_s-D_{sf}	Act-V_s-pl-V_s	Loc-Adv
to be a dancer.	(You, pl) Enter	inside,

p-o-lô-x	râm-ṭe?-tak̓[2]
Act-V_s-pl-V_s	SC-Qo-pl
enter."	Then (Skunk) said to them,

k-âš-el	o-sma-ha-t-él
St-V_s-pl	Int-V_s-pl-V_s-pl
"(You, pl) be seated	(who are so) handsome."

râm-ṭe?	p-a·tâ	en-c̓én̓
SC-Qo	Act-V_s	Loc-V_s
Then (Coyote) said,	"Dance	so that (you) are seen

ro-pa-tá·má? sma-ha-t-él rám-ṭe?

Loc-AP-N_s V_s-pl-V_s-pl SC-Qo

by the men (who are) handsome." Then (Skunk) said

ay šte-lwá?-lék'[3] še mé·t-o-nék'

Int N_p-N_s-1sg V_s-3sg-1sg

"Ay! I am an old man but I will try

á?-a·m-ko ṭe?-šá·wena·-ne k-á·we-yak-še?[4]

Con-V_s-3sg Loc-V_s-D_{sf} St-V_s-?

if (I am) able to be a dancer. It is very hot

ná-tá· tas-k-šówn-e·-nék' rám-me·t

D-Adv Con-St-V_s-D_{sf}-1sg SC-V_s

now, but I will light (the fire)." Then he tried

re-p-á·ta rám-p-eṭ'e·k-o ṭ-e-cé'w-o

Loc-Act-V_s SC-Act-V_s-3sg N_p-N_p-N_s-3sg

to dance. Then he made his tail

rám-ṭ-eša·k ṭe-p-á·ta p-ekéle·n-t-xo

SC-N_p-V_s-3sg Loc-Act-V_s Act-V_s-pl-3sg

raised to dance. He whirled it around

méša·k ṭo-p-ké·w-o ta·má

Adv Loc-AP-Loc-3sg N_s

continually. "Where are (the) men?"

sk'am-ksá méša·k ṭo-p-ṭ-o-hén-o

Adv-Adv Adv Loc-AP-N_p-N_s-pl-3sg

(He came) closer continually to (where) their faces (were)

pe-ta·mâ ṭ-ḱáten-o pe-šowâ râm-ṭe?-taḱ

$AP\text{-}N_S$ $N_p\text{-}N_S\text{-}3sg$ $AP\text{-}N_S$ SC-Qo-pl

the men, his anus the Skunk. Then (Skunk) said

yax[5] ra-sḱâm ksâ yax-tên[6]

V_S Loc-Adv Adv V_S-pl

"(You, pl) Come close more. (You, pl) Come

ksâ ra-sḱâ·m-ksâ wê-ten-ksâ p-â·l-xo

Adv Loc-Adv-Adv Loc-pl-Adv $Act\text{-}V_S\text{-}3sg$

more closer here still more." He wanted

ṭe-p-âl-o ram-xâla?[7]

$Loc\text{-}Act\text{-}V_S\text{-}3sg$ $SC\text{-}V_S$

to attack. And (Raven) hit (Skunk)

ṭo-pe-k-â·we čxâ? k-êna·y-ok ksa

$Loc\text{-}AP\text{-}St\text{-}V_S$ N_S $St\text{-}V_S\text{-}3sg$ Adv

and the hot stone wounded him severely

em-k-šô·lok-ne ram-mêheṭ-e·nxa?[8]

$Loc\text{-}St\text{-}V_S\text{-}D_{sf}$ $SC\text{-}V_S$-?

in hollow place (i.e., anus). Then (Skunk) ran around.

râm-ṭe? ahâ pe-lḱâ xomô

SC-Qo Int $AP\text{-}N_S$ S

Then he said, "Yes the Coyote (is) bad

lwâ? xâya? ṭe-má·ṭ-o

N_s Adv Loc-V_s-3sg

man, many have been killed."

