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THE PROLEGOMENA TO THE TOLOWA
ATHABASKAN GRAMMAR

by

LOREN ME'LASHNE BOMMELYN

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
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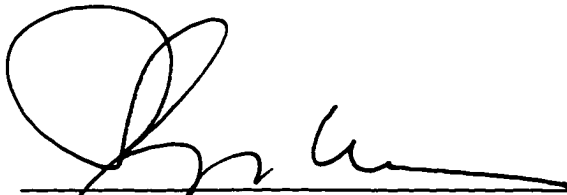
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The grammar of the Tolowa language has not been linguistically described. This investigation is a beginning of the linguistic description. The phonemes and phonological processes have been examined and defined. The verb slot inventory, adverbial prefixes and tense aspect system are described and established. Lastly, in this initial work, the Athabaskan Y-/B- inverse grammatical system has yielded forth interesting facts for comparative Athabaskan descriptive work. The results of this investigation will greatly enhance the on-going Tolowa language preservation program of western Oregon and northern California.

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CHAPTER I

THE TOLOWA PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

History of the Tolowa-Chetco Athabaskans

The Tolowa-Chetco Athabaskan language is a member of the Oregon Coast Athabaskan branch of the Athabaskan language family. The Tolowa area along the Pacific coast is geographically bounded to the north by Sixes River in Southern Oregon and to the south by Wilson Creek in Northern California. The currently accepted hypothesis about the Athabaskan family splits and southward migrations, developed by Hoijer (1960), dates the split of the Oregon Coast and Northern California Athabaskan groups from the main body of Athabaskan, in what is today Western Canada, at about two thousand years ago. The split between the two sub-groups, Oregon Coast Athabaskan and Northern California Athabaskan, is dated at approximately one thousand years ago.

The Oregon Athabaskan branch included Tolowa-Chetco, Tututni-Coquille, Galice and Applegate, a cluster of mutually intelligible dialects. A east-west dialect division line for the Oregon sub-group ran somewhere south of the Pistol River.

The California group includes the Chilula, Hupa, Whilkut, Nongatl, Mattole, Sinkyone, Lassik, Wailaki and Cahto languages (Handbook of North American Indians 1978). The languages of the two Pacific Coast sub-groups, Oregon Coast and Northern California, are not mutually intelligible.

The Oregon and California Athabaskan groups are separated by Yurok territory. The Oregon Athabaskan group is bounded to the south

by the Yurok and Wiyot (Algonquian), to the east by the Karuk and Takelma (Hokan), and to the north by the Coos (Penutian).

The likely split and migration patterns of Athabaskan peoples throughout North America has been reconstructed from comparative studies of the Apachean, Oregon and California Athabaskan languages with the main body of Athabaskan languages in Canada and Alaska.

The current hypothesis of splits and migrations of the Athabaskan people on Oregon, California and the Southwest is based on comparative linguistic evidence. It is consonant with the geological and archaeological evidence that suggested the Land Bridge hypothesis (see Jennings, ed. 1978; 1989).

Deloria (1995), in a critical mode, notes that "...Indeed, this theory has been around so long that people no longer feel they have to explain or defend it--they can merely refer to it" (Deloria 1995). Understandably, the Land Bridge migration theory is not reflected in the oral traditions of the various North American Indian peoples. Each Indian group has its own detailed story of origins, seldom involving a story of migration from prior location.

The Tolowa people's account tells of post-Genesis relocations to new valleys. This is, most likely, the Oregon Athabaskans account of their connection with the California Athabaskan group.

The Tolowa Genesis account places the point of origin at the axis mundi of Yan'daak'at (Bommelyn 1980, 1986). Yan'daak'at is located on the south side of the mouth of the Smith River. This Genesis account prescribes the dispersal of the humans to the north and the south of the axis mundi.

The evidence for the existence of the axis mundi is provided in the Tolowa Genesis account by the fact that redwoods still grow where the Genesis account indicates. During the time of Genesis, the

account says, the redwoods grew over the entire earth, but today they remain only at the axis mundi.

In a later epoch during the time the of Testch'as, the earth was cleansed. An earth-flooding tsunami scrubbed the earth clean of its former--incorrectly living--inhabitants. Only a chosen few were sent to mount 'Enmay, on the Chetco River. They alone survived and then re-populated the Tolowa homeland.

The Oregon languages along the coast are subdivided according to their major population centers. The true term for the Oregon Athabaskan is xush 'person', 'people'. The alternative name deen-i, literally 'of the place', denotes people of a particular municipality. This term is derived from the term dan 'place', used as the locative compounding suffix -dan in naming the various Oregon Athabaskan villages.

The name Tututni is derived from the municipality of Tuutuu-dan on the Rogue River. The name Chetco is derived from the municipality of Chit or Chitxu on the Chetco River. The term Tolowa is of Yurok origin, whereby Daloweł refers to these inhabitants at the Lake Earl lagoon village of 'Eechuulet.

At the time of European contact, the Tolowa were nested in a dense population basin of intense exogamous contact, with a total population of well over forty thousand. Schwartz (1997) gives the conservative estimate of forty-five hundred Tututni and Chetco Athabaskans at contact time in 1852. This population estimate is established by counting the number of municipalities and the associated suburb populations times three hundred. The Tolowa population was estimated at 2,400 (Handbook of the North American Indians, vol. 8).

The Tolowa lived in an extremely rich habitat. The great abundance of material resources made possible the development of a

highly advanced social organization, in terms of social etiquette, theology, legal system, and an extensive system of sea going and land-based trade. The dentalia mollusk shell served as universal currency in commerce, torts and damages litigation. The accumulation of resources was socially valued:

"It was the lazy alone who had nothing"¹ (Bommelyn 1980)

The legal structure was maintained and enforced by the upper class Xashxayyu (lit.: 'Headmen', cf. xash 'person'; xaa 'up'; yu 'member of'), who spoke both the high register of the Tolowa Athabaskan language as well as the languages of adjacent non-Athabaskan peoples. Arranged marriages of the Xashxayyu were to members of equal status. The greater the distance the bride was brought from, and the greater amount of wealth exchanged in the marriage, the higher the status of the child would be.

In 1853, during the sacred Needash World Renewal ceremony, the life of the Tolowa Athabaskan people changed drastically, with the initial pogrom upon the heavily populated axis mundi of Yan'daak'at. The grand named plank mansions were set ablaze and almost the entire population was butchered. Thus, the noun Na'tlmiit'i 'Those of the Knife' was coined as name for the "Whiteman."

Simultaneously, the Hudson Bay Company was commissioned to incite wars along the coast at the Rogue, Pistol and Chetco rivers. The societal center of Eechuulet at Lake Earl was razed in 1854. Finally, during 1855, the economic center of Xaawan'k'wat at the mouth of the Smith River was attacked, in battle that reduced it to ashes with heavy loss of population. The population centers on the Chetco, Pistol and Rogue rivers and coastal plain were decimated as well. Well over fifty population centers were decimated.

These final acts of genocide and destruction spurred the negotiation of 1855 treaties on the Smith River, and at Agness on the

Rogue river. These actions created the Smith River and Siletz-Grand Ronde reservations. The Athabaskans north of the Winchuck river were extricated and exiled to the concentration camps at the Siletz and Grand Ronde valleys. The Athabaskans south of the Winchuck River remained on the Smith River Reservation. At the same time, several hundred Wiyot people from Humboldt Bay were incarcerated at the Smith River Reservation.

The 1872 Presidential Executive Order to create the Hoopa Valley Reservation called for the disbandment of the 1855 Smith River Reservation. The Wiyots were exterminated. The Tolowa-Chetco Athabaskans were sent south to military concentration camps on the lower course of the Klamath River and at Fort Gaston in Hoopa valley. Small numbers of Tolowas had hid out in the foot-hills of the Smith River drainage.

The escape of the Athabaskans from the concentration camps and their return to the aboriginal homeland was common. The return of escaping Tolowa Athabaskans to the homeland, and the lifting of the Federal ban on off-reservation travel in 1902, spurred the eventual creation of the Federal California Rancheria system in 1906. The Smith River and Elk Valley Rancherias were established then for the Tolowa. The 1906 census lists 112 Tolowa Athabaskans in the southern homeland. The 1928 census lists 254 Tolowa Athabaskans in the southern homeland.

Without the approval of the Tolowa family, the Tolowa child was excised from the family at the age of six and sent for a twelve year stay, over to the Federal Boarding Schools of Domestication at Chemawa, Oregon, and the Sherman Institute in Southern California. The use of one's native language was forbidden in those institutions, as a punishable offense. Transgressors would have their hair

sheared, their mouths washed out with soap, made to scrub bathrooms clean with tooth brushes and suffer confinement.

