1. Introduction. The purpose of this paper is to describe various types of nominalization in Jamul Diegueño. This language possesses only two major word classes, nouns and verbs, and it does not have a wide variety of morphological elements whose function is to indicate category change. Strictly speaking, there is just a single morphological process of nominalization in Jamul, involving the suffixation of ᵇ to a limited number of verbs. Nevertheless, other types of derived nominals do exist (e.g. relative clauses), though these are not accompanied by the addition of any morphological elements whose specific function is to mark nominalization.

The paper is organized as follows: section 2 will summarize the uses of the demonstrative *pu. Though not itself a nominalizer, *pu has an important role here since it is used solely as a suffix on nouns. Thus, it may serve as a sign that a nominalization has occurred. In §3, I shall present nominalizations involving relative clauses, focusing in particular on the use of the relativizing prefix ᵇ(ʷ)(V)-. Then, in §4, I shall examine the derived nominals formed with the morpheme ᵇ and shall discuss the conditions under which such nominalizations have been found to occur.

2. The Demonstrative Suffix *pu. Jamul possesses a distal demonstrative *puu which functions as an independent lexical item, i.e. it is a stress-bearing element:

(1) Kim *puu nemuuhay ʷ-a-a-dy shuutuk
    Kim that like 3-go-SS kiss
    ‘Kim likes that person, so she went and kissed him.’

Jamul also possesses a form that is probably historically related to *puu, but which has undergone both phonological and semantic reduction, namely the clitic suffix *pu. Phonologically, *pu cannot occur as an autonomous, stress-bearing lexical item; semantically, except in certain isolated cases (compare 2a and 2b), it no longer acts as a true deictic element; at least not in any concrete

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1 Throughout this paper, I shall use the following abbreviations in the Jamul glosses:

| S=subject | SS=same subject | CAUS=causative |
| O=object | DS=different subject | EMPH=emphatic |
| 1=first person | IR=irrealis | AUX=auxiliary |
| 2=second person | PL=plural | POS=possessive |
| 3=third person | NOM=nominalizer | DEM=demonstrative |
| Q=interrogative | REL=relativizer | NEG=negative |
| !=imperative | |

In addition, the following orthographic conventions are used in the Jamul transcriptions:

sh=[ʃ] ʰ=guttural stop ⅲ=voiceless lateral fricative
ch=[tʃ] h=ḷ C=palatalized C

sense. Instead, as we shall see, it has acquired a more abstract kind of meaning. As a result, it may co-occur with a noun that is also determined by an independent proximal demonstrative, without creating any contradiction in meaning (2c):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) a. taas nya-k-in\n</th>
<th>cup 10-!-give \n</th>
<th>'Hand me a cup!'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. taas-pu nya-k-in\n</td>
<td>cup-DEM 10-!-give \n</td>
<td>'Hand me that cup!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. piya uumall-pu maap mu-wity dyum\n</td>
<td>this book-DEM you 2-have Q \n</td>
<td>'Is this book yours?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Synchronically pu now appears in a wide variety of contexts, as befits its more schematic meaning. For instance, it frequently occurs as a suffix on the first nominal of predicate nominal constructions (3a), as well as on direct objects (3b):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3) a. Hwaan-pu tiipay\n</th>
<th>John-DEM indian \n</th>
<th>'John is an Indian.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. Hwaan uumall-pu Mariya w-in\n</td>
<td>John book-DEM Mary 3-give \n</td>
<td>'John gave the book to Mary.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that pu is a marker of either predicate nominals or direct objects, since its presence is not obligatory in these contexts. Compare the examples in 3 with those in 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4) a. Hwaan kuchnyaay\n</th>
<th>John hunter \n</th>
<th>'John is a hunter.'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. nyaa-dy Hwaan llywak\n</td>
<td>I-S John hit \n</td>
<td>'I hit John.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The question of the non-obligatory nature of pu—as well as many other morphemes—is a complex and difficult question in the analysis of Jamul (and other related languages). It is likely that the use of such elements is often determined by discourse considerations which are not clear at present.

