# A NORTHERN PAIUTE GRAMMAR

# WITH TEXTS

by

TIMOTHY JON THORNES

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June 2003

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

UMI Number: 3095278

Copyright 2003 by
Thornes, Timothy Jon

All rights reserved.

UMI®

UMI Microform 3095278
Copyright 2003 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

"A Northern Paiute Grammar with Texts," a dissertation prepared by Timothy Jon Thornes in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Department of Linguistics. This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:

Dr. Scott DeLancey, Chair of the Examining Committee

6/3/03

Date

Committee in Charge: Dr. Scott DeLancey, Chair
Dr. T. Givón
Dr. Spike Gildea
Dr. C. Melvin Aikens

Accepted by:

Dean of the Graduate School

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

© 2003 Timothy Jon Thornes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

An Abstract of the Dissertation of

Timothy Jon Thornes for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department of Linguistics to be taken June 2003

Title: A NORTHERN PAIUTE GRAMMAR WITH TEXTS

Approved: _____
Dr. Scott DeLancey

The Northern Paiute language is the northwestern-most member of the extensive Uto-Aztecan language family. The language consists of numerous dialects extending from the middle Snake and Owyhee River drainages across the northwestern third of the Great Basin region of eastern Oregon, Nevada, and parts of eastern California. With the various Mono dialects, it makes up the Western Numic sub-group of the Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan. All of the field and supporting data for this work comes from dialects spoken to the north of a major dialect division. Most of the raw field data comes from the dialect presently spoken by older members of the Burns Paiute Tribe in the Harney Valley region of eastern Oregon.

This work deals with all of the major aspects of the Northern Paiute language, including a description of its phonology, major and minor word and phrase classes, basic clause structure and verb classes, non-declarative speech acts, word formation processes, voice and transitivity, directional and aspectual system, nominalization and clause-combining strategies. Also included are several analyzed texts, both to contextualize much of the illustrative data and to provide natural language data for study of areas not covered

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in detail here.

Northern Paiute has an interesting phonology, consisting of voiceless vowels, limited-domain vowel harmony, and extreme gradience in the articulation of consonants. This gradience is conditioned in part by an abstract, geminating feature that most Numicists attribute to a lexically assigned *final feature*, but also, in part, by prosodic and other features.

The language has two core cases, overtly specified only on pronouns and noun phrase dependents. Word order is strongly verb-final, but pragmatically quite flexible. Northern Paiute has a rich array of *post-positions* for marking location and path notions. *Nominalization* is a striking feature of the language, both for deriving nominals and for marking the verbs of various types of subordinate clauses. The verb complex consists of a rich array of operators on inherent transitivity as well as numerous lexical-derivational processes, such as *instrumental prefixes* and *secondary verbs*, that qualify and specify different aspects of the event coded by the verb.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Timothy Jon Thornes

PLACE OF BIRTH: Veblen, South Dakota

DATE OF BIRTH: May 16, 1961

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
Concordia College, Moorhead, Minnesota

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, 2003, University of Oregon
Master of Arts in Linguistics, 1996, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts in English, Philosophy minor, 1984, Concordia College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Morphosyntax
Endangered Language Documentary Fieldwork
Native North American Languages
Grammaticalization

SERVICE AND NON-ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

| | |
|---|---|
| December 1996-present. | Tribal Linguist, Language Teaching Consultant, and Elders' Group Participant. Burns Paiute Tribe. Burns, Oregon. |
| January 1995-present. | Ethnographic Consultant. Klamath Tribes. Chiloquin, Oregon. |
| November 2001 | Paiute-English translator and video production assistant. Hare-in-the-Gate Productions and Idaho Power Administration. |
| April-September 2001 | Planning Committee member. Burns Paiute Tribe. Burns, Oregon. |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | |
|---|---|
| May-October 1999 | Linguist/Ethnographer for Bureau of Reclamation Oral Histories Project. Burns Paiute Tribe. Burns, Oregon. |
| June 1988-January 1991. | Peace Corps volunteer. Rural Primary School Construction Program. Gabon, Central Africa. |

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT:

| | |
|---|---|
| 2002-2003 | Graduate Teaching Fellow. Department of Linguistics. University of Oregon. Eugene, OR. |
| Summer 2000-2003 | Instructor. Northwest Indigenous Languages Institute. University of Oregon. Eugene, OR. |
| January-June 2001 | Graduate Teaching Fellow. Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon. Eugene, OR. |
| January-March 2000 | Adjunct Professor of Linguistics. Western Oregon University. Monmouth, OR. |
| March-June 1999 | Research Assistant. University of Oregon. Eugene, OR. |
| June-September 1997 | ESL Instructor. American English Institute. University of Oregon. Eugene, OR. |
| 1994-1999 | Graduate Teaching Fellow. American English Institute and Department of Linguistics. University of Oregon. |

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

| | |
|---|---|
| 2001-2002 | Oregon Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship. University of Oregon Graduate School. |
| 2001-2002 | Selected to Who's Who among students in American Colleges and Universities by the University of Oregon graduate school. |
| 1999-2001 | National Science Foundation. Doctoral Dissertation Research Grant #BCS-9908986. Dr. Scott DeLancey, principal investigator. |
| 1998-1999 | Endangered Language Fund. Yale University. |
| 1998-1999 | Graduate Research Fund. University of Oregon Graduate School. |
| 1995-1997 | Sven and Astrid Liljeblad Foundation for Great Basin Studies. University of Nevada--Reno. |
| 1995 | Jacobs Research Fund. Whatcom Museum. |
| 1995 | American Philosophical Society. Phillips Fund Grant. |
| 1995-1999 | Faculty Research Awards. Department of Linguistics. University of Oregon |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PUBLICATIONS:

2000. Instrumental prefixes in Northern Paiute: a functional and typological perspective. V Encuentro de Lingüística en el Noroeste: Memorias. Universidad de Sonora: Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico.

1999. "Secondary" verbs in Northern Paiute. Workshop on American Indian Languages: Santa Barbara Working Papers in Linguistics.

1996. Yahooskin--Northern Paiute Verb Morphology. M. A. thesis. University of Oregon, Eugene.

1995. Yahooskin Ethnohistorical Report. Chiloquin: the Klamath Tribes.

1995. Yahooskin Words and Phrases. Chiloquin: the Klamath Tribes.

PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS:

| | |
|---|---|
| June 2003 | Invited Speaker. Joint workshop sponsored by the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs and Portland State University. Portland, Oregon. |
| May 2003 | Invited Panel Participant. Speaking to the Seventh Generation Conference. Oregon State University. Corvallis, Oregon. |
| January 2003 | Varieties of Verb Formation in Northern Paiute. . Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas annual conference. Atlanta, Georgia. |
| November 2002 | "Now that's REAL Paiute! Language Adaptation, Status, and Shift in a Northern Paiute Community. Department of Linguistics Colloquium. University of Oregon. Eugene. |
| February 2002 | Gradient Allophones--Phony Gradience: Fortis-Lenis in Northern Paiute. Department of Linguistics Colloquium. University of Oregon. Eugene. |
| June 2001 | Field work with elder speakers of endangered languages. Guest lecture. University of Oregon. Eugene. |
| November 2000 | On the Northern Paiute Applicative. 39th Conference on American Indian Languages. San Francisco, California. (also presented as part of U of O Linguistics Department Colloquium series) |
| May 1999 | Field work on Northern Paiute : Community relations and perspectives. Guest lecture. University of Oregon. Eugene. |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | |
|---|---|
| November 1998 | Instrumental prefixes in Northern Paiute: a functional and typological perspective. V Encuentro de Lingüística en el Noroeste. Universidad de Sonora: Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico. (also presented as part of Linguistics Department Colloquium series) |
| October 1998 | Linguistic connections and archaeological continuities in the northern Great Basin. with C. Melvin Aikens and Marcy M. Janes. 26th Great Basin Anthropological Conference. Bend, Oregon. |
| May 1998 | "Secondary" verbs in Northern Paiute. Workshop on American Indian Languages. University of California--Santa Barbara. |
| January 1998 | Transitivity operators in Northern Paiute: their function and development. Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas annual conference. New York, New York. (also presented as part of U of O Linguistics Department Colloquium series) |
| September 1997 | Instrumental prefixes in Northern Paiute. Native Languages of Oregon Workshop-Association for Linguistic Typology Conference, Eugene, Oregon. |
| July 1996 | Core Northern Paiute verb morphology. Friends of Uto-Aztecan Conference. Salt Lake City, Utah. |
| May 1996 | What's in a name? Instrumental prefixes in Northern Paiute. Department of Linguistics Colloquium. University of Oregon. Eugene. |
| July 1995 | First Place World Amateur Bronc-Riding Championships 1927: a Yahooskin-Northern Paiute Speaker. Friends of Uto-Aztecan Conference. Albuquerque, New Mexico. |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation was written with the generous assistance of a great deal of individual and institutional support. Significant support from the National Science Foundation grant #9908986 provided me with the opportunity to work steadily on the collection, transcription, and analysis of texts and many finer points of Northern Paiute grammar. Institutional support also came from the American Philosophical Society, the Jacobs Research Fund, the Endangered Language Fund, the Sven and Astrid Liljeblad Foundation for Great Basin Studies, and the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oregon. I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to the University of Oregon Graduate School for the award of a Dissertation Fellowship during the 2001-2002 academic year, which gave me a large block of time to focus on writing.

My faculty advisor, Scott DeLancey, assisted tremendously by providing instructional and editorial expertise in the production of this manuscript. I wish to thank him for his support and encouragement of my study of the Northern Paiute language. I also wish to thank Spike Gildea, Tom Givón, and Mel Aikens for their input into the drafting of this project and for all that they taught me in the time leading up to it. To Mike Nichols, I owe my thanks for invaluable discussions of numerous points of Northern Paiute grammar, and for his historical perspective. I would also like to thank Kay Fowler, for her support and input at various stages in my research. No doubt, the present work falls short in many areas of being fully satisfactory to these wonderful scholars, but without them, it most certainly could not have been done at all.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

My own family provided the unwavering support and belief in my inherited talents to keep me going through this adventure, and helped me to keep it all in its proper perspective. I look to Dawn, my partner in life, in awe and gratitude for believing in the importance of my time in the desert, for giving my life a healthy dose of poetry, and for her faith in me, particularly when I could not always give it to myself.

My debt of gratitude to my language teachers is, of course, immense. I acknowledge the patience and expertise of the late Irwin Weiser (1909-1996) and the late Maude Washington Stanley (1913-2000) as major contributors to this work. I would also like to thank Nepa Kennedy, Justine Louie Brown, Rena Beers, Myrtle Peck, Ruth Lewis, Phyllis Harrington and the entire Burns Paiute Elders Group for their invaluable and generous assistance in my ongoing study of Northern Paiute. To Ruth Lewis in particular, I owe a special thanks for the many patient hours spent transcribing and translating texts, for her amazing insights into the subtleties of her language, and for her dedication to the task of documenting it. To the Burns Paiute Tribe, I express my most sincere appreciation for welcoming me into their community and for making me feel at home there.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# DEDICATION

To the Burns Paiute

Elders Group,

with affection and admiration

and

To Dawn,

for your love

and many, many gifts

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

1 INTRODUCTION ..... 1

1.1 Language Status ..... 2
1.2 Endangered Language Fieldwork ..... 3
1.3 The Speakers ..... 4
1.4 The Present Work in Context ..... 6
1.5 Numic Languages and Great Basin Prehistory ..... 9
1.6 General Features and Contribution of the Present Work ..... 11

2 PHONOLOGY ..... 12

2.0 Introduction ..... 12
2.1 Segmental Inventory and Processes ..... 15
2.1.1 Consonants ..... 16
2.1.2 Vowels ..... 19
2.1.2.1 Length ..... 21
2.1.2.2 Diphthongs and Other $V^1V^2$ Sequences ..... 22
2.1.3 Processes Affecting Consonants ..... 27
2.1.3.1 Fortis versus Lenis Articulation ..... 27
2.1.3.2 Palatalization ..... 37
2.1.3.3 Uvularization ..... 39
2.1.3.4 Devoicing ..... 40
2.1.3.5 Consonantal Sound Symbolism ..... 42
2.1.4 Processes Affecting Vowels ..... 43
2.1.4.1 Harmony ..... 44
2.1.4.2 Devoicing Within Words ..... 49
2.1.4.3 Raising ..... 50
2.1.4.6 Rhoticizing ..... 51
2.2 Syllables ..... 51
2.2.1 Syllable Structure and Constraints ..... 52
2.2.2 Processes Affecting Syllables ..... 54
2.2.2.1 Epenthesis ..... 54
2.2.2.2 Glide Formation ..... 55
2.2.2.3 Elision and Metathesis ..... 57
2.2.3 Reduplication ..... 59
2.2.3.1 Initial Reduplication ..... 59
2.2.3.2 Non-productive, Internal and Final Reduplication ..... 61
2.3 Prosodic Inventory and Processes ..... 62

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Page

2.3.1 Word Stress....63
2.3.2 Stress Shift....66
2.3.3 Vowel Reduction, Devoicing, and Apocope....67
2.3.4 Phrasal Stress and Intonation....70
2.4 Morphophonemic Alternations....72
2.4.1 Final Feature Phenomena....74
2.4.2 Diachronic Processes....82
2.4.3 Glide Elision....83
2.5 Properties of Northern Paiute Words versus Clitics....86
2.5.1 Prosodic Features of Words....87
2.5.2 Prosodic Features of Clitics and Particles....89
2.5.2.1 Proclitics....90
2.5.2.2 Second Position Clitics....91

3 NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES....94

3.0 Introduction to Morphology and Word Classes....94
3.1 Nouns....98
3.1.1 Introduction to Noun Morphology....98
3.1.2 Plurality....100
3.1.3 Noun Class Markers....104
3.1.4 Diminutive Marking....110
3.1.5 Instrumental Prefixes as Markers of Semantic "Class"....112
3.1.6 Compounding....114
3.1.7 Nominalizers....116
3.1.7.1 Subject Nominalizer....117
3.1.7.2 "Proper" Nominalizer....121
3.1.7.3 Instrumental Nominalizer....123
3.1.7.4 Locative Nominalization....124
3.1.7.5 Perfective Nominalization....126
3.1.7.6 Participle, or Action Nominalization....127
3.1.7.7 Aspect-marking in Nominalizations....130
3.1.8 Noun to Verb Derivation....130
3.2 The Noun Phrase....133
3.2.1 Semantic Coherence and Syntactic Constituency....133
3.2.2 Syntactic Categories in Simple Noun Phrases....135
3.2.2.1 Articles....135
3.2.2.2 Modifiers....139
3.2.3 Syntactic Categories in Complex Noun Phrases....144
3.2.3.1 Possessor Noun Phrases....144
3.2.3.2 Relative Clause Modifiers....147
3.2.4 "Conjoined" Noun Phrases....149
3.2.5 Discontinuous Noun Phrases....151

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Page

4 PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES ..... 155

4.1 Personal Pronouns ..... 155
4.1.1 Subject and Object Pronouns ..... 156
4.1.2 Number and the Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction ..... 159
4.1.3 Person, Deixis, and Third Person Reference ..... 160
4.1.4 The "Definite" Pronominal Base ..... 162
4.1.5 The "Indefinite" Pronominal Proclitic ..... 165
4.1.6 Pronominals Referring to Peripheral Arguments ..... 167
4.1.7 The "Restrictive" Base ..... 170
4.1.8 The Dual/Reciprocal Base ..... 173
4.1.9 Possessor Pronouns and Reflexive Possession ..... 175
4.1.10 Historical Relationship to the Anti-Passive Prefix ..... 177
4.2 More on Deixis: the Demonstratives ..... 179
4.3 Interrogative pronouns ..... 187
4.3.1 The "Any Old" Construction ..... 189
4.3.2 The Indefinite, Referring Pronoun ..... 191
4.4 Pronominal Functions of Other Word Classes ..... 192

5 OTHER WORD AND MORPHEME CLASSES ..... 194

5.0 Introduction ..... 194
5.1 Adjectivals ..... 196
5.1.1 Syntactic Properties ..... 197
5.1.2 Adjectivals as Bare Stems ..... 202
5.1.3 Adjectivals from Stative Verbs ..... 204
5.1.4 Inchoative Constructions ..... 205
5.1.5 Making Comparisons ..... 207
5.1.6 Numerals ..... 210
5.1.7 Color Terms ..... 214
5.2 Postpositions ..... 216
5.2.1 Basic Properties of Postpositions ..... 218
5.2.2 Suffixes versus Enclitics ..... 220
5.2.3 Basic Postposition Construction Types ..... 222
5.2.4 Inventory and Co-Distributional Features ..... 226
5.2.5 Historical Source of Postpositions ..... 233
5.2.6 Postpositions into Case-markers ..... 238
5.3 Adverbials ..... 239
5.3.1 Locative Adverbials ..... 240
5.3.2 Temporal Adverbials ..... 243
5.3.3 Manner Adverbials ..... 246
5.3.4 Adverbials Derived from Adjectives ..... 247
5.3.4 Adverbial and Discourse Particles ..... 249

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Page

6 BASIC CLAUSE SYNTAX AND VERB CLASSES ..... 252

6.1 Basic Clause Properties ..... 252
6.1.1 Word Order Patterns ..... 255
6.1.1.1 Word Order Variation ..... 258
6.1.1.2 Elision of Arguments in Discourse ..... 262
6.1.1.3 Second Position Clitics ..... 263
6.1.2 Toward Verbal Agreement ..... 265
6.1.3 Case-Marking Patterns ..... 267
6.1.4 Grammatical Relations: Summary of Covert Properties ..... 269
6.1.4.1 Subject Properties ..... 271
6.1.4.2 Object Properties ..... 278
6.1.4.3 Primary object properties ..... 281
6.1.4.4 Anti-passive as patient--not object--demotion ..... 286
6.2 Verb Classes and Transitivity ..... 288
6.2.1 Zero-Argument Verbs--Natural Forces Predicates ..... 290
6.2.2 Predicate Nominal Constructions ..... 291
6.2.3 Single-Argument Verbs ..... 297
6.2.4 Two-Argument Verbs ..... 301
6.2.5 Verbs with Two Objects ..... 304
6.2.6 Verbs with Non-Core Participants ..... 307
6.2.7 "Labile" Verbs ..... 311
6.2.8 Summary and Prospectus ..... 313
6.3 Other Verb Classes: Suppletive and "Instrumental" Verbs ..... 314
6.3.1 Suppletive Verbs ..... 315
6.3.2 Instrumental Verbs ..... 323

7 NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS ..... 327

7.0 Speech Acts ..... 327
7.1 Negation ..... 328
7.2 Imperative ..... 330
7.3 Prohibitive ..... 332
7.4 Interrogative ..... 333
7.5 Second-Position Clitics ..... 336

8 THE VERB ..... 342

8.0 Introduction ..... 342
8.1 Stem Formation Processes ..... 346
8.1.1 Compounding ..... 347
8.1.2 The Debilitative Construction ..... 350
8.1.3 Instrumental Prefixes ..... 353
8.1.3.1 Paradigmatic Alternations and Inventory ..... 354

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Page

8.1.3.2 Semantic Range ..... 358
8.1.3.3 Morpho-syntactic Interdependence ..... 366
8.1.3.4 Transitivity and Causation ..... 368
8.2 Voice and Transitivity ..... 370
8.2.1 Detransitive morphology ..... 371
8.2.1.1 The Middle-Marking Prefix ..... 373
8.2.1.2 The Antipassive (Unspecified Object) Prefix ..... 379
8.2.2 Transitive morphology ..... 382
8.2.2.1 The Applicative ..... 383
8.2.2.2 The Jussive ..... 394
8.3 Tense-Aspect-Modality ..... 395
8.3.1 Inventory of Prefinal Suffixes ..... 397
8.3.2 Perfective Aspect ..... 401
8.3.3 The Relative Future ..... 404
8.3.4 Subjunctive/Irrealis ..... 405
8.3.5 Punctual/Momentaneous ..... 406
8.3.6 Continuous ..... 409
8.3.7 Habitual and Repetitive Aspect ..... 410
8.3.8 Iterative-Distributive Reduplication ..... 412
8.3.9 Durative Gemination ..... 413
8.3.10 Discourse considerations ..... 415
8.4 Secondary Verb Construction ..... 416
8.4.1 Distribution ..... 420
8.4.2 Complement-Type Secondary Verbs ..... 422
8.4.3 The Grammaticalization Path ..... 423

9 CLAUSE-COMBINING ..... 427

9.0 Introduction ..... 427
9.1 Relative Clauses ..... 428
9.1.1 Subject Relative Clauses ..... 429
9.1.2 Object Relative Clause ..... 432
9.1.3 Non-core Argument Relative Clauses ..... 435
9.2 Verbal Complements ..... 438
9.2.1 Embedded Complements ..... 441
9.2.2 Non-embedded Complements ..... 444
9.2.3 Direct and Indirect Quotations ..... 447
9.2.4 "Sensation" Complements ..... 450
9.2.5 WH and Subject Complements ..... 451
9.2.6 Manipulation and Modality ..... 452
9.3 Adverbial Clauses ..... 454
9.3.1 Adverbial Clause Morpho-syntax ..... 456
9.3.2 Other Adverbial Clause Types ..... 460
9.3.3 Subject Case-Marking in Adverbial Clauses ..... 463
9.3.4 An Incipient Absolutive Pattern ..... 464
9.3.5 Inter-clausal Coherence ..... 466

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chapter Page

10 TEXTS....473

10.0 Introduction to the Texts....473
10.1 Four Traditional Tales....474
10.1.1 Porcupine and Coyote....475
10.1.2 Bear and Deer....485
10.1.3 Nemechozinna....502
10.1.4 Nemedzoho....511
10.2 Procedural Narrative: Chokecherries....519
10.3 Boarding School Days....530
10.4 We Talked to that Bird....542

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS....547

BIBLIOGRAPHY....549

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# LIST OF TABLES


| Table | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| 2.1 | Northern Paiute Consonants | 17 |
| 2.2 | Northern Paiute Vowels | 20 |
| 2.3 | Attestation of $V^1V^2$ Sequences in Northern Paiute | 26 |
| 2.4 | Distribution of Lenis and Fortis Consonants | 31 |
| 2.5 | Northern Paiute Harmonizing Affixes | 47 |
| 2.6 | Some Fortis-Inducing Stems and Affixes | 77 |
| 3.1 | Northern Paiute Plurals | 103 |
| 3.2 | NCM suffixes in Northern Paiute | 106 |
| 3.3 | Northern Paiute Articles | 136 |
| 3.4 | Northern Paiute Modifier Case Suffixes | 139 |
| 4.1 | Northern Paiute Subject and Object Pronouns | 157 |
| 4.2 | Northern Paiute Peripheral Argument Pronouns | 168 |
| 4.3 | Northern Paiute Pronominal Bases with Postpositions | 169 |
| 4.4 | Some Northern Paiute Demonstrative Forms | 182 |
| 4.5 | Northern Paiute Interrogative Pronouns | 188 |
| 5.1 | Northern Paiute Case-sensitive Adjectivals | 200 |
| 5.2 | Northern Paiute Numerals--One to Eight | 211 |
| 5.3 | Northern Paiute Color Terms | 215 |
| 5.4 | Northern Paiute Simple Postpositions | 229 |
| 5.5 | Northern Paiute Locative Adverbials | 241 |
| 5.6 | Northern Paiute Temporal Adverbials | 245 |
| 5.7 | Northern Paiute Manner Adverbials | 247 |
| 5.8 | Some Northern Paiute Particles | 251 |
| 6.1 | Northern Paiute Suppletive Verbs | 316 |
| 6.2 | Northern Paiute Instrumental Verbs | 325 |
| 7.1 | Northern Paiute Second Position Clitics | 338 |
| 8.1 | Debilitative Verb Forms | 352 |
| 8.2 | Northern Paiute Instrumental Prefixes | 356 |
| 8.3 | Verbs with Benefactive-Applicative Pattern | 386 |
| 8.4 | Verbs with Causative-Applicative Pattern | 387 |
| 8.5 | Northern Paiute Directional and TAM Suffixes | 398 |
| 8.6 | Secondary Verb Sources of Directional/Aspectual Suffixes | 418 |
| 8.7 | Suppletion in Northern Paiute Posture Verbs | 419 |


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 1st person proclitic (object or possessor) |
| 2 | 2nd person proclitic (object or possessor) |
| 3 | 3rd person proclitic (object or possessor) |
| 4 | 4th person (indefinite; (object or possessor)) |
| ABL | ablative (from) |
| AD | adessive (at, on, by) |
| ADJ | adjective |
| ADV | adverbial suffix |
| ALL | allative (to, at) |
| APL | applicative suffix |
| APS | antipassive prefix |
| ASP | aspect suffix |
| ATTR | attributive (characterized by) |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| C | consonant |
| CAUS | causative |
| CISL | cislocative (motion toward) |
| COM | comitative (with, accompanying) |
| COMPL | completive |
| CONT | continuative |
| DEF | definite |
| DEM | demonstrative (base or full form) |
| DESID | desiderative |
| DIR | directional suffix |
| DIST | distal |
| DISTR | distributive |
| DL | dual (inclusive) |
| DUR | durative |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| ESS | essive (at, on, in) |
| EXCL | exclusive (plural) |
| FUT | future |
| GEN | genitive case |
| HAB | habitual or repetitive |
| ILL | illative (to, into) |
| IMPFV | imperfective |
| IN | inessive (in, into) |
| INCEP | inceptive (begin to |
| INCH | inchoative (become, be about to do) |
| INCL | inclusive (plural) |
| INST | instrumental post-position |
| INSTR | instrument nominalizer |
| INT | intensifier |
| IP/xxxx | instrumental prefix/+gloss (abbreviated) |
| IRR | irrealis |
| JUSS | jussive (tell to do) |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| LOC | locative (post-positional affix) |
| MM | middle marker (reflexive, reciprocal, passive, middle) |
| MOD | modal clitic (second position) |
| N, NP | noun, noun phrase |
| NCM | noun class marker ("absolutive" suffix) |
| NEG | negative particle |
| NMR | subject nominalizer |
| NOM | nominative case (subject) marker |
| OBL | oblique case (non-nominative/accusative) marker |
| PA | past (remote) |
| PART | partitive (some of, related to) |
| PFV | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| PNC | punctual (momentaneous) |
| POSS | possessive (reflexive) |
| PRED | predicative (usu. adjectival) |
| PROH | prohibitive |
| PROX | proximal |
| PTCP | participle (action nominalizer) |
| PURP | purposive |
| Q | question marker |
| QUOT | quotative particle |
| RE | reduplication (distributive V, plural N/ADJ, intensive ADV) |
| RECIP | reciprocal |
| REFL | reflexive/ reciprocal |
| REG | regionalis (in the place of) |
| REPET | repetitive |
| RESTR | restrictive pronoun (third person; also, emphatic) |
| RNDM | random motion (here and there) |
| SEQ | sequential |
| SG | singular |
| SIM | simultaneous |
| SIMIL | similative (as, like) |
| SPL | suppletive form |
| SR | switch reference marking |
| STAT | stative |
| SUB | subordinating; subessive (under, below) |
| SUBJ | subjunctive |
| SUPRA | supraessive (upon, over, above) |
| TEMP | temporal suffix |
| TNS | tense (generic tense) |
| TRNSL | translocative (motion away) |
| V | vowel, verb |
| VBR | verbalizer |
| WH | whatchamacallit (indefinite pronoun) |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The Northern Paiute language is the northwestern-most member of the extensive Uto-Aztecan language family. The language consists of a major north-south dialect division and numerous subdialects extending from the middle Snake and Owyhee River drainages, east to the Deschutes River, and south across the northwestern third of the Great Basin region of eastern Oregon, western Nevada, and parts of eastern California to the Mono Lake area. With the various Mono dialects, it makes up the Western Numic sub-group of the Numic branch of Uto-Aztecan.

All of the data collected in the field and supporting data from other sources (Marsden 1923, Liljeblad 1966 and m.s., Nichols 1974, Snapp and Anderson 1982) used in this work comes from dialects of the northern area with the minor exception of Natches (1923). Most of the data from fieldwork comes from the dialect currently spoken by older members of the Burns Paiute Tribe in the Harney Valley region of eastern Oregon. I also conducted fieldwork with a speaker from Beatty, Oregon between 1994 and 1996.

This work deals with all of the major aspects of Northern Paiute grammar, including a description of its phonology, morphology, major and minor word and phrase classes, basic clause structure and verb

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

classes, non-declarative speech acts, word formation processes, voice and transitivity operators, the directional and aspectual system, nominalization, and clause-combining strategies. Also included are several analyzed texts, both to provide a context for much of the illustrative data and to provide natural language data for future studies in areas not covered in detail in the present work.

## 1.1 Language Status

The historical environment of the Northern Paiute includes a rich and varied landscape of ephemeral lake basins, marshlands, high desert, and upland meadows (Grayson 1993). In the northern Great Basin, people tended to live in fairly small and mobile groups during most of the year, groups consisting of a few families. Larger group gatherings usually took place in the fall around the piñon nut harvest in areas to the south and communal rabbit drives throughout most of the Northern Paiute area (Wheat 1967, Fowler and Liljeblad 1986, Fowler 1992).

Northern Paiute is spoken fluently by fewer than 500 people. In most of the communities where Northern Paiute speakers reside, the language is acutely endangered, having only a handful of elderly speakers still living. Even in communities where there is still a relatively healthy population of speakers, it is nevertheless seriously threatened. For example, the majority of Northern Paiute speakers live on the Fort McDermitt reservation on the Oregon-Nevada border. However, even in that isolated community, the language has become primarily the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

language of adults and is used in an ever-narrowing range of functional domains (Catherine Fowler, in personal communication). Residents of McDermitt report that a growing number of the children who learn the language at home have begun to abandon it in their teens in favor of English.

There are several community efforts to revitalize and maintain the language. Such efforts include introduction of the language into the public school, adult culture and language oriented gatherings, local publication of materials, and even lessons broadcast on a local radio station. At the time of this writing, the language continues to adapt to fit the needs of its speakers to some extent. Still, many communities are faced with the difficulties inherent in maintaining this important element of their identity in the face of the mounting pressures posed by the dominant language and society.

## 1.2 Endangered Language Fieldwork

The fact of language endangerment is an unavoidable feature of many situations involving linguistic fieldwork. A consequence of this fact is that linguists have become keenly aware of the pressing need to document the world's most threatened languages before they are gone forever (Krauss 1992, Woodbury 2003). There has also been, in recent years, a growing public awareness of the fact of an irretrievable loss in linguistic diversity (Shorris 2000, Gibbs, 2002). Such loss is generally

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

symptomatic of a variety of socio-economic factors faced by minority language communities around the world.

Beyond the sense of urgency around linguistic documentation, however, are the realities surrounding fieldwork in endangered language communities. Fieldwork conducted in such communities often involves much more than data collection and analysis. Field linguists need to be prepared to play roles beyond that of researcher, knowing that the process of conducting fieldwork on an endangered language has an impact that is more far reaching than the results of linguistic research.

Training in applied linguistics, community planning and development, and education are just a few examples of what fieldworkers in the present climate can do to prepare for these new and expanded roles. It is no longer possible--nor in my opinion desirable--to conduct fieldwork without a fuller understanding of the broader implications and use of that work. Neither, however, is it desirable to sacrifice high quality documentation at the alter of language revitalization projects, however important such projects may be. Balance is key.

## 1.3 The Speakers

I have had the great fortune of working with many excellent speakers of Northern Paiute, and believe that, whenever possible, it is important to acknowledge their skills and contribution to linguistic research. As part of the process of gaining approval through the university to work with human "subjects," I developed a consent form that

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

includes, as one of its options, permission to be acknowledged by name for this vital contribution. In the body of this work, speakers will be referred to by their initials. If no such citation appears, the reader may assume that it was not possible to attribute the example to a particular speaker, since elicitation sessions often occurred in small groups. As a result, most of the clearly referenced examples are from texts told by individuals, although there may have been other speakers present.

I hereby acknowledge the late Irwin Weiser (IW) and the late Maude Washington Stanley (MS), as well as Nepa Kennedy (NK), Rena Beers (RB), and Justine Louie Brown (JB). Transcription and text-based elicitation was conducted with the help of Ruth Lewis, Myrtle Peck, and Phyillis Harrington. Various other members of the Burns Paiute Elders Group also met to discuss language issues and assisted me in my understanding of the language. Mr. Weiser represents the only speaker cited in this work from outside of Burns. His dialect is referred to in Thornes (1996) as the Yahooskin dialect.

Other language data were obtained from various published and unpublished sources. Examples from these sources are indexed by author initials and page number. These include Marsden 1923 (WM), Natches 1923 (GN), Liljeblad 1966 (SL), Nichols 1974 (MN), and Snapp and Anderson 1982 (SA). GN represents the only source of data cited in this work from the southern dialect area--what Nichols (1974) refers to as Nevada Northern Paiute (NNP). The rest represent data from the northern dialects--Oregon Northern Paiute (Nichols 1974). SL represents data mainly from Fort Hall, Idaho. SA represents Fort McDermitt, on the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Oregon-Nevada border. Both WM and MN carry data from earlier generations of speakers from Burns, Oregon.

## 1.4 The Present Work in Context

The earliest published work of which I am aware on the Northern Paiute language is a phonetic study by Waterman (1911). Indexes to numerous wax cylinder recordings of songs as well as a few short narratives in Northern Paiute from the early 1900's can be found in Keeling (1990). These recording are housed at the Lowie Museum of Anthropology on the University of California-Berkeley campus. In 1923, A. L. Kroeber published posthumously morphological information as well as a few short texts collected earlier in the century by W. S. Marsden, a doctor during that period in Burns, Oregon. In the same (1923) volume, Gilbert Natches, a fluent speaker of Northern Paiute from Pyramid Lake, Nevada who worked with Kroeber at the University of California, published a list of verbs and a few short texts. Many of Marsden's original field notes are housed in the Bancroft library at the University of California-Berkeley. Raw field data on Northern Paiute collected by Samuel Barrett (n.d.) is also housed there. Angelo and Freeland (1929) represents another early published grammatical study of the language based on fieldwork conducted in Fort Bidwell, California.

Dr. Sven Liljeblad's fieldwork is the most most extensive done on Northern Paiute. A significant stock of well-organized, raw field data is housed in the University of Nevada-Reno archives--materials that will

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

continue to prove invaluable for comparative and lexical studies. Dr. Catherine S. Fowler of the University of Nevada has also collected Northern Paiute linguistic materials as part of her ongoing ethnographic research in and around the Great Basin. Liljeblad (1950) describes the phonemes of Bannock, a dialect of the language spoken on the Ft. Hall reservation in central Idaho. His 'Northern Paiute Manual' (1966), although unpublished, is still widely cited by scholars doing comparative work on Numic languages (or general Uto-Aztecan) and was originally designed for a university course on the structure of the language. Nevertheless, there is relatively little description of the syntax of the language in Dr. Liljeblad's published or unpublished work, or of discourse-related phenomena.

An unpublished dissertation by Dr. Michael J. P. Nichols (1974) represents an important historical study of Northern Paiute grammar, and its relationship within the context of Numic and Uto-Aztecan. Approximately one third of that work focuses on historical phonology. The following third includes discussion in a historical context of key areas of the morphology--in particular the "absolutive suffixes" (what he refers to as noun class markers), the instrumental prefixes, many of the clitics, and the system of spatial and pronominal deictics. Following a treatment of the color terms and word play are extensive appendices of Proto-Numic reconstructions.

Snapp and Anderson (1982) is a grammatical sketch of Northern Paiute as part of a series on Uto-Aztecan languages edited by Dr. Ronald W. Langacker. Although aspects of syntax are treated briefly, the sketch is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

more geared toward the morphology and follows a fairly strict outline designed to make grammatical comparisons to other Uto-Aztecan languages easier. The Yerington Paiute tribe published a grammar and dictionary with the assistance of Arie Poldevaart in 1987. The grammar follows the same general outline as Snapp and Anderson (1982) and, while it provides numerous sample sentences, its focus again is largely morphological. Thornes (1996) is a treatment of Northern Paiute verb morphology.

Miscellaneous Northern Paiute data may also be found in Kroeber (1907 and 1909), Langacker and Munro (1975), Anderson, Anderson, and Langacker (1976), and Langacker (1976a, 1977a). Important ethnographic works that include numerous lexical items are Steward (1938), Kelly (1932, 1938), Fowler and Liljeblad (1986), and Fowler (1992). Kelly (1932), Wheat (1967), and Fowler (1992) represent the most significant works describing the cultural practices of various Northern Paiute bands.

By and large, there is significantly more published syntactic information available for the other Numic languages, especially those of Central and Southern Numic. Lamb (1958a) and Norris (1986) are unpublished dissertations dealing with different dialects of Mono, the companion to Northern Paiute in Western Numic. Loether (1991) is a study of Western Mono verbal art and includes several texts. Comanche (Canonge 1958, Charney 1993), Shoshoni (Miller 1972, Crapo 1976, Crum and Dayley 1993), and Tümpisa (McLaughlin 1987, Dayley 1989) have received more significant grammatical treatment for Central

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Numic. Ute (Givón 1980a), Southern Paiute (Sapir 1930, Bunte 1979), Chemehueve (Press 1974), and Kawaiisu (Zigmond et.al. 1990) comprise grammatical descriptions of languages belonging to the Southern Numic branch.

## 1.5 Numic Languages and Great Basin Prehistory

Significant lexical and grammatical similarities have led most scholars to assume, as Lamb (1958b), a fairly shallow time depth for the dispersal of the Numic languages. Given the historical distribution of Numic languages across the Great Basin region of western North America, Lamb (1958b) proposes a recent and rapid expansion of Numic languages and their speakers from a center of dispersal around Death Valley, California. The influence of the proposed "Numic expansion" has been felt in linguistics, anthropology, and archeology ever since, and remains the topic of intense scholarly debate (see especially Madsen and Rhode 1994, *inter alia*).

Scholars in both linguistics (Jacobsen 1966a, 1966b, Goss 1977) and archeology (Aikens and Witherspoon 1986, Aikens 1994) point to the many methodological shortcomings upon which the proposed Numic expansion is based. Jacobsen (1966a), for example, points out that social factors in the Great Basin cultural area can serve to explain the lack of dialect differentiation in Washo, the only non-Numic language in the Great Basin. The "homogenizing effect of the seasonal gatherings and migrations (114)" he describes could also be applied to Numic. Such effects

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

could account not only for the confounding facts of borrowing--interdialectal and interlingual--within the Numic subfamily, but also for the lexical and grammatical similarities between the Numic languages in general.

According to Aikens (1994), cultural continuity in the archeology of the Great Basin provides little hard evidence to either explain or support the Numic expansion as conceived by Lamb (1958b). Rather, he proposes cultural and environmental factors to account for the distribution of Numic speaking peoples at the time of contact with Euro-American explorers and settlers. Aikens proposes a center of gravity for Numic in the central Great Basin that is quite old, with an expansion, or series of expansions, outward during the various drying periods known from the archeological record to have occurred.

Many questions of prehistory in the Great Basin region remain unanswered, including the possible contact influences of languages at its periphery (Nichols 1981, DeLancey 1996b, Thornes 1998b). Areal studies in North America (Darnell and Sherzer 1971, Sherzer 1976, and Campbell 1997: 330-344) point to a number of shared features that merit explanation, whether in terms of chance, similar typological development, contact influence, or even ancient genetic relationship, although such explanations have not always been forthcoming in the linguistic literature. Boas (1917) and Sapir (1916) articulate the major difficulties inherent in applying traditional linguistic methods to an understanding of prehistory that persist to this day.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 1.6 General Features and Contribution of the Present Work

Northern Paiute has an interesting phonology, consisting of voiceless vowels, limited-domain vowel harmony, and extreme gradience in the articulation of consonants. This gradience is conditioned in part by an abstract, geminating feature that most Numicists attribute to a lexically assigned *final feature,* but also, in part, by prosodic and other features.

The language has two core cases, overtly specified only on pronouns and noun phrase dependents. Word order is strongly verb-final (SOV), but pragmatically quite flexible. Northern Paiute has a rich array of *postpositions* for marking location and path notions. *Nominalization* is a striking feature of the language, both for deriving nominals and for marking the verbs of various types of subordinate clauses. The verb complex consists of a rich array of operators on inherent transitivity as well as numerous lexical-derivational processes, such as *instrumental prefixes* and *secondary verbs,* that qualify and specify different aspects of the event coded by the verb.

The main goal of the present work is to present as clear a description of the grammar of Northern Paiute as possible in the interest of both language typology and Numic or general Uto-Aztecan studies. In the course of writing this grammar, however, I have emphasized areas of personal interest at the expense, no doubt, of other areas of equal or greater typological significance. Such a consequence is inevitable, however, given the richness and complexity of this beautiful language.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 2

# PHONOLOGY

## 2.0 Introduction

The phonologies of the Numic languages are in many ways more complex than those of other Uto-Aztecan languages.[1] From both historical and typological perspectives, the Numic languages present several features of interest in the area of phonology and morphophonemics. Most significant among these features, and those which have garnered the most attention in previous studies, are:

- voiceless vowels
- consonant gradation
- final features

In rough outline, the phonemic status of voiceless vowels and the extent to which they are predictable, phonetically, has been an issue since Sapir (1930). Comanche (Central Numic) has been at the center of the debate since Canonge (1957), and numerous other studies have addressed the issue (e.g. Goss 1970, Armagost and Miller 2000 *inter alia*), frequently

---

[1]I would like to acknowledge the generous input of Michael Nichols in the writing of this chapter. His thoughtful comments and insights into historical issues have helped tremendously in shaping my understanding of Northern Paiute phonology.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

reaching different conclusions. No study to my knowledge has ever argued for voiceless vowel phonemes in either Mono or Northern Paiute (Western Numic), but the phenomenon raises a number of descriptive and theoretical issues that merit detailed treatment.

Gradient properties of consonantal articulation have generated some disparities between previous analyses as to the number of contrastive consonantal phonemes in the language. One issue is whether to treat fortis or geminate consonants as complex unitary phonemes with distinct distributional properties or as a sequence of simple phonemes. Minimally contrastive pairs involving simple versus geminate consonants are hard to come by and are found only in a couple of consonantal contrasts. Near minimal pairs can be found quite readily, however. Consonantal processes involving gradation have been treated from both a sychronic and diachronic perspective (Langacker 1976b, Miller 1980, McLaughlin 1992). According to Langacker (1976b), the processes are only active in the Numic languages, whereas the outcome of a formerly active system elsewhere in Uto-Aztecan has generally resulted in two sets of clearly contrastive phonemes. From a theoretical standpoint, the phenomenon raises the problems inherent in treating phonemic contrasts as fully discrete, as opposed to idealized targets (Goldsmith 1995, m.s.), particularly when the functional load of such contrasts appears to be light.

Related to voiceless vowels and consonant gradation is the problem of final features in Northern Paiute, as in other Numic languages. The term refers to a series of lexically-determined consonantal features that surface only in specific environments and affect the articulation of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consonants. The postulation of "final features" accounts for a great deal of allomorphy. Relative to Shoshoni, which by some analyses (Miller 1972, McLaughlin 1987) has four or even five final feature contrasts, final features in Northern Paiute are quite simple, consisting of only one or two. The analysis depends upon whether or not one considers there to be only one active or "marked" feature and one passive feature. The phonological effects are still dramatic, however, and require detailed description. Ever since Sapir (1930) made the first detailed description of the system of final features in Southern Paiute, analysts have looked at final feature phenomena from both lexical and phonological perspectives. The transitional nature of the system merits a historical explanation and so presents a number of challenges for analysis in a synchronically-oriented grammar.

The contribution of the present chapter is in expanding the amount of detail and number of examples that address these and other issues in the phonology of Northern Paiute. I do not claim to have resolved these longstanding issues in the ensuing description, but instead hope to clarify the synchronic facts for the Northern Paiute dialects I have studied.

The goal of writing a reference grammar precludes detailed theoretical treatment of the issues raised by the sound system of Northern Paiute. I do believe that an explanation of certain intractable issues in Northern Paiute phonology must be informed by their relation to historical developments in Numic, and that an eye toward where such a system is going is also necessary. Clues exist in the synchronic grammar, I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

argue, that lead us toward an understanding of the mechanisms that have contributed to the state of affairs we presently see in the language.

## 2.1 Segmental Inventory and Processes

The inventory of contrastive segmental phonemes in Northern Paiute is small by comparison to many languages of the region. The wide range of surface phonetic realizations (allophones) in the language makes for a fairly complex system, however, particularly where certain types of functional contrasts appear to occur at a level below that of the phoneme. This occurs where an inflectional category, such as a distinction in aspect (see section 2.1.3.1, 8.3.9), is dependent solely upon the phonetic realization of a medial consonant.

The analysis presented here is largely in accord with those presented for other Numic languages. There are some distinctions between my analysis and that of Liljeblad (1950, 1966), Nichols (1974), and Snapp and Anderson (1982). As a matter of convenience, I treat length as contrastive only for vowels, and fortis (otherwise referred to as geminate) consonants as sequences of identical consonants in all cases except for the glides. The fortis counterparts of glides are distinct, phonetically, and their distribution indicates a fully phonemic contrast.

The choice to treat geminate consonants as sequences of simple consonants is, in my view, not particularly substantive in light of the transitional nature of the phonemic system in Northern Paiute. Miller (1972) uses the fact that fortition or gemination as a process occurs across

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morpheme boundaries as the justification for treating them as sequences of simple consonants. As their occurrence is not always morphophonemically predictable, I explore in some detail the nature of the relationship between fortis and lenis consonants in section 2.1.3.1 as well as in section 2.4.1 on final features.

The phonemic analysis I propose includes five (5) contrastive mono-moraic vowels. Vowel length is also contrastive. There are fourteen (14) contrastive consonants plus a fortis feature which, for analysis at the phonemic level, I will treat as a contrastive phoneme. Possible sequences of consonants are limited to a fortis feature plus consonant, resulting in gemination, or a glottal consonant plus a sonorant. Stress is contrastive only very rarely, and is otherwise so predictable and carries such a low functional load that it hardly merits description as a distinct phoneme.

### 2.1.1 Consonants

Table 2.1 charts the simple consonantal phonemes and their distinctive place and manner features. Note that voicing, at least in the northern dialects, is not a contrastive feature in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2.1 Northern Paiute Consonants

| | bilabial | alveolar | alveo-palatal | labio-velar | velar | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| stop | p | t | | $k^w$ | k | ʔ |
| fricative | | | s | | | |
| affricate | | ts | č | | | |
| nasal | m | n | | | ŋ | |
| glide | | | y | w | | h |
| PLUS: fortis feature | ' | | | | | |

The distribution of this simple inventory includes occurrence in both initial and medial position for all except /ʔ/, /č/, and /ŋ/. Phonetically, a glottal release [ʔ] may optionally appear word-initially in case that word begins with a vowel. The relationship between the alveo-palatal affricate [č] and the glide [y] is explored in section 2.1.3.2, and the two phones are sometimes heard in free variation in initial position[2], although for reasons I will explore, I consider [č] in these circumstances to be an allophone of /y/, not phonemic /č/.

Numerous studies of the phonology of Numic languages have centered on the need to postulate an abstract series of what are essentially consonantal features as part of the consonantal inventory. This need arises from the fact that there is in all Numic languages at least one more

[2]Whether this variation is actually the result of final feature processes (section 2.4.1) across word or clitic boundaries or some other conditions merits exploration.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

series of consonants (and in some cases, three) that are contrastive only in medial position. Further, there are alternations that occur across morpheme boundaries that pattern with these series. A full discussion of the various analyses would take us too far afield for what is meant to be a theory-neutral description. I will for the moment adopt the convention of Nichols (1974) by marking the fortis final feature by an apostrophe ( ' )as if it were an abstract consonant at the phonemic level, represented in virgules ( / / ) in this chapter. In later chapters, the transcription strategy will be more broadly phonetic, showing something closer to the surface realization of the consonants and written in *italics*. This is similar to the convention adopted in Liljeblad (1950, 1966) and is, I would argue, a more practical system upon which to base a writing system. Narrow phonetic transcription will sometimes be provided in square brackets ( [ ] ) for the purpose of demonstrating actual pronunciation. Section 2.4.1 describes final features as morphophonemic process in Northern Paiute in some detail, and section 2.4.2 presents discussion of the diachronic processes that may in part account for the development of medial consonantal contrasts.

Postulating a set of contrastive consonantal phonemes is highly problematic in Northern Paiute. The analyst is faced with a number of analytical choices that seem to render a truly phonemic representation too abstract to be very useful. I will therefore turn, in section 2.1.3 to describing the distribution of contrastive units perhaps best labeled simply as *segments*. There is clear allophony under these segmental contrasts, which I will describe in detail. At a more abstract phonemic level,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

however, a number of forces are at work that render any stipulation of processes that predict surface realization difficult at best.

The presence or absence of an additional stop series defines one aspect of the major north/south dialect division within Northern Paiute. A subset of the southern dialect grouping (referred to as Nevada Northern Paiute, or NNP, by Nichols, 1974) is distinctive in having an additional series of stops, typically described as *voiced fortis*. The only published material from this subgroup is a grammatical sketch and dictionary prepared by Arie Poldevaart for the Yerington Paiute tribe of Shurz, Nevada (1987). According to Nichols (1974:293), this sub-group includes "several communities near Walker River and Walker Lake, Nevada." This is in contrast to Liljeblad's (1966) claim that the voiced fortis series is a feature of the entire southern dialect area.[3]

### 2.1.2 Vowels

The vowel system in Northern Paiute consists of 5 simple vowel phonemes plus contrastive length. The articulatory distribution of these vowels is illustrated in Table 2.2.

---

[3]It is generally agreed that this stop series in the southern dialect area corresponds to the prenasalized stop series elsewhere in Numic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2.2 Northern Paiute Vowels

| | front | central | back |
|---|---|---|---|
| high | i | ɨ | u |
| mid | | | ɔ |
| low | | a | |

As the chart shows, the vowel system does not make maximal use of the vowel space. That is, the system is not symmetrical from a phonetic standpoint. Interestingly, other Numic languages--particularly, all of Central Numic, Mono (Western Numic), and Kawaiisu (Southern Numic)--have a mid, front vowel phoneme, /e/ which frequently corresponds to the diphthong /ai/ in the languages without it. Nichols (1974, 36ff) refers to this correspondence as the Proto-Numic "sixth vowel." Descriptions of Shoshoni (Miller 1972, Crapo 1976, McLaughlin 1987, Dayley 1989), illustrate what is sometimes free variation between phonetic [e] and [ai] and sometimes the phonologically unmotivated (i.e. contrastive) distribution of only one or the other in particular morphemes, illustrating the transitional status of the contrast in these languages.

Diachronic considerations aside, it is most natural to include a discussion of [ai] in a separate section on diphthongs, since in Northern Paiute it patterns phonologically with diphthongs in contrast to simple vowels. First, there is no short versus long contrast for [ai] as for the simple vowels. Second, [ai] attracts primary stress as do the other diphthongs in the language (section 2.1.2.2). Phonetic [e] or [ɛ], it should

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

be noted, does occur as an allophone of /a/ (see section 2.1.4.3 on vowel raising). On the basis of their phonological predictability, however, I would argue that these instances of vowel "raising" bear no relationship to the Proto-Numic sixth vowel.

It also bears noting that phonetic [o] is really an allophone of /ɔ/ when not following velar or glottal consonants, and is an allophone of /u/under conditions involving vowel harmony explored in section 2.1.4.1, and not vice versa. That is, phonetic [o] technically represents allophonic merger of phonemic /ɔ/ and /u/. Nonetheless, in other chapters, I will utilize the orthographic symbol o̲ to represent /ɔ/. I am not entirely confident that I have been consistent, however, and have certainly, on occasion, used o̲ where u̲ would have been more appropriate.

### 2.1.2.1 Length

Phonemic vowel length occurs for all 5 vowels in Northern Paiute. Long vowels occurring in either the first or the second syllable of the word will draw primary stress (see section 2.3.1 on word stress). I write long vowels as sequences of two short vowels.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1) | /i/ vs. /ii/ | /yippi/ | 'broad valley' | /tiipi/ | 'earth' |
| | /ɨ/ vs. /ɨɨ/ | /sɨmi-/ | 'one' | /sɨɨpi/ | 'willow' |
| | /u/ vs. /uu/ | /hupa/ | 'soup' | /huupi/ | 'stick' |
| | /ɔ/ vs. /ɔɔ/ | /mɔkɔ/ | 'shoe' | /mɔɔna/ | '(PL)travel' |
| | /a/ vs. /aa/ | /nana/ | 'man' | /naana/ | 'men' |

Long vowels are not restricted to stressed syllables, however.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2) | [tuɣúpaa] | /tukupaa/ | 'preacher' |
| | [tɨmúhaadɨ] | /tɨmuhaadɨ/ | 'jealous person' |
| | [kɨtáwaaka̤] | /kɨtawaaka/ | 'chew a hole' |
| | [qái miyáppaana] | /kai mia-paana/ | 'don't go!' |

Long vowels never undergo the devoicing processes described in section 2.3.3.

2.1.2.2 Diphthongs and Other $V^1V^2$ Sequences

Diphthongs can be analyzed as a sequence of two distinct simple vowel phonemes. The diphthong /ai/ is perhaps the most common in the language, and frequently corresponds to a mid, front vowel phoneme /e/ elsewhere in Numic. As with long vowels, syllables containing diphthongs carry primary stress when they occur in the first or second syllable of a word (as in the first two examples in 3), but not when they occur in other syllables (as in the last two examples in 3).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3) | [qáíba] | /kaipa/ | 'mountain' |
| | [mannáí] | /mannai/ | 'to do; to act' |
| | [miyákai] | /miakai/ | 'to go off somewhere' |
| | [pahónayai] | /pahɔnayai/ | 'to be tired / sleepy' |

For the purposes of syllable structure and the features of primary stress, I consider the sequences of non-high--high vowels /ai/, /au/, and /ɔi/ "true" diphthongs. Other non-high--high vowel sequences are not attested in my corpus. Another candidate for consideration as a true diphthong may be the high vowel sequence /ii/, although this sequence of vowels is, perhaps historically, susceptible to either coalescence or harmony[4].

True diphthongs are distinct in a couple of important ways from other vowel sequences. One is that there is no glide formation (see section 2.2.2.2) with true diphthongs. Also, in a true diphthong, high pitch is heard over the entire VV sequence, just as with long vowels. In non-identical vowel sequences that involve glide formation, the high pitch associated with primary stress falls on the second vowel of the sequence. The interaction of pitch-accent and correlating glide-formation is discussed in more detail in section 2.2.2.2.

---

[4]Nichols (1974) presents evidence for coalescence in various recordings of this sequence as in, for example, [tíípi] versus [tíípi] 'earth; ground.' I only record the latter pronunciation of 'earth' in my fieldnotes. The rarity of the /ii/ sequence in my corpus may support the conclusion that coalescence or full harmonization of the sequence is a more regular process in the present generation of speakers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The following examples show the phonetic distribution of pitch-accent over true diphthongs in Northern Paiute:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4) | /ai/ | [qáíba] | /kaipa/ | 'mountain' |
| | | [sukwáí] | /sukwai/ | 'to have a need for' |
| | /ɔi/ | [qɔ́ípa̤] | /kɔipa/ | 'bighorn sheep' |
| | | [soŋɔ́í] | /sɔŋɔi/ | 'to tan a hide' |
| | /au/ | [káúpa̤] | /kaupa/ | 'leg' |
| | | [tiwáú] | /tiwau/ | 'again; also' |
| | /ii/ | [kupííka̤] | /kupiiki/ | 'to render fat[5]' |
| | | [iñí] | /inii/ | 'cute' |

One pair of fairly common VV sequences involves /u/ as the second in the sequence following one of the other two high vowels. Significantly, most all of the instances in my corpus involve occurrences across morpheme boundaries. These behave more like true diphthongs in that pitch-accent falls most typically on the first vowel, but is not carried across the entire sequence.

---

[5]This stem is likely, at least historically, tri-morphemic:
*ku* + *pii* + *ki*
= IP/fire + Vroot + APL
I have so far found no other instances of an analyzable verb root *pii* in my corpus.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5) | /iu/ | [hiβ́iu] | /hipiu/ | 'drink! (REALIS)'[6] |
| | | [mí̯u] | /miu/ | 'QUOTATIVE (REALIS)' |
| | /iu/ | [kaɾ́iu] | /katiu/ | 'stand up! (REALIS)' |
| | | [uð̞́iu] | /utiu/ | 'deep (OBL)' |

Whether or not to call these true diphthongs is not of concern here. I present here simply a description of the articulatory facts along with the caution that from an articulatory standpoint, there is no difference between a labio-velar glide and what I have represented phonemically as /u/ in these examples.

Table 2.3 is meant as a summary of the accentual and distributional facts of all possible non-identical VV sequences in Northern Paiute.

---

[6]In this and the other examples, the */-u/* is a distinct morpheme, identified in parentheses. The 'punctual/realis' (PNC) suffix has an apparently freely varying allomorph */-hu/*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2.3 Attestation of $V^1V^2$ Sequences in Northern Paiute

| $V^1V^2$ | pitch-accent | distribution; features |
|---|---|---|
| ai | across entire sequence | very common; true diphthong |
| ai | N/A | N/A |
| au / aɔ | across entire sequence | common; true diphthong |
| ɔi | across entire sequence | common; true diphthong |
| ʊi | N/A | N/A |
| ɔu | harmonizing sequence | attested only as off-glide |
| ɔa / ua | second vowel | common; glide-forming |
| ui | second vowel | common; glide-forming |
| ui | N/A | recorded only as glide + V |
| uɔ | harmonizing sequence | N/A |
| ii | across entire sequence | not common; susceptible to coalescence |
| iu | first vowel | common across morpheme boundaries |
| iɔ | N/A | N/A |
| ia | second vowel | common; glide-forming |
| ii | N/A | recorded only as glide + V |
| iu | first vowel | common across morpheme boundaries |
| iɔ | harmonizing sequence | recorded only as glide + V |
| ia | second vowel | common; glide-forming |

Diphthongs, like long vowels, appear also to be resistant to the process of vowel devoicing described in section 2.3.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 2.1.3 Processes Affecting Consonants

Most significant among the processes that affect the articulation of consonants in Northern Paiute involves so-called consonant gradation. This process presents a number of problems involving the interface between phonology and morphology. McLaughlin (1987) has even presented evidence in Panamint (Tümpisa) for the interaction of this process with distinctions in word class.

In this section, I describe the distributional facts involving the articulation of consonants in Northern Paiute and make some generalizations regarding allophony. I also present some of the more significant areas of neutralization of contrasts and confounding variables involving cross-phonemic allophony.

#### 2.1.3.1 Fortis versus Lenis Articulation

Consonants at the same place of articulation contrast in terms of the strength of their articulation. Note the following minimal pairs for oral and nasal stops:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6a) | [tiná] | [tinná] |
| | 'tree root' | 'pronghorn antelope' |
| b) | [tiβá] | [tippá] |
| | 'pine nut' | 'mouth' |
| c) | [waɾá] | [wattá] |
| | 'seepweed seed' | 'pole' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Of particular interest are inflectional contrasts like the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 7) | [hagá] | [hakká] |
| | 'who (NOM)' | 'whom (OBL)' |

In a very general sense, a consonant that is articulated with full and forceful occlusion of the articulatory mechanism is traditionally termed *fortis*. On the other hand, a consonant articulated with loose engagement of the articulatory mechanism is termed *lenis*. Numic studies have often tended to treat the terms *fortis* and *geminate* as synonymous.

In verbs, medial contrasts in strength of articulation imply an aspectual distinction, explored further in section 2.1.3.1 and 8.3.9. As pointed out by Miller (1972), the lenis-medial form may be expanded through the addition of directional and/or aspectual suffixes. The fortis (or geminate) medial form may not, however, and implies duration in most cases in Northern Paiute.[7] Other aspectual contrasts also coincide with the realization of the medial consonant, often in ways idiosyncratic to particular verbs.

---

[7] There may be prosodic reasons for the realization of this contrast as well, where stems in their "unmarked" or "durative" form without expansion are pronounced with a lengthened medial consonant. Other areas of the grammar attest phonetically "longer" forms--absolutive suffixes and free pronouns (sections 3.1.3 and 4.1, respectively)--when occurring without expansion. This idea merits further study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8a) | [kaŕí-] | [kattí] |
| | 'sit (non-final)' | 'sit (DURATIVE)' |
| b) | [nigá-] | [nikka] |
| | 'dance (non-final)' | 'dance (DURATIVE)' |

The terms *fortis* and *lenis* are complicated somewhat by the fact that they incorporate a set of distinct articulatory variables including:

- length (+/- gemination) = duration of closure
- voicing (+/- voice)
- strength (+/- frication) = completeness of closure

The terms *fortis* and *lenis* target idealized extremes along a continuum with respect to each of these variables. One could perhaps consider length and strength of articulation as two variables within the same continuum[8]. A fortis consonant is ideally an unvoiced geminate stop, whereas a lenis consonant is ideally a voiced fricative. The main problem with attempting to apply an analysis that treats such features as binary for Northern Paiute is that it simply does not capture the truly gradient features that characterize natural speech. A great deal of apparently free variation also occurs. Therefore, in many of the generalizations I attempt to make, the reader will find hedges like 'typically,' 'ideally,' 'in most cases,' and the like.

---

[8] Such featural gradations are well-attested in historical accounts of consonantal weakening. (Thanks to Spike Gildea for pointing this out to me.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2.4 provides a broad outline of the consonantal alternations in Northern Paiute. The table includes both the allophones and the distribution of the simple consonants and of the geminate, or fortis, consonants as well. The phonetic realization of word-initial consonants are in a separate row from those realized intervocalically.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2.4 Distribution of Lenis and Fortis Consonants

| | | | Bilabial | Alveolar | Alveo-palatal | Labio-velar | Velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | lenis | #___ | p | t | | $k^w$ | k |
| | | V_V | p, b, β | t, d, ɾ | | $k^w$, $g^w$, $ɣ^w$ | k, g, ɣ |
| | fortis | #___ | p | t | | $k^w$ | k |
| | | V_V | pp | tt | | $kk^w$ | kk |
| Fricative | lenis | #___ | | | ʂ [9] | | |
| | | V_V | | | ʂ, ʐ | | |
| | fortis | #___ | | | ʂ | | |
| | | V_V | | | ʂʂ | | |
| Affricate | lenis | #___ | | ts | | | |
| | | V_V | | ts, dz, z | | | |
| | fortis | #___ | | ts | | | |
| | | V_V | | tts | | | |
| Nasal | lenis | #___ | m | n | | | |
| | | V_V | m, w̃ | n [10] | | | |
| | fortis | #___ | m | n | | | |
| | | V_V | mm | nn | | | |
| Glide | lenis | #___ | | | y | w | |
| | | V_V | | | y | w | |
| | fortis | #___ | | | | | |
| | | V_V | | | č | $k^w$ | |

[9] I am using this subscript to represent a fricative articulated between the alveolar [s] and the palatal [ʃ] or [š].

[10] Other Numic languages have been described (e.g. Miller 1972) as having a lenited medial allophone of /n/, either [ñ] or [ỹ], but I have not noted such allophony in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notice that although either the fortis or the lenis articulation of consonants may occur word-medially, the contrast is neutralized in word-initial position for stops. Initial stops, although never phonetically voiced or spirantized, are never fully geminated either. Rather, they surface as simple, unaspirated, voiceless stops. The addition of prefixes or proclitics may induce either inter-vocalic lenition or fortition, depending upon the final feature specifications of the prefix or proclitic. The significant allomorphic variation brought about by final features is discussed in detail in section 2.4.1.

I am making an analytical choice in this section, however, that treats lenition as a phonological process and fortition as a morphophonemic one. The choice is in some sense an arbitrary one, and most certainly has profound consequences for the analysis. Given that lenition is such a common and productive assimilatory process cross-linguistically, however, treating it as a phonological process here will simplify the final feature analysis in that it will only be necessary to stipulate a single morphophonemic process affecting the consonantal series of Northern Paiute.

As mentioned, consonant lenition involves two co-related articulatory processes--voicing and spirantization. This process occurs most often inter-vocalically. Both spirantization and voicing are assimilatory processes whereby consonants, particularly obstruents, acquire vocalic features. Geminate, or fortis, consonants are resistant to lenition. Under the process of lenition, simple oral stops surface either as voiced stops or voiced fricatives. The following examples demonstrate

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lenition of stem-initial consonants as the result of compounding, prefixation, and the addition of a possessive proclitic[11]:

9a) [kuʂʂí] 'dust; dusty' + [pɔ́ɔ́] 'trail' = [kuʂʂíbɔ] ~ [kuʂʂíβɔ]
/kussípɔ/ 'The Milky Way'

b) [ma-] 'IP/hand' + [puní] 'see' + [-ki] 'APL[12]' = [mabúniki] ~ [maβúniki]
/mapuniki/ 'to show'

c) [i=] 'my (proclitic)' + [piá] 'mother' = [ibiá] ~ [iβiá]
/ipia/ 'my mother'

d) [ʂuɣá] 'sugar (borr.)' + [kammá] 'to taste' = [ʂuɣáɣamma]
/sukakamma/ 'sweet-tasting'

e) [ti-] 'ANTIPASSIVE' + [kuháni] 'to cook (tr.)' [tigúhani] ~ [tiɣúhani]
/tikuhani/ 'to cook (intr.)'

f) [i=] 'my (proclitic)' + [kumá] 'husband' = [igumá] ~ [iɣumá]
/ikuma/ 'my husband'

The simple alveolar stop /t/ most typically surfaces as an alveolar tap [ɾ] under lenition, sometimes as its voiced counterpart [d], but never as an alveolar fricative.

---

[11]As I am presenting lenition as the default, or unmarked value in the fortis/lenis opposition, I am anticipating the analysis of final features in section 2.4.1. In it, I propose that lenition *as a process* only occurs in the absence of a fortis final feature in a preceding stem, prefix, or proclitic.
[12] Note that the applicative suffix is immune to gradation processes (see section 2.4.1)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

10a) [tabí-] 'day' + [tikká] 'to eat' = [tabídika] ~ [tabírika]
/tapitika/ 'lunch; to have lunch'

b) [ma-] 'IP/hand' + [tikkí] 'to put or place' = [maďik̥i] ~ [maríki]
/matiki/ 'to put X down'

c) [i=] 'my (proclitic)' + [tuámi] 'children' = [iduámi] ~ [iruámi]
/ituami/ 'my children'

The simple labio-velar /k$^{w}$/ surfaces as [g$^{w}$] or, more rarely, as [ɣ$^{w}$] under lenition. On the other hand, [k$^{w}$] as the fortis counterpart of /w/ never surfaces as [g$^{w}$] or [ɣ$^{w}$]. Rather, there is phonetic neutralization only between fortis /w/ and simple /k$^{w}$/.

11a) [ma-] 'IP/hand' + [-kwíu][13] 'to obtain; to stick to' = [magwíu]
/makwiu/ 'to get; to stick to the hand'

b) [i=] 'my (proclitic)' + [kwaʂ̥ʂ̥í] 'shirt' = [igwaʂ̥ʂ̥í]
/ikwassi/ 'my shirt'

In Northern Paiute, allophonic variation is quite scalar--that is, there is no discrete point along it that makes phonetic transcription of, say [b] vs. [β] descriptively meaningful. The conditioning factor or factors

---

[13]Certain verb roots, traditionally called *instrumental verbs* in the Numic literature, appear to require an *instrumental prefix*. These are written with a hyphen, indicating that these are essentially bound forms. Section 2.3.4.1.2 describes the phenomenon of instrumental prefixes in some detail.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

involved in this variation are not entirely clear, but may be related in part to carefulness in speech and in part to idiolectal variation. In future chapters, the transcription of all counterparts to these allophones will be given as the counterpart to the voiced stop phone [b].

Medial geminate stops under conditions of rapid speech sometimes surface as simple, unaspirated stops, resulting in some surface-phonetic neutralization with simple stop phonemes. This may also be representative of a system in transition. In most such cases, I will transcribe the segments as simple, voiceless stops.

Among the nasal stops, I am only able to detect leniting effects associated with the bilabial /m/, which frequently surfaces as a nasalized semi-vowel [w̃] as in the following:

12) /nimi/ --> [niw̃i] 'person; Indian'
/u/+/ma/ --> [ow̃á] 'with it (as an instrument)'

The affricate /ts/ does have an allophone recorded occasionally as the voiced counterpart [dz], but the stopped release is often so lightly articulated that it frequently surfaces as [z].[14]

---

[14]Michael Nichols (in personal communication) in his fieldwork recorded the [dz] allophone much more frequently than [z] among an older generation of speakers. Such a development could be the result either of contamination of English in speakers pronunciation, or the result of natural weakening.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

13) [ma-] 'IP/hand' + [tsamá] 'to touch/feel' = [madzáma] ~ [mazáma]
/matsama/ 'to touch (tr.)'

One might expect some surface neutralization of phonemic /ts/ and /s/ to a common allophone [z] and this may indeed be a confounding factor. Often, it is only the occasional trace of the onset of the affricate that serves to help identify [z] ~ [dz] as phonemic /ts/ as opposed to /s/.

14) [na-] 'MIDDLE' + [sutíhai] 'to bless; to show pity toward' = [nazútiha]
/nasutihai/ 'to feel sorry; to humble oneself'

Under lenition, palatalized /k/ will surface as the voiced affricate [ǰ], corresponding to the voiceless, palatalized [č]. Surface neutralization occurs with respect to the voiceless, non-lenited allophone [č] as the palatalized allophone of /k/, [č] resulting from the morphophonemic fortition of the semivowel /y/, and the /č/ phoneme. This issue is discussed more fully in the next section.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.1.3.2 Palatalization

Palatalization of the simple velar stop /k/ to either [ǰ] or [č] occurs within morphemes and across morpheme boundaries following the high, front vowel /i/ and preceding the low vowel /a/. Palatalization does not occur preceding /i/, /ɨ/, /u/, or /ɔ/.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 15) | [igínu] | /ikinu/ | 'spoon' |
| | [tigɨ́] | /tikɨ/ | 'to put or place; to bet' |
| | [s̩igúp̩i] | /sikupi/ | 'rabbitbrush' |
| | [paʂíɣo] | /pasikɔ/ | 'camus' |
| | [iɣó] | /ikɔ/ | 'tongue' |
| | | | |
| | [tonǐ́ja] | /tɔnika/ | 'flower' |
| | [ǐjá] | /ika/ | 'to enter (SG)' |
| | [supíčạ] | /supika/ | 'to want; to be enamored to' |

There occurs some merging in the surface realization of palatalized /k/ and phonemic /č/. Also, as I mentioned, [č] as the fortis counterpart of the glide /y/ may present a confounding factor with respect to phonemic representation. Very likely, /č/ arose as a phoneme in the language as an allophone of /y/ under fortition following the loss or reanalysis of a morpheme boundary.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This hypothesis accounts both for the limited distribution of phonemic /č/, and for the fact that phonetic [ǰ] is always an allophone of /k/ under both palatalization and lenition--never a lenited allophone of phonemic /č/.

This analysis also appears to be confirmed by my corpus, in which [ǰ] never occurs except in the environment already established for palatalization--that is, between /i/ and /a/. Clear examples of the phonemic status of /č/ may be readily found, however, and the environment clearly suggests contrast with both /y/ and /k/:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16) | [kočí] | /kɔči/ | 'to return' |
| | [tihíčạ] | /tihiča/ | 'deer' |
| | [natíiya] | /natiiya/ | 'to be strong or courageous' |
| | [nigá-] | /nika/ | 'to dance' |

Nichols (1974) also presents comparative evidence that appears to confirm that /č/ in Northern Paiute likely developed first as an allophone of /y/, as I have suggested.[15]

A great deal of minor dialectal variation exists to the present day in Northern Paiute. The most significant phonological variation I have

---

[15]His cognate set for 'deer', for example, has *tihiya* (sometimes with a final feature) for all of the Central Numic languages plus Kawaiisu, as compared to *tihiča* in 16).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

encountered in my study of various northern dialects is in the phonetic realization of /č/--a merging of the fortis allophone of /y/, and the palatalized allophone of /k/. In the Yahooskin dialect, as described in Weiser and Thornes (1995) these phonemes are all realized as [kʸ], corresponding perfectly with what in the Burns dialect (and in the dialects spoken on the McDermitt and Duck Valley reservations) is consistently realized as [č].[16]

Other more minor instances of surface palatalization also occur, particularly of /s/ as [ʂ] or even [š] in some ideolects either preceding or following /i/. Exact phonetic realizations vary, particularly between older and younger speakers in Burns.[17] For example, older speakers tend to say [piʂá] 'good/ well', whereas younger speakers pronounce the same word [pišá].

2.1.3.3 Uvularization

Velar stops are realized as uvular consonants preceding the low, back vowel /ɔ/ and the low, central /a/. Uvularization is often accompanied by frication as well. The following examples are illustrative:

---

[16]Interestingly enough, there is one elder speaker at Burns whose pronunciation patterns like Yahooskin. As she has lived in Burns most of her life, I can only suspect that the feature is the result of a family ideolect.
[17]Who qualifies as 'older' versus 'younger' likely varies by community. In Burns, I place the boundary rather impressionistically at somewhere around age 65 or 70.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17) | [mɔqɔ́] | /mɔkɔ/ | 'shoe' |
| | [maɢɔ́] ~ [maʁɔ́] | /makɔ/ | 'bag' |
| | [mɔqɔ́ʔni] ~ [mɔq$^{x}$ɔ́ʔni] | /mɔkɔʔni/ | 'woman' |
| | [qáí] ~ [q$^{x}$áí] | /kai/ | 'no; not' |
| | [yaɢá] ~ [yaʁá] | /yaka/ | 'to cry' |

Such frication is a natural by-product of uvular articulation, perhaps since the shape of the articulators in this position often produces a release that is, at least acoustically, like an affricate.

2.1.3.4 Devoicing

Devoicing of medial[18] consonants occurs under two distinct conditions. In the most straightforward case, a sonorant will surface as voiceless when occurring in a cluster with the glottal glide /h/. Sometimes, the existence of the voiceless sonorant is the only indication of a phonemic /hC/ sequence, presumably under coarticulation. Voicelessness may also spread to an adjacent vowel. Note the following:

[18]Recall that in word-initial position, all stops surface as simple, unaspirated, and voiceless.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18) | [pahm̥ú] ~ [pam̥ú] | /pahmu/ | 'tobacco' |
| | [puhm̥ítsiba] ~ [pum̥ítsiba] | /puhmitsipa/ | 'to blink' |
| | [píihw̥ana] ~ [píiw̥ana] | /piihwana/ | 'to scrape fur off a hide' |
| | [tibúhw̥ai] ~ [tibúw̥ai] | /tipuhwai/ | 'to seek; a vision' |
| | [mayúw̃ą̥kiwini] | /mayuhmakiwini/ | 'tickling' |

Simple medial stop consonants may also surface as voiceless, though not as geminate, when adjacent to voiceless, or "whispered", vowels in unstressed syllables. Voiceless vowels appear most typically at word boundaries--a process described in more detail in section 2.3.3. For the purposes of this section only their effect on consonants is presented here. The distributional facts are such that only voiceless stop allophones occur as onsets of syllables containing voiceless vowels.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19a) | [húúp̥i] | /huupi/ | 'cradleboard' |
| | [momóat̥ip̥i] | /mumuatipi/ | 'elders' |
| BUT | | | |
| b) | [síibi] | /siipi/ | 'willow' |
| | [norík$^{w}$a] | /nɔtik$^{w}$a/ | 'wife' |

The extent of the progression of vowel-devoicing has been found to vary, particularly with certain words, and in such cases, the realization of eligible stops is also variable:

20) [supírak$^{w}$aru] ~ [supírak$^{w}$atu̥] ~ [supírak$^{w}$ą̥tu̥] ~ [supítą̥k$^{w}$ą̥tu̥]
/supitak$^{w}$atu/ 'to know; to understand'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

If the onset of the final syllable is a sonorant, regressive vowel-devoicing may be effectively blocked, allowing for a voiced allophone of the consonant to surface. In 21), we find allophonic variation of [č] versus [ǰ]--as allophones of /k/--due to the sonorant-initial suffix:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21) | [apíčạ̊] | /apika/ | 'to speak (PL); to discuss' |
| | [apíǰana] | /apikana/ | 'when speaking / discussing' |

2.1.3.5 Consonantal Sound Symbolism

Evidence for a sound-symbolic relationship between the consonant phones [s]/[z] and [ts]/[dz] is present in Northern Paiute. The relationship between the fricatives and the affricates is one of what Nichols (1971) refers to as "diminutive shifting" involving the relationship of what she terms consonant "hardening" and the connotative semantics associated with the diminutive. Such semantics extend beyond simple physical size into categories of "endearment, affection, pity, or the like (826)." Also included may be notions like "light, bright, quick, cold (as opposed to dark, heavy, slow, warm), in addition to the size dimension (841)."

I have not done an extended survey of the vocabulary, and so rely on Nichols (1971) and Nichols (1974) for examples of this vestigial process. I have nothing to add to their contribution here, rendered phonetically. The second column represents those items that carry the diminutive grade of the consonant.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22) | [isá] | 'wolf' | [idzá] | 'coyote' |
| | [sizía?ạ] | 'girls (teenaged)' | [tsidzía?ạ] | 'girls (preadolescent)' |
| | [yozí] | 'fly (PL); flock' | [yodzí] | 'fly (SG)' |
| | [pisá] | 'good' | [pidzápị] | 'want; like' |
| | [id̈i̱ị] | 'hot' | [idzítsị] ~ [izítsị] | 'cold' |

It may be worth noting that the diminutive suffix {tsi} begins with the same grade of consonant as that which follows the pattern of diminutive sound symbolism in the language. Section 3.1.4 describes the general function of this derivational suffix.

Such scant evidence for diminutive consonant symbolism as that presented above is nonetheless important for comparative purposes and so I include it here. Nichols (1974:71ff) presents examples both of such pairs in Northern Paiute and of evidence for historical lexicalization patterns whereby one or the other consonant has been lexicalized in dfferent Numic languages.

### 2.1.4 Processes Affecting Vowels

A number of processes affect the articulation of vowels in Northern Paiute. Vowel harmony as an active process is limited, though still significant. There is evidence to suggest that it was once more widespread, either at the pre-Numic or the Proto-Uto-Aztecan stage in the history of the languages. I refer the reader to Nichols' (1974) important discussion of the Numic and Uto-Aztecan root canon.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Another of the most striking processes affecting vowels is that of vowel devoicing. Vowel-devoicing occurs under two conditions, one phonological and one I refer to as prosodic. The prosodic process is perhaps the most striking and is discussed more fully in section 2.3.3.

### 2.1.4.1 Harmony

Vowel harmony as a phonological process is limited in Northern Paiute. The process could perhaps best be treated as a morphophonemic one, since only certain affixes exhibit allomorphy that can be ascribed to harmony. However, there is evidence for some limited-domain harmony word-internally, and so I include the discussion here. Such limited-domain harmony does not represent a productive phonological process.

Vowel harmony may be most readily found where the vowels of some monosyllabic affixes take on the height features of a vowel in an adjacent syllable. Most instances of height harmony in Northern Paiute involve alternations between [u] and [o] (and possibly [a])-- either by the lowering of /u/ adjacent to syllables with either /ɔ/ or /a/, or by raising /ɔ/ adjacent to syllables containing /i/, /ɨ/, or /u/. Height assimilation also likely accounts for gaps in the occurrence of certain logically possible vowel sequences (see table 3, section 2.1.2.2). Note the following patterns of [oCa]:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22) | [mó?asu] | /mú?asu/ | 'already; be ready' |
| | [magwíoka] | /makwiuka/ | 'join together' |
| | [oká] | /uka/ | 'that one (OBL)' |

Typically, it is not so problematic for the analyst to identify [o] as an allophonic variant of the high, back phoneme /u/ rather than of low, back /ɔ/, due in part to the effects of /ɔ/ on the surrounding consonants, particularly velars (see "Uvularization," section 2.1.3.3).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 23) | [oká] | /uka/ | 'that one (OBL)' |
| | [tɔqáanɔ] | /tɔkaanɔ/ | 'night time' |

The one confounding environment presenting problems in identifying phonetic [o] as an allophone of /u/ or /ɔ/ could be in a syllable immediately preceding one containing /a/, as described above, but one without an intervening velar consonant. Liljeblad (1966) acknowledges "a phonemic overlapping of /u/ and /o/ [what in the present analysis is /ɔ/ : TT] resulting in a bewildering idiolectal variation." (15)

Deciding which canonical vowel to relegate to the underlying phonemic representation is an arbitrary decision when it comes to harmonizing affixes. The best theoretical analysis would simply state that the vowels of harmonizing affixes are unspecified for a height feature, which it obtains from the vowel of an adjacent syllable. For convenience sake, I will represent /u/ as the abstract, underlying vowel in the examples

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

in this chapter, while in future chapters the surface allomorphy will generally be represented in the transcription.

The following examples demonstrate affixes which actively participate in a synchonic vowel harmony process:

24a) *-nu* 'instrumental nominalizer' (cf. section 3.1.7.3)

| [igínu] | [karínu] | [tuʂʂúnu] | [wikóno] |
|---|---|---|---|
| *igi-nu* | *kati-nu* | *tussu-nu* | *wiko-nu* |
| scoop-INSTR | sit-INSTR | grind-INSTR | roll-INSTR |
| 'spoon' | 'chair' | 'grinding-stone' | 'ring for a game'[19] |

b) *-tu* 'creative verbalizer' (cf. section 3.1.8)

| [nawóbituna] | [tíítu] | [tóótɔdi] |
|---|---|---|
| *na-wobi-tu-na* | *tii-tu* | *too-tu-di* |
| MM-wood-VBR(make)-PTCP | tea-VBR(make) | hole-VBR(make)-NMR |
| 'when made into lumber' | 'make tea' | 'one who makes holes' |

c) *mu-* IP (cf. section 8.1.3): 'of or pertaining to the nose or mouth'

| [mudihai] | [moβásа] |
|---|---|
| *mu-tihai* | *mu-pasa* |
| IP/-bless | IP/-be dry |
| 'to kiss' (lit. mouth-bless) | 'to drink dry' (lit. mouth-dry) |

The harmony facts are not always so straightforward, and it is sometimes difficult to detect a clear phonetic difference between phonetic [u] and [o], particularly in unstressed syllables. The addition of another

---

[19]The hoop and pole game, called [titókwinai] involves shooting arrows or throwing a spear through a ring, usually made of willow, that is rolled at some distance from the shooter. Fowler (1991) records the game as [pattsai].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

low vowel suffix in the following example appears to clarify the acoustic facts:

25) *-ʔyu* 'attributive; nominative' (cf. section 3.2.2.2, 5.1.1)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [nɔ́ɔ́ʔyu] | /nɔɔʔyu/ | 'all (NOM)' |
| [nɔ́ɔ́ʔyona] | /nɔɔʔyuna/ | 'being all / everyone' |

Table 2.5 provides a sample of affixes most commonly exhibiting allomorphy attributable to some form of limited-domain height harmony based upon a height feature of an adjacent syllable in the stem to which they attach.

Table 2.5 Northern Paiute Harmonizing Affixes

| Allomorphs | Functions |
|---|---|
| -tu, , -to, -tɔ | 'Creative Verbalizer' |
| -ʔyu, -ʔyo | 'Nominative Case; Attributive' |
| -nu, -no, -na | 'Instrumental Nominalizer' |
| -u, -o | 'Punctual Aspect' |
| mu-, mo- | 'Instrumental Prefix: pertaining to the nose or a prominence' |
| ku-, ko- | 'Instrumental Prefix: pertaining to heat or fire |
| ti-, tu-, to- | 'Instrumental Prefix: force directed outward; pertaining to rock' *harmony not productive |

Note that the instrumental prefix pertaining to rock or to force directed outward includes an allomorph containing the high, central /ɨ/. This, according to my corpus, is the most common, and perhaps the base, allomorph. I include it here as suggestive of a historical process. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

historical process suggested here is one in which a prefix vowel harmonizes to a root vowel, the prefix derives a new lexical item, becomes fully lexicalized, and the result is stem-internal vowel harmony.

Stems of the shape $CV^1CV^1$ where the vowels are identical are very numerous in the language. Given the simple CV syllable shape and the modest segmental inventory, this fact alone may not be significant. However, the gaps in the logically possible CVCV stem forms may prove more telling, as in, for example:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26a) | /yaka/ | 'to cry' | /yɔkɔ/ | 'to copulate' |
| BUT NOT | | | | |
| b) | */yakɔ/ | */yɔka/ | (both unattested) | |

I present such evidence here only as a contribution to avenues of further study. My analysis of it remains impressionistic.[20] If indeed stem-internal vowel harmony was historically productive, we would expect it to generate the synchronic patterns seen here.

---

[20]i.e. I haven't made any corpus-wide counts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.1.4.2 Devoicing Within Words

The occurrence of phonetically devoiced, or "whispered" vowels is a prevalent and very striking feature of Northern Paiute phonetics. It is most typically a prosodic process, occurring in the final syllable of a word, if unstressed, and often spreading up to the syllable immediately following the one which bears primary stress (see section 2.3.3).

As a phonological, as opposed to a prosodic, phenomenon, vowels may be devoiced in unstressed syllables after voiceless fricatives or affricates, specifically /h/, /s/, or /ts/. Under these conditions, voiceless vowels may occur regardless of whether or not there is spreading from a word boundary. I analyze voiceless vowels under these conditions as the result of phonological processes, and those sensitive to spreading from a word boundary as the result of prosody.

The following examples demonstrate the former process occurring in the first syllable and in a non-stressed word-medial syllable following /ts/ as well as in both the first and third syllables following /h/:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 27) | [tsi̥hóporo] | /tsihɔpɔtɔ/ | 'shin bone' |
| | [namátsi̥kwinipunina] | /namatsikwinipunina/ | 'slanted' |
| | [hu̥túhu̥] | /hutuhu/ | 'marrow' |

The more extensive prosodic vowel-devoicing process is described in section 2.3.3

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.1.4.3 Raising

A phonetically short [æ] or [ɛ] following the palatal glide /y/, surfaces in one form in my notes. The form is also anomalous in that it represents a rare instance of primary stress occurring on the first mora (see also section 2.3.1). It appears to be an allomorph of the demonstrative /yaʔa/ meaning 'here; around here.' It is even found in free variation with this non-reduced form:[21]

28) [yǽtu] ~ [yétu] ~ [yaʔáto] /yaʔatu/ 'this way/ direction'

Others have reported more widespread allophony of [a] and [ɛ] in the neighborhood of the alveopalatal glide, as, for example, in the ubiquitous discourse particle /yaisi/ 'and so; then', surfacing in some dialects either as [yéiṣi] or [yéiṣi]. The process is a subtle one, and I may simply have missed more instances of it in my transcriptions.

[21]Note, too, the height-harmonization of the suffix vowel here.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 2.1.4.6 Rhoticizing

The high, central vowel [i] takes on "r-coloring" in the environment following [ɾ], the alveolar tap (phonemically, /t/). Examples of rhoticization include:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 29) | [húúɾi̯] | /huuti/ | 'river' |
| | [kiɾi̯] | /kiti/ | 'groundhog'[22] |
| | [iɾɪ̯ti̯] | /iti̯ti/ | 'hot; be hot' |

## 2.2 Syllables

This section's focus is on the structure and processes at the level of the syllable. Syllable structure is fairly simple in Northern Paiute, consisting mostly of open, CV(V) syllables. Morae, or timing units, are limited to one or two per syllable for the purposes of stress placement. A description of syllable structure is an important prerequisite to understanding stress placement in Northern Paiute, a topic covered in section 2.3.1.

