

SPACE: MOVEMENT AND LOCATION IN WINTU

by

PAIGE MARIE CRAMOND

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Linguistics
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2011

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Paige Marie Cramond

Title: Space: Movement and Location in Wintu

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Linguistics by:

Prof. Scott DeLancey Chairperson

Prof. Spike Gildea Member

and

Dr. Richard Linton Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies/Dean of
the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded June 2011

© 2011 Paige Marie Cramond

THESIS ABSTRACT

Paige Marie Cramond

Master of Arts

Department of Linguistics

June 2011

Title: Space: Movement and Location in Wintu

Approved: _____
Prof. Scott DeLancey

Wintu is a moribund Penutian language once spoken in the Sacramento River Valley in Northern California. Presently unexplored is Wintu expression of movement and location. Several avenues exist for nouns *and* verbs. Nouns receive optional locative suffixation, or location may be implied in the absence of a noun. Verbs may receive locative prefixes and/or an implied trajectory may be inherent to a verb's semantics; inherent location may also be expressed by nouns. In more complicated cases, nouns appear to receive established verbal morphology, or the nominal locative suffix or verbal locative prefixes occur in unusual contexts.

In order to reach primary conclusions, it was necessary to address other difficulties, including nominal aspect, unclear word-class boundaries, inconsistent glossing, lack of native speakers and an overall paucity of information. Primary data consist of texts recorded and transcribed in the 1970s and two English/Wintu dictionaries; analysis was based on forms from these documents.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Paige Marie Cramond

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED

University of Oregon, Eugene
Universität Regensburg, Regensburg, Germany
Universität Heidelberg, Heidelberg, Germany
College of the Redwoods, Crescent City, California

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Linguistics, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2011
Bachelor of Arts, Linguistics and German, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2006

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Penutian Language Family
Historical and Comparative Linguistics
German Phonology

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow in German (Eugene, OR), 2006 to 2007
Lecturer in Beginner to Intermediate English as a Foreign Language, University of Regensburg (Regensburg, Germany), 2007 to 2008
Lecturer in Advanced English as a Foreign Language, University of Bamberg (Bamberg, Germany), 2008 to 2010
Midwifery Intern, Bamberg Birth house (Bamberg, Germany), 2008

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Graduate Teaching Fellowship in German, 2006 to 2007 and 2010 to present

Performance Bonus (ca. \$5,000 one-time award based on teaching performance exceeding expectations), University of Bamberg (Bamberg, Germany), 2009

Summa cum Laude, University of Oregon, Eugene, 2006

Elizabeth Baricevic/Josefina Botta Memorial Scholarship, awarded by the Confederation in Oregon for Language Teaching, 2006

Star Scholarship, 2006-2007

Whetherbee Scholarship, 2004-2005

College of the Redwoods Scholarships, 2000-2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks must be extended to my adviser, Scott DeLancey, whose passion and interest for linguistics, especially historical and comparative linguistics, inspired me to pursue my Masters in the first place, whose disposition never failed to improve my mood, even when it was dinged by non-linguistic challenges, and who always knew exactly which book to recommend. Thanks as well to Spike Gildea for his enthusiasm and thoughtful and thorough comments and encouragement, all of which both enriched and condensed this paper.

Without the careful fieldwork of a handful of linguists and their consultants, including Harvey Pitkin, Alice Shepherd, Grace McKibbin, and anyone else who lent their knowledge and expertise to cracking the puzzle of Wintu and preserving it for future linguists and ethnic Wintus, this thesis would have never been possible.

Most special thanks to the Wintu, especially Mark Franco, who actually read all the papers I had ever written on Wintu and gave me hope that someone cares.

I had many thought-shaping conversations through the years of my linguistics studies with many people from the UO linguistics department from Eric Pederson and Doris Payne to Chris Dody to Shahar Shirtz. Their thinking helped shape mine, and for that I am grateful. The graduate thesis editor, Kim, was also a great help.

Steven Godó Kiss kept me sane, motivated, and excited about my project, providing me countless hours of companionship and encouragement and successfully reminding me that sunlight, silly movies, and exercise actually enhance productivity.

I would like to thank my parents, Helen Griffin and Grant Cramond, without whose generosity and support I would never have graduated with a BA, let alone an MA.

They enabled and encouraged my thirst for languages, and have been a steady source of wise perspectives throughout the years.

The German Department at the University of Oregon has further made my graduate study here possible through awarding me teaching fellowships throughout my MA, and providing me with international employment opportunities, to speak nothing of my colleagues' emotional support and friendship. Particularly instrumental in my growth as a teaching professional is Matthias Vogel, who has consoled me on my worst days of despair about academia, and Michael Stern, who is always a soothing soul to encounter in the German Department halls.

Thanks also to Rita Honka of the University of Oregon Dance Department, and to The Lorax, a student housing cooperative where my housemates helped simplify my life by doing everything from the dishes to the grocery shopping to cooking wonderful meals, not to mention regularly delivering me from the usual malaise of thesis writing and graduate school.

It is my sincere hope that everyone I have mentioned feels appreciated, and everyone I have forgotten forgives my faulty memory. Thank you all.

To the Wintu.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.0. Overview	1
1.1. Wintu: History of Language and People	1
1.2. Wintu Texts.....	5
1.3. Notational Conventions and Glossing Considerations	7
1.4. Space and Movement in the Linguistic Literature	8
1.5. Locative and Directional Affixation in Wintu and Other Penutian Languages	12
1.6. Grammar Sketch Introduction.....	13
1.7. Phonology	14
1.8. Word Classes in Wintu	15
1.9. Nouns	19
1.10. Verbs	20
1.11. Syntax	23
II. NOUNS	25
2.0. Overview	25
2.1. Clear Locative Situations with <i>-in</i> on Lexically Rich Words	27
2.2. Clear Locative Situations with <i>-in</i> on Words with Generic Locative Meaning	30
2.3. Incongruous Examples with <i>-in</i> in Locative Contexts	32
2.4. The “Locative” Suffix <i>-in</i> : Accusative Usages	36
2.5. Examples Where <i>-in</i> Would Be Expected, but Does Not Occur.....	38

Chapter	Page
2.6. There's No Place Like <i>qewel</i> : Internal Reconstruction of 'Home'?.....	41
2.7. There's No Place Like ____ . . . Implied Location without Nominal Reference	43
III. VERBS AND INDEPENDENT DIRECTIONAL FORMS.....	45
3.0. Overview.....	45
3.1. Verbs with Inherent Directional and Locational Semantics	46
3.2. Manner-Inherent Verbs.....	50
3.3. Independent Directional Forms.....	53
3.4. Directional Prefixes: Introduction.....	57
3.5. Directional Prefixes on Verbs.....	58
IV. CONCLUSION.....	67
4.0. Overview.....	67
4.1. Wintu vs. Talmy 2000/Slobin 2004.....	69
APPENDIX: ABBREVIATIONS	71
REFERENCES CITED.....	72

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Wintu Consonant Inventory	14
2. Independent, Non-Inflected Directional Forms	53
3. Mutually Dependent, Non-Inflected Directional Forms	54
4. Wintu Directional Prefixes, Class 1	57
5. Wintu Directional Prefixes, Class 2	57

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Overview

This MA thesis deals with motion and location in Wintu, an indigenous language once spoken in northern California. The present chapter introduces the Wintu language and people (Sections 1.1. and 1.6-1.11.) and reviews some relevant literature on the topic of movement and location (including Talmy 2000 and Slobin 2004) (Section 1.4.). Comparable constructions in other Penutian languages are also touched upon (Section 1.5). In subsequent chapters, Wintu methods of dealing with motion and location are addressed through the lens of several Wintu texts. Specifically, Chapter II deals with nouns and Chapter III with verbs. In my conclusion in Chapter IV, I discuss how Wintu conforms (and/or differs) from areal tendencies and theories in the literature on how languages work.

1.1. Wintu: History of Language and People

Wintu is the northernmost member of three Wintuan languages: Wintu, Nomlaki, and Patwin¹ (Pitkin 1984: 1). Wintuan as a whole is also linked to Maiduan, Miwokan, Yokuts, and Costanoan, all of which are characterized as Penutian (Pitkin 1984: 1; DeLancey & Golla 1997: 171-72). Wintu is also posited to have originally (about 1,000 years ago) come from Southern Oregon, where the “Oregon Penutian” languages (like

¹ Patwin has a few daughter languages as well (Pitkin 1984: 1).

Takelma, Kalapuyan, and the Coast Oregon Penutian languages Coosan, Siuslawan, and Alsea) originate (Golla 1997: 157; Whistler 1977: 166).

Wintu speakers once inhabited northern California in the Sacramento River Valley area, their territory extending also to the west (Pitkin 1984: 1). Before colonial contact, the Wintu existed in villages of anywhere from 20-30 to 150-200 people (Du Bois 1935: 28). The estimate of the total original number of speakers ranges broadly. Dotta 1980: 126 quotes Cook 1976: 180 as having asserted about 3,000 Wintu speakers. In fact, Cook (1976: 19) lists 3,000 speakers for Hill Wintun alone, positing another 1,500 River Wintun speakers and 5,300 Northern Wintun or Wintu speakers (9,800 total speakers). This is closer to the sum of 12,000 that Shepherd 1989: 1 quotes Kroeber (1925) as having established.² Dotta (1980: 127) posits a full 27,000. See Dotta (1980) for an illustrative account of the reasons behind the variety of estimates both on a state-wide level and also at the tribe level. He bases his figures on likely population densities based on food resources, and on accounts of the number of villages and their sizes, combined with a seemingly-conservative estimate of the number of people who potentially lived in each house in these villages.

Villages were interconnected through the administration of chiefs and headmen, headmen usually being in charge of smaller villages. These leaders were chosen based on their suitability for organizing inter-village activities, mediating disputes, and distributing surplus resources, but the positions tended to be hereditary, passed on to the eldest son (Dotta 1980).

² Shepherd did not include a page number and I did not find her source in the original. Kroeber (1925) does have a footnote on page 362 that seems to discuss population in his Wintun chapter, but he talks about the Nom-kewel and Palti-kewel, arguing for a figure between 1,000 and 5,000.

Salmon, which were caught on their way downstream after spawning (Stone 1973:³ 20), was a main food staple for the Wintu, whose connection to the river was (and remains) inextricable (Winnemem Home Page). Currently, the tribe is very involved in water rights and bringing back the salmon to their original spawning grounds (Winnemem Home Page). Other sources of food included bear, nuts (including acorns and “Digger pine” nuts), and salmon eggs (Stone 1973: 19-21). Various flora were also gathered for food, including wild potatoes and berries (Masson 1966: 11). The Wintu hunted with spears and bow and arrow, and later by rifle (Stone 1973: 5). Their dwellings fit the weather and the seasons as necessary, sometimes “shacks of oak posts covered with cedar bark and branches” and sometimes “earth lodges,” which were homes dug into the ground, roofed with branches and covered again with dirt (Masson 1966: 9). Basketweaving was also performed using gathered flora, and gambling was a popular pastime (Masson 1966: 14).

Scores of Wintu fell to the same atrocities that many other Native American tribes suffered under during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Suffice it to say that by 1910, the census listed only 399 remaining Wintu speakers (Pitkin 1984: 1).

Harvy Pitkin first analyzed Wintu in his 1984 *Grammar*, for which he credited Carrie Dixon, Joe Charles, and Ellen Silverthorn as his main consultants, and very marginally Nels Sisson, Lizzie Feder, Renee Coleman, Flora Jones, Walter Loomis, Grace McKibbin,⁴ Lizzie Cortez, Bill Reed, Johnny Stacey, Edna Fan, and Mary Major. He also wrote a comprehensive *Dictionary* in 1985, for which he consulted with Grace

³ Stone’s original writings were in the 1870s, but were published in a collection in 1973.

⁴ There was some discrepancy in spelling speaker names between different authors and within the same author in different years, ranging from McKibbon to McKibben to McKibbin, the most frequent spelling and the one used in the newest source (Shepherd 1997). I have retained that spelling here.

McKibbin, Carrie Dixon, Renee Coleman, Joe Charles, Ellen Silverthorn, Flora Jones, and Walter Loomis. Wintu is also preserved in a number of texts that were compiled in Alice Shepherd's (1989) *Wintu Texts*, in which her primary consultant was Grace McKibbin and marginally Carrie B. Dixon. Shepherd also published a *Wintu Dictionary* in 1981 under the name Alice Schlichter, for which she mentioned a further consultant, Renee Coleman. Recordings of some of text-collecting sessions between Alice Shepherd and Grace McKibbin exist; clips of these can be heard online (Berkeley Language Center). All fluent native speakers are deceased; there are still a few adult tribe members who remember some words (Mark Franco,⁵ personal communication). As of today, there are no fluent speakers of Wintu, although the associated tribe is eager to establish federal tribal status in California and there is considerable energy being put towards language revitalization (Winnemem Home Page). As it stands, however, any investigations into Wintu are necessarily philological.

The native speakers who served as language consultants for the linguists who described Wintu were diverse and accomplished; it would be beyond the scope of this paper to detail and honor each one's life, but it would seem peculiar to omit all mention of their personal lives from this paper. I have thus chosen to include a brief biography of Grace McKibbin, who seemed to frequently receive top mention on the lists of consultants provided by various linguists.

Grace McKibbin was, by Shepherd's account, a veritable fountain of knowledge on Wintu ways and had an incredible memory for both the stories she shared, and other aspects of Wintu culture. She was an accomplished singer and supported herself and her family during the Great Depression by hunting and trapping, skills she had learned from

⁵ Mark Franco is the Winnemem Wintu Headman. Conversation on April 16, 2011.

her father. Her mother died when Grace was young after having been struck by lightning with Grace on her back. Grace was too young to have participated in some of the traditional Wintu hunting and gathering activities, but she was old enough to remember them being done. She lived to be 92, and as of 1987 was survived by her daughter, nine grandchildren, and ten great-grandchildren (information from Shepherd 1989).

Work on Penutian and Wintu specifically has enjoyed odd sporadic bursts of linguist interest since (and before) the flurry of activity around Wintu in the 1980s (see also Brown (1989), Wash (1990), and Shepherd (2006)). Dorothee Demetracopoulou-Lee published a series of articles in the 1930s and 1940s relating to various Wintu idiosyncrasies, and work on Penutian languages in general experienced a brief spurt of interest in 1997 (for example, Kendall (1997), Callaghan (1997), Tarpent (1997), Rude (1997), Grant (1997), Golla (1997), DeLancey & Golla (1997)).

1.2. Wintu Texts

Alice Shepherd's (1989) *Wintu Texts* contains 89 narratives ranging in length and content. Each text consists of units of Wintu, under which is listed a rough, often word-by-word, sometimes morpheme-by-morpheme gloss (only touching on the most important semantic elements), followed separately by a free translation in English.⁶ Shepherd included additional commentary when it was provided by her consultants. I have conformed to Shepherd's free translations except where otherwise mentioned and justified.

⁶ She does give an exhaustive morphological analysis of one text. Pitkin's *Grammar* likewise gives a single fully-glossed text.

Shepherd (1997) details the difference between the genre of Tales and Legends on pages 36-37, and it appears from her analysis that I am dealing with Tales in my analyses.⁷ Tales deal with animals who have the motivations and characteristics of humans (Shepherd 1997: 36-37).

One text used in the following analysis is “Bat and His Wives,” a 43-line story about Bat and his two wives (who happen to be both sisters and ducks). Bat goes off every day to “hunt” and brings home meat that the younger sister dislikes. The two decide to follow Bat to see what he goes hunting for and discover that he has been cutting out his own liver to feed to them. They leave him, disgusted, and when he discovers their absence, he pursues them. On his quest to find them, he encounters Graysquirrel, who, annoyed by Bat’s questions of where his wives are, tricks Bat into standing below his tree and looking up, at which point he drops pitch into Bat’s eyes. Bat has to poke holes through the pitch so that he can see; the story is said to explain why bats have such small eyes.

Another story utilized for analysis is “Chipmunk and Gopher,” a 46-line story about a pair of brothers (the title characters), who live far away from one another. One winter, Gopher begins to worry that Chipmunk might be cold and have died; when spring comes, he searches for his brother and finds his suspicions confirmed. General mourning and a funeral ensue.

