

CHIPEWYAN

LI FANG-KUEI

§1. The following sketch is prepared from material gathered by the author at Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, Canada in the summer of 1928. Orthography has been slightly altered to conform to a more phonemic presentation, and therefore differs from my previous publications on this language.

PHONOLOGY

§2. Consonantal system:

	STOPS AND AFFRICATIVES			NASAL	FRICATIVES		
	Inter-mediates	Aspirated	Glottalized			Surds	Sonants
Labials	b			m			
Dentals	d	t	t̥	n			
Gutturals	g	k	k̥		x	ɣ	
Labio-gutturals	gw	kw	k̥w		xw	ɣw	
Interdentals	d̪	t̪	t̪̥		θ	ð	
Dental Sibilants	dz	ts	t̪s̥		s	z	
Prepalatal Sibilants	dʃ	tʃ	t̪ʃ̥		c	y	
Laterals	dl	tl	t̪l̥		l̥	l	
Glottals	ʔ				h		
Tongue Tip Trill						r	

The intermediates are voiceless lenis. Aspirated stops are strongly aspirated with a guttural spirantal glide; aspirated affricatives are also strongly aspirated, but without the guttural spirantal glide. y as a syllabic initial is pronounced like the English y, but finally is pronounced with a good deal of friction. g is often pronounced with a ɣ-gilde. The labio-gutturals exist before or after o, u, and sometimes before a. ɣw is frequently weakened to [w], in the prefix syllables and also finally in the stem syllable. h is labialized to [w] after u.

Distribution of the consonants: All consonants listed above can be used as the initial of a syllable except r which cannot be used as an initial unless preceded by other syllables. r and h are never used as the initial of a stem syllable.

The finals of a syllable are limited to the nasal $\cdot n$, the fricatives $\cdot \gamma$, $\cdot \theta$, $\cdot \delta$, $\cdot s$, $\cdot z$, $\cdot y$, $\cdot \dot{\imath}$, $\cdot \dot{\imath}$, $\cdot h$, and $\cdot r$.

m occurs only once in my material as the initial of a stem in $hom\dot{a}$ "it stinks."

§3. Vocalic system:

Short vowels:	a	ε	e	i	o	u
Long vowels:	a \cdot	ε \cdot		i \cdot		u \cdot
Nasalized short vowels:	q̣	ε̣		ĩ		ũ
Nasalized long vowels:	q̣ \cdot	ε̣ \cdot		ĩ \cdot		ũ \cdot
Diphthongs:	ai		ei		oi	ui
	qi				qi	qi

e varies between $[e]$ and $[\text{ə}]$: $[e]$ in open syllables or when followed by $\dot{\imath}$ or l , sometimes s or z ; $[\text{ə}]$ in the diphthong ei or when followed by a voiced final consonant particularly n , r , γ , y . After the strongly aspirated t , k , and x , γ , $[\text{ə}]$ is more often heard.

The diphthongs occur only in syllables followed by a voiceless spirant, except ei which may occur in open syllables. There are also a number of pseudo-diphthongs which are results of two vowels fallen together, and can be better designated as two vowels. Long vowels are often the result of coalescence of two vowels, although it is difficult sometimes to identify the separate elements.

§4. Tones: There are two registers in this language, the high pitch which is marked by an acute accent and the low pitch which will not be marked in this sketch. Coalescence of elements of different pitches sometimes gives a rising or falling inflection which is marked by \vee and \wedge respectively. In the prefix syllable the low pitch is slightly more elevated in pitch than the low pitch in the stem syllable.

§5. Syllables: There are two types of syllables, the stem syllable which receives more weight in pronunciation, and the prefix or suffix syllables. The stem syllable does not have as its initial h or r , may possess any one of the diphthongs which do not occur in the prefix or suffix syllable, and often alternates between a light and a heavy form.

A light syllable is either an open syllable or ends in a voiceless consonant and a heavy syllable always ends in a voiced consonant. The alternation between a heavy and a light syllable plays a great part in the morphology of the language, particularly in the verbs. We have the following types of alternating forms:

$\cdot \theta$: $\cdot \delta$	$nir\dot{\imath}tcu\theta$ "you are picking up a fabric"
	$nir\dot{\imath}tcu\acute{o}$ "you have picked up a fabric"
$\cdot s$: $\cdot z$	$ni\acute{u}h^?as$ "you (dual) get up"
	$ni\acute{u}h^?az$ "you (dual) have got up"
$i\dot{\imath}$: $\cdot \dot{\imath}$	$h\acute{i}d\dot{\imath}$ "it is turning red"
	$h\acute{i}d\dot{\imath}l$ "it has turned red"
$\cdot ih$: $\cdot y$	$n\acute{i}nesdzaih$ "I am bringing it (grain-like object)"
	$n\acute{i}ni\dot{d}z\acute{a}y$ "I have brought it (grain-like object)"

∴:γ	tjba "you start off on war path"
	tjbaγ "you have started off on war path"
∴,:n	súnjγy "growl at me!"
	súnjγun "it has growled at me"

In many cases the heavy form appears when a suffixed vowel is added, the light form appears when standing alone or in composition with other stems, for example, tsá "excrement": se-tsán-é "my excrement"; se-na-ðáð "my eye-lid": se-naγ-á "my eye"; tlu "string": tlu-ε "rope."

§6. Alternation of voiceless and voiced fricative initials: The fricative initial of a stem syllable is always in the voiceless form when standing alone, and is voiced when a prefix is added, thus θyθ "spear"; be-ðyθ "his spear"; seγ "spittle"; se-zeyγ-é "my spittle"; cen "song"; se-yen-é "my song"; lq "many"; ho-lq "many times"; xa "club" ho-γa "a heavy club for pounding things." The only exception seems to be the initial γ- which sometimes may stand alone, such as ya "sky," yá "louse," yaθ "snow." We may distinguish morphophonemically two kinds of γ-, one which alternates with c-, and one which does not become a c- in absolute initial positions.

The voiced initial fricative will be unvoiced when immediately preceded by a voiceless fricative, thus θi-γar "I shake it"; θuh-xar "you (pl.) shake it"; ne-ðað "you singe it"; γwa-s-θað "I shall singe it"; ni-γa "I have grown up"; ye-né-ł-ca "he has raised him up," etc.

Whenever the voiced initial of the stem syllable is preceded by a voiceless fricative and yet it does not become unvoiced, it always means that the preceding voiceless fricative is of voiced origin, secondarily unvoiced due to contraction, thus, ná-s-zé "I am hunting" <ná-s-ł-zé; ye-kó-de-né-ł-yá "he has learnt it" <ye-kó-de-né-ł-yá.

§7. Simplification of double consonants: When identical consonants come together, they are simplified to a single consonant. There are no true long or double consonants, thus tesáih "I split" <te-s-sáih <te-s-záih; hį-la "go to sleep!" >hį-ł-la, etc.

§8. Dropping and weakening of consonants in the prefix syllables: ʔ, k, h, and γ sometimes disappear in intervocalic positions in rapid speech, for example, ʔekwá-di for ʔekwáʔadi "he says so"; hě-ðdel for hěéðdel "they have started off"; hě-ðel for hěy-ðel "they are going along."

d is often weakened to r in intervocalic positions, thus desj "I say," but ʔekwáresj "I say that, say so"; déθgai "there is a white spot," but náréθgai "there is a white stripe, it is white-striped"; benayudélni "it disappeared in a distance again," but beyurélni "it disappeared in a distance."

Such dropping and weakening occur only in the prefix syllables and never occur in the stem syllable.

§9. Assimilation of vowels: The suffix vowel -ε is assimilated to a after a or aγ, i.e., θaγ-a "grey eagle" <θaγ-ε; se-dzaγ-á "my ear" <se-dzaγ-é; se-zá "my watch" <se-zà-é; se-tsa "my hat" <se-tsa-é.

A vowel may be nasalized in the neighborhood of a nasalized vowel, i.e., kú·ε̄ “home, house, fort” <kú·ε; se·l̄i·é̄ “my daughter” <se·l̄i·é̄; be·tcąγ·â “his ribs” <be·tcąγ·é̄, ʔl̄áγ·ī “one (person)” <ʔl̄áγ·ī, etc. Occasional nasalization of a vowel because of a following n is common in the prefixes, i.e., cú·n̄ilya “we (pl.) have started to eat” <cé·ú·n̄i·l̄ilya.

§10. Nasalization of ε, e to ī: ī is the regular nasalized form of ε, e, for example, nén “land” but n̄i·hoké “on the land”; s̄ilá “my hand” <se·n·lá; n̄idáih “sit down!” <ne·n·dáih. Chipewyan ε, e is a secondary form largely due to contraction, i.e., he·s̄lał “I am falling asleep” from h̄i·he·s·lał; ȳut̄θé̄ “to the north, out on the lake” <ȳu·t̄θ̄īé̄, cf. ȳu·t̄θ̄ī “at a certain place in the north, outside.”

MORPHOLOGY

§11. The word: A word in Chipewyan may consist of a single stem syllable, with or without prefixes or suffixes. Two or more stems may form compounds. Prefixes, suffixes, consonant alternation, vocalic alternation, and pitch alternation may be employed to express various grammatical functions.

Word classes: There are three main classes of word, the noun, the verb, and the particle. The noun may be inflected according to its possessor, and often presents a possessed form different from the free form. The verb may be inflected according to aspect, mode, person, number, voice, etc. The particle rarely changes its form, and includes a large number of words of diverse meanings, such as the pronouns, the numerals, and other syntactic particles.

