



As a result of inroads from French and English speakers, Sitimaxa, the language of the Chitimacha people of southern Louisiana over the past 7,000 years, lost its last fluent speaker in 1940. Since that time the tribal Cultural Department has gathered all the extant language material, both audio-recordings and documentary, and has begun to revive language use through its school system and language training programs.

A new generation of Sitimaxa speakers is now emerging, and the present grammar reflects the usage both of these speakers and of the last generation of fluent users of the language. The present text covers the following topics: Sounds and Spelling; Words, Sound Changes & Parts of Speech; Sitimaxa Verbs; Sitimaxa Nouns; Sitimaxa Particles; Making New Words in Sitimaxa; Sentences in Sitimaxa; and a general summary of the grammar patterns of the language. Sample sentences are included.

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# Modern Chitimacha (Sitimaxa)

Cultural Department, Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana

*Compiled & edited by Julian Granberry*

*Revised Edition*

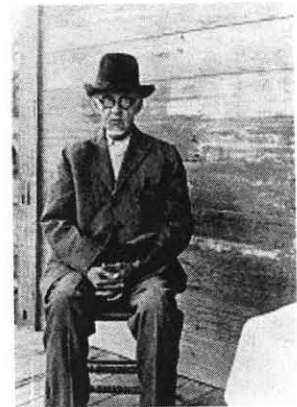


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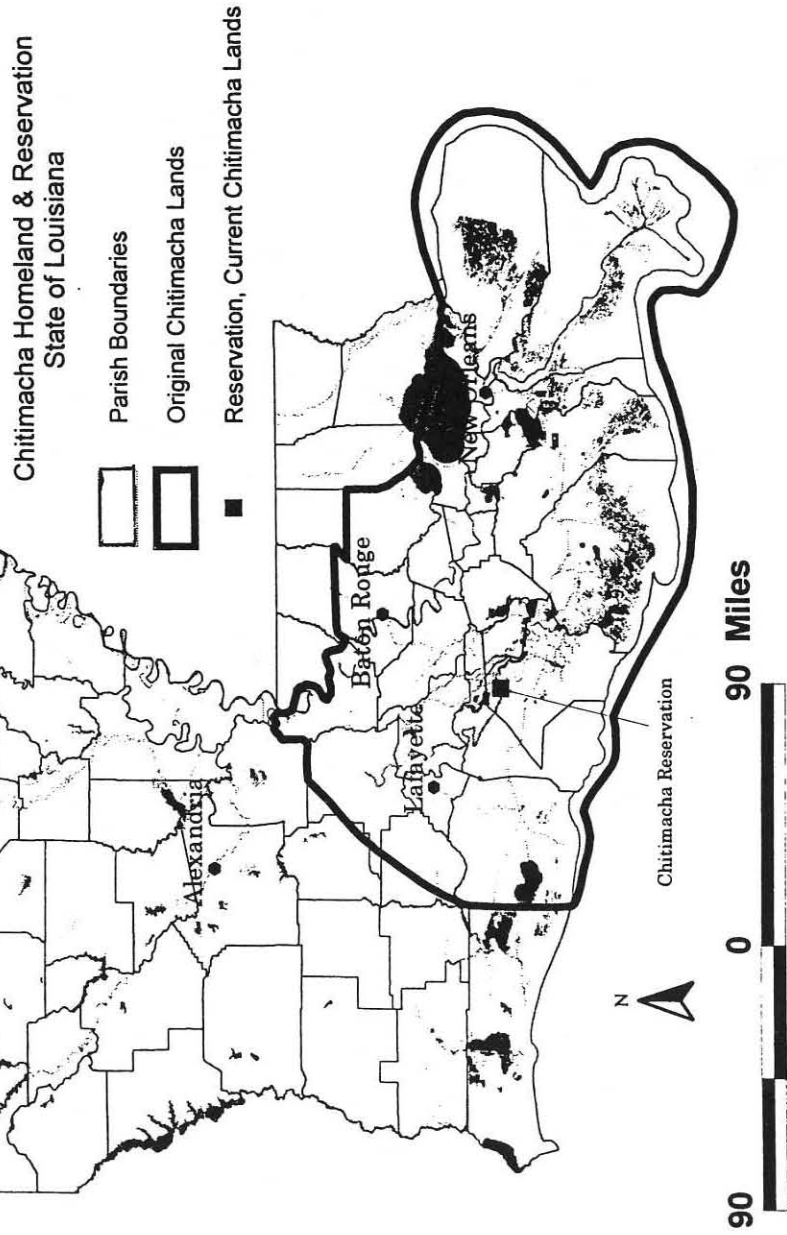


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## PREFACE

The present volume describes the grammar of Sitimaxa, the language of the Chitimacha people, as used by its last two fluent users, tribal chief Benjamin Paul (1867-1934) and Delphine Stouff Decloux (1872-1940). Called Sitimaxa by its speakers — “Language of the Many Waters”, the language has been spoken since time immemorial in southern Louisiana along the Gulf coast from the Mississippi River Delta westward toward the Texas border. Succumbing increasingly to the inroads of French and English during the 18th and 19th centuries, its use declined dramatically, and by the early years of the 20th century there were few tribal members who used the language as their home language. During the half-century after Chief Paul’s death in 1934 and Mrs. Decloux’s death in 1940 some members of the tribe retained partial knowledge of the native tongue, but English soon became the sole language of everyday use. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that English is here to stay as the general language of the community and the world around it — the necessary language for overall participation in the present-day American world — many tribal members have wanted to see the Chitimacha community once again become genuinely bilingual, using English when and where it was needed and Sitimaxa in those social, cultural situations within the community where it was most called for. They have wished to see the native language come back to everyday life and use as a means of perpetuating the norms of Chitimacha traditional life and insuring the survival of those norms and values for their children and grandchildren.

With that in mind, in September of 1996 the tribal Cultural Department, with the encouragement and backing of the Tribal Council, initiated the *Program of Chitimacha Language Restoration*. From the beginning, the goal of the program has been three-fold: (1) the preparation of pedagogical materials for teaching and learning the Sitimaxa language as spoken by its

last fluent speakers, (2) the offering of classes in Sitimaxa on all age-levels from pre-Kindergarten through late adulthood to members of the tribe, and, particularly, (3) the encouragement of individual families to learn and begin to use the language in the home and community again.

During the nine years that the program has been underway the first goal — the preparation of pedagogical materials in and on Sitimaxa, has been implemented with gradual but increasing effectiveness through the use of carefully prepared non-technical language materials, published by the Cultural Department and disseminated to all tribal families: (1) *Learning Chitimacha: An Outline of Chitimacha Grammar* (1996, 1997, 1998, 2000), (2) *Learning Chitimacha Audio-Recordings* (1 cassette, 2000), (3) *A Chitimacha Word-Finder: A Learning Dictionary* (1997, 2000), (4) *Lessons in Chitimacha: A Grammar, Lexicon & Reader in Modern Chitimacha* (2 vols., 1997), (5) *Lessons in Chitimacha Audio-Recordings: Books 1 and 2* (2 cassettes, 1997), (6) *A Guide to Teaching Chitimacha in the Elementary Grades: An Instructional Manual for Teachers* (1997), (7) *Teaching Chitimacha Audio-Recordings* (2 cassettes, 1998), (8) *The Chitimacha World: Readings in Chitimacha*, (part 1, 1998), (9) *Irreducible Minimum of Sitimaxa Grammar: The Most Frequently Used Rules* (1999), (10) *A Handbook of Modern Chitimacha: A Brief Reference Guide to Chitimacha Grammar & Vocabulary* (2001); (11) *We Nixiqi Panx Sitimaxa: A Notebook of Chitimacha Language Materials* (part 1, 2002); and, (12) *A Dictionary of Modern Chitimacha (Sitimaxa)* (2005). *Speaking Sitimaxa*, a series of fifty carefully graded immersion learning lessons, and a series of readers for youngsters are also in preparation.

The second goal of the *Program* — the teaching of the language, has been implemented through the use of the above materials in the tribal Early Learning Center pre-school *Yaamahana* (Children's Center), in grades

Kindergarten through 8 in the Chitimacha Tribal School, in ongoing language classes offered by the Cultural Department, and may soon be used for Chitimacha tribal students in one of the local public high-schools in Grades 9-12. All age groups in the tribe have shown increased interest in revival of Sitimaxa language use, and all have contributed greatly to the success of the language revitalization program. The third goal of the *Program* — use of the language in the home environment, is on the verge of becoming reality as individual families come forward expressing their desire to bring their children up speaking both Sitimaxa and English. The present volume, therefore, was written first and foremost for members of the Chitimacha Tribe, in the hope that these materials will help toward greater and continued use of the native language.

Language restoration work is under the immediate guidance of the tribal Cultural Department. It has been the combined efforts of the members of this department and the dedicated and conscientious assistance of a large number of other individuals over a period of many years which has seen the present volume to completion.

Kimberly S. Walden, Cultural Director of the tribal Cultural Department, has unstintingly given her help on every facet of the program and its ongoing work. Melanie Marcotte Aymond, formerly Archivist with the Department, assisted in the location and acquisition of many of the extant language materials and offered ongoing encouragement over a period of many years. Jason A. Emery, former tribal Cultural Resource Specialist, continued this assistance and provided invaluable help in the location, identification, and explication of early French maps and historical materials.

The ultimate success of any language restoration program lies, of course, in the hands of those who learn the language and impart its structures and rules

in a meaningful manner to others. The Chitimacha Tribe has been particularly fortunate in having two unusually dedicated teachers, Carolyn Burgess Savage and Sandra “Sam” Boutte. Both have acted as motivated teachers of the language over the entire course of the language restoration program — Carolyn in the adult classes given by the Department and the classes offered to the youngest children at the *Yaamahana* Children’s Center, Sam in her Kindergarten through Grade 8 classroom at the Chitimacha Tribal School.

Others have contributed by assisting in the often tedious linguistic research which must come before the preparation of any pedagogical language materials. Of these, tribal member Gerald Burgess must be mentioned first and foremost, for he has worked for many years without respite on describing the sound system of Sitimaxa, its grammatical processes, and its vocabulary. Without his work as a self-taught but thoroughly professional tribal linguist this first-cut toward a grammar of modern Sitimaxa could not have come to fruition. Gerald and I have been linguistic alter-egos on the project almost since its inception, picking each other’s minds and comparing notes in ways which have yielded both agreements and disagreements, always with valuable language results.

Language restoration also demands time-consuming non-linguistic chores of a wide variety — the printing of thousands of pages of microfilmed field-notes and similar tasks — most of which must be done then and there before the work actually begins. Our “then-and-there” man in the Cultural Department has been departmental assistant Jacob Darden. To Jacob we owe a debt of gratitude beyond just ordinary thanks.

The late Ralph Darden, Chairman of the Tribe, and Alton D. LeBlanc, Jr., present Chairman, have both extended more than the usual courtesy and assistance in the implementation of every aspect of the program, smoothing

out problems of all kinds when they occurred. Chief Administrative Officer Toby Darden, Division Administrator Peggy Gaddy, and all the members of the Tribal Council have also shown personal interest in seeing the program succeed and have provided assistance whenever needed. John Paul Darden, Interpreter at the Chitimacha Museum, has particularly seen the value of language restoration and has, in his own quiet way, begun to use the language in his museum work. The tribal elders have been enthusiastic and helpful, often coming up with long forgotten words and phrases not recorded elsewhere. The youngsters of all ages have been avid learners, and they are becoming the first new generation of budding bilingual English and Chitimacha speakers in over sixty years, proud of the fact that they are participating in preserving the past and contributing toward the cultural identity of their tribe and community.

It is not possible to say a personal ‘Thank You’ individually to each and every person who has helped Sitimaxa language revitalization work toward its steady success, for the Tribe as a whole has played this role. No individual has reacted negatively to the work, and all have participated and contributed in their own way toward its completion and success. More than most, the Chitimacha people value their sense of family, of togetherness and oneness, and this shows in all that they have done and achieved since receiving federal recognition as a sovereign Native American Nation in 1916 with the creation of the Chitimacha Reservation and the subsequent establishment in 1971 of a federally sanctioned and approved constitution under the *Indian Reorganization Act* of 1934. Most have voiced their feeling that without their language Chitimacha culture and Chitimacha society could not continue to exist, and tribal members have shown a devoted determination to hear their language used once again on Chitimacha lands before they reach the end of their road. It is a wish that is coming to pass.



## INTRODUCTION

**0.1. The Chitimacha People.** The people call themselves Chitimacha, 'People of the Many Waters', and to those who know the region this vividly and accurately describes the land in which the Chitimacha have always lived — an almost boundless land of never-ending, twisting and interconnecting bayous and rivers. The use of such highly descriptive names is typical of the language.

The archaeological data indisputably indicate a long cultural continuity throughout the entire region from early Archaic times (ca. 6000 B.C.) through the Plaquemine period (ca. 1200-1700 A.D.), and thus the Chitimacha people have likely lived in their homeland area along the bayous and rivers of coastal southern Louisiana for at least the past 7,000 years or more.

At the time of first European contact in the late 1600s, the Chitimacha were the most powerful native American group west of Florida, with a population estimated at some 3,000. While their primary western settlements have always been located to the west of the Atchafalaya River in the Bayou Teche, Grand Lake region around the present towns of Franklin, Charenton, and Baldwin, their towns originally encompassed the entire region of the Atchafalaya and Lower Mississippi River Basins from north of the present city of Baton Rouge in central Louisiana southward to the Gulf and from considerably west of the present city of Lafayette eastward through and including what is now New Orleans and the entire Mississippi River Delta. To judge from the French maps of the early 1700s, while the western settlements were centered around the Bayou Teche and Grand Lake, the eastern settlements were most heavily concentrated along Bayou Lafourche, which was referred to by the French as the *Rivière des Chetimachas* or *Bayou de*

*Scitimachas*, the neighboring smaller bayous and lakes called *Lacs des Sitimachas*.

The earliest spelling we have for the tribal name is *Toutimacha*, from Guillaume de L'Isle's maps of 1702 and 1703. The commonest French renditions of the name from 1718 on, however, are *Sitimacha* or *Scitimacha* (pronounced *see-ti-mah-SHAH*), and *Chetimacha* (pronounced *shay-tee-mah-SHAH*) or *Chitimacha* (pronounced *shee-tee-mah-SHAH*). English speakers of the 1800s generally used the spelling *Shetimasha* (also pronounced *shay-tee-mah-SHAH*). Since the early 1900s, however, the French spelling *Chitimacha* has been used with the English pronunciation *chit-ee-MAH-chah*. This Anglicized pronunciation, however, is a recent change from the pronunciations indicated by the earlier French and English spellings. As late as the 1950s one could hear both the French and English pronunciations, though the English form, now the norm, was rapidly gaining ground as French was replaced by English as the language of the home and local community.

The four most frequent original French forms, *Sitimacha*, *Scitimacha*, *Chetimacha* and *Chitimacha* all come from the combination of four lexical elements. The French form *Chetimacha* and the English form *Shetimasha* have the word *xeyt* (pronounced 'shate') 'river' as their first element. The French forms *Sitimacha*, *Scitimacha*, and *Chitimacha* have the word *siit* (shortened to *sit*, pronounced 'seat') 'ocean' or 'large body of water' as their first element. The second element of all spellings is the suffix *-i* (pronounced 'ee'), which designates the form to which it is added as a verb, and the combination of the two means 'to be ocean-like' (*siti*) or 'to be river-like' (*xeyti*). Both forms were used to refer to any large bayou, lake, or river, in contrast to the word *caqad* (pronounced in its abbreviated form *caad* as *chah*), which was used to refer to bayous of smaller dimensions. According to both John R. Swanton and

Morris Swadesh, two of the early researchers on the language, Chief Paul indicated that the term **Siti** or **Xeyti** was the tribal name for Grand Lake and was also used to describe the vast complex of water-ways of the entire Atchafalaya Basin from the Red River in northeastern Louisiana to the Gulf of Mexico in the south.

The third element of the word is the verb pluralizing suffix **-ma** which is usually translated as ‘many’. Both **xeytima-** and **sitima-** thus mean ‘to have many waters’. The fourth element is the word **xaq** (abbreviated to **xa** and pronounced ‘shah’) which means both ‘mouth’ and ‘voice’ or ‘language’. By extension, since humans are the only animals which use language, **xa** may also mean ‘speaker(s)’ or ‘people’. Thus **Chetimacha** (**Xeytimaxa** in Chitimacha spelling), **Chitimacha**, and **Sitimacha** (both **Sitimaxa** in Chitimacha spelling) all mean ‘People of the Many Waters’, ‘Speakers of the Many Waters’, or, when applied to the language, ‘Language of the Many Waters’ — the language and people, that is, of the Atchafalaya and Mississippi River Basins.

The rendition *Toutimacha* on Guillaume de L’Isle’s earliest maps of 1702 and 1703 is replaced by *Sitimacha*, *Scittimacha*, *Chetimacha*, and *Chitimacha* on all the later maps, and it may be suggested that *Toutimacha* may have been the native response to the question “Who are you?” **Tuutima** means ‘entire, complete, all’, and **Tuutima xa** would thus have meant “[We are] all speakers of the language.” Whether this is correct or not is, of course, open to interpretation. In any case, Benjamin Paul, the last tribal chief, used the traditional **Sitimaxa** form of the tribal name and pronounced it *SEE-tee-mah-SHAH*, with primary stress on the first syllable and secondary stress on the last syllable. Since, other than the phrase **Tuutima xa**, this is also the earliest attested pronunciation of the name, it is the form which will be used in this

grammar when describing the language of the Chitimacha people, and it is the form adopted for use by the tribal Cultural Department.

Ethnohistoric data indicates that in addition to the western Chitimacha of Grand Lake and Bayou Teche, the Washa (French *Ouacha*, Chitimacha **Waxa**) and the Chawasha (French *Tchaouacha*, Chitimacha **Cawaxa**) were also either speakers of eastern dialects of Chitimacha or speakers of a very closely related language, probably the former. The relationship of these groups to the Chitimacha proper is first implied by Jean Baptiste Bienville in the earliest days of French contact in the late 1690s, and, with a combined estimated population of 1,400, the Washa and Chawasha were forces to be reckoned with by the European intruders. Both groups, however, had been absorbed by the local French-speaking population by the mid 1700s, and they have left no documented trace, with no individuals today or during the past two centuries claiming descent from either group.

The names of both groups — Washa and Chawasha (**Waxa** and **Cawaxa** respectively) — are **Sitimaxa**. The final *-sha* element of both names (*-cha* in their French spellings, **xa** in **Sitimaxa**) is, as in **Sitimaxa**, the word **xa** ‘language’, ‘speakers’, or ‘people’. The initial *wa-* of Washa is a predictably abbreviated form of the Chitimacha word **waqa** meaning ‘other’ or ‘another’ — Washa thus means simply the ‘Other People’ or the ‘Other Speakers’. The initial *tcha-* syllable of Chawasha is a predictably abbreviated form of the word **caqad** ‘bayou’, and Chawasha can be translated as ‘People from the Other Bayou’ or ‘Speakers from the Other Bayou’.

The de L’Isle maps of 1702 and 1703 show the Washa living to the south of the Chitimacha on Bayou La Fourche, then, as we have pointed out, called Rivière des Chetimachas, and his map of 1718 shows the Chawasha

located farther to the east, in the Barataria region, as does Guillaume de la Haye D'Anville's map of 1732. Thus early map locations readily explain the descriptive names of the two eastern Chitimacha tribes.

While the eastern Washa and Chawasha peoples have disappeared as distinct cultural entities, the western branch of the Chitimacha people has survived to the present in spite of the generally unfriendly and more often than not violent and tyrannical actions of their European and later American neighbors, which lasted from the time of Iberville's first incursion in 1699 through the first half of the 20th century. Since 1916 an independent sovereign Native American nation, with full self-determination since 1971, the people today still live on the site of what has always been a primary town on the west bank of the Bayou Teche near Charenton, Louisiana, their community a model of what can be done in the way of positive, forward-looking recovery from a repressive past.

**0.2. The Chitimacha Language.** In spite of their lengthy history in the region, however, it is not possible to define the ultimate origins of the Chitimacha people or their language. Language data usually give us an indication of such a source, since related languages continue to share characteristics of their sound systems, grammar, and vocabulary over very long periods of time, but Sitimaxa offers us no hints, for it is what linguists refer to as a *language isolate*, a language which shows no internal evidence of relationship to any other language or language family.

The language does, however, show some similarities in grammatical structure and vocabulary to the other languages of the region — Tunica, Natchez, the Muskogean Choctaw language, and, in particular, Atakapa — and for that reason all of these languages have sometimes been grouped together as the *Gulf Languages*, a term first coined by Mary Haas, though the close

similarities were first noted and investigated by John R. Swanton in 1919. Most of the similarities between the Gulf Languages, however, are almost certainly the result of their speakers living in such close proximity to one another in the Lower Mississippi River Valley over a period of many thousands of years rather than the result of actual relationship through a single ancestral language.

**0.3. The History of Chitimacha Language Studies.** The surviving materials in the Sitimaxa language come from various periods. The earliest recorded word-list was obtained from an unknown Sitimaxa speaker or speakers by a gentleman named Murray, about whom we know nothing, in 1802 at what is now Franklin, Louisiana. Mr. Murray obtained Sitimaxa equivalents of the words on the standard word-list designed by Thomas Jefferson, a widely used device at that time for gathering vocabularies from native American tongues. The list was copied in the same year by Martín Duralde, Commandant of Opelousas and Atakapas and sent by him on April 24, 1802 to William Dunbar, an eminent Natchez, Mississippi, planter-scholar-scientist-explorer and friend of Thomas Jefferson. Dunbar in turn passed the vocabulary on to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, of which he was a member. A copy of the Society's list, in English translation, was made for Maj. John Powell, Director of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology. Powell was a man who devoted a great part of his life to the recording, analysis, and classification of all the native languages of North America. Copies of the Chitimacha-English Murray-Duralde list are preserved at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia (Mss. Collection #185, Items 12 and 13) and at the National Anthropological Archives at the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (Ms. #285). The list was also published in 1836 by Albert Gallatin in his monumental 422-page report to the American Antiquarian



Society entitled *A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America*.