During the 1920s Laura Scott, a young Tolowa girl, was caught speaking her native language, and was punished. She was confined to the kitchen to peel five hundred pounds of onions. By the time she was done, her facial excretion hung down into her lap and she could no longer see. Due to the continual abuses at Sherman, Laura Scott and five girls planned their escape from Sherman Institute. Each girl was from a different rancheria or reservation across the state of California. They smuggled food from the commissary, tied bed-sheets together, cut the screen, and stole away into the night. The girls travelled by night and hid out during the day to avoid recapture.

They would stay at each girls home for a time and move onward north. One year later Laura reached Ukiah, California. Finally, she got a message to her mother Alice. Alice hired a car and went to Ukiah to pick her up.

At home, social exclusion, federal prohibition of native religion, and Christian proselytization combined to abrogate the open use of native language, song and ceremony. Each generation has witnessed a declining number of speakers. During the 1950s, the Del Norte Indian Welfare Association of the Tolowa community began to lobby with the elders to step forth in defiance of pressure and prohibition, and to transmit the Tolowa language, literature and culture to succeeding generations. Thus began the open resumption of the ancient Needash (World Renewal) ceremony.

Needash had been deemed illegal and physically barred by the United States government since 1923. These tribal efforts stirred the ongoing attempts to write the language.

At the end of the 1950s, and lasting nearly twenty years afterwards, President Eisenhower's Termination Mandate brought an end of the Indian-Federal Trust relationship, and prescribed the disbandment of both of the Tolowa tribal land-base and the Tolowa tribal government based at Smith River Rancheria. Tolowa language use and fluency were left to the waning aged population. The prospect of complete language loss now faced the Tolowa people.

In 1969, Tolowa language classes formally begun, with the elders teaching at Del Norte High School in Crescent City, California. The Tolowa data base was initially written in the tribally-chosen Unifon Alphabet. The oldest speaker among the elder group was Amelia Brown, who was born in 1868. Tolowa become a high school credit-bearing class in 1973. The language project has so far resulted in the assembling of two dictionaries and the codification of the Tolowa lexicon. In 1993, the orthography was modified to the current phonetic alphabet (Bommelyn 1995).

Today, the Tolowa population has climbed back to well over 1,000 individuals, enrollments in either the Smith River or Elk Valley Rancherias. Many individuals of Tolowa-Tututni decent have chosen enrollment at the Resighini, Big Lagoon, Trinidad, Blue Lake or Table Bluff rancherias, or with the Yurok and Hupa Tribes in California, or among the Confederated Tribes of Siletz and Grand Ronde in Oregon.

The Tolowa Athabaskan language is spoken fluently today by fewer than ten speakers. All but two are over sixty years old. The community holds a body of passive speakers familiar with a substantial lexicon. To this day, Tolowa remains largely undescribed by linguists.

Notes

¹ From Sam Lopez published in Xush Weya', 1980, p. V.

CHAPTER II

THE TOLOWA SOUND SYSTEM

The description given below is neither strictly phonemic nor fully phonetic, but rather represents the salient features of both levels. Almost all allophonic variations in Tolowa, except for the most superficial ones, yield phonemic neutralizations. So that to quite an extent, the choice between phonemic and phonetic description is rendered meaningless. The symbols used here represent the practical Tolowa orthography currently in use (Table 1).

Consonant Phonemes

TABLE 1. Tolowa Consonants

manner	points of articulation					
	labial	dental	retroflex	palatal	velar	back
STOP:						
unaspir.	b	d	/	/	g	/
aspirated	p	t	tr	ch	k	/
ejective	/	t'	tr'	ch'	k'	'
affricate	/	ts'	/	/	/	/
FRICATIVE:						
voiced	/	/	/	/	gh	/
voiceless	/	s	sr	sh	x	h
LATERAL:						
voiced		l				
voiceless		ɬ				
NASAL:						
voiced	m	n				
GLIDE:						
voiced	w	y			(w)	

The consonant phonemes have the following values:

- /b/ voiceless bilabial stop: baabus 'juncus'.
- /p/ voiceless bilabial aspirated stop: Payyuuwa 'Pyuwa'
(person's name)
- /d/ voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop: dama 'agreed'
- /t/ voiceless aspirated alveolar stop: teene 'road'
- /t'/ voiceless ejective alveolar stop: t'a 'rump'
- /tr'/ voiceless retroflex alveolar stop: tr'aaxe 'woman'
- /g/ voiceless velar stop: gan'gun 'ladder'
- /k/ voiceless aspirated velar stop: naaka 'sea bass'
- /k'/ voiceless ejective velar stop: k'áasra 'crow'
- /'/ glottal stop: 'a'du 'not yet'
- /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative: sun 'meat'
- /sr/ voiceless retroflex fricative: srun 'dirty'
- /sh/ voiceless palatal fricative: shan 'song'
- /x/ voiceless velar fricative: xan 'fast/quick'
- /gh/ voiced velar fricative: ghaamus 'wagon'
- /h/ voiceless glottal fricative: hat 'there'
- /ts'/ voiceless alveolar ejective affricate: ts'un 'needle'
- /ch/ voiceless aspirated palatal (affricate): chan 'stick'
- /ch'/ voiceless ejective palatal (affricate): ch'ámeene 'wood
rat'
- /l/ voiced lateral continuant: láatr'e 'limb'
- /l/ voiceless lateral fricative: la 'one'
- /m/ bilabial nasal: men 'house'
- /n/ alveolar nasal: naaxe 'two'
- /w/ bilabial/velar glide: wáadun 'beside'
- /y/ palatal glide: yun 'yonder'

Vowel Phonemes

Tolowa has five underlying vowel phonemes, given in Table II below. The contrast between long and short vowels is predictable from syllable structure (see below). Vowel neutralization due to nasalization is discussed further below. Vowel prominence--stress or high tone--has little or no functional load in the language, with no minimal pairs observed. In some cases it is predictably associated with long vowels. In other cases it is predictably associated with nasalization or glottalization. In a few cases it seems to be lexically determined, thus perhaps a remnant of lexical high tone. Due to the high predictability and lack of functional load, I have elected not to deal with it here

TABLE 2. Tolowa Vowel Phonemes

height	point of articulation		
	front	central	back
high	i		u
low	e	ɤ	a

(1) /i/ = high front vowel:

'iilay	'scary'
'i'tinish	'we-2 taste it'
dii	'this'
xaawan't'i	'come in'

(2) /u/ = high back vowel:

'uuk'wishtit'e	'chiton'
'ushtite	'I want it'
'eelu	'it burns (ouch)'
sailu'	'tongue'

- (3) /e/ = low front vowel:
- | | |
|-----------|------------------|
| 'eesra | 's/he is crying' |
| neich'ət | 's/he is afraid' |
| ghustr'ei | 'it is scorched' |
| teene | 'road' |
- (4) /ɘ/ = low central vowel:
- | | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| 'ədɪsri | 'someone makes it' |
| dəghən'ədni | 's/he is advising her/him' |
| dama | 'agreed' |
- (5) /a/ = low back vowel:
- | | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| 'aa'udl'i | 'oh, how it looks' |
| manman | 'murre' |
| daawa | 'MOD/might' |
| la' | 'hand' |

Phonological Processes

Tolowa phonology is heavily intermingled with morpho-phonemic conditions, so that the application of often the most transparent assimilation rules remains inconsistent. In many instances, it is possible to reconstruct historical explanation to such inconsistencies.

In many others, the explanations are largely paradigmatic -- the need to rescue morphological distinctions that would have been obliterated by the regular application of phonological rules (Vennemann 1973).

The following phonological processes are discussed below:

- vowel lengthening
- central vowel front-back assimilations
- central vowel elision
- neutralization of nasalized vowels

Vowel Lengthening

Vowels in Tolowa are obligatorily lengthened in open syllables (Bright 1964), a process that does not require the concept of "syllable" for its formulation. The vowel-lengthening rule can be given as:

(7) CV ==> CVV / _____ CV

An open syllable is thus viewed as one that is followed by a consonant and at least one vowel. Open syllables could be either CV or CVV. Closed syllables can be of the type CVC, CCVC, CVCC or CCVCC. The syllabic nasal /nn-/ occurs in some word-initial or word-medial positions, under restricted morphemic conditions, as in:

- (8) a. nn-das 'it is heavy'
 b. duu-nn-das 'it is not heavy'.

Some examples illustrating the vowel lengthening rule (7) are:

- (9) a. naya^hmas 's/he is rolling it'
 b. naasha^hmas 's/he is rolling me'
 c. tesdxe 's/he came over'
 d. teesi'dxe 'we-2 came over'
 e. nush'ash 'I am putting it down'
 f. nuuxu''ash 'you-2 are putting it down'
 g. numni''a 'we-2 put it down'
 h. numnii'a 'I put it down'

The central vowel /a/ does not lengthen. In an open syllable, the underlying phonemic /a/ turns into either /a/ or /e/ (see 2.3.2. below). In some cases, for paradigmatic reasons, the central vowel remains short and unchanged in an open syllable. Thus compare the first syllable in (10a,b), as well as the second syllable in (10c,d):

- (10) a. ch'ashshash 'I am sipping (alcohol)'
 b. ch^hghiishash 'I sipped (alcohol)'
 c. deeda^hdlesh 's/he is building a fire'

d. deedəghadiya 's/he built a fire'

A special exception to the vowel rule has word-final vowels elongating when the word is monosyllabic. That is:

(11) CV ==> CVV / #____#.

