

Mutsun Grammar

By

Marc Okrand

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Approved:

Mary R. Haas

Margaret S. Beeler

William D. Shupler

Committee in Charge

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.....

to my parents

Fred and Mimi Okrand

PREFACE

It is with pleasure and gratitude that I acknowledge the guidance, encouragement and friendship of some of those who were most helpful during the preparation of this work:

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INTRODUCTION

'Mutsun' is the name commonly applied to the language of the Indians in the area around Mission San Juan Bautista in northwestern San Benito County, California. It is one of eight languages in the Costanoan family, itself part of the Penutian stock. There is good evidence that Costanoan and Miwokan form a sub-branch within Penutian, known variously as Utian and Miwok-Costanoan.

According to Levy (1972:2), in 1770 Mutsun was spoken by about 2,500 people living in several tribelets along the Pajaro River drainage, an area including northern San Benito and Monterey Counties and southern Santa Cruz and Santa Clara Counties. By 1917, the year Kroeber compiled his Handbook of the Indians of California, the Mutsun population, as well as that of other Costanoan groups, had greatly diminished:

A few scattered individuals survive, whose parents were attached to the missions of San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and San Carlos; but they are of mixed tribal ancestry and live almost lost among other Indians or obscure Mexicans. At best some knowledge of the ancestral speech remains among them.
[Kroeber 1925:464]

The use of 'Mutsun' as a linguistic designation goes back to at least 1815 when Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, missionary at San Juan Bautista, compiled his Vocabulary or Phrase Book of the Mutsun Language of Alta California (Arroyo 1862). The name was apparently used to refer to the principal dialect of the mission, and was subsequently used in an

extended sense for the language as a whole. Later, Powell used 'Mutsun' as a family name, corresponding to Miwok-Costanoan (Powell 1877:535-559). Kroeber (1925:465) locates a village called 'Mutsun' very close to Mission San Juan Bautista, but this is probably based only on the fact that 'Mutsun' was the name of the language of the mission. Levy (1972:1) refers to a village called 'Mutsun' lying to the west of the mission, on the Pajaro River in Santa Cruz County. In a letter to C. Hart Merriam dated December 3, 1929, John P. Harrington, on whose work the present grammatical description is based, provides a small amount of additional information. (The spelling 'moot-soon' is used because Harrington, in writing to Merriam, adopted the latter's transcriptional conventions.) He writes:

Whatever the name moot-soon is, it certainly is not the name of the village which stood at the site of San Juan [Bautista] Mission, for the earliest baptisms were not from there. That early writers, such as Taylor, have called moot-soon a village name, means nothing. And in the mission records of San Juan [Bautista] all such names are classed as village names... Ascencion [Harrington's informant] absolutely does not know whether it is a tribe or a village. But she knows the word....I do not see any way to ever find out. [Merriam 1967:389]

According to the baptismal register, the mission was founded in 1797 'on the spot called Popeloutchom by the natives' (Engelhardt 1931:5); this name remains impervious to analysis. The first year, 85 neophytes were at the mission, the number increasing to a high of 1,248 in 1823 (Engelhardt 1931:127).

The Indian population at the mission included not only 'Mutsunes', but also speakers of other Costanoan dialects, and even speakers of non-Costanoan languages, notably Valley Yokuts (Levy 1972:5). As a result, a certain amount of dialect mixture no doubt occurred. Arroyo de la Cuesta, responding to the Spanish government's Interrogatorio of 1812 which asked for information about the Indians under its jurisdiction, gave the following account of the linguistic situation at the mission in 1814:

The Indians of this Mission and of this region speak the language of the district in which they were born, and although apparently of distinct idioms, these languages are not different except accidentally, that is to say, they differ in some terms, in the terminations, and in the rough or agreeable, sweet or strong pronunciation. Hence it is that the Indians in a circumference of forty or fifty leagues understand one another. [Engelhardt 1931:14-15]

Mutsun is the first California Indian language for which a grammatical description was published. Arroyo's grammar appeared in 1861, and the accompanying phrase book in 1862, though both were written almost half a century earlier (in 1816 and 1815, respectively). Arroyo's work, while suffering from transcriptional deficiencies and unavoidable incompleteness, is remarkably sound and forms a solid foundation for further study; even his errors give insights into the structure of the language. His phrase book served as the sole source of Mutsun data for early Costanoan comparative work (Kroeber 1910),

as well as for initial efforts in more general comparison, resulting in the positing of Penutian as a linguistic family (Dixon and Kroeber 1903, 1919).

In 1916, J. Alden Mason prepared a grammatical sketch of Mutsun based entirely on the phrases in Arroyo's collection. To the present time, Arroyo's and Mason's work constitute almost all of the published data on Mutsun. The only other published information is quite sketchy. In 1902, C. Hart Merriam worked briefly with Barbara Solorsano who identified herself as Hoo'-mont-wash (in Merriam's transcription), literally, '(those) of the west', a group occupying the westernmost reaches of Mutsun territory. Some of Merriam's notes (consisting only of a few basket names and place or tribe names) were published posthumously (Merriam 1967:371-372).

In 1922, John Peabody Harrington, under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, began to work with Ascensión Solorsano de Cervantes, the daughter of Merriam's informant and Miguel Solorsano, also Hoomontwash. Mrs. Cervantes was born in May, 1855, in San Juan Bautista and was raised speaking her parents' language. She became a doctor and ran a small hospital in her home in San Juan Bautista. Harrington worked with her only briefly, but returned in the latter part of 1929. By then, Mrs. Cervantes, living with her daughter, Dionisia Mondragon, in Monterey, was dying of cancer and was quite weak, often in great pain. Harrington moved into a room in the basement of the Mondragon house and lived there from about August of 1929 until Mrs.

Cervantes's death on January 29, 1930. (Clarke 1930; Engelhardt 1931:118-120). Harrington says of his informant:

I have never known a woman with a better memory.... Sickness seemed to have made it even better, clearer and more spiritual. The circumstances produced the right condition for remembering.... When I found her she was in the middle stages of dying from a malignant tumor which had reduced her to the point where she could sit up only with the greatest difficulty.... When she began to put her mind on the happenings and the information she had picked up from old Indians long dead, it seemed to act like a tonic for her mind and body.... She gained a new interest in life and began to eat better and worked such long hours that we had to stop to make her rest -- she never stopped first. She never took opiates, but she was dosing herself all the time with Indian medicines.

[Clarke 1930:2]

In his letter to Merriam cited above, Harrington wrote:

The pressure of the work has been terrible on me since the informant is rapidly going down hill, and is so weak now that she can barely turn over in bed unassisted. But she is still able to talk, or rather whisper, although each attempt to whisper is likely to bring upon her a short spasm of coughing which ends in spitting frothy material into a cloth. A wheezy condition of her lungs set in three weeks ago which the doctor says will probably last until death, which he expects will occur some time in January. Even under such conditions as these I work from two to six hours a day with her.

It is a strange fact that her mind is not yet impaired in the slightest and the sicker she becomes, the better she remembers the words of her childhood. When she goes will vanish the last source of San Juan [Bautista] linguistic information. [Merriam 1967:386]

Father Francis J. Caffrey, priest in charge of the former Indian Mission of San Juan Bautista, wrote the following about Mrs. Cervantes:

The remains of Mrs. Solórzano [de Cervantes] were brought from Monterey to San Juan Bautista, and the funeral took place from the church on February 1, 1930. It was one of the largest funerals in the history of the County. I had asked her whether or not she cared to be buried in the Old Indian Cemetary. She was pleased. So we buried her close to the church wall. Her grave is marked with a natural cross taken from a tree by the family. We were paying honor not to one person only, but to the entire tribe. [Engelhardt 1931:120]

During the 1930's, Harrington reheard much of his Mutsun material with Isabel Meadows who served primarily as an informant for her native language Rumsen, the Costanoan language of the Carmel area, associated with Mission San Carlos Borromeo. Her comments about Mutsun are useful, but must be interpreted in light of the fact that Mutsun was, at best, a secondary language for her.

Harrington never published any of his research on Mutsun (or any other Costanoan dialect), although he did send several

vocabulary lists to Merriam, using Merriam's transcription system which obliterates numerous phonetic (and phonemic) distinctions; these were published nearly 40 years later (Merriam 1967). Following Harrington's death in 1961, most of his notes found their way to the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., though a few boxes of notes were loaned by the Archives to the Linguistics Department, University of California, Berkeley.

Aside from Harrington's material, the only other modern data on Mutsun were collected by Laurence Thompson sometime between October, 1956, and September, 1957 (Thompson 1957). Thompson was conducting a survey of speakers of all Costanoan dialects, and found only one, Lupi Tapia, who recalled anything of the San Juan Bautista dialect. From this informant, he recorded only 33 words, about a third of them Spanish.

The current outline of Mutsun grammar is based exclusively on the Harrington materials at Berkeley. This set of notes consists of about 2,500 pages, primarily rehearsings of Arroyo's phrase book and, unfortunately, lacking any good texts. It must be emphasized that the material in Berkeley comprises only about 3% of the Harrington data on Mutsun. (Since a good number of his pages are repetitious, copies of published works, or almost entirely blank, however, this low figure is somewhat misleading.) The full collection consists of some 77 boxes of linguistic and ethnographic notes, mostly rehearsings of Arroyo's works with Mrs. Cervantes, plus an additional 12 boxes of rehearsings with Isabel Meadows. These 99 boxes, amounting to

about 67,500 pages of notes, deal only (or primarily) with Mutsun; there are about 81,000 pages of linguistic and ethnographic notes dealing with Costanoan in general (Walsh 1976: 26-27). (Geoffrey Gamble [personal communication] puts the total closer to 97,000 pages.)

The Harrington data on Mutsun appear to be phonetically accurate and recorded with great care. According to Callaghan (1975:186), 'Both A.L. Kroeber and Edward Sapir attested to his phonetic accuracy'. Mrs. Cervantes customarily spoke a California dialect of Spanish so most of Harrington's glosses are in Spanish. These are, throughout the current work, translated into English. Occasionally, they are normalized in accordance with the semantic descriptions of the various Mutsun stems and suffixes. In no case does such a normalization lead to a distortion of Harrington's Spanish translation. (In questionable cases, the Spanish glosses are given along with their English translations and, if appropriate, normalizations.)

Since Harrington seems to have been preoccupied with checking and correcting published forms (in this case, Arroyo's) rather than investigating details of various grammatical features of his own, the material, though far from comprehensive, is nonetheless representative. This is because Arroyo's phrase book was organized into 2,884 numbered phrases listed, more or less, in alphabetical order by the first word of the phrase. Thus, the vocabulary and constructions illustrated by one phrase do not necessarily have anything to do with what may occur in the next, resulting in a random selection of Mutsun

grammatical structures. Although this is advantageous in providing a reasonable overview of what one might expect to find in the more complete set of data, it has definite drawbacks. Most importantly, at least in the data examined at Berkeley, Harrington does little comparison of similar forms to bring out the difference in meanings between them. When he finished rehearing one phrase, he went right onto the next, seldom eliciting information to clarify certain aspects of the first.

Due to this state of affairs, it must be emphasized at the outset that everything in the following description of Mutsun is somewhat sketchy and must be taken as provisional at best. It is quite possible that just one or two pages of notes in Washington, D.C., contain evidence contradicting certain of the proposals made here. More optimistically, any page of the unexamined notes might contain just that bit of data needed to pin down some of the more questionable and tenuous features of this description. Since there is no opportunity to recheck Harrington's notes, they must all be considered equally valid; none must be arbitrarily tossed aside as erroneous or insignificant without good reason.

The present work should be valuable not only in presenting a small part of a body of data which has been, up until now, highly inaccessible, but also in setting up a framework, however tentative, by which the unexamined data might be more easily sorted and incorporated into a more comprehensive grammatical description. The treatment which follows is a synchronic one; Mutsun is described as if it were still spoken. Comparative

and historical work, for which it is hoped the current effort will be a useful tool, will have to await a later study.

CHAPTER 1 - PHONOLOGY

100. Introductory Remarks

Interpreting Harrington's transcriptions to arrive at a precise phonetic characterization of Mutsun is not an entirely straightforward task. For the most part, Harrington used a fairly standard phonetic notation, but occasionally he resorted to ad hoc symbolization. Although he was an excellent phonetician, he did not consistently record all phonetic detail or clarify certain inherently ambiguous symbols (such as t and n which might be dental or alveolar sounds). Harrington seems to have adopted a somewhat broad transcription, indicating regularly only what was phonemically relevant, and relegating nondistinctive detail to occasional remarks. His transcription was not entirely phonemic, however, since he sometimes indicated more exact phonetic qualities, especially where the phonemic interpretation of a segment was not obvious.

The picture that emerges, then, is one ranging in reliability from reasonable confidence to working hypothesis. Fortunately, the bulk of the material falls towards the positive end of this scale.

110. Consonants

Mutsun has 19 consonantal phonemes, four of which are of very rare occurrence ($/t^Y \ \emptyset \ n^Y \ l^Y/$) and one phonotactically restricted ($/\ ? /$). The consonants are charted below.¹

¹Mason (1916) recognized only 15 consonants in Arroyo's vocabulary. He did not include the rare $/t^Y \ \emptyset \ l^Y/$, treating them, respectively, as a consonant-vowel sequence (ti), a cluster (ts) or geminate (l.). The latter was based on Arroyo's ll.

		bilabial	dental/alveolar	retroflex	alveo-palatal/ palatal/palatalized	velar	glottal
voiceless	stops	p	t	.t	t ^Y	k	ʔ
	affricates		ʧ		ç		
voiced (sonorants)	fricatives		s		s ^Y		h
	nasals	m	n		n ^Y		
	laterals		l		l ^Y		
	flap/tap		r				
	semivowels	w			y		

In Spanish orthography, ll indicates a palatalized l [l^Y], at least for certain dialects of Spain, and apparently this is what Arroyo usually had in mind. Mason interpreted all doubled consonants, including ll, as long (1916:404). Rare /n^Y/, indicated by Arroyo as ñ in accordance with Spanish orthography, was interpreted by Mason as a cluster ny, except in 'a few cases of doubt [where] it has been retained as ñ' (p. 403). Mason also does not indicate /ʔ/, though this may be phonemically trivial since, with very few exceptions, /ʔ/ occurs only word-initially (see sec. 111.2.). In his description of the phonetic system, Mason includes c, characterized only as 'sh', and comments that it 'is not definitely distinguished by De la Cuesta but is suggested by certain sh, sch orthographies' (p. 403). Indeed, c is almost non-existent in the list of stems (pp. 427-469), and is not entered at all in Mason's recounting of the alphabetical arrangement of the list (p. 427). The forms which Harrington transcribes with /s^Y/ are rendered by Mason (and Arroyo) with the sequence si. Finally, Mason recognized both x and h, the former for Arroyo's Spanish j or g (in specific environments), the latter for h. About h, Mason comments:

Initial and medial h may be silent, as in modern Spanish, but since it is regularly employed in certain stems, and as both h and x are found in most Costanoan texts, it is retained. [p. 404]

Mason's h does in fact correspond to Harrington's /h/ in a number of words (e.g. Mason hius·e 'wish, desire, want' [p. 454], Harrington /hiwsen/), while acting as a 'silent' letter in

111. Stops

111.1. /p t ṭ ṭ^y k/

Harrington renders the stops /p t k/ by the normal symbols for voiceless stops, [p t k], and there is no evidence that they are ever voiced. Thompson (1957) characterizes them as 'fortis'.² There is some indication in Harrington's material that /t/ and /k/, at least, may be aspirated, though it is not clear whether aspiration is phonologically conditioned (allophonic) or simply a matter of free variation. Harrington wrote aspiration in extremely few forms, but his lack of regular attention to this feature is probably more an indication of its non-distinctive nature than its phonetic absence.

 others (e.g. Mason -hiha ~ -hia 'also' [p. 426], Harrington /ya/). Mason's x also corresponds to Harrington's h, and, in fact, Harrington gives little indication of any allophonic variation of /h/. As far as the status of x and h in other Costanoan languages is concerned, Kroeber has remarked that they 'shade into one another and are probably one sound' (1910: 250). Harrington's data on Rumsen and Chochenyo, of the southern and northern branches of Costanoan, respectively, also indicate that there is only one back fricative, though, for these languages, it seems to be /x/.

²In four words, Harrington occasionally wrote a doubled [k] where geminate consonants do not occur -- either in conjunction with a preceding or following consonant, or at the end of a word:

[mé·strukk]	'with you'
[ʹuykkaʃte]	'afternoon'
[ʹekkwe]	'not'
[siwkker]	'hawk sp.'

These words could be taken as exceptions to the rule limiting clusters to two consonants (secs. 131, 132), but since they all involve [kk], it seems more likely that they indicate something about the articulation of this particular consonant, perhaps its 'fortis' nature. The first word contains the comitative suffix /-tuk/ (sec. 332.7), in all other instances transcribed with a single [k]; the second word, recorded in 1922, was reheard in 1929 and retranscribed [ʹuykaʃ^yte] 'to be

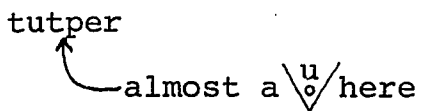
Examples of aspirated /t k/ before consonants are:

[set^ˈnen] (later [setnen])/setnen/ 'acorn bread'

[wit^ˈtrí] /wit^ˈti/ 'is hard, solid, firm'

[hút^ˈʃek^ˈnis] (later [hutcekniš^ˈ])/hučekniš^ˈ/ 'dog'

The symbol ^ˈ was frequently used by Harrington to indicate word-final aspiration, which is equivalent to word-final /h/ (see secs. 113.2., 140). Preconsonantal aspiration is also suggested by the following entry for /tutper/ 'eyelash':

tutper

 almost a $\frac{u}{\circ}$ here

The symbol $\frac{u}{\circ}$ is surely for a voiceless [u̥], in accordance with Harrington's use of a subscript circle to indicate a voiceless \underline{r} (see below) as well as established practice. In the environment following a rounded [u] and preceding a bilabial [p], the aspiration of the [t^h] would certainly have the quality of a voiceless [u̥]. Thus, Harrington's remark can be taken as an indication of aspiration, rather than, e.g., an epenthetic vowel (see sec. 119.).

/k/, but not /t/, is also recorded with aspiration before vowels, as in [tritrk^hú] /t^ˈit^ˈku/ 'tears, rips'. Here aspiration is indicated by a raised [h]. Similarly, an annotation to the form [tráwraykún] /t^ˈawraykun/ 'went to be (situated)' characterizes that [k] as 'almost kh. Always so heard.' Whether the comment 'always so heard' refers to all instances of /k/,

 later'; the third word was written with [kk] on several occasions, but Harrington far more frequently wrote ['ekwe] and indicates that the single [k] is the correct rendition. The last word was recorded only once, and its geminate [kk] is probably phonemically single /k/.

instances of /k/ in this phonetic environment, or this particular /k/ in this particular word or morpheme is unclear.

In one recording of one word only, word-final /t/ is indicated as aspirated: [lot^c] /lo(·)t/ 'mud'. This is a loanword from Spanish lodo, but this seems to have no bearing on the aspiration.³

/p/ is never accompanied by any indication of aspiration.

Though somewhat vague, Thompson's term 'fortis' seems a reasonable description of Mutsun /t/ and /k/, if not also /p/.⁴

As for position of articulation, Harrington provides no information other than the phonetic symbols. On this basis, /p/ is bilabial and /k/ velar. (Harrington gives no indication of variation of the /k/ before different vowels, though such variation would be expected.)

³Thompson (1957) also occasionally indicates aspiration of /t k/:

[peñék ^h]	'cat' (Harrington: [pen ^y ek])
[k ^h Uk ^h sūy]	'devil'
[weyót ^h ʌ]	'acorn'

The last two forms are loans. The word for 'devil' is clearly Kuksu, the name of the 'big head' dance or character portrayed by the dancer found throughout northern-central California (cf. Kroeber 1925:364-384). 'Acorn' is from Spanish bellota, showing the normal substitution of Mutsun /w/ for Spanish /b/ (though /o·/ would be expected for Spanish stressed /ó/ unless the preceding consonant was geminated). The aspiration would appear to be a Mutsun trait, since Spanish /t/ is not aspirated.

⁴This characterization of Mutsun stops differs from the description given by Kroeber (1910:250). Referring to his own fieldwork on the dialects of San Jose (Chochenyo) and Monterey (Rumsen), but applying his remarks to all Costanoan languages, Kroeber says the stops varied from being voiceless to partially voiced. They

differ sufficiently from the English surd stops, in being pronounced with somewhat less breath or some degree of sonorancy -- possibly during the explosion -- to cause them at times to assume to English ears a quality approaching that of sonorant stops.

The position of articulation of /t/ (or range of positions, if there is allophonic variation) cannot be precisely determined, but it is most likely dental.⁵ The sequence [ts] which is best interpreted as an affricate /tʃ/ seems to be dental throughout its articulation (sec. 112.). It is thus likely that /t/ before /s/ in a /ts/ cluster is dental as well. Furthermore, as will be shown, alveopalatal /sʲ/ is fronted to [sʲ] (a dental sibilant with palatal offglide) following /t/. This also implies that /t/ is dental, since that would make the /sʲ/ → [sʲ] rule a case of simple assimilation. Finally, though there are no phonetically reliable data on any other Costanoan language (other than Harrington notes which have not yet been examined for their phonetic information), it is possible to compare Mutsun with nearby languages to see if it falls into a definable linguistic area with regard to the point of articulation of /t/. Along with Costanoan, Salinan to the south, and Yokuts and all the languages immediately to the north and east, had two types of t, normally transcribed t and ṭ. The descriptions of their

 In commenting on Arroyo's use of voiceless symbols (p, t, c, qu, read with their values in Spanish orthography), Kroeber points out that

the surd explosives of Spanish are voiced during part of their formation, while the corresponding Spanish sonants are largely fricative, so that if the Costanoan stops are actually intermediate rather than surd, he would nevertheless have naturally and correctly represented them by the Spanish surd stop characters.

For this reason, Kroeber concludes, Arroyo's transcription of Mutsun gives no information on whether the stops were truly voiceless or (at least sometimes) partially voiced.

⁵Mason interpreted Arroyo's t as 'dental or interdental' (1916: 402), probably just in accordance with Spanish orthography, since he gives no further justification.

positions of articulation are summarized below:

<u>Language</u>	<u>t̥</u>	<u>t̄</u>	<u>Source</u>
Bodega Miwok	interdental	post-alveolar	Callaghan 1970:7
Southeastern Pomo	interdental to dental	alveolar to retroflexed	Moshinsky 1974:6
Yokuts (in general)	dental	alveolar (retroflex)	Newman 1944:13 Newman 1946:224
Southern Sierra Miwok	dental or immediately post-dental	alveolar or slightly post-alveolar	Broadbent 1964:11
Salinan	dental	alveolar	Mason 1918:11

On the basis of this areal configuration, then, it would seem most reasonable to assume that Mutsun /t/ is dental as well.

There is a small amount of evidence that /t/ may not be dental, or at least is not dental all of the time. In the sequence /st/ (even across a word boundary) the normally dental /s/ is occasionally recorded as a 'dull' [s̥] or [s̄], presumably alveolar to postalveolar (see sec. 113.1). If this 'dulling' of the /s/ is caused by the following /t/, it seems likely that /t/ is not dental itself, but rather post-dental if not alveolar. The 'dulling' process is not frequent, however, and Harrington makes specific mention of the fact that dental [s] can occur before [t]. For example, in the entry [mostor] 'tree trunk' he notes that he heard the [s] eight times, and that it was indeed [s].⁶

⁶Harrington's concern with /st/ clusters is undoubtedly due to his work with Chumash conducted at about the same time. He reports that in Ventureño Chumash, s is 'lowered' to s̄ before t, l, n, or that it becomes a 'mere surd approach to the alveolar contact' (1974:6-7), implying that, for Ventureño at least, t was alveolar. The occasional 'lowering' of /s/ before /t/ in Mutsun, then, might imply that /t/ is alveolar, but the fact that this process is so infrequent makes this an extremely weak argument.

Also favoring a non-dental interpretation of /t/, though again not strongly, is Harrington's recording of a California Spanish word kavresto 'horsehair rope'. (This word is elsewhere found in American Spanish as cabresto or cabestro.) The t is actually written ṭ accompanied by the notation 'sharpish'. As will be seen (sec. 113.1), dental [s] is also written with a subscript circle and is also described as 'sharp'. The t in this Spanish word, then, was apparently pronounced with normal Spanish dental articulation. Of interest here is that only the Spanish word, and never a Mutsun word, is recorded with a specially marked dental ṭ. If we assume that Harrington made the notation to distinguish it from other (normal Mutsun) t's, perhaps Mutsun /t/ was not 'sharpish' or dental, at least not following /s/.

In summary, it is probably the case that Mutsun /t/ was dental, though perhaps more towards 'postdental' than 'interdental'. Mason's clarification of 'dental' as applied to Salinan may be apropos: 'the tip of the tongue is pressed against the roots of the teeth' (1918:12).

/tʲ/, also written [tʲ] by Harrington, is apparently a /t/ with a voiced palatal offglide. It is never recorded with aspiration. /tʲ/ is a fairly uncommon phoneme, and is, furthermore, apparently restricted in distribution in two ways, the second of which may be fortuitous only: (1) it does not occur word (or stem) initially; (2) when between two short vowels, it occurs only as a geminate (most consonants occur in this position either singly or geminated). There is one example

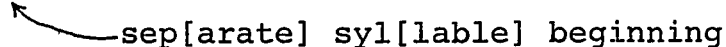
of /t^Y/ in word-final position, the particle /ʔat^Y/, of unknown significance. The geminate /t^Yt^Y/ is [tt^Y], that is, the stop portion of the sound is held for extra length, then released with a palatal offglide.⁷

/t^Y/ is distinct from /t/ as is shown by the following near-minimal pairs:

/pat ^Y t ^Y an/	'blood'
/mattalpu/	'put oneself face down'
/hit ^Y t ^Y e/	'go!'
/čitte/	'dances' (verb)
/mut ^Y t ^Y e/	'eat pinole (mush) dry'
/huttey/	'make a fire!'
/ʔamt ^Y aş ^Y min/	'big eater'
/namti/	'hears'
/kat ^Y luş ^Y min/	'thick-legged one'
/matla/	'is face down'

/t^Y/ is also distinct from a /ty/ cluster. If /t^Y/ were analyzed as a cluster, the geminate /t^Yt^Y/ could only be /tty/, violating the restriction on clusters to no more than two consonants (secs. 131, 132), and a similar violation would occur in non-geminate clusters (e.g., /mty/ for /mt^Y/). Furthermore, Harrington distinguishes /t^Y/ from a true /ty/ cluster:


/hotyohte/ 'tied' is written by Harrington as:

hot-yoh-te

 sep[arate] syl[lable] beginning

⁷-----
 The sequence [tt^Y] could also be interpreted as a cluster consisting of /t/ followed by /t^Y/ rather than as a geminate /t^Yt^Y/. Either analysis precludes the other, since there would be no way to distinguish /tt^Y/ and /t^Yt^Y/. (See also sec. 132.)

/t̚/ is apparently a voiceless retroflex stop, released with a noticeable amount of friction. Kroeber (1910:250) described it as 'very palatal, as in Yokuts and Salinan, and its frequent orthography tr conveys a fair idea of the quality of its sound'. These comparisons seem quite reasonable. Newman (1944:14) describes the corresponding Yokuts stops as apico-alveolar (as distinguished from the palato-alveolar affricates), and he elsewhere specifically terms them retroflex (1946:224). Mason (1918:12) notes that the release of Salinan t̚ produces 'a semi-affricative effect approximating tc [that is, [č]] and ty. It is practically identical, however, with the English combination tr but more truly affricative, a simple sound'. Finally, Mason characterizes Mutsun /t̚/ as 'the tongue-blade t̚ found in the Costanoan and neighboring languages' (1916:404).

Harrington symbolized /t̚/ by the digraph tr or, on occasion, tr̥. The subscript circle means voicelessness, as can be seen in the entry for /kuṭra/ 'belt', given in Harrington's original transcription:

$$\text{ku}^{\text{Ⓢ}}\text{tr̥}\text{-ra}$$

 fully voiced

That is, the r of the second syllable is fully voiced, implying that the r̥ of the digraph is not. (The symbol [Ⓢ] seems to mean aspiration of some sort.) The far more frequent transcription tr does not imply voicing of the r part of the digraph, but is simply shorthand for tr̥.

Like /t/ and /k/, /t̚/ is occasionally recorded with aspiration, though this was done more frequently -- indeed, almost

regularly -- in the earlier (1922) recordings. For example:⁸

<u>1922 Recording</u>	<u>Revised (1929) Recording</u>		
[ʼetrʼeniwuy]	[ʼéttreniwúy]	/ʔeṭṭeniwuy/	'come to sleep!'
[trʼu·hi]	[trú·his]	/ṭu·his/	'day'
[morotrʼ]	[mórótr]	/morot/	'acorn husk'
[pitrʼu ^w iy]	[pitrwiy]	/piṭwiy/	'untie (it)!'

Unlike the other stops, however, /ṭ/ is released with a certain amount of friction. This release (symbolized by the voiceless r) seems to have been less prominent when /ṭ/ preceded a fricative, or at least /s/. Two somewhat cryptic comments give this impression. First, Harrington writes of the r of /ʔeṭse/ 'many are sleeping' (?): 'a fragment of this r'. Second, regarding /ʔiṭson/, a word the informant pronounced in response to Arroyo's Ithson 'doubt, disbelieve' (1862: entry no. 1295), although she did not herself remember the form, Harrington comments 'this r assimilated to nothingness -- try to carry and al memory [sic]'. A reasonable interpretation of these remarks is that the fricative-r release of /ṭ/ is rather diminished before another fricative (/s/).

Elsewhere, the fricative release of /ṭ/ is quite prominent, sometimes resembling a sibilant. For example, the r component in /raṭmaṣ^yte/ 'having boils, pimples' is 's-like', and that in /yuṭkiy/ 'throw (it) out!' is 'sh. like, but not sh'.

As the latter remark suggests, at least phonetically, /ṭ/ seems to resemble the non-retroflex affricate /č/ (sec. 112)

⁸-----
 Note also Harrington's early recording of /murut/ 'night, darkness' as [murutrə], where the final ə is apparently a voiceless vowel offglide, suggesting aspiration.

more than the non-retroflex stop /t/. On a number of occasions, Harrington changed a transcription from tr to tc (/t/ to /č/) or vice versa, but almost never changed tr to t or t to tr.⁹ Arroyo had a similar problem distinguishing these two sounds (as Mason points out [1916:404]), so there are occasional differences between Arroyo's form and Harrington's.¹⁰ Furthermore, Harrington recognized Arroyo's problem, as is shown, e.g., by his comments on Arroyo's chaipu 'praise oneself' (1862: entry no. 1274) that the informant knew neither [tcaypu] (/čaypu/) nor [traypu] (/taypu/), since either could have been represented by Arroyo's transcription. Harrington also notes

⁹-----
 In the examples with a tr/t change, the segment in question seems to occur in particularly precarious environments: before /r/, where the /r/ itself could add some coloring to a preceding sound, or before /s/, where aspiration or affrication might be difficult to hear, or assimilation towards a dental articulation might take place. Thus:

Original Recording	Corrected Recording		
[kút'ra]	[kutr-ra]	/kutra/	'belt'
[hatsá]	[hatrsa]	/haṭsa/	'is stealing'

Note also [kitr.ray]/kitray/ 'stir!', but [kitras^yte] 'stirred'. The latter form, interpreted at face value, would be /kitras^yte/, though, on the basis of attestations of other related words, should be /kiṭras^yte/.

¹⁰In his published grammar of Mutsun, Arroyo (1861) makes no comments on the phonetic quality of /t/, which he writes thr, ths and a few other ways. In an unpublished manuscript of 1819, however, he does attempt to describe this sound. The manuscript was photocopied by Harrington who identifies it only as 'Oro'. This may be the same as 'El Oro Molido' published, in part, by Beeler (1971). Though the sections of this manuscript dealing with Nop^tinte Yokuts match up with Beeler's published version, the page numbers do not, and it may be that Harrington copied another version of Arroyo's little book.

In any event, Arroyo describes /t/ as follows (p. 67 of 'Oro'):

La letra h antecedida de la t, siguiendose la letra r y despues a, é, i, ó, u se hace v:g: thra, se hiere la t, y luego se pronuncia como cha: endonde me parece q^e le falta la r simplisima, como q^e se hiere, y no se

that /t̚/ is 'tc-like' in /ʔeʔnempi/ 'put (the baby) to sleep'; 'easy to mishear as tc' in /paʔki/ 'sparkle'; and even 'sounds more ts-like' in /t̚iʔkuʂ^yte/ 'torn, ripped up' (referring to the second /t̚/).¹¹

Harrington himself compares /t̚/ with the corresponding consonant in Yokuts. He notes that the /t̚/ in /re·t̚em/ 'louse eggs, nits', is 'a perfect Tulareño tr'. 'Tulareño' is the Spanish word for Yokuts in general, though Harrington used it to refer to a dialect of the western San Joaquin Valley, around Tulare Lake, similar (if not identical) to Tachi.¹² If 'a perfect Tulareño tr' is like a 'perfect' tr for Yokuts in general, Gamble's (1975:7) description of retroflex stops in Wikchamni Yokuts (of the Tule-Kaweah group) may be appropriate: the voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop is 'accompanied by noticeable friction', while its aspirated counterpart 'is often articulated with considerable friction, nearly as strong as in /ç/ [the aspirated laminoalveolar affricate]'. (As noted, all Mutsun stops may be aspirated.)

 here: y do no pronunciarse, no se dira, ni sonara bien en este Ydioma.

A rough (and somewhat unsure) translation of this passage is: The letter h preceded by t̚, the letter r following and then a, e, i, o, u becomes, e.g., thra; the t̚ is pronounced, and then [the rest?] is pronounced like cha, in which it seems to me the simple [?] r is missing, as if it is pronounced and is not pronounced; and to not be pronounced, it will not be said, nor will it sound well [correct?] in this language.

Thus, thra differed from cha by somehow having an r-coarticulation (the r is 'pronounced and is not pronounced').

¹¹See sec. 112 for a possible sound symbolic relationship between /t̚/ and /ç/ ([ts]).

¹²In his notes on Tachi Yokuts, Harrington writes the 'Tulareño tr' as t̚r (Geoffrey Gamble, personal communication).

Given the available data, then, it is difficult to decide whether /t̥/ is really a stop with affrication or a true affricate.¹³ Phonetically, the difference between the two alternatives is probably a matter of degree, if not completely mythical. As far as the phonological system of Mutsun is concerned, it makes no difference which it is, since it would have no stop (or affricate) counterpart in either event. In keeping with descriptive tradition, it will be considered a stop.

Examples of the stops / p t t̥ t̥^y k/ before various vowels are:

/parwes/	'five'	/pa·çi/	'(weather) is icy cold'
/peṭṭen/	'gets stuck together'		
/pissa/	'dew'	/pi·roy/	'fishing net'
/počroṣ ^y te/	'having sores'	/po·čor/	'a sore'
/putti/	'wraps in cloth'	/pu·yis/	'witchcraft'
/taṣ ^y ri/	'(cloth)is firm, stiff'	/ta·pin/	'fits, suits'
/temme/	'lies down by the fire'		
		/ti·wis/	'flower'
/tollon/	'much'	/to·yoh/	'bumblebee'
/tuyos/	'arrow'	/tu·pen/	'sweathouse'
/ṭaywen/	'mush'	/ṭa·ṭak/	'plain' (geographical)
/ṭemo/	'arrow'		
/ṭippe/	'knife'	/ṭi·nuy/	'wring(it)out'
/ṭokken/	'runs'	/ʔoṭo·na/	'goes to gather'
/ṭuppuṣ ^y te/	'pricked in the eye'	/ṭu·his/	'day'

¹³-----
 Either interpretation is different from Kroeber's description of Costanoan stops, among which he includes /t/ (written by him t̥, following the practice of the time of indicating 'palatalization' by a raised dot). See footnote 4.

/kat ^Y t ^Y a/	'grasps'		
/tokt ^Y eş ^Y min/	'runner, one who runs much'		
/tat ^Y t ^Y i/	'bone'		
/loht ^Y ohte/	'loose'		
/ka·t ^Y ul/	'leg'		
/kaphan/	'three'	/ka·t ^Y ul/	'leg'
/kehleş ^Y min/	'hoarse one'	/ke·wey/	'stop!'
/kille/	'shines, glistens'	/hiki·pu/	'hangs oneself'
/koloy/	'spring of water'	/ko·tehwa/	'snake sp.'
/kussa/	'washes'	/ku·tis/	'little bit'

111.2. Glottal Stop

With a few exceptions (discussed below) glottal stop, transcribed ' by Harrington, is restricted to stem-initial position. Only certain pronominal elements may precede a stem, and these are regarded as proclitics rather than prefixes so /ʔ/ is essentially limited to word-initial position. Harrington indicates glottal stop in this position with absolute regularity, and there is no question as to its phonetic presence.

The phonemic status of glottal stop, on the other hand, is open to interpretation. First of all, since [ʔ] is so restricted in distribution, it is possible to consider it an 'automatic' phonetic onset to a stem (or word) beginning with a vowel. (Non-initial glottal stop is exceptional under any interpretation.) A rule could be formulated, such as

$$\emptyset \rightarrow ʔ / \# _ V$$

that is, glottal stop is automatically inserted before a vowel when this vowel occurs stem (or word) initially.

The non-phonemic status of glottal stop is supported fur-

ther by distributional features of another kind. In Mason's list of verb stems (1916:441-461), there are more than twice as many vowel-initial stems (Mason did not recognize glottal stop) as stems beginning with s or x, the next most numerous stem-initial segments. Furthermore, the number of stems beginning with any particular vowel is comparable to the number of stems beginning with any particular consonant. This distribution appears in non-verb stems as well. There are not enough Mutsun data from Harrington to make a meaningful break-down of this kind (the material in the Smithsonian Institution's Archives will have to be incorporated first) but a similar situation obtains in Harrington's data on Rumsen. On the assumption that it is as likely for a stem to begin with any one segment as with any other, the number of stems beginning with glottal stop seems very much out of proportion. If, however, glottal stop were not a phoneme, the distribution of stem-initial segments, be they consonants or vowels, would be more uniform. It is interesting to note in this regard that Mutsun (or Costanoan) is not alone in having glottal stop as the most common stem-initial segment. A quick survey of published dictionaries of Miwokan languages shows that /ʔ/ and /h/ are the most common stem-initial segments (Callaghan 1965, 1970; Broadbent 1964; Freeland and Broadbent 1960), with /ʔ/ the more common of the two. In fact, /ʔ/ occurs at least twice as frequently in this position as any other consonant in Miwokan, other than /h/, and /h/ is only slightly less common.¹⁴ In Mutsun, it is

¹⁴ /ʔ/ and /h/ are also the most common stem-initial segments in other Penutian families, such as Maiduan (Shipley 1963, Uldall

important to note, first, that of the Harrington data which have been analyzed, /h/ is about as common stem-initially as is glottal stop, and, secondly, the Harrington data show that a number of Mason's vowel-initial stems really begin with /h/. This being the case, the situation in Mutsun does not differ significantly from that in Miwokan. The argument that glottal stop should not be considered a phoneme because of its comparative frequency as a stem-initial consonant, therefore, does not seem compelling. The complete predictability of glottal stop, on the other hand, deserves serious consideration as justification for not regarding the segment as phonemic.

There are two reasons to consider glottal stop phonemic, despite its predictability. First of all, a phonemic glottal stop would make the syllable canon completely regular, CV(·)(C) (see sec. 131). Regardless of the status of glottal stop, there are no vowel-initial syllables after the first syllable of a word, so it seems reasonable to extend this characterization to word-initial syllables as well. Secondly, when a stem beginning with glottal stop (phonemically, or inserted by rule) is preceded by a nasal-final pronominal element, the glottal stop is always present. That is, there is no liaison between a syllable-final nasal and a purported syllable-initial vowel, as might be expected. For example, Harrington records:

[kan-'amá] 'my body' /kan-ʔama/

[men'ámatka] 'on your body' /men-ʔamatka/

and Shipley 1966) and Wintun (at least Wintu [Schlichter 1976]), though /ʔ/ is not necessarily more frequent than /h/. No Yukuts dictionary is readily available for this kind of comparison.

(The hyphen in the first form is Harrington's.) In fact, Harrington comments that the glottal stop in the second form is 'clear'. There are no examples of linking, such as *[kanamá], with syllable division after the [ka], as might be expected if the glottal stop were an onset rather than a real phonemic feature. Though a glottal stop insertion rule could be formulated to apply after these pronominal elements, such a rule would really be shifting the burden of phonemic value from a segment (glottal stop) to a boundary, since the glottal stop would be inserted, presumably, in order to 'preserve' the morpheme boundary. If glottal stop is phonemic, however, this kind of justification for a rule becomes unnecessary.

In short, despite the predictability of glottal stop in stem-initial position, it seems most reasonable to consider it a phoneme of limited distribution.

Examples of initial glottal stop before various vowels are:

/ʔahhes/	'soap-root brush'	/ʔa·tar/	'dirt clods'
/ʔeshen/	'blanket'	/ʔe·yo/	'pushes (as in swing)'
/ʔinnan/	'falls'	/ʔi·sir/	'dandruff'
/ʔosse/	'copies, imitates'	/ʔo·sompi/	'wakes (someone) up'
/ʔullis/	'dish'	/ʔu·či/	'shuts (door)'

There are a few instances of glottal stop occurring in non-initial position. About half of these words contain what appears to be a suffixed morpheme /-ʔa/ of unclear significance, though the words tend to be quantifiers or adverbial particles of some kind. For example:

/hemečʔa/	'one'	(cf. /hemečpu/ 'first time, one time')
/himahʔa/	'all'	(cf. /hi·mi, hi·min/ 'always')
/hiš ^y ʔa/	'something' (?)	(cf. /hiš ^y ke/ 'what is that?')
/hin ^y aʔa/	'(a little) later, soon'	
/neyʔa/	'now, right now'	(cf. /ne·/ 'here')
/ʔaruhʔa/	'early in the morning'	(cf. /ʔaru/ 'next, later')
/karihʔa/	'far' (also [kariʔa])	(cf. /kariy/ 'outside')
/ʔasaʔa/	'indeed, truly'	

The remaining examples of non-initial /ʔ/ are all quite unusual, and are best treated as residue. Some of the recordings are surely errors, but some may reflect variant pronunciations or true exceptions.

Two forms are well attested (that is, recorded consistently with [ʔ]):

/čo·reʔs ^y a/	'alone'	(cf. /-s ^y a/ 'alone')
/heʔe ^h /	}	'yes'
/ʔehʔe ^h /		
/ʔeʔe/		

The forms for 'yes' may be explained either as reduplication, a fairly infrequent phenomenon in Mutsun (see sec. 223), or as identical to the case of English [ʔəʔə] 'no', and not really part of the regular phonological or morphological systems.¹⁵

¹⁵-----
 Resembling misrecordings are:

[hi·tca'miš^y] 'pet' -- Perhaps an error for /hi·čaknis^y/ or /hi·čahnis^y/, with stem /hi·ča(h)/ and suffix /-(k)niš^y/ 'diminutive'; cf. /hičahmin/ 'pet'.

[tayke'ne] 'is touched' -- Probably for /taykehne/, with normal suffix /-hne/ 'passive'.

[ru·ta'nis] 'was gathered up' -- Probably for /ru·tahnis/, with normal suffix /-hnis/ 'passive, past'.

[kita'uy] 'take (it) away!' -- Probably for /kita·wuy/, with suffixes /-wu/ 'venitive; to come to...' plus /-y/

112. Affricates

Like the stops, the two affricates / ϕ \check{c} / are represented with voiceless symbols ($t\underset{s}{\int}$; $t\underset{l}{\int}$ or tc) and can surely be regarded as always voiceless. The $\underset{s}{\int}$ in $t\underset{s}{\int}$ indicates a dental sibilant (sec. 113.1), and $\underset{l}{\int}$ and $\underset{c}{\int}$ are used for [š] (see below).

/ \check{c} / also resembles the stops in that it is occasionally marked for aspiration, though this is normally done in 1922 hearings rather than the more extensive notes taken down in 1929. / ϕ / is never specifically recorded with aspiration. Examples of aspiration of / \check{c} / are:

<u>1922 Recording</u>	<u>Revised (1929)</u>		
	<u>Recording</u>		
[$t\underset{s}{\int}^c\acute{o}llo$]	(unsure)	/ $\check{c}ollo$ /(?)	'shoulder blade'
[$n\acute{u}kt\underset{s}{\int}^c iy$]	[$nuktci$]	/ $nuk\check{c}i$ /	'is big-nosed'
--	[$p\acute{a}no\cdot tc^c a$]	/ $pano\cdot\check{c}a$ /	'panocha (candy)'

The third word, though a loan from Spanish, contains the notation: ' tc dif. from in Sp.', that is, the articulation of the [\check{c}] is different from Spanish [\check{c}], perhaps, but not necessarily, due to the aspiration. There is no example of aspirated [\check{c}] before a consonant.

/ ϕ / is a very rare phoneme and seems to usually occur as a sound symbolic alternate for / t /. Phonetically, / ϕ / is [ts], in which the [s] is apparently dental. Harrington remarks of

'imperative'. The word is borrowed from Spanish quitar 'to take away'. The loanword also appears, without suffixation, as / $kita\cdot ri$ /.

Finally, [$lo'enin$] 'found disgusting', [$lo'e$] 'disgusts'
-- Mrs. Cervantes identified the root of these words as Soledad Costanoan and not Mutsun. Harrington remarked of the first form, 'Holds the \int as if double'.

this [s] in /çayla/ 'is (lying) face up' that it is the 'ordinary sharp s', meaning a dental [s] (sec. 113.1).¹⁶ Along the same lines, the /ç/ of /çummate/ 'sweet' is characterized as 'real θ-like', that is, nearly interdental. It seems reasonable to assume that the articulation of /ç/ was dental in both its stop and fricative components.

The sound symbolic nature of /ç/ can be seen in a number of pairs of words:

/çummate/	'sweet'	/çummate/	'savory (e.g. meat)'
/murçumak/	'black ones'	/murçumak/	'blackish ones, dark ones'

Other forms with /ç/ find counterparts in Mason with ç or Arroyo with thr (or some other cluster representing /ç/). For example, for /pelçey/ 'close your eyes!' Arroyo records Pelthrei (1862: entry no. 1650), which Mason transcribes as the verb root pelçte 'shut eyes' (1916:455). Not all instances of /ç/ have counterparts with /ç/, but /ç/ occurs so infrequently it may be that all cases are sound symbolic, at least in origin.

Finally, /ç/ occurs alongside true /ts/ clusters, written /t.s/ by Harrington (where the period symbolizes a syllable boundary, usually ascertained by having the informant 'syllabize' a word). For example:

/yatsen/	'is hurried'
/petsen/	'sugar'

¹⁶-----
This form is actually recorded by Harrington with an initial cluster, rather than an affricate. The difference in notation is that the members of a cluster are separated by a period, while the two parts of an affricate are not. Thus, the form is written [t.sayla]. There are no initial clusters in Mutsun, however, so this particular [t.s] may be viewed as an affricate. Originally Harrington recorded the form as [sayla], which more closely resembles the form found in Mason (1916:451) sayal 'lie face upward'.

The second affricate, /č/, is transcribed by Harrington as tc following the custom of the time for the alveopalatal (or post-alveolar) affricate.¹⁷ On the basis of this symbol alone it is reasonable to assume that Mutsun /č/ is also laminoalveopalatal (as distinguished from apicoalveopalatal or retroflex /t̚/). It is possible that /č/ is (lamino)-palatal, but this seems less likely since Harrington did not make a note of any particularly palatal feature of the sound as he did, e.g., for /ṣ^y/ (see sec. 113.1). The only comment Harrington makes about /č/ is in the Spanish loanword /pano·ča/ 'panocha (candy)' (see above).¹⁸

Examples of /č/ before various vowels are:

/čaltaš^ymin/ 'one who urinates much'

/hučekniš^y/ 'dog'

/čiri/ 'paternal aunt' /či·ri/ 'horn'

/čorkon/ 'gets dry' /kočo·pu/ 'makes fun of'

/čuluy/ 'jump!' (?)

113. Fricatives

113.1. Sibilants

There are two phonemic sibilants in Mutsun, /s/ and /ṣ^y/,

¹⁷ In his earliest (1922) notes, Harrington wrote tʃ.

¹⁸ Thompson (1957) recorded four words with the symbol [č] which he described as 'lamino-alveolar, affricated'. One of these words was Spanish [léč] 'milk' < leche; two contained /č/, [heméčʌ] 'one' (Harrington's /hemečʔa/), [ʔučéknis] 'dog' (Harrington's /hučekniš^y/). One, however, contained /t̚/: [t̚óče] 'meat' (Harrington's /to·te/). The use by Thompson of [č] for both /č/ and /t̚/ (he nowhere recorded anything corresponding to a distinct /t̚/), whether due to an error on the part of the recorder or the speaker, or to the general decayed state of the language, again shows their phonetic similarity.

but the details of their pronunciation comprise by far the most complex aspect of Mutsun phonetics, encompassing both the actual articulation of the sounds as well as what Harrington really meant by various transcriptional devices and comments.

Harrington wrote five sibilant symbols, which can be grouped into three classes on the basis of the descriptive terms most often found associated with each:

1922 Symbol	1929 Symbol	Normalization ¹⁹	Descriptive Term
s s ^Y	s o s ^Y o	s s ^Y	'sharp'
s ∫	s s ^Y	s s ^Y	'dull'
--	s ..	s ..	'half way dull'

A phonetic description of these five sounds will be attempted before a justification for the phonemic analysis is presented.

Harrington's choice of symbols and characterizations of the sibilants is clearly rather idiosyncratic. At the time of his work, however, he knew of no better way to describe the sounds, or to represent them transcriptionally. He presented his views on the matter in a discussion of sibilants in Ventureño Chumash (Harrington 1974), written sometime between 1916, when he did fieldwork on Ventureño, and 1928, when he filed the article with the Bureau of American Ethnology (1974:2).

¹⁹-----
The 'normalized' symbols are one-for-one substitutions made for typographical convenience only.

Significantly, he worked on Mutsun during roughly the same period (1922 and 1929). For Ventureño, Harrington used the symbols [s] for the 'high, narrow, sharp' sibilant, [ʃ] for the 'low, broad, dull' sibilant, and [ʂ] for a sound intermediate between the two (1974:3). He commented:²⁰

Our phonetical terminology for describing sibilants and changes in sibilants is inadequate. It would be convenient if there were a simple term for the group of š sounds and another for that of s sounds; also terms for s-izing and š-izing processes to replace the inexact lowering, raising, sharpening, dulling used in this paper. [1974:4]

Beeler, in discussing sibilant harmony in Barbareño Chumash, distinguishes between 'apical' [s] and 'blade' [š] (1970:16). Harrington also expresses his dissatisfaction with phonetic symbols for sibilants other than [s], and this surely accounts for his inventing symbols for use in transcribing Mutsun.

Despite the 'inexact' nature of Harrington's terminology, his account of the situation in Ventureño may well shed light on his usage of the terms for Mutsun. The 'high, narrow, sharp' [s] of Ventureño was surely apical, as Beeler describes it. Harrington identifies it as the sound of English see (1974:3), implying apicoalveolar articulation, if the statement is taken at face value rather than as merely a rough suggestion of what the sound was like. One remark in the Mutsun material

²⁰-----
The substitution of [š] for Harrington's [ʃ] was made by Madison S. Beeler and Mary R. Haas, who edited Harrington's manuscript for posthumous publication.

indicates, however, that Chumash [s] was dental; the /s/ of /ru(·)s/ 'saliva' is described as 'θ-like as in Chum[ash]'.

A reasonable interpretation of Harrington's terminology might be that a 'sharp' sibilant is apical, and perhaps the 'sharpest' sibilant would be dental; a somewhat less 'sharp' or more 'dull' sibilant is alveolar or, perhaps better, post-alveolar; and the 'dullest', probably laminal, sibilant would approach, if not actually reach, the palatal position. Accepting this general scheme, the Mutsun sibilants may be more or less located articulatorily.

The symbol [s] probably represented a sibilant ranging from apicodental to apicoalveolar articulation. In various notations, it was further characterized as 'real sharp', 'very sharp', and 'hissing sharp', all presumably at the sharpest end of Harrington's sharp-to-dull scale. Its dental, if not interdental, nature shows up most often following /i/, as is shown by such entries as:

[ká·pis] /ka·pis/ 'little finger'
 ↖ real θ-like

[miθte], but usually [miste] /miste/ 'pretty'

[ʔan^yis símán] /ʔanyis siman/ 'last week'
 ↖ practically θθ

(The fact that /siman/ 'week' is a loan from Spanish semana, and that the informant normally spoke Spanish, may be relevant to the last example.)

The characterizations 'sharp', 'very sharp', etc., are not limited to [s] after [i]. For example:

[ká·ras] /ka·ras/ 'molar teeth'
 ↑
 real sharp
 very sharp and long

[traskuhmin] /ṭaskuhmin/ 'red one'
 ↑
 sharp

Indeed, as noted above, the [s] of /ru(·)s/ 'saliva' is characterized as 'θ-like' even though it follows a back vowel.

Finally, [s] appears to be dental in the affricate [ts], that is, /ç/, as is shown by the comment:

[tsummaté] /çummate/ 'sweet'
 ↑
 real θ-like

Some counter-evidence to the dental interpretation of [s] exists, but it is rather weak. Harrington describes the final [s] of /či·tetis/ 'dancer' as 'not so awfully sharp', but this is the only non-'sharp' note about [s] in the data examined. Also, an early recording of /pa·yeṣ^ytek/ 'she is pregnant' is [pá·yestek], in which the second syllable [yes] receives the comment 'Like Eng[lish] yes' and the [s] itself is 'as Eng[lish]'. The remarks about English imply an alveolar sibilant, but since Harrington apparently settled on [ṣ^y] (/ṣ^y/) rather than [s] for this word, it may be taken more as information about the quality of the 'dull' sibilants than of [s].

It seems, then, that the most probable interpretation of [s] is a symbol for an apicodental sibilant which, normally after /i/, is also used to represent a somewhat more fronted articulation.

The other sharp sibilant, [s^y], is probably best interpreted at face value: an apicodental [s] with a palatal off-

glide. Articulatorily, it must be very similar to a [sy] cluster, as can be seen in the entry [pess^yopú] 'think for oneself' (the sequence [ss^y] was characterized as being 'long') which was replaced by [pesyopu] (with the comment 'not long s'). (This second form was subsequently crossed out and replaced by [pesoypu], but this has no bearing on the discussion of phonetics.)

[s^y] also appears in loanwords from Spanish, where the Spanish has a [sy], [si] or [se] sequence:

[pass^yarişmak] 'travellers' < pasear 'to pass, to travel'

[hiles^ya] 'church' < iglesia

(The [ss^y] in 'travellers' is characterized as 'only half-way sharpish'. Perhaps, then, the palatal offglide induced a slightly more backed articulation on the [s].)

Finally, though phonetically similar, [s^y] is distinct from the cluster [sy] (/sy/). Examples of the cluster are:

/misya/ 'pretty ones'

/pusyu/ 'it's making a whirlwind' (cf. /pussuynis/

'whirlwind' where the /s/ and /y/ of the stem are separated by a vowel; see sec. 222.1)

In addition to the tags 'dull' or 'dullish', [ʃ] is occasionally described by Harrington by means of comparison to English and, in one instance, Ventureño Chumash. [ʃ] is likened to English sh in such notations as: 'clear sh', 'surely Eng[lish] sh', '= sh', and 'very pure sh'. These characterizations imply a laminoalveopalatal spirant, or an apicoalveopalatal 'slit' spirant. On the other hand, Harrington points out that the [s]

in [posloy] /posloy/ 'make posole (stew)!' is indeed [s], even though occurring before [l], and 'is not ʃ as in V[entureño]'. Ventureño [s] is 'lowered' to what Harrington writes [ʃ̣] (Beeler's 'blade' [ʃ]), or 'partially' lowered to [ʃ̣] before [l] (Harrington 1976:6-7). For Ventureño, [ʃ̣] represents the sh sound of English she (1974:3, 4n7), and [ʃ̣] a sound intermediate between [s] and [ʃ̣]. If Harrington is using the symbol [ʃ̣] in Mutsun in the same way he used it for Ventureño, then perhaps it is not quite the English sh sound, but rather a sound approaching it, such as an apicoalveopalatal 'groove' spirant. [ʃ̣] was probably not retroflex, however, since Harrington indicated retroflexion with an r (as in [tr] for /t/) and probably would have used this scheme even for sibilants (cf. his symbol for the Yokuts affricated retroflex stop [tʃ̣r], where the [ʃ̣r] implies a retroflex sibilant). It appears that [ʃ̣] is best considered an alveopalatal sibilant with an ambiguous tongue shape.²¹

Dull [ʃ̣^y] is written as the alveopalatal (?) [ʃ̣] with a palatal offglide. The symbol [ʃ̣^y], used in 1929 hearings, replaced the [ʃ̣] used in 1922. [ʃ̣^y] is also compared to English sh, with such comments as 'perfect Eng[lish] sh', and Harrington sometimes used [ʃ̣^y] as equivalent to the phonetic symbol c which was in use at the time to represent the English sh sound. For instance, in pondering the nature of the final consonant in the word for 'bear', Harrington wrote:

²¹When rehearing his Mutsun materials with Isabel Meadows in 1938, Harrington termed [ʃ̣] the 'grueso ʃ', that is, the 'thick' or 'coarse ʃ'.

Henry says he always heard 'ores, bear, with sharp s. We discussed long what w[oul]d make Claudia say 'orec. I discussed the whole matter of s and s^y long with Henry, Marta and Dionisia.

(The people mentioned in this passage were all relatives of Mrs. Cervantes, the principal informant.) Similarly, upon first hearing ['epsé] 'don't (do it)!' he commented that the [s] might be c; and upon subsequent hearings, he in fact indicated that his suspicions were correct and wrote ['eps^yé]. Also, he replaced early ['oycó] 'again' with ['oy^yó].²²

Harrington's use of [ṣ] and [ṣ^y] at times seems rather arbitrary. He termed the [ṣ] in [hoštokte] 'light (in weight)' a 'clear sh', but also recorded the same word as [hoš^ytokte]. Quite a few entries originally written with [ṣ] are changed by Harrington to [ṣ^y] either upon rehearing or normalization of his orthography, which implies that if [ṣ] and [ṣ^y] were not transcriptional variants of each other, they were certainly not distinct (phonemic) sounds. On the other hand, Harrington does make it clear that [ṣ] and [ṣ^y] were not phonetically identical as is shown by comments such as that the second [ṣ^y] in [rúys^yuks^yí] 'shake with palsy' is 'Really merely ṣ' and not [ṣ^y] after all. (He later heard this sound as [s] and later

²²-----
When rehearing the Mutsun materials with Isabel Meadows, Harrington transcribed c in all places he wrote [ṣ^y] in the original notes. Since this informant provided both Mutsun and Rumsen words, however (sometimes without clarifying which were which), the identity of [ṣ^y] and c in Mutsun is not necessarily indicated.

still as 'really' [ʃ^Y]. Regardless of what sound the word actually has, Harrington was trying to make a clear symbolic distinction.) Similarly, in the entry [múrʃ^Yuniŋka] 'I got a molar toothache', Harrington termed the [ʃ] part of [ʃ^Y] 'dull' and called the [^Y] part 'prominent, not y', that is, the sound was definitely [ʃ^Y] and not the sequence [ʃy].

Despite his remarks, Harrington also seemed to distinguish [ʃ^Y] from English sh. For example, he wrote of the sibilant cluster [ʃʃ^Y] in [púʃʃ^Yumpf] 'scorches': 'Not ʃy. This s is only halfway like c but app[arently] not ʃy'. Again, [ʃ^Y] is not a sibilant-semivowel sequence, but neither is it exactly like English sh (it is only 'halfway' like c). Another, though questionable, citation confirms the difference between English sh and [ʃ^Y]: [má·c^Yiŋka], apparently 'I am afraid'. Harrington comments: 'V[olunteere]d and repeated many times. So sick I almost doubt it tho[ugh]'. What he is doubting is the legitimacy of the word, since this is the only time it appears. Of relevance here, however, is the use of the symbol [c^Y], a unique occurrence also, which appears to be equivalent to his [ʃ^Y] and again shows that [ʃ^Y] is really different from English sh. In one entry, Harrington remarks that the final sibilant in [rarəʃ^Y] 'finger' is 'easy to hear, Eng[lish] shy', that is, something like [šy], but not sh.

It seems more likely that the raised [^Y] indicates palatalization, rather than e.g., a palatal sibilant, because (1) the [^Y] is written only once in clusters, indicating no palatal articulation until the release of the fricative ([púʃʃ^Yumpf]

'scorches'); (2) it is termed 'prominent', but not the regular semivowel [y] (see above); (3) the symbol parallels [s^Y]. Thus, [ṣ^Y] is probably a palatalized laminoalveopalatal sibilant.

The 'half way dull' sibilant [ṣ] appears rather infrequently and normally in words elsewhere recorded with [s] or [ṣ]. Harrington did mean to mark some sort of distinction with this symbol, as is shown in a remark about the [s] in [noswel 'breathes': 'This s, of the sharpest kind, sounded like ṣ or ṣ to me first time she said it'. It is apparently, as Harrington's description suggests, a sound 'half way' between [s] and [ṣ]: a more backed articulation of apical [s], but not laminal like [ṣ].

Despite the array of sibilants phonetically, there are only two sibilant phonemes, /s/ and /ṣ^Y/, the symbols based on the most common allophone of each phoneme. In the absence of a standard phonetic symbol for [ṣ^Y], the admittedly clumsy /ṣ^Y/ was chosen so as not to be misleading about the phonetics of the phoneme, and also to show its similarity to palatalized /t^Y n^Y l^Y/. In general, /s/ contains the allophones (or free variants) [s] and [ṣ], while /ṣ^Y/ is realized by [s^Y], [ṣ^Y] and [ṣ]. Only [s] and [ṣ^Y] occur word-initially. Other sibilants in this position are either errors, corrected on subsequent rehearsings, or transcriptional lapses, such as the occurrences of (in Harrington's original transcription) s^Y, rather than ṣ^Y (that is, [ṣ^Y]) or ṣ^Y (that is, [s^Y]), which, given the distribution of [s^Y] and [ṣ^Y] appears to result from Harrington's failure to write the underscore. Normally, forms containing

sibilants other than [s] or [ṣ^Y] occur elsewhere in the data with [s] or [ṣ^Y], implying, perhaps, free variation but certainly not phonemic contrast.

Minimal and near-minimal pairs showing the /s/-/ṣ^Y/ contrast are:

/hassapu/	'likes oneself'
/haṣ ^Y ṣ ^Y an/	'abalone shell'
/hiske/	'let me' or 'wait' (see sec. 443)
/hiṣ ^Y ke/	'what is that?'
/sukmu/	'smokes' (verb)
/ṣ ^Y ukru/	'tickles' (verb)

There are occurrences of both /s/ and /ṣ^Y/ before and after each of the five vowels, and both /s/ and /ṣ^Y/ occur as first or second members of consonant clusters with the same consonants (though there are examples of /s/ in clusters with more consonants than /ṣ^Y/).

