Aspects of Salinan Grammar

By

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Aspects of Salinan Grammar

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Katherine Turner
Dedication

To Mrs. O., Barbara and the Doom-Pussy
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0. Introduction.

0.1. Location. At the time of European contact the Salinan language was spoken in an area along the south central coast of California from just north of the present town of King City south to Paso Robles and east to Coalinga. Milliken's (1982) research with the California mission registers and recent archaeology by Gibson (1975 & 1982), Breschini & Haversat (1980), and Swernoff (p.c.) has refined Kroeber's (1912:415 & 1925:546-549) geographical distribution of Salinan speakers (Turner 1983b). The most significant alteration of Kroeber's boundaries is to move the southern coastal border 40 miles north and to suggest a western-easterm, rather than a northern-southern division between speakers of the two documented dialects of Salinan, Antoniaño and Migueliño, respectively. There is no linguistic evidence to support the possibility that there was a third dialect of Salinan, Playánó. The Salinans' neighbors at the time of European contact were the Esselen (Hokan stock), the Soledad Costanoan (Penutian stock), the Yokuts (Penutian), and the Northern, or Obispeño Chumash (Hokan), (map, page 2).

SALINAN TERRITORY AND ADJACENT AREAS

After Gibson (1982)

--- Boundary of Salinan territory according to Kroeber (1925)

Franciscan mission
Classification of Salinan as a member of the Hokan stock followed a preliminary period starting with Gallatin (1848), during which classifications of the numerous languages of North America (and, specifically, California) were attempted (Latham 1856, Gatschet 1877, Powell 1891, Dixon & Kroeber 1903, Kroeber 1910, Dixon & Kroeber 1913a & b, and Dixon & Kroeber 1919) in an effort to bring order to a "bewilderingly large number of languages" (Langdon 1974:4).

Genetic affiliation even with its closest geographical 'Hokan' neighbors cannot be established. It is possible that a pre-Salinan and proto-Chumash comparison may eventually reveal a relationship at a great time depth: there is such a dearth of linguistic data for Esselen that there is little possibility of establishing a genetic relationship between Salinan and Esselen or between Esselen and any other language family that has been suggested as a member of the Hokan stock.

Attempts to discover genetic relationships with other languages or language families in California have been fruitless. The result of my earlier historical, typological and areal study of Salinan (Turner 1983a) is that the Salinan language shows as much influence from its contacts with unrelated California languages as it does evidence of genetic affiliations with any other putative Hokan languages. It shares about the same number of look-alikes with Uto-Aztecan as it does possible cognates and borrowings
with Chumash. The study does establish the fact of continuous and long term Salinan occupation of, at least, the Salinans' historical territory, as well as continuous and long term contact between Salinan and Chumash and Uto-Aztecan languages.

0.3. Ethnohistory. The Salinan dialects disappeared as active media of communication within less than a century after the Franciscans introduced a mission in their territory. Mission San Antonio de Padua, the third mission established by the Franciscans in Alta California and the first in Salinan territory, was founded on July 14, 1771 by Father Junipero Serra with Fathers Miguel Pieras and Buenaventura Sitjar. San Miguel, Arcángel was established July 25, 1797 by Fr. Sitjar. These two missions have lent their names to the two attested dialects of Salinan: Antoniaño and Miguelíño.

The Franciscans' proselytizing brought about the eventual eradication of Salinan aboriginal culture at all levels. There seem to have been some attempts made to preach in the native language, but the Franciscans' linguistic efforts were primarily directed toward instructing the Indians to speak and read Spanish. The native language was just one of the local curiosities for the padres. In order to evaluate the sincerity of their Indian converts, the missionaries required them to pray, recite, sing, count, confess and conduct most of their daily communication in Spanish (Engelhardt 1929 & 1972).
In 1813 the first datable report on the language of the area was recorded in answer to a royal interrogatorio. Priests from all the missions in Alta California responded to the questionnaire, and this is the source for some of the oldest historical information on the native languages of the coast of California.

Questions 3, 6, 7 & 10 dealt, in part, with language: the other 31 give some insight into the attitudes of the Spaniards to the Indians and vice-versa. Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho replied to the Interrogatorio for San Antonio on February 26, 1814. In answer to the third question he wrote,

"Two distinct languages are known to be spoken by the Indians. The dominant language is that of the site of the Mission, which is understood to the east, south, north, and the circumference of the west. The less important is spoken by those called Playaños, of the sea-coast, because it came from the shore or the ocean. They are few, and they not only understand the dominant idiom, but speak it to perfection. The generality of the Indians understand to a great extent the Spanish language, and they speak it with sufficient fluency, especially those who were born at the Mission. Those who have had opportunities to deal with the Spaniards excel, of course."

The answers to questions 6, 7 and 10 are as follows:

"In the boys born at the Mission and of better instruction, there is noticed much inclination to read and write in Spanish; but as for reading and writing in their own idiom little or no inclination has been observed, but we doubt not that with facility they would acquit themselves in the one as in the other language were not paper, pen, etc., lacking. On their antiquities nothing is known regarding writers or writings. Their whole writings consist of some line drawn on the soil when they want to commit something to memory which they alone understand. They know
from short and long lines interpolated, in which state are their accounts. They also make in place of the numerals knots in a string or cord, or notches in a stick, and this do even the most intelligent, when they give account of what has been committed to their charge, as for instance the fanegas of grain sowed or harvested, the number of cattle, etc. Furthermore there are some who know how to explain themselves with certainty when they are questioned on things, which with us it would be necessary to write down.

"On account of what has been expressed in number 5, it will suffice to say that what can be desired has been accomplished in the Spanish language and in the new Missions.

"This Mission has a catechism in the vernacular and the other works for the administration of the sacraments but nothing is approved formally by the Right Reverend Bishop" (Engelhardt 1972: 30-39).

The Fathers Juan Martin and Juan Cabot replied to the Interrogatorio April 15, 1814 from Mission San Miguel. In answer to the third question they wrote,

"The neophytes of this Mission speak four idioms or languages: a) that of San Antonio, which is reputed the principal one; b) that of the seashore, which is the one spoken by those collected on the sea-coast; c) the Tulareño, which is spoken in the Tulare region; d) and in the fourth place that spoken to the south of the Mission. As yet they understand little Castilian, and that much, thanks to the efforts of the Missionary Fathers."

The Tulareño referred to are Yooks. The answers to questions 6, 7 and 10 are as follows:

"The little boys of the Mission in a few months learn anything, as reading in Spanish or Latin, and learn to read from manuscripts, to sing the plain as well as the figured music. Their ancestors had no idea whatever of paper or its equivalent.

"As the Indians have no aversion to Castilian, it seems a sufficient method to instruct them in the Castilian language, which method has been
observed, and particular care is taken to have them all speak to the Fathers at least in Castilian.

"In this Mission, although there is a Catechism in the chief language, it is not formally approved by the Bishop" (Engelhardt 1929:15-21).

0.4. **Sources for linguistic data.** There are more than twenty sources of linguistic information on Salinan, three quarters of them recorded in idiosyncratic transcriptions. Five are glossed in Spanish of the late 18th and early 19th century: these and other such confirmatory sources are listed in the bibliography.

0.41. **Sitjar.** The oldest source of purely linguistic information about Salinan is Fr. Buena Ventura Sitjar's "Vocabulario de la Lengua de los Naturales de la Mision San Antonio, Alta California," published in Shea's Library of American Linguistics in 1861 but compiled much earlier in the century. The manuscript is in the Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Sitjar lived in Salinan territory from 1771 until his death in 1808. The Vocabulario is arranged by Spanish nouns and verbs with most of the entries supplemented by a few inflected examples or sample sentences, as well as some grammatical notes by Shea. His corpus is useful as a confirmatory and supplementary linguistic source for more extensive and better recorded material.

0.42. **Mason.** J. Alden Mason (1918) is the author of
the only linguistic analysis of Salinan that has been published in the 20th century. His material consists of early 20th century grammatical analysis, texts from both dialects, and a stem list in which many of the verb forms are from Sitjar. Unfortunately, Mason did not have the ability to record the language accurately nor to analyze it grammatically. But his work remains the only analysis of Salinan that has been published. Sapir's review of this work (1920c) and his subsequent use of Mason's personal phonetic records of Salinan (1917, 1920a, 1920b, 1921 & 1925) in comparative Hokan studies has provided clues for much of my analysis of Salinan.

0.43. Harrington. The most valuable linguistic record was made by John Peabody Harrington. Harrington worked with speakers of both dialects in 1922 and again in 1931-32, collecting over 5,000 vocabulary items. His elicitations were based on previously elicited material, both published and in manuscript form. Their value lies in the fineness of his phonetic detail rather than in the originality of his elicitations. He had little interest in any aspect of language beyond its phonetics. In the mid 1930's he sent his nephew, Arthur Harrington, to make sound recordings of a speaker of the Miguileño dialect. Arthur was assigned the task of reeliciting some of the texts in the published work of J. Alden Mason.

Arthur Harrington recorded many hours of monolingual texts in Miguileño, but not the texts recorded by Mason.
0.44. **Cabot & Dumetz.** More limited, but basic, sources for linguistic information are found in the recordings of Frs. Dumetz and Pedro Cabot. In a manuscript composed in the first half of the 19th century and rediscovered recently in the Boston Athenaeum, they recorded about 90 pages of vocabulary, including many noun paradigms, for which this manuscript is the only source. Their contribution to the linguistic documentation of the language was intended as a teaching tool for future missionaries in Salinan territory. They wrote the Salinan glosses with vowels between the consonant clusters wherever Salinan had a consonant cluster not found in Spanish.

0.45. **Henshaw.** In 1884 Henry Henshaw worked with speakers of both dialects to fill in a BAE schedule of over 100 pages of vocabulary and sentences. There is a limited amount of material and it is inaccurately recorded where Salinan fricatives are involved, but some of the vocabulary and sentences can be found nowhere else.

0.46. **Jacobsen.** The most recent recording of Salinan was done in 1954, early 1955 and 1958 by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. He recorded both dialects, basing his preliminary elicitations on the Swadesh 1,000 word Penutian list (IJAL 1954). The language was in its terminal stages by the time that Jacobsen heard it and he has accurately recorded phonological and morphological simplification, as well as many noun and verb paradigms. Jacobsen developed a tentative phonemicization of Salinan,
as reported in Hester (1978:500, fn.). This agrees with the conclusions I have independently reached in regard to the phonemic status of voiceless stops and resonants.

0.5. Method. The materials present philological problems which require knowledge of the phonology of the native language of the recorder. One must be aware of the phonetic values for speakers of Spanish and English, particularly. For example, a Spanish-speaker such as Sitjar or Cabot and Dumetz used x to stand for the phone [ʃ]; their j stands for a glottal fricative. A variety of consonant symbols are used to transcribe Salinan [ɬ]: tr, trh, cr, sr. Among Harrington's peculiarities was his use of q for the voiceless velar fricative.

A full discussion of the orthographic conventions used by Mason, Harrington and Jacobsen appeared in Turner 1980. For methods of reconstitution see Broadbent (1957) and Okrand (1980). The preponderance of the data on which my phonological analysis is based is from the recordings of Harrington and Jacobsen. Although the language was infrequently spoken by the 1930's, Harrington's attention to phonetic detail was so painstaking that his material compensates for the other sources of linguistic material and can be used to fill in gaps.
1 Phonology. Antoniaño is the dialect of Salinan upon which this study is based, principally because there is more paradigmatic material available for the dialect. The method of reconstitution is similar to Sylvia Broadbent's (1957), although Salinan data was primarily recorded by trained linguists. Marc Okrand, in an evaluation of Broadbent's reconstitution states, "Though reconstitution might not produce forms of as high quality as one might like, its results, and the process of obtaining them, do, nonetheless, lead to a greater understanding of the language as well as of the documents in which it is recorded" (Okrand 1980:176).

1.1. Phonetic inventories. The following phonetic inventories are taken from the entire corpora of Mason, Harrington and Jacobsen. They will be compared and the phones reconciled as far as possible.

1.1.1. Mason. Mason's description has full articulatory descriptions, but they are not reliable. The chart is from Mason (1918:8, 13) and preserves his terminology.
CONSONANTS

Labial Dental Alveolar Palatal Glottal

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<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
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<td>t</td>
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<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
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<td>Glottalized</td>
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<td>k'</td>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semi-vowel</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sonant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surd</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOWELS

These charts are given by Mason as a summary to his articulatory descriptions. These descriptions will be utilized in the phonemics section (1.3). The (') is not given in Mason's chart but it appears throughout his stem list and the texts. Of special interest are his phonetic descriptions of the places of articulation; alveolar and palatal, in particular. 'Alveolar' should be post-alveolar and 'palatal' should be velar, of course.

1.12. Harrington. Harrington's inventory of consonants and vowels can be given using a conventional lay-out for places and manners of articulation. His notes contain no terms for place or manner of articulation.
# CONSONANTS

**Labial Dental Post-Alveolar Palatal Velar Glottal**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>tr</th>
<th>kʷ, k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr</td>
<td>kʷ, k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>trʰ, trʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glotzd.</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>trʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>c, ʃ</th>
<th>ʃ̊, ʃ̃</th>
<th>h, b, ɓ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>c, ʃ</td>
<td>ʃ̊, ʃ̃</td>
<td>h, b, ɓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricates</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tʃ, tʃʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tʃ, tʃʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>tʃh</td>
<td>tʃʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glotzd.</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>tʃ, tʃʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>η</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glotzd.</td>
<td>m'</td>
<td>n'</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liquids</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glotzd.</td>
<td>l'</td>
<td>l'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semivowels</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>j, y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j, y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glotzd.</td>
<td>w'</td>
<td>y', y'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VOWELS

i  u
  e  o
  ø  ø
  a

Harrington's notes contain the information that "ø equals [e] as in 'bed' and ø equals [ø] as in 'voll'."

1.13. Jacobsen's phones are presented in a similar fashion (and see Jacobsen's phonemicization in Hester (1978:500, fn.).

CONSONANTS

Labial Dental Post-Alveolar Palatal Velar Glottal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tr, tʰ, tʃ</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gltzd.</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fricatives</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s, s̥</td>
<td>s̩</td>
<td>x̌, x̊, x̋, x̌w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced</td>
<td>φ</td>
<td>s̥</td>
<td>x̌</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affricates</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td></td>
<td>cz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspirated</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td>czʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gltzd.</td>
<td>ts'</td>
<td></td>
<td>tʃ, cz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Labial Dental Post-Alveolar Palatal Velar

Nasals
Voiceless M N
Voiced m n
Gltsd. ́m, m’, ́n, n’

Liquids
Voiceless ŋ, l, ́
Voiced l r

Semivowels
Voiced w y
Gltsd. ́w, ́w’ ́y, ́y’

VOWELS

i u
I U
e ø o
E ø
a

This chart was compiled with articulatory information supplied by Jacobsen (p.c.). It should be noted that these phonetic inventories include voiced stops and fricatives which appear only in Spanish loan words (Turner 1977).

1.2. Discrepancies.

1.21. Velar fricatives. The greatest dissimilarities among these three
are found in velar fricatives (especially in medial position), vowels and glides, though other consonants and vowels will require discussion as well.

Harrington most frequently wrote a q corresponding to Mason's and Jacobsen's x in all phonetic environments. In 21 of 29 attestations with a medial velar, Mason and Jacobsen recorded x where Harrington writes q, ḥ, ẓ, h and ḡ. Mary Haas (p.c.) has pointed out that Harrington regularly used those orthographic symbols for [x] during this period of his work. A few examples will illustrate his use of q.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASON</th>
<th>HARRINGTON</th>
<th>JACOBSEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bone'</td>
<td>axax̡-k</td>
<td>?aq̱-k, ?ax̡-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cousin'</td>
<td>e-xxa</td>
<td>?eaq̱a, ?eṣa, ?eṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bird'</td>
<td>ca-xwe</td>
<td>fā-çe, cā-hwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In one entry Mason writes h, Harrington q and h and Jacobsen has an x.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASON</th>
<th>HARRINGTON</th>
<th>JACOBSEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'door'</td>
<td>laha-'m</td>
<td>laq̱m, lahām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three entries where Jacobsen has an ḡ. In the first it corresponds to Harrington's q, in the second to Mason's h and Harrington's ḡ, and in the
third to Mason's x and Harrington's h.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOSON</th>
<th>HARRINGTON</th>
<th>JACOBSEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'horseshoe'</td>
<td>triqa?ájokowájo</td>
<td>tišha?áyo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'medicine'</td>
<td>tehoni'</td>
<td>teho'í?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'poor'</td>
<td>ecxo'ni'</td>
<td>kí'ho'ne?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In one case Mason records x and Jacobsen ŋ:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOSON</th>
<th>JACOBSEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'music' a'xa'tí?</td>
<td>?axa'tí?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This could be phonetic backing due to the low back vowels which was perceived by Jacobsen but not by Mason.

In word initial position Mason records x and so does Jacobsen, with one exception, which is given last.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOSON</th>
<th>HARRINGTON</th>
<th>JACOBSEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to blow'</td>
<td>xot?</td>
<td>xǒtko? ('he blew it')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td>xutc</td>
<td>xúč</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'crane'</td>
<td>xalau'?</td>
<td>xalló?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mussel'</td>
<td>xaii'k</td>
<td>hayék?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In final position there is only one example of x. It is recorded by Mason and Harrington.
I have interpreted the items discussed as containing phonetic [x] except in the words for 'medicine', 'poor' and 'mussel' where I posit [h] on the basis of Harrington's and Jacobsen's well-established phonetic reliability and agreement (see 1.28).

1.22. **Affricates.** A more serious point is the status of the affricates ç ([tʃ]) and č ([ʈʃ]) and their glottalized counterparts ç' and č'. In most words the unitary nature of the sounds is not in question. Although they were recorded as ts and tf or tc by Mason and Harrington, Jacobsen uniformly records them as ts, with and without the ligature, and č throughout his Salinan field notes. Although no recorder of the language uses a unitary symbol for the sound ç ([tʃ]), this affricate is in less doubt than č (Jacobsen, p.c.).

'wind' tsá·káy (JPH, WHJ)

'the part of my hair' sá·káy (JHP, WHJ)

'ridge' tsóíne (JPH, WHJ)

'one hole' jó·lokne (JPH)
'titmouse'  tškō·to·to  (JPH)
'worm/snake' (generic)  ḥ Kot  (JPH)

'Pico Blanco' (placename)  tšo·we·m'  (JPH)
'my calf' (of leg)  ḥō·wa'n'  (JPH)

Harrington occasionally placed a period after the t and before the s, ḥ, or c ([/tty]),

'a point'  t.sō·to

'my point'  tsō't'
'your (sg) point'  tromtsō't'
'his point'  tsō'to

but compare:

'killdeer'  stō't'

'my killdeer'  trēstō't'
'his killdeer'  trestō'to

This minimal pair shows that [ts] and [st] cannot be interchanged.

These near-minimal pairs illustrate that [ts] is distinct from [st], [s] and [/tty]; and that [ts] is distinct from [/tty], since all these forms were recorded by Harrington and can be treated as pairs, while an
amateur might have written [c] differently each time he
heard the sound since there is no unitary symbol for it
in English or Spanish.

The situation of t followed by $ is more of a
problem. In many cases c may be shown to be distinct
from [s], [$] and [:] and ¢ from [t], [c], [t], [$] or [s], (all examples are, again, from Harrington).

'water'  tʃä?
'weasel'  sã?

'my back'  tretʃom'
'my mouth'  trē·ʃom'
'cricket'  tʃe·t
'woodpecker'  tseɮ

'tarantula'  Ko·ʃøtʃ
'frizzled'  kõ·ʃøt

'water'  tʃä?
'California thrasher'  tʃ'ä?

'his dog'  trêtʃ'o
'did'  tí·trho

'balding'  tʃ'ætel
'dew'  fætø·l
'red-shafted woodpecker' tʃ'amɬ
'wildcat' samɬ

However there are two instances showing the nonunitary nature of t followed by š: the inflectional paradigms for 'water' and 'dog'.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Singular} & \text{Plural} \\
1 & t\text{rē}taʃ \\
2 & tr\text{mē}taʃ \\
3 & tret\text{ā}ʃo? \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Singular} & \text{Plural} \\
1 & trīt'c \\
2 & trhmīt'c \\
3 & trīt'cho \\
\end{array}
\]

[Note appended by Harrington: "but cannot say trēhotc it always comes out trētc (ev. from trēhotc). Same is true for 3rd poss."]

These should be compared with the inflectional paradigms for 'name' and 'condor', respectively, in order to see the paradigmatic difference in these otherwise nearly identical words.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attested</th>
<th>Reconstituted</th>
<th>'name'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tras</td>
<td>ţ-as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 tra·f</td>
<td>ţ-a·š</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 trmas</td>
<td>ţ-m-as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 trá·so?</td>
<td>ţ-á·s-o? (see 2.22.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>títč'</th>
<th>téč'</th>
<th>'condor'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 trétetč</td>
<td>ţ-é-teč'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tretítđo?</td>
<td>ţ-e-teč'o?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Incidentally, as one can see, 'condor' títč' forms a minimal pair with 'my dog' trítč', showing the distinction between ţ and ţ. However the problem of the analysis of tš as an affricate is well illustrated by the separation of the ţ from the š in the inflectional paradigm for 'water', as opposed to the non-possessed form: and, in the word for 'dog' by the dissimulation with ţ and š between the singular and the plural non-possessed forms. In inflection, Harrington's note points out that instead of the expected ţ-š- prefix denoting first person singular possession, a contraction, or elision of the first CV of the stem produces ţěč' rather than the regular *ţé xoč (see 2.241).
Another elision produces a possible ċ:

tʃék (sg) trfɑ'kel (pl) 'knife' (JPH)
(ʈ)cek " tca'kel " " (JAM)

Singular
1 tréfek
2 trméfek
3 trefeko

More examples of t followed by ş as a result of the elision of a vowel are 'nail' and 'gill/tonsil':

------- (sg) jelêhe? (pl) 'nail'

Singular
1 trécele?
2 tr'mélele?
3 trecelêwo ~ trcelêwo

Singular
1 tréf'a'knel 'gill/tonsil'
2 -----
3 trf'a'nélo
Here the vowel of the ŧ-e- prefixes is elided in the third person (see Section 2.241). A reason for this is shown by comparing the third person possessive forms for 'gill' and 'Lewis woodpecker'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attested</th>
<th>Reconstituted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŧra·knēlo</td>
<td>ŧ-ša·knēl-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trefa·knēlo</td>
<td>ŧ-e-ša·knēl-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Gill' has no non-possessed form, so it is always attested with the ŧ- prefix. 'Lewis woodpecker' is attested with the non-possessed form ŏa·knēl.

This pair is a morphologically relevant minimal pair showing that vowel-eliding and non-eliding affixes are lexically conditioned. If the vowel of the ŧ-e- prefixes were not elided in the third person, these forms would be homophonous. (Of course, it is rather difficult to imagine a context in which 'his gill' and 'his Lewis woodpecker' are ambiguous.)

In the cases where there is evidence from the inflectional paradigm or the formation of a plural form, I analyze t followed by ŋ as a consonant cluster. Lacking such evidence the occurrences of t followed by ŋ is accepted as an occurrence of č. There may be, instead, morphophonemic rules that ts → c and tš → č (see Section 2.111). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any minimal pairs for contrast.
In cases where the vowel of the possessive ṭ-e- prefixes is elided, the resulting juxtaposition of ṭ and _CUSTOMER hidden_text_ is treated as a cluster and not as ṭ (see Section 2.26).

1.23. **Vowels.** Mason records 9 vowels which his articulatory descriptions suggest have the following values:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i} & = [i] \\
i & = [I] \\
\text{ê} & = [e], [E] \\
e & = [ɛ] \\
\text{ê} & = [ə] \\
u & = [U] \\
o & = [ɔ] \\
a & = [a] \\
\text{α} & = [ʌ]
\end{align*}
\]

Harrington's six vowels are reconstituted below. He was aware, certainly, of the conventions adopted by the American Anthropological Association in September 1916, which were used by Mason in his work. Although Harrington never published any of his linguistic work on Salinan, it seems probable that he followed the broader conventions accepted by other linguists, although he was deliberately uncommunicative about his work (Walsh 1976 and James 1984).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attested</th>
<th>Reconstituted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'acala'</td>
<td>k( ')ošo·1( ')ɔ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'oco'?lɔ?</td>
<td>'grasshopper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>košo·lɔ?</td>
<td>(JAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(JPH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(WHJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʊ·wɔ'?</td>
<td>lowɔ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lowɔ?</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lUwɔ?</td>
<td>(JAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(JPH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(WHJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mats?we·l</td>
<td>mocwɛl( ')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɔts?wɛl</td>
<td>'humming bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mɛtswɛl</td>
<td>(JAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(JPH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(WHJ)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jacobsen records the twelve vowel phones listed previously.

There is general agreement among the three on frontness or backness of the vowels, with the following minor exceptions:
Attested | Reconstituted
---|---
matsê'ko (JAM) | mečêko? 'chipmunk'
mets'ik'o (JPH)
metsiki? (WHJ)
icxe'ru (JAM) | tešxe? 'foot'
trifqe? (JPH)
ten'sxai, te'sxai? (WHJ)
toksik? (JAM) | tešêk 'barn owl'
trifêk?, trecekk? (JPH)
tesêk?, tIsik? (WHJ)
\(\ddagger\)o·wat? (JAM) | ñówat? 'Indian'
tr?owest? (JPH)
ñúwet? (WHJ)

makawi? (JAM) | makawê? 'flower'
makawi?, makawiY (JPH)
makawi?, makawi (WHJ)
Attested             | Reconstituted          |
sm̥kʔai (JAM)        | smāk(ˈ)ay            | 'night' |
sm̥kʔaj (JPH)        |                       |        |
sm̥kai̯ (WHJ)        |                       |        |

The first three are reconstituted as /o/, the next four as /e/ and the final two as /a/. /o/ includes phonetic [U] and [ɔ]; /e/ includes phonetic [ɪ], [e] and [ɛ]; and /a/ includes phonetic [ʌ] and [a]. An examination by Jacobsen (p.c.) of the older recordings suggests that in the original vowel system of Salinan /i/ and /u/ were gradually lowered to /e/ and /o/.

Glides are poorly recorded by Mason. In the absence of comparable entries by Harrington or Jacobsen, there can be only occasional glimpses of their presence in Mason's work.

Attested             | Reconstituted          |
ťʔuʔtʔaʔL (JAM)      | ĥowt̥al                | 'Indians' |
trʔowtrʔal (JPH)     |                       |        |

u* (JAM)             | ĥow                    | 'face'   |
trow (JPH)           |                       | 'my face' |
ťow (WHJ)            |                       |        |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attested</th>
<th>Reconstituted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ckʔoʔil</td>
<td>ŝkʔ(ʔ)yl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʔkʔoʔjɛl</td>
<td>ŝʔenyɛʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skoʔɛl</td>
<td>'lung'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceniiʔ</td>
<td>'fishhook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lʔenijiʔ, ceniyiʔ</td>
<td>'my rib'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŝeniyiʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not the case, however, that all long vowels recorded by Mason are represented as glides plus a vowel by Harrington or Jacobsen, nor vice-versa. (However, in general, there is phonemic vowel length.)

