

Hupa Grammar

By

Victor Karl Golla

A.B. (University of California) 1960

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

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Committee in Charge

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 Date

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## PREFACE

I am in the debt of many people for their aid and encouragement in my Hupa work. The project was first suggested to me by Professor Mary R. Haas, who waited with exemplary patience for its completion, never failing in her support. Professors Harry Hoijer and Michael E. Krauss, my fellow Athabaskanists, turned what might have been a tedious chore into an intellectual adventure. Professor Wallace L. Chafe and my fellow students at Berkeley provided the best of all possible company in scholarship. For diverse reasons, but with equal magnitude, I am ever grateful to Carolyn Pomeroy, Leonard Talmy, and Shirley Silver.

What I owe to Edward Sapir the following pages will attest.

Without my wife, Susan, nothing could have been done.

But of course it is to the Hupa themselves that I owe the most. It is impolite, in Hoopa Valley, to mention the dead, so I shall not. But may their shades know, over across, that /yɪma·nʔdɪl kʲɪle·xɪʒ/ remembers and loves them still.

## CONTENTS

BIBLIOGRAPHY	1
100. INTRODUCTION	8
110. The Hupa	8
120. Previous work	13
130. The present work	19
130.1 Materials	19
130.2 Model	21
200. PHONOLOGY	24
210. Phonemics	25
211. Consonants	25
211.1 Stops	26
211.2 Affricates	28
211.3 Fricatives	30
211.4 Resonants	31
211.5 Glides	33
212. Vowels	35
212.1 Tense vowels	35
212.2 Lax vowel	36
213. Prosodemes	39
213.1 Pause	39
213.2 Interjected high pitch	40
220. Morpheme elements	42
221. Types of element	43
221.1 Full syllables	43
221.2 Reduced syllables	43

- 221.3 Single consonants 43
- 221.4 Exceptional elements 43
- 222. Basic phonemes 45
  - 222.1 Basic consonants 45
  - 222.2 Basic vowels 46
- 223. Restrictions on occurrence of basic phonemes 47
- 230. Phonological rules 49
  - 231. Rules for full vowels 50
  - 232. Rules for reduced vowels 53
  - 233. Rules for consonants 54
- 300. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB 56
  - 310. Prefix positions 1, 2, and 3 57
    - 311. Mode markers 58
    - 312. Mode markers in other positions 58
    - 313. Form of the mode markers 61
      - 313.1 Imperfective 61
      - 313.2 #nɪn- perfective 61
      - 313.3 #sɪ- perfective 62
      - 313.4 #wɪn- perfective 65
      - 313.5 #wesɪ- perfective 66
      - 313.6 Progressive 66
      - 313.7 Customary 67
      - 313.8 Optative 67
      - 313.9 Potential 68
    - 314. Subject markers 69
      - 314.1 First person singular 68

- 314.2 Second person singular 71
- 314.3 First person plural 71
- 314.4 Second person plural 71
- 315. Classifiers 73
- 316. Classifiers in comparative perspective 74
- 317. Occurrence and general function of classifiers 76
  - 317.1 #t- classifier 76
  - 317.2 #d<sub>l</sub>- classifier 79
  - 317.3 #l- classifier 82
  - 317.4 Compound classifiers 86
  - 317.5 Other classifiers 88
    - 317.51 #n- classifier 88
    - 317.52 #s- classifier 88
    - 317.53 #w- classifier 89
- 318. Summary of forms in combination 90
- 320. Prefix positions 7 and 8 97
- 321. Deictic markers (position 8) 98
  - 321.1 #y<sub>l</sub>- deictic 98
    - 321.11 Comparative remarks on #y<sub>l</sub>- deictic 98
  - 321.2 #č<sub>l</sub>- deictic 100
  - 321.3 #x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>- deictic 101
  - 321.4 #k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>- deictic 102
- 322. Object markers (position 7) 103
  - 322.1 Personal objects 103
    - 322.11 First person singular 103

- 322.12 Second person singular 103
- 322.13 First or second person  
plural 104
- 322.2 Impersonal objects 105
  - 322.21 General deictic object 105
  - 322.22 Human deictic object 106
  - 322.23 Place deictic object 107
  - 322.24 Specific (thematic) deictic  
object 107
- 322.3 Relational objects 108
  - 322.31 Reflexive object 108
  - 322.32 Reciprocal object 109
  - 322.33 Passive object 109
- 323. Deictic and object markers in semi-  
transitive bases 111
- 324. Summary of forms in combination 112
- 330. Prefix positions 4, 9, and 10 115
  - 331. Distributive (position 4) 115
  - 332. Plural (position 9) 117
  - 333. Iterative (position 10) 118
- 340. Prefix positions 5 and 11 120
  - 340.1 Types of base formatives 120
  - 340.2 Perfective specification 121
- 341. Directional prefixes 124
- 342. Action prefixes 129
- 343. Adjectival prefixes 131
  - 343.1 #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- 'thus, so' 131

- 343.2 #0-e<sub>11</sub>- 'as 0 (is, does)' 132
- 343.3 Variants with #1<sub>1</sub>- 132
- 344. Other adverbial prefixes 133
  - 344.1 Progressive and stative base formatives 133
  - 344.2 Non-directional formative 134
- 345. Phonological variation in adverbial prefixes 135
- 350. Thematic prefixes (positions 6 and 11) 136
- 351. Semantic class markers (position 6) 137
- 352. First elements of compound stems (position 6) 144
- 353. Thematic prefixes in position 11 146
  - 353.1 Semitransitive (#0-o<sub>11</sub>-) 146
  - 353.2 Simple prefixes 147
  - 353.3 Complex prefixes 148
- 360. Stems and stem suffixes 149
  - 361. Stems in active themes 150
  - 362. Formation of derivative stem forms 152
    - 362.1 The customary stem 152
    - 362.2 The optative stem 153
    - 362.3 The potential stem 153
    - 362.4 The progressive stem 154
- 400. SYSTEM OF THE VERB 156
  - 410. Theme types 157
    - 411 Subject inflection 158
      - 411.1 Impersonal themes 158
        - 411.11 Inherently impersonal 158



- 411.12 Impersonal themes with  
deictic subject markers 159
- 411.2 Personal themes 161
- 411.3 Singular and plural themes 162
- 412. Object inflection 163
  - 412.1 Basic transitive themes 163
  - 412.2 Semitransitive themes 163
  - 412.3 Thematic objects 164
- 413. Modal inflection 166
  - 413.1 Neuter themes 166
    - 413.11 Imperfective neuter 166
    - 413.12 #nɪn- and #wɪn- perfective  
neuter 166
    - 413.13 #sɪ- perfective neuter 167
    - 413.14 Progressive neuter 169
- 420. Description theme system 171
- 421. Adjectival classes 172
- 422. Secondary themes 175
  - 422.1 Transitional 175
  - 422.2 Causative 176
- 430. Motion theme systems 178
  - 431. Directional theme system 180
    - 431.1 Primary theme 180
    - 431.2 Derivatives from primary  
intransitives 180
    - 431.3 Derivatives from primary  
transitives 181

- 431.31 Passive 181
- 431.32 Reflexive 182
- 431.4 General motion themes 183
- 432. Non-directional theme system 185
  - 432.1 Primary theme 185
  - 432.2 Derivative themes 185
  - 432.3 The theme #na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya? 186
- 433. Progressive theme system 187
  - 433.1 Primary theme 187
  - 433.2 Derivative themes 187
  - 433.3 The theme #w<sub>13</sub>-..ya<sub>1</sub> 188
- 434. Stative theme system 189
  - 434.1 Primary theme 189
  - 434.2 Derivative themes 190
    - 434.21 Transitional 190
    - 434.22 Possessive 191
- 435. Classificatory themes 193
- 440. Extension theme system 198
- 441. Primary themes 198
  - 441.1 Primary #w<sub>1n</sub>- perfective 198
  - 441.2 #s<sub>1</sub>- perfective 199
  - 441.3 #n<sub>1n</sub>- perfective 199
  - 441.4 Associated #d<sub>16</sub>- imperfective 200
- 442. Derivatives 201
  - 442.1 Transitional 201
  - 442.2 Causative 201

- 450. Action theme system 203
  - 451. Primary theme 203
  - 452. Derivatives from intransitives 204
    - 452.1 Causative 204
    - 452.2 Gerund 204
  - 453. Derivatives from transitives 206
    - 453.1 Passive 206
    - 453.2 Reflexive 207
- 500. OTHER WORD CLASSES 209
  - 510. Nominals 210
    - 511. Pronominal prefixes 212
      - 511.1 Object/possessor markers 212
      - 511.2 Plural marker 215
    - 512. General nominals 216
      - 512.1 Primary bases 216
      - 512.2 Possessed bases 218
    - 513. Possessed nominals 220
      - 513.1 Inalienables 220
      - 513.2 Locatives 223
  - 520. Substitutes 236
    - 521. Independent pronouns 236
    - 522. Relative-interrogative substitutes 237
  - 530. Modifiers 239
    - 531. Simple modifiers 240
    - 532. Directionals 250
      - 532.1 Themes 250
      - 532.2 Theme compounds 250
      - 532.3 Locative phrases 253

- 533. Numerals 255
  - 533.1 Basic numeral themes 255
  - 533.2 Higher counting 255
  - 533.3 Variant theme forms 256
- 540. Particles 257
- 541. Word formatives 257
  - 541.1 Possessed nominal base formative 257
  - 541.2 Iterative proclitic 257
  - 541.3 Tense markers 258
  - 541.4 Other word formatives 260
  - 541.5 Consonant symbolism 263
- 542. Phrase formatives 265
  - 542.1 Nominal phrase formatives 265
  - 542.2 Locative phrase formatives 270
  - 542.3 Adverbial phrase formatives 273
- 543. Sentence modifiers 279
  - 543.1 Attitude words 279
  - 543.2 Connectives 282
- 550. Expressive words 285
- 600. REMARKS ON SENTENCE SYNTAX 288
- 610. Types of sentences 288
  - 611. Compound sentences 288
  - 612. Restricted sentences 290
    - 612.1 Imperatives 290
    - 612.2 Prohibitives 291

- 613. Minor sentences 292
  - 613.1 Vocatives 292
  - 613.2 Expressives 292
- 620. Predications 294
- 621. Nominal predications 294
- 622. Expansions 295
- 623. Enclitic predications 297
- 630. Nominal phrases (NP) 299
  - 631. Independent pronouns as NP 299
  - 632. Relative-interrogative substitutes as NP 300
  - 633. Nominals as NP 300
  - 634. Complex NP's 302
    - 634.1 The form #nax-t 302
    - 634.2 Complex NP's formed on nominals or modifiers 303
    - 634.3 Complex NP's formed on predications 304
      - 634.31 Formations with #-t 304
      - 634.32 Formations with #-dɪn 307
- 640. Locative phrases (LP) 308
- 650. Adverbial phrases (AP) 311

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AR	Anthropological Records (Berkeley)
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics

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## 100. INTRODUCTION

## 110. The Hupa.

The modern Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation, in northeastern Humboldt County, California--a 144-square mile tract transected by the Trinity River just above its confluence with the Klamath--represents approximately half of the aboriginal territory of the Hupa Indians.\* Before 1850, the Hupa lived in a series of villages along the Trinity, mainly in Hoopa Valley, but also upstream from it as far as Salyers, about 10 miles above Willow Creek, where the Trinity and its South Fork branch. Near Salyers was the village of /t̥e·ld̥ɪŋ/, a reduced form of /t̥e·l̥ɪn-d̥ɪŋ/ '(the streams) flow together - place', which the Hupa reckoned the last "real" village upstream, corresponding in name and geographical importance to /t̥e·n̥ald̥ɪŋ/ (from /t̥e·na·l̥ɪn-d̥ɪŋ/ '(the streams) flow together again - place'), the Hupa name for Weitchpec or Weitspus, at the confluence of the Trinity and the Klamath where Yurok territory began.

Despite the near anarchy of their political organization, the Hupa had a strong sense of their social and geographical unity. This was maintained by a

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\*The official spelling of the valley, reservation, and post office is "Hoopa". Anthropological usage is "Hupa".

yearly cycle of public ceremonies, the most important of which was the White Deerskin Dance, held throughout a 10 day period in the late summer at several successive dancegrounds (Goldschmidt and Driver 1940). In the White Deerskin Dance, as well as in other contexts, a dual division of Hupa society clearly showed itself. Sponsorship of the ritual, maintenance of the dancegrounds, even performance of specific dances, was strictly apportioned between (1) the people of the village of /taʔkʲɪmɪɬ-dɪŋ/ and of the lower half of the valley generally; and (2) the people of the village of /meʔdɪl-dɪŋ/ and of other villages in the upper half of the valley and on the river above the valley as far as /ɬe·ldɪŋ/. The /taʔkʲɪmɪɬ-xʷe/, or /taʔkʲɪmɪɬ-dɪŋ/ moiety, was sometimes also called /na·tɪnt-xʷe/ after the general term for Hoopa Valley, /na·tɪnt-xʷ/ 'where the trails (lead) back'. The name "Hoopa" is from Yurok /hupo·/, equivalent to Hupa /na·tɪnt-xʷ/.

The aboriginal population of Hupa territory has been estimated at between one and two thousand. The villages of /taʔkʲɪmɪɬ-dɪŋ/ and /meʔdɪl-dɪŋ/ were the major population centers of the tribe, containing each some 40 houses and 200 people. The lesser villages, of which there were about a dozen in the valley and six or eight beyond, averaged perhaps 50 people each (Baumhoff 1958:209-215).

The boundaries of the Hupa tribe were not the boundaries of Hupa speech. Upstream on South Fork,

above /te·ldɪŋ/, there was at least a village or two of Athabaskan speakers, almost certainly Hupa, along with Chimariko and perhaps Wintu. To the Hupa proper there was no distinction. These backwoodsmen were all /yɪnah-<sup>3</sup>çɪn/ 'those who come from upstream'. They had no part in Hupa ceremonials, except as the most casual of on-lookers.

To the west was a much more significant group, the /x<sup>w</sup>ɪyɪqɪd-x<sup>w</sup>e/ of Redwood Creek, known in the anthropological literature as the Whilkut or Chilula (Goddard 1914a).<sup>\*</sup> According to some reports, the aboriginal Whilkut were important and prosperous, but in the Hupa view they were second class Hupa. They crossed the ridge to attend Hupa ceremonials, in which they were permitted to take a minor part. After the creation of the Hoopa Valley Reservation most of the remaining Whilkut moved over to the valley and soon merged with the general Hupa.

Although the Hupa word for 'human being' is /k<sup>y</sup>ɪwɪŋyaʔn-ya·n/, literally 'eater of acorns', and the gathering and preparation of acorns occupied much of a Hupa woman's time, Hupa culture was focused on the river and its bountiful supply of salmon. They shared

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<sup>\*</sup>Goddard distinguished the lower Redwood Creek people, the "Chilula", from those of the upper creek, the "Whilkut". Some such division probably existed, but the terms Goddard uses are misleading. /x<sup>w</sup>ɪyɪqɪd/ was the name for the valley of Redwood Creek, and all Athabaskans living there were /x<sup>w</sup>ɪyɪqɪd-x<sup>w</sup>e/. "Chilula" is Yurok.

this focus, and most of the material and mental culture built around it, with their downstream neighbors the Yurok (/k<sup>y</sup>ɪnaʔ/) and the Karok (/k<sup>y</sup>ɪnasn/). There was much intervisitation (mainly by canoe) and some intermarriage among the three tribes. Multilingualism was common, although there were remarkably few lexical borrowings (at least between Hupa and the other two languages).\*

The Hupa speak an Athabaskan language. Languages of this family are widespread in northwestern North America, and include Navaho and the Apachean languages of the Southwest. Several small enclaves of Athabaskan speech existed along the Pacific coast at the time of contact, probably representing a slow southward movement. These coastal groups are sometimes said to constitute a sub-family within Athabaskan, Pacific Coast Athabaskan (Hoijer 1960). Hupa belongs to the southernmost of the Pacific Coast Athabaskan groups, usually called California Athabaskan. Languages of this group, besides Hupa, are (or were) mostly spoken along the Eel River, and include Nongatɬ, Sinkyone, Lassik, Wailaki, and Kato, as well as Mattole and Bear River of Cape Mendocino. Of the California Athabaskan languages Hupa is phonologically the most conservative and, as far as can be told, the most elaborate in grammatical

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\*It is possible that there have been significant linguistic interinfluences in semantic and deep grammatical structure. But see Haas 1967.



innovation. (For descriptions of other California Athabaskan languages see Goddard 1912 and Li 1930.)

120. Previous work on the Hupa language.

Northwestern California was one of the last areas in the continental United States to be reached by Western culture. It was not until the California Gold Rush of 1848-49 that the Hupa came into extensive contact with Americans. That contact, of course, was massive and sudden. By the Fall of 1850, the Hupa, along with the other Indians of the region, found themselves living in an American State, hounded by its gold-seeking citizens, and kept in "pacification" by a military force. The first known record of the Hupa language was made by George Gibbs, a student of Indian languages, who accompanied Lt. George Crook through the Klamath River region on a Treaty Expedition. Gibbs obtained a brief (but remarkably accurate) vocabulary at Weitchpec, presumably from a Hupa-Yurok bilingual (Gibbs MS), which he published the following year in Schoolcraft's collection (Gibbs 1853). Not surprisingly, this remained the only substantial attestation of Hupa for the next 35 years. From time to time one or another of the military stationed at Fort Gaston, the Hoopa Valley garrison, would take down a vocabulary, but it was not until 1888 that another linguist, Jeremiah Curtin, visited the Hupa. Curtin, a professional polyglot and translator, had been sent by Major J. W. Powell of the newly established Bureau of American Ethnology to gather extensive linguistic data from northern

California tribes. He spent three months on the Hoopa Reservation, filling out a complete Powell Schedule (the programmatic vocabulary list Major Powell had prepared for the use of field workers) (Curtin MS). In his Memoirs he wrote: "I had learned the Hoopa language and..[collected] a good number of myths" (Schafer 1940: 424). None of this material was published.

In March, 1897, Pliny Earle Goddard, then 28, went to Hoopa as lay missionary for the Woman's Indian Aid Association of Philadelphia. Goddard, a Quaker, had taken on the mission partly out of poverty (he had been trained as a teacher, but the depression of the mid-90's had put him out of work) and partly out of a growing interest in American Indians. During his three years in Hoopa Valley Goddard devoted an increasing amount of time to the study of the aboriginal language and culture, and in 1900 left missionary work for anthropology. He entered the University of California, at Berkeley, as a graduate student in linguistics, and in 1901 he became an Instructor in Anthropology, with A. L. Kroeber his senior colleague. On the basis of his Hupa experience, he prepared for publication a series of ethnographic and linguistic studies: Life and Culture of the Hupa (1903), Hupa Texts (1904), The Morphology of the Hupa Language (1905), and The Phonology of the Hupa Language (1907). His Hupa linguistic materials were also published, in revised form, in the first volume of Boas' Handbook of American Indian Languages (Goddard 1911).

Goddard's work remains to this day the major published source on Hupa. The text materials are extensive and generally well-recorded. Goddard's phonological and grammatical descriptions suffer from the defects of the time, but Goddard knew the language well enough to transcend many of his theoretical limitations. From his first publications, however, Goddard's materials were subject to close and sometimes hostile scrutiny by Father A. G. Morice, who had devoted his life to the study of Carrier (an Athabaskan language of British Columbia) and had established his reputation as a student of comparative Athabaskan linguistics. Goddard soon responded in kind. The flavor of their scholarly debate over the details of Hupa may be tasted in Father Morice's paper of 1907 and in Goddard's sarcastic reply, "A Confession as to Errors in Hupa Linguistics" (1908).

After his Hupa work Goddard turned to the study of other Athabaskan languages, first in California (Goddard 1912), later in Canada and the Southwest. This later work was much shallower and more hurried than his Hupa, to which he added only slightly after 1907: In 1914 he published his observations on the Hupa dialect of Redwood Creek (1914a, 1914b), and in 1928, in response to questions raised by Sapir, he attempted to refine his analysis of Hupa phonology, particularly with regard to pitch, which Sapir (wrongly) insisted was structurally important in Hupa.

Edward Sapir's interest in Hupa was of long standing. During his dissertation field work on Takelma in 1906 he had collected a few pages of notes on Chasta Costa, an Athabaskan language of Oregon, which he made the basis, a few years later, for a penetrating study of Pacific Coast Athabaskan (Sapir 1914). Around 1920 Sapir, then Chief Ethnologist for the Geological Survey of Canada, returned to the study of Athabaskan, which he had come to believe was related to Tlingit and Haida of the Northwest Coast in a "Na-Dene" superstock (Sapir 1915). Na-Dene, Sapir believed, was in turn distantly but demonstrably related to the Sino-Tibetan group (Sapir MS), and he felt a need for more accurate data from the various Athabaskan subgroups to substantiate his hypothesis. He undertook field work on Sarcee and Kutchin in the early 1920's, and began compiling a massive comparative lexicon (Sapir 1923, 1925). The Pacific Coast group, represented almost entirely in Goddard's publications, proved to be archaic and important for the reconstruction of proto-Athabaskan, and Sapir pressed Goddard for more data, especially on Hupa.

In the Summer of 1927 Sapir, by then Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, himself went to work on Hupa. He took with him a graduate student, Li Fang-Kwei, who spent part of the summer working with Sapir and the remaining weeks gathering material on Mattole (Li 1930) and Wailaki. Sapir's work was

typically thorough. He collected over 75 texts and compiled a large file of grammatical and lexical elements (Sapir 1927, 1928). None of this material reached print, except for a brief text on tattooing which Sapir made the basis of a paper for the Kroeber Festschrift (1936).

Sapir's enthusiasm for the comparative study of Na-Dene was apparently overtaken, in the late 1920's, by his growing interest in the intricacies of Athabaskan grammar. The year after his Hupa trip he began his extensive work with Navaho, a project that was still occupying him at his death ten years later. Several of the generation of linguists who were Sapir's students between 1926 and 1939 cooperated with him in his Athabaskan studies, in particular Li Fang-Kwei and Harry Hoijer. Together they evolved a model for the description of Athabaskan grammar, which is still standard. (See Hoijer 1945a, 1945b, 1945-49, 1946, 1963, 1967; Li 1946.)

Since 1930, the growing specialization of the disciplines has led to a problem-oriented type of field work in both linguistics and anthropology. Most of the recent work on Hupa has been of this nature. The only strictly linguistic work (before the present writer's) was carried out in 1953 by Mary Woodward, then a graduate student at U.C.L.A. Woodward published a study of Hupa phonemics in 1964, based on this work. Ethnographic studies have been more numerous. Harold Driver surveyed the area for the Culture Element Distribution study in

1935 (Driver 1939). Walter Goldschmidt spent the Summer of 1937 making a study of Hupa economic life, and he and Driver collaborated on a monograph on the White Deerskin Dance (1940). Edward Gifford carried out an extensive survey of Northwestern California World Renewal rites, including many visits to Hoopa, between 1940 and 1942 (Kroeber and Gifford 1949). Between 1945 and 1948 Edith Taylor and William Wallace spent several months on the Hoopa Reservation, reporting their observations in a series of short papers (Taylor 1948; Wallace 1947 a, 1947b, 1948a, 1948b, 1949, 1941, 1953; Wallace and Taylor 1950). Mention should be made of Eric Erikson's fascinating monograph (1943) on the Yurok world view, a "clinical" analysis whose startling insights probably hold for the Hupa as much as for the Yurok.

Sapir's interest in comparative Athabaskan has been maintained by several scholars, again notably Hoijer and Li (see especially Li 1933). In recent years Hoijer, through his own field work on Oregon Athabaskan, has become interested in the classification of the Pacific Coast Athabaskan languages, and has treated Hupa data to comparative analysis (Hoijer 1960). Michael Krauss has recently begun a reassessment of the problem of comparative Na-Dene with the broadened perspective of his work on Eyak, a fourth member of the stock (Krauss 1964, 1965, 1968, 1969).

130. The present work.

130.1 Materials.

The data underlying this description of Hupa are from two primary sources:

1. Material collected by Edward Sapir during the summer of 1927. This consists of 11 manuscript notebooks containing 76 separate texts, all in phonetic transcription with interlinear translation. The informants included Sam Brown, Jake Hostler, Oscar Brown, John Shoemaker, Mary Marshall, and Emma Frank. Sapir's principal informant was Sam Brown, who dictated at least a third of the texts--including several long ethnographic narratives--and served as interpreter for the rest. Working mainly with Sam Brown, Sapir also compiled an extensive grammatical and lexical file, keyed to the texts, with paradigmatic and derivational data elicited by direct questioning. All of this material, including a typescript of the texts apparently prepared under Sapir's supervision, went to Harry Hoijer after Sapir's death in 1939. Professor Hoijer was kind enough to put it at my disposal after the beginning of my own field work, and it is now on file in the archives of the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

2. Material collected by the present writer during the summers of 1962 through 1964, and during the fall of 1965. This consists of over 300 notebook pages of



lexical, grammatical, and textual material, the bulk of it directly elicited from my principal informants, Ned Jackson and his wife Louisa. Some of the texts were transcribed from dictation, but many of them were re-elicited from Goddard's Hupa Texts. (Re-elicitation consisted of my reading aloud Goddard's transcription, sentence by sentence, and transcribing my informant's "corrected" version.) Two or three dictated texts and a considerable amount of valuable lexical materials were obtained from one very old informant, Minnie Reeves, and from Rudolph Socktish, the last remaining near-monolingual speaker. This field work was supported entirely by the Survey of California Indian Languages, and the materials are now on file (partly on microfilm) in the Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

In preparing this description, all of the lexical and grammatical material from both my own and Sapir's notebooks and files were thoroughly correlated. A master file of themes was prepared, in which every elicited or textual occurrence of every verbal, nominal, modifier, or particle theme was noted. This secondary data will eventually form the basis of a lexicon and will be published together with, or soon after, this present work.

## 130.2 Model.

The model of Athabaskan structure presupposed in this description is that of Sapir, Hoijer, and Li.

(Compare Hoijer 1945-49, Li 1946, Sapir and Hoijer 1967.)

According to this model, sentences have as their principal constituent a verb or verbal word, consisting of a stem preceded by a large number of (potential) prefixes, serving to define inflectional and derivational categories. Other constituents of sentences are either expansions of categories within the verb (nouns, adverbs) or sentence-modifying particles.

The precise variant of this general model used here may be characterized as follows:

The ultimate meaningful units are morphemes.

Phonologically considered, morphemes consist of one or a string of elements (syllables of the shape (C)VC or (C)V, or single consonants), which may or may not be contiguous in occurring forms. Morphologically considered, morphemes fall into two classes: (1) themes, which are the basic lexical constituents of words; and (2) affixes, which derive or inflect words. Words are phonologically defined as forms occurring between (potential) pauses, and although there is a correlation between theme and word, some words contain more than one theme. Proclitic, enclitic, and compounded themes are distinguished.

Words fall into four classes, according to morphological, or a combination of morphological and

syntactic, criteria: (1) verbs; (2) nominals; (3) modifiers; and (4) particles. Verbs have a distinctive and complex derivational and inflectional system.

Nominals are inflected only for possessor or object by a set of pronominal prefixes. Modifiers and particles are uninflected. Modifiers are words other than verbs and nominals found in predicational phrases. Particles are either (1) sentence-modifying phrases, or (2) proclitic or enclitic word or phrase formants.

Verbs are described according to the following scheme:

The theme consists of a stem element, which may or may not be derived by a stem suffix, and, often, one or more prefixed elements, including a classifier (position 1) and a thematic prefix (position 6). In some themes, derivational or inflectional morphemes, or even proclitic words, are thematic, i.e., lexically inseparable from the stem and other theme elements.

From themes are formed one or more bases of inflection, in some instances a theme-base, consisting of the bare theme, in many cases adverbial bases, formed with one or more adverbial prefixes (positions 5 and 11). The base is inflected, with paradigms of inflectional prefixes, for subject and/or object and/or mode, or none of these, according to the inflectional valence of the theme, with certain markers (especially the choice of perfective modal markers) being determined by the nature of the base.

Themes fall into theme types, according to their inflectional requirements, and these types form interlocking theme systems through processes of theme derivation. Certain theme types are the primary theme types of theme systems, and from them all other types are derived, according to regular processes within each system. A few themes fall outside the major theme systems and must be separately described.

## 200. PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Hupa is described here in terms of two systems of specification. A phonemic transcription (symbolized by enclosing forms in slash brackets: /na·tɪnɪx<sup>w</sup>/) specifies the overt phonetic forms of Hupa sentences with minimal redundancy, but with no attention to grammatical forms. A basic transcription (symbolized by preceding forms with #: #na-tɪnɪ-x<sup>w</sup>ɪ) specifies the basic phonological specification of morphemes, in terms of an analysis into elements (or basic syllables). The phonemic manifestation of a given sequence of elements is defined (1) by particular rules of variation that must be described for each morpheme, and (2) by general phonological rules, applying to all elements regardless of the morphemes they specify.

## 210. Phonemics.

The phonemes and prosodemes of Hupa are listed below. Rare phonemes, and those resulting from the process of consonant symbolism (541.5) are in parentheses.

## 1. Consonants.

stops:

unaspirated / (b) d g<sup>y</sup> (g) G ?/

aspirated /t k<sup>y</sup> (k)/

glottalized /t' k'<sup>y</sup> (k') q'/

affricates:

unaspirated /ʒ ʒ'/

aspirated /c č<sup>w</sup>/

glottalized /c' č'<sup>w</sup> (č'<sup>w</sup>) č'/

fricatives:

/s (š) x x<sup>w</sup> ɬ h w/

resonants:

/m n ŋ l/

glides:

/y w/

## 2. Vowels.

/i<sup>~</sup>e a o/

vowel length /·/

## 3. Prosodemes.

pause / (space) /

interjected high pitch /' /

## 211. Consonants.

## 211.1 Stops.

## 1. Unaspirated series.

/b d g<sup>y</sup> g G ʔ/ are voiceless. They are unaspirated before vowels, slightly aspirated (i.e., released into an audible voiceless vocalic segment) before a pause.

/bo·se/ 'cat' [p..]  
 /do/ 'not' [t..]  
 /ɦɪd/ 'smoke' [..tʋ]  
 /ʔne·goʔ/ 'mother!' [ʔ..k..]  
 /k<sup>y</sup>ɪgeʔʒ/ 'strawberry' [..k..]  
 /dɪcɪg<sup>y</sup>/ 'unshelled acorns' [..k<sup>y</sup>ʋ]  
 /yɪnaG/ 'upstream' [..qʋ]  
 /Wɪtaʔ/ 'my father' [..ʔʋ]

## 2. Aspirated series.

/t k<sup>y</sup> k/ are voiceless and strongly aspirated. In emphatic speech the aspiration tends to be slightly fricative ([x] after /t/ and /k/, [x̣] after /k<sup>y</sup>/), especially before /a/. Aspirated stops are never found before a pause.

/mɪtɪs/ 'across it' [..th..]  
 /Wɪtaʔ/ 'my father' [..th..] or [..tx..]  
 /k<sup>y</sup>ɪle·xɪʒ/ 'boy' [k<sup>y</sup>h..] or [k<sup>y</sup>x..]  
 /xok<sup>y</sup>ɪwan/ 'he is asleep' [..k<sup>y</sup>h..]  
 /Wɪka·y/ 'my dear little grandchild!' (said by a woman) [..kh..] or [..kx..]

## 3. Glottalized series.

/t̥ k̥ k̥ q̥/ are strongly glottalized. Before a pause the release is typically noisy, and in the case of /q̥/ somewhat like a glottalized affricate [q̥x̥].

/t̥eʔ/ 'blanket' [t̥..]

/wɪmɪt̥/ 'my belly' [...t̥]

/mɪk̥yo·ceʔ/ 'its sinew' [...k̥y..]

/k̥yɪsdɪk̥y/ '(the bird) pecked it' [k̥y..k̥y]

/k̥ɪwaʔ-mɪt̥/ 'white man' [k̥..]

/q̥osta·n/ 'basket hat' [q̥..]

/sɪt̥ɪq̥/ '(a doughy mass) lies motionless'  
[..q̥x̥]

## 4. Points of articulation.

/b/ is bilabial. It is of rare occurrence, being restricted to a few loanwords and exclamations. In the latter case, /b/ may represent the symbolic form of /w/ (541.5).

/ʔe·bɪl/ 'apple'

/bo·se/ 'cat'

/ʔɪʒɪbɛh/ 'gosh! I'm afraid!' (beside /ʔɪ-  
ʒɪwɛh/ 'I'm afraid!')

/d t t̥/ are apico-alveolar, much as in English dot.

/g̥ k̥ k̥y/ are dorso-palatal, somewhat further front than the initial consonant of English key.

/g k k̥/ are dorso-palatal/velar, much as in English ken or can. These phonemes occur only as the



result of consonant symbolism, and represent the symbolic variants of /g<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup> k'<sup>y</sup> /, respectively (541.5).

/Wɪk<sup>y</sup>a·y/ 'my grandchild' > /Wɪk<sup>y</sup>a·y/ 'my dear little grandchild'

/Wɪcɪg<sup>e?</sup>/ 'my family, descendants' (compare /dɪcɪg<sup>y</sup>/ 'unshelled acorn' < 'a whole')

/G q/ are dorso-back velar, considerably further back than in any English form.

/ʔ/ is glottal stop.

## 211.2 Affricates.

### 1. Unaspirated series.

/ʒ ʒ/ are voiceless. Before vowels the release is brief and unaspirated. Before a pause the release is noisier and followed by a brief aspiration (voiceless vocalic segment).

/ne·ʒeʔ/ 'your penis' [...t<sup>s</sup>..]

/nɪɪdɪʒ/ 'it is wrinkled' [...tsʋ]

/ʒeh/ 'pitch' [t<sup>š</sup>..]

/mɪnʔʒ/ 'menstrual hut' [...tšʋ]

### 2. Aspirated series.

/c č<sup>w</sup>/ are voiceless with quite noisy aspirated release. They do not occur before a pause.

/ce/ 'stone' [tsh..]

/nɪco·lʔ/ 'your (female) genitals' [...tsh..]

/č<sup>w</sup>ɪɪʒ/ 'huckleberry' [tš<sup>w</sup>..]

/xoč<sup>w</sup>a·nʔ/ 'his feces' [...tš<sup>w</sup>..]

## 3. Glottalized series.

/č č<sup>w</sup> ʔ / are strongly glottalized. Before a pause they are syllabic, sometimes being followed by a brief vocalic segment with glottal stricture [V̥].

/č<sup>w</sup>ɪŋ/ 'bone needle' [tʰs..]

/wɪstɪč/ 'my skin' [..tʰs(V̥)]

/č<sup>w</sup>ɪd/ 'scraps' [tʰš..]

/tʰɪšč<sup>w</sup>/ 'plank' [..tʰš(V̥)]

/č<sup>w</sup>ahl/ 'Frog' (archaic form, used only as a name in myths) [tʰš<sup>w</sup>..]

/ʔoh/ 'grass' [tʰ..]

/č<sup>w</sup>ɪnɪndeʔʔ/ 'they arrived' [..tʰ(V̥)]

## 4. Points of articulation.

/ʒ c č / are lamino-alveolar affricates with sibilant release, as in German Zee.

/ʒ č / are lamino-palatal affricates with shibilant release, very much as in English church. Lip-rounding is not distinctive.

/č<sup>w</sup> č<sup>w</sup> / are lamino-palatal affricates with shibilant release, and with simultaneous lip-rounding, normally carried through part of a following vowel. The aspiration of /č<sup>w</sup>/, consequently, is phonetically identical with /w/. /č<sup>w</sup>/ is found only in a few archaic forms, usually paired with commoner forms with /č/ for /č<sup>w</sup>/.

/č<sup>w</sup>ahl/ 'Frog' (archaic), beside /čahl/  
'frog' (common term)

/ʎ/ is an apico-alveolar affricate with lateral release.

### 211.3 Fricatives.

All fricatives are voiceless.

/s/ is a lamino-alveolar sibilant (sometimes heard as apico-alveolar), much as in English sun.

/s<sub>l</sub>se·l/ 'it is hot' [s..s..]

/m<sub>l</sub>s/ 'riverbank' [...s]

/š/ is a lamino-palatal shibilant, much as in English shun. It is rare, occurring mainly as a conditioned variant of basic #s before a palatal affricate (/š č<sup>w</sup> č<sup>3</sup>/), and as the symbolic form of /W/ (541.5). It also occurs in a few loan words.

/ʎ<sub>l</sub>š<sup>3</sup>/ 'plank' (from basic #ʎ<sub>l</sub>sč<sup>3</sup>ʎ)

/ʎ<sub>l</sub>š<sup>y</sup>k<sup>y</sup>a·y/ 'my dear grandchild' (affectionate variant of /W<sub>l</sub>k<sup>y</sup>a·y/ 'my grandchild')

/d<sub>l</sub>yš/, in /d<sub>l</sub>yš-ta·ŋʎa·-d<sub>l</sub>ŋ/ ' ? -it extends into the river-place' (placename)

/xoš/ 'bosh! I don't believe it!' (symbolic variant of /xow/ 'perhaps')

/x x<sup>w</sup>/ are dorso-velar fricatives, as in German Bach. /x<sup>w</sup>/ additionally has simultaneous lip-rounding, carried over into part of a following vowel. Before a pause, /x<sup>w</sup>/ is followed by a voiceless rounded vocalic segment [u̥]. Before /o/ there is no contrast between /x<sup>w</sup>/ and /x/, and the fricative is written /x/.

/xehʎ/ 'pack, load' [x..]

/nahx/ 'two' [..x]  
 /dax<sup>w</sup>e·d/ 'how?' [..x<sup>w</sup>we..]  
 /nɪk<sup>y</sup>ahx<sup>w</sup>/ 'in a big way' [..x<sup>w</sup>u]  
 /xɔŋ?/ 'fire' [x<sup>w</sup>..]

/ɬ/ is a fricative with apico-alveolar closure and lateral release.

/ɬɪŋ?/ 'dog, horse' [ɬ..]  
 /mɪɬ/ 'with it; when' [..ɬ]  
 /ɬɪɬɪŋ/ 'cousins to each other' [ɬ..ɬ..]

/h W/ are voiceless vocalic segments (glottal fricatives). /h/ has the distinctive tongue and lip position of the preceding or following vowel. (Phonological rules so adjust phonemic forms that medial /h/ is always preceded and followed by the same vowel qualities.) /W/ always has the tongue and lip position of a high back rounded vowel ([u]).

/h<sub>ə</sub>y/ 'the' [ə..]  
 /dah<sub>ə</sub>n<sup>?</sup>dɪ-dan<sup>?</sup>/ 'how long ago?' [..ə..]  
 /Geh<sub>s</sub>/ 'king salmon' [..ə..]  
 /Wɪŋ/ 'song' [u..]  
 /Ga<sub>W</sub>/ 'yew' [..u]  
 /ce<sup>?</sup>ɪn<sup>?</sup>h<sub>ə</sub>W/ 'braid (your hair)!' [..ou]

#### 211.4 Resonants.

All resonants are basically voiced.

/m/ has bilabial closure and nasal release, as in English miss. Before a pause /m/ is always tense and fully voiced, sometimes with a following (murmured)

vocalic segment.

/m̄aŋʔ/ 'fly' [m..]

/kʲʷm̄a·w/ 'medicine' [..m..]

/t̄m̄/ 'a place where one "trains" for luck  
or long life' [..m̄(ə)]

/n/ has apico-alveolar closure and nasal release, as in English net. Before a pause, post-vocalic /n/ is tense and fully voiced, sometimes with a following murmur vowel. Between a voiceless consonant and a pause, /n/ is tense and voiceless.

/n̄a·q̄/ 'gravel, bar' [n..]

/t̄n̄/ 'trail' [..n̄(ə)]

/kʲʷn̄asn̄/ 'Karok' [..n̄..n̄<sub>o</sub>]

/mah̄n̄/ 'war party' [..n̄]

/ŋ/ has basically dorso-velar closure and nasal release, as in English sing. Before a pause it is lax and ends voiceless. Before the dorso-palatal consonants /gʲ kʲ kʲʷ/, /ŋ/ is dorso-palatal in closure. /ŋ/ never occurs initially.

/waŋ/ 'concerning it' [..ŋ̄]

/W̄t̄ŋož/ 'my elder brother' [..ŋ..]

/ž̄t̄ŋkʲoh/ 'full day' [..ŋ̄..]

/l/ has apico-alveolar closure and lateral release. It is distinctly 'light' (rather than 'dark') in articulation, that is, with the tongue position of a high front (rather than a back) vowel. Before a pause it is fully voiced, except after /h/ in the words for 'frog', /č̄ahl/ and /č̄<sup>w</sup>ahl/ (archaic), where it is tense and

voiceless (but without the fricative feature of /t/).

/l̥ah/ 'seaweed' [1..]  
 /Wl̥laʔ/ 'my hand' [...1..]  
 /č̥l̥w̥ld̥l/ 'they went along' [...1]  
 /č̥ahl/ 'frog' [...1̥]

### 211.5 Glides.

These are phonetically vocalic segments.

/y/ is a glide to or from a high-front articulation, in some cases with a slight fricative quality. Before /ʒ/ before pause, /y/ is usually voiceless and has noticeable friction, being close to the voiceless palatal fricative [ç] of German Ich.

/y̥aʔ/ 'louse' [i̥a..]  
 /d̥ay̥woʔ/ 'something' [...ʌi̥..]  
 /m̥naʔ-dahnehsnoy̥ʒ/ 'lizard (sp.)' [...çt̥š̥V]  
 /k̥ʲnaʔd̥iday̥ʒ/ 'salal berry' [...çt̥š̥V]

Before a pause and after a short vowel /y/ is lax and sometimes voiceless towards the end:

/č̥n̥l̥ny̥ay/ 'he who arrived, he has arrived'  
 [...i̥ʌi̥<sup>i̥</sup>]  
 /n̥l̥c̥ay/ 'it is dry' [...ʌi̥<sup>i̥</sup>]

Before a pause and after a long vowel /y/ is fully voiced and syllabic:

/n̥l̥cḁy/ 'it is dry; what is dry' [...ḁi̥]  
 /k̥ʲyo̥y/ 'stranger; dangerous thing'  
 [...o̥i̥]

For the sequences /y̥l̥/, /l̥y̥/, and /l̥y̥l̥/, see under /l̥/ below.

/w/ is a glide to or from a high back vowel with lip-rounding.

/wɪɫdɑŋʔ/ 'yesterday' [ɪ̥ɪ..]

/mɪwɔw/ 'its foam' [..ɪ̥u̥..]

Before a pause and after a short vowel, /w/ is slightly voiceless toward the end. Before a pause or /ʔ/ before pause and after a long vowel, /w/ is fully voiced and syllabic.

/kʲɪtɔw/ 'paddle' (noun) [..ou̥]

/dɔw/ 'no!' [..ʌu̥]

/yɛ·w/ 'yonder' [..e·u]

/xoda·wʔ/ 'his beard' [..a·uʔ̥]

For the sequence /ɪwɪ/ see under /ɪ/ below.

## 212. Vowels.

It is convenient to discuss the Hupa phonemic vowels in terms of four basic units: /ɨ/, which is basically lax and never occurs with vowel length, and /e a o/, which are basically tense and do occur with vowel length. The units /ɨ/ and /e/, however, are in complementary distribution, and, strictly speaking, comprise only one phoneme. There are thus only three Hupa vowel phonemes, /we a o/, although four units are described here and represented in the orthography.

## 212.1 Tense vowels.

/e a o/ have the qualities [E a Ω], respectively, and are tense, in the environments (a) before length, (b) before /h/, and (c) before /ʔ/. Before a pause they have the same qualities. are half-long (i.e., longer than [V] but shorter than [V·]), and are voiceless at the end.

/e/: /ʒe·nah/ 'up above, in the air' [E·]

/yɨdeʔ/ 'downstream' [E]

/ʒeh/ 'pitch' [E]

/de/ 'this, here' [E(·)<sup>E</sup>]

/a/: /Wɨna·ʔ/ 'my eye' [a·]

/Wɨdaʔ/ 'my mouth' [a]

/mɨtah/ 'among them' [a]

/sɨda/ 'it sits there' [a(·)<sup>a</sup>]

/o/: /ɬo·q/ 'salmon' [Ω·]

/ɬoʔ/ 'laughter' [Ω]



/k<sup>y</sup>oh/ 'porcupine' [ɔ]

/Go/ 'worm' [ɔ(ɔ)ɔ]

Before other consonants /a/ and /o/ have lax allophones, centering on [ʌ] and [U] (as in English hut and put) respectively.

/a/: /čɪnɪŋyay/ 'he arrived'

/Wɪyal/ 'my son's child'

/Waʔad/ 'my wife'

/Gask<sup>y</sup>oh/ 'soaproot'

/maW/ 'it stinks!'

/yɪdaG/ 'uphill'

/o/: /se·loyʔ/ 'I tied it up'

/wɪlyoɪ/ 'it is swelling'

/k<sup>y</sup>ɪdnod/ 'it blazes'

/Gos/ 'camas' (edible bulb)

/xoW/ 'perhaps, maybe'

/Wɪč<sup>w</sup>oq/ 'my testicles'

## 212.2 Lax vowel.

/ɪ/, structurally, is the set of lax allophones of /e/. It occurs before consonants other than /h/ and /ʔ/. Although they may be described as centering phonetically on [ɛ], the qualities involved in /ɪ/ are wide-ranging.

/ɪ/ before or after /y/ is a high front vowel, [i]. Since /y/ is a glide to this quality, the combination before a consonant or pause is generally [i·]. Elsewhere /yɪ/ or /ɪy/ is [i] with a slightly tenser glide

between it and the adjacent vowel. The sequence /ɫyɫ/ is always [i·].

/W<sub>ɫ</sub>ye·ceʔ/ 'my wart' [i<sup>ɪ</sup>E]

/m<sub>ɫ</sub>y/ 'tabooed thing or place' [i·]

/d<sub>ɫ</sub>yš-ta·ŋʔa·-dɫŋ/ (placename) [i·]

/y<sub>ɫ</sub>ceʔn/ 'downhill' [i·]

/yɫnaG<sub>ɫ</sub>-y<sub>ɫ</sub>ceʔn/ 'upstream and then down to the river' [i·]

/ɫ/ before or after /w/ and /W/ is a lower-high, front or mid, rounded, vowel, [i̠] or [ɨ̠].

/W<sub>ɫ</sub>taʔ/ 'my father' [i̠]

/w<sub>ɫ</sub>Wa·l/ 'I run along' [ɨ̠]

/ɬɫ<sup>ɰ</sup><sub>ɫ</sub>W/ 'sand' [i̠]

/ʔa·w<sub>ɫ</sub>n<sub>ɫ</sub>W/ 'doing something' (gerund) [i̠]

The sequence /ɫwɫ/ is [u·]

/ɬ<sub>ɫ</sub>w<sub>ɫ</sub>W/ 'snake' [t̪<sup>ɰ</sup>u·u]

With the exception of occurrences after /y/, /W/, or /w/:

/ɫ/ before the palatal consonants /g<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup> k̪<sup>y</sup> ʒ č<sup>w</sup> č/ is a lower-high front vowel, [I] or [I<sup>ʌ</sup>].

/no·nt<sub>ɫ</sub>k̪<sup>y</sup>/ '(a line) extends to a certain point' [I<sup>ʌ</sup>]

/d<sub>ɫ</sub>č/ 'valley quail' [I]

/ɫ/ before the alveolar consonants /d t t̪ s ʒ c c̪ l ɬ/ ranges between [I] and [ɨ̠]. The latter is found particularly after nasals.

/ɬ<sub>ɫ</sub>d/ 'smoke' [I]

/m<sub>ɫ</sub>s/ 'riverbank' [ɨ̠]

/s<sub>l</sub>t<sub>l</sub>t<sub>l</sub>ŋ/ 'it lies dead' [ɪ]

/ɪ/ before the nasals /m n ŋ/ is [ɛ̃]

/d<sub>l</sub>ŋ/ 'place' (enclitic) [ɛ̃]

/t<sub>l</sub>n/ 'trail' [ɛ̃]

/n<sub>l</sub>m<sub>l</sub>t̃/ 'your stomach' [ɛ̃]

/ɪ/ before the back velars /x G q/ is high to mid, back, unrounded vowel, [ɯ] or [ɤ].

/s<sub>l</sub>t̃<sub>l</sub>q/ '(a doughy mass) lies motionless' [ɯ]

/t̃<sub>l</sub>xan/ 'it is sweet, good-tasting' [ɯ]

/n<sub>l</sub>G<sub>e</sub>·č<sub>e</sub>?/ 'your hip' [ɤ]

## 213. Prosodies.

A string of phonemes (as described above) is not entirely an adequate transcription of a Hupa utterance. Two further factors must be represented: occurrence of internal pauses, and interruption of the predictable intonation pattern of the sentence by interjected high pitch.

## 213.1 Pause.

Some sentences have no internal pauses, but are simply a string of phonemes:

/he·yaŋ/ 'yes!'

/na·na·Wdɪya:-te/ 'I will go back over'

/kʲe·w-č̣o·yaʔ-neʔ/ 'he'd better hide!'

Most full sentences, however, contain at least one pause. By pause is meant either an actual break in the production of speech, sometimes silence or sometimes a hesitation phenomenon, or the potential for such a break. In many cases the boundaries of a pause are recognizable through the operation of phonological rules dependant on the presence of a pause (see 230 below). Most important among these is the rule deleting /ɪ/ before a pause (233). Compare:

/yɪma·n č̣ɪtehsyay/ 'he went off across the stream'

/yɪma·nɪ-yɪnaG č̣ɪtehsyay/ 'he went off across the stream and upstream on the opposite bank'

/yɪnaGɪ-yɪma·n č̣ɪtehsyay/ 'he went off upstream and then across the stream further up'

In the phonemic transcription, pauses are indicated by spaces.

A form that occurs between (potential) pauses is a word. There is a high correlation between morphological constructions and words (and for this reason the grammatical forms are discussed according to word classes, 130) but there are cases where two or more morphologically independent forms are combined in a single phonological word. This is described in the grammar as proclisis, enclisis, and compounding, and is represented in the phonemic transcription by hyphens separating morphologically distinct, but phonologically fused, forms:

/ta·Wdɪnanʔ-te/ 'I will drink' (-te is enclitic)

/mɪtɪs-ʔɪnyahW/ 'go over it!' (mɪtɪs is proclitic)

/yɪma·nɪ-yɪnaG/ 'across the stream and (then) upstream' (compounding)

### 213.2 Interjected high pitch.

The relative pitch and stress of the vocalic or voiced segments of a Hupa sentence are grammatically irrelevant and need not be discussed here, except to note that:

(1) long vowels are more highly stressed than adjacent short vowels, with the long vowel of a closed syllable most highly stressed. Thus (letting 1 = high-

est stress, 2 = next highest, etc.):

2 1 3 2 3  
/na·te·sdɪya·-te/

(2) the first syllables of a sentence are more prominent in stress and higher in pitch than those that follow. Thus (with the same indication of relative stress, and a contour line to represent pitch):

4 1 3 2 4 3 4  
/yɪma·n na·te·sdɪya·-te/

This regular pattern is interrupted in a number of sentences by a high pitch correlated with heavy stress:

3 2 4 3 1  
/na·te·sdɪya·-ye·y/

3 2 1 3 2 4 4  
/haya·ɬ ?an? na·te·sdɪyay/

This interruption appears to have linguistic significance, and will be treated as a prosodic phoneme, marked //':\*

/na·te·sdɪya·-yé·y/

/haya·ɬ ?án? na·te·sdɪyay/

It may be assumed to have a meaning independent of the segmentally represented morphemes with which it occurs. This meaning is hard to determine, but it would appear to be "demonstrative" in the broadest sense. //': frequently (but by no means always) occurs with certain particles, particularly with #?an? 'it is so!' (543.12) and the nominal enclitic #-ɬ (542).