Complicating the picture somewhat, there is evidence of sound symbolism involving an interchange between /s/ and /ṣ^Y/. The clearest example of this phenomenon occurs in the pair of entries for the objective case form of 'splice', /su·pise/ and /ṣ^Yu·piş̣^Ye/. Harrington comments: 'v[olunteere]d that she makes the word little by ṣ^Y'. In other words, the form containing /ṣ^Y/ is the diminutive. Symbolism is not restricted to diminutives, however, as is shown by such pairs as:²³

²³-----
 Harrington also records /murçusmin/ 'black one', /murçuṣ^Ymin/ 'dark one', showing /ṭ/-/ç/ as well as /s/-/ṣ^Y/ symbolism. The status of the /s/ in the first form is uncertain however: Harrington also once records /murçu[s]min/ 'dark one', leaving open the possibility that /s/ is simply an error. See below on the status of /ṣ^Y/ in the suffix /-ṣ^Ymin/.

/miste/ 'pretty'	/huslu/ 'sips (soup)'
/miṣ ^Y te/ 'good'	/huṣ ^Y lu/ 'sucks (e.g. clam juice out of a clam)'

The occurrence of this kind of sound symbolism can explain several other /s/-/ṣ^Y/ doublets with no indicated difference of gloss:

/ʔasnu/ ~ /ʔaṣ ^Y nu/	'sneezes' (verb)
/haskay/ ~ /haṣ ^Y kay/	'scratch (it)!'

/s/ is realized as [s] almost all of the time. Under not fully understood conditions, however, it is 'dulled' to [ṣ] and even to [ṣ̣]. As in Ventureño (see above), /s/ is 'dulled' when followed by a dental consonant:

/ru[ṣ̣]t ^Y eṣ ^Y min/	'slobbery one' (cf. /ru(·)s/ 'saliva')
/pu[ṣ̣]luhmin/	'big-bellied one'
/hotro[ṣ̣]tap/	'had finger stuck into one's vagina'
/hamme[ṣ̣]tap/	'was crawled onto in the manner of a cat'

The dulling seems to occur across word boundaries as well, as is shown by the pronominal objects ending in /s/:

/ye.laka[ṣ̣] nansi/	'Wait and I'll get acquainted with him'
/ʔekweme[ṣ̣] ta·pin/	'(It) doesn't suit you'
/ʔekwe kanni[ṣ̣] ta·pin/	'(It) doesn't suit me'
cf. /ʔekweme[s] yete ta·pin/	'(It) will not suit you'

Unlike Ventureño, however, this 'dulling' process is not restricted to occurring before dental/alveolar consonants, for it is also found, e.g., before /h/:

/ʔekwekwa[ɕ] hiwsenin/ 'He didn't like him'

[ɕ] or [ɕ̣], rather than [s], is also occasionally found in the instrumental suffix /-sum/, perhaps due to the following back vowel:

/ʔissu[ɕ]um/ 'with the hand'

/sire·[ɕ]um/ 'with the heart [figurative sense]'

/niɕ^yɕ^yasum/ 'because of that' (i.e., 'with that')

The last form, though recorded with [s], contains the comment 'dullish'.

The 'dulling' of /s/ is certainly an optional process, since 'sharp' [s] occurs in the same phonetic environments as the 'dulled' [ɕ] or [ɕ̣], either in additional recordings of the same words or in other words or phrases, and, in fact, is more frequent:

/pu[s]luhmin/ 'big-bellied one'

/haywe[s]tap/ 'was seen'

/ka·nme[s] tayke/ 'I touch you'

/ʔekweme[s] notto/ 'Don't hit him!'

/ka·nwa[s] lokwe/ 'I take it out'

/ʔekweme[s] hara/ 'Don't give him (it)!'

/sire·[s]um/ 'with the heart [figurative sense]'

There are several other instances of [ɕ] varying with [s] in the same word, but no conditioning factor is evident. It seems best to treat these as residue, explainable as (usually corrected) mishearings (e.g., /hay[ɕ]a/, but far more frequently /hay[s]a/ 'they'), unsure recordings (e.g., the /s/ in /ruyɕ^ysuksi/ 'shake with palsy' which was recorded as [ɕ],

[ṣ^Y] and [s]²⁴), or instances of partial sound symbolism (e.g., /ya·[ṣ]ir/ ~ /ya·[s]ir/ 'much'²⁵).

In summary, /s/ is normally realized as [s], but, under certain conditions, freely varies to [ṣ].

Finally, two entries suggest that perhaps word-final /s/ is somewhat prolonged:

/ka·ras/ 'molar teeth'
 ↑
 very sharp and long
 /ru(·)s/ 'saliva'²⁶
 ↑
 very long

On the other hand, before a consonant, /s/ is of normal length:

/pesyo/ 'thinks, remembers'
 ↑
 ...only as long as 1st k of 'ekwe

That is, the /s/ is of the same length as the /k/ of /'ekwe/ 'not' which Harrington had determined to be short (see footnote 2).

Under most conditions, /ṣ^Y/ is [ṣ^Y]. Following a dental/

²⁴-----
²⁴In this instance, sibilant harmony may be at work, but if so it is better interpreted as a sporadic occurrence (more akin to a speech error) than a part of the phonology of the language. Harrington remarks that the final /s/ is 'really merely ṣ', but later he hears it 's for all time', and later still says it is 'really' [ṣ^Y] because it is 'so assimilated'. He does not indicate whether it is assimilated to the preceding [ṣ^Y] (/ṣ^Y/) or the following /i/.

²⁵This form is also recorded once as (in Harrington's original transcription) [yās^Yir], that is, with s^Y (not ṣ^Y or ṣ^Y), indicating that Harrington heard [s^Y] or [ṣ^Y], both allophones of /ṣ^Y/.

²⁶The word for 'saliva' was actually recorded [rus], with a short vowel, when the comment about the length of /s/ was made. See sec. 121 on vowel length in monosyllabic words.

alveolar consonant, /s̺/ is normally [s̺]. This alternation may be more in the nature of true allophony than free variation. Following /t/, there are few cases of /s̺/ occurring as anything other than [s̺]:

/kat[s̺]i/	'breaks someone's head'
/pot[s̺]e/	'speaks badly of someone'
/ʔit[s̺]a/	'right now'
/ʔat[s̺]akniʃ̺e/	'girl [objective case]'
cf. /ʔat[s̺̺]akniʃ̺/	'girl [subjective case]'

Most of these words were recorded earlier with [s̺] rather than [s̺], but Harrington settled on 'sharp' [s̺] after rehearings. After /r/ and /l/, /s/ also occurs as the 'sharpened' variety, but here the difference from [s̺] is either not so striking, or else the variation is optional:²⁷

/porʃ̺eʃ̺min/	'someone who is handy at doing lots of little things'
	← almost s-like, app[arently] as usual

²⁷-----
The sequence /nʃ̺/ occurs in only two sets of forms, and both are problematical. A 1922 recording [méns̺a] 'you alone' was corrected in 1929 to [mé.nʃ̺a], implying either original error or else that /s̺/ is somewhat 'sharp' after /n/. This form is also recorded in 1929 with the symbol (in Harrington's original transcription) s̺, that is, lacking either the subscript circle of [s̺] or underscore of [s̺], leaving the phonetic status somewhat in doubt. The second set of forms are recorded with both [s] and [s̺] seemingly in free variation:

[monseyni] and [monʃ̺eyni] 'comes to tell'
[monsemit] 'tell me!'
[monʃ̺emis] 'told [benefactive]'

In 1922, Harrington recorded [monf̺e] 'tells', but in 1929 he wrote either [monse] or else another cryptic palatalized sibilant ambiguously [s̺] or [s̺]. If the 'sharp' variants are due to the /s̺/ → [s̺] rule, [s̺] rather than [s] would be expected. Thus, if no error is involved, perhaps sound symbolism is at play.

/pels^yes^ymin/ 'fine, smooth one'

↖ always strikes me as sy-like

/pirs^yana/ 'baby bird'

↖ sharpish but not perfectly sharp

The last word was later recorded with the /s^y/ indicated as the 'ordinary kind', that is, [s^y].

/s^y/ is also 'sharpened' following /i/, but here Harrington indicated this fact by comment only, never by using [s] or [s^y]:

/mis^ys^yimak/ 'good ones'

↖ quite sharp

/mis^yte/ 'good'

↖ often so s-like that I have been mishearing
it in various words surely

/mis^ytuka/ 'I warm myself'

↖ heard with long struggle for after i it becomes
infinitesimally dif[ferent] from mis.

/ʔitis^ypu/ 'praises onself'

↖ Heard many times for this. Almost impossible
to hear, but not s.

There remains a small residue of forms where Harrington wrote, in his original transcription, s^y (not s^y or s^y). In all cases the forms are recorded elsewhere with [s^y], so the ambiguous recordings can be classified as errors or transcriptional short-cuts on Harrington's part.

Before a consonant, the palatal element of /s^y/ is often, though by no means regularly, lost, yielding [s]. This occurs most frequently in the two verb suffixes /-s^ymin/ 'nominalizer'

and /-ṣ^yte/ 'perfective' (see secs. 424.6, 432). Many of the words recorded with [ṣ] in this position are elsewhere written with [ṣ^y], and Harrington occasionally changed [ṣ] to [ṣ^y], though never vice versa. It is not clear whether such changes are due to corrections of mishearings, free variation or a normalization of transcription. Examples of [ṣ] for /ṣ^y/ in these suffixes are:

/halkaṣ ^y te/	'blind'	/halkaṣ ^y min/	'one-eyed one'
/hasses ^y te/	'angry'	/pels ^y eṣ ^y min/	'fine, smooth one'
/wattis ^y te/	'gone away'		
/kiwroṣ ^y te/	'bent'	/ročkoṣ ^y min/	'unruly one' (hair)
/kippuṣ ^y te/	'bulging, full'		(cheeks)

All of the above forms (except /wattis^yte/) are also recorded with [ṣ^y] for /ṣ^y/. Harrington infrequently commented on the phonetic nature of the /ṣ^y/ in these environments. He did specifically note, however, that the second /ṣ^y/ in /pels^yeṣ^ymin/ 'fine, smooth one' had 'no y' on one occasion, but transcribed it with [ṣ^y] on other occasions.

There are far fewer instances of /ṣ^y/ as [ṣ] in morphemes other than these two suffixes. Harrington records /ṣ^yu[ṣ]puninka/ 'I got glare (in my eyes when a mirror was flashed in my face)', commenting 'no y here', but also /ṣ^yu[ṣ^y]pumpi/, the corresponding causative verb. Similarly, the /ṣ^y/ in /hiw(h)okniṣ^y/ 'old person' is 'ṣ-like', but only when followed by the plural suffix /-mak/. Also, the palatalization is lost in one recording of /ho[ṣ]tokte/ 'light (in weight)', though this form is also recorded with [ṣ^y]. In other forms, /ṣ^y/ occurs as [ṣ^y] before

a consonant.

Examples of the two sibilants before various vowels are:

/sallik/	'splitstick'	/sa·kar/	'louse eggs, nits'
/semmonin/	'died'	/se·pek/	'beard (on chin)'
/sinni/	'child, baby'	/si·/	'water'
/sottow/	'fire'	/so·mon/	'hollow (of a tree, log)'
/sukmu/	'smokes' (verb)	/su·ne/	'hunger'
/ṣ ^y ačwe/	'opens'		
/hiṣ ^y ṣ ^y e/	'does, makes'		
/ṣ ^y impur/	'eyelash'		
/ṣ ^y ollen/	'is sad'	/ṣ ^y o·le/	'sadness'
/ṣ ^y ukru/	'tickles' (verb)		

113.2. /h/

/h/ is certainly, as its symbol [h] indicates, a voiceless glottal fricative. Intervocally it may be weakly articulated, as is suggested by Harrington's comment that the /h/ in /lohoş^ymin/ 'lazy one' is 'faint and quick'. Before a consonant, /h/ may be more strongly articulated. Harrington records 'skies' as /ṭarahmak/, commenting of the /h/ 'or x'.²⁸

In word-final position, Harrington writes ' more frequently than [h], but from alternate transcriptions of the same form it is clear that both symbols have the same meaning, e.g., [ro·reh] and [ro·re^h] /ro·reh/ 'clover sp.'. /h/ in this position is

²⁸-----
 Harrington actually wrote 'or χ'. This symbol may be interpreted as Greek chi, the IPA symbol for a uvular fricative, as easily as x, a velar fricative. Since this is a unique occurrence, and since the most reasonable inference is that /h/ in this position is somewhat 'fortis', either interpretation will do.

somewhat unstable. Some words which, on morphological grounds, should have final /h/ do not, though the /h/ does occur in the same form when non-final, e.g., before the plural suffix /-mak/:

/to·yo/ 'bumblebee' /to·yohmak/ 'bumblebees'

In other forms, /h/ remains word-finally:

/ṭarah/ 'sky' /ṭarahmak/ 'skies'

And in others, word-final /h/ occurs in some attestations, and is lacking in others:

/lasseh/ ~ /lasse/ 'tongue'

/kitroh/ ~ /kitro/ 'garment, skirt'

The most reasonable interpretation of this situation is that word-final /h/ is optionally dropped.

Even though /h/ may not appear word-finally, it is nonetheless potentially phonemic in this position, as is shown by the minimal pair:

/mommo/ 'seed sp.' /mommo/ 'puts (someone) face
down'

The status of word-final /h/ is somewhat confusing because of the existence of non-phonemic aspiration following word-final vowels (see sec. 123). Where there is morphological evidence, it is possible to determine whether final [ʰ] is /h/ or nonphonemic aspiration. Where morphological evidence is lacking, final [ʰ] has an ambiguous interpretation. Words in which the status of final [ʰ] cannot be determined are rendered phonemically with /^h/, indicating that, with further information, the /^h/ will either be eliminated from the phonemic transcription, or else given full phonemic status as /h/. Forms in

which word-final /h/ is not attested in any recording by Harrington, but is deduced by comparison with related forms in which /h/ occurs non-finally, are rendered phonemically with /(h)/, indicating that /h/ might have occurred had Harrington elicited the form more frequently. There is no evidence that /h/ was dropped obligatorily under any condition.

There is some indication that the unstable nature of word-final /h/ has had repercussions on the 'underlying' or 'morphophonemic' representation of some words as well. That is, there are some words which occur as doublets, one with and one without final /h/:

/ʔinnu/ ~ /ʔinnuh/ 'door; road'

/ʔinnuse/ ~ /ʔinnuhse/ 'id. [objective case]'

/kalle/ ~ /kalleh/ 'sea'

/kalletka/ ~ /kallehtak/ 'at the sea'

(/-taka/ and /-tak/ are allomorphs of the locative case suffix, occurring after vowels and consonants, respectively. Harrington specifically notes that both forms of 'at the sea' are good.)

Examples of /h/ before various vowels are:

/haččal/ 'back of animal' /ha·henis/ 'fled'

/hessonit/ 'hate me!' /he·yes/ 'facial hair'

/hiṭwi/ 'spreads out, unfolds' /hi·koṭ/ 'root'

/hotro/ 'sticks finger into vagina' /ho·yoy/ 'take (it)!,
grasp (it)!'

/hummit/ 'give me!' /hu·pur/ 'boil' (sore)

114. Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes, /m n n^y/.

Lacking comments by Harrington to the contrary, /m/ is best considered, as its symbol [m] suggests, a voiced bilabial nasal. In intervocalic position, /m/ may have a slight increment of length. This is suggested by Harrington's comment on Mrs. Cervantes' response to Arroyo's samursi 'having long hair' (1862: entry no. 1265). Harrington records that she did not know the word, but that it 'surely' was pronounced [samursi], with the [m] 'half held, but ev[idently] all m's in this position are thus. Surely for single m, but it bothered me it sounded s [a smudge is here, perhaps covering up an o] double'. By 'half held', Harrington apparently meant that the [m] was held longer than other single consonants, though not as long as a geminate [mm].

/n/ is surely an apical nasal, though, as with /t/, it is not possible to determine whether it is dental or alveolar or subject to conditioned allophonic variation between the two. Before /k/, /n/ is usually a velar nasal [ŋ]. This assimilation occurs most often before the first person singular pronominal enclitic /-ka/, and undoubtedly this frequency is due to the fact that /n/ is a very common verb ending (see secs. 421.1, 431.2). For examples:

/ṭi·ṭi[ŋ]ka/	'I am getting well'
cf. /ʔekwek ṭi·ṭin/	'He is not getting well'
/mu·hi[ŋ]ka/	'I am (getting) hot'
/lalluni[ŋ]ka/	'I got lost'

Occasionally, the assimilation does not occur, and Harrington's first recording (of 1922) often show the absence of the process:

- 1922: /tursi[n]ka/ } 'I am (getting) cold'
 1929: /tursi[ŋ]ka/ }
- 1922: /ʔeṭṭe[n]ka/ } 'I am falling asleep'
 1929: /ʔeṭṭe[ŋ]ka/ }
- 1929: /ʔorkoni[n]ka/ 'I became very frightened'
 /hatti[n]ka/ ~ /hatti[ŋ]ka/ 'I am laughing
 myself silly'
 /watti[n]ka/ ~ /watti[ŋ]ka/ 'I am going'

The assimilation occurs, though not always, within stems as well:

- 1922: /hi[n]ka/ } 'what (is one) doing?'
 1929: /hi[ŋ]ka/ }
- 1929: /ta[ŋ]kar/ 'palate'
 /čũ[ŋ]ki/ 'unfolds (e.g., a blanket)' (unsure) but
 but /ṭũ[n]ku/ 'wiggles nose to send a signal'

There is one instance of velar assimilation in the pronominal proclitic /kan-/ 'my': /ka[ŋ]-koro/ 'my foot', also recorded /ka·[n]-koro/ (see sec. 354 regarding the varying vowel length). Finally, there is one attestation of the assimilation occurring across a word boundary: /ʔiččo[ŋ] kannis pat^yt^yan/ 'I am bleeding' (literally, 'blood is coming out of me').²⁹

In one word, /n/ sometimes assimilates to a preceding /m/: /ʔamne/ 'rains' is recorded most often as [ʔamne], but occasionally as [ʔamme]. Likewise, in a single recording, final /n/ of a pronominal proclitic is recorded as [m] before /p/ of the following word: /wattin ka[m]-piretka/ 'I am going to my

²⁹-----
 There are, in addition, two cases of [ŋ] before /h/, though these are in related Spanish words mixed into a Mutsun sentence: /ʔarka[ŋ]hel/ < Arcángel 'Archangel'; /ʔa·[ŋ]hel/ < ángel 'angel'.

land'. Within a word, /n/ probably becomes [m] before /p/ of a following suffix, though this too is attested in only one word: /hese[m]pu/ 'makes a nest for oneself', cf. /hesne-/ 'to make a nest', /he·sen/ 'nest'. Finally, the causative suffix /-mpi/ is clearly derived from /-npi/ as shown in occasional recordings of [n] by Harrington and normal recordings of -npi or -npe by Arroyo. The suffix is here treated as monomorphemic, and thus as containing /m/ (see sec. 421.2.1). There are no examples of /m/ assimilating in point of articulation; cf. /niṣ^Yṣ^Yasu[m]ka/ 'because of that, I...' (literally, 'with that, I').

The third nasal, /n^Y/, parallels /t^Y/ is being, apparently, an apical nasal with a palatal offglide, written [n^Y] by Harrington. /n^Y/ occurs, among other places, in word-final position in the agentive suffix /-pan^Y/. Harrington's clearest comment on the nature of this sound is with reference to this suffix in /hi·wopan^Y/ 'one who scolds'. He notes in 1922 that the /n^Y/ is a 'palatalized ñ'. In 1929, on rehearing the form, he comments 'c[learly] h[ear]d forever' and 'again c[learly] h[ear]d, still hear it sic' (that is, as [n^Y]).

It is possible that /n^Y/ is a palatal nasal, rather than a palatalized apical nasal. On the basis of patterning this is unlikely, however, since there is a whole series of palatalized phonemes (/t^Y ṣ^Y l^Y/ in addition to /n^Y/). Also, Harrington apparently paid close attention to the phonetic nature of /n^Y/, and chose to write it as [n^Y] rather than [ñ], a symbol with which he was familiar (see his comment above) and which he once actually used: [ʼannaspañ], glossed as

'que nos perdona Dios' ('may God pardon us' or 'that God pardons us') though most likely /ʔannaspan^Y/ 'pardoner, pitier'. Furthermore, he was occasionally inconsistent about whether a particular nasal-palatal sequence was a unit phone [n^Y] or a cluster [ny] (see below). If we continue to acknowledge Harrington's good phonetic ear, it seems that this confusion would not have occurred had /n^Y/ not been sequence-like, that is, a palatalized [n].

/n^Y/ is distinct from /n/ as is shown by the following near-minimal pairs:

/pina/	'there'
/hin ^Y aʔa/	'a little later'
/hu·nan/	'cures' (verb)
/humu·n ^Y a/	'hummingbird'

/n^Y/ never occurs in a cluster, including a geminate cluster, implying that it might be analyzed as a /ny/ cluster itself. Occasionally, Harrington records both [n^Y] and [ny] for the same word or for related words:

/mo[n ^Y]oʃ ^Y min/	'promiscuous one'
/mo[ny]oʃ ^Y te/	'promiscuous'
/ʔo[n ^Y]ekma/	'companions'
/ʔo[ny]enmak/	'id.'

In such cases, it is often possible to resolve the apparent differences by recourse to other forms in which the cluster should be broken up by a vowel:

/monoypu/	'is promiscuous'
-----------	------------------

/ʔoneypustap/ 'was accompanied'

Thus, the words cited above should be /monyɔʃ^Ymin/ and /ʔonyekma/.

On the other hand, not all cases of /n^Y/ can be considered clusters. The most striking case of a non-cluster interpretation is the agentive suffix /-pan^Y/ which occurs only word-finally. If /n^Y/ were really /ny/, the suffix /-pany/ would contain the only word-final consonant cluster in the language. Similarly, excepting some monosyllabic stems, syllables with long vowels do not end with a consonant. Thus [ri·n^Ya] 'mouse' cannot be */ri·nya/ since the syllable /ri·n/ is impossible as the first syllable of a disyllabic stem. It is phonemically /ri·n^Ya/.

There is only one instance of word-initial [n^Y]: [n^Yott^Yo] 'denies' (cf. /notto/ 'hits with the fist'). Here it is possible that the initial consonant is /n/, but palatalized due to the following geminate /t^Y/ (that is, the word is phonemically /not^Yt^Yo/). Since this is a unique occurrence, the exact status of word-initial [n^Y] must remain ambiguous.

Examples of the nasals before various vowels are:

/maʦʦer/	'tobacco'	/ma·hul/	'phlegm'
/mečke/	'it's clouding up'	/me·lon/	'sinks' (verb)
/minmuy/	'below, under'	/mi·ʦis/	'fledgling'
/mommo/	'puts (something) face down'	/mo·hel/	'head'
/muruʦ/	'darkenss'	/mu·hi/	'it's hot' (weather)
/namti/	'hears'	/ʔana·/	'mother!' (vocative)

/neppe/	'this'		
/nimmi/	'fights' (verb)	/ni·pa/	'teaches'
/notto/	'hits with the fist'		
/numan/	'which' (relative pronoun)	/hunu·nu/	'dove'
/ri·n ^y a/	'mouse'		
/pen ^y ek/	'cat'		
/pin ^y i/	'perhaps'	/pin ^y i·ka/	'perhaps I'
(/n ^y ot ^y t ^y i/	'denies')		

115. Laterals

Mutsun has two lateral phonemes, /l l^y/.

/l/ is apparently a voiced apical lateral, although, as with /t/ and /n/, its exact point of articulation (dental or alveolar) cannot be determined. Harrington wrote /l/ as [l], and, in the data examined, makes no remarks at all about its phonetic nature.

Examples of /l/ before various vowels are:

/laṭṭun/	'drips' (verb)	/la·lak/	'goose'
/leppeh/	'hairpin'	/le·lete/	'goes along rubber- necking (ogling) all the time'
/lippay/	'hide (it)!'	/li·ki/	'kills'
/loytohmin/	'loose one'	/lo·hokma/	'lazy ones'
/lullup/	'flute'	/lu·hun/	'gets stuck'

/l^y/ occurs extremely rarely; it is found in only three words in the material examined:

/pel ^y mo/	'is soft'
/pitl ^y an/	'gopher dirt, gopher track'
/hel ^y ekpu/	'is happy'

It is apparently an [l] with a palatal offglide, and is written [l^Y] by Harrington.³⁰ It is clearly a unit phoneme, as is shown by its occurrence in the clusters /l^Ym/ and /tl^Y/; there are no triconsonantal clusters in the language. The /l^Y/ of /hel^Yekpu/ 'is happy' is characterized as 'c[learly] h[ear]' by Harrington.

/l^Y/ is distinct from the cluster /ly/ as in /kulyan/ 'blackbird' and /lolyonin/ 'became mad with joy'. It is also distinct from /l/; compare the above three words with:

/helmo/	'is soft'
/matla/	'is (lying) face down'
/mitliş ^Y te/	'curled up' (e.g. when sleeping)
/ʔeleymin/	'hawk sp.'

The occurrence of /l/ in /helmo/ and /l^Y/ in /pel^Ymo/, both meaning 'is soft', suggests that /l^Y/ may be involved in some sort of sound symbolism, but there are not enough data to clarify this matter.

116. /r/

The exact phonetic nature of /r/ is unclear. It is surely voiced, as Harrington indicates when the /r/ follows a /t/ to distinguish /tr/ from /ṭ/, written [tr] (see sec. 111.1). For example, the /r/ in /kitroh/ is, in one attestation, specifically

³⁰Harrington had quite a bit of difficulty hearing /pitl^Yan/ 'gopher dirt, gopher track'. In 1922, he recorded the word as [pitlan], but in 1929 as [pitlyan] with the comment 'a full y, not l^Y'. He later recorded it as [piklan], saying that the [k] was 'c[learly] h[ear]', but finally settled on [pitl^Yan], noting that this had 'a good example of l^Y'. Similarly, /kehleş^Ymin/ 'hoarse one' and /kehlenin/ 'became hoarse' were originally recorded as [kehlyeşmin] and [kehlyenin]. In this case, on re-hearing, Harrington settled on [l] rather than [l^Y] as the correct sound.

labelled, 'voiced'.

It is also possible that /r/ is alveolar (or dental) rather than retroflex. This is based on the fact that [s^Y] occurs after /r/ as an allophone of /ṣ^Y/, in the same way it occurs after /t/ and /l/ (see sec. 113.1), e.g.:

/poṛṣ^Yeṣ^Ymin/ 'someone who is handy at doing a lot
of little things'

← almost s-like, app[arently] as usual

The simplest formulation of the allophonic rule for /ṣ^Y/ implies that [s^Y] occurs after apicoalveolar (or dental) consonants. Unfortunately, confirming evidence is lacking, since there is no example of a /ṭṣ^Y/ cluster to show what happens to /ṣ^Y/ following a retroflex consonant.

As for manner of articulation, /r/ is surely a tap or trill. Harrington gives no help on this matter when recording forms from Mrs. Cervantes, but in rehearing Mutsun words from Isabel Meadows he often writes /r/ as [rr] and geminate /rr/ as [rrrr]. This implies a trill. In Mrs. Cervantes's speech, however, /r/ never occurs as a geminate, which would indicate that the recordings of /rr/ represent either a different dialect, Mutsun spoken with a Rumsen accent, or Rumsen and not Mutsun at all. The only other clue to the articulatory nature of /r/ comes from Arroyo. The complete phonetic description in his grammar (1861:2) is:

Al Idioma de estos Indios, le faltan las
letras siguientes: b, d, k, f, r, fuerte,
v consonante, y x.

(The following letters are lacking in the language of these Indians: b, d, k, f, strong r, consonantal v, and x.)

(The comma between r and fuerte is presumed to be a typographical error.) The 'strong r' is undoubtedly the Spanish trill [r] written rr in Spanish orthography. Spanish also has a tap [ɾ] and it is this sound, apparently, which is not lacking in Mutsun. Thus, if we follow Arroyo, who could presumably distinguish tap from trill because of his native Spanish, Mutsun /r/ is a tap or flap.³¹

Examples of /r/ before various vowels are:

/rammes/	'weasel'	/ra·nunin/	'got a neck pain'
/rekke/	'moves (changes residence)'	/re·tem/	'louse eggs, nits'
/ričtaş ^y min/	'one who talks much'	/ri·tuk/	'intestines, guts'
/rokse/	'is dusty, windy'	/ro·reh/	'clover sp.'
/ruta·na/	'goes to pick'	/ru·mis/	'stalk'

117. Semivowels

The two semivowels of Mutsun are /w y/. /w/ is a bilabial semivowel, written [w] by Harrington. The lips are apparently quite rounded for /w/ as is suggested by such recordings as:

[yu·] ~ [yuw] /yu·/ 'go!'

[tappur^uwotón] /tappur woton/ 'wood knot'

(The latter comes from /tappur/ 'wood' plus /woton/ 'knot'

< Spanish boton.) Similarly, the final /w/ of /sa·w/ 'song'

³¹-----
Arroyo also discusses the nature of /r/ in his Phrasebook (1962:77), saying, this time in Latin, that Mutsun /r/ is like the single intervocalic r of Spanish orthography (i.e., the tap) and never the orthographic rr (i.e., trill).

is in one recording characterized as 'o-like'. Furthermore, /muččuw/ 'breakfast' (noun) is recorded on two occasions as /muččup/; the identity of the final consonant as /w/, and not /p/, can be seen in the objective case form /muččuwe/. It is interesting that the associated verb form, /mučuwpu/ 'eats breakfast' is recorded with [u·] rather than [uw], again shedding light on the nature of /w/. (The presence of /w/ in /mučuwpu/, rather than /muču·pu/, is based solely on its presence in the noun form. There are no cases of verb-noun pairs where the noun has a suffixed /w/ or, for that matter, /p/.)

/y/ is a palatal semivowel, written [y] by Harrington.

Examples of the semivowels before various vowels are:

/wakkas/	'rump'	/wa·kis/	'freshet'
/wečlohte/	'big-mouthed'	/we·ren/	'rabbit'
/wimmah/	'wing'	/wi·žuhte/	'narrow'
/woš ^y nonin/	'got choked'		
/wuppe/	'boils' (verb)		
/yasri/	'is enough'	/ya·sir/	'much'
/yorseksi/	'is torn, full of holes'	/keye·mu/	'nudge each other with elbows'
/yiray/	'kick (him)!''		
/yopok/	'hail'	/yo·kon/	'ashes'
/yumme/	'cheats, lies'	/yu·mus/	'filth'

118. Phonetic features of geminate consonants

Geminated consonants are treated as consonant clusters and, like other consonant clusters, occur only word-medially (see secs. 131, 132). Phonetically, geminates are apparently held for double the duration of simple consonants (if Harrington's

notations such as 'double' are taken at face value). In geminated affricates, the stop part is held, while the fricative release is of normal duration (affricate-like /t̥t̥/ also follows this pattern); in geminated palatalized consonants /t^Y s̥^Y/ the obstruent part is held, with the palatal offglide of normal duration. These characteristics are based exclusively on Harrington's transcription:

<u>(Normalized) Harrington Transcription</u>	<u>Phonemic Transcription</u>
ttc	čč
ttr	t̥t̥
tt ^Y	t ^Y t ^Y
s̥s̥ ^Y	s̥ ^Y s̥ ^Y

The other possible geminates of this type (/t̥t̥ n^Yn^Y l^Yl^Y/) are not attested, but would presumably be transcribed in the same pattern (tts, nn^Y, ll^Y).

Because of their phonetic nature, there can be no contrast between these geminates and clusters consisting of affricates of palatalized consonants preceded by their non-affricate or non-palatalized counterparts. That is, there is no contrast between /čč/ and /tč/ or /t^Yt^Y/ and /tt^Y/, and the second member of each pair does not occur. Significantly, there is a contrast between /t̥t̥/ and /t̥t̥/ (as in /wit̥t̥i/ 'is hard, solid, firm') since /t/ and /t̥/ are not at the same point of articulation. (/s̥^Ys̥^Y/ need not be included here since there are no non-geminate sibilant clusters, so no possibility anyway for */s̥s̥^Y/.)

Sequences transcribed by Harrington as ttc, tt^Y, etc., are considered geminates on morphological grounds. That is,

there is no evidence that they are clusters which could, under the proper morphological circumstances, be separated by a vowel.³²

It might be possible to treat geminates as long consonants, transcribed /C·/, rather than as consonant clusters. Favoring such an interpretation is the fact that geminates lack the phonetic features normally associated with clusters (sec. 119), and seem best described as consonants with extra-long closure. On the other hand, geminate consonants pattern as clusters in terms of both phonotactics (sec. 130) and certain aspects of morphology (sec. 220). To save the 'long consonant' analysis of geminates, length (i.e., /·/) might be considered a consonant itself, as was proposed, e.g., by Broadbent (1964:11-32) for Southern Sierra Miwok. Such an analysis, however, somewhat complicates Mutsun morphophonemics since geminates may occur across morpheme boundaries, e.g., /si·ttak/ 'teeth (locative)' (</si(·)t/ 'tooth, teeth', /-tak/ 'locative case'). Harrington indicates that geminates of this type are phonetically identical to those which occur morpheme-internally: Mrs. Cervantes 'Holds the t' in /si·ttak/. Thus, a morphophonemic rule must be added of the form

$$C_1C_1 \rightarrow C_1\cdot$$

(a sequence of two identical consonants becomes, phonemically, a long consonant, or a cluster of consonant plus /·/). Given the

³²-----
Similarly, in Miwok there are no clusters of the type /tč/ distinct from geminates of the type /čč/. In Lake Miwok, Callaghan (1963:40) writes that if the second consonant of a cluster is an affricate, the first consonant 'is never a voiceless homorganic stop'. Likewise, no homorganic stop-affricate cluster is found in Southern Sierra Miwok (Broadbent 1964:24).

limited data, and the lack of a strong reason to analyze length as a consonant, it was felt best to retain Harrington's transcription and treat all geminates as clusters. (On the possibility of analyzing vowel length as a consonant, see sec. 135).

Several consonants are not attested as geminates. There are / \emptyset n^Y l^Y/ as noted above, and also /w/ and /r/. The first three are rare in general, so their non-occurrence as geminates is not surprising. The exclusion of /w/ from gemination may be fortuitous since a geminante /yy/ does occur, and there is no reason to expect the semivowels to behave differently from each other. The lack of a geminate */rr/, on the other hand, is probably significant. This is suggested by comparative evidence, since both /r/ and /rr/ occur in Rumsen. In commenting on certain Mutsun words, Isabel Meadows would sometimes provide a form with /rr/, though whether such forms are of a different dialect or a different language (Rumsen) is not clear. Mrs. Cervantes gave only /r/.

That gemination is a phonemic feature of Mutsun may be illustrated by such pairs as:

/ʔamma/ 'eats' /ʔama/ 'body, person'

119. Phonetic features of consonants in clusters

Non-geminate clusters may consist of no more than two consonants (see secs. 131, 132). There is some evidence that the first consonant of a cluster is distinctly articulated, or released, prior to the onset of the second consonant, resulting in a brief though definite break in the cluster. In the case of stops and affricates, this release could take the

form of aspiration (see secs. 111.1, 112). Occasionally, however, another phenomenon is noted. When the second consonant is a sonorant (nasal, lateral, /r/, or semivowel), an epenthetic vowel of a clearly non-phonemic status may occur between the two consonants.³³ The first consonant, apparently, can be any consonant, though the actually attested examples are very few and, though the details are not clear, perhaps aspiration rather than vowel epenthesis occurs if the first member is /t/ or /k/, e.g. [pók^enis] /poknis/ 'thick mush'.³⁴ The epenthetic vowel also may appear between consonants across word boundaries. Harrington transcribes the vowel as a superscript letter, sometimes enclosed in a caret and/or parentheses to indicate its inserted nature:

[mis ⁱ yá]	/misya/	'pretty ones'
[ʔam ^(ə) né]	/ʔamme/	'rains'
[makám ^ə rɪttcapu]	/makam riččapu/	'you (pl) are speaking amongst yourselves'

³³Actually, the only attested cases of epenthetic vowels occur before /m n r w y/. In the data from Isabel Meadows, the vowel also appears before /l/. The only non-attested possible second consonants, then, are the rare /n^Y l^Y/.

³⁴In rehearing his Mutsun notes with Isabel Meadows, Harrington did record epenthetic vowels following stops. In all cases, the informant was guessing at the form rather than volunteering the information, so the data may be unreliable. The examples are (in Harrington's original transcription):

pák ^ə ren	'gets full (of tears)' (crying)
pit ^ə lan	'gopher dirt, gopher track'
cf. Mrs. Cervantes's /pitl ^Y an/	
pus ^ə rren	'blows (in witchcraft)'
pop ^ə ren	'naps'

This phenomenon occurs in some Rumsen vocabulary as well:

hup ^ə rrust	'having boils'
meh ^ə lest	'(one) with fluid in eyes'

of the preceding consonant, is probably due to the voicing of the following sonorant. The quality of the vowel is dependent in various ways upon the exact environment. If the first member is /t/ or /k/, aspiration may preclude an epenthetic vowel.³⁶

120. Vowels

The vowels of Mutsun are:

	Front Unrounded	Central (Unrounded)	Back Rounded
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

121. Vowel quantity

All vowels occur both long (indicated by a raised dot) and short. (On the possibility of treating vowel length as a consonant, see sec. 135.) Phonemic length contrasts may be illustrated in minimal pairs such as:

³⁶-----
 Arroyo also heard these epenthetic vowels, though he recorded them as full vowels. Compare, for example:

Arroyo	Harrington	
pojolo (2105)	/pohlo/	'has bulging eyes'
pusuren (2173)	/pusren/	'blows as part of doctoring'
sathrara (1234)	/satra/	'is open-mouthed'

(Numbers following the Arroyo forms refer to entry numbers in Arroyo 1881.) Mason reproduced these vowels, e.g., humiri (1916: 455) for Harrington's/humri-/ 'to baptize'. It is possible that the epenthetic vowels were not epenthetic at all during Arroyo's time, but they became weaker and weaker to the point of all but disappearing by the time Harrington did his work. Further historical study is necessary to determine their exact status.

One additional phenomenon noticed involving consonant clusters is a tendency to prolong the first consonant, though this is found in only two words: [ʔekkwé] (usually [ʔekwe]) /ʔekwe/ 'not', and [posyo] /posyo/ 'scorches, sears', where Harrington remarks, 'The s is held, but that is the same as in ʔekwé'. A conservative conclusion from this is that the first consonant of a cluster was always 'fortis' in one way or another.

/ʔaman/	'much'
/ʔa·man/	'believes'
/raraṣ̣ ^Y /	'finger'
/ra·raṣ̣ ^Y /	'molar tooth'
/čiri/	'paternal aunt'
/či·ri/ ~ /či·rih/	'horn'

In monosyllabic words, a relatively small part of the Mutsun lexicon, maintaining a distinction between long and short vowels is troublesome. Some of these words are consistently recorded with long vowels, and others consistently with short. Most, however, are recorded, seemingly erratically, with long vowels on one occasion, and short on another. Similarly, some are recorded with a special diacritic which occurs only in monosyllabic words and apparently means 'longer than short, but not as long as long', or else 'of indeterminate length'. This diacritic is written \check{V} by Harrington (where V can be any vowel). Long vowels are indicated (in the 1929 recordings) as \bar{V} ; short vowels are unmarked.³⁷

Part of the variation in recording is clearly due to Harrington's having trouble determining what the length of the vowel in any individual word was. For example, he says that [si·] 'water' contains 'Two moras', but [ni·] (also [ni]) 'here'

³⁷-----
Harrington also occasionally uses the symbol \check{V} , normally in the combination \check{V} , that is, a long stressed vowel further characterized as '~'. The meaning of the tilde is unclear, but there is no indication that it refers to nasalization. It is more likely a mark of some kind of vowel quality (perhaps 'tense' as opposed to 'lax' or something of the sort) or else of pitch pattern accompanying stress. In recording Isabel Meadows's responses to Mutsun forms, as well as her own Rumsen vocabulary, Harrington almost invariably wrote stressed (long or short) vowels as \check{V} . In Mrs. Cervantes' Mutsun, however, the '~' is all but limited to monosyllabic words.

there is a general phonotactic (or morphophonemic) rule shortening underlying long vowels when followed by a consonant cluster, a word-final consonant, or a word boundary. For monosyllabic stems, however, the rule is further restricted: it applies optionally before a word-final consonant, and otherwise does not apply at all. Thus, the underlying form of [hi(·)n] has a long vowel, accounting for the vowel length in all the suffixed forms; the varying length of the non-suffixed form is due to the optional application of the vowel-shortening rule.

It is interesting that the only time a consonant cluster follows a long vowel is when the long vowel is part of a monosyllabic stem; otherwise, the vowel-shortening rule would apply. For example:

/hu·smak/ 'noses' (/·mak/ 'plural')
 /lo·ttak/ 'in the mud' (/·tak/ 'locative case')

The one exception to the foregoing discussion is the monosyllabic noun for 'bodylouse': [rah], [rahmak] (plural). If these recordings are accurate, they constitute evidence for an underlying length distinction in monosyllables, since, if [rahmak] had an underlying long vowel in its stem, the form should be *[ra·hmak]. Other monosyllabic nouns attested only with short vowels (such as [ʔetr] /ʔeṭ / 'bed') might also have underlying short vowels, though this cannot be determined in the absence of suffixed forms. That is, since monosyllabic stems (or at any rate, noun stems) are sometimes shortened in non-suffixed forms (i.e., when monosyllabic words), any underlying length distinction is neutralized. Thus, given a recording [putr] /puṭ/

'feather', there is no way to determine whether the underlying vowel is long or short; but upon finding the objective case form [pu·trse] /pu·tse/ where the distinction is maintained, the length of the underlying vowel can be determined.

Whether the final consonant has anything to do with the likelihood of the vowel-shortening rule's applying is indeterminate. Before (voiceless) stops and affricates, the vowel is almost always recorded short, though on three occasions with annotations: 'half long' (for [lot] 'mud' [<Spanish lodo]); 'rather longish' (for a 1922 recording [sit] 'tooth'); 'at least longish' (for [ru·k], normally [ruk], '(bow) string'). But before fricatives and sonorants (only /n r w y/ are attested as final sonorants of monosyllables) there is variation or indeterminacy.

In short, there are not adequate data to satisfactorily determine what the best interpretation of the length of monosyllabic words (specifically nouns) should be. As a pragmatic solution, such forms recorded consistently with either long or short vowels are given a straightforward phonemic interpretation (long or short vowel, respectively). Those recorded with variation are rendered with indeterminate length, e.g., /hi(·)n/ 'eye, face'.

122. Vowel Quality

Exact vowel quality can be deduced only from Harrington's occasional comments. Vowel allophony may also have been affected by stress, but stress itself was recorded rather inconsistently (see sec. 140). Thus, only a sketchy picture can be

presented.

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel, transcribed [i] by Harrington. Before /y/ and /w/, /i/ is noted as being quite high:

[hitwi·^ynuk] /hitwiy nuk/ 'wash it' (also [hitwiynuk])
 ↙ not merely i.

[hiwsen] /hiwsen/ 'wants, likes'
 ↙ perhaps better $\bar{y}u$ (' $\bar{y}u$ ' probably means [yyu])

/i/ is also termed 'close' in the monsyllable /si(·)t/ 'tooth'.

In one entry, /i/ is recorded as [ɨ], though it is not clear exactly what Harrington meant by this symbol. In his Chumash materials, he wrote the high central [ɨ] with \underline{e} (see, e.g., Harrington 1974:2). Thus [ɨ] here may denote a somewhat lower quality, perhaps lower-high [I]:

[wattinɨnak] /wattininak/ 'he went (away)'

There is, in fact, a unique occurrence of /i/ as [I]:

[ʔIn] /ʔi(·)n/ 'tear' (crying)

This word is elsewhere recorded [ʔi̇n] and [ʔin] with the normal symbol [i]. Further, though non-conclusive, evidence that /i/, under certain conditions may be of somewhat lower quality comes from Harrington's various recordings of /hinɨise/ 'what?':

1922: [hintr^ci|i], [hɨntr^cise], [hɨntri|e]
 ↙ not i -- c[learly]
 h[ear]d] forever

1929: [hintrise]
 ↙ c[learly] h[ear]d]. not i. I misheard it earlier...

If /i/ were high [i], Harrington's chances of mishearing would have been much less.

/e/ is most often the lower-mid front unrounded vowel

[ɛ], or mid [E]. When long, /e·/ is most clearly of this quality:

/he·sen/ 'nest' /me·se/ 'you (objective case)'
 ↖ open and long ↖ real open e

Elsewhere, it is probably also usually [ɛ], e.g.,

/men/'you'
 ↖ as in Eng[lish] bed

but Harrington states that [ɛ] is not exactly the correct quality, suggesting, perhaps, [E]:

/porɕ^yes^ymin/ 'a person who is handy at doing lots of
 little things'
 ↖ almost ɛ-like as usual

Sometimes, /e/ may be somewhat lowered or centralized:

/hint^yes^ymin/ 'wanderer, rover, walker'
 ↖ almost a, but for e

/u/ is high back rounded [u], and, like /i/, is quite high before /y/ and /w/:

/hiɕtapuy/ 'wash yourself!'
 ↖ better pu^{wî}
 /mattalpuy/ 'put yourself face down!'
 ↖ better than pu^{wí}
 [yu·], [yuw] /yu·/ 'go!'

/u/ is probably high elsewhere as well. Harrington's only other comment is that the phonetically 'half long' vowel in /mu(·)s/ 'breasts' is 'close'.

/o/ is probably a lower-mid back rounded vowel [ɔ], or mid [Ω], always transcribed [o] by Harrington. In two entries, Harrington specifically terms long (or half-long) /o·/ 'openish', implying [ɔ·] and [ɔ̃·], or [Ω·] and [Ω̃·]:

/mo·niɕ^y/ 'white person'
 /lo(·)t/ 'mud' (<Spanish lodo)

If /o/ parallels /e/, it is probably [ɔ] or [ʌ] in most other environments as well.³⁸

/a/ is a low, probably central, unrounded vowel [a]. Under certain circumstances, it may be somewhat raised or fronted as is suggested by:

[sike·pan^Y] 'farther'
 ↙ this made pan^Y sound like pen^Y to me
 in unaccented position

Harrington's notes also vaguely suggest that short /a/ may vary somewhat in quality from long /a·/, though exactly how is not clear:

/rahmak/ '(body) lice'
 ↙ not long, tho[ugh] comes out fully

In general, it is likely that vowels are nasalized somewhat in the environment of nasal consonants, though this is indicated only once:

/kaknu/ 'hawk sp.'
 ↙ nasalized

Many examples of all vowels with various consonants are given in the section on consonants (sec. 110).

123. Word-final aspiration

When a vowel occurs word-finally, it is often followed by

³⁸One case of what appears to be misrecording on Harrington's part suggests that under certain conditions, /o/ may have a somewhat higher quality:

[so·montak] ~ [so·muntak] 'in the hollow (of a tree)'
 The non-locative form of 'hollow' is recorded only as [so·mon] /so·mon/ and there is no evidence that the locative suffix /-tak/ affects preceding vowel quality in any way. Similarly, Harrington recorded [so·munte] 'having a hollow'. The recordings with [u] rather than [o] were all made at the same time and thus may be considered the same error.

a non-phonemic offglide of aspiration, uniformly written ^h by Harrington. Phonetically, this aspiration is apparently weaker than word-final /h/. The non-phonemic aspiration is characterized by such comments as 'faint' or 'this asp[iration] easy to hear on leaving ear close to inf[ormant]'s mouth'. Word-final phonemic /h/, on the other hand, is 'C[learly] h[heard]' or 'quite audible'. The two phenomena are similar, however, in their phonetic behavior. As noted in sec. 113.2, /h/ is optionally dropped word-finally, and since the non-phonemic aspiration also occurs only optionally, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether word-final aspiration is the non-phonemic offglide or phonemic /h/. The difference between the two shows up when a suffix is added to the word. Before a suffix, /h/ remains and the suffix takes its post-consonantal form (if applicable), e.g., /-mak/ 'plural', as in:

[wimmah] ~ [wimma] /wimmah/ 'wing'
 [wimmahmak] /wimmahmak/ 'wings'

A word which ends, phonemically, in a vowel shows no trace of non-phonemic aspiration before a suffix, and the suffix takes its post-vocalic form (if applicable), e.g., /-kma/ 'plural', as in:

[tciri^h] /čiri/ 'paternal aunt'
 [tcirikma] /čirikma/ 'paternal aunts'
 [rumme^h] ~ [rumme] /rumme/ 'rivulet, arroyo'
 [rummekma] /rummekma/ 'rivulets, arroyos'

There are a number of words recorded with word-final aspiration for which there are no suffixed forms attested, and thus no way to determine whether the aspiration is phonemic or

not. In these cases, the aspiration is phonemically transcribed /h/, indicating its presence phonetically as well as its ambiguous nature. Presumably it would be either eliminated or promoted to /h/ if more data were available.

Non-phonemic word-final aspiration is a fairly general phonetic process, as it applies to loan words as well as native vocabulary. For example, Harrington records [pá·t.re^h] as well as [pá·t.re] for /pa·tre/ 'Padre'. Interestingly, one word with final /x/ in Spanish loses this sound in Mutsun, and is in fact recorded with a final vowel not accompanied by aspiration:

/relo/ 'clock' <Spanish reloj
 ↖ no trace of Sp[anish] j

The plural form confirms that the fricative was lost in the borrowing, as it takes the post-vocalic form: /relokma/.

Phonetically, there is certainly a very minor difference (if any difference at all) between a voiced vowel followed by aspiration (which would surely maintain the quality of the preceding vowel) and a vowel which is voiced for part of its duration and voiceless for the rest. In fact, Harrington gives some evidence to support this interpretation, though in only three entries, two involving sonorants rather than vowels:

/ʔe·t̚e/ 'is sleeping'
 ↖ almost wholly voiceless, but not quite
 [murtey] /murtey/ 'at night'
 [ʃ̚^yiyaɾ] /ʃ̚^yiyaɾ/ 'cigar, cigarette' <Spanish cigarro

The subscript circles in Harrington's transcriptions presumably indicate voicelessness. (The occurrence of the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is unique to this loanword. The voiceless nature of the /r/ is not indicated when the consonant occurs non-finally

as in the objective case form /s̺^yiya·re/.) Non-phonemic word-final aspiration, then, might better be considered a case of word-final (partial) devoicing of voiced segments.

The aspiration (or devoicing) rule applies frequently, though optionally. Apparently the phenomenon occurs only when the vowel (or sonorant) is utterance-final. Since so much of the data consists of recitations of single words in isolation, such words would occur utterance-finally, and thus be subject to the aspiration. Harrington noted, however, that when followed by another word, the aspiration does not normally occur:

/kočka[^h] ʔime·mu kan-koro·se/ 'when I bring my feet
together'
↑
elided except in auslaut

Note that Harrington assumes that the aspiration is part of the enclitic /-ka/ 'I' which is dropped before the /ʔ/ of the following word; presumably Harrington also heard /kočka/ 'when I' in isolation, or with a definite pause between it and the following word, in order to catch the form 'in auslaut'. Similarly, he recorded /ʔiṣ^yke/ 'go away!' with final aspiration in isolation, but /ʔiṣ^yke niya·tum/ 'go away from here!' with no aspiration and the comment 'ɸ becomes elided'. (The optional dropping of final /h/ may or may not also be related to its position in a sentence; there are not enough data to determine this.)³⁹

130. Phonotactics

³⁹-----
A phenomenon similar to word- (or phrase-) final aspiration is found in Lake Miwok. According to Callaghan (1963:42), 'final juncture' may be, among other things, 'breath release [h] after vowels and sonorants'.

131. The syllable

The Mutsun syllable canon is CV(·)(C), where C may be any consonant and V any vowel. As a result of this canon, consonant clusters occur only word-medially, and never consist of more than two members.⁴⁰ A consonant may be geminated, in which case the geminate consonant counts as a two-consonant cluster occurring only word-medially.

There are several restrictions on the basic syllable canon.

(1) If the initial consonant is /ʔ/, the syllable must occur stem-initially, with a few exceptions as noted in sec. 111.2.

(2) The final consonant of a syllable can never be /ʔ/ (again with the possible exceptions noted in sec. 111.2).

(3) Closed syllables with long vowels occur only as monosyllabic stems.⁴¹ Otherwise, if a syllable has a long vowel, it must be an open syllable. This is an important feature of

⁴⁰-----
A few loanwords from Spanish are exceptions to this characterization of consonant clusters:

/leksyon/ 'lesson' <lección
/kriwi·ri/ ~ /ʔeskriwi·ri/ 'to write' <escribir
/hwan/ ~ /hwa·n/ 'Juan'
/vyernes/ 'Friday' <viernes

Since /v/ does not otherwise occur in Mutsun, /vyernes/ might best be considered a Spanish word rather than a loanword.

⁴¹The sole possible exception found in native vocabulary is /ya·kmun/ '(in) the east'. This word has an opaque morphology, however, so it may ultimately be based on a monosyllabic stem /ya·-/ or /ya·k-/. Other exceptions are in loanwords from Spanish:

/pa·tre/ 'Father, Padre' <Padre
/ma·rta/ 'Marta'
/ʔa·ŋhel/ 'angel' <ángel (cf. /ʔarkaŋhel/ 'archangel'
<arcángel)

/ʔa·stes/ or /tra·stes/ '(eating) utensils' <trastes
(The nasal /ŋ/ and initial cluster /tr/ are not found in native vocabulary.)

stem morphology (see secs. 135, 220).

Other than /ʔ/, all consonants are exemplified in both syllable-initial and syllable-final position.

132. Consonant clusters

As noted, consonant clusters are restricted to two members and occur only word-medially. Geminates are treated phonemically as consonant clusters, although phonetically they are distinct since the first consonant is not released.

The clusters which actually occur in the data are charted in Table I. One systematic gap in the possible non-geminate clusters is the exclusion of clusters which would be identical to geminates, as noted in sec. 118. Thus, /tč tø tt^Y nn^Y ll^Y/ do not occur. The only other gap noted which is, perhaps, non-fortuitous is the lack of clusters of two sibilant fricatives (neither /sš^Y/ nor /š^Ys/ occurs). There are also no attestations of affricate plus sibilant (or vice versa), though whether such a constraint on consonant clusters is systematic or not cannot be verified without additional data. An important clue would be, e.g., nouns ending in /č/ (such as /pa·kuč/ 'ball') followed by the object case suffix /-se/, but such forms are simply missing from the data.⁴² The general lack of sibilant clustering may imply some sort of sibilant harmony or fusion which may have been productive at some point in the history of the language, but has left its mark only as these gaps. For example,

⁴²-----
There are also no clusters of affricates, but since /ç/ is extremely rare, this might be expected. It is also interesting that the affricate-like stop /t̪/ is not found in clusters with an affricate.

TABLE I - Consonant Clusters

2nd 1st	p	t	t̥	tʰ	k	∅	ç	s	ʃ	h	m	n	nʸ	l	lʸ	r	y	w
p	1		2		3		4	5	6	7				8		9	10	11
t	12	13	14	-	15	-	16	17	18	19	20			21	22	23	24	25
t̥		26	27		28		29		30	31	32			33		34	35	36
tʰ			37											38				
k	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	45	45	46	47			48		49	50	51
∅					52												53	
ç	54	55			56	57				58				59		60	61	62
s	63	64		65	66	67	-	68	69	70				71		72	73	74
ʃ	75	12			76	77				5	78			79		80	81	
h	13	9	82	83		84		85	66	27				86		87	88	89
m	32	90		91		92	93	94	95	96				(a)		97		
n	(b)	98	99	100	101	(c)	102	103	104	105	106			-				46 107
nʸ																		
l	108	109	110		111	112		113	114		115			116	-		117	118
lʸ																		
r	120	121	122		123	124	125	126	127	128	129					-		130
y	131	132	133	134	135		(d)	136	137		138	139		140		141	108	142
w	(e)	143			144			145			146	58		147		148		149

TABLE I, continued

EXAMPLES OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

1.	čappal	'bone of shoulder blade'
2.	muṭṭuy	'be closed-mouthed!'
3.	čupka	'is white'
4.	lopčos ^y min	'big-navelled one'
5.	ṭapseš ^y min	'(body-) hairy one'
6.	hips ^y un	'little while'
7.	kaphan	'three'
8.	kapla	'embraces' (verb)
9.	kiprihte	'twisted'
10.	čupyuhte	'puffed up (from wind)'
11.	hapwey	'shoo (them) away!'
12.	hotpeš ^y te	'hollowed (e.g. tree)'
13.	hottohpū	'puts on shoes'
14.	witṭi	'is hard, solid, firm (e.g. stick)'
15.	hatkinin	'(they) got separated (from each other)'
16.	yatsen	'is hurried (to do something)'
17.	kats ^y i	'breaks (someone's) head and thereby kills (him)'
18.	pothenin	'(it) rotted'
19.	či·ritmin	'lark'
20.	hutna	'pounds (in a mortar)'
21.	matla	'is face down, on belly'
22.	pitl ^y an	'gopher dirt, gopher track'
23.	hotro	'sticks finger into vagina'
24.	hotyon	'tied (something) up'
25.	hitwiy	'clean (it)!'
26.	ʔekettak	'in badness' (?)
27.	haṭṭahne	'was hit'
28.	ṭiṭkuš ^y te	'torn (cloth)'
29.	haṭsa	'goes about stealing'
30.	ʔiṭhin	'again'
31.	luṭman	'got wet'
32.	ʔeṭnempiy	'put (him) to bed!'

33. niṭli	'is stooped over'
34. niṭro	'pulls (someone's) ears'
35. hiṭya	'sews'
36. hiṭwe	'wind blows'
37. ṭat ^Y t ^Y i	'bone'
38. kat ^Y luṣ ^Y min	'thick-legged one'
39. ṣorokpu	'is sad'
40. ʔirektak	'at the rock'
41. lukṭiṣ ^Y te	'pot-bellied'
42. ṭokt ^Y eṣ ^Y min	'runner, one who runs much'
43. lukkapuy	'grease yourself!'
44. nukči	'is big-nosed'
45. heṣ ^Y oksi	'entertains'
46. ʔonyekma	'companions'
47. ṭuknu	'signals with eye(s)'
48. tokloṣ ^Y min	'one having syphilitic lumps under ear'
49. hotokros	'cocoon rattle'
50. hokyomak	'"sarnosos", paltry fellows' (?)
51. hakwana	'goes to gather (black) mussels'
52. raṣkinin	'got broken, ripped apart'
53. muṣyaṣ ^Y te	'wrinkled (of rump)'
54. hemeṣpu	'first time, one time'
55. riṣṭaṣ ^Y min	'one who is always talking much'
56. meṣke	'it's clouding up, getting foggy'
57. haṣṣal	'back of an animal'
58. ʔawniṣmine	'tortoise (objective case)'
59. weṣlohte	'big-mouthed'
60. poṣroṣ ^Y te	'having sores'
61. liṣye	'is standing'
62. ṣ ^Y aṣwen	'opened (something)'
63. halaspu	'is telling lies'
64. pistupu	'(they) pinch each other'
65. rust ^Y eṣ ^Y min	'slobbery one'
66. ṭaskuhmin	'red one'
67. hassapuy	'scratch yourself!'
68. ʔeshen	'blanket'

69.	hismen	'sun'
70.	čisnan	'elder (tree, flower)'
71.	haslinit	'fear me!'
72.	čisreš ^Y te	'in bad humor'
73.	misya	'pretty ones'
74.	yiswanin	'got worse (in health)'
75.	š ^Y uš ^Y pumpi	'flashes light (at someone), makes a glare (in someone's eyes)'
76.	haš ^Y kay	'scratch (him)!'
77.	muš ^Y š ^Y i	'it's hot (weather)'
78.	woš ^Y nonin	'choked'
79.	huš ^Y lu	'sucks'
80.	taš ^Y ri	'is firm, stiff (cloth)'
81.	miš ^Y ya	'good ones'
82.	lahte	'is big-headed' (? - 'is big (of any round thing)'?)
83.	loht ^Y ohte	'loose'
84.	tarahse	'sky (objective case)'
85.	kahhay	'headlouse, black louse'
86.	kehleš ^Y min	'hoarse one'
87.	hihronin	'slipped'
88.	tuhyin	'is getting to be late in the morning'
89.	yihwiw	'shake (it)!'
90.	namti	'hears'
91.	?amt ^Y aš ^Y min	'big eater'
92.	tumsan	'enjoys the taste'
93.	?amš ^Y i	'so that, in order that'
94.	mamhaš ^Y min	'crazy, foolish one'
95.	yumme	'cheats, lies, misleads'
96.	hamnaš ^Y min	'crazy, foolish one'
97.	homron	'big strainer'
98.	hinte	'does'
99.	rančaš ^Y min	'long-necked one'
100.	hint ^Y eš ^Y min	'wanderer, rover, walker'
101.	tuŋku	'is wiggling nose to send a signal'
102.	hinseksi	'keeps quiet'
103.	me·nš ^Y a	'you alone'

104.	hinhan	'how much? how many?'
105.	minmuy	'below, under'
106.	mennen	'grandmother'
107.	hinwa	'when?'
108.	ꞑayyalpu	'puts oneself face up'
109.	ꞑaltaꞑ ^Y min	'one who urinates much'
110.	yolꞑo	'is big-eared'
111.	halkaninak	'he became blind'
112.	pelꞑey	'close your eyes!'
113.	halsasꞑ ^Y min	'liar'
114.	helsꞑ ^Y o	'is soft'
115.	helmo	'is soft'
116.	ꞑallan	'it's hot'
117.	kulyan	'blackbird'
118.	lilwinin	'amused (one)self, was entertained'
119.	pel ^Y mo	'is soft'
120.	ꞑirpiy	'shout!'
121.	huꞑpurte	'having boils'
122.	murꞑu	'is dark'
123.	ꞑorkon	'gets dry'
124.	murꞑumak	'black ones'
125.	harꞑuhte	'is lacking a piece'
126.	yerseksi	'is torn, full of holes'
127.	murꞑ ^Y un	'has a molar toothache'
128.	marhasꞑ ^Y min	'leafy one; (body) hairy one'
129.	mukurma	'woman'
130.	parwes	'five'
131.	koyponin	'got scared'
132.	loytohte	'loose'
133.	layꞑasꞑ ^Y min	'long, tall one'
134.	hayt ^Y esꞑ ^Y min	'big-mouthed one'
135.	poykonin	'suddenly got scared'
136.	haysa	'they'
137.	ꞑoysꞑ ^Y o	'again'
138.	huyman	'gets weak'
139.	ꞑammayni	'comes to eat'

140.	çaylak	'he's (lying) face up'
141.	weyrohte	'big-mouthed'
142.	taşwen	'mush'
143.	sottowtak	'at the fire'
144.	lawkun	'swallows without chewing'
145.	hiwsen	'likes, wants'
146.	nossowmak	'spirits, souls'
147.	ʔawli	'is sour'
148.	taşwra	'sits, lives'
149.	tiwyen	'antelope'

Unsure Recordings:

- (a) ʔumluş^yte 'dirty' -- a guess in response to a form from Arroyo
- (b) ʔiçčonpi 'takes out' -- usually recorded /ʔiçčompi/
- (c) kunči is 'prob[ably]' a word, though its meaning is unknown
- (d) payçuhte 'having much valor' -- the informant only 'half knows' this word
- (e) mučuwpu 'eats breakfast' -- was actually recorded [mutcu·pu]; see sec. 117.

it is possible that original clusters could have harmonized to identities and/or fused into geminates, such as:

*/s_s^Y/ > /ss/ or /s_s^Ys_s^Y/ or /s/ or /s_s^Y/

If this occurred in what was originally a triconsonantal stem, the stem would have been reanalyzed as a biconsonantal stem and treated accordingly morphologically (see sec. 220). Data are too few to make this anything but purely hypothetical.