1.24. Stops. Among the stops all three recorders are in orthographic agreement with respect to the voiceless, unaspirated; aspirated and glottalized stops. The post-alveolar ŧ is written as ŧ by Mason (and labelled incorrectly as alveolar); tr by Harrington; and as tr, t̪, and then as ŧ by Jacobsen. In the course of his recordings, he quickly came to writing the sound as ŧ. Mason's description of this phone explains the tr
transcriptions (Mason 1918:12):

"The linguo-alveolar stop is one found in many Californian languages. The place of articulation is slightly more alveolar than for the dental but the difference is caused more by the manner of release than by place of articulation. The occlusion is firmer and more extensive, the release slower, causing a semi-affricative effect approximating tc and ty. It is practically identical, however, with the English combination tr but more truly affricative, a simple sound. The sonant variety is unknown in this position also, the most common forms being the intermediate and the unaspirated surd.

"In rapid speech in initial and intervocalic position, this form is frequently reduced to the rolled r. In the former case this is as in English, untrilled, the tip of the tongue merely approaching the roof of the mouth, but in the latter case there is a single flip of the tongue as in the Spanish single r. The palatogram record shows the typical grooved r occlusion.

"The other varieties, the aspirate and the glottalized articulations, need no comment. Both are pronounced more strongly than is the case with the dental t."

All the sources agree in recording the voiced stops b and g. Mason (1918:11) says only that [pe], the "demonstrative article," is [be] in rapid speech and that this is the only occurrence of [b]. However, Harrington and Jacobsen record [b] in many Spanish loan words and they record [d] as well, again in Spanish loan words. Jacobsen has mbót’e ‘boot, boat’ and mbás’so ‘glass’. Mason and Jacobsen record β and φ found in some Spanish loans: φ is also attested as a variant of [p] in rapid speech. Mason accounts for both voiceless and voiced fricatives as follows: k and p become γ and φ
before a voiced sound (Mason 1918:10).

1.25. **Fricatives.** Discrepancies among the transcriptions of the voiceless velar fricatives have already been discussed. Harrington does not record the voiced velar fricative, but both Mason and Jacobsen record it in Spanish loan words.

All three record s to which Jacobsen adds ş. As has been seen in several examples already, ş is written as c by Mason and Harrington, and Harrington also writes ş. Harrington and Jacobsen recorded an aspirated variety of c and ĉ not given by Mason.

1.26. **Nasals.** Harrington did not record the voiceless nasals heard by Mason and Jacobsen, nor the occasional ñ before x, and sometimes k. Similarly, Mason did not record the glottalized versions of m and n and Jacobsen preferred to analyze them as clusters.

1.27. **Liquids.** All three recorded the voiceless lateral liquid. Mason writes L; Harrington ɾ, ɾ and L; and Jacobsen writes L. All three agree on ɾ. Mason lumped r with ɾ, but Harrington and Jacobsen heard it as distinct from ɾ. r is most frequent in word initial position and it never occurs in syllable final position. Early loans from Spanish have l for Spanish r, but loans coming into
Salinan later in the period of Spanish occupation have r where Spanish has it, e.g.,

alōs  'rice'  (Spanish arroz)
palēl  'barrel'  (Spanish barril)
kaparē-sa?  'barn'  (Spanish caballeriza)

Only Jacobsen did not record the voiceless semivowels, and only Mason did not record the glottalized varieties. In the former case, Jacobsen did not happen to elicit those words with voiceless semivowels. In the latter case Mason simply did not hear them, to judge from his somewhat erratic recording of any glottalization. A few examples illustrate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mason</th>
<th>Harrington</th>
<th>Jacobsen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilpoi</td>
<td>łyąy?</td>
<td>'lake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k)loi</td>
<td>k?lōʔj</td>
<td>'lame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ečca-i'</td>
<td>trí·fʔaʔy</td>
<td>'my neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tō-i</td>
<td>trōʔi</td>
<td>tōʔi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ć</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for the voiceless l, it is always recorded voiced when it occurs between vowels. Harrington records many dual recordings showing the voiced and voiceless l:
'sand'  'tar'  'knives'  'my calf'

so, in these cases 1 and 2 are in free variation. 1 is often devoiced word initially before and after a voiceless consonant, but not in inflection when preceded by a prefix: ḡi-li 'my coyote', ḡ-ē-1k-a 'my coyote'. A voiceless 1 becomes voiced at the end of a word when a suffix follows: ṭoL 'one', ṭol-tēn 'another'. Therefore I have concluded that 2 is an allophone of 1 occurring before voiceless consonants word initially, sometimes word finally, but never between vowels.

1.28. Glottalization. Mason's recordings appear erratic compared to recordings of Antonioño by Harrington and Jacobsen, although this may possibly reflect Mason's work with a speaker, or speakers, of a slightly different subdialect. Since Mason's principal informant, David Mora, was also Harrington's informant, I have compared the three twentieth-century linguists for their recordings of glottalization in several phonetic environments, and I have compared them for Mason's apparent tendency to
record metathesized segments or syllables (taking Harrington and Jacobsen as the base).

In the entire corpus there are attestations of a total of 85 glottalized resonants. In slightly less than half of these, Mason does not record glottalization where Harrington or Jacobsen do, but in 15% of them only Mason records glottalization. Examples of those cases where Mason did not record glottalization follow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASON</th>
<th>HARRINGTON</th>
<th>JACOBSEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'my son-in-law'</td>
<td>te'leM</td>
<td>trē·le'M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my stomach'</td>
<td>skôn</td>
<td>skônières</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my tongue'</td>
<td>elpa·l</td>
<td>trēpa'l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fire'</td>
<td>ta'a'u</td>
<td>tra'aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'seal'</td>
<td>tō'ī</td>
<td>trō·ī?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tro?j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>trō?j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of recordings in which only Mason attests to glottalization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'to fall'</th>
<th>toM</th>
<th>kōM</th>
<th>kōM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'he falls off'</td>
<td>'he fell off'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The evidence for the unitary nature of glottalized resonants is sketchy from the paucity of the recorded data, but Harrington's attestations indicate an analysis of these as unitary phonemes, as the examples which follow illustrate.

\[\text{ī}: \ xōm' \sim hō̂̂m' \sim qō'\text{m} \quad \text{'roadrunner'}\]
\[\text{ū}: \ tɾō̂̂ ë̂̂ \sim tɾō̂̂ j \sim tɾō̂̂ å \quad \text{'seal'}\]
\[\text{ī}: \ tɾēpæ̂ 1 \sim tɾēpæ̂l'\text{w} \quad \text{'my tongue'}\]
\[\text{ī}: \ sʔæ'ńē'wo \sim sʔæńē'w'ō \quad \text{'his paternal grandmother'}\]
\[\text{ū}: \ tʃêpæ̂n' \quad \text{'short'} \sim \ tʃêpæ̂n' \quad \text{'spider'}\]

The first four examples illustrate how Harrington wrote his multiple rehearsals with glottalization recorded both before and after the consonant. The last example, \(\text{ū}\), presents a near-minimal pair (since stress was not recorded for 'short') for these phones.
Taking the 142 recorded instances of glottalized obstruents and comparing the recordings, Mason does not record them one-third of the time. In other words, he is more likely to have recorded the same glottalized obstruents as were heard and recorded by Harrington and Jacobsen, but he records glottalized resonants, many of them final, more often than Harrington.

On the other hand, if one breaks down the occurrences of possible glottalized obstruents into their position within the word, Mason recorded initial glottalized obstruents two-thirds, or 67%, of the time, and medially and finally he agrees with Harrington and Jacobsen in half of the recordings.

In over 95% of the recordings of glottal stop before a vowel at the beginning of a word Mason does not record it, but he did record final glottal stop after a vowel at the end of a word 75% of the time when Harrington and Jacobsen record it.

In the comparison of these three for their recordings of glottalization, Mason most frequently recorded word final glottalized resonants. Mason recorded 15 glottalized resonants that Harrington did not from a total of 85 recorded in the entire corpus. Of the 142 recordings of glottalized obstruents, Mason recorded only 13 that the others did not, mainly initial or intervocalic [k]. In three cases Mason recorded [c] where Jacobsen recorded [č]. There are no instances of
Mason recording a glottal stop before a vowel at the beginning of a word where Harrington or Jacobsen do not. Similarly, there are no instances where Mason recorded a glottal stop after a vowel at the end of a word where the others do not.

Unfortunately there are no semantic categories (e.g., small animals) for the words in which Mason records glottalization differently from the others and there seem to be no regularities or tendencies to Mason's differences except for his more frequent recordings of final glottalized resonants. Fortunately, though, Harrington and Jacobsen agree with each other nearly all of the time. Therefore, Harrington and Jacobsen will be considered the standard, and Mason's discrepancies will be considered variants.

There are only seven attestations of words for which Mason had a metathesized version, so this is not a very serious problem for reconstitution. These metathesized recordings do not fall into a category or suggest a pattern either, but they do indicate caution in the use of Mason's recordings when they are unsupported by either or both Harrington and Jacobsen.
1.3. **Phonemes.** The phones recorded by Mason, Harrington and Jacobsen can be analyzed to give the following phonemic inventory for 20th century Salinan:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{t} & \text{c} & \text{č} & \text{k} \\
\text{p}' & \text{t}' & \text{č} & \text{č} & \text{k}' \\
\text{b} & \text{d} & \text{g} & \text{s} & \text{x} & \text{h} \\
\text{m} & \text{n} & \text{l} & \text{r} & \text{y} & \text{w} \\
\text{m}' & \text{n}' & \text{r}' & \text{y}' & \text{w}' \\
\end{array}
\]

i* u*  e* o* e o  a* a  Stress is phonemic.

Examination of older recordings suggests the following
phonemic inventory for Salinan before the period of Spanish influence.

\[ p \quad t \quad t' \quad c \quad c' \quad k \quad i \quad i' \quad u \quad u' \]
\[ p' \quad t' \quad t' \quad c' \quad c' \quad k' \]
\[ s \quad s' \quad x \quad h \quad a \quad a' \]
\[ m \quad n \quad l \quad r \quad y \quad w \]
\[ m' \quad n' \quad r' \quad y' \quad w' \] Stress is phonemic.

The stop and affricate series occur plain and glottalized. The plain encompasses Mason's intermediate-surd and aspirated stops and surd affricates; Harrington's voiceless plain and aspirated stops and affricates; and Jacobsen's plain and aspirated stops and affricates. Both frequently are aspirated before consonants and word finally, when elicited in isolation. \(/t\) is occasionally aspirated in a pretonic syllable.

There are two instances of \(p^h\) intervocalically (both are from Harrington's notes).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mason</th>
<th>Harrington</th>
<th>Jacobsen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sepo</td>
<td>sʔɛ'pho</td>
<td>sɛ'pxo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭupa'ha</td>
<td>trophâ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparison suggests that a velar fricative follows \(p\) in the first example, and that a phonemic \(/h/\) follows \(p\) in
the second. The aspirated series of obstruents have
been shown (Turner 1980) to be predictable positional
variants of the plain series. This was suggested
by Mason's corpus, as the following observation by
Sapir (1920c:305-306) illustrates:

"It is not altogether easy to be clear, for
instance, from his data whether the aspirated
surds are an organically independent series or
merely a secondary development of the intermedi-
ate-surds. The former is the impression conveyed
in the phonetic portion of the paper, the
latter as the data unfold themselves in the
body of the work...Meanwhile it seems fairly
clear that the great majority of the instances
of Salinan aspirated surds are merely due to
positional causes."

/p/ is infrequent.

The phone [tʰ] occurs occasionally before resonant
consonants and word finally.

Most noun stems are prefixed by ǂ-, so this phone
occurs frequently in word initial position.

/k/ and /k/ are easily established. /k/ occurs in
word initial position since it is the stative verb
prefix. Medially Harrington often records [kh] before
resonants where Mason and Jacobsen have [k].

There is no occurrence of glottalized [ɬ] nor does
[r] appear word finally. Although a phoneme /r/ must
be proposed for the language, it is limited to a few
demonstratives, the negative and to many borrowed
Spanish words.
Minimal pairs, or near-minimal pairs, have been found for the following consonants and stress in order to support the phonemic analysis. Although the search has not been entirely successful in that occasionally a non-minimal pair is the best available, the examples given will serve to establish the distinctness of most of the phonemes.

/t/ - /t/: tete 'to be', têče 'my otter'
       têče 'condor', têče 'my dog'
/ç/ - /c/: kôšoč 'frizzled', kôšoč 'tarantula'
/ç/ - /ç/: tô·y 'sealion', tô·y 'wood tick'
/ç/ - /ç/: tê·to 'did', tê·to 'his dog'
/s/ - /s/: ?as 'my son', ?aš 'elk'
/ç/ - /ç/: čel 'downy woodpecker', če·l 'cricket'
/ç/ - /ś/: močwēl 'hummingbird', mošwelet 'ivy'
/n/ - /ŋ/: ŋepen 'my belly', ŋepen 'chunk of wood'
/l/ - /l/: tol 'one', tol 'grasshopper'

Stress:
ţe·lek 'my mouth', ţe·lek 'hole'
ţá·sax 'my liver', ța·săx 'feathers'
pá·talo? 'he danced', pa·tălo? 'he loosened it'
?eşxay 'rain', eşxay 'dawn'
keša? 'four', kešā? 'how much, how many?'
1.31. 276 two-consonant clusters are attested. Within these data /ɾ/ and the glottalized resonants are not found as the second members of two-consonant clusters.

/p/ as the first member of a two-consonant cluster does not combine with /ʔ/, /ɾ/, /č̞/ or /ʃ̞/ in Antoniaño Salinan. It is doubled in some words borrowed from Spanish and recorded by Harrington. -pt-, -pk-, -pt̃-, -pt̃̃-, -pč-, -pš-, -px-, -pn- and -pl- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -pt̃-, -pc-, -pš-, -ph- and -pm- are found only at morpheme boundaries within a word. Only #px- is found initially. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /p/ does not combine with /č̞/, /ʔ/, /ɾ/, /č̞̃/, /ʰ̞/, /ʃ̞̃/ or /w/.

It does combine with /r/ in some words borrowed from Spanish. -tp-, -mp- and -lp- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -tp-, -kp-, -kpt-, -xp-, -np-, -wp-, -mp-, -npt- and -lp- are found only at morpheme boundaries within a word. -cp-, -tp-, -tp- and -yp- are found medially within a word and not at a morpheme boundary. #tp-, #çp-, #sp-, #šp-, #mp- and #lp- are found initially, and -mp# and -lp# are found finally. -rp- is found only in Spanish loan words. Only -mp- and -lp- are found initially, medially and finally in Antoniaño Salinan words, as well as at morpheme boundaries.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>č</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
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<td>c</td>
<td>č</td>
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### Table I  Consonant Clusters

**legend:**  
- \( x \) = cluster occurs  
- \( S \) = occurs only in Spanish loans
Table II  Initial Consonant Clusters
| First | p | t | t | c | c | k | p | t | t | c | c | k | x | h | m | n | l | r | y | w |
| Second| x |   |   |   |   |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|       |   | x | x | x | x | x |   | x | x | x | x | x |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

Table III  Final Consonant Clusters
| First | p | t | t | c | č | k | ? | p | t | t | č | č | k | ř | s | š | x | h | m | n | l | r | y | w |
| p     | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| t     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| c     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| č     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| k     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ?     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| p     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| t     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| č     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| č     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| k     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| ř     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| s     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| š     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| x     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| h     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| m     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| n     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| l     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| r     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| y     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| w     |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |

Table IV  Medial Consonant Clusters
Table V  Clusters Occurring Only at Morpheme Boundaries
within a word.

As the first consonant in a two-consonant cluster
/t/ does not combine with /t/, /t̚/, /c/, /č/, /ʔ/, /ʁ/,
/t̩/, /c̩/, /č̩/, /ʁ̩/ or /ɾ/. -tk-, -tn- and -tl-
occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word.
-tp-, -t̚p-, -ts-, -t̚s-. and -th- occur only at morpheme
boundaries within a word. #tk-, #ts-, #t̚s-, #tx-, #tm-,
#tw- occur initially and #ty- occurs only initially.
As the second consonant in a two-consonant cluster /t/
does not combine with /t/, /c/ or /h/. It does
combine with /r/ in Spanish loans. -pt-, -kt-, -ʔt-,
-k̚t-, -st-, -št-, -xt-, -mt-, -nt-, -lt-, -yt-, -wt-,
-t̩t- and -wt- are found medially and at morpheme
boundaries within a word. -čt-, -p̱t-, -q̚t-, -q̯t-, -čt-
-čt̚-, -mt- and -yt- occur only at morpheme boundaries.
#t̩t-, #kt-, #st-, #št- and #lt- occur initially and
-nt# and -lt#, finally. -rp- is found only in Spanish
loans and only -lt- is found initially, medially and
finally.

/t̚/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster
does not combine with /c/, /č/, /ʔ/, /ʁ/, /t̩/, /t̚/,
/t̯/, /c̱/, /č̱/, /h/ or /ɾ/. -tp-, -t̚p-, -ts-, -t̚s-, -tx-, -tm-,
-tl- occur both medially and at morpheme boundaries in
a word. -t̩t- occurs only at morpheme boundaries within
a word. #t̩p-, #t̩t-, #t̚k-, #t̚š-, #t̚s-, #t̚x-, #t̚m-,
#t̚n-, #t̯n-,
#ťy- and #ťw- occur initially. #ťk- occurs only word initially. Only -ťl# occurs word finally. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /ť/
combines with /p/, /ť/, /k/, /ʔ/, /s/, /x/, /m/, /n/, /l/ and /w/. -mť- and -lť- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within the word. -pť-, -ťť-, -kť-, -ʔť-, -stť-, -xť- and -wť- occur only at morpheme boundaries, and only -nť# occurs finally.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster /c/ only combines with /p/, /k/ and /x/. -cp- and -ck- occur medially and #cx- occurs initially. As the second consonant /c/ combines with /p/, /k/ and /m/ in a two-consonant cluster. Only -pc-, -kc- and -mc- occur at morpheme boundaries. #Cc- and -Cc# are not attested.

/č/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster is found with -čk-, -čm- and -čw- medially and at morpheme boundaries; and -čt- and -čn- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #čk-, #čx- and #čw- are found initially and #čx- occurs only initially. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /č/ is found with -kč- and -mč- medially and at morpheme boundaries in a word. -pč- and -pč- occur medially and -lč- occurs only in Spanish loan words. #kč- and #sč- are found initially and -čč# is not attested.
/k/ does not occur with /k/, /ʔ/, /q/, /ʔ/ or /h/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. #kč-, #kč-, #kč-, #ks-, #ks-, #kl-, #kl-, #ky- and #kw- are found initially. -kt-, -kč-, -ks-, -kš-, -km-, -kn-, -kl-, -ky- and -kw- occur both medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -kp-, -kt-, -kc-, -kt-, -kš- and -kr- occur only at morpheme boundaries. -kč-, -ks-, -kš-, -km-, -kl-, -ky- and -kw- occur initially and medially as well as at morpheme boundaries within a word. -kč- and -kč- occur initially and at morpheme boundaries.

As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, /k/ does not combine with /k/, /ʔ/, /ʔ/, /ʔ/, /ʔ/, /ʔ/ or /ʔ/. -pk-, -tk-, -tšk-, -tšk-, -sk-, -šk-, -mk-, -nk-, and -lk- occur both medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word: -ck-, -mšk- and -šk- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #tk-, #tšk-, #čk-, #čk-, #čk-, #čk-, #čk-, #šk-, #šk- and #lk- occur initially. -ršk- appears only in Spanish loans. -tk-, -tšk-, -tšk-, -sk-, -šk-, and -lk- occur initially and medially as well as at morpheme boundaries. -Ck# is not attested. -ck-, -mšk- and -šk- occur only at morpheme boundaries, and -čk-, and -šk- occur both initially and medially. #čk- is found only initially and -tšk-, -šk-, -xk- and -yk- are found only at morpheme boundaries.
/ʔ/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster occurs medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word as -ʔt- and -ʔs-. -ʔt-, -ʔx-, -ʔh- and -ʔr- occur only at morpheme boundaries. Only -ʔs# occurs word finally. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #sʔ- and #ʔs- occur initially. -xʔ-, -mʔ-, -nʔ- and -yʔ- are found at morpheme boundaries. -Cʔ# is not attested.

/pʰ/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster is found as -pʰʔ- and -pʰy- medially and only -pʰt- and -pʰk- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. #pʰC- does not occur. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /pʰ/ is not attested.

For /tʰ/ as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, only -tʰm- and -tʰn- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -tʰp- occurs medially; -tʰt-, -tʰk- and -tʰl- occur only at morpheme boundaries. #tʰC- and -Ctʰ# are not attested. -pʰt-, -m_tC- and -l_tC- occur both medially and at a morpheme boundary within a word. -k_tC-, -x_tC-, -n_tC-, -y_tC- and -l_tC- occur only at morpheme boundaries and only -n_tC# occurs word finally.

For /tʰ/ in two-consonant clusters, only #tʰk- occurs initially. -tʰp-, -tʰk-, -tʰm- and -tʰn- occur medially and -tʰt-, -tʰk-, -tʰn-, -tʰl- and -tʰy- occur at morpheme boundaries. -pʰt-, -n_tC-, -l_tC-, -w_tC- and -w_tC-
occur medially and -pṭ', -tṭ', -kṭ', -xṭ', and -lṭ'- occur at morpheme boundaries. Only -nṭ# occurs word finally. -pṭ', -nṭ', -lṭ', -wṭ' and -wṭ'- occur medially.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, -çp- and -çw- occur initially and medially. #ck-, #cm-, #cn- and #cy- occur only initially. -çt- occurs only at a morpheme boundary and -çx- occurs medially. -çC# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, -pc'- occurs medially and at morpheme boundaries. -mc'- occurs only at morpheme boundaries. -kc'- occurs initially and at a morpheme boundary. -Cc# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #ck-, #cx- and #cw- are found initially. -ck-, -cm-, -cn- and -cy- occur medially. -ct- and -cn- occur only at morpheme boundaries and -Cc# does not occur. As the second member of a two-consonant cluster, -wc- and -mc- occur medially. -kc-, -sc-, -mc-, -lc- and -wc- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. Only #kc- and #kc- occur initially. -CC# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster /k/ is found initially in #kç-, #km-, #kl- and #kw-. -kt-, -ks-, -kn- and -kw- occur medially and -kp-, -kt-, -kn-, -kl- and -kr- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -kC# is not attested. As the second
consonant of a two-consonant cluster #tk', #sk', #σk' and #lk' occur initially. -sk', -σk', -mk', -nk', -lk', -yk' and -yk' occur medially. -sk', -mk' and -yk' occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word and -Ck# is not found.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #sp', #st', #σc', #sk', #s?-, #σk', #sx', #sm', #sn', #sy' and #sw' are found initially. -st', -sk', -σk', -sx', -σh', -σn', -σl', -σy' and -σw' are found medially. -sp', -st', -σc', -sk', -σk', -σc', -sx', -σm', -σn', -σr' and -σy' occur at morpheme boundaries. -st', -sk', -σk', -sx', -σm', -σy' and -σw' occur both initially and medially. -σC# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, only #ks', #ts' and #σs' are found initially.

-/s/ occurs initially as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster with #sp', #st', #σk', #σ?-,

/x/ occurs initially as the first member of a two-consonant cluster only before /w/: -xw- also occurs medially. -xt-, -xn- and -xl- also occur medially. -xp-, -xt-, -xς-, -xʔ-, -xτ-, -xς-, -xm-, -xλ- and -xr- occur at morpheme boundaries. -xy- occurs only in Spanish loan words. -xC# is not attested. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster, #px-, #tx-, #τx-, #cx-, #ʔx-, #ςx- and #λx- occur initially. #cx-, #ʔx- and #ςx- occur only initially. -px-, -tx-, -τx-, -cςx-, -ςx-, -nx- and -λx- occur medially. -px-, -τx-, -ʔx-, -ςx-, -ςx-, -mx-, -λx- and -wx- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -ʔx-, -mx- and -wx- occur only at morpheme boundaries. -px-, -tx-, -τx-, -ςx-, -ςx- and -λx- occur both initially and medially. -Cx# is not attested.

/h/ does not occur as the first member of a two-
consonant cluster initially. -hn- occurs at morpheme boundaries within a word. -hm-, -hl- and -hw- occur medially. As the second member of a two-consonant cluster -ph-, -th-, -?h-, -mh-, -nh-, -ly, -yh-, -wh- and -Th- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -sh-, -$h$- and -1h- occur medially. -Ch# is not attested.

/m/ occurs with every consonant except /p/ as the first member of a two-consonant cluster. #mp- occurs initially. -mp-, -mt-, -mṭ-, -mč-, -mk-, -mt̪-, -mK-, -ms-, -ml-, -my- and -mw- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries within a word. -mc-, -mʔ-, -mč-, -mč-, -mš-, -mx-, -mh- and -mn- occur at morpheme boundaries. -mr- occurs only in Spanish loan words. -mp# occurs word finally. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #tm-, #ṯm-, #km-, #čm-, #km-, #sm- and #šm- occur initially. -ṯm-, -čm-, -km-, -ṯm-, -šm- and -1m- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries. -ṯm-, -čm-, -hm-, -ym- and -yṃ- occur medially. -pm-, -tm-, -sm-, -nm-, -wm- and -nṃ- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -Cm# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster /n/ does not appear initially. -nt-, -nk-, -ns- and -nl- occur medially and at morpheme boundaries in a word. -nč-, -nč-, -nK-, -nš-, -nx- and -ny- occur medially.

/Cm# is not attested.

/l/ does not occur as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster with /c/, /ti/, /p/, /?/, /c/, /l/ or /r/. It is found initially: #lp-, #lt-, #lk-, #lk-, #lx- and #lw-. -lp-, -lt-, -lt-, -lk-, -lt-, -lp-, -ls-, -ls-, -lx-, -lm- and -ln- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries with a word. -lm- and -lw- are found medially. -lc- occurs only at morpheme boundaries. -lp# and -lt# occur at the end of a word. -lc- and -ly- are found only in Spanish loan words. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #kl-, #kl- and #sl- are found initially. -pl-, -tl-, -tl-, -kl-, -xl-, -ml-, -nl-, -yl- and -yl- are found medially and at morpheme boundaries. -sl- and -hl- are found medially but not
at morpheme boundaries. -tʃl-, -tʃl-, -kl-, -ʃl- and -wl- are found at morpheme boundaries but not medially. -tʃl# occurs finally.

/r/ does not occur initially as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. At morpheme boundaries within a word only -rs- and -rn- are found. -rp-, -rt-, -rk- and -rw- are found in Spanish loan words. /r/ does not occur medially nor word finally as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster /r/ is only found at the following morpheme boundaries within a word: -kr-, -r?, -kr-, -sr-, -sr-, -xr-, -yr- and -wr-. -mr- occurs only in Spanish loan words. There are no attestations of #Cr- initially, -Cr- medially, nor does -Cr# occur word finally.

