Asymmetry in the Switch-Reference System of Northern Pomo

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1. Introduction

In my first attempts to describe the switch-reference system of Northern Pomo (hereafter Pn), I approached the task with the assumption that the morphemes which signalled retention or change of subject would form a symmetrical set, i.e. would 'pair up'. Even though the Pomo languages' switch-reference morphemes are portmanteau morphs I expected to find that the interclausal temporal and logical relationships they signalled would be the same in the case of subject retention or subject switch (CoR and DR, respectively), and that only the identity of the subjects of the clauses would change. This assumption was based on previous work in the description of switch-reference, beginning with Jacobsen (1967). Enough descriptive work has now accumulated that attempts are being made to typologically classify switch-reference systems along a number of parameters. An examination of these proposed typological features (Jacobsen, 1981) convinced me that a reanalysis of the Pn data was appropriate. In reevaluating the assumption that the Pn system was symmetrical, data emerged that led to a more comprehensive picture of the system as a whole.

The main focus of this working paper will be the status of Pn with respect to the feature of symmetry. I will first go through some of the typological features outlined by Jacobsen 1981, and indicate where Pn stands in relation to them. I will then discuss how some of the semantic and rhetorical uses of these suffixes contribute to the structure of the switch-reference system as a whole.

2. Switch-reference typology and Pn.

2.1. Number of switch-reference systems in language.

Northern Pomo has one major system, which consists of the following six verbal suffixes:

//-hi//; //da//; //-Vn//; //-kan//; //-nte//; and //-te//.

Each of these signals both information about the change or retention of subject, and information about the temporal and/or logical relationship between the clauses.1

2.2. Number of markers used to signal switch/retention.

Each clause which can be marked with a switch-reference morpheme will be marked, whether for CoR or DR. That is, there is no zero marking. This is not to say, however, that one can easily identify pairs of morphemes, one CoR and one DR.

1
2.3. Analyzability of morphemes.

As stated above, Pn, and in fact all of the Pomo languages' SR systems described thus far, evidence portmanteau morphemes; these morphs simultaneously carry information about the temporal and/or logical relationships between the suffixed clause and the clause following it. The basic meanings associated with each morpheme are given in Table 1 below.

2.4. Number of other categories associated with SR morphemes.

This typological category could be interpreted to imply that the SR functions are primary, and associated categories of semantic or pragmatic meaning are secondary. The patterning of the switch-reference morphemes within the Pomo language family suggests that the reverse may be true. The list below shows the non-referent-tracking meanings associated with each of the six morphemes listed above. These meanings were originally derived from elicitation of isolated sentences. Following is one example of each.

(1) /-hI/ - Action in main clause is contiguous with or follows closely upon action in the dependent clause. There is also typically an implication that the action in the suffixed clause is a prerequisite for the action in the dependent clause. This morpheme is only used when the subjects of the two clauses in question refer to the same entity.

(2) /-da/ - Action in suffixed clause is simultaneous, coextensive, or overlapping with action in the following clause. This morpheme is typically used when the subjects of the two clauses in question are different entities; however, it does occur in CoR contexts under certain conditions.

(3) /-Vn/ - Action in suffixed clause precedes action in following clause, or is proceeding coextensively. This suffix is only used when subjects are coreferent.

(4) /-kan/ - Action in suffixed clause precedes action in following clause, and following clause is seen as resulting from suffixed clause. This morpheme is typically used when subjects are non-coreferential, but it can be used in CoR contexts also.

(5) /-nte/ - Action in suffixed clause bears an adversative relationship to following clause's action: "X, although Y". It is a CoR suffix only.
(6) /-te/ -Action in suffixed clause bears an adversative relationship to following clause's action: "X, although Y". It is a DR suffix only.

a. man Ya+nam ma?a+hi 0 sima mi?i+ye
   3f-AG fish+spec. eat+COR 3f sleep+lie+past
   'She ate the fish and went to sleep.'

b. 0 d?al+in man mowai lomo+?o
   3f be sick+COR 3f-AG 3m-PT talk+recip.
   'She got sick so she talked to him.'

c. 0 bi?u ?axa+nte mowal balai banema
   3m 'a bit' cut+COR 3m-PT bleed
   'He cut himself slightly but he bled profusely.'

d. man Ya+nam ma?a+da mo: sima mi?i+ye
   3f-AG fish+spe. eat+DR 3m-AG sleep+lie+past
   'She ate the fish while he went to sleep.'

e. ma:dal d?al+kan mo: ma:dal lomo+?o
   3f-PT get sick+DR 3m-AG 3f-PT talk+recip.
   'She got sick so he talked to her.'

f. bi?u mo: ma:dal ?axa+te ma:dal balai banema
   small 3m-AG 3f-PT cut+DR 3f-PT bleed
   'He cut her only a little bit but she bled profusely.'

