· Winnebago Grammar

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FOREWORD

The field work upon which this study is based was done during the summer of 1936 and made possible by a Rockefeller gift. My greatest debt is to Franz Boas for my training for the work, the selection of the project, and advice and guidance during the preparation of this study. I wish also to thank Professor George Herzog of Columbia University for valuable suggestions in regard to phonetics. The published texts of Paul Radin I found valuable in the beginning of my analysis.

As soon as I reached the field I concentrated on conversational Winnebago. My warmest gratitude goes to the residents of Winnebago, Nebraska, who did much to make my stay there pleasant -- even during a protracted drought -- and particularly to the Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church which was my home. Finally I must repeat what has been said by so many field workers before me, I will never forget the kindnesses I received at the hands of my Winnebago hosts. My principal informant, Mrs. Marguerite Hittle, was a model for me of patience, precision and the taking of pains. My other collaborators are too numerous to mention because I shamelessly drew upon every Winnebago I had the pleasure of meeting.
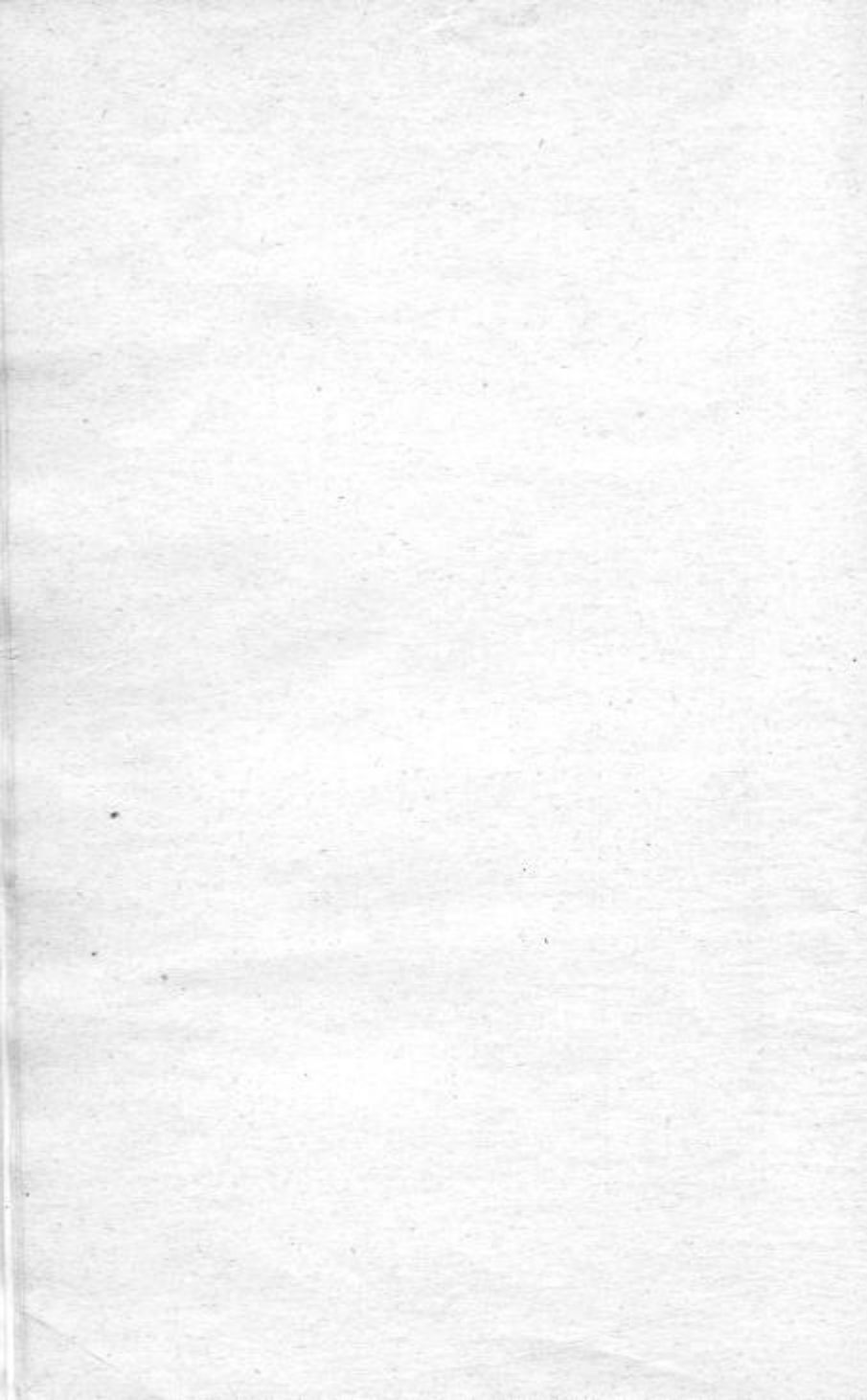
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I. PHONOLOGY

CONSONANTS

1.		stops				affricatives		
	son.	surd	asp.	gl.	son.	surd	asp.	gl.
labial	b	p	p˙	p˙				
dental		t		t˙				
alveolar					j	c	c˙	c˙
palatal	g	k	k˙	k˙				
glottal		˙						

continuants

	son.	surd	gl.	nas.	s.-v.	trill
labial				m	w	r
dental	z	s	s˙	n		
alveolar	ź	ś	ś˙			
palatal						
velar	ǵ	ħ	ħ˙			
breath		h				

2. All the consonantal phonemes are symbolized above. A few
departures from phonemic transcription seem to facilitate text-
reading and have the added advantage of conformity with the
orthography of Radin's texts and the notes in the Handbook of
American Indian languages. Thus, several additional symbols
are used: ń, a nasal otherwise identical with r; y, a palatal
semi-vowel discussed below under vocalic changes; ŋ, a velar
nasal sometimes heard after nasalized vowels. Also, the ter-
minal consonant of stems is represented as it sounds. With
stops and the affricate it is sonant before vowels, surd be-
fore consonants, and aspirate in final position. With spirants,
it is sonant before vowels and otherwise surd. Similarly ini-
tial aspirates become surd when preceded by spirants. This does
not affect the phonemic independence of these sounds in initial
or medial position in a stem.

3. The aspirates are less strongly aspirated and the sonants
more strongly voiced than English similars. j is somewhat more
voiced than in jelly, ź than in azure. c˙ is less aspirated
than in chair. ś is quite like English sh. ħ is a little less
forcible than in German machen. r and ń are made by a single
rapid flap of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge.

There is great variability in the point of contact of the
sounds tabled as dental and alveolar. Their position is modi-
fied by neighboring sounds and tends to differ markedly with
individual speakers. Glottalization is very light and the glot-
tal stop almost imperceptible. All initial vowels are articu-
lated with a slight glottal attack; this has been omitted from
transcription as irrelevant to a structural analysis. Where
the glottal stop is recorded it has, in composition, the ef-
fect of glottalizing preceding consonants. The glottal release
occurs later after spirants than after stops.

4. The following table shows all the consonantal clusters
that occur within stems and affixes.

initial consonant   second consonant

	c	k	s	ś	t	j
c		ck				
k			ks	kś		kj
s			sk		st	
ś	śc	śk				
ń	ńc	ńk				

These combinations are common in initial position but never
occur terminally. A number of other combinations are formed by
the juxtaposition of stems and affixes. bw, gw, jw, zw, źw, ǵw,
sś, pn, kt, cn, pc have been observed and others are doubtless
possible. The use of the sonant in the combinations with w
shows that w is felt as of vocalic force in phonetic contact.
Triconsonantal clusters are avoided.

VOWELS

5. As in most languages the quality of the vowel depends on
its phonetic environment. Subtle differences are disregarded
but the distinction between the closed and open position of
the vowel is indicated by the use of a separate symbol for
each, as it has been found impossible to reduce this marked
differentiation of sound to rule. The following table shows
all the vowels with two sets of symbols, one for closed and
the other open position.

	closed	open
pure oral	a	ə
	i	ι
	ω	o
	e	ê
	u	ʊ

	closed	open
nasalized	ā	ə̃
	ı̃	ι̃
	ũ	ʋ̃

6. Where two vowels are brought together there may be a glide or contraction or independence, depending on the compactness of composition or rapidity of utterance. Where the vowels are not kept separate intervocalic h disappears.
Examples:

| nĭ hₐžu′ | water pour in |
| nĭₐžu | tank |

pronounced with the vowels independent or with a glide and nasalization running on to the ₐ or with the Ĭ remaining only as a slight palatalization of the n.

sêp hižš′ hêrenš	black one it is
sêbi′žš hêre′nš	it is a black one
sêbi′jêrenš	

Contractions are avoided where they may tend to confuse. The following table shows the contractions most commonly found.

				second vowel				
first vowel	a	e	ĭ	ₐ	u	ā	Ĭ	ũ
a	a	e		ₐ	u	ā		ũ
e		e	e	e				e
ĭ			ĭ					Ĭ
ₐ				ₐ				
u					u			ũ
ā		ā				ā		
Ĭ			Ĭ				Ĭ	
ũ					ũ			ũ

Sometimes even these combinations contract differently. For instance, although e very commonly results from the combination of e and ĭ, yet in the case of some words, such as žιǵi′žš from žιǵê′ + hižš′, the i is dominant. The nasalization of one member tends to pervade all combinations except those involving e.

This apparently not fully regulated treatment of vowel combination, with its considerable freedom of choice for the speaker, applies only to what may be called casual combinations. The conjunction of affixes results in fixed combinations. These are best dealt with in the sections concerned with each affix but a few examples are in place here.

Examples:

wa + hω	>	wω
wa + hi	>	wi
ha + g̣i	>	hai
ra + g̣i	>	rai

hi + ha	>	hira
hɪ + hi	>	wɪ
hi + ha	>	ya

THE SYLLABLE

7. Morphological elements are the basis of the syllable. When such an element has more than one syllable, the tendency is to divide it so that each syllable begins with a consonant or a pair of consonants. The syllable may consist of a vowel, consonant and vowel, two consonants and a vowel, consonant vowel and consonant, or two consonants vowel and consonant. The commonest unit is consonant and vowel.

DURATION

8. The length of consonants has no grammatical significance. The length of vowels is largely a matter of accent, accented vowels being ordinarily about twice as long as others. The obscure vowel introduced to separate contiguous consonants that may not be combined is roughly half as long as a short vowel. Similar to this is the situation in those disyllabic stems which are cognate with Dakota monosyllables, such as s̆ára (Teton s̆la) and p'ára (Teton bla); when not bearing the accent these take the time of one short syllable. When an accent falls on a part of a verbal complex with little meaning content, such as the declarative suffix s̆ə'nš, lengthening of the terminal vowel of the verbal stem will frequently occur. Also, non-accented vowels that are the product of contraction are often long.

Syllables are frequently lengthened for rhetorical effect. This is observed most strikingly in exclamations where vowels are drawn out to enormous length, often with a wide movement in pitch. A long nω is substituted for terminal declarative suffix nš when talking to someone at a distance or trying to capture the attention of a careless listener. The final vowel of imperatives is lengthened to express a more forcible command. Very like our own practice is the drawling of vowels to convey such emotional effects as laziness, slowness and the like.

Of considerable importance in the analysis of words is the lengthening of vowels resulting from the composition of stems. When the first stem, which generally contains the substantive meaning, is monosyllabic and too close to an accent to bear a subsidiary accent, its vowel is lengthened. This is apparently

similar to the lengthening of the stem vowel before šə'nə̃, mentioned above, and its function is clearly to preserve the prominence of an important unit of meaning in a compound.
Examples:

aːhʊ'	wing (arm + leg)
nį̇ːšʊ'c'	Missouri river (water + riled)
c'aːšįn'hʊc'	gray ground squirrel (deer + fat + gray)
p'į̇ːʼn'	mend (good + make)

When a quantitative situation of this sort is observed in unanalysable or only partly analysable words, it points out the possibility of composition.
Examples:

hã̇ːhé'	night (hämp'-light + rahe'-go)
hʊ̃ːŋwã'	elk
ĩːŋgʊ'k'	whetstone (įnį'-stone + źʊk'-wear fine)
mã̇ːhį̃'nc'	milkweed (mã-ground)

ACCENT

9. Accent is an affair of rhythm and only tenuously related to grammatical processes. Every word is stressed at least once and, when there are several stresses, the general tendency is toward alternation of stresses with the greatest weight on the last. No stems were found differentiated solely by accent.

The accent of a stem shifts as affixes are added or other stems compounded with it but the changes cannot be reduced to rule. The desire to render especially meaningful or emphatic parts of a verbal complex salient is undoubtedly influential here, as in the duration phenomena discussed above, but other tendencies, rhythmic or phonetic or even, perhaps, grammatical, complicate the situation. What may be an important clue to the accentual maze is the position of the accent in the imperative. There the accent falls on the penult both in bisyllabic stems and monosyllables beginning with a glottalized consonant, otherwise on the ultima. Those stems that accent the ultima place the stress in the declarative on the suffix šənə̃; the others on the stem itself.
Examples:

rare'	go		t'a're	die	
hare'	bury		rušure'	shell	
k'a're	dig				

warujəre'	eat	stem	ruc'	waruːcšə'mə̃	he ate
wap'ogəre'	stab	stem	p'cñ	wap'oːhšə'nə̃	he stabbed
nʊwã̇'ŋgəre	run			nʊwã̇'ŋkšənə̃	he ran
mĩnə̃'gəre	sit			mĩnə̃'kšənə̃	he sat

The obscure vowel which separates terminal stem consonants from
the imperative suffix above is not counted as a syllable. Pre-
fixes do not affect the accent.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

10. Most verb stems and a few suffixes ending in e change
the e to a before the following suffixes:

-a'nə̄ga	and	-nã	should, could, would
-ɡɩnĩ'	already	-nĩ	negative
-hãŋk',	positional--lying,	-re	imperative
je, nə̂k'	standing, sitting	-re	subordinating
-hire'	third person plural	-wi	plural

This change also occurs when the stem is followed by another
of the same type. But for this and the considerable number of
stems ending in e that do not behave in this manner the process
would seem grammatical rather than strictly phonetic in charac-
ter.

Examples:

-a'nə̄ga

ra'nə̄ga   he went and (-re gɑ > -ra)
waśi'ranə̄ga   they danced and (waśi' to dance: -hire'
    third person plural > -hira)
hit'at'a'nə̄ga   he talked and (hit'ɐt'e' to talk > hit'at'a)
rω:sã'nĩkp'ĩ'ɲaja'nə̄ga   one side of your body is good and
    (rω body; sã'nĩk' side; p'ĩ good; ra- second person pro-
    noun; -je positional standing > -ja)

-ɡɩnĩ'

haɲa'ɡɩnĩ'nʒ   I've already buried it (ha- first person;
    ɲe to bury > ɲa)
śɩbəra'ɡɩnĩ'nə̄   it has fallen already (śɩbəre' to fall >
    śɩbəra)

-hãŋk', -je, -nək'

waga'kśê   she meant (wage' to mean > waga; -hãŋk' appears
    also in this form without nasalization; -śe quotative)
tira'jenʒ   it is growing (tire' to grow > tira)
t'a'nʒkśənʒ   he is dead (t'e to die > t'a)
wa:nʒk'ũnʒ   he must be saying (we to say > wa)

-hire'

huhai'renʒ   they were on the way (huhe' to come > huha)
warai'renʒ   they worked (ware' to work > wara)
t'ai'renʒ   they died (t'e to die > t'a)

-nã

tanʒ'nʒ   I could go (te to go > ta)
hωk'awanʒ'ɡê   so that he could come in (hωk'êwe' come in
    > hωk'awa)

k'aranã'nə̃ he should go home (k'ẽre' to go back > k'ara)
-nĩ
    k'ẽnĩzũ'janĩ'nə̃ it isn't raining (k'ẽ- negative; nĩzũ' to rain;
    -je positional standing > -ja)
    hãŋk'ẽ' ze:ska'nĩnə̃ it isn't so (hãŋk'ẽ' negative; ze:ske
    to be thus > ze:ska)
    hãŋk'ẽ' ta:nĩkəne'nə̃ I will not go (te I go > ta)
-re imperative
    k'a're dig (k'e to dig > k'a)
    warare' work (ware' to work > wara)
    Mare' bury (Me to bury > Ma)
-re subordinating
    k'ι'rikjə'narẽ' that is to come (k'ιri' to return; -kjəne
    future suffix > -knəna)
    nĩgi'p'aMũn'kjəna'rẽ which I am going to pour for you
    (nĩ- second person object; gi- dative; p'aMũ'ŋk' I pour;
    -kjə'ne future suffix > -kjəna)
-wi
    nãgu'huwa'winãЛa' hai'Mawinã we've passed by the road we
    should have taken (nãgu' road; huwe' go in > huwa; -wi
    plural; -nã should; -ra subordinating; haiMa' to pass by)
    hĩnυ'k'ãЛawi'nə̃ they covered us (hĩ- first person object;
    ruk'ã' cover: -hire' third person plural > -hira)
other stems of the same type
    ajirẽga' when he starts talking (e to speak >a; jire' to
    start)
    wara'renə̃ he went to work (ware'to work > wara; re to go)

The following stems change e to a:

buc'e'	break off	nãŋgi're	to be frightened
c'awe'	go toward	nĩhe'	continue
e	say	rac'e'	bite off
gic'e'	skim	rawe'	carry in mouth
hawe'	suffer	ruc'e	break off
hige'	ask	ruske'	untie
hẽrẽhi're	put in place of	re	go
hire'	think	źιbəre'	fall
hit'e't'e	speak	tire'	move
huk'ẽ'we	come in	wage'	mean
hunase'	shut	ware'	work
huk'i't'e	talk to	we	grind
huhe'	come	Me	bury
hιske'	thus	k'e	dig
k'e	open a carcass	t'e	die
k'ẽre'	go home		

Also the following suffixes:

-je	positional standing	-kje	intentive
-hire′	third person plural	-kja′ne	future
-k'e	often	-ske	dubitative

This process is subject to many exceptions. Any of the above stems may occur unchanged although they are much more frequently encountered with the change. In addition, the following stems never change final e:

giʒe′	break up	rut'e′	hurt
hap'e′	wait	ruwe′	pluck
hik'ɩruse′	be tangled	ruʒe′	undo
hiwaśe′	be plentiful	ruǥe′	take out of water
kje	revenge	ske	be clean
p'e	drip	ś'e	drip
raǥe′	fish out with mouth	ǥe	jeer
		ħ'e	drip
ru'e′	open a bundle		

The above lists are not exhaustive and many derivatives and forms with other prefixes have been omitted. However, a sufficient number have been collected to show that no phonetic distinction can be made between those stems that change the vowel and those that do not.