#yC- is not found nor is -yC#. -yp-, -yt-, -yk-, -y?-, -yt?, -yh-, -yn- and -yr- occur medially. -yk-, -y?-, -yt?, -yh-, -yn- and -yr- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #ty-, #ty-, #čy-, #sy- and #ky- are found initially. -ky-, -py-, -čy-, -sy-, -my-, -ny- and -wy- occur medially. -py-, -ty- and -ťy- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -xy- and -ly- occur only in Spanish loan words. -Cy# is not attested.

As the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster #wC- and -wC# are not found. -wt-, -wt?, -wt?, -wC-,
-wȘ-, -wn- and -wy- occur medially. -wp-, -wt-, -wx-, -wh- and -wr- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word. As the second consonant of a two-consonant cluster #tw-, #tw-, #ćw-, #kw-, #ćw-, #cw-, #kw-, #sw-, #św-, #xw- and #lw- occur initially. -ćw-, -kw-, -cw-, -kw-, -sw-, -św-, -xw-, -hw-, -mw-, -lw- and -yw- occur medially. -pw-, -tw- and -yw- occur at morpheme boundaries within a word. -Cw# is not attested and -rw- occurs only in Spanish loan words.

/m/ does not occur in word initial or word final two-consonant clusters. -mk-, -ćk- and -śk- occur medially; -mp-, -nt- and -śm- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word and both sets may be triple consonant clusters.

/n/ does not occur in word initial nor word final two-consonant clusters, either. Only -ns- and -ńś- occur medially; -ńp-, -ńń- and -ńm- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word, so both of these sets may be triple consonant clusters, too.

/ľ/ does not occur word initially nor word finally in two-consonant clusters. -lk- and -ln- occur medially; -lp-, -ľń- and -ľń- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word.

/y/ does not occur as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster word initially nor word finally.

-yłk-, -ym-, -yn- and -ył- occur medially. -yt- and
-yw- occur only at morpheme boundaries within a word.

/w/ does not occur in word initial nor final position as the first consonant of a two-consonant cluster. -wt-, -w't- and -ws- occur medially. -wn- occurs only at morpheme boundaries within a word.

The glottalized resonants do not combine with any other consonants as the second member of a two-consonant cluster. Looking at these glottalized resonants, then, all or some might be triple consonant clusters (see Section 1.28).

1.32. Consonant clusters (3). Two three-consonant clusters occur word initially with no morpheme boundary: #ṣkw- ṣkwā' laxēk 'I cut myself', xeyō ṣkwālo 'he cut it' (from Jacobsen's notes), re-ṣkwēltek 'cut oneself' (from Harrington); #skm- skmā'yo? 'gopher' (from Harrington). There are two further triple consonant clusters found initially, but a morpheme boundary is involved. The morpheme boundary is indicated by a dash (-). #t-ṣx t-ṣxēxe? 'lots of tracks' and #s-k-l s-k-lāpay 'three bright stars' (both from Harrington).

Nine triple consonat clusters are found medially without a morpheme boundary. -ʔṣx- reʔṣxāy 'mañana, morning, tomorrow'; -ʔxw-
so?xwá? 'fawn'; -şxw- -tašxwet 'my rib';
-śxw- tančwá nel 'star', tančwántel 'stars',
kánčwánle 'starry' (from Harrington); -lxw-
tálxwal xeyó? 'he was working', talxwál 'work!',
tálxwálné 'a job' (from Jacobsen); -ɪkn-
ṭaľknáyo 'little fork'; -ypk- hāypté? 'digging
stick'; -wtk- ṭowtké? 'salmon spear', ṭowtkelé?
'salmon spears'; and -wsn- ṭekowsnay 'my
collarbone' (from Harrington).

By far the greatest number of three-consonant
clusters occur at morpheme boundaries. Abbreviations
for citations are as follows: JAM, J. Alden Mason;
T7,6, Text 7, line 6 from Mason (1918); JPH,
John Peabody Harrington; WHJ, William H.
Jacobsen.

p-t-m to-p-t-mešem-o 'from the drinking' T7,6
p-sk τo-p-skám-kás 'at the near only' T6,6
p-šk τo-p-škán 'by the hawk' T7,16
p-1k ro-p-1ka 'to the coyote' T3,8
t-xw t-xwen-to 'soon' T3,13
k-š-1 ka-k-š-1-ō?-ax 'both together' T6,12
k-š? τo-k-š?ēney-ay 'your (pl) fishhook' JPH
k-ks čātelomteksá 'was very cold' T4,30
ʔšk τ-ʔšké:n-o τ-ē·-lek 'the corner of my mouth'
(from Spanish esquina 'corner') JPH
ʔ-ɾ-m kāʔ-ɾ-mene? kāʔowtenē 'let's go get piñones'

JPH
st-m tast-málox 'what thy desire' T6,11
s-t-m ta's-t-m-etxā 'what thy possession' T4,1
st-k kā'st-k-á'me'tom 'but we will try it' T3,27
s-t-y kās-t-yax 'two fellows' JPH
s-k-š tas-k-šōwne'-nék 'but kindle will I' T1,6
sč-m tasč-mā 'what (did you say)??' WHJ
š-t-m taš-t-m-etá'-wo 'what thy possession' T4,6
št-k sekčēpkašt-kō-k-a'm-kō 'is good only that
   not kill him' T5,3
š-t-m taš-t-málox 'what thy desire' T3,4
x-k-l kākšo-ṭo?e-tax-k-lápay '23' WHJ
mp-t se-k-ā'mp-ten 'rises again' T8,22
mp-k p-a'm-āmp-ko 'drew out' T7,13
m-p-c rám-p-čē'n-t-ko 'then watches' T1,45
m-p-t rám-p-čōxne'-wo 'then rolled it' T8,13
m-p-n rám-p-nehwo 'then seized' T8,10
m-p-l rám-p-λe't-xo 'then throw them' T1,18
m-p-y rám-p-ýa'm-o 'then sees' T1,46
m-t-k yo?-rām-t-kon-l-ox 'then arrived' T6,10
m-t-t pe'λā'k ško? ṭom-ṭ-to'-kē'w-o pe'čā? 'an
   island' ('that land in the middle of the
   water') JPH
m-t-k hom-ṭ-kāw 'my body' JPH
m-ṭx hem-ṭxapēš-o ṭ-ōxol 'my back teeth' JPH
m-ṭ-m ṭem-ṭ-m-ē-kaw 'your (sg) body' JPH
m-k-č ka?-am-k-če?-leκ 'we can not' JPH
m-k-č ram-k-če'n-o? 'then content' T4,5
m-k-č ram-k-čą:wyę' 'then sought' T1,30
m-ks s-ťam-ksa 'whirled around' T1,8
m-k-ś ?em-k-šę:lok-ne 'so that entered hole' T1,12
m-k-m țam-k-męțow-ło 'then thick already' T4,21
m-k-n ńe-p-ąm-k-neł-ko 'to kill them' T5,11
m-k-l ram-k-ląpay 'then three' T6,7
?om-k-ląwa'-we 'are you married?' JPH
m-t-č-k ?em-t-č-kąten-śo 'on his rump' T3,2
m-Km ț-o-m-ńmą:n 'your (sg) groin' JPH
m-Kw ?em-kwęł 'the world' JPH
m-sk ț-o-m-skōn 'your (sg) heart hollow' JPH
m-sk' ț-o-m-skęneľ 'your (sg) rib' JPH
m-sm ko-m-sma-hą-t 'ugly' WHJ
m-sw ț-o-m-swę:ktąy 'your (sg) hat' JPH
m-śp ko-m-śpokę 'he is bald' JPH
m-śk čą? rom-śkęm 'sea water' JPH
m-śk' ț-o-m-śkęwe 'your (sg) heel' JPH
m-1k' ț-o-m-1kō:yo-ten 'your (sg) beard' JPH
m-xw ka:m-xwę:ń 'arrived' T1,37
m'-p-n yo?-rà:m'-p-ne:wo 'he then seized it' T7,7
nt-x malęnt-śo? 'he remembers it' WHJ
n-t-x p-ekęle:n-t-xo 'whirled around' T1,8
n-t-č-k rą:m-p-ćę:n-t-ko 'then watches' T1,45
n-ks węten-ksa 'wished' T1,11
lp-k če:xolp-ko hęk?ęn 'I am going to skin it'
(animal) JPH
lp-x xomō ț-kolp-xąyo 'he is born bad' JPH
Clusters of four consonants are rare in the corpus.

A careful search yields only the following three:

m-p-tx  ṭom-p-tsa-w-o  'do you have it?'  JPH
m-t-šk  rá-m-t-ško?  'then was'  T8,5
m-t-xw  rám-t-xwen-eř-ax  'then they came'  T3,8

1.53. **Vowels.** Historically, Antoniano Salinan had three phonemic vowels, short and long. The allophones of /e/, i.e., [i], [e] and [ɛ], occur in free variation according to Harrington's notes. Harrington often reelicited the same word many times to determine all possible pronunciations, and, if possible, to determine an exactly correct pronunciation. In many cases he simply could not pin down one "correct" rendering of a word. A few examples will illustrate the free variation of the
allophones of /e/.

[i] ~ [e]: tritr'um ~ tretcōm 'my back'
[ɛ] ~ [i]: trfılé'ò ~ trfılé'wo 'plant sp.'

The allophones of /o/, i.e., [u], [ɔ] and [ɛ], similarly are recorded in free variation in Harrington's field notes:

[ɔ] ~ [u]: trhko'tc ~ trkuťf 'your (pl) dog'
[ɛ] ~ [u]: trw ~ trw 'my face'
  trw'wéno ~ truw'wéno 'their faces'

This last example, 'their faces', is accompanied by Harrington's note, "or is this the form that φ takes?" with arrows pointing at the underlined u, (see Section 1.23).

Therefore the high and mid short vowels do not contrast in native Antoniáno Salinan words. There are a few cases in which [i] is always recorded, but these are limited to a small number of attested frozen forms, although there is some evidence for a marginal contrast between short [i] and [e] in Jacobsen's data, especially before final ?:

mošé? 'coal'
lo'sí? 'birthday'

where stress may reveal an otherwise weakly attested
contrast. However, a possible minimal pair is suggested by an example from Jacobsen's notes where short [i] and [e] occur unstressed:

\[ \text{škāˈwe? 'heel' ~ škāˈwi? 'his heels'} \]

In addition to Harrington's multiple reappearings which reflect free variation of the allophones of /e/ and /o/, it is possible to state the environments in which the [i] and [u] allophones are usually recorded.

\[
/e/ \rightarrow [i]/\begin{array}{l}
\{\text{z}\} \\
\{\text{t}\}
\end{array}
\]

\[
/o/ \rightarrow [u]/\begin{array}{l}
\{\text{z}\}
\end{array}
\]

[\text{z}] never occurs long and is in free variation with [e].

/o/ \rightarrow [u]/\begin{array}{l}
\{\text{w, m, p, w}\}
\end{array}
\]

[\text{z}] never occurs long and is in free variation with [o].

The following minimal pairs and near-minimal pairs support the phonemic analysis.

\[ /a/ - /aˈ/ \text{ tētāˈʔo 'shoulder', tētāˈʔo 'his shoulder'} \]
/e/ - /e/  čeľ  'woodpecker sp.', čeľ
  'cricket'
/o/ - /o/  cōţo  'his point', cōţo  'point'
/a/ - /e/  tāšax  'my liver', tēšax  'my
  feathers'
/a/ - /e/  ?ākata?  'blood', ?ēkato  'his blood'
/e/ - /o/  tēšať  'my saltwater bullhead', tōšat
  'my tears'

All the examples are from Harrington's notes.
2. **Noun morphology**: overview of morphology.

Nouns, verbs and particles are the three morphologically defined word classes in Salinan. The morphology is characterized by prefixes, suffixes and infixes, and, sometimes, complex morphophonemics and active fusional processes such as vowel ablaut. Both nouns and verbs are inflected for singular and plural. Nouns are inflected to show the person and number of the possessor and verbs are inflected for number, aspect and pronominal reference of subject, agent and object. Numerals and demonstratives may be nominal or verbal. Affixation is extensive: a stem is rarely used without an affix. Most stems are nominal or verbal: some stems may be either.

2.1. **Introduction to noun morphology**: morpheme order in the noun maximally includes the following: (locative)-(articular prefix)-(stative prefix - stative)-(demonstrative)-(nominal article)-(possessive pronominal prefix)-noun stem-(possessive pronominal suffix)-(plural suffix)-(possessive pronominal suffix), for which examples follow.

\[
\text{ro-p-k-ôsólol na- timespeca-àkàt } \ '\text{of the straight tree}'
\]

- **ro-** locative prefix
- **p-** articualr prefix
- **k-** stative prefix
-osolol-  stative verb, 'straight'
na-  demonstrative
-ʧ-  nominal article
-ʔaʔaʧ  noun, 'tree'
wàk'  'night heron'
ʧ-έ-wàk'  'my night heron'
ʧ-  nominal article
-ε-  singular or third person plural possessor
-wàk'  noun, 'night heron'
ʧ-έ-wàk'-o  'his night heron'
ʧ-  nominal article
-ε-  singular or third person plural possessor
-wàk'-  noun, 'night heron'
-ʔo  third person possessor

Most nouns are marked for alienable or inalienable possession, but there is a complete lack of gender class or surface case marking. Examples of a noun that may be either alienably or inalienably possessed are shown at the end of Section 2.52 with the words for 'dimple' and 'molar'.

2.2. Inflectional morphology: pronominal possession.

Although there are subcategories and a small set of exceptions, pronominal possession is morphologically marked by placement of stress, affixation and the
presence of the ṭ nominal article, which also occurs as a nominalizing prefix with verbs, as the initial prefix.

2.21. Affixes. The third person possessor is shown by penultimate stress, plus a combination of affixes: the ṭ nominal article immediately followed by the vowel -e- preceding the noun stem, and the possessive suffix -o. Examples:

sanāṭ 'hide, skin' ṭ-e-sanāṭ-o 'his hide'
ṭay 'whale' ṭ-e-ṭāy-o 'his whale'
ṭa·šāx 'liver' ṭ-e-šāx-o 'his liver'

(The deletion and replacement of the initial stem vowel in the last example is discussed in Section 2.23.) The -o suffix follows stems ending in a consonant or replaces the vowel /a/. -o becomes -wo after stems ending in a vowel other than /a/:

ṭā·Kata 'wood' ṭ-e-kāt-o 'his wood'
ṭe·xo xo ō 'brain' ṭ-e-xo xo ō-wo 'his brain'

For the plural third person possessed form a plural morpheme immediately follows the stem:

sanāṭ 'hide, skin' ṭ-e-sanāṭ-ēl-o 'their hide(s)'

The -el- plural morpheme is discussed in Section 2.32.
For the first person possessed form the stress falls on the first syllable, or the -e- prefix. The first person is also marked by the initial t- prefix.

sanat' 'hide, skin'  t-ë-sanat' 'my hide'
tay 'whale'  t-ë-tay 'my whale'
t-a*šāx 'liver'  t-ë-*šax 'my liver'

For the plural first person possessed form, the first person singular prefixes are preceded by a t-a- prefix:

sanat' 'hide, skin'  t-ā*-t-e-sanat' 'our hide(s)'

The second person singular possessed form is also preceded by the t- nominal article and the -e- prefix, but an -m- prefix is placed after the t-.

sanat' 'hide, skin'  t-m-ë-sanat' 'your hide'
tay 'whale'  t-m-ë-tay 'your whale'
t-a*šāx 'liver'  t-m-ë-*šax 'your liver'

Before a noun stem beginning with a vowel, the prefixes are t-m-:

*ak' 'head'  t-m-āk' 'your head'
*e·nt' 'nose'  t-m-ë·nt' 'your nose'
\[ *\text{ow} \quad \text{'face'} \quad \text{t-m-}\text{ow} \quad \text{'your face'} \]

(The starred forms are not attested since they are inalienably possessed body parts.)

This combination of affixes is \text{t-o-m-} (unstressed) mainly with inalienably possessed nouns, but not always, as shown by the first example:

\text{towtkê? \quad 'salmon spear'} \quad \text{t-o-m-towtkay' \quad 'your salmon spear'}

\text{*me-n \quad 'hand'} \quad \text{t-o-m-me'n \quad 'your hand'}

\text{*tôs \quad 'younger brother'} \quad \text{t-o-m-tôs \quad 'your younger brother'}

For the second person plural possessed form, the \text{t-} nominal article is followed by \text{-k-ô-} and \text{-o-k-}:

\text{sanât \quad 'hide, skin'} \quad \text{t-k-ô-sanât \quad 'your hide'}

\text{towtkê? \quad 'salmon spear'} \quad \text{t-o-k-towtkay' \quad 'your salmon spear'}

The \text{t-o-k-} order of prefixes is very poorly attested, so it is difficult to determine if this order occurs mainly with inalienably possessed nouns as the \text{t-o-m-} set of prefixes for the second person singular does.

This analysis is complicated by the presence of
the vowel -a- as the initial vowel in all first person plural possessed forms and of -o- in all second person plural possessed forms. (These vowels also appear as the initial vowel marking the subject of the verb in first and second person pronominal plurals: see Sections 4.651 and 4.654).

The following chart of the possessive pronominal affixes for the nouns examined so far includes the IllegalAccessException nominal prefix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṭ-e-</td>
<td>ṭ-a-ṛ-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>{ ṭ-m-e- }</td>
<td>{ ṭ-k-ọ- }</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{ ṭ-o-m- }</td>
<td>{ ṭ-o-k- }</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3     | ṭ-e-           | all of the singular plus a plural marker
|       | -a → -o        |              |
|       | -o/C           |              |
|       | -ọ/Ọ/V(?)      |              |
|       | penultimate stress |            |
2.22. **Regular paradigm.** Following are examples of pronominal possessive affixation in stems of one, two and three syllables.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>Plural non-poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sanāt'</td>
<td>sanat'-ēl 'hide, skin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  t'-ē-sanat'</td>
<td>t'-ā'-t'-e-sanat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  t'-m-ē-sanaţ</td>
<td>t'-k-ō-sanaţ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  t'-e-sanat'-o</td>
<td>t'-e-sanat'-ēl-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>Plural non-poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no attestation</td>
<td>čēns-ēl 'sand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  t'-ē-čēns-ēl</td>
<td>t'-ā'-t'-e-čēns-ēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  t'-m-ē-čēns-ēl</td>
<td>t'-k-ō-čēns-ēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  t'-e-čēns-ēl-o</td>
<td>t'-e-čēns-ēl-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The potential ambiguity between plural possessed nouns and plural possessors is here exemplified by the plural, -el, expressed in the attested non-possessed form.
Singular non-poss.  Plural non-poss.

gay

no attestation  'whale'

Singular poss.  Plural poss.
1  ṭ-é-tay
2  ṭ-m-é-tay
3  ṭ-e-ṭay-o

no attestation

"  "

"  "

As illustrated in these examples of the regular and most common inflectional paradigm for possessed nouns, the affixes and accompanying identifying stress look like:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  ṭ-é-</td>
<td>ṭ-ā-ṭ-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  ṭ-m-é-</td>
<td>ṭ-k-ō-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  ṭ-e-  -o</td>
<td>ṭ-e-  -(pl) -o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.23. **Change of initial vowel** in some vowel-initial stems. A change of the initial vowel occurs in the possessed forms that follow, because the initial vowel of the noun stem is replaced by the appropriate vowel of the possessive paradigm (note that if the non-possessed stem ends in a vowel, it will become -o in the third person possessed forms):
Singular non-poss.   Plural non-poss.
\[\text{t-\'{a}\cdot\text{Kata}}\]  \[\text{t-\'{a}\cdot\text{Katet}} \quad 'wood'\]

Singular poss.   Plural poss.
1 \[\text{t-\'{e}\cdot\text{Kata}}\]  \[\text{t-\'{a}\cdot t-e\cdot\text{Kata}}\]
2 \[\text{t-m-\'{e}\cdot\text{Kata}}\]  \[\text{t-k-\'{e}\cdot\text{Kata}}\]
3 \[\text{t-e\cdot\text{K\'{a}t-o}}\]  \[\text{t-e\cdot\text{K\'{a}t-e\cdot l-o}}\]

Singular non-poss.   Plural non-poss.
\[\text{t-a\cdot\{\text{sax}}\]  no attestation  \[\quad 'liver'\]

Singular poss.   Plural poss.
1 \[\text{t-\'{e}\cdot\{'sax}}\]  no attestation
2 \[\text{t-m-\'{e}\cdot\{'sax}}\]  " "
3 \[\text{t-e\cdot\{'sax\{-o}}\]  " "

The identity of the stem-initial vowel is lost through its replacement by the paradigmatic vowels. It is a great pity that no plural forms of this word were recorded.

The vowels, however, simply reflect the vowels of the possessive paradigm, -e- for singular (all persons); -a- for first person plural, -o- for second person plural and back to -e- for third person plural. These vowels for first and second person plural are of overriding importance as will be
seen in the sections on verbal morphology (see Sections 3, 4.653 and 8.5 especially), but these vowels can apparently obscure the root of the non-possessed form of the stem, e.g. the root for 'house' is -am(a); and with metathesis, the word for 'water', rophe, becomes quite opaque, since the vowel of the root may appear before or after the -ophe- depending on whether a non-possessed or possessed form of the word for 'water' occurs. Taking the stem of the non-possessed form as basic, then, the root for the word for 'water' is -ophe(-) with metathesized -.She(-) as the form for possessed forms for the word.

Singular non-poss.  tpham 'house'.

Singular poss.  Plural poss.  
1  t-pe-*ma  t-6-t-e-m  
2  t-m-ope-*ma  t-k-6-*ma  
3  t-e-*m-6  t-e-*m-6-1-0  

Singular non-poss.  t-ophe 'water'

Singular poss.  Plural poss.  
1  t-6-t-a-*she  t-6-t-e-*she  
2  t-m-ope-t-a-*she  t-k-6-ope-t-a-*she  
3  t-e-t-a-*she-0  t-e-t-a-*she-o-t  

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These examples serve to illustrate the interplay of morphophonemics, required by the vowels for the possessive paradigm, with metathesis to preserve the root vowel of the possessed noun. It is only with roots of one syllable that this pattern is necessary, however.

2.24. **Exceptions.** Regular possession markings have several exceptions which fall into the following overlapping classes:

I. Vowel Changes
   A. Vowel elided in the third person, singular and plural.

II. Stress
   A. Stress stays on the stem vowel in the possessed forms.
   B. Stress shifts over two syllable stems.
   C. Stress shifts over three syllable stems.

2.241. **Vowel changes.** In the first type of exception to the regular paradigm for possessed noun stems, the vowel is elided from the possessive pronominal -e- prefix in the third person, singular and plural (see Section 1.22):
Singular non-poss.  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-et\( \hat{\text{k}} \)ol  'flute'  

Singular poss.  

Plural poss.  

1  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-\( \acute{\text{e}} \)-ta\( \hat{\text{k}} \)ol  

2  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-m-\( \acute{\text{e}} \)-ta\( \hat{\text{k}} \)ol  

3  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-ta\( \hat{\text{k}} \)ol-o  

Singular non-poss.  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-ek\( \acute{\text{k}} \)el  'song'  

Singular poss.  

Plural poss.  

1  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-\( \acute{\text{e}} \)-ka\( \acute{\text{r}} \)el  

2  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-m-\( \acute{\text{e}} \)-ka\( \acute{\text{r}} \)el  

3  \( \hat{\text{t}} \)-ka\( \acute{\text{r}} \)-k\( \tilde{\text{e}} \)l-o  

Note that even though there is elision of the vowel in the third person forms, the stress pattern, as established for the regular paradigm, is still maintained, unlike the examples for 'house' and 'water'. Note also the vowel elision in the second syllable of the first person plural possessed form for 'song'.

Another type of vowel elision involves the stem-final vowel:
Singular non-poss.  ṭ-e·lek  'mouth'

Singular poss.  

| 1  | ṭ-e·lek          |
| 2  | ṭ-m-e·lek        |
| 3  | ṭ-e·lk-o         |

Plural poss.  

No attestation

2.242.  -e? → -ay'. Another small set of only five nouns differentiates possessed from non-possessed forms by shift of stress accompanied by a change of final suffix from -e? to -ay' without the -e- prefix in the first person singular or third person singular and plural. Sapir (1917) had identified the -ay' suffix as "suffixed to verbs to form nouns" but this is not an explanation for the following:

Singular non-poss.  ᶠ?eney-_inches  'fish hawk'

Singular poss.  

| 1  | ᶠ?eney-ay'        |
| 2  | ṭ-o-m-ṧ?eney-ay'  |
| 3  | ᶠ?eney-ay'-o      |

Plural poss.  

ḯ?eney-ay'  ṭ-ā'-ṳ?eney-ay'  ṭ-o-k-ério  ᶠ?eney-1-ay'-o
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>t-owtk-é?  'salmon spear'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular poss.</td>
<td>Plural poss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-ówtk-ay'</td>
<td>t-á'-t-owtk-ay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-o-m-t-ówtk-ay'</td>
<td>t-o-k-t-ówtk-ay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-owtk-áy'-o</td>
<td>t-o'wtk-el-áy'-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>t-éwte? 'fuzz'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular poss.</td>
<td>Plural poss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-éwte-ay'</td>
<td>t-á-t-éwte-ay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-o-m-t-éwte-ay'</td>
<td>t-o-k-t-éwte-ay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-éwte-áy'-o</td>
<td>t-éwte-el-áy'-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>t-olol-é?  'flute'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular poss.</td>
<td>Plural poss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-ólo·1-ay'</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-m-ólo·1-ay'</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-ólo·1-áy'-o</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Singular non-poss. ma₇w-a交易中心 'watch'

Singular poss. Plural poss.
1 mā₇w-ay交易中心 no attestation
2 ṭ-o-m-mā₇w-ay交易中心 " "
3 no attestation " "

2.243. Stress stays on stem vowel. The following are examples illustrating the second set of exceptions to the regular possession markings involving stress placement. In the first set of examples the stress stays on the stem vowel in the possessed form naturally, since it is monosyllabic.

Singular non-poss. cō₇to 'point'

Singular poss. Plural poss.
1 cō交易中心 no attestation
2 ṭ-o-m-cō交易中心 " "
3 cō交易中心-o " "

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Singular non-poss. (Unattested) 'sugar'

Singular poss. Plural poss.
1 Kömaš no attestation
2 ṭ-o-m-Kömaš " "
3 Kömaš-o " "

(There is an unusual stress attested with the third person singular possessed form.)

Singular non-poss. *aḵ 'head'

Singular poss. Plural poss.
1 ṭ-āḵ no attestation
2 ṭ-m-āḵ " "
3 ṭ-āḵ-o " "

Singular non-poss. *me·n 'hand'

Singular poss. Plural poss.
1 me·n no attestation
2 ṭ-o-m-me·n " "
3 me·n-o " "

The last two examples are inalienably, i.e. obligatorily,
possessed so I have supplied starred forms for the stems for the non-existent non-possessed forms.

