ERGATIVITY IN ALSEA
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Alsea is an extinct language once spoken on the Oregon coast. It has often been
classed as an isolate within the Penutian stock, or as a member of the Coast Oregon
Penutian family (along with Siuslaw and Coos). This paper describes the use of the
ergative prefix, which is used on all noun phrases, while verb agreement is
nominative-accusative. All examples cited are from Frachtenberg (1920); the numbers in
parentheses refer to the page and line where the sentence is found.

PERSON MARKING

In Alsea there is a set of clitics and suffixes which obligatorily mark the subject and
object, respectively, of the verb. The clitics, marking the subject, are attached to the first
word in the clause; the suffixes, marking the object, are attached to the verb. The object
suffixes do not distinguish number in order to show a dual or plural object, the subject
clitic of the corresponding person is used (in normal cliticized subject position). These
agreement morphemes follow a nominative-accusative pattern:

(1) tem=x mëhu a-y-dí
and=3pS finally go-INCH
‘Finally they started out.’ (24.1)

(2) tem=x pxeltsús-dí-rx a-ts-λ=λ=k=λx
and=3pS ask-INCH-3sO DST-3p-mother-3p=3p
‘They asked their mother.’ (22.3)

It can be seen that the third-person plural clitic -λx is used for the subjects of both
intransitive ‘go’ in (1) and transitive ‘ask’ in (2). Note that the second occurrence of -λx
in (2), at the very end of the sentence, serves to mark to plurality of the possessor ‘their’.

DEICTICS

Nouns are generally preceded by a determiner composed of two parts. The first
element can be a spatial deictic such as proximal ku- or ta-, or distal a-. The second
element can be the referential -s, as in the following:

(3) ẽ=in nunns-áa mëhu ku-s tsudáis
FUT=1sS eat-TR now PRX-REF salmon
‘I will eat these salmon now.’ (82.34)

(4) λ-hayán-au-x=x x=s ta-s xámni:
TR-see-DUR-CMPL=2sS PRX-REF whale
‘You are looking at the whale.’ (78.36)

(5) xám? tai? a-s miðudáis
one only DST-REF tribe
‘There is only one tribe.’ (40.18)
or a possessive pronoun for first or second person:

(6) xas=ktś-aq kú-hám lúqés 2sS=wear-TR PRX-2SP feather
    'Wear your feather.' (54.13)

(7) hú:kí lás-ílín bíníxayu
    here PRX-1pP tool
    'Here are our tools.' (118.12)

(8) laxaut-ái-nx=an g-sín kíyayí
    drop-INCH-3s=O=1s DST-1SP knife
    'I dropped my knife.' (120.8)

or the third-person possessive, a combination of the prefix ts- (probably from tō historically) and the suffix -k:

(9) temúhu: aín-átí kú-ts-tāsa-k
    and now cry-INCH PRX-3P-father-3P
    'Then his father began to cry.' (70.14)

(10) kats pok-sal-ʔyátí-nx lás-ta-λók-ík
    HAB feel-DST-ITER-3sO PRX-3P-head-3P
    'He would feel all over his head.' (120.25)

See also (2). The deictics are actually optional with both types of possessives. Finally, they can be prefixed to independent (emphatic) pronouns:

(11) kín qwám-au-tx-am lás-qwón
    FUT=1sS behind-DUR-HAB-INTR PRX=1s
    'I'll walk behind.' (158.21)

(12) tem=ta-ʔqótə tāi? tkwá:lišía núns-itx
    and=3s PRX-3s: only crab eat-HAB
    'They (unlike him) were just eating crabs.' (92.31)

THE ERGATIVE PREFIX

The subject of a transitive verb must take the ergative prefix qa-/xa- (there is no clear phonological pattern to the alternation). This occurs whether or not both subject and object are explicit NPs:

(13) temúhu yás-au-ʔyálí-nx qa-s mó:luptsinísla a-s qa:kílí?
    and now say-DUR-ITER-3sO ERG-REF coyote DST-REF wolf
    'Then Coyote spoke to Wolf.' (50.21)

(14) temúhu yás-au-ʔyálí-nx a-s láháiʔ qa-s mó:luptsinísla
    and now say-DUR-ITER-3sO DST-REF deer ERG-REF coyote
    'Then Coyote spoke to Deer.' (54.10)

