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The Cocopa Language

By

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INTRODUCTION

The original homeland of the Cocopas was south of the international boundary along the Colorado River and in the delta region westward to the mountains of Baja California. By 1890, according to Kelly (Bronson n.d.:7), a considerable number of Cocopas had moved northward across the boundary to seek employment in connection with the building of canals and subjugation of the Imperial Valley of California and, somewhat later, of the Yuma Valley of Arizona. The annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1879 lists 180 Cocopas not living on a reservation (Bronson n.d.:6). There were some 200 Cocopas living in the Yuma Valley in 1917 when an Executive Order established a reservation for them near Somerton (Colorado River Indian Agency 1944:1, Halford n.d.:1).

Only a small proportion of the Cocopas living in the Yuma and Somerton areas enrolled as wards of the government and moved to the reservation, which consisted of two areas: about 360 acres bounding the Colorado River northwest of Somerton and 160 acres southeast of Somerton along the eastern boundary of the flood plain of the river. The nonenrolled Cocopas continued to live in and around Somerton seeking employment as unskilled laborers on the ranches of the Valley. Until the Second World War there was much visiting back and forth across the border among friends and relatives, with a minimum of restraint from the United States guards at the San Luis border station. Security restrictions during the war and since have made entry into the United States more difficult and have re-

duced the immigration of Mexican Cocopas.

Kelly (1942) estimates the number of Cocopas in the United States as 300. Haverland (Bronson n.d.:14) in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1958 says there are 250 Cocopas in the vicinity of Yuma. Chafe (1962) estimates there are 300 to 400 living in Arizona. My own inquiries (1963, 1965) brought forth estimates ranging from 350 to 400.

The number of Cocopas living in Mexico is greater than this. My informants speculated there were from 700 to 800 who lived in Sonora and Baja California. A missionary to the Mexican Cocopas, Miss Ruth Halford (Halford n.d.:4), estimates a grand total of 1055 Cocopas of both pure and mixed blood, 850 of whom live in Mexico.

At the present time Cocopas live in the United States in two major areas: the Yuma Valley and the Buckeye-Laveen area west of Phoenix. Most of the Cocopas in the latter area have arrived within the last ten to fifteen years, having been attracted by the demand for labor on the grain and cotton ranches. A further inducement to their migration into the west Phoenix area is the presence in the northwestern portion of the Gila River Reservation of their traditional friends, the Maricopas. Some 50 to 60 Cocopas were living in this area in the spring of 1965.

Cocopa is one of some ten languages of the Yuman family of the Hokan stock (Dixon and Kroeber 1913, Sapir

1917). It is not certain whether there are dialectal variations throughout the area where Cocopa is spoken. The 'mountain' Cocopas of the western delta region of Baja California are said by some informants to speak differently from the 'river' Cocopas. Other informants maintain that all Cocopas speak alike no matter where they are from. Kelly (1942) says the hwanyak group of the lower delta region is culturally and dialectally different from three other descent groups (p. 675). There has been considerable intermarriage between the Cocopas and the Paipais to the south and the Diegueños to the west. It is possible that observed differences may be due to lexical items borrowed from Paipai or Diegueño as a result of marriage or social contact. Differences in pronunciation might be explained in the learning of Cocopa after marriage by a native speaker of Paipai or Diegueño. An interesting future study will be that of possible dialect variation in Baja California.

Cocopa is the sole living member of the Delta group of Yuman languages (Kroeber 1943). The Kahwan (or Cajuenches) and the Halyikwamai (or Jalliquamai) in earlier times lived north of the Cocopa along the Colorado River and are believed to have spoken languages closely related to Cocopa. As far as is known, no word list has been recorded from anyone who spoke the language of the Halyikwamai. Kroeber (1943) obtained a list of words from a Kahwan speaker who was living with the

Maricopas. In the spring of 1963 I collected a short list of words from Mrs. Joan Yaramata, who is reputed to be the last Kahwan, on the Gila River Reservation. No significant difference is apparent between Cocopa and Kahwan in either my list or Kroeber's. It is very possible that the Kahwan were a clan or a group of clans who spoke the same language as the Cocopa, but who lived separately from the main tribe.

The Cocopa call themselves $k^w p\acute{a}$ (in rapid speech $kp\acute{a}$). When spoken more slowly with careful enunciation, two velars are present: $k^w kp\acute{a}$ (phonetically, $k^{wi} k^a p\acute{a}$ or $k^u k^a p\acute{a}$). They also call themselves $cap\acute{a}y$ which they translate as 'Indian' and use in reference to other tribes as well as to themselves. The root $-p\acute{a}$ of both forms is unquestionably identical to that of $ap\acute{a}$ 'man', $sip\acute{a}$ 'creator', $i'p\acute{a}y$ 'become alive, be enlivened'.

Cocopas insist that the correct spelling of their name is Cocopah and, indeed, this is the spelling adopted in the executive order establishing the reservation and used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They are identified by various spellings in the accounts of explorers and missionaries, e.g., Cocapa, Cucupa, Cucapa. The latter is the official Mexican spelling. The common spelling in American ethnographic and linguistic literature is Cocopa. This is the spelling adopted in the present grammar.

Various vocabularies and word lists have been collected from speakers of Cocopa over the years, some of

which have appeared in print and others of which have remained in manuscript. As far as is known, there has been no detailed phonological or grammatical description of the language. The amount of literature, in print or in manuscript, relating to the Cocopas is not large. The accompanying bibliography includes the major publications and manuscripts which contain both linguistic and ethnographic or cultural information.

The data for the present work were collected during the spring of 1963 and the winter and early spring of 1965 with financial support provided by the Survey of California Indian Languages of the University of California, Berkeley. My principal informants were Mrs. Lillian Hayes, Mrs. Hope Miller, Mrs. Josephine Thomas, and Mrs. Mary Thomas. To these ladies I should like to express my appreciation for their patience in enduring the long sessions of elicitation and for their wit and humour which removed the drudgery and made the sessions, at least for me, a delight. I am very grateful to Mr. Charlie Huck for permitting me to record on tape his narration of numerous Cocopa tales. I should also like to thank Mr. Rudy Hayes and Mr. Victor Hayes who served as occasional interpreters and intermittent informants.

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Abbreviations Used

AA	American Anthropologist
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SMC	Smithsonian (Institution) Miscellaneous Collections
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics

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100. PHONEMICS

110. The phonemes. The phonemes of Cocopa are as follows:

Consonantal:

Obstruent:

Stop	p	t	ṭ	c	k	k ^w	q	q ^w	ʔ
Spirant		s	ʃ	š	x	x ^w			
Lateral			ɬ	ɬ ^y					

Semiconsonant:

Lateral		l	l ^y
Nasal	m	n	n ^y
Tap		r	

Semivowel: w y

The phonemes /d/, /f/, /v/, /ð/, and /ŋ/ occur in a few Spanish and English loanwords.

Vocalic:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		ə	

The front vowel /e/, always long, is present in a small number of loanwords from Spanish and English. The back vowel /o/, long, occurs in one native word, an interjection.

Prosodic:

Vowel length	:	•	No mark
Juncture			Space between forms

Accentual:

Stress	'	''	No mark
Pitch level	1	2	3
Terminal contour	↑	↓	↓

111. The consonants. The semiconsonants and semi-vowels are voiced and lenis. The spirant and lateral obstruents are voiceless and fortis. The stops are fortis and voiceless in any position prior to the stressed syllable. They are somewhat less fortis following the stressed syllable. In the latter position they are voiceless before an obstruent or in final position and voiced or voiceless before a vowel, semivowel, or semiconsonant.

The articulatory positions of the consonants are as follows:

/p/ is an unaspirated bilabial stop. The release is nasal before /m/ when /p/ follows the vowel of a stressed syllable. It is normally unreleased in final position:

spáp 'be four'

xtpá 'coyote'

xápm 'when I came in'

/t/ is an unaspirated interdental to apicodental stop:

ptáy 'be big'

túx 'be very little and round'

/t/ is rare in native words, but is very frequent in Spanish, and occasionally in English, loanwords:

tu·má·t 'tomato'

tré·n 'train'

tí·n 'tub'

ka·rít 'wagon'

/t̚/ is a moderately aspirated apicoalveolar to apicpostalveolar stop, fully released in all positions:

ʦáp 'I split'
 cupít 'I cover'
 pa·ʦím 'he shot him'

/c/ has two allophones. Prior to the stressed syllable it is an affricate composed of an apicodental stop with laminoprepalatal spirantal release, very slightly aspirated. Following the stressed syllable it is an un-aspirated palatalized apicodental stop, optionally released in final position:

cawís 'fish net'
 cn^yám 'night'
 n^yá·c 'I'
 mapúca 'and you?'

/k/ has two allophones. It is dorsovelar before /a/, /u/, and nonpalatal consonants excluding /ʔ/. It is dorsoprevelar to dorsopalatal before /i/ and, for most speakers, before palatal consonants. The allophone of /k/ before /ʔ/ is determined by the quality of the vowel following /ʔ/. /k/ is slightly aspirated and is fully released in all positions:

kúʦ^y 'I climb; be long'
 kʔúy 'I cut hair'
 kʔík 'Say!'
 kí·s 'cheese'
 kpín^y 'beaver'
 kn^yá·p 'I relate'

/k^w/ is a slightly aspirated labialized dorso-
velar stop:

k^wáš 'be brown'
 šk^wín^y 'cup'
 k^wrʔák 'old man'
 k^wʔás 'that which was said'

/q/ is a slightly aspirated dorsopostvelar stop,
fully released in all positions:

qá·q 'crow'
 cáqṣ i 'I jump'
 qyáw 'be cool'
 ruqíw 'he chokes (someone)'

/q^w/ is a slightly aspirated labialized dorso-
postvelar stop:

q^wáqš 'horse'
 ṣq^wáy 'blackbird'
 q^wlyáw 'sparkle, shine'
 ṣ^yq^wáy 'be bitter'

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop. It freely varies with nothing
in initial position. (/ʔ/ will be written only when it occurs
in noninitial position.):

ʔí· or í· 'wood'
 ʔaʔá or aʔá 'saguaro'
 luʔúy 'he plays'
 xʔá 'cottonwood tree'

/s/ is an apicodental rill spirant:

xasán^y 'young girl before puberty'

spáp 'be four'

yás 'seed'

xsú·r 'be cold'

/ʃ/ is an apicpostalveolar rill spirant:

ʃuk^wír 'he winds'

ʃráp 'be five'

xpʃú· 'I blow (with my mouth)'

lmíʃ 'fur'

/š/ is a laminoprepalatal groove spirant:

šít 'be one'

šmá 'I sleep'

xpšíw 'leaf out'

kúš 'be tall'

/x/ is a dorsovelar slit spirant with very little friction:

xá 'water'

pxká· 'be seven'

xcá·s 'corn'

rxúp 'tin can'

umáx 'he intends to eat'

/x^w/ is a labialized dorsovelar slit spirant with very little friction:

x^wát 'be red'

px^wáy 'be good'

lx^wacáq 'ghost'

x^wí 'I smell'

/ɬ/ is an apicoalveolar to apicpostalveolar voiceless lateral, very slightly spirantized:

ɬapá·y 'pillow'
 ɬk^wíʂ 'I squeeze'
 xɬu^ʔíʂ 'he's stingy'
 šuk^wíɬ 'he's noisy'

/ɬ^y/ is a laminoprepalatal voiceless lateral, very slightly spirantized:

ɬ^yáp 'be hot'
 šuk^wíɬ^y 'I sew'
 ɬ^yn^ycu·pí·ɬx 'they will lock us in'
 xɬ^yá 'moon, month'

/l/ is an apicoalveolar to apicpostalveolar voiced lateral:

líp 'flame up, be in flames'
 lxá 'saliva'
 plík 'I taste'
 šmá·l 'my ear'

/l^y/ is a laminoprepalatal voiced lateral:

l^yák 'I lick'
 l^ypák 'be light in weight'
 xl^yúɬ 'be short in length'
 mwál^y 'be soft'

/m/ is a bilabial nasal. Release is commonly oral before /p/. It is normally unreleased in final position:

mapíl^y 'now'
 m^ʔú·ɬ 'an+elope'

ʃmál 'grass, shrub'

mpár 'I know how'

ɬʲyú·m 'I think'

/n/ is an apicoalveolar to apicopostalveolar nasal. Release is oral before /t/. It is fully released in final position:

panák 'I kill him'

nmák 'I quit'

nɬmá·k 'we quit'

pnáp 'I hide something in my hand'

kxú·n 'young boy before puberty'

/nʲ/ is a laminoprepalatal nasal. Release is commonly oral before /c/. It is always unreleased in final position/.

nʲá·k 'east'

nʲwaʔá·l 'clothes'

xnʲáɬʲ 'tule'

mapúnʲ 'your, you (obj.)'

nʲcá· 'my mother'

/r/ in the speech of middle-aged and older speakers has two allophones. After /ʃ/ or a nasal before a vowel, as a simple onset, or as the first phoneme in a complex onset, it is an apicopostalveolar retroflex, somewhat grooved, voice spirant. Elsewhere it is an apicoalveolar to apicopostalveolar voiced flap. This allophony applies only to native words. Generally, the flap is the only permissible allophone in Spanish loanwords. For many

younger speakers the spirant and flap are in free variation in the above environments. Some of the younger speakers have the flap exclusively:

rá·n^yc 'ranch'
 ráp 'it hurts; I ache'
 cn^yár 'yesterday'
 rxúp 'tin can'
 mrí·k 'beans'
 pri·wí· 'be the same, similar'
 prxá·w 'fox'
 şráp 'be five'

/w/ is a bilabial semivowel, functioning as a vowel before a consonant or in final position and as a consonant before a vowel:

wáɬ 'yes'
 cawír 'I stack'
 şwí 'I wipe'
 pşkwá·kx 'we shall take him back'
 xpşíw 'it puts out leaves'
 pawyá· 'he knows him'
 pmsk^wayá·wx 'you will teach them'

/y/ is a laminoprepalatal semivowel, functioning as a vowel before a consonant or in final position and as a consonant before a vowel:

yá·k 'bone'
 payíl 'I carry him on my back'
 syá· 'I sing'

n^yšyú·ɬ^y 'his tail'

kwáyɬ^y 'under'

makáy 'at some place; somewhere'

kʔúy 'I cut hair'

xšú·yk 'I whistle'

/d/ is an apicodental voiced stop. It is of very rare occurrence in Spanish loanwords:

dú·ls 'candy'

/f/ is a labiodental voiceless spirant. It has been recorded in one English loanword:

stú·f 'stove'

/v/ for most speakers varies freely between a bilabial voiced spirant and a labiodental voiced spirant. Older speakers often substitute the bilabial semivowel for this phoneme. /v/ is fairly common in Spanish loanwords:

aví·x 'bee'

vá·st 'club (of cards)'

aruví·l 'automobile'

/ð/ is an interdental voiced slit spirant. It has been recorded in a few Spanish loanwords:

spá·ð 'spade (of cards)'

ðuryá·l 'quarter (money)'

/ŋ/ is a dorsovelar voiced nasal. It occurs in a few Spanish loanwords:

lará·ŋk 'orange (fruit)'

dumí·ŋk 'Sunday'

sí·ŋk (or sí·ŋku) 'five'

112. The vowels. The vowels are voiced and fairly tense. Vowels of unstressed syllables are somewhat less tense than those of stressed syllables. A short vowel under stress is one mora in length. A long vowel under stress is about two morae. A short vowel in an unstressed syllable is about three-quarters of a mora. A long vowel in an unstressed syllable is about one and one-half morae. (See 113.1 for further description of length.)

The qualities of the vowels are as follows:

/i/

1. When long or short, is lower-high, unrounded, and slightly centralized in these environments:

a. After an alveolar consonant, /x/, or /q/:

ʃí 'I drink'

štíp 'I shoot'

mʃí·ž 'my thigh'

mát mawqí·r 'a plow'

xír 'I tie'

xí·súr 'winter'

b. Before an alveolar consonant unless preceded by a palatal consonant:

lmíš 'fur; be furry'

ʃpí·r 'shoulder'

cu·pít 'he covers'

2. When short in environments other than the above, is lower-high, unrounded, not centralized:

mí 'I cry'

pín^y 'be warm'
 šít 'be one'
 mapíl^y 'now'
 mʔíx 'you will say'

3. When long in environments other than the above is high to lower-high, unrounded, not centralized:

k^wí• 'cloud'
 sí• 'saddle'
 ši•má• 'it takes root'
 papí•l 'paper'
 ɬ^yucí•tʂin^y 'in that place where he
 defecates'

/u/

1. When long or short, is upper-mid, rounded in these environments:

a. Before any consonant immediately preceding a vowel:

u•yá• 'I know'
 mšuráy 'he's angry'
 mu•n^yá• 'your daughter-in-law'

b. After /ʂ/ or /s/:

n^ycpušú 'his liver'
 ʂú•n^y 'rat'
 mí•xú 'your nose'
 xmxú•k 'be six'
 xú• 'I conceal'

2. When long or short in environments other than the above, is lower-high, rounded:

xtúp 'I jump'
 cwaʔú·r 'chair'
 ukúɬʲ 'he climbs'
 i·cú 'my stomach'

/a/

1. When short, is low to higher-low, unrounded in these environments:

a. Before a consonant that immediately precedes the vowel of a stressed syllable:

pawí· 'I see him'
 amán 'airplane'
 capáy 'Indian'

b. Before an alveolar consonant unless preceded by a palatal consonant:

wáɬ 'yes'
 qʷásɬ 'be yellow'
 máɬ 'ground, land'
 yuʔár 'a piece of string'

2. When short, it is higher-low to lower-mid, unrounded, and slightly fronted following a palatal consonant before a non-palatal consonant or in final position following a palatal consonant:

xcáq 'be bad, ugly'
 šá 'bird'
 cáp 'I throw'
 ɬʲáp 'be hot'
 yás 'seed'

3. When short, it is higher-low to lower-mid, unrounded, and considerably fronted between two palatal consonants:

xcác 'spine'
 šáy 'be fat'
 l^ycáš 'be little'
 xyán^y 'I carry in my arms'
 xn^yát^y 'tule'

4. When short in environments other than any of the above, it is higher-low to lower-mid, unrounded, and fully central:

pám 'I fall'
 máx 'I intend to eat'
 páy 'here'
 wá 'house'
 s[?]ák 'woman'

5. When long, is upper-low, unrounded, and slightly fronted in these environments:

a. After a palatal consonant:

n^yá·c 'I'
 l^yá·k 'I lick'
 mn^ycá· 'your mother'

b. Before /y/ after any consonant:

mi·yá·y 'your heart'
 kik^wá·y 'cow, cattle, beef'
 wá má·y 'on top of the house'

6. When long in other environments, is low to upper-low, unrounded, and fully central:

mapá·s 'you men'

má·m 'now'

xsá·w 'cotton'

lá·x 'no'

ṣá· 'he goes along there'

/e/ is mid to upper-mid, unrounded, and always long. It occurs only in loanwords from Spanish and English. Many speakers substitute the native /i/ for this vowel:

lmé·s 'table'

ré· 'king'

lé·c 'milk'

ké·k 'cake'

/o/ is a lower-mid to upper-low, back, rounded vowel which occurs only as the interjection ó·, an expression of frustration or disappointment.

113. Prosodic features.

113.1. Vowel length. In normal speech vowels are short or long, ranging from three-quarters of a mora to one mora for short vowels and one and one-half morae to two morae for long vowels. A vowel in an unstressed syllable is characteristically shorter than one in a stressed syllable. A short vowel is unmarked. A long vowel is indicated by a raised dot: /·/. A vowel or semivowel in a stressed syllable is lengthened to three or four morae to indicate emphasis, augmentation, or diminution. An extra long vowel or vowel

nucleus is marked by a colon: /:/. A long vowel in a stressed syllable can be shortened to about three-quarters of a mora to denote diminution.

Associated with the lengthening of a long or short vowel is the raising of the pitch level to 4 or 5 (see 113.4) and often a pharyngeal stricture. Pharyngeal stricture, but ordinarily not a higher pitch level, accompanies a shortening of a vowel. Emphatic stress (113.3) often occurs on the syllable with the modified vowel.

1. Lengthening of the vowel:

kú:ɿʲ 'be extremely long' (kúɿʲ 'be long')

ptáy:xanʲ 'be extremely large' (ptáy 'be large';
-xanʲ 'very')

pnʲá:c 'afterwards he went along here, on and
on and on' (pnʲá•c 'afterwards he went along
here')

inʲá:mxanʲ 'an extremely large amount'
(inʲá•m 'be very much')

2. Shortening of the vowel:

láxxanʲ 'not in the least, not at all'
(lá•x 'no, not')

mám 'right now, exactly at that moment'
(má•m 'now, then')

113.2. Juncture. The analysis of the syllabic structure presented below (130) requires that the only necessary junctural phenomenon be one which will identify the beginning of a macrosegment (defined in 130). Such juncture

is indicated either by a space between macrosegments which contain stressed syllables or by the juxtaposition of macrosegments with no intervening space. Included in the latter are reduplicated verbs and compound nouns. Unstressed auxiliary verbs and a few verbal nouns derived from them are not preceded by juncture, but are, for syntactic reasons, written with a preceding space:

pcawín^ywín^y 'I shake him'
 láplá·p 'be flat'
 wášká· 'tent'
 xákşʔíí^y 'ocean'
 k^wárk^wár ac 'he talks'
 uʔá k^wʔas 'he did as he was told to do'
 pʔá·c yuş 'I'm standing'

113.3. Stress. It is necessary to recognize three phonemic degrees of stress. Syllables are strongly stressed //', stressed /'/, or unstressed (unmarked). A macrosegment contains ordinarily only one stressed syllable. A stressed or strongly stressed syllable can only be one which contains a vowel. An unstressed syllable need not contain a vowel. Strong stress is always accompanied by phonetic pitch level 4 or 5 and often by pharyngeal stricture and modification of the length of the vowel (113.1).

The rhythm of Cocopa utterances is stress-timed. That is, the length of time required for an utterance is determined by the number of stressed syllables. Thus the timing of the third sentence below, which consists of four stressed

monosyllables, is approximately the same as that of the first sentence with four stressed syllables plus three unstressed syllables, and also that of the second sentence with four stressed syllables and six unstressed syllables. (A syllable is defined in 130.) The fourth sentence below illustrates a macrosegment with strong stress:

1. ²n^yá·c ²²cn^yár ^{2 2}laká·ym ^{1 1}á·c yu^š↓ 'I went to town yesterday.'
2. ^{22 2}ayá·²řin^y ²řáy ²²ccšá·cm ^{2 22}řn^yayá·m↓ 'We planted the trees over there.'
3. ²n^yá·c ²wář^y ²mán ²spác↓ 'I went out of the house.'
4. ²x^ʔác p^táy: ²n^yp^ʔác ²p^ʔác ¹yu ac↓ 'There was a really tall cottonwood tree standing there.'

An utterance has almost completely level stress when the stressed syllables have the same pitch level, e.g., in the second and third sentences above. There are, however, two phonetic degrees of stress /' / which correlate with different co-occurring pitch levels in an utterance. A phonetic primary stress occurs on the stressed syllables with the higher or highest pitch level. A phonetic secondary stress occurs on stressed syllables with the lower or lowest pitch level. In a macrosegment which contains only one stressed syllable with more than one unstressed syllable preceding it, the first unstressed syllable has a slightly stronger stress than the following unstressed syllables.

113.4. Pitch level. There are three phonemic pitch levels: /1/, /2/, and /3/, and two higher phonetic pitch levels, 4 and 5. Pitch levels 4 and 5 always accompany strong stress /"/ (113.3). An unstressed syllable ordinarily has pitch level /3/ only when it is the final syllable of an utterance.

A sequence, or construction, of pitch levels of an utterance plus the terminal contour constitutes its melody. An utterance can have more than one melody. There are, however, certain standard, or characteristic, melodies for the various syntactic structures (§40).

In the following examples the pitch level is indicated for stressed and unstressed syllables. (See 113.3 for other examples.):

1. 12 13
apác u?ám↓ 'The man did it.'
2. 1 3 2
luším lá·x ↑ 'I don't drink.'
3. 3 1y 13
wá↓!n^yá·c a?ím↓ 'Yes, I did it.'
4. 1y 2 1 3 2
n^yawí· lkṭ?ím lá·x ↑ 'I'm not doing anything.'
5. 1 3 2 3
kmyúk má·x ic ? 'How are you going?'
6. 2 2 2y 3
šxmpá·c n^ya·šác↓ 'A wasp stung me.'
7. 2 1 3 1 1 1 3
lú·p kmṭ?íc mwayá·c ma?íc ↑ 'What are you doing?'

113.5. Terminal contour. There are three terminal contours: /↓/, /↑/, and /!/. /!/ indicates that the

utterance has not been completed. /↓/ and /↑/ ordinarily occur only at the end of an utterance. When /↑/ occurs between macrosegments within an utterance it appears to denote emphasis, e.g.,

11 3 2 1
lpaʔim ɬá·xc is↓ 'I didn't give it to him.'

(The concept which is emphasized here is
'my giving'.)

/↓/ denotes a slight fall in pitch. /↑/ denotes a slight rise in pitch. Both are accompanied by a decrease in the force of articulation. /↑/ maintains the same pitch (or at the most, there is a very slight fall) and the same force of articulation throughout the syllable.

Examples of terminal contours are given in 113.3 and 113.4. The combination of pitch level and terminal contour to form a melody is described in 840.

120. Distribution. Consonants. Except for the restrictions given below there are no limitations in the distribution of consonants, either in relation to one another or to vowels:

1. /w/ and /y/ must either precede or follow a vowel.
2. /ʔ/ when it is not in free variation with nothing in initial position must precede the vowel of the stressed syllable.
3. Contiguous laterals do not occur in a macrosegment which contains only one stressed syllable.
4. /r/ can not be contiguous to another /r/ in a macrosegment which contains only one stressed syllable.

5. Contiguous sibilants do not ordinarily occur in normal speech. (See 227.)

122. Vowels. There are no restrictions on the occurrence of vowels in relation to consonants. An unstressed syllable containing a vowel followed by a coda prior to the stresses syllable occurs, but is rare:

k^wl^yan^ycaš 'the little one'

Short /i/ is relatively rare in unstressed syllables:

kik^wá·y 'cow, cattle, beef'

ʂiʔáw 'my granddaughter'

A semivowel rarely functions as a vowel except in a stressed syllable. The possible combinations of a vowel plus a semivowel are as follows:

1. /iw/

xpšíw 'it puts out leaves'

ríw ic 'it extends'

mcuwíw 'they see each other'

kn^yyíwsk 'Come! (pl.)'

2. /i·w/

n^yi·yú ʂawíw 'face towel'

ɬx^wí·w 'skunk'

3. /uy/

xmʔúy 'it can't be seen'

xli·kúy 'it's exciting'

4. /u·y/

xšú·yk 'I whistle'

n^yi·yú xmʔú·y 'he's blind'

5. /ay/
 kwáy^ɹ 'under'
 šáy 'be fat, greasy'
6. /a·y/
 łapá·y 'pillow'
 laká·ym 'to town'
 mi·yá·y 'your heart'
7. /aw/ (this sequence is fairly common in unstressed syllables.)
 kyaráwk 'Quick! Be fast!'
 puʔáw 'he walks'
 pawyá· 'he knows him'
8. /a·w/
 pmsk^wayá·wx 'you will teach them, him'
 pʔá·w 'we walk'
 smís ł^ɹkwá·w 'ice box'

Sequences of two vowels can occur in a stressed syllable. The second vowel must be /a/. The first vowel is the peak of the syllable. The following combinations occur:

1. /ia/
 maʔía 'Did you do it?'
 mšía 'Did you drink it?'
2. /i·a/
 n^ɹmwí·a 'Do you see me?'
3. /a·a/
 pmu·yá·a 'Do you know him?'
4. /ua/
 yú ac 'it is, he says' (These forms are

written with an intervening space for syntactic reasons.)

/u[•]a/ would also be expected, but is not recorded.

130. Syllabic structure. A macrosegment in Cocopa is defined as a stretch of speech in a given utterance that can be spoken between pauses. That is, a macrosegment is itself a potential utterance. Thus an utterance consists of one or more macrosegments. A macrosegment contains one or more syllables, at least one of which is stressed with a vowel as the peak. Unstressed syllables containing a vowel can occur in the macrosegment both before and after the stressed syllable. A syllable can be entirely consonantal and consist of an onset only or of an onset and a coda with a predictable 'murmur' vowel following the onset as phonetic peak. Such consonantal syllables can occur both before and after the stressed syllable. The location of syllable boundaries in a sequence of consonants is determined by the number and quality of the consonants and by their position in relation to the beginning of the macrosegment and to the stressed syllable.

130.1. Onsets. Three types of onsets are recognized: initial, medial, and final. An initial onset begins a macrosegment. A final onset occurs before a phonemic vowel. A medial onset is one which follows an initial onset or another medial onset and which does not precede a vowel.

Onsets are either simple or complex. A simple onset consists of a single consonant. Any consonant can be a simple onset. An onset, whether simple or complex, which begins

a macrosegment and also precedes a vowel is at the same time both an initial and a final onset.

130.1.1. Complex initial-final onset to a stressed syllable. A complex initial-final onset to a stressed syllable can consist of:

1. Any sequence of obstruents, provided that:
 - a. A voiceless lateral is initial in the sequence.
 - b. /ʔ/ or a labiovelar immediately precedes the vowel.
 - c. Stops (excluding /ʔ/) are not contiguous.
2. A voiceless lateral followed by a spirant and/or a semiconsonant.
3. A voiceless lateral followed by a semivowel.
4. A stop followed by /r/ before a long vowel.

The following examples illustrate a complex initial-final onset to a stressed syllable:

xsá•m 'be almost'
 šqáw 'green heron'
 šmá 'I sleep'
 cšá•c 'I plant'
 ɬʲmár 'I light a fire'
 kʔúy 'I cut hair'
 ɬʲq^wáq 'be bitter'
 kšúpkič 'I swim under water'
 ɬʲyú•m 'I think'
 xpsíw 'be blue, green'

—

psk^wá 'I gossip about him'
 sxtú 'I spit'
 spxú•k 'be eight'
 ‡^yksís an unidentified plant species
 ‡^ysmíx 'I intend to lay something big in'
 p̣scʔá•w 'I have them as daughters'
 ʃcxʔá•k 'I hang up several (things)'
 ʃcʔú•n^y 'yellowshafted flicker'
 tré•n 'train'
 krú•s 'cross'

130.1.2. Complex initial-final onset to an unstressed syllable. A complex initial-final onset to an unstressed syllable consists of:

1. The same sequence of obstruents, with the exclusion of /ʔ/, permitted for a stressed syllable.
2. These same permitted sequences of obstruents followed by a semivowel.
3. A semiconsonant followed by a semivowel.
4. A spirant and/or a stop followed by /r/ before a long vowel.

The following examples illustrate a complex initial-final onset to an unstressed syllable:

ḳscaʔárk 'Dry!'
 pskuwí•sc 'he was chasing them'
 ‡^yxpucú•n^y 'church'
 ʃcxuʔá•k 'she hangs up several (things)'
 psk^wayá•w 'I teach him'

ɬ^yɬuyím 'he faces towards here'
 ścumá·pca 'they slept (separately)'
 kyaráwxan^y 'Hurry up!'
 mwayá·c 'you are around'
 cwaʔú·r 'chair'
 sri·wí· 'I compare, contrast'
 pri·wí· 'be the same'
 ʃkru·wí· 'be in the middle'

130.1.3. Complex initial, medial, and final onsets.

The sequences of consonants permitted in the above two paragraphs are nonsyllabic. In sequences of consonants other than these there occurs one or more syllables (seldom more than three). Such syllables have no distinctive peak. They can consist entirely of onsets, either simple or complex. Or they can consist of onsets followed by codas.

Long strings of consonants are theoretically possible. However, a sequence of consonants with no intervening vowel seldom consists of more than five consonants. Four or five are about the maximum number recorded for a complex initial-final onset. A medial onset is seldom complex. A complex final onset, that is, one which presupposes a following onset before the vowel, seldom contains more than two consonants, but theoretically can consist of any of the obstruents permitted for initial-final onsets.

130.2. Codas. A coda is a consonant or a sequence of consonants which terminates a syllable. A coda can be simple or complex. Only simple codas are possible prior

to the stressed syllable. They ordinarily can be only either a semiconsonant, stop, or voiceless lateral. Possible codas in sequences following the stressed syllable are described in 132.2.

131. Quality of phonetic vowel. An anaptyctic phonetic vowel follows the onset of a syllable with no phonemic vowel. The quality of this indistinct 'murmur' vowel is determined by the quality of the preceding onset and/or that of a following onset or coda. This vowel is voiceless between voiceless consonants and voiced adjoining a voiced consonant. If an anaptyctic vowel occurs between two consonants, it has the following qualities and environments:

1. Lower-high back rounded
 - a. Before /w/.
 - b. Before a labiovelar.
2. Lower-high front unrounded
 - a. After a palatal or dental consonant before any consonant except /w/ or a labiovelar.
 - b. After a labial consonant before a palatal or dental consonant.
3. Lower-high mid unrounded
 - a. After an alveolar consonant before any consonant except /w/ or a labiovelar.
 - b. After /x/ or /q/ before a palatal consonant.
 - c. Before an alveolar consonant after any consonant except a palatal or dental consonant.

4. Lower-high mid, freely alternating with front, unrounded
 - a. After /k/ before a palatal consonant.
(/k/ is velar if the anaptyctic vowel is mid and is prevelar if it is front.)
5. Central mid unrounded
 - a. In all other environments than the above (viz., combinations of a labial, velar, or postvelar).

The quality of the phonetic anaptyctic vowel varies according to its environment in a manner fairly similar to the allophony of phonemic vowels in their environment (112). The quality of a vowel in a given environment is much the same, whether it is phonetic or phonemic. Therefore, in the examples in the section on syllable boundary anaptyctic vowels are equated with one of the three phonemic vowels as follows:

1. /i/
 - a. Lower-high front unrounded (see 2 and 4 above).
 - b. Lower-high mid unrounded (see 3 and 4 above).
2. /u/
 - a. Lower-high back rounded (see 1 above).
3. /a/
 - a. Central mid unrounded (see 5 above).

132. Syllable boundary. In the examples which follow a hyphen indicates syllable boundaries. Anaptyctic vowels are superposed.

132.1. In positions prior to the stressed syllable. In a sequence of consonants prior to the stressed syllable, a boundary occurs:

1. After the first noninitial semiconsonant or voiceless lateral which immediately precedes the final onset of the sequence. The semiconsonant or voiceless lateral is coda to the initial onset and together they constitute a syllable:

šⁱm-wáp 'he dreams'
 x^aɬ^y-ʔá. 'cottontail'
 ʃⁱn-ʔáw 'newborn calf'
 pⁱɬ^y-mín^y 'I singe'
 pⁱn-mák 'I leave him'
 ʃx^am-pá. 'yellowjacket'
 ɬ^yp^am-wák 'you are to ride him'
 p^am-sk^wá.k 'you are to ask him for it'

2. After a medial semiconsonant or voiceless lateral preceded by any consonant which is not part of the initial onset. This semiconsonant or voiceless lateral is always a coda. Such a sequence contains two syllables whose boundary cannot clearly be distinguished: the consonant preceding the semiconsonant or voiceless lateral functions as coda to the initial onset as well as onset to the semiconsonant or voiceless lateral. However, since onsets can occur without codas, but codas cannot occur without onsets, a syllable boundary is arbitrarily made:

3. Before the first consonant which is not part

of, or coda to, the initial onset. The following examples illustrate both 2 and 3:

p^a-mⁱn-tⁱ-má·k 'we abandon them'
 ɬ^{yⁱ}-n^{yⁱ}m-ta-ʔámk 'you lay it down in'
 n^{yⁱ}-m^ɬn^y-k^wáys 'we are your mother's older
 brothers'
 n^{yⁱ}-ɬ^{yⁱ}m-wa-yá·c 'you are around in it'
 mⁱ-cⁱm-p^a-ká·wc 'you meet each other'
 mⁱn^y-x^am-n^yáw 'you put on shoes'
 m^a-pⁱɬ^y-mák 'you roast it'
 p^a-mⁱɬ^y-qác 'you tickle him'
 m^a-pⁱr-wí 'you sound like'
 m^a-spⁱl-xáy 'you wet your lips'

When two (or three, if the third syllable contains a vowel) unstressed syllables precede the stressed syllable and each contains a potential coda and medial onset, there can be a non-phonemic alternation between what constitutes the coda and what constitutes the onset. For example:

n^{yⁱ}m-n^{yⁱ}-k^wáys 'we are your mother's older
 brothers'
 n^{yⁱ}ɬ^y-mwa-yá·c 'you are around in it'

are as acceptable with this syllable division as with that presented above. Note that the latter form has either three or four syllables according to the location of the syllable boundary. This alternation apparently occurs only among semiconsonants, voiceless lateral, and stops (see 6 below). It does not take place, however, if the semiconsonant /r/ is

involved, at least when /r/ is preceded by a lateral. Alternate syllable boundaries are not possible for the following:

$n^{y^i}m-ɿ^{y^i}r-ʔák$ 'you fool me'

$n^{y^i}-ɿ^{y^i}r-ʔák$ 'I fool you'

4. After an initial semiconsonant. An immediately following semiconsonant or voiceless lateral which does not precede another semiconsonant or voiceless lateral or a vowel functions as coda to the initial semiconsonant. If this is not the situation, the initial semiconsonant has no coda. (This is the normal situation. See 3 above for possible alternation of the boundary.):

$m^a-k^i-n^{y^i}á.p$ 'you relate'

$m^a-wál^y$ 'be soft'

$m^a_m-c^i-k^u-wá.p$ 'you are going to look for
a medicine man'

$m^a-k^i-ɿ^{y^i}-kúɿ^y$ 'you peer over'

$m^a-mák$ 'you are to eat'

$n^i-mák$ 'I quit'

$m^i-šcúk$ 'you are to take'

$r^i-xúp$ 'tin can'

$l^i-x^w a-cáq$ 'ghost'

$l^{y^i}-pák$ 'be light in weight'

$l^i n^{y^i}-mu-xáym$ 'she didn't like it'

5. After an initial obstruent which does not combine with a following consonant to form a complex onset:

$k^a-pʔák$ 'Stand!'