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\* //': will be marked in texts, but is omitted from citations in this grammar.

## 220. Morpheme elements.

The ultimate grammatical forms of Hupa, the morphemes (130), are best specified as one or a sequence of phonological elements, roughly correlated with syllables in phonemic manifestation. In this section the general structure of morpheme elements will be described. In the following section (230) the phonological rules of general operation will be outlined. These rules, in conjunction with the special rules for specific morphemes, discussed in the appropriate sections of the grammar, specify the phonemic manifestation of all occurring strings of elements.

## 221. Types of element.

There are three basic types of morpheme element:  
 (1) full syllables, (2) reduced syllables, and (3) single  
 consonants. There are also a few exceptional types.

## 221.1 Full syllables.

Full syllables consist of an initial consonant\*  
 (which may be zero), and either: (a) a full vowel, which  
 may or may not be followed by a final consonant; or (b)  
 a reduced vowel, which must be followed by a final con-  
 sonant. Letting  $C_i$  stand for initial consonant,  $C_f$  for  
 final consonant,  $V$  for full vowel, and  $\check{V}$  for reduced v  
 vowel, these possibilities may be expressed:

Full syllable =  $(C_i)V$  (e.g. #do)  
                    $(C_i)VC_f$  (e.g. #tan)  
                    $(C_i)\check{V}C_f$  (e.g. #dɪn)

## 221.2 Reduced syllables.

Reduced syllables consist of an initial consonant  
 (including zero) and a reduced vowel:

Reduced syllable =  $(C_i)\check{V}$  (e.g. #nɪ, #ɪ)

221.3 Single consonants functioning as elements consti-  
 tute a special subset of basic consonants,  $C_s$ .

Single consonant =  $C_s$  (e.g. #ɪ, #ʔ)

## 221.4 Exceptional elements.

Exceptional elements include (1) overlong

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\* This and the other classes of basic phonological seg-  
 ments ("basic phonemes") is defined in 222 below.



syllables, and (2) syllables containing exceptional consonants.

1. An overlong syllable is a full syllable whose vowel is inherently long (i.e., its phonemic manifestation is always a long vowel, as opposed to ordinary full vowels, whose phonemic manifestations vary in vowel length according to phonological rules). Such basically long vowels are written V·:

#O-na·? 'O's eye' (compare the full syllable #na? in #k<sup>y</sup>na? 'Yurok Indian')

#d<sub>6</sub>-..l-ma· 'be gray'

#O-ce·? '(man's) daughter' (compare the full syllable in #ce 'stone')

2. In a few instances, forms with the phonemes /b š g k k<sup>̣</sup>/ occur where these phonemes cannot readily be explained as symbolic variants of /w W g<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup>/, respectively. These include loanwords (of which Hupa has very few) and some exclamatory forms that probably represent symbolic variants of primary forms no longer in use. In these cases the exceptional basic consonants #b š g k k<sup>̣</sup> may be said to occur.

#<sup>?</sup>ebɬɬ 'apple': /<sup>?</sup>e·bɬɬ/

#gulug 'enough!': /golog/

#kanɬ 'corn': /ka·n/

#<sup>?</sup>αlαš 'nasty!': /<sup>?</sup>alaš/

#dɔwt-šo<sup>?</sup> 'impossible!': /dɔwt-šo<sup>?</sup>/

## 222. Basic phonemes.

The segments comprising morpheme elements are basic phonemes. Unless a phonological rule specifies otherwise (230), a basic phoneme has as its phonemic manifestation the phoneme (in the sense of section 210) represented by the same symbol. Basic phonemes may be divided into consonants (including initial consonants, final consonants, and single consonants) and vowels (including full vowels and reduced vowels).

## 222.1 Basic consonants.

The set of single consonant elements ( $C_s$ ) includes basic #t l n W y ? s d h. All but #h occur alone as the specification of at least one morpheme:

#t and #l represent verbal prefixes of position 1 (classifiers, 317)

#W and #n are verbal prefixes of position 2 (1 sg and 2 sg subject, 314) and also occur as verbal prefixes of position 1 (317.5)

#y is a variant form of three prefixes of position 2 in the verb (subject markers, 314.1-3)

#? is a verbal prefix of position 8 (a variant form of #<sup>3</sup>ct, human deictic subject, 321.2) and (if so analyzed) is a verb stem suffix (362)

#s is a verbal prefix of position 1 (317.5) and a variant form of the prefix #st of position 3 (313)

#d is a variant form of the verbal prefix #dt of position 1 (classifier, 317)

#h may represent a morpheme in such forms as /hayah/ 'there', /na·ceh/ 'at first', /ʔah/ 'once', and other modifiers (531): #hɑy(ʔ)-h, #nace-h, #ʔa(?) -h. Whether or not it is to be described as a morpheme, it is clearly a single consonant element that widely occurs in modifiers.

The set of final consonants ( $C_f$ ) includes all of the above, except for #l, and in addition:

(a) #ʒ G gʲ ʒ̣ (simple affricate and stop consonants, in addition to #d and #ʔ of  $C_s$ )

(b) #ṭ ʔ̣ c̣ q̣ ḳʲ c̣̣ (glottalized consonants).

The set of initial consonants ( $C_i$ ) includes all of the above (both  $C_s$  and  $C_f$ , i.e.,  $C_f + \#l$ ), and in addition:

(a) #w m (voiced continuants, in addition to #l and #y of  $C_s$ )

(b) #c t x xʷ kʲ čʷ (aspirated consonants and the velar fricatives).

## 222.2 Basic vowels.

The basic full vowels (V) are: #e a o. In exceptional elements these also occur inherently long (221.4).

The basic reduced vowels are: #ʔ α υ.

## 223. Restrictions on occurrence of basic phonemes.

The element formulas of 221 and the lists of basic phonemes of 222, taken together, generate a set of elements much larger than the occurring set. In part this is due to random instances of the non-occurrence of otherwise expectable collocations, but it would appear that some definable element shapes are regularly excluded. Two general rules may be noted:

1. In reduced elements ( $C_i\check{V}$ ) only # $\iota$  normally occurs as # $V$ . There are, however, a number of exceptions, mainly of the shape # $C\alpha$ . For example:

# $d\alpha w\iota$  'no!' (# $d\alpha$  + # $w\iota$ , but possibly to be analyzed # $d\alpha h-\iota$ ), compare # $d\alpha$  'not'

# $d\alpha x^w ed\iota$  'how' (# $d\alpha$  + # $x^w e$  + # $d\iota$ , no other analysis possible)

# $k^y \iota \lambda \alpha x \alpha n \iota$  'deer' (# $k^y \iota$  + # $\lambda \alpha$  + # $x \alpha n$  + # $\iota$ ), derived from the verbal theme # $k^y \iota_8 - \lambda \iota_6 - \dots x \alpha n$  'it (deer) is sweet, good-tasting'.

2. In full syllable elements with final consonant ( $C_i V C_f$  or  $C_i \check{V} C_f$ ) exclusion of certain  $C_i - C_f$  pairs is quite regular:\*

(a) If  $C_i$  is # $d$  t  $\acute{t}$ , then  $C_f$  cannot be # $d$   $\acute{t}$  \*\*

(b) If  $C_i$  is # $\lambda$  l  $\acute{\lambda}$ , then  $C_f$  cannot be # $\lambda$   $\acute{\lambda}$

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\*Krauss discusses these restrictions for General Athabaskan (1964.124).

\*\*The stem elements # $-t\acute{u}d/t\acute{u}t$  in the verb theme # $0_7 - \dots t\acute{u}d/t\acute{u}t$  'suck O' are the sole exceptions.

(c) If  $C_i$  is  $\#g^y k^y$ , then  $C_f$  cannot be  $\#g^y k^y$

(d) If  $C_i$  is  $\#s_3 \acute{c} c$  or  $\#W \check{z} \acute{c} \check{c}^w$ , then  $C_f$  cannot be, respectively,  $\#W \check{z} \acute{c}$  or  $\#s_3 \acute{c}^*$

(e) If  $C_i$  is  $\#w G \acute{q} x$ , then  $C_f$  cannot be  $\#g^y k^y$ .

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\*This exclusion operates as a phonological rule in forms where the verbal prefix  $\#\acute{c}_t$  (human deictic subject) immediately precedes the single consonant element  $\#s$  (usually representing s-pf mode). The phonemic result is  $/\acute{c}ts/$ . Thus:  $\#\acute{c}_t_8-\emptyset_7-s_3-ta\acute{c}$  'he tattooed someone',  $\#\acute{c}_t_8-x^w_7-s_3-ta\acute{c}$  'he tattooed her', are phonemically  $/\acute{c}tsta\acute{c}/$  and  $/\acute{c}txosta\acute{c}/$ .

## 230. Phonological rules.

The rules presented here govern the conversion of strings of basic phonemes into strings of phonemes (in the sense of section 210). Not all the rules necessary for the full conversion of basic forms to phonemic forms are given here, but only those that operate independently of the grammatical context. The rules governing the phonemic manifestation of specific morphemes in specific contexts are described in the relevant sections of the grammar. The output of these specific rules may be considered strings of "modified" or "variant" elements, which then, in the same manner as strings not subject to specific rules, are operated on by the phonological rules described here.

The rules presented in this section are unordered with respect to one another.

## 231. Rules for full vowels.

1. A full vowel that is marked as inherently long (i.e., #V·) is always /V·/.

#wɪna·ʔ 'my eye': /wɪna·ʔ/

#haya·ɪ 'and then': /haya·ɪ/

#dɪ-l-ma· 'it is gray': /dɪlma·/

2. A full vowel immediately before a pause is /V/.

#wɪn-te 'always': /wɪnte/

#čɪ-s-da 'he is sitting': /čɪsda/

#Go 'worm': /Go/

3. Before a pause or a consonant:

(a) a full vowel before #s W ɪ ʒ ʒ gʲ is /Vh/.

#ʔes 'weir': /ʔehs/

#teW 'charcoal': /tehW/

#čɪ-Gaɪ 'he goes along': /čɪGahɪ/

#kʲɪ-se-ɪ-mež-te 'he will boil it':

/kʲɪsehɪmehž-te/

#dɪ-ɪ-čʷogʲ 'brush them away!':

/dɪɪčʷohgʲ/

(b) #Vd is /Vh/.

#ɪod 'scab': /ɪoh/

#čɪ-wɪn-ced-te 'he will break wind':

/čɪwɪnceh-te/

(c) a full vowel before a glottalized consonant (but not #ʔ) is /Vʔ/.

#xʷɪ-se-ʔeʔ-te 'I will copulate with

her': /xose·ʔeʔt-te/

#č<sup>3</sup>ı-nı<sup>3</sup>n-de<sup>3</sup>λ 'they arrived':  
 /č<sup>3</sup>ı<sup>3</sup>nı<sup>3</sup>nde<sup>3</sup>λ/  
 #yeč 'wart': /ye<sup>3</sup>č/  
 #k<sup>3</sup>yoč 'sinew': /k<sup>3</sup>yo<sup>3</sup>č/  
 #te-s-<sup>3</sup>ač-te '(animals) will move  
 off': /tehs<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>č-te/  
 #xeq 'spittle': /xe<sup>3</sup>q/

(d) a full vowel before #n or #y is replaced by the corresponding reduced vowel and realized according to the rules for reduced vowels (232).

#sı-tan '(a stick) lies motionless'  
 > #sı-tan: /sıtan/  
 #sah-wı<sup>3</sup>n-den<sup>3</sup> 'they went off (in a  
 group)' > #sah-wı<sup>3</sup>n-dı<sup>3</sup>n<sup>3</sup>?  
 /sahwı<sup>3</sup>ndı<sup>3</sup>n<sup>3</sup>?/

4. A full vowel before #ʔ or #h is /V/, except when a vowel (but not a reduced vowel immediately before a pause) follows, in which case the phonemic realization is often (but not always) /V·/.

#Wı-ta<sup>3</sup> 'my father': /Wıta<sup>3</sup>?/  
 #na-<sup>3</sup>ı-dı<sup>3</sup>ı 'they (humans) go about': /na<sup>3</sup>ı<sup>3</sup>dı<sup>3</sup>ı/  
 #na-<sup>3</sup>ı-dı<sup>3</sup>ı 'they (animals) go about' (cust.):  
 /na·<sup>3</sup>ı<sup>3</sup>dı<sup>3</sup>ı/ or /na<sup>3</sup>ı<sup>3</sup>dı<sup>3</sup>ı/

5. A full vowel is elsewhere realized as /V·/.

#ıoqı 'salmon': /ıo·qı/  
 #nadıı 'they (animals) go about': /na·dıı/  
 #te-s(ı)-oh-de<sup>3</sup>λ-ı 'you (pl) went off':  
 /te·sohde·λı/



#na-ʔɪ-yaʔ 'it goes about' (cust.):

/na.ʔayaʔ/

6. #x<sup>w</sup>ɪ before any consonant other than #h or #ʔ is /xo/.

#x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-taʔ 'his father': /xotaʔ/

7 #ɪ α v elsewhere are realized as /ɪ a o/, respectively.

#ɪɪčɪw 'sand': /ɪɪčɪw/

#GaW 'yew': /GaW/

#x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-č<sup>w</sup>uq 'his testicles': /xoč<sup>w</sup>oq/

## 232. Rules for reduced vowels.

1. A reduced vowel before a pause is lost. (This rule applies almost exclusively to #ɫ. See 223.1.)

#yɫdαGɫ 'uphill': /yɫdaG/

#mah-nɫ 'war party': /mahn/

#taqɫ 'three': /ta·q/

2. A reduced vowel before #ʔ followed immediately by a pause is usually lost if it follows #l ± y n w m. (#l in this environment is voiced by rule 233.4).

#mɫ-čʷan-ɫʔ 'its excrement': /mɫčʷa·nʔ/

#nɫ-teɫ-ɫʔ 'your spleen': /nɫte·lʔ/

3. A reduced vowel before a full vowel is lost.

#Wɫ-eyɫ 'my possessions': /We·y/

#čɫ-o-yaʔ 'let him go!': /čɫo·yaʔ/

4. #ɫ before #h or #ʔ is:

(a) /e/ if #h/ʔ is followed by #e, #ɫ, or a consonant.

#kʲɫ-ʔɫ-tas 'he cuts it' (cust.):

/kʲeʔɫtas/

#nɫhe 'we': /nehe/

(b) /a/ or /o/ if #h/ʔ is followed by #a/#α or #o/#u, respectively.

#mɫ-ʔanɫ 'through it': /maʔa·n/

#xʷɫ-ʔαd 'his wife': /xʷaʔad/

5. #ɫ after #ʔ or #h is /a/ or /o/ if #h/ʔ is preceded by #a/#α or #o/#u, respectively.

#noh-ɫɫ 'with us': /nohoɫ/

## 233. Rules for consonants.

## 1. Treatment of #n.

(a) #n<sup>?</sup> before #l, immediately before a pause, is /<sup>?</sup>n/.\*

#k<sup>y</sup>l-wln-yan<sup>?</sup>-l 'he ate something':

/k<sup>y</sup>lwlnya<sup>?</sup>n/

#nl-č<sup>w</sup>en<sup>?</sup>-l 'it is bad': /nlč<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>n/

(b) #n before a pause or #<sup>?</sup> y W g<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup> x x<sup>w</sup> G q̇ is /ŋ/.

#k<sup>y</sup>ln 'tree, stick': /k<sup>y</sup>ln/

#nl-n-<sup>?</sup>l<sup>?</sup> '(animals) arrived swimming':

/nlŋ<sup>?</sup>l<sup>?</sup>/

#<sup>?</sup>l-n-yeW 'rub it!': /<sup>?</sup>lnyehW/

#l<sup>?</sup>l-n-Wln 'you are black': /l<sup>?</sup>lnWln/

#č<sup>?</sup>l-n-k<sup>y</sup>ah-l 'he is big': /č<sup>?</sup>lnk<sup>y</sup>a·w/

#č<sup>?</sup>e-nl-n-xe<sup>?</sup>q̇ 'you've spit out':

/č<sup>?</sup>e·nlŋxe<sup>?</sup>q̇/

#<sup>?</sup>an<sup>?</sup> 'it is so!': /<sup>?</sup>aŋ<sup>?</sup>/

#nl-č<sup>w</sup>en<sup>?</sup> 'it is bad': /nlč<sup>w</sup>ln<sup>?</sup>/

(c) #nw is /ŋw/ in "old fashioned" forms, but normally is /ŋ/.

#yeh-č<sup>?</sup>l-wln-wen-l 'he brought (the

load) in': /yehč<sup>?</sup>lwlnge·n/

#Wl-nwvžl 'my older brother':

/Wlnvžl/ or /Wlnvžl/

---

\*Verb forms with the nominal enclitic #-l retain the /<sup>?</sup>n/ even when further enclitics follow. Thus: k<sup>y</sup>l-wln-yan<sup>?</sup>-l-ml<sup>?</sup> 'when he had eaten': /k<sup>y</sup>lwlnya<sup>?</sup>nl-ml<sup>?</sup>/.

(d) #n before #m or #l is lost.

#de-?-di-wɪn-meŋ<sup>3</sup>-ɿ 'he threw them  
into the fire': /de<sup>3</sup>dɪwɪme<sup>3</sup>ŋ/

#nɪn-lɪh '(fish) arrived swimming':  
/nɪleh/

2. #y<sup>3</sup> before #ɿ, immediately before a pause, is  
/y<sup>3</sup>/.

#?ɿ-?ɿ-ɿ-cay<sup>3</sup>-ɿ 'it gets dry' (cust.):  
/?e<sup>3</sup>ɿɿca<sup>3</sup>y/

3. #h before #ɿ, immediately before a pause, is /w/.

#nɿ-k<sup>3</sup>ah-ɿ 'it is big': /nɿk<sup>3</sup>a<sup>3</sup>w/

#?a-?ɿ-nɪh-ɿ 'it always does' (cust.):  
/?a<sup>3</sup>·?anɪw/

4. #ɿ before #ɿ, immediately before a pause, is /l/.

#č<sup>3</sup>ɿ-nɪn-dɪɿ-ɿ 'they arrived': /č<sup>3</sup>ɿnɪndɪl/

#nɿ-teɿ-ɿ 'it is wide, flat': /nɿte<sup>3</sup>·l/

## 300. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

The verb consists of a lexical morpheme, the stem, preceded by 11 position classes of prefixes of inflectional, derivational, and lexical function. In the present chapter the formal aspects of this complex will be described, and in 400 the system of inflection and derivation will be treated analytically.

In order outward from the stem the following prefix positions are distinguished:

- (Stem)
- 1 Classifier
- 2 Subject
- 3 Mode
- 4 Distributive
- 5 Adverbial
- 6 Thematic
- 7 Object
- 8 Deictic subject
- 9 Plural
- 10 Iterative
- 11 Adverbial

310. Prefix positions 1, 2, and 3.

Prefixes of position 1, marking various derivational categories or existing as thematic elements (the "classifiers" of Athabaskan grammar); prefixes of position 2, marking subject; and prefixes of position 3, marking mode, are complexly interrelated phonologically. Since, for purposes of phonological specification, position 3 prefixes are the most significant, they will be discussed first, followed by sections on mode markers of position 2 and classifiers of position 1. In 318 the forms of the mode-subject-classifier complex will be summarized in paradigmatic form.

## 311. Mode markers.

Prefix position 3, marking mode (the "aspect" or "mode-aspect" of other Athabaskan grammars) is either empty or filled by one of the following markers:

#nɪn-	perfective	(n-pf)
#sɪ-	perfective	(s-pf)
#wɪn-	perfective	(w-pf)
#wesɪ-	perfective	(wes-pf)
#wɪ-	progressive	(prog.)
#ʔɪ-	customary	(cust.)
#o-	optative	(opt.)
#nɪ/o-	potential	(pot.)

When position 3 is empty, the form is considered marked for imperfective mode (impf.). Where variation occurs in the shape of a marker it will be discussed in the sections on each marker below.

## 312. Mode markers in other positions.

In Proto-Athabaskan there was certainly no coherent modal class. The daughter languages agree on many of the forms--Hupa nɪn-, sɪ-, and wɪn- perfectives are paralleled in most Athabaskan languages, as are wɪ- progressive and o- optative--but the functions of the cognate morphemes widely differ. In Hupa, mode markers of position 3 form a mutually exclusive set with well-defined inflectional function. However, elements clearly related to the modal markers occur outside position 3.

1. #n<sub>5</sub>- and #s<sub>5</sub>-. Several directional adverbial prefixes, forming directional bases (341), contain the elements #n<sub>5</sub>- or #s<sub>5</sub>-. This element appears in all but perfective modal forms, where #n<sub>5</sub>- gives way to the perfective marker #n<sub>3</sub>- and #s<sub>5</sub>- to #s<sub>3</sub>-. This is clearly a case of perfective modal markers being extended to other modal forms.

#n<sub>5</sub>-..yaW/ya '(one) arrives': /n<sub>5</sub>WahW/ 'I arrive' (impf.), /ne<sup>?</sup>n<sub>5</sub>WahW/ 'I always arrive' (cust.), /n<sub>5</sub>Wa<sup>?</sup>/ 'let me arrive!' (opt.); but /ne·ya/ 'I arrived' (n-pf) < #n(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya.

#na<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-..tał/tał̣ (n-pf) 'step across': /na·n<sub>5</sub>-tał/ 'it steps across' (impf.), /na·no·tał/ 'let it step across!' (opt.); but /nanta·ł̣/ 'it stepped across' (n-pf) < #na<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>3</sub>-tał̣-ι.

#xa<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>5</sub>-..yaW/ya (s-pf) '(one) goes up to the top': /xa·s<sub>5</sub>nyahW/ 'you go up to the top' (impf.), /xa·se<sup>?</sup>s<sub>5</sub>nyahW/ (cust.), but /xa·s<sub>5</sub>nyay/ (s-pf).

2. #n<sub>5</sub>- imperfective. Closely related to the #n<sub>5</sub>- element described above is a prefix #n<sub>5</sub>- that appears only in the imperfective forms of bases requiring n-pf (see 341) formed on the two themes of general directional motion, #A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere' and #A-..dł̣/deł̣ '(several) move somewhere' (340).

#č<sub>11</sub>-(n<sub>5</sub>-)..yaW/ya '(one) goes out' (formed with the adverbial prefix #č<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'out (of an enclosure)'): /č<sub>11</sub>·n<sub>5</sub>WahW/ 'I go out' (impf.) < #č<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-(y)aW, /č<sub>11</sub>·ne·ya/ 'I went out' < #č<sub>11</sub>-n(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya; but



/č̣e·ʔiWahW/ 'I always go out' (cust.), /č̣e·č̣o·yaʔ/ 'let  
him go out!' (opt.)

## 313. Form of the mode markers.

A summary of the occurring phonemic forms of the mode markers, subject markers, and classifiers in combination is given in 318 below.

## 313.1 Imperfective.

Verb forms with no prefix in position 3 may be said to have a zero marker ( $\emptyset$ ) for imperfective mode. When there are no preceding prefixes, such forms automatically have an initial element  $\#?_{\iota}-$ .

$/?_{\iota}W^{\acute{a}c}/$  'I sneeze' <  $\#?_{\iota}-\emptyset_3-W_2-\ddot{t}_1-?_{\acute{a}c}$ ,  $/?_{\iota}\ddot{t}^{\acute{a}c}/$  'you sneeze' <  $\#?_{\iota}-\emptyset_3-n_2-\ddot{t}_1-?_{\acute{a}c}$ ,  $/?_{\acute{o}h}\ddot{t}^{\acute{a}c}/$  'you (pl.) sneeze' <  $\#?(_{\iota})-\emptyset_3-o_2-\ddot{t}_1-?_{\acute{a}c}$ . But  $/\acute{c}\ddot{t}^{\acute{a}c}/$  'he sneezes' <  $\#\acute{c}_{\iota_8}-\emptyset_3-\ddot{t}_1-?_{\acute{a}c}$ ,  $/naW^{\acute{a}c}/$  'I sneeze again' <  $\#na_{10}-\emptyset_3-W_2-\ddot{t}_1-?_{\acute{a}c}$ .

313.2  $\#n_{\iota}n-$  perfective.

In impersonal forms, when there is no prior prefix (this is the case only in bases formed with  $\#n_{\iota_5}-$  (n-pf) 'arriving', 341.6) or the prior prefix has the shape  $\#C\check{V}$  or  $\#?$ , the marker of n-pf is  $\#n_{\iota}n_3-$ , with the variant  $\#n_{\iota_3}-$  before the classifiers  $\#\ddot{t}_1-$  or  $\#l_1-$  (315).

$/n_{\iota}n_3ya/$  'it arrived' <  $\#n_{\iota}n_3-ya$

$/\acute{c}\ddot{t}n_{\iota}nde\cdot\acute{\lambda}/$  'they have arrived' <  $\#\acute{c}_{\iota_8}-n_{\iota}n_3-de\acute{\lambda}-\iota$

$/no?n_{\iota}nta\cdot n/$  'she put (the stick) down' <  $\#no_{11}-$

$?_8-n_{\iota}n_3-tan-\iota$

When a prefix of the shape  $\#CV$  immediately precedes it, the marker of n-pf has the variant  $\#n_3-$ , and is lost

before classifier #l<sub>1</sub>- (the sequence #CV-n<sub>3</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>- is unattested).

/nonde·k̄/ 'they (animals, children) went so far'  
< #no<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>3</sub>-de·k̄-ι.

In personal forms (i.e., where there is a subject marker in position 2) n-pf is always marked by #nι<sub>3</sub>- (with realization as /n/ before a vowel, by phonological rule).

/nι<sub>3</sub>nyɑ/ 'you arrived' < #nι<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-ya, /ne·ya/ 'I arrived' < #n(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya.

/no·nι<sub>3</sub>nyɑy/ 'you have gone so far' < #no<sub>11</sub>-nι<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-ya-ι, /no·ne·yɑy/ 'I have gone so far' < #no<sub>11</sub>-n(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya-ι; /noʔnι<sub>3</sub>nyɑy/ 'he went so far'.

### 313.3 #sι- perfective.

In impersonal forms s-pf is marked by #s<sub>3</sub>-, except when it is in initial position, where it is #sι<sub>3</sub>-.

#s<sub>3</sub>- varies widely in its behavior before classifiers, possibly according to theme type (410). In active bases the combination #s<sub>3</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>- or #s<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>- results in /s/. In neuter bases the combination #s<sub>3</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>- results in /t̄/ (#s<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>- does not occur in neuter bases). Before #dι<sub>1</sub>- #s<sub>3</sub>- is sometimes retained (/sdι/), sometimes fused with #dι<sub>1</sub>- in /h/; the conditions are unclear.

/s̄ιleʔn/ 'it became' < #sι<sub>3</sub>-lenʔ-ι, /c̄ιs̄leʔn/ 'he became' < #c̄ι<sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-lenʔ-ι

/na·ʔastaʔk̄/ 'he kicks it around' < #na<sub>11</sub>-ʔι<sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-t̄-taʔ, /ʔιna·ʔasta·d/ 'he ran up and stood' < #nι-na<sub>11</sub>-

s<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-lad-<sub>1</sub>

/č<sub>1</sub>tan/ 'he has it lying there' < #č<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-tan  
(possessive theme derived from #s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..tan '(a stick)  
lies motionless', 413.13.4). But note the form  
/č<sub>1</sub>s<sub>1</sub>te·n/ 'he lies dead' < #č<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>-s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-ten-<sub>1</sub>, from  
the theme #s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>-ten 'lie dead'.

/ʔ<sub>1</sub>na·ʔasd<sub>1</sub>Geʔ/ 'he got up' < #n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-ʔ<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub>-  
Geʔ, but /nehwa·n/ 'it resembles it' < #ne<sub>5</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub>-wan-<sub>1</sub>  
(compare /ne·s<sub>1</sub>nd<sub>1</sub>wa·n/ 'you resemble it').

In personal forms s-pf is usually marked by #s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-,  
except for a common (but not universal) reduction to  
#s<sub>3</sub>- before #d<sub>1</sub><sub>2</sub>- (1 pl subject) when another prefix  
precedes, and the fusion of the sequence #CV-s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-  
(#e<sub>2</sub>- 1 sg subject, 314.1) into #CV·s- or #CV·ys- before  
the classifiers #d<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub>- and #l<sub>1</sub>-:

/s<sub>1</sub>Wte·n/ 'I am lying down' < #s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-ten-<sub>1</sub>,  
/s<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>te·č<sub>1</sub>/ 'we are lying down' < #s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>2</sub>-teč<sub>1</sub>-<sub>1</sub>

/k<sup>y</sup>e·se·yay/ 'I climbed up on it' < #k<sup>y</sup>(<sub>1</sub>)-e<sub>11</sub>-  
s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya-<sub>1</sub>, /k<sup>y</sup>e·s<sub>1</sub>nyay/ 'you climbed up on it'

/nahsdaʔaʔ/ 'we carried it about' < #na<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>2</sub>-  
ʔaʔ, but /ya·s<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>te·č<sub>1</sub>/ 'we all are lying down' < #ya<sub>9</sub>-  
s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>2</sub>-teč<sub>1</sub>-<sub>1</sub>

/ʔ<sub>1</sub>na·sd<sub>1</sub>Geʔ/ 'I got up' < #n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub>-Geʔ,  
/ʔ<sub>1</sub>na·ys<sub>1</sub>la·d/ 'I ran up and stood' < #n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-  
l<sub>1</sub>-lad-<sub>1</sub>.

From comparative evidence it is clear that the  
basic form of the s-pf marker was a full syllable \*sə,

reduced in non-initial position to \*s in most Athabas-  
kan languages (Krauss 1969:55). This may help to explain  
the exceptional lengthening of basic #CV̄ prefixes of  
positions 4, 5, and 6 to #CV before s-pf markers:

/ne·sɪŋyan/ 'you have grown up' < #ne<sub>5</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-yan,  
/čɪnehsyan/ 'he has grown up' < #čɪ<sub>8</sub>-ne<sub>5</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-yan; but  
/nɪŋyeh/ 'grow up!' (impf.) < #nɪ<sub>5</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-yɪh. All from  
the base #nɪ<sub>5</sub>-..yɪh/yan (s-pf) 'grow up'.

One can reconstruct the development of original \*Cə-sə-  
through \*Cə-zə- to \*Cə·z-, reflected as modern Hupa  
#Ce-s--that is, compensatory lengthening of a preceding  
reduced vowel following from the loss of syllabicity of  
\*sə. This explanation is historically plausible, of  
course, only in impersonal forms. The fact that CV̄ > CV  
before all instances of s-pf in modern Hupa must be  
seen as an analogical extension.\* In Navaho a similar  
lengthening phenomenon before the Navaho equivalent of  
s-pf is restricted to 3rd person (impersonal) forms.

Bases with s-pf inflection containing adverbial  
prefixes of position 5 (#tɪ<sub>5</sub>- 'off, along', #na<sub>11</sub>-dɪ<sub>5</sub>-  
'along in a line', etc.) have, when they are formed  
on action themes (450), impersonal perfective forms with

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\*The phenomenon is actually even further extended.  
When two CV̄ prefixes (of positions 4, 5, 6) precede an  
s-pf marker, both are lengthened to CV. The most fre-  
quent case is #tɪ<sub>4</sub>- (distributive) preceded by #tɪ<sub>5</sub>-:  
/te·te·se·ɪeh/ 'I've drawn marks here and there' <  
#te<sub>5</sub>-te<sub>4</sub>-s(ɪ)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ɪɪh.

zero mode marker. But while the expected /s/ is absent, the position 5 prefix is still lengthened to CV:

/č<sup>3</sup>ite·yohs/ 'he pulled (a stick) along' < #č<sup>3</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-te<sub>5</sub>-∅<sub>3</sub>-yos (compare the directional motion base in /č<sup>3</sup>itehsya/ 'he went along' < #č<sup>3</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-te<sub>5</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-ya)

/č<sup>3</sup>ixode·taʔc/ 'he cut into him' < #č<sup>3</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>7</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-∅<sub>3</sub>-tač (compare /tahč<sup>3</sup>idehsya/ 'he got out of the water' < #tah<sub>11</sub>-č<sup>3</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-de<sub>5</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-ya)

It is possible that this is related to a similar loss of the s-pf marker in Chiricahua Apache, after di-inceptive and before voiced spirantal stem initials (Hoijer 1938, Notes 1:3-3, 2:2-6, 2:6-4).

#### 313.4 #wln- perfective.

In impersonal forms with zero classifier w-pf is basically #wln<sub>3</sub>-. In impersonal forms with overt classifiers, and in personal forms, w-pf is marked by #wl<sub>3</sub>-:

/yehč<sup>3</sup>lwl<sub>3</sub>nyay/ 'he went in' < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-č<sup>3</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-wln<sub>3</sub>-ya-l,  
/yehwldGot/ 'it wiggled in' < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-dl<sub>1</sub>-Gut

In general, when preceded by CV, #wln<sub>3</sub>- or #wl<sub>3</sub>- contracts with that syllable to form an overlong syllable:

/ya·ŋxlč/ '(birds) flew up' < #ya<sub>11</sub>-wln<sub>3</sub>-xlč,  
/k<sup>y</sup>e·ŋxlč/ 'you fell over' < #k<sup>y</sup>(l)-e<sub>11</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-xlč

After prefixes of the shape CV- such contractions do not occur. After #k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>- (or #k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>7</sub>-), thematic subject

(or object), #wɪn<sub>3</sub>- is commonly reduced to #n<sub>3</sub>-:

/yehk<sup>y</sup>ɪnyohW/ '(water) surged in' < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>-  
(wɪ)n<sub>3</sub>-yow.

### 313.5 #wesɪ- perfective.

wes-pf probably represents the co-occurrence of the mode markers #wɪ (progressive) and #sɪ (perfective), with #wɪ lengthened to #we as a syllable of this shape and position normally is before s-pf (see 313.3). In impersonal forms wes-pf is always marked by #wes<sub>3</sub>-. Unlike s-pf, however, the -s- of #wes<sub>3</sub>- exhibits no morphophonemic complications. Before the classifiers #t<sub>1</sub>- and #l<sub>1</sub>-, #wes<sub>3</sub>- remains unaltered and the classifiers are lost.

/ʔa·nɪwehsteʔ/ 'it became so' < #ʔa<sub>11</sub>-nɪ<sub>6</sub>-wes<sub>3</sub>-  
teʔ

/dahčɪwehsGehɪ/ 'he held the boat still' < #dah<sub>11</sub>-  
čɪ<sub>8</sub>-wehs<sub>3</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-Gehɪ

/čɪWɪwehsyoʔ/ 'he loved me' < #čɪ<sub>8</sub>-Wɪ<sub>7</sub>-wes<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-yoʔ.

Before #dɪ<sub>2</sub>- (1 pl subject) wes-pf is also #wes<sub>3</sub>-, but in other personal forms it is #wesɪ<sub>3</sub>-.

/ʔa·nɪwe·se·teʔ/ 'I became so' < #ʔa<sub>11</sub>-nɪ<sub>6</sub>-wes(ɪ<sub>3</sub>-  
e<sub>2</sub>-teʔ, /ʔa·nɪwehsdɪteʔ/ 'we became so', /ʔa·nɪwe·sɪnteʔ/  
'you became so'.

### 313.6 Progressive.

The form of the progressive mode marker is basically #wɪ<sub>3</sub>-. In forms with a preceding CV prefix #wɪ<sub>3</sub>-

sometimes contracts with the preceding syllable to form an overlong element.

/wɪŋyahɪ/ 'you go along' < #wɪ<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-yaɪ

/čɪwɪdɪɪ/ 'they go along' < #čɪ<sub>8</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-dɪɪ

/na·ndahɪ/ 'you go along back' < #na<sub>10</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-d(ɪ)<sub>1</sub>-  
(y)aɪ.

### 313.7 Customary.

The form of the customary mode marker is #ʔɪ<sub>3</sub>-. When initial in the word, it is automatically preceded by #ʔɪ-.

/čeʔɪlɪʒ/ 'he urinates' < čɪ<sub>8</sub>-ʔɪ<sub>3</sub>-lɪʒ, /ʔeʔɪwɪlɪʒ/  
'I urinate' < #ʔɪ-ʔɪ<sub>3</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-lɪʒ.

### 313.8 Optative.

Optative mode is marked only in first person and impersonal forms. First person optatives, moreover, are distinguished from imperfectives only in themes where there are distinct imperfective and optative stems. In first person optatives, as in imperfectives, the mode marker is zero. Also as in imperfective forms, if no prefix precedes, there is an automatic #ʔɪ- element in initial position.

/nɪwaʔ/ 'let me arrive!' (opt.) < #nɪ<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-(y)aʔ  
(compare /nɪwahw/ 'I arrive' (impf.) < #nɪ<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-(y)aW)

/kʲɪwanʔ/ 'let me eat!' (opt.) < #kʲɪ<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-(y)anʔ  
(compare /kʲɪwan/ 'I eat' (impf.) < #kʲɪ<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-(y)an)

/ʔɪdɪldɪŋʔ/ 'let us be happy!' (opt.) < #ʔɪ-dɪ<sub>2</sub>-



$l_1$ -dɪnʔ (compare /ʔɪdɪldɪn/ 'we are happy' (impf.) < #ʔɪ-dɪ $l_2$ - $l_1$ -dɪn-ɪ.

In impersonal forms optative mode is marked by #o $_3$ -. Initially, or when preceded by any but a CV- prefix, this becomes #ʔo $_3$ -.

/č̣o·yaʔ/ 'let him go!' < #č̣(ɪ) $_8$ -o $_3$ -yaʔ, /ʔo·yaʔ/ 'let it go!' < #ʔo $_3$ -yaʔ

/na·ʔo·yaʔ/ 'let it move about!' < #na $_{11}$ -ʔo $_3$ -yaʔ

### 313.9 Potential.

Impersonal potential forms are identical with optative forms, except for stem formation.

/č̣o·yahWn/ 'he might go' (pot.) < #č̣(ɪ) $_8$ -o $_3$ -yahWnɪ, beside /č̣o·yaʔ/ 'let him go!' (opt.)

/na·ʔo·yaʔn/ 'it might move about' < #na $_{11}$ -ʔo $_3$ -yaʔnɪ, beside /na·ʔo·yaʔ/ 'let it move about!' (opt.)

Personal potential forms are marked by #nɪ $_3$ -, as well as by a sub-theme formed with dɪ- classifier.

In initial position #nɪ $_3$ - is preceded by #ʔɪ-.

/tɪnohdɪdɪɪn/ 'you (pl.) might go off' < #tɪ $_5$ -n(ɪ) $_3$ -oh $_2$ -dɪ $_1$ -dɪɪnɪ

/ʔɪnɪWdɪtasn/ 'I might cut it!' < #ʔɪ-nɪ $_3$ -W $_2$ -dɪ $_1$ -tasnɪ.

## 314. Subject markers.

Prefix position 2, marking subject, is either empty or filled by one of the following markers:

- #w- first person singular (1 sg)
- #n- second person singular (2 sg)
- #d<sub>1</sub>- first person plural (1 pl)
- #oh- second person plural (2 pl)

When position 2 is empty the form is marked for impersonal subject. Various subcategories of impersonal subject (deictic subjects) are marked by prefixes of position 8 (321). The four markers above are referred to collectively as personal subject markers.

## 314.1 First person singular.

The basic 1 sg subject marker is #w<sub>2</sub>-. When the classifiers #t<sub>1</sub>- and #l<sub>1</sub>- follow, they are lost.

/n<sub>1</sub>wne·s/ 'I am tall' < #n<sub>1</sub><sub>6</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-nes-<sub>1</sub>

/no·xowt<sub>1</sub>w/ 'I put him down' < #no<sub>11</sub>-x<sup>w</sup><sub>17</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>w

/w<sub>1</sub>wdah<sub>1</sub>/ 'I run along' < #w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-da<sub>1</sub>

In the perfective forms of active bases formed on themes with zero or #t<sub>1</sub>- classifier, 1 sg subject is marked by #e<sub>2</sub>-. #y<sub>2</sub>- appears as a secondary form of this marker when, by contraction of the perfective marker #w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>- (or #w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-) with a preceding CV, an overlong vowel comes to precede it. The sequence #C<sub>1</sub>-w(<sub>1</sub>)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>- is reduced to #Ce-.

/na·se·ya?/ 'I have gone about' < #na<sub>11</sub>-s(<sub>1</sub>)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-  
ya?

- /no·xoneh̄te·n/ 'I have put him down' < #no<sub>11</sub>-  
x<sup>w</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>-n(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-t̄<sub>1</sub>-ten-ι
- /xosa·yʔa·n/ 'I put it into his mouth' < #x<sup>w</sup>ι-sa<sub>11</sub>-  
w(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ʔan-ι
- /ya·ȳtwa·λ̄/ 'I threw it up into the air' < #ya<sub>11</sub>-  
w(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-t̄<sub>1</sub>-waλ̄-ι
- /ne·Woʔn/ 'I have been good' < #nι<sub>6</sub>-w(ι)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-Wonʔ-ι.

In the perfective forms of active bases formed on themes with #l<sub>1</sub>- classifier, 1 sg subject is marked by #w<sub>2</sub>-, except when perfective mode is marked by s-pf and the perfective marker is preceded by a syllable of the shape CV-. In this case, the sequence #CV-s<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>- may be assumed to be the basic representation of the various forms, and the actual phonemic shape is /CV·(y)s/-.

#l<sub>1</sub>- classifier is lost:

- /xa·ys̄la·d/ 'I ran up to the top' < #xa<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-  
l-t̄ad-ι
- /te·sda·W/ (or /te·ysda·W/) 'I ran off' < #te<sub>5</sub>-  
s<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-daW-ι

Krauss (1969) discusses the Athabaskan \*y marker for first person singular subject (Ath. \*y here > Hupa #e<sub>2</sub>-). Hupa differs from many Athabaskan languages in restricting its reflex of \*y 1 sg subject to the inflection of active bases. Compare /s̄tWda/ 'I am sitting' (s-pf neuter) with the corresponding Navaho form, /sédá/, where Navaho -/é/- here represents \*y 1 sg.

## 314.2 Second person singular.

The basic 2 sg subject marker is #n<sub>2</sub>-. Before a stem with initial #n-, #n<sub>2</sub>- is replaced by #y<sub>2</sub>-. The sequence #C<sub>1</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>- coalesces to #Ce-. Before classifiers #t<sub>1</sub>- and #l<sub>1</sub>, #n<sub>2</sub>- is lost (in the latter case by regular phonological rule).

/sɪnda/ 'you are sitting' < #sɪ<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-da

/Wɪčoyne/ 'help me!' < #Wɪ-č<sub>o</sub><sub>11</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>-ne

/ne·nehs/ 'you are tall' < #nɪ<sub>6</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>-nes

/ʔɪč<sup>w</sup>e/ 'make it!' < #ʔɪ-ø<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>e

/dɪwɪltoʔn/ 'you jumped off' < #dɪ<sub>5</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-

tonʔ-ɪ.

## 314.3 First person plural.

The basic 1 pl subject marker is #dɪ<sub>2</sub>-. A following #t<sub>1</sub>- classifier is replaced by #l<sub>1</sub>-. Before #dɪ<sub>1</sub>- classifier or the stem of the theme #A-..dɪt/deʔ '(several) move somewhere' and associated themes, #dɪ<sub>2</sub>- is replaced by #y<sub>2</sub>-. The sequence #C<sub>1</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>- coalesces to #Ce-.

/k<sup>y</sup>ɪdɪyan/ 'we eat' < #k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>7</sub>-dɪ<sub>2</sub>-yan

/xodɪlcɪs/ 'we see him' < #x<sup>w</sup>ɪ<sub>7</sub>-dɪ<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-cɪs, from the base #O<sub>7</sub>-..t-cɪs 'see O'

/naydɪt/ 'we go about' < #na<sub>11</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>-dɪt

/se·dɪya·n/ 'we are old' < #sɪ<sub>6</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>-dɪ<sub>1</sub>-yan-ɪ.

## 314.4 Second person plural.

The basic 2 pl subject marker is #oh<sub>2</sub>-. A following #l<sub>1</sub>- classifier is replaced by #t<sub>1</sub>-.

/ʔohte·č̣/ 'you (pl.) come to lie down' < #ʔ(ɪ)-  
 ø<sub>3</sub>-oh<sub>2</sub>-teč̣-ɪ

/Wohɪcɪs/ 'you (pl.) see me' < #W(ɪ)<sub>7</sub>-oh<sub>2</sub>-ɪ<sub>1</sub>-cɪs

/tohɪtonʔ/ '(you (pl.)) jump off!' < #t(ɪ)<sub>5</sub>-  
 oh<sub>2</sub>-ɪ<sub>1</sub>-tonʔ, from the base #tɪ<sub>5</sub>-..l-tonʔ (s-pf) 'jump  
 off, along'

After a prefix of the shape CV- #oh<sub>2</sub>- is reduced to #h<sub>2</sub>-:

/nahdɪl/ 'you (pl.) are walking about' < #na<sub>11</sub>-  
 h<sub>2</sub>-dɪɪ-ɪ.

## 315. Classifiers.

Prefix position 1 is occupied by a set of markers traditionally called "classifiers" by students of Athabaskan grammar. The function of classifiers is an extremely complex topic. In part, their occurrence is purely thematic, part of the lexical specification of the verb form. But they also serve to mark a number of regular derivational processes, and in their thematic occurrences preserve fossilized traces of yet others. In 316 a brief comparative overview of the form and function of Athabaskan classifiers is given, and this is followed in 317 by a synoptic view of the occurrence and function of the markers of this class in Hupa.

The forms of the Hupa classifiers are  $\#t_1-$ ,  $\#d_1-$ , and  $\#l_1-$ . Compound classifiers  $\#t-d_1-$  and  $\#l-d_1-$  occur. In a few neuter themes  $\#n_1-$   $\#s_1-$  and  $\#w_1-$  are found. Where these markers are subject to any unpredictable phonological variation, the variant forms are described in summary form in 318.

## 316. Classifiers in comparative perspective.

It is unlikely that there was in Proto-Athabaskan a morphological class corresponding to the classifiers of modern Hupa (or the parallel classes in most other Athabaskan languages). Instead, there was probably a marker for transitivity, \*ɬ-, corresponding to Hupa #ɬ<sub>1</sub>-, and a marker for impersonal subject, \*də-, corresponding to Hupa #dɬ<sub>1</sub>-. The latter was probably a member of a paradigm of subject markers (Hupa position 2) and could co-occur with the transitive marker. The collocation of \*dɬ-ɬ- is most likely represented in modern Hupa by #l<sub>1</sub>-.

The fusion of \*dɬ and \*ɬ into \*l (or perhaps \*ɬə) must have occurred quite early in Athabaskan linguistic history, since it is common to the entire family. This fusion essentially creates the morphological class of "classifier", and it must have been paralleled by the semantic and syntactic shifts of \*dɬ and \*l from "impersonal" and "impersonal-transitive" to "reflexive" and "passive", their basic functions in modern Athabaskan.\*

Besides coalescing \*dɬ and \*ɬ, each daughter language to some extent merged certain sequences of prefix and stem-initial consonant (typically \*dɬ-n- > \*d-, \*ɬ-y- > \*š-), thereby interrelating the emerging "classifier" set with stem-initial morphophonemics.

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\*It is relevant, but beyond the scope of this discussion, to consider here the origin of Proto Athabaskan \*i-dɬ- (1 pl subject)--Navaho -ìì(D)-, Hupa #dɬ<sub>2</sub>- --and \*dɬ- (reflexive object)--Navaho ʔá-d(i)-, Hupa #ʔa<sub>11</sub>-..dɬ<sub>7</sub>-.

Or, in the other direction, the daughter languages tended to confuse certain thematic prefixes with classifiers, particularly thematic \*tə- and \*də- in "adjectival" themes.

While in many cases retaining some of their old transitivity and impersonalizing force, the classifiers of the modern Athabaskan languages are tending toward grammatical meaninglessness. In some languages of the North (e.g., Hare, Slave) where the phonetic reinterpretation of these prefixes--in particular through fusion with stem-initials--has been extreme, it is likely that a strictly synchronic analysis would reveal only vestiges of the original analytic scheme. Hupa perhaps represents the opposite extreme. It shows only a minimum of coalescence between classifier and stem, and retains in full--if it has not indeed expanded--the role of #t<sub>1</sub>- and #d<sub>1</sub>- as markers of derivative theme categories. (The compound classifiers #t-d<sub>1</sub>- and #l-d<sub>1</sub>- probably represent such an expansion of their roles.) Nevertheless, even Hupa shows many instances of classifiers whose derivational function is not apparent or (as with #n<sub>1</sub>-, #s<sub>1</sub>- and #w<sub>1</sub>- clearly) whose origin is outside the Athabaskan \*t/də system.



## 317. Occurrence and general function of classifiers.

317.1 #t<sub>1</sub>- classifier.

As in Proto-Athabaskan, the basic derivational function of #t<sub>1</sub>- is the formation of transitive themes from intransitives. This process is productive in the formation of:

1. Causatives from the transitionals of primary description themes (422.2).

#n<sub>6</sub>-..Won 'it is good' (primary description neuter) → #n<sub>6</sub>-..Won? (w-pf) 'it comes to be good' (transitional theme-base) → #0<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-Won? 'cause 0 to be good' (causative).

2. Possessives from primary stative motion themes (434.22).

#s<sub>3</sub>-..?an '(a single object) lies motionless' (primary stative s-pf neuter) → #0<sub>7</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-?an 'have (a single object) lying motionless; possess (a single object)' (possessive).

3. Causatives from the transitionals of primary extension themes (442.2).

#na<sub>11</sub>-wln<sub>3</sub>-..?a 'extend downward, hang' (primary extension w-pf neuter) → #na<sub>11</sub>-..?a? (wes-pf) 'come to hang' (transitional theme-base) → #na<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-?a? 'cause 0 to hang, hang 0' (causative).

4. Causatives from primary intransitive action themes (452.1).

#..yad 'get hurt' (primary action) → #0<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-  
yad 'hurt O' (causative).

Hupa #ɪ<sub>1</sub>- has two other functions of a derivational nature, unconnected with transitivity:

5. Some description themes form derivative intensive and comparative bases with the adverbial prefixes #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- and #0-e<sub>11</sub>-, respectively, and a change of theme to include #ɪ- (usually in position 1)(343).

#n<sub>6</sub>-..nes 'be long, tall' : #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..ɪ-nes 'be quite tall', #0-e<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..ɪ-nes 'be tall enough for O, be as tall as O'.

This formation is not general. Many other description themes form intensives and comparatives with prefixation of #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- and #0-e<sub>11</sub>- alone.

6. A directional motion theme with thematic #l<sub>1</sub>- classifier in its primary form is consistently associated with a non-directional motion theme with thematic #ɪ<sub>1</sub>-.

#A-..l-ton? 'jump somewhere' (primary directional motion), #na<sub>11</sub>-..ɪ-ton? 'jump about' (primary non-directional motion).