In the 1820s or early 1830s the Murray-Duralde word-list was slightly expanded and included in Peter S. Duponceau's *Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical des Langues de Quelques Nations Indiennes de l'Amérique du Nord* ('Memoir on the Grammatical System of the Languages of Some Indian Nations of North America'), published in Paris in 1838. It occupies pages 1-7 of the manuscript of Duponceau's work, which is on file at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia (Ms. #1284-497-IN2).

There is no additional data on the language until forty-three years later, when Alfred S. Gatschet, a well-known German-American linguist working with the Bureau of American Ethnology, gathered language materials in Charenton during December of 1881 and January 1882 from Baptiste Angélique, a Black man who lived and had grown up near Grand Lake, adjacent to the Charenton Reservation. Though not Chitimacha by birth, he spoke Chitimacha as his first language and used it as his primary medium of communication. Gatschet gathered approximately 2,000 phrases, sentences, and words in story format from Mr. Angélique, with the plan in mind of preparing a dictionary. This project was never completed, though the manuscript of texts (Ms. #288a and #288b) and the initial dictionary manuscript (Ms. #349) are on file at the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian. Part of Gatschet's material was later published in John R. Swanton's *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico* (*Bulletin* #43 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1911).

Twenty-five years later, in 1907-1908, and again in 1917 and 1918 John R. Swanton, also with the Bureau of American Ethnography, collected a vocabulary and texts in Charenton from Chief Benjamin Paul, Delphine Stouff (later Decloux), Registe Darden, and Estelle Sanders. These unpublished materials and a 90-page manuscript entitled *A Sketch of the Chitimacha Language* are at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington (Mss. #4139, #4199, and #4963).

The most important and thorough collection of language data, however, is that gathered by the linguists Morris Swadesh and his wife Mary Haas in Charenton in 1930-34 from Benjamin Paul and Delphine Stouff Decloux, preserved as extremely important, culturally and linguistically detailed field notes, a manuscript *Dictionary*, a manuscript collection of *Texts*, and a manuscript grammar entitled *Chitimacha Grammar* in the Boas Collection at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia. This collection also contains a single-page Sitimaxa-French-English word list gathered by Swadesh's wife Mary Haas in 1934 from Sadie Darden.

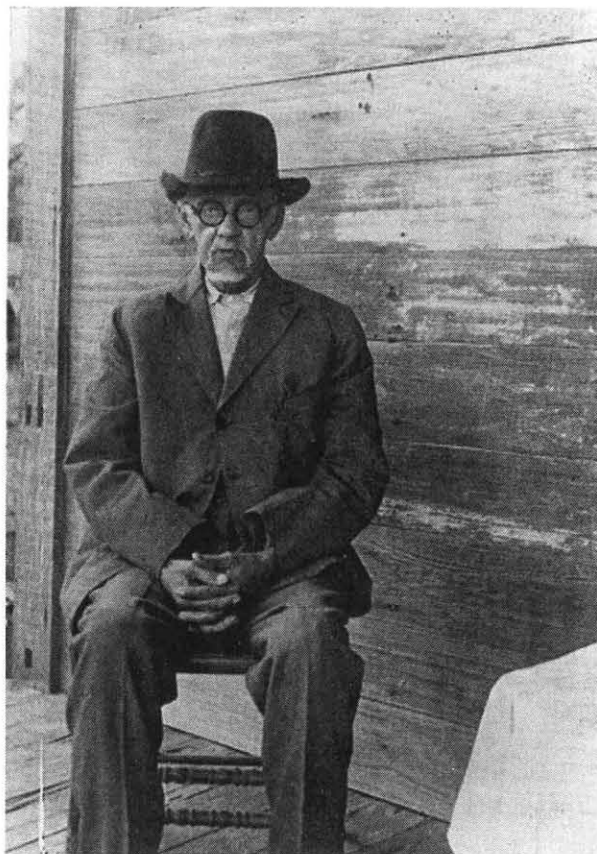
We additionally have a short word-list compiled by Mrs. Faye Stouff sometime during the late 1930s, preserved at the Louisiana Natural History Museum (no manuscript number); a list of basketry terms prepared by Clara Darden sometime during the early years of the 20th century, preserved in the Chitimacha Cultural Department Tribal Archives; and, finally, a list of fourteen words recorded by James Crawford in 1969 from Tribal Chairman Emile Stouff, on file at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia.



**Chief Benjamin Paul**  
(1867-1934)

*Photo Taken in 1908*

*Photo Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution*



**Chief Benjamin Paul**  
(1867-1934)

*Photo Taken in 1933*

*Photo Courtesy of the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution*



**Delphine Stouff Decloux**  
(1872-1940)

*Photo Courtesy of Northwestern State University of Louisiana, Watson Memorial Library, Cammie G. Henry Research Center, Caroline Dormon Collection*

The materials gathered by Drs. Gatschet and Swanton were taken down directly in written form as they were dictated, inasmuch as no fully reliable means of portable audio recording had been devised at the time the materials were gathered. The readings gathered from Chief Paul and Mrs. Decloux by Dr. Swadesh in the 1930s, however, were recorded on wax cylinders. Unfortunately the tape recorder did not become a reality until 1947, and Dr. Swadesh's recordings could not be transferred to that more stable medium until a time by which the acoustic fidelity of the originals had degraded considerably, in some cases to the point of irretrievability. A practiced phonetician can make out many words, but the quality of both cylinders and tapes renders them regrettably of very little use to the ordinary listener.

Fortunately, 15 of the original 22 cylinders (#8-26; 10-19,516-517; and 12-4762-4773) were re-recorded for the Archives of the Languages of the World at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana on aluminum disks sometime not long after they had been originally recorded. They are still curated there in the Archives of Traditional Music. Because of the greater stability of the aluminum disk recording medium, some of Chief Paul's and Mrs. Decloux's stories have survived relatively intact. Several of Mrs. Decloux's recordings are, in fact, extremely clear and of great use to the present-day learner of Sitimaxa. We are equally fortunate that Dr. Swadesh prepared meticulous written transcriptions of the cylinder recordings in 1939, only five years after they were made. Through use of these transcriptions and the now imperfect recordings it has been possible to reconstruct the pronunciation of Sitimaxa both thoroughly and accurately.

Dr. Swadesh's original wax cylinders are on deposit at the Magnetic Recording Laboratory at the Library of Congress, and the taped versions are on

file at the American Philosophical Society Library in Philadelphia (APS Recording #7, F/K 292).

## 1. PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

### 1.1. The Sounds and Spelling of Sitimaxa.

The sounds of the Sitimaxa language are represented by the following letters: **a, aa, b, c, d, e, ee, g, h, i, ii, j, k, m, n, o, oo, p, q, s, t, u, uu, w, x, and y.** The sounds represented by the letters **f, l, r, v, and z** are not used in Sitimaxa. The following table provides both a general description of each sound and, for the linguist, a technical description.

Spelling Symbol	Phonetic & Phonemic Symbols		Description
	Phone	Phoneme	
<b>VOWELS</b>			
a	[a]	/a/	like the first <i>a</i> in English <i>mama</i> ; as in <b>panx man</b> (a short unrounded low central vowel)
aa	[a:]	/a:/	like <i>a</i> in English <i>father</i> , as in <b>haax here</b> (a long unrounded low central vowel)
e	[e]	/e/	like English <i>a</i> in <i>late</i> , but without the glide sound, as in <b>keta friend</b> (a short unrounded higher-mid front vowel) — in open syllables
	[ɛ]		like <i>e</i> in English <i>met</i> , as in <b>tep fire</b> (a short unrounded lower-mid front vowel) — in closed syllables and as the offset of <b>ee</b>
ee	[æ:]	/e:/	like <i>a</i> in English <i>cat</i> , as in <b>keeta eight</b> (a long unrounded low front vowel)

i	[i]	/i/	like <i>e</i> in English <i>Pete</i> ; as in <b>kica woman</b> (a short unrounded high front vowel) — in open syllables
	[ɪ]		like <i>i</i> in English <i>pit</i> , as in <b>nimx lane</b> (a short unrounded lower-high front vowel) — in closed syllables and as the offset of <b>ii</b>
ii	[i:]	/i:/	like <i>i</i> in English <i>machine</i> , as in <b>weyjiig therefore</b> (a long unrounded high front vowel)
o	[o]	/o/	like <i>oa</i> in English <i>boat</i> , but without the glide sound, as in <b>ho these</b> (a short rounded higher-mid back vowel) — in open syllables
	[ɔ]		like <i>au</i> in English <i>caught</i> , as in <b>komtepa cover</b> (a short rounded lower-mid back vowel) — in closed syllables and as the offset of <b>oo</b>
oo	[o:]	/o:/	like <i>o</i> in English in <i>mow</i> , but without the glide sound, as in <b>hoox these</b> (a long rounded mid back vowel)
u	[u]	/u/	like <i>u</i> in English <i>tune</i> , but without the glide sound, as in <b>hoku mortar</b> (a short rounded high back vowel) — in open syllables
	[ʊ]		like <i>u</i> in English <i>put</i> , as in <b>nucmi he works</b> (a short rounded lower-high back vowel) — in closed syllables and as the offset of <b>uu</b>
uu	[u:]	/u:/	like <i>oo</i> in English <i>pool</i> , but without the glide sound, as in <b>puup rabbit</b> (a long rounded high back vowel)
<b>STOPS</b>			
p	[p]	/p/	like English <i>p</i> in <i>put</i> , as in <b>pinun red</b> (a voiceless aspirated fortis bilabial stop)
b	[pʔ]	/pʔ/	somewhat like English <i>b</i> in <i>boy</i> , as in <b>bakbaknix flat</b> (see <i>Glottalized Sounds</i> below) (a voiceless unaspirated lenis glottalized bilabial stop)
t	[t]	/t/	like English <i>t</i> in <i>to</i> , as in <b>tuci to cook</b> (a voiceless aspirated fortis apico-dental stop)
d	[tʔ]	/tʔ/	somewhat like English <i>d</i> in <i>do</i> , as in <b>dipno red bird</b> (see <i>Glottalized Sounds</i> below) (a voiceless unaspirated lenis glottalized apico-dental stop)



k	[k̤]	/k/	like English <i>k</i> in <i>keep</i> , as in <b>kipi</b> <i>body</i> (a voiceless aspirated fortis pre-velar stop)
	[k]		like English <i>c</i> in <i>cot</i> , as in <b>kaaci</b> <i>owl</i> (a voiceless aspirated fortis medio-velar stop)
	[k̠]		like English <i>c</i> in <i>caw</i> , as in <b>kuq</b> <i>water</i> (a voiceless aspirated fortis post-velar stop)
g	[kʰ]	/kʰ/	somewhat like English <i>g</i> in <i>got</i> , as in <b>guxti</b> <i>food</i> (see <i>Glottalized Sounds</i> below) (a voiceless unaspirated lenis glottalized velar stop)
q	[ʔ]	/ʔ/	see <i>The Glottal Stop</i> below, as in <b>keqeb</b> <i>bed</i> (a voiceless fortis glottal stop)
<b>AFFRICATES</b>			
c	[č]	/č/	somewhat like English <i>ch</i> in <i>church</i> (NOT like <i>c</i> in <i>cat</i> ) but more fronted, as in <b>caadup</b> <i>to the bayou</i> (a voiceless aspirated fortis pre-palatal grooved affricate)
j	[čʰ]	/čʰ/	somewhat like English <i>j</i> in <i>just</i> , as in <b>jiinix</b> <i>bad</i> , but more fronted (see <i>Glottalized Sounds</i> below) (a voiceless unaspirated lenis glottalized pre-palatal grooved affricate)
<b>SPIRANTS</b>			
s	[s]	/s/	like English <i>s</i> in <i>so</i> , as in <b>samis</b> <i>in front of</i> (a voiceless fortis apico-dental grooved spirant)
x	[š]	/š/	somewhat like English <i>sh</i> in <i>sheet</i> (not like <i>x</i> in <i>ax</i> ) but more fronted, as in <b>xam</b> <i>new, fresh</i> (a voiceless fortis pre-palatal grooved spirant)
	[ž]		somewhat like English <i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i> , but more fronted — the initial <i>x</i> of a word may optionally have this sound, as is <b>xux</b> <i>wood</i> [ʒuʃ] (a voiceless lenis pre-palatal grooved spirant)
h	[h]	/h/	like English <i>h</i> in <i>hot</i> but more forcefully; as in <b>hejin</b> <i>holy</i> (see <i>The h Sounds</i> below) (a voiceless glottal slit spirant)
	[x]		like Spanish <i>j</i> in <i>jota</i> , as in <b>xahdun</b> <i>wild</i> (see <i>The h Sounds</i> below) (a voiceless fortis medio-velar slit spirant) — before a consonant or word-final

<b>NASALS</b>			
m	[m]	/m/	like English <i>m</i> in <i>me</i> as in <b>mayq</b> <i>mosquito</i> (a voiced bilabial nasal)
	[M]		like an English <i>m</i> , but whispered, as in <b>paakpam</b> <i>speaker</i> (see <i>Nasal Consonants</i> below) (a voiceless bilabial nasal)
n	[n]	/n/	like English <i>n</i> in <i>new</i> , as in <b>nimx</b> <i>street</i> (a voiced apico-dental nasal)
	[ŋ]		like English <i>n</i> in <i>ink</i> , as in <b>weytenk</b> <i>after that</i> (a voiced medio-velar nasal)
	[N]		like an English <i>n</i> , but whispered, as in <b>qokun</b> <i>shoulder</i> (see <i>Nasal Consonants</i> below) (a voiceless bilabial nasal)
<b>SEMIVOWELS</b>			
w	[β]	/w/	somewhat like English <i>v</i> pronounced with the lips well-rounded and without the upper teeth on the lower lips; similar to Spanish or Greek <i>b</i> , as in <b>we</b> <i>the, that</i> (a voiced bilabial semi-spirant).
y	[y]	/y/	like English <i>y</i> in <i>yet</i> or <i>boy</i> , as in <b>yootix</b> <i>roach</i> (a voiced medio-palatal semi-vowel)

## 1.2. Sitimaxa Vowels

1.2.1. *Long and Short Vowels.* As indicated in the table above, vowels may be pronounced *short* or *long*. *Long vowels* are shown by writing the vowel twice — **aa**, **ee**, **ii**, **oo**, **uu** — and, other than **ee**, which sounds very much like English *a* in *cat*, sound like their short vowel equivalent, except that they are held longer and each has a short off-glide — **qoonak** *all*, for example, sounds very much like *OH-aw-nak*, and **keeta** *eight* sounds very much like *CAA-eh-tah*.

1.2.2. *Nasalized Vowels.* Any word-final vowel (**a**, **aa**, **e**, **ee**, **i**, **ii**, **o**, **oo**, **u**, or **uu**) after an **m** or **n** is nasalized — pronounced with air coming

through the nose. This is also true of **a**, **aa**, **e**, and **ee** (but not **i**, **ii**, **o**, **oo**, **u**, or **uu**) before or after **m** or **n** in any position in a word, as in **xam** *new, fresh* or **gampi** *ammunition*, and when two identical vowels **a**, **aa**, **e**, or **ee**, whether in the environment of nasal **m** or **n** or not, are separated by **q** or **h**, as in **naqa** *they are* or **nehe** *self*, **qeehe** *yes*. From this point throughout the remainder of the book nasalized vowels are indicated by a tilde symbol (~) over the nasalized vowel, as in **dipnō** *red*, **qēēhē** *yes*. This symbol is not, however, actually used in the writing system — nasalization is indicated here only as a reminder device for the learner.

### 1.3. Sitimaxa Consonants

1.3.1. *Nasal Consonants and Devoicing.* The two nasal consonant symbols, **m** and **n**, each have a voiced and a voiceless variety. The voiced varieties sound exactly like English *m* and *n*. The voiceless varieties are used only at the end of a word, as in **wastigēm** *spoon* or **qokun** *shoulder*, in which the final **m** and **n** are whispered, without vocal cord vibration. This is referred to as *devoicing*, and there is no English equivalent of this phenomenon. The consonant **n** additionally has a third variety, which occurs only before **k** and which is identical to the *n* sound in English *ink* or the *ng* sound in English *singer*, as in Sitimaxa **weytēnk** *after that*.

Consonants **w** and **y** are also devoiced when word-final, as in **kaahw** *tongs*.

1.3.2. *Stop and Affricate Sounds.* Consonant sounds represented by **c** (an affricate, like English *ch*) and **k**, **p**, and **t** (stop sounds) are called *aspirated* sounds, because a considerable amount of air is used in making them, as is also the case in English when those sounds are word-initial. Symbol **k** has three varieties: one, symbolized phonetically by [k̟], occurs before vowels **e**, **ee**, **i**, and **ii**, as in **keta** *friend*; the second variety,

symbolized phonetically by [k], occurs before vowels **a** and **aa**, as in **kax** *clam*; and the third variety, symbolized phonetically by [k̠], occurs before vowels **o**, **oo**, **u**, and **uu**, as in **kowa** *aunt* or **kuti** *gray*. English has the same three varieties of *k*.

1.3.3. *The Glottal Stop.* The sound represented by the symbol **q** is called a *glottal stop*. This sound, made in the throat cavity rather than in the mouth, occurs in English very frequently, but it has no special symbol to show it. It is the sound heard when you say the *t* sound in the English name *Trenton* or the word *mountain*, or it is the sound heard at the start of and in between the two parts of the English expression meaning “no” *uh-uh*.

1.3.4. *Glottalized Sounds.* The consonant sounds represented by **b**, **d**, **g**, and **j** are called *glottalized sounds*. They are pronounced like Sitimaxa **p**, **t**, **k**, and **c** immediately followed by the **q** sound, a *glottal stop*, especially when they come at the start of a word or a syllable. When they occur at the end of a syllable or form-final, the *glottal stop* occurs just before or with the **p**, **t**, **k**, or **c** sound rather than after it.

1.3.5. *The h Sounds.* The letter **h** has two varieties. One, symbolized phonetically by [h] is very much like the English *h* sound in *he*, though it is pronounced with much more force and friction than in English. This variety of **h** occurs at the beginning of words before a vowel or in the middle of a form between vowels, as in **haax** *here* or **nēhē** *self*. The second variety, symbolized phonetically by [x], occurs form final, as in **huuh** *lake*, and immediately before another consonant, which is a frequent occurrence in Sitimaxa. This is especially true when the vowels **a**, **aa**, **o**, **oo**, **u**, or **uu** come immediately before or after it, as in: **nāhtpa** *stick-ball*, **cuhcu** *wooden basket*, or **cāāhmpa** *to lace together*. **gohta** *snail*. In these instances, the letter **h** sounds like the *ch* sound in the German word for *I*, *ich*, or the

Spanish sound indicated by the letter *j*, as in Spanish *jinete rider*. It is similar to saying the English word *he* with a great deal of air for the *h* sound.

1.3.6. *The x Sound*. The letter *x* never stands for the English *cks* combination, as in *sticks* or for English *x* as in *fix*. It is used only to indicate a sound similar to the *sh* sound of English, as in the English word *sheet*.

#### 1.4. Syllables, Stress, Pitch and Intonation

1.4.1. *Syllables*. In Sitimaxa a *syllable* consists of a vowel (**a**, **aa**, **e**, **ee**, **i**, **ii**, **o**, **oo**, **u**, or **uu**) preceded by a consonant and often followed by a consonant as well. No two vowels may come together in Sitimaxa, though long vowels are orthographically indicated by vowel doubling. When two vowels might follow each other as a result of putting two or more forms together, one or the other will be left out, or the two neighboring vowels will change to another sound. These important changes are discussed under sound changes in Section 2.2.

There are consequently as many syllables in a Sitimaxa word as there are vowels. Thus *qatin large* contains two syllables because it contains two vowels, **a** and **i**. The two syllables are **qa-** and **-tin**. The word *haax here* contains only one syllable, because the double vowel symbol **aa** acts as a single, long vowel. *Taadin cousin, younger brother or younger sister* contains two syllables, one with the vowel **aa**, the other with the vowel **i** — **taa-** and **-din**. There are also some syllables in Sitimaxa which have either an **m** or an **n** as the syllable nucleus instead of a vowel. For example, *waytm winner*, which contains two syllables — **way-** and **-tm**. Notice that a single consonant coming between vowels will go with the following vowel, as in *taadin* — **taa-** + **-din**, while two consonants will separate by syllable, as in *gämpi ammunition* — **gām-** + **-pi**. When three or more consonants

come together, only the last one will go with the following syllable, as in *qaxtkānki when* — **qaxt-** + **-kān-** + **-ki**.

1.4.2. *Stress*. The loudest or strongest stress of each Sitimaxa word always falls predictably on the vowel of the first syllable of the word. This is true whether the vowel is a long vowel like **aa** or a short vowel like **a**. If the word contains more than three syllables, the last syllable will have the second greatest amount of stress, as in *Sítimāxà Sitimaxa*, in which ´ indicates the strongest stress and ` indicates a secondary degree of stress. Otherwise all syllables of Sitimaxa words bear approximately the same, even degree of stress.

1.4.3. *Pitch and Intonation*. In Sitimaxa the pitch of the voice, like stress, is relatively stable throughout a phrase or sentence. Those syllables which carry strongest stress are pitched slightly higher than other syllables, but the voice level is considerably more unvarying than in English.

