

tik-at-ø-gitʃ siwa:na-t-ø tiba-t-a
 eat-ATEL-3SG:SBJ-EVID squirrel-ABS pine.nuts-ABS-OBJ

'The squirrel is eating pine nuts.' (Marean Audio Track: A0002-1_0145)

The second consideration is aspect. Pahka'anil makes a distinction between telic and atelic aspects. According to Voegelin, the telic aspect is "comparable to the momentaneous form in Southern Paiute" and atelic is "comparable to the durative form in Southern Paiute" (Voegelin 1935a: 94). The atelic ending /-(a)t/ on the verbs can be seen in the examples above, and in Example 4 below.

(4) *tsüwaanünt aaiyat waa'anda.*

N	V	N
tsiwa:nin-t-ø	a:ij-at	wa:ʔan-d-a
squirrel-ABS-3SG:SBJ	pick.up-ATEL	acorn-ABS-OBJ

'The squirrel is gathering acorns.' (Marean Audio Track: A0009-2_0077)

Two additional points of interest are word order and tense. In Pahka'anil, word order is "stylistic rather than obligatory" (Voegelin 1935a: 151). In Example 3 above, the word order is VSO. In Example 4, on the other hand, the word order is SVO, and in Example 5 below, the word order is VO, with a null third person singular subject marker on the verb. From these data, the word order does indeed appear to be stylistic. It is likely the case, however, that word order is driven by discourse rather than simply being random. Further exploration of this topic is necessary to disambiguate the pressures driving word order in Pahka'anil.

(5) *ütük tcaamila.*

V	N
i-tik-ø	tʃa:mi-l-a
TEL-eat-3SG:SBJ	acorn.gravy-ABS-OBJ

'He ate the acorn gravy.' (Voegelin 1935a: 145)

The telic/atelic distinction discussed above is the primary means of expressing how events occur in time in Pahka'anil. The atelic form is often translated into a present/progressive event in English, as seen in the examples above. The telic form is often translated into the past tense in English, as seen in Example 5 above. When the future marker /-(i)ca(m)/ occurs with the telic, the sentence is translated into the future in English, as can be seen in Example 6 below. Like word order, exactly how tense and aspect function in Pahka'anil is a topic that warrants further exploration.

(6) *ütükica.*

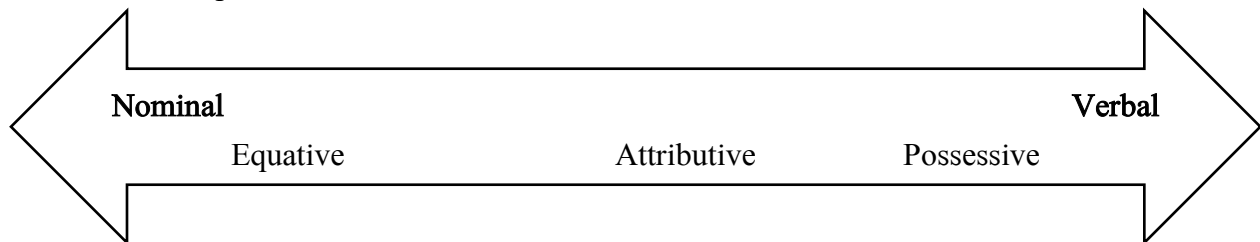
V
i-tik-iʃa

TEL-eat-FUT

'He will eat it.'(Voegelin 1935a: 123)

3. Predicate nominal constructions

Predicate nominal constructions in Pahka'anil range from more noun-like constructions to more verb-like constructions. Equative constructions, discussed in Section 4 below, are on the 'nouny-er' end of the spectrum. Attributive constructions (Section 5) fall in the middle of the spectrum; they can 'nouny', 'verby', or in between. Possessive constructions are on the verb-like end of the spectrum, as discussed in Section 6.



4. Equative

Equative constructions, according to Payne, "assert that a particular entity...is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal" (Payne 1997: 114). Pahka'anil forms equative constructions with noun phrases, either through bound pronominal subject marking on the noun phrase, or through noun phrase-noun phrase juxtaposition.

4.1 Noun phrase + Bound pronominal

When the subject can be expressed through a bound pronominal, Pahka'anil equative constructions are formed by attaching the pronominal subject marker to the noun phrase with which the subject is being equated. This can be seen in Example 7 below; the first person singular subject marker /-gi/ is attached to the absolute noun 'man'. Likewise, in Example 8, the null third person subject marker is attached to the absolute noun 'man'.