NOUNS

§12. Nouns may be a) simple monosyllabic stems without any prefix or suffix, i.e., ʔi “coat, dress,” bes “knife,” bér “meat,” des “river,” t̄θé “stone, pipe,” sa “sun, watch,” xai “root,” ʔloy “grass,” tsâ “excrement,” kún “fire,” tu “water”; b) with an inherent prefix i.e., de·ne “person, Indian,” de·tcin “wood, stick, tree,” ʔe·ní “taste,” ʔe·zen “a speck,” ho·t̄eθ “portage,” ho·ba “twilight,” etc.; or an inherent suffix, i.e., ʔóγw·ε “eddy,” b̄an·ε “war party,” ten·ε “trail,” ʔul·ε “rope,” ʔur̄yw·ε “fish,” ʔaγ·a <ʔaγ·ε “grey eagle,” tel·i “kettle,” ʔah·i “pole, tepee pole,” ʔur·i “The Scabby One (man’s name),” cf. ʔur “scab,” s̄á·l̄ “hook,” cf. s̄áih (verb stem) “to hook” and z̄é (verb stem) “to hook at,” dló·l̄ “smile” cf. dlóγ “laugh, laughter,” kú·l̄ “that which is vomited” cf. k̄ui (verb stem) “to vomit,” etc.; c) nouns which must be possessed, mostly body parts and kinship terms, i.e., se·γú “my tooth,” ne·t̄θi “your head,” be·dá “his lip,” etc. d) verbal nouns, either abstract nouns such as ná·tser “strength” also “he is strong,” ho·ts̄j “gesture” also “he signals”; ná·zé “hunting,” cf. ná·l̄z̄é “he hunts,” ya·tei “word, language,” cf. ya·l̄tei “he speaks” (abstract without the l or ʔ classifier which is present in the verb); de·l̄gú “a hooping noise” also “it hoops” (abstract with the l classifier); or d) relative nouns formed with the relative suffix ·i such as ya·l̄tey·i “preacher, priest,” cf. ya·l̄tei “he speaks,” de·l̄d̄ér·i “a rattle,” cf. de·l̄d̄ér “it rattles”; and e) com-

pounds; possessive compounds such as tsá-záɫ “beaver hook,” cf. tsá “beaver” and sáɫ “hook,” tsá-d̩n-é “beaver food,” cf. tsá “beaver” and d̩n-é “food,” hotél-ʔená “Eskimo,” cf. hotél “barren land” and ʔená “enemy,” dene-na-tú “tear” cf. dene “person” -na- “eye,” and tu “water”; descriptive compounds such as t̩e-tsóγ-é “boulder,” cf. t̩e “stone” and de-tsóγ “it is round,” djíye-t̩oγ-é “orange,” cf. djíye “berry” and de-l-t̩oγ “yellow,” ɫ̩-tcil-ε “small or little dog,” cf. ɫ̩ “dog” and se-tcil-ε “my younger brother,” etc. The second member of these compounds often presents a distinctly possessed form (cf. §14).

§13. Possessive prefixes: Any one of these nouns may theoretically have one of these possessive prefixes and some nouns (§12c) must be always possessed. In Chipewyan there is a distinct tendency to use a paraphrastic expression to denote possession for those nouns except §12c, i.e., ɫ̩ s̩ets̩ɫ̩ “my dog <dog me-form.” The possessive prefixes are:

se- “my”	nuhe- “our”
ne- “your”	nuhe- “your (pl.)”
be- “his, her, its”	hube- “their”
ye- “his, her, its their, when the subject of the sentence is also in the third but not the same person”	
ʔe- “indefinite possessor”	
ʔede- “one’s own, my own, your own, his own, etc.”	

The vowel ε of these prefixes is dropped if the following noun stem begins with a vowel, i.e., ba̩ <b(ε)-a̩ “his mother.”

§14. Possessed forms: when the possessive prefix is added to a noun stem, the stem form may remain the same but sometimes may show a different form. For those nouns which are always possessed, the nonpossessed form must be looked for elsewhere when the stem is used, for instance, as a member of a compound, thus, se-γú “my tooth” (possessed): se-γu-t̩én “my gum (<tooth-flesh)” (non-possessed), se-dá “my lip” (possessed): se-da-γá “my whiskers (<lip-hair)” (non-possessed). There are the following types of possessed forms:

a) Without change of form, except for the voicing of the initial fricative (§6); t̩θ “spear”; be-δ̩θ “his spear,” k̩ “a mound, heap”: ʔe-k̩ “beaver lodge,” b̩n-ε “edge”; be-b̩n-ε “its edge.”

b) With the adding of the possessive suffix -é: t̩θen “bone”; se-t̩θen-é “my bone,” del “blood”: se-del-é “my blood,” tsá “excrement”: be-tsá-n-é “his excrement” (cf. §5), sa “watch”: se-zá “my watch” (cf. §9).

c) When the noun has an original suffix -ε (cf. §12b), the possessed form is formed by changing this -ε to -é: ɫ̩γw-ε “fish”: se-ɫ̩γw-é “my fish,” b̩n-ε “war party”: dene-b̩n-é “a war party of Indians.”

d) Without the suffix -é, but with a shift of tone of the stem from low to high: tá “feather”: be-tá “its feather,” ke “moccasins”: be-ke “his moccasins.”

e) With the possessive suffix and with a shift of tone: tu "water": kún-tú-é "liquor (<fire-water)," dzé "gum": tθe-dzeγ-é "tar (<stone-gum)."

§15. Vocative suffix: Vocatives are formed either by adding a suffix ɿ with the dropping of the last vowel if the noun ends in a vowel, or by lengthening the last vowel with a falling tone, i.e., setcilɿ "my younger brother!" from setcile "my younger brother," ʔenɿ "my mother!" from ʔené "my mother," setâ "my father!" from setá "my father," datsâɿtθí "Raven-head (man's name)!" from datsâɿtθí.

§16. Postpositions: Postpositions are local nouns and therefore belong to the same class of words as the nouns, cf. bε-bân-ε "around it =its edge," bε-yáγ-a "in it =its inside," etc. Like the nouns it may consist of a monosyllabic stem, such as -a "for," -éɿ "with, in company with," -ʔâ "off on one side, at a distance from," -ba "for, waiting for," -ta "among," -tá "by means of," -γá "giving to, for," -ké "on," -tsén "toward," -tsí "from," -yé "in," -ye "under," -tca "away from." It may have an inherent suffix -ε (cf. §12b), such as -bân-ε "around," -teθ-ε "passing over, above," -gez-ε "between," -yaγ-a "under, below," -yáγ-a "in, inside of," -djáγ-a "in the middle of" (for -a instead of -ε see §9).

§17. Pronominal objective prefixes: The pronominal objects of these postpositions are identical in form with the possessive prefixes of the nouns, for example, se-tsén "toward me," ne-tsén "toward you," bε-tsén, ye-tsén "toward him, etc.," nuhe-tsén "toward us, you (pl.)," hubε-tsén "toward them," ʔede-tsén "toward one's self." Aside from these there are a few others of common occurrence.

ho- referring to place, time, event, etc., such as ho-γâ "at it (a place)," ho-tsén "toward it (a place)"

ʔéɿ, ʔéɿε referring to mutuality, reciprocity, such as ʔéɿ-késí "like each other, alike," ʔéɿε-tcaɿ "away from each other"

yɿ- in the direction of, such as yɿ-yaya "down below," cf. bε-yaya "under it," yɿ-naθε "next," cf. se-naθε "in front of me."

Some of the so-called adverbs are really postpositions with a prefix such as those listed above, i.e., ʔéɿε-na, ʔéɿ-na "in turn," yɿ-daγa "above," yɿ-yaya "down below," etc.

§18. The pronominal prefixes are dropped when the object immediately precedes, and the noun and the postposition form a sort of compound much like the possessive compounds, thus sas-γâ "at the bear, to the bear," sas-tsén "toward the bear";¹ some of such compounds become regular nouns, such as xíɿ-tsén "evening (<darkness-toward)," dzi-dize "noon (day-at-the-middle)." Two or more postpositional stems may also be compounded to express various relations, such as bε-naθε-tsén "better than him (<him-in front of-toward)," ʔéɿε-ké-tca "different

¹ For postpositions with a vocalic initial, the pronominal prefix is replaced by x-, thus, bél ("with it"): sas-xél ("with the bear"), ba ("for it"): sas-xa "for the bear."

from each other (<each other-on-away from),” $\text{?}\epsilon\text{-na-tca-sj}$ “one on each side, i.e., of the river (<each other-in place of-away-from).”

§19. Postpositional suffixes: The following suffixes may be added to the postpositional stems and sometimes to noun stems, but they never take directly the pronominal objects and do not act as regular stem syllables:

- sj “towards, in the direction of,” probably the weakened form of $\text{-ts}\acute{\epsilon}\text{n}$, i.e., ta-sj “backwards,” cf. ta “back,” nj-sj “to the ground,” cf. nen “ground,” $\text{be-k}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-sj}$ “like him.”
- sj “from,” probably the weakened form of -tsj , i.e., $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-n}\acute{\iota}\text{-sj}$ “from behind,” cf. $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-n}\acute{\iota}$ “back of, behind,” $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-da-sj}$ “from above” cf. $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-da}\gamma\text{a}$ “above.”
- zj “along,” i.e., ho-ba-zj “in the same line as,” cf. -ba “for, waiting for,” $\text{be-k}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-zj}$ “after him, following him,” cf. $\text{be-k}\acute{\epsilon}$ “on him,” be-tca-zj “away from him.” cf. be-tca “away from him (at a distance).”
- zj in dene-ni-zj “among the people,” $\text{be-k}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-zj}$ “on it (formerly).”
- ze “in the middle” dzj-di-ze “noon,” cf. dzj “day,” sj-ni-ze “my waist,” cf. $\text{se-nen-}\acute{\epsilon}$ “my back.”
- re “place around, along,” i.e., be-la-re “along its top,” cf. $\text{-lay}\acute{\epsilon}$ “top,” $\text{be-z}\acute{\iota}\text{-re}$ “along its side (of a canoe),” cf. $\text{-z}\acute{\iota}$ “body.”
- $\theta\epsilon$ “ahead,” probably the weakened form of $\text{-t}\theta\epsilon$ “before, in front of,” i.e., $\text{be-na-}\theta\epsilon$ or $\text{be-na-t}\theta\epsilon$ “in front of it.”