In two instances at least, a semitransitive theme (412.2) appears to be derived from an intransitive action theme with a change of classifier from zero to #ɪ<sub>1</sub>-:

#..č<sup>w</sup>ɪd 'reach' (primary action) → #0-o<sub>11</sub>-..ɪ-  
č<sup>w</sup>ɪd 'point at O'

#..č<sup>w</sup>ɪh 'cry' → #0-o<sub>11</sub>-..ɪ-č<sup>w</sup>ɪh 'hire O'.

Examples of #t<sub>1</sub>- classifier as a thematic prefix in primary themes abound. A significant subclass of these consists of transitive derivatives (types 1-4 above) whose basic intransitive is no longer in use or has diverged greatly from its erstwhile derivative in meaning:

#o<sub>7</sub>-..t-tig<sup>y</sup> 'pinch, squeeze O' (primary action). Compare Navaho -tih 'fit tightly' (neuter), -t-tiih 'tighten (it)'. Hupa #n<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sup>2</sup>ik<sup>y</sup> '(a line) extends' (extension neuter, 441) may be connected.

Many active intransitive themes with #t<sub>1</sub>- are explicable as old transitive derivatives with a covert or fossilized object:

#..t-yo<sup>t</sup> 'blow (air, with the mouth)' (primary intransitive action). This theme is never found inflected for object, but note the historically associated theme #k<sup>y</sup><sub>7</sub>-t<sub>5</sub>-..t-yo<sup>t</sup> 'swear' with fossilized thematic #k<sup>y</sup><sub>7</sub>- object (< \*'blow a certain thing--i.e., profanity').

A number of description themes (primary intransitives) have thematic #t<sub>1</sub>-, usually associated with the thematic semantic class prefix #n<sub>6</sub>-, referring to surface or tactile qualities (421.1):

#n<sub>6</sub>-..t-x<sup>l</sup>d 'be smooth'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..t-tan 'be soft'

#na<sub>11</sub>-..t-c<sup>l</sup>s '(a single object) is hanging'

317.2 #d<sub>1</sub>- classifier.

As a marker of regular productive formations, #d<sub>1</sub>- serves to mark derivative reflexive and passive themes, gerunds, iterative and potential modal forms, and forms with reciprocal object.

1. Reflexive themes. Primary directional motion and action transitives form derivative reflexive themes (431.32, 453.2), indicating the action of the subject on itself or the subject's reception of the action of an unspecified agent (approaching in meaning the classical "middle" mode). When the primary theme has zero classifier the reflexive is formed with #d<sub>1</sub>-:

#A-0<sub>7</sub>-..m<sub>1</sub>±/me<sup>1</sup> 'throw (several objects in a bunch)' → #A<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-m<sub>1</sub>± '(several objects in a bunch) move precipitously, fly'

When the primary theme has #±- classifier, in the greater number of cases the derivative reflexive is formed with #d<sub>1</sub>- in place of #±<sub>1</sub>-. In the remaining cases #l<sub>1</sub>- replaces #±<sub>1</sub>-:

#0<sub>7</sub>-..i-k<sup>y</sup>oc<sup>1</sup> 'stretch 0' → #..d<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>oc<sup>1</sup> 'stretch'.

2. Passive themes. All active transitive themes form secondary neuter transitives with thematic modal #w<sub>3</sub>- and impersonal subject, translating as English passives (413.14.2). When the active theme has zero classifier, the passive neuter is formed with #d<sub>1</sub>-:

#A-0<sub>7</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>W/la 'move (several objects or a rope) somewhere' → #A-0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-la '(several objects or

a rope) have been moved somewhere'.

3. Gerunds. Intransitive active bases form gerunds, verb forms used as nominals (431.2, 452.2). When the active base has zero classifier, the gerund has #d<sub>1</sub>-:

#na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya? (s-pf) '(one) moves about' ->  
#na<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>-ya? '(one) moving about; business'.

4. Iterative forms. Intransitive directional motion bases, transitive directional motion bases with the prefix #n<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf), and all progressive themes form iterative sub-themes with prefixed #na<sub>10</sub>- and #d<sub>1</sub>- in classifier position. Where the basic theme has #t<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-, iterative sub-themes have the compound classifiers #t-d<sub>1</sub>- and #l-d<sub>1</sub>-, respectively: (333)

#A-xo<sub>6</sub>-..?αW/?an '(several) run somewhere' ->  
#A-na<sub>10</sub>-xo<sub>6</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-?αW/?an '(several) run back somewhere'

5. Potential modal forms. Personal subject forms in the potential mode are marked by a modal prefix #n<sub>3</sub>- and #d<sub>1</sub>- in classifier position. Where the base has #t<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-, compound classifiers result: (313.9, 317.4)

#t<sub>5</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>t/dek' '(several) go off': /t<sub>1</sub>ne·d<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>tn/  
'we might go off' (pot.) < #t<sub>5</sub>-n<sub>3</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>tn.

6. Reciprocal object. Transitive themes with zero classifier have #d<sub>1</sub>- in forms inflected for reciprocal object (322.32). Themes with #t<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-

have reciprocal object forms with #l<sub>1</sub>-:

#o<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..yod 'chase O': /yan<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>yo·d/ 'they are chasing each other' < #ya<sub>9</sub>-n-<sub>1</sub>l<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>-yod-<sub>1</sub>.

The same alteration of theme occurs when a locative adverbial prefix (340) is inflected for reciprocal object (511.1):

#o-wa<sub>11</sub>-o<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-..?αW/?an 'give (a single object) to O': /?l<sub>1</sub>wa·ya?nda?a·n/ 'they gave it to each other' < #n<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>-wa<sub>11</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-?8-n<sub>5</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>-?an-<sub>1</sub>.

Thematic #d<sub>1</sub>- in primary themes represents, in many cases, fossilization of one of the preceding formations. There are a number of themes that appear to be fossilized reflexives:

#k<sup>y</sup><sub>8</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-mαd '(water) boils'

#na<sub>11</sub>-t<sub>5</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-yeW/yeč 'breathe'

Among the themes with no apparent connection to any derivational or inflectional process resulting in #d<sub>1</sub>- are:

#ta<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-nan 'drink'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-n<sub>1</sub>W 'have an erection'

#ne<sub>6</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-wan 'resemble'

317.3 #l<sub>1</sub>- classifier.

In its productive derivational functions #l<sub>1</sub>- parallels #d<sub>1</sub>-, being used to form reflexive and passive themes, gerunds, and forms inflected for reciprocal object. It occurs in primary themes, however, much more frequently than does #d<sub>1</sub>-.

1. Reflexive themes (317.2.1). A minority of the primary directional motion and action transitives with basic #t<sub>1</sub>- form their derivative reflexives with #l<sub>1</sub>- in place of #t<sub>1</sub>-.

#0<sub>7</sub>-..t-Wut 'slide (a bulky object)' → #..l-Wut  
'slide massively, with friction due to weight'

2. Passive themes (317.2.2). Active transitive themes with #t<sub>1</sub>- form secondary neuter transitives--passive-neuters--with #l<sub>1</sub>- in place of #t<sub>1</sub>-.

#0<sub>7</sub>-..t-can 'see O' → #0<sub>7</sub>-wt<sub>3</sub>-..l-can 'O has been seen'.

3. Gerunds (317.2.3). Intransitive active bases form gerunds, verb forms used as nominals. When the active base has #t<sub>1</sub>-, the gerund has #l<sub>1</sub>-.

#0-e<sub>11</sub>-..t-na/na? 'cook O': /me.lna?/ 'cooking of something' < #m(t)-e<sub>11</sub>-wt<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-na?.

4. Reciprocal object (317.2.6). Transitive themes with #t<sub>1</sub>- have #l<sub>1</sub>- in forms inflected for reciprocal object.

#0<sub>7</sub>-nt<sub>6</sub>-..t-?en 'look at O': /ya?nt<sub>6</sub>nt<sub>1</sub>?t<sub>1</sub>/

'they look at each other' < #ya<sub>9</sub>-<sup>?</sup>8-n-<sup>?</sup>7-n<sub>6</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-<sup>?</sup>en.

However, when the subject marker is #oh<sub>2</sub>- 2 pl, forms with basic #<sup>?</sup>1- inflected for reciprocal object have the compound classifier #<sup>?</sup>1-d<sub>1</sub>- instead of #l<sub>1</sub>- (which, by rule, is /<sup>?</sup>1/ after #oh<sub>2</sub>-; 314.4):

/<sup>?</sup>1noh<sup>?</sup>ide<sup>?</sup>1<sup>?</sup>/ 'you (pl.) look at each other'  
 < #(n)<sup>?</sup>1<sub>7</sub>-n(<sup>?</sup>1)<sub>6</sub>-oh<sub>2</sub>-<sup>?</sup>1-d<sub>1</sub>-<sup>?</sup>en.

5. 1 pl subject. One further productive function of #l<sub>1</sub>- is to replace #<sup>?</sup>1- in a form inflected for first person plural subject with #d<sub>2</sub>- (314.1).

#0<sub>7</sub>-..<sup>?</sup>1-can 'see O': /n<sup>?</sup>1d<sup>?</sup>1can/ 'we see you' < #n<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-can.

Primary themes with basic #l<sub>1</sub>- are sometimes identifiable as old reflexive or passive derivatives whose original primary theme has been lost or obscured:

#..1-d<sub>1</sub><sup>?</sup> 'shake, quake (the ground, in an earthquake)'. Compare #k<sup>?</sup>1<sub>8</sub>-..<sup>?</sup>1-d<sub>1</sub><sup>?</sup> 'there is a ringing sound'.

#..1-yv<sup>?</sup>1/yo<sup>?</sup>1 'swell up'. Compare #..<sup>?</sup>1-yo<sup>?</sup>1 'blow (air, with the mouth)'

#ne<sub>6</sub>-..<sup>?</sup>1-g<sup>?</sup>1d 'be afraid'. Probably < \*'be put to flight'. Compare #0<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..<sup>?</sup>1-yod 'chase O'.

In other cases more complex historical origins seem to be indicated. At least four semantic sub-groups of primary #l<sub>1</sub>- themes can be identified:



6. Plural subject. A group of #1<sub>1</sub>- themes with, apparently, neither reflexive nor passive histories, have in common (1) the thematic prefix #d<sub>6</sub>- and (2) restriction to plural subject inflection (351.6):

#na<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>6</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..l-ya (stative motion neuter)  
'(several) are standing'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..l-č<sup>w</sup>an? (action) '(several) congregate for a feast'.

7. Mouth action. Three active themes involving activity of the mouth:

#0<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-..l-xac' 'bite 0'

#0<sub>7</sub>-..l-x<sub>1</sub>d/x<sub>1</sub>t' 'swallow 0'

#..l-d<sub>1</sub>ž/dež' 'eat berries (by crushing them in one's mouth, one after another)'. Compare #A-..d<sub>1</sub>ž/dež'  
'(several) move somewhere'.

8. Running and jumping. Several active intransitive themes involve running or jumping:

#A-..l-daW '(one) runs somewhere' (dir. motion)

#A-..l-?<sub>13</sub> '(one) runs somewhere' (in a few archaic forms) (dir. motion)

#na<sub>11</sub>-..ž-?<sub>13</sub> '(one) runs about' (non-dir. motion)  
(This theme, although it has primary #ž<sub>1</sub>-, is associated formally and semantically with the preceding two themes in #1<sub>1</sub>-. Motion themes in #1<sub>1</sub>- usually have non-directional themes associated with them with #ž<sub>1</sub>-. 317.1.6.)

#A-..l-žad '(one) runs, jumps somewhere' (dir. motion)

#A-..l-č̣áq̣ ' (a frog) jumps somewhere'

#A-..l-ton? 'jump somewhere'. But compare #O<sub>7</sub>-  
..ṭ-ton? 'flick O'.

Perhaps #ḍ<sub>6</sub>-..l-ye/ye? 'dance (the White Deerskin or  
Jumping dances)' belongs here. Note also the fossil  
base #O-a<sub>11</sub>-ṭ<sub>5</sub>-..l-č̣<sup>w</sup>th 'run crying after O', beside  
the theme #..č̣<sup>w</sup>th 'cry'.

9. Adjectival. The thematic prefix #ḍ<sub>6</sub>- and  
#l<sub>1</sub>- classifier define a class of description neuters  
referring to colors or similar qualities (421.3):

#ḍ<sub>6</sub>-..l-ma· 'be gray'

#ḍ<sub>6</sub>-..l-x̣ṭẓ̌ 'be speckled'

Some common #l<sub>1</sub>- primary themes that do not fit  
in any of the preceding categories are:

#O<sub>7</sub>-ṭ<sub>5</sub>-..l-k<sup>y</sup>od 'steal O'

#A-..l-cṭṭ 'squat somewhere'

#..l-wṭṭ/weł̣ 'night comes'. Compare #xṭṭ 'dark-  
ish color, murk'.

## 317.4 Compound classifiers.

The compound classifiers #t-d<sub>1</sub>- and #l-d<sub>1</sub>- are nearly always the result of productive processes of derivation or inflection. The only clear instance of a primary theme with a compound classifier is the description theme #d<sub>6</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub>-žeh 'be sticky', which is interpretable as a formation on the causative of the reflexive theme #..d<sub>1</sub>-žew 'stick together' (317.2, and below).

The following formations lead to compound classifiers:

1. Causatives of reflexives. Reflexive themes formed with #d<sub>1</sub>- (317.2.1) have derivative causatives with #t-d<sub>1</sub>-:

#..d<sub>1</sub>-Gut' 'wiggle, scramble' (< \*'bend oneself', compare the basic transitive action theme #O<sub>7</sub>-..t-Gut' 'bend O') → #O<sub>7</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub>-Gut' 'cause O to wiggle'.

A similar causative is formed from primary active themes in #d<sub>1</sub>-:

#n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-Ge? 'get up' → #n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub>-Ge? 'get O up'.

## 2. Derivations from passives.

Passive neuter themes (413.14.2) have derivative themes with compound classifiers.

Passive themes with #l<sub>1</sub>- classifier form secondary active (transitional) themes with #l-d<sub>1</sub>-, and secondary neuter (possessive) themes with #t-d<sub>1</sub>-:

#0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..l-č<sup>w</sup>en 'O has been made' (passive neuter, from the basic transitive #0<sub>7</sub>-..t-č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>en? 'make O') → #0<sub>7</sub>-..l-d<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>en 'O gets to be made' (transitional), #0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>en 'have O made' (possessive).

Themes with #d<sub>1</sub>- form the parallel derivatives with #d<sub>1</sub>- and #t-d<sub>1</sub>-, respectively:

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-xed 'O has been bought' →  
 #0-o<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-xed 'O gets to be bought' (transitional),  
 #0-o<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub>-xed 'have O bought' (possessive).

3. Iterative forms. Iterative sub-themes are formed with #na<sub>10</sub>- and #d<sub>1</sub>- (317.2.4). When the basic theme has #t<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-, the compound classifiers #t-d<sub>1</sub>- and #l-d<sub>1</sub>-, respectively, occur in the iterative sub-theme:

#0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t-te<sub>t</sub> 'move (one person) along' →  
 #na<sub>10</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub>-te<sub>t</sub> 'move (one person) along back'  
 #w<sub>3</sub>-..l-da<sub>t</sub> '(one) runs along' → #na<sub>10</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-  
 ..l-d<sub>1</sub>-da<sub>t</sub> '(one) runs along back'

4. Potential modal forms. Personal subject forms in the potential mode are marked by a modal prefix #n<sub>3</sub>- and by #d<sub>1</sub>- (317.2.5). Where the base has #t<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-, the potential form has #t-d<sub>1</sub> and #l-d<sub>1</sub>-, respectively:

#..t-d<sub>1</sub> 'get wrinkled' (transitional from the description neuter #n<sub>6</sub>-..t-d<sub>1</sub> 'be wrinkled'):

/ʔɪntɪdɪdɪzn/ 'you might get wrinkled' < #ʔɪ-nɪ<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-  
ɪ-dɪ<sub>1</sub>-dɪznɪ.

### 317.5 Other classifiers.

#### 317.51 #n- classifier.

In impersonal subject forms the theme #xɪ-nɪ<sub>6</sub>-..  
yeW 'speak' has the shape #xɪ<sub>6</sub>-..n-(y)eW:

/xɪntɪWyeW/ 'I speak' < #xɪ-nɪ<sub>6</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-yeW, but  
/čɪxɪnehW/ 'he speaks' < #čɪ<sub>8</sub>-xɪ<sub>6</sub>-n<sub>1</sub>-(y)eW (impf.),  
/čɪxeʔne·W/ 'he always speaks' (cust.), /čɪxe·ne·W/  
'he spoke' (w-pf).

A set of themes with the adjectival prefix #dɪ<sub>6</sub>-  
and referring to strong (distasteful) perceptions also  
have #n<sub>1</sub>- (351.7):

#dɪ<sub>6</sub>-..n-ʔuč<sup>3</sup> 'be sour, salty'

#dɪ<sub>6</sub>-..n-ček<sup>3y</sup> 'be hot, peppery, strong-tasting'

#dɪ<sub>6</sub>-..n-čad<sup>3</sup> 'be sore, ache'

#0-e<sub>11</sub>-dɪ<sub>6</sub>-..n-č<sup>w</sup>en 'feel hunger for 0' (0- is  
usually #mɪ-, referring to food).

#### 317.52 #s- classifier.

Three description neuter themes appear to have  
#s- in classifier position:

#mɪ<sub>6</sub>-..s-Gɪy<sup>?</sup> 'be small' (impersonal subject  
forms). In personal subject forms the theme is #sɪ-mɪ<sub>6</sub>-  
..Gɪy<sup>?</sup>.

#d<sub>6</sub>-..s-k<sup>y</sup>ɪn 'be stiff'. Compare #k<sup>y</sup>ɪn 'tree, stick'.

#d<sub>6</sub>-..s-<sup>ʔ</sup>cen 'be stiff (in the joints)'. Compare #c<sup>ʔ</sup>ɪn 'bone (needle)', #0-<sup>ʔ</sup>cɪn-ɪ<sup>ʔ</sup> 'O's bone, leg'.

Perhaps to be included here is the theme #..sɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a 'be a long time' (compare the modifier #sɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a 'for a long time', 531.20): /sɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a/ (impf.) (= a modifier?), /wɪnsɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>/ (pf.), /<sup>ʔ</sup>e<sup>ʔ</sup>ɪsɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>/ (cust.), /<sup>ʔ</sup>o·sɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>/ (opt.), /wɪsɑ<sup>ʔ</sup>a<sup>ʔ</sup>at/ (prog.).

317.53 #W- classifier.

The description neuter theme #x<sup>w</sup>ɪ<sub>6</sub>-..W-ɪan 'be many (people)' has #W- in or near classifier position throughout its inflection. Historically, the theme derives from #nɪ<sub>6</sub>-..ɪan 'be many'.

The most confusing feature of #x<sup>w</sup>ɪ<sub>6</sub>-..W-ɪan is the 1 pl subject form, /xowdɪɪan/ 'we are many'. The perfective of the derived transitional is /xo·Wdɪɪa<sup>ʔ</sup>n/, also showing #d<sub>2</sub>- (1 pl subject) following #W-. In all other forms, #W- follows the subject marker.

## 318. Summary of forms in combination.

When mode, subject, and classifier markers co-occur there is considerable readjustment of basic phonological specification. This has been described in the sections above individually for each morpheme. The present section summarizes the readjustment phenomena in paradigmatic form.

## 318.1 Imperfective forms.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#ɬ<sub>1</sub>- or #ɬ-(dɬ)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#ʔɬ-W-, #CV-W-	#ʔɬ-W-, #CV-W-
2 sg	#ʔɬ-n-, #CV-n-	#ʔɬ-ɬ-, #CV-ɬ-
1 pl	#ʔɬ-dɬ-, #CV-dɬ-	#ʔɬ-dɬ-l-, #CV-dɬ-l-
2 pl	#ʔ-oh-, #CV-h-	#ʔ-oh-ɬ-, #CV-h-ɬ-
Imp	#ʔɬ-, #CV-	#ʔɬ-ɬ-, #CV-ɬ-
	<u>#dɬ<sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(dɬ)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#ʔɬ-W-dɬ-, #CV-W-dɬ-	#ʔɬ-W-, #CV-W-
2 sg	#ʔɬ-n-dɬ-, #CV-n-dɬ-	#ʔɬ-l-, #CV-l-
1 pl	#ʔe-dɬ-, #CV-y-dɬ-	#ʔɬ-dɬ-l-, #CV-dɬ-l-
2 pl	#ʔ-oh-dɬ-, #CV-h-dɬ-	#ʔ-oh-ɬ-, #CV-h-ɬ-
Imp	#ʔɬ-d-, #CV-dɬ-	#ʔɬ-l-, #CV-l-

See also 318.9.

## 318.2 #nɪn- perfective forms.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#ɪ<sub>1</sub>- or #ɪ-(dɪ)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#n-e-, #nɪ-W-	#n-e-ɪ-
2 sg	#nɪ-n-	#nɪ-ɪ-
1 pl	#nɪ-dɪ-	#nɪ-dɪ-l-
2 pl	#n-oh-	#n-oh-ɪ-
Imp	#nɪn-, #CV-n-	#nɪ-ɪ-
	<u>#dɪ<sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(dɪ)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#nɪ-W-dɪ-	#nɪ-W-
2 sg	#nɪ-n-dɪ-	#nɪ-l-
1 pl	#n-e-dɪ-	#nɪ-dɪ-l-
2 pl	#n-oh-dɪ-	#n-oh-ɪ-
Imp	#nɪn-dɪ-, #CV-n-dɪ-	#nɪ-l-, #CV-l-

## 318.3 #sɪ- perfective forms.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#ɪ<sub>1</sub>- or #ɪ-(dɪ)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#s-e-, #sɪ-W-, #CV-·s-	#s-e-ɪ-
2 sg	#sɪ-n-	#sɪ-ɪ-
1 pl	#sɪdɪ-, #CV-s-dɪ-	#sɪ-dɪ-l-, #CV-s-dɪ-l-
2 pl	#s-oh-	#s-oh-ɪ-
Imp	#sɪ-, #CV-s-	#sɪ-ɪ-, #CV-s/ɪ-



	<u>#d<sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#s <sub>1</sub> -W-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--(y)s-d <sub>1</sub> -	#s <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV--(y)s-
2 sg	#s <sub>1</sub> -n-d <sub>1</sub> -	#s <sub>1</sub> -l-
1 pl	#s-e-d <sub>1</sub> -	#s <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV-s-d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#s-oh-d <sub>1</sub> -	#s-oh- <sub>1</sub> -
Imp	#s <sub>1</sub> -d-, #CV-s-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-h-	#s <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV-s-

318.4 #w<sub>1</sub>n- perfective forms.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#<sub>1</sub>- or #<sub>1</sub>-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#w-e-, #C( <sub>1</sub> )-e-, #CV--y-	#w-e- <sub>1</sub> -, #C( <sub>1</sub> )-e-- <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--y- <sub>1</sub> -
2 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -n-, #CV--n-	#w <sub>1</sub> - <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-- <sub>1</sub> -
1 pl	#w <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#w-oh-	#w-oh- <sub>1</sub> -
Imp	#w <sub>1</sub> n-, #CV--n-	#w <sub>1</sub> - <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-- <sub>1</sub> -
	<u>#d<sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -W-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--W-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV--W-
2 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -n-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--n-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV--l-
1 pl	#w-e-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--y-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#w-oh-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w-oh- <sub>1</sub> -
Imp.	#w <sub>1</sub> -d-, #CV--d-	#w <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV--l-

## 318.5 Progressive forms.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#t<sub>1</sub>- or #t-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV--W-	#w <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV--W-
2 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -n-, #CV--n-	#w <sub>1</sub> -t-, #CV--t-
1 pl	#w <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#w-oh-	#w-oh-t-
Imp	#w <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -t-, #CV--t-
	<u>#d<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -W-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--W-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV--W-
2 sg	#w <sub>1</sub> -n-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--n-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV--l-
1 pl	#w-e-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV--y-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#w-oh-d <sub>1</sub> -	#w-oh-t-
Imp	#w <sub>1</sub> -d-, #CV--d-	#w <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV--l-

## 318.6 Customary forms.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#t<sub>1</sub>- or #t-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -W-	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -W-
2 sg	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -n-, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -n-	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -t-, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -t-
1 pl	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#? <sub>1</sub> -?-oh-, #CV-?-oh-	#? <sub>1</sub> -?-oh-t-, #CV-?-oh-t-
Imp	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -	#? <sub>1</sub> -? <sub>1</sub> -t-, #CV-? <sub>1</sub> -t-

	<u>#d<sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -W-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -W-d <sub>1</sub> -	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -W-, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -W-
2 sg	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -n-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -n-d <sub>1</sub> -	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -l-
1 pl	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -e-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -e-d <sub>1</sub> -	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -d <sub>1</sub> -l-
2 pl	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -oh-d <sub>1</sub> -, #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -oh-d <sub>1</sub> -	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -oh-ɿ- #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -oh-ɿ-
Imp	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -d- #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -d-	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -ʔ <sub>1</sub> -l- #CV-ʔ <sub>1</sub> -l-

### 318.7 Optative forms.

First person forms are homophonous with imperfective forms (318.1). Second person forms do not occur.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#ɿ<sub>1</sub>- or #ɿ-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
Imp	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -o-, #C(ɿ)-o-	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -o-ɿ-, #C(ɿ)-o-ɿ-
	<u>#d<sub>1</sub>-</u>	<u>#l<sub>1</sub>- or #l-(d<sub>1</sub>)<sub>1</sub>-</u>
Imp	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -o-d <sub>1</sub> -, #C(ɿ)-o-d <sub>1</sub> -	#ʔ <sub>1</sub> -o-l-, #C(ɿ)-o-l-

### 318.8 Potential forms.

Only forms with zero classifier or #ɿ- classifier are attested.

	<u>zero classifier</u>	<u>#t<sub>1</sub>-</u>
1 sg	#ʔl-nl-W-dl-, #CV-nl-W-dl-	#ʔl-nl-W-dl-, #CV-nl-W-dl-
2 sg	#ʔl-nl-n-dl-, #CV-nl-n-dl-	#ʔl-nl-ɬ-dl-, #CV-nl-ɬ-dl-
1 pl	#ʔl-n-e-dl-, #CV-n-e-dl-	#ʔl-n-e-dl-l-, #CV-n-e-dl-l-
2 pl	#ʔl-n-oh-dl-, #CV-n-oh-dl-	#ʔl-n-oh-ɬ-dl-, #CV-n-oh-ɬ-dl-
Imp	#ʔ-o-, #C(l)-o-	#ʔ-o-ɬ-, #C(l)-o-ɬ-

### 318.9 Variants conditioned by stem-initials.

#### 1. Before stems with initial #n-:

impf. 2 sg	#ʔl-n- > #ʔ-e-
	#CV-n- > #CV-y-
n-pf 2 sg	#nl-n- > #n-e-
s-pf 2 sg	#sl-n- > #s-e-
w-pf 2 sg	#wl-n- > #w-e-
Imp	#wln- > #we-
prog. 2 sg	#wl-n- > #w-e-
cust. 2 sg	#ʔl-ʔl-n > #ʔl-ʔ-e-
	#CV-ʔl-n- > #CV-ʔ-e-

2. Before the stem of #A-..diɬ/deɬ' ('several) move somewhere' and associated themes:

impf. 1 pl	#ʔl-dl- > #ʔ-e-
	#CV-dl- > #CV-y-
n-pf 1 pl	#nl-dl- > #n-e-

s-pf 1 pl #sl-dl- > #s-e-  
w-pf 1 pl #wl-dl- > #w-e-  
prog. 1 pl #wl-dl- > #w-e-  
cust. 1 pl #?l-?l-dl- > #?l-?-e-  
#CV-?l-dl- > #CV-?-e-

## 320. Prefix positions 7 and 8.

Impersonal verb forms are marked for deiksis, and transitive forms marked for object, by prefixes of positions 7 and 8. Deictic markers and direct object markers must be discussed together for two reasons. First, their relative positions and phonemic shapes are interdependent in a way that would make separate discussion needlessly complex. Besides this, however, there is a semantic and formal overlap between the two categories in the markers #k<sup>y</sup>ɫ- and #x<sup>w</sup>ɫ-, which may be either deictics or object markers with the meanings "something special" and "some place or event" respectively. At least historically there is a similar overlap in the marker #yɫ-, basically a deictic but of ambiguous function in transitive forms.

## 321. Deictic markers (position 8).

Verb forms with no marker in position 2 (314) are thereby marked as impersonal (third person) forms. An impersonal form is always further specified for subject by a deictic prefix of position 8. There are four such prefixes:

- #y<sub>l</sub>- general deictic
- #č<sub>l</sub>- human deictic
- #x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>- place deictic
- #k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>- specific (thematic) deictic

321.1 #y<sub>l</sub>- deictic.

#y<sub>l</sub><sub>8</sub>- marks an impersonal form with a general subject (specifically, a non-human entity capable of initiating an action, or, when it is clear from the context that a human being is subject, a child, a woman, or someone in a highly structured role, e.g., a doctor).

In the passive neuter (transitive with thematic impersonal inflection, 413.14.2) and in most (but not all) intransitive forms, the general deictic subject is marked by zero in position 8 as well as in position 2:

/W<sub>l</sub>W<sub>l</sub>ca·n/ 'I have been seen' (passive) < #∅<sub>8</sub>-  
W<sub>l</sub><sub>7</sub>-W<sub>l</sub><sub>3</sub>-∅<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-can-<sub>l</sub>.

/t<sub>l</sub>m<sub>l</sub>W/ 'it (e.g., dog, child) swims off' < #∅<sub>8</sub>-  
t<sub>l</sub><sub>5</sub>-∅<sub>2</sub>-m<sub>l</sub>W.

/sa?a·n/ '(a single object) lies motionless'

< # $\emptyset_8$ -s $\iota_3$ - $\emptyset_2$ -?an- $\iota$ .

But note: /y $\iota$ x $\iota$ nehW/ 'it speaks' < #y $\iota_8$ -x $\iota_6$ -n $\iota_1$ -  
(y)eW. (It is possible that the intransitive themes that occur with an overt general deictic marker are those whose semantics imply a human actor.)

In all transitive forms (except for the passive neuter) the basic general deictic marker is #y $\iota_8$ -. When preceded by a prefix of the shape CV-, #y $\iota_8$ - is reduced to #y $\iota_8$ - and the CV- reduced to C $\check{V}$ -.

/y $\iota$ W $\iota$ h $\iota$ s/ 'it sees me' < #y $\iota_8$ -W $\iota_7$ -h $\iota_1$ -c $\iota$ s

/y $\iota$ h $\iota$ ?a·n/ 'it has (a single object) lying motionless, it owns it' (possessive neuter) < #y $\iota_8$ -s $\iota_3$ -h $\iota_1$ -?an- $\iota$ .

/yayoh $\iota$ c $\iota$ d/ 'let it know them!' (opt.) < #ya $\iota_9$ -  
y $\iota_8$ -o $\iota_3$ -h $\iota_1$ -c $\iota$ d

/nayxe? $\iota$ ne·W/ 'it always speaks again' (cust.)

< #na $\iota_{10}$ -y $\iota_8$ -x $\iota_6$ -? $\iota_3$ -n $\iota_1$ -(y)eW- $\iota$ .

### 321.11 Comparative remarks on #y $\iota$ - deictic.

In many other Athabaskan languages the marker cognate with Hupa #y $\iota_8$ - appears in the deictic/object position only in 3rd person transitive forms, and only when there is no other marked deictic or object. Sapir and Hoijer describe Navaho, where such a pattern occurs, as having a 3rd person object marker  $\emptyset \sim$  bi-  $\sim$  yi-. ( $\emptyset$  is the marker in non-3rd person subject forms, and bi- and yi- alternate in 3rd person subject forms, bi- appearing when a nominal object immediately precedes the verb form, yi- appearing otherwise. Since the deictic



subject marker of Navaho,  $\check{z}i-$ , defines "4th person" subjects, it occurs with the  $\emptyset$  form of the 3rd person object. Sapir and Hoijer 1967:86.)

In Hupa, the occurrence of  $\#y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-$  in intransitive forms, and its occurrence in transitive forms alongside overt object markers, forces another interpretation. Hupa  $\#y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-$  is undoubtedly a subject marker.

321.2  $\#c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-$  deictic.

$\#c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-$  marks an impersonal form with a human subject (or, when it is clear from the semantics of the verb or the context that the subject must be human, specifically an adult male Hupa).

When preceded by a prefix of the shape CV- and followed by a prefix with initial C-,  $\#c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-$  is reduced to  $\#?_{\check{v}8}-$ . When the marker  $\#k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}-$  (or  $\#k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}-d_{\check{v}7}-$ ) is in position 7 (322.2, 322.3), initial  $\#c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-$  is lost (but when a CV- precedes,  $\#?_{\check{v}8}-$  is present):

$/c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}w_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}3}k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}o_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}s_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}/$  'he is carrying (a blanket) along'

<  $\#c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-w_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}3}-t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}-k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}o_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}$

$/yeh_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}w_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}3}nyay/$  'he went inside' <  $\#yeh_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}11}-c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-w_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}3}-$

$ya_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}$

$/na_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}d_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}/$  'they go about' <  $\#na_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}11}-?_{\check{v}8}-d_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}$ ,  $/na_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}11}-$

$c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}o_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}d_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}/$  'let them go about!' (opt.) <  $\#na_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}11}-c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}(i)_{\check{v}8}-o_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}3}-d_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}$

$/k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}ta_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}aw/$  'he sings' <  $\#(c_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}8}-)k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}-t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}5}-?_{\check{v}8}ah_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}$ ,

$/ya_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}9}k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}ta_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}aw/$  'they sing' <  $\#ya_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}9}-?_{\check{v}8}-k^y_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}7}-t_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}5}-?_{\check{v}8}ah_{\check{v}}_{\check{v}1}$ .

When it immediately precedes # $\pm_1$ - or # $1_1$ - classifiers, or the perfective markers # $s_3$  or # $n_3$ -, # $^?_8$ - is revocalized to # $^?_8$ -:

/na· $^?a\check{c}^we$ / 'he remakes it' < #na $_{10}$ - $^?_8$ - $\pm_1$ - $\check{c}^we$

/ $^?ina$ · $^?asd\downarrow Ge^?$ / 'he got up' < #n $\downarrow$ -na $_{11}$ - $^?_8$ - $s_3$ - $d\downarrow_1$ -Ge $^?$ .

When # $\check{c}_8$ - immediately precedes # $s_3$  perfective it is replaced by # $\check{c}_8$ - (compare 223.2):

/ $\check{c}\downarrow sle^?n$ / 'he became' < # $\check{c}_8$ - $s_3$ -len $^?-$ .

### 321.3 # $x^w_8$ - deictic.

In a few themes (mainly description neuters and their derivatives) the marker # $x^w_8$ - occurs in impersonal subject forms, marking a place (in space or time) as subject.

/xon $\check{\lambda}^c$ / '(the ground) is hard' < # $x^w_8$ -n $\downarrow_6$ - $\check{\lambda}^c$ , from the theme #n $\downarrow_6$ -.. $\check{\lambda}^c$  'be hard'.

/xo $\downarrow$ cay/ '(the location) is dry' < # $x^w_8$ - $\pm_1$ -cay, from the theme #n $\downarrow_6$ -.. $\pm$ -cay 'be dry'; /na·xow $\downarrow$ cay/ '(the location) has dried up' < na $_{10}$ - $x^w_8$ -w $\downarrow_3$ - $\pm_1$ -cay.

There are a number of themes in which # $x^w_8$ - occurs as a thematic element:

# $x^w_8$ -n $\downarrow_6$ -.. $sad$  'be deep'

# $\check{c}^w_{a_{11}}$ - $x^w_8$ -.. $\pm$ -w $\downarrow$  $\pm$ /we $\check{\lambda}$  'get dark'

321.4 #k<sup>y</sup>ʌ- deictic.

#k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>- marks an impersonal form with a specific subject, understood from context. Where the context is unclear or lacking it refers to an action performed by "something" or "anything". Many intransitive themes, neuter and active, form derivative impersonal themes with #k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>- referring to the action of some specific entity.

/k<sup>y</sup>ʌwʌnte<sup>?</sup>/ '(a specific food) is getting ripe, cooked' < #k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-wʌn<sub>3</sub>-te<sup>?</sup>. Compare /wʌnte<sup>?</sup>/ 'it is getting ripe, cooked' < #∅<sub>8</sub>-wʌn<sub>3</sub>-te<sup>?</sup>.

/k<sup>y</sup>ʌtehsya/ 'rain started to fall' < #k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-te<sub>5</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-ya, from the theme #k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-..yaW/ya 'rain falls', derivative from #A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere'.

A large number of primary themes have #k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>- as a thematic prefix:

#A-k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-..yoW '(water or a water-like mass) moves, surges somewhere'

#k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-..dʌ-nvd '(fire, flame) blazes'

#k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-..duʌ 'there is a booming sound' (421.10).

## 322. Object markers (position 7).

Object markers specify the goal of transitive verbs. This may be a personal category (1 sg, 2 sg, or 1/2 plural), an impersonal category (with deictic sub-categories), or a relational category (reflexive, reciprocal, or passive).

## 322.1 Personal objects.

Only three personal categories are distinguished in the object, as opposed to four in the subject (314). The basic forms are:

- #w<sub>1</sub>- first person singular (1 sg)
- #n<sub>1</sub>- second person singular (2 sg)
- #noh- first or second person plural  
(1/2 pl)

## 322.11 First person singular.

First person singular object is always marked by

#w<sub>1</sub><sub>7</sub>-:

/ʔ<sub>1</sub>naʔw<sub>1</sub>ste·n/ 'she raised me up to standing position' < #n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-ʔ<sub>8</sub>-w<sub>1</sub><sub>7</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-ten-<sub>1</sub>

/y<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>te<sub>1</sub>/ 'it carries me along' < #y<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>-w<sub>1</sub><sub>7</sub>-w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-te<sub>1</sub>

/ya·Woh<sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>W/ 'pick me up (you pl.)!' < #ya<sub>11</sub>-W(<sub>1</sub>)<sub>7</sub>-oh<sub>2</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>W.

## 322.12 Second person singular.

The basic marker of second person singular object

is #n<sub>7</sub>-. The basic sequence #č<sub>8</sub>-n<sub>7</sub>- is metathesized to #n<sub>7</sub>-č<sub>8</sub>-, and in the sequence #y<sub>8</sub>-n<sub>7</sub>- the general deictic marker is replaced by zero. When a prefix of the shape CV- precedes #n<sub>7</sub>-, it is always reduced to CŮ-. In this position #n<sub>7</sub>- is often (but not always) reduced to #n<sub>7</sub>-.

/n<sub>7</sub>Wyo?/ 'I like you' < #n<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-yo?

/n<sub>7</sub>č<sub>8</sub>w<sub>3</sub>l<sub>1</sub>teħ/ 'he carries you along' < #č<sub>8</sub>-n<sub>7</sub>-

w<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-teħ, /n<sub>7</sub>w<sub>3</sub>l<sub>1</sub>teħ/ 'it carries you along'

< #(y<sub>8</sub>)-n<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-teħ.

/nanč<sub>8</sub>l<sub>1</sub>te/ or /nan<sub>7</sub>č<sub>8</sub>l<sub>1</sub>te/ 'he carries you around'

< #na<sub>11</sub>-č<sub>8</sub>-n<sub>7</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-te

/nan<sub>7</sub>w<sub>2</sub>l<sub>1</sub>s-te/ 'I'll see you again' < #na<sub>10</sub>-n<sub>7</sub>-

w<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-c<sub>1</sub>s-te (-te is future tense enclitic)

/m<sub>7</sub>n<sub>7</sub>č<sub>8</sub>l<sub>1</sub>sloy?/ 'he has tied you to it' < #m(ł)-e<sub>11</sub>-

č<sub>8</sub>-n<sub>7</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-loy? (note the replacement of #č<sub>8</sub>- by #č<sub>8</sub>- after it has been metathesized and comes to stand before #s<sub>3</sub>-, 321.2).

### 322.13 First or second person plural.

The basic marker of first or second person plural object is #noh<sub>7</sub>-. #noh<sub>7</sub>- parallels #n<sub>7</sub>- in metathesizing with a preceding #č<sub>8</sub>-, conditioning the loss of a preceding #y<sub>8</sub>-, and reducing a preceding CV- to CŮ-.

/nohWyo?/ 'I like you (pl.)' < #noh<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-yo?

/nohč<sub>8</sub>l<sub>1</sub>ca·n/ 'he sees us' or 'he sees you (pl.)'

< #č<sub>8</sub>-noh<sub>7</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-ca·n-

/noh̥ca·n/ 'it sees us' or 'it sees you (pl.)'  
 < #(y̥<sub>8</sub>)-noh<sub>7</sub>-t̥<sub>1</sub>-can-<sub>1</sub>  
 /ʔa·yanoh̥c̣<sub>1</sub>lah/ 'they treated us/you (pl.) so'  
 < #ʔa<sub>11</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-c̣<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>-noh<sub>7</sub>-lah.

### 322.2 Impersonal objects.

The impersonal object category is divided into deictic subcategories that parallel in meaning, and partly in form, the deictic subcategories of the impersonal subject (321). The forms are:

zero (∅)	general deictic object
#x <sup>w</sup> <sub>1</sub> -	human deictic object
#x <sup>w</sup> <sub>1</sub> -	place deictic object
#k <sup>y</sup> <sub>1</sub> -	specific (thematic) deictic object

#### 322.21 General deictic object.

A transitive form marked for general deictic object has basically zero object marker in position 7. In semitransitive themes (412.2), with thematic #0-o<sub>11</sub>-, general deictic object is marked by #ʔ- in personal forms and is zero elsewhere.

/we·wahs/ 'I shaved it' < #∅<sub>7</sub>-w(̣)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-was,  
 /y̥<sub>1</sub>wahs/ 'it shaves it' < #y̥<sub>8</sub>-∅<sub>7</sub>-was.  
 /de·ḍ<sub>1</sub>ŋʔaw/ 'put (a single object) into the fire!'  
 < #de<sub>12</sub>-∅<sub>7</sub>-ḍ<sub>5</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-ʔaw  
 /ʔo·ḍ<sub>1</sub>ḷ<sub>1</sub>ḍ/ 'we know it' < #ʔ<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-ḍ<sub>2</sub>-ḷ<sub>1</sub>-c̣<sub>1</sub>ḍ,  
 /yoh̥ṭ<sub>1</sub>ḍ/ 'it knows it' < #y̥<sub>8</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-ṭ<sub>1</sub>-c̣<sub>1</sub>ḍ.

The corresponding category in general Athabaskan, as has been pointed out above (321.11) has zero as 3rd person object marker with personal subjects (and overt deictics, e.g., Navaho *ʒi-*) and \**yə-* as marker with impersonal subjects. In languages such as Navaho, furthermore, \**wə-* (> Navaho *bi-*), normally the 3rd person inflection of a nominal, is introduced into the object system as a third variant in certain syntactic situations. The Hupa situation is vastly more simple. Athabaskan \**yə-* is analyzable everywhere as a marker of general deictic subject (321.1), while Athabaskan \**wə-* (> Hupa *m-*) is restricted to nominal inflection. If the general Athabaskan system is presumed to be historically prior to the Hupa system, it is possible to see in such forms as /*yɬwahs*/ 'it shaves it' the marker #*yɬ-* in an ambiguous role. It could be described as marking impersonal object, with subject marked by zero in both positions 2 and 8, or as a portmanteau representation of impersonal general object co-occurring with impersonal general subject. This analysis, though it has virtues from the comparative viewpoint, is not the simplest statement of the Hupa system and will not be adopted here.

### 322.22 Human deictic object.

Human deictic object is always marked by #*x<sup>w</sup>ɬ<sub>7</sub>-*.

/*na·x<sup>w</sup>e·wa·s*/ 'I have shaved him' < #*na<sub>11</sub>-x<sup>w</sup>(ɬ)<sub>7</sub>-*  
*(w)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-was-ɬ*, /*na<sup>?</sup>xowɬna·s*/ 'he has shaved him' <  
 #*na<sub>11</sub>-<sup>?</sup><sub>8</sub>-x<sup>w</sup>ɬ<sub>7</sub>-wɬn<sub>3</sub>-was-ɬ*

/noyxone·yoh/ '(the dog) barks at him' < #no<sub>11</sub>-  
y(ι)<sub>8</sub>-x<sup>w</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>-ne<sub>6</sub>-yod.

### 322.23 Place deictic object.

As an object marker indicating a place (in time or space) #x<sup>w</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>- is rare. The homophony with #x<sup>w</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>-, human deictic object, probably contributes to its rarity.

/č<sup>2</sup>ιxołč<sup>w</sup>e/ 'he fixes up the location' (e.g., in preparation for a ritual) < #č<sup>2</sup>ι<sub>8</sub>-x<sup>w</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>-ł<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>e, from the base #O-..ł-č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>en? (s-pf) 'make, prepare O'. A homophonous form with #x<sup>w</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>- indicating the human deictic object is translated 'she gives birth to him'.

/xol?e?n/ 'things are in view, the scene is clear' < #x<sup>w</sup>(ι)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-?en? (semitransitive, 412.2).

### 322.24 Specific (thematic) deictic object.

#k<sup>y</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>- marks a specific object understood from the context. Where the context is unclear or lacking it indicates the action of the verb is directed at "something" or "anything". Many transitive themes form derivative subthemes with thematic #k<sup>y</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>- referring to some specific object.

/k<sup>y</sup>ιWwahs/ 'I'm whittling (something)' < #k<sup>y</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>-  
W<sub>2</sub>-was

#A-k<sup>y</sup>ι<sub>7</sub>-..lιW/la 'move one's hand somewhere',  
derived from the theme #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..lιW/la 'move (several  
objects or a rope) somewhere'



## 322.3 Relational objects.

Besides the personal and impersonal categories described above, markers of position 7 also define certain object relations of the subject: action of the subject on itself (reflexive or reciprocal object), or action of an unspecified agent on the subject (passive object).

## 322.31 Reflexive object.

The marker #d<sub>7</sub>-, together with #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-, indicates reflexive object: "the subject performs the action of the verb on itself". If the subject is plural the implication of #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>7</sub>- is that the subject acts as a group. Unlike themes inflected for reciprocal object (322.32 below), themes inflected for reflexive object show no change in classifier.

/ye<sup>?</sup>a·na<sup>?</sup>d<sub>7</sub>w<sub>7</sub>tk<sup>y</sup>a<sup>?</sup>/ 'she put on a dress' (i.e., 'she dressed herself') < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-na<sub>10</sub>-<sup>?</sup>8-d<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>7</sub>-<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>a<sup>?</sup>. (Note that #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- follows any other prefix of position 11 that it should happen to occur with in this usage. It would perhaps be more accurate to call the element #<sup>?</sup>a- part of the position 7 marker, transposed by automatic rule to follow prefixes of position 11 and precede that of position 10.)

/na<sup>?</sup>a·ya·d<sub>7</sub>w<sub>7</sub>d<sub>7</sub>wa·s/ 'we all shaved ourselves'  
 < #na<sub>11</sub>-<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-d<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>2</sub>-was-<sub>1</sub>  
 /<sup>?</sup>a·d<sub>7</sub>w<sub>7</sub>c<sub>1</sub>s/ 'I see myself' < #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>2</sub>-c<sub>1</sub>s.

## 322.32 Reciprocal object.

The marker #n-ɬ<sub>7</sub>- indicates reciprocal object, and is used with plural subjects to specify the (potential) action of each individual on each of the others. When a deictic subject marker (position 8) is present, the element #n- precedes that marker; but when this puts it in initial position, it is lost. Forms with reciprocal object inflection have special sub-themes, with classifier #d<sub>1</sub>- in place of zero classifier and #l<sub>1</sub>- in place of #ɬ<sub>1</sub>-.

/ɬ<sub>1</sub>ne·dɪlʔ<sub>7</sub>/ 'we look at each other', /č<sub>1</sub>ɬ<sub>1</sub>nɪl-  
ʔ<sub>7</sub>/ 'they (humans) look at each other', /ɬ<sub>1</sub>nɪlʔ<sub>7</sub>/  
'they (animals) look at each other', /yanɬ<sub>1</sub>nɪlʔ<sub>7</sub>/  
'they all (animals) look at each other' < #0<sub>7</sub>-ne<sub>6</sub>-..  
ɬ-ʔ<sub>en</sub> (w-pf) 'look at O'

/nanʔ<sub>1</sub>dɪlɔhs/ 'they lead each other by the hand'  
< #na<sub>11</sub>-ʔ<sub>8</sub>-n-ɬ<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>-los

When the subject marker is #oh<sub>3</sub>- (2 pl), forms with basic ɬ<sub>1</sub>- classifier have a special sub-theme with the compound classifier #ɬ-d<sub>1</sub>- instead of #l<sub>1</sub>-:

/ɬ<sub>1</sub>nohɬ<sub>1</sub>dɪʔ<sub>7</sub>/ 'you (pl.) look at each other'.

## 322.33 Passive object.

The marker #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>-d<sub>7</sub>- indicates passive object: the subject is the goal of the action described by the theme, while the actual semantic subject is general and unspecified ("people" or "someone"). As #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>-, deictic object, #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>-d<sub>7</sub>- conditions the loss of a preceding

#č<sub>8</sub>- deictic subject marker (321.2) unless another prefix precedes.

/k<sup>y</sup>ɫde·yɫdɫŋʔ/ 'somebody fell in love with me'  
 < #k<sup>y</sup>ɫ-dɫ<sub>7</sub>-(w)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ɫ<sub>1</sub>-dɫŋʔ (i.e., 'I have come to be  
 loved by someone'), /k<sup>y</sup>ɫdɫwɫɫdɫŋʔ/ 'somebody fell in  
 love with him' < #(č<sub>8</sub>)-k<sup>y</sup>ɫ-dɫ<sub>7</sub>-wɫ<sub>3</sub>-ɫ<sub>1</sub>-dɫŋʔ.

/k<sup>y</sup>ɫdɫWk<sup>y</sup>ɫd/ 'somebody catches me' < #k<sup>y</sup>ɫ-dɫ<sub>7</sub>-  
 W<sub>2</sub>-ɫ<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ɫd (i.e., 'I am caught by someone').

This formation is cognate with the "agentive passive" of Navaho (Sapir and Hoijer 1967:93). Apachean agentive passive forms are impersonal and inflected for object, so that Navaho ʔa-di- (< \*k<sup>y</sup>ə-də-) cannot be described, as in Hupa, as occurring in the object position. Furthermore, Apachean agentive passives require d- or l- classifier, while Hupa passive object (unlike reciprocal object) requires no special sub-theme. Nevertheless, the parallels in form and meaning are sufficient for the assumption of common origin. Compare Navaho /šɪʔdòòʔí/ 'I am seen by someone' (< šɪ-ʔ-di-yi-d-ʔí) with Hupa /k<sup>y</sup>ɫdɫnɫWʔɫŋ/ 'I am looked at by someone, someone looks at me' (< #k<sup>y</sup>ɫ-dɫ<sub>7</sub>-ne<sub>6</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-ɫ<sub>1</sub>-ʔen).

## 323. Deictic and object markers in semitransitive bases.

Semitransitive bases (412.2) are transitive, insofar as they are inflected for object with the same set of markers as normal transitive bases, but they differ from the latter in having these markers precede the incorporated locative #0-o<sub>11</sub>-. When the subject of a semitransitive form is impersonal, moreover, the deictic subject markers also are transposed to precede the object marker (if any) and #0-o<sub>11</sub>-. However, the deictic subject marker is not transposed in this fashion, but remains in its normal position following #0-o<sub>11</sub>-, when the object markers #k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>7</sub>- or #k<sup>y</sup>-dl<sub>7</sub>- are present.

