

AN EXAMINATION AND REANALYSIS OF SELECT ‘PARTICLES’ IN PAHKA’ANIL

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ABSTRACT

The following work is a syntactic analysis of the ‘particle’ word class in the Pahka’anil (Tübatulabal) language, a Uto-Aztecan language that is being revitalized by the Pakanapul tribe of the Kern River Valley in California. This work is based on the documentation done by Charles Voegelin in the 1930s. In his *Tübatulabal Grammar*, Voegelin identifies three word classes: nouns, verbs, and particles. The particle word class is defined as everything that is not a noun and not a verb; this category is problematic because it unites words that are performing separate jobs in the language. This work aims to disambiguate this category through the examination and reanalysis of a random selection of words from the particle class based on their function and distribution in a collection of Pahka’anil texts. The examination of a portion of the particle word class found that these forms can be reanalyzed as noun phrases, noun and verb phrase modifiers, and quotative and evidential markers. This work demonstrates the need for further reanalysis of the ‘particle’ word class and contributes to the overall understanding of the Pahka’anil language.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used throughout this work follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al., 2015) as closely as possible. Some adaptations to the abbreviations have been made to conform to the International Journal of American Linguistics guidelines; these adaptations are based on reviewers' comments on Marean et al. (To appear).

1	first person	HAB	habitual
2	second person	IMM	immediate
3	third person	IMP	imperative
A	noun class A	INS	instrumental
ACC	accusative	IRR	irrealis
ACRS	across	JUSS	jussive
ACT	action in associated motion	LOC	locative
AG	agent-like argument	MOM	momentaneous
B	noun class B	NCM	noun class marker
BEN	benefactive	NEG	negative
CAUS	causative	NMLZ	nominalizer
COLL	collective	NOM	nominative
COME	towards deictic center	NREFL	non-reflexive
COMP	comparative	PASS	passive
COND	conditional	PAT	patient-like argument
CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	POSS	possessive
DIST	distal	QUOT	quotative
DS	different subject subordinator	REFL	reflexive
DU	dual	REL	relativizer
DUR	durative	REP	reportative
EXCL	exclusive	SG	singular
FUT	future	SS	same subject subordinator
GEN	genitive	SUPER	superlative
GO	leave deictic center	TEMP	temporary

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Pahka'anil is a Uto-Aztecan language of the Pakanapul tribe of southern California. Historically, the Pakanapul region lies in the Kern River Valley in the Southern Sierra Nevada Mountain range; it extends from Bakersfield through Lake Isabella to the northeast, continues north along both forks of the Kern River, and ends just north of Mount Whitney (see Figure 1.1). The tribe and language are more commonly known in the literature by the exonym Tübatulabal (ISO 639-3 tub), but the endonyms preferred by the leaders of the community are Pakanapul and Pahka'anil, respectively.

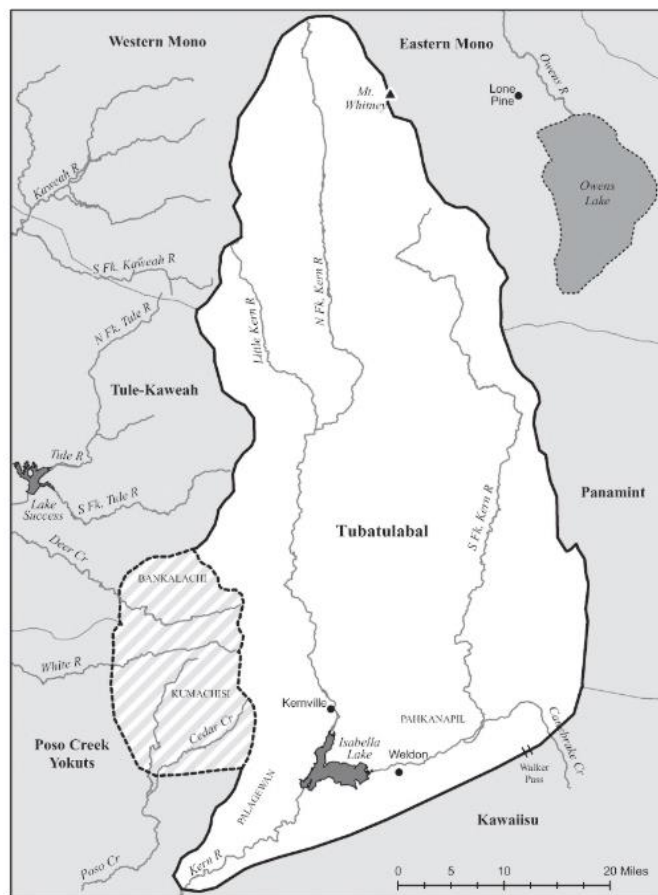


FIGURE 1.1. Map of Pakanapul (Tübatulabal) region (Golla, 2011, p. 185).

1.1 Genetic Affiliation

The exact classification of Pahka'anil within the Uto-Aztecan family has been the subject of some debate. Some argue that it should be considered its own branch of Uto-Aztecan (Mithun, 1999), while others argue that it is a branch under the Northern Uto-Aztecan subfamily (Campbell, 2000), and according to Golla (2011), Ramer and Hill argue that Tübatulabal, Gabrielino, and Cupan form a subgroup within the Northern Uto-Aztecan branch.

1.2 Revitalization Status

According to the Ethnologue, Pahka'anil is officially classified as a reawakening language (Eberhard et al., 2020). The last native speaker of Pahka'anil, Jim Andreas, passed away in 2008 (Robert Gomez, personal communication, August 2017). Prior to his passing, Mr. Andreas worked with the Pakanapul Language Team (discussed in section 1.2.1) to document his knowledge of the language. Pahka'anil is now spoken as a second language by the tribal leaders and is taught as a heritage language to adults and children of the Pakanapul tribe in Lake Isabella and Bakersfield.

1.2.1 Pakanapul Language Team

The Pakanapul Language Team consists of linguist Lindsay Marean and Pakanapul tribal leaders Robert Gomez, Tina Guerrero, Bertha Eller, Elizabeth Johnson, Dale Johnson, Anthony Stone, Sherry Click, and Vergie Russell. The team recorded sessions with Jim Andreas during which he taught Pahka'anil to the members of the team (Marean, 2015a). The language team has used these recordings to develop pedagogical materials on the language, including a pedagogical grammar (Marean et al., 2015) and a Pahka'anil-English dictionary (Marean, 2015b).

The team has also created a practical orthographic system for Pahka'anil (Table 1.1). This system largely follows the English alphabet, with a few adaptations. The letter *c* is used to

represent the postalveolar fricative [ʃ]. Short vowels are written with a single vowel, while long vowels are indicated by a geminate sequence. Additional symbols used include the apostrophe for the glottal stop [ʔ], the letter *ü* for the high central vowel [ɨ], and a hyphen to denote clitics. The language is written in all lower-case letters, with the exception of borrowed proper nouns (Marean et al., To appear). The Pakanapul Language Team has converted Voegelin's *Tübatulabal texts* (1935b) into the orthography; the orthographic system is used by the Pahka'anil Text Project (discussed in section 1.2.2) and will be used throughout this work as well.

TABLE 1.1. Pahka'anil Orthography (Adapted from Marean et al., 2015)

Consonants					
b	c	d	f	g	h
[b]	[ʃ]	[d]	[f]	[g]	[h]
j	k	l	m	n	ng
[dʒ]	[k]	[l]	[m]	[n]	[ŋ]
p	r	s	t	tc	v
[p]	[r]	[s]	[t]	[tʃ]	[v]
w	x	y	z	'	
[w]	[x]	[j]	[z]	[ʔ]	
Vowels					
a	e	i	o	u	ü
[a] [ʌ]	[e] [ɛ] [æ]	[i] [ɪ]	[o] [ɔ] [ʌ]	[u] [ʊ]	[ɨ]

1.2.2 The Pahka'anil Text Project

In 2017, Dr. Michael Ahland¹ started a collaboration with the Pakanapul Language Team called the Pahka'anil Text Project.² The primary goal of this project is to make new recordings of

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² The recordings and interlinearized texts that have been completed through this project are available online at [Pahka'anil Text Project @ CSULB Linguistics](#).

the texts in Voegelin (1935b) read by members of the Pakanapul Language Team and to time-align and interlinearize these recordings to provide a resource for the tribe's language revitalization efforts. The second goal is to conduct further syntactic analysis of the language with a particular focus on discourse features and how discourse has shaped the grammar; thus far, there has been little discussion of discourse in the literature on Pahka'anil.

1.3 Prior Research on Pahka'anil

The majority of the documentation of Pahka'anil was done by Charles and Ermine Voegelin during their fieldwork with the Pakanapul tribe in the 1930s (Golla, 2011, p. 187). Prior to that, Powers (1877/1976, p. 399) collected the numbers one through ten in Tübatulabal, Kroeber (1907, p. 125) listed Tübatulabal place names, and Gifford (1917) compared kinship terms in Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu. Subsequent work has focused on phonological analyses based on Voegelin's *Tübatulabal grammar* (1935a). McCawley (1969), for example, provides a slight reanalysis of phonological process rules and their orders based on Voegelin (1935a) and Swadesh and Voegelin (1939). Baerman and Corbett (2007) use examples of the telic and atelic forms from Voegelin (1935a) to advocate for an increase in typological studies focused on morphology. Cook (1989) compares phonological change and variation in Chipewyan and Sarcee to language deacquisition in Tübatulabal as discussed in Voegelin and Voegelin (1977). Articles on the Uto-Aztecan family (e.g. Cortina-Borja and Valiñas, 1989) and Proto Uto-Aztecan (e.g. J. Hill, 2007; K. Hill, 2001) obtain their data on Pahka'anil from Voegelin (1935a; 1958). The field recordings by Lamb and Seiler (1954; referenced in Lamb, 1958) and the pedagogical materials developed by Marean et al. (2015) and the Pakanapul Language Team constitute the major works that have included original data in Pahka'anil since Voegelin's fieldwork.

This thesis explores a syntactic and discourse-based analysis of Pahka'anil focusing on the "particle" word class. Based on Voegelin's account of particles in Pahka'anil, this word class is essentially composed of a set of forms that are not nouns and not verbs (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 92). This classification is problematic; it has attempted to bring forms that cover a broad range of functions and distributions into a single category and may have led to a misanalysis of lexical items in subsequent works (e.g. Marean, 2015b). This work attempts to disambiguate and reconsider this category by examining the distribution of select particles and how they function in Pahka'anil texts.

1.4 Scope of this Work

The following chapter highlights the pertinent syntactic features of Pahka'anil. In chapter 3, Voegelin's particle word class is described, after which I call for a reexamination and reanalysis of this category (chapter 4). The remaining chapters discuss how select forms discussed in chapter 3 can be reanalyzed based on their use. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications of these results and directions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

SYNTACTIC OVERVIEW OF PAHKA'ANIL

This chapter describes the general syntactic properties of Pahka'anil. This overview will provide a foundation for the examples given throughout the text and provide a basis for the subsequent reanalysis. The major typological features of Pahka'anil are discussed in section 2.1, and the morphological processes are described in section 2.2. This is followed by a description of the noun class system (section 2.3), the alignment system (section 2.4), and a discussion of constituent order in Pahka'anil (section 2.5). The chapter concludes with an overview of the tense and aspect system (section 2.6).

2.1 Morphological Typology

One of the ways that languages can be categorized typologically is through the indices of synthesis and fusion. These indices refer to the amount of information encoded within individual words and morphemes. The index of synthesis is based on how many morphemes tend to occur in a single word, and the index of fusion reflects how much meaning is given within a single morpheme (Comrie, 1989, pp. 45–47).

2.1.1 Index of Synthesis

The index of synthesis ranges from isolating to polysynthetic. Isolating languages tend to have a single morpheme per word. In polysynthetic languages, on the other hand, a single word tends to consist of several morphemes (Comrie, 1989, p. 46). Pahka'anil is on the polysynthetic side of this continuum; words are formed from multiple morphemes, as can be seen in example 2.1 below.

2.2 Morphological Processes

Languages can also be categorized by the morphological processes they employ. Two morphological processes are used to modify words in Pahka'anil: suffixation and prefixal reduplication (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 88).⁴ Suffixation, in which an affix is added to the end of a root, is the most widely used process (shown in 2.3). Noun class markers, case markers, possessives, and locatives are suffixes that occur on nouns (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 140), while verbal suffixes express concepts such as durative aspect, associated motion, imperatives, modality, tense, and subordination (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 96–97). Clitics, which Voegelin calls “conjunctive particles” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 89), are also attached to the end of words.⁵

⁴ Voegelin identifies two additional morphological processes: “conjunctive affixation of particles” and stem-compounding (1935a, p. 89). The first process is the same as suffixation, but the affixes are labeled particles by Voegelin rather than suffixes. The forms involved in this process are usually written as clitics (using a hyphen to separate them from the root) in the orthography. The second process identified, stem-compounding, “might almost be said to be nonexistent as a grammatical process” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 89). This process refers to the formation of a word through the combination of two nouns, verbs, or particles; the meaning of the combined form may be different than the meaning of the individual parts. The words discussed in section 3.8 are formed through this process. This process may not be as rare as Voegelin implies; this is beyond the scope of this paper and further research is needed on this topic.

⁵ As discussed in section 1.2.1, clitics are separated from the word by a hyphen in the orthography. In interlinearized examples, an equal sign is used for this distinction.

(2.3) *nik* *wandzil* *yü-t-a-p*
 1SG.NOM DIST:LOC:ACC valley-NCM.B-ACC-LOC
 aa~hal-ica *ü~tük-ica=k* *cidooh-i*
 MOM~live-FUT MOM~eat-FUT=1SG.NOM beetle-ACC
 ku=di *ka'awüü-d-a.*
 also=CONJ grasshopper-NCM.B-ACC
 ‘ “Indeed, I shall live in the valley; I will eat beetles and also grasshoppers.” ’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 8.18)

Several suffixes can be seen in the above example. For instance, the noun class B marker *-t*, the accusative *-a*, and the locative suffix *-p* appear on *yüt* ‘valley’, and the future tense marker *-ica* appears on the verb root *hal* ‘live’. The clitics *=di* ‘and’ and the first person singular nominative *=gi* are also used.

There are two prefixal processes, both of which involve reduplication.⁶ The momentaneous aspect marker (discussed further in section 2.6.1) is formed by the reduplication of the first vowel in the verb root, which is then attached to the beginning of the verb (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 95). This process is also used for the collective plural marker on nouns; the first vowel in the noun root is reduplicated and attached to the beginning of the noun (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 156). Both of these processes can be seen in example 2.4 below.

⁶ The reduplicative prefixal processes are marked in interlinearized examples by a tilde.

(2.4) pic=ki **aa~**dawüük **u~**tuhu-l-a
 then=1SG.NOM **MOM~**see **COLL.PL~**cottonwood.tree-NCM.A-ACC
 ooholaa-l-a-p.
 canyon-NCM.A-ACC-LOC

‘Then I saw cottonwood trees in the canyon.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 23.12)

The momentaneous aspect marker on the verb root *dawüük* ‘see’ is formed by reduplicating the vowel *a*, and the collective plural marker on the noun *tuhul* ‘cottonwood tree’ reduplicates the vowel *u*.

2.3 Noun Class System

Pahka’anil has three noun classes, Class A, Class B, and Class C (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 140). The noun class system is not semantically based; it is a grammatical classification (today, at least).⁷ Words such as *taatwal* ‘man’, *uunal* ‘bear’, and *haniil* ‘house’ belong to Class A; *ict* ‘coyote’, *üsüt* ‘blanket’, and *wohont* ‘pine nut’ to Class B; and *koim* ‘woman’, *paawucak* ‘sage hen’, and *padziin* ‘brother’ to Class C. The classes are indicated by noun class markers: *-l* for Class A, *-t* for Class B, and a null marker for Class C (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 140).

2.3.1 Absolute-Relative System

Noun class determines the form of the absolute and relative suffixes that occur on nouns (see Table 2.1 below). Nouns in Pahka’anil occur in absolute or relative form; this distinction specifies possession of the noun in relation to the participants. In absolute form, the noun is not possessed, whereas in relative form, the noun is possessed (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 140).

⁷ Voegelin notes some semantic distribution across the noun classes, such as a tendency for “objects of material culture” to be Class B nouns and kinship terms to be Class C nouns, but states that “from the material in hand no significance can be attached to a semantic classification” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 142).

TABLE 2.1. Suffixes Determined by Noun Class (Ahland & Lycan, 2019)⁸

Class ⁹	Absolute Marking			Relative Marking						
	Subject	Object	Genitive	Subject	Object		Genitive			
					Possessed by Non-Subject (<i>ejus</i>) ¹⁰	Possessed by Subject (<i>suus</i>)				
A1	-∅	-a	-ing	-∅	-yi	-∅, -i	-in			
A2			-a'ang					-∅		
B1			-ing			-∅			-tsi	-ts
B2								-∅		
B3									-nini	-∅
B4									-dzi	NONE
B5								-i, -yi, -iyi	-∅ -i	-in
C1			-i			-∅		-i, -ni, -iyi	-i, -∅	-'in
C2	-a	-ayi		-ai, -∅	-a'in					

Absolute and relative nouns are sometimes referred to as absolute and relational nouns, in which relational nouns have an inherent relationship with the other constituents in the noun phrase (and thus may require possessive morphology) while absolute nouns do not (Taylor, 2002, pp. 208–210). The absolute-relative system in Pahka'anil forms a continuum in which some nouns can occur in both the absolute and relative forms (such as *haniil* 'house' or *haniin* 'his/her house') and others only occur in either the absolute (*uut* 'tree') or relative form (*kulaan* 'his neck').

2.3.2 Prototypical Nouns

Prototypical nouns in Pahka'anil fall into one of the three noun classes, which are

⁸ This table was abstracted from Voegelin (1935a, pp. 140–148).

⁹ The noun subclasses are based on the phoneme at the end of the root of the noun. For example, subclass A1 consists of class A nouns that end in a long vowel, whereas subclass A2 consists of Class A nouns ending in a short vowel (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 141).

¹⁰ The terms *ejus* and *suus* were those used by Voegelin (1935a, p. 144). In this work, these suffixes are glossed 'non-reflexive' (NREFL) and 'reflexive' (REFL), respectively, following the current glossing conventions of the Pahka'anil Text Project.

indicated by the noun class markers discussed above. Another prototypical feature of nouns is the absolute-relative system markers, discussed in 2.3.1. The third quality of prototypical nouns is the alignment system case markers (to be discussed in 2.4.1). Some of the additional suffixes that can occur on nouns are shown in Table 2.2 below.

TABLE 2.2. Additional Nominal Suffixes

Suffix	Gloss
-b	locative (LOC)
-akadzii	across (LOC.ACRS)
-bi	diminutive (DIM)
-c	instrumental (INS)

2.4 Alignment System

Another way in which languages can be classified typologically is by alignment system. An alignment system is the method a language uses to express “semantico-syntactic roles” (Payne, 1997, p. 133). These roles are the agent-like argument (A) of a transitive clause, the patient-like argument (P) of a transitive clause, and the single argument (S) of an intransitive clause (Comrie, 1978, p. 330). The semantico-syntactic roles can logically be grouped in five different patterns (Comrie, 1978, p. 332; Figure 2.1). Languages can express these groupings through case marking on noun phrases, participant reference marking (typically on verbs), and constituent order (Payne, 1997, p. 129).

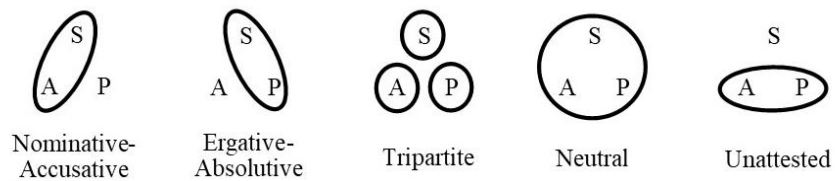


FIGURE 2.1. Grouping of semantico-syntactic roles (Comrie, 1978, p. 332; Payne, 1997, p. 140).

Pahka’anil has a nominative-accusative alignment system; the single arguments of intransitive clauses are aligned with the agent-like arguments of transitive clauses (forming the

nominative case), while the patient-like arguments of transitive clauses are marked separately (the accusative case). In Pahka’anil, these grammatical relations are expressed through two means: by case marking on noun phrases and by participant reference marking through free and cliticized personal pronouns.¹¹ Table 2.3 summarizes the expression of the nominative and accusative categories in Pahka’anil through case marking (illustrated in section 2.4.1) and participant reference marking (section 2.4.2). While constituent order can often be utilized to express grammatical relations cross-linguistically, constituent order in Pahka’anil (discussed in section 2.5) is highly sensitive to pragmatic pressures (Ahland & Lycan, 2019). As such, constituent order is not a major factor in the expression of the alignment system here.

