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# THE HUELEL (ESSELEN) LANGUAGE

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**1. Introduction.** The Huelel language, usually known as Esselen after one of the villages or tribelets that spoke it, was the native language of the interior, mountainous part of Monterey County, California (Milliken 1990), and its speakers were not numerous in historic or protohistoric times.<sup>1</sup> It is usually considered the first native language of California to have become extinct. It exhibits the classical characteristics of the proposed Hokan superfamily (Dixon and Kroeber 1913, Sapir 1917, Langdon 1974; 1979, and Gursky 1974; cf. the dissenting views of Jacobsen 1979), but the language had no near relatives, and for practical purposes, it may be considered an isolate. The earliest Spanish missionaries noted that it differed completely from the neighboring Ohlonean (Costanoan) languages (Rumsen, Mutsun, and Chalon) and the Salinan language that historically surrounded it.

This paper is a sketch of what is known to date about the structure of Esselen. It has long been assumed that because only “a few hundred words and phrases of their speech” are preserved (Kroeber 1925:544), because “only word lists are available” (Shipley 1978:86), that very little can be known about the structure of this language. As will be seen below, a great deal can be learned from the surviving sources, even without the new text transcribed here (Appendix C).

Even more intriguing than the isolate status of the language, (pending confirmation of the Hokan hypothesis) is the geographic situation of the Esselen speech community. They were isolated geographically as well as linguistically. Their culture was said by the Franciscan missionaries to have been distinctive, and this is confirmed in a surviving, unpublished, contemporary account of their culture (Galiano-Malaspina Expedition 1792*b*). Esselen archaeology (Meighan 1955, Pilling 1955, Pohorecky 1964, Breschini

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Bob Huff, Father Charlie, and the Nasons for making this paper possible. I am thankful to Willem de Reuse and an anonymous reviewer for reading the manuscript. I could not have done this paper without the prior work by others listed as sources (and their linguistic consultants); and Esselen linguistics will be forever indebted to Madison Beeler, to whom the most recent work in Esselen linguistics owes its stimulus. The language was known as Huelel by its speakers; I retain their name in my title but use the term Esselen in the rest of the paper.

1973, Howard 1973*a*; 1973*b*, Brandhoff-Kerr 1982, and Brown and Jones 1987) and published ethnography (Kroeber 1925, Cook 1974*a*; 1974*b*, Geiger and Meighan 1976, Hester 1978, and Milliken 1990) have focused on the survival of Esselen culture isolated in the rugged Santa Lucia Mountains. Esselen linguistic prehistory, summarized in Shaul (1983), suggests that Esselen speakers had long interacted with their neighbors, producing a variety of grammatical similarities (Shaul 1982), although Esselen vocabulary shows that Esselen or a related language was once spoken from the Big Sur area north to the San Francisco Peninsula before the intrusion of Costanoan-speaking peoples (Shaul 1988).

I shall briefly review the sources we have for this language. There are two published evaluations and descriptions of these sources: Harrington (1916; published in Turner and Shaul 1982) and Beeler (1977). I briefly summarize both of these accounts, adding a description of the new Galiano-Malaspina material.

The first material on Esselen was collected in 1786 (La Pérouse 1797: 2:247–92). The publication gives twenty words (ten numerals); no manuscript version of this vocabulary is known. The next records come from the Galiano-Malaspina expedition and consist of a 107-item vocabulary and a catechism collected in 1792. The vocabulary and seven sentences of the catechism from a manuscript of the Galiano-Malaspina Expedition (1792*a*) are published in Beeler (1978), while the complete catechism is preserved in another manuscript (Galiano-Malaspina Expedition 1792*b*) and is published here for the first time. The data of the Galiano-Malaspina material (1792*a*) are reprinted in Von Humboldt (1811:1:322), with a footnote stating that the Rumsen and Esselen material was from Father Lasuén, one of the founding fathers of the Carmel mission. The Interrogativo sentence is from an ethnographic questionnaire from the Spanish government to the Franciscans working in California from 1812 to 1814. The last source reflecting the intellectual curiosity of the Enlightenment is Duflot (1844:2:401; collected 1840–42), which lists only the first ten numerals. The La Pérouse, Galiano-Malaspina, and Duflot materials are published in Kroeber (1904).

Little Esselen language data survives from the Franciscan missionaries. We have a linguistic sample taken (fifty-eight words, fourteen phrases and sentences) by Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, collected on May 18, 1832 at Soledad Mission from one Eusebio whose native name was Sutasis. Eusebio stated that the name of his language was Huelel (cf. Galliano's *villet* 'tongue'). This is the only material that explicitly comes from the eastern part of the Esselen country (cf. Ar *name* and Pin *namme* 'you' with Hen *nemme*—note the difference in the vowels [see n. 5 below for abbreviations]; this scant material is the only indication that we have of dialect differences within Esselen). The Arroyo material is published in Kroeber (1904). A

scrap of paper with Esselen written on it survives in the hand of Vincente Sarria, who was instrumental in the founding of Soledad Mission. This is a fragment of a catechism—different in text from the one preserved in the Galiano-Malaspina papers—that was found as a bookmark in a book from the Carmel mission library (Harrington 1913; published in Turner and Shaul 1982). There is a photograph of the fragment in Howard (1979).

After secularization of the California missions, the Gold Rush of 1849, and Anglo-American domination, California Indians became very inconspicuous, and scientific investigators after 1870 had a hard time locating speakers of Esselen. Alphonse Pinart collected about 140 items (including some sentences) in 1878 from one Omesia, whose husband had been Esselen. In 1888, H. W. Henshaw collected about 110 words and some 50 phrases and sentences from a Rumsen speaker, Eulalia, whose mother had been Esselen, and corroborated “quite a number” (Henshaw 1890:7) of the data from Eulalia with Pacifico Belisano, another Rumsen speaker who knew Esselen. The Henshaw material is published in Kroeber (1902; notes in Kroeber’s hand in red appear in Henshaw’s manuscript [Henshaw 1888]). Heizer edited the Pinart material (Heizer 1952) and the Henshaw material (Heizer 1955). Both editions were reviewed by Beeler (1955).

After 1888, investigators encountered only people who could remember having heard Esselen, not people who had actually spoken it in their daily lives. A. L. Kroeber collected six words from a Rumsen speaker in 1902 (published in Kroeber 1904). C. H. Merriam obtained nine words and phrases in 1906. Merriam’s data were published in Beeler (1978). J. P. Harrington discovered that his Rumsen consultant, Isabelle Meadows, had heard Esselen as a child. Between 1930 and 1936, he elicited Esselen words from her. A portion of the Harrington rehearsals are published in Turner and Shaul (1982); the rest, available on microfilm, are treated in Shaul (1995).

Below, I discuss phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of the Esselen language. Previous treatments of the language include Kroeber (1904; KR), Harrington (1913; HAR; published in Turner and Shaul 1982), and Beeler (1978; B). The present paper advances our knowledge about this language, especially in phonology, noun morphology, verb morphology, and syntax. This has been aided especially by the first full-length text in the language to have been recovered, the catechism in Galiano-Malaspina (1792*b*).

I rely on the following published versions of Esselen data: for La Pérouse, Arroyo de la Cuesta, Duflot, and Kroeber, I use the versions in Kroeber (1904) with attention to the readings of Arroyo by Beeler (1978) and myself; for the Interrogativo sentence, the Galiano-Malaspina vocabulary, and the Merriam list, I rely on Beeler (1978); for the Sarria vocabulary

fragment, I offer my own transcription based on the transcription by Harrington (1913; published in Turner and Shaul 1982) and the facsimile in Howard (1979); for Pinart and Henshaw, I quote Heizer (1952; 1955), guided by Beeler's criticism (1955; 1978) and my own reading of the original manuscripts; for the Isabelle Meadows rehearsals, I quote Turner and Shaul (1982). The transcription of the complete Galiano-Malaspina catechism is my own.

**2. Phonology.** Recovery of linguistic data, including phonological data, from philological materials is going to become more and more important in Native American linguistics. One noteworthy technique in this field is RECONSTITUTION (Broadbent 1957), in which various recordings of the same word are compared to yield a common phonetic rendering. While not without faults, it does yield valuable results (Okrand 1980). Data from reconstitution, as phonetic input, may be phonemicized. Such analysis is based on pattern congruity (parallel series of consonants) and the predictions of typology.

The data used for this section consist of sets of recordings for two or more renderings of the same word or morpheme. The following sources use a French orthography: La Pérouse (LaP) and Duflot du Mofras (Duf). The following use Spanish orthography: Arroyo de la Cuesta (Ar), Galiano-Malaspina (Ga), the Galiano-Malaspina catechism (Doc), and Sarria (Sar). The following use the phonetic alphabet commonly used by the Bureau of American Ethnology (Smithsonian Institution) or a modification of it: Henshaw (Hen) and Harrington (Har). Pinart (Pin) uses a transcription similar to the IPA. Merriam (Mer) uses the English pronunciation symbols for the Merriam-Webster dictionaries of English. Of the possible sets of data, seventy-seven sets were used because they could readily be transcribed. Some sets were too different for inclusion. For example, 'body' was recorded by Ar as *menjel*, by Pin as *max'ana*, and in the catechism text as *mepgel*. While there is often ⟨a⟩ in Arroyo where other sources have ⟨e⟩, the details of this particular set are too unsure for reconstitution. The data are in Appendix A, with all original attestations. In the numbered examples below in this section, and in the body of the text (this section), I cite mostly the reconstituted forms from Appendix A but do not cite the original data, for which the reader will need to consult Appendix A. Where this is not the case, I have enclosed the original recording in angle brackets (⟨ ⟩) to denote their status as data quoted in their original spelling. Hyphens in data enclosed by angle brackets are present in the original recordings. Hyphens in data that are not angle brackets are inserted to show morpheme boundary markers.

**2.1. Vowels.** Three previous analyses of Esselen (Kroeber 1904, hereafter KR; Harrington 1913, hereafter HAR; Beeler 1978, hereafter B; I cite page numbers after the abbreviation; for example, B 20 means “Beeler 1978, p. 20”) all agree on the following vowels system for Esselen: /i e o u a/. Henshaw often writes ⟨*ě*⟩ and ⟨*i*⟩ with a breve accent, suggesting that the front vowels of Esselen were lax; the same source frequently has ⟨*â*⟩ (backward *c*) where others record ⟨*o*⟩; hence, Esselen [o] may have also been lax.

Kroeber merely mentions that “there are a few cases of diphthongal ai” (KR 57). The following diphthongs were noted by Beeler (B 24).

- (1) *ai* (Ga ⟨*yx-ay*⟩ ‘pine’; Ar ⟨*jujuhuai*⟩ ‘down’)  
*ei* (Ga ⟨*chuneipa*⟩ ‘die’, ⟨*matzejó*⟩ ‘snow’; Pin ⟨*cueino*⟩ ‘far’)  
*oi* (⟨*tomoila*⟩ ‘ten’; Pin ⟨*ottosoipša*⟩ ‘ant’)  
*au* (Ga ⟨*lasháu*⟩ ‘father-in-law’; Pin ⟨*tsau*⟩ ‘uncle’; Ar ⟨*ausai*⟩ ‘up’)  
*ao* (Ga ⟨*aozapa*⟩ ‘give birth’)  
*eu* (Pin ⟨*šeukker-*⟩ ‘hawk’)

Perhaps the *ao* in ‘birth’ is really [au].

In the recordings of Esselen, vowels and consonants may appear written double, especially in Pinart. Harrington’s rehearsals of Esselen with Isabelle Meadows focused on segmental length. Harrington thought that in Esselen, as in Costanoan languages, a long stressed vowel could only be followed by a short consonant, with a short stressed vowel being followed by a long consonant (B 22). Given that Meadows’s Esselen consisted of fossilized sentences (which may be analyzed grammatically; Shaul 1995), the issue of segmental length in Esselen will probably remain unanswered.

**2.2. Consonants.** In table 1, the consonant systems posited by previous workers are assembled. In synthesizing this data in (2), I have agreed with Harrington and Kroeber on [f] instead of Beeler’s affricate [pf].

- (2)
- |          |           |          |           |          |
|----------|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| <i>p</i> | <i>t</i>  | <i>ʈ</i> | <i>k</i>  | <i>ʔ</i> |
|          | <i>ts</i> | <i>č</i> | <i>kx</i> |          |
| <i>f</i> | <i>s</i>  | <i>š</i> | <i>x</i>  | <i>h</i> |
| <i>m</i> | <i>n</i>  |          |           |          |
|          | <i>r</i>  |          |           |          |
| <i>w</i> | <i>l</i>  | <i>y</i> |           |          |

To their roster I add [r], perhaps at the same point of articulation as [t], which is discussed below. Henshaw recorded the phone engma rarely; it does not occur in the comparative data. Likewise, Kroeber recorded a bilabial fricative ([β]) that always occurs intervocalically; no further note is

TABLE 1  
ESSELEN CONSONANT INVENTORIES

Kroeber (1904)						
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>		
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>	
	<i>ts</i>	<i>č</i>				
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>				
Harrington (1913)						
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>		
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>			<i>h</i>	
	<i>ts</i>	<i>č</i>				
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>				
Beeler (1978)						
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ʈ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	
<i>pf</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>kx</i>		
	<i>ts</i>	<i>č</i>				
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					
<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>				

taken of this phone, other than it was likely an allophone of /p/. The possibility of ejective consonants is a moot point: we have no data on this matter. As noted above, the issue of geminate consonants in Esselen remains open.