133. Distribution of consonants

In general, all consonants occur word-initially, finally, and intervocalically. Only /ʔ/ is systematically limited to initial position (with exceptions as noted in sec. 111.2).

Other gaps in consonantal distribution are entirely fortuitous, based on the rarity of the consonants /t^Y n^Y l^Y/. Thus /t^Y/ and /l^Y/ do not occur initially, and /n^Y/ does so in only one word, /n^Yot^Yt^Yo/ 'denies', where the /n^Y/ may be influenced by the following palatalized /t^Yt^Y/. Only /t^Y/ and /l^Y/ are lacking from final position. /n^Y/ occurs finally only in the agentive suffix /-pan^Y/; final /t^Y/ occurs only in the particle /ʔat^Y/, significance unknown. All consonants, including the four rare ones, but (with the noted exceptions) excluding /ʔ/, occur intervocalically.

There are examples of each consonant occurring either before or after each vowel (ignoring length),⁴³ with scattered fortuitous

⁴³-----
Perhaps significant is the absence of certain sequences involving semivowels and associated long vowels, specifically /yi·wo·wu·/. If loanwords are taken into account, however, even two of these combinations are found:

/kayi·na/ 'chicken' <Spanish gallina
/lawu·na/ 'lake' <Spanish laguna

exceptions involving the four rare consonants. Thus, non-occurring sequences include only: / ϕ i ϕ o n^Yu l^Ye l^Yi l^Yo l^Yu/, /et^Y e ϕ o ϕ on^Y/.

Examples of all consonants in various vocalic environments are given in the discussion on consonants.

When vowel length is considered, several additional gaps occur. These are also non-systematic and can be accounted for simply by the lesser frequency of long vowels and the limited data.

134. Distribution of vowels

Vowels are freely distributed within the confines of the syllable canon (sec. 131).

There is no evidence for productive vowel harmony of any kind, but it is likely that vowel harmony was a process in the language at an earlier stage. Practically all stems are disyllabic, and nearly half of these stems contain identical vowels, far more than would be expected by chance. The most common pattern, ignoring length, is /a-a/, accounting for about 13% of the stems, about three times more than would be expected if distribution were purely random. Furthermore, with extremely few exceptions, if the first vowel of a stem is mid /e o/ (long or short), the second vowel is also mid (and, in over half the cases, identical).⁴⁴ Loanwords from Spanish are not subject

⁴⁴-----
⁴⁴Of the eight exceptions to the mid-vowel pattern, about half cannot be full-fledged counterexamples since they contain peculiarities of their own. For example, some appear to be involved with sound symbolism (or mishearings):

/me·čikniš^Y/ 'fog, mist'
 cf. /me·čekniš^Y/ 'id.'
 /wetras^Ymin/ 'very large one'

to this constraint, however, demonstrating that the harmonic process that must have once existed became fully non-productive. Examples of such loanwords are:

/henti/	'people' < <u>gente</u>
/he·ru/	'iron' < <u>hierro</u>
/poyi·tu/	'chick, baby chicken' < <u>pollito</u>
/we·la/	'candle' < <u>vela</u>
/ro·pa/	'clothes' < <u>ropa</u>
/lo·ya/	'pot' < <u>la olla</u>

Interestingly, there are no examples of the sequence /a-o/,⁴⁵ and only one of /u-o/ (/tuyos/ 'arrow'). In fact, almost three-quarters of the stems with /o/ as a second vowel also have /o/ as a first vowel.

While these distributional features of the vowels are undoubtedly important to a historical study of Costanoan or Penutian, they appear to have no bearing whatsoever on the synchronic grammar of Mutsun.

135. Phonotactic restrictions on long vowels

As noted earlier (secs. 121, 131), long vowels do not

 cf. /w^yetres^ymin/ 'large one'
 /w^yätres^yte/ 'large'

Others are not clearly recollected by the informant and may be errors. For instance, /morkinis/ 'cadaver' was given in response to Arroyo's Moroquinis (1862: entry no. 1628) even though Mrs. Cervantes earlier gave /morokniš^y/ for the same form.

Morphology may also intervene, as in /poknis/ 'thick mush' related to /po·ken/ 'makes thick mush'.

Apparently legitimate counterexamples are:

/mo·niš ^y /	'white person'
/nomtimi/	'is understandable to'
/ye·la/	'wait!'

⁴⁵Mrs. Cervantes guessed, but did not know for sure, that Arroyo's Rajopa 'ray of sun' (1862: entry no. 2313) was /rahhopa/. The /a-o/ sequence does occur in loans, such as /pano·ča/ 'panocha (candy)'.

occur in closed syllables, other than monosyllabic stems. There is another important feature of long vowel (open) syllables which gets involved with the morphophonemics of Mutsun. In a word of more than two syllables, if the first syllable is open and short (CV) and the second syllable is also open, the second vowel is invariably long. If the first syllable is open and long (CV·) or closed (CVC), or if the second syllable is closed, the second vowel is invariably short. Furthermore, long vowels do not occur as the second vowel of disyllabic words. Since most stems are disyllabic, a stem of the form CVCV(C)- may occur with its second vowel short or long depending on what follows. A stem of the form CVCCV(C)- or CV·CV(C)-, however, does not show variability in vowel length. The various patterns which occur can be seen in the following examples:

/malan/	'gets wet'
/malampi/	'wets, causes to get wet'
but /mala·nin/	'got wet'
/koro/	'foot'
/korotka/	'on the foot'
but /koro·se/	'foot (objective case)'
/torow/	'soap-root'
but /toro·we/	'soap-root (objective case)'

Compare:

/me·lon/	'sinks (in much water)'
/me·lonin/	'sank'
/ʔo·čo/	'ear'
/ʔo·čotka/	'in the ear'
/ʔo·čose/	'ear (objective case)'
/miṭṭen/	'grows'
/miṭṭenin/	'grew'
/ʔissu/	'hand'

/ʔissutka/	'on the hand'
/ʔissuse/	'hand (objective case)'
/sottow/	'fire'
/sottowe/	'fire (objective case)'
/yiswan/	'gets worse (in health)'
/yiswanin/	'got worse'
/kulyan/	'blackbird'
/kulyane/	'blackbird (objective case)'

All stems which occur under the above mentioned conditions with a long vowel are considered to have a long vowel in their underlying form. Thus, /koro/ 'foot' comes from underlying $\|koro\cdot\|$,⁴⁶ /malan/ 'gets wet' < $\|mala\cdot-n\|$, etc. These long vowels are then shortened by a general phonotactic rule which applies to all long vowels (even those in the initial syllables of stems):

$$V\cdot \rightarrow V / _ \begin{cases} CC \\ C\# \\ \# \end{cases}$$

That is, long vowels do not occur word-finally, before a word-final consonant, or before a consonant cluster. The restrictions against two consecutive long-vowel syllables is handled by the possible underlying forms of the stems: CV·CV·(C)- is prohibited, though CVCV·(C)- and CV·CV(C)- are acceptable.

The relevance of the vowel-shortening rule to stem allomorphy will be discussed in sec. 220. For now, there are two important consequences to consider. First, the rule applies with further restrictions to monosyllabic stems:

$$V\cdot \rightarrow V / _ C\# \text{ (optionally)}$$

⁴⁶-----
The notation $\| \|$ will be used to set off an underlying form when necessary.

Thus, ||hi·n|| 'face, eye' → /hi·n/ ~ /hin/ (that is, /hi(·)n/ -- see sec. 121). In the other two environments, the rule does not apply:⁴⁷

||hi·n-tak|| → /hi·ntak/ 'in the eye, on the face'
(not */hintak/)

||si·|| → /si·/ 'water' (not */si/)

Secondly, stress placement is best accounted for by reference to underlying long vowels (see sec. 142).

In short, in addition to the non-occurrence of *CV·CV·, there is a phonotactic restriction in Mutsun prohibiting each of the following sequences (but see sec. 332.11):

CVCV·# CVCCV· CVCV·CC

It is interesting to note that, in the great majority of cases, words borrowed from Spanish follow this restriction. Spanish stressed vowels are borrowed into Mutsun as long vowels, but not when such a situation would violate the phonotactic restriction. Thus:

/ya·we/ 'key' < lláve⁴⁸
/kami·sa/ 'shirt' < camísa

but

/henti/ 'person(s)' < gente (not */he·nti/)
/pappel/ 'paper' < papel (not */pappe·l/ or */pape·l/)
/wistitu/ 'suit, dress' < vestído (not */wisti·tu/)

⁴⁷-----
This rule is the basis for setting up underlying short-voweled monosyllabic stems, such as ||rah|| 'bodylouse' which occurs with a short vowel in /rahmak/ (plural). If the underlying stem were ||ra·h||, */ra·h·mak/ would be expected. In non-suffixed forms, due to the optional applicability of the rule, it is not possible to determine the underlying length.

⁴⁸Stress is indicated on these Spanish words, in violation of normal Spanish orthographic practices, to emphasize the stressed syllable.

/halesna/ 'awl' < alésna (not */hale·sna/)

/pastel/ 'pie' < pastél (not */paste·l/)

The notion of 'underlying long vowel' appears to be borrowed even though the actual length is restricted. Harrington gives a form /ṣ^yiyar/ 'cigar, cigarette' < Spanish cigarro. Even though this form contains the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ found nowhere else in Mutsun, the object case behaves as a native Mutsun word, /ṣ^yiyā·re/, implying underlying ||ṣ^yiyā·r||.

On the other hand, this last example might imply that the underlying forms of these words have short vowels, and the vowel is lengthened by a morphophonemic or phonotactic rule. This is a possible alternative solution but it was rejected primarily because the proposed analysis makes use of a more general restriction on long vowels. As a byproduct, it accounts for the varying lengths of monosyllables and sees a shift in stress as compensation for shortening of a vowel.⁴⁹

⁴⁹-----
Of course, there are a few exceptions to the foregoing discussion. In native vocabulary, the exceptions are so few as to be probably errors on the part of Harrington or his informant. Harrington records /hanni·tum/ 'from where?' rather than expected /hannitum/. /-tum/ is the ablative suffix; the unsuffixed form 'where?' is recorded variously as /hanni/, /ha·ne/, /ha·ni/. With this kind of variation in recording, this is not a serious counterexample to the phonotactic restriction on long vowels. Harrington also records several forms derived from /čulu-/ 'to jump' with short second vowels, rather than the long vowels expected from a supposed underlying ||čulu·||:

/čulumi/ 'jumps for (someone)' (rather than /čulu·mi/)

/čulunakwas/ 'he jumped over it' (rather than /čulu·nakwas)

If these are not recording errors, they are either counterexamples to the rule, or else evidence for underlying stems of the form CVCV, i.e., ||čulu||. Harrington's /humri·na/ 'goes to baptize', rather than /humrina/, is a true exception, if recorded accurately. In addition, Harrington records the following sentence:

/ṭura· ṭarahtak/ 'it's thundering in the sky'

/ṭura·/ has a long final vowel rather than the expected /ṭura/. Harrington remarks that the vowel is indeed long, but the form

As in Southern Sierra Miwok (Broadbent 1964:11-32) it might be possible to analyze vowel length as a consonant. If this were done, the syllabic canon (excluding monosyllabic stems) would be CV(C), where the second consonant could be either a true consonant or /·/. Thus, the canon itself would preclude closed long vowel syllables or, alternatively, would treat both long vowel and closed syllables as structurally equivalent. The 'vowel-shortening' rule would then be a rule to reduce consonant clusters to no more than two members word-medially, and to a single consonant word-finally. Monosyllabic stems would continue to be exceptional by allowing syllable-final clusters (/·C/). Despite the simplification this analysis seems to bring, it poses certain problems. First of all, /·/ would have to be singled out as a consonant subject to special phonotactic constraints. It could not occur as both C₂ and C₄ in the sequence

 has no parallel and is not elsewhere attested other than in isolation (/tura/ 'thunder'). Its status must remain a puzzle.

In loanwords from Spanish, as noted, most of the time the long-vowel restriction is followed. Sometimes, however, it is not:

/ʔespe·hu/ 'mirror' < espejo

/hulya·na/ 'Juliana'

/wante·hase/ 'tray (objective case)' < bandeja(s)

/santakru·se/ 'Holy Cross (objective case)' < Santa Cruz
 but cf. /santakrus/ (subjective case) with a short vowel
 as expected

/kampana·ryo/ 'bellfry' < campanario

but cf. /karme·n^Yo/ 'person from Carmel' < Carmeño
 where the long vowel precedes a single consonant

Finally, non-initial /ʔ/ deserves special mention. There are two forms with short vowels before /-ʔa/ where, according to the phonotactic pattern, a long vowel might be expected: /hin^Yaʔa/ 'soon, a little later', /ʔasaʔa/ 'indeed, truly'. Three possibilities exist here (in addition to misrecording): (1) the vowel before /ʔ/ is short in underlying form; (2) the vowel is long but vowels are shortened before /ʔ/; (3) /ʔa/ is a separate word and the preceding vowel is word-final, hence short. In the absence of further data, no definitive solution can be proposed.

$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4$ or as C_3 in the sequence $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3\#$ (except in vocatives -- sec. 332.11). Moreover, monsyllabic stems would not only be exceptional in allowing syllable-final consonant clusters, they would allow clusters of only one type, namely when the first member was $/\cdot/$. Secondly, considering length to be a consonant creates a conflict. Some noun suffixes occur in distinct post-vocalic and post-consonantal forms, e.g., $/-tka/$ (post-vocalic), $/-tak/$ (post-consonantal) 'locative' (see sec. 160). Following an underlying long vowel, shortened by the vowel-shortening rule, the post-vocalic form is found, e.g. $/korotka/$ 'at the foot' < $\|koro\cdot\|$. If vowel length were indeed a consonant, one might expect the post-consonantal variant of the suffix to be used. The resulting form, $*/koro\cdot tak/$ is perfectly acceptable phonologically. The only explanation for the use of the post-vocalic form after an underlying long vowel is that the long vowel is indeed a vowel and not a VC sequence. On the other hand, if the long vowel of stems were analyzed as $\|CVCV\cdot(C)\|$ is not long in underlying form, $/\cdot/$ would be, under certain conditions, a phonologically predictable epenthetic consonant. A morphophonemic rule would thus have to be added, and the advantages of considering the vowel to be long in underlying form, enumerated above, would be lost.

In short, the simplification gained in the statement of some aspects of phonotactics would be offset by the addition of various other phonotactic and morphophonemic rules and restrictions. Accordingly, in the absence of strong reasons to the contrary, it seems best not to treat vowel length as a consonant.

140. Stress and Intonation

Although Harrington frequently transcribes accent marks over vowels, his recording of suprasegmental phenomena is extremely difficult to interpret. First, he provides almost no explanation for his various accentual symbols, which include the following (where V is any vowel, long or short):

\acute{V} \grave{V} \textcircled{V} \check{V} \tilde{V}

By far the most common is the acute accent (\acute{V}), and this may probably be interpreted as 'primary stress' or at any rate some kind of syllabic prominence; the grave accent (\grave{V}) almost never occurs alone, so is most likely a 'secondary stress' or a syllable of lesser prominence. The circled acute accent (\textcircled{V}) is also secondary in nature, never occurring alone. The meaning of the combined grave-acute accent (\check{V}) is obscure, though it too seems at best 'secondary'. The tilde accent (\tilde{V}) is also a minor mystery.

In addition to not providing explanation for his symbols, Harrington records stress most erratically. In some entries each syllable is marked with an accent (sometimes all 'primary'), in some only one syllable is marked, while in many there is no suprasegmental information at all. Furthermore, different entries containing the same word sometimes show discrepancies. For example, compare:⁵⁰

/mínmuý/ 'down, below'

/yu· wak mó·hel minmúy píretka/ 'and his head down on
the ground'

⁵⁰-----
Although, as will be seen, stress is apparently non-phonemic, and therefore need not be transcribed in phonemic notation, accent marks will be written for the purposes of this discussion.

/mehéy mǐnmúy/ 'look down!'
 /húmmit sukúm/ 'give me a cigarette!'
 /hummit maṭṭér/ 'give me tobacco!'
 /húttey/, /huttéy/, /húttéy/ 'make a fire!'

Given this state of affairs, the following description of Mutsun stress is conjectural at best.

141. Intonation vs. Stress

Part of the problem seems to be Harrington's indication of phrasal or sentential intonation and word stress by the same transcriptional apparatus, mainly the acute accent. The difficulty is somewhat compounded since many of the entries are single words uttered in isolation, and such words would be subject to the influences of sentence intonation patterns. In general, the last word in a sentence, including words in isolation, are marked with stress on their final syllable. Indeed, it is frequently the case that the only word marked for stress in an entire entry will be the last word, and this word will have its final syllable accented. It is thus probable that, as a feature of sentence intonation, sentence-final syllables are somehow accented. The phonetic exponents of this sentence-final intonation are not clear. The only indication is given in one comment by Harrington:

/ʔamma makke ní·/ 'We are eating here'

The word for 'here' is actually transcribed [ní[̃]ʔ] accompanied by the comment 'long falling with distinct h after it'. The 'long' probably refers to the vowel length (see sec. 121); 'falling', then, might describe sentence-final intonation.⁵¹

⁵¹-----
 Whether 'falling' refers specifically to the 'tilde' accent is not clear.

The 'distinct h' is an example of the utterance-final devoicing (or aspiration) described in sec. 123. It is likely that this devoicing is another component of sentence-final intonation.

142. Stress Assignment

If most occurrences of word-final accent are attributed to sentence intonation, what remains should be mostly word stress.⁵² The pattern that emerges seems to be the following: in words of the form /CVCV(C)/, stress falls on the second syllable; in all other words, it falls on the first syllable. Excluding these words with non-initial stress for the moment, this characterization seems to explain some of the variation in Harrington's recordings exemplified above. For example, in /huttuy/ 'make a fire!', uttered as a one-word sentence, word stress would be expected on the first syllable (cf. Harrington's /húttuy/), but sentence intonation would accent the final syllable (/huttúy/), meaning that both syllables were stressed (/húttúy/).⁵³

There are numerous exceptions to the assumption of word-initial stress. Some of these have explanations. For example, Harrington seems to have confused length with stress, or else marked stress on long vowels as a matter of transcriptional

⁵²-----
It is of course likely that various sorts of phrasal intonation phenomena are still obscuring the picture, but it is nonetheless possible to make a reasonable guess about what is going on.

⁵³Similarly, the negative particle /ʔekwe/ is almost invariably recorded with initial stress, but, phrase finally, with final stress:

/ʔekwé, kasa·rika yeté/ 'No, I will marry (later on)'
This is a possible indication that phrasal boundaries may have had some intonational effect, or else that /ʔekwé/ is a sentence unto itself.

convention. If a long vowel occurred in the initial syllable, this would be expected (e.g., /mu·hinká ~ mú·hinka/ 'I'm (getting) hot', where the pronominal enclitic /-ka/ is indicated once with and once without sentence intonation). When the long vowel occurred elsewhere, however, this analysis would predict that it should not be stressed. Nevertheless, stressed long vowels in non-initial syllables are occasionally found, as in /hewé·pas/ 'shadow (of a person)'. This form, however, is also recorded /héwé·pas/, so it is reasonable to assume that the initial stress is legitimate, while the stress on the second syllable is somehow influenced by the long vowel and is not legitimate (or at least is not primary). Similarly, compare the following two sentences, given in Harrington's transcription:

[mótr mé wárērin pirésé] 'Did you sweep the ground?'
 ['ékwe ká wárērin] 'I did not sweep (it)'

The verb here is /ware·ri-/ 'to sweep', a loan from Spanish barrer, followed by /-n/ 'past tense'. The stress on the long vowel in the second sentence is probably an error, and certainly not as prominent as the initial-syllable stress, since it is lacking in the first sentence. Also, the object case form of 'ground' should be /pire·se/. The accent on the final vowel is probably due to sentence intonation; the accent on the second vowel is probably a mishearing of stress for vowel length since, as noted, Harrington often associated long vowels with stress.

Perhaps the best evidence for word-initial stress comes from non-native vocabulary. If a loanword from Spanish has stress on a syllable other than that which is stressed in Spanish, the shift must be due to Mutsun stress patterns. With a few exceptions,

what is found is that loanwords from Spanish are stressed on the first syllable, regardless of where stress falls in the Spanish pronunciation. (Spanish stressed vowels are reflected in Mutsun as long vowels, if there is no conflict with Mutsun phonotactics -- see sec. 135.) Thus:⁵⁴

/yúna·ri/ 'to fast' < ayunár
 /kámi·sa/ 'shirt' < camísa
 /kámpana/ 'bell' < campána
 /mánteka/ 'fat, lard' < mantéca
 /póyi·tu/ 'chick, baby chicken' < pollíto

Where Spanish has word-initial stress, Mutsun does also:

/ká·lis/ 'chalice' < cáliz
 /lá·pis/ 'pencil' < lápiz
 /sá·watu/ 'Saturday' < sábado

The effects of word-initial stress in Mutsun are dramatically seen in the word taken from Spanish soldado 'soldier' (/soldádo/).

The singular form shows the expected word-initial stress:

/súltatu/. In an irregular formation, however, the plural form loses the middle syllable: /súltukma/. What is striking is that the deleted syllable is the Spanish stressed syllable.

As was noted above, words of the form /CVCV(C)/ are stressed on the second syllable, and this is true regardless of the effects of sentence intonation. For instance, in sentence-final position, /hara/ 'gives' is always recorded /hará/. That the second-syllable stress is a feature of the word, and not (exclusively) sentence intonation, is shown by occurrences of /hara/ in other parts of the sentence (/ -n/ is a past tense marker):

⁵⁴-----
 Again, stress is indicated in the Spanish words even where this violates normal Spanish orthographic conventions.

/ʔekwemes hará hine·ruse néyʔà/⁵⁵ 'Don't give him the
money right now!'

/pí·naway wakwas harán tó·t̥ese/ 'Then he gave him meat'.

Similarly, non-sentence-final occurrences of /koro/ 'foot' show second-syllable stress:

/yu· wak koró tapréy/ 'and his foot up'

As was noted in sec. 135, words of the form /CVCV(C)/ come from underlying ||CVCV·(C)||, with automatic vowel-shortening. When these words occur with suffixes, the second vowel remains long, unless it precedes a consonant cluster. What is noteworthy in the present context is that the stress is on the second syllable only when the word does not contain a suffix with a vowel (that is, only when it is a disyllabic word):

/koró/ 'foot' /kórotka/ (recorded [kóròtká]) 'at the
foot'

/tawáh/ 'work' (noun, < Spanish trabajo)/tawahtek/
'it is hard (to do)'

/niyá/ 'here' /níya·tum/ (recorded [níyà·tùm]) 'from
here'

Compare also:

/ká·n yeté pat^yt^yá/ 'I will win (the game)'

/yéte·ka merkén/ 'I will move (change residences)'

/puhí wak-sitnum/ 'His children gather up (food off
the ground)'

/púhi·ka sá·pahse/ 'I gather up pil (type of seed)'

Thus, second-syllable stress seems to be a compensation

⁵⁵-----
The occurrence of the grave accent in /néyʔà/ 'right now' is unexplained. It is perhaps associated with the element /-ʔa/, itself of obscure significance and morphological standing. The word is also recorded with no stress indicated and, sentence finally, as [neyʔá] (/neyʔá/).

for loss of (underlying) length which occurs only in disyllabic forms. If all words are assumed to be unstressed in their underlying form, then the words with second-syllable stress arise by a stress assignment rule which may be schematized:

$$CV_1CV\cdot_2(C) \rightarrow CV_1C\hat{V}_2(C) / _ \#$$

That is, in disyllabic words with open initial syllables and long vowels in their second syllables, the long vowel is shortened and stress occurs on the second syllable. When the words are longer than two syllables, they follow the normal stress assignment rule which places stress on the first syllable (as the above examples show).⁵⁶

It is not possible to describe the phonetic realization of stress with any accuracy since Harrington provides little commentary. He does note that the second vowel of /waray/ 'cut (it)!' is 'loud' in the entry:

⁵⁶-----
 Properly speaking, the stress assignment rules should not involve vowel shortening, since this process belongs to the previously discussed vowel-shortening rule. A more precise formulation would be that there are two sets of rules, their ordering with respect to one another depending upon one's theoretical point of view. In order to show the connection between underlying vowel length and stress, the stress assignment rules should precede the vowel-shortening rule:

$$(1) CV_1CV\cdot_2(C) \rightarrow CV_1C\hat{V}\cdot_2(C) / \# _ \#$$

$$CV\cdots \rightarrow C\hat{V}\cdots / \#$$

(That is, words with underlying $\overline{\parallel}CVCV\cdot(C)\parallel$ receive stress on the second [long] vowel; all other words receive stress on the first vowel [long or short].)

$$(2) \text{the vowel-shortening rule (sec. 135)}$$

On the other hand, since stress is non-phonemic, it can be assigned without reference to underlying forms, though in so doing the connection between non-initial stress and underlying long vowels is lost:

$$(1) \text{vowel-shortening rule}$$

$$(2) CVCV(C) \rightarrow CVC\hat{V}(C) / \# _ \#$$

$$CV\cdots \rightarrow C\hat{V}\cdots / \#$$

(That is, in words of the shape $\overline{\parallel}CVCV(C)\parallel$ stress is on the second syllable; in all other words, it is on the initial syllable.)

/wáráy t̥ip̥pesúm/ 'Cut it with a knife!'

/waray/ would be assumed, by the stress assignment rule, to have stress on its second syllable, so why the first syllable is also marked is unclear. It is significant that Harrington singles out the second syllable as 'loud'. (The final stress in /t̥ip̥pesum/ 'with the knife' is due to sentence intonation.) The only other clue to the phonetics of stress Harrington gives is in commenting on a non-Mutsun word transcribed [ruwa] 'house'. (The Mutsun form is /rukka/, [ruwa] representing a northern dialect.) Harrington says that the [w] is 'short or 1-1/4 length. The w makes it hard to tell if long or short, but as in all words the ult[imate syllable] is prominent as the 1st syl[lable].' If taken at face value, Harrington's remark means that in all Mutsun words, the first and last syllables are equally stressed. This would be true, presumably, only of initially-stressed words occurring in sentence final position. Since this includes words in isolation, Harrington may well be referring to such a situation. Otherwise, Harrington's comment seems out of place, since if first and last syllables were always equally stressed, presumably he would mark this more consistently.

As for the phonetics of stress, it can be said only that it involves some kind of 'loudness' or 'prominence'; there is no indication of any kind of pitch accent or tonal system.

In short, stress seems to be a non-phonemic feature of Mutsun. In words of the form /CVCV(C)/ it occurs on the second syllable, otherwise it occurs on the first. Since it is predictable (non-phonemic), stress need not be written in citing

forms.⁵⁷

150. Minor Phonological Processes

In his grammar, Arroyo devotes a section to 'Forms of Metaplasm' ('Figuras del Metaplasmo') (1861:40) in which he describes several processes mostly involving vowel loss. He says that the processes take place in speaking the language with fluency,⁵⁸ which implies that they might be involved with allegro speech. The processes are found in Harrington's data as well, though with severe limitations, being almost exclusively limited to pronominal elements. (See sec. 353 for a discussion on how the pronominal variants are used.)

1. Apocope -- When combined with a following noun, pronominal elements may lose a final consonant, or even a full syllable:

/men- ~ me-/ 'your'
 /men-hiṣYṣYen/ 'your work' ('what you've done')
 /me-hiṣYṣYen/ 'id.'
 /makke ~ mak-/ 'our'
 /moṭ semmon makke nossow moṭ semmon mak-?ama/
 'Do our souls die or do our bodies die?'

⁵⁷-----
 There remain many problems with stress, including counter-examples to the above analysis. It is likely that many of the inconsistencies are due to phrasal intonation, or special intonation patterns for, e.g., imperatives (where stress is sometimes recorded on a final syllable rather than, or in addition to, the expected initial syllable). Also, since stress is indicated somewhat haphazardly, it is certain that there are numerous recording errors. The bulk of the data falls into the described pattern, however, and it seems reasonable to suppose that with more data the hypothesis set forth will be borne out.

⁵⁸Thus, he says of the process of antithesis: 'Es muy corriente esta figura como tambien las demas' (roughly, 'This process is very fluent, as are the others').

(Cf. also /kan- ~ ka-/ 'my'; no examples were found of /wa-/ for /wak-/ 'his, her, their'.) In the data examined, /men-/ and /kan-/ are more frequent than /me-/ or /ka-;/ /mak-/ is more frequent than /makke/, though in this case there are few examples of either.

The same process is noted in the enclitic form of the subject pronouns: they differ from the independent forms, in part, by lacking final consonants:

/-ka/ 'I'	cf. /ka·n/
/-me/ 'you'	cf. /me·n/

There are even a couple of instances of /-me/ 'you' being shortened to simply /-m/, e.g., /yummehnem/ 'you are being deceived', though such cases are rare.

The objective case suffix /-se/ is sometimes reduced to simply /-s/ as in /neppese ~ neppes/ 'this (objective)', /pire·se ~ pires/⁵⁹ 'earth, ground, world (objective)'. Similarly, in objective pronouns the final vowel is often missing, as in /kannise ~ kannis/ 'me', /makkese ~ makkes/ 'us (inclusive)', /maksene ~ maksen/ 'us (exclusive)'.⁶⁰ In the case of 'me', /kannis/ is by far the more frequently occurring form. (Examples of 'us' are extremely few.)

Arroyo lists a process of synalepha (sinalefa) in which he suggests that word-final vowels are sometimes lost before words beginning with a vowel (Arroyo did not recognize /ʔ/). If such

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Note the alternation in vowel length in accordance with the vowel shortening rule (sec. 135).

⁶⁰/-ne/ rather than /-se/ is also found in /haysane/ 'them'.

an effect were found in the Harrington material, this might be good evidence that glottal stop is not phonemic; however, no such instances are attested, and Arroyo's synalepha may simply be another form of apocope.

2. Syncope -- Again, in pronominal elements, there are instances of variants formed by loss of medial segments. This is most common in object pronouns:

/me·se ~ -mes/ 'you' cf. /me·n/ 'you' (subjective)',
 /-se/ (objective case suffix)
 /-was/ 'him, her' cf. /wa·kse/ 'him, her'

There are also a few occurrences of /-kas/ 'me' (cf. /kannis(e)/). In the case of the second and third person forms, the shorter variants are by far the most common.

There is one case of syncope (or contraction) in a verb. Harrington gives both /kuwa-/ (implying underlying ||kuwa·||) and /ko(·)-/ as alternate forms of 'to tell':

/ka·t^yi kuwa/ '(He) tells (it) thusly'
 /ko·y nuk/ 'Tell him!'
 /kuwas/ } '(He) told (him)'
 /ko(·)s/ }

When suffixed, the /ko(·)-/ form is more common, e.g.:

/ko·n/ 'told'
 /ko·hne/ 'is said'

This verb is the only example of contraction of this type, and the generality of the process is unknown. There are no other words of the form /Cuwa(·)/ in the data examined, though there is an apparent monosyllabic (hence exceptional or irregular -- see secs. 221, 410) verb stem /ho·-/ 'to carry' attested only in the phrase /ka·n ho·yni/ 'I come to carry (it)'. Whether

this /ho(·)-/ is related, synchronically or historically, to a stem /huwa(·)-/ or the like is not known.

3. Apheresis -- Loss of part of the beginning of a form is found in the third person subject enclitics /-ak/, after a consonant, and /-k/, after a vowel (cf. /wa·k/ 'he, she').⁶¹

Similarly, /-te/ (or /-ete/) is derived from /yete/ 'later' in /yu·mete/ 'and you will...' < /yu·/ 'and', /-me/ 'you', /-te/ 'later' (or < /yu·/ 'and, /-m/ 'you', /-ete/ 'later'). This is the only example of shortening of /yete/, though Arroyo implies that it is frequently shortened, both to /yet/ and /et/.

Syncope and apheresis work together in deriving forms made up of two pronominal elements, e.g.:

/-kas/ 'I-him' also /-kawas/ < /-ka/ 'I', /-was/ 'him'
/-mes/ 'you-him' also /-mewas/ < /-me/ 'you', /-was/ 'him'

The fusion does not occur when the subject pronoun is a free form; cf. /ka·nwas/, /me·nwas/.

Finally, Arroyo notes a process of metathesis (in fact, 'Metastesis' heads his list of 'Figuras'). As will be seen in the discussion of morphology, metathesis is an important process in Mutsun, though it is morphologically, not phonologically, based. Arroyo states that metathesis

⁶¹-----
Arroyo often gives the third person subject as hac or the like, implying /ak/ or /ʔak/. Under the heading of 'Antithesis', he notes that the vowel of this form can change to harmonize to a final vowel of a preceding word. That is, if a word ends in i, hac changes to hic, etc. Since Spanish h is not pronounced, the resulting form would be /... i ik/, where '/...i/' represents a word ending in /i/. Note that the difference between /...i ik/ and /...ik/ is slight, and Arroyo may be indicating the /-k/ form of the enclitic.

...esta propia de los niños; que aun casi no pueden pronunciar; y las Madres ô Padres les hablan con las letras que tiene la voz trastornadas, y fuera del modo con que deben estar....

(...is peculiar to children; who just cannot yet pronounce [words properly]; and their mothers or fathers speak to them with the word's letters reversed and out of the manner in which they should be....)

That is, Arroyo considers metathesized forms an artifact of the speech of children, or the speech of parents to their children, and not 'proper' Mutsun. If Arroyo is not referring to a special subset of words which really are part of children's language, his remarks certainly do not apply to the Mutsun revealed by Harrington's data. On the other hand, it might be well to bear Arroyo's comments in mind when doing a historical study on the origins of metathesis as a grammatical process in Costanoan, and even Miwok.

160. Morphophonemics

The only phonologically conditioned morphophonemic process of any importance in Mutsun is the vowel shortening rule already discussed as an aspect of phonotactics (sec. 135). Other morphophonemic alternations are morphologically conditioned.

As will be seen, there is a morphological process of metathesis in the formation of stems (sec. 221). Since metathesis assures that there will be no consonantal clusters of more than two consonants, and that there will be no

word-final clusters, it is possible to consider the process phonologically motivated. Since there are morphological aspects to the process (i.e., it is triggered only by certain suffixes), it seems best to consider it morphologically based.

There are also several suffixes which occur in different shapes depending on the phonological form of the stem (or suffix) to which they are attached. This variation might also be accounted for by phonologically conditioned morphophonemic rules, but the rules would be all but morpheme-specific and thus would not really capture any generalization about the language. For example, both the noun plural and locative case suffixes occur in post-vocalic and post-consonantal forms, and the difference between the two, in each case, involves metathesis:

	<u>post-vocalic</u>	<u>post-consonantal</u>
plural	/-kma/	/-mak/
locative	/-tka/	/-tak/

Note, however, that the basis of the metathesis is different.

In the plural suffix, the alternation is $/C_1VC_2 \sim C_2C_1V/$ while in the locative it is $/C_1VC_2 \sim C_1C_2V/$. These facts seem best summarized by just listing the alternate forms rather than positing two different 'suffix metathesis' rules.

Similarly, the object and instrumental case suffixes have two forms: $/-e/$, $/-um/$, respectively, after sibilants and sonorants, $/-se/$, $/-sum/$ otherwise. There does seem to be a restriction on non-geminate sibilant clusters (see sec. 132), and thus the lack of $/s/$ in these suffixes after $/s^Y/$ might be due to this phonotactic constraint. There is no

restriction, however, on /ss/ geminates or sonorant + sibilant clusters, so the lack of /s/ after /s/ and sonorants must be considered morphologically conditioned, and each suffix must be listed with a special 'post-sonorant' and 'post-/s/' form. Since this form is identical to the 'post-/s^Y/' form, there seems no reason to consider /-e/ or /-um/ after /s^Y/ different from /-e/ or /-um/ after sonorants or /s/.

Finally, the 'mediopassive' suffix /-n/ is followed by /i/ when there is another (consonant-initial) suffix following it, e.g.,:

/ʔinhan/	'gets sick'	/ʔinhanin/	'got sick'
/ʔa·kan/	'comes'	/ʔa·kaniy/	'come!'
/haslin/	'gets scared'	/hasliniti/	'goes along afraid'

This /i/ could come from two possible sources: (1) be part of the 'mediopassive' suffix (/ -ni ~ -n/); (2) be epenthetic, and added to break up a final consonant cluster. The second alternative seems unlikely since no cluster could result anyway from the addition of /-ti/ 'continuative'. The remaining possibility, that the suffix is /-ni/ before another suffix (all verbal suffixes are consonant-initial) and /-n/ word-finally brings up the possibility of a morphophonemic rule of apocope (cf. sec. 150). /-ni/ would be the only vowel-final suffix to undergo the process consistently, however, so the rule, once again, would be morpheme-specific and therefore not really worth establishing.⁶²

⁶²-----
A third source for the /i/, of course, is that it is part of the following suffix (e.g., /-in, -iy, -iti/). The /i/ would then be deleted following any suffix other than /-n/ or any stem. All other verbal thematic suffixes (other than the

 nominalizing suffixes which cannot be followed by verb suffixes anyway) are vowel-final, leaving /-n/ the only such suffix not ending in a vowel. The 'general' rule dropping /i/ after a vowel (suffix or stem-final), therefore, would really be a rule designed to 'preserve' the vowel after a single morpheme. Since /-n/ receives special treatment anyway, it seems best to make this special treatment a property of /-n/ itself, not of all other suffixes.

In extremely few cases, the suffix seems to appear as /-ni/ even word-finally. For example, Harrington gives /lişYşYen-/ 'to work, do work' in the sentence /lişYşYenka/ 'I do work', but also records /lişYşYeni/ in the sentence /ka.n lişYşYeni/ 'I intend to do work' (Harrington's gloss: 'yo lo voy hacer, estoy pensando para hacerlo'). This is the only example of a notion of 'intent' entering into a translation, so the status of /-ni/ is uncertain.

CHAPTER 2 - INTRODUCTION TO MORPHOLOGY

200. Morphological classes

Morphemes in Mutsun are of two types, roots and suffixes. Every word begins with a root and may be followed by zero, one or several suffixes. Only particles can occur with no suffix, while nouns and verbs must contain at least one suffix following the root. On phonological grounds, possessive pronominal elements preceding nouns are considered proclitics (roots) rather than prefixes: they do not count as the first syllable of a word in determining placement of stress (see sec. 140). Similarly, some pronominal elements, and a few adverbial elements, which come at the ends of words are considered enclitics rather than suffixes since they are not a required part of a properly formed word (see sec. 230).

There are several types of suffixes, and the structure of words can be best described in terms of stems and themes formed by roots plus successive layers of suffixation.

210. Roots

Roots are monomorphemic. Most roots are disyllabic, though some, notably roots of pronouns, particles, and a few nouns, are monosyllabic. Monosyllabic roots may have long or short vowels, and be open or closed syllables:⁶³

CV	ya	ya 'also' (particle)
CV·	si·	si· 'water'
CVC	moʔ	moʔ 'interrogative particle'

⁶³-----
From now on, slashes will be omitted in giving forms in phonemic notation.

CV·C ||ka·n|| ka·n 'I'

Disyllabic roots may be in any of the following forms:

CVCV·	koro·	koro·se	'foot (objective case)'
CVCV·C	toro·w	toro·we	'soap-root (objective case)'
CV·CV	to·te	to·te	'deer, meat'
CV·CVC	pi·roy	pi·roy	'fishing net'
CVCCV	ʔissu	ʔissu	'hand'
	tawre	tawre	'daughter'
CVCCVC	sottow	sottow	'fire'
	mostor	mostor	'tree trunk'

In addition, a very few words seem to be based on trisyllabic roots, although it is possible that these words are really mono- or disyllabic roots followed by unidentified suffixes.

All such words are nouns, e.g.:

tore·pa	'pipe'
sipruna	'tule root'
hotokros	'cocoon rattle'

220. Stems

Stems are mono- or bimorphemic. A monomorphemic stem may be identical to a root, or else derived from it by means of changes in vowel or consonant length and/or metathesis. Thus, a root may be associated with one, two, or occasionally several stems, the choice of which stem to use in a given situation normally being determined by the following suffix or morphological status of the stem (noun vs. verb). Consideration of bimorphemic stems will be postponed until after the formation of monomorphemic stems is described.

221. Stem types

Each particle has one stem only, and this stem form is

identical to the root. Each noun also has only one stem form and, for the most part, it too is identical to the root. In anticipation of later discussion, it will be convenient to term this single noun stem its primary stem. Primary stems which are not identical to their roots are discussed in sec. 222. Noun stems which are not primary are based on reduplicated stems (sec. 223).

Verb stems, on the other hand, often come in sets of two, and occasionally more, forms. The two main stems of a verb may be called the primary stem and the derived stem. The form of the derived stem can be predicted from that of the primary stem, but not always vice versa. The primary stem can take any one of seven possible forms, the derived stem only four (each of which is identical to one of the primary stem forms).⁶⁴ The main characteristic distinguishing primary and derived stems is that all derived stems end in a vowel, while primary stems may end in a vowel or consonant. The various primary and derived stems are shown in table 2. (The fourth primary stem form is very rare, and there is no example of its derived stem. If it follows the pattern, however, it would be $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$.)

When the primary stem ends in a vowel, it is identical to its derived stem. When the primary stem ends in a

⁶⁴-----
 There are a couple examples of monosyllabic verb stems. It is not clear exactly how they fit into the primary/derived scheme, however, and they are treated as 'irregular' (sec. 413). Primary noun stems, on the other hand, may be in any of the seven forms taken by primary verb stems, but may also be monosyllabic, contain four consonants ($\|C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2C_4\|$), or even be trisyllabic. For examples, see sec. 210.

Table 2

	<u>primary stem</u>	<u>derived stem</u>	<u>example</u>
1.	$C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot$	$C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot$	male·- 'to rub with saliva'
2.	$C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot C_3$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	pasik- ⁶⁵ ~ paski- 'to greet, visit'
3.	$C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_2$	$C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_2$	hi·wo- 'to scold'
4.	$C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_2C_3$	$(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2)$	li·wak- 'to hide (nearby)'
5.	$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2$	piṭṭe- 'to tie'
6.	$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2C_3$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	liččey- ~ ličye- 'to stand'
7.	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	ṛirko- 'to defecate'

consonant, the derived stem is formed by metathesis of the final $V(\cdot)C$ of the primary stem. If this metathesis creates a sequence of consonant cluster plus long vowel (as it would in the case of derived stems of type 2), a phonotactic constraint is violated and the vowel is shortened (sec. 135).⁶⁶

If it creates a triconsonantal cluster (as it would for derived stem type 6), the first two consonants, always a geminate cluster, are reduced to a single consonant.⁶⁷

⁶⁵-----
 Actually, the primary stem form $\|C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot C_3\|$ never occurs in this shape since it is always followed by a consonant-initial suffix resulting in a short second vowel due to the vowel-shortening rule. It is considered to have a long vowel in underlying form in order to be parallel to the $\|C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot\|$ form.

⁶⁶Similarly, a derived stem of the rare fourth type would presumably become $C_1V_1\cdot C_2C_3V_2$ by simple metathesis, then shorten its first vowel by the vowel-shortening rule.

⁶⁷It is possible to posit that stem types 5 and 6 have a single, non-geminate, consonant in their underlying form and that there is a 'gemination rule' of the form:

$$C_1 \rightarrow C_1C_1 \quad / \quad CV _ V(C)$$

As noted earlier, the different stem forms are used before different suffixes; that is, primary verb stems are found only before certain suffixes, while derived verb stems

Such a rule would apply to stems only, but it would not be limited to verb stems since it could account for nouns such as ʔissu 'hand' and sottow 'fire' from underlying stem (and, in the case of these nouns, root) forms $\|\text{ʔisul}\|$ and $\|\text{sotow}\|$. From a synchronic point of view, there is no compelling reason to accept one solution over the other; the analysis making the underlying forms most like their surface forms was chosen. It should be noted, however, that if the length of V_2 in stem types 1 and 2 were analyzed as predictable rather than underlying (see sec. 135), stem types 5 and 6 would unquestionably contain geminate consonants. That is, from underlying $\|\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{V}_2(\text{C}_3)\|$, either $/\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_2\text{V}_2(\text{C}_3)/$ or $/\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\cdot(\text{C}_3)/$ might be predictable, but not both.

Another possible analysis involves considering length to be a consonant (as proposed, though rejected, in secs. 118, 135). It would then be possible to reduce the number of primary stem types to four. The four types, with their counterparts in the scheme adopted above, would be:

length as a consonant

a. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\text{C}_3$

b. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\text{C}_3\text{C}_4$

c. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_3\text{V}_2$

d. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_3\text{V}_2\text{C}_4$

length not as a consonant

1. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\cdot$

2. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\cdot\text{C}_3$

3. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\cdot\text{C}_2\text{V}_2$

5. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_2\text{V}_2$ (or $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\cdot\text{V}_2$)

7. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_3\text{V}_2$

4. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\cdot\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\text{C}_3$

6. $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\text{C}_2\text{V}_2\text{C}_3$ (or $\text{C}_1\text{V}_1\text{C}_2\cdot\text{V}_2\text{C}_3$)

Furthermore, if subscripts are ignored, treating length as a consonant would show all derived stems, except type (a) to be of a single shape, CVCCV. The simplification achieved by this analysis, however, does not seem to be of great utility.

In the first place, special restrictions would have to be imposed to prevent $/\cdot/$ from occurring as C_4 in stem types (b) and (d). Secondly, stem type (a) becomes anomalous. Its exemption from the normal CVCCV pattern of derived stems, noted above, implies that a special rule would have to be posited to prevent primary stem type (a) from undergoing metathesis. Thus, the generalization that all derived stems end in a vowel must be abandoned, or else specific reference must be made to the fact that the final consonant in stem

are found only before others. Verb stems other than primary and derived play a very small role in Mutsun grammar; they are discussed in secs. 223 and 410.

222. Stem formation

Most of the time, primary noun stems and primary verb stems are identical to their roots. Under certain conditions, however, the root is somehow modified in becoming a primary stem. Modification may be of two types: (1) internal (involving changes, e.g., in vowel or consonant length), (2) suffixal (adding a suffix to a root to form a bimorphemic stem).

 type (a) is not a 'normal' consonant after all, but a special 'non-consonantal' consonant, /·/. Indeed, the possibility of characterizing all derived stems as ending in a vowel, and viewing metathesis as a process whose function is to assure this, detracts from the appeal of analyzing /·/ as a consonant. Thirdly, the proposed reanalysis hides certain relationships between primary and derived stems. Derived stem types 1, 3 and 5 are associated only with primary stem types 1, 3 and 5, respectively. All other derived stems are formally identical ($C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$) and hence cannot predict a particular primary stem type. If length is treated as a consonant, these relationships between primary and derived stems are rearranged. Derived stem type (c), $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$, is associated only with primary stem type (c), but the special relationship between primary and derived stems of types 3 and 5 is lost. Derived stem type (b) would be $C_1V_1C_2C_4V_2$, no longer schematically identical to type 7, which is included in type (c). Primary stem type (d) has two derived stem types (both based on very regular rules of cluster reduction): $C_1V_1C_3C_4V_2$ if C_2 is /·/ (corresponding to type 4), and $C_1V_1C_2C_4V_2$ if C_3 is /·/ (type 6). The second derived stem of type (d) is the same as that of type (b), but the first is not. Neither is formally identical to type (c), although derived stems of types 4 and 6 (d) are identical to that of type 7 (c).

Of course, all of the relationships between the various stem types can be recaptured by explicitly noting which consonant (C_2 , C_3 or neither) is /·/. So doing, however, would render the analysis of length as a consonant useless: there would be the originally proposed seven primary stem types. For these reasons, along with those noted in sections 118 and 135, length is not here treated as a consonant.

Frequently the two processes cooccur.

222.1. Internal modification

Differences between primary stems and roots show up most strikingly when comparing the primary stems of related nouns and verbs. There are numerous such pairs which are obviously based on the same root, but there is no way to predict the exact shape of the noun from the verb or vice versa. The primary noun stem may be identical to that of the verb, as in:

čala·	'urine'	čala·	'to urinate'
ʔissu	'hand'	ʔissu	'to play the hand game'
ʔiṭṭak	'payment'	ʔiṭṭak	'to pay'

On the other hand, there may be a difference between the noun and the verb stems, as in:

ṭa·la	'heat'	ṭalla	'to be very hot'
či·ri	'horn'	čiri·	'to hook with horns'
he·yes	'beard'	heyes	'to shave'
mučču	'breakfast'	muču	'to eat breakfast'

In such cases, it is not clear whether the primary noun stem or the primary verb stem (or some third form) is identical to the root. Moreover, there are a number of cases of noun-verb pairs where the primary stem of the verb is not attested, e.g.:

pa·kuč	'ball'	pakču	'to play ball' (derived stem)
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In a case such as this, the primary verb stem could be ||pa·kuč|| (identical to the noun), ||pakkuč|| or ||paku·č||.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Note, however, that the derived verb stem can be predicted from the noun stem if the noun stem has three consonants (as in ||pa·kuč|| 'ball'). This is because all derived stems with three consonants have the same shape, ||C₁V₁C₂C₃V₂||. Whether all triconsonantal nouns have related verb forms, on the other hand, is unknown.

(There are no clear examples of a primary verb stem of the form $\|C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2\|$ being related to a noun of the form $\|C_1V_1 \cdot C_2V_2C_3\|$.)

The distinction between roots and stems is even more striking in the case of monosyllabic nouns and related verbs. Since all regular verbs must have disyllabic stems, a second vowel, usually e, is added to the monosyllabic root, e.g.:

$\ ko \cdot s\ $	'foam, froth'	$\ kose \cdot\ $	'to be foamy, frothy'
$\ sa \cdot w\ $	'song'	$\ sa \cdot we\ $	'to sing'
$\ mu \cdot s\ $	'breast'	$\ muse \cdot\ $	'to be breasted'
		cf. $\ mu \cdot si\ $	'to suckle'

In short, primary stems of both nouns and verbs may be formed from the same roots, but not necessarily in the same manner. When the primary stems of root-sharing nouns and verbs are not identical, no way has been found to determine which, if either, is identical to the root. All that can be said at this point is that one way of forming stems is by internal modification of roots, but the details of exactly what kinds of modifications are carried out under what circumstances remain to be worked out, perhaps with historical and comparative evidence being necessary.

222.2. Bimorphemic stems

Frequently, in noun-verb pairs, only the derived stem of the verb is attested. Often, in such cases, the verb has a third consonant even if the noun does not. This is true for disyllabic as well as monosyllabic nouns, e.g.:

$\ \dot{t}ap\ $	'body hair'	$\ \dot{t}apse\ $	in $\dot{t}apse\dot{s}^ymin$	'hairy one' ⁶⁹
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ha·y	'mouth'	hayt ^y e	hayt ^y eš ^y min	'big-mouthed one'
ʔuri·	'head hair'	ʔursi	ʔursiš ^y min	'one with much head hair'
pa·ya	'speed'	paysa	paysaš ^y min	'fast one, fast runner'

Furthermore, these added third consonants are sometimes found in derived stems where the attested primary verb stem lacks them:

ričča	'to speak'
ričt ^y a	in ričt ^y aš ^y min 'one who talks too much (gossips)'
ričwa	ričwaš ^y min 'one who talks all the time'

Finally, it is possible to have two derived stems, one with and one without the third consonant, as in:

čala·	in čala 'urinates' ⁷⁰
čalta	in čaltaš ^y min 'one who urinates much'

It appears, then, that a stem may differ from a root by consisting of the root plus some sort of 'stem-deriving' suffix. Such a suffix may be a second vowel (in the case of monosyllabic roots being related to verb stems) and/or a third consonant.

There is only one example of such a 'stem-deriving' suffix with clear semantic import: -wi 'undo'. Compare:

paṭṭi-	'to grasp, take in hand, seize'
paṭwi-	'to let go'

⁶⁹The nominalizing suffix -š^ymin occurs only after derived verb stems (sec. 424.6).

⁷⁰The lack of any overt suffix after čala shows that it is based on a derived stem. See sec. 410.

ma·hi- 'to close (a container)'
 mahwi- 'to open (a container)'
 piṭṭe- 'to tie, fasten'
 piṭwi- 'to untie'

In the absence of the suffixed form, the first member of each pair above would be assumed to represent the form of the verb root. The suffix seems to be added to the root, causing loss of the second vowel and shortening of long vowel or geminate consonant if necessary. The resulting stem is a primary verb stem (though, being of the form $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$, is identical to the derived stem). It is clear that it is primary since it appears in contexts requiring the primary stem, e.g., before the reflexive suffix -pu: piṭwipu 'unties oneself' (e.g., untie hair).

The exact morphophonemic processes involved in forming stems from roots plus stem-deriving suffixes are not at all understood. For example, the 'undo' suffix appears as -wa, rather than -wi, in kičwa- 'to unlock, open with a key' (cf. kičča- 'to lock, close with a key').⁷¹ Similarly, the suffix is -we in maswe- 'to uncover' (cf. massa- 'to cover'). This suggests that there must have been some kind of vowel harmony involving suffixes which was lost as a productive process. It might be best to consider the suffix to be (or have been)

⁷¹-----
⁷¹The meaning of kičča- clearly implies European influence, but the word appears to be native. Remotely possible Spanish sources are quicial (/kisiál/) 'door or window jamb' or quicio (/kísio/) 'door hinge', though these should be borrowed as kisyal and kisyu respectively. It is of course possible that Mutsun borrowed the word from another Indian language which may have, in turn, borrowed it from Spanish.

-wV, where the exact quality of V was determined by factors which cannot be presently worked out.

The possibility of stem-deriving suffixes producing primary stems, regardless of exactly how the process works, means that any stem having a third consonant might really be based on a root plus a stem-deriving suffix. In addition to -wi (or -wV), four such suffixes have been found to have possible interpretations:

||sV|| (where V is the second vowel of the root) 'iterative' or 'distributive' -- see sec. 412.

||t̥V|| is found in many stems involving body parts, e.g.:⁷²

rin̥ta	in rin̥tan	'gets skinny'
lḁh̥te	lḁh̥te	'is big-headed' (perhaps, 'is big' of any round object)
luk̥ti	luk̥tiṣ̣ ^y te	'pot-bellied'
yol̥to	yol̥to	'is big-eared'
pul̥tu	pul̥tu	'is bulging out (of eyes)'

Note also:

ropt̥o	in ropt̥o	'is dirty', applied specifically to the face
mupt̥u	mupt̥u	'is closed-mouthed'
	cf. mu·pi-	'to close (someone's) mouth'

||lV|| seems to have a function similar to that of ||t̥V||:

satla	in satlahmin	'flat-nosed one'
meylo	meylo	'is toothless'
pohlo	pohlo	'is bulging out (of eyes)'
sotlo	sotloṣ̣ ^y min	'thick-lipped one'
wečlo	wečlohte	'large-mouthed' (person or sack)
puslu	pusluhmin	'pot-bellied one'

⁷²-----
Mason (1916:413) also identified this suffix, terming it 'corporeal'.

||kV|| seems to mean something similar to ||wV|| 'undo' in a few stems:

||pirka|| in pirka 'digs up' cf. pira 'buries'
 ||puṭki|| puṭki 'pulls out hair' cf. puṭ 'feather'
 ||ʔočkoll ʔočkoll 'becomes deaf' cf. ʔo·čo 'ear'

Whether the third consonant of other stems is a stem-deriving suffix, or simply the third consonant of a root, cannot be unambiguously determined. Even in cases where it is clear that the third consonant, or third consonant plus second vowel, must have been a suffix at some time in the past (since there is a similar root lacking the third consonant), there is no reason to assume that such is the case synchronically. That is, there are numerous pairs of stems which appear to have a common root, though whether this connection is synchronic or historic residue cannot be determined. Some examples of such sets follow (suffixes are separated by hyphens, if known).

nosso-pu- 'to breathe, take a deep breath'
 nossow 'spirit'
 noswe- 'to rest' ("take a breather")

hassa- }
 haska- } 'to scratch (an itch)'

latwe-pu- 'to give signs with the tongue'
 latse- 'to be long-tongued'

hinwi- 'to remember'

hinsu- 'to know (information), know how'

ha·si-n- 'to be afraid' (general term)

hasli-n- 'to be afraid' (as a person alone at night)

- helmo- } 'to be soft'
 helṣ^yo- }
- ʔesse- 'to cover with a blanket'
 ʔeshen 'blanket'
- ʔi·na 'disease, sick one'
 ʔinha-n- 'to get sick'
- ʔinnu 'road'
 ʔinyu- 'to walk, travel, walk along the road'
 ʔinwi-n- 'to tire of the road, tire of travel'
- ročyo-n- 'to get snarled, tangled' (string)
 ročko-n- 'to get unruly' (hair)
- ruyma- } 'to shake (somebody) with hand to arouse
 ruywa- } (him)'
- ruyṣ^yu-ksi 'shakes with palsy'
- mure-ṣ^yte 'it has become very late in the afternoon,
 it is getting dark'
- murut 'darkness, night'
- mukyu-kniṣ^y 'old woman'
 mukurma 'woman'
- mukkeh 'son, 15 years and older' (woman speaking)
- su·ne 'hunger'
- sunyi-pu- 'to be full from eating'
- taprey 'above, on top'
 tappis 'top of head'
- lawu- } 'to gulp down, swallow without chewing'
 lawku- }
- tippi-hte 'curled up, coiled up' (snake)
 tips^yin 'basket'
- tiplile 'spinning' (e.g., a top)
 tippe- 'to wander about groping' (e.g., at night)
- yu·ṭi- } 'to throw out, toss out of a container'
 yuṭki- }

In addition, there are sets of stems differing in their second vowel, implying a shared monosyllabic root:

mala-n- 'to get wet'
 male- (||male·||) 'to rub, moisten with saliva'
 ʔukke- 'to bring water'
 ʔukki-si- 'to drink'
 cf. ʔukni-n- 'to drown (in a small amount of water)'
 rummes 'backbone'
 rummis 'stalk'
 tappa-n- } 'to be suitable for, to fit'
 ta·pi-n- }
 watti-n- 'to go'
 wa·te- 'to come'

222.3. Other types of stem relationships

(1) w ~ k -- There are several pairs of stems differing in that the primary noun or verb stem is of the form CVkkVC- and the associated derived stem is CVwCV-. Such stems are historically related. Proto-Costanoan had a consonant *k^w which became w in Northern Costanoan and k in Southern Costanoan. Mutsun, however, has both k and w from *k^w according to the following rule:

*k^wk^w > kk
 *k^wC > wC

(The reflexes of *k^w in other environments are irrelevant in the present context.) Thus, putting *k^w into Proto-Costanoan stems:

*CVk^wk^wVC- > CVkkVC- (primary stem)
 *CVk^wCV- > CVwCV- (derived stem)

Examples of such stems, which can be treated as 'semi-

suppletive' synchronically,⁷³ are:

sakker 'fat, grease, lard' (noun)

sawre- 'to be fat'

ṭakkar-pu- 'to seat oneself'

ṭawra- 'to sit, to live'

ʔakkes 'salt' (noun)

ʔawse- 'to salt'

A related phenomenon, also involving the addition of a third consonant, is:

ʔakke-n- 'to dawn; to wake up'

ʔawye-n- 'to wake up'

(2) Sound symbolism -- There are also some stems which seem to be related via sound symbolism, involving consonants, vowels or both. Examples involving consonants are:

s ~ ṣ^Y haska- } 'to scratch (an itch)'
 haṣ^Yka- }

ʔasnu- } 'to sneeze'
 ʔaṣ^Ynu- }

posyo- 'to scorch, sear'

poṣ^Yṣ^Yo- 'to singe hair (to trim it)'

r ~ l marse- } 'to break (e.g., chips of wood)'
 malse- }

tokro-ṣ^Yte 'having sores all over'

toklo-ṣ^Ymin 'one with syphilitic lump under
 the ear'

⁷³It would have been possible to posit an underlying segment (morphophoneme) $\|kw\|$, realized phonemically as /k/ or /w/ under different conditions, to account for these stems. Though such a segment would reflect the historical facts, it would serve no other function in Mutsun than to register the relationship between a handful of stems. It was thought best to treat the stem alternations as historic residue and not incorporate unnecessary morphophonemic apparatus.

- y ~ l⁷⁴ keye·-mu- 'to elbow each other, jostle with the elbow'
 kele·-mu- 'to push each other, jostle with each other'
- ṭ ~ ø murṭumak 'blackish ones'
 murøumak 'black ones'
- ṭ ~ č pakkuṭ 'shinney ball'
 pa·kuč 'ball' (e.g., baseball)
- h ~ ṣ^y mu·hi- 'to be hot' (weather)
 muṣ^yṣ^yi- 'to be warm' (weather)

Vowels are involved in:⁷⁵

- ma·hul 'phlegm'
 me·hel 'gum, secretion on edge of eyelids'
- tiyo- (||tiyo·||) 'to shoot (something) with an arrow'
 tuyos 'arrow'
- watre-ṣ^yte 'large, great' (speed)
 wetra-ṣ^ymin 'large one' (buttocks)
 wetre-ṣ^ymin 'large one' (rock, ear)
- matla- 'to be face down, prone'
 motlo- 'to put one's head down'

Several sets show both consonantal and vocalic symbolism:

- rippu-n- 'to get jabbed, pricked'
 ruppu-n- 'id.'
 ṭuppu-n- 'id.' (in the eye)
 čappu-n- 'id.'

⁷⁴Compare the y-l alternation found in Bodega Miwok: kuyéyyih 'old woman', kul(l)éyyih 'woman' (Callaghan 1970:41).

⁷⁵One pair shows that vowel symbolism may be reconstructible: sit^yt^yimpi- 'to make (something) very small', ku·t^yihmin 'small one'. Costanoan s derives, in part, from Miwok-Costanoan *k before *i. If the s in sit^yt^yimpi is such an s, the reconstructed stems would be something like *kit^yt^yi-, *ku·t^yi-, showing *i ~ *u(·).

helmo- }
 helṣ^yo- } 'to be soft'
 holṣ^ye- }
 pelṣ^ye-ṣ^ymin 'fine, smooth one' (e.g., flour)
 pel^ymo- 'to be soft' (e.g., bed)

Finally, there seems to be a kind of symbolism based on rearranging the consonants of the root:

koypo-n- } 'to get scared, become frightened'
 poyko-n- }
 loppoč } 'navel'
 poloč (||polo·č||) }
 hamna-ṣ^ymin }
 hama·ma } 'simple-minded one'
 mamha-ṣ^ymin }

222.4. Conclusion

Whether a stem is mono- or bimorphemic, whether identical to its root or not, it is treated in the same way. That is, the stem-forming processes producing the primary stem from the root, or from the root plus a suffix, have no bearing on the functioning of the stem in terms of, for example, how its derived stem is formed. Because of this fact, and because it is normally not possible to tell whether a stem is mono- or bimorphemic or whether it is identical to its root or not, the primary stem, rather than the root, is considered the basic unit of morphological description.