$p^a-k^i-yák$ 'Lead him!'

t̥ⁱ-t̥ʔá·p 'I turn something upside down'
 kⁱ-cxáʃk 'Scrub! Whittle!'
 p^a-qⁱ-la-šáw 'he cleaned him'
 pⁱ-cx^a-mu-káp 'he embraced her'
 t̥ⁱ-má·y 'waves of the ocean'
 cⁱ-n^yám 'dark'
 pⁱ-lík 'I taste'
 xⁱ-ru-páy 'he is near'
 ʃⁱ-yá·w 'we were there'
 x^u-wák 'be two'
 s^u-wá-mⁱɬ^y 'all of them'
 ɬ^yi-n^ya-n^yáɬ^y 'it dropped into it'

6. After a medial obstruent which does not combine with a following consonant to form a complex onset. When this is a stop before a nonidentical stop, it is coda to a preceding stop or semiconsonant. It is otherwise an onset. A medial spirant which does not form a complex onset with the following consonant is a coda. A medial voiceless lateral is always a coda:

m^a-kⁱ-n^yá·p 'you relate'
 ɬ^yi p-cíkp 'it sticks to it (as glue)'
 kⁱt̥-pápk 'Bow your head!'
 lⁱk-t̥ʔím 'I'm not doing anything'
 mⁱt̥-páp 'you bowed your head'
 mⁱc-ku-wá·p 'he looks for a medicine man'
 pⁱɬ^y-má 'done, cooked'
 mⁱs-yá· 'you sing'

$p^i\underset{\cdot}{s}\text{-}n^y\text{u-p}^i\text{s}$ 'she casts a spell on him'
 $m^i\text{-}\underset{\cdot}{t}^i\underset{\cdot}{t}\text{-}\overset{?}{a}\cdot p$ (also $m^i\text{-}\underset{\cdot}{t}^i\text{-}\underset{\cdot}{t}\overset{?}{a}Pp$) 'you turn up-
 side down'
 $n^y\text{i-k}^a\text{-m}^i\text{m}$ 'we arrive'

The medial obstruent may be part of an initial complex onset:

$p\check{s}k^u\text{-w}^a\cdot kx$ 'we intend to return him'
 $sk^i\text{-}n^y\overset{?}{a}p$ 'we talk, gossip'

A medial stop before a medial semiconsonant alternates between a coda and an onset. The semiconsonant is coda if the stop is onset:

$m^i\text{c-m}^i\text{-y}^a\text{w}$ or $m^i\text{-c}^i\text{m-y}^a\text{w}$ 'you are married to
 each other'

7. After a vowel or semivowel of an unstressed syllable before a single consonant preceding a vowel:

$n^y\text{i}\cdot\text{-y}^a\overset{?}{i}y$ 'into, in his mouth'
 $si\text{-p}^a$ 'creator'
 $k^w\text{a-}\check{s}i\underset{\cdot}{t}$ 'the same'
 $u\text{-c}^i\underset{\cdot}{t}x$ 'he intends to defecate'
 $aw\text{-c}^a\underset{\cdot}{k}$ 'he peels the skin off'

8. After the first of two (more than two are not recorded) consonants between vowels. The first consonant is ordinarily a coda, but if the two consonants are a potential complex onset, the syllable boundary can be either before or after the first consonant:

$k^w\text{i-l}^y\text{an}^y\text{-c}^a\check{s}$ 'the one who is little'
 $xun\text{-c}^a\underset{\cdot}{q}$ 'he is an ugly little one'

ʃi-xká· or ʃix-ká· 'my granddaughter'

132.2. In positions following the stressed syllable or the vowel of the stressed syllable. A macrosegment can end with a stressed or unstressed syllable. Usually not more than three unstressed syllables follow the stressed syllable. An unstressed syllable in this position may contain a vowel or it may be entirely consonantal.

A stressed syllable ending a macrosegment has as its coda one of the following:

1. Any single consonant except /ʔ/ or a labiovelar:

x^am-xù·k 'be six'

ka·-rít 'wagon'

mwa-már 'you irrigate'

ʃu-kán 'he escapes'

2. A semiconsonant followed by a stop or a spirant, or by a spirant and a stop. (A coda consisting of semiconsonant, stop, and spirant is no doubt possible, but is not recorded.):

kšk^wá·lk 'Peel!'

xa-sán^yc 'young girl before puberty (subj.)'

a-yúmp 'I change course'

ku·-kán^yk 'Break (in two)!'

mⁱ-cⁱn^y-mí·lp 'we could scarcely afford it'

šk^wá·ls 'we peel'

ɪ^yyú·ms 'we think'

n^yi·-ša-máns 'we started from there'

ca-pín^yx 'I will warm (it)'

kxí·rsk 'You (pl.) tie!'

ku·-kán^ysk 'You (pl.) break (in two)!'

3. An obstruent followed by a stop or a spirant, or by a spirant and a stop. Contiguous stops must not be identical:

šmá·ps 'we borrow'

cxášx 'I intend to sharpen, whittle'

ca-kúšx 'I intend to raise'

ɣ^yúɣ^yx 'I intend to boil (it)'

k^am-ʔúšk 'Smile!'

kštípk 'Shoot!'

šcⁱ-nákp 'be tied in a knot'

kšú·xsk 'You (pl.) suck!'

ksq^wáqsk 'You (pl.) tear, rip!'

kⁱ-cxá·šsk 'You (pl.) scrub, whittle!'

(See 227 for morphophonemic rule regarding /s/ and /š/.)

4. /t̥/ or /n/ followed by a voiceless lateral (only /ɣ^y/ is recorded):

máɣ^y 'in, on, into the ground'

tí·nɣ^y 'in, into the tub'

A consonant following the vowel nucleus of a stressed syllable is both coda to the preceding vowel nucleus and onset to an immediately following vowel, semiconsonant, or voiceless lateral (except when the consonant is /t̥/ or /n/; see 4 above) which ends the macrosegment. In such cases the syllable boundary is indistinct. The boundary

is likewise indistinct between unstressed syllables.

In the examples given below the syllable boundary is arbitrarily marked before the consonant when it is thus both coda and onset.

A coda to a stressed syllable, unless it consists of homorganic semiconsonant and stop, is always simple before a following unstressed syllable. The consonant following this simple coda is onset to the unstressed syllable. A complex onset has not been recorded in any position following the stressed syllable. The coda to an unstressed syllable can be either simple or complex. If simple, it can be any consonant except /ʔ/ or a labiovelar. A complex coda is not at all common. /ɬʲ/, however, which is restricted in its occurrence in a complex coda to a stressed syllable (see 4 above), can here follow other consonants than /t/ or /n/:

n^yi-sk^wá·n^y-x^am 'I also intend to ask you
for something'

yúmp-xan^y 'be very easy'

— k^am-yú-xⁱɬʲ 'I hope that somehow you will'

n^ya-wí· más-n^yi x (also má-sⁱn^yx) 'we also
intend to eat'

n^yi-ʔís-ya 'I say to you again'

kx^wa-múk-pi-ca 'these three (people)'

mⁱ-šú-ší·l-k^am 'if you don't know'

k^a-pár-xan^yɬʲ 'in the very last one'

a-pá-pic 'this man (subj.)'

n^ya-yú-k^am 'if it's all right'

ma-pú-ca 'and you?'

200. MORPHOPHONEMICS

When a phoneme or a sequence of phonemes which denotes a unit of meaning is in immediate contact with another phoneme or sequence of phonemes which also has meaning, the two phonemes or the initial and final phonemes of the sequence of phonemes are susceptible to modification. The result of this contact may be the coalescence of the two phonemes into one phoneme phonemically similar to both phonemes; or it may result in the modification of one or both of the phonemes to another or others phonemically similar. Certain modifications are mandatory and result to some extent from the manner of analysis. Others depend upon the tempo of speech or upon idiolectal preferences.

The phonemic analysis of the syllabic structure (130) minimizes the number of morphophonemic statements necessary to account for vowel modification. A few statements in which vowels figure, however, are necessary and all are mandatory.

The consonant modifications, on the other hand, are alternations which may occur in particular environments, but whose actual occurrences are, as a rule, optional or non-predictable.

210. Vowels

211. /i/ or /i•/ unstressed:

1. Becomes /y/ before any unstressed vowel when /i/ or /i•/ is initial or follows a consonant other than /r/:

i·-umá : yumá 'he dances' (i·má 'I dance')

xi·-apúk : xyapúk 'the first one' (xi·púk
'be first')

ši-amú·ɫʲ : šyamú·ɫʲ 'tribe, clan' (ší 'I
name; múɫʲ 'be named')

2. Disappears before an unstressed vowel follow-
ing /r/:

pri·-uwí· : pruwí· 'He resembles' (pri·wí·
'be similar to')

sri·-uwí· : sruwí· 'He compares' (sri·wí· 'I
compare, contrast')

3. Becomes /y/ following stressed /a/ or /u/:

nʲṣá-i : nʲṣáy 'at that place, time'

wá-i : wáy 'at the house'

šmá-i·x : šmáyx 'I'll sleep again'

nʲpú-i : nʲpúy 'at this place, time'

4. Becomes /ɨ/ after a preceding stressed /i/:

ṣí-i·x : ṣí·x 'I'll drink again'

5. Disappears after a semiconsonant and before
a consonant which is not a simple onset to a stressed syllable:

m-ixká· : mxká· 'your daughter's son'

m-iskáw : mskáw 'your father's younger brother'

212. /i·/ stressed becomes /i/ following /u/:

nʲu-í·ɫʲ : nʲwíɫʲ 'he is dark-colored (e.g.,
a horse)' (nʲí·ɫʲ 'be black')

213. /u/ or /u·/ unstressed:

1. Becomes /w/ before /a/ or /i/:

u-á· : wá 'he goes' (á· 'I go')

pu-á· : pwá 'he arrives'

cu-aʔú·r : cwaʔú·r 'chair' (cuʔúr 'he sits
on')

šu·-ak^{wí·}·ɫ^y : šwak^{wí·}·ɫ^y 'needle' (šu·k^{wí·}ɫ^y
'he sews')

n^yu-í·l^y : n^ywíl^y 'he is dark-complexioned'
(n^yí·ɫ^y 'be black')

2. Becomes /·/ after /u/:

cu-umán : cu·mán 'he opens' (cumán 'I open')

šu-upít : šu·pít 'he closes' (šupít 'I close')

3. And /w/ disappear after a consonant before
stressed /i·/ or /a·/:

ɫ^yšu-wí· : ɫ^yší· 'he puts into' (ɫ^yšwí· 'I
put into')

cu-wá·x : cá·x 'he grinds' (cwá·x 'I grind')

n^yi·šu-wá·ɫ : n^yi·šá·ɫ 'he wants something
(i·šwá·ɫ 'I want')

cu-wá·m : cá·m 'he throws (underhand?)'
(cwá·m 'I throw')

(This is the regular morphophonemic change.

There are, however, two known exceptions:

šwá·ɫ 'I paddle', šuwá·ɫ 'he paddles' and

swá· 'I sow', suwá· 'he sows', in which /uw/

in this environment do not disappear.)

214. /a/ becomes /·/ after /a/:

pmwá-a : pmwá· 'You who are sitting, are
you ...?'

215. /a·/ becomes /a/ after /u/:

u-á· : wá 'he goes'

su-á·m : swám 'they are all'

220. Consonants. The following statements regarding the morphophonemic alternation of consonants are variable in the extent of their application. They are applicable, for most speakers at least, in normally articulated speech. Even in what appears to be normally articulated speech the same speaker will on different occasions make use of both alternations in the same environment. This is particularly true regarding the /k^w/-/k/ alternation.

221. /c/ finally becomes /t̚/ after /n/:

pšawín-c : pšawín̚t̚ 'I grabbed, stopped him'

umán-c : umán̚t̚ 'he arises, flies'

awpún-c : awpún̚t̚ 'he hoes'

222. /ɬ^y/ plus /l/ become /ɬ̚/:

n^yɬ̚^y-luwám : n^yɬ̚^ywám 'it is not in it'

n^yɬ̚^y-luyákm lá·x : n^yɬ̚^yuyákm lá·x 'it does
not lie in it'

223. /m/ disappears initially before unstressed /a/. The dropping of /m/ is known definitely to occur in only two forms: mapúc (also mapún^y) 'you' and mapíl^y 'now' and appears to occur only in rapid articulation. It was observed in the speech of several informants. When it was remarked upon, one informant observed that 'it's wrong, only kids do it.'

224. /x/ becomes /x^w/ before /i·/ or /y/ following /k^w/:

k^w-xyapúk : k^wx^wyapúk 'the one who is first'

(xi·púk 'be first')

k^w-xi·mí·k : k^wx^wi·mí·k 'the one who has
become a young man'

225. /k^w/

1. Becomes /k/ before any consonant except /ʔ/, /x/, /x^w/, or /y/ immediately preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable:

k^w-pá·p : kpá·p 'he who bakes'

k^w-ṭ^yáp : kṭ^yáp 'that which is hot; star'

k^w-cúr : kcúr 'tire, wheel; that which rolls'

k^w-rár : krár 'the one who works'

k^w-wáspiṭ^y : kwáspiṭ^y 'the one who is in this'

but: k^wʔás 'the one who says, what was said'

k^wx^wíspic 'the smell' (x^wí 'it smells')

k^wyá·w 'things in a temporary location'

(In very rapid speech /k^w/ before /ʔ/ or /y/ may also become /k/.)

2. Before any consonant not immediately preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable, there is considerable variation in the alternation of /k^w/ and /k/, except that before /m/ and before /p/ it is always /k/. In slow speech /k^w/ may become /ku/. The following examples illustrate the various possibilities:

k^w-mcawíṭ^ypic : kmcawíṭ^ypic 'the one who is
the oldest' (mcwíṭ^y 'be older, the oldest')

k^w -pyutá·n : kpyutá·n 'the one who is chief'

(pi·tá·n 'be a chief')

$k^w n^y$ axá·ṭ or kn^y axá·ṭ or kun^y axá·ṭ 'the
one who has a dog, dogs, pets'

k^w yamá·s or $kyamá·s$ or $kuyamá·s$ 'dancer'

(i·má 'I dance)

$k^w r^?$ ák or $kr^?$ ák 'old man'

$n^y k^w$ ra?ák or $n^y kura^?$ ák 'her husband'

k^w sayá·w or $ksayá·w$ 'the one who is a singer'

k^w spáp or $kspáp$ 'the four ones' (spáp 'be
four')

k^w ş?ár or $kş?ár$ 'the one which is dried out'

(The last two forms with / k^w / were elicited in very
slow speech.)

226. / n^y / becomes /m/ when coda to an unstressed
syllable before or after /p/:

pawác yun^y -pa : pawác yumpa 'I'm here (sitting)'

This change also takes place in normal speech across word
boundaries:

n^y á·p n^y cá· : n^y á·p mcá· 'my mother'

227. /s/ plus /ş/ become /ş/. This occurs in rapid
speech regardless of which sibilant precedes. In normal
speech when /ş/ precedes /s/ each tends to retain its
phonemic identity, e.g., $kcxá·şsk$ 'You (pl.) whittle!'.
These are the only sibilants which are known to come into
morphophonemic contact. An example of /s/ preceding /ş/ is:

$sxuťús-şin^y$: $sxuťúşin^y$ 'that which she
has spit there'

230. External sandhi. The present analysis has not preceded to the point that comprehensive statements can be made dealing with the morphophonemic changes that occur across word boundaries. One change was noted above (226). Some of the statements regarding external changes can be expected to differ from those presented above which apply within the word only. For example, the change stated in 227 does not apply in the following, in which there is inserted between the two sibilants an anaptyctic vowel:

n^yakayús şmyúk ... : n^yakayús ⁱ şmyúk... 'Some day when you are there ...'

Insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between words is a common phenomenon in the ordinary flow of speech. The rules for the occurrence and quality of the vowel appear to be the same as those which apply to its insertion within the word (131, 132). The presence of the anaptyctic vowel between words thus alters the status of the first consonant of the second word. For example, it may become a coda and the anaptyctic vowel which follows it when the word is uttered in isolation disappears. This is the case in the example cited in 226. Two further examples illustrate this:

pí·s n^yişucúk... : pí·s ⁱ n^yşucúk ... 'If he gets the money ...'

mxpcú·n^yx m^apʔá·a : mxpcú·n^yx ^a mpʔá·a 'are you going to church, you who are standing?'

The opposite may also occur: a coda may become an onset:

(šugám) mʔík^am lá·x : mʔík^am lá·x 'If you say
it is not (expensive) ...'

240. Remarks on transcription of data. An attempt has been made to record the data in phonemic, rather than morphophonemic, notation. The phonemic representation of the vowels presents no problems. It is not always easy, however, to determine which of the alternations of consonants is the proper phonemic representation, as, for example in the /k^w/-/k/ alternation. Thus, throughout the analysis there may be variant transcriptions of the same word. In cases of doubt as to the proper notation the one which will not obscure the basic form of the affix or root has been chosen.

300. INTRODUCTION TO THE MORPHOLOGY

A macrosegment has been defined (130) as a stretch of speech in an utterance that may be spoken between pauses. Thus a macrosegment is a free form. For the purpose of describing the phonological units of meaning which comprise it and its relationship to other macrosegments which can occur in an utterance, a macrosegment is considered as equivalent to a word. A word contains a root which is modified by morphological processes. A root is the stressed syllable of a word plus contiguous phonemes or phoneme sequences which necessarily accompany the stressed syllable in order to signify a unit of meaning. A root frequently has the phonological shape: CVC. Other common shapes are: CV?, CCV, and CCVC. Of less frequent occurrence are: V, VC, and CCV. Roots of shapes other than these occur, but are rare.

A root is modified by processes which are inflectional or derivational. A root thus modified is a stem. A stem modified by inflectional processes only is a primary stem. A stem modified by derivational and inflectional processes is a secondary stem. Inflectional processes employed are: prefixation, suffixation, compounding, reduplication, and consonantal modification of the root. The process of suffixation is syntactic in relating words to each other or in relating sequences of words.

A root is identified as a noun root or a verb root according to its ability to attach certain affixes restricted to one or the other root, or as an invariable root if it is not modified by any morphological process. A verb root is distinguished as such by its ability to attach, as a primary stem, the verb inflectional suffixes. The ability of a root to attach the intentive suffix -x is an excellent criterion for designating its status as a verb. A noun root is most easily distinguished as such by its inability to attach these suffixes.

Primary and secondary stems are assigned to a word-class of nouns, verbs, or interjections according to the relationship of one to another in a syntactic sequence. A primary stem modified by derivational processes results in a secondary stem which is a noun derived from a verb or another noun, or is a verb derived from a noun or another verb. A noun can be derived from any verb. Verbs, on the other hand, can be derived from only a small number of nouns.

Nouns are distinguished as nouns proper and pronouns. Pronouns have an overtly marked objective case suffix; nouns do not. The use of the term noun is to be interpreted as including both nouns proper and pronouns. Pronouns are classified according to whether they are: personal, demonstrative, definite, or indefinite. Nouns proper may or may not be possessable. If possessable, they are alienably or inalienably possessed. Nouns are inflected for person, case, and (nouns proper only) plural.

Verbs are classified as essentially active or stative. In a general sense, a stative verb is descriptive of a state or condition; an active verb denotes the performance of an action. This semantic distinction is validated by certain formal characteristics which for the most part serve to distinguish the two classes. An active verb can be derived from any stative verb, and it is in its manner of derivation that a stative verb is formally identified: a stative verb requires the simultaneous affixation of the 'active' prefix a- upon the affixation of a derivational instrumental prefix. Stative verbs are subgrouped as follows:

Group I. Stative verbs which are not inflected for person without the simultaneous affixation of the prefix a-. This prefix is undoubtedly to be equated with the 'active' prefix a-, in spite of a lack of 'active' semantic denotation in the inflected verb. Most verbs of this group have this common semantic feature: their semantic reference may equally be animate or inanimate.

Group II. Stative verbs which are inflected for person without the affixation of a-. Most verbs of this group have an animate semantic reference.

The distinction of the two types of stative verbs is in greatest evidence in the inflection for first person. The inflection for first person subject and third person inanimate subject is identical for all verbs except those considered as stative group I verbs. The alternative to considering a- a derivative prefix would be to consider it

a first person pronominal prefix. It in effect functions as such. Considering a- as derivative rather than inflective, however, permits the first person for all verbs to be viewed as having no overt marker.

Active verbs are basically transitive or intransitive. A transitive verb is one to which a pronominal object prefix can be attached. An intransitive verb is one to which a pronominal object prefix can not be attached. The 'object' of a transitive verb can only be animate. An intransitive verb may have either no object or one which is inanimate. An active verb is further classified as personal if it can attach a pronominal subject prefix and thus have an animate reference, or as impersonal if it can not attach a pronominal subject prefix, in which case the reference is inanimate, or more commonly, 'impersonal'. Hence, there are four categories of active verbs: personal transitive, impersonal transitive, personal intransitive, and impersonal intransitive.

It is necessary to assume another class of verbs whose classificatory features are other than those presented above. Auxiliary verbs are those which are formally identified by their ability to attach one or more of the locative-temporal prefixes and which can function syntactically as an auxiliary verb in a verb phrase. With a few exceptions (í 'say' and aʔí 'do' may be transitive) auxiliary verbs are personal intransitive. (One intransitive auxiliary (yá· 'happen, occur') functions primarily as an impersonal verb.)

Most interjections are invariable roots. A few have roots which are basically noun or verb roots. Interjections are subgrouped into exclamations and absolutes.

Some seventy-five percent of all roots are verb roots. Invariable roots comprise not more than one percent. The remainder are noun roots.

As will be described in the section on syntax, the primary requisite of a major sentence is the presence of a verb. The functions of the verb result in a fairly complex and elaborate inflective apparatus.

The verb marks animate subject and/or object by means of pronominal prefixes. The pronominal prefixes are affixed regardless of whether there is present a noun which is the overt subject or object.

The concept of number is not an inherent feature of the verb. The verb can be modified to express a concept of 'more than one', which concept, however, is extended not only to the subject but to the object as well. A plural animate subject is dichotomized into a collective and distributive plural, i.e., whether the subject is considered as acting as a group of individuals, or as individuals acting separately. The plural notion also includes such aspectual concepts as repetitive and continuous action, or repetitive and continuous conditions and states of being. There is considerable overlapping in the correlation between the plural concepts and the morphological processes employed in the plural formation. In many instances the plural form of a verb has a potential denotation of two, and occasionally

three, of the above-mentioned concepts, in which case the specific denotation is evident syntactically or is implied in the context of the situation. The plural is by far the most intricate feature of Cocopa grammar. A comprehensive knowledge and intensive study of the language will be required to unravel its intricacies.

Certain notions of position are indicated by means of prefixes several of which can also function as suffixes with the same or a similar denotation. These positional affixes are virtually identical to the case suffixes of the noun.

Similar to, but occupying a different position class than, the positional affixes is a referential prefix which is identical in form to the 'objective' suffix to the pronoun. Its reference is to an unspecified or indefinite object, time, or place. This prefix is obligatory with numerous verbs.

Prefixes which denote location in time or space from a point of reference attach only to auxiliary verbs. These include an aspectual prefix denoting continuous, repetitive, or intermittent action, rather than location.

Two non-referential prefixes, one with definite and the other indefinite denotation, are restricted to three auxiliary verbs. The former may co-occur with a suffix whose simultaneous affixation expresses negation, in which case the definite prefix can attach to any verb.

A variety of semantic notions are expressed by a group of suffixes which occupy several position classes. These notions are: enefactive, imitative, usitative or habitual or repetitive (the denotation of this suffix is not essentially different from one of the plural notions), intentive, desiderative, assertive, emphatic, and perfective-sequential.

Tense is not marked, although there is an intimation of tense in the intentive suffix. The action denoted by a verb with this suffix has not occurred; in this sense it is a sort of future. The suffix more strictly denotes rather an expression of intention by the subject of the verb to perform the action. The action denoted by a verb without the intentive suffix may be either past action or action presently occurring; if it is necessary to make a distinction, it is accomplished syntactically.

Certain of the suffixes, to the noun as well as to the verb, are syntactic in function in addition to being inflective. At least they are identical in form. This analysis treats them as being the same if they occupy the same position class and are not otherwise restricted in their occurrence. Homonymy in affixes and in stems and words is a common phenomenon in the language. No attempt is made to resolve their identity or distinction on higher levels of abstraction.

Derivational processes are on the whole straightforward. Certain affixes identical in form are used with verbs or nouns. Again the question is moot as to whether they are

to be considered the same or different affixes. The prefix a- is particularly troublesome, and it is not certain what is the best method of accounting for it.

Two features of the derivational process are noteworthy in the manner of its application by verbs and nouns. Verbs are extremely productive in their capacity to derive verbs from other verbs, but are relatively very unproductive in their capacity to derive verbs from nouns. Nouns, on the other hand, are very productive in their ability to be derived from verbs, but are far less productive in their ability to derive other nouns.

400. INFLECTION: THE VERB

410. Pronominal prefixes. The verb is inflected for person by means of prefixes for subject and/or object. Object precedes subject, and may be attached only to a transitive verb. There is no overt marker for inanimate subject or object. The second person prefix is identical for subject or object. The imperative prefix belongs to this paradigm and occurs only as subject prefix and in the same position as second person. The first person subject has no overt marker. The first person form of a verb and the form of a verb whose reference is inanimate subject are often identical. The form of the third person animate subject is determined by the phonological environment before the stressed syllable of the stem. The position of the third person subject prefix is normally immediately before the first phoneme of the root. (See Appendix I)

411. Object prefixes. The object prefixes are:

n ^y -	first person
m-	second person
p-	third person

With no subject prefix they can be attached only to impersonal intransitive verbs:

n ^y ṭkšík	'I hiccough'
mṭkšík	'you hiccough'
pṭkšík	'he, she hiccoughs'

n^ycxʔák 'I snagged (e.g., my clothes on something'

pškmí·rq 'he, she slipped and fell'

(pškumí·rq is also possible)

mayúṭ 'you got a splinter'

412. Subject prefixes. When not preceded by object prefixes, the subject prefixes are:

1. First person

No overt marker. Examples are presented according to verb class.

Group I stative verbs

ašáy 'I'm fat

mawál^y 'I'm soft'

ašít 'I'm alone (one)'

Group II stative verbs

ptáy 'I'm big

px^wáy 'I'm good

rí·k 'I'm rich

xwák 'we are two'

xcáq 'I'm bad, ugly

Active verbs derived from stative verbs

cmawál^y 'I soften

cpatáy 'I make big

šakúṭ^y 'I lengthen

cxamá·ṭ^y 'I whiten

mi·wár 'I crumble

Primary stem intransitive verbs

mán 'I get up'
 páť 'I lie down'
 wí• 'I look, see'
 ší 'I drink'
 sk^wá 'I swell up'
 šmá 'I sleep'

Secondary stem intransitive verbs

cumán 'I open, uncover'
 šuk^wíř^y 'I sew'
 šx[?]ák 'I hang up'
 kmář 'I sharpen, grind'
 u•mář 'I powder my face'
 pkář 'I head off, take a short-cut'

Auxiliary verbs

wá 'I sit'
 yák 'I lie'
 yí• 'I come'
 yú 'I am'
 á• 'I go'
 wayá• 'I'm around'
 pwayá• 'I'm around here'
 p[?]á• 'I stand'
 pšuyí• 'I come here bringing'
 šuyí•x 'I will bring'
 šp[?]á•x 'I will stand over there (far away)'

2. Second person

m- attached immediately before a primary

or secondary stem in the fifth position class (see Appendix I):

mptáy 'you're big'
 mšakúř^y 'you lengthen'
 mšmá 'you sleep'
 mu·mář 'you powder your face'
 mwá 'you sit'
 myú 'you are'
 pmwá 'you're sitting here'
 pmwayá· 'you are around here'
 šmyákx 'you will lie over there'

3. Third person

a- used only with the stem xcaq:

xacáq 'he is bad (Cf. xucáq 'he is ugly')

u- used with stems in which non-initial /a/ or /u/ does not immediately precede the consonant which immediately precedes the vowel of the stressed syllable:

putáy 'he or she is big'
 xucáq 'he is ugly'
 urí·k 'he is rich'
 šxu[?]ák 'he hangs up'
 řupáp 'he bows his head'
 uwá 'he sits'
 wá 'he goes'
 suk^wá 'he swells up'
 myuwár 'he crumbles'
 yumá 'he dances'

šawín 'I stop' has two third person forms: ša·wín and šuwín. The latter form is preferred.

aw- used with (secondary) stems with /u·/ immediately before the consonant preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable:

awmáŕ 'he powders his (own) face'

awpún 'he hoes'

awq^wáq 'he tears in two'

·- (lengthened vowel) used in stems with non-initial /a/ or /u/ immediately before the consonant which precedes the vowel of the stressed syllable:

cma·wál^y 'he softens'

ša·kúŕ^y 'he lengthens'

pa·wá 'he is sitting here'

cu·mán 'he opens'

pwa·yá· 'he is around here'

pu·yí· 'he is coming there (nearby)'

4. Imperative

k- occurs in the same position class as m- 'second person'. The imperative is usually accompanied by the syntactic suffix -k or -m (801.4, 801.5), particularly if the stem ends in a vowel:

kyí·k 'Come!'

ka·k 'Go!'

kyák 'Lie!'

kpáŕk 'Lie down!'

lká·m lá·x 'Don't go!'

ku·kát 'Cut! Chop!'

kşísk 'Drink! (pl.)'

413. Object-subject prefixes. The object and subject prefixes are used concomitantly only with personal transitive verbs. Second person object - first person subject ('I... you') is simply n^y-. Following the third person object prefix first person subject is a- before primary stems beginning with a single consonant. The desinences are otherwise regular and the object-subject prefixes are attached according to the rules for their respective form and position. The reflexive mc- is a fourth object prefix which occurs with personal transitive verbs. (See Appendix I for position classes.):

n^ynák 'I kill you'

n^ymnák 'you kill me'

panák 'I kill him'

pmnák 'you kill him'

pa·nák 'he kills him'

ma·nák 'he kills you'

n^ya·nák 'he kills me'

mcnák 'I kill myself'

mcmnák 'you kill yourself'

mcunák 'he kills himself'

n^yknák 'Kill me!'

mcknák 'Kill yourself!'

pu·yá· 'I know him'
 pawyá· 'he knows him'
 n^ysun^yú 'I believe you'
 n^ysu·n^yú 'he believes me'
 pmcašéy 'you fattened him'
 n^ysuk^wí 'he asked me a question'
 mkuwí 'he pursued you'

420. Plural. By means of several morphological processes the verb is inflected to denote a variety of meanings, all of which may be subsumed under the concept 'plural'. Five plural conceptual types are distinguished:

1. Collective subject: two or more animate beings perform a singular or plural action collectively.
2. Distributive subject: two or more animate beings perform a singular or plural action individually, or one performs a plural action.
3. Distributive object: one or more animate beings perform a singular or plural action upon a plural animate or inanimate object, or upon a singular or plural object, animate or inanimate, repetitively or continuously.
4. Stative subject: a condition or state exists for a plural subject or for a singular or plural subject repetitively or continuously, animate or inanimate.
5. Impersonal subject: a plural inanimate action occurs singly, or a singular or plural action occurs repetitively or continuously.

The plural conceptual types correlate in a general manner as follows with the verb classes:

1. Transitive verbs and intransitive verbs with an inanimate object have a distributive object plural.

2. Stative verbs and impersonal intransitive verbs denoting a condition have a stative subject plural.

3. Impersonal intransitive verbs denoting an action and personal intransitive verbs with an inanimate subject have an impersonal subject plural.

4. Most personal intransitive verbs and auxiliary verbs with an animate subject are inflected both for collective and distributive subject plural.

421. Plural formation. More than one process can be used to denote the same type of plural. The same process or affix, on the other hand, can denote, according to the class of verb, different types of plurals. A large number of transitive and intransitive verbs can be inflected simultaneously for collective or distributive subject and distributive object. The prefixes occupy third position; the suffixes first position.

1. s- This prefix is not common. It usually denotes distributive object with the notion of repetitiveness:

xám 'I hit' : sxám 'I beat'

It is of somewhat more common occurrence when accompanied by the suffix -s or -p and/or root vowel modification, with or without the added notion of collective or distributive subject. The derivational prefix u*- is dropped:

u*káṭ 'I cut (once)' : skáṭ or ská.ṭs
'I or we cut to pieces'

u·q^wáq 'I tear (once)' : sq^wáq or sq^wáqs
'I or we tear to pieces'

pwár 'I fail' : spwá·rp 'We fail'

kn^yá·p 'I tell' : skn^yáp 'I tell (a story)',
also 'we tell'

mxán 'I watch' : smxá·n 'we watch'

2. c-, (ṭ- after /n/). This prefix denotes distributive subject, or distributive object with the notion usually of plural object. It is often accompanied by the suffix -s or -p and/or root vowel modification. The derivational prefix u·- (which is u- following another derivational prefix) is dropped:

ṣʔáw 'I bear a child' : ṣcʔá·w 'I bear
children'

nmák 'I quit, leave' : nṭmák 'I quit,
leave (several things or several times)':
nṭmá·k 'we quit, leave'

mšyá· 'I'm afraid' : mšcyáyp 'We're afraid'

mšráy 'I'm angry' : mšcrás 'we're angry'

cuwár 'I'm tired' : ccwá·r or cwá·r 'we're
tired'

ṣaʔár 'I dry (something)' : ṣcaʔár 'I dry
several things'

ṣkán 'I escape' : ṣcká·n or ṣká·n 'we escape'

3. n^y- This prefix is used primarily with verbs of motion or position. It denotes collective subject. It is often accompanied by root vowel modification and one

of the plural suffixes. The stem of a number of verbs which take this prefix is suppletive:

payí· 'I come' : pn^yyí·w 'we come'
 sán^y 'I descend' : n^ysán^y 'we descend'
 á·x 'I'll go' : n^yá·x 'we'll go'
 wayá· 'I'm around' : wan^yí· 'we're around'
 pá· 'I arrive (here)' : n^ykmís 'we arrive
 (here)'
 pá·m 'I arrive there' : n^ykmím 'we
 arrive there'

4. -s can denote any plural concept except collective subject. It is often accompanied by a plural prefix and/or vowel modification. The derivational prefix u·- (u-) is dropped:

ří 'I drink' : řís 'I drink a lot'
 yú 'I am' : yús 'I am, we are, continuously; it is continuously'
 akú· 'I'm an old woman' : akú·s 'we're
 old women'
 sán^y 'I go down' : sán^ys 'we go down'
 pká· 'I carry in my arms' : pká·s 'we carry
 in our arms'
 xmí· 'I am born' : xmí·s 'we are born'
 ší 'I name' : ší·s 'I, we name many'
 šawín 'I hold' : šawí·ns 'we hold'
 šuťíp 'I untie, loosen' : šťíps 'I untie
 several things or several times'

štíp 'I shoot' : štíp·ps 'we shoot, I shoot
a lot'

5. -p denotes collective subject and is used primarily with personal intransitive verbs. Root vowel modification may occur simultaneously. An accompanying plural prefix denotes distributive object:

má 'I eat' : má·p 'we eat'

mcn^ymí·l 'I can scarcely make, afford'

mcn^ymí·lp 'we can scarcely make, afford'

n^ywáy 'I inhabit' : n^ycwá·yp 'we inhabit'

šmáý 'I miss, lose' : šcmá·yp 'we miss, lose'

ščú 'I gather, pick up' : šcú·p 'we
gather, pick up'

ší 'I drink' : šíp·p 'we drink'

6. Root vowel modification. Modification of the stressed vowel of the root, most commonly by lengthening, may denote any of the plural concepts. It is the most common method for forming the stative subject plural. It is commonly used to denote distributive object, often with an accompanying affix. The derivational prefix u·- (u-) is dropped.

Shortening of the root vowel occurs only rarely, seldom without an accompanying plural affix. A few irregular modifications of the vowel occur in which /a·/ and /i·/ become /ay/ or /aw/, and /iw/, respectively:

rʔák 'I'm an old man' : rʔá·k 'we're old
men'

šmá 'I sleep' : šmá·s 'we sleep'
 pʔáw 'I walk' : pʔá·w 'we walk'
 ašáy 'I'm fat' : ašá·y 'we're fat'
 xcáq 'I'm bad, ugly' : xcá·q 'we're bad,
 ugly'
 tuk^{wán^y} 'I finish eating' : tk^{wá·n^y} 'we
 finish eating'
 i·yú pʔúr 'I'm drowsy' : i·yú pʔú·r 'we're
 drowsy, I'm very sleepy'
 sk^{wí} 'I ask a question' : sk^{wí·s} 'I ask
 several questions'
 n^{yú·p} 'I fight' : n^{yúp} 'we fight (someone)'
 šmá·p 'I dream' : šcmás 'we dream, I
 dream several times'
 an^{yá·k} 'I do all night' : an^{yák} 'we do
 all night'
 mšyá· 'I fear' : mšcyáyp 'we fear'
 wí· 'I see' : wíw 'we see'
 šá· 'I eat (hard things)' : šáw 'we eat
 (hard things)'
 pa·wíwp 'they (collectively) looked at
 him (or them)'
 šmá·l pí·ṭ 'I'm deaf'

7. Suppletion. The auxiliary verbs wá 'sit', yák 'lie', pʔá· 'stand' (and perhaps yá· 'be, happen, be located') share two suppletive plural forms: yá·w 'be located temporarily' and wá·y 'be located permanently', which denote plural subject. -p (with vowel shortening) may be attached to distinguish collective subject:

payá·w 'we are here'
 uyáwp 'they are there together'
 pawá·y 'we live here'
 ʂa·yá·w 'they are over there'
 puwá·yk 'they stay over there (nearby)
 somewhere'

430. Positional affixes. A group of affixes denoting position, motion, or manner occur either as prefix or suffix to the verb, as well as suffix to the noun (530). As prefixes they occupy two position classes. m- and k- occur in fourth position. \pm^y - is a prefix only and occurs in eighth position (see Appendix I). The former two may occur as first position suffixes to a few verbs denoting motion:

1. \pm^y - 'in, into, on, onto'

\pm^y uxáp 'he went inside'

\pm^y pa·xáp 'he went into him'

\pm^y un y á \pm^y 'he dropped into (it)'

\pm^y yá·w 'we are in (it)'

\pm^y n y cu·pí· \dot{t} x 'they will lock us in'

\pm^y pmwáx 'you will sit on (ride) him'

\pm^y mcuwí·c 'he saw himself in it'

2. m- 'with, by means of, direction away from a point of reference'

muxáp 'he went away (speaker is reference)'

pmuxáp 'he passed him (subject is reference)'

n y mu·ká· \dot{t} 'I measure' (lit. 'something- by means of- I-cut repetitively')

n^ymxuwá·k 'they are courting, going together' (lit. 'someone-with-they are two')

n^ymurár 'he is occupied with it'

3. k- 'direction to a point of reference, usually away from an unspecified or indefinite location'. The validity of this prefix is difficult to establish. It is identical in form with and occurs in the same position as the derivational prefix k- 'do with the foot' (614.2). Its meaning in the following forms is ambiguous:

pkuxáp 'he caught up with him' (he didn't pass him)

pkwí 'I ran after, followed him'

cxáy kuyúm 'he went north' (cxá-y 'north-in' is reference)

páy kuyúm 'he turns off here'

makáy kuyúm 'he went somewhere'

4. -m 'direction from a point of reference'

wám 'he went' (from a point of reference)

n^ykumím 'they got there'

pá·m 'he went along' (from the place where he was)

n^yxuká·m 'they crossed'

5. -k denotes 'direction to a point of reference, from more than one direction, or at different times' and in effect functions as a distributive plural. Both -m and -k may occur simultaneously as suffixes, with -m in the prior position:

pa·yí·k 'they came (not together and/or not
at the same time)

upák 'they arrived here'

upámk 'they arrived there' (point of refer-
ence is both the location of the speaker
and the place of arrival)

myí·k 'you come here'

440. Referential indefinite prefix

1. n^y- 'something, someone' This prefix has as reference an object or animate being which is other than the subject of the verb to which it is attached. It is identical in form, and very likely in function and meaning, to the objective pronoun suffix. It may co-occur with one of the positional prefixes. It always immediately precedes m- or k-. When used with ɬ^y-, it appears to be optional as to which precedes the other. The position of n^y- is normally the ninth, or last, position:

n^ykuyúm 'I go in that direction'

n^ymkuyúm 'you go in that direction'

n^ymxáp 'I go through'

n^ymmxáp 'you go through'

ɬ^yn^ymɬaʔámk 'you put it in upside down'

n^yɬ^ywác 'it was in it'

2. It is an obligatory prefix to many stems, in which case it occupies the fourth position class:

n^ywíɬ 'I refuse'

mn^ywíɬ 'you refuse'

pn^yuwíṭ 'he refuses him'
 n^ywáṭ 'I finish'
 mn^ywáṭ 'you finish'
 mn^yuʔá·l 'you put clothes on'
 n^yu·ʔá·l 'he puts clothes on'

In this position it can be used to distinguish animate and inanimate reference:

kú·k aʔís 'I have a Coke'
 n^yaʔís 'it is mine, they are mine (e.g.,
 a child)'
 k^wramás pn^yaʔís 'I have children'

3. As a non-obligatory prefix n^y- clearly has reference in many instances to an indefinite or unspecified location, rather than to an object or animate being. With this reference it has the freely variable allomorph n^yi·- (except before a consonant which is a coda):

n^yi·puʔá·c 'he stood there'
 n^ypʔá·c 'I stood there'
 n^yi·wa·yá·c 'he was around there'
 n^yi·yák 'it was lying there'
 n^yi·pa·xír 'he tied him there'
 n^ypmxír 'you tied him there'
 n^yyuwác 'he was there'

4. n^y- can also have reference to time with the meanings 'then, when, if (true-to-fact), afterwards':

n^ypkuyá·c 'then he lead him (viz. horse)'
 n^ypí·m 'then he gave to him'

n^ypa·yá·c 'then he took him'

n^ypmxír 'when you tie him'

n^ynumák 'then he left'

n^ymmán 'then you get up'

With this reference it always follows a locative temporal prefix (450) in fourth position:

pn^ywá 'then he was (located) here'

pn^yá·m 'afterwards he went along'

ʂn^ypuʔá·c 'then he stood over there'

pn^ypuʔá·c 'then he stood here'

(n^ypuʔa·c may mean either 'then he stood'

or 'he stood in an unspecified location')

Before primary stems with a single consonant preceding the stressed vowel, it has the allomorph n^ya-.

n^yamán 'then I got up'

n^ya·mán 'then he got up' (Cf. n^yyuyák 'he

lies there in an unspecified location')

n^ya·ʔác 'then he said'

(n^ya·ʔác also means 'he said to me')

n^ya·xú·c 'then he hid himself'

450. Locative-temporal prefixes. The prefixes pa- 'here nearby, now' , pu- 'there nearby, then', and ʂa- 'over there, a distant time' denote position or time in relation to a point of reference in the mind of the speaker. They are used only with auxiliary verbs. The prefix c-, with the alternate forms cu- and, less commonly, ca- denotes the continuation of an action or state, usually one which is

already in progress. None of the prefixes retain the vowel except before a single consonant immediately preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable.

