Northern Pomo Verbal Suffixes

Michelle Caisse
Department of Linguistics
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720

1. Introduction

Northern Pomo verbs characteristically have the structure: prefix, followed by root, optionally followed by one or more suffixes. The prefixes are usually referred to as "instrumental prefixes", and indicate features of the instrument, of the patient, or of the action itself. They have a CV syllable structure, whereas the root is a single syllable which may have a long vowel or a final consonant. Most, but not all, stems contain a prefix, and thus contain two syllables. This paper will describe the morphemes which may be suffixed to the verb stem of an isolated clause. There is another class of verbal suffixes, those which mark switch reference and relative time in a clause chain; these will be described by O'Connor (1981).

2. Tense and Aspect

Normally, when one of the evidential suffixes is used, the action is taken to have occurred in the past. Of the evidentials, as one would expect, the visual evidential /-ye/, becoming /-y/ after a vowel, is the most frequently used, and it is usually simply glossed as past tense by the speaker. There may be circumstances in which its use does not imply that the speaker saw the action, although usually one of the other evidentials would then be used instead.

\[ \text{Kawi-nam mená-y} \]
child-det. cry-vis.ev.
The child cried.

\[ \text{waye } \text{man bu-nam } \text{čaxa-m-y} \]
earlier she potato-det. cut-pl.act2-past
She was cutting potatoes.

The copula /na/ is used to denote past tense when the speaker has inferred that the action has occurred, not having seen it, heard it, or heard of it. Oswalt (1970) reconstructs a Proto-Pomo inferential *-qa or *-ka, but Northern Pomo lacks a cognate to this suffix. The
Northern Pomo inferential past formally resembles a perfect in that it is constructed from verb plus present tense of the copula (Comrie, 1976); further, the speaker glosses it with an English perfect. A perfect semantic does seem appropriate, in that the action will have present relevance at the time that the speaker has become aware of it, since the action is inferred from current evidence. Comrie has pointed out that a close formal relation exists between the expression of perfect and inferential in Bulgarian, Georgian, and Estonian; he also points out the semantic similarity between the two categories. That Northern Pomo exhibits the same correspondence adds strong support to the case that universal processes are involved.

xalé-nam ša:m-na
tree-det. fall-dir.-infer.ev.
The tree has fallen.

Another morpheme used to denote past tense situations is the form /-me/, the marker of distant past. It can also have simply an emphatic meaning.

še:tin mo: bo: kohú-me
long ago he here come-dist.past
He came here long ago.

mo: bo: kohú-me
he here come-dist.past
He did come here! or
He came here long ago.

The habitual suffix /-če/ combines past tense with repetitive aspect.

?a al siká-namu ?a: semámiti-če
dem. baby basket-in I sleep-hab.
I used to sleep in a baby basket.

The near-future suffix is /-čade/, which becomes /-ade/ after consonants. Since the full form /-čade/ is not reconstructable for Proto-Pomo (Oswalt, 1970), I hypothesize that it derives from the semelfactive suffix /-če/ plus /-(a)de/ a form which may be related either to the N.Pomo directional suffix, or to an earlier near future *...d... reconstructed by Oswalt. I feel that this interpretation is quite plausible on the basis of the inchoative meaning of the semelfactive suffix, which I discuss later.

?a. hay-nam čac'á:-čade
I stick-det. break-near fut.
I'm going to break that stick.

p'h ow hay-nam čac'á-m-ade
they stick-det. break-pl.act2-near fut.
They're going to break that stick.
The future suffix is /-kʰéma/ or /kʰéna/. The factors conditioning the choice between these two, if any, are not known; however, the first is much more common. The form used in questions or subordinate clauses is /-kʰe/, which suggests that the /-na/ ending derives from the copula and that the /-m/ is also segmentable.

čibá ta bu-nam čaxá-m-kʰe
who Q potato-det cut-pl.act2-fut.
Who will cut the potatoes?

Mary bu-nam čaxá-kʰemna
potato-det. cut-fut.
Mary will cut the potato.

?ul man duhú-kʰe to: t’a
soon she leave-fut. me think
I think she’ll leave soon.