223. Reduplication

Reduplication is a minor feature of Mutsun morphology, though it does occur in two distinct patterns.

223.1. CVC reduplication

In a very few words, the stem is formed by reduplicating the first CVC of the root, followed by the rest of the root (if there is more). Usually there is no non-reduplicated counterpart for such words. For example:⁷⁶

<u>root</u>	<u>stem</u>	
tule·	tultule·	in tultule 'palpitating, jumping' (e.g., heart)
	cf. tule·	tule 'knocks (on door)'
pol	polpol ⁷⁷	polpolsi 'is spotted'
por	porpor	porpor 'cottonwood' or 'poplar'
som	somsom	somsom 'armpit'

In the verbs, the semantic import of this type of reduplication seems to be a repetitive notion (individual but repeating hearbeats, individual but numerous spots). The nouns, most likely, were originally descriptive terms, though their meanings are not known.

223.2. Reduplicated stems

The second form of reduplication depends on the shape of the primary stem. In the case of verbs, it is probably reasonable to say that there is a reduplicated stem in

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There is one unsure form honhon^ye·- 'lifting feet' ('taking high steps' [?]) attested in:

honhon^ye·ka wa·te 'I come lifting my feet'

Presumably, this form is based on a root ||hon^ye·||. If the word is legitimate, this shows a morphophonemic alternation between n and n^y such as n^y → n / ___ h, or perhaps / ___ C, there being no attested n^yC clusters.

⁷⁷Arroyo (1862: entry no. 2201) gives a form polloi glossed 'pintalo' ('paint it!'). Harrington's informant did not know the word, but it would probably be pollo-y or po·loy (-y 'imperative').

addition to the primary and derived stems. It is also possible to speak of the reduplicated stem of a noun since it is formed from its primary stem by exactly the same rules forming the reduplicated stem of a verb from a primary verb stem.

The formation of the reduplicated stem is complex when given in symbolic notation; a chart (table 3) will serve better:⁷⁸

Table 3

<u>primary stem</u>	<u>derived stem</u>	<u>reduplicated stem</u>	<u>attested as</u>
1. $C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot$	$C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot$	$C_1V_1C_2V_1\cdot C_2V_2$	noun, verb
2. $C_1V_1C_2V_2\cdot C_3$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2V_1\cdot C_3V_2$	noun (verb?)
3. $C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_2$	$C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_2$	$C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_1C_2V_2$	noun
4. $C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_2C_3$	$(C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2)$	$C_1V_1\cdot C_2V_1C_3V_2$	noun, verb
5. $C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_1C_2V_2$	verb
6. $C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2C_3$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_1C_3V_2$	noun (verb?)
7. $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$	$C_1V_1C_2C_3V_1C_3V_2$	verb

In general, the reduplicated stem consists of the primary stem up to but not including its second vowel; this is followed by a repetition of the first vowel, but in the length of the primary stem's second vowel; this, in turn, is followed by the primary stem's last consonant (whether it be its second or third) and second vowel, always short.

Examples of reduplicated stems in verbs include:

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 For convenience, the derived stem form is repeated here to give the full range of stem types of verbs. Derived stem type 4 is unattested. The occurrence of reduplicated stems in nouns or verbs is indicated in the fourth column.

primary stem

1. ||kiṭe·|| kiṭi·ṭe 'creaking' (not attested in other stems)
4. ||le·leṭ|| le·leṭe 'rubbernecking'⁷⁹
 cf. leṭe- 'to rubberneck' (derived stem)
- ||la·yaṭ|| la·yaṭa 'standing'
 cf. layṭa-ṣ^yte 'long, tall' (derived stem)
5. ||kille|| killile 'sparkling'
 cf. kille- 'to sparkle' (derived stem)
7. ||tiplē|| tiplile 'spinning' (e.g., a top)
 (not attested in other stems)

The semantic function of reduplicated stems seems to be some sort of continuative, but, unlike CVC reduplication, there is flowing, not broken up, activity. 'Standing' seems to fit in as a continuative form of a root meaning 'long, tall'; thus 'standing' is 'continually being tall' (cf. standing tall in English). 'Rubbernecking' is apparently a continuing procedure.

With few exceptions, the nouns based on reduplicated stems are not obviously related to other nouns or verbs in other stem forms. Where there are related words, the primary stems differ, though they are based on the same roots. For example:

primary stem

1. ||hama·|| hama·ma 'simple-minded one'
 ||hunu·|| hunu·nu 'dove'
2. ||huma·n^y|| humu·n^ya 'hummingbird'
 ||ʔama·y|| ʔama·ya 'naked one' (cf. ʔama· 'body, person')
3. ||ʔe·na|| ʔe·nena 'berry sp.'

⁷⁹ 'Rubbernecking' is Harrington's gloss. It seems to mean wandering about, staring or ogling or gawking at things.

4. ||ha·kan|| ha·kana 'rattlesnake rattle'
 ||mu·mič|| mu·muči 'wild rose'
 ||mu·mir|| mu·muri 'fly' (cf. mumru-n- 'get full of
 flies' [derived stem])
6. ||ʔammin|| ʔammani 'rain' (cf. ʔamen 'to rain')
 ||tammal|| tammala(h) 'mountain lion'

The final h in 'mountain lion' is probably the nominalizing suffix -h (sec. 424.3), suggesting that tammala- might be the reduplicated stem of a verb. The h is of unsure status since it is lost before the instrumental suffix -sum, a unique occurrence. Another possible example of a nominalized reduplicated verb stem is in the placename kulu·listak 'at the elbow' (modern Gilroy). This word consists of the locative suffix -tak attached to a noun kulu·lis which must mean 'elbow', though it is not attested as such. If the final s is the nominalizing suffix -s (sec. 424.2), the verb stem remaining, kulu·li-, fits the pattern of a reduplicated stem of type 2, kuli·l .

Semantically, these nouns are probably all descriptive in origin, though the exact etymologies cannot be recovered. The 'continuative' aspect found in the verbs seems to be involved, however, as in 'rattlesnake rattle', 'hummingbird' and, perhaps, 'fly'.

Considering these nouns to be based on reduplicated stems is not without problems. For example, pa·rani 'hill' may be the reduplicated stem of pa·rin , or it may contain a suffixed -ni found on several nouns (hu·rani or hura·ni 'grave hole', la·yeni 'pole, mast, staff'). This suffix may, in turn, be related to a suffix -i found on other nouns

(hikkani 'tar'). In fact, this -i may be a suffix on mu·muri 'fly' based on ||mu·mur||, which would bring it into line with its verb counterparts (mumru-n- 'to become full of flies').

There remain a few trisyllabic nouns which do not fit the pattern of reduplicated stems (e.g., tore·pa 'pipe'), suggesting the possibility that some of the nouns resemble reduplicated stems fortuitously. Furthermore, there are several verbal forms which look as though they should be reduplicated stems, and are semantically suitable, but do not quite fit into the pattern:

pe·ṭole 'sticky' (cf. peṭṭe- 'to stick together
[e.g. with glue]')
 he·ṭole 'hanging, swaying'
 lu·ṭiye 'hanging'
 ʔu·nime 'understand'

These forms are not normal reduplicated stems because of their vowels: in reduplicated stems, the first two vowels are always identical. Notice also the following:

latweṭe 'long-tongued' (cf. ||latwe|| 'id.' [primary
stem])
 lelweṭe 'rubbernecking'
 lisniye 'flat'

These forms are not normal reduplicated stems because each contains a fourth consonant (and, in the case of the first, the vowels are wrong).

The above 'irregular' stems might be evidence of another form of reduplication or stem formation, perhaps involving suffixed -Ce. Unfortunately, these constitute the full set of irregular forms, so no definite conclusions can be drawn. It should be reiterated that reduplication, at least in the

data examined, is a rather rare state of affairs, and may be totally unproductive. The 'regular' and 'irregular' forms of reduplication may be the mere residue of a more complex process.

230. Themes, words and suffixes

A theme consists of a stem plus zero, one or two thematic suffixes. The theme as a whole is followed by a final suffix. A theme plus a final suffix is a word.

Most thematic suffixes follow only verb stems. They include suffixes of transitivity (voice, causative, etc.), direction (e.g., ablative), aspect and nominalization. Thematic suffixes following noun stems are mostly plurals, verbalizers and other derivational suffixes. It is theoretically possible to have more than two thematic suffixes per theme, though no clear example of more than two has been found. Thematic suffixes of verbs are discussed in sec. 420; those of nouns in sec. 320.

Words normally contain one and only one final suffix. In the case of verbs, the final suffix may be one of mode (imperative), tense, voice or aspect. Note that the distribution of functions of thematic and final suffixes is not mutually exclusive. See sec. 430 for a discussion of verbal final suffixes. For nouns, including nominalized verbs, most final suffixes involve case (sec. 330).

240. Clitics

As mentioned earlier (sec. 200), possessive pronominal elements preceding nouns are not considered prefixes on

phonological grounds, and also because they are never a required part of the structure of words. They normally receive no word stress, however, so they are not full-fledged independent forms either. Thus, they are classified as 'proclitics', elements preposed to, in this case, nouns, but not structurally part of them.

Similarly, suffix-like pronominal elements which follow verbs (and other words) are considered enclitics. They are not a required part of a morphologically complete word and, in fact, are lacking if their function is fulfilled by independent pronominal forms (nouns).

Clitic and independent pronouns are discussed in sec. 350.

CHAPTER 3 - NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

300. Introductory remarks

As described earlier, a noun is made up of a noun theme followed by a final suffix. A noun theme may be either a nominalized verb (see sec. 424) or else a noun stem followed by zero, one or occasionally two thematic suffixes. Noun stems which are followed by a thematic suffix with verbalizing force become verb themes (see Chapter 4). Pronouns, a subtype of nouns, have special characteristics. They are described in sec. 350. Similarly, demonstratives are treated in sec. 360, and interrogative noun stems in sec. 611.

310. Noun stems

Noun stems are nearly all disyllabic, though some are monosyllabic and a very few are trisyllabic.⁸⁰ Trisyllabic stems are either reduplicated stems (see sec. 223.2) or else are unanalyzable. Examples of noun stems are:

po·r-	'flea'
to·te-	'deer, meat'
sottow-	'fire'
mostor-	'tree trunk'
ha·kana	'rattlesnake rattle' (reduplicated)
tore·pa-	'pipe' (unanalyzable)

320. Thematic suffixes

321. -mak ~ -kma 'plural'

These are by far the most frequently occurring nominal

⁸⁰-----
The syllabic structure of noun stems was described in sec. 210. Only monosyllables of the form CV (that is, short open syllables) are not found as noun stems.

thematic suffixes. -mak occurs after noun stems (or themes) ending in a consonant;⁸¹ -kma after those ending in a vowel:

ru(·)k	'string'	ru·kma
wimmah	'wing'	wimmahmak
kahhay	'head louse'	kahhaymak
ʔinnis	'son'	ʔinnismak
rukka	'house'	rukkakma
to·ʔe	'deer, meat'	to·ʔekma
sinni	'child'	sinnikma
relo	'clock'	relokma (< Spanish <u>reloj</u>)
huttu	'belly'	huttukma
sipruna	'tule root'	siprunakma

-mak is apparently the only nominal thematic suffix which may follow another thematic suffix, be it nominal itself or verbal (a nominalizing thematic suffix). For example:

hučėkniš ^y	'dog'	hučėkniš ^y mak	(-kniš ^y 'diminutive)
hiwasmin	'arriver'	hiwasminmak	(-s ^y min ⁸² 'nominal-izer')

Number is not an obligatory category of nouns in Mutsun. A non-suffixed noun may be interpreted equally well as singular or plural according to context. Thus, for example, the plural form of rukka 'house' is rukkakma; yet rukka alone can be

⁸¹It is interesting that about half of the attestations of -mak occur after h. Whether this is a significant fact or an accident of the data sample is not known, but it is likely to be accidental since Harrington seems to have elicited plural forms as a means of discovering whether word-final aspiration was phonemic (/h/) or not (see secs. 113.2, 123). There is one instance of -mak following a vowel:

se·mo 'dead one' se·momak 'dead ones'

The singular form is also recorded [se·mo^h], but in isolation only, making the status of the [h] uncertain.

⁸²Why -s^ymin occurs here as /-smin/ is not clear, but it is so attested (see sec. 424.6). The (derived) verb stem is hiwa·- 'to arrive'.

plural as well, as in makse rukka 'our houses'. Note also:

tere·puyme men-tu·riṣ^Y 'Cut your fingernails!'

Here, tu·riṣ^Y 'fingernail' occurs in a plural sense; tu·riṣ^Ymak is also attested. Apparently using the plural suffix is a matter of free choice or style, as Harrington gives both

mak-hu·s }
mak-hu·smak } 'our noses'

If plurality is marked, however, it seems that it must also be marked in all coreferential nouns in the same sentence, e.g.:

nepkam mukurmakma missimak 'These women are pretty ones'

Here, nepkam 'these' is the plural form of neppe 'this'; mukurma is the singular (or unmarked) 'woman'; missimak 'pretty ones' (a nominalized verb with verbal thematic suffix -mak -- see sec. 424.7) is paralleled by mismin 'pretty one'.

On demonstrative and interrogative stems, plurality may be indicated with slightly different suffixes (see secs. 360, 611). In pronouns, plurality is indicated by suppletive forms (see sec. 350).⁸³

322. -ti 'substantive verbalizer; to be..., to behave as...'

This suffix produces verb themes. For example:

wu·ṭati- 'to be a relative, kin'
< wu·ṭa 'relative, kinsman'

⁸³-----
The first and second person plural pronouns (makke/makse, makam) seem to be built on a root mak-, identical to the post-consonantal form of the noun plural suffix.

In the data examined, only one regular noun had an irregular plural suffix: -kwa in merekwa 'maternal grandmothers' (< ||mere·||).

po·rti- 'to act like a flea' < po·r 'flea'
 tokkohti- 'to serve as a bed' < tokkoh 'mat'

This suffix is related to the verbal thematic suffix
 -ti 'continuative' (see sec. 422.1).

323. -min 'one who has...; one who is characterized by...'

This suffix is similar in semantic scope to the final
 suffix -te (sec. 331), but it forms noun themes rather than
 verbs. Examples:

ti·raṣ^ymin 'one with a big rump' < ti·raṣ^y 'rump'
 sitnunmin 'one who has children' < sitnun 'child,
 offspring'

(Arroyo [1862: entry no. 2157] suggests that sitnunmin need
 not refer to a parent; it could be a wet nurse [chichigua].)

Nouns in -min are occasionally found without attested
 stems lacking the suffix, e.g.:

øummamin 'sweet thing' (probably, 'that which has
 sweetness')
 či·ritmin 'meadowlark'
 kiriṭmin 'clover sp.'
 ʔawničmin 'tortoise'

Such forms are undoubtedly descriptive in origin, though their
 etymologies cannot be determined.

-min is related to the verbal thematic suffixes -ṣ^ymin
 and -hmin 'nominalizer' (see sec. 424.6).⁸⁴

⁸⁴Occasionally Harrington glosses nouns in -min as if they
 were verbs; e.g., his gloss for ti·raṣ^ymin, exemplified above,
 is 'having a big rump'. Generally, such glosses appear only
 when the word is given in isolation. It is clear from
 sentences, as well as parallels with verbs nominalized by -ṣ^ymin
 or -hmin, that these forms are nouns.

In one case, Harrington glosses he·senmin as '(it) is a
 nest' ('es un nido'). This form is based on the noun he·sen
 'nest' plus -min, and should mean 'one who has a nest' or the
 like. Harrington's gloss, again with no context, is likely
 to be in error.

The remaining thematic suffixes are not well attested; some, if not all, are likely to be unproductive, frozen elements.

324. $-kni\dot{s}^Y \sim -knis \sim -ni\dot{s}^Y \sim -nis \sim -is$ 'diminutive' (?)

$-kni\dot{s}^Y$ is found with several nouns, only one of them ever occurring without it. Perhaps it carries the 'diminutive' sense of 'endearment':

$mukyukni\dot{s}^Y$	'old woman'
$hiwokni\dot{s}^Y$	'old person' (also recorded $hiwhokni\dot{s}^Y$)
$\text{?}at\dot{s}^Yakni\dot{s}^Y$	'girl'
$hu\check{c}ekni\dot{s}^Y$	'dog'

The plural form of $\text{?}at\dot{s}^Yakni\dot{s}^Y$ 'girl' is irregular, but it does show that the stem of the word is $\text{?}at\dot{s}^Ya-$, legitimizing $-kni\dot{s}^Y$ as a suffix (at least formally): $\text{?}at\dot{s}^Yayikma$ 'girls'. $-kma$ is the normal plural suffix (sec. 321); $-yi-$ is unique and unexplained. The other forms in $-kni\dot{s}^Y$ have plurals in $-mak$, as would be expected (e.g., $hu\check{c}ekni\dot{s}^Ymak$ 'dogs').

$-knis$ is found in $\text{?}annaknis$ 'aunt', attested only once. (It is also found in earlier recordings of $hu\check{c}ekni\dot{s}^Y$ 'dog'.) The word for 'aunt' is undoubtedly related to $\text{?}a\cdot nan$ 'mother' and perhaps literally means something like 'little mother'. Though Harrington does not so indicate, it is likely that $\text{?}annaknis$ is 'maternal aunt' since another word, $\check{c}iri$, is specifically glossed as 'paternal aunt, father's sister'. Why the suffix ends in s rather than \dot{s}^Y is unknown, but Harrington insists that it does (by comparing it to $\text{?}at\dot{s}^Yakni\dot{s}^Y$ 'girl'). s and \dot{s}^Y have been observed to have some kind of sound symbolic relationship (see sec. 113.1) and that may

be involved here. Also, effects of some sort of sibilant harmony cannot be ruled out.

There is a shred of evidence that $-kni\dot{s}^Y$ occurs only after vowels, while $-ni\dot{s}^Y$ follows consonants:

me·čikni \dot{s}^Y 'fog, mist'

Harrington once recorded this form as me·čekni \dot{s}^Y , which makes it look more like the related verbal form meček- 'to cloud up, get foggy, misty'. The verb suggests that the k is part of the stem;⁸⁵ if this is so, the noun stem may be me·ček- or me·čik- and the suffix $-ni\dot{s}^Y$. The i, rather than e, as the second vowel is unexplained, but is also aberrant, since almost no stems with e as their first vowel have non-mid second vowels (see sec. 134).

If this analysis is on the right track, it opens up the possibility of a suffix $-nis$.⁸⁶ Such a suffix does indeed seem to exist:

misnis '(Catholic) Mass'

cf. mi·sa 'id.'; both words < Spanish misa
poknis 'thick mush'

cf. po·ke- 'to make thick mush'

pussuynis 'whirlwind'

cf. pusyu- 'to make a whirlwind'

The roots of these three forms would be, respectively, $\|mi(\cdot)s\|$, $\|po(\cdot)k\|$, $\|pussuy\|$. The relationship between misnis and mi·sa

⁸⁵-----
On the other hand, since the second vowel may also be different, it is possible that the noun stem is me·či- and the (derived) verb stem is meček-. Cf. sec. 222.

⁸⁶It also implies that two of the forms given to illustrate $-kni\dot{s}^Y$ might contain only $-ni\dot{s}^Y$:

hiwo-kni \dot{s}^Y or hiwok-ni \dot{s}^Y 'old person'
huče-kni \dot{s}^Y or huček-ni \dot{s}^Y 'dog'

may be one of distinguishing types of masses. Mrs. Cervantes implies that *misnis* is any mass, 'any day of week', perhaps, though not explicitly, leaving *mi·sa* for the Sunday Mass. A diminutive sense for *-nis* would fit in well here ('little Mass'). Unfortunately, *misnis* is also glossed as 'Sunday'. Furthermore, why *misnis*, rather than, e.g., **mi·sakniṣ^y*, would be formed is not known.

The relation between a noun stem *po(·)k-* and verb *po·ke-* is paralleled by *sa(·)w* 'song' / *sa·we-* 'to sing'; thus, *poknis* may well be legitimately analyzed. Similarly, the relation between a noun stem *pussuy-* and verb *pusyu-* is paralleled by *lullup* 'flute' / *lulpu-* 'to play the flute', lending credence to its analysis.

Finally, as if reducing the suffix one step further, a possible diminutive suffix *-is* is found in:

toro·wis 'edible soap-root, the smaller kind'
cf. *torow* (*||toro·w||*) 'soap-root'

325. *-iṣ* 'augmentative' (?)

A possible augmentative suffix is found in one form:

wara·kiṣ 'one who cries much'

This is clearly based on *||wara·k||* which apparently means 'crier'.

It occurs in:

ʔuṯhin haysa warak

This is glossed by Harrington as 'the 2 of them are crying (at the same time)' (ʔuṯhin 'two', haysa 'they'), but, since *warak* must be a noun (its verbal form being *warka-* 'to cry'), the sentence probably means 'The two of them are criers'.⁸⁷

326. -wa 'serpent'

In names of serpent-like creatures, this suffix usually appears, though sometimes it is optional. It seems semantically odd for a thematic suffix, and might better be considered a stem-deriving suffix producing trisyllabic noun stems. No explanation can be offered for its apparent optionality:⁸⁸

lissok ~ lissokwa 'water snake' (once recorded:
li·sokwa)

lissonwa 'id.'

ko·ṭehwa 'big snake sp.' (gopher or bull snake?)

littokwa 'earthworm'

327. -i

A few noun themes end in i, though no significance has been found for this suffix. Except once, the i follows n, making it possible that in some cases the suffix is -ni. For example:

hikkani 'tar'

cf. hiknampi- 'to tar' whose derived stem
hikna- also contains n)

la·yeni 'pole, mast, staff'

In addition, three forms may be interpreted either as reduplicated stems (sec. 223.2) or as noun themes ending in -(n)i:

mu·muri 'fly' (insect) < mu·mir- or mu·mur-

cf. mumru-n- 'to become
full of flies'

⁸⁷On rehearing the Mutsun material with Isabel Meadows in 1932, Harrington records that warak is 'una lloradera, cuando lloran muchos' ('a crying-by-many [?], when many people cry').

⁸⁸The young of the lissokwa is given as littokma. It is not clear whether this is litto- + -kma 'plural' or littok plus an unidentified suffix -ma.

pa·rani 'hill' < pa·rin- or pa·ra(n)-
 ?ammani 'rain' < ?ammin- or ?amma(n)-
 .cf. ?amne- 'to rain'

330. Final suffixes

331. -te 'verbalizer'

When added to a noun stem, this suffix produces a verb meaning 'having X' or 'characterized by, associated with X', where 'X' is the noun. For example:

?o·?ote 'having ears' < ?o·?o 'ear'
 tiwyente 'having an antelope' (e.g., as a pet)
 < tiwyen 'antelope'
 makuhte 'having a husband' < makkuh 'husband'
 ?i·nate 'is sick' (i.e., 'having a disease')
 < ?i·na 'disease'
 tawahte 'is difficult, laborious' (i.e., 'character-
 ized by work'); 'having work' < tawah
 'work' (< Spanish trabajo)

Being nominal in origin, verbs in -te may enter into noun compounds (see sec. 710). When this happens, the semantic import is something like 'having X as a Y' or 'having a Y which is X' where X is the first noun and Y the noun in -te. For example:

ri·?ay ?eshente '(He) has a rabbitskin-blanket
 as a blanket'
 (ri·?ay 'rabbitskin-blanket', ?eshen 'blanket')

That is, '(He) has a blanket which is a rabbitskin-blanket'.

Occasionally, a form ending in -te does not have an attested noun; nevertheless, it can be seen to fit into the semantics described. For example:

gummate 'sweet' (probably, 'having sweetness')

-te is clearly related, both formally and semantically, to the verbal final suffixes -s^yte and -hte 'perfective' (sec. 432). It is because of this relationship that -te is considered a final suffix rather than a thematic suffix; neither -te nor -s^yte/-hte can be followed by any other suffix. (Cf. nominal thematic suffix -ti 'substantive verbalizer', sec. 322.)⁸⁹

322. Case

Noun themes end in at least one final suffix. All final noun suffixes, except -te (above), indicate case. There is good evidence to isolate eight different cases, and some evidence suggesting three more. Two (perhaps three) of the suffixes, under certain circumstances, cooccur with other case suffixes, but otherwise there is only one final suffix per noun.

322.1. -∅ 'subjective case' or 'unmarked case'

In the simplest situations, nouns ending in this suffix serve as subjects of sentences. For example:

po·kon kan-ʔissu 'My hand is (getting) swollen'
(po·kon 'swells up', kan- 'my', ʔissu 'hand',
-∅ 'subjective case')

ʔinnanin kan-torow 'My soap-root fell down'
(ʔinnanin 'fell down', kan- 'my', torow-
[||toro·w||] 'soap-root', -∅ 'subjective case')

yulke sottow 'The fire is burning'
(yulke 'burns', sottow- 'fire', -∅ 'subjective
case')

⁸⁹-----
In one entry, -te seems to have a more substantive sense (i.e., 'to be...'): ʔanyiste 'is another (one)' < ʔanyis 'other (one)'. It is given in no clear context, so it cannot be evaluated.

hiṭṭahne posol homrontak 'The posole (stew) is washed in the big strainer'

(hiṭṭahne 'is washed', posol- [||poso·l||] 'posole', -∅ 'subjective case', homrontak 'big strainer [locative case]')

parki lawan 'The bow is heavy'

(parki 'is heavy', lawan- [||lawa·n||] 'bow', -∅ 'subjective case')

ʔippiwas ʔiççin 'The rattlesnake bit him'

(ʔippi- 'rattlesnake' -∅ 'subjective case', -was 'him', ʔiççin 'bit')

Nouns ending in -∅ may occur in sentences which also contain pronominal subjects. When the pronoun is a third person (singular) form, usually the enclitic -(a)k, the noun and pronoun are often coreferential, as if a type of apposition. In such cases, the pronoun seems to be an optional component of the sentence. For example:

rukkatek ṭa·r } 'The moon has a house'
ṭa·r rukkate }

(rukkate 'having a house', -k 'he, it', ṭa·r- 'moon', -∅ 'subjective case')

ru·nuk pen^yek 'The cat is purring'

(ru·nu 'purrs', -k 'it', pen^yek- 'cat', -∅ 'subjective case')

peṭṭempik ma·rta pappele 'Marta is sticking the papers together (e.g., with glue)'

(peṭṭempi 'causes to be stuck together', -k 'she', ma·rta- 'Marta', -∅ 'subjective case', pappele 'paper [objective case]' [< Spanish papel])

pina wa·te pa·tre 'Here comes the Padre'

pinak wa·te mukurma hisiw 'Here comes the woman who recently gave birth'

(pina 'there', -k 'she', wa·te 'comes',
 pa·tre- 'Padre', -∅ 'subjective case';
 mukurma- 'woman', -∅ 'subjective case',
 hisiw- [||hisi·w||] 'one who recently gave
 birth', -∅ 'subjective case'; mukurma hisiw
 is a noun compound -- cf. sec. 710)

See also sec. 354 for a discussion of a special
 construction involving possessed nouns.

A further function of nouns in -∅ is that of 'predicate'
 in equational sentences, the structure of such sentences being
 simply noun + noun (see sec. 730). For example:

me·n po·r 'You are a flea'

(me·n 'you [subjective case]', po·r-
 'flea', -∅ 'subjective case')

men-hičahmin heksen 'Your pet is a quail'

(men- 'your', hičahmin- 'pet' -∅ 'subjective
 case', heksen- 'quail', -∅ 'subjective case')

kiprihmin wak-hi(·)n 'His eyes are crossed'

(kiprihmin- 'twisted one' [nominalized verb],
 -∅ 'subjective case', wak- 'his', hi[·]n-
 'eye[s]', -∅ 'subjective case')

Nouns in -∅ also follow the particle kata (||kata·||)

'like, as, seems'. For example:

men-se·pek kata hire 'Your whiskers are like a rat's'

(men- 'your', se·pek- 'whiskers, beard', -∅
 'subjective case', hire- [||hire·||] 'rat', -∅
 'subjective case')

?ekwe makam roroṣ^ypu kata sinnikma 'Don't (you-
 plural) play around like children!'

(?ekwe 'not', makam 'you [plural, subjective
 case]', roroṣ^ypu 'play', sinnikma- 'children',
 -∅ 'subjective case')

In nominal compounds, normally the first noun is in the 'subjective' or 'unmarked' case regardless of the case of the second (head) noun. For example:

takkaş^ymin si·tka ɫawrak 'He lives at the hot springs'
 (takkaş^ymin- 'hot one', -∅ 'subjective case', si·tka 'water [locative case]', ɫawra 'lives', -k 'he')

hit^yt^ye makke haywena takkaş^ymin si·se 'Let's go to see the hot springs!'
 (hit^yt^ye 'go!', makke 'we [inclusive]' [>'let's go!'], haywena 'go to see', takkaş^ymin- 'hot one', -∅ 'subjective case', si·se 'water [objective case]')

takkaş^ymin si·, literally 'hot one / the water', is the normal term for 'hot springs'.

A final function of nouns marked with 'subjective' -∅ is that of objects in imperative sentences involving third person objects (including reflexives); that is, when the verb ends in -y 'imperative' or -yuɫ 'plural imperative'. Having the object of imperatives marked with the 'subject' suffix leads to no confusion since the true subject of an imperative verb is included in the verb suffix itself. Examples of nouns in -∅ as objects of imperatives include:

kussapuy men-mo·hel 'Wash your head!'
 (kussapuy 'wash yourself!', men- 'your', mo·hel- 'head', -∅ 'subjective case')

piɫɫey wak-ha(·)y 'Tie up its (the sack's) mouth!'
 (piɫɫey 'tie up!', wak- 'its', ha[·]y- 'mouth', -∅ 'subjective case')

hippuy tappur 'Carry the wood on your back!'
 (hippuy 'carry on your back!', tappur- 'wood',
 -∅ 'subjective case')

ruččey wak-ʔuri 'Braid her hair!'
 (ruččey 'braid!', wak- 'her', ʔuri- [||ʔuri||]
 'head hair', -∅ 'subjective case')

ʔammayuṭ to·ṭe 'Eat (you-plural) the meat!'
 (ʔammayuṭ 'eat [you-plural]!', to·ṭe- 'meat',
 -∅ 'subjective case')

haray men-ʔissu 'Give (him) your hand!'
 (haray 'give!', men- 'your', ʔissu- 'hand',
 -∅ 'subjective case'; note that there is no
 overt indirect object)

When the object of an imperative sentence is pronominal,
 a special demonstrative form, nuk, is used. For example:

piṭṭey nuk 'Tie it up!'
 (piṭṭey 'tie up!')

ʔiččompiy nuk 'Take it out!'
 (ʔiččompiy 'take out!')

To indicate plurality, the object form of the third person
 plural pronoun, haysan(e), is used in addition to nuk:

ʔiččompiy nuk haysan 'Take them out!'

When the object of an imperative verb is a first person
 pronoun, the objective, not subjective, form of the pronoun
 is used. This is true even though the verb suffix -t
 'imperative, first person object' specifically expresses the
 case relationships. For example:

ričwit kannis 'Untie me!'
 (ričwit 'untie me!', kannis 'me')

himmat maksen 'Look for us!'
 (himmat 'look for me/us!', maksen 'us
 [exclusive]')

Even in such constructions, when the first person is the indirect object, a nominal direct object takes the $-\emptyset$ suffix:

ʔiǝǝmpimit sottow 'Take out the fire for me!'
 (ʔiǝǝmpimit 'take out for me!', sottow- 'fire',
 $-\emptyset$ 'subjective case')

hummit sukum 'Give me a cigarette!'
 (hummit 'give, hand me!', sukum- [||suku·m||]
 'cigarette', $-\emptyset$ 'subjective case')

When expressed, a pronominal indirect object takes the object case form:

pihhemit kannis 'Break (it) open for me!'
 (pihhemit 'break open for me!', kannis 'me')

There are, of course, some exceptions. Occasionally the nominal object of an imperative verb does occur with the objective case suffix. Such instances are very rare and may be errors.

Since $-\emptyset$ occurs on objects of imperative verbs, terming it 'subjective' is somewhat of a misnomer; 'unmarked' is probably more realistic. Nevertheless, since in other functions $-\emptyset$ does mark the subject of a sentence, the normal case term 'subjective' will continue to be used. From this point on, all nouns not specifically tagged with a case designation may be assumed to be in the 'subjective case'.

332.2. -se ~ -e 'objective case'

The 'objective case' suffixes mark both direct and indirect objects. -e occurs after sonorants and sibilants; -se (occasionally shortened to -s -- see sec. 150) occurs elsewhere. For example:

suku·me	<	sukum (suku·m)	'cigarette'
ʔeshene	<	ʔeshen	'blanket'
mo·hele	<	mo·hel	'head'
ʔa·sire	<	ʔa·sir	'year'
sottowe	<	sottow	'fire'
sa·raye	<	sa·ray	'crow'
ʔa·rese	<	ʔa·res	'man'
tu·riş ^y e	<	tu·riş ^y	'fingernail(s)'
sikkotse	<	sikkot	'mole (gopher?)'
ʔarahse	<	ʔarah (ʔara·h)	'sky'
ʔissuse	<	ʔissu	'hand'

As noted in sec. 332.1, the objective suffix is not normally used to mark the nominal object of an imperative verb. Examples of the objective suffix marking direct objects of non-imperative verbs are:

sukmuka hemeʔa suku·me	'I'm smoking a cigarette'
(sukmu 'is smoking', -ka 'I', hemeʔa 'one', suku·me 'cigarette [objective]')	
ka·n mehe·si kulyane	'I see the blackbird'
(ka·n 'I', mehe·si 'see', kulyane 'black- bird [objective]')	
ʔoʔo·naka yu·kise	'I go to gather up acorns'
(ʔoʔo·na 'go to gather up', -ka 'I', yu·kise 'acorns [objective]')	

As with the subjective suffix, an appositive construction is possible: an objective noun can occur along with a third person objective pronoun with which it is coreferential. For example:

ka·nwas lollesi sinnise	'I make the baby babble'
(ka·n 'I', -was 'him', lollesi 'make babble', sinnise 'baby [objective]')	

Presumably, the objective case suffix would be used to mark the indirect object also. Only pronouns -- always in the objective case -- are found in this position, however; this is surely just a gap in the data. Examples of pronominal indirect objects are:

ka·n makamse ʔa·kampɪ to·ʔese 'I bring you
(plural) meat'
(ka·n 'I', makamse 'you [plural, objective]',
ʔa·kampɪ 'bring', to·ʔese 'meat [objective]')

moʔmes haran to·ʔese 'Did you give him meat?'
(moʔ 'interrogative particle', -mes 'you-him',
to·ʔese 'meat [objective]')

The benefactive construction, where the verb contains the benefactive suffix -mi '(to do something) for (somebody)', takes an objective beneficiary. Here, both noun and pronoun are exemplified:

hiʃ^yʃ^yemik tuti·yase wak-makkuhse 'She is making
tortillas for her husband'
(hiʃ^yʃ^yemi 'makes for', -k 'she', tuti·yase
'tortillas [objective]', wak- 'her', makkuhse
'husband [objective]')

ka·nmes riri·mi men-pa·n^yuse 'I baste your shawl
for you'
(ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', riri·mi
'baste for',⁹⁰ men- 'your', pa·n^yuse 'shawl
[objective]' [< Spanish paño])

Finally, there is one instance in which the use of the objective case seems somewhat idiomatic:

⁹⁰-----
The verb stem ||riri·|| is glossed by Harrington as 'hilvanar' meaning 'to baste (in sewing)'. If it has other meanings, especially in California Spanish, they are unknown to me. Mason (1916:450) glosses riri as 'put selvage on cloth' for Arroyo's (1862: entry nos. 2309, 2310) 'poner el orillo (al pañuelo)'.

ʔi·natek pa·ṭare 'He is sick with measles'
 (ʔi·nate 'having a disease', -k 'he',
 pa·ṭare 'smallpox, measles [objective]',⁹¹)

See also sec. 421.1 for a discussion on the use of the objective case with mediopassive verbs.

332.3. -sum ~ -um 'instrumental case'

The 'instrumental' suffix is -um after sonorants and sibilants, -sum elsewhere. For example:

hi·num	<	hi(·)n	'eye, face'
tappurum	<	tappur	'wood, tree'
toro·wum	<	torow (toro·w)	'soap-root'
pi·royum	<	pi·roy	'fishing net'
ṭu·hisum	<	ṭu·his	'day'
ʔireksun	<	ʔirek (ʔire·k)	'rock'
kurkahsum	<	kurkah	'pinole' (mush)
ʔissusum	<	ʔissu	'hand'

For the most part, the meaning of the instrumental case is 'by means of...', 'making use of...'. Thus:

waray ṭippesum 'Cut (it) with a knife!'
 (waray 'cut!', ṭippesum 'knife [instrumental]')

haṭṭinin wak su·nesum 'He died suddenly of hunger'
 (haṭṭinin 'died suddenly', wak 'he', su·nesum
 'hunger [instrumental]')

ričča haysa ri·časum 'They are speaking their
 language'
 (ričča 'speak', haysa 'they' or 'their',
 ri·časum 'speech, language [instrumental]')

moṭme čappun kan-se·peksum 'Do you get scratched

⁹¹-----
 The exact gloss of pa·ṭar is unclear, but it refers to a disease or diseases involving eruptions on the skin. It may also refer to the sores themselves.

by my beard?'

(moṭ 'interrogative particle', -me 'you',
çappun 'get pricked, scratched', kan- 'my',
se·peksum 'beard [instrumental]')

?enney ṭaskuhminum 'Paint (it) red!'
(?enney 'paint!', ṭaskuhminum 'red one
[instrumental]')

It also has some slightly idiomatic usages:

ṭa·kanak neppe ṭu·hisum 'He is coming during
the day'
(ṭa·kan 'come', -ak 'he', neppe 'this',
ṭu·hisum 'day [instrumental]')

Harrington glosses ṭu·hisum as 'por dia' ('by day').

ka·nmes monseyini ?i·nakmasum 'I come to tell
you about the sick ones'
(ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', monseyini
'come to tell, advise', ?i·nakmasum 'sick
ones [instrumental]',⁹²)

Harrington glosses ?i·nakmasum 'de los enfermos' ('of the sick
ones'), here perhaps with the sense of 'with news of the sick
ones'. The sentence was elicited in response to a phrase from
Arroyo (1862: entry no. 1679):

Monseim comes inase. Te vengo á avisar de los
enfermos.

This first word is probably a misprint for Monseini corres-
ponding to Harrington's monseyini. The third word is apparently
for ?i·nase 'sick one(s) (objective)', but Mrs. Cervantes,
according to Harrington, volunteered the instrumental form
and 'Did not seem to approve [the] obj[ective] ?i·nakmase

92. Note that the instrumental suffix, a final suffix, follows
the thematic plural suffix -kma.

['sick ones']'. (The gloss given above is actually a translation of Arroyo's.)⁹³

332.4. -tak ~ -tka 'locative case'

The 'locative' suffix is -tak after consonants, -tka after vowels:

ʔurkantak	<	ʔurkan	'mortar'
si·ttak	<	si(·)t	'tooth, teeth'
ʔanyistak	<	ʔanyis	'other (one)'
ʧarahtak	<	ʧarah (ʧara·h)	'sky'
ʔamatka	<	ʔama (ʔama·)	'body, person'
piretka	<	pire (pire·)	'world, land, earth'
si·tka	<	si·	'water'
ʔo·čotka	<	ʔo·čo	'ear'
ʔissutka	<	ʔissu	'hand'

The locative suffix by itself has either a static or an allative sense. In its static sense, it refers to the location of an activity or condition. For example:

ʔurkantak wak hutahne 'It is ground up in the mortar'

(ʔurkantak 'mortar [locative]', wak 'it', hutahne 'is ground up')

ʔi·natek horkostak 'He is sick in his throat'

(ʔi·nate 'having a disease', -k 'he', horkostak 'throat [locative]')

piretka ʧawray 'Sit on the ground!'

(piretka 'world, land, earth [locative]', ʧawray 'sit!')

⁹³-----
 There is one unusual instrumental form: tammalasum 'mountain lion (instrumental)'. This is based on tammala(h), where the final h occurs before the objective suffix (tammalahse) but not before the instrumental. This fact is unexplained.

š^yukrukames men-ʔissutka 'I tickle you on your hands'
 (š^yukru 'tickle', -ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]',
 men- 'your', ʔissutka 'hand[s] [locative]')⁹⁴

la·kihtek pappeltak 'It is on top of the paper'
 (la·kihte 'located on [top]', -k 'it',
 pappeltak 'paper [locative]' [< Spanish paper])

The allative sense of the locative suffix, referring to the locational goal of an activity, is exemplified in:

kallehtak ka·n wattin 'I am going to the sea'
 (kallehtak 'sea [locative]', ka·n 'I',
 wattin 'go')

hit^yt^ye makke rukkatka 'Let's go (in)to the house'
 (hit^yt^ye 'go!', makke 'we [inclusive]' [> 'let's go!'],
 rukkatka 'house [locative]')

niš^yš^ya laṭwen hurčaš^ymintak 'These descend (in)to Hell'
 (niš^yš^ya 'this [one], these', laṭwen 'descend',
 hurčaš^ymintak 'Hell [locative]')⁹⁵

The locative suffix combines with the ablative suffix -tum to indicate where an action came or comes from (see sec. 332.6).

The locative suffix may appear on two nouns in a row, as in:

ṭammantak pa·ranitka 'on the other side of the hill'

⁹⁴Compare this use of the locative with body part terms with that of the objective suffix (sec. 354).

⁹⁵hurčaš^ymin is a nominalized form of the verb hurčan- 'to get drunk' meaning 'drunken one'. Thus hurčaš^ymintak 'to Hell' is literally 'to (the place of) the drunken one(s)'. hurčan is likely to be a loan from Spanish borracho 'drunk'.

footnote 10):

Mi Señor Jesu Christo Dios, y Hombre juntam.^{te}

(My Lord Jesus Christ [is] God and Man jointly)

The Mutsun version of this is mostly Spanish, except for the end:

...thrareshiha imentac [Arroyo's transcription]
 ...ṭa·res ya himmentak 'man also "in the joined
 together place"'

332.5. -was 'attributive case'

This suffix occurs very infrequently. Except when following a placename, where it means 'person/people of...', it always links two nouns, the first of which is an attribute or characteristic of the second:⁹⁶

čisnanwas lullup 'elder tree flute'
 (čisnanwas 'elder tree [attributive],
 lullup 'flute')

huttuwas to·ṭe 'meat of the belly'
 (huttuwas 'belly [attributive]', to·ṭe
 'meat')

karmentakwas ka·n 'I am a Carmel person'
 (see sec. 332.4)

332.6. -tum 'ablative case'

The 'ablative' suffix, indicating where the action

⁹⁶-----
 The attributive suffix also seems to occur in the following sentence:

yete murtey horpeywas ʔeṭse 'They will be sleeping at
 midnight'

(yete 'later', murtey 'at night', horpeywas 'in the
 middle [attributive?]', ʔeṭse 'they sleep')

If horpeywas is indeed attributive, it is the only example of the attributive noun following the head noun, and it also implies that adverbial elements (at least those in -y -- see sec. 540) are nominal.

described in a sentence comes from, occurs only after themes which are inherently locative or else after the locative final suffix. Inherently locative themes include the interrogative *hanni* ~ *ha·ni* ~ *ha·ne* 'where?' and locative demonstratives (e.g., *nahan* 'there', *niya* 'here'). See secs. 362, 611.

Following the locative suffix, the ablative suffix occurs in:

wattinka neppe rukkatkatum 'I am going (away)
from this house'
(*wattin* 'go [away]', *-ka* 'I', *neppe* 'this',
rukkatkatum 'house [locative-ablative]')

wa·teka ?irektaktum 'I come from the rock'
(*wa·te* 'come', *-ka* 'I', *?irektaktum* 'rock
[locative-ablative]')

332.7. *-ṭuk* 'comitative case'

The 'comitative' suffix, meaning 'along with', also occurs quite rarely, and its morphological (and phonological) status is uncertain. It seems to follow the objective form of a pronoun, though this is based on a single attestation:

ka·n wattin me·sṭuk 'I'm going with you'
(*ka·n* 'I', *wattin* 'go', *me·sṭuk* 'you
[(objective?)-comitative]')

It is possible, however, that there is an allomorph *-sṭuk* which occurs after a shortened pronominal stem, and also after the interrogative *hatte* 'who?' in *hattesṭuk* 'with whom?'. Since no objective form of *hatte* is attested, the status of the *s* is uncertain.

The comitative suffix seems to follow nouns directly:

kan ʔe·ʔe tammalaḥtuk 'I am sleeping with the
mountain lion'⁹⁷

(kan 'I', ʔe·ʔe 'is sleeping', tammalaḥtuk
'mountain lion [comitative]')

diyo·sṭuk makke ri·ča 'We speak with God'

(diyo·sṭuk 'God [comitative]' [= Spanish Dios,
hence the non-Mutsun /d/ as well as the long
vowel before a consonant cluster], makke 'we
[inclusive]', ri·ča 'speak'⁹⁸)

332.8. -me 'personal locative case'

This suffix, attested only three times, refers to the
location of a person, apparently in the sense of 'in the
vicinity of...' or 'in the presence of...':

haysa ʔawra diyo·sme 'They live with God'
(haysa 'they', ʔawra 'sit, live', diyo·sme
'God [personal locative]')

ha·yi makam man-pappame 'Come here (you-plural) to
your grandfather!'
(ha·yi 'come here!', makam 'you [plural]',
men- 'your', pappame 'grandfather [personal
locative]'⁹⁹)

The personal locative seems to follow objective forms of
pronouns, if one attestation can be taken as indicative:

ha·yi kannisme 'Come here to me!'¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷From the context in which this sentence occurs it is clear
that it is a mountain lion pelt that is being slept with.

⁹⁸ri·ča- 'to speak' is either an error for ričča- or ri·či-,
both 'id.', or else evidence for a form of 'speak' in a
durative aspect -- see sec. 411.

⁹⁹'Grandfather' is attested only one other time, there as pa·pa.

¹⁰⁰Harrington glosses this sentence as 'ven conmigo' ('Come
with me!'), but the verb ha·yi clearly means 'come here!',

(ha·yi 'come here!', kannisme 'me [personal locative]')

332.9. -way (?) (rare)

This suffix is found in only two forms:

misnisway 'Sunday' (< misnis 'mass' < Spanish misa)
pi·naway 'therefore' (< pi·na 'that')

It seems to mean something like 'on account of...' or 'for...'. This is a straightforward interpretation for pi·naway, literally 'on account of that, because of that, for that'. In what seems to be some minor confusion, Harrington glosses misnis as 'Sunday' with Mrs. Cervantes's comment 'M[eanin]g para ir a misa' ('[The] meaning [is] in order to go to mass'); this is followed by the entry misnisway 'Sunday'. Apparently, misnisway means '(the day) for Mass'. Whether misnis alone can really mean 'Sunday' is unclear.

332.10. -ya 'genitive' (?)

A possible genitive suffix is found only once, and following a proper noun, which may or may not be significant:

mariaya sitnune 'to Maria's son'¹⁰¹
(sitnune 'offspring [objective]')

Elsewhere, including situations involving a proper noun, genitive relations are expressed by noun + noun sequences, or noun + wak-noun, where wak- is the third person possessive proclitic (see secs. 354, 711).

giving an allative, rather than comitative, sense to the personal locative suffix.

¹⁰¹ sitnun actually means 'offspring' in general; it is clear from the context here, however, that 'Maria's offspring' is 'Mary's son', Jesus.

332.11. -- 'vocative'

With two kin terms, 'mother' and 'father', a lengthening of the final vowel seems to have vocative force:

ʔay ʔana· 'Oh, mother! (Come and take me away from this man...!)'

(ʔay 'oh!', ʔana· 'mother [vocative]')

ha·yi ʔapa· 'Come father!'

(ha·yi 'come here!', ʔapa· father [vocative]')

Elsewhere, 'mother' and 'father' are recorded (again, only once each) as:

ʔa·nan 'mother' ʔappa 'father'

The status of final n in 'mother' is unclear, but cf. sec. 340. The lengthening of the final vowel in vocative forms is the only case in which long vowels occur word finally (other than in monosyllables -- see also footnote 49). Other changes in the stems are according to regular phonotactic constraints against (1) two long vowel syllables in the same word (thus, ʔana·, not *ʔa·na·), and (2) long vowel following consonant clusters (thus ʔapa·, not *ʔappa·). In two other vocative expressions recorded, there seems to be no special form:

ha·yi makam, kan-paplay 'Come here, my grandchildren!'

(ha·yi 'come here!', makam 'you [plural]', kan- 'my', paplay 'grandchild[ren]')

ʂ^ya·naypuy paplaymak 'Come here, grandchildren!'

(ʂ^ya·naypuy 'come here!', paplaymak 'grandchildren')

340. Possession in kin terms

Mason (1916:410) describes a system of showing possession in kin terms by means of infixes. According to him, -s- infixed before the last vowel of the stem indicates 'my', while 'his' is expressed by infixed -n- and/or suffixed -n. Mason cites, for example:

taka	'elder brother'	taksa	'my elder brother'
		taknan	'his elder brother'

(Mason has one example of -t- for 'thy', but he terms it 'very dubious'.) This construction is only barely suggested in Harrington's data. In response to Arroyo's (1862: entry no. 1622) Merse 'mi Abuela materna' ('my maternal grandmother'), Mrs. Cervantes said she did not know a form merse, nor what the -s- might be; she did give ka·n-mere 'my material grandmother' (with the long form of the possessive proclitic -- see sec. 354).

On the other hand, Harrington records:

ʔansa	'my mother'
kan-ʔansa	'id.'

These forms match up exactly with Mason's ansa 'my mother'. Mason suggests that 'his mother' should be anan or annan (in his transcription), based on ana 'mother' plus infixed and/or suffixed n. Such a form is not exemplified by him, but it does occur in Harrington's data:

wak-ʔa·nan	'his mother'
------------	--------------

If the final n is indeed the third person marker, this entry parallels the doubly-marked kan-ʔansa 'my mother'.

Harrington does not provide an 'unpossessed' form, nor is a counterpart to Mason's ana 'mother' found. It is likely, nevertheless, that the stem for 'mother' is ?a·na- for two reasons: (1) the vocative form is ?ana· (see sec. 332.11); (2) the related form ?annaknis 'aunt' is based on a stem ?anna-, lacking the final n (see sec. 324). It is possible, then, that Harrington's ?a·nan is, in fact, the third person possessed form with -n 'his'. Three other forms that Mason suggests contain -n- and/or -n 'his' are attested in Harrington's data. Interestingly enough, two of them occur only with third person possessors:

hulya·na mennen	} Juliana's grandmother' ¹⁰²
hulya·na wak-mennen	
wak-sitnun	'his offspring'
mariaya sitnune	'to Maria's son' (objective case)

The third form, however, is attested with both a first and a third person possessor:

ka-hawnan	'my wife'
wak-hawnan	'his wife'

Even here there is some ambiguity. In 1922, 'my wife' was recorded as ka-hawan, lacking the 'infix' -n-. It is possible that the 1929 recording ka-hawnan was formed on analogy to wak-hawnan, the meaningfulness of the infix -n- having been forgotten.

At best, this possessive construction is a marginal phenomenon, seemingly unproductive, at least to Mutsun's last speaker. Thus, the word for 'offspring', with both of its n's, ¹⁰²mennen is likely to be 'paternal grandmother' as distinguished from mere which is specifically glossed 'maternal grandmother'.

is the basis for the derived forms *sitnunte* 'having children' and *sitnunmin* 'one who has children (e.g., wet nurse)'; 'his father' is attested as *wak-ʔappa*, not *ʔappan or *ʔapnan as Mason's analysis would predict.

350. Pronouns

The pronominal system of Mutsun includes three persons and two numbers. There is also good, but not conclusive, evidence that there was an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person plural forms. There is no gender distinction, and glosses such as 'he' or 'his' are to be taken as shorthand for 'he, she, it' or 'his, her, its'. Pronominal elements are of two types, free and clitic. The free pronouns are independent words (nouns) and are inflected for case (subjective, objective, personal locative and comitative are attested). Clitics are further subdivided into two types. Proclitics are possessive pronouns and precede only nouns; enclitics are subject and object pronouns and normally follow the first word of the sentence, whatever it may be. As will be apparent, the clitic pronouns are reduced versions of the free pronouns, and, undoubtedly, arose from them due to phonological weakening. Enclitics are not obligatory elements in the structure of words, but are phonologically part of them since they constitute environments for the vowel-shortening rule (sec. 135). Proclitics, on the other hand, though loosely attached to nouns, are not phonologically part of them since they do not take word-initial stress (sec. 140). In addition, the imperative suffixes of verbs incorporate pronominal notions. These are discussed in sec. 434.

351. Independent pronouns

The independent pronouns are as follows:

	<u>Subjective</u>		<u>Objective</u>	
	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1	ka·n	makke (inclusive) makse (exclusive)	kannis(e)	makkes(e) (inc.) maksen(e) (exc.)
2	me·n	makam	me·se	makamse
3	wa·k	haysa	wa·kse	haysan(e)

The frequent loss of final e in the objective forms was discussed in sec. 150. The subjective case pronouns consist of the pronoun stem plus -∅ 'subjective case'. The third person singular object pronoun consists of the stem plus -se 'objective case' parallelling normal noun construction (see sec. 332.2), but all the other objective forms show irregularities. First, the first person plural exclusive and the third person plural show a suffix -ne rather than the usual -se. Second, the second person plural form has -se after a sonorant (m) where normally only -e would appear. Third, the first person singular form is based on a special stem kanni- (rather than ka·n-). Finally, the second person singular form loses stem-final n (me·- rather than me·n-).

The distinction between inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns is posited on fragmentary evidence. First of all, in the few cases where there is a second person subject (including imperatives) and first person plural object, maksen(e) is found:

himmat maksen 'Look for us!'
(-t 'imperative, first person object')

koč makse ʔawra, yu·me maksene pakkasi
 'When we are seated, you look for us'
 (-me 'you')

While these examples do not prove an inclusive/exclusive distinction, they indicate that if there is one, makse is the exclusive member, since the verbs are not reflexive. Similarly, when there is a second person object and a first person plural subject, normally makse is found:

lilwimpi maksemes ʔaru·ta 'We are going to
 entertain you tomorrow'
 (-mes 'you [objective]')

Secondly, only makke follows hit^Yt^Ye 'go!', forming what Harrington translates as 'let us go' as in:

hit^Yt^Ye makke rukkatka ʔams^Yi makke ʔekwe malan
 'Let's go (in)to the house so that we don't
 get wet'

If the inclusive/exclusive distinction is legitimate, it makes sense that the 'first person imperative' form contains the inclusive member of the set. This interpretation is supported by another almost identical sentence:

hit^Yt^Ye makke rukkatka ʔams^Yime ʔekwe ʔamnehne
 'Let's go (in)to the house so that you don't
 get rained on'
 (-me 'you')

Again, if the inclusive/exclusive distinction is real, makke must be the inclusive member, since it would be semantically aberrant to say, 'Let us, but not you, go into the house so that you don't get rained on'.

Further evidence is more in the nature of inference.

Apparently, though not explicitly, in answer to a question such

as 'How did you spend the night?' or 'Did you sleep well?' or something of the kind, Harrington records an appropriate response as: miṣ^yte makse ʔakkenin 'We woke up well' (that is, 'we spent the night well and woke up refreshed' or the like). This sentence contains the alleged exclusive pronoun makse, the only one making sense in this context. (One is not likely to answer the question with 'You and I slept well'.)

It is possible that the makke/makse distinction is one of number rather than inclusivity. For example, makke might be 'dual' and makse 'plural'. All of the examples cited above would be compatible. One further Harrington entry supports this view: miṣ^yte makke 'We d. are well'. The 'd.' is Harrington's undefined abbreviation, perhaps standing for 'dual'. This sentence was recorded in 1922; upon reeliciting it in 1929, however, Harrington got miṣ^yte makse for which he does not provide a new gloss, meaning either 'd.' does not mean 'dual', makse may also mean dual, or Harrington should have reglossed the sentence. Furthermore, one sentence argues against the dual/plural interpretation: parwes makke yowe·nin 'We remained (only) five' (that is, 'Only five of us were left'). Here the supposedly 'dual' makke refers explicitly to five people. The inclusive interpretation, on the other hand, makes sense for this sentence.

In only one entry does Harrington indicate that only one of the two pronouns is appropriate:

himmemu makke 'We join together, come
together'

[for number sequence only]

makse cannot be used in this sentence, Harrington notes, though it is not clear why. The verb contains the reciprocal suffix -mu making the literal meaning something more like 'we unite with each other' or 'we join with each other', but this need not be restricted to an inclusive interpretation. The exclusive makse also occurs with reciprocal verbs, e.g.:

makse kap(p)almu 'We embrace each other'

(Harrington records both /kappalmu-/ and /kapalmu-/ 'to embrace one another'.) If there is no error involved, the prohibition against makse in the first sentence must be contextually determined (the speaker must have been addressing the person he was joining). On the other hand, the inclusive/exclusive interpretation might be wrong.

Indeed, there are a number of counterexamples to the inclusive/exclusive analysis. For example:

makkemes lilwimpi 'We entertain you'
(-mes 'you [objective]')

Here the 'inclusive' form takes a second person object ('you and I entertain you'). Arroyo's version of this sentence, however (1862: entry no. 1739), contains macse, that is, makse. Similarly, Harrington records:

makkemes ni·pa 'We are teaching you'

Actually, Harrington glosses this sentence 'te estoy enseñando' ('I am teaching you') even though it clearly contains the first person plural pronoun makke. This suggests that the whole thing might be an error on somebody's part.

The most reasonable interpretation of the situation is that the inclusive/exclusive distinction was probably at one

time a functioning part of the language, but, by the time of Harrington's work with the last speaker of Mutsun, it was in a decayed state, resulting in an often undifferentiated pair of first person plural forms. A somewhat more optimistic view might be that the distinction was still legitimate while Harrington was doing his work, but there are simply a number of errors in the data.

As with all monosyllabic words with long vowels, the singular independent pronouns sometimes occur with short vowels (see secs. 121, 135). It is not known exactly what syntactic, semantic or phonological (intonational?) conditions are most conducive to vowel shortening, nor which, if any, of the attestations of short vowel pronouns are recording errors. One tendency that has been noted is that short vowel forms are found more frequently than their long vowel counterparts as the subjects of subordinate clauses. For example:

kommeṣ^yteka kan hinne 'I am tired from having
walked'
(kommeṣ^yte 'tired', -ka 'I', kan 'I', hinne
'walk'; thus literally, 'tired-I I walk')

Whether this observation is based on systematic facts about the language cannot be determined from the data examined thus far. Regardless of its accuracy, the long vowel subject pronouns are, in general, far more frequent than the short vowel forms.

Pronouns in the comitative and personal locative cases are exemplified only once each in the following exchange:

ha·yi kannisme 'Come with me!'

ka·n wattin me·ṣtuk 'I am going with you'

The gloss of the first sentence is a direct translation of Harrington's 'ven conmigo!' but should probably be something like 'Come here to me!'. The personal locative suffix -me follows the object form of the first person singular pronoun kannis. Similarly, the comitative suffix in the second sentence, -ṭuk, follows a shortened (by syncope) form of the second person object pronoun me·se. (For further discussion of the personal locative and comitative cases, see secs. 332.7, 332.8.)

352. Enclitic pronouns

Enclitic pronominal elements include singular forms only:

	<u>Subjective</u>	<u>Objective</u>
1	-ka	-kas (rare)
2	-me ~ -m	-mes
3	-ak ~ -k	-was

In the case of the third person subject form, -ak occurs after consonants while -k follows vowels. The second person -me occurs after both consonants and vowels, but is reduced to -m on a few occasions following a vowel. Examples of enclitic pronouns are:

ma·yika 'I am laughing (at something)'

yiswaninka 'I got worse (in health)'

mu·hinme 'You are (getting) hot'

niṭlime 'You are stooping over'

mehe·sihnem 'You are being looked at'

rinṭaninak 'He got skinny'

huskek 'He is playing the flute'

Enclitic subject pronouns can follow not only verbs, as in all the above examples, but also particles and, occasionally, nouns. For example:

ne(·)k 'He is here'

(ne[·] 'here')

moṭme mala·nin 'Did you get wet?'

(moṭ 'interrogative particle', mala·nin 'got wet')

ʔanyistakka ṭawra 'I live somewhere else'

(ʔanyistak 'other [locative]', ṭawra 'sit, live')

Enclitic object pronouns occasionally follow verbs directly (e.g., tappanmes '[it] suits you, fits you'), and are also sometimes found after nouns (e.g., ʔippiwas ʔiččis 'the rattlesnake bit him'), but they are almost always found following subject pronouns, independent or enclitic. Examples of enclitic object pronouns after independent pronouns are:

ka·nmes tayke 'I touch you (with my hand)'

ka·nwas hussen 'I smelled it'

me·nwas murṭumpin 'You made it black'

lilwimpi maksemes ʔaru·ta 'We are to entertain you tomorrow'

pi·naway wakwas haran to·ṭese 'Therefore he gave him meat'

Examples following enclitic subject pronouns are:

-mekas 'you-me'

hinkayimekas monse 'What do you tell (advise) me?'

-kames¹⁰³ 'I-you'

¹⁰³In a few entries, Harrington records -kammes. These may be errors, or else reflect the source of the enclitics, the reduced independent pronouns: kan+mes(e) > kammes > kames.

ri·čikames 'I'm talking to you'
 -kawas 'I-him'
 wehhekawas 'I stop him'
 -mewas 'you-him'
 ?ekwemewas ruymampi 'Don't shake him (to arouse
 him)!'

 -akwas ~ -kwas 'he-him'
 ho·yonakwas 'He seized him'
 yummekwas 'He's deceiving him'

Finally, the subject + object enclitic forms may fuse together:

-kawas > -kas 'I-him'
 hiwsenkas ha·wa 'I like to call him'
 -mewas > -mes 'you-him'
 močmes haran to·čese 'Did you give him meat?'

353. Functions of independent vs. enclitic pronouns

The conditions under which one or the other of the two pronoun types may be used may be guessed at, though further study is required to work out the details.

For simple sentences with pronominal subjects, either the independent or the enclitic form is used, but they are never used together. With few exceptions, the independent form is always the first word in its sentence; the enclitic form, again with a few exceptions, follows the first word of its sentence, whatever this word may be.¹⁰⁴ Compare, for

¹⁰⁴-----
 No enclitic subject pronoun follows a noun with which it is coreferential, although it is possible for a sentence to have both a nominal and pronominal subject, e.g.:

rukKatek ɬa·r } 'The moon has a house'
 ɬa·r rukkate }

Such double marking of the subject has nothing to do with word order as is shown by comparing the above with:

example:

matlak ʔe·te }
 ʔe·tek matla } 'He is sleeping (lying) face down'
 (matla 'is [lying] face down', -k 'he', ʔe·te
 'is sleeping')

huysime ta·he 'You are in a hurry to ask'
 histame huysi ta·he 'Why are you in a hurry to
 ask?'