451. pa-

pawá 'I am (located here, it is here)'

pmwá 'you are here'

pa·wá 'he is here'

payák 'I am here in a lying position'

pa·yák 'he is here in a lying position'

pa·yá·w 'they are here'

pwa·n^{yí}· 'they are around here'

452. pu-

pu·wá 'he is there, nearby'

puwá·y 'we live there (nearby)'

puwá 'it is, I am, was there, nearby'

puyá·c 'It happens, has happened, that is,
was the situation'

ppu[?]á· 'he stands here'

453. ʂa-

ʂayú 'it exists there, then'

ʂa·yá·w 'they are located there (far away)'

ʂa·yí· 'he is coming along there'

ʂpu[?]á·c 'he is standing there'

ʂwa·yá·c 'he is around there'

ʂn^yayá·m 'and then it is located there
(i.e., a tree which we have planted)'

454. c-, ca-, cu- ca- with the continuative notion appears only in the stem cawí·m 'make no difference, be all the same to one'. a- is perhaps here a derivative prefix (611). u- is very likely the derivative prefix u'- (which has the former shape following another derivative prefix). There is, however, no apparent difference in the meaning of the three forms:

cuyúć 'I have been and am (doing something)'

cuwáx 'I'll stay (i.e., I am here now and will remain)'

cu·mác 'he continues to eat, not necessarily without stopping, but off and on over a period of time'

cwá·yc 'I dwell, inhabit'

cmpá·xan^y 'you really will continue to go along'

cu[?]á·xa 'I will continue to go'

mxcál cmyákxa 'you who are lying down will continue to remain poor'

(-a in the last two examples is stylistic.

See 801.8.)

There are certain irregularities in the conjugation for person upon the prefixation of the locative-temporal prefixes to the stem á· 'go'. First person has /[?]/ which is freely variable before word-initial vowels. /[?]/ is not present in second person. Third person has no overt marker:

paʔá·c 'I am going along here'
 pmá·c 'you are going along here'
 pá·c 'he is going along here'
 şá·m 'he is going along there away from
 (a point of reference)'
 cuʔá·x 'I will continue to go along (in
 time or place)'
 cmá·x 'you will continue to go'
 cá·x 'he will continue to go'

pa- is to be distinguished from the derivative prefix p- 'do by walking' (614.4) which does not contain /ʔ/ in first person and whose position follows the pronominal prefix (as determined from second person; see Appendix I):

pá·c 'I arrive' (lit., 'I go by walking')
 mpá·c 'you arrive'
 pwac 'he arrives'

There is a distributive object plural to the latter form: pwá·c 'he is on his way, and has not yet arrived', for which there is apparently no corresponding first or second person form. The same notion is expressed in first and second person by c(u)-: cuʔá·c, cmá·c.

460. Non-referential

461. Indefinite. k-, ka-, kɿ- A prefix expressing indefiniteness as to manner, time, quantity, object, purpose, etc., occurs only with the verbs: í 'say, do, be', aʔí 'do, act', and yú 'be, exist'. It has the form ka- before í and yú, and kɿ- before aʔí. (The vowel /a/ of aʔí is dropped

upon prefixation of kṭ-.) It may be that kṭ- is better considered as two prefixes, as /k/ and /ṭ/ occupy two position classes: kṃṭʔíc 'How, what can you do, are you doing? You are doing something, in some manner'. /a/ of ka- is present only before a consonant immediately preceding the root vowel. The freely variable initial /ʔ/ of í 'say' is functional upon the prefixation of ka-. í is not conjugated for animate person with this prefix:

kayú 'it is to this extent, about, perhaps'
 ka·yúsx 'whatever they will be; they will
 be something, somewhere'
 kaʔím 'How is it?'
 kayúc uyúm 'Why is he like that?'
 kmyúc 'How is it that you ...?'
 kṭʔík 'How am I to do ...?'
 lú·n^y kayús 'all sorts of things'
 kṭuʔák 'How is he to do? He will do somehow.'

The referential indefinite prefix n^y- in fourth position may be used with k- with an impersonal reference to time:

kn^yayúkm 'sometime it will take place ...'
 kn^yaʔím 'it sometimes is that ...'
 kn^yayúm puʔá·xi 'When is it that he will
 stand up?'

462. Definite. l-, lu- This prefix when not part of the discontinuous negative affix l(u)-... -m is usually used only with í 'say'. It is undoubtedly derived from, or related to, the demonstrative pronouns lú·p and lú·n^y.

lmʔíxi 'What would you say?'

luʔíc ím 'What did I say?'

luʔík knʲá·pxi 'How will I tell it?'

luʔác ám 'What did he say?'

lma·ʔác ma·šía 'what do they call you?'

470. Negative affix. Negation is expressed by means of the discontinuous affix l(u)-...-m, with /u/ present only before a consonant which immediately precedes a stressed vowel. Although the notion of negation is otherwise evident without it, a verb with the negative affix is usually followed immediately by the impersonal verb lá·x. The suffixal element -m is always in last position. The prefixal element l(u)- occupies the seventh position class (see Appendix I). Negation may be expressed simply by lu- (this is not common): u·yá·luxanʲ 'I don't know everything' (see 616.2). The element lu- is undoubtedly the non-referential definite described above (462). The element -m is probably the subordinate syntactic suffix (801.4). The semantic notion of negation is somehow derived from their simultaneous affixation.

nʲkɯwám (nʲ-ɬʲ-lu-wá-m) 'it is not in it'

nʲkɯyákm lá·x (nʲ-ɬʲ-lu-yák-m) 'it does not lie in it'

laʔím lá·x (l-aʔí-m) 'I didn't do (it)'

luším lá·x (lu-ší-m) 'I don't drink; I didn't drink (it)'

lu·ším lá·x (lu-u-ší-m) 'he didn't drink'

ln^ynákm lá·x 'I didn't kill you'
 lpmnákm lá·x 'you didn't kill him'
 lká·m lá·x 'Don't go!'
 lksxtúm lá·x 'Don't spit!'
 ln^yknákm lá·x 'Don't kill me!'
 lpawyá·xm 'they don't know them'

480. Inflective suffixes. The inflective suffixes (excluding those already described) are not readily classifiable into explicit semantic categories. They are presented according to the position class they are known to occur in.

481. First position. The first suffixal position is occupied by a positional or plural suffix (430, 421) and:

-wa (-w after a vowel) benefactive 'do for someone':

pan^yáywax 'I will hunt something for him'
 n^yaʔíw 'I do something for you'
 pwaşá·w 'I feed him hard things'
 pí·s n^yyá·wx 'I'll get you some money'
 payá·wx 'I'll get him something'
 payá·wx 'I'll get him something'
 ppşá·ywax 'I'll guard it for him'

482. Second position

-n^y; -n^y: imitative This suffix denotes that an action performed by the subject is the same as that performed previously or simultaneously by someone else. Its function following í 'say', especially with the emphatic -pa immediately following, is that of a quotative. Following

yú 'be, exist' its meaning is less obvious, e.g., yún^ypa 'it happened so, in such a manner' (cf. yúxpa 'it will happen'). Finally after a consonant it has the form -n^yi (in one idiolect -n^ya):

pá·n^yc 'he went along too'
 pwán^yxa 'he'll arrive also'
 şawán^ya 'he's there too'
 ká·n^yxu·c 'Go too if you like!'
 ukúı̄^yn^yi 'he's climbing too'
 pwán^yi·c (pwá-n^y-i·-c) 'he also came again'
 şuʔúln^yi·c 'she's also washing (which she
 habitually does)'
 uyákn^yi 'he's lying down too'
 yulú paʔín^ypa 'you know who I mean'
 (lit. somebody him-I say-also-mildly emphatically)

483. Third position.

-y; -i·; -ya habitual, usitative, repetitive, continuative. This suffix denotes that an action has been performed previously by the subject of the verb, either a single previous performance or one customarily performed. The suffix has the form -i· between consonants, -ya after a consonant when final or before -x, and after /i/ or /i·/ when final. It is optionally -y or -ya finally after vowels other than /i/ or /i·/, and -y before a consonant after vowels other than /i/ or /i·/. After /i/ before a consonant, /i/ is lengthened:

- 4 šá·yx 'I'll eat again'
 šmáyx 'I'll sleep again'
 ší·x 'I'll drink again'
 pca·núpi·c 'he washed him again'
 šʔúlya 'I washed (clothes, as I usually do)'
 pwáyxa 'He'll come back'
 šumáyc 'he was sleeping (as he customarily
 does)'
 awyá·yc 'now he knows (he remembers,
 having forgotten)'
 nʔkumísi·c 'they came back here again'
 uʔásyax 'they will do it again'

The continuative notion is expressed by attaching the suffix to the auxiliary verb í 'say, do' immediately following the main verb with the intentive -x, with the implication that the action of a following verb is simultaneous or immediately follows:

- pá·x ay(c) 'He's still going along'
 pá·x i·c nʔawí· mác 'As soon as I arrived,
 I ate'
 pwáx ayc nʔawí· umác 'As soon as he
 arrived, he ate'
 pá·x i·c nʔawí· máx 'As soon as I get there,
 I'll eat'
 nʔawí· umáx ayc puwác 'H has just sat down
 and is now eating ' (Something he-will-
 eat he-says he-sits-here (doing it))

484. Fourth position

-x intentive This suffix denotes that an action is to be performed by the subject, usually with the implication that it is the desire or intention of the subject, if animate, that the action of the verb take place:

ci·xáyx 'it will be windy'

kayúx 'whatever will be'

n^ympátx 'you are about to lie on it (the bed)'

i·ʔí·px 'I'll listen'

pa·nákx 'he intends to kill him'

mi·yá·y pítx 'you'll be crazy'

m^ysn^yupís 'she'll bewitch you'

With the second person it can function as a polite (?) imperative:

má·x 'you are to go'

mʔíx 'you will say, do'

mi·ʔí·pxa 'you better listen!' (not very polite, according to one informant)

485. Fifth position

1. -ɬ^y desiderative-potential This suffix is used only with the intentive -x and expresses a desire on the part of the speaker that an action take place, or his opinion on the potentiality of occurrence of an action. The verb to which this suffix is attached is commonly followed by í 'say':

á·xɬ^y 'I want to go'

cuwáxɫ^y 'I want to stay'

špšá'sxɫ^y íc iṣ 'I think we should move'

šmáxɫ^yá. 'I would really like to go to
sleep'

pmwá.yxɫ^y íc iṣ 'want you to call him'

kayúxɫ^y ic 'it might be (such and such)'

kmyúxɫ^y n^y?ísyá 'I hope that somehow you
(pl.) will, or can' (lit., somehow-you-will
-I-wish to-you-(pl.)- I-say-again),

puyá.xɫ^y n^y?íc 'it will happen, I hope,
that you will ...'

In a question the reference is to the desire or opinion of the subject of the verb: lú.p kmyúxɫ^y pmá.m myú 'Where might you be going? Where do you wish to go?'

2. -pa mild emphatic This suffix is used primarily with yú 'be' and í 'say'. Its meaning is approximately 'it is, or will be, exactly as has been stated'. The verb phrase uyú ac in^ypa occurs commonly in narrations in sentence-final position and may be broadly translated as: He did what I have just said and I am only repeating it as I was told it':

pawác yun^ypa 'I'm here (too)'

yúxpa 'it will be thus'

pšuyí.pa 'I just come bringing'

uyú.ppa 'they are together'

ác an^ypa 'he said so' (he said that they
said)

á.xpa 'I will surely go'

3. -ş assertive As a suffix to í, aʔí, or yú, -ş emphasizes the truth of a statement and/or implies that the information conveyed was previously unknown to the hearer. It also occurs immediately following the intentive -x with the same meaning, and therefore must be considered a fifth position suffix. As a suffix other than to the above three auxiliary verbs, and without the intentive -x, there is included an element of doubt or hesitation. It is possible that the meaning in the latter instance is sufficiently distinct to consider it a different suffix. It can only be preceded by the syntactic suffix -k or by a plural suffix in the latter usage:

aʔíş 'I did do it, I am doing it'
 íş 'I'm saying it, and it's so'
 pawác yuş 'I'm here (sitting)'
 şawác uyuş 'he's over there'
 mn^yá·xc iş 'it will taste good, sweet, I say'
 n^yşá·xs 'I will eat you'
 n^yşá·ş 'I'm eating you'

(The informant expanded upon the meaning of the last four forms as follows:

mn^yá·xc iş 'It might taste sweet; I
 think it'll be sweet'
 n^yşá·xc iş 'I'm telling you I'm going to
 eat you. I'll eat you if you don't
 watch out'

n^yṣá·xṣ 'I'm going to eat you for sure'

n^yṣá·ṣ 'I'm eating you, but...maybe you
don't taste so good')

í·ṣ (distributive object plural of í 'say')

'I think so, I continuously assert it'

sumíc aṣ 'he laid it down'

kmyúxṣ 'you would, will be able somehow to
be, do'

lá·xṣ 'if not; it may not be so'

pa·wí·ṣ 'he saw him, but (he was doubtful
about something)'

payákṣ 'as for me (lying down)' (lit.,

'I am in a reclining position as I talk to
you and my opinion is such and such or I
am doubtful about something')

4. -c perfective-sequential It is difficult to arrive at the exact function and meaning of this commonly occurring suffix. In a sequence of verbs denoting a series of actions by the same subject, verb stems ending in a vowel attach -c while those ending in a consonant ordinarily do not, although they may do so with apparently no difference in meaning, e.g., wáí^y uxáp uyá·c supás n^yiyuwác awxám pa·wác pa·wác pa·wác 'He went into the house, picked (something) up, came out, then sat and hit (it on the ground) three times'. In this function it is not clear whether a perfective aspect is indicated. Its function here is definitely syntactic, however, as it contrasts with the syntactic sub-

ordinating suffix -m (801.4) which denotes the following verb as having a different subject: *şa·yí·c pa·wí·c* 'He was coming there and saw him' (same subjects), *şa·yí·m pa·wí·c* 'He saw him coming there' (different subjects). (See 863.1.)

In other instances the aspective function is more obvious: *pawí·* 'I'm looking at him', *pawí·c* 'I saw him'. The latter may also mean 'I'm looking at him', but with an apparent emphasis on the initiation of the action and/or the denotation that the action is expected to be completed. There is no reference to tense in the former form. *pawí·* may also mean 'I was looking at him'. The lack of the suffix -c may thus indicate a sort of 'progressive'. It does not appear, however, necessarily to denote a progressive action, but rather a lack of emphasis on aspect:

Compare the following examples with the comments of the informant:

uşá·c şa·wá 'He's there eating (hard things)'
('You say this if you are outside and tell somebody, and you know he's still eating')

uşá·c şa·wác Informant: 'This means the same as the other, except that you expect more to follow'. Note: This does not mean that the two forms are not predicative, but rather that -c anticipates the completion of the eating and a statement of further action by the subject. A more

satisfying statement than the latter is: ušá·c ša·wác uyuš which means 'He's there eating' or 'He ate there', in which the syntactic function of -c is evident.

With certain verbs the combination -xc denotes an habitual or continuative action rather than an intention to complete an action (cf. n^yšá·xc iš above, 3. -š): wá kwáspiš^y n^ywáyxc yuš 'I live in this house' (house which-is-located-permanently-in I-live-intentive-perfective I-do-evidential).

Certain verbs, e.g., má- 'be ripe', do not occur without the suffix -c or -x, and thus lend credence to the perfective function of -c. Being ripe is to the native speaker a completed action.

Other examples of -c:

lawʔámx ac 'he won't do it, he says'

pa·ʔác 'he says to him'

pa·yí·c pwác n^ymá·m n^yyuwác ucíṭ 'He comes here, arrives, then sits there and defecates'

pa·wí·c awšáy špuʔá·c 'He looks at him and laughs, as he stands there'

px^wáyxc 'Good! That's o.k. Fine!'

(implying that what was said has been accepted by the hearer)

šucúc kuwá·k pá· 'She picks it up and as she

is going along returning...' Note:
This is a complete sentence, but the
emphasis is directed to the action of
her going along (pá·). The sentence
following this states what happens
while she is going along.

500. INFLECTION: THE NOUN

Noun inflection involves fewer affixes and position classes, but does not essentially differ from verb inflection. Noun inflectional categories are: pronominal prefixes, plural, and case suffixes. The second person pronominal prefix is the same for the verb and noun. First person has no overt marker in either the noun or verb. The third person pronominal prefixes, however, differ, and it is often by means of the form of the third person that the two word classes may be distinguished.

The formation of the noun plural, though deficient and much less elaborate than the verb plural, is accomplished by the same affixes and processes. The noun case suffixes can be equated with the positional affixes of the verb. The objective suffix $-n^V$, attached to pronouns, is identical in form and perhaps is related in function and meaning, to the referential indefinite verb prefix.

Nouns consist of nouns proper and a subclass of pronouns. Pronouns are formally distinguished from nouns proper by the objective suffix $-n^V$, as opposed to an unmarked objective for nouns proper. Pronouns, in addition, differ from nouns proper in not being inflected for plural and in not deriving verbs.

510. Pronominal prefixes. Pronominal prefixes distinguish person with no reference to number or sex and, for most nouns, denote possession. For a few nouns referring

to humans the prefixes establish identity rather than possess. Possession of most nouns that are ordinarily possessed (but excluding kinship terms and body parts) is accomplished syntactically by means of the distributive object plural of the verb aʔí 'do' (i.e., aʔís 'have, own') immediately following the possessed noun (which is object of the verb): n^yq^wál uʔás 'her front dress', n^yq^wál maʔís 'your front dress' (See also 440). Kinship terms and body parts are inalienably possessed and require a pronominal prefix. A few alienably possessed nouns can be possessed by means of pronominal prefixes by attaching first to the stem the derivative prefix n^y- 'animate possessive', which often modifies somewhat the meaning of the stem. (See Appendix I for position class.)

511. First and second person. First person has no overt marker to indicate possession. Second person prefix is m-:

- i·xú 'my nose'
- mkúr 'my forehead'
- n^ywá 'my house'
- n^y cá· 'my mother'
- n^yx^wát 'my blood'
- ixmá 'my penis'
- iskáw (or skáw) 'my father's younger
brother'
- šmá·l 'my ear'
- psá· 'my daughter (m.s.)'
- mi·yá 'your mouth'

mmx^wáĭ 'your hair'
 mn^yxáĭ 'your dog, pet'
 mn^yk^wá. 'your mother's brother'
 mxká. 'your daughter's son'
 mšwáĭ 'your armpit'
 mlxá 'your saliva'

512. Third person. The third person pronominal prefix is n^y- for all nouns which may take a pronominal prefix other than those dealt with in 512.1 and 512.2:

n^yi·xú 'his nose'
 n^ymší·ĭ^y 'his thigh'
 n^yxckár 'his chest'
 n^ylxá 'his saliva'
 n^yšmá·l 'his ear'
 n^yšcʔáw 'her son or daughter (w.s.)'

512.1. Secondary stem nouns with the derivative prefix n^y- 'animate possessive' attach a- in the position immediately before the consonant preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable. a- in effect denotes third person possession, although the third person pronominal prefix n^y- may optionally be attached, providing the possessing noun is not present:

(n^y)n^yawá 'his house'
 apá n^yawá 'the man's house'
 n^ykamí 'his pocket'
 n^yax^wáĭ 'his blood'
 n^yaxáĭ 'his dog, pet'

512.2. Most kinship terms indicate third person pos-

session by means of a verbal noun. That is, the kinship term (basically a noun) is converted into a verb either with no change in the stem or by means of the verb-forming suffix -y (621) and concomitant shortening of the root vowel, from which verb a noun is derived by means of the derivative prefix k^w- (721). Kinship terms which indicate third person possession in this manner have /a/ in the position immediately before the consonant preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable. This prefix a- is possibly equated with the same prefix co-occurring with n^y- 'animate possessive' (512.1), although it is more probable that its function is that of the derivative prefix a- (611).

- k^wn^yacáy 'his, her mother'
 k^wn^yaʔáy 'her father (w.s.)'
 k^wn^yakú 'his father (m.s.)'
 k^wawán^y 'his younger sister's son (m.s.)'
 ʃk^wawán^y 'his younger sister's daughter (m.s.)'
 ʃk^waxká. 'her, his daughter's daughter'

ʃʔáw 'son or daughter (w.s.)' is apparently the only kinship term which denotes third person possession simply by the pronominal prefix n^y- (i.e., n^yʃʔáw). The following are the only kinship terms obtainable which have both n^y- and a-:

- n^ypasá. 'his daughter (m.s.)' (psá. 'my ...')
 n^yx^wamá. 'his son (m.s.)' (xu.má. 'my ...')
 n^ywan^yá. 'his, her daughter-in-law'
 (u.n^yá. 'my ...')

/n^y/ is a common phoneme preceding the root syllable of kinship terms. It undoubtedly is to be segmented, although the root is not a free form. It is not certain whether its meaning should be considered equivalent to that of the derivative n^y- (512.1, 711).

513. Identity. The pronominal prefixes attached to certain nouns referring to humans, e.g., 'man', 'woman', 'boy', 'girl', which are not thought of as being possessed, establish identity with meanings like: 'you women', 'we men', 'I who am a man', 'they who are girls'. The second person construction prefixes m-, as for possession:

msʔá·k 'you women, you who are women'

mapá 'you who are a man'

mapá·s 'you men'

mşxá· 'you who are a girl past puberty
but not married'

Third person identity is formed by n^y-, which can be equated with the third person pronominal prefix (512) attached to all such nouns except apá 'man'. n^y- prefixed to apá means 'I who am a man' (n^yapá·s 'we men'). The form for third person identity is apá 'man' (or apá·s 'they who are men, those men, the men'). The use of n^y- for third person identity somewhat parallels that of the referential indefinite verb prefix n^y- (440).

n^y- can be used when the reference is to first person, as well as to third person. Thus, n^ysʔá·k may mean 'we women' or 'they who are women'. Although the alternate meanings appear somewhat incongruous, the reference to first per-

son may have been analogized from the first person pronominal object verb prefix n^y- , or from $/n^y/$ of the first person pronoun $n^yá.c$.

520. Plural. The elaborate plural concepts of the verb are lacking in the noun plural. A plural form of a noun means simply 'more than one'. The processes of the formation of the noun plural, however, are virtually identical with those used in forming verb plurals (421).

Nouns other than those which overtly mark the plural can have either singular or plural reference. Except for $xát$ 'dog', nouns inflected for plural refer to human beings.

The plural formation is described according to the morphological process involved:

1. Root vowel modification. Shortening of the root vowel without further modification occurs only in one form, a kinship term: $n^y sú.s$ 'my younger sister', $n^y sú$ 'my younger sisters'. Final $/a\cdot/$ and $/u\cdot/$ of a stressed syllable is usually modified to $/ay/$ and $/uy/$, respectively:

$psá\cdot$ 'my daughter' (m.s.) : $psáy$ 'my daughters (m.s.)'

$xu\cdot má\cdot$ 'my son (m.s.) : $xu\cdot máy$ 'my sons (m.s.)'

$şxá\cdot$ 'girl from puberty to marriage' : $şxáy$ 'girls ...'

$k^w akú\cdot$ 'old woman' : $k^w akúy$ 'old women'

Shortening of the root vowel and $-s$ occur in one form:

$kn^y wí\cdot$ 'my father's older brother' : $kn^y wís$ 'my father's older brothers'

The vowel of the stressed syllable is commonly lengthened:

xasán^y 'young girl before puberty' : xasá·n^y
 'young girls ...'
 sʔák 'woman' : sʔá·k 'women'
 capáy 'Indian (Cocopa)' : capá·y 'Indians'
 xát 'dog' : xá·t 'dogs'

Lengthening of the root vowel and -s occur in two forms:

äpá 'man' : apá·s 'men'
 wán^y 'my sibling's son' : wá·n^ys '... sons'

2. -s This suffix is fairly common:

ʃiʃʔá· 'my younger sister's daughter' :
 ʃiʃʔá·s '... daughters'
 n^yxú·l 'my younger brother' : n^yxú·ls
 '... brothers'
 u·n^yá· 'my daughter-in-law' : u·n^yá·s
 'my daughters-...'
 áw 'my grandson' : áws 'my grandsons'
 ʃiʔáw 'my granddaughter' : ʃiʔáws 'my
 granddaughters'

3. c- This prefix forms the plural of one kinship term:

ʃʔáw 'my son, daughter (w.s.) : ʃcʔáw 'my
 offspring'

4. Suppletion. One noun has a suppletive plural:

k^wan^yúk 'baby, child under two years' :
 k^wramáʃ 'babies, children ...'

5. The plural of two nouns is formed by shortening the vowel of the stressed syllable, by consonantal modification, and by prefixing the element /a·/ before the consonant preceding the stressed syllable. The plural forms resemble

verbal nouns formed by means of the prefix a- (722):

kxú·n 'boy of age two until puberty' :

k^wa·xún 'boys ...'

xmí·k 'boy from puberty to marriage' :

x^wa·mík 'boys ...'

(ka·xún and xa·mík are also acceptable for the plural forms.)

530. Case suffixes. The noun case suffixes, with two exceptions, parallel the verb positional affixes (430). The noun suffixes -i and -c do not occur as verb positional affixes. -c performs the syntactic function of denoting subject (801.1).

There are two sets of 'demonstrative' suffixes whose last element consists of one of the case suffixes, with the exception of -m and -k, and whose first element is p- or ṣ-. Between the latter and the case suffix (except -i) is the vowel /i/, apparently euphonic. The pronoun objective case suffix -n^y comprises the last element of a demonstrative suffix to denote the 'objective' case of a noun. The first elements of these suffixes are identical in form and in meaning to the consonantal elements of the locative prefixes of the verb (450) and of the demonstrative pronouns (543).

Either the bare case suffix or the demonstrative suffix may be attached to the noun. The demonstrative suffix is commonly used to identify or specify someone or something previously mentioned, and is best translated as 'this,

that, the'. The demonstrative suffix can be used syntactically to denote a nominalized clause (801.2, 801.3).

1. -c 'subject' This suffix marks the noun as being the subject of a (usually) following verb. A noun can function, however, as subject of a verb without the suffix. It is not usually attached to a noun ending in more than one consonant or in /t̥/:

wác 'the, a house'

xác 'water'

sʔák 'the, a woman'

apá·sc '(the) men'

2. Unmarked 'objective' The noun is unmarked when it is the direct or indirect object of a verb, when it indicates possession of a following noun, or when it is in apposition with a following noun:

sʔák 'woman'

apá 'man'

xtpá 'coyote'

şká· 'bowl'

(See 811, 814, 861 for examples of the 'objective' in syntactic constructions.)

3. -t̥ʲ 'in, into, inside'

wát̥ʲ 'in, into the house'

xát̥ʲ 'in, into the water'

tí·nát̥ʲ 'in the tub'

mát̥ʲ 'in the sky, in heaven'

This suffix has a figurative and somewhat special meaning when attached to nouns derived from verbs by no overt process (723). It is possible here to consider $-i^y$ a derivative suffix, but it does not seem necessary to do so, as nouns can be derived from verbs without an overt derivative marker:

spáp*i*^y 'in the fourth (grade)'
 x^wát*i*^y xmá·l 'pink'
 xpsíw*i*^y plíw 'purple'
 xwák*i*^y 'both; in the second (grade)'
 xmúk*i*^y 'all three; in the third (grade)'
 mcswám*i*^y 'all of them'
 mcsá·m*i*^y 'all of us'

4. $-i$ ($-y$ after vowels) 'along, on the surface of, in the vicinity of'

má*i* 'on, along the floor'
 papí·li 'on the paper'
 lamé·si 'on the table'
 şxlápi 'on the blanket'
 cúy 'in, at the center'
 n^ywáy 'at my house'
 má·y 'on, at the top'

5. $-m$ 'with, by means of; direction toward; in or to a specific location; accompanied by' The specific meaning of this suffix is determined by the noun to which it is attached:

i·šá·ṭ^ym (payá·) '(I catch) with my hand'
 cúm 'between; in, toward the center'
 má·m 'into the sky (in a specific direction)'
 cuk^{wí}·m 'to the grocery store'
 wám (kuxáy) 'I (I paint) the house'
 cxám (á·x) '(I'm going) north'
 (sʔák) apám '(a woman) accompanied by a man'

6. -k 'direction away from; in or to a general or unspecified location'

laká·yk 'from town'
 n^yák 'east (lit. 'from the sun')'
 špáyk 'alongside of'
 (xá) má·k (cu·wá) '(He continued to sit)
 in an unspecified place above (the water)'

531. Demonstrative suffixes. These suffixes are analyzed in 530.

1. -pic 'this'; -ṣic 'that'

n^ycá·pic 'the, this mountain lion'
 payí·spic 'my coming'
 (n^yámkṭ^y) mánpic 'my getting up (early)'
 (apá) k^wʔáspic '(the man) who said, did it'
 spwé·lṣic 'those spurs'

2. -pin^y 'this'; -ṣin^y 'that' objective

sʔákp^yin 'this woman'
 ašítṣ^yin 'that (person) alone over there'
 sxuṭúṣṣ^yin 'her spitting, that which she has
 spat over there'

n^y awí· umáxpín^y 'his present and future
acts of eating'

3. -pił^y 'in this'; -şıł^y 'in that'
xápił^y 'in the water here; in this water'
 n^y awáşıł^y 'in that house of his'

4. -pi 'at this'; -şı 'at that'
wápi 'at this house'
 $n^y n^y$ awáşı 'over there at his house'

540. Pronouns. Pronominal prefixes occur only with the personal pronouns. First and second person pronouns and third person pronouns which refer to animate beings take only the suffixes -c and -n^y. The definite pronouns occur only in two forms with no apparent distinction in their use, the final elements of which (-p and -n^y) are probably to be considered as objective suffixes, although -c can be suffixed to either form. The indefinite pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns, and the third person pronouns referring to other than animate beings take the same set of case suffixes as the noun.

541. Personal pronouns. The following are the personal pronouns that are used when the reference is to animate beings. The first person objective suffix is -p rather than -n^y. Second and third person pronouns resemble the locative-temporal verb prefixes (450) as well as the demonstrative pronouns (543). The meanings of the roots -pú- and -şá- are, respectively: 'nearby' and 'far away'. The use of the prefix -u in third person is anomalous, as it otherwise occurs

only as a subject prefix to the verb (412). u- refers to someone not yet identified by the speaker and apparently occurs only with -pú-. n^y- has reference to someone previously mentioned by the speaker or hearer, or to someone identifiable without further reference by the hearer.

	Subject	Object
First person	n ^y á·c	n ^y á·p
Second person	mapúc	mapún ^y
Third person	n ^y púc	n ^y pún ^y
	n ^y şác	n ^y şán ^y
	upúc	upún ^y

541.1. Impersonal and inanimate reference. -pú- and -şá with the prefix n^y-, and -pú- and -pá- with the prefix u- may take the other case suffixes (in addition to -c and -n^y) when the reference is impersonal (e.g., time, place) or inanimate. -pá- and -şá- can attach -y without n^y- or u-:

n^ypúy 'here, at this place (known to both of us)'

upúy 'at this place (which I will identify forthwith)'

n^yşáı^y 'in it, in that (far away)'

(wá) n^yşáı^y 'in that (house) over there'

n^yşám 'to that place, up to that time, and then'

n^ypúm 'to this place, until this moment, and now'

páy 'here'

upáy 'at this place close by'

şáy 'there'

542. Definite pronouns. The definite pronouns refer to a specific person or thing. They are: lú·p and lú·n^y 'something, someone, what, who'. Either may occur as the form of the objective case. The only case suffix which may be attached is -c:

lú·pc and lú·n^yc

543. Demonstrative pronouns. The stems of the demonstrative pronouns are: pí·- 'this nearby', pú·- 'that nearby', and şú·- 'that far away'. They can take the prefix u-, but not n^y-:

pí·c 'this one nearby (subj.)'

şú·c 'that one far away (subj.)'

pú·n^y 'that one nearby (obj.)'

pí·k 'to this general area'

pí·m 'to this specific place'

pí·t^y 'in this one, in this place'

uşú·c 'this place (subj.)'

uşú·t^y 'in that place'

upí·m 'to this place'

The suffix -i (-y after vowels) is not used with the demonstrative pronouns. Instead, the third person inanimate pronoun is used: (mát) n^yşáy 'in that (land)'.
 (mát) n^yşáy 'in that (land)'.

544. Indefinite pronouns. The stem of the indefinite pronoun is maká-. It takes any of the case suffixes, including the demonstrative suffixes:

makác	'someone, who (subj.)'
makán ^y	'someone, whom (obj.)'
makáɿ ^y	'in something, in what'
makám	'to some place, to where'
makák	'from some place, from where'
makáy	'at some place, at where'
makápic	'which one, whichever one (subj.)'
makápin ^y	'whichever one (obj.)'
makáɿi ^y	'in whichever one over there'

600. DERIVATION: THE VERB

610. Verbs derived from verb stems

611. a- 'active' An active verb stem can be derived from any stative verb by means of a- which occurs in second position (see Appendix I). An active stem thus formed is bound and is always accompanied by an instrumental prefix, usually c-, s-, or š-. (See 614.1 for use of a- with active verbs.):

±^yáp 'be hot', ca±^yáp 'I heat'

šáy 'be greasy', mcašáy 'you grease, (e.g., the car, frying pan)'

šíť 'be one', ca·šíť 'he arranges one by one'

k^wáš 'be brown', cak^wáš 'make brown'

kú^y 'be long', cakú^y (or šakú^y) 'I lengthen'

xmá·±^y 'be white', mcxamá·±^y 'you whiten'

xwák 'be two', sxa·wá·k 'he arranges in pairs'

(Note distributive object plural)

611.1. wa- 'causative' This prefix is analyzed as the morphophonemic result of the juxtaposition of the prefixes u·- (614.3) and a- (611, 213). It occurs in second position. Its meaning is 'to cause someone or something to assume the attributes of, or to perform the action denoted by, the verb stem'. This prefix is not used with stative verb stems:

pás 'I touch', pwapás 'I make him touch'

š?ák 'carry by the handle', pšwa?ák 'I make him carry by the handle'

má 'I eat', pwamás 'I feed him, make him eat'

(Note dist. obj. plur.)

luʔúy 'he plays', plwaʔúy 'make him play'

xʔá·p 'I'm jealous (w.s.)', pxwaʔá·p 'I make
her jealous'

šmk^wír 'I'm jealous (m.s.)', pšmwak^wír 'I make
him jealous'

612. i·- (y- before vowels; see 211) 'be, become'

This prefix used singly denotes the subject of the verb as assuming the attributes of, or performing the action indicated by, the verb stem. Accompanied by an instrumental prefix, its effect is causative, with a meaning similar to wa- (611.1). It occurs in second position. This prefix can derive an active verb from a stative verb, although it is not as common a method as a- (611). i·- with a similar meaning is a moderately productive prefix for deriving verbs from nouns (622):

xáy 'be wet, moist' (from xá 'water'), i·xáy 'I
get wet, it is soupy'

škmírq 'be slick, slippery', ški·mírq 'become
slick, slippery'

šáy 'be fat, greasy', yušáy 'he becomes greasy'
(/i·/ before a vowel becomes /y/; see 211.)

The prefix may induce a simultaneous plural inflection and/or slight modification of the meaning of the primary stem:

mšyáyp (from mšyá· 'I fear'(?)) 'I'm, its
dangerous', mši·yá·yp 'I'm, it's frightening'

má 'I eat', i·má 'I dance'
 wí· 'I see', mci·wí·p 'we hold a meeting' (lit.,
 'we become seen by each other')
 mxán 'look at, watch', mi·xá·n 'it is good,
 pleasant'
 páṭ 'I lie down', i·páṭ 'I become alive, active'
 pá·m 'I arrive', pyá·m 'I move back', pšyá·m 'I
 move him back' (p- in the first two forms is derivative (614.4)
 but inflective (411; 413) in the latter.)