In many situations, pu occurs with semantically definite nouns, i.e. those nouns whose referents are uniquely identified (5a); conversely, indefinite nouns often occur without pu, even when they are direct objects (5b):
(5) a. me-naan-pu ma’am w-aa-h -dyum
   2-mom -DEM where.to 3-go-IR-Q
   ’Where is your mom going?’

b. shupull aahway
   fly    kill
   ’I killed a fly.’

In light of this kind of evidence, it is tempting to analyze pu as a marker of specificity, a sort of definite article. Once again, though, such a categorical analysis cannot be correct since counterexamples abound, i.e. nouns unmarked by pu even though their referents are uniquely identifiable (6a), or non-referring nouns which do take pu (6b):

(6) a. piya me-s’aw dyum
this 2-child Q
’Is this your child?’

b. hukwall-pu mu-wity-aa
   child-DEM 2-have-Q
   ‘Do you have a child?’

In spite of these examples, there are other cases in which the presence of pu creates relatively concrete semantic effects; that is, pu can indeed be used to specify, or identify, the referent of a noun. Consider the sentences in 7-9 (cf. also 2b):

(7) a. iipa Tom nyi -llywak w-aa-dy cha’ak llywak
   man    when-hit 3-go-SS woman hit
   ’When the man hit Tom, he then went and hit the woman.’

b. iipa Tom nyi -llywak w-aa-dy cha’ak-pu llywak
   man    when-hit 3-go-SS woman-DEM hit
   ’When the man hit Tom, he then went and hit the woman.’

(8) a. Hwaan nyuwii kwi-ch -naar
   John things REL-NOM-steal
   ’John is a thief.’

b. Hwaan-pu nyuwii kwi-ch -naar
   John-DEM things REL-NOM-steal
   ’John is the man who steals things.’

(9) a. shupuul shuuwaat wity hmaaw
   fly    swatter have NEG
   ’I don’t have a fly swatter.’

b. shupuul sha’waat-pu wity hmaaw
   ’I don’t have the fly swatter.’

\[2\] It is not clear why the form of the noun for ‘swatter’ is different in these two sentences. The alternation of the vowel in the initial syllable may be due to the fact that vowels in unstressed position often vary considerably in quality. I assume, therefore, that the only difference between 9a
The presence of *pu* in 7b indicates that we know the woman in question, whereas this is not necessarily so in 7a. In 8b, *pu* is used to identify ‘John’ as the particular man being spoken about, i.e. he is the focus of the sentence; in 8a, however, ‘John’ is not a focused element, rather it is being predicated of him that he steals things. This distinction in meaning is reflected in the two different translations. Finally, the noun ‘fly swatter’ without *pu* (9a) is understood as indefinite whereas the same noun with *pu* (9b) is understood as definite.

We have seen that *pu* occurs in a diverse range of contexts. In every instance, though, it must be used with a noun. Apart from this fact, it is not clear what else these contexts have in common. Perhaps the most general statement we can make at present concerning the meaning of *pu* is that while it does on occasion have the relatively concrete function of marking definiteness, in general it serves the more abstract function of explicitly marking the presence of a NP.

Thus far, only examples in which *pu* occurs with simple, lexical nouns have been considered. However, there are many cases where *pu* appears at the end of a more complex NP:

(10) a. aasip-pity we-llity
    smoke-DEM.S 3-bad
    ‘Smoking is bad.’

b. Maria llywak-pu wiivi
   Mary hit-DEM see
   ‘Mary saw the fight.’

c. kwakhentil m-aahway-pity wu-llity
   deer 2-kill -DEM.S 3-bad
   ‘It’s bad that you killed a deer.’

d. Hwaan w-aam -h -pu uuyaaw ta -wa
   John 3-go.away-IR-DEM know AUX-sit
   ‘I know that John is leaving.’