TABLE 2.3. Expression of the Nominative-Accusative System in Pahka’anil¹²

	Nominative		Accusative	
Case Marking	-∅		-a (Classes A and B) -i (Class C)	
Person-Marking Clitics	1SG 1DU 1PL 1PL.EXCL 2SG 2PL 3SG 3PL	=gi =gila =giluuts =gila’ang =bi =buumu =∅ =da	1SG 1PL 1PL.EXCL 2SG 2PL 3SG 3PL	=ni =dzii =dzyang =düng =dulu =∅ =dapü
Free Personal Pronouns	1SG 1DU 1PL 1PL.EXCL 2SG 2PL 3SG 3PL	nik inggila inggiluuts inggila’ang imbi imbuumu in inda	N/A ¹³	

¹¹ Voegelin does not discuss alignment per se, but he does discuss the use of case marking on nouns (1935a, pp. 149–150) and personal pronouns (1935a, pp. 134–139).

¹² This table was abstracted from Voegelin (1935a, pp. 134–138 & pp. 144–148).

¹³ There do not appear to be any free personal pronouns for the accusative case.

2.4.1 Case Marking

Regarding case marking on nouns, Voegelin states that “nouns in the subject case are most commonly used as subjects of transitive or intransitive or impersonal verbs” while “nouns in the object case are most commonly used as objects of transitive verbs” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 149). Noun phrases do not take a case marker as the agent-like argument (A) of a transitive (2.5) or the single argument (S) of an intransitive (2.6), but do take a case marker as the patient-like argument (P) of a transitive (2.5 and 2.7).

(2.5)	A		P
pic=kitc	tübaic	ü~tük	tciic patsaahi-l-a.
then=REP	wolf	MOM~eat	one pine.nut-NCM.A-ACC

‘Then, it is said, Wolf ate one shelled pine nut.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 1.45)

(2.6)	S	
pic=kitc	tübaic	ü~tük.
then=REP	wolf	MOM~eat

‘Then it is said, Wolf ate (in earnest).’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 1.48)

According to Voegelin, “Like the subject pronouns, the object pronouns may be used disjunctively, but this is not common practice for object pronouns” (1935a, p. 134).

(2.7) **S/A**¹⁴

pic=kitc	tohii-l	tuuci	üü~cüdüük	taawüg-üc
then=REP	deer-NCM.A	straight.on	MOM~be.restless	see-SS

P

tübajj-i.¹⁵

wolf-ACC

‘Then, it is said, the deer move when (they) see Wolf.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 1.24)

In 2.5, *tubaitc* ‘wolf’ is the agent-like argument of a transitive clause; it does not take a case marker. It also does not take a case marker as the single argument of the intransitive clause in 2.6. When *tubaitc* ‘wolf’ is the patient-like argument (2.7), however, it takes the accusative case marker for class C nouns *-i*. Likewise, the class A noun *patsaahil* ‘pine nut’ is the patient-like argument of the transitive clause in 2.5; in this role, it takes the accusative case marker for class A nouns *-a*.

2.4.2 Participant Reference Marking

Participant reference marking is not expressed on verbs in Pahka’anil. Instead, it is expressed through free and cliticized pronominal forms. There are two sets of person-marking clitics; one set is used for the nominative case and the other for the accusative case (shown above in Table 3). As stated by Voegelin, “the subject pronouns and object pronouns are used syntactically much as nouns in subjective and objective cases” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 134). The

¹⁴ In 2.7, *tohiil* ‘deer’ is both the single argument of the intransitive clause with the verb root *cüdüük* ‘be restless’ and the agent-like argument of the following transitive clause with the verb root *taawüg* ‘see’; this is indicated by the same-subject marker *-üc* on the verb ‘see’.

¹⁵ The *tc* at the end of *tubaitc* ‘wolf’ is likely voiced to *j* due to the addition of the following vowel *i*, which marks the accusative case.

The nominative form of the first person plural exclusive clitic =*gila'ang*, is used for the agent-like argument of the transitive in 2.8 and the single argument of the intransitive in 2.9. When the first person plural exclusive is the patient-like argument of an intransitive, however, the accusative form =*tciyang* is used instead (2.10).

2.5 Constituent Order

Constituent order is another typological parameter which merits discussion. There are six logical constituent orders: subject-object-verb (SOV), SVO, VOS, VSO, OSV, and OVS (Comrie, 1989, p. 86). The constituent order that a language tends to follow is important because it can have implications for the order of other words or morphology in the language (Comrie, 1989, p. 92). For example, a language that has VSO order will likely have prepositions, while a language with SOV order will likely have postpositions.

Not all languages exhibit a “basic word order”; word order can be subject to pragmatic pressures such as newsworthiness¹⁹ or topic (Mithun, 1992). This is the case in Pahka’anil. According to Voegelin, word order is “stylistic rather than obligatory” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 151). While SV (2.11) is used far more frequently than VS order, OV (2.12) and VO (2.13) order are used in similar frequencies (Ahland & Lycan, 2019).

(2.11)	S	V
	yoowi=gitc	anghanii-l hal-üt.
	many=REP	people-NCM.A live-DUR
	‘Many people are living.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 8.1)	

¹⁹ According to Mithun, “an element may be newsworthy because it represents significant new information, because it introduces a new topic, or because it points out a significant contrast” (1992, p. 39).

(2.12) S O V
pic=**ki** **tooro'-i** **aa~dawüük.**
then=**1SG.NOM** **bull-ACC** **MOM~see**
‘Then I see the bull.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 18.4)

(2.13) S V O
pic=**kitc** **tübaite** **ü~tük** **tciitc** **patsaahi-l-a.**
then=**REP** **wolf** **MOM~eat** **one** **pine.nut-NCM.A-ACC**
‘Then, it is said, Wolf ate one shelled pine nut.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 1.45)

The position of objects relative to the verb in Pahka’anil appears to be sensitive to newsworthiness (Ahland & Lycan, 2019). In example 2.12, this is the first mention of the object *tooro* ‘bull’; it occurs before the verb. In example 2.13, on the other hand, *patsaahil* ‘pine nuts’ have already been mentioned; this object occurs after the verb.

2.6 Tense and Aspect Systems

The tense and aspect systems in Pahka’anil are also relevant to the following analysis. Tense is the grammaticalization of the location of an event in time (Comrie, 1985, p. 9), while aspect refers to “internal temporal constituency” of an event (Comrie, 1976, p. 3). Aspect marking is the more prevalent system in Pahka’anil; almost all verbs in the main clause take an aspectual marker (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 94). Tense marking, on the other hand, is far less frequent, and is dependent on the aspect (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 121).

2.6.1 Aspect

Pahka’anil has a strong aspectual marking system. Either the telic or atelic aspect is obligatorily used on most main clause verbs²⁰ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 94). He describes the telic as

²⁰ The exception to this is a small set of verbs which do not take either aspect (cf.

aspect. The unmarked non-future tense can occur on verbs in both the momentaneous and durative aspects, but the future tense marker only occurs on verbs in the momentaneous aspect.

TABLE 2.4. Distribution of the Tense System Relative to Aspect in Pahka’anil

Aspect	Durative	Momentaneous
	-(V)t	V~ V’~ VN~
Tense	Non-Future	Future
	-∅	-(i)ca

2.6.3 Prototypical Verbs

The prototypical feature of verbs in Pahka’anil is the aspectual marking. Typical main clause verbs occur with either the momentaneous reduplicative prefix or the durative suffix (discussed in section 2.6.1 above). Table 2.5 below shows additional suffixes that can occur on prototypical verbs in Pahka’anil.

TABLE 2.5. Additional Verbal Suffixes

Suffix	Gloss
-kin	act and then come (ACT>COME)
-min	act and then go (ACT>GO)
-giim	come and then act (COME<ACT)
-la	go and then act (GO<ACT)
-an	benefactive (BEN)
-in	causative (CAUS)
-ah	imperative (IMP)
-ma	jussive (JUSS)

Of note are the first four suffixes listed in Table 2.5; these are associated motion suffixes which indicates the relationship between the location that the action takes place and the deictic center. Examples of the use of these suffixes are shown in 2.18 and 2.19 below. For instance, in 2.18 the subject moves from one position to another and then sits down; this is indicated by the suffix *-la* ‘go and then act’ on the verb root *yandz* ‘sit down’. In 2.19, the subject, *taatwal* ‘man’, comes and then arrives, as indicated by the suffix *-giim* ‘come and then act’ on the verb root *biil*

‘arrive’.

- (2.18) wanaang a~yandz-**üla** wooba-p-an miya-’ang.
far.away MOM~sit.down-**GO<ACT** half-LOC-3SG.POSS mile-GEN
‘Far away he went and sat down half a mile (away).’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 24.10)

- (2.19) pic wah paai a~taatwa-l
then DIST:LOC three COLL.PL~man-NCM.A
üü~bül-üügim.
MOM~arrive-**COME<ACT**
‘Then three men came and arrived there.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.525)

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the syntactic features of Pahka’anil, including the morphological typology, noun class system, alignment system, constituent order, and tense and aspect. This background will be useful for subsequent chapters, starting with the following chapter describing Voegelin’s particle word class.

CHAPTER 3

VOEGELIN'S PARTICLE WORD CLASS

The following is a description of the particle category in Pahka'anil as discussed in Voegelin (1935a, §22–24 & 39–40). It covers Voegelin's "indirect discourse" and "direct quotation" particles (section 3.1); "nexus and modal particles" (3.2); pronouns and demonstratives (3.3); "attributive devices", "comparison particles", and "formative particles" (3.4); "particles of a prepositional nature" and "stereotyped case-forms" (3.5); "numeral particles" (3.6); "exclamatory particles" (3.7); and "particles in composition" (3.8).

In the portion of Voegelin's *Tübatulabal grammar* (1935a) devoted to particles, he defines particles as "comparatively uninflected words which appear in syntactic collocation with nouns and verbs, but themselves do not meet the formal requirements of either nouns or verbs" (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 171). He distinguishes between two types of particle forms, those that originate from a verb or case,²⁴ and those that do not come from a verb or case. Furthermore, he claims that there are conjunctive particles²⁵ that attach to independent words, and independent particles which do not attach to independent words (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 171 & p. 174).

3.1 Quotatives

According to Voegelin, there are two particles which function as quotatives: an indirect discourse marker =*gija*²⁶ and a direct quotation marker =*güt* (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 171), listed in

²⁴ According to Voegelin (1935a, p. 151), "particles of a prepositional nature" are likely related to the set of postpositional suffixes, also referred to as "secondary cases".

²⁵ "Conjunctive" particles are those which attach to independent words; attaching a conjunctive particle to a word is "a loose type of suffixation" (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 88). This term does not refer to the clause coordination definition with which conjunction is associated today (Payne, 1997, p. 337).

²⁶ As discussed in Lycan (2018) and in chapter 7, the indirect quotative =*gija* primarily

Table 3.1 below.

TABLE 3.1. Quotatives (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 171–172)

Form	Gloss
=gija	indirect discourse
=güt	direct quotation

3.2 Modal Particles

Voegelin identifies three “conjunctive” modal particles²⁷ (Table 3.2), one of which is glossed as an “empty word”, and several independent modal particles (Table 3.3). For the three conjunctive particles, he states their meanings and provides some information as to their distribution: *-nüü* ‘empty word’ is used with a “first person singular notion”²⁸ and the particles *=biic* ‘immediately’ and *=bee* ‘after a while’ are usually used with imperative verbs, although *=bee* can also occur with modal, desiderative, exhortative, permissive, and auxiliary verbs (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 172).

TABLE 3.2. Conjunctive Modals (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 172)

Form	Gloss
=biic	immediately
=bee	after a while
-nüü	“empty word”

functions as an evidential rather than a quotative, which can be seen through its genre-based distribution across the collection of *Tübatulabal texts* (Voegelin, 1935b).

²⁷ Based on the forms that this set of particles attach to (verbs, independent and conjunctive particles, and the exhortative suffix *-mats*), they appear to be clitics. This will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

²⁸ In the two examples Voegelin provides of the use of this particle, the subject or object is first person singular; this form is possibly an allomorph of the first person singular accusative clitic *=ni*.

The “nexus and modal particles” (see Table 3.3 below) he describes as being “characterized by a vague meaning”; he lists their meanings and states that they can glossed as an “empty word” when there is no clear meaning (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 177).

TABLE 3.3. Independent Nexus and Modal Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 174 & pp. 177–178)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
yoobini	well, then	omok	in vain
tan	if	aamaaabitc²⁹	merely
an	(inter. part.)	mapil	now, today
tuuci	straight, straightaway (contracted form)	na’ac	just
tuucipil	straight, straightaway	yah	now
piga’ac	perhaps	hãã	yes
mina	too	woogami	yet
wetcu	next	wica	later
yets	or	ümbü	again
pic	then	hac³⁰ haa’ic → hac	no, not, nothing
ku	and	haayi	
kudi		haayihaan	
ti		haaint	
tiyu		haainda	
		haa’ica	

3.3 Pronouns

According to Voegelin, the personal pronouns are usually used as “conjunctive” particles. There are separate sets of conjunctive pronouns used with subject, object, and possessive case, as well as exhortative verbs. Furthermore, there is also a set of independent subject pronoun

²⁹ A triple vowel sequence (as seen in *aamaaabitc* ‘merely’) indicates a two-syllable sequence consisting of a long vowel followed by a short vowel (c.f. Voegelin, 1935a, §4).

³⁰ Voegelin states that the set of negative particles has a general negative meaning; no single particle has a specific meaning (1935a, p. 178).

particles, formed by combining *in*, glossed ‘empty word’, with the conjunctive subject particle (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 180). For example, *in* ‘empty word’ is combined with the conjunctive dual inclusive subject marker =*gila* to form the independent dual inclusive subject pronoun *inggila*. Similarly, the independent third person plural subject pronoun *inda* is formed by combining *in* ‘empty word’ with the conjunctive third person plural subject pronoun =*da*. The conjunctive personal pronouns and their independent subject forms are listed in Table 3.4 below.

TABLE 3.4. Personal Pronouns (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 135–137)

Number	Person	Conjunctive				Independent
		Subject	Exhortative	Object	Possessive	Subject
1	SG	-gi	-∅	-ni	-nü'üng	nik ³¹
	DU:INCL	-gila	-la			inggila
	DU:EXCL	-gila'ang	-la'ang	-jiya'ang	-tc	inggila'ang
	PL:INCL	-giluuts	-luuts	-dzii	-ts	inggiluuts
2	SG	-bi	N/A	-ding	-ing	imbi
	PL	-buumu			-ulu	imbuumu
3	SG	-∅	-dza		-n	in
	PL	-da	-tsta	-tüpü	-p	inda

Voegelin identifies another set of particles that “express relations of a pronominal nature” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 180). These are listed in Table 3.5 below.

³¹ The independent first person singular subject pronoun is the exception to the rule above. Based on this rule, the expected form would be *inggi*. According to Voegelin, it becomes *nigi* first “by metathesis” and then *nik* due to final vowel elision (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 135).

TABLE 3.5. Pronouns (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 180–181)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
kiimaa	somebody	paaimm	some, others
indamaa	someone, something (subject)	indamaa'i	someone, something (object)
piniyu	everyone, everything (subject)	pini'ik	everyone, everything (object)
agi	who (subject and object)	agiding	who (genitive)
omoix	himself	omoixp	by himself
omohits	each other	wanda	those
wa'	that one, that thing (subject)	wal	that one, that thing (object)
wa'ading	of that one, of that thing (genitive)		

The demonstratives that Voegelin identifies, listed in Table 3.6 below, give some general indication of direction, are “characteristically vague”, and are “often left untranslated in the texts” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 181).

TABLE 3.6. Demonstratives (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 174 & p. 181)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
tsuu'anga	back there	wandzil	that
wah	there	unduuugal → unduk	that
eh	right there	amang	any place, some place
ih	here	igoociik	away, outside
wahaminac	downward	ikiik	this way
wahaai	from there	mii'iim → miim	right here

3.4 Attributive Particles

Attributive constructions in Pahka'anil can be formed through NP+NP juxtaposition, emotive or stative verbs (such as *wüüdiit* ‘to be angry’ or *tudu'üt* ‘to be long’), or attributive particles. Attributive particles are forms that describe nouns or verbs. Some examples of attributive particles are identified by Voegelin; these are listed in Table 3.7 below. Based on these examples, there is no difference between adjectives and adverbs in Pahka'anil; attributive

particles can be used as adjectives if they occur with nouns, or adverbs if they are used with verbs (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 174–175).

TABLE 3.7. Attributive Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 175)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
yoowi	many	eweewibil	light
mapital	new	pülü'	heavy
üüibil	slow		

According to Voegelin, many of the attributive particles are derived from verbs. He argues that these are particles and not verbs because they usually are not inflected, but some can occur in the atelic form and be inflected like other verbs (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 177).

There are also two particles used to make comparisons, shown in Table 3.8 below.

TABLE 3.8. Comparison Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 175–176)

Form	Gloss
ooyanac ³²	comparative
tambül	superlative

The comparative particle, *ooyanac* COMP, is used to compare an attributive construction to another noun or particle (such as *paaimm* ‘some’; shown in example 3.1). When two actions are compared, the verbs are nominalized (3.2). The superlative particle, *tambül* SUPER, is used in combination with the comparative *ooyanac* to express a superlative comparison (shown in 3.3 below; Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 175–176).

³² According to Voegelin, the comparative particle *ooyanac* may be related to the verb root *ooy* ‘to pass by’. He proposes that the comparative particle *ooyanac* is a combination of *ooy* ‘to pass by’, the benefactive suffix *-an*, and the subordinating suffix *-ac* (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 175).

(3.1) pülü’ tohii-l **ooyanac** paaimm
 heavy deer-NCM.A **COMP** some
 ‘The deer is heavier than some.’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 176)

(3.2) tük-i-nü’üng üüibil **ooyanac**
 eat-NMLZ.PAT-1SG.POSS slow **COMP**
 tük-i-yi-n
 eat-NMLZ.PAT-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS
 ‘I am eating more slowly than he is eating.’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 176)

(3.3) pülü’ tohii-l **tambül** **ooyanac** paaimm
 heavy deer-NCM.A **SUPER** **COMP** some
 ‘The deer is the heaviest of all.’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 176)

Voegelin discusses a set of particles (shown in Table 3.9) about which he states that “there are no clear-cut instances of formative particles” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 173). Based on Voegelin’s use of the term “formative particle”, these appear to be derivational suffixes; they change a noun into a verb or another particle into an adjective. The first two, *-kang* ‘to own...’ and *-güc* ‘hypothetically/supposing’, he discusses in his chapter on verbalizing suffixes and particles. These two particles are different than the verbalizing suffixes because the resulting forms cannot occur as momentaneous or durative verbs³³ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 129). According to Voegelin, the particle *-wa*, glossed ‘empty word’, should be considered a conjunctive particle when attached to independent particles and should not be considered a particle when attached to

³³ Referred to by the terms “telic” and “atelic” by Voegelin; the transition to the terms “momentaneous” and “durative” is discussed above in section 2.6.1.

absentative nouns,³⁴ though in this case it adds “no additional meaning” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 164 & p. 173). Voegelin proposes that the particle *-wa* ‘empty word’ is either a contracted form of *-twa*,³⁵ or is related to the demonstrative particle *-wa* ‘that one, that thing’. He further states that *-wa* ‘empty word’ does not generally add any meaning to the particle it attaches to (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 173).

TABLE 3.9. Formative Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 132–133 & p. 173)

Form		Gloss
-kang		to own ...
-güc³⁶		hypothetical/supposing
-twa → -wa	+ -n	adjective, subject form
	+ -yin	adjective, object form

In the examples Voegelin gives of how *-wa* ‘empty word’ can attach to particles, he uses the particles listed in Table 3.10 below. Though they are not identified as attributive particles, semantically they appear to fall into this category.

³⁴ Absentative nouns refer to “an entity formerly present but currently absent, or formerly but not currently owned” (Ng, 2004, p. 283). They are formed by adding the absentative suffix *-bii* to an absolute noun. For example, *mupit* ‘the nose’ becomes *mupipiit* ‘the one who is without a nose, the wildcat’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 164) with the addition of the absentative suffix *-bii*.

³⁵ No gloss is provided for *-twa*.

³⁶ Based on similarity in form and meaning to the evidential clitic =*gija* (introduced above in section 3.1 and to be discussed in chapter 7), the form *-güc* ‘supposing’ is likely an allomorph of =*gija*.

TABLE 3.10. Additional Attributive Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 173)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
tüwü	good, well	tüwüpil	pretty
maa	where	podooyibitc	soft, tender
tabu’upil	short	ku’ujubil	little
tabu’upitc	short	ku’ujubitc	little

3.5 Prepositions and “Stereotyped Case-forms”

There are also particles “of a prepositional nature” (see Table 3.11 below). According to Voegelin, these determine whether the noun is in the object case or locative case (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 176).