Other processes that relate to the syllable include glide-formation, glottal insertion, and elision. Limited evidence exists for metathesis as

---

[22]It should be noted that in colloquial pronunciation, some non-native speakers add an [r] to the Anglicized version of the word: [kí dər]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

well, although this is perhaps more of a remnant, historical process than an active phonological one. These processes affect syllable structure by altering the shape of syllables, maintaining their integrity by effectively blocking vowel hiatus, or reducing the number of syllables in a word. Reduplication is also a productive process in Northern Paiute. Stem- or word-initial CV syllables are duplicated in a process that cuts across nearly all the major word classes and with functions particular to each word class.

### 2.2.1 Syllable Structure and Constraints

Far and away the most common syllable type in Northern Paiute is CV(V), that is, a simple consonant followed by a vowel, either long or short, or a diphthong. Consonant clusters are practically non-existent in Northern Paiute. The affricate /ts/, for example, is really a unitary phoneme, as is the labio-velar /k$^{w}$/. Geminate, or fortis, consonants appear to behave as unitary in most respects, although they are perhaps easier to treat as sequences of identical consonants, since their occurrence may also be the result of processes that occur across morpheme boundaries. These processes--the so-called "final feature" phenomena--are discussed in section 2.4.1.

The only sequence of non-identical consonants involves the glottals, which may precede sonorants--most commonly /n/ and /y/. Glottal plus sonorant sequences, if analyzed as resulting in a closed syllable, never result in heavy syllables for the purpose of attracting stress. Examples in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

my corpus of /hC/ sequences are those presented in the discussion of consonant devoicing in section 2.1.3.4. Phonemic /ʔC/ sequences are much more common and may occur in both stems and affixes.

Some examples of /ʔC/ sequences in different positions relative to both stressed and unstressed syllables are included in 30).

30) [kwiʔnáá] 'golden eagle'
[wɨtáʔni] 'to gather plant food by knocking onto a mat'
[maʔyága] 'pinky'
[tsoníʔya] 'to bump the head'
[siʔmí] 'only'
[sisíʔmi] 'from time to time'
[wiʔwága] 'to fan (e.g. a flame)'
[miʔnáʔwiṣu] 'some time ago'
[haʔŋíṣa] 'beaver'

Glottal stops are also inserted between would-be vowel sequences in cases where a prefix or proclitic is added to a vowel-initial stem, effectively blocking coalescence or dipthongization as well as supplying an onset for an otherwise vowel-initial syllable. Phonetically, glottal stops are often heard starting vowel-initial and some sonorant-initial words in isolation. See section 2.2.2.1 for further discussion and examples of epenthetic glottal stops.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 2.2.2 Processes Affecting Syllables

In this section, I address those phonological processes that specifically affect the structure of syllables in Northern Paiute. These processes include epenthesis, glide formation, elision, and metathesis. Epenthesis involves the insertion of a glottal stop inter-vocalically under certain conditions. Although essentially a morphophonemic process, I include a discussion here with other processes that affect syllable structure. Glide formation results in certain non-identical vowel sequences in contrast to the "true" diphthongs discussed in section 2.1.2.2. The phonetic result is typically a transitional element between the vowels, or a complex onset. Elision and metathesis are perhaps related processes, at least historically, involving the glottal glide /h/, and so are described in the same section.

#### 2.2.2.1 Epenthesis

Between a vowel-initial stem and either a prefix or proclitic, an epenthetic glottal stop is inserted, effectively creating a CV syllable stem-initially and blocking hiatus of a morphophonemic VV sequence. Note the following examples with both prefixes and proclitics:

31a) [nimíno naʔákʷi]
*nimi -no na -akwi*
person-COM MM-shoot
's/he fought together with the people'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) [íiha uʔigʷí]
*ii = ha u= igwi*
you = Q 3= smell
'Do you smell that?'

Many nominal forms, particularly when spoken in isolation, end in a glottal stop plus an "echo vowel" of the same quality as the vowel of the final syllable. This vowel typically surfaces as voiceless. Nichols (1974) identifies the function of glottal stop plus echo vowel "to mark a noun as a term of address (either a kin term or a proper name), or to convert a common animal name into the name of a mythological character (52)." These particular functions appear to have been lost among present day speakers at Burns, although the sequence is frequently heard in citation forms. Phonetically, /VʔV/ may be heard as a slightly longer vowel with creaky voice.

2.2.2.2 Glide Formation

Glide formation occurs in certain sequences of non-identical simple vowels. Glide formation arises in all attested high--non-high vowel sequences, namely /ia/, /ia/, and /ua/,[23] as well as in the high--high vowel sequence /ui/. The glide surfaces as homorganic to the initial vowel of the

[23]Phonetically, /u/lowers to [o] adjacent to /a/.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sequence, either as a transition between the two vowels or as a phonetic replacement of the first vowel.

As a concommitant to glide formation, the prosodic high pitch associated with primary stress occurs on the second vowel in underlyingly simple VV sequences. Glide formation effects not only the phonetic structure of the syllable, but also the moraic structure and thereby the stress placement. Note:

32a) /ia/-->[iʸá] ~ [ʸà] in the first or second syllable:[24]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [miʸá] ~ [mʸá] | /mia/ | 'go (SG)' |
| [mimiʸá] ~ [mimʸá] | /mimia/ | 'go (DL)' |
| [piʸá] ~ [pʸá] | /pia/ | 'mother' |

b) /ia/-->[i̯á] ~ [j̇á] in the first or second syllable[25]:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [pi̯á] ~ [pj̇á] | /pia/ | 'friend' |
| [pibi̯á] ~ [pibj̇á] | /pipia/ | 'friends' |
| [nowi̯á] ~ [nowj̇á] | /nɔwia/ | 'to move (i.e. one's household)' |

c) /ua/-->[oʷá] ~ [ʷá]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [toʷáki] ~ [tʷáki] | /tuaki/ | 'children' |
| [yadoʷá] ~ [yadʷá] | /yadua/ | 'to speak (SG.)' |

---

[24]Although some of the examples are in clearly reduplicated pairs, the phenomenon is not limited to such conditions.

[25][j] represents a palatal glide homorganic to the high, central vowel [ɨ] and in contrast to the alveo-palatal glide [y] homorganic to the high, front vowel [i].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d) /ui/-->[u$^{W}$í] ~ [$^{W}$í]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [pu$^{W}$í] ~ [p$^{W}$í] | /pui/ | 'eye' |
| [yadu$^{W}$í] ~ [yad$^{W}$í] | /yadui/ | 'to talk to s.o.' |

It is important to note that glide formation in the first example in each pair of surface forms appears to create a syllable, and that primary stress occurs on the third mora, rather than on the second. For analytical purposes, one could perhaps propose that the glide-forming initial vowel of the sequence does not carry a mora, and therefore these are simply apparent exceptions to the regular stress pattern (see section 2.3.1 for a discussion of word-level stress in Northern Paiute).

2.2.2.3 Elision and Metathesis

Inter-vocalic glottal consonants /h/ and /ʔ/ are may be freely elided in rapid speech, particularly when the vowels are identical. To what extent such elision could be responsible for the development of contrastive vowel length is the topic of another study. Examples like the following are of interest:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 33a) | [naʔá] | [naána] |
| | *naʔa* | *naʔa-na* |
| | grow | grow-PTCP |
| | 'grow' | 'growing; growth' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) [yuʔúniʔyu] ~ [yuúniʔyu]
*yuʔuniʔyu*
'this kind; of this type'

c) [tiníkwɨhi] ~ [tiníkwɨɨ]
*tinikwɨhi*
'to sing'

There also appear to be intergenerational differences involving glottal elision like the following:

35) [móʔasu] (older speaker) [máásu] (younger speaker)
*muʔasu*
'already; be ready.'

Here elision corresponds with vowel hiatus, resulting in a long vowel. This example could reflect a combination of possible historical processes that could have resulted in phonemic vowel length.

Although there is no evidence for metathesis as a productive phonological process in Northern Paiute, examples like the following suggest it historically.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 34) | [pɨhí] | [pɨ́ɨhw̥ana] | [wanápɨ̥] |
| | *pɨhi* | *pɨɨhwana* | *wana-pɨ* |
| | 'fur' | 'to defur/scrape a hide' | 'cloth (plus ABS)' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The example is of potential interest in that it exhibits apparent historical metathesis of a glottal consonant and vowel, resulting in both a long vowel and a phonetically voiceless sonorant.

### 2.2.3 Reduplication

The widespread process in language whereby a root, stem, word, or some well-defined portion of it is repeated is called *reduplication*. Reduplication is an important grammatical process in Northern Paiute. The grammatical functions of reduplication are discussed in sections 3.1.2, as it relates to plural noun formation, and 8.3.8, as it relates to reduplication as it relates to verbal aspect. This section will provide a brief overview of reduplication types, both productive, word-initial reduplication, and other, less productive reduplicative forms associated most often with imitative sound-symbolism.

#### 2.2.3.1 Initial Reduplication

The most productive type of reduplication is of the initial CV' syllable of a word or stem, in nearly all attested cases carrying a fortis-inducing (or geminating) final feature (see section 2.4.1). Reduplication is of the first consonant-vowel (CV) sequence of the word and involves the fortis counterpart of the stem-initial consonant.

Reduplicative processes occur with different word classes in Northern Paiute, most productively with verbs and somewhat less so with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The following examples illustrate CV' reduplication in noun forms:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 36a) | [moqó?ni] | [mommóqo?ni] |
| | *moko?ni* | *mo' - moko?ni* |
| | | RE-woman |
| | 'woman' | 'women' |
| b) | [wa?itsi̥] | [wakwá?itsi̥] |
| | *wa?itsi* | *wa' - wa?itsi* |
| | | RE-man |
| | 'old man' | 'old men' |

In verbs, stem-initial reduplication is also of the initial CV syllable. The following examples illustrate reduplication of verbs in context:

37a) *awamoa = sakwa ni mia-kwi*
morning = MOD I go-FUT
'I will have to go in the morning'

b) *awamoa = sakwa ta mi'-mia-kwi*
morning = MOD we.DL RE-go-FUT
'We (two) will have to go in the morning'

That reduplication is a fairly productive process on verbs is evidenced by the fact that it is not limited to the stem, but may include verbal prefixes. It does, however, exclude pronominal proclitics. Note the following, whereby the proclitic in 38b) is followed by a lenis-initial consonant, but the reduplicated syllable induced fortition.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

38a) *su= mogo?ni ka= nana madatsi?i*
NOM=woman OBL=man strike(with the hand)
'the woman slapped that man'

b) *su= nana u= bi'- pi- madatsi*
NOM=man 3=RE-IP/butt- strike
'the man is spanking him/her'

Productive reduplication can also be useful, therefore, in determining initial word boundaries exclusive of proclitics.

2.2.3.2 Non-productive, Internal and Final Reduplication

Numerous examples of stem-internal reduplication occur in my corpus. These instances of reduplication differ from the productive type described in the previous section in key ways. First of all, reduplication is of a fixed portion of the form in question, most typically the first syllable of a historically analyzable root, although root-final reduplication is also occasionally attested. Often, an instrumental prefix precedes the reduplicated root--a key diagnostic for the fact that reduplication is root-, and not stem-, initial. Second, reduplication of this type is relatively non-productive by comparison to the word- or stem-initial reduplication already described. That is, it is not a derivational or inflectional process with a clear functional purpose beyond a possible historically sound-symbolic one. Third, it appears most commonly with verbs that inherently involve repeated action, as well as onomatopoeic forms and bird names, suggesting an ideophonic basis for the type.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The following examples are representative. The forms in 39) illustrate root-initial, root-final, and root-internal reduplication. 39a) and b) are verb forms. 39b) and c) are clear examples of imitative sound-symbolism which is quite common in the language.

39a) *u=tsa- tú- tubi -na*
3=IP/grasp-RE-?stretch?-PTCP
'pull it (as in stretching a deer hide during tanning)' Verb-tr.

b) *sugígi -nimi*
IMITATIVE-RNDM.SG
'the bubbling sound of brains through a deer hide when squeezed, indicating that it is ready for tanning' (imitative) Verb-intr.

e) *kawówo?i*
'a hand-held bell (esp. of the kind used in the Shaker religion)'

In examples 39b) and c), the initial syllables of the imitative root do not represent an identifiable formative, whereas analysis of an instrumental prefix in 39a) is clear. Further exploration of ideophonic patterns and other types of sound symbolism in Northern Paiute is needed.

## 2.3 Prosodic Inventory and Processes

Northern Paiute has acoustic features that resemble pitch-accent. Indeed, Liljeblad (1950) even analyzed the language as having phonemic tone. Stress, particularly primary stress, is accompanied by prominent, high pitch and a certain amount of vowel lengthening. The lengthening that occurs as the result of stress on an organically short vowel, however,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is not equal to that of an organically long vowel. Impressionistically, an organically long vowel is longer in duration than a stressed short vowel, although the appropriate acoustic measures have not been done.

Primary stress very regularly falls on the second mora of a word, followed by a downstepping of alternating secondary stresses over every other mora. This "law of alternating stresses" (Sapir, 1930:39) may be undermined in Northern Paiute by prosodic, regressive vowel-devoicing. Only vowels receiving primary stress are immune from either phonologically (section 2.1.4.4) or prosodically (section 2.3.3) conditioned devoicing.

A preliminary overview of intonation patterns is undertaken in section 2.3.4. Certain intonation patterns are correlated to clause type and to constituent dislocation in narrative.

### 2.3.1 Word Stress

Word-level primary stress very regularly falls on the second mora in Northern Paiute.[26] By counting long vowels and dipthongs as having two morae, this generalization yields a rule whereby a long vowel or dipthong in the first syllable receives the primary stress. Where there is

---

[26] A pattern reconstructed for proto-Uto-Aztecan in Munro (1977).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

no organic (i.e. underlying) long vowel or diphthong in the first syllable of a word, primary stress falls on the second syllable.

40a) with long vowels and dipthongs:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [húúɾi] | /huuti/ | 'river' |
| [qáíba] | /kaipa/ | 'mountain' |

b) with short vowels:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [yapá] | /ya'pa/ | 'ipos (wild carrot)' |
| [kiɾí] | /kiti/ | 'groundhog' |

Stress and accompanying high pitch is evenly distributed over a long vowel. I have found some cases where apparent elision of a glottal stop, although resulting phonetically in a long vowel, retains a slightly rising pitch pattern. The result can be a pair like the following:

41)

| | |
|---|---|
| [náána] | [nāána] |
| *naana* | *naʔa-na* |
| | grow-PTCP |
| 'men' | 'growing; growth' |

Secondary stress typically follows Sapir's "law of alternating stresses" (1930:39), that is, every other mora following the primary stressed mora receives secondary stress. The significant exception to this general rule is when the short vowels that would carry such secondary stress are devoiced, typically as the result of the prosodic process described in section 2.3.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are cases where primary stress occurs on the first mora, but these are the rare exception. Of interest here, however, is the fact of at least one minimal pair that can be attributed to stress placement.

42a) [mó?a] 'tomorrow'
b) [mo?á] 'maternal grandmother[27]'

Other exceptions to the stress rule include the following:

43a) [úni-] 'of that type; like that'
b) [mó?asu] 'already; be ready/ prepared'

It is important to note that these exceptions are limited to initial syllables with a short [u] or [o] (actually an allophone of /u/ in these examples), and are not of a major word class like noun or verb, but are, rather, adverbials.[28] The limited functional load carried by these exceptions leads me to analyze stress as not contrastive to the same degree as other phonemes in the language. In the case of 43a), the form is also attested with a long initial vowel [úúni-] and, in some dialects (see Snapp and Anderson 1982 for data from Ft. McDermitt), with an intervening [h],

---

[27]Also, 'daughter's child (female speaking).' Reciprocal kinship terms are an interesting feature of Northern Paiute.
[28]42a) and 43b) may well be related historically, the latter being a derived adverbial as the /-su/ suffix would suggest. 43a) may likewise be a recent lexicalization of a demonstrative base /u-/ plus a similative enclitic /-ni/ meaning 'as; like'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[uhúni-]. Loss of intervocalic glottal consonants and glides is attested elsewhere in the language, and so could explain these sporadic exceptions to a very regular rule of primary stress.

### 2.3.2 Stress Shift

That primary stress is prosodically and not lexically assigned is even clearer under what I will call *stress shift*. Under word-formation processes such as prefixation (either derivational or detransitivizing, in the case of verbs), reduplication, or compounding, stress is always realigned to the second mora of the phonological word. The following examples are illustrative:

44a) with reduplication:

| | |
|---|---|
| [moqó?ni] | [mommóqo?ni] |
| *moko?ni* | *momoko?ni* |
| 'woman' | 'women' |

b) with instrumental prefixes:

| | |
|---|---|
| [pinúyui] | [mabínuyui] |
| *pinuyui* | *mapinuyui* |
| 'spin (intr.); be spinning' | 'spin (tr.); cause to spin' |

c) with de-transitivizing prefixes:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [kuháni] | [tigúhani] | [natíguhaniki] |
| *kuhani* | *tikuhani* | *natikuhaniki* |
| 'cook (tr.)' | 'cook (intr.)' | 'cook for oneself' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d) with compounding:

| [wáápi̥] | [tihága] | [wáátihàga] |
|---|---|---|
| *waapi* | *tihaga* | *waa-tihaga* |
| 'juniper' | 'a gulley; draw' | 'juniper-draw (place name)' |

I refer the reader to section 2.5.1 for a discussion of stress shift as a part of the definition of the phonological word in Northern Paiute.

### 2.3.3 Vowel Reduction, Devoicing, and Apocope

At the ends of words, as well as phrases, and in unstressed syllables, a number of prosodic processes of reduction affect phonetic vowel quality. These processes can range from a phonetic neutralization of contrasts--for example, [u] and [o] as described in section 2.1.4.1 on vowel harmony--loss of vocalization of vowels--the striking, pan-Numic feature of voiceless vowels--and, related to vowel-devoicing, the full apocope of vowels in word-final syllables.

I prefer to analyze voiceless vowels in Northern Paiute as part of a number of prosodic processes involving vowel reduction and apocope. Voiceless vowels occur most commonly in word-final syllables, and vowel devoicing may be regressive to adjacent syllables, as long as the onset of such syllables consist only of obstruents. Syllables with sonorants as onsets do not undergo prosodic vowel devoicing.

A vowel carrying primary stress, however, is never devoiced. These facts lead to the conclusion that vowel-devoicing is a prosodic

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

phenomenon. The following examples illustrate vowel-devoicing in post-stressed, word-final syllables:

45a) 3-syllable words, 1st 2 syllables mono-moraic:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [tsoʔápḁ] | /tsɔʔapa/ | 'ghost; spirit' |
| [maɣɔ́pḁ] | /makɔpa/ | 'to break one's word' |

b) 2 and 3-syllable words, 1st syllable bi-moraic:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [tíípi̥] | /tiipi/ | 'earth; ground' |
| [tíípi̥] i̥] | /tiasipi/ | 'frozen; ice' |
| [tiásipi̥] | | |

The extent to which devoicing may regress can be seen in the following examples:

46a) [supítakwatu̥]
*supitakwatu*
'know; understand'

b) [yoŋɔ́tikačakwi̥]
*yoŋotika'yakwi*
'used to have supper'

c) [sakwápokwokwačakwi̥]
*sakwapokwokwa'yakwi*
'would lie around in a muddy place'

Vowel-devoicing does not proceed past sonorants, however, and the vowels of sonorant-vowel syllables are not devoiced, even at the end of words:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 47) | [apíčḁ] | /apika/ | 'to speak (PL); to discuss' |
| | [apíjana] | /apikana/ | 'when speaking / discussing' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The only possible exception to this rule is where the sonorant itself may be devoiced in a cluster with /h/, as described in 2.1.3.4. I have not found any examples, however, where the conditions for both vowel and sonorant devoicing intersect.

Non-identical vowel sequences and long vowels are also resistant to devoicing.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 48) | [tsatábirikakɨ̥tɨ̥] | [tsatíkɑ̥kiu] |
| | tsa-tabi-tika-ki-ti | tsa-tika-ki-u |
| | IP/-noon-eat-APL-TNS | IP/-eat-APL-PNC |
| | 'allow to eat lunch' | 'allowed to eat' |

As 48) shows, the vowel of the applicative suffix is fully voiced when immediately followed by the punctual suffix, whose occurrence produces a non-identical vowel sequence, even immediately following a voiceless vowel.

Certain words and suffixes tend most often to be pronounced with voiceless vowels. This fact may be at least partially responsible for some analyses that describe voiceless vowels as contrastive in some Numic languages. One further feature of analyses that describe voiceless vowels as phonemic has been an attempt to link voiceless vowels to consonant gradation and final features. I discuss the link as the result of diachronic processes briefly in section 2.4.3. Detailed historical analysis of the connection is well beyond the scope of this study, however.

Acoustically speaking, one usually has no trouble identifying the quality of voiceless vowels in question. Occasionally, too, the voiceless

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

allophone is in free variation with its voiced counterpart. Also, on occasion, when speakers are asked to repeat a word slowly, some voicing of the vowel occurs, enabling the analyst to identify the vowel quality. Finally, in some cases where the identification of the vowel in question is particularly difficult, the word form may be extended by the addition of certain derivational or inflectional affixes. These affixes sometimes trigger the voiced allophone of the vowel in question.

There remain certain ambiguities, however. The central vowels [i] and [a], for example, tend to become quite indistinguishable when voiceless. Also, as previously noted, the vowels in certain words and affixes tend always to be pronounced voiceless, even when a speaker is asked to repeat a word carefully. Furthermore, it is not always possible to build on a word form with additional suffixes, and, even in cases where this is possible, the vowels in these suffixes may be pronounced voiceless as well. As illustrated, regressive voicelessness can occur over several syllables.

### 2.3.4 Phrasal Stress and Intonation

Stress at a level higher than the word in Northern Paiute is described briefly in Snapp and Anderson (1982). Their description implies that Northern Paiute is a stress-timed language in the sense that stresses occur at fairly equal timing intervals, regardless of the number of intervening syllables between primary stresses in a phrase or sentence. The necessary acoustic studies have not, to my knowledge, been

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

conducted, and so their judgements, as well as my own, are necessarily impressionistic.

Intonational patterns can serve as a useful tool in understanding phrasal structure and word order variation in Northern Paiute, as in many languages. Again, the necessary acoustic studies have yet to be carried out that would help us to better understand the relationship between intonation and syntactic notions like constituency and clause integration, as well as its relationship to pragmatic notions like topic and focus.

Thus far, I have only attempted to pay close attention to pauses, marking them with commas in the texts in chapter 9, and have otherwise used intonation impressionistically to note clause and paragraph boundaries. In section 6.1.1.1 on word order variation, I have noted that slight pause occurs between clauses and right dislocations. In section 9.3.2 on non-embedded complements, I note the correlation of pause and less syntactic integration between main and subordinate clauses.

Studies that correlate intonation with the syntactic behavior of clitics and discourse particles, such as Underriner (2002), would no doubt yield interesting results for Northern Paiute, given the prevalence of forms that, based upon phonological and morpho-syntactic behavior, fall somewhere on a cline between word- and affixhood. The major prosodic distinctions that distinguish clitics and particles from words and affixes are discussed in section 2.5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 2.4 Morphophonemic Alternations

The Numic languages present an often bewildering array of allomorphy, making the concept of the unitary, underlying phoneme difficult to support, if not practically irrelevant. This section attempts to make a detailed description of such allomorphy in Northern Paiute. I try to avoid taking any particular theoretical stance. The details of the system are complex enough to make a purely synchronic description difficult.

The idea of underlying consonants that surface only under certain conditions is not unusual. French liason presents one such example:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 49) | [vùʁavayé] | /vu ʁavaye/ | vous travaillez | 'you work' |
| | [vùzalé] | /vuz ale/ | vous allez | 'you go' |

The allomorphy of the singular indefinite article in English ('a' versus 'an') also represents an example. In both cases, it is perhaps most efficacious to make the claim that the form with the consonant is the underlying form of the morpheme (French /vuz/ 'you (formal)' and English /æn/ 'SG.INDEF'), and that this consonant is lost before a stem with an initial consonant.

One problem of Northern Paiute morphophonology is that the analyst is confronted with the difficulty of describing the nature of the underlying consonant or consonantal feature. The feature we are concerned with here is one that results in the *gemination* of the following

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consonant. There is no clear distributional pattern as with French liason or the English indefinite article, however. Also, the affect of this feature on the following consonant varies depending on the nature of that consonant. Most previous analytical models of Numic *final features*[29] cover the data reliably and "predict" the surface phonetics--at least, in whatever sense the manipulation of the input to a rule can be said to predict anything. I would argue that such analyses do not, properly speaking, explain the data.

I begin by describing the issue of final features in Northern Paiute as well as the distributional facts of the consonant phones. From this description, the problems that arise for synchronic analysis should be apparent. In section 2.4.2, I discuss briefly what I believe to be the mechanisms of historical development as the only explanation for the

---

[29]Although Nichols (1974) clearly defines the term *final feature* for the non-Numicist and Miller (1972) uses the term in his grammatical sketch of Gosiute Shoshoni, the term apparently arose informally and gained currency among Numicists and general Uto-Aztecanists sometime in the early 1970s (Michael Nichols, in personal communication).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

complexity of the facts we see in the language. The more minor morphophonemic processes are summarized in section 2.4.3.

### 2.4.1 Final Feature Phenomena

This section owes much to the discussion of final features in Nichols (1974), as well as to the work of numerous others who have studied the various systems of other Numic languages in detail (Sapir 1930, Miller 1980 , McLaughlin 1987, 1992, Iannucci 1973)

The term *final feature* was adopted (see especially Nichols (1974:12ff)) to describe a morphophonemic phenomenon whereby the manner of articulation of certain stem- or suffix-initial consonants alters depending upon the stem or affix preceding it. Such final features in the various Numic languages include prenasalization, preaspiration, fortition/gemination, and lenition. Only the latter two occur in Northern Paiute, although there are historical remnants of the effects of other final features in the language.[30] A discussion of these effects on the synchronic inventory of consonants would take us too far afield, and so I will leave a discussion of them for comparative studies. Again, Nichols (1974) is still the most current discussion of Northern Paiute historical phonology.

---

[30]See Miller (1980) for a concise description of the historical effects of preaspiration on the consonantal inventory in Central Numic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The alternation is not predictable by phonological rule and therefore must be a part of the lexical entry of the initiating stem or affix--a final feature. The following examples illustrate this process:

50a) *nɨ ka =sakki-wai tuʔi miʔa*
I OBL=raft -LOC try go.SG
'I tried to go by (on a) raft.'

b) *paba-o nobi-kwai nɨ-nímɨ-ǰa*
big-OBJ house-LOC RE-walk/travel-TRNSL
'Go over to that big house!'

These examples illustrate alternation of the initial consonant of the postposition *-k/wai* between the labio-velar glide /w/ and its fortis counterpart /kw/. There exists nothing in the phonological environment to predict the alternation--both of the noun stems to which the suffix attaches end in a high, front vowel and both have the same CVCV shape. One has a medial fortis consonant and the other has a medial lenis consonant, but in the suffix the fortis-lenis opposition is just the reverse.

I refer the reader again to Table 4 in section 2.1.3.1 which specifies the distribution of lenis and fortis consonants. Lenis and fortis contrast medially and are neutralized word-initially. Stem- or morpheme-initially, contrasts occur only as the result of the final feature specification of a preceding stem or affix.

Clearly, some lexical specification is necessary to account for the allomorphy. Sapir (1930) referred to these alternations in Southern Paiute as the result of the "inner form" of the stem in question. That is, for the examples in 49), the "inner form" of the Northern Paiute words for 'raft'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and/or 'house' are distinct, and must carry something more than the basic segmental information one records upon hearing the words in isolation.

I follow the analysis presented in Nichols (1974) and assume fortition to be the marked feature and lenition to be unmarked. Therefore, I will refer to lenition as a phonological process, quite common cross-linguistically, that phonetically "softens" consonantal articulation between vowels. Fortition (or gemination), on the other hand, is the active feature, induced by a preceding stem, affix or proclitic. I will refer to such stems, affixes and proclitics that carry this feature as *fortis-inducing*.

Table 2.6 is a sample of fortis-inducing stems, affixes, and proclitics in Northern Paiute. Note that the active feature is not restricted to any particular word or affix class. Neither is it the case that all members of a particular class, with the possible exception of the numbers, exhibit fortis-inducing properties. For the purpose of this discussion, fortis-inducing elements are represented with a form-final apostrophe (ˈ), following the convention adopted in Nichols (1974). Allomorphs may be predicted from the lenis counterparts of the initial consonants of the affected elements appearing underlined in the chart. Occasionally, more than one fortis-inducing element occurs in the same word form (note the context accompanying the verb /miʔa/ 'go.PL'), yielding sequences of fortis-initial allomorphs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 2.6 Some Fortis-Inducing Stems and Affixes

| STEM | CLASS | GLOSS | CONTEXT |
|---|---|---|---|
| tipi' | NOUN | 'rock' | tipi-kwai-tu<br>rock-AREA-ALL<br>'in the rocks' |
| tuha' | POSTP | 'under' | a=poʔa tuha-kwai-tu<br>4=bark under-AREA-ALL<br>'beneath the bark' |
| -naga' | POSTP | 'through; among' | sawa-naga-kwai<br>sagebrush-VIA-AREA<br>'in among the sagebrush' |
| miʔa' | VERB | 'go.PL' | miʔa-kwoyoa-kaʔa-yąkwį<br>go.PL-in.a.row-TRNSL-ASP<br>'would go in single file' |
| taya' | VERB | 'send' | u=taya-kwinai-u<br>3=send-throw.aside-PNC<br>'send her/him away' |
| -di' | NMR | 'agentive nominalizer' | na-mia-tabidua-di-kwai<br>MM-moon-shine-NMR-LOC<br>'in the moonlight' (SL:57.4) |
| ni'- | INSTRP | IP/speech | ni-čadua<br>IP-talk.SG<br>'to speak' |
| tsi'- | INSTRP | IP/sharp | tsi-kwiduʔi<br>IP-stir<br>'stir (with, e.g., a spoon)' |
| i'= | PRO | '2.SG' | i=kwɔɔ<br>2=head<br>'your head' |
| mau' | DEM | 'there-DEF' | mau čigwi-u<br>DEM sit.DL-ASP<br>'sit down there (you two)' |
| pisa' | ADJ | 'good' | pisa-kwai-tu<br>good-LOC-ALL<br>'to a good place' |
| watsi'- | NUM | 'four' | watsi-kwai-tu<br>four-LOC-ALL<br>'four o'clock (past)' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Any extended lexical database must include information regarding the morphophonemic direction of a particular stem or affix. As the effects of this particular final feature in Northern Paiute are most dramatic with the glides /y/ and /w/, it is often easier to identify in these contexts.

One cautionary note is in order here. Both the fortis counterpart of the palatal glide /y/ and the palatalized allophone of the velar stop /k/ surface as [č] ([kʸ], in the Yahooskin dialect) phonetically. Since fortition is one diagnostic for identifying a fortis-inducing stem, care must be taken where palatalization may also be at work.

The following examples pair morphemes of the same class which do and do not carry a fortis-inducing final feature and their shared context.

51) noun stems:

a) *sakki-wai*
raft-LOC
'in a raft'

b) *nobi-kwai*
house-LOC
'to the house'

52) pronominal proclitics:

a) *i=bia ~ i=βia*
1=mother
'my mother'

b) *i=pia*
2=mother
'your mother'

53) instrumental prefixes:

a) *wi-tatsigi-gono*
IP/long-tap-CONT.PL
'tapping with a stick (e.g. as a team in a stick game)'

b) *to-datsigi-wini*
IP/fist-tap-CONT.SG
'tapping with the fist or knuckles (e.g. on a door)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Stems, clitics, and most affixes identified as fortis-inducing, exhibit this property in all contexts, exhibiting this same effect upon the initial consonant of different morphemes following them. The same is true of those morphemes that do not induce the fortition of a following consonant. With these, any initial consonant of the different morphemes that may follow them will surface as lenis. The final feature process is highly productive.

Initial consonants associated consistently with certain morphemes are inviolable, however. That is, for these morphemes, the initial consonant surfaces always as either fortis (54a) or lenis (54b):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 54a) | /-ki/ 'APPLICATIVE' | /-kwi/ 'FUTURE' (always fortis initial) |
| | *tsa-mia-ki* | *mia-kwi* |
| | by.grasping-go-APL | go-FUT |
| | 'drive (a car)' | 'will go' |
| b) | /-bodo/ 'back-and-forth' | (always lenis-initial) |
| | *mia-bodo* | |
| | go-back.and.forth | |
| | 'to go back and forth' | |

Sapir (1930) noted this fact for a handful of noun and verb suffixes in Southerm Paiute and accounted for it by giving such inviolability priority over morphophonemic alternation. His analysis is similar to what more recent theories of phonology would handle by simply pre-associating a consonantal feature which effectively blocks association of another feature from the preceding morpheme.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Another distributional issue arises due to the fact that word-medial fortis/lenis contrasts even exist where "there may be no evidence to indicate that a morpheme boundary is, or ever was, present." (Nichols 1974:14).

What the invariability exception and the medial contrast illustrate is a system that carries incipient contrast between a fortis and a lenis series of consonants. However, given some of the limited distributional facts, the rarity of minimal pairs, and the productive allomorphy, it is clear that the system is synchronically at stage midway between simple allophony and full phonemicization.

Two analytical choices are typically made as a consequence of the invariability exception and the sporadic word-medial contrasts. Either 1) the final feature is itself treated as a consonant, or 2) one analyzes the language as having two phonemically distinct consonantal series. The former analysis is very likely historically true. The latter analysis is one which may indicate a developmental direction. A synchronically responsible answer lies somewhere in between.

One more possible confounding factor in the analysis of final features arises in cases where there is intersection with stem-internal consonant gradation relating to aspect (see section 2.3.3.1.2). I have shown that some instrumental prefixes induce fortition obligatorily and should thus be analyzed as carrying the fortis final feature lexically. I also analyze instrumental prefixes as a productive process of stem-formation (section 2.3.4.1.2). In theory, my analysis leaves open the possibility that a root-initial consonant could surface as either fortis or lenis following an

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instrumental prefix due to a distinction in aspect. I have found one such contrast with two different instrumental prefixes in my corpus thus far:

55a) *tsa-* *winai*
IP/grasp-throw.aside
'pitch/pull to one side (fast motion)'

b) *tsa-* *kwinai*
IP/grasp-throw.aside
'pitch/pull to one side (relatively slower motion)'

56a) *ta-* *winai*
IP/foot-throw.aside
'kicking (quickly)'

b) *ta-* *kwinai* *-wini*
IP/foot-throw.aside-CONT.SG
'kicking (s.t.) continually/ repeatedly'

Nichols (1974), has indicated that for some in his inventory of instrumental prefixes the morphophonemic direction of the prefix is not entirely fixed. The possible intersection of final features with an inflectional process like aspect has yet to be fully explored. Such an exploration is beyond the scope of the present study, although I refer the reader to section 2.3.3.1.2 for a discussion of medial consonant fortition as durative aspect in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 2.4.2 Diachronic Processes

Morphophonemic processes in Northern Paiute point to a system in flux. When one considers how final features may have developed in the Numic languages, it is only through the reduction and elision of consonantal phonemes that the phenomena be explained. That is to say, what has been previously presented as the *underlying* phonemic input to a generative phonological rule, such as that presented in Chomsky and Halle (1968), is really an abstract expression of a historically *prior* state of affairs in the Numic languages.

Vowel-devoicing and elision may well be an extant clue as to how reduction of the segmental information may have led to the stranding of consonantal features word-finally. As the contrastive effects of these features at the morphophonemic level become lexicalized, the development of new phonemic contrasts may occur. Northern Paiute, having just one such contrastive feature, represents the possible collapse of a more elaborate system such as that described for Shoshoni (cf. Miller 1972 and McLaughlin 1985).

Still, the status of fortis vs. lenis as an incipient phonemic contrast in Northern Paiute represents an interesting challenge to the usefulness of imposing strict criteria for establishing the segmental inventory of a language. Other complicating factors are socio-linguistic, and involve a great deal of contact-induced borrowing. The social situation in the Great Basin that has existed for millenia is one involving the seasonal interaction of relatively small bands of people and tribal groups. Larger group

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

gatherings occurred usually around the harvesting of a plentiful food resource (Steward 1933 and 1938, Fowler and Liljeblad 1986, Fowler 1990, *inter alia*).

Environmental conditions in the Great Basin necessitated a great deal of mobility and interaction with neighboring groups--a situation that inevitably leads to borrowing, whether between dialects of the same language or between related--or unrelated--languages. The impact of such borrowing upon the phonological system, particularly when the languages are closely related, can be quite profound. As has been noted (Nichols 1974, Miller 1980), it has often made reconstruction of Proto-Numic forms problematic, even though the identification of cognate sets is in most cases straightforward.

### 2.4.3 Glide Elision

Although glide elision has been discussed briefly in section 2.2.2.2 above, its effect upon the allomorphy of two particularly important verb prefixes merits description here.

When the middle marker (MM) /na-/ is followed by the instrumental prefix (IP) relating to long objects or natural forces /wi-/, the initial glide of the instrumental prefix is deleted and the vowels harmonize. Note:

57a) [witáʔniwini]
*wi- taʔni -wini*
IP/long-gather-CONT.SG
'gathering buckberry' (or other plant food by knocking onto mat)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) [nɨ́ɨ́ta?nidɨ]
*na- wɨ- ta?ni -dɨ*
MM-IP/long-gather-NMR
'buckberries (McDermitt)[31]'

58a) [wɨkwɨ́tsi?i]
*wɨ-kwɨtsi?i*
IP/long-strike(.DUR?)
'to whip'

b) [nɨ́ɨ́kwɨtsi]
*na- wɨ- kwɨtsi*
MM-IP/long- strike
'to be beaten/whipped'

In a related process, the other detransitivizing prefix, the antipassive (APS) /tɨ-/, followed by the same IP /wɨ-/ exhibits glide elision as well. Vowel harmonization is redundant, considering that the vowels of both prefixes are identical.

59a) [wɨmátsia]
*wɨ-matsia*
IP/long-spread
'spread over/across (as, e.g., jam on bread, paint on wall, etc.)'

b) [tɨ́ɨ́matsia]
*tɨ-wɨ-matsia*
APS-IP/long-spread
'jam (literally, 'spread X')'

---

[31]This appears to be an indirect term associated with the activity, literally, something like 'that which is gathered by whacking.' In Burns, the term is *wɨyɨpui.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

60a) [wɨkóŋi]
*wi-koŋi*
IP/long-scrape
'to scrape'

b) [tɨ́ɨkoŋi]
*ti-wi-koŋi*
APS-IP/long-scrape
'scraping sound (literally, 'scrape X)'

The following set of examples illustrates the process for a single verb stem with both the middle marker and the antipassive prefixes:

61a) [winá]
*wina*
put(w.r.t. a container)
'put (e.g. a cup)'

b) [nɨ́ɨna]
*na-wina*
MM-put
'be in a location (e.g. water in a bowl)'

c) [tiina]
*ti-wina*
APS-put
'dish up (food)'

This process as it involves the middle-marking prefix /na-/ can also be seen in case of a word-initial /y/ plus /ɨ/ sequence, as demonstrated by the following example:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

62a) *yikwi* 'do; act'  b) *niikwi (na-yikwi)* 'to be treated'

The above evidence is in contrast to analyses of other Numic languages (e.g. Crum and Dayley 1993 and Charney 1993) that present *nii-* as an allomorph of *na-*, rather than as a contraction. Whether synchronic evidence for contraction in Central Numic like that just presented for Northern Paiute exists needs to be more fully addressed.

Other processes affecting the phonetic shapes of morphemes (e.g. palatalization and vowel harmony) have been addressed in sections 2.1.3.2 and 2.1.4.1. I now turn to a discussion of morpheme types as defined by phonological characteristics.

## 2.5 Properties of Northern Paiute Words versus Clitics

As demonstrated elsewhere in this work (see especially sections 2.2.2.3 and 2.3.6 for extended discussion of word formation processes in nouns and verbs, respectively), Northern Paiute makes use of numerous morphological strategies in the formation of words. These strategies fall under two main general rubrics, namely, derivational and compositional. Derivational, bound morphemes function to derive new lexical items with distinct, but related, meanings. Derivational properties do not necessarily entail a change in word class. By compositional strategies, I refer to such processes as compounding and incorporation whereby otherwise free morphemes combine with one another to create new lexical items. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

semantics of these items are by and large composite--entailing something of the meaning of each freely occurring item. As with some of the derivational morphology, however, the semantic outcome of the process is not necessarily predictable.

For the purpose of the present discussion, it is important to present a phonological basis of what I take to be a *word* in Northern Paiute, what is, strictly speaking, an *affix* or bound form, and what is a *clitic*--a form that shares some properties of both a *word* and an *affix* but is in other ways distinct from them. Certain important phonological properties serve to distinguish these formal types. The discussion in this section serves as important background for the following chapter on morphology and for a discussion of the formal properties of word classes in Northern Paiute.

### 2.5.1 Prosodic Features of Words

Each word has one and only one syllable that receives the primary stress (see section 2.3.1). This stress falls on the second mora in almost every case--on the second syllable, if the vowel of the first syllable is short, and on the first syllable, if that syllable contains a long vowel or dipthong.

Based upon this analysis, stress can be very useful in defining word boundaries. As a simple example, let us take the phrase [paβá?yunoβí]. Although it is true that the two stresses I have marked as primary are not completely identical, both are quite prominent and certainly stronger than the secondary stress in a single, long word like [wáátihàɣa]. The first phrase we can analyze as consisting of two words *paba?yu nobi* 'big house,'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

while the second we can analyze as the single, compound word *waa-tihaga* 'juniper-draw'.

What I have termed *stress shift* also aids in defining word boundaries. As stated above, primary stress in Northern Paiute falls on the second mora of the word. Therefore, with prefixation, reduplication, or compounding, stress is realigned to the second mora of the phonological word, as described in section 2.3.2. A representative example is repeated here:

63a) [moqó?ni] b) [momóqo?ni]
*moko?ni* *mo-moko?ni*
'woman' 'women'

As an interesting follow-up on the importance of stress in defining word boundaries, consider the following examples, whereby there is no difference at the segmental level, but only in the realization of stress:

64a) [níkatóógimasiá?]
*ni ka =toogi-ma sia?*
I OBL=dog -INST afraid
'I'm scared of that dog.'

b) [níkatóógimasía?]
*ni ka =toogi ma -sia?*
I OBL=dog IP/CAUS-afraid
'I scared the dog.'

Finally, vowel reduction and devoicing, since they are most typically boundary-level phenomena occurring word-finally following the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

primary stress, are also good phonological indicators of word boundaries. Once again, I will refer the reader to the discussion in an earlier section (2.3.3) of these prosodic processes. In order to avoid circularity, however, it is important to note that the basic patterns of stress and vowel devoicing are readily established through the elicitation of words in isolation. Both of these patterns are extremely productive, and are thereby useful in assisting the analyst in finding word boundaries in rapid, naturally-occurring speech.

### 2.5.2 Prosodic Features of Clitics and Particles

The key prosodic features of *clitics* that distinguish them from either words or affixes are:

1) they are often mono-moraic
2) they do not carry primary stress
3) they do not participate in stress shift

Properties 1) and 2) are key in distinguishing clitics from independent words. Property 3) distinguishes them from affixes. I will address these and other properties briefly here as they relate to the different clitic types.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2.5.2.1 Proclitics

Proclitics are bound not to particular word-classes, but to the first member of a phrase-class, or constituent. Pronominal object proclitics directly precede a verb or a certain minor class of adverbials.

65a) *ii = ha u= naka*
you = Q 3= hear
'Do you hear it?'

b) *nii u= sikwi naka*
I 3= just hear
'I just heard of it (I didn't see it happen).'

Pronominal possessor proclitics and case-sensitive determiner proclitics are bound to the first member of a noun phrase, be it a modifier or a head noun.

66a) *moodi i= tipia*
Maude 1= teammate
'Maude is my teammate.'

b) *su= naatsi udi-?yu*
NOM= boy tall-PRED
'The boy is tall.'

c) *ni ka=paba-u nana punni*
I OBL=big-OBJ man see
'I see the big man.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Note that the determiner proclitic is bound to the noun phrase, not the head noun, as illustrated by 64c). Occasionally, there may be a sequence of two proclitics modifying the same NP, in which case they appear in a fixed order, with the case-sensitive determiner proclitic preceding the possessor proclitic.

67) *su= mi= naa pino?o awamoasi yotsi-u -yai -na*
NOM=1.PL=father also early.morning rise-PNC-HAB-PTCP
'Also, our father would get up early in the morning. . .'

More detailed discussion of the syntax of proclitics can be found in later chapters. For the purpose of the present discussion, it is important to distinguish proclitics as a category intermediate between prefixes and independent words. As I have shown, they are not bound to a particular word class, nor do they participate in the phonological processes expected of prefixes.

2.5.2.2 Second Position Clitics

Second position clitics (or second-position enclitics) always occur directly following the first constituent, no matter to what word- or phrase-class that constituent belongs. They never carry stress, and the vowels may be pronounced as voiceless or otherwise be greatly reduced.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

68a) [tamí sąkwą wináîjakwi]
*tammi = sakwa winai-ga-kwi*
we.INCL = MODAL fish-TRNSL-FUT
'Let's go fishing.'

b) *awamoa = sakwa tammi winai-ga-kwi*
morning=MODAL we.INCL fish-TRNSL-FUT
'Let's go fishing in the morning.'

The second-position clitics in Northern Paiute all appear to function within the context of modality or non-declarative speech-acts. As such, they appear most prominently in first-person narrative or quoted speech, as observed in Comanche (Todd McDaniels, p.c.).

First person independent pronouns appear to be incipient members of the class of second-position clitics in Northern Paiute, reflecting a pan-Uto-Aztecan "tendency to gravitate to second position, historically, and often synchronically" (Langacker 1977a:25). In this position they are phonetically reduced both by carrying only one mora and by not carrying primary stress.

69a) [ńíi kadihíča punní]
*ni ka=tihiča punni*
I OBL=deer see.DUR
'I see the deer.'

b) [kadihíčą ni punní]
*ka=tihiča ni punni*
OBL=deer I see.DUR
'I see <u>the deer</u>.'

The possibility that some erstwhile independent pronouns are developing some characteristics of other, well-established second position clitics needs to be more rigorously explored. One means for exploring this issue would be to gather acoustic data on the other second position clitics to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

see if the acoustic features are matched by pronouns occurring in this position. Syntactically, it is also important to explore the relative position of these pronouns with that of other second position clitics. Examples like the following appear to place it at the end of the string:

70) *kai =ha = sakwa [=] ni i=kwassi-guba kati -čai*
NEG=Q = MODAL (=) I 2=tail -upon sit.SG-HAB
'Couldn't I sit on your tail?' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)[32]

[32] In the chapters to follow, all examples from text are referenced by speaker and title. No such reference indicates data drawn from field notes of session of direct, or text-based elicitation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 3

# NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

## 3.0 Introduction to Morphology and Word Classes

The traditional term *part of speech* is used to refer to categories of words like *noun, verb, adjective, adverb,* etc. Most of us recall definitions of parts of speech categories like "a noun is a person, place, thing, or idea." However, such a definition does not indicate on a case by case basis whether or not a particular word or concept is a noun in a given language. Take 'snow' as an example from English. In English, the word 'snow' may exhibit the behavior of either a noun "Look at all that snow!" or a verb "By nightfall, it had snowed three feet." In order to consider membership in a category, it is essential for the grammarian to first describe the *behaviors* associated with category membership. Only then can one begin to discuss the semantic or pragmatic basis of membership in a particular category or explain the functional unity of the category itself.

It is a matter of preference that I use the term *word class* as a cover term for a structural or syntactic category whose members share a set of grammatical behaviors. In any grammatical description, it is important to begin with the formal characteristics of the major word classes, that is, their *structural definitions.* "Structural definitions are *diagnostic*--they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

allow us to identify a noun, verb, etc., when we see one." (Delancey 2001, *emphasis in original*).

The major word classes that serve as the starting point of this description are the *open classes*. That is to say, membership in the major word classes under discussion is very large and is open to the introduction of new members--whether through borrowing from other languages or through innovation, typically by means of the derivational processes available in the language. A natural starting point for a description of word classes is from the morphology associated with these classes.

Generally speaking, the morphological character of Northern Paiute is moderately *synthetic*. That is to say, most of the inflectional and derivational processes are formally associated with bound affixes--prefixes and suffixes--which may be readily identified through simple morphological analysis. The internal structure of words may include a substantial number of distinct affixes, and these affixes generally have ordering restrictions with respect to one another.

The synthetic character of Northern Paiute is most evident in the verb complex, which may potentially carry the semantic content of an entire sentence, when compared to a more *analytic* (i.e. less morphologically rich) language like English. Note example 1):

1) [nattákuhanikiwini]
*na- ti- ku- hani -ki -wini*
MM-APS-IP/by.fire-prepare -APL-CONT.SG
'S/He is cooking for her/himself.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One feature which distinguishes Northern Paiute from languages referred to as *polysynthetic*--a property associated with numerous other North American languages and language families--is that there is, technically speaking, no direct indexation of actual participants in the event on the verb. Usually, languages described as polysynthetic carry bound affixes on the verb that function like pronouns to show contrasts and carry information about the core participants--for example, subjects and objects.

Aside from a sensitivity to number with a restricted set of suppletive verbs, and number suppletion with certain directional and aspectual suffixes, there is no system of verb agreement in Northern Paiute. The same form of the verb in example 1) above would be used if the subject were first or second person ('I' versus 'you'). The language requires an independent subject pronoun (unless fully understood from context) as an overt indicator of the grammatical subject of the sentence, as illustrated in 2).

2) [ńíi nattíkuhanikiwini]
*ni na- ti- ku- hani -ki -wini*
I MM-APS-IP/by.fire-prepare -APL-CONT.SG
'I am cooking for myself.'

And yet, morphological synthesis is quite prominent in the verb complex. Information regarding the direction of motion, internal event structure, means and manner of action, causation, reflexivity, and other types of information are carried by morphology on the verb. Elsewhere in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the grammar, however, Northern Paiute displays features that are quite analytic--that is, most of the other word classes carry minimal or no morphology. For these classes, it is especially important to characterize them in terms of their *syntactic* behavior by noting their distributional properties. So, for example, a description of the word class *noun* is incomplete without a discussion of its syntactic distribution in the *noun phrase*. An account of the morphological properties of nouns is a useful starting point, but is an insufficient diagnostic for class membership.

Northern Paiute has a number of elements that lie somewhere between independent words and fully dependent, or bound, affixes. Morphemes that are freer than affixes, but still have restricted distributional properties are *clitics* and *particles*. Clitics are either bound to particular *constituents*--syntactic units--such as noun or verb phrases, or are restricted in their distribution to a particular syntactic position in a clause, such as second position. Particles are still freer in their distribution, but, unlike most other word classes, are not stems to which bound affixes attach. They also do not constitute a coherent word class of their own. Some particles carry stress. In many cases, their exact function in discourse is not fully understood or is understood only very generally.

I will begin with a description of the formal, morphological properties of nouns, followed by a syntactic description of noun phrases in Northern Paiute. Chapter 8 is dedicated to verb morphology, as well as to the defining properties of the different subclasses of noun modifiers (e.g. adjectives and quantifiers) and adverbs (chapter 5). Postpositions,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

although technically a closed class (i.e. one that does not readily admit new members), are complex and also discussed in chapter 5. The same holds true for pronouns and demonstratives, whose discourse-level functions also merit detailed description (chapter 4). Most other minor categories are described within the context of the major word classes, either as subclasses or as grammatical operators on the major word classes, or in a discussion of the syntax of phrases or of the basic clause.

## 3.1 Nouns

### 3.1.1 Introduction to Noun Morphology

Inflectional morphology on nouns is limited in Northern Paiute to plural marking (section 3.1.2). Plural inflection is highly restricted and idiosyncratic, applying mainly to terms for human beings. Reduplication and suffixation are the only marginally productive processes for marking plurality on human nouns and kin terms in Northern Paiute.

Core cases, involving alignment with grammatical relations like *subject* and *object* (as well as *possessor* or *genitive case*) are not marked on nouns directly, as they are in Central and Southern Numic languages. Instead, they are marked primarily on noun phrase *dependents* (section 6.1.3)--articles, demonstratives, modifiers, and the like--and on *pronouns* (section 4.1). Noun phrase case-marking and its alignment with grammatical relations is discussed in 3.2 and 6.1.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A number of non-core case markers, referred to here as postpositions, also provide important relational information in Northern Paiute grammar. Such *oblique-marking* has some parallels with the English prepositional system, but with a number of distinctive characteristics. Postpositions are best described as noun phrase *enclitics*, since they appear to be bound to the final element of the noun phrase whether or not that final element is the head noun, and are therefore not, properly speaking, part of the internal structure of nouns. Also, since they do not mark obligatory core noun cases, like subject and object, they do not merit treatment as noun inflection. Some of the richness and complexity of the postpositional system in Northern Paiute is treated in section 5.2.

Although plurality is the only inflectional process occurring directly on nouns, numerous derivational processes occur, either as simple noun formants, or as part of the creation of noun stems--either from existing noun stems or from the stems of other word classes. These processes will be explored in detail in the sections that follow.

An elaborate and pervasive system of nominalization is one of the most striking, and typologically interesting, features of Northern Paiute morphosyntax.[1] Nominalization serves an important derivational function for forming noun stems, and so is discussed in this chapter. A closely related function of nominalization is as part of the process of clausal

---

[1]I would like to thank Scott DeLancey for helping me to appreciate the typological significance of this feature, and for drawing my attention to the important parallels found in Tibetan languages.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

subordination and embedding, whereby entire clauses or phrases are nominalized in order to take on nominal functions--either as noun modifiers or as the arguments of verbs. The various nominalizers are discussed in section 3.1.7. The role of certain of theses nominalizers in the formation of different types of subordinate clauses are covered more thoroughly in Chapter 9.

### 3.1.2 Plurality

Plurality, the expression of a contrast in *number* with respect to nouns, is marked by suffixation on some human nouns, as 3) illustrates:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3a) | *tua* | b) | *tuami* | c) | *tuaki* |
| | 'son' | | 'children' (inalienable) | | 'children' (alienable) |

3c) is the only example of {-ki} functioning as an apparent plural suffix in my corpus--here signalling *alienability* as well.[2] Liljeblad (1964:51) also finds this suffix occurring on a few Shoshoni loanwords.[3] The {-mi} suffix is the more common plural suffix, and is likely related to the form that occurs as part of the second and third person plural

---

[2]Alienability refers to referents for whom there is no required or understood possessor. Here the reference is simply to some children, not anyone's children in particular.
[3]The only example he provides, however, namely *siiwokiʔi* (place name) 'country at the great bend of the Snake River' is not transparently plural.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pronouns, {imi} and {umi}, respectively. As the more productive expression of plurality in the language, {mi=}, a proclitic to the noun phrase, functions as a plural determiner.[4] Both the plural suffix and the plural determiner represent the historical reduction of independent plural pronouns. The loss of the initial unstressed syllable through reduction results in homophony between 2nd and 3rd person plural possessor forms and the plural determiner.

Plurality is also expressed by reduplication with some nouns. Reduplication in Northern Paiute is been described in more detail in section 2.2.3. Simple initial CV or CV' reduplication, where (') represents fortition of the stem consonant, is most common, as illustrated by 4) and 5):[5]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4a) | *piawabi* | b) | *pi - biawabi* |
| | 'old woman' | | 'old women' |
| 5a) | *wa?itsi* | b) | *wa' - kwa?itsi* |
| | 'old man' | | 'old men; elders' |

It should be noted that since fortis/lenis consonantal contrasts are neutralized word-initially, one could assume that an "underlying" stem-

---

[4]As a verbal proclitic, it marks 2nd and 3rd person plural objects.
[5]CV reduplication is irregularly fortis-inducing in Northern Paiute. Scott DeLancey (in personal communication) has pointed out a similar feature of initial CV reduplication in Klamath, whereby the initial consonant of the stem following the reduplicated CV syllable is glottalized.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

initial fortis consonant surfaces under reduplication, as opposed to there being a sporadic "final feature" associated with reduplication itself. This possibility is difficult to prove or disprove, however, and since it doesn't follow the general pattern of mutation found elsewhere, the present analysis may be preferable.

Vowel lengthening and glottal stop insertion are even more highly irregular indicators of plurality. Examples 6) and 7) represent the only examples in my corpus.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6a) | *nana* | b) | *naana* |
| | 'man' | | 'men' |
| 7a) | *naatsi* | b) | *na?atsi* |
| | 'boy' | | 'boys' |

Table 3.1 is a sample of nouns from my corpus which inflect for plural. The different forms of the plural are distinguished, with the suppletive forms appearing last in the chart.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 3.1 Northern Paiute Plurals

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| REDUPLICATIVE | | | |
| *moko?ni* | 'woman' | *mommoko?ni* | 'women' |
| *tsia?a* | 'girl' | *tsidzia?a* | 'girls' |
| *tuibitsi?i* | 'young man' | *tutuibitsi?i* | 'young men' |
| *pia?a* | 'friend' | *pibia?a* | 'friends' |
| SUFFIXAL | | | |
| *woho* | 'enemy' | *wohomi* | 'enemies' |
| *tua* | 'son' | *tuami* | 'sons; children' |
| *padi* | 'daughter' | *padimi* | 'daughters' |
| *naa* | 'father' | *naami* | 'father and paternal uncles' |
| SUPPLETIVE | | | |
| *siadimi*[6] | 'young woman' | *sisia?a* | 'young women' |
| *nana* | 'man' | *naana* | 'men' |
| *naatsi* | 'boy' | *na?atsi* | 'boys' |

With most other nouns, plurality is expressed by the various dependents of the noun phrase, specifically, quantifiers or articles. General and numeral quantifiers are described in section 5.1 and articles in section 3.2.2.1.

---

[6]I do not have a satisfactory synchronic or diachronic analysis to account for the final two syllables of this form. The form may consist historically of a root /sia/, plus a nominalizing suffix /-di/, and plural suffix /-mi/. Inter-lingual or -dialectal borrowing could account for why a plural form came to have singular reference.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 3.1.3 Noun Class Markers

One significant morphological feature of some nouns in Northern Paiute and in other Uto-Aztecan languages is the obligatory occurrence of a suffix when the noun is spoken in isolation or is otherwise not part of a compound or occurring with a postposition. This context is sometimes referred to as a noun's "absolute" form. Sapir (1930) referred to these as *absolutive suffixes* in his description of the Southern Paiute language. Nichols (1974), Langacker (1977a), and others have discussed historical developments of the absolutive suffixes in Uto-Aztecan, developments from which one can interpret lexicalization at various stages, from Pre-Numic to the present. The system is active with a fairly narrow subset of nouns in Northern Paiute, mainly those referring to plants and meteorological terms. I will adopt the terminological convention used by Nichols (1974) and refer to members of this class of nominal morphology as *noun class markers*, abbreviated NCM, to avoid confusion with the more widespread, and entirely unrelated, use of the term *absolutive* in discussions of ergative-absolutive systems of case alignment.

The following examples illustrate the pattern of occurrence of noun class markers (NCM) as they occur with a particular semantic class of nouns, most commonly plant names. Example 8a) shows the word for 'juniper' in its "absolute" form with a NCM. 8b) and c) demonstrate that the base form of 'juniper' is {waa-}, in two contexts where the NCM does not occur: when part of a compound (8b) and when occurring with a postposition or postpositional complex (8c).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8a) *su =waa -pi pabaʔyu*
NOM=juniper-NCM big
'the juniper is big/that's a big juniper'

b) *waa -tihaga*
juniper-draw
(place name)

c) *waa -naga -kwai*
juniper-INTER-LOC
'among the junipers'

NCM's neither involve a change in word class nor do they alter the meaning of the stem in any way. They simply form independent stems from otherwise dependent roots. Nichols' (1974) excellent discussion of their development and historical interpretation effectively eschews any attempt at applying a synchronically coherent semantic value to these suffixes. At the same time, it is important to note that a majority of the roots that may appear with an NCM are plant names. By the same token, a significant portion of the extensive plant name inventory carry NCM's when occurring independently.[7]

The NCM's in Northern Paiute are {-pi '-bi'}, {-pi '-bi'}, and {-pa '-ba'}. The allomorphy is due in part to the final feature specification of the root

---

[7]I am purposely avoiding any description that implies that the NCM is "dropped" under certain conditions. The NCM must have had lexical content at some point in its history, and perhaps was itself a common second member of a compound. Functionally, NCM's may have been analogous to something like a genitive classifier in languages of the south Pacific (cf. Carlson and Payne (1989)), or to any of the various "class terms" identified in Tai languages (cf. DeLancey (1986)). While historically fulfilling a grammatical requirement, they may, perhaps, persist synchronically to fulfull a moraic requirement in some cases.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(see section 2.4.1 for a discussion of final features) and to regressive final vowel devoicing (section 2.3.3), although it is often unclear which is the deciding factor. Table 3.2 provides some examples from my corpus with each of the different NCM's.

Table 3.2 NCM suffixes in Northern Paiute

| Root[8] | "Absolute" form | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *waa-* | *waapi* | 'juniper' |
| *sii-* | *siibi* | '(silver) willow' |
| N/A | *siŋabi* | 'aspen' |
| *wogo-* | *wogopi* | 'ponderosa pine' |
| N/A | *tuupi* | 'mahogany' |
| N/A | *kodabi'/i'* | 'manzanita' |
| *sawa-* | *sawabi* | 'big sage' |
| *waha-* | *wahabi* | 'grass/hay' |
| *sai-* | *saibi* | 'tule' |
| *toi-* | *toibi* | 'cattail' |
| *sana-* | *sanapi* | 'pitch' |
| *piha-* | *pihabi* | 'sugar' |
| *oŋa-* | *oŋabi* | 'salt' |
| *yuhu* | *yuhupi* | 'fat/grease' |
| *tika* | *tikabi* | 'bread' |
| *mada-* | *madabi* | 'tick' |
| *ani-* | *anibi* | 'ant' |
| *kumi-* | *kumiba* | 'cloud(s)' |
| *pauma-* | *paumaba* | 'rain' |
| *hikwa-* | *hikwaba* | 'wind' |
| *ninia-* | *niniaba* | 'thunder' |
| N/A | *paatusuba* | 'star(s)' |
| N/A[9] | *kaiba* | 'mountain' |
| N/A | *koipa* | 'bighorn sheep' |

[8]Not all roots are attested, due to lexicalization and reanalysis of the NCM as part of the root/stem.
[9]Nichols (1974:325) reconstructs Proto-Numic *kawi 'mountain' without the NCM.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Tree names typically occur with {-pi '-bi'} although these suffixes are not limited to trees. Other plants carry the {-pi '-bi'} suffix. Note, too that other items relating to food (e.g. 'salt', 'grease') and insects (certain ant species were gathered as food in the memory of my consultants) carry a NCM. The following examples further demonstrate constructions where the bare stem without the NCM occurs, even when the stem is the *second* member of the compound, as in 9b):

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9a) | *ani-bi*<br>ant-NCM<br>'ant' | b) | *ani-nobi*<br>ant-house<br>'anthill' |
| 10a) | *mada-bi*<br>tick -NCM<br>'tick' | b) | *puku -mada*<br>horse-tick<br>'horse tick' |

The form for 'bread' {tikabi} in Table 3.2 may in fact be analyzable as the stem {tika} 'eat' plus the perfective suffix {-pi}. As Nichols (1974) points out, the function of the perfective suffix (particularly in nominalization, described in section 3.1.7.5) may be a confounding factor, or even a potential source construction for the continued development of a NCM. The following contrast may also be illustrative of such a development:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11a) | *ka= tuku kuhani-u*<br>OBL=meat cook -PNC<br>'Cook the meat!' | b) | *kai tuku -bi*<br>NEG meat-PFV<br>'to be very skinny'<br>(lit. 'not meated') |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The form {tuku} 'meat' does not in fact have distinct free and bound forms, and so 11b) illustrates one possible stage in the development and lexification of NCM's. As pointed out elsewhere in this chapter, numerous stems in Northern Paiute freely occur (i.e. without special marking) in both nominal and verbal constructions.

The development of aspectual marking from nominalizers is well-attested, cross-linguistically (see, for example, Gildea 1998, *inter alia*). In the case of the development of NCM's in Pre-Numic or Uto-Aztecan, it is prudent to assume that they began as generic noun stems occurring frequently in compounds. We could then assume that in the case of {-pi}, the development of a more general nominalizing function may either be consequent or parallel to its development as NCM, with the development as a perfective suffix occurring still later.

The NCM {-pi}, on the other hand, never developed a nominalizing function. Nichols (1974) links the frequently compounded noun stem {pui} 'seed; berry; eye' in Northern Paiute (Proto Numic *pusi 'small, dark spot; dot; eye; seed; berry') to a distinct NCM in Southern Numic languages, but hesitates to ascribe a historical link to {-pi} in Northern Paiute.

Such a link may be justified, however, based on the same explanation Nichols provides of there having been "different stages in the lexicalization of NCM's with particular stems (143)" to account for the reanalysis of the NCM in some cases as part of the stem. The lack of NCM with certain stems in the constructions exemplified by 8b) and 8c) above represents a transitional stage between an identifiable noun stem like

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

{pui}, still serving a semantically transparent role in the formation of noun-noun compounds, and that of full reanalysis.

The {-pa '-ba'} NCM occurs frequently, but not exclusively, with independent nominals referring to meteorological phenomena. The bare stems to which this particular suffix attaches appear most often in verbal constructions:

12a) *hikwa-ba*
wind-NCM
'wind'

b) *ini hikwa-wini*
very wind-CONT
'it's really windy'

13a) *kumi-ba*
cloud-NCM
'cloud(s)'

b) *kumia-gina*
cloud-CISL
'it's clouding up'

Some independent evidence exists to suggest that one marginally synchronic function of the suffix {-pa (-ba)} may involve the formation of stative predicates. A subclass of stative verbs[10] require it when predicated.

14a) *ini moko?ni wati?a* <u>*-ba*</u>
INT woman jealous <u>-STAT</u>
'The woman is really jealous (a jealous-type)'

---

[10] Further exploration into this stem class is needed to clarify the nature of the suffix. Perhaps significantly, a homophonous form {-ba} also functions as a postposition meaning 'at; beside.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *nimmi* *ini* *toidzi* *-ba*
we.EXCL INT lazy -STAT
'We're too lazy.'

As with the development of {-pi}, the marking of aspect is most likely a development from a nominalizing or adpositional function of {-pa (-ba)}. The aspectual function is not productive, however, and in most cases where the suffix is analyzable it is a noun formative like the other NCM's in the language. It has clearly lexicalized with some stems, however, as the examples with no attested base form show (e.g. {kaiba} 'mountain'), providing synchronic evidence for historical developments that parallel those discussed for {-pi} above.

### 3.1.4 Diminutive Marking

The nominal suffix {-tsi} is best termed a *diminutive suffix* as it generally marks the referents of nouns as being small in size. The suffix also exhibits a common metaphorical extension of this concrete physical meaning in that it may attach either an endearing or possibly a pejorative meaning to the noun stem with which it occurs.[11]

---

[11]Nichols (1974) refers to the suffix as 'diminutive-affective.' Since it is widely understood that diminutive and augmentative markers most often incorporate some affective meaning as well, as here described, I will assume that 'diminutive' is a sufficient label for the suffix.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15a) | *sadi?i -tsi* | b) | *inii -tsi* | c) | *agai -tsi* |
| | dog -DIM | | cute -DIM | | salmon -DIM |
| | 'little (cute) dog' | | 'cutie; cute one' | | 'Warm Springs Indian' |

In a number of instances, the suffix has apparently lexicalized as part of the stem--that is, there is no known form that exists independently without the diminutive suffix. Such examples can be found among terms that refer to humans.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16a) | *naatsi* | b) | *tuibitsi?i* | c) | *wa?itsi* |
| | 'boy' | | 'young man'[12] | | 'old man' |

The term for 'boy' could, at least historically, be derived from the term for 'man' {nana} or 'father' {naa} through the addition of the diminutive suffix. None of the speakers I have worked with recognize the relationship, however, as they do with the previous examples. I refer the reader to section 1.1.3.5 for a brief discussion of diminutive consonant symbolism in Northern Paiute (see also Nichols 1974:71ff and Nichols 1971).

[12] The sporadic occurrence of the word final sequence {-?V} may represent the lexicalization of the "proper" nominalizer (cf. 3.1.7.2).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 3.1.5 Instrumental Prefixes as Markers of Semantic "Class"

Another class of morphemes serves a kind of classificatory function when they occur with nouns. These are the *instrumental prefixes,* abbreviated IP. IP's are used most commonly with verbs to indicate something of the means or manner by which an action is carried out. Their pervasive role in word formation processes relating to verbs is chronicled in detail in section 8.1.3. Their role in the formation and classification of nouns has not been as widely discussed, but is significant enough to warrant some discussion here.

IP's occur as formatives for terms relating to body parts and other stems that otherwise have the morpho-syntactic properites of nouns in Northern Paiute. Under these circumstances, they have a classifying effect. This effect is particularly striking in sets like those in 15) involving two common instrumental prefixes--{ma-} 'of or pertaining to the hand' and {ta-} 'of or pertaining to the foot.'

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 17a) | *ma?witsogo* 'wrist' | b) | *ta?witsogo* 'ankle' |
| c) | *masihani* 'fingers' | d) | *tasihani* 'toes' |
| e) | *matogo* 'thumb' | f) | *tatogo* 'big toe' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As I mentioned, IP's most often appear in the formation of verb stems. In the derivation of stems used as nouns, the root may bear a historical relationship to a verb, yet this relationship is not always obvious.

Other instances of instrumental prefixes having an apparent classifying function in the formation of nouns include sets like those in 18) and 19).

18) {ti-}: 'of or pertaining to stone'

a) *tipi*
'rock'

b) *tiipi ~ tiipi*
'earth; ground'

c) *tibiwa*
'territory; homeland'

d) *tikwiha?ni*
'Castle Rock (place name)'

19) {pa-}: 'of or pertaining to water'

a) *paa*
'water'

b) *patsona*
'spring; source'

c) *pakwi*
'fish; chub'

d) *paumaba*
'rain'

A nominal source for some IP's is obvious, as with {paa} 'water' above. The word {tipi} 'rock' could be historically analyzable as bi-morphemic, including the IP {ti-}, or perhaps its nominal source, plus one of the NCM

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

suffixes {-pi}, as has been suggested by Nichols (1974).[13] Historical developments of individual IP's have always been a problematic area. From the perspective of word formation, the process has a great deal in common with compounding--its most likely source construction--which I turn to in the next section.

### 3.1.6 Compounding

Compounding is quite prevalent in Northern Paiute, resulting in complex stems that distribute syntactically as verbs or nouns in various constructions. Primary stress is carried by the first element of the compound as per the rules of stress described in 1.3.1. The second member of the compound may surface prosodically as a suffix and lose its prominant, second mora stress, as illustrated by the following examples.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 20a) | [oháʔa̤] | b) [paóhaʔa̤] |
| | *ohaʔa* | *pa-* + *ohaʔa* |
| | | water + infant |
| | 'infant' | 'water baby (mythic creature)[14]' |

[13]Similar examples include *mubi* 'nose' {mu + bi} = IP/nose + NCM, and *nobi* 'house' {no + bi} = IP/round + NCM. The traditional wickiup, a winter dwelling, was dome-shaped.
[14]These creatures reportedly lure young women to their death by imitating the cry of an infant.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 21a) | [pukú] | b) | [sogópuku] |
| | *puku* | | *sogo- + puku* |
| | | | on.foot + horse |
| | 'horse' | | 'dog[15]' |

The free, bi-moraic stem {paa}, 'water' is phonetically shorter in this context. Recall that as an instrumental prefix, the short form is quite productive in a variety of derivations. In all likelihood, frequently compounded initial elements developed into the productive instrumental prefix system we see in the Numic languages in the same way that frequently compounded second elements may have developed into noun class markers (NCM's).

In 21b), the initial element {sogo-} only occurs in combination with free stems. Like a number of the instrumental prefixes, it functions like a manner adverbial, and could be considered an incipient member of that category. The first or second element of a compound will surface without its NCM suffix (see section 3.1.3), if a noun, and without case inflection, if a modifier (see section 3.2.2.3). These compounding features are illustrated by the following:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 22a) | *sii -bi* | b) | *sii- tsida* |
| | willow-NCM | | willow-cup |
| | 'willow' | | 'drinking cup' |

---

[15]Most consultants recognize this as a more archaic term. All recognize the term *sadi?i* as a more common alternative, as well as the recent borrowing *toogi*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

23a) *paba -ʔyu*
big - NOM/PRED
'big / be big'

b) *paba- huudi*
big- river
'Snake River'

### 3.1.7 Nominalizers

The derivation of nouns from other parts of speech, particularly from verbs, involves a variety of suffixes in Northern Paiute. Indeed, I would argue that these processes are among the most important diagnostics for distinguishing the word, or more accurately, the *stem* classes *noun* and *verb*. Nouns stems, by and large, may freely occur as predicates (see section 6.2.2 for a discussion of predicate nominal types). However, the reverse is not the case. Verb stems must be nominalized in order to occur in typical nominal constructions--as clausal arguments, as noun phrase heads, as verbal complements, etc.

Many nominalizing suffixes can be viewed as implying a specific relationship between the derived noun and the action denoted by the verb from which it is derived--as agent, instrument, or location. Compare the examples in 24), where different nominalizer suffixes occur on the same verb stem.

24a) *kati -nu*
sit -INSTR.NMR
'chair' (lit. 'sit-with')

b) *kati -di*
sit -NMR
'sitter; resident' (lit. 'sit-one who')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Some of the suffixes described in this section serve also to mark verbs in subordinate clauses. Nominalization is pervasive in Northern Paiute. In complex clauses, different nominalizing suffixes serve to indicate different types of dependent or subordinate clauses as well as indicating something of the nature of the relationships holding between participants in main and subordinate clauses. These issues are taken up in more detail in Chapter 9 on clause-combining strategies, but described only briefly here.

I use the term *nominalizer* to refer to an affix that derives a noun, typically from another word class. The derived noun carries all the rights and privileges of distribution of a non-derived noun. The term *nominalization* in this and future discussions, however, refers more broadly both to this derivational process, and to processes of subordination that treat verb phrases or entire clauses as noun phrases in complex sentence types.

### 3.1.7.1 Subject Nominalizer

The most common nominalizer in Northern Paiute is the suffix {-di}. When applied to a verb stem denoting an action, the resulting derived noun can be viewed as playing the agent role of the action denoted by the verb, as illustrated by the examples in 25). This is one reason why the term *agentive nominalizer* is commonly applied to such suffixes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

25a) *tiničui* -*di*
teach -NMR
'teacher'

b) *hoawai* -*di*
hunt -NMR
'hunter'

c) *nayakwi* -*di*
(play)handgame -NMR
'gambler'

The function of {-di} as a nominalizer is much broader than simple agent nominalization, however. When added to stative predicates, the resulting noun indicates one who has that characteristic, whether animate or inanimate--clearly *not* an agent.

26a) *nazui* -*di*
strong-NMR
'strong one'

b) *patsiponoa*-*di*
round -NMR
'round one'

c) *puhi* -*di*
blue -NMR
'blue one'

Passivized verbs--those marked morphologically with the middle-marking (MM) prefix {na-}--refer to the *patient* of the activity when nominalized with {-di}, as in the examples in 27). This fact underlies the rational for preferring the term *subject nominalizer* for the suffix.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

27a) [níita?nidi]
*na- wita?ni -di*
MM- gather[16]-NMR
'buckberries (McDermitt)'
(literally, 'what is gathered')

b) [nakúhanidi]
*na- kuhani-di*
MM-cook -NMR
'(the) cooked; what is cooked'

These general features of {-di} are related to its function in the formation of relative clauses in Northern Paiute. In this function, the head noun modified by the relative clause is always the notional subject of the relative clause, as in 28a) and b).

28a) *su= tihiča o?o wini -di*
NOM=deer yonder stand.SG -NMR
'the deer that's standing over there..'

b) *su= naatsi ka= tipi winai -hu -di*
NOM=boy OBL= rock throw -PNC -NMR
'the boy that threw the rock..'

Note that nominalization in Northern Paiute is not incompatible with aspect marking as with the punctual suffix in 28b). The degree to which nominalized verbs may retain finite characteristics is discussed in section 3.1.1.7 and is explored further in Chapter 9 as part of the description of complex clause types.

---

[16]The meaning of this stem is associated with the gathering of small seeds or berries by placing a canvas beneath the plant/bush and shaking or knocking them onto it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It is possible to interpret examples where the nominalized verb has the referring privileges of a run-of-the-mill noun as examples of headless relative clauses--'teacher' = '(one) who teaches', for example.[17] Example 29) is a referring expression that includes a locative phrase plus a nominalized verb.

29) *taba-tsiboi -kwa kati-di*
sun -emerge-LOC sit -NMR
'the President' (literally: "the one who resides to the East")

The productive use of {-di} in deriving agent nouns from action verbs merits its inclusion here as part of the inventory of processes for deriving noun stems. To simply interpret all fully referring noun stems derived in this way as headless relative clauses, in my view, simply blurs or ignores the relationship between nominalization and subordination in a language like Northern Paiute.[18]

---

[17] Another possible analysis (Spike Gildea, in personal communication) is that relative clauses generally are in apposition to the NP head in Northern Paiute. One could present a counterargument based upon restrictive referential function and constituent intonation contours, a topic for future study.

[18] Discussions of typologically parallel issues may be found in opposing analyses of relativization in Tibeto-Burman languages (cf. Matisoff (1972), Genetti (1992), Noonan (1997), DeLancey (1999b)). I am inclined to be sympathetic to Noonan's description of nominalization in languages like Chantyal and, by extension, Northern Paiute as part of a complex functional domain that includes relativization, among other functions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.1.7.2 "Proper" Nominalizer

Another suffix that can be interpreted as a nominalizer is the sequence glottal stop plus (usually voiceless) echo vowel--a copy of the final vowel of the stem. This suffix was discussed briefly at the end of section 1.2.2.1 and has been identified (Nichols 1974) as carrying both a vocative function and as a means for referring to animals as myth characters. I have found a few contrastive examples of {-ʔV} serving a function similar to the agent nominalizing function of {-di}, described above. The pair in 30) even appears to demonstrate some free variation between the two:

30) *na- topakida -ʔa* ~ *na- topakida -di*
MM- IP/fist.beat-PRPR MM- IP/fist.beat -NMR
'boxer'

I was unable to tease out any difference in meaning or use between the two forms. Clearly, however, the range of functions associated with {-ʔV} is much more restricted than for {-di}, since it does not play a role in subordination.

One finds the {-ʔV} suffix most often on band and place names, where it appears to nominalize a noun-verb compound, as the examples in 31) illustrate.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

31a) *kidi - dika -ʔa*
groundhog -eat -PRPR

'Surprise Valley Band (Ft.Bidwell, CA)' (literally, 'groundhog-eaters')

b) *wada - dika -ʔa*
seepweed.seed -eat -PRPR

'Harney Valley Band (Burns, OR)' (literally, 'seed-eaters')

c) *yapa - wini -ʔi*
ipos -stand.SG-PRPR

'wild-carrot-stand' (place name)

d) *waa - konogi -ʔi*
juniper-be.around-PRPR

'juniper-all-around' (place name)

I have found no evidence in my corpus of this suffix being used contrastively in the way that Nichols (1974) describes. In his description, he includes the contrastive pair in 32).

32a) *idza*
'coyote'

b) *idzaʔa*
'Coyote (myth character)'

This contrast may have been neutralized or lost to some extent among the present day elder speakers of Burns, Oregon. In the late 60s, Nichols' (personal communication) main consultant, also of Burns, was considered by many in the community to be the only one left capable of imparting traditional narratives in the old way. The loss of the contrastive use of the suffix as illustrated in 32) may be symptomatic of the loss or degeneration of the oral tradition in the community.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There remains in use among the present generation of speakers, however, a prevalence of forms, particularly proper names, which end in a glottal stop plus an echo vowel, as in the band and place names noted above. Likely, this is exactly the contrast Nichols noted for animal names. Since animal characters are prevalent in the mythological traditions of North America, the suffix could have developed as a means of distinguishing between animals experienced as a part of everyday living and those who, during the mythic past, had a number of human characteristics--including the capacity for speech--and are responsible in many ways for how the world works. Therefore, although the suffix does appear to function much like a nominalizer, one could describe it more broadly as a proper noun formant.

### 3.1.7.3 Instrumental Nominalizer

Nominalization of activity verbs to signify the instrument by which the activity is carried out is productive in Northern Paiute. Indeed, the suffix has even been used to derive terms for more modern instruments, as in 33a) and b) below. The instrumental nominalizer {-nu '-no'}is used for this purpose. Note the following:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 33a) | *yadua* -no | | b) | *kati* -nu |
| | talk -INSTR | | | sit -INSTR |
| | 'telephone' | | | 'chair' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *tussu* -nu
grind -INSTR
'grinding-stone'

d) *wiko* -no
roll -INSTR
'ring for hoop and pole game'

Height harmony of the suffix vowel to the final vowel in the stem, as described in section 2.1.4.1, results in the allomorphy we see here.[19]

### 3.1.7.4 Locative Nominalization

The use of a common postposition, namely {-wai '-kwai'}, as a means of deriving locative nouns from verbs or verb phrases may is also a kind of nominalization. The allomorphy of the enclitic is determined by "final feature" processes, as described in section 2.4.1.

The postposition can be analyzed as rendering a verb or verb phrase into a kind of headless relative clause--a nominalizing function we have already seen demonstrated for the suffix {-di}--but here the resulting nominal plays a locative role with respect to the action denoted by the verb. The following examples help illustrate. The relative clause portions in question are underscored to help in identification:

---

[19]There could be a historical relationship among the instrumental nominalizer {nu} and/or the comitative postposition {no}, and a verb stem {noo} meaning 'to carry/haul.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

34) *umi* *ti- patsa -kwai-tu* *mi-mia-u*
they APS-kill.SG-LOC -LOC RE-go -PNC
'They (two) went to where X killed (it).'
(lit. "to the killing place")

In 34), the verb stem has been detransitivized, with both notional arguments unspecified. In 35), both the notional subject and object are overtly specified, in the configuration expected of a non-subject relative clause.

35) *ta* *pinaosu* *mi-mia-u* *-kwi* *ka= kidi i=puni-kwai-tu*
we.DL back RE-go -PNC -FUT OBL= groundhog 1=see -LOC-ALL
'You and I will go back to where I saw the groundhog.'
(lit. "to my seeing the groundhog place)

Note in particular the encoding of the notional subject of the verb as a proclitic, a form reserved for syntactic objects or possessors.

Alternative analyses to the one I have proposed are possible. The fact that in all these examples, the postposition, which under most circumstances is bound to a noun, is here found attached to a verb, could simply imply that postpositions are enclitics--not suffixes. Rather than being bound to nouns or pronouns, they are, rather, bound to noun phrases.

We could then treat the examples above as a special non-subject relative clause type, whose notional arguments are expressed as they are for other non-subject noun phrases (see 3.1.7.6), but whose verb is otherwise unmarked for its role as a dependent clause verb. The

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

postposition is simply bound to this phrasal constituent as an enclitic, rather than performing an actual nominalizing function.

At any rate, since the examples above clearly represent a distinct construction type, I believe it is plausible to analyze {-wai '-kwai'} as having developed a special nominalizing function in these cases.

### 3.1.7.5 Perfective Nominalization

The suffix {-pi} performs the aspectual function of marking *perfective* on verb forms. It implies that the action is completed and represents a resultant state of affairs holding in the present. Under some circumstances, the resulting form may then enter into a nominal construction. In 36a), we see the transitive verb meaning 'to plant X' in its predicate function. In 36b), the verb is both unspecified for its object, with the anti-passive (APS) prefix, and marked perfective (PFV). The definite, nominal status of the form is signalled by its occurrence in a noun phrase marked by {su=} 'NOM,' the nominative determiner proclitic:

36a) *ni* "carrots" *masi?a*
I carrots plant.DUR
'I'm planting carrots.'

b) *su= ti- masia -pi miitsi -?yu*
NOM=APS- plant -PFV short -PRED
'The plant is short.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Modifiers 37a) and denominalized verbs 37b) may also be nominalized with {-pi}.

37a) [momóátɨpɨ]
*mo + moa + ti + pi*
RE + old + TNS + PFV
'elders'

b) [manímituupɨ]
*ma + nimi + tuu + pi*
IP/hand + person + MAKE + PFV
'Indian Creator'

Recall the formal similarity of this perfective suffix with one of the noun class markers as described in section 3.1.2 and the accompanying historical discussion. The examples above demonstrate how a marker of the perfective may have developed from an older nominalization.

### 3.1.7.6 Participle, or Action Nominalization

One suffix is very prevalent in Northern Paiute in a variety of functions that relate to both to aspect and to nominalization. This is the ubiquitous {-na} suffix. It is perhaps best analyzed as marking current, ongoing states. When it occurs as a suffix to noun stems, its function is like a copula or an existential.

38a) *ka= momo?asu mi= idza mi= issa ka= nimi -na*
OBL= long.ago PL=coyote PL= wolf OBL=person-PTCP
'Long, long ago, when the coyotes and wolves were people. . .'

b) *su= taidzi?i miu inakwi oo?nosu ni ka= naatsi -na*
NOM=Taidzi QUOT say long.ago I OBL=boy -PTCP
'Taidzi said, "Long ago, when I was a boy. . "'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

When it is suffixed to a verb stem, it serves a general nominalizing function, but also implies stative aspect. The nominalizing function can be interpreted as interconnected with a broader function of treating events as general, ongoing states.[20]

39a) *i= nossi -na waha -na*
1= dream -PTCP tell.of -PTCP
'. . telling my dreams . . ' (telling my dreaming)

b) *yaa i= haba -na*
here 1= shade -PTCP
'Here's my shadow.' (here my shading)

The suffix also marks the verb of non-subject relative clauses, as in 40a)--a function complimentary to that of {-di}, described in section 3.1.7.1--as well as verbal complements, as in 40b). The notional subject appears as a proclitic on the relative clause verb, interpretable syntactically as a possessor proclitic.

40a) *su =miidi i= kuhani -na kai toki kamma*
NOM=meat 1= cook -PTCP NEG correct taste
'The meat I cooked doesn't taste right.' (lit. "the meat of my cooking")

---

[20]One could in fact make the same interpretation with respect to the examples in 33), only with predicate nominals--'coyote and wolf being people' and 'I being a boy.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *tammi ti= pabi?i kyadua -na naka -kwi*
we.INCL POSS=elder.brother talk -PTCP listen-FUT
'We'll listen to what the chief is saying.' (lit. "our brother's talking")

In clause chaining, it generally implies simultaneity of events, as in the following example from the 'Cave Myth' text in Marsden (1923). The dust rises, the Wolf sees it, and at the same time knows what his little brother, Coyote, has done--namely, allowed all the game animals to run free, making hunting difficult for those who follow:

41) *yaisi isu kaiba kussi timatai -na*
then this mountain dust rise -PTCP

*yaisi usu pabi?i u= punni -na uka kussi -ba*
then that elder.brother 3= see -PTCP that.OBL dust -LOC?

*yaisi pisa u=supidakwatu*
then well 3=understand

'. . then as the dust rose from this mountain, and the elder brother (Wolf) saw it, that dust, then (he, Wolf) understood it (i.e. what it meant).'

(WM: The Cave Myth)

Taking all of these functions together, I refer to the suffix simply as a *participle* (PTCP), since there is a broad unity of its various functions. These functions are likely historical extensions from its role in subordinate clauses. Its incipient aspectual function may also be interpreted as an extension of that role.[21]

---

[21]Noonan (1997) describes an analagous range of functions for nominalization in Chantyal (Tibeto-Burman).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 3.1.7.7 Aspect-marking in Nominalizations

There appears to be little to restrict the use of aspect marking in the context of a nominalization in Northern Paiute. That is to say, a nominalization has *finite* characteristics. One implication of deriving a noun or noun phrase from a verb or verb phrase in many languages is that tense-aspect information is excluded, or at least greatly restricted (cf. Givón 1990). This restriction does not apply to Northern Paiute, however.