§20. Some stems by means of an alternation of tone or a suffix $\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$ seem to denote motion, such as $\text{-k}\acute{\epsilon}$ “on”: $\text{-k}\acute{\epsilon}$ “on, along (moving),” -tca “away from (at a certain distance)”: $\text{-t}\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\alpha}$ “away from (moving away),” $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-da}\gamma\text{-a}$ “above”: $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-da}\gamma\text{-}\acute{\alpha}$ “upwards,” $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-ya}\gamma\text{-a}$ “down below”: $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-ya}\gamma\text{-}\acute{\alpha}$ “downwards,” $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-?}\acute{\alpha}$ “off on one side”: $\text{y}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-?}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$ “away to one side.”

VERBS

§21. The verb in Chipewyan is a complicated structure, consisting of a stem and a number of prefixes. It may also take suffixes. The modes, the aspects, the person, and the number form the conjugation of the verb, and are expressed by prefixes as well as stem variations. Other prefixes are present in all aspects and persons, and form with the stem a verbal theme. The meaning of the verb is determined by such themes, for example, ya- . . -tei is a theme meaning to “to speak,” from which we may get ya-s-tei “I speak,” ya-l-tei “he speaks,” etc. To analyze such a theme into a prefix ya- and a stem -tei does not lead us to a solution of either the meaning of the stem or of the prefix. Another theme, as $\text{n}\acute{\alpha}\text{- . . -te}$ “to dream” is composed of a prefix $\text{n}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}$ “here and there, about” which requires the continuative forms of the stem, and a stem -te “a living being lies around (continuative).” From this theme we may have $\text{n}\acute{\alpha}\text{-s-te}$ “I dream,” $\text{n}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\theta\text{i-tj}$ “I have dreamt,” etc. Although this theme can be analyzed into two separate elements, the meaning of “to dream” depends on the theme as a whole.

§22. There is a series of verb stems describing the nature of the object handled, i.e., to handle a round, solid object, a long stick-like object, a living being, liquid in a vessel, grain-like object, a fabric, or several objects, each requiring a distinct stem. The manner of handling such as to pick up, to put down, to carry around, to hold, etc., depends upon the prefixes which form with the stems themes.

Some stems have an intrinsic number idea in themselves and can only be used either in the singular, in the dual, or in the plural. In so far as the number idea refers to the subject of the verb, there are three types of stems, a) stems which can only be used in the singular, requiring a different stem each for the dual and the plural; b) stems which can be used both in the singular and the dual, requiring only a special stem for the plural; and c) stems which can be used in the singular only, requiring a special stem for both the dual and the plural. For example,

a) *n̄-dáih* "sit down!" (sing.), *ní·kε* "we are sitting down" (dual), *du·ł·t̄θi* "sit down!" (pl.).

b) *ná·s·θer* "I am staying" (sing.), *ná·uh·θer* "you are staying" (dual), *ná·f·dε* "we are staying" (pl.).

c) *θi·t̄j* "I am lying" (sing.), *θi·tez* "we are lying" (dual or pl.).

Similarly the stem may refer to the object in regard to number, thus "to kill one person" requires a different stem from "to kill several persons," and so on. For example, *łeyá·ni·ł·θer* "I killed him," but *łeyá·ni·ł·dε* "I killed them (several persons)," *sa θi·ł·tsj* "I made a watch," *ká γi·γa* "I made several arrows." Sometimes by means of a causative formation, the number which refers to the subject of the verb may be shifted to the object, thus *łeyá·ni·δer* "I died" and *łeyá·ni·ł·θer* "I killed him (I caused him to die)," *łeyá·ní·dε* "we died," and *łeyá·ni·ł·dε* "I killed them (I caused them to die)."

§23. Aspects and modes: There are three aspects and five modes. The three aspects are the imperfective, referring to an action which is going on; the perfective, referring to an action which has been done; and the future, referring to action which is to take place. The five modes are the neuter, the momentaneous, the continuative, the customary, and the progressive. The neuter verb refers to the state or the position and includes such verbs as "to lie (in a lying position)," "to sit (in a sitting position)," "to stand (in a standing position)," and verbs of adjectival nature such as "to be yellow," "to be black," "to be big," etc. The momentaneous verb refers to a rapid action or transition from one state to another and includes such active and inchoative verbs as "to sit down," "to lie down," "to come to a stand," "to become yellow," "to become black," and so on. The continuative verb refers to an activity which lasts for a certain length of time, such as "to stay," "to own," "to go for a visit." The customary verb refers to an action which is customary or repeated. The progressive verb refers to an activity which is kept on particularly while one is moving along. For example, from the stem "to handle a living being," we have in the neuter "a living being is in position, i.e., to lie";

in the momentaneous "a living being gets into position or acts, i.e., to lie down"; in the continuative "a living being acts continually, i.e., to dream (<to lie around)"; in the customary (transitive) "to handle a living being customarily or repeatedly, i.e., to carry it around"; in the progressive (transitive) "to keep on handling a living being, i.e., to hold it." Each of these modes may have the three aspects, thus:

Neuter: $\theta i \cdot t_j$ "I am lying," $\gamma i \cdot t_j$ "I had lain (no longer lying)," $\gamma wa \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e}$ "I shall lie."

Momentaneous: $ne \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e} i h$ "I am lying down," $ni \cdot t_j$ "I have lain down," $nu \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e}$ "I shall lie down."

Continuative: $n \acute{a} \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e}$ "I dream," $n \acute{a} \cdot \theta i \cdot t_j$ "I have dreamt," $n \acute{a} \cdot \gamma wa \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e}$ "I shall dream."

Customary: $dz \acute{e} r \acute{e} s \cdot t e i h$ "I am carrying it around," $dz \acute{e} r \acute{e} \gamma i \cdot \acute{t} \cdot t e i h$ "I have carried it around," $dz \acute{e} r \acute{e} \gamma wa \cdot s \cdot t e i h$ "I shall carry it around."

Progressive: $da \cdot \gamma e \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e} l$ "I am holding it," $da \cdot \gamma i \cdot \acute{t} \cdot t \acute{e} l$ "I have been holding it," $da \cdot \gamma wa \cdot s \cdot t \acute{e} l$ "I shall hold it up."

Some stems have all the five modes, others may have only four, three, or two of them.

§24. Stem variations: The stem may vary according to the aspects. The customary and the progressive stem does not vary usually according to aspects, but in the other modes often varies in numerous ways. We may briefly summarize them into the following types, stems being listed in this order: imperfective, perfective, and future:

a) Invariable: $\cdot \gamma ar$, $\cdot \gamma ar$, $\cdot \gamma ar$ "to throw, handle violently cloth-like object," $\cdot b \acute{a}$, $\cdot b \acute{a}$, $\cdot b \acute{a}$ "to go to war (continuative forms)."

b) Tonal alternations: $\cdot d \acute{e}$, $\cdot d \acute{e}$, $\cdot d \acute{e}$ "to clean ,wash," $\cdot c j s$, $\cdot c j s$, $\cdot c j s$ "to whistle," $\cdot \acute{t} s i s$, $\cdot \acute{t} s i s$, $\cdot \acute{t} s i s$ "to caress," $\cdot d \acute{a}$, $\cdot d \acute{a}$, $\cdot d \acute{a}$ "to drink."

c) Vocalic modifications: Alternations of $\epsilon : a$, $i : \acute{a}$, $e : \acute{e}$, $\epsilon : o$, $u : o$, $i : e$, ϵ are represented in the following examples. They may be accompanied by a shift of tone. Thus, $\cdot l \acute{e}$, $\cdot l a$, $\cdot l \acute{e}$ "to handle several objects," $\cdot \acute{t} \acute{t} j$, $\cdot \acute{t} \acute{t} \acute{a}$, $\cdot \acute{t} \acute{t} \acute{a}$ "to lean," $\cdot b \acute{e} r$, $\cdot b \acute{e} r$, $\cdot b \acute{e} r$ "to bend," $\cdot x \acute{e} r$, $\cdot x w \acute{o} r$, $\cdot x \acute{e} r$ "to bend," $\cdot \gamma u \acute{l}$, $\cdot \gamma w o \acute{l}$, $\cdot \gamma u \acute{l}$ "to become warped," $\cdot \acute{d} i r$, $\cdot \acute{d} e r$, $\cdot \acute{d} i r$ "to be, act, do," $\cdot \gamma i \acute{i}$, $\cdot \gamma e \acute{l}$, $\cdot \gamma i \acute{i}$ "to make a thundering noise," $\cdot d \acute{t} j$, $\cdot d \acute{a}$, $\cdot d \acute{a}$ "to be drowned (sing, or dual)."

d) Alternation of syllabic types, light:heavy:light (cf. §5). Such alternations may further be accompanied by tonal alternations as well as vocalic modifications.