I argue that the consonant system of Esselen was as in (3).

(3)	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>ʈ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
		<i>c</i>			<i>kx</i>	
		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				
		<i>r</i>				
	<i>w</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>y</i>			

Neither Kroeber nor Harrington analyzed the status of Esselen consonants as phonemes. Beeler (B 19–23) argues for a series of affricate phonemes /*pf ts kx*/ parallel to the stops /*p t k*/. I argue, on the ground of complementary distribution, that there was no such series. I show below that [*p*] and [*f*] (Beeler's [*pf*]) are allophones of /*p*/, and that [*t*] and [*č*] are allophones of /*t*/. Therefore, there can be no /*pf ts kx*/ series.

The following pairs of segments are phonetically close enough to be allophones: [p] and [f], [s] and [š], [ts] and [č], [t] and [t̚], [t] and [č], [x] and [h], [k] and [kx], and [kx] and [x]. I discuss each in turn. Given that the vast majority of the roots are CVCV in shape, I discuss consonant-initial and medial positions primarily. Note that supporting data from Appendix A are cited by gloss in parentheses. If additional data are cited, a phonetic reconstruction is given; this may be identical with the original citation (especially Pinart).

There is also a rare [r], which occurs once in comparative data: LaP ⟨*aour*⟩ and Ga ⟨*ahur*⟩ ‘teeth’. The phone [r] also occurs in several words in Pinart’s list (⟨*šeukker*⟩ ‘hawk’, ⟨*sauaran*⟩ ‘seagull’, ⟨*širiš*⟩ ‘needle-fish’). From this limited data, it may be observed that [r] occurs finally and medially. Examples of [l] in the data set show the following distribution: initial (arrow, they, we), intervocalic (foot, good/well, mountain, nails, plain, salmon), medial before a consonant (bear, speak) and final (quail; other nouns may end in the noun class marker *-l*). From this evidence, one may argue for the possibility of an //:r/ contrast in Esselen.

The phone [t] can occur initially and medially before /u o a/ (initial: female, wildcat, night, ten, give, dark, ears; medial: head, large<sub>1</sub>, girl, arrow, bear). The phone [ts] never occurs initially, and occurs medially before /i e a/ (mother, day, drink). It is thus possible for [t] and [ts] to have contrasted before /a/. The phone [č] occurs initially before /i/. It may occur initially next to a back vowel: ⟨*čolološi*⟩ ‘running water’ (Hen). Also compare ⟨*otsoi-pša*⟩ ‘ant’ (Pin) with ⟨*očololsa*⟩ ‘river lamprey’ (Pin). Henshaw gives an example of [t] before a front vowel: ⟨*tenínpais*⟩ ‘joker’ (Hen). Other examples could be drawn from several sources (Pin, Hen, Kr, Mer) to substantiate the appearance of both front and back vowels after initial [t] and [č]; we may conclude that /t/ was a phoneme in Esselen distinct from [ts] and [č]. The latter two are mostly in complementary distribution: /ts/ becomes [č] before /i/ and /o/.

The only data for [t̚] are from Arroyo (B 20–21). Arroyo used ⟨*thr*⟩ for medial [t̚] and ⟨*ths*⟩ for final [t̚] in recordings of other California languages, notably Noptinte Yokuts (Beeler 1971:61). He gives the form ⟨*mathra*⟩ ‘earth’ and the following words with the trigraph ⟨*ths*⟩ at the end: ⟨*amomuths*⟩ ‘it is finished’, ⟨*ejenouths*⟩ ‘man’, ⟨*laths*⟩ ‘they’, ⟨*maaths*⟩ ‘father’ and ⟨*nomeths*⟩ ‘you (pl.)’. It is likely, then, that Esselen had a retroflexed, voiceless stop which has survived only marginally in the record. There is additional evidence for [t̚] in 3.2.1 below.

When [s] and [š] are considered, there is complementary distribution medially and finally, but not initially. The phone [š] occurs initially before /a o/ (cry, dog, girl) and medially before front vowels or diphthongs with front vowels (nose, mouth, sun, drink, rabbit; ⟨*iše*⟩ Pin ‘lips’, ⟨*mašai-pa*⟩ Hen

'hungry'), or medially before a consonant (*ištolo* Hen 'sleep near fire'). The phone [s] occurs finally (mountain lion, nose, dark, rabbit), and it may occur finally as a suffix with adjectives (small, large<sub>2</sub>) and nouns (night, arrow). [s] also occurs medially before /a/ (water, day, give) and initially before /a/ or /u/ (good/well, [súiyuhú] Hen 'bet'). Both phones may alternate in independent and bound forms of the same root: [čiši] and [čis]- 'rabbit' and [xoši] and [xos]- 'nose', where the variation could be due to the palatalizing vowel /i/. It is plausible to consider both to be phonemes, since they could have contrasted initially and medially, with /š/ neutralizing to [s] in final position. If /š/ was retroflex in articulation (a sound quality that could easily have been missed by the early recorders), it would fit well with the retroflex stop attested in Arroyo's data.<sup>2</sup> If this phone was retroflex, it neutralized to [s] finally and to [š] before /i/ and /o/. There also seems to be an alternation between [š] and [ts]; see the data for 'my son' vs. 'my husband' and 'older brother' in (10) below. If we compare this with the data in (9), it is plausible that there may have been an alternation between [s] and [ts], or else that Pinart and others at times confused the two sounds.

The phone [k] occurs initially before /i e o u/ (bear, where, who, quail, salmon, all, -ki stative marker), medially before /i e a/ (large<sub>2</sub>, hair, yes, mountain lion), and finally (one, six). The phone [kx] occurs initially before /e u a/ (foot, four, seven, two, three, head), before /i u a/ medially (small, five, four, ears, [akxí]- Hen 'get up'), and does not occur finally in the data. The phone [x] occurs initially before /i e/ (mountain lion, *xíla*- Hen 'angry'), before /e/ medially (ground squirrel, person, man, pinole), and may occur finally as a noun suffix (plain, two); [x] also could occur after a consonant (eyes, grandfather, [kolxáβiš] Kr 'gossiper'). [k kx x] could have contrasted initially, and [k] and [kx] could have contrasted medially. There is thus strong distributional evidence for the phonemes /k kx x/.

The phone [p] occurs initially before /e u o a/ (bow, large<sub>2</sub>, one, five, child/son, mountain, -pa verb suffix), medially before /i/ (dance), /o/ (seal), and /a/ (seal), and finally (three). The phone [f] never appears initially in the data; it does appear before consonants (dance, eight) and in the form [efe] that occurs in 'person' and 'friend'. As suggested by Beeler, [p] and [f] were members of a single phoneme: /p/ becomes [f] before a consonant and [p] elsewhere. The two exceptions are [efe], just noted, and the suffix -pša. Note that [p] and [f] alternate in different forms of the same word: [kxulep] 'three' and [kxulef-walanai] 'eight', [mepV] and [mef-pa] 'dance'. La Pérouse (1797:2:291) observes the following about the phonetic reality of [f]: "on voit que généralement les langues américaines manquent de plusieurs

<sup>2</sup> I am greatly indebted to the anonymous reviewer for this insight, and for making me re-analyze the data for [s] and [š].

*lettres labiales, et plus particulièrement de la lettre F, que les Ecclemachs emploient, et prononcent, comme les Européens* [one observes in general that American languages lack several labials, in particular the letter F, which the Esselens use, and pronounce, like the Europeans].” If this is true, Esselen’s labial-dental [f] sets it apart from most other native languages in western North America.

Data on [h], [ʔ], and [x] are rare in the data set and infrequent in the entire corpus. For [ʔ], there are such instances as the following: ‘wood’ Ar ⟨*ii*⟩, Hen ⟨*i-i*⟩, Ga ⟨*y-i*⟩; Hen ⟨*k'-a-a*⟩ and ⟨*k'-a-ah*⟩ ‘tobacco’; Doc ⟨*maal(i)*⟩ ‘not’; LaP ⟨*maal*⟩ ‘no’; and Ga ⟨*mi-itz*⟩ ‘brother’. The status of initial glottal stops is unknown, although they occur in the Meadows rehearsings done by Harrington. The phones [x] and [h] do not contrast initially in the data sets: [h] occurs initially before /a/ (father, hair) and [x] occurs initially before /e/ and /i/ (mountain lion). However, if words with only one attestation are considered, there is a minimal pair where [x] and [h] contrast medially: [exe]- (man; Pin ‘grandfather’; Hen ‘boy’; Ga ‘husband’) vs. Hen [ehe-pas] ‘rabbit skin robe’. It is possible that /x/ and /h/ could have contrasted medially with /ʔ/.

**2.3. Prosody and reduplication.** Almost all Esselen roots are of the shape (C)V. There are a few roots ending in a consonant ([pek] ‘one’, [awur] ‘teeth’); Harrington notes that “the primitive syllable is either a vowel or a consonant-vowel” (HAR 1).<sup>3</sup> Almost all consonant clusters are the result of stem truncation: CVCV becomes CVC- (KR 58); for example, [mepV] ‘dance’ becomes [mef]- when the suffix -pa is added, and ama ‘eat’ becomes am- when -pa is added. Some forms are attested only as bound morphemes (alpa ‘speak’), and some words seem to be old compounds (koltala ‘bear’).

Where Henshaw marks stress, it is usually penultimate. The domain of the stress rule may include suffixes.

- |     |              |         |
|-----|--------------|---------|
| (4) | [putú-ki]    | ‘large’ |
|     | [yaktí-s-ki] | ‘large’ |
|     | [ukxú-s-ki]  | ‘small’ |
|     | [exé-noč]    | ‘man’   |

Vowel loss occurred in Esselen, apparently in relation to stress (B 22).

- |     |         |                        |
|-----|---------|------------------------|
| (5) | [xepna] | ‘boy’ (Pin)            |
|     | [tapna] | ‘younger sister’ (Pin) |

<sup>3</sup> In Harrington’s corpus of “596 that have survived, 351 are consonant-vowel, 147 consonant-vowel-consonant, 66 vowel and 32 vowel consonant. Not all possible consonant-vowel combinations are found and several of those found are rare” (HAR 2).

In these words, [exe]- ‘male’ and [ta]- ‘female’ have been compounded with [pana] ‘child’, with vowels disappearing in both [exe]- and [pana], apparently to conform with stress. In (6), we may assume that stress in the unpossessed form of ‘mother’ was on /i/. In ‘someone’s mother’, stress was recorded on the first syllable.

- (6) [atsía] ‘mother’ (stress reconstructed)  
 [m-átsi] ‘someone’s mother’ (Hen)

These data suggest that truncation could effect the placement of stress.

Reduplication is readily apparent in the corpus. Beeler (B 27) concurs with Kroeber (KR 62) in assigning no meaning to the process. Several forms, however, suggest an intensive, collective, or repetitive meaning for reduplicands; other forms suggest a plural or collective meaning (see 3.1).

- (7) [tukxususu] ‘ears’ (see Appendix A)  
 [nenepa-sVx] ‘feet’ (Ga)  
 [lulu-sVx] ‘arms’ (Pin)  
 [púlpul] ‘boiling water’ (Mer)  
 [xilaxila] ‘angry’ (Hen)  
 [šansa] ‘run’ (Hen, Pin)  
 [tsétselkmati] ‘rattlesnake’ (Hen)  
 [čololóši] ‘running water’ (Hen)

Initial reduplication may have been stress-robbing (as in ‘rattlesnake’ and ‘boiling water’), while the penultimate stress rule governs internal reduplication (as in ‘running water’), though the form for ‘boiling water’ could be an example of either initial or internal reduplication.

The following data set suggests a consonant alternation.

- (8) [ači-n] ‘sleeping’ (Pin)  
 [atsi-nisi] ‘to sleep’ (Hen)  
 [ati-nia] ‘sleepy’ (Hen)

The distributional evidence suggests that /t/ and /c/ ([ts] alternating with [č]) were different phonemes; the function of this alternation, if it is accepted, is not apparent.

Two other alternations ([ts] alternating with [š], [e] alternating with [i]) are given in (9).

- (9) [etse] ‘drink’ (Ga *etze*)  
 [eše] ‘drink’ (Pin *ešše*)  
 [iše] ‘lips’ (Pin *išše*)

There are several instances of [ts] alternating with [š] in the corpus (see ‘older brother’ in 11 below, for example). This variation occurs across sources, so it cannot be due entirely to faulty hearing of a single recorder.