TABLE 3.11. Prepositional Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 176)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
aamaayu	with	tcoomiik	down toward
naawidam	between	wahkiik	toward

There is also a category of particles Voegelin calls “stereotyped case-forms”, listed in Table 3.12 below. These behave like the relative nouns³⁷ that typically occur with genitive nouns. He argues that they are particles instead of relative nouns because they do not take other noun inflections. Furthermore, they usually occur with a genitive noun, but can occur without the genitive noun (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 176).

³⁷ Nouns in Pahka’anil are either absolutive or relative. Absolute nouns have no indication of possession, while relative nouns are those which must have a possessor or “internominal reference” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 140). Nouns take different endings depending on whether they are absolute or relative. For example, the absolute form of ‘the house’ is *haniil*, while the relative form is *haniin* ‘his house’ (discussed above in section 2.3.1).

TABLE 3.12. Stereotyped Case-forms (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 176–177)

Form	Gloss
pu’uman → pumapan	its edge → on its edge
watangaan → watangaaaban	its top → on its top
ukun	its point
omholok → omholoogaan → omholoogabaan	under → its underside → in its underside
toogin	its corner
hawaaabaan	next to
cuunaban ³⁸	inside

3.6 Numbers and Derived Forms

Voegelin identifies the set of numbers one through ten and their corresponding ordinals as particles, listed in Table 3.13 below. The ordinals are formed by adding the suffix *-ami* ADV to the number. ‘Eleven’ is formed by combining ‘one’ and ‘ten’, *amhaijing ti tciitc*. Multiples of ten are formed by combining an ordinal and ‘ten’. For example, ‘twenty’ is the ordinal ‘twice’ and ‘ten’, *woom ’amhaijinga*. The hours, also shown below, are formed by combining the numbers with the conjunctive particle *-wanap* or *-twanap*³⁹ (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 178–179).

³⁸The word *cuunaban* ‘inside’, according to Voegelin, is related to the noun *cuunal* ‘heart’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 177). This is consistent with the pattern attested in the World Index of Grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 171).

³⁹ Voegelin cross-references this form with the *-wa* conjunctive particle he discusses in §39.4 of his work (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 173), also discussed in section 3.4 above. No gloss is provided for *-twanap* or *-wanap*.

TABLE 3.13. Numbers, Ordinals, and Hours (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 178–179)

Numbers		Ordinals		Hours	
tciite	one	tciijami	once	tciitwanap	one o'clock
woo	two	woo'ami	twice	wootwanap	two o'clock
paai	three	paai'ami	thrice	paatwanap	three o'clock
naanaau	four	naanaau'ami	four times	naanaawatwanap	four o'clock
maahaijinga	five	maahaijinga'ami	five times	maahaijingatwanap	five o'clock
napaai	six	napaai'ami	six times	napaatwanap	six o'clock
nomndzin	seven	nomndzinami	seven times	nomndzinwanap	seven o'clock
naabundzinga	eight	naabundzinga'ami	eight times	naabundzingatwanap	eight o'clock
laaagiih	nine	laaagiihami	nine times	laaagiihwanap	nine o'clock
amhaijinga	ten	amhaijinga'ami	ten times	amhaijingatwanap	ten o'clock

The days of the week, listed in Table 3.14 below, are also derived from numbers, with the exception of Sunday, Monday, and Saturday. Sunday, according to Voegelin, is derived from the verb root *hal* 'sit'; Monday and Saturday are borrowed from Spanish (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 179).

TABLE 3.14. Days of the Week (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 179)

Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
haliil	Sunday	naanaau'ung	Thursday
luuunac	Monday	maahaijinga'ang	Friday
woo'ong	Tuesday	saavaru	Saturday
paai'ing	Wednesday		

Voegelin also identifies a set of words that are derived from the numbers listed above⁴⁰

⁴⁰ It is unclear whether he considers these words to be particles; some appear to be nouns,

(Voegelin, 1935a, p. 179). These are shown in Table 3.15 below.

TABLE 3.15. Particles Derived from Numbers (Voegelin, 1935a, pp. 179–180)

	Form	Gloss	Form	Gloss
One	tciitwan	one-star constellation	tciitwana’ac	all the time
	tciitcu	alone	tciitciijitciite	each one
	itciijam	sometimes	tciitck	nearly
Two	wootwan	two-star constellation	woo’icüt	be jealous
	woo’icn	co-spouse	wooyot	both
	woobaaanat	halve it		
Three	paaitwan	three-star constellation	apabaai’aniganan	three-year-old deer
	paaatsut	three alone		
Four	naanaawatsut	four alone	ananaau’uniganan	four-year-old dear

3.7 Exclamations

Voegelin identifies a set of exclamations as particles (see Table 3.16 below). The first three he identifies as used in everyday speech, while the rest are used in myths (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 180).

while others may fit in the same category as the modal particles discussed in section 3.2 or the attributive particles discussed in section 3.4.

TABLE 3.16. Exclamatory Particles (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 174 & p. 180)

	Form	Gloss
Colloquial	weedu → wet	so, oh
	mā'	hello
	too	I don't know; search me!
Myths	'ünü'	help!
	übu, übüh	horrors!
	yuu	oh, well!
	icehe	go on!
	üdüh	ouch!
	aai	oh!
	inebiic	oh bother!
	haalala	bravo!
	tse'etsumuk	do as you please!

3.8 Particle Compounds

Particles can “very rarely” form compounds with verbs or nouns (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 181). Voegelin gives three examples of such occurrences. In the first, the particle *ikiik* ‘this way’ combines with the verb root *apalak* ‘to throw’, giving the meaning ‘to throw off’, as shown in example 3.4 below. The particle *paanga* ‘up’ can combine with the noun *taal* ‘the sun/day’, to give *pangatal* ‘the god’ (or literally, “above the sun”). The form *tuuganaawidami* ‘in the middle of the night’ is formed by combining the noun *tuuugal* ‘the night/dark’ with the particle *naawidami* ‘between’.

- (3.4) **ikiig-apalak** ücüts
this.way-throw blanket

‘he threw off his own blanket’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 181)

According to Voegelin, it is common for particles to form compounds with other

particles. He states that the first particle in the compound must be an independent particle, but that the order of the rest of the particles in the compound is “stylistic”. The examples Voegelin provides are shown in examples 3.5 through 3.9 below (1935a, p. 182).

- (3.5) **wahaai=gi=meedak** ii~mi
DIST:LOC:from=1SG.NOM=morning MOM~go
 ‘I went from there in the morning’
- (3.6) **woo=paai** taatwa-l ing~gim
two=three men-NCM.A MOM~come
 ‘two or three men came’
- (3.7) **tang=kiima’a=ding** kuuyü’-at
if=somebody=2SG.ACC want-DUR
 ‘if somebody wants you’
- (3.8) **pic=ki=wal** taatwa-l-a aa~dawüük
then=1SG.NOM=DIST:ACC man-NCM.A-ACC MOM~see
 ‘then I saw that man’
- (3.9) **ku=hac=ki=ni=wandzil** maag-at
and=NEG=1SG.NOM=1SG.ACC=DIST:LOC:ACC know-DUR
 ‘and I did not know that’

3.9 Conclusion

In Voegelin’s *Tübatulabal Grammar* (1935a), he provides a thorough examination of the phonological phenomena and morphological features of nouns and verbs in the language. His particle word class, however, unites forms that have different functions, distributions, and morphology, and therefore should not be grouped together. The formation of this category was

likely the result of restrictions in time and space, as Voegelin wrote this grammar as his doctorate thesis, and the standards in linguistic fieldwork at the time that this work was written. The following chapter outlines some of the problems with uniting these forms into one category and how these forms should be examined and reanalyzed.

CHAPTER 4

RETHINKING VOEGELIN'S CATEGORY

As illustrated in the description of Voegelin's "particle" category above, this category has been formed not on the basis of shared traits among forms but rather based on a lack of shared traits with other established categories. Voegelin's particles are not in this category due to structural or behavioral similarities; they have been placed in the category because they are *not* nouns and *not* verbs. Numbers, demonstratives, modals, and other forms have been lumped together despite having little in common. This work rethinks the particle category as presented by Voegelin (1935a). In the following sections, I address some of the problematic features of the "particle" category and the research questions used to shed light on the forms in this category.

4.1 Retention of Properties from Erstwhile Categories

Some of the particles are derived from nouns or verbs, or behave similarly to nouns or verbs, but are classified as particles because they are "comparatively uninflected" (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 171). While these particles usually do not take the inflection that normally occurs on nouns or verbs in Pahka'anil, some do take inflection. For example, the "attributive particles" are often derived from verbs. These particles are not classified as verbs because they usually do not take verb morphology, but, according to Voegelin, they sometimes can be inflected as a regular verb. The particle *pülü* 'heavy', for example, can take the durative verb ending to form *pülü'üt* 'he is heavy' (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 177). The "stereotyped case-forms" (section 3.5) are derived from nouns and take the third singular possessive marker *-n*. For example, *cuunaban* 'inside', shown in Table 3.12 above, comes from the noun *cuunal* 'heart' (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 177) with the nominal suffixes *-ba* LOC and *-n* POSS. The retention of the properties of their former categories indicates that some particles would be better analyzed as their source category.

4.2 Lack of Description of Meaning and Function

Several of the particles above are characterized as “vague”, “stylistic”, or “empty words” and are often untranslated in texts (see sections 3.2–3.4 and section 3.8). Voegelin presents a general sense of what the particles mean, but he provides no concrete evidence for how they are functioning. Voegelin’s analysis dealt with these particles structurally and at the sentence level; he did not examine their use throughout the discourse. It is on this level of examination that the functions of the “vague” particles are likely to be revealed. For example, as discussed in Lycan (2018), the quotative =*gija* was described as a stylistic marker and was therefore left untranslated in the texts (Voegelin, 1935b). Although Voegelin identifies this form as a quotative, it is used in the texts in places where no one is being quoted. An examination of the genre-based distribution of this marker, however, reveals that =*gija* also functions as an evidential marker (discussed further in chapter 7 below). Reanalyzing these particles in a discourse context will likely help to elucidate their functions.

4.3 Nuance in Functionality

Furthermore, many of the particles discussed above may be multifunctional, as noted in the =*gija* example above (section 4.2). In the section on “attributive particles” (3.4), it is stated that attributive particles can occur with nouns or verbs. Though the diachronic development of these attributives may be the same, the fact that they are performing different jobs by occurring in different constructions warrants further exploration.

4.4 Compound Particles and Morphologically Complex Forms

Voegelin’s “compound particles” (section 3.8 above) are compounds of particles in which the first is an independent particle; the order and status of the particles that follow is “stylistic” (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 182). An alternate explanation is that these words are not actually

“compound particles”. In all the examples given by Voegelin, the compound particles are the first word in the clause. While the particles are combining with other particles, it seems likely that the attached particles are simply cliticizing to whatever happens to be the first word in the clause, as noted regarding the “conjunctive modals” in section 3.2 above.

Similarly, several of the particles appear to be morphologically complex (see sections 3.2–3.4). Some appear to be combinations of particles, while others appear to be forms with noun or verb morphology attached. For example, the demonstrative *wal* ‘that one, that thing’ appears to be formed from the other demonstrative *wah* ‘there’ and the noun class A marker *-l*. This calls into question whether these forms are truly particles, or if, as noted above (section 4.1), they are more closely related to their former categories.

4.5 Aim of the Project

The overarching goal of this thesis is to reconsider the particle category introduced in chapter 3 based on the distribution and function of select forms, and through this to decipher to which classes these forms really belong. It aims to rearrange these forms into more distinct categories than simply *not* noun and *not* verb. This topic will be addressed by examining the following questions:

- 1) What is the distribution of the particles across texts, within texts, and within the clause?
- 2) What morphology do the particles take? Do they require a host, can they be free, and/or can they serve as a host for other morphology?
- 3) What functions do the particles exhibit, both within the clause and across the discourse?

Where possible, I will also examine how these forms have evolved to perform their roles, as well as how the functions and sources of the forms conform to typological expectations.

4.6 Methodology

This work utilizes Marean (2015a), a searchable, interlinearized database in Toolbox consisting of the twenty-seven texts in Voegelin (1935b)⁴¹ and fieldnotes from Marean’s work with the Pakanapul Language Team. The twenty-seven texts from Voegelin are the primary source of data. There are four genres of texts in the corpus: fourteen myths, five dreams, five personal anecdotes, and three ‘miscellaneous’ texts.⁴² I also draw upon examples from the *Tübatulabal grammar* (Voegelin, 1935a), the Pahka’anil-English dictionary (Marean, 2015b), and the fieldnotes portion of Marean (2015a) as needed.

I start by using the concordance tool in the Toolbox database (Marean, 2015a) to determine in which texts randomly selected particles occur (RQ1). This also shows to what forms the selected particles attach (if they are bound), what forms can attach to the particle, and what forms occur before and after the particles (RQ2). I then use the search function in the texts to determine where the particles occur within the texts (RQ1), as well as where they occur within the clause (RQ1). The results are then examined for any patterns that may emerge which illustrate the jobs that the particles are performing (RQ3). When the relationship between forms is clear and of interest to this study, I compare the particles to phonologically and/or semantically similar forms in Marean (2015b) to examine the grammaticalization of these forms.

4.7 Theoretical Concepts

The analysis incorporates concepts from functional syntax, discourse, grammaticalization, and typology. While previous analysis has focused on the structure of the

⁴¹ The text numbers, text titles, and number of utterance units per text found in Voegelin (1935b) are listed in Appendix A.

⁴² Based on the events that occur in the ‘miscellaneous’ texts, this set of texts may be a hortative category.

particles in Pahka'anil, this work also examines what roles these forms perform in the clause, their distribution and potential multifunctionality in discourse, the diachronic change and grammaticalization of forms, and how these findings relate to patterns attested in languages throughout the world.

4.7.1 A Functional Approach

In this work, function serves as the basis for categorical determination. It aims to determine what jobs the forms in question are performing, without simply relying on the structural similarity (or lack thereof) to other forms. Functionalism, as discussed in Payne (1999), considers not only “facts of the same kind” but also “different kinds of truth” in explaining language; it recognizes the interaction between different systems (i.e. grammar, communication, and cognition) and the importance of not limiting *a priori* potential sources of explanation.

Furthermore, multifunctionality is an essential concept to this study. Some particles are performing more than one job—they are multifunctional. According to Maschler & Schiffrin (2015), discourse markers are notoriously multi-functional. For instance, the particle =*gija*, often translated ‘it is said’ (Voegelin, 1935b), can function as a quotative, but can also function as a reportative evidential marker (Lycan, 2018; discussed further in chapter 7 below) or as an indication of main-event line in combination with the word *pic* ‘then’ (Sandoval Sanchez, 2018). As seen in these two studies (cf. Sinetos, 2018), usage in discourse (discussed in section 4.7.2) and multifunctionality of discourse markers have become central concepts in subsequent analyses of Pahka'anil.

4.7.2 Usage in Discourse

The use of functionalism as the theoretical foundation of analysis is naturally followed by

the consideration of discourse. According to Hopper (1998), grammar emerges from discourse. In turn, Du Bois states that “no pristine primordial world can be found in which discourse function operates on its own in splendid isolation, unhindered by grammatical form, its unique contribution transparently revealed” (2003, p. 83). As demonstrated by Mithun (2015), taking discourse into account plays an integral role in understanding grammar. In Mithun’s work, for example, the use of particles in Mohawk cannot be fully understood simply by examining isolated sentences; it is only through discourse that a pattern of particle use emerges and can be explained (2015, p. 36). Likewise, this study considers usage in texts as an essential means of identifying distribution and exploring the function of particles in Pahka’anil.

4.7.3 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization also plays an important role in the understanding of a language. According to Bybee, grammaticalization is a process in which “a frequently used stretch of speech becomes automated as a single processing unit and through further frequent use, takes on a generalized and abstract function...grammaticization usually occurs as lexical items develop into grammatical morphemes, with concomitant changes in phonological and grammatical form, as well as in meaning or function” (1998, p. 252). For example, the quotative and evidential particle =*gija* (introduced above in section 3.1 and discussed in section 4.2 and chapter 7) likely evolved from the verb *pinggut* ‘to say’ (Voegelin, 1935a; Lycan, 2018).

4.7.4 Typology

Typology is “the study of the diversity of structures that can perform the same type of function” (Givón, 2001, p. 23). The same functional domain can be expressed through different means; grammatical typology examines the variety of structures used to express a functional domain. As in the case of the reportative evidential =*gija*, the evolution of *pinggut* ‘to say’ into a

marker for quotes and evidentiality is consistent with patterns found in languages across the world (Heine & Kuteva, 2002). Typology, as well as the associated concepts discussed above, serve as important tools for understanding how languages work and thus are central to the reanalysis of particles in Pahka'anil.

4.8 Scope of the Remaining Chapters

Chapters 5 and 6 discuss how some of the randomly selected forms from a range of the subsets presented in chapter 3 function in noun phrases and verb phrases, respectively. This is then followed by a discussion of the “indirect quotative particle” =*gija* in chapter 7. The thesis concludes with a discussion of implications and limitations of this study, as well as directions for further research.

4.9 Significance of the Project

The work contributes to the literature on the Pahka'anil language by building on the morphosyntactic analysis of Voegelin (1935a). It is my hope that reanalyzing and rethinking the particles brings about an increased understanding of how these forms function in the language and will thus contribute to the language revitalization efforts of the Pakanapul community. The thesis will also contribute to the literature on the Uto-Aztecan language family. Finally, this work may be of interest to those who follow the general typological literature.

CHAPTER 5

NOUN PHRASES

This chapter focuses on words that are involved in noun phrases and noun phrase operations. According to Givón, “within the noun phrase, a noun is typically the syntactic and semantic head, defining the type of entity involved. All other elements in the noun phrase are modifiers of that head noun” (2001, p. 59). Section 5.1 examines particles that can be analyzed as nouns and pronouns, noun phrase modifiers are discussed in section 5.2, and section 5.3 discusses postpositional phrases.

5.1 Reclassification of a Set of Particles as Nouns and Pronouns

The following section discusses and illustrates the set of words which are here analyzed as nouns instead of particles. This set of words consists of those that Voegelin classifies as attributive particles (introduced above in section 3.4), demonstratives (section 3.3), pronouns (section 3.3), prepositional particles (section 3.5), and stereotyped case-forms (section 3.5). These words are argued to be nouns rather than particles because they behave like nouns and take nominal morphology.

5.1.1 Particles with Noun Class A and B Morphology

The words examined in this section are those that have the morphology of class A and B nouns (discussed in section 2.3). Like class A and B nouns, they have the noun class modifiers *-l* or *-t* attached. These words also take the accusative marker *-a* for class A and B nouns when they are used as the accusative of an utterance unit. When the words in this set modify other nouns, they occur in NP+NP juxtaposition; this also occurs when nouns are used to modify nouns (shown in example 5.1).

- (5.1) pic=wal=yewang ü~tüdüü'-in
 then=DIST:ACC=next.day MOM~cut-CAUS
- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| | NP | NP |
| kumuu-n=nü'üng | wa'adu-l-a | pousti'-i. |
| father-3SG.POSS=1SG.POSS | juniper-NCM.A-ACC | post-ACC |
- ‘Then that next day my father cut juniper posts.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.71)

In 5.1, the noun *wa'adul* ‘juniper’ modifies the noun *pousti* ‘post’. Both nouns take the accusative marker for their noun class because they are objects of the verb root *tiidüü* ‘cut’.

5.1.1.1 *mapital* ‘new’. There are two instances⁴³ of the “attributive particle” *mapital* ‘new’ (introduced in section 3.4) in the texts. In these instances, it can be used as the accusative noun of an utterance unit (as in 5.2), or as a noun modifying another noun (5.3).

- (5.2) tük-iba'a=ki **mapita-l-a ...**
 eat-want.to=1SG.NOM **new-NCM.A-ACC ...**
- ‘“I want to eat fresh ones...”’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 1.51)

⁴³ The number of instances given for each form throughout this work is an approximation. As will be seen in the remaining chapters, there is considerable variation in the way forms are written in the texts; as such, the counts provided are of the number of instances found, but do not necessarily reflect all instances in the texts.

(5.3) pic i~pc-akin tüüdzii-l-a=b-atsu
 then MOM~come.out-ACT>COME store-NCM.A-ACC=LOC-from

NP NP

tuuci mapita-l eleelina-n ün~dünaawai.
 straight.on new-NCM.A hat-3SG.POSS MOM~buy

‘Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.266)

The *-l* at the end of *mapital* ‘new’ is likely the noun class A marker; this word appears to be a noun. This is supported by the presence of the accusative marker *-a* on the word in 5.2 where it is used as an accusative noun; this is the accusative marker used on class A nouns. In 5.3, *mapital* ‘new’ also appears to be a noun; in this case, it appears to be modifying the noun *eleelinat* ‘hat’ in the same manner as the NP+NP juxtaposition shown in 5.1.