“Skunk (2)” is a 143-line text that follows the adventures of the title character, who goes to lengths to avoid water and whom women (and everyone) despise because he smells bad. He first pursues his two duck wives who have left him, then gets pitch

⁷ Although I have no reason at this time to suspect that the expression of movement and location is any different in any other genre of Wintu, since I am only dealing with Tales, I can only comment on Tales.

dropped in his eyes by Graysquirrel (for whom this is apparently a beloved hobby), then pursues a new woman, Toad, who also rejects him based on his stench. He then meets Mink (a man), whose fish he steals and eats, and at the end, he proclaims his intention to exile himself to a log, where he intends to live out his stinky days without bathing.

1.3. Notational Conventions and Glossing Considerations

Morphemes and words are sometimes **bolded** in examples to draw attention to them; *italics* express original Wintu (including in the first line of examples) or other non-English words. Where emphasis is required in the rest of the text, relevant words have been underlined to avoid confusion.

In examples, the first line is the original Wintu from its source, and the second line is parsed, with a dash (“-”) expressing morpheme boundaries. The third line consists of relevant morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, with grammatical terms abbreviated (see appendix) and in CAPS. Lexical concepts requiring more than one word in English have these words separated by a period (for example, ‘digger.pine.cones’). Morpheme glosses are what I gleaned based on the dictionaries with help from Shepherd’s (1989) original glosses. When I have relied more heavily on Shepherd’s interpretations, I have mentioned it.

Examples, unless otherwise mentioned, are from Shepherd’s (1989) *Wintu Texts*, with an abbreviation for which story is being mentioned, plus a line number. For example, C&G: 10 would be the tenth line of “Chipmunk and Gopher.” I have not included page numbers from glosses found from either dictionary unless I have reason to believe that the reader could not simply find the words by looking them up. Pitkin (1984)

is abbreviated to *P* plus page numbers, so Pitkin (1984: 13) is *P: 13*. Schlichter (1981) and Shepherd (1989) are abbreviated to Schlichter and Shepherd (without the respective years) since these works are so heavily relied upon.

One facet of Wintu that complicates both segmentation and overall understanding is that there is a seemingly unending potential to unwind glosses into smaller and smaller semantic chunks, besides there being entire morphemes that are sometimes simply omitted due to consonant cluster simplification. I repeat examples that contain both verbal and nominal examples appropriate to the section where they are discussed. When seen in their particular categories, I have more completely glossed whichever words are the topic of discussion, often simplifying parsing and glossing for words that do not relate to the given topic. Tension exists here between actual synchronic morpheme breakdown and reconstruction—I do not to claim to have made definitive synchronic glosses, but do attempt to mention anything and everything that might be important, if not directly here, then to future linguists. I have relegated much discussion of minute morphemic challenges to the realm of footnotes, many of which probably constitute a worthy venue for further research on their own.

1.4. Space and Movement in the Linguistic Literature

The starting place for a background discussion of space and movement is the second volume of Talmy's (2000) seminal work on the subject. Talmy is mainly concerned with what he calls the "conceptual approach," which effectively covers how meaning (i.e., "conceptual content") is structurally (i.e., through "patterns and processes") coded in languages (pg. 2). He did much typological work to discover the

existence of universalities and also the *nonexistence* of patterns/possibilities. “Hence, the overarching trajectory of this body of work [is] to ascertain the universal properties of conceptual organization in language” (Talmy 2000: 15). Talmy deals with verb roots in order to make cross-language comparison possible; he asserts that all languages, be they polysynthetic or isolating, have verb roots (27).

Talmy employs the terms Figure, Ground, and Path. Figure refers to the main actor in a given linguistic situation. Ground is the background against which this figure acts. Path expresses both concepts of movement and stative location at a given Ground by a given Figure. He describes what he calls “Motion events,” which can either be a MOVE event or a BEloc (i.e. “be at location”) event. What he calls “co-events” encompass ideas of manner and/or cause (25-26).

Talmy identifies two common typological strategies for dealing with motion, concentrating on path. These two types are “verb-framed” and “satellite-framed.” In the first type,⁸ motion and path are conflated in the verb. An example of this would be, for example, Spanish: *la botella entró/salió la cueva flotanda*, ‘the bottle entered/exited the cave floating’. Here the manner in which the bottle exits or enters is expressed in an additional subordinate verb form whereas motion and path (movement into/out of) are bundled in the verb.

In satellite-framed languages,⁹ motion is conflated with a co-event (i.e., manner or causation) in the verb, and a satellite (for example, a preposition or other particle type (102)) expresses path. For example, in English we can say “I twisted the cork from the

⁸ Languages of this type include Romance, Bantu, Polynesian, and Semetic languages and some branches of Mayan in addition to Japanese, Tamil, Nez Perce, and Caddo (Talmy 2000: 49, 222).

⁹ For example, most Indo-European languages other than the Romance branch in addition to Finno-Ugric languages, Chinese, Ojibwa, and Warlbiri (Talmy 2000: 47, 222).

bottle” which includes in the verb the manner in which the cork was removed (by twisting), while the path that the cork took is expressed in the preposition ‘from’. More relevant to the Spanish example would be ‘the bottle floated into the cave’ where the preposition ‘into’ is the “satellite” that expresses the path.

Useful as it is as a springboard for further research, Talmy’s (2000) binary typological distinction is not all-encompassing. Montler (2008), for example, states that in Klallam, a Salish language native to Washington state and British Columbia, there are locative verbs and motion verbs that occur in a series with members of their own class, but rarely with members of the other class. Languages that employ serial verbs are particularly poorly represented by Talmy (2000), but even languages as unexotic as French may be transitioning between satellite-framing and verb-framing (see Kopecka in press).

Slobin (2004) proposes adding a third type, which he dubs “equipollently-framed.” This is a combination of the other two established types, where the “path and manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms” (Slobin 2004: 25). Slobin (2004) further stresses that rhetorical style is influenced by the chosen lexicalization types available to a language, that is, that a language’s organization can in turn organize thought. He included children as young as three years old in his study, which involved native speakers of various languages telling a story about a frog, to get at the languages’ most basic strategies.

Especially confounding to Talmy’s (2000) typology are the Mayan languages (Slobin 2004: 19).¹⁰ Mayan languages appear to have directional particles which are

¹⁰ Note that there has been a dubious comparison made between Wintu and Mayan languages (see Brown 1989).

reported to have derived from verbs expressing path,¹¹ but nevertheless retain enough path expression in their main verbs that Tzeltal, for example, is classified as a verb-framed language with satellite “flavor” (Slobin 2004: 20).

Slobin (2004) also notes that Talmy (2000) himself mentioned Nez Perce (another Penutian language) and its manner prefixes, which support the need for an expanded typology. DeLancey (2009) (see also DeLancey 2003) elaborates on other North American languages known for having what are called “bipartite” verb stems, where verb stems can often be broken down into mutually-dependent prefixes and suffixes, neither of which can occur on their own, but either of which can often also be affixed onto other, more typical verbs; these verb parts tend to have locative or directional (or instrumental) meanings. Languages that employ this strategy form a belt across western North America, and include some Penutian and Hokan languages. This phenomenon has been most thoroughly described for Klamath, but Talmy (2000) mentions a similar pattern in Atsugewi, a Northern California Hokan language. Atsugewi has an abundance of verb roots that conflate motion and figure (for example, *-swal-* means ‘for a limp linear object suspended by one end (e.g., a shirt on a clothesline, a hanging dead rabbit, a flaccid penis) to move/be located’). These roots can be further specified for location with locative or directional suffixes and prefixes (Talmy 2000: 58-60).

Slobin (2004) also mentions that some languages like to mention ‘ground’ more than others. Some languages allow several grounds per verb, whereas others do not. Some prefer to mention sources *and* destinations, while some prefer one to the other.

¹¹ This would be consistent with Penutian languages—Golla (1997: 167) specifically mentions that Wintu directional prefixes likely derived from independent (usually verbal) forms.

1.5. Locative and Directional Affixation in Wintu and Other Penutian Languages

Locative and directional affixation is the main focus of this thesis, to which end a short overview of Wintu affixation and comparable constructions in other Penutian languages is warranted. Most affixes in Wintu are optional, but some affixes trigger other affixes to occur (P: 58). Prefixes are less common than suffixes and can only be derivational, while suffixes can be either derivational or inflectional (P: 59). Verbal prefixes, of which there are about twenty, are exclusively locational and directional in their semantics, and are a main focus of Chapter III.

Penutian languages' preference for prefixing or suffixing varies. Takelma, one of Wintu's Oregon Penutian cousins, employs verbal directional prefixes, despite preferring suffixes in general (Sapir 1912: 55).

Santiam Kalapuya has a handful of verbal directional prefixes (around six—see Banks 2007: 15), and a “durative locative” verbal suffix (22), which never co-occurs with other verbal suffixes and can carry aspectual meanings (83), as can the directional prefixes (see pages 58-68 for a more thorough description of these forms). Santiam Kalapuya also has what Banks (2007: 13) calls a “non-productive spatial adverbial prefix” *či-*; the words to which this form is attached are words like *le* ‘near’ and *ma* ‘ahead’, which are not seen without the prefix.

As far as the Coast Oregon Penutian languages go, Coos and Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua) are both extremely suffixing.¹² Coos has what Frachtenberg (1922a: 365, 367, 369) calls “adverbial” suffixes with locative semantics, which he notes are nominal but that are “rarely” suffixed onto verbs as well. There is also a locative suffix that is only

¹² Siuslawan has only two prefixes (neither of which has locative or directional meaning) (Frachtenberg 1922b: 461).

suffixed to adverbials (Frachtenberg 1922a: 362). There are also around thirty “adverbs” that express locative functions (Frachtenberg 1922a: 404-405), in addition to a locative particle (Frachtenberg 1922a: 411).

Siuslaw has six adverbial locative suffixes that attach to nominal forms, plus another locative suffix that attaches onto the intransitive verbs that serve as adjectives (Frachtenberg 1922b: 549-53). Another 29 locative adverbials exist which cause nouns with which they co-occur to receive locative suffixation (Frachtenberg 1922b: 588-89). Siuslaw also has a locative “stem” that can be suffixed onto verbs (Frachtenberg 1922b: 603).

Frachtenberg (1922b: 601) notes that Alsea has “many” directional suffixes, and believes that another of Siuslaw’s locative particles is a borrowing from the Alsea.

Klamath also prefers suffixation for the expression of its locative concepts (see DeLancey 1999 and 2007). Especially notable for Klamath is its sizable inventory of locational forms, namely over 100 (DeLancey 2007).

1.6. Grammar Sketch Introduction

In the following pages, I give an overview of the entire grammar, giving special focus to those parts that might be helpful for the understanding of the discussion of space in Wintu. Not all of what follows is directly related to Wintu expression of movement and location, but understanding the background of forms and segmentation will prove useful in understanding examples in the main chapters.

1.7. Phonology

Pitkin notes six contrasting vowels and thirty consonants, half of whose distributions are “very limited.”¹³ Table 1 gives the Pitkin’s consonant inventory (see P: 25) with international phonetic alphabet (IPA) orthography in parentheses when they differ. I have followed Pitkin’s lead on orthography everywhere for consonants.

Table 1: Wintu Consonant Inventory

	Stops	Fricatives	Affricate	Sonorants
Unaspirated	p, t, k, q, ʔ	s, λ (ʃ), x, h, ɣ (χ)	c (tʃ)	l, n, w, m, r (r̥), y (j)
Aspirated	p ^h , t ^h			
Glottalized	ᵑ, ᵑ̚, k̚, and q̚	λ̚	ć	
Voiced	b, d			

Schlichter uses /č/, /č̚/, /ʎ/, and /ʎ̚/ for Pitkin’s /c/, /ć/, /λ/, and /λ̚/, ostensibly due to dialectal differences of her speakers. I have also retained her original symbols when quoting her work.

Wintu vowels consist of /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/ (the IPA would probably say /æ/); Pitkin depicts long vowels with /i·/, which I have replaced in my orthography by doubling the vowel. For example, Pitkin’s /i·/ becomes /ii/ for my purposes. Non-identical vowels do not occur adjacently, so any VV is actually a long version of the first vowel. Vowel length itself is normally contrastive, but is not consistently so—in some contexts, the length difference is neutralized, and sometimes vowel length appears to be stylistic (P: 38). Pitkin (1984 and 1985) further utilizes /E/ and /O/, which represent a pattern in which /e/ and /o/ raise to /i/ or /u/ in the environment of __Ca(a), and remain /e/ and /o/ elsewhere. This vowel ablaut rule is quite consistent.

¹³ I do not mention those that were not in common use.

Consonant clusters tend to be disallowed (with a few stable anomalous exceptions). Consonants may be adjacent, but only as long as they are part of separate syllables. At one point in his *Grammar* (pg 54), Pitkin claims that harmonically suitable epenthetic vowels can be added at intervals to help maintain the required CV(V)(C) canon for syllables, but later (104-05) he mentions that the intervening vowels are actually stem-forming suffixes (see discussion below), and that the first consonant in a consonant cluster formed by affixation is simply deleted (P: 45; examples on 47). From the data it is difficult for me to determine which is correct—since words become reanalyzed with every subsequent suffix (see discussion below), either hypothesis seems plausible. Morphemes often consist of a single consonant and consonant cluster simplification plus what Pitkin calls consonant ablaut (which amounts to phonetically conditioned consonant alternation and idiolectal and dialectal free variation) complicate segmentation of forms.

1.8. Word Classes in Wintu

In order to better understand glosses in the following chapters, it is important to understand what constitutes a word in Wintu and how that is established. There are four types of words as distinguished on the basis of morphology: substantives (nouns), predicates (verbs), sentence connectives, and an uninflected set (P: 10-13). Each group can be further divided: predicates into auxiliaries, independent verbs, and dependent verbs; substantives into nouns and pronouns (P: 11). The uninflected set can be

subdivided into clitics, exclamatives, conjunctions, and adverbials, all based on function and distribution (P: 12-13).¹⁴

The foundation of nouns and verbs consists of what Pitkin calls the “root,” which can often take both nominal and predicative morphology, although there are some roots that only take one category of morphology at the exclusion of the other.¹⁵ There are also words that are neither nominal nor predicative, and which do not take any morphology at all, notably directional forms which are in focus in Chapter III.

Roots are an open class, and the only obligatory category in word-building (P: 84). Pitkin claims on page 85 of his *Grammar* that roots tend to be monosyllabic with a CV(V)C structure, but on page 53 says that roots tend to follow a CV pattern, usually with a subsequent C as stem marker. In my experience working with the texts, his CV(V)C estimation is more accurate, and I believe that he might have meant that these “stem markers” were simply suggestive of past morphemes; they appear to be reconstructions. Vowel length and root reduplication can both be used to indicate meanings of plurality/iterativity before any affixes are added.

Since roots tend not to be free forms, they usually minimally require one of three derivational stem-forming suffixes in order to be uttered (P: 63). These suffixes seem to be the first line of differentiation of word type: *-a* ‘indicative’, *-u* ‘imperative’, and *-i* ‘nominal’. The first two designate predicative functions, with the last suffix expressing nominal concepts (P: 64).

¹⁴ Shepherd (1997: 27) mentions that members of the sentence connectives class are all derived from *ʔun* and *ʔuw-* ‘do something at a distance’ (the former is derived from the latter), and gives the example of *ʔunaa* ‘and’, and mentions as well that the uninflected class includes, among others, conjunctions, adverbs, and directionals.

¹⁵ Siuslaw’s stems also do not differentiate between nouns and verbs prior to category-appropriate affixation (Frachtenberg 1922b: 464).