42a) *yau su= nana usu mia-kwi -di*
here NOM=man he go -FUT-NMR
'Here's the man who'll go.'

b) *maʔa su= nana usu mia-u -di*
there NOM=man he go -PNC-NMR
'There's the man who just left.'

Finite nominalizations are in fact well-attested cross-linguistically. In Northern Paiute, this feature could be related to the fact that stem classes like nouns need not be derived to function as predicates, but can take tense-aspect marking directly.

## 3.1.8 Noun to Verb Derivation

Although what I refer to as nouns need not carry special morphosyntax to function as predicates in Northern Paiute, there are specialized verbalizers, or denominal suffixes, that serve to form special

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

predicate types from stems which otherwise serve a nouns in the language.

Three suffixes in Northern Paiute serve to derive verbs from stems that typically distribute as nouns in the language. These are given in 43) through 45).

43) {-tu}: /-tu, -to, -du, -do /
'to make or prepare N'

a) *okao tiwao tii -tu*
3.OBL also tea -MAKE
'That, too, makes tea.'

b) *ni kopi?i -du*
I coffee -MAKE
'I made coffee.'

c) *iwa na -nobi -tu -kwi*
many MM-house-MAKE-FUT
'Lots of houses will be built.'

44) {-ka?yu}: /-ka?yu, -ga?yu, -kaana. -gaana /
'to have or be characterized by N'

a) *ii = ha kuna -ka?yu*
you = Q firewood-HAVE
'Do you have firewood?'

b) *pisa miawo-ga?yu*
good knees -HAVE
'(idiom.) to have a knack for showing up around mealtime'

c) *wa-kwa?itsi piti -u mi=hii agaitsĭja hiisapa pu-puku -gaana*
RE-old.man arrive-PNC PL=some W.S. whoever RE-horse-HAVE
'. . some old men from Warm Springs arrived on horseback . . '
(NK: Boarding School Days)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

45) {-ga}: 'to hunt N'

*ni kidi -ga -gaa -kwi*
I groundhog-HUNT-TRNSL-FUT
'I'm going to go groundhog hunting.'

The allomorphy exhibited by these suffixes is the result of the final feature phenomenon discussed in section 2.4.1 as well as some vowel harmony processes described in 2.1.4.1.

One important fact about de-nominalization is that it is not required in order for nouns to enter into predicate constructions. As discussed in some detail in section 6.2.2, nouns may enter into predicate constructions without derivation, as in equative zero-copula constructions. The verbalizers listed above, however, derive a particular predicate type, as evidenced by their semantics.

Although different nominalizers also imply different *participant* types, in most cases, it bears repeating that verbs *require* such derivation in order to enter into nominal constructions. This is, as I've said, an important criterial diagnostic for identifying members of the noun versus verb category.

Some sources (Crum and Dayley 1993) have described what I call verbalizers as verbs that obligatorily incorporate their objects, but I feel this analysis reflects a semantic bias. Historically, they may well have developed from defective verbs, but synchronically, none of these forms ever occurs independently in the language. I analyze them as noun suffixes also based on the fact that they never carry stress and, at least in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two cases, do not carry the minimal moraic requirements of a phonological word.

## 3.2 The Noun Phrase

### 3.2.1 Semantic Coherence and Syntactic Constituency

The major functions of the noun phrase--to identify, elaborate upon, and track referents in discourse--are carried out by a number of different strategies. The complexity of a particular NP reflects pragmatic choices regarding referential status, definiteness, and presupposition.

A noun phrase can be very simple--consisting only of a pronoun, a proper noun, or a simple indefinite noun--or it may be quite complex--consisting of a head noun and its modifiers. Aside from simple modifiers--adjectives and quantifiers--modifiers in Northern Paiute may also include an embedded possessor noun phrase or relative clause. Possessor NP's are discussed in section 3.2.3.1. Relative clauses in Northern Paiute are described in detail in section 9.1.

One interesting feature of noun phrases in Northern Paiute is that a head noun *per se* is not a syntactic requirement. Rather, a fully referring modifier, for example, marked for syntactic *case* may fill the syntactic slot of a NP. That is, like pronouns, modifiers may be used to target a specific referent--'many,' 'this one,' 'the tall one,' etc.--without the necessity of carrying a kind of dummy NP head like 'one', as sometimes required in English. This referential feature of modifiers, along with the fact that they

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

carry *case-marking* to signal core argument relations, makes the discontinuity of NP's possible in text (cf. section3.2.5).

The noun phrase in Northern Paiute is distinguished as the subject or other core argument of the sentence via *case-marking*. Case-marking is not an inflectional property of head nouns, but of noun phrase *dependents*. It occurs on independent pronouns and demonstratives, articles, and pre-head modifiers--in particular, quantifiers and some adjectives.

Articles and possessor pronouns are proclitics. The two may co-occur, but the article precedes the possessor proclitic since they operate at different levels of syntactic structure. That is to say, possessor proclitics operate at the level of the possessor NP (section3.2.3.1), whereas articles operate at the level of the higher NP, which may or may not be complex (3.2.2.1).

Quantifiers, cardinal numbers, qualifiers (adjectivals), colors, etc. act as modifiers. The morphosyntactic behaviors of the various categories I include under the general term *modifier* are not identical, however. In the context of the noun phrase, a color term is always tightly bound to the head noun, forming a compound with it. A relative clause typically follows the head noun, but is not completely restricted to that position. When a relative clause occurs before the head noun, however, the article precedes it, as articles are typically the first element of the NP.

I begin with a description of the various syntactic categories that occur as part of a noun phrase. This is followed by a description of the various NP types, based upon both their internal structure and their syntactic distribution.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 3.2.2 Syntactic Categories in Simple Noun Phrases

Simple noun phrases are of two basic types: 1) consisting of a pronoun (pronouns are described in Chapter 4) and 2) consisting of a head noun and its dependents--articles and modifiers. The unmarked form of this NP type can be described as: [(Article=) (Modifier(s)) Head Noun]. The following two sections describe the properties of articles and modifiers as they relate to the noun phrase in Northern Paiute, including syntactic distribution and case-marking features.

#### 3.2.2.1 Articles

A key set of operators in the Northern Paiute noun phrase are the *proclitics*. One set of proclitics always appears as the first element of a NP. These are the *articles*. Articles in Northern Paiute effectively mark the initial boundary of a NP constituent. They are sensitive to *number*--singular versus plural--and the singular articles are further sensitive to *case*, having both *nominative (subject)* and *oblique (object)*[22] forms, as summarized in Table 3.3.

---

[22]This form also aligns with NPs that are not one of the core arguments in a transitive clause, and may therefore be described as simply applying to *non-subjects*. In Northern Paiute there are only two cases in the classical sense. Oblique here refers to the case forms for syntactic objects, objects of postpositions, etc., and could perhaps be more accurately referred to as the *non-nominative case*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 3.3 Northern Paiute Articles

| | Nominative | Oblique |
|---|---|---|
| Singular | *su=* | *ka=* |
| Plural | *mi=* | |

The following examples demonstrate case alignment for articles. Note that articles are used with proper names, as in 46b):

46a) *su=* *paninadi* *tiasi* *-pi*
NOM= lake freeze-PFV
'The lake is frozen.'

b) *su*=Trudy *tiipi* *hiwi-wini*
NOM=T. dirt dig -CONT.SG
'Trudy's digging (in) the dirt.'

c) *su=* *tsia?a* *ka=* *tipi* *mayi -u*
NOM= girl OBL=rock find -PNC
'The girl found the rock.'

d) *mi=* *na?atsi* *mi=* *tsitsia?a* *massi?a*
PL= boys PL= girls frighten
'The boys are scaring those girls.'

As 46d) illustrates, the plural-marking article does not distinguish nominative from oblique case. When contextual cues or other pragmatic factors are not in place, SOV word order may serve as the default strategy for determining grammatical relations (cf. Chapter 6.1.1).

Another important property of articles in Northern Paiute is that they typically mark only *definite* NP's. *Indefinite* or *generic* NP's usually occur without articles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

47a) *ni miidi kuhani*
I meat cook
'I'm cooking meat.'

b) *umi kidi hoawai-ga -kwi*
they groundhog hunt -TRNSL-FUT
'They're going to hunt groundhog.'

Nichols (1974) and Langacker (1977a) describe the development of the articles from demonstrative pronouns. This development occurred through reduction processes whereby the second, primary stressed syllable was maintained--what are now the articles--and the demonstrative base was lost. Full forms of demonstrative base plus case suffix are maintained in an emphatic or pronominal function in Northern Paiute. Demonstratives are also the primary source for the third person pronouns in the language.

As with the demonstrative forms from which they historically derive, articles appear in some instances to behave pronominally, serving to track referents, as in this example from text:

48) *su= tsagwidi o-ba pidi -u ka= kutsu-pa. su= tipiŋa . .*
NOM=porcupine 3-LOC arrive-PNC OBL=cow -LOC NOM= ask
'The porcupine came up to it, to the cow. He (porcupine) asked, " . . "'
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

Interestingly, the nominative article also appears in text to mark first mentions, particularly if the referent is important for the ensuing discourse. This is most typically a feature of *indefiniteness*. The following short excerpt from text demonstrates the use of an article {su=} to mark both the introduction of a new participant into the discourse and its second

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

mention. The antelope was not mentioned prior to this episode, but persists as the topic for some ten clauses.

49) *oo?no-su hii unau,*
at.the.time-ADV things out.there

*su= tinna una inakwa winibodoti.*
NOM=antelope DEM this.direction stand.around

*oo ka unaku tuami -ga, su= tinna.*
there OBL out.there fawns -HAVE NOM=antelope

*oo?no hayu inai?yaina papatsi?i,*
at.the.time somehow was.making.noise loudly

*inai?yaina,*
was.making.noise

*ka= tiipi hau ma?i?yakwi ti= kaupa-ma tia?,*
OBL=ground however would.stomp/do POSS=leg -with thusly

'. . . and at that moment there was something out there, an antelope was standing around; and (she) had fawns, that antelope, and was making a kind of loud noise; as (she) was making that noise, (she) would stomp the ground with her leg just so. .'

(NK: Root-digging Time)

As the passage above illustrates, an article is not entirely restricted to marking definiteness, but may also include as one of its functions the marking of participants that are of thematic importance. The use of the nominative subject case form to mark a discourse topic can be interpreted as a reflection of the pragmatic link between marking topics and marking subjects independent of definiteness.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 3.2.2.2 Modifiers

Under the general term *modifier* I include adjectival modifiers and quantifiers. The various subclasses of modifiers and their distinctive distributional and functional properties are discussed in more detail in section 5.1. In this section, I will explore the properties of modifiers only as they relate to the noun phrase.

The syntactic distribution of modifiers within the noun phrase is generally before the head noun. There are a variety of subclasses of modifiers in Northern Paiute, some of which may be distinguished on morpho-syntactic grounds, others only on semantic grounds. A number of modifiers, it can be argued (cf. section 5.1.3), are really a subtype of stative verb. As such, the distribution of these modifiers tends to be freer than that of modifiers more clearly categorized as adjectives on both semantic and morphosyntactic grounds. Their freedom of distribution is similar to relative clauses in this respect.

Many modifiers carry case information. Case-marking patterns of modifiers distinguish the core grammatical relations *subject* and *object* in Northern Paiute by means of suffixation. The two modifier suffixes are {-ʔyu}, nominative/attributive (NOM) and {-u} (also {-ku}) oblique (OBL), further summarized in Table 3.4 below.

Table 3.4 Northern Paiute Modifier Case Suffixes

| Nominative | Oblique |
|---|---|
| *-ʔyu* | *-u / -ku* |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The following examples illustrate the case-marking pattern of modifiers in Northern Paiute:

50a) *su= udi -ʔyu naatsi kima -u -gi -na*
NOM= tall -NOM boy come-PNC-CISL-PTCP
'The tall boy is coming this way.'

b) *ni u= punni ka= udi -u naatsi*
I 3= see OBL= tall -OBL boy
'I see him, the tall boy.'

c) *tinaʔa -ʔyu piawabi owi igya -u*
short -NOM old.lady DEM enter.SG-PNC
'A short old lady went in there.'

d) *ni ka= tinaʔa -ku piawabi punni*
I OBL=short -OBL old.lady see
'I see that little old lady.'

e) *waha -ʔyu kaazi nawigiba kima -u -gi*
two -NOM car beside come -PNC-CISL
'Two cars are coming side by side.'

f) *nimmi waha -u kaazi -gaʔyu*
we.EXCL two -OBL car -HAVE
'We have two cars.'

No apparent conditioning factors exist to account for the distribution of the allomorphs of the oblique suffix on modifiers. Rather, different modifiers simply take different forms of the oblique suffix.

Modifiers in possessor NP's or in NP objects of postpositions are marked oblique. Northern Paiute distinguishes just two core morphological cases in modifiers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

GEN-NP--> Mod-(k)u + N

51a) *paba-u nana nobi*
big -OBL man house
'. . . (the) big man's house . . .'

Obj of PP--> Mod-(k)u (+ N) -PP

b) *ka= udi -u naatsi -no*
OBL=tall-OBL boy -COM
'. . . with the tall boy . . .'

As a predicate, the modifier carries nominative case.

52a) *su= nobi paba-ʔyu*
NOM=house good -NOM
'The house is big.'

b) *osu nana pisa-ʔyu*
DEM man good-NOM
'That man is good/kind.'

Although it is quite rare to find a noun phrase consisting of more than one pre-head modifier in text, consultants readily produce them and accept them as grammatical.

53a) *su= siibi iwa -u oha - siaka - gaʔyu*
NOM=willow many-OBL yellow- leaf - HAVE
'The (willow) tree has lots of yellow leaves.'

b) *mi=waha-ʔyu nimi mo-mokoʔni yuutu kimma*
PL=two -NOM Indian RE-woman this.way come.DUR
'Those two Indian women are coming this way.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *pahi -ʔyu pa-paba-ʔyu atsa - nobi oʔo*
three-NOM RE-big -NOM red - house there
'Three big, red houses are over there.'

Ordering patterns with respect to co-occurring modifiers appear to follow a general pattern based loosely on semantic subtypes. An article will occur first as a proclitic to the entire noun phrase (53b), followed by a quantifier. Color terms, when they occur within a noun phrase always appear directly preceding the head noun and do not carry case information.

Modifiers expressing value or dimension may, like the color terms, directly precede the head noun in a nominal compound. When they do so, they appear without case marking.

54a) *puhi-patsona*
blue-spring
'Crater Lake'

b) *pisa - mani-di*
good - do-NMR
'do-gooders/those who do good'

c) *paba-huudi*
big- river
'Snake River'

Compare 54c), where the modifier-noun compound functions as the name for a river, with 55), where a more syntactically independent modifier occurs.

55) *paba-ʔyu huudi*
big-NOM river
'. . . a big river . . .'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As already stated, less inherent qualities, like those expressed by quantifiers, are marked for case and do not appear to form compounds with the head noun. When co-occurring with other modifiers, they appear furthest from the head noun, as in 53) above.

Modifiers may themselves occur as noun phrase heads, carrying the same referring qualities as pronouns.

56) *o?o iwa -?yu na?a . .*
DEM many-NOM grow
' . . . lots were growing out there . . '

This referring potential and the fact that they are marked for case allows for discontinuity of elements that refer to the same entity--that is, that belong to the same *notional* NP.

57) *waha-?yu tia? ka= mo -moko?ni tihona -ga*
two-NOM thusly OBL= RE -woman dig.roots-TRNSL
'There were two women going out root-digging . . .'

Section 3.2.5 has further examples and discussion of discontinuity between head nouns and their notional dependents. Pronominal behavior of such dependents is also described in section 4.4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 3.2.3 Syntactic Categories in Complex Noun Phrases

Complex noun phrases are of two types: 1) consisting of an embedded possessor NP, and 2) consisting of a relative clause. The internal structure of possessor NP's is the same as that of simple NP's. They are marked with oblique case and possessor pronominal proclitics are identical in form to direct object proclitics on verbs. Only independent possessor pronouns carry a special genitive case suffix. I refer the reader to section 4.1.9 for a detailed discussion of possessor pronouns.

The internal structure of the various types of relative clause is described in detail in section 9.1. They may consist of a verb and its core arguments or simply of a nominalized verb. Their syntactic position with respect to the noun phrase appears to be freer than other modifiers, although they most often follow the head noun.

#### 3.2.3.1 Possessor Noun Phrases

Noun phrases referring to the possessor of another noun are generally simple. The syntactic structure of two NP's in a possessor-possessed relationship is most often unadorned juxtaposition, with the possessor noun phrase preceding the possessed noun phrase.

58a) *ii* *u= titsamia-ki*, *mido kaazi*
you 3= drive -APL Myrtle car
'You drive it, Myrtle's car.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *kaabidzi nodikwa*
K. wife
'Kaabidzi's wife'

This feature distinguishes Northern Paiute from some of the other Numic languages, which may mark *genitive case* on nouns referring to the possessor (cf. Dayley 1989).

It is easy to see how simple juxtaposition of possessor-possessed can be a source structure for Noun-Noun compounds, although in true compounds, there is a loss of primary stress in the second noun of the compound. This syntactic construction is also the historical source for the development of postpositions from relator nouns in Northern Paiute--a common process cross-linguistically (Starosta 1985, DeLancey 1997). Compounding in noun formation is discussed in section 3.1.6. The development of postpositions from relator nouns is described more fully in section 5.2.5.

Independent pronouns exhibit case forms that distinguish the genitive form from both nominative and oblique forms by means of the suffix {ga}, whose initial consonant is invariably lenis. This contrasts with the oblique suffix on independent pronouns, {ka}, whose initial consonant is invariably fortis.[23] See Table 4.2 in section 4.1.6 for a list of the pronominal forms relating to non-core arguments in Northern Paiute.

---

[23]The fortis/lenis distinction is described in detail in section 2.1.3.1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A possessor that is not part of another noun phrase--i.e. when it functions either as one of a clause's core arguments or as a predicate nominal--is marked with the partitive suffix {-ti}, whether the possessor appears as a noun or as an independent pronoun.

59a) *mido-ti ya?a; i -ga -ti o?o*
M. -PART here you-GEN-PART there
Myrtle's is here; yours is over there.

b) *su= piza-?yu niga -ti*
NOM=good-NOM mine-PART
'The good ones are mine.'

c) *niga -ti u-su tsa- kwinai -hu*
mine-PART 3-NOM IP/grasp-throw.aside-PNC
'S/He threw mine away.'

When modifiers occur in a possessor noun phrase, they are marked oblique, as illustrated in section 3.2.2.2 above.

60a) *ni umi waha -u nimi nobi punni*
I 3.PL two -OBL people house see.DUR
'I see those two people's house.'

b) *umi waha-u nimi nobi paba-?yu*
3.PL two -OBL people house big -NOM
'Those two people's house is large.'

Chapter 9 explores complex clauses in general, and includes discussion of the reflexive-possessor proclitic on subordinate-marked verbs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of a dependent clause, indicating coreference to the notional subject of that clause:

61) *su= tippi naatsi ti= winai -hu -na*
NOM= rock boy REFL= throw-PNC-PTCP

*paa -wai tsopa-u -piti -ga*
water-LOC sink -PNC-arrive-TRNSL

'The rock the boy threw went into the water and sank.'
(literally, "the rock of the boy his throwing. . .")

The complex noun phrase includes a nominalized verb and its notional subject as the post-head modifier of 'rock.' The function of the reflexive-possessor proclitic is to refer to the notional subject of the relative clause.

### 3.2.3.2 Relative Clause Modifiers

I have made passing mention of relative clauses at several points throughout this chapter. Relative clauses in Northern Paiute (as well as other subordinate clause types) carry a number of the morphosyntactic features of nouns and noun phrases. Thus far, we have seen the use of subordinating morphology on the verbs of relative clauses doing double duty as nominalizers (see especially sections 3.1.7.1 and 3.1.7.6 above) and the use of possessor proclitics to reference the notional subject of the relative clause verb (section 3.2.3.1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To relate relative clauses to the general structure of the noun phrase, we will reserve the description of each relative clause type for the chapter on clause-combining (chapter 9).

In most cases, the relative clause follows the head noun that it modifies.

62) *yaisi usu mi o?o aata -di*
then that.one PL there sit.PL-NMR
*hayu ni= nimai-yakwi "Talk English! Talk English!"*
how 1.EXCL= insist -HAB
'. . and one of them (who was) sitting there kept on telling us, "Talk English! Talk English!" '
(NK: 'Boarding School Days')

There are occasions where a relative clause may precede its head noun, occurring in the syntactic position within the noun phrase where modifiers occur. In this position, the relative clause typically consists only of a nominalized verb, arguably a modifier derived from a stative predicate--the historical source for many modifying elements.

63a) *na- kuhani -di miidi*
MM-cook -NMR meat
'cooking-meat / meat for cooking / meat that is cooked'

b) *ka= ninikwi-di tsagwi-u su= natiiya-di mogo?ni*
OBL=heavy -NMR lift -PNC NOM=strong-NMR woman
'The strong woman lifted the heavy thing.'

Very likely, one requirement of a preposed relative clause in Northern Paiute is that it consist only of the nominalized verb with no

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

notional arguments aside from the head noun itself. The nominalized verb in example 63a) is detransitivized by means of the middle voice marker since the verb is inherently transitive. Syntactically, this leaves only the head noun of the complex NP as a notional argument. The second nominalized verb in example 63b) is a stative verb that has possibly lexicalized the middle marker.

### 3.2.4 "Conjoined" Noun Phrases

The second of two conceptually conjoined noun phrases is marked with the comitative postposition {no} in Northern Paiute. As with any other postpositional phrase, case-marking on modifiers within the postpositional phrase is oblique even when the entire conjoined NP is the notional subject of the sentence.

64a) *ni i -no mia -kwi*
I you-COM go.SG-FUT
'I'll go with you.'

b) *ka= sa?a su= hii umi -ba pitti,*
OBL= later NOM=thing they-LOC arrive
*wida?a waha-u ti= tuami -no*
bear two -OBL POSS=children-COM
' Later on, (she) arrived to where they were, Bear and her two cubs.'
(NK: Bear and Deer)

From the point of view of the morpho-syntax, there is nothing to indicate that the noun phrase marked with the comitative postposition in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

either example is a core argument. In 64a), the form of the verb is indicative of a singular subject. In 64b), the noun phrase meaning "her two children" carries oblique case as the object of the comitative postposition.

One issue surrounding such constructions is whether this strategy is used for conjoining noun phrases that cannot be interpretable as co-actors. Example 65a), I am told, may be used whether or not the two people are together, and 65b) is simply a statement about a property shared by both juniper and sagebrush.

65a) *Rena Ami-no tauna-wai*
R. A. -COM town -LOC
'Rena and Ami are in town.'

b) *mi=waapi -no su= sawabi ini kwanna*
PL=juniper-COM NOM=sagebrush very smell.DUR
'The junipers and sagebrush are strong-smelling.'

As 65b) indicates, the postposition is also not restricted to the second noun phrase, although nominative case-marking is restricted to the NP without the postposition.

On a related note, one form has been analyzed in Snapp and Anderson (1983) as a conjunction for indicating different subject. This is the form {pinno?o}which is very likely a lexicalization of the restricted third person pronoun {pi'} plus the comitative postposition {no} and nominalizing {-?V}.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

66a) *ii* *pinno?o*
you as.well

'And you?' OR 'How about you?'

b) *mi= yaisi wida?a tuami, umiu pinno?o owi -su tsunua -kwi*
PL= then Bear children they as.well DEM-ADV enter.PL-FUT

'. . . and those Bear cubs, they, too, were to go in there . . . '
(NK: 'Bear and Deer')

The length of the nasal comes from the fact that the pronoun induces fortition. I interpret this form as meaning something like "as well" while also implying emphasis. Its gloss as DS ('different subject') in Snapp and Anderson (1983) may require reinterpretation in light of its conjunctive and emphatic functions.

### 3.2.5 Discontinuous Noun Phrases

Case marking is, as we have seen, typically a feature of noun phrase *dependents*, not heads. Further, as I explore in section 4.4, practically any element that can be considered a NP dependent may also function pronominally, filling the syntactic slot of a NP in the clause. It is the combination of these facts, I would argue, that allows for *discontinuity* in NP's. Example 66) above has an adverbial {yaisi} 'and then' intervening between the plural article {mi}and the rest of the NP. 67) has a subject pronoun between a modifier and head noun.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

67a) Tétsiku nemí wegéna'a kána.[24]
*tiitsi -ku nimmi wigina?a-kaa -na*
small-OBL we.EXCL wagon -HAVE-PTCP
'we had a small wagon . .'

b) *waha-?yu tia? ka= mo -moko?ni tihona -ga*
two-NOM thusly OBL= RE -woman dig.roots-TRNSL
'There were two women going out root-digging . . .'

Whether to interpret these examples as discontinuous NP's or simply a modifier "small" behaving pronominally in an initial focus position in the clause poses an important question. Initial position generally receives more prominent sentence-level stress and, in case that element is truly in focus, this initial element is more prosodically salient.

I have also found examples like the following that display a discontinuity of the possessor and possessum.

68) *imi ni nobi punni*
3.PL I house see.DUR
'I see their house.'

Such discontinuity raises issues regarding referential coherence and the referring status of NP dependents in Northern Paiute. There are a number of ways to explore these issues in the context of natural speech. One is prosodically. The examples so far presented exhibit intonational

---

[24]As recorded (by Kroeber) in the original source--Natches (1923).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

salience in part because of their occurrence in initial position--where focused elements are generally placed (cf. section 6.1.1.1).

I have addressed, albeit impressionistically, some of the prosodic features of Northern Paiute at the clause level in section 2.3.4. I have also explored some of the pragmatic factors involving word order variation in section 6.1.1.1. There does appear to be a correlation between marked word order patterns and prosodic features akin to those observed in Mithun (1993b).

Another question regarding apparent discontinuity as illustrated above involves whether or not, in online discourse, ambiguity arises. Referential status is not limited to nouns and pronouns, I would argue, but extends to modifiers as well in Northern Paiute. This allows not only for the discontinuity of elements referring to the same entity (Blake, 1983), but for an NP to consist only of a modifier.

As Underriner (1996) has pointed out in her study of nonconfigurationality in Klamath--a language described in Barker (1964) as having extremely flexible word order--it is plausible to assume a "*semantic* notion of headship such that the noun, if present, provides the most explicit reference (102: emphasis added)." Ambiguity rarely arises in Northern Paiute discourse as to which participant is ascribed which modifier. This is due in part to context, but perhaps in equally large measure to principles of information flow (cf. Tomlin 1987 *inter alia*). New information is more marked, linguistically, and is subject to constraint at the clausal level (DuBois 1985)--that is, it is kept to a minimum. As stated in section 6.1.1.1, pronouns or zero anaphors typically take up the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

referential load when it comes to old information, thus reserving more elaborate means of reference for new information. Further investigation of reference tracking needs to be done.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 4

# PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES

## 4.1 Personal Pronouns

The grammar of pronouns in Northern Paiute exhibits distinctions along several dimensions. These dimensions include person, number, inclusivity, grammatical case, alienability, as well as discourse-pragmatic information relating to definiteness and topicality. Pronouns referring to third person are formally indistinguishable from the demonstratives in the language, since they involve a morphological base that is sensitive to spatial *deixis*--that is, to relative distance from the speaker. These bases may be bound to secondary case affixes or postpositions. Certain postpositional suffixes occur exclusively with such pronominal or demonstrative bases. Lexicalized combinations of pronoun + postposition are of interest in that one finds reflexes of Proto-Uto-Aztecan pronominal forms that are only marginally productive in synchronic Northern Paiute grammar.

The extensive examples in section 6.1.3 on case-marking, as well as the discussion in section 6.2 on verb types, illustrate the patterning of pronominal forms with the grammatical relations subject and object. Although I discuss the general properties of subject and object pronouns in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the next section, most of the examples in this chapter serve to demonstrate other features of pronouns, in particular those features associated with their role in discourse.

I will begin this discussion of personal and spatial deictics in Northern Paiute with an inventory of their formal distinctions along several dimensions, beginning with the core case distinctions.

### 4.1.1 Subject and Object Pronouns

The main overt coding strategy for determining grammatical relations in the Northern Paiute basic clause is case. There are two core case distinctions in Northern Paiute grammar--nominative and oblique--that serve to distinguish subject and object relations in the simple transitive clause type (as discussed further in chapter 6).

Subject pronouns are free in Northern Paiute, whereas forms referencing grammatical objects may be either bound or free. Free subject pronouns exhibit a greater degree of syntactic independence in the clause, for the most part, than do full noun phrases. Phonetically, free pronouns consist of at least two morae[1] and carry stress.

Bound object pronominals are verbal *proclitics*, that is, they are restricted in their syntactic distribution to a position immediately preceding the verb or verb complex. Phonetically, they are mono-moraic

---

[1] This is significant only in the actual pronunciation of forms consisting of one open syllable--the vowel in these cases is phonetically long.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and never carry stress, nor do they participate in what I term (section 2.3.2) *stress shift*. Section 2.5.2.1 describes the relevant phonological features that distinguish proclitics from both independent words and prefixes. Although object pronouns (as well as possessor pronouns) are most often bound proclitics, they also have free counterparts whose pragmatic functions include emphasis and disambiguation.

Table 4.1 lists the free and bound forms of the subject and object pronouns in Northern Paiute.

Table 4.1 Northern Paiute Subject and Object Pronouns

| Pronouns | Subject pronouns | Object proclitics | Object pronouns |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.SG | *ni* | *i=* | *nika* |
| 1.PL.EXCL | *nimmi* | *mi=, ni=* | *nimmika* |
| 1.DL | *ta* | *ta=* | *taka* |
| 1.PL.INCLUDE | *tammi* | *ti=* | *tammika* |
| 2.SG | *i* | *i=* | *imi* |
| 3.SG (DEICTICS) | *isu, usu, masu* | *u=, Ø=* | *ika, uka, maka* |
| 2 / 3.PL | *imi* | *mi=* | *umi* |
| 4.SG.INDEF | | *a=* | |

The plural forms of the object proclitics appear to be reductions of the corresponding independent subject forms. The independent object pronouns, with only two exceptions, are formed by adding the oblique case suffix /*-ka*/.

There is considerable reduction in pronominal forms in online speech, creating some ambiguity, particularly among the third person

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

forms. Such reduction and loss of the initial, unstressed syllable has likely led to the development of the determiner proclitics, as discussed in section 3.2.2.1, from the free third person pronouns. Phonetic reduction has likely also led to the merging of second and third person plural forms.

I have often found it difficult to confidently transcribe the vowel of the initial syllable in natural speech contexts, and the line between the free subject and object forms for second and third person plural may not be as clean as Table 4.1 suggests. Indeed, a bi-moraic form of the plural {mi} appears to have developed a syntactic freedom similar to the independent pronouns, as in 1b).

1a) *yaisi mi= tihiča tua -mi . . .*
then PL= deer child -PL
*mi= tibiŋa tia?a ti= pia tia?a*
PL= ask so/thus POSS= mother so/thus
'Then those fawns . . they asked her so, about their mother . . . '
(NK: Bear and Deer)

b) *mii uu ka= ha?usapa timasu matai -si*
PL thusly OBL= somehow ???? do/create -SEQ
'So somehow that's what they created . . . ' (NK: Nemechozinna)

In 1a), {mi} in the second line is co-referential to the noun phrase 'those fawns' and is the notional subject of 'ask about' even though it appears as a verbal proclitic. This is generally only the case when the verb is in a subordinate clause and is accompanied by subordinating morphology. As described elsewhere (sections 9.1 and 9.2), such clauses can be analyzed as nominalized and the proclitic functioning as a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

possessor. In 1a), however, the verb 'ask' occurs without nominalizing morphology.

In 1b), {mi} appears in clause-initial position, fully detached from the verb, and clearly co-referential with the subject of 'create.' In this position, note that it contains a phonetically long vowel--that is, it is bi-moraic, as required for all free pronouns.

### 4.1.2 Number and the Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction

As illustrated in Table 4.1, pronominal forms are distinguished for number. First and second person singular (and the first person dual) forms are the simplest, consisting of CV or V structures, while plural forms appear to be derived by means of one of two suffixes: 1) {mi}, on first person plural forms (also note the free form for the second person singular) and 2) {mi}, on non-first person plurals.[2] In Table 4.1 above, singular and plural forms are placed together in order to highlight their formal relationship. A special *dual* category applies only to first person and is always *inclusive* in reference (i.e. 'I and you').

The formal distinction in first person non-singular forms to indicate whether or not the hearer is included in the reference is an important feature of Northern Paiute grammar. The first person plural *exclusive*

---

[2] Nichols (1974:218) states that "the *-mi-* forms in NP [Northern Paiute], Sh [Shoshoni], SP [Southern Paiute]. . . result from the contraction of the [Proto-Uto-Aztecan] plural **mi* . . . with the [PUA] accusative **i.*"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

form is {nimmi}-- essentially the first person singular pronoun (a geminating morpheme) plus a plural suffix. The *inclusive dual* first person form is {ta} which, in combination with the same plural suffix, yields the *inclusive plural* form {tammi}.

Third person pronominal bases are essentially a limited subset of the demonstrative bases (section 4.1.3). Only the medial-distal {u} form occurs with the plural suffix {mi} to form the independent third person plural pronoun. Since this base is unstressed, and often dramatically reduced, I am not always entirely confident of my transcription of the initial vowel, however. Nichols (1974:202ff) presents a relatively clearer formal distinction among the Northern Paiute deictic categories between second and third person plural subject forms than I have been able to discern in the course of my fieldwork.

### 4.1.3 Person, Deixis, and Third Person Reference[3]

Northern Paiute pronominal forms distinguish speech act participants (SAP's)--that is, first and second person--from non-SAP referents--i.e. third person. First person (the speaker) and second person (the hearer) are fairly straightforward. The variety of forms for third person referential categories include:

---

[3] This chapter owes much to the discussion of deictics in Nichols (1974), although my analysis differs slightly with respect to certain details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1) proximal: {i}
2) distal: {u}
3) definite (deictically neutral): {ma}
4) indefinite (or fourth person[4]): {a}
5) emphatic, or relative: {pi}

The free third person forms consist of one of the bases {i}, {u}, or {ma} (1-3, above) plus one of the core case-markers ({su} for nominative and {ka} for oblique). Two of these bases include information on spatial deixis--that is, their meaning relates to actual or conceptual distance from the speaker (and, typically, the hearer as well). Note the parallel to the object proclitics (cf. Table 4.1) where {i}= and {u}= distinguish first and third person singular objects, corresponding to proximal versus distal deixis.

Further discussion of the formal properties of categories 1) and 2) above will be taken up in the section on demonstratives (4.2). Third person referential categories 3)-5) require some special treatment in the next sections.

---

[4] Also called 'obviative.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 4.1.4 The "Definite" Pronominal Base

The function of the deictically neutral form {ma} is grounded in the discourse context. The{ma} form appears most often in conversation, in first person narrative, and in directly quoted speech--contexts where the speaker can assume that the hearer has ready access to the referent.

2a) ma -su sadi?i naitsa -?yu
DEM-NOM dog mean -NOM.PRED
'That dog is mean.'

b) ma -ka -u i= gia -u
DEM-OBL-OBJ 1= give-PNC
'Give me that!'

The discourse function of this form merits further exploration[5]. In general, the referential sense of {ma} can best be characterized as 'the referent mentioned or known to us both.' It is therefore almost exclusively definite in Northern Paiute, with no spatial deixis associated with it as there is with the other two bases.[6] It can apply either to referents, as in the examples above, or to locations. The following examples are from first person narrative where the {ma} forms indicate a location assumed to be

---

[5] Armagost (1985) and McDaniels (1995) explore the function of {ma} in the Central Numic language, Comanche.
[6] Nichols (1974:202-203) calls {ma} an 'intermediate distal,' but in my analysis it differs from the others in having no deictic content at all.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

known to the hearer--either the speaker's home or the tribal allotment lands.

3a) *saa tiwao nimmi nobi -kwai;*
later also we.EXCL house-LOC

*nimmi u= noo -pitti -si tiwao*
we 3= haul-arrive-SEQ also

*ka= mabi tia? oo?nosu .*
OBL= MA.DEM so at.that.time

'. . . and later we went home, bringing it (the chokecherry harvest) there just so at that time . . '

(NK: Chokecherries)

b) *tuumutsiča pikwai, nimmi kima-na*
dark.point below we.EXCL come-PTCP

*ma?a nimmi tibiwa -wai kimma . .*
MA.DEM we.EXCL home.territory-LOC come

'. . down below Wright's Point, we were coming, we came home in that direction. . '

(NK: Boarding School Days)

Armagost (1985) interprets the cognate form in Comanche as an "undistinguished deictic, actually outside the spatial framework (303)." This appears to be true of Northern Paiute as well.

Along with this general function, Armagost (1985) further describes a kind of obviative role for {ma} in Comanche narrative. Obviative systems generally function to distinguish two third person referents in terms of relative thematic importance. Whether or not this characterizes the role of {ma} appropriately for Northern Paiute is not entirely clear. Obviative (versus proximate) referents are those third person referents that are not the focus of interest. This function could be

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

thought of as overlapping with the definiteness features of {ma}used when, as discourse continues, speakers assume ready access to its referent and can thereby bring in other third person participants. I have found no evidence in my text corpus, however, of a clear referential contrast between {ma} forms and referents indicated by means of the other deictic, third person bases.[7]

In fact, it is possible to have two pronominal forms in {ma} in a single clause.

3) *ma -su nana ma -ga uhunakwa-?yu*
DEM-NOM man DEM[8]-GEN beyond -PRED
'That man is taller than him/her/them.'

The co-occurrance of two {ma} forms in a single clause undermines an analysis based upon a proximate/obviative opposition. Even the notion of topicality is challenged here, since a single utterance is not typically the home to more than one topic.

---

[7] Crum and Dayley (1993) actually refer to the {ma} forms in Western Shoshoni as part of a set of *proximate* forms, and those *without* {ma} as their obviative counterparts. Such disagreement in the application of the terms may simply indicate that the function of {ma} in discourse has only a marginal relationship to obviation.
[8]This form can be any 3rd person, singular OR plural.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 4.1.5 The "Indefinite" Pronominal Proclitic

The pronominal proclitic /*a*=/ that is here loosely referred to as a fourth person (4) pronominal, surfaces most often on transitive verbs in citation form and in situations where the object of the verb appears to be very low in topicality. Nichols (1974) suggests that it is a marker of indefiniteness--serving a kind of companion function to /*ma*-/. Its occurrence as a possessive proclitic, as suggested by Poldevaart (1987), may designate certain nouns as *inalienably possessed*, filling a morphological slot in citation forms or when the possessor is unknown or otherwise not central to the discourse.

It induces fortition of the initial consonant of the stem to which it attaches.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4a) | *a=kwinai* | b) | *a=niwi* |
| | 4=throw | | 4=liver |
| | 'throw' | | 'liver' |

Some early word lists, such as those collected by Samuel Barrett (nd.), include numerous entries that carry this proclitic. Present day speakers are more likely to drop the proclitic in citation form, possibly since the grammar that distinguishes alienable from inalienable possession has become lost or corrupted due to extended contact with English and language shift, or perhaps to some speakers ability to decontextualize word forms in direct elicitation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

It appears, although somewhat infrequently, in text under circumstances where a referent, low in topicality, occurs in the possessor or transitive object proclitic slot.

5a) *a= piabi una kima -na yaisi mii ini -kima*
4= female DEM come -PTCP then QUOTE say -come
'Their mother was coming out there and calling out as she came.'
(NK: Bear and Deer)

b) *yaisi a= tsa- winai -si tsagi?i kati -pini*
then 4= IP/grasp- throw -SEQ close sit.SG -ASP
'Then, having thrown them aside (i.e. rocks), (Coyote) sat down nearby . .'
(WM: Cave Myth)

The context for both of these examples suggests that definiteness is not the issue, since identity of both referents is clear from the previous context. Rather, the conditioning factor may be that the referent of /a=/ is also low in topic *persistence*. In 5a), for example, the bear cubs are the would-be referents. However, they have just been killed by the fawns and have no further role in the rest of the story.

The conceptually parallel roles of /*ma*-/ in the demonstrative system and /*a*=/ in the pronominal system--their sensitivity to discourse level phenomena--merit a great deal of further exploration in a narrative context. Referential distance and topic persistence could, for example, be measured using text counts (cf. Givón 1979) in order to better understand their function in discourse.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 4.1.6 Pronominals Referring to Peripheral Arguments

Different pronominal forms serve the important function of distinguishing the core participants of the clause along several dimensions, as we have seen. Formally, case-marking patterns make just two distinctions--nominative and oblique--for main clause participants.[9] Subject forms of the pronouns are free in simple clauses, whereas object forms are typically bound to the verb as proclitics.

Aside from formally distinguishing core participants in transitive clauses, personal pronouns may also be used to refer to peripheral participants--either as postpositional objects or as possessors. The formal parallels between pronominal forms for peripheral arguments and those for the core arguments subject and object are obvious if we compare Table 4.2 with Table 4.1, above.

Table 4.2 below lists the various free and bound pronominal forms for peripheral arguments in Northern Paiute.

---

[9] I use the term oblique, rather than the more restrictive term accusative, here, as elsewhere, in this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.2 Northern Paiute Peripheral Argument Pronouns

| Non-Core Pronouns | PostP Objects (bound) | Possessor Proclitics | Possessor Pronouns |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.SG | *ni-* | *i=* | *niga* |
| 2.SG | *i-, imi-* | *i=* | *iga* |
| 3.SG | *i-, u-, ma-,* | *u=* | *iga, uga, maga* |
| 1.DL | *ta-* | *ta=* | *taga* |
| 1.INCLUDE | *tammi-* | *ti=* | *tammiga* |
| 1.EXCL | *nimmi-* | *ni= / mi=* | *nimmiga* |
| 2 / 3.PL | *umi-* | *mi=* | *umiga* |
| 4.INDEF | | *a=* | |
| 3.EMPH | *pi-* | | |
| REFL.POSS | | *ti=* | |
| RECIP.DL | *na-* | | |

Notice that many of the pronominal forms that refer to postpositional objects are formally identical to the independent subject pronouns. I treat the pronominal forms in the first column of Table 4.2 as the morphological *bases* to which the postpositions may be bound. The bi-moraic requirement is fulfilled with the addition of a simple postposition, with the primary stress falling, as expected for a phonological word, on the second mora, or syllable. Bound possessor forms, like the bound object forms in column 2 of Table 4.1, do not result in stress shift, and so are also treated a proclitics.

Table 4.3 illustrates the use of the pronominal bases with two simple postpositions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.3 Northern Paiute Pronominal Bases with Postpositions

| *-no* | 'with (accompanying)' | *-pa* | 'by; beside' |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ni-nno* | 'with me' | *ni-pa* | 'by me' |
| *i-nno* | 'with you' (SG) | *i-pa* | 'by you' (SG) |
| *imi-no* | 'with you' (SG) | *imi-ba* | 'by you' (SG) |
| *i-no* | 'with her/him/it' (PROX)' | *i-ba* | 'by her/him/it' (PROX)' |
| *u-no* | 'with her/him/it' (DIST)' | *u-ba* | 'by her/him/it' (DIST)' |
| *ma-no* | 'with her/him/it' (DEF) | *ma-ba* | 'by her/him/it' (DEF) |
| *ta-nno* | 'with us' (DL) | *ta-pa* | 'by us' (DL) |
| *ti-nno* | 'with us' (INCL) | *ti-pa* | 'by us' (INCL) |
| *tammi-no* | 'with us' (INCL) | *tammi-ba* | 'by us' (INCL) |
| *ni-nno* | 'with us' (EXCL) | *ni-pa* | 'by us' (EXCL) |
| *nimmi-no* | 'with us' (EXCL) | *nimmi-ba* | 'by us' (EXCL) |
| *imi-no* | 'with them/you all' | *imi-ba* | 'by them/you all' |
| *mi-nno* | 'with them/you all' | *mi-pa* | 'by them/you all' |
| *pi-nno* | 'with whom; also' | *pi-pa* | 'by whom; by which' |
| *na-no* | 'both' | *na-ba* | 'next to each other' |

The allomorphy of the postpositions is predictable from the final feature assignments of the pronominal bases (cf. section 2.4.1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 4.1.7 The "Restrictive" Base

Two of the pronominal bases in the first column of Table 4.2 deserve special attention. As a pronominal base, {pi}, in Northern Paiute, restricts third person reference to the head of a relative clause that is a peripheral argument. The postposition to which the base is bound provides the information as to the role of the head in the sentence--as location, instrument, or some other peripheral argument.

6a) *tua -ki pi -kwai na- tsahani -na*
child-ALIEN RESTR -LOC MM-keep/hold-PTCP
'children's shelter home' (lit. the place where children are kept)

b) *mi= himma witsimoʔo pi -ma na- kwiba -na*
PL= what ball RESTR -INSTR MM- strike -PTCP
'things for hitting a ball with (i.e. baseball bats)'

c) *pi -kwai-ku mi= ti-woisa-na*
RESTR-IN -ESS PL= APS-wash.clothes-PTCP
'(that's) what they did their washing in . .' (MS: Autobiography)

Northern Paiute also has adverbial forms that are apparent lexicalized combinations of this pronominal base with postpositions. As in its synchronic use as a relative pronoun, the fortis (or geminating) final feature is clear in these lexicalizations. Two such examples include:

7a) *pinnau*
* pi' - nau
* PRO-DIR
'back (returning); again'

b) *pinnoʔo*
* pi' - no
* PRO-COM
'also; as for; and'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Independent "reflexive" pronouns are formed through combination of the enclitic ={su} with one of the pronominal bases, including {pi}. The resulting forms are used mainly for emphatic purposes. In fact, they rarely occur in actual reflexive constructions[10]--that is to say, in transitive clauses whose verb carries a middle-marking (MM) prefix to indicate that the agent and patient arguments are co-referential (section 8.2.1.1).

The most common situation in discourse for such reflexive/emphatic pronouns to arise is as a means of signaling emphasis on a particular participant. In these cases, the base is often *resumptive*, as it co-refers to another noun phrase in the same clause. If the referent is either third person singular or plural, the base to which /=*su*/ encliticizes is {pi}.

8) *mi=izišawi si-sia?a,*
PL=Pitt.River RE-girl

*omi -u ka yuu tui = himma wadzi-ki-?yai-na ,*
they-OBL? KA hither try = s.t. hide-APL-HAB-PTCP

*pii =su =ga hayuapi mi= ti- diha -na ,*
RESTR =self =MOD some.way PL= RE-steal -PTCP

'Those Pitt River girls, they may have lost those things, or maybe stole those (things) themselves . . .'

(NK: Boarding School Days)

This resumptive use is the only condition under which {pi} surfaces in this construction. Other pronominal bases, when occurring with{su}

---

[10] Speakers do, however, accept their inclusion as a grammatical option.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(or with other enclitics, for that matter) are rarely, if ever, co-referential with another noun phrase.

9a) *nii =su u= hanni*
I =self 3= do.DUR
'I'm doing it myself.'

b) *ii =su u= hanni*
you =self 3= do.DUR
'You're doing it yourself.'

The primary phonological feature that establishes {su} as an enclitic is that the primary stress always falls on the pronominal base, which always surfaces as bi-moraic. Recall that with postpositions, the bond to the pronominal base is stronger, and the second mora stress rule applies to the combination as it would to a phonological word, as the examples in Table 4.3 show.

Another enclitic that accompanies {pi} in this resumptive-emphatic function is {si?mi} 'only; alone.'

10) *Tim pii= si?mi oo katti*
T. RESTR=alone DEM sit.DUR
'Tim is sitting over there alone.'

The pronominal base {pi}, may also itself be related to an enclitic whose function in Northern Paiute is to indicate contrastive focus.

11a) *ni = pi kai*
I = EMPH NEG
'. . but not me! (as for me, no!)' (NK: Boarding School Days)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *u -ka -u =tia?a, ni = pi supidakwatu uu =tia?a mi=yikwi*
DEM-OBL-OBJ = so I = EMPH know thus = so us=did
'As for *me*, (I) know *that*, what (they) did to us.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

Under these circumstances, the form has little if any actual referential function.

### 4.1.8 The Dual/Reciprocal Base

The other pronominal base that requires special attention here is {na}, which typically implies reciprocal involvement, as well as dual (or sometimes collective) reference in constructions where it is bound to a postposition.[11] Here the data may be only suggestive, as there appears to be lexicalization of certain {na} + postposition combinations, as well as a productive adverbial derivational pattern (section 5.3.1). Of particular interest are those forms in {na} which appear to suggest the development of case-sensitive dual pronouns.

12a) *nano nimmi piza na- timaza?i*
both we.EXCL good MM-help.TR
'We help each other (work together).'

---

[11] The possibility of a relationship between this {na} and the middle marker (section 8.2.1.1) merits further exploration.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *nanɔ ki-gima-o*
both RE-come-PNC
'Both came.'

13a) *namiku ni mi= nobi punni*
both.OBJ I PL=house see.DUR
'I saw both those houses.'

b) *nimmi namiku punni*
we.EXCL both.OBJ see.DUR
'I see (them) both.'

The subject form {nano} is clearly analyzable as /*na-*/, the dual or reciprocal base, + {no}, the comitative (COM) postposition that expresses accompaniment, as illustrated in Table 4.3 and in the following:

14a) *imi ni-no kimma*
3.PL I -COM come.DUR
'They're coming with me.'

b) *ni i -no mia -kwi*
I 2-COM go.SG-FUT
'I'll go with you.'

c) *mi= kai u= pisapi -di imi -no tu?i na- koiwinai-?yakwi*
PL= not 3= like -NMR them-COM try MM- fight -HAB
'. . those that didn't like it would try to fight with them.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

It is interesting that some bound postpositions and free adverbials that conceptually entail a *ground* (Talmy 1983, 2000, inter alia) and that either bound or otherwise surround a *figure* are {na} forms.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15a) | *-naga* | 'among' |
| b) | *-nakwa* | 'direction; -ward' |
| c) | *-napa* | 'across; on the other side of' |
| d) | *nama* | 'joined; together' |
| e) | *nainapa* | 'across from' |
| f) | *nauma* | 'divided; between' |
| g) | *na?una* | 'amidst; surrounded by' |

As a derivational process with adverbials, see (see esp. section 5.3.1). The productive use of {na}in the domain of *detransitivity* is discussed in section 8.2.1.1.

### 4.1.9 Possessor Pronouns and Reflexive Possession

In form, the possessor proclitics are identical in Northern Paiute to the object proclitics that accompany transitive verbs.[12] Their independent forms also function for emphasis as well as disambiguation, although a genitive suffix {ga} (GEN) distinguishes these independent forms as possessors. Recall that independent object pronouns take the oblique case suffix {ka} (OBL).

The most important distinction between the set of possessor proclitics and transitive object proclitics is the inclusion of the reflexive possessor

---

[12]This formal union is particularly important for the analysis of subordinate clause types whose notional subjects appear as proclitics to the dependent verb. See Chapter 9 for details.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

proclitic {ti} (REFL). This proclitic indicates that the possessor is *coreferential* with the grammatical *subject* of the sentence in which it occurs. As such, it constitutes a fairly reliable test for subjecthood, as described in section 6.1.4.1 on the properties of grammatical subject in Northern Paiute.

16a) *o?o yaisi umi ka ti= nobi na?una -wai*
DEM then they KA REFL= house around -LOC
'. . so then they went round and round their house . .'
(NK: 'Bear and Deer')

b) *su= wassa pino?o nainapa mida -u ti= kaopa*
NOM= sandhill.crane as.for across stretch -PNC REFL= leg
'. . the crane stretched his legs across . .' (NK: 'Bear and Deer')

The reflexive possessor may even precede the noun phrase subject with which it is co-referential.

17) *uusapa pinau una ti= nanimi -ba umi piti -ga*
always back DEM POSS= relative -by 3.PL arrive -TRNSL
'again, they went back to their people . . ' (NK: 'Nemechozinna')

This reflexive function of the proclitic need not even operate within the same clause, but may indicate co-reference with the subject of a preceding clause, or perhaps the topic of the immediate discourse. The following brief excerpt from text demonstrates a co-reference relationship between the possessor of one clause with a zero-marked subject of a preceding clause--Wolf, a myth character and elder brother to Coyote--

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

even where the possessed noun phrase itself functions as subject of the clause.

18) *oo?no pisa mi?i tiikwi?i -na.*
DEM good QUOT tell -PTCP
'"That's good," (he, Wolf) was saying.'

*yaisi ti= kwaŋa mia.*
then REFL= younger.brother go.SG
'Then his younger brother went.' (WM: The Cave Myth)

Such a cross-clausal co-reference function also helps to explain the use of this proclitic on some subordinate clause verbs (cf. section 9.1).

### 4.1.10 Historical Relationship to the Anti-Passive Prefix

Historically, there is a possible relationship between the reflexive-possessive proclitic and the verbal prefix that indicates an unspecified object--what I describe in section 8.2.1.2 as the *anti-passive* prefix {ti} (APS). As a proclitic on verbs, the function of {ti} is to express co-referentiality with another argument. Use of the proclitic on verbs is limited to subordinate clause verbs, however, which exhibit a number of features relating to nominalization in Northern Paiute, and is treated as a grammatical possessor in Chapter 9. I mention the function here as both parallel to its reflexive-possessive pronominal function and as a potential source construction for its development as a verb prefix (cf. Langacker 1976a).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Interestingly enough, I have found a few examples where {ti} occurs as a nominal prefix as well, with a conceptually parallel, but semantically distinct, function to the anti-passive verb prefix. When prefixed, rather than procliticized, to a noun form, it appears to eschew any possessor-related meaning for one relating to what I will call *customary use*. Note the following examples of clearly analyzable noun stems, one an inalienable body part, carrying the prefix {ti} when referring to the noun in terms of customary use.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 19a) | *ti-tsopigi* | b) | *ti-huupi* |
| | APS-brain | | APS-stick |
| | 'brains (used for hide-tanning)' | | 'sticks (bone-game counters)' |

Langacker (1976a) describes what he refers to as "non-distinct arguments" in the Uto-Aztecan family, and Anderson, Anderson, and Langacker (1976) describe some general features of {ti} in Northern Paiute that relate the functions of *co-reference* and the expression of *unspecified arguments*. My own impression is that there must have occurred a functional split in the development of *{ti} in Northern Paiute, as opposed to a synchronic, conceptually abstract function of "non-distinctness" for this morpheme.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 4.2 More on Deixis: the Demonstratives

Demonstratives may function pronominally--that is, they may bear the referential characteristics of a noun phrase--or as noun phrase modifiers. I have already noted that independent third person singular pronouns are indistinguishable from demonstrative pronouns--{usu} can mean 'she,' 'he,' 'it,' or 'that one.' The following examples show demonstratives functioning as third person pronouns (noun phrase heads) and as noun phrase modifiers, where they occur before the head noun.[13]

20a) *u -su pisa i= ni- niima*
DIST-NOM good 1= IP/speech-feel
'That makes me happy (the news makes me feel good).'

b) *u -su nana paba -ʔyu*
DIST-NOM man big -NOM/PRED
'That man is big.'

c) *i -su pisa patakwitsiʔa*
PROX-NOM good shine.DUR
'This is nice and shiny.'

d) *i -ča a= tuku ni oŋana-wini*
PROX-OBL 4[14]=meat I salt -CONT.SG
'I'm salting this meat.'

---

[13] As discussed elsewhere (section 3.2.2.1), reduction and loss of the initial, unstressed syllable has led to the development of case-sensitive determiners in the language (cf. Nichols 1974).

[14] Here, the meat is not attached to anything in particular, and so the 4th person prolitic occurs; it's just "some meat."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The demonstrative bases are bound forms that distinguish the spatial deictic notions--proximal versus distal--of relative distance from the speaker as well as relating topicality in discourse, as described in sections 4.1.3 and 4.1.4 above.

The demonstrative system also includes a wide range of adverbial functions, including location, direction, time, reason, manner, etc. The basic locative adverbials distinguish the same three primary deictic notions as exhibited by the pronominal bases--'here,' 'there,' and 'the aforementioned location.'

21a) *yaa i=dudzíʔi*
here 1=dog
'This is my dog.'

b) *nii yau yui -kati*
I here warm -sit
'I'm sitting here warming up.'

c) *su= huupi oʔo hapi*
NOM=stick there lie
'The stick is lying there.'

d) *owi ĩja -u*
there enter-PNC
'Go in there!'

These forms may take a variety of postpositional suffixes, which are neither entirely identical to, nor as elaborate as the system of postpositions that occur with noun forms (see section 5.2 for a discussion of postpositions). One common postpositional suffix that occurs with demonstratives is the allative {tu} (ALL), which generally indicates

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

motion along a path. The demonstrative codes the goal or direction of such motion.

22a) *imi yaa -tu u= tsa -winai -u*
3.PL here-ALL 3= IP/grasp-throw -PNC
'They brought him this way.'

b) *owi -tu nimi mia-na*
there-ALL we.EXCL go -PTCP
'we were heading out that way . . ' (NK: Chokecherries)

c) *oono yaisi una -tu kwaya mia -si*
at.that.time then over.there -to far.off go.SG -SEQ
'And then (they) went far out that way. . .' (NK: Bear and Deer)

Although the parallels between the spatial deictic system and the third person pronouns are clear, the variety of forms that the deictics can take are much more elaborate than can be accounted for by third person reference. Table 4.4 lists some of the forms demonstratives can take, along with their different adverbial functions. These are organized in parallel with the three pronominal bases described in section 4.1.3. Examples and discussion follow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.4 Some Northern Paiute Demonstrative Forms

| Demonstratives | Proximal | Distal | Topical |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nominative | *i-su* | *u-su* | *ma-su* |
| Oblique | *i-ka* | *u-ka* | *ma-ka* |
| Kind/Type- | *ya?uni-, yuuni-* | *uuni-* | *ma?uni-, muuni-* |
| Location | *yaa, ya?a, yau, yuu* | *oo, o?o* | *maa, ma?a, mau, muu* |
| Direction | *yuu-tu, yaa-tu* | *oo-tu* | *muu-tu* |
| Location (general) | *iwi* | *owi, oi* | *mai* |
| Location (specific) | *ibi* | *obi* | *mabi* |
| Distal path/direction | | *una* | |
| Discourse (adverbial) | *yau* | *uu, oo* | *mau* |
| Direction[15] | *wakitu* | | |
| Temporal | | *oono, oo?no* | |
| Static | | *oi-?yu[-na]* | |

Proximal forms vary phonologically between [i] and [y] initially, depending upon whether what follows is a consonant or vowel, respectively.

Under the distal column are actually forms in both {u} and {o} (phonetically [ɔ]). Nichols (1974:219) describes the development of {o} as a remote distal deictic from {u} via vowel symbolism. The deictic division--distal versus remote distal--is not always sharp, however. For example, I

[15] This form may be analyzable, but I don't have any evidence, aside from the allative suffix.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

find in my corpus some parallelism between the use of {o?o} 'out there (remote location)' and {una} 'out there (remote area/direction).' The sound-symbolic development, if as recent as Nichols suggests, has not developed into a full-blown deictic contrast, as {u} and {o} forms appear to be in complementary distribution. The data are somewhat messy within the distal category, particularly when one considers the poorly understood discourse functions of some of the deictic forms.

23a) *yaa i=piza - pia?a*
here 1=good - friend
'This is my best friend.'

b) *yuúni?yu wanapi idzága nadzákibui*
this.kind cloth easily tear
'This kind of cloth tears easily.'

c) *ni =bi yuuniku kakia*
I =EMPH this.kind wear.around.neck
'I'm wearing this around my neck.'

d) *ni ma?úni-ku [/muúniku] idzága tabíšui*
I DEM.kind-OBL easily break
'I (can) break that kind easily.'

e) *usu muú?niyu*
DEM.NOM DEM.kind.NOM
'He's like that (always).'

f) *uu nimmi na-?yikwi*
that.way we MM-do/treat
'That's how we were treated.'

Detailed and often subtle distinctions in path and location are also code by means of demonstratives in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

24a) *mabi kati-u*
DEM sit-PNC
'Sit back there!' (implies into or in the direction of an unseen location)

b) *mawi kati-u*
DEM sit-PNC
'Sit there (on s.t.)!' (implies a specific location, like a chair, or area--usually visible)

c) *mau kati-u*
DEM sit-PNC
'Sit down over there!' (implies a more general, but visible, location--e.g. across the room)

The use of these demonstratives with accompanying locative noun phrases will be taken up again in section 5.2 on postpositions.

The prevalence of various demonstrative forms in text implies a variety of discourse-related functions, most of which are not yet fully understood. Fixed expressions that include combinations of demonstratives and other parts of speech, for example particles, appear to represent the stylistic choices of individual speakers. Some of these issues are taken up further in section 5.3.4, but a fuller analysis will need to await more detailed textual analysis. I include here two brief passages from text by NK, who makes ample use of demonstratives and particles in spontaneous speech.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

25) *uu tia?a, owi -u, uu,*
thus so DEM-U thus

*mi= yikwi nimi-puya mi= ti- diha mii ini -na*
us= do we -?? PL= RE-steal QUOT say -PTCP

*owi -u =ka, uu mi= yikwi*
DEM-U =KA thusly us= do

'So it was over there (that they) assumed we were stealing things, and for that reason (they) did that to us.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

26) *yaisi nami -ku mi= tatima?o -ga,*
then both -OBL PL= carry.off -TRNSL

*oo owi -tu patikwa u -ma -tu, owi -u*
DEM DEM -ALL island DEM -LOC-ALL DEM -U

'. . and then (it) carried off both of them, out there to that island, right there.
(NK: Nemechozinna)

One formal feature of demonstrative pronouns includes the addition of a suffix {u} in particular discourse contexts. Although I have not clearly discerned a function for this suffix, distributionally, it appears to attend demonstrative forms occurring at clause boundaries--either initially or finally.

27) *una tia?a patikwa u -ma, patikwa, una -u*
out.there thus island DEM -LOC island out.there-U
'(It) was out there on an island, an island out there.
(NK: Nemechozinna)

In narrative, one finds demonstratives marked with {u} most frequently initially--in a position of focus--even before the ubiquitous connective {yaisi} 'then; and then' as in the following:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

28a) *una -u yaisi su= hii kodabi mii ti= ni?a -na*
out.there -U then NOM=WH manzanita QUOT POSS= call -PTCP

'Nothing, no more bad things to bother them out there, just what's called "kodabi."'

b) *una -u yaisi uuni -kwai piti -ga*
out.there -U then that.kind -LOC arrive.SG -TRNSL

*na- tihona -di -kwai*
MM- dig.roots -NMR -LOC

' . . out there, (they) then arrived at that, the root-digging place.'
(NK: Bear and Deer)

One also finds {-u} formed demonstratives clause internally as the sole syntactic participant in the clause:

29) *yaisi owi -u yotsi -u -ga -?yakwi tui- ha?u -tui*
then DEM -U fly.SG -PNC -TRNSL-HAB any- how -any

' . . and (it) would fly off from there in every direction.'
(NK: Nemechozinna)

It occurs with pronouns indexing participants as well, usually when these are set off with comma intonation at the start of a clause, and as such would appear to function as a focussing devise.

30) *umi -u yoŋo -na*
they -U evening -PTCP

*ka= una -u umi sogo- miakai -mo?o*
KA= out.there -U they on.foot- go.around -RNDM.PL

' . . as for them, in the evening they were out there walking around.'
(NK: Nemechozinna)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The suffix appears to serve some sort of pragmatic function, loosely associated with reinforcing a referent or location. Pronominal forms that index either a location or a participant occur with the suffix only when not part of a larger noun phrase. This condition appears to be one way, since forms without the suffix may occur either alone, or as a noun phrase determiner. A more thorough investigation is necessary.

## 4.3 Interrogative pronouns

To complete the description of pronominal types, it is important to include some discussion of the class of pronouns generally referred to as *interrogative pronouns*. These pronouns, like the so-called "Wh-words" in English, refer to noun phrases whose identity is unknown or in question. As in English, they perform a crucial function in question formation, a topic discussed further in chapter 7 on *non-declarative speech acts*.

Formally, interrogative pronouns, like demonstrative pronouns, consist of a *base*--either {ha} or {hi}-- plus a suffix bearing participant information. Many of these suffixes are identical to the ones that attach to demonstrative bases (Table 4.4), with some notable exceptions, as illustrated in Table 4.5 below.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 4.5 Northern Paiute Interrogative pronouns

| Interrogatives | Form | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| Nominative | *haga, himma* | 'who,' 'what' |
| Oblique | *haka, himma* | 'whom,' 'what' |
| Genitive | *haga-ti* | 'whose' |
| Condition | *ha?u, hau* | 'how (in what condition)' |
| Manner | *hayu* | 'how (in what manner)' |
| Kind/Type- | *hauni-* | 'what kind; why' (-case suf) |
| Location | *hanno* | 'where' |
| Direction | *hau-tu* | 'which way/ direction' |
| Temporal | *hanano* | 'when' |
| Quantity | *haa?no-* | 'how many' (-case suffix) |
| Indefinite Pronoun | *hii* | 'thing; whatchamacallit' |

The following are some examples of the use of interrogative pronouns in questions. Further discussion is taken up in section 7.4, within the context of non-declarative speech acts.

31a) *haga tauna-wai*
who town -LOC
'Who's in town?'

b) *haka ii izi?i punni*
whom you yesterday see.DR
'Who(m) did you see yesterday?'

c) *hanano ii koči*
when you return
'When did you return?'

d) *ha?u tabia*
how appear
'What does it look like?'

The role of interrogative forms aside from forming actual questions, in which case they always appear as the first element of the sentence, is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

also as a means of filling a syntactic slot in a statement where the identity of the referent is either unknown or unimportant.

32a) *kai yaisi haga i= tiikwi -čai -kwi*
NEG then who 2= tell -HAB-FUT
'. . then there won't be anyone to tell you.' (NK: Kids Then and Now)

b) *pinausu tiwao kočí haa?no -?yu yaisi*
back also return how.much-NOM then
'. . and so they came back with whatever they had. . '
*(NK: Root-digging Time)

The use of interrogatives in the formation of embedded questions, a kind of verbal complement, is explored further in the context of complementation in section 9.3.5. I include one example here to illustrate.

33) *oo saa?a u= naka-puni, hayu saa?a ini -wini*
thus later 3=hear -ASP how later reply-CONT.SG
' "Then listen to it, how it answers." ' (NK: We Talked to that Bird)

### 4.3.1 The "Any Old" Construction

A special construction exists with respect to interrogatives in Northern Paiute that derives forms that seem to emphasize or exaggerate the non-specificity associated with them. The semantics is something like English "any old" constructions as in "He does things any old way." In Northern Paiute, such exaggerated non-specificity is coded by means of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

clitic {tui}. This clitic often occurs both before and after an interrogative, but may also appear on either side.

34a) *yaisi owi -u yotsi -u -ga -ʔyakwi tui= hau =tui*
then there-U fly.SG -PNC -TRNSL -HAB any= how =any
' . . and (it) would fly off from there in every direction.'
(NK: Nemechozinna)

b) *ka= ooʔnosu una tippi -kwai tui= hanno =tui na- tiki.*
OBL=long.ago over.there rock - LOC any= where =any MM- put
'Long ago, (they) were buried in the rocks out there anyplace.'
(MS: A Burial Place)

c) *una čaisi miʔa hannosapaga, hanno =tui*
over.there then go.PL somewhere where =any
'Way out there, then, (they) went someplace, just anywhere.'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

d) *una tui= himma watti -na*
over.there any= what look.for -PTCP
'(It) was out there looking for things . . ' (NK: Nemechozinna)

Although the "any old" construction is most commonly found with interrogative pronouns, it can occur with general demonstratives as well--even the definite base {ma}.

35) *maʔa =tui aata -u*
DEM.DEF=any sit.PL-PNC
'Sit anywhere you all!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 4.3.2 The Indefinite, Referring Pronoun

The special indefinite, yet referring, pronoun {hii} serves a similar function, but its function is often extended in discourse to the introduction of a new topic, or possibly to shift temporarily to another topic. Frequently, in the course of telling a story, a narrator may use {hii} as part of first mention, just before specifying the actual identity of the referent, as in the following.

36) *osu yaisi hii nimidzoho yaisi mi= hoa -u . .*
that.one then thing People.Masher then PL= spot-PNC
'that one, then, the thing, *Nemedzoho* spotted them . .'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

The Cannibal is central to the ensuing narrative, but was not previously mentioned. As a temporary switch of topic, note the following.

37) *oo?nosu hii una -u,*
at.the.time thing DEM-U
*su= tinna una i-nakwa wini -bodoti.*
NOM=antelope out.there PROX-direction stand.SG-around
'. . and at that moment there was something out there, an antelope was standing around . .'
(NK: Root-digging Time)

The antelope's behavior is discussed for several clauses, before the narrative returns to the activities of the central participants--the narrator

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and her family our root-digging. The following example with *hii* as the head of a noun phrase even carries a case-sensitive article.

38) *ka sa?a su= hii umi -ba pitti*
KA later NOM= thing they -LOC arrive.DUR

*wida?a wau ti= tuami -no*
black.bear two.OBL POSS= children-COM

'. . and later the whatchamacallit came over to them, the Bear with her two cubs. .'

(NK: Bear and Deer)

Again, this is the introduction of Bear, a central character for the rest of the narrative. I suspect that this pronominal form plays a key role in the *persistence* of a topic in the ensuing discourse, much like the function of the proximal demonstrative 'this' in English, as described in Wright and Givón (1987). The necessary quantified analysis of its role in text remains to be done, however.

## 4.4 Pronominal Functions of Other Word Classes

As described elsewhere (section 3.2 on noun phrase types), any notional element of the noun phrase may function pronominally--in particular, the modifiers. Both quantifiers and some adjectives may, under some circumstances, have all the referring properties of pronouns. Their role as subject or object is overtly coded by case-marking.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

39a) *iwa -ʔyu pidi -u*
many-NOM arrive-PNC
'Many came.'

b) *ii =ha udi -u punni*
you=Q tall-OBL see.DUR
'Do you see the tall one?'

This feature allows for the possibility that elements referring to the same entity in a conceptual noun phrase need not occur together. This aspect of Northern Paiute syntax also discussed in section 3.2.5.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 5

# OTHER WORD AND MORPHEME CLASSES

## 5.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a sketch of the major distributional and functional properties of three broad word and morpheme classes in Northern Paiute that participate within the broad domain of *modification*. These include *adjectivals, postpositions*, and a*dverbials*. The functional unity of each of these foci, at least for present purposes, is based mainly upon traditional semantic features. For example, adjectivals include those forms that modify nouns or noun phrases--including adjectives and quantifiers. Postpositions serve to express the relationships of peripheral participants to either the predicate--in terms of semantic role--or to other participants--most frequently in spatial terms. Some functions of the system of postpositions overlap with that of the adverbials. Adverbials perform a wide range of modifying functions and may have scope over verbs, clauses, adjectivals, or other adverbials. Some features of these classes have been described in other areas of this study in terms of how they relate to the major word classes or construction types.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

What is common to all of these functional classes, is their structural, distributional, and historical *heterogeneity*. Several subclasses may be considered under the general term *adjectival* based upon distinct morphological and distributional features. Cardinal numbers and color terms, for example, are treated in somewhat more detail in sections 5.1.6 and 5.1.7, respectively.

The language also readily recruits other form classes, such as verbs, in adjective-like functions. However, these can usually be distinguished from what I term "true adjectives" based upon their ability to enter into certain constructions. The inchoative and *comparative* constructions are described in sections 5.1.4 and 5.1.5, respectively.

The system of *postpositions* in Northern Paiute is quite elaborate, and exhibits complex distributional patterns consisting of several strata of both bound and free forms. The various patterns reflect historical developments, including lexicalized combinations and grammaticalization from two sources: 1) *stative verbs*--that appear to behave like *place* or *manner adverbs*, and 2) *relator nouns* (Starosta 1985 and DeLancey 1997)--that enter into the system via the productive *possessor NP-NP* pattern of simple juxtaposition of nominals.

*Adverbials* are typically a mixed bag in any language, and include forms with a broad array of formal and functional characteristics. Some adverbials appear to be historically derived from stative verb forms, and, in some cases, may be interpreted as postpositions. Again, it is impossible at this stage in the investigation to always clearly distinguish what I

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

include under the class "adverbial" from other form classes, or to identify all the possible sub-classes which likely exist.

## 5.1 Adjectivals

Under the general heading *adjectivals,* I include both quantifiers and what are typically termed adjectives. The main function of the adjectival class is to modify or referentially specify a nominal. There is a very strong tendency for adjectivals to occur before the noun they modify within what may properly be called a *noun phrase* (NP) (cf. section 3.2), although they are not strictly bound to that syntactic position (cf. 3.2.2.2, 3.2.5). Indeed, adjectivals in Northern Paiute may carry all the referential properties of pronouns in the language, and may, therefore, occur as the head of a noun phrase, either alone or with a determiner proclitic (cf. section 4.4).

An adjective class exists in Northern Paiute that shares a key morphosyntactic feature of the quantifiers--namely, a sensitivity to the major case distinction in the language--nominative versus oblique. Case-marking is described in section 3.2.2 and as an overt coding property of grammatical relations in section 6.1.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 5.1.1 Syntactic Properties

The following examples illustrate two basic morpho-syntactic properties of adjectives and quantifiers in Northern Paiute: 1) prenominal position within a NP, and 2) the presence of case-sensitive suffixes.

1a) *su= udi -ʔyu naatsi kima -u -gi -na*
NOM= tall -NOM boy come-PNC-CISL-PTCP
'The tall boy is coming this way.'

b) *ni u= punni ka= udi -u naatsi*
I 3= see OBL= tall -OBL boy
'I see him, the tall boy.'

c) *waha -ʔyu kaazi nawigiba kima -u -gi*
two -NOM car side.by.side come -PNC-CISL
'Two cars are coming side by side.'

d) *nimmi waha-u kaazi -gaʔyu*
we.EXCL two -OBL car -HAVE
'We have two cars.'

e) *tinaʔa -ʔyu piawabi owi igya -u*
short -NOM old.woman DEM enter.SG-PNC
'A little old woman went in there.'

f) *ni ka= tinaʔa -ku piawabi punni*
I OBL=short -OBL old.lady see
'I see that little old woman.'

The form of the oblique case-suffix on adjectival stems is unpredictably either /*-u*/ or /*-ku*/, depending upon the stem.

Modifiers may themselves occur as noun phrase heads, carrying the same referring qualities as pronouns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2a) *o?o iwa -?yu na?a . .*
DEM many-NOM grow
' . . . lots were growing out there . . '

b) *iwa -u nimmi mayi-u*
many-OBL we.EXCL find -PNC
'We found a lot . . ' (NK: Chokecherries)

This referring potential and the fact that they are marked for case allows for discontinuity of elements that refer to the same entity--that is, elements that notionally belong to the same NP (cf. also section 3.2.5).

3a) *waha-?yu tia? ka= mo -moko?ni tihona -ga*
two -NOM thus OBL=RE -woman dig.roots-TRNSL
'There were two women going out root-digging . . .'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

b) *tiitsi -ku nimmi wigina?a-kaa -na*
small-OBL we.EXCL wagon -HAVE-PTCP
'We had a small wagon . .' (GN: An Incident)[1]

The numeral 'two' in 3a) appears pre-posed to clause-initial position, followed by the discourse particle {tia?}, even though it is notionally a part of the NP that includes 'the women.' In 3b), the adjective 'small' and its notional head 'wagon' are separated by a subject pronoun. The case-marking of the adjectival in either case reinforces its unity with the nominal to which it co-refers. Many syntactic theorists have treated such

[1] This example is from Natches (1923).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

modifiers as noun phrase *adjuncts*, given that they need not occur within the same syntactic constituent, and given that they may also occur in place of a full noun phrase (Blake 1983, Hale 1983, Jelinek 1984). I concur with this analysis, but reserve discussion of its theoretical implications for future studies of Northern Paiute in this context.

The fact that an adjectival with case-marking has all the syntactic privileges associated with a full NP makes it tempting to apply a derivational function to the case suffixes as well. However, in terms of a theory of word class, such an analysis is not very enlightening, for one must still recognize a class of stems that take these particular suffixes in exactly these contexts. I refer to this class as the *case-sensitive adjectivals*. Table 5.1 is a partial inventory of adjectivals that exhibit the case-marking patterns just described. Included in the table are the stems, with the form for the oblique case suffix in parentheses.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.1 Northern Paiute Case-sensitive Adjectivals

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pisa-u* | 'good' | *sita-ku* | 'bad; badly' |
| *paba-u* | 'big' | *tiitsi-ku* | 'small' |
| *udi-u* | 'tall; long; deep' | *tina?a-ku* | 'short (of a person)' |
| *miitsi-u* | 'short' | *miitsi-ku* | 'short' |
| *iwa-u* | 'many; much' | *hiitsi-ku* | 'few; several; not many' |
| *hii-u* | 'few; a few' | *iniitsi-ku* | 'cute' |
| *inii-u* | 'cute' | *iimitsi-ku* | 'odd; strange' |
| *pidi-u* | 'new; young; anew' | *mua-tipi* | 'old; be old' |
| *simi-u* | 'one' | *noo-ku* | 'all' |
| *waha-u* | 'two' | *toki-ku* | 'correct; correctly' |
| *pahi-u* | 'three' | *naiča-ku* | 'mean; vicious' |
| | | DEM-*ni-ku* BASE | 'as; like; of type X' |

From Table 4.4, I include the 'KIND/TYPE' demonstrative affix, as it also exhibits the case sensitivity explored here.

At least one of these adjectives, {paba} 'big,' may be reduplicated to indicate plural co-reference.

4a) *mi= pa-ppaba-?yu si- sia?a, umi obi mani-pini -na*
PL=RE-big -NOM RE-girl they DEM do -PFV/STAT-PTCP
'. . those big girls, they were doing things (out of cruelty)'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

b) *umi atsa nobi pa- ppaba-?yu*
they red house RE-big -NOM/PRED
'Those red houses are big.' (SA:54)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notice that all forms that include {tsi} take {ku} as the oblique case form, reinforcing some sort of lexical specification for the -u/-ku distinction. Five of the forms in Table 5.1 appear to include the diminutive suffix {tsi} (DIM) (cf. section 3.1.4)--although both {hii} 'few' and {inii} 'cute' have been recorded both with and without it.

5a) *hiitsi-ʔyu maa tiipi -na kwa-kwapi*
few -NOM DEM ground-on RE- lie.PL
'Few are laying there on the ground.'

b) *ii hiitsi-ku [toisabui] tsa- poka -pi*
you few -OBL (chokecherries) IP/grasp-pick -PFV
'You picked a few (chokecherries).'

c) *hii -u tia? koi -si,*
few-OBL thus kill.PL-SEQ
'having killed a few. . ' (NK: Father and Son)

d) *inii tiitsi -ʔyu oŋaʔa ~ iniitsi -ʔyu oŋaʔa*
cute small-NOM infant cute.DIM -NOM infant
'a cute little infant'

Another complication appears with the form {miitsi} 'short' that I have recorded with both forms of the oblique suffix.

6a) *su= dimaziapi miitsi -ʔyu*
NOM=plant short -NOM/PRED
'The plant is short.'

b) *u-ka ni punni miitsi -u nana*
3-OBL I see.DUR short-OBL man
'I see the short man.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *nii miitsi-ku tsopihi-ga?yu*
I short-Obj hair-have
'I've got short hair'

I have little to add that might serve to explain either the apparent lexical specification or sporadic optionality with respect to the use of one oblique case suffix or the other. A possible historical connection between the {ku} form and one of the locative postpositions could provide one clue. If the development of {ku} into the domain of core case-role marking is relatively more recent than {u} in the same function, then one might expect its entrance into the system to be somewhat piecemeal and not entirely regular.

### 5.1.2 Adjectivals as Bare Stems

There are three situations I have identified whereby the case-sensitive adjectivals listed in Table 5.1 occur without case suffixes. The first situation is when they form a compound with the noun they modify--a situation already discussed in section 3.2.2.2. In such compounds, the adjective stem represents a more inherent quality of the noun it modifies.

7a) *pidi - nimi*
new - person
'youth; young people'

b) *pidi -?yu nimi*
new-NOM person
'a young person'

8a) *paba - huudi*
big - river
'Snake River'

b) *paba-?yu huudi*
big -NOM river
'a big river'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The tighter semantic connection can be viewed as iconically reflected in this tighter syntactic bond.

The second situation is when an adjectival stem behaves in some sense adverbially.

9a) *pisa ni=sutihai yaa tabino*
well us.EXCL=bless PROX day
'Bless us well today. . ' (A Prayer)

b) *oo tia? nimmi iwa ti- tsapoka -?yakwi*
so thus we.EXCL much APS-pick.berries-HAB
'. . so we would pick a lot/ do lots of picking.' (NK: Chokecherries)

c) *mi= nimi mua yaa iwi -u simi -?yakwi*
PL= people old here PROX-U gather-HAB
'. . the people of old would gather together right here.'
(NK: Old Voices)

d) *ni tauna-wai pidi piti -u*
I town -LOC new arrive-PNC
'I'm going to town presently.'

e) *paba wohi -ča?i*
big shout-HAB
'Shout loudly!'

f) *pitti -si du nimmi u=woisa su= waha ka= huudi-kwai oo,*
arrive-SEQ also we.EXCL 3=wash NOM=two OBL=river -LOC DEM
'after we arrived, (we) washed that twice there in the river.'
(NK: Chokecherries)

A certain degree of semantic shifting attends this adverbial use.

Finally, a third situation where case-sensitive adjectivals appear stripped of case-marking is as complements of the verb {?mani} 'become.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

10a) *i= tua paba ʔmani*
2=son big become
'Your son is getting big.'

b) *ii pisa ʔmani*
you good become
'You're getting well.'

This construction is also explored in section 5.1.4 as a diagnostic for membership in the limited "true" adjective class of Northern Paiute.

### 5.1.3 Adjectivals from Stative Verbs

Many adjectivals are transparently related to verbs as evidenced either by an accompanying perfective suffix {pi} (PFV), or by the nominalizing suffix {di} as a subject nominalization. The perfective suffix has also been shown (cf. section 3.1.7.5) to perform a nominalizing function. With the subject nominalizer (section 3.1.7.1), the adjectival is essentially indistinguishable from a subject relative clause.

Verb-PFV adjectivals:

11a) *mi= kidi kai yuhu-pi*
PL=marmot NEG fat -PFV
'The groundhogs aren't fat.'

b) *ni u=punni ka= yuhu-pi nana*
I 3=see OBL=fat -PFV man
'I see him, the fat man.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *toissapui passa-pi*
chokecherries dry -PFV
'The chokecherries are dry/have been dried.'

d) *passa-pi tihiča tuku*
dry -PFV deer meat
'dry deer meat (jerky)'

Verb-NMR adjectivals:

12a) *su= mogo?ni ini nazu?i*
NOM=woman INT strong
'The woman is strong.'

b) *ii = sakwa nazuidi nana*
2 = MOD strong man
'You must be a tough guy.'

c) *ka= ninikwi-di tsa- gwi-u su= natiiyadi mogo?ni*
OBL=heavy -NMR IP/grasp-lift -PNC NOM= strong woman
'The strong woman lifted the heavy thing.'

As the examples above illustrate, perfective and nominalized verb forms may both carry the semantics and readily enter into constructions typically associated with adjectivals. Morphologically, however, they can be readily distinguished from the adjective class.

### 5.1.4 Inchoative Constructions

As we have seen, there are morpho-syntactic distinctions between "true" adjectivals and those derived from other word classes. Perhaps the most significant morphological distinction is in the ability of the true adjectivals to carry distinctions in case-marking. Another important

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

distinction is based upon their ability to enter into particular constructions.

Northern Paiute has two distinct constructions that mean roughly 'to become/to turn into X.' These are typically referred to as *inchoative* constructions. One inchoative construction involves the *subjunctive* verb suffix {dua} (SUBJ). When added to stative verbs (or nouns), it means 'become X.'

13a) *mi= kidi yuhu -dua tamano*
PL= marmot fat -SUBJ spring
'The groundhogs get fat in the spring.'

b) *ni = sa?a tikiya?i -dua*
I = may skinny -SUBJ
'I might get skinny.'

The other inchoative construction is syntactically periphrastic and involves the independent verb {?mani} meaning 'become.' In this inchoative construction, a "true" (underived) adjectival stem occurs as a complement of this verb, without case-marking.

14a) *ii udi ?mani -pi*
you tall become-PFV
'You're getting tall.'

b) *ii udi ?mani -dua*
you tall become -SUBJ
'(someday) You'll get tall.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *ii pisa ʔmani -kwi*
you good become-FUT
'You'll get well.'

d) *ii pisa ʔmani*
you good become
'You're getting well.'

The type of inchoative construction required is therefore an important test for word class membership. Adjectivals derived from verb stems simply take the subjunctive verb suffix, whereas "true" adjectives occur in their bare stem form as complements to an independent verb meaning 'become.'

### 5.1.5 Making Comparisons

Making comparisons can be done in several ways in Northern Paiute, depending upon the nature of the comparison. The comparative construction typically involves one of two locative adverbial expressions: 1) {uhunakwa} 'behind; more than' when the subject of the comparison is greater than the object and 2) {minakwa} 'before; less than' when the subject of the comparison is less than the object.

The object of the comparison may occur in either oblique or genitive case. The basis for the comparison, when overtly expressed, appears as the predicate. Both true and derived adjectivals may enter into a comparative construction.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

15a) *i= ʔuhunakwạ kati -u*
1=behind sit.SG-PNC
'Sit behind me'

b) *u-su ni-ga uunakwa yuhu-pi*
3-NOM 1 -GEN beyond fat -PFV
'He is fatter than I.' (SA:55)

c) *i - su gapa u- ga simi -u uunakwa paba-ʔyu*
PROX-NOM bed 3- GEN one -OBL beyond big -PRED
'This bed is bigger than that one.' (SA:55)

If the basis for the comparison is understood, it may be left unspecified. In these cases, the locative adverbials themselves appear in predicate form with the suffix {ʔyu}.

16a) *masu nana u -ka uhunakwa -ʔyu*
DEM man 3 -OBL more -PRED
'That man is taller than him.'

b) *masu nana u -ka minakwi -ʔyu*
DEM man 3 -OBL less -PRED
'That man is shorter than him.'

Again, the object of the comparison may be expressed in the genitive (GEN), rather than oblique (OBL) case.

17a) *masu nana u -ga uhunakwa -ʔyu*
DEM man 3 -GEN more -PRED
'That man is taller than him.'

b) *masu nana ni -ga uhunakwa -ʔyu*
DEM man 1 -GEN taller -PRED
'That man is taller than me.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Some other expressions include using the locative adverb {kwayakwa} 'beyond; past' to indicate 'older than,' and {tamiho?i} 'late; later' to indicate 'younger than.'

18a) *kwayakwa tiwao nimi tabinnati tiwao nimi tsuga tihona.*
beyond also we.EXCL hillside also we.EXCL biscuitroot dig.roots
'. . and, too, on the other side of the hill, we dug biscuitroot. '
(NK: Root-digging Time)

b) *ni manigi tommo -ba u= kwayakwa*
I five year -LOC 3= beyond
'I'm five years older than her/him.'

c) *kai ti- tamihoi -paana; yabi -su piti -u*
NEG APS-late -PROH quick -ADV arrive.SG-PNC
'Don't be late; arrive on time!'

d) *masu manigi tommo -ba i= tamiho?i*
DEM five year -LOC 1= later
'Five years younger than me.'