That is, a single-vowel cannot be an independent word in Tolowa:

- (11) a. xii 'winter'
 b. xuu 'there'
 c. see 'stone/rock'
 d. laa 'don't'

In all other cases, i.e., with polysyllabic words, word-final vowels are invariably short. In that way, Tolowa seems to treat the word-final boundary as a consonant. When a CV syllable is added to the word following a short word-final vowel, it lengthens, as in:

- (19) a. nadle 'it is becoming (Spring)'
 b. nadleete 'it will be (Spring)'

Central Vowel Front-Back Assimilation

As noted above, the central vowel /ə/ does not lengthen. When an underlying /ə/ occurs in an open syllable, it elongates and then assimilates to the position of the following consonant. This position assimilation rule may be given as:

- (20) a. /ə/ ==> /a/ / ____ C-back
 b. /ə/ ==> /e/ / ____ elsewhere

For the purpose of this front-back assimilation rule, the velar consonants /gh/ and /x/ and the post-velar consonant /ʔ/ are counted as back consonant. All other consonants are counted as front (non-back) consonants.

The following examples illustrate the combined effect of vowel lengthening and vowel assimilation on an underlying /ə/:

- (21) a. 'ʌhsra 'I cry'
 b. 'eesra 's/he is crying'
 c. nʌshtesh 'I am lying down'
 d. neetesh 's/he is lying down'
 e. ghʌsh'aɪ 'I am bringing it'
 f. ghaa-'aɪ 's/he is bringing it'
 g. ch'ʌshxash 'I am dipping for fish'
 h. ch'aaxash 's/he is dipping for fish'
 i. 'ʌshtitʌɪ 'I kick it'
 j. 'aaghi'titʌɪ 'we-2 kick it'

Central Vowel Elision

The central vowel /ʌ/ elides when occurring directly before more-marked vowels.

- (22) a. naasʌstime' 'I bathe him/her'
 b. naasi'time' 'we-2 bathe him/her'
 c. naasu'time' 'you-2 bathe him/her'

The facts of both vowel assimilation and vowel elision suggest that the low-central vowel /ʌ/ is in some sense a less-marked, 'neutral' vowel in Tolowa.

Neutralization of Nasalized Vowels

Vowel nasalization in Tolowa is a morpho-phonemic process most commonly associated with three distinct morphemes whose underlying segmental form should be marked, synchronically, as a 'nasalizing factor' [n]. Only seldom, if even, are they actually realized as a segment /n/. Most commonly, they appear as nasalization of the preceding vowel.

Of the five underlying vowels in Tolowa, two pairs neutralize via nasalization, thus yielding three nasal vowels:

- (23) /u/ ==> /ɯ/
 /a/, /ɛ/ ==> /ɑ/
 /i/, /e/ ==> /ɨ/

The two neutralizations are illustrated in (24) and (25) below:

- (24) Neutralization of /e/ and /i/ into /ɨ/:
 a. tɛ-sh-laɪ 'I am sleeping'
 b. tee-laɪ 's/he is sleeping'
 c. tɨ-n-laɪ 'you are sleeping'
 d. yɛ-ɪ-sri 's/he is making it'
 e. yɛ-s-tɨ-sri 's/he made it'

- (25) Neutralization of /ɛ/ and /a/ into /ɑ/:
 a. dɛ-sh-yɛn 'I am singing'
 b. dɑɑ-[n]-yɛn 'you are singing'
 c. naa-gha 's/he is walking'
 d. nɑɑ-[n]-gha 'you are walking'

With lexical stems devoid of inflectional variation, such as many of the nouns, the nasal vowel is lexicalized:

- (26) a. tr'ʊk 'yellow hammer'
 b. k'ɑɑsra 'crow'
 c. tɨɨsli 'steelhead'
 d. ɨɨ' 'dog'
 e. trɑɑxe 'woman'

With verbs, quite often one can see the morphemic source of nasalization. The nasalizing agent may be the 2nd person singular subject prefix, as in:

- (27) a. 'ɛ-sh-tɨ-sri
 TH-1s-L-make
 'I make it'

- b. 'in-i-sri
TH-2s-L-make
'you make it'
- c. naa-gha
MOV-walk
's/he is walking'
- d. naa-[n]-gha
MOV-2s-walk
'you are walking'

With many verb stems, the nasalizing agent is an old perfective suffix on the verb stem, as in:

- (28) a. ya-i-sri
TR-L-make
's/he is making it'
- b. ya-s-ti-sri
TR-PERF-L-make/PERF
's/he made it'
- c. na--'a
MOV-AP-talk/IMPF
's/he is talking'
- d. na--s-'a
MOV-AP-PERF-talk/PERF
's/he talked'

Finally, the nasalizing agent could also be the so-called "reversive" ("distributive"), as in:

- (29) a. ya-sh-ti-yał
through-1s-L-jump
'I jump through it'

- b. yā-n-sh-d-i-yai
 through-REV-1s-D-L-jump
 'I jump back and forth'

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VERBAL WORD

Overview of Tolowa Verb Morphology

The Tolowa verb is complex in structure. The verb has sixteen morpheme slots. The tense-aspect-modal suffixial morphemes in 1- are not counted in the sixteen verb slots.

(30) Morphemic Slots on the Tolowa Verbal Word:

<u>morphemic position</u>		<u>function</u>	<u>(historical)</u>
-1	TAM = tense-aspect-modality	gramm	
0	ROOT = verb stem	sem	
1	L = l-classifier	opaque	(*causative)
2	D = d-classifier	gram	(*de-trans)
3	SUBJ = 1/2 subject pronoun	gramm	
4	P1/2 = plural 1/2 person	gramm	
5	PERF = perfective	gramm	
6	CON = desiderative/conative	sem/opaque	
7	TH = thematic prefix	opaque	(*possibly TAM)
8	TR = transitivity	gramm	(*OBJ pronoun)
9	P3 = plural 3 person	gramm	
10	RE = reversive	sem/opaque	
11	AD = adverbial/locative	sem	
12	AD = (added slot)	sem	
13	P3 = (alternative slot)	gramm	
14	OBJ = object pronoun	gramm	
15	TAM = tense-aspect-modality	gramm	

The Notion of "Lexical Verb" in Athabaskan

The sense--lexical meaning--of a verb represents a conventionalized event or state frame, with its typical more-or-less well designated semantic participant roles (agent, patient, dative, benefactive, instrument, associative, various locatives). In many, perhaps most languages, this lexical sense can be said to be associated with the verb stem ('root'). In serial-verb languages, the verb's lexical meaning distributes over a cluster of verbs that,

together, define a single state-or-event frame (or clause; see Pawley 1987; Givón 1991).

The situation in Athabaskan is somewhat similar to that of serial-verb languages, in that the lexical meaning is most commonly distributed over more than one morpheme. However, only one of those is synchronically a verb stem (slot 0 in (30) above). The rest are various prefixes on the verbal words.

In addition to the verbal stem, the semantically opaque 'thematic prefix' (slot 7) and one or two 'adverbial/locative prefixes' (slots 11, 12) are most commonly involved in determining the lexical meaning of the verb. But many other morphemes can also partake in this 'distributed meaning' pattern, due to various lexicalizations: the 'L-classifier' (slot 1), 'D-classifier' (slot 2), perfect (slot 5), conative/desiderative (slot 6) and the reversive (slot 10).

Illustrating the Morphemic Slots

No single verb form can exemplify all possible morpheme slots. Examples (31) below, taken together, illustrate the internal (so called "conjunct") cluster of slots (1-8):

- (31) a. 'a-sh-ti-tai
 TH-1s-L-kick/IMPF
 'I am kicking it'
- b. s-ii-i-tai
 PERF-1s-L-kick/PERF
 'I kicked it'
- c. '-i'-ti-tai
 TH-1d-L-kick/IMPF
 'we-2 are kicking it'

- d. 'aa-gh-i'-ti-taɪ
TH-P1-1d-L-kick/IMPF
'we-all are kicking it'
- e. ya-l-taɪ
TR-L-kick/IMPF
's/he is kicking it'
- f. xee-ya-l-taɪ
P3-TR-L-kick/IMPF
'they are kicking it'
- g. sha-l-taɪ
1s/OBJ-L-kick/IMPF
's/he is kicking me'
- h. ta-d-l-taɪ
TH-D-L-kick/IMPF
's/he is kicking out'
's/he is kicking her/his feet'

The reverse of (slot 10) and one adverbial/locative (slot 13) can be seen in the contrast:

- (32) a. ya-sh-tɪ-yaɪ
ADV-1s-L-jump
'I jump through'
- b. ya-[n]-sh-d-l-yaɪ
ADV-REV-1s-D-L-jump
'I hop back and forth'

Examples (33) below illustrates two adverbial/locative slots (slots 11, 12), the reverse (slot 10) and the desiderative/conative (slot 6), as well as the suffixal modality position (slot -1), in this case with the future suffix:

- 33) daa-na-n-n-u-sh-tesh-te
 ADV-ADV-REV-TH-CON-1s-lie-FUT
 'I want to lie back in there'

Adverbial-Locative and Other
 Morpheme Incorporations

In addition to the two adverbial/locative positions (slots 11, 12), other elements can also be incorporated into the verbal word in Tolowa, such as verb, noun or adjective stems as well as pronouns, demonstratives and post-positions. I have so far refrained from specifying exact slots for such elements. Most commonly they seem to occupy the more external adverb/locative slot (slot 12), but more study remains to be done to establish a stable "slot" for all incorporated elements, especially that the patterns seems to be still in the process of extension.