Segmentation of i·- often results in bound stems or stems which do not occur other than with this prefix:

i·páy 'rise from the dead' (undoubtedly related
 to apá 'man' and spá 'I emerge')
 xli·kúy 'it is, I am exciting'
 sri·wí· 'I compare, contrast'
 pri·wí· 'it's, I'm the same, similar'
 xi·púk 'I'm, it's first'

612.1. ya- Although not of common occurrence, this seems to be the combination of the prefixes i·- and a-. The following are the only known verbs with this prefix:

yaxát 'I'm greedy', yuxát 'he's greedy' (obviously
 derived from xát 'dog', probably by means of the
 intervening (but unattested) i·xát 'I become a
 dog')
 yawíṭ^y 'I'm filled up, sated', myawíṭ^y 'you're sated'
 yawár 'be hungry' (impersonal only, e.g. n^yá·p
 yawár 'I'm hungry' mapún^y yawár

you're hungry', apá yawár 'the man's hungry')
 yaráw 'I'm quick' (cf. ráw 'it flows' and aráw
 'I'm fast')

613. n-, n^y- 'diminutive' It is not certain whether there is any distinction in meaning in the use of these two prefixes. n^y- is found only with the two stative verbs l^ycáš 'small (in size)' and rmás 'young (in age)'. n- never occurs with these two verbs, but may occur with a few other stative verbs and the auxiliary verb yú 'be'. There is one instance of its occurring with a pronoun: unpáy (upáy 'at this previously unmentioned place') 'a little here'. Either prefix can denote, though not necessarily, a quality of affection or tenderness. The symbolic change of /c/ to /t/ (618) is always accompanied by one or the other of these prefixes. They occupy the first position class:

xncáq 'it's bad'
 xuncáq 'he's ugly'
 rn^ymás 'it's young'
 rn[?]úr 'it's spherical'
 l^yn^ycáš 'it's small'

The diminutive prefix can be attached only to the auxiliary verb:

unyúm ru[?]írxan^y 'he was very skinny'

or a sequence of verbs, including the auxiliary:

xuncáq^yxan^y ka•nyú lun[?]ám^yxan^y 'none whatsoever was
 as bad as he' (lit., 'he-was-little-bad-very
 he-was-little-in-any-manner he-did-not-little
 -say-very')

614. Instrumental prefixes. The following prefixes are for the most part causative in nature. Most of them denote, in varying degrees of clarity and concreteness, the means or manner in which the action expressed in the verb root is performed. They occupy the fourth position class. Most of the consonantal prefixes freely combine with u'- and a-. Such combinations are discussed below (614.1). Although consisting of two phonemic elements, sk^(w)- is considered one prefix because of its precise denotation. Segmentation by form alone would allow the combination of several of the consonantal prefixes in numerous instances. Such segmentation is not resorted to unless a semantic relationship can be established with the general meaning of the prefix. There are a number of recurring prefixal elements which invite segmentation, but whose semantic classifications are somewhat obscure. These are described in 615. The prefixes are presented in alphabetical order:

1. c- 'general causative' This prefix is extremely common and apparently quite productive in combinations with u'- and a- (614.1). It is only moderately common when used singly:

cr^ʔúk 'bend into a curved shape (e.g., a stick)'
 cqúlqúl i 'I stack (books)'
 pc^ʔír 'I startle him'
 cmwás 'I flesh a hide'
 cmwár (also cmawár) 'I mash, crumble'
 pcuk^wír 'he follows him'
 cxás 'I whittle, scour, scrape, scrub'
 cxupát^y 'he pulls'

expíł^y 'I make stick'

2. k- 'do with the foot or with a large instrument'

kmwár 'I crush, smear with my foot'

kmáł 'I sharpen, grind (e.g., an axe, saw)'

k[?]úy 'I cut hair'

kyá·r 'I kick', ki·wár 'he kicks' (There

are two prefixes here: k- and i·-, attached to the bound stem -á·r, possibly derived from or related to á· 'go'. Differences in the forms are the result of morphophonemic rules 212 and 213.)

3. u·- No specific notion appears to attach to this suffix other than 'performance of an action'.

u·pák 'I carry on my shoulders'

u·x^wák 'I break (a cup, glass, egg)'

u·kúp 'I open'

u·máł 'I powder my face'

u·má·ł 'I sweep the floor'

awpún 'he hoes' (For third person see 412)

mu·n^yú·r 'you write'

4. p- 'do on foot or while walking; do, occur with force, tension, pressure'

p[?]á· 'I stand'

pu[?]áw 'he walks'

pkát 'I cut off by walking, take a shortcut'

mpšá· 'you guard, watch'

pnáp 'I hide in my hand'

mp[?]táx 'you slap'

puʔút 'he closes his eyes'
 puʔúk 'he winks his eye'
 pʂí· 'I urinate'
 pʂít 'I break wind'
 pcpák 'it bursts'

p- appears to be segmentable in a few other forms without the above semantic notions:

pwát 'it's used up, all gone' (cf. n^ywát 'I've finished (e.g., a task) and suwát 'I've finished talking')
 pk^wát 'I sort out things, pick up (a bunch of things)'
 plík 'I taste'
 pɬ^ymá 'it's done, cooked'
 pʔám 'it remains, is left over'
 pʔáw 'I spread things out'

5. s- 'do in the mouth or by talking; general causative' This prefix is to be distinguished from the inflective plural prefix (421):

suyá· 'he sings'
 sxtú 'I spit'
 sx^wár 'we laugh' (This is the suppletive plural for u·şáy. s- could justifiably be considered a plural prefix here.)
 ská· 'I carry in my mouth'
 sxyáɬ^y 'I spit out'
 mswá·r 'you're mean (because of what you say)'

suwá 'he places in an upright sitting position'

spít 'I cover a house'

skát 'I pick (e.g., beans, cotton)' (cf. sukát
'I bite off')

smí 'I place (a long object)'

6. sk^w- (before /i/ or /a/), sk- (before /u/ or a consonant) 'do by talking' Much talking is implied in many forms in which this prefix occurs and it could reasonably be argued that the element s- might better be considered the plural prefix:

psk^wí 'I ask him a question' (possibly from
í 'I say')

pmsk^wír 'you're teasing him'

sk^wá·p 'I pray'

pskupás 'he fired him'

skn^yáp 'I talk, discuss, gossip' (i.e., with
someone. This is very likely a plural form
of kn^yá·p 'I tell, relate')

7. ş- 'perform an action involving a definite sort of motion, e.g., in a revolving, rotating, or to-and-fro manner, or a motion involving close contact of objects'

şukán 'he escapes, runs away'

şk^wín^y 'I pierce my ears'

şk^wí 'I screw'

şk^wír 'I twist, screw'

(i·n^yá·n^y) şx^wá·n^y 'I clear (my throat)'

ş?úl 'I wash clothes'

šnák 'I tie a knot'
 šxʔák 'I hang up'
 mšwí 'you wipe'
 šuwí·rq 'he steers (a car)'
 šwí·rq i 'I whirl myself around'

8. š- 'do with the hand'

šk^wá·l 'I peel'
 pškáp 'I pinch him'
 šuk^wíř 'he's noisy'
 šmírmír 'I straighten'
 šn^yá·x 'I dip up'
 mšřáp 'you split, slice, cut, shell (e.g., peas)'
 šříp 'I shoot, fire'
 šuxár 'he kneads'
 šʔúy 'I poke with my finger'
 škátř 'I pick (e.g., grapes, cotton; cf. skátř
 'I pick'. s- denotes that the action is
 done with greater care.)

9. ř- 'cause to change from one position to another'

This is not a common prefix used singly. See 614.1 for examples in combination with u·- and a-:

řpáp 'I bow my head'
 řxmʔám 'I stoop over'

10. x- 'do in a manner involving friction or close contact'

xřúp 'I jump (over)'
 xpíř 'it is sticky, it sticks; I closed,
 sealed his, their lips'

xuší·ṭ^y 'he blows his nose'
 xca·ṭ^y 'I crawl'
 xpšíw 'it leafs out'
 xpšú· 'I breathe on, blow with my mouth'
 xk^wá·k 'I yawn'
 xn^yú 'I become infected'
 xsá·m 'it is almost' (cf. sá·m 'it is all')
 xuyán^y 'he holds, carries in his arms'
 xsʔíṭ 'I'm sex-crazed'

614.1. Combinations of prefixes. The consonantal prefixes occasionally occur in combinations (seldom more than two) that permit segmentation with fairly clear semantic notions assignable to each, e.g., špʔá· 'I place something in a standing position', sxyáṭ^y 'I spit out', cxʔák 'I fasten, hang up'. There are, however, numerous instances in which it is difficult to determine the semantic contribution of one or the other, or both, of the prefixal elements, e.g., xsʔíṭ 'I'm sex-crazed', špšá 'I move (my place of abode)', xpcú·n^y 'I go to church'. There do not appear to be fixed position classes for such consonantal combinations.

Much more common is the combination of a consonantal prefix with a-, which is equated with the prefix a- 'active' (611) or with u·- (with the combining form -u-) 'performance of an action' (614.3). In addition to deriving active verbs from stative verbs, a- in combination with a consonantal prefix can form secondary stems from a few active verbs:

psawí·w 'I showed him' (wí· 'I see')
 sarár 'I'm industrious' (rár 'I'm occupied
 with something')
 psapát 'I laid him down'
 (i·šá·i^y) ʔaká·p 'we place our palms together'
 (i·šá·i^y) caká·p 'we mix our hands together
 (e.g., in a game)'

The combination of u⁻ (i.e., u-) and a consonantal prefix is quite common. u⁻ has not been found to occur with x- or ʂ-. It is especially common with c-:

cumíl 'I pour out'
 cuqáw 'I fry (eggs)'
 pcucúk 'I pull his hair'
 cusáq 'I slap mud on my face'
 ʔuk^{wán^y} 'I eat up, consume'
 ʔux^{wíš} 'I swing my arm in preparation for throw-
 ing'
 ʔumák 'I turn my back'
 šuk^{wíi^y} 'I sew'
 šumán 'I open'
 šupíʔ 'I close'
 sukáʔ 'I bite off'
 sun^{yú} 'I repeat, speak (a language)'
 suwáʔ 'I finish (a talk or story)'
 skuyá· 'I'm generous'
 pupíʔ 'I stand blocking the way'
 pucín^y 'I bump, nudge, kick (a ball), stub (my
 toe)'

kuxáy 'I rub'

kuxá·y 'I paint'

kukát 'I saw (wood)'

cukát 'I cut (with an axe)' (cf. u·kát 'I
break, cut (in two pieces)')

615. Prefixes of uncertain status or of obscure semantic content. The semantic contribution of the following prefixal elements to the meaning of a particular form is considerably less evident than that of the instrumental prefixes described above. It may be that they were formerly productive prefixes of more common usage and are now petrified. Or they, or at least certain of them, may simply be non-segmentable consonantal elements of the root:

1. xm- This prefix is possibly related to or derived from the verb xámxám i 'I drop, discontinue my work'. With effort one might be able to assign it the general meaning 'lacking some characteristic' in most of the following forms:

pxman^yáw 'I shod him' (xmn^yáw 'my shoes')

xmkxá·p 'Mohave' (possibly to be analyzed

rather as a compound: xá 'water',

-m case suffix (530.5) k- derivative prefix

(721), xá·p plural (421.6) of xáp 'enter, go in')

xmṣpuʔá·p 'I turn something upside down' (cf.

tuʔáp 'I turn something upside down',

špʔá· 'I stand something up')
 xmwár 'it's not ripe' (cf. mwár 'it's soft')
 xmxú·k 'be six' (cf. spxú·k 'be eight' and
 ʂa·xú·k 'be ten')
 xmxmúk 'be nine' (cf. xmúk 'be three')
 xmʔúʔ 'be gray'
 i·yú xmʔú·y 'I'm blind' (i·yú 'my eye(s)')

2. ʔ- If this is a valid prefix, it may denote exertion of pressure, or some sort of unpleasant or aberrant situation:

ʔm̄cu·xúm 'I cut off my hair, having become a widow' (mc- is undoubtedly the reflexive pronominal prefix (413)).
 ʔk^wíʂ 'I squeeze (a lemon), milk (a cow)'
 ʔxi·cúc 'be, become kinky (hair)' (i-- 'be, become' (?) (612), cf. xcúc 'Lycium pallidum squawberry')
 ʔupáy 'he lies on a pillow'
 ʔxmʔú 'I belch'
 ʔxusú·s 'he sweats'

3. ʔ^y- On account of its occurrence in the position class immediately before the root and after a pronominal prefix (410), ʔ^y- is justifiably considered a derivative prefix as well as an inflective positional affix (430). Its semantic contribution as a derivative prefix is, however, not evident. The following examples illustrate the

use of ɮ^{y} - in its possible derivative function:

- (sʔá·k) $\text{mɮ}^{\text{y}}\text{wí}^{\text{y}}\text{s}$ 'You (pl.) are like (women)'
 $\text{ɮ}^{\text{y}}\text{már}$ 'I light a fire'
 $\text{mɮ}^{\text{y}}\text{qáw}$ 'you're bald'
 $\text{mɮ}^{\text{y}}\text{kušáq}$ 'he (e.g., a cat) scratches you'
 $\text{pɮ}^{\text{y}}\text{mín}^{\text{y}}$ 'I singe (a chicken)'
 $\text{pɮ}^{\text{y}}\text{wát}$ 'I char, scorch, scald; it is charred,
 scorched, scalded'

4. l - If this is a valid prefix, it may possibly be related to or derived from the non-referential definite inflective prefix lu - (462):

- lxúx 'it is empty'
 lcín^{y} 'it is shallow'
 $\text{l}^{\text{y}}\text{úy}$ 'I play' (cf. $\text{k}^{\text{y}}\text{úy}$ 'I cut hair' and
 $\text{š}^{\text{y}}\text{úy}$ 'I poke with my finger')
 lmíš 'be hairy, furry'
 lpá 'I squeeze a pimple', mlpá 'you squeeze
 a pimple'
 splxáy 'I moisten my lips (with saliva)' (lxá
 'saliva', xáy 'be moist')

5. l^{y} - l^{y} - occurs in only two forms in the position class which renders it eligible for consideration as a derivative prefix, with no hint as to semantic content:

- $\text{l}^{\text{y}}\text{pák}$ 'be light in weight'
 $\text{ml}^{\text{y}}\text{cáš}$ 'you are small (in size)'

6. m - m - is a fairly common prefixal element prior to the stressed syllable. Its frequent occurrence provides

few or no clues as to its semantic content. It occurs as the first element of numerous stative verbs, but is also present in a prefixal position in active verbs:

mwál^y 'be soft' (cf. Spanish muelle)

mwál 'be loose (e.g., a drawer)'

mwár 'be crumbled, crumbly' (This and the above two forms may possibly be related symbolically in the alternation of the final consonant; see 618.)

mxán 'I observe, watch (e.g., television)'

pmxán 'I love, like him'

mi·xá·n 'it is good, pleasant (e.g., to the taste)'

myú·lq 'be sweet to the taste'

mn^yá· 'be delicious, taste good'

mn^yíx 'be too heavy to lift'

mpár 'I know how, learn'

mpín^yq 'I skin (an animal)'

mmxú·í^y 'you roast (corn)' (Initial m- is pronominal prefix (412).)

7. n- The consideration of n- for derivative status is based solely on its occurrence in one stem:

nmák 'I quit, leave' (cf. impersonal intransitive mák 'be behind')

mmák 'you quit, leave'

8. r- r- is relatively common in a prefixal position. If it is a valid prefix, its meaning is not revealed in

the forms in which it occurs. (See, however 618.) It occurs in a few instances with the prefixal element p- and once each with s-, şk- (perhaps the two instrumental prefixes ş- and k-), and x-:

- şkruwí· 'be in the middle' (apparently impersonal only)
- mpri·wí· 'you are similar to, resemble'
- mpryá·p 'you turn over in bed'
- mrxpáy 'you are near, close by'
- sri·wí· 'I compare, contrast (e.g., material for a dress)'
- rʔár 'be deep'
- ryár 'be circular and flat (e.g., a tortilla)'
- rpúy 'I do secretly, disappear, it is secret'
- (nʔnʔáɬʔ) mrqíw 'you choke, strangle (his neck)'
- rşá·w 'be thin (e.g., hair on the head)'
- rʔák 'I (a man) am old'
- rʔúr 'be spherical'
- rʔír 'be scrawny, skinny'

616. Compounding. Except for the special type of compounding, viz., reduplication (617), compounding as a derivative process for verbs is virtually non-existent. Or at least the language may be analyzed so as to exclude it as an active process. There are, however, several forms, mostly bound, which appear to be verb stems and which conjoin with other verb stems in such a manner that warrants considering the process compounding.

1. -wí· 'seem' (?) This may possibly be equated with the root appearing in such forms as $\dot{\text{t}}^{\text{Y}}\text{wí}$ · 'be like, resemble', sri·wí· 'compare, contrast', pri·wí· 'be similar to', and cawí·m 'be indifferent, equivalent to':

i·ʔí·pi·cwí· 'it seems I've heard it before'

(-i·after /p/ is inflective; see 483.)

mʔí·mwí· '(I think) you've said it before'

áymwí· 'he said it before'

máx $\dot{\text{t}}^{\text{Y}}$ wí· 'I crave' / $\dot{\text{t}}^{\text{Y}}$ / is probably the desiderative suffix (485.1) and not the derivative prefix (615.5).)

2. -xan^Y (-xán^Y) 'be very (much)' -xan^Y is augmentative in function and is somewhat suffixal in its unstressed position following a verb stem. However, it appears to be a verb stem in its own right as it may attach the negative prefix (470), in which case it is a stressed syllable:

mi·xá·nxan^Y 'it tastes really good'

n^Yí· $\dot{\text{t}}^{\text{Y}}$ xan^Y 'it's very black'

li·ʔí·pmxan^Y 'I don't hear at all'

pmu·yá·xan^Y 'I really know him, I know him well'

awyá·xan^Y 'he knows for sure, knows all'

awyá·luxán^Y 'he doesn't know at all' (It is

interesting to note that negation is accomplished here without the suffixal element -m (470), but by what is formally the non-referential definite (462).)

3. -xú·c -xú·c is known to occur only with imperatives and is best translated as 'please'. It is considered a verb stem on account of the stressed syllable. It is possible to consider the element -c the perfective-sequential suffix (485.4), but such consideration is entirely ad hoc as the stem has not been found to occur with any of the other inflective suffixes:

kyaráwxú·c 'Please hurry up! Be quick, please!'

ká·n^yxú·c 'Go too, if you like. Please go!'

kkúł^yxú·c 'Please climb!'

kyí·n^yxú·c 'You come too, if you like.'

4. -yáwp This element, which is considered as an impersonal intransitive verb stem, is known to occur only with the two elements yú- and wí- forming respectively the compounds: yúyáwp 'be identifiable by sight' and wí·yáwp 'be identifiable by feeling'. yú- without hesitation may be assumed to be the root of the noun meaning 'eye' (cf. i·yú 'my eye'). None of the known semantic notions of the phonemic sequence /wí·/ in any of its occurrences deals with the notion of 'feeling'. It is possible that it may be equated with -wí· 'seem' (616.1). -yáwp is very likely related to the verb u·yá· 'I know'.

5. kí· 'Is that so? Well, what of it? So what?' kí· may occur alone with the meaning 'Is that so?'. It may occur as what appears to be the second element of a compound: pá·kí· 'So it's true he's going along, huh?', although it could as well be considered a verb phrase:

pá· kí·. It is tempting to analyze kí· as the imperative of the verb í 'say' followed by the inflective third position suffix -i·(483). Although the semantic content of the form invites this analysis, it is probably incorrect as it does not explain the absence of /ʔ/. The expected form in such case would be kʔí· (cf. mʔí 'you say', kʔí 'Say!'). It is considered in this analysis as an impersonal intransitive verb which may comprise one of the elements of a compound verb:

(px^wáy) mʔíakí· 'Do you think it's (all right, good)?'

ʂuʔú·lakí· 'So she's washing, huh?'

pa·nákakí· 'He killed him, huh?'

ʂumá·kí· 'He's sleeping, is he?' (/a/ plus /a/ gives /a·/ (214))

awʂápakí· 'Oh, they're laughing, are they?'
(awʂáp is collective plural of awʂáy.)

mi·ʔí·pkí· 'You heard that, didn't you?'

/a/ preceding kí· is probably to be considered the interrogative suffix -a (801.7), although its use is not obligatory with kí·. An element which is possibly equated with one of the alternate forms of the referential indefinite (440), viz., n^ya-, can occur in a prefixal position to kí· :

luʔáxn^yakí· 'What would he say?'

luʔíxn^yakí· 'What can I say? How can I say it?'

luʔín^yxn^yakí· 'How would I say it too (what someone else has said)?'

617. Reduplication. Reduplication is a special type of compounding consisting of the repetition of a primary verb stem whose phonemic shape is most commonly CVC. A reduplicated verb usually denotes a repeated or an intermittent action. Many reduplicated verbs do not occur in their non-reduplicated form. Reduplicated verbs are inflected in the manner of other verbs (400) or periphrastically, in which case they consist of verb phrases (822.1). The reduplicated verb is formally an impersonal intransitive verb, undergoing no inflective process except modification of the root vowel for plural impersonal subject. Inflection for person takes place in the immediately following unstressed form of the auxiliary verb í 'say'. A large number of reduplicated verbs are impersonal in reference and are not inflected for person. The following are periphrastically inflected verbs:

qípqíp i 'be ragged, in strips'

šmáŕ^yšmáŕ^y i 'I move rapidly'

šíl^yšíl^y i 'be long and thin'

múrmúr i 'I shake my head to indicate "no"'

káŕ^ykáŕ^y mʔi 'you nod your head indicating "yes"'

k^wárk^wár i 'I talk' (cf. k^wá•r(p) 'we quarrel')

lápláp i (also láplá•p i) 'be flat'

támktámk i (also kámkkámk i) 'it flashes intermittently' (cf. támk 'it flashes once')

páqpáp i 'it makes a popping nose'

cáqşcáqş a 'he hops' (cf. cáqş a 'he jumps')

x^wáyx^wáy mʔi 'you whisper'

kán^yškán^yš i 'be bumpy'

šáqšáq i 'be itchy (e.g., a blanket)'

Reduplicated verbs with a preceding instrumental prefix, with one known exception: cqúlqúl i 'I stack (e.g., books)', are inflected for person in the ordinary manner:

pcawín^ywín^y 'I shake him'

mcalíllíl 'you shake (e.g., a tree)'

šmírumír 'he straightens (something)' (cf.

mírmír i 'be straight')

The instrumental prefix may replace the first consonant of the verb:

šírmír 'I take aim' (presumed to be derived from mírmír i 'be straight')

The first consonant of the verb may be modified upon attaching the prefix:

skárxár 'I break into small pieces' (sxárxár is also possible)

At least two reduplicated verbs which do not have an instrumental prefix are inflected for person in the ordinary manner (there are undoubtedly others):

mílmíl 'be long and thin (e.g., a pencil)'

mílumíl 'he is long and thin' (Reference is to a fat and sleek coyote.)

mínumín 'he is long and thin' (apparently no difference in meaning from mílumíl)

618. Consonant modification and sound symbolism.

The alternation of consonants in a derivative function is

a productive process primarily among the laterals, specifically /ɬʲ/, /l/, and /lʲ/, and possibly also /r/. The exact nature of this alternation is not clearly understood.

There is one clear case of a stative verb with /l/ corresponding to an active verb with /ɬʲ/:

lúl 'it boils', ɬʲúlʲ 'I boil' (cf. calúl 'I boil', apparently no difference in meaning)

The same may be true of the following verbs, if they are related:

xcál 'be bereft, uncared for', xcá·ɬʲ 'I crawl (e.g., a baby)'

The opposite situation occurs in the following:

ɬʲáp 'be hot', líp 'it flames up, I catch fire'

The active verb kʲú·ɬʲ 'I string beads' is obviously related to the noun ʂakʲú·l 'beads', which may be derived from an obsolete stative verb.

All of the following are stative verbs in which there are alternations of /ɬʲ/, /l/, and /lʲ/. Note the abnormal position class of the third person pronominal prefix in four of the forms:

xmá·ɬʲ 'be white', xumá·ɬʲ 'he is white (e.g., a horse)', xmwáɬʲ 'he is pale-yellow, off-white (e.g., a horse)'
 xmá·lʲ 'be light-complexioned', xmwálʲ 'he is light-complexioned'

xmá·l 'he grey-haired', xmwál 'he is grey-haired'

x^wát̥ɪ^y xmá·l 'be pink'

xpsíwɪ^y xmá·l 'be light-blue'

n^yí·ɪ^y 'be black', un^yí·ɪ^y 'he is black (e.g., a horse)', n^ywíɪ^y 'he is dark-colored (e.g., a horse)'

an^yí·l^y 'I am dark-complexioned', n^ywíl^y 'he is dark-complexioned'

n^yí·l 'honey' (This may possibly be a related form.)

xpsíwɪ^y n^yí·ɪ^y 'be navy-blue'

Other examples in which the alternation of laterals probably performs a derivative function are:

ɪ^yá· 'father's sister's son (m.s.)', l^yá·

father's sister's daughter (m.s.), father's sister's child (w.s.)'

šuk^wíɪ^y 'I sew', í·l 'thread', n^yi·yá šakí·l 'toothpick'

n^yáɪ^y 'I fall, it falls', pun^yá·l 'dagger'

(p- is probably the instrumental prefix (614.4) meaning 'do with force or pressure')

In a number of forms /r/ following the vowel of a stressed syllable alternates with one or more of the laterals in some sort of derivative fashion. /r/ in this position, at least with certain roots, seems to have a symbolic meaning of 'extension in space or time':

kúɫʲ 'be long', kúr 'be distant (in time or
 space)' (cf. kúrɫʲ 'in the distance'),
 mkúr 'my head'
 ʂʲíɫʲ 'be salty', ʂʲír 'salt'
 mpáɫʲ 'tongue, my tongue', ʂupáɫʲ 'I chew',
 mpár 'I learn, know how'
 mwálʲ 'be soft', mwál 'be loose', mwár 'be
 crumbled, mashed (e.g., potatoes)'
 pa·máɫʲ 'he burns him (who is a corpse)',
 ɫʲmár 'light a fire'

The symbolic meaning of /r/ suggested above is
 evident in the following, for which there are no known
 alternating forms with a lateral:

u·xʷí·r 'I string out', awxʷír 'a fence'
 ʂʲúr 'I point with my finger'
 yuʲár '(a piece of) string'
 c.nʲár 'yesterday'
 cʲár 'a mile', cʲárɫʲ '(in the) outdoors'
 cúr 'it rolls', kcúr 'a wheel'
 xír 'I tie'

This symbolic meaning of /r/ may possibly be extended
 to its occurrence in prefixal position (615.8).

Undoubtedly other consonants participate in alterna-
 tions which have symbolic relevance. A few forms have mean-
 ings which indicate that their symbolism is related to the
 meanings of the consonants in their function as instrumental
 prefixes. The following contrasting pairs and sets give

hints as to possible symbolic alternations which may occur:

q^wáš 'be yellow', k^wáš 'be brown'

q^wáqš 'horse', k^wák 'deer'

akúš 'I'm tall' (cf. kúš^y 'be long' and kúr
'be distant')

k^wí·š 'be tough (e.g., meat)', k^wí·š 'be thick
(e.g., gravy, honey)'

i·yá·š 'I breathe', cxáš 'I scrub, scrape,
whittle', cmwáš 'I flesh a hide' (cf.
mwál^y 'be soft', mwál 'be loose', mwár
be crumbled')

maṭk^wašá 'shadow', ṭk^wi·šá· 'shade (e.g., of a
tree)'

xcál 'be bereft, uncared for', (k^wák) xntíl
'young (deer)' (n- 'diminutive' (613))

l^ycáš 'be little, small (in size)', l^yn^ytúš
(also l^yn^ytíš and l^yn^ytáš) 'be very little'
(/t/ has the symbolic meaning of 'tender-
ness, affection' in its alternation with /c/.)

620. Verbs derived from noun stems.

621. -y The use of this suffix is restricted to kinship terms and to a few other nouns the stressed syllables of whose roots end in /a/ or /u/. The function of this suffix appears to be merely that of deriving a verb from a noun. It occupies the first position class. At least one stem with this suffix is known to function both as a noun and a verb:

n^ywá 'my house', n^ywáy 'at my house; I inhabit, "I'm married"'

(Ambiguity as to word class disappears in third person: n^yawá 'his house', n^yawáy 'at his house', n^yuwáy 'he inhabits')

For other nouns the suffix functions unambiguously as inflective or derivative:

múy 'on the blanket' (cf. i·mú 'be woolly, downy') Inflective

xáy 'be wet, moist' (cf. i·xáy 'it gets, I get wet') Derivative

As a large number of kinship terms end in /a/ or /u/, the suffixation of -y is a productive means for deriving verbs from them, often with accompanying shortening of a long vowel. Verbs derived from kinship terms are transitive only:

xká· 'my grandson (w.s.)', pxkáy 'I call him grandson, he is my grandson'

n^yʔá· 'my father (w.s.)', pn^yuʔáy 'she calls him father, he is her father'

l^yá· 'my female cousin', pal^yá·y 'I call her cousin, she is my cousin', n^ya·l^yá·y 'he, she calls me (a female) cousin'

n^y cá· 'my mother', pn^y cáy 'she is my mother'

n^y kú 'my father (m.s.)', pn^y ukúy 'he is his father'

Examples of nouns other than kinship terms from which verbs are derived by means of -y are:

xá 'water', xáy 'be wet, moist'
 ki·má 'ashes', ki·máy 'be ashy'
 n^ywá 'my house', n^ywáy 'I inhabit'
 šk^wi·yá· 'doctor, medicine-man', šk^wi·yáy
 'I doctor, am a doctor'
 šá 'bird', šáy 'be fat, greasy'

622. i·- 'be, become' This prefix is as productive in deriving verbs from nouns as from other verbs (612). If the stressed syllable of the root ends in /a/ (unattested for /u/), the prefix may be accompanied by the suffix -y, (621), with shortening of a long vowel. Its position class is second (see Appendix I):

mpúṭ 'dust', mi·púṭ 'be dusty'
 mú 'sheep, wool, blanket', i·mú 'be wooly, downy'
 kxú·n 'boy aged two to puberty', ki·xú·n
 'I'm a boy ...'
 xmí·k 'male from puberty to marriage', xyumí·k
 'he is a male ...', colloq., 'he's a teenager'
 k^wí· 'cloud', i·k^wí· 'be, become cloudy'
 máṭ 'ground, land, soil, dirt, floor', i·máṭ
 'it is, I am dirty'
 x^wá 'enemy', yux^wá 'he is an enemy, is hostile',
 i·x^wá· 'we have war', i·x^wá·p 'we are enemies'
 mú·y 'palmtree', i·mú·y 'it becomes, I become a palmtree'

xɬ^yʔá 'moon', xɬ^yi·ʔá· 'the moon shines'
 (k^wák) n^yk^wá '(the deer's) horns', (k^wák)
 yuk^wá·p '(the deer) has horns'
 ʂʔír 'salt', ʂi·ʔír 'it turns to salt, I
 become salt-covered'

Accompanied by -y:

ʂʔá· 'sand', ʂi·ʔáy 'be sandy'
 cxá 'wind', ci·xáy 'be, become windy'
 ʂxá· 'girl from puberty to marriage', ʂi·xáy
 'I am, become a female teen-ager'

623. No marker. A few kinship terms and the possessed form of the noun xát 'dog' can function as verbs without a derivative affix:

n^yxát 'my dog, pet, domestic animal', pn^yxát
 'I have a pet, it is my pet'; n^yaxát 'his
 dog, pet', pn^yuxá·t 'He has pets, cattle,
 domesticated animals'
 ʂʔáw 'my child (w.s.)', n^yʂʔáw 'you are my
 child, I am your mother', pʂcʔá·w 'they
 are my children'
 n^ysú·s 'my younger sister', n^yn^ysú·s 'I call
 you younger sister'
 n^ykú 'my father (m.s.)', pmn^ykú 'you call
 him father, he's your father'

700. DERIVATION: THE NOUN

710. Nouns derived from nouns.

711. n^y- 'animate possessive' This prefix is attached to a few alienably possessed nouns to denote animate possession. It occupies the second position class (see Appendix I):

mát 'land, ground', mn^ymát 'your land, country'

wá 'house', n^ywá 'my house'

kmí 'bag, sack', n^ykamí 'his pocket'

Attached to the noun x^wát 'redness', derived from the verb x^wát 'be red' (723), it denotes a body part:

n^yx^wát 'my blood', mn^yx^wát 'your blood'

A body part is derived when the prefix is attached to mrí·k 'bean':

n^ymrí·k 'my kidney', n^ymarí·k 'his kidney'

The stem of one body part is not known to occur other than with this prefix:

n^yqál 'my testicles'

A considerable number of kinship terms whose stems are bound contain the prefix n^y-:

n^yxú·l 'my younger brother'

n^y cá· 'my mother (m.s., w.s.)'

n^yʔá· 'my father (w.s.)'

n^yká· 'my mother's mother'

n^yk^wá· 'my mother's brother'

n^yk^wá·w 'my mother's father'

- n^ymá· 'my father's mother'
 n^ymú· 'my mother's younger sister'
 n^yşı· 'my mother's older sister'
 n^ypí· 'my father's sister'

712. i·- 'animate possessive' This prefix appears to have the same function as n^y- (711). It occurs with several nouns denoting body parts whose stems occur only with this prefix (except in certain compounds; see 714). It occurs in the second position class:

- i·mí· 'my foot, leg'
 i·xú 'my nose'
 i·yá 'my mouth'
 mi·yú 'your eye, face'
 n^yi·šá·ɿ^y 'my heart' (Third person is irregular: n^yi·wáy 'his heart')

One primary stem is known which is not bound and from which is derived a body part:

- cú 'the center', i·cú 'my belly'

In the speech of some informants there occurs the phoneme /i/ before certain stems which appear to be primary and which have more than one consonant preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable. Only a few nouns denoting body parts and kinship have this phonemic element (which is actually present in first person only; see 211) which may reasonably be considered an alternate form of the prefix i·-. It appears to be optional for those informants in whose speech it was recorded. Its optional occurrence, or rather its non-occurrence, may possibly result from

analogy with the second (and occasionally the third) person form in which there is no phonemic vowel prior to the stressed syllable. The following are the only forms in which this alternate form of the prefix is known to occur. It is interesting to note that all stems but one contain /x/:

ixká· 'my daughter's son' (cf. mxká· 'your daughter's son')

iskáw 'my father's younger brother' (cf. mskáw 'your ...')

xcác 'thorn', ixcác 'my spine' (cf. n^yxcác 'his spine')

xmá 'chicken', ixmá 'my penis' (cf. mxmá 'your penis')

ixckár 'my chest' (cf. n^yxckár 'his chest')

713. m- This prefix is not common and occurs most often in a few nouns denoting body parts. Its meaning is not apparent. With a few exceptions the primary stems to which m- attaches are bound. It is uncertain whether they can be equated with phonemically similar or identical stems with unrelated meanings:

mkúr 'my forehead' (cf. kúr 'be distant in space, time')

mxǎ 'puddle of water' (cf. xá 'water')

mx^wáɬ 'my hair'

mpáɬ^y 'my tongue' (cf. ʂupáɬ^y 'I chew')

mʂí·ɬ^y 'my thigh' (cf. xʂí·ɬ^y 'snot')

mx^Wá 'badger' (cf. x^Wá 'enemy')

714. Compounding. Compounding of nouns is a much more common phenomenon than compounding of verbs (616). The units of a noun compound can consist of freely occurring forms or of bound forms. As with verb compounds, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an utterance should be considered a compound or a verb phrase. If nouns which are free forms are to be considered at all as forming compounds, then such constructions as wášká· 'tent', xmás[?]ák 'hen', mátk^Wašá 'shadow' undoubtedly are compounds. Although to a certain extent arbitrary, this analysis considers as a compound any juxtaposition of freely occurring forms which denote a single semantic notion and to which final form can be attached a bare case suffix (530). This allows such a construction as mšupás ɪ^Ypawá·p 'coffin' to be treated as a noun phrase (810), which would be in apposition with an immediately following third personal pronoun. Compare the following:

wámá·ɪ^Y 'on the roof'

mátk^Wr[?]úrc 'the world' (subj.)

xmá·pác (xmá-apá-c) 'rooster' (subj.)

but:

mšupás ɪ^Ypawá·p n^Yšáɪ^Y 'in that coffin'

pka[?]úy k^Wa[?]á·s n^Ypúc 'this barber, he' (subj.)

The use of the criterion of ability to attach a case suffix to characterize a compound must exclude the demonstrative suffix (530, 531); as the latter can be suffixed to the final noun of a noun phrase:

pkáʔúy k^waʔá·spin^y 'the barber here, this barber'
(obj.)

n^ymx^wáɬ cašá·ypiɬ^y 'in this hair oil'

as well as to constructions which are here treated as compounds:

wášká·ɬiɬ^y 'in that tent'

šá·ɬ^yckxá·pɬin^y 'that ring' (obj.)

Only a few examples are known of inalienably possessed compounds. The pronominal prefix attaches either to the second element:

wáswáy 'my wife', wámswáy 'your wife',

wán^yswáy 'his wife'

(wá 'house', swáy possibly a verbal noun derived from the verb swá· 'I plant')

or to the first element:

i·yáwí· 'my tooth, teeth', mi·yáwí· 'your tooth', n^yi·yáwí· 'his tooth' (i·yá 'my mouth'; wí· has several meanings: 'mountain', 'I see', 'knife, metal'. It is undoubtedly a verb in this compound; see 721.)

Compounds whose first element is a noun with the derivative prefixes i·- (712) or n^y- (711) are alienably possessed. Unless actually possessed, however, these prefixes are not present:

kmíɬa·ká·p 'pocketbook, wallet, purse' (kmí 'bag', n^ykmí 'my pocket', ɬa·ká·p verbal noun formed from the verb ɬakáp 'put two

things together, in an adjoining position, ṭ- instrumental prefix (614.9), a- 'active' (611, 614.1), -káp bound stem (cf. cakáp 'I mix', kakáp 'I go, walk around'))

šá·ṭ^yckxá·p 'ring' (i·šá·ṭ^y 'my hand, arm, finger', ckxá·p verbal noun formed from the verb ckxáp 'I cause a large object to enter', c- instrumental prefix (614.1), k- instrumental prefix (614.2), xáp 'I enter, it enters')

mí·mckxá·p 'trousers' (i·mí· 'my foot, leg, toe', -m case suffix (530.5))

No compound is known to occur which consists of more than two juxtaposed nouns. Both elements of a compound are noun stems, either primary or secondary. The second, but not the first, element can be a verbal noun. The following are other examples of constructions which are considered compounds:

mátká·m 'year' (mát 'ground'; ká·m may be related to á· 'go', although it is not certain whether /k/ is an inflective case suffix to mát or a prefix to the second element; -m is very likely a positional affix (530.4))

n^yá·ṭ^yá·p 'summer' n^yá 'sun, day', ṭ^yáp 'be hot')

xá·ṭ^yawí· 'mirror, reflection' (xá 'water', wí· 'see'; it is not clear whether /ṭ^y/ should be considered a case suffix to xá

or positional prefix (430.1) to the verb

wí·; a- nominalizes the verb (722))

i·yáxaʔá·w 'my jaw' (i·yá 'my mouth, face',
xaʔá·w a verbal noun derived from xʔáw
(unattested))

i·yálmíṣ 'my beard, mustache' (i·yá 'my face,
mouth', lmíṣ 'be hairy')

wášká· 'tent' (wá 'house', šká· 'canvas')

xmásʔák 'hen' (xmá 'chicken', sʔák 'woman')

xmá·pá 'rooster' (xmá 'chicken', apá 'man')

máṭk^waṣá 'shadow' (máṭ 'ground', k^waṣá un-
attested verbal noun possibly related to
ṣá 'fog')

714.1. Bound first elements. There can occur in numerous kinship terms prior to the stressed syllable one of three unstressed elements, prefixal in nature, and with more or less definite semantic denotation. Their position relative to the root of the kinship term is prior to all derivative and inflective prefixes. These elements are considered as bound first members of compounds.