1) Without tonal changes

$\cdot b \acute{a} \theta$, $\cdot b \acute{a} \delta$, $\cdot b \acute{a} \theta$ "to roll (a wheel, barrel)"
 $\cdot n \acute{i}$, $\cdot n \acute{i} y$, $\cdot n \acute{i}$ "to buy"
 $\cdot \gamma y$, $\cdot \gamma u n$, $\cdot \gamma y$ "to growl at"

2) With tonal changes

$\cdot b a$, $\cdot b \acute{a} \gamma$, $\cdot b a$ "to go to war (momentaneous)"
 $\cdot d i \acute{l}$, $\cdot d \acute{i} l$, $\cdot d i \acute{l}$ "to become red"
 $\cdot \gamma \acute{a} s$, $\cdot \gamma a z$, $\cdot \gamma \acute{a} s$ "two persons go"

3) With vocalic changes

·zé, ·záy, ·zé “to hook at”
 ·ne, ·nay, ·ne “to throw a body”
 ·tθiθ, ·tθaδ, ·tθiθ “to extinguish a fire”
 ·tsil, ·tsel, ·tsil “to soak”
 ·kéth, ·kéth, ·kéth “to fire a gun”
 ·θú, ·θóγ, ·θú “to fold a hard sheet”
 ·tcul, ·tcel, ·tcul “to burst, to split”

4) With vocalic and tonal changes

·zé, ·zay, ·zé “to bristle up (hair, grass, etc.)”
 ·dél, ·del, ·dél “several persons go”
 ·xál, ·xel, ·xál “to throw a club”
 ·xél, ·xel, ·xél “darkness comes”

§25. The momentaneous imperfective sometimes takes a diphthongal form i.e., ai from stems with an a and sometimes ε, e vowel; ei from stems with an ε or ei; ui, oi from stems with a u or o vowel, and similarly for the nasalized diphthongs ai, ui, and oi. Sometimes the future may take the same form as the imperfective. For example,

·ʔáih, ·ʔa, ·ʔa “to handle a round solid object”
 ·kéih, ·ke, ·ké “to sit (dual)”
 ·ʔóih, ·ʔóγ, ·ʔóih “water rushes, whirls as if boiling”
 ·káih, ·ka, ·káih “to burn”
 xaił, ·xal, ·xaił “to make a dent, to dent once”

The final ·h is always present in stems which do not end in a consonant, and is the trace of an old suffix which causes such diphthongization. If the stem has a final ·r, it is changed to ·y, for example,

·gay, ·gar, ·gar “to shake”
 ·tθiy, ·tθer, ·tθiy “to start to fall”
 ·djúy, ·djúr, ·djúy “to make it give a deep hollow noise”

§26. The perfective is sometimes formed by nasalizing the vowel, usually with a low tone, while the imperfective and the future are not nasalized, for example,

·bí, ·bi, ·bé “to swim (sing. or dual)”
 ·káih, ·ka, ·ka “to handle liquid in a vessel”
 ·θe, ·θa, ·θe “to tan hide”
 ·lé, ·li, ·lé “to be, become”

§27. In some perfectives we find the dropping of a final ·r or ·θ (rarely also in the future), and the dropping of a final ·n with the nasalization of the vowel (often also in the future), for example,

·ger, ·gé, ·ger “to crawl on all fours”
 ·yur, ·yú, ·yu “to chase”
 ·téth, ·te, ·téth “to roast”
 ·ʔen, ·ʔi, ·ʔi “to examine”
 ·ten, ·ta, ·ta “to handle a long stick-like object
 (cont.)”
 ·den, ·di, ·di “to think”

§28. The future is often the same as the imperfective, sometimes the same as the perfective, and sometimes different from both usually by an alternation of tone. It may sometimes take the suffix -l as in the progressive mode (cf. below §32). For examples see §24 to §27.

§29. Suppletive stems: Some verbs have for their perfective a different stem, for example, ?asne "I become so," ?asdjá "I have become so," ?aywasne "I shall become so."

§30. Stem variations according to modes: Different modes demand different sets of stems. They are highly irregular and too complicated to be stated in this sketch. The following list will give some idea.

	Neuter	Momentaneous	Continuative	Cus- tomary	Pro- gres- sive
"to handle a round solid object"	·?á, ·?á, ·?á	·?áih, ·?á, ·?al	·?a, ·?á, ·?á	·?aih	·?al
"to handle a long stick-like object"	·tá, ·tá, ·tá	·tj, ·tá, ·tá	·ten, ·tá, ·tá	{ ·tj ·tj	{ ·tj ·tj
"to handle a fabric"	·tcúð, ·tcúð, ·tcúð	·tcuθ, ·tcúð, ·tcuθ	·tcúð, —, ·tcúð	·tcuθ	·tceθ
"to handle grain-like object"	·dzáy, ·dzáy, ·dzáy	·dzaih, ·dzáy, ·dzaih	·dzáy, —, ·dzáy	·dzaih	·dzaí
"to handle a living being"	·tj, ·tj, ·té	·téih, ·tj, { ·té ·tel	·te, ·tj, ·té	·teih	·tel
"to handle liquid in a vessel"	·ká, ·ká, ·ká	·káih, ·ká, ·kal	·ka, —, ·ká	·kaih	·kal
"to handle several objects"	·la, ·lá, ·lá	·le, ·la, ·lel	·la, —, ·lá	·li	·lel
"to go to war"	—	·ba, ·báy, ·ba	·bá, ·bá, ·bá	—	—
"to roll"	—	·baθ, ·bað, ·baθ	·bað, ·bað, ·bað	·baíθ	—
"to be, to act (sing. or dual)"	—	·ðir, ·ðer, ·ðir	·ðer, ·ðer, ·ðer	·ðiy	·ðel
"to be, to act" (pl.)	—	·de, ·dé, ·de	·dé, ·dé, ·dé	·daih	·dal
"to sit" (sing.)	·da, ·dá, ·dá	·dáih, ·da, ·dá	—	·daih	—
"to sit" (dual)	·ke, —, ·ké	·kéih, ·ke, ·ké	—	·kéih	—
"to stand" (sing. or dual)	·yj, ·yj, ·yj	·yj, ·yj, ·yj	—	·djí	·yjí
"to be white"	·gai	·gai, ·gái, ·gai	—	·gaih	—
"to be fat"	·ka	·ka, ·ká, ·ka	—	·kaih	—
"to be yellow"	·tθoy	·tθu, ·tθú, ·tθu	—	—	—
"to be angry"	·t'coy	·t'ce, ·t'cé, ·t'ce	—	·t'coih	·t'col

The neuter imperfective is often the same as the momentaneous perfective sometimes even with the perfective prefix θe- (§37a). The neuter and the continuative forms either do not alternate their forms according to the aspects or simply alternate the tone, rarely by other means; the momentaneous form varies according to various different types mentioned above; and the customary and the progressive practically never change their forms.

§31. The formation of the customary stem: The customary stem exists in three forms, a) with a simple vowel, i, u, or j, y from the stems with i, e, ε or j, en, y; b) with a diphthong like some momentaneous imperfective forms, i.e., ai from stems with a or sometimes ε, e; ei from ε, ei; ui, oi from u, o, similarly for the nasalized diphthongs ai, oi, ui; c) with a final -y from stems with a final -r. For example,

a) ·ní from ·nj, ·ný, ·ní "to buy"

- d̥l̥ from ·den, ·d̥l̥, ·d̥l̥ "to think"
- ʔiθ from ·ʔeθ, ·ʔéδ, ·ʔeθ "to make a kick at"
- gú from ·gú, ·gwóz, ·gú "to make a rush at"
- k̥ʷs from ·k̥ʷs, ·k̥úʷ, ·k̥ʷs "to blush, to redden"
- b) ·daih from ·de, ·dé, ·de "to clean, to wash"
- ʔáis, from ·ʔás, ·ʔaz, ·ʔás "several animals walk"
- kéih from ·kéih, ·ke, ·ké "two persons sit"
- djuih from ·dju, ·djú, ·dju "to dishevel (hair)"
- tlóih from ·tlóγ, ·tlóγ, ·tlóγ "to make a splashy noise"
- gəih, from ·gə, ·gə, ·gə "several people fight"
- γwəih from ·γun, ·γun, ·γun "to snarl"
- l̥θ̥iθ from ·l̥θ̥úθ, ·l̥θ̥úθ, ·l̥θ̥úθ "to suck"
- c) ·ʔay from ·ʔar, ·ʔar, ·ʔar "to throw, handle violently cloth-like object"
- bíy from ·bér, ·bér, ·bér "to bend"
- tuy from ·tur, ·tur, ·tur "to mix with water"

§32. The formation of the progressive stem: Suffix -l̥ is often added to the stem to form the progressive, except stems having a final -θ, -s, or -l̥ where this progressive suffix does not appear. The -l̥ rarely disappears in other stems. Vocalic modifications may also accompany this suffix.

- t̥j̥l̥ from ·t̥j̥, ·t̥ə, ·t̥ə "to handle a long stick-like object"
- d̥e̥l̥ from ·dir, ·der, ·dir "to be, act, do"
- dzal̥ from ·dzaih, ·dzáy, ·dzaih "to handle grain-like object"
- ʔiθ from ·ʔeθ, ·ʔéδ, ·ʔeθ "to make a kick at"
- tceθ from ·tcuθ, ·tcúδ, ·tcuθ "to handle a fabric"
- d̥e̥l̥ from ·d̥e̥l̥, ·del, ·d̥e̥l̥ "several persons go"
- de from ·de, ·dé, ·de "to clean, to wash"

The importance of recognizing these five modes is that further derivations such as causative, medio-passive, etc., are strictly based upon these sets of stems. The neuter as well as the momentaneous may have its causative, for example, θi-l̥-ʔə "I have it lie there," γi-l̥-ʔə "I had it lie there," causatives derived from the neuter ·ʔə, ·ʔə, ·ʔə "a round solid object lies"; se-ne-l̥-ce "he is raising me up" se-né-l̥-ca "he has raised me up," causatives derived from the momentaneous ·ye, ·ya, ·ye "to grow," etc.