Faulty hearing by more than one recorder could be responsible for this (a strong possibility), but the possibility of a consonant alternation still remains. Perhaps future data will clarify this matter.<sup>4</sup>

**3. Morphology.** Nouns, pronouns (including indefinite-interrogative pronouns), adjectives, adverbs, and verbs are distinct form classes in Esselen morphology. Some of the indefinite adverbs ('why', 'when', 'where') are treated with the pronouns because they group morphologically with the substantive indefinites ('who', 'what'). Postpositions, while adverbial in meaning, are treated with nouns. Citations in this section are from the sources; reconstituted forms are enclosed in square brackets. Hyphens have been inserted to mark morpheme boundaries.<sup>5</sup>

**3.1. Noun morphology.** Esselen nouns did not have overt case marking, though pronouns did (see the Interrogativo sentence, the two questions of the Sarria fragment in Appendix B, and the following items in the catechism in Appendix C: 3, 13a, 14, 14a, 18a, 19a, 23a, and 24a). There seems to have been a category of number marked on nouns by reduplication.<sup>6</sup> Plurality could also be shown by plural demonstratives modifying a noun, as in (63), (65), and (66) below (for plural demonstratives, see 3.2.2). Plurality could also be marked with quantifiers, as in (64).

There was a large system of noun class markers (3.1.2) that appears to have been an animacy-based gender system. The inflections that characterize noun stems in Esselen are possessor marking (3.1.1) and postpositions (3.1.4).

<sup>4</sup> Note also Ar *kele* 'foot' and Hen *es-ke'-li* 'footprint', where the putative variation occurs at the end.

<sup>5</sup> In the glosses, the numerals 1, 2, and 3 are used to mark first, second, and third person, respectively. The following abbreviations are used: ADV adverb, AGT agentive, ALT alternative, Ar Arroyo de la Cuesta (source), B Beeler (1978; description of Esselen), CONJ conjunction, DEM demonstrative, Doc Galiano-Malaspina catechism (source), DUB dubitative, Duf (source), EVID evidential, FUT future, GA Galiano-Malaspina (1792a; 1792b; source), HAR Harrington (1913; description of Esselen), Har Meadows-Harrington, Hen Henshaw (source), HON honorific, INDEF indefinite, Int Interrogativo (source), KR Kroeber (1904; description of Esselen), Kr Kroeber (source), LaP La Pèrouse (source), LOC locative, Mer Merriam (source), N noun class suffix, NEG negative, NOM nominalizer, P/C perfective/conditional, Pin Pinart (source), pl. plural, POSS possessive, PROG progressive, Q question marker, RDP reduplication, Sar Sarria (source), sg. singular, STAT stative, SUF suffix, VB verbalizer.

<sup>6</sup> Reduplication may have had a collective meaning in Esselen; see 2.3. Another sort of nonsingular marking may be involved in the following citations for 'star': AR *amutatas* 'stars', LaP *aimula* 'star', Ga *atimulai* 'stars'. A singular stem *a(i)mu-* may be reconstituted. The suffixes *-las* and *-tas* are noun class suffixes (see 3.1.2). In the form given by Arroyo, the suffix is reduplicated; in the Galiano-Malaspina form, a *-t-* is inserted into the root.

Esselen nouns could be prefixed with what appears to be an honorific *las(i)-* (Doc 6, 7, 10a, 12, 12a, 14, 14a, 15a, 16, 18a, 21) which resembles third-person marking (3.2.1). The honorific usually precedes referents that are venerated or esteemed, though it may come after the demonstrative (Doc 6, 7, 8). If the referent is a compound noun (as in 12a in the Doc), *las(i)-* attaches to the first noun of the pair.

**3.1.1. Possessor marking.** Possessor markers referring to singular possessors were prefixed to noun stems with the intervening possessive marker *-s-*.

(10) [*ni-š-pana*] (Hen)

my-poss-child/son

'my son'

*ni-tsch-ekè* (Ga)

my-POSS-man

'my-husband'

[*nami-s-map*] (Ar)

thy-POSS-name

'your name'

[*nemi-š-íya*] (Hen)

thy-POSS-bone

'your bone'

It is likely that *m(i)-* and *e-* were third-person possessor markers. All of the relevant data are shown in (11).

(11) *mi-s-exe* (Pin)

3-POSS-man

'husband'

[*m-a'aṭ*] (Ar)

3-father

'father'

[*m-átsi*] (Hen)

3-mother

'mother'

[*e-s-kéli*] (Hen)

3-POSS-foot

'footprint'

[*e-š-meiš*] (Pin)

3-POSS-older:brother

'older brother' (cf. Ga [*mi'its*] 'brother')

Although glossed without possessive pronouns in English, these forms are formally distinct from other citations for the same word (cf. ‘husband’ in 10 above; cf. Ar *haya* and Ga *ahay* ‘father’<sub>1</sub>; cf. Ga, LaP [*atsia*] ‘mother’). In the word for ‘footprint’, the semantics suggest possession (literally, ‘it’s/her/his foot’). It is likely, however, that the prefixes *e-* and *m(i)-* marked third-person singular possessors.<sup>7</sup>

There is another possessive prefix in the following datum: Ga *nemetaha* [*neme-taha*] ‘yours’. This is the only example of an independent possessive pronoun to survive.

Examples of plural possessors (‘our’, ‘their’) survive in the Galiano-Malaspina catechism. Examples of ‘your (pl.)’ do not survive.

- (12) *leg-masaneg anniquita leg-pachpa namoes* (Doc 13a)  
 our-soul(s) DEM our-sin(s) cleanse

‘to cleanse our souls (of) our sins’

- (13) *lach tivijap masaneg alalu lags mepgel*  
 their own souls(s) CONJ their body

*achepa-l* (Doc 17a)

join-CONJ

‘joining their bodies and their own souls’

The only inner possessive prefix used with plural possessor markers is *-poyo*.

- (14) *Dios lech-poyo patama* (Doc 3a)  
 God our-POSS lord

‘Our lord God’

- Jesu Christo Lechs-poyo patan* (Doc 21a)  
 J. C. our-POSS lord

‘Jesus Christ our lord’

The prefix *poyo-* is attested only with ‘our’.

**3.1.2. Noun class markers.** Previous analysis of the Esselen language has drawn attention to more than ten noun suffixes.<sup>8</sup> These suffixes do not mark case or number. When they are grouped by phonological shape, a clear pattern emerges: there is a basic series that is augmented by *-a* and *-ax*. The referents of nouns bearing these suffixes also pattern semantically.

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that some noun stems begin with /m/: Gā [*mi’its*] (*mi-itz*) ‘brother’; this could be segmented as [*m-i’its*]. Note also that there is another possible third-person possessor prefix in the following single item: Pin *eš-meiš* ‘older brother’, which might be segmented like this: [*e-š-meiš*]. In that case, there is evidence for a prefix *e-* (*a-* ?) that varied with *m(i)-*.

<sup>8</sup> Kroeber (KR 63–64) lists *-nex*, *-s*, *-la*, *-sa*, and *-ša*. Harrington (HAR 5–6) gives *-m*, *-ma*, *-s*, *-sa*, *-š*, *-ši*, *-ša*, and *-paša*. Beeler (B 28–29) segments *-s*, *-nis*, *-piš*, *-piči*, *-pša*, *-nax*, *-nex*, *-ksu*, *-sis*, *-si*, *-la*, *-sax*, and *-sex*.

(15)	-s	-sa	-sax
	-š	-ša	-šax
	-l	-la	-lax
	-t	-ta	(missing)
	-n	(missing)	-nVx

Three suffixes did not fit into this configuration.

-x  
-sis  
-pša

Of the patterned suffixes, only two are missing (\*-tax, \*-na). Some nouns appear with no suffix.

The suffix -si(s) appears to be a diminutive.

(16)	[hiski-si]	'hip' (Hen)
	[soleta-se]	'girl' (Pin; vs. Hen [soleta])
	[exe-pana-sis]	'boy' (Hen; male-child-DIM)
	[lalihe-si]	'old man' (Hen)

The suffix -pša appears only with faunal terms (B 28) and, together with -sa and -ša, marks a group of nouns that refer only to animate referents. The suffix -x appears to be semantically neutral.

Justification for noun classes in Esselen is twofold: (a) noun stems may fluctuate between two different classes, and (b) the meaning of a noun stem may change depending on which suffix is attached. In the data sets below, the same noun stems have different suffixes.

(17)	[xoši-s]	'nose' (Hen)
	[xoše-nax]	'nose' (Pin)
	[amu-tas]	'star' (Hen; cf. -tax)
	[amu-las]	'star' (LaP; cf. -lax)
	[xeke-s]	'mountain lion' (Hen)
	[xeke-s-ipša]	'mountain lion' (Pin)

In the following pairs, the suffix appears to distinguish the meaning.

(18)	[meči]	'grandfather' (Hen, Ar)
	[meči-x]	'aunt' (Pin)
	[mačka-s]	'coyote' (Hen)
	[mačka-sax]	'badger' (Pin)

TABLE 2  
ESSELEN NOUN CLASSES

	Num.	Bod.	Kin.	Per.	Flau.	Flo.	Geo.	Art.
-∅	+	+	+	+	+	+		+
-x	+				+	+	+	+
-sis		+	+	+				
-pša					+			
-s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
-sa					+		+	
-sax		+	+		+			+
-l		+	+		+			+
-la	+				+		+	+
-lax							+	
-t							+	
-š				+			+	
-ša					+			
-n				+	+	+	+	
-nax		+				+	+	+

The following abbreviations are used: Art. artifact, Bod. body parts, Fau. faunal, Flo. floral, Geo. geographic and natural phenomena, Kin. kinship, Num. numeral, Per. person(s).

[*exe-noč*] 'man' (see Appendix A)  
[*exe-sVx*] 'grandfather' (Pin)

It is plausible, then, that Esselen had noun classes distinguished by suffixes.

If the nouns attested in the corpus are sorted by suffix, the grouping appears to be a bleached out gender system based on animacy; see table 2. The endings *-sa* and *-ša* are almost exclusively used with faunal terms; both suffixes are similar in shape to *-pša*, which is used exclusively with faunal terms. The diminutive *-sis* is used only with terms for people and body parts. The suffix *-nax* is exclusively inanimate, as is the *-t* grouping. The endings *-s* and zero (absence of suffix) appear with all semantic categories. Only some of the groupings based on phonological shape have a semantic characterization, yet groupings that have a semantic character are easily discerned.

By going from the general suffixes (*-s*, *-∅*) to suffixes more specific in reference, one may construct a semology of Esselen noun suffixes; see table 3. No organization based on sex, alienability, size, or topology is apparent; rather the system is based on animacy (human, animate, inanimate). A [+human] class is distinguished by *-sis*. The *-s* grouping of *-sa*, *-ša*, and

TABLE 3  
ESSELEN NOUN CLASS SEMOLOGY

NOUN CLASSES			
UNMARKED	MARKED		
-∅			
-s			
-x			
	HUMAN	NONHUMAN	
	-si(s)	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
		-pša	-t series
		-sa	-nax
		-ša	

-pša form an animate grouping. An exclusively [-animate] group is made up of the -t grouping and those items marked by -nax. The -l grouping is semantically ambiguous, as are the suffixes -n, -sax, and -x.

**3.1.3. Agentive.** There is an agentive -pisi, which was first recognized by Beeler (B 26).<sup>9</sup>

- (19) [elpa-pis] (Mer)  
 speak-AGT  
 'smart man'  
 [alpa-piši] (Kr)  
 speak-AGT  
 'storyteller'  
 [alpa-pisi] (Hen)  
 speak-AGT  
 'gossiper, talkative man'  
 [tenin-piš] (Hen)  
 verb-AGT  
 'joker'

<sup>9</sup> Kroeber (KR 64) grouped the following suffixes together, on the basis of phonological form: -pisi, -isi, -nisi, -pis. He believed that all of these were allomorphs of the same morpheme "which makes substantives of verbs" (KR 64). Harrington (HAR 5-6) treated this series of suffixes as nominalizers or participle markers. It will be seen in 3.5.2 that -nisi is indeed a nominalizer, and that -yisi marks verbs of motion.

[*kolxala-βiš*] (Kr)

bear-AGT

‘gossiper’

[*akxi-pisi*] (Hen)

get:up-AGT

‘(one who) gets up’

Perhaps related are the following forms in *-pas*. The shape and function are similar to *-pisi*.

(20) [*tihik-pas*] (Hen)

verb-STAT-SUF

‘flirt, dandy, fop’

[*owe-pasa*] (Hen)

verb-SUF

‘(you) are nice’

There are also several nouns that have the suffix *-pas*.<sup>10</sup>

**3.1.4. Postpositions.** In 1832, Arroyo de la Cuesta noted that Esselen “*es pospositiva* [is postpositing],” that is, suffixing rather than prefixing. In this regard, one expects to find postpositional suffixes, such as the locative in (21), which was segmented by Kroeber (KR 63) but not recognized until Beeler (B 26).

(21) *ot-no* (Doc)

heaven-LOC

‘in heaven’

*madsa-no* (Doc)

earth-LOC

‘on earth’

*luchmadsa-no* (Doc)

under:world-LOC

‘in the underworld’

[*imilá-no*] (Hen)

sea/ocean-LOC

‘bay’<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> There are several nouns which also have the suffix *-pas*: [*opopap-pas*] ‘seal’ (see Appendix A), [*iyam-pas*] ‘seeds for food’ (Hen), [*ehe-pas*] ‘rabbit skin robe’ (Hen). The status of these is uncertain.

<sup>11</sup> This single example shows a noun class marker *-la* followed by a postposition. This suggests that class markers were not dropped before adding a postposition.