A comparison with the Ponca and Mandan change from e to a and the Teton change from a to e strengthens the probability that this process was in origin grammatical and a correlate of suffixation.

11. r changes to ń whenever it follows a nasalized vowel.

Examples:

māŋśuńa feather (māŋśu; -ra definite article)
hĩńu's we took it (hĩ- dual subject pronoun; rus to take)
rɷ·k'ɩ'ńe roast (rɷ·k'ɩ' to roast; -re imperative)
nāp'ā'ūĩ'ńe they make baskets (nāp'ā basket; 'ū to make; -hire third person plural)

12. After a nasalized vowel the plural suffix wi is nasalized.

Examples:

nāṇʒĩ'wĩńe′ stand (nāṇʒĩ′ to stand: wi plural; -re imperative)
tackā'wĩ we drink (tackā′ I drink; -wi plural)
waǥinā'wĩ we intertwine (waǥinā′ to intertwine; -wi plural)

13. After the prefix hɪ the h of the prepositional prefixes
ha and hʊ changes to r.

Examples:
hirawa'jǎ push with (hi- with; hawajǎ' push)
hirawê'gʊ̃ blow with (hi- with; hawêgʊ̃' blow on)
p'êjirot'ʊ̃' kindling (p'ec' fire; hi- with; hʊ- in; t'ʊ̃ cast)
nǎjɪrawe' be easy on (nǎc' heart; hi- with; hawe' suffer)
hirak'ê'wêra the sixth (hi- with; hak'ê'wê six; -ra defi-
  nite article)

14. The suffixes -gɪ, -gɲ, -gaʝǒ, -gɪnɪ', -gɪ'ǯi, -gê lose
their g after k'.

Examples:
tuⁿu'ruk'ɪǯi 'if I accomplish it (tuⁿu'ruk' I accomplish
  it; -gɪ'ǯi if)
hamɪ'ŋgəmǒ'ŋk'a I lying there (hamɪ'ŋk' I lie; -mǝ̃ŋk'
  first person of the positional -hǎŋk' lying; -ga subordi-
  nating suffix which forms verbal nouns)
hɪnʊkc'ê'k'a my son's wife (hɪnʊkc'ê'k' son's wife; -ga
  used after names and terms of relationship in reference)
wʊgɪ'têk'ɪnɪ' after he got angry (wʊgɪ'têk' to get angry;
  -gɪnɪ' after)
nǎnǎ'k'ajǎ' he is already sleeping (nǎ to sleep; -nǎk'
  positional sitting; -gajǎ already)

15. When an element beginning with ǯ is added to one ending
in a consonant, in a closely compounded word, ǯ changes to ǯ.

Examples:
rapǒê''ê that beaver (rap' beaver; ǯe''ê that)
mɪǎ'nǒkǒɪkje' at least I'll sit (mɪǎ'nǎk' I sit; -ǯi at
  least; -kje future imperative)
wap'o'ⁿǒê he stabbed (wap'o'ⁿ to stab; -ǯe quotative)
tuwǎ'ŋkǒeǯi would I could pull it down (tuwǎ'ŋk I pull down;
  -ǯe'ǯi optative)

After a the consonant ǯ is assimilated.

Examples:
wackɪ'sê he sawed (wackɪ's to saw; -ǯê quotative)
ruga'sê he tore (ruga's to tear; -ǯê quotative)

But wackɪ'sǒê and ruga'sǒê are also heard. The assimilation
of ǎ after a may best be observed in the frequently encountered
use of the declarative suffix ǎanǎ after stems ending in a.
Some speakers always drop the ǎ, others only in rapid speech.
The appearance of only the uncontracted form in Radin's texts
and the insistence of two informants that only this form is

correct (although the other was heard in their speech) tend to
indicate that this may be a very recent phonetic development.

16. n is often palatalized when it occurs before ṭ followed
by a palatal consonant. This is exceedingly common in very
rapid speech.

Examples:
   c'inĭ'k'   small house   (c'i house; -nĭk' diminutive)
   wagĭnã'nĭgê'   piece of rope   (wagĭnã' rope; nĭ'gê piece)
   hãŋkê' tanĭ'kjǝne   I will not go   (-hãŋkê' negative; ta I go
      -nĭ negative; -kjǝne future)
   nãĭ'nǝgǝnũ'nĭgê   although he's fallen asleep   (nã to sleep,
      hinǝ'k' to flop down in a sitting position; -nũ'nĭgê sub-
      ordinating disjunctive)

17. Rather unusual phonetic phenomena attend the use of the
future suffix -kjǝne. In the first place, after a stem ending
in a consonant the vowel ɩ is inserted instead of the very
short ǝ which is generally used to separate consonants that
cannot form a combination. Further, an alternative and even
more unusual form is possible. The ɩ is introduced into the
final syllable of the verb and the final consonant of the verb
which now follows, enters into combination with the initial
consonants of the suffix, k disappearing and j being trans-
formed into c, c' or t.

Examples:
   rac'o'p'   to chew   rac'obɩ'kjǝne' or rac'oi'pjǝne'
   mĭnã'k'   to sit   mĭnã'gɩkjǝne' or mĭnãĭ'kjǝne'
   waru'c'   to eat   warʋjɩ'kjǝne' or warʋi'c'ǝne'
   ruga's   to tear   rugazɩ'kjǝne' or rugai'stǝne'
   wap'oń   to stab   wap'ogɩ'kjǝne' or wap'oɩ'ńcǝne'

18. When a stem ending in a stop is followed by n, the usual
practice is to use the sonant form of the stop and to insert
the obscure vowel between the consonants. In rapid speech, how-
ever, n is heard directly after the medial form of the stop
without vocalic interval.

Examples:
   hinũknĭ'ŋgǝra   the girls   for the more usual
      (hinũgǝnĭ'gǝra, hinũ'k' woman; -nĭk' diminutive; -ra defi-
      nite article)
   hagêpnǝ'kśǝnǝ   it is growing   for the more usual
      (hagêbǝnǝ'kśǝnǝ, hagêp' to grow; -nǝk' positional sitting;
      -śǝnǝ declarative)

19. A few very common words sometimes appear, particularly
in rapid speech, in very contracted forms.

Examples:
  nĩkjãĩ'ŋk˙ child   for nĩkjã'ŋgənĩk˙, -nĩk˙ diminutive;
    (-jãŋk˙ real; -nĩk˙ diminutive)
  zigιã' a squirrel   for zi: gι'žã, zik˙ squirrel; (-hižã'
    indefinite article)

II. MORPHOLOGY

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

20. Position is the chief source of grammatical relations.
There is no clear limit between juxtaposition and composition;
contiguity in most cases results in phonetic modification.
Clauses are thus firmly welded together with the particles
that indicate the broadest syntactic relationships placed at
the end. A small number of prefixes and suffixes serve for a
great variety of grammatical functions. Some words have appar-
ent infixes but there is evidence that such forms may be the
result of composition. Reduplication is still in common use al-
though other methods of expressing continuation, repetition and
distribution are perhaps as frequent. There are many examples
still remaining in the vocabulary of a now obsolete process of
representing intensity by consonantal variation.

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

21. Nominal stems are distinguished from verbal stems al-
though nouns may bear most of the verbal affixes, and many of
them with slight modification of form may serve as verbs.
Plurality of the noun is suggested by a suffix to the verb
which attaches the idea of plurality of the whole sentence
without indicating the plural elements precisely. A classifi-
cation of nouns according to form is implied by the use of
verbal auxiliaries which describe the position of the subject
as standing, sitting or lying. There are three sets of posses-
sive pronouns, one restricted to kinship terms and another,
which resembles it closely, to animals.

Subjective and objective pronouns are distinct. The former
are used as the subjects of active verbs, the latter as the
objects of transitive verbs and the subjects of verbs express-
ing a state or condition. Only the first person, the second
person, the inclusive dual and the third person plural are spe-
cified. The indirect object, the reflexive object and the ob-
ject possessed by the subject are indicated with great exact-
ness by additional prefixes placed after the pronominal pre-
fixes.

Demonstratives seem to designate at least four positions but
these are not clearly distinct. The positional auxiliaries are
used with demonstratives.

Suffixation is used to express tense, mode, number, aspect, definiteness, subordination, and a variety of adverbial ideas. The prefixes are pronominal, locative and instrumental. Complex verbal ideas are largely expressed by composition, and some stems, such as to come, to go, to try, to make, to cause, to become, etc., are used in this way so frequently that they may be regarded as auxiliaries.

COMPOSITION OF STEMS

22. Compound nouns are formed by the combination of noun and noun, noun and neutral verb, and noun and active verb.

Examples:

Noun and Noun

hɪśca:su´ eye	hɪśca face; su seed
i:nῑ´ saliva	i mouth; nῑ water
mã:'i´ spring	mã ground; i mouth
nã:ha´ bark	nã tree; ha skin

Noun and Neutral Verb

nῑ:śѡc˙ Missouri river	nῑ water; śѡc˙ riled
nã:sã´ŋk˙ maple	nã tree; sãŋk˙ tasteless
c˙a:śῑ´ŋhѡc˙ gray ground squirrel	c˙a deer; śῑ fat; hѡc˙ gray
c˙a:ska´ sheep	c˙a deer; ska white

Noun and Active Verb

hãmpgu´ dawn	hãmp˙ light; gu to come
sa´k˙êrê war-bundle	sa reed; kê´re to stand
k˙ѡ´gawanã´ barrel	k˙ѡk˙ box; hawanã´ to roll
p˙e´jirѡt˙ṽ´ kindling	p˙êc˙ fire; hi with; hѡ in; t˙ṽ to cast

Compound verbs, both active and neutral are formed by the composition of noun and verb, and verb and verb.

Examples:

Noun and Verb

wa:zῑ´ to suckle	was breast; hῑ to suck
mã:ña´c˙ to make an appointment	mã ground; rac˙ to name
nã´mbiruǵa´c˙ to sacrifice	nãmp˙ hand; hi with; ruǵa´c˙ to spread
hѡśa´ra to be bare	hѡ skin; śa´ra bare

Verb and Verb

t'ŭre' to discard   t'ŭ to cast; re to go
mănĩgu' to walk toward here   mănĩ to walk; gu to come
p'ĩ'ŭ' to mend   p'ĩ good; ŭ to do
ŭnc'ebi' to finish   ŭ to do; c'ep' new; hi to make
t'ê'hip'ĩ vulnerable   t'êhi' to kill; p'ĩ good

Very complex compounds are frequently formed.

Examples:

hămba'jaskêñcĩ broad daylight

                                        hămp' day; haja' to see;
                                        ske clear; ñcĩ intensitive

rѡhămbot'ê'k'ĩña' the killing outright

                                        rѡ body; hămp' whole;
                                        hѡ- nominalizer; t'êhi'
                                        to kill; k'i reflexive;
                                        -ra definite article

A study of these compounds, when, as in the examples given
above, they are not too complex or broken down phonetically,
shows that their formation follows the ordinary syntactic pat-
terms. When a compound noun is formed out of nominal stems,
the last stem has the substantive meaning and preceding stems
are qualificatory. In a compound noun resulting from noun and
verb combination the noun is first and the verbal modifiers of
meaning follow, as in the normal subordinate clause. A compound
verb, if a compound of noun and verb, is organized as it would
be if the noun were object of the verb. If a compound of two
verbs or more the last verb determines whether the compound is
active or neutral. There is only one respect in which compounds
differ from the ordinary products of juxtaposition: their mean-
ing is fixed and more limited. Juxtaposed elements have a wider
variety of possible meanings and depend on context and vocal
emphasis for their more precise definition.

THE VERB

Verbal Complex

23. The most common order of elements in the verbal complex
is: locative, pronoun, instrumental, stem and suffixes. There
are, however, a number of departures from this order. The in-
clusive dual subject hĩ- and the inclusive dual object wă'ŋga-
always occupy first position in the complex. The third person
plural object wa also precedes the locative but is placed after
hĩ-. On the other hand, the other subjective and objective pro-
nouns follow the instrumentals nă-, mă-, bѡ- and ta-.

Locative Prefixes

24. There are three prefixes, ha-, hω- and hi-, which are generally locative or directional in meaning but also have less easily described meanings of adverbial character. In some cases a stem is not found without one or another of these prefixes and it is impossible to isolate the significance of the prefix.

(a) ha- can usually be translated "on."

Examples:

mĩŋk' to lie	hamĩ'ŋk' to lie on
śıbɜre' to fall	haśıbɜre' to fall on
waᴺũ' to pour	hawaᴺũ' to pour on
t'ə̃mp' to jump	hat'ə̃'mp' to jump upon

(b) hω- can usually be translated "in" or "into."

Examples:

nã to sleep	hωnã' to sleep in
t'ê to die	hωt'ê' to die in
t'ə̃mp' to jump	hωt'ə̃mp' to jump into
mĩnã'k' to sit	hωmĩnə̃'k' to sit in

(c) hi- can most often be translated "with."

Examples:

ruti' to pull	hiruti' to pull with
'ũ to do	hi'ũ' to do with
nãwã' to sing	hinãwã' to sing about
hãŋte' to dream	hihãŋte' to dream about

In some of the verbs never found without a locative it is possible to see the influence of the locative meaning; others are altogether unanalyzable.

Examples:

hωwaᴺa'wa to push into (but hawaᴺa'wa to push)
hawajã' to push
hωwaskĩ'ŋk' to pack
hωwaro' to swing
hωjã' to wear on the foot (may be from jã standing positional)
hωc'ã' to wear on the legs
hap'e' to wait for
hip'ê'rês to think (may be from p'ê'rês clear)
hωwêgũ' to blow
hωrugu'c' to look at
hωrup'ã'nã to smell

There are a number of instances of two locatives used together. In most of these one of the prefixes is inseparable from the stem but in some cases both prefixes are separable.

Examples:

hirok'ṻ' to use	hi-; hok'ṻ' to give
hirasa' together	hi-; hasa' to fasten
hiraru'c'ap' together	hi-; haruc'a'p' to get hold of
hiro'it'ṻ fireplace	hi-; hω; gi- indirect object; t'ṻ cast
hirωnã'k' to follow	hi-; hωnã'k' to run along
hirωwe' to track	hi-; hωwe' to go in
nãjɩrawe' to be easy on	nãc' heart; hi-; hawe' suffer
hiraru'k'ã to cover with	hi-; haruk'ã' to cover

These prefixes have a variety of other uses, some of them difficult to understand.

(a) ha- is used with the third person plural of verbs of motion.

Examples:

hagu'ire they came	gu he came (starting)
harai're they went	re he went (starting)
hahuhai're they came	huhe' he came (on the way)
harahai're they went	rahe'he he went (on the way
haji're they arrived	ji' he arrived (coming)
hahi're they arrived	hi he arrived (going)

(b) hω- is used to nominalize verbs and generally can be translated "the place where" or "the time when" when so used.

Examples:

hωmĩã'nãgəra   the place where I sat
  hω-; mĩnã'k' with first person pronoun ha inserted;
  -ra definite article
hωt'ê'   the place to die, time to die
  hω-; t'ê to die
hωaśi'   dance, dancing-place
  hω-; waśi' to dance
hωrυ'ʇ'   dozen
  hω-; rυ'ʇ' to buy

(c) hi- is prefixed to kinship terms, forms ordinals and adverbs and, preceded by the nominalizer wa-, forms terms denoting instruments.