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-..t-k<sup>y</sup>ls (w-pf) 'strike at O': /noWk<sup>y</sup>ls/  
 'I strike at you' < #n(l)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ls, /člWołk<sup>y</sup>ls/  
 'he strikes at me' < #čl<sub>8</sub>-W(l)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ls; but  
 /k<sup>y</sup>o·?ołk<sup>y</sup>ls/ 'he strikes at something' < #k<sup>y</sup>(l)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-  
 ?<sub>8</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ls (with #?l<sub>8</sub> secondarily vocalized to #?l<sub>8</sub>-),  
 /k<sup>y</sup>ldo·yohłk<sup>y</sup>ls/ 'let it be struck at by something!'  
 (opt.) < #k<sup>y</sup>l-d(l)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-y(l)<sub>8</sub>-o<sub>3</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ls.

## 324. Summary of forms in combination.

When deictic subject and object markers co-occur there is considerable readjustment of basic forms. These have been described above for each individual morpheme and are summarized in paradigmatic form below. No attempt is made here to describe the occurring forms as the product of a formal set of rules. The following general rules are, however, an informal summary:

(a) Forms with #n- (#n<sub>1</sub>- 2 sg object, #noh- 1/2 pl object, and #n- of #n-<sub>1</sub>- reciprocal object) precede a deictic subject marker; other object markers follow. A preceding CV- is reduced to CV- before any object marker with #n-.

(b) When the object marker precedes the deictic subject marker (as determined by (a) above), #y<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>- is lost.

(c) When preceded by CV-, #y<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>- is either #y<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>- or #y<sub>8</sub>- (free variation) and the CV- reduced to CV̄-, and #č<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>- is reduced to #ʔ<sub>8</sub>-.

(d) Initially before #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub><sub>7</sub>- or #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>-d<sub>1</sub><sub>7</sub>- objects, #č<sub>1</sub><sub>8</sub>- is lost.

Forms with personal objects1 sg object (#W<sub>l</sub>-) with#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #y<sub>l</sub>W<sub>l</sub>- #CṼy(ᵛ)W<sub>l</sub>-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #č<sub>l</sub>W<sub>l</sub>- #CV?W<sub>l</sub>-2 sg object (#n<sub>l</sub>-) with#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #n<sub>l</sub>- #CṼn<sub>l</sub>-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #n<sub>l</sub>č<sub>l</sub>- #CṼn(ᵛ)č<sub>l</sub>-

1/2 pl object (#noh-) with

#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #noh- #CṼnoh-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #nohč<sub>l</sub>- #CṼnohč<sub>l</sub>-Forms with deictic objects

general deictic object (∅) with

#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #y<sub>l</sub>- #CṼy<sub>l</sub>-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #č<sub>l</sub>- #CV?-human deictic object (#x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>-) with#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #y<sub>l</sub>x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>- #CṼy(ᵛ)x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #č<sub>l</sub>x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>- #CV?x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>-place deictic object (#x<sup>w</sup><sub>l</sub>-)

homophonous with human deictic object forms

specific deictic object (#k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>-) with#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #y<sub>l</sub>k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>- #CṼy(ᵛ)k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>- #CV?k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>-Forms with relational objectsreflexive object (#?a-..d<sub>l</sub>-) with#y<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #?ayd<sub>l</sub>- #?a-CṼy(ᵛ)d<sub>l</sub>-#č<sub>l</sub>- deictic subject: #?a?d<sub>l</sub>- #?a-CV?d<sub>l</sub>-

reciprocal object (#n-ɬɬ-) with

#yɬ- deictic subject: #ɬɬ- #CVnɬɬ-

#čɬ- deictic subject: #čɬɬɬ- #CVnʔɬɬ-

passive object (#kʲɬ-dɬ-) with

#yɬ- deictic subject: #yɬkʲɬdɬ- #Cṽy(ɬ)kʲɬdɬ-

#čɬ- deictic subject: #kʲɬdɬ- #CVʔkʲɬdɬ-

330. Prefix positions 4, 9, and 10.

Any base may be marked for distributive action ('here and there', 'on several occasions') by the prefix #t<sub>1</sub>- in position 4. Any base may be marked for plurality of subject or object by the prefix #ya- in position 9. With most themes, bases may be marked for iterative or reversative action ('again' or 'back') by the prefix #na- in position 10. These three prefixes are grouped together here more for convenience than as an indication of formal relations among them. They do have in common, however, the function of forming sub-bases for the primary inflections (subject, object, and mode) and may be described collectively as "secondary inflections".

331. Distributive (position 4).

The distributive marker #t<sub>4</sub>- is semantically and historically related to several other morphemes with initial #t-, in particular the adverbial prefix #t<sub>5</sub>- 'off, along' (341) and the future tense enclitic #te (541.3.1). The central idea is extension outward across space (and, by metaphor, time). The stem of the description neuter theme #n<sub>6</sub>-..teŋ 'be wide, flat' is probably connected with this set.

Sub-bases formed with #t<sub>4</sub>- are inflected for perfective mode with s-pf. This parallels the selection of s-pf by bases formed with adverbial #t<sub>5</sub>-, and the close relationship between the two prefixes is underscored by the fact that #t<sub>4</sub>-, like #t<sub>5</sub>- and other



#C<sub>1</sub>- prefixes of position 5, has a variant form with a full vowel before the s-pf marker (313.3), #te<sub>4</sub>-. This occurs in both the position 5 marker and #t<sub>4</sub>- when both are present in a form: /te·te·se·teh/ 'I have drawn marks here and there' < #te<sub>5</sub>-te<sub>4</sub>-s(ɪ)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>h. Further examples of #t<sub>4</sub>- are:

/naʔdɪtɪtɪwax/ 'he pours it into several containers'  
 < #na<sub>11</sub>-ʔ<sub>8</sub>-dɪ<sub>5</sub>-tɪ<sub>4</sub>-t<sub>1</sub>-wax

/na·yaʔte·tɪd/ 'they have burned all the houses, one after another' < #na<sub>11</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-ʔ<sub>8</sub>-te<sub>4</sub>-(s)<sub>3</sub>-tɪd (note the zero form of the perfective marker, 313.3)

/ɕ<sup>3</sup>ɪte·te·ʔeʔn/ 'he's looking around' < #ɕ<sup>3</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>-te<sub>5</sub>-te<sub>5</sub>-(s)<sub>3</sub>-ʔenʔ-ɪ, from the neuter theme #te<sub>5</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ʔenʔ 'be looking'

In forms also inflected for plurality of subject or object by #ya<sub>9</sub>-, or in themes with inherent plural meaning (#A-..dɪt/deɪ ' (several) move somewhere'), #t<sub>4</sub>- is often best translated as 'one (subject or object) after another' or 'each in turn':

/xa·yaʔsɪtɪwɪw/ 'each one packs (a rock) up the hill' < #xa<sub>11</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-ʔ<sub>8</sub>-sɪ<sub>5</sub>-tɪ<sub>4</sub>-wɪw (with ∅ general object marker)

/ɕ<sup>3</sup>ɪnɪtɪndɪl/ 'they arrive one after another'  
 < #ɕ<sup>3</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>-nɪ<sub>5</sub>-tɪ<sub>4</sub>-ndɪt-ɪ

It would appear that the sub-base formed with #t<sub>4</sub>- is also characterized by the lack of customary modal inflection. No occurrence of the sequence #t<sub>4</sub>-ʔ<sub>3</sub>-

is attested, and on at least one occasion an informant rejected such a form, constructed by the investigator, saying it sounded "funny".

332. Plural (position 9).

The marker #ya<sub>9</sub>- is homophonous with a marker of nearly identical meaning found with the possessor-object inflection of nominals (511.2). #ya<sub>9</sub>- indicates the plurality of either the subject or the object, or sometimes both. There is never more than one #ya<sub>9</sub>- prefix in a form, so that its reference is sometimes ambiguous.

/na·ya·ydɪl/ 'we all are on our way back' <

#na<sub>10</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-(wɪ)<sub>3</sub>-y<sub>2</sub>-dɪɪ-tɪ

/yaʔwɪwe·l/ 'they are packing it along' (or 'he is packing them along', or 'they are packing them along')

#ya<sub>9</sub>-, furthermore, is attested in forms where it marks plurality of neither subject nor object but of the object of a proclitic locative:

/xoɪ-ya·te·se·ya·-te/ 'I will go with them'

(Ordinarily plurality of the object of a locative is marked by #ya- prefixed to the object inflection. The expected form here is thus /ya·xoɪ-te·se·ya·-te/.)

In semitransitive forms (412.2) #ya<sub>9</sub>- is sometimes transposed to precede #0-o<sub>11</sub>-, along with the object and deictic subject markers, and sometimes it is left in sequence after #0-o<sub>11</sub>-. Whether #ya<sub>9</sub>- is modifying the transposed subject or object marker or a subject

marker of position 2 seems to have no influence on the transposition of #ya<sub>9</sub>-:

/yanoho·dɪlɔ́ɪd/ 'we know you (pl.) all' or 'we all know you (pl.)'; but also /noho·ya·dɪlɔ́ɪd/ (same meanings).

### 333. Iterative (position 10).

The iterative marker #na<sub>10</sub>- is homophonous with a proclitic particle of wide occurrence roughly translating 'again' or 'once more' (541.2). In verbs, the force of #na<sub>10</sub>- is to indicate (a) the repetition of an action, or (b) the reversal of a motion. The semantic difference is correlated with the system to which the theme belongs: directional motion themes have #na<sub>10</sub>- in sense (b), all other themes have it in sense (a).

Intransitive directional motion themes in all bases, transitive directional motion themes in bases formed with #nɪ<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf) 'arriving', and all progressive motion themes have special sub-themes with #na<sub>10</sub>-. When the basic classifier is zero, the iterative sub-theme has #dɪ<sub>1</sub>-. When the basic classifier is #ɪ<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-, the iterative sub-theme has the compound classifiers #ɪ-dɪ<sub>1</sub>- and #l-dɪ<sub>1</sub>-, respectively.\*

/na·kʲɪda·yeʔ/ '(the flower) blooms again' <  
#kʲɪ<sub>8</sub>-..dayɪʔ '(flower) blooms'

---

\*No #dɪ<sub>1</sub>- classifier appears in the iterative forms of #A-..dɪɪ/dɛʔ '(several) move somewhere' and associated themes.

/na·na?wa/ 'he moves about again' < #na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya?  
 '(one) moves about' (non-directional motion)

/yehna?wɪndɪyay/ 'he went back inside' < #A-..  
 yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere' (directional motion)

/na?Wɪwɪɪdɪte·l/ 'he was taking me along back'  
 < #O<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-teɪ 'move (one person) along' (progressive  
 motion)

340. Prefix positions 5 and 11.

Prefixes of these positions are derivational in function, serving to distinguish bases. They are of a wide semantic range, for convenience labelled "adverbial". The meaning of individual prefixes ranges from the nearly pure relational ( $\#0-e_{11}$ - 'to 0, with respect to 0') to the very concrete ( $\#^3ce_{11}$ - 'out of the house; down to the river'). To some extent the concreteness of meaning of a given prefix varies with the theme with which it is used:  $\#0-e_{11}$ - with directional motion themes implies motion "to" in the sense of "up to and coming to a halt resting against" some object, while with description themes it implies a quality measured "with respect to" or "against" some object in a much more abstract sense.

Adverbial prefixes are fundamentally relational, and a number of them are formally locatives (513.2), requiring inflection for pronominal object. This type of inflection is described in 511.

340.1 Types of base formatives.

In forming bases, adverbial prefixes function:

(1) as single prefixes of position 5 ( $\#t_{5}$ - 'off, along',  $\#n_{5}$ - 'arriving')

(2) as single prefixes, sometimes composed of more than one element, of position 11 ( $\#teh_{11}$ - 'into water',  $\#xt-?e_{11}$ - 'away, out of sight')

(3) as combinations of prefixes, one of position 5 and one of position 11 ( $\#0-na_{11}-st_{5}$ - 'in a circle

around 0').

In type (3) it is impractical to divide the meaning of the adverbial component into two sub-meanings, each associated with one of the prefixes. Semantically at least, prefix combinations of this type represent discontinuous morphemes.

It will be convenient, in the further discussion of individual base formatives, to divide them into four groups:

1. Directional prefixes. These serve to derive the bases of directional motion themes and extension themes. They are also used to derive bases from action themes.

2. Action prefixes. These serve to derive bases from action themes only.

3. Adjectival prefixes. Here are included the two formatives #<sup>?</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- and #0-e<sub>11</sub>- and their variants, serving to derive bases from description themes.

4. Other prefixes. Here are grouped the three formatives #dah<sub>11</sub>-, #0-na<sub>11</sub>-, and #na<sub>11</sub>-.

#### 340.2 Perfective specification.

The active bases formed by directional and action prefixes are inflected for perfective mode by a marker (n-pf, s-pf, or w-pf) determined by the formative prefix. Thus, every active base formed with the directional prefix #yeh<sub>11</sub>- 'into the house' is inflected for perfective mode with #wɪn<sub>3</sub>-. Similarly, every active base

formed with the action prefix #ya<sub>11</sub>- 'to pieces, crumbling' is inflected for perfective with #s<sub>3</sub>-. In the further discussion of directional and action prefixes, each formative is identified according to its active perfective specification. In a few cases homophonous prefixes, or prefix combinations, have different meanings correlated with different perfective specifications:

#na<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf) 'across the river'

#na<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'with violent force'

Base formatives that consist of, or include, #n<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf) or #s<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) form active bases of a special type. In their perfective inflection these bases lose the elements #n<sub>5</sub>- and #s<sub>5</sub>-, but they are present in all other inflections. Thus #n<sub>5</sub>-..m<sub>1</sub>W/men (n-pf) 'arrive swimming' is inflected for mode as follows:

/n<sub>1</sub>Wm<sub>1</sub>W/ 'I arrive swimming' (impf.) < #n<sub>5</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-m<sub>1</sub>W

/n<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>Wm<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>±/ 'I arrive swimming again and again'

(prog.) < #n<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-m<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>±

/ne<sup>?</sup><sub>1</sub>Wm<sub>1</sub>W/ 'I always arrive swimming' (cust.)

< #n<sub>5</sub>-<sup>?</sup><sub>3</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-m<sub>1</sub>W

/ne·m<sub>1</sub>η/ 'I arrived swimming' (n-pf) < #n<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-men.

With the two themes of general motion, #A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere' and #A-..d<sub>1</sub>±/de<sup>?</sup> '(several) move somewhere', directional bases with formatives requiring n-pf have the prefix #n<sub>5</sub>- in imperfective forms (but not in other modal forms) regardless of whether it is included in the formative:

#č<sub>e</sub><sub>11</sub>-(n<sub>5</sub>-)..yaW/ya (n-pf) '(one) goes out of the house': /č<sub>e</sub>·n<sub>1</sub>WahW/ 'I go out' (impf.) < #č<sub>e</sub><sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-(y)aW, /č<sub>e</sub>·ne·ya/ 'I went out' (n-pf) < #č<sub>e</sub><sub>11</sub>-n(1)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya, /č<sub>e</sub>·ʔ<sub>1</sub>WahW/ 'I always go out' (cust.) < #č<sub>e</sub><sub>11</sub>-ʔ<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-W<sub>2</sub>-(y)aW.

A related phenomenon occurs in extension themes, where all bases formed with adverbial prefix formatives requiring n-pf have #n<sub>5</sub>-. (Extension themes with such bases are w-pf neuters, 411.)

#č<sub>e</sub><sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..ʔa '(one) extends out'

#no<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>k<sub>1</sub>'y '(a line) extends to a certain point'



## 341. Directional prefixes.

Listed below are all the attested directional adverbial prefixes.

1. #0-e<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'up to 0, up against 0 in a position of rest'.
2. #0-e<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'touching 0, moving up against 0'.
3. #0-e<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'up along 0, not necessarily reaching the top'. When the object is #m<sub>1</sub>- (general object) the reference is usually to a mountain.
4. #yeh<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'into the house; into an enclosure or container'. See 345.
5. #ya<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'up into the air, skyward'. The reference is always to movement off the surface of the ground.
6. #n<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf) 'approaching, arriving'.
7. #n<sub>1</sub>-n<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf). This formative occurs only with the theme #A-..d<sub>11</sub>/de<sub>1</sub>' (several) move somewhere', the base translating '(several) dance while standing in one place, jumping up and down'. See 345.
8. #n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'rising up from lying down, getting out of bed'. The initial element is often reduced to #ʔ<sub>1</sub>-: /ʔ<sub>1</sub>na.ʔas<sub>1</sub>Geʔ/ 'he got up'.
9. #na<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf). Used with several proclitic directional modifiers, such as #y<sub>1</sub>da<sub>1</sub>G<sub>1</sub> 'uphill', to indicate such motions as inversion and rotation:

#yɪdαGɪ + na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..?αW/?an 'turn (one object) over',  
 from the theme #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..?αW/?an 'move (one object)  
 somewhere'.

10. #na<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'down from vertically above  
 (from in the air or a point of suspension)'.

11. #O-na<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) or #O-na<sub>11</sub>-sɪ<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'around  
 O in a circle'. Directional motion themes tend to have  
 the variant with #sɪ<sub>5</sub>-, action themes the variant with-  
 out #sɪ<sub>5</sub>-.

12. #na<sub>11</sub>-nɪ<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf) 'across the river'. Used  
 also to refer to crossing the ocean, a road, a line of  
 any sort; but not a mountain or anything dissimilar to  
 a river. Compare the directional modifier #yɪmanɪ (532).

13. #O-no<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'penetrating into O'. Not  
 common.

14. #no<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'to a certain point, to com-  
 pletion; (put) down; (go) so far'.

15. #dɪ<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'starting off; removing from a  
 position of rest'.

16. #de<sub>11</sub>-dɪ<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'into the (cooking) fire'.

17. #O-de<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'closely past O, moving to  
 touch O'

18. #O-da<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'to the door of O; at the  
 entrance to O'. Compare #O-da? 'O's mouth'.

19. #O-da<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf). Occurs only with the place

object #x<sup>w</sup>ɫ-, forming bases meaning 'downhill, downstream', or with the fossilized proclitic nominal #č<sup>w</sup>ɫn? (compare #č<sup>w</sup>ɫn 'filth'), forming bases referring to the "spoilation" of the world through the violation of tabu. Compare the directional modifier #yɫde?, combining form #yɫda-, 'downstream' (532).

20. #dah<sub>11</sub>-dɫ<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'drawing away; (moving) away slowly, stealthily'. See 345.

21. #tɫ<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) '(starting) off, (moving) along'. Movement or extension from a fixed point outward some distance, across a surface.

22. #tɫ-n<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'lost, astray'. Compare #tɫnɫ 'trail', especially in the locative phrase #tɫnɫ-tah 'among the trails', often used as a modifier with the meaning 'out in the woods, far from Hoopa Valley'. See 345.

23. #teh<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'into the water (to stay)'.

24. #ta<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'into the water (and out again), moving through the water'.

25. #ta<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'dispersing; into (fine) pieces'

26. #tah<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'out of the water; out of the fire'. The basic reference seems to be neither to fire nor to water, but to any entangling medium from which something is extricated. With the theme #A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere' the reference is to leaving a (ceremonial) danceground. See 345.

27. #tah<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'out of the water'. The reference is only to water. See 345.

28. #0-sa<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'into O's mouth'.

29. #c<sub>1</sub>-n<sub>11</sub>-t<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf). Only with the theme #A-..d<sub>1</sub>±/de<sub>1</sub>' (several) move somewhere', the base translating '(several) flee to safety, run for their lives'. See 345.

30. #0-wa<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) '(moving) through O; (give something) to O'.

31. #0-wa-y<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'missing O, (moving) off beyond O'. See 345.

32. #0-wa-n<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'removing (a cover), getting off from O'. Refers to a person getting off a horse, a blanket being removed from something, etc. See 345.

33. #x<sub>1</sub>-?e<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'away, out of sight, passing into the distance'.

34. #xa<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'up from beneath; out of the ground'.

35. #xa<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'up to the top (of a mountain, the riverbank)'. Reaching the top, completing the climb.

36. #xoh<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'down to the base (of a mountain)'. Reaching the bottom, completing the descent. See 345.

37. #ʒe<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'splitting apart, (moving) in opposite directions'.

38. #če<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'out of the house; out of an enclosure or container'. In some contexts bases with #če<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) translate 'down to the riverbank'. Hupa house doors always faced riverward. With themes referring to the motion of streams, bases with #če<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) refer to the debouching of a creek into a river, the river into the ocean.

39. #0-k<sup>y</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'separating from 0'. Compare the locative phrase #0-k<sup>y</sup>a-č<sub>11</sub>n? 'away from 0'.

## 342. Action prefixes.

Listed below are all the attested adverbial prefixes, not listed in 341 above, that occur in bases formed on action themes. It is possible that further investigation would reveal that some or all of these formatives do occur with directional motion (or extension) themes, but in the present corpus they are restricted to the derivation of action bases.

1. #0-e<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'firmly attached to O'. Found mainly with themes referring to tying.

2. #ya<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'into bits, pieces'. Used with themes that imply cutting, tearing, or similar actions.

3. #n<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) '(striking) once, suddenly'. Basically a semelfactive marker, but used only with transitive themes that describe striking blows or hurling things forcefully. In all but semitransitive themes (with thematic #0-o<sub>11</sub>-) this formative includes #na<sub>11</sub>-.

4. #na<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) '(drawing) along, in a line'. Used with transitive themes referring to cutting, pulling, and pouring.

5. #ceh<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'peeling skin off'. Found with themes referring to peeling, slipping, and tearing, and also in the base #ceh<sub>11</sub>-..<sup>2</sup>λow/λon? 'braid hair', from the theme 'braid, twine'. (This perhaps refers to the use of buckskin headbands.) See 345.

6. #ʒ<sup>h</sup>wa<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) '(splitting) apart, open'.

Used with themes that imply cutting, tearing, or cracking.

7. #k<sup>y</sup>e<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) or #qe<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) '(cutting)

off'. Used with transitive verbs of cutting.

## 343. Adjectival prefixes.

Description themes are most commonly used without adverbial derivation, as theme-bases. A few forms are attested which reflect bases derived with directional or action formatives, for example /če·nɫɪxɪd/ 'it is smooth out (to the end)', from the theme #nɫ<sub>6</sub>-..ɪ-xɪd 'be smooth, slippery'. But these rare instances probably are analogical formations, back-formed from a directional or action base derived from the transitional (secondary active) theme of the description neuter. Ordinarily, only two adverbial prefix formatives are found with description themes, #ʔa<sub>11</sub>- 'thus, so' and #0-e<sub>11</sub>- 'as 0 (is, does)'.

343.1 #ʔa<sub>11</sub>- 'thus, so'.

Description bases formed with #ʔa<sub>11</sub>- are normally preceded in the sentence by an adverbial phrase (650) functioning semantically as the expansion of the prefix:

/nɫk<sup>y</sup>ah-x<sup>w</sup> ʔanɫaŋ/ 'greatly - it is so many'  
 ('there are a great many') < #nɫ<sub>6</sub>-..ɪan 'be many'.

When there is no overt adverbial expansion, an adverbial phrase referring to prodigious size or extreme conditions is generally understood:

/ʔa·sɪsehɪ/ 'it is so (very) hot' < #sɪ<sub>6</sub>-..sehɪ  
 'be hot'.



343.2 #0-e<sub>11</sub>- 'as 0 (is, does)'.

Description bases formed with #0-e<sub>11</sub>- are normally preceded in the sentence by a nominal phrase, formally and semantically expanding the locative object. Such bases and their expansions usually translate as English adjectival comparisons:

/hay ce· me·nɪ'k'ic/ 'the - stone - it is as hard as it' ('it is as hard as the stone') < #nɪ<sub>6</sub>-..k'ic  
'be hard'

/dand x<sup>w</sup>e?tɪlte?/ 'who? - he is as strong as he' ('who is as strong as he is?') < #tɪ<sub>6</sub>-..l-te? 'be strong'

When the pronominal object is personal an overt nominal expansion is, of course, much less frequent:

/ne?tɪlte?/ 'he is as strong as you'.

343.3 Variants with #ɪ<sub>1</sub>-.

Bases formed with #<sup>a</sup>a<sub>11</sub>- and #0-e<sub>11</sub>- sometimes have an element #ɪ-, normally in classifier position.

/<sup>a</sup>aɪč<sup>w</sup>o·n/ 'it is so good, beautiful' < #<sup>a</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-n(ɪ)<sub>6</sub>-ɪ<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>on, from the theme #nɪ<sub>6</sub>-..won 'be good, beautiful'. (Note the interchange of stem-initial #<sup>w</sup> and #č<sup>w</sup>-, dependent on the presence of #ɪ<sub>1</sub>-.)

In bases with thematic #dɪ<sub>6</sub>- the position of #ɪ- is unclear:

/<sup>a</sup>aɪdɪta·n/ 'it is so thick' < #dɪ<sub>6</sub>-..tan 'be thick'.

## 344. Other adverbial prefixes.

## 344.1 Progressive and stative base formatives.

Two adverbial prefixes are used to form bases on primary progressive and stative motion themes.

1. #dah<sub>11</sub>-. Progressive bases formed with #dah<sub>11</sub>- indicate a suspension of the motion normally signified by the theme:

#dah<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub> (impersonal) '(fish, birds) hover (in the water, air)', from the theme #w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub> (impersonal) '(fish, birds) move along'.

#dah<sub>11</sub>-o<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-Ge<sub>1</sub> 'hold (a stick) still', from the theme #o<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-Ge<sub>1</sub> 'move (a stick) along'.

Stative bases formed with #dah<sub>11</sub>- indicate that the subject of the form has position above something:

#dah<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..la '(several) lie on top, above', from the theme #s<sub>3</sub>-..la '(several) lie motionless'.

2. #o-na<sub>11</sub>-. In both progressive and stative bases the meaning of this prefix is 'circling around o'. Compare the directional prefix #o-na<sub>11</sub>-(s<sub>5</sub>-) (s-pf).

#o-na<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub> '(several) move along around o'.

A variant with no object marker (or with ∅ for general impersonal object) is frequently found:

#na<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..la '(a rope) lies coiled'.

344.2 Non-directional formative.

#na<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) is thematic in non-directional motion themes (432). It occurs also with action themes, forming bases that differ nearly undiscernibly from theme-bases in meaning.

## 345. Phonological variation in adverbial prefixes.

After position 11 prefixes of the shape #CVh- prefixes of the mode-subject-classifier complex (310) assume the shapes they normally take when they are initial in the word. When, by this rule, a CVh- prefix comes to stand before #ʔ-, the prefix has the variant shape #CV-:

/yeh<sup>3</sup>ɪnahW/ 'he goes in' < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-<sup>3</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>-naW  
 /yeʔɪnyahW/ 'go in!' < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-ʔɪ-<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-yaW  
 /yeʔeʔɪnya·W/ 'you always go in' (cust.) < #yeh<sub>11</sub>-  
 ʔɪ-ʔɪ<sub>3</sub>-n<sub>2</sub>-yaW-ɪ.

Prefixes of position 11 with the shapes #CV-n- or #CV-y- have their #n- or #y- elements transposed to follow #na<sub>10</sub>- or #ya<sub>9</sub>-:

/nɪnsɔhdɪɪ/ 'dance!' < #nɪ-n<sub>11</sub>-s(ɪ)<sub>5</sub>-ɔh<sub>2</sub>-dɪɪ  
 /nɪyaŋʔɪsde·ɪ/ 'they all started to dance'  
 < #nɪ-n<sub>11</sub>-ya<sub>9</sub>-ʔɪ<sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-deɪ<sup>3</sup>-ɪ.

350. Thematic prefixes (positions 6 and 11).

All prefixes of position 6 are thematic. They do not function in inflectional or derivational systems but are part of the lexical skeleton of the verb form. A group of prefixes that occur in position 11 are similarly thematic.

Position 6 thematics fall into two groups:

(1) semantic class markers, and (2) first elements of compound stems. Semantic class markers recur with similar meaning in a number of themes and quite likely represent the fossilized elements of an old derivational system (or systems). The remainder of position 6 thematics are restricted to occurrence in single themes, or in two or more themes of unrelated meanings, and are interpreted as the first elements of polysyllabic stems.

The thematic prefixes of position 11 fall into three groups: (1) the semitransitive theme marker #0-o<sub>11</sub>-; (2) prefixes consisting of single elements (sometimes locatives in form, with object markers) and perhaps representing fossilized adverbial prefixes; and (3) complex prefixes, of two or more elements, representing the incorporation of nominals, modifiers, or particles into the verb complex.

## 351. Semantic class markers (position 6).

Semantic class markers occur mainly in description themes, and in the discussion of this theme system (421) a categorization based on thematic prefix is of some relevance. Formally parallel formations are found, however, with other themes. In the sections that follow the full attested occurrence of each marker will be indicated.

1. #n<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to surface, tactile qualities.

Found only in description themes:

#n<sub>6</sub>-.nes 'be long, tall'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.k'ic 'be hard, solid'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.das 'be heavy'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.tet 'be wide, broad'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.set 'be sweaty'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.sad 'be distant, deep' (always with thematic #x<sup>w</sup><sub>8</sub>- place deictic subject)

#n<sub>6</sub>-.cas 'be large in diameter, gross'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.G'ic 'be crooked'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.k<sup>y</sup>ah 'be big'

A large subclass has #t<sub>1</sub>- classifier, but no themes of this category have #d<sub>1</sub>- or #l<sub>1</sub>-. The #t<sub>1</sub>- is most likely a position 6 thematic--identifiable with #t<sub>6</sub>- below?--shifted to position 1:

#n<sub>6</sub>-.t-d<sub>1</sub>3 'be wrinkled'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.t-tan 'be damp, soft'

#n<sub>6</sub>-.t-cay 'be dry'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..ɬ-weʔ 'be greasy, oily, shiny'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..ɬ-xɪd 'be smooth, slick'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..ɬ-gʲɪd 'be rotten, crumbly'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..ɬ-ʒen 'be polished, shining with reflected light'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..ɬ-č<sup>w</sup>ɪn 'stink'

#n<sub>6</sub>-..ɬ-č<sup>w</sup>ɪɬ 'be wet'

Some themes of this category also have a thematic prefix in position 11:

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..tan 'be firmly attached to, have hold of, 0' (semitransitive)

#ʔo<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..Guc' 'be brittle'

#ne<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..den 'be greasy, oily, shining with grease'

#k<sup>y</sup>ɪ-ne<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..den '(a light) shines'

#xa<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..dɪn 'be a short distance, nearby'.

The analysis of the preceding five themes is somewhat unsure. It is possible that #n<sub>6</sub>- in some or all of them is shifted to position 1 (#n- classifier, 317.51).

In all themes of this category, #n<sub>6</sub>- occurs only in the primary neuter. Derived active themes and further derivatives are without #n<sub>6</sub>-.

2. #n<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to the mind, feelings, judgment. Found only in a few description themes, often with other thematic elements:

#n<sub>6</sub>-..s<sub>1n</sub> 'think, feel' (personal inflection)  
 #n<sub>6</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-..ne 'think, feel' (impersonal inflection) (usually semitransitive, with #0-o<sub>11</sub>-, 'think about O')

#(0-wan) + ?o<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..s<sub>1n</sub> 'keep a secret (from O)'  
 #(0-xa) + n<sub>6</sub>-..d<sub>6</sub>-yan 'be ashamed (for O)'  
 #(0-xa) + n<sub>6</sub>-..te 'be searching (for O)'  
 #n<sub>6</sub>-..q<sub>1h</sub> 'be well-behaved, nice'  
 #n<sub>6</sub>-..l-g<sup>y</sup>td 'be afraid'  
 #n<sub>6</sub>-..Won 'be good, beautiful; feel well'  
 #n<sub>6</sub>-..č<sup>w</sup>en? 'be bad, ugly'.

In themes of this category, #n<sub>6</sub>- occurs in derived active themes as well as in the primary neuter.

3. #t<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to color and other non-tactile qualities. Found only in description themes:

#t<sub>6</sub>-..t<sub>oh</sub> 'have boils on one's skin'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..cvh 'be blue, green'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..G<sub>1W</sub> 'be forked'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..G<sub>ay</sub> 'be white'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..G<sub>uč</sub> 'be a gap; (an eye) is lacking'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..x<sub>an</sub> 'be sweet, good-tasting'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..q<sub>ah</sub> 'be fat'  
 #t<sub>6</sub>-..W<sub>1n</sub> 'be black'

In a few instances there are parallel themes with prefixes #d<sub>6</sub>- and #l<sub>1</sub>-, evidently reflecting #d<sub>6</sub>-t<sub>6</sub>- with #t<sub>6</sub>- shifted to position 1 and reduced to #l<sub>1</sub>-:



#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-cuh 'be light-brown, orange'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-G<sub>6</sub>W, in #d<sub>6</sub>-l-G<sub>6</sub>W 'forked-horn deer'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-G<sub>6</sub>y 'be whitish'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-W<sub>6</sub>n 'be blackish'

There is also, parallel to #t<sub>6</sub>-...xan 'be sweet', a theme that appears to have thematic #č<sub>6</sub>-, attested in /č<sub>6</sub>lxan/ 'it is bitter'.

Three themes occur with #d<sub>6</sub>- and #l<sub>1</sub>- that are not paralleled by themes with #t<sub>6</sub>- in modern Hupa:

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-ma· 'be gray'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-x<sub>6</sub>ž 'be speckled'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-č<sup>w</sup>eg<sup>y</sup>, in #d<sub>6</sub>-l-č<sup>w</sup>eg<sup>y</sup>-t 'bull pine'

4. #d<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to noise. Found only in action themes:

#d<sub>6</sub>-...ne/ne? 'make a noise'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-...t-yeW 'whistle at 0'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-...t-x<sub>6</sub>d 'ask questions of 0'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-ye/ye? 'dance, sing (at ceremonial dances)'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...l-waW '(several) chatter, make senseless noise'

5. #d<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to physical protrusion or metaphorical forwardness. Found with a variety of themes.

Action themes:

#0-e<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-...l<sub>6</sub>h '(a war party) attacks 0'

#0<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-...t-wa<sub>6</sub>±/wa<sub>6</sub>λ 'pour 0, dump 0 out (in a

forward-extending stream)'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..taɬ/taɬ' 'step out, forward'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..dɪ-nɪW 'have an erection'

Extension themes:

#d<sub>6</sub>-..?a '(one) extends out (from a fixed point)'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..?eɬ' (several) extend out (from a fixed point)'

Stative theme:

#de<sub>6</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..mɪn 'be full' (#dɪ- > #de- before s-pf)

Description themes:

#d<sub>6</sub>-..nan 'be sloping'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..tan 'be thick'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..ɜɪd 'be short'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..ceq' 'be gummy, sticky'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..men 'be sharp (in point or blade)'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..qan 'be leaning'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..č<sup>w</sup>ɪɬ 'be blunt'

And perhaps also #d<sub>6</sub>-..seɬ 'be feverish'.

Compare the adverbial base formative #d<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'starting off' (341.15).

6.#d<sub>6</sub>-. Always occurs with #l- classifier, and refers to a collection. Found in several plural themes:

#na<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>6</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..l-ya (stative motion) '(several) are standing'

#de<sub>6</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..l-ce (stative) '(several) stay, dwell'

#k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-..l-ya (description) 'there is a string of beads' (< '(several beads) are in a string')

#d<sub>6</sub>-..l-č<sup>w</sup>an? (action) '(several) congregate for a feast'.

There is possibly a relation between this prefix complex and the stem of the theme #A-..d<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>/de<sup>1</sup> '(several) move somewhere' and associated themes.

7. #d<sub>6</sub>-..n<sub>1</sub>-. Refers to a strong (distasteful) perception. Occurs only in description themes:

#d<sub>6</sub>-..n-quč<sup>3</sup> 'be sour, salty'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..n-č<sup>3</sup>ek<sup>y</sup> 'be hot, peppery, strong-tasting'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..n-č<sup>3</sup>ad 'be sore, ache'

#O-e<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-..n-č<sup>w</sup>en 'feel hunger for O' (O- is usually #m<sub>1</sub>-, referring to food).

In derivative active themes #d<sub>6</sub>- remains but #n<sub>1</sub>- is lost.

8. #x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to awareness, knowledge. Found in both description and action themes:

#x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-..n<sub>1</sub>W 'be awake, sensate'

#x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-..yan '(animal) is shy, suspicious'

#x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>d 'a sudden (suspicious) noise is heard'

#x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>g<sup>y</sup> 'tell, mention'

#x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>e 'make known', in /č<sup>3</sup>l<sub>1</sub>xolč<sup>w</sup>e/ 'myth' < 'what is made known'. Compare #O<sub>7</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>en? 'make O'.

#x<sup>w</sup>ɫ<sub>6</sub>-..čed 'tell a lie'.

9. #sɫ<sub>6</sub>-. Refers to internal, temporary qualities.

Found only in description themes:

#sɫ<sub>6</sub>-..dɫ-yan 'be old'

#k<sup>y</sup>ɫ-sɫ<sub>6</sub>-..dɫ-le· 'be cold, frozen'

#sɫ<sub>6</sub>-..tɫ<sup>y</sup> 'be slim'

#sɫ<sub>6</sub>-..seɫ 'be hot, warm'

#sɫ<sub>6</sub>-..qɑc' 'be cold'

#sɫ<sub>6</sub>-mɫ<sub>6</sub>-..Gɫy? 'be small' (personal inflection)

Three themes with #s<sub>1</sub>- belong here, representing forms with #sɫ<sub>6</sub>- shifted to classifier position in the presence of another position 6 prefix:

#mɫ<sub>6</sub>-..s-Gɫy? 'be small' (impersonal inflection)

#dɫ<sub>6</sub>-..s-k<sup>y</sup>en 'be stiff'

#dɫ<sub>6</sub>-..s-cen 'be stiff'.

352. First elements of compound stems (position 6).

All prefixes of position 6 that are not profitably analyzed as semantic class markers are taken here to be stem elements occurring in prefix position. In some cases there is comparative evidence that originally polysyllabic stems have been reanalyzed in this way. In other cases the prefix probably represents an old derivational element that has completely lost its semantic force.

1. #ne<sub>6</sub>-: #O<sub>7</sub>-ne<sub>6</sub>-..yod 'chase O'.
2. #no<sub>6</sub>- or #O-no<sub>6</sub>-: #O-no<sub>6</sub>-..?ah 'convince, deceive O' (O- is locative object, not O<sub>7</sub>-); #no<sub>6</sub>-..t<sup>h</sup>ah 'be credulous, believing' (< \*-d-?ah, 'be convinced').
3. #t<sub>6</sub>-: #t<sub>6</sub>-..ma? 'there is a famine'.
4. #s<sub>6</sub>-: #O<sub>7</sub>-s<sub>6</sub>-..t<sup>h</sup>-we/wen 'kill O'; #(O-na) + s<sub>6</sub>-..la/la? 'make fun of O'.
5. #so<sub>6</sub>-: #O-e<sub>11</sub>-so<sub>6</sub>-..s<sup>h</sup>in 'be ambitious for O'.
6. #z<sub>6</sub>-: #O-e<sub>11</sub>-z<sub>6</sub>-..la/la? 'hate O'.
7. #c<sup>h</sup><sub>6</sub>-: #c<sup>h</sup><sub>6</sub>-..lan/lan? 'play (a game, sport)'; #c<sup>h</sup><sub>6</sub>-..t<sup>h</sup>an?y<sub>6</sub> 'be thin'.
8. #m<sub>6</sub>-: #m<sub>6</sub>-..l<sup>h</sup>ž 'drip, leak'; #s<sub>6</sub>-m<sub>6</sub>-..G<sup>h</sup>y? 'be small' (personal inflection), #m<sub>6</sub>-..s-G<sup>h</sup>y? 'be small' (impersonal inflection).
9. #x<sub>6</sub>-: #x<sub>6</sub>-..na 'be safe, alive'; #O<sub>7</sub>-x<sub>6</sub>-..t<sup>h</sup>-na/na? 'move, agitate O'; #x<sub>6</sub>-..d<sup>h</sup>-n<sup>h</sup>ah 'move

(oneself)'; #x<sub>6</sub>-..xes 'be itchy, ticklish'; #xe<sub>6</sub>-  
 s<sub>3</sub>-..tan '(liquid) reaches to a limit, no further';  
 #x<sub>6</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..yeW 'speak' (personal inflection), #x<sub>6</sub>-..  
 n-(y)eW 'speak' (impersonal inflection).

10. #xo<sub>6</sub>-: #A-xo<sub>6</sub>-..?αW/?an '(several) run,  
 jump somewhere'.

11. #ž<sub>6</sub>-: #ž<sub>6</sub>-..wvž 'be round (as a ball)'.

12. #k<sup>y</sup><sub>6</sub>-: #0-k<sup>y</sup><sub>6</sub>-..wαn 'O is asleep'.

353. Thematic prefixes in position 11.

353.1 Semitransitive (#0-o<sub>11</sub>-).

Themes of the semitransitive type (412.2) have a thematic locative prefix #0-o<sub>11</sub>-. The assignment of this prefix to position 11 is somewhat arbitrary, for the marker behaves unusually with respect to the deictic subject markers (normally position 8). These markers precede #0-o<sub>11</sub>-, except when the object is #k<sup>y</sup>l- or #k<sup>y</sup>l-dl- (passive object), in which case they are in their normal position following #0-o<sub>11</sub>-:

/člWo·dlwlłye·W/ 'he whistled at me' < #čl<sub>8</sub>-  
W(ł)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-dl<sub>6</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-ł<sub>1</sub>-yeW-ł, /k<sup>y</sup>o?dlwlłye·W/ 'he  
whistled at something' < #k<sup>y</sup>(ł)<sub>7</sub>-o<sub>11</sub>-?<sub>8</sub>-dl<sub>6</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-ł<sub>1</sub>-  
yeW-ł.

The object of #0-o<sub>11</sub>-, furthermore, is not the normal locative object set, but the object marker set normally found in position 7, which differs from the locative set in having ∅ for general object (#?- before #0-o-) instead of #ml-:

/me·dlłwał/ 'we drum on it' < #m(ł)-e<sub>11</sub>-dl<sub>2</sub>-ł<sub>1</sub>-  
wał, but /?o·dlłwał/ 'we hit at it' < #?-o<sub>11</sub>-dl<sub>2</sub>-ł<sub>1</sub>-  
wał.

Historically speaking, semitransitive themes probably do not contain a locative prefix. They are more likely simply transitive themes with a special set of object pronouns (e.g., \*no- in place of \*nə-, etc.) indicating the "non-directness" of the transitive

relationship in certain verbs. The analysis of #0-o<sub>11</sub>- as a thematic locative adopted here is for convenience of synchronic description.

### 353.2 Simple prefixes.

Most of the simple (or locative) thematic prefixes of position 11 appear to be nominal or locative fossil elements, some of them representing stems otherwise lost in Hupa.

1. #<sup>?</sup>e<sub>11</sub>-: #<sup>?</sup>e<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1n</sub> 'be without, be lacking'.
2. #n<sub>1</sub>-n<sub>11</sub>-: #n<sub>1</sub>-n<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..t-<sup>?</sup>αt/<sup>?</sup>aλ 'butcher, cut up (meat)' (usually with #k<sup>y</sup><sub>17</sub>-). See 345.
3. #ta<sub>11</sub>-: #ta<sub>11</sub>-k<sup>y</sup><sub>18</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-..neg<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>? '(body) feels sore, dull'; #ta<sub>11</sub>-..<sup>?</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>? 'speak loudly, excitedly' (said to be Redwood Creek dialect form); #ta<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-nan/nan? 'drink'; #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>-ta<sub>11</sub>-..t-c<sub>1d</sub> 'leach acorn meal (in a pit in the sand of the riverbank)'.
4. #sah<sub>11</sub>-: #sah<sub>11</sub>-..den? '(several) go off somewhere (as on a war party)'
5. #ce<sub>11</sub>-: #ce<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>1n</sub><sub>3</sub>-..l<sub>1n</sub> (extension neuter) 'blood flows; there is bleeding'.
6. #č<sup>w</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-: #č<sup>w</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-x<sup>w</sup><sub>18</sub>-..t-w<sub>1t</sub>/w<sup>?</sup>aλ 'get dark, night comes'
7. #č<sup>3</sup>e<sub>11</sub>-: #č<sup>3</sup>e<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>1</sub><sub>5</sub>-..s<sub>1d</sub> 'wake up'.



8. #č<sup>o</sup><sub>11</sub>- or #0-č<sup>o</sup><sub>11</sub>-: #0-č<sup>o</sup><sub>11</sub>-..ne/ne? 'help 0'; #č<sup>o</sup><sub>11</sub>-..day 'be thin, weak, poor' (of a person); #0-č<sup>o</sup><sub>11</sub>-..t-te 'feel stronger than 0' (< 'consider 0 weak'), with reflexive object translates 'be bashful' (< 'consider oneself weak').

9. #k<sup>y</sup>a-n<sub>11</sub>-: #k<sup>y</sup>a-n<sub>11</sub>-x<sup>w</sup><sub>6</sub>-..t-tih 'beg food'.  
See 345.

### 353.3 Complex prefixes.

The complex thematic prefixes of position 11 have diverse origins and no generalization is possible.

1. #k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-t-ž<sub>t</sub>-xa<sub>11</sub>-: #k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-t-ž<sub>t</sub>-xa<sub>11</sub>-..?αW/?an 'fight'; #k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-t-ž<sub>t</sub>-xa<sub>11</sub>-..l<sub>t</sub>W/la '(several) fight'.  
Sometimes heard as #k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-t-č<sub>t</sub>-xa<sub>11</sub>-.

2. #na-da<sub>11</sub>-: #na-da<sub>11</sub>-..san? 'get weak' (old-fashioned theme, used in medicine formulas).

3. #k<sup>y</sup>a-da<sub>11</sub>-: #k<sup>y</sup>a-da<sub>11</sub>-..ne/ne? 'gather acorns'.

4. #dah-k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-we<sub>11</sub>-: #dah-k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-we<sub>11</sub>-..t<sub>t</sub>W/tan 'build a fishing platform'. Also heard as #dah-k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-wa<sub>11</sub>-.

5. #d<sub>t</sub>-wa<sub>11</sub>-: #d<sub>t</sub>-wa<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>t</sub><sub>6</sub>-..č<sup>w</sup>en? 'be selfish'.

6. #xah-xa<sub>11</sub>-: #xah-xa<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>t</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sup>e</sup> (extension neuter) 'be light-weight'.

7. #k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-: #k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-k<sup>y</sup><sub>t</sub><sub>7</sub>-..t-da '(girl) has her first menses'.

## 360. Stems and stem suffixes.

The stem is the final element of the verb form, unless certain elements (#-ʔ, #-tʃ, #-ni) which enter into the formation of derivative stems (361.2) are considered independent and to occupy a post-stem position. These are here labelled "stem suffixes" but treated as dependent elements in the stem position.

## 361. Stems in active themes.

Different modal forms of active themes often have different stems. In nearly all instances the different modal stem forms of an active theme are phonologically related and, to a considerable extent, predictable. The unpredictable stem variants are those associated with the imperfective and perfective modes. These are the primary stem forms, whose specification must be one of the functions of the lexicon. All other modal stem forms are derivative stem forms.

The normal active theme has six modal forms--imperfective, perfective, progressive, customary, optative, and potential--but since the stem forms in the optative and customary paradigms normally do not differ (and in the few cases where they do, one form coincides with the imperfective form) no theme shows more than five stem variants. An example of a maximally differentiated theme is #0<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>en?:

imperfective: #-č<sup>w</sup>e  
 perfective: #-č<sup>w</sup>en?  
 progressive: #-č<sup>w</sup>eɪ  
 customary: #-č<sup>w</sup>e?  
 optative: #-č<sup>w</sup>e?  
 potential: #-č<sup>w</sup>e?nɪ

On the other hand, since progressive and potential stem forms are always differentiated, no theme shows fewer than three stem variants. A minimally differentiated

theme is exemplified by #x<sub>6</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..yeW 'speak':

imperfective:	#-yeW
perfective:	#-yeW
customary:	#-yeW
optative:	#-yeW
progressive:	#-yeW <sub>1</sub> ±
potential:	#-yeWn <sub>1</sub>

In the citation of active themes and bases it is necessary only to specify the primary theme forms. The rules spelled out in the following sections will allow the other forms to be predicted. When the two primary stem forms of a theme differ the convention adopted here is to cite the imperfective form first:

#0<sub>7</sub>-..±-č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>en? is thus to be read: "The theme has two primary stem forms, #-č<sup>w</sup>e in the imperfective and #-č<sup>w</sup>en? in the perfective."

## 362. Formation of derivative stem forms.

Stems used in customary, optative, potential, and progressive modal forms of active themes are formed by regular rule from the primary stem form(s). Where the primary stems are differentiated the imperfective stem form is the basis for the formation of all derivatives.

## 362.1 The customary stem.

Where the primary stem has the shape CV, CVn, or CŨn, the customary stem is formed with the stem-suffix #-?:

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ce 'point (a long object) somewhere':  
/k<sup>y</sup>ite?uWce?/ 'I build fences' (cust.)

#O<sub>7</sub>-..wan 'kill (several)': /x<sup>w</sup>e?uWwa?n/ 'I  
kill several people' (cust.)

#O<sub>7</sub>-s<sub>6</sub>-..t-we/wen 'kill (one)': /c<sup>i</sup>se?u<sup>t</sup>we?/  
'he kills it' (cust.).

Where the primary stem is of other shapes the customary stem is identical with the primary form:

#..l<sub>1</sub>d 'burn': /?e?u<sub>1</sub>l<sub>1</sub>d/ 'it burns' (cust.)

#O<sub>7</sub>-..t-t<sub>1</sub>g<sup>y</sup> 'pinch O': /c<sup>i</sup>uWe?u<sup>t</sup>t<sub>1</sub>g<sup>y</sup>/ 'he  
pinches me' (cust.)

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..t-t<sub>1</sub>W/ten 'move (one person) somewhere':  
/ya·x<sup>w</sup>e?uWt<sub>1</sub>W/ 'I lift him up' (cust.).

## 362.2 The optative stem.

The optative stem is identical with the customary stem, except where the primary stem forms are  $C\check{V}W$  or  $CVW/CVn$  or  $CVn?$ . In these cases there is a tendency for the optative stem to have the shape  $CV?$ . At least three themes are found with only this form for the optative stem:

#A-0<sub>7</sub>-..w<sub>1</sub>W/wen 'move (a pack) somewhere':  
/no<sup>?</sup>k<sup>y</sup>o·we?/ 'let him put the pack down!'

#n<sub>1</sub><sub>6</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>W/ten '(one) lies down': /č<sub>1</sub>n<sub>o</sub>·te?/  
'let him lie down!'

#k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub><sub>7</sub>-t<sub>1</sub><sub>5</sub>-..λ<sub>o</sub>W/λ<sub>o</sub>n 'weave things': /k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>t<sub>1</sub>Wλ<sub>o</sub>?/  
'let me weave!'