A better understanding of these stem formants will help the reader appreciate Wintu vowel alternation. What Pitkin calls the “indicative” is closest to what might be called the citation form, and is the most commonly used stem formant for elicited forms (recall that bare roots require at least one suffix in order to be spoken). The indicative is for actual events, and is often further affixed with evidential categories that denote the certainty of an action. An example of the indicative is given as Example 1:

1. *ćaawa*
ćaaw – a
sing – INDIC
'(to) sing' (P: 76)

The indicative contrasts with the next verb-stem-creating suffix that Pitkin identifies, namely the so-called “imperative” form, which is offered when a command is requested and is also relatively easily elicited. Pitkin apparently called this suffix the “imperative” simply because it can be elicited when a command is sought, but glossing it as such creates more confusion than this convenience is worth. Pitkin notes that his so-called imperative carries meanings including “mode, tense-aspect, voice, potentiality...”—basically non-indicative meanings. A more appropriate gloss would perhaps be “irrealis,” one which I have adopted in my analysis. An example is as follows in Example 2:

2. *ćaawu*
ćaaw – u
sing – IRR
'(you) sing!' (P: 76)

The third type of stem-deriving suffix that Pitkin mentions is the nominal. Pitkin notes that nominal forms are difficult to elicit without extensive suffixation and context that specifies their meaning; as an example Pitkin offers ‘sing’, which, in its bare nominalized form, means anything from ‘song’ to ‘singer’ to ‘singing’. See Example 3:

3. *éaawi* (unusual)
 - éaaw – i
 - sing – NML
 - ‘song, singer, singing...’ (ambiguous) (P: 76)

All these stem-forming suffixes can be used on the same word in a particular order (namely *-u* or *-i* followed by *-a*) in order to create different gradations in meaning (P: 66), and the stem-forming suffixes can be alternated with other derivational suffixes, creating a veritable telescoping network of intertwined meanings. This process can continue until an inflectional suffix has been added, at which point no further derivation is allowed (P: 58-59). All that notwithstanding, any of derivational suffixes, inflectional suffixes, or stem formants can constitute the final morpheme in a word (P: 59). The irrealis participates most easily in the “neutralization” of word forms for further suffixation as different types and meanings of words, which is why Pitkin considers it to be the most “basic” stem formant (P: 66). In effect, words affixed with *-u* often function as roots (P: 67). Irrealis stems are frequently derived into indicatives (P: 65), and nouns in general are frequently derived from verb forms (P: 63). It seems that the last stem formant that is affixed onto a form determines whether that word is analyzed as a substantive or predicate. One complication of the stem formants is that their allomorphy sometimes overlaps (see P: 72-76), which works to confound segmentation.

One way to think of this morphological system (for verbs), albeit crudely, is as follows. Keep in mind that a verb can conclude with inflection, derivation, or a stem formant.

(prefix) + (prefix) + ROOT +
 (stem.formant+derivation+stem.formant+derivation+stem.formant... +inflection)

1.9. Nouns

One perpetual challenge in Wintu syntax is the Particular and the Generic nominal aspect. It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into detail on this topic, but without an introduction, the reader will have difficulty understanding glosses in the examples in future chapters, particularly since the generic and the nominal locative suffix share an allomorph, *-n*, which is more in focus in Chapter II. The particular is “specific in force, indicating singularity, animateness, personification, or individuation” (P: 202). The generic aspect, on the other hand, is “associated with plurality, inanimateness, a mass of parts or individuals” (P: 202). Both are exceedingly allomorph-rich. Generic is the more common category (P: 205). This marking seems to be akin to word classes—Pitkin says himself that they correlate with number (“to a degree”) when thought of in terms of English categories (P: 202). That being said, they cannot be simplified entirely. For example, *sedet* (with the particular suffix *-t*) means ‘Coyote, the hero in myths as personified’ but *sedes* (with the generic suffix *-s*) denotes ‘coyote(s), as species’.

Noun phrases and participants, once introduced, are often under- or unspecified upon further mention. Judging from the texts, person marking is relatively uncommon and inference is heavily relied upon when deciding who is being discussed. Pronouns especially can take a variety of suffixes indicating aspect, case, and number (though such affixation is not required of all categories of substantives).

One focus of Chapter II is the nominal locative suffix *-in*, which “marks substantives and noun phrases for spatial or temporal location” (P: 217). Not every instance of *-in* will be discussed, however. Specifically, what look like fossilized locative forms are ignored. For example, see *koomin* in B&W: 3.

B&W: 3

ƙodumabiya koomin, ƙodumabiya

ƙoduma – bEy – a **koomin** ƙoduma – bEy – a

hunt – IMPERF – INDIC **always** hunt – IMPERF – INDIC

‘He went hunting all the time; he went hunting’.

Pitkin glosses *koomin* as ‘always, all the time’, but further specifies that it is in the “generic aspect, locative case.” Pitkin calls *koo* on its own a classifier, namely ‘all’, an independent non-possessed noun, and *koom* ‘all things; the whole, all over, all of it; everything (generic aspect, subject case)’. All that notwithstanding, it seems like *koomin* simply occurs as such, and means ‘always, all the time’, without any tangible sense of motion or location. Such words are simply glossed as a whole without further note taken of their internal segmentability.

1.10. Verbs

Verbs are statistically more numerous than any other word type within the language, and have comparatively complex internal morphology (P: 63). Person marking on the verb is a recent addition to the language, and historically, marking for self or no marking was preferred (P: 11).

Classification as a dependent, independent, or auxiliary verb depends on function and morphological structure (Pitkin’s discussion of auxiliaries begins on 160).

Auxiliaries contribute modal and temporal concepts, and they usually occur after an independent verb, along with other auxiliaries (P: 161). Less commonly, they can occur as the head of the phrase in the context of a nominal stem (P: 161). “If the main verb is an indicative stem, it functions like a participle; if a nominal stem, it functions like a noun object (gerund) of the auxiliary” (P: 161). Pitkin does not fully explore auxiliaries in his

grammar, but says this about their potential origin: “Auxiliaries are either closely related in form and meaning to independent verbs and other auxiliaries, or are clearly derivable from roots with other functions (e.g., demonstratives)” (P: 161).

Schlichter (1986) discusses that notions of tense are not expressed in Wintu as they are in languages like English, but rather are often expressed through the use of the evidential system. Events are thought to simply *be*, and their relation to the time of speaking and the interlocutors themselves is expressed by use of this system, by which speakers communicate their personal knowledge of an event. The evidential suffixes are commonly combined with aspectual auxiliaries that specify chronology of events in reference to one another, but the speaker and the present time are not the automatic assumed starting point in reference (Schlichter 1986: 55-58). Shepherd (1997) simplifies this hypothesis, saying that Wintu employs aspect to express concepts of time (32), and that aspect is expressed with the use of auxiliaries (33), making no mention of evidentials.

Many Wintu auxiliaries can be used as independent verbs with locational or positional meanings, but such words are only discussed when there is a clear semantic sense of the movement or location. It is perhaps interesting to at least mention, however, that non-literal grammatical extensions of positional verbs do exist in Wintu, as in most languages.

In Wintu, the future is derived from ‘come’, as can be seen contrasted in Examples 4 and B&W: 12 below—Pitkin (1985) glosses *wEr* alternately as ‘come’ and as the ‘future intentional aspect auxiliary’.

4: *ni weruu*
 ni **wEr** – uu
 1st.SG come – IRR
 ‘Shall I come?’ (Pitkin 1985)

B&W: 12
baamaawira p̣ooqtam puṛpuqat.
 baama – a – **wEr** – a p̣ooqtam puṛpuqat
 feed – INDIC – **FUT** – INDIC two.women his.dual.wives¹⁶
 ‘He was going to feed it to the women, his wives’.

Similarly, Wintu *biya* can have both the literal sense of ‘be lying down’, in the sense of spatial location, and the grammatical extension of ‘imperfective aspect auxiliary’.

5: *biyada*
bEy – a – da
 be.lying.down – indicative – 1st.SG
 ‘I am in bed; I am lying down’. (Pitkin 1985)

B&W: 3
kodumabiya koomin, kodumabiya
 ḳoduma – **bEy** – a koomin ḳoduma – **bEy** – a
 hunt – IMPERF – INDIC always hunt – IMPERF – INDIC
 ‘He went hunting all the time; he went hunting’.

Beyond these examples, there are three types of copulas, including seven auxiliary forms, three of which are homophonous with *bEy* ‘lie’, *bOh* ‘sit’, and *suk* ‘stand’, verbs that have location or position semantics (P: 164-165). Apparently *bEy* also contributes to the evidentiality set (P: 146). Many auxiliaries have contracted forms.

There are also “demonstrative copulas”: *ɣiy*, which is “unmarked” and shows ‘doing’ in a near proximity, and *ɣuw*, which also shows ‘doing’, but expresses “foregrounded, contrasted, topicalized, other, distant, or in some way marked action or existential relationship” (P: 166) (compare this to the proximal demonstrative pronoun *ɣew* ‘this’). Both can be independent verbs in their own right, while *ɣiy* can also be an

¹⁶ Further discussion of the breakdown of this form will be made in Chapter II.

auxiliary (P: 167). A third “demonstrative copula” is *ʔel*, a dependent visual evidential copula (P: 166). There are examples of these starting on Pitkin 1984: 16.

Also worthy of mention is *-el*, a suffix with stative meaning. This is typically translated as ‘to be...’ (P: 94), and is distinct from, although possibly related to *ʔel*, the experimental/visual evidential. Note its formal similarity to the directionals *ʔel* ‘in, in horizontally, intensively’ and *yel* ‘back, away’.

1.11. Syntax

Pitkin does not deal extensively with the topic of syntax, but does mention that he notes a similarity in structure between sentences and verbs.

“The primary syntactic pattern of verb phrase in sentence-final position, with the lexically significant verb-participle head followed by auxiliary verbs, the last of which is inflected, recapitulates in expanded form the internal structure of verbs with the root first, followed by derivational and, finally, inflectional suffixes” (P: 55).

Put more graphically:

SENTENCES

Beginning	PREDICATE
Sentence.beginning(NPs and so forth)	lexical.verb.particle.head (auxiliary) auxiliary+inflection

VERBS

Root	–	derivational.suffix(es)	–	inflectional.suffix
------	---	-------------------------	---	---------------------

This is just what we would expect given Givon (1971).

Shepherd (1997: 35) describes a relatively free word order in Wintu, with a most frequent occurrence of SOV, SVO being common and OVS perfectly acceptable, especially in the case of a pronominal subject. Shepherd (1997: 35) concurs with Pitkin

that auxiliaries follow verbs, and adds that when auxiliaries are involved, they receive inflection rather than the lexical verbs.

In the following chapters, nouns and verbs are discussed at length in reference to their locative and directional tendencies.

CHAPTER II

NOUNS

2.0. Overview

What is the purpose of nominal location? As we saw in Chapter I, Talmy (2000) refers to ideas of Figure and Ground. Essentially, nouns bear locative morphology to show that they are the Ground. Locative morphology also often tells us the spatial relation the ground serves *vis-à-vis* the figure (destination, source...). This can be more explicit in satellite-framed languages (for example, the robust system of locative prepositions in English), and less explicit in verb-framed languages. Sometimes nominal locatives can be unmarked (for example, the English *He reached the house*, in which ‘reach’ is equivalent to ‘arrive at’).

There are several facets of Wintu nominal location to consider, but most of the discussion in this chapter revolves around the presence and absence of the suffix *-in*. Schlichter calls *-in* a locative-instrumental. Pitkin (1984: 217) sees it as a locative that positions nouns either spatially or temporally (calling *-r* the instrumental). Pitkin (1985) lists *-n* on its own as an allomorph of the locative, the genitive (*-un*), and the generic nominal aspect, in addition to several verbal uses. Most usual for the marking of Ground is simple suffixation with *-in*,¹⁷ which can occur either on lexically rich words (Section 2.1.) or on less semantically rich words that inherently indicate spatial meanings (words like ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘anywhere’, etc.) (Section 2.2). Some locative uses of *-in* behave strangely (Section 2.3.), and sometimes, it seems that Pitkin’s definition of *-in* needs to

¹⁷ *-in* follows consonants; *-n* follows vowels.

be expanded, as there are examples of *-in* that are arguably used in an accusative function¹⁸ (2.4.). Suffixation with *-in* sometimes does not occur when it seems like it should (Section 2.5.), and there is also a word that appears to be a noun, yet which receives what appears to be verbal morphology (2.6.). There is also a situation of a verb that contains both concepts of path ‘go’ and ground ‘home’ (*hEn*), which eliminates the need for a nominal locative (2.7.) and bridges the gap between this chapter and Chapter III on verbs. Even after modifying glosses to reflect function, some puzzles remain that would require the help of native speakers to solve.

Relevant to this discussion is the disjunctive “postclitic” *-too*, which “foregrounds, topicalizes, focuses, marks new information, and in the subject case marks agency” (P: 223). In the texts I looked at carefully, I only encountered *-too* followed by *-n* or the particular nominal aspect suffix *-t*. Pitkin (1984: 223) considers both *-toon* and *-toot* to be expressive of particular nominal aspect (*t* suffixation indicating “particular subject” an *n* indicating “particular locative,” apparently). *-too* without suffixation is given as an example of “generic subject,” and *-toonin* is labeled the generic locative (neither provided with context or illustrative examples) (P: 223). I am not certain how Pitkin would have broken down *-toonin*. In any case, *-toonin* was not in any of the texts that I examined thoroughly, although a cursory search through the online (Google Books)¹⁹ version of Shepherd’s texts revealed that there are at least 37 total instances of *-toonin*. In the texts I used, *-too* was only ever followed by *-t* or *-in*; both *-t* and *-in* can

¹⁸ Siuslaw does this as well, although the suffixes are not cognate (*-a* and *-ū*) (Frachtenberg 1922b: 541).

¹⁹ Google Books is a useful tool for very quick, cursory searches of Wintu forms whose orthography conforms to the standard US keyboard (e.g., the segment *onin* can be used in a search, but not *to·nin*, since */·/* is not on the standard keyboard. Another limitation is that Google Books often only posts a “preview,” not an entire book. Luckily, many of the volumes written on Wintu have the majority of their pages in online form.

also occur without *-too*. There may be some interaction between *-too* and *-in*, but detailing the distribution and influences of *-too* is a topic for a thesis unto itself and, unfortunately, no attempt is made here to tease out *-too*'s interconnection (or lack thereof) with any other suffixes.

2.1. Clear Locative Situations with *-in* on Lexically Rich Words

Very common in Wintu is the suffixation of *-in* onto lexically rich nouns in a clearly locative context. See B&W: 5 and C&G: 4 for examples with *p^huyuq* 'mountain' and B&W: 19 and C&G: 3 for examples with *waqat* 'creek' and *tawpom* 'valley', respectively. All these *-in* suffixed words appear to be expressing Ground.

B&W: 5

p^huyuqtoon nomkeenharaa, waykeenharaa.

p^huyuq – too – **in** nom – keen – haraa way – keen – haraa
mountains – DISJ.TPLZR – **LOC** west – down – go north – down – go
 'In the mountains he went down to the west and north'.

C&G: 4

čirčahas p^huyuqin boos

čirčahas **p^huyuq** – **in** bOh – s – s
 mountain.chipmunk²⁰ **mountains** – **LOC** live – NMLZR – DUR
 'Chipmunk lived in the mountains'.

²⁰ This 'chipmunk', *čirčahas*, is not in Pitkin's dictionary. "Chipmunk," according to Pitkin (1985), is *čupčubukus*. Schlichter does mention this form, however, including that the Wintu ate this kind of chipmunk. Technically speaking, it appears to be suffixed with the nominal 'generic' aspect *-s*, which, as an aside, does not make much sense, since this is one of two main characters.

B&W: 19

mayaa haraa peel waqatoon.

maya – a hara – a peel **waqat** – too – **in**
follow – INDIC go – INDIC DUAL.PN **creek**²¹ – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC
'They followed him down the creek'.

C&G: 3

yiilatoot tawpomin boos

yiilał – too – t **tawpom** – **in** bOh – s – s
gopher²² – DISJ.TPLZR – PART **valley**²³ – **LOC**²⁴ live – NMLZR – DUR²⁵
'Gopher lived in the valley'.

Not only geographical points of reference are suffixed with *-in*.²⁶ See C&G: 30
and B&W: 38.

²¹ Schlichter lists both *waq* and *waqat* as 'creek' in her dictionary, but does not explain what the final *at* means. Pitkin (1985) lists *waquat* as 'creek', but *waq* as '(fire) log ends/tips' or 'pile', giving no clues as to how that relates to 'creek', or what the final *at* could be. *qaat-* and *qaatqat* mean 'duck' (Schlichter). I doubt that *qaat* plays a role here, but it seems that ducks were likely to have been common along the creek, and there seems to be some sound symbolism present.

²² Note that *yiilał* theoretically further breaks down into *yiilal* ('gopher') and *-h* ('particular'), the adjacency of which creates a consonant cluster simplification of *ł* (Shepherd). This (either the *-h* or the final *-t*) seems like it would be superfluous since Pitkin seems to claim that *toot* is an inherently particular form, but it could be used twice as a reinforcement of the concept. It could also be the case that *yiilał*'s further breakdown is more reconstructive than anything else and the Tale creature *yiilat* is simply thus and native speakers no longer considered the breakdown.

²³ This could further be parsed into *daw* 'flat' and *pom* 'land; ground place'.

²⁴ See further discussion of *tawpomin* and *pomin* below under Section 2.3.