Examples:

hic'ω'k'e grandfather	in address c'ω'k'a
hite'k' mother's brother	in address te'ga
hic'ūwī' father's sister	in address c'ū'wī
hinūmbəra' the second	hi-; nūmp' two; -ra definite article
hijωbəra' the fourth	hi-; jωp' four; -ra
hɩśkê' also	suffix -śke also
hɩźi' at least	suffix -źi at least
hɩskê' like	dubitative suffix -ske
wiru'c' fork	wa- nominalizer; hi-; ruc' to eat
wik'ê' spade	wa-; hi-; k'e to dig
wirê' something to work with	wa-; hi-; ware' to work

Modal Prefix

25. The prefix wa-, which probably means "something" or "thing" (the word for "something" is waźš' - wa- + hɩźš', the indefinite article), is used to make transitive verbs intransitive and to form nouns out of active and neutral verbs.

Examples:

waru'c' to eat	ruc' to eat it
wat'e' to kill	t'e to kill him
we to say	e to say it
wa'ū' to be	ū to make it
waga'ñ paper	gañ to plan
watê'ñ bladder	têñ to urinate
wωrẽ'k' story	hωrẽ'k' to tell
wac'ê'k' virgin	c'ê'k' new
waśī' fat	śī fat
waskê' dish	ske clean

wa- is placed before the locative prefixes and forms close combinations with them. It assimilates ha-, and forms wω- and wi- with hω- and hi-. The pronominal prefixes take the same order with regard to wa as with the locative prefixes.

Instrumental Prefixes

26. The meaning of verbal stems is modified by the use of eight prefixes which indicate the instrument by which an action is performed or define the character of the action with

respect to direction of motion. This process is no longer entirely free: there are many stems which cannot be used without the instrumentals.

(a) nã-, by the use of the foot.

Examples.

nãśι'ś to break
nãjĩ'mp' to tilt
nãkśṹ' to spill
nãḱcə'k' to kick
nãḿι'tιp' to pound
nãsṹ' to upset, to stretch
    feet out
nãjι'k' to scrape, to
    straighten legs out
nãḿυ'ḱ to break something
    brittle
nãwĩ'ś to pinch
hωnãzι'p' to squash something smeary
hωnãḿι'ri to squash

nãt'e' to hurt
nãḿυ'rυk' to accomplish
nãścã' to release
nãǵã' to scratch as a chicken
    does .
nãk'ê's to scratch
nãk'o'k' to tap
nãti' to climb
nãsι'k' to run ahead of
nãjι's to outrun
nãŋźĩ' to stand
hanãjã' to push
hωnãjã' to drive in
hωnãḿo'rok' to go through

(b) mã-, with the knife, by cutting.

Examples:

mãk'ʋ'nυk' to cut
mãŋźe'nə to cut to nothing
mãḿι'ri to squash
mãja'ś to blister
mãwĩ'ś to pinch
mãt'e' to hurt
mãzι'p' to smear
mãha'p' to open, to make a
    hole
mãjι'k' to stretch
mãjĩmp' to bend
mãk'ê's to scrape
mãc'e' to cut a piece off

mãc'kι's to sever
mãjo'ḱ to burst
mãḿo'ro to peel
mãḿυ'ruk' to accomplish
mãŋźι'p' to whittle
mãkśə'p' to cut in half
mãc'o'p' to cut in small
    pieces
mãp'ê're to slice thin
mãśo'ga to cut thick
mãŋśω' to whittle
mãp'op'o'ḱ to cut holes in

(c) wa-, by pressure, by pushing away from the body.

Examples:

waśι'ś to break
wak'υ'nυk' to break off
    with a saw
waḿι'ri to smash

waśι'p' to knock down
wap'o'ḱ to stab
waśa'ra to wear off
waga's to tear

waⁱ'p' to mash
wat'e to hurt
waha'p' to punch a hole
waⁿv'ⁿ to break something
   brittle
waɠã' to raise
wak'ê's to scrape
wajⁱ'mp' to tilt
waha' to wear clothes till
   threadbare

waⁿū' to spill
waśo'roc' to pry out
wajⁱ's to push away
waski' to sting
waźe' to break down
waka' to scour
hawajã' to push
hᴜwaskⁱ'ŋk' to pack
waⁿv'rvk' to accomplish
hᴜwarᴜ' to swing

(d) **gi-**, **by striking.**

Examples:

ɠisə'k' to kill, to knock
   unconscious
ɠik'v'nvk' to chop, to
   hammer off
ɠizⁱ'p' to stir something
   soft
ɠihⁱ'ri to mash
ɠic'kⁱ's to cut with a
   scythe
ɠiⁿv'ⁿ to break something
   brittle
ɠiwə̃'ŋk' to knock down,
   chop down
ɠiźe' to break up
ɠistə'k' to dent
ɠik'a' to scour

ɠijo'ⁿ to break something
   pulpy
ɠik'ã to knock over
ɠisê'we to quiet a trembling
   thing
ɠijⁱ'mp' to tilt
ɠisū' to upset
ɠip'ê're to hammer thin
ɠiśa'ra to cut bare
ɠiśkv' to clear off
ɠiⁿo'ro to strip off
ɠiha' to wear out
ɠiwⁱ'ś to strike an edge
ɠisê'p' to beat out a fire
ɠiźe'nã to knock to smithereens
ɠic'ka' to try, to dig for
ɠiɠa's to tear

(e) **ra-**, **with the mouth.**

Examples:

rastə'k' to dent
rac'kⁱ's to cut
raⁿv'ⁿ to break something
   brittle
raśⁱ'ś to break
rac'e' to bite off
raɠⁱ'k' to chew to fragments
ratⁱ' to pull
rawe' to carry
raⁿa'ta to spit out
rasⁱ'ri to vomit
rac'o'p' to chew
rari'c' to bend

rawⁱś to pinch
raś'aś'a' to tickle
raśke' to untie
rawaⁿ to break a thread
raɠa's to tear, to make a faux-
   pas
rac'ka' to taste
rac'kã' to drink
rasv' to seed
rajⁱ'k' to stretch
rat'e' to hurt
razⁱ'p' to mouth something soft
raɠe' to fish out

(f) ru-, with the hand, by pulling toward the body.

Examples:

ruwī'ś to pinch

ruś'aś'a' to tickle

ruti' to pull

ruwə̄'ŋk' to pull down

ruⁿv'rʋc' to accomplish

ruźe' to undo, to take to pieces

ruśke' to untie

rut'e' to hurt

ruwa'ⁿ to break a string

rusι'ri to squeeze out

rusu' to shell

ruⁿo'ro to peel

ruⁿʋ'ⁿ to break something brittle

ruwe' to pluck, to pick

ruzι'p' to get fingers in something soft or sticky

ruhι'ri to get fingers in something not so soft

ruc'e' to break off a hunk

rukśa'p' to break in half

ru'e' to take out

ruśιp' to take down

ruga'k' to break a splinter off

rujι'k' to stretch

rusʋ'wu to feel something grainy, to get lumps out

ruc'ə'k' to sew

(g) ta-, with fire, with heat.

Examples:

taⁿu' to burn

tac'êp' to burn up

tat'ệ'k' to wilt

taⁿê're to fry

tagιc' to over-roast

tazι'c' to sizzle

taⁿê'we to overcome, to overheat

taⁿι'nī to burn to embers

taⁿι'ri to melt metal, to cook something thick

tac'o'woś to cook to a crisp, to shrivel

taka'c' hot

taho'bəre cooked to a turn

tasê'p' blacken

taga's to tear

taⁿo'ro to peel

tap'i'rιs to shrivel up

tawʋ's to dry

tasā' to fade

tasê'p to tan

taso'ⁿ to make a frying sound

taⁿa'c' to burst while cooking

tajo'k' to cook till tender

taksι's to harden

taścʋ'c' to warm

(h) bω-, by shooting, by blowing, by great force.

Examples:

bωśι'ś to break

bωga's to burst

bωⁿʋ'ⁿ to break something brittle

bωt'e' to hurt

bωski' to sting

bωstə'k' to dent

bωśo'roc' to pry out, blow out

bωśι'p' to knock down

bωc'ι'wιś to strike a glancing blow, to hit the edge of the target

bωⁿι'ri to mash

bωⁿι'tιp' to pound

buṣṓ'nã to miss
buzι'p˙ to mash
buk'ê's to blow clean
buk'ê'we to fall violently
buṣa'ra to blow bare
buk'υ'nυk˙ to break
bus'a's'a to tickle

buha'p˙ to bore a hole
buta' to punch with the fist
buṣa'k˙ to knock down
buha' to rot
buc'ṻ'ŋ̊skū̃nῑ to blow to pieces
buṣê'rιk˙ to shoot off an edge
bum̊ṻ' to squirt

27. When an action occurs of its own accord or the cause is unknown or if, for any reason, it is desirable not to specify the agent, it is expressed by using the verbal stem without instrumentals in the third person plural form.

Examples:

jo'gίre it is broken -jom̊ to break; -ire third plural
ga'zire it is torn -gas to tear

This is treated as a neutral verb taking the objective personal pronouns. The third person plural form indicates that the pronouns cannot be regarded as objects.

Examples:

hῑṣι'ẓire I am broken hῑ first person; -ṣιṣ to break; -ire third plural
ṣιẓιrai're they are broken -ṣιṣ to break; -ire third plural

An obsolescent prefix nã- is still sometimes used when the meaning is very forcibly "of its own accord."

Examples:

nãjo'm̊ to burst (a boil)
nãɳ'a'raṣ to burst (a balloon)
nãm̊o'ro to peel (a scab)
nãga'k˙ to break off (a splinter)
nãm̊υ'm̊ to break (something brittle)
nam̊'ê'c˙ to get loose
nãṣke' to untie
nãwa'm̊ to tear (a string)
nãŋṣ to ferment

Verb Classes

28. Two classes of verbs are found: (a) those prefixing all the ordinary pronouns and (b) those prefixing ṣ́ for the second person subject.

PRONOUNS

First Class

29. Two kinds of stems are distinguished by the use of different subject pronouns: (a) verbs expressing an activity and (b) neutral verbs which express a state or condition and take as subjects the pronouns otherwise used as the objects of active verbs.

The pronominal subjects and objects of active verbs are:

	subjective	objective
First person	ha-	hĭ-
Second person	ra-	nĭ
Inclusive dual	hĭ-	wăŋga-

The general pluralizing suffix wi is used to indicate the plural of all these forms. There is no third person singular pronoun; wherever no pronominal subject or, in the case of a transitive verb, no pronominal object is expressed, a third person subject and object is inferred. In the plural the third person subject is marked by the suffix -ire both for active and neutral verbs, and the object of transitive verbs by the prefix wa-. It seems likely that these forms are of later development than the other personal pronouns: an unspecified third person plural consisting of the verb stem and the suffix -wi may be used instead.

With transitive verbs where both pronominal subject and object are required the object is put before the subject. The only exception is the inclusive dual subject which invariably precedes all other prefixes. The first person subject is assimilated after pronominal objects and affects the accent.

Examples:

Active stem ḣe to bury

haḣe' I bury him	raḣawi' you bury him
raḣe' thou buriest him	ḣai're or ḣawi' they bury him
ḣe he buries him	hĭḣawi' we (you and I) bury him
hiḣe' thou and I bury him	nĭ'ḣe I bury thee
haḣawi' we (they and I) bury him	wa'ḣe I bury them
	hĭṅaḣe' thou buriest me
	waraḣe' thou buriest them

Neutral stem s'ak' old

hīś'a'k' I am old
nīś'a'k' thou art old
ś'ak' he is old
wāŋgaś'a'k' thou and I are
   old

hīś'a'gwi we (they and I) are
   old
nīś'a'gwi you are old
ś'a'gire they are old
wāŋgaś'a'gwi we (you and I) are
   old

Second Class

30. A number of verbs beginning with w, r, g, n, ', h, j, or t' indicate the first and second persons by modifications which with V representing the first vowel of the stem, are shown on the following table:

	w	r	n		h	g	j	t'
First person	p'v	tv	hanv	ha'v	hv	k'v	c'v	c'v
Second person	śvwv	śvrv	śvnv	ś'v	śv	śkv	ścv	ścv
Third person	wv	rv	nv	'v	hv	gv	jv	t'v
Inclusive dual	hīwv	hīńv	hīnv	hī'v	hīhv	hīgv	hījv	hīt'v

Verbs in w and r are very numerous as all stems bearing the instrumental prefixes wa, ra and rŭ belong to this class. Plurals are formed as in verbs of the first class.

Examples:

te I go
śêre' thou goest
re he goes
hīne' thou and I go

tawi' we (they and I) go
śarawi' you go
rai're they go
hīńawi' we (you and I) go

tuścã' I stop
śuruścã' thou stoppest
ruścã' he stops
hīńuścã' thou and I stop

tac'ka' I taste
śarac'ka' thou tastest
rac'ka' he tastes
hīńac'ka' thou and I taste

p'aśi' I dance
śawaśi' thou dancest
waśi' he dances
hīwaśi' thou and I dance

p'ap'o'ñ I stab
śawap'o'ñ thou stabbest
wap'o'ñ he stabs
hīwap'o'ñ thou and I stab

Verbs in n̲ and ' are common and, as the table shows, differ from first class verbs only in the second person.

Examples:

ha'ū' I do	ha'ūwī' we (they and I) do
ś'ū thou dost	ś'ūwī' you do
'ū he does	ū'īńe they do
hī'ū' thou and I do	hī'ūwī' we (you and I) do

ha'ī' I survive, turn into
ś'ī thou livest
'ī he lives
hī'ī' thou and I live

mīā'nə̃k' I sit
mīśə̃'nə̃k' thou sittest
mīnə̃'k' he sits
hīmīnə̃'k' thou and I sit

ha'nī I have
haśīnī' thou hast
hanī' he has
hīnī' thou and I have

Verbs in h̲ and g̲ are rare and almost always occur in doubly conjugated compound verbs.

Examples:

huhe' I come on the way
śuśe' thou comest
huhe' he comes
hīhuhe' thou and I come

k'u I come   start
śku thou comest
gu he comes
hīgu' thou and I come

k'uhe' I come back   on the way
śkuśe' thou comest back
guhe' he comes back
hīguhe' thou and I come back

Slightly varying from this group is the verb e̲ to say:

Examples:

hihe' I say	hihawi' we (they and I) say
hiśe' thou sayest	hiśawi' you say
e he says	ai're they say
hī'e' thou and I say	hī'awi' we (you and I) say

Of the last group in j and t' the only examples found are
the verbs given below.

Examples:

hac'a' I see	c'e I die
haśca thou seest	śce thou diest
haja' hé sees	t'e he dies
hija' you and I see	hĭt'e' thou and I die

The auxiliary for the sitting position -nə̃k' belongs to the
second group of second class verbs and is identical in forms
with the verb mĭnə̃'k' "to sit" given above minus the prefix mĭ.
The auxiliary for the lying position hə̃ŋk' has unusual forms:

-mə̃ŋk' I lie	-hahã'ŋk' we (they and I) lie
-śã'wāŋk' thou liest	-haśã'wāŋk' you lie
-hə̃ŋk' he lies	-hahã'ŋk' they lie
-hə̃ŋk' thou and I lie	-hahã'ŋk' we (you and I) lie

The suffix -wi may be added to all the plural forms. No ambi-
guity is created by the similar forms as the verb which pre-
cedes the auxiliary bears the ordinary pronouns.

Second class verbs prefix the same pronominal objects as the
first class.

Examples:

nĭp'ap'o'M I stab thee
hĭśca' thou seest me
wac'a' I see them

CONTRACTIONS WITH PREFIXES

31. Contractions of the pronouns occur with a number of pre-
fixes.

(a) Verbs with the prefix ha contract:

First person subject	ha-ha-	into	ha -
Inclusive dual	hĭ-ha-	into	hĭ- or ha:-
First person object	ha-hĭ-	into	hĭ-
Third person plural object	wa-ha	into	wa'-
Inclusive dual object	wãŋga-ha into		wãnga-

Examples:

ha't'ŭmp' I lay on   ha'te I chop
harat'ŭ'mp' thou layest on   harate' thou choppest
hat'ŭ'mp' he lays on   hate' he chops
hĭt'ŭ'mp' thou and I lay on   ha:te' thou and I chop
wa't'ŭmp' he lays them on
wãŋgat'ŭ'mp' he lays us on

(b) Verbs with the prefix h̯ᵤ contract:

First person subject	h̯ᵤ-ha-	into	wa-
Inclusive dual subject	hĭ-h̯ᵤ-	into	h̯ᵤ-
First person object	h̯ᵤ-hĭ	into	hŭ:-
Inclusive dual object	wãŋga-h̯ᵤ-	into	wãŋg̯ᵤ-
Third person plural object	wa-h̯ᵤ-	into	w̯ᵤ-

The combined forms of the prefixes wa, and h̯ᵤ, w̯ᵤ, contracts
in the same way with the personal pronouns with the exception
of the inclusive dual subject with which no contraction occurs.