1. ṣi-, ṣ- 'female' /i/ is not present in environments in which it is phonetically predictable (211):

wán^y 'my sibling's son (m.s.)'

ṣiwán^y 'my sibling's daughter (m.s.)', ṣmwán^y

'your ...', ṣk^wawán^y 'his ...'

wíc 'my older (?)brother's son (w.s.)'

ṣiwíc 'my older brother's daughter', ṣmwíc

'your ...', ṣk^wawíc 'his ...'

áw 'my son's son'

ṣiʔáw 'my son's daughter', ṣmʔáw 'your ...'

(cf. ṣʔáw 'my child (w.s.)', mṣʔáw 'your child' and n^yṣí. 'my mother's older sister').

/ṣ:/ appears to be part of the root in the latter and to be used symbolically. The same may be true of /ṣ:/ in ṣʔáw, although here it is perhaps possible to consider ṣ- a derivative prefix)

xká. 'my daughter's son' (also ixká.; see 712)

ṣixká. 'my daughter's daughter', ṣmxká. 'your ...'

ká.s 'my sister's daughter's son'

ṣiká.s 'my sister's daughter's daughter'

2. ki-, k- 'male' The status of /i/ is the same as in the form above. ki- is not as common as ṣi- and is known to contrast with it in only two sets:

kn^yká.s 'my parent's parent's brother'

ṣn^ykás 'my parent's parent's sister' (Note different root vowel lengths.)

kiyí. 'my greatgrandfather'

ṣiyí. 'my greatgrandmother'

It occurs with two kinship terms denoting males whose female counterparts do not contain ṣi-:

kn^ypá· 'my father's father', kmn^ypá· 'your...'

(cf. n^ymá· 'my father's mother')

kn^ywí· 'my father's older brother', kmn^ywí·

'your ...' (cf. n^ypí· 'my father's sister')

/k/ of kasá· 'my older brother (m.s., w.s.)' is undoubtedly to be equated with this element. (/a/ of the unstressed syllable may perhaps be explained as assimilation to the vowel of the stressed syllable.)

3. x- This apparently denotes 'male offspring'. It contrasts in two sets with ši-:

xn^ypí· 'my brother's (?) son', xmn^ypí· 'your
brother's son'

šipí· 'my brother's (?) daughter', šmpí· 'your
brother's daughter'

xn^yš?á· 'my younger sister's (?) son'

šiš?á· 'my younger sister's (?) daughter'

(The data reveal conflicting translations of the above forms. Note that n^y- is absent in the forms with ši-.)

/x/ which may be this same element is present also in xu·má· 'my son (m.s.)' and xká· 'my daughter's son'. Its usage in these two forms may be symbolic (or possibly derivative). Because of its position in relation to the pronominal prefix, it is not considered as forming an element of a compound in these forms:

mxu·má· 'your son', mxká· 'your daughter's son'

As kinship terms can readily be converted into verbs, it follows that these elements must be considered as entering into verb compounds. Examples of such were obtainable only with *ʃi-*. The following are inflected forms of the verb stem *-ʃiwán^y* 'a male to call (someone) sibling's daughter', derived from *ʃiwán^y* 'my sibling's daughter (m.s.)':

ʃn^ywán^y 'I call you niece, you are my niece'

ʃma·wán^y 'he calls you niece, you are his niece'

ʃn^ya·wán^y 'he calls me niece, I am his niece'

ʃpa·wán^y 'he calls her niece, she is his niece'

715. Reduplication. Reduplicated nouns are less common than reduplicated verbs. Reduplicated nouns rarely take the bare case suffix (530), but commonly attach the demonstrative suffix (531). They tend, more so than verbs, to have an onomatopoeic flavor.

The first consonant of the second syllable is optionally modified in one form:

n^yír^wír (or *n^yírⁿ^yír*) 'hummingbird'

One form occurs in which the vowel of the second syllable is lengthened:

xúl^xú·l 'trumpet'

Most reduplicated nouns have phonemically identical syllables:

ríqríqrí^y 'the corner, in the corner' (This form apparently does not occur without the case suffix *-í^y* (530.3).)

tí·ntí·n 'guitar'

qátqát 'duck'
 wílwíl 'flute (One informant says lwíl)
 xálxál 'cactus wren'
 šá kálkál 'sandpiper' (a compound (?),
 šá 'bird')

720. Nouns derived from verbs.

721. k^w-, k- 'definite' ('he who, that which')

(See 225 for statements regarding alternation of /k^w/ and /k/.) This prefix is extremely productive in deriving nouns from verbs. It occupies the fourth position class. Its reference is to the subject of the verb to which it is attached. The reference may be animate or inanimate. In a large majority of the cases when the reference is animate, both this prefix and the derivative prefix a- (722) are present. Both prefixes are present also in several forms when the reference is inanimate. It is not possible to predict from any given verb stem whether the 'definite' verbal noun formed from it will or will not also contain a-.

One set is known in which the presence of a- distinguishes animate reference:

k^wyá·w 'things which are located (sitting, standing, lying) for a period of time' (yá·w distributive subject plural of wá 'be located sitting', yák 'be lying', pʔá· 'be standing')

k^wayá·w 'animate beings which are located ...'

a- in one set may possibly denote a plural (and was so stated by an informant):

krár 'one who works' (rár 'I work, am occupied')
 k^warár 'they who work' (k^wa·rár is also recorded with this meaning.)

The following are examples of the definite prefix without a-:

kɪ^yáp 'star' (ɪ^yáp 'be hot')

kcúr 'tire' (cúr 'it rolls')

kráp 'sickness' (ráp 'I ache, it aches, hurts')

k^wrʔák 'old man' (rʔák 'I'm an old man')

(pán) kpá·p 'the one who bakes (bread), a baker' (pá·p 'I bake')

kráw 'the fast one' (ráw 'it flows', aráw 'I'm fast')

k^wʔás 'he who said, did' (ás third person animate distributive object plural of í 'say')

k^wʔís 'that which "said", happened' (ís inanimate distributive object plural of í 'say').

This may be more freely translated as 'what was said')

(wá) kwáspiɪ^y 'in it (the house) which is located (sitting) here' (wás inanimate distributive subject plural of wá 'be located'; -piɪ^y demonstrative suffix (531.3))

(mát) k^wrʔúr '(land) which is spherical', the world' (rʔúr be spherical'; this appears

to be a compound; see 714.)

The following examples have k^w- and a-:

kxmaʔúʔ 'priest (xmʔúʔ 'be grey')

k^wramáʂ 'babies' (suppletive plural of k^wan^yúk
'baby', rmáʂ 'be young in age, be an infant,
be newly germinated')

k^wamán 'he, they who arise, get up' (mán 'it
arises, flies, I arise')

n^yi·yák^wawí· 'dentist' (n^yi·yá 'his tooth';
the verbal noun is apparently derived from a
verb wí· whose meaning here is not clear.
wí· as a free form means 'I see'. For
its meanings as a bound form see 616.1.)

k^wašít 'the same (thing)' (šít 'be one')

kn^yacáy 'the one who calls (her) mother' (This
is actually the third person possessive (512.2).
Cf. n^y cá· 'my mother'. For derivation of
verbs from kinship terms see 621, 623.)

k^wyamá·s 'a dancer' (i·má·s distributive subject
plural of i·má 'I dance')

k^waxán^y 'that which is very much' (-xán^y 'be very
much; see 616.2)

k^wl^yacáš 'the little one (in size)' (l^y cáš 'be
little')

ksayá·w 'singer' (syá· 'I sing' -w benefactive
(?); see 481.1)

n^yi·wáy k^wapít (also wáy k^wapít) 'the crazy one'

(n^yi·wáy 'his heart', píṭ impersonal intransitive verb of obscure meaning, perhaps 'be dense, tangled, close together'; cf. an^yá·ṭ^y píṭ 'mesquite thicket', ayá·píṭ 'grove of trees', also i·yá·y n^yapíṭ 'I forget')

Evidence from two sets indicates that lengthening of a- can distinguish animate:

k^waxán^y 'that which is very much' (cited above):

k^wa·xá·n^y 'the good people' (lengthening of the root vowel apparently denotes plural, probably collective)

k^wašíṭ 'the same (thing)' (cited above): k^wa·šíṭ 'the same person, people'

The second and third persons appear to be the only references possible for k^w-. No verbal nouns were obtainable with k^w- which would be rendered in English 'I who'. Its use with reference to second person is not common. Two examples only were recorded:

mk^wa·ší·ṭ 'each of you' (šíṭ 'be one'), ṭ^ymk^wawás 'you who sit in it' (wá 'I sit')

It may be noted that none of the above examples are derived from transitive verbs. It appears reasonable to assume that transitive verbs might form verbal nouns with k^w-. However, it was possible to elicit only one such example:

pkn^yaxá·ṭ 'the one who has him for a pet' (p-

third person pronominal object prefix (411),
 kn^yaxá·ṭ 'one who has a pet', n^yxáṭ 'I
 have a pet', xáṭ 'dog')

One verbal noun with k^w- occurs in which k^w- is pre-
 fixed to what appears to be the third person form of the
 verb (412):

kpyutá·n 'the chief' (apparently from the verb
 pi·tá·n 'I'm a chief' derived from the noun
 pi·tá·n 'chief')

722. a- 'indefinite' The term 'indefinite' will
 serve to distinguish this prefix from the 'definite' k^w-,
 and in most instances its reference is indefinite. How-
 ever, its primary function seems to be gerundive, that is,
 it nominalizes the action of the verb, with a reference
 to the action itself, to the result of the action, or to
 the means or manner by which the action takes place. The
 verb which it nominalizes is commonly the second member
 of a phrase. (The first member, as well as all members,
 of a noun phrase may consist of verbal nouns formed with
 a-.) The following examples demonstrate this gerundive
 function of a-:

a[?]úx 'a cough' (úx 'I cough')

šayú·l 'a dress' (šyú·l 'I wear a dress')

amán 'airplane' (mán 'I (a bird) fly, I get up,
 arise')

yamás 'a dance, circus' (i·má 'I dance', -s dis-
 tributive subject plural (421.4))

ša[?]úl 'a flag' (š[?]úl 'I wash')

- cmalú·ṣ 'measles' (cmlú·ṣ 'I have measles')
 caká·ṭ 'axe' (cukáṭ 'I chop, cut with an axe')
 ṭax^Wí·š 'a swing' (ṭux^Wíš 'I swing my arm')
 aní·p 'a belt' (ní·p 'I put on, wear a belt')
 n^Yi·yú ṣawíw 'a towel' (ṣwí 'I wipe', -w plural
 (?), see 421.6)
 sayáw 'song' (syá· 'I sing')
 n^Yšmá·l ṣak^Wi·n^Y 'earring' (n^Yšmá·l 'his ear',
 ṣk^Wín^Y 'I pierce'; ṣk^Win^Y is also a noun
 meaning 'drinking glass')
 máṭ ṣxayú·k 'spade' (máṭ 'ground', ṣxyú·k 'I
 dig up')
 n^Yi·yá cax^Wát 'lipstick' (n^Yi·yá 'his mouth',
 cax^Wát 'redden')
 axá·p n^Yi·šá·ṭ^Y 'cuff (on the sleeve)' (axá·p
 'shirt', xáp 'it enters, I enter', n^Yi·šá·ṭ^Y
 'his arm, hand')
 sayáw n^Yawí·kan^Yáp 'radio' (sayáw 'song',
 n^Yawí· 'thing' (perhaps from wí· 'I see',
 n^Y- referential indefinite, see 440), kan^Yáp
 'talk, speech, gossip' from kn^Yáp 'I talk,
 speak, gossip')
 cwasí·s 'a comb' (cusí 'I comb')
 cwaʔú·r 'a chair' (cʔúr 'I sit on')
 cwamá·ṭ 'a brush' (cumáṭ 'I powder (my face)',
 cumá·ṭ 'I sweep') (Note that the prefixal
 element -u- (614.1) is retained in cwasí·s
 and cwamá·ṭ, but not in caká·ṭ 'axe' (see

above). See 213 for change of /u/ to /w/.)

The noun formed by means of a- can have animate as well as inanimate reference:

cuk^wí· pašá·y 'storekeeper' (cuk^wí· 'store',
pšá· 'I watch, guard')

xmá rawí· 'baby chick' (xmá 'chicken', verb stem
unknown)

xmá ramáš 'guinea hen' (rmáš 'be young, small
because of age')

q^wáqš ramáš 'pony' (q^wáqš 'horse')

a- in the above examples actually distinguishes animate reference. Compare the following:

í· rmáš 'small stick of wood' (í· 'wood')

šít 'something alone' (šít 'be one'): ašít
'someone alone'

l^y cáš 'something small' (l^y cáš 'be small in
size'): l^y acáš 'someone small'

xán^y 'something new, pretty (?)' (xán^y 'be
new'): axán^y 'someone pretty'

Lengthening of a-, when not used with k^w-, may possibly denote plural, rather than animate, as evidenced by:

a·túx 'a deck of cards' (túx 'I play cards')

kxa·múk a[?]í·p 'a card game in which each player
has three cards' (k- 'definite' (721),
xmúk 'be three', a[?]í·p appears to be a
verbal noun derived from the collective
plural of í 'say')

The reference is definitely animate, however, in the following with lengthening of a-:

xa·wák 'twins' (xwák 'be two')
 xa·múk 'triplets' (xmúk 'be three')
 sa·páp 'quadruplets' (spáp 'be four')
 ʂa·ráp 'quintuplets' (ʂráp 'be five')

722.1. Contrastive sets with k^W- and a-. In the following sets the definite-indefinite function of the two prefixes is evident:

l^Yacáš 'someone little, a little one': k^Wl^Yacáš
 'he who is little, the little one'
 axán^Y 'a pretty one': k^Waxán^Y 'the pretty one'
 patáy 'a big one': kpatáy 'the big one'
 sayá·w 'a singer': ksayá·w 'the singer'
 n^Yawí· 'a thing': kn^Yawí· 'the thing'

Two sets show a slight difference in the meaning of the stem according to the prefix used:

amán 'airplane': k^Wamán 'he who got up'
 ašíṭ 'someone alone': k^Wašíṭ 'the same thing'
 (cf. k^Wa·šíṭ 'the same person, people')

723. No marker. A number of verbs can function as nouns without an overt derivative affix. Generally, though not always, the form of the verb in its nominal function is a pluralized third person. The ability of the form to attach a case suffix, as well as its syntactic position, is evidence of its status as a noun rather than a verb:

awxám 'seedbeater' (awxám 'he hits')

cuk^Wí· 'store' (cuk^Wí· 'I sell'; the form cwak^Wí· also occurs.)

cu·lá·y 'an iron' (cu·lá·y 'he presses many things', plural of cu·lá·y 'he presses, irons')
 wá ɿ^Yxpucú·n^Y (or ɿ^Yxpucú·n^Y or xpucú·n^Y) 'church'
 (wá 'house', ɿ^Y- positional affix (430.1),
 xpucú·n^Y 'I go to church', xpucú·n^Yɿ^Y
 'in the church')

q^Wlyáw 'glare' (q^Wlyáw 'it shines')

spáp 'the fourth', spápɿ^Y 'in the fourth (grade)'
 (spáp 'be four')

The second member of a noun phrase (810) can be marked as a verbal noun either by k^W- or a- (or both):

mát k^Wxcáq 'a grave, the grave' (mát 'ground',
 xcáq 'be bad')

má·ɿ^Y k^Wayí·k 'God' (má·ɿ^Y 'heaven, in the above',
 yí· 'I come', -k directional affix (430.5))

mú sxawá·k 'double blanket' (mú 'blanket, sheep',
 s- instrumental prefix (614.5), xwák 'be two')

Very often, however, the second member has neither of the above prefixes and is formally a verb. It seems feasible to treat the unmarked verb in this position as a noun. In many instances the form has attached a positional or referential prefix. Such a form in its nominal function is best rendered in English as 'that with which, in which (or the like) one performs the action of the verb'. The

following noun phrases illustrate this function:

šká· ɿ^ysuʔúl 'dishpan' (suʔúl 'he washes', lit.,
in which one washes dishes')

n^yi·yá mşuwí·w 'napkin' (cf. šká· mşawíw 'dish
cloth'; mşawíw has the form of a verbal
noun, derived by means of a-; mşuwí·w is
the distributive object plural of the third
person of şwí 'I wipe', m- positional affix
(430.2), -w is very likely benefactive)

n^yi·mí· mawná·k 'garter' (n^yi·mí· 'his foot, leg',
m- positional affix, verb stem would appear
to be u·nák, possibly related to -nák 'kill')

n^yawí· mşuk^wi·r 'a screwdriver' (n^yawí· 'thing',
şuk^wí·r third person distributive object
plural of şk^wír 'I screw, twist')

n^yawí· n^ymawká·ṭ 'ruler' (n^y- referential in-
definite (440), u·káṭ 'I cut, slice')

papí·l ɿ^yxá·p 'post office' (papí·l 'paper',
xáp 'it enters')

Verbal nouns derived with no overt marker, but utilizing an inflective prefix, particularly ɿ^y-, m-, or n^y-, including combinations of these prefixes, are extremely common. Such a method is very productive in the naming of new cultural items. Two-member phrases of this sort are perhaps commoner, but single verbal nouns with these prefixes are by no means infrequent:

ɿ^ykucáp 'claw' (k- instrumental prefix (614.2),

cáp 'I throw, place')

ɛ́ucí·t̚ 'toilet, privy' (cí·t̚ 'I defecate')

n̚mxwá·k 'a companion' (xwák 'be two', lit.,
'with whom there are two')

mawn̚ú·r 'pen, pencil' (lit., 'with which one
writes')

ɛ́xpucú·n̚ 'church' (lit., 'in which one kneels')

n̚puʔú·r 'steps' (lit., 'on which one steps
(repetitively)')

n̚ʂuʔár 'walking-stick' (ʂʔár 'be dried',
ʂʔá·r 'be dry', lit., 'that which is dried
out')

800. SYNTAX

The description of the constructions which result from arrangements of words in an utterance is facilitated by the identification of the following syntactic constituent units:

1. Interjection. A word which has no syntactic relationship, or whose relationship is peripheral or ambivalent, to the units which compose a major sentence.

2. Phrase. A construction which consists of one word or a sequence of contiguous words which comprises a unit of a clause and whose constituents relate immediately to each other more closely than any one of the constituents relates to a constituent of another construction. One of the constituents may be the head to which immediate constituents are subordinate, or the distinction of a head may be impertinent or equivocal. Two types of phrases are recognized: noun phrase and verb phrase.

3. Subject. A noun phrase or nominalized clause which performs the action denoted by the verb phrase or phrases in the predicate and to which is equated the actor denoted by the subject pronominal prefix of the verb. The subject is distinguished by the affixation of the subject syntactic suffix and/or by its position preceding the predicate.

4. Predicate. A verb phrase plus any nominalized clause or noun phrase, except the subject, with which it

is in immediate constituency. Immediate constituency of the clause or phrase is determined by its position which is immediately prior to the verb phrase.

5. Clause. A construction which consists of one or more than one predicate with or without a subject (as defined above) and whose final predicate has attached to its final verb or verb phrase either no syntactic affix or one of the syntactic affixes listed below. A clause is simple if it contains only one predicate. It is coordinate if it contains two or more predicates. A clause is also either independent, dependent, or nominalized.

An independent clause is identified by the absence of the subordinating syntactic suffix -m. An independent clause can function as a sentence without the aid of any accompanying units or clauses.

A dependent clause is identified by the presence of the subordinating syntactic suffix -m. A dependent clause presupposes the presence of an accompanying independent clause.

A nominalized clause is an independent clause functioning syntactically as a noun or noun phrase.

6. Melody. A construction of pitch levels and terminal contours which embraces and necessarily accompanies a sentence.

7. Sentence. A construction which consists of one or more clauses or which consists of an interjection or a fragment of a clause, and which is accompanied by a melody. The former is a major sentence.

The latter is a minor sentence. A major sentence may be simple, coordinate, complex, compound, or compound-complex.

801. Syntactic suffixes. The relationships among the constituent units which result in a sentence can be established by position alone, or be implied by the context. However, most relationships are effected, either optionally or obligatorily, by means of one or more of the following syntactic suffixes:

1. -c (subject; present-past coordinating)

Attached to the final constituent of a noun phrase or of a nominalized clause, this suffix denotes that the phrase or clause is the subject of a predicate (see 530). Attached to a verb which is not the final constituent of a nominalized clause, it equates the identity of the subject of the verb to which it attaches with that of a following verb. The use of -c with verbs has a somewhat overlapping inflective function (484.4).

2. -pic, -şic Alternate forms, with an added demonstrative meaning, of the above suffix when attached to a noun phrase or a nominalized clause. (See 530.1, 531.1.)

3. -pin^y, -şin^y Alternate forms, with an added demonstrative meaning, of the unmarked 'objective' (530.2, 531.2), which may attach to a noun phrase or a nominalized clause.

4. -m (subordinating) This suffix attaches to the final constituent of a verb phrase (in fifth position) and denotes that its subject is different from that of the

following verb phrase. In certain circumstances it may attach to an auxiliary verb which is final in the sentence, in which case it denotes that the subject of the preceding verb is different from that of the auxiliary (863.1).

5. -k (future coordinating) This suffix attaches to a verb phrase, ordinarily to all its constituents. Its usage implies a future action which may or may not be expressed by the intentive -x (484) suffixed to a verb in a phrase occurring elsewhere in the sentence. A future action may be implied by, in addition to the intentive -x, the imperative form of the verb. A verb phrase with -k which is final in the sentence ordinarily may only be one which consists of the imperative form of the verb. -k and -c may not co-occur. -k and -m, however, may attach to the same verb phrase with -k in the prior position. It can also co-occur with many of the inflective suffixes (480). Its relative position class is fourth (see Appendix I). The only inflective suffixes which are known definitely not to co-occur with -k are -x (484), -i^y (485.1), and -c (481.4).

6. -m (interrogative) Attached to a verb which is sentence-final, this suffix together with a standard, or characteristic, melody (840) makes a declarative sentence interrogative.

7. -a (interrogative) Attached to a verb which is sentence-final, and accompanied by a standard melody (840) this suffix makes a declarative sentence interrogative.

8. -a (stylistic) This is not strictly a syn-

tactic suffix. It occurs mostly in narrations and can be attached to any final word in a sentence not ending in a vowel. It is of most frequent occurrence after the consonants /c/ and /n^y/. Its presence suggests on occasion a certain degree of emphasis to an utterance and perhaps a note of finality. A pause of varying length usually follows before the beginning of the next utterance. Its presence does not affect the melody of the sentence and often only the context distinguishes it from the interrogative suffix -a.

802. Order of syntactic units. The subject normally precedes the predicate. This order may be reversed, especially in narrations. In a clause of two or more predicates the predicates occur in an order which on the whole corresponds with that of the events or actions related. A noun or noun phrase which is part of a predicate precedes the verb or verb phrase of that predicate. Interjections normally initiate a sentence. The order of the units which constitute a construction are presented in further detail in the following sections, along with illustrations of the types of constructions which result from the constituency of the units.

810. Noun phrase. A noun phrase consists of one, two, or three contiguous freely occurring forms. A phrase containing two members is common. A three- or four-member phrase is not rare. The first member of a noun phrase is unambiguously a noun (or pronoun) which, if possessable,

can attach a pronominal prefix (510). The first member may be a primary noun stem or a secondary noun stem derived from a noun (710) or a verb (720). The final member or members may, like the first, member be an unambiguous noun (or pronoun), or may be identical in form to a verb stem subject to modification by inflection for person, plural, and case. The nature of the non-initial member(s), together with the semantic relationships between members, permits the postulation of four types of noun phrases: possessive, attributive, directive, and appositive.

811. Possessive phrase. Non-initial members must be nouns possessable by means of pronominal prefixes (510). The first member may be a noun or pronoun. The final member is the head with preceding members as attributes.

apá n^yawá 'the man's house'
 n^yá·p n^yawá±^y 'in my house'
 mapún^y mn^y cá· 'your mother'
 mapún^y mn^y cá· n^yawá±^y 'in your mother's house'
 n^yşxá·pin^y n^ywaʔá·l 'the girl's clothes'
 k^wakú·şin^y n^yi·xú 'that old woman's nose'
 mú·r n^yawá±^y 'in Mu·r's house'
 axá·p n^yi·şá·±^y 'cuff' (lit., 'the shirt's
 hand, arm')
 xţpápin^y n^yi·şá·±^y 'coyote's hand (i.e., front
 foot)'

812. Attributive phrase. The first member is the head and can not be a pronoun. Non-initial members of the phrase are attributive.

The second member can be an indefinite pronoun (544):

cwa ʔú·r makápin^y 'which chair, any chair' (obj.)

n^yʃxá· makápic 'which girl, any girl' (subj.)

The attributive members of the phrase are ordinarily stative verbs (300) inflected for animate or inanimate third person (410, 412), and for plural (421) when the head is animate plural:

n^yawí· l^ycáš 'a little thing'

ʃká· ptáy 'a big bowl'

sʔák putáy 'a big, fat woman'

pán mílmíl 'long and round (loaf of) bread'

pán mílmíl šít 'one long and round (loaf of) bread'

minú·t ʃa·xú·k 'ten minutes'

maṭká·m ʃráp 'five years'

xá xsú·r 'cold water; soda pop'

apá·s supá·p 'four men'

k^wrʔá·k supá·p 'four old men'

n^yx^wát l^ycáš 'a little of my blood'

ašít xmúki^y 'one of the three'

813. Directive phrase. The first member can not be a pronoun. The final member is a verbal noun, with or without an overt derivational affix (720). The characteristic feature of a directive phrase is the nominalization of the entire phrase. A secondary feature is that no member is unequivocally the head or the attribute. The final verbal noun can be derived from an active or a stative verb. A

stative verbal noun is always overtly marked. The first member is commonly the object of the verbal noun. It can also be the subject of the verb deriving the verbal noun, in which case the verbal noun is always overtly marked as such.

The following examples are presented according to the manner of deriving the verbal noun (for other examples, see 720-723):

1. No marker

n^yi·mí· mawná·k 'garter'

šká· ±^yš^u?úl 'dishpan'

í· n^ymawká·t. 'crosscut saw'

n^yawí· n^ymawká·ṭ 'ruler, yardstick'

n^yawí· n^ymcá· pa·?áy 'the thing they call
mountain lion'

2. a-

n^yi·yá cax^wá·ṭ 'lipstick'

mú sxawá·k 'double blanket'

cuk^wí· pašá·y 'storekeeper'

mú·r ašị́ṭ 'Mu·r alone'

n^yawí· amá·s 'food'

n^yawí· ará·r 'work'

n^yawí· amán 'airplane' (also amán)

apá ašị́ṭ 'a man alone, one man'

sayáw n^yawí· kan^yáp 'radio' (lit., 'the
thing which tells songs')

3. k^w-

pán kpá·p 'baker'

wí· k^wyák 'the mountain which lies'kú·c k^wa·šít 'the same pigs'i·šá·t^y k^wl^y cáš 'my little finger'wa[?]út kspáppin^y 'the five candles'n^yawí· k^wʔís 'what is said'

wí· kšáy 'Greasy Mountain' (place name)

n^yá^tá·p k^wyáwpin^y 'this summer'capáy (or capá·y) k^wa·xá·n^y 'the good people'kú·c pkn^yaxá·t 'the one who keeps pigs'

One manner of denoting possession is by means of a noun phrase, the final member of which is a verbal noun, derived from what is apparently the distributive plural of a[?]í 'do'. The first member is formally the object of the verb. The construction resembles a nominalized clause (863.2). Yet it functions syntactically as a noun phrase, and is treated as such in this analysis. Although the semantic relationship between the members is head-attributive in one respect, the formal relationship is similar to that between members of a directive phrase:

kú·k ma[?]ís 'your coke' (lit., 'you have,
own a coke')

n^yawí· u[?]ás 'her things' (also n^yawí·
n^ywa[?]ís)

k^wramás pn^ya[?]ís 'my children'

814. Appositive phrase. In this type of phrase no member is actually attributive to the other. The members in a sense are in apposition. The first member usually denotes a general notion (n^y awí· 'thing' is a very common first member), with somewhat more specific identification in the final member. If the first member is a pronoun, it must be a demonstrative pronoun. The final member can be a demonstrative or third personal pronoun (541, 543). An appositive phrase can have as members verbal nouns; however, few are recorded. If the final member is a personal pronoun, it is the preceding member which is more specific. The final member can be inflected for person to indicate possession:

n^y awí· vú·r 'the donkey' (lit., 'the donkey thing')

n^y awí· n^y mcá· 'the mountain lion'

n^y sʔák mn^y cá· 'the woman (who is) your mother'

šxá· wamswáy 'the girl (who is) your wife'

n^y awí· k^wakú· 'the old woman'

n^y awí· pí· n^y 'this thing'

pí· n^y xá 'this (which is) water'

xá n^y šán^y 'that water' (lit., 'the water, it there')

Appositional constructions (as well as constructions of the other types) may have a stronger semantic bond between members than the above examples, e.g., wá šká· 'tent',

xmá apá 'rooster'. Such constructions are treated as compounds (714).

820. Verb phrase. In a sequence of verbs one verb may relate to another in such a manner that it is convenient to recognize a verb phrase. However, it is not always easy to determine whether a sequence of verbs should be considered a phrase or a coordinate construction (862), a distinction which in many instances is perhaps trivial. An attempt has been made to identify as a verb phrase a sequence of verbs in which one verb is the main verb, providing the major semantic contribution, and other verbs of the sequence are ancillary, either modifying the meaning of the main verb or conveying information concerning the nature of the action or the physical status of the subject. A verb phrase in which one verb modifies the meaning of another is attributive. One in which an accompanying verb supplies information regarding the status or nature of the main verb is auxiliary. There is a special type of the auxiliary phrase in which the main verb is inflected for person by means of the auxiliary verb í 'say'. Such verbs are periphrastically inflected and comprise a class which includes most reduplicated verbs (617). Periphrastically inflected verbs constitute a periphrastic verb phrase.

821. Attributive phrase. The main verb is, of course, the head and may either precede or follow the attribute. It is possible to identify definitely as an attributive phrase one which contains only two members, although it is

very likely that phrases consisting of three or more members are possible. A syntactic suffix is ordinarily attached only to the final member. Both members may be inflected for person. The attributive member is optionally inflected for plural. Other inflective processes usually occur in the head only. The attribute may be an active verb, a stative verb, or certain of the interjections (830), especially those with temporal reference.

The head of the following examples is the final member:

l^y cáš š^ʔá·r 'be slightly paralyzed (i.e., dried up)'
 n^yaxán^y š^ʔá·r 'be really paralyzed'
 muxá·m yák 'it lies a little ways off'
 ušít šá·c 'he went on alone'
 mapíl^y u·yá· 'now I know'
 cn^yám má·mx 'it will end at night'

The head is the initial member in the following:

±^yáy in^yá·m 'there are very many things' (±^yáy
 'be numerous', in^yá·m 'be very much, many')
 u±^yáy in^yá·m 'there are very many living beings
 (e.g., people)'
 n^yn^yá·m n^yaxán^y 'there are really a lot'
 pa·nák xsá·mc 'he almost killed him'
 u·šáy mšpáxan^y 'I really died laughing'
 awsáy mšupáxan^y 'he really died laughing'
 n^yi·p^ʔá· xškáy 'it's still standing there'
 n^yi·pu^ʔá· xšukáyc 'he's still standing there'

822. Auxiliary phrase. The head of an auxiliary phrase is always the initial member. There may be one or two (or more) attributive members, which can be any of the class of auxiliary verbs. A common function of the auxiliary verb is to denote the position or location of the subject of the main verb while the action of the latter takes place. One of the locative-temporal prefixes (450) is very commonly attached to the auxiliary verb to relate the action to a relative time or place of occurrence or to express the continuation of the action. When the auxiliary verb functions itself as a main verb, a following syntactically auxiliary verb is mandatory. The auxiliary verb in such case can be the same as the verb it modifies. The following examples illustrate this:

yák yák 'it lay' (lit., it lay in a lying position')

yák puyák 'it lay here' (lit., 'it lay in a lying position here')

wác puwác 'it sits here'

n^yp^á·c p^á·c 'it stood there (in a previously mentioned place)'

Syntactic suffixes are often attached to the auxiliary verb only. They may occur, however, with the main verb only or with both the main and auxiliary verbs.

Duration or continuation of the action of the main verb can be indicated by two or more repetitions of the auxiliary verb:

pkuwíc pá·c 'he followed him as he went along':

pkuwíc pá·c pá·c pá·c 'he kept on following
him (i.e., for a long time)'

(şxlmú) kpn^ywílk pmwák pmwák pmwák ... 'You keep
right on shooting (flies), as you sit here
(i.e., don't stop)'

The following are examples of typical occurrences
of auxiliary phrases:

şumác şa·yák 'he lay there and slept'

p[?]á·c şayúm 'it stood there' (lit., 'it stood
existing there')

uyí·c şa·yí·c 'he was over there coming'

kúí^y wayá·c yuş 'I have climbed' (wayá· 'be
around doing something'; yú, as an auxiliary
verb, may be somewhat freely translated
as 'it's a fact what has just been said')

upámç uyu ac 'he fell' (lit., 'he fell, it's a
fact, he did')

l[?]úy pa[?]á·mc yuş 'I'm going along playing' (said
in response to the question 'What are you
doing?')

pu[?]áw pá·c 'he went along walking'

(i·yálí^y kcáp) mák cuyá·w '(Throw them into my
mouth) while I eat as we continue to be here'

pa·şá·yc şwa·yá·yc 'he was around there eating
him again'

xu[?]tú·p pá·c 'he bucked (i.e., jumped several
times) going along'

pa·cáp ʂa·yá·wm ... 'he placed him and while they
were there ...'

šucúx ac 'he intends to pick up' (lit., 'he
will pick up, he says')

ukúɬ^y ac 'he climbs' (lit., 'he climbs, he does
it')

pa·ʔá ac aʂ 'he says to him' (This phrase and
similar ones are used following a quotation
by someone. Lit., 'he says to him, he does
(or says) it, he does it and as far as I
know this is new information for you')

í 'say', most commonly in the third person form á
(but seldom stressed) and with the suffix -c, i.e., ac,
appears to be the only verb which can immediately follow
a verb with the syntactic suffix -m (801.4) with the sub-
jects of both verbs having the same reference. It is
usually the auxiliary verb which attaches -m. This type
of construction is not essentially different from the
more typical phrases above. An example of this is:

ʂá·m ac ... 'he was going along there, he was
and ...' (The subject of the next verb has
a different reference.)

Verb phrases with í 'say', aʔí 'do', and yú 'be'
as second member appear to differ somewhat from phrases
containing the other auxiliary verbs. It is possible to
construe most phrases containing one of these three verbs
as second (or final) member as appositional phrases, and

thus set up an additional type of verb phrase. Although this analysis postulates no appositional verb phrase as such, such a phrase might justifiably be recognized. The evidence is stronger for apposition when the auxiliary verb is aʔí 'do'. In the following the inflected form of aʔí might be considered in apposition to the preceding verb, with aʔí (or perhaps the phrase, including the preceding verb) as head to the following auxiliary verb:

suyá·c uʔác wa·yá· 'he's around singing, goes
about singing'

psk^wa·yá·w şawʔác pa·wás pa·wás 'he continued
to teach them' (lit., 'he taught them, he
did it there (or then), he was here, he
was here')

822.1. Periphrastic phrase. This subtype of auxiliary phrase owes its name to its manner of inflection. Inflection for all processes, except the modification of the root vowel for what can perhaps be termed a kind of plural, takes place in the following unstressed auxiliary verb í 'say'. A class of periphrastically inflected verbs must be set up which are distinguished from normally inflected verbs, which can also be followed by the auxiliary verb í (822). Most reduplicated verbs are periphrastically inflected (617). The following are examples of non-reduplicated periphrastically inflected verbs:

şkáyp ix 'I'll be quiet'

aşú· i 'later' (This most commonly occurs
with the syntactic suffix -m (801.4).)

cáqş ac 'he jumped'

şwí·rq i 'I whirl, it whirls around'

támk i 'it flashes (once)'

mín ac 'he passed by'

qá·w i 'I scream'

láv i 'I turn my head quickly' (It is interest-
ing to note the effect of lengthening the
root vowel: lá·w i 'I turn my head slowly')

830. Interjections. Interjections comprise a class of forms whose members are, for the most part, unanalyzable and whose function in a sentence is peripheral. Certain of them, e.g., the temporal absolutes, can occur as attributive member of a verb phrase (821). At least one (lá·x 'no') may function as a main verb. It is the peripheral usage of the more or less analyzable forms which permits their assignment to the class of interjections. For example, n^yxú·l is an unambiguous noun meaning 'my younger brother'. However, when used as a vocative, it is considered as functioning as an interjection. Two types of interjections are recognized: exclamations, whose characteristics are more or less implied by the cover term, and absolutes. The latter is, in effect, a depository for all forms not considered as exclamations and which either relate peripherally to the sentence or are ordinarily neutral in their function as noun or verb, even though their roots can be analyzed as one or the other.

831. Exclamations. The following are examples of exclamations, whose English translations only partially reveal their emotive ranges:

xú·y 'My! Golly!'

xúṭ (also xú·ṭ) 'Heavens! Well!' (expression of surprise)

lá (also lá·) 'Oh! Gee! Now, wait a minute!'
(of negative implication)

yáy 'Hey!'

áwka 'Hello!' (standard form of greeting)

n^yaxán^y 'Really! Indeed!' (cf. -xan^y 'be very
much' (616.2))

apayú·ş (or yú·ş) 'My goodness!'

şá 'but, however'

wáţ (also cwáţ which is more polite) 'Yes'

lá·x 'No'

832. Absolutes. Forms considered as absolutes include those relating to time and nouns or personal names used vocatively.

832.1. Temporal absolutes. Not all expressions referring to time function as absolutes, e.g., n^yáckuár 'afternoon' which appears to be used only as a verb. The following are examples of forms functioning primarily as absolutes:

márk 'at one time, once upon a time'

mapíl^y 'now'

má·m 'then, now, and so, afterwards' (also n^ymá·m.