2.244. **Stress shift over two syllables.** Examples of the stress shifting in the possessed forms over two syllable stems beginning with an initial **t-e**-follow. Only the predictable first syllable stress marks the first person singular possessed form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>t-e'kë(')n</th>
<th>'nest'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular poss.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-ë'ken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-m-ë'ken</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-e'kë'n-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural poss.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-à-t-e'ke'n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-k-ò'ke'n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-e'ke'n-láx-o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>t-ekàn</th>
<th>'paunch'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular poss.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-ëkan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-m-ëkan</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-ekàn-o</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural poss.</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.245. **Stress shift over three syllables.** Examples of the shift of stress to mark possession by first person singular over three syllable words are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t-ekalé? 'egg'</td>
<td>t-ékalé</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-ékalet</td>
<td>t-o-m-t-ékalet</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-eká·lt-o</td>
<td>tete-t-eká·lt-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-ekalé? 'brain'</td>
<td>t-e`xoxó?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 t-é`xoxo?</td>
<td>t-á·t-e`xoxo?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 t-m-é`xoxo?</td>
<td>t-k-ó<code>xo</code>xo?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 t-e`xoxó-wo</td>
<td>t-e<code>xoxo-ló</code>wo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.246. **Unpredictable stem variants.** The last category of exceptions to the regular marking for possession is an unpredictable variation of the stem. Among this small group of exceptions using the t-e-prefix are the following examples involving deletion of a syllable:
Singular non-poss.  xoč  'dog'

Singular poss.  Plural poss.
1  t-ė-č  t-ā-t-e-č-at
2  t-m-ė-č  t-k-ō-č-at
3  t-ė-č-o  no attestation

The only third person possessed form attested is really just a plural. The attestation is from Harrington and glossed in Spanish: tōʔoʔčełeʔ  'un monton de perros'.

Singular non-poss.  t-etóŋ’en  'arrow'

Singular poss.  Plural poss.
1  t-ē-t'en'-ay'  no attestation
2  t-m-ē-t'en'-ay'  "  "
3  t-e-t'en'-āy'-o  "  "

Singular non-poss.  t-esxāyal  'urine'

Singular poss.  Plural poss.
1  t-ēsxal  no attestation
2  t-m-ēsxal  "  "
3  t-esxā·l-o  "  "

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2.25. **Nouns marking possession differently.** A small set of nouns do not use the combination of stress placement and affixation to mark pronominal possession. Within this set are many kinship terms; inalienably possessed nouns, such as body parts; some nouns derived from verbs; and some nouns whose stem begins with ți-a-. In most cases the stem is prefixed with ți-e- in the non-possessive, singular form.

2.251. **Kinship terms.** In possession marking of kinship terms the first person singular form consists of the bare stem. ți-m-ê- or ți-o-m- is prefixed for second person singular, but the ți-a- prefix and the usual -o suffix are used for third person.

'elder sister'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>pe?</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ți-o-m-pe?</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ți-a-pe-wo</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'younger brother'

Singular poss.           Plural poss.
1  tō·s                no attestation
2  ō-o-m-tō·s          "    "
3  ?a-tō·s-o           "    "

'younger sister'

Singular poss.           Plural poss.
1  tōn                 no attestation
2  ō-o-m-tōn           "    "
3  ?a-tō·n-o           "    "

2.252. Inalienable possession. Possession marking in inalienably possessed nouns does not use the -e- prefix for the first person singular possessor nor for the third person singular or plural, so pronominal possession follows the pattern:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 first syllable stress</td>
<td>ṭ-ā(∗)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>²-ᴍ-é-</td>
<td>ṭ-k-δ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-ᴏ-ᴍ-</td>
<td>ṭ-o-k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 penultimate stress</td>
<td>all of the singular,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-o</td>
<td>plus a plural morpheme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples include:

'right hand'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Ṽ₃ᶠ₃₆₃₄₅₆₀₇</td>
<td>ṭ-āʰ-₁₃₄₅₆₀₇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ṭ-₁₀₃₆₄₅₆₀₇</td>
<td>ṭ-o-k-₁₃₄₅₆₀₇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Ṽ₁₃₄₅₆₀₇</td>
<td>Ṽ₁₃₄₅₆₀₇</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This word shows the -ay' suffix with the stem lam 'to eat'. This fits Sapir's (1917) identification of -ay' (see Section 2.242: however, see Section 2.81 where another suffix, -ay', is discussed).
'part of (one's) hair'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  sā·k' -ay'</td>
<td>t'-ā·-sā·k'-ay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  t'-o-m-sā·k'-ay'</td>
<td>t'-o-k-sā·k'-ay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  sa·k' -āy'-o</td>
<td>sa·k'-el-āy'-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It looks as if this word carries the same -ay' suffix, but sa·k' is not attested.

'pause'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  t'-ē·nt'</td>
<td>t'-ā·-t'-e·nt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  t'-m-ē·nt'</td>
<td>t'-k-ō·nt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  t'-ē·nt'-o</td>
<td>t'-ē·nt'-o-t'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'face'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  t'-ow</td>
<td>t'-ā·t'-ow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2  t'-m-ōw</td>
<td>t'-k-ōw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3  t'-ōw-o</td>
<td>t'-ow-hēn-o ~ t'-ōw-o-t'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The difference from the regular pronominal possessive paradigm can be shown in the following examples of a stem used for both an alienably and an inalienably possessed noun. The alienable stem is given first and has a non-possessed attested form but no third person form is attested. The inalienable stem follows with, of course, no non-possessed form. Unfortunately no plural pronominally possessed forms were recorded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular non-poss.</th>
<th>ṭ-oxēl</th>
<th>'dimple'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṭ-ē-ṭ-oxol</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ṭ-m-ē-ṭ-oxol</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'molar'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular poss.</th>
<th></th>
<th>Plural poss.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṭ-ōxo·l</td>
<td>no attestation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ṭ-m-ōxo·l</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ṭ-xō·l-o</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.26. Types of noun stems. 145 noun stems are attested for Antoniaño Salinan. 111 of these, 77\%, are consonant-initial and 34, 23\%, are vowel-initial stems (always preceded by \( t^\cdot \)).

The largest group of consonant-initial noun stems, or 29\%, have the shape CVCVC; closely followed numerically, 25\%, by stems of the shape CVC and the variant with a long vowel, CV\*C, at 13\%. These account for two-thirds of all the consonant-initial noun stems.

All the remaining consonant-initial stems are listed by frequency of their occurrence.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CV\*CVC} & \quad 9\% \\
\text{CVCCVC} & \quad 9\% \\
\text{CV\*CCVC} & \quad 4\% \\
\text{CVCVCVC} & \quad 4\% \\
\text{CVCV\*C} & \quad 3\% \\
\text{CVCV\*CVC} & \quad 2\% \\
\text{CVCV\*CC} & \quad 1\% \\
\text{CVCVCC} & \quad 1\% \\
\text{CV\*CV\*C} & \quad 1\% \\
\text{CV\*CV\*CVC} & \quad 1\%
\end{align*}
\]

This analysis is based upon stems which do not include the affricates [ts], [t̚s], [t̚s] and [t̚s] for purposes of comparing these stem shapes with the shapes of stems which are produced by an analysis of these
affricates as, a) consonant clusters (except at morpheme boundaries) or b) unit phonemes, in order to discover if the shapes of noun stems without these sounds are significantly altered by analyzing them as consonant clusters.

If [ts], [tʃ], [t's] and [tʃ] are analyzed as clusters, ten infrequently occurring shapes must be added to the list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCVC</th>
<th>6 occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCV•C</td>
<td>3 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVCVC</td>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVC</td>
<td>2 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV•CVC</td>
<td>1 occurrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCVCC</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCV•CC</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCVCV•C</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV•CV•CC</td>
<td>1 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If, on the other hand, [ts], [tʃ], [t's] and [tʃ] are analyzed as unit phonemes, six of the shapes of noun stems are further exemplified: CVC shapes receive seven more attestations; CVCVC, four; CV•C, three and one more attestation each for the shapes CV•CVC; CVCV•C and CV•CV•C. Only three infrequently occurring shapes must be added to the original list if the affricates are analyzed as unit phonemes:
CVCC, CCVC and CVCVCV·C.

Turning to the shapes of vowel-initial stems, the most frequently occurring group have the shape VCVC, 44%, or almost half. 24% of vowel-initial stems have the shape V·CVC, followed by VC and VCCVC at 9%, respectively; VCV·C 6% and V·C, VCC and V·CC all at 3%.

Again, this analysis is based upon stems not containing [ts], [t$], [t$] or [t$] for purposes of comparison with those which do contain them. Analyzed as consonant clusters, four stem shapes must be added to the list: V·CCVC, VCV·CC, VCCCV·C and V·CCV·C.

However, if [ts], [t$], [t$] and [t$] are analyzed as unit phonemes, no new stem types need to be recognized. V·CV·C is attested ten times, with other consonants, VCV·C four and V·CVC three.

These data added to the discussion in Section 1.22 serve to persuade me that [ts], [t$], [t$] and [t$] should be analyzed as unit phonemes /c/, /t/, /t/ and /t/, except as noted in that Section.

2.3. Plurals. The fascinating array of plural suffixes can only suggest the richness of the native system. All parts of speech in Salinan may be marked for plurality. 'Plural' includes notions such as distributive, dual, collective, or iterative. Only a few examples are necessary to show the types of
plurals, all suffixes, because 'plural' was simplified to the suffix -ten in nearly all attested examples starting with Mason's work (1918). Under the influence of English and Spanish, comparatively regular plural forms were used increasingly as the language approached extinction. Unfortunately, very few 'plurals' were recorded by Fr. Sitjar, so most of the data comes from the 20th century, 150 years after the first Spanish influence on Salinan.

2.31. -ten, the most frequently occurring plural suffix, reflects the elicitations of animal terms. It is used simply as a suffix to the noun stem to indicate plurality for specific words for birds and animals, as well as a couple of plants, animal body parts and for several borrowings from Spanish for animal terms.

In verbs it is glossed as 'much, more, again, another' or 'also'. -ten seems to be an iterative plural when used with nouns, and the nouns are the words whose meaning is involved with hunting. -ten may also be suffixed to pronouns, e.g. hek'-tēn, 'me too', and to statives, e.g. keča?-tēn 'big (pl)'.
2.32. **Comparison of Mason and Harrington.** 

may also occur with other suffixes, e.g. `t-a`m `house`, `t-a`m-á`n-ten 'houses'. Mason (1918:22-23) was so intrigued by Salinan plurals that he included a list of the forms for the plural for 'house' with the following observations.

"One of the most striking peculiarities of Salinan is the development of the plural. Every noun, verb, and adjective must display in its form its number, the plural of the verb conveying ordinarily the idea of repetition as frequentative or iterative, and frequently implying plurality of the pronominal subject or object. "The methods of plural formation fall into several different types, but the details are very variant and almost inexplicable. The two principal methods are by suffixes and by infixes. As subdivisions may be differentiated the various elements employed, which are, generally speaking, composed of one or more of the three elements t, n, and l. "The majority of stems permit of but one plural form, and it seems to be impossible to determine which of the many types of plural formation any given stem will follow. But certain other stems permit of several different forms, according to the several types of plural. It is probable that each of them carries a slightly different significance, such as distributive and iterative, but it has not been possible to differentiate them according to meaning. Thus the following plural forms of one stem, claimed to be of identical meaning were given..."

Harrington (1932-33) used Mason's list of plurals for 'house' as a basis for re-eliciting all the forms and glosses from one of Mason's informants, David
Mora. Harrington managed to clarify the list somewhat, since Mason identified each entry only as 'plural'.

Mason's forms are given on the left and Harrington's re-elicitations and glosses on the right. The hyphenation of the forms for morpheme boundaries in the Harrington forms is mine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASON</th>
<th>HARRINGTON</th>
<th>GLOSS 1932-33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭama•'neL</td>
<td>ṭ-a•m-ā•n-el</td>
<td>'a bunch of houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamelax</td>
<td>ṭ-a•m-el-ax</td>
<td>'Dave does not use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa•ma•tēn</td>
<td>ṭ-a•m-ā•n-ten</td>
<td>'Did not V. without inserting -ten'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭemhal</td>
<td>ṭ-e•m-hāl-o</td>
<td>'their house (of a family)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa•ma•tenāx</td>
<td>ṭ-a•m-ā•n-ten-ax</td>
<td>'the little bunch of houses over where Apolonio goes to shit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭa•ma•niLāx</td>
<td>ṭ-a•m-ā•n-1-ax</td>
<td>(no comment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭamaNilten</td>
<td>ṭ-am-an-ēl-ten</td>
<td>'The -ten is too much'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The possessed pronominal paradigm is listed in Section 2.23. The 'V' in one of Harrington's glosses means 'volunteer'.)

The first form given in Mason's list, ṭama•'neL, seems to be the form that is most easily translated as the usual English (or Spanish) plural. In fact,
-ael is a recognizable plural, occurring with many noun stems and glossed simply as 'plural'. The -el is segmentable, however, since it can occur alone as the only suffix to the stem of a mass noun, such as 'sand' or 'snow', (see Section 2.21 'hide, skin'). -a*n never occurs alone in nouns.

For the second form on Mason's list, Harrington's comment 'Dave does not use', indicates that -el- cannot be used with the stem for the word for 'house' with -ax. Examination of other occurrences of -ax (~ -ak) shows that it is an infrequently occurring adjective plural. So, combined with -el-, the suffix used with mass nouns, Harrington's comment is understandable.

The third form listed by Mason shows -ten preceded by -a*n- in Harrington's correction. The fourth plural example from Mason's list, ɔemhal, is also explained by Harrington's gloss. The fifth form, ɔa*ma*tenax is an example of these three suffixes occurring together in a rare example. This clarifies the meaning of -a*n- somewhat, and it can be more accurately defined as a suffix used with indefinite plurals of nouns as an intensifier.

This analysis is borne out by Harrington's comment on Mason's last form, ɔamaNilen, 'the -ten is too much', showing that these three do not co-occur.
2.33. **-h-** dual. One more obvious plural is the dual -h(-), which is either suffixed immediately after the stem or, more commonly, infixed in the stem with the repetition of the stem vowel.

mē-n  'my hand'
mēhen  'my two hands'

sōnon  'my leg'
sōnohon  'my two legs'

sokento  'eye' (from Mason's 1918 stem list)
sokehenet  'pl'  "  "  "  "  "

A couple of examples with verbs, rather than nouns, serve to demonstrate the dual (or trial) nature of this morpheme:

k-sē-h-ne?  'they are walking' (two men)
St-V_{S}-pl-D_{sf}

kā-ha-w-lō  xeyōt'  'two or three are asleep'
V_{S}-pl-V_{S}-Cl 3pl

2.34. Suppletion. There are a few suppletive plurals in Antoniaño Salinan as well:
lowä? 'man'
tä'm 'men'
se³xäʔ 'child'
semtän 'children'
ʔäʔ 'my son'
sëʔemten 'my sons'

2.35. **Other plurals.** There are plural morphemes which may occur as the only plural affix with a noun stem. That is, a noun will have a plural gloss only with the addition of such a morpheme. These cases may be listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR GLOSS</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>GLOSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñá'kay 'wind'</td>
<td>ñá'kay-ak 'winds'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mošéʔ 'flame'</td>
<td>moš-al-éʔ 'flames'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñówat³ 'person'</td>
<td>ñówɔt-á'1 'people'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ-e-škem 'Tulareño'</td>
<td>ñ-e-škm-á1 'Tulareños'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ-e-šlet 'my tooth'</td>
<td>ñ-e-šlet-al 'my teeth'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñešxáy 'dawn'</td>
<td>ñešxáy-al 'pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñláʔ 'dish'</td>
<td>ñláʔ-at 'dishes'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñkoy-šl-ô 'his lungs'</td>
<td>ñkyl-áx-o 'their lungs'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ-káten 'anus'</td>
<td>ñ-káten-a'x 'pl'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>GLOSS</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ašō·t</td>
<td>'string'</td>
<td>?ašō·t-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-á·kata</td>
<td>'wood'</td>
<td>t-á·kat-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ë·škol</td>
<td>'my ear'</td>
<td>t-ë·škol-et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-kā·w-o</td>
<td>'his body'</td>
<td>t-kāw-ë?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-?ëpên</td>
<td>'chunk of wood'</td>
<td>t-?ëpên-e?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skōko·ye</td>
<td>'crest'</td>
<td>skōko·y-l-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-e-šxa?a·yê?</td>
<td>'shoe'</td>
<td>t-e-šxa?a·y-l-ê?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xātep</td>
<td>'corpse'</td>
<td>xāt-l-ep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ë·ken</td>
<td>'my nest'</td>
<td>t-ë·ke·n-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keťpōy</td>
<td>'hill'</td>
<td>keťpōy-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?axwem̓</td>
<td>'skin'</td>
<td>?axwem̓-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čēpēn</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
<td>čēpen-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-etōyen</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
<td>t-etōyen-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-ë·šewče</td>
<td>'drunkard'</td>
<td>k-ë·šewče-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-e·xoxō?</td>
<td>'(non-poss.) brain'</td>
<td>t-exoxō?-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ðopoy</td>
<td>'knee'</td>
<td>t-ðopoy-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ëpēn</td>
<td>'belly'</td>
<td>t-ëpēn-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keťepoy</td>
<td>'cedar'</td>
<td>keťepoy-lax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?axā·k</td>
<td>'(non-poss.) bone'</td>
<td>?axa·k-lēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-ðopok</td>
<td>'arm'</td>
<td>t-ðopok-lēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>GLOSS</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-oweyé?</td>
<td>'boat'</td>
<td>ṭ-oweye-le?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-owtké?</td>
<td>'salmon spear'</td>
<td>ṭ-owtké-le?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ske-te?</td>
<td>'toy'</td>
<td>ske-te-le?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makawé?</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
<td>makawe-le?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáyo?</td>
<td>'eagle'</td>
<td>sayo-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ká</td>
<td>'coyote'</td>
<td>1ká-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kálak</td>
<td>'goose'</td>
<td>kalak-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-élek</td>
<td>'hole'</td>
<td>ṭ-elek-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?akata</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
<td>?akat-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-á?áw</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
<td>ṭ-á?á-w-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-e-ké?</td>
<td>'means you (he)'</td>
<td>ṭ-e-ké-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>has head like headlouse'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-ešék</td>
<td>'owl sp.'</td>
<td>ṭ-ešék-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šowá?</td>
<td>'skunk'</td>
<td>šowá-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-ta'lák</td>
<td>'(non-poss.)'</td>
<td>ṭ-ta'lak-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>horn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ċxo?</td>
<td>'earth'</td>
<td>ċxo-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čopó?</td>
<td>'fog'</td>
<td>čopó-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-ešax</td>
<td>'feather'</td>
<td>ṭ-ešax-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?at</td>
<td>'oak sp.'</td>
<td>?at-nél</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-é:-šxe?</td>
<td>'my foot'</td>
<td>ṭ-šxe- plét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó-lafe?</td>
<td>'penis'</td>
<td>kó-la-t-le?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-e'kes</td>
<td>'blanket'</td>
<td>ṭ-e'kse-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kowá-yo</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
<td>koyá-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭ-é-sxáI</td>
<td>'plaything'</td>
<td>ṭ-é-sxal-táy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGULAR</td>
<td>GLOSS</td>
<td>PLURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꜄o·n</td>
<td>'ghost'</td>
<td>꜄o·n-tel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꜅-ó·kenaʔ</td>
<td>'day'</td>
<td>꜅-ó·kenaʔ-tel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaʔ</td>
<td>'acorn'</td>
<td>kaʔ-tèl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꜌-ʼxol</td>
<td>'tule'</td>
<td>꜌-ʼxol-tèl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꜅-é-laʔ</td>
<td>'relative'</td>
<td>꜅-é-laʔ-tel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmeţ</td>
<td>'hunter'</td>
<td>kāmeţ-tene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>꜌al</td>
<td>'bud'</td>
<td>꜌al-tene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lemḗm</td>
<td>'wasp'</td>
<td>lemḗm-teyax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sá·mel</td>
<td>'Migueleño'</td>
<td>sá·mel-ᵗám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čkāmal</td>
<td>'dimple'</td>
<td>čkāmal-ᵗ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>'food'</td>
<td>lám-xat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ek</td>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>?ek-xel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-šē-Ke-ṭeʔ</td>
<td>'slope'</td>
<td>k-šē-Ke-ṭ-y-eʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms were not attested with an indicated stress where it is not marked. Most of them come from Harrington's re-elicitations of Mason's (1918) stem list, and, in most cases Harrington only re-elicited those words in Mason's 'singular' column; he did not re-elicit most of the plurals. This may help to explain anomalies in the glosses, such as 'anus', 'knee' and 'arm', which one would expect to require the obligatorily possessed affixes. Mason tried to list uninflected stems.
It may be that several of these 'plural' affixes are related constellations; i.e. -el, -nel, -tel and -xel; -et, -let and -plet; -ax and -lax look like variants of each other as do -et and -e?, perhaps, but there are not enough attestations to state this with confidence.

Many of the plural suffixes co-occur and even trade positions with each other after the noun stem:

1. -at-ten  shaky?-at-tēn  'rivers'
   -ten-at  ṭaś-ten-at  'elks'
   ṭašaʔ-tēn-at  'flints'
   čaʔ-kay-tēn-at  'winds'
   škāʔ-K-ten-at  'crows'
   mapʔ-ten-at  'rabbits'

2. -ak-ten  ṭ-axaʔ-y-ak-ten  'bears'
   -aʔ-n-ten-ax  ṭ-am-ʔ-aʔ-n-ten-ax  'bunch of houses'

3. -ax-nel  ḋxáp-ax-nel  'stones'
   -aʔ-n-el-ax  ṭ-am-ʔ-aʔ-n-el-ʔax  'houses'

Other co-occurrences of the 'plural' morphemes are:

4. el-ak  maʔ-ʔel-ak  'animals'
5. -ak-nel  ṭ-aʔ-šx-ak-nel  'livers'
6. -al-ax  ṭ-exox-ʔal-ax  'brains'
7. -at-el  smakay-at-ʔel  'nights'
8. -ay-ak  k-lám-ay-ak  'Goldfinches'
9. -le-ten  1Ka-le-ten  'coyotes'
10. -pax-nel  čxā-pax-nel  'stones'
11. -ta(*)-nel  lšé-ta-nel  'years'
                Kewel-tá'-nel  'West people'
12. -ten-ax  k-á·kel-ten-ax  'songs'

Only one fact emerges clearly from this intensive study:  -ten and -nel do not co-occur.

2.4. **Roots: nouns.** It is possible to attempt to identify the root in only a few isolated cases, and this is rare in Salinan, because a) analytical problems are raised, especially with vowel-initial stems, by fusional processes and b) unusually full attestations of a form, both from a multiplicity of sources and with a variety of inflected and derived forms are necessary to begin. It is only once in a great while that a root may be provisionally discernable.

An example is the following discussion, which uses the stem for 'foot' as illustration. Since this is a vowel-initial stem, the possible complexities previously mentioned in Sections 2.2-2.241 should be taken into account. In addition the discussion involving the final vowel of the stem is not wholly
satisfying, but with these cautions in mind, the following discussion illustrates an attempt at this procedure.

On the immediately following pages I have reproduced all of the attestations of all words whose meaning (in translation) is in any way associated with the word for 'foot' in Antoniaño.

The first set of forms are from J. Alden Mason (1918), starting with five forms from his stem list on page 126. The one Antoniaño form for 'foot' is followed by four plural forms and then there are four textual citations in which the abbreviation 'T' stands for 'text' and 'line' for the line of the text on which the form appears in his publication.

The first thing that appears from the Mason data is that the forms which he gives for stems, when compared to his textual forms, lack the $t$-prefix. The $t$-prefix occurs with nouns as the nominal article (see Section 2.2), and he has correctly omitted it from his stem list.

Many of the forms have the -wo or -o suffix, indicating that the 'foot' is possessed by the third person (see Section 2.21).

At first glance, it seems that
From J. Alden Mason

icxe•'-u /ešxēw/ 'foot' Stem list, p. 126.
icxe'•-l /ešxe-pā•l/ 'feet' Stem list, p. 126
icxe'•-e /ešxē'-?e/ " " " " "
icxe'•xe' /ešxē-he?/ " " " " "
icxe'•ple't /ešxe•-plēt/ " " " " "
ți•cx•ple•'to /t-ēšxe-plēt-o/ 'his foot' Text 5, line 8.
ti'•cx•ple•'to /t-ēšxe-plēt-o/ 'his foot' Text 2, line 2.
pe-•t-icxe'•p-le•'t-o /pe-•t-ešxep-lēt-o/ 'their feet'

Text 1, line 16.
tićxe•'he? /t-ēšxē-he?/ 'feet' (height) Text 8, line 4.

From Harrington

trǐq̱e? /t-ē-šxe?/ 'my foot'
khsō'k'ak trēc̱e? /k-čō'k'ak t-ē-šxe?/ 'tengo comezones en los pies'

tríc̱mēq̱e? /t-um-e-šxe?/ 'tu (your sg) foot'
trǐq̱e?wo /t-ē-šxē-wo/ 'his foot'
fā•hkē? trǐq̱e?wo /sā•k-e? t-ē-šxē-wo/ 'his foot is all cracked up. Said of chillblains.'

trǐq̱e?wo qoṯj /t-ē-šxē-wo xoč/ 'dog's foot'
trǐq̱e?wo /t-ē-šxē-wo/ 'his track'
trfquel /t-\$xe\*-pl\&t/ 'feet, good and used.
E.g., if Dave gathers up feet in a bunch in a butcher shop and brings them home and says that all he has are feet.'

trf\$qe? /t-\$x\$xe?/ 'un monton de rastros, lots of tracks'

q\$ja? trf\$qe? /\$\$a? q-\$x\$xe?/ 'lots of tracks, not used of feet.'

q\$ja? trf\$qe\*p\$l\&to tra?\$a? /\$\$a? q-\$x\$xe\*-pl\&t-o q-a?\$a?/ 'lots of deer tracks'

tretc\$mo tr\$c\$xe? /t-e\$\$om\$-o q-\$-\$x\$xe?/ 'el lomo del pie, instep'

tre\$l\$co tr\$c\$xe? /t-e\$l\$e\$-o q-\$-\$x\$xe?/ 'the bottom of my foot'

tricha\$a\$y\$f? /t-e\$-\$x\$-a?\$a\$y-\$e?/ 'shoe'

tricha\$a\$y\$lf? /t-e\$-\$x\$-a?\$a\$y-1-\$e?/ 'shoes'

trfqa\$a\$jo kowa\$jo /t-e\$-\$x\$-a?\$a\$y-o kowa\$y-o/ 'horseshoe'

From Padres Cabot and Dumetz (/// = blot)

Tixjeu /t-e\$x\$e\$/ 'pies'
tixje /t-e\$xe/ 'mio pie'
temixje /t-e\$m-e\$xe/ 'tuo pie'
Za///xje /t-a--\$xe/ 'nuestro pie'
Zucuxje /t-o-k-o\$xe/ 'vuestro pie'
tixjebilîto /t-e-ŋxe-pelet-o/ 'pies' (pl)
tixjebelet /t-e-ŋxe-pelet/ 'mio pie' (pl)
temixjebelet /t-e-m-eŋxe-pelet/ 'tuo pie' (pl)
Za//xjebilit /t–a–ŋxe-pelet/ 'nuestro pie' (pl)
Zucuxjebilit /t–o-k-oŋxe-pelet/ 'vuestro pie' (pl)

From Fr. Sitjar

tixjeplip /t-e-ŋxe-plep/ 'mis pies'

From Pinart

tesxe /t-e-ŋxe/ 'foot'

From Henshaw

Ti-ce³-hë /t-e-ŋëhe/ 'foot' (No. 83)

From Merriam

Tish³-re /t–ë-ŋre/ 'foot'
Te-chôm³-tish³-kë /t–e–č°m t–ë-ŋke/ 'instep'
Kałestish³-shup /k–e(*)les t–ë-ŋšop/ 'sole'
Ap³-pe-li tish³-re / аппelay t–ë-ŋre/ 'toes'
From Jacobsen

tĩšxe? /t-ě-šxe/? 'foot'
tĩšhe? /t-ě-šhe/? 'foot'
tẽšxai? /t-ě-sxay/? 'foot'
tẽšxai /t-ě-sxay/ 'foot'
tĩšhe?ay /t-ě-šh-a?ay/ 'shoe'
šxexi? /šxexē?/ 'shoe'
tĩšxa?ai /t-ě-šx-a?ay/ 'my shoe'
tĩšha?ä·yo? kowä·yo? /t-e-šh-a?ä·y-o? kowä·y-o?/ 'horseshoe'
Mason successfully segmented off the ǂ- prefix, but he left part of the third person possessor suffix on the stem for 'foot'.