Examples:

    wanĭ´ I look for
    horanĭ´ thou lookest for
    h̯ᵤnĭ´ he looks for
    h̯ᵤ:nĭ´ thou and I look for
    hŭ:nĭ´ he looks for me
    wãŋg̯ᵤnĭ´ he looks for us
    w̯ᵤnĭ´ he looks for them

    wa´nã̃c´ I borrow
    wora´nãc´ thou borrowest
    w̯ᵤ:nã´c´ he borrows
    hĭw̯ᵤnãc´ thou and I borrow

(c) Verbs with the prefix hi contract:

First person subject	hi-ha	into	ya-
Inclusive dual subject	hĭ-hi-	into	hĭ-
First person object	hi-hĭ-	into	hĭ´-
Inclusive dual object	wãŋga-hi-	into	wãŋgi-
Third person plural object	wa-hi-	into	wi-
First person subject with third person plural object	wa-hi-ha	into	wia´-

Examples:

    hip´ê´rês he knows
    yap´ê´rês I know
    hĭp´ê´rês thou and I know
    hĭ´p´êrês he knows me
    wãŋgip´ê´rês he knows us
    wip´ê´rês he knows them
    wia´p´êrês I know them

(d) Verbs with the prefix gi contract:

First person subject	ha-gi-	into	hai-
Second person subject	ra-gi-	into	rai-

Examples:

  haihu´ I swing it
  raihu´ thou swingest
  gihu´ he swings
  hĩŋgihu´ thou and I swing

  (e) Verbs with the prefix bω contract:

First person subject	bω-ha-	into	boa´-
First person object	bω-hĩ-	into	boi´-

Examples:

  boa´sək˙ I knock down
  bωsə´k˙ he knocks down
  boi´sək˙ he knocks me down
  hĩbωsə´k˙ thou and I knock down

  (f) Verbs with the prefix mã contract:

First person subject	mã-ha-	into	mã´-
First person object	mã-hĩ-	into	mãĩ´-

The prefixes nã and ta˙cause the same contractions.

Examples:

  nã´ŋgas I tear
  mãŋga´s he tears
  mãĩ´gas he tears me
  hĩmãŋga´s thou and I tear

  (g) The causative suffix hi contracts:

First person singular subject	ha-hi	into	ha
Second person singular subject	ra-hi	into	ra
Inclusive dual subject	hĩ-hi	into	hĩ
First person object	hĩ-hi	into	wĩ
Second person object	nĩ-hi	into	nĩ

Examples:

  t˙e´ha I kill
  t˙e´ra thou killest
  t˙ehi´ he kills
  t˙e´hĩ thou and I kill
  t˙ewĩ´ he kills me
  t˙enĩ´ I kill thee

  (h) The pronominal forms of the ruc˙ to eat may be due to contraction.

Examples:
   hac˙ I eat
   rac˙ thou eatest
   ruc˙ he eats
   hĭńu'c˙ thou and I eat

INDIRECT OBJECT

32. The indirect pronominal object is expressed by the same
forms as the direct pronominal object with the addition of the
prefix gi- after the pronoun. This prefix is not contracted.

Examples:

nĭ'Ńe' I bury thee   nĭŋgi'Ńe I bury for thee
boi'sək˙ he knocked me   boi'gisə'k˙ he knocked down for
   down   me
hĭńaihu' thou swingest me   hĭńai'gihu thou swingest for me
c˙ṷhi' he made blue   c˙ṷgιgi' he made blue for him
t'ehi' he killed   t'eiŋgιgi' he killed for me

The last two examples show that the prefix gi changes the
causative hi to gi.

REFLEXIVES

33. The reflexive is indicated by placing the prefix k'i-
after the regular subjective pronouns. The pronouns contract
as usual with other prefixes except when the instrumental pre-
fix gi- is assimilated by k'i-. k'i and the causative hi com-
bine to form k'Ĭ. Verbs of the second class take their own
pronouns as well as the first class pronouns that precede k'i-.

Examples:

   hak'iŃe' I bury myself (ha- first person; k'i-; Ńe to bury)
   hak'ic'kι's I cut myself (ha- first person; k'i-; gi- instru-
      mental; c'kιs to cut)
   hak'ip'a'p'oŃ I stab myself (ha- first person; k'i-;
      p'ap'o'Ń first person of wap˙oŃ to stab)
   maŋk'ιc'kιs I cut myself (mā- instrumental; ha- first person;
      k'i-; c'kιs to cut)
   rak'iśa'wap'oǵwi' you stab each other (ra- second person;
      k'i-; śawap'o'Ń second person of wap'oŃ to stab)
   t'ek'Ĭ' he kills himself (t'e dead; k'i-; hi causative)

To indicate that the object belongs to the subject verbs of
the first class take the prefix k'ara- and verbs of the second
class take the prefix k'v- (v represents the first vowel of

the stem), both after the regular first class subjective pro-
nouns. The usual contractions occur except when k'ara- com-
bines with the instrumental prefix gi to form k'arai-. The
causative hi alters to gi under the influence of k'ara-.

Examples:

hak'araʌe' I bury my own (ha- first person; k'ara-; ʌe to
    bury)
hak'arai'c'kɩs I cut my own (ha- first person; k'ara-; gi-
    instrumental; c'kɩs to cut)
boa'k'araśɩp' I make my own fall (bω- instrumental; ha-
    first person; k'ara-; śɩp' to fall)
hak'awac'kɩ's I saw my own (ha- first person; k'v-; wac'kɩs
    to saw)
hak'ʋruga's I tear my own (ha- first person; k'v-; rugas to
    tear)
ruścə̃'k'aragi' he caused his own to stop (ruścə̃' to stop;
    k'ara-; hi causative)

EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUN*

34. No really independent personal pronouns are found but
there are two particles e and ne which are used when emphasis
is put on the pronoun. e, which may be identical with the
demonstrative pronoun e, is used for the third person, and ne
is used for all the other persons.

Examples:

ne'wɩ̃ńe' it is I (ne; hĩ- first person objective; hẽre to be)
ne'nĩńe' it is thou (ne; nĩ- second person objective; hẽre
    to be)
e're it is he (e; hẽre' to be)
ne'wã̃'ŋgẽre it is thou and I (ne: wã̃ŋga- inclusive dual ob-
    jective; hẽre' to be)
ne'źã̃ńẽ'kjəne' either you or I will go (ne; hɩźə̃' indefinite
    article; hĩ- inclusive dual subjective; re to go; -kjəne
    future)
eźə̃' rai'rẽkjəne' one of them will go (e; hɩźẽ' indefinite
    article; re to go; -ire third plural; -kjəne future)
e:c'ã̃ĩ'ŋgirʋ's he, instead of me, took it (e; c'ə̃ instead;
    hĩ- first person object; gi- indirect object; rʋs to take)
ne:c'ə̃'hanã̃' I slept, instead (ne; c'ə̃ instead; ha- first
    person subjective; nã̃ to sleep)
ne'śənãjɩwi' we only came (ne; śənə̃ only; ha- first person
    subject; ji to come; -wi plural)
e'śənə̃ hẽre' he is the only one (e; śənə̃ only; hẽre' to be)

INFIXED PRONOUNS

35. A number of verbs of more than one syllable, that cannot be shown to be compounds, insert the pronoun after the first syllable. The resulting forms are the same as pronominal forms with the locatives and the instrumentals mā and nā. It is striking that in more than half of the verbs of this type collected the first syllable is ha, hω, wa, mā, or nā. But there is no hint in the meaning of the verbs or the character of their remaining syllables that would justify treating ha, hω, wa, mā and nā in these cases as prefixes. A more exhaustive collection and comparison of stems may ultimately result in the full analysis of these verbs. A tentative hypothesis is that some of them are the result of composition and others of mistaking the first syllable for a prefix. Comparison with Dakota cognates* strongly suggests the latter possibility in some cases. The following verbs of this type were found:

First class

'ãηc'u to unload
'ãηc'k'ə'nək' to take out of water
nape' to wait (Dakota ap'e')
hawe' to suffer
hepśí' to sneeze (Dakota pśa)
hωnə'k' to help lift or walk, to run along
hoℳι'wi to cough (Dakota hoℳpa')
nãp'ῖ' wear around the neck (Dakota nãp'ῖ')
nãℳkῦ' to hear (Dakota naℳ'ῦ')
nãśe' to take away
nãcu' to hold an armload

Neutral verb

tωk'ewêhi to be hungry
nãwã' to sing (Dakota lowã' does not infix)
nihã' to breathe (Dakota niya' does not infix)
ni'ə'mp' to live (ni living is a common element in compounds)
nῦwə̃'ηk' to run (Dakota ῖyã'ka takes double pronouns)
nῦwã'wəηk' to be shy, nervous
nῦℳã'wã to hide (Dakota naℳ'ma')
rωgῦ' to want
rωgi' to forbid
rωk'ῖ' to roast (Dakota c'ok'ῖ')
watogῖ to pout in anger (Dakota oℳῖ'yã to pout in disappointment)
umə̃ℳ' to be used to

* Dakota cognates supplied by Professor Franz Boas.

Second class

   hʊnī' to hunt
   huwę̆g̊ṵ to blow
   hʊrʊgʊ'c' to look at
   hʊrʊp'ã'nã to smell (Dakota m.na it gives off an odor)
   mãnū' to steal (Dakota manū')
   mâni' to walk (Dakota mani')
   mãnūnī to wander off, get lost (Dakota nuni' does not infix)
   mīnã̃'k' to sit
   ware' to work

Both first and second class pronoun in second person

   tω'ī' to adorn oneself
   nã'ī' to try

Double conjugation

   nãgι're to be frightened (nãṅa'g̊ιsēre' thou art frightened)

POSSESSION

36. Several types of personal possession are discriminated
by somewhat different treatment of three classes of words: the
kinship terms, words denoting animals and all other nouns.

(a) With kinship terms the causative suffix hi as conjugated
for the various persons and the subordinating suffixes -ra or
-ga are suffixed after the term. The forms are as follows:

hara or ga	my	hawi'ra	our (exclusive)
raga	thy	rawi'ga	your
hira or ra	his	hi'rēra	their
hīhi'ra	thine and my	hīhiwi'ra	our (inclusive)

All terms having the prefix hi- take the first person hara
and the few terms without it take ga for the first person.

Examples:

   nãnī'ga my mother
   c'ūwīŋ'ga my father's sister
   hιsʊ'ŋk hara my younger brother
   hιnū'hara my elder sister
   hiə̃'ŋjīhιwi'ra our father (inclusive)

(b) With stems denoting animals the element nī (possibly the
stem meaning "living" found in compounds) is suffixed before
the causative hi and the subordinating suffix. The forms are
as follows:

nīha'ra	my	nīhi'ra	his
nīṅa'ra or		ṅī'hira	thine and my
nīṅa'ga	thy	nīha'wira	our (exclusive)

| níña wira or | | nīhi'rêra | their |
| níñaiga | your | nīhi'wira | our (inclusive) |

The verb nĪhi' "to own" is used with animal objects. The substantive formed from this verb wanĪhi' has the meaning "slave."

Examples:

šŭ'ŋgənīha'ra my dog
wī'ŋgənīña'wira your duck
c'enīhi'ra his cattle
šŭ'ŋgənīha' I have a dog

(c) With all other nouns the possessive is indicated by suffixing the second class verb hanĪ "to own" and the subordinating suffix -ra.

Examples:

c'i'hanīña' my house
c'i'hasīnīña' thy house
c'ihanĪ' I have a house

(d) The preceding forms are appended to nouns like relative clauses. With verbal stems that have been nominalized possession is expressed by prefixing the pronouns in the regular way. The stem c'i "house" was selected for the last examples because it is also a verbal stem "to dwell." Nominalized by the prefix hw- it forms:

wac'i'ra my house
horac'i'ra thy house
hwc'i'ra his house (literally 'in-dwell-the')
hw'c'ira thine and my house

VERBAL SUFFIXES

37. A considerable number of elements are added to verbal stems to modify their meaning with respect to tense, mode, number, definiteness, subordination, and a variety of adverbial ideas. These particles, when a guess at their origin is possible, seem to derive largely from the demonstratives and the articles, the same sources which furnish a good deal of the material out of which the greatest number of adverbs are constructed.

For convenience in exposition they have been divided into three classes: (a) final suffixes, those that take last position in a verbal complex which may serve as a complete statement; (b) adverbial suffixes, those that are ordinarily found in intermediate positions; and (c) subordinating suffixes, those that take last position in a subordinate clause.

FINAL SUFFIXES

38. The final suffixes are chiefly modal in character. With the exception of the interrogative, which has no suffix, and a few truncated statements, mostly of an exclamatory nature, all sentences are completed by one of these suffixes.

39. Declarative -nə̃ or -śənə̃. Statements made of the speaker's own knowledge are completed by the suffixes nə̃ after vowels and śənə̃ after consonants. These are by far the commonest sentence terminations and serve as little more than stops.

Examples:

wa'jəra sepśə'nə̃ the boat was black (wac˙ boat; ra definite article; sep˙ black; -śənə̃)

nã́ña' tira'jenə̃ the tree is growing (nã tree; -ra definite article; tire' to move; je standing positional; -nə̃)

waśi'rêkjəne'nə̃ e'ɡi warʋ'jirêkjəne'nə̃ they are going to dance and eat (waśi' to dance; -ire third plural; -kjəne future; -nə̃; e'ɡi and, then; waruc˙ to eat; -ire third plural; -kjəne future; -nə̃)

waśinə̃'ɡi nã'wãnãnə̃ if he danced I would sing (waśi' to dance; -nã conditional; -ɡi subordinating; nãwã' to sing with ha- first person assimilated; -nã conditional; -nə̃)

40. Emphatic -nɯ. In calling to people at a distance or in trying to capture the attention of careless listeners, the suffix -nɯ, usually long drawn out, is used instead of -nə̃.

Examples:

haⁿe'nɯ: I buried it I tell you (ha- first person; ⁿe to bury; -nɯ)

k˙ére'nɯ he's gone (in response to the shouted question, where is he?) (kêre' to go; -nɯ)

41. Emphatic -źarê'. This suffix throws emphasis on the whole sentence, as distinguished from the devices, discussed in section 34, for throwing emphasis on the subject and those, that will be discussed below in sections 63 and 64, for throwing emphasis on the verb.

Examples:

nãźarê' he did sleep (whatever you say) (nã to sleep; -źarê')

ha'ṻ'nźarê' I did it (and it's done with) (ha- first person; ṻ to do; -źarê')

42. Imperative -re. The suffix -re is added to the stem to form the imperative. The final vowel varies from ê to e to e:,

increasing in closure and length with the forcibility of the
command. The accentual situation in the imperative is discussed
in section 9, page 5, where examples will be found.

43. Quotative žê. This suffix is appended to all hearsay in-
formation.

Examples:

haja′žê he saw him (haja′ to see; -žê)
giɾι′gnãkšê it was coiled (giɾι′ñ to coil; nãk' sitting
    positional; -žê after consonants -šê)
we′žê he said
nι′ñωgit'ã′mpšê he jumped back into the water (nι water; -ra
    definite article; hω- into; gi to arrive going back; t'ãmp'
    to jump; -žê)

All the above examples are from a story which the narrator
has heard but not witnessed. When direct discourse is reported,
the declarative suffix -nã is used. For example, from the same
tale:

we′žê hãhã′ c'ok'a′ žegũ′nã he said, 'Now, grandfather, it is
    done' (we to say; -žê; hãhã exclamation; c'ok'a′ grand-
    father; žegũ finished; -nã)

44. Optative -žeži. The optative mode is expressed by the
suffix -žeži.

Examples:

nãⁿkũ′ıⁿéže′ži would they could hear (nãⁿkũ′ to hear; -ire
    third plural; -žeži)
mıã′nãkše′ži O, that I might sit (mınã′k' to sit; ha- first
    person infixed; -žeži changes to -šeži after a consonant)

žeži may be derived from the combination of the demonstra-
tive žê'ê and -ži "at least." (See section 61, page 39.) The fol-
lowing examples suggest the possibility:

wajara′žeži the boat at least (wac' boat; -ra definite arti-
    cle; žê'ê that; -ži at least)
že′žip'aši′nãnã at least I could dance (žê'ê that; waši′ to
    dance; -nã conditional; -nã declarative)
p'ašι′že′ži O, that I might dance

45. Dubitative. A number of suffixes indicating doubt will
be treated here because they can, and most frequently do,
serve as final suffixes, although they may appear in inter-
mediate positions. The suffixes -s'arê, -gũnι, and -škῦnι are
all used to imply that the statement to which they are appended
is doubtful. Of the three, -s'arê implies the greatest degree
of doubt and -škῦnι the least.