(15) tem yás-au-ʔyálí-nx qa-s mó:luptsinísla
    and say-DUR-ITER-3sO ERG-REF coyote
    'And Coyote spoke to him.' (52.14)
(16) temúhu yas-au-ʔár-nx a-s λxúmta
    and.now say-DUR-ITER-3sO DST-REF beaver
    'Then he spoke to Beaver.' (52.17)

As can be seen from these sentences, the ergative prefix serves the important function of distinguishing the subject and object when both are present and when only one is expressed as a nominal. The order of arguments is free, as (13) and (14) illustrate, so the ergative is necessary to disambiguate them. The ergative prefix, like the deictics, also attaches to possessive pronouns:

(17) xa-sín qúmbat=iλx kwa-γó-mts-x
    ERG-1sP brother.in.law=3pS trick-INCH-1sO-CMPL
    'My brothers-in-law tricked me.' (118.31)

(18) kís kín yas-au-ʔo-áa qa-ts-máhats-k
    RES there say-DUR-ITER-TR ERG-3P-boy-3P
    'So her son spoke to her there.' (214.10)

The absolutive case is marked by the absence of qa-/xa- and is not glossed here. Generally this means that one of the deictics is present, as in most of the sentences given above. An ergative noun, however, can also take deictics, so the latter could not be described as absolutive:

(19) k=ip=s pku-ts-itx-u xá-ku-sín kámxod-oо
    RES=2ps=* gather-HAB-2sO ERG-PRX-1sP child-PL
    'And then my children will gather you.' (86.34)

(20) máqax-aí-nx xa-ku-s mukwaʔsli
    refuse.marriage-INC-3sO ERG-PRX-REF woman
    'The woman refused to marry him.' (92.17)

(21) tém=ltá=n híke hauwiʔ lambda-x xa-la-qwón
    and=but-1sS just recently see-CMPL ERG-PRX-3s
    'But see it myself right now.' (144.6)

Note that the ergative prefix precedes the deictic. The only examples I have found of the ergative with a deictic have been with ku- and ta- (the former being much more common). It might be claimed that all (or at least some) examples of just qa-/xa- in fact include a- which has been merged with the identical vowel of the ergative; this sort of merger is a common occurrence at morpheme boundaries in Alsea. There is no particular evidence for this analysis aside from the lack of the forms *qa- a-*xa- a- in the texts.

RANGE OF USE

When the subject of a transitive verb is expressed with an emphatic pronoun, then it takes the ergative prefix, even though the corresponding clitic is nominative:

(22) xa=kuú-áa qa-níx
    2sO=wear-TR ERG=2s
    'You put it on!' (48.29)
(23) qâlta hîke xa-qâtsa ḥa-mğén-au-x
always just ERG-3s TR-hit-DUR-CMPL
‘He always hit it.’ (46.6)

As shown by (21), the pronoun can also take a deictic along with the ergative. This split, where verb agreement is nominative-accusative and free nominals, including pronouns, are ergative-absolutive, is similar to the pattern found in, for example, Walbiri (Comrie 1978: 340).

In a somewhat similar fashion, an ergative determiner is used with yûxwīs, which corresponds in English to the emphatic use of the reflexive pronoun:

(24) xa-śćiya? qa-s yûxwīs pônis-ś.
2s=NEG ERG-REF EMPH punish-TR
‘Don’t punish them yourself!’ (222.4)

The nominal ending -ś suggests that this word is a derived noun (though the root is obscure); since it refers to the transitive subject it must take the ergative marker like any other noun.

In addition to the emphatic pronouns, another word to which the ergative is prefixed directly is uk ‘who, someone’:

(25) k=uk’u u=k=an qaûf’s lâh-däi-m
FUT=up who=Q first climb-INCH-INTR
‘Who will climb up first?’ (60.7)

(26) k=qa-uk’=än múhû péx-aɬ a-s mahayât-au
FUT=ERG-who=Q now visit-INCH DST-REF old-DIM
‘Who will go now to the little old man?’ (60.25)

In (25), as subject of an intransitive verb, uk is in the absolutive case (i.e., does not take qa-/xa-), while as subject of a transitive verb in (26) it is ergative. There are no examples of uk with a deictic, which is not surprising given its indeterminate nature.