The semelfactive suffix /-če/ becomes glottal stop before a consonant, unless a three-consonant cluster would result. Semantically, it functions in three superficially distinct ways. Its name derives from its behavior with a class of verbs which in their unmarked form convey repetitive action; this class includes verbs such as hit, kick, slap, tap, and so on. For example /pʰ’abán/, 'to hit repeatedly', /pʰ’abačen/, 'to hit once'. These verbs however, comprise a relatively small class. More commonly, /-če/ will be suffixed to a verb which is inherently durative, or which requires being marked for aspect, to yield a completive form. For example /maʔá/ 'eat', /maʔáče/ 'eat all up'. Finally, if a stative verb is suffixed with the semelfactive marker, the resultant form is inchoative. For example /deʔʰále/, 'be hurt', /deʔʰáče/ 'get hurt'. These three functions are all compatible with the semantic aspectual category "perfective". Both semelfactive and completive functions follow from the definition of perfectivity as describing an action which is complete and viewed as a whole. Comrie (1976) has shown it to be true of many languages that perfective forms of stative verbs can have inchoative meaning.

There are two suffixes, /-m/ (word finally /-ma/) and /-ta/ which indicate that an act has been repeated more than once. Their use seems to be largely lexically governed, though there may be some semantic distinction between them. An act repeated by one agent on more than one object is marked by /-m/ and an act performed by more than one agent on one or more patients is marked by /-ta/. An intransitive act repeated by one agent may be marked by either; and they both may occur simultaneously on some stems. Some stems seem to permit neither; plurality of act is not obligatorily marked.

man na:ma k’ilúk’ilú-m-ye
she always cough -pl.act2-past
She is always coughing.

šap a mina mo: maká-ta-ma
leaf on he step-pl.act1-pl.act2
He stepped on the leaves.
3. Mood and Mode

The negative suffix in /-nha/, or /-anha/ after a consonant.

mo: k’o hay-nam čac’á-nha
he neg. stick-det. break-neg.
He can't break the stick

The imperative is -m, or -am after a consonant.

?a1 p̱ik’á-nam p̱idé-v-ka-m
dem. basket-det. hang(intrans.)-dir.-caus.imper.
Hang up this basket!

The morpheme of capability, /-male/, means that the actor is capable of performing the act.

?a: k’o ča-xawé-nha-malé
I neg house-build-neg.-cap.
I can't build a house.

The morpheme of possibility, -ṯilna, indicates that an action might occur or might have occurred.

mo: duhú-k e-ṯilna
he leave-fut.-poss.
He might leave.

The preferable, -k’edína, denotes that the speaker feels that it would be better if the action occurred.

?a: bišé-nam mit’á-ʔ-k’edína
I meat-det. cook-semel.-pref.
I ought to cook the meat.

4. Voice

The voice suffixes are quite uncomplicated in their semantics and morphology. There is a reflexive /-ʔ/, reciprocal or plural reflexive /-muʔ/, imperative /-(a)m/, causative /-ka/, passive /-ya/ (-ʔa after a consonant) and hortative /-ya/. The glottal stop of the reflexive and reciprocal suffixes is followed by an echo of the previous vowel word finally. All occur quite commonly except the passive and hortative, and the latter is rather uncommon. The passive formed by adding /-ya/ involves no change of case marking on the arguments; the agent is simply deleted.

?a: k’ayé dasé-ʔe
I refl.pron. wash-refl.
I washed myself.
ya xol dac'áp-če-muʔú
we recip.pron. slap-semel.-recip.
We slapped each other.

ʔal phik'a-nam phidé-w-ka-m
dem. basket-det. be hanging-up-cause-imper.
Hang up this basket!

bo: ma phidí-hala mitó čadí-ya-kʰɛ́ma
here you, A wait-cond. you, O see-pass.-fut.
If you wait here you'll be seen.

ča-l phili-či-ya
house-loc. go, pl.-semel.-hort.
Let's go to my house.

5. Evidentials

There are five evidentials in Northern Pomo. The visual /-ye/
(which becomes /-i/ after a vowel) and the inferential /-na/ have been
discussed above. The aural /-anhe/ indicates that the action was
heard by the speaker. The reportorial, /-hin/ indicates that news of
the action was reported to the speaker by someone else. When it
occurs, it is followed by another clause consisting of a noun or
pronoun referring to the person who reported the act, and the verb
'to say', /-he/. Or, it may be followed by /-hia/, 'say' + passive,
to mean 'it is said'. Semantically, this is identical to the quotative
/-do/; the latter seems to be more formal, and is frequently used in
stories.