Examples:

wanã´k'ŭnĩ he must be saying (we to say; -nãk' sitting posi-
   tional; -gŭnĩ)
nã´s'arê maybe he's asleep (nã to sleep; -s'arê;
c'l´žêrês'a´rê it may be a house (c'i house; -hížã´ indefi-
   nite article; hêre´ to be; -s'arê)
t'ã´nãŋk'ŭnĩ they may be flying (t'ã to fly; -nãŋk' sitting
   positional plural; -gŭnĩ}
warê´škŭnĩ he probably is working (ware´ to work)

These suffixes and the conditional -nã and what is apparently
the suffix -áke "also" have a tendency to form long combina-
tions in speech. The longer the combination the greater the de-
gree of doubt implied.

Examples:

k'êr´škênãgŭnĩ he must have gone home (k'êre´ to go home;
   -ške, -nã, -gŭnĩ)
k'aranã´nãškênã´gŭntãkê's'arê, etc. without any preferred
   order so long as it sounds good, means -- he must have gone
   home (k'êre´ plus an assortment of -nã, -ške, -gŭnĩ, -s'arê)

There will be examples below of these suffixes appearing be-
fore subordinating suffixes with no differences in function.
46. Interrogative. Although it does not have a suffix, dis-
cussion of the interrogative seems in place here. The interrog-
ative is indicated vocally by a wide movement of pitch mostly
on the long-drawn-out last accented syllable of the stem. The
dubitative s'arê is frequently added to the stem. The posi-
tionals, the future suffix -kjane, the conditional suffix -nã,
and other temporal and modal suffixes, which ordinarily cannot
take last position in a complete statement, may be added to
the stem. Where the stem appears without suffixes, the accent
shifts to the first syllable.

Examples:

wa´ruc' did he eat? (waru´c' to eat)
waru´jenãk' is he eating? (-nãk' sitting positional)
waruj ɩ´kjane will he eat? (-kjane future)
ra´nã would he go? (re to go; -nã conditional)
nĩžu´jes'arê is it raining? (nĩžu´ to rain; -je standing
   positional; -s'arê dubitative)

The movement of pitch is most often falling but in forms with
-nã there is a rise of roughly a fourth.

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

47. The suffixes that are placed between the stem and either
the final or subordinating suffix have been termed adverbial
because most of them are of that character.

48. Intentive -kje. This suffix indicates a future act or
condition which is to result from the will of the speaker or
agent, òr from other compelling forces in the speaker's pur-
view. It is sometimes used as a mild or polite imperative.

Examples:

nãkje'nõ he shall sleep (nã to sleep; -kje; declarative -nõ)
rutɩkje'ĝê so that he can pull (rutɩ' to pull; -kje; -ĝê
    causal)
hak'êrêkje'ʒeske'nõ I have to go home (ha- first person;
    k'êre to go home; -kje; ʒê'ê demonstrative; hɩske' like;
    -nõ declarative)

49. Future -kjəne. This suffix, probably derived from kje,
designates the future. The peculiar phonetic modifications
which accompany its use have been discussed in section 48.

Examples:

yap'ê'rêzanɩhê'kjənenõ I will remember (hip'ê'rês to know
    with ha- first person inserted; ha- first person; nɩhe' to
    continue; -kjəne; -nõ)
waśi'rêkjəne'nõ they are going to dance (waśi' to dance;
    -ire third person; -kjəne; -nõ)

50. Customary -śŭnŭ. The suffix -śŭnŭ denotes customary ac-
tion and may be translated "usually" when referring to the
present and "used to" when referring to the past.

Examples:

k'i:'ŭ̄ì'ńêśŭnŭ'nõ they used to gamble (k'i:'ŭ to gamble;
    -ire third plural; -śŭnŭ; -nõ)
rugaga'zirêśŭnŭ'nə they usually destroy (ruga's to tear re-
    duplicated; -ire third plural; -śŭnŭ; -nê)
hana'śŭnŭ'nõ I usually sleep (ha- third person; -nã to sleep;
    -śŭnŭ; -nõ)

51. Continual -s'ə. The regular repetition of an action or
condition is expressed by the suffix -s'ə.

Examples:

hajai'rês'əʒê again and again they used to see (haja' to see;
    -ire third plural; -s'ə; -ʒê quotative)
c'ʋra'ranãks'ə'ʒê blue moving around from time to time (c'ʋ

blue; re to go reduplicated; -nãk' sitting positional;
-s'e; -źê quotative)
nãs'ə'gi when he goes to sleep, regularly (nã to sleep; -s'ə;
-gi subordinating)

52. Conditional -nã. This suffix has an extremely wide range
of meanings. While most often used to express the idea that a
future action is uncertain or hypothetical or dependent upon a
contingency which is stated in a conditional clause or under-
stood, it may also express ideas of a hortatory or obligatory
or compulsory nature.

Examples:

ha'ünə'gi k'aranã'nə if I should do it he would go home (ha-
first person; 'ü to do; -nã; -gi subordinating; k'êre' to
go home; -nã; -nə̃)
e'jahıwı'gi haji'ranãnə̃ if we went they would come (e'ja
there; ha- first person assimilated; hi to go; -gi subor-
dinating; ha- with third plural of verbs of motion; ji to
arrive; -ire third plural; -nã: nə̃)
haji'ranã'hirêźê' he thought they might come (hajiranã as
above ; hire' to think; źê quotative)
waranã'nə̃ he should work (ware' to work; -nã; -nə̃) depending
on context this might mean "he ought to work" or "he must
work" or "he can work"

53. Negative -nĩ. The negative is formed by the suffix -nĩ
and the prefix k'ê- or preceding word hãŋk'ê'.

Examples:

hãŋk'ê' nĩźu'janĩ'nə̃ it isn't raining (nĩźu' to rain; je
standing positional; -nĩ; -nə̃)
hãŋk'ê nĩźu'nĩgi if it does not rain (-gi subordinating)
k'ê'źeska'nĩnə̃ it isn't so (k'ê- negative; źê'ê this; hıske'
like; -nĩ; -nə̃)

The prefix k'enĩ- and the suffix -nĩ form a negative which
may be translated "not yet" in sentences and "before" in sub-
ordinate clauses.

Examples:

k'enĩã'jinĩ before I came (k'enĩ- not yet; ha- first person;
ji to arrive; -nĩ)
k'enĩ'warujənĩ'nə̃ he hasn't eaten yet (k'enĩ-; waruc' to eat;
-nĩ; -nə̃)

54. Plural -wi, -ire. The suffix -wi attaches the idea of
plurality to the entire clause. Subject, direct object, indi-

rect object, all or any of these, may be plural, and it is left
to the context to indicate which. The suffix -ire specifies the
third person plural.

Examples:

hiñap'ê'rêzwinã you know us, thou knowest us, ye know me (hi-
    first person object; ra- second person subject; hip'ê'rês
    to know; -wi plural; -nã)
hiñagiña'winã you bury for us, thou buriest for us, you bury
    for me (hi- first person object; ra- second person subject;
    gi- indirect object; ñe to bury; -wi; -nã)

55. Dubitative -ske. This suffix adds a quality of uncertain-
ty to the stem. With the prefix hi- it forms the neutral verb
hiske' "to be similar to" or "thus"; this is the most valuable
hint of its meaning as it is very difficult to translate.

Examples:

jagwa'mīnãgirê'skanãk'ū' while he was sitting on he didn't
    know what (jagu' what; ha- on; mīnã'k' to sit; hire' to
    think; -ske changes to -ska; -nãk' sitting positional with
    'ū to do forms the subordinator "while")
jagwa'wa'ūiñêskê for no reason at all (jagu' what; hawa'ū on
    account of; hire' to think; -ske)

56. -niske. This is apparently formed out of the negative
suffix -ni and -ske. It imparts a quality of vagueness to the
stem it follows:

Examples:

c'ωnĩske'zê it was sort of blue (c'ω blue; -nĩske: -zê quota-
    tive)
ñorω'nĩske'nã he was kind of snoring (ñorω' to snore; -nĩske
    -nã)

57. -êgê. This suffix indicates a future possibility which
is contrary to the wish of the speaker or agent.

Examples:

warujê'ge he might eat (but I don't want him to) (waruc' to
    eat; -êgê)
hi'êre'girêgê' because he thought they might find him (hi'e'
    to find; -ire third plural; êgê; hire' to think; -gê
    causal)

58. -ake. This indicates that the action performed was done
in addition to some other, whether mentioned or understood. It

can be translated "also" but "also" qualifies the verbal meaning only.

Examples:

waśi'śkêre'nã they also danced (waśi' to dance; -śke; -ire third plural; -nã)
nãśke'nã he also slept

59. -rêáke. Preceded by the element re, which may be the demonstrative adjective, -áke forms the suffix meaning "even."

Examples:

nãwã'ńêśkê'renã they even sang (nãwã to sing; -rêśke; -ire third plural: -nã)
t'êhakjənerêśke'nã I will even kill (t'e dead; ha first person of causative hi; -kjəne future; -rêśke; -nã)

60. -c'ã. This indicates that the action of the verb stem is done instead of some other action.

Examples:

hanãc'ãtekjəne'nã I'll go to sleep instead (ha- first person; nã to sleep; -c'ã; te first person of re to go; -kjəne future; -nã)
warecã'nã he worked instead (ware' to work; -c'ã; -nã)

61. -źi. This may be translated "at least."

Examples:

rac'kã'źira having at least drunk (rac'kã' to drink; -źi; -ra subordinating)
nĩã'nãkś̩kje'nã at least I'll sit (mĩnã'k' to sit with -ha first person inserted; -źi; -kje intentive; -nã)

62. -k'e. This can be translated "often."

Examples:

mãŋśω'k'êśυnũnã he often whittles (mãŋsω to whittle; -k'e; -śυnũ customary; -nã)
hãŋk'ê' waru'c'kanĩ'nã he seldom eats (hãŋk'ê negative; waru'c' to eat; -k'e; nĩ negative; -nã)

63. -ńcĩ. This suffix can most often be translated "very." It intensifies the meaning of the stem it follows:

Examples:

p'ĩŋ̇ńcĩ'nã it is very good (p'ĩ good; -ńcĩ; -nã)
hωwa'rêńcĩ'ńenã they were enjoyed (literally, they went in deeply) (hωwe' to go in; re to go; -ńcĩ; -ire third plural; -nã)

64. -gere. This suffix throws emphasis on the verb. The implication usually is that the action was performed against opposition.

Examples:

nãge'renã he did sleep (nã to sleep; -gêre; -nã)
wahac·ke'renã I did eat (wahac· first person of waru'c· to
   eat; -gêre; nã)

65. -gɪnĩ. This suffix can be rendered "already." It indicates that the action of the stem has been completed in the past.

Examples:

wuk'ũ'gɪnĩ'nã he has already given it to them (wa- third
   person plural object; hʉk'ũ to give; -gɪnĩ; -nã)
haña'gɪnĩ'nã I've already buried it (ha- first person; Me to
   bury; -gɪnĩ; -nã)

SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES

66. In this group the strongest traces of derivation from the demonstratives and the articles are found. There seems to be ground for the supposition that the central idea in the formation of subordinate clauses is the nominalization of verbal concepts.

67. Temporal -ra. The action in the subordinate clause formed by -ra occurs immediately before the action in the main clause. It can often be translated by a past participle or by treating the two clauses as coordinate. -ra also forms an agentive. There seems to be little reason for not identifying it with the definite article.

Examples:

wažω'nĩãhi'rêra having gone hunting (wažã something; hʉnĩ'
   to look for; ha- with third plural of verbs of motion; hi
   to go; -ire third plural; -ra)
c'inã'gêjahi'ra when I went to town (c'inã'k· town; -eja
   post-position; ha first person assimilated; hi to go;
   -ra)
nã'p·ã'ũĩ'ñêra they made baskets and (nãp·ã basket; 'ũ to
   make; -ire third plural; -ra)
nã'ɲtêra' the wood-chopper (nã wood; hate' to chop; -ra)
wanãgɪ'ñêra the one who buries the corpse (wanãgi' corpse;
   Me to bury; -ra)

68. -re. This suffix is much more limited in its scope than -ra although it clearly stems from a similar type of source,

the demonstrative suffix -re. It forms clauses that qualify nouns.

Examples:

wanĩ'k' t'era're the bird that you killed (wanĩ'k' bird; t'e dead; ra- second person of causative hi; -re)

nã'ṇtuzare' the wood I took (nã tree; tus first person of rus to take; -re)

p'e'cwac' k'ṭ'rikja'nare' train that is to come (p'ec fire; wac' boat; k'ṭri' to come back; -kjane future; -re)

69. -ga. This suffix forms subordinate clauses which, if not connected causally with the principal clause, are yet associated in the sense of accompanying actions. It is almost invariably followed by the customary suffix -šũnũ in the principal clause. In addition, it forms an agentive of the same sort as -ra. It appears to be derived from either the demonstrative suffix -ga or the article -ga used with names.

Examples:

e'jahṭwi'ga hajiŕéšũnũ'nõ when we go there, they usually come (e'ja there; ha- first person assimilated; hi to go; -wi plural; -ga; ha- with plural of verbs of motion; ji to arrive; -ire third plural; -šũnũ customary; -nẽ)

nã'giwãṇga' when I sing for him (nãwã' to sing with ha- first person assimilated and gi- indirect object infixed; -ga)

hiźõ't'éga' when someone dies (hiźõ' indefinite article; t'e to die; -ga)

wat'éhi'jega the killer (wa- intransitivizer; t'ehi' to kill; -je positional standing; -ga)

70. Causal -gê. Causal subordination is indicated by this suffix. It sometimes appears in the longer form -gêjṭnĩ without any apparent differentiation of meaning. Preceded by conditional -nã or hortatory -kje, it forms purpose clauses.

Examples:

mãnũ'gê because he stole (mãnũ' to steal; -gê)

hĩwuskê'jṭnĩ because I was dry (hĩ- first person objective; wus dry; -gêjṭnĩ)

warekje'gê so as to work (ware' to work; -kje intentive; -gê)

nãnã'gê so that he might sleep (nã to sleep; -nã conditional; -gê)

k'êrêkjê'gê so that he can go home (k'êre' to go home: -kje hortatory; -gê)

71. Conditional -gi. This suffix indicates the contingency on which a future event in the main clause depends. In the past it forms contrary to fact conditions. An alternative form -giźi is used in the same way but in addition seems to function occasionally as an oral stop. When preceded by the demonstrative -re, -gi forms purely temporal clauses. In conditional clauses -nã and kje frequently appear before -gi.

Examples:

že'skêhi'ǥi if he does so (źe'ê demonstrative pronoun; hιske like: hi causative; -ǥi)

tuňʋ'rʋk'ιźi if I accomplish it (tuňʋ'rʋk' first person of ruňʋ'rʋk' to accomplish; -ǥιźi)

k'ênĭźu'nĭǥi' if it doesn't rain (k'ê- negative; nĭźu' to rain; nĭ negative; -ǥi)

hĭt'ŭ'ńêᴈi if he leaves me (hĭ- first person object; t'ŭ to cast; re to ǥo; -ǥi)

waha'janã'ǥwiňêǥi' while we were eating (waha'c' first person of waru'c' to eat: ha- first person; nêk' sitting positional; -wi plural; -reǥi)

tanã'ǥi if I should go (te first person of re; -nã conditional; -ǥi)

72. Temporal -gajã. -gajã indicates the priority of the action in the subordinate clause and may be translated "after." It consists, apparently, of the subordinating suffix -ga and the standing positional jã. Occasionally it seems to function merely as an oral stop: its meaning is obviously compatible with the movement of a continuous narrative style and possibly may be translated in such use as "and then."

-gajã is also used as a final suffix for rhetorical questions and truisms.

Examples:

wahajwi'gajã' after we had eaten (wa- intransitivizer; hac' first person of ruc' to eat; -wi plural; -gajã after)

e'jahιwi'gajã' after we got there (e'ja there; ha- first person assimilated; hi to go; -wi plural; -gajã after)

hã'mbəra p'ĭ̥ňcĭ'gajã' nice day, isn't it? (hãmp day; -ra definite article; p'ĭ good; -ňcĭ intensive; -gajã)

wi'ra wã'ŋgərêǥinãk'ajã' the moon is up above (wi moon; -ra definite article; wã'ŋgərêǥi above; -nãk' sitting positional: -gajã)

73. Temporal -'ŭ. An action or state in a subordinate clause which is synchronous with the action in the main clause is expressed by the suffixation of the appropriate positional and

the element -'ŭ, probably from the verb 'ŭ "to do." The suffix
-regi, discussed in section 71, is somewhat less frequently
used in the same way.