5.1.1.2 *ku’ujubil* and *ku’ujubitc* ‘little’. The words *ku’ujubil* and *ku’ujubitc* are both defined as ‘little’ (introduced in section 3.4). Each word appears once in the corpus, shown in examples 5.4 and 5.5. Like *mapital* ‘new’, these words also appear to be used as nouns. The words *ku’ujubil* and *ku’ujubitc* ‘little’ have different endings; *ku’ujubil* appears to have the *-l* marker of noun class A, while *ku’ujubitc* may have an allomorph of the *-t* marker of noun class B. The words *ku’ujubil* and *ku’ujubitc* ‘little’ are the same word; it may be the case that the variation in the noun class marker on this form is due to uncertainty as to which noun class it belongs because these words are used relatively infrequently.

- (5.4) tani=bum oo~doh-ica tohii-l-a
COND=2PL.NOM MOM~hunt-FUT deer-NCM.A-ACC
- ii~wiin-icaa=bum **ku'udzubi-l** atam-i.
MOM~give-FUT=2PL.NOM **little-NCM.A** old.man-ACC
- 'If ye will hunt the deer, ye will give a little to the old men.'
- (Voegelin, 1935b, 20.2)

In 5.4, *ku'udzubil* 'little' is used as a noun—'a little bit'. As it is the object of the verb *wiin* 'give', one would expect the accusative marker *-a* to occur on the word (as seen above with the verb *tük* 'eat' and *mapital* 'new' in 5.2). The word 'old man' is usually *tahambil* (Marean, 2015b, p. 102). There are two possible explanations for the absence of the accusative marker on *ku'udzubil* 'little' and the variation of *tahambil* 'old man': the *a* at the beginning of *atami* in 5.4 is actually the accusative marker following the noun-like adjective, or the *a* is a reduplication of the first vowel in *tahambil* to form the collective plural (discussed in section 2.2).

In 5.5, *ku'ujubitc* 'little' occurs with the "formative particle" *-wa*. Voegelin provides two possible analyses of this suffix, including 'empty word' (introduced above in 3.4). According to Voegelin, an attributive particle is used as an adjective when *-wa* is attached (1935a, p. 174), but I am hesitant to call *-wa* an empty word or adjective marker as it does not occur on all forms modifying nouns. Voegelin alternatively suggests that the *-wa* on *ku'ujubitc* 'little' is likely related to the demonstrative *wa* 'that'. This second analysis appears to be the case; a closer translation of this portion of the utterance unit may be 'that little baby' or two appositives, 'that little one, the baby'. The use of nominal morphology on the variations of 'little' can further be seen in 5.5 with the nonreflexive possessive accusative marker *-yi* and the third person singular

(5.7)	pic=kitc	ic-t	im~bingk	ob-aama-luuts
	then=REP	coyote-NCM.B	MOM~say	dive-JUSS-1PL.NOM
	amangata-l	ogon	wah ...	
	anyone-NCM.A	on.and.on	DIST:LOC ...	

‘Coyote then said, “Let someone dive there ...” ’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 12.7)

The *ata* portion of *amangatal* ‘anyone’ may be from the third person plural marker =*da*, such that the word means ‘any of them’; *amangatal* is glossed based on this analysis in 5.8. Another possible explanation is that the word first took the noun class B marker *-t*, but the *t* became part of the root over time and the word now takes the noun class A marker *-l*.

(5.8)	pic=tciyang	apcü-c
	then=1PL.EXCL.ACC	catch.up.to-SS
	amang-ata-l-a	ma’-at.
	any-3PL.NOM-NCM.A-ACC	touch-DUR

‘Then to catch us he touches someone.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.109)

It is interesting to note that the form *amang* ‘any place’ in 5.6 does not occur with a noun class marker. As class C nouns do not take a noun class marker, it is possible that *amangatal* ‘anyone’ is a class A noun, while the related form *amang* ‘any place’ is a class C noun.

5.1.2 Particles with Noun Class C Morphology

While class A and B nouns have noun class markers and take the accusative marker *-a*, class C nouns do not have a noun class marker and take the accusative marker *-i* (discussed in section 2.3). The words examined in this section behave similarly to those discussed in section 5.1.1. For example, these words can be used as the nominative or accusative noun of an utterance unit and can be used in NP+NP juxtaposition to modify other nouns. They do not, however, have

the class A or B noun class markers, and they take the *-i* accusative marker rather than the *-a*; these words appear to be class C nouns.

5.1.2.1 *kiimaa* ‘somebody’. The pronoun *kiimaa* ‘somebody’ (introduced in section 3.3) occurs five times in the texts. It can function as either the subject (5.9) or object (5.10) of a clause; when *kiimaa* ‘somebody’ is used as an object, it occurs with the noun class C accusative marker *-i* attached (5.10). The form *kiimaa* ‘someone’ can be cliticize to other forms, as in 5.9, or can be used as a free word (5.10).

(5.9) ... tan=**kiima**’a=ding⁴⁶ uu~guuy-ü’ica ku
 ... COND=**somebody**=2SG.ACC MOM~want-FUT and
 miy-ah-ai’i=bi i-kiik=küt.
 go-IMP-IMP.FUT=2SG.NOM here-toward=QUOT
 ‘... “if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future,” he is saying.’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.402)

(5.10) pic=kite **kima-’i** alaauw-ang ...
 then=REP **somebody-ACC** talk-DS ...
 ‘Then he is mad when somebody talks (of him). ...’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 21.7)

In 5.9, *kiimaa* ‘somebody’ is the subject of the verb; like other class C nouns, it occurs without a noun class marker in the nominative case. In 5.10, *kiimaa* ‘somebody’ is the subject of a different subject subordinate verb; it occurs with the accusative marker *-i* attached. When a noun is the subject of a different subject subordinate verb, it occurs in the accusative case, as shown with the class C noun *kooim* ‘woman’ in 5.11 (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 126).

⁴⁶ The glottal stop that occurs in *kiima*’a ‘somebody’ in 5.9 appears to be phonological variation, perhaps due to the stress system of the language. This is beyond the scope of this paper.

(5.11) *taatwa-l ing~gim kooim-i tsulum-ang*
 man-NCM.A MOM~come **woman-ACC** sleep-DS

‘The man came when the woman was sleeping.’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 126)

When the pronoun *kiimaa* ‘somebody’ occurs with the word *ogon* ‘on and on’ or ‘anyway’ (as in 5.12), this combination appears to become less definite; this combination consistently translates to ‘whoever’ rather than ‘somebody’.

(5.12) *wal=gila’ang mu-ut woodzooyi’inic-t-a-c*
 DIST:ACC=1PL.EXCL.NOM shoot-DUR quoit-NCM.B-ACC-INS
kiimaa ogon mi’ipil mu-ut eey-at.
somebody on.and.on close shoot-DUR win-DUR

‘We are shooting (pitching) at that with the quoit; whoever is shooting close, he wins.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.120)

5.1.2.2 *indama* ‘someone’, ‘something’. There are sixteen instances of the pronoun *indama* ‘someone’ or ‘something’ (introduced in section 3.3) in the texts. Like *kiimaa* ‘somebody’, the word *indama* ‘someone’ or ‘something’ can be used as a subject (5.13) or as an object with the noun class C accusative marker *-i* attached (5.14); both *kiimaa* ‘somebody’ and *indama* ‘someone’ or ‘something’ appear to be class C nouns.

(5.13) *piniyu indama ha’-üt cümün-t uuna-l*
 every **someone** hear-DUR rattlesnake-NCM.B bear-NCM.A
pic=pum tüwü oo~dooy-ica.
 then=2PL.NOM good MOM~travel.about-FUT

‘The Rattlesnake, Bear, everything hears; then ye will wander safely.’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 20.12)

this form may be ‘middle’ (5.15) or ‘half’ (5.16). In these examples, the noun that is being modified by *naawidam* ‘middle’ or ‘half’ takes the accusative marker, while *naawidam* does not.

- (5.15) pic=kitc ic-t taa-l-a aa~dawüük
 then=REP coyote-NCM.B sun-NCM.A-ACC MOM~see
NP **NP**
naawidam **muwaa-l-a** wa-kiik=kitc.
middle **mountain-NCM.A-ACC** DIST-toward=REP
 ‘The Coyote saw the sun toward the middle mountain.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 11.20)

- (5.16) kangaagana-iyi-n yoowi=k wiic-iukang
 catfish-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS many=1SG.NOM catch-HAB
NP **NP**
naawidam **utsuu-l-a** kangaagana-iyi-n.
half **sack-NCM.A-ACC** catfish-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS
 ‘I used to catch many catfish, a half-sack of catfish (each trip).’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.19)

The form *naawidam* ‘middle’ or ‘half’ can occur before the noun it modifies (as in 5.15 and 5.16 above), but can also occur after the noun it modifies (as in 5.17 and 5.18).

(5.19) pic tciitc taatwa-l oo'o~ba **naawidam-i-'iba-p.**
 then one man-NCM.A MOM~kindle.fire **between-ACC-LOC⁴⁹-LOC**

‘Then one man started a fire in the middle.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.236)

5.1.3 Particles with Locative and Relative Morphology

This section focuses on select words in the set of “stereotyped case-forms” (introduced in section 3.5 above). What unifies this set is that they all take the nominal third person singular possessive marker *-(a)n*. As discussed in section 2.3.1, nouns on the relative end of the absolute-relative continuum tend to involve inherent possession and often require a possessive marker. This marker indicates that the noun is the possessee, while the possessor takes the genitive marker *-(V)ng*. This construction is shown in the following example (5.20), in which the possessed noun, *cooyil* ‘wife’, has the third person singular possessive marker *-n* and the possessor, *taatwal* ‘the man’, has the genitive marker *-(V)ng*. The possessee may occur before or after the possessor. In example 5.20, the possessee occurs after the possessor, whereas in example 5.21 the possessee (*haniil* ‘house’) occurs before the possessor (*kooim* ‘woman’). This variation in the order of the possessee and the possessor is likely due to pragmatic pressures (as discussed in section 2.5). The more topical nouns occur first in the examples below; the rest of the story in example 5.20 is about events that involve *taatwal* ‘the man’, and the utterance units that immediately precede example 5.21 detail the trip to *haniil* ‘the house’.

⁴⁹ The *'iba* on *naawidam* in 5.19 is glossed as a locative in Marean (2015a). While this form is similar to the locative marker *-p*, it is unclear at this point why two locatives occur on this word and what else this marker may be.

possessor in example 5.23,⁵⁰ the possessor still occurs immediately before the possessed noun.

- (5.22) **POSSESSOR**
- pic=kitc ic-t **paa-l-ing**
- then=REP coyote-NCM.B **water-NCM.A-GEN**
- POSSESSEE**
- puma-ts-i-n** kim-at.
- edge-REFL.POSS-ACC-3SG.POSS** come-DUR
- ‘Then Coyote is coming on the edge of the water.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 11.1)

- (5.23) pic wah tciitc aadzowaa-l
- then DIST:LOC one shaman-NCM.A
- POSSESSOR** **POSSESSEE**
- poo’-i-l-aa-p** **puma-p-an**
- kindle.fire-NMLZ.PAT-NCM.A-ACC-LOC** **edge-LOC-3SG.POSS**
- ayants.
- sit.back
- ‘Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.237)

All occurrences of the form *puma* ‘edge’ have additional noun morphology. In two cases, the reflexive possessed object marker *-ts* is attached (as in example 5.22), and the other two have the locative marker *-p* (as in 5.23). This may be due to the verbs that occur in the utterance unit. The locative marker *-p* occurs on *puma* ‘edge’ when it occurs with the verb roots *ayants* ‘sit’ and *pül* ‘arrive’; the action is taking place where the noun is. In the instances with the non-reflexive

⁵⁰ The lack of genitive marking on the possessor in this example may be because the possessor is a nominalization of the verb *poo* ‘kindle fire’; this is the only instance in which the possessor is a nominalized verb.

The form *watangaa* ‘top’ does not have to occur immediately adjacent to the possessor. As discussed in section 2.5, constituent order varies in Pahka’anil; this variability is reflected in the separation of the possessee from its possessor in 5.24.

As with the form *puma* ‘edge’, based on the locative and possessive morphology that occurs on *watangaa* ‘top’, this form also appears to be a noun.

5.1.3.3 *uku* ‘point’. There are ten instances of the word *uku* ‘point’ in the corpus. This word is also defined as ‘top’, ‘peak’, or ‘point’, and is listed as a noun in Marean (2015b, p. 127). Although it is presented as *ukun* ‘its point’ in Voegelin (1935a, p. 177), it occurs with the locative suffix *-p* and the third singular possessive suffix *-n* in all but one instance of this form. Like the other forms in this section, it also generally occurs with a genitive noun indicating the possessor. The word *uku* can occur before the genitive noun (as in example 5.26) or after (5.27).

(5.26)	wah=kitc	ic-t	i~wilaal-amin
	DIST:LOC=REP	coyote-NCM.B	MOM~climb-ACT>GO
	POSSESSEE	POSSESSOR	
	uku-b-aan	wohomboo-l-ing.	
	top-LOC-3SG.POSS	bull.pine-NCM.A-GEN	
	‘There Coyote went and climbed from here to there to the top of the Bull Pine.’		
	(Voegelin, 1935b, 11.25)		

(5.27)	POSSESSOR	POSSESSEE
pic=kitc=ta	muwaa-l-ing	uku-b-aan
then=REP=3PL.NOM	mountain-NCM.A-GEN	top-LOC-3SG.POSS
üü~bül-üüla.		
MOM~arrive-GO<ACT		

‘Then they went and arrived on top of the mountain.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 12.5)

There is one instance in which *uku* ‘top’ does not occur with a genitive noun or with the locative suffix *-p*; instead, it is used with the non-reflexive possessed object marker (as seen in 5.28 below). In this case, it is used as the accusative noun of the utterance unit.

(5.28)	pic=kitc	ic-t	üü~gü’
	then=REP	coyote-NCM.B	MOM~bite
	uku-yi-n.		
	top-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS		

‘Then Coyote bit the end (of the tenderloin).’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 3.50)

Based on the locative and possessive morphology that occurs on *puma* ‘edge’, *watangaa* ‘top’, and *uku* ‘top’, all three of these forms appear to be nouns. These nouns involve meanings that are typically inherently possessed and thus fall into the semantic category of relative nouns (Taylor, 2002). The possessive and relative morphology that occurs on these forms provides further support for this classification. It is unclear, however, to which noun class each of these forms belong. The word *puma* ‘edge’ may be a class B noun because it occurs with the possessive marker *-ts* (seen in example 5.22 above), which typically goes on class B nouns (see Table 2.1). The words *watangaa* ‘top’ and *uku* ‘top’, however, may belong to any of the noun classes. The word *watangaa* does not occur with any morphology that may indicate the noun

class, while *uku* occurs with the non-reflexive possessive marker *-yi*, variations of which occur across all three noun classes (Table 2.1).

5.1.4 Summary of Particles Analyzed as Nouns

This section examined particles from several of the sections discussed in chapter 3; these particles have been reanalyzed as nouns (this reanalysis is visualized in Figure 5.1 below). The forms that have been reanalyzed as Class A, B, and C nouns are placed in these categories based on their noun-like distributions and the Class A, B, and C morphology that occurs on these forms (discussed in sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2). While the noun classes of the forms discussed in section 5.1.3 cannot be determined based on the morphology that occurs on these forms, they have a similar distribution to other nouns, take nominal morphology, and semantically fall into the category of relative nouns.

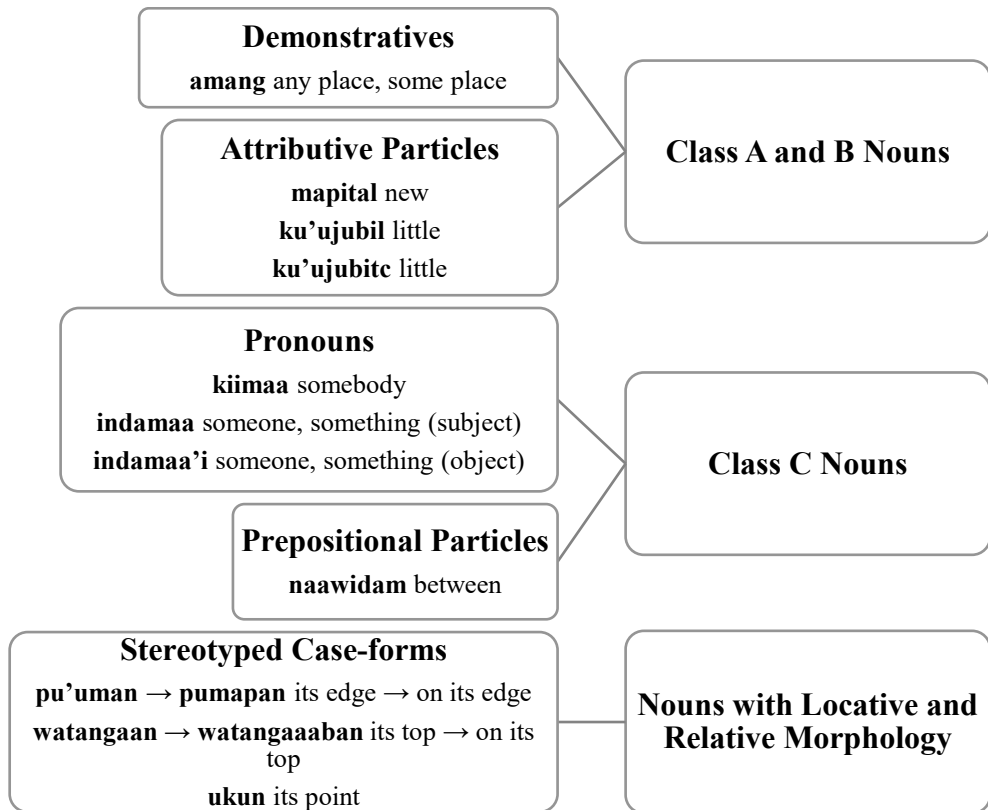


FIGURE 5.1. Particles analyzed as nouns.

5.2 Noun Phrase Modifiers

The forms discussed in this section are used to modify nouns. Although the nouns examined in section 5.1 are often used to modify other nouns, the forms in this section are discussed separately because they generally do not take nominal morphology (the possible exception to this is shown in section 5.2.2.2). The non-numeral quantifiers are discussed in section 5.2.1, and additional types of modifiers are discussed in section 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Non-Numeral Quantifiers

The forms discussed in this section are used to estimate the quantity of a noun—they are non-numeral quantifiers. According to Payne, “non-numeral quantifiers include such terms as much, many, few, some” (1997, p. 65). The words in this section are grouped together because they do not occur with nominal morphology (unlike the words in 5.1) and are semantically similar to the terms in Payne’s definition.

5.2.1.1 *yoowi* ‘many’. The word *yoowi* ‘many’ is listed among the “attributive particles” (introduced in section 3.4). There are forty-five instances of *yoowi* used in the texts; it is used as a non-numeral quantifier. While it can occur either before (5.29) or after the noun (5.30) it modifies, it overwhelmingly occurs before the noun. The form *yoowi* ‘many’ generally occurs as a free word (5.29 and 5.30), but it can also be a host for bound person-marking (5.31). While *yoowi* ‘many’ generally occurs adjacent to the noun it modifies, it can be separated from the noun (as in 5.31).⁵¹

⁵¹ The form *yoowi* ‘many’ likely jumps to the clause-initial position in this example to provide a host for the person-marking clitic. The bound person-marking forms tend to cliticize to the first element in the clause, and there appears to be a hierarchy of forms they cliticize to. This preference may alter the word order in a clause. Further research is needed to verify this theory.

The word *yoowi* ‘many’ generally does not occur with additional morphology attached, but there are two instances in which the form occurs with verb morphology (shown in 5.34 and 5.35). In 5.34, *yoowi* is used as a verb with momentaneous prefixal reduplication and the future marker *-ica*, and in 5.35, it occurs with the habitual marker *-kwang*; these forms typically occur on verbs. It is possible that the form *yoowi* started as a verb ‘be many’ and has grammaticalized to a quantifier over time, losing the verb morphology in most instances of the word. An alternative analysis is that it may be in the process of becoming a verb and may gradually take verbal morphology more frequently. As seen in example 5.35, it occurs with verbal morphology in the more recent fieldwork portion of the database (Marean, 2015a), which reflects more current language use than Voegelin (1935b).

(5.34) ... **oo~yoowi-’ica** anghanii-l tuwubil=kü=kitc
 ... **MOM-be.many-FUT** people-NCM.A very=QUOT=REP
 ic-t.
 coyote-NCM.B
 ‘... “There will be many people, too many,” says Coyote.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 9.6)

(5.35) meeda’ **yoowi-kwang** raantco ii.
 already **be.many-HAB** ranch here
 ‘Already there were many ranches here.’ (Marean, 2015a, A0186–5_0022)

The word *yoowi* ‘many’ is analyzed here as a non-numeral quantifier based on the semantics of the form, the overall distribution, and the morphology that it takes (or rather, does not take). Semantically, it falls in the class of non-numeral quantifiers identified by Payne (1997, p. 65). Unlike the forms in section 5.1, which vary in their position relative to the other noun, *yoowi* predominantly occurs before the noun it modifies. Also unlike section 5.1, in which the

forms take nominal morphology, the word *yoowi* ‘many’ generally occurs without additional morphology. Based on the semantic similarity to non-numeral quantifiers in Payne and the differences in distribution and morphology with the forms analyzed as nouns in section 5.1, *yoowi* ‘many’ is a non-numeral quantifier.