The sentences in 10 contain embedded phrases that function syntactically as the nominal arguments of a higher verb. In 10a, the bare verb stem *aasip* is the subject of the main verb *llity*; (therefore, it occurs with the subject marker *ty*). In 10b, the verb *llywak* is the object of *wiivi*. In 10c, the subject of *llity* is the entire clause *kwakhentil maahway*, and in 10d, the clause *Hwaan waamh* is the object of the main verb *uuyaaw*. All these cases are examples of nominalization, since in each one, a syntactic constituent that is not normally a noun—e.g. a verb or a clause—occurs in a position reserved for nouns, that is, subject or object. However, no specific nominalizing morpheme is added to effect this change of category; thus, in the absence of any other overt morphological material indicating the derived nature of these nominals, *pu* performs several important functions. First, it signals the existence of a constituent that functions syntactically as a NP in the sentence; second, it marks the right boundary of that derived NP, thereby distinguishing it as an independent constituent within the larger clause; third, *pu* serves as evidence that a verb or a clause has in fact been nominalized, since it may only occur on nouns.

and 9b is the presence of *pu* in the latter.

3 When followed by the subject marker *ty*, the vowel [u] in *pu* is fronited to [i].
These functions may not be of much significance when the NP marked by pu consists only of a simple noun (although in this case, pu may have additional functions, as we saw above), but they are especially crucial for identifying the relatively more complex derived nominals. Indeed, available evidence does seem to indicate that pu shows up on derived nominals with a higher degree of regularity than on non-derived nominals, as if one of its main functions were to mark the presence of a nominalization. For example, compare the sentences in 11:

(11) a. nyaa-dy shawii aanlility
    I-S acorn-mush not-like
    'I don't like acorn-mush.'

b. nyaa-dy shawii saw-pu aanlility
    I-S acorn-mush eat-DEM not-like
    'I don't like eating acorn-mush.'

Though the main verb in both sentences is the same, only when the object is the derived nominal shawii saw in 11b does pu appear. The simple nominal object shawii remains unmarked. Nevertheless, we shall see in the next sections that, just as before, the occurrence of pu in many cases cannot be predicted with absolute certainty, even with nominalizations.

To summarize, the demonstrative suffix pu only appears with nouns, though it is rarely (if ever) obligatory. Its usage is correlated with the complexity of a NP, such that derived nominals have a greater likelihood of appearing with pu than do simple nouns. Consequently, pu will play a crucial role as a diagnostic for the existence of nominalizations in Jamul.

3. Relative Clauses. One common type of nominalization is a relative clause, which is particularly prevalent in Jamul since the language does not possess the category of adjectives. There are two basic types of relative clauses, one in which the head noun is also the subject of the relative clause, the other in which the head noun is the object of the relative clause. These two types are distinguished in Jamul by the presence of the prefix k(w)V.4 before the verb in subject relatives:

(12) a. iipa Tom k-llywak-pity skan
    man Tom REL-hit -DEM.S run.away
    'The man who hit Tom ran away.'

b. iipa Tom k-llywak-pu Maria uu-wiwiw
    man Tom REL-hit -DEM Mary 3-see
    'Mary saw the man who hit Tom.'

In 12a, the relative clause is the subject of the main verb skan, while in 12b, it is the object of the main verb wiwiw. In both cases, the head noun iipa is the subject of the relative, hence the appearance of the relative marker k. On the other hand, when the head noun is object of the relative clause, no marker is used:

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4 The glide w only appears in certain phonological environments. In addition, the presence of the vowel, as well as its quality, also depends on the nature of the surrounding segments.
(13) a. iipa Tom llywak-pity skan
   man Tom hit-DEM.S run.away
   'The man Tom hit ran away.'

b. iipa Tom llywak-pu wi-yaw
   man Tom hit-DEM 3-catch
   'They caught the man Tom hit.'

The relative clause in 13a is once again the subject of the main verb skan, while in 13b, it is the object of the main verb yaw. In both these cases, the head noun iipa is the object within the relative clause.

The Jamul equivalent of a simple adjective in English is often expressed as a relative clause in which the head noun being modified is also the subject of the relative:

(14) a. aa’naak kwa-kwash-pu nya-k-iny
   chair REL-brown-DEM 10-1-give
   'Bring me the brown chair!'

b. iipa kwa-kush-pu wi-yaw
   man REL-tall-DEM 3-catch
   'They caught the tall man.'