[*iwa-no*] (Hen)

house-LOC

'home'

*cuei-no* (Pin)

stem-LOC

'far'

The last three examples indicate that *-no* may have derived adverbs as well as served as a locative postposition.

Another postposition is apparent in the following example from Henshaw.

(22) [*kets-pam neni-puk?*] (Hen)

where-to go-SUF

'Where are you going?'

The suffix affixed to 'where' is likely to be an indication of direction, while the suffix attached to the verb [*neni-*] would then be a subject marker. There is an example of *-pam* following the locative *-no*: *ot-no-pam* 'into Heaven' (Doc 14a).

There is also a postposition *-nahi* 'into' (allomorph *-nai*) found in the catechism text (Doc 14, 14a, 19a).

(23) *lavis madsa-no luchmatsa-nahi tamacu-suja*

they earth-LOC under:world-into suffer-NOM

*equaimitano iyu-al* (Doc 19a)

forever go-CONJ

'They go from the earth into hell (where) they are suffering ones forever'.

In this example, it may be seen that the locative *-no* also had an ablative function as 'from'.

The comitative postposition (Ar *nanme-manu* 'with you') and the instrumental postposition (Ar *shiefe-nu* 'with [a] stone') are related in shape. They are attested only in Arroyo de la Cuesta.

**3.2. Pronouns.** Pronouns recorded in the Esselen corpus include person markers, demonstratives, and indefinites. Kroeber concluded that "the pronoun of Esselen is substantival [independent] rather than syntactical [bound]" (KR 60; see also B 26). However, person markers that mark subject may appear as affixes or clitics.

**3.2.1. Person marking.** Examples of person markers as subjects and possessors have survived for most persons. The discussion of this sub-

TABLE 4  
ESSELEN PERSON MARKING

	Subj.	Affix	Possr.	Indep.	Obj.
1sg	<i>eni</i>	<i>ni-</i> , <i>-ni</i>	<i>ni-š-</i>	<i>niča</i>	<i>pexwe-</i>
2sg	<i>neme</i>	<i>-puk</i>	<i>nemi-š-</i>	<i>nemi-taha</i>	
3sg		<i>lali-</i> , <i>-lali</i>	<i>mi-š-</i> , <i>e-š-</i>		<i>h(a)-</i> , <i>m-</i> , <i>e-</i>
1pl	<i>leṭ</i>	<i>leč-</i>	<i>lex</i>	<i>leč-poyo</i>	<i>leči</i>
2pl	<i>nomeṭ</i>		<i>nemex</i>		<i>*nomeči</i>
3pl	<i>laṭ</i> , <i>lawis</i>	<i>lawa-</i>	<i>lax</i>		<i>*lači</i>

The numerals 1, 2, and 3 stand for first, second, and third person respectively. The abbreviations used in the table are as follows: Indep. independent possessor marker, Obj. objective, pl plural, Possr. Possessor marker, sg singular, Subj. subjective. Demonstratives (3.2.2) could also be used as third-person markers, and there was also a prefix *la(la)-* that could mark both singular and plural third-person subjects. Forms supplied by analogy are starred. All forms shown are reconstituted.

section is summarized in table 4, which contains reconstituted forms entirely.

With possessor marking, there are two inner prefixes (*-s-* or *-š-* with singular possessors, *-poyo-* with plural possessors) that may have marked a category of alienability. The data are too sparse to allow for a fuller description of this point.

I discuss first- and second-person marking first, then third-person marking.

The first person in Esselen was marked by [*en:e*] or [*ne*]. The former could occur before or after the verb.<sup>12</sup>

- (24) *ešše enne* (Pin)  
 drink 1sg  
 'I am drinking'.  
*[mašaipa en:i]* (Hen)  
 hungry 1sg  
 'I am hungry'.  
*enne ama* (Ar)  
 1sg eat  
 'I eat'.  
*enne-foila* (Pin)  
 1sg-healthy  
 'I am healthy'.

<sup>12</sup> Compare this data with Mer [*élépo máke*] 'I am going' (? go<sub>2</sub>).

*ne am-lala* (ar)  
 1sg eat-FUT  
 'I will eat'.

An independent second singular marker is attested in only one form.

(25) *name ama* (Ar)  
 2sg eat  
 'You eat'.

There are several other likely second-person singular subject markers: *-puk* (see 3.1.3), [*muti*] (see 4.3), and perhaps others.<sup>13</sup>

First-person plural marking appears to have differentiated subject, object, and possessor functions.

(26) *lechs* 'we' (Doc 23)  
       *lees* (Ar)  
       *leex* (Pin)  
       *lechi* 'us' (Doc 13a, 14)  
       *leg* 'our' (Doc 13a, 14, 24)

This would suggest the following paradigm: [*lečs*] 'we', [*leči*] 'us', [*lex*] 'our'. The sequence [*čs*] is unusual from a typological point of view. If the trigraph <*chs*> might have been a retroflex stop, the following forms would obtain: [*leč*], [*leč̣*], and [*lex*].

The following are the only two second-person markers that are known; neither appears in a syntactic context.

(27) *nomeths* 'ye' (Ar)  
       *nemmex* 'your' (Pin)

By considering the first- and second-person plural markers, it is possible to suggest the following set of second-person plural markers (the asterisks indicate the hypothetical status of the objective form): [*nomeč*] 'you', \**[nomeči]* 'ye', and [*nemex*] 'your'. The subject form uses the trigraph <*ths*>, which Arroyo used for a retroflex stop. On the basis of the second-person plural subject pronoun, I have reconstituted the subject marker as *-t*.

Third-person plural markers pattern like the first-person plural markers.

(28) *lachs* 'they' (Doc 18a, 20a)  
       *lach* (Doc 14a, 17a)  
       *lavis* (Doc 19a)  
       *laths* (Ar)  
       *lag* 'their' (Doc 17a)  
       *leex* (Pin)

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Hen [*i-yakal*] 'are you going?' (?-go<sub>2</sub>); Hen [*ha-čox-pa*] 'you are a devil'; Mer [*íka mákV h́ilin*] 'you will come back again' (? go<sub>3</sub> back/again).

On the basis of phonological shape and the function of those shapes in syntactic context in the Galiano-Malaspina catechism, one may posit the following paradigm: [*laʔ*] ‘they’, \*[*lači*] ‘them’, [*lax*] ‘their’.

Third-person singular and plural could be marked by the suffix *-lam*.

- (29) *Maali-lam chunai-mus halass-masaneg[;] mepgel*  
 NEG-3 die-P/C DEM-soul body  
*sinnu chunai-murha* (Doc 16a)  
 only die-P/C

‘S/he, that soul, does not die; only (the) body dies’.

- (30) *cadsqui maali-lam oloipa Dios misa tetelpa* (Doc 19a)  
 because NEG-3 obey God NOM orders  
 ‘because they did not obey God’s commandments’

The suffix (enclitic?) *-lam* may mark singular subjects (Doc 15a, 16a) and plural subjects (Doc 9a, 17a, 19a).

There is a related affix (clitic?) that could appear before or after another clause constituent: *lal(i)-*, *-lal(i)*.

- (31) *allejapa lal-efuexe* (Pin)  
 stupid 3-persons  
 ‘He is stupid’.
- (32) [*lal-mašaipa*] (Hen)  
 3-hungry  
 ‘He is hungry’.
- (33) [*kiniki-lali*] (Hen)  
 who-3  
 ‘Who is that?’
- (34) [*aka-lali aniki*] (Hen)  
 DEM-3 DEM  
 ‘That is that’.

There was a plural prefix *lawa-* ‘they’ (cf. *lavis* above) that seems parallel to *lal(i)-*.

- (35) *laua-nin čunasi-nin* (Pin)  
 3pl-? die-?  
 ‘They die’.
- (36) [*lawa-timáma*] (Hen)  
 3-drunken  
 [‘They are drunk’.]

Henshaw gives three forms with *lawa-* ('he is drunk', 'he is angry', 'you have arrived'); almost certainly, Henshaw did not correctly record the translation of this affix.

There is another prefix *lalim-*, which is attested only with the morpheme [*tata*], which seems to have been a verb of feeling or existence, similar to the existential predicator *chaa* found in the catechism.<sup>14</sup> The Harrington data are from the rehearsals with Isabelle Meadows.

- (37) [*lalim-tát:a timám:a*] (Har)  
 3-feel(?) drunk  
 'You are drunk'.
- (38) [*eféx:e lalim-tát:a*] (Har)  
 person 3-be(?)  
 'You are quite a person'.
- (39) [*kólxala lalim-tá:ta*] (Har)  
 bear 3-be(?)  
 'You are a bear'.
- (40) [*túm:as lalim-tát:a ?owép:as*] (Har)  
 dark 3-be(?) nice  
 'You are nice and dark'.

All four of these examples were pejoratives. Mrs. Meadows stated that the word [*kolxala*] 'bear' was Rumsen; addressing a person as a bear was a serious insult in many Californian cultures. When saying (40), "one has to hold out one's hand with hooked fingers as a blasphemy" (Harrington, April 1935).

No examples of third-person markers used as objects have survived; the examples of third-person direct objects are realized by nouns or noun phrases, which have no overt case marking. Third-person reference could also be realized by demonstratives (3.2.2).

**3.2.2. Demonstratives, indefinites, interrogatives, quantifiers.** There are two pairs of demonstratives found in the catechism text.

- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| (41) Singular             | Plural                                      |
| <i>anniqui</i> (Doc 12a)  | <i>annigua</i> (Doc 9, 9a, 10, 18, 19, 20a) |
| <i>ahic</i> (Doc 6, 7, 8) | <i>guahic, hua</i> (Doc 9, 9a)              |

All of these are used as determiners for noun phrases. It appears, however, that demonstratives could be used independently as pronouns. The pronoun

<sup>14</sup> Compare this with the following data from Henshaw: [*mali-tax-pa*] 'there is none' (NEG-stem-SUF) and [*man-tux-ite*] 'that is the truth' (?-stem-?).

[*aniki*] ‘someone’ (Hen *aniki*, Ar *huiniki*, Pin *hainihi*) may be used alone, as in (34) and (42).

- (42) *huiniki*    *ama* (Ar)  
           s/he        eat  
           ‘S/he eats’.

Another demonstrativelike word (*halass*) occurs in the catechism text (Doc 14a, 16a). It is used as a noun modifier and had the meaning ‘in the capacity of’. The first element has the shape of one of the third-person makers on verbs (*ha-*), and the second element is identical to the honorific (see 3.1).

There were at least two indefinite pronouns in Esselen.

- (43) *alic*        ‘something’ (Doc 22a, 23a)  
       *hecgei*    ‘thing(s)’ (Doc 2,3)

The interrogatives served as indefinite pronouns, since one of them (‘why/that’s why’, below) could be used that way.

The following is a complete set of interrogative pronouns supplied by the catechism text, with other attestations noted.

- (44) *quiniac*                            ‘who’ (Doc 3, 4, 5, 10, 11)  
       *kí-î-a, kiki, kiniki* (Hen)  
       *kí:ni* (Kr)
- quetscaia*                            ‘what’ (Doc 20)  
       *kiakit* (Ar)
- quehaen*                                ‘where’ (Doc 2)  
       *queya* (Doc 12)  
       *quesi, que es* (Doc 18, 19)  
       *ké-ya* (Hen)  
       *kelloeia* (Pin)
- conumis*                                ‘how many’ (Doc 1)
- casquiac*                                ‘why/that’s why’ (Doc 13, 18)  
       *cahquio* (Doc 18a)  
       *cadsqui* (Doc 19a)

The interrogatives must be related to the question particle *ca*.

There was another interrogative for ‘what’. This pronoun (*pasiac, pasiques, pasiguis, patziguez*; see 4.4) is also found in Henshaw: [*paším-ake-natsu*] ‘what are you laughing at’ (Q-laugh-SUF). No semantic differentiation is clear between the attested words for ‘what’.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps the form given by Arroyo de la Cuesta (*kiakit nami-s-map* ‘what is your name’) really means ‘how’ and only appears translated as ‘what’.

There were bound forms of the interrogatives that ended in *-ts*. Compare these to *quetscaia* and *cadsqui* above.

(45) [*kets-pam neni-puk*] (Hen)  
 where-to go-2sg

‘Where are you going?’

(46) [*h-alpa, mači h-alpa mač-káts-ki*] (Hen)  
 ?-speak DUB ?-speak DUB-what-STAT

‘Talk, talk, what is the matter?’

The word [*mači*] may be related to [*méča*] ‘who knows’ (Hen).

There is evidence for two quantifiers in the data, ‘all’ and ‘much’.

(47) *comminam* ‘all’ (Doc 2a, 3, 23a)  
*kommenam* (Pin)

*má-li-ai-ha-pá* ‘much’ (Hen)  
*mislayaya* (Ar)

No other examples of quantifiers have survived.