Either can be used as verbs with the meaning 'it ends'.)

cn^yár 'yesterday'

n^yá·k 'tomorrow'

n^yámkt^y 'morning'

n^yá·k n^yámkt^y 'tomorrow morning'

n^yakúr 'long ago, for a long time'

n^yá·mk 'daytime'

tumí·ŋk 'Sunday'

lú·n 'Monday'

832.2. Vocatives. The form of the vocative for inalienably possessed nouns is that of the first person without case suffix. The form for other nouns, including personal names, is the stem without case suffix:

n^y cá· 'Mother!'

k^w akú· 'Old woman!'

xmí·k 'Young man!'

kɿ^y múš 'Mary!'

ú·n^y 'Edward!'

840. Melody. It does not seem possible to avoid the conclusion that each of the prosodic features described in 113 has phonemic status and deserves to be so marked along with the phonemic representation of the segmental consonants and vowels. The marking of the prosodic features of stress, length, juncture, and even the terminal contour presents relatively little difficulty. The indication of the pitch level of each syllable by a superscript number or similar device, on the other hand, results in an unattractive and formidable clutter of symbols, tedious to decipher. In Cocopa, as in other languages, a sentence composed of the same segmental phonemes can be embraced by more than one construction of pitch levels and terminal contours. And it is equally true that other prosodic features can show variations in the same 'sentence'. The present analysis has not proceeded to a point that will permit a definitive statement to be made regarding these features and their relationships.

However, a number of recurrent constructions of pitch

levels and terminal contours (i.e., melodies) correlate with certain syntactic constructions in a general fashion. These constructions are referred to as 'standard melodies'. These correlations are presented below with the identifying punctuation marks which will henceforth be used in illustrations of major sentences and in the sample text.

1. Period (.) With one exception the use of the period is characterized by a falling terminal contour /4/. All unstressed syllables in the sentence usually have pitch level /1/, but may have /2/. A final unstressed syllable always has /1/. The construction of pitch levels occurring with a typical declarative sentence on the stressed syllables is most often one of the following: (The final number represents the last stressed syllable. The middle number represents the penultimate stressed syllable. The first number represents preceding stressed syllables.)

/222/, /221/, /232/

An interrogative sentence formed by means of the interrogative suffix -a (871) almost invariably has pitch level /3/ on the final stressed syllable. The most common construction of pitch levels for this type of sentence is:

/223/

A declarative sentence with one of the following constructions of pitch levels is most commonly one which is an affirmative answer to a question:

/213/, /313/

The period when used with a negative statement, especially when the final syllable is lá·x 'no, be not', denotes a

rising /↑/ rather than a falling terminal contour. The construction of pitch levels present is usually:

/232/

2. Question mark (?) The use of the question mark is characterized by a rising /↑/ terminal contour with pitch level /3/ on the final syllable whether stressed or unstressed. Non-final unstressed syllables may have /1/ or /2/. The most common pitch level construction is:

/223/

The rising terminal contour with the above pitch level construction appears to constitute the standard melody for most interrogative statements which do not attach the interrogative suffix -a. The following constructions of pitch levels also occur with the rising terminal contour:

/323/, /313/

3. Comma (,) The use of the comma is characterized by the sustained /|/ terminal contour. It signifies that the utterance is not completed. A slight pause normally follows. The use of the comma will be restricted to these situations:

1. Following an interjection which relates semantically to, or is felt to be naturally associated with, the following macrosegment.

2. Before an interjection when the preceding utterance is felt to be related semantically or to be naturally associated.

3. Following a nominalized or dependent clause

when a slight pause actually occurs before the following macrosegment.

4. Before a nominalized or dependent clause when a slight pause actually occurs following the preceding macrosegment.

In all the above situations the use of the comma will denote the sustained /|/ terminal contour. In the event that the interjection or clause has one of the other terminal contours, the period or question mark will be used, indicating that it is a major or minor sentence.

One other punctuation device will be used in the sample text:

4. A sequence of three periods (...) This punctuation will separate independent clauses which constitute a sentence with an intervening /|/ terminal contour and pause.

850. Minor sentence. A minor sentence is an utterance which reveals no syntactic structure, occurring only in the context of a major sentence. Most exclamations (831) and any vocative (832.2) may comprise a minor sentence. A typical minor sentence is an utterance which consists of a noun phrase or an interjection in response to a question. Speech melodies possible for a minor sentence run the whole gamut.

860. Major sentence: declarative. A major declarative sentence is one whose termination is punctuated by a period and which consists of one or more than one clause. A declarative sentence can be simple, coordinate, complex,

compound, or compound-complex.

861. Simple sentence. The prerequisite of a simple sentence is that the clause which constitutes the sentence be independent and that its predicate consist of a single verb phrase. An independent clause which forms a simple declarative sentence may either attach to its predicate the syntactic suffix -c or -k, or have no overt syntactic marker.

1. A simple sentence can consist of a clause with no overt subject whose predicate is a verb phrase only:

k^Wárk^Wár kʔik. 'Talk! Say something!'

pcuk^Wír. 'He follows him.'

šumác ša·yákc uyus. 'He's lying over there
asleep' . (Lit., 'he-sleeps
he-lies-there he-does')

šá·. 'He's going along there.'

l^Ycáš šʔá·r. 'It's slightly paralyzed.'
(Lit., 'it's-little it's-dry')

pawʔác. 'He did it to him.'

šumáx ac. 'He says he will sleep.' (Lit.,
'he-will-sleep he-says')

mšuráy in^Yá·m. 'He's very angry.' (Lit.,
'he-is-angry it-is-very-much')

2. A simple sentence can consist of a clause with an overt subject whose predicate is a verb phrase only:

apác awyá·. 'The man knows.'

apápíc n^Yawyá·. 'This man knows me.'

(Lit., this-man he-knows-me')

n^yá·c pu·yá·c yuṣ. 'I recognized him; I
knew who he was.' (Lit., I know-him
I-do')

q^wáqš xutú·px ac. 'The horse wants, is
going, to buck.' (Lit., Horse he-will-
jump he-says')

xmí·kc n^yi·puʔá·. 'The young man is
standing there.'

mapún^y mn^ycá·c pa·wá xṣukáyc uyus. 'Your
mother is not dead, is still alive.'
(Lit., 'Your your-mother she-sits
she-still-is she-is')

3. A simple sentence can consist of a clause
with no overt subject whose predicate consists of a verb
phrase preceded by one or more noun phrases:

n^yá·p n^ywáṭ^y pʔá·c ṣayu. 'It stands there
in my house.' (Lit., 'My in-my-house
it-stands it-is-there')

n^yṣay wa·ya·c uyus. 'He is around there,
in that place.' (Lit., 'There he-is-
around he-is')

apá ašíṭ pa·ṣá·c. 'He bit, ate one man.'
(Lit., 'man one he-bit-him')

kú·c n^yawá n^yṣáṭ^y uwáṭ. 'He threw (them)
into the pigs' house.'

(The noun phrase is appositive. n^yṣáṭ^y
is in apposition with the possessive

phrase *kú·c n^yawá*. (Lit., 'pig his-house in-it he-threw')

n^yawí· u[?]áspin^y ré· pí·c. 'She gave the king her things.' (The noun phrase *n^yawí· u[?]áspin^y* (813) is the direct object of the verb. *ré·* is the indirect object. If *ré·* preceded the noun phrase, the sentence would mean 'She gave someone the king's things.' The relative positions of two or more noun phrases in the predicate varies. However, the one which is the direct object of the verb normally occupies a prior position as occurs in the next two examples.)

n^yawí· amá·s n^yşáı^y uwáı̇. 'He threw the food into it.' (Lit., 'thing food in-it he-threw')

n^yawí· n^yırwırpin^y k^wakú·pin^y pí·c. 'He gave the old woman the wings.' (Lit., 'Thing these-wings the-old-woman he-gave-her')

4. A simple sentence may consist of a clause with an overt subject whose predicate consists of a verb preceded by one or more noun phrases:

ré·c şxá·pin^y pa·yá·x ac. 'The king says he will marry the girl.' (Lit., 'King

this-girl he-will-take-her he-says')

apác k^wák pa·tím. 'The man shot the deer.'

(Lit., 'The-man deer he-shot-him.')

q^wáqšc xasán^y pa·sá·c. 'The horse bit

the little girl.' (Lit., 'Horse
girl he-bit-her')

n^yá·p n^yʔá·c pí·s xwák n^ysú·s pí·c. 'My

father gave my younger sister two dol-
lars.' (girl speaking) (Lit., 'My my-
father money two my-younger-sister
he-gave-her')

xmí·kpic n^yawí· urár wa·yá·c. 'The

young man was around doing things.'
(Lit., 'This-young-man thing he-is-
occupied he-is-around')

It may be observed in the above examples with an overt subject that the subject does not always attach the syntactic suffix -c. Its affixation appears to be required only when the noun or nounphrase ends in a vowel and when ambiguity would result from its absence, e.g., when there is a noun or noun phrase following which could either be part of the predicate or form a noun phrase with the preceding noun. Compare the following:

k^wák apá pa·wí·c. 'He saw the buck (male
deer).' (Lit., 'deer man he-saw-him')

k^wákc apá pa·wí·c. 'The deer saw the man.'

k^wák apác pa·wí·c. 'The buck saw him.'

k^wák apác apá pa·wí·c. 'The buck saw
the man.'

(k^wák apá is probably better considered
a compound, rather than a noun phrase;
see 714.)

862. Coordinate sentence. A coordinate sentence consists of an independent clause which contains two or more predicates. The sentence may have no overt subject or it may have a single overt subject which is the subject of both or all the predicates of the clause. The clause, in effect, is merely a sequence of predicates whose reference is to the same subject. The verbs or verb phrase of several, or even all, of the predicates may affix -c or -k. -c and -k are mutually exclusive; one or the other only may be the syntactic suffix in a coordinate construction. (This is not to say that both suffixes cannot be present in the same sentence. It is possible for both to be present in a complex sentence; (see 863.1 and 863.2.1.) -k implies a future action. The absence of a syntactic suffix and -c both denote either a present or past action. (See 485.4 for inflective aspects of -c.)

1. Absence of a coordinating syntactic suffix. Coordination of the predicates is accomplished by position and the absence of the subordinating suffix -m. Absence of a suffix has an inflective function (485.4):

k^wr[?]ák pa·yí· páy pšu·wín. 'The old man
is coming along and stops him (the horse)
here.' (Lit., 'old-man he-comes here

he-stops-him')

šác umán wáɫ^y uxáp ʂú·k supám. 'The
bird flew through the house.' (Lit.,
'bird he-flew in-the-house he-entered
over-there he-went-out')

capá·y n^ykumís n^yka·káp kuwá·k. 'The
people arrived, then turned around
and went home.' (Lit., 'people they
-arrived they-then-turned-around
they-went-home')

2. -c as a coordinating syntactic suffix. Far more common than the above is the affixation of -c to one or more verbs in the sequence of predicates:

pí·s šucúc ʂk^wín^y ɫ^yusác. 'He picked up
the money and put it into the cup.'
(Lit., 'Money he-picked-it-up cup he
-put-into')

mapúc upú·k myí·k mpá·c myuʂ. 'You
came from over there.' (-k in myí·k
is inflective (430.5), as well as in
the pronoun upú·k (543). Lit., 'You
from-there you-came you-arrived you-
did')

n^yá·c n^yawí· pa·sá·m paná·k pašá·c payáks.
'I kill everything, I can kill any-
thing.' (n^yawí· pa·sá·m 'everything'
is an animate verbal noun, object of the
following two verbs. Lit., 'I thing all
I-kill-him I-bite-him I-lie-here')

3. -k as a coordinating syntactic suffix. This suffix in a coordinate sentence is attached to the verbs in the predicate or predicates which precede a predicate whose verb attaches the intentive -x and to a verb in the imperative: (See 801.5 for further description of -k and its position relative to inflective suffixes.)

n^ya·pác yúk sʔák yá·x ic. 'I'm a man who intends to get married.' (Lit., 'I-who-am-a-man I-am woman I-intend-to-get I-say.' This sentence is probably to be considered as an indirect quote; 863.2.1.)

ckwí·mk cwaʔú·r makápin^y kyá·k. 'Take any chair you like.' (Lit., 'Be-indifferent chair whichever take'.)

ká·k n^yawí· kmák kpá·k. 'Go eat and come back.' (Lit., 'Go thing eat arrive-here'.)

n^yá·k n^yşái^y wan^yí·k n^yawí· másn^yx capáy pawíwn^yx. 'We are going to be there to eat and see people.' (Lit., 'We-are-going in-it-there we-are-around we-intend -to-eat-also people we-intend-to-see-them-also'.)

n^yá·p n^yk^wrʔák pa·wákş ma·ţím^x. 'If my husband were here, he would shoot you.' (Lit., 'My my-husband he-is-here-but he-will-shoot-you.' See 485.3 for use of inflective -ş.)

863. Complex sentence. A complex sentence contains one or more dependent or nominalized clauses and an independent clause. The independent clause is a potential simple or coordinate sentence.

863.1. A complex sentence with dependent clause. The subject in a dependent clause, whether or not overt, can be the object of the action denoted by the verb or verbs in the independent clause, or an action denoted by the verb of the dependent clause can precede or accompany the action denoted by the verb in the independent clause. A clause whose verb or verbs have attached the syntactic suffix -k may by affixing -m be a dependent clause, in which case future action is implied for both the dependent and independent clause. Following a fairly long dependent clause there often occurs in the independent clause a personal pronoun which is in apposition with, not the dependent clause itself, but rather, the subject of the dependent clause or the action denoted by the verb therein. The characteristics of a dependent clause are that it attaches the subordinating syntactic suffix -m and that it does not function alone as a major sentence.

lmintá·n şawám awkúpcá. 'She opened the window there.' (Lit., 'window which-was-there she-opened.')

ré· n^yawái^y pá·m, şxá·pic uwí·n^yca. 'When it arrived at the king's house, the young girl looked at it too,' (Lit.,

'King in-his-house when-it-arrived
the-young-girl she-looked-at-it-too.')

pwám, pa·wí·c pá·n^ypin^y awşúť uyá·c uwí·m,
n^yşxá·pin^y umúť^y n^yi·yá·c puyá·. 'When
he arrived, she looked at him, she
pulled out his handkerchief and took
it, and when she looked at it, the young
girl's name was there.' (n^yi·yá· puyá·
'it was there'. The stem of both verbs
is yá· 'be located (inanimate object),
occur, happen', homonymous with yá·
'I pick up'. For n^yi·- and pu- see
440 and 450.)

ré· n^yawác şayá·m, n^yşáť^y pwámca. 'He
arrived there at the king's house.'
(Lit., 'King his-house which-is-there
in-it he-arrived.')

A few comments are pertinent regarding the form puyá·m which appears in the last sentence above, and other forms in which the verb yá· 'happen, take place, be located' may appear, e.g., payá·, puyá·, n^yi·yá·, puyá·c, etc. This verb apparently is impersonal intransitive. It is very common in one or the other of its inflected forms either as a single verb or as the first verb of a verb phrase which is the final phrase of a sentence. It seems to denote that whatever has been said has happened, is happening, or will happen. The verb which immediately precedes usually has

attached the subordinating suffix -m. However, if the preceding verb is inflected for first person and has the intentive suffix -x, it (the preceding verb) does not attach -m. In such instances, one is led to suppose that puyá· may denote first person rather than inanimate third person. (This would be the expected form of the first person.) It apparently does not, as informants insist that puyá· and similar forms refer to the situation and not to the 'I' of the preceding verb. Examples of this are:

n^yawí· ará·r l^ycáš n^yyá·x puyá·c yu. 'I have a little job for you.' (Lit.,

'Thing work little I-will-get-you it-happens it-does.' yá·in n^yyá·x is the homonymous verb meaning 'I get, pick up', different from the yá· of puyá·c which means 'it happens'.)

n^yawí· mi·šwá·ž m[?]íkm n^yckn^yáyx puyá·c

yuš. 'I'll pay you what you say you want.' (Lit., 'thing you-want which-you-say I-will-pay-you it-happens it-does'.)

It is possible to consider the verb or verb phrase which contains yá· as being in apposition with the preceding clause, whether or not the preceding verb has attached -m. Without -m, however, the preceding clause is independent. With -m attached, on the other hand, the preceding clause is dependent and may not be as a rule a sentence with-

out some form of *yá·* (or other verb) following.

863.2. A complex sentence with nominalized clause. The nominalized clause functions either as the subject to the predicate of a clause (independent or dependent) or as object of a verb or verb phrase in the predicate in which case it is itself part of the predicate. The distinguishing feature of a nominalized clause is the lack of reference from the independent clause to any syntactic unit within the nominalized clause. The reference is rather to the entire clause functioning as a unit. The suffix *-c* can attach to the final verb of the clause to denote subject. The lack of a suffix denotes object. More commonly used, however, are the demonstrative suffixes (531): *-pic* or *-şic* for subject and *-pin^y* or *-şin^y* for object. All appear to be optional and used primarily to prevent ambiguity. The verb in the nominalized clause is commonly inflected for plural.

makáy uwás u·yá·c iş. 'I know where he is.' (Lit., 'where he-is-located-sitting (-s distributive subject plural) 'I-know I-do.')

n^ymcá· uyúspin^y an^yca. 'He did what the mountain lion did.' (Lit., 'mountain-lion what-he-did he-did-too.')

lú·p usíxpin^y n^ykn^yá·pk. 'Tell me what he wants to drink.' (Lit., 'something what-he-intends-to-drink tell-me.')

n^yakúr awyá·n^y şú·c n^y±^yuwáxpín^ya. 'He knew also for a long time of his being in it.' (or: 'He has also known for a long time that he would be in it.')

(Lit., 'For-a-long-time he-knows-also that-one he-will-be-sitting-in-it.')

n^yawí· mmáspin^y u·yá·c pawá. 'I know that you are eating.' (Lit., 'Thing you-eat I-know I-sit-here.')

makáy mşupáspin^y wí·c yuş. 'I saw where he died.' (Lit., 'where he-died I-saw I-did.' The form wí·c 'I saw' is preferable here, but one may also say pa·wí·c 'I saw him'. In the latter there obviously is a reference to the subject of the verb mşupás 'he died'. If pa·wí·c is used, the meaning is apparently 'I saw him as he died, or while he was dead.')

863.2.1. Quotations. It is often difficult to distinguish a direct quote from an indirect one. It seems proper to consider the former a special type of nominalized clause, and possibly the latter as well. It may be the context as well as an undetected difference in melody which

distinguishes the two types of quotations. The quotation is the nominalized clause followed by an inflected form of í 'say'. The quotation can be broken with í interjected at a logical point within. The following is an example of a direct quotation. Double quotes enclose the quoted speech:

"xmí·k" ac "má·k x^Wá pmsk^Wayá·wx ic payí·c yuṣ."
 "'Young man" he said, "You (are to) go
 teach the soldiers (I say as I come along,
 I do)."'

The following are ambiguous. The contexts, however, imply that they are indirect quotes:

mú·r ašíṭ n^Vawáy pwá ac. 'She said that Mu·r
 arrived at his house alone.'

ci·xáyx ic. 'I said it would be windy.'

A special type of indirect quotation involves the verbal noun k^Wás (derived from í 'say, do'). Occurring finally in a sentence and unstressed it denotes that the action stated in the sentence is to be equated with a previous statement as to what the action will be. It is perhaps possible to consider the portion of the sentence preceding k^Wás a nominalized clause to which k^Wás is in apposition, although the sentence as a whole would then have no independent clause. Compare the following examples:

n^Vawí· vú·r ušíṭm psuk^Wá· ac. 'He said that he

asked him for one donkey.' (Lit., 'thing
donkey one he-asked-him he-said.')

n^yawí· vú·r ušítm psuk^{wá}· k^was. 'He asked him
for one donkey, as he was told to do (as he said
he would do).'

863.3. A complex sentence with dependent and nominal-

ized clauses. A complex sentence with both types of clauses is not essentially dissimilar from a complex sentence in which one or the other is absent:

sxuṭússin^y ṭ^ynumákm ṣawác ica. 'It was that spit she left in it that said it.' (Lit., 'She-spit-there which-she-left-in it-was -there it-said.'

k^wakú. n^yi.ṣṣn^yupís n^ykun^yá.ṣm, xrupáy n^yawí. wáyk^wapít má.ṣm ṣwán^ya. 'When she told of the old woman bewitching him there, the crazy one was close by, and then he also arrived.' (Lit., 'old-woman there-she-bewitched-him this-she-told he-was-close -by thing crazy-one then he-arrived-also.')

864. Compound sentence. A compound sentence contains two (and possibly more) independent clauses. One clause, ordinarily the first, is subordinate to the other in a semantic sense. A first clause which is subordinate is usually followed by some form of the personal pronoun, to which the clause can be said to be in apposition. Such a clause is not essentially different from a dependent clause in its function in the sentence. It merely lacks the syntactic suffix -m. The subjects of the predicates of the clauses in a compound sentence usually are identical, but are not necessarily so:

q^wáqš mák uyí.ṣ n^yṣác putáyxan^y ṣa.yí. uyu aca.

'The horse coming behind was the biggest, he said.' (Lit., 'horse behind he-comes

that-one he-is-very-big he-comes-there
he-is he-said.')

wí·c muxá·m yák puyák n^yşán^y pwámç ukúî^yc
uwí·c şpuʔá·m, lá·xxan^y. 'He went
up to a mountain lying a little ways
off, climbed it, stood on the top, and
when he looked, there was nothing (to
be seen of them).' (Lit., 'mountain
a-little-ways-off it-lies it-lies-
there that-one he-arrived he-climbed
in-the-above he-stood he-looked when
-he-stood-there nothing-very-much.')

865. Compound-complex sentence. A compound-complex sentence contains two (or more) independent clauses, simple or coordinate, and one (or more) dependent or nominalized clause:

şáy uwác má·m şxlmú pn^yuwíl k^wʔas şumác şa·yákm
pawác pawác. 'He sat there then and chased
flies as he told him to do while he
slept'. (Lit., 'there he-sat now flies
he-chased-them that-which-was-said
he-slept he-lay-there-while he-sat-
here he-sat-here.')

870. Major sentence: interrogative. An interrogative sentence may, like a declarative sentence, be simple, coordinate, complex, compound, or compound-complex. Its status as interrogative is indicated by an interrogative

suffix, by a characteristic melody, or by a characteristic melody and an interrogative suffix. The formation of an interrogative sentence is presented according to the process involved.

871. Suffixation of -a. A declarative sentence can be made interrogative by attaching -a to a verb which is sentence-final, provided: it is not yú 'be, do'; it is a verb other than í 'say', or a?í 'do', functioning as an auxiliary to a main verb; it is the main (or only) verb of the predicate, which may be í or a?í. It ordinarily does not attach to a verb with the intentive -x. One example is known of its affixation to what is apparently a verbal noun:

n^yá kla?áma. 'What time is it?' (The derivation of the verbal noun is uncertain. Alone, without n^yá 'day, sun', it means 'how much, so much'.)

The melody accompanying an interrogative sentence formed with -a contains a falling terminal contour and more closely resembles that of a declarative sentence than that accompanying one formed by the other two processes. It is for this reason that the punctuation mark is a period (See 840.1):

makám uxápa. 'Where did he go ("enter")?' (Cf. makám uxáp. 'He went somewhere'.)

mapúc pmu·yá·a. 'Do you know him?'

n^yá·p n^ymwí·a. 'Do you see me?'

mapúc kafí· a?ís mşía. 'Did you drink my coffee?'

mapúc kafí· ma?ís mşía. 'Did you drink your coffee?'

maʔía. 'Did you do it?' (Cf. maʔís. 'You did it.')

mi·cúc rápa. 'Does your belly ache?'

mšmá·l makápíc rápa. 'Which of your ears aches?'

makáy uyáka. 'Where is he lying?'

apác umíc puyáka. 'Is the man crying?' (Lit., 'the-man he-cries he-is-lying-here-question'.)

mapúc mxpcú·n^yx mpʔá·a. 'Are you going to church?' (Lit., 'You you-intend-to-go-to-church you-are-standing-question'.)

šác umán makáy wáma. 'Where is the bird?' (Lit., 'The-bird he-is-flying somewhere he-goes -away-from-question'.)

mwí·n^ya. 'Do, did you see it too?'

aʔín^yxa. 'Shall I do it too?'

makáy wa·n^yí·m pmwíwa. 'Where were they when you saw them?' (Lit., 'Somewhere they-are-around you-saw-them-question'.)

872. Characteristic melody. A declarative sentence may be made into an interrogative sentence by means of a melody whose terminal contour is rising and whose pitch level on the final syllable, whether stressed or unstressed, is /3/. Such melody is indicated by the punctuation mark: ? (See 840.2). This manner of forming an interrogative sentence appears to be used primarily when there is direct or indirect reference to the future and in negative questions,

and only when the final syllable of the sentence consists of the root syllable of an inflected form of either í 'say' aʔí 'do', or yú 'be':

luʔík knʲá.px í? 'What shall I say? How shall I say it?'

nʲá kayúm mkwá.kx í? 'What day will you come back?'

makápic má.x íc? 'Which of you is going?' (Lit.,
— 'Which you-intend-to-go I-say-question.')

makápic á.x í? 'Which of us is going?'

lú.p kmʔí.c mwayá.c maʔíc? 'What are you doing?'
(Lit., 'Something you-are-doing you-are-around you-do-question.')

luʔác? 'What did he say?' (Lit., 'He-said-something-question.')

lpmu.yá.m íc? 'Don't you know me?' (Lit., 'You-don't-know-me I-say-question.' For formation of negative see 470.)

nʲá.p lnʲmwí.m myúc? 'Don't you see me? (Lit.,
'Me you-don't-see-me you-do-question.')

kayúm íc má.x íc? 'Why are you going?'

knʲayúm má.x íc? 'When are you going?'

makák myí.c myúc? 'Where did you come from?'

kmyúk má.x íc? 'How are you going?'

873. Characteristic melody and suffixation of -m.

The melody is that described in 872. The use of the interrogative suffix -m is restricted for the most part to one of the three verbs: í 'say', aʔí 'do', yú 'be' functioning as an auxiliary verb in final position in the sentence.

When attached to one of these verbs the root syllable is usually stressed. In the apparently rare instance when it attaches to verbs other than one of these three, the final syllable (which actually consists of the suffix itself) is never stressed. An example of the latter is:

n^ymá·mm? '(Are you) ready?' (See 131 for syllable boundaries.)

In contrast to primarily future reference of the characteristic melody when used alone (872), the accompaniment of the melody by the suffix -m seldom has future reference. The following illustrate the use of this suffix with the three auxiliary verbs:

makác uyúm? 'Who is that?'

lú·pc uyúm? 'What is that?'

lú·n^yc uyúm? 'What is that?'

lu[?]íc ím? 'What did I say? (Lit., 'I-said-something I-said-question.')

lú·p kayúx payá·c yum ám? 'What's going to happen?'

(Lit., 'Something it-will-be-indefinite it-happens it-is- which it-says-question.'

Note that yum is unstressed.)

makám wáxc uyúm? 'Where is he going!'

cwa[?]ú·r makápin^y n^yá·p n^ya[?]ísc yum? 'Which chair is mine?'

cwa[?]ú·rpin^y makán^y u[?]ásc yum? 'Whose is that chair?'

makáy kmyúm yum? 'Where are you?' (Lit., 'Somewhere you-are-indefinite it-is-question.')

kaʔím? 'How is it?'

kayú ák uyum? 'Why does he do it? Why does
he act like that?'

lí·p uʔác (or kʔuʔác) wa·n^{yí}·c uyúm? 'What
are they doing.' (Lit., 'something they-
do they-are-around they-are-question.')

APPENDIX I

AFFIX POSITION CHART

The following charts attempt to show the positions of the various affixes relative to the verb and noun roots. Derivative affixes are underlined once. Syntactic affixes are underlined twice. Inflective affixes are not underlined.

The affixes are identified as follows according to position class with references to their descriptions within the grammar.

Verb: prefixal position:

9. n^y - referential indefinite (440)
8. \ddot{t}^y - positional affix (430.1)
7. $l(u)$ - non-referential definite (462) and prefixal element of the negative affix (470)
6. n^y -, m -, p - personal pronominal object prefixes (411, 413) and mc - reflexive (413); pa -, pu -, $\text{\textcircled{a}}$ -, c - locative-temporal (450); ka -, $k\text{\textcircled{t}}$ - non-referential indefinite (461)
5. m - second personal subject prefix (412)
4. Instrumental prefixes (614, 615), k^w - definite prefix which derives nouns from verbs (721), and k -, m - positional affixes (430.2, 430.3); n^y - referential indefinite (440)
3. s -, c - ($\text{\textcircled{t}}$ -), n^y - plural prefixes (421.1, 421.2, 421.3)
2. Third personal subject prefix (u -, etc.) (412) and derivative prefixes a - (611, 722), wa - (611.1), i ·- (612),

and ya- (612.1)

1. n-, n^y- diminutive (613)

Verb: suffixal position

1. -s, -p plural suffixes (421.4, 421.5), -m, -k positional affixes (430.4, 430.5), -wa benefactive suffix (481), -a interrogative suffix (801.7), and -m interrogative suffix (801.6)

2. -n^y, -n^yi imitative suffix (482)

3. -y, -ya, -i·- habitual, usitative, continuative (483)

4. -x intentive (484) and -k future coordinating suffix (801.5)

5. -ɬ^y desiderative-potential (485.1), -pa mild emphatic (485.2), -ʂ assertive (485.3), -c perfective-sequential and present-past coordinating (485.4, 801.1), and -m subordinating (801.4)

Noun: prefixal position

3. m-, n^y- second and third person pronominal prefixes (510, 511, 512)

2. n^y-, i·-, m- derivative prefixes (711, 712, 713)

1. c- plural prefix (520.3); a- third person pronominal prefix (512); u- third person pronominal prefix attached to pronouns (541, 543)

Noun: suffixal position

1. -s plural suffix (520.2) and -y derivative suffix (621)

2. Case suffixes (530, 531)

VERB

Prefixal position

9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Root
n ^y -	± ^y -	l(u)-	n ^y -	m-	<u>Inst</u>	Plur	3rd	n ^y -,	All verbs
			m-		<u>Pref</u>	Pref	pers	n-	
			p-		---		subj		
			mc-		<u>k^w-</u>		---		
					---		<u>a-</u>		
					k-		<u>wa-</u>		
					m-		<u>i·-</u>		
							<u>ya-</u>		
	± ^y		pa-		n ^y		3rd		Aux verbs only
		pu-	3rd						
			sa-				pers		
			c-				subj		
			ka-,		<u>k^w-</u>				í, yá, aʔí only
			kt-		n ^y -				

VERB

Suffixal position

Root	1	2	3	4	5
All	-s	- <u>n^y</u> ,	-y, -ya,	-x	- <u>t^y</u>
Verbs	-p	- <u>n^yi</u>	-i·-	---	-pa
	---			<u>-k</u>	-s
	-m				---
	-k				<u>-c</u>
	---				---
	-wa				<u>-m</u>

	<u>-a</u>				
í, yú, a?í only	<u>-m</u>				

NOUN

3	2	1	Root	1	2
m-	<u>n^y-</u>	c-		-s	Case
n ^y -	<u>i·-</u>	-a		---	suff
	<u>m-</u>	-u		-y	

APPENDIX II

SAMPLE TEXT

The following short text is excerpted from a long narrative about Coyote's adventures. Its analysis in schematic detail will illustrate a considerable number of the possible constructions in the language.

Lines are drawn connecting the immediate constituents of constructions. Syntactic suffixes are separated by dashes.

A glossary follows the text with references to the various inflective processes.

The following abbreviations are used in the analysis:

NP	Noun phrase consisting of one noun or pronoun
NPdir	Noun phrase: directive (813)
NPpos	Noun phrase: possessive (811)
NPatt	Noun phrase: appositive (814)
VP	Verb phrase consisting of one verb
VPatt	Verb phrase: attributive (821)
VPaux	Verb phrase: auxiliary (822)
VPper	Verb phrase: periphrastic (822.1)
Subj	Subject (800.3)
Pred	Predicate (800.4)

Csim-ind Clause: simple and independent (800.5)
Csim-dep Clause: simple and dependent (800.5)
Ccoo-ind Clause: coordinate and independent (800.5)
Ccoo-dep Clause: coordinate and dependent (800.5)
Interj Interjection (830)
Ssim-dec Sentence: simple and declarative (861)
Scoo-dec Sentence: coordinate and declarative (862)
Scpl-dec Sentence: complex and declarative (863)
Scmp-dec Sentence: compound and declarative (864)
Ssim-int Sentence: simple and interrogative (870)
Scmp-cpl-dec Sentence: compound-complex and
declarative (865)
Smin Sentence: minor (850)
Qind Quote: indirect (863.2.1)
Qdir Quote: direct (863.2.1)
Qind-nom Quote: indirect and nominalized (863.2.1)

Coyote

1. márk, xṭpác ṣá·c uyú ac in^ypa.
2. xṭpác ṣá·c ušítṭxan^y ṣá·c uyu ac.
3. ušítṭ ṣá·c má·m ... n^yi·wáy ca·wí·m ṣá·c uyu ac.
4. ṣá· ṣá·c má·m ... wan^yám cupítṭ ṣá·m ac, n^yawí·
n^ymcá· paṭʔáy n^yṣác ṣa·yí·c wan^yám uyí·c ṣa·yí·m, pa·wí·c
uyú ac in^ypa.
5. pa·wí·c ac.
6. "xúṭ, apápin^y apá xacáqxa^y pa·yí·c.
7. wa·yá·k n^ya·xá·l^y n^ya·ná^kx pa·yí·c uyus." ác aca.
8. pa·yí·c pukáwca.
9. pukáwm ac ... "áwka, n^yxú·l makám má·x myuʔ"
10. xṭpác mšuyá·c ac ... "lá, n^yawí· ará·r n^yáy paʔá·mc
yus." á ac.
11. "m, px^wáy ... n^yawí· ará·r l^ycaš n^yyá·x puyá·c yu.
kyí·k." pa·ʔac.
12. xṭpápin^y pa·yá·c.
13. pn^ywác pn^ywác.
14. á·m xʔác ptáy pʔá·c ṭk^wi·šá·c mi·xá·n n^ykumímca.
15. ṣáy wa·yá·c maṭʔ cruʔúy ṣwa·yá·c ṣáy upátṭ uyu ac
n^ymcá·pica.
16. "páy pátṭ šmák payákm má·m ... n^yác ṣkruwárm mán.
17. n^yawí· mi·šwá·ṭ mʔíkm n^yckn^yáyx puyá·c yus." pa·ʔaca.
18. xṭpápin^y pa·ʔaca.
19. "px^wáy."
20. "šxlmú pmn^ywíl páy pátṭ šmáx payá·c."

21. "px^wáy."
22. şáy uwác má·m šxlmú pn^yuwíl k^was şumác şa·yákm
pa·wác pa·wác.
23. n^yác kuwárxan^y umánc uyu aca.
24. umán.
25. "px^wáy."
26. mapíl^y n^yawí· mi·şwá·ţ.
27. n^yá·c n^yawí· ... n^yawí· pa·sá·m paná·k paşá·c payáks.
28. mi·ʔí·p mapúc makápin^y mi·şwá·ţkm panákm pmşá·x
puyá·m." pa·ʔá ac.
29. "kyí·k." am má·m pn^ywáca.
30. xác puyákm n^ykumím.
31. x^ʔác p^tşy n^yp^ʔá·c p^ʔá·c yu ac.
32. má·m n^yawí· n^ymcá·pic ukúţ^yi·c má·ţ^y uyákca.
33. x^tpápic ukúţ^y wa·yá·c.
34. lá·xxan^y ... lu·kúţ^ym uyúm yú aca.
35. "yú·ş, kyaráwk kkúţ^yxu·c."
36. "lá·x kayúk kúţ^yx.
37. n^yá·p n^ywáţ^y p^ʔá·c şayúm kúţ^y wayá·c yuş.
38. mapíl^y, mláyc ic."
39. "yú·ş, kyaráwk kúţ^yxu·c."
40. ukúţ^y makáy cxupíţ^y cáqş ac máţţ^y un^yáţ^y máţţ^y
un^yáţ^y.
41. muláyca.
42. "yú·ş, kyaráwxu·c."
43. "lá, mapíl^y kúţ^y cu^ʔá·x."
44. ukúţ^y ac makáy cxupíţ^y şa·wác máţţ^y un^yáţ^y máţţ^y
un^yáţ^y.

45. ašú·im, n^ymcá·pic má·m usán^y pa·yác máṭṭi^y
pa·cápc uyū aca.

46. máṭṭi^y uʔá ... má·ṭi^y pa·cáp ix.

47. má·ṭi^y pa·cáp ṣa·yá·wm ašú·x má·m xác puyákm
má·m, ušíc uxáp n^yawí·kik^wá·y pa·ʔac.

48. m ... q^wáqš ... mú·l pa·ʔac ... vú·r ... kú·c
... cí·v lú·p n^ymksaʔú·rca.

49. wa·yá·m pa·wí·c.

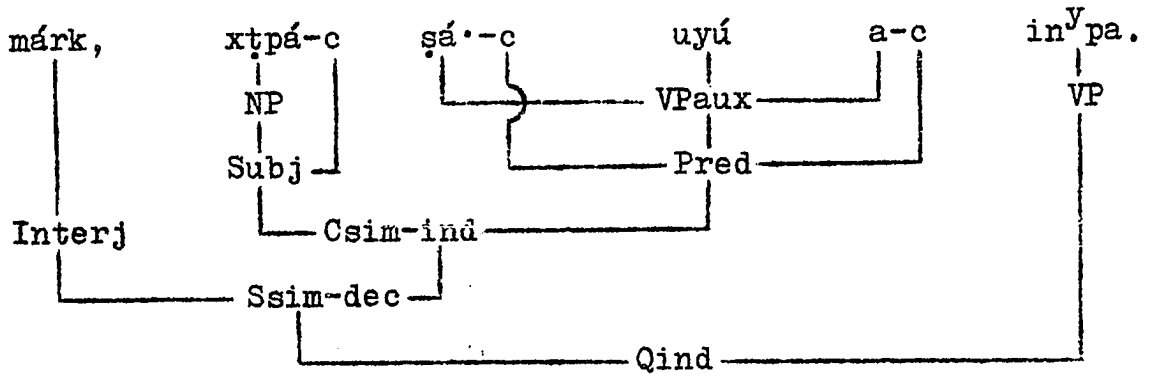
Free Translation

1. Once upon a time, they say Coyote was going along.
2. Coyote was going along all by himself.
3. He was going along by himself now ... he didn't care where he was going.
4. He went on and on now ... He was going down the middle of the road when he saw Mountain Lion coming up the road.
5. He saw him.
6. "Golly, this is a bad man coming.
7. He's going to try to fool me and kill me." he said.
8. He (Mountain Lion) meets him.
9. "Hello, younger brother, where are you going?"
10. Coyote is afraid ... "Oh, I'm on my way to look for a job." he says.
11. "Hmm, fine ... I have a little job for you. Come along." he says to him.
12. He takes Coyote.
13. They go along for awhile.
14. Not far away they come to a big cottonwood tree which has good shade.
15. Mountain Lion fixes a place on the ground there and lies down.
16. "I'm going to lie down here and sleep now ... and in the afternoon I'll get up.
17. I'll pay you whatever you want." he says to him.