The literal translations of these nominals are 'the chair which is brown' and 'the man who is tall', respectively.

Headless relative clauses also exist as yet another type of nominalization; the relativizer k signifies that some unspecified head noun is nonetheless understood as subject within the relative:

(15) a. kwi-yaw -bu puu kwi-ntat
   REL-stand-DEM he POS-father
   'The one standing there is his father.'

b. mataawar k-maw-bity u-nyaay n-aa-h
   tired REL-NEG-DEM.S 3-hunt PL-go-IR
   'The men who are not tired are going hunting.'

It should be pointed out that the relativizer k, like pu, is not itself a morpheme that marks nominalizations. It does not necessarily appear simply because a constituent has been nominalized. Its function is rather to indicate that the head noun of a relative clause is at the same time the subject of that clause—in these cases, its presence is obligatory. Consequently, since relative clauses always have nominal heads (regardless of whether they are overtly present), the occurrence of k(\text{w})(\text{V})—in the same way as pu—is a sign that the phrase of which it is a member functions syntactically as a nominal. Thus, it serves as another diagnostic for the existence of nominalizations. This fact is especially helpful when relative clauses occur without being followed by pu:

5 The initial consonant in pu lenites when it follows a voiced segment.
(16) a. iipa kwa-kush urar aayaw
   man REL-tall cook move.around
   'The tall man is cooking.'

   b. muukwin kwa-lliyaw wity
      pipes REL-many have
      'I have many pipes.'

Though *pu* does not appear in these sentences, in the use of *kwa*- we nevertheless have a clue that both *iipa kwakush* (16a) and *muukwin kwallyaw* (16b) are nominalized clauses.

Finally, the prefix *k* is also used to derive agentive nominals from their corresponding verbs:

(17) a. kwi-ch-naar (cf. nar 'steal')
    'thief'

   b. ku-ch-nyaay (cf. nyay 'hunt')
      'hunter'

Notice that the basic stem vowel of the verb lengthens in these examples. It is possible that such an alternation acts as a morphophonological sign of nominalization. Furthermore, the affix *ch* also appears in this type of derived noun; however, it is doubtful that this affix is related to the nominalizer *ty* that we shall examine in the next section, since *ty* is a suffix whereas *ch* is not.

4. The Nominalizer *ty*. In this section, I shall describe in detail the morpheme *ty*, which is suffixed onto the end of certain verbs to show that they have been nominalized. Consider the following pair of sentences:

(18) a. m-i'i-m ip-s
    2-say-DS hear-EMPH
    'I heard you say it.'
    (lit. 'You said it and I heard it')

   b. m-i'ity -pu ip-s
      2-say,NOM-DEM hear-EMPH
      'I heard what you said.'

The verb *i'i* in 18a must be the main verb of its clause, and not a nominalized form, as shown by the fact that it takes the suffixed different subject marker -*m*. Switch reference markers such as this one may only occur with verbs, and never with nouns. On the other hand, the verb *i'i* in 18b, with the attached morphological element *ty*, must be a derived nominal since it is followed by *pu*, which only occurs with nouns. In fact, *i'ity* functions syntactically as the object within the clause whose main verb is *ip*; *i'i* in 18a, however, is the main verb in a clause that is syntactically independent of the clause *ips* that follows it. Thus we may conclude that the morpheme *ty* functions as a nominalizer, deriving complex nouns from verbs.

Other examples of this kind of nominalization, which are clearly signalled as such by the presence of *pu*, are found in 19.
(19) a. kafe sity-pu doktor may nemuuhay hmaaw coffee drink.NOM-DEM doctor NEG like NEG 'The doctor doesn’t like my drinking coffee.'

b. iimaty-pu wiwi dance.NOM-DEM see
'I saw the dancing.'