**3.3. Adjectives.** Adjectives in Esselen ended in *-ki*, as seen in the following data.

(48) *sallama e-k* ‘pregnant’ (Ga)  
 [*helél-ki pana*] ‘white girl’ (Hen)  
 [*salé-ki asátsa*] ‘good day’ (Hen)  
 [*yakí-s-ki*] ‘large<sub>1</sub>’ (Hen)  
 [*ukxú-s-ki*] ‘small’ (Hen)

The suffix *-ki*, characterized by Kroeber (KR 60) and Harrington (HAR 4) as an adjectival marker, is probably related to the predicative *-k*. A number of indefinite pronouns and indefinite adverbs also had a suffix *-ki* (*kiki*, *kiniki*, *anniqui*, *huiniki*, *casquiac*, etc.), which is perhaps related to adjectival *-ki*. The meaning of the inner suffix *-s-* remains unclear; perhaps it is related to size.

There is a small data set of words having stative meanings and the suffix *-pas*.

(49) *ale-pas* ‘there is none’ (Ar)<sup>16</sup>  
*ala-pas* ‘none other’ (Doc 1a)  
 [*owé-pas*] ‘nice’ (Hen)  
 [*tihí-k-pas*] ‘flirt’ (Hen)

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Hen [*mali-tax-pa*] ‘haven’t got any, there is none’ (NEG-be[?]-SUF).

Perhaps the suffix *-pas* meant ‘characterized by’. The last example shows the stative marker *-k(i)* before *-pas*, which suggests the following construction for adjectives in Esselen: stem-*s-k(i)-pas*.

**3.4. Adverbs.** Adverbs were probably regularly formed in Esselen from adjective stems by the suffix *-[wa]*.

- (50) *sale-gua* ‘well’ (Int)  
*sale-gua* (Doc 18)

It should be noted that the locative suffix *-no* could also derive adverbs (see 3.1.4).

**3.5. Verbs.** The main function of verbal prefixes in Esselen seems to have been to mark objects and to mark hortative and imperative functions. Verbal suffixes were derivational and also marked tense and aspect.

**3.5.1. Verbal prefixes.** The following data obtain for object markers as verbal prefixes in Esselen.

- (51) [*h-alpa*] ‘speak’ (Hen)  
 [*hum-ulpa*] ‘tell, relate’ (Hen)  
 [*m-alpa-pisi*] ‘gossiper’ (Kr)  
 [*ha-čili-sma*] ‘hit him’ (Ar; OBJ-IMP-hit)  
 [*pexwi-sma*] ‘hit me’ (Ar)  
 [*e-ménaxu*] ‘put it on’ (Hen)  
 [*e-sláha sana*] ‘bring water’ (Hen)  
 [*čili-ha-sla*] ‘bring (wood)’ (Hen)

In this data, it may be seen that *h(a)-*, *m-*, and *e-* all mark third-person singular objects, that there is an imperative-hortative prefix *čili-*, and that there was a partial for ‘me’, *pexwi-*. Apparently the imperative-hortative could precede or follow the object marker. Note also the possible inner prefix *-s-* ‘causative/transitive’ in ‘hit’ and ‘bring’. This possible suffix is segmentable based on the fact that Esselen roots are CV or CVCV in shape.

**3.5.2. Verbal suffixes.** A number of suffixes that do not indicate tense, aspect, or mood are segmentable.

- (52) *-pa* active suffix  
*-jap* verbalizer, perhaps causative  
*-yisi* motion  
*-(a)l* simulfactive (same-subject; with allomorphs *-tal* and *-cal(a)*; see 4.7)  
*-m* and (same-subject; see 4.7)

- <i>hihaia(s)</i>	alternative (see 4.7)
- <i>saxa</i>	nominalizer (see 4.9)
- <i>ke</i>	vetative (see 4.5)
= <i>ne</i>	'I' (see 3.2.1)
= <i>puk</i>	'you (sg.)' (see 3.2.1)
= <i>lal(i)</i>	'h/she' (see 3.2.1)

Most of these have syntactic functions and are discussed where appropriate. The last three elements may be also analyzed as subject clitics.

A large amount of data exists for the suffix *-pa*. It appears with transitive, intransitive, and stative stems. Stress shows that it is phonologically fused to the stem.

(53) [ <i>am-pa</i> ]	'eat' (Ga)
[ <i>mali-tax-pa</i> ]	'there is none' (Hen)
[ <i>al-pa</i> ]	'speak' (see Appendix A)
[ <i>hum-ul-pa</i> ]	'tell, relate' (Hen)
[ <i>čuna-pa</i> ]	'die' (Ga)
[ <i>hilá-pa</i> ]	'glad' (Hen)
[ <i>mef-pa</i> ]	'dance' (LaP)
[ <i>manalenei-pa</i> ]	'forget'
[ <i>mašai-pa</i> ]	'hungry'
[ <i>mawi-pa</i> ]	'tired' (Pin)
[ <i>aotsa-pa</i> ]	'give birth' (Ga)
[ <i>la-maša-pa</i> ]	'he is going' (Hen)
[ <i>takam-pa</i> ]	'hunt' (Ga)
[ <i>ha-čox-pa</i> ]	'you are a devil' (Hen)
[ <i>matsai-pa</i> ]	'Anglos' (Hen)
<i>ache-pa-</i>	'join, unite' (Doc 17a)
<i>efem-pa-</i>	'bury' (Doc 14a)
<i>egue-p-</i>	'return' (Doc 14a)
<i>gics-pa</i>	'see' (Doc 18a)
<i>iqui-pa</i>	'be able to do' (Doc 14a)
<i>le-p-</i>	'be called' (Doc 10a)
<i>mech-pa</i>	'believe' (Doc 20a)
<i>tetel-pa</i>	'command, order' (Doc 14a, 18a)

Although some stems are attested only with *-pa* (*al-pa* 'speak'), other stems could appear without the suffix ([*mepe*] 'dance', [*ama*] 'eat'). It is likely that *-pa* meant 'in the act of doing' with transitive stems and 'in the state of being' with intransitive and stative stems. This suggests that *-pa* was a progressive or imperfect aspect marker.

The suffix *-jap* is used in the Doctrina text to indicate the verb status of 'confess' and 'take communion' (Doc 22a, 23, 23a). The contexts in the

Doctrina text suggest that this suffix was a causative. The *-p* may be related to the suffix *-pa*; the element *-[ka]* or *-[xa]* would then be an internal suffix—possibly the same one that may cooccur with the simulfactive *-(a)l* (see 4.7).

The suffix *-yisi* seems to indicate motion.

- (54) [*mepe-yisi*] ‘dance’ (Hen)  
 [*šanša-yisi*] ‘run’ (Pin)  
 [*laha-yisi*] ‘have arrived’ (Hen)

The verb [*mepe*] ‘dance’ (see Appendix A) could occur without the suffix. The suffix probably means ‘motion realized’, given the last gloss.

There was a future tense in *-lala*.

- (55) *am-lala* ‘will eat’ (Ar)  
*siawa-lala* ‘will cry’ (Ar)

An imperfective marker is attested in the following data.

- (56) [*x-ači-na*] (Pin)  
 ?-sleep-PROG  
 ‘sleeping’ (cf. Hen [*atsi-*] ‘sleep’)  
 [*tení-n-piš*] (Hen)  
 joke-PROG-AGT  
 ‘joker’  
 [*hašówi-n*] (Hen)  
 scratch-PROG  
 ‘scratching’  
 [*lawa-nin čunasi-nin*] (Pin)  
 3pl-PROG(?) die-PROG  
 ‘They are dying’.

Note that in some of the verbs in the catechism text (Appendix C) *-n(a)-* may appear after the verb stem, but before another suffix, which suggests that this may have been an inner suffix.

There is a suffix in the catechism text that appears in five different forms. It had a conditional or perfective meaning.

- (57) *-mus* conditional (Doc 14, 16, 18a); perfective (Doc 14a, 15)  
*-muts* conditional (Doc 13a)  
*-musù* conditional (Doc 16)  
*-musa* perfective (Doc 17)  
*-murha* perfective (Doc 16a)

The spellings ⟨*rha*⟩, ⟨*s*⟩, and ⟨*ts*⟩ for the medial consonant of this suffix suggest that it was a retroflex stop.

There was an evidential suffix that was used to guarantee truth value.

- (58) *nemulam op-ssiamē chaa* (Doc 12a)  
 back:to virgin (?)-EVID be/exist

‘was always a virgin’

- (59) *maali-lam chuna-siamē Dios* (Doc 15a)  
 NEG-3 die-EVID G.

‘did not die (as) God’

**4. Syntax and word order.** In general, the Esselen Doctrina text uses a VO (verb, object) order, though this varies in the clause material in the sources other than the catechism. If the subject was a clitic (or suffix), it is often the second element in the clause, though this is not always the case (Doc 12a). The SVO order matches the Spanish text of the Doctrina. The negative marker [*ma’ali*], interrogatives (*ca*, *pasiques*), indefinites (‘who’, ‘where’), and conjunctions are always initial elements, preceding any subject marker. The equivalents of these initial elements are not always initial in the Spanish text, which distinguishes one aspect of Esselen syntax from that of Spanish. Equational predicates, besides containing two nominals, often ended with a copular particle (see 4.3).

Some word orders (determiner + adjective + noun, postpositions) remind one of an OV language, but other orders (noun + relative clause, possessor nominal + possessed nominal) are consistent with VO typology. The order of the clause in the extant data varies (SVO, SOV, VSO) and is not a helpful diagnostic for word order typology. Moreover, the word order of the Spanish text of the Doctrina is often like the order of the Esselen translation. However, numerous differences are apparent in many lines of this text. In subordinate clauses (Doc 13a and 14, for example), the word order may be OV. The copular particles that always occur at the end of the Esselen clause are very different in position than their equivalents in Spanish. Nominalization may appear where there is no such requirement in the Spanish text (Doc 12). The placing of the objects may not be the same (Doc 13a). The SVO order in subordinate clauses may contravene the Spanish order (Doc 14a, third clause). A relative clause appears in Esselen where there is none in Spanish (Doc 10a). The epithet “so-called” is translated with no prompting from the Spanish text (Doc 12a). A ditransitive verb in Esselen is the match of a transitive verb in Spanish (Doc 14, second clause), creating differences in syntax. There may be near total mismatches in complex sentences (Doc 17). Despite similarities in word order, the differences between the two texts are too divergent to say that the Esselen syntax completely parallels

the word order of the Spanish text. This reassures us that the Esselen text records at least some of the features of Esselen syntax.

**4.1. Noun phrase.** In Esselen, nouns were preceded by their modifiers, both determiners and adjectives. The honorific could come after other determiners (Doc 6, 7, 8).

- (60) [*ukxús-ki ta-paná-si*] (Hen)  
 little-STAT female-child-DIM  
 'little girl, baby'
- (61) [*alá-ki úyun*] (Hen)  
 dark-STAT old:woman  
 'dark or black woman'
- (62) [*salé-ki itsu*] (Hen)  
 good-STAT night  
 'good night'
- (63) [*púlpul asásnax*] (Mer)  
 boiling water  
 'boiling water'
- (64) *annigua pach-gua christianos* (Doc 19)  
 DEM bad-ADV C.  
 'the bad Christians' (cf. Doc 18)
- (65) *comminam hecgei* (Doc 3)  
 all thing(s)  
 'all things'
- (66) *annigua julef personas* (Doc 9)  
 DEM three persons  
 'those three persons'

The order appears to be: determiner (demonstrative, quantifier, plural possessor marker) + adjective = noun. However, it appears that there could be some variation.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> On the basis of this pattern, it may be possible to segment noun phrases that have no external corroboration: Hen [*suhúlulpawis*] 'spotted tail' must be made up of two elements ('spotted', 'tail'). The pattern infers that [*suhúlul*] is 'spotted', and that [*pawis*], with the typical noun class marker *-s*, is 'tail'. It is likely that *-lul-* belongs with the adjective, on the basis of another color term, Hen [*helel-ki*] 'white, light'. Why the stative marker *-ki* does not appear in this construction is not readily apparent.

- (67) *xulef hua Dios* (Doc 9a)  
 three DEM gods  
 'three gods'

Perhaps *gua* in (67) is an enclitic.

The noun could be a compound noun.

- (68) *anniqui pec Las-ta Santa Maria* (Doc 12a)  
 DEM one HON-woman S. M.  
 'the woman St. Mary'

- (69) *Dios ahic Las-ayam* (Doc 6)  
 G. DEM HON-father  
 'God the Father' (cf. Doc 7)

- (70) *Lechs-poyo patan Dios* (Doc 21)  
 our-POSS lord G.  
 'our lord God' (cf. Doc 14a)

The plural personal possessor markers (3.1.1) were recorded as independent words, which suggests that they were stressed, and thus a sort of noun phrase determiner.

**4.2. Possessive noun phrase.** In Esselen, the possessive noun phrase was made up of two noun phrases, juxtaposed. The order was: possessed entity + possessor entity.

- (71) [*méhe imúsa*] (Hen)  
 'ground:squirrel hole  
 'ground squirrel hole'

- (72) *hallass tetelpa Poncio Pilato* (Doc 14a)  
 DEM orders P. P.  
 '(on) the orders (of) Pontius Pilate'

- (73) *masaneg anigua pach-gua christianos* (Doc 19)  
 souls DEM bad-ADV C.  
 '(the) souls (of) the bad Christians'

- (74) *lechs g-adsia Santa Yglesia* (Doc 24a)  
 our DEM-mother holy church  
 'our Holy Mother Church'

- (75) *lauya las sigiha-nia anniqui pec*  
 be:made (?) HON womb(?)-LOC(?) DEM one  
*Las-ta Santa Maria* (Doc 12a)  
 HON-woman S. M.