rám-ṭ-xwene·-lax pe-se·matán

SC-N_p-V_s-pl AP-N_s

Then they arrived the (Little Birds) children (of Skunk)

ram-ṭe? pe-šk'an semtán

SC-Qo AP-N_s N_s

Then said the Hawk, "Children,

ṭe-skê·ntoy' mênak'o ṭ-o-k-sónon

Loc-V_s Adv N_p-2pl-2pl-N_s

(They are) too little why your legs?

kara? mas[9] kó-ṭ-ape·l na-mé·n

Neg Con Neg-N_p-V_s D-N_s

Not but (they) don't fill this hand."

rám-me·t-e? ṭe-ṭá·p-o-y'ax pe-ṭ-e-šxe·p-lét-o

SC-V_s-D_{sf} Loc-V_s-3sg-pl AP-N_p-N_p-N_s-pl-3sg

Then (he) tried and felt them their feet

ram-kó-ṭ-apel rám-ṭe?-tawlayk[10]

SC-Neg-N_p-V_s SC-Qo-pl

and they did not fill it. Then he said to them

ra-kêra?-tên-lo kera-lô râm-moţ'ox-o

Loc-Neg-pl-Cl Neg-Cl SC-V_S-3sg

"Not yet, no." Then he squeezed (their feet).

râm-p-le•-t-x-o rom-ţoke kwâ•p

SC-Act-V_S-pl-V_S-3sg Loc-Adv N_S

Then he threw them into sweathouse.

m-âl-o•l tâ•so[11] rom-ţô•ke ţ-â•w'

V_S-pl-V_S Adv Loc-Adv N_p-N_S

They flew helplessly inside (the) fire.

râm-ţe?-tak' pe-lk'â mân'-tên'-re

SC-Qo-pl AP-N_S V_S-pl-Loc

Then said the Coyote, "Come here."

râm-ţe? ţa-mênak'o ţe-ya-tên tê•le?

SC-Qo Loc-Adv Loc-V_S-pl V_S

Then he said, "Why go? Hurry

p-ôx-ra? ram-kô-neka?

Act-V_S-Loc SC-Neg-V_S

enter." And (they) did not obey him.

râm-ţ-espal'ax k-lê-y'ay'a-x

SC-N_p-V_S St-V_S-pl-V_S

Then (Coyote) grabbing (them), he threw them

rom-ṭṓ·ke ṭ-á·w̓ ram-k-lṓ·l-ro-pḗ

Loc-Adv N_p-N_s SC-St-V_s-Loc-D

into (the) fire. And they were burned by him

pe-lk̓a xomṓ· lwá? p-á·l-xo

AP-N_s S N_s Act-V_s-3sg

the Coyote bad man. He wanted

ra?-ám-el-ay̓ terš-ṭḗ? p-o-lṓ-x

Loc-V_s-pl-pl Con-Qo Act-V_s-pl-V_s

to kill them. Therefore (he) said, (You, pl) "Enter,"

kṓ-ṭe? ksá xomṓ lwá? p-á·l-xo

Neg-Qo Adv S N_s Act-V_s-3sg

Not (he) said more. Bad man. He wanted

ṭa-ám-el-á·y-še?

Loc-V_s-pl-pl-?

to kill them.

yṓ?-rám-ṭ-ya·-tel rám-k-ṓlo·le

D-SC-N_p-V_s-pl SC-St-V_s

Then they left. Then he played (flute)

ṭ-yá pe-lá? p-ésn-ay̓-ax

N_p-V_s AP-N_s Act-V_s-pl-V_s

going the Raven. (They) heard (it)

ʔáha·téʔ	ṭo-p-ṭ-olol-ayˀ-o	pe-láʔ
N_s	Loc-AP-N_p-N_s-D_{sf}-3sg	AP-N_s
music	of his flute	the Raven.

rám-ṭeʔ-takˀ	tá·s-ten	nó-peʔ
SC-Qo-pl	Con-pl	D-AP
Then (people) said "What is this,		this which

k-ʔámes	ṭa-kó-yoʔ	no-k-ʔáxa·tˀe	lwáʔ
St-V_s	Loc-Neg-D	Cl-St-V_s	N_s
calls	which is not	(the) music	(of) man?

rankê-romˀ	k-e·nóx-o	pe-k-ʔáxa·te
Adv-Loc	St-V_s-3sg	AP-St-V_s
Then where	(does) it come (from)	the music?"