Examples:

wawac'kɩ'sjã'ŭ while he was sawing (wa- intransitivizer; wa-
  instrumental; c'kɩs to cut; -jã positional standing; -'ŭ)
nãnə'gəregi while he was sleeping (nã to sleep; nək' posi-
  tional sitting; -regi)
wãŋgɩ'źə c'i'rɯrʊgʊ'c jã'ŭ a man looking at the house (wãŋk'
  man; hɩźə' indefinite article; c'i house; hɯrʊgʊc' to look
  at; -jã positional standing; -'ŭ)
nã'wãnək'ŭ while I was singing (ha- first person assimilated
  in nãwã' to sing; -nək' positional sitting; -'ŭ)

74. Disjunctive -nŭnɩŋê. This is the common disjunctive
suffix and has the force of "although" or "but."

Examples:

tak'a'cjãnŭnɩŋê although it is hot (tak'a'c' hot; -jã posi-
  tional standing; -nŭnɩŋê)
waru'jənŭnɩŋê he ate but -- (wa- intransitivizer; ruc' to
  eat; -nŭnɩŋê)

75. -hɩśkê. This suffix can be translated "even if" or "even
though." It is derived from the adverbial suffix -áke (see sec-
tions 58 and 59). It may be preceded by -gɩ and -nã.

Examples:

k'êre'śkê   )
k'êrêgi'śkê   ) even if he went home
k'aranãĩ'śkê   )
  (k'êre' to go back; -gɩ; -nã; -hɩśkê)
nãĩ'śkê even though he slept
  (nã to sleep; -hɩśkê)

76. Conjunctive -anãga. This is the most common connective
and is used to connect nouns as well as verbs. It is distinctly
verbal in character, however, and when used to connect nouns
will be preceded by the copulative hêre'.

Examples:

waśi'ranãga they danced and -- (waśi' to dance; -ire third
  plural; -anãga)
hit'at'a'nãga he talked and -- (hit'ât'e' to talk; -anãga)
zazac'ke'źêrea'nãga a grasshopper and -- (zaza'c'kê grass-
  hopper; -hɩźə' indefinite article; hêre' to be; -anãga)

The adverb nīge´ákê means "or" and "or else" and -anãga acts
as the connective. nīge´ákê is probably nīgê "a piece" with
the suffix -hιákê.

Examples:

mãŋhι'wia'ganãga' nīge'ákê it is cloudy or -- (mãŋhι'wi
   cloudy; -ak positional lying; -anãga)
ta'nãga nīge'skê I go or -- (te first person of re to go;
   -anãga)
sũŋgi'ŝêrea'nãga nīge'ákê a dog or -- (sũŋk' dog; hιŝã in-
   definite article; hêre' to be; -anãga)

VERBS OF GOING AND COMING

77. The actions of coming and going are subdivided into
three positions, starting, arriving, and being on the way. The
stems for starting and arriving are distinct; the verbs for
being on the way are formed by adding the element -he to the
stems for starting. In addition, there is a form, which close-
ly resembles a reflexive, for each of the above verbs, with
the added implication that the place toward which the coming
or going is directed was previously visited. The following
table shows all these verbs:

	come	go	come back	go back
start	hu	re	gu	k˙êre´
arrive	ji	hi	k˙ιri´	gi
be on the way	huhe´	rahe´	guhe´	k˙arahe´

These verbs are combined in pairs to form a considerable
number of verbs with travel meanings. Some of these are:

* jire´ to pass by
k˙ιrik˙êre´ to pass by going back
hire´ to go by
jik˙êre´ to go quickly
rehi´ to go quickly

78. Verbs of coming and going have a special prefix wawa- to
express the ideas "from" and "to." This may be derived from
the stem we, found only in combination, which means roughly
"to go along." This prefix sometimes appears as hωwa, which
may be the verb hωwe´ "to go in."

Examples:

c˙inã´gəra wawa'tenã I go to town (c˙inã'k˙ town; -ra defi-
   nite article; wawa-; te first person of re to go; -nã
   declarative)

wawarehi´nã he sent it away from him (wawa-; re to go; hi
  causative; -nã declarative)
huwa´huhi´ʒ̂ê he sent it towards (huwa-; hu to come: hi causa-
  tive; -ʒ̂ê quotative)

VERBAL AUXILIARIES

79. A few verbs are never used independently but are always
added to other verbs to modify their meaning. Among these are
the causative **hi** (see section 31, part (g), for pronominal
forms), which can be appended after any active or neutral verb
and has the meaning "to cause to" or "to make"; and the causa-
tive **gigi´**, a regular first class verb, which functions similar-
ly but has the meaning "to make" in the sense of forcing and,
in addition, the possible meaning "to permit" or "to allow."

Examples:

c´ωhi´nã he made it blue (c´ω blue; hi causative; -nã de-
  clarative
wasihi´nã he caused him to dance (wasi to dance; hi causa-
  tive; -nã declarative)
ruscãgigi´nã he made him stop (ruscã´ to stop; gigi causa-
  tive; -nã)
´ũã´ŋgigi´nã I compel him (´ũ to do; ha- first person; gigi´;
  nã)
k´ibahi´nã̂ he doubted (k´i- reflexive; ba to have no con-
  fidence in; hi causative; -nã)
nãiŋgigi´re let me sleep (nã to sleep; hĩ- first person ob-
  jective; gigi´; -re imperative)

80. Continuous action, past and present, and present state
or condition, are auxiliaries, the first class verb **je** or **jã**
for the standing position, and the second class verbs **hãŋk´**
or **hak´** for lying or running and **nãk´** for the sitting posi-
tion (see section 30 for slightly irregular pronominal forms).
Unlike the causatives, in this case, both the principal verb
and the auxiliaries take pronouns. The positionals beside
their verbal function are also used with demonstratives (see
section 93). Long things are talked of as lying, tall or up-
right things as standing, and other things as sitting. Clouds
"lie," rain "stands," the sun and moon "sit." The classifica-
tion does not altogether follow from the character of the ac-
tion: sleeping, for example, usually is spoken of in the
sitting position. It may be said generally that the sitting
position is strongly favored and most often used. An amusing
instance of inconsistency is the word **mĩnõ´kããwã´ngərê** "those
of you sitting here in a lying position."

Examples:
- c.ité''ê hinū'gworu'c˚əǧĩə' wa'ūnə'kśənə this room is a
  woman's sewing-room (c˚i house; tê'ê this; hinū'k˚ woman;
  wa- intransitivizer; hω- in; ruc'ə'k˚ to sew; -hιźə' indefi-
  nite article: wa- intransitivizer; 'ū to do; -nək˚ posi-
  tional sitting; -śənə declarative)
- nãńa' tira'jenə the tree is growing (nã tree; -ra definite
  article; tire' to move; -je standing positional; nə declar-
  ative)
- wã'ŋkpeźê wa'ūãŋ'k'ūnĩ who is it? (wãŋk˚ man; p'eźe who; wa-
  intransitivizer; 'ū to do; -hãŋk˚ positional lying; -gūnĩ
  dubitative)

REDUPLICATION

81. Reduplication of verbal stems is used to express repeti-
tive and distributive ideas. All monosyllabic stems that end
in vowels are doubled:

c˚ιc'i' to live here and there	stem c'i to live
ń'êń'ê' earring	stem ńe to drip
rac'kac'ka' to keep tasting	stem -c'ka to try
rutiti' to keep pulling	stem -ti·te move
ńkuńku' scaly	stem -ńku to take off layers
nãńki'ńki to brush lightly against with the foot again and again	stem -ńki to touch
zizi' yellow in spots	stem zi yellow

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel are treated in the
same way:

śaraśa'ra bare here and there	stem -śa'ra to make bare
k'ιrik'ι'ri to keep coming back	stem k'ι'ri to come back
ńorωńo'rω to keep snoring	stem ńo'rω to snore
gińιrińι'ri to mash to bits	stem -ńi'ri to get into some-thing soft
rusιrisι'ri to keep squeez-ing out	stem -sι'ri to squeeze out
p'orωp'o'rω round	stem p'o'rω round

Stems ending in a consonant drop the final consonant:

rugaga's to tear to pieces	stem -gas to cut.
ǵaga'k˚ to cry repeatedly	stem ǵak˚ to cry
ruksūksū'ŋc˚ to rock	stem -ksūŋc˚ to move

hirac'a′c'aś to chatter	stem -c'aś to click
pśo′pśѡc' fine	stem -pśoc' to make fine
rurus to take again and again	stem rus to take
rѵru′c' to nibble at this and that	stem ruc' to eat
k'ērēk'ē′rēś spotted	stem -k'ē′rēś to make designs

SOUND SYMBOLISM

82. There are many indications in the vocabulary of a now obsolete process of representing the intensity of an action or condition by consonantal variation. There are two series: s, ś, ñ; and z, ź, ǵ; which seem to express three stages of intensity. The following examples have been found:

-sã′wã to melt
-śã′wã to soften
-ñã′wã to moisten

-skĩŋk' to wring out moisture
-śkĩŋk' to draw out color or essence
-ñkĩŋk' to draw out fluid

-sѵ′wu to feel a grainy thing
-śѵ′wu to make itchy or to scratch
-ñѵ′wu to crunch, to make a crackling sound

-soñ to make a frying sound
-śoñ to make a bubbling sound
-ñoñ to make a sound like the breaking of something brittle, thin-crusted and hollow

-p'irι′s to wrinkle
-p'irι′ś to curl
-p'irι′ñ to curl in large curls

-sə̃′nə̃ to fall out
-śə̃′nə̃ to drop
-ñə′nə̃ to collapse

-rιc' to bend
-rιś to bend in a wide bend
-rιñ to coil

-k'ēs to scrape bare
-k'ēñ to scrape

-sι′ri to squeeze out
-ñι′ri to squash

-ša′ra to make bare
-n̄a′ra to strip

-g̣iso′ to cut off strips of leather
-šo to whittle, to break off thin strips

sĩŋc˙ tail
šĩŋc˙ buttocks

-šku to take off kernels of corn
-n̄ku to take off layers

-jas to make a snapping sound
-jaš to make a knocking sound   bwja′š marbles
-jan̄ to splash   ruja′n̄ thunder-clap

hiwasʋ′ruk˙ to push through so it appears on other side
wašʋ′ruk˙ to push back foreskin

-ski to pinch
-n̄ki to touch lightly

-c˙as to make a small metallic sound
-c˙aš to make a clicking sound

-š˙ê to extract fruit-juice   š˙ê to leak
-n̄˙ê to drip

ski bitter   sku sweet, salty
hwwaški′ unripe
n̄ki taste like sunburnt potato or bile

nãŋs light disagreeable odor as of mice
nãŋš to ferment
nãŋn̄ heavy disagreeable odor as of urine

nãt˙ι′s to swell
-t˙ιš to make round
nãt˙ι′n̄ to shrink

-˙aš to open
-˙an̄ to split

-šĩ′nĩ to shed sparks
-n̄ĩ′nĩ to knock off coals to make better blaze

-sa·ran̄ to clatter
-ša′ran̄ to thud

-ksəp˙ to bring to consciousness
-kšəp˙ to break open

-k˙ê′rêš to make figures or designs
ruk˙ê′rên̄ to tattoo

šwc˙ hazy, roily
n̄wc˙ gray

-zəp˙ to make a rough tear
-z̧əp˙ to peel
-ǧəp˙ to remove a layer

-zʊk˙ to stretch
-z̧ʊk˙ to wear fine
-ǧʊk˙ to push or pull through a tube or eye

zi yellow
z̧i brown
ǧi light brown

-zɪp˙ to press something soft and sticky
-ǧɪp˙ to press something soft

-zək˙ to split partly
-ǧak˙ to break off a splinter

ruza´c˙ to make spindly
-z̧ac˙ to spread out at top like a bucket
-ǧac˙ to taper like a tree

hi-z̧ĩ´ɲc˙ to muss
-ǧĩɲc˙ to fray, to fringe

THE NOUN

83. Nominal stems are clearly distinguished from verbal
stems. Although verbal stems may be nominalized in a number of
different ways (see sections 24, 25, 67, 69) the closest ap-
proach to the verbalization of a noun is by suffixation of the
verbal auxiliary k˙i from k˙i- the reflexive prefix combining
with the causative hi which may be translated "to act like."

Examples:

wã´ŋk˙i to act like a man
šũ´ŋk˙i to act like a dog
a´k˙i to serve as an arm

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

84. Definite article. The definite article is the suffix -ra.

Examples:

si´ra the foot
hu´jəra the acorn
mã´ŋǧəra the garden
nã´ńa the tree

85. Indefinite article. The suffix -hɪz̧ã is the indefinite
article.

Examples:

rabi'žə̃ a beaver
wak'ãĩ'ŋžə̃ a snake
šũŋgi'žə̃ a dog
mãŋšu'ĩžə̃' a feather

86. The indefinite article may be suffixed after the definite
article to express the idea "some -- or other."

Examples:

hinũgərai'žə̃ some woman or other
ražərai'žə̃ some name or other
k'ʍgərai'žə̃ some box or other

87. -ga. When referring to individuals by name or by kinship
term or to animal characters in tales, this suffix is added as
a mark of respect. It is never used in address.

Examples:

jajɩ'ga father
k'ʋ'nũga proper name for eldest son
mãc'ʍsʋ'c'ka red-grizzly-bear   surname
k'ec'ə̃'ŋgega turtle   tale character

88. Diminutive. The suffix -nĩk' acts as a diminutive.

Examples:

c'inə̃'k' small house
hinũgənĩ'k' girl
sinĩ'k' small foot
mãŋgənĩ'k' small field

89. There are several common noun-terminations which may be
old suffixes no longer free.

(a) -ksɩk may be an old diminutive

Examples:

ksʋ'ksɩk' small
nã'ksɩk' twig   nã tree
hu'ksɩk' hazel-nut   hu stem
wijʋ'ksɩk' weasel   sijʋ'k' cat
jajə̃'ŋksɩk' mink
mãnĩ'k'aksɩk' coyote
kšeksʋksɩk' crabapple   kše apple
wic'ã'wãksɩk' small squash   wic'ã'wã squash

(b) -tok' seems to be an augmentative.

Examples:

  c'eto'k' big buffalo
  hũŋc'to'k' big bear

(c) A very large number of nouns, mostly names of animals and plants, have the termination -k'ê or -k'. In some cases the etymology of the rest of the word is clear. -k'ê may be the adverbial suffix discussed in section 62.

Examples:

  wak'ê' raccoon
  gũ'nśkê skunk
  mãhõ'nãk'ê pocket-gopher (mã ground; ñõ'nõ to collapse)
  wijυgwamãnũ'k'ê mouse (wijυ'k' cat; wa- intransitivizer;
    mãnũ' to steal
  waśê'rêk'ê fox
  wak'ênãśkê frog
  hic'kê' egg
  nãc'kê' heart (appears in composition as nãc')
  śũŋc'kê' testicles
  hĩśke' basswood
  waśkê' poplar
  nãhω'śkê box-elder
  wazip'a'raskê white cedar (wazi' pine; p'a'ras flat)
  ra'ñkê weed
  hazaśυc'kê red raspberry (has berry; śυc' red)
  hap'ũnũp'ũ'nũñkê gooseberry
  hωc'ahk'ê cranberry

  waruśυ'c'kê red corn
  zaza'c'kê grasshopper (zaza'c' spindly)

  zik' squirrel
  gωk' badger
  hãŋk' ground-hog
  c'ωzι'k' bullhead
  nãŋzι'k' pike
  hezι'k' bee (he horn; zi yellow)
  hiwιzι'k' chicken-hawk
  hinanê'k' field-mouse
  wic'a'wak' muskrat
  tωśã'nãk' otter

(d) A few words show an old feminine suffix -wĩ. hinũ'k' "woman" is more commonly added now.

Examples:

c'e'wĩ cow (only used by old people)
wawĩ' young she-bear
hinanê'gewĩ female field-mouse

90. Locative -eja. The adverb e'ja "there" is suffixed to
nouns when they are used in locative and directional phrases.

Examples:

nĩśω'jêja to the Missouri   nĩśω'c' the Missouri river
p'ajê'ja in the timber   p'ac' timber
tec'ê'jeja on the shore of   te lake; c'ec' edge
   the lake
mωskê'ja on the clean ground mã ground; hω- in; ske clean

91. -egi. The adverb e'gi "here" forms similar adverbial
phrases.

Examples:

c'inã'geregi in town   cinã'k' town: -ra definite
                                article
hãhê'gi tonight   hãhe' night
mãñê'gi to the earth   mã ground; -ra definite article
wã'ŋgeregi above   wãŋk' top; -ra definite article

92. Many of the verbal suffixes may be used with nouns.
Some of them require the verbal assistance of the copula hêre'.

Examples:

mãŋc'kυ'nãĩźã a could-be-bow (mãŋc'kυ' bow; -nã conditional;
   -hιźã indefinite article)
c'iśũnũ'ña the used-to-be house (c'i house; -śũnũ customary;
   -ra definite article)
waguje'źêrêkja'nêra the moccasins-to-be (wagujê moccasin;
   hêre' to be; -kjane future; -ra definite article)
nãñcĩ' real wood (nã wood; -ñcĩ intensive)
c'i'źêrês'a'rê a house perhaps (c'i house; -hιźã indefinite
   article; hêre' to be; -s'arê dubitative)

DEMONSTRATIVES

93. Demonstrative pronouns. tê''ê and mê''ê are interchange-
able and refer to what is near the speaker. Źê''ê indicates
what is near the person addressed and ga''a what is near the
person spoken of or else simply far off. e refers to something
mentioned before.