The following alternative has the basis for comparison in the predicate position, in this case marked in the perfective, rather than with a locative postposition as in 18b) and d), above.

19) *imi pia i= minakwa tommo -pi*
your mother 1= less year -PFV
'your mom is younger than me.'

The comparative construction is obviously not exclusively the domain of adjectivals. Comparisons of equality, according to the analysis in Snapp and Anderson (1982) also involve locative expressions,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

particularly the use of one of two postpositions: 1) {no} 'as; with (accompanying)'--the COMITATIVE, and 2) {wa?ni} 'as/like'--the SIMILATIVE. These postpositions are bound as suffixes to the object of the comparison.

20a) *i -su naatsi ti= naa -no?o -su ?wini*
PROX-NOM boy POSS=father-COM-ADV stand.SG
'This boy is as tall as (lit. "stands with") his father.' (SA:55)

b) *mi=sooyasi niikwi-kwa?ni nimmi niikwi-čakwi.*
PL=soldier treat -SIMIL we.EXCL treat -HAB
'As soldiers are treated, so we were treated.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

I consider this function simply an extension of their prototypical functions as postpositions, however. Postpositions are discussed in more detail in section 5.2.

### 5.1.6 Numerals

The cardinal numbers in Northern Paiute have the capacity to reach into the thousands, although this capacity is rarely used and speakers are not equally skilled in doing so. The larger numbers are all base ten, although the numbers below ten show traces of base five and four, given that numbers larger than five are derivatives of the lower numbers. Numbers one through eight carry the same case suffixes as other case-sensitive adjectivals (cf. Table 5.1)--'nominative' {?yu} (NOM) and 'oblique' {u} (OBL). Cardinal numbers from nine and above are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

phrasal, and are mathematically derived via addition, subtraction, or multiplication.

When counting, the forms for one through eight occur with the nominative/predicative suffix. Table 5.2 lists the base form,--defined as the form which is carried over into the higher numbers or other phrase types--followed by the nominative/predicative and accusative/oblique forms for these numerals.

Table 5.2 Northern Paiute Numerals--One to Eight

| BASE | NOM/PRED | OBLIQUE | gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| *simi-* | *simi?yu* | *simiu* | 'one' |
| *waha-* | *waha?yu* | *wahau* | 'two' |
| *pahi-* | *pahi?yu* | *pahiu* | 'three' |
| *watsi-* | *watsikwi?yu* | *watsikwiu* | 'four' |
| *manigi-* | *manigi?yu* | *manigiu* | 'five' |
| *naapahi-* | *naapahi?yu* | *naapahiu* | 'six' |
| *natakwatsi-* | *natakwatsikwi?yu* | *natakwatsikwiu* | 'seven' |
| *namiwatsi-* | *namiwatsikwi?yu* | *namiwatsikwiu* | 'eight' |

Some features of this system include:

1) The root for 'six' is the same as for 'three,' with the addition, perhaps, of the dual/reciprocal pronominal base (cf. section 4.1.8).
2) The roots for both 'seven' and 'eight' appear to be the same as for 'four.' Setting aside the dual/reciprocal base {na}, I have no analysis for the remaining /-ta-/ of 'seven' or /-wi-/ of 'eight.' Also note that the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

base forms for these three numbers also appear without the syllable /-kwi/. Again, I have, at present, no historical analysis for it.

3) The numeral 'five' appears to include the general instrumental prefix (IP) 'of or pertaining to the hand.' Some variation of this connection is common, cross-linguistically.

4) As a cross-dialectal aside, in my fieldwork with a speaker of the Yahooskin, or Silver Lake dialect, the numeral 'eight' was given as /waʔhʔa kaduʔupi/, literally, 'two gone.' This was also recorded in Kelly (1930) in Surprise Valley and likely represents a later development by analogy to the numeral 'nine.'

The remaining numerals are phrasal and do not have case-sensitive forms distinct from their base forms. I include just enough here for the reader to deduce the numeral system up to one thousand. At that point, there is some disagreement among speakers--at least in Burns--as to how to proceed. I include a phrasal analysis for some numerals in the interlinear gloss.

21a) *simi kaduʔu -pi*
one be.missing-PFV
'nine' (lit. 'one gone')

b) *simi ma- no -ʔyu*
one hand-COM-ATTR
'ten' (lit. 'together with one hand')

c) *simi manoʔyu simi-ma tsipugi -di*
ten one -with/INST add/release -NMR
'eleven' (lit. 'ten with one added')

d) *simi manoʔyu wahama tsipugidi*
one together with.two added
'twelve'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

e) *waha mano?yu*
two together
'twenty'

f) *pahi mano?yu*
three together
'thirty'

g) *namiwatsi mano?yu*
eight together
'eighty'

h) *simi kadu?upi mano?yu*
one missing together
'ninety'

i) *naapahi-kwaiti*
six -LOC
'six hundred' (lit. 'right at six')

j) *simi kadu?upi-kwaiti*
one missing -LOC
'nine hundred'

An alternative for the teens, twenties, etc. includes shortening 'ten,' 'twenty,' etc., to 'one,' 'two,' etc. as in the following.

22a) *simi?yu wahama tsipugidi*
one with.two added
'twelve'

b) *watsikwi?yu manigima tsipugidi*
four with.five added
'forty-five'

Also, in a phrasal context, 'nine' (literally, 'one gone') will occasionally lose the final /-pi/ 'PFV' suffix, as in these alternatives to 21h) and 21j) above.

23a) *simi kaduu mano?yu*
'ninety'

b) *simi kaduu-kwaiti*
'nine hundred'

Skill in {tatsiŋa} 'counting' is not, I have found, co-extensive with general fluency in the language. Certainly, there have always been occasions where counting is necessary--for example, in trade or gambling.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[2] However, few occasions would have required counting much beyond the twenties.

### 5.1.7 Color Terms

Another important subset of adjectivals are the color terms. In this section, I provide a simple inventory and describe the morpho-syntactic properties that render them a clear subclass of adjectivals. Nichols (1974: 250ff) devotes a section to the description of Northern Paiute color terms from the perspective of their typological and historical context. Nichols (1980) also describes the renewal of color terms in the overall Numic system as a means of accounting for developments in the individual Numic languages.

In citation form, the basic color terms occur with an *absolutive suffix* (cf. section 3.1.3) that is unique to them--{kwičaadi} in the Burns dialect, {kwik$^{y}$a} in the Yahooskin, or Silver Lake dialect. These suffixes are very likely morphologically complex, perhaps including a palatalized allomorph of the verbalizing suffix {kaa} 'HAVE/be characterized by' with the Burns form also apparently including the nominalizing suffix {di} (NMR).

Color terms in the context of actual noun phrases are the most syntactically bound of all the adjectives in that they always form

---

[2] Especially when playing {nayakwi} 'stick game.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

compounds with the nouns they modify (cf. section 3.2.2.2). Other adjectives, as we have seen, may optionally do so, particularly when expressing more inherent properties.

24a) *usu hudziba oha- mubi -ča -ʔyu*
DEM bird yellow-nose -HAVE-ATTR
'That bird has an orange beak'

b) *ni tuu - tipi punni kaiba -maku*
I black-rock see mountain-LOC
'I saw a black rock on the mountain.' (SA:52)

Table 5.3 includes the basic color terms of Northern Paiute, both their base--compounding--forms, and their citation forms with the absolutive suffix.

Table 5.3 Northern Paiute Color Terms

| BASE | CITATION | gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *tuu- / tuhu-* | *tuhukwičaadi* | 'black' |
| *toha-* | *tohakwičaadi* | 'white' |
| *atsa-* | *atsakwičaadi* | 'red' |
| *oha-* | *ohakwičaadi* | 'yellow' |
| *puhi-* | *puhikwičaadi* | 'grue' (green/blue) |
| *isi-* | *isikwičaadi* | 'grey' |
| *ikwitsi-* | *ikwitsikwičaadi* | 'brown/tan' |

Nichols (1974) notes a great deal of cross-dialectal variation with respect to the term for 'brown' in Northern Paiute. Therefore, it is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

important to note that the terms listed here are from my work with speakers of the Burns dialect only.

There are ways of modifying the basic color terms to extend the spectrum. One way this can be done is with the suffix {-sučuadi} 'light' as in /atsa-sučuadi/ 'pink' (lit. 'light red.' Another way is by using the general intensifying adverb {ini} (INT) to mean something like 'dark,' as in /ini puhi-kwičaadi/ 'dark blue.' The third common way is with the degree adverb {sakwani} 'barely/almost,' as in /sagwani oha-kwičaadi/ to mean 'yellowish.'

## 5.2 Postpositions

Northern Paiute *postpositions*, like English prepositions, mark peripheral arguments and specify a wide range of spatial, temporal, and other relationships. They appear most commonly as suffixes to nouns or to pronominal and demonstrative bases.[3] The system of Northern Paiute postpositions is quite extensive. Liljeblad (1966) identifies 20 simple bound postpositions (what he calls "secondary cases") along with 30 compound forms. He places the simple forms under four category headings: 1) essives, 2) latives, 3) coextentials, and 4) non-paradigmatic. The compound forms are categorized on apparent co-distributional

[3] See section 4.1.6 and Table 4.2 for a description and list of Northern Paiute peripheral argument pronouns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

grounds as: 1) intra-paradigmatic, 2) inter-paradigmatic, and 3) non-paradigmatic.

My understanding of the basic system has benefited greatly from the insights presented in Liljeblad's (1966) work as well as in Snapp and Anderson (1982). I have also found Sapir's excellent (1930:217ff) description of the class in Southern Paiute extremely helpful, both by confirming several features of my own analysis, and by directing my attention to still others.

Differences in both inventory and analysis are due, in part, to the richness and complexity of the system, but perhaps more crucially to differences in the criteria used to determine inclusion in the category. Liljeblad (1966), for example, limits his discussion to the simple bound forms, whereas Snapp and Anderson (1982) include both bound and free forms in their inventory. There is even some disagreement between the two works as to which forms are free and which, bound.

Category membership is clearly a gradient proposition. The language has recruited, and continues to recruit, members of other word classes into the postposition category. I incorporate the approach taken in DeLancey (1997, 2001) into the present discussion to describe the gradient features of the postposition category in Northern Paiute. Although I begin this description with the simple bound forms and their combinations, I also discuss both independent forms of postpositions and the historical developments that make distinctions between it and other categories rather fuzzy.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 5.2.1 Basic Properties of Postpositions

Postpositions serve to signal a variety of relationships carried by non-core, or peripheral, arguments to a predication and its core arguments. These relationships are most often spatial or directional (25a)-d)), but also include temporal (e), comitative (f), instrumental (g), similative (h) and others.

25a) *ka= tibɔ -doha ni u=tiki*
OBL=table-under I 3=put
'I put it under the table.'

b) *su= poŋaadzi ti= nobohi -wai ĩja -u*
NOM=mouse POSS=nest -LOC enter-PNC
'The mouse went into its nest.'

c) *ka= wassa -ba piti -u*
OBL= sandhill.crane -by arrive -PNC
'She got to where Crane was. . ' (NK: Bear and Deer)

d) *oo poo -mupaa kima -u -gina*
DEM road-along come-PNC-CISL
'(S/He) is coming there along the road.' (SL:60)

e) *oo -no imi tsasupiča*
DEM-TEMP you release
'At that time, (they) let you go. . ' (NK: Boarding School Days)

f) *una -ku nobi -ga -ʔyu umi*
DEM -OBL house -have-PRED they
*su= tihiča piabi ti= tuami -no*
NOM=deer female POSS= children-with
'Way out there they lived, the mother deer with her children. . '
(NK: Bear and Deer)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

g) *kiki -ma ta- ttutubi*
foot -INST IP/foot-stretch
'(they) stretch (the hide) with the feet'

h) *su= piabi tiipi -wa?ni tabia*
NOM=female earth -SIMIL appear
'The female (grouse) looks like the ground.'

As with English prepositions, the use of postpositions are frequently extended beyond concrete spatial notions into more abstract, temporal, or idiomatic functions.

26a) *hayu --pakotopa̤-- ka= taibo -wai na -ni?a*
how "blackbird" OBL=white.person-LOC MM -call
'What is "pakotopa" called in English?'

b) *ni ?iwi -na tokaano awamoa-kwai-tu*
I sleep-PTCP night morning-LOC -ALL
'I slept all night until morning.'

c) *uúni?yu su= moyo?ni ma -kuba-?yu mia -u*
therefore NOM=woman DEM -over-ABL go.SG-PNC
'That's why the woman left (him).'

The approach I take in this section is to begin with the central members of the category and describe them in terms of their basic functional, phonological, and distributional features. The forms I take as "central" to the system represent a closed class of morphology that largely mirrors the prepositions of English in function and scope.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 5.2.2 Suffixes versus Enclitics

Simple postpositions are shown bound to their nominal or pronominal objects as *suffixes* in the examples above, but have also been described as *enclitics*, in part because they are not restricted in their distribution to any particular word or phrase class.[4] Recall, for example, section 3.1.7.4 which discusses the use of postpositions attached to verbs in a kind of nominalizing or subordinating function. The following examples illustrate this use.

27a) *oo su= mooni ni= mia-pi -duu*
DEM NOM=money 1.EXCL= go -PFV-through
'The money is there where we went through.'

b) *ta pinaosu mi- mia-u -kwi ka= kidi i= puni -kwai -tu*
we.DL back RE- go -PNC -FUT OBL= groundhog 1= see -LOC -ALL
'We (2) will go back to where I saw the groundhog.'

c) *pisa -u = sakwa ta ka u= tika -wai -tu hani*
good-U = MOD 1.DL KA 3= eat -LOC-ALL do
'"Good, let's put it into his eating-place . . "' (NK: Nemechozinna)

d) *ti= nazikuudi na- kia -no?o*
POSS= school MM-escape-TEMP
'when school is let out/ when one is let out of school'

---

[4] This is the main argument posed in Charney (1993) for Comanche and Dayley (1989) for Tümpisa (Panamint).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

They also appear attached to adjectivals (28a), adverbial demonstratives (28b), and locative adverbials (28c).

28a) *pisa -kwai-tu mia*
good-LOC-LOC go.SG
'go to a good place'

b) *ya?uni -kwai imi hani . .*
PROX.type -LOC they do/wear
'They wore this kind (of thing)' (MS: Autobiography)

c) *yaisi ka ibi pa?a-kwai hau ma-mani -pini ,*
then KA DEM high-LOC how RE-fix/do-PFV
'and then (they) fasten (it) somehow way up to here . . '
(MS: Autobiography)

I treat them as suffixes, however, and indicate their morphological boundaries with a hyphen (-) rather than an equals sign (=) here and elsewhere in the grammar. There are three reasons for treating them as suffixes. First, the central members are more tightly bound than other enclitics in the language insofar as when they co-occur with enclitics, they always precede them.[5] Second, with pronominal or demonstrative bases postpositions clearly combine to form a single phonological word. Stress rules apply to the combination of pronoun plus postposition, whereas with enclitics, the simple CV pronominal bases are phonetically bi-moraic and take primary stress, which never falls on an enclitic.

---

[5] Sapir (1930) also uses this argument.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 29a) | [pikwái] | b) | [nimíβa] | c) | [pʉ́ísu] |
| | *pi'-wai* | | *nimi-pa* | | *pi' =su* |
| | 'the place where' | | 'by us (EXCL)' | | 'him/herself (EMPH)' |

A third feature that distinguishes simple bound postpositions from enclitics is that the former, but apparently not the latter, undergo final feature effects, as described in section 2.4.1. These effects can be seen in 29a) and b) above. Indeed, postpositions are often the clearest diagnostic for final features in Northern Paiute and other Numic languages.

### 5.2.3 Basic Postposition Construction Types

Two basic nominal construction types involving postpositions are attested in Northern Paiute: 1) the most common simple N-plus-PP, exemplified in 25a)-h) above, and 2) the "pronoun copy" construction. A sub-type of the simple N-plus-PP construction is that involving pronominal or demonstrative bases bound to postpositions as in 29a)-b), as well as those exemplified in section 4.1.6 and 4.2 in discussions of peripheral argument pronouns and demonstrative forms, respectively. The basic construction involves simple suffixation or, in the case of free postpositions, juxtaposition of a nominal (noun, pronoun, demonstrative, or other form class) plus a postposition or postposition complex.[6]

---

[6] See Langacker (1977b) for a description of the various constructions involving postpositions in Uto-Aztecan languages.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The construction commonly referred to in the Uto-Aztecan literature as the "pronoun copy" construction is also attested in Northern Paiute. In this construction, the postposition, or postposition complex, is bound to a pronominal or demonstrative base that is co-referring to an independent nominal that appears elsewhere in the clause, as in the following examples from text.

30a) *nimmi yaisi tiwau paba matta u-kuba-ku nimmi tiwau u= tabatzi*
we then also big metate 3-upon-LOC we also 3= crush
'. . and then we smashed them on a big metate . .'
(NK: Chokecherries)

b) *yaisi nami -ku mi= tatima?o -ga,*
then both -OBL PL= carry.off -TRNSL
*oo owi -tu patikwa u -ma -tu, owi -u*
DEM DEM -ALL island DEM -LOC-ALL DEM-U
' . . and then (it) carried off both of them, out there to that island, right there.
(NK: Nemechozinna)

c) *ka= hikwa u-naga -ti -kwa?ni*
OBL=wind 3-among-ESS -SIMIL
'Like it's in the wind.' (NK: Old Voices)

Sapir (1930:218) describes this construction type as part of a "tendency for postpositions to attach themselves by preference to pronouns and demonstrative stems." My own general impression[7] is that there is also such a preference in Northern Paiute, but that it does not of necessity

[7] Statistical text counts have not been made.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

entail a parallel preference for the pronoun copy construction. Rather, it entails a strong tendency to establish reference to a location--either in a presentational construction or as the object of a postpositional phrase--and for the ensuing narrative to make use of anaphoric pronouns or demonstrative forms--both with and without postpositions.

In the following excerpt from text, reference is first made to a 'rocky place,' and then, in the second clause, to an opening in the rocks. The woman proceeds to hide in that opening, and extensive reference is made to her location with respect to it using the demonstrative system --five anaphoric mentions in the last four clauses of the passage.

31) *yaisi ka= una -u tippi -ga -wai pitti -ga*
then OBL DEM-U rock-HAVE -LOC arrive -TRNSL
'Then (she) reached a rocky place,

*paba su= tippi higa?ni-pini pisa*
big NOM= rock open -PFV good
'(it was) big and the rocks had a nice opening.

*natii?ya tabi?a -pini paba-?yu su= tippi tia?a*
steep(ly) appear -PFV big -NOM NOM=rock thus
*iwa -u tippi -ga -wai*
many -OBL rock -HAVE-LOC
'It looked steep, was big, the rocks, a really rocky place.

*su= nimi mogo?ni u -tuha -u ĭja*
NOM=person woman 3 -under -U enter
'The Indian woman went in under there.

*owi -u watsi -kwi mii sunami -na*
DEM-U hide -FUT QUOT think -PTCP
'"(I) will hide in there," so (she was) thinking,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ni--- ka= tokano--- u -su sia?i pino?o*
I OBL=nighttime 3 -NOM afraid as.well
'"I-- nighttime-," she was afraid!

*u -tuha -?yu -na yaisi u -tuha -?yu -na yaisi*
DEM-under-ATTR -PTCP then DEM-under-ATTR-PTCP then
*pino?o oo tia?a sia?i -na oi -?yu*
as.for so thus afraid -PTCP there-ATTR
'Under there, then, being under there, as for (her), (she) was afraid in there . . '
(NK: Nemedzoho)

As a sub-type of the "pronoun copy" construction, one also finds, especially in text, the same postposition occurring on both a nominal and a co-referring pronominal or demonstrative base.

32a) *una -u yaisi uuni -kwai pitti -ga na- tihona -di -kwai*
DEM-U then that.kind-LOC arrive.SG-TRNSL MM-dig.roots-NMR-LOC
' . . out there, (they) then arrived at that, the root-digging place.'
(NK: Bear and Deer)

b) *ma -nakwa-na pa?a-nakwa yaisi su= idza kima -u -gi -na*
DEM-side -DIR high -side then NOM= coyote come-PNC -CISL-PTCP
'. . when from out there up above came the Coyote.'
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

Sometimes the full nominal object is suffixed with a different postposition than the co-referring anaphoric pronominal base.

33) *kai =ha = sakwa ni i= kwassi-wai u -ma mayua-kati mii*
NEG =Q = MOD I 2= tail -LOC 3 -onto hold -sit.SG QUOT
'"How about if hold on by your tail?" saying . .'
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As I suggested in the discussion of the wide variety of demonstrative forms in Northern Paiute, many of these forms likely represent grammaticalized combinations of demonstrative base and postposition. A full historical analysis of these forms is beyond the scope of this work. There remain, as well, certain distributional peculiarities of postpositions that appear different with noun versus pronominal objects. These, too, are only partly understood and await further study.

### 5.2.4 Inventory and Co-Distributional Features

The distributional features of Northern Paiute postpositions are indicative of an ongoing historical process whereby new members are still being recruited, as explored further in the next section. The central members of the category may be compounded to extend their semantics in subtle ways. It is possible to establish *at least* three strata, or layers, of bound forms based upon a traditional position-class analysis. Snapp and Anderson (1982:39) classify the postpositions as first, second, and third order based upon such an analysis. Crum and Dayley (1993) refer to the comparable third order postpositions in Western Shoshoni as "postposition adjuncts" (79), since they are suffixed to the other postpositions of combinations thereof.

The distributional facts for postpositions in Northern Paiute, and elsewhere in Numic, are indeed complex. I prefer to describe the simple postpositions in terms of four distributional types: 1) first order, 2) second order, 3) final, and 4) non-combining.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

First order postpositions constitute the largest set and consist of both free and bound forms. They are always first in a series and are usually followed by at least one other form, either a second order postposition or a final. First order is where the recruitment of newer forms as *relator nouns* (ala Starosta 1985 and DeLancey 1997) or *locative adverbials* (cf. section 5.3.1) occurs. The free forms--the nouns and adverbials that appear in this function--are often themselves morphologically complex. Discussion of this recruitment is taken up in sections 5.2.5.

Second order postpositions may in fact consist of two actual morphological position classes, since one occasionally finds two co-occurring. I define this distributional class strictly in terms of where they occur in relation to first order postpositions and finals, however. Since it is often difficult to determine the extent to which certain combinations have become lexicalized, a more rigorous position-class analysis may reflect historical facts, and, in my view, make the sychronic picture unnecessarily opaque.

Finals are phonetically among the simplest, semantically, the most general, and, in terms of distribution, always occur at the end of any combination of postpositions. In the absence of either first or second order postpositions, they also occur directly attached to a nominal or pronominal object. This possibility is significantly more common with pronominal/demonstrative bases, however. With nominal objects, finals almost always occur in combination with other postpositions.

Non-combining postpositions are those which have not been found in combination with any of the other distributional classes. They are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

usually those forms which do not, strictly speaking, carry information regarding spatial relationships. Rather, members of this subclass tend to mark semantic roles like benefactive/recipient, instrumental, and comitative. I also include the similitive, partitive, and temporal post-positons in this class. Some may, at least historically, be morphologically complex.

Table 5.4 is an attempt to summarize the main features of the simple bound postpositions of Northern Paiute. Column one lists their allomorphs, conditioned mainly by the final feature status of the preceding morpheme (cf. 2.4.1). Whether or not the postpositions themselves induce fortition is indicated by the presence or absence of a final apostrophe ('). Column two includes, for the forms he identifies, the labels given in Liljeblad (1966:57ff) for the simple postpositions. Column three includes their broad semantic characterization by comparison to English prepositions. Finally, column four characterizes what is known of their distribution.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.4 Northern Paiute Simple Postpositions

| Allomorphy | Labels | Gloss | Distribution |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-naga', -nnaga'* | INTERESSIVE | 'in, among' | first order |
| *-guba', -kuba'* | SUPRAESSIVE | 'upon, above, over' | first order |
| *-duha', -tuha'* | SUBESSIVE | 'under, below' | first order |
| *-ba', -pa'* | ILLATIVE | 'to, by, at, into' | first order |
| *-wai', -kwai', -i'* | INESSIVE | 'at, in, on, into' | second order |
| *-ma', -mma'* | ADESSIVE[8] | 'at, on, by' | second order |
| *-wa', -kwa'* | REGIONALIS | 'at, in the area of' | second order |
| *-du, -duʔu, -tu, -tuʔu* | TRANSLATIVE | 'through' | second order |
| *-ʔyu* | ABLATIVE | 'from, out from' | second order; demonstratives |
| *-na, -nna* | ABLATIVE | 'from, out from' | second order; demonstratives |
| *-nakwa, -nnakwa* | LOC/TEMPORAL ADESSIVE | 'in the direction of' | second order |
| *-napa, -nnapa* | DIRECTIVE | 'across from; on the other side of' | second order |
| *-mupaa, -mmupaa* | PROLATIVE | 'along, alongside, by' | second order? |
| *-wigiba, -kwigiba* | IL-/PRO-LATIVE | 'beside; alongside' | second order? |
| *-du, -tu* | ALLATIVE | 'to, onto' | final; alone with demonstratives |
| *-ti* | GENERAL ESSIVE | 'to, at, right there' | final; alone with demonstratives |

[8] Snapp and Anderson (1982) list this and the one labeled 'INSTRUMENTALIS' as the same postposition. Both distributional and semantic factors contribute to my sense of these as two distinct morphemes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.4 (continued)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-ku* | GENERAL ESSIVE[9] | 'to, at, in' | final; alone with demonstratives |
| *-na, -nna* | ATTRIBUTIVE | 'of that class' | final; alone with demonstratives |
| *-mati, -mmati* | PARTITIVE | 'part of, belonging to' | final |
| *-ti* | PARTITIVE /POSSESSIVE | 'of or belonging to' | final |
| *-dami, -tami* | OBLATIVE | 'to, toward' | non-co-occurring |
| *-no, -nno* | COMITATIVE | 'with, accompanying' | non-co-occurring |
| *-ma, -mma* | INSTRUMENTAL | 'with, by means of' | non-co-occurring |
| *-no, -nno, -no?o, -nno?o, -?no* | TEMPORAL ESSIVE | 'at that time of' | non-co-occurring |
| *-wa?ni, -kwa?ni* | SIMILITIVE | 'like, as' | non-co-occurring |
| *-mi, -mi?i* | | 'to, into' | only with demonstratives |
| *-tugu* | TRANSLATIVE | 'through' | only with demonstratives |
| *-na* | DIRECTIVE | 'direction away' | only with demonstratives |

The following examples of various combinations are intended for illustration of the placement of the simple postpositions in three (or perhaps four) strata.

---

[9] Liljeblad (1966) does not list this among his secondary cases. Snapp and Anderson (1982) list a semantic contrast between {ku} and {ti} as "customarily" versus "temporarily" located, respectively, contrast that is not fully described and is not clearly borne out by the available data.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

34a) *i= tsoaba -kuba -kwai u= winai -u*
2=shoulder-SUPRA-IN 3= throw-PNC
'Throw it over your shoulder!'

b) *ii wi?i -u -dua ka= paa -wai-tu*
you fall -PNC-SUBJ OBL=water-IN -ALL
'. . you might fall in the water.' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

c) *sawa -naga -?yu yaga-na naka-?yakwi*
sagebrush -INTER -ABL cry -PTCP hear -HAB
'. . (we'd) hear (it) calling from among the sagebrush.'
(NK: We Talked to that Bird)

d) *ti= too -kwai-?yu ki?a -u -ki*
POSS=hole-IN -ABL escape-PNC-CISL
'They came out from their hole' (SL:64)

e) *oo yaisi huu -tu -ti tipi pisa kaakwaba watti*
so then flow-TRAN-ESS rock good be.sharp search
'So then along the riverbed, (he) searched for a nice, sharp rock. .'
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

f) *a= po?a-tuha-kwai-tu*
4= bark -SUB-IN -ALL
'(It's) beneath the bark'

g) *mogo?ni ka= tipi -tuha -ku uu*
woman OBL=rock-SUB-ESS thusly
' . . as that woman was under the rocks . .' (NK: Nemedzoho)

h) *pi -kwai-ku mi= ti- woisa -na*
RESTR-IN -ESS PL=APS-wash.clothes-PTCP
'(that's) what they did their washing in . .' (MS: Autobiography)

i) *u -na u -na -kwa -na -tu waihi -wai-tu*
DEM-DIR DEM-DIR-REG-ABL-ALL Owyhee-IN -ALL
' . . over there from on the other side toward Owyhee . . '
(MS: Autobiography)

Such compounding is extensive, and has likely resulted in independently lexicalized combinations giving rise, essentially, to new

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

postpositions in the language. It is, of course, difficult to make a secure judgement about the degree to which such combinations are synchronically analyzable. Liljeblad (1966: 62-67) provides an excellent survey of some of the most typical combinations with glosses and examples for each.

Of the 30 combined forms Liljeblad lists, the semantics of most are fairly straightforward, based upon the semantics of the individual parts. I include some that represent such combinations--for example, {nakwa} 'in the direction of' (ADessive) and {mati} 'some of; related to' (PARTitive)--in Table 9.4 above for two reasons: 1) they tend to distribute as units, and 2) a compositional approach does not necessarily yield anything transparent, semantically. Examples of these forms follow.

35a) *pa?a-nakwa -na*
high -ADESS-ABL
'from up above'

b) *u=tsaminita oo?no-su kai u= passa-nakwa -tu pino?o passa-kwi*
3=flip then -ADV NEG 3= dry -ADESS-ALL also dry -FUT
'So then (you) flip it over so the side that's not dry will dry, too. .'
(NK: Chokecherries)

c) *u-su moko?ni ni -mati*
3-NOM woman I -PART
'That woman is related to me.'

d) *i - ga tuami -mati*
PROX-GEN children-PART
'some of her children' (SA:64)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I have listed both {na} and {k/wa} as second order postpositions, but the form {nakwa} is likely a lexicalized combination. A compositional analysis of the partitive {mati} would likely include the adessive {ma} and the essive {ti}. The essive alone also appears to function as a partitive/possessive suffix when the possessor is the head of a noun phrase.

36) *mido-ti ya?a; i -ga -ti o?o*
M. -PART here you -GEN-PART there
Myrtle's is here; yours is over there.

The consequences of ongoing recruitment of forms and lexicalized combinations of old forms has yielded the complex system we find today. It is to some of the features and possible historical explanations of such developments that we now turn.

### 5.2.5 Historical Source of Postpositions

Cross-linguistically, adpositions hail from two sources via grammaticalization: 1) *serial verb* constructions and 2) *relator noun* constructions (DeLancey 1997). Verbal sources likely account for several of the postpositions in the language (cf. {no} COM from {no} 'to carry; load'). Booth (1979) describes the syntactic parallels between postpositions and verbs in Kawaiisu. Givón (2000), utilizing methods of internal reconstruction, describes in detail the grammaticalization of verbs into postpositions in Ute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The second source, the relator noun construction, likely accounts for much of the category membership of postpositions in Northern Paiute and is the focus of this section. The evidence for this as a source construction can be found by looking at free *possessed* nominals that are used to add locational specificity in the language.

37a) *i= tsabo -i -nakwa watsi -u*
1=buttocks-LOC-side hide -PNC
'Hide behind me!'

b) *su= nana nobi kobi -na*
NOM=man house front -LOC
'The man is in front of the house.'

In 37a), a body part term 'buttocks' is used in a semantic extension to mean 'behind.' Unlike the bound postpositions discussed in previous sections, the "object" appears as a possessor proclitic, rather than as a pronominal base. The construction in 37b) can also be viewed as a possessor noun phrase construction (cf. section 3.2.3.1). Such constructions are commonly formed through simple juxtaposition of two nouns--the possessor followed by the possessum--which in Northern Paiute carries no special genitive case-marking. In both 37a) and b) above, further locative specificity is expressed on the second, or head nominal-qua-relator noun via bound postpositions.

From this construction type, it is fairly easy to see how the complex distributional facts of Northern Paiute postpositions could have developed. By exploiting the simple juxtaposition strategy of possessor noun phrases, relational expressions develop the more abstract semantics of a relator

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

noun. Eventually, they may become phonologically-reduced and bound to the erstwhile possessor nominal as a suffix.

The body part nominal {tsabo} appears to be a recent innovation,[10] coexisting in synchronic Northern Paiute grammar with an alternative expression {uhunakwa} with the various meanings 'behind; beyond; more than.'

38) *u -su u=soobi tsabo -i -nakwa*
3-NOM 3=stove buttocks-LOC -side

OR *u -su u=soobi uhunakwa*
3-NOM 3=stove behind
'It's behind the stove.'

Recall that the comparative construction (section 5.1.5, above) utilizes this same locative expression. Also, the object of the comparison--when a free pronoun--can optionally appear in genitive case.[11] DeLancey (1997) describes a similar option occurring in the relator noun construction in Tibetan. Along the path to grammaticalization as a postposition, he explains, genitive marking is at first optional, then disallowed as the relator noun loses syntactic headship in the construction.

---

[10] Both in terms of its continued independent lexical function, and due to the fact that speakers recognize its use here as an extension of its more concrete semantics.
[11] Only independent pronouns have distinct oblique versus genitive case forms in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The postposition {kuba} 'upon, above, over' appears transparently related to the body part term {koba} 'face' with only minor phonological changes. As a postposition, {kuba} rarely carries stress and is always in juxtaposition following another nominal as its object.

39a) *puku -kuba mi= taiboʔo moʔo*
horse-upon PL= whites travel.PL
'The whites travelled on horseback . . ' (MS: Autobiography)

b) *i= tsoaba -kuba-kwai u= winai -u*
2=shoulder-over-LOC 3= throw -PNC
'Throw it over your shoulder!'

Other forms have fairly clear historical relationships, but fall into a more intermediate category.--somewhere between the independent nominal {tsabo} and the bound postpositional suffix {kuba}. These intermediate forms still maintain a degree of syntactic independence, but occur only immediately following another nominal with the locative semantics associated with adpositions.

An example is {kima} 'edge,' the base for two postpositions--{kimaba} and {kimai}--meaning, roughly, 'beside, alongside.' In fact, both of these forms are historically analyzable--the first with the illative suffix {ba}[12]

[12] Nichols (1974) also analyzes {kuba} 'over' and {koba} 'face' as possibly bi-morphemic, consisting of the instrumental prefix {ku} 'pertaining to the face or neck (esp. as a location),' reconstructable for Proto-Numic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'by, at, to' and the second with what Crum and Dayley (1993) call a *postposition adjunct* {i} that in Western Shoshoni appears with intransitive verbs of motion. Indeed, some feature of the semantics of {ba} indicating static location and {i} indicating motion are present in the distribution of the two postpositions in Northern Paiute, as in the following examples from Snapp and Anderson (1982).

40a) *su= nana nobi kimaba*
NOM=man house beside
'The man is beside the house.' (SA: 40)

b) *nana nobi kimai mia -u*
man house beside go.SG-PNC
'The man went by the house.' (SA: 40)

One no longer finds {i} serving a clear synchronic function in Northern Paiute as in Western Shoshoni (although it may account for the endings on some of the demonstrative forms listed in Table 4.4 of section 4.2). However, such lexicalizations of simple postpositions with relator nouns are an expected pattern of development within the category and is widely attested in the system.

Multiple cycles of lexicalized combinations of simple spatial postpositions or relator nouns plus postpositions provide the best explanation for the complex and often idiosyncratic distributional patterns we observe in the system. Other patterns are taken up in the discussion of a number of locative adverbial forms in the next section.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 5.2.6 Postpositions into Case-markers

There is an intriguing parallel between two of the basic postpositions--{ʔyu} 'ablative' and {ku} 'general essive'--and case-markers associated with adjectivals--{ʔyu} 'nominative' and {ku} 'oblique'--that merits brief discussion. It seems reasonable to assume that these adpositions (secondary case-markers) may have grammaticalized as case-markers associated with core arguments (subjects and objects) in Northern Paiute.

Case-marking is an important feature of noun phrase *dependents* in the language, although other Numic languages also exhibit case-marking--particularly accusative (what I call oblique) case--on nouns. The accusative case suffix in the other branches of Numic is phonetically very simple, usually a final {a} suffix. Northern Paiute lost accusative suffixation, although it is in the process of reinventing a nominative-accusative distinction via determiner proclitics.

A reasonable story[13] proceeds as follows. Case-marking on noun phrase dependents is a more recent development, perhaps as the case-marking suffix on head nouns became more and more reduced until, at least in Northern Paiute, it was lost altogether. Syntactic discontinuity may well have provided one key motivation for the development of case-

---

[13] Which I must credit to Scott DeLancey (in personal communication).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

marking on dependents. With the demise of the nominal case suffixes, only dependents case-marking was left.

The recruitment of the particular postpositions as case-markers we find in Northern Paiute could be, at least in part, semantically motivated based upon a metaphorical conception of a transitive event. That is, the nominative, subject argument as SOURCE (ablative) and accusative, object as GOAL (essive).

## 5.3 Adverbials

This section focuses on the very heterogenous category of *adverbials*. Semantically, adverbs are defined as a word class whose main function is to modify verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs, as well as having scope over phrases or entire clauses. They generally characterize features like time, place, manner, and degree.

There are no unifying formal or distributional features that would characterize an adverb category in Northern Paiute. Rather, a more rigorous analysis than I produce here would likely reveal both numerous subclasses as well as overlapping membership with other major word or phrase classes. In this section, I will point out the most obvious derivational relationships to other word classes, as well as some of the basic distributional features that characterize the most common forms I include here under the label "adverbial." Aside from that, the presentation is divided on the basis of rough semantic properties and includes an inventory and several examples.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Of the suffixes commonly found accompanying adverbials are the temporal postposition {no} (TEMP), and the adverbial suffix, or enclitic, {su} (ADV), both of which may derive adverbials from other word or phrase classes. Recall that some of the forms discussed under the "true adjective" class (cf. Table 5.1) may behave adverbially in their bare stem form. I will begin with a discussion of locative adverbials, since there is some degree of synchronic and diachronic overlap between these and the postpositions.

### 5.3.1 Locative Adverbials

One productive class of adverbial derivation denoting location or direction is the use of *postpositions*, described in section 5.2 above. There is plenty of overlap with the forms in this section in terms of function--and to some extent distribution--but it is important to include at least a partial inventory of independent adverbial expressions relating to locative concepts. Locative adverbials typically have scope over verbs, but appear often to form adverbial phrases with nouns, as with postpositions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.5 Northern Paiute Locative Adverbials

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *tsagi?i* | 'close; nearby' | *kwaya* | 'far; afar' |
| *pinausu* | 'back again' | *kwayakwa* | 'beyond; on the far side of' |
| *kimaba / kimai* | 'beside; next to' | *nauma* | 'divided; between' |
| *pa?a* | 'high; above' | *pitami* | 'down; below' |
| *pinakwa* | 'next; following' | *hunakwa* | 'outside' |
| *pitakwana* | 'inside' | *na?una* | 'amidst' |
| *nanapinakwatu* | 'one after the other' | *nawigiaba* | 'side by side' |
| *na?inakwa* | 'both sides' | *nakwai* | 'following; after' |
| *nawi?i* | 'downward' | *napo?ya* | 'upward' |

Many of these are internally analyzable, sometimes giving clues to their relationship to other word classes. One significant clue is the prevalence of forms beginning with {na}, often synchronically interpretable in its reciprocal function[14]. The reciprocal prefix appears to be used with other locative adverbials, postpositions, as well as verbs to signify a reciprocal relationship in space or to otherwise derive a spatial concept. Notice that this construction derives adverbials which imply reciprocality--location 'with respect to each other'--or multiplicity of involvement in a motion or other event.

[14] Recall section 4.1.8 on dual/reciprocal pronominal forms.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

41a) *waha-ʔyu kaazi na- wigiba kima-u -gi*
two -NOM car MM-beside come-PNC-CISL
'Two cars are coming side by side.'

b) *u -ka -u nimmi, na- binakwa tiaʔ*
3-OBL-U we.EXCL MM-next/following thus
'That's what we (heard), one after the other . .' (NK: Old Voices)

c) *na- na- pinakwatu owi sunua -u*
RE-MM-next DEM enter.PL-PNC
'One after another they went in there.'

d) *oo na- na- kwaya-di .. mani-na*
so RE-MM- far.off -NMR do -PTCP
'And so on and on (they were) doing . . ' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

e) *na- noʔo -kwai -su tiʔoi-koi*
MM-TEMP-LOC -ADV sick-DEBIL.PL
'They got sick at the same time.'

Lexicalization of this pattern has clearly occurred with some combinations of the reciprocal/middle-marking prefix, as evidenced by the following pair of examples.

42a) *ni na-kwai mia-no*
I MM-LOC go-along(DIR)
'I'll follow (you).'

b) *na-na-na-kwai nimmi mia-tapi*
RE-MM-MM-LOC 1.PL.EXCL go-keep.on
'. . one after another, we kept on going.' (NK: Root-digging Time)

The combination of the reciprocal prefix {na} and the locative postposition {k/wai} has apparently been lexicalized as a locative adverbial meaning 'following; after.' Example 42b) illustrates the possibility of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

deriving another adverbial form (with distributive meaning) via the reduplication of the reciprocal prefix in front of the lexicalized combination. The forms {nauma} 'between' and {na?una} 'amidst' may also reflect such lexicalizations.

The last two adverbials in Table 5.5--{nawi?i} 'downhill' and {napo?ya} 'uphill'--are clearly the verbs {wi?i} 'fall; descend' and {po?ya} 'climb; ascend' derived via middle-marking.

A few of the locative adverbials may be analyzed as carrying the instrumental prefix {pi} 'of or pertaining to the buttocks or hips' as a directional. Note:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 43a) | *nimi -tami* | b) | *pi-tami* |
| | we.EXCL-toward | | IP/butt-toward |
| | 'toward us' | | 'downward; downhill' |

Others forms are also likely historically analyzable.

### 5.3.2 Temporal Adverbials

Temporal adverbial forms generally have as their modifying scope an entire clause. As with other clause-level modifiers (e.g. some of the discourse particles), they typically appear as the first word, or constituent, of a sentence.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

44a) *mú?asu ni pida -u*
already I start.fire-PNC
'I already got the fire going!'

b) *oo?nosu nimmi u=mani*
long.ago we.EXCL 3= do
'We did that a long time ago.'

c) *toisu u= tika-wini nana piti -u*
still 3= eat -CONT.SG man arrive-PNC
'She was still eating when a man came.'

d) *tokaano ni mo-moko?ni nagi -mia-bodo -ti*
night I RE-woman chase-go -back.and.forth-TNS
'I was chasing women around all night.'

Table 5.6 is a brief inventory of the most common temporal adverbial expressions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 5.6 Northern Paiute Temporal Adverbials

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *mú?asu* | 'already' | *mumu?asu* | 'long ago' |
| *oono / oo?no* | 'at that time; then' | *oo?nosu* | 'long ago'[15] |
| *toisu* | 'still; yet' | *kaisu* | never; not yet' |
| *pidisu* | 'soon; shortly' | *mino?o* | 'now' |
| *saa / sa?asu* | 'later' | *nonotsa* | 'every time' |
| *uusapa* | 'always' | *sisi?mi* | 'sometimes' |
| *mi?na?wi'su'* | 'for a long time' | *yaisi* | 'then; and then' |
| *yaa tabino* | '(to)day; daytime' | *yaa tokaano* | '(to)night; nighttime' |
| *yoŋona* | 'evening' | *awamua'su'* | 'morning' |
| *itsi?i* | 'yesterday' | *mú?a* | 'tomorrow' |
| *u?itsi?i'su'* | 'day before yesterday' | *uga umu?a* | 'day after tomorrow' |
| *miha* | 'month; moon' | *tommo* | 'year; winter' |
| *tamano* | 'spring' | *taza* | 'summer' |
| *yibano* | 'fall' | *sati?i; nasati* | 'week; Sunday[16]' |
| *nanasati* | 'weekly; every Sunday' | *nanasatiča* | 'over a week; a week from now' |

Several features characterize the forms in Table 5.6. First, note the prevalence of forms ending in either {no} or {su}, including one form with an apparent combination of both--{oo?nosu} 'long ago.' {kaisu} 'never; not yet', for example, is clearly an adverbialization of the negative particle {kai} 'no; not.' Some of the forms also exhibit reduplication--a common

[15] The initial vowel is often symbolically lengthened for effect: [ooo?nosu] 'long, long ago'
[16] Clearly an English borrowing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

feature that typically signifies emphasis or repetition in Northern Paiute grammar.

Also, note the derivation of temporal adverbials based upon the borrowed stem {sati?i} 'Sunday' to denote the week as a time frame.

### 5.3.3 Manner Adverbials

Another semantic class of adverbials includes those that indicate *manner*--i.e. some feature of how an action takes place. As such, their scope of modification is most frequently over a verb phrase. Many of them typically occur immediately before the main verb in the clause.

45a) *u=nawahana nimi sikwi naka*
3=story we.EXCL just/only hear
'We just heard the story (we didn't see what happened).'

b) *yuúni -?yu wanapi idzaga na- dzákibui*
this.kind-NOM cloth easily MM- tear
'This kind of cloth tears easily.'

c) *u-su u-ka-u si?mi ni- čadua*
3-NOM 3-OBL-U only IP/speech-talk.SG
'S/He will talk only to her/him.'

d) *u=pabi?i u=tibitsi naakwi -u -ga -yakwi*
3=elder.brother 3= really accompany-PNC-TRNSL-REPET
'His brother will really get him to go along with him.'

Table 5.7. is a partial inventory of manner adverbials in Northern Paiute. Verbs that have been stativized via middle-marking is also a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

productive pattern for developing forms that carry adverbial function. Such a derivation is so productive, that no forms are included here.

Table 5.7 Northern Paiute Manner Adverbials

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pino?o* | 'and; as for; as well' | *pinausu* | 'back; again' |
| *kima?atusu* | 'differently' | *yabi'su'* | 'hurriedly' |
| *obida* | 'slowly; deliberately' | *obitsi?i* | 'slowly' |
| *nagidza* | 'rapidly; really' | *namasua* | 'quickly' |
| *sisi?midi* | 'some' | *idzaga* | 'easily; readily' |
| *tibizi* | 'truly; very; indeed' | *sagwani* | 'almost; barely' |
| *sikwi* | 'just; only' | *si?mi* | 'only' |
| *simina* | 'maybe' | *siminna* | 'together' |
| *tui* | 'nearly; try to' | *misu* | 'easily; be able to' |

Certain derivational features we have seen for the other adverbials, like the adverbial suffix {su}, are also present here. The first two forms in Table 9.7 are lexicalizations of the restrictive pronoun {pi} with postpositions.

### 5.3.4 Adverbials Derived from Adjectives

We have already seen that adjectivals in their bare stem form--that is, without case-marking--may function adverbially. For convenience, examples 9a)-f) from section 5.1.2 are repeated here.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9a) *pisa ni=sutihai yaa tabino*
well us.EXCL=bless PROX day
'Bless us well today. . ' (A Prayer)

b) *oo tia? nimmi iwa ti- tsapoka -?yakwi*
so thus we.EXCL much APS-pick.berries-HAB
'. . so we would pick a lot/ do lots of picking.' (NK: Chokecherries)

c) *mi= nimi mua yaa iwi -u simi -?yakwi*
PL= people old here PROX-U gather-HAB
'. . the people of old would gather together right here.'
(NK: Old Voices)

d) *ni tauna-wai pidi piti -u*
I town -LOC new arrive-PNC
'I'm going to town presently.'

e) *paba wohi -ča?i*
big shout-HAB
'Shout loudly!'

f) *pitti -si du nimmi u=woisa su= waha ka= huudi-kwai oo,*
arrive-SEQ also we.EXCL 3=wash NOM=two OBL=river -LOC DEM
'after we arrived, (we) washed that twice there in the river.'
(NK: Chokecherries)

Another derivation involves the suffix {tsi?i}, possibly related to the diminutive suffix. When attached to adjective stems, the form behaves adverbially.

46a) *piditsi?i*
new-ADV
'not long ago'

b) *iwa -tsi?i natinahaki*
much-ADV put.on
'put a lot on (fill the plate)'

c) *iwa -tsi -?yu*
many-DIM/ADV-ATTR
'many on one stem' (describing the growth pattern of certain plants)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d) *su= tinna. oo?no hayu inai -?yai -na pabatsi?i*
NOM=antelope then somehow making.noise-HAB-PTCP loudly
'And then the antelope was loudly making some kind of noise . .'
(NK: Root-digging Time)

I have not been able to discern a function for this suffix that would clearly distinguish it from the bare stem derivation. I include it here for the sake of completeness.

### 5.3.4 Adverbial and Discourse Particles

Other words in Northern Paiute that may be considered adverbials are certain *particles* that express notions like degree, negation, or have more difficult to define narrative functions. The use of narrative particles is a matter of stylistic choice, whose frequency is dependent both on narrative type and upon the speaker. Certain demonstrative forms (cf. section 4.2) could be considered narrative particles, especially {oo} and {uu}, which are usually translated 'so' and 'like that,' respectively.

One key feature of these particles is that they exhibit a variety of distributional patterns and idiosyncratic behaviors.

47a) *ini moko?ni wati?a -ba*
INT woman jealous-STAT
'The woman is really jealous (a jealous-type)'

b) *imi nobi ini totsa?a*
3.PL house INT dirty
'Their house is quite dirty.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

48a) *mi=kidi kai yuhu-pi*
PL=marmot NEG fat-PFV
'The groundhogs aren't fat.'

b) *kai ni u= pisapi*
NEG I 3= like
'I don't like it.'

Some particles tend to co-occur. For example, {tia?} roughly translated 'thusly' most often occurs following {uu} to mean 'that's how it is/was' or {mii} to mean 'that's what is/was thought or said.'

49a) *uu tia?,. oono tiwau umi na- tiničui -pokwa-?yakwi*
like.that thusly then again they MM-teach -lie.PL -HAB
'And so it was, too, they would lie around telling each other stories . .'
(NK: Root-digging Time)

b) *uu = sakwa tui ni mii tia?*
thus = MOD try I QUOT thusly
'"OK, I'll try it," so (she) said.' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

The role of the quotative particle {mii} in direct and indirect quotation is described in section 9.2.3.

Multiple occurrences of particles, or even of the same particle, over a single utterance are not at all uncommon in text.

50a) *su yaisi, oo uu kwassi -wini uu tia?*
NOM then so like.that ready -CONT.SG so thusly
'Then as it's getting done like so. . ' (NK: Chokecherries)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *oo?no tiwau ii ka?a hi -nnaga -kwai tiwau u= tsaana*
then also you KA WH-through-LOC also 3= pour
'And then you pour it throught that (straining material) . . '
(NK: Chokecherries)

Table 5.8 is a brief inventory of adverbial particles in Northern Paiute.

Table 5.8 Some Northern Paiute Particles

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ini* | 'very; general intensifier (INT)' | *kai* | 'no; not; negative particle (NEG)' |
| *oo* | 'so; and' | *uu* | 'that way; like that' |
| *tia?; tia?a* | 'thusly; like so' | *mii* | 'so; saying as much; general quotative (QUOT) |
| *tiwau, du* | 'also; again' | *ka, ka?a* | unclear (KA) |

The role of discourse particles is only partially understood. One general function is that they appear to provide narrative coherence by linking various pieces of complex discourse. The more concrete adverbials discussed in this section, add information about setting, time, manner, etc. and assist the listener in tracking various aspects of the narrative. So, too, the particles often function at a more abstract level to do the same thing. Further study is needed to understand their role.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 6

# BASIC CLAUSE SYNTAX AND VERB CLASSES

## 6.1 Basic Clause Properties

The way the relationships between referents and the events or states they participate in are expressed in the grammar of a language is an area of crucial interest to the descriptive grammarian and the typologist, and to the language teacher and her students. A number of important grammatical strategies are sensitive to or code these relationships. In any language description, a key question is "How do we know the role of the participants in an event or state?" Particularly when discussing predications that require two or more participants the question is usually "How do we know who does what in the clause?"

Grammatical relations and argument structure requirements are key to describing the syntax of the basic clause. This chapter treats "the main, declarative, affirmative, active clause" (Givón 1979) as basic, and uses it as a point of departure. Any number of pragmatic arguments can be presented here for the choice of this clause type as the most basic. I do not propose any sort of intimate structural or transformational relationship between this and other clause types. Rather, I simply follow Givón (1984, 1995) in describing other clause types--subordinate, non-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

declarative, negative, non-active--in terms that relate them to basic clause structure.

The major "overt coding" strategies for distinguishing grammatical relations in the basic clause cross-linguistically include: word order, case-marking, and verb agreement (Keenan and Comrie 1977, Givón 1995). The extent to which a language utilizes any of these strategies, of course, varies widely. A language may, for example, use each of these strategies to varying degrees, or rely heavily, ore even exclusively, upon just one of them. Semantic or pragmatic variables may override purely grammatical considerations in determining the nature of the overt coding strategy used in a particular instance.

Northern Paiute has a fairly strong subject-object-predicate (SOV) word order tendency in a simple transitive clause. Still, word order is subject to variation in naturally-occurring discourse depending upon a number of pragmatic considerations (section 6.1.1.1).

The language also has a case-marking pattern that may best be described as *nominative-accusative* for distinguishing the core participant roles (i.e. subject and object) in a transitive clause. The "starting point" function (see Mithun and Chafe 1999) appears to be fully grammaticalized in the subject relation for both transitive and intransitive clauses. Formally, the single argument of an intransitive verb and the more agent-like argument of a transitive verb carry *nominative case-marking*. Recall (section 3.2) that the case-marking distinctions in noun phrases appear formally on noun phrase *dependents* and not on head nouns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Formal distinctions of pronouns and demonstratives also follow the nominative pattern.

Although there is not, strictly speaking, verb agreement in Northern Paiute, patterns of verb suppletion and distributive reduplication are sensitive to the grammatical *number* of certain clausal arguments. This feature does not follow the same syntactic pattern of either unmarked word order or case-marking. Rather, suppletion is sensitive to the number of *absolutive*--that is, the participant category that represents the unity of the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) and the most patient-like argument of a transitive verb (O).

Mithun and Chafe (1999) provide a functional explanation for this typological fact whereby S and O participants pattern together in languages due to their "immediacy of involvement" in events or states. This function, they argue, is "incommensurable" to that which grammaticizes subjects, which is exactly why there may be distinct, co-occurring patterns within a single language like Northern Paiute. "Immediacy of involvement" as a functional notion is intimately tied to our understanding of the event, making the grammatical coding in the context of noun-verb compounding or verb suppletion simply one manifestation of this function.

I will leave verb suppletion aside for the most part in any further discussion of grammatical relations, since the relations that concern us here are the core syntactic relations subject and object. Suppletion of some aspectual suffixes that are historically derived from suppletive verbs do play a limited role in identifying grammatical subjects, however. Indeed,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

their patterns of suppletion may even directly contradict that of the verb stem to which they attach, as we shall see. See section 6.3.1 and 8.3.8 for a discussion of verb suppletion and distributive reduplication in verbs, respectively.

### 6.1.1 Word Order Patterns

Northern Paiute may be said to have SOV as its basic word order, although examples of clauses with both subject and object constituents expressed as full noun phrases are actually quite rare in texts.

1a) *yaisi ka u -su widaʔa piabɨ ka= tihicha piabɨ patsa*
then KA 3-NOM bear female OBL= deer female kill.SG
'. . and then the mother bear killed the mother deer.' (NK: 'Bear and Deer')

b) *su= nana ka= naatsi maʔi*
NOM=man OBL=boy injure
'That man hurt that boy.'

Other orders of the major constituents are possible and are usually deemed acceptable by speakers as long as no ambiguity results. However, these alternate orders serve different pragmatic functions in natural discourse--functions outlined and exemplified in the next section.

Typically, in a transitive clause, one or both core arguments are expressed as pronouns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2a) *ni umi -no una mo?o kidi una -ti puni -ǰa*
I they-COM DEM travel.PL groundhog DEM-LOC see -TRNSL
'I and those others went around out there looking for groundhogs . .'
(MS: A Burial Place)

b) *nimidzoho yaisi mi= hoa -u*
People.Masher then PL= spot -PNC
'. . then the *Nemedzoho* spotted them . . ' (NK: 'Nemedzoho')

c) *u-su noo-ko ti= koi -kwi*
3-NOM all -OBL 1.INCL= kill.PL-FUT
'"He'll kill us all!"' (NK: Nemechozinna)

d) *yaisi umi u= supidakwatu tia?a*
then they it= know thusly
'. . and so they knew about that.' (NK: Nemedzoho)

Independent object pronouns occur most often in immediate preverbal position (2a) when they are not bound to the verb as proclitics (2b-d), although they are not entirely restricted to that position. Subject pronouns, on the other hand, are freer, syntactically, and may occur in a variety of positions relative to the other major constituents in the clause.

3a) *awamoa = sakwa tihoawai -ǰa tammi*
morning = MOD hunt -TRNSL we.INCL
'In the morning, we should go hunting.'

b) *ka= nana ni supidakwatu*
OBL=man I know
'I know that man.'

As discussed briefly in section 1.5.2.2, first person subject pronouns frequently appear in second position in a clause. In that section was discussed their possible development as second-position clitics, a well-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

defined category in Northern Paiute for modals and other speech-act particles.

The flexibility that exists in the ordering of noun phrases makes word order a rather unreliable determiner of grammatical relations. There is an overwhelming preference, however, for all the arguments of the verb to occur before the verb in text--that is, Northern Paiute is strongly verb-final.

Northern Paiute shares a number of features associated cross-linguistically with Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order as described in Greenberg (1966). Some of these correspondences include:

1) A more developed system of suffixes over prefixes
2) A system of postpositions, rather than prepositions
3) Genitive (possessor) Noun + Possessed Noun order
4) Adjectival modifier + Noun order

Such correspondences, as well as many others, are perhaps best understood in terms of their historical development. For example, the prevalence of suffixation in the language is more readily understood once we explore the types of suffixes that occur, for example, on verbs. A number of these suffixes are clearly related historically to verbs that exhibit a secondary manner function in a construction akin to nuclear verb serialization (Foley and Olson 1985). Once we see this construction as the main source for the development of directional and aspectual suffixes, the prevalence of suffixation is better understood (cf. section 8.4).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Many postpositions in Northern Paiute may be linked historically to relational nouns in a genitive N + possessed (relational) N construction (cf. section 3.2.3.1 on genitive NP's and section 5.2 on postpositions). Therefore, correspondences 2) and 3) above may be explained through a historical argument relating one construction to the other. An over-arching dependent + head syntactic pattern can also account for the features expressed in 2), 3), and 4).

### 6.1.1.1 Word Order Variation

Although in isolated sentences--that is, sentences devoid (usually artificially) of a pragmatic context--SOV word order is prevalent, variation in the order of clause constituents is not difficult to find in natural discourse contexts. Pragmatically "marked" contexts are often intonationally and/or syntactically marked as well.

For example, either core argument--subject or object--may be post-posed, that is, appear following the verb in the clause. Such *right dislocations* (R-dislocation) are generally set off from the preceding material by comma intonation--a slight pause--as in the following R-dislocation of the grammatical subject.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4) *ukao nakwaiča yaisi miau, su nimidzoho, uu*
*u-kau nakwai-ka yaisi mia -u,*
3-OBL follow -TRNSL then go.SG-PNC
*su= nimidzoho, uu*
NOM=People.Masher just.so
'. . (it) followed after her then, the Nemedzoho, just so.'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

Right dislocation of the subject seems to occur when it is the object that is the immediate focus of the event coded by the clause.[1] In the following series of clauses from text, an infant is being acted upon by the two central characters of the story--first by the infant's mother, and then by a mythical monster. Since the notional subjects are central to the ensuing discourse, they are overtly expressed in these examples as a clarifying afterthought--that is, post-verbally as R-dislocations.

5) *umi yaisi ka tiitsiku unao ka mattokwina, osu moko?ni u pia.*
*u-mi yaisi ka= tiitsi -ku una -u u-ka mattokwi -na,*
3-PL then OBL= small -OBL DIST-OBL 3 -OBL lean.against -PTCP
*u-su moko?ni u= pia.*
3-NOM woman 3= mother
'Then they, (she) leaned that little one out there against something, that woman, it's mother . .'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

---

[1]I am joining the company of many analysts in using the term 'focus' very loosely and impressionistically as a first pass.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6) *oono yaisi ka tiitsiku ukao, u patsasi u ţikka mi?i su nimitzoho.*
*oono yaisi ka= tiitsi -ku u-ka -u,*
at.that.time then OBL= small -OBL 3-OBL-OBL
*u= patsa -si u= tika mi?i*
3= kill.SG-SEQ 3= eat QUOTE
*su= nimitzoho.*
NOM= People.Masher
' . and then, the little one, having killed it, ate it, (they) say, the Nemedzoho.'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

Comma intonation is all that serves to set off a R-dislocated subject. R-dislocations of grammatical object are also set off by intonation. In addition, the construction is marked syntactically by carrying a co-referring pronominal object proclitic--a *presumptive pronoun*--on the verb. Syntactically, then, one could readily make the case that the overt object NP is in apposition to the object proclitic.

7a) Tim *u= mu- basa -ki -u, ka= kopi?i*
T. 3= IP/nose-dry -APL -PNC OBL= coffee
'Tim drained it, the coffee.'

b) *u= tsa- maŋi -ki -u, ka= tsagwidi*
3= IP/grasp- wade -APL -PNC OBL= porcupine
'(She) took him across, that Porcupine.' (NK: 'Porcupine and Coyote')

c) *uu u=patsa - tabia, ka= kutsu*
just.so 3=kill.SG - appear OBL=cow
'That's how (he) killed her, the cow.' (NK: 'Porcupine and Coyote')

Both core arguments may also appear post-verbally, again, however, with a presumptive object pronominal proclitic on the verb.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7) *u=buni ni ka= tina -ku nana*
3=see I OBL=short-OBL man
'I see him, the short man.'

R-dislocations can also consist of restrictive relative clauses referring to an argument of the main verb.

8) *paana kai mi= punni, ka= mi= aapo ti- tiha -ga -di*
however NEG PL= see OBL=PL= apple RE-steal-TRNSL-NMR
'. . but (he) didn't see them, those who were stealing apples . .'
(NK: 'Boarding School Days')

In 8), a co-referring presumptive pronoun occurs as a verbal proclitic on the main verb, and the post-posed relative clause stands in apposition to this object. Note that R-dislocated arguments are always *definite* noun phrases--that is, their referential status has always been established in the previous discourse. Their mention in a R-dislocation construction, therefore, appears to be a means for maintaining discourse coherence.

Any major constituent may appear clause-initially in Northern Paiute. Such constructions often function for *topic (re)instatement* or *focus of contrast*. First position is also where interrogative pronouns occur in the formation of questions. Such pronouns are arguably in some kind of focus since they represent the conceptual target of the question (Schachter 1973). Non-SOV word orders in Northern Paiute occur quite frequently in declarative sentences that are responses to such questions, depending upon which constituent is the conceptual target.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9a) *himma ii kuhani*
what you cook
'What are you cooking?'

b) *ka= miidi ni kuhani*
OBL=meat I cook
'I'm cooking *meat*.'

10a) *hakka ii ti- kuhani-ki -ti*
whom you APS-cook -APL-TNS
'Who are you cooking for?'

b) *imi -du ni ti- kuhani*
they-FOR I APS-cook
'I'm cooking *for them*.'

These examples point toward a fairly prevalent feature in languages with variable word order, namely, that speakers tend to place the most important information early in the clause (Mithun 1992, Givón 1992)

6.1.1.2 Elision of Arguments in Discourse

One feature of Northern Paiute narrative makes it particularly difficult to study the extent to which it is possible to establish a basic word order. Key participants, once established, are often simply omitted in continued discourse. This holds true for both notional subjects and objects, although elision of notional subjects is more frequent under *zero anaphora*. Turn to section 6.1.4.1 for a discussion, with examples, of this feature. It is fairly uncommon in standard discourse to find clauses that contain a

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

transitive verb and an overt expression of both core arguments, and exceptionally rare to find them both expressed as full NP's.

Studies have shown (e.g. DuBois 1987) that new participants are most frequently introduced as the single argument of an intransitive verb (S), or as the object of a transitive verb (O). Since elision often occurs once reference is established, such a frequency correlation may help to explain why one finds relatively fewer non-pronominal expressions of syntactic subjects in discourse.

### 6.1.1.3 Second Position Clitics

Syntactic second position serves as a kind of anchor in Northern Paiute basic clause syntax. A minor, but important morpheme class appears exclusively in the syntactic position immediately following the first constituent of the sentence ("Wackernagel's position"), no matter to what word or phrase class that constituent belongs. This class includes the modal auxiliaries--clitics that express the speaker's relationship to the event.[2]

11a) *tammi = sakwa winai-ǰa -kwi*
we.INCL = MODAL fish -TRNSL-FUT
'Let's go fishing.'

---

[2] I use an equals sign '=' to represent all clitic boundaries, despite their distributional distinctions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *awamoa = sakwa tammi winai-ǰa -kwi*
morning = MODAL we.INCL fish -TRNSL-FUT
'Let's go fishing in the morning.'

Clitic strings are not uncommon, as the following text example illustrates.

12) *kai =ha = sakwa ni i=kwassi-guba kati -čai*
NEG=Q = MODAL I 2=tail -upon sit.SG-HAB
'"Couldn't I sit on your tail?"' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

Second position clitics may also follow more complex constituents, for example full noun phrases (13), complex temporal phrases (14), headless relative clauses (15), and other complex expressions (16).

13a) *su= moɣoʔni = sakwa ka= nana yadua-ki̯*
NOM=woman = MODAL OBL=man talk-APL
'The woman should talk/interpret for that man.'

b) *mi=naana = sakwa mi= timadzai*
PL=men = MOD 1.PL=help.TR
'The men should help us.'

14) *ka= móa awamoa = sakwa ta una owi -tiu tihona -ga*
OBL=tomorrow morning = MOD 1.DL DEM DEM-LOC dig.roots-TRNSL
"Tomorrow morning, let's go out there to dig roots . ."
(NK: Bear and Deer)

15) *"a= kwaya-kwa wini -u -kati = saʔa tihani -dua . . "*
4= far -LOC stand.SG -PNC -sit.SG = MOD butcher-SUBJ
"(Whoever) jumps over the farthest can butcher (it) . . "
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

16) *uu = sakwa ni*
just.so = MOD I

*su= kai i= mayi = sakwa*
NOM= NEG 1= discover = MOD

*su= tokano i= tsipugi -si mii tia?a*
NOM= nighttime 1= escape -SEQ QUOTE thusly

'"So must I, it mustn't notice me, my having escaped at night," so thinking.'

(NK: Nemedzoho)

Examples 15) and 16) are particularly interesting since the second position clitic treats an entire clause as occupying syntactic first position. In the second line of example 16), a fully finite clause precedes the clitic. Examples like these serve to highlight the role of second position in helping to identify expressions that refer to a participant or unitary event and, therefore, provide a kind of diagnostic for constituents at various levels.

### 6.1.2 Toward Verbal Agreement

As in many North American languages, some verbs in Northern Paiute have suppletive forms that are sensitive to grammatical number of one of the core arguments. Unlike default word order (6.1.1) or case alignment (6.1.3) which demonstrate a clear *nominative-accusative* pattern, number suppletion in Northern Paiute verbs is sensitive to the *absolutive* argument. That is to say, distinct forms of the verb are used depending upon the number of either the *subject*, if the verb is intransitive, or the *object*, if the verb is transitive or ditransitive. Note the following pairs with the verbs meaning 'fly; arise' and 'kill.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

17a) *hannano ii yotsi -u*
when you fly.SG -PNC
'When are you taking off?'

b) *iwa -ʔyu nagiti oʔo yozi -u*
many-NOM geese DEM fly.PL-PNC
'Lots of geese flew out there.'

18a) *owiu ka umi u= patsa*
DEM KA they 3= kill.SG
'For that reason, they killed him.'

b) *nimmi kammi koi -čakwi*
1.EXCL jackrabbit kill.PL -HAB
'We would kill jackrabbits.'

I would argue, however, that such formal distinctions do not represent grammatical agreement, since the suppletive patterns are limited to just a few verbs. Rather, they predicate different event types, much like the English verb pairs 'fly' vs. 'flock' and 'kill' vs. 'slaughter.' Suppletive verbs are discussed in more detail in section 6.3.1.

Incipient verb agreement may be found in the use of pronominal proclitics that refer most typically to the grammatical object. It is theoretically possible for the presumptive pronoun pattern that occurs in R-dislocation constructions (section 6.1.1.1, exx. 7)-8), above) to develop into a pattern of agreement, as has been attested in other languages, allowing for further word order flexibility. However, in the grammar of Northern Paiute, agreement does not function as an overt coding property for grammatical relations. Other Numic languages, for example Ute (Givón 1980a), have been described as exhibiting pronominal agreement.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 6.1.3 Case-Marking Patterns

Case-marking in Northern Paiute represents the most important overt coding strategy for indicating the grammatical relationship between a verb and its arguments. Surface case is distinguished on pronouns and noun phrase dependents--especially determiners and modifying elements--but not on head nouns. For core arguments, the case-marking alignment is clearly *nominative* (NOM) versus *oblique* (OBL).[3]

19a) *su= paninadi tiasi -pi*
NOM=lake freeze-PFV
'The lake is frozen.'

b) *su= tsia?a ka= tipi mayi-u*
NOM=girl OBL=rock find -PNC
'The girl found the rock.'

c) *u-su iwi -dapi*
3-NOM sleep-lie.SPL
'S/He is sleeping.'

d) *u-su u= patsa-u*
3-NOM 3= kill -PNC
'S/He killed it.'

Northern Paiute has determiner proclitics that are sensitive to the basic case distinction, as 19a) and b) demonstrate. Pronominal forms are

---

[3] Recall that there are two major case forms in Northern Paiute, nominative and non-nominative, or oblique, case, sometimes referred to as the accusative.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

also case-sensitive, as in 19c) and d). Note that in 19d), the syntactic object occurs as a proclitic to the verb. Although not every noun phrase carries case information, we can safely say that *subjects* are marked with nominative case and *objects* are marked with the oblique case in Northern Paiute basic clauses. As discussed elsewhere (section 3.2, 4.1.1), the term *oblique* is used in its traditional sense to cover the fact that possessors and objects of postpositions receive the same case-marking as transitive objects.

Ditransitive clauses may occur with two overt object noun phrases, both of which may be marked oblique.

20a) *ni ka =tsida ka =nana hiimaka*
I OBL=cup OBL=man give(s.t.)
'I'm giving the cup to the man.'

b) *ni u-ka u=gia*
I 3-OBL 3=give
'I gave that to him.'

Derived ditransitive clauses also occur with two objects.

21a) *imi ka= kidi mi= tika-ki -u*
3.PL OBL=groundhog 1.EXCL= eat -APL-PNC
'They let us eat the groundhog.'

b) *su= nana kuna i= kutsa -ki -u*
NOM=man firewood 1= split.wood -APL-PNC
'The man split firewood for me.'

I am purposely focusing upon the features of core arguments here in order to establish the coding properties of the basic clause as it pertains to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

grammatical relations. Non-core arguments carry oblique case-marking when the argument is a full noun phrase. The form of the pronouns in oblique, postpositional phrases is identical with the free nominative form for some persons (cf. section 4..1.6). Case-marking and other formal features of pronouns and noun phrase dependents are further explored in section 3.2.

I am also using the simple clause as a baseline for understanding grammatical relations as they are expressed syntactically in complex clauses. As described in section 9.1, the notional arguments of subordinate clauses often carry different surface case-marking, due to the fact that many such clauses are nominalized and carry the morpho-syntactic features of noun phrases.

### 6.1.4 Grammatical Relations: Summary of Covert Properties

The accessibility of noun phrases bearing distinct grammatical relations to syntactic processes has been a key element of typologically-oriented studies of subject- and objecthood, especially since Keenan (1976), Keenan and Comrie (1977) and Comrie (1982), as well as later studies (e.g. Givón 1995, *inter alia*). By exploring *covert* properties of core arguments--in other words, properties aside from word order, case-marking, or verb agreement--one develops a better sense of the nature of grammatical relations in a particular language.

The key feature of a covert property of, say, the subject relation in a particular language is whether, when describing a particular construction

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

type, one must invoke some notion of subject. Reflexive pronouns represent one clear example. In English, when describing the co-reference properties of reflexive pronouns, it is necessary to invoke some notion of the English subject, for it is the entity expressed as the subject to which the reflexive pronoun co-refers. Therefore, co-referentiality with reflexive pronouns is a covert property of the subject relation.

Covert strategies for defining grammatical relations are outlined by Keenan and Comrie (1977) in their study of noun phrase accessibility, as well as in Givón (1995). Such strategies involve constructions that can only be described with reference to, for example, "subject," "object," "oblique," etc. Since it is necessary to invoke the term "subject" in some languages when describing, for example, a specific relative clause construction, such a construction may fall under the category of a covert coding property for defining subject in that language.

This section summarizes some of the covert properties relating to the core participant relations subject and object in Northern Paiute. Primary and secondary objects are also distinguished in section 6.1.4.3 by appealing to a combination of overt and covert properties. It is suggested here, however, that such distinctions may in fact be more pragmatic than syntactic. Most of the details of the individual constructions described here are fleshed out in the sections dedicated to them.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.1.4.1 Subject Properties

Northern Paiute can be described as having a very clear grammatical *subject* category. That is to say, several key features of Northern Paiute grammar appeal directly to a category of argument that unifies the single argument of an intransitive clause and the most initiator- or agent-like argument of a transitive or ditransitive clause. We have already seen that nominative case-marking is a key overt property of subjects in Northern Paiute. In the following sections, I explore some of the construction types in the language for which one must appeal further to some notion of subject to describe them--that is, the covert subject properties.

6.1.4.1.1 Zero-anaphora

Once a referent is established, it is no longer necessary to indicate it in following clauses with full noun phrases. Rather, a*naphors* of various kinds cover the area of maintaining *reference* in the ensuing discourse. Pronouns are among the most common *anaphoric devices* used in language for maintaining reference in a discourse.

Another common anaphoric device is so-called *zero-anaphora*, whereby there is no overt expression of a referent in the ensuing discourse once a referent has been established. Zero-anaphora is often taken to be a subject property. The extent to which this is true for Northern Paiute may be observed in the following excerpt from text. The principal participant,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

a young woman, was established in the narrative leading up to this series of clauses. She is referred to once by means of a pronoun in 22a). In the ensuing clauses her participant status is simply understood from the discourse context.

22) *u-su yaisi sia?i uusapa.*
3-NOM then afraid always
'She stayed scared then.

*yaisi una mia -na,*
then DEM go.SG -PTCP
'And so way off (she) was going,

*ka= yoŋo -mia,*
OBL= evening -go.SG
spending the night,

*mo?asu yoŋo -wini.*
already evening -CONT.SG
it's being evening already.

*yaisi ka= una -u tipi -ča -kwai piti -ga.*
then OBL= DEM -OBL rock -HAVE -LOC arrive -TRNSL
'Then (she) reached a rocky place . . '
(NK: Nemedzoho)

Although occasionally one finds that both the subject and the object are not overtly indicated, I have not found examples where the object is a zero anaphor and the subject is overt. Further, zero anaphora for the object does not appear to persist beyond a single clause, whereas subject zero anaphora may persist for several clauses, as in the above example.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.1.4.1.2 Reflexive Possession

A reflexive-possessor proclitic (POSS) {ti} indicates that the possessor is co-referential with the grammatical subject of the sentence in which it occurs. As such, it constitutes a reliable test for subjecthood.

23a) *o?o yaisi umi ka ti= nobi na?una -wai*
DEM then they KA POSS=house around -LOC
'. . so then they went round and round their house . .'

b) *su= wassa pino?o nainapa mida -u ti= kaopa*
NOM= sandhill.crane as.for across stretch-PNC POSS=leg
'. . the crane stretched his legs across . .'

This function of the proclitic need not operate only within the same clause, however, but may also indicate co-reference with the subject of a preceding clause.

24) *oo?no pisa mi?i tiikwi?i -na;*
DEM good QUOT tell -PTCP
*yaisi ti= kwaŋa mia.*
then POSS= younger.brother go.SG
'"That's good," (he, Wolf) was saying; then his younger brother went.'
(WM: The Cave Myth)

Indeed, as is typical in narrative, the subject of a series of clauses may not be overtly expressed when it is assumed to be understood from the discourse context. In the following example, the reflexive-possessor

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

proclitic expresses co-reference although no overt expression of the subject has occurred for more than six clauses.

25) *ti= ti- da- kwihi -na, pinau owi -tu hani -ʔyakwi.*
POSS= APS- IP/feet- get -PTCP back there -to do -HAB
' . . what it grabs (with its claws), (it) brings back there.'
(NK: Nemechozinna)

In this example, the first clause is actually a nominalized *object relative clause* (section 9.1) whose notional subject is expressed by means of the reflexive-possessor proclitic, anaphorically co-referential to *Nemechozinna*, the Flying Creature.

6.1.4.1.3 Middle-Marking and Reflexivization

The *middle-marker* {na} (MM) is a verbal prefix that serves to *detransitivize* inherently transitive verbs. The single syntactic argument of a middle-marked verb bears all the formal properties the subject of an intransitive verb. The use of {na} covers both the domain of a typical reflexive and that of a passive:

26a) *i= pita ni pa- kia -wini*
1= arm I IP/water-give -CONT.SG
'I'm washing my arms'

b) *ni na- pa- kia -wini*
I MM-IP/water-give-CONT.SG
'I'm washing (myself)/bathing' (lit. 'I give myself water')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

27) *oʔo uu ka u= patsa tabiʔa;*
DEM just.so KA 3= kill.SG appear
*u -su na- patsa tabiʔa*
3-NOM MM- kill.SG appear
'That's what killed her, it seems; she was killed, apparently.'

In the case of a reflexive reading, some sense of the transitive event remains, with the notional agent and patient being co-referential and indicated by a single syntactic argument--the subject. In the case of a passive reading, only the semantic patient is expressed, again as a syntactic subject, while the agent is left unexpressed. Occasionally, it is unclear whether a particular middle-marked clause is best translated as a reflexive or as a passive, for example with the pair {tiničui} 'teach' and {natiničui} 'learn' (literally, 'teach oneself' or 'be taught').

It is possibile to include an *emphatic/reflexive pronoun* as an overt expression of agent-subject/patient-object co-reference in a middle construction (section 4.1.7).

28a) *ni na- tsibana -wini*
I MM- shave -CONT.SG
'I am shaving.'

b) *ni ni =su na- tsibana -wini*

I I =self MM-shave -CONT.SG
'I'm shaving *myself*.' OR 'I *myself* am shaving.'

29a) *su= naatsi na- bagia -wini*
NOM=boy MM- bathe -CONT.SG
'The boy is bathing (himself).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *su= naatsi pi =su na- bagia -wini*
NOM=boy 3.RESTR =self MM- bathe -CONT.SG
'The boy is bathing *himself*.' OR 'The boy *himself* is bathing.'

The use of the construction is restricted, however, in that it requires the emphasized constituent to be the grammatical subject.

30) **su= naatsi ni =su i=tsibana*
NOM= boy I =self 1=shave
'The boy shaved me *myself*.'

Such constructions, although accepted by speakers, are certainly not the norm. Rather, the pronoun plus enclitic combination is generally only used for emphasis, and usually stands alone in a clause.

31a) *nii =su u= hanni*
I =self 3= do.DUR
'I'm doing it *myself*.'

b) *ii =su u= hanni*
you =self 3= do.DUR
'You're doing it *yourself*.'

6.1.4.1.4 Subject Relative Clauses

A relative clause whose head noun is the notional subject of the verb within the relative clause is called a *subject relative clause.* Subject relative clauses are distinct from other relative clause types in Northern Paiute. The verb of a subject relative clause is nominalized by means of the *subject nominalizer* {-di} (cf. section 3.1.7.1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

32a) *ni tihikya o?o winni -di punni*
I deer DEM stand.SG -NMR see
'I see a deer standing out there' (Yah.)

b) *su= naatsi ka= tipi winai -hu -di*
NOM=boy OBL= rock throw -PNC -NMR
'The boy that threw the rock . .'

As such, relative clause formation is also sensitive to whether or not the head of the relative clause is the notional subject, and therefore qualifies as a covert coding property of the subject grammatical relation in Northern Paiute.

6.1.4.1.5 Switch-Reference

Canonical systems of switch-reference are usually thought of as some feature of verb morphology that is sensitive to whether or not the grammatical *subjects* of two consecutive clauses are the same, or different. Sapir (1930) identified such a function in the subordinating verb morphology of Southern Paiute. Jacobsen (1967) is credited with coining the term *switch-reference* and has established some of the typological parameters around which the languages of native North America express this function (1980).

Jacobsen (1980) cites the late Dr. Sven Liljeblad, a long time student of Northern Paiute, when he places the language among those characterized as having a marker of switch-reference. In the course of analyzing numerous texts and directly eliciting a great many sentences, both simple and complex, I have yet to find clear evidence for an *obligatory*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

system of switch-reference, at least not insofar as it could function reliably as a covert subject property. As Mithun (1993a, 1999) cautions in her work on switch-reference in Central Pomo, switch-reference may be more about event discontinuity than referential discontinuity.

Although I have found some apparent switch-reference patterns in Northern Paiute, the data in this area are not entirely clear. Some of these data are presented in chapter 9 on clause-combining. The appearance of some verbal suffixes or enclitics is suggestive in terms of possible switch-reference. I remain cautious, however, in proposing that certain verbal enclitics are indeed marking referential discontinuity as opposed to some other discourse feature.

6.1.4.2 Object Properties

Covert coding properties that relate to the grammatical *object* relation in Northern Paiute are explored briefly in this section. One such covert property was described in section 6.1.1.1 where right dislocations were described. Recall that some formal syntactic expression of the object is required pre-verbally in cases where there is a pragmatically post-posed expression of the object.

Following a brief syntactic description of two constructions that invoke some notion of grammatical object in Northern Paiute, I turn briefly to the theoretical question of *primary* versus *secondary* objects (Dryer 1986), and conclude with some thoughts on the pragmatic motivations that distinguish them, before moving on to verb classes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.1.4.2.1 Passivization

By comparing active and passive clause types, one covert property of the syntactic object (semantic patient) in an active, transitive clause is that, in the passive construction, this argument is the nominative-marked subject. It is grammatically impossible to overtly express the agent-of-passive in Northern Paiute in some functional equivalent of an English by-phrase (e.g. 'The book was torn *by the man*.')

33a) *u-su i= buuki tsakibu?i -u*
3-NOM 1= book tear -PNC
'He tore my book.'

b) *i = gwassi na - tsakibu?i -piga?yu*
1= shirt MM-tear -PFV
'My shirt has been torn.'

The grammatical subject of the detransitivized clause carries all the grammatical rights and privileges of any other subject, for example, as the focus of a subject relative clause:

34) *o?o iwa -?yu su= uuni -?yu na?a*
DEM many -NOM NOM= that.kind -NOM grow
*su= na- tihona -di*
NOM= MM- dig.roots -NMR
'"There's alot of that kind growing out there for the digging."'
(i.e. that which is dug)
(NK: Bear and Deer)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In this example, the verb {tihona} is detransitivized, since the semantic *patient* is the focus of the clause--what is being dug. The nominalization of the verb is by means of the subject nominalizer {di}, reflecting a relative clause structure. The nominalization is marked with nominative case--the main overt grammatical coding strategy for indicating syntactic subjects. Section 8.2.1.1 describes the passive construction in more detail.

6.1.4.2.2 Object Relative Clauses

Object relative clauses are formed with a different subordinating verb suffix than that used for subject relative clauses. Compare:

35a) *su= nana i= ti -kuhani -ki -di i= supidakwatu*
NOM= man 2= APS -cook -APL -NMR 1= know
'The man cooking for you knows me.'

b) *su= miidi i= kuhani -na kai toki kamma*
NOM= meat 1= cook -PTCP NEG correct taste
'The meat I cooked (of my cooking) doesn't taste right.'

In 35b), even though 'the meat' is the grammatical subject of the higher clause, it is the notional object of the relative clause, as indicated by the use of the participial suffix {na} (PTCP) on the relative clause verb. Also note that the notional subject of the lower, subordinate clause, when pronominal, appears as a verbal proclitic--as the grammatical possessor of the non-finite verb.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.1.4.3 Primary object properties

Dryer (1986) observes that languages may be differentiated in terms of the syntactic patterning of the non-subject arguments in a ditransitive clause. Some languages exhibit a direct object (DO) versus indirect object (IO) pattern, whereas others exhibit a secondary object (SO) versus primary object (PO) pattern. A typical DO maps onto the semantic role patient, whereas a typical IO maps onto semantic recipients or benefactives. A key question is whether or not a "notional IO" (i.e. recipient/benefactive) in a ditransitive clause exhibits the same syntactic behaviors as the single DO of a transitive clause. Several important theoretical papers written within the lexical-functional grammar (LFG) framework explored similar questions with respect to Bantu languages in terms of *object asymmetries* (cf. Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Alsina and Mchombo 1990). A comparison of object types, in particular those licensed as part of the inherent transitivity of the verb as opposed to those that surface as the result of a transitivizing derivation (causative, applicative), is made to determine the similarities and differences of their syntactic patterning--that is, their symmetries and asymmetries.

Northern Paiute objects are mostly symmetrical--both in terms of case marking and in terms of their accessibility to certain construction types discussed for direct objects in transitive clauses. Most apparent asymmetries can be explained in terms of inherent *topicality*--notions of animacy and a person hierarchy. I have found only one clear object asymmetry--that relating to the function of the *anti-passive prefix* {i}

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(APS). The APS, I show, targets patient DO's only. Otherwise, it would appear that Northern Paiute demonstrates a clear SO / PO pattern.

6.1.4.3.1 Ordering of two full object NP's

Word order, as we have seen, has an important, if limited, role in distinguishing the subject and object grammatical relations in Northern Paiute. I have argued in section 6.1.1 that word order functions mainly as a default pattern and for disambiguation, although text frequency and other features of the grammar favor analysis of Northern Paiute as a SOV language.

The evidence for a default word order pattern to distinguish two grammatical objects is even more limited. This is due in large part to a tendency for elision of one or more arguments as a discourse progresses. In the rare instances of two overt object noun phrases (double-object constructions), the default pattern is for the patient DO to precede the notional (recipient/benefactive) IO. Both objects receive oblique case-marking.

36a) *ni ka =tsida ka =nana hiimaka*
I OBL=cup OBL=man give
'I'm giving the cup to the man.'

b) *imi nika imi kia*
they me.OBL you.OBL give
'They're giving me to you (as in marriage).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One could argue that the order of the two objects is motivated by inherent features of topicality--supported more clearly in the next section. Recipients and benefactives are more likely to be human, or at least animate, which are inherently more topical, as argued in a number of places in the literature (e.g. Givón 1979, 1984).

6.1.4.3.2 Obligatory promotion

One area of apparent syntactic asymmetry between the two objects in a double object construction lies in their accessibility to the proclitic slot before the verb in Northern Paiute. Where both patient and benefactive objects are expressed pronominally, the benefactive object has greater access as an object proclitic, leaving the patient unexpressed or as an accusative-marked full pronoun. The following example was offered as an alternative to 36b), above.

37) *imi nika i= kia*
they me.OBL 2= give
'They're giving me to you.'

Frequently, the overt expression of a third person patient is optional.

38) *(u-ka) i = gia*
(3-OBL) 1= give
'Give me (that)!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

However, it would appear that in cases where either first or second person patients are involved, the pronominal expression of one of these as a verbal proclitic is preferred over that of a third person recipient or benefactive argument.

39) *ma -tu ii i= ma -tipuni*
3.DEF -LOC you 1= IP/hand -awake
'You woke me up for him.'