(7) *taatwalgi.*

N

ta:twa-l-gi

man-ABS-1SG:SBJ

'I am the man.' (Voegelin 1935: 75)

(8) *taatwal.*

N

ta:twa-l-ø

man-ABS-3SG:SBJ

'He is the man.' (Voegelin 1935: 149)

4.2 Noun phrase + Noun phrase

When the subject of the equative construction involves a noun rather than a pronoun, two nouns are used. Both nouns are in subject case (or rather, they are not in object case), as shown in Example 9 below.

(9) *ict-gic uibicit.*

N		N
iʃ-t-gidza		uibifi-t
coyote-ABS-EVID		thief-ABS

'Coyote is a thief.' (Marean Dictionary: 127)

These constructions do not rely on word order. In the example above, the noun 'coyote' precedes the noun 'thief', but in Example 10 below 'thief' precedes 'coyote'; both have the same meaning, 'Coyote is a thief'.

(10) *uibicit ict.*

N		N
uibici-t		ic-t
thief-ABS		coyote-ABS

'Coyote is a thief.' (Marean Audio Track: A0001-1_0030)

The examples above are translated into present constructions in English. Past equative constructions are formed in the same way as present equative constructions. In Example 11, the same construction is translated to present tense in one instance, and past tense in another instance. The temporal interpretation of the construction depends on the context in which it is used. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in this example the subject is expressed through a bound pronominal, but rather than attaching to the equative noun, it cliticizes to the particle 'every'. There were no future translations of equative constructions found.

(11) *piniyu-da taatwal.*

P		N
pini:ju-da		ta:twa-l
every-3PL:SBJ		man-ABS

'All of them were men.' (Marean Audio Track: A0173-2_0014)

'All of them are men.' (Marean Audio Track: A0169-1_0012)

Conjunctive noun phrases can also be used in equative constructions. The conjunctive noun phrase 'Eagle and Coyote' is followed by the equative noun 'chief' in the Example below.

- (12) *tii asawüt tii ict tümiwal.*
 N N N
 ti: acawi-t ti: iʃ-t timiwa-l
 and eagle-ABS and coyote-ABS chief-ABS
 'And Eagle and Coyote were chiefs.' (Marean Audio Track: A0173-2_0010)

5. Attributive

While equative constructions in Pahka'anil are noun-like, attributive constructions are in the middle of the nominal-verbal spectrum. Attributive constructions, those that associate the subject with a particular trait, are formed three different ways in Pahka'anil, ranging from more 'nouny' to more 'verby': noun phrase-noun phrase juxtaposition (Section 5.1), a noun phrase with a particle (Section 5.2), and a noun phrase with a verb-like adjective (Section 5.3).

5.1 Noun phrase + Noun phrase

Like equative constructions, attributive constructions can also be formed by juxtaposing two noun phrases. This can be seen in Example 13 below; a nominalized version of the verb 'be red' is juxtaposed with the noun 'shirt'. This is similar to the equative constructions shown above - 'the red one' is identical to 'the shirt'.

- (13) *meelmelpuul piginict.*
 N N
 me:lmel-pu:l piginif-t
 be.red-NMLZ shirt-ABS
 'The shirt is red.' (Marean Dictionary: 60)

5.2 Noun phrase + Particle

Attributive constructions can also be formed through the combination of a noun phrase and a particle. Example 14 below illustrates this. The noun 'kitten' is modified by the particle¹ 'orange'. While this particle is borrowed from the Spanish word for the color orange *anaranjado*, other Spanish color words have been borrowed as verbs (*amarillo* 'yellow' has been borrowed as both a particle *mariiyu* and a verb *mariiyu'üt*). Furthermore, other particles can be used in this type of construction, as seen in Example 15 below.

¹ According to Voegelin, particles are the third category of words in Pahka'anil, aside from nouns and verbs. Some particles appear to have more verb-like qualities, while others appear to have nominal qualities, so it seemed appropriate to position this formation of attributives between NP NP juxtaposition and the verb-like adjectives to be discussed. Future work will focus on clarifying the function of particles in Pahka'anil.

- (14) *kiid²-gitc anaraanka'*
 N P
 ki:di-gitʃ anara:nkaʔ
 kitten-EVID orange
 'The kitten is orange.' (Marean Dictionary: 13)
- (15) *tapciil ii anaabic.*
 N P
 tapci:l i: ana:biʃ
 bread-ABS ? sweet
 'The bread is sweet.' (Marean Dictionary: 11)

5.3 Noun phrase/Bound pronominal + Verb-like adjective

Attributive constructions can also be expressed through a verb-like adjective. Words which assign traits tend to take verb morphology in Pahka'anil, as can be seen in Example 16 below. The word for 'red' (or more accurately 'be red') takes the atelic suffix /-(a)t/. Adjectives can also take telic marking, as in Example 17, and the future suffix, as in Example 18.