Occasionally an ergative NP is used to say who or what is responsible for a set of circumstances, without specifying the verb. For example:

(27) xa-s pûs’ b-imỳsîs-k
ERG-REF grease 3P-action-3P
‘The action of the grease [caused his hair to fall out].’ (122.33)

The context of (27) provides no transitive verb from which the ergative NP could be said to take its case, and the ergative case seems merely to mark the agentivity of the noun. This may be contrasted with the following example:

(28) temûhu a-s yóqu
and.now DST-REF wildcat
‘Then [he spoke to] the wildcat.’ (52.7)

Here the absolutive case is triggered by the context. This NP occurs in a long list of statements spoken by Coyote (ergative) to various animals (absolutive). Since the wildcat is named in the absolutive, it is identified as the one spoken to, not as a new speaker (which would require the ergative).

Another apparent use of the ergative without a verb:

31
(29) \text{tem=axa ga-níx judge k=xám hi’slam and=back ERG-2s on=2sp person}

'You are a judge over your people.' (220.38)

The relationship toward 'the people' which is implicit in the role of judge seems enough to trigger the ergative. An alternative — but, I think, less likely — explanation is that this may be a pseudo-verbal use of the borrowed word 'judge' without inflections for aspect or object (cf. the inflected borrowing of 'punish' in (24)). The lack of a clitic subject pronoun also argues against this analysis, although -axa may have been misheard for the second-person singular subject -ax.

A particularly interesting occurrence of the ergative without a typical predicate is the use of the ergative as an integral part of a verb:

(30) \text{xa=ga-níx-at qáuwí’s}

2sS=ERG-2s-INCH first

'You do it first.' (122.3)

Even more unusual is that the action referred to is intransitive: singing. It would appear that the agentive qualities associated with the ergative are used here to represent an intransitive agentive action; it would be natural to emphasize the idea of agentivity or volition since the speaker is arguing about who should sing first. Perhaps a more accurate translation would be something like 'You act first'.

The relative animacy of the subject and object does not seem to affect the use of the ergative. For example, first person acting on an inanimate object (a horn):

(31) \text{ki=n=s ga-qán káš-i RES=1sS=TR ERG-1s wear-TR}

'I would wear it.' (52.19)

And an animal and inanimate acting on first-person humans:

(32) \text{ní-sk-iks=ii múhu ay-áy-us-ams-x ga-tá-s xámni far-ALL=1pS now go-INCH-COMIT-1s-O-CMPL ERG-PRX-REF seal}

'The seal has taken us far away.' (168.24)

(33) \text{xa-s xwísíyu k-ims-t-al-t-ams-x ERG-REF smoke TR-Thus-DUR-STAT-1s-O-CMPL}

'Smoke does that to me.' (132.32)

The other examples in this paper demonstrate that the ergative is used as well for participants with less drastically divergent positions on the animacy hierarchy (Silverstein 1976).

As the following sentence illustrates, the ergative is also used in subordinate clauses:

(34) \text{tqéiált-x=an si=p=s hi’ke hamsti? ga-s hi’slam want-CMPL=1sS COMP=2pS=TR just all ERG-REF person}

káš-0a ku-s káyásí’yu wear-INCH PRX-REF horn

'I want all of you people to put on this horn.' (46.13)

The other sentences in this paper illustrate the ergative in main clauses. Thus, there is no main/subordinate clause split such as that reported for a few languages (Dixon 1979: 96).

The ergative is also used when the verb is not inherently transitive, and when the
object is not a direct object. The suffix -us[us] marks the direct object of a normally intransitive verb as comitative, and the subject is ergative:

(35) tém=lt aq-áí xúst quauxán-ks
and-but move-INCH a.little up-ALL
‘It moved up a little.’ (76.35)

(36) aq-áí/usa=x quauxán-ks ku-s ko’s qaq-ku-sin qwaν
move-INCH-COMIT-CMPL up-ALL PRX-REF tree ERG-PRX-1sP son
‘My son went up to the sky with the tree.’ (78.7)

(37) tem=ax aqalpái ã-úí
and-back again go.to.water-INCH
‘He went down to the water again.’ (86.37)

(38) qa’sa ãku-salxy-us=x qa-s mākwits
 hồ go.to.water-DSTR-COMIT-CMPL ERG-REF whale
‘A whale has gone with him out to sea.’ (122.25)

Sentences (35) and (37) show the normal intransitive use, while (36) and (38) demonstrate the transitivized versions with an ergative subject. Note that the third-person object -nx is not used with -us (the same holds with other transitivizing affixes), although for other persons the object is expressed, as in (32).

The ergative is also used to mark subjects when the object is indirect. Such objects are found primarily with verbs of cognition and movement.