5.2.1.2 *piga’ac* ‘perhaps’. The word *piga’ac* ‘perhaps’ is among Voegelin’s “nexus and modal particles” (introduced above in 3.2). This word is used four times in the texts; of these four instances, it is used twice as a non-numeral quantifier modifying a noun phrase. Unlike *yoowi* ‘many’, this word is not the sole quantifier modifying a noun; in both instances of *piga’ac* as a non-numeral quantifier, it occurs with two numerals in disjunction before the noun phrase being modified (5.36 and 5.37). A more accurate gloss for *piga’ac* as a quantifier may be ‘approximately’ or ‘about’; in 5.36 and 5.37, it is used to estimate the quantity of the nouns *maacat* ‘bag’ and *miya* ‘mile’.

(5.36)	<i>piniyu</i>	<i>yoowi</i>	<i>aaiyaamuuts</i>	<i>in-ii-tc</i>
	every	many	1PL.POSS	gather-NMLZ.PAT-1PL.POSS
			QUANT	NP
	<i>tüba-t-a</i>	<i>piga’ac</i>	<i>woo’-amhajing</i>	<i>maaca-t.</i>
	pine.nuts-NCM.B-ACC	about	two-ten	bag-NCM.B

‘All the many pine nuts were packed by us, perhaps twenty sacks.’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 27.198)

(5.37)		QUANT		NP
	wahaiyu	piga'ac	wo'-omhaijing	miya
	DIST:LOC:from	about	two-ten	mile
	aaiyamuts	mi'-icka-ts.		
	1PL.POSS	go-NMLZ.AG.IRR-1PL.POSS		

'From there we had to go about twenty miles.' (Voegelin, 1935b, 23.22)

The word *piga'ac* 'about' is analyzed as a non-numeral quantifier with *yoowi* 'many'. It has a similar distribution to *yoowi*; although *piga'ac* 'about' is not used pronominally as seen with *yoowi* 'many', the distribution is similar in that it occurs before the modified noun phrase (based on the limited examples available). Furthermore, *piga'ac* 'about' does not occur with nominal morphology and fits the non-numeral quantifier class semantically. The additional use of *piga'ac* 'perhaps' to express modality is discussed in section 6.2.5.

5.2.2 Additional Noun Phrase Modifiers

The forms examined in this section are also used as noun modifiers. This section includes forms from the "nexus and modal particles" (section 3.2), "demonstratives" (section 3.3), and "attributive particles" (section 3.4). They do not have nominal morphology as on the forms in section 5.1, and while they have a similar distribution to the forms in 5.2.1, they do not appear to fit semantically into the non-numeral quantifier class. Although they are grouped together here, they are not completely unified in the morphology they take; additional research is needed to further disambiguate the noun modifier category.

5.2.2.1 *ümbü* 'again'. The word *ümbü* 'again' is listed among Voegelin's "nexus and modal particles" (introduced in section 3.2). While in most instances of *ümbü* 'again' it is used adverbially to indicate the temporality of a verb (discussed in section 6.1.2.7), it can be used to

(5.42) pic=kitc=wa' cooyi-n pingg-üt miy-ah
 then=REP=DIST wife-3SG.POSS say-DUR go-IMP
MOD NP
unduuga⁵² **hanii-l-a-p** egeewan=gitc hanii-l ...
that house-NCM.A-ACC-LOC big=REP house-NCM.A ...
 ‘Then that one, his wife, says, “Go in that house; the house (is) a big one ...” ’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 6.46)

(5.43) wa' taatwa-l=ni kuuyü'-at=kü=ki
 DIST man-NCM.A=1SG.ACC want-DUR=QUOT=1SG.NOM
MOD NP
 pingg-üt **unduuga** **taatwa-l=gü=ki.**
 say-DUR **that** **man-NCM.A=QUOT=1SG.NOM**
 ‘ “That man wants me to,” I am saying, “that very man speaking,” I am saying.’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.374)

There is one instance in which *unduk* ‘that’ occurs with nominal morphology; it occurs with the suffixes *-akadzii* ‘across’ and the locative *-p* is used to indicate a location (5.44). This form may have been noun at one point, and has grammaticalized over time to the its current demonstrative function.

⁵² It is unclear at this point in time why there is an *a* at the end of *unduuga*; it is not the accusative marker *-a* for class A and B nouns, as *unduuga* can occur with both accusative (5.31) and nominative (5.32) nouns.

(5.44) pic=kitc patsaawa-l-a mii'iim=güt tohii-l
then=REP bat-NCM.A-ACC right.here=QUOT deer-NCM.A
unduk-akadzii-p haaijiibü'-üt.
that-LOC.ACRS-LOC chew.cud-DUR

‘The (Horsefly) says to the Bat, “Right here the deer on that other side (of the canyon) is chewing his cud.” ’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 4.6)

Although the form *unduk* ‘that’ may have been a noun in the past, it now appears to primarily be used as a demonstrative modifying a noun.

5.2.2.3 *tüwü* ‘good’, ‘well’. The word *tüwü* ‘good’ is among the “attributive particles” (introduced in section 3.4). There are over one hundred instances of *tüwü* ‘good’ throughout the texts. In most instances, *tüwü* ‘good’ is used as a response to questions and statements, but it can also be used as an adverbial (discussed in section 6.4). In the examples discussed here, it is used as a qualitative noun modifier indicating that the quality of the noun is ‘good’ (5.45 and 5.46).

(5.45) **MOD** **NP**
tüwü-wan **kooim** hac-atca=güt haain-d-a
good-be **woman** NEG-3SG.NOM=QUOT nothing-NCM.B-ACC
amhaijing cuwaa-l=gi aamaai aa~hal.
ten year-NCM.A=1SG.NOM with MOM~live

‘The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her.’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 27.448)

nouns modifying other nouns because they do not have nominal morphology.

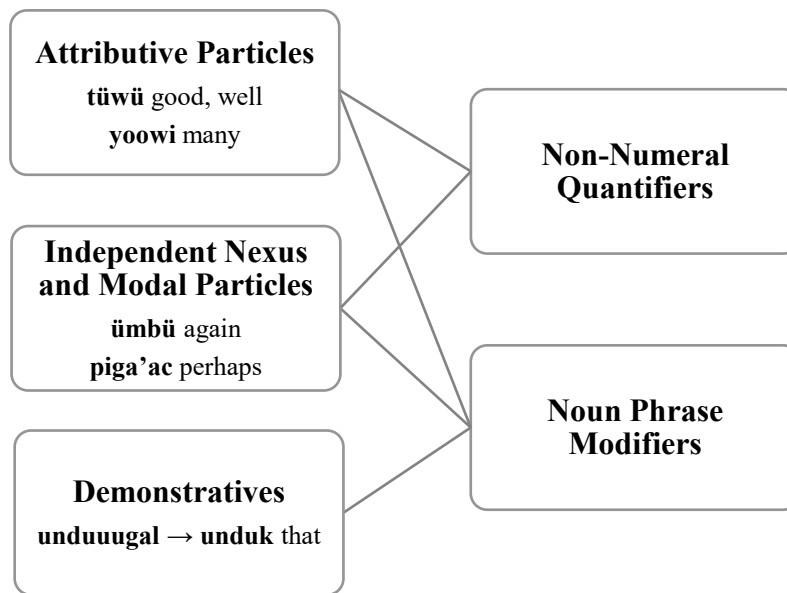


FIGURE 5.2. Particles analyzed as noun phrase modifiers.

5.3 Postpositional Phrases

The forms *wahkiik* ‘toward’, *tcoomiik* ‘down toward’, *igooiik* ‘away’ or ‘outside’, and *ikiik* ‘this way’ are combined here because they are structurally and semantically similar. All of these forms end in allomorphs of the postpositions *-kiik* and *-miik*, both glossed ‘toward’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 151); these postpositional suffixes generally occur on nouns that indicate a location (as in 5.48). These forms are analyzed as postpositional phrases because they occur with the postpositional suffixes that typically occur on noun phrases.

- (5.48) pic=ta piniyu a~wa’at **muwaa-l-a-miik.**
 then=3PL.NOM every MOM~run **mountain-NCM.A-ACC-toward**
 ‘Then everyone, they ran away toward the mountain.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 12.3)

5.3.1 *wahkiik* ‘toward’

There are nine instances of the form *wahkiik* ‘toward’ (listed among the “particles of a

prepositional nature” in section 3.5) in the texts. It almost always occurs as a free word and after the verb (as in 5.49); there is one instance in the texts in which it serves as the host for the reportative evidential =*gija* (5.50) and one instance in which it occurs before the verb (5.51).

(5.49) pic wa' aadzowaa-l muu'-upüü-l
 then DIST shaman-NCM.A shoot-NMLZ.AG.TEMP-NCM.A
 ool-ümin **wah-kiik.**
 fly-ACT>GO **DIST:LOC-toward**

‘Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from there to there toward him.’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 27.248)

(5.50) pic=kitc ic-t taa-l-a aa~dawüük
 then=REP coyote-NCM.B sun-NCM.A-ACC MOM~see
 naawidam muwaa-l-a **wa-kiik=kitc.**
 middle mountain-NCM.A-ACC **DIST-toward=REP**

‘The Coyote saw the sun toward the middle mountain.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 11.20)

(5.51) pic=pi **wa-kiik** ii~mi.
 then=2SG.NOM **DIST-toward** MOM~go

‘Then you go to that side.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 17.8)

The word *wahkiik* ‘toward’ appears to be formed from the distal demonstrative *wa*’ or the distal locative demonstrative *wah* and the nominal postposition *-kiik* ‘toward’.

5.3.2 *tcoomiik* ‘down toward’

The word *tcoomiik* ‘down toward’ (introduced in the “prepositional particles” in section 3.5) occurs nine times in the corpus. The word *tcoomiik* ‘down toward’ generally occurs as a free word (as in 5.52), but can serve as a host for person-marking clitics (as in 5.53). Like the form

likely formed from the demonstrative *ih* ‘here’ and the postposition *-kiik* ‘down toward’. It can occur before (5.55) or after the verb in the clause (5.56). Like the other words in this set, *ikiik* ‘this way’ is a free word but can be a host for clitics (as seen with the quotative =*güt* in 5.57). When used with the verb *hal* ‘to sit’ or ‘to live’ as in example 5.45, the word *ikiik* is usually translated as ‘to the side’.

(5.55) pic wal woodzooyi’inic-t-a **i-kiik** palak-üt.
 then DIST:ACC quoit-NCM.B-ACC **here-toward** throw-DUR
 ‘Then he throws that quoit this way.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.130)

(5.56) pic wahaai=da o’~op ku=gitc
 then DIST:LOC:from=3PL.NOM MOM~dive and=REP
 omhombi-t hal-üt **i-kiik**.
 mud.diver-NCM.B live-DUR **here-toward**
 ‘Then from there they dived, but Mud-Diver is sitting to one side.’
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 12.8)

(5.57) ... wimc-üh **i-kiik=kü=kitc** wal
 ... give.room-IMP **here-toward=QUOT=REP** DIST:ACC
 uuna-l-a.
 bear-NCM.A-ACC
 ‘... “Give me room this way,” (they) say to that Bear.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 21.2)

5.3.5 Summary of Particles Analyzed as Postpositional Phrases

This section discussed particles that have been reanalyzed as postpositional phrases (visualized in Figure 5.3 below). All of these forms tend to co-occur with verbs that involve direction. The particles in this section all occur with allomorphs of the directional postpositions

-miik or *-kiik* ‘toward’; they are used in place of nouns in a postpositional phrase.

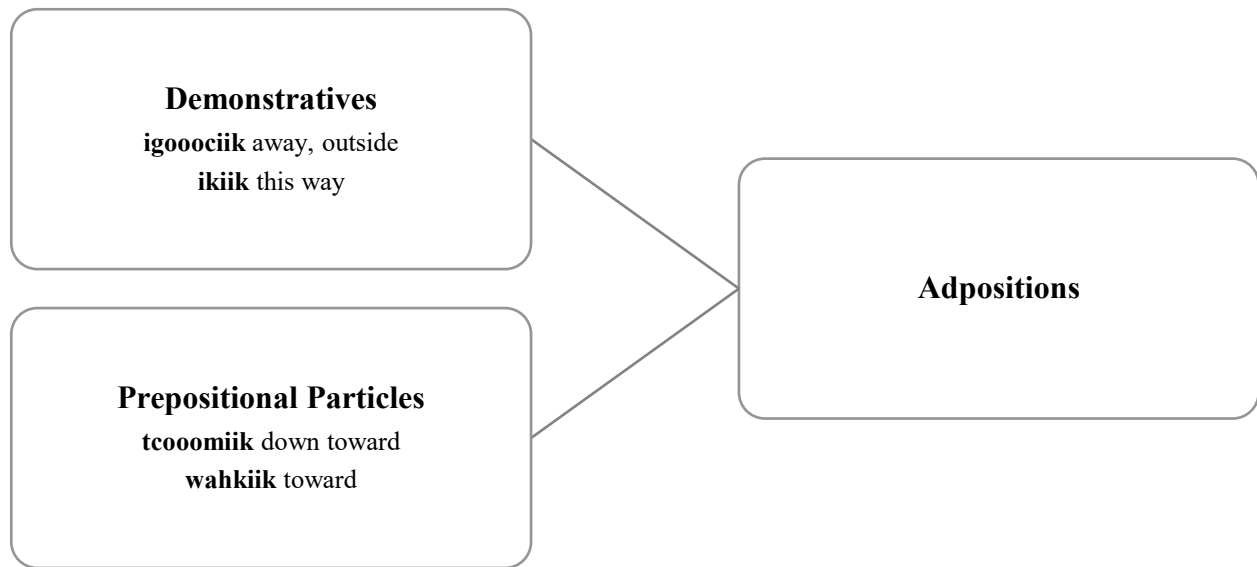


FIGURE 5.3. Particles analyzed as postpositional phrases.

5.4 Conclusion

As seen in this chapter, several of the particles identified by Voegelin function as part of the noun phrase. Some take nominal morphology and thus may be more appropriately classified as nouns (section 5.1). Others function as noun phrase modifiers (section 5.2), a subset of which function as non-numeral quantifiers (section 5.2.1), and the remaining forms function as postpositional phrases (section 5.3).

CHAPTER 6

VERB PHRASES

The following chapter discusses the forms involved in verb phrases. A verb phrase consists of a verb and any forms that modify the verb. Section 6.1 examines the expression of temporality in Pahka'anil; this entails both morphologically bound (section 6.1.1) and free expression of temporality (6.1.2). This is followed by a discussion of forms that express modality (section 6.2) and manner (section 6.3).

6.1 Expression of Temporality in Pahka'anil

Pahka'anil has a future/non-future tense system (discussed above in section 2.6.2). The future tense is expressed through the suffix *-ica(m)* which occurs on verbs in the momentaneous aspect, while the non-future is unmarked and can be used with verbs in both the momentaneous and durative aspect. Additional information about when verbs take place is expressed through free and bound temporal morphology.

6.1.1 Morphologically Bound Expression of Temporality

The morphologically bound expression of temporality occurs through the clitics *=biic* 'immediately' and *=bee* 'after a while'. Voegelin identified these forms as "conjunctive modals"⁵⁴ (introduced above in section 3.2).

6.1.1.1 *=biic* 'immediately'. There are five instances of the clitic *=biic*, glossed 'immediately', in the texts. All instances of this form attach to verbs, as shown in examples 6.1 through 6.3 below. It almost always occurs following an imperative (6.1) or jussive (6.2) suffix

⁵⁴ There is a third form in Voegelin's set of conjunctive modals, *-nü* 'empty word'. I suspect that this form is simply a variation of the first person singular object clitic *=ni*. This is supported by Voegelin's statement that *-nü* is used with a "first person singular notion" (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 172).

(6.4) ... aa~hya=**l=bee**

... MOM~leave=**2PL.IMP=after.a.while**

tüüb-i'-ulu'u=güt

gamble-NMLZ.PAT-2PL.POSS=QUOT

tük-**amaa**-luuts=**pee**=güt.

eat-**JUSS**-1PL.NOM=**after.a.while**=QUOT

'... "You fellows quit your gambling for awhile," he says, "let's eat awhile," he says.' (Voegelin, 1935b, 22.10)

There are six cases in which =*bee* attaches to something other than a verb. Examples of these are shown below (6.5 through 6.7). It is not clear what =*bee* 'after a while' attaches to in example 6.5; Marean (2015a) glosses *atsu* as 'let me!' with the first person singular object clitic =*ni*, but this form could also be the locative marker *atsu* 'away from'. Neither of these glosses, however, appear to be congruent with the translation of the utterance.

(6.5) maa=kü=kitc patsaawa-l atsun=**bee** he'ewiin-ac

where=QUOT=REP bat-NCM.A ?=**after.a.while** lift-SS

aaw-in-ah hac=ki taawüg-üt=kü=kija

gossip-CAUS-IMP NEG=1SG.NOM see-DUR=QUOT=REP

patsaawa-l.

bat-NCM.A

'"Where?" the Bat is saying. "Tell (me) when I am lifted on your shoulder, (for) I do not see him," the Bat is saying.' (Voegelin, 1935b, 4.7)

In example 6.6, =*bee* 'after a while' attaches to the interrogative marker *ani*.

- (6.6) pic=nin o'~oxta ani=bum=**bee**
 then=1SG.ACC MOM~ask yes/no.question=2PL.NOM=**after.a.while**
 alaauw-iba'-at?=küt.
 talk-want.to-DUR=QUOT
 'Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying.'
 (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.400)

In the remaining four instances, =*bee* 'after a while' attaches to the free temporal marker, *wica* 'later' (discussed in section 6.1.2.1). The combination of these two forms (shown in 6.7) forms an idiomatic expression; this combination is consistently translated as 'just a moment' in the texts.

- (6.7) **wicaa=bee=kü=kitc** taa-l.
later=after.a.while=QUOT=REP sun-NCM.A
 ' "Just a moment," says Sun.' (Voegelin, 1935b, 2.79)

6.1.2 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal relations can also be expressed through the addition of another word in the utterance unit. This often occurs through the forms that Voegelin labeled "independent nexus and modal particles" (introduced in section 3.2; discussed in section 6.1.2.1–6.1.2.7), but also involves some of the forms in the set of "comparison particles" (section 3.4; examined here in 6.1.2.8) and "particle compounds" (introduced in section 3.8; examined in 6.1.2.9; these words have been analyzed as temporal adverbs.

6.1.2.1 *wica* 'later'. There are eight instances of *wica* 'later' (introduced in 3.2) in the corpus. Half of these are followed by the clitic =*bee* 'after a while' (discussed in section 6.1.1.2 above). As noted above, the combination of the forms *wica* 'later' and =*bee* 'after a while'

translates to ‘just a moment’; this combination seems to be an idiomatic expression which is always followed by the quotative marker =*güt* (as seen in 6.7 above). The word *wica* ‘later’ can also be a single word in quoted speech, as in 6.8. In the other three instances, the word *wica* ‘later’ occurs before the verb being modified (shown in example 6.9). The form *wica* ‘later’ occurs as a free word and can be a host for person-marking clitics (6.9).

- (6.8) **wica**=gü=ki tük-am=bee=gü=ki
later=QUOT=1SG.NOM eat-JUSS=after.a.while=QUOT=1SG.NOM
pic=pum=ni wil’wil-’in-ahaai=gü=ki.
then=2PL.NOM=1SG.ACC hang-CAUS-IMP.FUT=QUOT=1SG.NOM
‘“Later,” I am saying, “let me eat first,” I am saying, “then you hang me in
future,” I am saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.392)

- (6.9) pic **wicaa**=bum miy-ahai **wica** ing~gim-ica
then **later**=2PL.NOM go-IMP.FUT **later** MOM~come-FUT
anghanii-l yoowi’i=güt.
people-NCM.A many=QUOT
‘Then, “You go later on in future, many people will come later on,” (the women)
are saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.710)

When *wica* ‘later’ is used before a verb, it appears to express the temporality of the utterance; it is used as a temporal adverb. The word *wica* ‘later’ is similar in form and meaning to the future tense marker, *-ica*. This similarity is particularly prevalent when the future tense marker occurs on a verb ending in a *w*, as on the verb *üüiyüw* ‘preserve’ (shown in 6.10). The form *wica* ‘later’ is likely the source of the future marker *-(i)ca* FUT. The word *wica* tends to occur before the verb today, while the future marker attaches after the verb. As discussed in

section 2.5, constituent order in Pahka’anil is often subject to newsworthiness; newsworthy verbs can move to an earlier position in an utterance unit. It is likely that when newsworthy verbs moved to the beginning of the clause, the form *wica* cliticized to the end of the verb and, over time, became the future suffix. The relation between a temporal adverb such as ‘later’ and a future marker is attested in Heine & Kuteve (2002, pp. 293–294); typologically, this is a less common (though still present) path of grammaticalization for the future tense.