Intonation patterns also differ markedly from those of English. While in English most sentences other than questions normally end with a drop or lowering in the pitch of the voice on the last syllable of the sentence, the opposite is true of Sitimaxa — one raises the pitch of the voice on the last syllable. In English questions normally end with a rise in the pitch of the voice on the last syllable, but in Sitimaxa one raises the voice pitch on the next to last syllable and lowers the voice pitch on the last syllable, again the opposite of English. This Sitimaxa question-pitch is also used on the command forms of verbs and with a number of exclamative words, which will be discussed later.

#### 1.5. Canonical Forms

As you read through the grammar you will notice that most Sitimaxa forms and all Sitimaxa words begin with a consonant, and that most also end

with a consonant. This is the *canonical form* or norm for Sitimaxa words. If **C** is used to mean “any consonant” and **V** to mean “any vowel”, the canonical form of Sitimaxa words is **CVC**. You will find a few forms, always *suffixes*, which begin in a vowel and a few *base forms* (defined in the following section) which end in a vowel, but by and large Sitimaxa forms are like English — they start and end with a consonant. As in English you will also notice that consonants may occur in clusters, though Sitimaxa will have no more than three coming together.

From time to time a form will be given with a symbol in parentheses — **(q)ix**, for example. This means that sometimes the sound is present and at other times it is not. There are both general and special rules of sound change which determine when you use the sound and when you do not. These rules are also listed and discussed in detail in Section 2.2.

## 2. WORDS, SOUND CHANGES, & PARTS OF SPEECH

### 2.1. Sitimaxa Words

2.1.1. *Bases and Suffixes*. A *word*, by definition, is a language form which may occur independently by itself and have meaning. In Sitimaxa words are made up of two kinds of language forms: *bases* and *suffixes*. A base, the main part of every word, carries its primary meaning, indicating what it refers to in the real world or in the world of ideas, while a suffix modifies that meaning grammatically and tells how a word functions in phrases and sentences. Suffixes have no real-world meaning in and of themselves. So, for example, **taadin** is a base form and means *cousin, younger brother* or *younger sister*, while **-kānk** is a suffix which indicates grammatical plural but has no meaning in and of itself and cannot be used

alone; putting the two forms together as **taadinkānk** gives the plural word for *cousins, younger brothers* or *younger sisters*.

2.1.1.1. *Free Bases*. Most bases occur freely by themselves as complete words — **taadin** *cousin, younger brother* or *younger sister*; **kaahw** *tongs*; **pānx** *human being, person*; **kipi** *body*; **qix** *I*, **hunks** *they*. Since these bases may be used by themselves as complete words, they are called *free bases*.

2.1.1.2. *Bound Bases*. Some bases, called *bound bases*, however, are never actually used by themselves, but must be used with *suffixes* or other base forms — **wix-** *to burn*; **tus-** *to hide*; **guxt-** *to eat*; **nuup-** *to die*. None of these forms occurs by itself as an independent word; they must have *suffixes* attached to them which indicate *tense, person* or some other grammatical function, as in **guxtik** *I am eating*. All verbs in Sitimaxa — words indicating action or condition — are bound bases.

2.1.1.3. *Suffixes*. Suffixes, like bound bases, are language forms which never occur by themselves. They always occur attached after some other form. Unlike bound bases, however, they never carry the primary meaning of the word in which they occur. Instead they indicate how the total word in which they are found functions in the sentence. Examples are: **-kāmpa** *plural* as in **kickāmpa** *wives* (**kica** *wife* in the singular, where the stem-final **-a** vowel is dropped); **-ik** *1st person singular (= I)* as in **getik** *I hit* (the stem is **get-** *hit*); **-(q)ix** *ongoing action* as in **gedixik** *I am hitting* (= **get-** *hit*, where stem final **-t** becomes **-d** by a sound-change rule, + **-(q)ix-** *ongoing action* + **-ik** *1st person singular*). You can not, for example, use the *suffix -ik* to mean the separate word *I*; you must use the free base form **qix** instead. There are a great many suffixes in Sitimaxa, and they will be listed in the grammar as we discuss the kinds of grammatical functions they indicate. As you can see from the example **gedixik** above, you may use more than one



suffix with a base form; it depends on the total meaning you wish to get across. The use of suffixes is the major way of building new words in Sitimaxa, just as it is in many other languages.

2.1.2. *Simple Words.* As you can see from the above examples, Sitimaxa words may consist of a free base alone, such as **taadin** *cousin*, or of a free or bound base plus one or more suffixes added to the base, as in **taadinkānk** *cousins*. Such Sitimaxa words, containing one base and perhaps a number of suffixes, are called *simple words* since they have only a single base. All of the examples used so far in have been simple words.

2.1.3. *Compound Words.* Other Sitimaxa words, however, as in English, may contain more than one base form. They are called *compound words*, and their meaning is a combination of the meanings of their bases, never more than two in Sitimaxa. There are two kinds of *compound word* in Sitimaxa: *composite words* and *phrase-words*.

2.1.3.1. *Composite Words.* Composite words consist of two bases coming after one another so closely that in sound they form a single word, and they are spelled as a single word. In most instances this running together of the final sound or sounds of the first base element and the initial sound or sounds of the second base element will cause those sounds to alter. The specific kinds of sound change which can occur are discussed in Section 2.2 below. Examples of composite words are: **gituygi** *very dry, parched* from **giti** *dry* and **huygi** *good*; **waxtejin** *Sunday* from **waxta** *day* and **hejin** *holy*; **guxdatin** *glutton* from **guxt-** *to eat* and **qatin** *large*.

2.1.3.2. *Phrase-Words.* Phrase-words also consist of two base forms coming together, but unlike composite words there is a slight pause between the utterance of the first base form and the utterance of the second form. In spite of the slight separation between the two elements, the final sound or

sounds of the first part of the phrase-word and the initial sound or sounds of the second part of the phrase-word may change. These alterations, too, are discussed below in Section 2.2. Examples of phrase-words are: **kix qatin** *horse* (literally, ‘big dog’), **ni cuy-** *descend* (literally, ‘down’ + ‘go’).

2.1.4. *Alternate Word Forms.* A fairly large number of Sitimaxa words occur in alternate forms: **jiw**, **jiwi**, **jiwgi**, **jiwa**, **jiwg**, **jiwgx**, and **jiinix** — from the bound base **jiw-** — for example, all mean *bad*. In most cases you may use any of the variations you wish, but in other instances you must use a specific one. So, for instance, **kix qatin** ‘big dog’ = *horse*, but **kix qatigi**, also ‘big dog’, means literally just that, a large dog. Only practice through reading will enable one to master these distinctions.

2.1.5. *Long, Short, and N-Base Forms.* A number of Sitimaxa words, especially verbs and adjectives, may be used in either *long form*, a *short form*, or a special *n-form*. For example, you may say either **gedixnā**, **gedixnāqā**, or **gedixnān** for *they are hitting him..* There is no difference in meaning. Usually long forms are somewhat more formal than short forms and are used in story-telling and other kinds of formal speech. They are also used in deliberately slow speech. In everyday conversation at ordinary speaking speed you will usually use the short forms. This is very similar to English, where one would say, in formal speech, *we could not have done it* but *we couldn't've done it* in ordinary speech. When they occur, we will give the *long* and *short forms* of each word category as we come to them in the grammar. The *n-forms* are infrequently used, usually in what are called *progressive tenses*, which are described in Section 3.8 in the chapter on verbs.

## 2.2. Sound Changes

Most languages make changes in the sounds of words or word parts when they are put together to form larger words or when words come together in sentences. For example, the pronunciation of English *does not* changes when one puts the words together closely in speech to form *doesn't*. The same is true of *will not* and *won't*, or *could have* and *could've*. This especially happens in ordinary speech, when one is speaking rapidly. It happens less frequently in slower, more formal speech.

Sitimaxa does the same thing. When words come together in phrases and sentences, when base forms come into contact with one another to form composite words and phrase-words, and when suffixes are added to bases, the sounds at the end of the first word or form and the beginning of the second word or form frequently change. In both instances the changes are very predictable and can be stated as a series of simple rules. These are given in the following paragraphs.

There are four kinds of sound change in Sitimaxa: (1) *Composite Word Alterations*, (2) *Suffix Alterations*, (3) *Phrase & Phrase-Word Alterations*, and (4) *Specific Case Alterations*. Each is discussed in turn below.

2.2.1. *Composite Word Alterations*. When two bases, either free or bound, come together to form a composite word, as defined above, the following three regular sound changes take place:

(1A) When the first base in a composite word ends in a short vowel (**a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, or **u**), it is lost; thus **waxta** *day* + **hejin** *holy* will become **waxtejin** *Sunday* or **giti** *dry* + **huygi** will become **gituygi** *parched*.

(1B) If the second base of a composite word begins with an **h-** or a **q-**, it is dropped; thus **hejin** *holy* will become **-ejin** when it is the second element of a composite word, as in **waxtejin** *Sunday* and **gituygi** above;

**qatin** *large* will become **-atin**, as in **guxti-** *eat* + **qatin** *large* = **guxt-** (by *Rule 1A*) + **-atin** = **guxdatin** *a glutton*.

(1C) If the first base in a composite word ends in **c**, **k**, **p**, or **t**, with or without application of *Rule 1A*, and the second base of the composite word begins with a **q**, the **-cq-**, **-kq-**, **-pq-**, and **-tq-** combinations become **j**, **g**, **b**, and **d** respectively. Thus, **guxti-** *to eat* + **qatin** *large* = **guxt-** (by *Rule 1A*) + **-atin** (by *Rule 1B*) = **guxdatin** *a glutton*, not **guxtiqatin** or **guxtqatin**.

(1D) If the last consonant of the first element of a composite word and the first consonant of the second element are the same, they are merged to a single consonant, as in **hipi** *prairie* + **poq** *grass* = **hipoq** *prairie grass*.

2.2.2. *Suffix Alterations*. When a suffix is added to a verb stem, the following eight regular sound changes take place. Suffixes which change according to the following rules are indicated in the remainder of the book by placing the altering sounds in parentheses, as in the suffix **-(q)a**.

(2A) Verb stems which end in a vowel + **-q** drop the **q** before the addition of a suffix beginning in any consonant except **q** and lengthen the stem vowel unless it is already long, as in **nī xiq-** *to speak* + **-cuk** *I will/shall* = **nī xiicuk** *I shall speak*.

(2B) When verb stems ending in **-a**, **-e**, or **-i** are immediately followed by a suffix which begins in a vowel, the verb stem will lose its final **-a**, **-e**, or **-i**, as in **qitsi-** *set on fire, burn* + **-aq** *indirect suffix* = **qitsaq** *indirectly set on fire*.

(2C) When verb stems ending in **-i** are immediately followed by a suffix which begins in any consonant, except suffix **-(q)ix** *continuous action*, the stem-final **i** is dropped, as in **quti-** *to tie* + **-pa** *cause* = **qutpa-** *to cause something to be tied*.

(2D) When verb stems ending in **-a**, **-e**, or **-i** are immediately followed by the suffix **-(q)ix** *continuous action*, as in **-(q)ixik**, **-(q)ixi(qi)**, the suffix will lose the **-q** and its **i** vowel will contract with the last vowel of the verb stem to become **-aa-**, the resultant suffix taking the form **-aax**, as in **qitsi-** *to set on fire, burn* + **-(q)ix** = **qitsaax** *to burn something continuously*. Verb stems which end in a consonant, however, retain the **q** of the suffix, as in **tus-** *to hide* + **-(q)ix** = **tusqix** *to be hiding*.

(2E) A number of suffixes will cause the verb stem-final vowel to become **-i**. These suffixes are termed *i-causing suffixes* because they cause an **i**-change, as in **jahmā-** *to chop* + **-<sup>1</sup>cuk** *I will/shall* = **jahmicuk** *I shall chop*, not **jahmācuk**. Not all suffixes cause this change. *I-causing* suffixes will be indicated in the remainder of the book with a raised **i** as their first element, as in **-<sup>1</sup>cuk** *I will/shall*.

(2F) A verb stem ending in **-t** loses that sound before suffixes beginning in **-c**, **-d**, **-m**, **-n**, or another **-t** as in **get-** *to strike* + **-<sup>1</sup>cuk** *I will/shall* = **gecuk** *I shall strike*; **kaact-** *to drink* + **-mā** *plural* + **-nuk** *we* = **kaacmānuk** *we drink, we drank*; **get-** *to strike* + **-<sup>1</sup>tuut** *prior participle* = **getuut** *struck*. Partial exceptions to this rule are verb stems which end in a vowel followed by the single consonant **t**, such as **get-** *to strike*, which do not lose their final **-t** before suffixes beginning in **-m** or **-n**, as in **getnā** *they strike* or **getmix** *a hitter*.

(2G) A verb stem ending in a consonant plus **-wa** or **-wi** will alter that syllable to **-u** before any suffix beginning in **-m**, as in the verb **huhcwa-** *to walk indoors* + **-mā** *plural* + **-nuk** *we* = **huhcumānuk** *we are going indoors, we went indoors*, or **huhwi-** *to put indoors* + **-mā** *plural* + **-nuk** *we* = **huhumānuk** *we put (it) indoors*.

(2H) If a base ends in a vowel plus **w** or **y**, and the immediately following suffix begins in any consonant except **q**, the base-final **w** or **y** is dropped and the preceding vowel is lengthened, as in **kow-** *to call*, **kowiqi** *he calls*, but **koopiqi** *he causes someone to call*; or **qow-** *many*, but **qoonāk** *all*; or **niy-** *sick*, **niya** *sickness*, but **niiki-** *to be sick*.

(2I) If the last consonant of the base is **c**, **k**, **p**, or **t**, and the immediately following suffix begins in **q**, the **-cq-**, **-kq-**, **-pq-**, and **-tq-** combinations become **j**, **g**, **b**, and **d** respectively, as in **guxt-** *eat* + **-(q)a** *we want* = **guxda** *we want to eat*. This is the same alteration which affects composite words (Rule 1C).

2.2.3. *Phrase and Phrase-Word Alterations.* When words come together in phrases within sentences, whether closely as phrase-words or less closely simply as ordinary phrases, they sometimes alter their final sound, usually depending upon the position of the word in the phrase. There are five regular rules:

(3A) Except when spoken in isolation or when the word is the last word in a phrase, words which end in a vowel + **-q** drop the **q** and lengthen the remaining vowel unless it is already long, as in **hus** *his* + **xaq** *mouth* = **hus** **xaq** *his mouth*, but **hus xaa ki** *in his mouth (ki in)*; **we** *'the'* + **kuq** *water, liquid* + **ki in** = **we kuu ki** *in the water*.

(3B) Except when spoken in isolation or the last word in a phrase, words whose last 3 (or 4) sounds consist of a short vowel (**a**, **e**, **i**, **o**, or **u**) + **q** + a second short vowel, with or without a final consonant, drop the **q** and replace the two vowels with one long vowel identical to the first short vowel. Thus: **-āqā**, **-aqe**, **-aqi**, **-aqo**, and **-aqu** all become **-aa**; **-eqa**, **-ēqē**, **-eqi**, **-eqo**, and **-equ** all become **-ee**; **-iqa**, **-iqe**, **-iqi**, **-iqo**, and **-iqu** all become **-ii**; **-oqa**, **-oqe**, **-oqi**, **-oqo** and **-oqu** all become **-oo**; and **-uqa**, **-uqe**, **-uqi**, **-**

**uqo**, and **-uqu** all become **-uu**. Examples are: **hēnxkaqe** *it is true* becomes **hēnxkaa**; **keqeb** *bed* becomes **keeb**; **gahtiqi** *he bit it* becomes **gahtii**; **tuqu** *hole* becomes **tuu**.

(3C) Except when they are spoken in isolation or are the last word in a phrase, words of more than one syllable which end in short vowel **-a** replace the **-a** with **-i**, as in **dsiya** *egg* + **guxtiqi** *he ate* = **dsiyi guxtiqi** *he ate an egg*, or **kica** *woman* + **hup** *to* = **kici hup** *to the woman*.

(3D) Word-final **-iyi** and **-uwi** become **-ii** and **-uu** respectively, as in **dsiya** *egg* + **gān** *no, not* = **dsiyi gān** *no egg(s)* (by Rule 3C), which, by the present rule, then becomes **dsii gān**; or, **juwa** *quickly* + **cuw-** *to go* = **juwi cuw-** *to go quickly* (by Rule 3C), which, by the present rule, then becomes **juu cuw-**.

(3E) Word-final **-ayi**, **-eyi**, **-oyi**, or **-uyi** become **-ay**, **-ey**, **-oy**, and **-uy** respectively, and word-final **-awi**, **-ewi**, **-iwi**, or **-owi**, become **-aw**, **-ew**, **-ow**, and **-uw** respectively. Examples are: **huyu** *turtle* becomes **huyi** by Rule 3C and then, by the present rule, **huy**; **kowa** *aunt* becomes **kowi** by Rule 3C and then, by the present rule, **kow**. This rule involves only a small number of words.

2.2.4. *Special Case Alterations*. In addition to the above 16 rules, which are regularly applied as the situation demands, there are two sound changes which apply only to specific kinds of verb stems and suffixes:

(4A) The initial **-p-** of the Usitative Tense suffix **-puy-** is lost after verb stems ending in **t** and after most verb stems ending in **q**. Thus, for example, **get-** *to hit, strike* + **-puyki** *I usually* = **getuyki** *I usually hit*, not **getpuyki**; and **saq-** *to rain* + **-puyi** *it usually* = **saquyi** *it usually rains*.

(4B) The initial **-y-** of the 1st person plural Command Mode suffix **-<sup>l</sup>yu** is also lost after verb stems ending in **-t-**. Thus, for example, **dut-** *to go* (plural stem) + **-<sup>l</sup>yu** *let's* = **Dutu** *Let's go*, not **Dutyu**.

(4C) Verb stems which end in **-a**, **-e**, or **-i** form the 2nd person Command Mode by dropping their final vowel as well as the initial **q** of the Command Mode suffix **-qaa**, as in **Jāānqaa** *Speak!* from verb stem **jāān-** *to talk* + **-qaa** or **Pexqaa** *Fly!* from verb stem **pex-** *to fly* + **-qaa**, but **Heecpaa** *Help!* from verb stem **heecpa-** *to help* + **-qaa** or **Nokxtaa** *Feed (me)!* from verb stem **nokxte-** *to feed someone* + **-qaa**.

### 2.3. Sitimaxa Parts of Speech

Bases and suffixes combine with each other to form what may be called *parts of speech* by form. Some languages have many different parts of speech, each indicated by different kinds of *inflection* — the use of *prefixes*, *suffixes*, and other kinds of *affixes* to modify the meaning of the total word. In Sitimaxa, however, there are only three parts of speech by form: *verbs*, *nouns*, and *particles*. Verbs and some nouns are inflected — you can change their form and overall meaning and function in a sentence by adding suffixes — while all other words in the language, called particles, are uninflected and do not modify the meaning of their base by the addition of suffixes.

While verbs always indicate some kind of action or condition, and nouns indicate the subject and object of the action or condition, particles may function in sentences as the equivalent of English pronouns, demonstratives, or interrogatives. What we call adjectives in English are actually a special class of nouns in Sitimaxa, called *modifying noun adjectives*. Adverbial ideas, modifying the verb, are *particles* in Sitimaxa,



usually of the type referred to as *preverbs*. These concepts are discussed in the sections on nouns and verbs respectively.

Each of the three parts of speech is discussed separately in the next three sections.

### 3. SITIMAXA VERBS

The most important part of a Sitimaxa sentence is the word which indicates the action, state, or condition the speaker is describing — what we call a *verb*. Verbs in Sitimaxa come last in the sentence and are always inflected — that is, they always consist of a verb base, which is always a bound base, followed by one or more modifying suffixes.

The learner will find that while the verb is the most complex grammatical structure in Sitimaxa, its forms are highly regular and therefore not difficult to master.

#### 3.1. Preverbs

Though many verbs occur by themselves in Sitimaxa, many occur with a preceding particle called a *preverb* or a following *auxiliary verb*. Preverbs specify the direction or recipient of the action, and auxiliary verbs specify the position of the subject of the action or condition. To the speaker of English both added dimensions will seem unusual and at times confusing, but both are quite important in Sitimaxa, and one must always be conscious of the possibility of using either a preverb or an auxiliary verb, sometimes both.

The direction or recipient of an action is indicated wherever possible by placing one of the seven uninflected preverbs immediately before the main verb. Not all verbs use preverbs, but some always or usually take a preverb;

for example, in **his heect-** *to meet* or *to join his* is the preverb and **heect-** the verb base itself. The form **heect-** is almost never used by itself. At times the logic behind use of a preverb is obvious, even to the native speaker of English. At other times, however, it is not quite so clear what the exact function of the preverb is. It is always best to learn new verbs with their preverb, if they normally use one.

In most cases, however, the use of a preverb is up to the user, depending on the meaning you wish to get across. The basic rule of thumb is: *Does the meaning of the verb involve any kind of motion or special condition not already included in the verb itself?* If the answer is “yes”, then the appropriate preverb must be placed before the verb.

In the lists below and later in the book parentheses around a symbol indicates that that sound is sometimes present and sometimes not. Its occurrence is dependent upon the general rules of sound change discussed in Section 2.2 or is determined by the specific form which follows it.