## 362.3 The potential stem.

The potential stem is formed on the same principles as the customary stem (see above). In addition, however, it has the stem suffix #-n<sub>1</sub>:

#na<sub>1</sub><sub>1</sub>-..we/we? 'move (a pack) about': /na·Wd<sub>1</sub>we?n/  
'I might move the pack about'

#..t<sub>1</sub>-cay? 'dry out': /<sup>?</sup>oh<sub>1</sub>cay?n/ 'it might dry out'

#A-0<sub>7</sub>-..<sup>?</sup>αW/<sup>?</sup>an 'move (one object) somewhere':  
/ya·Wda<sup>?</sup>aWn/ 'I might pick it up'.

A primary stem of the shape  $C\check{V}d$  assimilates to the stem suffix #-n<sub>1</sub> to produce  $C\check{V}n<sub>1</sub>$ :

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-..č<sup>w</sup>ld 'reach for O': /ʔo·n<sub>1</sub>n<sub>1</sub>Wd<sub>1</sub>č<sup>w</sup>ln/  
 'I might have to reach for it'.

#### 362.4 The progressive stem.

The progressive stem form is marked by a suffix whose basic shape is #-ł̥:

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..los 'lead, pull O somewhere (by a rope)':  
 /xa·nan<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>lo·sł̥/ 'I keep pulling you back out'

#O<sub>7</sub>-..ł̥-tač̣ 'tattoo O': /n<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>tač̣ł̥/ 'I keep tattooing you'.

When the primary stem is of the shape CV the suffix is simply #-ł̥:

#y<sub>8</sub>-..ł̥-xa/xan 'dawn comes': /y<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>ł̥xahł̥/ 'dawn keeps coming'.

When the primary stem is of the shape CVn or C<sup>̃</sup>Vn, the suffix takes the shape #-ʔł̥:

#k<sup>y</sup><sub>7</sub>-..yan/yan<sup>ʔ</sup> 'eat something': /k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>yan<sup>ʔ</sup>ł̥/ 'he keeps eating'.

When the primary stem is of the shape CVh or C<sup>̃</sup>Vh, the progressive stem has the shape CVł̥:

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ł̥-tah 'move (something coiled or wrapped) somewhere': /t<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>tahł̥/ 'I keep spreading things out (that have been wrapped)'

#tah<sub>11</sub>-k<sup>y</sup><sub>7</sub>-..ł̥-žeh 'fish (for salmon) with a seine': /tahk<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>W<sub>1</sub>ł̥že·l/ 'they keep seining'.

When the primary stem is of the shape CVd or CV±, the progressive stem takes the shape CV± (freely varying with CVl±). When the primary stem is CṼd or CṼ± the progressive stem is CṼ± (freely varying with CṼl±):

#O<sub>7</sub>-..±-nad/nat' 'lick O': /k<sup>y</sup>lwłWnah±/ or  
/k<sup>y</sup>lwłWna·l±/ 'I'm licking it along'

#na<sub>11</sub>-..d±/deλ' '(several) move about': /na·włd±/  
or /na·włd<sub>11</sub>±/ 'they keep moving about'.



## 400. SYSTEM OF THE VERB

Inflection, adverbial derivation, and thematic derivation are intricately interrelated. In outline, the scheme of their systematic relationship is:

The fundamental lexical specification of a verb form is its theme. Themes fall into theme types according to their properties of inflection: subject pronominal, object pronominal, and modal. Themes are subject to theme derivation, resulting in secondary themes that differ in type (and usually in overt form) from their primary theme. A primary theme type and all secondary theme types derivable from it constitute a theme system. (Characteristic of theme systems is the derivation, in one system, of a secondary theme type that coincides with the primary theme type of another system, so that the possibilities of derivation are literally infinite.) A given theme, according to its inflectional type and systemic affiliation, can enter into a number of bases of inflection (in some cases, only one), usually formed by the addition to the theme of one or more adverbial prefixes (positions 5 and 11). The nature of the base determines certain peculiarities of inflection, in particular the perfective marker of active forms.

## 410. Theme types.

Hupa verbs are inflected in three paradigms-- subject pronominal, object pronominal, and modal. Which of these a given form is inflected for is specified by the theme, and themes may be divided into types according to their inflectional specifications:

1. Subject inflection. A theme which cannot be inflected for subject is impersonal, and one which can be inflected for subject is personal. A theme inflected only for singular subject is singular, and one inflected only for plural subject is plural.

2. Object inflection. A theme which cannot be inflected for object is intransitive, and one which can be inflected for object is transitive. Among transitive themes, basic transitive, semitransitive, and themes with specific objects incorporated into them, must be distinguished.

3. Modal inflection. A theme which cannot be inflected for mode is neuter, and one which can be inflected for mode is active. Neuter themes may be subdivided, according to their thematic prefixes, into imperfective, perfective (three types), and progressive neuter themes.

## 411. Subject inflection.

## 411.1 Impersonal themes.

Themes without subject inflection always have impersonal ("3rd person") meaning, usually translating English "it" constructions ("it rains", "it is done to him", "it appears so", etc.). Formally, impersonal themes fall into two classes: (1) those without any subject marker and inherently impersonal; and (2) those with a thematic deictic subject marker.

## 411.11 Inherently impersonal themes.

Included here are:

1. Many action or descriptive themes of an essentially nominal nature.

#(0-a) + ..to? 'O laughs' (< '(laughter) acts for O')

#0-k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>6</sub>-..wan 'O sleeps' (< '(sleep) is O's')

#..to/to? '(water level) moves'

#tl<sub>6</sub>-..ma? 'there is a famine'

2. The stative neuters associated with motion themes that describe the motion of a class of objects.

#sl<sub>3</sub>-..?a '(one object) lies'

#sl<sub>3</sub>-..tan '(a stick) lies'

#sl<sub>3</sub>-..l-Ged '(a stick, shoved somewhere) lies'

3. Many action and descriptive themes that describe qualities and motions appropriate only to inanimate nature.

#tl<sub>6</sub>-..Guč<sup>2</sup> 'there is a gap'

#d<sub>6</sub>-...č<sup>w</sup>l<sub>1</sub> ' (a knife) is blunt, dull'

#...l<sub>1</sub>-d<sub>1</sub> ' (the ground) quakes'

It must be noted that the "ungrammatical" use of a subject pronoun with such themes as these is possible for expressive purposes. Highly colorful, even poetic, metaphors are possible: /ʔ<sup>nto</sup>/ 'you (being like water) move to some level'; /č<sup>l</sup>l<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>/ 'he (being like ground) quakes as in an earthquake'. The stative neuter #s<sub>3</sub>-...xan '(a basket, receptacle) lies' is used with subject inflection to vulgar effect: /č<sup>l</sup>l<sub>1</sub>sxa·n/ 'she is ready for intercourse' (i.e., 'she (being like a receptacle) lies').

#### 411.12 Impersonal themes with deictic subject markers.

Three of the four deictic subject markers are found thematically in impersonal themes.

1. k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-. Since k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>- is defined as thematic in all its occurrences, all forms with it as a subject marker represent, technically speaking, at least separate sub-themes. Of interest here are only those themes with k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>- that are not associated with otherwise identical themes occurring with other subject markers. The class, even so, is large. Typical instances are:

#na<sub>11</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-...xaž '(hair) hangs loose, unbraided'

#k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-...moW '(a blister) forms'

#k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-...d<sub>1</sub>-m<sub>1</sub>d '(water) boils'

#na<sub>11</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-...d<sub>1</sub>h '(acorns) drop to the ground'

An interesting sub-class is the set of description neuters referring to noises (see 421 for a full list).

#k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-...say 'there is a rattling noise'

#k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-...mɔt 'there is a bursting noise'

#k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>8</sub>-...k<sup>y</sup>et 'there is a creaking noise'

2. yʌ<sub>8</sub>-. The general deictic subject, perhaps best translated here as 'a natural force', is thematic in a set of themes referring to natural phenomena.

#A-yʌ<sub>8</sub>-...?αW/?an '(a natural force) moves (phenomena) somewhere'. The specific meaning varies with the base. For example: #tah<sub>11</sub>-yʌ<sub>8</sub>-...?αW/?an (s-pf.) 'a wave splashes up' (< 'a natural force moves waves out of the water'; #no<sub>11</sub>-yʌ<sub>8</sub>-...?αW/?an (n-pf.) 'there is a snow-storm' (< 'a natural force puts snow down').

#yʌ<sub>8</sub>-...t-xa/xan '(dawn) comes'

#na<sub>11</sub>-yʌ<sub>8</sub>-...can? '(sound) is audible'

#yʌ<sub>8</sub>-...t-k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>d</sub> '(fog, smoke, a cloud) comes'

Cognate forms in other Athabaskan languages suggest another possible interpretation--that yʌ<sub>8</sub>- here is actually yʌ<sub>6</sub>-, a semantic class prefix (351) possibly referring to the sky, or nature in general. The present interpretation seems more satisfactory for the synchronic description of Hupa. Furthermore, there are at least two other themes with what is clearly thematic yʌ<sub>8</sub>-.

In them, the implied subject is an animal, specifically

a dog: #no<sub>11</sub>-yʌ<sub>8</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-nʌ<sub>6</sub>-...yod '(a dog) barks at 0';

#yʌ<sub>8</sub>-k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>7</sub>-...gan '(a dog) barks on the trail of deer' (k<sup>y</sup>ʌ<sub>7</sub>-

is thematic object, referring to deer).

3.  $x^w\iota_8-$ . The place deictic subject is thematic in a majority of its occurrences. It is often found in themes referring to natural phenomena.

$\#na_{10}-x^w\iota_8-\dots l-Wen/Wen?$  '(snow) melts'

$\#\check{c}^w a_{11}-x^w\iota_8-\dots \ddot{t}-w\ddot{t}\ddot{t}/we\check{t}$  '(night)falls, there is darkness of night'

#### 411.2 Personal themes.

All themes which are not impersonal are generally inflected in all persons of the subject category, except in the optative mode, where second person forms are lacking, and in two other circumstances: (1) Singular and plural themes (discussed in 411.3), and (2) a few pairs of suppletive themes. These last are pairs of themes which have one member of the pair restricted to personal inflections (1, 2 sg and pl) and the other to impersonal inflections. Here belong:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#n\iota_6-\dots s\ddot{t}n \text{ 'think' (personal inflection)} \\ \#0-o_{11}-n\iota_6-d\iota_6-\dots ne/ne? \text{ (impersonal inflection)} \end{array} \right.$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#x\iota_6-n\iota_6-\dots yeW \text{ 'speak' (personal inflection)} \\ \#x\iota_6-\dots n-(y)eW \text{ (impersonal inflection)} \end{array} \right.$

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \#w\iota_3-\dots ya\check{t} \text{ '(one) moves along' (personal inflection)} \\ \#\dots Ga\check{t} \text{ (impersonal inflection)} \end{array} \right.$

## 411.3 Singular and plural themes.

A number of themes are semantically restricted to subject inflection only for singular subjects or only for plural subjects. Typical are:

#n<sub>1</sub>-na<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>-Ge<sup>?</sup> '(one person) gets up'

#..d<sub>1</sub>-g<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>d '(several) run in a herd, stampede'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..l-waW '(several) talk, chatter'

A significant subset is made up of intransitive motion themes (see 430):

#A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere'

#A-..d<sub>1</sub>†/de<sup>?</sup> '(several) move somewhere'

#s<sub>3</sub>-..ten '(one person) lies'

#s<sub>3</sub>-..te<sup>?</sup> '(several persons) lie'

## 412. Object inflection.

Intransitive themes have no marker in position 7 and no semitransitive marker (O-o<sub>11</sub>-).

## 412.1 Basic transitive themes.

Themes which have, in their inflected forms, a variable marker of pronominal object in position 7 are basic transitive themes. Many such themes allow the full object paradigm, but a significant number have only singular objects or only plural objects. Typical are:

#O-s<sub>6</sub>-..t-we/wen 'kill (one)'

#O<sub>7</sub>-..wan 'kill (several)'

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..?αW/?an 'move (one object) somewhere'

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..l<sub>1</sub>W/la 'move (several objects) somewhere'

## 412.2 Semitransitive themes.

Themes with thematic O-o<sub>11</sub>- are semitransitive themes. (For the form and position of O-o<sub>11</sub>- see 353.1.) The basic semantic difference between transitive and semitransitive themes is that semitransitive themes imply that the goal specified by the object marker is not fully reached by the actor specified by the subject marker, while in transitive themes such success is presumed. Thus, while the actor in transitive themes "does" things, "sees" things, and the like, the actor in semitransitive themes "reaches for", "points at", or "thinks about" them. Parallel themes, transitive and intransitive, occur in a few cases, and will serve to illustrate.



#0<sub>7</sub>-...ʔ<sub>13</sub> 'hit O (in shooting)'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...ʔ<sub>13</sub> 'shoot at O'

#0<sub>7</sub>-...ɬ-taɬ/taʔ 'kick O'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...ɬ-taɬ/taʔ 'kick at O'

#0<sub>7</sub>-...ɬ-waɬ/waʔ 'hit O (with a club)'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...ɬ-waɬ/waʔ 'hit at O with a club'

#0<sub>7</sub>-...ɬ-č<sup>w</sup>ɪd 'push O'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...ɬ-č<sup>w</sup>ɪd 'point at O'

Some common semitransitive themes with more abstract meaning include:

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...ɬ-taɔ 'count O'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...ɬ-čɪd 'know O'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...xɛd 'buy O'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-...We/Weʔ 'call O by name'

#### 412.3 Thematic objects.

A very large number of themes occur with only a single object marker in position 7, usually k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>7</sub>-. The most common instances are:

1. Causative derivatives of description themes with thematic k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>- subject, referring to noise (421.10).

#k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>7</sub>-...ɬ-dɪɬ 'cause ringing' (← #k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>-...dɪɬ  
'there is ringing').

#k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>7</sub>-...ɬ-čaʔ 'cause a roar' (← #k<sup>y</sup>ɪ<sub>8</sub>-...čaʔ  
'there is a roar').

2. Action themes referring to cutting, sawing, tearing.

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. ?αɿ / ?aλ 'cut by chewing' (compare #O ɿ - .. ?αɿ / ?aλ 'chew O')

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. ɿ - cɿ ɿ / ceλ 'cut by pounding (compare #O ɿ - .. ɿ - cɿ ɿ / ceλ 'pound O')

3. Action themes that refer to the preparation of a specific object or category of objects. This is the commonest type of thematic k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ -.

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. λo / λon? 'weave (a basket)'

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. dɿ ɿ 'twine (rope)'

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. ɿ - tɿ uq 'work flint'

#na<sub>11</sub> - k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. ɿ - dɿ h 'wash (things)'

Since, technically speaking, every occurrence of k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - is thematic, every basic transitive theme will have a sub-theme with k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ -. The reference of the thematic object is usually stable throughout the occurrences of such sub-themes. Typical are:

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. lɿ w / la 'move (one's hand) somewhere' (compare #A-O ɿ - .. lɿ w / la 'move (several objects or a rope) somewhere').

#k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. Gud 'poke (a stick)' (compare #O ɿ - .. Gud 'poke O (with a stick, finger, etc.)')

#A-k<sup>y</sup> ɿ ɿ - .. xaW / xan 'move (food in a dish) somewhere' (compare #A-O ɿ - .. xaW / xan 'move (something in a container) somewhere')

## 413. Modal inflection.

## 413.1 Neuter themes.

Neuter themes lack modal inflection. Normally, a neuter theme will have a thematic modal prefix (with zero being considered thematic imperfective,  $\emptyset_3^-$ ). According to their modal prefix neuter themes fall into five categories: (1) imperfective neuters, referring to qualities or general activities; (2)  $n\bar{n}$ - perfective neuters and (3)  $w\bar{n}$ - perfective neuters, referring to extension; (4)  $s\bar{u}$ - perfective neuters, referring to states of existence; and (5) progressive neuters, referring to continuous states of activity.

## 413.11 Imperfective neuter.

Besides thematic  $\emptyset_3^-$ , imperfective neuter themes have at least one overt thematic prefix, often in position 6. All imperfective neuters are description themes (420) and have basically adjectival meaning. Formal differences in thematic prefix often mark general semantic classes.

413.12  $n\bar{n}$ - and  $w\bar{n}$ - perfective neuter.

Perfective neuters with thematic  $n\bar{n}_3^-$  and  $w\bar{n}_3^-$  are all extension themes. Most of the primary bases associated with a given semantic category (e.g. "one object", "a stream") are built on a w-pf neuter theme (if the perfective marker the adverbial prefix selects when forming bases on active themes is  $n\bar{n}_3^-$  or  $w\bar{n}_3^-$ ). Normally only one base is formed on an n-pf neuter

theme, specifically the base formed without an adverbial derivational prefix. Thus:

#n<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>k<sup>y</sup> '(a string) extends' (no prefix)

#no<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>k<sup>y</sup> '(a string) extends to a certain point' (prefix no<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf))

#yeh<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>k<sup>y</sup> '(a string) extends inside' (prefix yeh<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf))

There is considerable reason to suppose that even this one instance of n-pf as a neuter thematic is not fully authentic. The transitional (derived active) theme associated with such themes as #n<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>k<sup>y</sup> has wes-pf, indicating normally thematic w<sub>1</sub>- or w<sub>1</sub>n-, and the causative theme (further derived from the transitional) has thematic n<sub>5</sub>- and w-pf. It is entirely likely that the prefix complex of #n<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>k<sup>y</sup> is historically \*n<sub>5</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-. n<sub>5</sub>- is presumably n<sub>5</sub>- (n-pf) 'arriving'.

413.13 s<sub>1</sub>- perfective neuter.

Neuter themes with thematic s<sub>1</sub>- are widely found, usually with "stative" meaning--i.e., they define an entity normally in motion as being at rest or moving about non-directionally.

For semantic reasons mainly, a class of adjectival themes with an s<sub>1</sub>- thematic prefix, possibly describable as s<sub>1</sub>-, is put with the imperfective neuters and s<sub>1</sub>- defined as s<sub>6</sub>- (351.9).

s<sub>1</sub>-perfective neuter themes include:

1. Primary stative motion themes, associated semantically and formally with transitive motion themes (435). They specify the "being at rest" of a class of entities. (For a full list see 434.)

#s<sub>3</sub>-..?an '(one object) lies'

#s<sub>3</sub>-..xan '(a filled container) lies'

2. A number of themes of meanings similar to those in (1), but not paralleled by other motion themes.

#de<sub>6</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..l-<sup>2</sup>ce '(several persons) sit, dwell'

#s<sub>3</sub>-..ten '(one person) lies down'

3. Secondary stative motion themes derived from transitive motion themes. They designate an entity "put in a position of rest".

#s<sub>3</sub>-..l-Ged '(a stick) lies shoved'

#s<sub>3</sub>-..l-<sup>2</sup>qas '(stones) lie thrown'

4. Secondary transitive stative motion themes, derived from the classes above. These are semantically "possessives", in that they specify an ownership or otherwise agentive relation of the subject to the class indicated by the theme (and exemplified in the object).

#0<sub>7</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..<sup>2</sup>l-?an 'have (one object) lying; own (one object)'

#0<sub>7</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..<sup>2</sup>l-dl-<sup>2</sup>qas 'have (stones) lying; own (stones)'

5. Extension themes occurring with bases that, with active verbs, require s-pf.

#xa<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..l<sub>1n</sub> '(a stream) extends uphill'  
(adverbial prefix xa<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'up to the top')

#te<sub>5</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..<sup>3</sup>ce '(wind) blows' (adverbial prefix  
t<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'off, along')

#na<sub>11</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..l<sub>1n</sub> '(a stream) meanders' (adverbial  
prefix na<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'about, here and there')

#### 413.14 Progressive neuter.

The progressive modal marker w<sub>3</sub>- is thematic in two groups of themes, progressive motion themes and passive neuters.

1. Progressive motion themes are primary themes, semantically associated with other motion themes and historically derived from them (433). The basic meaning of such themes is "move along continuously", but with the adverbial prefix dah<sub>11</sub>- (344) the base indicates suspension of motion ("hover", "hold 0 in one place", etc.)

#w<sub>3</sub>-..l-da<sub>1</sub> '(one) runs along'

#0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..<sub>1</sub>-x<sub>1</sub> 'haul 0 along by conveyance;  
float 0 along'

#dah<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..x<sub>1</sub> '(logs, etc.) float about in  
one place', from the theme #w<sub>3</sub>-..x<sub>1</sub> '(logs, etc.)  
float along'

2. Passive neuter themes are secondary themes derived from all transitive themes. They have impersonal

subject, direct or semitransitive object, and translate "O is acted upon".

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..l-ta<sup>q</sup> 'O is counted' (← #0-o<sub>11</sub>-..  
 †-ta<sup>q</sup> 'count O')

#0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..l-can 'O is seen' (← #0<sub>7</sub>-..†-can 'see  
 O')

3. Possessive-passive neuter themes are derived from (2), and are personal. They translate "have O in a state of being acted upon".

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..†-d<sub>l</sub>-ta<sup>q</sup> 'have O counted'

#0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..†-d<sub>l</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>en 'have O made' (← #0<sub>7</sub>-..†-  
 č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>en? 'make O')

## 420. Description theme system.

The primary theme of the description theme system is the description neuter, an imperfective neuter theme. The general meaning of a description neuter is "something manifests a quality". The subclasses defined by the recurring thematic prefixes (usually of position 6, the semantic class markers) have both semantic and derivational significance. These adjectival classes are described in 421. Many description neuters, however, are formed with non-recurring thematic elements and fall outside these classes.

Whatever the details peculiar to a specific theme or adjectival class, all description neuters are subject to at least two theme deriving processes. (1) A transitional theme (secondary active) is formed from the primary theme, with the general meaning of "something changes its manifestation of a quality" (i.e., "it gets to be so", "it stops being so", etc.). (2) A causative theme (secondary active transitive) is formed from the transitional, if it is intransitive, with the general meaning of "someone causes something to manifest a quality". The causative (but not the transitional) can function as an action theme, that is, can form bases with the adverbial prefixes typical of action bases and can enter into the theme derivational pattern of action themes (450).



## 421. Adjectival classes.

Recurring thematic prefixes define subclasses of description themes, the adjectival classes. The commonest of these prefixes are semantic class markers of class 6 (351):

1.  $n\iota_6-$ . (Lost in derived themes.) Defines a class referring to surface, tactile qualities. (For a full list of themes see 351.1).

$\#n\iota_6-\dots\acute{\lambda}\iota\acute{c}$  'be hard, solid'

$\#n\iota_6-\dots k^y\text{ah}$  'be big'

With  $\ddot{\iota}-$  classifier (most likely  $< \ddot{\iota}\iota_6-$ , see (3) below, shifted to classifier position) the visibility of the quality seems to be implied.

$\#n\iota_6-\dots\ddot{\iota}-d\iota_3$  'be wrinkled'

$\#n\iota_6-\dots\ddot{\iota}-x\iota d$  'be smooth, slick'

2.  $n\iota_6-$ . (Preserved in derived themes). Defines a class referring to the mind, feelings, judgment (351.2).

$\#n\iota_6-\dots s\iota n$  'think' (personal inflection only)

$\#n\iota_6-\dots \text{Won}$  'be good, beautiful; feel well'

$\#n\iota_6-\dots l-g^y\iota d$  'be afraid'

3.  $\ddot{\iota}\iota_6-$ . Defines a class referring to colors and other non-tactile, perceived, qualities (351.3).

$\#\ddot{\iota}\iota_6-\dots cuh$  'be blue, green'

$\#\ddot{\iota}\iota_6-\dots Gu\acute{c}$  'be a gap, be lacking'

4.  $d\iota_6-\dots l-$  ( $< d\iota_6-\ddot{\iota}\iota_6-$ ). Defines a class referring to non-primary colors (351.3).

#d<sub>6</sub>-..l-cuh 'be light brown, orange'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..l-ma· 'be gray'

5. d<sub>6</sub>-. Defines a class referring to physical or metaphorical protrusion (351.5).

#d<sub>6</sub>-..nan 'be sloping'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..3ɪd 'be short'

6. d<sub>6</sub>-..n- (< d<sub>6</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-). Defines a class referring to strong (distasteful) perceptions (351.7).

#d<sub>6</sub>-..n-<sup>3</sup>qu<sup>3</sup>c 'be sour, salty'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..n-<sup>3</sup>cad 'be sore, ache'

7. x<sup>w</sup>t<sub>6</sub>-. Defines a class referring to awareness, knowledge (351.8).

#x<sup>w</sup>t<sub>6</sub>-..n<sub>6</sub>W 'be awake'

#x<sup>w</sup>t<sub>6</sub>-..yan '(animal) is shy, suspicious'

8. s<sub>6</sub>-. Defines a class referring to age, cold, and smallness (351.9). (These may be stative themes. See 434.)

#s<sub>6</sub>-..d<sub>6</sub>-yan 'be old'

#s<sub>6</sub>-..q<sup>3</sup>α<sup>3</sup>c 'be cold'

#s<sub>6</sub>-..t<sup>3</sup>ik<sup>3</sup>y 'be slim'

9. Here may be listed three themes with s- (< s<sub>6</sub>-) in classifier position and either d<sub>6</sub>- or m<sub>6</sub>-:

#d<sub>6</sub>-..s-k<sup>y</sup>en 'be stiff' (cf. #k<sup>y</sup>ɪn 'tree, stick')

#d<sub>6</sub>-..s-<sup>3</sup>cen 'be stiff' (cf. #c<sup>3</sup>ɪn 'bone')

#m<sub>6</sub>-..s-G<sup>y</sup>? 'be small' (impersonal inflection)

(beside #s<sub>6</sub>-m<sub>6</sub>-..G<sup>y</sup>? 'be small', personal inflection)

One large class of description themes has thematic deictic subject  $k^y\iota_8-$  and refers to noise. The following list is complete:

10.  $k^y\iota_8-$ .
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots\dot{\iota}at'$  'a slap is heard; there is a slap'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots d\dot{\iota}t'$  'a jingling, ringing noise'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots d\dot{v}t'$  'a boom, crash'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots say'$  'a rattle'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots s\dot{v}t'$  'a hollow sounding noise'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots \dot{c}a?$  'a roar'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots \dot{c}\alpha\dot{q}'$  'a sucking noise'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots m\alpha\dot{t}'$  'a bursting noise'
- \*  $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots m\alpha\dot{q}'$  'a pop, crunch'
- \*  $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots m\dot{v}W'$  'a snore'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots w\dot{v}\dot{\lambda}'$  'a crunching noise'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots Gan'$  'a high staccato bark'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots Gon'$  'a crackling noise (as of dried hide)'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots G\dot{v}\dot{c}'$  'a crackling noise, snap (as of something brittle breaking)'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots \dot{q}\dot{\iota}\dot{c}'$  'a pop, snap (as of a whip)'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots g^y\dot{\iota}\check{z}'$  'a crackling noise (as in chewing gristle)'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots \check{z}\alpha\dot{t}'$  'a wet flopping noise'
- $\#k^y\iota_8-\dots \dot{c}on'$  'a plop (as of a rock falling into water)'

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\*Attested only in derived causatives.

## 422. Secondary themes.

## 422.1 Transitional.

The transitional theme of a description neuter has the shape of the primary theme, but in certain circumstances: (1) the thematic prefix is dropped, and (2) the stem is modified.

1. Adjectival class prefixes (1)(n<sub>6</sub>- "surface, tactile qualities"), (3)(ɬ<sub>6</sub>- "color"), (5)(d<sub>6</sub>- "protrusion"), and (8)(s<sub>6</sub>- "stiffness") are lost in transitional themes. Prefixes (6) and (9) (d<sub>6</sub>-..n- and d<sub>6</sub>/m<sub>6</sub>-..s-) lose their second elements in transitional themes. All other thematic prefixes are normally retained in derived themes.

A remark is necessary on ɬ<sub>6</sub>-. It is attested to be lost in the transitionals of #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..ɬoh, #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..cuh, and #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..Win. It is attested to be retained in the transitionals of #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..Guč<sup>3</sup> and #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..xɔn, but variant forms without the prefix occur. The transitional of #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..qah is aberrant: #..l-qah.

2. If the neuter theme has a stem of shape CVN or CVN, the transitional will have a stem of shape CVN?.\*

#n<sub>6</sub>-..Won 'be good' → #n<sub>6</sub>-..Won? (transitional)

#ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..xɔn 'be sweet' → #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..xan? (transitional)

The transitional theme has a theme-base inflected for perfective mode with the perfective marker wɩn<sub>3</sub>-.

#n<sub>6</sub>-..Won 'be good' → #n<sub>6</sub>-..Won? (w-pf) 'get to be good'

#0-o<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..tan? 'be holding on to O' → #0-o<sub>11</sub>-  
..tan? (w-pf) 'catch hold of O'

The two adverbial prefixed used with description  
neuters (?a<sub>11</sub>- and O-e<sub>11</sub>-) are also used to form transi-  
tional bases. Again, w-pf is required:

#0-e<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..Won? (w-pf) 'get to be good enough  
for O; come to suit O'

No further adverbial derivation of transitional  
description themes is found, with the possible exception  
of an "inceptive" base formed with t<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) attested  
in a few forms:

/te·seh<sup>3</sup>qah-te/ 'I'll (start to) get fat', from  
the base #t<sub>5</sub>-..t<sup>3</sup>-qah (s-pf). The transitional theme is  
#..l<sup>3</sup>-qah.

#### 422.2 Causative.

The causative theme of the description system has  
the shape of the transitional, with the classifier changed  
to t<sub>1</sub>- (zero, l- > t<sub>1</sub>-; t<sub>1</sub>- remains; d<sub>1</sub>- does not occur in  
attested forms). The theme is transitive.

#n<sub>6</sub>-..Won? (transitional) → #O<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-Won?  
(w-pf) 'cause O to be good, beautiful; suit O'

The causative theme-base is inflected for perfective  
mode with either the w<sub>3</sub>- or the s<sub>3</sub>- marker, apparently  
according to the semantics of the theme.

##(t<sub>6</sub>-)..Guč<sup>3</sup> (transitional) → #O<sub>7</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>-Guč<sup>3</sup> 'cause  
O to disappear, be lacking' (s-pf)

For further adverbial and thematic derivation the causative is treated as a primary transitive action theme (450).

#..ɪ-cay? 'get dry' (transitional ← #n<sub>6</sub>-..ɪ-cay 'be dry') → #O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-cay? (causative), forming such action bases as #no<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-cay? (n-pf) 'dry O to a certain point'; → #O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..l-cay? (passive neuter) 'O has been dried'; → #O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-d<sub>1</sub>-cay? (possessive-passive neuter) 'have O dried'; etc.

## 430. Motion theme systems.

There are four semantically related theme systems involving verbs of motion: (1) the directional system, (2) the non-directional system, (3) the progressive system, and (4) the stative system. Quite often there are semi-derivational relationships among themes belonging to two or more of these systems. An important group of this type is <sup>formed in the</sup> made up of "classificatory" themes (435). The typical <sup>transitive</sup> classificatory theme set shows formal and semantic similarities among themes of all four motion systems:

#A-0<sub>7</sub>-..xaW/xan 'move (a filled receptacle) somewhere' (primary theme of the directional system)

#na<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..xa/xa? 'move (a filled receptacle) about, here and there' (primary theme of the non-directional system)

#0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..xaʔ 'move (a filled receptacle) along' (primary theme of the progressive system)

#s<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..xan '(a filled receptacle) lies<sub>^</sub>' <sup>with on los</sup> (primary theme of the stative system)

Even among classificatory themes, however, the formal similarities cannot be regularized, and sets of themes lack one or more members. For motion themes as a whole only the following generalization can be made: Every primary directional theme has associated with it a primary non-directional theme, <sup>and</sup> progressive theme, and (if transitive) a stative theme, <sup>all</sup> similar in meaning if not in form. But a number of primary nondirectional, progressive, and

stative themes exist unassociated with a directional theme in either form or meaning.

In sections 431-434 each of the four motion theme systems will be described in detail, with only passing reference to associations with the other systems. In section 435 the most important of the association sets, the classificatory themes, will be described.



## 431. Directional theme system.

## 431.1 Primary theme.

The primary theme of the directional system is active, and either transitive or intransitive.

A large number of directional themes consist of a stem, without classifier or other thematic prefix:

#A-\*..?t± '(several) swim, bathe somewhere'

#A-..lad 'float, drift somewhere'

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..tW/tan 'move (a stick) somewhere'

All three basic overt classifiers occur:

#A-..t-?αW/?ač<sup>3</sup> '(animals) move somewhere'

#A-..l-Gv± 'crawl (somewhere)'

#A-..d<sub>l</sub>-g<sup>y</sup>ld '(several) run somewhere in a herd'

Only a few themes occur with thematic prefixes of positions 6 and 11:

#A-xo<sub>6</sub>-..?αW/?an '(several) run, jump somewhere'

The basic meaning of the primary directional theme is "move somewhere". There is no theme-base, and the large number of possible adverbial bases specify the direction of movement. The adverbial bases formable on directional themes are listed in 341.

## 431.2 Derivatives from primary intransitives.

Primary intransitive directional themes have only one derivative theme, the gerund. Gerunds are verbal forms used as nominal bases (500), and have the general

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\* A- refers to an adverbial prefix. No directional base occurs without at least one such modifier.

meaning "motion somewhere". Formally, gerunds are parallel to the passive neuter themes formed from transitives, except that they are intransitive. They are neuter, impersonal, and have thematic  $w_3-$ . The classifier is  $d_1-$  (from primary zero or  $d_1-$ ) or  $l-$  (from primary  $\ddot{z}-$  or  $l-$ ). If the primary stem has variants, the gerund has the perfective stem. As the primary theme, gerunds do not occur without adverbial bases.

#A-..1-ton? 'jump somewhere' --> #A- $w_3-$ ..1-ton?  
 'jumping somewhere': / $w_1-\overset{3}{\dot{c}e} \cdot lto?n-e?$ / 'my jumping out'  
 <  $\overset{3}{\dot{c}e}_{11}-w_3-l_1-ton?$ , with nominal possessor  $w_1-$  'my' and the possessed nominal enclitic  $-t?$ .

#### 431.3 Derivatives from primary transitives.

Primary transitive directional themes have two major secondary themes, the passive (neuter) and the reflexive (active).

##### 431.31 Passive.

Passive themes have the general meaning "O has been moved somewhere". They are neuter, impersonal, transitive, and have thematic  $w_3-$ . The classifier is  $d_1-$  (from primary zero or  $d_1-$ ) or  $l-$  (from primary  $\ddot{z}-$  or  $l-$ ). The stem is the perfective variant of the primary stem. Passive themes do not occur without adverbial bases.

#A- $O_7$ -.. $\ddot{z}-t_1W$ /ten 'move (one person) somewhere'  
 --> #A- $O_7-w_3$ ..1-ten '(one person) has been moved

somewhere': /nontwɪlte·n/ 'you have been put down'  
 < no<sub>11</sub>-nɪ<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-ten-ɪ.

For further derivation, a passive neuter base is treated as a primary stative theme (434.2):

1. A transitional (active, impersonal, transitive), meaning "come to have been moved somewhere", is derived. Thematic wɪ<sub>3</sub>- is dropped, and the theme-base has wes-pf.

#no<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..l-ten '(one person) has been put down' --> #no<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..l-ten (wes-pf) '(one person) gets put down': /nontwehste·n/ 'you came to be put down'.

2. A possessive (neuter, personal, transitive) is derived, with change of classifier to ɪ-dɪ-. The meaning is "have O moved somewhere" and refers either to the causation (by the subject) of the passive state, or the ownership (by the subject) of the object in this state.

#no<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..l-ten --> #no<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-dɪ-ten  
 'have O put down': /noʔwɪwɪɪdɪte·n/ 'he has me put down'.

#### 431.32 Reflexive.

Reflexive themes have the general meaning "move oneself", and are active, personal, and intransitive. The classifier is dɪ- (from primary zero, dɪ-, or ɪ-) or l- (from primary l- and a minority of the occurrences of ɪ-). Primary ɪ- themes with l- reflexives (317.31) perhaps represent causatives derived from some no longer existing description theme. The l- would then represent a causative-reflexive: "cause oneself to be (moving)".

Reflexives do not occur without adverbial bases.

The stem is the imperfective variant of the primary stem.

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..mɪɪ/meɪ 'throw (several things) somewhere'  
 --> #A-..dɪ-mɪɪ '(several things) throw themselves (i.e., fall) somewhere'.

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-Wuɪ 'slide O somewhere' --> #A-..l-Wuɪ  
 'slide oneself somewhere, skid'

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-Ged 'shove (a stick) somewhere' -->  
 #A-..dɪ-Ged '(a stick) shoves itself somewhere; a canoe moves' somewhere'

#### 431.4 General motion themes.

The primary themes of general directional motion, #A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere' and #A-..dɪɪ/deɪ '(several) move somewhere', exhibit some peculiarities in base formation and inflection.

1. Bases formed with adverbial prefixes requiring the n-pf (e.g., no<sub>11</sub>-, ɕe<sub>11</sub>-) have the prefix nɪ<sub>5</sub>- in imperfective forms.

#ɕe<sub>11</sub>-(nɪ<sub>5</sub>-)..yaW/ya (n-pf) '(one) moves out'  
 (beside: #ɕe<sub>11</sub>-..l-ɪad (n-pf) '(one) runs out', etc.):  
 /ɕe·nɪnyahW/ '(you) go out!' (impf.), /ɕe·nɪnyay/ 'you went out' (n-pf), /ɕe·ʔnyahW/ 'you go out' (cust.)

2. The imperfective stem (and its derivatives) of impersonal forms has an n- element prefixed.

#A-..naW/ya '(one) moves somewhere' (impersonal forms); #A-..n-dɪɪ/deɪ '(several) move somewhere' (impersonal forms). Thus: /yehʔnyahW/ 'you go in' (impf.),

but /yehč<sup>3</sup>ʔnahW/ 'he goes in' (impf.), /yehč<sup>3</sup>eʔnahW/ 'he goes in' (cust.), /yehč<sup>3</sup>ʔwina·Wɪɪ/ 'he goes in repeatedly' (prog.). The optative stem for #A-..yaW/ya is specially formed and has no n- element: /yehč<sup>3</sup>o·yaʔ/ 'let him go in!'

3. The imperfective stem (and its derivatives) of 1 sg subject forms of #A-..yaW/ya is -aW: /yehʔʔWahW/ 'I go in' (impf.), /yehwɪWa·Wɪɪ/ 'I go in repeatedly' (prog.).

## 432. Non-directional theme system.

## 432.1 Primary theme.

The primary theme of the non-directional theme system is active, either transitive or intransitive, and has thematic  $na_{11}$ - (s-pf) 'here and there, about'. This is the "continuative" theme of other Athabaskan descriptions. The basic meaning is "be moving about, in no particular direction". (Note the frequent translation of  $\#na_{11}$ -..ya/ya? (s-pf) '(one) is moving about' as '(one) is alive').

Non-directional themes occur with only two overt classifiers,  $d_1$ - and  $\ddot{t}$ -. Non-directional themes associated in form and meaning with other motion themes with  $l$ - classifier have  $\ddot{t}$ -:

$\#A$ -.. $l$ - $Gv\ddot{t}$  'crawl somewhere' (directional), but  $\#na_{11}$ -.. $\ddot{t}$ - $Gv\ddot{t}$  (s-pf) 'crawl here and there' (non-directional).

$\#A$ -.. $l$ -ton? 'jump somewhere' (directional), but  $\#na_{11}$ -.. $\ddot{t}$ -ton? 'jump here and there' (non-directional)

No adverbial base derivation occurs with non-directional themes. Only the theme-base occurs.

## 432.2 Derivative themes.

A transitional (active) theme is formed from the primary active, with no thematic change except in the specification of the perfective marker, which in the transitional theme is w-pf. The meaning of the transitional is basically "get to be moving here and there".

A frequent translation of transitives is "buy O", i.e., "get to have O moving about".\*

The transitional theme, like the primary, has no adverbial derivation. Only the theme-base occurs.

Further theme derivation follows from the identification of the transitional with a primary theme of the action system (450). Gerunds are formed from intransitives, while reflexives and other derivatives are formed from transitives.

432.3 The theme #na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya?

#na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya? '(one) moves here and there' has aberrant forms. With 1 sg subject the imperfective stem (and its derivatives) is -a: /nanya/ 'you go here and there' (impf.), but /na·wa/ 'I go here and there' (impf.), /na·?aWa?/ 'I go here and there' (cust.). The stem in imperfective impersonal forms is -wa: /na·wa/ 'it goes here and there', /na?wa/ 'he goes here and there'.

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\* Since all modal forms of the transitional except the perfective are identical with the corresponding forms of the primary theme, this analysis is dubious. One could possibly describe the w-pf forms as perfective neuters, but the semantics argue against this.

## 433. Progressive theme system.

## 433.1 Primary theme.

The primary theme of the progressive theme system is a progressive neuter, either transitive or intransitive. The basic meaning of the theme is "move along continuously".

Progressive neuter themes occur normally as theme-bases:

/č<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>ldah<sub>1</sub>/ 'he runs along', from the theme-base #w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..l-da<sub>1</sub> '(one) runs along'

/č<sub>1</sub>w<sub>1</sub>łmoW<sub>1</sub>l/ 'he is carrying (a bucket) along swinging', from the theme-base #O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..ł-muW<sub>1</sub>ł 'move O along swinging'

Two adverbial bases occur, one formed with dah<sub>11</sub>- and the other with O-na<sub>11</sub>-. Bases with dah<sub>11</sub>- translate "have a suspension of motion" or "suspend the motion of O". Bases with O-na<sub>11</sub>- translate "move in a circle around O". (See 344 for details).

## 433.2 Derivative themes.

Transitional (active) themes are formed from primary progressive neuters only when they occur in the adverbial base with dah<sub>11</sub>-. The transitional has the form of the primary base, but without thematic w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-. The perfective is wes-pf.

#dah<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>1</sub><sub>3</sub>-..le<sub>1</sub> '(one) floats about without moving' -> #dah<sub>11</sub>-..le<sub>1</sub> (wes-pf) '(one) comes to float about without moving': /dahwehsle·l/ 'it lodged somewhere



while floating'.

The theme-base and the base formed with O-na<sub>11</sub>- have no transitional derivatives. In themes which have etymologically related directional counterparts (most progressive neuters do), the functional equivalent of a transitional of the theme-base is the base formed with t<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) on the related directional theme:

#w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>± '(several) move along', #t<sub>5</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>±/de<sub>1</sub>'  
(s-pf) '(several) move off, along'

#O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..xa± 'move (a filled receptacle) along',  
#O<sub>7</sub>-t<sub>5</sub>-..xaW/xan 'move (a filled receptacle) off, along'

Similarly, the functional transitionals of progressive neuter bases in O-na<sub>11</sub>- are directional bases in O-na<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf):

#O-na<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>± '(several) move in a circle  
around O', #O-na<sub>11</sub>-..d<sub>1</sub>±/de<sub>1</sub>' '(several) move around O'

433.3 The theme #w<sub>3</sub>-..ya±.

#w<sub>3</sub>-..ya± '(one) moves along' has aberrant forms. With 1 sg subject the stem is -a±: /w<sub>1</sub>nyah±/ 'you move along', but /w<sub>1</sub>Wah±/ 'I move along'. With impersonal subjects the theme is #..Ga±: /Gah±/ 'it moves along' (not \*/y<sub>1</sub>Gah±/, \*/ʔ<sub>1</sub>Gah±/, or \*/w<sub>1</sub>Gah±/), /č<sub>1</sub>Gah±/ 'he moves along'.

## 434. Stative theme system.

## 434.1 Primary theme.

The primary theme of the stative theme system is *st-* perfective neuter intransitive. The general meaning is "(something normally in motion) lies motionless".

The attested primary stative neuters fall into two formal classes:

1. Themes with zero or *ɬ-* classifier, or thematic *dl<sub>6</sub>-..l-* with plural subject.

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..yen* '(one) stands'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..?an* '(one) lies motionless'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..la* '(several) lie motionless'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..da* '(one) sits, dwells'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..ten* '(one person) is lying down'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..teč* '(several people) are lying down'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..ɬ-ten* '(one) lies dead'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..tan* '(a stick) lies motionless'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..wen* '(a load, pack) lies motionless'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..xan* '(a filled receptacle) lies motionless'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..žlž* '(a granular mass) lies piled'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..ɬ-k<sup>y</sup>os* '(a fabric) lies motionless'

#*k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>8</sub>-st<sub>3</sub>-..č<sup>w</sup>an?* '(a clump) lies motionless'

(found only referring to clumps of brush, trees)

#*de<sub>6</sub>-st<sub>3</sub>-..l-ya* '(several) stand'

#*de<sub>6</sub>-st<sub>3</sub>-..l-če* '(several) sit, dwell'

2. Themes with *dl-* or *l-* classifier.

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..l-?eλ* '(several) lie extended'

#*st<sub>3</sub>-..dl-?ad* '(a fabric) lies flapped'

- #s<sub>3</sub>-..1-ci<sup>3</sup>t '(rope) lies knotted'  
 #s<sub>3</sub>-..1-wa<sup>3</sup>λ 'lie thrown, flung'  
 #s<sub>3</sub>-..1-Ged '(a stick) lies shoved'  
 #s<sub>3</sub>-..1-xa<sup>3</sup>t 'lie tumbled flat'  
 #s<sub>3</sub>-..1-<sup>3</sup>qas '(stone) lies dropped, thrown'  
 #s<sub>3</sub>-..1-k<sup>y</sup>id '(smoke, cloud) hangs'

The themes of class (1) are: (1) unassociated with other themes (#s<sub>3</sub>-..yen, #s<sub>3</sub>-..da, #de<sub>6</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..1-ya, and #de<sub>6</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..1-<sup>3</sup>ce); (2) associated with completion themes (#s<sub>3</sub>-..ten, #s<sub>3</sub>-..te<sup>3</sup>č), see 460; or (3) associated with transitive directional themes with which they agree in classifier (the bulk of the themes listed).

All of the themes of class (2) are associated with transitive directional themes from which they differ in classifier (having d<sub>1</sub>- for zero, l- for ±-). The latter class apparently represents a fossilized type of passive formation. When passive neuters (derived from directional or action themes) are further derived through being identified with primary statives, they are treated as if they were themes of class (2).

#### 434.2 Derivative themes.

The major derivatives from primary stative neuters are the transitional (active intransitive) and the possessive (neuter transitive).

##### 434.21 Transitional.

The transitional theme, with general meaning "(something normally in motion) gets to be lying", has the

form of the primary theme, but with loss of  $s\iota_3-$  and change in stem form in some cases. Primary CV and CVN stems are transitional CV? stems, with two exceptions:  $\#s\iota_3-..yen \rightarrow \#..yen?$  '(one) comes to stand', and  $\#s\iota_3-..tan \rightarrow \#..tan?$  '(a stick) comes to lie motionless'.

A transitional base-theme derived from a primary theme of formal class (1) (e.g.,  $\#s\iota_3-..tan \rightarrow \#..tan?$ ) is inflected with w-pf. A transitional derived from a primary of formal class (2) (e.g.,  $\#s\iota_3-..l-wa\lambda' \rightarrow \#..l-wa\lambda'$ ) is inflected with wes-pf.

#### 434.22 Possessive.

The possessive (neuter transitive) theme has the form of the primary theme, but with  $\ddot{t}$ - classifier (if it is of formal class (1)) or  $\ddot{t}-d\iota-$  classifier (if it is of formal class (2)). The general meaning is "have (an object normally in motion) lying motionless". The possessive often translates "keep (a possession, a pet)".

$\#O_7-s\iota_3-..\ddot{t}-la$  'have (several things or a rope) lying motionless'  $\leftarrow \#s\iota_3-..la$  '(several things or a rope) lie motionless'

$\#O_7-s\iota_3-..\ddot{t}-d\iota-qas$  'have (a stone) lying dropped or thrown'  $\leftarrow \#s\iota_3-..l-qas$  '(a stone) lies dropped or thrown'.

A transitional of the possessive neuter is formable, and has w-pf with  $\ddot{t}$ - themes, wes-pf with  $\ddot{t}-d\iota-$  themes.

$\#O_7-..\ddot{t}-la?$  (w-pf) 'come to have (several things or a rope) lying motionless': /weh $\ddot{t}$ la?-te/ 'I'll have (a

rope) there' (-te is the future tense enclitic)

#0<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-dɪ-qas (wes-pf) 'come to have (a stone) lying thrown or dropped': /wehɪdɪqahs/ 'I had a stone lying there thrown'

A reflexive of the possessive neuter is also formed: #sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..dɪ-ʔan 'have oneself all tied up like a ball' (i.e., 'have oneself as a single object lying motionless'. From this theme too, presumably, a transitional is formable.

All possessive neuters with ɪ- classifier (derived from formal class (1) of the primary theme) apparently have alternate forms with ɪ-dɪ- classifier:

#0<sub>7</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-da 'have (one) sitting' (often 'own a pet'), #0<sub>7</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-dɪ-da (same meaning?)

#0<sub>7</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-tan 'have (a stick) lying motionless', #0<sub>7</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-dɪ-tan (same meaning?)

Since no forms like \*/sɪlda/ or \*/sɪlta·n/ exist, it seems likely that the ɪ-dɪ- themes, rather than being authentic derivatives, are formed on false analogy to such themes as #0<sub>7</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-dɪ-qas ← #0<sub>7</sub>-sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..l-qas.

## 435. Classificatory themes.

A significant group of motion themes specify the motions of (sometimes closely defined) classes of objects, without in any way specifying the type of motion beyond the general theme meaning. Thus, directional themes of this group translate "(a class) moves somewhere", non-directional themes "(a class) moves here and there", progressive themes "(a class) moves along", and stative themes "(a class) lies motionless". These themes, which are clearly nominal in basic lexical specification, are referred to in comparative Athabaskan grammar as "classificatory verbs".

Hupa classificatory themes specifying the motion of a given object class normally occur in sets of three or four (primary themes). A set has three members if the motion is basically intransitive: a directional theme, a non-directional theme, and a progressive theme. A set has four members if the motion is basically transitive: the three above and a stative theme.

The attested classificatory theme sets of Hupa are listed below. Certain regularities of stem formation in the associated themes of a set may be noted:

(1) the non-directional imperfective stem always represents the simplest stem form (CV or CVN).

(2) the directional imperfective appears to be the imperfective stem of the non-directional + -W, with reduction of -e- to -ɪ- and -VN- to -Ṽ-.

(3) the progressive stem appears to be the imperfective

tive stem of the non-directional + -ɪ, with reduction of -VN- to -V̄-.

(4) the perfective stem of the directional and the stative stem are identical.

1. one object, person (intransitive)

directional: #A-..yaW/ya (optative ya?)

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya?

progressive: #wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..yaɪ

2. one object (transitive)

directional: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..?αW/?an

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..?a/?a?

progressive: #O<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..?αɪ

stative: #sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..?an

3. one person (transitive)

directional: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-tɪW/ten

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-te/te?

progressive: #O<sub>7</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-teɪ

stative: (#sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-ten 'lie dead')\*

4. several objects, people (intransitive)

directional: #A-..dɪɪ/deɪ

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-..dɪɪ/deɪ

progressive: #wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..dɪɪ

5. several animals (intransitive)

directional: #A-..?αW/?ač

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-..?αW/?ač

progressive: #wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..?αWɪɪ

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\*Beside #sɪ<sub>3</sub>-..ten '(one person) is lying down'.