Locative-Adverbial Prefixes

The most common occupier of slot 11 is the "movement" prefix na-. When a second adverbial/locative prefix occurs, it invariably takes the more external slot 12, as in (33) above. By itself, na- may be seen in (34) below:

- (34) na-i-da
 MOV-L-run
 's/he is running'

Most likely, the prefix na- is historically derived from the motion verb 'undulate', 'twitch', 'be flopping', as in:

- (35) xee-[na]
 TH-twitch/flop/undulate
 's/he/it is flopping (around)'

In general, the locative-adverbial prefixes, particularly those occupying the more external slot (slot 12), carry clear and fairly

predictable semantic contents. In this way they are comparable to lexical derivation. But their semantic predictability is only partial, because of many verb-specific lexicalizations.

As an example of a relatively productive "derivation" pattern with a wide range of locative-adverbial prefixes, consider the verb 'run', as in:

- (36) a. na-ɪ-da
MOV-L-run
's/he runs'
- b. waa-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs that-a-way (dispersing)'
- c. yaa-ɪ-da 's/he runs through (it)' (-ya 'go')
- d. daa-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs into (it)' (-da 'sit/live')
- e. k'wee-na-ɪ-da 's/he is running behind (it)'
- f. tr'ee-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs down'
- g. see-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs up'
- h. tee-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs under water'
- i. yee-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs under (it)'
- j. ch'aa-naa-ɪ-da 's/he runs off of' (-ch'a 'leave')
- k. lee-na-ɪ-da 'we-2 run together' (ɪ-RECIP/UNISON)
- l. ɪ-ch'aa-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs apart'
- m. taa-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs outward'
- n. 'ee-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs in a circle'
- o. k'wət-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs upon (it)'
- p. ts'ee-na-ɪ-da 'she runs out there'
- q. gee-na-ɪ-da 's/he runs away'
- r. xaa-na-ɪ-da 's/he begins to run' (-xa 'carry upright')

Several prefixes do not appear with 'run' due to suppletion by others:

- (37) a. *saa-na-l-da 'into' (da- (36d))
 b. *dee-na-l-da 'out of water' (see- (36g))

Often, the 'derivation' involves adding both the "inner" locative prefix na- together with an outer one that is semantically more specific. This may be seen in:

- (38) a. yee-t'us
 TR-spin
 's/he is spinning it'
 b. 'ee-naa-t'us
 around-MOV-spin
 's/he is spinning around'

As locative arguments of the verb, the locative-adverbials display, semantically, an absolutive pattern. That is, with intransitive verbs they pertain to the location or motion of the subject, as in (36). With transitive verbs, however, they pertain to the location or motion of the object. With most transitive verbs, the 'derivation' is much less productive, so that the underived form often does not exist. The adverbial-locative prefix can thus be considered as fully lexicalized. Thus compare:

- (39) a. *na-y-l-ch'us
 MOV-TR-L-wipe
 b. k'wee-na-y-l-ch'us
 over-MOV-TR-L-wipe
 'I am wiping it'
 c. me'-na-y-l-ch'us
 in-MOV-TR-L-wipe
 'I am wiping it out'
- (40) a. *na-y-l-su
 MOV-TR-l-scrape/hone

- b. k'wee-na-y-i-su
over-MOV-TR-L-scrape/hone
's/he is polishing it'
- (41) a. *ya-y-ɬe
through-TR-CL/LIQ/IMPF
- b. k'wat-ya-y-ɬe
upon-through-TR-CL/LIQ/IMPF
's/he is skimming it'
- (42) a. *na-y-tən
MOV-TR-stir
- b. me'-na-y-tən
in-MOV-TR-stir
's/he is stirring it (in a container)'
- (43) a. *y-'aʃ
TR-CL/SG/IMPF
- b. nu-y-'aʃ
put down-TR-CL/SG/IMPF
's/he is putting it'
- c. wa-y-'aʃ
away-TR-CL/SG/IMPF
's/he is giving it'
- (44) a. naa-gha-d-i-ts'a'
MOV-PERF-PASS-L-dry
'it has dried up'
- b. sa'-naa-gha-d-i-ts'a'
inside-AP-THM-D-L-dry
's/he is thirsty' (lit.: 's/he has dried up inside')

Sometimes the prefix na- by itself affects the 'derivation', as

in:

- (45) a. y^a-i-chat
 TR-L-catch/grab
 's/he is catching/grabbing it'
- b. naa-y^a-i-chut
 MOV-TR-L-catch/grab
 's/he is arresting him'

Sometimes the 'reversive' prefix partakes in the derivation, as in:

- (46) a. gh-u-sh-dał
 TH-CON-1s-go
 'I am going home'
- b. n-^a-[n]-gh-u-sh-dał
 MOV-REV-TH- CON-1s-go
 'I am returning home'

Incorporated Verb, Noun,
 or Adjective Stems

As noted above, existing lexical stems can also incorporate as verbal prefixes in Tolowa. While their prefixal slot seems to be, superficially, that of the adverbial-locative, more data will be needed to ascertain the exact status of such a slot.

As an example of an incorporated verb stem, consider:

- (47) a. *gh^a-d-'ał
 PERF-D-through
- b. srii-gh^a-d-'ał
 make-THM-D-through
 's/he is making bad power'

Adjectives are mostly verbal in Tolowa. As an example of incorporation of an adjective stem, consider:

- (48) a. *xa-d-i-chu
 UP-D-L-big

- b. chuu-xa-d-l-chu
 big-up-D-L-big
 'she is jealous'
- c. ya-d-l-'i
 TR-D-L-see
 'a municipality or district' (lit.: 'it is seen')
- d. chu-'-ya-d-l-'i
 big-AP-TR-D-L-see
 's/he is being quiet or is paying attention'

As examples of noun incorporation, consider:

- (49) a. n-aa-ya
 TH-3s-go/PERF
 's/he came'
- b. sri'-n-aa-ya
 heart/PSD-TH-PERF/go/PERF
 's/he is lonely'
- c. i-xun
 L-sweet
 'sweet'
- d. sri'-ixun
 heart/PSD-sweet
 's/he is happy'
- e. gha-'i
 TH-see
 's/he sees it/him/her'
- f. 'a'-d-'i
 *wife-D-see
 's/he married him/her' (lit.: 'a wife is seen')

The origin of some incorporated elements cannot be ascertained for the moment. Thus, the prefix hap- incorporate to render the meaning 'surprise',¹ as in:

- (50) a. s-li
 PERF-be/PERF
 's/he is'
- b. hap-s-li
 SURP-PERF-be/PERF
 's/he is surprised'

The interrogative or indefinite prefix day- 'what', 'something', 'what' seems to also incorporate at and adverbial slot, as in:

- (51) a. *mee-saɪ
 PROX/OBJ-hot
- b. day-mee-saɪ
 WH-PROX/OBJ-hot
 's/he is angry'

Incorporated Pronouns

Third person object pronouns can incorporate as verb prefixes in Tolowa, most often lexicalizing there and losing their pronominal value. This happens most commonly with the proximate object pronoun ma-. Sometimes it comes from the demonstrative pronoun set, as m-ii-:

- (52) a. ch'ee-ta
 AP-push
 's/he pushes him/it'

- b. mii-nee-ta
 PROX-TH-push
 's/he is wrestling him/her'
- c. sh-mii-nee-ta
 1s/OBJ-PROX-TH-push
 's/he is wrestling me'

With only a few verbs, both the proximate and obviate object pronouns can incorporate. But only the proximate survives--as the lexicalized prefix--when non-third-person object pronouns are used:

- (53) a. maq-[n]-gha-d-i-nash
 PROX-REV-TH-D-L-work
 's/he remembers him/her'
- b. yaq-[n]-gha-d-i-nash
 OBV-REV-TH-D-L-work
 's/he remembers it'
- b. sh-maq-[n]-gha-d-i-nash
 1s/OBJ-PROX-REV-TH-D-L-work
 's/he remembers me'