2.5. Clause types for which SR is marked.
The meanings associated with the suffixes above are basically adverbial, and the clauses in which they occur are judged to be dependent, adverbial types. Relative clauses are not marked for switch reference, and with the possible exception of the causative morpheme in subordinate clauses (see footnote 1), there is no marking of SR on subordinate clauses, nor on complement clauses. However, SR morphemes are used within a complex subordinate clause. Clauses marked with the SR suffixes are not tensed, and do not usually carry evidential suffixes. Simply stated, the switch-reference suffixes refer to the adjacent, immediately following clause. However, the operation of the switch-reference system with respect to different levels of constituent structure remains to be worked out. It presents many interesting problems.
2.6. Symmetry.

Close examination of the definitions and examples in 2.4 above reveals that the SR morphemes do not form a symmetrical set. In fact, they are nonsymmetrical along two dimensions: (A) the odd-numbered suffixes may only be used in case the subject of the two adjacent clauses refers to the same entity; the even-numbered suffixes are typically used for non-retention of subject, but may occur in CoR contexts under certain conditions. (B) It is not easy to see what morphemes would pair up, such that the same semantic relationship between clauses would be expressed, with only the subject reference differing. Suffixes #5 and 6 are clearly parallel, and will not be discussed below; they are assumed to be symmetrical.

2.6.1. Possible pairings of suffixes 1-4.

One possible pairing for suffixes 1-4 would be the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CoR</th>
<th>DR (sometimes CoR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-hi/</td>
<td>Action in suffixed clause /-da/ Action in suffixed clause precedes/contiguous with simultaneous, coextensive following clause, which is with following clause. usually result.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-Vn/</td>
<td>Action in suffixed clause /-kan/ Action in suffixed clause precedes/coextensive with action in following clause. precedes action in next clause, which is result.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several arguments for this grouping. One is based on the forms of the suffixes. It is perhaps misleadingly satisfying to group #3 and #4 into a pair, since they seem so clearly related in form. /-Vn/ is reconstructable for Proto-Pomo (McLendon, 1973), and possibly has the function of signalling adverbial status. In Pn, its meaning can be 'motivating', as in example 2.4 b, but only if the context warrants it; in other words, it seems to be a secondary inference, one that is made based on the propositional content of the two clauses, and derived from its primary meaning, which involves order in time. The suffix can be used to signal events that are not causally related, but merely following close upon each other in time. The suffix /-kan/ has the same temporal relationship implicit in its use, but it virtually always carries an unavoidable reading of result. If you assume the /-ka/ to be the causative morpheme, this is not surprising. A possible analysis would then be /-ka/ + /-Vn/, the adverbial marker.

The pairing of suffixes 1 and 2 is less satisfying. They share the common element of temporal contiguity, but particularly in isolated sentences /-hi/ usually gives a reading of result, whereas /-da/ virtually never does. However, there are exceptions, such as 2.4 a, where the intended reading is not that the meal of fish was soporific.
Perhaps the principal reason that I originally posited this pairing, was that when I elicited clause sequences such as 2.4 e, with two subjects, and then elicited the 'same' sequence, but with the subject unchanged, as in 2.4 b, my consultant usually rendered the second version using /-Vn/. When asked whether one could use /-hi/, however, the answer was usually in the affirmative.

The next possibility that springs to mind is to group the suffixes 1-4 in the alternative configuration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CoR</th>
<th>DR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>-hi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>-Vn/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This grouping has the advantage of reflecting the similarity of temporal relationship expressed in suffixes /-Vn/ and /-da/ but doesn't explain the fact that /-Vn/ has the capacity to give a resultative reading, whereas /-da/ does not. Suffixes 1 and 4 seem fairly well matched semantically, but their morphological forms share nothing.