6. several objects, a rope; (with k<sup>y</sup>l<sub>7</sub>-) one's hand (transitive)

directional: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..l<sub>7</sub>W/la

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..le/le?

progressive: #O<sub>7</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-..le±

stative: #sl<sub>3</sub>-..la

7. a load, pack (transitive)

directional: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..wl<sub>7</sub>W/wen

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..we/we?

progressive: #O<sub>7</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-..we±

stative: #sl<sub>3</sub>-..wen

8. a floating mass (intransitive)

directional: #A-..xl<sub>7</sub>W/xen

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-..xe/xe?

progressive: #wl<sub>3</sub>-..xl±

This theme set has a secondary transitive (without a stative member) that translates "convey O by floating; transport (a load) by conveyance":

directional: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..±-xl<sub>7</sub>W/xen

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..±-xe/xe?

progressive: #O<sub>7</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-..±-xl±

9. a filled receptacle (e.g., a basket with mush) (transitive)

directional: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..xaW/xan

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..xa/xa?

progressive: #O<sub>7</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-..xa±

stative: #sl<sub>3</sub>-..xan



10. a stick; a canoe (transitive)

directional: #A-0<sub>7</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>W/tan

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>n/t<sub>1</sub>n?

progressive: #0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..t<sub>1</sub>±

stative: #s<sub>3</sub>-..tan

11. a fabric (transitive)

directional: #A-0<sub>7</sub>-..±-k<sup>y</sup>os

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..±-k<sup>y</sup>os

progressive: #0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..±-k<sup>y</sup>os±

stative: #s<sub>3</sub>-..±-k<sup>y</sup>os

12. a granular mass, usually in a pile (transitive)

directional: #A-0<sub>7</sub>-..ž<sub>3</sub>ž

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..ž<sub>3</sub>ž

progressive: #0<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-..ž<sub>3</sub>ž±

stative: #s<sub>3</sub>-..ž<sub>3</sub>ž

13. There are remnants of a classificatory theme set specifying the motion of a group:

#k<sup>y</sup><sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-..č<sup>w</sup>an? '(bushes, trees) are in a clump'

#na<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>6</sub>-..l-č<sup>w</sup>an? '(several) congregate for a feast'

#0<sub>7</sub>-..±-č<sup>w</sup>an? 'squeeze, bunch up (flesh)'

At least three sets of non-classificatory motion themes parallel classificatory themes in stem formation:

1. 'move camp, residence'

directional: #A-..y<sub>1</sub>W/yen

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-..yen/yen?

progressive: #w<sub>3</sub>-..y<sub>1</sub>±

This may have been originally a transitive classificatory theme set. Note the primary stative #sɿ<sub>3</sub>-..yen '(one person) stands'.

2. '(several) run, jump'

directional: #A-xo<sub>6</sub>-..?αW/?an

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-xo<sub>6</sub>-..?an/?an?

progressive: #xo<sub>6</sub>-wɿ<sub>3</sub>-..?αɿ

3. 'swim, bathe'

directional: #A-..mɿW/men

non-directional: #na<sub>11</sub>-..me/me?

progressive: #wɿ<sub>3</sub>-..meɿ

440. Extension theme system.

441. Primary themes.

The extension system has a primary  $w\dot{n}$ - perfective neuter theme with two co-themes, a  $s\dot{l}$ - perfective neuter and an  $n\dot{n}$ - perfective neuter. An imperfective neuter theme with thematic  $d\dot{l}_6$ - is also found in association with at least two extension themes.

Only four full sets of themes occur, and two fragmentary sets. Cited in their  $n\dot{n}$ - perfective forms, the full sets are:

$\#n\dot{n}_3-\dots^?a$  '(one) extends'

$\#n\dot{n}_3-\dots^?e\lambda$  '(several) extend'

$\#n\dot{n}_3-\dots l\dot{n}$  '(a stream) extends, flows'

$\#n\dot{n}_3-\dots t\dot{u}k^y$  '(a string, line) extends, stretches'

The fragmentary sets are:

\* $\#n\dot{n}_3-\dots\overset{3}{c}e$  '(wind) extends, blows'. Attested only as  $\#A-w\dot{n}_3-\dots\overset{3}{c}e$  and  $\#A-s\dot{l}_3-\dots\overset{3}{c}e$  '(wind) blows somewhere', in such forms as  $/xoda\cdot n\overset{3}{c}e/$  'wind blows down off the mountain' <  $x^w\dot{l}-da_{11}-w\dot{n}_3-\overset{3}{c}e$ ,  $/tehs\overset{3}{c}e/$  'wind blows along; there is a wind' <  $te_5-s_3-\overset{3}{c}e$ .

$\#n\dot{n}_3-\dots\overset{7}{t}e$  'exist, persist'. Attested only as an enclitic verb,  $\dots\#w\dot{n}_3-\dots\overset{7}{t}e$  '(do so) always', and with adverbial  $?a_{11}$ - in  $\#?a_{11}-n\dot{n}_3-\dots\overset{7}{t}e$  'be so'.

444.1 Primary  $w\dot{n}$ - perfective.

This theme is found with the directional adverbial bases that require w-pf or n-pf in active themes (e.g.,  $yeh-$  (w-pf),  $no_{11}-$  (n-pf)). The general meaning is

"extend somewhere", the direction being specified by the base. Except for the enclitic verb  $..#w\dot{u}n_3-..t\acute{e}$  '(do so) always',  $w\dot{u}n-$  perfective extension themes never occur without directional adverbial prefixes.

$\#yeh_{11}-w\dot{u}n_3-..?a$  '(one) extends inside (the house)'

$\#no_{11}-w\dot{u}n_3-..?a$  '(one) extends to a certain point':  $/no\cdot\eta?a\cdot-d\dot{u}\eta/$  'point of land' < 'it extends to a certain point' +  $-d\dot{u}\eta$  locative enclitic.

(verb)  $\#w\dot{u}n_3-..t\acute{e}$  'do (verb) always':  $/na\cdot Wa\cdot-w\dot{u}nt\acute{e}/$  'I always go here and there',  $/k^y\dot{u}n\dot{u}w\dot{u}w-w\dot{u}nt\acute{e}/$  'he always packs (deer) home'.

#### 441.2 $s\dot{u}-$ perfective.

This theme is found with the directional adverbial bases that require s-pf in active themes (e.g.,  $t\dot{u}_5-$  (s-pf)). The general meaning, as with  $w\dot{u}n-$  perfective themes, is "extend somewhere", the direction being specified by the adverbial prefix of the base. This theme too is never found without adverbial prefixes.

$\#te_5-s\dot{u}_3-..?a$  '(one) extends off, along'

$\#te_5-s\dot{u}_3-..c\acute{e}$  '(wind) blows along; there is a wind'

#### 441.3 $n\dot{u}n-$ perfective.

This theme is found only in the theme-base or with (non-directional) adverbial  $?a_{11}-$ . The general meaning is simply "extend", with no directional implications. (The meaning would not appear to be "extend completely", as n-pf might lead one to expect.)

$\#n\dot{u}n_3-..t\dot{u}k^y$  '(a string, line) extends, stretches'

#?a<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>3</sub>-..te 'be so'

441.4 Associated d<sub>6</sub>- imperfective.

Two imperfective neuter themes with thematic d<sub>6</sub>- are associated with extension themes:

#d<sub>6</sub>-..?a '(one) extends out from a fixed point, protrudes'

#d<sub>6</sub>-..?eλ '(several) extend out from a fixed point, protrude'

In inflection and derivation these are formally description neuter themes (420), but because of their meaning and stem form they may be considered functionally extension neuter themes.

## 442. Derivatives.

Transitional (active intransitive) themes are derived from primary extension neuters. Causative (active transitive) themes are derived from transitionals.

## 442.1 Transitional.

The transitional theme has the general meaning "come to extend". Themes with primary  $w\iota n_3-$  or  $s\iota_3-$  lose their thematic modal prefix in transitional forms. Themes with primary  $n\iota n_3-$  have transitionals with thematic  $n\iota_5-$ . Stem changes occur: CV, CVN  $\rightarrow$  CV?, CVN?. The inflection of all transitional bases is with wes-pf.

#na<sub>11</sub>-w $\iota$ n<sub>3</sub>-..?a '(one) extends down, hangs'  $\rightarrow$   
 #na<sub>11</sub>-..?a? (wes-pf) '(one) comes to extend down, hang'  
 #te<sub>5</sub>-s $\iota$ \_3-.. $\acute{c}e$  'wind blows'  $\rightarrow$  #t $\iota$ \_5-.. $\acute{c}e$ ? (wes-pf)  
 'wind starts to blow'  
 #n $\iota$ n<sub>3</sub>-..?e $\lambda$ ' '(several) extend'  $\rightarrow$  #n $\iota$ \_5-..?e $\lambda$   
 '(several) come to extend'.

## 442.2 Causative.

The causative theme has the general meaning "cause O to extend". It is formed from the transitional theme with the addition of  $\ddot{t}$ - classifier. For inflection and further derivation, causatives are treated as primary transitive action themes (450).

#na<sub>11</sub>-..?a? (wes-pf) '(one) comes to extend down, hang'  $\rightarrow$  #na<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-.. $\ddot{t}$ -?a? (w-pf) 'cause O to hang, hang O up'

#t $\iota$ \_5-.. $\acute{c}e$ ? (wes-pf) 'wind starts to blow'  $\rightarrow$

#0<sub>7</sub>-t<sub>5</sub>-...i-č'e? (s-pf) 'cause (wind) to blow; cause 0 to  
blow like the wind'

#n<sub>5</sub>-...?eλ (wes-pf) '(several) come to extend' -->

#0<sub>7</sub>-n<sub>5</sub>-...i-?eλ (n-pf) 'cause (several) to extend'.

450. Action theme system.

451. Primary theme.

Primary action themes are active, either transitive or intransitive, and occur as theme-bases, in directional bases (341), and in a number of other adverbially derived bases (342). Active causatives derived from description neuters (422.2) and from extension neuters (442.2) are treated as primary transitive action themes. A number of directional motion themes with thematic adverbial derivations are also interpreted as action themes (e.g., #nɩ-na<sub>11</sub>-..dɩ-Ge? 'get up', with fossilized nɩ-na<sub>11</sub>- 'up from lying down'). In sum, the action system includes a large proportion of the themes of Hupa.

The general meaning of a primary action theme is "do something (if intransitive) or "do something to O" (if transitive). There are far fewer primary intransitives than there are transitives.

Intransitive themes typically specify bodily or natural activities that do not imply directional motion ("breathe", "swallow", "disappear", "rot"). Some have dɩ- or l- classifier and may be fossil reflexives (#.. l-dɩ<sup>ʔ</sup> '(earth) shakes, quakes').

Transitive themes typically specify actions having to do with the preparation of things ("make O", "work flint") and with physical interference ("kill O", "hit O", "drink (water)").



## 452. Derivatives from intransitives.

Primary intransitive action themes form active transitive causative themes. These are treated, for further derivation, as primary transitive themes.

A gerund is also formed.

## 452.1 Causative.

The causative of a primary intransitive action theme has the general meaning "cause O to do something". It is formed by adding ɬ- classifier. Where the primary theme has basic l- or dɫ- classifier, the causative has ɬ-dɫ-.

#..yad 'get hurt, wounded' --> #0<sub>7</sub>-..ɬ-yad 'cause O to get hurt, wounded'

#tɫ<sub>5</sub>-..čɫd 'grow weak, tired' --> #0<sub>7</sub>-tɫ<sub>5</sub>-..ɬ-čɫd 'tire O out'

#..dɫ-Gvɬ 'tumble, squirm' --> #0<sub>7</sub>-..ɬ-dɫ-Gvɬ 'make O squirm'

#nɫ-na<sub>11</sub>-..dɫ-Ge? 'get up' --> #nɫ-na<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-..ɬ-dɫ-Ge? 'get O up'.

## 452.2 Gerund.

The gerund is a neuter, impersonal verbal form used as a nominal base, with the general meaning "the doing of something". It is formed as in the directional motion system (431.2), with thematic wɫ<sub>3</sub>- and classifier dɫ- or l-. If the primary stem has variants the gerund has the perfective stem form.

#k<sup>y</sup>a-da<sub>11</sub>-..ne/ne? 'pick acorns' --> #k<sup>y</sup>a-da<sub>11</sub>-

wl<sub>3</sub>-..dl-ne? 'the picking of acorns': /nl-k<sup>y</sup>a·da·dne?-e?/  
'your acorn picking', nl- 2 sg nominal possessor, -l?  
possessed nominal enclitic.

## 453. Derivatives from transitives.

Primary transitive action themes form:

(1) passives (neuter impersonal transitives) and further derivatives; and (2) reflexives (active transitives).

## 453.1 Passive.

The passive theme is neuter, impersonal, and transitive. It has the general meaning "something has been done to O". Like the gerund formed from intransitive themes, the passive is sometimes used as a nominal base, in which case its meaning is "the doing of something to O". The passive of action themes is formed in the same manner as the passive of directional motion themes (431.31), and the gerund: there is a thematic  $w\iota_3$ - and the classifier is  $d\iota$ - or  $l$ -. The stem is the perfective stem of the primary theme.

$\#0-o_{11}-..x\acute{e}d$  'buy O'  $\rightarrow$   $\#0-o_{11}-w\iota_3-..d\iota-x\acute{e}d$  'O has been bought'

$\#0_7-..t-t\acute{a}\check{c}$  'tattoo O'  $\rightarrow$   $\#0_7-w\iota_3-..l-t\acute{a}\check{c}$  'O has been tattooed'

Further derivatives from the passive theme parallel those described for the passive themes of directional transitive motion themes (431.31). Derivations from the passive of  $\#0_7-..t-\check{c}^w\acute{e}/\check{c}^w\acute{e}n?$  'make O' (special passive stem form  $-\check{c}^w\acute{e}n$ ) will illustrate:

$\#0_7-w\iota_3-..l-\check{c}^w\acute{e}n$  (impersonal) 'O has been made'  
(passive neuter)

$\#0_7-..l-\check{c}^w\acute{e}n/\check{c}^w\acute{e}n?$  (personal, w-pf) 'O comes to be made' (transitional of passive neuter)

#O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>z<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-d<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>en (personal) 'have O made'  
(possessive neuter)

#O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>z<sub>3</sub>-..ɪ-d<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>en (personal, w-pf) 'come to have  
O made; cause O to be made' (transitional of possessive  
neuter)

This last, with its object thematic, is apparently  
identified as a causative, and thence as a primary action  
theme, initiating another cycle of derivation. A re-  
flexive is attested:

#O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>1</sub>z<sub>3</sub>-..l-d<sub>1</sub>-t<sup>á</sup>č (personal, w-pf) 'O gets tat-  
tooned' (i.e., 'O causes himself to be tattooed').

#### 453.2 Reflexive.

The reflexive theme is active, personal, and  
intransitive, and has the general meaning "do something  
to oneself". The theme is marked by a change in classi-  
fier: d<sub>1</sub>- (from primary zero, ɪ-, d<sub>1</sub>-), ɪ- (from primary  
ɪ-, l-). As discussed elsewhere (431.32), ɪ- causatives  
appear to form reflexives with l-; other ɪ- transitives  
have ɪ- replaced with d<sub>1</sub>- in reflexives. The reflexive  
stem is the imperfective variant of the primary stem.

#O-..wan 'kill (several); break (a complex thing)  
to pieces' → #..d<sub>1</sub>-wan '(a complex thing) breaks apart'  
(e.g., 'an automobile breaks down')

#O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-m<sup>t</sup> 'tap, pat, slap O' → #..d<sub>1</sub>-m<sup>t</sup> 'flap  
(one's wings, arms)'

#A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-t<sup>ik</sup><sup>y</sup> 'cause O to extend in a line some-  
where' (causative ← #A-w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..t<sup>ik</sup><sup>y</sup> '(a line) extends

somewhere') --> #A-..l-tik<sup>y</sup> '(a group, etc.) extends  
itself in a line somewhere'

#na<sub>11</sub>-o<sub>7</sub>-..l-Wen/Wen? 'melt O' (thematic causative?)  
--> #na<sub>11</sub>-(x<sup>w</sup>l<sub>8</sub>)-..l-Wen/Wen? '(snow) melts'

## 500. OTHER WORD CLASSES

Besides verbs, three word classes are distinguishable: (1) nominals, (2) modifiers, and (3) particles. Nominals are characterized by pronominal inflection for possessor (or object, if they are locative nominals). Modifiers and particles are uninflected. Modifiers are the words other than verbs or nominals found in the expansions of predications. Particles are either (1) sentence-modifying phrases, or (2) proclitic or enclitic word or phrase formatives.

A class of substitutes may also be distinguished. This is a small set of words of similar form, used to substitute for classes or sub-classes of words when no lexical specification is made.

## 510. Nominals.

A nominal form consists of a base of inflection, which is either a stem or a complex base, and, in inflected forms, pronominal prefixes indicating object or possessor and plurality. In addition, nominal words may be expanded by the iterative proclitic (541.2).

There are two formal classes of nominal.

1. General nominals, which name objects that are normally unpossessed. They are uninflected in their primary form, but a secondary possessed base is formable, which is inflected.

#lɪd 'smoke', #0-lɪd-ɪ? 'O's smoke'

#xontah 'house', #0-xontah-ɪ? 'O's house'

#(mɪ-yeh + wɪ<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-qan?)\* 'the roasting of something' (gerund), #0-(mɪ-yeh + wɪ<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-qan?)-ɪ? 'O's roasting of something'

2. Possessed nominals, which are always inflected. Two semantic (and syntactically relevant) subgroups may be distinguished:

2a. Inalienable objects, including most body part and kinship terms.

#0-tah 'O's pocket, a fold in O'

#0-čɪč 'O's elbow'

#0-(k<sup>y</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-wɪn<sub>3</sub>-ʔa)-ɪ 'O's arm'

#0-anč<sup>w</sup>ɪn 'O's mother'

2b. Locatives, including specifications of directions and locations, and abstractions from these.

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\*Verb forms and bases used as nominal bases are cited thus.

#0-yeh 'under 0'

#0-~~h~~nes 'alongside 0'

#0-wan 'concerning 0'



## 511. Pronominal prefixes.

There are two position classes of pronominal prefixes, an inner class marking object or possessor, and an outer class marking plurality of the former.

## 511.1 Object/possessor markers.

The object or possessor markers of nominal forms agree in most particulars with the direct object markers of verb forms (prefix position 7, 322). The object/possessor markers are:

## Personal

W <sub>l</sub> -	1 sg
n <sub>l</sub> -	2 sg
noh-	1 or 2 pl

## Impersonal

m <sub>l</sub> -	general
y <sub>l</sub> d <sub>l</sub> -	general (but animate?) (rare)
x <sup>w</sup> <sub>l</sub> -	human
k <sup>y</sup> <sub>l</sub> -	thematic

## Relational

?ad <sub>l</sub> -	reflexive
n <sub>l</sub> ɪ-	reciprocal*
k <sup>y</sup> <sub>l</sub> d <sub>l</sub> -	passive (only in locatives incorporated into verbal bases)

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\* n<sub>l</sub>ɪ- is ɪ- before V, ɪ<sub>l</sub>- before an ɪ- initial base, and elsewhere often ?ɪɪ-: ɪ-e? 'in each other' (#0-e?), ɪt-ɪ<sub>l</sub>ŋ 'cousins to each other' (#0-ɪ<sub>l</sub>n), ?ɪɪ-q<sub>l</sub>d 'on top of each other' (#0-q<sub>l</sub>d).

The general meaning of these markers is (1) possessor, when the base designates an inalienable or alienable object, and (2) object, when the base is locative.

#0-la? 'O's hand, arm (or animal analog)'

Wl-la? 'my hand'

nl-la? 'your hand'

noh-la? 'our hands, your (pl) hands'

ml-la? 'its paw (etc.); (child's) hand'

yldl-la? '(child's) hand'

x<sup>w</sup>l-la? 'his hand'

k<sup>y</sup>l-la? 'a deer's hoof'

?adl-la? 'one's own hand'

nl±-la? 'each other's hands'

#0-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on (top of) O'

Wl-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on me'

nl-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on you'

noh-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on us, on you (pl)'

ml-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on it'

yldl-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on (the child)'

x<sup>w</sup>l-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on him'

k<sup>y</sup>l-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on (something special)'

?adl-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on oneself' (used as a modifier

theme #?adl<sup>q</sup>ld 'alone')

nl±-<sup>q</sup>ld 'on each other'

The marker k<sup>y</sup>ldl- is used as the object of a locative incorporated into a verbal base (or theme), and indicates that the action grammatically specified as performed

by the subject and directed to a locative goal is actually performed by "people" and directed to the subject:

/k<sup>3</sup>y<sub>1</sub>de<sup>2</sup>ʒ<sub>3</sub>lay/ 'he is hated (by people)' < #0-e<sub>11</sub>-  
ʒ<sub>6</sub>-..la 'hate O', with ʒ<sub>8</sub>- 'he' as grammatical subject.

A few remarks are necessary on the form of m<sub>1</sub>- and the meaning of y<sub>1</sub>d<sub>1</sub>-.

The general impersonal object/possessor marker m<sub>1</sub>- is sometimes Ø-. This is regularly the case when the marker is the object of locative bases with initial w- when they are incorporated into a verbal theme or base, either as an adverbial derivational prefix (340) or as a proclitic (370):

#0-wa 'to O' (> 0-wa<sub>11</sub> (n-pf) '(give) to O'):  
/wa<sup>2</sup>xa·w/ 'she gives (a spoonful) to it (e.g., a child)'  
< Ø-wa<sub>11</sub>-ʒ<sub>8</sub>-xaW-<sub>1</sub>

#0-way 'beyond O' (> 0-wa-y<sub>11</sub> (w-pf) 'missing O, moving off beyond O'): /waywe·yay/ 'I passes by it'  
< Ø-wa-y<sub>11</sub>-w(1)<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-ya-<sub>1</sub>.

#0-wan 'concerning O' (used as a proclitic, usually with a base with d<sub>1</sub><sub>5</sub>- 'off'): /wan-dahna·da·ʔa·n/  
'I took it away from it'; /wan-na·way/ 'he is busy with something' < 'concerning it - he goes about'

The general object marker is sometimes also Ø- in locative bases used as enclitics, i.e., when immediately following a nominal expansion of their objects:

to-č<sub>1</sub>n<sup>2</sup> 'towards the water'

s<sub>1</sub>len<sup>2</sup>-<sub>1</sub>-q<sub>1</sub>h 'following the becoming of it', i.e., 'since it became (so)', beside s<sub>1</sub>len<sup>2</sup>-<sub>1</sub> m<sub>1</sub>-q<sub>1</sub>h (same

meaning)

The marker *yɪdɪ-* is found in a few forms (mainly with locatives incorporated into verbs), where it seems to specify a non-human, but animate, object or possessor. (For the purposes of Hupa grammar, children are non-human.) Thus /*yɪde·lwe·λ̣*/ 'it camped for the night' < 'night overtook it', *yɪd(ɪ)-e<sub>11</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-weλ̣-ɪ*; beside /*x<sup>w</sup>e·lwe·λ̣*/ 'he camped for the night'. The form \*/*me·lwe·λ̣*/, with *mɪ-* object, is unattested, which may indicate that *yɪdɪ-* is used for general object in those cases where the semantics of the verb excludes inanimate objects.

#### 511.2 Plural marker.

The marker *ya-* is used to indicate the (emphatic) plurality of 1/2 pl and impersonal object/possessor markers:

*ya-noh-la?* 'all your (pl) hands'

*ya-x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-qɪd* 'on all of them'

## 512. General nominals.

## 512.1 Primary bases.

General nominal bases include a number of stems, which are either simple (unanalyzable) or complex (partially analyzable), and a great many complex bases derived from verbal forms.

1. Simple stems typically name natural features or unowned cultural products. They are either single elements, or two elements, the second of which is the nominal enclitic -t or -nt. For example:

#yas 'white frost': /yahs/

#ʔah 'cloud': /ʔah/

#ʔes 'weir': /ʔehs/

#nɪnʔ-t 'ground; the earth': /nɪnʔ/

#tɪn-t 'trail': /tɪn/

#mɪy 'tabooed object or place': /mɪy/

#mah-nt 'war party': /mahn/

#dɪč 'valley quail': /dɪč/

#ta-nt (or #tan-t) 'a spirit responsible for the abundance of deer': /ta·n/

#tɪm-t (or #tɪ-mt, a complex stem) 'a place where one trains for luck or health': /tɪm/

#sač-t 'bear': /sa·č/

#č<sup>w</sup>ɪč 'firewood': /č<sup>w</sup>ɪč/

2. Complex stems consist of two or more elements.

A large subclass consists of stems reminiscent of verbal forms but not obviously a formation on any existing

verbal theme. For example:

#na-k<sup>y</sup>l-ne 'mountain quail': /na·k<sup>y</sup>lne/

#dl-na? 'milkweed': /dlna?/

#ta-k<sup>y</sup>lW 'sweathouse': /ta·k<sup>y</sup>lW/

#čl-ł-tln 'bow' (weapon): /člłtln/

#že-lo? 'storage basket': /že·lo?/

#k<sup>y</sup>(l)-e-ł-can-l 'maiden, young girl': /k<sup>y</sup>ehłca·n/

An even larger subclass consists of stems with one or more elements identifiable as elements occurring in other forms with definable functions, but with the remainder of the stem obscure. For example:

#tewl-naWln? 'mink' < 'in the water' (modifier theme) + '?'

#tehsžeh-žl 'swallow' (bird) < '?' + 'little' (word formative)

#nlčln?-WoWl 'kingsnake' < 'on either side' (#O-čln?, locative, with object marker nlł-) + '?'

3. Complex bases are made up of verb forms or bases, and sometimes include other elements of the verbal phrase, such as proclitics (370) and modifiers (but not satellite nominals). The normally occurring verb forms are the gerund and passive. Verbal bases may also be considered forms with zero markers for all inflections (i.e., impersonal, imperfective, and general object). Whatever the formation, the unpossessed base has the nominal enclitic -l.

#(na<sub>11</sub>-wl<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>l</sub>-ya?)-l 'going about, being busy'

(gerund < #na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya? '(one) moves about')

#(O<sub>7</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-l<sub>1</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>en)-<sub>1</sub> 'the making of O' (passive  
< #O<sub>7</sub>-..ɬ-č<sup>w</sup>e/č<sup>w</sup>e? 'make O')

#(k<sup>y</sup>ɬ<sub>8</sub>-ɬ<sub>6</sub>-xaxn)-<sub>1</sub> 'deer' < 'it is good-tasting'  
(base #ɬ<sub>6</sub>-..xaxn 'be sweet, good-tasting', with thematic  
deictic subject marker k<sup>y</sup>ɬ<sub>8</sub>-). In phonetic realization  
this form is more often /k<sup>y</sup>ɬ<sub>8</sub>xaxn/ than /k<sup>y</sup>ɬ<sub>6</sub>xaxn/.

#(k<sup>y</sup>ɬ<sub>8</sub>-č<sub>11</sub>-w<sub>3</sub>-d<sub>1</sub>-ne?)-<sub>1</sub> 'helping someone; help'  
(gerund < #O-č<sub>11</sub>-..ne/ne? 'help O', with thematic object  
of adverbial locative)

#### 512.2 Possessed bases.

When inflected, all general nominal themes assume a special possessed base, formed principally by adding the possessed nominal enclitic -<sub>1</sub>?. When the primary base ends in a vowel, the enclitic is simply -?. A few other phonetic changes occur, but only one with any regularity:

Stems with initial ɬ- generally have possessed forms with l-.

#ɬɪd 'smoke', #O-lɪd-<sub>1</sub>? 'O's smoke'

#ɬɪsčɪ 'plank', #O-lɪsčɪ-<sub>1</sub>? 'O's plank'

#ɬod 'scab', #O-lod-<sub>1</sub>? 'O's scab'

But note:

#ɬɪy 'bet, price', #O-ɬɪy-<sub>1</sub>? 'O's value'

#ɬo? 'laughter', #O-ɬo?-<sub>1</sub>? 'O's laughter'

Other cases of irregular phonetic change include:

#ya? 'louse', #O-a?-<sub>1</sub>? 'O's louse, parasite'

#tɪnʔ 'dog, horse, pet', #O-lɪnkʲ-ɪʔ 'O's dog'

#tʲeʔ 'blanket', #O-wtʲeʔ 'O's blanket'

The possessed base of a general nominal (or the base of a possessed nominal) is sometimes found without inflection. This is usually when the base is enclitic to another nominal form, forming a possessed nominal phrase.

#ʔɪsdewɪ-čʷɪʒ-ɪʔ 'madrone wood' < #ʔɪsdewɪ 'madrone'  
+ #O-čʷɪʒ-ɪʔ 'O's (fire)wood'

#ʔɪsdewɪ-sɪč 'madrone bark' < #ʔɪsdewɪ + #O-sɪč  
'O's skin' (possessed nominal)

#ce-lɪsčɪ-ʔ 'knife' < #ce 'stone' + #O-lɪsčɪ-ʔ 'O's  
plank'

Possessed bases without antecedent nominal are not uncommon in complex nominal stems:

#tʲanʔ-sɔh-ʒɪ 'small suckerfish' < #O-tʲanʔ 'O's leaf'  
+ '?' + -ʒɪ 'small'

#ʔɪɪ-ɪʔ-tɪɪ-ɪ 'white cedar' < #O-ʔɪɪ-ɪʔ 'O's boughs'  
+ 'wide, flat' + -ɪ nominal enclitic



## 513. Possessed nominals.

## 513.1 Inalienables.

Possessed nominal bases referring to inalienably possessed objects are nearly all nominal stems. A few body part terms, such as #O-(k<sup>y</sup>a<sub>11</sub>-wɪn<sub>3</sub>-ʔa)-ɪ 'O's arm' (< 'it extends away', extension neuter base), are formed on verbal bases, but this type is rare. Inalienables fall into at least three semantic subclasses:

1. Body part terms. Nearly all names of parts of the human body, and parts of animals normally butchered (deer, salmon), are inalienable possessed nominals. A few plant parts ("leaf", "bark") are also inalienables. There are several body terms, however, which are found uninflected: #yeč' 'wart', #co 'milk, breast', #Wut' 'scar', #ced 'flatus', and #č<sup>w</sup>an? 'excrement'. (As general nominals, these themes, of course, form possessed bases: #O-ced-ɪ? 'O's flatus', etc.) Typical inalienable body part themes are:

#O-mɪt' 'O's stomach, belly'

#O-de? '(animal's) horn'

#O-nč<sup>w</sup>ɪW 'O's nose'

#O-tan? '(tree's) leaf'

A number of stems are compounds. If the first member of the compound is also an inalienable, its free and bound forms often differ:

#O-na·? 'O's eye', #O-na-dost? 'O's eyebrow',

#O-na-tan? 'O's eyelashes'

#O-da? 'O's mouth', #O-da-sɪč' 'O's lips'

2. Possessions. A few inalienables refer to objects or properties an individual (person or animal) possesses.

#0-ey<sub>l</sub> 'O's possessions, belongings'

#0-oWe? 'O's name'

#0-?an '(animal's) den'

#0-dan<sub>l</sub>? 'O's food, provisions' (archaic)

#0-ž<sub>l</sub>n<sub>l</sub> 'O's business, concern, property'

#0-(s<sub>l</sub>ž-?an)-<sub>l</sub> 'news of O, what is related concerning O' (< 'it lies somewhere', verbal base)

3. Kinship terms. Nearly all kinship relations are named by inalienable nominal bases. The full list of attested forms follows. Note, in complex stems, the recurrence of -č<sup>3</sup>e- 'female' and -č<sup>w</sup>ln 'person'. Unless otherwise glossed, the phonetic example is of the 1 sg possessor form ("my ..").

#0-ad<sub>l</sub> 'O's older sister': /Wa·d/

#0-ad<sub>l</sub>-č<sup>w</sup>ln 'O's father's sister': /Wa·d<sub>l</sub>č<sup>w</sup>ln/

#0-an-č<sup>w</sup>ln 'O's mother': /Wanč<sup>w</sup>ln/

#0-aW<sub>l</sub> 'O's sister's son' (sometimes also 'O's brother's son'): /Wa·W/

#0-a·s-č<sup>3</sup>e? 'O's niece': /Wa·šč<sup>3</sup>e?/

#0-ya<sub>l</sub>l 'O's son's child': /W<sub>l</sub>yal/

#0-yaW<sub>l</sub> 'O's young' (used mainly of animals):  
/m<sub>l</sub>ya·W/ 'its young'

#0-yaW-?ad 'O's daughter-in-law': /W<sub>l</sub>yaW?ad/

#0-ya-č<sup>3</sup>e? 'O's daughter' (O is a woman): /W<sub>l</sub>ya·č<sup>3</sup>e?/

#0-?ad 'O's wife': /Wa?ad/

#0-nʔuʒl 'O's elder brother': /Wlŋʔoʒ/. Sometimes heard as /Wlŋoʒ/ or /Wlŋwoʒ/, reflecting #0-nwuʒl.

#0-nqayʔ 'O's mother's sister': /Wlŋqayʔ/

#0-de '(woman's) sister': /Wlde/ 'my sister',  
/nɪlde/ 'sisters (to one another)'.

#0-dehʒl 'O's younger sister': /Wldehʒ/

#0-taʔ 'O's father': /Wltaʔ/

#0-tayl 'O's father's brother': /Wlta·y/

#0-sʔl 'O's mother's brother': /Wlsʔ/

#0-ce·ʔ '(man's) daughter': /Wlce·ʔ/

#0-coyl '(man's) daughter's child': /Wlco·y/

#0-maʔl-čʷln 'O's father's father': /Wlma·ʔačʷln/.

Sometimes simply /Wlmaʔ/.

#0-me-čʷeʔl-čʷln 'O's mother-in-law': /Wlme·čʷe·ʔčʷln/

#0-we '(woman's) husband's sister': /Wlwe/

#0-we-čʷeʔ '(man's) wife's sister': /Wlwe·čʷeʔ/

#0-wandanl 'O's son-in-law': /Wlwanda·n/

#0-Wxlyʔ 'O's son, child': /WlWxlyʔ/

#0-Wan-čʷeʔ 'O's father-in-law': /WlWančʷeʔ/

#0-čʷlwe 'O's mother's father': /Wlčʷlwe/

#0-čʷo 'O's mother's mother': /Wlčʷo/

#0-čʷlyanxeʔ 'O's deceased mother': /Wlčʷlyanxeʔ/

#0-čʷlnl 'O's father's mother': /Wlčʷln/

#0-čʷlčʷlnayʔ 'O's (potential) mate by the sororate rule' (used reciprocally between a man and his deceased wife's sister): /Wlčʷlčʷlnayʔ/

#0-kʷlll 'O's younger brother': /Wlkʷlll/

#0-kʷayl '(woman's) daughter's child': /Wlkʷa·y/

- #0-xan? 'O's husband': /Wɪxan?/  
 #0-qeyɪ 'O's brother-in-law': /Wɪqe'y/  
 #0-ɪɪn 'O's cousin, friend': /Wɪɪn/  
 #0-ɪtɪs-če? '(man's) sister': /Wɪɪtɪšče?/  
 #0-ɪɪn-če? '(woman's) co-wife' (i.e., one's  
 fellow wife in a polygynous marriage): /Wɪɪnče?/

### 513.2 Locatives.

Locatives, possessed nominal bases referring to locations or directions, are all stems, and mostly unanalyzable. A number of locatives are incorporated into verbal themes or bases, usually as proclitics (370) or as adverbial prefixes of position 7 (340). In this discussion, adverbial prefixes inflected for nominal object will be considered incorporated locatives even if they are not otherwise attested, and they will be found entered in the list of locatives below.

The following are the occurring locative themes.

1. #0-e 'to O'. Found only as an adverbial prefix: #0-e<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf) 'up to O, against O in a position of rest'; #0-e<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'touching O, moving up against O'; #0-e<sub>11</sub>-sɪ<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'up along O (e.g., a ladder)' (all forming directional bases, 341). #0-e<sub>11</sub>- (s-pf) 'firmly attached to O' (forming an action base, 342). #0-e<sub>11</sub>- 'as O (is, does)' (forming the "comparative" base of description themes, 343):

#0-e<sub>11</sub>-..lɪh (n-pf) '(a fish) swims up to O', with mɪ- object usually '(a fish) gets caught in a net, swims



Note the modifier theme #tewl 'under water', apparently from #to 'water' (or some reduced variant) with enclitic #O-ewl.

6. #O-eq̣l 'inside of O':

/mɪkʰaʔ me·q̣ sɪlay/ 'its (basket's) bottom - inside it - they lie'

#O-eq̣l with a personal object has the special meaning 'inside O's vagina'.

7. #O-a 'for O'. Sometimes incorporated into verbal themes as a proclitic:

/hay naha· naʔašč<sup>w</sup>eʔn/ 'this - for us - he (the Transformer) remade it'

/Wa· ʔayneh/ 'For me - (you) do it!'

#O-a + ..toʔ (impersonal) 'O laughs' < 'laughter (moves) for O': /Wa·n<sup>o</sup>toʔ/ 'I laughed'.

Several verb themes referring to leadership have proclitic #m-a 'for (people)', which may be considered also a proclitic unanalyzable modifier:

#m-a + na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/yaʔ '(one) leads (people)' < '(one) goes about, is busy, for (people)'

8. #O-amɪn 'ahead of O to lead, direct' (obviously connected with (7)):

/x<sup>w</sup>a·mɪŋ dahčɪdeʔɪlɪa·d/ 'ahead of her, to show the way - he runs off'

9. #O-ʔɪh 'moving away from O, recoiling from O':

/Weʔeh naʔwɪndaʔ/ 'recoiling from me - he went back' ('he turned back before reaching me')

/teʔeh te·se·tɪw/ 'moving away from each other -  
I've marked along' ('I've made uneven marks')

10. #0-ʔanɪ 'piercing through O, emerging from O':  
/mɪʒe·ʔe·dɪn x<sup>w</sup>aʔa·n sɪleʔn/ 'the baby - emerg-  
ing from her - it became' ('the baby was born')

Note the possessed nominal theme #0-an '(animal's) den'.

11. #0-maʔnɪ 'opposite O':  
/Wɪcɪneʔ daʔaʔɪWɪɪW nɪtɪmaʔn/ 'my legs - I put  
them on it - on each side, opposite each other' ('I sit  
straddling something')

Compare the directional theme #yɪ-manɪ 'across the stream,  
on the opposite bank' (532).

12. #0-na 'waiting for O':  
/Wɪna ʃɪwɪndaʔ-tehɪ/ 'waiting for me - he will  
sit' ('he will wait for me')

13. #0-na 'around O'. Found only as an adverbial  
prefix: #0-na<sub>11</sub>- or #0-na<sub>11</sub>-sɪ<sub>5</sub>- (s-pf) 'around O, in a  
circle around O' (forming directional bases, 341);  
#0-na<sub>11</sub>- 'circling around O' (forming progressive and  
stative bases, 344):

#0-na<sub>11</sub>-sɪ<sub>5</sub>-..l-tonʔ 'jump around O; perform the  
Jump Dance around O'; #0-na<sub>11</sub>-wɪ<sub>3</sub>-..l-daɪ 'run along  
around O, keep running in circles around O'.

14. #0-nadɪ 'in a circle around O':  
/mɪna·d no·tɪntaɪ/ 'around it - (you) step!'

15. #0-nasnɪ '(passing) in front of O':  
/nɪnahnɪ xeʔe·ya/ 'I passed in front of you'

Note the name for the Karok Indians, #k<sup>y</sup>ɫnɑsnɪ:  
/k<sup>y</sup>ɫnɑsn/. There may be no connection, for it is likely  
that #k<sup>y</sup>ɫnɑsnɪ contains the nominal enclitic -nɪ 'people'.

16. #O-nace 'ahead of O' (has both spatial and  
temporal reference):

/nɪna·ce· te·se·ya·-te/ 'ahead of you (on the  
trail) - I will walk'

/hay-dandɪ Wɪna·ce· ʔe·ʔɪnsɪd/ 'whoever - before  
me (in the morning) - wakes up'

17. #O-na·ɪ 'in the presence of O':

/nɪna·ɪ ʔanaʔ tɪlteʔx<sup>w</sup> ʔa·Wteʔ/ 'in your presence  
- see! - strongly - I do so' ('See! in your presence I am  
strong'), spoken to magical object in order to get power  
from it.

/nɪWon-dɪŋ xona·ɪ na·ʔadɪl/ 'in a clear space, in  
the open - in his sight - they went here and there'

18. #O-natawɪ 'without O's knowledge, conscious  
control'. Most often found as #ʔadɪ-natawɪ 'without know-  
ing what one is doing, unconsciously':

/ʔa·dɪna·taw ʔa·ʔadyaw/ 'he did it without knowing  
what he was doing'

19. #O-neʒɪd 'at (or to) the middle of O':

/mɪne·ʒɪd ʔeʔɪyeʔn/ 'at the middle of (the group)  
- he goes to stand'

/Wɪne·ʒɪd ʔaɪca/ 'at the middle of me - it is so  
in girth, diameter' ('(it is) half-way around my waist'),  
probably misheard for /Wɪne·ʒɪd ʔaɪcahs/.



Note the enclitic use of #0-nežɪd in the phrases:

/nɪnɪsʔa·n-ne·žɪd/ 'in the middle of the world'

(refers to the spot in the center of the circular disc of the world's surface).

/ta·-ne·žɪd/ 'in the middle of the water, river; out in mid-stream'.

20. #0-no 'penetrating into O'. Only in the adverbial prefix #0-no<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) (forming directional bases):

#0-no<sub>11</sub>-kʲɪɫɔ̄-..ɪ-dɪkʲɪ (w-pf) 'peck a hole into O'

21. #0-noʔ 'behind O (out of sight)':

/Wɪnoʔ kʲe·w-ʔɪŋyahW/ 'behind me - (you) go into hiding!'

22. #0-nwah (or #0-wah) 'at the edge of O'. Found only in a few placenames, usually with mɪ- object:

/xontehɪ mɪŋwah/ 'flat - at the edge of it'

23. #0-nxɪɕ 'close by O'. With kʲɪɫ- object has the specific meaning 'by a girl':

/kʲɪɫɪɕ yaʔwɪŋʔa/ 'beside a girl - he is sitting'

24. #0-yth 'under O, at the feet of O':

/ya·xoyeh noʔnɪŋxa·n/ 'at their feet - he set the (filled basket)'

Note the adverbial prefix yeh- (w-pf) 'into a house'.

Hupa house were semi-subterranean.

25. #0-dɪɪwa 'in another way from O, differing from O; meeting and passing O':

/xodɪɪwa· ɕeʔnɪŋyay/ 'meeting and passing him -

he (another) came out' ('as A went in, B came out').

The form /mɪdɪtwaː/ 'in another way from it' is used as a modifier ("in turn") or even a connective ("after that").

26. #O-de 'closely past O, moving to touch O'.

Found only as an adverbial prefix: #O-de<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) (forming directional bases).

#O-de<sub>11</sub>-..lɪh (w-pf) '(a fish) brushes, touches O in swimming'

27. #O-da 'down to O'. Found only in adverbial prefixes: #O-da<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'down along to O, downhill, downstream'; #č<sup>w</sup>ɪnʔ-da<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf) 'to ruin, spoiling' < 'down to spoilation':

#x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-da<sub>11</sub>-..lad (w-pf) 'float downstream' (#O-da<sub>11</sub>- occurs only with object x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-, which is probably to be interpreted as the place deictic rather than as the human object); #č<sup>w</sup>ɪnʔ-da<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-tɪW/ten (w-pf) 'ruin, spoil (one living being)' (usually with /nɪnɪsʔaːn/ 'the world' as object).

Note the directional theme #yɪ-deʔ 'downstream', which has the special form #yɪ-da- in locative nominal phrases with #-č<sup>ɪ</sup>ɪnʔ or #-č<sup>ɪ</sup>ɪn (532.3).

28. #O-da 'to the door of O'. Found only as an adverbial prefix, #O-da<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf), forming directional bases:

#O-da<sub>11</sub>-nɪ<sub>5</sub>-..yaW/ya '(one) comes to the door of (the house), but no further'.

Note the possessed nominal stem #O-daʔ 'O's mouth'.

29. #0-tah 'among O'. Found only rarely as an independent locative:

/k<sup>y</sup>lwlnya<sup>?</sup>n<sup>?</sup>ya·n mɪtah/ 'among the Hupa'

#0-tah is, however, of very common occurrence in locative phrases formed with #-dɪn 'place', #-čɪn<sup>?</sup> 'towards', and #-x<sup>w</sup>ɪ 'at':

/ce·y mɪtah-dɪŋ/ 'amongst the brush'

/tehW mɪtah-dɪŋ/ 'mixed with charcoal'

It is also often found as an enclitic, where its use merges into that of the phrase formative #-tah '..being included' (542):

#tɪn(ɪ)-tah 'among the trails' (used as a modifier theme meaning 'out in the woods; away from Hupa Valley)

#de-x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-tah 'among us Hupa' < 'among (people) hereabouts'

30. #0-taGɪ 'between O':

/xotaG če·ne·ya·-te/ 'between them (people) -

I will come out' (referring to a maneuver in dancing).

31. #0-tɪs '(moving) over O':

/xotɪs čɪne<sup>?</sup>ɪxat<sup>?</sup> hay te<sup>?</sup>/ 'over her - they

stretch - the - blanket'

#0-tɪs is incorporated into several verbal themes as a preverb:

#0-tɪs + O<sub>7</sub>-...žeyɪ<sup>?</sup> 'forget O' < 'over O O<sub>7</sub>'s mind passes': /mɪtɪs-ya·xože·ye<sup>?</sup>/ 'they forget it'.

32. #0-tɪwa 'among O' (archaic):

/mɪtɪwa· čɪsye·n/ 'in their midst - he stood'

33. #O-tah ' (moving) apart from O, escaping from O':

/nɪt̪ah ʔeʔɪwt̪as/ 'apart from each other - I cut them'

/xolaʔ-t̪ah ʃe·Wɪa·d-e·y/ 'escaping from his hand - I ran out, there'

34. #O-tawɪ 'above O, on the upper (or upstream) side of O':

/xontah mɪt̪a·w/ 'on the hill side of the house'

35. #O-sa 'in(to) O's mouth'. Found only as an adverbial prefix, #O-sa<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf), forming directional bases:

#O-sa<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-Ged (w-pf) 'put (a stick) into O's mouth' (e.g., a spoon, fork).

36. #O-wa 'through O; (give) to O'. Found only as an adverbial prefix, #O-wa<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf), forming directional bases:

#O-wa<sub>11</sub>-O<sub>7</sub>-..ʔαW/ʔan (n-pf) 'give (one object) to O'

#O-wa<sub>11</sub>-kʲɪ<sub>7</sub>-..ʔɪʒ (n-pf) 'shoot (an arrow) through O' (passing completely through O's body)

#O-wa<sub>11</sub>-..l-tonʔ (n-pf) 'jump through O; pass through or by O while jumping'

37. #O-wah 'separate from O, away from O':

/Wɪwah no·nɪŋʔaW/ 'away from me - (you) put it down!' ('put it down at some distance from me!')

/xohkʲe·-dɪ(ŋ)-mɪnɪŋ mɪwah na·xohkʲɪd/ '77'

< 'seven times ten - separate from it - again seven'(533).

38. #0-wan 'concerning 0, proceeding from 0 (in space, time, or as effect from a cause); away from 0'. Found: (a) as an independent locative, sometimes enclitic; (b) as a proclitic in several verbal themes; and (c) as an adverbial prefix in #0-wa-n<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>- '(getting) off from 0' (w-pf), forming directional bases:

(a) independent locative or enclitic:

/nahd<sub>1</sub>yaw wan no·l<sup>?</sup>Ge·d č<sup>3</sup>ta·n/ 'money - for it - a trap - he has it lying' ('he has a trap for catching money in'). It is difficult to determine, in such cases as this, whether /wan/ is independent or enclitic in a locative phrase /nahd<sub>1</sub>yaw-wan/, since the general object marker, normally m<sub>1</sub>-, is often ∅- with this theme (511.1).

/hayahaž<sub>1</sub>d wan no·k<sup>y</sup>e<sup>?</sup>W<sub>1</sub>W/ 'and then - for it - I put my hand down (searching)'

(b) proclitic in verbal themes:

#0-wan + na<sub>11</sub>-..ya/ya<sup>?</sup> '(one) is busy with 0' < '(one) moves here and there concerning 0'

#0-wan + 0-o<sub>11</sub>-n<sub>6</sub>-..s<sub>1</sub>n 'have 0 hidden from 0' (nearly always with ∅- direct object, referring to knowledge)

(c) #0-wa-n<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf):

#0-wa-n<sub>11</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>-..yaW/ya '(one) gets off a (horse, fence, etc.)'. With impersonal inflection: '(foam) goes over the rim of (a basket, pot, in cooking)'

#0-wa-n<sub>11</sub>-o<sub>7</sub>-d<sub>5</sub>-..t<sup>?</sup>-s<sub>1</sub>c<sup>?</sup> 'peel (skin) off of 0'

39. #O-wan<sup>1</sup> 'approaching close to O' (rare):  
 /xowa·n č<sup>3</sup>lGa·l/ 'approaching close to her - he  
 walks along'

40. #O-way 'missing O, moving off beyond O'. Found  
 only as an adverbial prefix, #O-wa-y<sub>11</sub>- (w-pf), forming  
 directional bases:

#O-wa-y<sub>11</sub>-..?l<sub>3</sub> (w-pf) 'shoot and miss O'

41. #O-wlna '(passing) around O':

/xowlna· xe?l<sup>2</sup>nyahW/ 'around O - (you) go on past!'

42. #O-xa 'off in search of O':

/to·-č<sup>3</sup>l<sup>2</sup>ŋ? xoda?ana·W k<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>lye· m<sup>1</sup>xa· hay ɬ<sup>1</sup>š<sup>3</sup>č/

'to the river - he goes down - again - in search of them -  
 the - boards'

43. #O-q<sup>1</sup>eh 'following O; according to O':

/Wl<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>eh č<sup>3</sup>lGa·l/ 'following me - he walks along'

/m<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>eh če?k<sup>2</sup>y<sup>1</sup>ln<sup>1</sup>nta?č<sup>3</sup>-te/ 'following it - he cuts

it out, future' ('he'll cut it out along the length of it')

#O-q<sup>1</sup>eh is often found enclitic to body part terms, with  
 the phrase generally translating 'along O's (body part)':

/xonč<sup>w</sup>l<sup>1</sup>W-q<sup>1</sup>eh/ 'along his face'

/Wl<sup>1</sup>k<sup>2</sup>ya·ŋ<sup>2</sup>ay-q<sup>1</sup>eh/ 'along my arm'

Note #Wl<sup>1</sup>-da?-q<sup>1</sup>eh 'as I say' < 'following my mouth'.

44. #O-q<sup>1</sup>ld 'on (top of) O' (refers to a surface,  
 not, e.g., the peak of a mountain):

/s<sup>1</sup>se·l m<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>ld na·de·ɬ<sup>2</sup>wa?ɬ<sup>2</sup>-de?/ 'hot water - on it

- if I had poured'

Note the locative phrase formative #-q̣ (542).

45. #0-č̣in? 'toward O':

/daŋwo? nič̣in? č̣inɲay/ 'someone- to (see) you - he arrived' ('someone came to see you')

/ʔɯsde·w mič̣in? noʔḳyeʔɯGod/ 'madrone - against it - he stands (something else) up'

The form #ḳyɯ-č̣in? is used as a modifier theme, meaning 'upside down':

/ḳyɯč̣in? noʔoWwɯʒ/ 'I tip it over (either to one side or upside down)'

Compare the remarks on #-č̣in?, locative phrase formative (542).