VERBAL PREFIXES

§33. There are two classes of prefixes, the conjunctive and the disjunctive. The conjunctive prefixes occur immediately before the stem and after the pronominal objective prefixes, and a conjunct form of the second person (singular) subjective prefix is used after them. There are also frequent contractions of these prefixes when they come together. The disjunctive prefixes occur before the pronominal objects and are less connected with the stem, they require a disjunct form of the second person subjective and do not as a rule contract with the conjunctive prefixes.

§34. The position which these prefixes occupy in the verb can be briefly demonstrated by the following diagram:

Disjunctive prefixes	Pronominal subject (third person) and objects	Conjunctive prefixes	Stem
1) Incorporated post-positions with their pronominal objects 2) Local and adverbial prefixes 3) Iterative prefix 4) Incorporated noun stems	5) Third person pronominal subjects 6) Pronominal objects	7) Modal prefixes 8) Aspectival prefixes 9) Pronominal subjects 10) Classifiers	11) Stem

We shall proceed from the prefixes nearest to the stem.

§35. Classifiers: There are four classes of verbs according to whether they possess a zero, $\cdot d\cdot$, $\cdot l\cdot$, or $\cdot l\cdot$ immediately before the stem. These classifiers often combine with the initials of the stem, and sometimes drop out. The d classifier drops out before all initials except, 1) $\cdot d + ? \cdot > \cdot t\cdot$, 2) $\cdot d + n\cdot > \cdot d\cdot$, 3) $\cdot d + \gamma\cdot > \cdot g\cdot$, 4) $\cdot d + \delta\cdot > \cdot d\delta\cdot$ or rarely $\cdot d\cdot$, 5) $\cdot d + z\cdot > \cdot dz\cdot$, 6) $\cdot d + y\cdot > \cdot dj\cdot$, 7) $\cdot d + l\cdot > \cdot dl\cdot$. The l classifier is regularly kept and causes the unvoicing of the following fricative initial (cf. §6). Sometimes under unknown conditions it may combine with the following n to form a l , for example, *xahoreli* "he is fearing," but *xahorelni* "there is fear." The l classifier is also regularly kept, but in some cases it combines with a following n or y to form an l , for example, *?anele* "you are making it so," *?anelá* "you have made it so," *?aywule* "you will make it so," from $\cdot l\cdot n\epsilon$, $\cdot l\cdot ya$, $\cdot l\cdot n\epsilon$, cf. *?áilne* "we are making it so," *?áilyá* "we have made it so," *?aywúlne* "we shall make it so."

The function of these classifiers is to denote whether the verb is transitive, intransitive, causative, medio-passive, etc., but in many cases we have stereotyped uses of these prefixes where these functions are difficult to demonstrate.

a) zero class: Intransitive, transitive and neuter.

neye "he is growing up" (intransitive)

yenepa "he is fooling him" (transitive)

debér "it bends easily, is pliable" (neuter)

b) l class: Mostly transitive and causative.

senelce "he is raising me up" (causative of "to grow")

kún thełtsj "he has made the fire" (transitive)

c) d class: Mostly passive, medio-passive, and reflexive derived from the zero class verbs. It is also used in the first person plural and dual and the third person indefinite forms of the zero class verb, and used sometimes in the customary forms and the "again-form."

1st., 2nd. and 3rd. pl. or dual same as imperfective.

Future

1st. sg.	·s·
2nd. sg.	·(n)· (conjunct)
3rd. sg.	—
1st. pl. or dual	·ú·(d); ·ú·(l)·
2nd. pl. or dual	·uh·
3rd. pl. or dual	—

The first person singular ·s· contracts with the *ɨ* and *l* classifier to form ·s·, is assimilated to ·c· when followed by the initial *dj*, *tc*, or *ɨc*, and coalesces with a following *y* to form ·c·, except when the *s* is from *s+l*, for example, *hécɨcɨ* < *hés-l-ɨcɨ* "I got angry"; *nɨncdja* < *nɨna-nɨs-d-ya* "I came back"; *?elɨɨwacás* < *?elɨ-ɨwa-s-ɨás* "I shall knot it together"; *húce* < *hús-ɨyɨ* "I call it, name it," *bekóresyq* < *bɨkɨho-dɨs-l-yq* "I know it."

The disjunct form of the second singular is used when there is no prefix or only disjunctive prefixes preceding it, the conjunct form is used when there is a conjunctive prefix preceding it. The ·(n)· of the conjunct form regularly disappears with a nasalization of the preceding vowel.

The first plural or dual requires the *d* classifier in the zero and *d* class verbs, and the *l* classifier in the *ɨ* and *l* class verbs. The vowel ·u·, ·u·, in the future is due to contraction with the future prefix *ɨwa* (§37d).

The *h* of the second plural or dual contracts with the *ɨ* and *l* classifier forming *ɨ*. The vowel of this as well as the first person plural or dual prefix often displaces the *ɨ* of the preceding prefix, and sometimes contracts with the other vowels.

The third singular subject is not denoted by any prefix, but the plural or dual is expressed by a prefix not in this position, cf. §40g.

§37. The aspectual prefixes are placed immediately before the pronominal subjects, and they are:

a) *θɨ* perfective. It has a durative force and is used often in the imperfective with many neuter verbs denoting position. These neuters are perfective in form, and may be called perfective presents. This *θɨ* disappears after the conjunctive prefixes but reappears sometimes in the first plural or dual and the third person forms. In the third person forms when preceded by a conjunctive or pronominal objective prefix (§40a) it will lose its vowel and appear as *ɨ* in the zero class verbs, as *θ* in the *d* class verbs, and will contract with *ɨ* and *l* classifier forming *ɨ*. It often raises the pitch of the preceding low-pitched conjunctive or pronominal objective prefix.

b) *ɨɨ* perfective. In the third person forms it remains as *ɨɨ* in the *d* and *l* class verbs and becomes *ɨɨ* in the zero and *ɨ* class verbs.

c) *nɨ* momentaneous. It is used in the imperfective as well as in the perfective, but not in the future. In the third person forms it is dropped with the nasalization of the preceding prefix in the imperfective and sometimes also in the perfective

when the verb belongs to the d or l class. In zero or 1 class verbs it becomes *nj·* in the perfective. It often raises the pitch of a preceding conjunctive prefix.

d) *γwa·* future. In the second singular *γwa + (n)·* becomes *γwυ·*, in the second plural or dual *γwa + uh·* becomes *γwuh·*, and in the first plural or dual *γwa + í·* > *γwú·*. When preceded by a conjunctive or pronominal (objective or subjective) prefix, it is contracted with the preceding vowel forming *·u·*.

e) *γe·* progressive.

f) A peg element *he·* is added to the verb in this position when there is no other prefix preceding the pronominal subjective prefixes. This element does not appear in the second singular where we have *ne·*, and is regularly dropped in the perfective, the future etc., where we require other prefixes preceding the pronominal subjects.

§38. The following paradigms will illustrate the various aspectival and pronominal subjective prefixes together with the classifiers, and their contractions. The stem or the theme will be given first with its meaning, and then the paradigm. If there is a disjunctive prefix, it is placed before the bar / to distinguish it from the conjunctive prefixes.

1) *·(γe·perf.)·(zero class)·tsay* "to cry"; with a peg element *he·* in the imperfective.

	Imperfective	Perfective	Future
1 sg.	<i>hestsay</i>	<i>γi·tsay < γ(ε)·í·tsay</i>	<i>γwastsay</i>
2 sg.	<i>netsay</i>	<i>γitsay < γ(ε)·n·tsay</i>	<i>γwυtsay < γwa·n·tsay</i>
3 sg.	<i>hetsay</i>	<i>γitsay</i>	<i>γwatsay</i>
1 pl. or dual	<i>hí·tsay < h(ε)·í·d·tsay</i>	<i>γí·tsay < γ(ε)·í·d·tsay</i>	<i>γwú·tsay < γwa·í·d·tsay</i>
2 pl. or dual	<i>huhtsay < h(ε)·uh·tsay</i>	<i>γwuhtsay < γ(ε)·uh·tsay</i>	<i>γwuhtsay < γwa·uh·tsay</i>
3 pl. or dual	<i>hehetsay</i>	<i>heγitsay</i>	<i>hu·tsay < he·γwa·tsay</i>

2) Theme *cé·*/*·(γe·perf.)·(d class)·tj* "to eat."

1 sg.	<i>céstj</i>	<i>céγestj</i>	<i>céγwastj</i>
2 sg.	<i>cénetj</i>	<i>céγjtj</i>	<i>céγwútj</i>
3 sg.	<i>cétj</i>	<i>céγetj</i>	<i>céγwatj</i>
1 dual	<i>cí·tj < c(ε)·í·d·tj</i>	<i>céγí·tj</i>	<i>céγwú·tj</i>
2 dual	<i>cúhtj < c(ε)·uh·d·tj</i>	<i>céγwuhtj</i>	<i>céγwuhtj</i>
3 dual	<i>céhetj</i>	<i>céheγetj</i>	<i>céhu·tj < cé·he·γwa·d·tj</i>

3) Theme *ne·*(*θe·perf.*)·(zero class)·*téih* "to lie down (sg.)"; with a change of stem to *·tés* for the dual and plural.