The following cases, involving the locative deictic xu- 'there' and the distal deictic yu- 'that one', should be also considered as pronoun incorporation:

- (54) a. *na-d-ts'as
 MOV-D-sneak
- b. xuu-na-d-ts'as
 DEM-MOV-D-sneak
 's/he is sneaking (there)'
- c. *na-y-tan
 MOV-TR-stir

- d. yuu-ye'sr-na-y-tən
 DEM-air-MOV-TR-stir
 's/he is whistling' (lit. 'stirring that air')

The incorporated pronoun could also be the non-deictic object pronoun mə-, as in:

- (55) a. mee-xwə-d-ɪ-yə
 PROX-TH-D-L-go/PERF
 's/he teaches him/her'
- c. sh-mee-xwə-d-ɪ-yə
 1s/OBJ-PROX-TH-D-L-go/PERF
 's/he teaches me'

With other verbs, again, both the proximate and obviate object pronouns can incorporate, but it is the proximate that lexicalizes:

- (56) a. *see-ya
 PERF-go/PERF
- b. me-s-ya
 PROX-PERF-go/PERF
 's/he met him/her'
- c. ye-s-ya
 OBV-PERF-go/PERF
 's/he met him/her'
- d. sh-mee-s-ya
 1s/OBJ-PROX-PERF-go/PERF
 's/he met me'
- e. *sh-yee-s-ya
 1s/OBJ-OBV-PERF-go/PERF

Incorporated Post-Positions

One of the more recent developments in the history of the Tolowa verb is the incorporation of current post-positions, often

with their prefixed object pronouns, into the left-most (external) slot on the verb. Consider, for example, the instrumental/associative 'with', in all likelihood made out of the reciprocal morpheme *-i* with an obligatorily prefixed object pronoun with it:

- (57) a. *mə-i* 'with it'
 b. *yə-i* 'with it'

Incorporated and lexicalized, again with the proximate object pronoun *mə*, one finds it in, e.g.:

- (58) a. **na-yə-i-k'wat*
 MOV-TR-L-*put.on
 b. *məi-na-yə-i-k'wat*
 INSTR/REC-MOV-TR-L-upon
 's/he is selling it (to someone)'
 c. *məi-na-sh-i-k'wat*
 INSTR/REC-MOV-1s/OBJ-L-upon
 's/he is selling me (to someone)'

Many examples of the instrumental post-position incorporation can be found in instrument nominalizations, as in:

- (59) a. *yə-i-ts'a's*
 TR-L-whip
 's/he whips him/her/it'
 b. *məi-ch'a-d-i-ts'a's*
 INSTR-AP-D-L-whip
 'a whip' (lit.: 'the thing with which one whips things')
 c. *ch'-a*
 AP-eat
 's/he eats (it)'
 d. *məi-ch'ee-tr'-a*
 INSTR-AP-PASS-eat
 'a fork' (lit.: 'the thing with which one eats things')

- e. y^a-i-ghaɪ
 TR-L-rattle
 's/he rattles it'
- f. m^ai-'^a-d-i-ghaɪ
 INSTR-TH-D-L-rattle
 'a drum stick' (lit.: 'the thing with which one rattles')

The purposive post-position [m]w-an, with an inherent 3rd person proximate pronoun, can also be incorporated, as in:

- (60) a. w-an-'^a-sh-d-ni
 PROX-PURP-TH-1s-D-strong
 'I am advising him'
- b. d^a-ghan-'^a-d-ni
 DIST-PURP-THM-D-strong
 's/he is advising that one'
- c. sh^a-ghan-'^a-d-ni
 1s/OBJ-PURP-TH-D-strong
 's/he is advising me'
- d. nn-ghan-'^a-d-ni
 2s/OBJ-PURP-TH-D-strong
 's/he is advising you'

Occasionally purpose incorporation is not lexicalized (as in (59)), but appears as a derivation, as in (61) below, where the incorporation results in transitivity of an intransitive verb:

- (61) a. gh^a-sh-d-lu
 PERF/TH-D-laugh
 's/he is laughing'
- b. w-an-gh^a-d-lu
 PROX-PURP-TH-D-laugh
 's/he is ridiculing her/him'

- c. sh-ghən-ghə-d-lu
 1s/OBJ-PURP-TH-D-laugh
 's/he is ridiculing me'

Another purposive post-position, xwa- (3rd person form), also incorporates and lexicalizes into a number of verbs, as in:

- (62) a. y-u-ɪ-te
 TR-DES-L-want
 's/he wants it'
- b. xwa-n-te
 3s/OBV/PURP-TH-want
 's/he is looking for it'
- c. sh-xa-n-te
 1s/OBJ-PURP-TH-want
 's/he is looking for me'

Adverbial Pre-Verb Particles

For number of pre-verbal particles in Tolowa, it is not clear where they are independent pre-verbal words or pro-clitic verbal affixes. Their syllabic size--at least CVV or CVC--makes it possible for them to stand alone as independent words. Thus consider:

- (63) a. nee-dash
 TH-dance
 's/he is dancing'
- b. 'aa-nee-dash 'wow, s/he sure can dance'
- c. 'a'-nee-dash 's/he is still dancing'
- d. də'-nee-dash 's/he is already dancing'
- e. həm'-nee-dash 's/he is about to dance'
- f. ɪtɪ'-nee-dash 's/he is emphatically dancing'
- g. stɪ'-nee-dash 's/he is almost dancing'

Notes

¹ The nouns tuutuuni 'quail', haachu 'goose/geese and mashmash 'cow' are additional examples of onomatopoeia in Tolowa. The sound 'tuutuu' is the cooing sound the hen makes when instructing the chicks in feeding.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITIVITY-RELATED MORPHEMES

Preliminaries

In this chapter I survey the verbal morphology associated with transitivity in Tolowa. In an older stage of the language (and I take it in Athabaskan at large) probably three prefixal slots were involved:

- the L-classifier (slot 1)
- the D-classifier (slot 2)
- the object pronoun (slot 8)

As I will suggest here, a considerable amount of restructuring must have taken place over time, with both functional analysis and the gradual--not yet complete--creation of a new morphological locus for the object pronoun (slot 14).

The So-Called L-Classifier

Comparative Athabaskan evidence suggests that the so-called L-classifier was a causative, transitivizing prefix (Kibrik 1993). In Tolowa, this prefix is largely lexicalized, as can be seen from its occurrence on many stative adjectival verbs, as in:

- (64) a. nə-sh-tì-shən
 TH-1s-L-black
 'I am black'
- b. nə-sh-tì-k'i
 TH-1s-L-white
 'I am white'

- c. nā-sh-tī-srik
 TH-1s-L-red
 'it is red'

It is also lexicalized in some intransitive verbs that have been de-transitivized, often via the antipassive ('unspecified object prefix') or the passive ('D-classifier') or both, as in:

- (65) a. na-ī-yi
 MOV-L-play
 's/he plays'
- b. na-y-ī-ghan
 MOV-TR-L-BEN
 's/he warms up'
- c. tā-ī-tak
 TH-L-puff
 's/he puffs on a pipe'
- d. na-ī-tam'
 MOV-L-jump
 's/he stomps about'
- e. ch'ā-ī-wāsh
 AP-L-rock
 's/he snores'
- f. naa-ch'-ī-ī-'a
 MOV-AP-2s-CL/SG/IMPF
 'you talk'
- g. xāq-[n]-ch'-īn-tī-k'e's
 up-REV-AP-2s-L-soften/twist
 'you wash clothes'
- h. chu-'-yā-d-ī-'ī
 big-CON-TR-D-L-see
 's/he is being quiet or to pay attention'

- i. naa-wa-d-i-ts'at
 MOV-PERF-D-L-hit
 'high tide is turning'
- j. tə-d-i-xwas
 TH-D-L-cough
 's/he coughs'
- k. tə-d-i-xat
 TH-D-L-swallow
 's/he swallows or gulps'

Nonetheless, a few minimal pairs still survive in the language that preserve the original causative function, as in:

- (66) a. tr'ɨnt'
 dead
 's/he is dead'
- b. yə-s-tɨ-tr'ɨnt'
 TR-PERF-L-dead
 's/he killed him/her'
- c. shə-s-tɨ-tr'ɨnt'
 1s/OBJ-PERF-L-dead
 's/he killed me'
- (67) a. naa-'aa-məs
 MOV-TH-roll/IMPF
 's/he is rolling'
- b. naa-yə-i-məs
 MOV-TR-L-roll/IMPF
 's/he is rolling it'
- c. naa-shə-i-məs
 MOV-1s/OB-L-roll/IMPF
 's/he is rolling me'

- d. shii na-y-i-məs
 1s/OBJ MOV-TR-L-roll/IMPF
 's/he is rolling me'
- (68) a. s-ti
 PERF-be/ANIM/PERF
 's/he is lying there'
- b. nu-y-i-ti
 put down-TR-L-be/anim/PERF
 's/he is giving birth to him/her'

The So-Called D-Classifier

A large cluster of de-transitivizing functions are associated with the so-called D-classifier prefix across Athabaskan (Thompson, 1997). Of those, several are still attested, productively or in trace forms, in Tolowa.