(huysi 'is in a hurry to...', -me 'you',
 ta·he 'questions, asks', hista 'why?')

hiswinak 'She has given birth'
 neyʔak hiswin 'She has given birth just now'
 (hiswin 'gave birth', -ak 'she', neyʔa 'just
 now', -k 'she')

tursinka 'I am (getting) cold'
 yete·ka tursin 'I will get cold later'
 (tursin 'is [getting] cold', -ka 'I',
 yete· 'later')

In terms of semantics, it is difficult to discern the difference between use of independent and enclitic subject pronouns. This difficulty arises because Harrington's glosses give no indication of any difference. Indeed, some sentence pairs are equated, as if there is no difference whatsoever:

ka·nmes muys^yin }
 muys^yinkames } 'I like you'

wa·k mumruhne }
 mumruhnek } 'It is filled up with flies'

Apparently the difference is involved with emphasis or focus or topicalization. The enclitic pronouns are probably

 sakkerte to·te 'The meat has (much) fat'
 tappur so·montek 'The tree has a hollow'
 (sakkerte 'having fat', to·te 'meat', tappur
 'tree, wood', so·monte 'having a hollowed out part')

rather neutral in force. This seems likely due to their reduced form, as well as the fact that their placement (normally after the first word of a sentence) is guided by totally formal rather than semantic criteria. The independent forms, on the other hand, are probably more emphatic, behaving more like common nouns syntactically (see sec. 720).¹⁰⁵

It is interesting that ka·n 'I' is by far the most commonly occurring independent pronoun; enclitics -me and -(a)k are found far more frequently than their independent counterparts me·n 'you' and wa·k 'he, she, it', respectively.

The situation with independent vs. enclitic object pronouns is almost identical. Normally, the enclitic object forms follow the subject noun or pronoun (independent or enclitic). For the first person singular, however, kannis(e), the independent form, is used rather than the enclitic -kas (which, as noted, is exemplified very infrequently). The independent second and third person singular objects, me·se

¹⁰⁵Such an interpretation is also vaguely suggested by the following pair, given with Harrington's Spanish glosses:
 mehehname 'te miran a tí' ('they're looking at you')
 men mehehne 'a ti te miran' ('id.')

These third person plural glosses are the normal way Harrington translated passive sentences, so the above both mean 'you are being looked at'. The Spanish construction a tí '(to) you' is emphatic (the te is the more neutral object marker), and it is even more emphatic when sentence initial. That the emphatic Spanish gloss corresponds to the Mutsun sentence with the independent pronoun may indicate that a similar function is served by preposed pronouns in Mutsun:
 mehehname 'You're being looked at'
 men mehehne 'You are being looked at'

It is possible, of course, that the Mutsun-Spanish resemblance is due to the bilingual situation, the word order of one being influenced by that of the other.

and wa·kse, are exemplified extremely few times, while their enclitic counterparts are found often. For them, the independent forms are certainly 'marked', and, thus, probably more emphatic.

Actually, the distinction between independent and enclitic pronominal elements is not as clear cut as the above description implies. Harrington frequently transcribes the independent object pronoun kannis 'me' adjoined to the preceding word, including those ending in enclitic subject pronouns, as if a suffix; similarly, he often writes the enclitic object pronouns -mes and -was as free words. Furthermore, wak, presumably a weak form of the independent third person singular wa·k, sometimes follows the verb with which it is associated much in the manner of the enclitic -ak. In light of the probably emphatic or focusing function of the independent pronouns, this suggests that postposed (often reduced) independent pronouns are less emphatic than (normally full) sentence-initial forms, and that, synchronically as well as historically, the enclitic forms are simply further reductions.

The plural subjective pronouns do not have reduced (enclitic) counterparts, and their placement before or after the verb seems relatively free (or at least the determinants have not yet been discerned). The first person plural inclusive makke occurs quite often after the verb, and following hit^yt^ye 'go!' forms a phrase meaning 'let's go!'.

354. Proclitic pronouns: possessives

The proclitic possessive pronouns are either reduced

versions of the independent subject pronouns, or else are identical to them:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
1	kan- ~ ka- (~ ka·n-)	mak- makke (inclusive) makse (exclusive)
2	men- ~ me-	?
3	wak-	haysa (rare)

The difference between kan- and ka- 'my' and men- and me- 'your' seems to be one of free variation, though the shorter forms are less frequent. Examples of the singular possessive proclitics are:¹⁰⁶

kan-to·te	'my meat'
ka-ʔuri·se	'my (head) hair (objective)'
men-to·te ¹⁰⁷	'your meat'
me-tokko(h) ¹⁰⁷	'your mat'
wak-mo·hel	'his head'

The full (long vowel) form of the first person possessive pronoun comes up much less often, but it is apparently legitimate and not an artifact of mishearing. For example, in

¹⁰⁶-----
The proclitic pronouns are written with following hyphens to show that they are phonologically associated with the following word (accounting, for example, for the reduction of men-to me-), but not actually part of that word (so that they do not receive word-initial stress -- see sec. 142).

There are two examples of further variation among the proclitics. First, in one entry, Harrington writes mekkoro for men-koro 'your foot'. This may simply represent a definite pause between a proclitic me- and the noun koro. Second, he writes watriččan 'his speaking' for what should presumably be wak-riččan; the proclitic-final k becomes t by assimilation to the following r, showing the phonological association of the proclitic and its following noun.

¹⁰⁷Harrington himself refers to the men- in men-to·te 'your meat' as a 'proclitic'; similarly, he says of me- in me-tokko(h) 'your mat': 'not men- but proclitic'.

addition to kan-koro 'my foot', Harrington records ka·n-koro. Of the possessive element in ka·n-relo 'my clock' (< Spanish reloj) Harrington remarks 'the slow pronunc[iation]'. No example is found of me·n- for men- 'your', and there is only one of wa·k-: wa·k-koro 'his foot', alongside wak-koro. Perhaps, then, ka·n- 'my' is more emphatic than kan- by being pronounced with more care (the 'slow' pronunciation). It is interesting that the first person singular form is the one which occurs most often in its fullest possible shape, be it independent subject or object pronoun (ka·n, kannis[e]) or possessive marker.

The plural possessive pronouns are not well exemplified in the data examined. The evidence for the distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural was discussed in sec. 351. The full forms of the pronouns can evidently either precede or follow the associated noun, though this is exemplified only for makse:

makse rukka	}	'our houses'
rukka makse		

The proclitic mak- is probably a reduction of the inclusive makke since it is certain that makke and mak- mean the same thing in the following sentence:

moṭ semmon makke nossow moṭ semmon mak-?ama
 'Do our souls die or do our bodies die?'

On the other hand, mak- may neutralize the inclusive/exclusive distinction; there is not enough information to tell.

There is no second person plural possessive form attested. It is possible, however, that there is none, if

the following sentence contains no error:

ha·yi makam men-pappame 'Come here (you-plural)
to your grandfather!'

(ha·yi 'come here!', pappame 'grandfather
[personal locative]')

This imperative sentence is addressed to more than one listener (makam 'second person plural subject'), yet the possessive pronoun, presumably referring to all the listeners, is singular men-. There are no further examples to shed light on the situation, but it seems reasonable to assume that the number distinction for second person is neutralized, or at least not obligatorily expressed, for possessive pronouns.

The third person plural haysa, with possessive function, is quite rare, but it is clearly attested in:

mo·niṣ^ymak haysa ri·ča 'the Spanish language'
(mo·niṣ^ymak 'white people, Spanish Californians',
ri·ča 'language, speech, words')

The phrase seems to literally be 'White people (Spaniards) / their language'.¹⁰⁸ There are no clear examples of wak-, the third person singular possessive proclitic, having a plural interpretation.

Non-pronominal possession is achieved by simple juxtaposition of nouns (in the order possessor-possessed), though the third person singular possessive form may be attached to the possessed noun. (See also sec. 711.) For example:

¹⁰⁸-----

The possessive sense of haysa may recur in:

ričča haysa ri·časum 'They're speaking their
language'

(ričča 'speak', ri·časum 'language [instrumental])

Here, however, haysa may equally well be interpreted as the subject pronoun.

hulya·na mennen	}	'Juliana's grandmother'
hulya·na wak-mennen		
ʔippi ha·kana	}	'rattlesnake's rattle'
ʔippi wak-ha·kana		

There are several occurrences of a special construction involving possessed nouns which is reminiscent of inalienable possession, though there is no morphological basis for an alienable/inalienable distinction. In all attested instances of the construction, there is a pronominal subject (or object) coreferential with a possessive pronominal proclitic in the same sentence. For example:

ka·yika kan-sire 'My heart aches' or 'I ache in my heart'

(ka·yi 'aches', -ka 'I', kan- 'my', sire 'heart' [as seat of emotions; literally, 'liver'])

ʔekweme siksan men-ʔama 'Don't get dirty on your body!' or 'Don't get your body dirty!'

(ʔekwe 'not', -me 'you', siksan 'gets dirty', men- 'your', ʔama 'body')

There is apparently an identity being expressed between the pronoun (in this case, 'I' or 'you') and that with which the pronoun is associated (here, 'my heart', 'your body') such that the verb applies to both equally. Such sentences are rare; more often, either the subjective pronoun or the possessive pronoun is missing, though the structure is parallel to the fuller form. Thus:

malas^yteka ʔuri 'My hair is wet' or 'I'm wet in my hair' or 'I have my hair wet'

(malas^yte 'wet', -ka 'I', ʔuri '[head] hair')

ti·ruka parki mo·hel 'My head is very heavy' or
 'I have my head very heavy' (e.g., when sick)
 (ti·ru 'much', -ka 'I', parki 'is heavy',
 mo·hel 'head')

laytaş^Yte men-ʔuri 'Your hair is long' or 'You
 have your hair long'
 (laytaş^Yte 'long', men- 'your', ʔuri 'hair')

Third person subjective and possessive pronouns can also occur
 in this type of construction:

huppeş^Ytek wak-ʔuri 'His hair is smoothed down'
 or 'He has his hair smoothed down'
 (huppeş^Yte 'smoothed down [of hair]', -k 'he',
 wak- 'his', ʔuri 'hair')

luktiş^Yte wak-huttu 'He is pot-bellied' or 'He has
 his belly hanging out'
 (luktiş^Yte 'pot-bellied', wak- 'his', huttu
 'belly')

raţmaş^Yte himahʔa wak-ʔama 'He is full of sores
 all over his body'
 (raţmaş^Yte 'full of sores', himahʔa 'all',
 wak- 'his', ʔama 'body')

Nouns in this construction are not limited to body parts;
 they may refer to any identifying characteristic of the pro-
 nominal subject-possessor:

tollonme yu·mus 'You have much filth' (i.e.,
 'You're filthy')
 (tollon 'much', -me 'you', yu·mus 'filth')

tollonak hine·ru 'He has much money'
 (tollon 'much', -ak 'he', hine·ru 'money'
 [< Spanish dinero])

ti·ruk ʔitkuş^Yte wak-ʔa·pu 'His clothes are all
 torn to pieces' or 'He has his clothes all torn
 up'

(ti·ru 'much', -k 'he', ʈiʈkuʂ^yte 'torn to pieces', wak- 'his', ʈa·pu 'clothes' [< Spanish trapo 'cloth'])

Possessed nouns may also be treated as regular subjects (perhaps with an appositional third person subject pronoun):

men-mo·hel tollonak ʔi·sir 'Your head is full of dandruff'
 (men- 'your', mo·hel 'head', tollon 'much', -ak 'it', ʔi·sir 'dandruff')

The verbs in these 'inalienable possession' sentences are 'mediopassive' in nature. That is, the subjects (and possessors) in the sentences are not agents, but, rather, are somehow being acted upon; something happens to the subject, or has already happened to the subject, resulting in a particular state (e.g., 'pot-bellied' is a result of having 'become pot-bellied'). Sentences with 'active' verbs (see sec. 414.1) do not occur with this construction, but instead make use of reflexive verbs or nouns in the objective case. For example:

kussapuka kan-mo·hele 'I wash my head'
 (kussapu 'wash oneself', -ka 'I', kan- 'my', mo·hele 'head [objective]')

The 'inalienable possession' construction is also found with possessed nouns in the objective case. Thus, a pronominal object may occur in the same sentence as a nominal object preceded by a possessive pronoun, the two pronominal elements being coreferential. For example:¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹-----
 There are no unambiguous examples of a deleted objective or possessive pronoun in this construction as there are for the subjective construction. Also, compare these sentences with those involving body parts in the locative case (sec. 332.4).

ka·nmes miṣ^yimpi men-he·yese 'I fix your beard
up well'

(ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', miṣ^yimpi
'cause to be good', men- 'your', he·yese
'beard [objective]')

ka·nwas lokwe wak-hi·ne 'I take out his eye'

(ka·n 'I', -was 'him', lokwe 'take out'
wak- 'his', hi·ne 'eye [objective]')

Moreover, the construction occurs with reflexive verbs where the subject and object are coreferential. A noun preceded by a possessive pronoun coreferential to this reflexive subject/object occurs in the objective case. For example:

piṭwipuka ka-ʔuri·se 'I untie my hair'

(piṭwipu 'untie oneself', -ka 'I', ka-
'my', ʔuri·se '[head] hair [objective]')

hinṭisumme hiṭṭapu me-si·tse 'With what do
you clean your teeth?'

(hinṭisum 'with what?', -me 'you', hiṭṭapu
'clean oneself', me- 'your', si·tse 'teeth
[objective]')

One sentence is attested with both the 'inalienable' construction and the 'appositive' construction (secs. 332.1, 332.2):

ka·nwas yete mu·pi wak-ha·ye neppe ṭa·rese

'I will close this man's mouth'

(ka·n 'I', -was 'him', mu·pi 'close [someone's]
mouth', wak- 'his', ha·ye 'mouth [objective]',
neppe 'this', ṭa·rese 'man [objective]')

The objective suffix -was is coreferential with neppe ṭa·rese 'this man', and both are coreferential with wak- 'his'.

360. Demonstratives

There are six demonstrative pronouns ('this'/'that'). Like all nominal elements, they are inflected for case and number, but, like the personal pronouns, they exhibit some irregular formations. The demonstrative pronouns may occur alone as nouns ('this one'/'that one') or as modifying elements preceding a noun ('this N'/'that N'). In this latter function, they are uninflected for case. Furthermore, at least some of the demonstrative pronouns seem to occur alone in a verbal sense ('to be here'/'to be there').

In addition, there are three locative demonstratives ('here'/'there') which are considered to be inherently in the locative case.

361. Demonstrative pronouns

361.1 neppe ~ ne(·) 'this'

The monosyllabic alternant is very rare (found only twice in the data examined). Examples of neppe as a modifying element (uninflected for case) are:

ṭa·kanak neppe ṭu·hisum 'He is coming today'
(ṭa·kan 'comes', -ak 'he', ṭu·hisum 'day
[instrumental]')

wattinka neppe rukkatkatum 'I go away from this
house'
(wattin 'go', -ka 'I', rukkatkatum 'house
[locative + ablative]')

marahte neppe we·ru 'This skin has much fur'
(marahte 'having [much] fur, hair', we·ru
'skin, pelt' [< Spanish cuero])

Note that the demonstrative element is unaffected by the case of the governing noun.

When used as a noun, neppe is inflected for case by the addition of the normal case suffixes. Attested forms are:

neppe 'this one'	-∅ 'subjective case'
neppese ~ neppes	-se ~ -s 'objective case'
neppesum	-sum 'instrumental case'
neppewas	-was 'attributive case'

For example:

makkes neppe ?uṭṭasi 'This one cares for us'
(makkes 'us [exclusive]', ?uṭṭasi 'takes care of, cares for')

lelseninka neppese 'I enjoyed this (one)'
(lelsenin 'enjoyed', -ka 'I')

hinkehtek kočtuknek ?ennehne neppesum 'How would it be if it were written with this (one)?'
(hinkahte 'how be?', -k 'it', koč 'if, when', -tukne 'irrealis', -k 'it', ?ennehne 'is written')

The attributive form, neppewas, is attested in isolation only, glossed 'de este' ('of this').

The plural of neppe is formed irregularly: nepkam 'these'. For example:

nepkam mukurmakma missimak 'These women are pretty ones'
(mukurmakma 'women', missimak 'pretty ones')

The only case suffix occurring in the data with nepkam is -se 'objective' in:

kan ma·sa nepkamse 'I am covering these'
(kan 'I', ma·sa 'cover [plural object or action]')

When used alone, the monosyllabic alternant ne(·) seems to carry a verbal and locative force, 'to be here', though it is attested only in the simple sentence:

ne(·)k 'Here he is!
(-k 'he')

361.2. niṣ^yṣ^ya 'this'

This demonstrative pronoun occurs infrequently, and exactly how it differs from neppe is not known.¹¹⁰ It occurs as a noun as well as a modifier:

niṣ^yṣ^ya tu·his 'this day'

niṣ^yṣ^ya laṭwen hurčaṣ^ymintak 'These descend (in)to Hell'

(laṭwen 'descend', hurčaṣ^ymintak 'Hell [locative]')

The second example shows again that number is not obligatorily expressed in Mutsun. No plural form of niṣ^yṣ^ya is attested.

The only oblique case with which niṣ^yṣ^ya occurs in the data is the instrumental which takes on a special meaning of 'thus, therefore' (literally, 'with this'):¹¹¹

niṣ^yṣ^yasumka ʔuṭṭaspu diyo·se 'Therefore I take care of myself for God'¹¹²

¹¹⁰Mason (1916:440) glosses ne, nep·e (i.e., ne[·] ~ neppe) 'this (close)' and nisia (i.e., niṣ^yṣ^ya) as 'this (farther)'.

¹¹¹Also attested is niṣ^yṣ^yawasum, glossed identically to niṣ^yṣ^yasum 'por eso' ('therefore'). It seems to be an attributive (-was) plus instrumental (-um) sequence, a unique construction in the data.

¹¹²The actual gloss of this sentence is not clear. Harrington translates it 'por eso yo espero (lit. me cuido por) Dios' ('therefore I "espero" [literally, take care of myself for] God'). The verb espero in this context seems to mean 'I fear', a less common sense of the word than 'I hope' or 'I wait for',

(niṣ^yṣ^yasum 'with this, thus', -ka 'I',
 ʔuṭṭaspu 'take care of oneself', diyo·se
 'God [objective]')

361.3. nuppi 'that'

This form is attested in isolation only, glossed in English as 'that'. The plural, formed irregularly, is nupkam 'those' and is attested only as a modifier:

nupkam ṭa·resmak 'those men'

nuppi is far less common than other words for 'that' (see below).

361.4. pi·na¹¹³ 'that', pina· '(be) there'

How pi·na differs from other demonstratives glossed as 'that' is not known since all are translated by Spanish eso 'that'.¹¹⁴ The plural of pi·na, pinkam 'those', is glossed by the more remote aquellos 'those', but so is nupkam (see above). Hopefully, a study of textual material will elucidate the distinctions.

pi·na is attested both as a noun and as a modifier. As a noun, it is found in the subjective, objective (pi·nase) and instrumental (pi·nasum) cases, though the latter occurs in isolation only glossed as 'con eso' ('with that'). As noted above, the plural is formed irregularly, pinkam; it too -----
 both of which seem incompatible with 'take care of myself'. Thus the overall meaning probably involves the notion of taking care to avoid the wrath of God.

¹¹³ Isabel Meadows said the word should be pinna, not pi·na.

¹¹⁴ Mason (1916:440) glosses pina (i.e., pi·na) 'this (more distant)' implying that pi·na is the most proximate of the remote demonstratives.

is attested in isolation only.¹¹⁵ Examples:

himmuṣ^ytek pi·na ɬa·res 'That man is tipsy'
 (himmuṣ^yte 'dizzy, wild, tipsy [somewhat
 drunk]', -k 'he', ɬa·res 'man')

moṭ pi·na men mirahnis 'Is that what you were
 given?',¹¹⁶
 (moṭ 'interrogative particle', men 'you'
 mirahnis 'was given')

pi·naseskames hiṣ^yṣ^yesis 'Is that what I had
 you do?'
 (pi·nase 'that one [objective]', -s 'inter-
 rogative enclitic', -kames 'I-you', hiṣ^yṣ^yesis
 'made [someone] do [something]')

pi·na is clearly related to a verbal locative form pina
 (||pina·||) 'to be there', glossed by Harrington as 'allí está'
 (or 'ay está') ('[he] is there'). It occurs in such contexts
 as the following:

pina ro·te '(It) is (kept) there'
 (ro·te 'is kept [somewhere], is [at a place]')

pina·ka ɬawra 'There is where I live'
 (-ka 'I', ɬawra 'sit, live')

pina hu·rani 'A grave hole is there'

¹¹⁵-----
 In addition there is a form pi·naway glossed 'entonces'
 ('then, thus') which occurs in:

pi·naway wakwas haran to·ɬese 'Then (thus?) he
 gave him meat'
 (wak 'he', -was 'him', haran 'gave', to·ɬese
 'meat [objective]')

The word seems to be pi·na plus a suffix -way attested in
 only one other form in the data, misnisway 'Sunday', based on
 misnis 'mass' (< Spanish misa). The status of -way as, per-
 haps, a temporal adverbial suffix awaits further data for
 verification.

¹¹⁶The word is recorded as pina, but there is no verbal
 locative sense in the gloss (see below). It is assumed to
 be an error for pi·na.

pina wa·te pa·tre 'Here comes the Padre'
(wa·te 'comes')

361.5. tina· 'that', 'to be there'

There are not enough data to figure out exactly how tina (||tina·||) differs from pi·na (and pina). It occurs infrequently in Harrington's notes. It is never used as an independent noun, though this may be due to a gap in the data; it does occur as a locative element. Examples:

hopey tina tappurtak 'Go up (in) that tree!'
(hopey 'ascend!', tappurtak 'tree [locative]')

moṭ tina sinni 'Is the baby there?'
(moṭ 'interrogative particle', sinni 'baby')

moṭ wak tina lippahte rammay 'Is he hidden
inside there?'
(moṭ 'interrogative particle', wak 'he',
lippahte 'hidden', rammay 'inside')

No plural or oblique case form is attested.

361.6. nuk 'that', 'to be there'

This demonstrative pronoun is found only as an object of an imperative verb where it is used in place of a third person pronoun. For example:

kaplay nuk 'Embrace him!'
ho·yoy nuk 'Take it! Grasp it!'¹¹⁷

In addition, though no contexts are provided, nuk is once glossed 'ayá está' (presumably for 'allá está' '[he] is

¹¹⁷-----
The object nuk need not always be included. At one point, Harrington asked Mrs. Cervantes to distinguish between ho·yoy 'here, take it!' and ho·yoy nuk 'id.'. She 'never tho[ugh]t of it, but thinks the hó·yoy is near and the hó·yoynuk is when the article is further'.

there'), with a locative verbal sense.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸-----
 According to Arroyo (1861:33) nuk is used in forming a passive construction:

Usan tambien de otra especie de pasiva, ô tienen otras expresiones en las impersonales, que in nuestra Gramatica latina se hacen en pasiva, aunque las terminaciones son en activa, y podemos llamarlas pasivas; v.g.: Dicese, ô se dice, que te dan; Dicese, que te han de dar; Dicese, que te dieron; ô Dicen, que te entregan; Dicen, te han de entregar; Dicen, que te entregaron. En estas, y semejantes impersonales, usan los Indios de esta lengua: Aragne nuc me; Arastap nuc me. El nuc es lo mismo que dicen; y lo demas como queda dicho.

(They also use another type of passive, or have other impersonal expressions, which in our Latin Grammar are made in the passive, although the endings are in the active, and we can call them passive; e.g., It is said that they give to you; It is said that they are to give to you; It is said that they gave to you; or They say that they hand over to you; They say that they are to hand over to you; They say that they handed over to you. In these, and similar impersonals, the Indians of this language use: harahne nuk me; harastap nuk me. The nuk is the same as they say; and the rest as is said [in previous passages].)

The Mutsun words are indeed passive, harahne 'is given', harastap 'was given', and the glosses, translated literally above, might better be 'you were given', 'you are to be given', etc. Arroyo's identification of nuk with dicen 'they say' (or with se dice 'it is said') cannot be taken at face value as implying that nuk means 'say' or the like. Perhaps there is a suggestion here of an evidential system, though it is otherwise lacking in the data. Another possibility is that nuk functions as a direct object. The pronoun me (presumably for the enclitic -me 'you') is the recipient of something; perhaps nuk indicates that thing. Thus, harahne nuk me may be 'You are given that (one)', where nuk is used in place of a third person objective pronoun. Unfortunately, Arroyo exemplifies this nuk with only one verb, hara- 'to give', in his Grammar. In the Phrase Book (1862), however, it occurs in other environments, one of which was reheard by Harrington:

potş^yehne nuk me

Harrington does not gloss this phrase, but Arroyo's translation (entry no. 2141) is 'Dice que se te ha de murmurar' ('[One] says that you are to be gossiped about'). The passive

362. Locative demonstratives

362.1. niya· ~ ni(·) 'here'

The alternation between the long and short forms of this demonstrative seems to be a matter of free variation. It may refer to a geographical location ('here where we are now') or to a location being pointed out, e.g. a body part. For example:

ʔippi ni ʔiççin 'The rattlesnake bit here'
 (ʔippi 'rattlesnake', ʔiççin 'bit';
 Harrington specifically points out that ni
 'here' can mean 'in this place' or 'on [a
 particular part of the] body')

ni·ka ʔawra 'I live here'
 (-ka 'I', ʔawra 'sit, live')

mu·hi niya 'It's hot here'
 (mu·hi 'is hot [weather]')

As an inherently locative noun, niya may be followed directly by the ablative suffix -tum (sec. 332.6); this is the only oblique case suffix attested after this demonstrative. For example:

ʔiçç^yke niya·tum 'Get out of here! Get away
 from here!'
 (ʔiçç^yke 'go! scat!')

362.2. naha· ~ nahan 'there'

Although Harrington remarks 'Both naha and nahan =

 verb potsç^yehne is attested elsewhere meaning 'is gossiped about'
 or 'is spoken badly about' or the like. The presence of nuk
 here is puzzling, though it is clearly Arroyo's nuk since his
 gloss begins with dice 'one says'. The active verb potsç^ye-
 'to gossip about, etc.', is not found with two objects.

In short, far more data are required to properly analyze nuk in this passive or impersonal context.

allá ['there']', there are no clear examples of naha (||naha·||) in the data. The semantic distinction between this demonstrative and nuhu ~ nu· 'there' (below) is not apparent from their few occurrences in Harrington's notes.¹¹⁹ Indeed, neither is well exemplified, but some examples of nahan are:

nahan kawran ṭaskuhmin 'The red one ends here'
(kawran 'ends, finishes' [< Spanish acabar],
ṭaskuhmin 'red one')

nahan witimsatka wasu·ra 'there in the trash
container'
(witimsatka 'throwing away implement
[locative]' [? -- see sec. 424.5], wasu·ra
'trash' [< Spanish basura])

nahan occurs followed by two oblique case suffixes, -was 'attributive' and -tum 'ablative', the latter in isolation only, glossed as 'de allí' ('from there'). The attributive is found in:

moṭ nahanwas pire 'Is (he) of that land?'
(literally: 'Is [he] of the land-of-there?')
(moṭ 'interrogative particle', pire 'earth,
land, world')

362.3. nuhu· ~ nu(·) 'there'

This demonstrative occurs in just a few sentences:

nu· ye·hu 'The old man is there'
(ye·hu 'old man' [< Spanish viejo])

nuhu kawran ṭaskuhmin 'The red one ends there'
(cf. nahan, sec. 362.2)

nuhu tunne čupkaš^ymin 'The white one arrives

¹¹⁹Mason (1916:466) glosses nu as 'there (nearer)' and both naxana and nuxu (for nahan and nuhu) as 'there (farther)'.

there,¹²⁰

(tunne 'arrives', čupkaš^ymin 'white one')

¹²⁰ Harrington remarks of this sentence: 'piná cannot be used in this sentence. It means allí está [(it) is there]'. Presumably, then, nuhu lacks this verbal sense. If that is so, the locative verbal sense of nu· in nu· ye·hu 'The old man is there' is aberrant. It may be an error, however; in another context, Mrs. Cervantes 'denies that there is a nu corresponding to ni ['here']'.

CHAPTER 4 - VERBS

400. Introductory remarks

A verb is formed by adding a final suffix to a verb theme. A verb theme consists of a verb stem followed by zero, one or (occasionally) two thematic suffixes.

410. Verb stems

With almost no exceptions, verb stems are disyllabic. The various canonical shapes of verb stems, as well as the distinctions between primary, derived and reduplicated stems were described in sec. 220.

The relationship between the primary and derived stem of a verb is a purely formal one: the choice between the two is determined by the suffix which immediately follows the stem. There is no semantic distinction between primary and derived stems. Primary stems have been found with certainty before only two suffixes, -pu 'reflexive' and -mu 'reciprocal', and perhaps also before the aspectual suffixes -ti and -si. The derived stem occurs before all other suffixes, which means that the derived stem is very much more common. When the derived stem is of the form $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2-$, if there is no attestation of the verb with a reflexive or reciprocal suffix, there is no way to determine its primary stem, since it may be any one of four possibilities; if the derived stem is of any other shape, it is identical to its primary stem (see sec. 221).

Reduplicated stems, on the other hand, do convey semantic information, namely a 'continuative' aspect (see sec. 223).

As noted earlier, they occur very infrequently in the data and thus cannot be analyzed with much depth. They will, because of this lack of information, be mostly excluded from further consideration.¹²¹

411. Multiple primary stems

In a few cases, there are pairs of primary verb stems of the same verb, the difference, if discernable, being one of aspect. For example, Harrington gives:

massa- 'to cover (something), put the cover
on (a container)'

ma·sa- 'to cover (many things), put the covers
on (containers)'

Harrington notes specifically that massa- refers to putting one cover on, while ma·sa- denotes a 'Pl[ural] object or act'. He notes, further, that these forms are comparable to notto- and no·to-. Only the former appears in the data examined, and it means 'to give (someone) one hit with the fist'. If we take Harrington's suggested comparison at face value, no·to- must mean 'to hit (someone) several times' or 'to hit several (people)'. In a slightly more complex pair, a similar distinction is found. čitteti- 'to dance along' is based on a stem čitte- 'to dance', followed by -ti 'continuative, to go along ...-ing'. The related noun čī·tetis 'dancer' contains

¹²¹-----
In the case of one stem showing CVC reduplication (sec. 223.1), a suffix -si occurs: polpolsi 'spotted'. This suffix also occurs with a non-reduplicated stem in čo·holsi 'pierced, full of holes'. This latter form may be a primary stem (since derived stems all end in vowels) or else a modification of a noun stem (cf. čohol 'hole'). Without further data, the status of these stems, and their common suffix, cannot be determined.

this same suffix, plus a nominalizing -s, but the stem is *či·te-*. This latter stem does not occur elsewhere but it would seem to mean 'to dance repeatedly or continuously' or the like. Similarly, compare *riččapu-* 'to talk amongst selves' and *ri·časpu-* 'to have a conversation'. The first comes from *ričča-* 'to speak (to/about)' + *-pu* 'reflexive'; the second from *ri·ča-*, -s (significance unknown), *-pu*. *ri·ča-* may refer to several speakers or listeners, or ongoing exchanges of speech.¹²² Finally, *ʔe·ṭe-* seems to mean 'to be sleeping' while *ʔeṭṭen-* is 'to fall asleep' (-n 'mediopassive').

What these forms suggest is an aspect-like distinction expressed by the form of the primary verb stem. Such a system might be something like:

$C_1V_1C_2C_2V_2$	'semelfactive' or 'momentaneous' or 'punctual'
$C_1V_1·C_2V_2$	'iterative' or 'distributive' or 'durative' or 'continuative'

This would leave any stem with a third consonant mostly

¹²²-----
 The 'continuative' stem form *ri·ča-* might also occur in the following exchange:

hattesṭuk makam ri·ča 'With whom do you (plural) speak?'
diyo·sṭuk makke ri·ča 'We speak with God'
 (*hattesṭuk* 'with whom?', *makam* 'you [plural]',
diyo·sṭuk 'God [comitative]', *makke* 'we [inclusive]')

The verb here might be more correctly glossed as 'speak all the time' or 'speak habitually' or the like. In another context, however, Mrs. Cervantes specifically denied that *ri·ča* is a word in Mutsun: one cannot say **ri·čaka*, only *riččaka* 'I am speaking' (-ka 'I'). This may imply a mishearing, or perhaps that *ri·ča* can be used only with a plural subject. There might also be confusion with *ri·či-* 'to speak (to)'. The etymological or morphological relationship between *ričča-* and *ri·či-* is unknown. Further information is required to untangle these attestations.

outside of the system, since all stems with three consonants have identical derived stems, $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2$, a form which makes long vowels phonotactically impossible (see sec. 135). The aspect distinction could be maintained only when the primary stem of the verb occurred and, as noted, this is fairly infrequently.

Unfortunately, there are no more clear examples to corroborate or even refute such a proposal.¹²³ If the system is a legitimate one, more data will have to be examined to work out its details. On the other hand, it is possible that Harrington has uncovered the remnants of a once productive stem

¹²³-----
 There are, however, ambiguous examples. Compare:
 po·to- 'to pull out hair, pluck out feathers'
 puṭki- 'to pull out a handful of hair'
 The first form is glossed more completely as 'arrancar el pelo ...á jalones' ('to pull out [someone's] hair in tugs') implying pulling out much hair, or completely plucking a chicken. The second form, on the other hand, is clearly glossed with a semelfactive sense. The former 'durative' or 'distributive' form does indeed have a long first vowel, and the latter 'semelfactive' form has a short vowel. The difference in vowel quality, however, does not seem to fit the pattern, though it does bear a striking resemblance to what happens in Wikchamni Yokuts where underlying short o is raised to u when the next vowel following is i (Gamble 1975:25; Newman [1944:26] describes this process but in different terms). If a vowel harmony rule such as that in Wikchmani were at one time functioning in Mutsun (or Costanoan), then the underlying forms of the two stems in question may have been

||po·to||

||poṭki|| (→/puṭki/ by the vowel harmony rule)

Of course, this is sheer speculation and is riddled with problems. A major problem is the status, both in terms of semantics and morphology, of -ki. It may be that this stem-deriving suffix is responsible for the 'semelfactive' sense of puṭki-, and vowel length is irrelevant or secondary. Furthermore, the noun puṭ (||pu·ṭ||) 'feather' is probably involved somehow in all this.

What this example shows is that the 'semelfactive'/'durative' stem pairs found in Mutsun may be relics of a far more widespread and complex process, perhaps having implications for the historical development of Penutian as a whole.

aspect system.¹²⁴ For the present description, such stem pairs will have to be regarded as if independent, unrelated stems. This sleight of hand does not affect the analysis as a whole; it merely removes the problem of related stems to one of diachrony and, therefore, a future study.

412. Stem-deriving suffixes

As noted earlier, there is some evidence that the third consonant, or final CV, of some verb stems is (or was) a suffix; -wV, with the sense of 'undoing' the action otherwise signified by the verb stem, was given as an example (sec. 222.2).

One such suffix is discussed by Arroyo in his Grammar (1861:18-30). He refers to two types of verbs, singular and plural, exemplified by the verb 'to give' (hara-, in Harrington's data):

Verbo singular: Ara, Dar. Verbo colectivo, o
Verbo plural: Arsa, Dar tambien, pero Dar a
muchos, o Dar mucho. [1861:19]

(Singular verb: hara- 'to give'. Collective or
plural verb: harsa- also 'to give', but 'to
give to many' or 'to give much'.)

The difference, formally, is the presence or absence of a third consonant -s-. Mason (1916:420) also discusses this

-s-:

¹²⁴-----
The only similar pair of primary noun stems is ?issir and ?i'sir. There is some confusion as to their meaning: one means 'dirt of the head, dandruff' while the other is 'body dirt, grease'. The problem is that the informant reversed herself on several occasions, but the latest hearing had ?i'sir referring to 'dandruff'. This set exhibits a phenomenon more in the nature of sound symbolism than anything else.

De la Cuesta pays considerable attention to this suffix in his grammar, suggesting that it is frequent with every verbal stem. Strangely, very few unquestionable examples are found in the phrase-book.

Mason's evaluation is reflected in Harrington's data. Arroyo's 'collective' or 'plural' -s- is found, though only rarely. Only one of Mason's examples is recorded by Harrington:

semmon- 'to die' semson- 'many to die'

The two forms are found in contexts which support Arroyo's and Mason's characterization of -s-:

kata semmonin hemečʔa ʔama 'Somebody died'
(literally: 'It seems as though one person died')

(kata 'like, as, seems', semmonin 'died'
[past tense of semmon-], hemečʔa 'one',
ʔama 'body, person')

hiruhmin makse semson haṭkun 'All of us (will)
die suddenly'

(hiruhmin 'all', makse 'we [exclusive]',
semson 'many die', haṭkun 'die suddenly')

The 'collective' or 'plural' -s- is found in other words as well:

tersey tappur 'Break (chop) the wood (e.g.,
with an axe)!'

tappur tersehmin 'cut wood' (wood that has been
cut and is ready to burn)

(tappur 'wood', tersey 'break! chop!',
tersehmin 'something already cut'; the
second phrase is a noun compound)

tere·puy^y men-tu·riṣ^y 'Cut your fingernails!'
(tere·puy 'cut yourself!', -me 'you', men-

'your', tu·riş^y 'fingernail[s]')

The sense of terse- is one of repeated action, either due to repeated blows with an axe, or due to cutting through many logs. The reflexive tere·pu- (< ||tere·|| + -pu 'reflexive') implies action upon a single person, in this case, 'you'.

ʔattey 'break (it)!' (e.g., bread, by hand)

ʔatsey 'break (it)!' (e.g., with an axe)

Again, the idea of repeated blows with an axe shows up in the form with -s-, while the single motion of ripping bread apart by hand is expressed without an -s-.

ʔalley 'break (it)!' (e.g., a log)

ʔalsay 'break (it/them)!' (e.g., wood chips)

The second form seems to imply repeated activity more than the first; the alternation in the second vowel is unexplained.

ha·ʔastap '(it) was stolen'

ʔekweme haʔsa 'Don't go around stealing!'

(ha·ʔa- 'to steal', -stap 'passive, past tense', ʔekwe 'not', -me 'you')

Harrington glosses haʔsa as 'to be stealing'; it seems to be a continuative or habitual form, with an -s-, as distinguished from ha·ʔa- which, in the passive at any rate, seems to refer to a single crime.

yete murtey horpeywas ʔeʔse 'They will be sleeping at midnight'

(yete 'later', murtey horpeywas 'at midnight'

[see footnote 96])

Here, ʔeʔse is glossed by Harrington as 'están durmiendo' ('they are sleeping') even though there is no overt subject, plural or otherwise, in the sentence. The idea of plurality, then, may reside in the -s-. Compare:

ʔe.ṭe- 'to be sleeping' (durative?)

ʔeṭṭen- 'to fall asleep' (-n 'mediopassive')

Occasionally, before the reflexive suffix -pu, an -s- is found. For example:

ʔu.hespu- 'to raise oneself up'

cf. ʔu.he- 'to raise (something), lift (something)'

The reflexive suffix is always directly preceded by the primary stem of the verb, and the primary stem may end in a consonant. Thus, it is possible that this -s- is the same as the 'plural' or 'distributive' -s- which precedes the second vowel of derived stems, though the semantic contribution of -s- before -pu is not known (see sec. 421.4.1).

Not all cases of s as a third consonant involve the 'plural' or 'distributive' -s-; in some cases, s is simply the final consonant of the stem:

ʔiṭṭas	'new one'	ʔiṭsa-	'to be new'
tu.ris	'the cold (weather)	tursin-	'to get cold'
yu.mus	'filth'	yumsuṣ ^y min	'filthy one'

(The nominal primary stems are all related to verb stems in which metathesis has occurred -- see sec. 220.)

Furthermore, in some cases where the -s- is clearly suffixal, its semantic import is obscure:

huppeṣ ^y te	}	'smoothed down (hair)'
hupseṣ ^y te		
rukka	'house'	
ruksa-	'to make a house'	

Exactly how productive the 'plural' -s- might be cannot be determined from the data examined, but it does appear to have been a productive stem-forming element at one time.

Regardless of its status, stems formed with or without -s- and, for that matter, with or without the 'durative' long vowel (sec. 411), or any other third consonant suffix (sec. 222.2), are all treated alike in terms of building up verb themes and full verbs by suffixation. It seems likely that part of the aspectual apparatus of Mutsun resided in its stem formation, though more information is needed to discover the synchronic and/or historic details.

413. Irregular verb stems

There are two verbs, obviously related by sound symbolism, which are irregular in having monosyllabic stems before some suffixes and varying disyllabic stems before others:

mis- ~ missi- 'to be pretty'
 miṣ^Y- ~ miṣ^Yi- ~ miṣ^Yṣ^Yi- 'to be good'

These stems occur as follows:

(1) Before -ṣ^Ymin 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic' and -ṣ^Yte 'perfective', the monosyllabic stem is used and the resulting sibilant cluster is simplified in favor of the stem sibilant:¹²⁵

mismin 'pretty one' miste 'pretty'
 miṣ^Ymin 'good one' miṣ^Yte 'good'

(2) Before -ya 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic, plural', the monosyllabic stem is used:

misya 'pretty ones' miṣ^Yya 'good ones' (unsure)

¹²⁵-----
 In these cases, the historical source of the monosyllabic stems is probably phonological simplification:

*mis(s)is^Ymin > *mis(s)ṣ^Ymin > mismin
 *miṣ^Y(ṣ^Y)iṣ^Ymin > *miṣ^Y(ṣ^Y)ṣ^Ymin > miṣ^Ymin

Why such simplification should occur with just these words, and no others, is unknown.

(3) Before -mak 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic, plural', the disyllabic stem with geminated sibilant is used:

missimak 'pretty ones' miṣ^Yṣ^Yimak 'good ones'

(4) Before -mpi 'mediopassive-causative', the disyllabic stem with a single sibilant is used:

miṣ^Yimpi- 'to make well, cause to be well (done)'

Four other monosyllabic verb stems occur in the data.

Two are shortened versions of disyllabic roots:

kuwa- ~ ko·- 'to say' (cf. sec. 150)

yu·pe ~ yu· 'go!' (occurs as an imperative only)

The third is also probably the result of contraction, though there is no corroborating evidence (cf. sec. 150):

ho·yni- 'to come to carry' (-yni 'venitive; to come to...')

The fourth is related to a disyllabic stem, though why the final syllable is lost is not known:¹²⁶

haypu- 'to see oneself' (-pu 'reflexive')

cf. haywena- 'to go to see' (-na 'andative; to go to...')

414. Meanings of verb stems

A verb stem with no thematic suffixes may still be a verb theme. In such instances, the various grammatical categories expressed by the thematic suffixes are embodied in the verb stem itself, or else are unmarked. Directionality (andative, 'to go to...'; venitive, 'to come to...') are unmarked in verb stems; aspect is somehow marked ('punctual'

¹²⁶-----
If the primary stem of haywe- is haye·w- or hayyew-, the reflexive should be hay(y)ewpu-.

vs. 'durative' vs. 'iterative', etc.) though the details are not clear (see secs. 411, 412). In terms of transitivity (encompassing voice, causation, reflexivization, reciprocation, benefaction) verb stems are of three types, active, stative and mediopassive.

414.1. Active verb stems

Active verb stems express action of a transitive sort. The subject is the agent or performer of the action; the object is the receiver of the action. For example:

ka·nmes lu·yi 'I'm pushing you (as in a swing)'
(ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', lu·yi- 'to push', -∅ 'non-past' [final suffix])

ka·nwas hatta 'I'm sweeping it (the ground) clean'
(ka·n 'I', -was 'it [objective]', hatta- 'to sweep clean', -∅ 'non-past')

wissak pire·se 'It (the chicken) is scratching the ground'
(wissa- 'to scratch', -∅ 'non-past', -k 'it', pire·se 'ground [objective]')

ʔippiwas ʔičč'in 'The rattlesnake bit him'
(ʔippi 'rattlesnake', -was 'him', ʔičči- 'to bite', -n 'past tense')

Among the active verb stems are those derivationally related to noun stems, where the noun functions more or less as an 'incorporated object' of the verb. The noun may or may not be expressed when such verbs are used. For example:

yete·ka poslo 'I will make posole (stew) later'
(yete· 'later', -ka 'I', poslo- 'to make posole', -∅ 'non-past'; cf. posol 'posole')

sukmuka hemečʔa suku·me 'I'm smoking a cigarette'
 (sukmu- 'to smoke', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I',
 hemečʔa 'one', suku·me 'cigarette [objective]')

The object need not always be expressed when an active verb stem is used, and, because of this, a number of active stems may be used intransitively. For example:

ru·nuk pen^yek 'The cat is purring'
 (ru·nu- 'to purr', -∅ 'non-past', -k 'it',
 pen^yek 'cat')

Nevertheless, the vast majority of active verbs are truly transitive in that they can take objects.¹²⁷ For example:

sinni lolle 'The baby babbles'
 lolleka sinnise 'I babble at the baby'
 (lolle- 'to babble [at]', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I', sinni 'baby', sinnise 'baby
 [objective]')

ʔekwe ʔirko '(He) doesn't defecate'
 moṭme ʔirkon men-koro·se 'Did you defecate on
 your legs?'
 (ʔekwe 'not', ʔirko- 'to defecate [on]', -∅
 'non-past', -n 'past', moṭ 'interrogative
 particle', -me 'you', men- 'your', koro·se
 'foot, leg [objective]')

Furthermore, when subsequent suffixation is taken into account, the transitive nature of most active verbs can be seen clearly. For example, active verb stems are the only type which may take

¹²⁷-----
 Even wa·te- 'to come' can take an object, though the resulting construction appears to be idiomatic:
 hintiseme wa·te me·se 'What is important to you?
 What matters to you?'
 (hintise 'what? [objective]', -me 'you', me·se
 'you [objective]')

The sentence seems to literally mean 'What do you come to you?'

the reflexive suffix *-pu*, since this suffix means that the subject of the verb acts upon itself. In this way, some seemingly intransitive verb stems can be considered regular active verbs. For example:

ṭawrak 'He's sitting' or 'He sits' (also, 'He lives [in a place]')

(ṭawra- 'to sit', -∅ 'non-past', -k 'he')

ličyeka 'I'm standing'

(licye- 'to stand', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I')

but also

ṭakkarpu- 'to sit down, assume a sitting position'¹²⁸

liččeypu- 'to stand up, assume a standing position'

Finally, there are a few active verb stems that are inherently imperative, e.g.:

hoṭṭo 'go! scat!'

ha·yi 'come here!'

For further discussion, see sec. 434.6.

414.2. Stative verb stems

Stative verb stems express a state or condition or assumed bodily position; they do not take objects. For example:

sawrek 'It is fat' (e.g., a goose)

(sawre- 'to be fat, fatty', -∅ 'non-past', -k 'it')

ropṭo men-hi(·)n 'Your face is dirty'

(ropṭo- 'to be dirty', -∅ 'non-past',

¹²⁸On the relationship between ṭakkar- and ṭawra-, see sec. 222.3.

- men- 'your', hi[·]n 'face, eyes')
- parki lawan 'The bow is heavy'
 (parki- 'to be heavy, weigh much', -∅
 non-past', lawan 'bow')
- matlak ʔe·ṭe 'He is sleeping (lying) face down'
 (matla- 'to be face down, in a prone position',
 -∅ 'non-past', ʔe·ṭe- 'to be sleeping',¹²⁹ -∅
 'non-past')

Stative verb stems occur quite frequently with the nominalizing thematic suffixes -hmin and -ṣ^ymin 'inherent characteristic' and -mak 'inherent characteristic, plural'. In fact, some stative verb stems occur only before one or another of these thematic suffixes. Compare, for instance:

- čupka 'is white' (čupka- 'to be white', -∅
 'non-past')
- čupkaṣ^ymin 'white one'
 čupkamak 'white ones'
- ṭaskuhmin 'red one'
 ṭaskumak 'red ones'

A non-nominalized stative verb *ṭasku 'is red' is not attested. Whether such gaps are fortuitous is not known.

414.3. Mediopassive verb stems

A third type of verb stem is 'mediopassive', always occurring with a mediopassive suffix. These stems are discussed in sec. 421.1.

420. Thematic suffixes

A verb stem may be followed by up to two thematic suffixes

¹²⁹ Perhaps ʔe·ṭe- 'to be sleeping' can be interpreted as a stative verb as well, meaning 'to be in a state of sleep'.

in forming a verb theme. The thematic suffixes modify the basic meaning of the verb stem in terms of transitivity, aspect and/or directionality; some thematic suffixes are nominalizing in force, producing noun themes. Final suffixes (sec. 430) may further affect the transitivity and aspect of the stem, and may also change its mode from indicative to imperative. When no thematic suffix follows a verb stem, the resulting verb theme has the aspect and transitivity (active or stative) of the stem itself, and is unmarked for directionality.

421. Transitivity suffixes

For the most part, a verb stem may be followed by at most one transitivity suffix. There may be two transitivity suffixes, however, only if the second is 'benefactive' (sec. 421.3).

421.1. Voice: -n ~ -ni 'mediopassive'

The mediopassive suffix is -n before the final tense suffix -∅ 'non-past' and -ni elsewhere (i.e., before any other suffix).¹³⁰ In most cases, the suffix indicates that

¹³⁰-----
There are three exceptional forms in which -ni, rather than -n, seems to occur before -∅ 'non-past':

ka·n lišYsYeni 'I am thinking about doing it (the work); I intend to do it'
cf. lišYsYenka 'I do work'

In the second phrase, the mediopassive suffix is -n as would be expected (lišYsYe-n- 'to do work', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I'). The final i of the first phrase is unexplained, as is the difference in glosses between the two entries. Perhaps there is another suffix involved here which just happens to not occur elsewhere in the data. Exactly why 'to do work' should be a mediopassive verb is also unclear.

The other two exceptions are:

hassenik 'he got angry'
(-k 'he'; rather than hassenak, with -ak 'he')

something happens to the subject, whether caused by the subject himself or by some irrelevant agent.¹³¹ Glosses of mediopassive verbs often take the form 'to become...' or 'to get...'. For example:

- yetek malan 'He will get wet later'
 (yete 'later', -k 'he', mala-n- 'to get wet',
 -∅ 'non-past')
- hurčaninka 'I got drunk'
 (hurca-ni- 'to get drunk' [< Spanish borracho
 'drunk' ?], -n 'past', -ka 'I')
- halkaninak 'He became blind'
 (halka-ni- 'to become blind', -n 'past',
 -ak 'he')
- čorkon si· 'The water is drying up'
 (čorko-n- 'to get dry, dry up', -∅ 'non-
 past', si· 'water')

Along these same lines, some mediopassive verbs simply refer to happenings beyond the subject's control, such as:

 ɬuppini
 in: ka·n ɬuppini 'I got pricked in the eye'
 This is doubly exceptional because of the past tense of the gloss. The normal past tense would be ɬuppinin (-n 'past' following -ni 'mediopassive'); this is also attested, implying that the ɬuppini form is an error. The 'past tense' ɬuppinin also occurs, however, with a future tense gloss:
 ka·n yete ɬuppinin 'I will get pricked in the eye'
 (ka·n 'I', yete 'later')

Harrington expressed some surprise at all these forms, but reheard them several times and insists that, phonologically at least, they are correct. Since this is a unique occurrence, its status cannot be assessed.

¹³¹The term 'mediopassive' for this suffix was first used by Michael Silverstein (1975:377), though he used the phrase 'mediopassive-adjectival'. Mason (1916:416) isolated the suffix as -ni and termed it 'intransitive'.

- ʔinnanme 'You fall down'
 (ʔinna-n- 'to fall down', -∅ 'non-past',
 -me 'you')
- miṭṭen sinni 'The child is growing'
 (miṭṭe-n- 'to grow', -∅ 'non-past', sinni
 'child, baby')
- hinnuninka 'I woke up'
 (hinnu-ni- 'to wake up', -n 'past', -ka 'I')
- semmoninak 'He died'
 (semmo-ni- 'to die', -n 'past', -ak 'he')

The mediopassive verbs are not stative, since they refer to some change of state or some sort of action. They are not active since the subject of the verb is not the one performing the action or causing the change of state, but rather is the recipient. Furthermore, they are not passive since no agent is implied.

There are a number of active stems which may become mediopassive themes by the addition of the mediopassive suffix. For example:

- sački- 'to split something in half'
 sački-n- 'to get split'
- pa·ka- 'to shell, husk (e.g., nuts)'
 pa·ka-n- 'to get shelled'
- waksi- 'to force liquid to come out' (e.g., turn
 on a faucet, pour out of a bucket)
 waksi-n- 'liquid comes out' (e.g., bucket overflows)
- hiṣ^yṣ^ye- 'to do, to make'
 hiṣ^yṣ^ye-n- 'to become, to turn into'

Similarly, stative verb stems may be the basis of mediopassive themes by the addition of the mediopassive

suffix. Such themes mean 'to become...' or 'to attain...' the state expressed in the stem. For example:

ʔawye- 'to be awake'
 ʔawye-n- 'to wake up'
 ʔekʔe- 'to be evil, bad'
 ʔekʔe-n- 'to become evil'

A particularly interesting subset of these stative-mediopassive pairs involves words referring to temperature. When the subject is the weather, the stative form is used; when the subject is a person, the mediopassive form is used, implying that the subject becomes warm or cold. For example:

muṣʔṣʔi piṛe 'It's warm' (literally: 'The world is warm')
 (muṣʔṣʔi- 'to be warm', -∅ 'non-past',
 piṛe 'world, land, earth')
 muṣʔṣʔinka 'I am warm' (better: 'I become warm')
 (muṣʔṣʔi-n- 'to be/get warm', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I')

Compare also:

pa·či- 'to be icy cold'
 pa·či-n- 'to be/get icy cold'
 mu·hi- 'to be hot'
 mu·hi-n- 'to be/get hot'

The mediopassive temperature verbs indicate that the subject experiences the temperature. In fact, experiential verbs in general are mediopassive, including verbs expressing emotional states. For example:

ʔumsanme 'You enjoy the taste (of something)'
 (ʔumsa-n- 'to enjoy the taste', -∅ 'non-past', -me 'you')

lilwinak 'He is having a good time, is enjoying himself'

(lilwi-n- 'to have a good time, enjoy oneself',
-Ø 'non-past', -ak 'he')

čakkuninka 'I became sad'

(čakku-ni- 'to become sad', -n 'past', -ka 'I')

Finally, there are certain motion verbs which occur only with mediopassive -n(i). The exact semantic function of the mediopassive in these cases is not entirely clear, unless it expresses the idea that the subject is somehow put into motion. Some of these motion verbs are:

ta·ka-n- 'to come' (cf. wa·te- 'id.')

tokke-n- 'to run'

molyo-n- 'to dance the mo·loy [woman's dance]'

watti-n- 'to go (away)' (cf. wa·te- 'to come')

hummu-n- 'to fly'

humme-n- 'to move to and fro'

hiwa-n- 'to arrive' (||hiwa·-ni-||)

ha·he-n- 'to flee'

laṭwe-n- 'to descend' (cf. hope- 'to ascend')

ʔiččo-n- 'to go out'¹³²

ʔakku-n- 'to enter'¹³²

Mediopassive verbs occasionally occur with objects.

Most often they occur with the experiential verbs. The object then expresses what has produced the experience or emotion:

¹³²-----
Harrington terms ʔiččoŋ and ʔakkun 'inchoatives'. He seems to have analyzed the suffix -n as an inchoative suffix on all verbs, perhaps considering verbs here glossed as 'to get to...' or 'to become...' as meaning 'to begin to...' or 'to begin to do...'. No such interpretation seems justified, however, when considering the data all together. ʔiččoŋ and ʔakkun do make sense as mediopassives if they are interpreted as 'to get out' and 'to get in' as opposed to 'to move oneself out' or 'to move oneself in'.

yetekwas wallun 'He will be envious of him later'
 (yete 'later', -k 'he', -was 'him', wallu-n-
 'to be envious [of], to feel envy [for]', -∅
 'non-past')

ti·rukames hiwsen 'I like you very much'
 (ti·ru 'much', -ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]',
 hiwse-n- 'to like', -∅ 'non-past')

ka·nwas hassenis 'I became angry with him'
 (ka·n 'I', -was 'him', hasse-ni- 'to become
 angry, feel anger [for, about, with]', -s
 'remote past')

lelseninka neppese 'I was pleased with this (one)'
 (lelse-ni- 'to be pleased, happy [with]', -n
 'past', -ka 'I', neppese 'this [one][objective]')

hessonit 'Hate me!'
 (hesso-ni- 'to hate, feel disgust [for], be
 disgusted [by]', -t 'imperative, first person
 object')

Other objects occurring with mediopassive verbs express various relationships between the verb and object, but never that of 'receiver of action' as would be the case with an active verb:

ʔiččon kannis pat^yt^yan 'I am bleeding' (literally:
 'Blood is coming out of me')
 (ʔiččo-n- 'to come out', -∅ 'non-past',
 kannis 'me', pat^yt^yan 'blood')

tappanmes men-sumrero 'Your hat fits you'
 (tappa-n- 'to fit, be suitable for', -∅
 'non-past', -mes 'you [objective]', men-
 'your', sumrero 'hat' [< Spanish sombrero])

wak ʔokkenis haysane 'He ran away from them'
 (wak 'he', ʔokke-ni- 'to run [away from]',
 -s 'remote past', haysane 'them')

yu·mete hiṣ^yṣ^yen pire·se 'and you will become earth'
 (yu· 'and', -me [or -m] 'you', -te [or -ete]
 shortened from yete 'later', hiṣ^yṣ^ye-n- 'to
 become, turn into', -∅ 'non-past', pire·se
 'world, land, ground, earth [objective]')

There are some verb stems which never occur without a mediopassive suffix, whether it be a simple mediopassive -n(i) or one of the other mediopassive suffixes (see secs. 421.2.1, 424.6). The lack of non-mediopassive counterparts to these verbs is not due to a gap in the data; such forms are specifically denied by Mrs. Cervantes. For example, the following occur only as mediopassives:

ṭokke-n- 'to run'
 ʔistu-n- 'to dream'
 ta·pi-n- 'to fit, to suit'
 pulki-n- 'bottom comes off'
 poyko-n- 'to become frightened'
 muys^yi-n- 'to like'
 hihro-n- 'to slip, to slide'
 lelse-n- 'to be pleased, happy'
 momme-n- 'to be late, delayed'

The implication of this is that there are not two, but three kinds of verb stems: active and stative, which take no specific voice suffix, and mediopassive, which always takes a voice suffix. In addition, as has been noted, some active and stative stems may take a mediopassive suffix to form a mediopassive theme.

Though the active/stative vs. mediopassive distinction holds up in a majority of cases, the exact relationship between the two is not always clear cut, particularly regarding

semantics. There remain a few verb pairs, one member of each lacking a mediopassive suffix, one taking it, with no apparent difference in meaning or use. How many of these pairs might be errors cannot be determined from the data examined.

Examples are:

pusre-/pusre-n- 'to blow (as part of doctoring)'
 sa·we-/sa·we-n- 'to sing'
 hinwi-/hinwi-n- 'to remember'

Only one voice suffix may occur per verb. Thus, verbs with -n(i) cannot be followed by nominalizing suffixes with mediopassive force (sec. 424.6) or by final suffixes associated with voice (passive, sec. 433).¹³³ Furthermore, verbs in -n(i) cannot be followed by a perfective suffix, which includes certain voice-like characteristics (sec. 432).

421.2. Causatives

421.2.1. -mpi 'mediopassive-causative'

This suffix is probably historically a sequence of two suffixes, the first being -n 'mediopassive', the second -pi, perhaps 'causative'. Synchronically, it is occasionally recorded as /-npi/, betraying its origins, though the assimilated /-mpi/ occurs essentially all of the time.

The suffix -pi is, with two ambiguous exceptions, otherwise

¹³³-----
 As might be expected, there is one exception. Harrington gives a form ?a·minihne glossed simply as 'creer' ('to believe'). This word consists of ?a·ma-ni- 'to believe in' plus -hne 'passive', and thus should mean 'to be believed in' or the like. ?a·ma-n(i)- is independently attested; e.g., ?a·manka diyo·se 'I believe in God' (-∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I', diyo·se 'God [objective]'). The 'mediopassive-passive' anomaly is not attested in any sentence, and, therefore, its status is uncertain.

absent from the data.¹³⁴ Since -pi has no independent existence, but always functions in tandem with -n, the two are considered synchronically fused into a single monomorphemic suffix -mpi.¹³⁵

The meaning of this suffix is both causative and mediopassive: the subject of the verb does something such that the object is affected in the same way the subject of a plain mediopassive verb is affected. That is, the subject is responsible for something happening to the object, or for the object's experiencing something. Comparisons with plain mediopassive forms should clarify this:

mala-n-	'to get wet'	mala-mpi-	'to cause (someone) to get wet'
hinnu-n-	'to wake up'	hinnu-mpi-	'to cause (someone) to wake up'
koypo-n-	'to become frightened'	koypo-mpi-	'to scare (someone)'
ta·ka-n-	'to come'	ta·ka-mpi-	'to bring'

¹³⁴-----
The two exceptions are these:

čoppopismak 'Friday of Lent'
motYtYolpiksi 'to make (someone) bend down'

The first word is related to a reflexive verb theme čoppopu- 'to fast', but this is itself an unsure form. 'Friday of Lent' seems to be made up of a stem čoppo- 'to fast', -pi (?), -smak 'nominalizer; habitual agent' and thus should mean 'one (or those) who cause (someone) to fast'. The semantics are unclear.

The second word is also only a guess on the informant's part in response to Arroyo's motiolpicsi (a form in the unpublished manuscript -- see footnote 10). The form is probably related to motloşYte 'head down' (motlo- 'to be with head down', -şYte 'perfective') and might consist of motYtYol- 'to be bent down', -pi (?), -ksi 'continuative (?), intensive (?)'. This is the only example of -ksi following anything other than the verb stem directly.

¹³⁵This also makes it unnecessary to explain why -n, rather than -ni, occurs before another suffix.