The seven *preverbs* and their basic meanings are:

Preverb:	Meaning:
1. <b>hi(s)</b>	<i>move away, thither</i>
2. <b>his</b>	(a) <i>redo</i>
	(b) <i>do something in response to something else</i>
3. <b>kap</b>	(a) <i>move away</i>
	(b) <i>start, begin</i>
4. <b>kas</b>	(a) <i>move back away</i>
	(b) <i>reverse a process</i>
	(c) <i>move or be apart</i>
5. <b>nī</b>	(a) <i>move down</i>
	(b) <i>command</i> (often used with imperative verb forms)
6. <b>qap</b>	<i>move toward, hither</i>

7. <b>qapx</b>	(a) <i>return toward the speaker</i>
	(b) <i>move together</i>
	(c) <i>move around at random</i>
	(d) Reflexive action (performing an action on oneself); e.g., <i>I shaved (myself), he fed (himself)</i>
	(e) Reciprocal action; e.g., <i>they kissed (each other), we saw each other</i>

Examples are: **hi tep xahct-** *to set fire*; **his kint-** *to shove under*; **his heect-** *to meet, join*; **kap mēti-** *to lift, raise*; **kas dikte-** *to smash*; **nī gast-** *to plant*; **nī dut-** *descend, decrease* (plural stem); **qap howi-** *wind blows*; **qapx jakxje-** *to argue*; **qapx get-** *to fight*; **qapx caahmā-** *to lace together*.

### 3.2. Auxiliary Verbs

There are three *auxiliary verbs* in Sitimaxa, all of which, when used by themselves, have *to be* as their primary meaning. When used with another verb, they will follow it. Each of the auxiliaries indicates a particular position of either the speaker, the subject of the sentence, or the object of the sentence. For those who know Spanish, the verb **hi(h)-** is like the Spanish verb *ser*, which means *to exist, to be in a particular condition or state*, while the verb **ci(h)-** is like the Spanish verb *estar*, which means *to stand, to be temporarily positioned in a certain state or condition*. The verb **pe(h)-** means *to lie, to be prone*, and has no equivalent *to be* usage in any other language.

The three *auxiliary verbs* are:

1.	<b>hi(h)</b>	<i>to be or exist (in a neutral or unindicated position)</i>
2.	<b>ci(h)-</b>	<i>to be (in a standing or vertical position), to stand</i>
3.	<b>pe(h)</b>	<i>to be (in a lying or horizontal position), to lie, to be prone</i>

In Sitimaxa the *unindicated* or *neutral position* is used with the majority of verbs in everyday speech both as an auxiliary verb, as well as for *to be*. If you wish to be normally polite, you will always use **hi(h)-**, the neutral position indicator.

The auxiliary **ci(h)-** *to stand*, on the other hand, is not only customarily used with certain specific verbs but may be used with any verb or by itself with the meaning *to be* if the speaker wishes to be particularly polite and respectful. The “standing position”, that is, is considered the most polite verbal position.

The auxiliary **pe(h)-** *to lie, be prone*, on the other hand, is used if the speaker wishes to be disrespectful, derogatory, abusive, or extreme. Thus to say **nuupk pēn** *he is dead*, or more literally *he lies dead*, is appropriate in Sitimaxa for referring to a dead animal but would be very disrespectful if used when referring to a person. The normal form would be **nuupk hiqi** *he is dead*, with the neutral position *to be* form **hi(h)-**. If one wished to be particularly respectful in referring to the deceased, one could say **nuupk ciqi** *he “stands” dead*. As an example of the use of **pe(h)-** to indicate an extreme rather than disrespect, one might, for example, say **niikiig pekēn** *I am (lying down) sick* — very similar to saying in English *I’m flat on my back in bed* — but, again, one would normally use the neutral position auxiliary **hi(h)-** and say **niikiig hiki** *I am sick*.

The auxiliary verb **hi(h)-** is conjugated as follows.

	Short Form:	Long Form:	Short N-Form:	Long N-Form:	Meaning:
1 sg	<b>hik</b>	<b>hiki</b>	—	<b>hikin</b>	<i>I am/was</i>
2, 3 sg	<b>hi</b>	<b>hiqi</b>	<b>hin</b>	<b>hiqin</b>	<i>you are/were; he/she/it is/was</i>
1 pl	—	<b>nāka</b>	—	<b>nākun</b>	<i>we are/were</i>
2, 3 pl	<b>nā</b>	<b>nāqā</b>	<b>nān</b>	<b>nākx</b>	<i>you all/they are/were</i>

Auxiliary verbs **ci(h)-** and **pe(h)-** are conjugated in the same manner.

The endings of each verbal form in the above table are discussed later in this section under the description of suffix combinations. The distinction between *short*, *long*, and *n* forms has been discussed in Section 2.1.5.

While these forms may on first sight seem complicated, their use is actually very regular and simple. You should, in the first place, notice that the forms may refer to either present or past time — *I am* or *I was*, for example. The use of a single verb tense to refer to either present or past is called an *aurist tense*. The *aurist* refers to indefinite time, the exact interpretation of the form depending on the context in which it is used.

### 3.3. Main Verb Stems

In addition to the suffixes which follow it, main verbs consist of a *verb stem*. Stems may consist of: (1) a single base, (2) two bases together as a composite stem, or (3) two words coming together as a phrase-word.

3.3.1. *Single-Base Stems*. The majority of main verbs in Sitimaxa consist of a single bound base stem with modifying suffixes, which may be as many as seven in number. We will not list these individual single-base stems here, since they account for many hundreds of items in the Sitimaxa vocabulary. An example, however, would be **get-** to *hit, strike*. Some verb roots become single-base stems by the addition of **-t** or **-te** to the root. The root itself is not used without the suffix, which is referred to as a *designative suffix* inasmuch as it designates the root + suffix as a verb stem. For example verb root **kaac-** *drink* + **-t** becomes verb stem **kaact-** *drink*; verb root **dsay-** *lonely* + **-te** becomes verb stem **dsayte-** *be lonely*.

3.3.2. *Two-Base Composite Stems*. There are eight bases which frequently occur as the first element in a two-base composite main verb

stem. These are: **huh-** to *be indoors*, **xah-** to *go into an enclosure or container*, **xān-** to *go out*, **ni-** to *go/come into water*, **ku(y)-** to *get into a vehicle*, **nēn-** to *go/come out of water or out of a vehicle*, **nēh-** to *go/come down*, and **peh-** to *get/be on*.

The second position of such two-base composite verbs is also filled by a limited number of bases. The five most frequent are: **-cwa** to *move erect or to walk*, **-di** to *move horizontally or to crawl*, **-duwi** to *rush or to move violently*, **-ct** to *carry (something)*, **-tgext** to *dump (something)*. Examples of the two kinds of bases coming together to form two-base composite stems are: **huhcwa-** to *walk indoors*, **huhdi-** to *crawl indoors*, **huhduwi-** to *rush indoors*, **huhct-** to *carry (something) indoors*, **huhgtext-** to *dump (something) indoors*.

3.3.3. *Two-Base Phrase-Word Stems*. Just as preverbs come before the main verb as a separate word, so many other words may also be used immediately before the main verb to modify and augment its meaning. They will remain separate from the verb which follows but be closely joined as phrase-words. If a preverb is also used in the verbal construction, it will always take the first position before both bases in the two-base phrase-word verb. Examples are: **xaa guxt-** to *kiss* (literally, *mouth + to eat*), **nēy nuemā-** to *bury* (literally, *earth + to fix*), **huyi quci-** to *benefit* (literally, *a good thing + to do*).

3.3.4. *Special & Suppletive Plural Verb Stems*. Some Sitimaxa verbs have different stem forms in the singular and plural. Some verb stems which end in **n** in the singular will form a special plural stem by changing **n** to **mt-**, as in **jān-** to *dance* (one person only) and **jāmt-** to *dance* (two or more people), or **jāān-** to *talk* (one person only) and **jāāmt-** to *talk* (two or more people).

A very small number of other verbs will use a completely different form in the plural than in the singular. These are called *suppletive verbs*. The most important is the very frequently occurring verb **cuy-** or **cuw-** *to go* (one person only), which has the plural stem **dut-** *to go* (more than one person). Other frequently occurring suppletive verbs are: **get-/dēmā-** *to hit, strike*, **nuup-/tuw-** *to die*, **qeh-/quy-** *to arrive, come*. Some of these, however, such as **get-** may also occur with the same stem in the singular and the plural. Thus you may say either **getnā** *they hit* or **dēminā** *they hit* — either is correct.

Many verbs with singular stems ending in **-wa** form their plural stem by altering the **-wa** to **-mā**, as in **dadiwa-/dadimā-** *to feel cold*, **qiniwa-/qinimā-** *to chase*, **nāhwi-/nāhmā-** *to send*. Many which have singular stems ending in **-ut** or **-upt** alter those endings to **-umā**, as in **hatut-/hatumā-** *to fan*, **kixut-/kixumā-** *to swim*, **hogut-/hogumā-** *to shake*, **hēndupt-/hēndumā-** *to lick*.

Other irregular suppletive verb stem plurals are: **tey-/ten-** *to sit*, **tus-/tusmā-** *to hide*, and **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*.

### 3.4. Verbal Suffixes

Suffixes, as the name implies, always come after a verb stem of one of the three classes described above. They are used to add specific meaning and function. A verb stem, with or without preverbs and/or auxiliaries, can not be used as a fully functioning verb until at least one suffix has been added to it. Suffixes always occur in the order given below, and as many as seven suffix slots may be filled in a given verb form.

STEM-EXTENDING SUFFIXES				MODIFYING SUFFIXES		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Causative	Number of Actions	Indirect Object	1st Person Object	Tense-Mode	Number	Person

The specific suffixes which may occur in each of the seven suffix positions are listed on the following pages. Within each slot or position individual suffix forms are mutually exclusive — you can not, that is, use more than one form from each slot in a single verb form, and, though each of the seven slots may be filled, usually a number of slots are unused in a given verb form. You should also note that suffix slots or positions fall into four *stem-extending suffix* categories and three *modifying suffix* categories. Each is discussed in turn below.

3.4.1. *Stem-Extending Suffixes*. The stem-extending suffixes and their uses are itemized below:

3.4.1.1. *The Causative Suffix (POSITION 1)*. Only one suffix, **-pa**, may occur in this position. Its presence indicates that the person performing the action of the verb is causing it to happen: **dēminuk** = *we struck (something or someone)*, while **dēmāpānuk** = *we caused him to strike* or *we caused him to be struck*, depending on the context, from **dēmā-** *to strike* (plural stem of **get-**) + **-pa** *to cause* + **-nuk** *1st person plural subject*.

3.4.1.2. *The Number of Actions Suffix (POSITION 2)*. This position may be filled by either of two suffixes: **-mā** *more than once*, or **-māmā** *many times*. If an action is performed more than one time, one uses **-mā** as in **guxtmānuk** *we ate several times* from **guxt-** *to eat* + **-mā** *more than one occurrence of an action* + **-nuk** *1st person plural subject*. If the action is performed a great many times, one uses **-māmā** as in **guxtmāmānuk** *we ate a lot* or *we ate repeatedly*. It is not always possible to say exactly how many times **-mā** refers to compared to **-māmā**. Suffix **-mā** always means at least twice, while **-māmā** means many times more than two, frequently so many times that they are not countable, thus *repeatedly* is often a good translation for **-māmā**.



3.4.1.3. *The Indirect Object Suffix (POSITION 3)*. There is only one suffix in this position, **-aq** to or for the sake of someone as in **tucaqik** *I cooked for someone* from **tuci-** to cook + **-aq** for + **-ik** 1st person singular subject.

3.4.1.4. *The 1st Person Direct Object Suffix (POSITION 4)*. Either of two suffixes may occur in this position: **-ki** me or **-kuy** us as direct object of the action of the verb. For example, **getki** *he beat me* from **get-** to strike + **-ki** me; **tucpakuyi** *he caused us to cook (it)* from **tuci-** to cook + **-pa** to cause + **-kuy** us + **-i** he. You will note that there is no special suffix to indicate a 2nd or 3rd person object — *you, him, her, it, you all, them*. If one of these persons is the recipient of the action of the verb, it is usually clear from the context or is indicated by use of a pronoun particle (discussed in Section 5.1).

3.4.2. *Stem-Modifying Suffixes*. Stem-modifying suffixes describe the kind of action expressed by the verb form. Three suffix positions — 5, 6 and 7, are filled by suffixes of this type:

3.4.2.1. *The Tense-Mode Suffixes (POSITION 5)*. The English verb *go* is used for the examples in the following definitions; Sitimaxa examples are given in the individual sections on specific tenses and modes.

Suffix	Function
-∅	<b>Aorist Tense</b> — The ∅ (zero) symbol indicates that there is no suffix present. The lack of a suffix indicates simple action, referred to as the aorist, in either the present or past. The context determines whether it is present or past. For example: <i>I go, I went, he goes, he went, etc.</i>
-(q)ix	<b>Continuative Tense</b> — Expresses ongoing or progressive action. The context determines whether it is present or past. For example: <i>I am going, I was going, he is going, he was going, etc.</i> Remember that this suffix will become <b>-aax</b> with verb stems ending in a vowel.

- <sup>i</sup> (p)uy	<b>Usitative Tense</b> — Expresses customary or usual action. The context determines whether it is present or past. For example: <i>I usually go, I always go, I usually went, I always went, he usually goes, he usually went, etc.</i>
-ga (sg.) -qa (pl.)	<b>Desiderative Tense</b> — Expresses desired or intended action. This tense is used only in the 1st person. The context determines whether it is present or past. For example: <i>I want/wish to go, I wanted/wished to go, we want/wish to go, we wanted/wished to go, etc.</i>
- <sup>i</sup> cu (sg.) - <sup>i</sup> di (pl.)	<b>Future Tense</b> — This suffix indicates future action or condition. For example: <i>I shall go, he will go, we shall go, they will go, etc.</i>
-(q)aa (qaxt)- <sup>i</sup> te	<b>Command Mode: Imperative</b> — This mode expresses a command. It is used only in the non-1st person, singular or plural. Suffix <b>-(q)aa</b> is used for a direct command, while <b>qaxt...-<sup>i</sup>te</b> is used for polite commands. For example: <i>Go!, Please go!</i>
-ku	<b>Command Mode: Permissive</b> — This tense is used only in the 1st person singular. For example: <i>Let me go!</i>
- <sup>i</sup> (y)u	<b>Command Mode: Hortatory</b> — This tense is used only in the 1st person plural. For example: <i>Let's go!</i>

Two tense-modes — *Necessitative* and *Conditional* — are indicated by what are called *discontinuous suffixes*. A discontinuous suffix is one in which the initial segment of the suffix (the segment before the ... symbol in the table below) occurs in slot position 5, but the last segment is placed at the very end of the full verb form after the number and person suffixes of slot positions 6 and 7.

- <sup>i</sup> cu...ngx (sg.) - <sup>i</sup> di...ngx (pl.)	<b>Necessitative Tense</b> — This suffix indicates need. For example: <i>I must/need to go, he must/needs to go, we must/need to go, they must/need to go, etc.</i>
- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix (sg.) - <sup>i</sup> di...ix (pl.)	<b>Conditional Tense</b> — This suffix indicates conditional, probable, or contrary to fact actions or conditions. For example: <i>I would go (if thus and such), I will go (if thus and such), I would have gone (if thus and such), we would go, they would go, we would have gone, they would have gone, etc.</i>

A number of other Slot 5 suffixes do not designate tenses or modes, which are called *finite verb* forms, but, rather, *non-finite verb* forms — verb forms which do not have tenses and which do not take the person and number suffixes of Slots 6 and 7. These are the *general participle*, *personal participle*, *prior* or *past participle*, *gerund*, and the *gerundive*. The *gerundive*, which is a *verbal noun*, is discussed in Section 4.1.6 in the chapter on nouns. The forms in question are:

-dk(x) -g(x) -k(x) -iig(x)	<b>General Participle</b> — Used when the <i>subjects</i> of all <i>verbs</i> in the sentence are the same. Translation: <i>going</i> . -dk(x) after stems ending in <b>n</b> -gk(x) after stems ending in <b>m, w, or y</b> -k(x) after stems ending in other consonants -iig(x) after stems ending in a vowel
-kite (1st sg.) - <sup>i</sup> te (non-1st sg., all pl.)	<b>Personal Participle</b> — Used if the <i>subject</i> of one <i>verb</i> is different from the <i>subject</i> of other <i>verbs</i> in the sentence. Translation: <i>going</i> .
- <sup>i</sup> tu(u)t	<b>Prior Participle</b> — A <i>Past Participle</i> . Translation: <i>gone</i> .
-ka (1st sg.) -a (1st pl.) -i or -pa (non-1st sg., pl.)	<b>Gerund</b> — Used as a <i>verbal noun</i> . Translations: <i>gone</i> or <i>going</i> , depending on the context.
-m(ix) -n(ix) -mānk	<b>Gerundive</b> — Used as a <i>verbal noun</i> . Translations: <i>gone</i> , <i>going</i> or <i>the one who is gone</i> , depending on the context. -m/ni(ix) used for singular forms -mānk used for plural forms

3.4.2.2. *Number Suffixes* (POSITION 6). There are only two *number-indicating suffixes*, -i for the singular, and -<sup>i</sup>n for the plural, as in **heecpa-** to help, **heecpi** he helps, **heecpinā** they help.

3.4.2.3. *Person Suffixes and Gender* (POSITION 7). Unlike many languages, which make a three-person distinction in *verb subjects* — 1st (*I, we*), 2nd (*you, you all*), and 3rd (*he, she, it, they*), Sitimaxa distinguishes

only two persons, 1st (*I, we*) and non-1st (*you, you all, he, she, it, they*). The 1st person is indicated by the suffix -k, and the non-1st person is indicated by an unwritten- $\emptyset$  (a zero suffix) in the singular and an -a suffix in the plural, as in **heecpa-** to help, **heecpi** I help, **heecpinuk**, we help, **heecpi( $\emptyset$ )** he helps, **heecpinā**, they help.

Notice that, unlike English, there is also no distinction in *gender* in the 3rd person singular (*he, she, it*). There is some indeterminate indication, however, that gender may have been indicated in an earlier stage of the language. Chief Paul suggested to John R. Swanton in 1907-08 that some verbs still showed a third person distinction between *he* and *she*, and gave the examples **nātsmik** *he* swept from **nāts-** to sweep + -**mā** thoroughly or more than once + -**i** singular number + - $\emptyset$  non-1st person + -**k** masculine and **nātsmix** *she* swept, where the suffix -x indicates *feminine*. A total of five verbs are indicated as using these constructions — **nātsmā-** to sweep thoroughly, **hatumā-** to fan, **hēndupt-** to lick, **nikimī-** to think, and **hogumā-** to shake repeatedly. He also indicated that the 2nd person singular sometimes distinguished gender, as in **kap nuhcwahi** from **kap nuhcwa-** to get up + -**hi** you (masculine) contrasted with **kap nuhcwaxi** with a final suffix -**xi** you (feminine). The same construction was indicated with **nādi-** to lie down, **kixu(t)-** to swim, **guxt-** to eat, and **nikimā-** to think.

Such usage would be quite unusual for Sitimaxa, however, inasmuch as it would create a clear conflict between the suggested non-1st person masculine -k forms and the 1st person singular -k forms, which would be identical. In his data from Morris Swadesh's research in the 1930s, Chief Paul does not use such constructions, even with the verbs cited above. The probable solution relates not to gender but, rather, to emphasis, for in Chief Paul's 1930s data both the suffixes -k and -x are very widely used to add

emphasis to any form, whether verb, noun, or particle, and it is not unlikely that the function of these suffixes was simply not understood by Swanton. A further indication that gender was not shown grammatically is the fact that the independent 3rd person pronoun **hus** means *he, she, or it*, without distinction of gender (see Section 5.1). It would be highly unusual for a language to show gender in some verb forms but not in the pronouns associated with such forms. The existence of gender suffixes in Sitimaya verbs must, then, be considered both highly unlikely and problematical until more data turns up.

3.4.3. *Combinations of Suffix Positions 6 & 7.* There is a distinction between long and short form verbal suffix combinations. Long forms, as indicated in Section 2.1.6, are used in slow, deliberate, or formal speech. Short forms are used in normal everyday speech. The long forms are made by repeating the vowel of the final syllable of the short forms, with addition of a *connector* **q** between vowels if necessary and the substitution of an **a** for the **u** vowel of the 1st person plural, as in **heecpa-** *to help*, **heecpiki** *I help*, **heecpiqi** *he helps*, **heecpināka** *we help*, **heecpināqā** *they help*.

There is also a third set of verbal suffix combinations, the *n-forms*, which may be used in any context but which are more typically used in progressive tenses, discussed later in this chapter. The *n-forms* are made by adding **-n** to the 1st and non-1st person singular long, **-un** to the 1st plural long form, and either **-k** or **-kx** to the non-1st plural long form, as in **heecpa-** *to help*, **heecpikin** *I help*, **heecpin** *he helps*, **heecpinākun** *we help*, **heecpinākx** *they help*.