For the nominalizations shown in 18 and 19, the addition of the morpheme ty is not accompanied by any other phonological change within the basic verb stem. The verb meaning 'drink' is si, while the verb which means 'dance' is iima. In both cases, the stressed stem vowel is short, whether or not ty is present. The examples in 20, however, all display a shortened stem vowel in the nominalized form:

(20) a. me-mity -pu may nemuuhay hmaaw 2-cry.NOM-DEM NEG like NEG 'I don’t like your crying.'

b. n-aty -h -pu kur PL-go.NOM-IR-DEM far 'We are going a long ways.'

The basic verb stem corresponding to mity is mii, while the verb stem that corresponds to aty is aa. Curiously, this sort of vowel length alternation during nominalization is the converse of that seen with the nominalizations in 17, where the basic stem vowel of the verb was lengthened, not shortened, in the nominalized form.

Though I have yet to find the opposite case, that is, verbs with short stem vowels that consistently exhibit long stem vowels when nominalized in this way, there is at least one case in which a verb with a short basic stem vowel (tu 'throw') varies as to the length of this vowel in its nominalized form:

(21) a. wii hat tuty -pity nyilly wa rock dog throw.NOM-DEM.S black sit 'The rock I threw at the dog was black.'

b. hat kw -nyilly wii tuuty -pity wa’ill wity dog REL-black rock throw.NOM-DEM.S fleas have 'The black dog I threw the rock at has fleas.'

I cannot at present give an explanation for this variation in the nominalized form of tu. It is the only verb I have found thus far that exhibits such behavior. All other verb stems which nominalize by adding ty appear with a short stressed vowel in their nominalized form, regardless of the length of this vowel in the original stem. In other words, verbs that end with a long vowel shorten before the nominalizer ty, but the converse is not true; verbs ending in a short vowel do not lengthen before ty, rather, they stay the same. Other examples of this type of nominalization are shown in 22:

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6 At the level of the word, stress generally falls on the final syllable in Jamul, e.g. the a in iima.
(22) 

paycha 'think' --> paychaty
shmA 'sleep' --> shmaty
akwi 'ask questions' --> akwity
shi 'call, name' --> shity
paa 'arrive' --> paty
llywaa 'ride' --> llywaty

In examining the data, it is clear that an important restriction exists on this class of verb stems. That is, only verbs which end in a vowel can receive the suffix ty. Verbs ending in a consonant are never nominalized with ty:

(23) 

a. Hwaan aasip nemuuhay
   John smoke like
   'John likes smoking.'

b. *Hwaan aasipty (-pu) nemuuhay

c. kafe sity-pu nemuuhay
   coffee drink.NOM-DEM like
   'He likes my drinking coffee.'

The object of the verb nemuuhay is a position in which derived nominals may appear. Such nominals, however, are only marked with ty when the nominalized verb stem meets the condition that it end with a vowel, as in 23c. If the original stem of the derived nominal object ends in a consonant (e.g. aasip), then it cannot occur with ty (23b). This kind of derived nominal may only appear as a bare stem (23a). In this case, the verb stem is only analyzable as a derived nominal because of its position in the sentence (here, as the object of nemuuhay).

It may even be the case that ty obligatorily shows up any time that a verb ending in a vowel is nominalized, including those instances when the nominalized form already occurs in a context with several other overt signs of nominalization, such as in 24, where the nominalized verb waty is both preceded by k and followed by pu:

(24) 

a. iipa k-waty -pity umaall nya-nar
   man REL-sit.NOM-DEM.S book 3/1-steal
   'That man sitting there stole my book.'

b. nyihaay k-waty -pu Amy we-shi
   young.lady REL-sit.NOM-DEM Amy 3-name
   'The young lady sitting there, her name is Amy.'

There are other cases, however, where ty is the sole overt sign of nominalization to appear, e.g. utauty in 25a:

7 The non-occurrence of pu in 23a does not mean that aasip is not a derived nominal. The sentence Hwaan aasip-pu nemuuhay is also possible, but has a different meaning from 23a; it was translated as 'John likes the smoking'.
(25) a. thil tusit y may nemuuhay hmaaw
  clothes wash.NOM NEG like NEG
  'I don’t like the washer.'
  'I don’t like washing clothes.'

b. thil tusit y -pu may nemuuhay hmaaw
  clothes wash.NOM-DEM NEG like NEG
  'I don’t like the washed clothes.'