²⁵ Shepherd interpreted a single final *s* on *boo* as being a nominalizer, and Pitkin (1985) says that *boos* is the nominal stem of 'live' in generic nominal aspect, but that would leave this line sans predicate. If we accept Shepherd's analysis (a final *s* being a nominalizing suffix) and add the verb-deriving intensive suffix *s*, which "derives stative intransitive verbs with intensification of meaning from nominal stem forms of verbs," and assume consonant cluster simplification-induced dropping of either *s*, it makes more sense. This would make this a long-standing, habitual sort of living, an intensified intransitive stative verb, which would fit with this being a Tale about ancient beings from long ago living in valley for extended periods of time, not to mention that gophers in general probably lived in the valley.

²⁶ Wintu directions corresponded to actual physical landmarks as opposed to side-of-body like in English, that is, Wintu speakers referred to their north or south hands depending on which orientation they had at the moment (Dubois 1935: 4). This is likely an example of "absolute," landmark frame of reference, which Levinson (2003: 48) claims is used in a full third of the world's languages. The existence of such a typology was previously denied (see Levinson 2003: preface; Chapter I), but currently, more diversity is acknowledged by scholars.

C&G: 30

qeweltoon ʔelkuda.

qewel – too – **in**

ʔel – kOd – a

house²⁷ – DISJ.TPCLZR – **LOC**

in – move.in.indicated.direction – INDIC

‘Then he went into the house’.

B&W: 38

čeki ʔelxača tumtoon.

čeki ʔel – xač – a

tum – too – **in**

pitch in – drop – INDIC

eyes²⁸ – DISJ.TPLZR – **LOC**

‘Graysquirrel dropped pitch in his eyes’.

See C&G: 36 and B&W: 41 for further examples of *–in* suffixation.

C&G: 36

č’anin kipča.

č’an – **in**

kip – č – a

side/half – **LOC**

turn.over – TRANS – INDIC

‘He turned him over’.²⁹

B&W: 41

seł’iitqa kulem siwin činee seqateqata tumtoon.

se – λ’iitqa kulem siwin činee se – qateqata

tum – too – **in**

around – feel pine.tree needle³⁰ take around – dig

eye – DISJ.TPLZR – **LOC**³¹

‘He felt around, took a pine needle, and poked at his eyes’.

There are several locative expressions in B&W: 35, below, but for the moment, I will only mention *miitoon* ‘tree’ and *čokiin* ‘close’ both of which are rather straightforward instances of nominal suffixation of Ground with *–in*. *čokiin* is also a good example of the nominal stem formant in use, and serves as a nice segue between lexically rich locative forms and more generic locative forms, as discussed in Section 2.2.

²⁷ This word has a potentially more complicated gloss, as discussed below in Section 2.6.

²⁸ Technically, *tu* was glossed as ‘eye’ and *–m* is noted as ‘generic nominal aspect’ (Pitkin 1985).

²⁹ Perhaps a better gloss would be ‘(He) turned (him) over onto his side’.

³⁰ It is possible that *siwin* is demonstrating the locative suffix, but I did not find *siwin* in Pitkin (1985) as ‘needle’ (though it was in Schlichter). *siw* on its own is ‘testicles, eyeball shaped’ in both dictionaries; I could not see the connection between testicular location and ‘needle’. Schlichter glosses *kulem siwin* as a whole as ‘pine needles’, so it is unclear whether the final *–in* is a suffix or not, but probably not.

³¹ Here we see the eyes as the location of poking, but this could also be an example of *–in* being used in an accusative sense—see discussion below in Section 2.4.

B&W: 28

ʔunaa hekeen peehum ʔelew tuhenmin ʔunaa.

ʔunaa	heke – in	peeh – um	ʔelew	tuhen – min	ʔunaa
and	anywhere – LOC	anyone – OBJ ³⁸	not	meet – not	and

‘He did not meet anyone anywhere’.

Schlichter (and Shepherd) gloss *hekeen* as ‘anywhere’, while Pitkin (1985) says that *hek* is ‘someplace, anyplace’, *heke* is ‘anywhere’ and *hekeen* is ‘where at?’ or ‘somewhere at’, with the note that the final *n* is a locative. Pitkin’s analysis makes the most sense here, namely that we are dealing with the locative of “anywhere.”

B&W: 34 shows another example of this type of locative.

B&W: 34

hiʔan tiin: “hestam netpuqat wiinmina, peehum hestam wiinmina ʔewin?”

hiʔan	tiin	hestam	net – puq – at	wiin – mina
again	say	how.are.you ³⁹	my – wives – ? ⁴⁰	see – not

peeh – um	hestam	wiin – mina	ʔew – in
anyone – OBJ	how.are.you	see – not	here – LOC

‘[Bat] spoke again: “Have you seen my wives? Have you seen anyone here?”’⁴¹

ʔew could potentially be further broken down. Schlichter argues that *ʔe* is the third person proximal pronominal root and *ʔew* is a generic singular subject (and *ʔewin*

³⁸ This word is a bit problematic. Schlichter offers the following example for *peehum* in her dictionary: *peehum yo tintiniskuda* ‘I want to talk with someone’; (*yo* is an exclamation, *tintin* is ‘chat’, a reduplication of *tin*, ‘talk, speak, say...’, *da* is the 1st.SG suffix; the rest is unclear.). She does not further gloss *peehum*, but it seems that we can accept *peehum* as a whole for ‘someone’, although *peeh* on its own is simply a ‘what, what for’ and an exclamation for Pitkin (1985) and ‘what, something, someone, anything, anyone’ for Schlichter. *–um* can be an object marker.

³⁹ Schlichter glosses *hestam* as ‘how are you’; Shepherd glosses it as ‘how’.

⁴⁰ Recall the discussion about the glossing of ‘wives’ in Footnote 36. The final *t* here is probably the particular nominal aspect. *qat* can also refer to a ‘referential dependent non-possessed noun’ or be an emphatic marker. Interestingly, *qaat* itself means ‘duck’—perhaps there is a double entendre here given that the wives are ducks.

⁴¹ Potentially we are dealing with a much more polite Bat than is expressed in Shepherd’s original gloss. The gloss could be revised to reflect this—perhaps something like ‘[Bat] spoke again: How are you? Haven’t you seen my wives or anyone? How are you! Haven’t you seen [anyone] here?’

C&G: 3

yiilaloot tawpomin boos

yiilal – too – t

gopher – DISJ.TPLZR – PART

tawpomin

valley

bOh – s – s

live – NMLZR – DUR

‘Gopher lived in the valley’.

However, Shepherd translates *tawpom* as ‘valley’ and specifies *tawpomin* as ‘valley – in’, implying that she considered the final *in* in C&G: 3 to truly be the locative suffix. Indeed, on all six of the instances of *tawpomin* found in a search of the Google Books version of *Wintu Texts*, all include some sort of locative gloss for *–in* (‘to, from, at, in’, or simply, ‘locative’). Recall that *tawpom* can be parsed further into *daw* ‘flat’, and *pom* ‘land, ground place’ (Shepherd), and that it can occur independently. In fact, all six instances of *tawpom* found in a Google Books search of *Wintu Texts* are glossed ‘flat-land’. To complicate things more, Schlichter glosses both *pomin* and *pom* as ‘down; on the ground’. Pitkin (1985) translates *pomin* as the locative of *poom* (‘earth, time’) and refers the reader to *poo* (‘now, new, young, recently’). Recall that *poo* is a verbal prefix meaning ‘now, new, recently’. This is a case where having a native speaker to ask about their perception of this array of words would be valuable.

In B&W: 7, we also have an instance of *pomin* that Shepherd translates as ‘down’ with no further note about there being a locative suffix (a cursory search of the texts on Google Books revealed that *pomin* as a whole is translated as ‘down’ in about ninety percent of the hundred instances that came up in Shepherd’s texts).

B&W: 7

q’iyooq leweq pomin tawčabohan ?oldawar, pomin pana ?unaa.

q’iyooq

leweq

pom – in

tawča – bohan

?ol – daw – a – r

fir

limb

down?

spread – and

up – be.flat – INDIC – SUB.because

pom – in?

pan – a

?unaa

down?

change.position – INDIC

and

‘He took a fir limb and lay down facing up’.

Another example of *pomin* is as follows, in C&G: 33.

C&G: 33

pomin winit mineles.

pom – in? win – i – t min – el – e – s
down? see–NOM – PART not.exist – STAT⁴⁴ – INDIC – INTENS⁴⁵
 ‘He looked down and saw [that Chipmunk was] dead’.

For the time being, I will not focus my attention on understanding the true gloss of *pomin* or *tawpom* or *tawpomin*; suffice it to say that forms like this deserve future attention.

Another strange instance of a potential nominal locative occurs in Skunk: 22 below. Note the more usual instance of a generic locative suffixed with *–in*, *?ewin*.

Sk: 22

“*?ewin maan keen, miitoont’ahiin ?elč’aqunaabohan ?olwine čalumaa sewinebohan, ?eltomes t^hooma.*

?ew – in maan keen **mii – too – in – t’ahiin**
here – LOC EX down **tree – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC – close?**

?el – č’aq – unaa – bohan ?ol – win – e čalumaa – a
 in – hang – ?⁴⁶ – and⁴⁷ up – look – INDIC do.s/th.carefully – INDIC

se – wine – bohan ?el – łome – s t^hoom – a
 around – look – and in – exactly⁴⁸ – NMLZR be.straight – INDIC
 ‘Get close, hold on to the tree, and take a good look up, straight up!’⁴⁹

⁴⁴ *minel* as a whole is also glossed as ‘to be dead, die’ (Schlichter).

⁴⁵ Shepherd glossed *e* as the nominal stem formant and *s* as a nominalizer. Since *e* can also be an allomorph of the indicative, I see no reason why it cannot be the indicative here—if we nominalize this form so much, there is no predicate, which seems more peculiar than the idea that a concept like ‘die’ would need an intensifier, which is another option for a gloss for the final *s*.

⁴⁶ I have had much trouble making sense of *–unaa*, further mention of which is made in Chapter III.

⁴⁷ Shepherd glosses this whole form as ‘hang.on – and’. Schlichter glosses *č’aq* as ‘hang (transitive)’.

⁴⁸ *łom* (with or without a final *e*) is also ‘middle, right in the middle’ (Schlichter); Shepherd glosses all of *?eltomes* as ‘right’.

⁴⁹ My best attempt at a more expressive, true-to-Wintu translation would be ‘Hey! [Over] here! [Get] right down under the tree! Hang onto the tree and take a good look around and [then look] right straight up the middle’.

What is most unusual here is that ‘tree’, after being suffixed with both *-too* and a final *-in*⁵⁰ is then further suffixed with *t’ahiin*. Shepherd glossed all of *miitoon’tahiin* as ‘tree – close to’. *t’a* and *t’ahiin* are both translated as ‘beside, bottom, close’ (Schlichter). Pitkin (1985) calls *t’a* ‘bottom, base’ and a “compounded dependent non-possessed noun,” *t’ah* ‘bottom’ (with no further comment), and *t’ahiin* ‘bottom, at the’ (i.e., the locative of ‘bottom’). It appears that this is simply another, albeit less common, method for Wintu nominal location expression.

Sk: 23 has some similar forms used differently, and makes a bit more sense.

Sk: 23

?ukin łomin thooma sukebohan, xunč’imiiqu war q’otis.

?uk – in łom – in thoom – a suke – bohan
here – LOC exactly.in.middle – LOC be.straight – INDIC stand – and

xun – č’im – iiq – u war q’otis
close – shut.eyes – ?⁵¹ – IRR⁵² IMP⁵³ tight?⁵⁴
‘Stand there straight upright and shut your eyes tight!’

In Section 2.4., examples of *-in* in contexts that are not obviously locative are discussed.

⁵⁰ Recall that B&W: 35 above contained an instance of *miitoon* ‘tree – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC’.

⁵¹ It is unclear to me what is going on with this portion of this word. *qu* was not in Schlichter’s *Dictionary*, nor was *iq*, nor *q*. Having the *ii* be the nominal stem formant would not help alleviate the challenge.

⁵² Here the “irrealis” actually is being used as an imperative, like Pitkin originally claimed.

⁵³ *war* is derived from *wEr* ‘come’, and is glossed as an imperative used with other imperatives.

⁵⁴ Schlichter glosses *q’otis* as ‘loud, noisy, wide, expensive’; Shepherd glossed it as ‘tight’. Perhaps the gloss should involve “shut up” somewhere. *q’ot* is glossed as ‘hit’, and *q’oot* is ‘to be dirty, to be filthy’ (all in Schlichter). The only thing these concepts might have in common is that they are all extremes—perhaps this verb has to do with doing an action in an extreme way.

2.4. The “Locative” Suffix *-in*: Accusative Usages

Wintu has several examples of the *-in* suffix in contexts that do not appear to have clearly locative meanings. The simplest explanation that could encompass all these examples is that *-in* has a further, accusative meaning. The most convincing example of this is seen in B&W: 23. Here we see *-in* suffixed onto ‘clothes’ (and a more usual instance of the locative suffix on ‘water’).

B&W: 23

ponorta ʔunaa peel tʼaʔastoon činee purunis ʔunaa tʼaʔa ʔunaa peel meemin pʰoqasta keenwenem haraa.

<i>ponorta</i>	<i>ʔunaa</i>	<i>peel</i>	tʼaʔas – too – in	<i>činee</i>	<i>purunis</i>
run	and	DUAL.PN	clothes – DISJ.TPLZR – ACC?	take	their ⁵⁵

<i>ʔunaa</i>	<i>tʼaʔa</i>	<i>ʔunaa</i>	<i>peel</i>	meem – in	<i>pʰoqasta</i>
and	dress	and	DUAL.PN	water – LOC	float

keenwenem *hara – a*
downstream⁵⁶ go – INDIC

‘They ran [home], took their clothes, got dressed, and went floating downstream’.

It makes more sense for *tʼaʔas* to be the object of *činee* than the goal of *ponorta*, especially considering that a search for *činee* in the Google Books version of *Wintu Texts* revealed 32 examples, all of which appeared to have clearly transitive meanings, for example, ‘catch s/th or s/o’, ‘take (i.e., capture) s/o’, ‘grab s/o’, ‘take hold of s/th or s/o’, and ‘strike’ (as in lightning hitting a tree).

Similarly, in B&W: 11 there is an *-in* on ‘belly’.

⁵⁵ Schlichter states that *pur* derives from *pi*, a 3rd person pronominal root, and is the dependent possessive singular, and *purun* is a ‘singular independent possessive’.

⁵⁶ This portion of the example is discussed further with other verbal forms in Chapter III.

B&W: 11

xunpilunaa tetitoon ʔunaa qewel harma.

xun – pil – unaa **tehi** – too – **in** ʔunaa qewel harma
together – wrap⁵⁷ – ? **belly** – DISJ.TPLZR – **ACC** and house take⁵⁸
'He sewed up his belly and took (the liver) home'.⁵⁹

B&W: 31 also contains an example where a final *-in* appears to have an accusative rather than locative function.

B&W: 31

tehelahtoot: "hestam wiinmina netpuqatoon?"

tehelah – too – t hestam wiin – mina
bat – DISJ.TPLZR – PART how.are.you see – not

net – **puqa** – too – **in**
my – **wives** – DISJ.TPLZR – **LOC**
'Bat [said]: "Have you seen my wives?"'⁶⁰

Further support for the hypothesis of *-in* having an additional accusative meaning is found in B&W: 33.

B&W: 33

ʔunaa čatitoon xitebiya

ʔunaa **čati** – too – **in** xite – bEy – a
and **pine.cone** – DISJ.TPLZR – **ACC** cut – IMPERF – INDIC
'He kept on cutting pine cones'.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Even though Shepherd's original gloss here involved "sewing," I found no mention of sewing in either dictionary connected with *pil*. Both mention 'wrap', however, and it does make sense that this character would "wrap" up his liver. *bil* is 'to cauterize'; cauterization was used for healing. There could be a relationship there as well.

⁵⁸ This entire form is glossed as 'take' in Shepherd's texts. However, *har* on its own is 'go'; *ma* means foot; track; guide; show, demonstrate'. It makes some sense for *m* to be a "generic comitative suffix that indicates that the verb has a syntactic object in the generic aspect, which may or may not be overtly expressed" (Pitkin 1985).

⁵⁹ Here it would make sense to change the gloss to something like 'He bound his belly together and took the liver home'.

⁶⁰ To give an alternative to the hypothesis that *-in* can also mean accusative, we can look to French, which has a negative partitive construction, as in *Je n'ai pas d'amis* 'I don't have any [of] friends'. With that in mind, we could gloss this as 'Bat [said]: "Have you seen of my wives?"' We could even force a locative reading, e.g., 'Bat [said]: Have you seen where my wives are at?' Given that Schlichter glosses *hestam* as "How are you?" the translation should also be changed to reflect Bat's good manners.