(39) k=λx=ás múhur lsgewu-λ-í qa-s púphanhau
RES=3p=* now approach-3sIO-TR ERG-REF ball
‘So then the ball came close to them.’ (198.34)

(40) kís qum-áy-u-λ-í xq-łsges-k
RES behind-INCH-TRNL-3sIO-TR ERG-dog-3P
‘Then his dog would follow him.’ (124.2)

These examples also include the irrealis transitive suffix -i, which is consistent with the ergative subject.

POSSESSIVES

In order to show a possessive relationship between two third-person nouns, the discontinuous morpheme ʦ-...-k described above is affixed to the possessed noun, and the possessor is simply juxtaposed.

(41) sin ta? ʦ-λifya-k
1sP father 3P-mother-3P
‘my father’s mother’ (212.2)

The possessor precedes the possessed noun when the latter is a lexical noun, although the order is generally the opposite when the possessed noun is derived from a verb (mimicking the common verb-initial word order); such nominalizations often replace the verb in naming the speaker of quoted speech.
(42)  ts-ya-āi-s-κ  a-s  mashalsla-tšλo‘
3P-say-INCCH-NOM-3P  DST-REF  woman-AUG
‘[Such was] the old woman’s speech.’ (22.7)

Here the possessive is still used in a way comparable to that in (41); in both examples the
possessor is in the absolutive case. But it is also possible to use a deverbal nominalization
with the same arguments found with the regular verb:

(43)  ya-āi-nx  xa-s  mashalsla-tšλo‘  q-š-piyats-ČALK
say-INCCH-3sO  ERG-REF  woman-AUG  DST-3P-girl-3P
‘The old woman spoke to her daughter.’ (22.11)

(44)  ts-im-ya-āi-s-κ  q-š-piyats-ČALK  xa-s  mashalsla-tšλo‘
3P-DUR-say-INCCH-NOM-3P  DST-3P-girl-3P  ERG-REF  woman-AUG
‘The old woman’s speech to her daughter.’ (22.15)

Sentence (43) illustrates the straightforward verb; in (44) the same case-markers are used
for the arguments of the nominalization. The latter includes the durative prefix m-, which
may serve to emphasize the verbal character of the nominalization which allows it to take
arguments, as opposed to the more nominal interpretation in (42).

A different use of the ergative with ts-...-Č is seen when the possessed noun is the
actual transitive subject. If the possessor is an unexpressed third person, then qa-/xa- is
prefixed directly to the possessed noun, as in (18). If, however, the possessor is
expressed, then it precedes the subject (as is normal for lexical nouns) and takes the
ergative marking itself. The possessed noun then does not take any deictic prefix.

(45)  hiķe tsáma  bskw-āi-λ-x  h-l-im-kwáit-xamt  qa-s  wał
just very understand-INCCH-3sIO-CMPL  INF-DUR-dance-INF  ERG-REF  cedar
3P-knot-3P
‘The cedar knots were able to spin very well.’ (208.25)

(46)  temųhu  qa-siŋ  taʔ  ts-mútš-ak  tem
and.now  ERG-1sP  father  3P-younger.brother-3P  and
koqud-ży-u-λ-x  xusčo  ts-škiyuštšak-Č
take-INCCH-TRNL-3sIO-CMPL  for.his.part  gun-3P
‘Then my father’s younger brother also took his gun.’ (212.27)

(47)  kis  hiķe múhu  taiʔ  λ-imêtst-al-d-ů  xa-s  klam-tlam
RES  just now  TR-thus-DUR-STAT-2sO  ERG-REF  earth.people
3P-child-PL-3P
‘The children of the Earth People will do this to you.’ (104.17)

A further example is found in (27). As these sentences illustrate, the ergative prefix is
attached to the first word of the subject NP (here underlined), and not necessarily to the
head noun.

PASSIVE

Alsea has a very common passive suffix, -in. The promoted subject takes the
absolutive case, as it would have as the object of a transitive verb.
It is natural in an ergative system for the object of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive verb to have the same form; that is, after all, the definition of absolutive case. What does seem to be unusual, though, is the use of the ergative to mark the agent of a passive verb:

Thus the same case-markers are used for the arguments of active and passive sentences. The only language I have seen described as having a similar process is Basque (e.g. Perlmutter and Postal 1977), but Trask (1985) argues convincingly that this analysis is based on faulty data, and that the process involved is not in fact a passive. Alsea then seems to be quite unusual in this regard.