Use of -D- in Passivization

Relatively few trace forms of the use of the D-classifier as a passive marker survive in the language, as in:

- (69) a. 'a-sh-ti-nish
 TH-1s-L-taste
 'I taste it'
- b. ya-i-nish
 TR-L-taste
 's/he tastes it'
- c. sha-i-nish
 1s/OBJ-L-taste
 's/he tastes me'

- d. 'a-d-i-nish
 TH-D-L-taste
 'it is tasted by someone or someone tastes it'

These forms clearly represent a non-promotional passive, as can be seen from the retention of object status by the object of the transitive verb. Thus, compare (69c) with (70) below:

- (70) a. sha-d-i-nish
 1s/OBJ-D-L-taste
 'someone tastes me'

However, it may well be that the D-marked passive was earlier a promotional passive. The fact that we can find a passive function of this morpheme only with transitive verbs suggests that.

Use of -D- in Antipassivization

The use of the D-classified by itself as marker of the antipassive is suggested by few surviving forms, as in:

- (71) a. ya-i-taɪ
 TR-L-kick/IMPF
 's/he is kicking it'
- b. sha-i-taɪ
 1s/OBJ-L-kick
 's/he is kicking me'
- c. ta-d-i-taɪ
 TH-D-L-kick
 's/he is kicking out' (her/his feet)
- d. *sh-ta-d-i-taɪ
 1s/OBJ-TH-D-L-kick

Use of -D- with the Reversive/Iterative

Finally, for whatever historical reason, the D-classifier must also be used with the reversive/iterative prefix, as in:

- (72) a. te-s-ch'a
 THM-PERF-away
 's/he is leaving'
- b. nn-te-s-d-ch'a
 REV-THM-PERF-D-away
 's/he is returning'
- c. ya-i-yał
 through-L-jump
 's/he jumps through it'
- d. ya-[n]-d-i-yał
 through-REV-D-L-jump
 s/he hops around, back and forth'
- e. mii-naq-[n]-gha-d-i-nash
 PROX-MOV-REV-PERF-D-L-work
 's/he remembered him/her'

The Old Object Pronoun Slot (TR)

For many Tolowa verbs, in particular those with short prefix sequences (the so-called 'conjunct' range), slot (8) is still the object pronoun slot. This may be seen in:

- (73) a. ma'n' s-ii-i-sri
 house PERF-1s-L-make/PERF
 'I made the house'
- b. ch'asne man-' ya-s-ti-sri
 man house-PSD TR-PERF-L-make/PERF
 'The man made the house'

- c. K'wan'leesham shā-s-ti-sri
 God 1s/OBJ-PERF-L-make/PERF
 'God created me'
- d. K'wanleesham nā-s-ti-sri
 God 2s/OBJ-PERF-L-make/PERF
 'God created you'

Various diachronic changes have conspired, however, to re-define this slot. First, the contrast between the obviative and proximate 3rd person object pronouns (y- vs. m- in Tolowa, see chapter 5) has disappeared from this slot. Morphologically transitive verbs with 3rd person subject and 3rd person object are marked by the ya- prefix, as in (72b) above.

Second, many morphologically-detransitivized verbs are syntactically transitive, and can thus take an object pronoun. But that pronoun does not necessarily occupy the old slot (8). Thus consider:

- (74) a. (tr'ąąxe) ne-sh-ti-ch'at
 (woman) TH-1s-L-fear
 'I am afraid of her (the woman)'
- b. tr'ąąxe (det'-naa-gh-i) ne-i-ch'at
 woman (night-MOV-walk-NOM) TH-L-fear
 'The woman fears it (the Indian Devil)'
- c. *yee-ne-i-ch'at
 TR-TH-L-fear
- d. (tr'ąąxe) shii ne-i-chat
 (woman) 1s/OBJ TH-L-fear
 'she (The woman) fears me.'
- e. *she-i-ch'at
 1s/OBJ-L-fear

Further, with many morphologically transitive verbs that take the ya- prefix but also display more external ('disjunct') adverbial-locative morphemes, the ya- prefix retains slot 8 but object pronouns are ejected to the more external slot 14. Thus, with the verb 'put':

- (75) a. nu-sh-'ash
 put down-1s-CL/SG/IMPF
 'I am putting it (on something)'
- b. nu-y-'ash
 put down-TR-CL/SG/IMPF
 's/he is putting it (on something)'
- c. nu-y-i-ti
 put down-TR-L-CL/HUM
 's/he is putting him/her (on something)'
- d. sh-nu-y-i-ti
 1s/OBJ-on-TR-L-CL/HUM/IMPF
 's/he is putting me (on something)'
 'she is giving birth to me'
- e. nn-nu-y-i-ti
 2s/OBJ-put down-TR-L-CL/HUM/IMPF
 's/he is putting you (on something)'

In (75d,e), clearly the ya- prefix in the old object pronoun position (slot 8) now co-exists with the real object pronoun in slot 14, and thus could not be considered an object pronoun any more. Although some might want to suggest that it can be considered an obviative subject pronoun, as in Koyukon (see ch. 5 below).

In some verbs, one can find the restructuring of the object pronoun position within the very same paradigm. Thus, for the transitive verb 'like':

- (76) a. na-y-taɪ
 MOV-TR-like
 's/he likes her/him'
- b. naa-shee-taɪ
 MOV-1s/OBJ-like
 's/he likes me'
- c. naa-nee-taɪ
 MOV-2s/OBJ-like
 's/he likes you'
- d. nn-na-sh-taɪ
 2s/OBJ-MOV-1s/SUBJ-like
 'I like you'
- e. *nə-[n]-sh-taɪ
 MOV-2s/OBJ-1s/SUBJ-like
- f. sh-nə-[n]-taɪ
 1s/OBJ-MOV-2s/SUBJ-like
 'You like me'
- g. *naa-shi-[n]-taɪ
 MOV-1s/OBJ-2s/SUBJ-like

De-Transitivizing Morphemes
in the TR Slot (8)

Several de-transitivizing morphemes, when used, occupy the old object pronoun slot and supplant the *y*- prefix. I will survey them in order. Two of those--the reflexive and the old antipassive ('unspecified object')--fit rather naturally into the old object pronoun slot, since they yield an objectless de-transitive clause.

A third, the reciprocal, would have fit well in the slot since, much like the reflexive, it yields an objectless de-transitive clause. However, when used in its added capacity of marking joint

action, it does not de-transitivize the clause, and may thus coexist with an object pronoun.

The fourth, the impersonal passive prefix ('unspecified subject pronoun', '4th person' pronoun), is rather incompatible with an object pronoun slot. So that its introduction into that slot probably contributed to the displacement of Tolowa object pronouns from their traditional slot.

The Reflexive Prefix

The reflexive morpheme da- is historically probably the 3rd person deictic pronoun. One still finds this pronoun in its non-reflexive use, as in:

(77) Possessive Pronoun:

sha-ghan	'of mine'
nn-ghan	'of yours'
da-ghan	'of his/hers'

(78) Deictic Pronoun:

sh-ii	'I/me'
y-ii	'it'
m-ii	'it'
d-ii	'this'

(79) Oblique Pronoun:

ma-i	'with it'
ya-i	'with it'
da-i	'with that (blood)'
mee-la	'with him/her'
yee-la	'with him/her'
dee-la	'with that one'

When the reflexive is used, the D-classifier must also be used, as in:

- (80) a. 'a-sh-k'asr
 TH-1s-shave
 'I shave him/her'
- b. yaa-k'asr
 TR-shave
 's/he is shaving her/him'
- c. da-d-k'asr
 RFLX-D-shave
 's/he is shaving her/himself'
- d. da-sh-d-k'asr
 RFLX-1s-D-shave
 'I am shaving myself'

The Reciprocal ('Joint Action') Prefix

Like the reflexive, the reciprocal prefix also requires the use of the D-classifier with it. Thus consider:

- (81) a. 'a-sh-ti-tai
 TH-1s-L-kick
 'I am kicking him/her/it'
- b. ya-i-tai
 TR-L-kick
 's/he is kicking him/her/it'
- c. sha-i-tai
 1s/OBJ-L-kick
 's/he is kicking me'
- d. le-d-l-tai
 REC-D-L-kick
 'they (2) are kicking each other'
 'they (2) are kicking (something) in unison'

e. sh-tle-d-i-taɪ
 1s/OBJ-REC-D-L-kick
 'They-2 together are kicking me'

f. nn-tle-d-i-taɪ
 2s/OBJ-REC-D-L-kick
 'They-2 are together kicking you'

As one can see, in its capacity of marking joint action, this prefix does not fit as well in an object pronoun slot, since--used with a transitive verb--it can coexist with such an object. In (81e,f) above it has effectively displaced the object pronoun from slot 8.