Looking at his plural forms from the stem list, there are four forms given. The first two /ešxe-pā·1/ and /ešxe-ʔe/ are not elucidated by further data from any other source, and none of the forms is identified as anything but 'plural'. Mason's textual citations reflect his fourth plural. I have put them in Mason's own segmentation to show that in the first text, which is the only one he gives a segmentation for, he identifies the stem as /-ešxe/- not with final u or w. He identified -let- as 'plural'. One must look at the other data to determine a more precise definition for these plural forms. Given the Mason data a working hypothesis for the stem would be /-ešxe/- or /-ešxeʔ/.

The first two forms from the field notes of John Peabody Harrington give the words for 'my foot' and 'my feet' (in 'my feet itch'). These two forms show no morphological difference between the singular and plural forms for the first person singular possessor of one or two feet, so they do not shed any new light on Mason's plurals.

Segmenting off the initial ǂ- prefix, the stem is very much like the one inferred from the Mason data,
/-e$xe-/. The third Harrington form shows the -m- prefix just after the t- prefix for second person singular possessor of the noun (Section 2.21). The next four forms show the third person possessive suffix, as well as adding 'track' to the meaning of 'foot'.

Next we come to the only plural form for 'foot' which Harrington was able to elicit and find that it is identical to the last plural form given by Mason, /-plet/. Harrington's recording of his informants comments help to shed a little light on the meaning of this plural form as well. It is not dual, it may be collective, and it is inanimate, or, perhaps, formerly animate.

Then there are three forms giving the plural of the 'foot' word in its meaning as 'track'. The first two show the form given by Mason as one of the plurals in his stem list, /t-$x$e$xe?/ 'lots of tracks'. There are two additional bits of information in these forms: first, that the reduplicated plural is not available for the meaning 'foot', and, second, that the stem /-e$xe-/ reflects the root, tentatively, /-$xe-/. This seems to indicate that the -plet plural form is one or more morphemes indicating either the animate, or formerly animate, plural of the word for 'foot' and the reduplicated form is for the plural inanimate, or 'track'.
Harrington has a couple of forms in which the stem for 'foot' is used with other forms: 'instep', which is the stem for 'back' with the third person possessor suffix; and the form for 'the bottom of my foot'.

Finally, Harrington has some forms for 'shoe'. After segmenting off the t- prefix, /-e$\bar{x}$-/ remains plus -a?a(-)y-e?, -l-e? or -o for 'shoe', 'shoes' and 'horseshoe', so the root /-$\bar{x}$e-/ must be shortened to /-$\bar{x}$-/.

Following the Harrington list, an almost complete paradigm for the word for 'foot' is supplied from the Boston Athenaeum manuscript by Frs. Cabot and Dumetz. The parallel strokes show an ink blot on the original, but apparently this occurred at the time of composition because nothing seems to be omitted. Unfortunately, Cabot and Dumetz did not mark stress, but this is a relatively minor complaint because of the invaluable paradigmatic information which is lacking from any other source. It confirms the deletion of the initial vowel of the root for 'foot' since that vowel obviously carries information about the person and number of the possessor (and see Section 2.21), as can be seen from the first and second person plural forms.

The form from Fr. Sitjar shows a final -p, which can be explained as a misprint for t in the published version of his vocabulary. This, then, is identical to the second form in the plural part of
the Cabot and Dumetz forms, showing the same plural formation as Harrington's form.

Pinart's form shows a t rather than the ð-prefix. Henshaw has the same problem, as well as putting a vowel between the ș and the fricative recorded as h.

Merriam, like Henshaw, has trouble with the velar fricative. His attempts to record it, however, give us some insight into its phonetic character to his 'English ear'. Merriam has r, s and k for [x].

From William H. Jacobsen's material we have two new pieces of information. First, it is clear that as the language reached its terminal stages, the ð-prefix could be deleted, and, secondly, that there is a great deal of phonological decay. Compare Harrington's form for 'shoe' /t-e-șx-a?a-y-ș?/ with either of the two forms Jacobsen was able to elicit: /t-e-șh-a?ay/ or /șxexə/? , for instance.

It should be borne in mind that both Harrington and Jacobsen are entirely reliable phonetically. So, this serves as an example of the phonological and morphological simplification, or neutralization, that was taking place as the language became moribund.
2.5. **Reduplication.** Grammatical reduplication to indicate iterative or collective is possibly used with verbs, e.g. ταβα 'to smell', and statives, e.g. κεπέλ 'striped' meaning 'several instances' or 'repetitive'. Use of reduplication for this purpose is very limited, however.

More commonly lexical reduplication is used in descriptive terms for birds and some animals, e.g. ċekček 'fish hawk', ċemcem 'bat', šawšawš 'snake sp'. Examples of reduplication using less than the entire stem are final VC, e.g. laċāc 'slug', xaċaċ 'pajaro pinto'; final CV, e.g. swakakā 'lizard'; initial CV, e.g. skōkoy 'marsh/ pigeon hawk'.

2.6. **Men's and women's speech.** There is only one attestation, which is dubious in itself, for evidence of men's and women's speech in Antoniano Salinan. The elicitation is from Harrington: ṭēkwe 'my cuñada, woman says this to woman, used only between women'. This is an affinal kin term, which may depend on the sex and the age of the speaker and a man may possibly say this when speaking to a woman or in the second or third person.
2.7. **High and low speech.** There is a little more evidence, however, for the use of 'high' versus 'low' speech. This usually involves the elision of a vowel for the 'high' form of the word, e.g. ṭekalēt 'egg' (low), ṭekā·lt 'egg' (high) and sānātel 'hide, skin' (low), sanētel 'hide, skin' (high), but, again the attestation is only by Harrington.

2.8. **Nouns derived from verbs.** Derivation of the noun from a verb is, perhaps, best exemplified by the form for 'to talk'. The stem is sa, as in k-sā 'he is taking', k-sā-­tel-lo 'they are talking'. This stem undergoes a vowel ablaut to se for the stem for 'language', e.g. ṭ-ā-­se-­tel 'my language', ṭ-ā-t-a-­se-­tel 'our language'.

2.81. **Suffixedation.** There are other methods employed besides vowel ablaut of the stem vowel to derive nouns from verbs, e.g., suffixedation: lam 'to eat', lam-āy 'food', lām-xat 'my food'; and sok-ay 'to kick', sok-āy-kēs 'floor'.

2.82. **Agentives.** The agentive suffix -mak may be placed directly after the verb stem:

p-ēntel hāk 'he is making fun of us'
k-ēntel-­mak 'a mocker'
or it may follow a derivational suffix:

k-āmece 'he lies'
k-āmece-n 'a lie'
k-āmece-n-mak 'liar'

Note that the derived noun is preceded by the k- (stative) prefix, which is discussed in Section 4.4.

Two other agentive suffixes used with nouns derived from verbs should be mentioned: -a·ɛ and -eʔɛ.
Both are final suffixes:

k-āmeť-e 'he is hunting'
k-āmeť-a·ɛ 'hunter'
k-āmeť-a·h-a·ɛ re-šwān 'fisherman'
k-mōlo-x-a·ɛ 'leaper, hopper'
k-sēʔ-h-a·ɛ 'mocking'
k-sēʔ-h-le-a·ɛ 'proud'
lešxay-tel-eʔɛ 'rainmakers'

ᵗ-e-p-xāť-eʔɛ 'public latrine

ᵗ- nominal prefix
ᵉ- possessive prefix
ᵖ- articular prefix
ˣať- 'excrement'
eʔɛ agentive suffix
2.9. **Affixes.** The prefix `pe- ~ p-` prefixed to nouns is the articular prefix occurring in connected speech in Mason's (1918) texts and in some phrases, translated as 'the'. Examples may be found starting with Section 3.5 and in the accompanying text, Section 9.

The prefix `1-` is found with nouns and was glossed as 'seasonal' by Mason (1918:22):

- 1-pál 'summer'
- 1-té 'manzanita'
- 1-Kā 'coyote'
- 1-nē 'summer'
- 1-xóy 'plant sp.' (Spanish 'jamatay')
- 1-pōn 'blackberry'
- 1-šē 'year'

Since an animal and a couple of plants appear to have this prefix, 'seasonal' does not seem to cover the case, but there are few attestations, so a precise identification is not possible and they do not appear without 1-.

There is a well-attested `s-` prefix for animals:

- s-kāṭa·lakne 'fish sp.'
- s-kayā? 'raccoon'
- s-kayā? 'skunk sp.'
- s-ko·kō? 'butterfly'
- s-lō·t 'gull'
s-matê-xan 'quail'
s-nâ·k 'kangaroo rat'
s-tamkâ·l 'bat'
s-tô·t 'killdeer'

and many more as already listed by Sapir (1925:498-9) and see Section 4.7.

A poorly attested but probably related prefix is č- with only two examples:

č-kô·to·to 'plain titmouse'
č-pe·le·l-tên 'butcher birds'

There is also a prefixed s- or š- diminutive:

s-ʔaxâ·k-o šwân 'little fish bone'
  bone-his fish

š-Kâwyo 'fetlock' (kowâ·yo? 'horse')

Suffixes include -tel, -way and -ye?š. -tel has only three examples:

lowl- tel 'old, disused'
lowl- tel čxâ? 'an old rock'
lowl- tel t-â·m 'an old house'

but its exact semantics is unclear compared to the one attestation of -ye?š, which seems to have a meaning of 'old' or 'deserted'.
t-é-má-yeʔš 'a deserted house or rancheria'

-way seems to act as a nominalizer in its one attestation:

k-wáл 'it swelled up'
k-wáл-way 'swelling, irritation'

2.100. **Diminutive.** There is one other possible example in Salinan (see brief examples in 2.9) of a diminutive. The following is the one example of consonant diminutivism:

k-sóy-ne 'little tassel'
k-šóy-ne 'tassel'
k-sóy-te-ne 'bis tassles'.

However, this may indicate only a change of size.

2.110. **Morphophonemics: review.** In the preceding discussion of pronominal possession, the following morphophonemic processes were exemplified in third person possessed forms: -a → -o, Sections 2.21-2.252; -oʔ + -wo → -wó, Sections 2.21, 2.245 and 2.251.

Vowel elision from the possessive pronominal prefix in the third person is discussed in Section 2.241 and elision of the stem vowel is exemplified in Section 2.241.
Vowel lengthening in the stressed penultimate syllable of the third person possessed forms is exemplified in Sections 2.23, 2.244, 2.245 and 2.246.

Vowel insertion in the second person possessed forms in the absence of stress or when the first vowel of the noun stem is o: ŧ-m- → ŧ-o-m- in the singular and ŧ-k- → ŧ-o-k- in the plural is exemplified in Sections 2.21, 2.22, 2.242, 2.243, 2.245, 2.251 and 2.252.

The influence of the vowels a in the first person plural and o in the second person plural is first discussed in Section 2.21.

Stress shift has been discussed and exemplified in Sections 2.243-2.245.

Ablaut of the stem vowel is exemplified in the derivation of nouns from some verbs in Section 2.8.

In the Section on affricates (1.22) the possibility of a morphophonemic rule ts → c and tš → č was mentioned.
3. **Pronouns.**

3.1. **Personal pronouns.** Salinan has an aspect system expressed in the personal pronouns for first person singular and plural. For the first person singular they are hek', imperfactive (most often durative); nek', perfective non-past (often glossed 'future'); and lek', perfective (or completed action). For the first person plural they are hak', nak' and lak', respectively. (hek' may either precede or follow the verb, though the unmarked case is after the verb.)

hek' k-ʔames  'I shout'

lsg St-Vs

hek' šo-k-o?  'I tore it'

lsg Vs-3sg

hek' p-oxo-m-o?  'I am hiding it'

lsg Act-Vs-3sg

xá-t'a hek'  'I am crying'

Vs  lsg

k-ğšem hek'  'I am drinking'

St-Vs  lsg

xá-t'a nek'  'I am going to cry'

Vs  lsg

mėřek nek'  'I am going to run'

Vs  lsg
k-šétep nēk 'I am going to die'
St-Vs lsg

k-lām nēk 'I am going to eat'
St-Vs lsg

xá·t'a lēk 'I cried'
Vs lsg

k-ēšem lēk 'I drank'
St-Vs lsg

p-ēšem-o' lēk 'I drank it'
Act-Vs-3sg lsg

k-ēča lēk 'I got up already'
St-Vs lsg

p-ē·šx-o' lēk 'I already ate it'
Act-Vs-3sg lsg

k-ōnox lēk 'I arrived already'
St-Vs lsg

hāk k-lam-hāl 'we eat'
lpl St-Vs-pl

k-lām-hāl hāk 'we are eating'
St-Vs-pl lpl

k-ēš-t-em hāk 'we are drinking'
St-Vs-pl-Vs lpl
k-šēt-1-ep nāk 'we are going to die'
St-Vₚ-Vₛ 1pl

kē-ya-1 nāk 'we are going'
V₂-Vₛ 1pl

k-on-1-ox lāk 'we arrived already'
St-Vₛ-Vₛ 1pl

k-ēš-t-em lāk 'we drank'
St-Vₛ-Vₛ 1pl

The examples are organized to show the first person pronouns, singular and plural, with their variable positions both before and after the verb, and in the sub-order imperfective, perfective non-past and perfective (completed action). I have used only attested examples, which accounts for the fewer examples of nāk: there are only five.

A variant of the first person singular independent pronoun should be mentioned although there is only one attestation of it: a variant of hēk, the imperfective first person singular pronoun. Compare:

kē-yax hēk 'I am coming'
V₂-Vₛ 1sg
kē-yax heʔše? 'I am coming alright' (with Harrington's
Vz-Vs 1sg note: "-ς added when vexed").

Harrington wrote these first person pronouns as separate words, before or after the verb, when they are stressed. When they are not stressed they only appear after the verb and suffixed to it (see Section 3.2), and the first consonant drops when the verb ends with a consonant. The first person pronouns appear before the verb as a method of topicalization, apparently. Jacobsen wrote them as verbal suffixes.

hēḵ and hāḵ, the first person singular and plural, respectively, are the most commonly occurring, or unmarked, forms. The forms nēḵ and lēḵ for the first person singular and the forms nāḵ and lāḵ for the first person plural reflect the initial consonants of the aspect clitics noʔ (future) and 1oʔ (completed action), (see Section 4.63). Whether or not these forms are stressed, they appear only after the verb.

It should also be mentioned here that Jacobsen (p.c.) rarely heard these forms with the final glottalized [ʔ], only e.g. [hek].

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The second person independent personal pronouns are mō?, singular and mōm, plural, expressing no aspect. The third person singular is xeyō? and the third person plural is xeyōt', which also express no aspectual notions. Instead, a set of clitics are used with these pronouns, as well as with the first person pronouns (see Section 4.63, Aspect). Note the enclitic lo? , completed action, found usually with third person. Unlike the first person, there is no easily discernable trace of the aspectual clitics fusing with the second and third person independent pronouns. However, it should be noted that the o of the second person forms together with the e and a of first person singular and plural is a pattern seen also in pronominal possession of nouns (see Section 2.21). Examples of second and third person independent pronouns:

mō? xā·t'a 'you were crying'
2sg Vₚ
k-ēšom mō? 'you are drinking'
St-Vₛ 2sg
k-Šētep no-mō? 'you are going to die' (see Section 4.63)
St-Vₛ Cl-2sg
k-ēšem-lo? mō? 'you drank'
St-Vₛ-Cl 2sg
k-ēš-t-em mōm 'you (pl) are drinking'
St-Vs-pl-Vs 2pl
k-ēš-t-1-ep-no? mōm 'you (pl) are going to die' (see 4.63)
St-Vs-pl-Vs-Cl 2pl
p-ēšx-o-t-mōm-ta? 'you (pl) are going to eat it'
Act-Vs-3sg-pl-2pl-Cl
p-ēšx-o-lo? mōm 'you (pl) already ate it'
Act-Vs-3sg-Cl 2pl
k-ēš-t-om-lo? mōm 'you (pl) drank'
St-Vs-pl-Vs-Cl 2pl

xeyō? xā·ta 'he is crying'
3sg Vs
xeyō? k-ēšem 'he drank it'
3sg St-Vs
k-ēšem xeyō? 'he is drinking'
St-Vs 3sg

k-ēštep-nō? 'he is going to die'
St-Vs-Cl
p-ēšx-o-ta? 'he is going to eat it'
Act-Vs-3sg-Cl
k-ēšem-lo? 'he drank'
St-Vs-Cl

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k-ṣētep-lō? 'he died already'
St-Vs-Cl
p-ēšx-o-lō? 'he already ate it'
Act-Vs-3sg-Cl

k-ēš-t-em 'they are drinking'
St-Vs-pl-Vs
k-ṣēt-l-ep 'they died'
St-Vs-pl-Vs
k-ṣēt-l-ep-no? 'they are going to die'
St-Vs-pl-Vs-Cl
k-ēš-t-em-lo? 'they drank'
St-Vs-pl-Vs-Cl

p-ēšx-o-č-lō? 'they already ate it'
Act-Vs-3sg-pl-Cl

Again, the examples are organized to illustrate the second person, singular and plural, with their variable positons both before and after the verb, and in the sub-order imperfective, perfective non-past and perfective. The examples of third person pronouns which follow are organized in the same fashion. From these examples it should be noted that the third person pronoun need not be expressed in either the singular or the plural.
A table of the pronouns, then, looks like this:

Independent personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hēk'</td>
<td>hēk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mō?</td>
<td>mōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(xeyō?)</td>
<td>(xeyōt')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2. Pronominal affixes. A table of the pronominal verbal affixes is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject pronouns</th>
<th>Object pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-ek'</td>
<td>-ak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>m-</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-o?</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(see Section 3.1 for discussion of first person subject suffixes). Whatever the first vowel of the verb stem, it is replaced by a in the first person plural and by o in the second person plural. The plural pronominal forms are all accompanied by a separate plural
morpheme. As with the nouns, plurals associated with the verb are made up of t, l and n. There is a great deal of interaction with the aspectual clitics (see Section 4.63). Examples of the pronominal affixes follow, with the verb stem ma 'to give' ordered according to first, second and third persons, singular and plural agents and parallelly ordered pronominal patients. -t- represents the indirect object 'it' (in translation). Unfortunately I have few other attestations of verbs requiring an indirect object, or dative, in the English translation, so little is known about its uses and function in Salinan.

má-ka? lēk  'I gave it to you (sg)'
Vₘ-2sg lsg

ma-t-kan lēk  'I gave it to you (pl)'
Vₘ-pl-2pl lsg

má-t'-ka? hēk  'I gave it to him'
Vₘ-3sg -3sg lsg
i.o.

má-t'-el-ko? lēk  'I gave it to them'
Vₘ-3sg -pl-3sg lsg
i.o.

mō? ma-tak  'you(sg) give it to us'
2sg Vₘ-pl
mā-ka-lo?  'he gives it to you (sg)'
V_S-2sg-C1

mā-ka? lāk  'we gave it to you (sg)'
V_S-2sg 1pl

hēk  mā-t-ko?  'we give it to him'
1pl V_S-3sg -3sg
i.o.

mōm  mā-tak  'you (pl) give it to us'
2pl V_S-1pl

OR

mā-hak-le  mōm  'you will give it to us'
V_S-1pl-C1 2pl

mā-ko?  hēk  'they give it to me'
V_S-3sg 1sg

where no plural is expressed. Compare:

xeyō?  mā-hak  'he will give it to us'
3sg V_S-1pl

The paradigm is incomplete unfortunately, but it was chosen as the best attested example of a transitive verb paradigm without an active or stative prefix (Sections 4.3-4.52).
3.21. **Negative pronouns.** Negative constructions often are preceded by the negative particle *kāra?* and the following pronominal affixes before an active verb (see Sections 4.3-4.52):

Negative pronominal subject affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>kē</em>-</td>
<td><em>kā</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>kōm-</em></td>
<td><em>kōk-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>kōp</em>- -o'</td>
<td><em>kōp</em>- -o'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition the first vowel of the verb stem becomes a in the first person plural and o in the second person plural. Examples:

- *kāra?* *kē*-ešax  'I did not eat it'
  Neg  1sg-*V<sub>s</sub>*

- *kāra?* *kōm*-ešax  'you (sg) did not eat it'
  Neg  2sg-*V<sub>s</sub>*

- *kāra?* *kōp*-ešx-o'  'he did not eat it'
  Neg  3sg-*V<sub>s</sub>-3sg

- *kāra?* *kā?-ašax  'we did not eat it'
  Neg  1pl-*V<sub>s</sub>*
kāra? kōk-ošax 'you (pl) did not eat it'
Neg 2pl-Vs

kāra? kōp-ešx-ot' 'they did not eat it'
Neg 3sg-Vs-3pl

Before a stative (see Sections 4.4-4.51) the negative pronominal prefixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kēk-</td>
<td>kāk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kōm-</td>
<td>kōk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 kōk-</td>
<td>kōt-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kāra-kek-ʔoʔkē? 'I did not vomit'
Neg-1sg-Vs

kāra-kom-šon 'you (sg) did not/are not shave/d'
Neg-2sg-Vs

kāra-kōk-ʔoʔkē? 'he did not vomit'
Neg-3sg-Vs

kāra-kāk-omat-el-ek 'we did not buy it'
Neg-1pl-Vs-pl-Vs

kok-ošay 'don't raise it! (pl)'
2pl-Vs
kāra? koṭ-am-ay  'they can't'
Neg  3pl-V<sub>S</sub>-pl

Before a verb with neither the k- or p-prefix (see Sections 4.2-4.52), the negative pronominal affixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kom-</td>
<td>kok-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kāra? kē-čōkox  'I am not scared'
Neg  1sg-V<sub>S</sub>

kāra? kom-čōkox  'you (sg) are not scared'
Neg  2sg-V<sub>S</sub>

kāra? ko-čōkox  'he is not scared'
Neg  3sg-V<sub>S</sub>

kāra? kā-čōk-t-ox  'we are not scared'
Neg  1pl-V<sub>S</sub>-pl-V<sub>S</sub>

kāra? kōk-čōk-t-ox  'you (pl) are not scared'
Neg  2pl-V<sub>S</sub>-pl-V<sub>S</sub>

kāra? ko-čōk-t-ox  'they are not scared'
Neg  3pl-V<sub>S</sub>-pl-V<sub>S</sub>

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3.22. **Interrogative pronouns.** Questions are prefixed by

Singular

1  ?e-
2  ?om-
3  ?o-

in the singular. There are no attestations of the interrogative pronouns for the plural, but one would suspect ?ok- for the second person plural and ?a- for the first person plural, based on the morphophonemic importance of these vowels to indicate the second and first person, plural. The paradigm also bears a close resemblance to the negative paradigm for verbs prefixed with neither k- or p-.

3.3. **Demonstrative pronouns.** na? 'this/these' and pa? 'that/those' are not inflected. When they occur alone they appear as na? and pa? before the noun they refer to. They may also be incorporated into the verb complex after an initial prefix (e.g. the sentence connective ŋam-~ram-), or appear as the initial prefix. In both cases (-)na- and (-)pa- are without the final glottal stop.
pa? lowá' 'that man'  
D Ns

re-na-smákay 'through this night'  
Loc-D-Ns

lē-ya-x ma-čên pa? ſmeš 'throw that cat outside!'  
Vs-pl-Vs Loc-Loc D Ns

na-š-ášm 'this house'  
D-Np-Ns

pa-lowá' 'that man'  
D-Ns

3.4. Indefinite pronouns. yo? is often translated as 'he', 'one' or 'it'. yo? can appear alone in a phrase or affixed. Examples of the occurrences of yo?:

?o-yo? 'is that him?' 'is that it?'  
Q-D

kō-yo? 'not that!'  
Neg-D

yo'-pe? 'that is'  
D-AP
yoⁿá?  'this is'
D-D

yōⁿ-pá?  'that one'
D-D

yo-rá·m-pá?  'over there'
D-SC-D

k-má·y-re yō?  'he lives over there'
St-Vs-Loc  D

yo? appears to be derived from the third person singular pronoun, xeyō?, but the mechanics of that derivation and the function of xe- are far from clear.

taⁿ-nel, 'what-pl', (see Section 3.5) is glossed as 'some' or 'the others'. Harrington also has an attestation of one form which may give more phonetic detail:

rāšraʔké  'something'.

There are no forms in the entire Antoniaño Salinan corpus which are glossed 'any', the only clue to such an indefinite pronoun being raʔke 'anywhere' (Mason 1918:Text 1, line 28), rasraʔke 'anything' (Mason: Text 5, line 9) and tā·raʔkē 'anyone' (Mason: Text 3, line 53). Apparently there is a stem rake
but it is attested only in these examples.

3.5. **Interrogative pronouns.** The interrogative pronouns 'who' and 'what' are ta(•) and ta(•)š, respectively. They are not inflected, except as mentioned in the previous section (3.4), and each of them is always the first prefix.

tā•š țo-māʔat ț-acopēʔ 'what does the moon bring?'
IP Loc-Vs Np-Ns

tā•-ten ta-peʔ 'who is that?'
IP-pl IP-AP

ta•-p-yem-oʔ 'who knows?'
IP-Act-Vs-3sg

tā•š-ten 'what again?'
IP-pl
4. **Verb morphology.** Verbs are either stative or active, indicated by the prefixed \( k- \) (stative) or \( p- \) (active). The \( t- \) prefix appears as a nominalizer, as Sapir noted in his (1920c:308) review of Mason (1918). All of these prefixes are replaced by \( m- \) in the second person singular and by \( k- \) in the second person plural.

4.1. **Morpheme order.** Morpheme order within the verb complex is as follows: (independent pronoun)-\( \left( \begin{array}{c}
   k- \\
   p- \\
   t- \\
   m- \\
   k-
\end{array} \right) \)

verb stem-(plural object)-(object pronoun)-subject pronoun (if other than third person)-(aspect)-(independent pronoun). In addition plurality of the subject or a plural verb stem may be indicated by an infix within the singular stem. All of these possible occurrences are exemplified and discussed in the sections which follow: the morpheme order is listed here as an overview.