(6.10)	agi	ogon	ii’i-ba’-at	moomoh-t-a
	who	anyway	drink-want.to-DUR	jimsonweed-NCM.B-ACC
	ku=k		ii’a-an- ica	aa~hal- icaa =bum
	and=1SG.NOM		drink-BEN- FUT	MOM~live- FUT =2PL.NOM
	tüwü	pic	moomoh-t=tulu	üü~yüw- ica
	good	then	jimsonweed-NCM.B=2PL.ACC	MOM~preserve- FUT
	hac=pum		ala’ac	uug- ica .
	NEG=2PL.NOM		hurry.up	move- FUT

‘Anyone who wants to drink jimsonweed, I will give it to him to drink; ye will live well; then jimsonweed will preserve ye, ye will not die quickly.’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 20.6)

6.1.2.2 *yah* ‘now’. There are twelve instances of the word *yah* ‘now’ (introduced in section 3.2) in the texts. Of these twelve, eleven are from Legora Tungate’s *Coyote Rescues Babies*, and one is from Mike Miranda’s *Autobiography*. In all instances of *yah* ‘now’, the speaker is quoting a person or character in the story. It is the first (and often the only) word in the quoted clause and can occur alone or with a clitic attached. The independent form of the second person singular pronoun is the most frequent form that occurs after *yah* ‘now’ (6.11). It can also

occur before a verb (6.12), before the free temporal marker *meeda* ‘already’ (6.13), or as the only word in a quote (6.14).

- (6.11) **yah=imbi=kü=kitc** akapii-bi-t-a.
now=2SG.NOM=QUOT=REP crow-DIM-NCM.B-ACC
‘ “Now you,” says (Sun) to the little Crow.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 2.69)

- (6.12) **yah** muu=güt pic muu-t.
now shoot=QUOT then shoot-DUR
‘ “Now shoot,” he is saying, and he (the other player) is shooting.’
(Voegelin, 1935b, 27.150)

- (6.13) **yah** meeda=kü=kitc taa-l.
now already=QUOT=REP sun-NCM.A
‘ “Enough now,” says Sun.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 2.119)

- (6.14) **yah=kü=kitc** ic-t-a.
now=QUOT=REP coyote-NCM.B-ACC
‘ “Well,” he says to Coyote.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 2.126)

This word is likely related to the imperative *-(a)h*. It is similar in form to the imperative and is used to indicate who is next to complete an action—it is used when telling somebody when to do something. The form *yah* ‘now’ appears to be the source for the imperative marker. As with the grammaticalization of *wica* ‘later’ into the future suffix *-ica* (described in 6.1.2.1 above), the form *yah* likely cliticized to newsworthy verbs that moved to the beginning of an utterance unit and then became the imperative suffix *-(a)h* over time. The exception to the ‘next’ temporal adverb function of *yah* is when it is the only word in the quote (as in 6.14); in this case, it is consistently translated as ‘well’ and appears to be used to prompt the another character in the

story to say something.

6.1.2.3 *wetcu* ‘next’. The form *wetcu* ‘next’ (introduced in section 3.2) occurs eleven times in the corpus. Like *yah* ‘now’ (section 6.1.2.2), *wetcu* ‘next’ is frequently used to indicate whose turn is next in a series of actions. This is shown in example 6.15 below.

- (6.15) **wetcu** ’imbi=kü=kija omhombi-t-a.
next 2SG.NOM=QUOT=REP mud.diver-NCM.B-ACC
‘“You (are) next,” (Coyote) says to Mud-Diver.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 12.11)

The word *wetcu* ‘next’ typically occurs as a free word and before the verb. There is variation, however, in where it occurs with respect to the noun phrase. It can occur between a demonstrative and the verb (6.16 below); in this case, the demonstrative is coreferential with the overt subject noun phrase in the relative clause following the verb. It can also occur before the subject of the verb and cliticized to the main event marker *pic* ‘then’ (6.17). This variation in distribution does not appear to affect the function of the form.

- (6.16) *pic* wa’ **wetcu** muu-t wa’ kuuy-upüü-l.
then DIST **next** shoot-DUR DIST hide-NMLZ.AG.TEMP-NCM.A
‘Then that one, that one who hides it, is shooting next.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.152)

- (6.17) *pic*=**wetcu** cüüwa-n muu-t.
then=**next** different.one-3SG.POSS shoot-DUR
‘Then next another one is shooting.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.127)

There is one instance in which *wetcu* ‘next’ occurs after the verb (6.18). The variation in placement with respect to the verb and to the subject may be due to pragmatic pressures; this may occur because the subjects are switching back and forth. The change in placement of this form may reflect the change in who is shooting next in this series of turns.

(6.18) pic wah kuuy-upüü-l muu-t wetcu.
 then DIST:LOC hide-NMLZ.AG.TEMP-NCM.A shoot-DUR next

‘Then the one who hides it (target) is shooting next.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.146)

6.1.2.4 woogami ‘yet’. There are five instances in the corpus of *woogami* ‘yet’

(introduced in section 3.2). In all but one instance, *woogami* ‘yet’ occurs at the end of the clause.

When *woogami* ‘yet’ occurs at the end of a clause, it occurs after negation in quoted speech

(6.19), at the end of attributive clauses (6.20), or at the end of the verb phrase (6.21). The form

woogami ‘yet’ is a free word, and there is one instance in which *woogami* is a host for the

quotative clitic =*güt* (6.19). In this instance, the quotative clitic =*güt* attaches to *woogami*

because it is the final word in a quote.

(6.19) wicaa=bee=kü=kitc ic-t
 later=after.a.while=QUOT=REP coyote-NCM.B
 [hac **woogami**]=kü=kitc ic-t.
 [NEG **yet**]=QUOT=REP coyote-NCM.B

‘“Just a moment,” Coyote says, “not yet,” says Coyote.’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 2.120)

(6.20) wahaai=gila’ang ing~gim tcali’enta-a-miniik
 DIST:LOC:from=1PL.EXCL.NOM MOM~come Caliente-ACC-toward
 [wanaang **woogami**].

[far.away **yet**]

‘From there we came toward Caliente, (which was) far away yet.’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 23.21)

function which gives a sense of immediacy to the verb it modifies, though it seems to be less immediate than the temporal clitic =*biic* ‘immediately’ (discussed in section 6.1.1.1 above). This form occurs twice in the corpus (shown in examples 6.24 and 6.25). In both instances, it occurs at the end of the clause and serves as a host for the quotative clitic =*güt* because it is the final word in quoted speech.

(6.24) wa’=ogon tüwü mi’-i-tc=küt [inggiluuts
 DIST=anyway good go-NMLZ.PAT-1PL.POSS=QUOT [1PL.NOM
mapil]=güt.

today]=QUOT

‘“That (is just as) well, our going (alone, without him),” he is saying, “we (must go) today,” he is saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.594)

(6.25) pic nahakana-n im~bingk [hac-a-ts pic
 then sheriff-3SG.POSS MOM~say [NEG-may-3SG.NOM go.out
mapil]=güt napaai müüya-l a~mh-iiu=güt wa’
now]=QUOT six moon-NCM.A MOM~give-PASS=QUOT DIST
 nahakana-n.

sheriff-3SG.POSS

‘Then the sheriff spoke, “He can’t get out now,” he is saying, “he is given six months,” that sheriff is saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.615)

6.1.2.7 ümbü ‘again’. In the majority of the instances of the word *ümbü* ‘again’ (introduced in section 3.2 and discussed as a noun modifier in section 5.2.2.1), it has a temporal adverbial function; it is used to indicate that an action is performed again. It can occur before (6.26) or after (6.27 and 6.28) the verb in an utterance unit. The form *ümbü* ‘again’ occurs as a

free word (as in 6.26 and 6.27) and can be a host for the quotative clitic =*güt* when it occurs at the end of quoted speech (6.28).

(6.26) pic=kila'ang **ümbü** ü~tük pül-üügim-ac.
 then=1PL.EXCL.NOM **again** MOM~eat arrive-COME<ACT-SS

‘Then we ate again when we arrived.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 26.11)

(6.27) pic=kitc omhombi-t o'~op **ümbü**.
 then=REP mud.diver-NCM.B MOM~dive **again**

‘Then Mud-Diver dived again.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 12.16)

(6.28) pic tco'ogil im~bingk miy-ac
 then Voegelin MOM~say go-SS
 ing~gim-ica=k **ümbü'ü=güt** ...
 MOM~come-FUT=1SG.NOM **again=QUOT** ...

‘Then Chogil spoke when taking leave, “I shall come again,” he is saying ...’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 27.633)

6.1.2.8 *ooyanac* ‘next’, ‘last’, ‘later’. The word *ooyanac* (also written *oinas* or *ooinas*)⁵⁵ is listed as a “comparative” in Voegelin (introduced in section 3.4). There are no instances of this form in the texts, but it has multiple functions in the fieldwork portion of Marean (2015a); in addition to its function as a comparative as discussed in Voegelin, it also functions as a temporal adverb. When *ooyanac* is used as an adverb, it is translated as ‘next’, ‘last’, or ‘later’ (shown below in examples 6.29 through 6.31). Unlike the other temporal adverbs discussed thus far, *ooyanac* is used to modify a temporal noun such as *meedak* ‘morning’ or *cimaana* ‘week’. It can

⁵⁵ In Marean (2015a), the word *ooyanac* is written as *oinas* or *ooinas*, regardless of whether it is used as a comparative or temporal adverb.

occur before the noun in the phrase (6.29 and 6.30) or after the noun (6.31). The combination of *ooyanac* with the noun indicates when the action takes place in these utterance units.

(6.29) **ooinas** meedak üyüümbic-t ii~mi
next morning roadrunner-NCM.B MOM~go
 ‘The next morning Roadrunner went.’ (Marean, 2015a, A0173–2_0101)

(6.30) ii~mi=giluuts bicip **ooinas** cimaana’.
 MOM~go-1PL.NOM Bishop **last** week
 ‘We went to Bishop last week.’ (Marean, 2015a, A0091–3_0004)

(6.31) woh cümaana’ **ooinas** utsuu u~muuk Bakersfield=ip.
 two weeks **more** grandmother MOM~die Bakersfield=LOC
 ‘Two weeks later Grandma died in Bakersfield.’ (Marean, 2015a, A0155–1_0050)

6.1.2.9 *tuuganaawidami* ‘in the middle of the night’. In over half of the instances of *naawidam* ‘between’ or ‘middle’ (discussed above in section 5.1.2.3), the form is used as a compound noun with the noun *tuugal* ‘night’ to indicate that something happened ‘in the middle of the night’. The noun class A marker *-l* is removed from *tuugal* ‘night’, and the combined form becomes *tuuganaawidami* ‘in the middle of the night’. Like the temporal adverb use of the comparative *ooyanac* (discussed in 6.1.2.8 above), *naawidam* appears to be modifying the temporal noun *tuugal* in this case. As discussed in 5.1.2.3, *naawidam* can be used as a class C noun modifying another noun. Although the word *naawidam* can occur with or without the class C accusative marker *-i*, the compound noun *tuugaanawidami* consistently occurs with an *i* at the end of the form. The *i* that occurs at the end of this form may be the accusative marker *-i*, but this is inconsistent with how nouns are used in this type of construction as seen in 6.1.2.8; neither the temporal noun nor *ooyanac* take accusative marking in the examples above. An alternative

‘in the middle of the night’ in the examples above to ‘when it was the middle of the night’ in the example below.

(6.34) pic=ki **tuuga-naawidami-’-ing** u~tsuluum.
 then=1SG.NOM **night-middle-VBLZ-DS** MOM~sleep
 ‘Then, when it was the middle of the night, I slept.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 26.14)

6.1.3 Summary of Temporal Verb Modifiers

The particles examined in this section have been reanalyzed as forms that contribute to the expression of temporality in Pahka’anil (visualized in Figure 6.1 below). The conjunctive modal particles are analyzed as morphologically bound expressions of temporality (section 6.1.1), and the forms discussed in section 6.1.2 are free words that specify the temporality of an utterance unit; they have been analyzed as temporal adverbs.

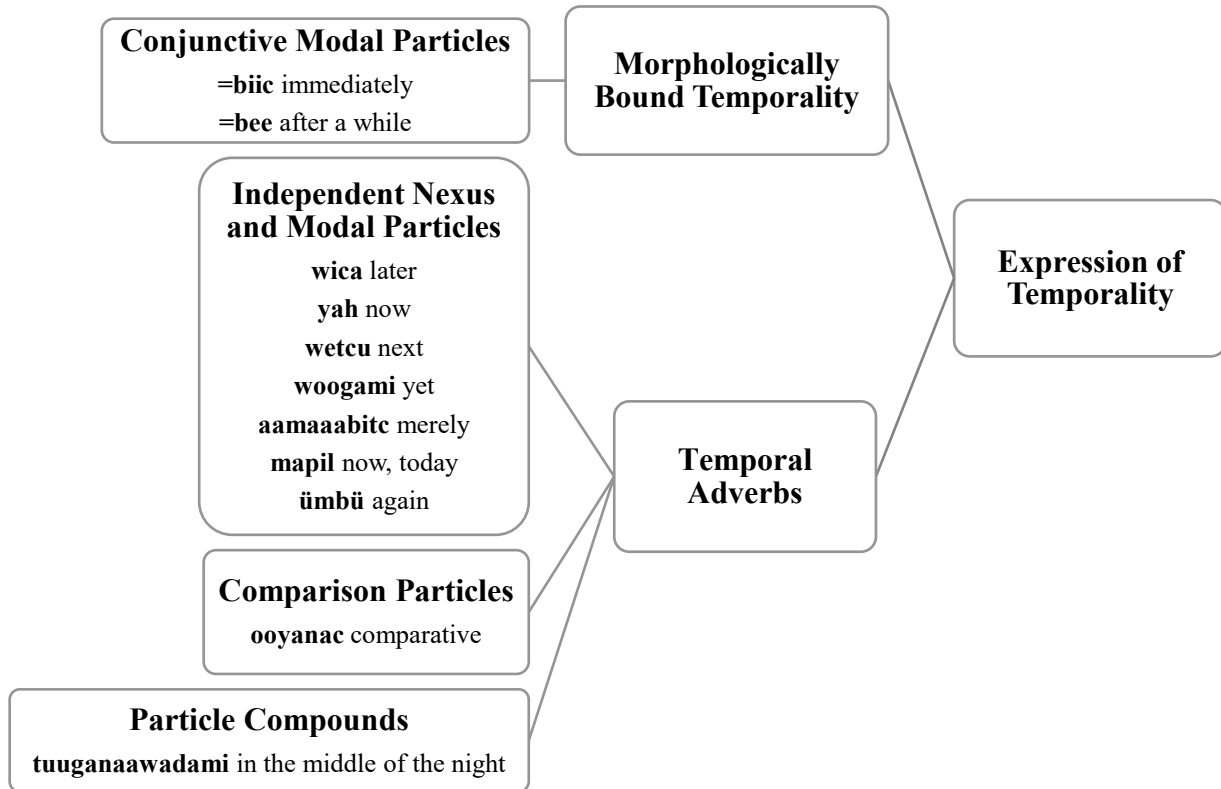


FIGURE 6.1. Particles analyzed as temporal verb modifiers.

6.2 Modal Adverbs

The following section discusses verb modifiers that express modality, or “the speaker’s attitude toward a situation” (Payne, 1997, p. 244). This consists of words from Voegelin’s “independent nexus and modal particles” introduced in section 3.2.

6.2.1 *omok* ‘in vain’

The word *omok* ‘in vain’ (among the “nexus and modal particles” introduced in section 3.2) appears to be a modal adverb used to express that someone was unsuccessful in an action, usually in cautioning someone against something. It is used in this sense as a free word in 6.35 and 6.36.

(6.35) *ma’ica=k* *wet* *tü’hawa’=kü=kija* *timiwa-l=ni*
 why=1SG.NOM oh! ?⁵⁶=QUOT=REP chief-NCM.A=1SG.ACC
omok *a’~aw-iin* *tüwü* *hac=ki* *wal*
in.vain MOM~tell-CAUS good NEG=1SG.NOM DIST:ACC
ü~wük.

MOM~have.sex.with

‘“I can’t help it now,” he says; “the chief told me rightly (that) I should not take that one.”’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 6.90)

The word *omok* ‘in vain’ is used four times throughout Text 6 Visit to the Land of the Dead. In this text, a man’s wife has died, and the man is going to the land of the dead in an attempt to bring her back. When he retrieves his wife from the land of the dead, the chief cautions him not to have sex with (the verb root *wük*, translated as ‘take’) his wife for three days

⁵⁶ No gloss is provided for the form *tü’hawa’* in the database (Marean, 2015a) or the dictionary (Marean, 2015b). Marean proposes that *ma’ica=k wet tü’hawa’* ‘I can’t help it now’ is an idiomatic expression (2015b, p. 60).

(Voegelin, 1935b, 6.67–69). On the journey back, the man has sex with his wife within the three days. When he wakes up in the morning, the man finds a stalk of yucca is in his wife’s place and then says the utterance in 6.35. Throughout the rest of the story, the word *omok* ‘in vain’ is used in the subsequent utterance units that refer to the man’s effort to bring his wife back (Voegelin, 1935b, 6.93–94).

The word *omok* ‘in vain’ is also used in Text 15 Jimsonweed Dream. In this text, a man has gone to Mammoth to work. He has a dream in which another man appears to him and instructs him to drink jimsonweed.⁵⁷ The man wakes up and has an opportunity to drink jimsonweed, but does not. After he returns to work, he is injured, and the word *omok* is used in the utterance unit in which the man who instructed him to drink jimsonweed appears to him again (6.36).

(6.36)	wah=ni	omok	aaw-in-apü-nan
	DIST:LOC=1SG.ACC	in.vain	tell-CAUS-REL-3SG.POSS
	wah	taatwa-l.	
	DIST:LOC	man-NCM.A	

‘There, the one who told me in vain, the man is there.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 15.20)

There is one instance of *omok* ‘in vain’ in the corpus which is somewhat inconsistent with the use described above. The use of *omok* shown in 6.37 is similar to the ‘in vain’ meaning in the examples above; however, in this context it appears to be used as ‘aimlessly’. In the preceding utterance units, the speaker talks about how he copulated with different women (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.280), married his wife (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.281), left his wife (Voegelin,

⁵⁷ A powerful herb that was historically used for medicinal purposes (Robert Gomez, personal communication, August 2017).

1935b, 27.284–286), and then copulated with different women again (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.287). After the utterance unit in 6.37, he is then told to leave the woman. Based on this series of events, it appears that *omok* is used in this case to express that the speaker’s actions were ‘aimless’ or ‘without purpose’.

(6.37)	pic=ki	omok	üüi~düu	ümbü	tciitc
	then=1SG.NOM	???	MOM~find	again	one
	aanaawic-t-a				
	girl-NCM.B-ACC				

‘Then again I found one girl.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.288)

6.2.2 *na’ac* ‘just’

The word *na’ac* ‘just’ is listed among the “nexus and modal particles” in Voegelin (introduced in section 3.2). It is further defined in Marean (2015b, p. 70) as ‘just because’ or ‘for no reason.’ This word occurs twice in the texts; based on these instances, it appears to be used as a modal adverb. It is used as a free word (6.38) and as a host for bound pronouns (6.39), and occurs before the verb it modifies.

(6.38)	pic=kila’ang	na’ac	hal-üt.
	then=1PL.EXCL.NOM	just	live-DUR

‘Then we are just living.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.102)

(6.39)	na’ac =kila’ang	tooiy-üt.
	just =1PL.EXCL.NOM	travel.about-DUR

‘“We are just wandering along.”’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.423)

6.2.3 *yoobini* ‘well, then’

According to Voegelin, *yoobini* ‘well, then’ is used after exhortative or imperative verbs

to express disgust (1935a, p. 177; introduced in the “nexus and modal particles” in section 3.2). This word does not occur in any of the texts, but is used in three examples of “impersonal imperative verbs” provided in the grammar (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 112). Two of the examples are shown below (6.40 and 6.41). In his discussion of impersonal imperatives, Voegelin states that “the particle, *yoobini*, is not a conjunctive particle, but an independent word which seems to be generally used with impersonal imperative verbs” (1935a, p. 113). In these examples, *yoobini* ‘well, then’ appears to have a modal adverbial function to express the speaker’s disgust about the action. It is used as a free word after the verb that it is modifying.