The *number* and *person suffixes* of suffix POSITIONS 6 and 7 thus come together in the following combinations:

Function	Suffix Combination	When Used
1st sg. ( <i>I</i> )	<b>-ik</b>	Short form (singular <b>-i</b> + 1st person <b>-k</b> )
	<b>-iki</b>	Long form. (short form from <b>-ik</b> + <b>-i</b> )
	<b>-ikin</b>	N-form (long form + <b>-n</b> )
Non-1st sg. ( <i>you, he, she, it</i> )	<b>-i</b>	Short form (singular <b>-i</b> + non-1st person singular <b>-ø</b> )
	<b>-iqi</b>	Long form (short form <b>-i</b> + <b>q</b> + <b>-i</b> )
	<b>-iqin</b>	N-form (long form + <b>-n</b> )
1st pl. ( <i>we</i> )	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nuk</b>	Short form (plural <b>-<sup>i</sup>n</b> + <b>u</b> + 1st person <b>-k</b> )
	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nāka</b>	Long form (short form <b>-<sup>i</sup>nuk</b> > <b>-<sup>i</sup>nāk</b> + <b>-a</b> )
	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nākun</b>	N-form (long form + <b>-un</b> )
Non-1st pl. ( <i>you all, they</i> )	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nā</b>	Short form (plural <b>-<sup>i</sup>n</b> + non-1st person plural <b>-a</b> )
	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nāqā</b>	Long form (short form <b>-<sup>i</sup>nā</b> + <b>q</b> + <b>-ā</b> )
	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nāk(x)</b>	N-form (short form + <b>-k/-kx</b> )

### 3.5. Suffix Patterns in Finite Verb Conjugations

Sitimaya verbs are highly regular; the only slightly irregular verb is *to go*. The following examples will provide you with the patterns used to derive verb forms. You should note that the sound changes discussed in Section 2.2.2 will affect the final form of many verbs. These changes, however, are also quite regular.

3.5.1. *The Aorist Tense.* Sitimaya verb forms which refer to indefinite or non-specific action or state in present or past time, dependent on sentence context, will take suffixes which indicate the *aorist tense*.

Aorist suffixes, given below, are very simple and largely regular.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	<b>-ik</b> or <b>-iki</b>	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nuk</b> or <b>-<sup>i</sup>nāka</b>
Non-1st	<b>-i</b> or <b>iqi</b>	<b>-<sup>i</sup>nā</b> or <b>-<sup>i</sup>nāqā</b>

Short forms are given first, long forms after the word “or”. The sound change rules which apply to the aorist are:

**Rule 2A:** Stems ending in **q** drop the **q** before suffixes beginning in a consonant and lengthen the last vowel of the stem. E.g.; **xaq-** + **-nāka** = **xāānāka** *we sleep, we slept*.

**Rule 2B:** Stems ending in **a**, **e**, or **i** drop that vowel before suffixes beginning in a vowel. E.g.; **xexka-** + **-ik** = **xexkik** *I am pleased, I was pleased*.

**Rule 2E:** Suffixes indicated with a preceding <sup>-1</sup> cause stems which end in a vowel to alter that stem-final vowel to **i**. E.g.; **qap kimā-** + <sup>-1</sup>**nā** = **qap kiminā** *you all/they remember, you all/they remembered*. This change is referred to as an *i*-causing alteration.

**Rule 2F:** Stems ending in a consonant cluster the last member of which is a **t** drop the **t** before suffixes beginning in **n**. E.g.; **giht-** + **-nuk** = **gihnuk** *we want, we wanted*.

The following are examples of *aorist* forms using the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** *to strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*; and **xexka-** *to enjoy something* — sounds added in the long forms are indicated in parentheses.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	-ik(i)	getik(i)	<i>I strike/struck</i>
Non-1st sg	-i(qi)	geti(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it strike(s)/struck</i>
1st pl	<sup>-1</sup> nuk/ <sup>-1</sup> nāka	dēminuk/nāka	<i>we strike/struck</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>-1</sup> nā(qā)	dēminā(qā)	<i>you/they strike/struck</i>
1st sg	-ik(i)	qāmik(i)	<i>I see/saw</i>
Non-1st sg	-i(qi)	qāmi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it see(s)/saw</i>
1st pl	<sup>-1</sup> nuk/ <sup>-1</sup> nāka	qāmkinuk/nāka	<i>we see/saw</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>-1</sup> nā(qā)	qāmkinā(qā)	<i>you all/they see/saw</i>

1st sg	-ik(i)	xexkik(i)	<i>I enjoy/enjoyed it</i>
Non-1st sg	-i(qi)	xexki(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it enjoy/enjoyed it</i>
1st pl	<sup>-1</sup> nuk/ <sup>-1</sup> nāka	xexkinuk/nāka	<i>we enjoy/enjoyed it</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>-1</sup> nā(qā)	xexkinā(qā)	<i>you all/they enjoy/enjoyed it</i>

3.5.2. *The Continuative Tense.* Sitimaxa verb forms which refer to continuing or ongoing action or state in present or past time, dependent on their context in the sentence, will take suffixes which indicate the *continuative tense*. This tense form is similar to what are called the *progressive tenses* in English — *I am going, I was going, he is going, he was going, we are going, we were going*, and so on. The emphasis is on the ongoing aspect of the verbal action or condition.

To form this tense one adds the suffix **-(q)ix** — which probably comes from the stem of the verb **qixi-** *to look for*, minus its final **i** vowel — to the stem of the verb one wishes to use. Thus the continuative stem of the verb **qām-** *to see* in the singular is **qāmqix-** *to continue to see, to be seeing* (but **qāmkaax-** in the plural).

When this suffix is added to the verb stem, one must remember to apply suffix alteration *Rule 2D*: Stems ending in **a**, **e**, or **i** drop the **q** of suffix **-(q)ix** and contract the stem vowel and the **i** of suffix **-(q)ix** to **aa**, as in the above example of **qāmkaax-**.

Thus **qāmka-** *to see* (plural stem) + **-(q)ix** = **qāmkaax-** *to continue to see, to be seeing*; **quci-** *to do, make* + **-(q)ix** = **qucaax-** *to continue to do or make, to be doing or making*; **xexka-** *to be pleased* + **-(q)ix** = **xexkaax-** *to continue to be pleased*; **paakinē-** *to be tired* + **-(q)ix** = **paakināāx-** *to continue to be tired*.



The ordinary person and number endings, as used in the aorist, are then added to the continuative stem to produce the desired verb form, as in **qāmqixik** *I am seeing* or *I was seeing*, **qucaaxnuk** *we are doing* or *we were doing*, **xexkaaxi** *you/he/she/it is pleased* or *was pleased*, **paakināāxnā** *you all/they are tired* or *were tired*.

For verb stems ending in a consonant, **-qix** is compounded with the usual person and number suffixes:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	<b>-qixik</b> or <b>-qixiki</b>	<b>-qixnuk</b> or <b>-qixnāka</b>
Non-1st	<b>-qixi</b> or <b>-qixiqi</b>	<b>-qixnā</b> or <b>-qixnāqā</b>

For verb stems ending in a vowel, **-qix** will become **-aax**, compounded with the usual person and number suffixes:

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	<b>-aaxik</b> or <b>-aaxiki</b>	<b>-aaxnuk</b> or <b>-aaxnāka</b>
Non-1st	<b>-aaxi</b> or <b>-aaxiqi</b>	<b>-aaxnā</b> or <b>-aaxnāqā</b>

It is also necessary to use suffix alteration *Rule 2H* in the continuative tense of some verbs: Stems ending in **c**, **k**, **p**, or **t** followed by continuative suffix **-(q)ix** contract the **-cq-**, **-kq-**, **-pq-**, and **-tq-** combinations to **j**, **g**, **b**, and **d** respectively. Thus the stem **guxt-** *to eat* + **-(q)ix** = **guxdix-** *to continue to eat, to be eating*, as in **guxdixik** *I am eating* or *I was eating*.

The following are examples of *continuative tense* forms using the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** *to strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*; and **xexka-** *to enjoy something*.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<b>-(q)ixik(i)</b>	gedixik(i)	<i>I am/was striking</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-(q)ixi(qi)</b>	gedixi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it is/are, was/were striking</i>
1st pl	<b>-(q)ixnuk/nāka</b>	dēmaaxnuk/nāka	<i>we are/were striking</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-(q)ixnā(qā)</b>	dēmaaxnā(qā)	<i>you/they are/were striking</i>
1st sg	<b>-(q)ixik(i)</b>	qāmqixik(i)	<i>I am/was seeing</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-(q)ixi(qi)</b>	qāmqixi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it are/is/was/were seeing</i>
1st pl	<b>-(q)ixnuk/nāka</b>	qāmkaaxnuk/nāka	<i>we are/were seeing</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-(q)ixnā(qā)</b>	qāmkaaxnā(qā)	<i>you all/they are/were seeing</i>
1st sg	<b>-(q)ixik(i)</b>	xexkaaxik(i)	<i>I am/was enjoying it</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-(q)ixi(qi)</b>	xexkaaxi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it are/is/was/were enjoying it</i>
1st pl	<b>-(q)ixnuk/nāka</b>	xexkaaxnuk/nāka	<i>we are/were enjoying it</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-(q)ixnā(qā)</b>	xexkaaxnā(qā)	<i>you all/they are/were enjoying it</i>

3.5.3. *The Future Tense.* Sitimaxa verb forms which refer to action or state in future time use suffixes reminiscent of the verb **cuy-** (singular stem)/**dut-** (plural stem), which means *to go*. The same device is often used in English and other languages to express future time, as in *I am going to town tomorrow* instead of *I will go to town tomorrow*. In Sitimaxa future suffixes are formed from the abbreviated stems **-cu-** (singular) and **-di-** (plural) compounded with the usual person and number endings.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	<b>-cuk</b> or <b>-cuki</b>	<b>-dinuk</b> or <b>-dināka</b>
Non-1st	<b>-cuy</b> or <b>-cuyi</b> or <b>-cuyiqi</b>	<b>-dinā</b> or <b>-dināqā</b>

The future suffixes are subject to suffix alteration *Rules 2E* and *2F*:  
*Rule 2E* — Suffixes indicated with a preceding <sup>-i</sup> cause stems which end in a vowel to alter that stem-final vowel to *i*. E.g.; **qap kimā-** + <sup>-i</sup>**dinā** = **qap kimidinā** *you all/they will remember*. This change is referred to as an *i*-causing alteration. *Rule 2F* — Stems ending in *t* drop the *t* before suffixes beginning in *c* or *d*. E.g.; **giht-** + <sup>-i</sup>**cuk** = **gihcuk** *I shall want*.

The altered vowel before the plural abbreviated stem <sup>-i</sup>**di-** may optionally be lengthened from *o* to *ii*, as in the following forms from the verb **nucmā-** *to work* — **nucmidināqā** *they will work*, which may also be **nucmiidināqā**. At times the abbreviated stem <sup>-i</sup>**di-** is also reduced to <sup>-i</sup>**d-** or, in many instances, lost entirely, as in **nucmiidnāqā**, **nucmiināqā** *they will work*. Such optional forms can be used at the discretion of the speaker. The full, regular forms will, however, are always used in more deliberate utterances and formal speeches.

The complete set of future forms for **nucmā-** *to work* is given below:

1st sg	<b>nucmicuk</b> or <b>nucmicuki</b>	<i>I shall work</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>nucmicuy</b> or <b>nucmicuyi</b> or <b>nucmicuyiqi</b>	<i>you/he/she/it will work</i>
1st pl	<b>nucmidinuk</b> or <b>nucmidināka</b> Or the shortened forms: <b>nucmiidinuk</b> , <b>nucmiidnuk</b> , <b>nucmiidināka</b> , <b>nucmiidnāka</b> , <b>nucmiinuk</b> , <b>nucmiināka</b>	<i>we shall work</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>nucmidinā</b> or <b>nucmidināqā</b> Or the shortened forms: <b>nucmiidinā</b> , <b>nucmiidnā</b> , <b>nucmiidināqā</b> , <b>nucmiidnāqā</b> , <b>nucmiinā</b> , <b>nucmiināqā</b>	<i>you all/they will work</i>

Other examples from the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** *to strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*; and **xexka-** *to enjoy something* are given below.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<sup>-i</sup> <b>cuk(i)</b>	gecuk(i)	<i>I will strike</i>
Non-1st sg	<sup>-i</sup> <b>cuyi(qi)</b>	gecuyi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it will strike</i>
1st pl	<sup>-i</sup> <b>dinuk/nāka</b>	dēmimidinuk/nāka	<i>we will strike</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>-i</sup> <b>dinā(qā)</b>	dēmimidinā(qā)	<i>you/they will strike</i>
1st sg	<sup>-i</sup> <b>cuk(i)</b>	qām <sup>-i</sup> cuki(i)	<i>I will see</i>
Non-1st sg	<sup>-i</sup> <b>cuyi(qi)</b>	qām <sup>-i</sup> cuyi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it will see</i>
1st pl	<sup>-i</sup> <b>dinuk/nāka</b>	qām <sup>-i</sup> kidinuk/nāka	<i>we will see</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>-i</sup> <b>dinā(qā)</b>	qām <sup>-i</sup> kinā(qā)	<i>you all/they will see</i>
1st sg	<sup>-i</sup> <b>cuk(i)</b>	xexkicuk(i)	<i>I will enjoy it</i>
Non-1st sg	<sup>-i</sup> <b>cuyi(qi)</b>	xexkicuyi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it will enjoy it</i>
1st pl	<sup>-i</sup> <b>dinuk/nāka</b>	xexkidinuk/nāka	<i>we will enjoy it</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>-i</sup> <b>dinā(qā)</b>	xexkinā(qā)	<i>you all/they will enjoy it</i>

3.5.4. *The Usitative Tense*. The *usitative tense* expresses the concept of repetitive, habitual, or customary action in present or past time, as in *he usually works* or *they often spoke*. It is a regular tense form which may be used with all Sitimaya verbs. There are two alternate sets of tense suffix combinations for the *usitative*. Both sets are given in the following tables, using the verbs **jāān-/jāāmt-** *to speak* and **nucmā-** *to work* as examples.

Set 1: This is the most frequently used set of *usitative tense* suffixes:

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<b>-puyki(n)</b>	jāānpuyki(n) nucmāpuyki(n)	<i>I usually speak/spoke</i> <i>I usually work/worked</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-puyi(qi)</b>	jāānpuyi(qi) nucmāpuyi(qi)	<i>you/he/she/it usually speak/spoke</i> <i>you/he/she/it usually work/worked</i>
1st pl	<b>-puynākun</b>	jāāmtuynākun nucmāpuynākun	<i>we usually speak/spoke</i> <i>we usually work/worked</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-puynā(qā)</b>	jāāmtuynā(qā) nucmāpuynā(qā)	<i>you all/they usually speak/spoke</i> <i>you all/they usually work/worked</i>

Note that *n*-forms are regularly used in this tense in the 1st person plural and are optionally used in the 1st person singular. The non-1st person endings also have alternate, less frequently occurring forms: Non-1st singular forms are **-puymix** or **-puyin**; non-1st plural forms are **-puymānk** or **-puynākun** (identical to the 1st plural suffix), as in **heecpapuymix** or **heecpapuyin** *he usually helps* and **heecpapuymānk** or **heecpapuynākun** *they usually help*.

Set 2: This set of suffixes is used less frequently:

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<b>-<sup>l</sup>teetik</b>	jāānteetik nucmiteetik	<i>I usually speak/spoke</i> <i>I usually work/worked</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-<sup>l</sup>teeti</b>	jāānteeti nucmiteeti	<i>you/he/she/it usually speak/spoke</i> <i>you/he/she/it usually work/worked</i>
1st pl	<b>-<sup>l</sup>tēēnākun</b>	jāāntēēnākun nucmitēēnākun	<i>we usually speak/spoke</i> <i>we usually work/worked</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-<sup>l</sup>tēēnāk</b>	jtēēnāk nucmitēēnāk	<i>you all/they usually speak/spoke</i> <i>you all/they usually work/worked</i>

The non-1st person singular of Set 2 also has the less frequently occurring alternate form **-<sup>l</sup>tēn**, as in **heecipitēn** *he usually helps*.

The suffixes of the usitative tense conform to the suffix alteration sound change rules discussed in Section 2.2.2 as well as special case alteration *Rule 4A* — the initial **p** of the **-puy** suffix is lost when added to a verb stem ending in **t** and is usually lost when added to a verb stem ending in **q**, as in **heectuynā** *they usually meet* (**heect-** *meet* + **-puynā** *non-1st plural*); **saquynā** *it usually rains* (**saq-** *(to) rain* + **-puynā** *non-1st singular*).

The following table provides other examples of the usitative tense using the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** *to strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*; and **xexka-** *to enjoy something*.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<b>-(p)uyki</b>	getuyki	<i>I usually strike</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-(p)uyi</b>	getuyi	<i>you/he/she/it usually strike(s)</i>
1st pl	<b>-(p)uynākun</b>	dēmipuynākun	<i>we usually strike</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-(p)uynā</b>	dēmipuynā	<i>you/they usually strike</i>
1st sg	<b>-(p)uyki</b>	qāmpuyki	<i>I usually see</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-(p)uyi</b>	qāmpuyi	<i>you/he/she/it usually see(s)</i>
1st pl	<b>-(p)uynākun</b>	qāmpuynākun	<i>we usually see</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-(p)uynā</b>	qāmpuynā	<i>you all/they usually see</i>
1st sg	<b>-(p)uyki</b>	xexkapuyki	<i>I usually enjoy it</i>
Non-1st sg	<b>-(p)uyi</b>	xexkapuyi	<i>you/he/she/it usually enjoy(s) it</i>
1st pl	<b>-(p)uynākun</b>	xexkapuynākun	<i>we usually enjoy it</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>-(p)uynā</b>	xexkapuynā	<i>you all/they usually enjoy it</i>

3.5.5. *The Desiderative Tense/Mode.* The desiderative tense/mode expresses a desire to perform the action of the verb, as in *I want to work*, *I want to speak* or *I would like to work*, *I would like to speak*. It is used only in the 1st person. Non-1st person forms are expressed by using the independent verb **giht-** *to want, wish* with the gerund of the desired verb in the non-1st person, as shown in the table below. Even in the 1st person plural, which has its own desiderative tense form, use of **giht-** is preferred. Full conjugation in this tense/mode is given below, using **jāān-/jāāmt-** *to speak* and **nucmā-** *to work* as examples:

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<b>-ga(h)</b>	jāānga(h) nucmāga(h)	<i>I want/wanted to speak</i> <i>I want/wanted to work</i>
Non-1st sg		jāāmpi gihti nucmpi gihti	<i>you/he/she/it want(s)/wanted to speak</i> <i>you/he/she/it want(s)/wanted to work</i>

1st pl	-qa	jäämtqa/jäämpi gihtnuk	<i>we want/wanted to speak</i>
		nucmāqa/nucmpi gihtnuk	<i>we want/wanted to work</i>
Non-1st pl		jäämpi gihtna	<i>you all/they want/wanted to speak</i>
		nucmpi gihtna	<i>you all/they want/wanted to work</i>

It should be noted that there is a similarity in sound between the desiderative suffix **-ga(h)** and the verb base **giht-** *want, wish*. Though we do not have enough information on the history of Sitimāxa to say so with certainty, it is possible that the suffix **-ga(h)** comes from the stem of that verb.

Below are additional examples of the desiderative using verb bases **get-/dēmā-** *to strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*; **xexka-** *to enjoy something*.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	-ga	getga	<i>I want/wanted to strike</i>
Non-1st sg	No forms — the verb <b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> is used instead		
1st pl	-qa	dēmiqa	<i>we want/wanted to strike</i>
Non-1st pl	No forms — the verb <b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> is used instead		
1st sg	-ga	qāmga	<i>I want/wanted to see</i>
Non-1st sg	No forms — the verb <b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> is used instead		
1st pl	-qa	qāmkaqa	<i>we want/wanted to see</i>
Non-1st pl	No forms — the verb <b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> is used instead		
1st sg	-ga	xexkaga	<i>I want/wanted to enjoy it</i>
Non-1st sg	No forms — the verb <b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> is used instead		
1st pl	-qa	xexkaqa	<i>we want/wanted to enjoy it</i>
Non-1st pl	No forms — the verb <b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> is used instead		

3.5.6. *The Command Mode*. The *command mode* has four form categories — the *imperative*, the *polite imperative* (with two sub-varieties), the *permissive*, and the *hortatory*. The *imperative* forms are perfectly

acceptable and polite, but if one wishes to be particularly polite, one uses the special *polite imperative* forms. The *permissive* forms are used only in the 1st person singular, and the *hortatory* forms are used only in the 1st person plural. In the chart below the verbs **jään-/jäämt-** *to speak*, **heecpa-** *to help*, and **nādi-** *to lie down* have been used as examples.

Person	Category	Ending	Examples	Meaning
1st sg.	Permissive	-ku	jäänku heecpaku nadiku	<i>Let me speak!</i> <i>Let me help!</i> <i>Let me lie down!</i>
2nd sg. & pl.	Imperative	-(q)aa	jäänqaa/jäämdaa heecpaa nadaa	<i>Speak!</i> <i>Help!</i> <i>Lie down!</i>
	Pol. Imper. 1	- <sup>l</sup> te	jäänte heecpite nadite	<i>Please speak!</i> <i>Please help!</i> <i>Please lie down!</i>
	Pol. Imper. 2	(qaxt)... <sup>l</sup> te	qaxt jäänte/jäämtite qaxt heecpite qaxt nadite	<i>Please speak!</i> <i>Please help!</i> <i>Please lie down!</i>
1st pl.	Hortatory	- <sup>l</sup> yu	jäämtiyu heecpiyu nadiyu	<i>Let us speak!</i> <i>Let us help!</i> <i>Let's lie down!</i>

You should note a number of points with regard to the conjugation of command mode forms:

- (1) Note that the *polite imperative* forms of both varieties may be discontinuous — they may, that is, have words between the first element, **qaxt**, and the verb form itself, as in **qaxt nī juwi qucite!** *Please hurry! (Please make haste!)* from **nī juwi-** *to hasten, hurry*; **quci-** *to do, make*.
- (2) It should also be noted that the *imperative* forms refer specifically to the 2nd person, *you* and *you all*, not to the usual *non-1st* person of



Sitimaxa, which includes both 2nd and 3rd persons (*you, he, she, it, you all, and they*). There is no Sitimaxa command form to translate English *Let him do it*. One must say either *Allow him to do it, Permit him to do it, or Have him do it*, with the verb **nokt-**, with the irregular imperative form **nok**, as in **hus nok quci** (*hus him + nok- permit + quci- to do*).