46. #0-č̣in?ah 'in front of O, serving as a protection':

/ʔahṭin mič̣in?ah no·naʔnɯceh/ 'all - in front of them (to shield them) - he shut the door'

47. #0-ḳya 'away from O'. Occurs only in locative phrases formed with #-č̣in? 'toward', and as an adverbial prefix, #0-ḳya<sub>11</sub>- (n-pf), forming directional bases:

/Wɯḳya·č̣in? naʔtehsdɯyay/ 'away from me - he went along back' ('he left me')

#0-ḳya<sub>11</sub>-nɯ<sub>5</sub>-..dɯɯ/deʔ '(several) move away from O':  
/ʔɯḳya·naʔnɯnde·ʔ/ 'they separated'.

48. #0-ɬ 'with O':

/ʔa·dɯɯ č̣ixoteʔɯttɯW/ 'with himself - he takes her'

/qayʔte·l miɬ ya·ʔaWxa·W/ 'shallow basket -

with it - I scoop up (the acorns)'

#0-ɪ is incorporated into several themes as a proclitic:

#0-ɪ + t<sub>5</sub>-..lɪd (impersonal) 'O smokes himself (in the sweathouse)' < '(the fire) burns with O'

#0-ɪ + x<sup>w</sup>t<sub>6</sub>-..lɪg<sup>y</sup> 'tell a story to O'

The unusual form /hɪɪ/ occurs, presumably as an unanalyzable theme, with the meaning 'together with', in the particular sense of people or animals who dwell together:

/xoŋ xoč<sup>w</sup>o· hɪɪ/ 'he and his grandmother, living together'

49. #0-lah 'opposite to O, in an opposite way to O':

/mɪlah ?aWdɪyaw/ 'it happened to me in the opposite way'

50. #0-lanɪ 'with the help of O' or 'helping O':

/xola·n/ 'with his help'

/nohla·n k<sup>y</sup>ɪwanay?ɪnda/ 'help us hunt!'

51. #0-ɲanɪ 'missing O, going past O':

/xoɲa·n no·Wtoŋ?/ 'missing him - I jumped down'

('I tried to jump him, but missed')



## 520. Substitutes.

There are two types of substitute word, independent pronouns and relative-interrogative substitutes. They are classed together here for syntactic reasons, and their formations have nothing in common.

## 521. Independent pronouns.

The independent pronouns form a set of six words, partially resembling the object and possessor markers of verbs and nominals.

## Personal forms

#we 'I'

#nɪn 'you'

#nehe 'we'

#nohnt 'you (pl)'

## Impersonal forms

#xvn 'he'

#mɪn 'it' (rare)

Words of this class substitute for nominal phrases (600).

## 522. Relative-interrogative substitutes.

Relative-interrogatives form a set of twelve words, falling into six classes. Each class is characterized by a stem and refers to a general semantic category matching the syntactic forms for which the forms in it substitute. Of the two forms in each class, one is characterized by the suffix -Wo? and indicates some particular entity of the stem class, while the other is characterized by the suffix -dɩ and indicates a hypothetical or questioned entity of the stem class. The six classes, the forms, and rough translations, follow.

## 1. general nominal

#day-Wo? (or #dɩy-Wo?) 'something'

#day-dɩ (or #dɩy-dɩ) 'what?'

## 2. human nominal

#dan-Wo? 'someone'

#dan-dɩ 'who?'

## 3. locative

#dayɩ-Wo? 'some place, instance'

#dayɩ-dɩ 'where? what?'

## 4. number modifier

#danɩan-Wo? 'some number'

#danɩan-dɩ 'how many?'

## 5. extent modifier

#dahan-Wo? 'to some extent'

#dahan?-dɩ 'how far? how much?' (note the differing stem forms)

## 6. manner modifier

#daxo·? (< \*dax<sup>w</sup>ɿWo?) 'in some manner'

#dax<sup>w</sup>e-dɿ 'how?' (sometimes simply #x<sup>w</sup>e-dɿ)

The syntactic function of substitutes of this class is discussed in 600. Examples will be found there.

## 530. Modifiers.

Modifiers constitute a large and heterogeneous word class. They have in common only their syntactic function, which is to expand phrases within sentences in ways other than verbs or nominals.

Three formal classes may be distinguished: (1) simple modifiers, made up of underivable themes; (2) directionals, a small class of themes specifying geographical directions, and capable of limited derivation; and (3) numerals.

## 531. Simple modifiers.

Simple modifier themes range in formal complexity from single elements (#do 'not, #xoh 'vainly, ineffectually') to forms that represent fossilizations of verbs and, particularly, locatives or locative phrases (#y<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>nde<sup>h</sup> 'finally, at last', #c<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>?ehz<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n 'for a short while', k<sup>h</sup>yew<sup>h</sup> 'hidden'). Only where the origin of a complex modifier is readily apparent will any attempt be made to suggest derivations of the forms below. In nearly all cases, furthermore, the etymological origin of a given modifier is irrelevant to its syntactic function.

Listed below are the major attested simple modifiers and examples of their typical usage.

1. #h<sup>h</sup>ayah 'there' (refers to space and time):

/qad hayah č<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>lye<sup>h</sup>/ 'right, exactly - there - they danced'

/hayah-de<sup>h</sup> ya.k<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>c<sup>h</sup>(d)-te/ 'at that future time - we will pound acorns' (#h<sup>h</sup>ayah here is in a locative phrase defined by the enclitic -de<sup>h</sup>)

2. #?ah<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n 'all, completely':

/?ah<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n teh-na.na.k<sup>h</sup>y<sup>h</sup>e<sup>h</sup>?l<sup>h</sup>w<sup>h</sup>d<sup>h</sup>w hay č<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>W-ne<sup>h</sup>?l<sup>h</sup>n/ 'all - I wash it in water - the - sand (that was there)'

/?ah<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n-č<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n<sup>h</sup>? xoh no.W<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>a<sup>h</sup>.d/ 'in all directions - in vain - I ran'

/?ah<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>n yahs<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>q<sup>h</sup>/ 'completely - it rotted away'

3. #?an<sup>h</sup>teh 'clearly, in visible numbers':

/?an<sup>h</sup>teh xola<sup>h</sup>n na.na<sup>h</sup>?xehsd<sup>h</sup>l<sup>h</sup>naw/ 'clearly - it is

evident - someone had been moving around, back and forth'

/ʔang<sup>y</sup>aʔ ʔant<sup>h</sup>eh tehslah/ 'surprisingly - in noticeable numbers - they floated along'

4. #ʔang<sup>y</sup>aʔ 'surprisingly' (probably a compound of two particles, #ʔan 'it is so!' + #g<sup>y</sup>aʔ 'lo!', 543.1):

/haya·t̚ ʔang<sup>y</sup>aʔ mɪnʔdayt̚q̄ yɪnaG xeʔeʔwɪnya·ye/  
'and then - surprisingly - outside the house - upstream - he went past, there'

5. #yɪwɪdɪndeʔ 'finally, at last':

/yɪwɪdɪndeʔ ʔeʔt̚ca·y-e·y/ 'finally - they get dry, there'

6. #yowɪ 'there (in view)':

/yo·w k̚yɪt̚aʔaɪč<sup>w</sup>e·-k<sup>y</sup>ɪneʔ-dɪŋ xa·k̚y<sup>a</sup>ʔa·n/ 'there - at the foot of the door - there's a hole coming out of the ground'

In phrases with a locative enclitic #yowɪ apparently has the variant form #yo-:

/yo·č̚ɪnʔtah č̚ɪte·lɪw/ 'here and there - he rubbed it' (#-č̚ɪnʔ 'toward', #-tah 'among', locative phrase formatives)

7. #naceh 'at first, ahead of others' (from the locative #O-nace 'ahead of O' + -h):

/dand-a·ŋʔ na·ceh č̚ɪɪcan-te/ 'who is it? - first - he will find it' ('who will find it first?')

/hay na·ceh-dɪŋ č̚ɪwɪlda·l/ 'the - in the lead - who runs along' ('the one who runs along in the lead')

8. #tɬwɔnɬn 'alone' (probably < #tɬwɔn 'one person', 533.3, + #-dɬn, locative phrase formative):

/tɬwɔnɬŋ ʔeʔɬyaʔn/ 'he alone - eats it'

9. #tɬah 'once' (from #tɬaʔ 'one' + -h):

/x<sup>w</sup>e.na.ya.ʔalwɬɬah hay yaʔk<sup>y</sup>ɬɬɬɬ/ 'they stay overnight - once - the - ones who pound acorns' ('they stay over one night')

/tɬah yaʔwɬŋʔay ta.k<sup>y</sup>ɬw mɬnʔdayʔ/ 'one time, once - he was sitting - sweathouse - outside (when..)'  
With the locative phrase formative #-x<sup>w</sup>ɬ the meaning is 'only' or 'simply' (#tɬah-x<sup>w</sup>ɬ is sometimes heard as if it were #tɬa-x<sup>w</sup>ɬ, i.e., /tɬax<sup>w</sup>/):

/tɬahx<sup>w</sup>-ʔe.nʔ ʔa.xoɬdɬwne/ 'simply, it was - I told her a story' ('I was only telling stories')

/hay tɬax<sup>w</sup> yaʔdɬwɬɬyeʔ-te/ 'the - just - ones who are going to dance' ('the ones who are only going to dance' or 'the ones who are going to dance in the ordinary, simple fashion')

10. #tɬanɬ 'many' (compare the verbal tk e #nɬɬ-.. tɬan 'be many'; also #mɬnɬan 'even' below):

/tɬa.n tɬɬɬɬw mɬqɬ(d) no.na.ʔaWsoW/ 'lots of - sand - on top of it - I rake it back down'

A phrase is formed with #do 'not' (below) and word enclitic #-ʔɬ 'small' (541.4), usually in its consonant symbolic form #-ʔɬ, altogether meaning 'just a little':

/do.-tɬa.n-ʔ saʔxa.W saʔk<sup>y</sup>eʔɬxa.W/ 'just a little - acorn mush - she puts in her mouth'

11. #dahdɫ 'in a slow way, by slow degrees' (compare the adverbial prefix dah<sub>11</sub>-dɫ<sub>5</sub>- (w-pf) 'drawing away, stealthily', 341):

/dahdɫ nɪkʲah-x<sup>w</sup> we·te?/ 'in a slow way - largely - I lay down' ('I took to lying down more and more')

12. #daʔnɫ 'in the past' (compare the phrase formative #-danʔ '..being past'):

/hay kʲɫnehsta·n daʔn ʔɫwca·n/ 'the - tan oak - a while ago - which I had seen'

13. #dɪgʲan 'here':

/dɪgʲan ʃɫneʔɫna·W-e·y/ 'here - she arrives, here'

14. #de 'here, presently':

/de· xoʔosday/ 'this - man' (close, touching him)

/de· yɫdaG/ 'here - upslope' ('up here')

#de is found in a number of other modifiers:

#dedɫ 'this one'

#deʒenɫs 'today'

15. #do 'not':

/do· nɫwo·n/ 'not - it is good' ('it isn't good')

/do· saʔa· naʔway/ 'not - long time - she walks about' ('she doesn't walk about for long')

/do· nehe· kʲɫwɫnyaʔnya·n me·yandɪlgʲɪd/ 'not - we - Indians - we are afraid of it' ('we Indians aren't afraid if it')

16. #donqaʔ 'beforehand':

/donqaʔ kʲɫwɫnyaʔnya·n na·na·ndeʔʔ-danʔ/ 'before - Indians - came down to earth, being past' ('back before



Indians came down to earth')

17. #tɪn 'very':

/tɪŋ ʔaɬč<sup>w</sup>oŋ/ 'very - it is nice-looking'

/tɪn-čeh ʔa·dɪxa·nɪwe·dɪyaŋʔ/ 'awfully, I feel -  
we became ashamed'

18. #tewɪ 'in the water' (from #0-ewɪ 'under 0'):

/te·w na·ʔaWleʔ/ 'in the water - I dip them'

19. #taneh 'in the middle of the river, mid-stream':

/ta·neh-č<sup>3</sup>tɪŋʔ wɪlehɬ/ 'towards the middle of the

river, out away from shore - (a fish) swims along'

20. #səʔa 'for a long time':

/hay ʔaŋʔ saʔa· ʔeʔɪxaʔ/ 'that - it is so! -

for a long time - they (may) lie there' ('in order for them  
to lie there a long time')

Note the compound forms: #do-səʔa-ɪ-mɪɬ 'after a short  
time ('not-long-(nominal enclitic)-therewith'), #do-səʔa-  
h-ʒɪ 'a very short time' ('not-long-(diminutive)').

21. #sak<sup>y</sup>ɪdɪn 'suddenly, with surprise':

/sə·k<sup>y</sup>ɪdɪŋ ʔaŋg<sup>y</sup>aʔ č<sup>3</sup>ɪx<sup>w</sup>e·wehɬ da·yWoʔdɪŋ xoW/

'suddenly - surprisingly - someone was packing him along  
- (to) someplace - unknown'

22. #cɪd 'first, in first place' (probably reduced  
from \*ce-dɪ(n) 'head-place'):

/ʔahtɪŋ cɪd xolaʔ na·naʔk<sup>y</sup>eʔɪɬdɪw/ 'all - first

- their hands - they wash'

23. #cɪʔɪhɜɪ 'a small amount, slightly' (compare  
the locative #0-ʔɪh 'away from 0'; -ɜɪ is probably the

diminutive consonant symbolic form of #-ʒl 'small'):

/ceʔehʒɪdɪŋ yaʔde.lʰeʔ/ 'for a short while - they stayed'

24. #mɪnɪan 'even' (< #0-e<sub>11</sub>-nɪ<sub>6</sub>-..ɪan 'it is large as (for) 0'; compare also #mɪnɪan '10', 533):

/mɪxeʔ mɪnɪaŋ doː naːʔaɪcaːn/ 'their tracks - even - not - he saw them')

With enclitic -e, the meaning is 'everywhere':

/ʔahtɪŋ mɪnɪaːne/ 'all (people) everywhere'

25. #melah 'some':

/me.lah Waːne noːyaːʔandɪGeːd/ 'some - only - they starved' ('only some people starved')

/me.lah meʔ naːʔasdeːʔ/ 'some - inside - they went here and there'

26. #xɪʰeʔdanʔ 'in the morning' (this is perhaps an analyzable phrase: #xɪʰeʔ-danʔ 'night' + '..being past', the enclitic forming a locative phrase):

/xɪʰeʔdanʔ ʔɪnaːʔawɪGeʔ/ 'in the morning - I get up'

Note however the possibility of forming yet another locative phrase with #-dɪn 'place':

/xɪʰeʔdanʔ-dɪŋ/ 'early in the morning'

27. #wɪlwɪɪdɪn 'in the evening' (again, probably an analyzable phrase: 'it grows dark' + locative enclitic #-dɪn):

/wɪlwɪɪdɪŋ doː kʰɪʰoy/ 'in the evening - not - one weaves (baskets)'

28. #xa? 'quickly':

/xa? na?way/ 'quickly - he walks about'

/do· xolaŋ xa? na?wa/ 'not - it evidently is - quickly - he walks about' ('he's evidently not going to be a fast walker')

29. #xa<sup>1</sup> 'still':

/xa·t̄ ya·xok<sup>y</sup>ɿwan/ 'still - they slept'

/xa·t̄ɿ-mɿq̄ɿd/ 'right on top of it'

/xa·t̄ xɿke? č̄ɿtehsyay/ 'same - night - he went off' ('he went off that same night' or 'he went off while it was still night')

Note the sentence modifier #xa<sup>1</sup>-heh (< 'still-even') 'let (it be done)!' (543).

30. #xoh 'vainly, ineffectually':

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿwɿŋya?n xoh nɿwa?xa·w/ 'acorns - vainly - she gives to you' (you don't accept)

/xoh na?wɿdɿɿ-x<sup>w</sup>/ 'they, vainly walking along (without getting near their goal)'

31. #xo?žɿ 'really, well, in the true manner':

/q̄ad xo?žɿ na?k<sup>y</sup>ɿta·?aw/ 'then - really, heartily - she started in singing'

/xo?žɿ dahč̄ɿdɿwɿnɿa·d/ 'really, with a fresh start - he ran off'

/xo?žɿ wɿlwe·ɿɿ-mɿɿ/ 'late in the evening' (< 'really - when it got night')

/xo?žɿ xontah/ 'a real house' (i.e., a house built in the aboriginal manner)

The locative phrase #xoʔʒl-člnʔ translates 'the right (as opposed to left) side'.

32. #xoʔʒlkoh (consonant symbolic form of \*#xoʔʒl-kʸoh) 'carefully, thoroughly':

/člxosehłwe·n xoʔʒlkoh/ 'he killed her - thoroughly, completely' (she was a monster)

33. #xolłW 'remarkably, to a perceptible extent':

/Wiwa·n-žł xolłW nanya/ 'closer to me, a little - to a perceptible extent - (you) get!' ('come just a little bit closer to me!')

/łahxʷ nıŋxodłne· xolłW-čłw/ 'just - a roaring sound - to a perceptible extent, it is heard' ('something that seems to be a roaring sound is heard')

34. #xolłsžł 'quickly, in a hurry' (< #xolłW + #-žł 'small' ?):

/me·de·deʔn xolłšžł na·Wda·W/ 'I wanted - in a hurry - to go back home'

35. #qłnαʔ (sometimes reduced to #qłnʔ) 'also':

/Włčʷłwe·-neʔen qłnaʔ xehł kʸłtehswe·n/ 'my late grandfather - also - a pack - he carried it'

/qa·deʔ kʸe·yaʔn-te· qłnaʔ/ 'after a while - I will eat - also'

/xonŋ hay čłxa·W qłnʔ naʔwłŋyanʔ-te/ 'he - the (one) - who caught it - also - he will eat'

/We·-qłŋʔ/ 'me too!'

36. #qanł 'recently' (also: #qan):

/qan ʔłsla·n/ 'newly born'

37. #qad 'now, already':

/xontehɬtaw qad čɪwɪltoŋʔɪɬ/ 'coyote - already  
- was dancing along'

/qad hayah čɪdɪwɪlyeʔ/ 'right- there - they  
danced (ceremonial dance)'

38. #qadeʔ 'after a while':

/qa·deʔ no·kʲeʔɪWyahW/ 'after a while - I get  
through eating'

39. #wane 'only, simply':

/qad hayɪq Wa·ne nɪɬ xʷe·lɪgʲ/ 'now - in that  
way - only - to you - I have told' ('now I have told you  
only what is (told) in that way (and nothing else)'), the  
ending formula for a story.

/ʒɪŋkʲohdɪŋ Wa·ne· kʲɪɬkoy/ 'in the daytime -  
only - one weaves (baskets)'

40. #ʒɪŋkʲɪvɪh '(in) daytime, full light of day':

/hayeɪ kʲa·da·wɪdɪneʔ ʒɪŋkʲow-mɪɬ/ 'there -  
we stayed picking acorns - when it was full day'

41. #ʒɪd 'just now':

/ʒɪd yaʔnehste·č/ 'they have just gone to bed'

42. #ʒenah 'high up (in the air)':

/ʒe·nah na·kʲɪmatʔ/ 'high up - it burst'

/ʒe·nah-čɪŋʔ ya·naʔwɪɬʔe·ɬɪl/ 'up in the air -  
they raise (the sticks) up' (movement during the menstrual  
dance)

43. #ʒahda 'thoroughly, too much so':

/ʒahda· do·-nɪwo·n ʔahdɪyah xolan/ 'too much -

bad - has happened, as we see'

44. #čɪdan? 'at first, to begin with':

/hay čɪdan?-dɪŋ x<sup>w</sup>e·tehɪwe·ʔ/ 'the - first place  
- where they camped overnight'

/hay sɪqac' mɪɪ k<sup>y</sup>ɪta·?aWɪd čɪdan?/ 'the -  
cold water - with it - I always soak (it) - to begin with'

45. #k<sup>y</sup>ɪye 'again':

/hay ta?na·n k<sup>y</sup>ɪye· me? na·de?ɪWwal/ 'the -  
water - again - into it - I pour it'

46. #yɪsxande? 'tomorrow':

/yɪsxande? ya·te·se·de?ʔ -te/ 'tomorrow - we'll  
go off'

/yɪsxande? xɪʔe?dan?/ 'tomorrow morning'

47. #na·sdo(·)nx<sup>w</sup>ɪ 'alone':

/na·sdo·ŋx<sup>w</sup> k<sup>y</sup>a·n/ 'alone - she eats' (euphemism  
for 'she is menstruating')

48. #naʔa? '(moving) backwards' (< #0-ʔa? 'O's  
buttocks; the rear of O'):

/na·ʔa? xon? mɪna·k<sup>y</sup>ɪsa?a?aw/ 'moving backwards  
- the fire - she sings (moving) around it'

## 532. Directionals.

## 532.1 Themes.

Motion along the earth's surface is abstractly defined in a set of directional modifiers. There are five cardinal directions, corresponding to five basic themes:\*

#y<sub>l</sub>nαG<sub>l</sub> 'upstream'

#y<sub>l</sub>de? 'downstream'

#y<sub>l</sub>dαG<sub>l</sub> 'away from the stream, uphill'

#y<sub>l</sub>ce?n<sub>l</sub> 'towards the stream, downhill'

#y<sub>l</sub>man<sub>l</sub> 'across the stream'

By 'stream' is meant, first of all, the Trinity River, but, depending on the location of the speaker or other circumstances, it may be a creek, the ocean (conceived of aboriginally as a stream flowing north), a trail or a modern highway, or an abstract line of any sort to which a direction of flow is attributed.

## 532.2 Theme compounds.

A finer definition is achieved by theme compounds. For a man standing on the east bank of the Trinity

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\*These are fossil locative nominals, in all likelihood, with y<sub>l</sub>- either an archaic general object marker (see y<sub>l</sub>d<sub>l</sub>-, and the deictic subject marker y<sub>l</sub>-) or an old demonstrative stem (see #yo-w<sub>l</sub> 'there', #ye-w<sub>l</sub> 'yonder'). There is some attestation for at least #O-dαG<sub>l</sub>:  
 /xodaG če?n<sub>l</sub>nyā/ 'someone came down (the bank) to his fishing place (i.e., his "upslope")'; /hay d<sub>l</sub>na?  
 m<sub>l</sub>daG dahna.k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>sxa.n/ 'the milkweed grew up on its (the mountain's) slope'.

(which flows from southeast to northwest) the following terms are available in common usage to describe his potential motion, and hence the location of objects relative to him:

#yɪde? 'downstream on this bank; NW'

#yɪde?-yɪdαGɪ 'downstream on this bank and uphill;  
compass N'

#yɪdαGɪ 'uphill; NE'

#yɪnαGɪ-yɪdαGɪ 'upstream on this bank and uphill;  
compass E'

#yɪnαGɪ 'upstream on this bank; SE'

#yɪnαGɪ-yɪce?nɪ 'upstream on this bank and down-  
hill, towards the river; compass S'

#yɪce?nɪ 'downhill, to the river; SW'

#yɪde?-yɪce?nɪ 'downstream on this bank and  
downhill, to the river; compass W'

#yɪmanɪ 'across the river, to the opposite bank;  
SW, unless further specified'

#yɪde?-yɪmanɪ 'downstream on this bank and (then)  
across the river; on the opposite bank somewhere down-  
stream'

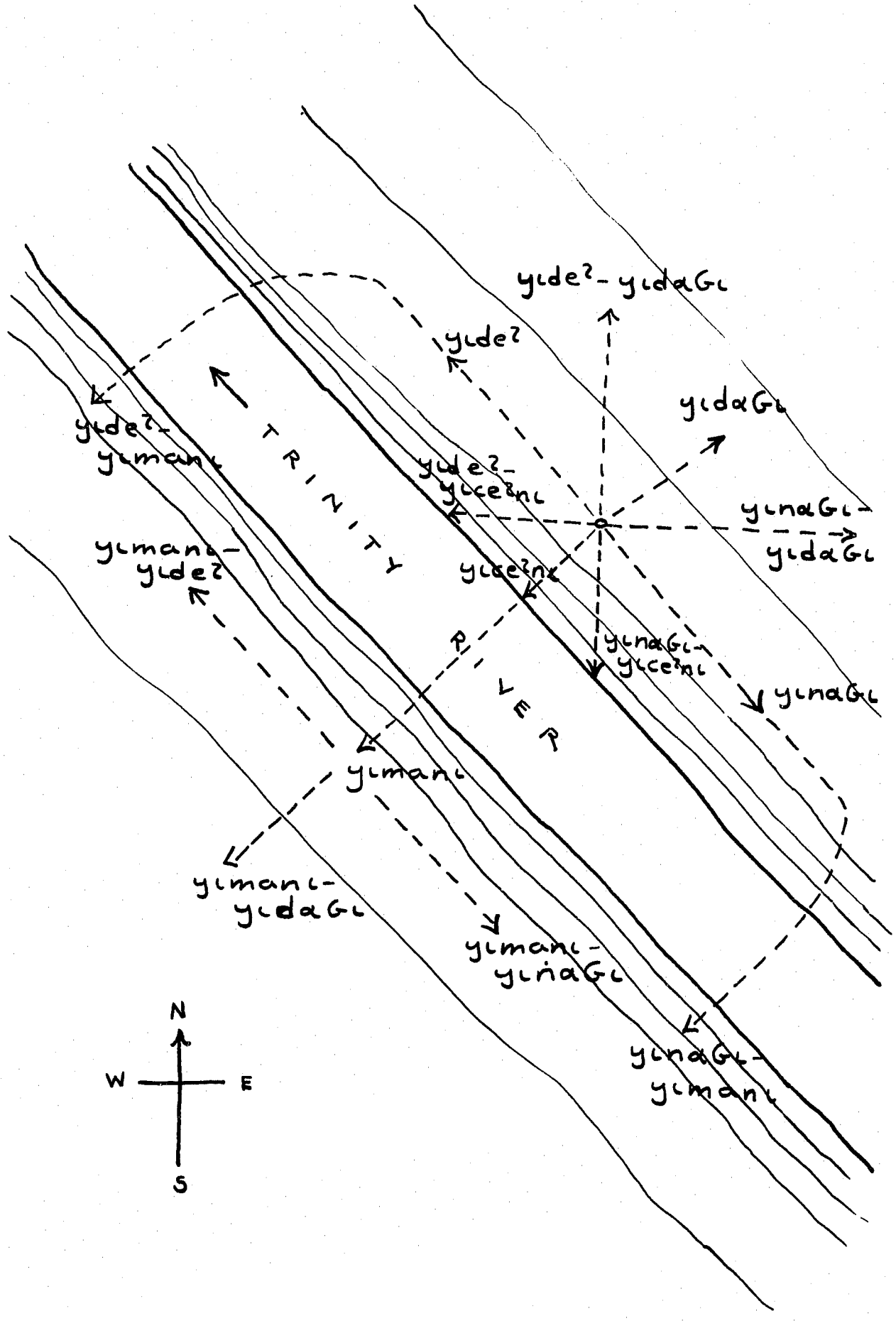
#yɪnαGɪ-yɪmanɪ 'upstream on this bank and (then)  
across the river; on the opposite bank somewhere upstream'

#yɪmanɪ-yɪde? 'across the river and downstream on  
the opposite bank'

#yɪmanɪ-yɪnαGɪ 'across the river and upstream on  
the opposite bank'

#yɪmanɪ-yɪdαGɪ 'across the river and onward





uphill; further SW'

The accompanying chart is an attempt to make this system graphically clear.

Although this set of terms may be used relative to any baseline with a direction of flow, the Hupa, in aboriginal times, sometimes used it as a system of absolute coordinates by assuming--whatever the actual situation--that both speaker and hearer were in the village of /ta<sup>?</sup>k<sup>y</sup>ɫmɫɪdɪŋ/ (near the present Hoopa Valley Post Office), on the east bank of the Trinity. To signal this assumption, phrases containing a directional were prefaced with /de· nohoɫ/ 'here - with us'. Thus, the phrase /de· nohoɫ yɪde<sup>?</sup>-yɫma·n/ 'here - with us - downstream and across to the opposite bank' would, if spoken on the west bank of the river, downstream from /ta<sup>?</sup>-k<sup>y</sup>ɫmɫɪdɪŋ/, signify more or less the spot on which the utterance was spoken.

### 532.3 Locative phrases from directionals.

The locative #O-čɫn<sup>?</sup> 'toward O' is used enclitic to directional themes to form directional locative phrases. In these phrases the directional themes have special forms:

#yɫnɔGɫ 'upstream', #yɫnah-čɫn<sup>?</sup> 'towards (a place) upstream'

#yɪde<sup>?</sup> 'downstream', #yɪda-čɫn<sup>?</sup> 'towards (a place) downstream'

#yɪdɔGɫ 'uphill', #yɪdah-čɫn<sup>?</sup> 'towards (a place) uphill'

#yɿceʔnɿ 'downhill', #yɿsɿn-čɿnʔ 'towards  
(a place) downhill'

#yɿmanɿ 'across the stream', #yɿʔan-čɿnʔ  
'towards (a place) across the stream'

A second enclitic, #-čɿn, which occurs only in these phrases, forms directional locatives in the same fashion, with the meaning 'from (a place).. ' or 'hither from..':

#yɿnah-čɿn 'hither from upstream'

#yɿda-čɿn 'hither from downstream'

#yɿdah-čɿn 'hither from uphill'

#yɿsɿn-čɿn 'hither from downhill'

#yɿʔan-čɿn 'hither from across the stream'

With the nominal enclitic #-nɿ 'people' some of these phrases are used to refer to neighboring Indian groups:

/yɿnahčɿn/ < yɿnah-čɿn-nɿ 'Chimariko or South Fork  
Hupa'

/yɿda·čɿn/ < yɿda-čɿn-nɿ 'Yurok'

## 533. Numerals.

533.1 The basic numeral themes are:

- 1 #t̥aʔ
- 2 #nahxɪ
- 3 #taqɪ
- 4 #dɪnkʲɪ
- 5 #čʷɪlaʔ
- 6 #xɪstɑɪ
- 7 #xɪhkʲɪdɪ
- 8 #kʲɛnɪmɪ
- 9 #mɪqɪstɑwɪ
- 10 #mɪnɪɑn

533.2 Higher counting.

The decades from 10-19 through 90-99 are formed on the pattern:

#(UNIT) -dɪn mɪnɪɑn mɪ-wah na-(UNIT)

The unit is as in 533.1; #-dɪn is a locative phrase formative, here translating 'times'; #0-wah is a locative, here with general object (referring to UNIT-dɪn mɪnɪɑn), translating 'along side of (it)'; #na- is the iterative proclitic particle, 541.2.

Thus:

- 11 /(t̥aʔdɪŋ) mɪnɪɑŋ mɪwɑh nɑ.t̥aʔ/
- 19 /(t̥aʔdɪŋ) mɪnɪɑŋ mɪwɑh nɑ.mɪqɪstɑw/
- 20 /nahdɪŋ\* mɪnɪɑŋ/
- 21 /nahdɪŋ mɪnɪɑŋ mɪwɑh nɑ.t̥aʔ/

---

\* For the formation of -dɪn phrases, see 533.3.

99 /mɪqostahdɪŋ mɪnɪaŋ mɪwah na·mɪqostaw/

The theme for 100 is #dɪkʲɪnɪ. For counts above 100 the pattern is:

#(number of 100's) dɪkʲɪnɪ mɪ-wah na-(remainder under 100, according to the previous pattern)

Thus:

101 /(#aʔ) dɪkʲɪnɪ mɪwah na·#aʔ/

111 /(#aʔ) dɪkʲɪnɪ mɪwah na·mɪnɪaŋ mɪwah na·#aʔ/

999 /mɪqostaw dɪkʲɪnɪ mɪwah na·mɪqostahdɪŋ mɪnɪaŋ mɪwah mɪqostaw/

The form for 1000 is /mɪnɪaŋ dɪkʲɪnɪ/, for 10,000 /mɪnɪandɪŋ mɪnɪaŋ dɪkʲɪnɪ/.

### 533.3 Variant theme forms.

Before the nominal enclitics #-nɪ 'people' and #-dɪn 'place' the theme #nahxɪ '2' has variant forms:

#nahɪ-nɪ '2 people'

#nah-dɪn '2 places; twice'

Before #-dɪn the theme #mɪqustawɪ '9' is #mɪqustah-:

#mɪqustah-dɪn '9 places; 9 times'

In place of \*##aʔ-nɪ there is a special theme #ɪwɔn 'one person', from which the modifier theme #ɪwɔnɪn 'alone' is derived, probably with #-dɪn.

## 540. Particles.

## 541. Word formatives.

Here are grouped the particles, mainly enclitics, which have no syntactic function beyond the words in which they occur.

## 541.1 Possessed nominal base formative.

The productive function of the enclitic #- $\iota$ ? has been described above (512.2). It forms the possessed base of general nominal themes.

Themes of other classes sometimes appear to have fossil #- $\iota$ ? (or -?), in particular inalienable nominals:

#0-we $\iota$ ? 'O's eggs'

#0-tel $\iota$ ? 'O's spleen'

#0-na $\cdot$ ? 'O's eye'

## 541.2 Iterative proclitic.

The theme #na- 'again, once more' is found proclitic to all the major types of non-particle words. In the verb, it is incorporated into the prefix system as na<sub>10</sub>-. Examples of its occurrence with other word classes are:

/na $\cdot$ fa?/ 'again; once more' < #fa? (numeral)

/na $\cdot$ yde?/ 'back downstream' < #yide? (directional)

/na $\cdot$ t $\iota$ n $\iota$ -x<sup>w</sup>/ 'Hoopa Valley' (<'where the trails (go) back') < #t $\iota$ n $\iota$  'trail' (nominal)

## 541.3 Tense markers.

A set of enclitic particles mark tense. Although most often found with verbs, tense markers occur with words of all non-particle classes.

1. #-te. Future tense. This is especially common with verbs. It implies that the action of the theme will take place in the future, in the modal manner specified by the inflection. The English definite future ("he will go tomorrow") is rendered in Hupa by a verb in the perfective aspect with the enclitic #-te:

/hay ʔe·naʔte·deʔʔ-te·-mɪʔ/ 'when they were about to go out'

/yɪsxandeʔ noʔkʲyɪŋxa·n na·ntanʔ-te/ 'tomorrow - the Acorn Feast - they will have it'

With nominals #-te indicates future existence:

/hay camehsʔo·n me·y-te/ 'the - woman - her future possessions' ('what will belong to the woman')

/hay xʷe·dɪqɪ-te/ 'the - according to (that) manner, it will be' ('the manner in which it will be done')

/WɪWxɪyʔ-te/ 'my future child'

2. #-teɪ. This is a variant of the preceding. The contrast in meaning is unclear, but it seems that #-teɪ, as opposed to #-te, implies a more definite, imminent futurity, and perhaps also a more permanent (less uncertain) state. It is often found with verbs that are then nominalized with the locative phrase formative #-dɪn.

/hay-yo·w č̣iḍɪwɪlye?-teḥ-ḍɪŋ/ 'that - place  
where they are to dance (ceremonially)'

/ṭaŋq̣ te?ɪnahW-te·l-ɪd/ 'fall - when it is about  
to arrive' (-te·l-ɪd < -teḥ-ḥɪd)

/do·-teḥ/ 'not-it will be' ('it will soon stop'  
or 'he will soon die')

3. #-nɪ?ɪnɪ. Past tense. The basic meaning of this enclitic is that the action, entity, or modification designated by the theme is no longer existing, or has been altered or disrupted. With nominals referring to living beings it implies their death or at least the cessation of their status as described.

/wɪWxosɪ̣-neḥ?ɪn/ 'I used to cough a lot'

/hay ḳʲɪtaxan-neḥ?ɪn/ 'the dead deer'

/Wa?ad-neḥ?ɪn/ 'my former wife' (dead or alive)

An interesting meaning results from the addition of #-nɪ?ɪnɪ to a transitional theme derived from a passive neuter (453):

/xowehsḳʲɪ(d)-neḥ?ɪn/ 'he was nearly caught'

< 'he was getting to be caught, but things have altered',  
from the primary theme #O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪ-ḳʲɪd 'catch O'.

4. #-neḥ?. Future obligation. This enclitic is almost entirely restricted to verbal forms, where it interrelates in intricate ways with the optative mode and the imperative form of the 2 sg imperfective:

/ḳʲɪŋyaŋ/ 'eat!' (impf)

/ḳʲo·yaŋ?/ 'let him eat!' (opt)



/k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋyan-ne?/ 'you must eat!'

/k<sup>y</sup>o·yan?-ne?/ 'he must eat!'

It is often used in prohibitions, along with the phrase formative #-heh 'even':

/do· k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋya·nɿ-heh-ne?/ 'don't even eat!'

For the force of #-ne? with other word classes two examples must suffice:

/daydɿ g<sup>y</sup>a?-?aW Wɿk<sup>w</sup>ow?-ne?/ 'what? - I wonder - must my medicine be'

/xa?-g<sup>y</sup>a?-ne?/ 'goodbye!' (<#xa? 'quickly', #g<sup>y</sup>a? 'lo!'; i.e., 'you must return quickly' (?))

#### 541.4 Other word formatives.

Here are grouped four enclitic markers.

1. #-e(yɿ) 'there, at that point (in space or time)'.

This particle is of frequent occurrence in conversation and in stories, almost entirely in verbs. It implies that the verbal action takes place in a specific location, sometimes mentioned elsewhere in the sentence, or at a specific instant.

/me?dɿldɿŋ na·ya·?ande·k<sup>w</sup>-e·y/ 'at /me?dɿldɿŋ/ - they arrived back (then and there)'

/yɿwɿdɿnde? ?e?ɿla?n-e·y/ 'finally - it grew in quantity (at that moment)'

/hayahaʒɿd k<sup>y</sup>e?ɿWa?n-e·y hay-yo·w k<sup>w</sup>ɿwɿWxa·n/ 'and then - I eat them (at that moment) - those - eels' ('that is when I eat the eels, not before')

/qančɿwɿlč<sup>w</sup>ɿl čɿsle?n-e· xola·n/ 'a young adult

- he had become (by that time) - it was evident'

Following a vowel #-e(y<sub>l</sub>) takes the form -ye(y<sub>l</sub>):

/ʔehs-q<sup>1</sup>id naʔwa'-ye/ 'on the fish weir - he is walking along (there)'

/dahyaʔw<sup>1</sup>ŋʔa'-ye·y/ 'he was fishing there'

2. #-č<sup>1</sup>h 'hearing, feeling'. This particle indicates that objects or actions are made known through some strong sensory perception (usually the hearing of a noise):

/qad-č<sup>1</sup>eh ʔ<sup>1</sup>Wč<sup>1</sup>(d)-teh<sup>1</sup>/ 'now, it feels - (like) I am going to die'

/do-č<sup>1</sup>eh ɬuxaŋ/ 'not, it feels, tastes - it is good to the taste'

/ʔaŋg<sup>y</sup>aʔ k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>Goč<sup>1</sup> na·wa'-č<sup>1</sup>eh/ 'to my surprise - the sound of brush snapping - it went on, I heard'

/k<sup>y</sup><sub>l</sub>yah<sup>3</sup> d<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>l<sup>1</sup>wahW-č<sup>1</sup>eh/ 'birds - they are singing, I hear'

/č<sup>1</sup>ɬsnah yehW<sup>1</sup>stoh-č<sup>1</sup>eh/ 'a bee - has stung me, I feel'

3. #-ž<sup>1</sup> 'small; in a small, gentle way'. This is the Hupa "diminutive" enclitic. It is connected with two phonetic features: (1) a preceding long vowel is often replaced by Vh (#O-de '(woman's) sister, #O-dehž < \*de-ž<sup>1</sup> 'O's younger sister'; and (2) consonant changes of symbolic nature frequently occur. The latter are discussed below in 541.5. #-ž<sup>1</sup> itself, it should be noted, often occurs in consonant symbolic form, as #-ž<sup>1</sup>.

/xo·wehs'e'nɪ-ʒɪ-mɪɪ/ 'when it began to be a little visible, just barely daylight'

/yɪma·nɪ-ʒ/ 'close across the river'

/ɪɪwanɪn-ʒ/ 'all alone'

/dahɪ nɪkah-xo-ʒ/ 'growing larger little by little'

As might be expected, #-ʒɪ occurs most frequently in nominals, particularly in names of plants, animals, or even people.

/qaytɪmɪɪ-ʒ/ 'small burden basket'

/če·y(ɪ)ʒ/ 'brush' < #čeyɪ '(large) brush'

/dɪnɪW-ʒ/ 'small manzanita'

A number of general nominal themes have thematic -ʒɪ:

#mɪnʒɪ 'menstrual hut' (< \*#mɪnʒ 'house', occurring only in the adverb #mɪnʒayʒ 'outside the house')

#čʷɪɪʒɪ 'huckleberry'

#dɪyWoʒɪ 'small scraps, tinder' (< #dɪyWoʒ 'something', relative-interrogative substitute)

4. #-kʲuh 'large, in a large way'. This particle parallels #-ʒɪ in use, although much more infrequent. Like #-ʒɪ, it is sometimes found with consonant symbolism, and itself occurs sometimes in symbolic form, #-kuh.

/xoʒɪ-kʲoh/ 'in a really large way' (< #xoʒɪ 'really'). Also, the same forms occur with consonant symbolism: /xoʒɪ-koh/ 'in a really careful way'.

/GɔW-kʲoh/ 'redwood' (< #GɔW 'yew')

A number of plant and animal names have thematic -kʲuh (#dɪWkʲuh 'grouse'). Note also the theme #O-kʲuh-ɪʒ

'O's hugeness', of infrequent occurrence, and #mɪ-kʲʉwʲ (the preceding with thematic general object) 'grizzly bear'.

#### 541.5 Consonant symbolism.

Sometimes in conjunction with #-ʒɪ 'small' or #-kʲʉh 'large', and sometimes without any morphemic adjunct, consonantal ablaut is employed to symbolize various aspects of the speech situation. Chief among these are: (1) a feeling of affection on the part of the speaker toward his addressee. Thus:

#Wɪ-kʲayɪ 'my grandchild' > /ʲɪška·y/ 'my dear little grandchild'

#Wɪ-čʷo 'my grandfather' > /Wɪco·-neʲɪn/ 'my dear, late grandfather'

#Wɪ-čʷanɪʲ 'my excrement' > /ʲɪsca·nʲ/ 'my dear little excrement' (from a story in which a mythological character uses his excrement as a helper).

(2) an indication of the smallness or daintiness of the action or object described. Thus:

#xʷɪ-(kʲa-wɪn-a)-ɪ 'his arm' > /xo-ka·ŋʲay/ 'his pitiful, thin arm'

#xoʲʒɪ-kʲʉh 'really big' > /xoʲʒɪkoh/ 'carefully, thoroughly'

#dɪlxɪʒɪ 'fawn' > /dɪlxɪʒ/ 'little fawn'

The consonant interchange involves two sets of stops (affricates) and associated fricatives:

(1) basic #W, ʒ, čʷ, č̣ > /s or š, ʒ, c, č̣/

(2) basic #g<sup>y</sup>, k<sup>y</sup>, k'<sup>y</sup> > /g, k, k'/.

It should be noted that /g, k, k'/ exist in Hupa only as the result of this symbolic process. /g, k, k'/ are palato-velar stops, as opposed to /g<sup>y</sup>, k<sup>y</sup>, k'<sup>y</sup>/, which are front palatal, and /G, q'/, which are back velar.

## 542. Phrase formatives.

Words whose function is to mark the satellite phrases of a predicate (620) are phrase formative particles. With the exception of the nominal phrase introducer #həy, all phrase formatives are enclitic to the last word of the phrase they mark.

## 542.1 Nominal phrase formatives.

There are four enclitic nominal phrase formatives, #-l, #-dɪn, #-nɪ, and #-x<sup>w</sup>e, and an introducer, #həy, which is always the first word of the phrase, when it occurs. The formation of nominal phrases is described in detail at 630. Only general semantic and phonological details will be described here.

1. #-l forms general nominal phrases and is of extremely frequent occurrence. (In addition to being satellites to predicates, phrases marked with #-l are also used as independent predicates. See 620.)

Before a pause, where--unless the phrase it marks is further embedded, and another enclitic follows--#-l normally occurs, reduced vowels are elided (232.1). In most instances, then, #-l is manifested phonemically only through its influence on the preceding consonant or vowel:

/həy k<sup>y</sup>ɪwɪŋyaʔn/ 'acorns' (< 'what one eats'  
#həy k<sup>y</sup>ɪ-wɪn-yanʔ-l)

/həy mɪxə.čeʔ xole.n/ 'sweet-annis' (< 'the -  
its roots - are plentiful' #həy mɪ-xəč-lʔ x<sup>w</sup>ɪ-len-l)

After the full vowels #a and #o, however, #-ɫ has the variant form #-y:

/hay naʔway/ 'the (one who) - goes here and there' (#hay na-ʔ-wa-y)

/hay kʲɫʰoy/ 'the (one who) - weaves baskets' (#hay kʲɫ-ʰo-y)

After overlong #e·, #-ɫ is sometimes #-y. (This may be a dialectal variation. The woman who supplied the forms with #-y came from a Redwood Creek family.)

/no·na·wɫce·/ or /no·na·wɫce·y/ 'door' (< 'what is shoved to a certain place' #no-na-wɫ-(d)-ce·-ɫ/y)

The combination of #e and a following #-ɫ results in an overlong syllable with #e·:

/hay kʲɫqɫ-čɫne·/ 'the (one who) - helps someone; a doctor' (< #O-qɫd + ..dɫ-ne/neʔ 'help O')

2. #-dɫn forms locative nominal phrases, generally translating as "the place where..."

/hay We·lweʔʰ-tehɫ-dɫŋ/ 'the place where I am going to camp for the night'

/xontah-dɫŋ/ 'at the house'

/We·y-dɫŋ/ 'my place, estate' (< #O-eyɫ 'O's possessions')

In forming a nominal phrase from words or phrases that refer to time, #-dɫn is a temporal locative marker:

/xay-dɫŋ/ 'in winter' (#xay 'winter')

/hay na·yaʔneʔɫndɫɫ-dɫŋ/ 'when they returned'

With numerals or modifiers referring to quantity, #-dɪŋ forms phrases translating as "(so many) times":

/ʔan-dɪŋ/ 'often' (< #ʔanɪ 'many' (531.10)). Note that #ʔan- is the basic form in the #-dɪŋ phrase. This parallels similar variation with numerals (see 533.3) and seems to indicate that the final #ɪ of these forms is to be identified with the nominal phrase formative #-ɪ.)

/nah-dɪŋ/ 'twice' (< #nahxɪ 'two')

/taˈqɪ-dɪŋ/ 'three times'

A reduced form #-dɪ appears in a few (fossil?) phrases formed on nominals:

/naˈqɪd/ 'gravel bar, gravelly place' (< #naqɪ 'gravel')

/mɪlayˈd/ 'tree-top' (< #0-layˈ '0's tip, point')

3. #-nɪ and #-x<sup>w</sup>e form nominal phrases referring to groups of people. Both are of infrequent occurrence.

#-nɪ is regularly found with numerals, forming phrases translating as "(so many) people":

/taˈqɪ-n/ 'three people'

/dɪŋk<sup>y</sup>ɪ-n/ 'four people'

/mɪnʔan/ (< #mɪnʔan-nɪ) 'ten people'

With #nahxɪ 'two' the form is /nah-nɪn/, reflecting a variant form of the enclitic, #-nɪnɪ. The numeral #ʔaˈ 'one' is paralleled by #ʔɪwɔnˈ 'one person'.

#-nɪ is also attested in phrases with the number and extent relative-interrogative substitutes (522):



/danɬaŋwoʔ-n/ 'several people'

/danɬandɪ-n/ 'how many people?'

/dahaŋwoʔ-n/ 'several (i.e., an extent of) people'

Other forms with what may be interpreted as #-nɪ could also, perhaps better, be treated as general nominal themes:

/camehsɬon/ 'a group of women' (< #camehsɬon-nɪ),

beside /camehsɬoʔn/ 'woman' (< #camehsɬon-ɪ)

/kʲehɬcan/ 'a group of girls' (< #kʲehɬcan-nɪ),

beside /kʲehɬcaʔn/ 'girl' (< #kʲehɬcan-ɪ)

/yɪnah-čɪn/ 'the people from upstream (Chimariko, Wintu, South Fork Hupa)' (< #yɪnah-čɪn 'from upstream' + #nɪ)

Compare also the unanalyzable names, /kʲɪnasn/ 'Karak Indians' and /qalcasn/ 'New River Indians'.

#-x<sup>w</sup>e probably represents the adverbial phrase formative #-x<sup>w</sup>ɪ 'in (such) a way, at (such) a place' with following nominal phrase formative #-ɪ. It is found in placenames regularly in place of #-dɪn when reference is to the inhabitants of a place:

/taʔkʲɪmɪɬ-x<sup>w</sup>e/ 'the people of /taʔkʲɪmɪɬ-dɪŋ/'

(a major Hupa village)

/x<sup>w</sup>ɪyɪqɪd-x<sup>w</sup>e/ 'the people of /x<sup>w</sup>ɪyɪqɪd/' (Red-

wood Creek).

4. #hɔy is first element in many nominal phrases, with translation varying according to the structure and function of the phrase, but basically "the (one)".

There is a tendency for #hɔy to be proclitic to the word following it. This has not been indicated in the transcription, since it generally has no structural significance, but with the exception of sequences of #hɔy and the locative modifiers #de 'here', #yowɫ 'there' and #yewɫ 'yonder'. These sequences are syntactically significant (see 630), and will be transcribed as the single words they phonemically are.

/hay ɬɪŋʔ/ 'the - dog'

/hay qa·deʔ kʷe·yaʔn-te/ 'what - soon - I will eat'

/hay dayɫ camehsʔo·n/ 'which - ever - woman'

/hay-yo·w camehsʔo·n/ 'that - woman'

The minimal enclitic-marked nominal phrase consists of the introducer #hɔy immediately followed by the formative #-ɫ (634.1). The resulting phonemic form is /hay/ before a pause, /hayɫ/ before an enclitic. It is never proclitic.

/hay naha· naʔaščʷeʔn hay-de· ʔa·wɪnɫw/ 'that one - for us - he made over (transformed) - this - way of doing things, tradition' (The first /hay/ is #hay-ɫ, the second /hay/ is #hɔy.)

## 542.2 Locative phrase formatives.

There are two types of locative phrase formative: (1) locatives used as enclitics; and (2) a small set of special markers. Only the latter are described here (for the former, see 642 and 513.2).

The meanings associated with locative phrases formed with the special locative phrase markers are more abstract (temporal or causational) than concrete. The term "locative" is here much more a grammatical than a semantic label. There are three markers in this set: #-mɪɪ, #-mɪn, and #-manɪ.

1. #-mɪɪ 'when; after; as a result of'. A phrase marked by #-mɪɪ indicates that the nominal phrase, which is its head, is temporally or logically antecedent to the predicate it expands. (The etymology of #-mɪɪ is clear. It is the locative #O-ɪ 'with O' with general object, i.e., 'with (the preceding nominal phrase) complete, past'. It would be possible to describe #-mɪɪ as a simple enclitic locative, if it were not for the special semantic development. It is possible that there even exists the structural contrast: (nominal phrase as expansion of locative object) + #mɪ-ɪ : (nominal phrase as head of locative phrase) + #-mɪɪ.)