(6.40) waag-üh **yoobini**
 be.dry-IMP **well.then**
 ‘Get dry, then! (said in disgust to some plants which will not freshen when irrigated)’ (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 112)

(6.41) wacaag-ah **yoobini**
 flame-IMP **well.then**
 ‘Flame on, then! (said to a campfire which resists all attempts to extinguish it)’
 (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 113)

6.2.4 *piga’ac* ‘perhaps’

The word *piga’ac* ‘perhaps’ (introduced in the “nexus and modal particles” in section 3.2) is discussed above as a non-numeral quantifier in section 5.3.2.2. As stated above, there are four instances of this form in the texts. In two of the four occurrences, it is used as a modal adverb to express the possibility of an action (shown in 6.42 and 6.43).

(6.42) ... met ü~wük-ümin **piga'ac** yüha'awa-l.
 ... already MOM~grab-ACT>GO **perhaps** Yihawal-NCM.A

‘... “perhaps Yihawal has already taken her here and gone away.” ’

(Voegelin, 1935b, 7.17)

(6.43) ... cooyi-ng **piga'ac** aanaawic-t=küt.
 ... wife-2SG.POSS **perhaps** girl-NCM.B=QUOT

‘... “perhaps the girl (is) your wife,” she is saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.463)

In 6.42, *piga'ac* occurs after the verb and expresses the possibility that the verb root *wük* ‘grab’ has occurred. Although there is no verb in 6.43, *piga'ac* is used to express the possibility that the predicate equative construction (*cooying* ‘your wife’ is *annawict* ‘girl’) is true.

6.2.5 Summary of Modal Adverbs

Four of the particles from the “independent nexus and modal particles” (introduced in section 3.2) were examined in this section. Based on their use in the texts, these forms have been reanalyzed as modal adverbs that express the speaker’s attitude about the verb (visualized in Figure 6.2 below).

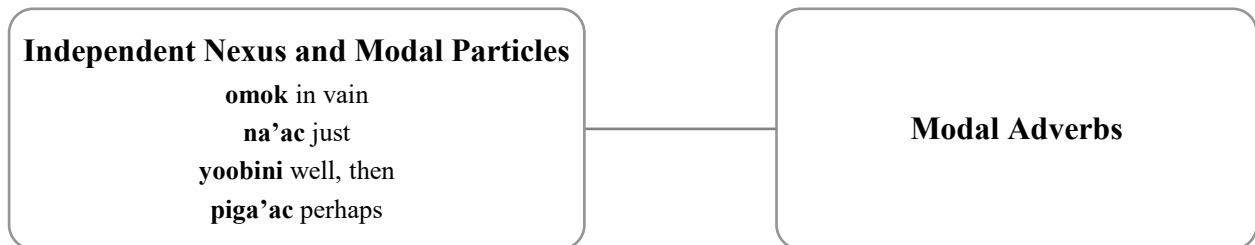


FIGURE 6.2. Particles analyzed as modal adverbs.

6.3 Manner Adverbs

This section focuses on two forms from Voegelin’s “attributive particles” (section 3.4 above). These forms are used to express the manner in which an action is performed; they are

analyzed here as manner adverbs.

6.3.1 *üüibil* ‘slow’

The “attributive particle” *üüibil* ‘slow’ (introduced in section 3.4) is used once in the corpus. Based on this instance, it appears to function as a manner adverb to express that an action is performed ‘slowly’ (shown in 6.44). It occurs as a free word immediately after the verb it is modifying.

(6.44) pic=kitc wahaai ic-t ii~mi **üüibil.**
 then=REP DIST:LOC:from coyote-NCM.B MOM~go **slow**

‘Then from there Coyote went slowly.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 11.4)

6.3.2 *tüwü* ‘good’

In addition to the adjectival function of *tüwü* ‘good’ or ‘well’ (section 5.5.2.3 above), the “attributive particle” *tüwü* ‘good’ (introduced in section 3.4) can also function as a manner adverb. When used as a manner adverbial form, it occurs as free word and can occur before the verb it is modifying (6.45) or after (6.46). In this function, *tüwü* does not necessarily mean ‘good’ but rather denotes a positive notion—the action is performed ‘well’. For example, when *tüwü* ‘good’ modifies the verb *tooiy* ‘travel/wander about’ in 6.47, the word *tüwü* indicates that the wandering is safe, which is generally a positive outcome for wandering.

(6.45) **tüwü**=gila’ang paahuulu-t.
 good=1PL.EXCL.NOM make.arrows-DUR

‘We are making arrows well.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.137)

- (6.46) wooma=k uu~muu **tüwü**
right.away=1SG.NOM MOM~shoot **good**
cuuna-b-a-an=gi uu~muu.
heart-LOC-ACC-3SG.POSS=1SG.NOM MOM~shot
‘Right away I shot well; in his heart I shot him.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 24.11)
- (6.47) ... pic=pum **tüwü** oo~dooy-ica.
... then=2PL.NOM **good** MOM~travel.about-FUT
‘... then ye will wander safely.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 20.12)

6.3.3 Summary of Manner Adverbs

The forms discussed in this section were identified by Voegelin as “attributive particles” (introduced in section 3.4). In the examples discussed in this section, these forms are used to specify the manner in which a verb is performed; they have been reanalyzed as manner adverbs (visualized in Figure 6.3).

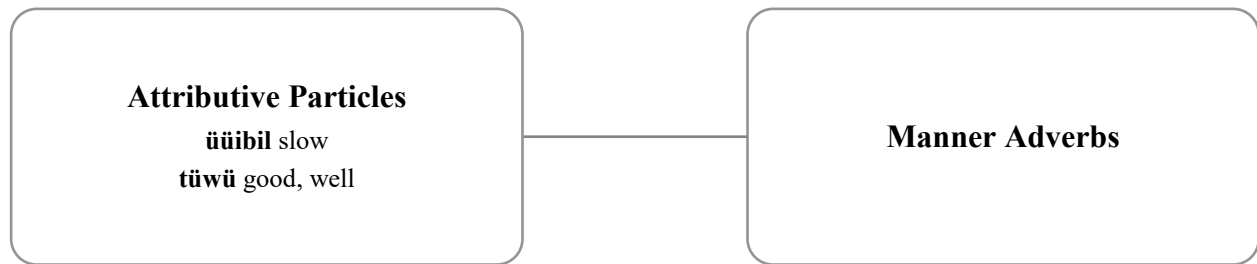


FIGURE 6.3. Particles analyzed as manner adverbs.

6.4 Conclusion

The forms discussed in 6.1 above primarily serve to express the temporality of a verb phrase. They can also be used to form idiomatic expressions, and are frequently used to indicate turns. The words discussed in 6.2 are forms that can be used to express modality, and section 6.3 discusses expression of manner.

CHAPTER 7

INDIRECT QUOTATIONS AND EVIDENTIALITY

Voegelin identifies =*gija* as a quotative marker used for indirect discourse (1935a, p. 171; introduced above in section 3.1). He goes on to say that the quotative is sometimes used with =*güt*, a direct quotative marker used to indicate a direct quotation. Furthermore, in his introduction to *Tübatulabal texts*, he writes:

Because it has been suggested that the much repeated quotative, translated “it is said” in the myths, might weary the folklorist who reads for meaning, the quotative is consistently left out of all translations except that of the first myth (Hoarded Game). This quotative is found occasionally in nonmythical texts and in such texts it is always translated. If any folklorist is interested in the stylistic use of the quotative, he will be obliged to learn where it occurs in the texts themselves—a task which should not offer any difficulties, since the language is quite transparent morphologically. (Voegelin, 1935b, p. v)

The fact that =*gija* is considered a stylistic marker which can be omitted in translation suggests that there is something more going on. Speakers are choosing whether or not to include this form throughout the discourse; this choice suggests that on some level there is a meaning to this morpheme.

7.1 Quotative Behavior of =*gija*

There are some instances in the texts in which =*gija* appears to function as an indirect quotative, as stated by Voegelin. This section focuses on examples from Text 27 Mike Miranda’s Autobiography. In 7.1, Mike Miranda is telling Voegelin something that he had been told (that Voegelin might be able to drive them to Bishop).

(7.2) wa'=ogon tüwü mi'-i-tc=küt inggiluuts
 DIST=anyway good go-NMLZ.PAT-1PL.POSS=QUOT 1PL.NOM

mapil=güt.

today=QUOT

‘ “That (is just as) well, our going (alone, without him),” he is saying, “we (must go) today,” he is saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.594)

pic=ki wahaai im~bingk wal
 then=1SG.NOM DIST:LOC:from MOM~say DIST:ACC

taatwa-l-a ii~miyaa=gila'ang=**gija**=gü=ki.

man-NCM.A-ACC MOM~go=1PL.EXCL.NOM=**REP**=QUOT=1SG.NOM

‘Then from there I spoke to that man (he younger brother), “It is said that we take leave,” I am saying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.595)

These examples from Text 27 are particularly interesting because the majority of the time that =*gija* occurs with the direct quotation marker =*güt*, it occurs directly following or shortly after =*güt*. In these examples, however, =*gija* occurs before the direct quotation marker, which serves as evidence that the =*gija* is indeed functioning as an indirect quotative here.

Furthermore, in the lines leading up to the utterance units in 7.1 and 7.2, the speaker was told the information which he then recasts. It is suggested to the speaker that he might be able to get a ride to Bishop from Voegelin (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.587), and in Line 594, Voegelin tells the speaker that they will leave without the other man (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.594). In these instances, the speaker is relaying information that he had been told, but is not repeating that information word for word—the information is recast. Therefore, the =*gija* appears to function as an indirect quotative in these instances.

7.2 Nonquotative Behavior of =gija

The majority of the time that =gija occurs in the texts, it does not appear to be functioning as a quotative. This marker is found throughout the texts in utterance units in which nobody is being quoted. This section focuses on examples found throughout Text 7 Yihawal Steals the Girl. In 7.3, =gija is used in an utterance unit towards the beginning of the myth in which the speaker tells of a man and wife, characters in the myth, going to hunt and pound acorns.

(7.3) pic=**kitc** taatwa-l toha-ala-t ku=dii=gitic
 then=**REP** man-NCM.A hunt-GO<ACT-DUR also=CONJ=REP
 wah cooyi-n unung-aala-t
 DIST:LOC wife-3SG.POSS pound-GO<ACT-DUR
 wa'an-d-a.
 acorn-NCM.B-ACC

'Then the man goes and hunts, and also his wife there goes and pounds acorns.'

(Voegelin, 1935b, 7.3)

Then again in 7.4, =gija occurs when the narrator talks about the mother and mother-in-law meeting the man as they are searching for the little girl.

(7.4) wah=**kitc**=ta a~ta'aga taatwa-l-a.
 DIST:LOC=**REP**=3PL.NOM MOM~meet man-NCM.A-ACC

'There they met the man.' (Voegelin, 1935b, 7.15)

The marker =gija occurs again in 7.5, in which the speaker is talking about Yihawal covering the girl⁵⁹ with blankets.

⁵⁹ Or woman; the story continuity is unclear as to how much time has passed and whether

TABLE 7.1. Distribution of the Reportative Evidential =gija in the Texts

Myths (14/14 Texts)		Dreams (2/5 Texts)	
1 Hoarded Game	100	15 Jimsonweed Dream	0
2 Coyote Rescues Babies	159	16 Bear Dream	0
3 Coyote and Bear	69	17 Requested Dream	1
4 Bat and Horsefly	63	18 Bull Dream	0
5 War with the Yokuts	58	19 Deer Dream	1
6 Visit to the Land of the Dead	118	Miscellaneous (2/3 Texts)	
7 Yihawal Steals the Girl	51	20 Speech to Boys	0
8 End of the Mythical Age	11	21 Concerning Bears	16
9 Death Comes into the World	16	22 The Clown	1
10 The Winged One	9	Personal Anecdotes (1/5 Texts)	
11 Coyote Freezes	30	23 Journey from Tejon	0
12 How the Earth Was Made	23	24 Deer Hunt	0
13 Coyote's Mother-in-law	44	25 Fiesta Near Bishop	0
14 Blood-Clot Boy	1	26 Trip to Isabella	0
Total Instances of =gija: 797		27 Autobiography	26

7.4 Evidence from Text 27 Autobiography

The use of =gija in Text 27 Mike Miranda's Autobiography offers further support to the theory that =gija functions as an evidential. First, =gija occurs throughout the first portion of the text; it is used in every utterance unit in this section (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.1–8). In this portion of the text, Mike Miranda is describing when he was an infant, a time in his life that he likely does not remember. Furthermore, the information that he describes in this portion of his autobiography is not necessarily information that he was told at some point; the information described is information that can be inferred based on knowledge about infancy—his mother stopped nursing him (7.6), he cried (7.7), he started walking, he started eating food, and so on.

(7.6) pic=**kitc** nü'üŋ aabuu-n aa~hya nü'üŋ
 then=**REP** 1SG.POSS mother-3SG.POSS MOM~leave 1SG.POSS
 piic-i-yi-n.
 nurse-NMLZ.PAT-NREFL.ACC.POSS-3SG.POSS

‘Then, it is said, my mother quit nursing me.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.3)

(7.7) pic=ki=**gitc** anang-at pic-iba'-ac.
 then=1SG.NOM=**REP** cry-DUR nurse-want.to-SS

‘Then, it is said, I am crying.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.4)

The marker then occurs throughout another section of the autobiography in which it appears to have a more evidential-like function. In this portion of the autobiography, the speaker is describing events which occurred when he was not conscious. The use of the marker =*gija* starts in the utterance unit shown in 7.8, shortly after the speaker said he “did not know anything” (due to alcohol consumption; Voegelin, 1935b, 27.520) and “became unconscious” (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.524). The marker =*gija* occurs in every utterance unit in this portion of the text (7.9) until the speaker says, “Then after four days I knew it” (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.533).

(7.8) pic=**kitc**=ta wal maagina'-i ool-in.
 then=**REP**=3PL.NOM DIST:ACC machine-ACC get.up-CAUS

‘Then they put up that machine.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.526)

(7.9) pic=**kitc**=nin=da o~wohoo'-in.
 then=**REP**=1SG.ACC=3PL.NOM MOM~stretch-CAUS

‘Then they pulled me out.’ (Voegelin, 1935b, 27.527)

The marker =*gija* occurs throughout these two portions of the autobiography in which the speaker does not remember the events that occurred. Furthermore, although Voegelin stated in

his introduction that all instances of the quotative in non-mythical texts would be translated, either he or the speaker omitted this from the translation in this case. This suggests that =*gija* is not indicating a quote, but rather is functioning in a more grammaticalized form as an evidential.

7.5 Grammaticalization of ‘say’

The marker =*gija*, the direct quotative =*güt*, and the verb *pinggüt* ‘say’ appear to be related to each other. According to Voegelin, the direct quotative =*güt* is a contracted form of the verb *pinggüt* (Voegelin, 1935a, p. 171). It is possible that =*güt* may be an older form of the verb *pinggüt* ‘say’ and that the verb has fused over time with one or more of the person markers, such as the second person singular subject marker =*pi*. Along this line of development, the evidential =*gija* may have emerged from the fusing of this older form of ‘say’ =*güt* and the third person singular subject marker =*dza*, together becoming =*gija*.

These propositions are consistent with the patterns of the grammaticalization of ‘say’ as given in the *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* (Heine & Kuteva, 2002). There is a tendency across the languages of the world for ‘say’ to evolve into an evidential and/or a quotative. The grammaticalization of *pinggüt* ‘say’ into the direct quotative =*güt* and into the quotative and evidential =*gija* in Pahka’anil is therefore consistent with this pattern found across the world.

7.6 Evidential Typology

According to Aikhenvald (2004), evidential systems can range from two choices to more than six distinctions. The two-choice systems tend to develop into the following types: firsthand versus non-firsthand, non-firsthand versus everything else, reported versus everything else, sensory evidence versus reported, and auditory versus everything else. There is a tendency for these two-choice systems, especially the ones in which the distinction is made between something and everything else, to have a null marker as the default choice. I believe that this is

the case in Pahka'anil; there is no evidence as of yet to suggest that there is a second evidential marker in the language. Therefore, it appears that Pahka'anil has a two-choice system, with =*gija* marking non-firsthand information⁶⁰ and a lack of a marker indicating everything else.

Furthermore, according to Aikhenvald, evidential systems are common throughout American Indian languages, and two-choice systems are particularly common in these languages. An examination of the grammars of related languages Wikchamni (Gamble, 1978), Chemehuevi (Press, 1980), and Kawaiisu (Zigmond, Booth, & Munro, 1991) did not reveal any evidence of an evidential system in these languages. That is not to say, however, that they do not possess an evidential system. It is difficult to elicit evidentials when conducting fieldwork, and they are often only found through examining large bodies of texts (Aikhenvald, 2004).

7.7 Remaining Questions

There are a number of questions that still remain to be explored with regard to the marker =*gija*. At this point in time, there is no explanation as to why =*gija* occurs in some texts more than others. For instance, it is found throughout the narratives in most of the myths, but only occurs once at the beginning of the myth in Text 14 Blood-Clot Boy. An examination of the distribution based on speaker does not yield an explanation for this difference; the texts were produced by five different speakers, and each speaker produced at least one text with =*gija* throughout. One possible explanation for the single occurrence of =*gija* in Text 14 Blood-Clot Boy is that Mügütih, the name of the blood-clot boy, is actually a Yokuts name (Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin, as stated by Charles Voegelin, 1935b, p. vi). It could be the case that this myth is not a Pahka'anil myth and is therefore told differently than the others.

⁶⁰ Further exploration needs to be done to determine the source and hence the nature of this information.

grammaticalization into this function is consistent with patterns around the world, though further examination is needed to refine the understanding of this morpheme.

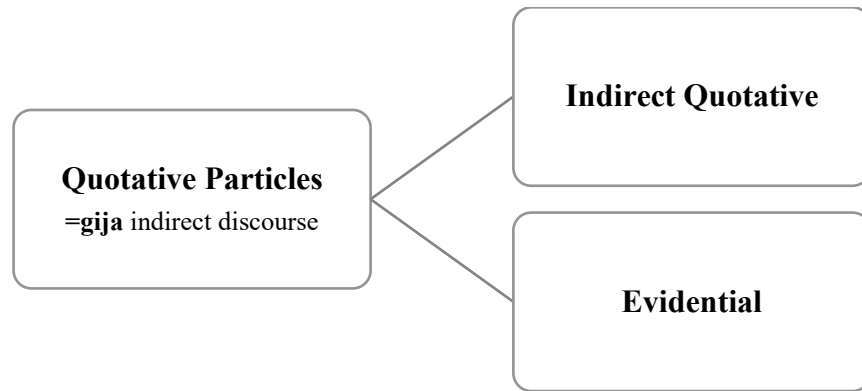


FIGURE 7.1. Reanalysis of *=gija* as a quotative and evidential.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This thesis examined a random selection of forms that Voegelin (1935a) classified as particles. Voegelin formed this category on the basis that these forms are *not* nouns and *not* verbs. This examination of a selection of forms in this category demonstrates that these words should not be grouped together based on what they are not. The reanalysis of the words based on their morphology and distribution showed that these words fall into a wide range of functional categories, including nouns and noun modifiers, verb modifiers, and an evidential marker; these findings are summarized in the following section.

8.1 Summary of Findings

Chapter 5 examined particles which are involved in noun phrases. This included forms which were analyzed as nouns (section 5.1), forms which modify noun phrases (section 5.2), and forms which are used in place of nouns in postpositional phrases (section 5.3).

The distribution and morphology of the forms analyzed as noun phrases is summarized in Table 8.1 below. These particles have been analyzed as noun phrases because they take nominal morphology and are used in a similar distribution to prototypical nouns. The forms in the top portion of the table have been analyzed as Class A and B nouns because they take the Class A and B noun class markers and the Class A and B accusative marker. The forms analyzed as Class C nouns do not take a noun class marker (which is consistent with Class C nouns) and take the Class C accusative marker when used in the accusative case. The noun class of the forms in the bottom portion of Table 8.1 cannot be determined based on the morphology that occurs on these forms, but they do take nominal morphology; these nouns fall on the relative end of the absolute-relative noun system (discussed in section 3.2) based on their meaning and that they consistently

take possessive morphology.

TABLE 8.1. Particles Analyzed as Noun Phrases

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution		Analysis
amang amangatal	any place some place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Class A marker <i>-l</i> • Class B marker <i>-t</i> • Class A and B accusative marker <i>-a</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominative or accusative noun in utterance unit • Modifies another noun in NP+NP juxtaposition 		Class A and B Nouns
mapital	new				
ku'ujubil ku'ujubitc	little	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adjective marker or demonstrative <i>-wa</i> • Third person singular and reflexive possessives 			
kiimaa	somebody	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Class C accusative marker <i>-i</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-occurs with <i>ogon</i> 'on and on' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominative or accusative noun in utterance unit 	Class C Nouns
indama	someone something		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-occurs with <i>piniyu</i> 'every' 		
naawidam	between		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NP+NP juxtaposition 		
pumapan	edge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locative <i>-p</i> • Third person singular and reflexive possessives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-occurs with possessor noun (before or after) 		Nouns with Locative and Relative Morphology
wantagaaban	top				
ukun	top				

The analysis of particles as noun phrase modifiers is summarized in Table 8.2 below. The forms examined here are all used to modify nouns. They have been analyzed separately from the nouns in Table 8.1 (which can be used to modify other nouns) because they do not take nominal morphology. The noun phrase modifiers also generally occur before the noun they modify. The forms in the top portion of Table 8.2 are used to indicate the quantity of the noun phrase, while the bottom two forms are more general noun phrase modifiers. Although there is no prototype for noun phrase modifiers, this analysis provides a step towards determining what typical noun phrase modifiers in Pahka'anil look like.