- (3) Note, too, that no distinction is made in form between command forms for 2nd singular (*you*) and 2nd plural (*you all*) — **qucaa** could be translated either as *You do it!* (singular) or *You all do it!* (plural). The context will indicate to the hearer which is meant.
- (4) It should be remembered that command forms, particularly the *imperative*, will frequently be accompanied by the preverb **nī**, which in this context does not have its usual meaning of *down*. In fact no real meaning can be assigned to its use with command forms. Examples are: **Tep nī qucaa!** *Make a fire!*, **Yaqa nī qucite!** *Please hurry!* (= *Please make haste!*)
- (5) The emphasizing postposition **-x** is quite often added to a command form when it is in phrase-final position. Examples are: **Nī qām qāāx!** *Look!*, **Qaxt nī xaactex!** *Please bite it!* (= *Please eat it!*).
- (6) *Permissive* forms (1st person singular), which mean *let me*, are rarely used in actual practice. Instead, as with requests for 3rd person action (*let him, let her, let them, etc.*), they are much more frequently expressed through use of the *imperative* of the verb **nokt-** *permit, allow*, which has the irregular imperative form **nok** and a following 1st person singular verb in the future tense. For example: **Nokki cuucuk!** *Let me go!*, *Permit me to go!* from **nok** + **-ki me** and **cuucuk** *I will go*. The *permissive* is largely reserved for formula-like phrases used with great frequency, such as **Kas qiicwaku!** *Please excuse me!* (literally

*Let me turn away!*), regularly used to request permission to leave the table after a meal or to leave a meeting or other formal event.

- (7) The particle **hux**, which has no meaning itself, is occasionally used with *imperative* forms which also use **nī**. **Hux** will be placed immediately before the preverb **nī**, as in **Hux nī hokdaaki!** *Leave some for me!* (**hokt-** *leave* + **-qaa** *imperative* + **-ki** *for me*).
- (8) Lastly, you will have noted that many of the forms given above as examples show sound changes. The suffix alteration sound change rules apply when command suffixes are added to verb roots and stems.

Below are additional examples using the verb stems **get-/dēmā-** *to strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** *to see*; and **xexka-** *to enjoy something*. There are no special long forms.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<b>-ku</b>	getku	<i>Let me strike!</i>
Non-1st sg/pl	<b>-(q)aa</b>	gedaa/dēmāā	<i>Strike!</i>
Non-1st polite	<b>-<sup>l</sup>te</b>	getite/dēmite	<i>Please strike!</i>
1st pl	<b>-(<sup>l</sup>y)u</b>	dēmiyu	<i>Let's strike!</i>
1st sg	<b>-ku</b>	qāmku	<i>Let me see!</i>
Non-1st sg/pl	<b>-(q)aa</b>	qāmqaa/qāmkaa	<i>See!, Look!</i>
Non-1st polite	<b>-<sup>l</sup>te</b>	qānte/qāmkite	<i>Please look!</i>
1st pl	<b>-(<sup>l</sup>y)u</b>	qāmkiyu	<i>Let's see!</i>
1st sg	<b>-ku</b>	xexkaku	<i>Let me enjoy it!</i>
Non-1st sg/pl	<b>-(q)aa</b>	xexkaa	<i>Enjoy it!</i>
Non-1st polite	<b>-<sup>l</sup>te</b>	xexkite	<i>Please enjoy it!</i>
1st pl	<b>-(<sup>l</sup>y)u</b>	xexkiyu	<i>Let's enjoy it!</i>

3.5.7. *The Necessitative Tense/Mode*. Necessitative forms indicate that the speaker “must” or “needs to” perform a certain action. Because it also

implies that the action has yet to take place, it is built on the future tense stem, with the appropriate person-number endings, by addition of the suffix **-ng, -ngx, or -ngix**, as shown in the following conjugation of the consonant-ending verb **jāān-/jāāmt-** to *speak*:

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cuki + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	jāāncuking jāāncukingx jāāncukingix	<i>I must/need to speak</i>
Non-1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cuyi + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	jāāncuying jāāncuyingx jāāncuyingix	<i>you must/need to speak</i> <i>he/she/it must/needs to speak</i>
1st pl	<sup>1</sup> dinākā + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	jāāmtidinākāng jāāmtidinākāngx jāāmtidinākāngxix	<i>we must/need to speak</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>1</sup> dinā(qā) + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	jāāmtidināng jāāmtidināngx jāāmtidināngxix	<i>you/they must/need to speak</i>

The following is an example of the necessitative of a verb whose stem ends in a vowel, **nucmā-** to *work*:

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cuki + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	nucmicuking nucmicukingx nucmicukingix	<i>I must/need to work</i>
Non-1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cuyi + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	nucmicuying nucmicuyingx nucmicuyingix	<i>you must/need to work</i> <i>he/she/it must/needs to work</i>
1st pl	<sup>1</sup> dinākā + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	nucmidinākāng nucmidinākāngx nucmicudinākāngxix	<i>we must/need to work</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>1</sup> dinā(qā) + <b>-ng, -ngx, -ngix</b>	nucmidināng nucmicudināngx nucmicudināngxix	<i>you/they must/need to work</i>

One's choice of suffixes — **-ng, -ngx, or -ngix** — is a matter of personal choice, though **-ngx** occurs with greater frequency than the other variants.

As in the future tense, the altered vowel before the plural abbreviated stem <sup>1</sup>di- may optionally be lengthened from *i* to *ii*, as in the following forms from the verb **nucmā-** to *work* — **nucmidināngx** *they must work*, which may also be **nucmiidināngx**. At times the abbreviated stem <sup>1</sup>di- is also reduced to <sup>1</sup>d- or, in many instances, lost entirely, as in **nucmiidnāngx** or **nucmiināngx** *they must work*. Such optional forms can be used at the discretion of the speaker. The full, regular forms will, however, always be used in more deliberate utterances and formal speeches. The complete set of possible necessitative plural forms for **nucmā-** to *work*, using the **-ngx** form of the suffix, for example, is:

1st pl.	<b>nucmidinākāngx</b> Or the shortened forms: <b>nucmiidinākāngx,</b> <b>nucmiidnākāngx, nucmiinākāngx</b>	<i>we must/need to work</i>
Non-1st pl.	<b>nucmidināngx</b> Or the shortened forms: <b>nucmiidināngx, nucmiidnāngx,</b> <b>nucmiināngx</b>	<i>you all/they must/need to work</i>

Below are additional examples using the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** to *strike*; **qām-/qāmka-** to *see*; and **xexka-** to *enjoy something*.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cu...ngx	gecukingx	<i>I must/need to strike</i>
Non-1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cu...ngx	gecuyingx	<i>you/he/she/it must/need(s) to strike</i>
1st pl	<sup>1</sup> di...ngx	dēmidinākāngx	<i>we must/need to strike</i>
Non-1st pl	<sup>1</sup> di...ngx	dēmidināngx	<i>you/they must/need to strike</i>
1st sg	<sup>1</sup> cu...ngx	qāmcukingx	<i>I must/need to see</i>

Non-1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ngx	qām <sup>i</sup> cuyingx	<i>you/he/she/it must/need(s) to see</i>
1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ngx	qām <sup>i</sup> kidinākāngx	<i>we must/need to see</i>
Non-1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ngx	qām <sup>i</sup> kidināngx	<i>you all/they must/need to see</i>
1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ngx	xexkicukingx	<i>I must/need to enjoy it</i>
Non-1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ngx	xexkicuyingx	<i>you/he/she/it must/need(s) to enjoy it</i>
1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ngx	xexkidinākāngx	<i>we must/need to enjoy it</i>
Non-1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ngx	xexkidināngx	<i>you all/they must/need to enjoy it</i>

3.5.8. *The Conditional Tense/Mode.* Just as the necessitative expresses an action that has not yet happened and is therefore built on the future forms of the verb, so the *conditional* expresses a probable happening which has yet to take place and is therefore also constructed from future forms. The conditional forms are as follows, using *jāān-/jāāmt-* to speak and *nucmā-* to work as sample verbs.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cuki + -x > - <sup>i</sup> cukix	jāāncukix nucmicukix	<i>if I would speak</i> <i>if I would work</i>
Non-1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cuy + -x > - <sup>i</sup> cuux	jāāncuux nucmicuux	<i>if you/he/she/it would speak</i> <i>if you/he/she/it would work</i>
1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> dināka + -x > - <sup>i</sup> dinākax	jāāmtidinākax nucmidinākax	<i>if we would speak</i> <i>if we would work</i>
Non-1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> dināqā + -x > - <sup>i</sup> dināāx	jāāmtidināāx nucmidinaax	<i>if you all/they would speak</i> <i>if you all/they would work</i>

The altered vowel before the plural abbreviated stem -<sup>i</sup>di-, as in the future and necessitative, may optionally be lengthened from *i* to *ii*, as in the following forms from the verb *nucmā-* work — *nucmidināāx* if they work which may also be *nucmiidināāx*. At times the abbreviated stem -<sup>i</sup>di- is also reduced to -<sup>i</sup>d- or, in many instances, lost entirely, as in *nucmiidnāāx* *nucmiināāx* if they work. Such optional forms can be used at the discretion of

the speaker. The full, regular forms will, however, always be used in more deliberate utterances and formal speeches. The complete set of possible conditional plural forms for *nucmā-* to work is:

1st pl	<b>nucmidinākax</b> Or the shortened forms: <b>nucmiidinākax, nucmiidnākax, nucmiinākax</b>	<i>if we would work</i>
Non-1st pl	<b>nucmidināāx</b> Or the shortened forms: <b>nucmiidināāx, nucmiidnāāx, nucmiināāx</b>	<i>if you all/they would work</i>

The conditional is used to describe actions which might be possible but whose potential outcome is unknown or doubtful, actions which would be impossible, or actions known to be contrary to fact. It is very similar to what is called the *subjunctive mode* in many other languages. The majority of the actions expressed are what might be called “*If-Then*” actions — “If thus-and-such should happen, then .....”, in which the conditional clause will be the *If Clause*, and the resultant clause the *Then Clause*. The “*If*” or conditional clause will come last in the sentence; the “*Then*” clause will come first in the sentence. For example, **Qix him yāqā kaaksega, nokkicuux** *If you would permit it, I want to court your daughter.* The first clause, **qix him yāqā kaaksega** *I your daughter want-to-court* (**kaakse-** court, **woo** + **-ga** desiderative suffix) is the “*Then*” clause, and **nokkicuux** (**nokt-** > combining stem **nokki-** permit + **-cuux** conditional non-1st singular suffix). Both clauses are *independent clauses*, and both therefore contain conjugated or finite verb forms.

Below are additional examples of the conditional using the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** to strike; **qām-/qāmka-** to see; and **xexka-** to enjoy something.

Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix	gecukix	<i>if I would strike</i>
Non-1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix	gecuux	<i>if you/he/she/it would strike</i>
1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ix	dēmīdinākax	<i>if we would strike</i>
Non-1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ix	dēmīdināāx	<i>if you/they would strike</i>
1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix	qām <sup>i</sup> cukix	<i>if I would see</i>
Non-1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix	qām <sup>i</sup> cuux	<i>if you/he/she/it would see</i>
1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ix	qām <sup>i</sup> kidinākax	<i>if we would see</i>
Non-1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ix	qām <sup>i</sup> kidināāx	<i>if you all/they would see</i>
1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix	xexkicukix	<i>if I would enjoy</i>
Non-1st sg	- <sup>i</sup> cu...ix	xexkicuux	<i>if you/he/she/it would enjoy</i>
1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ix	xexkidinākax	<i>if we would enjoy</i>
Non-1st pl	- <sup>i</sup> di...ix	xexkidināāx	<i>if you all/they would enjoy</i>

### 3.6. Non-Finite Verbs Forms: Participles & Gerunds

A *finite verb* is one which has a tense form — *I give, he walks, they will come*, for example. A *non-finite verb* does not have tense forms. In Sitimaya there are three types of non-finite verb, *participles*, *gerunds*, and *gerundives*. There are three kinds of *participle* — the *general participle* and the *personal participle* (both are similar in function to English *-ing* forms), and the *prior participle* (similar to English *-ed* and *-en* forms). There is only a single type of *gerund* and a single type of *gerundive*. Participle and gerund forms, using the verb bases **get-/dēmā-** to strike; **qām-/qāmka-** to see; **jāān-/jāāmt-** to speak, talk; and **xexka-** to enjoy something are:

Form	Person	Ending	Example	Meaning
General Participle:		-k(x)	getk(x)	<i>striking</i>
		-g(x)	qāmg(x)	<i>seeing</i>
		-dk(x)	jāāndk(x)	<i>talking</i>
		-liig(x)	xexkiigx	<i>enjoying</i>

Personal Participle:	1st sg	-kite	getkite	<i>my striking</i>
			qām <sup>i</sup> kite	<i>my seeing</i>
			jāānkite	<i>my talking</i>
			xexkakite	<i>my enjoying</i>
	Non-1st	-te	getite/dēmite	<i>your/his/her/its/their striking</i>
			qāmte/qām <sup>i</sup> kite	<i>your/his/her/its/their seeing</i>
			jāānte/jāānte	<i>your/his/her/its/their talking</i>
			xexkite	<i>your/his/her/its/their enjoying</i>
Prior Participle:		- <sup>i</sup> tu(u)t	getuut	<i>struck, having struck</i>
			qāmtuut	<i>seen, having seen</i>
			jāāntuut	<i>spoken, having spoken</i>
			xexkituut	<i>enjoyed, having enjoyed</i>
Gerund:	1st sg	-ka	getka	<i>my strike</i>
			qāmka	<i>my seeing</i>
			jāānka	<i>my speaking</i>
			xexkika	<i>my enjoying</i>
	1st pl	-a	dēma	<i>our strike</i>
			qāmka	<i>our seeing</i>
			jāāmta	<i>our speaking</i>
			xexkika	<i>our enjoying</i>
	Non-1st	-i /-pa	dēmpa/dēmi	<i>your/his/her/its/their strike</i>
			qāmpa/qāmi	<i>your/his/her/its/their/seeing</i>
			jāāmpa/jāāmi	<i>your/his/her/its/their speaking</i>
			xexkapa/xexki	<i>your/his/her/its/their enjoying</i>

3.6.1. *The General Participle.* Participles are used in *dependent clauses*. A *dependent clause* is that part of a sentence which can not stand by itself as a full, meaningful utterance even though it contains a verb — for example, the words *seeing the man* in the sentence *Seeing the man, I left* is a dependent clause. In that sentence the *independent* or *main clause*, which can stand by itself as a meaningful sentence, is *I left*. The words *seeing the man*, however, can not stand by themselves with full meaning — one must know who or what saw the man, or when and why the man was seen, etc. in order to fully understand what those words mean.



When, as in this example, the subjects of both the dependent and independent clauses are the same, in Sitimaxa a *general participle* will be used in the dependent clause, and a finite verb form will be used in the independent clause. *Seeing the man, I left* or *When I saw the man, I left* would be: **Pānx qāmgx, hi cuyiki**, literally *Man seeing, I left*. **Pānx** man is the object of the verb **qāmgx** *seeing*. As in English, the dependent clause verb, “seeing”, is expressed by a participle, **qāmgx**, from the verb stem **qām-** *to see* + **-g(x)** *-ing*. The general participle may take a number of different forms depending on the final sound of the verb stem. General participles do not distinguish between 1st and non-1st persons nor between singular and plural.

The forms of the general participle are:

Suffix	When Used:	Example and Meaning:
<b>-iig(x)</b>	after vowels	<b>quci-</b> <i>to do</i> + <b>-iig(x)</b> = <b>quciig(x)</b> <i>doing</i>
<b>-dk(x)</b>	after <b>n</b>	<b>jāān-</b> (singular stem) <i>to talk</i> + <b>-dk(x)</b> = <b>jāāndk(x)</b> <i>talking</i>
<b>-g(x)</b>	after <b>m, w, y</b>	<b>qām-</b> <i>to see</i> (singular stem) + <b>-g(x)</b> = <b>qāmg(x)</b> <i>seeing</i> <b>dsow-</b> <i>to be withered</i> + <b>-g(x)</b> = <b>dsowg(x)</b> <i>withered</i> <b>cuy-</b> <i>to go</i> (singular stem) + <b>-g(x)</b> = <b>cuug(x)</b> <i>going</i>
<b>-k(x)</b>	after all other consonants	<b>giht-</b> <i>to want</i> + <b>-k(x)</b> = <b>gihtk(x)</b> <i>wanting</i>

Notice that suffix alteration *Rule 2B*, deleting a verb stem final vowel before a suffix beginning in a vowel, applies to general participle forms, as in the example **quciig(x)** above.

3.6.2. *The Personal Participle*. If the subject of the dependent and independent clauses of a sentence are different, a *personal participle* is used in the dependent clause rather than a general participle. This participle has the 1st singular ending **-kite** and a non-1st singular and plural ending **-<sup>1</sup>te**.

Thus **Hus huhcwite, kap nuhcwiki** *His entering, I got up* or *As he came in, I got up*, in which the dependent clause is **hus** *he/his* plus the *personal participle* **huhcwite** from **huhcwa-** *to enter, come in* plus the non-1st person suffix **-<sup>1</sup>te** *ing*. The independent clause of the sentence is **kap nuhcwiki** *I got up* (**nuhcwa-** *to get up, arise* + **-iki** *1st person singular long form*).

3.6.3. *The Prior Participle*. If the action referred to in the dependent clause takes place before the action of the verb in the independent clause, a *prior participle* (equivalent of the *-ed* or *-en* past participle of English) is used in the dependent clause. The prior participle has only one ending in Sitimaxa, **-<sup>1</sup>tu(u)t**, an *i*-causing suffix which causes any vowel coming immediately before it to become *i*. The **-<sup>1</sup>tuut-** form is generally preferred over the **-<sup>1</sup>tut** form, and the usage of one over the other is an individual option. Thus **Gasmā gastuut, his kectiqi** *The corn planted, he waited* or *The corn having been planted, he waited* or *Once the corn was planted, he waited* or *After the corn had been planted, he waited*. The dependent clause is **gasmā gastuut** (**gasmā** *corn*, **gast-** *to plant* + **-tuut** *-ed*). The prior participle construction, that is, serves somewhat the same function as the English multiple-word compound tense called *present perfect* or *past perfect* — as in *he has gone, he had gone*.

3.6.4. *The Gerund*. If the dependent clause contains a *postpositional particle* which defines the time or location of the verbal action, then a *gerund* is used rather than one of the three participles. Examples are: **Nucmākānki, paakiniki** *When I worked* or *During my work, I was tired*, or *In my work, I am tired*, or *I am tired of my work* — **nucmā-** *to work* + **-ka** *1st person singular gerund suffix* = “*my working*” + **-(n)ki** *when, during, at, in*. The forms of the gerund, using **nucmā-** *to work* and **get-** *to strike* as examples, are:

Person & Number	Suffix	Example and Meaning
1st sg.	-ka	<b>nucmã-</b> to work + <b>-ka</b> = <b>nucmãka</b> my work <b>get-</b> to strike + <b>-ka</b> = <b>getka</b> my strike
Non-1st sg/pl	-pa or -i	<b>nucmã-</b> to work + <b>-pa</b> or <b>-i</b> = <b>nucmpa</b> or <b>nucmi</b> your/his/her/its/their work <b>get-</b> to strike + <b>-i</b> = <b>geti</b> your/his/her/its/their strike
1st pl.	-a	<b>nucmã-</b> to work + <b>-a</b> = <b>nucmã</b> our work <b>dēmã-</b> to strike + <b>-a</b> = <b>dēmã</b> our strike

The choice between use of **-pa** or **-i** for the non-1st person singular and plural gerund is determined partly by automatic rule and partly by the speaker's choice. All verb stems ending in **t** will use only the **-i** suffix, while all other verb stems may use either, depending on the choice of the speaker.

The third non-finite verbal form, the *gerundive*, which is a verbal noun, is discussed in Section 4.1.6 in the chapter on nouns.

3.6.5. *The Gerund as an Infinitive*. The non-1st person gerund suffixes **-pa** and **-i** are also used to form the equivalent of an English *infinitive* (a "to + verb" form), as in **guxti gihtiqi** he wants to eat, **xaqi kãniwaaxiqi** he is trying to sleep, **qãmpa kap nãtspikmããxiqi** he is beginning to see. In each case the first word is the *gerund* and is the object of the verbs **giht-** to want, **kãniwi-** to try, and **kap nãtspikmã-** to begin respectively.

### 3.7. Predicative Particles

In addition to normal conjugated finite and non-finite verbs, Sitimaxa also makes use of a number of uninflected words as verbs. These are called *predicative particles*, and they may be listed, with their meanings, as follows. Predicative particles are very frequently used in all types and styles of speech, and they may be used in any position in a sentence.

1. **kaakun** to be able
2. **kaahãn** to be unable
3. **qixka** says
4. **qãmta** What is it?
5. **nidik** it seems
6. **kunugu** it is said
7. **gãn** it is not
8. **hugu** it is, there is, there are
9. **weydxin saadxin** that is all

### 3.8. Progressive Tenses

While most multiple-word compound verb forms in English, such as *I must do, I should do, I usually do*, are expressed as simple one-word tense forms in Sitimaxa — **qucaaxiki** I am doing, **qucituut** I have done, for example. Sitimaxa, however, also uses a compound *progressive tense*, the *aorist progressive tense*, to express the *I am doing, I was doing* concepts. It is formed exactly as in English — with the verb "to be" plus a *participle*. In English one uses the appropriate form of the *present* or *past tense* of the verb "to be" followed by a *present participle* — *I am eating, I was eating*. In Sitimaxa one uses the appropriate *n-form* of the *aorist tense* of the verb **hi(h)-** to be preceded by the *general participle* — **guxtk hikin** I am eating, I was eating, for example.