In 39), the benefactive argument is expressed in a postpositional phrase. Access to the proclitic slot therefore appears to be sensitive to a person hierarchy: 1/2 > 3. It is important to note that examples like these are extremely rare in natural speech, but are suggestive of a discourse-pragmatic motivation for some of the syntactic asymmetries one finds between objects. As with the default order of objects as discussed in the previous section, the inherent topicality of first and second person participants could motivate their accessibility to a kind of privileged position immediately adjacent to the verb.

6.1.4.3.3 Shared properties with secondary objects

Our two main syntactic tests for object--passivization and relativization--function equally well as covert properties for either object in double-object clauses, whether inherent or derived. The following examples illustrate the potential for either patient or recipient/benefactive objects to be the grammatical subject of a passive construction.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

40a) *imi miidi i= kuhani -ki*
they meat 1= cook -APL
'They're cooking meat for me.'

b) *su= miidi nika na- kuhani -ki -wini*
NOM= meat 1.OBL MM- cook -APL -CONT.SG
'The meat is being cooked for me / (s.o.) is cooking the meat for me.'

c) *ka= miidi ni na- kuhani -ki*
OBL= meat I MM- cook -APL
'I am being cooked the meat / (s.o.) is cooking the meat for me.'

Word order remains pragmatically determined--it is not rigid. In both 40b) and 40c), 'the meat' appears initially, in the position of focus--first as the nominative-marked subject of the passive clause, second as the oblique-marked grammatical object. 40b) for example, could be in answer to the question 'What is being cooked for you?' and 40c), the question might be 'What are you being cooked?'

Recall that object relative clauses are formally distinct from subject relative clauses in that the notional subject appears as a pronominal proclitic on the subordinate verb, which is marked with the participial suffix.

41a) *su =nana kidi i=noho -ki -na i=supidakwatu*
NOM=man marmot 1=roast -APL -PTCP 2 =know
'The man I cook/am cooking groundhog for knows you.'

b) *su =nana i =ti -kuhani-ki -na i =supitakwatu*
NOM=man 1=APS-cook -APL-PTCP 2 =know
'The man I cook for knows you.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *su =miidi imi i =kuhani-ki -na sida ʔmani -pi*
NOM=meat you.OBL 1 =cook-APL-PTCP bad become-PFV
'The meat I cooked for you has spoiled.'

These two constructions--passives and relative clauses--therefore, do not serve to distinguish the two objects of a ditransitive clause in Northern Paiute. However, the other major de-transitivizing construction, the anti-passive, does appear to make such a distinction.

6.1.4.4 Anti-passive as patient--not object--demotion

The anti-passive prefix {ti} (APS) appears on verbs when there is no overt expression of the direct object of an inherently transitive verb.[4]

42a) *ni miidi kuhani*
I meat cook
'I'm cooking meat.'

b) *ni ti -kuhani*
I APS -cook
'I'm cooking.'

That the prefix is not sensitive to the overt expression of the recipient/benefactive object--what Dryer (1986) calls the notional indirect object (IO)--is apparent from the following examples of derived ditransitives.

---

[4] In much of the literature on Uto-Aztecan languages, particularly since Langacker (1976a), the prefix is referred to as the "unspecified object prefix."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

43a) *usu* *i =ti* *-kuhani -ki*
s/he 1=APS -cook -APL
'S/He's cooking for me.'

b) *ni miidi Ø kuhani-ki -u -kwi*
I meat X cook -APL-PNC-FUT
'I'll cook meat for X.'

In 43a), we find the co-occurrence of both the APS prefix and an object proclitic referring to the notional IO. The prefix appears to mark the absence, therefore, of an overt *patient* direct object (DO). This is confirmed by 43b), in which the patient is expressed, but the benefactive, licensed by the applicative suffix, is unspecified, but which does *not* trigger the occurrence of the APS prefix. Therefore, it appears that the prefix only serves to mark the absence of the semantic *patient*, and not the syntactic *object* per se.

It is perhaps for this reason that the language allows for the co-occurrence of both detransitivizing prefixes--the middle marker (MM) and the anti-passive (APS). The only apparent constraint is that the verb be ditransitive--whether inherently or one derived by means of the applicative suffix (APL).

In this situation the notional IO is, as we have seen, unaffected by the anti-passive prefix, which signals an unspecified patient. The middle marker signals the pragmatic and syntactic promotion of the remaining object. The argument appearing as the grammatical subject, then, is the benefactive. The semantic outcome of the middle marker may be interpreted as exhibiting either its reflexive or its passive function.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

44) *ni na- ti- kuhani -ki -wini*
I MM- APS- cook -APL -CONT.SG
'I am cooking for myself.'
OR 'I am being cooked for (s.o. is cooking for me).'

Further discussion of the properties of the operators on transitivity in Northern Paiute is found in section 8.2.

## 6.2 Verb Classes and Transitivity

Verbs may be classified by the number and type of arguments they require, by their morpho-syntactic behavior, and by their meaning. This section places verbs into classes based mainly upon *transitivity* and *valence* features--roughly speaking, based upon the number and type of arguments they require or accept without any special morphology to indicate a change in the syntactic expression of these arguments.

The presentation of verb classes in the following sections is of necessity highly preliminary. The purpose for this presentation is twofold: 1) to look at the syntax of simple clauses as a function of verb classes, and 2) to explore a few of the alternations verbs and their arguments may undergo as a preliminary indicator of verb class. As most recent work on verb classes, particularly the work of Levin (1993), indicates, syntactic behavior is determined by a verb's *meaning* and, therefore, by the lexical knowledge of speakers. The alternations explored here which help us to understand verb classes in Northern Paiute are, from this perspective,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

symptomatic of verbal *semantics* as understood by Northern Paiute speakers.

The strategy used in this chapter is to explore Northern Paiute verbs by looking at their individual transitivity features and at the expression of the arguments required by the verb's valence in order to make a general classification of verb types. Connecting the syntactic behavior of verb classes, however tentatively, to more fine-grained semantic categories is another goal of this section. The general approach taken here is meant as a bridge to the discussion of grammatical relations in Northern Paiute. Directions for future research into Northern Paiute verb classes will also be discussed.

Although the function of valence-altering morphology and its implications for the grammar is described in more detail elsewhere (section 8.2), its relevance to verb classes is clear. The inherent valence of verbs is very important in Northern Paiute morpho-syntax, and several verbal affixes act to signal some alternation in it. For the purpose of the present chapter, morphemes that alter the inherent valence are discussed in terms of their diagnostic potential for determining verb classes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 6.2.1 Zero-Argument Verbs--Natural Forces Predicates

As in many languages, verbs referring to the forces of nature in Northern Paiute require no overt NP arguments.

45a) *kumia -gina*
cloud -CISL
'It's clouding up.'

b) *ini hikwa -wini*
very wind -CONT.SG
'It's really windy.'

c) *tiikwi -piti*
snow -INCH
'It's starting to snow.'

Nor is there any unspecified argument implied by these predicates. This is simply by way of distinguishing such clause-types from those which under specific pragmatic circumstances may occur in discourse without any overt arguments--so-called *zero anaphora*. Semantically, this verb class includes weather-related or other natural phenomena or spontaneous occurrences.

Many such verbs require the suffix {-pa (-ba)} in order to enter into nominal constructions. The suffix is generally associated with the *noun class markers* (NCM) described in section 3.1.1.2. Rarely, one finds a distinct form for nominal versus verbal function, as with 'snow.' As a noun, the form {nibabi} is used ((46), below), while {tiikwi} is used in verbal function ((45c), above).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

46) *su= nibabi sai -wini*
NOM=snow melt-CONT.SG
'The snow is melting.'

### 6.2.2 Predicate Nominal Constructions

The term *copula* is generally used to refer to a semantically spare predicate type corresponding roughly to the verb 'to be' in English. Copular constructions typically take nominal or adjectival complements, but do not otherwise behave like typical transitive constructions. Some Numic languages, for example Tümpisa Shoshoni (Dayley 1989) have been described as having a copula functioning in predicate nominal and predicate modifier constructions.

Northern Paiute may be analyzed as not having a copula *per se*. Rather, in predicate nominal constructions, the subject and its complement occur in simple juxtaposition, with the subject usually preceding the complement.

47a) Maude *i= tipia*
M. 1=teammate
'Maude is my teammate.'

b) *i -su i= mido?o*
PROX-NOM 1= niece(fem.spkr)
'That's my niece.'

c) *u -su niga pia*
3 -NOM 1.GEN friend
'S/He is my friend.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The partitive suffix is used to mark possessors functioning as either core arguments or as predicate nominals (see also section 3.2.3.1).

48a) *su= aawaya?i -na imi -ti*
NOM= moldy -PTCP your -PART
'The moldy ones are yours.'

b) *su= piza-?yu niga -ti*
NOM=good-NOM mine-PART
'The good ones are mine.'

If the NP complement includes a modifier (cf. section 3.2.2.2), this modifier is marked with the nominative (NOM) suffix {?yu}:

49a) *i= pabi?i paba -?yu nana*
1=eld.brother big -NOM man
'My elder brother is a big man.'

b) *pisa-?yu naatsi (ii)*
good-NOM boy (you)
'(You're) a good boy.'

Dayley (1989) describes a copula in Tümpisa that is optional in unmarked tenses or aspects, but required elsewhere for the purpose of carrying tense-aspect marking. Northern Paiute does not have such a requirement, however. The tense-aspect issue is resolved in Northern Paiute by simply treating the predicate nominal as tense-bearing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

50a) *ma-su* *i=naa* *-kwɨ*
DEF-NOM 1=father-FUT
'He/That one is going to be my father.'

b) *una* *iwa* *-ʔyu* *nobi* *-kwɨ*
over.there many -NOM house -FUT
'Over there will be many houses.'

Predicate modifiers occur in the same form they do when part of a subject NP, that is, with the nominative (NOM) suffix {ʔyu}.

51a) *u* *-su* *nana* *paba-ʔyu*
DEM-NOM man big -NOM
'That man is big.'

b) *su=* *tuku* *toisi* *pisa-ʔyu*
NOM=meat still good-NOM
'That meat is still good.'

c) *su=* *naatsi* *udɨ* *-ʔyu*
NOM=boy tall-NOM
'The boy is tall.'

d) *su=* *mogoʔni* *inɨ* *nadɨɨ* *-ʔyu*
NOM= woman INT tough -NOM
'The woman is really tough.'

The unity of adjectivals marked with {ʔyu} appears to be straightforward. In any case, it marks a form that corefers to the syntactic subject, whether within what may be interpreted as a NP constituent or in the syntactic position of predicate.

If tense-aspect marking is required, it appears directly on the predicate modifier:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

52a) *su= paa udi -ʔyu -na naʔuna -wai*
NOM= water deep -PRED -PTCP around -LOC
' . . . the water being deep all around.' (NK: 'Nemechozinna')

b) *nimi iwa -ʔyu -kwi*
person many -PRED -FUT
'There'll be lots of people.'

Locative predicates also typically occur in final position following the subject of the clause. Either location *at* or motion *to* is part of the semantics of locative predicates. Plain demonstratives or postpositional phrases may occur as locative predicates. Some sense of the path is often supplied by the postposition, as in 53c).

53a) *su =pipɔ oʔo*
NOM =paper DIST
'The paper is over there.'

b) *osu oʔo ~ oo osu*
3.NOM DIST ~ DIST 3.NOM
'There s/he is.' OR 'S/He is there.'

c) *umi tauna -wai -tu*
they town -LOC-ALL
'They're (going) to town.'

d) *su= patsiponoa -di u= tibo -guba*
NOM=round -NMR 3= table -atop
'The round thing is on the table.'

In 53d), we see the appearance of a resumptive pronoun, presumably co-referring to the nominative subject of the sentence--the round thing. The extent to which this is a syntactic requirement is not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fully understood (see section 5.2.5 for discussion of postpositions and their historical relationship to relational nouns in a genitive NP). In most discourse situations, the reference of the thing whose location is being predicated has been established in a previous clause.

Another important predicate nominal type, cross-linguistically, are those in which express a possessive relationship between a subject and its complement. Possessive predicates in Northern Paiute are formed by means of a denominalizing noun suffix {ga} (cf. section 3.1.2.1.) meaning 'to have; to be characterized by.' As with predicate modifiers, the denominalized possessum carries the suffix {?yu} 'NOM' as a main clause predicate.

54a) *una waha -?yu nattua nobi -ča -?yu*
DEM two -NOM father/son house-HAVE-NOM
'Out there a father and son lived . .' (lit. 'had a house')

b) *ni toha- tsopihi -ga -?yu*
I white- hair -HAVE -NOM
'I have white hair.'

c) *su= wassa udi -u kaupa-ga -?yu*
NOM= crane long-OBL leg -HAVE -NOM
'The sandhill crane has long legs.'

d) *pisa miawo-ga -?yu*
good knee -HAVE -NOM
'(S/He) has good knees.'
(idiom. 'has a knack for showing up at mealtime')

The allomorphy of this denominalizer is described in section 3.1.2.1. Note that in example 54c), 'long' is marked in oblique case, as it modifies,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or corefers to, the nominal 'leg' and not to the syntactic subject of the clause. The denominalizing suffix on 'leg' is followed by the case suffix that implies co-reference to the subject.

Posture verbs like 'sit,' 'stand,' and 'lie' will often fulfill a copular function with locative complements in Northern Paiute. Their function is reminiscent of *classificatory verbs* in Athabaskan languages (Mithun 1999), which are sensitive to the shape or general configuration of the thing located, placed, or moved.[5]

55a) *tipi o?o (kati / hapi)*
rock DIST (sit / lie .SG)
'There's a rock (sitting/lying) over there.'

b) *iwa -?yu tipi wa-kwapi*
many-NOM rock RE-lie.PL
'A bunch of rocks are scattered around (lying).'

c) *su= huupi o?o hapi*
NOM=stick DIST lie.SG
'The stick is (lying) over there.'

d) *iwa -?yu huupi oo kwa-kwapi*
many-NOM stick DIST RE -lie.PL
'Lots of sticks are lying around there.'

---

[5] This is often reflected in the area of place names which are descriptive of geological features, as in, for example, *waa-kati-di* 'Juniper Mountain (juniper-sit.SG-NMR)' and *pa'a ti-kwini-di* 'Abert Rim (high IP/rock-stand.SG-NMR). See Fowler (1992, chapter 3) for a discussion of Northern Paiute place name patterns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

English posture verbs serve an identical function. For example, 'sit' is used if the thing located is fairly equi-dimensional, with no salient extension along either the vertical or the horizontal direction. On the other hand, 'stand' and 'lie' imply vertical and horizontal extension, respectively. Animates may accompany any of these three verbs, of course, simply because they have the capacity for changing their orientation.

Classificatory verbs are sensitive to the nature of the thing located, possessed, placed, or given in an Athabaskan language. In Northern Paiute, the system is much more limited in scope in that the posture verbs described above have both a limited semantic range and are restricted to predications of the sort 'be in a location.'

Posture verbs in Northern Paiute are suppletive for number (section 6.3.1) and are also important to the grammar as the source of aspectual suffixes in the context of the secondary verb construction (section 8.4). They are syntactically intransitive, and as such belong with the single-argument verbs described in the next section. They were included here as potential sources for the development of locative copulas.

### 6.2.3 Single-Argument Verbs

Intransitive verbs require one core argument, which in Northern Paiute is the nominative subject. Intransitive verbs include verbs of motion or posture, states, and activity verbs, among others.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

56a) *ni mia -u -kwi*
I go.SG-PNC-FUT
'I'm going (presently).'

b) *tammi yamoso-wai moo -du?a*
we.INCL P.N. -LOC travel.PL-SUBJ
'We shall travel to Ft. Bidwell.'

c) *su= togokwa o?o hutua -tapi*
NOM=rattlesnake DIST stretched.out-lie.SPL
'The rattlesnake is stretched out over there.'

d) *oo nimmi tiwao wo?yo?a -si*
there we.EXCL also stand.in.a.row-SEQ
' . . and we stood there in rows . . ' (NK: 'Boarding School Days')

e) *a=tuku pihi -pi*
4=meat rotten-PFV
'The meat is rotten.'

f) *su= kidi kwassi*
NOM=groundhog ripe/ready
'The groundhog is ready (for hunting or eating).'

g) *mi=paatusuba pisa patakwitsia-wini*
PL=star well shine -CONT.SG
'The stars are really shining.'

h) *su= nimičozinna yotsi-pidi -u*
NOM=Flying.Creature fly -arrive-PNC
'Nemechozinna came flying . . .'

As explored more fully elsewhere in this grammar, transitive verbs may be derived from inherently intransitive verbs by means of *instrumental prefixes* (section 8.1.3), the *applicative* suffix {ki} (section 8.2..2.1), and what Dayley (1989) calls the *jussive* suffix {tiŋi} (section 8.2.2.2). The meaning of the latter is 'tell to V' (i.e. 'tell X to perform the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

action of the verb).' All three derivations may pattern syntactically like morphological *causatives* by adding an agent argument to the event frame.

The following examples illustrate each of these morphological devices and the resulting syntactic pattern with inherently intransitive verbs.

57a) *ini* *pinuyui*
INT spin/turn
'(it's) spinning fast'

b) *ni* *o = ma-* *pinuyui*
I 3=IP/hand- spin/turn
'I'm spinning it'

58a) *su=* *tuku* *passa*
NOM=meat dry
'The meat is dry.'

b) *u= passa -ki* *-ti*
3= dry -APL -TNS
'(You) dry it!'

59a) *mo?asu ni pida* *-u*
already I build.fire-PNC
'I already got the fire going.'

b) *maiku ka= naatsi u= pida* *-tini*
start OBL=boy 3= build.fire -tell
'(You) tell that boy to start the fire!'

In the case of the applicative suffix, however, the outcome of the derivation appears to depend upon different classes of intransitive verbs. With intransitive verbs having *patient* subjects (sometimes referred to as *unaccusative verbs*), the applicative suffix behaves semantically like a causative, as in 58b), above. When the applicative suffix is used with intransitive verbs with *agentive* subjects (also referred to as *unergative*), the reading is *benefactive*, as in the following.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

60a) *ii yadua-kwi*
you talk -FUT
'. . you would/will respond . .' (NK: Boarding School Days)

b) *mi mi =yadua -ki -kwi -u*
PL 1.PL= talk -APL -FUT -PNC
'. . you all will interpret for us . .' (NK: Boarding School Days)

In the next example, we see each derivational pattern in a single clause chain--first with agentive 'do' becoming 'do for,' then with non-agentive 'sit here and there' becoming 'set around.'

61) *ni= hani -ki -si,*
us= do -APL -SEQ
*tiwao oo unau mi= či- čigwi -ki -si,*
also so out.there PL= RE-sit -APL -SEQ
*nimmi owi -tu nowia.*
we.EXCL in.there-to move
'. . having given (army tents) to us, and having set them around out there, we moved into them.'
(MS: 'Autobiography')

The applicative as a voice construction is explored in section 8.2.2.1). For the present purposes, it is important to note that these readings have distinct syntactic consequences, as explored in languages like Hualapai (Ichihashi-Nakayama, 1996) as well as Northern Paiute (Thornes 2000b). Chief among these is that under the causative reading, an agent argument is added to the event frame and the patient subject is a transitive object (58b) and the second clause of (61), above). Under the benefactive reading, an agent remains the subject of the applicative-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

marked clause and a benefactive object is added to the event frame (60b) and the first clause of (61), above).

The semantics of the verbs and the construal of events by the speakers may be shown to underlie one reading or the other. Indeed, it would appear that, given the proper context, either reading is available to the speaker, as in the following.

62) *yaga -ki*
cry -APL
'to cry for/mourn' OR 'to make cry'

The option does not appear to be available for most verbs, however, and so the applicative construction is a useful morpho-syntactic test for establishing different classes of intransitive verbs. A partial inventory can be found in Table 8.3 and 8.4, to illustrate the distinct semantic outcomes of the applicative construction for different verbs.

### 6.2.4 Two-Argument Verbs

Inherently transitive verbs are those which typically require, or at least imply, two core arguments--a subject in the nominative case and a direct object in the oblique case. Transitive verb types include those indicating a change of state or location, as well as activity verbs and verbs of perception, cognition, and manipulation, among others. A number of transitive verbs may also take verbal complements, as described in section 9.2. Some basic transitive verb types are illustrated below.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

63a) *ni ka= tuku kuhani*
I OBL= meat cook
'I'm cooking the meat.'

b) *su= nana ka= naatsi ma?i*
NOM=man OBL=boy injure
'That man hurt that boy.'

c) *ni ma?uni -ku idzaga tapišui*
I DEM.kind -OBL easily break
'I (can) break that kind (of thing) easily.'

d) *mi= naa mi= nitama*
1.EXCL=father 1.EXCL= tell
'Our father told us . .' (NK: Boarding School Days)

e) *osu yaisi hii nimidzoho yaisi mi= hoa -u*
3.NOM then thing People.Grinder then 3.PL= spot -PNC
'and then it, that thing, the *Nemedzoho* spotted them . . '
(NK: Nemedzoho)

f) *u=supidakwatu pino?o, su= nimi moko?ni*
3=know as.well NOM=Indian woman
'and (she) knew it, too, that Indian woman . . ' (NK: Nemedzoho)

Transitive verbs may be *de-transitivized* by means of either of two important prefixes in Northern Paiute: 1) the *middle marker* (MM) prefix {na}--covering the domain of reflexive and passive voice, and 2) the *anti-passive* (APS) prefix {ti}--indicating what has been typically referred to as an *unspecified object* (cf. Langacker 1976a, Snapp and Anderson 1982), but more accurately reflecting an unspecified *patient*. The addition of one or the other of these prefixes indicates a reduction in the number of core arguments. Compare 64a)-d) with 63a)-d) above.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

64a) *ni ti- kuhani*
I APS- cook
'I'm cooking.'

b) *su= nana ti- maʔi*
NOM=man APS-hurt
'That man hurt s.o.'

c) *paʔosa - tsida idzaga na- tapišui*
glass - cup easily MM- break
'The glass breaks easily/ is easily broken.'

d) *yaa umi habino mii nimi na- nitama*
here 2.PL bed QUOTE we.EXCL MM- tell
'"Here's your bed," we were told.' (NK: Boarding School Days)

The function of these prefixes is explored in more detail in section 8.2.1. Their importance in the context of verb types lies in their syntactic effects on inherently transitive verbs.

Object-incorporation is not fully developed in Northern Paiute. Rather, I treat most instances of possible noun-incorporation as N-V or X-V compounding. There are no identifiable criteria to distinguish proposed noun-incorporation from compounding in Northern Paiute.

65a) *witua -kwiba -wini*
drum -strike -CONT.SG
'play(ing) drum'

b) *oŋa-gama*
salt-taste
'salty'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the case of 65b), the root for 'salt' appears without an absolutive suffix as it would in a compound (cf. section 3.1.1.2).

Transitive verbs may also be derived from inherently intransitive verbs morpho-syntactically, as described in the previous section.

### 6.2.5 Verbs with Two Objects

Inherently ditransitive verbs, or verbs with three core arguments, constitute a very restricted subset of verbs in Northern Paiute. The verbs meaning 'give' fit clearly into this category.

66a) *ni muzukaoka-si, u-su a= mai mooni i= gia -pini*
I close.eyes -SEQ 3-NOM 4= hand money 1= give -ASP
'I closed my eyes, and this hand was giving me money . . '
(RB: 'A Vision')

b) *ma -ka tsuga i= gia -u*
DEM-OBL biscuit.root 1= give -PNC
'Give those roots to me!

c) *ma -ka tsuga i= himi -u*
DEM-OBL biscuit.root 1= give.PL-PNC
'Give those roots to me! (e.g. in a bunch)'

Only one pronominal object may occur in the proclitic slot preceding the verb. There are two strategies for dealing with the expression of two pronominal objects. One strategy, illustrated in 67a), is to express one of the pronominal objects in its independent form, consisting of the deictic base plus the oblique case form {ka}. The other, more common strategy is to leave one or the other object unspecified. Only the more topical of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

two syntactic objects--usually the recipient or beneficiary, semantically--is expressed overtly in the proclitic slot, as in 67b) and c).

67a) *ni u-ka u= gia*
I 3-OBL 3=give
'I gave that to him.'

b) *ni u= gia -kwi*
I 3= give-FUT
'I'll give it to him.'

c) *haga i= gia -u*
who 1=give -PNC
'Someone gave it to me.'

The surface syntax would tend to support the view that 'give' is only optionally trivalent, since there are no other morpho-syntactic implications (e.g. the anti-passive (APS) prefix) for leaving one of the objects unspecified. The same could be said for another verb, {tiikwi}, meaning 'to tell (of).' It can be analyzed as either optionally trivalent or, as in the case of 'give,' restricting syntactic access to the object proclitic slot if the patient or theme is obvious or unimportant (i.e. less topical).

68a) *ni u= supidakwatu ka u-su i= tiikwi*
I 3= know KA[6] 3-NOM 1=tell
'I know it because he told me.'

---

[6] As a particle, {ka} frequently serves a general connective function (cf. section 9.3 on adverbial clauses.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) Justine *ti=* *nossi* *ni=* *tiikwi*
J. POSS=dream 1.EXCL=tell
'Justine told us her dream(s)'

In the case of a human patient or theme, a ditransitive construction with this verb is better translated as 'to offer to (as in marriage).'

69) *u-mi* *ti=* *padi* *i=* *tiikwi*
3-PL POSS= daughter 1= tell/offer
'They are offering me their daughter (i.e. as a wife).'

Clauses containing three core arguments are most commonly the result of the applicative construction in Northern Paiute. With inherently transitive verbs, the semantic role of the additional object is most typically *benefactive*. Syntactically, this additional core argument will appear as an accusative-marked object.

70a) *ni = saʔa* *i=* *tsopihi* *i=* *tsiʔwoŋi -ki*
I = MOD 2= hair 2= comb -APL
'I can comb your hair for you.'

b) *imi* *miidi* *i=* *kuhani -ki*
they meat 1= cook -APL
'They're cooking meat for me.'

Detransitivising processes apply to derived ditransitive verbs as they do to an inherently transitive or ditransitive verb. The examples in 71) illustrate how such processes apply to particular arguments in the event frame.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

71a) *u-su i= ti- kuhani -ki*
3-NOM 1= APS- cook -APL
'S/He's cooking for me.'

b) *ni miidi na- kuhani -ki*
I meat MM- cook -APL
'I am being cooked meat / s.o. cooked meat for me'

c) *ni na- ti- kuhani -ki*
I MM- APS- cook -APL
'I am being cooked for / s.o. is cooking for me

The anti-passive in 71a) applies to the *patient*, the middle marker in 71b) applies to the *agent*, and, where both occur in 71c), the only overt argument is that licensed by the applicative suffix, namely, the *benefactive*.

In overt *double object constructions*, the benefactive (or *goal*) argument typically occurs between the patient object and the verb. As we have seen (section 6.1.1), however, word order is not a reliable test for grammatical relations, and speakers often rely on pragmatic context to keep track of participant roles. Default word order plays a secondary function in cases of ambiguity.

### 6.2.6 Verbs with Non-Core Participants

This section presents a preview of verbs which, at least under certain circumstances, require a participant which is marked as neither subject nor object, but rather with one of a fairly extensive set of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

postpositions (section 5.2). As such, *non-core participants* are typically not a syntactic requirement of licensed by a particular verb.

Verbs that are sometimes cited as requiring more than three core arguments are verbs of commercial transaction like 'buy' and 'sell.' The semantic arguments of such verbs include a buyer, a seller, a product, and a price. DeLancey (2001) points out that cross-linguistically the four *semantic* arguments never all surface as core *syntactic* arguments. Rather, as in English, 'sell' has three core arguments, and 'buy' only two.

In Northern Paiute the same transitive verb stem is used to predicate notions meaning either 'buy' or 'sell.' The difference in syntactic structure is that in the case of 'buy' the merchandise is marked as the direct object whereas in the case of 'sell' the merchandise is marked as a non-core argument by means of an instrumental postposition.

72a) *u= kaazi ni timi -hu*
3=car I buy -PNC
'I bought his car.'

b) *u-su kaazi-ma timi-di*
3-NOM car -INSTR buy-NMR
'He sells cars / is a car salesman.'

Since in the 'buy' sense, the verb behaves transitively, the applicative construction is required in order to include a benefactive argument. In the sense of 'sell,' on the other hand, the merchandise is marked syntactically as a non-core argument, leaving open a direct object slot for the buyer without the applicative.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

73a) *ni ka= 'T-shirt' i= timi -ki -u*
I OBL= T-shirt 2= buy -APL -PNC
'I bought you a T-shirt.'

b) *u-su nana ka= kaazi -ma i= timi -hu*
3-NOM man OBL= car -INSTR 1= buy -PNC
'That man sold me the car.'

The instrumental postposition also marks the *source* in the case of 'be afraid' if the source of the fear is expressed. The following excerpt from text includes two clauses--one which does not overtly express the source or instrument of the fear, and the other which does include it as the object of the instrumental postposition.

74) *ni bi sikwi sia?i;*
I EMPH just afraid
*umi -ma ni sikwi sia?i*
they-INSTR I just afraid
'. . . I was simply afraid; I was just afraid of them..'
(NK: 'Boarding School Days)

Another example of somewhat unexpected marking of a participant with the instrumental postposition is in example 75). The instrumental prefix (IP) generally derives a transitive verb stem, with the possible exception of posture verbs and certain verbs denoting states.

75) *ni ka= puku -ma tsa- kati*
I OBL= horse -INSTR IP/grasp- sit
'I caught the horse.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The sense of the verb stem in this case may be more of 'hold' as in 'I held/caught onto the horse.' The possible historical relationship of this postposition to the word for 'hand' {mai} may account for some of the idiosyncrasies of its use in marking non-core arguments with these predicates. See section 8.1.3 for further discussion of the role of instrumental prefixes in verb formation processes.

Northern Paiute uses locative marking to express the sense of 'put on X,' where 'X' is an article of clothing.

76a) *hi - kwai = sakwa ni hanni*
WH-LOC = MOD I do.DUR
'What should I wear?'

b) *i= kwassi-kwai hani -u*
your=shirt -LOC do -PNC
'Put on your shirt.'

As one final idiosyncratic requirement of a predication, consider the following, in which the sense of 'blame X' requires a distal demonstrative form {oi} in immediate preverbal position, whether in active or passive voice.

77a) *umi nimmi oi ni?yikwi*
they us.EXCL DEM blame
'They're blaming us.'

b) *umi oi na- ni?yikwi*
they DEM MM- blame
'They're to blame.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

I include these examples as interesting asides, mainly, to exemplify in Northern Paiute what is true for all languages--namely, that predications have complex, often idiosyncratic requirements. These idiosyncracies often reach beyond a simple evaluation of a verb's transitivity.

### 6.2.7 "Labile" Verbs

Some verbs freely occur with either one or two core arguments without any special derivational marking. These "labile" verbs are verbs that express *activities*, or what are often referred to as *cognate object* verbs which entail a pragmatically understood object. The verb 'eat' is an excellent example of a labile verb in Northern Paiute, as in English, which may simply name an activity--'I am eating'--or include the overt expression of the object--'I am eating chokecherries.'

78a) *yaisi tiwao nimmi tika -gaa -ʔyąkwi*
then too we eat -TRNSL -HAB
'Then, too, we would go to eat . . ' (NK: Boarding School Days)

b) *u= tika miʔi, su= nimidzoho*
3= eat QUOTE NOM= People.Masher
'. . (he) ate it (they) say, the *Nemedzoho* . . ' (NK: Nemedzoho)

The class of labile verbs also includes those conceived as having *cognate objects*. This class of verbs typically entails a notional object as part of the meaning of the verb, which may optionally be specified. In English, these include such verbs as 'sing (a song),' 'dream (a dream),'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'smile (a smile)' and so forth. In Northern Paiute, such verbs also include certain verbs of wearing, as well as more culturally specific activity verbs.

79a) *ni tanĩja -u -kwi*
I wear.shoes-PNC-FUT
'I'll put shoes on.'

b) *ni moko tanĩja -u -kwi*
I moccasin wear.shoes-PNC-FUT
'I'll put on moccasins.'

80a) *ta = sakwa tihona -ga*
we.DL = MOD dig.roots-TRNSL
'Let's go root-digging!'

b) *ta = sakwa kaŋiča tihona -ga*
we.DL = MOD bitterroot dig.roots -TRNSL
'Let's go dig bitterroot!'

In most cases, verbs must be morphologically transitivized or detransitivized by means of one of the devices described in section 8.2 in case the inherent valence requirements of the verb have been altered. In general, we can place labile verbs into two categories: 1) as with 'eat' or 'dig roots,' the clause may simply express or not express a syntactic object, and 2) as in the following example with 'sneeze', the relationship between intransitive and transitive versions of the clause is much like a causative, as in the following:

81a) *su= nana a?wisa?i-wini*
NOM=man sneeze -CONT.SG
'The man is sneezing.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *i= kaadi ka= nana a?wisa?i-wini*
1=cat OBL=man sneeze -CONT.SG
'My cat is making the man sneeze.' (lit. 'my cat is sneezing the man')

Although in both examples it is the man doing the sneezing, in a) he is the nominative-marked subject whereas in b) he is the oblique-marked object, and the additional argument is the cause in the event frame.

### 6.2.8 Summary and Prospectus

The verb classification presented here, based upon issues surrounding transitivity is, of course, preliminary. Northern Paiute is interesting typologically in having a wide array of morpho-syntactic devices that reflect the inherent transitivity of the verbs in the language. Certain such devices, as we have seen, are required when the inherent transitivity is altered--either through transitivization, the adding of core arguments, or de-transitivization, the reduction or unspecification or core arguments. The discourse motivations for such additions or reductions to the core argument structure are explored in section 8.2 on *voice* in Northern Paiute.

The classification and sub-classification of verbs on the basis of their morpho-syntactic behavior and the number and formal expression of their arguments in any particular language is important to an understanding of the verbal semantics which forms the basis for such expression. A thorough study of verb classes can help to reveal some of the unifying semantic features of the verbs that exhibit similar behaviors. This in turn

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

is vital to the task of translation, as it is to an understanding of the cognitive representation of the events coded by verbs.

## 6.3 Other Verb Classes: Suppletive and "Instrumental" Verbs

Verbs have so far been classified in terms of valence and features of transitivity--that is, by relating them to the type and number of arguments they require in a clause. Also, as a means of testing verb class membership still further, an initial pass has been made that relates verb class to the effects of the various *transitivity operators*--applicative, passive, anti-passive affixes--at the disposal of the speaker of Northern Paiute.

This section covers in brief two verb classes that are described on formal as well as semantic grounds. The first of these classes are the *suppletive* verbs. Probably all, or at least most, Uto-Aztecan languages exhibit suppletion with respect to the grammatical *number* of the *absolutive* argument.[7] That is to say, suppletion in intransitive verb stems is sensitive to the number of the grammatical subject, whereas suppletion in transitive verb stems is sensitive to the number of the grammatical object.

The second class includes the set of so-called *instrumental verbs.* Membership in this class is on purely distributional grounds, as these are

---

[7] Langacker (1977a) states that this feature can be readily reconstructed for Proto-UA, while Mithun and Chafe (1999) point out that such a pattern for suppletion, as with noun-incorporation, compounding, and other absolutive-oriented constructions, is common cross-linguistically and reflects semantic and discourse principles.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morphologically dependent verb roots that require one of a set of lexical-derivational prefixes known as *instrumental prefixes*. The role of instrumental prefixes in stem formation is covered in more detail in section 8.1.3. For determining the set of instrumental verbs in Northern Paiute, these prefixes simply serve as a diagnostic for class membership.

### 6.3.1 Suppletive Verbs

Northern Paiute, like Western Shoshoni (Crum and Dayley , 1993) has developed verb suppletion beyond the basic singular and plural distinction found elsewhere in Uto-Aztecan and other languages of the region. These languages also have dual forms for a few intransitive verbs. A few dual suppletive verbs are clearly derived via reduplication. Plural suppletive forms often appear to carry vestiges of old affixes. The three basic posture verbs (sit, stand, lie) make up most of the three-way suppletive category and also frequently appear in the secondary verb construction (section 8.4). Indeed, the verbs corresponding to 'lie' can be analyzed as having four-way suppletion-- singular, dual, plural and a special form just for the secondary verb construction.

Table 6.1 is an inventory of suppletive verb forms from my corpus, although I suspect there are many more as yet to be uncovered.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.1 Northern Paiute Suppletive Verbs

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *kati* 'sit.SG' | *[k]yigwi* 'sit.DL' | *aata?a* 'sit.PL' |
| *winni* 'stand.SG' | *wammi* 'stand.DL' | *kono* 'stand.PL' |
| *hapi* 'lie.SG' | *kwapi* 'lie.DL' | *pokwa~ wakwapi* 'lie.PL'[8] |
| *kima* 'come.SG' | *kikima* 'come.DL' | *kima?a* 'come.PL' |
| *mia* 'go.SG' | *mimia* 'go.DL' | *mi?a* 'go.PL'[9] |
| *kočí* 'return.SG' | *kokočí* 'return.DL' | *kočimmi* 'return.PL' |
| *nimmi* 'travel.SG' | | *moo, mo?o* 'travel.PL' |
| *yotsi* 'fly.SG; rise.SG' | | *yozi* 'fly.PL/flock; rise.PL' |
| *ǐja ~ igʸa* 'enter.SG' | | *sunua* 'enter.PL' |
| *yadua* 'talk.SG' (intr.) | | *apiča ~ apikʸa* 'talk.PL' |
| *yai ~ ya?i* 'die.SG' | | *koi* 'die.PL' |
| *patsa* 'kill.SG' | | *koi* 'kill.PL' |
| *tiki* 'put/place.SG' | | *tiuna* 'put/place.PL' |
| *-kwonao* 'open.SG'[10] | | *-wonitao* 'open.PL' |
| *wittima* 'shut in.SG' | | *wittimita* 'shut in.PL' |
| *tsamina* 'turn over.SG' | | *tsaminita* 'turn over.PL' |
| *gia* 'give.SG' | | *himi* 'give.PL' |
| *witawaaka* 'make a hole in' | | *witaaki* 'make holes in'[11] |

[8]The first form is more common in the dialects I have studied. The second form could be a 'distributive' form distinct from the suppletive plural form. Interestingly, there also exists yet another form for 'lie' /-tapi/ that occurs only as a "secondary verb" (cf. section 8.4).

[9]This form is homophonous with the form inflected for durative by the insertion of a glottal stop.

[10] The hyphen preceding the verb stem indicates that it also belongs to the class of dependent, *instrumental verbs* described in the next section.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Certain forms in Table 6.1 above appear to be derived via CV(') reduplication. This is most often the case in the development of the dual category (cf. go, come, return), although one also finds an example of it in a plural as well (cf. lie). Langacker (1977a) claims that a dual category must be a more recent development. The motivation for such a development is not to be found in the literature, however. Recent development of dual forms could explain some of the irregularity one finds, as certain adjustments to the paradigm may have occurred in order to maintain a distinct plural form.

Other items of formal interest include the plural form attested for the verb 'return.' The final syllable {mi} looks suspiciously like a plural suffix, and may represent either a historical leftover of verb agreement--lost in extant Northern Paiute--or a possible borrowing from another Numic language. This form is found in Liljeblad (1966), who did extensive work on Bannock, but is unattested in my data. At the time of Liljeblad's work, according to Michael Nichols (in personal communication) most Bannock speakers were also fluent in Northern Shoshoni, and so the form could represent a Shoshoni borrowing.

It is also interesting to compare the forms for 'open,' 'shut in,' and 'turn over.' All three forms appear to have a stem final alternation

---

[11] These forms are clearly derived from the intransitive (possibly nominal?) forms {tawaaka} 'hole' and {taaki} 'holes.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

between a final [-a] in the singular and [-ita] in the plural.[12] I don't at present have a historical explanation for the alternation.

Nichols (1974:71ff) points out the historical sound symbolic relationship between [ts] and [z] or [dz] as accounting for certain patterns of their distribution in the Numic languages. Among his examples he includes the suppletive pair for 'fly; rise' above.

The fact that the plural forms of 'die' and 'kill' are identical makes sense in terms of an "absolutive pivot" for the suppletion--that is, both verbs are about the affected participants, not the agent. The suppletion in the verb 'die' is carried over into its functional extension as what I term the "debilitative" suffix, discussed briefly in section 8.1.2.

Finally note the forms for 'pierce' or 'make a hole/holes in.' Elsewhere, one finds the use of the independent roots in nominal constructions. In these cases, they would appear to be a highly irregular singlular/plural pair.

82) *su=tagabo ka=tawaaka-kwai ĩja-u*
NOM=ball OBL=hole-LOC enter-PNC
'The ball went in the hole.'

Most noun stems can occur in either nominal or verbal constructions without any special morpho-syntactic consequences, a topic covered

---

[12] The [o] on the verb for 'open' is most likely, at least historically, the punctual aspect suffix.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

briefly in section 3.1.2. The historical development of suppletive verb forms is complex and requires systematic comparative study.

Several illustrative examples of suppletive verbs in context are represented in 83)-86).

83a) *namásoa kati -u*
quickly sit.SG-PNC
'Sit down quickly!'

b) *mau kʸ[/č]igwi-u*
DEM sit.DL -PNC
'Sit down there you two!'

c) *maʔaatui aata -u*
anywhere sit.PL-PNC
'Sit anywhere you all!'

84a) *su= poŋaadzi ti= nobohi-wai ĭja -u*
NOM=mouse POSS=nest -LOC enter-PNC
'The mouse went into its nest.'

b) *iwa -ʔyu poŋaadzi nobohi-wai sunua -u*
many-NOM mice nest -LOC enter.PL-PNC
'Lots of mice went into that nest.'

85a) *owiu ka umi u= patsa*
DEM KA they 3= kill.SG
'For that reason, they killed him.'

b) *nimmi kammi koi -čakwi*
1.EXCL jackrabbit kill.PL -HAB
'We would kill jackrabbits.'

86a) *ni u -ka u= gia*
I 3 -OBL 3= give
'I gave that to him.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *uuni -ku ni= himi -na u -su oitu naboosi moko?ni.*
that.kind-OBL us= give.PL-PTCP 3 -NOM DEM boss woman
'. . (and she) gave us those things, the schoolmarm.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

From a functional perspective, verb suppletion appears to be an irregular manifestation of a well-attested aspectual category distinction in Native North American languages--that of distributive action. Distributive action typically implies either that the action is performed by more than one actor, or that a single actor performs the action more than once. In Northern Paiute, distributive action is regularly through initial CV' reduplication (cf. section 8.3.8).

If verb suppletion is actually sensitive to a particular construal of the event, as opposed to a straightforward grammatical property like number, one should find some manifestation of this possibility in the use of various suppletive forms. This is indeed the case. The following two examples came up in a discussion of a meeting. The suppletive pair {yadua} 'talk.SG' and {apiča} 'talk.PL' were each accepted by speakers as grammatical with a plural subject.

87a) *mi= nimi apiča -gono*
PL= people talk.PL -CONT.PL
'Those people are talking.'

b) *toisu nimmi yadua -gono*
still we.EXCL talk.SG-CONT.PL
'We're still talking.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 87a) was uttered to describe a meeting in which there was general discussion, occasionally where more than one person spoke at once--a kind of collective action. Example 87b), on the other hand, came up in a context where the linguist was reviewing items of elicitation with a group. The event invoked was different from that invoked in 87a), in that there was more turn-taking involved, implying engagement in a series of "singular" actions. Note that suppletion of the continuative aspect suffix remained sensitive to the number of participants, no matter which verb stem was used.

Verb suppletion may exist on the basis of other considerations as well. Note the following pair of examples with the verbs that translate as 'give.'

88a) *ma -ka tsuga i= gia -u*
DEM-OBL bisquit.root 1= give-PNC
'Give those roots to me!' (e.g. in a bucket)

b) *ma -ka tsuga i= himi -u*
DEM-OBL bisquit.root 1= give.PL-PNC
'Give those roots to me! (e.g. by the handful)'

Here, suppletion occurs based upon the nature or condition of the object that is being handled--whether in a contained or unified quantity or in a bunch requiring repeated action. Such semantic parameters represent something akin to the extensive system of *classificatory verbs* found in Athabaskan languages.

The various semantic parameters I have only outlined here call into question whether it is really appropriate to refer to this as verb suppletion

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

at all. These forms do not represent irregularities within an inflectional verb paradigm, but, rather, clear *semantic* distinctions in the nature of the activity as construed by the speaker.

A language like Northern Paiute has lexicalized the nature of certain activities more narrowly than a language like English, at least with respect to certain predications. So, for example, English 'put' can be used with all types of objects and situations: 'put the cup on the table,' 'put the car in the garage,' 'put your John Hancock right here.' In this sense, Northern Paiute does not have a general verbal equivalent to 'put.' Rather, the language has a number of different verbs that lexicalize more specifically the nature of the activity and, thereby, the nature of the object.

For example, aside from the suppletive pair {tiki} 'put/place.SG' and {tiuna} 'put/place.PL,' Northern Paiute has another verb stem {wina} which pertains to placement or location with respect to a container, like a bowl or cup.

89a) *nigati u= wina[u]*
mine 3= put(.PNC)
'Put mine (e.g. a container or food) down.'

b) *su= paa owi tsida-wai niina {na + wina}*
NOM=water DEM cup -LOC MM.put(w.r.t.container)
'There's water in that cup.' (lit. the water (has been) placed there in a cup)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The word meaning 'lake' appears to have lexicalized the passive form of this verb, to which the instrumental prefix meaning 'water' {pa} has been added, as well as the nominalizing suffix {di}.

90) *paniinadi*
pa- na- wina -di
IP/water-MM- put.in.a.container-NMR
'lake'

### 6.3.2 Instrumental Verbs

Instrumental verbs are dependent roots which cannot occur independently without one of set of about two dozen *instrumental prefixes* (IP's--cf. section 8.1.3). As IP's are lexical-derivational affixes, there are semantic restrictions on which IP's can accompany which instrumental verbs, although paradigmatic alternations like the following are common:

91) *-bosa* 'pierce'

| IP | IP+Vroot | gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *ki-* | *ki-bosa* | 'bite through' |
| *tsa-* | *tsa-bosa* | 'hook s.t. and pull (fish)' |
| *tsi-* | *tsi-bosa* | 'stick something/spear' |
| *wi-* | *wi-bosa* | 'shoot/shoot with arrow' |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

92) *-kaʔa* 'cut/sever'

| IP | IP+Vroot | gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *ki-* | *ki-kaʔa* | 'bite in two' |
| *tsa-* | *tsa-kaʔa* | 'pull apart (e.g. a string)' |
| *tsi-* | *tsi-kyaʔa*[13] | 'cut/slice (with a knife)' |
| *wi-* | *wi-kaʔa* | 'cut off/chop (by swinging an axe)' |

Table 6.2 is a partial inventory of instrumental verbs in Northern Paiute.

[13]Palatalization of the initial consonant of this root is conditioned by a preceding high, front vowel.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 6.2 Northern Paiute Instrumental Verbs

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *-kwonao* | *open | *ma-kwonao* | 'open with the hand' |
| *-ka?a* | *cut | *tsa-ka?a* | 'pull apart' |
| *-posa* | *pierce | *tsi-bosa* | 'pierce with a knife' |
| *-si?yigi* | *shake | *tsa-si?yigi* | 'shake (tr.)' |
| *-ma* | *touch | *tsa-ma* | 'touch with the fingers' |
| *-pata* | *spread | *wi-pada* | 'spread out (e.g. blanket) |
| *-kibu?i* | *destroy | *wi-kibu?i* | 'torn apart by wind |
| *-koba* | *break | *wi-koba* | 'break by swinging' |
| *-ni?ya* | *bump | *tso-ni?ya* | 'bump the head' |
| *-tatsi* | *strike | *ma-datsi* | 'slap' |
| *-ta?ni* | *knock | *wi-ta?ni* | 'whack (e.g. with a seed beater) |
| *-tabui* | *fix/prepare | *ma-tabui* | 'get dressed' |
| *-tsaga* | *kill | *ma-tsaga* | 'kill by pushing' |
| *-(k)yota* | *lift | *ta-kyota* | 'lift with the toes/foot' |

The existence of such dependent roots, as well as many other historically analyzable roots, indicates that the lexicalization of IP + Root combinations has been taking place for a long time. What is interesting about instrumental verbs in general is their semantics, which seem to feature a class of roots that indicate direct physical manipulation or gesture. The majority of instrumental roots indicate change of state (pierce, cut, open), and the IP is required to indicate the manner by which the change is brought about. Following the work of Talmy (1972, 1985), it would appear that manner, as such, is not fully lexicalized as part of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meaning of many Northern Paiute verb roots, requiring the use of *satellites*, like instrumental or adverbial prefixes to supply it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 7

# NON-DECLARATIVE SPEECH ACTS

## 7.0 Speech Acts

This brief chapter covers a few of the major alternatives to the basic clause type, defined in section 6.1 as the active, affirmative, declarative, main clause (after Givón, 1979). This chapter covers, in brief, the major alternatives to the the affirmative and declarative clause prototypes in Northern Paiute. Alternatives to the active clause are discussed in section 8.2 in the discussion of voice and transitivity. Chapter 9 on clause-combining covers a variety of subordinate clause types in the language.

The study of *speech acts* has long had a prominent role in the philosophy of language , and may include a wide and subtly differentiated variety of utterance types. Here, I present a simple survey of the basic non-declarative clause types, including *negation*, *imperative* and *prohibitive* clauses (commands), *interrogatives* (question types), and *modality* as expressed in constructions involving *second position clitics*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 7.1 Negation

Simple negation is accomplished through the use of the negative particle {kai}, which may have scope over any constituent in the clause. Wherever it appears in the clause, it receives the most prominent, clause-level stress. Although free to appear most anywhere in the clause, it often has scope over the entire clause and appears clause-initially, as it does in the prohibitive construction (section 7.3).

1a) *kai ni pisa su-nami*
NEG I good IP-think
'I'm unhappy.'

b) *kai ni uuni -ku aawaya?i-na pizapi*
NEG I kind/type-OBL moldy -PTCP want
'I don't want any moldy ones.'

The negative particle also frequently appears after the subject of the sentence when it has scope over the verb phrase, although the pragmatic effect appears to be slight. In non-initial position, it retains the most prominent clause-level stress.

2a) *ni kai aawayai -na pizapi mi= tsuga*
I NEG moldy -PTCP want PL= biscuitroot
'I don't want any moldy biscuitroots.'

b) *su= natizuabi kai togi i= ma- nimma*
NOM=medicine NEG correct 1=IP/CAUS- feel
'The medicine doesn't make me feel quite right.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

We also find it having scope over subordinate clauses of different types.

3a) *su= sadi?i kai pizapi -na i= haŋaŋa*
NOM=dog NEG want-PTCP 2= growl(at)
'This dog growls at you if he doesn't like you.'

b) *su= moko?ni kai himma ma-si?a-di*
NOM=woman NEG anything CAUS-be.afraid-NMR
'That woman is brave/ a brave one.'

There appear to be some verbs that require negation--that is, I have not found them, nor have I been able to elicit them, without the negative particle {kai} (NEG). Such verbs, although fairly rare, form an interesting subclass. Due to this apparent requirement, assigning a meaning to the verb alone essentially requires deducing something for which the language itself does not account.

4a) *mau kai tammi u=mapi?a-u*
that NEG we.INCL 3=?? -PNC
'We gave up on him (after trying to cure him)'

b) *kai ti-mapi?a*
NEG APS-??
'not doing well; in failing health'

BUT **mápi?a*

5a) *kai ini mi=putabui*
NEG INT PL=perceive (visually)
'(I) can't really make them out (they're too far away).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *kai ini ti-putabui*
NEG INT APS-perceive
'to have poor vision'

BUT **putabui*

In both of the cases above, there are common alternatives to the opposite of these "negative" verb stems.

The negative particle combines with the adverbializer suffix (or enclitic) {su} to mean 'not yet; never.'

6a) *kai -su na?i*
NEG -ADV burn(.DUR?)
'Not burning yet'

b) *ka= nana kai -su pitti ,*
OBL=man NEG-ADV arrive
'The man has not yet arrived . . '

c) *kai -su tiipi uu mani -pini*
NEG-ADV earth thus do/occur-PFV.STAT
'The world never works that way.'

## 7.2 Imperative

The imperative mood, or command form, of verbs frequently involves the simplest verb form. In Northern Paiute, the verb of a clause in the imperative appears either as its bare stem form (7a)-b) or accompanied by the punctual aspect suffix {u} (PNC) (7c)-d).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7a) *yadua*
'Speak!'

b) *tinikwihi*
'Sing!'

c) *kadi-u*
sit.SG-PNC
'Sit down!'

d) *winni-u*
stand.SG-PNC
'Stand up!'

There is a partial semantic pattern for this distribution. This pattern appears to be based upon the inherent aspect of the verb in question. The main feature that dictates the presence or absence of the suffix is the verb's *telicity*--that is, whether or not an endpoint is entailed by the semantics of the verb in question. Verbs that encode telic, or *bounded* events take the punctual suffix in the imperative, while those encoding atelic, or *unbounded*, events do not.

By altering the inherent aspect, the same pattern emerges.

8a) *habi-u*
lie.SG-PNC
'Lie down!'

b) *habi-dabi*
lie.SG-keep.on
'Stay lying down!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 8b), an aspectual suffix implying duration removes the possibility of having a co-occurring punctual suffix.

## 7.3 Prohibitive

The *prohibitive* or *negative command* construction in Northern Paiute is formed with the negative particle {kai} (NEG) at the beginning of the clause and the verb followed by the prohibitive suffix or enclitic {paana} (PROH).

9a) *kai pa?a-?yu tibimoa-paana*
NEG high-ATTR play-PROH
'Don't play up there!'

b) *kai i=mubi-kwai-tu tsama-paana*
NEG 2=nose-LOC-ALL touch-PROH
'Don't pick your nose!'

c) *kai u=tsitsuga-paana*
NEG 3=point-PROH
'Don't point at it!' (of a rainbow)

Prohibitive clauses are frequently, in the appropriate context, followed by a simple (10a) or polite (10b) imperative.

10a) *kai ti- tamihoi-paana; yabi -su piti -u*
NEG APS- late -PROH quick-ADV arrive.SG-PNC
'Don't be late; arrive on time!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *kai yotsi -paana . mau = sapa habi-dabi*
NEG arise-PROH DEM = MOD lie.SG-lie.SPL
'Don't get up! Keep lying there (where you are)!'

The prohibitive enclitic also functions as a disjunct particle meaning 'but; however; even though' elsewhere in the language.

11) *ni kai su- kima -paana kimma*
I NEG DESID-come-PROH come.DUR
'I don't want to come, (but I am) coming.'

Its role in conjoined clauses is discussed further in section 9.3.

## 7.4 Interrogative

There are two main types of *interrogative* or *question* formations: 1) the *polar* or *yes/no* question and 2) the *information* or *WH*-question. The first of these is formed through the use of the question enclitic {ha} (Q), which is appears immediately following the word or constituent that is the focus of the polar question.

12a) *ii = ha tsiaya?i*
you = Q hungry
'Are you hungry?

b) *ii = ha kuna -ka -?yu*
you = Q firewood-HAVE-PRED
'Do you have firewood?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *i= nakka = ha ii*
1=hear.DUR = Q you
'Do you hear me?'

d) *su= huba = ha pisa kamma*
NOM=soup = Q good taste
'Is the soup good-tasting?'

e) *uu = ha*
thusly = Q
'Is that so?' / 'Really?'

Syntactic first position is also the position of focus (cf. section 6.1.1), resulting in the question particle often appearing in second position. However, when co-occurring with true second position clitics (section 7.5 below), its enclitic status becomes clearer.

13) *kai = ha = sakwa ni kwassi-guba kati-čai*
NEG = Q = MOD I tail -upon sit -around
'Couldn't I sit on your tail?'

In 13), the question enclitic {ha} (Q) is bound to the negative particle {kai} (NEG), while the second position modal clitic {sakwa} (MOD) is bound to the first constituent of the clause.

Speakers form tag questions simply by stating their expectation in a declarative statement, followed by the tag particle {haba} (TAG). Rising intonation usually accompanies this particle.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

14) *múʔasu mimia -u hàbá*
already go.DL-PNC TAG
'(Those two) left already, didn't they?'

There is no distinction between negative and affirmative tag questions in Northern Paiute.

The interrogative base {ha} also appears with a couple of expressions of affect--what are typically termed *expletives*.

15a) *hába*
'Really!' (expression of surprise or disbelief at new information; strongly accented first syllable)

b) *haččáí*
'Wow! Great!' (expression of wonderment or surprise; high tone and strong accent on second syllable)

Information, or WH-questions are formed simply by using one of a number of *interrogative pronouns* (cf. section 4.3). The interrogative pronoun appears clause-initially, and is usually pronounced with prominent clause-level stress and at a higher intonation peak than in a corresponding declarative sentence.

16a) *haga tauna -wai*
who town -LOC
'Who's in town?'

b) *haka ii iziʔi punni*
whom you yesterday see.DUR
'Who(m) did you see yesterday?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *hannano ii kočɨ*
when you return
'When did you return?'

d) *haʔu mani-pini*
how do -PFV.STAT
'How are things (with you)?'

e) *haaʔno -ku miidi ii kuhani-kwɨ*
how.much-OBL meat you cook -FUT
'How much meat will you cook?

Embedded questions also occur in Northern Paiute. These are a subtype of complement clause, and so are discussed in section 9.2.5.

## 7.5 Second-Position Clitics

Modality, as traditionally defined, involves notions of either *necessity* (deontics) or *possibility* (epistemics) (cf. Lyons 1977) as well as the contrast between *realis* and *irrealis* (Givón 1984). Insofar as modality can be said to fall under a functional domain, its expression is dispersed through different areas of the grammar of Northern Paiute. It is expressed as part of the morphology of the verb (section 8.3), since it is often difficult to separate from verbal *aspect*, and by means of adverbials (section 5.3).

In Northern Paiute and other Numic languages there is another important construction that operates within the broad domain of modality, particularly as it relates to non-declarative speech acts. This construction involves a set of forms that appear exclusively in syntactic second position (sometimes referred to as Wackernagel's position). These

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are the *second position modal clitics.* Some details of their syntactic distribution are covered in section 6.1.1.3. The phonological features that distinguish clitics in general from independent words and from affixes are described in section 2.5.

The morphemes that are clearly restricted to second position form an interesting subclass, although they appear to be somewhat limited in Northern Paiute. In my analysis, there are seven members of this class. They may, under some circumstances, co-occur and appear in constructions with other clitic types, giving rise to clitic strings of two, three, or more members. The second-position clitics can often best be translated by the English modals, although their semantic domains exhibit some translational overlap, at least in the present analysis. A more fine-grained functional description is needed.

In general, however, it can be said that the unifying function of the second position clitics is within the domain of modality as it relates to non-declarative speech acts. They appear frequently in polite, or otherwise less direct speech. Table 7.1 lists the second-position clitics and some of their functions in Northern Paiute. Note that some forms exhibit an *evidential* function, whereby the speaker may use one of the second position clitics to imply something about the source of information.[1]

---

[1] I have not, however, found evidentiality to be a robust grammatical category in the language.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 7.1 Northern Paiute Second Position Clitics

| Second Position Clitic | Functional Range |
|---|---|
| *=sakwa* | 'must; could' -- appears as part of hortative constructions as well as in polite questions |
| *=sapa* | 'may; shall' -- some immediate future sense; sometimes used to soften an imperative |
| *=saʔa* | 'might; should' -- implies potential or possibility; main clause verb typically appears with the subjunctive suffix; also politeness |
| *=kaina, =gaina* | 'might have; perhaps' -- implies reaction to an inferred possibility |
| *=ka, =ga, =ǰa,* | 'must be; must have' -- evidential, usually implying inference |
| *=waa, =waʔa* | 'must have been'--dubitive, typically implies uncertainty about past events |
| *=tukẇa* | 'must have (done)'-- |

Section 2.5.2.2 explores the possibility that the first person pronouns may be incipient members of the second position clitic category.

The following examples demonstrate some of the range of use for each of the Northern Paiute second position clitics listed in Table 7.1.

{sakwa}

17a) *mi=naana = sakwa mi=timadzai*
PL=men = MOD 1.PL=help.TR
'The men should help us.'

b) *ii = sakwa maiku i=bida-ki*
you= MOD DEM 1=start.fire-APL
'You should start the fire for me.' (POLITE COMMAND)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *hau = sakwa móa tabino ni ii=puni-dua*
how = MOD tomorrow noon I 2=see-SUBJ
'How about I see you at noon tomorrow? (POLITE REQUEST)

d) *ka= múa awamoa = sakwa ta una owi-tiu tihona -ga*
OBL=tomorrow morning = MOD 1.DL DEM DEM-LOC dig.roots-TRNSL
' "Tomorrow morning, let's go out there to dig roots." ' (HORTATIVE)
(NK: Bear and Deer)

{sapa}

18a) *yao = sapa taa ti- yoŋo*
here = MODAL we.DL APS-evening
'We'll camp here.'

b) *kai yotsi -paana. mau = sapa habi -dabi*
NEG rise.SG-PROH DEM = MODAL lie.SG-keep.doing
'Don't get up! Keep lying there (where you are)!' (POLITE COMMAND)

{sa?a}

19a) *i=tso-pihi = sa?a naá-dua*
1=IP/fur = MOD grow-SUBJ
'My hair will (might) grow back.'

b) *kai owi-ti ti-tiha-paana ; ii = sa?a na-kwitimao-dua*
NEG DEM-LOC RE-steal-PROH you = MOD MM-lock.up-SUBJ
'Don't steal from there; they might lock you up.'

c) *ii = sa?a i=sidi -u -si wi?iu-dua ka= baa -waitu*
you = MOD 1=sneeze-PNC-SEQ fall -SUBJ OBL=water-LOC
'If I sneeze, you might fall in the water.'
OR 'You may, from my sneezing, fall into the water.'
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

d) *nimmi = sa?a mai muhi tsu-tsunua-u mii= tia?*
we.EXCL = MODAL DEM first RE-enter -PNC say=thusly
' "We should go in there first," so (they) said.' (NK: Bear and Deer)

{kaina}

20a) *kidi = gaina mayi-u-si.*
groundhog = MOD find-PNC-SEQ
' "(She) may have found a groundhog!" ' (NK: Root-digging Time)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *oo = kaina mi=tiya?i-pi miu ta na- ni- naka -ki -ti*
so = MOD PL= die -PFV QUOT 1.DL MM-IP/speech-hear -APL-TNS
'Perhaps those who have passed on want us to hear them.'
(NK: Old Voices)

{=ga}

21a) *tami = ǰa u= tsagi-?yu -na*
we.INCL = MODAL 3=near-PRED-PTCP
'We must be close to it . . ' (NK: Root-Digging Time)

b) *simi-?yu umi -matiu ka miu -- su= u= naa = ga hau . . .*
one -NOM 3.PL-PART KA say NOM=3=father = MOD how
'. . one of them said--it must have been his dad . . ' (NK: Nemechozinna)

c) *uu=tia? kassa-ga?yu mi?i, paba-?yu = ga*
so=thusly wing -HAVE said big -NOM = MOD
' . . they say (it) had wings like that; must be big ones . . '
(NK: Nemechozinna)

{waa}

22a) *ha?u = waa [ii]*
how = MOD (you)
'How WAS that?' (trying to jog a memory of past events)

b) *ka= oo?nosu = waa iwa -?yu nobi*
OBL=long.ago = MOD many-NOM house
'Long ago, there were many houses.'

c) *u -su = wa?a u= hanni*
3-NOM = MOD 3=do.DUR
'I wonder if he's still doing that (i.e. what he used to do) . . '

{tukwa}

23) *su= i= sadi?i = tukwa ka= kaa -kuba -kwai mia-u -si,*
NOM=1= dog = MOD OBL=edge-over -LOC go -PNC-SEQ
'My dog must have gone over the edge and . . '

The question particle {ha} has sometimes been treated together with the second position clitics, as it often occurs in that position. I would argue,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

however, that it is enclitic to whichever constituent it has scope over in an utterance, much like the contrastive enclitic {bi}[2] or the emphatic enclitic {su}[3]. Since the position of *focus* (I use the term loosely here) in the language appears to be first position (see section 6.1.1.1), the result is the frequent occurrence of this and other "narrow scope" particles in syntactic second position. This could provide one explanation for the development or grammaticalization of syntactic second position to begin with.

One avenue for future study is to explore how a fixed position at the level of the *clause*--particularly second position--may have developed from one involving a fixed position relative to a particular phrasal category--namely, the constituent over which, in the case of Northern Paiute, an enclitic has *scope*. Such a study would necessarily include an exploration of the interface between *prosody* and *pragmatics*. Clitic junctures, as we have seen (section 2.5) are prosodically distinct from other types of juncture. Also, from a functional perspective, clitics in Northern Paiute typically carry information about higher-level relationships, in particular the relationship between the speaker and the text--that is *pragmatics*.

---

[2]Meaning, roughly, 'as for X,' where X is the constituent to which the enclitic attaches (cf. section 4.1.7).
[3] Sometimes translated 'self' when attached to pronouns, but actually more like a non-contrastive focus marker (section 4.1.7).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 8

# THE VERB

## 8.0 Introduction

One finds the most morpho-syntactic complexity in the Northern Paiute verb. Although not a polysynthetic language, strictly speaking, the Northern Paiute carries a great deal of intricate lexical-derivational, aspectual, and relational information in its verbal morphology.[1] The Northern Paiute verb consists of the root, three prefix classes plus initial CV reduplication marking the "distributive" category, stem-internal reduplication or gemination related to grammatical aspect, and several suffix classes.

Rather than present a purely position-class description of the morphological structure of the Northern Paiute verb, I have proposed (Thornes 1996) a view of verbal structure in terms of functional categories. A slightly modified version appears in 1).

---

[1] The key feature of polysynthesis that is lacking is pronominal agreement, although object pronominals are bound to the verb as proclitics (cf. section 4.1.1).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1) [[Valence [IP/[Root]] Valence] + DIR/ASP] + SUB/NMR
THEME STEM Prefinal Final

The STEM portion consists of either a simple mono-morphemic verb root or one derived lexically by means of one (or more) of an inventory of about two dozen instrumental prefixes (IP). Certain types of STEM-STEM compounds are also treated as operating at this core level of structure. Section 8.1.1 also describes in brief a set of morphemes that appear to blur the distinction between compounding and IP-STEM derivation. Overall stem formation processes relating to the verb are treated in the next section.

The THEME portion includes one or more of four derivational morphemes--two prefixes (the 'middle marker' {na} (MM) and the 'antipassive' {ti} (APS)) and two suffixes (the 'applicative' {ki} (APL) and the 'jussive' {tiŋi} (JUSS), all of which affect the inherent transitivity of the verb stem. Voice and transitivity are discussed in section 8.2.

The zone following, and bound to, the THEME portion of the verb structure includes directional and aspectual suffixes, what we can loosely refer to as the *prefinals*. They are included here in the same general zone, although there are no less than three position classes internal to this zone. In most (but not all) cases directional morphemes precede those coding aspect. As described more fully in section 8.4, this zone is an active one for grammaticalization via the "secondary verb" construction (Crapo 1970).

Subordinating and nominalizing morphology always appears at the end of the verb complex following the directional and aspectual

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

morphology, and so can be called *finals*. There appear to be few, if any restrictions on the co-occurrence of aspect-marking and subordinate verb morphology. The function of this morphology in clause combining and in signaling inter-clausal relationships is described in chapter 9.

It is to the entire verb complex proposed in 1) that the pronominal proclitics are bound. Proclitics do not affect stress shift, as described in section 2.3.2, but may carry final features that affect the initial consonant of the verb complex (cf. section 2.4.1), hence their assignment to a category intermediate to word and true affix.

The following examples illustrate the internal verb complexity and the relative position of some of the Northern Paiute verb morphology.

2a) *na - ti- gu- hanni -ki -wini -di*
REFL-APS-IP/heat- do -APL -CONT.SG-NMR
'(s/he) who is cooking for (her/him)self' (SL:39)

b) *awamoʔa = sakwa ta ti- hoawai -gya -kwi*
morning = MOD we.DL APS- hunt -TRNSL -FUT
'we oughta go hunting in the morning'

c) *mi= na-nana na- do- pakida -wini*
PL= RE-man RECIP-IP/fist- fight -CONT.SG
'those men are boxing (each other)'

d) *nimmi na- na- pa- gia -tiŋa*
we.EXCL RE- MM-IP/water-give -JUSS
'We were told to bathe.' (NK: Boarding School Days)

d) *ni kai pisa u= punni i= tsa- tsopa -ki -u*
I NEG well 3= see 1= IP/grasp-remove-APL-PNC
'I can't see it well, pull it (a sliver) out for me'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

e) *ti= domo -gi -na wi?i -u -ki -?yakwi yihŋi*
?= winter-CISL-PTCP descend-PNC-CISL-HAB porcupine[2]
'it is getting winter, and the porcupines come down' (SL:79)

f) *ka= pa?a -kwai na- da- winai -hu -si*
OBL= high -LOC REFL-IP/feet-throw-PNC-SUB
'(he) jumped up high . .'

g) *su= tiitsi -?yu naatsi pi- noyo -gati -ga -wini*
NOM=small-NOM boy IP/butt-move-sit.SG-TRNSL-CONT.SG
'The little boy is crawling away backwards on his butt.'

h) *su= nana u= pi- pi- ma- datsi*
NOM= man 3= RE-IP/butt-IP/hand-strike
'The man is spanking him/her.'

i) *yaisi owi -tu nimmi na- tsa- piti -ki -piti -ga*
then DEM-ALL we.EXCL MM-IP/grasp-arrive-APL-INCH-TRNSL
'And then we arrived at our destination . . '
(NK: Boarding School Days)

The only forms that can intervene between the pronominal proclitic slot and the verbal complex are a restricted set of manner adverbials (section 5.3.3). These include {sikwi} 'just; only,' {tibitsi} 'indeed; really,' {misu} 'easily; be able to,' and {tu?i} 'nearly; try to.' The last two carry both adverbial and modal semantics.

3a) *ni u= sikwi - naka*
I 3= just - hear
'I just heard of it.'

---

[2] This form from Bannock is possibly a Shoshoni borrowing.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *u= pabi?i* *u=tibitsi - naakwi -u -ga -yakwi*
3=elder.brother 3=really - accompany-PNC-TRNSL-HAB
'His brother will really be accompanying him.'

c) *ni mi=misu - makwi -u -kwi*
I PL=can - finish -PNC -FUT
'I will easily defeat you all.'

d) *nimmi noo -?yu -na i= tu?i -kwati -gaa -kwi*
1.EXCL all -NOM-ATTR 2=try -look.for-TRNSL-FUT
'We all were about to go and look for you.' (SL:78)

I begin with a discussion of stem-formation processes that constitute the semantic core of the Northern Paiute verb and are a particularly rich area of Northern Paiute grammar. Their interaction with voice and transitivity operators provides fertile ground upon which to explore the interface between syntax and the lexicon.

## 8.1 Stem Formation Processes

By *stem formation* I mean any process that applies to the creation of the STEM portion of the verb structure in 1) to which operators on transitivity at the level of THEME can take place, as well as inflections, nominalizations and the like. Since at this level we are talking about lexical-derivational processes, as we will see, a great deal of idiosyncrasy occurs, both in terms of semantic and in terms of morpho-syntactic behavior.

The simplest verb stem in Northern Paiute, of course, consists of an unadorned root, to which valence operators and directional, aspectual,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and subordinating morphology can attach. Numerous examples appear in section 6.2 in the discussion of verb classes. In the following sections we look at both stem formation as a product of the combination of two such roots--*compounding*--and as the combination of a lexical-derivation affix plus root--*instrumental prefixation*. Following the next section on general features of compounds is a brief section of the special *debilitative construction*, an interesting stem formation process involving a specialized use of the suppletive verb meaning 'die.'

### 8.1.1 Compounding

Compounding that results in stems that distribute syntactically as nouns is discussed in section 3.1.6, along with the phonological features of compounds--most notably, stress placement as sensitive to the entire stem. In this section, my intention is to focus on compounds that result in verb stems.

In previous descriptions of Northern Paiute, such as Snapp and Anderson (1982), verb-verb compounding includes what I would argue are two distinct constructions. One of these is what I call "true" compounding at the core, or STEM layer of verb structure.[3] The other involves the *secondary verb construction*, described in section 8.4, which

---

[3] I adopt, somewhat loosely, the terminology used in Foley and Olson (1985) in their theoretical discussion of verb serialization to describe *juncture* at different levels of verb structure--namely the core versus the nuclear layers.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

consists of a restricted set of clearly identifiable verb roots combining at the nuclear, or THEME layer of verb structure. This construction is where the grammaticalization of aspectual and directional morphology has, and continues, to take place.[4]

It is important to distinguish between these two constructions since not only do they operate at distinct morpho-syntactic layers, but they have fairly distinguishable functions. Compound stems tend to be right-headed, with the first member of the compound often interpretable as adding a manner feature to the complex. In secondary verb constructions, on the other hand, the core lexical verb appears first, and the secondary verb adds postural or associated motion to the complex.

The following are examples of true compounding that results in a verb stem.

4a) *watsi - mia*
hide - go.SG
'sneak off'

b) *watsi -tiuna*
hide - put/place.PL
'put things away'

c) *naka - supidia?i*
hear - heed
'pay attention'

d) *naka - hoawai*
hear - hunt
'be nosey/ eavesdrop'

e) *tabi - tika*
day - eat
'lunch; to eat lunch'

f) *yoŋo - tika*
evening - eat
'supper; to eat supper'

---

[4] See, for example, Heine et al (1991) and Hopper and Traugott (1993) for an understanding of the principles of grammaticalization theory.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

g) *yuŋa - gia*
pick.up[5] - give
'give (a container)

h) *sami - tiki*
soak - put/place.SG
'soak (tr.)'

i) *mohi - mia*
lead - go.SG
'go first'

All of the examples in 4) are composed of simple, independent verb stems. I interpret the second stem as the head and the first as serving the dependent, modifying function. Both {watsi} 'hide' in 4a)-b) and {naka} 'hear' in 4c)-d) are very common elements of compounds, although their meaning tends to be more abstract in compounds. For example, {watsi} refers to any action performed 'secretly.' With {naka}, it is often difficult to discern just what its contribution to the overall meaning of the compound is, as in 4c).

In some compound forms, the first half of the compound no longer occurs as an independent stem.

5a) *sogo - mia*
on.foot - go.SG
'go on foot (SG)'

b) *sogo - ʔwoyoa*
on.foot - go.in.single.file
'walk in single file'

c) *natsi - maŋi*
by.raft - cross.water
'cross by raft'

---

[5] More narrowly, pick up a container, especially of liquid.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The dependent stem {soko} is reconstructed in Nichols as the proto-Numic stem meaning 'earth, usually wet earth' (1974:336). Independent forms with a noun class marker (NCM) can be found in Shoshoni and Southern Paiute (Miller 1967, Nichols 1974).

What is interesting about these forms is that they are, in an important sense, transitional between compounded elements and the instrumental prefixes described in section 8.1.3. They likely originated from old noun or verb roots and became frequent members of compounds, as with 'hide' and 'hear,' until they lost their status as independent words. The main difference between these and IP's is that they are more restricted in their distribution, particularly with verbs of motion.

### 8.1.2 The Debilitative Construction

The suppletive verbs {yai} 'die.SG' and {koi} 'die/kill.PL' have grammaticalized as a suffix or second member of a compound in a special function for denoting physical or emotional states of reduced capacity. I refer to this as the *debilitative* function, and to this suppletive pair of morphemes, when used in this capacity, as allomorphs of a special *debilitative suffix* (DEBIL).

The debilitative suffix appears to combine with stems of any stripe to derive a class of stative verb or predicate. It sometimes has the semantics of an inchoative, meaning 'to enter into such a state.' It appears to have become lexicalized with many forms, where the form without the suffix is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

unattested. Even with these forms, the number suppletive pattern is maintained.

Table 8.1 lists the forms I have found in my corpus. Although perhaps most, if not all, forms have plural counterparts with {koi}, I have only included those attested in my data.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.1 Debilitative Verb Forms

| debilitative form | meaning | root |
|---|---|---|
| *apiyai* | 'to experience post-coital fatigue' | |
| *issayai* | 'to lie; to be a liar' | *issa* 'wolf[6]' |
| *kudiziyai* | 'to be going crazy' | *kudizi* 'crazy (borr.)' |
| *kumitsayai* | 'to have warts' | *kumitsa* 'wart' |
| *moatipi?yai* | 'to be aging' | *moatipi* 'old; elder' |
| *paayai ~ paakoi* | 'to be intoxicated' | *paa* 'water'[7] |
| *pahonaya?i ~ pahonakoi* | 'to be sleepy' | |
| *ti?oyai ~ ti?okoi* | 'to be ill' | |
| *tihoya?i* | 'to "teepee creep;"[8] to behave as such a person' | |
| *tikiya?i ~ tikikoi* | 'to be skinny from hunger' | |
| *toidziyai* | 'to be lazy' | |
| *tsiayai ~ tsiakoi* | 'to be hungry' | *tsia* 'to hunger' |
| *wa?itsiyai* | 'to be grey-haired' | *wa?itsi* 'old man' |

There are certainly many more forms than this, as the construction is quite productive and open to creativity. Snapp and Anderson (1982) treat it as another type of compounding. I treat the debilitative as a suffix mainly because of the specialized semantics associated with it. There is a

---

[6] In synchronic form, of wolf; historically, derived via consonant symbolism from the stem for coyote (Nichols 1974), the quintessential Trickster in Northern Paiute mythology.
[7] The word for water is often used as a euphemism for alcohol.
[8] A slang expression used especially around pow-wows and other gatherings to imply stealing around at night in search of sexual companionship.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kind of frivolty to it that makes neologism possible, such as with the "-aholic" derivation in English.

### 8.1.3 Instrumental Prefixes

This section explores some of the most significant properties of a quite pervasive formative process with respect to the verb stem in Northern Paiute.[9] This process involves the set of lexical-derivational morphemes that comprise the class of "instrumental prefixes" as they have been known in the literature on North American languages for the past century. Sapir (1930) defined instrumental prefixes in Southern Paiute as including ". . . a considerable number of elements of prevailingly instrumental significance . . . used chiefly with verb forms, but not exclusively . . . [whose] origin is largely obscure." (101) Instrumental prefixes appear to constitute a broad areal phenomenon in western North America, crossing several proposed genetic boundaries (DeLancey, 1996b).

It is often suggested that instrumental prefixation must have developed from a process of noun-incorporation. This assumption is more than likely true for the development of some Northern Paiute IP's, but it often appears more likely that the construction is a historical extension of verb-verb compounding, as described in 8.1.1. The origin and development of instrumental prefixes is, however, "largely obscure" given

---

[9] See section 3.1.5 for a brief discussion of their classifying use with nominal roots.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the comparative problem of determining whether or not a proposed etymology may itself contain an IP.[10]

A clearer understanding of the phenomenon will necessitate not only an analysis of the likely sources for the instrumental prefixes (where such is possible) in the languages that have them, but also an analysis of the grammatical characteristics amenable to their development. It is not possible to address these topics fully within the scope of the present work, but see Thornes (2000a) for a cross-linguistic study of instrumental prefixes and their functional correlates. Sherzer and Foley (1971) also represents a typological approach to the problem in Uto-Aztecan.

8.1.3.1 Paradigmatic Alternations and Inventory

The IP construction involves a verb root in combination with any of a closed set of around two dozen prefixes whose semantic force in the construction commonly indicates something of the means or manner by which the action coded by the root is carried out. One striking aspect of the IP construction is the potential for paradigmatic sets like those in 6), all carrying the same core meaning, but whose semantic sense is amplified by the instrumental prefix:

---

[10] Nichols (1974) also noted this problem.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6) *-kwonao* 'open'
a) *ki-kwonao* 'open (with the mouth or teeth)'
b) *ma-kwonao* 'open (like a cat through a pet door, by pushing)'
c) *pi-kwonao* 'open (with the hips or buttocks, by backing into)'
d) *to-kwonao* 'open (usu. by breaking in, using outward force)'
e) *tsa-kwonao* 'open (a jar, a door, a bottle)'
f) *tsi-kwonao* 'open (with a key, by inserting something)'
g) *tso-kwonao* 'open (with the head)'
h) *wi-kwonao* 'open (with a can opener, by wind)'

The variety of interpretations in parentheses provide a very general sense of the semantic force of the prefixes in this construction, even though these interpretations should by no means be taken as exhaustive. I have adopted the convention throughout this work of including in the interlinear line an abbreviated gloss of individual IP's.

Table 8.2 is an inventory of instrumental prefixes in Northern Paiute along with their proposed source etyma from Nichols (1974). Also included is a fuller semantic characterization for each prefix in order to better understand their range of use as derivational devices. Many carry a geminating, or fortis, final feature specification, either obligatorily or optionally.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.2 Northern Paiute Instrumental Prefixes

| IP and proposed etyma | gloss | semantic characterization |
|---|---|---|
| *ki '-* UA **ki?i* 'bite' | 'bite' | with the teeth; by biting; edge |
| *ku[']-* UA **kuh* 'fire' | 'heat' | with heat; w.r.t. fire, smoke |
| *ku/ko[']-* PN **koba-i* 'face' | 'face' | face, neck, above, in front |
| *ma[']-* PN **mai* UA **mo?o* 'hand' | 'hand' | with the hand (usu. open); causative; w.r.t hand or arm |
| *mu[']-* PN, UA **mupi* 'nose' | 'nose' | having a point; w.r.t. nose/beak, lips/mouth |
| *ni[']-* ?PN **ni-a* 'call' | 'speak' | with speech; by talking |
| *no-* PN **no-* ?? | 'load' | egg/house/round; move/carry |
| *pa[']-* UA **paa* 'water' | 'water' | pertaining to water, moisture; N-I with /paa/ |
| *pi[']-* UA **pih* 'back' | 'butt' | buttocks/back/behind/base--usu. as a location |
| *pu-* PN **pui* 'eye' | 'eye' | with the eyes; by seeing |
| *si[']-* UA **sup* 'cold' | 'cold' | cold; fear; shaking |
| *su[']-* UA **suuna* 'heart' **suuwa* 'believe' | 'mind' | mental or emotional activity |
| *ta-* PN **taba* 'sun' | 'sun' | sun/day/light; appear |
| *ta[']-* PN **ta?ŋa* UA **tannah* 'foot' | 'foot' | with the feet/leg (verbal); stepping; w.r.t. feet/leg |
| *ti[']-,to-, ta-* UA **tun* 'rock' | 'rock' | with a rock; forceful activity, like 'fist' |
| *to[']-* ???? | 'fist' | with the fist; axial motion; out from the body |
| *tsa '-* PN **tsa?i* 'grasp' | 'grasp' | with the fingers; grasping; toward the body |
| *tsi[']-* PN **tsi-a* 'rose' ?? | 'sharp' | with a sharp object; with the end of a long object; |
| *tso[']-* UA **tsohŋi* 'head' | 'head' | head/shoulders; |
| *wi[']-* ?UA **wipaa* 'whip' | 'long' | along or against the length of a long object; radial motion; natural forces |

The most common members of instrumental prefix inventories in the languages that have them include those that classify an instrument in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

terms of physical properties (esp. shape) and those that indicate the use of a body part. In context, however, the semantic range is actually much broader, blurring the boundaries between one IP "type" and another. The use of the term "instrumental" can in fact be misleading, since it is more often some feature of the manner in which the action is carried out which is indicated, not the nature of the instrument.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7a) | *tsi-kwidu?i*<br>IP/sharp-stir<br>'stir (e.g. soup)' | b) | *wi-gwidu?i*<br>IP/long-stir<br>'stir (to make gravy)' |

Here the contrast is not in the shape or type of instrument used--one could use a wooden spoon for either task--but in the nature of the action. In 7a), the end of the instrument is used, while in 7b), the preparation of gravy requires the instrument to be held at an angle closer to the horizontal in order to blend the thickener and prevent scorching.

It is important to note that a full instrumental phrase is grammatically *optional* in clauses with verb stems derived with IP's. In other words, they are neither anaphoric nor markers of agreement, as pointed out in Mithun (1989b) with respect to Central Pomo. The existence of an accompanying instrumental phrase is dictated only by the speaker's desire to be explicit about the particular instrument involved in the action.

By comparing 8a) and b), we can deduce the non-referential nature of IP's. In 8b), the 'head' is specified as an instrument in an instrumental phrase, but the IP corresponding to 'head' does not derive the verb stem, even though there is one available for doing so, as we can see in 8a).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8a) *tipi -ma ni tso- ni?ya*
rock-INST I IP/head-bump
'I bumped my head on a rock.'

b) *ti = tsopigi -ma u= to- winai -hu*
POSS = head -INST 3= IP/fist-throw-ASP
'(he) shoved him with his head (down).'

The IP used in 8b) simply qualifies the manner of motion--in this case, axial (usually forceful) motion directed outward from the body. What this latter example demonstrates is that although it is often convenient to refer to the IP construction as qualifying the event by adding information about the nature of the "instrument" or "theme" argument, IP's do not, technically speaking, have referential properties. In this sense, they share an important functional feature of noun incorporation in other languages. What is invoked by either an IP or an incorporated noun is not an argument of the verb, but rather it functions to "narrow" the meaning of the verb (Mithun 1984, 1999).

8.1.3.2 Semantic Range

In languages of western North America that have a significantly larger inventory of what Jacobsen (1980) terms "lexical prefixes"--such as Washo and Klamath (DeLancey 1999--one often finds distinct prefixes coding distinct lexical functions. For example, a predicate involving the movement of a round object or theme utilizes a lexical prefix distinct from a predicate involving the use of a round or blunt instrument.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This feature follows, in some sense, from the fact that a language would presumably develop or maintain an extensive inventory to more finely distinguish different features of an event. In Northern Paiute, with its smaller inventory, an individual IP covers a much broader semantic range for the purposes of qualifying the event coded in the predicate. That is to say, the nature of the qualification is not entirely predictable. Along with coding means and manner--the prototypical function--IP's somewhat idiosyncratically may indicate direction, location, or some feature of the theme.

The following examples demonstrate their use as directionals with a general motion root.

9a) *pi- noyoa -ga*
IP/butt-move.INTR[11]-TRNSL
'go backwards'

b) *u= to- noyoi*
3=IP/fist-move.TR
'push it'

c) *u= tsa- noyoi*
3=IP/grasp-move.TR
'pull it'

---

[11] Elsewhere (Thornes 1998a) I have noted the sporadic alternation of stem-final *-a /-i* corresponding to intransitive versus transitive versions of the same verb stem--perhaps a remnant of an old Uto-Aztecan causative *ina (Langacker 1977a).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One feature of the system is that certain IP's appear to impose transitivity over the derived verb stem in a pattern akin to a morphological causative, as in 9b) and c) above--that is, they license an agent argument (DeLancey 1996a).

This transitivizing feature appears to be, at least in part, a function of the derivational properties of the specific IP in question. In the following examples, we see that {pi} 'of or pertaining to the buttocks' favors a "non-instrumental" reading unless, as in 10c), the applicative (APL) suffix {ki} imposes transitivity on the verb stem.

10a) *pi- čui*
IP/butt-be.warm.DUR
'backside is warm'

b) *ni yau pi- yui -kati*
I here IP/butt-warm-sit.SG
'I'm sitting here warming (my) butt.'

c) *pi-čui-ki-ti*
IP/butt-be.warm-APL-TNS
'warm s.t. with the buttocks (e.g. leave a chair warm by sitting on it)'

In spite of the clear cases whereby certain features of the predicated event are favored by certain IP's, there is also a degree of semantic interdependence between the verb type and the qualifying function of the IP attending it in the IP construction. With many stative verbs as well as with the basic posture verbs (sit, stand, lie), the IP tends to qualify the nature of the theme. The transitivizing effect of the APL suffix must accompany the instrumental reading with some verb roots--as it does with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

certain IP's. This is true even of IP-Root combinations that involve IP's that are most commonly of the "instrumental" type.[12] The result is that neither the IP nor the verb root can be used as a basis for predicting a particular semantic or syntactic outcome.