/mɪnɪan-dɪŋ na·yɪsxa·nɪ-mɪɪ dɪwohɪye?-te/ 'ten times - when it has dawned - you (pl.) will dance' ('you will dance after ten days (of resting)')

/ʔahtɪŋ kʲɪteʔɪWwa·di-mɪɪ hay kʲe·sdeʔ kʲɪye·  
meʔ-na·na·deʔɪWwal/ 'all, completely - after I shake,  
winnow it - the - coarse stuff, leavings - again - into  
(the hopper) - I pour it back' ('after I winnow it all,  
I pour its leavings back into (the hopper)')

/ʔɪte·ʔɪd xoh kʲo·ʔontaʔnɪ-mɪɪ/ 'she got weak,  
tired - ineffectually - from holding on, after having  
held on' ('she tired herself out from trying to hold on')

/ʔahtɪn-di(ŋ)-mɪɪ kʲɪwɪŋyaʔn-ya·n neʔɪna·W/  
'from everywhere - people - arrived'

Note also the connective #hɔyahmɪɪ 'and then, ...', from  
#hɔyah 'there' + #-mɪɪ. This analysis, however, requires  
#hɔyah to be identified with a nominal phrase, which has  
not been done in this description. (The #h of several  
locative modifiers--see also #ɪah 'once', #naceh 'at  
first'--may be a reduced variant of #-di(n), the locative  
nominal phrase formative.)

2. #-mɪn 'so that; having .. as purpose'.

/xoʔʒ wan-na·se·yaʔ ʔɪWkʲɪd-mɪŋ/ 'really -  
I tried for it - so that I catch it' ('I really tried  
to catch it')

/xonʔ-ʔɪd daʔeʔɪWmɪɪ hay mɪsGeʔGɪʒ xay  
ʔeʔteʔ-mɪŋ/ 'on the fire - I throw on top - the - small  
ones - roots - so that they may get cooked'

/ɪahxʷ xonʔ-ʔɪd de·kʲɪdɪWlɪʒ-mɪŋ te·se·ya·-te/  
'simply - on the fire - in order to urinate - I will go'  
( 'I will go (to the feast) simply so I can urinate on

the fire'

Phrases formed with #-mɪn are often used as heads of nominal phrases (marked with enclitic #-ɪ) translating "what has ... as its purpose":

/ʔahtɪn-dɪ(ŋ)-mɪɪ kʲɪwɪŋyaʔn-ya·n neʔɪna·w  
 ɪxonehɪʔɪŋ-mɪn/ 'from everywhere - people - came -  
 (they) having looking at her as their purpose'

Most medicines are so named:

/ɪɪco·w-mɪn/ 'having green (vomit) as its purpose'

/ce·lɪŋ-mɪn/ 'having (the passing of) blood as  
 its purpose'

/ʔohsdaʔ-mɪn/ 'having (general) sickness as its  
 purpose'.

3. #-manɪ 'because; on account of; lest'.

/hayɪ-ma·n do· na·ʔaɪxɪɪ ʔohɪtehɪ wɪlwɪɪ-dɪŋ/  
 'for that reason - not - one handles - wild grass - in  
 the evening' ('that is why one never handles wild grass  
 in the evening')

/do· ɪoʔ-čɪɪčʷe· xonɪŋʔ ʔohɪdɪɪznɪ-ma·n/ 'not -  
 she laughs - her face - it might get wrinkled, on that  
 account' ('she doesn't laugh lest her face get wrinkled')

/do· deʔdɪɪw no·kʲɪxɪɪ do· nɪwo·nɪ-ma·n/  
 'not - she puts it into the fire - driftwood - not -  
 good, because' ('she doesn't put driftwood into the fire  
 because it isn't good')

## 542.3 Adverbial phrase formatives.

A set of eight enclitic particles serves to form adverbial phrases (650). Three subclasses may be distinguished on semantic grounds: (1) temporal phrase formatives (#-hɪd, #-deʔ, #-danʔ); (2) manner phrase formatives (#-xʷɪ, #-qɪ); and (3) #-təh and #-heh, which form adverbial phrases with more abstract meaning.

## 1. Temporal phrase formatives.

#-hɪd 'at the time that...; as soon as...'

/Wɪlaʔ yehkʲe·la·-hɪd ʃɪGahɪ/ 'my hand - as I put it in - he came along'

/kʲeʔɪWte·l-ɪd neʔɪWtɪW/ 'as soon as I spread out a mat - I lie down' (Note that the sequence #Vɪɪ-hɪd is reduced to #Vɪɪ-ɪd. This occurs after #Vwɪ and #Vnɪ as well, and is best described as a secondary phonemic readjustment rather than a variation of basic forms:

/Vɪɪ + hɪd/ > /Vɪɪ + ɪd/, i.e., /h/ is voiced.)

/ʔaŋq teʔɪna·W-hɪd xɪʔeʔ-dəŋʔ ʔɪna·ʔaWdɪGeʔ/ 'fall - when it comes, as soon as it comes - in the morning, early - I always get up'

/mɪnɪn təhsyay ʔahtɪŋ-hɪd/ '10 people - went off - in a group' (< #ʔahtɪn 'all, completely')

A number of phrases referring to times or seasons are formed with #-hɪd:

/xonsɪɪ-ɪd/ 'in summertime' (< #xunsɪɪ 'hot weather', #xʷɪɪ-ɪd-ɪd-..seɪ '(weather) is hot')

/xay-hɪd/ 'in winter' (< #xay 'winter')

#-de? 'if; when (in the future)'.  
 /čɪdaŋ? sɪse·l mɪqɪ(d)-na·de·yɪwa?ɫ-de? wɪdwa·d

na·ɪɪ(d)-te/ 'at first - hot water -on it - if I pour  
 - the flour - will burn'

/nɪte·sehɪtɪn-te· ?ayɪwɪnse?n-de?/ 'I will take  
 you along - if you want it'

Note the modifier #yɪsxande? 'tomorrow', from the fossil  
 phrase #yɪ<sub>8</sub>-s<sub>3</sub>-xan-de? 'if dawn comes'.

#-dan? 'after; when (in the past)'.  
 /sɪmɪwɪɫy?-daŋ? čɪtɪtɪ-dɪŋ na·?aWa?-ne?ɪn/

'when I was small, a child - where they Kick-Dance -  
 I used to go about' ('I used to go to Kick Dances when  
 I was small')

/hayah-daŋ? čɛ·na·?andɪyay/ 'at that time - he  
 went out again'

Note the following two phrases in #-dan? in very common  
 use as locative modifiers referring to time:

/dahəŋwo?-daŋ?/ 'a long time ago' (< #dahəŋ-Wo?  
 'to some extent', relative-interrogative substitute)

/xɪɫe?-daŋ?/ 'at daybreak; early' (< #xɪɫe?  
 'night')

An adverbial phrase marked by #-dan? and containing #do  
 'not' or #donqa? 'beforehand' translates as 'before...'  
 or 'while...was still the case':

/do· ?owɪ(d)-daŋ?/ 'before I understood it;  
 when I didn't understand it'

## 2. Manner phrase formatives.

#-x<sup>w</sup>ɿ. While phrases formed with #-x<sup>w</sup>ɿ are often translatable as 'in (such and such) a manner', a much wider range of meanings is encountered than with any other phrase formative. Illustrative of its basic meaning are:

/ʔɿsdoʔ xoW nɿWɔŋ-x<sup>w</sup> nahdɿɿ k<sup>y</sup>ɿɿɿnd-ʔe·dɿŋ-x<sup>w</sup>/  
 'I wish - perhaps - in a good way - you (pl.) go about  
 - in a way without sickness'

/dahəŋWoʔ-x<sup>w</sup> ʔaɿk<sup>y</sup>ow/ 'in the manner of some  
 extent - it is large' ('it is very large, it is extensively large')

/ɿaʔxe·l yaʔwɿŋʔa·n nɿɿwah-x<sup>w</sup>/ 'one basketful -  
 they picked up - in a manner separately from each other'  
 ('they each picked up one basketful')

When the head of the phrase is a predicate the translation is often "while ...-ing":

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿle·xɿɿ ɿeʔɿɿɿeʔ-hɿd dɿŋk<sup>y</sup>ɿ-dɿŋ mɿɿɿan-dɿŋ  
 yeʔɿɿxaʔ ɿɿwanɿŋ k<sup>y</sup>ɿaŋ-x<sup>w</sup>/ 'boy - when she gives  
 birth to - four times - ten times - it dawns - alone -  
 while she is eating' ('if (a woman) gives birth to a  
 boy, she eats alone for 40 days')

/yeʔɿɿxaʔ k<sup>y</sup>ɿwaʔahɿ-x<sup>w</sup>/ 'day breaks - while he  
 is singing along'

When the head of the phrase is a nominal, #-x<sup>w</sup>ɿ often has locative force:

/xolaʔk<sup>y</sup>ɿneʔ-x<sup>w</sup> wɿlk<sup>y</sup>ɿɿd/ 'around their wrists -



they were seized'

/daqa·n-q'ld-x<sup>w</sup> na?way/ 'on top of the ridge -  
he walked about'

Note #-x<sup>w</sup> phrases formed on locative modifiers:

/de·-x<sup>w</sup> na?te·ŋ?e?n/ 'this way - he looked'  
( 'he looked in this direction' )

A related enclitic #-xvh, with an archaic doublet  
#-xuwe-dɪn, is found with numerals and semantically  
related modifiers (#?ahtɪn 'all'), forming adverbial  
phrases translated as "in (some number) of places":

/xohk<sup>y</sup>ldɪ-xoh ?a·de?k<sup>y</sup>e?ɪmlɪ/ 'in seven different  
places - she throws water on herself'

/nah-xowe·-dɪŋ/ 'at both places'

#-q' 'in a way similar to ...' Heads of phrases  
in #-q' are most frequently nominal phrases.

/k<sup>y</sup>lda·y?-q' nɪtš<sup>w</sup>ɪn/ 'like a flower - it smells'

/?ayneh hay ?awte·nɪ-q'/ 'do it - the way I did  
it'

/de·-q' do·ŋ? ?a·?awɪɪw/ 'in this way - it is -  
I always do it'

/nahxɪ-q'a-?ante/ 'in two ways - it is'

### 3. Other adverbial phrase formatives.

#-tah forms adverbial phrases translating "addition-  
ally ..." or "more or less ...":

/to·-čɪŋ? na·ya?k<sup>y</sup>e?ɪwe? ?ahtɪŋ hay čɪde·č<sup>w</sup>ɪŋ

k<sup>y</sup>lwɪyal-tah/ 'to the river - they pack - all - the -  
household goods - as well as food'

/daŋwoʔ-tah hay yaʔwɪŋʔay ɬɪwəŋ čɪxoteʔɪGɪʒ/  
'someone or another - the one - sitting there - one  
person - she tosses him out with her stick'

A sequence of phrases with #-tah is the usual translation  
of English "either...or...":

/hay daʔnɪ-tah wɪɬdanʔ-tah yaʔk<sup>y</sup>ɪtaʔah-neʔɪn/  
'the (ones who) - either a little while ago - or  
yesterday - had sung'

#do 'not' + #-tah is translated "maybe" (i.e., 'more or  
less not'):

/doʔ-tah čo·ndaʔ-te/ 'maybe - you will grow thin'

#-heh forms adverbial phrases translating "empha-  
tically ..." or (with a nominal phrase as head) "even  
considering ...":

/hayɪ-heh ʔaWɪɪyaw/ 'nevertheless - I did it'  
(i.e., 'even considering that')

/hay xoWteʔ xoGe·k<sup>y</sup>ɪneʔ-heh do· če·ŋʔay/ 'the -  
his blanket - even considering his ankle - not - it  
stuck out' ('nothing stuck out of this blanket, not  
even his ankle')

/ɬah-x<sup>w</sup>e-heh xa·sɪWa·W/ 'just to see what I  
would find, not expecting anything - I climbed the hill'  
(i.e., 'emphatically simply')

#-heh phrases of a special type (612.2) are used as

prohibitive sentences:

/do· kʲɪwɪdyaʔne-heh/ 'may there be no eating!'

/do· hay ɪʃč̣ na·deʔeʔḳ-č̣ɪŋʔ xeʔe·č̣o·yaʔa-  
 heh-neʔ/ 'not - the - boards - towards (those) standing  
 up - one should emphatically go beyond' ('let no one  
 pass beyond the boards!')

## 543. Sentence modifiers.

The remaining class of particles includes words whose syntactic function is to modify the sentence as a whole, rather than to form or expand a phrase. Syntactically considered, each sentence modifier is a phrase unto itself, with no formal connection, except through inclusion in the sentence, with other phrases.

Two formal classes of sentence modifier may be distinguished: (1) attitude words, usually single elements, serving to interject the speaker's opinions or attitudes into the sentence (or, in quotations, the attitudes of the purported speaker); and (2) connectives, which serve to introduce or join sentences, particularly in stories.

## 543.1 Attitude words.

1. #ʔʌsdoʔ 'please! would that...!' Indicates a strong desire on the part of the speaker that the described action take place.

/ʔʌsdoʔ xoʔʒɪ-nehwa·n no·Wɪnɪŋe·ne·y/ 'please - gently - put me down (there)'

/ʔʌsdoʔ dehsdɪlʃe·/ 'I wish - we lived together'

2. #ʔanʔ 'it is so!' This word indicates the speaker's firm belief in the veracity of what he is saying. At its weakest, it is a strong demonstrative.

/yo·w ʔanʔ wɪlxəʔn/ 'that - it is - what got sweet'

/me·dɪWdɪn-a·ŋʔ hayah xa·sɪWə·W/ 'I want to, it

is so - there - to climb up' (-a·ŋ? is the contraction of the nominal enclitic -ɫ with -ʔaŋ?).

3. #ʔan 'is it?' This is the Hupa "question particle", serving to indicate the speaker's doubt as to the veracity of what he is saying.

/de·d-a·ŋ? nɪskʲɪŋ ʔaŋ? ʔaŋ/ 'this one, it is - a fir tree - it is - is it so?' ('is this tree a fir?')

/do· hay ʔaŋ/ 'not - the - is it?' ('that isn't it, is it?')

/ʔa·n/ 'Indeed!' (An exclamation, which may be analyzed as #ʔan-ɫ 'is it so?' + nominal enclitic -ɫ).

4. #ʔana·n? 'it is not so; it is questionable'. Used to cast doubt on what is being said. The form is perhaps analyzable as #ʔan 'is it?' + #ʔan? 'it is!', i.e., 'it is truly dubious'.

/hay ʔana·ŋ? We· nɪWstɪn/ 'that - is not - I - what I think' ('I don't think that')

With a negation, #ʔana·n? quite commonly means 'there is no doubt':

/do· ʔana·ŋ? kʲɪnaWla·l/ 'not - it is not - I dreamed' ('there is no doubt that I dreamed')

5. ʔaW 'I wonder'. Indicates uncertainty on the part of the speaker as to what will happen.

/qad ʔaW hayɫɪ na·dɪɪ-ne? kʲɪwɪnyaʔnya·n/ 'now - I wonder - in that way - whether they are to go about - Indians' (The speaker--in a myth--is wondering what human beings will be like in the future.)

Quite often the sequence #g<sup>y</sup>a?-?αW is found with essentially the meaning of #?αW alone. #g<sup>y</sup>a? alone has the meaning 'lo! look here!'

/dax<sup>w</sup>e·dɪ g<sup>y</sup>a?-?αW ?αWneh/ 'what, in what manner  
- I wonder - am I to act, do'

6. #do?oŋ (phonetically variable: /do?oŋ/, /do·?oŋ/, /do·ŋ?/, and also /do?aŋ/) 'it is so! really! see!' An asseverative word, stronger than #?an?. Very likely derived from #do 'not' + #?an 'is it?', i.e., 'isn't it?'

/yo·w Wa·ne· do?oŋ k<sup>y</sup>ɪdɪwɪdɪn?-te/ 'that one -  
only - see! - he will be loved by people'

/qa(d) do?oŋ xa?a·xolah-te/ 'now - it is so! -  
you will treat her that way'

7. #xɔW 'I guess; probably; maybe; it seems'. Indicates uncertainty, or at best mild belief.

/xɔW dɪyWɔ? yɪk<sup>y</sup>ɪd/ 'I guess - something -  
caught it' (speaking of a lost chicken)

/da·yWɔ?-xɔ xɔW xok<sup>y</sup>an-na·ŋya?/ 'to someplace  
- maybe - his heart moves about' ('maybe he wants to go  
somewhere')

8. #čɪnɪ 'they say'. Indicates that the speaker attributes what he says to the report of others. (Reduced from /čɪne·/, impersonal human subject form of ..#dɪ<sub>6</sub>-.. ne 'say..' (enclitic verb)).

/dayWe?-eh čɪn-a·n? do· ya?sehɪwe·n/ 'nothing  
- they say, it was - not - they killed anything' ('they  
had killed nothing, the word was')

9. #g<sup>y</sup>a? 'lo!' Indicates unexpected discovery.

/nɪtʰ?ɪn de· g<sup>y</sup>a?/ 'look! - here- lo!' ('look at this here!')

/dɪywo? g<sup>y</sup>a? ?ɪleh-ne?/ 'something - lo! - you must become' ('you must become something, I don't know what')

10. #k<sup>y</sup>eh 'let it be!' The speaker desires some action to occur.

/k<sup>y</sup>eh nɪwʰɪŋ?/ 'let me look!'

/k<sup>y</sup>eh xoxa·na·nohte/ 'let it be - you go looking for them'

#### 543.2 Connectives.

Connective themes are all locative phrases, mainly formed on the modifier #həyah 'there (in space or time)'. In formal recitation, a connective introduces each sentence.

1. #hɪʒɪd 'and...' Most commonly used to attach a second predication to a sentence, indicating a slight subordination.

/noʰnɪnta·n hɪʒɪd ʰɪsGɪd/ 'she put it down - and - she began to saw it'

/hay dɪɪg<sup>y</sup> k<sup>y</sup>eʰɪwɪk<sup>y</sup> hɪʒɪd mɪtah na·na·- k<sup>y</sup>eʰɪwme?/ 'I peck at the unshelled acorns - and - I sort them out'

2. #həyahdɪn 'because of that, ...' (< #həyah 'there' + #-dɪn, locative enclitic; i.e., 'at that').

/həyahdɪŋ xowehskʲɪ(d)-neʔɪn/ 'because of that  
- he was nearly caught'

3. #həya·ɪ 'and then, ...' (< #həyah + #0-ɪ 'with 0' (?), i.e., 'therewith').

/həya·ɪ yehčɪwɪŋyay/ 'and then - he went in'

Not infrequently #həya·ɪ is accompanied by an attitude word (usually #ʔanʔ 'it is so') or a phrase formative (especially #-danʔ '...being past'):

/həya·ɪ ʔanʔ yɪwɪdɪne·mɪɪ xaʔa·ʔadyaw/ 'and  
then - it is so - finally - he did so'

/həya·ɪ-danʔ xoɪ-čɪxowɪlɪgʲ/ 'and then - after -  
she told him'

4. #həyahmɪɪ 'and then, ...; thereupon, ...'  
(< #həyah + #-mɪɪ 'when, after', i.e., 'after that').

/həyahmɪɪ no·wxa·w hay čɪwahslay/ 'and then -  
I set down (in a container) - the - shelled acorns'

/həyahmɪɪ ʔanʔ yehna·ʔɪwda·w xontah/ 'and  
then - it is so - I always go back into - the house'

5. #həyahɪʒɪd 'and then, ...' (< #həyah + #hɪʒɪd).

/həyahɪʒɪd ɪe·na·ʔawsow hay sɪkʲe·č/ 'and  
then - I scrape together - the - shells'

6. #həyahdeʒɪ 'after that, ...' (< #həyah + ? ).

/həyahdeʒɪ noʔnɪttɪnte/ 'after that - he will  
lay it down'



/hayahdeʔž na·naʔwɪttɪndeʔ noʔnɪte·n-e·-te/

'after that - when he has taken it down again - he will lay it down there'

7. #mɪnežɪxomɪɪ 'after a (long) while' (< #(mɪ)-nežɪ(d) 'in the middle (of it)', #-xʷɪ phrase formative, #-mɪɪ 'after, from', phrase formative; i.e., 'after being engaged in it, after being in the midst of it').

/mɪne·žɪxomɪɪ kʷɪwanayda·na·ʔandɪyay/ 'after a long while - he came back from hunting'

## 550. Expressive words.

Expressive words are the forms that occur as minor (unanalyzable) sentences. They range widely in meaning, including terms of assent and dissent; terms of approval or disapproval; vocatives; and expressions of feeling.

Expressive words may be sorted into two rough classes: (1) those that are totally unanalyzable, and (2) those that bear some vague resemblance to words that occur in full sentences.

## 550.1 Unanalyzable forms.

1. #heyān 'yes indeed!' (old-fashioned)
2. #yūth 'what?!' (angry surprise)
3. #ya 'good for you!' (indicates praise; an encouraging word for someone not expected to do well)
4. #yaha '(how) big!' (indicates pride in, or surprise at, the magnitude of something)
5. #ʔāyūth 'I'm tired!' (said when sick, suffering from weakness; it is taboo to say this during the ceremonial dances)
6. #ʔayg<sup>y</sup>e (or #ag<sup>y</sup>e) 'I'm lonesome, ache' (expressive of a groan)
7. #ʔānaʔ (or #naʔ) 'look here!' (querulous warning)
8. #ʔāloh 'it feels hot!'
9. #layt 'look!' (attention-attracting)
10. #dūye 'yes!'

11. #daxw 'no!' (compare #do 'not', modifier in full sentences)

12. #moxw 'it stinks!'

13. #xa? 'O.K.' Also: /xa? xontah/ 'come in!' (#xontah 'house').

14. #šo? 'here! take it!'

#### 550.2 Partially analyzable forms.

1. Resembling forms with k<sup>y</sup>l- deictic, reduced to ?l-:

#?lslyah 'it's cold!' (refers to feeling)

#?lžlɬh 'I'm afraid!' (-b- is an unusual phoneme, and probably represents the consonant symbolic form of -w-. An alternate, #lžlwɬh, is attested; also #lɜlɬh, with the symbolic process -ž- > -ɜ-.)

#?vlaš 'nasty!' (-š- is a symbolic form of -W-).

2. The following three forms seem to be based on #dɪ-yah, perhaps related to #?a<sub>11</sub>-..dɪ-yah, perfective theme of #?a<sub>11</sub>-..nɪh 'do (so)':

#?axɔdɪyawe 'too bad!' (pity)

#dɪyawl<sup>?</sup>k<sup>y</sup>ɪnl<sup>?</sup> 'my goodness!' (surprise, mild delight)

#čɪhdɪyah 'I'm glad!'

3. #čɪyo(Wɪ) 'oh my!' (fear). Compare #k<sup>y</sup>ɪyoyɪ 'dangerous thing; stranger'

4. The following three vocatives somewhat resemble semantically related nominal or verbal themes:

#ʔ<sub>1</sub>ne 'mother!' Compare #0-an-č<sup>w</sup><sub>1</sub>n 'O's mother'.  
A variant vocative form, #ʔ<sub>1</sub>negoʔ would appear to contain the Yurok stem -koʔ 'mother'.

#k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>le 'you guys!' Compare #0-k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>ll<sub>1</sub> 'O's younger brother'; #k<sup>y</sup><sub>1</sub>le-x<sub>1</sub>-ž<sub>1</sub> 'young boy'.

#x<sub>1</sub>nay 'friends!' (said only by women). Compare the verbal theme #x<sub>1</sub><sub>6</sub>-..na 'be alive, active'.

## 600. REMARKS ON SENTENCE SYNTAX

No attempt will be made in this description to treat fully the processes of sentence formation. The sections that follow are only outlines, and they are mainly intended to round out the description of the word classes discussed in the preceding chapters by indicating their syntactic functions.

## 610. Types of sentences.

Full sentences are distinguished by having at least one predication (620). Some full sentences consist of two or more predications, none functioning as an expansion of another; these are compound sentences. The remaining sentences of Hupa are of two types: restricted sentences, which contain predications of a restricted form, or fragments of predications; and minor sentences, which are without any internal structure.

## 611. Compound sentences.

Especially in formal narrative, sentences are separated from one another by introductory particles, connectives (543.2). Here and there, in narrative and conversation, two or more predicates (usually unexpanded, i.e., simply verbs) occur next to one another without intervening particles:

/haya·t̄ yehčeʔˌna·w yehkʲeʔˌl̄tal meʔ-naʔaɪtoʔn/

'and then (= connective) - she goes in (into the dance-ground) - she dances in - she jumps up and down inside (a circle of dancers)'

Sometimes such strings have an expanded subject or object expressed once for the whole string:

/haya·t̄ tahč̄slay hay nahd̄ɬyaw deʔd̄ɬwɬte·n  
 tahna·ʔaste·n č̄ɬwɬɲyaʔn hay mɬcɬnʔ/ 'and then - he  
 took them out of the water - the dentalium shells -  
 he put it into the fire - he took it out of the fire  
 again - he ate it - the meat of it' (Here the two  
 verbs with stem #-ten, formations on the theme #A-0<sub>7</sub>-..  
 t̄-tɬw/ten 'move (a living being) somewhere', as well  
 as /č̄ɬwɬɲyaʔn/ 'he ate it', clearly have as their object  
 /hay mɬcɬnʔ/ 'the meat of it', here treated as a living  
 being grammatically.)

Whether or not such strings of predications as the above are considered compound sentences, there is at least one formally marked type of compound sentence. A predication preceded by the connective #hɬžɬd 'and' always presupposes a preceding predication:

/ya·ʔawtɬw meʔɬsd hɬžɬd ʔad kʲeʔɬwɬd/ 'I  
 pick up - a pestle - and - finally - I pound'

## 612. Restricted sentences.

Two types of restricted sentences may be distinguished, imperatives and prohibitives.

## 612.1 Imperatives.

Imperative sentences translate as commands addressed to the hearer (when the subject of the predication is 2 sg or 2 pl), requests for permission to act or expressions of a desire to act (when the subject is 1 sg or 1 pl), or a command or request directed to a third party (when the subject is impersonal). Impersonal and first person subject forms are inflected for optative mode. Second person subject forms are imperfective in modal form:

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿWanʔ/ 'let me eat!' (optative)

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋyan/ 'eat!' (imperfective)

/k<sup>y</sup>o·yanʔ/ 'let him eat!' (optative)

Many of the particles (especially attitude words and tense enclitics) that occur in full sentences do not occur in imperative sentences. In particular, the use of the nominal phrase formative #-ɿ after the main predication to form predication nominals (621) is not found in imperatives. Note the pair:

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋyan/ 'eat!' (imperative), or 'you are eating' (full sentence)

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋya·n/ 'you are eating' (< #-ɿ) (full sentence only).

The only tense enclitic found with imperatives is #-ne?, indicating future obligation:

/k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋyan-ne?/ 'you must eat'

/k<sup>y</sup>o·yan?-ne?/ 'he must eat'

Within the limits imposed by semantics, imperative sentences may be expanded according to the same principles as full sentences (622):

/na·tɿndahW xontah-dɿŋ/ 'go back - home!'

/xo·dɿɿɿɿ(d)-ne? do· no·ntah-de?/ 'you must ask her! - if you don't believe it'

#### 612.2 Prohibitives.

Prohibitive sentences translate as negative commands. There are two formations, both adverbial phrases in #-heh (542.3.3) formed on de-verbal nominal phrases.

1. #do 'not' + (imperative sentence) + #-ɿ (nominal phrase formative) + #-heh (adverbial phrase formative) + #-ne? (tense marker indicating future obligation):

/do· k<sup>y</sup>ɿŋya·n-e-heh-ne?/ 'you must not eat!'

/do· tohdɿɿ-e-heh-ne?/ 'you (pl.) must not go!'

The placement of #do in the sentence is variable. It often is the first word, but perhaps more frequently occurs in non-initial position:

/ɿɿŋ?-heh do· hayah-mɿɿ yɿto·?o·?e?n-e-heh-ne?/

'dogs even - not - from there- they must look on' ('dogs must not look on (the ceremony) from that place!')



2. #do 'not' + (gerund or passive neuter) + #-<sub>l</sub>  
 (nominal phrase formative) + #-heh (adverbial phrase  
 formative):

/do· k<sup>y</sup>ɿwɿdyaʔn-e-heh/ 'don't eat! let there be  
 no eating (at this time)!'

/do· na·dmeʔ-e-heh/ 'don't swim!'

### 613. Minor sentences.

Any unanalyzable utterance is a minor sentence.  
 A subclass of vocatives may be distinguished, and the  
 remainder may be labelled expressives.

#### 613.1 Vocatives.

A vocative is used to call the attention of some-  
 one. Any nominal phrase from a full sentence may be  
 used as a vocative, the commonest of this type being  
 kinship terms inflected for first person possessor:

/wɿtaʔ/ 'father!' (< 'my father')

/nohde/ 'sister!' (< 'our sister')

Often, such forms are modified by the processes of  
 consonant symbolism (541.5):

/ʔɿstaʔ/ 'father dear!'

A number of particles are used as vocatives (550.4):

/ʔɿne/ 'mother!'

/xɿnay/ 'friends!' (said by women)

#### 613.2 Expressives.

All other minor sentences have the general function  
 of expressing the attitude of the speaker towards some

person, object, situation, or topic. All forms occurring in such sentences are expressive particles (550):

#ʔag<sup>y</sup>e 'I'm lonesome!'

#mαW 'it stinks!'

#č<sup>3</sup>yo(Wl) 'oh my!'

## 620. Predications.

Everything in a full sentence that is not a sentence modifier (543) is part of the predication. The minimal, simple predication is a verb form. More complex predications are described in the following sections.

## 621. Nominal predications.

A simple predication nominalized by the enclitic #-l may also function as a predication. The meaning of a nominal predication of this sort differs only subtly from the meaning of the corresponding simple form:

/yehč̣ɪwɪnde·λ/ 'they went inside' (beside /yeh-  
č̣ɪwɪndeʔλ 'they went inside')

Goddard (1905:37) describes the difference between what is here analyzed as a simple predication with the verb in the perfective mode, and the corresponding nominal predication, as in the example above, as the difference between "present definite" and "past definite" tense. It is perhaps better defined as an aspectual difference.

The nominalization of main verbs is a widespread phenomenon in Athabaskan, and such formations are usually called "relatives" (Sapir 1923). In most Athabaskan languages, however, "relativization" is much less pervasive than it is in Hupa, being restricted for the most part to adjectival verbs. Hupa is probably archaic, rather than innovating, in this respect, closely approaching what Sapir describes as the proto-

type of Athabaskan relative formations: "an old particle, probably a demonstrative stem, that could be freely added to any word or group of words to relate it to an expressed or understood person or thing" (1923: 139).

## 622. Expansions.

All predications may be expanded with one or more of three types of expansion (or "satellite") phrase: nominal phrases (NP), locative phrases (LP), and adverbial phrases (AP). NP's expand the subject or object categories of the verb, or the object/possessor category of a nominal (in another NP or in an LP). LP's and AP's expand non-pronominal categories in the verb. The relation between the overt and covert structure of a verb or nominal and the expansion phrases with which it is associated in expanded predications is beyond the scope of this description. However, the following superficial observations may be made:

1. NP's are not marked in any way, either by overt marker or by position, as to whether they expand the subject or the object of a verb. Subject or object expansions may precede or follow the verb:

$$\frac{/x^w e \cdot da?ay}{NP(s)} \quad \frac{Wa \cdot ne}{AP} \quad na \cdot teh \dot{d} \dot{t} o?n \quad \frac{xontah - \dot{c} \dot{t} \eta?}{LP} / *$$

'his head - only - it rolled back - to the house'

---

\*Here and in the following sections expansion phrases will be indicated by continuous underlining and subscripts.

/ʔinaʔadGeʔ hay kʲute·taw/ 'she gets up - the  
NP(s)

doctor'

/čiwɪŋxan-te ɬo·q xalo·qeʔ/ 'he will catch it in  
NP(o) NP(o)

a net - salmon - silverside salmon'

/kʲɪcɪwanʔ-ʔohɬ ʔa·diqɪd-no·naʔalɪW/ 'buckskin  
NP(o)

headband - she again puts on'

One general rule seems to hold, however. When there are expansions of both subject and object, the subject expansion precedes the object expansion:

/daʔnɪ-qad hay-yo·w camehsʔo·n ce dahyaʔaʔaW/  
AP NP(s) NP(o)

'just before - that woman - a stone - she picks it up'

/hay čɪŋkʲa·we no·lʔGe·d čɪtɪa·n/ 'the older one  
NP(s) NP(o)

- a fish trap - he had it lying there'

/danWoʔ do· yɪta·n hay ɬo·q/ 'someone - not -  
NP(s) AP NP(o)

he eats it - the salmon' ('none eats the salmon')

/noʔwaʔaWɪɪ-mɪɬ naʔkʲɪtɪwaʔa·l hay kʲute·taw  
LP NP(s)

xoŋ xoWɪneʔ/ 'when they have ended the song - she sings  
NP(o)

along - the doctor - her own song'.

2. An NP expanding the possessor/object pronoun of a nominal often immediately precedes the nominal it expands:

/camehsʔo·n mɪkʲan-saʔa·n/ 'woman - its (her)  
NP(p)

heart'

/hay-yo·w k'y<sup>1</sup>te·taw xosay?a?aw/ 'the doctor -  
NP(p)

into her mouth he puts it' (The NP is here the object of a locative incorporated into the verb: #0-sa<sub>11</sub>-0<sub>7</sub>-.. ?αW/?an 'put (one object) into O's mouth').

But when the NP involves a nominalized predication, it is often displaced:

/m<sup>1</sup>k<sup>1</sup>ya·č<sup>1</sup>η? te·se·yay hay-yo·w ?ač<sup>w</sup>on-x<sup>w</sup> -  
LP NP(p)

?  
?a·n<sup>1</sup>w<sup>1</sup>ehste/ 'away from it - I went - that place which looks so beautiful'

/do· m<sup>1</sup>qeh-na·d?a?e-heh hay do· n<sup>1</sup>wo·n/ 'not -  
NP(p)

pay any attention to it - what is not good' ('don't pay any attention to what is not good'; this is a prohibitive sentence, 612.2).

### 623. Enclitic predications.

A small group of impersonal neuter verbs occurs only enclitic to another predication. It is unclear how this formation is best described. The two most common verbs of this class are cited below, with examples.

1. ...#w<sub>1</sub>n<sub>3</sub>-..<sup>1</sup>te (extension neuter) 'it is always..'

/łahx<sup>w</sup> do· n<sup>1</sup>wo·n me? č<sup>1</sup>łGahł -w<sup>1</sup>nte--te/ 'only - not - what is good - in it - he goes along - it will always be' ('he will always go along in bad things', i.e., 'he will always have bad luck')

/xo·Wtehlł -wehste?/ 'I carry him along - it came to be always' ('I was always carrying him along')

2. ...#x<sup>w</sup>ᵗ₆-...sɪn (description neuter) 'people are...'

/tehsʔᵗᵗʔ -xosᵗᵗ/ 'people are looking'

/hay kʲa·da·ne·-xosᵗᵗ/ 'the people who are picking acorns' (NP formed from /kʲa·da·ne· -xosᵗᵗ/ 'people are picking acorns')

/nᵗᵗkʲᵗᵗʔaᵗ -xowɪnseʔn/ 'people started cutting it (deer) up into meat'

## 630. Nominal phrases (NP).

Any one of the following may function as a nominal phrase:

1. An independent pronoun (521).
2. The general or human relative-interrogative substitutes (522).
3. A nominal of any class (510).
4. A nominal, modifier, or predication marked as an NP by an enclitic nominal phrase formative (542.1). NP's of this type will be called complex.

NP's of types 3 and 4 often have the nominal phrase introducer, #hax (542.1), as first element. #hax is sometimes proclitic to a locative modifier (#de 'here', #yowt 'there', #yewt 'yonder') forming a set of demonstratives: #hax-de 'this (present)', #hax-yowt 'that (visible)', #hax-yewt 'that (out of sight)'.

## 631. Independent pronouns as NP.

Independent pronouns are most commonly found as expansions of the personal pronominal categories. The usual minimal expansion of an impersonal pronoun is #hax-t (634.1) rather than the rarely occurring pronouns #xvn or #m:n.

/n:n ?aŋ xa? w:nɣahɫ-te/ 'you - is it so? -  
NP

quickly - you will go along' ('will you be going along quickly?') (expansion of verb subject)

/We: ?e·n? xow že?w:nta?c'-te/ 'me - it is -  
NP



perhaps - they will cut me open' (expansion of verb object)

/xon x<sup>w</sup>a·/ 'him - for him' (expansion of object of a locative)

/We· WlWlne?/ 'me - my song' (expansion of the possessor of a nominal)

/nehe·-ma·n č̣ṭehsyay/ 'in spite of us - he went' (head of a locative phrase).

### 632. Relative-interrogative substitutes as NP.

The relative-interrogative substitutes of the general class (#day-Wo?, #day-dl) and the human class (#dan-Wo?, #dan-dl) function as NP's.

/dḷyWo? me? no?ṇlay/ 'something - into (her basket) - she put them down' ('she put some things into her basket') (expansion of verb object)

/dayd mḷq̣lḍ ya·ŋ?ay/ 'what? - on it - you are sitting' ('what are you sitting on?') (expansion of the object of a locative)

/dand xoł̣č̣̣xoḷig<sup>y</sup>/ 'who? - he tells him' ('who tells him?') (expansion of proclitic locative object)

### 633. Nominals as NP.

General nominals with or without inflection for possessor, and possessed nominals (except for locatives), may function as NP's. If inflected, the possessor may

in turn be expanded by an NP. The occurrence of the NP introducer #hɔy with NP's of this type appears to indicate definiteness or mild deixis, very much as English "the". When proclitic to #de, #yowɫ, or #yewɫ, #hɔy is best translated as a demonstrative.

/ɬɪŋ?  
NP do· nɪna·W/ 'dogs - not - they come' ('dogs never come here') (Strictly speaking, this should be translated 'a dog never comes here', since the verb theme is #A-..yaW/ya '(one) moves somewhere'. But here, as in general, a nominal without #hɔy is semantically equivalent to an English plural form.)

/ce·  
NP ya·yaʔtɪɪW/ 'rocks - they each pick up' (expansion of verb object) (Here the verb theme specifies plurality: #A-O<sub>7</sub>-..ɪW/la 'move (several objects or a rope) somewhere'.)

/daŋwoʔ do· yɪta·n hay to·qʹ  
NP / 'someone - not - he eats it - the salmon' ('no one eats the salmon')

/hay-yo·w  
NP kʲɪkoy ʔeʔɪWɪa·W/ 'that - basket - I even it up (in weaving)'

/ʔa·dɪɪaʔ  
NP na·naʔkʲeʔɪɪdɪw/ 'their own hands - they wash'

/naʔkʲɪtɪwaʔa·ɪ xoŋ xoWɪneʔ  
NP / 'she sings along - she - her song' ('she sings her song') (The independent pronoun #xun expands the possessor of #xʷɪ-Wɪn-ɪʔ 'her song', together expanding the object of the verb.)

/hay xolaʔ  
NP meʔ sɪlay/ 'that one - his hand -

in it - they lie' ('they lie in that person's hand')  
 (#hay-ɫ is an NP (634.1) expanding the possessor of  
 #x<sup>w</sup>ɫ-la? 'his hand', together forming an NP expanding  
 the object of the locative #m-e? 'in it'.)

#### 634. Complex NP's.

A full description of the formation of NP's with nominalizing enclitics would involve considerable space. All that is attempted here is to indicate the broad outlines of such formations. The discussion will be divided into three parts: (1) the form #hay-ɫ; (2) complex NP's formed on nominals or modifiers; and (3) complex NP's formed on predications.

##### 634.1 The form #hay-ɫ.

#hay, the NP introducer, can occur immediately preceding the NP formative #-ɫ. This form may be taken to be a complex NP with zero head. It has the force of a demonstrative pronoun, translating as "that (one)".

/hay naha· na?ašč<sup>w</sup>e?n hay-de· ?a·wɫnɫw/ 'that  
 NP  
 one - for us - he made over, created - this - way of  
 doing things, tradition' (expansion of verb subject)

/?ahtɫɲ hay de·ya?de?ɫɫw/ 'all - those (rocks)  
 NP  
 - they put them into the fire' (expansion of verb ob-  
 ject)

/hayɫ-me? tos sehč<sup>w</sup>ɫn?-te/ 'in that (basket) -  
 NP  
 hot water - I will make it' ('I will make hot water in  
 that (basket)') (expansion of the object of a locative)

/hay-a·ŋʔ-ma·n hay siqačl-mł± kʲɪta·ʔawcid  
 NP  
 čɪdanʔ/ 'that is indeed the reason - the - cold (water)  
 with - I always soak it - first' (head of locative  
 phrase defined by #-mant)

#### 634.2 Complex NP's formed on nominals or modifiers.

A significant group of NP's consist of a nominal or modifier word with an enclitic NP formative #-nɪ or #-dɪn.

##### 1. Formations with #-nɪ.

Numeral modifiers (533) function as heads of nominal phrases in #-nɪ, indicating groups of people:

/nah-nɪn čeʔɪyaʔn/ 'two people - eat it' (For  
 NP

the variant form of #-nɪ see 542.1.3.)

/mɪnɪan xa·so·yaʔ-neʔ/ 'ten people - must come  
 NP

up!' (< #mɪnɪan-nɪ) (imperative sentence)

##### 2. Formations with #-dɪn.

Nominals, including locatives, and a variety of modifiers, function as heads of nominal phrases in #-dɪn, referring to places. The introducer #hay is common in these formations.

/če·naʔandɪl hay xʷančʷɪn-dɪŋ/ 'they went out  
 NP

again - (to) where their mother (was)' (Here, as is common with #-dɪn phrases, the NP is being used as a locative phrase. See 640.2.)

/hay-yo·w kʲe·sdeʔ mɪtah-dɪŋ / 'that - coarse  
 NP

leavings - among them place' ('that place where the coarse leavings (from acorn sifting) are') (The head of the phrase is the locative #mɪ-təh 'among it' with the nominal #kʲe·sdeʔ 'coarse leavings' functioning as an NP expanding the locative object.)

/ʔahɬɪn-dɪŋ ʔahɬɪde·neʔ/ 'everywhere - she  
NP  
mentioned it'

Numerals and other modifiers form #-dɪn phrases that translate "(so many) times":

/nah-dɪŋ Wa·ne nehe·lweʔʌ-te/ 'twice - only -  
NP  
they will stay the night'.

### 634.3 Complex NP's formed on predications.

Nominalized predications typically have the NP introducer #həy and are marked either by #-ɬ or by #-dɪn.

#### 634.31 Formations with #-ɬ.

The following sections will illustrate the major types of predication expansion (622) as they occur in complex NP's.

##### 1. Unexpanded predication.

/hay-yo·w ɬe·na·ne·lay no·ʔolɪd/ 'that - which  
NP

I built as a fire - stops blazing' (expansion of verb subject)

/wan-na·ʔawaʔ hay kʲe·yaʔn-te / 'I prepare -  
NP

what I will eat' (expansion of the object of #0-wan

'concerning O', proclitic to the verb) (Note that the future tense enclitic #-te follows the nominalizing enclitic #-l, indicating future tense of the NP rather than of the nominalized verb.)

/qad hay ta·ya?k<sup>y</sup>e?lmil-mi± če?l<sup>3</sup>na·W / 'now -  
NP

when they start stirring (acorn mush) - he goes out'  
(head of a locative phrase defined by #-mi±)

### 2. Subject NP expansion.

/hay niłtaG na·da?ay miđe?l<sup>3</sup>na·W / 'the - black  
NP

oak - which stands there - he goes close past it'  
(expansion of the object of the locative prefix in the verb)

/qad hayl-q Wa·ne ?a·wllaw hay-de· no?k<sup>y</sup>l<sup>3</sup>ŋxa·n  
NP

na·ŋ?a? / 'now - in this way - only - it is done - this  
- Acorn Feast - which is held (lit. 'which hangs')'  
(('This is the only proper way to hold the Acorn Feast'))  
(expansion of the object of the (passive) verb)

/hay-yo·w no?k<sup>y</sup>l<sup>3</sup>ŋxa·n-dlŋ miłtine? niŋ?ay-qeh  
NP

čite?l<sup>3</sup>na·W / 'that - Acorn Feast place - its trail -  
which extends, along it - he went off' ('he went off  
along the trail which goes to the Acorn Feast ground')  
(head of a locative phrase defined by #-qeh)

### 3. Object NP expansion.

/xa·k<sup>y</sup>e?lWe? me·k<sup>y</sup>lnte hay-yo·w xay ne·we·n /  
NP

'I dig a hole - the length of it - those - roots -

which I brought' ('I make a cut along the lengths of the roots I brought') (expansion of the object of the locative #0-ek<sup>y</sup>inte 'along the length of 0')

4. AP or LP expansion.

/mlyeh ʔe·na·ʔawltW hay-yo·w xɪʔeʔdaŋʔ dah-  
NP

we·xa·n/ 'under it - I build a fire - that - in the morning - I had put (in a container) up atop' ('I build a fire under what I'd put up atop (the drying frame) in the morning') (expansion of the object of the locative #mlyeh 'under it')

/ʔe·na·ʔawltW hay na·sdaʔndeʔ k<sup>y</sup>ɪʔaʔ sehɪč<sup>w</sup>eʔn/  
NP

'I take out again - the - sometime ago - (basket) bottom - which I made' ('I take out again the basket-bottom I made a while ago') (expansion of verb object)

/hay xona·d ʔe·ya·na·W x<sup>w</sup>e·yaʔnehsg<sup>y</sup>ɪd/ 'the  
NP

(ones) - around her - who lived - they feared her' (expansion of verb subject)

5. Expansions with an interrogative substitute.

If an expansion category of a predication is filled by an interrogative substitute (522), the complex NP formed on it translates the substitute as an indefinite.

/xoɪ-x<sup>w</sup>e·ɪg<sup>y</sup> hay-dɪyd ʔɪWca·n / 'I told her -  
NP

what(ever) - I saw'

/hay dand Wɪna·ce ʔe·ʔɪnsɪd dɪyWoʔ ʔa·da·-  
NP

naʔwɪŋʔaʔ-te/ 'who - ever - before me - wakes up -

something (lucky) - he will get for himself'

/ʔo·ʔoWeʔ hay dax<sup>w</sup>e·dɪ-qa ʔante / 'I say the  
NP

name, invoke - the - in whatever manner - it is (done)'

('I say the name of the way in which it is done')

#### 634.32 Formations with #-dɪn.

Formations with #-dɪn parallel those described for #-ɪ in the preceding section. NP's with #-dɪn are frequently used as locative phrases (640.2).

/ɛ·na·ʔaWɪɪW hay xa·k<sup>y</sup>ɪWe·-dɪŋ / 'I build a fire  
NP

- the - place where I dig' ('I build a fire at the place where I dig')

/hay nɪnɪsʔa·n no·ŋʔa·-dɪŋ tehɪč<sup>w</sup>ɪn-neʔɪn / 'the  
NP

- world - where it extends to - they grew' ('they grew in the farthest reaches of the world')



## 640. Locative phrases (LP).

The following are the major types of locative phrases:

1. A locative (513.2), with or without an NP expanding its object.

/dɪg<sup>y</sup>ɑŋ mɪgɛh č̣ite·loy<sup>?</sup>/ 'here - along (the  
LP  
river) - he led it along'

/xok<sup>y</sup>a·č̣ɪŋ<sup>?</sup> ta·yahsyay/ 'away from him - they  
LP  
moved away'

/hay(ɫ) me<sup>?</sup> yehk<sup>y</sup>e<sup>?</sup>ɫɪtal/ 'that (regalia) -  
LP  
(dressed) in it - they come in stomping'

/xon<sup>?</sup> mɪna·d na<sup>?</sup>xote<sup>?</sup>ɫwɫW hay k<sup>y</sup>ite·taw/  
LP  
'the fire - around it - they carry her (as a load) - the  
- doctor'

2. An NP in #-dɪŋ (634.2.2, 634.3.2), including phrases with relative-interrogative substitutes of the general, human, locative, and number classes as heads.

/ɛ·na·<sup>?</sup>aWɫW hay xa·k<sup>y</sup>ɫwe·-dɪŋ/ 'I build a fire  
NP = LP  
- the - place where I dig'

/č̣<sup>w</sup>ola<sup>?</sup>-dɪŋ ɛ·na<sup>?</sup>x<sup>w</sup>e<sup>?</sup>ɫɪtɫW/ 'five times - they  
NP = LP  
take her around (the fire)'

/hayah danɫaŋwo<sup>?</sup>-dɪŋ Wa·ne x<sup>w</sup>e·lwe·<sup>?</sup>ɫ/ 'there -  
NP = LP  
a few times - only - he stayed over night'

A number of phrases of this sort are placenames:

/ɛ·na·l-dɪŋ č̣e·na·<sup>?</sup>andɫyay/ 'at ɛ. (= Weitchpec)  
NP = LP

- he arrived back from upstream'

3. An NP with an enclitic locative base.

/sahwɪndeʔn noʔkʷɪŋxa·n-čɪŋʔ/ 'they went off -

to the Acorn Feast'

/kʷɪwɪŋyaʔn noʔoxa·w hay ce·xat-čɪd/ 'acorns -

she puts down - the - grinding stone on'

4. A directional theme (532.3) with the enclitics #-čɪŋʔ or #-čɪn. With the former, the meaning of the phrase is "to (such and such a direction), to a place located (there)". With the latter, the meaning is "hither from (such and such a direction)".

/yɪsɪn-čɪŋʔ čɪtehsyay/ 'towards the river,

towards downslope - he went off'

/yɪnah-čɪŋ tehšče·/ 'from the South, upstream -

(wind) which blows along' (The name for the South Wind, representing a nominalization of a predication.)

5. An NP with an enclitic LP formative, other than enclitic locatives (542.2).

/meʔɪɪyɪw-mɪɪ saʔaʔadeʔn/ 'when they are fin-

ished - they go off'

/qad saʔa·nɪnʔseʔɪndɪɪ-mɪɪ čeʔnɪŋya·-te/ 'now -

a long time - when they have danced - they will go out'

/čɪtehsyay hay do·yaʔnɪwɪŋwoʔnɪ-ma·n/ 'he went

off - the - not - they had become good because' ('He

went off because they had become bad')

## 650. Adverbial phrases (AP).

The following are the major types of adverbial phrases:

1. A modifier of any type.

/yɿsxənde? k<sup>y</sup>lye ?ahtɿŋ čine?ina·W/ 'the next  
 AP AP AP  
 day - again - all, completely - they come'

2. A relative-interrogative substitute of the number, extent, or manner class (522).

/danɿŋwo? dahna·sɿxa·n xa·?asyay/ 'severally -  
 AP  
 flats above the riverbank - he climbed up' ('several times he climbed up to the riverbank flats')

/dax<sup>w</sup>e·d ?ahdɿyaw/ 'in what manner - it did so'  
 AP  
 ('what happened?')

3. Any phrase (including another AP) with an enclitic AP formative (542.3).

/?ɿsdo? xo·?-q<sup>e</sup>-heh xose·sehɿwɿŋ/ 'I wish -  
 AP  
 in any way - I (might) kill him' (The form /xo·?-q<sup>e</sup>-heh/ represents #(da)xo·? 'in some way' (relative substitute) + #-q<sup>i</sup> 'in (some) way' (AP formative) + #-heh 'emphatically' (AP formative)).

/hayah no·ntik<sup>y</sup>/