ʔiǎǎo-n- 'to come out' ʔiǎǎo-mpi- 'to take out'

Though transitive, mediopassive-causative verbs are different from active verbs. Compare, for instance:

peṭṭe- 'to stick (things) together (e.g., with glue)'
 peṭṭe-n- 'to get stuck (together), to get sticky'
 peṭṭe-mpi- 'to cause (things) to become stuck
 together'

The distinction between stative and mediopassive-causatives is more clear cut:

ʔekṭe- 'to be evil, bad'
 ʔekṭe-n- 'to become evil, bad'
 ʔekṭe-mpi- 'to cause (something) to become bad,
 to ruin (something)'

Some examples of mediopassive-causatives in sentences are:

tonnempinka hine·rus 'I lost the money'
 (tonne-mpi- 'to lose, cause to get lost',
 -n 'past', -ka 'I', hine·rus 'money [objective]'
 [< Spanish dinero])

muṣṣ^yṣ^yimpit kannis 'Warm me up!'
 (muṣṣ^yṣ^yi-mpi- 'to warm up, cause to become warm',
 -t 'imperative, first person object', kannis 'me')

me·nwas murṭumpin 'You made it black' (e.g., painted
 something black)
 (me·n 'you', -was 'it [objective]', murṭu-mpi-
 'to blacken, cause to become black', -n 'past')

ka·n makamse ṭa·kampi to·ṭese 'I bring you (plural)
 meat'
 (ka·n 'I', makamse 'you [plural][objective]',
 ṭa·ka-mpi- 'to bring, to cause to come', to·ṭese
 'meat [objective]')

Though mediopassive in orientation, the mediopassive-

causative suffix is a causative suffix and not a voice suffix; thus, there is no prohibition against other voice suffixes following:

ʔiččompihnis wak-hi(·)n 'His eye was taken out'
 (ʔiččō-mpi- 'to take out, cause to come out',
 -hnis 'passive, past tense', wak- 'his', hi[·]n
 'face, eye')

Apparently, the mediopassive-causative suffix may be followed by the benefactive suffix (sec. 421.3) in one of the highly rare sequences of two transitivity suffixes. This is exemplified in only one word, however:

ʔiččompimit sottow 'Take out the fire for me!'
 (ʔiččō-mpi- 'to take out, cause to come out',
 -mi 'benefactive', -t 'imperative, first person
 object', sottow 'fire')

In the case of verbs with mediopassive stems (see sec. 421.1), the mediopassive-causative suffix is the only means to use the stems in a transitive way. For instance, the stem hinnu- 'to wake up' is a mediopassive stem; to say 'to wake (somebody) up', the mediopassive-causative suffix is employed:¹³⁶

ka·n yete hinnumpi wa·kse 'I will wake him up later'
 (ka·n 'I', yete 'later', hinnu-mpi 'to wake

¹³⁶The mediopassive-causative suffix is also found after a reduplicated stem:

ka·nwas tiplilempi 'I make it spin'
 (ka·n 'I', -was 'it [objective]', tiplile-mpi-
 'to cause to be spinning', -∅ 'non-past')
 cf. tiplile 'spinning' (e.g., a top)

The existence of the mediopassive-causative suffix with this stem implies the possibility of a theme tiplile-n- (with -n 'mediopassive') which might mean 'to get to be spinning', a mediopassive sense overlapping with the 'inchoative' as proposed by Harrington (see footnote 132).

[someone] up, cause to wake up', -∅ 'non-past', wa·kse 'him')

*ka·nwas·hinnu

(ka·n 'I', -was 'him')

421.2.2. -si 'active-causative'

This suffix is added to active verb stems. It means that the subject of the verb causes the object to perform some action. The relation between the object and an active-causative verb is the same as that between the subject and a plain active verb. For example:

ka·nwas lollesi sinnise 'I make the baby babble'

(ka·n 'I', -was 'him', lolle-si- 'cause [someone] to babble', -∅ 'non-past', sinnise 'child, baby [objective]')

cf. sinni lolle 'The baby babbles'

(sinni 'child, baby', lolle- 'to babble', -∅ 'non-past')

Mason (1916:420) terms this suffix the 'mandative' since it is often glossed as 'to command (someone) to...'. Although the 'mandative' sense is sometimes intended, the suffix seems to have a more general causative meaning. Further examples are:

histames hiṣṣ^yesis pa·tre 'What did the Padre have you do?' or 'What did the Padre command you to do?'
(hista 'what?', -mes 'you [objective]', hiṣṣ^ye-si- 'to cause to do', -s 'remote past', pa·tre 'Padre')

?amma^ssi wak^ssitnune '(She) feeds her child'

(?amma-si- 'to give [someone something] to eat, to cause [someone] to eat', -∅ 'non-past', wak^s- 'her', sitnune 'child, offspring [objective]')

421.2.3. -nu 'positional-causative'

This suffix is infrequently attested, but seems to mean 'to cause (someone) to be in a position of/to...'. For example:

ɕaylanuy 'Put him face up (on his back)!'

(ɕayla-nu- 'to cause [someone] to be in a supine position', -y 'imperative')

cf. ɕayla- 'to be face up, in a supine position'

matlanun kannis '(He) put me face down'

(matla-nu- 'to cause [someone] to be in a prone position', -n 'past', kannis 'me')

cf. matla- 'to be face down, in a prone position'

ka·n mu·sinu 'I nurse (the baby)' (literally: 'I position [the baby so it can] suckle')

(ka·n 'I', mu·si-nu- 'to cause [someone] to be in a suckling position', -∅ 'non-past')

cf. mu·si- 'to suckle'

In one case the suffix appears to be -ynu:

ka·nwas ʔitmaynun 'I lifted it up'

(ka·n 'I', -was 'it [objective]', ʔitma-ynu- 'to cause to be in a raised position' [?], -n 'past')

cf. ʔitma- 'to rise, get up (e.g., in the morning)'

421.3. Benefactive: -mi

The benefactive suffix means 'to do (something) for (the benefit of someone else)'. The subject of a benefactive verb is the actor; the beneficiary is an 'indirect object' marked for objective case. Any other objective noun or pronoun is the 'direct object' and is related to the verb in the same way it would be if there were no benefactive idea present.

For example:

hiş^yş^yemik tuti·yase mak-makkuhse 'She is making
tortillas for her husband'
(hiş^yş^ye-mi- 'to make [something] for [someone]',
-∅ 'non-past', -k 'she', tuti·yase 'tortillas
[objective]', wak- 'her', makkuhse 'husband
[objective]')

honomit 'Wrap it (e.g., a bow) for me!'
(honno-mi- 'to wrap [something] for [someone]',
-t 'imperative, first person object')

lalkamit kannis 'Bring me geese!'
(lalka-mi- 'to get [hunt] geese for [someone]',
-t 'imperative, first person object', kannis
'me')

The benefactive meaning is clearly brought out in
benefactive - non-benefactive pairs, such as:

sikkenme kannise 'You farted on me'
sikkeminme kannise 'id.'
(sikke- 'to fart [on]', -n 'past', -me
'you', kannise 'me')

The difference in meaning between the two phrases is described
by Mrs. Cervantes:

sikkeminme kannise w[oul]d mean you farted on
me because I ordered you to, and w[oul]d not
be used....

Thus, in the first sentence, kannise 'me' is merely the
direct object, while in the second kannise is apparently
both direct object and beneficiary.

In verbs which normally take an indirect object, the
contribution of the benefactive suffix is too subtle to be
understood without further data. Compare, for example:

monsemit }
 monset } 'Tell me!' or 'Advise me!'

(monse- 'to tell, to advise', -t 'imperative,
 first person object')

The benefactive suffix is the only transitivity suffix which has been found to occur along with another transitivity suffix. It follows the mediopassive-causative suffix -mpi in:¹³⁷

¹³⁷-----
¹³⁷In two cases, -mi seems to occur after mediopassive -n, but both are highly problematical examples:

?innanmi 'is fallen'
 pislanni 'to be drizzling'

The first form is glossed 'está calleado', presumably California Spanish for 'está caído' ('is fallen') (cf. ?inna-n- 'to fall'). Harrington notes that Mrs. Cervantes agreed that the form was 'indirective' (that is, benefactive). The second form is glossed 'esta lluviendo finito' ('it is raining thinly, finely'), 'está luviznando' ('it's drizzling') and the like. If -mi in these forms is indeed benefactive, the usage is apparently idiomatic, since, despite Harrington's comment, no benefactive sense can be discerned. The words are also troublesome since -n, rather than -ni, 'mediopassive' is found before another suffix (cf. sec. 421.1).

-mi may also occur in two other uninterpretable forms. The first, patYtYamin, is glossed 'ganaron a la mujer' ('they won the woman'), elicited in response to Arroyo's (1862: entry no. 2165) Patiamin hac jaunán 'Aposto la mujer' ('I bet the woman' or, if apostó is intended by Arroyo, 'The woman bet'). Harrington's version of Arroyo's phrase would probably be patYtYamin wak hawnan. The verb is based on patYtYa- 'to win (a game)' (cf. patYtYa-n- '[game] gets won'). The final -n is presumably 'past tense' (sec. 431.2). The interpretation of the phrase might be 'They won (the game) for the woman' except in Arroyo's phrase, hawnan 'woman, wife' appears in its subjective rather than objective case form.

The second odd word is ?iṭṭemin, glossed as 'abhorrecen lo que haces' ('they abhor what you do'). It is related to a mediopassive-causative form ?iṭṭe-mpi- 'to hate' (i.e., 'to cause to be detestable' or the like). Mrs. Cervantes denied the possibility of an active verb *?iṭṭe- or even a plain mediopassive *?iṭṭe-n-. If the final -n in ?iṭṭemin is the past tense suffix, the gloss 'abhorrecen', in present tense, is unexplained. The interpretation of this word remains a mystery.

Finally, it is possible that both patYtYamin and ?iṭṭemin do not contain the benefactive suffix, but rather end in -min, resembling the nominalizing suffixes -ṣYmin and -hmin (sec.

ʔiččompimit sottow 'Take out the fire for me!'
 (ʔiččo-mpi-mi- 'to take [something] out, cause
 [something] to come out, for [somebody]', -t
 'imperative, first person object', sottow 'fire')

421.4. Reflexive/reciprocal

The reflexive and reciprocal suffixes follow the primary,
 rather than the derived, verb stem.

421.4.1. -pu 'reflexive'

In general, -pu added to an active verb stem indicates
 that the subject acts upon himself. For example:

ʔennepuk 'He's painting himself'
 (ʔenne-pu- 'to paint oneself', -∅ 'non-past',
 -k 'he')

hassapuka 'I like myself'
 (hassa-pu- 'to like oneself', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I')

haṭṭapuy tayitmin 'Beat (hit) yourself eight times!'
 (haṭṭa-pu- 'to beat oneself [with an implement]',
 -y 'imperative', tayitmin 'eight')

Notice that in the last example the imperative suffix -y,
 normally referring to a third person object, refers back to
 the subject, as would be expected in a reflexive construction.

The reflexive is also used when the subject does something
 to or on some part of his body. For example:

ručče-pu- 'to braid one's hair'
 cf. ručče- 'to braid (someone else's) hair'
 piṭṭe-pu- 'to tie oneself (e.g., belt, hair)'

 424.6) as well as the nominal thematic suffix -min (sec. 323).
 There is no indication, however, that either of these words is
 a noun.

cf. piṭṭe- 'to tie (something) up'

male--pu- 'to wet or rub oneself with saliva'

cf. male- (||male·||) 'to wet or rub (something, someone) with saliva'

heyes-pu- 'to shave oneself'

cf. heyse- 'to shave (someone else)'

The particular body part affected may be mentioned in sentences involving reflexives of this type. The body part appears in the objective case (except in imperatives -- see sec. 332.1). For example:

piṭwipuka ka-ṽuri·se 'I untie my hair'

(piṭwi-pu- 'to untie oneself', -∅ 'non-past',
-ka 'I', ka- 'my', ṽuri·se '[head] hair
[objective]')

lukkapuy men-ṽuri 'Grease your hair!'

(lukka-pu- 'to grease oneself', -y 'imperative',
men- 'your', ṽuri 'hair')

moṭme ṽirkopun men-koro·se 'Did you defecate on
your legs?'

(moṭ 'interrogative particle', -me 'you', ṽirko-pu-
'to defecate on oneself', -n 'past', men- 'your',
koro·se 'foot, leg [objective]')¹³⁸

Related to action directed towards a body part is action directed to the body as a whole; reflexive verbs are used in this function also:

ṭakkarpuṽy 'Sit!'

(ṭakkar-pu- 'to assume a sitting position, to

¹³⁸-----
Compare:

moṭme ṽirkon men-koro·se 'id.'

The difference in meaning is that the reflexive form refers to defecating onto oneself, while the non-reflexive ṽirko- 'to defecate (on)' treats the recipient of the action as if not connected to the perpetrator.

put oneself into a sitting position', -y
imperative')

nuyyulpuy 'Stoop over!'

(nuyyul-pu- 'to assume a stooped-over position,
to put oneself into a stooped-over position',
-y 'imperative')

In this function, the reflexive suffix may be added to a stative stem referring to body position. For example:

mattalpuY 'Lie on your stomach!'

(mattal-pu- 'to put oneself into a prone
position', -y 'imperative')

When someone other than the subject is put into a particular position (i.e., in non-reflexive verbs), the positional-causative suffix -nu is added to the stative stem; thus, matla-nu- 'to put (someone else) into a prone position' (see sec. 421.2.3). The stem here is matla- 'to be in a prone position'.

Reflexives differ from mediopassives in that in the former the subject of the verb is the moving force behind whatever happens to him, while in the latter, the agent is unknown or irrelevant. Thus, in the few cases where there are both reflexive and mediopassive verbs built on the same stem, a semantic distinction is possible. For example (-n is 'mediopassive' -- sec. 421.1):

hiṣṣ^ye-pu- 'to turn oneself into'

hiṣṣ^ye-n- 'to become'

cf. hiṣṣ^ye- 'to do, to make'

hiki[·]-pu- 'to hang oneself'

hiki-n- 'to get hung' (unsure form) (< ||hiki·||)

Nevertheless, the distinction may be blurred, and there are several pairs of forms, glossed identically by Harrington, whose only semantic difference must be one of emphasis: the mediopassive verbs focus on the subject as being acted upon, while the reflexive verbs focus upon the subject's actions as well. For example:

ročoy-pu-	}	'to get snarled, tangled' (e.g., string)
ročyo-n-		
merke-pu-	}	'to move, change residence'
merke-n-		

Thus, there is apparently some overlap in function between reflexive and mediopassive verbs. This might account for several reflexive verbs which, on semantic grounds, might seem more like 'experiential' mediopassives (cf. sec. 421.1):

čayum-pu-	'to be envious of'
čorok-pu-	'to be sad'
hel ^y ek-pu-	'to be happy'

With a plural subject, reflexive verbs do not seem to refer to each individual involved acting upon himself, but rather to the group as a whole acting upon the group as a whole. The idea seems to be one of doing something 'amongst oneself' and, apparently, is distinguished from the reciprocal (sec. 421.4.2) which implies a group of two or more individuals acting upon each other in the same way at the same time.¹³⁹ Examples of plural reflexives are:

¹³⁹-----
 Perhaps reflexive verbs with plural subjects are ambiguous, meaning either 'to do (something) as a group amongst oneself' or 'to do (something) individually to oneself'. Thus, Harrington gives both of the following sentences:

monoypu 'está jugando' ('[He] is playing')

pistupu haysa 'They are pinching one another'
 (pistu-pu- 'to pinch oneself', -∅ 'non-past',
 haysa 'they')

makam riččapu 'You (plural) are talking (amongst
 yourselves)'

(makam 'you [plural]', ričča-pu- 'to speak to/
 amongst oneself [oneselves]', -∅ 'non-past')

cf. ričča haysa ri·časum 'They are speaking their
 language'

(ričča- 'to speak', -∅ 'non-past', haysa 'they'
 or 'their', ri·časum 'language, speech, words
 [instrumental]'; the idea of 'amongst themselves'
 is lacking from this non-reflexive verb)

There are a number of reflexive verbs for which the
 reflexive suffix seems to be used idiomatically, for there
 is no obvious reflexive sense. Some of these verbs are
 glossed identically to their active counterparts:

ʔosse-pu- } 'to imitate'
 ʔosse- }

pasik-pu- } 'to visit, to greet'
 paski- }

mehe·-pu- } 'to see'
 mehe- (||mehe·||) }

ʔekwe makam monoypu 'no esten jugando vds.' ('Don't
 [you-plural] be playing!')

The sense of monoypu is clearly sexual (cf. monyo- 'to be
 whorish, do whorish things'), thus the 'playing' of the glosses
 is sexual play. The singular gloss for the first phrase im-
 plies masturbation ('to play with oneself'); the second sen-
 tence may mean 'Don't fool around amongst yourselves sexually!'
 or 'Don't (you-plural) masturbate!'. The euphemistic glosses
 hide whether one or the other or both interpretations might be
 possible. (The word for 'to copulate' is not reflexive, but
 reciprocal: yossomu- 'to copulate with each other'. This too
 is given a euphemistic Spanish gloss, 'se estan enamorando'
 ['they are loving each other'].)

Other examples of the reflexive used idiomatically are:

- halas-pu- 'to lie, to fib'
 cf. halsas^Ymin 'liar' (-s^Ymin 'nominalizer;
 inherent characteristic')
- ʔamen-pu- 'to cloud up',¹⁴⁰
 cf. ʔamne- 'to rain (on)'
- mučuw-pu- 'to eat breakfast'
- ʔussu-pu- 'to fast'

Finally, in a few reflexive verbs, a stem final s occurs before the suffix -pu which does not occur in non-reflexive forms. For example:

- ka·n ʔu·hespu 'I raise myself up (for God)'
 (ka·n 'I', ʔu·hes-pu- 'to raise oneself up',
 -∅ 'non-past')
 cf. ʔu·he- 'to raise, lift'
- ʔekweme yummespu 'Don't be lying, cheating'
 (ʔekwe 'not', -me 'you', yummes-pu- 'to be lying,
 cheating, misleading', -∅ 'non-past')
 cf. yumme- 'to cheat, lie, mislead'

The exact semantic and morphological contribution of this s is not clear. It is part of the stem, since -pu always follows the stem directly. The status of s as the third consonant in stems was discussed in sec. 412 where it was suggested that it might have an 'iterative' or 'distributive' or 'plural'

¹⁴⁰-----
 ʔamen-pu- occurs in the sentence:

ʔamenpu țarah 'The sky is getting cloudy'
 (țarah 'sky') glossed in Spanish as 'se está nublando el cielo (de agua)' ('the sky is clouding up [with water]') and also as 'se esta pintando de agua el cielo' ('the sky is painting itself with water'). Perhaps, then, ʔamen-pu- literally means 'to put water all over oneself' and ʔamne- 'to rain' is literally 'to put water all over (something)'. If so, the reflexive usage is not really idiomatic at all.

sense. Such might be the case here too, though there is too little data to be sure. The gloss of ?u·hespu as 'raise oneself to God' (although nothing directly corresponding to 'to God' is in the Mutsun phrase) suggests a repeated or habitual activity as part of religious ritual. The Spanish gloss of ?ekweme yummespu is 'no vengas engañando' ('don't come deceiving!'), implying 'don't be prepared to lie!', perhaps some kind of directive for habitual behavior. The kind of evidence needed to figure out what this s is all about is a pair of reflexive forms built on the same stem, one with and one without the s. No such pair is found in the data.¹⁴¹ Thus, as with almost all third consonants of stems, the s must, at least for the time being, be treated as a stem-

¹⁴¹

The closest thing to such a pair is:

?ahhes-pu- 'to brush one's hair'

?aha·-pu- 'to comb one's hair'

The first form, with the s, is related to a noun ?ahhes 'soap-root brush' also with an s, though it may not be the same one (cf. -s 'nominalizer; instrumental', sec. 424.2). There is another word for 'brush', either ?ahha or ?ahhas, which, if not an error for ?ahhes, might be related to the second form above. The relation between the noun (or nouns) and reflexive verbs is not known since there are no other related forms. The difference in vowels between the reflexive verbs is another problem. The difference in English glosses is probably irrelevant. In short, little can be gleaned from the pair regarding stem-final s.

Another possible pair is ?annas-pu-/?anna-pu-. The former is glossed only as 'to pity' and is entered with no context. The latter occurs in the phrase:

haysa ?annapu henti 'the poor people'

(haysa 'they', henti 'people' [< Spanish gente])

Both are related to ?anna-n- 'to pity' and, by extension, 'to pardon'. If ?annapu- is given its most straightforward interpretation, it might mean 'to pity oneself'. The phrase would then mean 'they pity themselves, the people' or simply 'the people pity themselves'. Whatever the semantics of ?anna-pu-, they do not help in determining the value of s in ?annas-pu-, or how ?annas-pu- differs from ?anna-n-.

deriving suffix of 'unknown significance' (cf. sec. 222.2).

421.4.2. -mu 'reciprocal'

This suffix signifies identical or complementary action on the part of two or more subjects towards each other. All reciprocal verbs take plural subjects. For example:

hi·womu haysa 'They are quarreling'
 (hi·wo-mu- 'to quarrel, to scold each other',
 -∅ 'non-past', haysa 'they')
 cf. hi·wo- 'to scold'

Other examples of reciprocal verbs are:

nimmi-mu- 'to fight with each other'
 cf. nimmi- 'to fight'
 ?issu-mu- 'to play the hand game with each other'
 cf. ?issu- 'to play the hand game'
 keye·-mu- 'to elbow each other, to jostle each
 other with the elbow'
 cf. keye- (||keye·||) 'to jostle with the elbow'

422. Aspect

Three thematic suffixes indicating some aspectual notion have been found. As noted earlier, aspect seems to have been signified in the verb stem itself, though the details have not been worked out (see secs. 411, 412). Aspectual thematic suffixes are in complementary distribution with each other, but not with the transitivity thematic suffixes which they may follow. The aspectual suffixes are not clearly found with other thematic suffixes, but whether this is a systematic prohibition or an accident of the data is not known.

422.1. -ti 'continuative; to go along...-ing, to ...
along'

The meaning of this suffix is best illustrated by Harrington's gloss for ʔammatika (< ʔamma-ti- 'to go along eating', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I'):

voy comiendo [I go eating]. I walk along (e.g. street) and eat at the same time.

Thus, the activity is not finite, but extends over a period of time. Other examples are:

čitte-ti- 'to go along dancing' < čitte- 'to dance'
ričča-ti- 'to go along talking' < ričča- 'to speak'

The suffix may follow transitivity suffixes such as -ni 'mediopassive' and -mi 'benefactive' (sec. 421). For example:

hasli-ni-ti- 'to go along with fear'
< hasli-ni- 'to be afraid'

hils-mi-ti- 'to go along begging for someone else'
< hils-mi- 'to beg for someone else'

Some examples of -ti in sentences are:

yete·kammes hummiti 'I will treat you (to something)'
(yete· 'later', -kammes 'I-you', hummi-ti- 'to go along giving', -∅ 'non-past'; thus the subject will give not one item just once, but will continue to do so for a little while)

men hinsuti 'You know what you are doing'
(men 'you', hinsu-ti- 'to go along knowing [how to do something, or a fact]', -∅ 'non-past'; thus, the subject continues to have knowledge about what he does)

nu·yatiy men-riččan 'Stop your talking!'
(nu·ya-ti- 'to keep stopped', -y 'imperative', men- 'your', riččan 'talking' [verbal noun --

see sec. 424.1]; that is, 'stop talking and remain not talking!')

-ti is related to the nominal thematic suffix -ti which derives verbs meaning 'to be a...' or 'to go along like a...', again with a clear continuative sense (cf. sec. 322).

It is possible that -ti follows the primary rather than the derived stem, but more evidence is needed to be sure. In all but one case, the stem preceding -ti is in a form which may be either primary or derived. The one example illustrating a primary stem is ʔoneyti- 'to go along accompanying' (?) attested in:

ʔamʂ^yi haysa ʔoneyti diyo·se 'so that they might accompany God'¹⁴²
 (ʔamʂ^yi 'so that', haysa 'they', diyo·se 'God [objective]')

The stem is clearly primary in form since it ends in a consonant (ʔoney-) and is also found before reflexive -pu (ʔoneypustap 'was accompanied', -stap 'passive, past tense'). What makes ʔoneyti- a non-conclusive example of primary stem before -ti is that it was earlier recorded as ʔoneyati, certainly an error, but possibly an error for ʔonyeti. Furthermore, it is possible that ʔoneyti is based on a noun stem ʔoney- plus nominal thematic suffix -ti (sec. 322). The noun 'companion' is attested both as ʔonyen (which seems to be a verb stem ʔonye- plus nominalizing suffix -n [sec. 424.1]) and as plain ʔonye. Noun doublets of this type do not occur

¹⁴²-----
 The Spanish gloss for this sentence is 'para que acompañen á Dios'. The stem ʔoney- (derived: ʔonye-) is always glossed by a form of Spanish acompañar 'to accompany'.

elsewhere in the data. In short, ʔonyeti is part of a set of related terms which seems to have unique properties. As such, it would be nice to have another clearer example before asserting that only primary stems precede -ti.

422.2. -ksi 'continuative, habitual, imperfective, intensive' (?)

The exact meaning of this suffix is not clear, but it does have something to do with intensifying a state or extending an activity. Arroyo (1861:27-8) translated the suffix as 'bien perfectamente' ('perfectly well'), and Mason (1916:421) adopts Kroeber's (1910:253) term 'excellentive'.

The suffix occurs on only fourteen forms in the data examined. Interestingly, it seems to be required with some active verb stems, the unsuffixed stem being specifically denied as grammatical. In such cases, the exact semantic contribution of the suffix is sometimes difficult to discern, though a general notion of continuing, rather than punctual or even repetitive, activity comes through:

ruṣ^yu-ksi- 'to shake with palsy'
 ni·pa-ksi- 'to be teaching' < ni·pa- 'to teach'
 hiṣ^yṣ^ye-ksi- 'to be making (things)' < hiṣ^yṣ^ye- 'to do, to make'
 hapu-ksi- 'to be cleaning' (*hapu-)
 hense-ksi- 'to be quiet, still' (*hense-)

Perhaps a 'habitual' notion is conveyed in howsoksi- 'to command' which occurs in:

makkes howsoksi '(He) commands us',¹⁴³

¹⁴³-----
 Actually, the phrase is taken from Arroyo's manuscript (see footnote 10):

(makkes 'us [exclusive]')

The verb 'to command' also occurs unsuffixed (howso-). Since the phrase with -ksi is in a religious context, it is likely that the one doing the commanding is God or Christ, and that the commanding is a regular or habitual activity.

When added to stative stems, -ksi seems to intensify the state:

yerse-ksi- 'to be all torn up, full of holes'
 cf. yerse-n- 'to become torn, full of holes';
 the mediopassive verb implies an unattested
 yerse- 'to be torn'

kitsi-ksi- 'to be painted, decorated'

pelṣ^ye-ksi- 'to be soft'.¹⁴⁴

Finally, -ksi seems to have a mediopassive sense, at least some of the time. Compare:

?e·yo-ksi- 'to be rocking, swinging to and fro'
 (e.g., in a swing)

?e·yo- 'to push (someone) to and fro'

On the other hand, ni·pa-ksi- 'to be teaching' retains its active (and transitive) sense.¹⁴⁵

 numan macques onsocsi 'el q^e [i.e., que] nos manda'
 That is, numan makkes howsoksi '(the one) who commands us'
 (numan 'relative pronoun'). Mrs. Cervantes only responded to
 the verb, showing that Harrington copied the manuscript in-
 correctly (it probably reads ousocsi).

¹⁴⁴Harrington remarks that Mrs. Cervantes did not approve of non-suffixed *pelṣ^ye, although pelṣ^yeṣ^ymin 'soft one' (-ṣ^ymin 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic' -- sec. 424.6) was acceptable. Harrington also notes that another form is possible, but not definite: pelṣ^yeḱsimin 'one which is soft'. If the form is legitimate, it is unique in having a suffix -min, related to -ṣ^ymin, following -ksi.

¹⁴⁵-ksi occurs after a reduplicated stem hallale- (< halle-, cf. sec. 223.2) in hallaleksi, apparently meaning 'coming in single file'.

422.3. -si

This suffix is difficult to interpret, partially due to lack of understanding of idiomatic California Spanish. When verbs occur both with and without -si, the semantic contribution of the suffix is sometimes translated by the phrase 'no mas' (literally, 'no more' or 'only'). Thus:

kammes nimmi 'yo peleo contigo' ('I fight with you')
 (kammes 'I-you' [< ka(·)n 'I', -mes 'you
 (objective)'], -∅ 'non-past')

nimmisi 'no mas estas peleando' ('You are
 fighting "no mas"')¹⁴⁶

mehehname 'te miran a tí' ('They look at you')

mehe·sihnem 'no mas te estan mirando' ('They are
 looking at you "no mas"')
 (-hne 'passive', -m ~ -me 'you')

The latter two words are really passive, being translated into Spanish actives with third person plural subjects as is normally done in Harrington's data. A closer approximation to their meanings would be 'You are looked at' and 'You are being looked at "no mas"'.

Perhaps 'no mas' indicates that focus is on an ongoing activity itself, not on its inception or termination. The normal way of saying 'to see' or 'to look at' is mehe·-si- as in:

ka·n mehe·si kahhaye 'I'm looking at the headlouse'
 (ka·n 'I', kahhaye 'headlouse [objective]')

¹⁴⁶-----
 There is nothing in the Mutsun phrase corresponding to a second person pronoun. The subject must have been provided by context.

Non-suffixed mehe- (||mehe·||) is found far less frequently and seems to direct attention to something other than the seeing itself. For example:

mehey minmuy 'Look down!'
 (-y 'imperative', minmuy 'down')

mehet kannis 'Look at me!'
 (-t 'imperative, first person object', kannis
 'me')

cf. mehe·siy 'Be looking!' or 'Remain looking!'
 (-y 'imperative')

Similarly:

kan mehe miṣ^yte kan-hi·num 'I see well with my eyes'
 (kan 'I', -∅ 'non-past', miṣ^yte 'well, good',
 kan- 'my', hi·num 'eyes [instrumental]')

Here there is no activity of 'looking at' in progress at the time of speaking. Along these lines, compare:

ʔams^yi yulke, yu·ka pu·ṭe 'So that (the fire) burns,
 I am blowing (at it)'
 (ʔams^yi 'so that', yulke- 'to burn, be burning',
 -∅ 'non-past', yu· 'and, and so', -ka 'I', pu·ṭe-
 'to blow [at, out]', -∅ 'non-past')

pu·ṭesika sottowe 'I'm blowing at the fire'
 (pu·ṭe-si- 'to be blowing [at]', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I', sottowe 'fire [objective]')

The second sentence is translated in Spanish as 'aquí estoy soplando la lumbre' ('here I am blowing at the fire') implying that the activity is already in progress, with no implications of its inception, or else that only the 'blowing' is referred to, the function or goal of the activity (to keep the fire going) being irrelevant. The non-suffixed pu·ṭe- is used where the activity serves some function beyond itself.

Unfortunately, not all forms in *-si* obviously fit into this semantic area of a 'single, in-progress activity', implying that the characterization presented is deficient (if not entirely incorrect). Other examples of *-si* are:

dio·s kannis yete ʔuṭṭasi 'God will take care of me'
 (dio·s 'God', kannis 'me', yete 'later',
 ʔuṭṭa-si- 'to take care of', -∅ 'non-past')

ʔukki-si- 'to drink' (cf. ʔamma- 'to eat')

hoṭwe-si- 'to serve oneself'

ṭiswi-si-yini- 'to come to judge'

(-yini 'venitive; to come to...')

setne-si- 'to make acorn bread' (*setne- is denied)

It should be added that, due to a gap in the data, there is no way to know whether *-si* occurs before primary or derived stems.

423. Directional suffixes

423.1. -na ~ -yku 'andative; to go to...'

These two andative suffixes can be considered suppletive variants. *-na* occurs only before the final tense suffix *-∅* 'non-past'; *-yku* occurs before *-n* 'past' and *-s* 'remote past'.

For example:

ʔoṭo·naka yu·kise 'I go to gather acorns'
 (ʔoṭo·-na- 'to go to gather', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I', yu·kise 'acorns [objective]')

huyninaka kalletka 'I go to fish in the sea'
 (huyni-na- 'to go to fish', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I', kalletka 'sea [locative]')

hit^Yt^Ye makke haywena takkaṣ^Ymin si·se 'Let's go
 and see the hot springs'

(hit^Yt^Ye 'go!', makke 'we [inclusive]' [> 'let's go!'], haywe-na- 'to go to see', -∅ 'non-past', takkaş^Ymin 'hot one', si·se 'water [objective]' [> 'hot springs (objective)'])

makse ɬawraykun rammay 'We went to be (literally: sit) inside'

(makse 'we [exclusive]', ɬawra-yku- 'went to sit', -n 'past', rammay 'inside')

?inyusak hakwaykus 'He went along the road to go to get mussels'

(?inyu- 'to travel along [the road]', -s 'remote past', -ak 'he', hakwa-yku- 'went to get mussels', -s 'remote past')

-na is frequently found after verb stems derived from nouns, with the meaning 'to go to gather...' or 'to go use...':

tapru-na- 'to go to gather wood' < tappur 'wood, log, tree'

lalka-na- 'to go to gather geese' < la·lak 'goose'

pakču-na- 'to go to play ball' < pa·kuč 'ball'

This state of affairs led Mason (1916:412) to classify -na as a verbalizing suffix attached to noun stems. The present analysis sees the noun and verb stems as related, but with -na following a verb stem, not a noun stem. Thus, when in Harrington's data -na is found after a stem which is otherwise attested only as a noun stem, e.g., mi·sa-na- 'to go to Mass' (cf. mi·sa 'Mass' [< Spanish misa]), under the view proposed here mi·sa- must be a (derived) verb stem for which a generalized gloss such as 'to have to do with Mass' might be appropriate.

The andative suffix is found after -pu 'reflexive' in:

li·ki-pu-na- 'to go to kill oneself'

cf. li·ki-na- 'to go kill (somebody, something else)'

Whether it can occur in combination with other thematic suffixes is unknown.¹⁴⁷

For the imperative, a special 'andative-imperative' suffix is used, -yis (sec. 434.5).

423.2. su 'andative; to go to...'

This second andative suffix is attested only once:

mučuw-pu-su- 'to go to eat breakfast'

cf. mučuw-pu- 'to eat breakfast'

How it is distinguished from -na ~ -yku cannot be determined.¹⁴⁸

423.3. -yni 'venitive; to come to...'

Unlike the andative -na ~ -yku, this venitive suffix

¹⁴⁷-----
In one case, the semantics of the andative are unusual. Harrington glosses wa·teykun as 'anduvo' ('[he] went, came, moved along'), calling it the 'past aorist' of wa·tena. (Indeed, Mrs. Cervantes's denial of *wa·tenan and *wa·tenas is the basis for considering -na and -yku together.) The peculiarity is that the stem, wa·te-, means 'to come', so that wa·teykun is literally 'went to come' or the like. Interestingly, wa·te- does not occur in the past tense except in these andative forms. Perhaps, under circumstances not yet known, the andative is required as part of past tense formation, though this still leaves the non-past wa·tena unexplained (or, as an expedient, 'idiomatic').

¹⁴⁸Mason (1916:420-21) distinguishes them as follows:

The first, -na, denotes motion to a distant place or outdoors.... The second, -su, denotes motion to a nearby place or indoors.

Arroyo (1861:45) admits to having had a hard time distinguishing the two, but he observed that -na is used when the subject will return rather soon, or goes to a nearby place; -su is used when the subject will not return soon or goes to a distant place. (Also, a non-suffixed verb is used when the subject moves only a few steps or not at all in order to do something.)

Since Mason and Arroyo disagree with each other, we can only hope that the unexamined Harrington data contain the answer.

occurs with all three tense suffixes. For example:

- ʔammaynika 'I come to eat'
 (ʔamma-yeni- 'to come to eat', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I')
- ka·nmes hayweynin 'I came to see you'¹⁴⁹
 (ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', haywe-yeni-
 'to come to see', -n 'past')
- wa·k ʔat^y monseynis 'He came to tell (God)'
 (wa·k 'he', ʔat^y 'particle, significance
 unknown', monse-yeni- 'to come to tell',
 -s 'remote past')

The suffix can probably be used with an imperative suffix following as well, though Harrington tags the one attestation as only 'App[arently]' legitimate:

- ʔammayniy 'Come to eat!'
 (ʔamma-yeni- 'to come to eat', -y 'imperative')

Like the andative, the venitive occurs after the reflexive suffix -pu, though whether it can occur with other thematic suffixes is unknown. An example with the reflexive is:

- ware·-pu-yeni- 'to come to visit'

There may be a historic connection between the venitive -yeni and the locative demonstrative ni(·) 'here' (sec. 362.1).

- 423.4. -wu 'venitive; to come to...'

A second venitive suffix is attested very rarely:

- ha·yi ʔammawuy 'Come to eat!'
 (ha·yi 'come here!', ʔamma-wu- 'to come to
 eat', -y 'imperative')

¹⁴⁹-----
 This sentence was actually glossed in the present, probably an error due to the recentness of the -n 'past' suffix. A more revealing gloss might be 'I have come to see you'.

ha·yi čittewuy 'Come to dance!'
 (ha·yi 'come here!', čitte-wu- 'to come to
 dance', -y 'imperative')

A non-imperative example is also found which may give some clue as to how the two venitive suffixes are distinguished from each other:

ʔammawuka 'I will come to eat'
 (ʔamma-wu- 'to come to eat', -∅ 'non-past',
 -ka 'I')

The notion of futurity of the gloss (Spanish: 'yo voy a venir a comer despues' ['I am going to come to eat later']) is unexplained unless it has something to do with the venitive -wu. The other venitive, -yni, is found with no such notion:

ʔamaynika 'I come to eat'

(Spanish: 'vengo a comer'). Perhaps tense is not so much involved here as is physical proximity. Thus, maybe -yni is used when the subject is relatively near the goal (the place to which he is coming); then -wu is used when the goal is farther away. Without more data, this remains pure conjecture.

The venitive -wu is found after the mediopassive suffix -n(i); whether it can occur with other thematic suffixes is unknown:

ʔeṭṭe-ni-wu- 'to come to sleep' (literally: 'to
 come to fall asleep')

424. Nominalizing suffixes

When a nominalizing suffix is added to a verb stem, it forms a noun theme (see sec. 300).

424.1. -n 'nominalizer; passive (?)'

When added to an active verb stem, this suffix denotes 'that which is acted upon' or 'that which results from (the action)'.¹⁵⁰ For example:

ʔamman 'food, meal'	ʔamma- 'to eat'
ʔeṭsen 'supper'	ʔeṭse- 'to eat supper'
riččan 'that which is said'	ričča- 'to speak'
cf. ri·ča 'language, speech, words'	
piṭṭen 'tied up bundle'	piṭṭe- 'to tie up'

The derived noun themes, like all noun themes, are followed by the appropriate final case suffix. For example:

hiṣ·ṣ·eka ʔammane 'I make the meal'
(hiṣ·ṣ·e- 'to make', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I', ʔamma-n- 'meal', -e 'objective case')

On occasion, Harrington refers to nouns in -n as 'verbal nouns', not only because they are based on verb stems, but also because of their syntactic behavior. The syntax of 'verbal nouns' is not well illustrated in the data examined, but, at least under certain, as yet unclear, conditions, they occur as if verbs in subordinate clauses. For example:

nu·yatiy men-riččan 'Stop your talking!'
(nu·ya-ti- 'to stop [doing something]', -y 'imperative', men- 'your', ričča-n- 'that which is spoken; talking', -∅ 'subjective case')

¹⁵⁰ Silverstein (1975:377) termed this suffix 'mediopassive-adjectival', deriving a '(verbal) adjective'. Mason (1916:406) called it 'resultative, infinitive' and said that it 'denotes result or phenomenon of an act'.

In such instances, however, the verbal function of the 'verbal noun' is stronger than the nominal function. For one thing, the objective case suffix is not used where it would be expected on a regular noun, e.g.:

neppe halak ʔekwek nu·yati wak-riččan 'This blind man does not stop talking'
 (neppe 'this', halak [or hallak] 'blind person', ʔekwe 'not', -k 'he', nu·ya-ti- 'to stop [doing something]', -∅ 'non-past', wak- 'his', ričča-n- 'talking', -∅ 'subjective case' [?])

Mediopassive verb stems cannot be nominalized by -n; they remain verbs in contexts calling for 'active' verbal nouns:

nu·yatiy men š^yollen 'Stop being sad!'
 (nu·ya-ti- 'to stop [doing something]', -y 'imperative', men 'you', š^yolle-n- 'to be sad', -∅ 'non-past' [?]; cf. š^yo·len 'sadness')
 yuṭṭun kan wattin 'My trip is called off'
 (yuṭṭu-n- 'to go to one side', -∅ 'non-past', kan 'I', watti-n- 'to go', -∅ 'non-past'; thus literally: '[That] I go is put aside' or the like)

The resemblance between both the form and function of -n 'nominalizer' and -n 'mediopassive' is striking, but not understood in the absence of more data on the verbal nouns.

Because of this suffix, nouns ending in n are suspect as being verbal nouns. When there is no verbal counterpart, there is no way to determine whether they are nouns ending in -n 'nominalizer' (synchronically or historically) or nouns which just happen to have n as a third (or fourth) consonant. Some of these nouns are:¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹-----
 There is one example of nominalizing -n following the reflexive thematic suffix -pu, but the gloss is not clear:

lawan (||lawa·n||) 'bow'
 yo·kon 'ashes'
 so·kon 'witchcraft poison'
 ?issin 'hold (in ground)'
 haṣ^yṣ^yan 'abalone shell'
 hismen 'sun'
 ričkin 'carrying net' (cf. ričwi- 'to untie')
 tipṣ^yin 'basket' (cf. tippi- 'to coil up [e.g.,
 snake]')
 ?urkan 'mortar'

424.2. -s 'nominalizer; instrumental'

Added to an active verb stem, this suffix forms a noun theme meaning 'that with which (the action) is performed'.¹⁵²

For example:

sippos 'feather (on arrow)'	sippo- 'to put feathers on (an arrow)'
?ampis 'spit (for roasting)'	?ampi- 'to roast'
horkos 'throat'	horko- 'to swallow'
kiččas 'key'	kičča- 'to lock, close door with a key'
kiṭras 'stirring paddle'	kiṭra- 'to stir'
piṭṭes 'knot (in a cord)'	piṭṭe- 'to tie'

As with nouns in -n, there are a number of nouns

yossopun 'un enamorado' ('a beloved one' ?)
 The stem of this word is yosso- 'to copulate'. yosso-pu-, not attested independently, would presumably mean 'to copulate with oneself'. The effect of adding -n is not clear. Cf. yossopan^y 'a copulator'.

¹⁵²Silverstein (1975:377) called this suffix 'agentive nominalizer' and the derived noun a 'noun of agency'. Mason (1916:406) called it 'causative, abstractive' saying that it 'denotes cause or phenomenon of an act, and is generally used with words of abstract significance'.

ending in s. Whether these nouns are derived, synchronically or historically, from verbs, or just happen to end in s, is unknown in the absence of attested verbal counterparts. Some of these nouns are:

tuyos (||tuyo·s||) 'arrow' (cf. tiyo- 'to shoot an arrow')

ṭa·res 'man'

ka·ras 'molar tooth'

pu·yis 'witchcraft'

rummes 'backbone'

?akkas 'north'

424.3. -h 'nominalizer'

A third nominalizing suffix is both rare and obscure in its meaning. It is found in:

ruččeh 'braid' ručče- 'to braid, make braids'

tokkoh 'mat, bed' tokko- 'to spread out, unroll
(a mat)'

These two examples (the only clear cases in all the data) make -h seem similar in function to -n. Whether this is true awaits further data.

Since h in word-final position is sometimes lost (sec. 113.2), there may be a number of nouns in -h which have not been discerned. Similarly, due to the phenomenon of word-final aspiration (sec. 123), some nouns attested with final h may, in fact, not have it at all. Such a noun is:

hippu^h 'a load'

cf. hippu- 'to carry on back'

Finally, any noun which ends in h may be a noun derived from a verb. Again, in the absence of such a verb, the status of noun-final h is unknown. Some examples of nouns ending in

h are:

tiwih (tiwi·h)	'feather headdress'
ṭarah (ṭara·h)	'sky'
to·yo(h)	'bumblebee'
či·rih	'horn' (cf. či·ri 'id.')
wimmah	'wing'
kalleh	'sea' (cf. kalle 'id.')
lasseh	'tongue'
pattah	'skin, pelt'
kurkah	'pinole' (mush)
kitroh	'garment, skirt'

424.4. -pan^Y 'nominalizer; habitual agentive (?)'

This suffix is not well represented in the data, but it seems to follow active verb stems in deriving noun themes denoting the habitual performer of an action. For example:¹⁵³

hi·wopan ^Y	'a scold' < hi·wo-	'to scold'
poslopan ^Y	'posole-maker' < poslo-	'to make posole' (stew)'
yummepan ^Y	'liar' < yumme-	'to lie, cheat, mislead'
yossopan ^Y	'copulator' ¹⁵⁴ < yosso-	'to copulate'

424.5. -msa 'nominalizer'

This suffix is also poorly represented in the data. It seems to have an instrumental sense, referring to things which facilitate the activity, but which are not themselves a

¹⁵³-----
In one case, a stem-final s occurs before -pan^Y, but with no known significance (cf. secs. 412, 421.4.1): ?annaspan^Y. This is glossed as 'que nos perdona Dios' ('may God pardon us'), but perhaps should be 'pardonner'.

¹⁵⁴yossopan^Y is glossed by Harrington as 'uno que no mas anda enamorando mujeres [one who just goes around loving (i.e., copulating with) women], young or old, whatever he can find'.

product of the activity.¹⁵⁵ For example:

ʔennemsa 'thing used for writing'
 < ʔenne- 'to paint, to write'
 pappel ʔennemsa 'writing paper'
 (pappel 'paper' [< Spanish papel])
 čittemsa 'place for dancing' < čitte- 'to dance'
 witimsa 'dust pan' < witi- 'to throw away'

The suffix also has a more abstract significance:

howsomsa 'commandments' < howso- 'to command'
 mi·samsa 'time of mass' (?) < mi·sa- 'to have to do
 with Mass' (?)

This latter word is attested only with a locative suffix, mi·samsatka 'at the time of the Mass'. This is the only instance of a locative suffix referring to time rather than space. On the verbal status of mi·sa- see sec. 423.1.

Finally, the suffix occurs after ro·te- 'to be at (a place), to be kept at (a place)':

ro·temsa pappel } 'where paper is kept'
 pappel ro·temsa }

Clearly, further data are needed to get the meaning and usage of this suffix into focus.

424.6. -š^ymin ~ -hmin (~ -smin) 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic'

When added to verb stems, these suffixes form noun themes referring to the verbal notion as an inherent characteristic, e.g., 'one who is...', 'one who always...'. The distinction

¹⁵⁵-----
 Mason (1916:407) explicitly terms it 'instrumental'. He says it 'denotes instrument or means for the performance of an act'.

between the three alternants is only partially understood.

$-\dot{s}^Y_{min}$ may be added to an active, stative or mediopassive verb stem. In all such cases, the derived noun denotes what would be the subject of the verb stem (the 'agent' of the active verb, the one affected by the mediopassive verb, the one who is in the state of the stative verb).

When added to an active verb stem, the derived noun refers to 'one who always...' or 'one who habitually...'. For example:

yikkaš^Y_{min} 'grinder' < yikka- 'to grind'
 paytaš^Y_{min} 'hunter' < payta- 'to hunt'

How $-\dot{s}^Y_{min}$ in such cases differs from $-\text{pan}^Y$ (sec. 424.4) is unclear.

When added to a stative verb stem, the derived noun refers to 'one who is...' or 'one who is characterized by...' or 'one who has a noticeable characteristic of...'. For example:

čupkaš^Y_{min} 'white one' < čupka- 'to be white'
 maṭkaš^Y_{min} 'bitter one' < maṭka- 'to be bitter'
 yoltoš^Y_{min} 'big-eared one' < yolto- 'to be big-eared'

When added to a mediopassive verb stem, the derived noun refers to 'one who has become...' or 'one who always or habitually becomes...'. For example:

ʔočkoš^Y_{min} 'deaf one' < ʔočko-n- 'to become deaf'
 miṭteš^Y_{min} 'grown one' < miṭte-n- 'to grow'
 hasseš^Y_{min} 'savagely, wild, fierce one' < hasse-n(i)- 'to get angry'

Notice that in the case of the mediopassive stems, the mediopassive suffix $-\text{n(i)}$ does not occur in the nominal form. As

was noted earlier (sec. 421.1), some active stems may take the mediopassive suffix to become mediopassive verb themes. When these stems are nominalized by $-\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$, they may also be interpreted as if mediopassive. For example:

$\text{ʔalleṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ 'broken one' (e.g., one with a broken bone)
 < ʔalle-n- 'to get broken'
 cf. ʔalle- 'to break'

Theoretically, this should lead to ambiguities, since the noun could refer to the subject of either the active or mediopassive verb (the breaker, or the one who gets broken). Only one such multiple interpretation is attested:

$\text{pa}\cdot\text{kaṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ 'shelled one (e.g., a nut)'
 'sheller (e.g., of nuts)'
 < $\text{pa}\cdot\text{ka-n-}$ 'to get shelled'
 $\text{pa}\cdot\text{ka-}$ 'to shell'

Finally, derived nouns in $-\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ may be related to nouns. In such cases, a derived verb stem related to the noun stem is used. The meaning of these derived nouns is 'one who is characterized by...'. For example:

$\text{mohleṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ 'one having a big head'
 cf. $\text{mo}\cdot\text{hel}$ 'head'
 $\text{marhaṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ 'leafy one; (body) hairy one'
 cf. marah ($\|\text{mara}\cdot\text{h}\|$) 'leaf; body hair'
 $\text{hunhuṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ 'snotty one'
 cf. hunnuh 'snot'
 $\text{hurkeṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ 'sinewy one'
 cf. hurek ($\|\text{hure}\cdot\text{k}\|$) 'sinew'

When there are attested noun-verb pairs involving other suffixes, the derived nouns in $-\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ can be seen to be based

on the verb rather than the noun:

tohre^Ymin 'one who always coughs'

< tohre- 'to cough'

cf. to·her 'cough'

murtuş^Ymin 'dark, black one'

< murtu- 'to be dark, black'

cf. muruṭ 'darkness, night'

The difference between -ş^Ymin and -smin is unknown. The latter occurs very rarely and may be the result of mishearing, mistranscription, sound symbolism, or sibilant harmony. Note also the troubles Harrington had in distinguishing sibilants in certain contexts, the suffix -ş^Ymin being one of them (sec. 113.1). Examples of -smin are:

hiwasmin 'arriver' < hiwa-n- (||hiwa·||) 'to arrive'

murçusmin 'black one'

cf. murtuş^Ymin 'dark, black one'

murtu- 'to be dark, black'

-hmin occurs less frequently than -ş^Ymin. When suffixed to an active verb stem, the derived noun corresponds to what would be the object of that verb, that is, something acted upon by that verb. The action has been completed resulting in the object being in a particular state. Thus, nouns in -hmin translate '...one' or 'one which has been...'. For example:

tersehmin 'cut one' < terse- 'to cut'

saçkihmin 'split one' < saçki- 'to split (something)
in half)

ʔampihmin 'roasted one' < ʔampi- 'to roast'

mirahmin 'given thing' < mira- (||mira·||) 'to give
(a gift)'

Despite this difference between the functions of $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ and $-\text{hmin}$, no active verb stem has been found suffixed by both. Thus, it is possible that the distinction is fortuitous and something else is going on.

When suffixed to a stative verb stem, $-\text{hmin}$ has exactly the same effect as $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$. One difference, which may be due to lack of data, is that stative verb stems followed by $-\text{hmin}$ do not occur in a non-nominalized form. Examples of stative verb stems plus $-\text{hmin}$ are:

ṭaskuhmin 'red one'
 satlahmin 'flat-nosed one'
 ku·t^Yihmin 'small one'

No difference between $-\text{hmin}$ and $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ has been discerned which would predict which suffix occurs with which stative verb stem, based either on semantics or, e.g., phonological shape of the stem. Until more data are examined which might shed light on this situation, each stative verb stem must be marked as taking either $-\text{hmin}$ or $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ (and, similarly, either $-\text{hte}$ or $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{te}$ 'perfective' -- see sec. 432).

For the most part, stems preceding $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$ are of the form $C_1V_1C_2C_3V_2-$. In the data examined, a little under 10% of all such words have a geminate cluster instead of $-C_2C_3-$, and under 6% have a single medial consonant. This predominant $-C_2C_3-$ pattern extends to verb stems which, before other suffixes, do not have a third consonant. That is, sometimes a third consonant is added to the stem in forming the derived stem to precede $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$.¹⁵⁶ For example:

¹⁵⁶-----
 The same phenomenon is observed before $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{te}/-\text{hte}$ 'perfective' (sec. 432).

The third consonant often appears in stems related to noun stems, particularly monosyllabic noun stems. For example:

- ʧapses^ymin '(body) hairy one'
 cf. ʧap 'body hair'
 hayt^yeş^ymin 'big (wide) mouthed one'
 cf. ha(·)y 'mouth'
 rust^yeş^ymin 'sloppy one'
 cf. ru(·)s 'saliva'¹⁵⁹
 ru·se- 'to spit (on)'
 ʔursiş^ymin '(head) hairy one'
 cf. ʔuri (||ʔuri·||) '(head) hair'
 paysaş^ymin 'fast one, fast runner'
 cf. pa·ya 'speed'

Based on the relatively few forms which add a third consonant, the identity of the added consonant must be individually specified. The choices, however, seem limited, the most common being t^y,¹⁶⁰ t and s (as exemplified above).

In one case, two different third consonants are added, with a resultant difference in meaning:

- riçtaş^ymin 'one who talks much'
 riçwaş^ymin 'one who talks much'
 < riçča- 'to speak'

not seem to have too many advantages (for a synchronic description) over simply marking the few verbs which add a third consonant. The infusion of more data will surely tip the scales in favor of one analysis or the other.

¹⁵⁹Cf., however, museş^ymin 'big breasted one' (mus 'breast'), with no added consonant.

¹⁶⁰Mason (1916:426) recognized the addition of t^y (ti in his transcription) to such forms, tagging it 'adjectival-agentive'. He states that its 'import is not clear'.

The first form implies one who talks too much in the sense of gossiping (and is, according to Mrs. Cervantes, an insulting word). The second refers to one who talks continuously, but has no bad connotations.

The status of the added third consonants seems tied up with that of third consonants in general. Cf. sec. 222.2.

Derived nouns in - $\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}/\text{-hmin}$ occur frequently in noun compounds as the modifying (non-head) noun and as predicates in equational sentences (see secs. 711, 730). For this reason, they are often glossed (in Spanish) as adjectives, and Mason (1916:425) classifies them as such. Arroyo (1861:12-13) also calls them adjectives, but points out how they take the same suffixes as nouns. From Arroyo's point of view, this would be natural, since in his native Spanish adjectives can be used as nouns: grande 'big' (adjective), el grande 'the big one' (noun). In Mutsun, however, it seems best to consider them simply nouns. As such, they must be followed by the appropriate nominal final (case) suffix (sec. 332). For example:

ka·n hiṣ $^{\text{Y}}\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{e}$ ʔekṭeṣ $^{\text{Y}}\text{mine}$ 'I did something evil' or
 'I committed a sin'
 (ka·n 'I', hiṣ $^{\text{Y}}\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{e}$ - 'to do, to make', -s 'remote
 past', ʔekṭe- $\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ - 'evil one, something evil', -e
 'objective case')

wak hiwsen wetreṣ $^{\text{Y}}\text{mine}$ 'She likes a big one'
 (wak 'she', hiwse-n- 'to like', -∅ 'non-past',
 wetre- $\text{ṣ}^{\text{Y}}\text{min}$ - 'big one', -e 'objective case')

ʔenney ṭaskuhminum 'Paint it red!'
 (ʔenne- 'to paint, to write', -y 'imperative',

tasku-hmin- 'red one, something red', -um
'instrumental case')

Examples of nouns in -ṣ^Ymin/-hmin in noun compounds
and equational sentences are:

takkaṣ^Ymin si· 'hot springs'
(takka-ṣ^Ymin 'hot one, something hot', si· 'water')

hemečʔa yummuṣ^Ymin tappur 'a rotten piece of wood'
(hemečʔa 'one', yummu-ṣ^Ymin 'rotten, dried out
one', tappur 'wood, tree, log')

wetreṣ^Ymin wak-ʔo·čo 'He is big-eared' or 'His ears
are big'
(wetre-ṣ^Ymin 'big one, something big', wak- 'his',
ʔo·čo 'ear[s]')

wak-ha(·)y meyloṣ^Ymin 'His mouth has no teeth'
(wak- 'his', ha[·]y 'mouth', meylo-ṣ^Ymin 'tooth-
less one')

Since both noun compounds and equational sentences consist
of the sequence noun + noun, ambiguities in interpretation may
result, e.g.:

sawreṣ^Ymin to·ṭe 'fat(ty) meat' or 'The meat is
fat(ty)'
(sawre-ṣ^Ymin 'fatty one', to·ṭe 'meat')

As with all nouns, number is an irrelevant category and
a plural interpretation is possible (as in the sentence
about 'big ears' above). Cf. also:

ʔuṭhin paytaṣ^Ymin 'two hunters'

In general, when plural is intended, a special plural nominal-
izing suffix is used instead of -ṣ^Ymin/-hmin (-mak, -ṣ^Ymak/-smak,
secs. 424.7, 424.8). For example:

paytasmak 'hunters'

The relationship between $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$ and the nominal thematic suffix $-\text{min}$ (sec. 323) is obvious, but, because of the limited exemplification of $-\text{min}$, no clear reason has been found for why some noun stems take $-\text{min}$ while others use a related verb stem plus $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, this raises the possibility that $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ and $-\text{hmin}$ are each really sequences of two suffixes, $-\text{ṣ}^Y-\text{min}$ and $-\text{h}-\text{min}$, where $-\text{min}$ could be the same as the nominal thematic suffix $-\text{min}$, and $-\text{ṣ}^Y$ and $-\text{h}$ could be nominalizing suffixes. The fact that $-\text{h}$ exists as a nominalizing suffix supports this view (sec. 424.3); $-\text{ṣ}^Y$ could easily be an allomorph of nominalizing $-\text{s}$ (sec. 424.2), which may even serve to explain the few cases of $-\text{smin}$, as well as Harrington's problems in distinguishing $/\text{s}/$ and $/\text{ṣ}^Y/$. Furthermore, the fact that both $-\text{h}$ and $-\text{hmin}$ occur less frequently than $-\text{s}$ and $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ lends weight to the hypothesis. Historically, it is probably the case that $-\text{hmin}$ and $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ are suffix sequences. Synchronically, however, they behave as units. This shows up most clearly when they are compared to their plural counterpart $-\text{mak}$ (sec. 424.7) which occurs immediately after the verb stem, not after a suffixed $-\text{ṣ}^Y$ or $-\text{h}$. It seems unlikely that the singular forms would be

¹⁶¹-----
 Perhaps something akin to alienable vs. inalienable possession is involved. For example, words meaning 'one with a big...' or 'one with much...', referring to body parts, are generally in the nominalized verb form, e.g. $\text{ṭapṣeṣ}^Y\text{min}$ '(body) hairy one' (ṭap 'body hair'), $\text{mohleṣ}^Y\text{min}$ 'big-headed one' ($\text{mo}\cdot\text{hel}$ 'head'). On the other hand, $-\text{min}$ is found with such 'alienably possessed' concepts as ʔirekmin 'one with much money' (ʔirek 'rock, money'), makkuhmin 'one with a husband' (makkuh 'husband'; if this were a nominalized verb in $-\text{hmin}$, it would be $*\text{makkuhmin}$). This is not a clean distinction, however; cf. $\text{ti}\cdot\text{raṣ}^Y\text{min}$ 'big-rumped one' ($\text{ti}\cdot\text{raṣ}^Y$ 'rump'; if this were a nominalized form in $-\text{ṣ}^Y\text{min}$ it would be $*\text{tirṣ}^Y\text{aṣ}^Y\text{min}$). More data are needed.

nominalized with $-\text{ş}^Y$ or $-h$, then further suffixed with $-min$, while the plurals take $-mak$ alone. Positing an allomorph $-\emptyset$ of $-\text{ş}^Y$ and/or $-h$ which might occur before $-mak$ seems more artificial than considering $-\text{ş}^Ymin$ and $-hmin$ synchronically unitary suffixes.

Finally, $-\text{ş}^Ymin$ behaves irregularly with the monosyllabic verb stems $mis-$ 'to be pretty' and $miş^Y-$ 'to be good' -- see sec. 413.

424.7. $-mak$ 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic, plural'

This suffix has the same semantic import as $-\text{ş}^Ymin/-hmin$, but the noun themes derived by means of it are plural.¹⁶² $-mak$ follows only stative and mediopassive stems, mostly the former. (The related $-\text{ş}^Ymak \sim -smak$ follow active verb stems -- see sec. 424.8). For example:

wittimак 'hard ones' < witti- 'to be hard, solid, firm' (e.g., a stick)
 ?awlimак 'sour ones' < ?awli- 'to be sour'
 meylomак 'toothless ones' < meylo- 'to be toothless'
 cf. meyloş^Ymin 'toothless one'
 miṭṭemак 'grown ones' < miṭṭe-n- 'to grow'
 cf. miṭṭeş^Ymin 'grown one'

Perhaps as an accident of the data, noun themes in $-mak$ which are the plural counterparts of those in $-hmin$ do not have attested non-suffixed verb stems. Some examples of the

¹⁶²-----
 In only one example is a derived noun in $-\text{ş}^Ymin/-hmin$ treated as a regular noun in that its plural is formed by adding the nominal thematic plural suffix $-mak$:

hiwasmin 'arriver(s)'
 hiwasminmak 'arrivers'

In all other cases, verb suffix $-mak$ (or $-\text{ş}^Ymak/-smak$, sec. 424.8) replace $-\text{ş}^Ymin/-hmin$.

singular-plural pairs are:

pusluhmin 'pot-bellied one'	puslumak 'pot-bellied ones'
taskuhmin 'red one'	taskumak 'red ones'
weyrohmin 'big-mouthed one'	weyromak 'big-mouthed ones'

As with $-\mathfrak{s}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$, stems used with $-\text{mak}$ may be related to nouns and, furthermore, contain the added third consonant in the same forms (see sec. 424.6). For example:

lopčos Y min 'big-navelled one'	lopčomak 'big-navelled ones'
cf. loppoč 'navel'	
paysaš Y min 'fast one, fast runner'	paysamak 'fast one, fast runners'
cf. pa·ya 'speed'	

The connection between this nominalizing suffix and the nominal thematic suffix $-\text{mak}$ 'plural' is obvious. This verb suffix, however, follows stems ending in vowels, while the noun suffix follows those ending in consonants (see sec. 321).

424.8. $-\mathfrak{s}^Y\text{mak} \sim -\text{smak}$ 'nominalizer; habitual agent'

These suffixes, obviously related to the just described $-\text{mak}$, follow only active verb stems. There is apparently no difference between them but, unlike $-\mathfrak{s}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$ (sec. 424.6) $-\text{smak}$ is found more frequently than $-\mathfrak{s}^Y\text{mak}$. With one stem, yikka- 'to grind', there is free variation between the two.

Like $-\mathfrak{s}^Y\text{min}/-\text{hmin}$, when added to active verb stems, $-\mathfrak{s}^Y\text{mak}/-\text{smak}$ denote habitual performers of the action. Often, the derived noun is not marked for number, but may be used as either a singular or plural noun. For example:

pa·kasmak 'sheller(s) (of nuts)' < pa·ka- 'to shell'
 cf. pa·kaş^Ymin 'id.'; 'shelled one'

huyniş^Ymak 'fisherman, fishermen' < huyni- 'to fish'
 huraş^Ymak 'gravedigger(s)' < hura- (||hura·||) 'to
 dig a grave'

On the other hand, sometimes only a plural gloss is given. In such cases, it is not known whether the meaning must be plural or if Harrington simply failed to record the singular sense. For example:

čittesmak 'dancers' < čitte- 'to dance'

paytasnak 'hunters' < payta- 'to hunt'

cf. paytaş^Ymin 'hunter(s)'

yikkasmak ~ yikkaş^Ymak 'grinders, millers' < yikka-
 'to grind'

cf. yikkaş^Ymin 'grinder'

The difference in meaning between active verbs suffixed by -ş^Ymin/-hmin vs. -ş^Ymak/-smak is unknown, other than the possible inherent plurality in some forms.

As with -ş^Ymin/-hmin, historically -ş^Ymak/-smak are sequences of two suffixes. Synchronically, however, there is no compelling reason to regard them as other than monomorphemic.