TABLE 8.2. Particles Analyzed as Noun Phrase Modifiers

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution	Analysis
piga'ac	perhaps		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before numerals in disjunction and noun 	Non-Numeral Quantifiers
yoowi	many	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A • Momentaneous <i>V~</i> • Future <i>-ica</i> • Habitual <i>-kwang</i> • Host for person-marking clitics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally before modified noun • Pronominal as nominative or accusative noun in utterance unit 	
ümbü	again	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A • Clitic on conjunctions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-occurs with <i>cuuwa</i> 'different one' 	Noun Phrase Modifiers
unduk	that	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locative <i>-p</i> • Nominal suffix <i>-akadzii</i> 'across' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally before modified noun 	
tüwü	good	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Copula <i>-wan</i> 		

The final section in chapter 5 examined forms that are analyzed as postpositional phrases (section 5.3; summarized in Table 8.3 below). The forms in this category are used to indicate a direction and take the suffixes *-kiik* or *-miik* 'toward', which typically occurs as a postposition on nouns. They are analyzed separately from the noun phrases in section 5.1 or noun phrase modifiers in section 5.2 because the first portion of these words are demonstratives or particles whose status has not yet been reexamined; subsequent analysis may find that these forms may more accurately be considered a subset of the noun phrase or noun phrase modifier categories.

TABLE 8.3. Particles Analyzed as Postpositional Phrases

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution	Analysis
tcoomiik	down toward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominal suffixes <i>-kiik</i> or <i>-miik</i> ‘toward’ • Host for clitics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally after verb 	Adpositions
wahkiik	toward			
igooiciik	away outside			
ikiik	this way			

Chapter 6 examined forms which have been analyzed as adverbs based on their meaning and use in the texts. As with the noun phrase modifiers, the typical features of verb phrase modifiers have not been established based on previous analyses of the language, but this analysis contributes to forming a prototype for adverbs in Pahka’anil.

Section 6.1 examined forms which are used to express temporality. There are two sets of forms in this category, morphologically bound temporal markers (shown in the top portion of Table 8.4) and morphologically free temporal markers (or temporal adverbs, shown in the bottom portion of Table 8.4). The morphologically bound forms tend to attach to imperative or jussive verbs, but can also cliticize to other words in the utterance unit. The forms that have been analyzed as temporal adverbs are free words and can serve as a host for clitics; these forms vary greatly in their position relative to the verb in the utterance unit.

TABLE 8.4. Particles Analyzed as Temporal Adverbs

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution	Analysis
=biic	immediately	• Clitic on verbs	• After imperative or jussive suffix on verb	Morphologically Bound Temporality
=bee	after a while	• Clitic on verbs, interrogative, and <i>wica</i> ‘later’		
<i>wica</i>	later	• Host for clitics	• Before verb • Single word in utterance	Temporal Adverbs
<i>yah</i>	now			
<i>wetcu</i>	next	• N/A • Clitic on <i>pic</i> ‘then’	• Generally before verb	
<i>woogami</i>	yet	• N/A • Host for quotative clitic = <i>güt</i>	• Generally end of clause	
<i>aamaabitc</i>	merely	• N/A	• Beginning of clause	
<i>mapil</i>	now today	• Host for quotative clitic = <i>güt</i>	• End of clause	
<i>ümbü</i>	again	• N/A • Host for quotative clitic = <i>güt</i>	• Before or after verb	
<i>ooyanac</i>	comparative	• N/A	• Before or after temporal noun	
<i>tuuganaawadami</i>	in the middle of the night	• N/A • Host for quotative clitic = <i>güt</i> • Verbalizer and different subject subordinator suffixes	• Before or after verb	

The forms examined in section 6.2 are analyzed as modal adverbs because they are used to express the speaker’s attitude about the verb in the utterance unit (summarized in Table 8.5 below). As found with the temporal adverbs, the modal adverbs occur as free forms, can be hosts for clitics, and vary in their position relative to the verb.

TABLE 8.5. Particles Analyzed as Modal Adverbs

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution	Analysis
omok	in vain	• N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Utterance units referring to unsuccessful or aimless action • Before verb 	Modal Adverbs
na'ac	just	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A • Host for person-marking clitics 	• Before verb	
yoobini	well, then	• N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After exhortative or imperative verbs 	
piga'ac	perhaps	• N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After verb • Between two nouns in predicate equative construction 	

Section 6.3 discusses forms that are analyzed as manner adverbs; these forms are used to express the manner in which an action is performed (summarized in Table 8.6). Like the other forms analyzed as adverbs, the manner adverbs are free words that can serve as a host for clitics, and vary in their position relative to the verb.

TABLE 8.6. Particles Analyzed as Manner Adverbs

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution	Analysis
üüibil	slow	• N/A	• After verb	Manner
tüwü	well	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • N/A • Host for person-marking clitics 	• Before or after verb	

Chapter 7 examines the particle =gija, which had previously been identified as an indirect discourse marker (introduced in section 3.1). Based on its distribution throughout the texts, this form has been reanalyzed as both an indirect quotative and an evidential marker (summarized in Table 8.7 below). When this form is used as an indirect quotative, it occurs immediately after speech that has been recast. When it is used as an evidential, however, it typically cliticizes to the first word in the clause; this pattern is found throughout the myths and in portions of the autobiography where the speaker is recalling events of which he does not have direct knowledge.

TABLE 8.7. The Indirect Quotative and Evidential Marker

Form	Gloss	Morphology	Distribution	Analysis
=gija	indirect discourse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clitic on final word in recast speech 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • End of recast speech 	Indirect Quotative
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally clitic on first word in clause • Host for nominative third person plural clitic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Myths • Portions of the Autobiography in which the speaker does not have first-hand knowledge of the event 	Evidential

8.2 Limitations

There were some limitations to this study. Some of the forms that were identified as particles in Voegelin (1935a) did not have examples listed in the grammar and were not found in the texts, dictionary, or fieldwork database. For example, the “attributive particles” *eweewibil* ‘light’, *tabu’upil* and *tabu’upitc* ‘short’ were not found in any of the available sources, and thus could not be reanalyzed. Furthermore, the texts contain a considerable amount of variation in spelling (as seen with forms such as *ooyanac*, *ooinas*, and *oinas* for the comparative and =*kija*, =*kidza*, =*gitc*, and =*kitc* for the indirect discourse marker). Although I tried to find all variations of each word in the texts, it is entirely possible (and probable) that I missed some variations.

8.3 Directions for Further Study and Significance of the Project

Due to limitations in time and space, I could not examine the function of every particle identified by Voegelin. As such, there is still much to do, both in terms of the particles listed in the grammar that were not covered in this work and in terms of the words that have been subsequently identified as particles as a result of Voegelin’s classification (listed in Appendix B).

As discussed in section 3.9, Voegelin’s grammar provided a thorough examination of the phonological properties of Pahka’anil and the morphosyntactic characteristics of nouns and verbs in the language. The ‘particle’ category is identified by Voegelin in the last sections of his work;

the formation of this ‘not verb’, ‘not noun’ category was likely due to limitations in time and space. This thesis serves as a continuation of the work begun by Voegelin; it provides a closer examination of some of these forms that were grouped together and demonstrates that these forms are not of a single category. This work provides a basis for further examination and reanalysis of the ‘particle’ word class and other syntactic properties of Pahka’anil. It is my hope that this work also increases the overall understanding of the Pahka’anil language, and thus makes a small contribution to the language reawakening efforts of the Pakanapul tribe.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

CONTENTS OF *TÜBATULABAL TEXTS* (VOEGELIN, 1935b)

Contents of Tübatulabal Texts (Voegelin, 1935b)

Genre	Text Number	Text Title	Length (Utterance Units)
Myths	1	Hoarded Game	98
	2	Coyote Rescues Babies	135
	3	Coyote and Bear	57
	4	Bat and Horsefly	68
	5	War with the Yokuts	61
	6	Visit to the Land of the Dead	97
	7	Yihawal Steals the Girl	52
	8	End of the Mythical Age	19
	9	Death Comes into the World	14
	10	The Winged One	8
	11	Coyote Freezes	28
	12	How the Earth Was Made	25
	13	Coyote's Mother-in-law	39
	14	Blood-Clot Boy	60
Dreams	15	Jimsonweed Dream	21
	16	Bear Dream	28
	17	Requested Dream	23
	18	Bull Dream	9
	19	Deer Dream	11
Miscellaneous	20	Speech to Boys	14
	21	Concerning Bears	9
	22	The Clown	13
Personal Anecdotes	23	Journey from Tejon	26
	24	Deer Hunt	18
	25	Fiesta Near Bishop	11
	26	Trip to Isabella	14
	27	Autobiography	717

APPENDIX B

COMPLETE LIST OF PARTICLES IN MAREAN (2015b)

Complete List of Particles in Marean (2015b)

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
aaciyan	left side	amai	someplace any place
aactal	proficient	amajinga	ten
aai	oh!	amang	any place some place
aaidooh	I thought	amangatal	anyone someone
aaiyamuuts	our	amhaijing ti teiitc	eleven
aamaabite	merely first time just just recently right now	amhaijingatwanap	ten o'clock
aamaaiyu	with	amhaijinga'ami	ten times
aatsomokmahanigücing	at any time	amil	a while
abii'as	maybe perhaps	an	yes/no question
agaasiik	away outside thataway over there the other side	anaabic	sweet
agaasü	nearby across or on the other side	anaauwübiinac	every little while
agi	who	anaraanka'	orange
agiding	whose	anawün	is it/he/she?
agitcpitc	a little	anghatsu	from the left on the left
akadziip	across or on the other side of something some distance off	angkiik	towards the left
alaabiyüh	hurry up	anooban	outside
alalalibite	thin (not for person)	anoop	out
ala'ac	hurry up	atcü	let me!
amaaihyu	where from?	atsu	away from
amahaaijinga tcitceento	one thousand	atsukiik	that way (away from)
amahaijin woh	twelce	awa'ang	yesterday
amahüt	timber!	awa'wit	quick
bias	about approximately how many	-duuk	that one, right there
diiya'	again	düüdzi'	then
egeewün	big big one	emenghiik	come here! come this way!
ege'pic	real big one	eweekang	speedy fast
eh	there right there	eweewibil	light in weight
haa	yes	has woogami	before
haaında	what (object) thing nothing something	hawaaban	next to in its neighborhood

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
haaiyi	negative particle	hayi	nothing
haaiyihaan	negative particle no not	hayi ha'iint	nothing
haaiyimü	all of them	hayi ümbü'	no more
haalala	bravo! (usually sarcastic)	hayi haica	never
haayica	never	hayii agi	nobody
haa'ic	no	ha'a	no
haica	when negative particle no not	ha'mama	hmm
haint	what negative particle no not	heei	hey
haliil	Sunday	honokang	pregnant
haniip	home at home	hoohaas	emphatic yes (darned right!)
has	negative particle not	huulitap	February ("everything green")
icehe	go on!	in-	base for independent personal pronouns
igicp	a little mite	inda	they/them (independent word)
igicpil	little bit small amount for a while	indamaa	someone or other something or other
igicpitc	a little bit	indamaa'i	something (object)
ih	this here	induugal	that one (demonstrative pronoun)
ikiik	come this way! move aside a bit!	inebiic	oh bother!
ilmahkang	tough mean	inggila	we two/you and I (independent word)
imbi	you (independent word)	inggila'ang	we, not including you (independent word)
imbumu	you all (independent word)	inggiluuts	we, including you (independent word)
in	he she it this one	itcijam	sometimes
kaak	caw (onomatopoeic)	kru	krrr (onomatopoeic)
kaam	boom (onomatopoeic)	kudzilang	little
kadziip	across the river the other side	kuu	and/but (new sentence)
kahng	bang (onomatopoeic)	kuujabin	little one
kamü	enough	kuujibil	little little bit
kangaagang	bearded	kuujubit	little
kasuus	amen	kuulaawit	March ("grass is ready to bloom")

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
keejabit	pretty	ku'ujubitc	little a little
ke' taal	what time is it? (slang)	ku'ujubitcwan	little one little
kiima	someone somebody whoever	kükay	early
kitckiik	the other way		
laagiihami	nine times	limpiyu'	clean
laagiihwanap	nine o'clock	listo'	ready
la'gih	nine	luunac	Monday
maabitc	right now finally	matwan	what kind
maadzooban	above	ma'	hello hi
maahaijingatwanap	five o'clock	ma'	where
maahaijinga'ami	five times	ma'a	that? (meaning uncertain)
maahaijinga'ang	Friday	ma'inüc	why
maaiya	where from	meeda	already long ago ready starts to
maal	which one	meedaak	morning
maalap	where where at	meetaal	old days
maanigic wanaap?	what time (is it)? what size (is it)?	menghiigatsü	on this side
maantsu'	tame	menghiik	this way
maanügi	how	met	already
maanükin	what happened? what will happen? what's the matter?	metii	already by this time
maanüna	how someone is feeling	miim	because
maa'iciik	where to which way	miipil	close near
ma-batco	where from (greeting for someone haven't seen in a while)	miipitc	close
mahajina'	Friday	mii'iim	right here
mahajinga	five	mii'iiun	close by close to it near it right there
manaauwin	his whereabouts	mina	also too
manip	to where	miniik	towards here
mankooi	looks like seems like	miya	mile
manügi	how many	miyaaneewah	there on this side
mapiil	now today right this minute	miyanghiik	this way
mapital	new	mi'itcu	from there

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
mariiyu	yellow	mokats indama'i	everything anything
mas	why	mologa'an	under beneath bottom
naabundzingatwanap	eight o'clock	napai	six
naabundzinga'ami	eight times	napaictü	seventy five cents six bits
naamiik	upward	nawambil	few
naanaau	four	na'as	just because for no reason
naanaauda'ong	after four days	na'büdzinga	eight
naanaauwatsut	four alone	nigii	I/me (independent word)
naanaauwatwanap	four o'clock	nik	I/me
naanaau'ami	four times	nomndzinam 'amhaijinga	seventy ("seven times ten")
naanaau'ung	Thursday	nomndzinwanap	seven o'clock
naanastü	fifty cents four bits	no'mdzin	seven
naawidami	between in the middle	nüm	even I
napaaidaal	six days	nüü	unknown meaning, associated with first person singular
napaai'ami	six times	nüxnanaak	in the company of together
napaatwanap	six o'clock	nü'üng	my/mine (independent word)
o	oh	omohits	each other all together all by themselves
obokang	strong	omoix	himself alone all by himself
ogon ogon	on and on and on	omoixp	by himself
ogoom	still	omok	just about almost in vain
ogoon	empty word in vain anyway on and on	omokats maalap	everywhere anywhere
oinas	more than (comparison)	oonomiik	back backwards
omholok	under underneath	oonoominiigatsuun	away in back
paadzil	hard	piga'ac	maybe/perhaps (response to a question)
paaidaal	three days	piicwabüül	enormous
paaimh	some others part of a group	piniiu-batsu	all around

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
paai'ami	three times	piniyu	all every everyone everything
paai'ing	Wednesday on the third one	pini'ik	everything (object form)
paalamiik	west (“towards the water”)	pinü	like just the same
paanga	up	podooyibitc	soft tender
paatsut	three alone	podooyibitcwan	soft tender
paatwanap	three o'clock	podooyibül	soft
paa'atsu	all three	podooyibüt	something getting soft, like worked dough
pai	three	pooman	its edge
paimajinga	thirty	punggubatsu	on horseback
panaang	“the late” (after name of someone dead)	pülü'	heavy heavy one
peewelang	first most recent	püüwai	naked nakedly with nothing empty-handed
pic	then	pweerko'	dirty
saabadu	Saturday	süübaa	(get, give) back
sunabaan	inside	süüwaminiik	the other way a different way
suunabaan	inside	sü'wan	another a different one
taatwüt	sober	tontoh	goofy dumb
taawüt	during the day	too	I don't know (answer to question) search me
tabuu'upil	short	tse'etsumuk	do as you please!
tabu'upilwan	short	tsoomiik	down below south
tabu'upite	short	tsoonga	down there
tabu'upitcwan	short	tsuu'anga	back there
tabü	all both	tsüüwaanga	down
tahawas	summer	tudayaawang	afternoon
tak	look!	tuduuh	long tall
takeeee	cry for money	tugaawan	deep
talaawal	tall	tugukang	at night
talamiik	east	tugu'	black
tamawas	winter	tuibtang	little in age
tambül	superlative (most X of a group, used with oinas)	tup	empty syllable in songs

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
tambül	most plenty enough	tuu meedak	good morning
tan	if when whenever	tuucipil	straight straightaway
tanap	o'clock time (certain time)	tuuganaawidami	in the middle of the night
tangaaban	on top	tuugawüt	all night
tceehü	go on!	tuukang	early
tceejehü	keep on! go for it!	tuul	very
tciibilo	by oneself alone	tuunawac	autumn
tciida	first time	tuupil	pretty good-looking beautiful fast strong hard
tciijami	once	tuusi	straight on
tciitc	one Monday	tuusigan	straight ahead
tciitciijitciitc	each one	tuuwu	good OK
tciitck	nearly	tuwubic	very
tciitcu	alone	tuwubül	fast hard a lot very very much
tciitcwan	just one alone one-star constellation	tuwupic	it's good, yummy
tciitcwanap	one o'clock	tümbübic	ornery
tciitcwana'ac	all the time	tünaawas	spring
tcina'as	always	tünüdaa'iba'ang	at noon
tcitcento	hundred	tüs	bad
tcitcina'as	always	tüspitc	ugly funny-looking
tcoklaadi'	brown	tüswan	a bad one (person or thing)
tcuuganan tcuwiilaat	January ("icicles hanging down")	tüübil	good
tcuup	splash (onomatopoeic)	tüwü tudaal	good afternoon (around noon)
tii	and also	tüwüdaa'aiya'awang	afternoon ("the day being well finished")
tiis	bad	tüwün	the good one
tiyaatsamuk	do you want what's the difference so what	tüwüpilwan	pretty
tiyu	and	tüwüwan	good
ti'	you (slang)		

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
unduga	right there over there	ünü'	help!
unduk	there that one	üüdzüim	long time
uudalamiik	fall autumn	üüibil	slow slowly
uu'	bitter	üüibitc	a little
übüh	oh! horrors!	üülüü	late later after a while
üdüh	ouch!	üülü'üng	in the evening late in the evening
üdüüwan	hot thing	üüsüüwanamiik	different branches in different directions
ülüit	late	üütsawa	help!
ümbü'	more again	üwunu	that
ünamiik	north up	ü'üibitc	slow easy careful quietly
ünggübatsu	on foot	ü'ülü	after a while
waa'it	quick quickly	wohmajinga	twenty
wah	there (just) somewhere over there	woo	alongside beside
wahaai	from there what happens	woobaanas	half fifty cents half a dollar
wahaminac	down at an angle	woobaiyu	on each side on both sides two together
wahkiik	toward that way	woobangan	half
wahüc	surely in truth truly true	woobapan	half
wal	that one that thing (object)	woodaal	two days
wan	far?	woogami	still yet before
wanaang	far away over there	woogami	a twosome
wanda	those	wookan	pretty soon recently
wandzil	that	woom 'amhaijinga	twenty (“two times ten”)
wataaban	on top	wooma	right away quickly now
watangaan	its top	woomahajjina'	twenty-five

Particle	Definition	Particle	Definition
watayaas	over that way	wootwan	two star constellation group of two pair
watso'onil	upside-down	wootwanap	two o'clock
wa'	that there (just) someone that one that thing	wooyo	both together two
wa'a	ouch	woo'ami	twice
wa'atalaap	straight right in the middle "right on"	woo'icwan	jealous person
weedu	so! oh! so what?	woo'oong	Tuesday on Tuesday
wet	oh!	wostü	twenty-five cents two bits quarter
wetcu	next	wutsi	with by means of
wica	later later on wait	wügiiban	behind
wiinang'	north	wünaamiik	up nearby
winiip	naked? (maybe)	wüsa	after a while later
wobaanas miiya'	half mile	wügilap	last
woh	two		
yah	well now OK	yoowi	many plenty a lot much
yeetsümok	do as you please	yoo'	lame
yeewang	next day tomorrow	yuu	oh well so?
yets	or	yüpil	closed
yoobini	well, then (said in disgust)	yüsino-bi'	shut up be quiet

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wah oowok

‘There it is ended.’