- (16) *piginicing mel'meelat.*
 N V
 piginif-inj melʔme:l-at
 shirt-2SG:POSS be.red-ATEL
 'Your shirt is red.' (Marean Dictionary: 60)
- (17) *üwüdüü.*
 V
 i-wi:di-ø
 TEL-be.angry-3SG:SBJ
 'He was angry.' (Marean Audio Track: A0035-1_0013)
- (18) *kaabee' inikicaa.*
 N V
 ka:be:ʔ i-nik-ica:
 coffee TEL-be.strong-FUT
 'The coffee will be strong.' (Marean Dictionary: 70)

² Though *kiidi* appears to be a borrowed form, Marean's dictionary notes that it is the Pahka'anil form of 'cat' or 'kitten', and the Tübatulabal form is *naadii'*.

Attributive constructions can also take subject bound pronominals. This is seen in Example 17 above, in which the lack of subject marker on 'be angry' indicates that the subject is third person singular, and in Example 19 below, in which the bound pronominal /-pi/ indicates that the subject is second person singular.

- (19) *sübat-pi.*
 V
 sib-at-pi
 be.cold-ATEL-2SG:SBJ
 'You are cold.' (Marean Dictionary: 99)

Furthermore, word order can vary in attributive constructions as well. In Examples 14, 15, and 16, the subject occurred before the attributive, whereas in Example 13, the subject occurred after the attributive.

Future and past translations of the noun phrase juxtaposition or particle attributive constructions were not found, but I suspect that, like the equative constructions, the temporal distinction may depend on context.

6. Possessive

Possessive constructions, those that express possession, are the most verb-like of these predicate nominal constructions in Pahka'anil. They can be expressed more nominally through noun phrase-noun phrase juxtaposition, as discussed in Section 6.1. Alternatively, however, they can be expressed through a grammaticalized form of the verb 'to hold' (Section 6.2).

6.1 Noun phrase + Noun phrase

Like the attributive and equative constructions discussed above, possessive constructions can be formed through the juxtaposition of two noun phrases. This can be seen in Example 20 below, in which the noun 'boy' occurs with 'big shoes'. No past or future translations were found for this form of the possessive construction.

- (20) *aiyapüün egeewün wonggon.*
 N N
 aijapi:n ege:win wongo-n
 boy big shoes-3SG:POSS
 'The boy has big shoes.' (Marean Dictionary: 7)

6.2 Grammaticalized verb 'hold'

In Pahka'anil, the verb 'to hold' (as in 'to grasp') has extended in meaning to 'to possess'. The verb can still be used as 'hold', as can be seen in Example 21 below, from Mike Miranda's Autobiography.

(21) *wats yüwüt maap.*

N	V	
wa:ts	jiw-it	ma:p
basket.tray-OBJ	hold-ATEL	hand-LOC

'He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand.' (Voegelin 1953b: Text 27, Line 238)

'Hold' can also be used as a possessive, as shown in Example 22. The meaning of *yüwüt* has extended to include both 'grasp' and 'possess'. According to Heine and Kuteva (2002: 185), the grammaticalization of 'hold' to 'possession' found in Pahka'anil is consistent with patterns of grammaticalization found in languages throughout the world. This meaning can be applied to other nouns, such as 'horse' in Example 23. Although the construction occurs with the past habitative suffix /-(i)ukəŋ/ (Voegelin 1935: 107) in Example 23, no forms of this construction have been found with telic reduplication or the future suffix.

(22) *yuuwu-ki moopitaal yuudzinicta.*

V		N
ju:w-u-ki	mo:pita:l	ju:dziniʃ-t-a
hold-ATEL-1SG:SBJ	new	washer-ABS-OBJ

'I have a new washer.' (Marean Audio Track: A0095-4_0042)

(23) *aanaan yuuwikwang kawaaiyo'ii.*

N	V	N
a:n:n	ju:wi-kwaŋ	kawa:ijoʔ-i:
father-3SG:POSS	hold-PST:HAB	horse-OBJ

'My father used to have a horse.' (Marean Audio Track: A0051-1_0002)

7. Conclusion

The above discussion examined the formation of three types of predicate nominal constructions in Pahka'anil: equative, attributive, and possessive. Pahka'anil has a range of forms used for these constructions, including noun phrase juxtaposition, particles, and verbs. These constructions seem to lie on a spectrum ranging from more nominal to more verb-like. Equative constructions lie on the more nominal end of the spectrum with NP NP juxtaposition, the attributive constructions lie in the middle with a variety of means of expression, and the

possessive constructions lie on the more verb-like end of the expression with the use of the grammaticalization of the verb 'hold'.

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