⁶¹ Another alternative hypothesis to the accusative one would be the conative—in English we can *cut at* something, thus expressing a not-fully-affected patient.

C&G: 39 also conforms to the hypothesis that *-in* serves as an accusative as well as a locative marker. Here we are dealing with a dead brother who is being brought home (after being wrapped up), suffixed with *-in*.

C&G: 39

hariil puleykútemtoon.

hariil pu – **leykút** – um – too – **in**

take⁶² his – **younger.brother** – OBJ – DISJ.TPCLZR – ACC

‘He took his brother with him’.

No other potential glosses for *-in* work any better here, even the allomorph *-n* of the genitive *-un*. The genitive on *-too* is unattested in the particular nominal aspect and manifests as *-toonun* in the generic nominal aspect (P: 223). In C&G: 39, we also see *-um*, the object marker that Pitkin 1984 posits, suffixed onto *leykút* before *-too* and *-in*. It is unclear whether this is a reinforcement of the accusative nature of this dead brother or something else. There could also be an interaction between the *iil* in *hariil* and the nominal morphology, but Shepherd and Schlichter both consistently gloss *hariil* as ‘take’. Again, the simplest explanation is that Pitkin underestimated *-in* and that it can also carry an accusative meaning.

In Section 2.5., examples are discussed where a locative *-in* suffix would be expected based on context, but where there is no *-in*.

2.5. Examples Where *-in* Would Be Expected, but Does Not Occur

The marking of Ground with *-in* is not consistent. Pitkin (1984) simply says that the locative suffix is “optional,” but does not elaborate on why it is sometimes suffixed

⁶² This could be further broken down into *har* ‘go’ and *iil* ‘with’.

onto Grounds and sometimes not. “Bat and his Wives”: 4 shows a very typical example of this “optional” nature of the *-in* suffix.

B&W: 4

ƙodumar p^huyuq, koom p^huyuqtoon.

ƙoduma – r – r **p^huyuq** koom **p^huyuq – too – n**
 hunt – SUB.ANT – ITER⁶³ **mountains** all **mountains – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC**
 ‘He went hunting in all the mountains’.⁶⁴

“Chipmunk and Gopher” also sometimes marks Ground on nouns and sometimes not, as C&G: 11 and 12 demonstrate. These examples also suggest that the presence or absence of verbal directional prefixes also does not appear to impact suffixation with *-in*.

C&G: 11

p^huyuqin bostoot puywine, puykenwine.

p^huyuq – in bOh – s – too – t
mountains – LOC live – NMLZR – DISJ.TPLZR – PART

puy – win – e puy – ken – win – e
 east – look – INDIC east – down – look – INDIC
 ‘The one who lived in the mountains looked down east’.

C&G: 12

nomelwine p^huyuq.

nom – ʔel – win – e **p^huyuq**
 west – in – look – INDIC **mountains**
 ‘And [Gopher]⁶⁵ looked westward’.⁶⁶

⁶³ Pitkin (1985) and Shepherd both gloss *ƙodumar* as ‘hunting’ but *ƙoduma* is glossed as ‘hunt’ in both dictionaries. Schlichter further glosses *ƙod* as ‘hunt’ as well. *r* can be a subordinating suffix that expresses anteriority, or an iterative suffix. I posit both, the first of which would make the verb subordinate, and the second of which would make the verb finite again but retain the semantic content of both suffixes, the combination of which makes sense here. Consonant cluster simplification would simplify this to a single final *r*.

⁶⁴ A more literal translation might be ‘He hunted the mountains, in all the mountains’, which could even be compared to English, where we can say *Today I fished the Willamette*.

⁶⁵ Gopher has already been introduced as living in the valley (as opposed to the mountains), and there are only two main characters in this story. Presumably the mountains are in the west.

⁶⁶ Given the presence of the mountains in the Wintu, I believe that a better gloss would be ‘And [Gopher] looked westwards towards the mountains’.

This could be explained by the locative in C&G: 11 being more tangible as a place of residence, while the locative in C&G: 12 is instead the destination of gaze.

We saw *waqat* above suffixed with *-in* (in B&W: 19, repeated below for ease of reference), but the instances of *waqat* in B&W: 6 and 8 below do not exhibit *-in*.

B&W: 19

mayaa haraa peel waqatoon.

maya – a hara – a peel **waqat** – too – **in**
follow – INDIC go – INDIC DUAL.PN **creek** – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC
‘They followed him down the creek’.

B&W: 6

keenharaa waqat, keenharaa.

keen – haraa **waqat** keen – haraa
down – go **creek** down – go
‘He went down along the creek’.

B&W: 18

peel wine haraa, peel winiilpaq, pi keteet keenharaa waqat keenharaat.

peel wine hara – a peel winiilpaq pi keteet
DUAL.PN look go – INDIC DUAL.PN spy.on⁶⁷ 3rd.SG.PN one

keen – hara – a **waqat** keen – hara – a – t
down – go – INDIC **creek** down – go – INDIC – ?⁶⁸
‘They went to watch him, and he went down the creek alone’.

We saw two instances of *tum* ‘eyes’ above with the *-in* suffix (B&W: 38 and 41 repeated below for reference), but in B&W: 39, *tum* appears without further suffixation.

B&W: 38

čeki ?elxača tumtoon.

čeki ?el – xač – a **tum** – too – **in**
pitch in – drop – INDIC **eyes** – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC
‘Graysquirrel dropped pitch in his eyes’.

⁶⁷ Clearly *winiilpaq* could be further broken down. *wine* ‘see; look’; *-i* alone is the nominal stem formant; *iil* is the ‘particular comittive’. *-paq* is ‘the benefactive stem-deriving (i.e., derivational) suffix, or a personal transitivizer that indicates that the verb syntactically has a personal object which may or may not be overtly expressed and is frequently translated as ‘for someone, for the sake of, toward’.

⁶⁸ This final *t* is proving challenging. Potential verbal meanings would be a ‘stem-deriving derivational verb suffix, [that] marks the verb as having a syntactic patient of particular aspect’ or an ‘inflectional thematic suffix of particular aspect’. Nominally, *-t* is potentially a possessive, but that does not fit semantically. None of these potential glosses are satisfactory to me.

B&W: 41

seλ'iiitqa kulem siwin činee seqateqata tumtoon.

se – λ'iiitqa kulem siwin činee se – qateqata **tum** – too – **in**
around – feel pine.tree needle take around – dig **eye** – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC
'He felt around, took a pine needle, and poked at his eyes'.

B&W: 39

“ʔee, silelda, peeh tum puqelta.

ʔee silel – da peeh **tum** puq – el – ta – a
EX be.blind⁶⁹ – 1st.SG something **eyes** fall⁷⁰ – EVID – SUB.ANT – INDIC
'“I'm blind,” [called Bat] “something fell into my eyes”'.

The reason for the variable suffixation of apparent Grounds with *–in* is not clear to me at this time, but would be a valuable avenue for future research.

In Section 2.6., I discuss the word *qewel* 'house', which may have further potential to be parsed.

2.6. There's No Place Like *qewel*: Internal Reconstruction of 'Home'?

In the texts, there is a manifestation of what could be a verbal prefix occurring as a nominal suffix,⁷¹ *qewel* 'house, home'. See B&W: 11 (repeated below for easier reference) and B&W: 22 below.

⁶⁹ *sil* is noted as the root from 'blind', and is supposedly derived from *se* 'hand', from which 'take the hand', i.e., 'lead' (*sEl*) is derived. *silel* is then glossed as 'be blind, blind, blind man' (Pitkin 1985).

⁷⁰ Actually, *puq* is to 'dump, pile ashes or junk' in Pitkin 1985, but Shepherd simplified her gloss.

⁷¹ This would not be unprecedented. As was already discussed in the introduction, it is well established in Wintu that word roots are usually neutral in the distinction between nouns and verbs. It is also the case that affixes that express a certain concept on nouns can sometimes also have a formally comparable form with a related semantic meaning that can occur on verbs. For example, *–t* can be suffixed onto a noun to indicate particular nominal aspect, often functioning as an agent marker. Compare that to the *–t* that can be suffixed onto verbs, which marks them as having a syntactic subject in the particular aspect (all of these glosses are from Schlichter, but Pitkin (1985) concurs, although further mentions that the verbal suffix is “rarely translated”). Pitkin (1985) provides two verbal examples (and further potential glosses for *–t*, including 'possessive' and 'object'). His first verbal example is *holketa* 'to jump': *hokel* 'jump' plus *t*; consonant cluster simplification would remove the *l*; a 'INDIC'. Note that the *l* in *holketa* may be a typo, since Pitkin glosses *hol* elsewhere as 'pipe, tube, trachea' or 'light, bright, shine', but also that according to Chris Doty (personal communication, May 10, 2011), some languages in the area do have unexpected *ls*. Pitkin's

B&W: 11

xunpilunaa telitooŋ ʔunaa qewel harma.

xunpilunaa teli – too – in ʔunaa **qew – ʔel** harma
together.wrap belly – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC and **house – toward?** take
'He bound his belly together and took [the liver] home'.⁷²

B&W: 22

peel ʔukaa wine ʔunaa peel ʔonorta, qewel haraa.

peel ʔukaa wine ʔunaa peel ʔonorta **qew – ʔel** hara – a
DUAL.PN that.ANA see and DUAL.PN run **house – toward?** go – INDIC
'They saw that and ran; they went home'.

Schlichter (and Shepherd) gloss *qewel* as a whole as 'house'. Pitkin (1985) also glosses *qewel* as 'house', but then calls *qew* on its own 'house, home, nest, tent'. As we see extensively in Chapter III, *ʔel* is a verbal directional prefix which has a known allomorph *el*, and which can also occur at the end of a compound independent directional form, always with meanings ranging from 'in, in horizontally, intensively' (Pitkin 1985) to 'toward, in' (Schlichter). It would be logical enough to accompany 'house' with some sort of locational marker. Recall from Chapter I that *el* as a form could also be a stative suffix, a copula, or an evidential marker. It is unclear to me, however, how any of those would be a preferable gloss.

qewel can be further suffixed with *-too* and *-in*, as demonstrated in C&G: 30.⁷³

C&G: 30

qeweltoon ʔelkuda.

qewel – too – **in** ʔel – kOd – a
house – DISJ.TPCLZR – **LOC** in – move.in.indicated.direction – INDIC
'Then he went into the house'.⁷⁴

second verbal example of *-i* is *baata* 'be meaty (of nuts)' (*baa* 'to eat', *a* 'INDIC'). For nominal examples, he gives *sedet* 'coyote (as subject)' compared with *sedem*, 'coyote (as object)'.

⁷² This is a revised gloss. See Footnote 59.

⁷³ I found no other examples of the verbal directional *el* with further suffixation.

⁷⁴ Perhaps the presence of *-toon* here and its absence in the previous two examples is because here, 'house' is used in the context of the enclosure where a person lives, as opposed to the concept of 'home'.

A cursory search through the Google Books version of the texts revealed no examples of *qew* on its own, but at least 64 instances of *qewel*, each glossed simply as ‘house’, seemingly with a range of meanings including locatives (‘from/to/on/in the house/home’) to possessives (‘his/her house/home’) to direct objects (‘build/set fire to the house/home’). There were at least another fourteen examples of *qeweltoonin*, usually glossed simply as ‘house’. Perhaps native speakers would have considered *qewel* to be a unit and not have given a second thought to any further semantic breakdown, especially since the concepts of ‘house’ or ‘home’ likely occurred frequently. It is also possible that there being a final *el* on this word is purely coincidental, especially considering that *qewel* is the only word that I suspect of having a wayward verbal prefix suffixed onto it.

In 2.7. I discuss the case of implied nominal location without an overt nominal reference.

2.7. There’s No Place Like ____ . . . Implied Location without Nominal Reference

The following examples, B&W: 13 and 24 omit overt notions of nominal location despite implication thereof. However, both of these examples could be explained by the fact that Schlichter 1981 includes in her gloss of *hEn* the concept of ‘coming home’ in addition to concepts of ‘arrive’ and ‘come’. This could be considered to be an example of a verb that combines Path (‘come’) with Ground (‘home’), thus leaving no need for a nominal reference of ‘home’.

B&W: 13

koomin ?unaa hi?an ?unaa wira, henmabiya.

koomin ?unaa hi?an ?unaa wEr – a hen – ma – bEy – a
always and again⁷⁵ and bring⁷⁶ – INDIC come.home – ?⁷⁷ – IMPERF – INDIC
'He did this all the time, bringing the liver home'.⁷⁸

B&W: 24

wiitoot hina, ?elepaaq puulet

wiita – too – t hEn – a ?elepaaq puulel – t
man – DISJ.TPLZR – PART arrive – INDIC miss⁷⁹ DUAL.PN – OBJ
'The man came home and noticed that they were missing'.

All in all, nominal expression of Ground in Wintu can usually be understood, particularly if we expand the gloss of *-in* to include accusative meanings. In the following chapter, I discuss verbal expression of location in Wintu.

⁷⁵ *hi?an* turned up nothing in the various dictionaries, so I have retained Shepherd's gloss. *he* on its own is apparently 'again' (according to Pitkin 1985: 822) and *hi* is a demonstrative with meanings of 'identical identity, repetition, too, sameness', and *hE* reflects deictic emphasis.

⁷⁶ *wEr* not only means 'bring', but also 'come' and 'future' (Pitkin 1985).

⁷⁷ Out of the 32 instances of *henma* that surfaced in a search of the Google Books *Wintu Texts*, all but two are glossed as 'bring', the exceptions being one instance of 'take' and one of 'meet'. *ma* means 'foot; track; guide; show, demonstrate', but I was unsure how to gloss that here.

⁷⁸ A literal example might be '[He did this] always and again, bringing [it] coming home'.

⁷⁹ This is 'miss' as in 'notice the absence of' (Schlichter).

CHAPTER III

VERBS AND INDEPENDENT DIRECTIONAL FORMS

3.0. Overview

There are several options for non-nominal locative and directional expression of space in Wintu. One method involves a sense of movement or location being inherent to the meaning of the verb. I include in this category deictic verbs, which specify path as part of the speech act, like *hara* ‘go’ and *wEr* ‘come’; verbs that specify path in terms of ground, like *maya* ‘follow’; positional verbs like *suke* ‘stand’, *taw* ‘be flat’, *pan* ‘change position, or *kOd* ‘be or move in indicated direction’; and transitive positional verbs like *kip* ‘turn over’ or *depca* ‘turn inside out’. See Section 3.1.

Other verbs imply a sense of manner (like *dEk* ‘climb’ or *pon* ‘leap, run’); these words often co-occur in a subordinate form with verbs with inherent trajectory (Section 3.2.).

Another way Wintu can specify motion or location is through the use of independent (uninflected) directional forms, including composite forms that consist of mutually-dependent directional prefixes and suffixes that combine with one another (P: 263), sometimes in ways unpredicted by Pitkin (1984) (Section 3.3). These independent forms are related to directional and locative prefixes that can be affixed both to verbs with inherent directional or locative meaning like ‘go’ and also to verbs that do not seem to possess inherent directional/locational semantics; sometimes the resulting words seem to have idiomatic semantics (Section 3.4. and 3.5.). In each section, I begin with the clear cases, reserving until the last the examples that are more difficult to explain.

3.1. Verbs with Inherent Directional and Locational Semantics

One strategy for location and direction in Wintu is for the verb to contain an inherent sense of movement (i.e., path). This can manifest in terms of path that is expressed *vis-à-vis* the Ground; for example, see *maya* ‘follow, pursue’ (i.e., ‘go in direction after moving Ground’ where the Ground is the direct object of the verb). This inherent motion can also manifest in a deictic sense, like in *hara* ‘go’ or *wEr* ‘come’ (See B&W: 19, 27, 43, and 37). *hara* is a very common verb in the texts I looked at, and *wEr* is also relatively common.

B&W: 19

mayaa haraa peel waqatoon.

maya – a **hara** – a peel waqat – too – in
follow – INDIC **go** – INDIC DUAL.PN creek – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC
 ‘They followed him down the creek’.

B&W: 27

keleel haraa.

kele – el **hara** – a
 be.long – STAT⁸⁰ **go** – INDIC
 ‘He went far’.

B&W: 43

haraa.

hara – a
go – INDIC
 ‘And he left’.