While the regular *short* or *long* forms of **hi(h)-** may always be used, normally the *n-forms* are used — **hikin** I am, I was; **hiqin** you are, you were; **he/she/it is, he/she/it was**; **nãkun** we are, we were; and **nãkx** you all/they are, you all/they were. Thus *I am/was eating* might occur as **guxtk hik** or **guxtk hiki** as well as **guxtk hikin**.

Sitimaxa also has a *continuative progressive tense*, which uses the appropriate *continuative tense n-forms* of the verb **hi(h)-** preceded by a

general participle — **guxtk qixikin** *I am eating, I was eating*. The continuative tense forms of **hi(h)-** are used rarely used except in the continuative progressive tense. They are: **qixikin** *I am, I was*; **qixin** *you are, you were; he/she/it is, he/she/it was*; **qixnākun** *we are, we were*; and **qixnāqā** or **qixnākx** *you/they are, you/they were*. Unlike the aorist progressive, which may use the short or long forms of **hi(h)-**, the continuative progressive uses only the *n-forms*.

You will have noticed that the simple *continuative tense*, the compound *aorist progressive tense* and the compound *continuative progressive tense* are all translated the same way in English — *I am doing, I was doing*. While the simple *continuative* and compound *aorist progressive tenses* are interchangeable in use, the *continuative progressive tense* is only used to emphasize the ongoingness of the verbal action, thus **guxtk qixikin** would be translated *I'm in the process of eating*, implying that the action is going on right now, in contrast to **guxdixik** *I am eating*, which does not emphasize the time of eating.

#### 4. SITIMAXA NOUNS

Most Sitimaxa *nouns* — the names of real world things and ideas — are rarely inflected. They do not, that is, add any suffixes to modify their meaning except for those with what we would call prepositional meaning, suffixes which indicate *in, on, by, etc.* There are seven types of nouns in Sitimaxa.

##### 4.1. Noun Classes

4.1.1. *General Nouns by Form*. While it is an easy thing to identify *nouns* by their meaning in Sitimaxa, they are not as easily identified by form, for only a limited number of noun classes have suffixes or other special forms which indicate that they are, indeed, the names of things.

Unlike English, where the distinction between singular and plural is almost always shown by adding *-(e)s* for a plural noun, it is rare that even this difference is shown by form in Sitimaxa. **Hānā**, for example, can as well mean a number of *houses* or *homes* (plural) as just one *house* or *home* (singular); only the context will let you know which is intended.

4.1.2. *Nouns of Relationship*. There is, however, one class of nouns which does indicate a difference between singular and plural by a change in the form of the word. These nouns are largely words for various kinds of relatives. There are only 29 of them, and both singular and plural occur with considerable everyday frequency. In the following table, the pluralizing suffix in shown in the column on the far right:

1. gimnix	<i>daughter</i>	ginkgank	<i>daughters</i>	<b>-gānk</b>
2. haksigam	<i>young man</i>	haksigaaxank	<i>young men</i>	<b>-xānk</b>
3. hewqu	<i>niece, nephew</i>	hewmank	<i>nieces, nephews</i>	<b>-mānk</b>
4. kejeypa	<i>sister</i>	keckampa	<i>sisters</i>	<b>-kāmpa</b>
5. kica	<i>woman</i>	kic	<i>women</i>	<b>vowel loss</b>
6. kica	<i>wife</i>	kickampa	<i>wives</i>	<b>-kāmpa</b>
7. kicanda	<i>old woman</i>	kicantka(qa)	<i>old women</i>	<b>irregular</b>
8. kici nahdsibu	<i>daughter</i>	kic naakx(bu)	<i>daughters</i>	<b>vowel loss</b>
9. kidaacun	<i>orphan</i>	kadaacikank	<i>orphans</i>	<b>-kānk</b>
10. kijeypa	<i>sister</i>	kijeymank	<i>sisters</i>	<b>-mānk</b>
11. nada	<i>chief, judge</i>	natga	<i>chiefs, judges</i>	<b>irregular</b>
12. nahdsibu	<i>child</i>	naakx(bu)	<i>children</i>	<b>irregular</b>
13. nancaqa	<i>older sister</i>	naancaakamank	<i>older sisters</i>	<b>-kāmānk</b>
14. napxjank	<i>Negro</i>	napxcigank	<i>Negroes</i>	<b>-gānk</b>
15. qaayq	<i>mother</i>	qaayqāmpa	<i>mothers</i>	<b>-āmpa</b>
16. qāmihem	<i>older woman</i>	qāmihemank	<i>older women</i>	<b>-ānk</b>

17. qām̄q	<i>cousin</i>	qām̄kampa	<i>cousins</i>	-kām̄pa
18. qapx kice	<i>married couple</i>	qapx kicemank	<i>married couples</i>	-mānk
19. qasi	<i>man</i>	qayx	<i>men</i>	irregular
20. qasi nahdsibu	<i>son, boy</i>	qasi naakx(bu)	<i>sons, boys</i>	irregular
21. qasqeypa	<i>brother</i>	qasqeymank	<i>brothers</i>	-mānk
22. qaxinjada	<i>old man</i>	qaxinjatka(qa)	<i>old men</i>	irregular
23. qayx naakx	<i>young man</i>	qayxgaaxank	<i>young men</i>	-gaaxānk
24. qinji	<i>father</i>	qinjikampa	<i>fathers</i>	-kām̄pa
25. quca	<i>oar, paddle</i>	quc	<i>oars, paddles</i>	vowel loss
26. qaxanda(x)	<i>old man</i>	qaxantka	<i>old men</i>	irregular
27. taadin	<i>younger sibling</i>	taadinkank	<i>younger siblings</i>	-kānk
28. waq(a)	<i>uncle</i>	waakampa	<i>uncles</i>	-kām̄pa
29. yaqa	<i>child</i>	yaamank	<i>children</i>	-mānk

There are also two forms which do not refer explicitly to people which use **-mānk** to form their plural: **weytm** *that kind (of thing)* and **weytēmānk** *those kinds (of things)*, **kaye** *living thing (singular)* and **kayēmānk** *living things (plural)*.

4.1.3. *Adjectives (Modifying Noun Adjectives)*. Another class of *nouns* which can be identified by its form are words which in English we would generally consider *adjectives*, words which are most frequently used to describe other nouns, such as colors. Though actually nouns by form in Sitimaxa, they will be called *adjectives*. Rather than translating them as simple English adjectives, however, they are usually best translated by adding the word “one” to the basic meaning of the word. Thus **qatin** *large* really means “a large one”, or **kadin** *blue* really means “something which is blue”, “a blue one”. Words in this class are distinguished by the presence of any of the following suffixes in the singular: **-in**, **-(i)g(i)**, **-i**, **-a**, **-n(ix)**,

**-m(ix)**, **-pa**, and, very rarely, **-un** or **-wi**. The most frequent of these endings are **-in**, **-(i)gi**, and **-i**; the rarest are **-a**, **-n(ix)**, **-m(ix)**, and **-pa**. Examples are: **qatin**, **qatigi**, **qati**, *large, big*; **qujin**, **qujigi**, **quji** *rotten*; **mēsdin**, **mēsdigi**, **mēsdi** *white*; **nēqin**, **nēēgi**, **nēqi** *fatty*; **xihmin**, **xihmigi** *deep gray*; **jiwa bad**; **xāmā** *new, fresh*; **gāmā** *long*; **juwa fast**; **pinun red**; **kaayun**, **kaaywi weak**; **nēxkapa**, **nēxkapigi**, **nēxkaagi** *strange, peculiar*; **xixtn(ix)** *foolish*; **kiksnix** *sensuous*; **keysn**, **keysti** *difficult*; **kupxnix** *gray haired*; **xeegimix** *infected, rotten*.

You will notice that many modifying noun adjectives have more than one form. This is usual for nouns in this class. Use of one form of the word over another is largely a matter of personal choice, though there are some which are preferred in particular circumstances. These cases must be learned case by case.

Unlike other noun classes, modifying noun adjectives usually have a special plural form. The most frequent plural suffixes are **-kānk** and **-kiig**, which are added to singular forms ending in **-i** or **-in**, as is **heji**, **hejin** *holy (singular)*, **hejikānk**, **hejinkānk** *holy (plural)*, or **kaaywi** *weak (singular)*, **kaayinkiiig** *weak (plural)*. Another pluralizing suffix is **-kapa**, which is added after dropping the final **-i** of the singular, as in **qati** *large (singular)*, **qatkapa** *large (plural)*. Less frequent are the suffixes **-kpa** and **-kpigi**, which also cause loss of a word-final **-i**, as in **huy(g)i** *good (singular)*, **huykpigi** *good (plural)*. In addition, the suffixes **-mānk**, **-kām**, and **-(m)ām** also occur, as in **sitsi** *sharp (singular)*, **sitsimānk** *sharp (plural)*, or **xāmā** *new (singular)*, **xāmām** or **xām̄kām** *new (plural)*.

4.1.4. *Numerals (Quantitative Nouns)*. The numbers from *one* through *ten* have a special inflectional suffix to differentiate *cardinal numbers* (1, 2, 3, etc.) from *ordinal numbers* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.). The *cardinal* forms are:



qungu 1, qupa 2, kaayji 3, mēxa 4, husa 5, hatka 6, kixta 7, keeta 8, mixta 9, and heyji 10. The suffix **-kāmiig** is added to the cardinals to form the ordinals, usually with loss of the final vowel of the cardinal except for cardinals ending in **-i**: **qungkāmiig** 1st, **qupkāmiig** 2nd, **kaayjikāmiig** 3rd, **mēxkāmiig** 4th, **huskāmiig** 5th, **hatkāmiig** 6th, **kixtkāmiig** 7th, **keetkāmiig** 8th, **mixtkāmiig** 9th, and **heyjikāmiig** 10th.

If one wishes to indicate “*the ...th time*”, or “*... times*”, one adds the suffix combination **-kāmin** + **-k on** as **-kāmink** to the cardinal forms, with the usual loss of any final vowel except **-i**, as in **qupkāmink** *the second time, two times*. The suffix combination **-kāmin** + **-ki at, in** as **-kāminki** is added to the cardinals to form words which mean “*at the time of the ...th*”, or “*on the ...th*”, as in **kaayjikāminki** *on the third (day)*. Other numerals have no inflection.

Cardinal numbers from 10 through 19 are formed by use of the word **patnix** *in excess of* added to 10 — **heyji qungu patnix** 11, **heyji qupa patnix** 12, **heyji kaayji patnix** 13, **heyji mēxa patnix** 14, **heyji husa patnix** 15, **heyji hatka patnix** 16, **heyji kixta patnix** 17, **heyji keeta patnix** 18, and **heyji mixta patnix** 19. The tens from 20 through 90 are expressed with **heyji 10** followed by the appropriate multiplying number — **heyji qupa 20** (= *the second ten*), **heyji kaayji 30**, **heyji mēxa 40**, **heyji husa 50**, **heyji hatka 60**, **heyji kixta 70**, **heyji keeta 80**, and **heyji mixta 90**. One hundred is **puup**, 200 is **puup qupa**, and so on. One thousand is **puup qaxinjada**, 2000 is **puup qaxinjada qupa**, and so on.

In indicating the noun counted, one may either place the cardinal number before the noun or after the noun preceded by the particle **gix** *just*, as in **we heyji qupa patnix kix** or **we kix gix heyji qupa patnix** *the 12 dogs*. If the number is placed after the noun counted without **gix**, the form is

translated with an ordinal number, as in **we kix heyji qupa patnix** *the 12th dog*.

4.1.5. *Verbal Nouns*. In addition to their verbal use in dependent clauses and as infinitives, gerunds may also be used as *verbal nouns* — verbs by form but nouns by function. For example, **hus nucmpa** *his work*, **qix nucmka** *my work*, **qux nucmā** *our work*. Thus one might say, for instance, **Qix hus nucmpa kin nī jeehjeehtiki** *I am very happy with his work* or **Qix nucmka kin nī jeehjeehtiki** *I am very happy with my work* or **Qux nucmā huygi hiqi** *Our work is rewarding (good)*.

When gerund suffix **-pa** is added, suffix alteration *Rule 2C* will apply: Stems ending in **i** drop the **i** before any suffix beginning in a consonant, as in **quti-** *to tie* + **-pa gerund-forming suffix** = **qutpa** *tied*.

When gerund suffix **-i** is added, suffix alteration *Rule 2B* will apply: Stems ending in **a**, **e**, or **i** drop that before any suffix beginning in a vowel, as in **heecpa-** *to help* + **-i gerund-forming suffix** = **heecpi** *helped, help*.

4.1.6. *Gerundives*. Verbal nouns referring to a person who performs an action — *worker, hunter, runner* — can be derived by addition of a special suffix to a *verb stem*. These nouns are called *gerundives*. This is done by adding **-m** to stems which end in **-a** or **-e**, and **-mix** or **-nix** to stems which end in **-i** or a consonant. For example, **nucmām** (**nucmā-** *to work*) *worker*, **hapxēm** (**hapxe-** *to invent*) *inventor*, **tekmiix** (**teki-** *to suffer*) *sufferer*, **getmiix** (**get-** *to hit, strike*) *hitter*, **nuhcniix** (**nuhc-** *to run*) *runner*, **pejniix** (**pej-** *to fly*) *flyer, aviator*. The **-m(ix)** and **-n(ix)** variants are largely interchangeable.

Not all gerundives, however, indicate actor nouns. Many are nouns of other types, often with what we would call adjectival or modifying meaning in English, such as **cuhniix** *built of* (from **cuht-** *to build*) or **xāmnix** *new*,

*fresh* (from **xāmā-** *to be fresh*). Some are composite words or phrase-words constructed from two free base forms, as **neythapinnix** *cigar* (from **neyt** *tobacco* + **hapint-** *to roll*), **gasmānicmix** *corn soup* (from **gasmā** *corn* + **nicm-** *to soak*), **qapx tankinnix** *cross* (from **tankint-** *to place crosswise*).

Unlike gerunds which are used as verbal nouns, those derived with the gerundive suffixes have a plural form in **-mānk**. Thus if one wishes to say *runners*, the word **nuhcmānk** will be used.

Suffix alteration *Rule 2F* will apply to the formation of gerundives from verbs whose stems end in the verbalizing suffix **-t** or **-te**. Stems ending in a double consonant with **-t** as the last consonant drop the **-t** before any suffix beginning in **c**, **d**, **m**, or **n**, as in **kaact-** *to drink* + **-mix** *gerundive-forming suffix* = **kaacmix** *a drinker*. Stems ending in single consonant **t**, however, do not drop the **t** before **-mix** or **-nix**, as in **getmix** *a strike* or *a hitter*.

4.1.7. *Nouns by Position*. The basic order of words in a Sitimaxa sentence is *subject + object + verb*. The term *object* may mean either *direct object* (“He saw the man”), *indirect object* (“He gave me the book”), or what are called in English *predicate nominatives* (“He is the man”). In Sitimaxa, as in English, any noun may fill the position of sentence subject or object. Unlike English, however, such nouns will always come before the verb. If you have more than one noun coming together as subject and either kind of object, you simply place one after the other, as in **Qix pānx huygi qāmik** *I saw a good man* — literally *I* + [*man* + *good*] + *saw*. *I* is the subject of the sentence, and *saw* is the verb. The object is **pānx huygi** *a good man*. Even though **huygi** is translated as though it were an English adjective, you should remember that it in Sitimaxa it is a noun, and the sentence above might more accurately be translated *I saw a man, a good*

*one*. The dominant noun takes first position, while the noun thought of as *modifying* comes after the dominant noun. Notice that both subjects and objects in Sitimaxa sentences may thus consist of more than one word; they may themselves be multi-word phrases such as **pānx huygi**.

Any part of speech *by form* may fill the subject and/or object positions in a Sitimaxa sentence, and when they do they become nouns by position. Those verbal forms called participles, gerunds, and gerundives often fill these positions, as in **Hus cuugx hiqi** *He is going* (literally *His going [it] is*), in which **cuugx** is a participle from the verb **cuy-** *to go*. There are also nine uninflected *particles* which may fill the subject and object positions: **haktix** *side*, **huyi haktix** or **huyaktix** *right side*, **kiisaktix** or **kiisaktx** *left side*, **waaktix** *other side*, **hisgis** *under part*, **kāmis** *hind part, behind*, **sāmis** *front part*, **segis** *inside*, and **pegis** *top, over*.

#### 4.2. Indicating Possession of One Noun by Another

If you wish to express *possession*, as in English you put the *possessor* noun first and the *possessed noun* second, as in **We pānx hānā qāmik** *I saw the man's house*, in which **pānx hānā** is the object of the sentence. **We pānx** *the man* is the possessor, and **hānā** *house* is the thing possessed, the entire phrase meaning *the man's house*. So also one would say **We pānx qinji cuyi** *The man's father came*, in which **pānx** *man*, as the first noun, acts as possessor, while the second noun, **qinji** *father*, is the thing possessed. In noun combinations of possessor and thing possessed the nouns act together as a phrase, and both nouns will be general nouns. In noun combinations in which the second noun is a modifying or quantitative noun, that noun will act like an English adjective or modifier, as in **we pānx huygi** *the good man*.

## 5. SITIMAXA PARTICLES

All Sitimaxa words other than verbs and nouns are *particles*. This means that by form they remain unchanged no matter how they are used in a phrase or sentence. They may occasionally undergo sound changes (see Section 2 for a discussion of this topic), but they rarely take suffixes of any kind, with a few exceptions which will be described as we come to them.

Particles are used in Sitimaxa sentences in a number of different ways, and each of these is discussed in turn below with examples of the most frequently used particles which belong to each category.

### 5.1. Pronominal Particles

The following particles are used as *subject*, *object*, and *possessive pronouns*. You should remember, however, that it is rarely necessary to use subject pronouns, since the subject of the verbal action is usually shown in the verb form itself — they will be used primarily for emphasis, as in **Qix** *we pānx qāmik I saw the man* in distinction to **We** *pānx qāmik I saw the man*, without emphasis.

Person	Form	Meaning
1st sg	<b>qix</b>	<i>I, me, my, mine</i>
2nd sg	<b>him(q)</b>	<i>you, your, yours</i>
3rd sg	<b>hus</b>	<i>he, she, it, him, her, its, his, hers</i>
1st pl	<b>qux</b>	<i>we, us, our, ours</i>
2nd pl	<b>was</b>	<i>you, your, yours</i>
3rd pl	<b>hunks</b>	<i>they, them, their, theirs</i>

### 5.2. Demonstrative Particles

The particles listed below are used as *demonstratives*. Most of the forms have four variants, depending upon how they are used. The *basic form* is used as an adjective (*this man, that house*); the *independent form* is

used as a *demonstrative pronoun* (*this, that, these, those*); the *emphatic form* is used, as the name indicates, for emphasis, as in **ha hānā haax** *this house* or *this house here* (the ... symbol in the table below indicating that the first part of the form comes before the word it modifies and the last part of the form comes after it); *locational forms* have the meanings indicated in the table. Notice that **ha** *this* is used with *neutral position verbs*, while **hān** *this* is used with *horizontal position verbs*, and **hac** *this* with *vertical position verbs*. The other basic forms do not distinguish position.

Basic Meaning	Basic Form	Independent Pronoun	Emphatic Form	Locational Form
<i>this (neutral)</i>	<b>ha</b>	<b>haax, haaks</b>	<b>ha ... haax</b>	<b>hānk</b> <i>hither</i> <b>hānki</b> <i>here</i>
<i>this (horizontal)</i>	<b>hān</b>	(no form)	(no form)	(no form)
<i>this (vertical)</i>	<b>hac</b>	(no form)	(no form)	(no form)
<i>these</i>	<b>ho</b>	<b>hoox, hookx</b>	<b>ho...hoox</b>	<b>honk</b> <i>hither</i> <b>honki</b> <i>here</i>
<i>that, those</i>	<b>sa</b>	<b>saas, saaks</b>	<b>sa...saas</b>	<b>sānk</b> <i>thither</i> <b>sānki</b> <i>there</i>
<i>the, that</i>	<b>we</b>	<b>wey, weyx, weyqx</b>	<b>we...weyx</b>	<b>wēnk</b> <i>thither</i> <b>wēnki</b> <i>there</i>

### 5.3. Locative Particles

A number of particles serve to indicate location. They are usually placed after the word they refer to. They may also be used as nouns. They are:

<b>kāmis</b>	<i>behind</i>
<b>nuk</b>	<i>outside</i>
<b>pegis</b>	<i>over, on top of</i>
<b>pekup</b>	<i>up</i>
<b>sāmis</b>	<i>before, in front of</i>
<b>segis</b>	<i>inside</i>

#### 5.4. Interrogative Particles

The most frequently occurring particles with an interrogative meaning are:

<b>nex kun</b>	<i>someone</i>
<b>qām quc</b>	<i>why?</i>
<b>qām</b>	<i>what/which?</i>
<b>qānjit</b>	<i>where?</i>
<b>qaxt</b>	<i>how?</i>
<b>qaxtēm</b>	<i>which (one)?</i>
<b>qaxtēmin</b>	<i>anyone</i>
<b>quc(i)</b>	<i>who?</i>
<b>quci gān</b>	<i>no one</i>
<b>quci ke</b>	<i>someone or other</i>
<b>te</b>	<i>interrogative particle (often suffixed as -te)</i>

#### 5.5. Conjunctive Particles

There are a number of particles which serve to join and separate words in a sentence from one another — they serve the same function as *conjunctions* in European languages. They may occur in any position in a Sitimaxa sentence. The most frequently occurring forms are:

<b>gix</b>	<i>even, just, only</i>
<b>haciqi</b>	<i>now</i>
<b>ně</b>	<i>and, also, too</i>
<b>qaxtka</b>	<i>perhaps</i>
<b>tewe</b>	<i>however, but, nevertheless, at any rate, in spite of</i>

<b>tutk</b>	<i>then, thereupon</i>
<b>wetk(x)</b>	<i>then, and so</i>
<b>weyjiig</b>	<i>therefore</i>

#### 5.6. Postpositional Particles

By far the majority of Sitimaxa particles come after the form they refer to. These forms are very similar to *prepositions* in English and many other languages, except that prepositions, as the name indicates, come before the word they govern. The difference between *prepositions* and *postpositions* lies only in their position with regard to the word they govern.