4.2. **Verbs without prefixes.** There are a small set of verbs which take no prefixes. Most verb stems in Salinan are vowel-initial, but a few stems with an initial affricate (c, č, č and č), and the fricatives š and x and the glottalized š take no prefixes, even in the second person singular.
imperative. There are other verbs with these initial consonants which do take prefixes (see Section 4.8). The set also includes verbs with an initial m for the stem. Examples are ma 'give', as shown in Section 3.2, which also illustrates the use of the pronominal affixes. A complete list of the verbs which take no prefixes follows:

ma  'give'
ma't  'kill'
ma?a  'carry'
male'nt  'remember'
maxo'wa?  'rest'
mal  'tell, show'
ma'w  'bring'
ma'tek  'run'
me(*)s  'smell'
mokop  'drown'
mopox  'tighten'
mo't  'watch'

%xalo  'afraid'
%xamle  'close the eyes'
%xwal  'cut'
%xo't  'drive'
%xap  'extinguish'
%xokay  'kick'
ṣaʾxata? 'open (one's) mouth' ʿoxon 'snore'
ṣəwəl 'plow' ʿopok 'tie'
ṣkwel 'throw'
xot 'blow'
caʾsene 'chew' xoy 'breathe'
čokox 'frighten' xaṭa 'cry'
xweł 'hit (with a stick'
čkak 'cough' xoṭop 'pass'
čexolp 'peel' xap 'die'
čaxaʾlte 'spit' xans 'sell'
čop 'wash' xačap 'split'
ča(·)hom 'wash' će·le 'wrap up'

će·xen' 'angry'
ćapa 'clap'

ṭat 'bite'
ṭak 'break'
ṭak 'cut'
ṭok 'crack'
ṭokot 'pierce'
ṭotoy 'pound'
ṭaʔa-x 'pour'
ṭaʔa-p 'spill'
The examples to follow will show that many statives are intransitive, but some appear to be transitive: see e.g. 'drink', 'eat' Section 3.1, 'to smoke out' Section 4.61 and 'wound' Section 9. Similarly, many actives are transitive, but some appear to be intransitive: see e.g. 'whisper' Section 4.3, 'enter' Section 7.3 and 'hear' Section 9.

4.3. p- prefix. Examples of verbs with the p-active prefix are:

p-ayē·m-o? 'he carried it'
Act-Vs-3sg

p-ayē·m-o? hâk 'we are carrying it'
Act-Vs-3sg 1pl

p-apaw-ēk 'I caught it'
Act-Vs-1sg

p-apaw-o? 'he caught it'
Act-Vs-3sg

p-ôltē-ko lēk 'I cut it'
Act-Vs-3sg 1sg
p-oltē-ko-lo? 'he cut it'
Act-V_S₃sg-3sg

p-akāsel hēk 'I am whispering'
Act-V_S 1sg

mō? p-akāsel 'you (sg) are whispering'
2sg Act-V_S

xeyō? p-akāsel 'he is whispering'
3sg Act-V_S

From the last example, 'whisper', it may be observed that p- prefixed verbs are not always transitive and do not always have objects. Some verbs with the p- prefix are inherently transitive, such as 'caught', and 'carry'. In the example of 'I caught it', only the subject pronoun is expressed, but in the examples of 'carry' the object is expressed, following immediately after the verb stem.

J. Alden Mason in his (1918) analysis of Salinan verb prefixes k- and p- had tentatively suggested that the distinction was intransitive-transitive. Sapir, who had a personal correspondence with Mason and access to Mason's phonetic files, felt that Mason had mis-analyzed a basically stative-active distinction.

"The use of the perplexing verbal prefixes p- and k- suggests a fundamental generic
classification of verbs. Mason himself doubtfully describes the p- verbs as transitive, the k- verbs as intransitives (e.g. k-enai 'to hurt oneself', p-enai 'to wound'). This is the most obvious explanation but there are many difficulties in the way of its acceptance. That p- verbs embrace such ideas as 'to think' and 'to circle around' seems to suggest that the proper basis of classification is not so much transitive and intransitive as active and static, as in Haida-Tlingit, Siouan, and Chimariko. A more intensive study of the Salinan material, supplemented eventually by comparison with Chumash, Yuman, Seri, and, possibly, Coahuiltecan-Tonkawa (cf. Comecrudo pa- verbs and Seri, like Salinan adjectives in k-), will doubtless clear up this fundamental problem of Salinan morphology" (Sapir 1920c: 307-308).

"In the first place Mason's account of the function of the Salinan k- and p- elements does not strike me as quite hitting the mark. He calls them 'intransitive' and 'transitive' prefixes respectively, yet, as he himself remarks, 'many cases are found in which p-introduces an intransitive phrase'. An examination of his verb material leads to the feeling that the k- verbs prefix primarily characteristic static verbs, i.e. verbs of state, quality (adjectives), and non-agentive process (e.g. 'to wake up', 'to snow', 'it is hot', 'to be fat'), also passives and reflexives (examples of 'transitives' with k- are probably merely inadequately translated passives, e.g. 'they sought him' is to be understood as 'he was sought'). Practically all Salinan adjectives have k-. Verbs with p- are evidently active, whether transitive or not (e.g. 'to think', 'to circle around', 'to try', 'to heat', 'to wound', 'to seize'). Naturally, it is often a matter of idiom whether a verbal idea is conceived of in terms of action or state, but the nature of the Salinan classification of verbs seems clear enough. This classification seems to be a deep-rooted Hokan feature, while the Penutian languages classify their verbs into true transitives. Neither Yana nor Chimariko use k- or p- prefixes, but the distinction of active and
4.4. k- prefix. Stative verbs express intransitive states or change of state, such as 'burn', 'die', 'finish' and 'laugh'.

k-šētep nēk' 'I am going to die'
St-Vs 1sg

k-šētep 'he died'
St-Vs

k-ēyeta lēk' 'I'm laughing'
St-Vs 1sg

k-ēyeta hēk' 'I laughed'
St-Vs 1sg

k-ēyeta 'he laughed'
St-Vs

k-sē-ne? hēk' 'I am walking'
St-Vs 1sg

k-sē-ne? 'he is walking'
St-Vs
4.5. **Verbs with both k- and p- prefixes.** There are a few verbs which may take either of the two prefixes:

k-õ·may'e 'it began'
St-Vs

p-omâ·ye 'he started it'
Act-Vs

k-õwe·n-ax 'he returned'
St-Vs

p-ewë·n-t-xo? 'he brought it back'
Act-Vs-?-3sg

k-äpe·l 'it was filled'
St-Vs

p-äpe-nëk-o? 'it covered me'
Act-Vs-1sg-3sg

k-ënay 'he was wounded'
St-Vs

p-enày-ko? 'he hit it'
Act-Vs-3sg
k-la'we?  'it left'
St-Vs

p-law-o?  'he left her'
Act-Vs-3sg

k-aké•1-o?  'it hung there'
St-Vs-3sg

p-ake•1-o?  'he hung it up'
Act-Vs-3sg

4.51. **Characteristics of k- verbs.** The following examples of verb stems further illustrate the interplay of the k- and p- prefixes with vowel ablaut.

k-yem  'was seen'
p-yem  'look at, see' (transitive)
p-yam  'know' (transitive)
p-ya•m  'see, find' (transitive)

k-a(*)m  'to be able', 'to be killed'
p-a(*)m  'to be able', 'to kill' (transitive)

k-sa(*)  'to talk', 'to speak'
p-se*  'to tell' (transitive)
k-a(*)§ 'to sit', 'to sit down'
p-a*§ 'to put (it) down' (transitive)

By examining verbs which may appear with either prefix, it becomes clearer that k- may be used as a detransitivizer, as in:

k-ôxo•m-a 'he hides'
St-V§-?

p-oxô•m-o? 'he hid it'
Act-V§-3sg

k- may be used, secondly, to show that the subject of the verb is independent of the unstated agent, as in:

k-álo{k 'it is broken'
St-V§

p-alô•k-o? hék 'I broke it'
Act-V§-3sg 1sg

k-ô•may’e 'it began'
St-V§

p-omá•ye 'he started it'
Act-V§

And, finally, in the stative, of course, the
subject is characterized by a state, change of state or quality (see Section 4.8).

4.52. **Characteristics of p- verbs.** p- verbs are primarily active. p- is used with transitive verbs to distinguish the agent and patient and to indicate the causative (the agent causes the patient to be in the k- state). Compare:

k-ēnay 'he was wounded'
St-\(V_s\)

p-ēnāy-ko? 'he hit it'
Act-\(V_s\)-3sg

With the p- prefix a verb becomes active, an agent is added to the valence.

4.6. **Inflectional verb morphology: object marking.**
As seen in Section 4.2, the pronominal object morpheme follows immediately after the verb stem. The examples for singular object given in the preceding paragraphs and for the verb *ma* 'to give' (Section 3.2) should be compared with the following:

*ma-t-kan* lēk 'I gave it to you (pl)'
\(V_s\)-pl-2pl lsg
má-tak-le-mo? 'you (sg) give it to us' or
$V_s$-1pl-C-2sg

mo? ma-tak 'you (sg) give it to us'
2sg $V_s$-1pl

má-p'-el-ko? lek 'I gave it to them'
$V_s$-3sg -pl-3sg 1sg
d.o.

má-hak 'give us!' (sg, imp)
$V_s$-1pl

má-t-el-tak 'give it to us!' (pl, imp)
$V_s$-3sg -pl-1pl
d.o.

k-má-hak 'give it to us!' (pl, imp)
2pl imp-$V_s$-1pl

(see Section 4.651, Imperative).

These examples with the examples for ma 'to give'
from Sections 3.2 and 4.62 are all of the attestations
for this verb.

4.61. Object, singular and plural. When a plural
object occurs, the mark of plurality follows the stem
and an independent personal pronoun may be employed
for the subject, rather than the appropriate pronominal suffix, as in the second example of 'you (sg) give it to us'.

A brief example of plurality of the subject and object is from the partial paradigm collected by Harrington:

k-áxo·t-e' 'lots of men smoke one animal'
St-Vₜₛ-Sₛᶠ

k-áxo·t-en '2 or 3 fellows go to smoke out animals'
St-Vₜₛ-ₚ₁?

k-áxo·t-el-ax 'lots of men smoke lots of animals'
St-Vₜₛ-ₚ₁

These examples are given to illustrate the difficulties of trying to sort out the plural morphemes and their referents (see Section 2.3 for a full discussion).

Also, 'to smoke out' would seem to be an active and transitive verb, so it seems strange that the k-prefix should be used. However, the examples are included for completeness.

4.62. **Plurality of agent.** The plurality of the agent can be shown using the same verb as Section 3.2 and 4.6:
ma-ka? lāk 'we gave it to you (sg)'

\[ V_s-2sg \quad 1p1 \]

which illustrates that plurality does not need to be marked for the agent as subject.

4.621. Other means of expressing the plural. There are two other means of expressing plurality in the verb: an infix may be inserted in the verb stem to show plurality of the stative subject or, in the other case, a partially suppletive stem may be used for the plural.

4.622. Infixation. When an infix is used to indicate the plurality of the subject of a stative verb, the infix will usually be placed before the second consonant of the singular stem:

k-lū·1 'it burned'

\[ St-V_s \]

k-lo-x-1 'they burned'

\[ St-V_s-pl-V_s \]

k-ā·mp 'he came out'

\[ St-V_s \]

k-ā·m-ele-p 'they came out'

\[ St-V_s-pl-V_s \]
k-olpax  'it grew'  
St-V$_s$

k-šl-ta-pax  'they grew'  
St-V$_s$-pl-V$_s$

but the following examples will not allow the formulation of a regular rule in light of having so few attestations:

k-ššem  'he drinks'  
St-V$_s$

k-šš-t-em  'they drink'  
St-V$_s$-pl-V$_s$

k-šnox  'he arrives'  
St-V$_s$

k-šn-l-ox  'they arrive'  
St-V$_s$-pl-V$_s$

4.62.3. Partial suppletion. There are only a few examples of the use of a partially suppletive stem used to indicate plurality. In all three cases the x infix before the t of the stem results in -xl-.
ke-yò't-e  hèk' 'I moved'
Vz-Vs-Ssf  lsg

ke-yò-xl-e  lák' 'we moved'
Vz-Vs-pl-Ssf  lpl

§ô't-o?  'he drove it'
Vs-3sg

§ô-xl-o?  'he drove them'
Vs-pl-o?

§ô't  'drive it away!' (sg, imp)
Vs

§o-xlà?  'drive them away!' (pl, imp)
Vs-pl

The last example 'to drive away', demonstrates, perhaps, that it need not be the subject of the verb which dictates the partial suppletion for plurality.

There is only one recorded attestation of fully
suppletive forms:

τεχαυχαυχο 1ο?  na-ta?â  'one sheep is lambing now'
    ?    Cl    D-Adv

Kaseya 1o?  'the sheep is going to lamb'
    ?    Cl

Harrington comments that "the above is a high word
seldom used by informant. The low word that informant
uses commonly is (the second form)."

4.63. **Aspect.** 1o?, which occurs as an affix
and as a free morpheme, is used with third person verbs
in most attestations to express completed action, but
note that it is attested with other persons and even
with no pronominal reference at all:

k-epťa?  hék 1o?  'I am cold'
St-Vs  1sg  Cl

Harrington notes that 1o? may be omitted, and then
one would say:

k-epťa-lék  'I am cold'
St-Vs-1sg

(see Section 3.1).
kára? lô? kê?-ya 'I am going to stay'
Neg Cl 1sg-Vs

lo-p-çaxêl 'already snow'
Cl-AP-Ns

lo-Kolop 'already much'
Cl-Adv

(see Section 7.4 for adverbs and Section 3.1 for aspectual interaction with the first person independent pronouns.)

no? is usually suffixed to a verb in the third person and refers to future, punctual or present time:

kê-'yax-nô? 'he will come'
3sg-Vs-Cl

kê-'yax-lô? 'he came'
3sg-Vs-Cl

lo? and no? also appear as separate unbound morphemes following immediately after the verb but not suffixed to it. Their status as enclitics is enhanced by the fact that no? may occur as a reduplicated particle, no'nô?, translated as 'just now, a little while ago'. However, no? is mainly attested with third person singular verbs and as a reduplicated particle, while
lo? is attested with other persons and without
pronominal reference. no? may occur alone, as in

k-ča’lxe’le no? 'it is going to snow'
St-Vs Cl

xǭlom no? na-pā’lte 'the pail is leaking'
Vs Cl D-Ns

There is a third particle (-)ta? suffixed to
the pronoun in most cases, but similarly found
suffixed to any part of speech. It is most common,
however, suffixed to an independent pronoun or the
verb and its meaning is to indicate an action to be
attempted in the near future:

mǭ’m-ta? 'you (pl) soon'
2pl-CI

mē?-k-onxa-ta? 'this evening'
Loc-St-Vs-CI

hēk mǭ’t-ko-ta? 'I am going to watch it'
1sg Vs-3sg-CI

xânse hēk-ta? 'I am going to sell it soon'
Vs 1sg-CI

hēk ta?’āp-ko-ta? 'I am going to spill it'
1sg Vs-3sg-CI
p-o xo m-o? hêk-ta? 'I am going to hide it pretty soon'
Act-Vs-3sg 1sg-Cl

hêk k-sâ?-ta? 'I will talk'
1sg St-Vs-Cl

k-éšem hêk-ta? 'I will drink'
St-Vs 1sg-Cl

xwen-ta? 'today he is coming'
Vs-Cl

There is a particle ?é·n, which most often occurs with the first person singular independent pronoun hêk, indicating some type of future reference in translation. Its meaning is so close to nêk that I can not be more specific. ?é·n may appear just before or after the hêk with a verb and is always glossed as 'I'm going to (verb)'. Sapir identified ?é·n as an adverb meaning 'yet, still' and this does seem to be its meaning when used in those cases without the first person singular pronoun:
ran-kô-?ešxay-a-ksa·-é·n 'then not dawned more yet'
SC-Neg-Vs-2-Adv-Cl

ksa· ?e·n Kôlop 'more yet much'
Adv Cl Adv
(both examples are from Mason's 1918 Antoniaño texts and I have reproduced his morpheme-by-morpheme English translation).

The more common use of ?ē·n is shown in the following examples:

p-ētā·k-o? hēk' ?ē·n 'I am going to make bread'
Act-V_{S}-3sg 1sg Cl

k-ēšem hēk' ?ē·n 'I will drink'
St-V_{S} 1sg Cl

kāra? kē-šon-?ē·n 'I didn't shave yet'
Neg 1sg-V_{S}-Cl

k-sē·ne hēk' ?ē·n 'I am going to walk'
St-V_{S} 1sg Cl

me- 'once', 'next' is prefixed to nouns and verbs in a state of progress and is translated as 'when' or 'during'.

me-ṭol-1-šē 'next year'
Cl-Num-Np-Ns

me-1-pāl 'in the summer'
Cl-Np-Ns

k-sē·ne hēk' me-šak 'I am walking'
St-V_{S} 1sg Cl-?
mē-ta·ș-nel  'sometimes'
Cl-IP-pl

mē-yem-an-e-l-k  'when I see them'
Cl-Vs-pl-lsg-pl-lsg

-me may also be found as a suffix with the same meaning:

ṭam-alamxal-ṭo-mē  'then we ate next'
SC-Vs-Loc-Cl

halā-ṭo-me  'shoot now!' (sg)
Vs-Loc-Cl

4.64. Voice. Verbal inflection for an active verb has already been discussed (see Section 4.52). There is some very slight evidence for a causative -te, identified as such by Sapir (1917) and by Mason (1918:49), but there is only one attestation which may be so construed:

kāra? lō? kē?-škon-te  'I am blind'
Neg  Cl  lsg-Ns-?

possibly 'cause not to see' since the noun stem means 'eye'.
4.65. **Mood.** Inflection for a simple declarative sentence has already been discussed (see, e.g. Sections 4.3 and 4.4).

4.651. **Imperative.** The singular imperative form is usually the bare stem of the verb and the plural imperative is further inflected for plurality:

\[ \text{m-axnê? 'bet!' (sg)} \]
2sg-imp-\( V_s \)

\[ \text{k-axnê-l 'bet!' (pl)} \]
2pl imp-\( V_s \)-pl

\[ \text{m-etâk 'make it!' (sg)} \]
2sg imp-\( V_s \)

\[ \text{k-otâk 'make it!' (pl)} \]
2pl imp-\( V_s \)

\[ \text{mêt 'try!' (sg)} \]
\( V_s \)

\[ \text{k-mêt 'try!' (pl)} \]
2pl imp-\( V_s \)

These three examples illustrate the three variations for the form of the imperative. In the first examples, 'bet', the second person singular m- precedes the verb
stem and in the plural imperative, the second person plural \textit{k-} precedes the verb stem with a plural \textit{-l} immediately after the verb.

In the second example, \textit{'make it'}, (an inherently transitive verb), the singular example is formed in the same manner, but the plural imperative shows the vowel ablaut characteristic of the second person plural, and there is no plural morpheme needed in addition.

In the third example, \textit{'try'}, the verb stem begins with an \textit{m-}, so the bare stem represents the second person singular imperative and only the second person plural \textit{k-} is used to indicate the plural imperative.

A puzzling illustration of the reflexive that does not fit the pattern is from a single attestation with a comment from Harrington:

\begin{verbatim}
k-c6p-ek   ţ-k-6w  'ye wash yer faces!' (pl,imp)
2pl imp-Vₚ-1sg Nₚ-2pl-Nₛ
"This is the form addressed to youngsters--not usable addressed to grownups."
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
k-ca'xom-el 'wash your faces!' (pl, imp)
2pl imp-Vₚ-pl
\end{verbatim}
When *ma-* is used with verbs it gives them an imperative meaning:

má-mašál 'light it!' (sg)
Loc-Vs

lē-ya-x ma-čēn 'throw it out!' (sg)
Vs-pl-Vs Loc-Ns

(see Section 6.3 for *ma-* used as a locative.)
4.652. **Interrogative.** A verb is inflected for the interrogative by prefixing \(?e-, \?om-\) or \(?o-\) to the entire verbal construction. This is discussed in Section 3.22.

4.653. **Optative.** The optative may be expressed as a separate verb or as palatalization of the final consonant. Following are examples of the lexicalized form 'to want', a·1:

p-a·1-xo? hēk 'I wanted it'
Act-\(V_s\)-3sg 1sg

xeyō? p-a·1-xo? 'he wanted it'
3sg Act-\(V_s\)-3sg

p-ēšem-o lēk 'I drank it'
Act-\(V_s\)-3sg 1sg

p-a·1 hēk-re-ēšem 'I want to drink'
Act-\(V_s\) 1sg-Loc-\(V_s\)

Palatalization is used to indicate a desire for the action of another verb:
k-áxla? 'he is fighting'
St-Vs

?om-k-áxlaya? 'do you (sg) want to fight?'
Q-2sg-St-Vs-0-Vs

k-éssxala? 'he played'
St-Vs

k-éssxalaya? 'he wants to play'
St-Vs-0-Vs

ke-ya 'he went'
Vz-Vs

xeyö? ke-ya-t'ya? 'he wanted to go'
3sg Vz-Vs-0

There is nothing in the last example, ke-ya, to get palatalized, so a consonant is inserted. Whether this is the underlying form of the optative morpheme which only surfaces in these conditions or whether the consonant is phonologically determined is unknown because of poor attestations. -t'ya is not found anywhere else in the data.

The examples above show that a lexicalized optative is used with p- verbs and final palatalization is used with k- verbs.
4.654. **Hortative.** The hortative is expressed with the first person plural as a prefix to the verb:

ka-čēk-ax  'let's kill it'
H-V₃ -3sg

ka-yāl  ro-mē?  'let's go!'
H-V₃ -pl  Loc-Loc

ka-ke-ye-tŋā?  'let's ride' (we want to ride!)
H-V₃-V₃ -pl-V₃

4.66. **Plurals.** Statives may be inflected for plural notions just as verbs and nouns are:

čep  'good'
S

k-čep  'it is good'
St-S

čep-ha·k  'good (pl)'
S-pl

(xāya?  čep-ha·né?  'many thanks')
(Adv  S-pl)
k-ečá?  'big'
St-V_S

k-ečaʔ-ten  'big (pl)'
St-V_S-pl

šōwet  'black'
S

šōwet-lax  'black (pl)'
S-pl

k-šōwet  'it is black'
St-S

(šowá?  'skunk')
(Ν_S

4.7. Derivational morphology.

4.71. Affixal derivation.

4.711. Verbs derived from nouns. A few verbs derived from nouns are 'to kneel', derived from 'knee'; 'to tie', derived from 'arm' and 'to fall', derived from 'back' (body part). In these examples derivation is accomplished by means of verbalizing suffixes added to the body part noun stem:

*-ečom  'back'
ečom-nox  'to fall'
*-?opok 'arm/wing'
*t-?opo*k-áyò 'one to tie 'anything')

*-opoy 'knee'
*t-ópo-1tek-èk 'I'm kneeling'
*t-ópo-1te? 'he kneeled down'

4.712. **Stress shift.** In verbs derived from non-body part nouns, stress seems to be a part of the derivational mechanism:

lâ·t' 'duck' (generic)
k-lâ·t'-ne? 'a swim'
làt'-nè? 'swim!' (sg)

used with the suffix -ne(?) identified by Sapir (1917) as a "denominative suffix apparently durative intransitive."

Shift of stress and the possibility of derivation by means of reduplication have already been mentioned as derivational mechanisms (see Section 2.5).

4.72. **Statives.** The term 'stative' is used to refer to the category of adjective. An adjective in Salinan is simply a stative verb with its k- prefix, as in:
k-â·w-e?  'hot'
St-V \_S sf

tâ·y  'it smelled'
St-V

tó·o·y  'is is hazy'
St-V

tó·t-o·l-e?  'it is dewy'
St-V \_S sf

to·n-e?  'he is dirty'
St-V \_S sf

câtel  'it is cold (weather)'
St-V

to·oy-ê?  'it is dusty'
St-V \_S sf

pâ·f  'hard'
St-V

tepélele  'spotted'
St-V

tâ  'he is bald'
St-V

Not all statives in Salinan need be prefixed with
k-, however. The k- prefix simply indicates the verbal stative nature of the adjective. Other derivational suffixes that occur with adjectives:

syô-κ 'sweet'
syô-hol 'salty'
syô-hol-ô? 'it is sour'

There is a well-attested adjectival s- prefix for adjectives and for animals (see Section 2.9). Examples of the prefix with adjectives:

s-ke'ntoy' 'small, thin'
s-mat 'beautiful'

4.721. Use as verbs. As may be observed from some of the examples in Section 4.72, statives may be used as verbs (predicates) by suffixing -e(ʔ) to the stem, again originally noted by Sapir (1917) as a suffix that "makes denominative verbs." His examples are:

šwan' 'fish' (generic)

NS

k-šowa-n'-e? 'to be fishing'
St-NS-Ssf
Other examples are:

ca·kay 'wind'
\[N_s\]

ca·kay-e? 'wind is blowing'
\[N_s-S_{sf}\]

k-ša·to·l-e? 'it is dewy'
\[St-N_s-S_{sf}\]

k-pa·y-e? 'it is cloudy'
\[St-N_s-S_{sf}\]

kō·yo·t-e? pe-škēm 'the ocean is very calm'
\[Neg-V_s-S_{sf} \ AP-N_s\]

t-ōpent 'my fat'
\[N_p-N_s\]

*t-ōpent-e? 'fatness'
\[N_p-N_s-S_{sf}\]

k-āmeť-a·č 'hunter'
\[St-V_s-Agt\]
k-âmeţ-e? 'he is hunting'
St-V_{S}-S_{sf}

4.722. **Use as nouns.** As modifiers of nouns the adjective precedes the noun it modifies:

k-mâta'1 t-âk-o? sâyo 'white-headed eagle'
St-V_{S} N_{p}-N_{S}-3sg N_{S}
white head-its eagle

4.8. **Conjoining.** Conjoining verbal compounds is accomplished by juxtaposition connected with the sentence connective ţam- ~ ram-:

?ahe-tel-ē-râm-eţa 'he is going to play first and
V_{S}-S_{sf}-SC-V_{S} then is going to stop'
play-first-then-stop

4.9. **Morphophonemics: review.** In the preceding two sections (3-4), the following morphophonemic processes have been observed: the first consonant of the first person pronouns is dropped when they are suffixed to a verb ending with a consonant and the pronominal affix is unstressed (Section 3.2.); the morphophonemic vowels /a/ for first person plural and /o/ for second person plural examples are found in Sections 4.64, 4.651 and 4.653 especially; and the uses of stress in the derivation of verbs from
nouns is exemplified in Section 4.712. In Section 4.623 there is a small amount of evidence for a possible $t \rightarrow 1/x\_\_$. 
5. **Numerals.** The table on the following page shows the first sixteen cardinal numbers for Antoniño Salinan. Three of the recordings show the ke-verbalizer prefix (see Sections 4.71, 4.711 and 4.721) in the words for 'one', 'four' and 'seven'. Also segmentable is a plural suffix (Section 2.3) in the forms for 'six' and 'eight'. In the numbers above 'ten', the particle tax appears, meaning 'and'. In 'nine' the prefix te- is present.