2.6.2. Evidence from some other Pomo languages.

The picture does not get clearer if we look at the other Pomo languages to see where these morphemes may have come from, and what configurations they were in originally. Pe has a DR suffix meaning 'simultaneously' /-iday/ which might be cognate with /-da/, but it has no 'partner' or corresponding CoR suffix. Both Pk and Pe have a CoR suffix /-ph1/, which is likely to be cognate with Pn /-hi/. In both Pe and Pk this suffix contains a semantic component which involves the suffixed clause preceding and constituting a prerequisite for the action in the following clause. In addition, both languages have a corresponding DR suffix /-ph1a/ which does not occur in Pn.

Pe has a DR suffix /-qan/ which is definitely cognate with Pn /-kan/, but it has a corresponding CoR partner /-iy/. Recall that Pe also has the CoR suffix /-in/ which McLendon concludes is cognate with Pn and Pk /-Vn/, but which she now analyzes as having no DR correspondent (Jacobsen, 1981). Thus, the related languages do not give any substantial clues as to whether the Pn system should be analyzed as symmetrical or not. Jacobsen 1981 lists Pe as being non-symmetrical, and Pk as being symmetrical.

At this point it is probably obvious to the reader that an attempt to find symmetry in the Pn set of SR morphemes is likely to fail. What does it mean to say that a switch-reference system is not symmetrical? One possibility is that one member of each pair is morphologically zero. Jacobsen 1981 indicates that this is usually the CoR member of the opposition. This is not the kind of asymmetry we are concerned with here. Instead, it seems as though the weight of the other semantic components of these morphemes is forcing them out of 'alignment', so to speak, or perhaps never
allowed them to become symmetrically aligned. Jacobsen points out that the set of systems which are symmetrical, e.g. Washo, Yuman–Cochimi, Muskogean, and others, includes most of the systems which have isolable switch-reference morphemes. It seems logical that a set of switch-reference suffixes which has a large number of other semantic categories associated with it, and which is characterized by its portmanteau morphemes, has a greater likelihood of asymmetry, for several reasons. One is that such a system may have evolved differently than one which evidences great symmetry, and which has morphemes that are specialized for the referent-tracking function that we think of as prototypical SR. Another is simply that portmanteau morphs will have competing functions determining their distribution.

Considering the confusing overlaps and similarities in the meanings of these morphemes, it is useful to look closely at their use in extended discourse, in order to better understand just what functions each is serving, and how we can differentiate between them. Narrative texts are a good place to start, since they provide a discourse context in which both the referential and inter-clausal semantic signalling must be accomplished. It is also in narratives that we can begin to see a third level of functioning, that of rhetorical structure: the speaker's choices of how to represent the events being described. The information as to the identity of the subjects, and the temporal and logical relationships between clauses is determined primarily by the facts being represented by the speaker. The importance of these facts to the narrative and their configuration within the narrative is determined primarily by the speaker's desire to structure the experience for the listener. If we look at the rhetorical uses they are put to, we may get a better understanding of the relation these suffixes bear to each other within the referential and semantic economy of the language.

3. Rhetorical structure and SR suffixes.

Perhaps the best way to begin this examination is to recall the fact that the suffixes /-Vn/ and /-n1/ appeared to have very similar functions when elicited in isolated sentences. Both contain an element which places the suffixed clause prior to or temporally contiguous with the following clause, and both can be read as setting up a cause-result situation. Both are used only in CoR situations. How can we distinguish between their use?

3.1. The suffixes /-Vn/ and /-n1/.

The suffix /-Vn/ is always used when the speaker is describing a series of actions accomplished by one speaker. These actions can usually be described as equally important, or as equally contributing to the scene being described. They usually bear no causal relationship to each other. The following are some good examples:
1. Coyote is trying to trick some attractive young women who are swimming in the river; he has changed himself into a baby, and is floating towards them.

mina+<n kawiy+a+matå+ +dåyoyae?+ +nam+ phoa? +tuxa? crying+Cor child+fem+ng.woman+spec.+3 pl-Obl direct.

pade:di+<n xa+mò pade:di+<n cika+da mi+<i+<n float+cor water+loc float+cor baby basket+loc lie+cor

kawi dode?i+<n nan mul xamo pade:di+<n baby make+refl+cor conj-cor demons. water+loc float+cor

kawiy+a+matå+<n nam phoa? tuxa? pade:di+<n mina+<n child+fem+spec. 3=pl-Obl dir. float+cor cry+cor

"(Coyote)...crying, towards the young women floating, floating in the water, lying in the baby basket, having made himself into a baby, so floating in the water, towards the young women floating, crying..."