ṭe-téšop-ax	ksá	pe-ʔaha·téʔ
Loc-V_s-pl	Adv	AP-N_s
they heard (clearly)	very	the music.

ram-kó-tešt-o	ksá	rakˀe
SC-Neg-V_s-3sg	Adv	Loc
And not seen	more	anywhere,

ra-ko-ṭ-ya·-lo-rakˀé	sene?	ksá
Loc-Neg-N_p-V_s-Cl-Loc	V_s	Adv
not anywhere.	Walking	more

ţe-pâsia·l-ten[12]	yo?-k-âlep̓	pe-lâ?
Loc-V_S-pl	D-St-V_S	AP-N_S
to stroll again	and he was lost	the Raven.

ram-kô-yem-a?[13]	a-k-a·s-o	mênak̓o
SC-Neg-V_S-3sg	Con-St-V_S-3sg	Adv
And they didn't see him.	Wondered	why

ţe-k-âlep̓	ram-k-č̓a·we?
Loc-St-V_S	SC-St-V_S
"(is he) lost?"	And looked (for him).

ram-kô-yem-am̓	ke-ţe·-kêw̓-o	č̓a·we?
SC-Neg-V_S-?	V_Z-Loc-Loc-3sg	V_S
And (could) not find	where (he) was.	Sought

mêša·k
Adv
all the time.

yô-ram-male·nt-ay̓-ax	ţe-nô·nanax
D-SC-V_S-pl-V_S	Loc-V_S
Then (Hawk) remembered	to gather up

pe-ţ-axâ·y-ox-ten	č̓a·we?	nô	ţ-a·penya?
AP-N_p-N_S-pl-pl	V_S	Cl	N_p-V_S
the bears.	Seek	will	to gather.

yo-rám-ṭ-ána·t-ay̓-ax	ṭe-xó̓ṭop
D-SC-N_p-V_s-pl-V_s	Loc-V_s
Then he permitted them	to pass (him).

šа·xáta?[14]	šа·kéń-o
V_s	V_s-3sg
"Open (your) mouth!"	he pointed (with his arrow)

ṭ-yá	rá·m-p-yax-te-ko	t̓ol-tén
N_p-V_s	SC-Act-V_s-pl-3sg	Num-pl
(as they) came.	Then bring	another.

šа·xáta?	p-šá·keń-o
V_s	Act-V_s-3sg
"Open (your) mouth!"	He pointed it (arrow):

ṭ-yá	pe-xwén	xo̓ṭó̓p	yax-ték-ten	t̓ol
N_p-V_s	AP-V_s	V_s	V_s-?-pl	Num
coming, arriving, passing.			"Bring another one."	

rám-ṭe?	pe-selǒ·y	k-?ámes	ṭe-yáx
SC-Qo	AP-N_s	St-V_s	Loc-V_s
Then said the Mouse		he shouted	to come.

rám-ṭe?	k-áxay[15]	te-lwa-nê
SC-Qo	St-V_s	N_p-N_s-D_{sf}
Then (Mouse) said	"I am afraid.	(Bear is very) strong!"

râc-ʔames[16]	šó·l	ţ-yâx	te-lwa-nê
SC-ʔ-V_s	V_s	N_p-V_s	N_p-N_s-D_{sf}
he cried.	He climbed up	going	vigorously

k-a·-m-xwên	pe-ţ-axây	râm-ţeʔ	pe-selô·y
St-1pl-1pl-V_s	AP-N_p-N_s	SC-Qo	AP-N_s
arrived	the Bear.	Then said	the Mouse,

k-âxkoʔ	na	se-te-lwa-nê	râm-ša·ke·n-e	
St-V_s	D	ʔ-N_p-N_s-D_{sf}	SC-V_s-D_{sf}	
"Careful!	This	is heavy."	Then pointed at	(Mouse)

ram-ţeʔ-tak	ša·xâtaʔ	râm-te	
SC-Qo-pl	V_s	SC-Qo	
and said,	"Open (your) mouth!"	Then said	(Mouse)

têpen	ţ-ôle·ţ	k-âʔa·m-ko	ţe-šâ·xataʔ	
V_s	N_p-1sg-N_s	St-V_s-3sg	Loc-V_s	
"Hurts	my tooth.	Not able	to open (my)	mouth."