The IP {ma} 'of or pertaining to action done with the hand,' perhaps the most common of all IP's, most often results in a transitive verb stem and has even developed features of a morphological causative (section 8.1.3.4 below). Yet the following pair indicates that with the verb root {yui} 'warm; be warm' it does not have this effect (11a). Rather, the applicative is used to derive a causative reading (11b).

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11a) | *ma- yui - kati* | | b) | *i= mai yui -ki -kati* |
| | IP/hand-warm - sit | | | 1=hands warm-APL-sit |
| | 'sit hand-warming' | | | 'sit warming my hands' |

Likewise, the following examples demonstrate the same pattern, with the IP {tsi} 'by means of a sharp or pointed instrument; by poking,' the IP again appears only to contribute added detail to the action coded by the verb.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12a) | *su = puusiti* | *pisa* | *wini* | *-na* |
| | NOM= post | good | stand.SG-SUB | |
| | 'The post is standing straight...' | | | |

---

[12] John McLaughlin (in personal communication) says that this is the case with intransitive verb roots generally in Central Numic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *ka = puusiti o?o wini -ki*
OBL=post DEM stand.SG-APL
'Stand the post up there!'

c) *kosso kimaba ka = amatabi a= tsi- kwini -ki*
fire beside OBL= ribcage 4= IP/sharp-stand.SG-APL
'Stand the ribcage up beside the fire (e.g. with willow sticks).'

Based upon data like these, one could argue that transitivity is a peripheral aspect of the construction--a concomitant to the semantics of the process--not a predictable syntactic function of it.

What is also clear is that IP-Root combinations are semantically interdependent--that is, not entirely dependent upon verb root or upon IP. Examples like the following paradigm of IP-Root combinations appear to muddy the picture further. In this paradigm, a particular IP, in this case {tso} 'of or pertaining to the head or shoulders', exhibits a pattern more akin to noun-incorporation, resulting in an intransitive stem, as in 13e). This in contrast to the more common means-and-manner pattern whose result is transitive, as in 13a)-d):

13) *-kyoda* 'lift'

a) *ma-kyoda* 'pick up'

b) *ta-kyoda* 'lift with toes/feet'

c) *tsa-kyoda* 'pull someone up'

d) *tsi-kyoda* 'lift with the tip of s.t. sharp'

e) *tso-kyoda* 'raise head up'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The IP {pa} 'of or pertaining to water,' is identical to the independent stem {paa} 'water' and is quite clearly the incorporated form of this old proto-Uto-Aztecan root. It is rarely used to indicate water as means or "instrument" and does not result in a transitive stem. Rather, the prefix indicates the involvement of water as location (14a), theme (14b and c), or as otherwise qualifying the action (14d).[13]

14a) *pa- tibimoa*
IP/water-play
'play in the water'

b) *na-ba-gia*
MM-IP/water-give
'bathe'

c) *pa-yui-ki*
IP/water-warm-APL
'heat water'

d) *pa - mudzia*[14]
IP/water-spew (from mouth)
'spew'

By appealing to constraints on productivity--or creativity--with respect to possible IP-Root combinations, it is possible to note an important functional correlation between the IP construction and serial verbs in other languages. This can be seen: 1) by the potential for the co-occurrence of more than one IP with a particular root and 2) by what Durie (1997) describes as the productive potential of V-V combinations limited only by whether or not such combinations represent a recognizable event type for speakers.

---

[13] This word is used, for example, to describe what Coyote did with the stolen pine nuts he carried in his mouth when he reached the Sierra Nevada.
[14]There may well be a lexicalized IP /mu-/ 'nose' in this stem.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Skilled speakers are very creative in their use of the IP construction, and younger speakers often assume that such creativity can be explained by the notion that they know *more*, or *older* words. Mithun (1989a) makes reference to such an effect in language obsolescence. In Northern Paiute, younger speakers seem to have a stronger tendency to treat IP-Root combinations as lexical items, and therefore simply do not make use of their creative potential in word formation, a skill older, more fluent speakers retain.

In 15), for example, the combination of two IP's qualify two different aspects of the single event. The verb root itself is very generic, and alone means, simply, 'to consume; to use up.'

15) *wi- tsa- su?a*
IP/long-IP/grasp-consume
'win at gambling'

The speaker, a man in his late 80's, explained the meaning of the form by demonstrating the action of collecting all the chips on a poker table--first the general action of using the arms as long instruments {wi}, then the more fine-tuned gathering of the chips with the fingers {tsa}. In some sense, then, instrumental prefixes carry a certain amount of visual-gestural content.

Example 16) represents perhaps a more historical analysis, and yet the semantic contribution of each co-occurring IP seems quite transparent.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

**16) *pa-* *ko-* *ma* *-maʔi*
IP/water-IP/face-IP/hand-do/act
'wash the face' (**'bring water to the face with the hands')

Speakers also readily create a context for unusual or "invented" IP-Root combinations or may interpret the same stem differently, based on context. For example, with respect to the derived stem in 17), one speaker used it to describe the motion of a pet door, with the IP, which usually classifies involvement of the open hand, here functioning to classify the flat shape of the door. Another speaker used the same form with a more prototypical instrumental, and hence, transitive, reading.

17) *ma-* *kwonao*
IP/hand-open
'open' (EITHER: transitive--"by pushing X"
OR: intransitive--"like a cat through a pet door")

In the transitive reading, the IP appears to license an agent--like a morphological causative. With the intransitive reading, on the other hand, the IP appears to explicate some other feature of the event--the nature of the theme.

Of further interest is the occasional ideophonic behavior of the IP {wi} 'action radially with a long instrument; by means of wind' in the following example from text. In this passage, the first and last instances qualify the action of the verb as involving the wind as a causal force. In the central example, a reduplicated form of this prefix occupies the entire STEM slot, and is meant to indicate the sound of the tent material flapping.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

18) *u = moatipi, kadu?u wi- ?mani, initi hikwa*
it = being old nothing IP/long-become very windy
*. . kadu?u mi= wi- wi -?yakwi, wi- kibu?i*
. . nothing them RE- IP/long -HAB IP/long-destroy
'. . it being old, (it) was blowing apart, it was so windy. . (the wind) would tear them apart (i.e. would "wi-wi-" them), destroying them.'
(MS: Autobigraphy)

In unrelated Klamath (Scott DeLancey, personal communication) and Barbareño Chumash (Suzanne Wash, personal communication) similar lexical-derivational prefixes share a similar pattern of polysemy relating the action of the wind to action along the length of a long instrument.[15]

8.1.3.3 Morpho-syntactic Interdependence

Many IP-Root combinations are morpho-syntactically interdependent--that is, the portion clearly identifiable as the core predicating element (the verb root) in other contexts does not occur as an independent verb stem without an IP. Miller (1972) and others in Numic studies refer to these as *instrumental verbs*. Jacobsen (1980) calls this

[15] Interestingly, the prefixes in these languages also begin with the labio-alveolar glide [w].

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

construction a *bipartite stem* in his study of Washo. Examples 6) and 13), as well as the following, illustrate this pattern.[16]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 19) | *-ka?a* | 'to cut / sever / split' |
| a) | *ki-ka?a* | 'bite in two' |
| b) | *tsi-kʸa?a* | 'cut / slice (e.g. with a knife)' |
| c) | *tsa-ka?a* | 'pull apart (e.g. a string)' |
| d) | *wi-ka?a* | 'cut off / chop (e.g. by swinging an ax)' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 20) | *-bosa* | 'to pierce' |
| a) | *ki-bosa* | 'bite through' |
| b) | *tsi-bosa* | 'stick / spear something' |
| c) | *tsa-bosa* | 'hook something and pull (fish)' |
| d) | *wi-bosa* | 'shoot with a bow and arrow' |

This class of bound roots in Northern Paiute appears most often to be of the change-of-state type.

There is even evidence that two IP's may occur as the sole elements in a bipartite stem, as in 21), with the prevalent IP {ma-} 'of or pertaining to the hand' in the bound root position.

---

[16] The convention adopted by Numicists is to present the Root portion with a preceding hyphen to indicate its dependent status. As DeLancey (1991) points out, this construction type challenges traditional notions that distinguish "stem" from "affix."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

21a) *tsa -ma*
IP/grasp-IP/hand
'touch lightly (w. fingers)'

b) *wi -ma*
IP/long-IP/hand
'touch (by reaching out)'

Section 6.3.2 discusses instrumental verbs as a special verb class and a partial inventory is provided in Table 6.2. The development of bound roots in the instrumental prefix construction is simply one more stage in the process of lexicalization.

8.1.3.4 Transitivity and Causation

A development also attested in the unrelated languages Lakhota (Rood and Taylor, 1996) and Haida (Hori, 1998) involves the grammaticalization of the IP relating to involvement of the hand as a morphological causative, as described more fully in Thornes (1996, 2000a) and illustrated by the following.

22a) *u-su si?a?i -kwini*
3-NOM be.afraid-CONT.SG
'S/he is afraid'

b) *u= ma- zi?a -u*
3=CAUS-be.afraid-PNC
'(S/he) scared her/him'

23a) *ni pahonaya?i*
I be.tired
'I'm tired.'

b) *su = natizuabi i = ma- bahonaya?i*
NOM=medicine 1= CAUS-be.tired
'The medicine makes me tired.'

c) *su = natizuabi i = tsa- bahonaya?i*
NOM=medicine 1= IP/grasp-be.tired
'The medicine makes me tired.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The development of a causative from the IP set seems a natural development, given that in many instances IP's have the syntactic effect of adding an agent to the event frame. This is particularly true with verb roots coding change-of-state, where the IP indicates something of the means or manner by which the change is brought about by an agent. As a particular IP form takes on this more general character, its privileges of co-occurrence extend and the morphosyntactic support of the transitivizing applicative suffix is no longer required.

The true extent to which the instrumental prefix system in general interacts with, for example, the applicative suffix has yet to be fully explored within the context of verb type. I would hypothesize that since there remain only traces of the proto-Uto-Aztecan causative suffix *ina, the functional domain of causation in Northern Paiute has, over time, been occupied by more than one morpho-syntactic operator on transitivity (Thornes 1998a). As discussed in section 8.2.2.1.2, however, it appears that IP's and the applicative occupy different areas along the causative continuum proposed by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002), with IP's operating at the lexical-direct end and the applicative behaving more like a marker of indirect, or mediated causation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 8.2 Voice and Transitivity

My approach in this section is to describe the range of functions, both syntactic and pragmatic, associated with the verb morphology that operates within the broad domains of voice and transitivity.[17] These operators work in the overall verb structure to compose the THEME portion of the verb in 1). In particular with respect to the middle marking prefix {na} (MM) and the applicative suffix {ki}, the broad range of functions associated with them are typologically interesting and merit more extended discussion and further study.

The unifying property of the class of morphemes described in this section is that they all manipulate the inherent valence properties of the verb. The features these morphemes have with respect to transitivity are also explored in section 6.2 with respect to verb classes. Recall from the previous section that instrumental prefixes (IP's) may also manipulate argument structure. The key difference between IP's and the morphemes described here, however, is that IP's operate more idiosyncratically upon argument structure--a property predictable from their main lexical-derivational function. The morphology explored here, however, operates more or less syntactically. As we will see with regard to the functional domain of the applicative, however, the way it, too, operates upon inherent argument structure is not entirely mechanical.

---

[17] Dixon and Aikenvald (2000) represent recent cross-linguistic work on mechanisms relating to transitivity and valence.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 8.2.1 Detransitive morphology

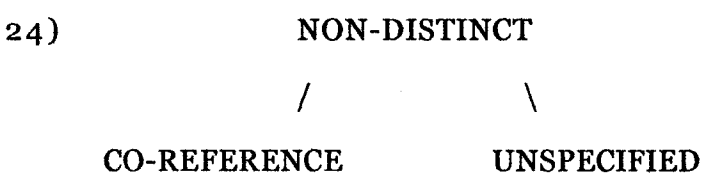
This section describes the various functions associated with two prefixes that appear when the inherent transitivity of a verb stem is reduced--a process called *detransitivization.* One of these, the middle-marking prefix {na} (MM), codes a range of functions, including reflexive, reciprocal, and passive voice. The other, the antipassive prefix {tï} (APS), appears when the argument associated with the semantic role of *patient* is unspecified. As we have seen (section 6.1.4.4), the antipassive prefix may co-occur with an object proclitic, but only where that pronominal proclitic refers to a *benefactive* argument in the applicative construction (section 8.2.2.1). This fact necessitates describing it as sensitive to an unspecified, *patient* argument, and not, as it has previously been described (Anderson, Anderson, and Langacker 1976a, Snapp and Anderson 1982, and Thornes 1996), as an unspecified *object* prefix.

Langacker (1976a) presents the notion of non-distinct arguments to account for the patterns of voice-marking found throughout Uto-Aztecan. The concept of "non-distinct argument" subsumes the more specific notions of co-reference and unspecified arguments. In his study of patterns across Uto-Aztecan, Langacker (1976a) pairs reflexivity with co-referentiality between the syntactic arguments of a transitive event. The passive (or medio-passive) is described as functionally associated with unspecified arguments, as is what I call the antipassive (or "unspecified object," cf. Anderson, Anderson, and Langacker, 1976 and Snapp and Anderson, 1982).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Once the functional relatedness of co-referentiality and unspecificity is established, one can make the observation that some languages have a separate marker for the two, whereas others have only one means of marking both--that is, for marking non-distinct arguments. The following represents the basic schema:

24)




Both the middle marking and the antipassive morphemes interact with the other valence-altering morphology in Northern Paiute, creating a rich system of argument tracking, focusing, and manipulation. Elsewhere (cf. section 9.1) I describe the role played by the MM and APS morphemes in the formation of headless relative clauses. In section 6.2 on verb classes, I describe in general terms their use in manipulating the inherent argument structure of various verb types based solely upon their inherent transitivity. In section 6.1.4, I explore constructions involving them as part of the inventory of covert properties for determining grammatical relations in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8.2.1.1 The Middle-Marking Prefix

The verbal prefix {na} has a range of functions which include the reciprocal and reflexive, as well as passive voice. The morpheme is pan-Numic, but its extension into the passive domain does not occur in Southern Numic.[18] This extension is well-attested in both Central and Western Numic, however (Dayley, 1989, Thornes, 1996). Similar marking patterns for reflexives and passives are common cross-linguistically. Kemmer (1993) refers to this as a "one-form middle" system in her work on middle voice typology.

Kemmer (1993) places reflexives and middles along a continuum of participant distinguishability. At one extreme of the cline is the prototypical one participant (intransitive) event frame and at the other is the prototypical two participant (transitive) event frame. In the former, the participants are maximally indistiguishable (there is only one), whereas in the latter they are maximally distinguishable (there are two). Rather than linking reflexives only to coreference as a subpart of non-distinguishability, she gains explanatory ground by stating that reflexives have more in common with two-participant events, even though the participants are conflated onto the same referent.

Middle situations are then placed along the same continuum, but nearer the one-participant extreme of the scale, since, conceptually, they

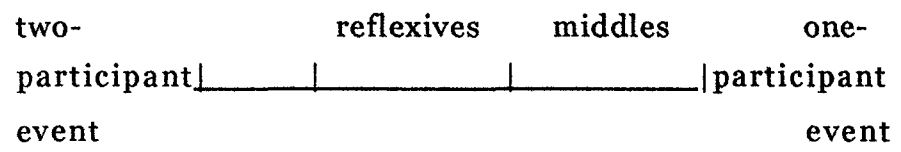
---

[18]Givón (1980a, 1981) clearly establishes a verbal suffix that fulfills this role in Ute, as does Sapir (1930) in his grammar of Southern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are closer to intransitive events. This conceptual difference often surfaces as a difference in marking across languages. Note:

25)




From this functional-typological strategy can be explained variable marking patterns across languages for different domains along the continuum. Where one language may employ separate marking strategies for separate points along the continuum, another may employ the same or similar marking strategies.

Functionally, what I refer to as the middle-marker in Northern Paiute covers a wide portion of the continuum proposed by Kemmer (1993). This functional range covers the reflexive, reciprocal, and passive voice.

8.2.1.1.1 The Reflexive Function

The function of {na} as a marker of the reflexive is found across the Numic subfamily. Northern Paiute only rarely makes use of reflexive pronouns (cf. section 4.1.7) when they are necessary for disambiguation or emphasis.

In the reflexive construction, there is coreference between two participants in a transitive event.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

26a) *ni na- sibana -wini*
I MM- shave-CONT.SG
'I am shaving (myself).'

b) *i= bita ni pa- kia -wini*
1=arm I IP/water-give-CONT.SG
'I'm washing my arms'

c) *ni na- pa- kia -wini*
I MM-IP/water-give-CONT.SG
'I'm washing (myself)/bathing'

By comparing 26b) and c), we see that coreference between the subject and object in a transitive event is marked on the verb by the {na} prefix.

8.2.1.1.2 The Reciprocal Function

Like reflexives, reciprocals involve co-referentiality between participants in a transitive event. With reciprocals, however, two (or more) participants are acting on each other.

27a) *imi iwa -ʔyu tihikya koi -hu*
they many-NOM deer kill.PL-PNC
'They killed many deer.'

b) *imi - no una-su ka= issa -no na- koʔi*
they-COM DEM-ADV OBL=wolf-COM MM-kill.PL
' . . they (the Frogs) and Wolf made war with each other . . '
(IW: Wolf and Frogs)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As these examples show, reciprocals, the reflexives, are derived mainly from prototypical transitive verbs. What Kemmer (1993) calls "naturally reciprocal" event types consist of verbs marked with the middle-marking prefix in Northern Paiute as well.

28a) *tapoi - gya*
meet-TRNSL
'(we) met (for the first time in awhile)'

b) *una -su ta "Tall Jim cabin"-wai*
DEM-ADV we.DL TJ's cabin -LOC
*na - dapoi - gya - kwi*
MM-meet-TRNSL-FUT
'we two will go meet at Tall Jim's cabin' (IW: Fieldnotes)

In these examples, we see that a naturally reciprocal event like 'meet' can be marked. When it is marked with {na}, it establishes the meeting as involving true agents or "initiators," thereby involving a more semantically transitive event. Without the marker, the act of meeting is perceived as more or less accidental--more like 'run into' than 'meet (as for a purpose).'

The marker is often reduplicated.

29) *na - na - ʔakwi*
RE-MM-shoot
'shoot at each other'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Reduplication of {na} further indicates that the action is distributive (cf. section 8.3.8). An event that involves shooting generally implies a repeated action on the part of both participants.

Other functions of {na} in the reciprocal domain involve its appearance as a pronominal base (section 4.1.8) and to derive adverbials (section 5.3).

8.2.1.1.3 The Passive Voice Function

The pragmatic function of the passive voice is to signal the high topicality of the patient of a prototypical transitive event (Givón 1990). Syntactically, the result of a passive construction is one of detransitivization, whereby the agent is suppressed or "demoted." In Northern Paiute, the middle marking prefix {na} (MM) is used in the passive construction. There appear to be no restrictions on aspectual marking, and no possibility for expression of the agent. The syntactic object of the corresponding active sentence is "promoted" to grammatical subject, and case-marked nominative.[19]

---

[19] In Thornes (1996) I stated, prematurely, that passives in Northern Paiute are non-promotional. I suspect I may have been led to this analysis by some partially analyzed text data, where it appeared, in subordinate clauses, that the notional subject was retaining its oblique case-marking.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

30a) *u -su* *i= buuki* *tsa-* *kibu?i-u*
3-NOM 1= book IP/grasp-tear -PNC
'He tore my book.'

b) *i= kwassi* *na-* *tsa-* *kibu?i-piga?yu*
1= shirt MM- IP/grasp- tear -PFV
'my shirt has been torn'

c) *o?o* *uu* *ka* *u= patsa* *tabi?a*
DEM thusly KA 3= kill.SG appear
*u-su* *na-* *patsa* *tabi?a*
3-NOM MM- kill.SG appear
'That's what killed her, I guess; she was killed, apparently.'
(NK: Bear and Deer)

Occasionally, it is difficult to establish whether the middle marker in Northern Paiute is functioning as a reflexive or as a passive. This is especially true in the case of impersonal constructions, which Givón (1990) cites as contributing to the rise of certain types of passive constructions. They are intermediate between reflexives and passives. Consider the following examples:

31a) *tinikyui*
'teach'

b) *na - tinikyui*
MM-teach
'study / learn'

c) *mi?i* *pina* *na- na-* *tiničui*
QUOT w.r.t RE- MM-teach
'so are the stories. .' (WM: The Cave Myth)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

These examples illustrate 'learn' as being derived from 'teach' in a relationship like 'teach oneself.' However, the relationship could as easily be one whose translational equivalent might be something like 'be taught.' Example 31c) shows the distributive function of reduplication with the middle marker. As we have seen elsewhere (section 4.1.8x), there appears to be a possible relationship between the middle marker and dual/reciprocal pronominal base. Also, recall that this marker, in both its reduplicated and non-reduplicated form, participates in the derivation of locative adverbials (section 5.3.1). The functional range is no doubt a result of historical developments, perhaps from a pronominal source, but is beyond the scope of the present study.

8.2.1.2 The Antipassive (Unspecified Object) Prefix

In this section, we will look at another device for detransitivization, namely, the antipassive. A pragmatic function of the antipassive is to "render normal objects/endpoints pragmatically optional" (Croft, 1991:259). The antipassive, considered as a voice type, has also been widely correlated with high topicality of the subject/initiator, and correspondingly low topicality of the object/endpoint.[20]

Although most often associated with ergative languages as an analog to the passive voice in nominative languages (see esp. Jacobsen,

---

[20]See Givón (1990) for examples and discussion from a variety of different languages.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1985), antipassive patterns occur in non-ergative languages as well. Insofar as it is important to our discussion of valence-altering morphology, the effect of antipassivization on transitivity is that it construes transitive events as intransitive by suppressing the object/endpoint. As Croft (1991) and others have noted, this has the effect of focusing attention on the action itself, as opposed to the endpoint of that action. This effect has also been noted in section 9.1.2 in the discussion of headless object relative clauses.

Inherently transitive verbs in Northern Paiute must be morphologically marked with the prefix {ti} when the object is left unspecified.[21]

32a) *ta = sakwa tihiča huawai -ǰa -kwi*
we.DL = MOD deer hunt -TRNSL-FUT
'Let's go deer-hunting!'

b) *tuʔi ti - huawai -nimi ni*
try APS-hunt -RNDM.SG I
'I was hunting (unsuccessfully).'

c) *ni kai pisa ka= kidi kuhani*
I NEG good OBL marmot cook
'I can't cook groundhog well'

d) *ni kai pisa ti- kuhani*
I NEG good APS-cook
'I can't cook well'

---

[21]See Langacker (1976a) for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon in Uto-Aztecan. Also, Anderson, Anderson, and Langacker (1976) analyze this morpheme in Northern Paiute using Langacker's formula (cf. 25), above) for non-distinct arguments.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The object of the active-transitive verb in 32a) and c) is unspecified in 32b) and d), and so the antipassive prefix is required. The following example illustrates how it is possible to have an instrumental subject with the antipassive.

33) *i- su wihi pisa ti- tsi- čaʔa*
PROX-NOM knife good APS-IP/sharp-cut
'this knife cuts well'

Because their effect on transitivity is to delete an object relation, Croft (1991) claims that antipassives are really the functional inverse of applicatives, whose effect is often to add an object. We will see that the applicative in Northern Paiute is not quite so straightforward, however, in section 8.2.2.1. As we have seen in section 6.1.4.4, the antipassive prefix in Northern Paiute indicates, more specifically, an unspecified *patient* rather than an unspecified *object*.

34a) *usu i =ti -kuhani -ki*
s/he 1=APS -cook -APL
'S/He's cooking for me.'

b) *ni miidi Ø kuhani-ki -u -kwi*
I meat X cook -APL-PNC-FUT
'I'll cook meat for X.'

In 34a), we find the co-occurrence of both the APS prefix and an object proclitic referring to a benefactive. In 34b), the benefactive object is unspecified, but the overt patient object suppresses the occurrence of the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

antipassive prefix. Therefore, the prefix appears only to be sensitive to unspecified *patients* not syntactic objects.

### 8.2.2 Transitive morphology

This section looks at two morphemes which, when attached to verbs, result in the addition of a core argument to the clause. The first is the applicative suffix, which is of typological interest in that it behaves like a typical benefactive applicative with some verbs--signaling the addition of a syntactic object whose semantic role is *benefactive*--as well as like a morphological causative with other verbs--signaling an increase in transitivity through the addition of an argument whose semantic role is as the *agent* of the causative event. It is commonly used with human manipulees where the causation is less direct than that typically implied by the instrumental prefixes, as explored in section 8.1.3.

The *jussive,* or 'tell to' suffix patterns like a causative as well, although again, the manipulation is not direct, but verbal. Unlike causation as expressed by the applicative, it does not necessarily entail that the manipulation was successful, although it is typically assumed to be. With both the applicative and the jussive, as with ditransitives in general, there may be competition for the verbal proclitic slot. As discussed in section 6.1.4.3, the causee or benefactive argument has greater access to this slot.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8.2.2.1 The Applicative

Applicative constructions, cross-linguistically, include a verbal affix indicating that the inherent argument structure of the verb has been alstered to include an additional core argument. As described elsewhere (see especially section 6.2.3) the applicative suffix {ki} (APL) derives a transitive from an intransitive verb.

35a) *ii yadua-kwi*
you talk -FUT
'. . you would/will respond . .' (NK: Boarding School Days)

b) *mi mi =yadua-ki -kwi -u . .*
PL 1.PL=talk -APL -FUT-PNC
'. . you all will interpret for us . .' (NK: Boarding School Days)

36a) *ni sita tinikwi(h)i*
I bad sing
'I sing badly.'

b) *u-ka tinikwi(h)i-ki*
3-OBL sing-APL
'Sing for that guy!'

From a transitive verb, it derives a ditransitive.

37a) *ni = sa?a i=tsopihi tsi?woŋi*
I = MOD 2=hair comb
'Let me comb your hair.'

b) *ni = sa?a i=tsopihi i=tsi?woŋi -ki*
I = MOD 2=hair 2=comb -APL
'Let me comb your hair for you.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

38a) *u= mabutu?i*
3=roll.cigarette
Roll it! (a cigarette)'

b) *i = mabutu?i-ki*
1=roll.cigarette-APL
'Roll (it) for me!'

By comparing 38a) and b), we see that the applied, benefactive argument gains access to the verbal proclitic slot, while the patient is left unexpressed.

With some verbs, the applicative yields a related, malefactive meaning.

39a) *ni- sagwai*
IP/speech- be.angry
'to curse'

b) *mi= ni- sagwai -ki -?yakwi*
us= IP/speech- be.angry-APL-HAB
'(they) were cruel to us (taunting) . .'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

The semantic role of the additional, or *applied* argument is not entirely predictable, however, at least not by looking only at the inherent transitivity of the verb in question. In some cases, the applicative construction adds a semantic agent to the event frame, like a morphological causative.

40a) *su= tuku passa*
NOM=meat be.dry
'The meat is dry.'

b) *u= passa-ki -ti*
3= dry -APL-TNS
'(You) dry it!'

41a) *su= puusiti pisa wini -na*
NOM=post well stand-PTCP
'The post is standing straight.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *sisi?ma u-kuba mi= wini -ki -u -?yai -na*
sometimes 3-upon us= stand-APL-PNC-HAB-PTCP
'. . sometimes (they) made us stand on that.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

In the case of most transitive verbs, the outcome of the applicative construction almost always involves the addition of a benefactive participant (cf. 37) and 38) above). However, with intransitive verbs, there appears to be a kind of split, depending upon whether or not the intransitive verb is *active*, as with 'talk' and 'sing' in 35) and 36), or *inactive*, as with 'dry' and 'stand' in 40) and 41). The active/inactive distinction follows the work of Austin (1997) in his survey of causatives and applicatives in Australian languages.

The following tables provide a sample of verbs derived via the applicative whose semantic outcomes are benefactive (or malefactive)--Table 8.3--and causative--Table 8.4.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.3 Verbs with Benefactive-Applicative Pattern

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *pida* | build a fire | *pida-ki* | build a fire for |
| *timi* | buy | *timi-ki* | buy for |
| *noo* | carry | *noo-ki* | carry for |
| *tsi?woŋi* | comb | *tsi?woŋi-ki* | comb for |
| *kuhani* | cook | *kuhani-ki* | cook for |
| *tsika?a* | cut | *tsika?a-ki* | cut for |
| *mida* | extend/stretch | *mida-ki* | extend for |
| *nanisutihai* | pray | *nanisutihai-ki* | pray for |
| *hani* | prepare/do | *hani-ki* | prepare for/ give |
| *noho* | roast under ashes | *noho-ki* | roast for |
| *mabutu?i* | roll (tr.) | *mabutu?i-ki* | roll for |
| *tinikwihi* | sing | *tinikwihi-ki* | sing for |
| *kutsa* | split wood | *kutsa-ki* | split wood for |
| *yadua* | talk (sg. subject) | *yadua-ki* | interpret |
| *matipuni* | wake up (tr.) | *matipuni-ki* | wake up for |
| *sita* | be bad/angry | *sita-ki* | be mad at |
| *nisagwai?i* | curse | *nisagwai?i-ki* | be cruel to |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.4 Verbs with Causative-Applicative Pattern

| *piti* | arrive | *piti-ki* | bring |
|---|---|---|---|
| *toki* | be correct | *toki-ki* | do correctly |
| *pisa* | be good | *pisa-ki* | cure/make well |
| *ʔiditi* | be hot | *ʔiditi-ki* | make hot |
| *timanaga* | be paid | *timanaga-ki* | pay |
| *tiʔoyai* | be sick | *tiʔoyai-ki* | make sick |
| *ʔyui* | be warm | *ʔyui-ki* | make warm |
| *nai* | burn | *nai-ki* | make burn |
| *manji* | cross water/ wade | *manji-ki* | take across |
| *mani* | do | *mani-ki* | cause to be/occur |
| *niima* | feel/be injured | *niima-ki* | make weary/ injure |
| *wadzi* | hide | *wadzi-ki* | lose |
| *patakwitsia* | shine (intr.) | *patakwitsia-ki* | shine (tr.) |
| *čičikwi* | sit.DISTR | *čičikwi-ki* | set/put up (pl.obj.) |
| *kati* | sit.SG | *kati-ki* | set/put up (sg.obj.) |
| *ʔiwi* | sleep | *ʔiwi-ki* | make sleep |
| *wakwami* | stand.DISTR (intr.) | *wakwami-ki* | stand.DISTR (tr.) |
| *wini* | stand.SG (intr.) | *wini-ki* | stand.SG (tr.) |
| *yuai* | stop (intr.) | *yuai-ki* | stop (tr.) |
| *kwissi* | weave | *kwissi-ki* | lasso |
| *tika* | eat | *tika-ki* | make/have eat |
| *pakomamaʔi* | wash the face | *pakomamaʔi-ki* | make/have wash |
| *kakia* | wear around neck | *kakia-ki* | have wear around neck |

An initial generalization over the two patterns could be that the applicative licenses an agent with verbs that don't have one inherently,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

and a benefactive argument to those that do. Such an analysis based on a template of available semantic roles follows the analysis proposed by Ichihashi-Nakayama (1996) for Hualapai, a Yuman language of the American southwest.

As Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) point out, however, the analysis is not entirely valid cross-linguistically, given the fact that clauses with morphological causatives in other languages--e.g. Quechua and Japanese--can in fact "host" two agents. This may also be the key to the Northern Paiute applicative. With some activity verbs--e.g. 'eat,' 'wash the face,' and 'wear'--that already have an agent, the applicative construction allows for two agents expressed in a relationship of indirect causation.

42a) *pakomama?i*
'wash the face'

b) *ni mi =tuaki pakomama?i -ki*
I PL =kids wash.the.face -APL
'I made/had the kids wash their faces.'

c) *mi =tika -ki -u -si nimmi tiwao mia -si*
1.PL =eat -APL -PNC -SEQ we.EXCL again go.SG -SEQ
'Having allowed us to eat, we went on again. . .'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

d) *haakitsa -wa?ni-ku kakia -ki*
handkerchief -like -OBL wear.at.the.neck -APL
'. .(we) had to wear (s.t.) like a handkerchief around the neck.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

In these examples, we see the applicative used with human manipulees, and that the manipulation is indirect, variously interpreted either as 'have' (in 'have s.o. do s.t.), 'allow to do,' or even, in 42d), as simple obligation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8.2.2.1.1 The Causative Continuum

The general overlap in function between the instrumental prefix construction and the applicative construction in the domain of causation may be explained, in part by the fact that they occupy distinct, if overlapping, domains of the causative continuum proposed by Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002). Their continuum of syntactic parameters--degree of synthesis, degree of grammaticalization, and degree of regularity--maps iconically onto the semantic continuum of direct versus mediated causation. Direct causation will be more synthesized and grammaticalized but less productive and regular than indirect, or mediated, causation.

For Northern Paiute, the instrumental prefixes operate at the STEM layer of verbal structure (cf. 1), and behave more like lexical causatives. We have seen in section 8.1.3 that in general, the behavior of IP's is quite irregular, given the nature of the lexical-derivational process. As predicted from Shibatani and Pardeshi's continuum, causation as expressed by IP's is more direct.

The applicative, on the other hand, operates at the level of THEME in the verbal structure, is more highly productive, and tends to code mediated causation, particularly when it comes to human manipulees. What unifies the benefactive and causative patterns we find, I would argue, can only be understood in terms of the historical development of the applicative itself.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8.2.2.1.2 Historical Development

As noted in Langacker (1977a) an applicative of the shape *kV may possibly be reconstructed for proto-Uto-Aztecan, although it appears to be most active in Numic. Of particular interest is the fact that the examples he provides of a cognate form outside of Numic are of the shape [ki], with the high, front vowel, whereas within Numic one finds only [ki], with the high, central vowel. This strengthens the possibility that the applicative could have developed from a verb meaning 'give,' such as Northern Paiute {k/gia} 'give.SG' via the secondary verb construction, described in section 8.4.[22]

43) *paa* *i = gia*
water 1= give
'Give me some water!'

One even finds a possible reflex of give with the high, central vowel.

44) *u-su* *nana* *ini* *na* *-kia* *-ba*
3-NOM man INT MM-give?-STAT
'That man is really greedy (self-giving).'

---

[22] One problem with this story lies in the realization of a fixed, non-lenited initial consonant for the suffix, while the initial consonant of the verb stem is gradient. I thank Spike Gildea (in personal communication) for pointing this out to me.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

If a verb like 'give' is indeed the source of the applicative suffix, I illustrate the historical path as it relates to the role of the applied argument in 45).

45) historical continuum of "applied" objects:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| benefactive/ recipient | > | mediated human causee | > | direct non-human causee |

The semantics of 'give' and the relationship to 'benefactive' is quite transparent. As Shibatani and Pardeshi (2002) point out, 'give' is also a common cross-linguistic source for a marker of mediated causation. In Northern Paiute, and perhaps in languages generally, human beings do not make very good causees; this idea is, arguably, based upon features surrounding the notion of *agentivity* (DeLancey 1984, Givón 1984). So, perhaps, the development outlined in 45) could help account for how the applicative construction might come to operate over both the benefactive and causative domains. Once applied to human causees (both with and without agentive properties) the extension to non-human (and therefore non-agentive) causees may be seen as straightforward.

The development of the instrumental prefix {ma} 'of or pertaining to the hand' as a morphological causative could be seen as proceeding from just the opposite direction. As a lexical-derivational process, the instrumental prefix construction indicated something of the means or manner of how the action of the verb takes place. This can be viewed, as in Talmy's (1972, 1985) of cross-linguistic lexicalization patterns, as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

illustrating that change-of-state verbs in Northern Paiute do not lexicalize means or manner.

One syntactic outcome is transitivity through the licensing of an agent (associated, e.g., with an instrument), as in example 6), with the instrumental verb meaning 'open.' As is evidenced by the fact that many, if not most, change-of-state verbs are bound roots--*instrumental verbs* (cf. section 6.3.2)--the construction likely began by coding non-human manipulees. As part of the development of a morphological causative outlined in section 8.1.3.4, IP's associated with 'hand' began to work, in some cases, with human manipulees as well.

The following pair illustrates, to some extent, the complementary domains of the applicative and IP constructions.

46a) *su =natisuabi i=ʔiwi -ki -u*
NOM=medicine 1=sleep -APL -PNC
'The medicine made me sleep ("go to sleep right away").'

b) *su =natisuabi i=tsa -ʔiwi -ki -u*
NOM=medicine 1=IP/grasp -sleep -APL-PNC
'The medicine made me sleep ("worked on me").'

What is interesting about this pair are the comments (in parentheses) made by the speaker when asked if there was any difference in meaning between them. Without the instrumental prefix, 46a) appears to have a more mediated causative reading, where the human manipulee maintains more agentive properties, like volition and control (cf. Givón 1984:107). The causee, I was told, perhaps lay down on the couch after taking the medicine and slept.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In 46b), on the other hand, the comment was that the medicine "worked on" the causee. She had no choice but to fall asleep, or perhaps provided little or no resistence to sleep. The agent is already licenced by the applicative, and the IP codes the more direct, less mediated, feature of the causative event.

8.2.2.1.3 Prospectus: the Applicative as a Voice Operation

The extent to which one could view the applicative as a kind of voice construction needs to be explored further. In the narrative 'Boarding School Days,'[23] I counted no fewer than two dozen uses of the applicative. A high percentage of these uses involved the central participants--the narrator and her fellow students--as benefactives or as manipulees in mediated or direct causative events. This leaves open the possibility that the applicative may be used in the case of topical objects (especially human benefactives or causees), in a way analogous to an inverse voice construction. The agent arguments in the narrative are, by and large, non-topical--even to the point where they are unspecified in many contexts. As an avenue for further study, the interaction of the applicative with the detransitive voice constructions outlined in section

---

[23] See excerpt, section 10.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

8.2.1 should serve to shed more light on the problem of highly topical non-core arguments.

8.2.2.2 The Jussive

A transitivizing suffix on verbs meaning roughly 'tell to V' has been referred to as the *jussive* in Shoshoni by Dayley (1989). I adopt the term here to refer to the cognate morpheme in Northern Paiute, {tiŋi} (JUSS), whose obvious, language-internal source is an independent verb meaning 'to ask for; to request.' Its position in the verb complex appears to be following the applicative, but before directional or aspectual suffixes. Its syntactic effect is transitivizing in the same way as a causative--that is, through the addition of an agent to the event frame.

47a) *nɨ owi -ti mooni na- tiŋi -kwi*
I DEM-LOC money MM-ask.for-FUT
'I'll get money (from a bank).' (lit. 'There, money will be requested.')

b) *ii i= tsi- čaʔa -tiŋi -u*
you 1= IP/sharp-cut -JUSS-PNC
'You told me to cut it.'

Note that, as in the applicative construction or with inherently ditransitive verbs, the patient argument in 48b) is displaced from the verbal proclitic slot by the additional object, here a first person causee.

The following example illustrates its co-occurrence with the applicative.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

48) *uuni -ku mi= wini -ki -tiŋi -yakwi*
that.kind-OBL PL= stand -APL-TELL.TO-HAB

'. . . in such a place (a corner, they) would tell them to stand.'

There appear to be clear limits on argument structure with respect to the use of the transitivizing morphology. This is apparent from the fact that it is not really possible to break down the contribution of each suffix to argument structure in example 48). The restriction is that the causee licensed by both the applicative and the jussive suffixes needs to be co-referential. More complex causative events would require a periphrastic construction, like a sentential complement.

As with many of the other suffixes in the language, the grammaticalization of the jussive from an independent lexical verb is discussed in the context of the *secondary verb construction* in section 8.4.

## 8.3 Tense-Aspect-Modality

The largest category of verbal affixes in Northern Paiute are those operating within the general domain of tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) along with a smaller set of those indicating direction of movement (DIR) or assiciated motion/posture. This is an area of great complexity in Northern Paiute grammar, and this section discusses only a few features of this complexity. Further study is necessary, particularly with an extensive body of text material and carefully controlled elicitation techniques, to begin to fully understand this system.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One of the main reasons for this complexity is, I suspect, due to the fact that Northern Paiute does not have *tense*, in an absolute sense, or at least only marginally. When I say that Northern Paiute has only a very marginal tense system, I mean that the expression of linear time is, by and large, not grammaticalized as part of its system of verbal inflections. Rather the language has various other means for locating events in a discourse relative to either the moment of speaking or to the temporal context supplied by the discourse.

Perhaps the only clear marker of tense, as widely understood, in Northern Paiute is the future suffix {kwi}. What is equally clear, however, is that this suffix does not relate to tense in the *absolute* sense, defined by Comrie (1985) as being "interpreted to mean a tense which includes as part of its meaning the present moment as deictic centre (36)." Rather, the meaning of the future suffix is more in keeping with the notion of *relative tense*, "where the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the *context* (Comrie 1985:56, emphasis added)." Examples of the Northern Paiute future suffix functioning as a relative tense are found in section 8.3.3.

What renders analysis of the Northern Paiute TAM system difficult, is that it is, by and large, an extensive aspectual system. The main function of the aspectual system is to express something about the internal structure of events. As verbs themselves carry their own, internal, *lexical* aspect, a variety of collocational restrictions result that render a general analysis difficult.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Although most of the system I describe under the domain of tense-aspect-modality (TAM) involves an extensive set of verbal suffixes, both initial CV' reduplication (cf. section 2.2.3.1, 8.3.8) and medial consonant gemination (section 8.3.9) are also used to express functions within the aspectual domain. The distributive category, expressed productively via initial CV' reduplication, is related to a pattern of verb suppletion (section 6.3.1) that has been attributed (somewhat prematurely, I argue) to grammatical *number* (Langacker 1977a, Snapp and Anderson 1982). Medial consonant gemination relating to *durative* aspect has been variously treated in the literature as well.

The suffixes I describe in the following section include those that fit into what I loosely refer to in 1) as the *prefinal* zone of the verbal structure. Functionally, these include everything but the valence-altering suffixes described in the previous section and the suffixes that relate to subordination (chapter 9).

### 8.3.1 Inventory of Prefinal Suffixes

Table 8.5 lists the Northern Paiute prefinal verb suffixes and their allomorphs. By and large, I include the directional suffixes first in the table, followed by the TAM suffixes, although some suffixes span both general functions. Examples follow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.5 Northern Paiute Directional and TAM Suffixes

| Allomorphs | Gloss |
|---|---|
| *-ga, -gya, -ǰa, -ka, kya, -ča* | motion away (TRNSL) |
| *-gi, -ki* | motion toward (CISL) |
| *-bodo, -podo* | back and forth |
| *-kai, -čai* | around; here and there |
| *-noo, -no?o* | for a purpose (PURP) |
| *-nim[i]* | random motion (RNDM.SG) |
| *-moo, -mo?o* | random motion (RNDM.PL) |
| *-gwati, -kwati* | together; to V jointly |
| *-dabi, -tapi* | lie.SPL; keep on V-ing |
| *-gadi, -kadi* | sit.SG; keep on V-ing |
| *-biti, -piti* | arrive; inchoative (INCH); be about to V; having just V-ed |
| *-u, -o, -hu* | punctual; momentaneous; (PNC) |
| *-kwi, -ku* | relative future; prospective (FUT) |
| *-yai, -?yai, čai* | habitual; repetitive (HAB)--with subordination |
| *-yakwi, -?yakwi, -čakwi* | habitual; repetitive (HAB)--final suffix |
| *-wini* | continuative singular subject (CONT.SG) |
| *-[k/]wami* | continuative dual subject (CONT.SG) |
| *-gono* | continuative plural subject (CONT.PL) |
| *-kuha* | begin to V; inceptive (INCEP) |
| *-makwi* | finish Ving; completive (COMPL) |
| *-pi* | perfective (PFV) |
| *-pin[i]* | perfective-stative (PFV.STAT) |
| *-piga?yu* | perfective-attributive (PFV.ATTR) |
| *-ba* | stative (STAT) |
| *-ti* | general tense (TNS)--following applicative |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Suffixes coding direction tend to precede those coding aspect, although this is not always the case. Directional suffixes most naturally occur with motion verbs, although in some cases extend to non-motion events, usually with semantics that are metaphorically extended, as in the following.

49a) *muʔasu tabino -gi -na*
already noon-CISL-PTCP
'It's already getting close to noon . . '

b) *moasu yoŋo -ga*
already evening-TRNSL
'It's getting late.' (lit. already, evening goes)

The ideas coded by the directional suffixes include: motion toward or away from the speaker--cislocative (CISL) and translocative (TRNSL), respectively--random motion (RNDM), motion back and forth, scattered motion or location, motion toward a specific goal or purpose (PURP), and joint action.[24] The following set of examples illustrate:

50a) *koči - ki = saʔa*
return-CISL = MODAL
'(you) must come back!' (SL:79)

b) *nimmi tihona-gaa-kwi*
we.EXCL dig.roots-TRNSL-FUT
'We're going root-digging.'

---

[24] Not clearly "directional," to be sure.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *ti- hoawai -nimi ni*
APS-hunt -RNDM.SG I
'I've been hunting (around).'

d) *imi pino?o ti - hoawai - mo?o*
they also APS-hunt-RNDM.PL
'they've been hunting (around), too'

e) *kai tanohomani mia-bodo-paana*
NEG run go.SG-back.and.forth-PROH
'Quit running back and forth!'

f) *kwi?naa tammi -kuba -kwai yotsi -no?o*
golden eagle we.INCL-over-LOC fly-PURP
'an eagle is flying over us (to a specific goal)'

g) *o?o tihona-kwati*
DEM dig.roots-together
'(they) dug roots out there together.' (NK: Bear and Deer)

h) *umi-u, yoŋona ka= una-u umi sogo-mia-kai-mo?o*
they-U evening OBL=DEM-U they on.foot-go-around-RNDM.PL
'As for them, in the evening they were out there wandering around.'
(NK: Nemechozinna)

Aspectual notions coded by verb suffixes include continuative, punctual, habitual-repetitive, perfective, stative, future, and the subjunctive.

51a) *su= naatsi onoka pida - wini*
NOM=boy DEM build.fire-CONT.SG
'The boy is building a fire there.' (IW)

b) *mi=na?atsi onoka pida - gona*
PL=boys DEM build.fire-CONT.PL
'those boys are building a fire there' (IW)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *nainapa ka= tippi winai - hu*
across OBL=rock throw-PNC
'(s/he) threw the rock across'

d) *nainapa mi=tippi winai -čakwi*
across PL=rock throw-HAB
'(s/he) keeps throwing rocks across'

e) *tibidi izina-u -si ta mi - mia - kwi*
first light-PNC-SEQ we.DL RE-go-FUT
'when it's first light, we'll go' (IW)

f) *ii = sa?a wi?i -u -dua*
you = MOD fall -PNC-SUBJ
'you might fall off!'

In the following sections, I survey the major aspectual distinctions coded in Northern Paiute. Detailed discussion of their interrelationships is beyond the scope of the present study. Certain generalizations regarding collocational restrictions with respect to specific verbs are addressed, but are most certainly incomplete.

### 8.3.2 Perfective Aspect

Three clearly related forms function as markers of the perfective aspect in Northern Paiute. These are {pi}, {pin(i)}, and {piga?yu}. Although they all treat events as completed and unitary, their domains of use are subtly distinct.

The aspectual suffix {pi} in Northern Paiute functions most like a perfect or past participle in the language, expressing, most typically,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

resultant states or qualities entered into, such as 'fat, ' 'spoiled,' or 'frozen,' but also completed activities having present relevance.

52a) *oonosu nanotsa tamano mi=kidi yuhu-dua-yakwi*
long.ago every spring PL=marmot fat-become-HAB
'Long ago, every spring, the groundhogs would get fat.'

b) *nanotsa tamano mi=kidi ini yuhu-pi*
every spring PL=marmot INT fat-PFV
'Every spring, the groundhogs are very fat.'

c) *su= miidi mu?asu na- kuhani-pi*
NOM=meat already MM-cook -PFV
'The meat's already cooked.'

Since the perfective codes states or events as completed, there is often some overlap with a meaning like past tense. The same is true of the punctual suffix {u}, but the semantic range of the two is clearly distinct under the "past tense" interpretation. Compare:

53a) *mú?asu mia -pi*
already go.SG-PFV
'(S/He) is gone already.'

b) *mú?asu mia -u*
already go.SG-PNC
'(S/He) is gone already (just left).'

The speaker interpreted 53a) as implying an event set clearly in the not-so-recent past, whereas 53b) "probably just happened."

The suffix {pin(i)}, on the other hand, carries with it the implication of a state of affairs that is more extended in time, but still, perhaps,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

construed as somewhat bounded. Verbs denoting events or activities are more likely to be inflected with {pin(i)}, rather than {pi}.

54a) *kai-su tiipi uu mani -pini*
NEG-ADV earth thus do/occur-PFV.STAT
'The world never works like that.'

b) *ha?o yaisi kai uu mani -pini*
how then NEG thus do/occur-PFV.STAT
'Why isn't it like that?' (EM:[25] Regarding Men and Women)

c) *ni hii -dui waanamoko -wai -tu mia -pini*
I few -any Winnemucca-LOC -ALL go.SG -PFV.STAT
'I went (have been) to Winnemucca a few times.' (SA: 75)

d) *ni muzukaokazi,*
I close.eyes
*u -su a=mai mooni i= gia -pini.*
3-NOM 4=hand money 1= give-PFV.STAT
*ni tibuhuwai, kadu?u hii.*
I open.eyes gone WH
'I closed my eyes and this hand was giving me money. I opened my eyes, and it was gone.'
(RB: A Vision)

Another form with the simple perfective {pi} as its base apparently extends to accomodate resultant states having past relevance. This form, through the addition of the denominative suffix {ga?yu} 'have; be characterized by' forms the complex {piga?yu}. The past perfect sense

---

[25] Elder's Meeting conversation, Burns Paiute Reservation.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

comes forth particularly well in historical and autobiographical narrative.

55) *nimmi du owi -tu mia-si tia? oo?no,*
we.EXCL also DEM-ALL go -SEQ thusly at.the.time
*sittaaaaa yaisi ta? ?mani -piga?yu*
bad then ?? become-PA.PFV

' . . we went out there again, and in the meantime it (a spring) had become very bad (due to the cattle).'
(NK: We Fixed that Spring)

### 8.3.3 The Relative Future

The verb suffix {-kwi} in Northern Paiute is used very productively as a marker of events in the future.

56a) *owi yoŋo -si mú?a tiwau tihona -kwi*
there evening -SEQ tomorrow again dig.roots -FUT
"Having spent the night there, (she) will do some more root-digging tomorrow . . . "
(NK: 'Bear and Deer')

b) *su= noo -ko ti= koi -kwi mii tia?a*
NOM= all -OBL 1.INCL= kill.PL -FUT QUOTE thus
'"He'll kill us all," so (they were) saying.' (NK: 'Nemechozinna')

However, it may be best described as a prospective aspect, or a *relative* future tense suffix, since it functions equally well to mark impending events in a narrative set squarely in the past.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

57a) *mi yaisi widaʔa tuami, umiu pinnoʔo owi -su tsunua -kwi*
PL then Bear children they as.well DEM-ADV enter.PL-FUT
'. . . and those Bear cubs, they, too, were to go in there . . . '
(NK: Bear and Deer)

b) *yaisi himma, uuni -ku tiaʔa, pi -kwai ni= hani-kwi -na*
then what that.kind-OBL so RESTR -LOC 1.PL= do -FUT -PTCP
*uuni -ku ni= himi -na*
that.kind-OBL 1.PL= give.PL -PTCP
'Then we were given the things that we were to wear. . '
(NK: 'Boarding School Days')

Both of these examples, based upon the surrounding context, are set squarely in the past.

### 8.3.4 Subjunctive/Irrealis

Another important verb suffix {-dua} serves to mark a range of functions that includes *inchoative, dubitative, conditional,* and frequently occurs in conjunction with the *modal clitics* (see section 7.5 for a discussion of the functions of these important forms), occurring in syntactic second position. A future sense may also attend this suffix, as in 58e). The following examples demonstrate the domain of the suffix {-dua}, which I will refer to as a *subjunctive* (SUBJ) suffix.

58a) *oonosu nanotsa tamano mi=kidi yuhu -dua -yakwi*
long.ago every spring PL=marmot fat -SUBJ -HAB
'Long ago, every spring, the groundhogs would get fat.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *"ii = sa?a i= sidi -u -si wi?i -u -dua . . "*
you = MOD 1= blow.nose-PNC-SEQ fall -PNC -SUBJ
"You might fall off when I blow my nose . . "
(NK: 'Porcupine and Coyote')

c) *"a= kwaya-kwa wini -u -kati = sa?a tihani -dua . . "*
4= far -LOC stand.SG -PNC -sit.SG = MOD butcher-SUBJ
"(Whoever) jumps over the farthest can butcher (it) . . "
(NK: 'Porcupine and Coyote')

d) *tu?i nadawinai -u -si yaisi umatisu sikwi tabi -u -dua*
try jump.over-PNC -SEQ then against.it just bump -PNC -SUBJ
(He) tried to jump up, but just bumped against it.
(NK: 'Porcupine and Coyote')

e) *oono u-su kai ta na- puni -dua*
and/then 3-NOM NEG 1.DL MM- see -SUBJ
' . . and she won't notice us . . ' (NK: 'Bear and Deer')

The range of uses of the suffix falls under the broad functional domain of *irrealis*. That is, the event is "hypothetical, possible, and uncertain" (Givón 1984).

### 8.3.5 Punctual/Momentaneous

The distribution of one morpheme in particular, called variously punctual (Snapp and Anderson 1982), momentaneous or terminative (Liljeblad, 1966) is unique among those that fit semantically into the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

aspectual class.[26] For the most part, it directly follows the THEME portion of the verbal structure, preceding any of the other directional or aspectual suffixes.

The punctual suffix imposes *telicity* on the aspect of the verb--that is, the endpoint of the action is implicit.

59a) *mi= nimi u= watsi -ga?a*
PL= people 3= capture-TRNSL
'The people were about to catch up with him.'

b) *mi= nimi ka= idza?a watsi -u*
PL= people OBL=coyote capture-PNC
'The people caught up with the coyote.'

c) *yaa-su awamua ta mi- mia-kwi*
PROX-ADV morning we.DL RE- go -FUT
'We'll go this morning.'

d) *imi mú?asu awamua mi- mia-u*
they already morning RE- go -PNC
'They already left this morning.' (IW)

The examples show a contrast in the degree to which the events they code are *bounded*, that is, whether or not either the initial or terminal endpoint is expressed or understood (cf. Givón 1984). Like a perfective,

---

[26]Phonetically, it is realized as [-u], [-o], or [-hu]. The first two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned by preceding vowels. Whether there are conditioning factors involved that might predict the occurance of an epenthetic [h] or its deletion is still inconclusive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the actions coded by the verbs with the punctual morpheme in 59b) and d) are viewed from their endpoint (DeLancey 1982).

Although the boundedness sense often entails *realis* or *past* actions or events, there are clear cases where it is truly the bounded quality that is being coded. In 60b), we see co-occurrence of the punctual with the subjunctive suffix.

60a) *hanno = sakwa ta wii -kya*
where = MOD we.DL descend-TRNSL
'Which way should we go down?' (IW)

b) *i = sa?a wi?i -u -dua*
you = MOD descend-PNC-SUBJ
'You might fall off!'

In 60b), the truth value of the event is one of irrealis--hence the occurance of the {dua} (SUBJ). In other words, the event spoken of is "hypothetical, possible, and uncertain" (Givón 1984). At the same time, however, the semantic difference between "descend" and "fall off" is in large part one of *atelic* versus *telic* (Comrie 1976).

Another function of punctual aspect is its use in the *imperative mode* for making commands. This function is described in section 7.2 and also relates to the inherent boundedness of events.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 8.3.6 Continuous

The continuous aspect has transparently developed from the suppletive posture verb meaning 'stand' in Northern Paiute and other Numic languages. The source construction is also clearly the *secondary verb* construction (section 8.4), a construction involving something akin to "nuclear" level verb serialization (Foley and Olson 1985). As a suffix marking continuous aspect, it exhibits suppletion for the number of the subject of the clause:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 61a) | *niga-wini* | b) | *niga-wami* | c) | *niga-gono* |
| | dance-CONT.SG | | dance-CONT.DL | | dance-CONT.PL |
| | 'S/he is dancing.' | | 'They (2) are dancing.' | | 'They are dancing.' |

It is important to note, however, that speakers will occasionally use the singular form of the continuous aspect suffix as a kind of default:

62a) *mi=paatusuba pisa patakwitsia-wini*
PL=star well shine -CONT.SG
'The stars are really shining.'

b) *mi=naana na- do- pakida-wini*
PL=men MM-IP/fist-hit -CONT.SG
'Those men are boxing.'

The suffixes relating continuous aspect are almost always used to refer to ongoing states of affairs in the present.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 8.3.7 Habitual and Repetitive Aspect

Habitual aspect occurs quite frequently in ethnohistorical narrative, and is most often translated in the texts into English as 'used to (do)' or 'would (do).' There are two suffixes that function within the domain of habitual (HAB) or repetitive, aspect--{yakwi} 63a)-b) and {yai} 63c)-d). The latter most often occurs with the participle {na} (PTCP) in subordinate clauses.

Both Liljeblad (1966) and Snapp and Anderson (1982) treat the two as distinct suffixes with subtly distinct semantics. I have so far found little in my own data to secure a distinct function for the two, and so treat them as distributional allomorphs, since they appear to be in complementary distribution with respect to the final, subordinating suffixes.

63a) *obi tia? nimmi -?nimi -?yakwi paana kai mi= punni*
DEM thusly wander-RNDM.SG-HAB PROH NEG PL=see.DUR
' . . so (he) would wander around, but didn't see them . . '
(NK: Boarding School Days)

b) *una -?yu sawa -naga -?yu yaga-na naka -?yakwi*
DEM-ABL sagebrush-among-ABL cry -PTCP hear-HAB
'. . (we) used to hear (it) calling out there among the sagebrush.'
(NK: We Talked to that Bird)

c) *uu tu?i čigwi-čai -si = ga*
thusly try do -HAB-SEQ = MOD
'Having been doing thusly (trying to pry up a large stone). .
(NK: Nemedzoho)

d) *su=mi=naa pino?o awamoasi yotsi-u-yai-na*
NOM=1.PL=father also early.morning rise-PNC-HAB-PTCP
'Also, our father would get up early in the morning. . .'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

One never finds {yakwi} co-occurring with a subordinating suffix, while {yai} appears almost exclusively in subordinate marked clauses. In the following excerpt from text, both forms express repetitive action, the only apparent difference being which clause is marked as subordinate.

64) *oo?no hayu inai -?yai-na papatsi?i,*
at.the.time somehow make.noise-HAB-PTCP loudly
*ka= tiipi hau ma?i -?yakwi.*
OBL= ground however stomp/do-HAB
'and (the antelope) was making a loud kind of noise and stomping the ground.'
(NK: Root-digging Time)

Likewise, this excerpt describes the habits of a mythical monster.

65) *su= yaisi ka u= piti -u -?yai -na ga*
NOM= then KA 3=arrive-PNC-HAB-PTCP KA
*hibi -piti -u -?yakwi mi?i*
drink -INCH-PNC-HAB QUOT
'Then when it arrived, (it) would start to drink, (they) say.
(NK: Nemechozinna)

I have not securely determined any conditioning factor for the occasional appearance of an intervening glottal stop before the habitual suffix. The affricate-initial allomorphy is likely the result of the final feature phenomenon discussed in section 2.4.1, but this merits more detailed study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 8.3.8 Iterative-Distributive Reduplication

CV(') reduplication has been described in the phonology chapter (cf. section 2.2.3). Although it functions irregularly to mark plurality on nouns, on verbs it marks what is known as the *distributive* category. The term is used to unify the idea of *plurality of action*--that is, that the action is performed more than once, whether it is the same singular action performed by plural actors 66a)-b) or a repeated action performed by a single actor 66c).

66a) *yaisi ka= ibii pa?a-kwai hau ma-mani-pini*
then OBL=DEM high-LOC how RE-do/attach-PFV.STAT
'and then (they) attach it all the way up to here . . '
(MS: Autobiography)

b) *noo-?yu-na mia?a-si u=bu-puni-ja*
all-NOM-ATTR go.PL-SEQ 3-RE-see-TRNSL
'All of them are going to see him.'

c) *su= nana u= bi- pi- ma- tatsi*
NOM= man 3= RE- IP/butt-IP/hand-slap
'the man is spanking him/her'

The parallel between distributive reduplication and patterns of verb suppletion have been discussed elsewhere (section 6.3.1). In some cases, reduplication marks the *dual* form in a suppletive paradigm, as in 67b).

67a) *awamoa = sakwa ni mia -kwi*
morning = MOD I go.SG-FUT
'I have to go in the morning'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *awamoa = sakwa ta mimia -kwi*
morning = MOD we.DL go.DL -FUT
'We (two) have to go in the morning'

c) *mi= naʔatsi oʔo miʔa*
PL= boys DEM go.PL
'those boys are going out there'

Reduplication appears to be a very productive process with verbs for signifying iterative or distributive action.[27]

### 8.3.9 Durative Gemination

An aspectual distinction typically interpreted as *durative* in descriptions of Numic languages is marked by the gemination of a medial consonant. Compare:

68a) *yau ni taiwano happí*
DEM I all.day lie.SG.DUR
'I've been lying here all day.'

b) *oʔo habi-u*
DEM lie.SG-PNC
'Lie down over there!'

c) *yau ni taiwano katti*
DEM I all.day sit.DUR
'I've been sitting here all day.'

---

[27] In Thornes (1996), I underestimate the productivity of this process on verbs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d) *ii = ha sikwi kadi-nimi*
you = Q just sit-RNDM.SG
'Are you just sitting around?'

One consequence of alternations of this sort is that the geminate form of the verb is in complementary distribution with any other aspectual marking. On the other hand, non-geminate forms may, and most often do, carry one or more suffixes pertaining to aspect or subordination.

I addressed this phenomenon briefly in section 2.1.3.1 of the chapter on phonology. Studies of Numic languages typically treat it as the same process of consonant gradation that occurs elsewhere in the language, particularly across morpheme boundaries. One need not look very far afield, however, to find similar processes occurring in neigboring languages. Klamath, for example, has been described in Barker (1964) as having a process of stem-internal C-reduplication. This basically amounts to consonant gemination as well.[28] In Klamath, as in Northern Paiute, the result of the process is a change in verbal aspect.

---

[28]I would like to thank Scott DeLancey (in personal communication) for pointing out this parallel process.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 8.3.10 Discourse considerations

The nature of aspect marking in language makes it essential to study naturally occurring text in order to gain a clear understanding of its various functions. It is equally important for the fieldworker to have access to as many distinct text genre as possible, for very often certain aspectual distinctions are more prevalent in certain text types than in others.

In procedural texts, for example, (NK: Chokecherries) verbs typically occur in the least marked aspect. These text types consist in large measure of simple clauses in the imperative mood (i.e. as commands), or as relatively unadorned statements of fact--that is, the events are presented as less complex in terms of both internal structure and interrelatedness. On the other hand, other narratives, such as traditional narrative (NK: Bear and Deer) and autobiographical texts (NK: Boarding School Days) have a more complex narrative structure, consisting of numerous intertwining events. Therefore, more attention is typically paid to the internal structure of these events as evidenced by more complex aspectual marking patterns. Certain types of ethnohistorical texts (NK: Root-Digging Time) have main verbs marked frequently with habitual aspect suffixes.

I have only begun to understand why particular aspects are used at certain points in narratives. Nor do I fully understand the distinct uses of the variety of aspectual suffixes that operate within the general domain of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

imperfective, particularly continuous or progressive action. In some cases, certainly, the inherent aspect of the verb is a factor. Verbs that signify highly bounded event types, for example, are less likely to occur with the same aspectual suffixes as verbs signifying events that typically are more extended or those that signify states. In other cases, the choice of aspect is determined by the particular event's relationship to the larger narrative or by stylistic choices.

I turn now to a discussion of the secondary verb construction, historically the source construction of much of the verbal morphology just described, but also an active area of ongoing grammaticalization in Northern Paiute.

## 8.4 Secondary Verb Construction

So-called "secondary verbs" in Uto-Aztecan have been described as verbs which, "in addition to serving independently as primary verbs, may also be used almost like (optional) suffixes . . . in which capacity they indicate aspectual-like or adverbial-like meanings" (Crapo 1970:182). This construction consists of a core predicating element plus any of a fairly small set of otherwise independent predicating elements appearing in a well-defined slot for verb suffixes. As independent verbs, these elements include the posture verbs (sit, stand, lie) and verbs of general motion (e.g. travel, arrive) which, in the context of the secondary verb construction, carry the semantic force of aspectual and directional suffixes, a common

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

cross-linguistic pattern of grammaticalization (Traugott and Heine 1991, *inter alia*).

The examples in 69) and 70) illustrate aspectual and directional suffixes that are clearly related to independent verbs of posture and motion, respectively.

69a) *toisi o?o winni*
still DEM stand.SG
'(S/He) is still standing out there.'

b) *su=naatsi onoka pida - wini*
NOM=boy DEM build.fire-CONT.SG
'The boy is building a fire there.'

70a) *hanno ii nimmi*
where you travel.SG
'Where have you been?'

b) *tihoawai-nimi ni*
hunting-RNDM.SG I
'I've been hunting around.'

The secondary verb construction is arguably the source construction for most of the inflectional verb suffixes in the language (cf. Thornes 1999). In section 8.4.1 describes the distributional properties that distinguish it as a unique construction type. Table 8.6 lists the verbs which may enter into the construction and their grammaticalized usage as suffixes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.6 Secondary Verb Sources of Directional/Aspectual Suffixes

| suffix | gloss of suffix | related verb |
|---|---|---|
| *-ki* | motion toward speaker | *kimma* 'come' |
| *-gia* | motion toward goal | *gia?a* 'go to' (SA) |
| *-noo* | motion for purpose | *noo* 'accompany' |
| *-nimi* | random motion.SG | *nimmi* 'travel.SG' |
| *-moo* | random motion.DL/PL | *moo / mo?o* 'travel.PL' |
| *-mina* | go, random focus | *mia / mi?a* 'go' |
| *-wini* | continuous.SG | *winni* 'stand.SG' |
| *-[k]wami* | continuous.DL | *wammi* 'stand.DL' |
| *-k/gono* | continuous.PL | *konno* 'stand.PL' |
| *-[k]winai* | move aside/away/against | *winai* 'throw' |
| *-[']yakwi* | habitual/repetitive | *yakwi* 'carry' |
| *-pidi* | inchoative | *pidi* 'arrive.SG' |
| *-tapi* | keep V-ing | *-tapi* 'lie.SPL' |
| *-kati* | sit; remain | *kati* 'sit.SG' |
| *-tiŋi* | tell to V | *tiŋi* 'request' |
| *-makwi* | finish V-ing | *makwi* 'defeat' |

One feature of the verbal sources of secondary verbs in Northern Paiute is that most of them come from the set of high frequency, suppletive verb stems (cf. section 6.3.1). Posture verbs have three-way suppletion for singular, dual, and plural subjects, and 'lie' has a fourth form that occurs only in the secondary verb construction. These forms are listed in Table 8.7.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table 8.7 Suppletion in Northern Paiute posture verbs

| | SIT | STAND | LIE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Singular | *kati* | *wini* | *hapi* |
| Dual | *yigwi* | *wami* | *kwapi* |
| Plural | *aata?a* | *kono* | *pokwa / wakwapi* |
| Secondary form | | | *-tapi* |

The grammaticalization of the verb 'stand' is such that it maintains its number suppletion pattern even as a suffix coding continuative aspect, as illustrated in 71), a repetition of example 61), section 8.3.6.

71a) *niga-wini* dance-CONT.SG 'S/he is dancing.'

b) *niga-wami* dance-CONT.DL 'They (2) are dancing.'

c) *niga-gono* dance-CONT.PL 'They are dancing.'

Evidence for the development of use of the singular form as the default (as mentioned in section 8.3.6) in this construction does exist, however, yielding examples like those in 72).

72a) *mi= naana na- do- pakida-wini*
PL= men MM-IP/fist-hit -CONT.SG
'Those men are boxing.'

---

[29] This form as a reduplication of the dual could be a recent regularization of the paradigm or a distributive, as opposed to plural, form.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *mi= waha?yu na?atsi na- koi -wini*
PL= two.NOM boys MM-kill.PL-CONT.SG
'Those two boys are fighting.'

Note that in 72b), there is even a conflict in the suppletive pattern between the main verb and the suffix qua secondary verb--further evidence for the use of a default singular form.

### 8.4.1 Distribution

It is important to distinguish the secondary verb construction from typical compounding of the type described in section 8.1.1. Although in some descriptions (e.g. Sapir 1930, Langacker 1977a, Snapp and Anderson 1982) this construction is treated as a type of productive verb-verb compounding, there is at least one significant formal difference between the secondary verb construction and true lexical compounding. This difference is reflected in the verb structure outline in 1), repeated here.

1) [[Valence [IP/[Root]] Valence] + DIR/ASP] + SUB/NMR
THEME STEM Prefinal Final

The applicative, a valence-altering, THEME level operator, follows lexical compounds, as illustrated in 73c).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

73a) *su= toissapui sami -pi*
NOM= chokecherry soak-PFV
'The chokecherries are soaked.'

b) *u?itzi?isu tiwau ii u= sami - tiki*
the.night.before also you 3= soak - put
'. . and the night before, you put it in to soak . . '

c) *ii = sakwa ka = toissapui i= sami - tiki -ki*
you = MOD OBL= chokecherry 1= soak - put-APL
'You should put the chokecherries in to soak for me.'

In 74b), on the other hand, we see that in the case of the secondary verb construction, the applicative suffix occurs *between* the main verb and the secondary verb. Here, the secondary verb is 'sit.SG' which is not grammaticalized as a marker of aspect, but retains its postural semantics in the context of the construction.

74a) *ni yau yui -kati*
I here warm-sit.SG
'I'm sitting here warming up.'

b) *ni i= giki ?yui -ki -kati*
I 1= feet warm-APL-sit.SG
'I sit warming my feet.'

An intervening applicative suffix is not possible in compounds. These examples serve to illustrate that the actual slot in the verbal structure for the secondary verb is *following* the THEME.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 8.4.2 Complement-Type Secondary Verbs

The last two secondary verbs listed in Table 8.6-- the jussive, or 'tell to V' suffix {tiŋi} (JUSS) (cf. section 8.2.2.2) and the completive {makwi} (FINISH) behave like complement-taking verbs in other languages. These are both transparently related to independent lexical verbs. The (a) examples below demonstrate this use.

Syntactically, the jussive suffix patterns like a causative, adding an agent to the argument structure of the main verb. The causee occurs as the primary object and, if pronominal, displaces the direct object of a transitive main verb, as in 75b).

75a) *owi -ti mooni na- tiŋi -kwi*
DEM-ESS money MM-request-FUT
'(I)'ll get money (from a bank).' (lit. 'There, money will be requested.')

b) *ii i= tsi- kya?a-tiŋi -u*
you 1= IP/sharp-cut -JUSS-PNC
'You told me to cut it.'

c) *uuni -ku mi= wini -ki -tiŋi -yakwi*
that.kind-OBL PL= stand.SG -APL-JUSS-HAB
'. . . in such a place (a corner, they) would tell them to stand.'

75c) illustrates the morphosyntactic distribution of the suffix in the secondary verb slot following the applicative.

The examples in 76) illustrate the use of {makwi} 'defeat; win a competition' as an independent verb in 76a) and as a secondary verb in 76b).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

76a) *nazuina oo tui mi= makwi -mi -na*
be.amused DEM try PL= defeat -GO.AND-SUB
'(Wolf) was having fun over there trying to defeat them.' (Yah.)

b) *umi u=tika-makwi*
they 3=eat-FINISH
'They finished eating it.'

### 8.4.3 The Grammaticalization Path

Semantically, the secondary verb construction entails the combination of an abstract secondary verb following the more concrete, arguably the main, predicating element. 78) illustrates this with the suppletive postural form meaning 'lie.'

78a) *su= nana iwi -tapi*
the=man sleep-lie.SPL
'The man is lying (there) asleep.'

b) *su= togokwa o?o hutua -tapi*
NOM=rattlesnake DEM stretched.out-lie.SPL
'The rattlesnake is stretched out there.'

This concrete-abstract pattern parallels other serial-like patterns in the language,[30] as illustrated in 79a) and b). One morphosyntactic feature of such patterns is that aspectual suffixes only appear on the final

---

[30] I do not, as yet, have a clear picture to present as to how common such patterns are in the language.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

verb, no subordinate marking occurs, and both forms fall under the same intonational contour.

79a) *kai tanohomani mia -bodo -paana*
NEG run go.SG-back.and.forth-PROH
'Don't run around! (in the house)'

b) *su= nimičozinna yotsi -pidi -u*
NOM= Flying.Creature fly.SG -arrive.SG-PNC
'Nemechozinna came flying . . .'

In 79b), there is even a loss of primary stress on the second verb of the series, creating a single phonological word.

Such semantic, morpho-syntactic, and prosodic patterns lend themselves quite nicely to inflectional category development, as can be seen with suppletive 'lie.SPL' in the following examples.

80a) *nimmi wo?yo -ga -tapi*
we.EXCL be.in.line-TRNSL-keep.on(lie.SPL)
'We would keep on going single file.'

b) *kutsu poo -do nimmi mia -tapi*
cow trail-LOC we.EXCL go -keep.on(lie.SPL)
'. . we kept going along a cow trail. '

In 80), the actions coded by the verbs to which the form attaches do not involve even the possibility of lying down. Rather, the semantic force of the form here is one of 'keep on V-ing,' a marker of verbal aspect. Further study of this pattern may reveal an alignment of specific semantics with particular verb types.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

As one further example of inflectional category development, note the following examples with the verb meaning 'arrive.' In 81), we see some of the earmark developments of what Liljeblad (1966) refers to as an "inchoative," whose semantic force is something on the order of 'be about to V; having just Ved.' 27a) illustrates its occurrence as an independent, lexical verb, and 81b) and c) as an aspectual suffix.

81 a) *su= widaʔa piabi yaisi oo piti -u*
NOM=bear female then there arrive-PNC
'Then the mother bear arrived.'

b) *yo-kyoŋoona hikwa -piti -ʔyakwi*
RE-evening wind/blow-arrive/INCH-HAB
'It begins to blow every evening' (SL:79)

c) *yaisi owi-tu nimmi na- tsa- piti -ki -piti -ga*
then DEM-LOC we.EXCL MM-IP/grasp-arrive-APL-INCH-TRNSL
'Then we were reaching (our) destination.'
(lit. 'to go and just be caused to arrive')

In 81c), we see a rather complex verb form utilizing several predicating and derivational elements, including 'arrive' as the main verb in the complex as well as a more grammaticalized secondary verb. Such complex forms are not at all uncommon in texts.

These patterns of grammaticalization are instructive as demonstrations of the constructional nature of the process of grammatical category development. That is to say, grammaticalization is not about individual lexical items developing more functional or relational properties. Rather, it is about constructions like the secondary verb pattern into which such items may fall.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The language provides an opportunity for the study of the extent of grammaticalization along several dimensions: 1) the degree of transparency in the relationship of various suffixes to independent verb forms, 2) the extent to which such forms retain, or are retaining, their suppletive patterns in the modern language, 3) the degree of semantic bleaching within the context of the secondary verb construction, and 4) the incorporation of verbs that have not yet developed inflectional properties into the construction.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 9

# CLAUSE-COMBINING

## 9.0 Introduction

Clause-combining strategies are an important feature of the grammar of any language. It is at this level that many of the major features of discourse coherence become evident--in particular, strategies for tracking participants, for signaling the relationships between events, and for indicating which events move the story line forward and which supply the crucial background information.

As we have already seen to some extent in the section on nominalization (3.1.7), Northern Paiute exploits nominalization as a strategy for signaling that one clause is subordinate to, or dependent upon, another higher, or main clause. As such, the subordinate clause may take on certain features of noun phrase syntax. These features are discussed in the first two major sections of this chapter on *relative clauses* and *verbal complements*.

Subordinate-marking is not the exclusive domain of syntactically embedded clauses, but also plays a key role in expressing a variety of relationships between clauses. *Adverbial clauses* are described in the third section. Subordinate-marked clauses may be adverbial in scope or, more

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

broadly, contain information whose status is pragmatically distinct from that carried in main, unmarked clauses.

## 9.1 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses bear a modifying relationship to a head noun. In Northern Paiute, they typically follow the noun they modify. In the following examples, the head noun is underlined and the relative clause is enclosed in square brackets.

1a) *ni* *ka= tihikya* *[ o?o wini -di ]* *punni*
I OBL= deer DEM stand.SG-NMR see.DUR
'I see the deer (that is) standing out there' (IW: Yahooskin fieldnotes)

b) *su =miidi* *[ i =kuhani-na ]* *kai* *toki* *kamma*
NOM=meat 1 =cook -PTCP NEG correct taste
'The meat I cooked doesn't taste right.'

In these examples, the head of the relative clause is case-marked for its role in the main clause. In 1a), the head noun 'deer' carries the oblique case-marking associated with its object relation to the main verb even though it is the notional subject of the verb 'go' in the relative clause In 1b), the head noun 'meat' carries nominative case-marking as the subject of the main clause, although it is the notional object of the relative clause. By *notional arguments*, I mean those arguments that are part of the inherent argument structure of the dependent clause verb.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The role of head noun within the relative clause determines certain formal features of the relative clause and its notional arguments. . The relative clause in 1a) is called a *subject relative clause,* in spite of the role of the head noun or, more properly, the entire complex noun phrase within the higher clause. So, too, the relative clause in 1b) is called an *object relative clause,* after the implied syntactic role of the head noun within the relative clause.

In what follows, we look at the formal properties of different relative clause types. Such formal properties center upon two issues: 1) the type of non-finite marking that occurs on the relative clause verb, and 2) the morpho-syntactic features of its notional arguments. In Northern Paiute, as in other languages of the world, there occurs a clear formal expression of the functional relationship between nominalization and relative clause formation.

### 9.1.1 Subject Relative Clauses

The formal features of the subject relative clause in Northern Paiute are as follows:

1) The verb of the relative clause is marked by the subject nominalizing suffix {dɨ} (NMR).
2) The notional subject of the relative clause is *gapped* (i.e. left unexpressed) in the relative clause.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3) The object of the relative clause is case-marked oblique, based on relation to dependent verb.

4) The entire relative clause may be case-marked depending upon the relationship of the complex noun phrase to the main verb.

The following examples of subject relative clauses come from the text 'Boarding School Days.'[1]

2a) *u-su umi [ oʔo aata -di ] hayu*
3-NOM they DEM sit.PL-NMR how(in.what.way)
*ni= nimai-čakwi "Talk English! Talk English!"*
1.EXCL=tell -HAB
'One of them that were sitting around kept telling us, "Talk English! Talk English!"

b) *mi [ kai u= pidzabi-di ] imi -nɔ tuʔi na- koiwinai -ʔyakwi*
they not 3= like -NMR them-with try MM-fight.against -HAB
' . . . those that didn't like it would try to fight with them.'

c) *paana kai mi= punni, ka= [ mi= aapo ti- tiha -ga -di ]*
however NEG PL= see OBL= PL=apple RE-steal-TRNSL-NMR
'. . but (he) didn't see them, those who were stealing apples . .'

In 2c), the post-verbal subject relative clause receives oblique case-marking congruent with its syntactic role as the object of the main clause. However, as with a right-dislocated object (cf. section 6.1.1.1), it appears

[1] Excerpt, section 10.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

to be in apposition to an object proclitic that occurs on the main clause verb.

A kind of headless subject relative clauses is formed by detransitivizing the verb of the relative clause with the middle marking prefix {na} (MM), and using the subject nominalizer. The following examples are from the text 'Bear and Deer.'[2]

3a) *o?o iwa -?yu su= uuni -?yu na?a*
DEM many -NOM NOM=that.kind-NOM grow
*su= [ na- tihona -di ]*
NOM= MM- dig.roots-NMR
'"There's alot of that kind growing out there for the digging."'

(i.e. that which is dug)

b) *ta = sakwa umi -no [ na- kwii -di ]*
1.DL.INCL = MOD 3.PL-COM MM- smoke -NMR
'"We should (go) with them to the smoke pit."'

(i.e. that which smokes)

These clause types are referring expressions whose notional subjects, as in a passive construction (cf. section 8.2.1.1.3) are pragmatically unimportant.

---

[2] See section 10.1.2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 9.1.2 Object Relative Clause

The formal features of the object relative clause in Northern Paiute are as follows:

1) The verb of the relative clause is marked by present participle suffix {na} (PTCP).
2) The notional subject may be interpreted as the possessor (object) of the dependent verb, receiving oblique case marking or, when pronominal, occurring as a verbal proclitic.
3) The object (head) of the relative clause is gapped.
4) The entire relative clause, including the head, may be case-marked for its syntactic role in the main clause.

These features apply equally to either patients or benefactives of inherent or derived ditransitives.

4a) *su= miidi [ i=kuhani-na ] kai toki kamma*
NOM=meat 1=cook -PTCP NEG correct taste
'The meat I cooked doesn't taste right.'

b) *su= nana [ i =ti- kuhani-ki -na ] i= supitakwatu*
NOM=man 1=APS-cook -APL-PTCP 2=know
'The man I cook for knows you.'

c) *su= miidi imi [ i= kuhani-ki -na ] sida ʔmani -pi*
NOM=meat you.OBL 1= cook -APL-PTCP bad become-PFV
'The meat I cooked for you has spoiled.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d) *su= nana [ kidi i=noho -ki -na ] i= supidakwatu*
NOM=man marmot 1=roast-APL-PTCP 2= know
'The man I cooked groundhog for knows you.'

As an alternative to d), the following utterance was also offered.

4d') *su= [ kidi i= noho -ki -na ] nana i= supidakwatu*
NOM=marmot 1= roast-APL-PTCP man 1=know
'The man that I cooked groundhog for knows you.'

In 4d'), the relative clause occurs between the determiner proclitic and the head noun. The significance of this alternative lies in the fact that the nominative proclitic marks the entire complex noun phrase constituent, rather than the head noun 'man.'

Recall that the reflexive-possessor proclitic {ti} (POSS), described in section 4.1.9, is used to indicate co-reference between a possessor and the clausal subject.

5a) *oŋa?a ti= pia pitsi*
baby POSS=mother nurse
'Baby is nursing its mother'

b) *su= moko?ni ti= tua?a wipito?i*
NOM=woman POSS=child carry(with straps around shoulders)
'The woman is packing her child on her back.'

It is also used resumptively to indicate co-reference with the notional subject of the verb of an object relative clause, particularly when it appears as a full noun.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6a) *su= tipi [ naatsi ti= winai -hu -na ]*
NOM= rock boy POSS=throw-PNC-PTCP

*paa -wai tsopa-u -piti -ga*
water-LOC sink -PNC-INCH-TRNSL

'The rock the boy threw sank in the water.'
(OR 'The rock of the boy his throwing sank in the water.')

b) *mi= na?atsi ka= tipi mayi-u ka= [ tsia?a ti= winai -hu -na ]*
PL= boys OBL=rock find-PNC OBL= girl POSS=throw-PNC-PTCP

'The boys found the rock that the girl threw.'
(OR 'The boys found the rock of the girl her throwing.')

Such examples are less common in natural speech, since the notional subject of an object relative clause is most often a pronoun, and therefore simply fills the pronominal proclitic slot before the verb.

The verb of a headless object relative clause may be marked with the anti-passive prefix on the dependent verb to indicate an unspecified object. Both of these examples come from 'Nemechozinna' (The Flying Creature).[3]

---

[3] See section 10.1.3.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7a) *ti= [ ti- da- kwihi -na, ] pinau owi -tu hani -ʔyakwi.*
POSS= APS- IP/feet- get -PTCP back there -to do -HAB
' . . what it grabs (with its claws), (it) brings back to there.'

(lit. '(it) brings back its grabbing to there')

b) *owi -tu ka okau, ti= [ ti- tatsiki -na ] owi -tu hanni -kwi*
DEM -to KA DEM.OBL POSS= APS- chip -PTCP DEM-to do -FUT
'(They) were going to to put those chippings into there . . '
(lit. '(they) will put their chipping in there')

The notional object of the object relative clause is unspecified in 7), although the entire headless relative is an argument of the main clause. A key difference between the examples in 7) and those in 3) is that the notional subjects in 7) are more clearly topical, while in 3) they are not. Both of these examples have the reflexive-possessor proclitic co-referring to the notional subject--the agent--of the relative clause verb. The co-reference requirements associated with it extend to the current *topic*, in these examples, whose last overt mention is actually several clauses back.

### 9.1.3 Non-core Argument Relative Clauses

Non-core arguments are also accessible to relativization in Northern Paiute, sharing most of the same features as in object relative clauses:

1) As with object relative clauses, the relative clause verb is typically marked with the participle suffix {na} (PTCP).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2) Also, the notional subject has the grammatical properties of the possessor (object) of the dependent verb--oblique case marking or verbal proclitic status.

3) However, the non-core argument is not gapped, but is expressed by the restrictive (relative) pronoun {pi} (RESTR) bound to a postposition, indicating the role of the head noun in the relative clause.

The following examples of non-core argument relative clauses all come from text, and are meant to illustrate a variety of non-core roles of the head noun within the relative clause.

8a) *u -su [ pi -kuba u= kati -čai -na, ] yaisi oo -tu patsa -u*
3-NOM RESTR-SUPRA 3= sit.SG-HAB-PTCP then DEM-ALL kill.SG-PNC
'He killed the one he was riding there . . .' (upon-whom his=sitting)
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

b) *oo [ pi -kwai ni= ma?na?wi -na ]*
DEM RESTR-LOC us= do/act -PTCP
'There where we played . . ' (at-it our=playing)
(NK: Boarding School Days)

c) *yaisi himma uuni -ku tia? [ pi -kwai ni= hani -kwi -na ]*
then things kind-OBL thusly RESTR-LOC us=do/wear-FUT-PTCP
'Then the things that we were to wear . . ' (at-it our=wearing.will)
(NK: Boarding School Days)

d) *uuni -ku ti- magwi -na*
that.kind-OBL APS-carry -PTCP
*mi= himma [ witsimo?o pi -ma na- kwiba -na ]*
PL= what ball RESTR-INSTR MM- strike -PTCP
' . . the kind of thing (he) carried, a thing for hitting a ball with (a baseball bat) . . ' (something ball with-it being-struck)
(NK: Boarding School Days)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

This strategy is similar to that employed in English with the relative pronouns 'which' or 'whom' in a relative clause like 'the thing with which a ball is hit.' In the Northern Paiute relative clause construction, the role of the participant is maintained by marking the restrictive pronoun with a postposition.

I have found a couple of exceptions to both the participial verb form requirement and to the addition of the restrictive pronoun. Note the following:

9a) *oo?no -su nimidzoho yaisi,*
at.that.time-ADV People.Masher then
*ka= [ kai pi -ma -tu mi= gimma ]*
OBL= NEG RESTR-LOC-ALL PL= come.DUR
'And the Nemedzoho, to whom they weren't coming . . '
(NK: 'Nemedzoho')

b) *umi [ ti- patsa -kwai -tu ] mimia -u*
they APS-kill.SG-LOC-ALL go.DL-PNC
'They (two) went to where X killed (it).' (lit, 'to the killing place')
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

In example 9a), the restrictive pronoun is used to indicate the role of the head noun, but the verb appears without the {na} participle, even though the notional subject appears as an object/possessor proclitic. The nominal status of the clause is also evident from the oblique determiner proclitic marking its role in the higher clause.