Often, the narrative calls for a description of a character executing a series of actions, all of which may not be equally crucial to the theme, or to the continuing action. Nevertheless, one gets the sense, when this suffix is used, that all of these actions are being assigned the same informational status. That is, they are being treated as if they were all equally foregrounded or foregrounded. Another example from a story about a little girl who loses her basket when sent out to fetch water and wood shows this pattern:

2. nañI xamo xa wade+<n piñu+tade+<n conj.cor dir. water walk+cor whistle+cor

"so then, (she) walked towards the water, whistling,

kebede+<n nan hai kai piñe|edI+<n sing+cor conj. wood quant. search+cor singing, and looking for some wood..."

Note that in this passage, some of the actions are going on simultaneously, and some may precede others: the girl may be whistling before she begins to sing; she may be walking as she does both; she may stop walking to look for wood. The point is that rhetorically speaking, these temporal relations do not matter. In
the Coyote story above, the actions were similarly equivalent; they all served to build tension as Coyote floated down the river towards the unsuspecting young women. These uses can be contrasted with the use of the CoR suffix /-hI/. It can be characterized as a device which highlights the precondition-consequent relationship that exists between two clauses. It is infrequently used on more than one clause in a row, unlike the /-Vn/ suffix. Sometimes it conveys a cause-result relationship between two events:

3...nan mul yapo yapo+?i+?hI tinda mul onj.'and' dem. shake +sml+retrfl.+CoR (discourse formula) "and (coyote) shook himself so that

mo: diley ?emala t'aw+ka donwai 3sm-AG all fleas fall+caus. evid.
he got all of the fleas to fall off, it's said."

More frequently however, it codes a situation where the action in the suffixed clause precedes the action in the following clause, and somehow fulfills a precondition for it. This is often not a necessary precondition. Also, both actions can overlap in time. In the following example, the suffixed verb is a verb of internal state, and does not necessarily terminate before the subsequent action:

3. nan mul mitomhái ya:ta+n ya:ta+n 'and' dem. 'Willie's Valley vomit+CoR vomit+CoR
"...and then down in W's valley (Coyote) vomited and

vomited, and vomited; feeling better, he walked this way."

(Note the use of the /-Vn/ suffix on the repetitions of 'vomit'.) The suffix /-hI/ is used several times in story of the little girl and her basket. In each case, the action of the suffixed verb sets up one of the girl's actions as facilitating background for the following statement. The suffixed verb is virtually never new or unexpected information;
4. (After being told that it was cold out and her mother 
had sent her for some water and some wood—)

nakan kawiyamata+nam+nam k'abu+nam nele+?+hi
conj.DR child girl+spec.+3sf-AG cloak+spec. cover+refl+Cor
"So then the girl threw on a cloak of skins,

xamo duhu+n
water+direct. go+cor
and went towards the water".

Another example shows a similar situation:

5. phik'a+nam makohi ye: ?ul xal duhu+n
basket+spec. find+Cor now then water+dir. go+Cor
"Having found the basket, (she) went towards the stream."

In conclusion, one way that the two Cor suffixes differ is in 
the configuration of events they present to the listener, almost 
regardless of the fine points of the events' temporal relation-
ships. One creates an equivalence between what is often a long 
series of actions, while the other specifies that one event stands 
as an immediate background to another, perhaps more important, or 
foregrounded event.

These remarks are quite informal, and maybe annoyingly vague. 
As my only defense, may I say that the discourse functions these 
suffixes serve are themselves difficult to pin down. It's not 
clear that the best approach in these cases is trying to find a 
'sence' meaning or function for these particles. Rather, they seem 
to serve a variety of related but not identical functions.

3.2. The suffixes /-da/ and /-kan/.

In one sense, the DR suffixes do not provide the puzzle that 
the Cor suffixes do in texts. The following example of the suffix 
/-da/ is a fairly representative example:

6. nan man k'am+da mathe kebed+in ho bam man bowye
'and' 3sf-AG awake+DR mother sing+Cor fire build 3sf hear+pst
"And as she awoke she heard her mother singing and building a fire."

Its meaning is consistently one of relating two events, one of 
which seems to form the background for the other. In any case, 
the events are either simultaneous, or overlapping.

The story with /-kan/ is much the same. Like /-da/, it is used 
to connect two clauses, not chains of actions. It connects two 
events, one of which is prior temporally, and which forms the 
motivation for the event reported in the following clause.