ša·tâtaʔ	skomô	kas	ram-k-nêkaʔ	
V_s	Adv	Adv	SC-St-V_s	
"Open (your) mouth	(a) little	only"	and (Mouse)	obeyed.

p-etâk-o	k-šô·lok-ne	kâs-skomô	pe-ţ-ê·lk-o
Act-V_s-3sg	St-V_s-D_{sf}	Adv-Adv	AP-N_p-N_s-3sg
(He) made	opening	very small	his mouth.

rám-ţe?-tak̓	á-em-yá	rám-hala?
SC-Qo-pl	Con-Loc-V_S	SC-V_S
Then (Mouse) said,	"Go ahead."	Then used

om-šk̓ay̓-o	lk̓él-ţe-pa-ksa-t-yá[17]	rám-ţe?-tak̓
N_p-N_S-3sg	V_S-pl-?-Adv-N_p-V_S	SC-Qo-pl
his talons	(and) went rolling down.	Then said

pe-selóˑy	ma?á	škó?-ra?	mo?-p-yem̓-ó
AP-N_S	V_S	Loc-Loc	2sg-Act-V_S-3sg
the Mouse,	"Carry	(him) here.	You know

ţ-o-m-téˑw̓	ké-šaˑk	ma?a-wo	p-eˑséˑl-xo
N_p-2sg-2sg-N_S	V_Z-V_S	V_S-3sg	Act-V_S-3sg
your strength."	Went	carried	the whole thing

ksá-še?[18]	ram-kó-p-aˑm-ko	k-epčóˑp-lo
Adv-?	SC-Neg-Act-V_S-3sg	St-V_S-Cl
more.	And (he) could not.	(He was) tired

ráˑm-p-c̓éˑnţ-ko	em-k̓wél	a-k-áˑs-o
SC-Act-V_S-3sg	Loc-N_S	Con-St-V_S-3sg
Then (Mouse) looks	through (the) world	wonders (who)

ó-yem-a?	rám-p-yáˑm-o	pe-ţ-óˑw-o
Int-V_S-?	SC-Act-V_S-3sg	AP-N_p-N_S-3sg
sees it.	Then sees it	his face

k-šó·menxa?	k-ó̱laʔe?	ṭo-p-ṭ-ó̱·w-o
St-V_s	St-V_s	Loc-AP-N_p-N_s-3sg
stretched.	He is ashamed	of his face

rome-p-yá̱·m-o	ram-k-ó̱ney-e?	ṭe-ṭ-yá̱
Loc-Act-V_s-3sg	SC-St-V_s-D_{sf}	Loc-N_p-V_s
when sees it.	And he is afraid	to go

ma-ké̱w-o	pe-xá̱ya?	rá̱·m-p-ox
Loc-Loc-3sg	AP-Adv	SC-Act-V_s
where	(there are) many.	Then he goes

ro-p-ṭó̱ke	k̓aṭ	k-ó̱ho·m-a?	ṭo-p-ṭ-ololay̓-o
Loc-AP-Adv	N_s	St-V_s-?	Loc-AP-N_p-V_s-3sg
inside	grass	hiding	his shame.

kó̱-yem-a?-lo	kas	yo?-lo-p-ṭ-ya-t̓-ay̓-o[19]
Neg-V_s-?-Cl	Adv	D-Cl-Act-N_p-V_s-?-?-3sg
Not seen any more	(no) more	he is gone.

9.1. Grammatical Notes.

1 rám-ţ-yá·-tel

ram- is the sentence connective, usually translated 'then', but translated as 'and' when unstressed, see Sections 4.7 and 7.2.