5.1. **Two systems.** The recordings show two counting systems: a quaternary multiplicative system to 'sixteen', which is certainly the basic pattern, shared with neighboring Chumash and reflected also in the Yuki and Kato systems in Northern California. The second system is decimal.

5.11. **Numbers to 'ten'.** All the recordings agree on the numbers from 'one' to 'ten'. The recordings of Thomas Coulter (1834) have been included here as further evidence of a basic quaternary multiplicative system. (His recordings of the Chumash of Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo were used by Madison Beeler in his (1964) article on 'Ventureño (Chumash) Numerals', Kathryn Klar in her (1980) article on 'Northern Chumash Numerals' and by Dixon and Kroeber in their (1907) article on 'The Numeral Systems of
1 /ke-/tol
2 /kakeše/ ~ /kakešo/ (1834) /kākšo/
3 /(k-)lā-pay/
4 /kē-ša?/
5 /ʔōl-ṭaw/
6 /pay-ā·ne1/
7 /(ke-?)tē?/
8 /ša-ʔā·ne1/
9 /tete-ʔō?e/
10 /ʔō?e/
11 /ʔō?e-tax-ʔōl/
12 /lā-pay-kša/ ~ /ʔō?e-tax-kākšo/
13 /lā-pay-kša-tax-tol/ ~ /ʔō?e-tax-k-lā-pay/
14 /woššō/ ~ /ʔō?e-tax-kšša/
15 /lā-pay-ʔōl-ṭaw/ ~ /ʔō?e-tax-ōl-ṭaw/
16 /kpeš/ ~ /ʔō?e-tax-pay-ā·ne1/

Table VI  Antoniaño Cardinal Numbers
the languages of California'.) He gives the numbers to 'sixteen'. Coulter and Mason (1912) show the older quaternary system of counting above 'ten'.

5.12. **Numbers above 'ten'.** Coulter and Mason agree on 'three-four' for 'twelve', 'three-four-and-one' for 'thirteen', /wošo̱šo/ for 'fourteen', 'three-five' for 'fifteen' and /kpeš/ for 'sixteen'. This is clearly a quaternary multiplicative system with differences only in detail from the quaternary systems of Chumash, Yuki and Kato. This was recognized by Dixon and Kroeber (1907) in their study of California numeral systems, even though their analysis of the Salinan system was based only on the short vocabulary collected by Coulter in 1834.

5.121. **Decimal system.** The decimal counting system is shown in the other recorded forms for 'twelve', 'thirteen', 'fifteen' and 'sixteen': 'ten-and-two' /t̪oʔe-ta-k̪aʔšo/, 'ten-and-three' /t̪oʔe-ta-k̪a-la-paʔ/, 'ten-and-five' /t̪oʔe-ta-k̪a-l̪al-ʔaʔ/ and 'ten-and-six' /t̪oʔe-ta-paʔ-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ/. These seem to be newer forms imposed on the native counting system through European contact.

Above 'sixteen' the counting system for Antoniaño is decimal and additive in all of the recordings.

For the numbers 'one' to 'eight' we have the older native system. From 'nine' to 'eleven' we have only a decimal system based on 'ten' and, with 'twelve',
we begin to get two recordings for the numbers to 'sixteen'.

5.2. Unanalyzable morphemes. The apparently unanalyzable morphemes in the Salinan counting system are the words for 'one', 'two', 'three', 'four', 'five', 'seven', 'ten', 'fourteen' and 'sixteen'.

5.2.1. Mason's etymologies. In his 1912 'Ethnology of the Salinan Indians' J. Alden Mason suggested etymologies for these numbers. 'one' [t' oL] means 'all alone', 'two' [ka'k'cu] means 'half of four', 'three' [kLa'pai] means 'it is three', 'four' [k'ic'ca?] is identified as 'the smaller unit: the root is [ca?] with the [k-] prefix. 'five' [o'Lt'au] appears to contain the same root as ten and is said by Dr. Henshaw to refer to the fists, which is very probable. It would then be [(t)o"L-t' a'o], one-his-fist'. He says that 'six' [paya'neL] is derived from 'three' by adding a plural and that 'seven' [te?] is 'simple'. 'eighth' [caaw'neL] means 'fours', 'nine' [te' te' o' e] is 'one-from-ten', and 'ten' [t'o' e] is analogous with 'five' and may be one of the numerous Salinan forms, 'fists'. 'eleven' [t'o"e-ta"x-t' oL] means 'one-and-ten', 'twelve' [t' o"e-ta"x-ka'k'cu] is 'two-and-ten'.

This is as far as Mason went and he refers to Coulter (1834) for the numbers 'eleven' to 'sixteen'. Of all Mason's etymologies, only one bears close
5.3. Analysis of individual numbers.

5.3.1. 'one' and 'five'. The words for 'one' and 'five' do indeed show some similarity. The common element */ʔol/, /tʔol/, which may be assumed to mean 'one', appears in the numeral 'one' with initial */t/ and in 'five' with initial */ʔ/. Mason assumed, from Henshaw, */ʔol/ to be a reduction of */tʔol/, preposed to an element meaning 'fist'. However, a further possibility is that the numeral 'ten' is related to 'five' through metathesis: */ʔeʔa(1)/ from */ʔol-ʔaw/ 'five'. If so, however, an earlier form for 'five' is indicated.

This would, in turn, suggest the possibility that the form for 'one' */ʔol/, may not be basic, but a contraction of */te-ʔol/.

5.3.2. 'two'. 'Two' /kâ'ke$/ (and variants), is both unanalyzable and isolated within the system. It is the only numerical lexeme in Salinan whose 'Hokan' parentage seems possible, being relatively easily accommodated within Sapir's (1925:418) reconstructions: *aχwa-, *aχwâʔa, *aχwâskû. The morpheme appears nowhere else among Salinan numerals.

5.3.3. 'three' and 'six'. 'Three' /lâ'pay/ contains an element /pay/ that is also contained in the word for 'six'. In the word for 'six' /pay/ is, as I have indicated, followed by a plural suffix which recurs
in the forms for 'eight'.

Here we have a striking similarity to Uto-Aztecan where the word for 'three' in the protolanguage is reconstructed as *pahi. (This form occurs throughout Takic, e.g., Luiseño /pa'hi/.) This was first mentioned by William H. Jacobsen fifteen or more years ago.

5.34. 'four' and 'eight'. 'Four' /keša/?/ is easily segmentable into proclitic ke- and a stem, /ša?/. This stem is found in the word for 'eight' followed by the same plural suffix as in the word for 'six'.

Once again, there is a striking parallel in Uto-Aztecan, here confined to Takic; Luiseño /wasã/? 'four'. This Takic form also seems to be connected with the otherwise unanalyzable numeral 'fourteen' /wošôšo/.

5.35. 'seven'. 'Seven' /te?/ is a simple unanalyzable stem, about which nothing more can be said at present. (It is, perhaps, worthy of note, though, that both 'seven' and 'fourteen' are unanalyzable. Does this hint at some sort of septenary count?)

5.36. 'ten'. 'Ten' /tô?e/, as I have noted above, seems to be a metathesized form of 'five'. Metathesis could be functioning here as a sort of pluralizer (parallel to the pluralization of 'three' in 'six' and of 'four' in 'eight').

5.37. 'nine'. 'Nine' is the word for 'ten' with a preceding /te(*)te-/, which may be a reduplication of /te-/, but this has no standing as a regular prefix.
It seems to mean 'less'.

5.38. 'sixteen'. 'Sixteen', the end of the count in the quaternary system, i.e., 'four-fours', has two recorded forms, one of which /kpe$l$/, appears to be a simple unanalyzable stem. It is possible, however, that k-, here, as in some of the lower numerals is simply stative k-. We will return to this form when we consider the ordinals.

5.39. Other systems. Two more subsystems are barely discernable in these numbers to sixteen: The first is the system involving the forms for 'three' and 'six', although 'nine' and 'twelve' show no participation in such a system in Salinan. These number names were borrowed from Uto-Aztecan, after all.

The other barely discernable system which may have existed in the native counting system is quinary, and is reflected in one of the attested forms for 'fifteen': /lā-pay-ʔol-ťaw/, 'three-fives'. Although 'ten' does not show a form 'two-fives' a quinary system may be reflected by the 'three-fives' form.

5.4. Ordinals. The first five ordinal numerals, next page, from the Antóniaño dialect are shown in their original orthographic forms since reconstitution should be based on more than one attestation, and in the case of the ordinals, we are limited to Henshaw's recordings, with a couple of interesting exceptions, which will be discussed later.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal</th>
<th>Antoniaño Ordinal Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first</td>
<td>te-\text{lu}^- (Henshaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first one</td>
<td>a-\text{te}^-\text{ol} (Jacobsen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second</td>
<td>to^-\text{k}^-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third</td>
<td>trup-pec^-cu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fourth</td>
<td>ti-tr\text{a}^-\text{ku}^- (Henshaw)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>northwest</td>
<td>ti\text{t}aku (Mason)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifth</td>
<td>trup-p\text{ect}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VII  Antoniaño Ordinal Numbers
The two other recordings are a second recording of 'first' from Jacobsen (1954) and a second recording of 'fourth' from Mason. Mason, however, glossed the word as 'northwest' (perhaps the fourth of the traditional directions).

These forms, besides being imperfectly recorded, are structurally puzzling. To some extent, though, they confirm the analysis of the cardinal numbers.

5.41. 'first'. 'First' te-lu, a-teʔe1, if we take Jacobsen's recording as authoritative, partly confirms the supposition that the basic shape of the word for 'one' is /ʔe1/. The prefixes ṭe- may or
may not be related to the hypothesized te- prefix in the cardinal /tɔl/.

5.42. 'second'. 'Second' to-"ki" appears to contain the element -ke from the cardinal, possibly with a prefix to- or tɔ-.

5.43. 'third'. 'Third' trup-pec"-cu and 'fifth' trup-pɛct are evidently based on the same stem element, quite likely the same as occurs in the cardinal /kpeʃ/, 'sixteen', again, with the prefix tɔ- (see Section 6.5).

5.44. 'fourth'. 'Fourth' ti-trə-ku" (tîtaku) is not easily relatable to the cardinal /kešän/ (a morphophonemic alternation between [ʃ] and [t] is not otherwise attested). It possibly contains a prefixed te- but apparently not te-.

5.5. Conclusions. I have noted that the root morphemes for '3', '4' and '14' are close look-alikes to or shared forms with Uto-Aztecan. This is consistent with the data I gathered for a paper on areal characteristics of south central California (Turner 1983a). I identified many ancient linguistic ties between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan. I found that there are more lexical look-alikes between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan than there are between Salinan and any other language or language family in California, though contact with all historically present languages of the area is
evident.

Salinan lexical resemblances with Takic and Numic lend a little support to Whistler's hypothesis (p.c.) of a movement of Chumash-speaking people from the interior of California.

The linguistic evidence suggests Chumash as the first intrusive movement of a population between Salinan and Uto-Aztecan speakers. (The Salinan-speaking group were later pushed farther south and west by Yokuts expansion.)

Ancient and long-term contact is clearly shown for Salinan and Uto-Aztecan, with linguistic contact continuing with various Uto-Aztecan languages after their differentiation.
6.0. **Locatives.**

6.1. ?om- meaning 'on' or 'over' as in:

\[ g\circ{-}\text{om-pa?} \quad \text{'over there'} \]
\[ \text{D-Loc-D} \]

\[ ?\text{om-t-?\acute{a}kat} \quad \text{'on (the) stick'} \]
\[ \text{Loc-N_p-N_s} \]

is homophonous with the question prefix formation for second person singular. It is better exemplified in full phrases.

\[ k-\ddot{o}\text{pololnox \ ra\text{-m-m\text{\text{\text{}}}m \ l\acute{a}\text{-k} \ ?om-\text{\text{\text{}}}sk\text{\text{\text{}}}m} \]
\[ \text{St-V_s \ SC-? \ N_s \ Loc-N_s} \]
\[ \text{it sank \ ground sea} \]
\[ \text{'it sank way to the bottom of the sea'} \]

\[ k\acute{e}w \ t-\text{\text{\text{}}}t\text{\text{\text{}}}\text{\text{\text{}}}na\text{-y \ n\acute{a}? \ ?om-\text{\text{\text{}}}sk\text{\text{\text{}}}k-e\text{-}\text{\text{\text{}}}e} \]
\[ \text{Loc-N_p-V_s \ N_s \ Loc-Loc-?-S_f} \]
\[ \text{place that hits sun here} \]
\[ \text{'the sun hits it right here'} \]

\[ \text{ke- h\acute{e}k \ ?om-\text{-to-me\text{-}lo \ sk\text{\text{}}}m} \]
\[ \text{V_s \ 1sg \ Loc-Loc-Adv \ N_s} \]
\[ \text{go \ I \ along \ sea} \]
\[ \text{'I go along the beach'} \]
?om-ṭe-kēw-o? 'on his side'
Loc-Loc-Loc-3sg
on-Loc-place-his

?om-čeṅ 'outside'
Loc-N₃

čen (from the previous example) itself means 'a flat' and can be intensified:

čen-kčā? 'a big flat'
N₃-S

Similarly ?om- may accompany another morpheme, kew:

?om-kēw 'to where'
Loc-Loc

ṭol-kēw 'near place'
Num-Loc

ma-skā-m-kew 'to near him'
Imp-Adv-Loc

ṭo-p-kew 'at the place'
Loc-AP-Loc
A fuller example of kew from Harrington:

čeptune ʔe:n kew t-sa? Kwel
S-Ss Cl Loc Np-NsNs
good will place talk people
'they are fixing up the telephone (what the people talk with)', literally: 'make-good future what talk people'.

6.2. ŝko? Although its precise definition is unclear as demonstrated by the following examples, ŝko? can be suffixed (cliticized) to verbs to indicate ongoing activity.

k-eyet'atā ŝko? 'he is laughing'
St-Vs Loc

k-sā? hēk ŝko? 'I am speaking'
St-Vs lsg Loc

tēm-te-ŝko? 'then he was'
SC-Loc-Loc

Ŝko? can also function as a verb stem as indicated by the example below:
škō?-ra? askē·n pe-xōč
-loc Ns ap-Ns
corner the-dog
'the dog is in the corner (of the room)'

which appears to be a copular use of ško?.

6.3. ma- is prefixed to nouns and means 'when' or 'where' (cf Section 4.63 Aspect):

ma-kēw-o? 'where they (are)'
loc-loc-3sg

ma-kēw 'to him' (where he was)
loc-loc

ma-t-kak-o? 'at the top'
loc-Np-Ns-3sg

ma-k-lē·he? 'downhill'
loc-st-Vs

6.4.  ta(?)- ~ ra(?)- acts as a preposition before a noun, meaning 'in', 'on', 'along' and 'with'. With a verb ra? seems to behave as an infinitivizer, or nominalizer.
ra-mošē? 'in flames'
Loc-Ns

m-āx-raʔ-ʔ-t-m-ā-nāye 'put it on your (sg) waist'
2sg-Vs-Loc-Np-2sg-2sg-Ns

k-ē-šaľa? raʔ-lāʔ 'it grows along the ground'
St-Vs Loc-Ns

raʔ- mêʔ-t-el-ak 'to beat us'
Loc-Vs-pl-lpl

raʔ-skām 'to be close'
Loc-Adv

raʔ-čeʔ 'to see'
Loc-Vs

6.5. to(?) - ro(?) - also acts as a preposition before nouns with the meanings 'of', 'to', 'in' and 'by'.

ro-pē-ʔol-ʔ-ejā 'of every one'
Loc-AP-Num-Np-Ns
of-the-one-every

ro-p-kevēl 'to the west'
Loc-AP-Ns
to-the-west
ro-p-1Ka 'to the coyote'
Loc-AP-Ns
to-the-coyote

ro-p-kew-ha'l 'in the places'
Loc-AP-Loc-pl
in-the-place-pl

ro-p-ته-m67 'by his house'
Loc-AP-Np-Ns-3sg
by-the-house-his

Obviously these locative adverbs intersect with the meanings of the indefinite pronouns, and there are not enough attestations to straighten them out, although a careful study of Mason's (1918) texts may help to clarify the situation.

There is also not enough information to say anything about the possible modals, although there do exist a couple of glosses with the word 'must'.

6.6. ِة-ـ re- In Mason's (1918) published texts of Antoniaño Salinan told by David Mora (as opposed to one of the other informants), there appear the prefixed elements ِة- and re-. These appear to be prepositions, usually glossed by Mason as 'to'.

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There is also an example from the elicitations by Harrington (also from David Mora), that confuse the issue:

kāra? lamāy те-ť-ām 'there isn't any food in the house'
Neg N Loc-Np-Ns

As for the variant re-:

re-māk-1-op 'to drown (them)' (Text 3, line 14)
Loc-Vs-pl-Vs

re-pā'ta 'to dance' (Text 1, line 7)
Loc-V
And from Jacobsen's notes:

ʔo-p-ʔal-o(ʔ)  re-lām  'does he want to eat?'
Q-Act-V₃-3sg  Loc-V₃

6.61.  -re.  Mason (1918) glosses the suffix -re as 'here'

m-ʔān-teʔ-re 'come here, too'  (Text 1, line 19)
2sg imp-V₃-pl-Loc

And Harrington has:

k-māʔ-y-re  yōʔ  'he lives here'
St-V₃-Loc  D

škoʔ-hek-re  'I am here' ('aquí estoy')
Loc-lsg-Loc

6.7.  ṭoke  is a clitic  glossed in the texts
as 'within', 'in' or 'inside'. From its few attestations
it seems to be a locative adverb.

ʔom-ṭoke  'to within'  (Text 3, line 52)

Harrington has one or two examples of ṭō·ke  as well:

k-ʔō·pek  ram-ṭō·ke  'to order to sweep the house
2pl imp-V₃  SC-Loc  inside'
k-čep  ṭō̂·ke-na?  'it is a clear day'
St-S  Loc-Ns

(as well as the example in Section 8.6 Metaphors).

6.8.  -rom occurs only three times in Mason's (1918) texts and not at all in the elicitations of anyone else. The only text in which it is specifically glossed, Mason translates as 'wherefrom'.

ranke-rom  'then wherefrom?'  (text 1, line 26)
Adv-Loc

no-k-e·š-rom  '(it) seems'  (Text 4, line 29)
?-St-Vs-Loc

kā·s-tkā·-mē·t-rom  'but we will try it'  'Text 3, line 27)
Adv-?-Vs-Loc

(for the adverbial nature of kā·s, see Section 7.3).

6.9.  ?em- acts as a preposition before nouns and is glossed 'on' or 'in' in Mason's (1918) texts. There is an attestation by Harrington, as well, however:

k-ē·l no'  ?em-Kwēl  'the earth is dry'
St-Vs  Cl  Loc-Ns
7. Minor Form Classes.

7.1. **Conjunctions.** The particle glossed as 'and' has already been mentioned in the section on numerals (Section 5). In Mason's (1918) texts, 'tan-' prefixed to a verb is translated as 'and' and 'well'.

   *tas-* is glossed by Mason as 'but'. However in attestations from Harrington and Jacobsen *tas-* is apparently 'what':

   \[
   \text{tas-} \text{m-} \text{le} \text{k} \quad \text{'at what are you (sg) laughing?'}
   \]
   \[\text{N}_p \text{-} \text{2sg} \text{-} \text{V}_s\]

   \[
   \text{tas-} \text{nõ-} \text{-pe} \quad \text{'what happened?'}
   \]
   \[\text{C1} \text{-AP}\]

   from Harrington and:

   \[
   \text{tås-} \text{lø} \quad \text{'what time is it?'}
   \]
   \[\text{C1}\]

   from Jacobsen.

7.2. **Sentence Connective.** A sentence connective has been referred to (Section 4.71), *tam-* ~ *ram-* usually translated as 'then' in Mason's (1918) texts. *terō-, 'therefore' appears rarely examples in Section 3.3 and following.)

7.3. **Adverbs.** The majority of adverbial notions are
expressed as free morphemes. The exceptions are a prefix and one suffix: ake(*)- an interrogative adverb and -e•ya•te? 'always'.

akē•t-o-m-tē•yo? 'how thy ability?'

N_p-2sg-2sg-N_s

ake•-m-hala 'what to use?'

2sg-V_s

ake•-m-xāla-nōn 'what to use just now?'

2sg-V_s-Cl

(All of these examples come from the texts in Mason 1918 and are his translations.)

There is only one example of the suffix -e•ya•te?.

p-ox-nek•e•ya•te? 'enter will I always'

Act-V_s-1sg-Adv

again, from Mason's (1918) texts.

The remaining adverbs are those expressed as free morphemes. To take them in alphabetical order, kas is usually translated as 'only' when occurring alone, the glosses occurring with kas as a prefix or suffix suggest a further refinement of that gloss:

šō•kā? kās re?-ya 'he follows along the creek'

N_s Adv Loc-V_s
has kas related to the gloss 'along'.

an-kâs-no-steyôwen  'only just now beautiful'
SC-Adv-Cl-S

has kas related to the gloss 'only' as do

xeyô*-kas  'only him'
3sg-Adv

ţam-kâs-ko?  'then only'
SC-Adv-3sg

kâs-skomo  'only small'.
Adv-Adv

However, there are three occurrences in Mason's texts where he translates kas as 'but':

kas-p-âm-ko?  'but killed'
Adv-Act-Vs-3sg

kas-kéra  'but not'
Adv-Neg

ran-kâ*s-na  'then but this'
SC-Adv-D

And, finally, there is an interesting occurrence of kas from Jacobsen's notes:
hek-kas 'I myself'
1sg-Adv

where kas seems to have an emphatic meaning, but this may be misleading in light of another example from his notes:

xey6'-kas 'only him'
3sg-Adv

Like the two preceding adverbs ksa occurs as a free morpheme and also affixed but always with the meaning of 'more'.

k-?a’no? ksa hék 'I am very weak'
St-Vs Adv 1sg

ke-t-xáwet ksa p-aKatá 'a person is very yellow'
Vz-Np-S Adv AP-Ns (jaundice)
yo? pe ské’ten a-ksa t-ké’sele?
D AP S ?-Adv Np-St-S
he the little more all
'the youngest child in the family'

k-apetnap ksa 'it is full' (of water)
St-Vs Adv

k-é’l ksa hék 'I am dried up'
St-S Adv 1sg
mas occurs frequently in Mason's (1918) texts, meaning 'more' (a borrowing from Spanish).

maʔ's occurs as a free morpheme as in the following, meaning 'maybe':

sēʔ-koʔ maʔ's hēk 'maybe I am going to talk to him'
V_s-3sg Adv 1sg

xāʔ-ta maʔ's nēk 'I think I am going to cry'
V_s Adv 1sg
(xaʔ-ta nēk 'I am going to cry')

mēnako̥ 'why' also occurs as a prefix without the -o:

mēnako̥ t-k-ő-ašem 'why are you (sg) not drinking?'
Adv N_p-2sg-2sg-V_s

mēnako̥ -rom-xāʔ-ta 'why are you (sg) crying?'
Adv-Loc-V_s

Unlike the previous adverb, meʔak, 'continually' always appears as a free morpheme in Mason's texts.

p-ekēʔ-n-tx-oʔ meʔak 'he whirled continually'
Act-V_s-ʔ-3sg Adv

čāʔ-weʔ meʔaʔ-k yōʔ 'he looked continually'
V_s Adv D
The adverb ta'a 'now' is derived from ta?
(see Section 4.63 Aspect):

xwēn-ta'? 'today he is coming'
Vs-Cl

xwēn-ta?a '(is higher language)' [Harrington]
Vs-Adv

Other examples are:

k-āxap na-ta'?ā 'he died just now' (= no-nō, see
St-Vs D-Adv Section 4.63)

and an attestation from Harrington which illustrates
its use and offers a comment:

na-ta'?ā 'now', common word, 'just now', 'today'.
D-Adv

sKam is a frequently occurring adverb meaning
'close'. It may be written as a free morpheme or
affixed to another adverb:

sKam-ksa 'close more'
Adv-Adv

xaya? is also well-attested, meaning 'many' or
'much':
xāya? 'many'
Adv

xāya? čep-a'nē? 'many thanks'
Adv S-pl

xāya? t-šxēxe? 'lots of tracks'
Adv Np-N

xāya? t-šxep-let-o t-əʔə? 'lots of deer tracks'
Adv Np-Ns-pl-3sg Np-Ns

There is only one attestation (from Harrington) of the final adverb in this list Ḵōteḵ 'maybe'

Ḵōteḵ-a·m-ko? 'maybe I can't'
Adv-Vs-3sg

This gloss is supplemented by Harrington: 'I'm afraid to tackle (lifting a big load)'.

7.4. **Interjections.** Very little data is available about other minor form classes such as interjections. There are two interjections in Mason's texts: ay and aha 'yes'.

7.5. **Quotative.** In the texts collected by Mason (1918) there is a quotative particle Ḵeʔ, although there is no trace of this quotative in the recordings
of Antonio outside the texts.

rām-te'~ta;k' 'then (he) said to them'
SC-Qo-pl

rām-te? 'then (he) said'
SC-Qo

terš-ťë? 'therefore (he) said'
Con-Qo

kō-ťe? 'not said'
Neg-Qo
8. **Syntactic patterns.**

8.1. **Equational.** There is no copula: Antonia\ñ\o
Salinan uses parataxis.

\[ \text{tɛ-ɛ-o? Juan na? 'this is John's dog'} \]
\[ N_p-N_p-N_s-3sg \text{ John D} \]

\[ \text{yo-ná-t-etoyen 'this is my arrow'} \]
\[ D-D-N_p-N_s \]

8.2. **Possessive constructions.** As well as the example
just given, a noun may be verbalized and used with a
subject pronoun to include possession:

\[ \text{tɛ-ɛ-šxa? 'my money'} \]
\[ N_p-lsg-N_s \]

\[ \text{ke-šxá?-e hêk 'I have some money'} \]
\[ V_Z-N_s-D_{sf} \text{ lsg} \]

\[ \text{k-lom '(have) a wound'} \]
\[ \text{St-V_s} \]

\[ \text{k-lóm-t-e hêk 'I have a wound'} \]
\[ \text{St-V}_s-?-D_{sf} \text{ lsg} \]

\[ \text{k-lóm-t-e mő? 'you (sg) have a wound'} \]
\[ \text{St-V}_s-?-D_{sf} \text{ 2sg} \]
Another possessive construction uses the verb stem -etxaw 'have' with the p- prefix, so the verb is active and transitive:

p-etxaw hēk 'I have it'
Act-Vs 1sg

p-etxaw xeyō? 'he has it'
Act-Vs 3sg

hāk' p-etxaw 'we have it'
1pl Act-Vs

In simple possessed constructions, such as 'John's dog', it is the possessed noun which is affixed and the possessor, the bare stem. The possessor follows the possessed noun.

8.3. Locative phrases: ũko(?) 'here'. ũko(?) may be used in the locative construction 'X is here':

ũko? hēk 'I am here'
Loc 1sg

ũko? lēk 'I am here already'
Loc 1sg

(see Section 6.2).