B&W: 37

wira, ?olwine.

wEr – a ?ol – win – e
come – INDIC up – look – INDIC
 ‘He went over and looked up’.⁸¹

Sk: 23 contains an example of *suke* ‘stand’, a verb with apparent positional meaning.

Sk: 23

?ukin łomin thooma sukebohan, xunč’imiiqu war q’otis.

?uk – in łom – in t^hoom – a **suke** – **bohan**
 here – LOC exactly.in.middle – LOC⁸² be.straight – INDIC⁸³ **stand** – **and**⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Shepherd glosses *keleel* as ‘far’.

⁸¹ This example appears to be a case of a displaced deictic center, where ‘come’ is not moving towards the speaker, but rather towards the object specified by the speaker (in this case, a tree where Graysquirrel is).

xun – č'im – iiq – u war q'otis
 close – shut.eyes – ? – IRR IMP tight⁸⁵
 'Stand there straight upright and shut your eyes tight!'

Another positional meaning is shown in B&W: 7 with *taw* 'be flat, be front'.

taw/daw was relatively common in the examples I found. B&W: 7 also contains *pan*

'change position', another verb that seems to indicate positional semantics.

B&W: 7

q'iyooq leweq pomin tawčabohan ʔoldawar, pomin pana ʔunaa.

q'iyooq leweq pomin **taw** – č – a – bohan
 fir limb down **be.flat** – TRANS – INDIC⁸⁶ – and

ʔol – daw – a – r pom – in **pan** – a ʔunaa
 up – be.flat⁸⁷ – INDIC – SUB.because⁸⁸ earth – LOC **change.position** – INDIC and
 'He took a fir limb and lay down facing up'.

⁸² Here we also encounter *lom*, which in its verbal form means 'be exactly in the middle', but is used here nominally. Potentially *lom* used verbally would have an inherent locative meaning, but I encountered no examples of *lom* used as a verb in the texts..

⁸³ It appears common in Wintu to express attributive meanings with the use of verbs, as this form demonstrates.

⁸⁴ Shepherd interprets *bohan* as a unit consistently as 'and'. *buh* and *buha* are in Schlichter's dictionary as 'and'. *buha* is also in Pitkin's dictionary, but with the caveat that it only occurs in the context of *ʔuni-buha*. It would make sense for *buh* 'and' to follow the vowel harmony rule of "o raises to u if followed by a consonant followed by a," but here we have *bohan*. *boh* as a unit means 'sit, stay, reside' or 'durational'. *han*'s dictionary entry invites the reader to look at *har*, which has meanings of 'go' or 'progressive'. *an* does not exist in the dictionaries. The most convincing gloss for *-n* alone in a verbal context is the "subordinating inflectional suffix, potential temporal simultaneity, translates as 'while'..." (Pitkin 1985). A cursory search of *bohan* in the Google Books *Wintu Texts* revealed 33 examples, all but two of which are glossed as 'and'. I have simply retained Shepherd's gloss here since this is not the most important section of this word.

⁸⁵ The challenges of this gloss have already been discussed in Chapter II—see Footnote 54.

⁸⁶ *tawca* is in Pitkin (1985: 580) with the meaning of 'to spread, to throw'. *taw* alone appears to have meanings like 'spread' (as in 'flat'). Shepherd and Schlichter concur that *-č* is a medio-passive. Pitkin calls *-c* a transitive suffix. Recall that Pitkin's /c/ and Schlichter's /č/ symbolize the same sound. *a* would logically be the indicative.

⁸⁷ Note the similarity of *daw* 'be flat' to *taw* in *tawča*.

⁸⁸ *ʔoldaw* is 'face up' according to Schlichter. She also glosses *daw* just as 'front', but considering the verbal morphology, I imagine 'be front' to be a better gloss. Shepherd glosses *ʔoldawar* as 'up-facing'. A final *r* can also convey iterative, but that makes less sense here.

kOd in C&G: 21 has the gloss of ‘be or get in the indicated position or direction’ (likely the one indicated by the locative-marked Ground); this gloss echoes that of *pan* in B&W: 7 above.

C&G: 21

ʔelew tawpom in kOdumina.

ʔelew tawpom – in **kOd** – u – min – a

NEG valley – LOC **move.in.indicated.direction** – IRR – not – INDIC

‘But he did not go all the way down to the valley’.

Some verbs were probably originally simply position-changing verbs, but in the texts occur with transitive marking, giving them a meaning that involves a transitive change of position, including *kipča* ‘turn (s/th) over’ and *depča* ‘turn (s/th) inside out’. See C&G: 36 and B&W: 8 below for examples.

C&G: 36

č’anin kipča.

č’an – in **kip** – č – a

side/half – LOC **turn.over** – TRANS – INDIC⁸⁹

‘[He] turned [him] over on his side’.⁹⁰

B&W: 8

teli tepčunaa.

teli **dep - č** – unaa

belly **turn.inside.out** - TRANS – ?⁹¹

‘He turned his belly inside out’.

depča is ‘to turn anything inside out’ in the indicative, but *dep* alone is ‘turn inside out’ (Pitkin 1985). Pitkin further notes that *tEp* is ‘be transformed’. *tep* is a

⁸⁹ Schlichter translates the entirety of *kipča* as ‘turn over (transitive)’, with *kip* as the main root.

⁹⁰ This is a revised gloss, the discussion of which is in Chapter II. See Footnote 29.

⁹¹ Glossing *unaa* has proved challenging. It appears periodically, and I have not focused on it. Potential breakdowns are *-u* ‘irrealis’, *-n* ‘reflexive’ or ‘subordinating (while)’, *aa* ‘indicative’. A handful of examples of *unaa* came up from a search of the Google Books version of *Wintu Texts*—out of maybe ten examples, six seemed to be unspecified for meaning, and about three seemed to be glossed as ‘self’. One potential is that *unaa* is a dependent version of *ʔunaa* ‘to do or be thus; enough; at last; and, and then; amen; change in focus’. In a similar search of *Wintu Texts*, however, every single instance of *ʔunaa* (out of about 100 that came to light) was glossed simply as ‘and’. Forms ending in *unaa* can further be suffixed with *bohan*, which has also been glossed as ‘and’ (see Sk: 22: *ʔel – č’aq – unaa – bohan*, ‘in – hang – UNAA – and’). In any case, I make no attempt to further solve the problem of *unaa* here.

verbal locational prefix meaning ‘behind’. Shepherd simply calls *tepc̣unaa* ‘turn.inside.out’.

As we have seen, some Wintu verbs involve a sense of inherent movement or position (including words that can be turned into transitive position verbs, i.e., the idea of an agent moving a patient into a new physical configuration). Sometimes verbs can also express a sense of manner. *q’aya* ‘walk, go, hike, stroll’ seems to fit somewhere in between. The meaning of *q’aya* seems similar to the German *gehen*, which can range in meaning from ‘walk’ to ‘go’. See Sk: 13 for an example where it probably means something closer to ‘walk’.

Sk: 13

q’ayaa kenwenem haraa, peel x̣aalum peel, wiitam x̣aalum nequwil peel keteem.

q’aya – a kenwenem hara – a peel x̣aal – um
go – INDIC downstream go – INDIC DUAL.SUBJ strange.thing – OBJ⁹²

peel wiita – m x̣aal – um nequwil peel keteem – um
 DUAL.SUBJ men – OBJ strange.thing – OBJ find?⁹³ DUAL.SUBJ one – OBJ
 ‘They went downstream and each one found another man’.⁹⁴

Similarly to some of the positional verbs, *q’ay* can take a transitive suffix. In C&G: 24 and 14, for example, *q’ay* ‘walk’ carries *–m*, a transitive suffix which indicates that the verb has an object in the generic aspect (Shepherd).⁹⁵ Shepherd glosses *q’aymaa* as ‘check’ (seemingly meaning ‘check on’). See C&G: 24 and 14.

⁹² Shepherd translated this as a whole as ‘other’.

⁹³ It seems that this verb has the potential to be further segmented, but I have not examined it in depth. ‘find’ is Shepherd’s gloss.

⁹⁴ More literally, this might mean something akin to ‘[They] went downstream walking and found other men. [Found] other men, each one [did]’.

⁹⁵ Note the similarity to the nominal object suffix *–um*.

often with apparent subordinating morphology.⁹⁷ For example, in B&W: 22, we have the verb form *ponorta*.

B&W: 22

peel ʔukaa wine ʔunaa peel ponorta, qewel haraa.

peel ʔukaa wine ʔunaa peel **pon – o – r – ta**
 DUAL.PN that.ANA see and DUAL.PN **leap – ? – ITER – SUB.while**⁹⁸

qewel hara – a

house go – INDIC

‘They saw that and ran; they went home’.⁹⁹

Schlichter’s *Dictionary* labels *ponorta* ‘run fast, but not far’,¹⁰⁰ but gives no clue to its further breakdown, other than that *pon* is tentatively ‘to leap’. Pitkin’s *Dictionary* labels *ponorta* as ‘to break into a run, to run’, but *pon* on its own is ‘leap, run, jump’.

B&W: 23 contains another example of *ponorta* and of *p^hoqasta*.

B&W: 23

ponorta ʔunaa peel t’alastoon činee purunis ʔunaa t’ala ʔunaa peel meemin p^hoqasta keenwenem haraa.

ponorta ʔunaa peel t’alas – too – in čine – e
run and DUAL.PN clothes – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC take¹⁰¹ – INDIC

purunis ʔunaa t’ala ʔunaa peel meem – in
 DUAL.POSS and dress and DUAL.PN water – LOC

p^hoq – a – s – ta

float – INDIC – STAT/intensifier – SUB.while downstream¹⁰² go – INDIC

‘They ran [home], took their clothes, got dressed, and went floating downstream’.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ This is not always the case—see *q’aya* in Sk: 13 above for an example of a possible manner verb used in a non-subordinate verb.

⁹⁸ *-ta* is a subordinating suffix that involves themes of ‘while, after, during’, according to Schlichter. Other glosses for *-t* are less convincing in this context.

⁹⁹ A more literal example might be along the lines of ‘They both saw that and they went bounding home’.

¹⁰⁰ She also says *ponoora* is ‘to be running (not very fast but far)’.

¹⁰¹ Recall that this word can also mean ‘catch’ (Schlichter), while Pitkin (1985) glosses it as ‘to take hold of, to get’.

¹⁰² This form is discussed more below in Section 3.3.

p^hoqasta is glossed as ‘to float (as ducks)’ by Schlichter (without further breakdown). However, *p^hoq* is apparently ‘float’ (Schlichter) (Pitkin says *phooqa* is ‘float on water’).¹⁰⁴ *p^hoqasta* ends in the subordinating suffix *-ta* just as *ponorta* does. With that in mind, B&W: 22’s *ponorta* and B&W: 23’s *p^hoqasta* show a pattern akin to the Spanish technique of having manner in a subordinate satellite and path expressed in a main verb (see Talmy 2000). Notice that *ponorta* in B&W: 23 does not appear to be specifically subordinate to or a satellite of an inherent directional verb like *har* ‘go’. However, it is immediately preceded by *hara* ‘go’ in B&W: 22.

B&W: 30 gives a further possible example of manner, namely ‘climb’ *dEk*.

B&W: 30

kaysaas dikar, čati xitebiya.

kaysaas **dEk** – a – r

čati

xite – bEy – a

Graysquirrel **climb** – INDIC – **SUB**.because digger.pine.cones cut – IMPERF – INDIC
‘Graysquirrel was climbing, cutting digger pine cones’.

Here again, *dEk* carries subordinating morphology. *dEk* is seen again in Sk: 2 below, however, without any apparent subordinating morphology. Notice that there is a form with directional semantics, *ʔoleel* (which is discussed more below in Section 3.3.) in Sk: 2. It could be argued then that manner is in the main verb and the trajectory is in a satellite, much like the satellite-framed Germanic languages of Talmy (2000).

Sk: 2

ʔoleel kaysaas, kaysaas dika čati xitebiya.

ʔoleel kaysaas kaysaas **dEk** – a

čati

above graysquirrel graysquirrel **climb** – INDIC digger.pine.cones

xite – bEy – a

cut – PROG – INDIC

‘Graysquirrel was climbing up to cut pine cones’.

¹⁰³ Again, this line could be expressed more literally as ‘They both went bounding home, grabbed hold of their clothes and dressed, and then they went floating downstream in the water’.

¹⁰⁴ I am unsure if there is anything else that can be floated upon in Wintu.

All in all, we have only seen very few manner inherent verbs—‘walk’ (arguably), ‘run’, ‘float’, and ‘climb’—and have witnessed their frequent subordination to directional verbs or accompaniment by other directional forms as in Sk: 2.

In Section 3.3., independent directional forms are discussed.

3.3. Independent Directional Forms

Another avenue for the expression of location and direction in Wintu is the use of independent (i.e., non-inflected) directional forms, of which Pitkin mentions eleven, which are given in Table 2.

Table 2: *Independent, Non-Inflected Directional Forms*

<i>way</i>	‘north’	<i>nom</i>	‘west’	<i>yay</i>	‘back’	<i>ken</i>	‘down’
<i>nor</i>	‘south’	<i>pan</i>	‘on’	<i>yel</i>	‘away’	<i>ʔol</i>	‘up’
<i>puy</i>	‘east’	<i>tuda</i>	‘ahead’	<i>ʔel</i>	‘in’		

I did not find many examples of these forms in the texts I used, but Sk: 22 does use *keen* independently.

Sk: 22

“*ʔewin maan keen, miitoont’ahiin ʔelč’aqunaabohan ʔolwine čalumaa sewinebohan, ʔeltomes t^hooma.*

ʔew – in maan **keen** mii – too – in – t’ahi – in
 here – LOC EX **down** tree – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC – close.to – LOC

ʔel – č’aq – unaa – bohan ʔol – win – e čaluma – a
 in – hang – ? – and up – look – INDIC do.s/th.carefully – INDIC

se – wine – bohan ʔel – łome – s t^hoom – a
 around – look – and in – exactly – NMLZR be.straight – INDIC
 ‘Hey! [Over] here! [Get] right down under the tree! Hang onto the tree and take a good look around and [then look] right straight up the middle’.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ This is a revised gloss, the explanation of which occurs above (see Footnote 49).

Pitkin: 263 also mentions mutually-dependent directional forms that combine with one another to form more uninflected directionals; the combinations Pitkin recognizes can be seen in Table 3 below. It appears that the prefixes are more semantically rich than the suffixes.

Table 3: Mutually-dependent, Non-Inflected Directional Forms

Bound Directionals	Meaning	Required Suffixes	Meaning
<i>tu-</i>	'ahead'	<i>-ti</i>	'at, in'
<i>xun-</i>	'toward'	<i>-da</i>	'from, of' (<{daal} 'toward')
		<i>-dal</i>	'at, at the direction of' cf <i>daw</i>
		<i>-el/eel</i>	'toward, in'

B&W: 35 exhibits *xundal*, which is listed in Table 3. However, we also encounter *kenti*, which appears to be an example of a mutually-dependent uninflected directional form, but not in a combination that Pitkin noted.

B&W: 35

čileq kaysaastoot: “ʔewin miitoon kenti xundal kúda, čokiin kudabohan ʔunaa ʔolwin war, xunč’imee qabohan, ʔolwinit, mis leweqalebaada matpuqan hekeen suus.”

čileq kaysaastoot ʔewin miitoon ken – ti xun – dal
 angry graysquirrel here tree down – at toward – at

kúda čoki – in
 move.in.indicated.direction – INDIC close/near–LOC

kud – a – bohan ʔunaa ʔol – win war
 move.in.indicated.direction – INDIC – and and up – look IMP

xun – č’imeeqa – bohan ʔol – win – it mis leweqalebaa – da
 together – close.eyes – and up – look – ?¹⁰⁶ you tell – 1st.SG

matpuqan heke – in suu – s – s
 your.wives anywhere – LOC be – NMLZR – DUR

'Graysquirrel became angry: “Get **over here under** the tree, get close and look up. Close your eyes and look up, and I’ll tell you where your wives are” ’.

¹⁰⁶ I do not know what the *it* is at the end of this word.

C&G: 6 contains an established idiom: *wayda meem hina*: “there is/was a flood” (Shepherd). (Presumably the first *meem hina* is also part of the idiom.) *wayda* appears to be another example of a mutually-dependent independent directional form not mentioned explicitly by Pitkin (see Table 3).

C&G: 6

“*ʔanii meem hina wayda meem hina*.”