kawí mená-nhe
child cry-aur.ev.
I heard the baby crying

man hay-nam čac'a-hin - mo:he
she stick-det. break-rep.ev.-he-say
He told me that she broke the stick

hayú-nam-ya? bak'ok'-hin-hía
dog-det-A bark-rep.ev. it is said
The dog was barking, it is said

kawía-bá:-nam makó-ya-do-i
child-male-det find-passive-quot.evid.-vis.evid.
The boy was found, it is said.
6. Directionals

There are a number of directionals which may be suffixed to verbs of motion to indicate the direction of motion. Several of them have the effect of lengthening a stem-final vowel of the verb. The directionals are:

\(-\text{w}/\) up, in the sense of leaving a rest position.
\(-\text{(a)ma}/\) across
\(-\text{: (a)ka}/\) along; following an edge or a path determined by some object or feature of the landscape.
\(-\text{mulu(?u)}/\) circling around an object; near or past something along in one direction. The allomorph before a consonant is \(-\text{(a)n}/\).
\(-\text{ka}če\) travelling in an upward direction
\(-\text{: (a)la}/\) down

\text{Lum \ sélka tu bádé-:de}  
Thorn-bush fence on growing-along  
The vine was growing along the fence.

\text{xalé-namil lum-nam \ bádi-kače}  
Tree on than bush-det. grow-upward  
The vine grew up the tree.

\text{Lum-nam \ xábeda bádi-ma}  
Thorn bush-det. creek grow-across  
The vine grew across the creek.

\text{xalé-namil lum-nam \ bádi-mulu}  
Tree on than thorn bush-det grow-around  
The vine grew around the tree.

\text{Da-da mo p'átip pájí-:ka}  
Path-on he stagger-along  
The staggered along the path.

\text{C'ít-nam \ p'údè-:wače}  
Bird-det. fly-rep-semol.  
The bird flew away.

\text{Sáp'a báčé p'ítè:-la}  
Leaf many drift, fly(pl.)-down  
Many leaves were drifting down.

There are some instances of the use of \(-\text{(a)ma}/\) and \(-\text{(a)de}/\) which can't be explained as directionals. These are believed to represent the earlier "essive" and "durative" morphemes that Oswald (1970) reconstructs. He defines essive as "indicating a steady condition or state, [or] action in a delimited area...".
malíma 'be burning' cf. maliče 'burn up'  
tóma 'be standing' cf. toče 'stand up'  
kadóma 'hold in the mouth'  
kadóde 'chew'  
bíšema 'rain'  
bânema 'flow'  
basáma 'give a speech'  
čanówe 'be talking'  
bayéide 'instruct'  
bičóde 'fell'  
dá'ade 'want'  
ta'ade 'feel, believe'
## Northern Pomo Verbal Suffixes

### I. Tense and Aspect
1. future \(-k^\text{he}, -k^\text{hemna}, -k^\text{hena}\)
2. near future \(-(\zeta)\text{ade}^\star\)
3. distant past \(-\text{me}\)
4. habitual \(-t^\text{he}\)
5. semelfactive \(-\zeta e \rightarrow ?/\_C\)
6. plural act 1 \(-\text{ta}\)
7. plural act 2 \(-\text{m} \rightarrow \text{ma}/\_\#\)

### II. Mood and Mode
1. negative \(-(a)n^\text{haha}**\)
2. imperative \(-(a)m\)
3. optative, conditional \(-\text{hala}\)
4. capability \(-\text{male}\)
5. possibility \(-\text{tilna}\)
6. preferability \(-k^\text{hedina}\)

### III. Voice
1. reflexive \(?-\rightarrow ?/V/V/\_\#\)
2. reciprocal, plural reflexive \(-\text{mu?} \rightarrow \mu^\text{nu?u}/\_\#\)
3. causative \(-\text{ka}\)
4. passive \(-\text{ya} \rightarrow ?a/C/\_\)
5. hortative \(-\text{ya}\)

### IV. Evidentials
1. visual \(-\gamma e \rightarrow \gamma/V\)
2. inferential \(-\text{na}\)
3. aural \(-(a)n^\text{hhe}\)
4. reportorial \(-\text{hin}\)
5. quotative \(-\text{do}\)

### V. Directionals
1. up, begin \(-\text{w}\)
2. across \(-\text{ma}\)
3. along (an edge or path) \(-:\text{ka}\)
4. around, near, past \(-\text{mulu}, \text{mulu?u}\)
5. in one direction \(-:(a)\text{de} \rightarrow n/\_C\)
6. upwards \(-\text{kace}\)
7. down \(-:(a)\text{la}\)

* The consonant in parentheses is deleted when it follows a consonant.