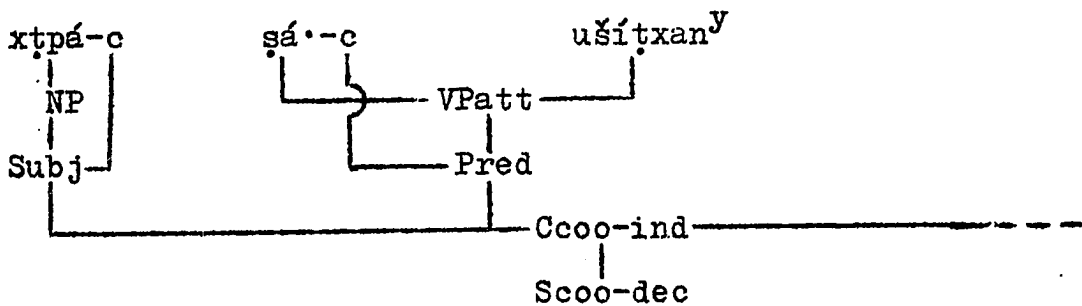
18. He says to Coyote.
19. "O.K."
20. "(If) you chase away the flies while I sleep."
21. "O.K."
22. While he lay there and slept, he (Coyote) sat there and chased away flies as he told him to do.
23. It was real late in the afternoon when he got up.
24. He got up.
25. "O.K."
26. You want something now.
27. I kill anything ... anything I want to eat.
28. Whatever you feel you want, I'll kill it and you can eat it." he says to him.
29. "Come along." he says and then they go off.
30. They come to where there is some water.
31. There is a real big cottonwood tree standing there.
32. Now Mountain Lion climbs it and lies up in the top.
33. Coyote tries to climb.
34. It's no use ... he can't climb it.
35. "My goodness, please hurry up and climb."
36. "I can't climb it."
37. There's one at my house which I can climb.
38. Now, I can't do it."
39. "My goodness, please hurry up and climb."
40. He climbs, hanging on where he can, jumps, and falls to the ground.
41. He can't do it.

42. "My goodness, please hurry up."
43. "Oh, I'm climbing now."
44. He does climb, hanging on as well as he can, (but) falls to the ground.
45. Later, Mountain Lion then goes down, picks him up, and throws him to the ground.
46. To the ground ... I meant to say he throws him up into the top.
47. He throws him to the top and they sit there until later now some animals come down to the water to drink.
48. Hmm ... horses ... mules ... donkeys ... pigs ... goats, all in a bunch.
49. He (Coyote) looks at them as they come.

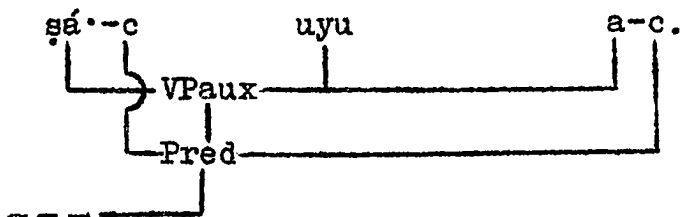
1. once upon a coyote he was he was he did I say
 a time, going along doing it it it too.



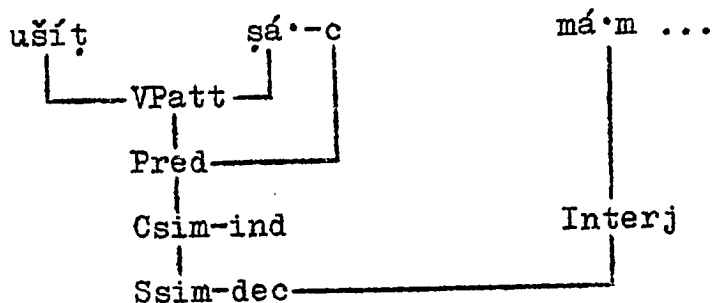
2. a coyote he was he was
 going along all alone



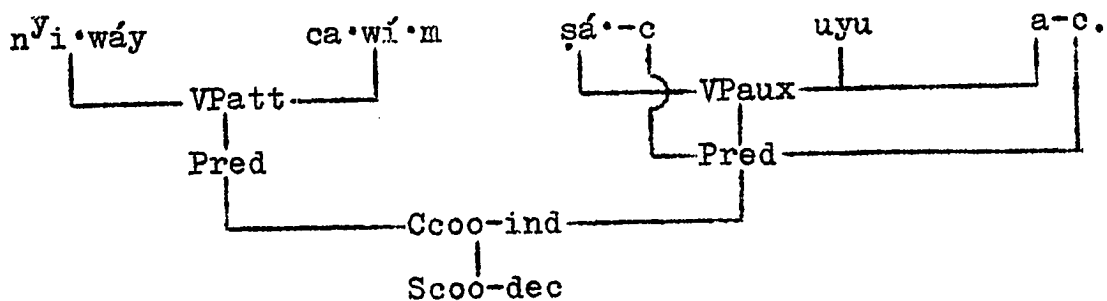
he was he was he did
 going along doing it it.



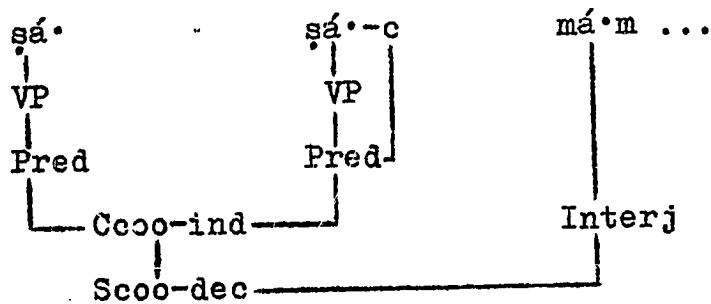
3. he was he was now ...
 alone going along



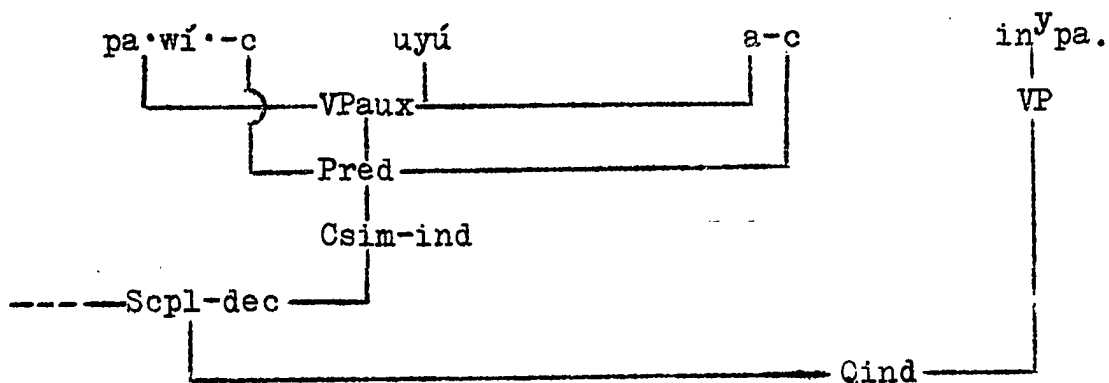
- where he con- he was in- he was he was he did
 tinued to go different going along doing it



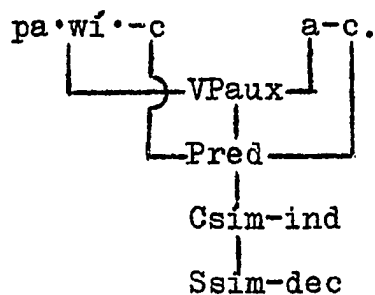
4. he was he went now ...
 going along along there



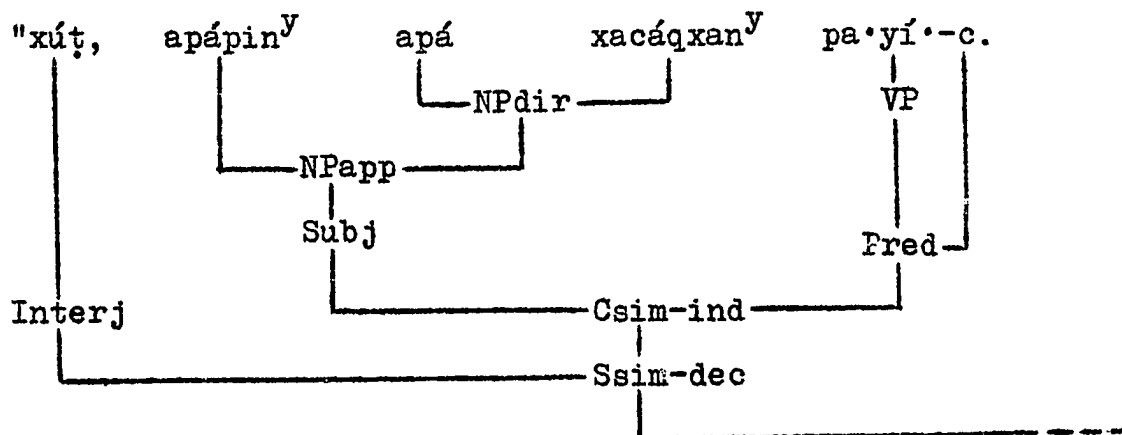
he saw him he was doing it he did it I say it too.



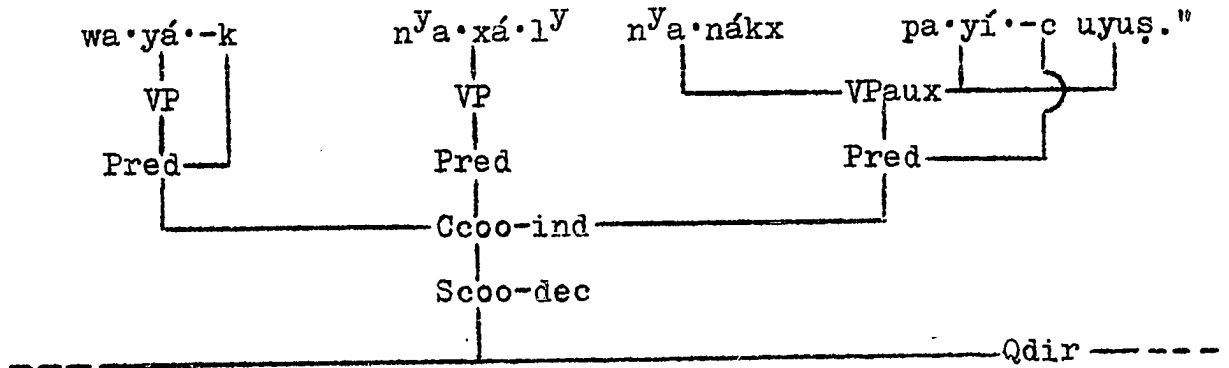
5. he looked he did it.
at him



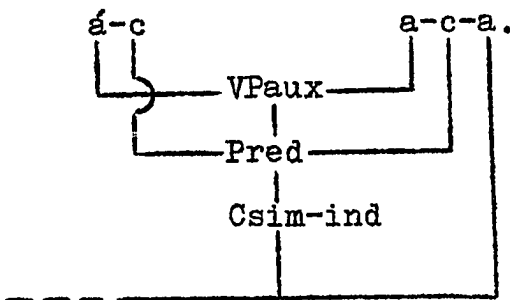
6. "Golly, this man a man a very he is
bad one coming.



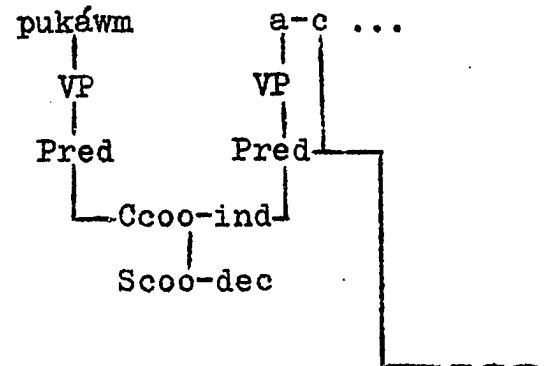
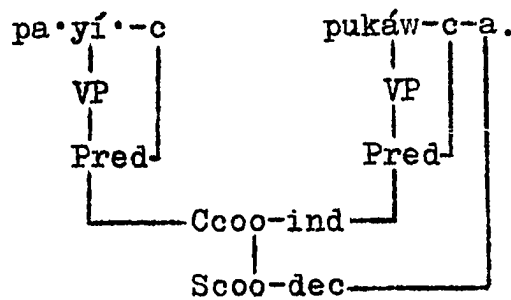
7. he is he fools he intends he is he does
 around - while me to kill me coming it."



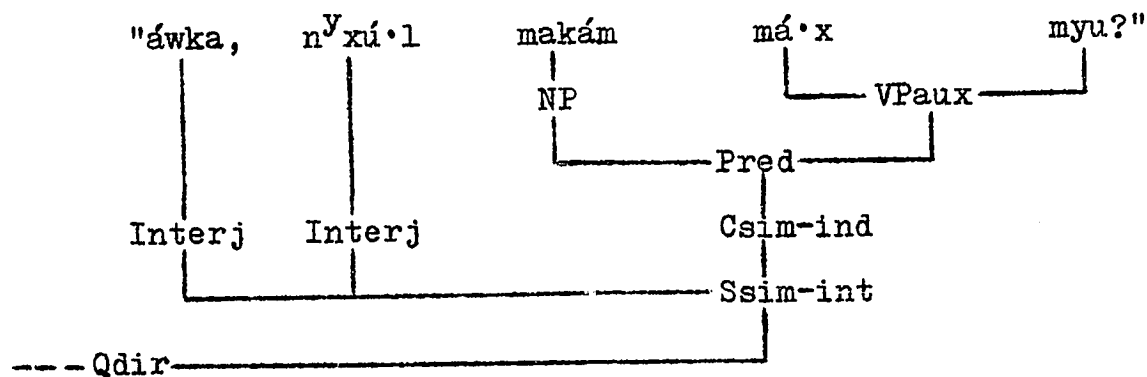
he said he did it.



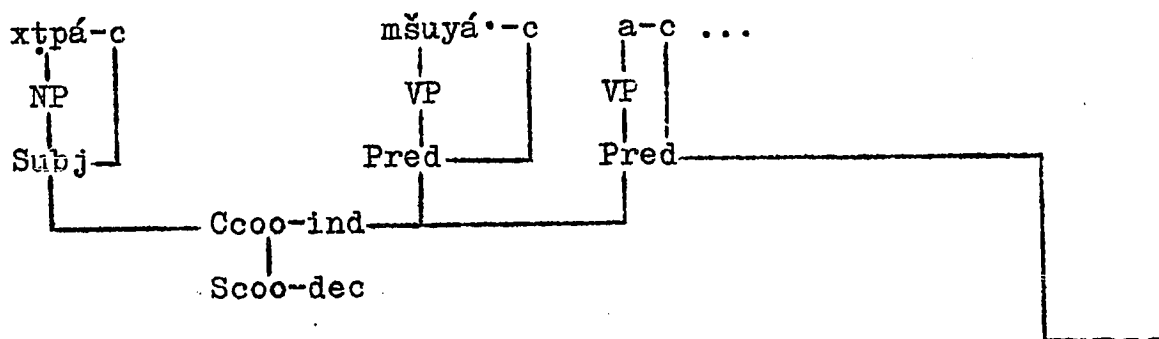
8. he is he met 9. he met up he said ...
 coming him. with him



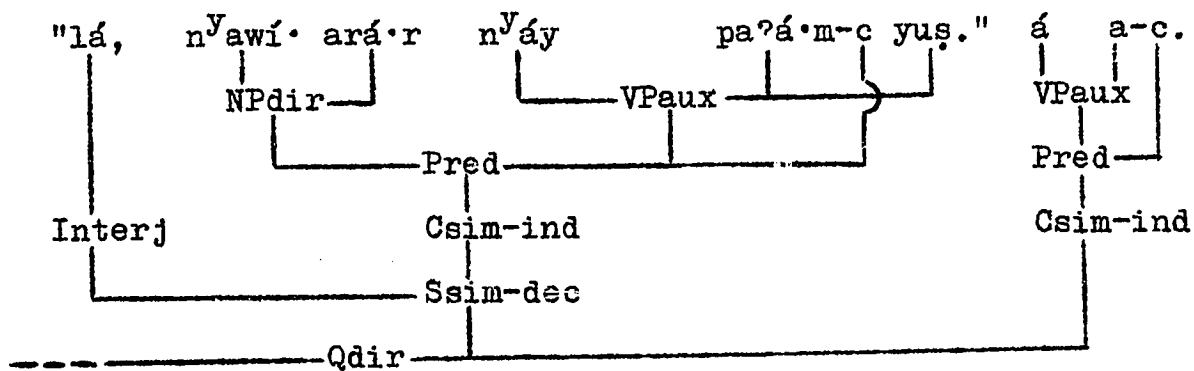
"Hello younger to where you intend do
brother to go you?"



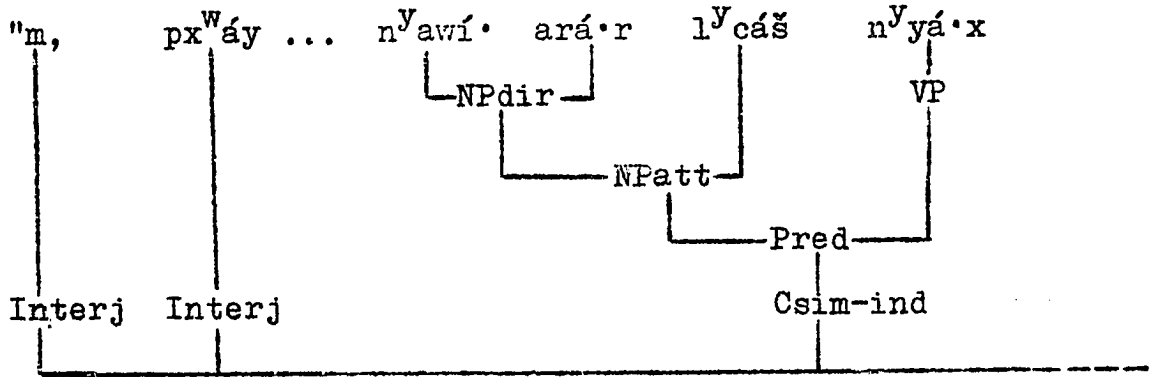
10. the coyote he is he said ...
afraid



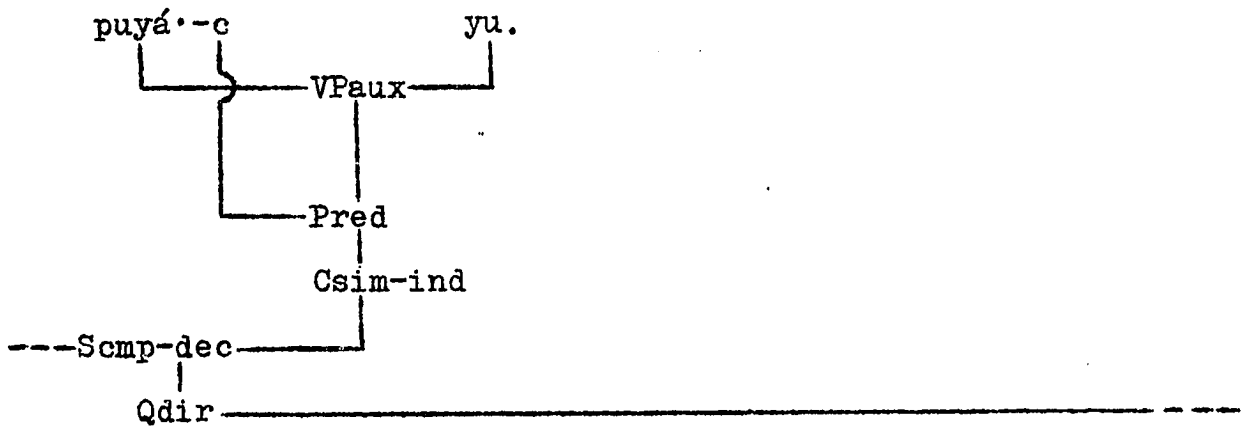
"Oh, thing work I look for I go I do he he did
along it." says it.



11. "Hmm, good ... thing work little I intend to
get for you



it happens it does.



Come."

he says to him.

kyí·-k

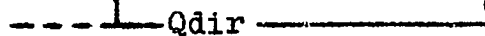
pa·?a-c.



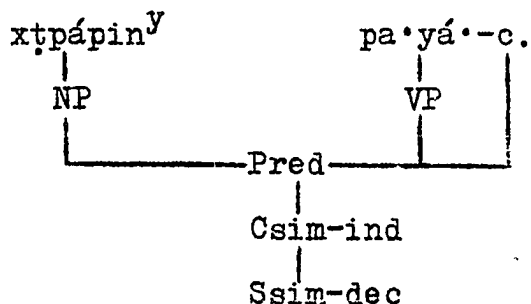
Csim-ind

Csim-ind

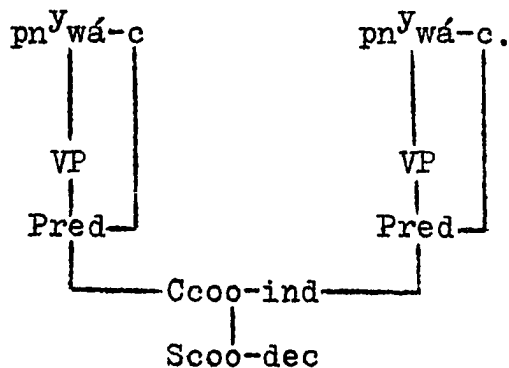
Ssim-dec



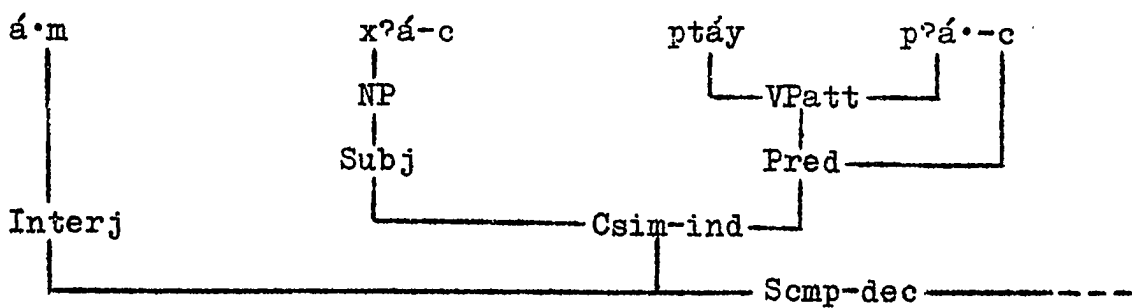
12. the coyote he takes him.



13. they went along they went along.



14. Not far off cottonwood it was it stood
 really big

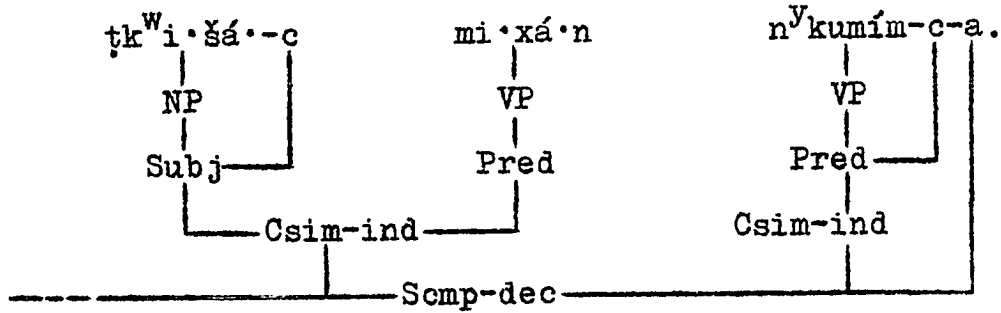


the shade

it was

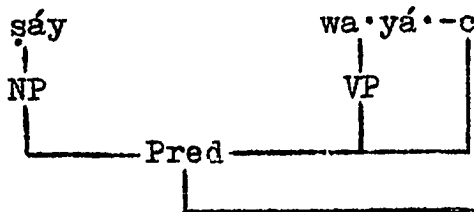
they arrived.

pleasant



15. there

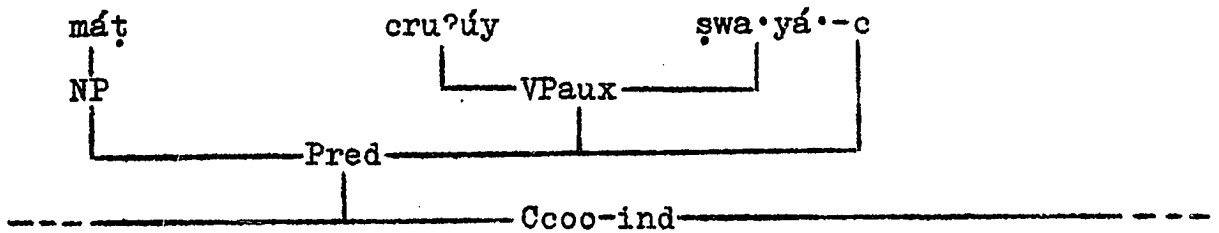
he was around



the ground

he prepared

he was around there

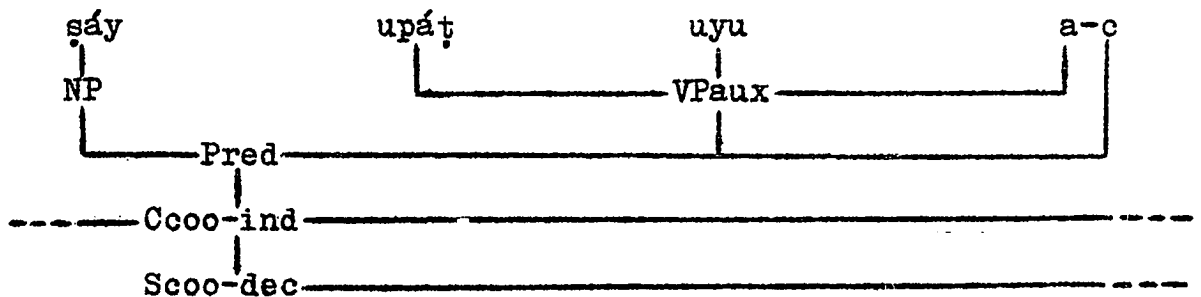


there

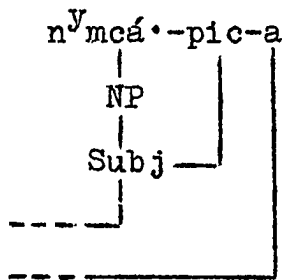
he lay down

he was doing it

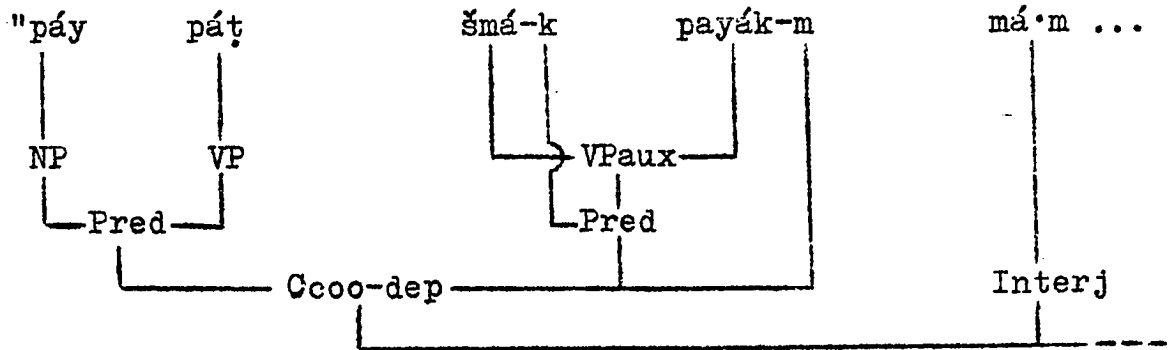
he did it



the mountain lion.

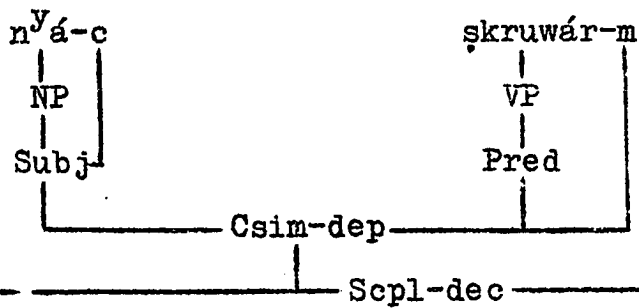


16. "Here I lie down I sleep I lie here - now ...
until

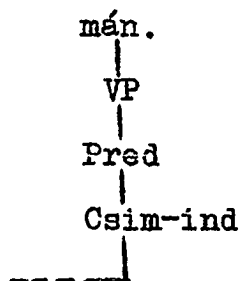


the sun, day

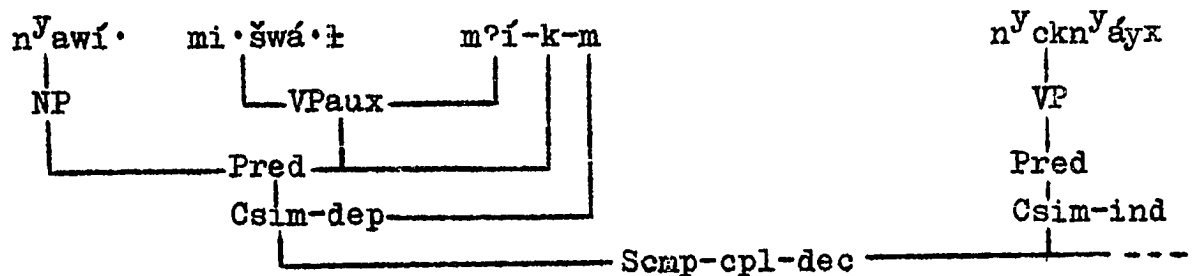
it is past the
middle - and then



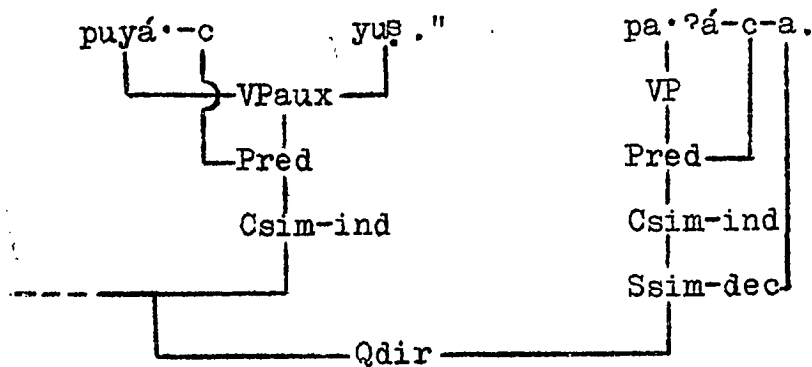
I get up.



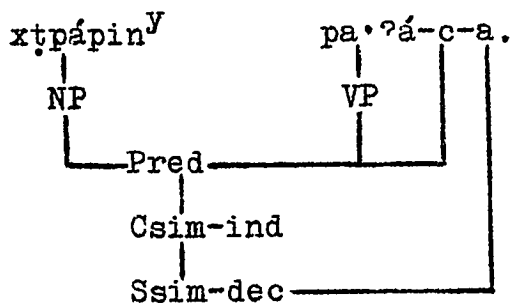
17. Thing you want you say - which I intend to
pay you



it happens it does." He said to him.



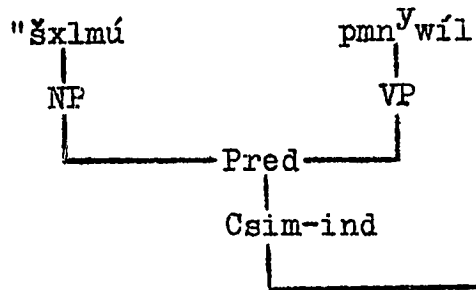
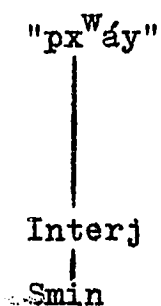
18. The coyote he said to him.



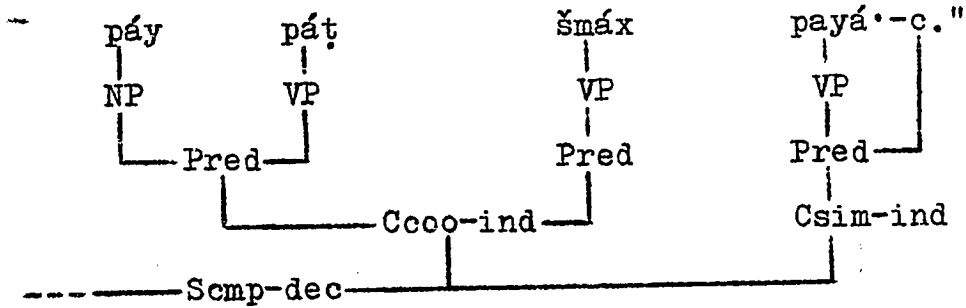
19. "Good"

20. "Flies

you chase away

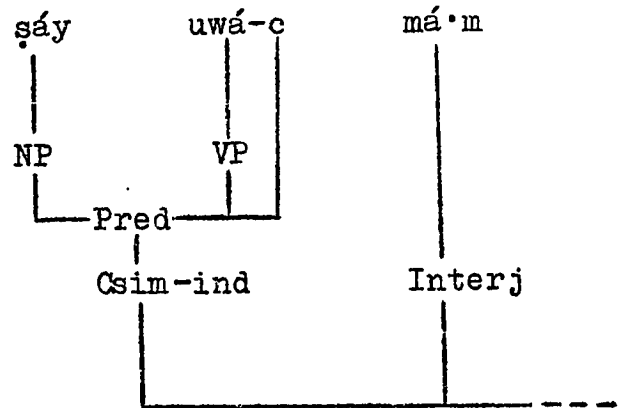


here I lie down I intend it happens."
to sleep



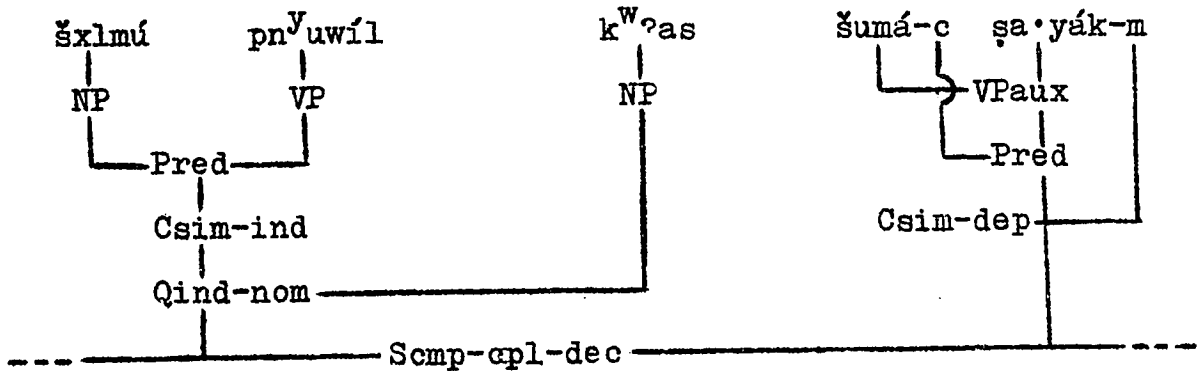
21 "Good."

22. There he sat now

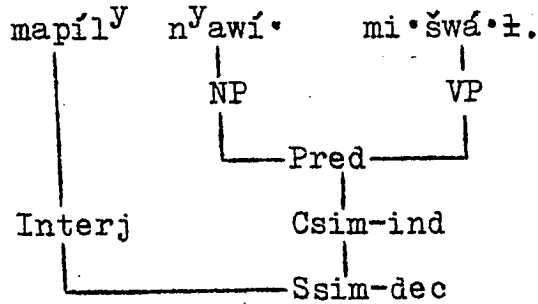


flies he chased
away

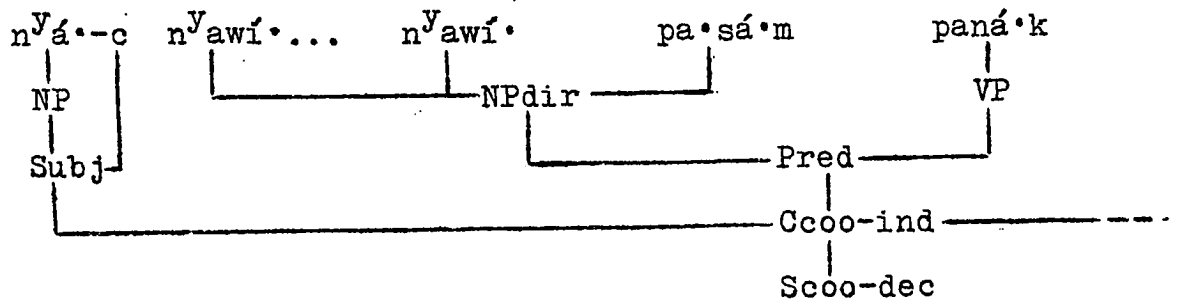
which he he he lay there
said slept -while



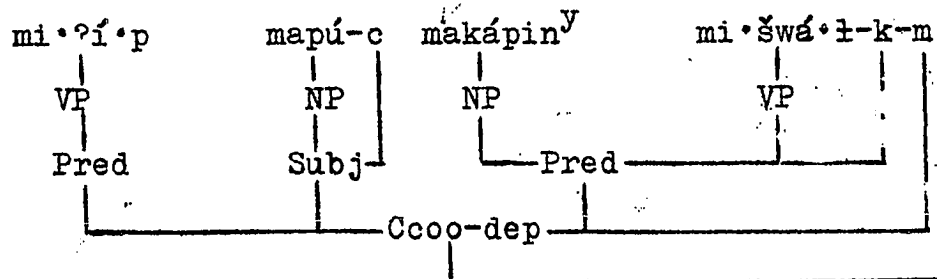
26. now thing you want.