PROBLEMS

Although the ergative pattern is very consistently observable in the texts, there are a few anomalies. The most significant numerically is also the easiest to explain. While most of the published texts were collected by Leo J. Frachtenberg in 1910 and 1913, a few were recorded by Livingston Farrand in 1900. Apparently Farrand was a less skilled phonetician than Frachtenberg; the latter reports that Farrand wrote both uvular and velar stops as 'k' (Frachtenberg 1918). When he assembled Farrand's notes for publication, Frachtenberg converted them to his own phonetic notation and apparently tried to restore the distinction between /k/ and /q/. In words with redundant phonetic and semantic information it would have been simple to tell that the 'k' should have been a 'q'; e.g. the word written kalpâi and defined as 'again' is clearly a mishearing of qelpâi: 'again'.

The ergative prefix, on the other hand, would be harder to restore. In certain contexts, such as ka-ku-s or ka-uk, the morphosyntax tells us that the ka- (no such prefix is found in these positions) must really be a qa-. When presented with kâs, however, it is unclear whether this should be qâs or kâs (assuming that Farrand merged these short vowels as well; otherwise I know of no explanation). This reconstructed set of circumstances is supported by the fact that Farrand's texts as modified by Frachtenberg have few instances of qâs. All transitive subjects have kâs (i.e. not tas or qâs), except in those recoverable contexts described above, where qâs is found. There a few instances of qâs, where it seems Farrand either recorded a clear a vowel (ruling out kâs) or, less likely, Frachtenberg used what he understood of the ergative to reconstruct qâs. Thus the seeming use of absolutive kâs where the ergative should be, is really a case of incorrect
transcription. For this reason these instances of kus were not considered counterexamples. (The alternate xas, which occurs several times in Farrand's texts, was naturally not affected by this merger of stops.)

A more serious problem is presented by the first-person emphatic pronoun qan. It does not consistently take the ergative prefix:

(53) $p=1n$ qan $f^h-t-am$

$2p=1sS$ $ls$ give-STAT-3sO/2sI0

'I will give it to you.' (110.36)

(54) $p=1n$ qa-qan $f^h-t-am$

$2p=1sS$ ERG-1s give-STAT-3sO/2sI0

'I will give it to you.' (112.14)

These two sentences are representative of six instances of qan in one paragraph of a story, with the same speaker and addressees in each instance. Half are with the ergative prefix, like (54), and half are without it — in the absolutive, like (53). There is no clear pattern, but the translations give a slight amount of evidence that the prefixed pronoun is more emphatic than the unprefixed.

This variation between ergative and absolutive — whatever its precise function may be — is found only with the first person. There are two possible reasons for this. First, it is highest on the animacy hierarchy and therefore most likely to follow nominative-accusative case-marking. Second, the unprefixed qan already starts with a sequence identical to the ergative qae, so there may have been a partial reanalysis of the root as including the prefix.

There are at least two examples of unexpected case-marking where the problem may be due to erroneous transcription:

(55) tem$\tilde{u}$hu mu-kum$\tilde{u}$kw-al-x xas nun$\tilde{s}$

and.now DUR-run-DUR-CMPL ERG-REF elk

'Then the elk ran around.' (54.16)

(56) tem$\tilde{u}$hu ke$\tilde{u}$-ti-nx a-s kusu?tsi

and.now wear-INCH-3sO DST-REF bear

'Then the bear put it on.' (52.12)

In both cases the determiner is preceded by a word ending in /x/ . My theory is that Frachtenberg misheard the juncture in both cases — probably not a difficult error to make — and the actual words spoken in this pair are reversed. The transitive verb in (56) should have the ergative xas, and the intransitive in (55) should have the absolutive as.

A few other examples of the ergative missing from transitive subjects are more difficult to explain. Though it takes an indirect object, the verb saw - ' help ' should, as discussed above, have an ergative subject as in the following:

(57) $k=saw-i-tsu$ qa-xam su$\tilde{u}$ha$\tilde{g}$iyu

FUT=help-INCH-2sI0 ERG-2sP spirit

'Your guardian spirit will help you.' (182.24)

In another sentence (produced, incidentally, by the same speaker), the subject is absolutive:

(58) $k=saw-dy-u-tsu$ ku-s law

FUT=help-INCH-TRANL-2sI0 PRX-REF

'The law will help you.' (220.36)
This is probably not an error in pronunciation or perception, since Frachtenburg checked his texts with his informants. The fact that the word ‘law’ is a borrowing from English does not seem relevant, since in the same story the loanword ‘agent’ is always ergative when serving as transitive subject. Rather, it may be that an abstract concept like ‘law’ cannot take the ergative, although invisible beings — ‘spirit’ in (57) — and inanimates — ‘ball’ in (39) — can be ergative. It is difficult to imagine an abstraction as an agent, while a culture that accepts invisible spirits is likely to think of them as sentient, and even an inanimate object like a ball can seem to move of its own accord after it has been kicked.