‘was made in the womb of the woman St. Mary’

Other possessive noun phrases show the same order (Doc 14a, 18, 19a, 24a).<sup>18</sup>

**4.3 Equational and possessive predicates.** A suffix *-k*, probably related to the stative marker *-ki* if not an allomorph of it, was used to form equational predicates.

- (76) [*xilaxila-k-en:i*] (Hen)  
 angry-STAT-1sg  
 ‘I am mad’  
 (77) *ejenutç-k* (Ga)  
 man-STAT  
 ‘man’  
 (78) *tanutç-k* (Ga)  
 woman-STAT  
 ‘woman’

In most sources, ‘man’ is [*exenoč*] and ‘woman’ is [*tanoč*]. Reasonably the artifact of elicitation, it is likely that a predicated form of a noun being elicited was included in an answer to a question like ‘what/who is this?’

Esselen appears to have been particularly rich in copular verbs. Among these are the following: [*tata*], in examples (37)–(40) above; [*č’a’a*] (Doc 2a, 11a, 12a, 20a, 21a); *canay* (Doc 14a); the negative copula *alepas* (Ar, Doc 1a); and possibly *patey* (Doc 1a).

The possessive predicate construction is represented by a single datum.

- (79) [*muti-hawi-nVnt*] (Hen)  
 2sg(?)-wife-SUF  
 ‘Are you married?’

The Costanoan word for ‘wife’ has the shape [*hawi*]; using this fact, one can analyze the suffix in (79) as ‘have, own’ and the prefix as a person marker.

<sup>18</sup> On the basis of this pattern, it may be possible to segment other possessive or partitive noun phrases. For example, Hen [*úmis walási*] ‘load of tule’ must consist of [*úmis*] ‘load’ and [*walási*] ‘tule’.

**4.4. Question formation.** Questions that could be answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’ were introduced by the questions marker *ca* (Doc 6, 7, 8, 9, 17). This marker could be used to produce alternative questions (‘either/or’; Doc 15, 16). When interrogative pronouns (see 3.2.2) were used, the interrogative was the first constituent. The interrogatives all began with *k-* (cf. *ca*, above). There was also interrogative ‘what’ that did not fit into the series beginning with *k-*: *pasiac* (Doc 14), *pasiques* (Doc 22, 23, 24), *pasiguís* (Sar, line 2), *patziguez* (Sar, line 7). The interrogative ‘what’ means ‘which’ when used with a noun phrase (Sar., lines 1, 7). No examples of negative questions survive.

**4.5. Imperatives.** There are a number of examples of imperatives (all of them singular) in the corpus. Following is a representative sample.

- (80) [*yókula asánax*] (Hen)  
 bring water  
 ‘get water’  
 [*i:ú:kla asánax*] (Kr)  
 bring water  
 ‘give me water’  
 [*káka toxesa*] (Hen)  
 tobacco give  
 ‘give me tobacco’  
 [*alpa name*] (Ar)  
 speak 2sg  
 ‘speak’

There is no fixed order of verb and object in these examples. There is one example of a negative imperative (see 4.6).

**4.6. Negation.** There are two negative markers attested. One was a prefix.

- (81) [*an-siawa-ke*] (ar)  
 NEG-cry-SUF  
 ‘don’t cry’  
*agm-papia alpa* (Ar)  
 NEG-be:able speak  
 ‘(I) am not able to speak’.  
 [*?a:n lá-kunsimí:*] (Har)  
 NEG 3-?  
 (no translation)<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> A pejorative said by “*la vieja Omesia cuando se caiba* [the old lady Omesia when she fell down]” (Har).

The single example ‘don’t cry’ suggests that negative imperatives were negated with *an-*, with *-ke* suffixed to the verb.

The other negative marker, *maal(i)*, appears with independent clauses (Doc 9a, 15a, 16a) and in subordinate clauses (17a, 19a). What the semantic difference is between the two is not apparent.<sup>20</sup>

**4.7. Conjoining.** There is a fair amount of data on conjoining clauses in the corpus, considering its size. Conjoining was by suffix or independent conjunctions; there were coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions.

The suffix *-m* ‘then’ was used to conjoin predicates that had the same subject (Doc 13a, 14, 14a). Another same-subject marker, the suffix *-(a)l* (with allomorphs *-tal* and *-cal*), had a sequential meaning (‘while, as’) and followed other suffixes: *naquinamu-l* ‘fastening’ (Doc 14a), *coso-n-tal* ‘sitting’ (Doc 14a), *achepa-l* ‘joining’ (Doc 17a), *chupa-l-cal* ‘dying’ (Doc 17a), *iyual* ‘going’ (Doc 18a, 19a), *mi-cal* (Doc 20a). The inner suffix *-n-* is probably the progressive, and the *-l-* may be a first iteration of this same-subject conjunction.

A different subject may be signaled by *laccai* (Doc 14a), but *laca* may also be used to conjoin two predicates with the same subject (also Doc 14a). Similar in form to [*laka(i)*] was *lahim* ‘but, however’ (Doc 9a); another conjunction that indicated an alternative was *ques* (Doc 15, 16). The conjunction *alalu* apparently joined noun phrases (Doc 17a). There are two pairs of coordinating conjunctions in the data. The pair *ei . . . ei* (Doc 22a) was used in statements, while *ca . . . ca* was used in questions (Doc 15, 16). Another pair of coordinating conjunction appears to be *nasi . . . na* (Doc 18a). Subordinating conjunctions included *umases* ‘when, if’ (with variants: Doc 15, 16, 18, 19, 22a, 24) and *imitaniti* ‘then’ (Doc 17a).

**4.8. Relative clauses and nominalization.** In Esselen, relative clauses followed the noun they modified. In (81) and (82), there are not relative clause markers. In (84), a nominalizing suffix is used.

(82) <i>Egenoch</i>	<i>lal-ucui-mxs</i>	<i>talog-pami</i>	
men	3-shoot-P/C	target?-toward	
<i>ege</i>	<i>sale-gua</i>	<i>taheya-pami</i>	<i>lax-achis</i> (Int)
very(?)	good-ADB	honor(?)-to	3pl-bestow(?)

‘Men who shoot arrows well are esteemed and admired’.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The words for ‘no’ were identical to the two negative markers: [*ána*] ‘no’ (Hen; from Eulalia and verified by Pacifico), *maal* ‘no’ (LaP).

<sup>21</sup> The identification of *-pami* as ‘to, toward’ identifies *talog* as ‘target’ or some similar noun. The verb suffix *-mus* (written ⟨*mxs*⟩) identifies *ucui* as ‘shoot’. It is likely that *exe* is an intensifier ‘very’.

- (83) *Las-panna espia eggenoch namoes*  
 HON-SON become human cleanse  
*leg-tos le-mus Jesu Cristo* (Doc 10a)  
 1pl-SUF call-P/C J. C.

'The Son, who became man to purify, we call Jesus Christ'.

- (84) . . . *annigua Christiano mechfa Dios mi-cal*  
 DEM C. believe G. verb-CONJ  
*pa oloipa lachs Papa-nis chaa* (Doc 20a)  
 CONJ obey 3pl pope-NOM be

' . . . the Christians who obey God and the pope'

There is not a single relative marker, although a nominalizing suffix may be used (see also Doc 14a).

The nominalizing suffix *[-saxa]* was attached to verbs (Doc 19a, 23a) and *[-nisa/i]* was attached to nouns (Doc 18a, 19a, 20a).<sup>22</sup> The stative suffix *-ki* could also be used as a nominalizer: *espia-qui* 'one who became' (Doc 12), *sinu-qui* 'the only one', *sos-qui* 'judgment (?)' (Doc 17a).

**5. Discussion.** The major characteristics of the Esselen language can now be reviewed. The language had five vowels: */i e u o a/*. The consonant phonemes are rather few. The retroflex stop (and possibly a corresponding retroflex sibilant), so typical of California languages, seems to be present. There is no evidence for ejectives, and the data on segmental length is probably spurious. Stress was antepenultimate and interacted with truncation, which seems to have no semantic value. Reduplication seems to indicate an intensive or collective meaning.

Nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs are clearly distinguished by their respective morphologies. Noun inflections included possessor marking and postpositional suffixes. Postpositions included: *-no* 'locative/ablative', *-pam* 'to', *-na(h)i* 'into', *-nu* 'instrumental', and *-manu* 'comitative'. There were also noun classes marked by suffixes, most of which had the shape *-C*, *-Ca*, or *-Cax* (where *C* = { */s ʃ l t n/* }). The noun classes represent an old gender system based on animacy.

Personal pronouns had three cases (subjective, objective, possessive), and subject marking was often done by means of enclitics. Demonstrative pronouns appear to have had no variation for case but did mark plurals with

<sup>22</sup> A suffix *[-nisi]* is found in the Henshaw data: [*atsi-nisi*] 'sleep', [*poko-nisi*] 'to sleep', [*ake-nisi*] 'laugh', [*koso-nisi*] 'sit down'. This is perhaps the same as the suffix found in the catechism text.

the suffix *-gua*. Indefinite pronouns and adverbs all began with /k/, and many had bound allomorphs with the shape /kVts-/, where the vowel varied.

Adjectives (as well as equational predicates and most indefinite pronouns and adverbs) were marked by the suffix *-ki*. Adjectives could also end in *-pas*. Adverbs ended in *-wa*, and adverbs of place were derived with the post-position *-no*.

Verb prefixes marked objective, hortative, and imperative categories. Negation could also be by prefix. Verb suffixes were derivational, marked aspect and tense, and had syntactic functions. There were two imperfective or progressive markers: *-pa* and *-n(a)*; the semantic difference between the two is unknown. There was a future *-lala* and a perfective-irrealis *-mut(a)*. There was a nominalizer *-saxa*.

Esselen had postpositions and the relative clauses followed the modified noun. Noun phrases had the order: determiner + adjective + noun. Possessive noun phrases had the order: possessed entity + possessor. The syntax of noun phrases is consistent with the typology of an OV language, yet the word order in clauses in the data set varies between OV and VO, in part reflecting the order of the original Spanish text from which the Esselen text of the *Doctrina*, which makes up most of the data, was translated.

Equational predicates were formed by adding *-k(i)*, the stative marker, to the predicate noun, or a variety of copular verbs could follow the noun (*tata*, *kanai*, *alepas*, and possibly *patei*). Nouns used as possessive predicates seem to have suffixed *-nunt* to the possessed noun.

Questions were formed by putting *ka* in front of a clause or by using an indefinite pronoun or adverb in front of the clause. Negation was by means of the prefix *an-* or the independent word *ma'al(i)*. No special morphology marked imperatives, but negative imperatives apparently had the suffix *-ke* added to the verb.

There were two same-subject markers: *-m* and *-(a)l*; the latter meant 'as/while'. Different-subject status was indicated with the conjunction *lakai*. Relative clauses did not have to have any special marker, though a nominalizing suffix could be used. Nominalized verbs had the suffix *-saxa*, and nominalized nouns had either *-nisa/i* or the stative marker *-ki*.

There are several possible directions for Esselen linguistics to progress. First of all, no manuscript versions are known for La Pérouse (1797) or Duflot (1844). It is likely that their manuscript versions or field notes, if they still exist, are yet to be found in a French archive. They could contain more information than the published versions.

It is also possible that other fragments from the Sarria catechism (or better yet a copy!) still exist. A search of the Franciscan archives at Mission Santa Barbara might prove fruitful, because the writings of Sarria were scattered when he died shortly after the order for the secularization of the

California missions in 1833. (A Costanoan catechism in the Chalon, in his hand, for example, ended up in the special collections department of the library of Georgetown University.)

Finally, Esselen grammar should be re-examined in terms of areal and typological characteristics, particularly using the new data from the Galiano-Malaspina text. It is possible, too, that our improved knowledge of the structure of Esselen will eventually contribute to the advancement of genetic historical linguistics—in particular, detailed evaluation of the Hokan hypothesis.

#### APPENDIX A RECONSTITUTED DATA

Data are given in the following order: English gloss in small caps, phonetic reconstitution (in parentheses, followed by reconstitution by Kroeber, Harrington, and Beeler, as such exist), and then the sources (in parentheses, following any earlier reconstitutions from which they are separated by a hyphen). Abbreviations for sources are at the end of 1 above; abbreviations for earlier grammatical treatments are as follows: B (Beeler 1978), HAR (Harrington 1913), KR (Kroeber 1904).