-ţ- is the nominalizing prefix for verbs, see Section 4.0. Notice how wide-spread nominalized verbs are in this text.

-yá·- verb stem 'to come/go' used extensively in this text.

-tel plural suffix, indicating the plurality of the subject, see note 5.

2 rám-ţe?-taḱ

ram-, see note 1.

-ţe?- is the quotative particle occurring frequently in this text, see Section 7.6.

-taḱ is a plural suffix.

3 šte-lwá?-léḱ

šte- is a prefix used only with the word for 'man', meaning 'old'.

-lwa?- 'man'.

-leḱ first person perfective aspect suffixed by Mason (1918) to the noun.

4 k-á·we-yak-še?

k- is the stative verb prefix.

-a·we-yak stative verb 'hot' (recorded as k-á·wyak

by Jacobsen). The -yak is probably segmentable but is of unknown meaning and function.

-šeʔ unknown. Mason gives a confusing account in his grammatical analysis of this text. šeʔ is found in other parts of the text as an affix and not glossed. On page 49 Mason (1918) defines -šeʔ as both 'desiderative' and 'substantive', and še- as 'old, aged' on page 21. Besides the two examples of -šeʔ and the one example of še- in this text, there are three other textual attestations, (given with Mason's glosses: šeʔ-lo 'already' (Text 3, line 3), ra-mô·m-šeʔ 'then you (pl)' (Text 3, line 26) and k-lo-x-l-a-no-šeʔ 'burnt almost' (Text 23, line 8). The only other attestation than Mason's is ḱoḱ-šêʔ 'vomit' from Harrington. (Compare ḱo·ḱ-êt-oʔ 'his vomit' from Harrington.)

5 yax is the plural form of the verb stem 'to come/go'.

6 yax-tên

yax- (see the immediately preceding note).

-ten is the iterative plural, 'again, also'.

See Sections 2.31-2.33.

7 ram-xâlaʔ

ram- is the sentence connective, see note 1.

xâlaʔ is the verb stem 'to hit' (transitive).

8 ram-mêheʧ'-e·nxaʔ

ram- see note 1.

-meheţ'- is the verb stem 'to run around'.

-e·nxa? is unknown.

9 kara? mas

kara? is the negative

mas is an adverb borrowed from Spanish 'more', see Section 7.3.

10 râm-ţe?-tawlayk

ram- see note 1.

-ţe?- is the quotative, see note 2.

-tawlayk is unknown, but a plural, at least, can be inferred.

11 tâ·so adverb? This word is not listed in Mason's (1918) vocabulary or attested elsewhere. In his free translation Mason uses the word 'blindly', he uses the words 'kept on trying' in his original notebook and he uses the word 'helplessly' in the published text. (The recordings of the word for 'blind' are simply the word for 'eye' with a negative prefix, or an entirely different stative verb: šamle.)

12 ţe-pâsea·l-ten

ţe- is a locative prefix, see Section 6.6.

-pâsia·l I have not segmented the Salinan p- prefix usually occurring in active verbs because the verb has been borrowed from Spanish pasear 'to stroll'.

13 ram-kô-yem-a?

ram- see note 1.

-ko- is the negative prefix.

-yem- is the verb stem 'to see', but see Section 4.51.

-a? Mason glosses this as a passivizer and when -a? occurs following yem, he glosses it as 'seen' in his texts (1918). In his grammar (p. 48) Mason defines -a? as 'passive, reflexive'. However, other recordings by Harrington and Jacobsen suggest that this analysis is incorrect, e.g.

kâra? kê?-yem-a? 'they did not see me' and

čê·xeⁿ-a? 'I am angry' from Harrington and

k-â·l-ten-a? 'they are fighting' and

m-onop-â? 'move!' from Jacobsen.

There is nothing passive or reflexive about these examples, though the function and meaning of -a? remains obscure.

14 šа·xâta? This is the imperative form of the verb stem 'to open one's mouth'. Cf. šâxata? 'his mouth is open'. There is an interesting demonstration of otherwise unattested derivational suffixes with this stem:

šax 'to eat'

šax-anlop 'to yawn'

šax-ata? 'to open one's mouth'.