1 sg.	<i>netéih</i>	<i>ni·tj < ne·θe·i·tj</i>	<i>nusté < ne·γwa·s·té</i>
2 sg.	<i>njitéih < ne·n·téih</i>	<i>njtj < ne·θe·n·tj</i>	<i>nuté < ne·γwa·n·té</i>
3 sg.	<i>netéih</i>	<i>nédjtj</i>	<i>nuté < ne·γwa·té</i>
1 pl. or dual	<i>ní·tés < n(ε)·í·d·tés</i>	<i>néθí·tez</i>	<i>nú·tés < ne·γwa·í·d·tés</i>
2 pl. or dual	<i>nuhtés</i>	<i>nuhtez < ne·θe·uh·tj</i>	<i>nuhtés < ne·γwa·uh·tés</i>
3 pl. or dual	<i>henetés</i>	<i>henédtez</i>	<i>henutés</i>

4) *·(θe·perf.)·(1 class)·tsi* "to make it (one object)"; with the peg element *he·* in the imperfective; the third person forms require the third person pronominal object *ye·* (§40a).

1 sg.	hestsi < hε-s-l-tsi	θiltsj < θ(ε)-i-l-tsj	γwastsi
2 sg.	neltsi	θiltsj < θε-n-l-tsj	γwułtsi
3 sg.	yełtsi	yéltsj < yé-δ-l-tsj	yu'łtsi < ye-γwa-l-tsi
1 pl. or dual	hıltsi	θiltsj	γwúłtsi < γwa-ı-l-tsi
2 pl. or dual	hultsi < h(ε)-uh-l-tsi	θultsj	γwułtsi < γwa-uh-l-tsi
3 pl. or dual	heyeltsi	heyéltsj	heyu'łtsi

5) Theme tu-/·ne-(θε-perf.)·(d class)·dɟ (< d classifier + nɟ) "to be drowned."

1 sg.	tunesdɟ	tunesdɟ	tunusdɟ
2 sg.	tunıdɟ	tunıdɟ	tunudɟ
3 sg.	tunedɟ	tunéθdɟ	tunudɟ
1 dual	tunı'dɟ	tunéθı'dɟ	tunú'dɟ
2 dual	tunuhdɟ	tunuhdɟ	tunuhdɟ
3 dual	tuhenedɟ	tuhenéθdɟ	tuhenedɟ

6) Theme hε-(θε-perf.)·(l class)·ze "to start to hunt."

1 sg.	hesze < hε-s-l-ze	heszé < hε-θε-s-l-ze	husze < hε-γwa-s-l-ze
2 sg.	hılze	hılzé < hε-θε-n-l-ze	hulze < hε-γwa-n-l-ze
3 sg.	helze	hélzé < hε-θ-l-ze	hulze < hε-γwa-l-ze
1 dual	hılze	hılzé < hε-θε-ı-l-ze	hū'lze < hε-γwa-ı-l-ze
2 dual	hulze < hε-uh-l-ze	hulzé < hε-θε-uh-l-ze	hulze < hε-γwa-uh-l-ze
3 dual	hehelze	hehélzé	hehulze

7) Theme tse-/·(ne-momentaneous)·(zero class)·dir "to wake up."

1 sg.	tseñθir	tseñıder	tseywasθir
2 sg.	tseñdir	tseñıder	tseywuđir
3 sg.	tseđir < tse-n(ε)-dir	tseñıder	tseywađir
1 dual	tseñıđir	tseñıđir	tseywúđir
2 dual	tseñuhθir	tseñuhθir	tseywuhθir
3 dual	tsehεđir < tse-hε-n(ε)-dir	tseñıđir	tsehuđir

8) Perfective present (θε-perf. as imperfective) (γε-perf.)·(zero class)·tɟ "one living being lies there."

1 sg.	θirtɟ	γirtɟ	γwasté
2 sg.	θirtɟ	γirtɟ	γwuté
3 sg.	θetɟ	γirtɟ	γwaté

9) ·(zero class)·beł "to swim along (progressive stem)."

Progressive

1 sg.	γesbeł
2 sg.	γıbeł
3 sg.	γebeł

§39. Modal prefixes: These prefixes are also conjunctive prefixes placed immediately before the aspectival prefixes.

a) tε or hε inceptive. tε and hε seem to be interchangeable, probably hε is the weakened form of tε. They usually require the momentaneous stem, and take the θε in the perfective. For example, tɟyah or hɟyah "you start off," tεyah

or *heγaih* "he starts off," *tjya* or *hija* "you started off," *tédya* or *hédya* "he started off"; see also §38 (6).

b) *hí-* or *-í-* inchoative. This prefix does not require the perfective prefix. The vowel is changed to *ε* before the first person subjective prefix *s*, and is contracted with the future *γwa-* forming *u*. For example *héc̣tce* "I am getting angry," *híltce* "he is getting angry," *héc̣tcel* "I got angry," *híltcel* "he got angry," *húctce* <*hí-γwa-s-tce* "I shall get angry"; *dígai* <*d(ε)-í-gai* "it is becoming white," *dígái* "it has become white," *dúgai* <*d(ε)-í-γwa-gai* "it will become white," cf. *delgai* "it is white."

c) *ne-* completive. It is used with verbs of a great variety of meaning. It requires often the momentaneous stems, the *θe-* perfective, and is used in all three aspects, differing from the momentaneous *ne-*, which is used only in the imperfective and perfective. For examples, see §38 (3) and (5).

d) *ne-* adjectival. It is sometimes dropped with the nasalization of the preceding vowel, but not dropped after a disjunctive prefix. For example, *nedád* "it is heavy," *nenéd* "it is long," *nezú* "it is good," *huzú* "it is good (a place)," *nelγus* "it is boiling (neuter)," *nesxus* <*ne-s-l-nus* "I am boiling it (caus. of the neuter)."

e) *de-* adjectival. When used with the *l* classifier it often denotes a sound. For example, *debað* "it is round," *debér* "it bends easily, is pliable," *denur* "it is soft," *delba* "it is grey," *deldél* "it is rattling," *delγus* "it barks."

f) *le-* adjectival. *leka* "it is fat," *lekan* "it is sweet."

g) *de-* (*-re-*) meaning obscure, often used with other prefixes; *beba naurilʔi* "you are waiting for him," *yeba naurélʔi* "he is waiting for him," *yeba náhodélʔi* "they are waiting for him."

h) *dí-* (*-rí-*) often used together with *ni-* "up," with *xá-* "out," *yé-* "in," etc. (cf. §43f, g). It seems to denote a local relationship. for example, *beyérilʔeθ* "you put them on (snow shoes)," *beyéxárilʔeθ* "you step out of them," *nirésʔáih* "I am picking it up (a stone)," *niyerʔʔa* "he picked it up."

i) *de-* "exhaustion." *ðilγi* "you are exhausted," *ðélγi* <*ðé-θ-l-γi* "he is exhausted."

j) *hu-* or *-u-* "pointing at, toward, against"; often used with *ne-* (§39c) or *de-* (§39g), for example, *hustás* "I am shooting at him," *yúniltáz* <*y(ε)-ú-ni-l-táz* "he has shot at him," *húníldel* "we made a rush at them."

k) *hí-* in *híheslał* or *he:slał* "I am falling asleep," *híheslál* or *he:slál* "I have fallen asleep."

§40. Pronominal objective prefixes and third person pronominal subjective prefixes: these prefixes are placed between the disjunctive and the conjunctive prefixes.

a) Pronominal objects are identical in form with the pronominal possessive prefixes of the nouns. The third person object is omitted when the subject is in the first or second person, *ye-* is used when the subject is in the third person. If the object immediately precedes, the *ye-* is often omitted. For example,

ʔsɛnɛŋiθer "he waked me up"
 ʔsɛnɛŋiθer "he . . . you"
 ʔsɛyŋiθer "he . . . him"
 ʔsɛniθer "I . . . him"

ʔsɛnuhɛŋiθer "he waked us or you (dual) up"
 ʔsɛhubɛŋiθer "I waked them (dual) up"
 sa hɛtsi "he makes a watch"
 yɛtsi "he makes it"

The raised pitch is due to the *ne-* momentaneous prefix, which also nasalizes the vowel of some of them, but not all.

b) *ʔe-* indefinite object. ʔɛldɛ́ "he is eating (several objects)," cf. yɛldɛ́ "he is eating them"; ʔɛsdą "I am drinking," cf. hɛsdą "I am drinking it."

c) *de-* "for one's self." It requires the *d* or *l* classifier; ʔɛɣádɛnesðer "I killed it for myself," cf. ʔɛɣániθer "I killed it"; nidɛyɛɾɿtą "he has picked it (a stick) up for himself," cf. niyɛɾɿtą "he has picked it up."

d) *ʔede-* reflexive, requiring *d* or *l* classifier: ʔɛɣá·dɛnesðer < ʔɛɣá·ʔɛdɛ·nɛs·l·ðer "I killed myself."

e) *ʔe-* "mutual, each other, requiring *d* or *l* classifier: ʔɛɣáɿɿɿðer < ʔɛɣá·ʔe·hɛ·m(ɛ)·l·ðer "they (dual) killed each other."

f) *ho-* third person indefinite subject or object referring to a place, an event, etc., hóðʔą "it is there (place, event)," cf. θɛʔą "it (a rock) lies there," hɿzɿ "it is good (a place)," cf. nɛzɿ "it is good."

g) *he-* third person plural or dual subjective prefix, for examples see §38 paradigms.

h) *ʔse-* third person indefinite subject, referring to one or a group of persons. It often requires the *d* or *l* classifier, and coalesces with the following modal prefixes (*de-*, *ne-*) to form *ze-* or (with *te-*, *he-*) *se-*. For example, nátsɛdɛ́ "people are staying," cf. nádɛ́ "they are staying," hezelʔá < he·ts(ɛ)·nɛ·l·ʔá "one has been mistaken about it," cf. bɛŋiʔá "you have been mistaken about it," sɛ́θdel "people have started" < ts(ɛ)·hɛ·θ·d·del, cf. hɛhɛ́ðdel "they have started."