ADULT *-nVč* (KR *-nuc*, HAR *-nuci*, B *-nuč*; in 'man' and 'woman'); ALL *komVnam* (Doc *comminam*, Pin *keemenam*); ARROW *loto-s* (Hen *ló-tos*, Pin *lottos*); BEAR *koltála* (Ga *coltála*, Hen *kól-tá-la*, Pin *koltala*); BOW *paxu-nax* (KR *payunax*, *pagunax*, Ga *payunaj*, LaP *pagounach*); CHILD/SON *pana* (KR *pana*, B *pana*; Ar *panajueg*, Hen *é-hí-pa-ná-sis* 'boy', Doc *panna* 'son', Ga *panna* 'son', Hen *pana* 'son', Hen *nic-pá-na* '[my] son'); CRY *siawa* (KR *siawa*, HAR *siawa*, B *siawa-*; Ar *siahua*, Pin *šauača*); DANCE *mepV*, *mef-* (KR *mepa/mef-*, B *mepe/mef-*; LaP *mefpa*, Hen *měp'-pù*, Hen *měp-pě*); DARK Sar *tumasses*, Kr *tumas*, B *tumas*; Doc *tumasses*, Hen *tum-mas-*); DAY *asátsa* (Doc *asatsa*, Kr *asatsa*; Ga *asatza*, Hen *a-sát-sa*); DIE *moho* (KR *moho*; Ar *moho*, Pin *moho*); DOG *šošo* (Ga *shoo'tsch*, Pin *šoošo*); DRINK *etze*, *eše* (Ga *etze'*, Pin *ešše*); EAR KR *tus-usp*; Ga *taxus*, Hen *Tu-sús-ní-yá*, Pin *tuksusu*); EARTH *maťa*, *matsa* (KR *matra*, B *maťa*; Ar *mathra*, Doc *matsa*, Doc *madsa*, Pin *mats'a*, *matta*); EIGHT *kxulef-walanai* (Ar *julephualani*, Duf *kounailepla*, Ga *julep-hualanani*, LaP *koulefala*); EYES *-ikxpa* (KR *-ikpa*, HAR *hik(a)pa*; Doc *gicspa* 'see', Ga *sixpa*, Hen *hík-pa*, Hen *něm-mís-hípa* 'your eye'); FATHER *haya* (Doc *ayam*, Ar *haya*, Ga *a-hay*); FEMALE *ta-* (KR *ta*, HAR *ta-*, B *ta-*; Ar *nista* 'wife', Ga *nitschkta* 'wife', Pin *nVšta* 'wife', Hen *nic-tá* 'wife'); FIVE *pemakxa-la* (KR *pe-maxa-*, B *pe-maka-*; Ar *pemajala*, Duf *pe-makala*, LaP *pemaca*, Ga *pe-majala*); FOOT *kxéle* (KR *kele*; Ar *kéle*, Hen *Es-ké-li* 'sole of foot', Pin *kexellek*); FOUR *kxamakxu-s* (KR *xamaxus*, B "something like *xamaxux*"; Ar *amaug*, Duf *kamakous*, Ga *jamajus*, Pin *xamaxua*); FRIEND *-efe* (KR *nišfe*, KR *fe*; Ar *nisienioje*, Ga *mishe-fě*, LaP *nigefech*, Hen *nic-fě'*, Hen *nic-fě*); GIRL *soléta* (Hen *šo-lé-ta*, Pin *šoletase*; note that in the Pinart form the addition of *-se* seems to trigger the allophone [š]); GIVE *toxésa* (KR *toxi*, KR *tohisa*, KR *tuxesa*, B *toxisa*, B *tohesa*; Ar *tugesas*, Hen *Tó-h'í-sa* 'give me', Pin *toxuesa*); GOOD/WELL *sale-*

(KR *sale-*, HAR *sale-*, G *sale-*; Doc *salegua*, Int *salegua* ‘well’, Hen *salé-ki* ‘good’); GRANDFATHER *meči* (KR *miči*, KR *metxe*, KR *meče*, KR *methe*; Ar *metg*, Hen *mí’t-h’i*, Hen *nîm-mîs-mêt-tcî*); GROUND SQUIRREL *mexe* (KR *mexe*; Ga *mexé*, Hen *mě’-h’e’*); HAIR *haka* (KR *haka*; Ar *haca*, Ga *hakká*); HEAD *kxáta-sVx* (KR *kata*; Ga *hatazex*, Hen *Ká-ta*, Pin *kxattasex*); LARGE<sub>1</sub> *putú-ki* (KR *putu-*, B *putu-*; Ga *putuki*, Hen *Pu-tú-ki*); LARGE<sub>2</sub> *yakí-s-ki* (KR *yakis-*, B *yakis-*; Pin *iakkiske*, Hen *Ya-kis-ki*); MAN *exe-* (KR *exi-nuč*, HAR *ehe-nuči*, B *exe-nuř*; Doc *eggenoch*, Int *egenoch*, Ar *ejenuths*, Ga *ejenutck*, Hen *ě-hí’n-nutc*, Hen *ě-hé-nutc-i*, Pin *exenok*, Pin *xennoč*); MOTHER *atsia* (HAR *atsia*; Doc *adsia*, Ga *a-zia*, LaP *atzia*, Hen *mát-si*); MOUNTAIN *polomo* (KR *poloma*; Ar *polómo*, Ga *pol-lòmo*); MOUNTAIN LION *xeke-s* (KR *xekes*; Ga *jekess*, Hen *H’é-kis*, Pin *xekkesipša*); MOUTH *iši* (KR *iši*; Ga *yshi*, Pin *išše* ‘lips’, Hen *í-ci*); NAILS *uluxV* (KR *uloxe*; Ar *uloje*, Ga *olloja*); NIGHT *tomani-s* (HAR *tomanis*, HAR *tumanes*, B *toma-nis*; Doc *tumanis*, LaP *toumanes*, Hen *to-mánis*); NOSE *xoši*, *xos-* (KR *hoši-s*, B *xoši*; Hen *Hó-cis*, Ga *hoske* ‘nostril’, Pin *xorsenax*); ONE *pek* (KR *pek*, B *pek*; Doc *pec*, *pehe*, Ar *pec*, Duf *pek*, Ga *pèk*, LaP *pek*, Hen *pek*, Pin *pek*); PERSON *efexe* (KR *efehi*, B *efexi*; Hen *Ef-fé-hic*, Pin *efexe* ‘people’, Mer *ef-fach-is*); PINOLE *amúxe* (KR *amux*, HAR *amuh*; Hen *a-múh’*, Hen *am-muh’*, Pin *muxe*); PLAIN *yala-x* (Ga *ayolaj*, Pin *ialax*); QUAIL KR *kumul*, HAR *kumul*; Hen *Kú-mul*, Pin *kummul*); RABBIT (COTTONTAIL) *čiši*, *čis-* (KR *čiši/čis*; Ar *chis*, Ga *chish*, Pin *chis*, Hen *Tcî-ci*); SALMON *kilí-* (KR *kiliwa*; Ga *killinay*, Pin *kelenai*, Hen *Ki-lí-wá*); SEAL *opopa-pas* (KR *opopa-bus*; Ga *op-obus*, LaP *opopabus*, Pin *opopasi*); SEVEN *kxula-walanai* (Ar *julaghualanai*, Duf *kulakulanai*, LaP *houlakoalano*, Ga *jula-jualanai*); SIX *pek-walanai* (Ar *pekualanai*, Duf *pegualanai*, Ga *pegualanai*, LaP *pekoulana*); SKY *imi-* (KR *imi-*; Ga *ymita*, Hen *I-mí-ta*; cf. Hen *I-mí’-la* ‘sea, ocean’); SMALL *ukxu-s-ki*, KR *oxusk*, KR *ukuski*, KR *uhusk*, B *ukus-*; Ga *ojusk*, Hen *U-kús-ki*, Hen *o-h’uskt*, Hen *u-husk’*, Pin *kxususke*); SPEAK *al-pa* (KR *al-pa*, HAR *alpa*, B *al-pa*; Ar *alpa*, Hen *al-pa-pí-si* ‘talkative’, Kr *malpapici* ‘talkative’); SUN *aši* (KR *asi*, KR *aši*; Ar *assi*, Ga *asatza*, Hen *á-ci*); TEETH *awur* (KR *aur*; Ga *ahur*, LaP *aour*); TEN *tomóila* (KR *tomoila*, B *tomoila*; Ar *tomola*, Duf *tomoila*, LaP *tomoila*, Ga *tomoila*, Hen *Tomâila*); THREE *kxulep* (KR *xulep*, B *(x)ullep*; Ar *jelep*, Doc *julef*, *xulef*, Duf *koulep*, Hen *Hu-lěp*, Ga *julep*, LaP *oulef*); TWO *kxulax* (KR *xulax*, B *ullax*, B *xullax*; Ar *julan*, Duf *oulhaj*, Pin *ullax*, Ga *u-lhaj*); WATER *asa-nax* (KR *asa-nax*, HAR *asahnah*, B *a’sa-nax*; Ga *azanax*, Pin *a-sannax*, Hen *a-sún’-nah’*, *a-sá-nah’*, *a-sá-nas*, KR *asánax*, Mer *Ah-sahn’-nahk*); WHERE *kéya-* (Doc *quehaen*, *qeuya*, Hen *ké-ya*, Pin *kelloeia*); WHO *kíni* (Doc *quiniac*, Kr *kí’-ni*); WILDCAT *toloma* (Ga *tolłomaj*, Hen *tâ-ló-ma*); WOOD *i’i* (Kr *ii*; Ar *ii*, Ga *y-i*, Hen *I-i*, cf. Ga *hy-i* ‘flowers’); YES *ike* (Doc *yque*, Hen *I-ke*, LaP *ike*, Mer *Ik’-ke-ye*).

## APPENDIX B

## THE SARRIA FRAGMENT

Harrington (1913) was the first to note a fragment of an Esselen catechism which he attributed to Vicente Sarria, who worked first at Carmel Mission and then was involved at Soledad Mission. The handwriting matches documents in Sarria’s hand in the Bancroft Library. The fragment had been ripped from an original document



each question or answer there is an English gloss; the Spanish gloss is given after each English translation. Abbreviations are given in n. 3 of the text. The questions are designated by order; the answers are numbered as the “a” members of a pair.

- (1) *Conumis Dios?*  
 how/many god(s)  
 ‘How many gods are there?’  
 ‘*Quantos Dioses hay?*’
- (1a) *Pehe efes Dios si nuqui alapas patey.*  
 one true G. only no:more ?  
 ‘There is only one true God’.  
 ‘*Un solo Dios verdadero.*’
- (2) *Quehaen Dios?*  
 where G.  
 ‘Where is God?’  
 ‘*Donde es Dios?*’
- (2a) *Ot-no Matsa-no, comminam hecgei chaa.*  
 heaven-LOC earth-LOC all INDEF be  
 ‘In heaven, on earth (in) all things’.  
 ‘*En el Cielo, en la tierra, y en todas las cosas.*’
- (3) *Quiniac heciha ot-no,*  
 who make heaven-LOC  
*madsa-no comminam hecgei chaa?*  
 earth-LOC all INDEF be  
 ‘Who made all things in heaven and earth?’  
 ‘*Quien hizo la Cielo, la tierra, y todas las cosas?*’
- (3a) *Dios lech-poyo patama.*  
 G. our-POSS lord  
 ‘Our Lord God’.  
 ‘*Dios nuestro Señor.*’
- (4) *Quiniac Dios?*  
 who G.  
 ‘Who is God?’  
 ‘*Quien es Dios nuestro Señor?*’
- (4a) *La Santissima Trinidad.*  
 T. H. T.  
 ‘The Holy Trinity’.  
 ‘*La Santisima Trinidad.*’

- (5)
- Quiniac S.ma Trinidad?*

who holy Tr.

'Who is the holy Trinity?'

'*Quien es la santisima trinidad?*'

- (5a)
- Dios las-ayam, Dios Las-pam, Dios*
- 
- G. HON-father G. HON-son G.

*espiritu santo;*

Sp. H.

*julef personas gemel-gua,*

three persons distinct-ADV

*pehe Dios sinuqui efes.*

one G. only truly

'God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Spirit; distinct persons but only one true God'.

'*Dios Padre, Dios hijo, y Dios Espiritu Santo, personas distintas y un solo Dios verdadero.*'

- (6)
- Ca Dios ahic Las-ayam?*

Q G. DEM HON-father

'Is the Father God?'

'*El Padre es Dios?*'

- (6a)
- Yque Dios efes.*

yes G. truly

'He is truly God'.

'*Si, Dios verdadero.*'

- (7)
- Ca Dios ahic Las-pam?*

Q G. DEM HON-son

'Is the Son God?'

'*El hijo es Dios?*'

- (7a)
- Yque Dios efes.*

yes G. truly

'He is truly God'.

'*Si, Dios verdadero.*'

- (8)
- Ca Dios ahic Espiritu Santo?*

Q G. DEM Sp. H.

'Is the Holy Spirit God?'

'*El Espiritu Santo es Dios?*'

- (8a)
- Yque Dios efes.*

yes G. truly

'He is truly God'.