94. Demonstrative adjectives. All the pronouns except e are
used after nouns and especially when the reference is strongly

demonstrative. More frequently, however, the suffixes -rê "this" and -ga "that," both preceded by the appropriate positionals, will serve as demonstrative adjectives. The forms are:

-jãřê this standing	-jega that standing
-nãgərê this sitting	-nãk'a that sitting
-hãŋgərê this lying	-hãŋk'a that lying

These suffixes added to verb stems, most often to the verbs nĩnõ'k' "to sit," mĩŋk' "to lie" and nãŋźĩ' "to stand," form a set of words which function like independent personal pronouns, being used as subject or object or vocatively. Both the verb and the positional take personal pronouns. As the forms are somewhat irregular the set for the sitting position will be given:

mĩã'nãgənã'gərê I sit, here sitting	mĩã'nãganã'gərê or mĩã'nãganã'gwirê we exclusive
mĩśõ'nõkśãnã'gərê thou	mĩśõ'nəgaśãnã'gərê or mĩśõ'nãgaśãnəgwi'rê you
mĩnõ'gənã'gərê he	mĩnõ'gənã'ŋgərê or mĩnõ'ganãgwi'rê they
hĩmĩnõ'gənã'gərê thou and I	hĩmĩnõ'gənã'ŋgərê or hĩmĩnõ'ganãgwi'rê we inclusive

Identical forms with the above exist for -ga. For the lying position the regular first class verb mĩŋk' is followed by the irregular second class positional -hãŋk (see section 30 for forms). For the standing position both the verb nãŋźĩ' and the positional (-jã before -rê and -je before -ga) are regular first class verbs.

95. Demonstrative adverbs. These are formed by suffixing -gi and -ja to the demonstrative pronouns and to several other elements that cannot be identified. The following list contains all that have been found:

e'gi here   place specified or understood
me'gi here   near speaker
te'gi interchangeable with me'gi
higi' here   in its place
gagi' there   unspecified place to a side
guśĩ' gi there   beyond the person addressed or some specified object
cutê'gi there   this side of the person addressed or some specified object
źegi' there   place near person addressed which has been mentioned
e'ja there   place mentioned or understood

```
že'ja there   near the person addressed
hᵤja' there   in its place
gai'ja there  near the person spoken of
gᴜja')
gᴜ'ja) there  distant or out of sight
gaja')
```

Another group is formed by adding -ira to all above with the
idea of motion in the direction indicated. This suffix may be
the verb hi "to go" plus the definite article. A few examples
will make this form clear:

```
megi'ra here   nearer to the speaker
žejai'ra there  nearer the person addressed
gušᴜgi'ra there farther beyond the person addressed
cᴜtêgi'ra there farther from person addressed in the direc-
tion of the speaker
```

The word hᴜjai'ra, thus formed, is of special interest. It
is suffixed to adjectives to form the comparative and to nouns
with the meaning "more."

hᴜske' "like" is suffixed to the demonstratives to form a
number of adverbs that can be translated "like this" or "thus."
The following have been found: me'skê, te'skê, že'skê, ga'skê,
me'žeskê, te'žeskê, že'žeskê, ga'žeskê.

The suffix -nšga forms a similar group meaning "this much"
or "that much": menš'ga, tenš'ga, ženš'ga, ganš'ga, meženš'ga,
etc.

The suffix -nšhã forms another group of adverbs meaning "this
many times" or "that often": menš'ha, etc.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

96. There are several pronouns and adverbs used in initial
position to introduce interrogative sentences or subordinate
clauses. The following have been found:

```
p'ežê who
jagu' what
jaskê' how
jajã' when
jagu''ũ why
```

hac'ã', hac'ᴜnja, hac'ãĩ'nja where, whither

```
janãga how much, how many
janã'hã how often, how many times
```

All of the above combine with the intensive -ñcʔ and with

the adverb higṻ´. A few examples will show the kind of word
that results:

p´e´žigṻ´ whoever, anyone   p´ežê´ḳcĩ who in the world
jagu´igṻ whatever, anything jagu´ḳcĩ what in the world

There is an alternative form in which higṻ´ precedes the in-
terrogative word with no difference in meaning.

NUMERALS

97. The cardinal numbers are as follows:

1 - hɩžã̄ŋk´i´ra	7 - šaǥω´wĩ
2 - nṻmp	8 - haruwã̄´ŋk´
3 - tãnĩ´	9 - hɩžã̄ŋk´i´c´ṻŋškṻ´nĩ
4 - jωp´	10 - k´ếrếp´ə´nãĩžã̄
5 - sac´ã̄´	11 - hɩžã̄ŋk´i´rašənã̄
6 - hak´ê´wê	12 - nṻ´mbašənã̄

The ordinals are formed by prefixing hi- or wi- to the car-
dinal numbers. There is one exception: c´ωnĩ´ña "first." The
definite article -ra is always suffixed.

hinṻmbəra´ or winṻ´mbəra the second
hitanĩ´ña or wita´nĩña the third

The suffix -hã after the cardinal numbers indicates the num-
ber of times. "Once" is exceptional: hagak´i´rahã.

nṻmbã´hã twice   tanĩ´hã thrice

The suffix -k´ê indicates the total number when placed after
the ordinal numbers. ɩ is used after final consonants before
the suffix.

hinṻmbɩ´k´ê the two of them
hita´nɩk´ê the three of them

The suffix -wi after the cardinal numbers indicates part of
a larger group. ɩ is again used interconsonantally but this
time it does not sonantize the terminal consonant.

nṻmp´ɩ´wi two of them
tanɩ´wĩ three of them

INTERJECTIONS

98. The following interjections are used:

hωhwa:´	sadness, regret
hehehia:´	weariness, relaxation man
hohωhwa:´	weariness, relaxation

hwιś, hιś	Damn! at a minor annoyance or an unreasonable request
k'ora:'	wonder, surprise, awe man
k'otê:'	listen! man
nīk'atê:'	try and get me to do it! in answer to a request woman
psiu, psu	phew! at an unpleasant odor
hãã	indicating attention

with falling pitch on the echoed vowel

hω:, hãhω:'	hear! hear! audience indicating approval
ū:ŋskê'	speaker hesitating for a word
wanã:'	wonder, surprise woman
nιk'a:'	wonder, surprise woman
tuwi:'	ouch!
ãnã:'	ouch!
arυ:'	ouch!
hi'ιś	is that so!
hã:	is that so!

long drawn out with a wide pitch movement

he:he:	at something pleasing
si:	to drive a dog away
ś:	to drive a cat away or chickens
wa	what?
śi:	say there!
wi:ta:'	of all the nerve! woman
wιrak'i:'	surprise woman
hagω:'	disgust
c*ia''	scolding
skιri'k'	to express disapproval or teasing
hagaga'aske'źã	Alas! has it ever happened thus?

Where the sex of the speaker is not given, both men and women use the exclamation. All the interjections with long final vowel are also uttered at a somewhat lower pitch with short final vowel abruptly cut off by a glottal stop.

WORD ORDER

99. The normal order of words in the sentence is subject, indirect object, object, verb. The verb is generally the final element in the sentence. Occasionally the subject is put last for emphasis but the object almost invariably precedes the verb.

Subordinate clauses precede the main clause ordinarily. The normal order of words in an adjective clause is object, subject, verb. In adverbial clauses it is subject, object, verb.

Departures from normal order are not infrequent. Undoubtedly there are principles of emphasis involved here but these could not be reduced to rule. In ritual text the order of words departs widely from the conversational norm.

TEXT*

hiã'ŋjĩhιwi'ra[1]   jagu'[2]   hamĩnã'ŋgire'skanãk'ũ'[3]
our father   *what*   *while sitting on he didn't know*

hip'ẽresji'nãkśę.[4]   e'ǥi[5]   hιśca'nĩã'ħũηźę.[6]   ǥakśę'.[7]   e'ǥi
he came to know   *and*   *tears flowed.*   *he wept.*   *and*

k'ẽs'i'wewĩnĩ'[8]   hãŋk'ę'[9]   waźã'ɲiźã'[10]   hajanĩ'źę.[11]
he did not think long   *not*   *anything*   *he did not see.*

hãŋk'ę'[9]   waźã'ɲiźã',[10]   k'ẽwaźã'ɲiźã'[9,10]   nĩgęnã'ŋgęnĩźę.[12]
not   *anything*   *not anything*   *somewhere was not.*

jagua'mĩnãgirę'skanãkśęgιźi'[13]   hamĩnã'gęnãk'a[14]
what he sat on he didn't know   *that which he sat on*

e'ja[15]   waźãĩ'ηźã[16]   hanĩǥu'źę.[17]   hanĩgunã'k'a[18]
there   *something*   *he took.*   *that which he took*

mãnã'gęrę[19]   e'ja[15]   nĩge'nĩk'[20]   wagi'ũ'ηźę.[21]   e'ǥi[5]
this earth   *there*   *little piece he made for them.*   *and*

hωmĩnã'gęnãk'a[22]   k'ũhã'hirę'ǥi[23]   hωwa'huhι'źę.[24]
that which he sat in   *below*   *he sent to.*

hωk'ʋruħʋ'jęǥajã'[25]   mãnã'gęrę[26]   źe'skę[27]
after he looked at his own.   *this earth*   *like this*

jinãkśę.[28]   e'ǥi[5]   k'ẽwaźã'ɲiźã'[9,10]   hagębęnĩ'źę.[29]
it came.   *and*   *not anything*   *did not appear.*

ħuśa'ranãkśę.[30]   e'ǥi[5]   k'ẽgisẽwẽnĩ'nãkśę.[31]   mãnã'gęrę[26]
it was bare.   *and*   *it was not still.*   *this earth*

hωrup'ĩ'nĩnãkśę.[32]   e'ǥi[5]   me'źegũ'hagι'źi[33]
it was turning.   *and*   *if I do thus*

ǥisẽ'wẽjinãĩ'ŋkjęne'gajã'[34]   hiręgι'źi[35]   e'ǥi[5]   hιgi'ũ'ηźę.[36]
it will get still   *he thought*   *and*   *he did it with it.*

hωmĩnã'gęnãk'a[22]   e'ja[15]   ħãŋwĩ'źã[37]   ru'zanãga[38]
that which he sat in   *there*   *a grass*   *he took and*

hιgi'ũ'ηźę.[36]   mãɲωwa'huhiźę.[39]   źegũ'hia'nãga[40]
he did it with it.   *he sent it to the earth.*   *thus he did and*

hωk'ʋruħʋ'c'kajã'[25]   hãŋk'ę'[9]   ǥisẽwẽnĩ'nãkśę.[31]   ......
when he looked on his own   *not*   *it was not still.*   ......

źiǥi'źã[41]   'ũ'ηźę.[42]   'ũηc'ebι'gιźi'[43]   k'ec'ã'ŋgega[44]
again one   *he made.*   *when he finished him*   *Tortoise*

* Notes will be found on page 62.

hige'źe.[45]   hunṹ'mbimãnĩ[46]   wᴜwê'wĩhᴜźêjãĩ'ŋja[47]
he called him.   two-legged walker   at the end of his thinking

wagṹ'ŋzəra,[48]   źejã'hik'o'rohᴜa'k śənã.[49]   mã'ńa[50]
having created them, it is ready to end.   the earth

p'ĩs'ṹ'śêrêkjə'nenã[51]   k'ec'ã'ŋgəra.[52]
you are going to make it good   O Tortoise.

źegṹ'hia'nãga[40] mãhĩ'źã[53] hanĩgιgi'źê.[54]
thus he did and a knife   he caused him to have.

mãńê'gijigι'źi[55]   wᴜnã'girê[56] 'ṹ'ŋźê.[42] wᴜgṹ'ŋzəra[57]
when he came to earth war   he made.   the creation

hãŋk'ê'[9] hᴜgirᴜKᴜ'cnĩźê.[58]   e'gi[5]   źigê'[59]
not   he did not look after for him. and   again

hãŋk'ê'[9] hᴜgirᴜkᴜ'jənĩźêgê[60]
not   because he did not look after it for him

e'skê[61]   źιgi'gṹ[62] k'ᴜ'rᴜsê'.[63]
therefore right back he took his own.   ....

hagi'[64] c'i'ra[65] hᴜik'ê'weźê.[66] hãhã'[67]
there   the house he went in.   now

k'u'nĩk'a[68] hiâ'ŋc'hara[69] warêhu'ĩŋgιgi'ra[7]
O grandmother my father   work he sent me for

tuKᴜ'rᴜkśənã.[71]   wᴜgṹ'ŋzəra[57] p'ĩ'ʼṹ[51]
I have accomplished.   the creation to make good

hu'ĩŋg ιgi'ra[70]   hanã'c'[73] tuKᴜ'rᴜkśənã.[71]
that he sent me for all   I have accomplished.

wãŋkśι'go'ĩna'[72] hitê'gwahara'[73] hiṹnĩ'wahara'.[74]
the life   my mothers' brothers my mothers'

wia'k'arak'ιskê'ṹ'ĩńêkjənê'nã.[75] e'gi[5] c'ṹŋśka'nṹ[76]
they will have like my own.   and   O grandson

jaskê'ranãga'[77]   hitê'gwaraga'[78]   wãŋkśι'go'ĩńa'[72]
how did you make and your mothers' brothers the life

wira'k'ιskê[79] jaskê'kjeźê?[80] k'êźeska'nĩnã.[81]
like your own how could you?   it is not so.

hiâ'ŋjĩhιwi'ra[1] źegṹ'[40] gṹŋskê'[82]   źegṹ'nã.[40]
our father   thus   because he created   it is thus.

hãŋk'ê'[9] źegṹ'h ιgi'p'ĩnĩ'nã.[83]   k'ᴜ'nĩk'a'ga[84]
not   it is not good to do to him thus. my grandmother

waźã'wahigṹ'nĩ[85]   e'skê[61]   hãŋk'ê'[9]
must be something to them therefore not

gιp'ĩnĩ'gê[86]   wanã'k'ṹnĩ[87]
because it is not good for her she must be saying

t'êwa'gɪgi'ra[88]   hiranə́'kśê.[89]   hãŋk'a''a[90]
that I killed them for her   *he thought.*   *no*

c'ũŋśka'nũ[76]   hãŋk'êźê[91]   źe'ske[27]   yarê'[92]   wahanĩ'nə̃kśanə̃.[93]
0 grandson   *not*   *like this*   *I think*   *I am not saying.*

c'ũŋśka'nũ[76]   rɯra'[94]   hɯk'ə̃nê'[95]   higũŋssə'nə̃.[96]
0 grandson   *the body*   *the fall*   *he created with.*

waru'c'[97]   hɪk'iru'jɪs[98]   k'ĩ'ńêkjənegê'jĩnĩ[99]
food   *to fall short of*   *because they would make each other*

e'skê[61]   hɯk'ə̃nê'[95]   c'ũ'wahigê[100]   wa'ũ'nə̃[101]
therefore   *the fall*   *to make them have*   *he made*

mānə̃'gərê[26]   hak'ĩ'nĩk'ĩ'ńêkjənegê'jĩnĩ[102]   wa'ũ'nə̃[101]
this earth   *because they would crowd each other*   *he made*

hɯt'ê'[103]   c'ũ'wahɪgi'[104]   e'gi[5].   hɪskêhcĩ'[105]
death   *that he made them have.*   *and*   *really*

waścĩŋgê'ga[106]   hãŋk'ê'[9]   gip'ĩnĩ'nə̃kśê[107]   k'ʋnĩk'a'ga[84]
Hare   *not*   *it is not good for*   *my grandmother*

hɪskê'hcĩ[108]   hãŋk'ê'[9]   gɪp'ĩnĩ'nə̃k'ajə̃'[109]
really   *not*   *it is not good for her*

e'waźə̃'wahigê'[110]   wak'a'raśɪ'gənə̃k'ajə̃[111]
because she is something to them   *she is taking their part*

hiranə̃'kśê.[89]   k'a''a[112]   c'ũŋśka'nũ[76]   k'êźeska'nĩnə̃.[81]
he is thinking   *no*   *0 grandson*   *it is not so.*

haga'wɯźə̃'ŋgajə̃'nãĩźə̃[113]   nãc'kê̜'ra[114]   nĩtêgi'źə̃[115]
for a long time   *the heart*   *you ache and ache*

c'ak'o'[116]   hɪtê'gwaraga[117]   hiñĩ'waraga'[118]
nevertheless   *your mothers' brothers*   *your mothers'*

wãŋkśɪ'gɯ'ĩńəźi[119]   hip'ə̃nãĩ'ńêkjənə̃.[120]   hɯś'agəra'[121]
the life at least   *they will have enough.*   *the old age*