15 k-âxay

k- is the stative verb prefix.

-axay is a verb 'to be afraid'. This stem may take either k- or p- prefixes:

k-axay 'I am afraid'

p-axay-o? 'he feared it' (transitive). See Section 4.5 for verbs with the k- and p- prefixes.

16 râc-?ames

rac- seems to be the sentence connective from ram- plus c. This should be a morpheme boundary of m, k and glottal stop.

-?ames is the verb stem 'to cry'.

17 lk̓ê̓l-ţe-pa-ksa-t-yâ, this form is opaque:

šk̓e(·)l- is the verb stem 'to roll'

-ţe- an iterative plural?

-pa- unknown

-ksa- adverb 'more'

-t- possibly a nominalizing prefix with verbs

-ya the verb stem 'to come/go'.

18 ksâ-še?

ksa- adverb 'more', see Section 7.3.

-še? see note 4.

19 yo?-lo-p-ţ-ya-t̓-ay̓-o

yo?- is an indefinite pronoun, see Section 3.4.

-lo- glossed here by Mason as 'already' in the same sense as that discussed in Section 4.63, Aspect. However, this is the only occurrence

of this morpheme in this position, before the verb stem, so this analysis is in doubt.

-p- is the active verb prefix, see Section 4.3.

-ṭ- is the nominalizing prefix

-ya- is the verb stem 'to come/go'

-ṭ'- is unknown

-ay'- is also unknown, but see Section 2.242.

-o? 3sg.

9.2 Free translation

The three going along passed by the house of Skunk. Then the Coyote said, "This old man (Skunk) appears to be a dancer. Come on inside, come on." Then (Skunk) said, "Sit down, my beauties." The (Coyote) said, "Dance so that these handsome men may see you." The (Skunk) said, "All right, but I am an old man. I will try to dance if I can. It is very hot, but I will light the fire and then try to dance." Then he raised his tail to dance, whirling it closer and closer to the men's faces. Then Skunk said, "Come closer. Come closer and closer." Then (Raven) hit (Skunk) with a hot stone and it entered (Skunk's) anus. He ran around. Then it was said, "The Coyote is a bad man. He has killed a lot of people."

When the children (of Skunk, Little Birds) arrived, (Hawk) said, "Children, why are your legs so thin? They wouldn't fill my hand." Then he tried to feel their feet and they did not fill his hand. Then he said, "No, they don't." He squeezed them tight and threw them into the sweathouse. They flew around into the fire.

Then the Coyote said, "Come here, too. Why not go too? Hurry up and go in." They did not obey. He grabbed them and threw them in the fire, and they were burned by Coyote Bad Man. He wanted to kill a lot of people. That is why Coyote said, "Enter." He didn't

say any more. He was a bad man who wanted to kill people.

Leaving, they heard flute music. They heard the music of Raven's flute. And people cried over and over again, "What is this? It is not human music. Where is the music coming from that we hear?" Then (Raven) disappeared and was not seen again. They wondered where he had gone. They looked for him, but they didn't find where he was.

Then (Hawk) remembered to gather up the bears. He went to find them and gather them up. He made them pass by him. "Open your mouth" he said, pointing. As they went by him one by one he pointed with his arrow and said, "Open your mouth." As they passed he said to Mouse, "Bring another," and he shouted at them to come. Mouse cried, "I am afraid, it's too heavy." Bear climbed up easily. Mouse said, "Careful! This one is strong." Hawk pointed with his arrow again and said, "Open your mouth." The Mouse said, "My tooth hurts. I can not open my mouth."

Hawk pointed again and said, "Then open your mouth only a little bit." Mouse obeyed and opened his mouth only a little bit and said, "Go ahead."

The Hawk used his talons and the Bear went rolling down. Hawk told the Mouse, "Carry him here. You know you can do it." Mouse went and tried to carry the Bear, but he couldn't. He was too tired.