'*Si, Dios verdadero.*'

- (9) *Ca-polet*            *guahic*    *Dios*,  
 Q-same/different    DEM            G.  
           *annigua*    *julef*    *personas?*  
           DEM            three    persons  
 ‘Are these three persons different gods?’  
 ‘*Son tres Dioses estas tres personas?*’
- (9a) *Maala*    *julef*        *hua*        *Dios*        *annigua*    *xulef*        *personas*,  
 NEG            three        DEM            G.            DEM            three        persons  
           *pehc-alam*        *pehe-matt sa-no*        *la*        *mohco*  
           one-3            one-earth-LOC            3(?)        exist(?)/die(?)  
           *annigua*        *xulef*        *Personas*,  
           DEM            three        persons  
           *lahim*        *mali-lam*        *xulef*        *hua*        *Dios*[,]  
           but            NEG-3            three        DEM            G.  
           *pehe*        *Dios*        *si nuqui*        *efes*        *a[n]-mohco*.  
           one            G.            only            true        NEG-exist(?)
- ‘These three persons are not three gods; these three persons have one being, and so they are not three gods but one true God’.  
 ‘*No son tres Dioses estas tres personas, un mismo ser tienen estas tres personas por esto no tres Dioses son sino un solo Dios verdadero*’.
- (10) *Quiniac*    *espia*        *eggenoch*    *annigua*    *xulef*        *Personas?*  
 who            become    human        DEM            three        persons  
 ‘Who of these three persons became human?’  
 ‘*Qual se hizo hombre de estas tres personas?*’
- (10a) *Las-panna*    *espia*        *eggenoch*    *namo*    *es*  
 HON-SON        become    human        purify  
           *leg-tos*        *lep-mus*        *Jesu*        *Christo*.  
           1pl-SUF    call-P/C    J.            C.
- ‘The Son, who became human to purify, we call Jesus Christ’.  
 ‘*El hijo, el qual hecho llamamos Jesuchristo*’.
- (11) *Quiniac*    *Jesu*        *Christo?*  
 who            J.            C.  
 ‘Who is Jesus Christ?’  
 ‘*Quien es Jesuchristo?*’
- (11a) *Dios*        *efes*,        *eggenoch*    *efes*        *chaa*.  
 G.            truly    human        truly    be  
 ‘Truly (he) is (both) God and man’.  
 ‘*Dios verdadero y hombre verdadero*’.
- (12) *Queya*        *espia-qui*        *eggenoch*    *Dios*        *Las-panna?*  
 where        become-NOM    human        G.            HON-SON

'Where did the Son become human?'  
'Donde se hizo hombre el hijo de Dios?'

- (12a) *Lauya las sigiha-nia*  
be:made(?) HON womb(?)-LOC
- anniqui pec Las-ta S.ta Maria*  
DEM one HON-woman saint Mary
- lamhoco toyogul lal hasic salama*  
during before(?) 3 after(?) pregnant
- isamis nemulam op-ssiamе chaa.*  
virgin(?) back:to verb-EVID be

'In the stomach of the one woman called St. Mary; (who) was a virgin before, during and after birth'.

'En el vientre de una Muger, llamada S.ta Maria, por obra del Espiritu santo. La muger S.ta Maria siempre fue virgen antes del parto, en el parto, y despues del parto.'

- (13) *Casquiac espia egenoch Dios Las-panna?*  
why become human G. HON-SON

'Why did God the Son become human?'  
'Por que se hizo hombre el hijo de Dios?'

- (13a) *Hequepa leg-masa neg anniqui-ta leg-pachpa*  
in:order:to our-soul(s) DEM-N(?) our-sin(s)
- namoesa-m lechi huchup-mut s o[t]-no.*  
purify-CONJ us bring-P/C heaven-LOC

'In order to cleanse our souls of our sins, and bring us to heaven'.

'Para limpiar nuestra almas de nuestros pecados, y despues llebarnos al Cielo'.

- (14) *Pasiac Lasi-paya Jesu Cristo lai-matsa-nai*  
what HON-lord J. C. here-earth-to

*hequepa lechi leg-ma saneg namoesa-m*  
in:order-to us our-soul(s) purify-CONJ

*lechis huchup-mus ot-no?*  
us bring-P/C heaven-LOC

'What did Jesus Christ do in order to purify our souls and bring us to heaven?'

'Que hizo Jesuchristo aqui en la tierra para limpiar nuestras almas y llebarnos al Cielo?'

- (14a) *Tammad ca halass tetelpa Poncio Pilato;*  
suffer under orders P. P.
- ooc yo y lahuis S.ta Cruz naquinamu-l*  
? tres H. C. fasten-CONJ

*lach-ma-m efempanaci, laccai luchmatsa-nahi*  
 3pl-kill-CONJ bury and underworld-to  
*lamhoco julef atsa canay, namulan foila*  
 during three days stay(?) back:to healthy  
*eguep-mus laca yajan ot-no-pam coso-n-tal*  
 return-P/C and ascend heaven-LOC-to sit-PROG-CONJ  
*paya Dios Las-acion comminam iquipa.*  
 lord G. HON-right all be:able:to:do

‘(He) suffered under the orders of Pontius Pilate, was fastened to the Holy Cross, they killed him and buried him, and he was in the underworld for three days; (he) returned to health, and ascended to heaven to sit at the right of the Lord God for whom all things are possible’.

‘*Padeció por mandato de Poncio Pilato, lo crucificaron, lo matazon, y lo enterraron. Baxí a los Yñfiernos. Tres dias estubo. Resucitó, subió a los Cielos sentado à la diestra de Dios, padre todo poderoso o q[ue] todo lo puede’.*

- (15) *Ymases chunai-mos Jesu Cristo lahuis S.ta Cruz,*  
 when die-P/C J. C. tree H. C.  
*ca-chunai-mos ques chunai-hi haias Dios,*  
 Q-die-P/C or die-ALT God  
*ca-eggenoch tih ac chunai-hihaia?*  
 Q-human as(?) die-ALT

‘When Jesus Christ died on the Holy Cross, did he die as God, or did he die as a human?’

‘*Quando murió Jesuchristo en la cruz murió en quanto Dios o en quanto hombre?’*

- (15a) *Maali-lam chunai-siame Dios,*  
 NEG-3 die-EVID G.  
*eggenoch ala-gua tiepas chuna-siame.*  
 human 3(?)-ADV as(?) die-EVID

‘He did not die as God, but died as a human’.

‘*No murió en quanto Dios sino en quanto hombre’.*

- (16) *Vamases chunai-mos efege,*  
 when (cf. *ymases*) die-P/C person  
*ca-chunai-g-mus ques las masaneg,*  
 Q-die-SUF-P/C or HON soul  
*ca-la sa ques mepgel ala-gua teipas*  
 Q-HON or soul 3(?)-ADV as(?)  
*chunai-mus ù*  
 die-P/C

'When a person dies, do they die as a soul, or do they die as a person?

'*Y el hombre quando muere, muere en quanto al alma ò en quanto al Cuerpo?*'

- (16a) *Maali-lam chunai-mus halass masa neg[.]*  
 NEG-3 die-P/C in:capacity soul  
*mepgel sinnu chunai-murha.*  
 body only die-P/C

'They don't die as a soul; only the body dies'.

'*No muere en quanato al alma sino en quanto al Cuerpo*'.

- (17) *Ca mepgel-[a]lic chunai-mus hà eguaimitano?*  
 Q body-3 die-P/C forever

'And does the body die forever?'

'*Y el cuerpo del hombre muere para siempre?*'

- (17a) *Mali-lam chunai-musa eguaimitano[;]*  
 NEG-3 die-P/C forever  
*sos-qui asatsa-ni[a] teipa, imitaniti namoes*  
 judgment-NOM day-LOC until when/they revive  
*lach tivijap masaneg alalu lags mepgel*  
 3pl own body CONJ their body  
*achepa-l namoes chupa-l-cal.*  
 join-CONJ revive die-SUF-CONJ

'They are not dead forever; on the day of judgment then they revive (in their) own souls and rejoin their bodies (never) dying'.

'*No por que el dia del juicio se tornaran à sus Cuerpos y asi resusiterán para nunca mas morir*'.

- (18) *Quesi temujus ai masaneg*  
 to:where go soul(s)  
*anniqui sale-gua Christianos*  
 DEM good-ADV C.  
*umasas lachs chunai-mus mepgel?*  
 when 3pl die-P/C body

'To where do the souls of good Christians go when they die?'

'*A donde van las almas delos buenos Christianos quando mueren su cuerpo?*'

- (18a) *Nasi ot-no gilagila-panay eguaimitano iyu-al*  
 CONJ heaven-LOC happy-into(?) forever go-CONJ  
*gicspa Dios, na alavis*  
 see G. CONJ 3pl(?)  
*cahquic olospa lachs las-tetelpa Dios-nisa*  
 because obey 3pl HON-orders G.-NOM

'(They) go to heaven (to be) happy forever, seeing God, because they obeyed God's orders'.

'*Al cielo a gozar de Dios para siempre por que obedecieron los madamientos*'.

- (19) *Que es[i]* *tupju-mus* *masaneg*  
 to:where go-P/C soul(s)  
*anigua* *pach-gua* *Christianos*  
 DEM bad-ADV C.  
*umasas* *lachs* *chunai-mus* *mepgel?*  
 when 3pl die-P/C body

'To where do the souls of bad Christians go when they die (as) a body?'

'*A donde van la almas delos malos Christianos quando mueran sus cuerpos?*'

- (19a) *Lavis* *madsa-no* *luch-madsa-nai* *tamacu-suja*  
 3pl earth-LOC under-earth-to suffer-NOM(?)  
*eguaimitano* *iyu-al* *cadsqui* *maali-lam* *oloipa* *Dios*  
 forever go-CONJ because NEG-3 obey G  
*misa* *tetelpa.*  
 NOM(?) orders

'Their's is the suffering in the underworld, having gone there forever because they did not obey God's commandments'.

'*Al Ynfierno à padecer para siempre p[a]r[a] q[ue] no obedecieron los mandam[ien]tos de Dios*'.

- (20) *Quetscaia* *S.ta* *Iglesia?*  
 what H. C.

'What is the Holy Church?'

'*Que es la S.ta Yglesia?*'

- (20a) *Pec-tin* *impa* *annigua* *Cristiano* *mechfa* *Dios* *mi-cal*  
 one-? ? DEM C. believe G. say/state-CONJ  
*pa* *oloipa* *lachs* *Papa-nis* *chaa.*  
 and obey 3pl pope-NOM be

'They are a unity of Christians that believe in what God says and obey the pope'.

'*Es una congregacion delos Cristianos q[ue] creen los q[ue] dice Dios y obedecen al Papa*'.

- (21) *Quiniac* *occupa* *lasi* *S.mo* *Sacramento* *del* *Altar?*  
 who occupy HON H. S. of A.

'Who occupies the Holy Sacrament of the Altar?'

'*Quien esta en el S.mo Sacramento del altar?*'

- (21a) *Jesu* *Cristo* *Lechs-poyo* *patan* *Dios* *efes,*  
 J. C. our-POS lord G. truly

*eggenoch efes chaa.*  
 human truly be

'Jesus Christ our lord, (who) is truly God (and) truly human'.  
 '*Jesucristo nuestro Señor y hombre verdadero*'.

- (22) *Pasiques sasipa jatan momo comulgar jap?*  
 what do about must(?) take:communion VB

'What must we do in order to take communion?'  
 '*Que debemos hacer para comulgar?*'

- (22a) *Hamo ei leg alic amma-no*  
 NEG CONJ 1pl DEM eat-LOC

*ei leg-alic tatei-cala*  
 CONJ 1pl-DEM do-CONJ

*meguai sacap tumanis nomo à*  
 ? ? dark ?

*leg confesar jap jatan*  
 1pl confess VB about

*umasei taa coli-qui-t pachspa.*  
 when find big-NOM-N bad

'Having eaten nothing, we do (think) [reflecting on our sins] and  
 confess to the priest about them if we find a big one [mortal sin]'.  
 '*Llegar en ay unas y confesados si tubieremos algun pecado mortal*'.

- (23) *Pasiques sasipi umasses lechs confear jap?*  
 what do when 1pl confess VB

'What must we do in order to confess to the priest?'  
 '*Para confesarnos q[ue] debemos hacer?*'

- (23a) *Logma-saja jatan lechs-pa pachspa*  
 think-NOM about our-(POSS)? sin(s)

*confesar jap cominam coli-qui-t[,]*  
 confess VB all big-NOM-N

*mantagqui maa-ca-gua alpa,*  
 never NEG-?-ADV speak

*mantagqui alic tatei-cal-leg pachspa.*  
 never DEM do-CONJ-our sin(s)

'We think about our sins, confess all the big ones to the priest,  
 never speak badly, (and) never do our sins again'.  
 '*Pensar antes nuestros pecados despues decir al Padre todos los grandes, sentir en nuestro corazon no haben obedecido los*

*mandamientos de Dios, decir verdad en nuestras almas de no volver à decir pecados nunca*'.

- (24) *Pasiques sasipi umiacs leg tempus ot-no?*  
 what avoid if 1pl go heaven-LOC

'What must we do in order to go to heaven?'

'*Que hemos de hacer para ir al Cielo?*'

- (24a) *Tajauy lass-tetelpa Dios chaa-s*  
 keep HON-orders G. be-79

*lass-tetelpa lechs g-adsia*  
 HON-orders our DEM-mother

*S.ta Yglesia eguacas sip-sa sipa.*  
 H. C. equally RDP?-do

'(We must) be keeping the orders of God, the commandments of our mother the Holy Church as well'.

'*Guardar los mandamientos de Dios, los dela S.ta Madre Yglesia, y cumplir con los obligaciones de nuestro estado*'.

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