424.9. -ya 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic,
 plural'

This suffix is found with a few stative verb stems. It is semantically indistinguishable from -mak (sec. 424.7), given the examined data, and is sometimes just an alternate form. For example:

čupkaya 'white ones' < čupka- 'to be white'

cf. čupkaş^Ymin 'white one'

çupkamak 'white ones'

ʔekṭeya 'evil ones' < ʔekṭe-n- 'to become evil'

cf. ʔekṭeṣ^ymin 'evil one'¹⁶³

satlaya 'flat-nosed ones'

cf. satlahmin 'flat-nosed one'

sotloya 'thick-lipped ones'

cf. sotloṣ^ymin 'thick-lipped one'

-ya is also found with the irregular verb stems mis-
'to be pretty' and miṣ^y- 'to be good' (see sec. 413):

misya 'pretty ones' cf. missimak 'id.'

miṣ^yya 'good ones' (unsure) cf. miṣ^yṣ^yimak 'id.'

A suffix -ya also occurs after a numeral with a collective sense: ʔuṭhinya 'both of them' (< ʔuṭhin 'two'). The exact relationship between these two -ya suffixes is unknown.

425. Miscellaneous thematic suffixes

425.1. -i

A final -i is added to Spanish verbs as part of their incorporation into Mutsun. Mutsun borrows the infinitive form, invariably ending in -r in Spanish, and must add a vowel since all (derived) verb stems end in vowels. For example:

kasa·ri- 'to get married' < casar

huka·ri- 'to play' < jugar

taha·ri- 'to stop' < atajar

ware·ri- 'to sweep (indoors)' < barrer 'to sweep'

Verb stems in -i are then treated as normal (non-suffixed)

¹⁶³-----
In Arroyo's manuscript (see footnote 10), a form hequithremac 'los malos' ('the bad, evil ones') is found. This is likely to be ʔekṭemak, a form suggested by Isabel Meadows, though not attested from Mrs. Cervantes. An independently occurring stative verb stem *ʔekṭe- 'to be evil' is not attested, but is probable.

verb stems:

huka·ri-na- 'to go to play' (-na 'andative' --
sec. 423.1)

425.2. -ṭe

This suffix occurs with two stems. Its exact function is unclear.¹⁶⁴

latweṭe 'long-tongued one' or 'to be extending the tongue' (unclear whether noun or verb)

cf. latwe-pu- 'to give signs with the tongue'
(-pu 'reflexive')

latwe-pan^y 'one who gives signs with the tongue'

(-pan^y 'nominalizer; habitual agentive' [?])

lelweṭe- 'to go along rubbernecking all the time'

cf. le·leṭe 'id.' (reduplicated stem -- sec. 223.2)

lelṭe- 'to ogle, to rubberneck'

Cf. also stem-deriving suffix -ṭV, sec. 222.2.

430. Final suffixes

Each verb theme is followed by one final suffix. In the case of plural imperatives only, two final suffixes may be found. Final suffixes are of four main types: tense, aspect (perfective), voice (passive), and mode (imperative). In addition, a very few other suffixes are occasionally recorded.

431. Tense

Final suffixes of tense mark the verb theme as 'non-past'

¹⁶⁴-----
Mason (1916:413) terms this suffix 'corporeal' and describes it as follows:

Followed by a vowel in harmony with the preceding one generally refers to action with or on parts of the body.

or 'past'. 'Past' tense consists of two degrees, 'recent past' (or 'past' for short) and 'remote past'. In addition, notions of tense may be expressed periphrastically, particularly in the case of future events. See sec. 440.

431.1. -∅ 'non-past'

This final suffix marks events (or states) as not occurring (or existing) in the past. Thus, it encompasses the present time as well as the future. Occasionally, especially with mediopassive verbs, a past tense translation is given; this, if not an error, implies that the 'non-past' may impinge somewhat on the immediate past, something that happened 'just now'.

'Non-past' verbs are translated into Spanish in three ways: (1) simple present tense (e.g., él come 'he eats'), (2) present progressive (e.g., él está comiendo 'he is eating'), (3) 'to go to...' (e.g., él va [a] comer 'he's going to eat'). Occasionally the same word will be glossed in two or three different ways, sometimes even in the same entry, implying that the Mutsun 'non-past' is neutral towards the distinctions expressed by the Spanish translations. Since using a true 'present tense' is probably relatively infrequent (people do not normally narrate action as it is occurring), it is likely that the 'non-past' tense is used most often to indicate events about to begin. Nevertheless, the third translation is probably best not treated as a 'future' tense, but rather as an inchoative-like notion (e.g. 'he proceeds to eat').¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵-----
 Arroyo (1861:45) also comments on the translation 'va a...'

Future time is indicated periphrastically, but with the 'non-past' suffix on the verb (sec. 440).

As is the case with all final suffixes, the 'non-past' suffix may follow a verb theme made up of the verb stem alone, or one made up of a verb stem plus one or two thematic suffixes. Examples of 'non-past' include:

ka·nwas katta 'I sweep it clean'

(ka·n 'I', -was 'it [objective]', hatta- 'to sweep clean', -∅ 'non-past')

ka·n yete hatta 'I will sweep (it) clean'

(ka·n 'I', yete 'later', hatta- 'to sweep clean', -∅ 'non-past')

tokkenak 'He runs'

(tokke-n- 'to run', -∅ 'non-past', -ak 'he')

yetek tokken 'He will run'

(yete 'later', -k 'he', tokke-n- 'to run', -∅ 'non-past')

ka·n heyespu 'I shave myself'

(ka·n 'I', heyes-pu- 'to shave oneself', -∅ 'non-past')

hinçisme pira·na 'What are you going to bury?' or
'What do you go to bury?'

(hinçis 'what?', -me 'you', pira·na- 'to go to bury', -∅ 'non-past')

ʔekwe haysa hiwsen tawhari 'They don't like to work'

(ʔekwe 'not', haysa 'they', hiwse-n- 'to like', -∅ 'non-past', tawhari- 'to work' [Spanish trabajar], -∅ 'non-past')

('goes [or is going] to...'). He says that it is comparable to the andative suffixes -na and -su (secs. 423.1, 423.2) but used when the subject moves only a few steps away, or else when there is no motion involved at all prior to doing the activity expressed in the verb. This too is probably better interpreted as an inchoative than as a future or an andative.

431.2. -n '(recent) past'

This is the most frequently occurring of the two past tense suffixes. It is not clear just how far back into the past it extends. It is found in sentences with $\text{?its}^{\text{Y}}\text{a}$ 'just now' as well as with ?uyka 'yesterday'. The 'remote past' suffix -s (sec. 431.3), associated with events of 'long ago' or those of ?anyis siman 'last week', also can be applied to events which occurred ?uyka 'yesterday'. It would appear, then, that 'yesterday' is a rough dividing line between the two past tense suffixes, though further data, ideally in the form of texts, are necessary to be sure.

Examples of -n 'past' are:

$\text{ket}^{\text{Y}}\text{t}^{\text{Y}}\text{onkawas}$ 'I quarreled with him'

($\text{ket}^{\text{Y}}\text{t}^{\text{Y}}\text{o-}$ 'to quarrel [with]', -n -past',
-ka 'I', -was 'him')

$\text{me}\cdot\text{nwas mur}\dot{\text{t}}\text{umpin}$ 'You made it black' (e.g., painted
it black)

($\text{me}\cdot\text{n}$ 'you', -was 'it [objective]', $\text{mur}\dot{\text{t}}\text{u-mpi-}$
'to cause to become dark, black', -n 'past')

$\text{mo}\dot{\text{t}}\text{mes haran si}\cdot\text{se}$ 'Did you give him water?'

($\text{mo}\dot{\text{t}}$ 'interrogative particle', -mes 'you-him',
 hara- [$\|\text{hara}\cdot\|$] 'to give', -n 'past', $\text{si}\cdot\text{se}$
'water [objective]')

$\text{?ekwekwas hiwse}\text{nin}$ 'He did not like him'

(?ekwe 'not', -k 'he', -was 'him', hiwse-ni-
'to like', -n 'past')

$\text{me}\cdot\text{lonin wu}\cdot\text{ki}$ 'The ship sank'

($\text{me}\cdot\text{lo-ni-}$ 'to sink', -n 'past', $\text{wu}\cdot\text{ki}$ 'ship'
[< Spanish buque])

rekkepun pa·tre 'The Padre moved (changed residence)'

(rekke-pu- 'to move oneself', -n 'past')

hinṭisme ma·hiykun 'What did you go to close?'

(hinṭis 'what?', -me 'you', ma·hi-yku- 'went to close', -n 'past')

431.3. -s 'remote past'

As described above, the 'remote past' seems to refer to events of yesterday (overlapping with the 'recent past') and earlier. Examples:

ʔippiwas ʔiččis 'The rattlesnake bit him'

(ʔippi 'rattlesnake', -was 'him', ʔičči- 'to bite', -s 'remote past')

hinhan makse ʔuyka rammus 'How many times did we shoot (them) on the fly yesterday?'

(hinhan 'how many? how much?', makse 'we [exclusive]', ʔuyka 'yesterday', rammu- 'to shoot [something while it is] flying', -s 'remote past')

wak ʔokkenis haysane 'He ran away from them'

(wak 'he', ʔokke-ni- 'to run [away from]', -s 'remote past', haysane 'them')

hasliniska ʔokse 'I got scared some time ago'

(hasli-ni- 'to get scared', -s 'remote past', -ka 'I', ʔokse 'some time ago')

432. Aspect: -ṣ^yte ~ -hte 'perfective'

Perfective verbs differ from past tense verbs in that while the latter indicate that an activity or condition took place or existed in the past, the former express the idea of some state existing in the present (or in the time frame

established by discourse) as a result of the completion of some action. Frequently, Harrington translates perfective verbs with a present tense form of the Spanish verb estar 'to be' plus a past participle, e.g., está perdido '(he) is lost', or by estar plus an adjective, e.g., está largo '(it) is large'. Occasionally the Spanish preterite tense is used, e.g., yo soplé 'I blew (at it)', and sometimes alternate glosses are provided, e.g., está escondido and se escondió '(he) is hidden; (he) hid'. Furthermore, the Spanish adverb ya 'now, already' often is a part of the gloss, e.g., ya está muerto, ya se murió 'now (he) is dead, he died already'. The common thread running through these various translations (as well as a few other types) is one of a state existing as a result of something having occurred. The English 'present perfect', perhaps, is a closer approximation: 'he is lost' might better be 'he has become lost' (that is, he is lost now as a result of having completed the activity of getting lost). Similarly, the other example glosses above might be more revealingly recast as 'it has become long', 'he has become hidden', 'he has died'. Actually, the 'present tense' notion is an artificiality of the English translation. The 'perfective state' may well exist in the past (or, presumably, future) as established by context. This semantic characterization, while not without exception, seems valid for the vast majority of 'perfective' verbs.

Generally speaking, $-s^y\text{te}$ is associated with mediopassive verbs, $-\text{hte}$ is associated with active verbs, and both occur

with stative verbs.¹⁶⁶ Only -hte can follow thematic suffixes; -ş^yte always follows verb stems directly. The true distinction between the two suffixes, however, would seem to be more complex, since counterexamples to the active-mediopassive dichotomy are found, as will be discussed below.

When -ş^yte follows a mediopassive verb stem, the resulting perfective verb indicates that the subject has been affected by the activity described by the verb, and 'has attained' or, loosely, 'is in' a particular state as a result. For example:

semmoş^ytek 'He has died' or 'He is dead'
 (semmo-ş^yte 'dead',¹⁶⁷ -k 'he'; cf. semmo-n-
 'to die')

moṭme ʔaḵkuş^yte 'Have you gone in?'
 (moṭ 'interrogative particle', -me 'you',

¹⁶⁶-----
 Mason (1916:422-3) describes these two suffixes as follows:
 Two suffixes of the greatest frequency are evidently cognate. These are -kte [i.e., -hte] and -ste [i.e., -ş^yte]. The former is listed by De la Cuesta merely as a preterit tense suffix, the latter, though of frequent occurrence, not mentioned at all....
 Both seem to have the sense of a past participle, and, like the latter, are frequently used adjectivally. They express completed action or achieved condition. Though little difference is discernable between the two, it would appear that -kte is used principally for transitive relations, -ste for intransitive ones. They are frequently translated by the Spanish ya, "already."

(Mason transcribed Arroyo's g before consonants as k, giving -kte for Arroyo's -gte; nevertheless, he noted that -xte might be a better interpretation. Arroyo himself recorded -ste for Harrington's -ş^yte.)

Mason termed -kte a 'perfect transitive (participle), adjectival', and -ste a 'perfect intransitive (participle), adjectival'. As he indicates, the transitive-intransitive dichotomy is not very strict; about half of Mason's examples of -kte are 'intransitive'.

¹⁶⁷For brevity, perfective verbs will be glossed as participles except where this would be misleading or inappropriate.

- ʔakku-ṣ^yte 'entered'; cf. ʔakku-n- 'to go in')
 takkaṣ^yte sakker 'The fat has become hot'
 (takka-ṣ^yte 'heated', sakker 'fat, grease';
 cf. takka-n- 'to get heated, burnt')
 me·loṣ^ytek, ʔekwek haywehne 'It has sunk, it is
 not seen'
 (me·lo-ṣ^yte 'sunk', -k 'it', ʔekwe 'not', -k
 'it', haywe-hne 'is seen'; cf. me·lo-n- 'to sink')

There is some evidence that -ṣ^yte itself carries a mediopassive sense, making all verbs in -ṣ^yte 'mediopassive perfectives'. In the first place, as was noted earlier (sec. 421.1), some active verb stems may take on a mediopassive sense when suffixed with the mediopassive suffix -n(i). These same verb stems, when suffixed with -ṣ^yte, seem to be mediopassive as well:

- pitṭe-ṣ^yte 'stuck together, sticky'
 cf. pitṭe-n- 'to get stuck together'
 pitṭe- 'to stick (things) together' (e.g.,
 with glue)
 pa·ka-ṣ^yte 'shelled, husked' (e.g., nuts)
 cf. pa·ka-n- 'to get shelled'
 pa·ka- 'to shell, to husk'
 hiṣ^yṣ^ye-ṣ^yte 'done, made' (i.e., 'has become, has
 been made')
 cf. hiṣ^yṣ^ye-n- 'to become'
 hiṣ^yṣ^ye- 'to do, to make'

In light of this, it is possible that those active verb stems which are followed by -ṣ^yte, but which are not attested with -n 'mediopassive', might also take on a mediopassive sense, the lack of mediopassive -n forms being an accidental gap in the data. For example:

- huppe-ş^yte 'smoothed down' (hair)
 cf. huppe- 'to smooth down (someone's hair)'
 ?*huppe-n- 'to become smoothed down'
- tiṭku-ş^yte 'torn, ripped into pieces'
 cf. tiṭku- 'to tear, rip into pieces'
 ?*tiṭku-n- 'to get torn, ripped'
- ma·na-ş^yte 'extinguished' (fire)
 cf. ma·na- 'to extinguish, put out (a fire)'
 ?*ma·na-n- 'to become extinguished'

On the other hand, it is possible that with exclusively active verb stems (those that cannot take -n 'mediopassive'), the state described by the perfective form is that of the object, rather than subject, of the active verb. This seems to be true of verbs in -hte (see below).

Secondly, there are some instances in which the distinction between mediopassive and reflexive is not clear cut (see sec. 421.4.1). This may be paralleled by some verbs in -ş^yte which occur otherwise only as reflexives (in -pu). For example:¹⁶⁸

- sunyi-ş^yte 'filled up (from eating)'
 cf. sunyi-pu- 'to be full from eating'

-ş^yte also occurs with stative verb stems, as in:

- lukṭi-ş^yte 'pot-bellied' < lukṭi- 'to be pot-bellied'
 kolle-ş^yte 'thin, lean' < kolle- 'to be thin, lean'

As is the case with active verb stems, stative verb stems are sometimes found followed by mediopassive -n in mediopassive themes meaning 'to become...' (sec. 421.1). When these stative

¹⁶⁸-----
 Another example is lokş^yo-ş^yte 'lying' / lokş^y-pu- 'to lie, fib'. Mrs. Cervantes says lokş^yoş^yte is a word in the Ausayma dialect, though no such identification is made for lokş^ypu- (or for lokş^yoş^ymin 'liar'). How different the Ausayma dialect was from Mrs. Cervantes's is unknown.

stems are followed by $-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$, a mediopassive sense seems to be expressed:

$\mathfrak{?}awye-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ 'awake' (i.e., 'has become awake, has woken up')
 cf. $\mathfrak{?}awye-n-$ 'to wake up' (intransitive)
 $\mathfrak{?}awye-$ 'to be awake'

If this is true of all stative verb stems followed by $-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$, then the above examples might be better translated 'has become pot-bellied', 'has become thin'. Similarly, note:

$mo\mathfrak{?}$ $sawre\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ $la\cdot lak$ 'Is the goose fat?'
 ($mo\mathfrak{?}$ 'interrogative particle', $sawre-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ 'fat, fatty', $la\cdot lak$ 'goose')

The gloss given above is a translation of Harrington's 'está gordo el ansar?', but if $sawre-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ (< $sawre-$ 'to be fat, fatty') has a mediopassive sense, a better gloss might be 'Has the goose become fat?'. The Spanish verb estar 'to be' in Harrington's translation implies a temporary, rather than inherent, characteristic, which goes along with the proposed mediopassive, rather than stative, sense of $sawre-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$.

Finally, $-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ occurs on verb stems which are apparently derived from nouns, paralleling $-\mathfrak{s}^Ymin$ 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic' (sec. 424.6). For example:

$ra\mathfrak{?}ma-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ 'full of boils, pimples'
 cf. $ra\cdot\mathfrak{?}am$ 'boil, pimple'

Again, a mediopassive sense seems appropriate for these perfective forms, i.e., 'has become full of boils'. This interpretation seems particularly apt in:

$lay\mathfrak{?}a\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ $men-\mathfrak{?}uri$ 'Your hair is very long'
 ($lay\mathfrak{?}a-\mathfrak{s}^Yte$ 'long, large', $men-$ 'your', $\mathfrak{?}uri$ '[head] hair'; cf. $laya\mathfrak{?}$ 'length')

If *layta-ṣ^yte* has the mediopassive notion of 'become', the gloss might be 'Your hair has become very long'.¹⁶⁹

In short, *-ṣ^yte* occurs with mediopassive verb stems, and adds a mediopassive sense to some (if not all) of the active and stative stems which it follows. The semantics of *-hte* are a bit more complex.

Following an active verb stem, *-hte* indicates that the action has been completed. In the data examined, with one exception (noted below), if the subject of the perfective verb is the first or second person, the subject is the agent (subject) of the corresponding nonperfective active verb.

For example:

ka·n witihte 'I have thrown (it) away'
 (*ka·n* 'I', *witi-hte* [||*witi·-hte*||] 'thrown
 [something] out, down, away')

pu·ṭehteka 'I have blown (at it)'
 (*pu·ṭe-hte* 'blown (at something), blown
 (something) out', *-ka* 'I')

moṭme ʔirkohte 'Have you defecated?'
 (*moṭ* 'interrogative particle', *-me* 'you',
ʔirko-hte 'defecated')

Perfective verbs in *-hte* with first or second person subjects may also occur with objects which correspond to the objects of the active counterparts. Thus:

ka·nwas mirahte 'I have given him a present'
 (*ka·n* 'I', *-was* 'him', *mira-hte* [||*mira·-hte*||])

¹⁶⁹-----
 Arguing against this proposal, however, is Harrington's Spanish gloss: 'es muy largo tu pelo' ('Your hair is very long') where es 'is' is used, implying an inherent condition; está 'is', in this context, would imply the temporary condition appropriate to the mediopassive interpretation.

'given [something] as a present [to somebody]')
 moṭmes hitwihte 'Have you cleaned it?'
 (moṭ 'interrogative particle', -mes 'you-it',
 hitwi-hte 'cleaned [something]')

When the subject of a perfective verb in -hte is a third person (or noun), the distinction between -hte and -ṣ^yte is difficult to discern. It is possible that -hte denotes a passive relationship: the subject of the perfective verb corresponds to the object of the active verb. On the other hand, a mediopassive interpretation seems equally, if not more, reasonable. For example:

kan-ṭemo sippohtek 'My arrow is (well) feathered'
 (i.e., '...has been feathered' or '...got feathered')
 (kan- 'my', ṭemo 'arrow', sippo-hte 'feathered',
 -k 'it'; cf. sippo- 'to put feathers on [an arrow]')

ho·yohtek 'It is grasped' (i.e., '...has been grasped'
 or '...got grasped')
 (ho·yo-hte 'grasped', -k 'it'; cf. ho·yo- 'to
 take, grasp')

lippahtek 'He is hidden' (i.e., '...has been hidden'
 or '...got hidden, became hidden')
 (lippa-hte 'hidden', -k 'he'; cf. lippa- 'to hide
 [something]')

piṭṭehtek 'It is tied into a bundle' (i.e., '...has
 been tied' or '...got tied')
 (piṭṭe-hte 'tied into a bundle', -k 'it'; cf.
 piṭṭe- 'to tie [something] up', piṭṭe-mpi- 'to
 make [something] into a knot, bundle'¹⁷⁰)

¹⁷⁰-----
 The mediopassive-causative form piṭṭe-mpi- implies that a plain mediopassive piṭṭe-n- 'to get tied' might be a legitimate form, though it is not found in the data examined (cf. sec. 421.2.1).

A mediopassive, rather than passive, interpretation seems especially appropriate in a few cases for which a nonperfective form is missing from the data. For example:

loytohtek 'It (stick, bolt, tooth) is loose' (i.e.,
'...became loose')

(loyto-hte 'loose', -k 'it')

tippihte ʔippi 'The rattlesnake is coiled up'
(i.e., '...got coiled up')

(tippi-hte 'coiled up', ʔippi 'rattlesnake')

Though passive senses are theoretically possible, it seems unlikely that the intended meanings are 'a tooth was loosened by somebody' or 'the rattlesnake was coiled up by somebody'.

There is slight evidence that the connection between first and second person and 'active' perfectives in -hte, on the one hand, and third person and 'passive' or 'mediopassive' perfectives, on the other, is an accident of the data. In one case, a second person subject is treated passively or mediopassively:

me·n hikihte 'You are hanging' (i.e., '...have been
hung' or '...got hung')

(me·n 'you', hiki-hte [|| hiki·-hte||] 'hung')

A non-suffixed active verb stem hiki·- 'to hang (something)' is missing from the data; only a reflexive (hiki·-pu- 'to hang oneself') and unsure mediopassive (hiki·-ni- 'to get hung') are found. If a true active form is indeed impossible, and not simply lacking due to a gap in the data, this may explain the non-active interpretation of the perfective form. (On the relationship between reflexives and mediopassives, see sec. 421.4.1.) Unfortunately, this would make a distinction

between -hte and -s^yte that much more obscure. If, on the other hand, hiki·- is a legitimate form, this might imply that all perfectives in -hte (based on active verb stems) are potentially ambiguous: they may be interpreted either actively or (medio)passively regardless of the person of the subject.¹⁷¹ Clearly, more data are needed to work out a solution.

There is one environment in which only -hte, and never -s^yte, is found, namely following thematic suffixes. -hte is found after -pu 'reflexive' (sec. 421.4.1) and -mpi 'mediopassive-causative' (sec. 421.2.1); whether it can follow any other thematic suffix is not known. For example:

liččeypuhteka 'I am standing' (i.e., 'I have put myself into a standing position')
 (liččey-pu-hte 'standing, stood [oneself] up',
 -ka 'I'; cf. liččey-pu- 'to stand up')

lippapuhtek 'He is hidden' (i.e., 'He has hidden himself')
 (lippa-pu-hte 'hidden [oneself]', -k 'he'; cf.
 lippa-pu- 'to hide oneself')

Both of these examples are found with perfective, but non-reflexive, counterparts, with nearly identical meanings:

ličyehteka 'I am standing' (i.e., 'I have stood up')
 (ličye-hte 'standing, stood up', -ka 'I'; cf.

¹⁷¹-----
 There is an interesting example involving a perfective verb with no subject:

ʔammehte maksen 'It (has already) rained on us'
 (ʔamme-hte 'rained [on]', maksen 'us [exclusive]')

Verbs referring to weather phenomena take no subject pronouns. Although this is not an example of a third person agent of a perfective verb, it might indicate that such a construction is possible.

ličye- 'to stand up')
 lipphahtek 'He is hidden' (i.e., 'He has been
 hidden' or 'He got hidden')
 (lippha-hte 'hidden', -k 'he'; cf. lippha-
 'to hide [something]')

In the case of the reflexive perfective, it is possible to interpret the third person subject as the performer of the action (corresponding to the subject of an active verb), a clear departure from the generalization found among non-reflexive perfectives.¹⁷²

-hte follows mediopassive-causative -mpi in only one example:

wattimpihtek tips^yintak 'He carried him in a
 basket'
 (watti-mpi-hte 'carried', tips^yintak 'basket
 [locative]'; cf. watti-mpi- 'to carry', watti-n-
 to go')

Since this is the only example of this construction, it is impossible to determine whether the third person pronoun -k refers to the carrier or the one carried.

Finally, in the few cases where -hte follows a stative verb stem, it may be semantically identical to -s^yte:

weyrohte wak-ha(·)y 'He is big-mouthed' or 'His
 mouth is big'
 (weyro-hte 'big-mouthed', wak- 'his', ha[·]y
 'mouth')

¹⁷² Nevertheless, since subjects of reflexive verbs are simultaneously agents and receivers of the action, the status of third person subjects of perfective verbs being acted upon (passively or mediopassively) may still be valid. That is, in the example given, the third person subject of both reflexive lippha-pu-hte and nonreflexive lippha-hte is the one who is hidden.

satlahte wak-hu·s 'He is flat-nosed' or 'His nose
is flat'

(satla-hte 'flat-nosed', wak- 'his', hu·s 'nose')

Whether -hte carries a possible mediopassive interpretation ('His mouth got big', etc.) as -s^Yte might be unclear from the few examples. At best, it must be posited that some stative stems take -s^Yte, and others take -hte, the distribution apparently an arbitrary one (synchronically, at least). It is important to note that those verbs which take -hte also take -hmin 'nominalizer; inherent characteristic', while those which take -s^Yte also take -s^Ymin 'id.' (sec. 424.6). For example:

weyrohte 'big-mouthed' weyrohmin 'big-mouthed one'
sawres^Yte 'fat, fatty' sawres^Ymin 'fat, fatty one'

This dichotomy between h and s^Y is not limited to stative stems. In many cases, verbs taking -s^Yte may also take -s^Ymin, and those taking -hte may also take -hmin; there are no examples of a stem taking both -s^Yte and -hmin, or -hte and -s^Ymin. With stative verb stems, the choice seems to be arbitrary; if the semantic distinctions suggested for -s^Ymin/-hmin and -s^Yte/-hte prove, upon examination of further data, to be invalid, perhaps the distinction is (synchronically) arbitrary throughout the Mutsun verb system.¹⁷³

¹⁷³-----
In only one case is a verb stem followed by both -s^Yte and -hte, apparently with no difference in meaning:
humris^Yte haysa 'They are baptized' (i.e., 'They have become baptized')
humrihtek 'He is baptized'
(cf. humri- 'to baptize')

The difference in number here seems irrelevant; perfectives in -s^Yte often occur with -k 'third person singular subject'. Since this example is unique, it is unknown whether it is an

Perfective verbs in $-\dot{s}^Yte/-hte$ are, in some ways, quite similar to nominalized verbs in $-\dot{s}^Ymin/-hmin$. For example, for the most part, both refer to states achieved as a result of something happening or as a result of doing something. Indeed, they are frequently glossed identically by Harrington. Nevertheless, there may be a semantic distinction (beyond that implied by the noun-verb dichotomy): when differences are indicated, nominalized verbs in $-\dot{s}^Ymin/-hmin$ tend to be used to describe inherent conditions or important characteristics of their subjects, while perfectives in $-\dot{s}^Yte/-hte$ tend to be used for more transient features. Compare, for example:

takkaş^Ymin si· 'hot springs' (literally: 'hot one / water')

takkaş^Yte sakker 'The fat is hot' (or 'The fat has become heated')

laytaş^Yminpa·rani 'high hill' (literally: 'high one / hill')

laytaş^Yte men-tu·riş^Y 'Your fingernails are (have become) long'

Sometimes, an idiomatic distinction seems to have developed:

halkaş^Ymin 'one-eyed one'

halkaş^Yte 'blind'

cf. halka-n- 'to become blind'

On the other hand, forms in $-\dot{s}^Ymin/-hmin$ and those in $-\dot{s}^Yte/-hte$ are usually glossed identically, which may indicate that the primary distinction between the two sets of suffixes is

 error or indicative of some as yet undiscovered fact about Mutsun. (The pre-mission meaning of humri-, if not a borrowing from some obscure Spanish word, has not yet been discovered.)

only grammatical (noun vs. verb).

Perfectives resemble their nominalized counterparts in yet another feature: they may occur with stems with an added third consonant (see sec. 424.6). There are extremely few examples, probably due to limited data, but note:¹⁷⁴

maymiš^yte 'funny' (literally: 'laughed at')

cf. ma·yi- 'to laugh (at)'

huppeš^yte }
hupes^yte } 'smoothed down' (hair)¹⁷⁵

cf. huppe- 'to smooth down (someone's hair)'

¹⁷⁴One other case of an added third consonant is somewhat complex:

lohoš^yte 'lazy' (cf. lohoš^ymin 'lazy one')
loht^yohte 'loose'

Both of these forms are glossed with Spanish flojo 'lazy; lax, loose, limp'. Harrington uses English in glossing lohoš^yte, etc.; Arroyo (1862: entries no. 1571, 1603) implies that in the case of loht^yohte flojo means 'loose' rather than 'lazy' by offering suave 'soft, smooth' as a synonym and apretado 'tight, squeezed' as an antonym. Harrington specifically notes of lohoš^yte (and related lo·ho 'lazy one'): 'Nothing to do with Sp[anish] flojo'. If Harrington is right and no borrowing is involved, the example shows not only a third consonant, but also some kind of distinction between -š^yte and -hte. On the other hand, if Harrington is wrong and Spanish flojo is the source of these words, the presence of t^y as a third consonant, as well as the differential use of -š^yte and -hte, implies some kind of productivity of both constructions. Furthermore, it is possible that both loho- and loht^yo- are native Mutsun stems which, as a result of contact with Spanish flojo, took on specialized meanings. The situation is complicated by the presence of two other forms:

loytohte 'loose'
lohtokte 'id.'

(The latter form is again glossed only with flojo, but as applied to una cosa ['a thing'], not a person, suggesting that 'lazy' is an inappropriate English translation.) If no errors are involved, loytohte looks as if it could have come from loht^yohte by a form of metathesis and cluster simplification:

ht^y > hyt > yt

The presence of k rather than h (or š^y) in lohtokte suggests that it is a noun (lohtok) verbalized by -te (sec. 331).

¹⁷⁵On the status of s as a third consonant, see sec. 412.

The similarity between the perfective $-s^y\text{te}/\text{-hte}$ and the nominal final suffix $-\text{te}$ 'verbalizer' (sec. 331) is obvious, but the relation between the two is not. Surely it is of the same nature and origin as that between $-s^y\text{min}/\text{-hmin}$ and nominal thematic suffix $-\text{min}$ 'one who is characterized by...' (see secs. 323, 424.6).

Finally, note that the perfective suffixes combine in an irregular fashion with two stems, mis- 'to be pretty', $\text{mis}^y\text{-}$ 'to be good'. See sec. 413.

433. Voice: Passive

There are three passive voice suffixes, each indicating, in addition to voice, a particular tense: 'non-past' or 'past'. Passive suffixes follow only active verb themes (i.e., verb themes containing active verb stems and no transitivity thematic suffixes [sec. 414]) or causative verb themes (verb themes containing a causative thematic suffix [sec. 421.2]).¹⁷⁶

The subject of a passive verb is the receiver of the action, corresponding to the object of the active or causative verb. The agent is never expressed. In general, passive verbs are glossed as Spanish actives, with third person plural agents. Since there is no agent indicated in Mutsun, however, such third person plural agents are best considered equivalent to 'somebody'. It is possible, in fact, that 'passive' is a somewhat erroneous characterization of the suffixes; maybe 'impersonal agentive' or the like is more

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 There is one exception, $\text{?a}\cdot\text{manihne}$, glossed simply as 'creer' ('to believe'). See footnote 133.

appropriate. In any event, passive verbs differ from medio-passive verbs in that there is no suggestion that the subject itself is ever responsible for the action.

433.1. -hne 'passive, non-past' (or simply 'passive')

Non-past passives are translated both in the present tense and in a probabilistic future tense ('he is to be...'), the distinction in time given by context. For example:

hit^yt^ye makke rukkatka, ʔamʂ^yime ʔekwe ʔamnehne
 'Let's go (in)to the house so that you are not
 rained on'
 (hit^yt^ye 'go!', makke 'we [inclusive]' [> 'let's
 go!'], rukkatka 'house [locative]', ʔamʂ^yi 'so
 that', -me 'you', ʔamne- 'to rain [on]', -hne
 'passive')

riččahneme yete 'You will be spoken to'
 (ričča- 'to speak [to]', -hne 'passive', -me
 'you', yete 'later')

ʔurkantak wak hutahne 'It is pounded in the mortar'
 (ʔurkantak 'mortar [locative]', wak 'it', hutna-
 'to grind, pound', -hne 'passive')

hiṭṭahne posol homrontak 'The posole (stew) is
 washed in the big strainer'
 (hiṭṭa- 'to wash', -hne 'passive', posol
 'posole', homrontak 'big strainer [locative]')

li·kihneme 'You are to be killed'
 (li·ki- 'to kill', -hne 'passive', -me 'you')

As some of the examples above suggest, -hne, in addition to being 'non-past', might also, in some contexts, express 'habitual' action, though further data are needed to verify this.

433.2. -hnis 'passive, past'

This suffix seems to be made up of -hne 'passive' plus -s 'remote past' (sec. 431.3); the vowel change (i rather than e) is synchronically unexplainable. -hnis occurs as a unit, however, in complementary distribution with all other final suffixes, and, thus, is considered synchronically monomorphemic. The tense distinction between -hnis and -stap 'passive, past' (sec. 433.3) is unclear; both are glossed by Spanish preterites. Examples:

paṭṭihniska 'I was seized'

(paṭṭi- 'to seize, grasp in hand', -hnis 'passive, past', -ka 'I')

ka·n rakkehnis hwa·n 'I was named Juan'¹⁷⁷

(ka·n 'I', rakke- 'to name', -hnis 'passive, past')

moṭ pi·na men mirahnis 'Is that what you were given?'¹⁷⁷

(moṭ 'interrogative particle', pi·na 'that', men 'you', mira- [||mira·||] 'to give [something] as a gift [to]', -hnis 'passive, past')

ʔiččompihnisk wak-hi(·)n 'His eye was taken out'

(ʔiččo-mpi- 'to take out' [literally, 'to cause to come out', -mpi 'mediopassive-causative'], -hnis 'passive, past', wak- 'his', hi[·]n 'eye')

433.3 -stap 'passive, past'

As noted above, the distinction between -stap and -hnis is unknown. Examples:¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷-----
¹⁷⁷Note that when more than one nominal argument is involved, all are in the subjective or unmarked case, not in the objective case. Data are too few, however, to draw any definite conclusions from this.

ʔiččistap wak 'He was bitten'

(ʔičči- 'to bite', -stap 'passive, past',
wak 'he')

matlanustapak 'He was put face down'

(matla-nu- 'to put [somebody] face down, into
a prone position' [< matla- 'to be face down',
-nu 'positional-causative'], -stap 'passive,
past', -ak 'he')

434. Mode: Imperative

A final imperative suffix is the only suffix which affects the mode of the verb; in all other cases, the mode is indicative. The imperative suffixes are especially noteworthy in that they incorporate pronominal notions, specifying whether the object is first or third person. As final suffixes, imperative suffixes are unique in that more than one may occur in a single word, though such sequencing of suffixes is limited to cases involving plural subjects.

434.1. -y 'imperative'

This is by far the most common imperative suffix. The 'subject' of verbs with this suffix is always second person singular and, though very rarely, a second person singular pronoun may accompany it. When used with verbs taking objects, the object is a noun or a third person pronoun. Object nouns are in the subjective case, rather than the ob-

178 In one example, -stap follows -pu 'reflexive':
wak ʔoneypustap 'He was being accompanied'
(The Spanish gloss of this sentence is 'lo iban acompañando' [they were going accompanying him]). The reflexive here seems to be used idiomatically, but the exact interpretation of the sentence is unclear. ʔoneypu- does not occur in any other context. (Cf. ʔoneyti- 'to accompany' [see sec. 422.1], ʔonyen 'companion'.)

jective (see sec. 332.1). If the object is a third person pronoun, a special demonstrative, nuk, is used (see sec. 361.6). -y is also used for imperative forms of reflexive verbs, and is found with mediopassives where no object is involved. Examples of -y include:

ma·nay sottow 'Put out the fire!'

(ma·na- 'to extinguish, put out', -y 'imperative', sottow 'fire')

ruččey wak-?uri 'Braid her hair!'

(ručče- 'to braid', -y 'imperative', wak- 'her', ?uri '[head] hair')

tere·puyme men-tu·riš^y 'Cut your fingernails!'

(tere·pu- 'to cut oneself', -y 'imperative', -me 'you', men- 'your', tu·riš^y 'fingernails')

henseksiy 'Keep quiet!' (e.g., said to children)

(hense-ksi- 'to remain quiet', -y 'imperative')

wattiniy 'Go!'

(watti-ni- 'to go', -y 'imperative')

ṭa·restiy 'Become a man!'

(ṭa·res-ti- 'to become a man' [< ṭa·res 'man', -ti 'substantive verbalizer'], -y 'imperative')

piṭṭey nuk 'Tie it up!'

(piṭṭe- 'to tie up', -y 'imperative', nuk 'that one [object of imperative]')

nottoy nuk 'Hit him with your fist!'

(notto- 'to hit with the fist', -y 'imperative', nuk 'that one [object of imperative]')

?iččompiy nuk haysan 'Take them out!'

(?iččo-mpi- 'to take out', -y 'imperative', nuk 'that one [object of imperative]', haysan 'them')

In one instance, both nuk and an object noun (in subjective case) are found to cooccur:

haskay nuk wak-mo·hel 'Scratch his head!' or
 'Scratch him on the head!'
 (haska- 'to scratch (an itch)', -y 'imperative',
 nuk 'that one [object of imperative]', wak- 'his',
 mo·hel 'head')

This is apparently a case of the 'inalienable possession' construction discussed in sec. 354; nuk and wak- are co-referential.¹⁷⁹

434.2. -yuṭ 'plural imperative'

This suffix is used when a command is given to more than one person; that is, when the 'subject' is second person plural. Otherwise, it is used under the same circumstances as -y:

riččayūṭ, kata makam ʔekwe hinsu 'Speak! It seems you (plural) don't know how!'
 (ričča- 'to speak', -yuṭ 'plural imperative',
 kata 'like, as, seems', makam 'you [plural]',
 ʔekwe 'not', hinsu- 'to know [how]', -∅ 'non-past')

wattiniyūṭ 'Go away (you-plural)!'
 (watti-ni- 'to go [away]', -yuṭ 'plural imperative')

ʔammayūṭ to·ṭe 'Eat meat (you-plural)!'
 (ʔamma- 'to eat', -yuṭ 'plural imperative',
 to·ṭe 'meat')

No examples of nuk following -yuṭ are found, though this may be an accidental gap in the data, occurrences of -yuṭ being,

¹⁷⁹-----
 Cf. footnote 117.

in general, rather few.

The plural imperative suffix may also follow other final imperative suffixes (except for -y) to give them a plural sense. For example:

monsetyut 'Tell me (you-plural)!'

(monse- 'to tell', -t 'imperative, first

person object', -yut 'plural imperative')

Also, -yut may add a plural sense to those few verbs which are inherently imperative (sec. 434.6). For example:

?iʃ^ykeyut 'Go away (you-plural)!'

cf. ?iʃ^yke 'Go away!'

Thus, -yut is the only final suffix which may occur after another final suffix. Further examples of -yut are given when illustrating other imperative suffixes.¹⁸⁰

434.3. -t 'imperative, first person object'

Unless specified otherwise by the addition of -yut 'plural imperative', the subject of imperative verbs with this suffix is singular. The object may be a singular or plural first person. If an object pronoun is used, though it need not be, it is in the objective case (cf. sec. 332.1). If an object pronoun is not used, from the available data, it appears that the object is assumed to be singular. For example:

ru·set 'Spit at me!'

¹⁸⁰-----
In one instance, -yut seems to be used as a particle:
himmentak yut 'All of you are together'
himmentak is a locative noun meaning 'in the same place' or the like (cf. sec. 332.4); yut seems to impart a second person plural sense. The exact status of this unique example cannot be determined.

(ru·se- 'to spit [on/at]', -t 'imperative,
first person object')

mehet kannis 'Look at me!'

(mehe- [//mehe•//] 'to look at', -t 'imperative,
first person object', kannis 'me')

himmat maksen 'Look for us!'

(himma- 'to look for', -t 'imperative, first
person object', maksen 'us [exclusive]')

muş^Yş^Yimpit kannis 'Warm me up!'

(muş^Yş^Yi-mpi- 'to warm up, cause to be warm',
-t 'imperative, first person object', kannis 'me')

To indicate a plural subject, the plural imperative -yuṭ
may be added, as shown in sec. 434.2, or else a rare suffix
-m 'plural imperative, first person object' may be used.

434.4. -m 'plural imperative, first person object'

This suffix is found in only two forms:

monsem kannis 'Tell me (you-plural)!'

(monse- 'to tell', -m 'plural imperative, first
person object', kannis 'me')

makam kannis muş^Yş^Yimpim 'Warm me up (you-plural)!',¹⁸¹

(makam 'you [plural]', kannis 'me', muş^Yş^Yi-mpi-
'to warm up, cause to be warm', -m 'plural impera-
tive, first person object')

Harrington comments that the -m in the second sentence
was 'not readily v[olunteere]d'. The distinction, if any,
between -m and the sequence -tyuṭ is not known. Both con-
structions are extremely rare in the data.

¹⁸¹-----
The verb was actually recorded [músimpim], though in all
other attestations the stem occurs as muş^Yş^Yi-.

434.5. -yis 'andative imperative'

This suffix means 'go to...!', being the imperative counterpart of the andative suffixes -na ~ -yku and -su (secs. 423.1, 423.2).¹⁸² The subject is apparently singular unless the suffix is followed by -yuṭ 'plural imperative'. For example:

čitteyis 'Go to dance!'

(čitte- 'to dance', -yis 'andative imperative')

hoṭṭo čala·yis 'Go to urinate!'

(hoṭṭo 'go!' čala·- 'to urinate', -yis 'andative imperative')

tapruyis 'Go to gather wood!'

(tapru- 'to gather wood',¹⁸³ -yis 'andative imperative')

ʔuttuyisyuṭ 'Go to put (it somewhere) (you-plural)!'

(ʔuttu- 'to put', -yis 'andative imperative', -yuṭ 'plural imperative')

Imperatives in -yis are often, though not always, preceded by hoṭṭo 'go! scat!', an inherently imperative verb (sec. 434.6).

434.6. Inherently imperative verbs

There are a few verbs which are inherently imperative and which, therefore, need not be marked with an imperative

¹⁸²Mason (1916:419) termed the suffix the 'missionary imperative'.

¹⁸³The verb theme tapru-, based on the noun tappur 'wood, tree, log', is found only before an andative suffix, either the 'andative imperative' -yis or the plain 'andative' -na (tapruna- 'to go to gather wood'). Whether andative suffixes are required of all verbs derived from nouns in this way is not clear. Cf. sec. 423.1.

suffix. It is possible to analyze them as ending in $-\emptyset$, a special imperative suffix allomorph, or $-\emptyset$ 'non-past', or in no final suffix at all.¹⁸⁴ The choice is an arbitrary one, but to keep the generalization that all verbs end in a final suffix, it may be assumed that the inherently imperative verbs end in $-\emptyset$ 'non-past', the semantics of which are not conflicting with the idea of imperative.

The inherently imperative verbs found in the data examined include:¹⁸⁵

ha·yi 'come here!' (said when addressee is nearby)
 hoṭṭo 'go! scat!'
 hitYtYe 'go!' (used with first and second person
 plural subjects only)
 ye·la 'wait!'
 yu· ~ yu·pe 'go!'
 ʔatYtYa 'be silent!'¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ ʔayun 'bring!' is irregular in that it ends in a consonant. This may imply that the inherently imperative verbs all occur in their primary stem form, in which final consonants do appear, followed by no final suffix or by $-\emptyset$ 'non-past'. On the other hand, the inherently imperative verbs may all be derived stems, like all other imperative verbs, and ʔayun is truly aberrant.

¹⁸⁵ Mason (1916:468-9) treats some of these inherently imperative verbs as interjections: it·ie (for hitYtYe); yupe, yu (for yu·pe ~ yu·); ain·, aiun, auin·, anin (for ʔayun); yela (for ye·la); oṭo (for hoṭṭo). They are here treated as verbs because (1) they take the 'plural imperative' suffix -yut, and (2) where semantically appropriate, they take objects in the subjective case if nominal (e.g., ʔayun si· 'Bring water!') or objective case if pronominal (e.g., ye·lakas 'Wait for me!'), exactly in the pattern of regular imperative verbs.

¹⁸⁶ ʔatYtYa 'be silent!' also occurs in the phrase ʔatYtYa me-ha(·)y, literally, 'be silent your mouth!'. It is translated into Spanish by Harrington as 'cayate [for callate] la boca' ('be quiet [in] the mouth!' or 'shut up your mouth!'). Whether this is a native construction or a calque from Spanish is not known.

ʔayun 'bring!'
 ʔiṣ^yke 'go away!'

Several of these verbs have interesting features. First, hit^yt^ye occurs in the sequence hit^yt^ye makke ('we [inclusive]') with the sense of 'let's go!' and may or may not be followed by another verb:

hit^yt^ye makke rukkataka 'Let's go (in)to the house!'
 (rukkataka 'house [locative]')

hit^yt^ye makke witi·na rukkase 'Let's go tear down
 the house!'
 (witi·-na- 'to go to throw away, throw down',
 -∅ 'non-past', rukkase 'house [objective]')

Second, hoṭṭo 'go! scat!' may be used either alone, or else followed by a verb in -yis 'andative imperative':

hoṭṭo 'Go! Scat!'

hoṭṭo ʔirkoyis 'Go to defecate!'

Third, ha·yi 'come here!' also occurs followed by -ṣ^yte 'perfective' in ha·yiṣ^yte '(has already) come'. Finally, ye·la 'wait!' appears in a nonimperative sense when followed by a subjective pronoun (e.g., ye·laka 'I'll wait'), and may also be used as an auxiliary verb (see sec. 442).

Plural subjects may be indicated by suffixing -yuṭ 'plural imperative':

yu·yuṭ 'Go (you-plural)!'

hit^yt^ye^yyuṭ 'Go (you-plural)!'

ʔiṣ^ykeyuṭ 'Go away (you-plural)!'

ʔayunyuṭ si· 'Bring (you-plural) water!'

The plural form of ha·yi 'come here!' may be either ha·yiyuṭ or ha·yi makam, with makam 'you (plural)' simply following

the verb. It is not known whether makam may follow other imperative verbs (inherently imperative or suffixed) with the same sense.

434.7. Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives are not formed with imperative suffixes, but rather with the negative particle ?ekwe plus a second person pronoun followed by the verb in the non-past tense. See sec. 510.

440. Periphrastic verbal constructions

Several kinds of verbal notions are expressed periphrastically rather than by suffixation. In such cases, the main verb is preceded by a verbal auxiliary. The morphological status of auxiliaries is ambiguous, having characteristics of both particles and verbs. Rather than arbitrarily settle on one class or another for these forms on the basis of limited data, they will be treated here as special cases.

The auxiliaries encompass notions of tense (future) and/or modality.

441. yete· 'later'

This very common auxiliary is normally glossed 'despues' ('later, after') and is used in conjunction with a non-past tense verb in forming the future tense. For example:

yete·ka hiwan 'I will arrive'
 (yete· 'later', -ka 'I', hiwa-n- 'to arrive',
 -∅ 'non-past')

?ekweka yete ʔa·kan 'I will not come'
 (?ekwe 'not', -ka 'I', yete [||yete·||] 'later',

ṭa·ka-n- 'to come', -∅ 'non-past')

wa·k kannis yete matlanu 'He will put me face down'
 (wa·k 'he', kannis 'me', yete [||yete·||] 'later',
 matla-nu- 'to put [someone] face down, into a
 prone position', -∅ 'non-past')

Despite being glossed as a particle or adverb, yete· seems to really be a verb, though its meaning is somewhat unclear. Isabel Meadows, though a better speaker of Rumsen than Mutsun, said that it does not mean 'despues' but rather 'deja-un-rato' (presumably, 'wait a while' or 'postpone for a while' or the like). If her intuitions are correct for Mutsun, the first sentence exemplified above might be more literally translated 'I wait a while (and then) arrive' or 'I put off for a while that I arrive', or, if interpreted impersonally, 'It is postponed for a while that I arrive', etc. The verbal status of yete· is seemingly assured by the fact that it occurs as a perfective in -ṣ^yte (sec. 432):

yeteṣ^yte ka·n semmon 'I am about to die'
 (ka·n 'I', semmo-n- 'to die', -∅ 'non-past')

The exact meaning of the perfective yeteṣ^yte is obscure. It is attested only in this example, and, unfortunately, Harrington's handwriting is, in this entry, difficult to decipher. The gloss of the full sentence appears to be 'ya mero me muero yo' ('already "mero" I die'), but "mero", uninterpretable in this context, may easily be a misreading for whatever Harrington actually wrote. Arroyo (1862: entry no. 1221) has the identical sentence, and he glosses it 'Poco falta para morirme' ('little [time] is left before I die'). This suggests that

yeteş^yte may mean '(has already been) postponed' or '(has already) waited', the full sentence perhaps meaning 'I am in a state of having already finished waiting to die' or the like. More data are required to pin down the exact semantics of yete· and yeteş^yte.

On the other hand, yete· behaves unlike any other 'verb' in that it may lose its initial consonant (or initial syllable):

yu·mete hiş^yş^yen pire·se 'and you will become earth'
 (yu· 'and', hiş^yş^ye-n- 'to become', -∅ 'non-past',
 pire·se 'earth, world, dirt [objective]')

The sequence -mete may be divided as either -me-ete (-m 'you', -ete short for yete [||yete·||]), or -me-te (-me 'you', -te for yete). As noted earlier (sec. 150), Arroyo suggests that the shortening of yete· is rather common, though it occurs only in this example in Harrington's notes.

Until more data are examined, the most conservative interpretation is that yete· is an auxiliary of unsure syntactic status. Perhaps yeteş^yte is best treated as residue suggesting that, at some time in the history of Mutsun, yete· was a full verb.

442. ye·la 'wait'

Occurring alone, or with a pronominal object, ye·la is an inherently imperative verb (sec. 434.6) meaning 'wait!':

ye·la, ye·la 'Wait, wait!'
 ye·lakas¹⁸⁷ 'Wait for me!'

¹⁸⁷-----
 Harrington also records ye·lakkannis 'wait for me!'. kannis is the objective pronoun 'me', and, according to Harrington, the /k/ at the end of ye·la is really there. If so, its significance is unknown, unless it comes from -t 'imperative,

(-kas 'me')

With a subject pronoun (and perhaps also noun, though none is attested), it means simply 'wait', though with a connotation of 'wait until something happens':

ye·laka 'I'll wait (until something happens)',¹⁸⁸

This notion of 'wait while (or until) something happens' seems to carry over when ye·la is used as an auxiliary. In this function, ye·la is translated by any one of several imperative verbs (aguarda 'wait!', espera 'id.', deja 'allow, let!') or else by means of a future tense (ir a... 'to be going to...'). The intended sense seems to be 'Wait a bit while (or and) something happens (or will happen)'. For example:

ye·laka male·pu
 (-ka 'I', male·-pu- 'to wet, rub oneself with saliva', -∅ 'non-past')

This is translated by Harrington as 'dejame mojarme con mi saliva' ('let me wet myself with my saliva'), but, given the semantic scope of ye·la, might better be glossed 'Wait a bit while I wet myself with saliva' or 'Wait a bit and I'll wet myself with saliva'.¹⁸⁹ This accounts for the occasional future tense glosses, e.g.:

ye·lakammes po·to
 (-kammes 'I-you', po·to- 'to pull out hair',

 first person object' which has assimilated to the following /k/. No parallel example is found.

¹⁸⁸The context given as an example was: 'I will wait here while you go to gather aulones [abalones]'.

¹⁸⁹The 'let' sense of deja might be reflected in an English gloss such as 'Just let me wet myself...' which implies 'Wait just a second while I wet myself...'.

-Ø 'non-past')

Harrington glosses this in half-Spanish, half-English: 'yo te voy pull out your hair' ('I am going to pull out your hair') as if ye·la meant 'to be going to' or 'future' or the like. A more reasonable translation, in light of other uses and glosses of ye·la, might be 'Wait while I pull out your hair' or 'Wait and I'll pull out your hair'. The futurity implied by ye·la seems to be much more immediate than that implied by yete· (sec. 441).¹⁹⁰

443. hiske (?)

Most of the time, hiske is translated by the Spanish imperative form deja 'allow, let, permit', implying a precative function ('let me...', etc.). Nevertheless, it is occasionally translated as if identical to ye·la (sec. 442) which is also

¹⁹⁰-----
There are several additional unexplainable facts about ye·la. First of all, it is occasionally followed by a suffix -mini·, with apparently no difference in meaning:

ye·lamini·ka pesyo 'Wait while I think', 'Just a second and I'll think', etc.
(-ka 'I', pesyo- 'to think [of], to remember',
-Ø 'non-past')

This is glossed by Harrington as 'espera que voy a pensar' ('wait [so] that I will think' or 'wait because I am going to think' or the like). This suffix is attested in only one other sentence. More data are required to investigate it further.

Secondly, in two cases, ye·la is followed by a past tense verb:

ye·lak koyponin
(-k 'he', koypo-ni- 'to get scared', -n 'past')
ye·lak wa·ten
(-k 'he', wa·te- 'to come', -n 'past')

The glosses of both of these sentences make use of the Spanish subjunctive: 'deja que se espante' ('let [him] get scared'), 'dejalos que vengan al baile!' ('let them come to the dance!' -- the plurality and notion of 'the dance' are absent from the Mutsun sentence). The construction and semantics of these sentences is not understood.

glossed, sometimes, with deja. Examples:

hiskeka kučru kan-suku·me 'Let me roll my
cigarette'

(-ka 'I', kučru- 'to fold, roll',¹⁹¹ -∅
'non-past', kan- 'my', suku·me 'cigarette
[objective]')

hiskekames nansi 'Let me know (meet?) you',¹⁹²

(-ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', nansi-
'to know, be acquainted with', -∅ 'non-past')

In all occurrences of hiske in the data examined, the subject is first person singular. Whether this is always the case or is an accidental gap is not known.

¹⁹¹-----
The verb kučru- is an unsure form; it may be kučru-.

¹⁹²Note also hiskeka nansi and ye·lakas nansi, both glossed identically as 'yo lo voy a conocer' ('I am going to know [meet?] him'); the objective pronoun is missing from the first Mutsun sentence.

CHAPTER 5 - PARTICLES

500. Introductory remarks

Particles include words which are uninflected as well as a few enclitics which, were they not phonologically linked to a preceding word, would be indistinguishable from other particles both formally (lacking suffixation) and semantically. Some particles (or particle-like words) are discussed in the sections on periphrastic verbal constructions (sec. 440) and interrogation (sec. 612). Others are discussed below, divided by their semantic scopes.

Included among the particles are some words which, strictly speaking, are not particles but, rather, inflected forms. Nevertheless, they function in the same way as the various particles with which they are classed and might be inflected from a historic viewpoint only.

Finally, in violation of the definition, some particles are found with suffixation. In the case of the negative particle, the suffix -na might be classed as a special particle suffix (see sec. 510). In other cases, the data are inadequate to form definite conclusions, but, on the basis of other factors, the words involved may still be tentatively classed as particles.

510. Negation

Negation in Mutsun is accomplished by the negative particle ?ekwe preceding the negated verb (or noun in equational sentences). For example:

ʔekwek ʔi·ʔin ʔi·na 'The sick one is not getting better'

(-k 'he', ʔi·ʔi-n- 'to get better [in health]', -∅ 'non-past', ʔi·na 'sick one')

parwes ʔekwe pa·kanin 'Five (nuts) didn't get shelled'

(parwes 'five', pa·ka-ni- 'to get shelled', -n 'past')

makam neyʔa ʔekwe hentilmak kata ʔokse 'You (plural) are not now pagans as you were before'

(makam 'you [plural]', neyʔa 'now', hentilmak 'gentiles, pagans' [< Spanish gentil + -mak 'plural'], kata 'like, as, seems', ʔokse 'in the past')

ʔekwemes yete ta·pin sapa·tu 'The shoe will not fit you'

(-mes 'you [objective]', yete 'later', ta·pi-n- 'to fit, to suit', -∅ 'non-past', sapa·tu 'shoe' [< Spanish zapato])

Used alone, ʔekwe means simply 'no'. For example:

ʔekwe, kasa·rika yete 'No, I will get married later'

(kasa·ri- 'to get married' [< Spanish casar], -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I', yete 'later')

Negative imperative sentences are formed by sentence-initial ʔekwe followed by a second person pronoun, then a verb in the non-past tense:

ʔekweme hinne 'Don't go!'

(-me 'you', hinne- 'to go', -∅ 'non-past')

ʔekwe makam keye·mu 'Don't (you-plural) jostle each other with the elbow!'

(makam 'you [plural]', keye·-mu- 'to jostle each other with the elbow', -∅ 'non-past')

As with positive imperatives, nominal objects are in the subjective case, though pronominal objects are in the objective case:

ʔekwe siksan men-ʔama 'Don't get your body dirty!'
 (-me 'you', siksa-n- 'to get dirty', -∅ 'non-past',
 men- 'your', ʔama 'body')

ʔekweme kannis ruse 'Don't spit on me!'
 (-me 'you', kannis 'me', ruse- 'to spit [on/at]',
 -∅ 'non-past')

Non-imperative negative sentences with second person subjects may also be constructed ʔekwe plus second person pronoun plus verb. Presumably, the context aids in interpreting the potential ambiguity. For example:

ʔekweme hiṭṭapu men-ʔissuse 'You don't wash your hands'¹⁹³
 (-me 'you', hiṭṭa-pu- 'to wash oneself', -∅
 'non-past', men- 'your', ʔissuse 'hands
 [objective]')

ʔekweme niya ṭawra 'You don't live here'
 (-me 'you', niya 'here', ṭawra- 'to sit,
 live', -∅ 'non-past')

A second negative particle, ʔeps^ye, is attested only rarely, but each time it is translated 'no vayas...' ('don't go and...') implying, perhaps, a 'negative-future-imperative' or 'prohibitional' sense.¹⁹⁴ In Harrington's data, it is

¹⁹³-----
¹⁹³In this particular case, the fact that the nominal object is in the objective case signals that no imperative is involved.

¹⁹⁴Arroyo (1861:23) states that ʔeps^ye 'siempre lleva la oracion â Subjuntivo, ó â Futuro' ('always takes the sentence to the subjunctive or future').

found only three times, twice alone, once with a following verb:

ʔeps^ye } 'Don't do it!'¹⁹⁵
 ʔeps^yeme }

ʔeps^yeme monsen 'Don't tell!'
 (-me 'you', monse- 'to tell', -n [?])¹⁹⁶

More examples of ʔeps^ye are needed to figure out exactly how it differs from ʔekwe.

ʔekwe followed by a special suffix -na forms a negative existential verb. Used impersonally (with no marked subject) it means 'there is (are) not'; used with a subject, it means 'does not have'. For example:

ʔekwena petsen 'There is no sugar'

ʔekwena tawah 'There is no work'

ʔekwenak sit 'He has no teeth' (-k 'he')

ʔekwenak ʔa·stes wak-lase·natka 'He has no utensils
 at his meal'

(-k 'he', ʔa·stes 'utensils',¹⁹⁷ wak- 'his')

¹⁹⁵Harrington glosses ʔeps^yeme 'no vayas a hacer que hagas' ('don't go and do what you might do').

¹⁹⁶The status of the final n in monsen is not clear; monse- is nowhere else attested with final n. The n could be mediopassive -n (sec. 421.1) though this would be a unique usage of that suffix, or it could be past tense -n (sec. 431.2), though no past tense seems to be involved. Finally, it could be nominalizing -n (sec. 424.1). If final n is not a mistake, nominalizing -n is the most probable choice, though only by default: the use of verbal nouns is not well understood. (Cf. also footnote 190.) Note, in addition, ʔekweme monse 'Don't tell!' with no final n. (Both ʔeps^yeme monsen and ʔekweme monse are glossed identically in Spanish: 'no vayas avisar' ['Don't go and tell!'].)

¹⁹⁷ʔa·stes < Spanish trastes and is transcribed by Harrington as [tra·stes]. Normally Harrington's tr is /t/; in this case, it is possible that the word is Spanish, not a phonologically assimilated loanword, and should be transcribed /tra·stes/.

lase·natka 'meal [locative]' [< Spanish
la cena])

Whether ʔekwena is a full verb (i.e., ends in -∅ 'non-past' and could possibly end in -n 'past', etc.) or a special particle is not known.¹⁹⁸

520. Quantification

Other than numerals and numeral-like particles (e.g., 'all') (sec. 620), there are several particles which serve an adverbial function of quantification ('much', 'little'). Two words seem to function as antonyms of ʔekwena 'there is no' (sec. 510) in expressing the idea of 'there is much', 'having much'. It is possible, then, to consider them verbs, but, in the data examined, they function more adverbially than verbally and are never found with suffixation. Furthermore, like ʔekwe, they often occur sentence initially as if to augment a sentence in the same way ʔekwe would negate one. The two words are:

tollon
 ti·ru

Two other words meaning 'much' are more clearly adverbial particles:

ya·sir
 ʔaman (attested twice only)

These words are exemplified in:

tollon lo(·)t 'There is much mud'
 tollonak hine·ru 'He has much money'
 (-ak 'he', hine·ru 'money' [< Spanish dinero])

¹⁹⁸-----
 On the two other attested cases of -na, see secs. 611.4, 611.6.

tollonak tawhari hiş^Yş^Yek turtiyase 'She works
hard making tortillas'
(-ak 'she', tawhari- 'to work', -∅ 'non-past',
hiş^Yş^Ye- 'to make', -∅ 'non-past', -k 'she',
turtiyase 'tortillas [objective]')

hemmen tollon 'There is still much'
(hemmen 'still, yet')

ti·ruka mohleş^Ymin 'I am very big-headed'
(-ka 'I', mohle-ş^Ymin 'big-headed one')

ti·rume yete murçuş^Ymin 'You will be very black'
(-me 'you', yete 'later', murçu-ş^Ymin 'black one')

ti·ruk ʔitkuş^Yte wak-ʔa·pu 'His clothes are all
torn up'
(-k 'he', ʔitku-ş^Yte 'torn up', wak- 'his',
ʔa·pu 'clothes' [Spanish trapo 'cloth'])

ya·sirme ʔinhanin 'You have become very sick'
(-me 'you', ʔinha-ni- 'to get sick', -n 'past')

ʔorkoninka ya·sir 'I got quite scared'
(ʔorko-ni- 'to get scared', -n 'past', -ka 'I')

ʔawli ʔaman 'It is very bitter'
(ʔawli- 'to be bitter', -∅ 'non-past')

The rare particle ʔaman is also attested in the exclamation
ke·se ʔaman 'oh my!' (see sec. 580).