**Vowels in parentheses are deleted when they follow a vowel.
7. **Vowel Length Reduction**

Some verb stems have a final long vowel. This vowel becomes short before most suffixes; it remains long before those that begin with /ɛ, h, n/. Note that length is lost before the glottal stop allomorph of the semelfactive suffix /-ə/. Vowel length is also reduced before any consonant cluster.

8. **Morphemic Syntax**

Usually a Northern Pomo verb will be suffixed with one or only a few suffixes. When more than one suffix occurs, they will be found in the following order:

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reflexive
direction - aspect - causative - reciprocal - negative - mode - passive

hortative
- imperative

tense

evidential
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Not all combinations of morphemes implied by this formulation are attested, and many are probably not possible. Since the morphemes /-na/ and /-ye/ act both as evidentials and tense markers, their behavior is somewhat anomalous. In general one can't get both a tense and are evidential morpheme on one stem; however, the combination /-na-i/ does occur, and is usually glossed with an English past perfect. As was discussed above, the two plural aspectuals /-ta/ and /-m/ may occur together in that order.

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?ave: mo: k' o de' a?' ka'-a-nha-hala
hope he neg. hurt-sem.-caus.-refl.-neg.-opt.
I hope he doesn't hurt himself
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Financial support for fieldwork on Northern Pomo was provided by the Survey of California Indian Languages. I would like to express my deep appreciation to Mrs. Edna Guerrero for serving as language consultant for this research. I would like to thank Cathy O'Connor for her advice, enthusiasm, and energy.
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Addendum


Occasional Papers On Linguistics

Proceedings of the 1980 Hokan Languages Workshop, Held at the University of California, Berkeley, June 30-July 2, 1980.

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON LINGUISTICS

Number 9

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
1980 HOKAN LANGUAGES WORKSHOP

James E. Redden, Editor

Held at
University of California, Berkeley

June 30-July 2, 1980

Copies of the 1980 HOKAN Languages Workshop are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes for the 1979 and 1978 workshops, which appeared in the Journal of HOKAN Languages, are also out of print, but copies can be obtained at microfiche or bound volumes from HOKAN (Hokan Linguists) and Linguistics, U.S.I.S. P.O. Box 0000, Washington D.C. 20036.

The 1981 HOKAN Languages Workshop will be jointly with the Prehistoric Indian Conference at San Diego State University, San Diego, California, from June 1-5, 1981. The proceedings of the 1981 workshop will appear as occasional papers on linguistics in early 1982. For the first time, the papers of the Prehistoric Language Conference will be published in the same volume as the HOKAN papers. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

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PRE FACE

Unfortunately, everyone who presented a paper at the 1980 Hokin Languages Workshop was not able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. All papers in this volume except two were presented in an earlier version at the 1980 workshop. The papers are arranged in the order they appeared on the program.

The paper by Birgitte Bendixen was presented at the 1979 Hokin Languages Workshop. The camera-ready manuscript for her article arrived at the editor's office more than three months before the publication deadline. The editor is so used to having to call up contributors and begging them to get their manuscripts in that he totally forgot Dr. Bendixen's paper was in his files and left it out of the 1979 volume. The editor humbly apologizes for this oversight. The second paper by Pamela Munro was discussed in part at the 1980 workshop, and the editor asked her to include it in this volume.

The participants of the 1980 Hokin Languages Workshop gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Leanne Hinton and several of her students, which made the workshop run so smoothly and enjoyably. We also wish to thank the College of Letters and Sciences at the University of California, Berkeley, for a grant to help defray the costs of holding the workshop.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, and 1979 workshop proceedings are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes for the 1975 and 1976 workshops, which appeared in the SIU-C series, University Museum Studies, are now out of print, but copies may be obtained in microfiche or hardbound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3250 Prospect St., N.W., Washington, DC 20007.

The 1981 Hokin Languages Workshop will meet jointly with the Penutian Language Conference at Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California, June 29 to July 2, 1981. The proceedings of the 1981 workshop will appear in Occasional Papers On Linguistics in early 1982. For the first time, the papers of the Penutian Language Conference will be published in the same volume as the Hokin papers. Copies may be ordered from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, June 1981
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