§41. Incorporated noun stems: A large number of nominal stems may be incorporated into the verb in this position, such as tθí "head," na· "eye," bá· "war party," sa· "sun," xa· "hair," xu· "tooth," cɿ· "song," etc. Some stems, however are no more used as independent nouns in Chipewyan, such as cɛ́ "food," tθɿ· "flight," tɿba· "running, rapid movement," etc. They are placed before the pronominal objective and subjective (third person) prefixes, and are disjunctive, i.e., they require the disjunct form of the second singular subject if there is no other conjunctive prefix, and do not as a rule coalesce with the conjunctive prefixes. The following are some examples,

yɿdátθíni·tθiy "I have poked my head in," cf. ʔɛtθí "head" and nɛtsɛn nŋi·tθiy "I pointed a stick at you"

nábąhũ·dɛ́ "we shall go on war path," cf. bąnɛ "war party" and hũ·dɛ́ "we shall go"

nitiɿbahɿyaih "you are getting up rapidly," cf. nihiɿyaih "you are getting up"

beyə n̄yatiniʔə “I passed the words to him,” cf. yatei “word” and ʔə perfective of “to handle a round solid object”

§42. The iterative prefix na·: It means “again,” “back again,” and “customarily” when used with the customary stems. It often, though not always requires, the d or l classifier according to whether the original verb is zero or l class. It is dropped after certain prefixes and pulls the tone to the low pitch with the nasalization of the preceding vowel. For example,

nánad̄er “he is staying again,” nánad̄iy “he is staying customarily” cf. ná̄der “he is staying”

n̄ast̄a “I own it again (a round object)” <ná·na·/·s·d·ʔa cf. n̄asʔa “I own it” x̄alʔóih “water rushes out (cust.) as if it were boiling” <xá·na·/·l·ʔóih cf. x̄alʔóih “water rushes out”

n̄ih̄idel “they returned” <n̄i·na·/·h̄e·n(ε)·del cf. n̄ih̄idel “they came”

§43. Local and adverbial prefixes: The number of such prefixes is extremely numerous. They often go with certain other prefixes and sometimes require certain stem forms such as the continuative, the customary, and so on. Only a limited number of examples will be given below to illustrate their use in the verbal structure.

a) dá· distributive. It indicates the plurality of the subject, or of the object and is used sometimes adverbially.

dáhūtsi “you (pl.) all make it” <dá· “distributive” /·h(ε)· “peg in front,” ·uh· “second plural subject,” ·l· “classifier,” ·tsi “to make one object.” dá· here only emphasizes the plurality of the subject.

xádár̄éθgai “it is white-spotted” <xá· “out,” ·dá· “distributive” /·d̄é· “adjectival,” ·θ· “perfective, used as neuter imperfective,” ·d· “classifier,” ·gai “to be white.” It is built upon a primary theme d̄éθ·gai “there is a white spot.”

ʔé̄ts̄j̄d̄ánāsus “you split several objects” <ʔé̄l· “mutual, postpositional object,” ·ts̄j̄· “from, postposition,” ·dá· “distributive” /·n̄e· “second singular subject, disjunct form,” ·l· “classifier,” ·sus “to split.” It is built upon a theme, ʔé̄l·ts̄j̄·/·l·sus, cf. ʔé̄l̄ts̄j̄nēsus “you split it.” dá· here refers to the object.

beyé xádánaʔesdzis “I sip out of several vessels (cust.)” <beyé “in it,” xá· “out,” ·dá· “distributive,” ·na “iterative” /·ʔe· “indefinite object,” ·s· “first singular subject,” ·d· “classifier, used with the iterative,” ·zis “to sip (customary form),” cf. beyé x̄anaʔesdzis “I sip out of it (cust.)” <beyé x̄a·na·/·ʔe·s·d·zis.

b) da· “up.” tθ̄e daȳeʔāl “he is holding a rock up” <tθ̄e “rock,” da· “up,” ·γe· “progressive,” ·ʔāl “to handle a round solid object (progressive form).”

c) ná· continuative. It means “here and there, about” and requires the continuative stem.

nás̄θer “I am staying,” nán̄ēder “you are staying,” built upon the theme ná·/·der “to stay,” from the stem ·der “to do, to act (continuative form).”

násʔa “I own it (a round solid object),” nán̄eʔa “you own it,” built upon the

theme *ná·* / *·ʔa* "to own," from the stem *·ʔa* "to handle a round solid object (continuative form)."

d) *nâ·* "across." *nâni·bî* "I have swum across" < *nâ·* "across" / *·n(ε)·* "momentaneous," *·i·* "first singular perfective subject," *·bî* "to swim."

nâniʔa "it extends across" < *nâ·* "across" / *·ni·* "momentaneous, third person perfective," *·ʔa* "to have extension."

e) *nî·* terminative, "arriving at."

nîni·ya "I have come, arrived" < *nî·* "terminative" / *·n(ε)·* "momentaneous," *·i·* "first singular subject perfective," *·ya* "one person goes, perfective."

ʔeyer nîɣwaʔá "it will extend to that place" < *ʔeyer* "there" *nî·* "terminative" / *·ɣwa·* "future," *·ʔá* "to have extension, future."

f) *ni·* "up." It is often used with the inchoative *hí·(í·)* or *dí·(rí·)*.

ni·ɣaih "he is getting up" < *ni·* "up" / *·hí·* "inchoative," *ɣaih* "one person goes, imperfective."

niyeríʔáih "he is picking it up" < *ni·* "up" / *·yer·* "third person object," *·d·* see §39h, *·ʔáih* "to handle a round solid object."

g) *xá·* "out." *xálʔóih* "water rushes out as if it were boiling" < *xá·* "out" / *·l·* "classifier," *·ʔóih* "water rushes, whirls."

xánaɣesduð "I have crawled out again" < *xá·* "out," *·na·* "iterative" / *·ɣe·* "perfective," *·s·* "first singular subject," *·d·* "classifier," *·duð* "to creep."

h) *dzéré·* "around." It requires the customary stem.

dzéréneʔaih "you are carrying it around (a round solid object)" < *dzéré·* "around" *·ne·* "second singular subject disjunct form," *·ʔaih* "to handle a round solid object (customary form)."

dzéréhedíł "they are walking around" < *dzéré·* "around" / *·he·* "third person plural subject," *·díł* "several persons go (customary form)."

i) *yídá·* "inside of a tent, house, etc."

yídániłtî "you have brought him in" < *yídá·* "in" / *·ne·* "momentaneous," *·(n)·* "second singular subject, conjunct form," *·ł·* "classifier," *·tî* "to handle a living being."

yídáyeníłtî "she has brought him in again" < *yídá·* "in," *·na·* "iterative" *í·yé·* "third person object," *·ni·* "momentaneous, third person perfective," *·ł·* "classifier," *·tî* "to handle a living being."

j) *łeyá·* "death." *łeyánεθir* "I am dying" < *łeyá·* "death" / *·ne·* "momentaneous," *·s·* "first singular subject," *·θir* "to do, to act," built upon the theme *łeyá·* / — (zero class) *·θir* "to die."

łeyániłθer "I killed him," causative of the preceding.

k) *ʔa·* "so, thus." *ʔasʔî* "I am doing so" < *ʔa·* "so" / *·s·* "first singular subject," *·ł·* "classifier," *ʔî* "to do."

ʔatsedelʔî "one is making one's self thus" < *ʔa·* "so" / *·tse·* "third person indefinite subject," *·(ε)de·* "self," *·l·* "classifier, because of the reflexive," *·ʔî* "to do."

l) *ʔá·* "back home." *ʔáhiłʔa* "you send him home" < *ʔá·* "back home" / *·he·*

“inceptive,” $\cdot(n)$ “second person singular subject,” $\cdot l$ “classifier,” $\cdot ?a$ “to command.”

$?ah\acute{e}\theta dja$ “he went home” $< ?a$ “back home” / $\cdot h\acute{e}$ “inceptive,” $\cdot \theta$ “perfective,” $\cdot d$ “classifier,” $\cdot ya$ “one person goes.”

m) $?ekw\acute{a}$ “thus, like that.” $?ekw\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{e}\acute{t}\acute{e}$ “you are like that” $< ?ekw\acute{a}$ “like that” / $\cdot n\acute{e}$ “second singular subject,” $\cdot t\acute{e}$ “to be.”

§44. Incorporated postpositions with their objects: These postpositions may be accompanied by their pronominal objects or may be used alone. The number of such postpositions are also numerous, the following are some examples.

a) $\cdot \acute{e}$ “at, against.” $b\acute{e}rj d\acute{i}$ “you are feeling it, i.e., a pain by pressing hard against it” $< b(\acute{e})$ “third person postpositional object,” $\cdot \acute{e}$ “at, postposition” / $\cdot d\acute{e}$ “local relation,” $\cdot (n)$ “second singular subject,” $\cdot d\acute{i}$ “to feel (d class).”

$b\acute{e}n\acute{e}l ?i$ “you are imitating him, mocking him” $< b(\acute{e})$ “third person postpositional object,” $\cdot \acute{e}$ “at” / $\cdot n\acute{e}$ “second singular subject,” $\cdot l$ “classifier,” $\cdot ?i$ “to imitate.”

b) $x\acute{a}$ ($\cdot \gamma\acute{a}$) “to, for.” $x\acute{a}y\acute{e}r l\acute{e}tj$ “he has taken her for himself” $< x\acute{a}$ “for” / $\cdot y\acute{e}$ “third person object” $\cdot d\acute{e}$ “self,” $\cdot n(\acute{e})$ “momentaneous,” $\cdot l$ “classifier,” $\cdot tj$ “to handle a living being, perfective.”