In 9b), there is no restrictive pronoun and instead the verb is both marked with the anti-passive and followed directly by a postposition. This construction is, I would argue, another kind of headless relative, one with

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

all notional arguments unspecified to draw attention only to the location itself.

As with headless object relative clauses, the notional subject may appear as a possessor proclitic. However, it appears that the placement is open to some variability. The following pair of examples could be interpreted as temporal adverbial clauses or a kind of headless relative.

10a) *ti= nazikuudi na- kia -no?o*
POSS=school MM-release-TEMP

OR

b) *nazikuudi-na ti= na- kia -no?o*
school -PTCP POSS=MM-release-TEMP
'when school was let out/ when (we) were let out of school'
(NK: Boarding School Days --text elicitation)

These examples represent syntactic alternatives with respect to the placement of the reflexive-possessor proclitic--at the beginning, as in 10a), or bound to the relative clause verb, as in 10b). The proclitic is co-referential to an understood subject or topic. Here, as in 9b), the verb is marked with a postposition, in this case the temporal postposition {no?o} (TEMP) marking the role of the entire clause.

## 9.2 Verbal Complements

Clauses, or propositions, that function as arguments of higher clauses are called *verbal (or sentential) complements* or *complement clauses*. Direct object complements are the arguments of a specific class of verbs,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

generally referred to as *complement-taking verbs*. Complement-taking verbs include verbs of perception, such as 'see' and 'hear,' verbs of cognition, such as 'think' and 'know,' and utterance verbs, such as 'ask' and 'say.' Verbs of manipulation, usually coding direct and indirect causation, and modality verbs expressing obligation, permission, attempt, ability, and desire also fall into the broad category of complement-taking verbs, in that their syntactic complements may consist of an entire subordinate clause.

Givón (1979, 1980b) discusses complementation cross-linguistically in terms of a *binding hierarchy*, whereby the complements of some complement-taking verbs exhibit a tighter syntactic bond with the main clause than others. One expression of this bond is in the degree to which a subordinate clause exhibits the characteristics one expects of a clausal argument--that is, the characteristics of a noun phrase. These characteristics are typically borne out in how the arguments of a subordinate clause are expressed as well as in the less finite marking patterns of the subordinate verb.

Lower on the binding hierarchy, verbal complements maintain more features of their main clause counterparts, including typical syntactic expression of their arguments and the full range of possible TAM marking, independent of the TAM marking of the main clause. Syntactic binding, according to Givón (1990), is an iconic expression of the unity of the events expressed by the main and subordinate clause verbs. Thus, the binding heirarchy makes a typological, universally valid, and testable claim about which verb types will express more syntactic unity with their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

complements than others. Lowest on the heirarchy will be utterance verbs, for example, whose clausal arguments represent events that are distinct from, or less integrated with, the event coded in the main clause. On the other hand, complementation involving direct manipulation entails that the main and complement events are more integrated--viewed as the same event--and will, therefore, be more bound, syntactically (Givón 1990).

In Northern Paiute, as we have seen, relative clauses exhibit several syntactic features of noun phrases--most significantly, nominalizing morphology on the subordinate clause verb and oblique case-marking of the notional subject of the subordinate clause. Both of these nominal features may be exploited in forming complement clauses in Northern Paiute, but only the {na} participle is used to mark the verb of the non-finite complement clause.

11a) *ni ka=tihikya o?o wini -di punni*
I OBL=deer DEM stand.SG-NMR see.DUR
'I see the deer (that is) standing out there' (IW: Yahooskin fieldnotes)

b) *ni ka= Justine sua?i -na nakka*
I OBL=J. laugh-PTCP hear.DUR
'I hear Justine laughing.' (RB: Phone conversation)

I interpret the nominalized clause in 11a) as a subject relative clause, restricting reference to a particular deer (the one that is standing out there). The relative clause verb is marked with the subject nominalizer {di} (NMR) and the head noun 'deer' is case-marked oblique for

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

its role as the object of 'see.' In 11b), on the other hand, the subordinate clause is marked with the present participle suffix {na} (PTCP), and is itself case-marked oblique for its role as the object of 'hear.' Given that the notional subject of the complement clause is a proper name, there is no need to restrict reference--the speaker is just stating what it is she is hearing.

### 9.2.1 Embedded Complements

Complementation at the lower end of Givón's binding hierarchy, with the exception of direct quotation (next section), typically involves one of two strategies. The first of these is the one I refer to as the *embedded complement* strategy, exemplified by11b), above. Embedded complements take on features of direct objects in the prototype transitive clause, including patterns of case-marking and word order (cf. sections 6.1.3 and 6.1.1).

The following morpho-syntactic features characterize embedded complementation:

1) The verb of the complement clause is marked with the {na} participle--referred to elsewhere as the 'action nominalizer' (cf. section 3.1.7.6).
2) The notional subject of the complement clause, particularly when pronominal, may appear either as an object proclitic on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the verb of the complement, or as an independent pronoun case-marked genitive.

3) The entire complement clause may be case-marked oblique with the determiner proclitic {ka} (OBL).

4) The embedded, non-finite complement clause appears in the syntactic object position--that is, between the main clause subject, if present, and the main clause verb.

I consider feature 1) a requirement for embedded, non-finite--"true"--complementation, although such marking is in no way restricted to complementation. We have already seen the role of the {na} participle in non-subject relative clause formation (see examples (4)-(8). Its role in adverbial clauses and subordination generally will be taken up in section 9.3.

From the perspective of non-finite properties, feature 2) is really a matter of interpreting the syntactic role of the notional subject as that of *possessor*,[4] since only rarely is it possible to distinguish objects and possessors in Northern Paiute morpho-syntax. Possessor and object pronominal proclitics are identical (recall discussion, section 4.1.9). Nouns themselves do not carry case inflection, so the language relies on a strategy of simple noun-noun juxtaposition to form possessor noun phrases

---

[4] Although see Bunte (1979, 1986) for a discussion of features of Southern Paiute morphosyntax that appear to more clearly distinguish subordination from possession.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(section 3.2.3.1). As with feature 1), oblique case-marking of notional subjects occurs in subordinate clauses of all kinds, particularly when the notional subject of the subordinate clause is different from that of the main clause.

Occasionally, it is difficult to distinguish features 2) and 3), when the subordinate clause has a definite nominal as its notional subject. In either case, the oblique determiner proclitic {ka} (OBL) occurs as the first element of the subordinate clause.

Feature 4), as we will see, is not a strict requirement for complementation in general, although when the complement clause occurs in other positions relative to the main verb, there are certain morpho-syntactic consequences. These consequences are discussed in the next section describing non-embedded complements.

The following examples demonstrate the features of fully embedded object complements in Northern Paiute.

12a) *tammi ti= pabi?i čadua-na naka -kwi*
we.INCL POSS=elder.brother talk -PTCP listen-FUT
'We'll listen to what our chief is saying.'

b) *una -?yu sawa -naga -?yu yaga-na naka -?yakwi.*
DEM-ABL sagebrush-among-ABL cry -PTCP hear -HAB
' . . (we) would hear (it) calling out there from among the sagebrush.'
(NK: We Talked to that Bird)

c) *u -su ka= nimidzoho u=nagi -kya -na punni*
3-NOM OBL=People.Masher 3= chase-TRNSL-PTCP see
'S/He saw the Nemedzoho chasing her/him.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

d) *ni i= čadua -na naka -supidakwatu*
I 2= talk.SG-PTCP hear -understand
'I understood what you said.'

Interestingly enough, the on-line use of embedded complements in natural speech is quite rare. The means for creating embedded complement clauses does exist in the grammar of the language, and speakers readily accept and produce them, especially in artificial contexts like direct elicitation. However, it appears that would-be complement clauses are expressed mainly in paratactic constructions--either in apposition to pronominal objects, or to adverbial particles.

### 9.2.2 Non-embedded Complements

A more common complementation strategy involves placing the complement clause in a syntactic position other than in the typical slot for transitive objects immediately before the main clause verb--what I call the *non-embedded complement* strategy. The following pair of examples may be compared with 12c) and d) above as syntactic options for complementation in Northern Paiute.

13a) *u -su u= punni ka= nimidzoho u=naki -kya*
3-NOM 3= see OBL= People.Masher 3=chase-TRNSL
'S/He$_i$ saw the Nemedzoho chasing her/him$_i$.'

b) *ni i= naka- supidakwatu - kaa, i=ʔini-nna*
I 2= hear-understand - SR 2=say-PTCP
'I understood what you said.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The following features characterize non-embedded complementation.

1) The complement clause verb is not obligatorily marked with the {na}participle.
2) The notional subject of the complement clause, when different from that of the main clause, typically appears in oblique case or as a verbal proclitic.
3) The main, complement-taking verb carries an object proclitic that is co-referential either to the notional subject or to the entire complement clause.
4) The complement clause itself is freer, syntactically, with respect to the main clause than it is in the embedded type, but tends to follow the main clause verb.
5) The main and complement clauses are separated by a slight pause, comma intonation, or otherwise fall under separate intonation contours.
6) A switch-reference suffix (SR) may appear on the main clause verb when the subject of the main and complement clause is different.

The following examples further demonstrate the non-embedding strategy of complementation in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

14a) *ni u=naka- oičikiti, ka= naatsi ni-ka tiikwi-na*
I 3= hear-believe OBL=boy I -OBL tell -PTCP
'I believe what the boy told me.'

b) *ii = ha i= naka -supidakwatu -ka i= ini -nna*
you = Q 1= hear-understand-SR 1= say-PTCP
'Do/Did you understand what I'm saying/said?'

14a) represents a transitive complement and b), an intransitive. Notice that both the arguments of the complement verb in 14a) appear in oblique case.

Snapp and Anderson (1983) find examples where the notional subject of the complement, even when different from the subject of the main clause, is left unexpressed.

15) *u -su i= bunni kai pimi kwati -na*
3-NOM 1= see NEG 3.EMPH shoot-PTCP
'He saw I wasn't shooting at him.' (SA:80)

It would appear that no single feature associated with complementation in Northern Paiute is necessary and sufficient. Rather, any feature or combination of features may be employed--as they are in subordinate clauses generally--in Northern Paiute complementation. Indeed, another non-embedding option appears to maintain all of the finite features of both clauses.

16) *ni u=supidakwatu u-su kai i= bunni*
I 3=know 3-NOM NEG 1=see.DUR
'I knew he didn't see me.' (SA:81)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Example 16) consists of two finite clauses in simple juxtaposition. The only morpho-syntactic link between them appears to be the object pronominal proclitic of the first clause, which refers cataphorically to the content of the second clause. The subject of the would-be complement (the second clause) is in nominative case and its verb has no subordinate marking.

The preference for the less integrated, non-embedded complementation strategy in Northern Paiute may have a pragmatic explanation regarding information flow in on-line speech. Coherence in natural discourse often places constraints on the amount of new information that can be introduced. As with the pragmatic function of certain adverbial clause types and the widespread use of subordination in text (cf. chapter 10), repetition and paraphrase are pervasive. Speakers may prefer to present the information contained in a complement clause periphrastically, and make us of pro-forms or paraphrases to refer to the event of the complement clause. More extensive study of the texts is needed to fully grasp how information is packaged in Northern Paiute texts of various types.

### 9.2.3 Direct and Indirect Quotations

Quotations are generally more finite than the other complement types and have some distinct grammatical features. Direct and indirect quotations in Northern Paiute make use of the quotative particle {mii} (QUOT) and its allomorphs (cf. section 5.3.4). In direct quotations, this

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

particle most often indicates the terminal boundary of the quoted material.

17a) *[ owi -u watsi -kwi ] mii sunami -na*
DEM-U hide.SG-FUT QUOT think -PTCP
"(I) will hide in there," so (she was) thinking.' (NK: Nemedzoho)

b) *[ kai himma mi=supidakwatu mi mi=yadua-ki -kwi -u ]*
NEG what us=understand PL us=talk -APL-FUT-PNC
*mii mi= naa mi= nitama*
QUOT our=father us= tell
'". . you will interpret for us what we don't understand," our dad told us.'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

Nearly as often, however, the quotative particle brackets the quoted material, marking its initial as well as its terminal boundary.

18a) *su= yaisi, kutsu yaisi miu, [.uu = sakwa tui nii,] mii = tia?*
NOM= then cow then QUOT thusly = MOD try I QUOT = thusly
'So then the cow said, "OK, I'll try it." ' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

b) *yaisi i= pia miu [ u= yadui -čai*
then 1= mother QUOT 3= talk.to -HAB
*oo saa?a u= naka-puni, hayu saa?a ini -wini ] mii*
so later 3=hear-ASP how later reply-CONT.SG QUOT
'Then my mother said, "Talk to it! And then listen to it, how it answers." '
(NK: We Talked to that Bird)

The quoted material itself is fully finite and is set apart intonationally. Direct quotes are usually spoken at a higher fundamental pitch than the surrounding material.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The quotative particle is also used with complements that are indirect quotations.

19a) *nɨ [ aawayai-pɨ ] mii nɨ a= supɪča*
I moldy -PFV QUOT I 4= think
'I think this is moldy.'

b) *[ ka= oha?a yakka ] mii tia? sumayu -si*
OBL=infant cry.DUR QUOT thusly think/believe-SEQ
' . . by thinking that baby was crying . .' (NK: People-Masher)

As with direct quotations, indirect quotations are highly finite, potentially carrying the full range of aspect marking on the verb and never utilizing subordinate morphology. However, as in 19b) above, either the notional subject or the entire indirect quote may be case-marked oblique. Intonationally, too, indirect quotations are more integrated with the main clause.

The quotative particle alone, or in conjunction with another particle {tia?a} 'thusly; so' appears ubiquitously in text. Its function is something like the expression 'they say' in English discourse--a kind of evidentiary usage.

20a) *paba-u kassa-ga?yu mii.*
big -OBL wing(s)-HAVE QUOT
' . . (it) had big wings, they say.' (NK: Nemechozinna)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *mi= pii hanni mi?i.*
PL=blood do/take QUOT

*u -ma -u = ga kwitso?ai u -su mii tia?*
3 -INST-U = MOD survive 3-NOM QUOT thusly

'(It) took their blood, they say, and it must have survived on it, so they say.'

(NK: Nemechozinna)

### 9.2.4 "Sensation" Complements

In Northern Paiute, there is a small set of sensation verbs that can take complements whose verbs are marked with the similitive postposition {k/wa?ni} (SIMIL). The verb appears with the perfective suffix {pi} (PFV) or is nominalized with {di} before the postposition is added in my corpus.[5] These complement-taking verbs include {tabia} 'appear,' {niima} 'feel; sense,' and {naka} 'hear; listen.' In conjunction with similative-marked complements, they translate as 'looks like,' 'seems/feels like,' and 'sounds like,' respectively.

21a) *ma-su aawaya?i-pi -wa?ni tabi?a*
DEM-NOM moldy -PFV-SIMIL appear

'Those look moldy.'

b) *u -su ti= pia patsa -pi -wa?ni niima*
3-NOM 1.INCL=mother kill.SG-PFV-SIMIL feel

'. . it feels like she might have killed our mother.'

(NK: Bear and Deer)

---

[5] The nominalizer induces fortition, while the perfective doesn't.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *yaisi nimi apigya -na nimmi nakka -di -kwaʔni niima*
then people talk.PL-PTCP we.EXCL hear.DUR-NMR-SIMIL feel
'. . and it seems like we heard people talking.' (NK: Old Voices)

d) *apĩja -di -kwaʔni miu na- naka*
talk.PL-NMR-SIMIL QUOT RE-hear
' . . "Sounds like (somebody's) talking!" ' (NK: Old Voices)

### 9.2.5 WH and Subject Complements

Embedded WH-questions form another complement type in languages generally. These are usually the complements of verbs of perception, cognition, or utterance (PCU-verbs).

22a) *oo saaʔa u= naka -puni, hayu saaʔa ini -wini*
thus later 3= hear -ASP how later reply-CONT
' "Then listen to it, how (it) answers." ' (NK: We Talked to that Bird)

b) *u-su supidakwatu haka ti= adi titiha -u -na*
3-NOM know whom POSS=gun steal-PNC-PTCP
'He knows who stole his gun.' (SA:82)

Like complements generally, WH-complements may carry non-finite features. In example 22a), the complement does not carry such features and looks like the non-embedded type. In 22b), on the other hand, the verb of the complement carries the participle, and the notional subject is the interrogative pronoun in its oblique form.

Complement clauses may also appear as sentential subjects in Northern Paiute. The verb of a subject complement always carrys the {na} participle.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

23a) *iwa himma hani-na ni pahonaya?i*
much what do -PTCP I tired
'Lots of work gets me tired.'

b) *kami wigia na- kwisi -na ini na- manakwi*
jackrabbit blanket MM-weave-PTCP INT MM-do
'Rabbit blanket weaving is hard to do.' (SA:79)

### 9.2.6 Manipulation and Modality

At the upper end of Givón's (1990) complementation scale are verbs coding manipulation and modality. In Northern Paiute, nearly all of these notions are grammaticalized to various degrees, as part of the verbal complex. As such, they are treated more extensively in other areas of the grammar. This section only serves to direct the reader to the relevant sections.

Manipulation is highly co-lexicalized in Northern Paiute grammar. Instrumental prefixes (section 8.1.3) frequently behave syntactically like morphological causatives, and at least one appears to have begun to grammaticalize as such. One instrumental prefix {su} 'of or pertaining to mental activity,' has developed into a same subject desiderative.

Manipulation is also grammaticalized in two verb suffixes--the applicative {ki} (APL) (section 8.2.2.1) and the jussive {tiŋi} (JUSS) (8.2.2.2). The applicative, unlike the instrumental prefixes, functions mainly within the domain of indirect causation. The jussive's main function is to encode verbal manipulation of the 'tell X to V' type, and is transparently related to an independent verb meaning 'to request.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Suffixes expressing tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) are described more fully in section 8.3. Many of these also have clear verbal sources and have grammaticalized by means of the *secondary verb construction*. The historical development is discussed in section 8.4.

Modality is also variously expressed in a set of second position clitics (cf. section 7.5), and by means of a couple loosely bound preverbal auxiliaries--{tu?i} 'try to; nearly' and {misu} 'be able to; easily.' They also carry adverbial-like meanings and are included in the inventory of types of manner adverbials in Table 5.7. Along with two other manner adverbials--{sikwi} 'just; only' and {tibizi} 'indeed; really'--{misu} and {tu?i} are the only other forms in my corpus that may appear between the verbal proclitic and the verb stem.

24a) *mabi nimi mia-?yai -na, ka= mooni tu?i kwatti*
DEM 1.EXCL go -HAB-PTCP OBL=money try look.for.DUR
'We went over there (more than once) to try and look for the money.'

b) *tu?i nadawinai -u -si*
try jump -PNC-SEQ
'(He) tried to jump up . . ' (NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

c) *ni a=mišu - pa- hapi*
I 4= can IP/water-lie.SG
'I can/could swim.'

d) *ni mi=misu - makwi -u -kwi*
I PL=can - finish -PNC-FUT
'I will easily defeat you all.'

These forms, along with their distributional counterparts, are also described briefly in section 8.0 on verb structure in Northern Paiute.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 9.3 Adverbial Clauses

One of the main functions of adverbial clauses is to establish relationships beyond the level of the sentence (Thompson and Longacre 1985). Much of the semantics of different adverbial clause types is not overtly expressed in Northern Paiute, but is inferred, since the language does not have a large inventory of subordinating conjunctions. That is to say, the surface grammar does not, by and large, specify the exact nature of the relationship between the adverbial clause and the main clause.

The primary discourse-pragmatic function of adverbial clauses in language is to provide cohesion (Thompson and Longacre 1985, Givón 1990). Part of this cohesion stems from the fact that, in text, adverbial clauses frequently paraphrase, or even repeat, information that has already been established. Paraphrase and repetition are pervasive features of Northern Paiute discourse. The extent to which these features are used are partially a matter of stylistic choice, to be sure. However, this stylistic penchant extends across speakers and genres (cf. Fowler, ms. and Fowler and Abel, 2000).

It is not possible to clearly distinguish clausal subordination and coordination in Northern Paiute grammar. As others (cf. Givón 1990, Longacre 1985) have pointed out, the logical notion that coordination combines two elements of equal rank is artificial, since in on-line speech, the range and complexity of discourse variables mitigates strongly against any such ranking possibility. Even in English coordinate constructions, whether of NP's, VP's, or entire S's, it can usually be demonstrated the the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

coodinated elements are, in fact, not ranked equally--either pragmatically or, as is often the case, even syntactically.

In most cases of coordination at the verb phrase or clause level in Northern Paiute, subordinating morphology appears on one of the verbs in the chain. Simple juxtaposition could be considered the counterpart of coordination in the language, but for the present purposes, I will simply discuss the grammar of *clause combining*. This will allow, I think, for a less biased analysis without going too far into the subordination versus coordination issue. We have already seen in our discussion of complementation that finiteness and subordination is itself a matter of degree.

This section is only a first pass of a study of adverbial clauses and inter-clausal relationships in general in Northern Paiute. In it, I will discuss the morpho-syntax of subordinate clauses and provide an inventory of how some of the major adverbial relationships are expressed by means of adverbial clauses. Finally, I will take a general view of clause-combining strategies in discourse in order to assist the reader in interpreting the texts that make up the final chapter of this study.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 9.3.1 Adverbial Clause Morpho-syntax

Adverbial clauses involve similar morpho-syntactic features as do other complex clause types--in particular, subordinating morphology and oblique case-marking of the notional subject of the subordinate clause or of the clause itself.

Subordinating verb morphology is used to help establish the nature of the semantic link between clauses in discourse. Northern Paiute relies mainly upon two verbal suffixes in the formation of adverbial clauses--the sequential suffix {si} (SEQ) and the present participle suffix {na} (PTCP). Generally speaking, {si} marks the verbs of subordinate clauses that code events that temporally precede another event. Translated into idiomatic English, the {si} clause means something like 'having V-ed' or 'after V-ing.' It also frequently translates as verb phrase conjunction in English.

24a) *nimmi oi piti -ga -si*
we.EXCL DEM arrive-TRNSL-SEQ
*nimmi iwa nimmi ti- tsapoka*
we.EXCL much we.EXCL APS-pick
'Having arrived there, we picked a lot . . ' (NK: Chokecherries)

b) *ni u=ma- dupui -hu -si oo tiki*
I 3=IP/hand-coil -PNC-SEQ DEM put/place
'I coiled it up and put (it) over there.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c) *mi= tika-ki -u -si nimmi tiwau mia-si*
us= eat-APL-PNC-SEQ we.EXCL again go -SEQ

*na- noo -ka -si oo ka= yamoso -tami*
MM-carry-TRNSL-SEQ DEM OBL=Ft.Bidwell-toward

'Having allowed us to eat, we went on again, and were hauled on out there to Fort Bidwell . . '

(NK: Boarding School Days)

The present participle suffix {na} (PTCP), in contrast to {si} (SIM), typically signals that two (or more) events are, at least roughly, contemporaneous. Therefore, clauses marked with {na} are often translated like English 'when,' 'as,' or 'while' adverbial clauses. They, too, may also translate into conjoined verb phrases or sentences.

25a) *oo tia?a yaisi u -su kutsu yadada kai sunami-na*
so thusly then 3-NOM cow eagerly.agreed NEG think -PTCP

'And so it was that the Cow eagerly accepted without thinking.

(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

b) *mi=tihiča kai himma tika-na tikikoi -na, tiya?i*
PL=deer NEG s.t. eat-PTCP skinny.PL-PTCP die.PL

'When deer don't have anything to eat, they grow skinny and die.'

c) *yaisi i -su kaiba kussi timatai-na*
then PROX-NOM mountain dust rise -PTCP

*yaisi u-su pabi?i u=punni-na u -ka kussi-ba*
then 3-NOM elder.brother 3=see -PTCP 3-OBL dust -STAT

*yaisi pisa u= supidakwatu*
then well 3= understand

'then as the dust rose from this mountain, and the elder brother (Wolf) saw that dust, (he, Wolf) understood it (i.e. what it meant).'

(WM: The Cave Myth)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Only the main verb, whether or not it is the final verb of the series, appears without a subordinating suffix. The following example provides a nice comparison of the temporal function of the two subordinating suffixes.

26) *saʔa yaisi, miʔnawi mani-ča -si*
later then long.time do -TRNSL-SEQ
*pi- biaʔ iwa ti -tsadima-na piti -wini.*
RE-friend many APS-carry -PTCP arrive -CONT
'Later on, after being out doing (that) awhile, the friends arrived bringing lots (of apples).'
(NK: Boarding School Days)

The first, {si} marked verb represents a preceding action, whereas the second, {na} marked verb represents an action contemporaneous with the final, finite verb of the sentence.

One syntactic difference between verbs marked with either of the two subordinating suffixes is that aspect marking more frequently accompanies {si} than occurs with {na}-marked verbs.

27a) *uuni -ku nimmi magoʔo-kwai-tu tsapoka -kwi -si,*
that.kind-OBL we.EXCL bag -LOC -ALL gather-FUT-SEQ
*ooʔno kai yabi sida manakwi*
at.that.time NEG hurry bad become
'. . . we were to (to put what) we picked into the bags, (so that it) wouldn't spoil right away.'
(NK: Chokecherries)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b) *u -su ka ni-pa piti -u -si*
3-NOM KA I -by arrive-PNC-SEQ

*i= mataiʔi -u -si simina i= patsa -kwi*
1=capture-PNC-SEQ maybe 1=kill.SG-FUT

' "Once it reaches me and captures me, (it) will probably kill me . ' "
(NK: Nemedzoho)

c) *uu tuʔi čigwi-čai -si = ga*
thusly try do -HAB-SEQ = MOD

*ka= kwayaʔa sogo - kima -si*
OBL=far on.foot - come-SEQ

*su= nimidzohoʔo pahonayai-si*
NOM= People.Masher be.tired -SEQ

*oo -tu su= inapa -u pinoʔo*
DEM-ALL NOM= fall.asleep-PNC as.for

'Having been doing thusly, and having come a long ways on foot, the Nemedzoho grew tired, and just dropped off to sleep, as well.'
(NK: Nemedzoho)

The examples above demonstrate the co-occurrence of the sequential marker with the future/prospective, habitual, and punctual aspect suffixes. One finds {na} co-occurring with different aspectual suffixes much less frequently, but there appears to be no strict rule against it.

28a) *yaisi himma uuni-ku tiaʔ pi -kwai ni= hani -kwi -na*
then things that.kind-OBL thusly RESTR-LOC us=do/wear-FUT-PTCP

*uuni -ku ni= himi -na*
that.kind-OBL us=give.PL-PTCP

'Then once (they) gave us the things that we were to wear . . '
(NK: Boarding School Days)

b) *uu mani-ʔyai -na*
thusly do -HAB-PTCP

' . . and that's what they would do.' (MS: Autobiography)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

### 9.3.2 Other Adverbial Clause Types

It is at this point that the various other semantic relationships that may hold between the adverbial and main clause are typically introduced and their morpho-syntactic features discussed. Northern Paiute does not exploit a special set of grammatical features in the formation of adverbial clauses. Rather, the semantic relationship holding between the main and subordinate clauses in Northern Paiute is often inferred, rather than overtly expressed.

The two subordinating suffixes discussed in the previous section are also used in marking adverbial clauses denoting a variety of relationships--conditional, cause, counterfact, and concession. To form conditional type clauses, the sequential subordinate suffix {si} (SEQ) marks the verb of the clause denoting the condition. The adverbial clause precedes the main clause, and the condition-result relationship is implicit.

29a) *ni kopi?i iwa hibi -si kai i?wi*
I coffee much drink-SEQ NEG sleep.DUR
'(If) I drink too much coffee, (I) can't sleep.'

b) *kai ii = sa?a i=sidi -u -si wi?i -u -dua*
NEG 2 = MOD 1=snort -PNC -SEQ fall -PNC -SUBJ
'And then the Cow said, "No, if I snort, you could fall!"
(NK: Porcupine and Coyote)

In 29b), the notional subject of the adverbial clause is realized as a verbal proclitic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Adverbial clauses denoting the cause in a cause-effect relationship tend to follow the main clause denoting the effect. The adverbial clause is not marked with a subordinating suffix, although the notional subject may appear as a verbal proclitic, when pronominal. The particle {ka}, occurs before the clause coding the cause whether or not there is a switch of subject.

30a) *ni u=supidakwatu ka u -su i= tiikwi*
I 3=know KA 3-NOM 1= tell
'I know because he told me.'

b) *ni= kaupa yaisi ni- niima ka ʔuu ni= manakwi*
our=leg then RE-feel KA DEM us= do/act
'. . then our legs were sore from doing that. . ' (MS: Autobiography)

There is more than one interpretation of {ka} in these examples. One is that it is simply a connective particle occurring, as it usually does, at a constituent boundary. Another is that it is the oblique determiner proclitic, syntactically bound to the entire adverbial clause.

In the following example, the adverbial clause comes first, the particle {ka} appears in second position, and the verb is marked with the participle {na} (PTCP).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

31) *ii = ka i= tuami tamma-kwi -na*
you = KA 2=children leave -FUT-PTCP

*umi oi -?yu -na nobi -kwai-?yu -na*
they DEM-ABL-ATTR house-LOC-ABL-ATTR

*tui - hau -tui ma?na?wi -na*
any how any act/behave-PTCP

'If you leave your children behind, to stay at home, they get into mischief (behave just any old way).'
(NK: Kids, Then and Now)

A subordinate clause denoting a counterfact condition appears embedded in a result clause in the following example.

32) *ka= ha?uapaga = sakwa nimmi*
OBL= whatever = MOD we.EXCL

*[ka= kai himma supidakwadu -na ]*
OBL= NEG things know -PTCP

*u= mani*
3= do

'Whatever would we have done, if we hadn't learned those things?'
(NK: Root-digging Time)

Here, {ka} in the embedded clause appears clearly to be a proclitic.

The prohibitive verbal enclitic (cf. section 7.3) also functions as a kind of disjunctive particle, like the English conjunction 'but.'

33) *obi tia? nimmi -?nimi -?yakwi paana kai mi= punni*
DEM thusly wander-RNDM.SG-HAB PROH NEG PL=see.DUR

' . . so (he) would wander around, but didn't see them . . '
(NK: Boarding School Days)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The semantics of a concessive adverbial clause relationship usually involves a second position modal clitic (cf. section 7.5). The interaction of modals, aspect, and the grammar of subordination merits further exploration in the context of establishing the semantic relationships holding between combinations of clauses.

### 9.3.3 Subject Case-Marking in Adverbial Clauses

Most of the {si}-marked verbs in the examples presented so far have the same subject. This is not a grammatical constraint, however, but more likely a pragmatic one centered on topic continuity. When the grammatical subject of two clauses--one a subordinate, {si} marked clause, the other, a main clause--is different, there appear to be two options for expressing the subject of the subordinate clause. The subject of the {si}-marked clause may appear as nominative or oblique, although the semantic relationship between the two clauses may be different as a result.

34a) *u-su nana pidi -u -si, u-su moko?ni mia -u*
3-NOM man arrive-PNC-SEQ 3-NOM woman go.SG-PNC
'When that man came, that woman left.

b) *ka= nana pidi -u -si su= moko?ni mia -u*
OBL=man arrive-PNC-SEQ NOM=woman go.SG-PNC
'Because the man came, the woman left.'

In 34a), the relationship between the two events is construed as simply sequential. The expression of the notional subject 'the man' as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

oblique in the first clause of 34b), however, implies that something the man did caused the woman to leave. The exact semantic relationship is inferred but the stronger conceptual connection between the two events is a reflection of the greater morpho-syntactic integration of the two clauses.

Adverbial 'when' clauses, both with and without {na}, may also have a notional subject appearing in oblique case or as an object proclitic on the verb, as with complement and non-subject relative clause types.

35) *una -u ka mi= tihona,*
DEM-U KA us= dig.roots
*una -ʔyu sawa -naga -ʔyu yaga-na naka -ʔyakwi*
DEM-ABL sagebrush-among-ABL cry -PTCP hear-HAB
'Out there when we were root-digging, (we) would hear (it) calling out there among the sagebrush.'
(NK: We Talked to that Bird)

As with {si} marked clauses, the subject of the subordate {na} marked clause and that of the main clause may be the same or different.

### 9.3.4 An Incipient Absolutive Pattern

Occasionally, the syntactic realization of an argument as a verbal proclitic appears to be a matter of consistency across clauses. This is an area that merits a great deal of further study, particularly since the pattern occasionally appears to be one for dealing with a topical *absolutive* argument.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Some complexity in the syntactic realization of arguments is presented here, whereby the notional subject of an adverbial clause appears as a verbal proclitic. This is in keeping with a general morpho-syntactic pattern involving the realization of arguments in subordinate clauses generally, but it appears to involve a pragmatic choice.

36) *uu = sakwa ni su= kai i= ma?yi = sakwa*
thusly = MOD I NOM= NEG 1= notice = MOD
*su= tokano i= tsipugi -si*
NOM= night 1= escape-SEQ
' "So must I, it mustn't notice that I have escaped in the night." '
(NK: Nemedzoho)

Note that the independent, nominative form of the first person pronoun was presented initially, but that then first person appears as a verbal proclitic first on a transitive verb (as the O argument), then on an intransitive (as the S argument).

Something similar is happening in the following sequence from a procedural narrative. The focus of this portion of the narrative is on the chokecherry juice that is being thickened as a pudding.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

37) *oo yaisi oo u= wina -na*
so then DEM 3= set.aside-PTCP
'So then (you) set it aside,

*yaisi saa?a u=?itzitzi -u -si*
then later 3=cold -PNC-SEQ
'and later when it's cold,

*u= higa -ssi;*
3=cool -SEQ
'it having cooled off,

*yaisi tiwau oo?no tia? u-mati misu - tika*
then also at.the.time thusly 3-PART be.able - eat
'then (you) can go ahead and eat some.' (NK: Chokecherries)

Here again we have the third person pronoun referring to the juice appearing as the verbal proclitic on three consecutive verbs, first as the O argument of a transitive verb, then as the S argument of two intransitive verbs.

### 9.3.5 Inter-clausal Coherence

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, an important discourse function of adverbial clauses is to contribute to discourse cohesiveness by providing various types of inter-clausal links. Of particular importance is what Thompson and Longacre (1985) refer to as "tail-head linkage," for bridging clausal and paragraph level boundaries. In this section, we will look at how clauses marked with {si} and {na} contribute to cohesion.

Let us begin by looking at {si} marked adverbial clauses. One way that such clauses maintain cohesion is simply by carrying or repeating

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information that has been established in the preceding discourse. Such clauses, as we have seen, often translate best as 'having done so and so' or 'such and so having happened.' Beyond simple sequencing of events in discourse, {si} marked clauses provide a kind of feedback link to the preceding discourse.

In the following examples, I will indent the subordinate marked clauses from text for visual ease (following Mithun 2002).

38) *ka saʔa su= hii umi -ba pitti*
KA later NOM= WH they -home.of? arrive.DUR
Later on, she arrived to where they were,

*widaʔa waha -u ti= tua -mi -no*
bear two -OBL POSS= child -PL -with
brown bear and her two children.

*oʔo umi -ba pitti -si*
DEM they -home.of? arrive.DUR -SEQ
Having arrived there where they were,

*yaisi su= widaʔa mii u= nitama o -ka tihiča piabi*
then NOM= bear QUOT 3= tell DEM -OBL deer female
the bear spoke to her . . ' (NK: Bear and Deer)

39) *mi= pia owi -su ti- yoŋo mii*
PL= mother there -NOM APS- evening
" . . your mother is spending the night out there," (she) said.

*owi yoŋo -si*
there evening -SEQ
"She'll spend the night

*múa tiwao tihona -kwi*
tomorrow again dig.roots -FUT
and tomorrow do some more digging." (NK: Bear and Deer)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The {si} marked clause contains all and only old information established in the first clause of the sequence. In both of these examples, the verb of the preceding clause is simply repeated and marked with {si}. Such couplets are common in narrative and serve to maintain a clear link across clauses in narrative. As a back-channeling technique, a speaker's interlocutor will sometimes supply the non-finite form of the couplet. In this way, the hearer provides some of the coherence links for either a narrative or conversation.

As an alternative to complete repetition, a paraphrase relationship may also hold between the adverbial clause and the finite, preceding clause. As is most often the case, the adverbial clause verb is a generic verb, usually one of the verbs meaning 'do.'

40) *o?o yaisi umi ka ti= nobi na?una -wai*
DEM then they KA POSS= house around -LOC
So then they (went) round and round their house,

*iwa nada?yikwi*
many make.tracks
making many tracks.

*ka yu?u mani -si*
KA this.way do -SEQ
Having done this,

*kwaya -wai nadawinai*
far.off -LOC jump
they jumped far off.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

41) *tihiča tua -mi kwaya -wai nadawinai -u -ga*
deer child -PL far.off -LOC jump -PNC -TRNSL
The fawns lept away.

*uu ma?na?wi -si*
thusly do -SEQ
Having done so,

*su= bia?a suŋ pinagi uu nakwai*
NOM= friend NOM= younger.one thusly follow
the younger one followed after.

New conceptual paragraphs frequently begin with a {si} marked adverbial clause, sometimes also accompanied by a time adverbial whos function is to set the stage for the next series of events. In the following sequence from a procedural narrative, the crushed chokecherries have been shaped into patties and set out to dry in the sun. The speaker signals a break in the time sequence and the beginning of a new paragraph.

42) *saa yaisi, tibizi saa ii mi?na?wi mani-ča-s[i]*
later then indeed later you long.time do-TRNSL-SEQ
'Later on, much later--you have to go and do (wait) for quite awhile,

*tu sunaga-na*
also calculate-PTCP
'and make a determination--

*ii tiwau tsam-- [u=]tsaminita*
you also turn- [3=](IP/grasp)turn.over.PL
'and then you flip them over,

*oo?no-su kai u=passa-nakwa-tu pino?o passa-kwi*
at.the.time-ADV NEG 3=dry-side-ALL as.well dry-FUT
'so then the side that's not dry will dry, too.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Certain generic verbs, particularly 'do,' 'be,' and 'say,' have a tendency to develop into clausal connectives by just this route (Thompson and Longacre (1985). Indeed, the ubiquitous narrative particle {yaisi} meaning 'and; then' may well be a defunct generic verb that lexicalized the sequential subordinating suffix {si}.[6]

Even more pervasive in discourse are subordinate clauses marked with the participial suffix {na} (PTCP). Aside from marking events as contemporaneous with other events, {na} marked clauses, like those with {si}, also tend to carry paraphrases and repetition. We have seen the syntactic role of {na} in non-subject relative clauses and in complementation. What is striking about their frequency in narrative, is that, as Mithun (2002) has suggested for the role of subordinative mood in Yup'ik, {na} marked clauses appear to support background information. Non-subordinate clauses are reserved for information that moves the narrative forward.

I include here an extended excerpt from the procedural text 'Chokecherries' to demonstrate the potential backgrounding function of {na} marked clauses.

---

[6] Although only suggestive, Southern Paiute has a verb {ai} meaning 'say' that functions as a main verb, quotative particle, and hearsay marker (Bunte 1979).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

43) *saa yaisi, tibizi saa ii mi?na?wi mani-ča-s[i]*
later then indeed later you long.time do-TRNSL-SEQ
'Later on, much later--you have to go and do (wait) for quite awhile,

*tu sunaga-na*
also calculate-PTCP
'and make a determination--

*ii tiwau tsam-- [u=]tsaminita*
you also turn- [3=](IP/grasp)turn.over.PL
'and then you flip them over,

*oo?no-su kai u=passa-nakwa-tu pino?o passa-kwi*
at.the.time-ADV NEG 3=dry-side-ALL as.well dry-FUT
'so then the side that's not dry will dry, too.

*uu uusapa nimi u=yigwi-na;*
thus always we.EXCL 3=do-PTCP
'that's what we always did;

*yaisi ka tibizi pisa ini u=passa-u-piti-ga-si;*
then KA indeed well INT 3=dry-PNC-INCH-TRNSL-SEQ
'and when it gets really good and dry,

*oo?no tu mi=pia bina pisa-u toha-mago-kwai tiwau, u=hanni;*
then also our=mother w.r.t. good-OBL white-bag-LOC also 3=do
'then, too, our mother would put it into a good, white bag.

*uuni-kwai noo-ko nimi u=hani-na tiwau*
that.kind-LOC all-OBL we.EXCL 3=do-PTCP also
'That's where we put all of that,

*unaa kai ini hauni-kwai yu?u tia? nimi u=tsakwini tiwau*
DEM NEG INT some.kind-LOC PROX thusly we.EXCL 3=hang also
and hang it up somewhere safe like this.'

By comparing the information contained in the subordinate (indented) and main clauses, we find that the non-subordinate clauses contain the key information necessary to the procedure described (flipping

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

over the chokecherry patties to dry, putting them into a clean, white cloth bag, and hanging the bag somewhere for safe-keeping). The subordinate clauses, on the other hand, provide little by way of new information, instead supplying background information--the crucial threads that hold the discourse together.

The role of subordination in Northern Paiute at the discourse level merits a great deal of further study. The link between discourse features like backgrounding, topicality, and presupposition and syntactic notions like subordination and nominalization is crucial to developing an understanding of the high density of subordinate clauses in Northern Paiute text. Further study, however, cannot be adequately undertaken without also tracking the potentially interactive role played by discourse particles, case-marking, and aspect.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# CHAPTER 10

# TEXTS

## 10.0 Introduction to the Texts

Text collection is a vital part of linguistic fieldwork. Nothing reveals more about the linguistic strategies employed by speakers to communicate than extended stretches of naturally-occurring speech in a language. Certain areas of grammar can never be fully understood without a corpus of texts of various genre. Discourse features such as word order variation, control of reference, and the pragmatic domain of voice, as well as semantic features of the aspectual system and the complex spatial-directional system in Northern Paiute cannot be fully appreciated without rich and varied text data.

These texts represent just a sample of those collected in the field. In them, the reader can explore the broader context for many of the constructions described in this grammar. All of the texts here are from a single speaker of the Burns dialect, what Nichols (1974) has represented as the central Oregon subdialect of Oregon Northern Paiute.

The speaker is Nepa Kennedy (NK), an excellent speaker and currently recognized in Burns as the best storyteller. She was born in 1918, shortly after the end of World War I in *waatihaga*, or juniper-draw--

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

an area to the north of the Burns Paiute Reservation. I include here four traditional tales, an excerpt from an autobiographical narrative, a procedural narrative, and a couple of short ethnographical texts.

Present at several of the recording sessions were Rena Beers (RB) and Justine Louie Brown (JB), both born in 1918. They, too, are excellent speakers and provided "native listener" support during the making of these recordings. These women are also the sources of much of the elicited data in this work.

Ruth Lewis provided many hours of invaluable assistance in the transcription and translation of the recordings represented here. Text-based elicitation was also conducted during the process, and so she, too, is a significant source of data that appears in this manuscript.

I present the texts in the manner indicated in section 9.3.5, that is, with subordinate-marked clauses indented along with certain of the paraphrased material.

## 10.1 Four Traditional Tales

The following four traditional narratives were told in one sitting by Nepa Kennedy at a monthly meeting of the Burns Paiute Elders Group on the Burns Paiute Reservation held on May 9, 1997. There were perhaps a dozen people present, including speakers, semi-speakers, and passive bilinguals. One of the latter, a woman in her early 50's, interpreted the stories in English after each was told.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 10.1.1 Porcupine and Coyote

"This is about , aa ," *u -ka -u tia?a tsagwidi* --"No!"--
DEM -OBL -U thusly porcupine

'This is about, ahh' . .There's that porcupine-- 'No!'

*hii kutsu uuni -?yu*
WH cow that.kind -NOM

This cow, that kind . .

*hauga kutsu uuni -?yu tia? ka?a*
somehow cow that.kind -NOM thusly KA(SR?)

Somehow there's this cow . .

*su= tsagwidi u -ka -u tia? nainapa huudi,*
NOM= porcupine DEM -OBL -OBL thusly across river

It's the Porcupine that's crossing the river,

*nainapa tsa- maŋi -kwi*
across IP/grasp- cross(.water) -FUT

wants to get across.

*huudi -tu tsa- maŋi -ki*
river -ALL IP/grasp- cross(.water) -APL

*ka= manaapa-tu su= dzagwidi = ga ni- mia -na*
OBL=across -ALL NOM=porcupine = MOD? IP/speech- go.SG -PTCP

to the other side the Porcupine asks to go.

*oono-su su=dzagwidi o-ba pidi-u ka= kutsu -pa*
at.that.time -ADV NOM= porcupine DEM -by arrive.DUR -PNC OBL= cow -by

At the time, the Porcupine arrived there by the Cow.

*su tibiŋa*
NOM ask

*ii =ha =sakwa nainapa i= tsa- maŋi -ki*
2 =Q =MOD across 1= IP/grasp- cross(.water) -APL

He asked, "Could you take me across?"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ni ka tiitsi -ʔyu -na tinai -ʔyu -na =sakwa*
1.SG KA small -ATTR -?? short -ATTR -?? =MOD

*patsa -ʔyu mii tiaʔa* <<laughter>>
kill.SG -ATTR? QUOT thusly

"I'm a small one, a short one and might drown," so said (he).

*su= yaisi kutsu yaisi miu*
NOM= then cow then QUOT

*uu =sakwa tui ni mii tiaʔ*
thusly =MOD try 1.SG QUOT thusly

So then the cow said, "OK, I'll try it."

*ni hanno =sakwa yaisi ii kati -čai mii tiaʔ*
1.SG where =MOD then 2 sit.SG -around QUOT thusly

"I, but where would you be sitting?" so (she) said.

*su= tsagwidi yaisi miu*
NOM= porcupine then QUOT

*kai =ha =sakwa ni i= mubi -kuba kati -čai mii tiaʔa*
NEG =Q =MOD 1.SG 2= nose -over/on.top sit.SG -around QUOT thusly

Then the Porcupine replied, "Couldn't I just sit on your nose?"

*su= yaisi su= kutsu čaisi miu*
NOM= then NOM= cow then QUOT

*kai ii =saʔa i= sidi -u -si*
NEG 2 =might 1= snort -PNC -SEQ

*wiʔi -u -dua mii tiaʔa*
fall -PNC -SUBJ QUOT thusly

And then the Cow said, "No, you might fall when I blow my nose!"

*yaisi tiwao su= tsagwidi -su*
then also NOM= porcupine *** -NOM

*kai =ha =sakwa ni i= naka -wai kati -čai mii* <aha>
NEG =Q =MOD 1.SG 2= ear -LOC sit.SG -DIR QUOT

Then again, the Porcupine, "Why don't I sit in your ear?" said.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*o -su yaisi miu*
3 -NOM then QUOT

*kai ii =sa?a i= tsogwinoa -si*
NEG 2 =might 1= shake.the.head -SEQ

*ii wi?i -u -dua mii tia?*
you fall -PNC -SUBJ QUOT thusly

*paa -wai -tu*
water -LOC -to

And she said, "No, you might fall when I shake my head," saying, "Into the water."

*oo na- na- kwaya -di mani -na*
so RE- MM- far.off -NMR do -PTCP

And so on (they were) doing . . .

*kai =ha =sakwa ni i= kwassi -wai o -ma mayua-kati mii*
NEG =Q =ought 1.SG 2= tail -LOC DEM -INST hold.onto-sit.SG QUOT

"How about if hold on by your tail?" saying,

*u -su tsagwidi mii tia?a*
3 -NOM porcupine QUOT thusly

that Porcupine said that.

*oono su= kutsu čaisi miu*
at.that.time NOM= cow then QUOT

*kai ii =sa?a i= kwassi wi- witso?i -u -si*
NEG 2 =might 1= tail DISTR- wag.swing -PNC -SEQ

*wi?i -u -dua mii tia?a*
fall -PNC -SUBJ QUOT thusly

And then the Cow said, "No, you might fall off when I wag my tail!"

*oo uu na- na- kwaya -di mii i?na?wi*
so thusly RE- MM- far.off -NMR QUOT say.DUR?

So on and on like that (they) were speaking.

*saa yaisi u -su tsagwidi su*
later then 3 -NOM porcupine NOM

*kai =ha =sakwa ni i= tsabo -[wa]i kati -čai mii tia?* <<laughing>>
NEG =Q =MOD 1.SG 2= butt -LOC sit.SG -DIR QUOT thusly

Later on, then, that Porcupine, "Couldn't I be sitting in your ass?" said.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo tia? yaisi u -su kutsu yadada*
so thusly then 3 -NOM cow eagerly.agreed

*kai sunami -na*
NEG think -PTCP

And so it was that the Cow eagerly accepted without thinking.

*oo čaisi su= tsagwidi u= tsabo -[wa]i kati -u -ga*
so then NOM= porcupine 3= butt -LOC sit.SG -PNC -TRNSL

So then the Porcupine went to sit in her ass.

*nainapa yaisi manj -u ka= paa -du manapa -tu* <mhm>
across then cross(.water) -PNC OBL= water -LOC across -to

(They) went across, through the water, across that.

*u= tsa- manj -ki -u ka= tsagwidi* <aha>
3= IP/grasp- cross(.water) -APL -PNC OBL= porcupine

(She) took him across, that Porcupine.

*oo mia kwatti*
DEM go.SG together.PL

They went together.

*yaisi manaapa yaisi tii piti -u -ga*
then across then ?? arrive-PNC -TRNSL

And so then (they) reached the other side.

*oo -tu čaisi u -su tsagwidi nadawinai -hu*
DEM -ALL then 3 -NOM porcupine jump -PNC

And there, that Porcupine jumped out.

*u -su pi- -kuba u kati -čai -na*
3 -NOM RESTR- -over/on.top DEM sit.SG -HAB -PTCP

The one he was riding,

*yaisi oo -tu patsa -u*
then DEM -ALL kill.SG -PNC

(Porcupine) killed there.

*su= tsagwidi u= patsa-u u-ka ti= mugu -ma* <mhm>
NOM= porcupine 3= kill.SG -PNC DEM -OBL POSS= quill -INST

The Porcupine killed her with his quills,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ka= ibi u= namahi -kwa[i] kati -na* <mhm>
OBL PROX.ILL 3= privates -LOC sit.SG -PTCP

by sitting in her privates.

*uu u= patsa tabi?a ka= kutsu*
thusly 3= kill.SG appear OBL= cow

That's how (he) killed her, that cow.

*oono yaisi su= tsagwidi yaisi manapa manai -si*
at.that.time then NOM= porcupine then across do -SEQ

And then once the Porcupine had gotten across,

*una -ti wihi wati -ga*
DEM -LOC knife look.for -TRNSL

(he) went looking for a knife over there,

*huu -tu uuni -tu -ti*
flow -ALL that.kind -ALL -LOC

by the river-- at that place (along the shore).

*oo tia?a*
so thusly

That's how it was.

*ni =sakwa tihani mii tia?a*
1.SG =MOD skin/butcher QUOT thusly

"I've gotta butcher (it)," thusly,

*mii tia?a sunami su= tsagwidi*
QUOT thusly think NOM= porcupine

so thought the Porcupine.

*oo yaisi huu -tu -ti pisa -u kaakwaba*
so then flow -ALL -LOC good -OBL sharp

So then along the riverbed, something good and sharp,

*uuni -ku himma tipi pisa kaakwaba wati*
that.kind -OBL what rock good sharp look.for

a nice, sharp rock (he) searched for.

*oo -tu puni -wini*
so -ALL look.for -CONT.SG

While looking along there,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*himma =sakwa ni ma?yi -u -si*
what =MOD 1.SG find -PNC-SEQ
"I have to find something

*u -ma tihani*
DEM -INST skin/butcher
to butcher with,"

*mii ini -si*
QUOT say -SEQ
(he) was saying,

*mana -kwa -na pa?a-nakwa*
DEM(known) -LOC -ABL water- side
when from out there alongside the water

*yaisi su= idza kima -u -ki -na* <mhm>
then NOM= coyote come -PNC -CISL -PTCP
came the Coyote,

*u -dami yaisi u -ba piti -u*
DEM -toward then DEM -by arrive.DUR -PNC
toward him, then beside him, (he) arrived.

*yaisi mii*
then QUOT
Then (Coyote) said,

*himma i wati -wini -nimi hauga mii tia?a*
what 2 look.for -CONT.SG -RNDM.SG somehow QUOT thusly
"What are you looking around for?" so said.

*kai yaa-ti ni si?a-wihi watti*
NEG here -LOC 1.SG skinning-knife look.for
"No,well, I'm looking around here for a skinning knife,"

*mii tia?a, su= hii tsagwidi*
QUOT thusly NOM= WH porcupine
so saying, that porcupine.

*u -su u -su idza yaisi u= timadzai -wini bi*
3 -NOM 3 -NOM coyote then 3= help -CONT.SG EMPH?
That one, that Coyote, he was helping him then,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*aha ni = sa?a timadzai yaa -tu puni -u -kwi mii tia?a*
yes 1.SG MOD help here -ALL see -PNC -FUT QUOT thusly
"Yes, I can help look around here," so saying.

*owi yaisi oo -ti wati -na*
there then DEM -LOC look.for -PTCP
So there (they) looked.

*yaisi sa?a ka ti- mayi-u*
then later KA APS- find-PNC
Then later (they) must have found something,

*yaisi tiwao ka= ti= pia ti- patsa -kwai -tu mi- mia -u, ka= kutsu* <mhm>
then also OBL= POSS= friend APS- kill.SG -LOC -ALL RE- go -PNC OBL= cow
and also went to where their friend was killed, the cow.

*u -ba yaisi pi- piti -u -gaa -si*
DEM -by then RE- arrive -PNC -TRNSL -SEQ
Having arrived beside it,

*yaisi u -su tiwao idza pii owi manai -čaa*
then 3 -NOM also coyote EMPH there do -TRNSL
that Coyote, *he* went and took over.

*yaisi miu ka= tsagwidi nitama*
then QUOT OBL= porcupine tell
Then (he) told the Porcupine,

*kai =ha =sakwa taa na- piti -ki -u mii tia?a*
NEG =Q =MOD 1.DL MM- arrive -APL -PNC QUOT thusly
"Why don't we have a contest?" so saying.

*a= kwaya -kwa ta wini -u - kati =sa?a*
4(obviat.)= far.off -LOC. 1.DL stand.SG -PNC - sit.SG =MOD
"(Whoever) jumps over the farthest can

*tihani -dua mii tia?a* <mhm>
skin/butcher -SUBJ QUOT thusly
do the butchering," so saying.

*oo -ti čaisi, su=, su= tsagwidi yaisi miu*
so -LOC then NOM= NOM= porcupine then QUOT
So then, the Porcupine said,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*aha ni =sa?a mohi- mia -u mii tia?a* <laughs>
yes 1.SG =might lead -go.SG -PNC QUOT thusly
"Alright, I'll go first," so saying.

*mohi -mia -u -si gya?a mo?o*
lead -go.SG -PNC -SEQ thusly? there?
Having led off,

*kwaya mia -u*
far.off go.SG -PNC
(he) went a long ways.

*tupunua -u -ga -si tiwao*
move.out.of.sight -PNC -TRNSL -SEQ also
Having moved nearly out of sight as well,

*saiyaaa tiwao ini -gima -u su= tsagwidi*
??? also say come -PNC NOM= porcupine
and then came along as fast as possible, the Porcupine.

*tu?i nadawinai -u -si*
try jump -PNC -SEQ
(He) tried to jump up,

*yaisi u -ma -ti -su sikwi tabi -u -dua* <laughter> <y'know> <mhm>
then 3 -against-LOC -ADV just bump -PNC -SUBJ
but just bumped against it,

*oo kutsu -ma -ti* <aha>
DEM cow -against -LOC
against the cow.

*tabi -u pinausu tii*
bump -PNC back.again ??
(He) bumped back again,

*tsipugi yaa*
bounce here
bounced this way,

*habi -u -piti*
lie.SG -PNC -INCH
and fell flat.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= idza?a yaisi pino?o uu ka--* <y'know, aa> *pisa tia?a* <he can>
NOM= coyote then also thusly KA be.good thusly

*misu tanohomani*
be.able run

As for the Coyote, he can run very well that way.

*ini ki?ma -u -si*
INT come -PNC -SEQ

(He) really came fast

*pino?o a= naga?a u -kuba -wai nadowinai -u*
also 4≠ LOC? 3 -over -LOC jump -PNC

and easily jumped over it,

*ka wo?woo?yu -si mii* <aha> <laughter>
KA whoop(imitative)-SEQ QUOT

having whooped like that.

*hayu ini -si gya*
how(in.what.way) say -SEQ thusly

That's how (he) was crying out,

*wo?woo?yu-si mii tia?a*
whoop(imitative)-SEQ QUOT thusly

"Woo Woooo", so saying,

*yaisi ka= kwaya -kwa tiwao tunuubau-ka*
then OBL= far.off -LOC. also land.on.all.fours-TRNSL

*u -kuba -wai mia -u,* <aha> *su= idza*
DEM -over/on.top -LOC go.SG -PNC NOM= coyote

And he went over it the farthest, landing on all fours, the Coyote.

*oo čaisi u -su idza pii owi -u tihani -kwi*
so then 3 -NOM coyote EMPH there -OBL skin/butcher -FUT

So then that one, the Coyote got to butcher (it).

*u -su yaisi tsagwidi oo kati*
3 -NOM then porcupine DEM sit.SG

*u= watsi -ki -u u -ka*
3= hide.SG -APL -PNC DEM -OBL

He then, Porcupine, lost it, that (meat),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ka kai u= mabi?a -na*
KA NEG 3= achieve -PTCP
because he couldn't make it.

*kai u -kuba -kwai nadakwinai -na*
NEG DEM -over/on.top -LOC jump -PTCP

*mii pina* <aha>
QUOT as.for

*mii tia?a* <laughter>
QUOT thusly

(He) didn't jump over it, it was said.

*oo uu ka= ti= ti- patsa -na*
so thusly OBL= POSS= APS- kill.SG -PTCP
So it was of his kill,

*u -su idza pii owi manai čaisi*
3 -NOM coyote EMPH there do then
that Coyote, *he* took it over then

*u -ma koggwi -u*
DEM -INST take.away -PNC
and took it away.

*yaisi u= tihani -si*
then 3= skin/butcher -SEQ
After (he) butchered it,

*yu?u u -mi pimisu nanimi makka*
this.way DEM -PL.NOM REFL-PRO relative give(food)
in this way, (he) gave (the meat) to feed his own relations,

*mii -na waha -di*
QUOT -PTCP tell(story) -NMR
is how it was told.

*oo čaisi oo?no toosapa*
so then at.that.time all.there.is
And so that's all there is.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ni u -ka -u uu* [laughing] [[Oh]]
1.SG DEM -OBL -PNC thusly
I'm done with it.

*o?o owi -ti* [That's the end of it, that]
DEM there -LOC
There it is.

### 10.1.2 Bear and Deer

*una -ku nobi -ga -?yu umi*
DEM -OBL house -have -ATTR they
Way out there somewhere, they had a camp,

> *su= tihiča piabi umi ti= tua -mi -no*
> NOM= deer female they POSS= child -PL -with
> the deer, the mother deer and her children.

*ka sa?a su= hii umi -ba pitti*
KA later NOM= WH they -home.of? arrive.DUR
Later on, that one arrived to where they were,

> *wida?a waha -u ti= tua -mi -no*
> bear two -OBL POSS= child -PL -COM
> brown bear and her two children.

> > *oo umi -ba pitti -si*
> > DEM they -home.of? arrive.DUR -SEQ
> > When they arrived,

*yaisi su= wida?a miu u= nitama u -ka tihiča piabi*
then NOM= bear QUOT 3= tell DEM -OBL deer female
the bear spoke to her, that mother deer,

*ka= múa awamoa =sakwa ta, una owi -ti -u tihona -ga mii*
OBL= tomorrow morning =MOD 1.DL DEM there -LOC -OBL dig.roots -TRNSL QUOT
"Tomorrow morning we should go out there to dig roots," she said.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo iwa -ʔyu su= uuni -ʔyu naʔa;*
DEM many -NOM NOM= that.kind -NOM grow
"There/s alot of that kind growing out there

*su= na- tihona -di mii u= nitama*
NOM= MM- dig.roots -NMR QUOT 3= tell
for the digging," she told her.

*su= yaisi tihiča piabi ničanada,*
NOM=then deer female speak.excitedly
Then the mother deer spoke up excitedly,

*ahaa uu ta mii inakwi*
yes thusly 1.DL thusly reply
"Yes, let/s do that!" she replied.

*múa awamoa yaisi yozi -si*
tomorrow morning then fly.PL -SEQ
So the next morning, once (they) got up,

*haoga yaisi umi miʔa*
somehow then they go.PL
they left.

*mi= tua -ki yaisi owi -su*
PL= child -ALBL then there -ADV
The children stayed behind.

*oʔo -no yaisi una -tu kwaya mia -si*
DEM -with then DEM -ALL far.off go.SG -SEQ
So then it was that they went far off,

*sogo - mia -si*
on.foot - go -SEQ
going on foot

*una -u yaisi uuni -kwai piti -ga na- tihona -di -kwai*
DEM -OBL then that.kind -LOC arrive -TRNSL MM- dig.roots -NMR -LOC
and arrived there at the root-digging place.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo tihona - kwatti*
DEM dig.roots - together.PL

They dug roots out there together.[1]

*yaisi owi -tu*
then there -ALL

*oo -tu yaisi ka u -su widaʔa piabi ka= tihiča piabi patsa*
DEM -ALL then KA 3 -NOM bear female OBL= deer female kill.SG

Then at that place, right there, the mother bear killed the mother deer.

*u= patsa*
3= kill.SG

Killed her.

*yaisi piisiʔmi čaisi koči -nami*
then alone then return -??

Then all alone she returned.

> *yoŋo -na oo mi= nobi -kwai -tu*
> evening -PTCP DEM PL= house -LOC -ALL
>
> It was evening when she got home.
>
> > *ha- uni -ku aapaga mi= nobi -ča -ku*
> > Q- that.kind -OBL unknown PL= house -have -OBL
> >
> > (Aside: 'I don't know what kind of house they had.')
>
> *yaisi mi= tihiča tua -mi yaisi mi= tibiŋa*
> then PL= deer child -PL then PL= ask
>
> Then those fawns questioned her;
>
> *mi= tibiŋa tiaʔa ti= pia tiaʔa*
> PL= ask thusly POSS= mother thusly
>
> they questioned her so, about their mother,

---

[1] There is a well known portion of the story here having to do with how Bear feigns chewing fleas at the Deer's neck to kill her.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*hanno u -su ni= pia mii*
where 3 -NOM 1.PL.EXCL= mother QUOT
"Where is she, our mother?" saying.

*oo yaisi u -su widaʔa piabi mii inakwi*
DEM then 3 -NOM bear female QUOT reply
So then that mother bear replied,

> *iwa su= hii iwa naʔa su= na- tihona -di una*
> many NOM= WH many grow NOM= MM- dig.roots -NMR DEM
> "There were so many roots growing out there

*mi= pia owi -su ti- yoŋo*
PL= mother there -ADV APS- evening
that your mother is staying overnight there."

*miʔi*
QUOT
So she said.

> *owi yoŋo -si*
> there evening -SEQ
> "She'll spend the night

*múa tiwao tihona -kwi* <mhm>
tomorrow again dig.roots -FUT
and tomorrow do some more digging."

*miʔi mi= nimoʔaka*
thusly PL= deceive
That's how she lied to them.

*umi yaisi u= toisupikya*
they then 3= believe
And they believed her.

*u= naka - supidakwatu*
3= listen - know/understand
Heeded what she said.

*uu tiaʔa*
thusly thusly
So it was.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*yaisi tiwau ni múa tiwau u -ba -tu -su*
then also 1.SG tomorrow also DEM -by -ALL -ADV

Then, also, she said, "I'll go back tomorrow

*tihona -ga -kwi mii tia?a*
dig.roots -PURP -FUT QUOT thusly

to where she is to dig roots, too," saying thus.

*oo mi= nimo?aka yaisi*
so PL= deceive then

That's how she lied to them--

*hannosupaga yaisi mia u -su mi=, mi= hii su= wida?a*
somewhere then go.SG 3 -NOM PL= PL= WH NOM= bear

(Aside: I don't know where she went, though, that brown bear)

*umi piisi?mi owi -?yu -na yaisi umi*
they alone there -ATTR -PTCP then they

They stayed there alone,

*umi yaisi tihiča tua -mi yaisi apiča*
they then deer child -PL then talk.PL

and they, those fawns, had a discussion.

*sida?*
bad

"It's bad.

*u -su ti= pia patsa -pi -wa?ni niima ta - pia mii tia?a*
3 -NOM 1.INCL= mother kill.SG -PFV -SIMIL feel 1.DL - mother QUOT thusly

It feels like she killed our mother," they said.

*oono kai pitti*
at.that.time NEG arrive.DUR

"At the time, she didn't return,

*u -su ta= nimoaka mii tia?a*
3 -NOM 1.DL= deceive QUOT thusly

that one was lying to us," (they) said.

*u= ni- supidakwatu tia?a*
3= with.speech- know/understand thusly

So they understood what had happened.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo yaisi umi, umi -u -tu ti- ni- hani -u -kwi*
so then they they -U -ALL APS- with.speech- do -PNC -FUT

*umi tihiča tua -mi*
they deer child -PL

Then they were scheming against them, those fawns.

*ta = sakwa umi -no na- kwii -di*
1.DL MOD they -with MM- smoke -NMR

"We should go with them to the smoke pit,"

*mii tia?a ka mi= wida?a tua -mi*
QUOT thusly KA PL= bear child -PL

so they said about those bear cubs.

*tammi =sa?a kwii tia?a -?yu -ka kwii tia?a -?yu ka*
1.PL.INCL = MOD asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL? asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL?

"We can 'Kwii tia'yuga! Kwii tia'yuga!'

*mii =sa?a tammi ini -gono -yai ini -wami*
QUOT MOD 1.PL.INCL say -CONT.PL -HAB say -CONT.DL

so we can cry out."

*oo =sa?a tammi mi= tsayiba -u*
so =MOD 1.PL.INCL PL= release -PNC

"By (crying out) like that, we can let them out."

> *mi= mamoakaa-na mii tia?a*
> PL= pretend -PTCP thusly thusly
>
> So they would pretend.

*oo yaisi, umi, uu tia?a umi -tu ti- ni- hani -u*
so then they thusly thusly they -ALL APS- with.speech- do -PNC

So then they schemed against them like that.

*umi ti- dikitsi?i -ku tia?a pino?o, mi= wida?a tua -mi pino?o mi= koi -kwi*
they RE- small.DIM -OBL thusly also PL= bear child -PL also PL= kill.PL -FUT

Those little things, those bear cubs, (they) will kill them

> *mi= ini -na*
> PL= say -PTCP
>
> when they cry out to them.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= yaisi, oo yaisi mi= tiikwi -si yaisi*
NOM= then so then PL= tell -SEQ then
So then, having told them,

*ka uu, yaisi mi= tihiča tua -mi yaisi miu*
KA thusly then PL= deer child -PL then QUOT
that/s how it was, and those fawns said,

*nimmi =saʔa mai muhi tsu-tsunua -u mii tiaʔa*
1.PL.EXCL =MOD DEM(known) first RE- enter -PNC QUOT thusly
"Let us go in there first," so said.

*oo =saʔa ka kwii tiaʔa -ʔyu -ka kwii tiaʔa -ʔyu ka*
so =MOD KA asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL? asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL?
"And when, 'Kwii tia'yuga! Kwii tia'yuga!'

*mii ni= inakwi =saʔa*
QUOT 1.PL= reply =MOD
we cry out,

*ni= tsayiba -u mii tiaʔa*
1.PL= release -PNC QUOT thusly
you let us out," they said.

*umi yaisi owi mi= tihiča tua -mi tsunua -kwati*
they then there PL= deer child -PL enter -together?
Then those fawns went in there together.

*oʔo yaisi miu ini -moʔo kwii tiaʔa -ʔyu -ka*
DEM then QUOT say -RNDM.PL asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL?
Then they cried out, "Kwii tia'yuga!

*kwii tiaʔa -ʔyu -ka mii tiaʔa*
asphyxiate thusly -ATTR-TRNSL? QUOT thusly
"Kwii tia'yuga!" like that.

*oo yaisi umi widaʔa tua -mi mi= tsayiba -u*
so then they bear child -PL PL= release -PNC
And so those bear cubs let them out.

*ka mi yaisi widaʔa tua -mi umi -u pinoʔo owi -su tsunua -kwi*
KA PL then bear child -PL they -OBL also DEM -ADV enter -FUT
And those bear cubs, too, were to enter into that place.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*umi yaisi kwii tia?a -?yu -ka*
they then asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL?

And then they, "Kwii tia'yuga!

*nimmi kwii tia?a -?yu -ka*
we asphyxiate thusly -ATTR -TRNSL?

*mii tu?i ini -si -paana kai*
QUOT try say -SEQ -PROH NEG

We're suffocating!" so they were trying to cry out.

*kai umi mi= tsačipa*
NEG they PL= release

But they didn't release them.

*uu mi pino?o mi= tsutinaka -u*
thusly PL also PL= treat.in.return -PNC

That was how they took revenge

*ka= ti= pia mi= patsa -kwai*
OBL= POSS= mother PL= kill.SG -LOC

for the killing of their mother.

*ka umi tua -mi, oo tihiča tua -mi* <mhm>
KA they child -PL DEM deer child -PL

Those children, those deer fawns,

*owi uu mi= ma??i*
DEM thusly PL= do/did

that's why they did that.

*kai mi= tsačipa*
NEG PL= release

Didn't release them.

*umi owi kwii - tia?a -?yu -su*
they there asphyxiate - thusly -ATTR -ADV

So they suffocated in there.

*oo yaisi umi ka= ti= nobi na?una -kwai*
so then they OBL= POSS= house around -LOC

So then they (went) round and round their house,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*iwa nada?yikwi* 'you know'
many make.tracks
making many tracks.

*ka= yuu mani -si*
OBL= PROX do -SEQ
Having done this,

*kwaya -kwai nadowinai*
far.off -LOC jump
they jumped far off.

*oono -su kai ta= na- puni -kwi mii*
at.that.time -ADV NEG 1.DL= MM- see -FUT QUOT
"Then she won't be able to track us," (they) said.

*u -su piti -u -si*
3 -NOM arrive -PNC -SEQ
When she arrived,

*ka= wida?a piabi -ma umi sia?i -na*
OBL=bear female -with(instr.) they be.afraid -PTCP
they were afraid of that mother bear.

*u -su ta -ka tiwao koi -kwi*
3 -NOM 1.DL -OBL also kill.PL -FUT
"She will kill us, too,

*ka piti -u -si mii tia?a*
KA arrive -PNC -SEQ QUOT thusly
when she arrives," so they said.

*mú?asu umi u= tua -mi koi -u*
already they 3= child -PL kill.PL -PNC
They had already killed her children.

*oo yaisi umi na?una -kwai iwa nada?yikwi*
so then they around -LOC many make.tracks
So then they made many tracks,

*kwinua mia -poto -ti umi tihiča tua -mi*
circle go.SG -to/fro -TNS they deer child -PL
going around in a circle, those fawns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo yaisi kwaya -kwai wini -u -ka*
so then far.off -LOC stand.SG -PNC -TRNSL
And then far off they jumped,

*oo?no u -su kai ta= na- puni -dua mii tia?*
at.that.time 3 -NOM NEG 1.DL= MM- see -SUBJ QUOT thusly
"Then she won/t notice us," so (they) said--

*su= pia?a u= pabi?i hiisapaga =su*
NOM= friend 3= elder.brother whatever =EMPH
(Aside: 'those friends, brothers, or whatever.')

*tihiča tua -mi kwaya -kwai nadowinai -hu -ga*
deer child -PL far.off -LOC jump -PNC -TRNSL
The fawns lept away.

*uu ma?nawi -si*
thusly do -SEQ
Having done so,

*su= pia?a su= pinagi uu nakwai*
NOM= friend NOM= younger.one thusly follow
the younger one followed after.

*saa?a yaisi, saa?a yaisi u -su wida? kimma*
later then later then 3 -NOM bear come
Later on then, that brown bear was coming.

*a= piabi una kima -na*
4= female DEM come -PTCP
The mother was coming out there

*yaisi miu ini- kima*
then QUOT say- come
and calling out.

*ha?o tia?a ka umi*
how(in.what.manner) thusly KA they
(Aside: 'How was it?')

*yadua -no?o*
talk.SG -PURP
Cussing around.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*hayu ini -nimi*
how(in.what.way) say -RNDM.SG
Somehow calling out.

*hauga umi pino?o una -u mi= tsi- kwami -ki -ti,* 'you know'
somehow they also DEM -OBL PL= IP/sharp- stand.DL -APL -TNS
Somehow, they had them (the cubs) all stretched out.

*mi= tsi- kwami -ki tia?a*
PL= IP/sharp- stand.DL -APL thusly
they had them stretched out--

> *ka mi= ti- ya?i -si--ča hau,*
> KA PL= APS- die.SG -SEQ -- it how(manner)
> Once they were dead--that it?--

> *mi= tsopigi-- ča ha?u tičii?i--*
> PL= head-- how(in.what.manner)
> their heads--however it was--

*mi= tihiča tua -mi mii tia?a tiwao*
PL= deer child -PL thusly thusly also
those fawns did that, (they) say also.

> *oo yaisi mi= pia una kima -na*
> so then PL= mother DEM come -PTCP
> Then their mother coming from way off

*u= punni*
3= see.DUR
saw that.

*miu ha?o mi= tabia mani -mo?o*
QUOT how PL= appear do -RNDM.PL
She said, "What are you guys doing?"

*ha?u mi mii ini- kima*
how PL QUOT say- come
"How are you?" she called out.

> *su= wida?a piabi mii bina ka mi= puni -si tia?a*
> NOM= bear female QUOT w.r.t. KA PL= see -SEQ thusly
> The mother bear said that upon seeing them.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*múʔasu mi= tihiča tua -mi kwaya manai -ča*
already PL= deer child -PL far.off do -TRNSL
Those fawns were already gone.

*su= widaʔa piabi yaisi oʔo piti -u*
NOM= bear female then DEM arrive -PNC
Then the mother bear arrived.

*yaisi pisa =ga haʔo mi= igwi načoda -u*
then good =MOD how(in.what.manner) PL= smell tracks? -OBL
Then she could really smell them,

*umi ti= tua -mi na- koi -si,*
they POSS= child -PL MM- kill.PL -SEQ
that her children were killed,

*u -ka naʔuna -di -kwai ǰa igwi načoda*
3 -OBL around -NMR -LOC thusly smell tracks?
and she could smell the tracks going round and round.

*yaisi ka mi= mia -pi -du*
then KA PL= go.SG -PFV -ALL
So, where they went,

*mia -u binoʔo,*
go.SG -PNC also
she went, too.

*su= widaʔa u -su tiaʔa uuni -ʔyu* <mhm>
NOM= bear 3 -NOM thusly that.kind -NOM
*mi= tiyoho -kaa*
PL= pursue -TRNSL
The bear, she took off after them.

*una ka yaisi miʔa, kwaya,*
DEM KA then go.PL far.off
Way off they went.

*yaisi ka paba huudi,*
then KA big river
Then there was a big river.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= paa hu?u*
NOM= water flow.DUR
The water was flowing

*mi= manapa -?yu yaisi, una u -su hii katti*
PL= across -ATTR then DEM 3 -NOM WH sit.SG
and they got across there where someone was sitting.

*udi -u kaupa -ga -?yu*
long -OBL leg -have -ATTR
He had long legs.

*u -ka -u mi= nimi ka, hayu ni?a wassa*
3 -OBL -U PL= person KA how(in.what.way) call/name sandhill.crane
(Aside: 'That's what the Indians call "wassa."

*udi -u kaupa -ga -?yu,*
tall -OBL leg -have -ATTR
He had long legs.

*u -su o?o katti*
3 -NOM DEM sit.SG
He sat over there.

*u -ba umi pi- piti -u*
DEM -by they RE- arrive -PNC
They got to where he was.

*su= wida?a tia?a u -ba piti -u mi= piabi,* 'not the little ones,'
NOM= bear thusly DEM -by arrive -PNC PL=female
The bear got there, the mother.

> *mú?asu tia?a mi= otu?ma*
> already thusly PL= over.there
> They were already over there;

*mú?asu u -su tsa- manji -ki -u*
already 3 -NOM IP/grasp- cross(.water) -APL -PNC
he already got (them) across;

*u -su wassa ka umi, mi= tihiča tua -mi,*
3 -NOM sandhill.crane KA they PL= deer child -PL
the sandhill crane got them; those fawns.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*múʔasu mi= manapa*
already PL= across

They're across already.

*oo yaisi u -su widaʔ piabi oo kima -u -ki -na,*
so then 3 -NOM bear female so come -PNC -CISL -PTCP

Then that mother bear came along.

*u -ba piti -u*
DEM -by arrive -PNC

She got there.

*ka= wassa -ba piti -u*
OBL= sandhill.crane -by arrive -PNC

She got to where the crane was.

*oʔo mi= nakwai kima pinoʔo* 'he know'
DEM PL= follow come also

She was coming after them.

*u= supidakwatu*
3= know/understand

(Crane) knew it.

*oʔo kima -u -gi -na*
DEM come -PNC -CISL -PTCP

(Bear) was coming along.

*yaisi miu tiaʔa haʔo ii tabia - kati*
then QUOT thusly how(manner) 2.SG appear sit.SG

Then she said, "Hey, what's with you![2]"

*i= mida -ki*
1.SG.OBJ= stretch -APL

"Stretch (your leg) out for me!"

---

[2] This is a kind of fixed expression. Bear is obviously angry, according to consultants.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*mii ǰa ini- kima,*
QUOT thusly say- come
so she was calling out;

*miu ini -ki tia?a su= wida?a piabi*
QUOT say -CISL thusly NOM= bear female
So, she called out, that mother bear.

*u -su yaisi pino?o, u= ia -na =ga*
3 -NOM then as.for 3= be.intimidated.by -PTCP =MOD
He was intimidated by her,

*su= wassa pino?o nainapa mida -u ti= kaupa*
NOM= sandhill.crane as.for across stretch -PNC POSS= leg
so the crane stretched his legs across.

*nainapa mo?asu posagi -du*
across already bridge -MAKE
Across there, he made a bridge.

*oo yaisi mi, u -su wida?a piabi o -tu kima -u*
so then PL 3 -NOM bear female DEM -ALL come -PNC
Then she, the mother bear, came across there.

*una nauma -kwai yaisi, oono wini - kwinai -si*
DEM midway -LOC then at.that.time stand.SG -aside -SEQ
Out in the middle then, (she) stopped,

*yaisi ti= tsida -ga gwii -u*
then POSS= cup -HAVE get -PNC
and got out her cup

*oono hibi -u -kwi -si nauma -kwai tia?a,*
at.that.time drink -PNC -FUT -SEQ midway -LOC thusly
to get a drink there in the middle,

*oo yaisi ti= tsida du paa hani -u -si*
so then POSS= cup also water do -PNC -SEQ
and then having gotten out her cup for water

*yaisi hibi -u*
then drink -PNC
(she) then drank.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo yaisi paa -wai -tu wi?i -u mi= haitsi* <laughter>
so then water -LOC -ALL fall -PNC PL= friend
And then into the water she fell, your friend.

*u -su ka ti= kaupa uu*
3 -NOM KA POSS= leg thusly
That one with his leg out like this,

*ka= tsida pu?miu u= wi- da?ni -u -si*
KA= cup against.it? 3= IP/long- tap.shake -PNC -SEQ
she (Bear) tapped the cup against it,

*u -su pino?o tobo?ni -u*
3 -NOM also double.up -PNC
and he (Crane) doubled up.

*su= posagi tobo?ni -u*
NOM= bridge double.up -PNC
The bridge doubled up.

*u -su yaisi, oono su= wida?a owi -tu wi?i -u*
3 -NOM then at.that.time NOM= bear there -ALL fall -PNC

*su= mi= pia sisi -si*
NOM= PL= mother ??-SEQ
That one then, at that time the bear fell, their mother.

*oo uu ka u= patsa - tabia*
so thusly KA 3= kill.SG - appear
It appears that's what killed her;

*u -su na- patsa - tabia;* <mhm>
3 -NOM MM- kill.SG - appear
she was killed, apparently.

*u -su pino?o uu u= sutinaga -u su= wassa* <aha>
3 -NOM also thusly 3= trick -PNC NOM= sandhill.crane
That one tricked her, that crane.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*aha, uu yaisi una yaisi umi,*
yes thusly then DEM then they

*mi= tihiča tua -mi pisa -kwai piti -gaa,*
PL= deer child -PL good -LOC arrive -TRNSL

Yes, and so it was they were out there, those fawns arrived at a better place.

*kaiba,*
mountain

The mountains.

> *kai* 'you know' *kadu?u hii tia?a sita -?yu mi= mazama -di*
> NEG gone WH thusly bad -NOM PL= bother -NMR
>
> Nothing, no more bad things to bother them out there,
>
> *una -u yaisi su= hii kodabi mii -di nia -na*
> DEM -U then NOM= WH manzanita QUOT -NMR call -PTCP
>
> just what's called "kodabi."
>
> *oo ka piza mi= tikasana*
> DEM KA good PL= food
>
> That's their favorite food.

*uuni -ku yaisi tika -čai -kwati una -?yu;*
that.kind -OBL then eat -HAB -together DEM -ATTR

They eat that stuff all the time out there.

*mi= tihiča tua -mi*
PL= deer child -PL

Those fawns.

*aha*
yes

Yes.

*oo owi -tu -kwai uu*
DEM there -ALL -LOC thusly

That's where it ends.

'That's how it ended.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 10.1.3 Nemechozinna

*nimičozinna uu tia?.*
Flying.Creature[3] like.that thus
'Nemechozinna' is like that.

*unaa tia? patikwa u -ma, patikwa, una -u.*
DEM thus island 3 -AD island DEM -U
(It) was out there on an island, an island out there.

> *u -ma -?yu -na ka= oo tui hanno mia -?yai -na,*
> DEM -AD -ABL -PTCP OBL DEM any where go.SG -HAB -PTCP
> From out on there, (it) goes around everywhere,

*su= paa na?unna -kwai, paa a= nauma -kwai su= patikwa, uuni -?yu.*
NOM= water around -LOC water 4= midway -LOC NOM= island that.kind -NOM
the water all around, in the middle of the water was the island, that kind.

*oo tia? uwi -ku nobi -čaa -na,*
so thus DEM -LOC house -have -PTCP
So it was, (it) lived right there,

*yaisi owi -u yodzi -u -ka -?yakwi, tui hau tui.*
then there -U fly.SG -PNC -TRNSL -HAB any- how(manner) -any
and (it) would fly off from there in every direction.

> *unaa tui himma watti -na,*
> DEM any- what look.for -PTCP
> (It) was out there looking for things,
>
> *ti= ti- da- kwihi -na,*
> POSS= APS- IP/feet- get -PTCP
> what (it) grabs (with its claws),

---

[3] Analysis: *nimi-yotsi-na* person-fly.SG-PTCP

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*pinau owi -ttu hanni -ʔyakwi.*
back.again there -ALL do -HAB
and brings back there.

*una waha -ʔyu nattua nobi -ča -ʔyu,*
DEM two -NOM father.and.son house -have -PRED/ATTR

*nimi, ti= naa -no ti= tua -no;*
person POSS= father -COM POSS= son -COM

Out there lived a father and son, Indians, a father with his son;

*umi -u, yoŋo -na ka= una -u umi sogo- mia -kai -moʔo,*
they -U evening -PTCP KA DEM -U they on.foot - go -around -RNDM.PL
and them, in the evening they were out there walking around,

*una mia -kwati.*
DEM go.SG -together
out there going together.

*simi -ʔyu umi -mati -u ka miu,*
one -NOM they -PART -U KA QUOT
One of them said,

*su= u= naa =ga hau,*
NOM= 3= father =MOD how(in.what.manner)
perhaps his father,

*inaa su= uuni -ʔyu nimičozinna kwakwaakwa -u -ki -ʔyakwi*
over.here NOM= that.kind -NOM Flying.Creature KWA-KWA-PNC -CISL -HAB
*kwihi miʔi.*
call.out QUOT
"Around here, that 'Nemechozinna' comes around calling out, 'Kwa kwaa kwa!'

*miu tiaʔ ka yaga -kkaŋa miu tiaʔ,*
QUOT thus KA cry.out -?? QUOT thus
"That's the way it cries out," so saying.

*miu ini -ki -tua, mii tiaʔ.*
QUOT say -CISL -SUBJ QUOT thus
"They say it comes making that noise."

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*yaisi oo tia? yaisi mi= sunami -kwa?ni -su,*
then so thus then PL= think SIMIL -ADV

*uu mannai.*
like.that do/act

Then it happened just as (they) thought.

*su= uuni -?yu kima -u -gi -na,*
NOM= that.kind -NOM come -PNC -CISL -PTCP

That thing came along,

*yaisi nami -ku mi= tattima -u -ka,oo owi -tu patikwa u -ma -tu, owi -u.*
then both -OBL PL= carry -PNC -TRNSL so DEM -ALL island 3 -AD -ALL DEM -U

and carried off both of them, out there to that island, right there.

*mi= wittimita -di -kwa?ni uu.*
PL= shut.in.PL -NMR SIMIL like.that

They were like captives.

*mú?asu nimi mogo?ni pino?o oi,*
already person woman as.for there

An Indian woman was already there,

*u= ti- da- kwihi -na, uu tia?.*
3= APS- IP/feet- get -PTCP like.that thus

(who) it had grabbed, so.

*kai tia?- uu- titiha sunami -na oi pino?o ka,*
NEG thus like.that RE- poor(ly) think -PTCP DEM as.for KA

Not so- like that- (she) was feeling sad about being there,

*hanno -ku -apaga na- ta- kwihi -na;*
where -ABL -some? MM- IP/feet- get -PTCP

from where ever (she) was taken.

*oo pino oi -ku, oo u- su wini -nimi -?yakwi su= paa kimai,*
so also DEM -OBL so 3- NOM stand.SG -RNDM.SG -HAB NOM= water beside

As for her, she was standing around beside the water,

*kai ha- uni -ku, kima -wa?ni -u*
NEG Q- that.kind -OBL come - SIMIL -U

with no way of crossing (coming off),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= paa udi -ʔyu -na naʔuna -kwai.*
NOM= water deep -PRED -PTCP around -LOC
since the water all around was deep.

*oo uusapa oi.*
so always there
That's why (she) is always there.

*oo yaisi, umi -u yaisi- umi oi -tu tattima -ka -si*
so then they-U then they there -ALL carry.off -TRNSL -SEQ
*ka= owi -u pattigwa -ma -tu u -ma -ti, umi -baa -tu,*
KA= DEM -U island -AD -ALL 3 -AD -ESS they -ILL -ALL
So then having been taken there, onto the island (where she was),

*oo ka pinoʔo umi nattua hanni*
so KA also they father.and.son do
so, too, the father and son were brought.

*umi pinoʔo oʔo.*
3.PL also DEM
They were out there, too.

*yaisi ka= nimi mokoʔni punni oono -ko.*
then OBL= person woman see DEM -OBL
Then (they) saw that Indian woman there.

*tiaʔ oo ti- ta- kwihi -nna,*
thus so APS- with.the.foot/feet- get -PTCP
As with (her) taking,

*owi -tu mi= tatima čaisi tiwao, imi pinoʔo*
there -ALL PL= carry then also they as.for
so, (it) carried them, too, they as well--

*miu tiaʔ innakwi,.*
QUOT thus reply
So they were wondering,

*haʔu = sakwa taa maiyu kia tabia mii tiaʔ*
how = MOD 1.DL there(known) -ABL escape appear QUOT thus
"How can we get away from here?" so saying.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*yaisi, oo yaisi, u- su simina ti= koi -kwi mii tia.*
then so then DEM -NOM maybe us.INCL= kill.PL -FUT QUOT thus
And so then, "That one might kill us," so saying.