Related to ya·sir is yasri, glossed by Harrington as 'to
be enough'. It is listed in isolation only.

The idea of 'having little' or 'there is little' may be
expressed by ku·tis, though it is exemplified in Harrington's
data only twice:

ku·tis to·ʔe 'a little bit of meat'
ye·laka ʔukkisi ku·tis 'Wait while I drink a little'
(ye·la 'wait!' [see sec. 442], -ka 'I',

ʔukki-si- 'to drink', -Ø 'non-past')

It seems best classified as a particle, rather than a noun ('little bit') because Harrington specifically notes that, following the verb ʔukkisi- 'to drink', it cannot be *ku·tise, with an objective suffix -e.

530. Temporal particles

Particles referring to time will be listed below, followed by exemplification of some and further discussion.

neyʔa 'now'

ʔama (||ʔama·||) 'now'

ʔits^ya 'just now'

ʔaru (||ʔaru·||) 'next, afterwards, later'

ʔaru·ta 'tomorrow'

ʔaruhʔa 'early in the morning'

hin^yaʔa 'soon, in a little while'

hips^yun 'little while' (unclear whether it means
'in a little while' or 'for a little while')

ʔuyka 'yesterday'

ʔuyak 'evening'

ʔuykaş^yte 'afternoon' (?)

murtey 'at night'

ʔokse 'in the past, in past times'

ʔoys^yo 'again'

ʔoş^yo (||ʔoş^yo·||) 'again'

ʔiṭhin ~ ʔiṭhine 'again'

hemmen 'still, yet'

hi·mi ~ hi·min 'always'

horpey 'in the middle of (night, year)'

Examples:

- hiṭwe neyʔa 'The wind is blowing now'
 (hiṭwe- 'wind to blow', -∅ 'non-past', neyʔa
 'now')
- makam neyʔa ʔekwe hentilmak kata ʔokse 'You (plural)
 are not pagans as (you were) in the past'
 (makam 'you [plural]', neyʔa 'now', ʔekwe 'not',
 hentilmak 'pagans' [< Spanish gentil + -mak
 'plural'], kata 'like, as, seems', ʔokse 'in
 the past')
- hinkayime ʔaru 'What did you say next?'
 (hinka-yi 'what say?', -me 'you', ʔaru 'next,
 afterwards, later')
- ʔitmay ʔaruhʔa 'Get up in the morning!'
 (ʔitma- 'to get up [from bed]', -y 'imperative',
 ʔaruhʔa 'early in the morning')
- ʔits^yame ʔitman 'You just now got up'
 (ʔits^ya 'just now', -me 'you', ʔitma- 'to get
 up [from bed]', -n 'past')
- ʔuykakwas ʔiççin 'It bit him yesterday'
 (ʔuyka 'yesterday', -k 'it', -was 'him',
 ʔiççi- 'to bite', -n 'past')
- yete ʔoys^yo laṭṭun 'It's going to drip again'
 (yete 'later', ʔoys^yo 'again', laṭṭu-n- 'to
 drip', -∅ 'non-past')
- hemmenak miṭṭen 'He's still growing'
 (hemmen 'still, yet', -ak 'he', miṭṭe-n-
 'to grow', -∅ 'non-past')
- hi·mime ṭawra 'You're always sitting'
 (hi·mi 'always', -me 'you', ṭawra- 'to sit,
 live', -∅ 'non-past')

The semantic distinctions between the forms given the same English gloss are not known, nor are the conditions (if

any) governing the alternating forms indicated.

The relationship between ?aru 'next, afterwards, later', ?aru.ta 'tomorrow' and ?aruh?a 'early in the morning' is obvious, but the details of the relationship are not. -ta is an otherwise non-occurring suffix; -?a, as noted in sec. 111.2, is found in adverbial forms, but is otherwise mysterious, as is the h preceding it.

Mrs. Cervantes knew the particle ?ara, apparently semantically identical to ?aru, but commented 'es una palabra que se acostumbraba de usar antes' ('it is a word that they were accustomed to using before'), that is, she considered it an old fashioned word.

The word ?uyka 'yesterday' is related to a verb stem identical in form, ?uyka- 'to get to be later in the day'. It is a mediopassive stem and, therefore, is followed by -n 'mediopassive' (sec. 421.1) as in:

?uykan hismen 'It's getting later'
(hismen 'sun')

The sentence is literally 'The sun gets later', the idea apparently being that the sun is continuing along its course through the sky.¹⁹⁹ ?uyka is also related to ?uyak 'evening',

¹⁹⁹-----
The stem ?uhyi- 'to get to be late in the morning' is used, Harrington reports, after 8:00 a.m., and, apparently, until around noon; after that (though this is not specifically noted) ?uyka- is used, and, when it is getting dark, mure- 'to get to be late in the afternoon' takes over. Thus, the sun 'gets later' in the morning by rising to its zenith at noon; 'gets later' in the afternoon by continuing on towards the western horizon; and gets later still as darkness approaches. Just as ?uyka- is related to ?uyka 'yesterday' and ?uyak 'evening', so ?uhyi- is related to ?u.his 'day' and mure- to murtey 'at night'. ('To dawn is ?akke-n-; 'sun to set' is ?akku-, probably the same as ?akku-n- 'to enter'.)

exemplified only in the phrase miş^ymin ʔuyak 'good evening' (miş^ymin 'good one'), perhaps more properly a noun than a particle.²⁰⁰ Finally, in 1922 Harrington glossed a perfective verb ʔuykaş^yte as 'la tarde' ('afternoon'), though in 1929 as 'to be later'. It probably really means '(has already become) later (in the day)'. Whether it can be used as a noun or particle meaning 'afternoon' (the opposite of ʔaruhʔa 'morning', Harrington reports in 1922) is not sure; it appears in citation form only.

horpey 'in the middle of' is highly unusual since it is related to a verb horpe-n- 'to get to be at the middle of'. The particle horpey is itself attested only in a rather odd formation, murtey horpeyas 'at midnight' (murtey 'at night'). Presumably -yas is 'attributive', but normally the attributive noun precedes its head (see sec. 332.5). Both murtey and horpey are interesting in that they end in -y, commonly found with locative particles (sec. 540).

Apparently, past tense suffixes are not always required if an appropriate temporal particle is used. For example:

ho·yo haysane ʔokse ʔamş^yi haysane ʔamma '(He) took
 them in order to eat them'
 (ho·yo- 'to take, grasp', -∅ 'non-past', haysane
 'them', ʔokse 'in the past', ʔamş^yi 'so that',
 ʔamma- 'to eat', -∅ 'non-past')

In other attestations, both particle and past tense suffixes

²⁰⁰ Cf. miş^ymin muruṭ 'good night' (muruṭ 'darkness, night'). The connection between 'evening' and 'yesterday' may be simply that that part of 'yesterday' closest to now is its 'evening'. Alternatively, a completed day is one which has 'become later' to the point of having an 'evening', and 'yesterday' is a completed day.

cooccur:

hasliniska ʔokse 'I got scared some time ago'
 (hasli-ni- 'to get scared', -s 'remote past',
 -ka 'I', ʔokse 'in the past')

Finally, there is one instance of what appears to be a temporal particle taking a tense suffix:

yukwas ʔoṣ^Yos rippas 'He jabbed him again'
 (yu 'and', -k 'he', -was 'him', ʔoṣ^Yo 'again',
 rippa- 'to jab, stab')

Harrington remarks that both ʔoṣ^Yo and the verb rippa- were 'V[olunteere]d ... in same tense', namely -s 'remote past'. This is the only attestation of ʔoṣ^Yo 'again'. Thus, whether it should really be ʔoṣ^Yos is not known. Also unclear is its relationship to ʔoys^Yo 'again' which never occurs with a suffix.

540. Locative particles

Particles with a locative or spatial sense almost all end in -y, best considered a frozen suffix. Attested in the Harrington material are:

hut^Yt^Yuy 'ahead, in front'
 kariy (||kari·y||) 'outside'
 karihʔa 'far'
 minmuy 'below, under; on the ground'
 rammay 'inside'
 taprey 'above'
 ʔiṭyan ~ ʔiṭyan 'behind'

Examples of locative particles in sentences are:

moṭ wak tina lippahte rammay 'Is he hidden inside there?'
 (moṭ 'interrogative particle', wak 'he', tina 'there', lippa-hte 'hidden', rammay 'inside')

minmuyak mehe·si 'He is looking down'

(minmuy 'below, under', -ak 'he', mehe·-si-
'to look [at]', -∅ 'non-past')

kari·yak ɬawra 'He lives outside'

(kari·y 'outside', -ak 'he', ɬawra- 'to sit,
live', -∅ 'non-past')

wak wa·te hut^Yt^Yuy 'He comes in front', 'He walks
ahead'

(wak 'he', wa·te- 'to come', -∅ 'non-past',
hut^Yt^Yuy 'ahead, in front')

ʔamɬ^Yik ʔekwe hinne karihʔa 'so that he doesn't go
far away'

(ʔamɬ^Yi 'so that', -k 'he', ʔekwe 'not', hinne-
'to go, to walk', -∅ 'non-past', karihʔa 'far')

wak rippan ʔiɕyan 'He jabbed (him) behind' (i.e., the
victim of the stab was behind the stabber)

(wak 'he', rippa- 'to jab, stab', -n 'past',
ʔiɕyan 'behind')

The exact relationship between kariy 'outside' and karihʔa 'far' is not known, but the latter again shows the -ʔa suffix found on a number of particles, as well as an unaccounted for h (cf. ʔaru 'next, afterwards', ʔaruhʔa 'early in the morning' sec. 530).

550. Conjunctions

Several particles serve to link sentences either in coordinate or subordinate constructions. Only one of these particles, yu· ~ yu 'and', has been found to link words (in this case, nouns) as well.

yu· ~ yu 'and', sometimes 'and so, and therefore'
ʔe·ne 'and' (attested clearly only once)

koč 'when, if'

ʔams^Yi 'so that, in order that, in order to'

ʔamu· 'in that, such that'

kanni 'so that' (unsure form)

ʔussi 'because' (see also sec. 611.7)

kata (||kata·||) 'as if' (see also sec. 570)

Examples:

neyʔa me·n mun yu·mete hiš^Yš^Yen pire·se 'Now you
are dirt and you will become earth'
(neyʔa 'now', me·n 'you', mun 'dirt, loose earth',
yu· 'and', -me-te or -m-ete 'you later' [< yete
'later'], hiš^Yš^Ye-n- 'to become', -∅ 'non-past',
pire·se 'earth, ground, world [objective]')

ka·yi ka-sire kan wattin yu·kames ʔakka 'My heart
aches when I go away and leave you behind'
(ka·yi- 'to ache', -∅ 'non-past', ka- 'my', sire
'liver; heart [in figurative sense]', kan 'I',
watti-n- 'to go away', -∅ 'non-past', yu· 'and',
-ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', ʔakka- 'to leave
[something] behind', -∅ 'non-past')

yu· wak-ʔappa yu wak-ʔa·nan ʔiččanis haysa, yu
ʔanyis henti hiwa·nin 'And his father and mother
came running and other people also arrived'
(yu· 'and', wak- 'his', ʔappa 'father', yu 'and',
wak- 'his', ʔa·nan 'mother', ʔičča-ni- 'to come
running' [attested here only], -s 'remote past',
haysa 'they', yu 'and', ʔanyis 'other [one]',
henti 'people' [< Spanish gente], hiwa·-ni- 'to
arrive', -n 'past'²⁰¹)

²⁰¹Why one verb is in the remote past and the other in the recent past is unexplained. Also, it is not known whether conjoined nouns must both be preceded by yu· ~ yu, or if the sentence initial yu· simply introduces the sentence as a whole. Most of the attestations of yu· ~ yu are sentence initial (that is, the sentence begins 'And...'), clearly a discourse phenome-

koč makse ɬawra yu·me maksene pakkasi 'You look
for us when we are sitting'
(koč 'when', makse 'we [exclusive]', ɬawra- 'to
sit, live', -∅ 'non-past', yu· 'and', -me 'you'
maksene 'us [exclusive]', pakka-si- 'to look for',
-∅ 'non-past')

ʔams^yi yulke, yu·ka pu·ɬe 'So that (it) will burn, I
am blowing (the fire)'
(ʔams^yi 'so that', yulke- 'to burn', -∅ 'non-
past', yu· 'and', -ka 'I', pu·ɬe- 'to blow at',
-∅ 'non-past')

It is not known, due to lack of data, whether yu· is required
to introduce a main clause when a subordinate (adverbial)
clause comes first, as the first two examples above suggest.

Normally, the subordinate clause comes second:

ʔiččompik wak-pu·ɬse ʔams^yi wak-kussahne 'She is
taking out its (the pillow's) feathers so that it
(the pillow case) may be washed'
(ʔiččo-mpi- 'to take out', -∅ 'non-past', -k
'she', wak- 'its', pu·ɬse 'feather[s] [objective]',
ʔams^yi 'so that', wak 'it', kussa-hne 'is washed')

ma·hiy loya ʔams^yi wuppe si· 'Cover the pot so the
water will boil!'
(ma·hi- 'to cover', -y 'imperative', loya 'pot'
[< Spanish la olla], ʔams^yi 'so that', wuppe- 'to
boil', -∅ 'non-past', si· 'water')

parki men kočkames lu·ye 'You are heavy when I push
you (in a swing)'
(parki- 'to be heavy', -∅ 'non-past', men 'you',
koč 'when', -ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', lu·ye-

non even though the preceding sentences are usually lacking.
This is also true of the one attestation of ʔe·ne 'and':

ʔe·ne men miš^yte 'And are you well?'
(men 'you', miš^yte 'good')

'to push, rock to and fro', -Ø 'non-past')

ʔussime paṭṭihne ' (Don't go around stealing) because
you will be seized!'

(ʔussi 'because', -me 'you', paṭṭi-hne 'is
seized')

hi·mime kannis mehe·si kata·me kannis ʔekwe nansi
'You always look at me as if you didn't know
me'

(hi·mi 'always', -me 'you', kannis 'me',
mehe·-si- 'to look at', -Ø 'non-past', kata·
'like, as, seems', -me 'you', ʔekwe 'not',
nansi- 'to know', -Ø 'non-past')

560. Relative clause marker

The relative clause marker is *numan*. It is unclear whether it serves a pronominal function, standing for a deleted noun, or simply introduces relative clauses, since the deciding evidence is not to be found in the Harrington data examined to date. In any event, a relative clause introduced by *numan* can occur alone or after a head noun in the appropriate case. For example:

ʔokse ro·tes hemečʔa ṭa·res *numan* hemečʔa korotka
wak ʔokse hinne

'There was once a man who walked on one foot'
(ʔokse 'in the past', ro·tes 'there was [see
sec. 730], hemečʔa 'one', ṭa·res 'man',
hemečʔa 'one', korotka 'foot [locative]', wak
'he', ʔokse 'in the past', hinne- 'to go, to
walk', -Ø 'non-past')

ka·n mehe·si haysane *numan* hiwa·nin 'I'm looking at
those who arrived'

ka·n mehe·si *numan* hiwa·nin 'id.'

(ka·n 'I', mehe·-si- 'to look at', -∅ 'non-past', haysane 'them', hiwa·-ni- 'to arrive', -n 'past')

570. Other adverbial particles

Particles of various adverbial functions, as a matter of expediency, are listed together here.

pin^Yi (||pin^Yi·||) 'perhaps'
 kata (||kata·||) 'like, as, seems' (see also sec. 550)
 ka·ti or ka·t^Yi 'thus'
 -tukne ~ -tkun 'irrealis'
 -s^Ya 'alone'

The first two of these may be exemplified with no further discussion:

pin^Yi·ka hippu 'Perhaps I'll carry (it) on my back'
 (-ka 'I', hippu- 'to carry on one's back', -∅ 'non-past')

hintise pin^Yi wak hippu 'What might he be carrying on his back?'
 (hintise 'what? [objective]', wak 'he', hippu- 'to carry on one's back', -∅ 'non-past')

men-se·pek kata hire 'Your beard is like a rat's'
 (men- 'your', se·pek 'beard', hire 'rat')

kata yete ʔamne 'It seems as if it's going to rain'
 (yete 'later', ʔamne- 'to rain', -∅ 'non-past')

kata semmonin hemečʔa ʔama 'Somebody died' (literally: 'It seems as though one person died')
 (semmo-ni- 'to die', -n 'past', hemečʔa 'one', ʔama 'body, person')

ka·ti or ka·t^Yi (Harrington, on separate occasions, insists that each is correct and the other is incorrect) seems to behave as a particle meaning 'thus' or 'in this manner' as in:

yu·me ka·ti ɬa·kan ʔammayni 'And thus you come to eat'

(yu· 'and', -me 'you', ɬa·ka-n- 'to come', -∅ 'non-past', ʔamma-yini- 'to come to eat', -∅ 'non-past')

Nevertheless, when a verb is missing from a sentence, it may take a tense suffix:

ʔekwe ka·t^yis '(They) did not do thus(ly)'
(ʔekwe 'not', -s 'remote past')

There is not enough information to come to any definite conclusions, but there are two possible interpretations. First, ka·t^(y)i- may be a verb 'to do thusly', in which case the first sentence cited above contains three verbs in series. On the other hand, it may be a particle, and at least some particles, under certain (as yet not understood) conditions may take tense suffixes (cf. the discussion on ʔoŋ^yo 'again', sec. 530). Of course, there is a third possibility, namely that ka·t^(y)i is both a particle and a verb (or both particle and verb are formed from the same root or stem).

The 'irrealis' form is recorded both as an independent particle and enclitic, (-)tukne, when the preceding word ends in a consonant, but only as an enclitic -tkun when the preceding word ends in a vowel; tukne is here transcribed as an enclitic. Harrington describes -tkun as the 'unreal postfix'. Both -tukne and -tkun are found after the first word of a sentence (or the first word of a subordinate clause); enclitic pronouns, if any, follow the irrealis particle. It seems to mean that the sentence is expressing a hypothetical event. For example:

kočtukne men halsas^ymin, ka·ntuknemes ta·he
 'If you were a liar, I would question you'
 (koč 'when, if', men 'you', halsa-s^ymin 'liar',
 ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', ta·he- 'to
 ask, to question', -∅ 'non-past')

hiš^ys^yentukne hewe·pa '(It's as if it) is becoming
 a devil'
 (hiš^ys^ye-n- 'to become', -∅ 'non-past', hewe·pa
 'devil'; this sentence, says Harrington, was
 'V[olunteere]d of whistle siren')

ʔoksetkun ka·nwas ʔakkan 'I would have left him
 (behind) much earlier'
 (ʔokse 'in the past', ka·n 'I', -was 'him',
 ʔakka- 'to leave [behind]', -n 'past')

The form for 'also' is attested both as an enclitic -ya
 and as an independent particle ya. Whether the difference is
 transcriptional only is not yet known. For example:

ka·t^yi ya miš^yte 'Thus also well'
 (ka·t^yi 'thus', miš^yte 'good'; this sentence
 occurs as part of a conversation: 'How are you?',
 'Well, and you?', 'Thus also well')

ka·nya wattin ʔanyis piretka 'I also (will) go to
 the other world' (i.e., 'I will die')
 (ka·n 'I', watti-n- 'to go', -∅ 'non-past',
 ʔanyis 'other [one]', piretka 'land, world,
 earth [locative]')

The enclitic -s^ya 'alone' is very unusual. It is attested
 (sometimes as an independent particle) only following the
 second person pronoun and after a peculiar stem (or word)
 čo·reʔ- which occurs only with -s^ya, the whole construction
 meaning 'alone':

me·ns^ya ričča 'You alone speak'

- (me·n 'you', ričča- 'to speak', -∅ 'non-past')
- menš^ya ʔo·čote 'You alone have ears'
 (men 'you', ʔo·čo-te 'having ears')
- men čo·reʔš^ya ričča 'You alone speak'
 (men 'you', ričča- 'to speak', -∅ 'non-past')
- ka·n čo·reʔš^ya, ka·n š^yollen 'I am alone, I am sad'
 (ka·n 'I', š^yolle-n- 'to be [get] sad', -∅
 'non-past')

Other particles occur in the Harrington material, but, as yet, they have not lent themselves to interpretation. When the bulk of the notes are examined, they will undoubtedly fall into place.

580. Exclamations and interjections

Several particles are simply exclamations:

- warəš^y 'For God's sake! Upon my life!'
 ʔay 'Oh!'
 ke·se 'expression of surprise: Oh my!'
 ke·se ʔaman 'id.' (ʔaman 'much' -- sec. 520)
 ʔehʔe^h ~ heʔe^h 'yes'
 ya· 'Here!' (said when handing something to someone)
 ke· 'Hey!'

CHAPTER 6 - MISCELLANEOUS CLASSES

610. Interrogatives

There are two types of interrogative forms, interrogative words and particles. The former are used in 'information' questions ('who?', 'when?', etc.), the latter in yes-no questions. At least one interrogative word is also used in negated sentences as an impersonal pronoun ('anything').

Among the interrogative words are both nominal, verbal and particle forms, and some of the suffixation involved is formally and/or semantically unique.

611. Interrogative words

Most interrogative words are based on a root *hin-*, though a few other roots are also found, all but one beginning with *h*. All interrogative words occur sentence initially.

611.1. *hinwa* 'when?'

Resembling a particle, this form is never found with suffixation.²⁰² Example:

hinwame heyespū 'When do you shave?'
 (-*me* 'you', *heyespū-* 'to shave oneself', -*∅*
 'non-past')

611.2. *hinhan* 'how many? how much? how many times?'

This word is also like a particle in lacking suffixation.²⁰³

Example:

²⁰²-----
 Arroyo (1862: entries no. 1226, 1241), however, records a final *t* (Inuat) which never occurs in Harrington's data.

²⁰³Arroyo (1862) again records a final *t*: Injanta (entry no. 1313), Inanat (entry no. 2269).

hinhan wese·ru 'How many calves?'

(wese·ru 'calf' [< Spanish becerro])

hinhan makse ʔuyka rammus 'How many times did we shoot (them) on the fly yesterday?'

(makse 'we [exclusive]', ʔuyka 'yesterday', rammu- 'to shoot on the fly', -s 'remote past')

611.3. hinka- 'verbal interrogative'

This is a verb stem which may be used alone or followed by a thematic suffix (cf. sec. 420). The thematic suffixes found are either unique or treated idiomatically. As with all verbs, the verb theme formed from this stem must end with a final suffix (sec. 430). Interrogative words based on this stem are used when the verb is being questioned; thus no other verbs are found in the same sentence.

611.3.1. hinka- 'what doing?'

With no thematic suffixes, hinka- is used to ask what kind of activity is going on. For example:

hinkame 'What are you doing?'

(-∅ 'non-past', -me 'you')

hinkamewas 'What are you doing to him?'

(-was 'him')

In one instance, hinka, in isolation, is glossed 'que es?' ('what is?') implying it might be used for equational sentences.

611.3.2. hinka-ni- 'what happen?'

Followed by the mediopassive suffix -ni (sec. 421.1), the interrogative verb takes on a mediopassive sense. It is exemplified only twice, once with a clear mediopassive gloss

('became'), once without ('did'):

hinkaninka 'What did I become? What did I do to
myself?'

(-n 'past', -ka 'I')

hinkaninme 'What did you do?'

(-n 'past', -me 'you')

If the -ni suffix is really the mediopassive, the implication of the second sentence is 'What did you do such that something happened to you?'. Further data are required to clearly distinguish this from nonsuffixed hinka-.

611.3.3. hinka-hte 'how be?'

Followed by the perfective final suffix -hte (sec. 432), the word is used to question the state brought about as the result of some activity. It may also be used to question the quality of a state with, apparently, no particular activity implied. For example:

hinkahtem 'How are you?'

(-m 'you')

hinkahtek kočtuknek ?ennehne neppesum 'How would
it be if it were written with this?'

(-k 'it', koč 'if, when', -tukne 'irrealis', -k
'it', ?enne-hne 'is written', neppesum 'this one
[instrumental]')

611.3.4. hinka-yi- 'what say? how say? what do?'

The exact meaning of this form is unsure. The thematic suffix -yi is found nowhere else in the data; that it is thematic is assured by the occurrence of -n 'past' following it. Harrington glosses it simply as 'how', but, most of the

time, a notion of 'saying' is implied. Other times, however, it is indistinguishable from hinka- alone. More data, with more complete contextual information, are required. Examples:

hinkayime 'What do you say?'

(-∅ 'non-past', -me 'you')

hinkayikawas yete 'What will I say to him?'

(-∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I', -was 'him', yete 'later')

hinkayi me-ra·kat 'What is your name?'

(-∅ 'non-past', me- 'your', ra·kat 'name')

hinkayinme 'What did you do?'

(-n 'past', -me 'you')

hinkayika 'What do I do?' (i.e., 'What will I do now?')

(-∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I')

Once, hinka-yi- is followed by a second thematic suffix -ti 'continuative' (sec. 422.1):

hinkayitikames 'What am I (going along and) saying to you?'

(hinka-yi-ti- 'to be [going along] saying what?', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]')

Also, in one entry, and in isolation, hinka-yi-, like hinka-, is glossed 'que es?' ('what is?') (cf. sec. 611.3.1).²⁰⁴

611.3.5. hinka-si(-) 'how? why?'

Harrington glosses this form simply 'how'. It is

²⁰⁴-----
There is one sentence with both hinka-yi- and a verb:
hinkayimekas monse 'What do you tell me? What do you advise me?'

(-me 'you', -kas 'me', monse- 'to tell, advise', -∅ 'non-past')

Though there is no overt indication, it seems likely that the intended sense is 'What do you advise me to do?'. If that is correct, the interrogative hinka-yi- is the sole verb of a complement clause.

apparently not a verb, since it occurs, though only twice, with other verbs in the same sentence. Perhaps the suffix *-si* is the same as that found in a very few adjective-like forms, e.g., *polpolsi* 'spotted' (cf. footnote 121). Examples:

hinkasika yete hişʸşʸe 'How will I do (this)?'
 (-ka 'I', yete 'later', *hişʸşʸe-* 'to do, to make', -∅ 'non-past')

yu·me hinkasi ta·he 'And why do you ask?'
 (yu· 'and', -me 'you', ta·he- 'to ask, to question', -∅ 'non-past')

611.3.6. Other derivatives

There are three more forms built on *hinka-* found in the data, but none of them is attested with any degree of certainty.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵They are:
 hinkaşʸmin
 hinkaninpe
 hinkasta

All three are given in response to forms in Arroyo (1862):

(a) (entry no. 1260) ¿Incasmintac añi? 'Which other one? What kind of other one?' Harrington assumes this is *hinkaşʸmin-tak* ?anyi. Presumably *hinkaşʸmintak* is a locative form (-tak) of a nominalized verb (-şʸmin) meaning, perhaps, 'at the one which got what?' (where 'what' here would be answered by a participle); ?anyis is a noun, 'other (one)'. Harrington also glosses *hinkaşʸmin* alone as 'como es?' ('how is?'). The construction is obscure. Also, the fact that *hinka-* is found with both *-hte* and *-şʸmin* (i.e., both *-h* and *-şʸ*) is highly irregular (cf. sec. 432).

(b) (entries no. 1203, 1214) ¿Incaninpe ca? 'Who knows what I have or what I've done? Who knows what I have become?' Harrington records *hinkaninpe ka 'que me híce'* ('what did I become?') and remarks: 'Surely *hiñkanimpe*, not *hiñkanimpí*. Study will reveal'. If there is any further study on the matter by Harrington, it is not in the data examined thus far. The construction is not understood.

(c) (entry no. 1209) ¿Incasta me? 'What have you done? What did you do?' Harrington records: '*hiñkastame* evidently'; that is, this is what he presumes the Arroyo form to be phonetically. There is no further support for it as a valid word, however.

611.4. hinṭis 'what?', 'anything'

This nominal interrogative word occurs in the objective case as hinṭis ~ hinṭise making it, at times, formally indistinguishable from the subjective. Indeed, there are no clear examples of hinṭis used for a questioned subject. There are a number of attestations of hinṭis ~ hinṭise as a questioned object, however. For example:

hinṭiseme hiṣ^yṣ^ye 'What are you doing?' or 'What are you making?'
 (-me 'you', hiṣ^yṣ^ye- 'to do, to make', -∅ 'non-past')

hinṭise haysa ṭa·kampin 'What did they bring?'
 (haysa 'they', ṭa·ka-mpi- 'to bring', -n 'past')

hinṭiseme pira·na 'What are you going (away) to bury?'
 (-me 'you', pira·-na- 'to go to bury', -∅ 'non-past')

hinṭiseme ma·yi 'Why do you laugh?' (literally: 'What are you laughing at?')
 (-me 'you', ma·yi- 'to laugh at', -∅ 'non-past')

hinṭis also occurs as an instrumental in -um (cf. sec. 332.3):²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶-----
 Instrumental hinṭisum is also glossed 'why' by Harrington on the basis of the following sentence:

hinṭisum makse monsesi pa·trese makse ričča
 (makse 'we [exclusive]', monse-si- 'to make tell', -∅ 'non-past', pa·trese 'Padre [objective]', makse 'we', ričča- 'to speak [to]', -∅ 'non-past')

Harrington glosses this sentence 'porque nosotros no pudimos mandar decir al padre que le hablamos al padre' ('Why can't we make the Padre tell that we speak to the Padre?' or 'Why can't we make [someone] tell the Padre that we speak to the Padre?'). The interrogative hinṭisum apparently means 'why?'; where the sense of 'cannot' comes from is not obvious.

hinṭisumme hiṭṭapu men-si·tse 'With what do you
clean your teeth?'

(-me 'you', hiṭṭa-pu- 'to clean oneself', -∅
'non-past', men- 'your', si·tse 'teeth [objec-
tive]')

As the subject of a verb, hinṭis is once attested with
a suffix -na of unknown significance. The word hinṭisna
is glossed by Harrington, apparently, as 'what is that (thing,
one) which...' in:²⁰⁷

hinṭisna pina hikihte 'What is that (thing) which
is hanging there?'

(pina 'there', hiki-hte 'hanging, hung')

Finally, Harrington records hinṭiṣ^yte, glossed as 'having
what?'. Presumably this is formed from hinṭis by the addition
of the verbalizing suffix -te (sec. 331). The change from /s/
to /ṣ^y/ is unique, but given Harrington's trouble in dis-
tinguishing /s/ and /ṣ^y/, particularly before /t/, plus
probable interference from the verb suffix -ṣ^yte 'perfective'
(sec. 432), an error may be involved.²⁰⁸ hinṭiṣ^yte is not
attested in any context.

In negative sentences, hinṭis occurs as an indefinite
pronoun in the sense of 'nothing' or 'anything'. In this
function, hinṭis, or objective hinṭise, follows the verb
rather than occurring sentence initially. For example:

ni(·) ?ekwena hinṭis 'Here there is nothing'
(ni[·] 'here, ?ekwe-na 'there is not',

²⁰⁷-----
A suffix -na also occurs after hatte 'who?' to form 'whose?',
and after the negative particle ?ekwe to form a verbal element
meaning 'there is no...' or 'does not have...'. See sec. 510.

²⁰⁸In his earlier, 1922, recordings, Harrington wrote [hintr'iste].

hintis 'nothing, anything [subjective]')
 ʔekwena hiṣ^Yṣ^Ye hintise 'I'm not doing anything'
 (ʔekwe 'not', -ka 'I', hiṣ^Yṣ^Ye- 'to do', -∅
 'non-past', hintise 'nothing, anything [objec-
 tive]')

611.5. ha·ne ~ hanni ~ ha·ni 'where?'

The difference between these three forms is not known; the two forms ending in i may be free variants since Harrington indicates in the same entry that both hanni and ha·ni mean 'where'. The first form may be an error; Harrington heard hane in 1922 and corrected this to hanni in 1929, specifically noting that the word ended in i, 'not e'. It is possible, then, that he misheard ha·ni as ha·ne on other occasions. Examples:

ha·ne wak 'Where is he?'

hanni hellepu 'Where do (the souls of those who die) go?'

(helle-pu- 'to move')

This interrogative word is inherently locative and thus may be followed directly by -tum 'ablative' (sec. 332.6). The formation, however, is irregular: hanni·tum. (Since long vowels do not follow consonant clusters [sec. 135], either hannitum, which was, in fact, recorded in 1922, or ha·nitum would be expected. Nevertheless, Harrington specifically notes that the i· is long.) The word occurs in:

hanni·tumme ʔa·kan 'Where do you come from?'

(-me 'you', ʔa·ka-n- 'to come', -∅ 'non-past')

611.6. hatte 'who?'

As a subject interrogative pronoun, hatte occurs in, for example:

hattemes humrin 'Who baptized you?'
 (-mes 'you [objective]', humri- 'to baptize',
 -n 'past')

An objective form is not attested, but a comitative form, perhaps consisting of objective -s plus comitative -tuk (sec. 332.7), hattestuk 'with whom?', is found:

hattestuk makam ri·ča 'With whom are you (plural) speaking?'
 (makam 'you [plural]', ri·ča- 'to be speaking',²⁰⁹
 -∅ 'non-past')

A genitive 'whose?' is formed either by simple juxtaposition, as in normal genitive constructions (sec. 354), or else by the addition of a suffix -na.²¹⁰ Unfortunately, each of these constructions is attested only once:

hatte neppe ?irek 'Whose is this rock?'
 (neppe 'this', ?irek 'rock')

hattena ne· hilesya 'Whose is this church?'
 (ne· 'this', hilesya 'church' [Spanish
iglesia]²¹¹)

Two plurals are recorded for hatte, both of them

²⁰⁹-----
 ri·ča- is either a legitimate form with some sort of continuative or durative aspect (see sec. 411) or else an error for the more common ričča- or ri·či- 'to speak'.

²¹⁰Cf. hinčisna, sec. 611.4.

²¹¹hilesya is recorded by Harrington as [hiles^ya]. The transcription was changed here since, in this instance, the [s^y] seems best interpreted as /sy/ phonemically, as in the Spanish source word, and not as an allophone of /š^y/ (see. sec. 113.1).

irregular:

hattemak (*hattekma would be expected)
hattekin

The first form occurs in isolation only, glossed 'quienes?' ('who [plural]?'). The second occurs in one sentence:

hattekin ʔa·ŋhelmak 'Who are the angels?'
(ʔa·ŋhelmak 'angels' [< Spanish angel +
-mak 'plural'])

611.7. Other interrogative words

There are several other interrogative words attested, though only once each:

hiş^yke 'who is that?'
hampi 'who is it?'
hampistak 'where?' or 'go where?'

The second two forms seem to be somehow related, but the details are not clear. The s of hampistak is unexplained, though the final -tak is the locative case suffix (sec. 322.3). There is an unsure attestation of hampis meaning 'other' which may fit into the set as well.

Another uniquely attested interrogative word is ma·ʔu 'why?' found in:

ma·ʔu wak yete ʔa·kan 'Why will he come?'
(wak 'he', yete 'later', ʔa·ka-n- 'to come',
-∅ 'non-past')

Similarly, ʔussi 'because' (see sec. 550) is glossed 'why?' in the sentence:

yu· ʔussimwas kale 'And why do you defend him?'
(yu· 'and', -m 'you', -was 'him', kale- 'to
defend', -∅ 'non-past')

Exactly how the interrogative and conjunctive senses of ?ussi are distinguished is not certain due to lack of data, but probably the word's location in the sentence is enough to clarify its meaning.

Finally, an interrogative word *hista* is found, but, according to Mrs. Cervantes, it is not properly a Mutsun word. Nevertheless, Harrington remarks, 'Thinks it means *que es?* ['what is?']'. It occurs in sentences glossed both 'what?' and 'why?'; in the former sense, it is found only as an object. For example:

histames hiṣṣ^Yesis pa·tre 'What did the Padre have you do?'

(-mes 'you [objective]', *hiṣṣ^Ye-si-* 'to make [someone] do or make [something]', *pa·tre* 'Padre')

histame huysi ta·he 'Why are you in a hurry to ask?'

(-me 'you', *huysi-* 'to be in a hurry', -∅ 'non-past', *ta·he-* 'to ask, to question', -∅ 'non-past')

A derived form, with an otherwise unexemplified suffix *-ni*, is also found, though in isolation only. Harrington glosses *histani* as 'que es?' or 'que es esto?' ('what is?' or 'what is this?') and remarks (probably quoting Mrs. Cervantes): 'It is another dialect, but of the Ind[ian]s who lived right there at S[an] Juan [Bautista]'.

612. Interrogative particles

There are two interrogative particles used in forming yes-no questions. By far the most common is *moṭ*; the second

is actually an enclitic -s ~ -se, and is poorly attested.

621.1. moṭ 'interrogative particle'

This particle invariably occurs sentence initially and introduces yes-no questions. The syntax of the rest of the sentence is apparently unaffected, although enclitic pronouns, if used, tend to occur immediately after moṭ since they usually follow the first word of any sentence (sec. 352). For example:

moṭmes haran si·se 'Did you give him water?'
 (-mes 'you-him', hara- 'to give', -n 'past',
 si·se 'water [objective]')

moṭme ʔakkuṣ^yte 'Have you entered?'
 (-me 'you', ʔakku-ṣ^yte 'entered')

moṭ tina sinni 'Is the baby there?'
 (tina 'there', sinni 'baby, child')

moṭ semmon makke nossow moṭ semmon mak-ʔama
 'Do our souls die (or) do our bodies die?'
 (semmo-n- 'to die', -∅ 'non-past', makke 'our
 [inclusive]', nossow 'soul, spirit', mak- 'our',
 ʔama 'body')

By far the most frequent element following moṭ is the second person singular enclitic pronoun -me. Arroyo (1862) often glosses moṭme as 'Dime' ('tell me') as if the construction is a generalized question introducer. In the Harrington data, there is one sentence in which moṭme seems to serve in this capacity rather than in introducing a yes-no question about 'you':

moṭme hinkahte ʔeṭse murtey 'How did they sleep last
 night?'
 (hinka-hte 'how?', ʔeṭse- 'to sleep [plural? --

sec. 412]', -Ø 'non-past', murtey 'at night'²¹²)

This is the only example of both moṭ and a question word in the same sentence. Furthermore, the subject (according to Harrington's gloss) is 'they' (perhaps expressed in the verb stem ʔeṭse-) and not 'you' despite the occurrence of -me. If no error is involved, it might be assumed that, under certain conditions, moṭme does indeed have a frozen sense of 'tell me...' in introducing questions.

612.2. -s ~ -se 'interrogative'

An enclitic -s or -se, with the same meaning as moṭ, is occasionally attested following the first word of a sentence. The enclitic occurs far more frequently in Arroyo's Vocabulary (1862) than in Harrington's data where it is clearly attested only four times. In fact, it seems to be found in Harrington's notes only in response to its presence in a particular passage in Arroyo's Vocabulary, suggesting that it was, for Mrs. Cervantes, a moribund construction.

The longer -se is attested only once, after a short vowel independent pronoun:

mense 'Are you?' (cf. me·se 'you [objective]')

The single consonant -s is found unambiguously only after pi·na 'that'. For example:

pi·naseskames hiṣ^yṣ^yesis 'Is that what I made you do?'

²¹²-----
²¹²Apparently murtey 'at night' is sufficient to put the whole sentence into the past tense, even though the verb is inflected for 'non-past'. Harrington's gloss, literally translated above, is 'como durmieron anoche?'

(pi·nase 'that [objective]', -s 'interrogative',
-ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', hiş^yş^ye-si- 'to
make [someone] do or make [something]', -s 're-
mote past')

pi·nas ʔinnu 'Is that the road?' or 'Is that the
door?'

(pi·na 'that', -s 'interrogative', ʔinnu 'road,
door')

620. Numbers and quantifiers

Unfortunately, a complete set of numerals is not found
in the data examined. The cardinal numbers which are
attested are listed below, followed by a few example sentences.
Numeral morphology is not at all understood; the various non-
cardinal forms are presented with little discussion.

hemečʔa 'one'
ʔuṭhin 'two'
kaphan 'three'
parwes 'five'
tayitmin 'eight'

sukmuka hemečʔa suku·me 'I smoke a (one) cigarette'
(sukmu- 'to smoke', -∅ 'non-past', -ka 'I',
suku·me 'cigarette [objective]')

wak hiwa·nin hemečʔa rukkatka 'He arrived at
one house'
(wak 'he', hiwa·ni- 'to arrive', -n 'past',
rukkatka 'house [locative]')

ʔuṭhin wak hiwa·nin 'He arrived twice'
(wak 'he', hiwa·-ni- 'to arrive', -n 'past')

parwes ʔekwe pa·kanin 'Five (nuts) were not shelled'
(ʔekwe 'not', pa·ka-ni- 'to get shelled', -n
'past')

haṭṭapuy tayitmin 'Give yourself eight hits!'
 (haṭṭa-pu- 'to hit, beat oneself', -y 'imperative')

As the above sentences suggest, cardinal numbers are nominal in nature. Indeed, there is one sentence with a number in the objective case, suffixed with -s 'objective':

ho·yonak hemečʔas 'He took one'
 (ho·yo- 'to take, grasp', -n 'past', -ak 'he')

Also, an objective form of 'two', ʔuṭhine, is recorded, but in isolation only.

Other numeral forms include:

hemečpu 'the first time, once' (no contexts)

ʔuṭhina 'twice' (no contexts)

ʔuṭhinya 'two together, both, the two of them (us, etc.)'

ye·la makke hewespu ʔuṭhinya 'Wait and the two of us will look at ourselves together (in the mirror)'

(ye·la 'wait' [see sec. 442], makke 'we [inclusive]', hewes-pu- 'to make an image of oneself')

ʔuṭnin 'second, second time'

ʔuṭninak haysane rakke 'He announces them (in church) the second time'

(-ak 'he', haysane 'them', rakke- 'to name', -∅ 'non-past')

Arroyo (manuscript -- see footnote 10) gives: 'Uthsnin:

Martes. 2' ('ʔuṭnin, Tuesday, 2'). In his grammar (1861:16)

Arroyo gives the ordinal form as Utsginnuhas, presumably

ʔuṭhinwas, or ʔuṭhin 'two' plus -was 'attributive'. Indeed,

according to Arroyo's grammar, all ordinal numbers consist of

the cardinal plus -was. This construction is not found in

Harrington's data; the status, and exact gloss, of ?uṭnin is not yet known.

kapnen 'three days' or 'third day' (?)

Harrington glosses kapnen as 'son 3 dias' ('are three days'); Arroyo (ms) gives: 'Capnen. Miercoles. 3' ('kapnen. Wednesday. 3').

kapnena 'third, third time' (?)

?uṭtin 'four days' or 'fourth day' (?)

Arroyo (1861:16) gives Utsit, that is, ?uṭit, 'four'. In the manuscript examined by Harrington (see footnote 10), he writes: 'Uthstin. Jueves. 4' ('?uṭtin. Thursday. 4').

parwesin 'five days' or 'fifth day' (?)

This form was suggested by Mrs. Cervantes as the next in the series of numerals relating to days, i.e., ?uṭnin, kapnen, ?uṭtin.

parwena 'five times' (unsure form)

Arroyo (1861:16) gives Paruena, that is, parwena, 'five times'. Harrington says that Mrs. Cervantes 'Never heard [parwena]... but it is surely all right'.

tayitminna or tayitmina 'eight times' (unsure form)

Arroyo (1861:16) shows Taittiminna 'eight times'.

Finally, there are two words attested for 'all':

?iruhmin

himah?a

The first is nominal in form, though whether it is a noun stem ?iruh- followed by -min (sec. 323), or a verb stem ?iru- nominalized by -hmin (sec. 424.6) is not known. For example:

hiruhmin makse semson haṭkun 'All of us (will)
die suddenly'
(makse 'we [exclusive]', semso-n- 'many to
die', -∅ 'non-past', haṭku-n- 'to die sudden-
ly', -∅ 'non-past')

The second word is formed with the peculiar suffix ʔa found in various adverbial particles and also in the numeral hemečʔa 'one'. Like the numerals, it is treated as a noun, for it is attested in the objective case as well, himahʔas ~ himahʔase. For example:

himahʔa kan-sire·sum 'with all my heart'
(kan- 'my', sire·sum 'liver, "heart" [figura-
tive sense][instrumental]')

himahʔa haysa ʔuri layṭaṣ^yte 'They all have long
hair' (literally: 'The hair of all of them is
long')
(haysa 'their', ʔuri '(head) hair', layṭa-ṣ^yte
'long')

ka·n mehe·si himahʔas 'I'm looking at all (of them)'
(ka·n 'I', mehe·-si- 'to look at', -∅ 'non-past')

CHAPTER 7 - SYNTAX

700. Introductory remarks

Unfortunately, there are not sufficient data to present more than a meagre sketch of Mutsun syntax. Harrington recorded numerous sentences, but most of them are out of context so that variation which occurs cannot be properly evaluated. As a result, the word order appears relatively 'free', though it is likely that numerous factors, involving both sentence structure and discourse structure, come into play.

In the discussion of Mutsun morphology, the syntactic function of various words and constructions was indicated. Included in the present chapter are a few observations which, for the most part, have not been presented in other contexts. These observations are at best provisional; much further study is required.

710. Compounds

711. Noun compounds

Nouns may be modified by other nouns by juxtaposition. The second noun is normally the head noun, the first is the modifier. This construction is formally identical to the genitive construction in which the third person possessive proclitic wak- is not used (see sec. 354). Whether such cases are ambiguous is not known; it is possible that, under these conditions, the genitive-compound distinction is semantically irrelevant. For example:

ʔippi wak-haka·na 'rattlesnake's rattle'

ʔippi haka·na 'rattlesnake('s) rattle'

ʔe·h ʔissin 'squirrel('s) hole'

tappur woton 'knot in wood' ('wood's knot' ?)

[< Spanish boton 'knot']

mo·niṣ^Y ri·ča 'Spanish (language)' (literally:
'white person['s] language')

Frequently, however, no genitive interpretation makes sense, and in such cases true noun compounds result. Verbs nominalized by -ṣ^Ymin/-hmin (sec. 424.6) are often modifiers in such constructions. For example:

sawreṣ^Ymin to·ṭe 'fatty meat' ('fatty one / meat')

yummuṣ^Ymin tappur 'rotted tree' ('rotten, dry one / tree')

takkaṣ^Ymin si· 'hot springs' ('hot one / water')

ʔanyis pen^Yek 'other cat' ('other one / cat')

When a case suffix is required (sec. 332), normally only the head noun is suffixed:

ʔanyis piretka 'to the other world' (-tka 'locative')

mo·niṣ^Y ri·časum 'in Spanish' (-sum 'instrumental')

Occasionally, the head noun occurs first:²¹³

tappur tersehmin 'wood ready to burn or sell'
('wood / already-cut-up one')

mukurma hisiw 'woman who has recently given birth'
('woman / one who recently gave birth')

712. Verb compounds

Other than periphrastic verb constructions (sec. 440),

²¹³-----
This parallels the occasional situation of the possessive pronoun following the noun:

makse rukka } 'our house' (makse 'our [exclusive]')
rukka makse }

there are only a few cases of two verbs occurring in sequence. It may also be possible to interpret such cases as complex sentences (see sec. 740). Whatever the final analysis, examples of such constructions are:

matlak ʔe·ṭe } 'He's sleeping (lying) face down'
 ʔe·ṭek matla }
 (matla- 'to be face down, in a prone position',
 -∅ 'non-past', -k 'he', ʔe·ṭe- 'to be sleeping',
 -∅ 'non-past')

mitliṣ^ytek ʔe·ṭe } 'He's sleeping all curled up'
 ʔe·ṭek mitliṣ^yte }
 (mitli-ṣ^yte 'curled up', -k 'he', ʔe·te- 'to
 be sleeping', -∅ 'non-past')

hiruhmin makse semson haṭkun 'All of us (will)
 die suddenly'
 (hiruhmin 'all', makse 'we [exclusive]', semso-n-
 'many to die', -∅ 'non-past', haṭku-n- 'to die
 suddenly', -∅ 'non-past')

720. Word order

Based on the available data, it cannot be confidently concluded that there is any restriction on word order. Nevertheless, certain patterns predominate and probably indicate the normal or 'neutral' order of syntactic elements; deviations from the 'neutral' order are likely to be reflections of topicalization, emphasis, discourse phenomena, etc. The observations which follow encompass only the relative placement of verbs and their nominal (or pronominal) arguments. The term 'noun phrase' will be used for single nouns, noun compounds, and possessed nouns. For purposes of this discussion only, it will be convenient to treat 'noun phrases'

and 'pronouns' separately, although no claim is being made that pronouns are excluded from the category of 'noun phrase' in general.

721. When a sentence consists of a verb and only one noun phrase (subject), if the verb is non-active (that is, if it is mediopassive, stative, passive or perfective²¹⁴), the subject noun phrase normally follows the verb. For example:

lahpanin torow 'The soap-root got lost' (mediopassive)

yołto wak-ʔo.čo 'His ears are big' (stative)

hiṭṭahne posol 'Posole (stew) is washed' (passive)

siksaṣ^yte si 'The water is dirty' (perfective)

When the verb is active, on the other hand, the noun phrase normally precedes the verb, whether an object is indicated or not. For example:

sinni lolle 'The baby babbles'

sinnikma hussus 'The children buried and roasted (it)'

pen^yek ričča 'The cat miaws' (literally: 'speaks')

ʔippiwas ʔičč'in 'The rattlesnake bit him'
(-was 'him')

722. Object noun phrases almost always follow the verb. There are extremely few examples of sentences with a noun phrase subject and noun phrase object; most have pronouns for subject or object or both. Examples of noun

²¹⁴-----
On the mediopassive-like features of the perfective, see sec. 432.

phrase objects include:

haysa hara maksene rats^yune 'They gave us our
ration (of food)'

(maksene 'us [exclusive]' is the indirect
object; rats^yune 'ration [of food][objective]',
the direct object, < Spanish ración)

ka·n mehe·si men-to·lose 'I'm looking at your knee'

kussapuka kan-mo·hele 'I'm washing my head'

(kussa-pu- 'to wash oneself')

peṭṭempik ma·rta pappele 'Marta is sticking the
papers together'

(peṭṭe-mpi- 'to cause to be stuck together',
-k 'she')

Imperative verbs are normally sentence-initial (in non-negative sentences); noun phrase objects, therefore, always follow imperative verbs, though, as noted earlier (sec. 332.1), they do not take the objective case suffix. For example:

sippoy men-tuyos 'Put feathers on your arrow!'

tere·puy men-tu·riṣ^y 'Cut your fingernails!'

hummit maṭṭer 'Give me tobacco!'

(-t 'imperative, first person object')

723. In sentences with single pronouns, the pronoun may either precede or follow the verb. Normally, when a pronoun follows the verb it is in its enclitic form, if it has one. On the distinction between independent and enclitic pronouns, see sec. 353. There seems to be a slight tendency for pronouns to precede active verbs and follow non-active verbs, though the opposite situations are well attested and

the status of this generalization is questionable. Examples:

haysa kannis hi·won 'They scolded me' (active)
(kannis 'me')

humriṣ^yte haysa 'They are baptized' (perfective)

ka·n kat^yt^yan 'I grasped (it)' (active)

tursinka 'I'm cold' (mediopassive)

Actually, as noted in sec. 352, the placement of enclitic subject pronouns has nothing to do with the placement of the verb: enclitic subject pronouns follow the first word of the sentence, whatever it may be. Normally, however, this first word is a verb, but it need not be. For example:

yete·ka metten 'I will hide' (yete· 'later' [sec. 441])

ʔekwek witti 'It is not hard, stiff' (ʔekwe 'not')

moṭme mala·nin 'Did you get wet?' (moṭ 'interrogative particle')

724. The placement of object pronouns is somewhat more straightforward: the object pronoun almost always follows the subject pronoun or subject noun phrase. This is true of both independent and enclitic object pronouns. For example:

ka·n haysane mehe·si 'I'm looking at them'

ka·n me·se mehe·si 'I'm looking at you'

hi·mime kannis mehe·si kata·me kannis ʔekwe nansi
'You always look at me as if you don't know me'
(-me 'you')

kassekmes yete 'He will bite you' (-k 'he')

ʔippiwas ʔiṣṣin 'The rattlesnake bit him'

yummekwas 'He is misleading (lying to) him'
 (-k 'he')

In imperative sentences, as with noun phrases, object pronouns follow the verb. As noted in secs. 332.1, 361.6, however, the third person object pronoun is really a special demonstrative form nuk. Examples:

ruymay nuk 'Shake him (to arouse him)!'

mehet kannis 'Look at me!' (-t 'imperative, first person object')

himmat maksen 'Look for us!'

When no subject noun phrase or pronoun is used (probably because it is understood from context, though there is not enough information to properly evaluate this phenomenon), the object pronoun seems to follow the first word of the sentence:

?ekwewas ta·pin '(It) doesn't fit him'

725. Nouns in cases other than subjective and objective seem to occur either sentence initially or, more often, sentence finally. For example:

moṭme čappun kan-se·peksum 'Do you get scratched
 by my beard?'
 (se·peksum 'beard [instrumental]')

po·kon wak-na·was hiṭṭewum 'Her skirt puffs up
 from the wind'
 (hiṭṭewum 'wind [instrumental]')

?i·sirum wak-mo·hel la·sunin 'His head got filled
 with dandruff'
 (?i·sirum 'dandruff [instrumental]')

?urkantak wak hutahne 'It is ground in the mortar'
 (?urkantak 'mortar [locative]')

rukkatka ʔuyka sinnikma hussus 'Yesterday, in the
house, the children buried and roasted (it)'
(rukkatka 'house [locative]')

makse ʔawraykun rammay rukkatka 'We went to be
(stay) inside of the house'
(rammay 'inside', rukkatka 'house [locative]')

730. Equational and existential sentences

There is no copula in Mutsun, or at least none has been found in the Harrington data examined. Equational sentences consist of a simple juxtaposition of noun phrases (now defined to include pronouns as well). For example:

me·n po·r 'You are a flea'

ka·n-ra·kat hwan 'My name is Juan'

ka·n me-ʔette 'I am your maternal uncle'

men-maʔter terpeş^ymin 'Your tobacco is piquant'
(literally: 'your tobacco / piquant one'; cf.
men-maʔter terpe 'your tobacco is piquant' with
a stative verb terpe- 'to be piquant, spicy hot')

Negation in equational sentences is accomplished by placing the negative particle ʔekwe between the two nominal elements:

makam neyʔa ʔekwe hentilmak 'You (plural) are not
now pagans'
(neyʔa 'now')

Existential sentences ('there is...') make use of the verb ro·te- 'to be (at a place), to be kept (at a place)'. It is found, for example, in:

pina ro·te 'It is kept there',²¹⁵

²¹⁵-----
The Spanish gloss of the sentence is 'ay [for allí] está'

A more general existential sense, however, seems to be intended, as in:

pinames ro·te hi·ntak 'It's there in your eyes'
(pina 'there', -mes 'you [object]', hi·ntak
'eyes [locative]')

When this verb occurs in the remote past tense, suffixed with -s, it seems to be used to mean 'there was...', as in telling stories:

ʔokse ro·tes hemečʔa ʔa·res... 'There was once
a man...'
(ʔokse 'in the past', hemečʔa 'one', ʔa·res
'man')

This is not entirely substantiated, however, since Harrington points out that the form ro·tes was 'suggested by me [i.e., Harrington]', not volunteered by the informant.²¹⁶

alzado' or 'allí está guardado' ('[it] is locked up there', '[it] is kept, stored there').

²¹⁶Arroyo (1861:31) describes ro·te as meaning estar 'to be (located in a place, in a temporary condition)':

...este idioma usa de dos verbos que significan estar: uno significa las cosas animadas, espirituales; y otro las inanimadas. Tsahora sirve para las primeras, y Rote para las segundas....
(...this language makes use of two verbs which mean to be: one signifies animate and spiritual things; and the other inanimate things. ʔawra serves for the first, and ro·te for the second....)

There is not enough data in Harrington's notes to evaluate Arroyo's animate-inanimate distinction. The verb ʔawra means 'to sit' or 'to live' and, in the latter sense, would certainly apply only to animate beings. Perhaps it could be used to mean 'to be located in a place', though this is not clearly exemplified in the Harrington data.

Arroyo goes on to note that in the 'preterito perfecto' ('preterite perfect'; here, remote past) ro·te can be used with animate subjects and, apparently, this is the construction suggested by Harrington in ʔokse ro·tes hemečʔa ʔa·res... 'There was once a man...'.

Finally, Arroyo mentions a third word meaning estar: nua. This is exemplified only once in the Harrington material and

ro·tes does have a special idiomatic usage, however, as a marker of past tense in nouns, though this too is rare:

kan-makkuh ro·tes 'my late husband'²¹⁷
 (kan- 'my', makkuh 'husband')

Despite this construction, ro·tes remains a verb since it cannot cooccur with other verbs in the same sentence: *ka·n makkuhte ro·tes is ungrammatical for something like 'I had a husband in the past' (ka·n 'I', makkuh-te 'having a husband').

740. Complex sentences

A complex sentence is one which contains more than one clause, a clause being a structure consisting of a single verb (or verb with auxiliary [sec. 440; see also sec. 712]) and accompanying nominal arguments and particles. Complex sentences may consist of two (or theoretically more) coordinate sentences (optionally joined together by the conjugation *yu· ~ yu* 'and') or one main and one or more subordinate or embedded clauses. Many such subordinate clauses are introduced by a special syntactic marker. These constructions have already been exemplified (sec. 550).

There remains one type of subordinate construction in

 is not glossed. It is apparently some sort of locative demonstrative, or a syntactic particle:

nuwa haysa řawra diyo·sme "nuwa" they live with God'
 (haysa 'they', řawra- 'to sit, to live', -∅ 'non-past', diyo·sme 'God [personal locative]')

Mason (1916:440, 466, 467) glosses *nua* as 'only, no more', 'there (nearer)' and 'yet, still, although'.

²¹⁷This is glossed in Spanish as 'mi marido está muerto' ('my husband is dead') and 'el difunto mi marido' ('my deceased husband').

which no special particle is used to introduce the subordinate clause, nor is the subordinate clause characterized by any special verbal (or other) morphology. The subordinate clauses of this type are all adverbial in function, and perhaps result from an optional deletion of an adverbial conjunction. These adverbial clauses follow the main clause directly. For example (clause boundaries are marked by #):

kommeş^Yteka # kan hinne 'I am tired from walking'
 (komme-ş^Yte 'tired', -ka 'I', kan 'I', hinne-
 'to go, to walk', -∅ 'non-past')

ka·yi ka·n koro # ka·n hinne 'My feet hurt
 from walking'
 (ka·yi- 'to ache', -∅ 'non-past', ka·n 'I'
 [or, perhaps, ka·n- 'my'], koro 'foot', hinne-
 'to go, to walk', -∅ 'non-past')

tollonak tawhari # hiş^Yş^Yek turtiyase 'She works
 hard making tortillas'
 (tollon 'much', -ak 'she', tawhari- 'to work',
 -∅ 'non-past', hiş^Yş^Ye- 'to make', -∅ 'non-
 past', -k 'she', turtiyase 'tortilla[s]
 [objective]')

raçkininak # kulyan wak hettenin 'It (the rope of
 the snare) got ripped apart from the blackbird
 getting trapped'
 (raçki-ni- 'to get ripped apart', -n 'past',
 -ak 'it', kulyan 'blackbird', wak 'it', hette-ni-
 'to get trapped', -n 'past')²¹⁸

?inyusak # hakwaykus 'He went along the road to
 get mussels'

²¹⁸-----
 This sentence was actually translated '...when the blackbird got trapped'. Whether the temporal notion of this translation ('when') is actually intended by the Mutsun sentence is not known, but it seems likely that if it were, the particle koč 'when' would be used.

(ʔinyu- 'to go, travel along the road', -s 'remote past', -ak 'he', hakwa-yku- 'went to get mussels', -s 'remote past')

Complementation, in which a subordinate clause functions as one of the arguments of the main verb, may also be achieved by juxtaposition. For example:

ʔekwetkunme himma # men lokš^Yoš^Ymin 'Don't show what a liar you are!'

(ʔekwe 'not', -tkun 'irrealis', -me 'you', himma- 'to show', -∅ 'non-past', men 'you', lokš^Yo-š^Ymin 'liar'; subordinate clause as object)

hintiseme kannis monse # ka·nmes ʔekwe nomtimi
'How do you tell me that I don't make sense to you?'²¹⁹

(hintise 'what? [objective]', -me 'you', kannis 'me', monse- 'to tell, advise', -∅ 'non-past', ka·n 'I', -mes 'you [objective]', ʔekwe 'not', nomti-mi- 'to be understandable to' (?), -∅ 'non-past')

Several verbs are frequently followed by subordinate clause complements:

1. holle- 'to be able to...'

pi·na ri·čase ʔekweka holle ričča 'I can't speak those words'

(pi·na 'that', ri·čase 'language, speech, words [objective]', ʔekwe 'not', -ka 'I', holle- 'to be able to', -∅ 'non-past', ričča- 'to speak', -∅ 'non-past')

cf. močme holle 'Can you do it?'²²⁰

²¹⁹-----
The Spanish gloss is 'Que vas a decir a mí que tu me no entiendes' ('What are you going to say to me that you don't understand me').

²²⁰This sentence is actually translated by Harrington with a

(moṭ 'interrogative particle', -me 'you')

2. hiwse-n- 'to like, to want'

This verb is glossed by Spanish querer 'to want, to like, to love'. With a nominal or pronominal object, it seems to mean 'to like, to love'. For example:

ʔekwekames hiwsen 'I don't like you'
 (ʔekwe 'not', -ka 'I', -mes 'you [objective]',
 hiwse-n- 'to like', -∅ 'non-past')

With a sentential complement, it is unclear whether it means 'to like to do something' or 'to want to do something', if this distinction is relevant at all. For example:

lo·hokma, ʔekwe haysa hiwsen tawhari '(They are) lazy
 ones, they don't like (want) to work'
 (lo·hokma 'lazy ones', ʔekwe 'not', haysa 'they',
 hiwse-n- 'to like to, to want to', -∅ 'non-past',
 tawhari- 'to work', -∅ 'non-past')

hiwsen ʔamma to·ṭese '(He) likes (wants) to eat
 meat'
 (hiwse-n- 'to like to, to want to', -∅ 'non-past',
 ʔamma- 'to eat', -∅ 'non-past', to·ṭese 'meat
 [objective]')

3. hu·yi- 'to begin'

This verb may be used alone, meaning simply 'to begin'; when followed by a sentential complement, it has an inchoative or inceptive sense:

yetek hu·yi 'He will begin later'
 (yete 'later', -k 'he', hu·yi- 'to begin',

 future tense verb podras 'you will be able to' suggesting a gloss for the sentence such as 'Will you be able to do it?' rather than 'Are you able to do it?'. This Spanish tense distinction is apparently irrelevant in Mutsun.

promiscuous, whore-like', -∅ 'non-past',
kata 'like, as, seems', haysa 'they')

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BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
CNAE	Contributions to North American Ethnology
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
JCA	Journal of California Anthropology
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology

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