$b\acute{e} \gamma\acute{a}y\acute{e}n\acute{i}l tj$ “I have given her to him” $< b(\acute{e})$ “third person object of the postposition,” $\cdot \gamma\acute{a}$ “to” / $\cdot y\acute{e}$ “third person object used when there are two third person objects,” $\cdot n(\acute{e})$ “momentaneous,” $\cdot i$ “first singular subject,” $\cdot l$ “classifier,” $\cdot tj$ “to handle a living being.”

c) na “in place of.” $y\acute{e}na\acute{h}\acute{e}y\acute{a}ih$ “he replaces him (cust.)” $< y\acute{e}$ “third person object of the postposition,” $\cdot na$ “in place of” / $\cdot h\acute{e}$ “peg element,” $\cdot \gamma\acute{a}ih$ “one person goes (customary form),” cf. $b\acute{e}na\acute{h}\acute{e}y\acute{a}ih$ “you replace him (cust.),” $b\acute{e}na\acute{n}i \gamma\acute{a}ih$ “you replace him (momentaneous).”

d) ka “following, after.” $b\acute{e}ka\theta\acute{i}ld\acute{e}$ “we have followed him” $< b\acute{e}$ “third person object of the postposition,” $\cdot ka$ “following” / $\cdot \theta(\acute{e})$ “perfective,” $\cdot i$ “first plural subject,” $\cdot l$ “classifier,” $\cdot del$ “several persons go.”

e) $k\acute{e}$ “on, at.” $k\acute{e}n\acute{e} ?ar$ “you are untying it” $< k\acute{e}$ “on” / $\cdot n\acute{e}$ “second singular subject,” $\cdot ?ar$ “to untie.”

$b\acute{e}k\acute{e}n\acute{e}st\acute{a}\theta$ “I am cutting it off” $< b\acute{e}$ “third person object of the postposition,” $\cdot k\acute{e}$ “on” / $\cdot n\acute{e}$ “momentaneous,” $\cdot s$ “first singular subject,” $\cdot t\acute{a}\theta$ “to cut.”

VERBAL SUFFIXES (OR POSTPOSED PARTICLES)

§45. These suffixes are more or less detached from the verb itself, and may be called postposed particles although they do not have as a rule an independent existence. The following are some examples.

a) $\cdot i$ relative suffix. The verb with this suffix is often introduced by the particles $\acute{t}ahi$ “the thing that,” $\acute{t}ahj$ “the one who,” and $\acute{t}ah\acute{u}$ “the time when” (§47). Many nouns are formed by this suffix (§12d).

ʔəh̥i sas-xəl θet̥i-i "the one who was sleeping with the bear"
 the one bear-with he is sleeping-who
 ʔahú sas-xəl n̥éot̥i-i hots̥i "since the time when he slept with the
 the time bear-with he has lain down-when it-from bear"

b) -ixa future purpose or simple future, used with the imperfective forms.

sas ʔeyáʔiθir-ixa h̥íle "he will not kill a bear"
 bear he kills-in the future not

c) -i future intention used with future forms.

h̥uɣwe hú·ldé·i "we shall eat fish"
 fish we shall eat-future intention

d) -hú, -ú gerundive suffix.

ʔets̥ɪnaθé t̥h̥iyé yer̥iɣ̥j̥ɪcel-ú yet̥caz̥i téɟya
 finally in the fire he having thrown it away from it he started off

"finally when he had thrown it into the fire, he went away"

yen̥j̥ðen-ú ʔiɣá nih̥ya "when he thought of that, quickly he got up"
 he thinking quickly he got up

e) -n̥i past tense, sometimes with the meaning of contrary to fact when used with a conditional clause.

xaunelten-n̥i "one was taught"
 one is taught-in the past
 set̥θue bed̥i-dé ɣesna-ixa-h̥íle-n̥i "if without my grandson.
 my grandson without him-if I live-in the future-not-in the past I would not have lived"

f) -dé if.

sas-ɣá cí·lyi-dé "if we eat the bear"
 bear-at we eat-if

g) -n̥i-dé expressing a wish especially when followed by the verb "to think."

ɣina-n̥i-dé yenes̥θen "I wish that you live, would that you live!"
 you live-wishing I think

h) -d̥é-kúlú even if.

netcá-h̥íle-d̥é-kúlú "even if it is not big"
 it is big-not-even-if

i) -h̥íle not.

nez̥y-h̥íle "it is not good"
 it is good-not
 ʔeyáʔiθir-h̥íle "do not kill him!"
 kill him-not

j) *-húsá* interrogative.

nínjya-húsá "did he come?"
he came-interrogative suffix

k) *-sáná* future prohibitive, used with future forms.

łeyánułóir-sáná "you shall not kill him!"
you shall kill him-shall not

Other suffixes such as *-sí*, *-łási* "whoever, whatever," used in the same way as the relative *-i*, *-ɣwalí* "it will be, used to form the paraphrastic future," *-lesá*, *łasá* "probably," *-sí* "to be sure," *sû·ni* "probably, presumably," *hîéũ* "while," *-łœ* "it is heard," *-sni* "it is said," *-hiké* "it is found out," etc., are used much in the same way.

INDEPENDENT PARTICLES

§46. The independent particles consist of the pronouns, the numerals and the adverbial and syntactic particles.

§47. Pronouns. The personal pronouns have only the first and the second person; the third person pronouns are demonstratives.

<i>si</i> "I"	<i>nuhni</i> "we"
<i>nen</i> "you"	<i>nuhni</i> "you (plural)"

The demonstratives are:

<i>diri</i> "this, these"	<i>ʔeyi</i> "that, those, he, they, etc."
<i>djá</i> "here"	<i>ʔeyer</i> "there"
<i>noɣwε</i> "that over there"	<i>ʔedɣni</i> "the other one"
<i>noɣwǐ</i> "that one (person) over there"	<i>ʔelasɣni</i> "another"
<i>yuywε</i> "over there"	

There is a third person reflexive, *ʔedɣni* "he himself, they themselves."

The interrogatives are formed from a stem *-dlá-*, *-dláɣ-*, or *-dlǐ-* with the indefinite possessive prefix *ʔε-* and with other suffixes or stems.

<i>ʔedláɣe</i> "what?"	<i>ʔedlǎɣǐ</i> "who?"
<i>ʔedláɣeka</i> "why, what for?"	<i>ʔedláu</i> "when?"
<i>ʔedłǐni</i> "where?"	<i>ʔedlásǐ</i> , <i>ʔedłǐsǐ</i> "where to?"
<i>ʔedlǎ·tǔ</i> , <i>ʔedlǎ·tε</i> "how?"	

The relative pronouns are *łahi* "that which," *łahǐ* "the one who," *łahú* "the time when," which are used to introduce a relative clause, for examples see §45a.

The indefinite pronouns are: *łási* "anything, something," *nahêi* "something, some of the things," *nǎ·ne* "some one, some of them," etc.

§48. The numerals are divided into two sets, one used in counting things and the other used in counting persons. The set used in counting persons is formed

by a suffix *-ne* (cf. *dene* "person"); which sometimes takes the weak form *-(n)* causing the nasalization of the preceding vowel, such as in numeral one and in some pronouns (§47).

ʔiláye "one"
 náke "two"
 taye "three"
 dijyi "four"
 sasuláye "five"

ʔiláyi "one person"
 nádene "two persons"
 tane "three persons"
 djne "four persons"
 sasuláne "five persons"

Numerals beyond five are compounds formed from these simple numerals, ʔálké-taye "six <each side three," ʔilásj-dijyi "seven <one side four," ʔálké-dijyi "eight <each side four," ʔiláye-yayaúta "nine <one finger bent down," ʔilá-unéna "ten," ʔiláye-ʔeɬcaddeɬ "eleven <one left over," ná-unéna "twenty," ná-unéna naθeɬsén ʔiláye "twenty-one <one more than twenty," ta-unéna "thirty," di-unéna "forty," sasulá-unéna "fifty," etc.

§49. Chipewyan makes use of a great number of adverbial and syntactic particles, which may be simple stems, or stereotyped postpositions or verbs. The following is a list of some of the common ones.

ʔála "together"
 ʔahú "still, yet"
 ʔálké "separate, each"
 ʔeɬaxá "suddenly"
 ʔeyitá "therefore"
 ʔeɬsinaθé "finally"
 ʔiyá "quickly"
 ʔoteyé "quite, well"
 dedané "immediately, at once"
 dǔ, dǔhú "now"
 dúyé "difficult, impossible"
 táu . . . táu "either . . . or"
 nári "repeatedly"
 nađe "the last"
 kú, ʔekú "so, then"

kúta "enough"
 kúlú "but"
 kaɬdané "already"
 káldjine "nearly, almost"
 hǔldǔú "then, afterwards"
 θá "long"
 θani "alone"
 ʔθi "also"
 θǔú "in vain, unable"
 hodelyǔu "all"
 ʔé "yes"
 ʔíle, or ʔihíle "no"

WORD ORDER

§50. The verb which is an essential part of the sentence always stays at the end of the sentence or clause, the other parts of the sentence are placed before it. The order is usually thus: subordinate clause, particles, subject, postposition with its object, object, verb. For example,

setθue sa kún θeɬtsj "my grandson made a fire for me"
 my grandson for me fire he made

ʔahú sas-xəl nēdʔi-i hoʔsi, ʔekú· hułdúú sas yeʔsén
 the time bear-with he has lain down-when it-from then afterwards bear him-to
 xáyayłtei "Since the time when he slept with the bear, only then the bear spoke to him"
 he spoke

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