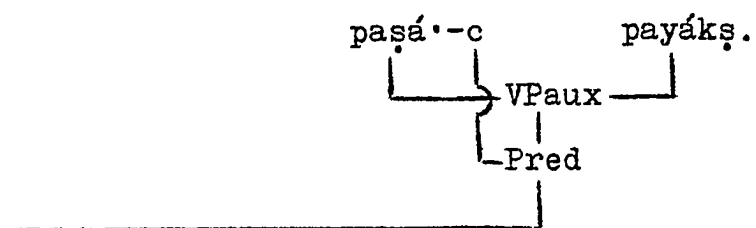
27. I thing ... thing that which I kill them
is all



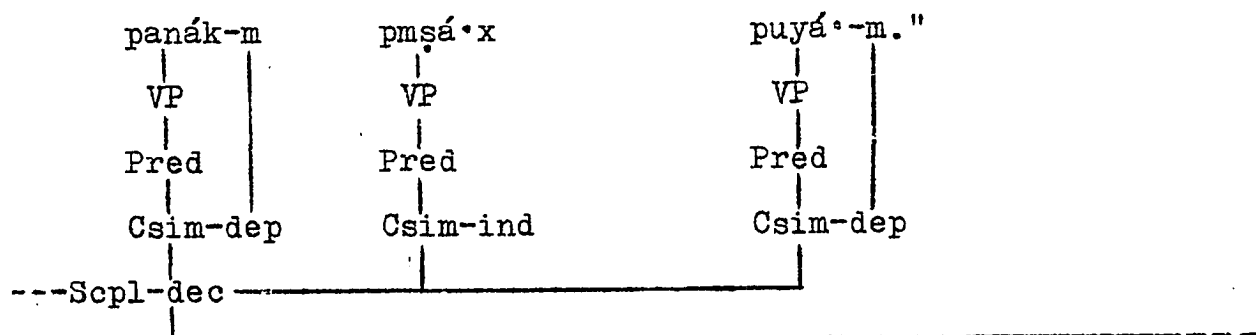
28. You hear you whatever; you want -
(feel) which then



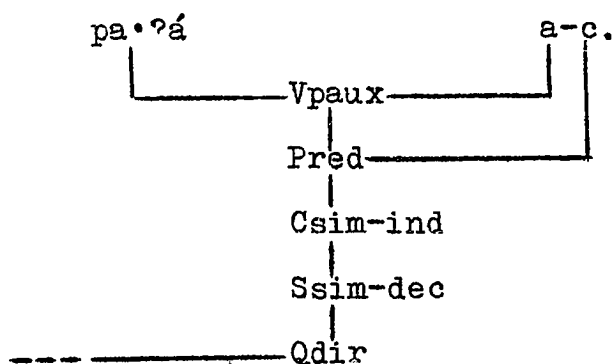
27. (concluded) I bite him I am lying here.
 (them)



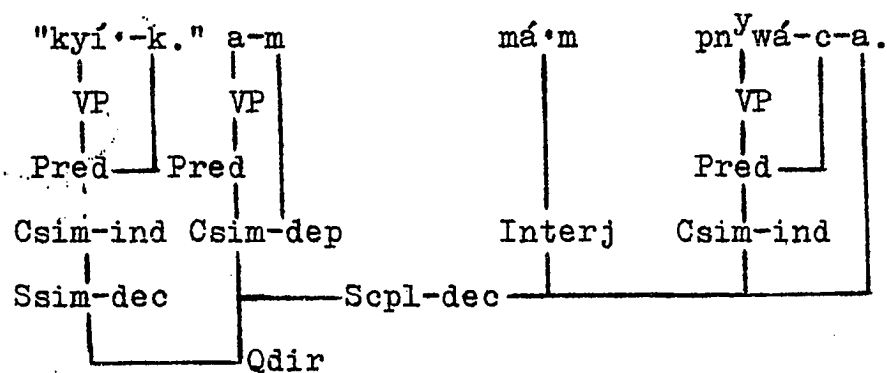
I kill it - you intend it happens."
 then to eat it



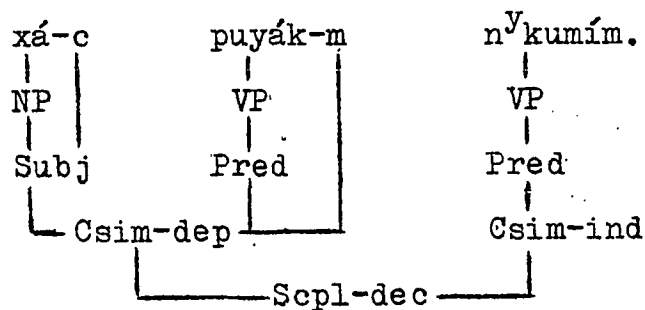
He said to him he did it.



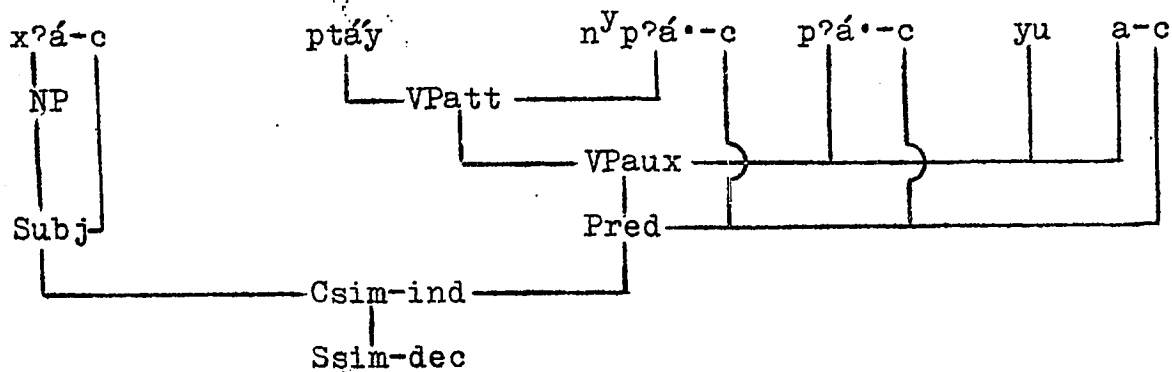
29. "Come." he said - then they went along.
 when



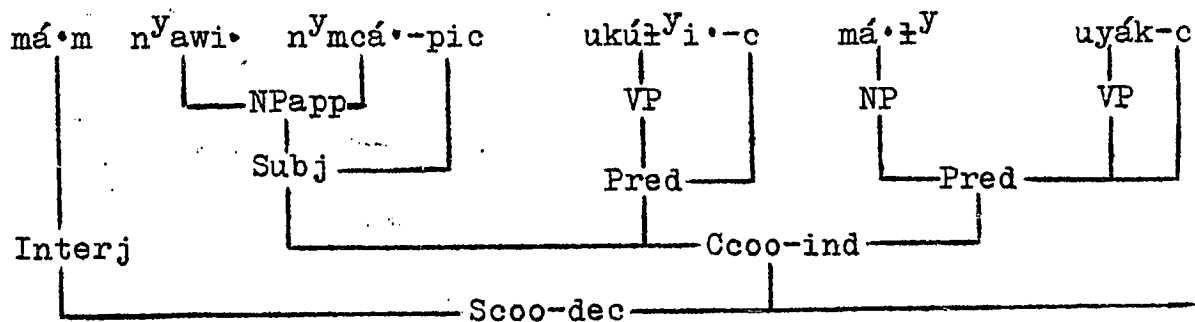
30. Water it lay there they arrived.
(which)



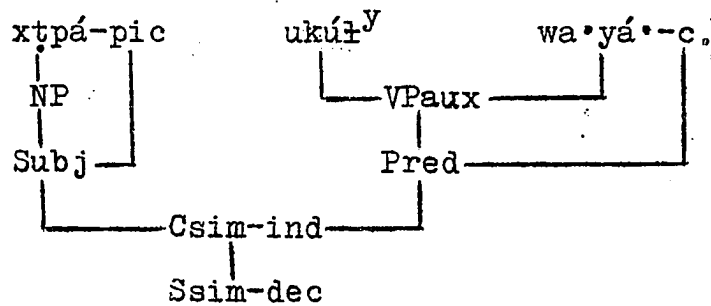
31. A cottonwood it was very it stood it stood it it did
tree big there was it.



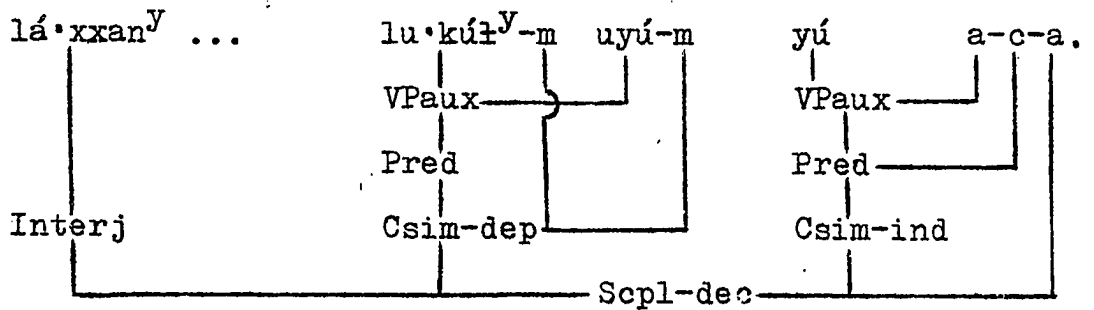
32. Now thing mountain lion he climbed in the top he lay
as usual



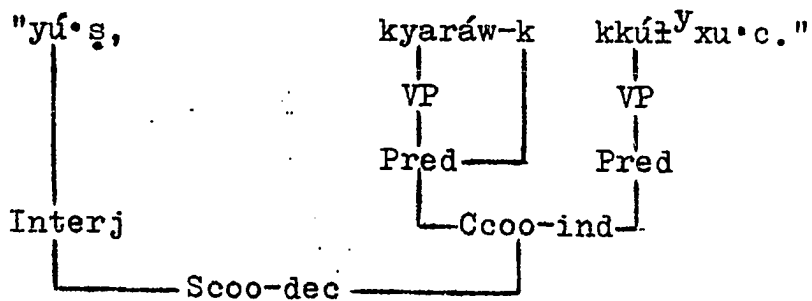
33. The coyote he climbs he is around.



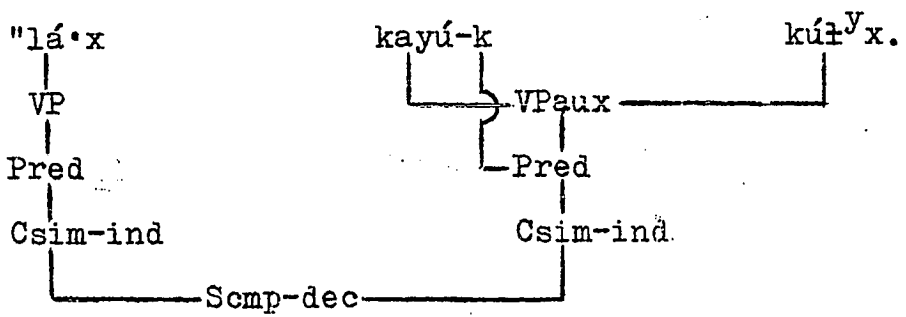
34. Not at all ... he does he does it is he did
not climb it - which it.



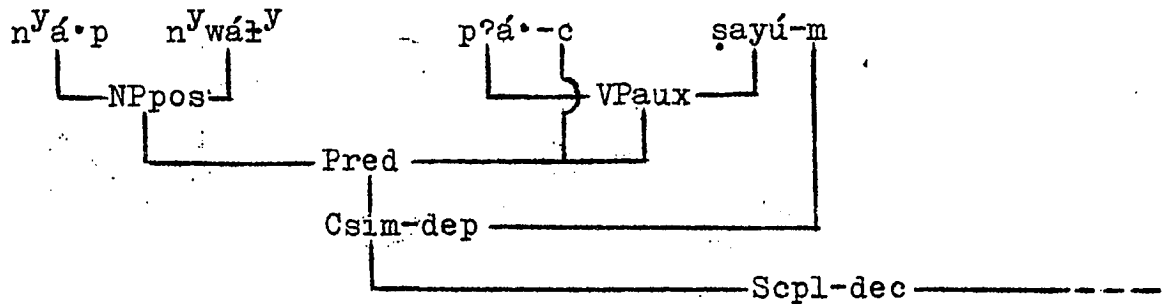
35. "My goodness, be quick climb please."



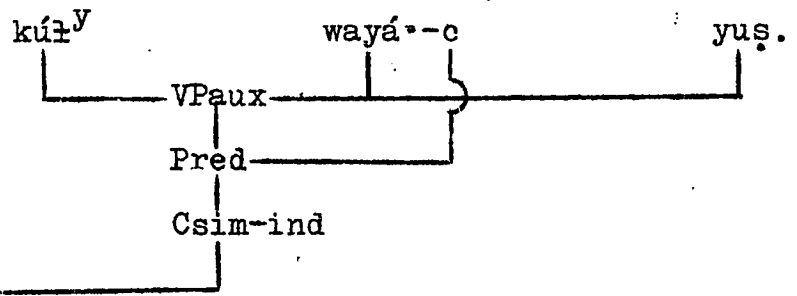
36. "It is not I in some way am I intend to climb.



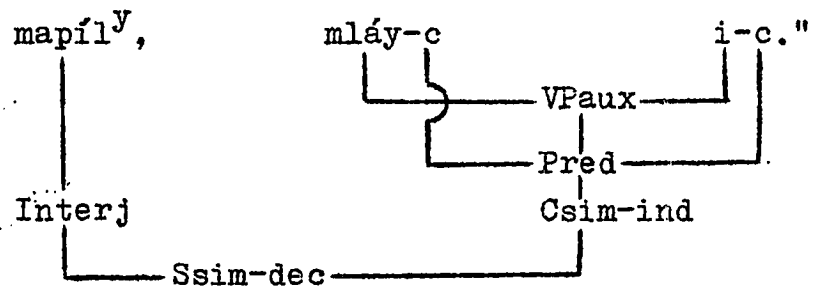
37. My in my house it stands it is there - which



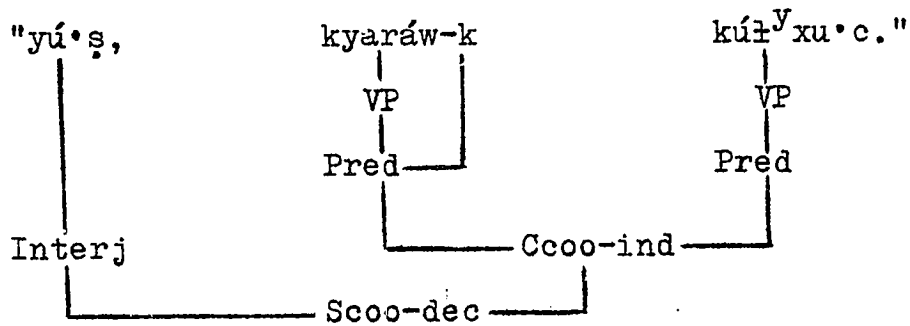
I climb I am around I do.



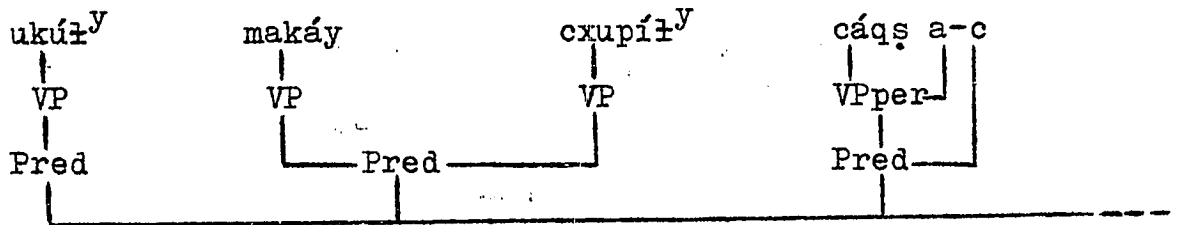
38. Now, I am unable I say."



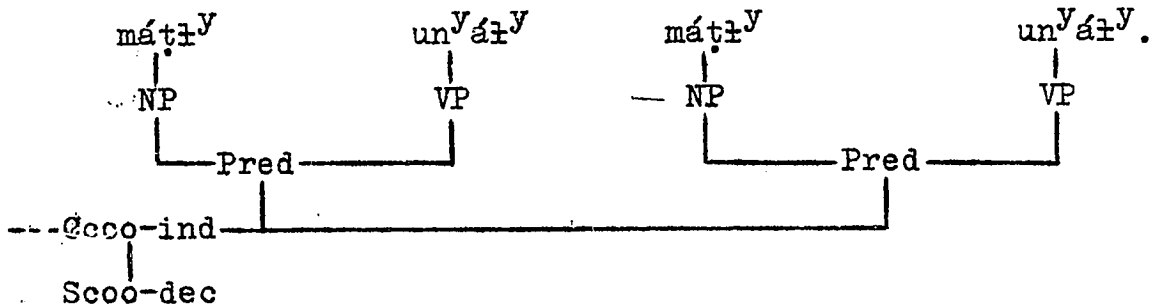
39. "My goodness, be quick climb please."



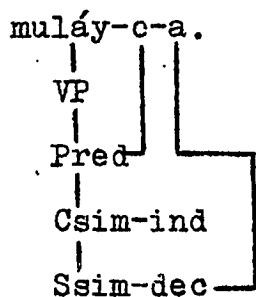
40. He climbs in some place he hangs on he jumps



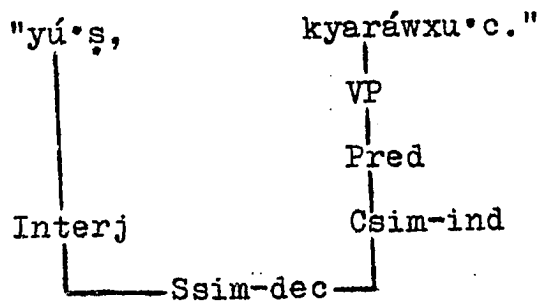
in the ground he falls in the ground he falls.



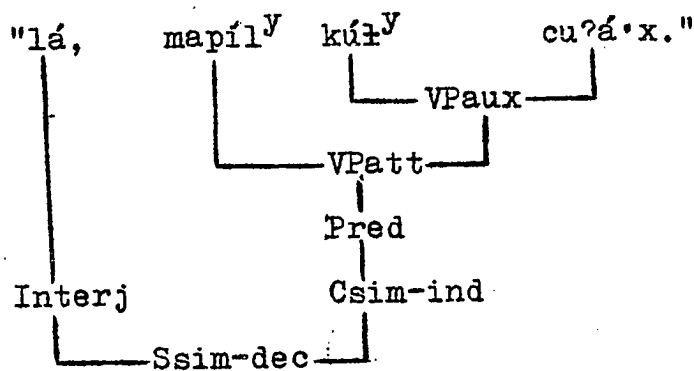
41. He is unable.



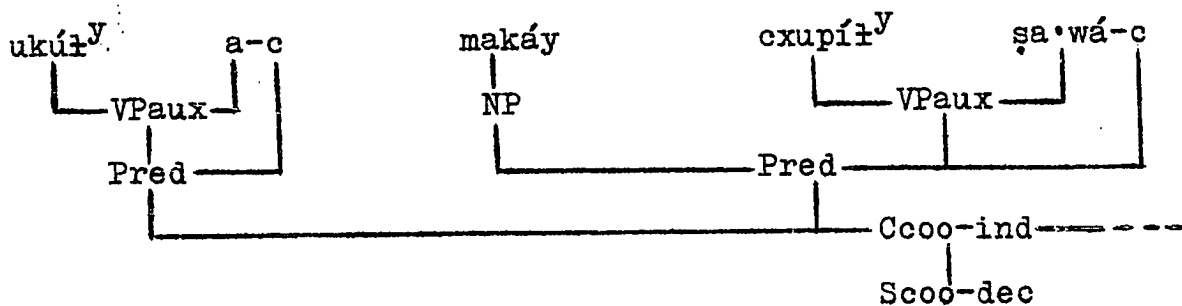
42. "My goodness, be quick please."



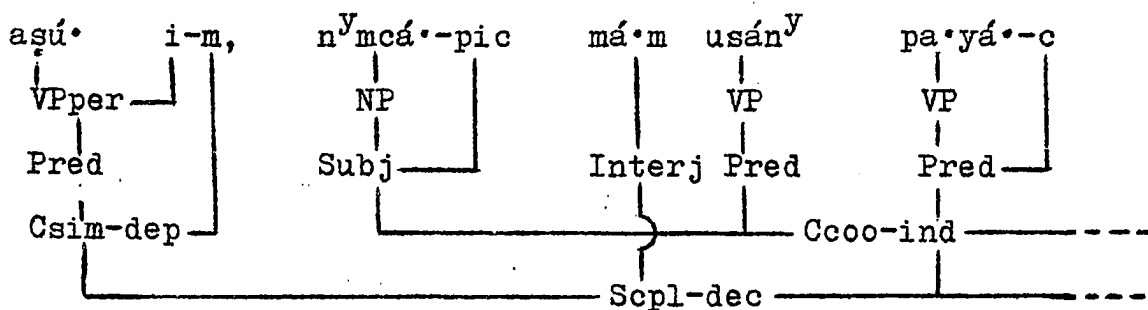
43. "Oh, now I climb I am going."



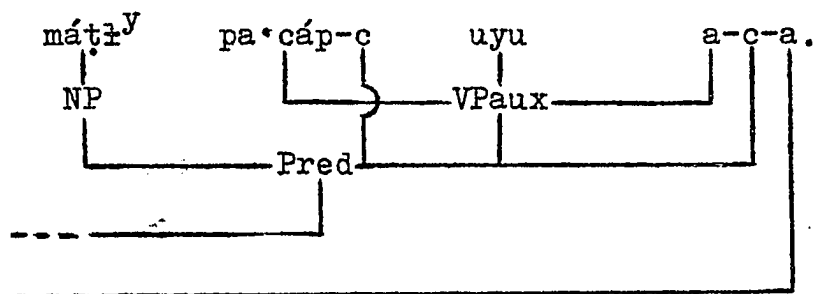
44. He climbs he does it in some place he hangs on he is there



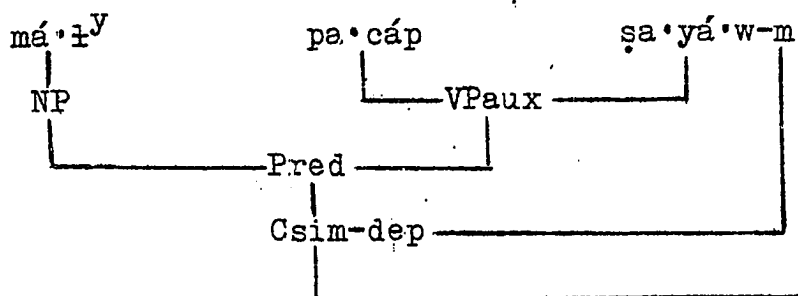
45. Later - then, the mountain now he goes he picks
 lion down him up



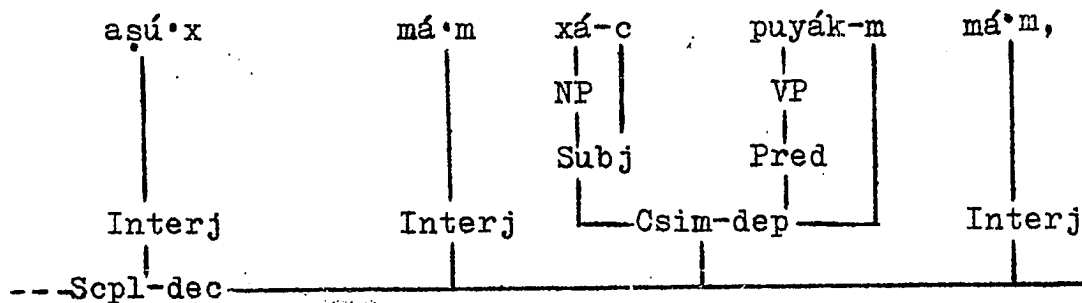
in the he throws he does he did
 ground him it it.



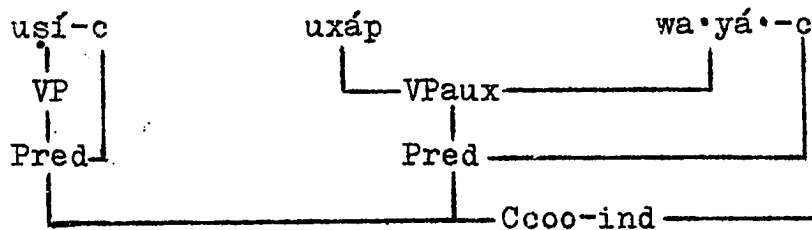
47. In the above he throws him they are there -
while



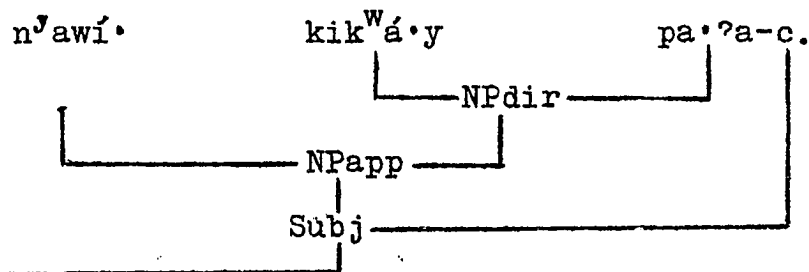
later now water it lies - now,
where



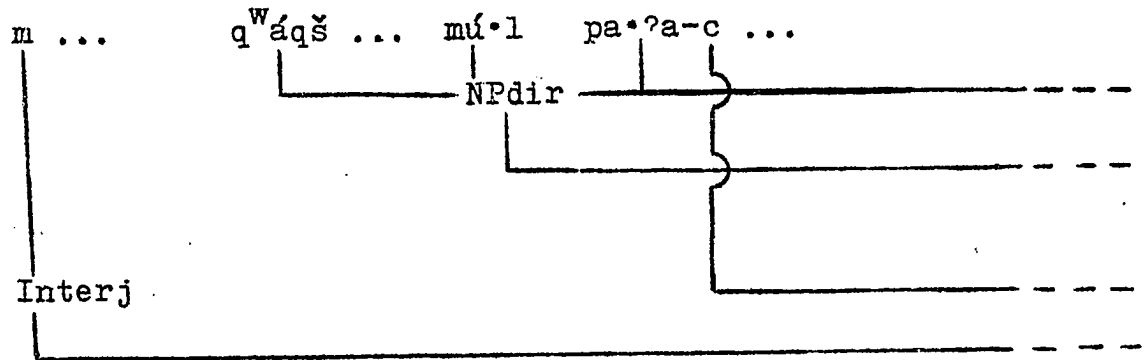
he drinks he enters he is around



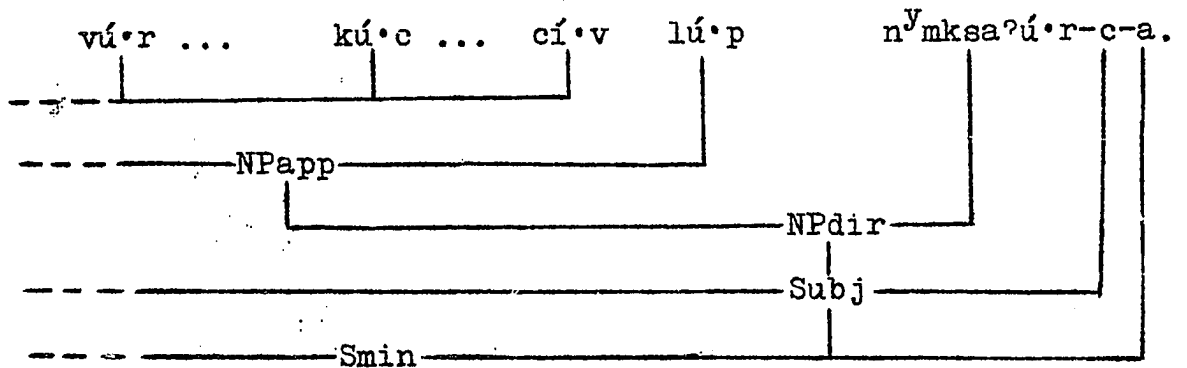
thing edible animal he said (named) him.



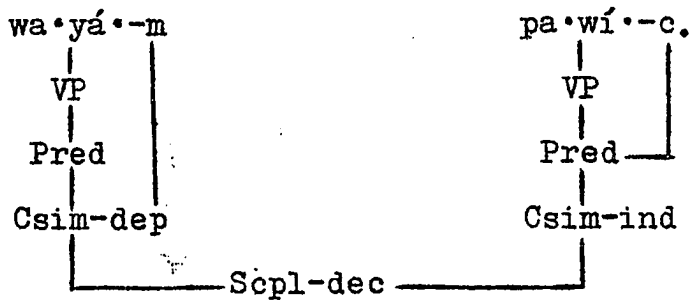
48. Hmm ... horse ... mule he said him ...



donkey ... pig ... goat something that which is mixed up.



49. He was around - while he looked at him.



GLOSSARY FOR THE SAMPLE TEXT

Abbreviations used

a.	auxiliary verb
d. suff.	demonstrative suffix
def. pron.	definite pronoun
i. i.	impersonal intransitive verb
imp.	imperative
ind. pron.	indefinite pronoun
interj.	interjection
int. suff.	intensive suffix
n.	noun
neg.	negative
obj.	object
pers. pron.	personal pronoun
per. v. p.	periphrastic verb phrase
p. i.	personal intransitive verb
pron.	pronoun
p. t.	personal transitive verb
s.	stative verb
subj.	subject
v. n.	verbal noun

a

á	a. he says, said, does, did; irregular third person of í
á·m	interj. a little ways off, not far away
apá	n. man
apápin ^y	the man; -pin ^y d. suff. (531.2, 801.3)
apápic	the man; -pic d. suff. (531.1, 801.2)
ará·r	v.n. (722) work; rá·r p.t. I work
aşú·i	i.i. later; per. v.p. (822.1)
aşú·x	later; used as interj. (830) with int. suff. -x (483)
áwka	interj. hello

c

ca·wí·m	p.i. he is indifferent; cawí·m I'm indifferent
cu·pít	p.t. he covers, closes; cupít I cover, close
cru [?] úy	p.i. he prepares, makes ready; cr [?] úy I prepare
cxupít ^y	p.i. he hangs on; cxpít ^y I hang on
cáqş a	p.i. he jumps; cáqş i I jump; per. v.p.
cu [?] á·x	p.i. I am on my way; personal intransitive; á· I go; cu- (454), -x (484)
cí·v	n. goat

i

í	a. I say, do
in ^y pa	I say too, repeat; -n ^y (482), -pa (485.2)
ix	I intend to say -x (484)

k

kayu	a. I am, do in some manner; yú I am; it is; ka- (461)
kik ^W á·y	n. cow, cattle, edible animal; beef
kú·c	n. pig
kúí ^Y	p.i. I climb
kkúí ^Y xu·c	Climb, please; k- imp. (412), -xu·c (616.3)
kúí ^Y x	I intend to climb; -x (484)
kúí ^Y xu·c	Form of kkúí ^Y xu·c in rapid speech
kuwárxan ^Y	be far gone; -xan ^Y (616.2); known to occur only in the expression n ^Y ác kuwár in the afternoon
kyaráw	s. Be quick; hurry up; imp. of yaréw I'm quick; k- (412)
kyaráwxu·c	Be quick, please; -xu·c (616.3)
kyí·	a. Come; imp. of yí·I come; k- (412)

k^W

k ^W as	v.n. the one who said; that which was said; í a. say; k ^W - (721)
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l

lá	interj. oh
lá·x	i.i. be not; may also be used as an interj.
lá·xxan ^Y	not at all; -xan ^Y (616.2)

lu·kúṭ ^y -	he does not climb; neg. of kúṭ ^y ; l(u)- ...-m (470)
lú·p	def. pron. something; someone (542)
	l ^y
l ^y caš	s. be little
	m
m	interj. hmm
maká-	stem of indef. pron. (542)
makám	to where; -m (530.5)
makápin ^y	which, whatever; -pin ^y (531.2)
makáy	at which, at where; -y (530.4)
má·ṭ ^y	n. in the above; from the n. stem má·- the above, top; -ṭ ^y (530.3)
má·m	interj. now; and then
mán	p.i. I get up
mapíl ^y	interj. now, at this moment
mapú-	stem of 2nd pers. pron. (541)
mapúc	subj. you
márk	interj. once upon a time
mát	n. ground, land, floor
mátṭ ^y	in the ground; -ṭ ^y (530.3)
má·x	a. you intend to go; á· I go m- (410), -x (484)
mi·šwá·ṭ	p.i. you want; i·šwá·ṭ I want; m- (410)
mi·xá·n	s. be good, pleasant

mi·ʔí·p	p.t. you hear, feel (like), listen to; i·ʔí·p I hear, feel (like), listen to; m- (410)
mláy	p.i. I am unable, don't know how
muláy	he is unable
mú·l	n. mule
mšuyá·	p.t. he is afraid, fears; mšyá· I am afraid, fear
myu	a. you are, do; yú I am, do; it is, does m- (410)
mʔí	a. you say, do; í I say, do; it says, does; m- (410)

n^y

n ^y á	n. sun, day
n ^y á·-	stem of 1st pers. pron. (541)
n ^y á·c	subj. I
n ^y á·p	obj. me, my
n ^y a·nákx	p.t. he intends to kill me; nák I kill; n ^y a·- (413); -x (484)
n ^y awí·	n. thing
n ^y a·xá·l ^y	p.t. he fools, tricks me; n ^y a·- (413)
n ^y áy	p.i. I look for, search
n ^y ckun ^y áyx	p.t. I intend to pay you; n ^y - (413); -x (484)
n ^y i·wáy	a. where he goes; he goes there; from wá he goes (á·I go); n ^y i·- (440); -y (483)

n ^y kumím	p.i. they arrived; suppletive (421.7) of pwám he arrived (pá·m I arrived); n ^y - (421.3); -m (430.4)
n ^y mcá·	n. mountain lion
n ^y mksaʔú·r	v.n. (722) things all mixed together; the verb stem is not known except in this form
n ^y pʔá·	a. I stand, it stands there; n ^y - (440)
n ^y ṣá-	stem of 3rd pers. pron. (512)
n ^y ṣác	subj. he, it
n ^y wáṣ ^y	n. in my house; wá house; n ^y - (511); -ṣ ^y (530.3)
n ^y xú·l	n. my younger brother; n ^y - (711)
n ^y yá·x	p.t. I intend to get for you; yá·I get; n ^y - (413); -x (484)

u

ukúṣ ^y	p.i. he climbs; kúṣ ^y I climb; u- (412)
ukúṣ ^y i·-	he climbs again; usually climbs; -i·(483)
umán	p.i. he gets up; mán I get up; u- (412)
un ^y áṣ ^y	p.i. he falls; n ^y áṣ ^y I fall; it falls; u- (412)
upáṣ	p.i. he lies down; páṣ I lie down; u- (412)
usán ^y	p.i. he descends, goes down; sán ^y I descend; u- (412)
uṣí	p.i. he drinks; ṣí I drink; u- (412)
uṣíṣ	s. he is one, alone; ṣíṣ be alone, one; u- (412)
uṣíṣxan ^y	he is really alone; -xan ^y (616.2)
uwá	a. he sits, is sitting; wá I sit, it sits; u- (412)

uxáp	p.i. he enters; xáp I enter; u- (412)
uyák	a. he is lying, reclining; yák I lie, it lies; u- (412)
uyí	a. he comes; yí I come; u- (412)
uyú	a. he is, does; yú I am, do; it is, does; u- (412)
uyuş	he is, does; -ş (485.3)

p

pa·cáp	p.t. he throws, places him; cáp I throw, place; pa·- (413)
panák	p.t. I kill him; nák I kill; pa- (413)
paná·k	I kill them; plural (421.6)
pa·sá·m	v.n. they who are all; sá·m be all This is analyzed as a verbal noun formed by a- (722). sá·m is definitely a stative verb in certain usages; it also resembles an impersonal transitive verb, as it may take the pronominal object prefixes in second and third person and the reflexive prefix. p- is probably third person object (411).
paşá·	p.t. I bite, eat him; şá· I eat (hard things); pa- (413)
pmşá·x	you intend to eat him; pm- (413); -x (484)

páṭ	p.i. I lie down
pa·wá	a. he is here (sitting); wá I sit; pa- (451)
pa·wí·	p.t. he sees, looks at him; wí·I see, look at; pa·- (413)
páy	pron. (451.) here, at this place; -y (530.4)
payá·	a. (or i.i.) it happens here, now; yá· it happens; pa- (451)
pa·yá·	p.t. he takes him, picks him up; yá· I pick up; pa·- (413)
payák	a. I lie, it lies here; pa- (451)
payáks	I lie here; -s (485.3)
pa·yí·	a. he comes (here); yí· I come; pa- (451)
pa·ʔá	a. and p.t. he says to him; he said (i.e., named) him; í I say; pa·- (413)
pa·ʔáy	he says, names him; -y (483); ordinarily used only as the second constituent of a directive noun phrase (813) to indicate that the speaker is not naming something on his own; it is approximately equiva- lent to 'the one they call'
paʔá·m	a. I go along; á· I go; pa- (451); -m (430.4)
pmn ^y wíl	p.t. you chase him (them) away; n ^y wíl I chase away; pm- (413)
pn ^y uwíl	he chases him (them) away; u- (412)
pn ^y wá	a. they went along; suppletive plural of pá· he goes along (paʔá· I go along); p- (451)

- puyá• a. (or i.i.) it happens there, then; yá•
it happens; pu- (452)
- puyák a. I lie, it lies there; pu- (452)
- ptáy s. be big
- px^wáy s. be good; commonly used as interj.: 'Fine',
'O.K.'
- pʔá• a. I stand, it stands
- q^w
- q^wáqš n. horse
- ş
- şá• a. he goes along there; á• I go; ş- (453)
- şá•wá a. he is located there (sitting); wá I
sit; şa- (453)
- şáy pron. (541.1) there, at that place; -y (530.4)
- şá•yák a. he is located there (lying); yák I lie;
it lies; şa- (453)
- şá•yá•w a. they are located there; suppletive plural
(421.7) of three verbs: yák be lying,
wá be sitting, and pʔá• be standing;
the plural stem is yá•w; şa- (453)
- şá•yí• a. he is coming there; yí• I come; şa- (453)
- şayú a. I am, it is there; yú I am, it is; şa- (453)
- şkruwár i.i. be past the middle; occurs only in the
expression n^yác şkruwár in the early
afternoon; cf. kuwár.
- şwa•yá• a. he is around there; wayá• I am around; ş- (453)

š

šmá	p.i. I sleep
šmáx	I intend to sleep; -x (484)
šumá	he sleeps; u- (412)
šxlmú	n. fly, flies

ṭ

ṭk ^w i·šá·	n. shade
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v

vú·r	n. donkey, burro
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w

wan ^y ám	n. along the road; wan ^y á road, trail, path; -m (530.5)
wa·yá·	a. he is around; wayá· I am around

x

xá	n. water
xacáq ^y xan ^y	v.n. (722) a very bad one; xcáq s. be bad, ugly; -xan ^y (616.2)
xúṭ	interj. Golly
xṭpá	n. coyote
xʔá	n. cottonwood tree

y

yú	a. I am, do; it is, does
yv.ş	I am, do; it is, does; -ş (485.3)
yú.ş	interj. My goodness; nevertheless

Syntactic suffixes

The syntactic suffixes: -c, -pic, -k, -m, and -a are present in the sample text. Reference is made to 801 for description of their usage and function.