ʔanii	meem	hEn – a	way – da	meem	hEn – a
EX	water	arrive–INDIC	north – from	water	arrive – INDIC

‘Oh, my! A flood might come’.¹⁰⁷

As we saw in Sk: 2 above (repeated here for ease of reference), we have *ʔoleel*, which Shepherd translates as ‘above’. *eel* could be an allomorph of the ‘stative’, but could also be the directional form *eel* ‘in, towards’ (see Table 3). If the latter were true, this form again would resemble the mutually-dependent directional forms from Table 3, but this particular combination is, again, not specifically mentioned by Pitkin.

Sk: 2

ʔoleel kaysaas, kaysaas dika čati ʔitebiya.

ʔol – eel	kaysaas	kaysaas	dEk – a	čati
up – towards ¹⁰⁸	graysquirrel	graysquirrel	climb – INDIC	digger.pine.cones

ʔite – bEy – a

cut – PROG – INDIC

‘Graysquirrel was climbing up to cut pine cones’.

keenwenem ‘downstream’ and *ʔolwenem* ‘upstream’ are two other examples that do not seem to be covered by Pitkin assertions. In these forms, *wenem* ‘middle’ is prefixed with the directional forms *ken* ‘down’ and *ʔol* ‘up’. See B&W: 23 for an example of *keenwenem*.

¹⁰⁷ Presumably floods always come from the north; upriver must have been to the north.

¹⁰⁸ This seems comparable simply to ‘upwards’.

B&W: 23

ponorta ?unaa peel t'alaſtoon činee purunis ?unaa t'ala ?unaa peel meemin p^hoqasta keenwenem haraa.

ponorta ?unaa peel t'alaſ – too – n čine – e purunis
run and DUAL.PN clothes – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC take – INDIC DUAL.POSS

?unaa t'ala ?unaa peel meem – in p^hoqasta **keenwenem** hara – a
and dress and they water – LOC float **downstream?** go – indicative
'They ran [home], took their clothes, got dressed, and went floating downstream'.

The part I understand least is the *em* at the end of *wenem*. *e* is an allomorph of the 'indicative', but *-m* has no glosses that make sense in this context. There is only *-m* 'dubitive, 3rd person subject'. *wenem* is 'middle', but *ken-wenem* is 'along the stream'; both dictionaries concur on this. Pitkin (1985) further distinguishes *keen-wenem* as 'the bottom of the canyon' and appears to reconstruct *wen* as 'middle', referring the reader to *wer* 'come'.¹⁰⁹ A search of the Google Books version of *Wintu Texts* revealed at least sixteen examples of *kenwenem*, all but two of which were glossed as downstream (one was 'down-canyon' and the other 'evening'). See B&W: 26 for an example of both 'upstream' and 'downstream'. Note that each time either occurs, *hara* also occurs.

B&W: 26

tiwe koompom tiwer, ?olwenem haraa, keenwenem haraa tiwe ?unaa.

tiw – e koompom tiw – e – r **?ol – wenem** **hara – a**
search – INDIC everywhere search – INDIC – ITER **up – middle?** **go – INDIC**

keen – wenem **hara – a** tiw – e ?unaa
down – middle? **go – INDIC** search – INDIC and
'He looked everywhere; upstream and downstream he searched'.

It is probable that these forms were simply fossilized—it seems likely that the stream would have been frequently mentioned, and thus susceptible to lexicalization, in this culture.

¹⁰⁹ *werem* is also a word, 'anus'.

3.4. Directional Prefixes: Introduction

Pitkin identifies sixteen mutually-exclusive locative and directional verbal prefixes (here, “Class 1”), noting that historically, they were likely roots in their own right (P: 83). Most of these forms are also seen as independent location/direction words, though sometimes with slightly different glosses. He also describes a second class of directional prefixes (here, “Class 2”), which he notes were probably originally members of Class 1 (P: 82-83). Class 2 prefixes can occur adjacent to Class 1 prefixes, Class 2 being prefixed directly onto the root and Class 1 being prefixed onto that. Tables 4 and 5 give a complete list of these prefixes.

Table 4: Wintu Directional Prefixes, Class 1 (adapted from P: 82)

<i>way</i>	‘north’
<i>nor</i>	‘south’
<i>puy</i>	‘east’
<i>nom</i>	‘west’
<i>poo</i>	‘now, new, recently’, ¹¹⁰
<i>pat</i>	‘outside’
<i>se</i>	‘distributively, on all sides, everywhere with both hands’
<i>ser</i>	‘crosswise, twice, in two directions’, ¹¹¹
<i>tep</i>	‘behind’
<i>tu</i>	‘straight ahead, forward, or down’
<i>xun</i>	‘toward, or along’
<i>ɣal</i>	‘other, apart, separately’
<i>ɣan</i>	‘away, off’
<i>yay</i>	‘around, encircling’, ¹¹²
<i>yel</i>	‘back’
<i>ʔel</i>	‘in, in horizontally, intensively’

Table 5: Wintu Directional Prefixes, Class 2 (adapted from P: 83)

<i>ken</i>	‘down, in’
<i>ʔol</i>	‘up, above’

¹¹⁰ Based on the gloss alone, Pitkin must have included this form in this group based on distribution rather than its semantics as a directional.

¹¹¹ Pitkin notes that this might have derived from *se*, which incidentally also means ‘hand’.

¹¹² The translations for *yay* and *yel* are different on different pages of Pitkin (1984), namely *yay* ‘back’ and *yel* ‘away’ on page 262. Golla (1997: 167) seems to have accepted the first translation.

Directional prefixes can occur both on verbs that have inherent direction/locative meanings and on verbs without any seeming inherent spatial semantics (Section 3.5.).

3.5. Directional Prefixes on Verbs

A plethora of environments exists for the directional prefixes, which seem relatively productive and not especially lexically limited in their distribution—it seems that a variety of different prefixes can occur on a variety of different verbs, although *hara* ‘go’ and *win* ‘look’ are especially frequent recipients of this morphology. B&W: 5 shows a very typical example of directional prefixes, this time prefixed on *hara* ‘go’.

B&W: 5

p^huyuqtoon nomkeenharaa, waykeenharaa.

p^huyuqtoo –in **nom** – **keen** – **hara** – a **way** – **keen** – **hara** – a
 mountain –LOC **west** – **down** – **go** – INDIC **north** – **down** – **go** – INDIC
 ‘In the mountains he went down to the west and north’.

B&W: 6 and 18 exhibit the same pattern, but using only one set of the directional prefixes.

B&W: 6

keenharaa waqat, keenharaa.

keen – **haraa** waqat **keen** – **haraa**
down¹¹³ – **go** creek **down** – **go**
 ‘He went down along the creek’.

B&W: 18

peel wine haraa, peel winiilpaq, pi keteet keenharaa waqat keenharaat.

peel	wine	hara – a	peel	winiilpaq	pi	keteet
DUAL.PN	look	go – INDIC	DUAL.PN	spy.on.s/o	3 rd .SG.PN	one

¹¹³ *ken* (sans the longer vowel) can have a meaning of ‘contrary to expectation’ (according to Pitkin’s dictionary). There could be a *double entendre* here in that Bat is going down the creek to illicitly remove his liver to feed to his unsuspecting duck wives.

keen – hara – a waqat **keen – hara – a – t**
down – go – INDIC creek **down – go – INDIC – ʔ**¹¹⁴
 ‘They went to watch him, and he went down the creek alone’.

See B&W: 20 for a further example, both of directional prefixation on *har* and on *daw*, a verb with inherent positional meaning. B&W: 7 shows this verb with both directional prefix and subordinating morphology.

B&W: 20

waykeenharaa ʔunaa ʔoldawa ʔunaa.

way – keen – hara – a ʔunaa **ʔol – daw – a** ʔunaa
north – down – go – INDIC and **up – be.front – INDIC** and
 ‘He went downhill to the north and lay on his back’.¹¹⁵

B&W: 7

q’iyooq leweq pomin tawčabohan ʔoldawar, pomin pana ʔunaa.

q’iyooq leweq pomin taw – č – a – bohan
 fir limb down be.flat – TRANS – INDIC – and

ʔol – daw – a – r pom – in pan – a ʔunaa
up – be.flat – INDIC – SUB.because earth – LOC change.position – INDIC and
 ‘He took a fir limb and lay down facing up’.

Gaze in Wintu can also carry specification of path; *win* ‘look’ frequently receives locative/directional prefix. See C7G: 12, B&W: 37, and B&W: 35 for examples of *win* with *ʔel* ‘in, in horizontally’ and *ʔol* ‘up’.

C&G: 12

nomelwine p^huyuq.

nom – ʔel – win – e p^huyuq
west – in – look – INDIC mountains
 ‘And [Gopher] looked westward towards the mountains’.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ The challenges of glossing this final *-t* have already been discussed in Chapter II—see Footnote 68.

¹¹⁵ This could be more expressively glossed as ‘[He] went downhill to the north and lay front upwards’.

¹¹⁶ This is an altered gloss, the explanation of which is in Chapter II—see Footnote 66.

B&W: 37

wira, ?olwine.

wEr – a **?ol – win – e**
come – INDIC **up – look – INDIC**
'He went over and looked up'.

B&W: 35

čileq kaysaastoot: “?ewin miitooon kenti xundal kúda, čokiin kúdabohan ?unaa ?olwin war, xunč’imeeqabohan, ?olwinit, mis leweqalebaada matpuqan hekeen suus.”

čileq kaysaastoot ?ewin miitooon kenti xundal kOd – a
angry graysquirrel here tree down here get – INDIC

čoki – in kOd – a – bohan ?unaa **?ol – win** war
close/near–LOC get – INDIC – and and **up – look** IMP

xun – č’im – eeq – a – bohan **?ol – win – it** mis
together – shut.eyes – ?¹¹⁷ – INDIC – and **up – look – ?** you

leweqalebaa – da matpuqan heke – in suu – s – s
tell – 1st.SG your.wives anywhere – LOC be¹¹⁸ – NMLZR – DUR
'Graysquirrel became angry: “Get over here under the tree, get close and look up. Close your eyes and look up, and I’ll tell you where your wives are” ’.

B&W: 35 also contains an example with *xun* ‘together’ on *č’imeeqa*, which is ostensibly a positional verb, since eyes do not travel when they shut, but rather change configuration. Positional verbs of various kinds often receive the locative/directional prefixes.

C&G: 30 below demonstrates the directional prefix *?el* used on *kúda*, ‘move in indicated direction’. C&G: 21 supports, but does not explain, Pitkin’s assertion that these directional prefixes are optional.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Recall a similar glossing issue on Sk: 23: *xunč’imiiqu* ‘shut [your] eyes!’. See Footnote 51.

¹¹⁸ This is a contracted form of a copula derived from *suke* ‘stand’.

¹¹⁹ That being said, in C&G: 30, Gopher enters the house, but in C&G: 21, he does not enter the valley, which could explain why one instance of *kOd* is prefixed with a direction, and one not. Further research would need to be done to see if this is a consistent pattern, however.

C&G: 30

qeweltoon ?elkuda.

qewel –too – in

?el – kOd – a

house – DISJ.TPCLZR – LOC

in(to)– move.in.indicated.direction –INDIC

‘Then he went into the house’.

C&G: 21

?elew tawpomin k’odumina.

?elew tawpom – in **k’Od – u – min – a**

NEG valley – LOC

move.in.indicated.direction – IRR – not – INDIC

‘But he did not go all the way down to the valley’.

C&G: 22 below shows an example of a form of the inherent positional verb *hik* ‘stand’ prefixed with *ken* ‘down, in’ (it would be interesting to know how the semantics of *hik* compare to those of *suke* ‘stand’).

C&G: 22

p^huyuqin kenhikaaya.

p^huyuq – in

ken – hikaay – a

mountains – LOC

in(down) – stand¹²⁰ – INDIC

‘[He] stopped in the mountains’.

B&W: 21 gives an example of a directional prefix both on the transitivized positional *dep* and on *?itena* ‘take’, which could have further parsability. See B&W: 8 for an example of *tepčunaa* without directional prefixation, and B&W: 40 for another example with *?itena*.

B&W: 21

teḷi keentepčunaa kila pat?itnaa.

teḷi **keen – dep – č – unaa**

kila **pat – ?ilna – a**

belly **down – turn.out – TRANS – ?**

liver **out – take¹²¹ – INDIC**

‘He turned his belly inside out and took out his liver’.

¹²⁰ Shepherd glossed *kenhikaaya* as ‘stop’, but Schlichter calls *hikaaya* ‘stand’ and presents *hik* as a root for all kinds of meanings that involve the sense of ‘stand’

¹²¹ I have followed Shepherd’s gloss on *xan?itena* to an extent. Her original translation was ‘out-take’. It seems like there could be further segmentation, however, for *?itena*. *?il* is likely ‘put, put away, raise, set, arrange’ (ostensibly from *?el*, which is a copula or *?ih*, ‘act proximally, do nearby’. *?iy* is, among other things, also a general verb of doing. *–n* could be a reflexive verb suffix.

B&W: 8

teli tepčunaa.

teli **dep – č** – unaa

belly **turn.inside.out** – TRANS – ?

‘He turned his belly inside out’.

B&W: 40

were peeh xanʔitena čeki.

were peeh **xan – ʔitena** – a ceki

bring¹²² something **away/off – take** – INDIC pitch

‘Get me something to take **out** the pitch’.

B&W: 9 displays another example with *ʔitena*, this time with *pat* ‘outside’, which is also affixed onto another transitivized verb that here may indicate motion, or at least position.

B&W: 9

kila patʔitnaa, patnekčunaa ʔunaa.

kila **pat – ʔitna** – a **pat – nek** – č – unaa ʔunaa

liver **out – take** – INDIC **out – cut**¹²³ – TRANS – ? and

‘He took out his liver and cut it up’.¹²⁴

Sk: 22 contains a directionally-prefixed inherent transitive positional verb, *ʔelč’aqunaabohan* ‘in-hang-and’ (see below for more information).

Sk: 22

“*ʔewin maan keen, miitoont’ahiin ʔelč’aqunaabohan ʔolwine čalumaa sewinebohan, ʔeltomes t’ooma.*

ʔew – in maan keen mii – too – n – t’ahi – in

here – LOC EX down tree – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC – close.to – LOC

ʔel – č’aq – unaa – bohan

ʔol – win – e

čaluma – a

in – hang.TRANS – ? – and

up – look – INDIC

do.s/th.carefully – INDIC

¹²² Shepherd’s original gloss here was that this was ‘imperative’, but neither dictionary contained *were* as an imperative, nor would a final *e* on *wEr* ‘bring’ be consistent with the irrealis *-u* (Pitkin’s 1984 “imperative”). *were* is glossed as ‘to bring something non-living’ (Pitkin 1985), which would fit better here.

¹²³ Recall that we previously saw *xite* ‘cut’—it would be nice to know what the semantic nuance was between these words.

¹²⁴ It seems that this should translate as ‘He took out his liver; he cut his liver out’.

B&W: 11

xunpilunaa telitoon ?unaa gewel harma.

xun – **pil** – unaa telitoon ?unaa gewel harma
toward – **wrap** – ? belly and house take
'He bound his belly together and took [the liver] home'.¹³⁰

This example could be compared to English, where *tie together* has the same structure as *come together*.

Another example of *pil* occurs in C&G: 38, where Gopher finds Chipmunk dead and wraps him up, ostensibly to take to his funeral. This example lends further support to Pitkin's claim that the directional prefixes are optional, although more research should be done to determine what, if anything, motivates the presence or absence of these prefixes.

C&G: 38

pilee ?unaa.

pile – e ?unaa
wrap – INDIC and
'He wrapped him up'.¹³¹

B&W: 38 shows *?el* 'in, in horizontally, intensively' on *xač* 'drop'.

B&W: 38

čeki ?elxača tumtoon.

čeki **?el** – **xač** – a tum – too – n
pitch **in** – **drop**¹³² – INDIC eyes – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC
'Graysquirrel dropped pitch in his eyes'.

As we have seen, directional prefixes on verbs with straightforward directional or positional semantics frequently occur in Wintu. There are also some examples of directional prefixes being used in a less common way. *?oltipaharaata* in C&G: 20, for example, appears to be an idiom.

¹³⁰ This is a revised gloss. See Footnote 59.

¹³¹ It seems like 'wrap' in Wintu has the semantics that 'wrap' in English does in the context of gifts—it seems that when he wraps his brother, he completely covers his brother, as a gift is covered in giftwrap when wrapped.

¹³² I did not find *xača* in Pitkin 1985. Schlichter notes the entirety of *?elxača* as "to drop something into something (as pitch in someone's eyes)," noting as well that *xač* is the root.