Although we normally expect *pu* to appear with derived nominals (cf. §2), its absence is often semantically motivated. In fact, *pu* is possible in 25a, but its presence would change the meaning of the sentence, as shown in 25b. In the former sentence, the nominalized form *tusit y*, without *pu*, refers either to the person or thing doing the wash, or to the act of washing itself, whereas in the latter sentence, *tusit y* with *pu* refers unambiguously to the object of washing, namely the clothes. Moreover, the relativizer *k* cannot appear in either sentence, for that would mean that 'clothes' is the subject of the verb 'wash'. As a result, *ty* is the only possible marker of nominalization which may occur in 25a. This circumstance supports the view that the sole function of this morpheme *ty* is that of nominalizer. While it may only occur with a limited class of verb stems, it is used precisely to indicate the status of one of these verbs as a derived nominal.

5. Conclusion. To summarize, we have seen that there is a single morphological process of nominalization in Jamul, which involves the suffixation of the segment *ty* to a verb stem ending in a vowel. In addition, verb stems with long (stressed) vowels shorten when they are nominalized in this way. It is possible that the presence of *ty* is obligatory with any nominalized verb stem of this type, but additional data is needed in order to confirm this hypothesis. The segment *ty* can never appear on stems ending in a consonant. There are also two other morphemes which may serve as signs of nominalization, though they are not actually nominalizers. One is the demonstrative clitic suffix *pu*, the other is the relativizer *k*. Both of these morphemes only occur with nominal elements. Finally, certain derived nominals which end in a consonant may appear without any of these three morphemes—in this case, their position in the sentence allows them to be analyzed as nominals.
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PREFACE

The 1990 meeting was the twentieth anniversary of the First Hokan conference, which met at the University of California, San Diego. From time to time, the conference has met with other groups such as the Penutian conference and the Uto-Aztecan conference. It now regularly meets with the Penutian conference.

The conference is again indebted to Margaret Langdon and the Department of Linguistics at the University of California, San Diego, for hosting the conference. Our thanks are also due to the various graduate students who took care of the numerous details such as supplying the endless coffee.

The papers in this volume appear in the same order as they did on the program at the conference. Unfortunately, a few of the presenters were not able to send in a paper for publication. All of the papers in the volume except the last one were presented at the 1990 meeting.

In 1983, 1984, and 1985, very few of the presenters sent in their papers for publication. In 1986, a few papers from each of these years were assembled into a single volume. Werner Winter sent his 1983 paper in so early that the editor lost it in the files, and Winter's paper was omitted from the 1986 volume. It is now egg-on-the-face time for the editor. Winter's paper is included in this volume as the last paper. Mea culpa.

Arrangements have been made with Coyote Press, P.O.B. 3377, Salinas, CA 93912, 408-422-4912, to reprint the various Hokan and Hokan-Penutian conference volumes. Dr. Gary S. Brechini of Coyote Press has told me that he will try to keep all the volumes in print. I have just sent him part of the original manuscripts and will be sending him the rest of the manuscripts very shortly. Only a very few of the original publications are still available. Please see the list at the end of the volume for details on the few remaining original volumes. I do not know how long it will be until Coyote Press will begin issuing reprints of the backissues.

James E. Redden
Carbondale, December 1990

Historical Note: The proceedings of the First Hokan conference were edited by Margaret Langdon and published by Mouton. I have edited all the other volumes of proceedings except those of 1988 and 1989, when I was in Africa. The 1988 and 1989 volumes of proceedings were edited by Scott Delancey in the series published by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Oregon. Please do not request these two volumes from me. Please address orders for the 1988 and 1989 volumes to: Department of Linguistics, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403. I hope that Scott will be willing to publish the Hokan-Penutian volumes regularly, when I retire in a few years.

JER
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