hirahi'hcĩńêkje'nə̃.[122]   wagêźê[123]   hãhã'[67]
they will surely reach   *she said to him*   *now*

c'ũŋśka'nũ[76]   nãŋźĩ'ńê.[124]   hiro'ĩk'ə̃nə̃k'ũĩńa'nĩhêkjəne'nə̃.[125]
0 grandson   *stand up*   *they will keep on following me.*

e'gi[5]   hirɯnĩ'k'ə̃nãĩ'ŋkjanĩhe'nə̃.[126]   cũŋśka'nũ[76]
and   *I will keep on following you.*   *0 grandson*

hitajê'[127]   wa'ũã'ŋjê.[128]   wã'ŋgəranĩ'nə̃.[129]   hãŋk'ê'[9]
mightily   *do.*   *you are a man.*   *not*

hakjə̃'mbənĩã'jê.[130]   hɯgĩŋgĩ'ŋh[131]   rawɪ'gi[132]
do not look back.   *around.*   *as they started*

hãŋk'ê[9]   hakjə̃'mbənĩśia'kśê.[133]   k'ʋnĩk'a'ga[84]
not   *she was telling him not to look back.*   *grandmother*

jagu''ṹ[134]   wegṹ'nĩ[135]   hirĕĝĕ'jĩnĩ[136]   c'ɯwĕ'ʱcĩnĩk'[137]
why   she said it   because he thought   just a little

hɯira'e'kĕja[138]   hakjṍ'mpɛajṍ'[139]
to the left   he looked back and then

ha'ĝohu'ra[440]   hɯruʱṍ'nṍjɩk'ĕ'reẑĕ.[141]
the place they had come from   suddenly caved in

c'ṹŋśka'nṹ[76]   haga'ĝaske'ẑṍŋʱcĩ[142]   wṍ'ŋĝəranĩĝa'jṍ[143]
O grandson   Alas   you are a man

waẑṍńɯ'k'ṍnṍ[144]   hanĩk'a'taẑĩŋʱcĩ'ĝajṍ'[145]   c'ṹŋśka'nṹ[76]
something great   I urged it upon you strongly   O grandson

tĕ'ĕre'śkĕ[146]   hṍŋk'ĕ[9]   k'ʋrustuʱʋ'rugənĩnṍ[147]   hɯk'ṍnṍ'jṍńe[148]
this even   not   I can't take back   this fall

hot'a'jṍńe[149]   waĝa'kśĕ[150]   ai'renṍ[151]   hɯĝĩŋĝĩ'ŋʱ[131]
this death   she meant   it is said   around

harai'reĝi[152]   p'ĕjic'ĕ'jəra[153]   hɯĝi'wĕ[154]
as they went   the edge of the fire   to go around

wa'ṹ'ĩńeẑĕ[155]   ai'renṍ.[151]
they did   it is said.

NOTES FOR TEXT

1. hiã´ŋc˙ father; hĩ- inclusive dual pronoun; hi causative used as possessive suffix; -wi plural; -ra definite article.

2. jagu´ regular interrogative and relative pronoun.

3. ha- on, locative prefix; mĩnã´k˙ to sit; hire´ to think; -skê dubitative adverbial suffix; -nãk˙ sitting positional; -´ũ while, subordinating suffix.

4. hip˙ê´rês to know; ji to arrive coming; -nãk sitting positional; -śê quotative final suffix, used throughout the tale because the narrator has heard it, not witnessed it.

5. e´gi here, adverb used as a conjunction or might be translated "then."

6. hĩśca´ face; nĩ water; ha- on, loc tive prefix; Ñũ to drip; -źe quotative.

7. gak˙ to weep; -śê quotative.

8. k˙ê- negative prefix; s´i long; wêwĩ´ to think; -nĩ negative suffix; no final suffix because followed by coordinate verb.

9. Used alternatively with the prefix k˙ê-.

10. waźã´ something; -ra definite article; hιźã indefinite article.

11. haja´ to see; -nĩ negative; -źê quotative.

12. nĩgê´ piece, prefixed to verbs with meaning "somewhere"; -nãk˙ sitting positional used as copula; -nĩ negative; -śê quotative.

13. jagu´ what; a- on; mĩnã´k˙ to sit; hire´ to think; -ske dubitative; -nãk˙ sitting positional; -śê quotative; -gιźi ordinarily subordinating suffix, here used as an oral stop, repetition is generally involved when so used.

14. ha- on; mĩnã´k˙ to sit; -nãk˙ sitting positional; -ga demonstrative adjective.

15. e´ja there, regular adverb here used as post-position that may be translated "from."

16. waźã´ something; -hιźã indefinite article; literally "a something."

17. hanĩ´ to have; gu to start coming back; -źê quotative.

18. hanĩgu as in previous word; -nak˙ sitting positional; -ga demonstrative adjective.

19. mã earth; -nãk˙ sitting positional; -re demonstrative adjective.

20. nĩgê´ piece; -nĩk˙ diminutive.

21. wa- third plural objective pronoun; gi- indirect object;
'ū to make; -źê quotative.

22. hꭒ- in, locative prefix, used as a nominalizer with the
sense "the place in which"; mǐnã'k' to sit; -nãk' sitting posi-
tional; -ga demonstrative adjective.

23. k'ūhã' under; hi causative; -rê demonstrative; -egi loca-
tive prefix.

24. hꭒwa- directional prefix with verbs of motion; hu to
start coming; hi causative; -źê quotative.

25. hꭒruꬱuc' to look at, with second class reflexive -k'u in-
serted; -gajã after, subordinating suffix.

26. See 19.

27. źê''ê demonstrative; hɩskê like.

28. ji to arrive coming; -nãk' sitting positional; -śê quota-
tive.

29. hagê'p' to appear; -nǐ negative; -źê quotative.

30. ꬱu skin; śa'ra bare; -nãk' sitting positional; -śê quota-
tive.

31. k'ê- negative; gisê'wê quiet; -nǐ negative; -nãk' sitting
positional; śê quotative.

32. hꭒrup'ɩ'nǐ to turn; -nãk' sitting positional; -śê quota-
tive.

33. mê''ê demonstrative; źê''ê demonstrative; higū' adverb
very difficult to translate, may be "just" or "almost" or
"pretty"; ha first person of causative hi; -gɩźi conditional
subordinating suffix.

34. gisê'wê still; ji to arrive coming; -nãk' sitting posi-
tional with phonetic intrusion caused by -kjəne future suffix;
-gajã oral stop.

35. hire' to think; -gɩźi oral stop.

36. hi- with; gi- indirect object; 'u to do; -źê quotative.

37. ꬱãŋwǐ' grass; -hɩźã indefinite article.

38. rus to take; -anãga connective.

39. mã earth; -ra definite article; hꭒwa- locative with
verbs of motion; hu to start coming; hi causative; -źe quota-
tive.

40. źê''ê demonstrative; higū "just"; hi causative; -anãga
connective.

41. źɩgê' again; -hɩźã indefinite article.

42. 'ū to do; -źê quotative.

43. 'ū to do; c'ep' new; hi causative; -gɩźi subordinating.

44. k'e turtle; c'ãŋk' or c'ãŋgê real; -ga with names in
reference.

45. hige' to call; may be derived from hi- with, gi- indirect
object, e to speak; -źê quotative.

46. hu leg; nūmp' two; hi- with; mãnǐ' to walk.

47. wa- nominalizer; hɯ- in; wêwī' to think; hɯ- used as nominalizer meaning "the time when"; ƶejã' to end; -eja locative.

48. wa- third plural objective pronoun; gũŋs to create; -ra subordinating.

49. ƶejã' to end; hik'orohɯ ready; -hak' positional lying; -ᶊanã declarative suffix, here used because the speaker is speaking of his own knowledge.

50. mã earth; -ra definite article.

51. p'i good; ᶊ'ū second person of 'ū to do; ᶊêre second person of re to start going; -kjəne future; -nã declarative.

52. k'ecãŋk' tortoise; -ra vocative.

53. mãhī' knife; -hᴜƶã indefinite article.

54. hanī' to have; gigi' causative; -ƶê quotative.

55. mã earth; -ra definite article; -egi to; ji to arrive coming; -gᴜƶi subordinating.

56. wa- nominalizing; hɯ- in; nãŋgire' to be frightened.

57. wa- nominalizing; hɯ- in; gũŋs to create; -ra definite article.

58. hɯruᶄᴜc' to look at, with gi- indirect object inserted; -nī negative; -ƶê quotative.

59. Common adverb.

60. hɯgiruᶄʋjənīƶê as above; -gê causal subordinator.

61. e demonstrative; hᴜskê like; always used after causal clauses.

62. ƶᴜgê' again; higṽ' "just."

63. k'u reflexive with second class verbs; rus to take; -ᶊê quotative.

64. Adverb.

65. c'i house; -ra definite article.

66. hɯk'ê'wê to go in; the inserted i may be an irregularly assimilated reflexive k'i-, otherwise unexplainable; -ƶê quotative.

67. Common interjection to introduce a speech.

68. The vocative form.

69. hiãŋc' father; ha first person of causative hi which acts as possessive with kinship terms; -ra definite article; the aspirate of hi is not assimilated with the possessive in the first person.

70. warê work; hu to start coming; hī first person objective pronoun; gi- indirect object; hi causative; -ra subordinating.

71. First person of ruᶄʋ'ruk' to accomplish; -ᶊanã declarative.

72. wãŋksᴜk' man; hɯ- in, here used as nominalizer; 'ī to live; -ra definite article.

73. hitêk' reference form of kinship term; wa- third plural

object; ha- first person of causative used as a possessive; -ra definite article.

74. hiŭnĩ´ reference form of kinship term; the rest as in note 73.

75. wa- third plural pronominal object; hi- with; ha- first person subjective pronoun; k´ara- reflexive; k´i- reflexive; hɩske´ like; ´ŭ to do; ire third plural subject; -kjəne future; -ně declarative.

76. Vocative form of kinship term.

77. jaskě´ interrogative adverb; ra second person of causative hi; -anãga connective.

78. Second person for form in note 73.

79. wa- third plural pronominal object; ra- second person subjective pronoun; k´i- reflexive; hɩske´ like.

80. jaskě´ how, regular interrogative adverb; -kje intentive; śě quotative.

81. k´ě- negative; śě´´ě demonstrative; hɩskě like; -nĩ negative; -nã declarative.

82. gŭŋs to create; -gě causal subordinator.

83. śě´´ě demonstrative; higŭ´ "just"; hi causative; gi- indirect object; p´ĩ good; -nĩ negative; -nã declarative.

84. Reference form of kinship term; -ga first person possessive.

85. waśã´something; wa- third person plural object; hi causative used as kinship possessive; -gŭnĩ dubitative.

86. gi- indirect pronominal object; p´ĩ good; -nĩ negative; -gě causal subordinator.

87. wa- intransitivizer; e to say; -nãk positional sitting; -gŭnĩ dubitative.

88. t´e to die; wa- third plural pronominal object; gi- indirect pronominal object; hi causative; -ra subordinating.

89. hire´ to think; -nãk´ positional sitting; -śě quotative.

90. Exclamatory negative.

91. hãŋk´e´ negative; -śě quotative; curious order of elements in this sentence is due to unusual emphasis.

92. ha- first person subject pronoun; hire´ to think.

93. ha- first person subjective pronoun; hihe´ to say; -nĩ negative; -nãk´ positional sitting; -śənã declarative.

94. rω body; -ra definite article.

95. hω- locative prefix used as a nominalizer meaning "the time to" or "the place to"; k´ãᶇe´ to fall; possibly derived from k´ŭhã´ down and re to start going.

96. hi- with; gŭŋs to create; -śənã declarative.

97. wa- nominalizer; ruc to eat.

98. hi- with; k´i- reflexive; rujɩ´s to miss.

99. k'i- reflexive; hi causative; -ire third plural subjective pronoun; hi causative; -ǥê causal.

100. c'ū plenty, possessing; wa- third plural objective pronoun; hi causative; -gê causal.

101. wa- third plural pronominal object; 'ū to do; -nã declarative.

102. hak'ĩnĩ to exceed; k'i- reflexive; hi causative; -ire third plural; kjəne future; -ǥêjĩnĩ causal.

103. hω- locative pronoun acting as nominalizer meaning "place to" or "time to"; t'e to die.

104. c'ū to have; wa- third person objective plural; hi causative; -gi subordinating.

105. hιske' like; -Mcĩ intensitive.

106. -ǥa with names 'in reference.

107. gi- indirect pronominal object; p'ĩ good; nĩ negative; -nãk' positional sitting; -ǥê quotative.

108. Note different accent in form 105 which is more emphatic.

109. Identical with form 107 but for the final suffix; -gajã probably oral stop here.

110. e emphatic third person pronoun; waǥã' something; wa- third person pronominal object; hi causative acting as possessive with kinship; -gê causal subordinator.

111. wa- third person plural object; k'ara- reflexive; -šιk' not found without the reflexive; nãk' positional sitting; -gajã oral stop.

112. Negative interjection.

113. This and the following two words form an exclamatory type of phrase in common use; little more can be done than to translate the elements in order: haga' once; waǥã' something; -gajã after; -ra definite article; hιǥã indefinite article.

114. nãc'kê' heart; -ra definite article.

115. nĩ second person objective pronoun; têk' pain; hi causative; -hιǥã indefinite article.

116. Adverb meaning "in spite of" or "notwithstanding."

117. See note 78.

118. See note 78.

119. wãηkšι'k' man; hω- with nominalizing function; 'ĩ to live; -ra definite article; -ǥi at least.

120. hip'ã'nã enough; -ire third plural pronominal subject; -kje intentive; -nã declarative.

121. hω- with nominalizing function; š'ak' old; -ra definite article.

122. hirahi' to reach; -Mcĩ intensitive; -ire third plural; -kje intentive; -nã declarative.

123. wa- intransitivizer; gi- indirect pronominal object; e to say; -ǥê quotative; the statement always follows.

124. nãŋśĭ´ to stand; -re imperative.

125. hi- with; huŋnã´k' to go along, with hĬ- first person pronominal object and k'ã- second class reflexive inserted; 'ũ to do; -ire third plural pronominal object; nĭhe´ to continue to; -kjəne future; -nã declarative.

126. hi- with; huŋnã´k' to go along, with nĬ- second person pronominal subject and k'ã- second class reflexive inserted; -kje intentive causing phonetic modification on preceding stem; nĭhe´ to continue to; -nã declarative.

127. Translated as an adverb but probably: hi- with; ta to ask for; -je positional standing acting as imperative suffix.

128. wa- intransitivizer; 'ũ to do; ha- locative prefix; -je standing positional acting as imperative suffix.

129. wãŋk' man; ranĬ second person of hanĬ´ to have, sometimes used as a copula.

130. hakjã´mp' to look back; -nĬ negative; ha- locative prefix; -je standing positional acting as imperative suffix.

131. Adverb.

132. re to start going; -wi plural; -gi subordinating.

133. hakjã´mp' to look back; nĬ negative; śi' to order; -hak' positional lying or running; śẽ quotative.

134. Regular interrogative adverb.

135. we to say; -gũnĭ dubitative.

136. hire´ to think; -gẽjĭnĬ causal subordinator.

137. c'uwe´ almost; -ЙcĬ intensitive; -nĬk' diminutive.

138. huira´c'kẽ left; -eja locative.

139. hakjã´mp' to look back; -gajã after.

140. hak' back; hu- with nominalizing function; hu to start coming; -ra definite article.

141. hu- in; ru- instrumental; Йã´nã to collapse; ji to arrive and k'ẽ´re to go back combine to form an auxiliary that is best translated "quickly" or "at once"; -śẽ quotative.

142. Interjection similar to one discussed in note 113: haga´ once; ga´'a that; -ske dubitative; -hĭśã indefinite article; -ЙcĬ intensitive.

143. -gajã as an oral stop after same form as 129.

144. waśã´ something; ruk'ã´nã too much; this word is really an interjection meaning "that's too much."

145. hak'araśĬ to encourage, with nĬ- second person pronominal object inserted; -hcĬ intensitive; -gajã oral stop.

146. tẽ´'ẽ demonstrative; -reśkẽ even.

147. k'u- second class reflexive; rus to take; tuЙu´ruk' first person of ruЙu´ruk' to accomplish; -nĬ negative; -nã declarative.

148. Same as note 95 plus -jã positional standing and -re demonstrative adjective.

149. See notes 103 and 148.

150. waǥe' to mean; -hak' standing positional; -še quotative.

151. e to say; -ire third plural; -nā declarative.

152. ha- with verbs of motion in plural; re to go; -ire third person plural subject; -gi subordinating.

153. p'ec' fire; hic'ê'c' edge; -ra definite article.

154. huwe' to go along; gi- indirect object inserted.

155. wa- intransitivizer; 'ū to do; -ire third plural subject; -še quotative.