C&G: 20

ʔoltipaharaata, yoola luwalata, čirčahastoot puykenwana, p^huyuq tawpomintoon.

ʔol – tEp – a – har – a – ta yoola

up – develop – INDIC – PROG – INDIC – SUB.ANT snow

luw – el – a – ta

čirčahas – too – t

melt – STAT – INDIC – SUB.ANT mountain.chipmunk – DISJ.TPLZR – PART

puy – ken – wan – a

p^huyuq

tawpomin – too – n

east – down/in – go.toward – INDIC mountains valley – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC

‘When spring came and the snow melted, Chipmunk went down the mountain, east toward the valley’.

ʔoltepum translates as ‘springtime’ in Schlichter’s dictionary. Shepherd translates *ʔoltipaharaata* as ‘spring – get – when’. Presumably *ʔoltep* could translate as ‘be spring’, as derived from *ʔol* ‘up’ and *tEp* ‘transform’, possibly as an extension of the upward development (transformation) of plants during this time of year. It is not uncommon for seasons to be iconic—‘spring’ in English arguably also involves the concept of flowers “springing” up, and in ‘fall’, the leaves literally “fall.”

In B&W:10, we have an inherent positional verb with an incongruous directional prefix that could be a typo, given that *ken* by all accounts (Schlichter and Pitkin both) should be ‘down’ (at most, ‘in’).

B&W:10

kenpana ʔunaa.

ken – pan – a ʔunaa

down? – change.position – INDIC and

‘Then he got **up**’.

A cursory search of the Google Books version of the texts, however, uncovers twenty instances of *kenpana*, each time glossed as ‘get up’, so this perhaps is an idiom, although there is no mention was made of it in the dictionaries.

As we have seen, there are several interconnected methods of expressing non-nominal space in Wintu: verbs with inherent directional and positional semantics can be

prefixed with a number of directional forms, many of which can occur independently.

Perhaps notable is that the verbs of manner that were seen in Section 3.2. did not surface in the texts with directional prefixes. Seeing whether this is a consistent pattern or simply a peculiarity of the few texts that I looked at would be a good focus for further research.

In Chapter IV, I give an overview of the previous three chapters and recapitulate the theory of movement and location in general and for Wintu specifically.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

4.0. Overview

The following paragraphs recapitulate how movement and location are coded in Wintu. As we have seen, verbs take the lion's share of coding potential, while nouns have much more limited options when it comes to coding Ground; essentially, they can be suffixed with *-in*, or not. Determining why *-in* is used inconsistently in nominal locative contexts would be a valuable endeavor for future research, as well as determining the actual function of the 'disjunctive topicalizer' *-too* and how it influences its surrounding morphology, if at all.

In Chapter II we further discovered that Pitkin's evaluation of *-in* was not exhaustive: apparently *-in* can also have an accusative function in addition to its locative one. Some complications remain, but definitive answers to questions about the possible internal reconstruction of words like *pomin* 'down' or *qewel* 'house' will have to wait for further research.

In Chapter III we examined other ways that Wintu expresses movement and location: motion-inherent verbs exist to which manner-inherent verbs can be subordinate; and at least one verb that conflates path and ground exists (*hen* 'come home') (this was looked at in Chapter II). A look should be taken whether there are more manner verbs in Wintu; the elusive forms *ʔunaa* and *-unaa* would also prove a fruitful pursuit for another linguist.

There are also independent directional forms in Wintu, some of which comprise of mutually-dependent directional prefixes and suffixes. Both combinations acknowledged by Pitkin (like *xundal* ‘toward – at’) and those not mentioned (like *kenti* ‘down – at/in’) exist in the texts. The independent directional forms are formally similar to an array of directional and locative prefixes, which can occur on many types of verbs—from inherent directional verbs to verbs without inherent direction to verbs with subordinating morphology. It would be interesting to see how many other of these combinatory directional forms exist that Pitkin missed, and to establish whether inherent-manner verbs are excluded from receiving directional/locative prefixation.

Between Sk: 22 and B&W: 35, almost all of these potentials are manifested. These two examples, especially Sk: 22, although not exhibiting any ideas that entirely unheard of in linguistics, are useful for comparative purposes in the big picture of how the world’s languages can work and why it is valuable to study them.

Sk: 22

“*ʔewin maan keen, miitoont’ahiin ʔelč’aqunaabohan ʔolwine čalumaa sewinebohan, ʔellomes t^hooma.*

ʔew – **in** **maan** **keen** **mii** – too – in – **t’ahi** – in
here – LOC EX **down** **tree** – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC – **close.to** – LOC

ʔel – **č’aq** – unaa – bohan **ʔol** – **win** – e čaluma – a
in – **hang** – ? – and **up** – **look** – INDIC do.s/th.carefully – INDIC

se – wine – bohan **ʔel** – **lome** – s **t^hoom** – a
around – look – and **in** – **right.in.the.middle** – NMLZR **be.straight** – INDIC
‘Hey! [Over] here! [Get] right down under the tree! Hang onto the tree and take a good look around and [then look] right straight up the middle’.¹³³

B&W: 35

čileq kaysaastoot: “ʔewin miitoon kenti xundal kúda, čokiin kudabohan ʔunaa ʔolwin war, xunč’imee qabohan, ʔolwinit, mis leweqalebaada matpuqan hekeen suus.”

čileq kaysaastoot **ʔewin** **mii** – too – in **ken** – ti **xun** – dal
angry graysquirrel **here** **tree** – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC **down** – at **toward** – at

¹³³ This is a revised gloss, the explanation of which occurs above (see Footnote 49).

kud – a
move.in.indicated.direction – INDIC

čoki – in
close/near–LOC

kud – a – bohan
move.in.indicated.direction – INDIC – and

ʔunaa and **ʔol – win** war
up – look IMP

xun – č’imeeqa – bohan
together – close.eyes – and

ʔol – win – it mis
up – look – ? you **leweqalebaa – da**
tell – 1st.SG

matpuqan **heke – in** suu – s – s
 your.wives **anywhere – LOC** be – NMLZR – DUR

‘Graysquirrel became angry: “Get over here under the tree, get close and look up. Close your eyes and look up, and I’ll tell you where your wives are”’.

4.1. Wintu vs. Talmy 2000/Slobin 2004

In verb-framed languages, motion and path are both expressed in the main verb, and notions of manner or causation are expressed in a separate, subordinate form. Wintu appears to have some verb-framed tendencies—see B&W: 23, where *ponorta* ‘run’ and *p^hoqasta* ‘float’ appear to be subordinate, and *haraa* ‘go’ appears to be a main verb.

B&W: 23

ponorta ʔunaa peel t’alastoon činee purunis ʔunaa t’ala ʔunaa peel meemin p^hoqasta keenwenem haraa.

pon – o – r – ta
leap – ? – ITER – SUB.while/after/during

ʔunaa and peel
 and DUAL.PN

t’alas – too – n čine – e purunis ʔunaa t’ala ʔunaa
 clothes – DISJ.TPLZR – LOC take – INDIC their and dress and

peel meem – in **p^hoq – a – s – ta**
 DUAL.PN water – LOC **float – INDIC – STAT/intensifier – SUB.while/after/during**

keenwenem **hara – a**
 downstream **go – INDIC**

‘They ran [home], took their clothes, got dressed, and went floating downstream’.

However, in B&W: 30, *dikar* ‘climb’ (from *dEk*) is subordinate, but the main verb, *xitebiya*, does not seem to have directional semantics (‘cut’).

B&W: 30

káysaas dikar, čati xitebiya.

káysaas **dEk** – a – r čati
Graysquirrel **climb** – INDIC – **SUB.because** digger.pine.cones

xite – **bEy** – a

cut – **IMPERF** – **INDIC**

‘Graysquirrel was climbing, cutting digger pine cones’.

Further, *dEk* appears to also occur as a main verb, for example in Sk: 2.

Sk: 2

?oleel káysaas, káysaas dika čati xitebiya.

?oleel káysaas káysaas **dEk** – a čati
above graysquirrel graysquirrel **climb** – INDIC digger.pine.cones

xite – bEy – a

cut – PROG – INDIC

‘Graysquirrel was climbing up to cut pine cones’.

Note that Sk: 2 could be construed as typical of a satellite-framed language. Such languages express manner or causation in the verb, while a satellite expresses ideas of path; note there is a directional form, *?oleel*, in this sentence as well.

In equipollently-framed languages, forms that express path and forms that express manner or causation are “equivalent forms.” In Wintu, however, many directional forms are either prefixes or uninflectable words, and both manner and path verbs seem to occur as main verbs.

All in, Wintu does not fit perfectly into the established typologies, but has elements of both satellite- and verb-framed. That being said, given how pervasive *hara* (‘go’) is, and given the myriad directional forms that are associated with verbs, the best conclusion would probably be to place Wintu well on the verb-framed side of the spectrum, with a hint of satellite-framed “flavor.” It would be interesting to see where other Penutian languages fall on this spectrum.

APPENDIX

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: 1st = first, 3rd = third, ACC = accusative, ANA = anaphoric, ANT = anterior, B&W = Bat and His Wives, C = consonant, C&G = Chipmunk and Gopher, DISJ.TPLZR = disjunctive topicalizer, EVID = evidential, EX = exclamation, FUT = future, IMP = imperative, IMPERF = imperfective, INDIC = indicative stem formant, INTENS = intensifier, IPA = international phonetic alphabet, IRR = irrealis (Pitkin 1984's "imperative"), ITER = iterative, LOC = locative, NEG = negative, NML = nominal stem formant, NMLZR = nominalizer, OBJ = object, OVS = word order: object verb subject, P = Pitkin (1984), PART = particular nominal aspect, pg = page, PN = pronoun, POSS = possessive, PROG = progressive, SG = singular, Sk = Skunk (2) (there are two Skunk stories by the name of "Skunk"), s/o = someone, SOV = word order: subject object verb, STAT = stative, SUB = subordinating, SUB.ANT = verbal subordinating suffix with meanings expressing anteriority, SUBJ = subject, SVO = word order: subject verb object, TRANS = transitive/transitivizer, V = vowel.

REFERENCES CITED

- Banks, Jonathan. 2007. The verbal morphology of Santiam Kalapuya. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics*. 1(2). 1–98. http://www.sfu.ca/nwjl/Articles/V001_N02/Banks.pdf. (24 May, 2011.)
- Berkeley Language Center. http://www.mip.berkeley.edu/cgi-bin/blc_cont_disp.pl?LA_113+10026. (17 April, 2011.)
- Brown, Cecil H. 1989 ms. Problems in distant genetic comparison: The case of Mayan/Wintu. Department of Anthropology. North Illinois University, IL.
- Callaghan, Catherine A. 1997. Evidence for Yok-Utian. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 18-64.
- Cook, Sherburne F. 1976. *The population of the California Indians: 1769-1970*. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.
- DeLancey, Scott. 1999. Lexical prefixes and the bipartite stem construction in Klamath. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 65(1). 56-83.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2003. Location and direction in Klamath. In Erin Shay & Uwe Seiberg (eds.), *Motion, direction and location in languages—in honor of Zygmunt Frajzyngier*. 59-90. Amsterdam-Philadelphie: John Benjamins.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2007. The semantic structure of Klamath bipartite stems. In Fernandez-Vest (ed.), *Combat pour les langues du monde / Fighting for the world's languages: Hommage à Claude Hagège*. (Grammaire et cognition n°4). 139-148. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- DeLancey, Scott. 2009. Bipartite verbs in languages of western North America. In Andrey Filchenko & Olga Potanina (eds.), *Time and Space in Languages of Various Typology*. Proceedings of the XXV International Conference Dulson Readings. Tomsk: Tomsk State Pedagogical University.
- DeLancey, Scott & Victor Golla. 1997. The Penutian hypothesis: Retrospect and prospect. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 171-202.
- Demetracopoulou-Lee, Dorothee. 1938. Conceptual implications of an Indian language. *Philosophy of Science*. 5(1). 89-102.
- Demetracopoulou-Lee, Dorothee. 1942. Noun categories in Wintu: The generic and the particular. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*. 67. 197-210. Berlin: F. Dümmler.

- Demetracopoulou-Lee, Dorothee. 1944. Categories of the generic and the particular in Wintu*. *American Anthropologist*. 46(3). 362-369.
- Dotta, James. 1980. Some elements of Wintu social organization as suggested by Curtin's 1884-1889 notes. In *Papers on Wintu ethnography: 239 Wintu villages in Shasta County circa 1850. Occasional Papers of the Redding Museum*. Paper 1 (December 1980). Redding, CA: Redding Museum and Art Center.
- Du Bois, Cora. 1935. *Wintu Ethnography. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*. 36(1). iv; 1-148. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Frachtenberg, Leo J. 1922a. *Coos*. In Franz Boas, *Handbook of American Indian languages*. Part 2, Bulletin 40. 297-429. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Frachtenberg, Leo J. 1922b. *Siuslawan (Lower Umpqua)*. In Franz Boas, *Handbook of American Indian languages*. Part 2, Bulletin 40. 431-630. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Givón, Talmy. 1971. Historical syntax and synchronic morphology: An archaeologist's field trip. *Papers from the Regional Meetings of the Chicago Linguistic Society (CLS)*. 7. 394-415.
- Golla, Victor. 1997. The Alsea-Wintuan connection. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 157-170.
- Grant, Anthony P. Coast Oregon Penutian: Problems and possibilities. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 144-56.
- Kendall, Daythal L. 1997. The Takelma verb: Toward Proto-Takelma-Kalapuyan. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 1-17.
- Kopecka, Anetta. (in press). From a satellite- to a verb-framed pattern: A typological shift in French. In Cuyckens, Hubert, Walter De Mulder & Tanja Mortelmans (eds.), *Variation and change in adpositions of movement*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kroeber, A.L. 1925. The Patwin and their neighbors. *University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology*. 29(4). 253-423. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. *Space in language and cognition: Explorations in cognitive diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Masson, Marcelle. 1966. *A bag of bones: The Wintu myths of a Trinity River Indian*. Oakland, CA: Naturegraph Press.
- Montler, Timothy. 2008. Serial verbs and complex paths in Klallam. *Northwest Journal of Linguistics*. 2(2). 1-26.
- Pitkin, Harvey. 1984. *Wintu Grammar*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Pitkin, Harvey. 1985. *Wintu Dictionary*. *University of California Publications*. Vol. 95. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Rude, Noel. 1997. On the history of nominal case in Sahaptian. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 113-43.
- Sapir, Edward. 1912. *The Takelma language of southwestern Oregon*. *The Collected Works of Edward Sapir*. Vol. 8. Berlin: Mouton deGruyter.
- Schlichter, Alice. 1981. *Wintu dictionary*. *Reports from the Survey of California and other Indian Languages*. Report 2. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Schlichter, Alice. 1986. The origins and deictic nature of Wintu evidentials. In Wallace Chafe & Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*. 46-59. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Shepherd, Alice. 1989. *Wintu texts*. *University of California publications*. Vol. 117. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Shepherd, Alice. 1997. *In my own words: Stories, songs, and memories of Grace McKibbin, Wintu*. Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books.
- Shepherd, Alice. 2006. *Proto Wintun*. *University of California Publications in Linguistics*. 137. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Slobin, Dan I. 2004. The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. In Strömqvist, Sven & Ludo Verhoeven (eds.) *Relating events in narrative: Typological and contextual perspectives*. 2. 219-257. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. <http://ihd.berkeley.edu/Slobin-Language%20&%20Cognition/%282004%29%20Slobin%20-%20Typology%20of%20motion%20events.pdf>. (11 May, 2011.)
- Stone, Livingston. 1973. In Robert F. Heizer (ed.), *Notes on the McCloud River Wintu and selected excerpts from Alexander S. Taylor's Indianology of California*. Berkeley, CA: Department of Anthropology, UC Berkeley.
- Talmy, Leonard. 2000. *Toward a cognitive semantics, Vol II: Typology and process in concept structuring*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Tarpent, Marie-Lucie. 1997. Tsimshianic and Penutian: Problems, methods, results, and implications. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 63(1). 65-112.
- Wash, Suzanne. 1990. Patterns of the generic and particular in Wintu narrative texts. *Papers from the 1990 Hokan-Penutian Languages Workshop*. Carbondale, IL: Department of Linguistics, Southern Illinois University.
- Whistler, Kenneth W. 1977. *Wintun prehistory: an interpretation based on linguistic reconstruction of plant and animal nomenclature*. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society. 3: 157-74.
- Winnemem Wintu. *Home Page*. <http://www.winnememwintu.us/>. (17 April, 2011.)