*su= noo -ko ti= koi -kwi mii tia?.*
NOM= all -OBL us.INCL= kill.PL -FUT QUOT thus
"He'll kill us all," so saying.

*ha?u = sakwa taa u= sutiinaga mii tia?.*
how(manner) =MOD 1.DL 3= trick QUOT thus
"What should we do to get the best of it?" (they) were saying.

*ka= u -ka -u nimičozinna, uu tia?,*
KA 3 -OBL -U Flying.Creature like.that thus
*kassa -ga -?yu mi?i*
wing(s) -HAVE -PRED QUOT
That 'Nemechozinna' was like that, having wings, they say,

> *pappa -?yu =ga paba -u kassa -ga -?yu mii* <mhm>.
> big -PRED =MOD big -OBL wing(s) -HAVE -PRED QUOT
> must be big ones, (it) had big wings, they say.
>
> *aha, yaisi, umi yaisi, yaisi ka oo*
> yes then they then then KA so
> *ka= yuu mi= nimi ta- kwihi -?yai -na mi= pii -ma -wo,*
> KA this.way PL= person IP/feet- get -HAB -PTCP PL= blood -INST ?-??

Yes, then, then they, in this way, when it grabbed people for their blood--

*mi= pii hanni mi?i.*
PL= blood do QUOT
(It) took their blood, (they) say.

*u -ma -u ka kwitso?ai u- su,* <mhm> *mii tia?.*
3 -INST -U KA survive 3 -NOM QUOT thus
(It) survived on it, that one, so they say.

(Aside in English: 'Can, you know, sound like weird')

*tikwa?ni naanaka.* <mhm>
APS- SIMIL sound
. . sound like (it).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*u -ma kwitzo?ai ka oo yodzi -kya?i -nimi -?yakwi, mi?i.*
3 -INST survive KA so fly.SG -around -RNDM.SG -HAB QUOT
By living on that, it would fly all around, (they) say.

*oo yaisi, umi nattua yaisi miu,*
so then they father.and.son then QUOT
So then, the father and son said,

> *ha?u = sakwa taa u= sutinaga -si*
> how(manner) = MOD 1.DL 3= trick -SEQ

*u= patsa, mii tia?.*
3= kill.SG QUOT thus
"How should we fool it and kill it?" so saying.

> *yaisi o?o -ti =ga umi ti-- himma,*
> then DEM -ESS =MOD they ?--[4] what
>
> Then they must have been right there (looking) for something ,

*ka= tuupisa uuni -ku una -ku mayi, tuupisa tippi*
OBL= obsidian that.kind -OBL DEM -OBL find obsidian stone
and found that obsidian out there, obsidian stone.

*oono, aa mi= tuupisa, u -ka -u =ga mi= nattua, ka= u= mia -?yakwi*
and.then PL= obsidian 3-OBL-U =MOD PL= father.and.son KA 3= go.SG -HAB

> *mi= tattsigi -na*
> PL= chip/crumble -PTCP
>
> And, ahh, some obsidian, that's what the father and son must have chipped it when it (Nemechozinna) was gone.

> *ti-tikitsi?i u= tatsigi-na,*
> RE-small.DIM 3= chip/crumble -PTCP
>
> "Chip it into small pieces;

*pisa -u = sakwa taa ka?a, u= tikka -kwai -tu hanni mii tia?.*
good -OBL =MOD 1.DL KA 3= eat -LOC -ALL do/prepare QUOT thus
"Let's (do it) well, and put it into his eating-place," so (they were) saying.

---

[4] Started to say *tippi* 'stone.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*u= hibi -kwai -tu ka= uuni -ku*
3= drink -LOC -ALL OBL= that.kind -OBL that.kind -OBL

*[pii- nimmi,] uuni -ku tikka -kwai -tu tia?.*
(blood-- we) that.kind -OBL eat -LOC -ALL thus

"Where it drinks, that kind, where it eats like that."

*owi -tu ka u -ka -u, ti= ti- tatsiki -na.*
there -ALL KA DEM -OBL -OBL POSS.RFL= APS- chip/crumble -PTCP

*owi -tu hanni -kwi, pi -kwa?i, owi -tu*
there -ALL do -FUT 3(restric.)- -LOC there -ALL

That's where (they) were going to put those chippings, right in that place.

*su= yaisi ka u= piti -u -?yai -na =ga.*
NOM= then KA DEM -INCH -PNC -HAB -PTCP =MOD

Then when it arrived,

*hibi -piti -u -?yakwi mi?i*
drink -INCH -PNC -HAB QUOT

(it) would start to drink, (they) say.

*u -ka -u yaisi u -su =ga, hanni.*
3 -OBL -U then 3 -NOM =MOD do

And that's what it must have done.

*u -su, u= hibi -piti -?yai -na.*
3 -NOM 3= drink -INCH -HAB -PTCP

It started drinking it.

*yaisi ka= u -nno -kko, u -nno -pi mii tia?*
then OBL= 3 -COM -OBL 3 -COM -PFV QUOT thus

*umi uu ti- mmadabui -ki -si,*
they like.that APS- make/fix -APL -SEQ

Then of (from?) that, (they) say, since they fixed it up like that,

*yaisi u -ka -u hanni -si u -su,*
then 3 -OBL -U do/prepare -SEQ 3 -NOM

*su= nimičozina yaisi,*
NOM= Flying.Creature then

having done that, it, Nemechozinna then

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo ka u -mati iwa hibi -si ǰa,*
so KA 3 -PART much drink -SEQ thus
drank a lot from that,

*tu?i čozi -u -si ǰa*
try fly.PL -PNC -SEQ thus
tried flying off,

*oo -tu habi -u -piti mi?i.*
DEM -ALL lie.SG -PNC -INCH QUOT
and just dropped, (they) say.

*kai yotsi.*
NEG fly.SG
(It) couldn't fly.

*saa yaisi umi, miu tia?,*
later then 3.PL QUOT thus

*himma = sakwa taa, hanni -si*
what =MOD 1.DL do/prepare -SEQ
*kassa hanni -si,*
wing(s) do/prepare -SEQ
Later on they said, "We should do something having taken the wing,

*tammi sakki -du -si*
1.PL.INCL boat -make(VLR) -SEQ
*mai -yu mia, mi?i.*
DEM -ABL go.SG QUOT
"We'll make a boat and get out of here," (they) said.

*uuni -ku hani -kwi mii sakki.*
that.kind -OBL do -FUT QUOT boat
(Aside: (They're) going to make a boat (I'm) saying.)

*mi uu ka ha?usapa timasu mattai -si,*
PL like.that KA somehow(manner) ?from that? do/create -SEQ
So somehow that's what they created,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*yaisi ka u -ka -u, nimičozinna u -ka -u kassa noo -ko hani -si,*
then KA 3-OBL-U Flying.Creature 3-OBL-U wing(s) all -OBL do -SEQ

*ka= pooti hani -si*
OBL= boat do -SEQ

and then, having taken the wings of Nemechozinna, and made a boat,

*su yaisi, ka= hikwa uu,*
NOM= then OBL= wind like.that

*hikwa ka mi uu wi- mia -ki -kwi, uu.*
wind KA PL like.that IP/long- go.SG -APL -FUT like.that

then the wind would blow just so and make it go, like that.

*mi= sakki -du -si*
PL= boat -make(VLR) -SEQ

*oi ka umi ka= moko?ni noo ka tiwao,*
there KA 3.PL OBL= woman carry KA also

Their having made a boat, they took the woman with them,

*oi -?yu kia tia?.*
there -ABL escape thus

and that's how they escaped.

*oo -tu patsa u -ka, ka= nimičozinna mii tia?.*
DEM -ALL kill.SG 3 -OBL OBL= Flying.Creature QUOT thus

They killed it there, the Nemechozinna (they) say.

*oo oi -tu -kwai tiwao.*
so there -ALL -LOC also

That's the last part (of the story).

*uusapa pinau una ti= na- nimi -ba umi pitti -ga.*
always back.again DEM POSS= MM- relative -by they arrive -TRNSL

Once again, they went back to their tribes.

*mi?i.*
QUOT

So (they) say.

'That's the end of it!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## 10.1.4 Nemedzoho

*waha-ʔyu tiaʔ ka mo- mmokoʔni,tihona -ga.*
two -NOM thus KA PL- woman dig.roots -TRNSL

There were two women out root-digging.

*simi -ʔyu =ga, hii -ʔyu tui [i-]ča mo- mmokoʔni tihona -ga,*
one -NOM =MOD? several -NOM any (PROX)-OBL RE- woman dig.roots -TRNSL

*mi= nimi mo- mmokoʔni*
PL= person RE- woman

One of (them)--several women were out root-digging, Indian women.

*simi -ʔyu =ga tiitsi -ku oŋaʔa -ga -ʔyu,*
one -NOM =MOD? small -OBL newborn -HAVE -PRED

One of them had a little newborn baby,

*na- tuta -di ka hau tičiʔi*
MM- put.in.cradleboard -NMR KA how(manner) some.way

*ha- uni -ku -apaga, miu.*
Q- that.kind -OBL -some? QUOT

that was in a cradleboard, something like that,[5] I guess (they) say.

*una -ʔyu =ga tihona.*
DEM -PRED =MOD dig.roots

(They) must have been way out there root-digging.

*u -su yaisi hii nimidzoho yaisi mi= hoa -u,*
3 -NOM then WH People.Masher[6] then PL= spot -PNC

It was then that thing, Nemedzoho, spotted them,

*mi= mayi -u, una -u.*
PL= find -PNC DEM -U

and found them out there.

---

[5] The speaker occasionally used the expression *hau tičiʔi* to acknowledge other versions of the story.
[6] Analysis: *nimi-tsoho* person-mash/crush. Some speakers add the nominalizing suffix {di}.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*umi yaisi ka tiitsi -ku una -u ka mattokwi -na,*
they then KA small -OBL DEM -OBL KA lean.against -PTCP

*u -su moko?ni u= pia.*
3 -NOM woman 3= mother

Then they, (she) leaned that little one out there against something, that woman, it's mother.

*oono yaisi ka= tiitsi -ku u -ka -u, u= patsa -si*
at.that.time then OBL= small -OBL DEM -OBL -U 3= kill.SG -SEQ

*u= tikka mi?i su nimitzoho.*
3= eat QUOT NOM= People.Masher

And then, that little one, having killed it, ate it, (they) say, the Nemedzoho.

*yaisi, yaisi umi u= supidakwatu tia?.*
then then they 3= understand thus

Then, and so they knew about that.

*umi, yaisi una -?yu =ga sikwi -apaga*
they then DEM -PRED =MOD? just -some

*oha?a yaga -čakwi mi?i, su= nimidzoho.*
baby cry -HAB QUOT NOM= People.Masher

They (did), and (he) was out there (somehow) pretending to cry like a baby, that Nemedzoho,

*oo mi= pahi -na tia?,*
so PL= coax/beckon -PTCP thus

to get them to come

*ka mi na- mmata mi= mo- mmoko?ni oo tihonadi,*
KA PL DL- LOC PL= RE- woman DEM dig.roots -NMR

to where (it) was, those women who were out there digging,

*na- -ma -tu -ti na- -ma -ti kimma -u.*
DL- -AD -ALL -ESS DL- -AD -ESS come -PNC

to there, right there (where it was) come.

*ka= oha?a yakka mii tia? sumayu -si,*
OBL= baby cry QUOT thus believe -SEQ

by thinking the baby is crying;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ka mii tia? ti- ssu- ?yikwi -na,*
KA QUOT thus APS- IP/mind- do/consider -PTCP

*u -su tia? uuni -?yu tia?.*
3 -NOM thus that.kind -NOM thus

that's how (it) was figuring; it was like that.

*oo yaisi, umi nammapitikwa,*
so then they flee

Then they fled,

*u= suppittakkwattu -si pino? u -su--,*
3= know/understand -SEQ also 3 -NOM--

because they knew it was him,

*u= sukwaha?yu.*
3= be.unconvinced

and were unconvinced by it (the ruse).

*umi una ka-- tui hau -tu tui watsi - mia.*
they DEM KA-- any how(manner) -ALL any hide - go.SG

So they snuck away out there somewhere (in different directions).

*simi -?yu =ga yaisi nimi moko?ni, oo su= u= pia u -ga--,*
one -NOM ??of then person woman so NOM= 3= mother 3 -GEN

One of them, an Indian woman, it's mother,

*oha?a pia, hau -tu -sapaga pino?o,*
baby mother how(manner) -ALL -some? as.for

the baby's mother, she (went) *some*where,

*kai umi ti= pi- bia?a -no mia -na,*
NEG they POSS= RE- friend -COM go -PTCP

not going with her friends,

*sikwi -su pino?o nama- mia -u.*
just/only -ADV also DL?- go.SG -PNC

but instead ran off separately.

*una -tu yaisi mi?a, hannu -sapaga hannu tui.*
DEM -ALL then go.PL where -some? where any

Way out there, then, (she) went someplace, anywhere.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo?no -su nimitzoho yaisi, ka kai pi -ma -tu mi= gimma,*
at.that.time -ADV People.Masher then KA NEG RESTR -AD -ALL PL= come

And the Nemedzoho, to whom they didn't come(??),

*yaisi pino?o, yaisi mi= ?igwi - nayota -u -kaa,*
then as.for then PL= scent - track -PNC -TRNSL?

*mii na- su- yikwi -na.*
QUOT MM- think.on -PTCP

as for It, "(I) should track them by scent," figured.

*yaisi ka u -ka nimi, [ka pi- mi] ka= u= pia[bi] tia?, u -ka -u simi -u,*
then KA DEM -OBL person [??] OBL= 3= female thus 3 -OBL-U one -OBL

*u -ka -u nakwai -ča yaisi mia -u, su= nimidzoho, uu.*
3 -OBL-U follow -TRNSL then go.SG -PNC NOM= People.Masher like.that

Then it was, the Indian, the mother that was alone (it) followed after, that Nemedzoho, like so.

*tiyoho - mia uu.*
pursue - go.SG like.that

Pursuing like that..

*u -su yaisi sia?i uusapa.*
3 -NOM then be.afraid always

She stayed scared then.

*yaisi unaa, mia -na ga,*
then DEM go.SG -PTCP KA

And so way off (she) was going,

*yoŋo - mia,*
evening - go.SG

spending the night,

*mú?asu ti= ?yoŋo -wini.*
already POSS= evening -CONT.SG

it's being evening already.

*yaisi ka= una -u tippi -ča -kwai pitti -ga,*
then KA= DEM -U rock -HAVE -LOC arrive -TRNSL

Then (she) reached a rocky place,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*paba-- su= tippi higa?ni -pini, pisa.*
big NOM= rock be.open -PFV.STAT be.good
It was big-- and the rocks (had) a nice opening.

*natii?ya tabia -pini paba -?yu su= tippi tia?,*
steep(ly) appear -PFV.STAT big -NOM NOM= rock thus
*iwa -u tippi -ča -kwai.*
many -OBL rock -HAVE -LOC
It was steep-looking (a ledge), a big (place), rocky, a really rocky place.

*su= nimi moko?ni u -tuha -u ĭja.*
NOM= person woman 3 -under -U enter.down
The Indian woman crawled in under there.

*uwi -u watsi -kwi,*
DEM -U hide -FUT
"(I) will hide in there,"

*miu sunami -na,*
QUOT think -PTCP
so (she was) thinking,

*nii -- ka= tokaano,*
1.SG OBL= nighttime
"I-- nighttime-,"

*u -su sia?i pino?o.*
3 -NOM be.afraid as.for
She was afraid!

*u -tuha -?yu -na yaisi,*
3 -under -PRED -PTCP then
*u -tuha -?yu -na yaisi pino?o,*
3 -under -PRED -PTCP then also
*oo tia? sia?ina oi -?yu,*
so thus be.afraid -PTCP there -PRED
Being under there, being under there, as for her, (she) was afraid in there,

*oi -?yu yakka =ga,*
there -PRED cry =MOD
in there crying, probably,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*u -su u -ma sia?i -na.*
3 -NOM 3 -INST be.afraid -PTCP
since she was afraid of it.

*u -su, u -su ka ni -pa pitti -u -si,*
3 -NOM 3 -NOM KA 1.SG -by arrive -PNC -SEQ
*i= matai?yu -si,*
1.SG= capture -SEQ
*simina i= patsa -kwi,*
maybe 1.SG= kill.SG -FUT
*mii tia? sunami -na.*
QUOT thus think -PTCP
"That one, after it reaches me and captures me will probably kill me," so (she was) thinking.

*oo čaisi nimitsoho?o, mú?asu yoŋo -na uu,*
so then People.Masher already evening -PTCP like.that
*ka= nimi mogo?ni ka= tipi -tuha -ku ?uu,*
OBL= person woman OBL= rock -under -OBL like.that
So then the Nemedzoho--it was already evening, and the Indian woman was under the rocks--

*u= ?igwi -načoda -piti -gaa -si oo u -ba,*
3= smell -track -arrive -TRNSL -SEQ DEM DEM -by
having tracked her by scent there by her,

*uwi -u piti -u -ga.*
DEM -U arrive -PNC -TRNSL
(it) reached that place.

*su= yaisi sida sunammi,*
NOM= then bad think
She was worried,

*ka= obi -?yu -na u= supitakwatu pino? su= nimi moko?ni.*
OBL= DEM -PRED -PTCP 3= know/understand also NOM= person woman
because she knew it was out there, too, that Indian woman.

*oo yaisi, su= nimitsoho u= tu?i tsa- hani ti--,*
so then NOM= People.Masher try IP/grasp -do/prepare rock--
And then the Nemedzoho tried to lift that--

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ka= tipi tu?i tsa- hani.*
OBL= rock try IP/grasp- do/prepare
tried to lift that rock,

*tu?i tsa- higa?ni -čakwi.*
try IP/grasp- be.open -HAB
kept trying to pry it open.

*uu tu?i čigwi -čai? -isi ǰa,*
like.that try do.with -HAB -SEQ thus
Having been doing that,

*ka= [k]waya?a sogo- kima -si,*
OBL= far.off on.foot come -SEQ
and having come a long ways on foot,

*su= nimitsoho?o pahona -yai -si,*
NOM= People.Masher be.tired -DEBIL -SEQ
the Nemedzoho grew tired,

*oo -tu -su innapa -u pino?o.*
DEM -ALL NOM= fall.asleep -PNC also
and just dropped off to sleep right there.

*uwi -u -ka?a =ga.*
sleep -PNC -TRNSL =MOD
Must have fallen fast asleep.

*oo?no -su nimi mogo?ni pino?o tokaano -ga,*
at.that.time -ADV person woman also nighttime -TRNSL
And then the Indian woman, when it got to be nighttime,

*ha?u = sakwa ni, u= kimai mia*
how(manner) = MOD I 3= by/beside go.SG
"How can I get by it?

*u -su simina i= ?igwi -u -kwi*
3 -NOM maybe 1.SG= smell -PNC -FUT
*mii tia? sunami.*
QUOT thus think
"It might smell me," so (she) thought.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*pino?o, oi -?yu tsibui -kwi mii ini -na,*
also DEM -PRED emerge -FUT QUOT say -PTCP
Also, (she) was saying that (she) would escape from there,

*uu = sakwa nii, su= kai i= ma?yi = sakwa*
like.that = MOD I NOM= NEG 1.SG= discover = MOD
*su= tokaano i= tsipugi -si mii tia?*
NOM= nighttime 1.SG= escape -SEQ QUOT thus
"So must I, it mustn't notice me, my having escaped at night," so thinking.

*oo yaisi u -su =ga, una -u ka hanno -sapaga tsibui,*
so then DEM -NOM =MOD DEM -OBL KA where -some? emerge
So then she must have escaped, somewhere;

*su= nimi moko?ni u= kimai mi?a obiiidaa mi?i.*
NOM= person woman 3= by/beside go.PL slowly QUOT
the Indian woman went by it verrryyyy slowly, it is said.

*su= uu habi -tapi,*
NOM= like.that lie.SG -keep.on
It kept lying there,

*?isododo -čakwi tia?.*
snore -HAB thus
snoring away like that.

*?iwiččа?a -pi,*
sleep .soundly -PFV
(It) was sound asleep,

*ka kai mani -si hau tiči?i,*
KA NEG do -SEQ how(manner) some.way
exhausted, somehow,

*ka= kwaya?a u= tiyoho -na.*
OBL= far.off 3= pursue -PTCP
from pursuing her such a long ways.

*oo čaisi su= nimi mogo?ni oi -?yu tsibui -si,*
so then NOM= person woman there -PRED emerge -SEQ
So, the Indian woman escaped from there,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*unaaa hanno -sapaga mia.*
DEM where -some? go.SG
and went off somewhere.

*uu tsibui -tabia ka u -su, ka= nimitsoho.*
like.that emerge -appear KA 3 -NOM OBL= People.Masher
That's how she got away from him, that Nemedzoho.

*uu tia? oo?no -?yu u -su.*
like.that thus at.that.time -PRED 3 -NOM
That's the end of it.

*mi= ni- itiya?i -ki.*
PL= IP/speech- fall.asleep.PL -APL
(I) make you guys fall asleep!

## 10.2 Procedural Narrative: Chokecherries

The following narrative is part autobiographical--the narrator is recalling specific places, people, and events from her youth--and part procedural--she describes the storage and preparation of chokecherries, an important feature of the traditional Northern Paiute diet.

The text was recorded at the speaker's home on January 9, 1999 in the presence of the author--a non-speaker. No other native speakers were present. The total recording time was about fifteen minutes.

*uka-u nimmi, aa, toi?issapui,* --that's the name of it--
that-U we.EXCL, ah, chokecherries
'We('ll talk about) the chokecherries,

*uka-u mi= nimi ka= sa?a-su tsa-poka-kaa unaa*
that-U PL=people OBL=later-ADV IP/grasp-gather-TRNSL DEM
'That's what people go to pick later on,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*unaa ka= yibano, togi?i oo?no kwassi-nɔ?ɔ*
DEM OBL=fall correct at.that.time ripe-TEMP
'out there in the fall when (they're) ripe.

*nimmi [yaisi] una-tu mia-?yikwi. siibi-ku ti?ya?i-pi, mi=bia-no*
we [then] DEM-ALL go-HAB willow-LOC burn-PFV our=mother-COM
'Then we would go out there to 'Burnt Willows' with our mother,

*siibi-ku ti?ya?i-pi nimmi, mia-?yai-na,*
willow-LOC burn-PFV we.EXCL go-HAB-PTCP
to 'Burnt Willows' we would go,

*nimmi oi piti-ga-?yai-na*
we DEM arrive-TRNSL-HAB-PTCP
'we arrived there.

*obii kwaya?a nimi tugu-nakwa sogo-wo?yokaa.*
DEM afar we.EXCL uphill-SIDE on.foot-single.file
'Way up there, uphill, we walked single file,

*mi=mago hi-hima-na;*
our=bag RE-carry-PTCP
'carrying our bags,

*mi=himma nimmi aaa wogo?-- pahiba,*
our=things we.EXCL, ah, thick-- canvas
'our things--it was made of thick canvas,

*uuni-ku nimmi mago?o-kwai-tu tsapoka-kwi-s[i],*
that.kind-OBL we.EXCL bag-LOC-ALL gather-FUT-SEQ
'the bags into which we were to place what we picked,

*oo?no kai yabi sida manakwi*
at.that.time NEG hurry bad become
'(so that) it wouldn't spoil right away.

*nimmi na-na-nakwai mia-na.*
we RE-RECIP-follow go-PTCP
'We went one after another,

*mi=bia noo-?yu-na nii mi= hii*
our=mother all-NOM-PTCP I PL=WH
'our mother and everyone, I, those others,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*noo-ʔyu-n[a] i=hammaʔa, mi=naaʔatsi-noo-su*
all-NOM-PTCP 1=elder.sister PL=boys-COM-ADV
'everyone, my big sister and the boys,

*nimmi woʔyoga-dabiʔi,*
we single.file-keep.on.DUR
'we just kept on in single file.

*ka=himma kutsu pɔɔ-do nimmi mia-dapi.*
OBL=thing cow trail-along we go-keep.on
'Some way, we followed a cow trail,

> *mia-dabi-na mia-dabi-na unaa kwayaʔa,*
> go- keep.on-PTCP go- keep.on-PTCP DEM far
> 'just going and going wayyy out there;

*su=nadiʔya tabia-ʔpuni-su,*
NOM=tough appear-see-ADV
'It was pretty rugged-looking,

> *ka na-matsi-kwini-puni-na,*
> OBL=MM-slant-stand-see-PTCP
> 'and steep.

*su=, pi-kwai oo su=pisa-ʔyu toiʔisabui.*
NOM=RESTR-LOC DEM NOM=good-NOM chokecherries
"That's the place of the *good* chokecherries,"

> *miu mi=pia ini-na,*
> QUOT our=mother say-PTCP
> 'so our mother was saying,
>
> *owi-tu nimi mia-na.*
> DEM-ALL we.EXCL go-PTCP
> 'and to there we went.

*sisiʔmidi kai paʔa naʔʔa.*
some.of NEG high grow.DUR
'Some of them weren't growing so high,

*i-nna-nno* <aha>
PROX-DIR-COM? (gestures height)
'about like this.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo?no mi=to?isabui, sisi?midi pidami naa-na*
at.the.time PL=chokecherries some.of below grow-PTCP
'And some of them chokecherries were growing down low,

*iwa-u [no] pui-ča-?yu. . <aha>;*
many-OBL ? berries-HAVE-PRED
'and had lots of berries.

*iwa-u pui-čaa-na,*
many-OBL berries-HAVE-PTCP
'There were lots of berries,

*nimi iwa-- u=tima-na*
we.EXCL many-- 3=taste(take)-PTCP
'and we tried (them),

*pisa - kamma toissabui* --'Just right!'
good taste chokecherries
'and (they) were good-tasting cherries--Just right!

*togi?i-ku tia?a kamma*
right-OBL thus taste
'(They) tasted just right.

*oo tibizi pisa-?yu toi?isabui,*
"there indeed good-NOM chokecherries"
"Those are *really* good chokecherries!"

*miu [o]mi ini-kuha-?yakwi.*
so they say-INCEP-HAB
'they would start to say.

*kai inii mitso?mi kam-- mitsobi - kamm[a].*
not INT bitter tast-- bitter tasting
'Not too bitter tasting.

*nimmi oi piti-ga-s[i]*
we.EXCL DEM arrive-TRNSL-SEQ
'Having got there,

*nimi iwa nimi ti-dzapoka oi-?yu-[na];*
we.EXCL much we.EXCL APS-pick DEM-PRED(-PTCP)
'we picked a lot at that place.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*nɔɔ-ʔyu-[na] mi=pia-nɔ-su nimi ti-dzappoga*
all-NOM(-PTCP) our=motherCOM-ADV we.EXCL APS-pick
'Everyone, we picked along with our mother.

(new paragraph, picking finished)

*saa yaisi nimmi iwa nimi ti-dzapoka-si*
later then we.EXCL much we APS-pick-SEQ
'Later on we, having picked a lot,

*tiwa nimmi pinao-su tiwau nimmi kimma-dapi,*
also we.EXCL back-ADV also we.EXCL come.DUR-keep.on
'we came on back again.

*mi-- mi=ti-dzapoka-na*
us-- us=APS-pick-PTCP
'What we picked

*nimmi tza-- tzan-- , ni=hi-kwai-ku nimmi, oo tiaʔ nimmi tsa-čakwi-na*
we ??- ??[7]- our=WH-LOC-ESS we so thusly we IP/grasp-do-PTCP
'we carried in our whatchamacallit (bag) like so

*nimi tibɔ[pi]-- pinaʔo-su du [nimmi] kima-dapi*
we.EXCL downhill- back-ADV [we.EXCL] come-keep.on
'and we came on back down the hill.

*oo tiaʔ nimmi iwa ti-tzapoka-ʔyakwi*
so thusly we.EXCL much APS-pick-HAB
'We had always picked a lot.

*pitti-si nimmi yaisi tiwau*
arrive-SEQ we.EXCL then also
'Then, too, when we arrived,

*pitti-si du nimmi*
arrive-SEQ also we.EXCL
'after we arrived,

---

[7] Probably started to say {tsano} 'carry over the shoulder.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*u=woisa su= waha ka=huudi-kwai oo,*
3=wash NOM=two OBL=river-LOC DEM
'washed it twice there in the river.'

*nimmi waha ʔu=wo-kwoʔisa-s[i] ka- oka-- himma*
we.EXCL twice 3=RE-wash-SEQ KA- that- something
'Having twice washed it out, those things,

*ka= u-naga-kwai-ti nimmi himma, u=poʔa*
OBL= 3-among-LOC-ESS we.EXCL thing 3=bark
'whatever was in there, the bark,

*uka-u tiaʔ uuni-ku nimmi uka-u, pisaa,*
that-U so that.kind-OBL we.EXCL that-U, well,
'that's what we (did), thoroughly,

*ka= toisabui siʔmi u-su nimmi uka-u siʔmi, hani-na nimmi,*
OBL=chokecherries only 3-NOM we that-U only do-PTCP we
'until there was nothing but chokecherries, we were doing.

*saa tiwau nimi [a] nobi-kwai nimmi u=noo-pitti-si tiwau;*
later too we.EXCL [ah] home-LOC we.EXCL 3=carry-arrive-SEQ also
'Later, too, once we had brought it home,

*ka=mabii tiaʔ ooʔno-su,*
OBL=DEM.TOP so long.ago-ADV
*nimmi yaisi tiwau paba matta u-kuba-ku nimmi du u=tabatzi*
we.EXCL then also big metate 3-upon-ESS we.EXCL also 3=crush
'this way, at that time, we smashed them on a big metate.

*u=hani[-u],*
3=do(-PNC)
'(We) did that,

*u=tussu*
3=grind
'(and) ground it.

*oo tiaʔ miʔnaʔwi na-waaki-wini,*
and so long.time MM-work.on-CONT.SG
'It takes a long time working on (it),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*kai uu . . .*
not thus (dismissing gesture)
'not just like that! (slang)

*na-dus-- u=tussu ka=tipi-ma-ku*
ground-- 3=grind OBL=rock-AD-ESS
'It's ground-- (they) grind it on a stone.

*umi oo?no-su nimi uu tia? uu nimmi manakwi*
they long.ago-ADV we.EXCL thus so thus we.EXCL did
'As they (did) long ago, so we did.

(new paragraph, procedural narrative begins)

*yaisi tiwau, aaa, ii tiwau, uu yigwi-si*
then also ahh you also thus do-SEQ
'Then, too, once you have done so,

*yaisi tiwau, u=masikidu-kwi,*
then also 3=IP/hand.form-FUT
'then (you) will shape that (into patties);

*i=mai-ma [u=] massikidu-na tiwau aa*
2=hand-INST [3=] IP/hand.shape-PTCP also, ahh
'with your hands, make patties (of the crushed berries)

*ka=pisa ti=tabitiwa punni*
OBL=well POSS=sunshine see.DUR
'when the sun is shining nicely.

*ii paba-u-- pahiba una u=wi-ppada-si,*
you big-OBL canvas DEM 3=IP/long-spread-SEQ
'Once you have spread out a big canvas,

*u-kuba yaisi noo-ko mi=hanni*
3-SUPRA then all-OBL PL=do
'then place all of it/them on top,

*tiuna-na;*
place-PTCP
'putting (them, the patties) here and there.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= yaisi oo?no u-kuba-?yu passa-kwi;*
SU then at.the.time 3-SUPRA-ATTR dry-FUT
'So then (they) will dry on there;

*u-su ka, pisa ti=tabitiwa misu - passa-wini.*
3-NOM KA well POSS=sunshine be.able - dry-CONT.SG
'when it's nice and sunny, it dries readily.

(new paragraph, drying and storage)

*saa yaisi, tibizi saa ii mi?na?wi mani-ča-s[i]*
later then indeed later you long.time do-TRNSL-SEQ
'Later on, much later--you have to go and do (wait) for quite awhile,

*tu sunaga-na*
also calculate-PTCP
'and make a determination--

*ii tiwau tsam-- [u=]tsaminita*
you also turn- [3=](IP/grasp)turn.over.PL
'and then you flip them over,

*oo?no-su kai u=passa-nakwa-tu pino?o passa-kwi*
at.the.time-ADV NEG 3=dry-side-ALL as.well dry-FUT
'so then the side that's not dry will dry, too.

*uu uusapa nimi u=yigwi-na;*
thus always we.EXCL 3=do-PTCP
'that's what we always did;

*yaisi ka tibizi pisa ini u=passa-u-piti-ga-si;*
then KA indeed well INT 3=dry-PNC-INCH-TRNSL-SEQ
'and when it gets really good and dry,

*oo?no tu mi=pia bina pisa-u toha-mago-kwai tiwau, u=hanni;*
at.the.time also our=mother w.r.t. good-OBL white-bag-LOC also 3=do/put
'then, too, our mother would put it into a good, white bag.

*uuni-kwai noo-ko nimi u=hani-na tiwau*
that.kind-LOC all-OBL we.EXCL 3=do-PTCP also
'That's where we put all of that,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*unaa kai ini hauni-kwai yu?u tia? nimi u=tsakwini tiwau*
DEM NEG INT some.kind-LOC PROX thusly we.EXCL 3=(IP/grasp)hang also
and hang it up somewhere safe like this.'

(new paragraph, making pudding)

*oo čaisi ka=tommo čaisi ii ka=toi?sabui pitsabi-na,*
so then OBL=winter then you OBL=chokecherries want-PTCP
'Then during the winter, if you want chokecherries,

*ii uka-u ii hani-u-kwi.*
you that-U you do/prepare-PNC-FUT
'you can prepare them.

*u?itzi?i-su tiwau ii u=ssami-tiki*
before.yesterday-ADV also you 3=soak-put.SG
'A couple nights before, you put it in to soak,

*ka u-su ini ohopa ka passapi[na]*
KA 3-NOM INT hard KA dry-PFV(-PTCP)
'because it's very hard and dry.

*u=sami-ttigi[-si]*
3=soak-put.SG(-SEQ)
'Having soaked it,

*u-su yaisi oi-?yu wiboa-na*
3-NOM then DEM-ATTR separate-PTCP
'it then separates in there,

*[ka] yotsoga manakwi pino?.*
[KA] soft become as.well
'and softens as well.

*oo?no tiwau ii ka=hi-nnaga-kwai tiwau u=tzaana*
at.the.time also you OBL=WH-among-LOC also 3=pouring
'And then you pour it through something (straining material)

*sayadi-naga-kwai du tsaana*
cloth-among-LOC also pouring
'pouring it through a cloth (flour sack),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ka huba si?mi hanni*
OBL=juice only do.DUR
'leaving only the juice.

*uka-u yaisi tiwau ii ka=huba tiwau saana-kwai tiwau ii, u=hani-si*
that-U then also you OBL=juice also kettle-LOC also you 3=do-SEQ
'It's that, then, the juice you put in a kettle

*u=kuhani;*
3=cook
'to cook.

*toisu u=ittiti-wini*
still 3=hot-CONT.SG
'While it's still hot,

*tiwau ii ka=tikaba himmaga tu wi-kwitui-u-s[i],*
also you OBL=bread.flour whatever also IP/long-blend-PNC-SEQ
'you blend in the flour or whatever (corn starch),

*uuni-ku tiwau oi-tu u=hani-u-s[i]--*
that.kind-OBL also DEM-ALL 3=do-PNC-SEQ
'like so, putting that into it,

*u=tsa-kwitui-wini.*
3=stir-IP/grasp-CONT.SG
'continuing to stir it.

(new paragraph, last stage of preparation)

*[u-]su yaisi, oo uu kwassi-wini uu tia?*
(3-)NOM then so like ripe/ready-CONT.SG so thusly
'Then it is getting done (thickening) like that,

*o-- oo tia? u=sunaga-na*
li- like thusly 3=determine-PTCP
'so it is, (you) determine

*togi-ku u=mani-gya*
correct-OBL 3=become-TRNSL
'that it's just about right;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*tiwau ii aa oo u=wina-u-si tiwau*
also you ahh, so 3=set.aside-PNC-SEQ also
'and you set it aside

*kai tiwau čuhu u-mi?i hanni; uu.*
NEG also fat 3-LOC do/add.DUR thusly
but don't add fat to it.

*sisi?miti nimi uu pina čuhu u-mi?i hani*
some.of people thusly w.r.t. fat 3-LOC do/add
'Some people do that, add fat to it,

*nimi = bi kai.*
we.EXCL = MOD neg
'but not us.

(new paragraph, preparation complete)

*oo čaisi, mó?asu na-ma-makwi-u,*
so then already MM-RE-finish-PNC
'Then (it's) already done.

*kai inii mani-pin[a]*
NEG INT do-PFV.STAT
'It's not very difficult to do.

*oo yaisi ooo wina-na*
and then there set.aside-PTCP
'So then (you) set it aside,

*yaisi su-- saa?a u=?itzitzi-u-si*
then ?- later 3=cold-PNC-SEQ
'and later when it's cold,

*u=higa-ssi;*
3=cool-SEQ
'it having cooled off,

*yaisi tiwau oo?no tia? u-mati misu - tika*
then also at.the.time thusly 3-PART be.able - eat
'then (you) can go ahead and eat some.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ka=saa?a tika-na*
OBL=later eat-PTCP
'Later, when eating,

*ii tika-kuba-tuu*
you eat-SUPRA-ALL
'upon eating,

*ii [u=]sugana-u-si,*
you (3=)sweeten-PNC-SEQ
you can sweeten it,

*ka [u=] sagwani u=sugana-u-si . .*
KA (3=) barely 3=sweeten-PNC-SEQ
just lightly sweeten it,

*[u-]su u-no pişa kamma.*
(3-)NOM 3-COM good taste.DUR
and with that it tastes good.

*uu na-tika tabia.*
thusly MM-eat appear
That's how it is supposed to be eaten.

'That's the way they cook it, I'm telling!'

## 10.3 Boarding School Days

The following is an excerpt from a complex and lengthy (about 800 lines) autobiographical narrative. I include here the speaker's discussion of her initial experiences at a boarding school in Fort Bidwell, California. She relates both details of the trip from Burns, Oregon to Fort Bidwell, the strict, military discipline at the school, as well as the often cruel treatment at the hands of other, particularly older, students.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The text is interesting on several levels--both as a life story and as a historical document. It is a testimony to the difficulties encountered by native children sent far from their families and routines to experience institutionalized "assimilation." The narrator did not understand English on her arrival, but was immediately chastised for speaking the only language she knew--Northern Paiute.

Linguistically, perhaps the most striking point of interest is the relatively more frequent use of the applicative and other voice constructions (cf. section 8.2). I assume that this is, by and large, due to the fact that the most topical participants--the narrator and her fellow students--are low in the features typically associated with agentivity--features like volition and control.

The text was recorded in the speaker's home on January 9, 1999 in the presence of the author--a non-speaker. No other native speakers were present. The total recording time was about forty-five minutes.

*nimmi nimmi tia?a oo?no -su tiwau ka= nazikuudi mi= tinani*
we.EXCL we.EXCL thus at.that.time -NOM also OBL= school 1.PL= instruct
We, so once upon a time they told us to go to school;

*nimmi tiwau oo -tu yamoso -[wa]i -tu na- bibia -kwi,*
we.EXCL also DEM -ALL Ft.Bidwell -LOC -ALL MM- take -FUT
we would be taken out there to Ft. Bidwell.

*oono mi= mi= naanapia?a mi= naa miu mi= nitama*
at.that.time PL 1.PL.POSS= parents 1.PL.POSS= father QUOT 1.PL= tell
At that time it was our parents, our dad said to us,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*ini mia -si pisa?a,*
INT go.SG -SEQ be.good

*ti- naka -tua -si*
APS- listen -SUBJ -SEQ

*himma pisa supidakwatu -si,*
what good know/understand -SEQ

"Go ahead and go, learn as much as you can;

*ka na oo -tu nazikuudi ka ii su- mia -na,*
KA ?? DEM -ALL school KA 2.SG DESID- go.SG -PTCP

"go to school if you want to go."

*oo?no tui hannano ka?a, yuu kai himma mi= supidakwatu,*
at.that.time any when KA this.way NEG what 1.PL.OBJ= understand

"There'll be a time when, over here, what we don't understand,

*mi mi= yadua -ki -kwi -u mi?i,*
PL 1.PL.OBJ= talk -APL -FUT -PNC QUOT

you will interpret for us," said,

*mii mi= naa mi= nitama.*
QUOT 1.PL.POSS= father 1.PL.OBJ= tell

that's what our dad told us.

*yaisi oo?no nimmi ka= yamoso -[wa]i -tu na- bibia*
then at.that.time we.EXCL OBL= Ft.Bidwell -LOC -ALL MM- take

At that time then, we were taken to Fort Bidwell:

*hii -?yu -na mi= naatsi pino?o hii -?yu -na,*
several -NOM -PTCP PL= boy also several -NOM -PTCP

several boys as well, several,

*iwa -?yu -tui hii -?yu, nimmi pino?o si- sia?a*
many -NOM -any several -NOM we.EXCL also RE- girl

a bunch of us girls, too,

*mo- mmoko?ni pino?o, pino?o na- bibia*
RE- woman also also MM- take

women, too, were taken.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oono mi* 'Rosy' *owi,*
at.that.time PL R. there
At the time Rosy was there,

*yaisi su= i= hamma?a,* 'Emma'
then -NOM 1.SG.POSS= elder.sister E.
and my big sister Emma,

*yaisi tiwau ni, yaisi i= pia tiwau* 'Oodo' *padi u -su,*
then also 1.SG then 1.SG.POSS= friend also Otto daughter 3 -NOM
and also, I and my friend, too, Otto's daughter, she (was).

*oo?no -su nimmi owi -tu na- bibia -si,*
at.that.time -NOM we.EXCL there -ALL MM- take -SEQ
So then when we were taken there,

*yaisi su= oo -ti -u nana, owi -u, naboosi*
then NOM= DEM -ESS -U man DEM -U boss/leader
*ka= hii tiči?i uuni -?yu mi= no?o -tua*
OBL= WH some.way that.kind -NOM 1.PL.OBJ= carry -SUBJ
and a man from there, the boss,[8] whatever he is, that guy would haul us.

*mi= noo -tua -si mana*
1.PL.OBJ= carry -SUBJ -SEQ DEM(known)
Having taken us there

*nimmi na- noo -ga hauga nimmi una ka= paba huudi*
we.EXCL MM- carry -TRNSL somehow we.EXCL DEM OBL= big river
we, taken away somehow we got to a big river (or lake[9]) out there.

*una -u, una -?yu nimmi tsa- tabi- tika -ki -ti*
3 -OBL DEM -PRED we.EXCL IP/grasp- day- eat -APL -TNS
Out there, it was there we made our lunch

---

[8] Presumably the Schoolmaster.
[9] Lake Abert.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*himma kaakiza hi -no -ko,*
what crackers WH -COM -OBL

*sigupakwi uuni -ku wiwonita -u -si*
chub that.kind -OBL open.can.with.key -PNC -SEQ

of crackers with something, sardines, the kind (you) open from a can,

*uuni -ku mi= tsa- tika -ki -u*
that.kind -OBL 1.PL.OBJ= IP/grasp- eat -APL -PNC
that kind (they) let us eat.

*mi= tika -ki -u -si*
1.PL.OBJ= eat -APL -PNC -SEQ
Having allowed us to eat,

*nimmi tiwau mia -si*
we.EXCL again go.SG -SEQ
we went on again,

*na- noo -ga -si o?o ka= yamoso -tami,*
MM- carry -TRNSL -SEQ DEM OBL= Ft.Bidwell -toward
were carried on out there to Fort Bidwell.

*oo nimmi mia -na, obii* 'Lakeview' *kwayadi,*
DEM we.EXCL go.SG -PTCP in.there? L. beyond
There we were going, to the other side of Lakeview.

(Aside, in English: 'I don't know what they call it; but anyway, )

*oo tia?a o -tu nimmi mi?a.*
so thus DEM -ALL we.EXCL go.PL
So through there we went.

'Lakeview' *u= kwayadi ka= móa poo -di o -tu*
L. 3= beyond OBL= old road -NMR DEM -ALL
Lakeview, beyond that on the old road[10]

---

[10] Fandango Pass.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*nimmi obii wogo- naga -kwai tiboŋo*
we.EXCL in.there? tree(pine) through -LOC downhill
we (went) through there, downhill through the pine trees;

*u -su poo sita -ʔyu,*
3 -NOM road bad -PRED
The road was bad,

> *ini na- matsikwini -na,*
> INT MM- be.tipped.to.the.side -PTCP
> really tipped to one side.
>
> *simi u -su kaazi pi- -tu mia -na,*
> one 3 -NOM car RESTR- -ALL go.SG -PTCP
> Just one car (could) go on that,

*nimmi yaisi kai himma -- kai nimmi himma tapoigya*
we.EXCL then NEG what -- NEG we.EXCL what meet
and we didn't meet up with anything,

> *uusapa nimmi mia -ga -na*
> always/stay we.EXCL go.SG -TRNSL -PTCP
> *mia -na*
> go.SG -PTCP
> but just kept going and going.

*nimmi kwaya nimmi tiboŋo o -tu miʔa.*
we.EXCL far.off we.EXCL downhill DEM -ALL go.PL
We, a long ways downhill we went.

*yaisi owi -tu nimmi na- tsa- piti -ki -biti -ga ka= owi -u*
then there -ALL we.EXCL MM- IP/grasp- arrive -APL -INCH -TRNSL OBL= there -U
Then we arrived at the destination,

> *oo pi- -kwai uuni -ku nazikuudi ni= na- hani -kwai*
> DEM RESTR- -LOC that.kind -OBL school we.EXCL MM- do/prepare -LOC
> there at that place where we prepared for school,
>
> > *nimmi na- noo - pitti -ga -si*
> > we.EXCL MM- carry - arrive.DUR -TRNSL -SEQ
> > where we were carried off to.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo yaisi mina?a nimmi owi pitti -ga -si*
so then ?? we.EXCL there arrive.DUR -TRNSL -SEQ

So then when we arrived there

*nimmi na- na- ba- gia -tiŋi*
we.EXCL RE- MM- IP/water- give -tell.to

we were told to bathe.

*yaisi himma uuni -ku tia?a pi- -kwai ni= hani -kwi -na*
then what that.kind -OBL thus RESTR- -LOC 1.PL= do/wear -FUT -PTCP

*uuni -ku ni= himi -na*
that.kind -OBL 1.PL.POSS= give.PL -PTCP

Then we were given the things that we were to wear,

*u -su oi -tu naboosi moko?ni sa?a --*
3 -NOM there -ALL boss woman later --

After that (came) the school marm--

*piawabi moko?ni uuni -?yu kai pidi -nimi.*
older.woman woman that.kind -NOM NEG young -?person?

an older woman, not a young person.

*uuni -?yu una mi= izišaawi si- sia?a, u= tibuku?i*
that.kind -NOM DEM PL= Achomawi? PL- girl 3= get.best.of

Those that were over there, those Pitt River girls would get the best of her

*sisi?mi u -no na- koi -?yakwi tiwau*
sometimes 3-COM MM- kill.PL -HAB also

sometimes fighting with her even.

*uuni -?yu paana nimmi obi- ti na- na- ba- gia -tiŋi*
that.kind -NOM however we.EXCL DEM -ESS RE- MM- IP/water- give -tell.to

Anyway, we were told to bathe in there,

*obii pitami -?yu*
DEM - PROX below -PRED

downstairs in there (a basement).

*obi -u* 'shower,' *owi nimmi, na- na- ba- gia -tiŋi*
DEM -U shower there we.EXCL RE- MM- IP/water- give -tell.to

In the shower, there we were told to bathe.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*mi= ba-- mi= hii si- sia?a pa- ppaba -?yu si- sia?a,*
PL= bi(g)-- PL= WH PL- girl PL- big -NOM PL- girl
There were those girls, the big girls,

*umi obi mani -pini -na*
they DEM do -PFV.STAT -PTCP
they would be doing (things) there,

*mi= ni- sagwai?i -ki -?yakwi*
1.PL= IP/speech- be.angry -APL -HAB
being cruel to us,

*nimmi =bina ka= waha -?yu -na oodo padi -no*
we.EXCL =w.r.t. OBL= two -NOM -PTCP Otto daughter -COM
to *us*, the two (of us), (I) and Otto's daughter.

*nimmi, ni= himma tsa- hani -kwi -si*
we.EXCL 1.PL= what IP/grasp- do -FUT -SEQ
When we were taking off our things

*nimmi na- pa- gia -kwi -si*
we.EXCL MM- water- give -FUT -SEQ
and were about to bathe,

*yaisi u -su mi= oo aata -di hayu*
then 3 -NOM PL= DEM sit.PL -NMR somehow
then that one (of) those where sitting there somehow

*ni= nimai -?yakwi* "Talk English! Talk English!"
1.PL= tell -HAB " "
kept telling us, "Talk English! Talk English!"

*mii uusapa nimmi na- nimai -?yakwi*
QUOT always/stay we.EXCL MM- tell -HAB
thus continually we would be told.

*u -ka ni sikwi nakka ka =bi*
3 -OBL 1.SG just/only hear.DUR OBL =EMPH?
That's what I just heard (without understanding);

*ka= mi= nimi- yadua -na*
OBL= 1.PL= person- talk -PTCP
it was our Paiute language

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*kai naka- bidzabi -na mii,*
NEG hear- like -PTCP PL
they didn't want to hear,

*miu mi= nitama.*
PL QUOT 1.PL.OBJ= tell
so (they) told us.

*nimmi yaisi, kai nimmi hayu inakwi*
we.EXCL then NEG we.EXCL how(in.what.way) reply
We then, we didn't speak,

*nimmi kai tinima?yu -kaa,*
we.EXCL NEG quiet.down -SR?
but became silent, because

*nimmi mi= ni- sagwai?i -ki -ti.*
we.EXCL PL= IP/speech- be.angry -APL -TNS
they were cruel to us.

*oo čaisi uu nimmi ka= owi -?yu -na*
so then like.that we.EXCL OBL= there -PRED -PTCP
So that's how it was for us there.

*sa?a yaisi tiwau obi -u nimmi habi -no*
later then also DEM -U we.EXCL lie.SG -INSTR
Later on then we (went) there to our bed

*pi- -kwai ni= habi -kwi -na -tuu*
RESTR- -LOC 1.PL= lie.SG -FUT -PTCP -MAKE
to make up the place where we were to lie down.

*nimmi na- hani -tiŋa -si*
we.EXCL MM- do -tell.to -SEQ
After we were told to fix up (our beds),

*yaa -u habi -kwi--*
here -U lie.SG -FUT--
"That's where (you) will lie down--

*yaa umi habi -no mii nimmi na- nitama*
here you.PL lie.SG -INSTR QUOT we.EXCL MM- tell
"This is your bed," so we were told.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*himma uuni -ku izikwi ni= himi -na*
what that.kind -OBL blanket 1.PL.POSS= give.PL -PTCP
(They) gave us some kind of blanket

*noo -ku -su uuni -ku tia?a.*
all -OBL -NOM that.kind -OBL thus
and everything else;

*pi -kwai tsota?mipi uuni -ku mi= hanni -ki -ti.*
RESTR -LOC pillow that.kind -OBL 1.PL= do/get -APL -TNS
a pillow, that kind, they got for us.

*oo yaisi nimmi oo tia?a*
so then we.EXCL so thus
That's how it was for us then.

*oo čaisi owi -u,*
so then there -U
So then there (at that place)

*oo?no umi si?mi si- sia?a ka= yuu,.*
at.the.time they sometimes RE- girl OBL= this.way
then those girls (did) this sometimes,

*tokaano aapo tidiha -ga -?yai -na -kaa*
at.night apples steal -TRNSL -HAB -PTCP -SR?
would go out at night to steal apples.

*una -ti taibo tibiwa -wai -tu ka= aapɔ,*
there -ESS white.man homeplace -LOC -ALL OBL= apple
*supidakwatu -na hanno,*
know -PTCP where
(They) knew where (to go) for apples, on the white man's property,

*na- masia -na owi -tu,*
MM- plant -PTCP there -ALL
to an orchard.

*umi si- sia?a mi oso nanaanapi si- sia?a,*
they RE- girl PL ?? older RE- girl
The girls, the older girls,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*umi oo ka= himma tsota?mipi* 'pillow' *uuni -kwai,*
they so OBL= what pillow 'pillow' that.kind -LOC
They, something, a pillow, (placed) into that,

*ka= aapɔ ti= hanikwina -di*
OBL= apples POSS= pick -NMR
the apples that they picked,

*timaahimana mia -?yakwi.*
pillowcase go(do) -HAB
a pillowcase would go (and do).

*u -su i= hama nimi -no mia -?yakwi su=* 'Emma'
3 -NOM 1= elder.sister people -COM go -HAB NOM= Emma
She, my elder sister used to go with them, Emma.

*obii ka= hi -tu? mi= si- sia?a mia -?yakwi.*
through.there KA WH -ALL PL= RE- girl go -HAB
Through there somewhere, those girls would go;

'fire escape' *-ədu, u- kuba owi -u kadi -u -ka*
'fire escape' -ALL 3- SUPRA there -U sit -PNC -TRNSL
by way of the fire escape, on there, sitting

*obii pidami kadi -u -piti -ga -?yakwi.*
there below sit -PNC -INCH -TRNSL -HAB
and would slide down there.

*hii?yonadui uu ?manimoo?yakwi;*
few -PRED -ATTR -any thus become -RNDM -HAB
It was just a few of them who would go and do that;

*wadzi- ma?na?wi, tokaano*
hide- do.DUR nighttime
secretly doing at night.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= hii pino?o tikwihi una -u ka= pino?o, tokaano mia -ka?i -nimi -?yakwi,*
NOM= WH also cop[11] DEM -U OBL= also nighttime go -around -RNDM.SG -HAB
That one, too, a cop was out there at night walking around.

*wa?itsi nana pino?o,*
old.man man also
(He was) an old guy, too.

> *yaisi himma =bina, uuni -ku ti- ma- kwihi -na*
> then whatever that.kind -OBL APS- IP/hand- grab -PTCP
> Then whatever it was (he was) carrying,
>
> *mi= himma witsimo?o pi- mma na- kwiba -na*
> PL= what ball RESTR- INST MM- strike -PTCP
> something for hitting a ball with,

*uuniku, ti- ma- kwihi -na pino?o*
that.kind -OBL APS- IP/hand- grab -PTCP also
the kind (he) carried, too,

*kai adi na- ma- tikki himma uuni -ku,*
NEG gun MM- IP/hand- put.SG what that.kind -OBL
not wielding a gun or anything,

*u- ka -u, u- ma -u čaisi ka= hayu ka kai ii togi -ku*
3 -OBL -U 3- INST -U OBL= how KA NEG you correct -OBL
it was that with which, if you (did) something wrong,

*i= kwiba -kwi [ha?o ti či?i],*
2= strike -FUT (something like that)
(he) would hit you or something.

> *mii ǰa ti- su- ?yikwi -na,*
> say thus APS- IP/mind- do/act -PTCP
> so (he was) supposing.

---

[11] A verb form: *ti- kwihi* APS- grab (one that grabs)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*uuni -ku ti- ma- yakwi -na su= ti- woitsami -di ka= tokaano,*
that.kind -OBL APS- IP/hand- carry -PTCP NOM= watchman OBL= night
That's what he was carrying, that night watchman,

*obii ǰa nimi -ʔyakwi,*
there thus walk -HAB
out there as (he) walked around,

*paana kai mi= punni.*
but(/however) NEG PL= see.DUR
but without seeing them

*ka= mi= aapo titiha -gaa -di*
OBL= PL= apple steal -TRNSL -NMR
those who went out stealing apples.

*ni kai miʔa -ka kai--*
I NEG go -TRNSL NEG--
I never went, no--

*ni kai tiaʔa ni -ka naakwi*
I NEG thus I -OBL invite.to.accompany
Not me, since (they) didn't invite me.

*umi noo -ʔyo -na umi pa- paba -ʔyu siʔmi miʔa si- siʔa.*
they all -NOM -PTCP they big -NOM only go.PL RE- girl
All those big ones, only they went, the girls.

## 10.4 We Talked to that Bird

The short autobiographical story related here was told on April 1, 2000, also at the speaker's home in the presence of the author. It is rich in direct quote complements, sometimes doubly embedded, and other complex constructions.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*su= taibo tia? owi -ti -u ni- supidakwatu,*
NOM= white.person thus there -ESS -U IP/speech- know
This white guy wants to learn,

*ka= hudziba tiitsi hudziba,*
OBL= bird small bird
about that bird, a little bird,

*iizizi mii na- ni?a*
desert.sparrow? QUOT MM- call
"Eezizi" is what it's called.

> *pisa iwa -su nana?atazu tinikwihi -di hudziba tiitsi -?yu*
> good many -ADV different.PL sing -NMR bird small -NOM
> It's a beautiful singer, that little bird (knows lots of different songs).

*una -u ka mi= tihona una -?yu*
over.there -OBL KA 1.PL= dig.roots over.there -PRED
Out there when we're digging roots,

> *sawa -naga -?yu yaga -na*
> sagebrush through -PRED cry -PTCP

*naka -?yakwi*
hear -HAB
(we'd) hear (it) calling out there from among the sagebrush.

*umi yaisi i= pia miu*
they then 1.SG= mother
Then my mother said,

*u= yadui -čai*
QUOT 3.SG= talk.to -HAB
"Talk to it!

*oo saa?a u= naka -puni*
so later 3= listen -STAT
"Then listen to it,

*hayu saa?a ini -wini mi?i*
how later say -CONT.SG QUOT
"how (it) responds," (she) said.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*oo?no, hayu u -su i= pia tinikwihi,*
at.that.time how(in.what.way) 3 -NOM 2= mother sing
"Then, 'How does she, your mother sing?'

*mii u= tibiŋa*
QUOT 3= ask
"so, ask it.

*oono -su u= naka -puni*
at.that.time -NOM 3= listen -STAT
"And then listen to it.

*yaisi su= iizizi i -su pino?o atazu ini -wini*
then NOM= desert.sparrow? PROX -NOM also different say -CONT.SG
"Then 'Eezizi,' as for it, (it) will be saying something different.

> *yaisi tiwau kai tinimayu -si*
> then again NEG quiet.down -SEQ
> "Then when it quiets down again,
>
> *yaisi ii tiwau u= yadui -si tiwau*
> then you again 3= talk.to -SEQ again
> "then you talk to it again,"

*mii mi= nitama*
QUOT 1.PL= tell
(she) told us.

*hayu u -su i= hamma tinikwihi*
how(in.what.way) DEM -NOM 2= elder.sister sing
"'How does she, your big sister sing?'

*mii tibiŋa*
QUOT ask
" (you) ask,"

*mii =bina*
QUOT =w.r.t.
(she) said.

*ni yaisi miu =sapa ni ina?wi*
I then QUOT =might I say
Then it was my turn to speak.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*u= tibiŋa -čakwi,*
3.= ask -HAB
I would ask it

*ni yaisi u= naka -puni -ʔyakwi.*
I then 3= listen -STAT -HAB
then I would listen to it.

*yaisi atazu tiwau ini -wini su= hudziba tiitsi -ʔyu.*
then different again say -CONT.SG NOM= bird small -NOM
Then again it would say something different, that little bird.

*iizizi u -su uuni -ʔyu miu*
desert.sparrow? 3 -NOM that.kind -NOM QUOT
That 'Eezizi,' it was like that.

*yaisi tiwau ini -su u= yadui tiwau umi*
then again INT -ADV 3= talk.to again they?
Then (I) talked to it some more again.

*hayu u -su i= muʔa tinikwihi*
how(in.what.way) DEM -NOM 2.SG= maternal.grandmother sing
"How does she, your grandmother sing?"

*mii u= tibiŋa mii tiwau*
QUOT 3.SG= ask QUOT again
(I) asked it, also.

*ni tiaʔa miu*
I thus QUOT
I spoke thus.

*oo yaisi atazu tiwau su= hudziba tiwau ini -wini.*
so then different again NOM= bird again say -CONT.SG
And then again the bird was saying something different.

*uu maʔnaʔwi,*
thusly do
Thus it continues to do

> *ka ooʔno u= yadui -čai -di -kwaʔni tiaʔa.*
> KA at.that.time 3= talk.to -HAB -NMR -SIMIL thus
> as if (you're) talking to it.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

*hauga uuni -ʔyu mii tiaʔa.*
somehow that.kind -NOM QUOT so/thus
Somehow, it says that way.

*haʔu =sapa =ga umi -u u= supidakwatu -na*
how(in.what.manner) =might =MOD they -OBL 3.SG= know -PTCP
*tabia -na*
appear -PTCP
I don't know how they knew about it;

*miu ni= tiničui*
QUOT 1.PL= teach
that's they were teaching us.

*ooʔno nimmi ka= una -ʔyu -na*
at.that.time we.EXCL OBL= out.there -PRED -PTCP
At the time, when we were out there,

*u= yadui -čai -ʔyakwi*
3.SG= talk.to -HAB -HAB
(we) would talk to it.

*miu uu*
QUOT thus
That's how it was.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | 1st person proclitic (object or possessor) |
| 2 | 2nd person proclitic (object or possessor) |
| 3 | 3rd person proclitic (object or possessor) |
| 4 | 4th person (indefinite; (object or possessor)) |
| ABL | ablative (from) |
| AD | adessive (at, on, by) |
| ADJ | adjective |
| ADV | adverbial suffix |
| ALL | allative (to, at) |
| APL | applicative suffix |
| APS | antipassive prefix |
| ASP | aspect suffix |
| ATTR | attributive (characterized by) |
| AUX | auxiliary |
| C | consonant |
| CAUS | causative |
| CISL | cislocative (motion toward) |
| COM | comitative (with, accompanying) |
| COMPL | completive |
| CONT | continuative |
| DEF | definite |
| DEM | demonstrative (base or full form) |
| DESID | desiderative |
| DIR | directional suffix |
| DIST | distal |
| DISTR | distributive |
| DL | dual (inclusive) |
| DUR | durative |
| EMPH | emphatic |
| ESS | essive (at, on, in) |
| EXCL | exclusive (plural) |
| FUT | future |
| GEN | genitive case |
| HAB | habitual or repetitive |
| ILL | illative (to, into) |
| IMPFV | imperfective |
| IN | inessive (in, into) |
| INCEP | inceptive (begin to |
| INCH | inchoative (become, be about to do) |
| INCL | inclusive (plural) |
| INST | instrumental post-position |
| INSTR | instrument nominalizer |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| INT | intensifier |
| IP/xxxx | instrumental prefix/+gloss (abbreviated) |
| IRR | irrealis |
| JUSS | jussive (tell to do) |
| LOC | locative (post-positional affix) |
| MM | middle marker (reflexive, reciprocal, passive, middle) |
| MOD | modal clitic (second position) |
| N, NP | noun, noun phrase |
| NCM | noun class marker ("absolutive" suffix) |
| NEG | negative particle |
| NMR | subject nominalizer |
| NOM | nominative case (subject) marker |
| OBL | oblique case (non-nominative/accusative) marker |
| PART | partitive (some of, related to) |
| PFV | perfective |
| PL | plural |
| PNC | punctual (momentaneous) |
| POSS | possessive (reflexive) |
| PRED | predicative (usu. adjectival) |
| PROH | prohibitive |
| PROX | proximal |
| PTCP | participle (action nominalizer) |
| PURP | purposive |
| Q | question marker |
| QUOT | quotative particle |
| RE | reduplication (distributive V, plural N/ADJ, intensive ADV) |
| RECIP | reciprocal |
| REFL | reflexive/ reciprocal |
| REG | regionalis (in the place of) |
| REPET | repetitive |
| RESTR | restrictive pronoun (third person; also, emphatic) |
| RNDM | random motion (here and there) |
| SEQ | sequential |
| SG | singular |
| SIM | simultaneous |
| SIMIL | similative (as, like) |
| SPL | suppletive form |
| SR | switch reference marking |
| STAT | stative |
| SUB | subordinating; subessive (under, below) |
| SUBJ | subjunctive |
| SUPRA | supraessive (upon, over, above) |
| TEMP | temporal suffix |
| TNS | tense (generic tense) |
| TRNSL | translocative (motion away) |
| V | vowel, verb |
| VBR | verbalizer |
| WH | whatchamacallit (indefinite pronoun) |

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aikens, C. Melvin and Y. T. Witherspoon. 1986. 'Great Basin prehistory: linguistics, archeaology, and environment.' in Conde, Carol J. and Don D. Fowler, eds. *Anthropology of the Desert West: Essays in Honor of Jesse D. Jennings.* University of Utah Anthropological Papers 110: 7-20. University of Utah Press.

Aikens, C. Melvin. 1994. 'Adaptive strategies and environmental change in the Great Basin and its peripheries as determinants in the migrations of Numic-speaking peoples.' in Madsen and Rhode, eds. pp. 35-43.

Alsina, Alex and Sam Mchombo. 1990. 'Object asymmetries in Chichewa.' manuscript.

Anderson, John, Joy Anderson, and Ronald W. Langacker. 1976. 'Non-distinct subjects and objects in Northern Paiute.' *Revista de Letras* (Assis, Brazil). 18: 11-21.

Angulo, Jaime de and L. S. Freeland. 1929. 'Notes on the Northern Paiute of California.' *Journal de la Societé des Américanistes de Paris.* 21: 313-335.

Armagost, James L. and Wick R. Miller. 2000. 'Are voiceless vowels phonemic in Comanche?' in Casad and Willet, eds. pp. 57-82.

Armagost, James. 1985. 'Comanche ma-: Undistinguished Deictic, Narrative Obviative.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 51: 302-310.

Austin, Peter. 1997. 'Causatives and applicatives in Australian Aboriginal languages.' in Matsumura, Kazuto and Tooru Hayasi, eds. *The Dative and Related Phenomena.* Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo. pp. 165-225.

Barker, M. A. R. 1964. *Klamath Grammar. University of California Publications in Linguistics* 32. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Barrett, Samuel A. no date. Unpublished translations and other fieldnotes (Yuki, Northeastern Pomo, Wasco, Klamath Lake, Northern Paiute, Modoc). Envelope #400 in the Accession File at Lowie Museum of Anthropology.

Blake, Barry J. 1983. 'Structure and word order in Kalkatungu: the anatomy of a flat language.' *Australian Journal of Linguistics.* 3: 143-176.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Boas, Franz. 1917. Introduction to the *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 1: 1-8.

Booth, Curtis. 1979. 'Postpositions as verbs in Kawaiisu.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 45: 245-250.

Bresnan, Joan and Lioba Moshi. 1990. 'Object asymmetries in comparative Bantu syntax.' *Linguistic Inquiry.* 21: 147-185.

Bunte, Pamela. 1979. *Problems in Southern Paiute Syntax and Semantics.* Ph.D. dissertation. Indiana University.

Bunte, Pamela. 1986. 'Subordinate clauses in Southern Paiute.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 52: 275-300.

Bybee, Joan, John Haiman, and Sandra A. Thompson, eds. 1997. *Essays on Language Function and Language Type: Dedicated to T. Givón.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Campbell, Lyle. 1997. *American Indian Languages: the Historical Linguistics of Native America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Canonge, Elliott. 1957. 'Voiceless vowels in Comanche.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 23: 63-67.

Canonge, Elliott. 1958. *Comanche Texts.* University of Oklahoma Press and SIL publications.

Carlson, Robert and Doris Payne. 1989. 'Genitive classifiers.' in Carlson, Robert, et al, eds. *Proceedings of the Fourth Meeting of the Pacific Linguistics Conference.* Eugene: University of Oregon. pp. 87-119.

Casad, Eugene H. and Thomas L. Willet, eds. 2000. *Uto-Aztecan: Structural, Temporal, and Geographic Perspectives (papers in memory of Wick R. Miller by the Friends of Uto-Aztecan).* Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico: Universidad de Sonora.

Chafe, Wallace, and Johanna Nichols, eds. 1986. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology.* Ablex: Norwood, New Jersey.

Charney, Jean Ormsbee. 1993. *A Grammar of Comanche.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: an Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems.* Cambridge University Press.

Comrie, Bernard. 1982. 'Grammatical relations in Huichol.' in Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson, eds. *Studies in Transitivity, Syntax and Semantics, vol. 15.* New York: Academic Press. pp. 95-115.

Comrie, Bernard. 1985. *Tense.* Cambridge University Press.

Crapo, Richley H. 1970. 'The origin of the directional adverbs in Uto-Aztecan languages.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 36: 181-190.

Crapo, Richley H. 1976. *Big Smokey Valley Shoshoni.* Reno: Desert Institute Publications in the Social Sciences, no. 10.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations: the Cognitive Organization of Information.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Crum, Beverly and Jon Dayley. 1993. *Western Shoshoni Grammar.* Boise State University.

Darnell, Regna and Joel Sherzer. 1971. 'Areal linguistic studies in North America: a historical perspective.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 37: 20-28.

Dayley, Jon P. 1989. *Tümpisa (Panamint) Shoshone Grammar. University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 115.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

DeLancey, Scott. 1982. 'Aspect, transitivity, and viewpoint.' In, Hopper, Paul J., ed. *Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 167-183.

DeLancey, Scott. 1984. 'Notes on agentivity and causation.' *Studies in Language.* 8: 181-213.

DeLancey, Scott. 1986. 'Toward a history of Tai classifier systems.' in Craig, C., ed. *Noun classes and Categorization.* Typological Studies in Language, vol. 7. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 437-452.

DeLancey, Scott. 1996a. 'Argument structure of Klamath bipartite stems.' paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas. San Diego, CA.

DeLancey, Scott. 1996b. 'The bipartite stem belt: disentangling areal and genetic correspondences.' *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: Special Session.* Department of Linguistics: University of California, Berkeley.

DeLancey, Scott. 1997. 'Grammaticalization and the gradience of categories: relator nouns and postpositions in Tibetan and Burmese.' in Bybee, et al, eds. pp. 51-70.

DeLancey, Scott. 1999a. 'Lexical prefixes and the bipartite stem construction in Klamath.' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 69: 56-83.

DeLancey, Scott. 1999b. Relativization in Tibetan. in Yadava, Yogendra and Warren Glover, eds., *Studies in Nepalese Linguistics.* Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy. pp. 231-249

DeLancey, Scott. 2001. *Functional Syntax.* Lectures from the LSA Summer Institute, UC-Santa Barbara. webnotes.

Dixon, R. M. W. and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. 2000. *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity.* Cambridge University Press.

Dryer, Matthew. 1986. 'Primary objects, secondary objects and antidative.' *Language.* 62: 808-845

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

DuBois, John W. 1987. 'The discourse basis of ergativity.' *Language.* 63: 805-855.

Durie, Mark. 1997. 'Grammatical structures in verb serialization.' in Alsina, Bresnan and Sells, eds. *Complex Predicates.* Stanford: CSLI Publications. pp. 289-354.

Foley, William A. and Mike Olson. 1985. 'Clausehood and verb serialization.' in Nichols and Woodbury, eds. pp. 17-60.

Fowler, Catherine S. 1992. *In the Shadow of Fox Peak: an Ethnography of the Cattail-Eater Northern Paiute People of Stillwater Marsh.* U. S. Government Printing Office: Washington.

Fowler, Catherine S. 1995. 'Narrative style in Northern Paiute.' presented at the Friends of Uto-Aztecan conference in Salt Lake City, Utah. manuscript.

Fowler, Catherine S. and Abel, Harold. 2000. 'Northern Paiute prayer: some features of the genre.' in Casad and Willet, (eds). pp. 43-50.

Fowler, Catherine S. and Sven Liljeblad. 1986. 'Northern Paiute.' in d'Azevedo, Warren L., ed. *Handbook of American Indians vol. 11: Great Basin.* Smithsonian Institution. pp. 435-465.

Genetti, Carol. 1992. 'Semantic and grammatical categories of relative clause morphology in the languages of Nepal.' *Studies in Language.* 16: 405-427.

Gibbs, W. Wayt. 2002. 'Saving dying languages.' *Scientific American.* August, 2002. pp. 78-85.

Gildea, Spike. 1998. *On Reconstructing Grammar: Comparative Cariban Morphosyntax.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Givón, T. 1979. *On Understanding Grammar.* New York: Academic Press.

Givón, T. 1980a. *Ute Reference Grammar.* Ignacio, Colorado: Ute Press.

Givón, T. 1980b. 'The binding hierarchy and the typology of complements.' *Studies in Language.* 4: 333-377.

Givón, T. 1981. 'Typology and functional domains.' *Studies in Language.* 5: 2.

Givón, T. 1984. *Syntax: a Functional-Typological Introduction volume I.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, T. 1990. *Syntax: a Functional-Typological Introduction volume II.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, T. 1992. 'On interpreting text-distributional correlations: some methodological issues.' in Payne, ed. pp. 305-320.

Givón, T. 1995. *Functionalism and Grammar.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Givón, T. 2000. 'The grammaticalization of verbs to postpositions in Ute.' in Casad and Willet, eds. pp. 221-240.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Goldsmith, John. 1995. 'Phonological theory.' in Goldsmith, John, ed. *The Handbook of Phonological Theory.* Blackwell Publishers. pp. 1-23.

Goldsmith, John. 1997. 'The discrete and the continuous.' presented at the University of Oregon Department of Linguistics colloquium series. manuscript.

Goss, James A. 1970. 'Voiceless vowels (?) in Numic languages.' in Swanson, E. H. Jr., ed. *Languages and Cultures of Western North America: essays in honor of Sven S. Liljeblad.* Pocatello: Idaho State University Press. pp. 37-46.

Goss, James A. 1977. 'Linguistic tools for the Great Basin prehistorian.' in Fowler, Don D., ed. *Models and Great Basin Prehistory: a Symposium.* Desert Research Institute Publications in the Social Sciences. pp. 49-78.

Grayson, Donald K. 1993. *The Desert's Past.* Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Greenberg, Joseph. 1966. 'Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningul elements.' in Greenberg, J., ed. *Universals of Language.* Cambridge: MIT Press. pp. 73-113.

Hale, Kenneth L. 1983. 'Warlpiri and the grammar of non-configurational languages.' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.* 1: 5-47.

Heine, Bernd, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünnemeyer. 1991. *Grammaticalization: a Conceptual Framework.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hori, Hirofumi. 1998. 'Instrumental Prefixes in Skidegate Haida.' in Miyaoka, Osahito and Minoru Oshima, eds. *Languages of the North Pacific Rim.* Kyoto, Japan. pp. 33-46.

Iannucci, David. 1973. *Numic Historical Phonology.* Ph.D. dissertation. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University.

Ichihashi-Nakayama, Kumiko. 1996. 'The "applicative" in Hualapai: its functions and meanings.' *Cognitive Linguistics.* 7: 227-239.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr. 1966a. 'Washo linguistics studies.' in d'Azevedo, Warren L. et.al, eds. *Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964.* Reno: Desert Research Institute. pp. 113-136.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr. 1966b. 'Comments on Linguistics.' in d'Azevedo, Warren L. et.al, eds. *Current Status of Anthropological Research in the Great Basin: 1964.* Reno: Desert Research Institute. pp. 113-136.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Jacobsen, William H, Jr. 1967. 'Switch-reference in Hokan-Coahuiltecan.' in Hymes, Dell and William Bittle, eds. *Studies in Southwestern Etnolinguistics.* The Hague: Mouton. pp. 238-263.

Jacobsen, William H, Jr. 1980. 'Washo bipartite verb stems.' in Klar, K. et al, ed. *American Indian and Indoeuropean studies: Papers in honor of Madison S. Beeler.* The Hague: Mouton. pp. 85-99.

Jacobsen, William H, Jr. 1983. 'Typological and genetic notes on switch-reference systems in North American Indian languages.' in Haiman, John and Pamela Munro, eds. *Switch-Reference and Universal Grammar.* pp. 151-183.

Jacobsen, William H, Jr. 1985. 'The analog of the passive transformation in ergative-type languages.' in Nichols and Woodbury, eds. pp. 176-191.

Jelinek, Eloise. 1984. 'Empty categories, case and configurationality.' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory.* 2: 39-76.

Keeling, Richard. 1990. *A Guide to Early Field Recordings at the Lowie Museum of Anthropology.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Keenan, Edward. 1976. 'Towards a universal definition of "subject."' in Li, Charles, ed. *Subject and Topic.* New York: Academic Press. pp. 303-333.

Keenan, E., & B. Comrie . 1977. 'Noun phrase accessibility and Universal Grammar.' *Linguistic Inquiry.* 8: 63-99.

Kelly, Isabel T. 1932. 'Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute.' *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.* 31: 67-210.

Kelly, Isabel T. 1938. 'Northern Paiute tales.' *The Journal of American Folk-lore.* 51: 363-438.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The Middle Voice.* Typological Studies in Language, vol. 23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Krauss, Michael. 1992. 'The world's languages in crisis. *Language.* 68: 4-10.

Kroeber, A. L. 1907. 'Shoshonean dialects of California.' *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.* 4: 65-165. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kroeber, A. L. 1909. The Bannock and Shoshoni languages. *American Anthropologist.* 11: 266-269.

Lamb, Sidney M. 1958a. *Mono Grammar.* Ph.D. dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.

Lamb, Sydney. 1958b. 'Linguistic prehistory in the Great Basin.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 24: 95-100.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Langacker, R. W. 1976a. *Non-distinct arguments in Uto-Aztecan. University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 82.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Langacker, R.W. 1976b. 'A note on Uto-Aztecan consonant gradation.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 42: 374-379.

Langacker, R.W. 1977a. *Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar, vol. 1: An Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar.* Arlington, TX: SIL Publications.

Langacker, R.W. 1977b. 'The syntax of postpositions in Uto-Aztecan.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 43: 11-26.

Levin, Beth. 1993. *English Verb Classes and Alternations.* University of Chicago Press.

Li, Charles, ed. 1976. *Subject and Topic.* Academic Press: New York, NY.

Liljeblad, Sven. 1950. 'Bannack I: Phonemes.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 16: 126-131.

Liljeblad, Sven. no date. 'Grammatical Notes.' University of Nevada at Reno: Archives. manuscript.

Liljeblad, Sven. 1966. *Northern Paiute Manual: Grammatical Sketch of the Northern Dialects.* manuscript.

Loether, Christopher P. 1991. *Verbal Art among the Western Mono.* Ph.D. dissertation. Los Angeles: University of California.

Longacre, Robert. 1985. 'Sentences as combinations of clauses.' in Shopen, T., ed. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description III.* pp. 235-286.

Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics, volume 2.* Cambridge University Press.

Madsen, David B. and David Rhode, eds. 1994. *Across the West: Human Population Movement and the Expansion of the Numa.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Marsden, W.L. 1923. 'The Northern Paiute language of Oregon.' *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology: The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memorial Volume.* 20: 173-191.

Matisoff, James. 1972. 'Lahu nominalization, relativization, and genitivization.' in Kimball, J., ed. *Syntax and Semantics I.* New York: Seminar Press. pp. 237-257.

McDaniels, Todd. 1995. 'Perspective as a selectional criterion for demonstratives in Comanche narrative.' *Proceedings from the second Buffalo-Toronto Student Conference in Linguistics.* SUNY: Buffalo.

McLaughlin, John E. 1987. *A Phonology and Morphology of Panamint.* Ph.D. dissertation. University of Kansas.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

McLaughlin, John E. 1992. 'A counterintuitive solution in Central Numic phonology.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 58: 158-181.

Miller, Wick. 1967. Uto-Aztecan Cognate Sets. *University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 48.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Miller, Wick. 1972. *Newe Natekwinappeh: Shoshoni Stories and Dictionary.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Anthropological Papers, 94.

Miller, Wick R. 1980. 'Preaspirated consonants in Central Numic.' in Klar, K., ed. *American Indian and Indoeuropean studies: Papers in honor of Madison S. Beeler.* The Hague: Mouton. pp. 151-157.

Mithun, Marianne. 1984. 'On the evolution of noun incorporation.' *Language.* 60: 847-94.

Mithun, Marianne. 1989a. 'The incipient obsolescence of polysynthesis: Cayuga in Ontario and Oklahoma.' in Dorian, ed. pp. 243-258.

Mithun, Marianne. 1989b. 'The subtle significance of the locus of morphologization.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 55: 265-282.

Mithun, Marianne. 1992. 'Is basic word order universal?' in Payne, ed. pp. 15-61.

Mithun, Marianne. 1993a. 'Switch-reference: clause combining in Central Pomo.' *International Journal of American Linguistics.* 59: 119-136.

Mithun, Marianne. 1993b. 'Prosodic determinants of syntactic form: Central Pomo constituent order.' proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. pp. 86-96.

Mithun, Marianne. 1999. *The Languages of Native North America.* Cambridge University Press.

Mithun, Marianne. 2002. 'Linguistics in the face of language loss: What should be documented, for whom, and how?.' workshop presentation at the University of Oregon, Eugene. manuscript.

Mithun, Marianne and Wallace Chafe. 1999. "What are S, A, and O?" *Studies in Language.* 23: 569-596.

Munro, Pamela. 1977. 'Towards a reconstruction of Uto-Aztecan stress.' in Hyman, L., ed. *Studies in Stress and Accent.* Los Angeles: University of Southern California. pp. 303-326.

Natches, Gilbert. 1923. 'Northern Paiute verbs.' *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology: The Phoebe Apperson Hearst Memorial Volume.* 20: 243-259.

Nichols, Johanna. 1971. 'Diminutive consonant symbolism in Western North America.' *Language.* 47: 826-848.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nichols, Johanna and Anthony Woodbury, eds. 1985. *Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nichols, Michael J. P. 1971. 'Linguistic reconstruction of Proto-western Numic and its ethnographic implications.' in Great basin anthropological conference 1970: selected papers. Aikens, C. M. (ed.) Eugene: University of Oregon Press. 135-146.

Nichols, Michael J. P. 1974. *Northern Paiute Historical Grammar.* Ph.D. dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.

Nichols, Michael J.P. 1980. 'Renewal in Numic color systems.' *American Indian and Indoeuropean studies: Papers in honor of Madison S. Beeler.* ed. K. Klar et al., pp. 159-167. The Hague: Mouton.

Nichols, Michael J. P. 1981. 'Old California Uto-Aztecan.' in Schlichter, A., W. L. Chafe, and L. Hinton, eds. *Reports from the Survey of California and other Indian languages.* pp. 5-41.

Noonan, M. 1997. 'Versatile Nominalizations.' in Bybee et al, eds. pp. 373-394.

Norris, Evan J. 1986. *A Grammar Sketch and Comparative Study of Eastern Mono.* Ph.D. dissertation. San Diego: University of California.

Payne, Doris L., ed. 1992. *Pragmatics of Word Order Flexibility.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Poldevaart, Arie, for the Yerington Paiute Tribe. 1987. *Yerington Paiute Language Dictionary and Grammar (2 vols.).* Anchorage: Bilingual Education Series.

Press, Margaret L. 1974. *Chemehuevi: A Grammar and Lexicon. University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 92.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rood, David S. and Allan R. Taylor. 1996. 'Sketch of Lakhota, a Siouan language.' Smithsonian: *Handbook of American Indians vol. 17: Languages.* pp. 440-482

Sapir, Edward. 1916. 'Time perspective in aboriginal American culture: a study in method.' in *Memoir 90, Canada Dept. of Mines Geological Survey.* Anthropological Series. 13: 1-87.

Sapir, Edward. 1930. 'Southern Paiute: a Shoshonean language.' *American Academy of Arts and Sciences.* 65:1-296. [Reprinted in *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir X: Southern Paiute and Ute Linguistics and Ethnography,* ed. William Bright. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.]

Schachter, Paul. 1973. Focus and relativization. *Language.* 49: 19-45.

Sherzer, Joel and William A. Foley. 1971. 'Instrumental prefixes in Uto-Aztecan: a typological approach.' manuscript.

Sherzer, Joel. 1976. *An Areal-typological Study of the American Indian Languages North of Mexico.* Amsterdam: North Holland.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Shibatani, Masayoshi and Prashant Pardeshi. 2002. 'The Causative Continuum.' in Shibatani, ed. *The Grammar of Causation and Interpersonal Manipulation.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Shorris, Earl. 2000. 'The last word: Can the world's small languages be saved?' *Harper's Magazine.* August, 2000. pp. 35-43.

Snapp, A. and J. Anderson. 1982. 'Northern Paiute.' in Langacker, ed., *Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar, vol. 3: Uto-Aztecan Grammatical Sketches.* Dallas: SIL Publications. pp. 1-92.

Starosta, Stanley. 1985. 'Relator nouns as a source of case inflection.' in Acson and Leed, eds. *For Gordon Fairbanks.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii. pp. 111-133.

Steward, Julian. 1933. Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.* 33: 233-350.

Steward, Julian. 1938. *Great Basin Aboriginal Socio-Political Groups.* Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 120. Reprinted by University of Utah Press.

Talmy, Leonard. 1972. *Semantic Structures in English and Atsugewi.* Ph.D. dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.

Talmy, Leonard. 1983. 'How language structures space.' in Pick, H. and L. Acredolo, eds. *Spatial Orientation: Theory, Research, and Application.* New York: Plenum Press.

Talmy, Leonard. 1985. 'Lexicalization patterns.' in Shopen, T., ed. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description vol. III: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon.* Cambridge University Press. pp. 57-149.

Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics.* Cambridge: MIT Press.

Taylor, Walter W. 1961. 'Archaeology and language in western North America.' *American Antiquity.* 27: 71-81.

Thompson, Sandra A. and Robert E. Longacre. 1985. 'Adverbial clauses.' in Shopen, T., ed. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description vol. II: Complex Constructions.* Cambridge University Press. pp. 171-234.

Thornes, Tim. 1996. *Yahooskin-Northern Paiute Verb Morphology.* M.A. thesis. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Thornes, Tim. 1998a. 'Transitivity operators in Northern Paiute.' presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas. New York, New York.

Thornes, Tim. 1998b. 'Language and cultural contact in the northwestern Great Basin periphery.' manuscript.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Thornes, Tim. 1999. '"Secondary" verbs in Northern Paiute.' *Workshop on American Indian Languages: Santa Barbara Working Papers in Linguistics.* University of California: Santa Barbara.

Thornes, Tim. 2000a. 'Instrumental prefixes in Northern Paiute: a functional and typological perspective.' in Estrada and Aguilar, eds. *Quinto Encuentro Internactional de Lingüistica en el Noroeste: Memorias, vol.1.* Hermosillo, Sonora, Mexico. pp. 243-272.

Thornes, Tim. 2000b. 'On the Northern Paiute (Numic) applicative.' presented at the 39th Conference on American Indian Languages. San Francisco, California.

Tomlin, Russell, ed. 1987. *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse.* Typological Studies in Language, vol. 11. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Traugott, Elizabeth, and Bernd Heine, eds. 1991. *Approaches to Grammaticalization.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2 vols.

Underriner, Janne. 1996. *Non-Configurationality in Klamath.* M.A. thesis. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Underriner, Janne. 2002. *Intonation and Syntax in Klamath.* Ph.D. dissertation. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Waterman, Thomas Talbot. 1911. 'The phonetic elements of the Northern Paiute language.' *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.* 10: 13-44.

Weiser, Irwin and Tim Thornes. 1995. *Nimi yadua: Yahooskin Words and Phrases.* Chiloquin, OR: The Klamath Tribes.

Wheat, Margaret M. 1967. *Survival arts of the Primitive Paiutes.* Reno: University of Nevada Press.

Woodbury, Anthony. 2003. 'Documentary linguistics.' keynote address at the annual meeting of the Linguistics Society of America. Atlanta, Georgia.

Wright, S. and T Givón. 1987. 'The pragmatics of indefinite reference: quantified text-based studies.' *Studies in Language.* 11: 1.

Zigmond, Maurice L., Curtis G. Booth, and Pamela Munro. 1990. *Kawaiisu: A Grammar and Dictionary with Texts. University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 119.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.