Everyone watches Mouse now and sees that his face is stretched (from dragging Bear). Mouse is ashamed of his face and is afraid of going out in public. He hides his shame in the grass and is not seen by people. He hides from the world.

9.21 Mason's free translation

The three friends Prairie-Falcon, Raven and Coyote passed by the house of Skunk. Then Coyote said, "Let's go in and see this old man, the dancer. Come on in!" He wanted Skunk to kill them. They went inside and Skunk said, "Sit down, my good fellows!" Then said Coyote, "Please dance, so that these gentlemen may see it." Skunk said, "All right; I am getting pretty old, but I'll try to dance. But it's very hot; I'll light the fire and then try to dance!" Then he straightened his tail out, lifted it and began to dance. He whirled around, continually bringing his anus closer to the faces of the friends. "Come closer!" he cried. "Come closer!" For he wished to shoot his poison at them. Then Raven threw a hot stone at him so that it entered his anus. He ran around in pain. Then he cried out, "Yes, this Coyote is a bad man; many has he killed."

Then came the children of Skunk who were little birds. Prairie-Falcon said, "Children, why are your legs so thin? They wouldn't fill my hand!" He seized their legs to feel them and they did not fill his hand. "No," he said, "There is no more." He seized them and threw them into the sweathouse. Blindly they flew around into the fire.

Then said Prairie-Falcon to Coyote, "Come here also!" "Why should I come?" asked Coyote, frightened. "Come on! Hurry up!" But the Coyote did not obey. And Prairie-Falcon seized him and threw him into the fire when he was burnt. A bad man was Coyote; he wished the others to be killed and so said "Enter!" at the house of Skunk. But he said no more; he was a bad man for wanting the others to be killed.

Away they went, Raven playing his magic flute. All the people heard the music of Raven's flute and said, "What is that noise? Surely it is not human music! From where comes this music?" More clearly sounded the music but suddenly it ceased and was not heard anywhere. The people wandered about but could not find him; Raven had been lost. "Why do you think he has lost himself?" they asked. They hunted for him but could not find him; they hunted him everywhere. Then Pairie-Falcon bethought himself of the bears and decided to collect them; he sought them out and gathered them together, for he suspected that one of them had eaten Raven. He made them pass by him one by one. "Open your mouth!" he ordered and pointed with his arrow at them. Then he inspected their mouths. One by one they went and another came. "Open your mouth!" and he pointed again. "Bring another one!" Finally there remained only one; Prairie-Falcon told Mouse to call him to come. But Mouse said, "I am afraid! He is

too strong!" At last Bear came, climbing up and shouting loudly. Then said the Mouse, "Be careful! This one is very strong!" Prairie-Falcon ordered him "Open your mouth!" and pointed his arrow. "My tooth hurts," said Bear. "I can't open my mouth!" Then he pointed his arrow again. "Open it just a little ways!" Bear obeyed and opened his mouth a very little bit. "Go ahead!" he said. Then Prairie-Falcon stuck in his talons and Bear went rolling down, dead. Then said Prairie-Falcon to Mouse, "Carry him away! There he is; you know your strength!" Mouse endeavored to carry Bear away whole, but he could not; he became tired. Therefore his nose is stretched out and he goes through the word watching who notices it. He is ashamed of his face. When he sees it he is afraid to go where there are many people. Therefore he keeps in the grass and hides for shame. And he is never seen; he went away.

9.22 Background. In Mason (1912) "Ethnology of the Salinan Indians" (p.193-4) he gives an account of the mythology of the Salinans, which was collected by Henry Henshaw in 1884. The following is Henshaw's version of this story.

> "'Here's another one, and he has a very powerful weapon, said the Hawk. They went and found Skunk in his hole, but when he heard the noise he came out and turned his tail to them. 'Now is the time,' whispered the Hawk. 'Now be ready,' said the Raven. 'I'm going to try first,' and he threw a stone at the Skunk. The latter turned his tail and fired. Hawk and Raven got their flute and guitar while a crowd of people came up behind. Suddenly the Skunk made a great smoke. 'Look out! Get away before the smoke reaches you!' At last they managed to kill the Skunk and went in search of new victims."

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