The perplexing thing about these two suffixes is that (as 
evidenced in the example 6 above) they are not consistently used 
in DR contexts. Under a variety of circumstances, which are
beyond the scope of this working paper to describe, they can be used when the subject is the same in both clauses. This is evident both in texts, and in elicited sentences. Although highly speculative, one possible interpretation is that the switch-reference functions were imposed upon morphemes that were sentence connectives previously, and whose temporal and logical semantic component still determines much of the observed distribution.2

I can only speculate on the possible reasons that these morphemes might have come to take on the DR function. If we consider the semantics of the two suffixes in question, some correlations between the meanings of the particles and the number of subjects (one or two) suggest themselves. First, in real world experience, if we consider the use of the causative, we would probably find that the majority of the situations it was applied to referred to one participant acting on another. The marked case would be where the causative was applied to oneself, and this markedness would be evidenced by the presence in many languages of the reflexive. In the suffix /-kan/, it is fairly clear that the causative morpheme is present. Perhaps this statistical fact about its use pushed it into its status as a part-time DR suffix.

This sort of rank speculation might also be applied to the suffix /-da/. This suffix is probably cognate with a locative postposition in Pn, and its status as coding temporal simultaneity is clear. (For example, it is much clearer than the status of /-hi/, which must be examined in texts before its function begins to emerge unambiguously.) The suffix /-da/ evidences the most departures from its putative role as a DR suffix. It occurs in many contexts when the subject of the two clauses is the same. The following example is representative of many cases.

∅ biñe +nam maʔa+ da maːdal dinama
3sf meat + spec eat+DR 3sf-PT choke
"She choked while eating the meat."

This might be seen as indicating the primacy of its temporal coding function as opposed to its referent-tracking function. Given these facts, why did it become a DR suffix at all? It is impossible to tell, but perhaps a similar real-world tendency affected the semantic and grammatical ecology of the language when this system was being formed. That is, there is a limit on the number and type of activities that any one individual can do at any one time. However, two individuals can perform many different types of actions simultaneously. If the original meaning of this morpheme is really simultaneous action, it might have been preferred for this slot.

4. Conclusion.
I have tried to demonstrate that Jacobsen and McLendon are indeed correct in their caution regarding the assignment of the feature 'symmetrical' to SR systems, particularly when one is
dealing with a SR system that is composed of portmanteau morphemes. The semantics of the non-referent-tracking components of the morphemes will affect their distribution, both in CoR versus DR contexts, and within texts.

Work is in progress towards reconciling the variability of the so-called DR suffixes, in light of these semantic and rhetorical predispositions.

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Notes.
1. Oswalt has argued (1977) that the causative morpheme, /haka/, is used as a signal of switch-subject when suffixed to the subordinate verb in certain complex constructions. In Pn, this occurs only when the main verb of the matrix sentence is 'want' or 'desire', and when the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the matrix clause subject. I will not address the question of whether or not this constitutes a separate system, or even whether it is a switch-reference function, in this paper.

2. There is another possibility, which I have entertained in the past. That is, the contexts in which the DR morphemes are used in CoR clause sequences provide the reason for this variability; i.e., they are an extension of what is basically a symmetrical system (at least as regards the referent-tracking function of the morphemes). In the past I have explained the extension as being a compromise, for the benefit of the functions served by case-marking in this language. I think both sets of facts can be incorporated into a more comprehensive description of the Pn SR system.
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James E. Redden, Editor

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The 1981 Hokan Languages Workshop met jointly for the first time with the Penutian Languages Conference. Also, there were not only linguistic papers, but also anthropological and archeological papers. These two groups of specialists on American Indian languages will meet together in the future and will also meet with anthropologists and archeologists.

Unfortunately, not everyone who presented a paper at this joining meeting was able to prepare a final version for inclusion in this volume. Also, some of the Penutians were not aware that the proceedings of the meeting would be published in this volume and had made arrangements before coming to the meeting to publish their papers elsewhere. The papers are arranged in the order that they appeared on the program at the meeting except for the Kendall paper, which was not read but sent in for the meeting.

The participants at the meeting gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Shirley Silver and her students in the Department of Anthropology at Sonoma State University, which made the conference run so smoothly and enjoyably. We especially appreciated the help of the students who ran the late-night van shuttle between the university and the motel where the airport bus stopped.

Copies of the 1977, 1978, 1979, and 1980 Hokan Languages Workshops are still available from the Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901. The volumes of 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 hard-bound volumes from ERIC Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 3520 Prospect St., NW, Washington, DC 20008.

James E. Redden
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