With other verbs, the joint-action prefix can itself be displaced to the left-most slot of the verb, the very slot toward which object pronouns seem to gravitate. Thus compare:

- (82) a. naa-d-i'-d-i-nash
 MOV-TH-1d-L-work
 'we-2 are working'
- b. ðee-naa-d-i'-d-i-nash
 REC-MOV-TH-1d-D-L-work
 'we-2 are working together'

Remnants of the Antipassive (Unspecified OBJ) Prefix

The old Athabaskan unspecified-object prefix is unproductive in Tolowa, having all but lexicalized. However, traces of its older function can still be discerned, as in the development of the verb 'write' from 'tattoo':

- (83) a. 'a-sh-t'e'sr
 TH-1s-tattoo
 'I am tattooing him/her'

- b. yā-d-l-t'e'sr
 TR-D-L-tattoo
 's/he is tattooing it'
- c. ghā-d-l-t'e'sr
 TH-D-L-tattoo
 'a tattoo'
- d. ch'ee-t'e'sr
 AP-tattoo
 's/he is writing'
- e. ch'ā-d-t'e'sr ch'ee-t'e'sr
 book AP-tattoo
 's/he is writing the book'
- d. *yee-t'e'sr
 TR-tattoo

Similarly, in the development of the intransitive 'drink alcohol' from the transitive 'sip':

- (85) a. 'ā-sh-shāsh
 TH-ls-sip
 'I am sipping it'
- b. yee-shāsh
 TR-sip
 's/he is sipping it'
- c. ch'ee-shāsh
 AP-sip
 's/he is sipping'
 's/he is drinking alcohol'

And likewise in the change from the transitive to the intransitive 'eat', which can then be re-transitivized:

- (86) a. ch'ee-sh-ą
 AP-1s-eat
 'I am eating (it)'
- b. y-ą
 TR-eat
 's/he is eating it'
- c. *sh-ą
 1S/OBJ-eat
- d. ch'-ą
 AP-eat
 's/he is eating'
- e. shii ch'-ą
 1s/OBJ AP-eat
 's/he is eating me'

The Impersonal Passive (Unspecified
 Subject) Prefix

With the exception of a few verbs where passivization via the D-classified still survives, the productive impersonal passive in Tolowa is marked with the prefix tr'a/(')sr in the old object pronoun (TR) slot. Since the object of the transitive remains the syntactic object of this non-promotional passive clause, the tr'a- prefix can coexist with an object pronoun--and thus displace it from slot 8.

Thus consider:

- (87) a. ya-l-taɪ
 TR-L-kick
 's/he is kicking it'
- b. sha-l-taɪ
 1s/OBJ-L-kick
 's/he is kicking me'

- c. tr'ʌ-l-tʌl
PASS-L-kick
'someone is kicking it'
- d. sh-tr'ʌ-l-tʌl
ls/OBJ-PASS-L-kick
'someone is kicking me'
'I am being kicked'

When a locative-adverbial prefix exists, the growing tendency is to displace the object pronoun all the way to the left-most position, as in:

- (88) a. nu-sh-'ʌsh
put down-ls-CL/SG/IMPF
'I am putting it (on something)'
- b. nu-y-'ʌsh
put down-TR-CL/SG/IMPF
's/he is putting it (on something)'
- c. nu-y-l-tʌ
put down-TR-L-CL/ANIM
's/he is putting him/her (on something)'
- d. sh-nu-y-l-tʌ
ls/OBJ-put down-ON-TR-L-CL/ANIM/IMPF
's/he is putting me (on something)'
- e. nu-'sr-'ʌsh
put down-PASS-CL/SG/IMPF
'someone is putting it (on something)'
'it is being put (on something)'
- f. sh-nu-'srʌ-l-tʌ
ls/OBJ-put down-PASS-L-CL/ANIM/IMPF
'someone is putting me (on something)'
'I am being put (on something)'

And likewise:

- (89) a. na-y-taɪ
 MOV-TR-like
 's/he likes her/him'
- b. naa-shee-taɪ
 MOV-1s/OBJ-like
 's/he likes me'
- c. naa-nee-taɪ
 MOV-2s/OBJ-like
 's/he likes you'
- d. na-'sr- taɪ
 MOV-PASS-like
 'someone likes him/her'
 's/he is liked'
- e. sh-na-'sr-taɪ
 1s/OBJ-MOV-PASS-like
 'someone likes me'
 'I am liked'
- f. nn-na-sh-taɪ
 2s/OBJ-MOV-1s-like
 'I like you'

Since this impersonal construction is non-promotional, it is only to be expected that it can also be used with intransitive verbs (Givón 1990, ch. 14), as in:

- (90) a. dee-yaŋ
 TH-sing/IMPF
 's/he is singing'
- b. sr-dee-yaŋ
 PASS-THM-sing/IMPF
 'someone is singing'

The Athabaskan object pronoun slot (slot 8) has, as can be seen, undergone considerable re-structuring in Tolowa. The erstwhile obviative object pronoun ya-, to all intent and purpose, now marks most transitive verbs when both the subject and the object are 3rd persons. But it also marks many complex transitive verbs--those with so-called 'disjunct' prefixes--when the object is 1st and 2nd person. Slot 8 may thus be occupied by a transitive marker (ya-) and three de-transitivizers (reflexive, reciprocal, passive). It is perhaps better characterized, in Tolowa, as the transitivity slot (TR).

CHAPTER V

SURVIVING TRACES OF THE ATHABASKAN Y-/B-
(DIRECT-INVERSE) ALTERNATION IN TOLOWAThe Y-/B- Pronominal Alternation in Athabaskan

The Tolowa ya- prefix is the survivor of an earlier alternating pair of third person prefixes, ya- and ma-, both occupying the erstwhile object pronoun slot (slot 8). In his study of the pragmatic function of this alternation in Koyukon and Navajo, Thompson (1987, 1989) shows that this pronoun alternation marked the difference between the direct clause, in which the object is less topical (obviate), and the inverse clause, in which the object is more topical (proximate). In Koyukon, these pronouns are strictly anaphoric, appearing only when the object NP is not used. Thus consider (Thompson 1987):

- (91) a. John ni-ɪ-'an
J. TH-ACT-see
's/he is looking at John'
- b. John ye-ni-ɪ-'an
J. 3/OBV/OBJ-TH-ACT-see
'John is looking at her/him (OBV)'
- c. ye-ni-ɪ-'an
3/OBV/OBJ-TH-ACT-see
's/he is looking at her/him (OBV)'
- d. John be-ni-ɪ-'an
J. 3/PROX/OBJ-TH-ACT-see
'John is looking at him/her (PROX)'

- c. be-ye-ni-i-'an
 3/PROX/OBJ-3/OBV/SUBJ-TH-ACT-see
 's/he (OBV) is looking at her/him (PROX)'

As the comparison between (91d) and (91e) shows, the ye- pronoun in (91c) is not anymore an object, but rather a subject pronoun, appearing only if the subject NP is missing.

As we have seen above, this alternation is completely banished from its traditional locus (slot 8) in Tolowa. In this chapter I will survey the environment in which the Athabaskan y-/b- pronoun alternation seems to have survived, albeit in a vestigial form.

The Y-/M- Alternation with Oblique Pronouns

One may find both the ya- (obviate) and ma- (proximate) pronouns prefixed to several oblique-object post-positions, as in:

(92) Tolowa Oblique (Indirect Object) Pronouns

<u>POST-POSITION</u>	<u>PROX</u>	<u>OBV</u>	<u>DIST</u>
'with him/her'	mee-la	yee-la	dee-la
'with it'	ma-i	ya-i	da-i ('blood')
'for him/her'	m-aa	y-aa	d-aa
'for that'	m-an	y-an	d-an ('place, at')

The difference in usage, suggested to me by one of the elders, are compatible with the proximate (ma-) being more topical, important, or higher-ranking than the obviate (ya-) participant. Thus compare:

- (93) a. nn-gaaga-' mee-la t-aa-yash
 2s-mother-PSD PROX-ASSOC THM-2s-go/IMPF
 '(you) Go with your mother'
- b. ch'asne yee-la t-aa-yash
 man OBV-ASSOC THM-2s-go/IMPF
 '(you) Go with the man'

- c. ch'asne hii-gwaaga-' dee-la t-ash
 man 3s-mother-PSD DIST-ASSOC THM-go/IMPF
 'The man is going with his mother'
- (94) a. nn-gaaga-' m-aa na-ch'-ij-'a
 2s-mother-PSD PROX-BEN MOV-AP-2s-talk
 '(You) talk for your mother'
- b. hii-gwaaga-' y-aa na-ch'-ij-'a
 3s-mother-PSD OBV-BEN MOV-AP-2s-talk
 '(you) talk for his mother'
- c. ch'asne hii-gwaaga-' d-aa na-'-'a
 man 3s-mother-PSD DIST-BEN MOV-AP-talk
 'The man is talking for his mother'

The Y-/M- Alternation in Incorporated
 Independent Pronouns

The set of independent deictic pronouns in Tolowa is given in (95) below.