Finally, one sentence suggests that hypothetical subjects cannot be ergative:

(59) sís úŋkəal súllhāl-é-t-am... 
COMP someone dream-INCH-STAT-1sO
‘If anyone should dream about me...’ (34.3)

The word úŋkəal consists of úŋ ‘who, someone’ and -kəal, similar in meaning to English ‘ever’. This verb is clearly transitive (direct object -m...), and úŋ can take the ergative prefix with or without the suffix -kəal. In this sentence, the irrealis complementizer sís (here ‘if’) sets up a hypothetical situation which may never be realized. In this context a nonreferential subject may be restricted from taking the ergative — though there are not enough examples to draw a definite pattern. Such a restriction might be related to the prohibition of the ergative with abstract concepts as suggested above. The strong agentive associations of the ergative in Alsea, illustrated by many of the sentences given above (e.g. 27, 29, 30, 51, perhaps 54), could prevent its use with abstract/hypothetical (and therefore nonagentive) subjects.

CONCLUSION

Ergativity in Alsea is basically a superficial phenomenon, serving to disambiguate the syntactic roles of nouns. It consists of a prefix which is added to any noun phrase functioning as subject of a transitive verb (with a few marginal exceptions), and is totally independent of the obligatory person-marking suffixes and clitics, which are nominative-accusative and clearly older in the language. No syntactic processes appear to be dependent on the notion of ergativity. Given its connection with agentivity in several uses, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the prefix originated as an agentive marker and was then reanalyzed as an ergative marker.

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ABBREVIATIONS

In the glosses in this paper, translations of lexical meaning are given in lower case, and grammatical functions are given in upper case. The following abbreviations have been used: ABL ablative, ADJ adjectival, ALL allative, AUG augmentative, COMP complementizer, CMPL completive, COMIT comitative direct object, DIM diminutive, DST distal, DSTR distributive (spatial and temporal), DUR durative, EMPH emphatic, ERG ergative, FUT future, HAB habitual, INCH inchoative, INF infinitive, INTR intransitive (irrealis), ITER iterative, NEG negative, NOM nominalizer, PASS passive, PL
plural, PRX proximal, Q interrogative, REF referential, REL relative, RES resultative, STAT stative, TR transitive, TRNL transitional.

For pronouns: 1,2,3 first, second, third person; I,E inclusive, exclusive (first person); s,d,p singular, dual, plural; S,O,I,O,P subject, object, indirect object, possessive.

An asterisk (*) marks the second half of a discontinuous morpheme that has been divided by a second-position clitic; the first half is the initial element of the morpheme cluster. Affixes are set off by a hyphen (-), and clitics by an equals sign (=).

The phonetic symbols are standard except for ‘k’, a palatalized velar stop, and small raised vowels, which are ‘resonance and epenthetic vowels’. The transcription preserves the distinctions in Frachtenberg (1920) and has not been phonemicized.

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at Carbondale
PREFACE

For the first time, The Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop and the Friends of Uto-Aztecan Working Conference met together as a single conference, at the University of Utah, Salt Lake City, June 18-21, 1987. In the past, the conferences usually met back to back; the Uto-Aztecan meeting usually ended one or two days before the Hokan-Penutian meeting began, which gave people just enough time to travel from one location to the other. Since a number of people attend both meetings, it is hoped that these joint meetings can occur more often.

All the papers except the last one were given in a slightly different form at the meeting in Salt Lake City. The last paper was given at the 1986 Hokan-Penutian meeting, which met as a section the Haas Festival at Santa Cruz. The papers are given in the order they appeared at the meeting at the University of Utah.

The participants of the conference gratefully acknowledge all the work done by Professor Wick R. Miller, other faculty members, and the students at the University of Utah, which made the conference run so smoothly and enjoyably.

The 1988 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop will meet at the University of Oregon, Eugene, June 16-18, 1988.

James E. Fedden, Editor
Carbondale, March 1986
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