8.4. Existential. Constructions translated in this
way in English use juxtaposition in Salinan.

kāra? kō-k-ʔaʔ-e 'there is no grass'
Neg Neg-St-S-Dsf

kāra? t-acoʔ-pe? 'there is no moon'
Neg Np-Ns

k-yōt-e? lā-k 'there is an earthquake'
St-Vs-Dsf Ns

lo‘l ʔom-Kwēl 'there is a forest fire'
Vs Loc-Ns

xāya? t-Kät-et om-t-a’k-ʔ 'there is much wood on the road'
Adv Np-Ns-Pl Loc-Np-Ns-Dsf

8.5. Word order. Word order is free, although morpheme order within the verb or noun complex is rigid. In unmarked constructions word order is VOS and VSO is used for emphasis and topicalization, as will be seen in the interlinear text (Section 9).

8.6. Metaphors. The following metaphors have been culled from the Harrington notes:
k-ēsenā? pa? nā? 'the sun is sick' = eclipse
St-Vs D Ns
is-sick sun

k-ēta'ha? ū-šā? ro'-'ēkata
St-Vs Np-Ns Loc-Ns
becomes water blood
'the blood turns out water' = dropsy

ke-τ-xāwet ksā pa-'akata
Vz-Np-S Adv D-Ns
be-yellow very blood
'a person is very yellow' = jaundice

kom-špok-t-ē ū-āk-o?
Neg-Ns-ʔ-Dsf Np-Ns-3sg
no-fur head-his
'no fur his head' = bald

p-etxā'w-o? keṭmēl rom-τ-e-'ēay-o?
Act-Vs-3sg N Loc-Np-Np-Ns-3sg
(he) has-it ball in-neck-his
'he has a ball in the neck' = goiter
cèp-e? ćén kěw t-sa? Kwèl
S-D_{sf} Cl Loc N_{p-V} N_{s}
good will talk people

'what the people talk with' = telephone
9. **Text with grammatical analysis.** The text I have chosen is the first Antoniaño Salinan text published in Mason (1918) in which he gives a complete grammatical morpheme-by-morpheme analysis, interlinear glosses and segmentation of the morphemes. I have used his published text as well as his original field notebook to transcribe the text phonemically according to my reconstitution. In several cases I have used a more accurate segmentation and I have re-translated many of his glosses, both from the Spanish he supplied in the original notebook and from the English of the published version. I have completely re-analyzed the text and provided a more accurate free translation as well.

I have re-titled the text "The Killers," following Henshaw's (1884) title, rather than following Mason's (1918) published title "Prairie-Falcon, Raven and Coyote" or the title in his original notes, "Coyote, Raven and Skunk." The text appears to include four related stories about mythical killers who are identified in the stories as Coyote, Skunk, Little Birds (children of Skunk), Raven, Hawk, Bear and Mouse.

Nothing has been added to or deleted from the Antoniaño Salinan text Mason elicited from David Mora on June 6, 1916.
The Killers

k-lápay pe-xeyōį́ˑt rám-ŋ-yāˑ-tel
St-Num AP-3pl SC-Np-Vs-pl

There were three (of) them. Then, as they went along,

xōˑt-1-op ro-pˑt-eˑmˑð rāˑmˑ-te?
Vs-pl-Vs Loc-AP-Np-Ns-3sg SC-Qo

they passed his (Skunk's) house. Then he said

pe-1kā k-čēk naˑšteˑ-lwaˑ?
AP-Ns St-Vs D-Np-Ns

the Coyote, "He appears this old man

k-şawenāˑˑne p-oˑlˑ-x tɑˑtōˑke
St-Vs-Dsf Act-Vs-pl-Vs Loc-Adv
to be a dancer. (You, pl) Enter inside,

p-oˑlˑ-x rámˑ-teˑ-tak2
Act-Vs-pl-Vs SC-Qo-pl

enter." Then (Skunk) said to them,

k-āˑšˑ-el o-smah-tˑ-el
St-Vs-pl Int-Vs-pl-Vs-pl

"(You, pl) be seated (who are so) handsome."

rámˑ-teˑ? p-aˑtˑa enˑc̥enˑd
SC-Qo Act-Vs Loc-Vs

Then (Coyote) said, "Dance so that (you) are seen
ro-pa-tá:má?  sma-ha-t-él  rá-m-te?
Loc-AP-NS  VS-pl-Vs-pl  SC-Qo
by the men  (who are) handsome."  Then (Skunk) said

ay  ṣte-lwá?-lék³  ṣe  mé-t-o-nék
Int  Np-NS-1sg  Vs-3sg-1sg
"Ay! I am an old man but I will try

á?-a·m-ko  te?-šá:wena·ne  k-á·we-yak-še⁴
Con-Vs-3sg  Loc-Vs-Dsf  St-Vs-
if (I am) able to be a dancer.  It is very hot

ná-tá·  tas-k-šówn-e·nék·  rá-m-me·t
D-Adv  Con-St-Vs-Dsf-1sg  SC-Vs
now,  but I will light (the fire)."  Then he tried

re-pá·ta  rá-m-p-e'ge·k-o  t-e-céw-o
Loc-Act-Vs  SC-Act-Vs-3sg  Np-Np-NS-3sg
to dance.  Then he made his tail

rá-m-t-eša·k  te-pá·ta  p-e kéle·n-t-xo
SC-Np-Vs-3sg  Loc-Act-Vs  Act-Vs-pl-3sg
raised to dance.  He whirled it around

méša·k  ṭo-p-ké·w-o  ta·má
Adv  Loc-AP-Loc-3sg  NS
continually.  "Where are (the) men?"

skám-ksá  méša·k  ṭo-p-t-o-hén-o
(He came) closer continually to (where) their faces (were)
pe-ta'má  t-káten-o  pe-šowá  rám-teʔ-tak³
AP-Ns  Np-Ns-3sg  AP-Ns  SC-Qo-pl
the men,  his anus  the Skunk.  Then (Skunk) said

5  yax  ra-skām  ksá  yax-te'n
V_s  Loc-Adv  Adv  V_s-pl
"(You, pl) Come close  more.  (You, pl) Come

ksá  ra-skā'm-ksá  wē-ten-ksá  p-ā¹l-xo
more  closer  here still more.³³ He wanted

te-p-āl-o  ram-xāla?⁷
Loc-Act-Vs-3sg  SC-Vs
to attack.  And (Raven) hit (Skunk)

ō-p-e-k-ā'we  čxā?  k-ēna'y-ok  ksa
Loc-AP-St-Vs  Ns  St-Vs-3sg  Adv
and the hot  stone  wounded him  severely

em-k-šō·lok-ne  ram-mēheʔ-e·nxα?⁸
Loc-St-Vs-Dsf  SC-Vs-?
in hollow place (i.e., anus).  Then (Skunk) ran around.

rám-teʔ  ahā  pe-1kā  xomō
SC-Qo  Int  AP-Ns  S
Then he said, "Yes  the Coyote  (is) bad
lwā? xāya? te-mā’t-o
N_s Adv Loc-V_s-3sg
man, many have been killed."

rām-ṭ-xwene’-lax pe-se’matān
SC-N_p-V_s-pl AP-N_s
Then they arrived the (Little Birds) children
(of Skunk)

ram-ṭe? pe-ṣ’kān semtān
SC-Qo AP-N_s N_s
Then said the Hawk, "Children,

te-skē’ntoy’ mēnako t-o-k-sōnon
Loc-V_s Adv N_p-2pl-2pl-N_s
(They are) too little why your legs?

kara? mas⁹ kō-ṭ-ape’l na-mē’n
Neg Con Neg-N_p-V_s D-N_s
Not but (they) don’t fill this hand."

rām-me’nt-e? te-tā’p-o-y’ax pe-ṭ-e-ṣxe’p-lēt-o
SC-V_s-D_sf Loc-V_s-3sg-pl AP-N_p-N_p-N_s-pl-3sg
Then (he) tried and felt them their feet

ram-kō-ṭ-ape’l rām-ṭe?-tawlayk
SC-Neg-N_p-V_s SC-Qo-pl
and they did not fill it. Then he said to them
ra-kēraʔ-tēn-lo kera-lo rám-moʔok-o
Loc-Neg-pl-Cl Neg-Cl SC-Vs-3sg
"Not yet, no." Then he squeezed (their feet).

rám-ple-’t-x-o rom-ṭoke kwā-p
SC-Act-Vs-pl-Vs-3sg Loc-Adv Na
Then he threw them into sweathouse.

m-āl-o-1 tā•so 11 rom-ṭō•ke t-ā•w
Vs-pl-Vs Adv Loc-Adv Np-Na
They flew helplessly inside (the) fire.

rám-ṭeʔ-tak pe-lkā mān-tēn-re
SC-Qo-pl AP-Na Vs-pl-Loc
Then said the Coyote, "Come here."

rám-ṭeʔ tā-mēnako tē-ya-tēn tē•leʔ
SC-Qo Loc-Adv Loc-Vs-pl Vs
Then he said, "Why go? Hurry

p-ōx-raʔ ram-kō-nekaʔ
Act-Vs-Loc SC-Neg-Vs
enter." And (they) did not obey him.

rám-t-epaľax k-1ē-ʔayǎ-a-x
SC-Np-Vs St-Vs-pl-Vs
Then (Coyote) grabbing (them), he threw them
rom-ṭō-le ke t-ā-w ṭ-mi lō-1-ro-pē
Loc-Adv Np-Ns SC-St-Vs-Loc-D
into (the) fire. And they were burned by him

pe-līkā xomō 1wā? p-ā·l-xo
AP-Ns S Ns Act-Vs-3sg
the Coyote bad man. He wanted

ra?-ām-el-āy? terŠ-ṭē? p-o-1ō-x
Loc-Vs-pl-pl Con-Qo Act-Vs-pl-Vs
to kill them. Therefore (he) said, (You, pl) "Enter,"

kō-ṭe? ksā xomō 1wā? p-ā·l-xo
Neg-Qo Adv S Ns Act-Vs-3sg
Not (he) said more. Bad man. He wanted

ṭa-ām-el-ā·y-še?
Loc-Vs-pl-pl-
to kill them.

yō?-rām-ṭ-ya·-tel rām-k-ōlo·le
D-SC-Np-Vs-pl SC-St-Vs
Then they left. Then he played (flute)

ṭ-yā pe-lā? p-ēsn-ay·-ax
Np-Vs AP-Ns Act-Vs-pl-Vs
going the Raven. (They) heard (it)
Then (people) said "What is this, this which 
k-ʔames ʔa-kō-yo? no-k-ʔaxa-te 1wā?
St-Vs Loc-Neg-D Cl-St-Vs Ns
calls which is not (the) music (of) man?
rankē-rom' k-e-nōx-o pe-k-ʔaxa-te
Adv-Loc St-Vs-3sg AP-St-Vs
Then where (does) it come (from) the music?"

ṭe-tēšop-ax ksā pe-ʔaha-te?
Loc-Vs-pl Adv AP-Ns
they heard (clearly) very the music.

ram-kō-tešt-o ksā rake
SC-Neg-Vs-3sg Adv Loc
And not seen more anywhere,

ra-ko-ṭ-ya-lo-rake sene? ksā
Loc-Neg-Ns-Vs-Cl-Loc Vs Adv
not anywhere. Walking more
to stroll again and he was lost the Raven.

And they didn’t see him. Wondered why

"(is he) lost?" And looked (for him).

And (could) not find where (he) was. Sought

all the time.

Then (Hawk) remembered to gather up

the bears. Seek will to gather.
yo-rám-t-ána·t-ay-ax  Ṿe-xóťop
D-SC-N_p-V_s-pl-V_s  Loc-V_s
Then he permitted them to pass (him).

겁.-secondary? Ṿa·kên-o
V_s  V_s-3sg
"Open (your) mouth!" he pointed (with his arrow)

†-yá  râ·m-p-yax-te-ko  tol-tên
N_p-V_s  SC-Act-V_s-pl-3sg  Num-pl
(as they) came. Then bring another.

겁.-secondary?  p-겁.ken'-o
V_s  Act-V_s-3sg
"Open (your) mouth!" He pointed it (arrow):

†-yá  pe-xwên  xoťıp  yax-ték-ten  tol
N_p-V_s  AP-V_s  V_s  V_s-?p-pl  Num
coming, arriving, passing. "Bring another one."

rán-te?  pe-selő·y  k-ʔámes  Ṿe-yâx
SC-Qo  AP-N_s  St-V_s  Loc-V_s
Then said the Mouse he shouted to come.

rán-te?  k-áxay15  te-lwa-nê
SC-Qo  St-V_s  N_p-N_s-D_sf
Then (Mouse) said "I am afraid. (Bear is very) strong!"
rāc-ʔames
SC-ʔ-Vs  VS  Np-Vs  Np-Ns-Dsf
he cried.  He climbed up going vigorously
k-aʔ-m-xwēn  pe-ʔ-axāʔ  rām-teʔ  pe-selōʔ-y
St-1pl-1pl-Vs  AP-Np-Ns  SC-Qo  AP-Ns
arrived  the Bear.  Then said  the Mouse,
k-āxkoʔ  na  se-te-1wa-nē  rām-šaʔ-keʔ-n-e
St-Vs  D  ?-Np-Ns-Dsf  SC-Vs-Dsf
"Careful! This is heavy."  Then pointed at (Mouse)
ram-teʔ-talk  šaʔ-xātaʔ  rām-teʔ
SC-Qo-pl  Vs  SC-Qo
and said,  "Open (your) mouth!"  Then said (Mouse)
tēpēn  t-ōleʔt  k-āʔaʔ-m-ko  tē-šaʔ-xataʔ
Vs  Np-1sg-Ns  St-Vs-3sg  Loc-Vs
"Hurts my tooth.  Not able to open (my) mouth."
šaʔ-tātaʔ  skomō  kas  ram-k-nēkaʔ
Vs  Adv  Adv  SC-St-Vs
"Open (your) mouth (a) little only"  and (Mouse) obeyed.
p-etāʔk-o  k-šōʔ-1ok-ne  kās-skomō  pe-ṭ-ēʔ-1k-o
Act-Vs-3sg  St-Vs-Dsf  Adv-Adv  AP-Np-Ns-3sg
(He) made opening very small his mouth.
Then (Mouse) said, "Go ahead." Then used

Then said

the Mouse, "Carry (him) here. You know

Went carried the whole thing

And (he) could not. (He was) tired

Then (Mouse) looks through (the) world wonders (who) sees it. Then sees it his face
k-šō-menxa? k-ōla'ẽ? ūo-p-ū-ō
St-Vs St-Vs Loc-AP-Np-Ns-3sg
stretched. He is ashamed of his face

rome-p-yā-m-o ram-k-ōney-e? ūe-ū-yā
Loc-Act-Vs-3sg SC-St-Vs-Dsf Loc-Np-Vs
when sees it. And he is afraid to go

ma-kēw-o pe-xāya? rā-ū-m-p-ōx
Loc-Loc-3sg AP-Adv SC-Act-Vs
where (there are) many. Then he goes

ro-p-ṭōke kāt k-ōhō-m-ā? ūo-p-ū-ololay-o
Loc-AP-Adv Ns St-Vs-ʔ Loc-AP-Np-Vs-3sg
inside grass hiding his shame.

kō-yem-āʔ-lo kas yoʔ-lo-p-ū-ya-ʔ-ay-ō19
Neg-Vs-ʔ-Cl Adv D-Cl-Act-Np-Vs-ʔ-ʔ-3sg
Not seen any more (no) more he is gone.
9.1. **Grammatical Notes.**

1 rām-†-yā'-tel
   *ram-* is the sentence connective, usually translated 'then', but translated as 'and' when unstressed, see Sections 4.7 and 7.2.
   *†-* is the nominalizing prefix for verbs, see Section 4.0. Notice how wide-spread nominalized verbs are in this text.
   *yā'-* verb stem 'to come/go' used extensively in this text.
   *tel* plural suffix, indicating the plurality of the subject, see note 5.

2 rām-ṭe? -tal'
   *ram-* see note 1.
   *ṭe?-* is the quotative particle occurring frequently in this text, see Section 7.6.
   *tal' is a plural suffix.

3 ŝte-1wa?-1eK
   *ŝte-* is a prefix used only with the word for 'man', meaning 'old'.
   *1wa?-* 'man'.
   *1eK* first person perfective aspect suffixed by Mason (1918) to the noun.

4 k-ā·we-yak-še?
   *k-* is the stative verb prefix.
   *ā·we-yak* stative verb 'hot' (recorded as k-ā·wyak
by Jacobsen). The -yak is probably segmentable but is of unknown meaning and function.

-še? unknown. Mason gives a confusing account in his grammatical analysis of this text. Še? is found in other parts of the text as an affix and not glossed. On page 49 Mason (1918) defines -še? as both 'desiderative' and 'substantive', and še- as 'old, aged' on page 21. Besides the two examples of -še? and the one example of še- in this text, there are three other textual attestations, (given with Mason's glosses: še?-lo 'already' (Text 3, line 3), ra-mo'-m-še? 'then you (pl)' (Text 3, line 26) and k-lo-x-1-a-no-še? 'burnt almost' (Text 23, line 8). The only other attestation than Mason's is koš-še? 'vomit' from Harrington. (Compare koš-šet-o? 'his vomit' from Harrington.)

5 yax is the plural form of the verb stem 'to come/go'.

6 yax-tën

yax- (see the immediately preceding note).

-tën is the iterative plural, 'again, also'.

See Sections 2.31-2.33.

7 ram-xâla?

ram- is the sentence connective, see note 1.

xâla? is the verb stem 'to hit' (transitive).

8 ram-mëhef'-e-nxa?

ram- see note 1.
-mehet'- is the verb stem 'to run around'.
-e'nx'a? is unknown.

9 kara? mas
kara? is the negative
mas is an adverb borrowed from Spanish 'more',
see Section 7.3.

10 räm-te?-tawlayk
ram- see note 1.
-te?- is the quotative, see note 2.
-tawlayk is unknown, but a plural, at least, can
be inferred.

11 tā-so adverb? This word is not listed in Mason's
(1918) vocabulary or attested elsewhere. In
his free translation Mason uses the word
'blindly', he uses the words 'kept on trying'
in his original notebook and he uses the word
'helplessly' in the published text. (The
recordings of the word for 'blind' are simply
the word for 'eye' with a negative prefix, or
an entirely different stative verb: ⱡamle.)

12 ṭe-pāsea¹-ten
ṭe- is a locative prefix, see Section 6.6.
-pāsea¹ I have not segmented the Salinan p-
prefix usually occurring in active verbs
because the verb has been borrowed from
Spanish pasear 'to stroll'.

13 ram-kō-yem-a?
ram- see note 1.
-kö- is the negative prefix.
-yem- is the verb stem 'to see', but see Section 4.51.
-a? Mason glosses this as a passivizer and when -a? occurs following yem, he glosses it as 'seen' in his texts (1918). In his grammar (p. 48) Mason defines -a? as 'passive, reflexive'. However, other recordings by Harrington and Jacobsen suggest that this analysis is incorrect, e.g.

kára? ké?-yem-a? 'they did not see me' and čé-xen-a? 'I am angry' from Harrington and k-ä·1-ten-a? 'they are fighting' and m-onop-ä? 'move!' from Jacobsen.

There is nothing passive or reflexive about these examples, though the function and meaning of -a? remains obscure.

14 ša·xäta? This is the imperative form of the verb stem 'to open one's mouth'. Cf. šaxata? 'his mouth is open'. There is an interesting demonstration of otherwise unattested derivational suffixes with this stem:

šax 'to eat'
šax-anlop 'to yawn'
šax-ata? 'to open one's mouth'.

15 k-äxay
k- is the stative verb prefix.
-axay is a verb 'to be afraid'. This stem may take either k- or p- prefixes:
k-axay 'I am afraid'
p-axay-o? 'he feared it' (transitive). See Section 4.5 for verbs with the k- and p- prefixes.

16 râc-?ames
râc- seems to be the sentence connective from ram- plus c. This should be a morpheme boundary of m, k and glottal stop.
?-ames is the verb stem 'to cry'.

17 lâkêl-če-pa-kâsâ-t-yaât, this form is opaque:
âlêkê(t·)l- is the verb stem 'to roll'
-če- an iterative plural?
-pa- unknown
-kâsâ- adverb 'more'
-t- possibly a nominalizing prefix with verbs
-ya the verb stem 'to come/go'.

18 ksâ-še?
ksâ- adverb 'more', see Section 7.3.
-še? see note 4.

19 yo?-lo-p-t-ya-t-ay-o
yo?- is an indefinite pronoun, see Section 3.4.
-lo- glossed here by Mason as 'already' in the same sense as that discussed in Section 4.63, Aspect. However, this is the only occurrence
of this morpheme in this position, before the
verb stem, so this analysis is in doubt.

-\textipa{p}- is the active verb prefix, see Section 4.3.
-\textipa{t\textdagger}- is the nominalizing prefix
-\textipa{ya}- is the verb stem 'to come/go'
-\textipa{t\textasciitilde}- is unknown
-\textipa{ay\textdagger}- is also unknown, but see Section 2.242.
-\textipa{\textordmasculine\texttextasciitilde}- 3sg.
9.2 Free translation

The three going along passed by the house of Skunk. Then the Coyote said, "This old man (Skunk) appears to be a dancer. Come on inside, come on." Then (Skunk) said, "Sit down, my beauties." The (Coyote) said, "Dance so that these handsome men may see you." The (Skunk) said, "All right, but I am an old man. I will try to dance if I can. It is very hot, but I will light the fire and then try to dance." Then he raised his tail to dance, whirling it closer and closer to the men's faces. Then Skunk said, "Come closer. Come closer and closer." Then (Raven) hit (Skunk) with a hot stone and it entered (Skunk's) anus. He ran around. Then it was said, "The Coyote is a bad man. He has killed a lot of people."

When the children (of Skunk, Little Birds) arrived, (Hawk) said, "Children, why are your legs so thin? They wouldn't fill my hand." Then he tried to feel their feet and they did not fill his hand. Then he said, "No, they don't." He squeezed them tight and threw them into the sweathouse. They flew around into the fire.

Then the Coyote said, "Come here, too. Why not go too? Hurry up and go in." They did not obey. He grabbed them and threw them in the fire, and they were burned by Coyote Bad Man. He wanted to kill a lot of people. That is why Coyote said, "Enter." He didn't
say any more. He was a bad man who wanted to kill people.

Leaving, they heard flute music. They heard the music of Raven's flute. And people cried over and over again, "What is this? It is not human music. Where is the music coming from that we hear?" Then (Raven) disappeared and was not seen again. They wondered where he had gone. They looked for him, but they didn't find where he was.

Then (Hawk) remembered to gather up the bears. He went to find them and gather them up. He made them pass by him. "Open your mouth" he said, pointing. As they went by him one by one he pointed with his arrow and said, "Open your mouth." As they passed he said to Mouse, "Bring another," and he shouted at them to come. Mouse cried, "I am afraid, it's too heavy." Bear climbed up easily. Mouse said, "Careful! This one is strong." Hawk pointed with his arrow again and said, "Open your mouth." The Mouse said, "My tooth hurts. I can not open my mouth."

Hawk pointed again and said, "Then open your mouth only a little bit." Mouse obeyed and opened his mouth only a little bit and said, "Go ahead."

The Hawk used his talons and the Bear went rolling down. Hawk told the Mouse, "Carry him here. You know you can do it." Mouse went and tried to carry the Bear, but he couldn't. He was too tired.
Everyone watches Mouse now and sees that his face is stretched (from dragging Bear). Mouse is ashamed of his face and is afraid of going out in public. He hides his shame in the grass and is not seen by people. He hides from the world.
The three friends Prairie-Falcon, Raven and Coyote passed by the house of Skunk. Then Coyote said, "Let's go in and see this old man, the dancer. Come on in!" He wanted Skunk to kill them. They went inside and Skunk said, "Sit down, my good fellows!" Then said Coyote, "Please dance, so that these gentlemen may see it." Skunk said, "All right; I am getting pretty old, but I'll try to dance. But it's very hot; I'll light the fire and then try to dance!" Then he straightened his tail out, lifted it and began to dance. He whirled around, continually bringing his anus closer to the faces of the friends. "Come closer!" he cried. "Come closer!" For he wished to shoot his poison at them. Then Raven threw a hot stone at him so that it entered his anus. He ran around in pain. Then he cried out, "Yes, this Coyote is a bad man; many has he killed."

Then came the children of Skunk who were little birds. Prairie-Falcon said, "Children, why are your legs so thin? They wouldn't fill my hand!" He seized their legs to feel them and they did not fill his hand. "No," he said, "There is no more." He seized them and threw them into the swathouse. Blindly they flew around into the fire.
Then said Prairie-Falcon to Coyote, "Come here also!" "Why should I come?" asked Coyote, frightened. "Come on! Hurry up!" But the Coyote did not obey. And Prairie-Falcon seized him and threw him into the fire when he was burnt. A bad man was Coyote; he wished the others to be killed and so said "Enter!" at the house of Skunk. But he said no more; he was a bad man for wanting the others to be killed.

Away they went, Raven playing his magic flute. All the people heard the music of Raven's flute and said, "What is that noise? Surely it is not human music! From where comes this music?" More clearly sounded the music but suddenly it ceased and was not heard anywhere. The people wandered about but could not find him; Raven had been lost. "Why do you think he has lost himself?" they asked. They hunted for him but could not find him; they hunted him everywhere.

Then Prairie-Falcon bethought himself of the bears and decided to collect them; he sought them out and gathered them together, for he suspected that one of them had eaten Raven. He made them pass by him one by one. "Open your mouth!" he ordered and pointed with his arrow at them. Then he inspected their mouths. One by one they went and another came. "Open your mouth!" and he pointed again. "Bring another one!" Finally there remained only one; Prairie-Falcon told Mouse to call him to come. But Mouse said, "I am afraid! He is
too strong!" At last Bear came, climbing up and shouting loudly. Then said the Mouse, "Be careful! This one is very strong!" Prairie-Falcon ordered him "Open your mouth!" and pointed his arrow. "My tooth hurts," said Bear. "I can't open my mouth!" Then he pointed his arrow again. "Open it just a little ways!" Bear obeyed and opened his mouth a very little bit. "Go ahead!" he said. Then Prairie-Falcon stuck in his talons and Bear went rolling down, dead. Then said Prairie-Falcon to Mouse, "Carry him away! There he is; you know your strength!" Mouse endeavored to carry Bear away whole, but he could not; he became tired. Therefore his nose is stretched out and he goes through the word watching who notices it. He is ashamed of his face. When he sees it he is afraid to go where there are many people. Therefore he keeps in the grass and hides for shame. And he is never seen; he went away.
9.22 **Background.** In Mason (1912) "Ethnology of the Salinan Indians" (p.193-4) he gives an account of the mythology of the Salinans, which was collected by Henry Henshaw in 1884. The following is Henshaw's version of this story.

"'Here's another one, and he has a very powerful weapon, said the Hawk. They went and found Skunk in his hole, but when he heard the noise he came out and turned his tail to them. 'Now is the time,' whispered the Hawk. 'Now be ready,' said the Raven. 'I'm going to try first,' and he threw a stone at the Skunk. The latter turned his tail and fired. Hawk and Raven got their flute and guitar while a crowd of people came up behind. Suddenly the Skunk made a great smoke. 'Look out! Get away before the smoke reaches you!' At last they managed to kill the Skunk and went in search of new victims."
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