(95) Tolowa Independent (SUBJ/DIR-OBJ) Deictic Pronouns:

shii	'I/me'
nən	'you'
hii	'he/she/him/her/it'
ghii	'that'
dii	'this'
mii	'it'
yii	'it'
xwii	'those/all'

Such pronouns can incorporate into some verbs at the left-most slot, and thus in fact become clitic object pronoun, in the process often transitivizing the verb. As illustration of such incorporation, consider:

- (96) a. ne-ł-ch'ut
 TH-L-fear
 's/he is afraid' (intransitive)
- b. *łj' sh-ne-ł-ch'ut
 dog 1s/OBJ-TH-L-fear
- c. łj' shii-ne-ł-ch'ut
 dog 1s/OBJ-TH-L-fear
 'The dog is afraid of me'
- d. mii-ne-ł-ch'ut
 PROX-TH-L-fear
 's/he is afraid of her/him/it'
- e. yii-ne-ł-ch'ut
 OBV-TH-L-fear
 's/he is afraid of it/that thing'

In some verbs, such incorporation--always of the proximate mii--becomes lexicalized, as in:

- (97) a. *nee-ta
 TH-push
- b. mii-nee-ta
 PROX-TH-push
 's/he is pushing (wrestling) her/him'
- c. *yii-nee-ta
 OBV-TH-push
- d. sh-mii-nee-ta
 1s/OBJ-PROX-TH-push
 's/he is wrestling me'

In another verb yet, the ya-/ma- alternation is viable with third person objects, but the proximate pronoun is lexicalized with 1st and 2nd object pronouns, as in:

- (98) a. mii-n̄ā-[n]-sh-d-ì-n̄ash
 PROX-MOV-REV-1s-D-L-remember
 'I remember him/her'
- b. mā-[n]-gh̄a-d-ì-n̄ash
 PROX-REV-TH-D-L-remember
 's/he remembers him/her'
- c. yā-[n]-gh̄a-d-ì-n̄ash
 OBV-MOV-REV-TH-D-L-remember
 's/he remembers it'
- d. sh-m̄ā-[n]-gh̄a-d-ì-n̄ash
 1s/OBJ-PROX-REV-TH-D-L-remember
 's/he remembers me'
- e. *shii-yā-[n]-gh̄a-d-ì-n̄ash
 1s/OBJ-OBV-REV-TH-D-L-remember
- f. nn-m̄ā-[n]-gh̄a-d-ì-n̄ash
 2s/OBJ-PROX-REV-TH-D-L-remember
 's/he remembers you'
- g. *nn-yā-[n]-gh̄a-d-ì-n̄ash
 2s/OBJ-OBV-REV-TH-D-L-remember
- h. sh-mii-n̄a-n-d-ì-n̄ash
 1s/OBJ-PROX-MOV-2s-D-L-remember
 'you remember me'
- i. nn-mii-n̄a-sh-d-ì-n̄ash
 2/OBJ-PROX-MOV-1s-D-L-remember
 'I remember you'

The Y-/M- Alternation in Incorporated
 Post-Positions

Post-positions, together with their objects, can incorporate as left-most prefixes into the Tolowa verb, representing no doubt the most recent addition to the ever-growing Athabaskan verb. As noted

earlier above, several post-positions have retained the ya-/ma- pronoun alternation. When such post-positions are incorporated into the verb, they carry the pronoun alternation with them. Thus consider:

- (99) a. m̩a̩-[n]-gh̩a̩-d-ɪ-nak
 PROX-REV-PERF-D-L-forget
 's/he has forgotten her/him'
- b. y̩a̩-[n]-gh̩a̩-d-ɪ-nak
 OBV-REV-PERF-D-L-forget
 's/he has forgotten it'
- c. sh-m̩a̩-[n]-gh̩a̩-d-ɪ-nak
 1s/OBJ-PROX-REV-PERF-D-L-forget
 's/he has forgotten me'
- d. *sh-y̩a̩-[n]-gh̩a̩-d-ɪ-nak
 1s/OBJ-PROX-REV-PERF-D-L-forget
- e. nn-m̩a̩-[n]-gh̩a̩-d-ɪ-nak
 2s/OBJ-PROX-REV-PERF-D-L-forget
 's/he has forgotten you'
- f. *nn-y̩a̩-[n]-gh̩a̩-d-ɪ-nak
 2s/OBJ-PROX-REV-PERF-D-L-forget

Frozen Incorporated OBJ Pronouns

The last remnant of the old ya-/ma- pronominal contrast seems to involve the lexicalization of the pronoun ma- alone in the original object pronoun slot (8). This process yields the transitivity of an otherwise intransitive verb. Thus consider:

- (100) a. te-s-ghas
 TH-PERF-hungry
 's/he is hungry (intransitive)'

- b. mee-tee-s-ghas
PROX-THM-PERF-hungry
's/he is hungry for it'
- c. *yee-te-s-ghas
OBV-TH-PERF-hungry
- d. luk wan mee-tee-s-ghas
salmon for PROX-TH-PERF-hungry
'The woman is hungry for salmon'
- e. hii-mee-tee-s-ghas
3s/OBJ-PROX-TH-PERF-hungry
's/he is hungry for it'
- f. *sh-yee-te-s-ghas
1s/OBJ-OBV-TH-PERF-hungry
- (101) a. nn-sham
TH-good
'it is good'
- b. mee-sham
PROX-good
'it is good for it/that'
- c. *yee-sham
PROX-good
- d. 'eepaɪ me'na'steɪ shu' mee-sham
apple pie good PROX-good
'Apples are good for pie'
- (102) a. dee-da-d-nish
DIST-RFLX-D-alive
's/he is feeling (in a particular way)'
- b. sh-'aame-' duuwa dee-da-d-nish.
1s-grandpa-PSD NEG-that way DIST-RFLX-D-alive
(My) grandpa is not feeling good'

- c. mee-d̥-d-nish
 PROX-RFLX-D-alive
 'it causes him to feel (in a particular way)'
- d. *yee-d̥-d-nish
 OBV-RFLX-D-alive
- e. Huuch̥a weeni shu' mee-d̥-d-nish
 Good weather reason good PROX-RFLX-D-alive
 'The good weather makes him feel good'

Summary of Chapters IV and V

What emerges from the last two chapters of this study is an interesting convergence--perhaps even a conspiracy--of four independent diachronic trends. Each one of those may be motivated independently, and thus can be studied fruitfully on its own. Once convergent, however, these independent trends seem to affect a typological pressure toward resuscitating the lost ya-/ma- pronominal alternation in Tolowa. This time around, however, the contrast re-emerges at the left-most (i.e., verb-initial) position on the verb (slot 14). The four trends are:

- displacement of object pronouns to the verb-initial (left-most) position
- the survival of the ya-/ma- pronominal alternation in post-positional and deictic contexts
- re-transitivization, by various channels, of many morphologically de-transitivized verbs
- the persisting Athabaskan typological penchant for incorporating new pre-verbal elements into the verb

The renascent pronominal contrast has so far appeared in only a few verbs. But this is to be expected in diachronic change, which quite often begins at highly restricted set of 'beach-head' contexts,

contexts in which the maximal number of favorable factors have converged.

Once established at its early beach-head, a change may then spread gradually through an expanding domain, presumably via rather local analogical extension. If that ever happens in Tolowa, some future-generation linguist may marvel at how the very same morphemic phenomenon could have travelled such a long morphemic distance--from slot 8 to slot 14--yet remain substantially the same.

APPENDIX

LIST OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS

1d.....	first dual
1s.....	first person singular
2s.....	second person singular
3s.....	third person singular
ADV.....	adverbial
ANIM.....	animate
AP.....	antipassive
ASSOC.....	associative
CL.....	classifier verb
CON.....	conative
D.....	D classifier
DAT.....	dative
DES.....	desiderative
DIST.....	distal pronoun
FUT.....	future
IMPF.....	imperfective
INAL.....	inalienable
INSTR.....	instrumental
L.....	L classifier
LIQ.....	liquid
MOV.....	movement adverbial
NEG.....	negative
NP.....	noun phrase
OBJ.....	object
OBV.....	obviative
P1/2.....	first/second plural
P3.....	third plural
PASS.....	passive
PERF.....	perfective
PSD.....	possessed
PROX.....	proximate
PURP.....	purpose
REC.....	reciprocal
REV.....	reversive
RFLX.....	reflexive
SG.....	single
SUBJ.....	subject
TH.....	thematic prefix
TR.....	transitivity
WH.....	the W-H questions

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