5.6.1. *Spatial Postpositional Particles*: These postpositions and related suffixes, which indicate position, are very similar to locative particles:

<b>hup</b>	<i>to, toward, near</i>
<b>kecun</b>	<i>between</i>
<b>kin</b>	<i>with</i>
<b>ki</b>	<i>in, at, on, among</i>
<b>-(n)ki</b>	<i>in, at, on, among (-nki after vowels)</i>
<b>niwis</b>	<i>to one side</i>
<b>nugus</b>	<i>behind</i>

5.6.2. *Other Postpositional Particles*: Additional frequently occurring postpositional particles and closely related suffixes are:

<b>cun</b>	<i>for (the sake of), in order to, about, concerning, because (of)</i>
<b>ga</b>	<i>what of, what about</i>
<b>gayí</b>	<i>no (with stress on the last syllable)</i>
<b>hix</b>	<i>by, by means of, with</i>
<b>huyá</b>	<i>thanks (with stress on the last syllable)</i>
<b>huyukt</b>	<i>very well</i>
<b>jeyt</b>	<i>straight</i>
<b>-k</b>	<i>emphatic suffix</i>



<b>kin</b>	<i>with</i>
<b>māhy</b>	an exclamation something like “Yippee!”
<b>niki</b>	<i>genuine</i>
<b>nito</b>	<i>let’s go</i>
<b>-(n)kiteet</b>	<i>since, after (-nkiteet after vowels)</i>
<b>qax</b>	used with the polite imperative
<b>qēēhē</b>	<i>yes</i>
<b>qiiha</b>	an exclamation of excitement
<b>qixt</b>	an exclamation of impatience
<b>suksuk</b>	<i>trembling, shaking</i>
<b>teet</b>	<i>like</i>
<b>toktok</b>	<i>scattered about</i>
<b>wāāne</b>	<i>strange, foreign</i>
<b>weeda</b>	<i>yes</i>
<b>-x</b>	emphatic suffix

There are a number of additional postpositional particles in Sitimaxa called *predicative particles*. These have already been discussed and listed in Section 3.7 in the chapter on verbs.

## 6. MAKING NEW WORDS IN SITIMAXA

New lexical items can be made in Sitimaxa through the use of three derivational techniques: (1) *stem compounding*, (2) *suffixation*, and (3) *word compounding*. These techniques, most of which are productive and frequently used, lead to the creation of eight types of lexical item: (1) *composite words*, (2) *general nouns derived from verbs*, (3) *1st person possessed nouns derived from verbs*, (4) *verbal nouns derived from verbs*, (5) *verbs derived from nouns*, (6) *nouns derived from nouns*, (7) *modifying noun adjectives derived from general nouns*, and (8) *phrase-words*.

### 6.1. Making Composite Words

One of the most frequently used methods of creating new words is through compounding, in which two or occasionally three words are joined together to make a single new *composite word* which shares the meanings of all of its constituent parts.

Almost any concept for which you can not find a separate word in the Sitimaxa vocabulary can be named by the compounding method. Thus, there was originally no native Sitimaxa word for the day which we refer to as Sunday. Sitimaxa speakers, once Christianity was introduced to the area, decided to call it “Holy Day”. They did so by putting the words for *day waxta* and *holy hejin* together as a compound word, **Waxtejin Sunday**. As you can see, the normal rules of sound change, discussed in Section 2, are used when two or more words are compounded as a single new word. A modern example of the application of this principle would be the word for *automobile*, for which we have no native word, though the automobile was in use during the last decades before the death of Mr. Paul and Mrs. Decloux, the last two native speakers of Sitimaxa. In the present-day usage of the revived language, the root from the verb *to go cuw-* is first turned into a noun, **cuumām driver**, and this is then compounded with the word meaning *self nēhē* to give the new compound word **cuumām nēhē**, literally *self-driver*. Because this method follows that used by the last Sitimaxa speakers, we can be sure that its meaning would, with a high degree of probability, be readily evident to them.

While there are many such composite words in Sitimaxa, the learner new to the language should approach the process of compounding roots to form new words with care until he is quite conversant with the basic roots of the language and their nuances of possible meaning and use, and until he is

fluent in application of the rules of sound change. It is, however, definitely a method of new word formation which will be of importance in the re-development of Sitimaxa as a modern spoken tongue.

## 6.2. Making General Nouns From Verbs

Verbs are frequently made into their equivalent nouns by a number of highly productive, very often used techniques. A verb stem which ends in a *t* may add the gerund suffix *-i* to form its noun equivalent; verb stems ending in any other sound may add either of the gerund suffixes, *-pa* or *-i*, to form their noun equivalents; thus — *qām-* to see and *qāmpa* sight; *giht-* to want, to need and *gihti* want, need (as nouns). A verb stem which ends in a vowel will drop the final vowel before adding the *-pa* or *-i* suffixes; as in *huymā-* to love and *huympa* love (as a noun); *nucmā-* to work and *nucmpa* or *nucmī* work (as a noun); *xexka-* to enjoy and *xexki* enjoyment.

## 6.3. Making 1st Person Possessed Nouns From Verbs

If one wishes to talk about *my work* or *our work* instead of just *work* in general, the form *nucmpa* or *nucmī* is not used — these forms mean *work* in general. Instead one will use the 1st person gerund suffixes *-ka* (singular) or *-a* (plural) as in *nucmka* *my work* and *nucmā* *our work*.

## 6.4. Making Actor & Other Verbal Noun Types

As discussed in the chapter on nouns, verb stems may also be turned into verbal nouns indicating a person or thing which performs the action (the equivalent of English nouns which end in *-er*, such as *drive* and *driver* or *spin* and *spinner*). This is done by adding the gerundive suffixes *-m* to stems which end in *-a* and *-mix* or *-nix* to stems which end in *-i* or a consonant. Thus, *huymā-* to love and *huymām* a lover; *nucmā-* to work and *nucmām*

a worker; *quci-* to do and *qucmix* a doer, *pex-* to fly and *pexnix* a flier, pilot, aviator; *nuhc-* to run and *nuhcmix* a runner.

Such forms have a special plural in *-mānk*. Thus if one wishes to say *aviators* the word *pexmānk* will be used. Stems which end in *-a* add only *-ānk* to the stem form, as is *nucmām* worker, *nucmānk* workers.

## 6.5. Making Verbs From Nouns

It is also possible to turn a noun into a verb by suffixation. In this instance the suffix *-ka*, *-ki*, or *-mā* is added to the noun stem. Examples with *-ka* are: *dsiya* egg + *-ka* > *dsiika-* to lay an egg; *quybi* blood + *-ka* > *quybika-* to bleed; *nāmū* town, village + *-ka* > *nāmka-* to dwell, live, remain. Examples with *-ki* are: *niya* sickness + *-ki* > *niiki-* to be sick; *nitiya* owner, master + *-ki* > *nitiiki-* to lead, direct. Examples with *-mā* are: *kapx* name + *-mā* > *kapxmā-* to name; *hipx* winter + *-mā* > *hipxmā-* to be winter; *tuqu* hole + *-mā* > *qapx tuumā-* to be full of holes. The use of these three suffixes is limited to a small number of words, and they are not productively used to form new verbs. The learner, that is, should be aware of the method, but he should not use it freely in coining new verbs. This an unproductive method of new word derivation.

## 6.6. Making New Nouns From Other Nouns

There are a number of special suffixes which are used to derive nouns from other nouns. These are: *-(n)kxtēm*, *-tēm*, and *-tēmānk*. All of these special suffixes have the general notion of “like, similar to”. For example *huuta* boat (of the native *piroque* variety) and *huutānkxtēm* boat made of planks (that is, a *piroque*-like boat made from wooden planks); *xuxugu* tree trunk and *xuxugunkxtēmānk* trunk-shaped basket; *sa* that and *saatēm* that sort of; and *wey* the, that and *weytēm* that sort of. These special suffixes,

however, are not often used, and you should coin new words with them only with care.

### 6.7. Making Modifying Noun Adjectives From General Nouns

The derivation of *modifying noun adjectives*, which are very much like English adjectives, has already been discussed in some detail in Section 4.1.3 in the chapter on nouns.

### 6.8. Making New Words Through the Creation of Phrase-Words

*Phrase-Words* consist of two or more separate words coming together as a phrase with a single, overall meaning. The natural phonological pauses which separate one word from another are retained, unlike the fusion or amalgamation process used to form composite words. For example, **jah kadin** *Bluejay* (literally *bird blue*) or **jāqā xānī** *sunrise* (literally *sun it-rises*). While phrase-words do not occur with the high frequency associated with composite words, they do make up a large part of the Sitimaxa vocabulary. Expressing a concept as a phrase rather than a single word is, in fact, very characteristic of Sitimaxa. This is especially so when a word is needed for a concept or entity entirely new to the language and culture — the use, for example, of **kix qatin** *large dog* for *horse*, or, one of the most impressive, the word for a European-style burial ground, **pānx ney nucpuyñāqā** *they bury people in the earth = cemetery*. Sitimaxa might as easily have borrowed the French single-word label *cheval* for “horse”, in something like **xewaq**, **xewaw**, or **xewaa** Sitimaxa form — but it did not. It preferred to use native words to describe the new entity. This penchant to describe, rather than label, is again typically Sitimaxa.

## 7. SENTENCES IN SITIMAXA

A full discussion of Sitimaxa phrase and sentence structure — what the grammarian refers to as *syntax* — could easily take an entire volume in itself. This section makes no pretense of covering the topic fully and will only treat the most basic facts. It hopes simply to provide the learner with a variety of Sitimaxa sentences as general patterns of Sitimaxa syntax. Full examples of all syntactic structures and their usage can be found in the reading selections of *The Chitimacha World: Readings in Sitimaxa*.

### 7.1. Intonation Patterns and Junctures

In all human languages people speak in what we call *sentences*. By definition, a sentence is a complete utterance which makes sense all by itself to the native speaker who uses or hears it. Sentences always consist of strings of words, the end of which is signaled by a change in the pitch of the voice accompanied by one of a number of possible kinds of pause. Such pauses are referred to as *junctures*. Specific recurring combinations of pitch-change and juncture are called *intonation patterns*, and each intonation pattern of a language gets across a particular kind of message to the native hearer. Thus, as you will recall from the chapter on phonology the end of a Sitimaxa question or command is signaled by a falling pitch of the voice on the last syllable of the sentence accompanied by a following pause, while statements are signaled by a rising pitch and a following pause. The falling-pitch-plus-pause intonation pattern of Sitimaxa questions and commands is technically symbolized by # (called *double-cross transition*). A rising-pitch-plus-pause, use in Sitimaxa statements is symbolized by || (called *double-bar transition*). The individual words within a sentence are connected by a much shorter pause, without predictable pitch change; this short pause is referred to as *plus juncture*, symbolized by +.

## 7.2. Phrases

The words which make up each of the three sentence types — *questions, commands, and statements* — are arranged in groups called *phrases*. These are smaller sentence parts consisting either of single words or a combination of two separate words functioning together as a unit. Just as different kinds of sentences in Sitimaxa are signaled by predictable intonation patterns, either # or ||, so phrases are separated from the rest of a sentence by a predictable intonation pattern. The pause which separates one phrase from another within a sentence is symbolized by | (called *single-bar transition*), and in Sitimaxa is accompanied by the same slightly rising intonation pattern which one finds at the end of statements. It is followed, however, by a pause which is longer than the + which separates most individual words but shorter than either of the # or || sentence-ending patterns.

Phrases, bounded both before and after by the intonation pattern called single-bar, are built in binary fashion — two words at a time. The primary word in a phrase will either be a noun, a verb, or a particle, and in Sitimaxa phrases are therefore either *noun phrases, verb phrases, or particle phrases*. The possible binary combinations of words into phrases are given below.

7.2.1. *Noun Phrases*. Phrases in which a noun is the primary word may consist of the following combinations.

### (A) Particle + Noun:

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1. (demonstrative particle + general noun)  | (sa + hānā) <i>that house</i>     |
| 2. (interrogative particle + general noun)  | (qaxtēm + pānx) <i>which man</i>  |
| 3. (pronoun particle + general noun)        | (qix + hānā) <i>my house</i>      |
| 4. (pronoun particle + verbal noun)         | (qix + cuugx) <i>my departure</i> |
| 5. (general noun + postpositional particle) | (pānx + hix) <i>by a man</i>      |

### (B) Noun + Noun:

- |   |                                     |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. (general noun + general noun)                          | (pānx + kix) <i>a man's dog</i>     |
| 2. (general noun + modifying noun adjective)              | (pānx + huygi) <i>a good man</i>    |
| 3. (quantitative noun + general noun)                     | (qupa + pānx) <i>two men</i>        |
| 4. (general noun + quantitative noun)                     | (pānx + qupa) <i>a second man</i>   |
| 5. (modifying noun adjectives + modifying noun adjective) | (huygi + keystigi) <i>very good</i> |

In many instances one noun phrase may be imbedded in another noun phrase:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. [(demonstrative particle + noun) + particle] | [(sa + hāni) + hup]<br><i>to that house</i>      |
| 2. [(interrogative particle + noun) + particle] | [(qaxtēm + hāni) + hup]<br><i>to which house</i> |
| 3. [demonstrative particle + (noun + noun)]     | [we + (pānx + qupa)]<br><i>the second man</i>    |
| 4. [interrogative particle + (noun + noun)]     | [qaxtēm + (pānx + hejin)] <i>which holy man</i>  |

7.2.2. *Verb Phrases*. Phrases in which a verb is the primary word may consist of the following combinations:

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. (preverb + finite verb)            | (kas + huktiqi)<br><i>he closed it</i>          |
| 2. (particle + finite verb)           | (huyukt + quciqi)<br><i>he did it very well</i> |
| 3. (non-finite verb + finite verb)    | (qucpa + gihtiki)<br><i>I want to do it</i>     |
| 4. (non-finite verb + auxiliary verb) | (guxtk + hikin)<br><i>I am eating</i>           |



Verb phrases which are imbedded in larger verb phrases usually take the form: [particle + (preverb + finite verb)] [qaxt + (nī+ heecpite)] *please help me*.

7.2.3. *Particle Phrases*. In particle phrases both word elements are particles, the first one being the primary member of the phrase: (particle + particle) (qix + hup) *to me*.

### 7.3. Independent & Dependent Clauses

Sentences, in all languages, consist of clauses. A clause is an utterance which contains at least a verb or verb phrase. It may also contain noun or noun phrases as subject, object, or both, though neither is necessary. Thus in English *Go!*, *He left*, and *She saw us* are all clauses because each contains a verb — *go*, *left*, and *saw* respectively. Two of them also contain subjects — *he* and *she*, and one also contains an object — *us*. Each of these utterances is an example of an *independent clause*, a clause which, as discussed in Section 3 on verbs, has a fully expressed meaning and can stand by itself as a separate, independent sentence.

As we have also discussed in the chapter on verbs, many languages have another type of clause, the *dependent clause*. A dependent clause, often referred to as a *subordinate clause*, must also contain at least a verb, and it, too, may also contain a subject, an object, or both. It does not, however, express a full meaning, nor can it stand by itself as an independent sentence. For example, *Seeing the man, I left* contains two clauses. One of them, *I left*, is an *independent clause*. Even though it doesn't in this instance, it could stand by itself as an independent sentence with complete meaning. On the other hand, the underlined part of the above sentence is a *dependent clause*, for it is an unresolved statement and does not express a full meaning — if

you say *seeing the man*, you are, as it were, left dangling in mid-air, because you want to know “the rest of it”.

In a Sitimaxa dependent clause the verb is always a non-finite participle or gerund. When the subjects of both the dependent and independent clauses are the same, the *general participle* will be used in the dependent clause. Thus the Sitimaxa sentence *Seeing the man, I left* or *When I saw the man, I left* is expressed as **Pānx qāmgx, hi cuyiki**, literally *Man seeing, I left*. **Pānx man** is the object of the verb **qāmgx** *seeing*. As in English, the dependent clause verb, “seeing”, is expressed by a participle, **qāmgx**, from the verb stem **qām-** *to see* + **-g(x)** *-ing*.

If the subject of the dependent and independent clauses are different, a *personal participle* is used in the dependent clause, as in **Hus huhcwite, kap nuhcwiki** *When he came in* (literally, *his entering*), *I got up* or *As he came in, I got up*, in which the dependent clause is **hus** *he/his* plus the personal participle **huhcwite** from **huhcwa-** *to enter, to come in* plus the non-1st suffix **-<sup>l</sup>te** *ing*. The *independent clause* of the sentence is **kap nuhcwiki** *I got up* (**nuhcwa-** *to get up, to arise* + **-iki** *1st person singular*).

If the action referred to in the dependent clause takes place before the action of the verb in the independent clause, a *prior participle* (equivalent of the *-ed* or *-en past participle* in English) is used in the dependent clause, as in **Gasmā gastuut, his kectiqi** *The corn planted, he waited* or *Once the corn was planted, he waited* or *After the corn had been planted, he waited*. The dependent clause is **gasmā gastuut** (**gasmā** *corn*, **gast-** *to plant* + **-tuut** *-ed*).

If the dependent clause contains a postposition particle which defines the time or location of the verbal action, then a *gerund* is used rather than one of the three participles. Examples are: **Nucmākānki, paakiniki** *When I*

worked or *During my work, I was tired* — **nucm-** to work + **-ka** 1st person singular gerund suffix = “my working” + **-(n)ki** when, during, at, in.

The use of a participle or gerund to indicate dependent or subordinate action is one of the most noticeable and widely used grammatical characteristics of Sitimaxa, and one may confidently say that when English would use a lengthy dependent clause, complete with a full finite verb form, it may be translated into Sitimaxa with a short participle or gerund clause.

#### 7.4. Phrase and Sentence Word Order

Within a noun or particle phrase in Sitimaxa, the primary or head word is always first, and, with the exception of demonstrative and interrogative particles and quantitative nouns, the modifying element or word is always second. Thus, *the man* is **we pānx**; *this man* is **ha pānx**; and *two men* is **qupa pānx**; but *a good man* is **pānx huvgi** and *the good man* is **we pānx huvgi**. In verb phrases, on the other hand, the primary or head word, the verb, comes second, and the modifying element comes first, as in the phrase **juwa huhcwi** *he came indoors quickly*. The only exception is the postposition **ně** *and*, which will follow the verb, as in **nĩ paakpi huhcwi ně** *he spoke and (then) came indoors*.

Within a clause in Sitimaxa the normal order of elements, which may be either single words or phrases, is: *subject + object + verb predicate*. There are exceptions, as in any language, but this is the norm. We have already noted the fact that most words which would serve as modifiers to nouns and verbs in other languages — words which we call adjectives and adverbs respectively in English — do not occur in Sitimaxa. Instead these concepts are either verbs: *to be green*, for example, or modifying noun adjectives: *large*, for example, which actually means *the large (one)*. Other modifying functions are handled by the numerous postpositional particles,

discussed in the chapter on particles. If one worries only about the verbs, nouns, and particles and keeps them in the proper order of *subject + object + verb*, your Sitimaxa will be quite understandable and correct. Each of these elements of a clause may consist of a single word or of a phrase of the types discussed earlier in this section. For example: *The good man came indoors quickly* **We pānx huvgi** (noun phrase subject) **juwa huhcwi** (verb phrase predicate).

#### 7.5. Sentences

As in English, a *simple sentence* in Sitimaxa will contain a single independent clause, and a *compound sentence* will contain two or more independent clauses. A *complex sentence* will contain both one or more independent clauses and one or more dependent clauses. In Sitimaxa dependent clauses will normally come before the main or independent clause. For example: *The man came indoors* **We pānx huhcwi** is a simple sentence; *The man spoke and came indoors* **We pānx nĩ paakpi huhcwi ně** is a compound sentence with two verb predicates, **nĩ paakpi** *he spoke* and **huhcwi** *he came indoors*, connected by the postpositional particle **ně** *and*; *When he saw us, the man came indoors* **Qux qāmiigx, we pānx huhcwi** is a complex sentence in which **qux qāmiigx** *us seeing* is the dependent clause, and **we pānx huhcwi** *the man came indoors* is the independent clause.

#### 7.6. Sample Sitimaxa Sentences

The following sentences are illustrative of the principles of Sitimaxa syntax — the order of lexical elements in phrases, clauses, and sentences.

1. **Qix susbi qix gāmpi ně gaptk, huuhup cuug, huutānki nahpiig, gastānk hup nāxmiig cuug, juqunk kāmcin getiki.** *Taking my gun and*

*my ammunition and going toward the lake, I crossed over in a boat and hunted toward the north, where I soon killed a deer.*

<b>Qix</b>	<b>susbi</b>	<b>qix</b>	<b>gāmpi</b>	<b>nē</b>	<b>gaptk,</b>
My	gun	my	ammunition	and	taking,
<b>huuhup</b>	<b>cuug,</b>	<b>huutānki</b>	<b>nahpiig,</b>	<b>gastānk</b>	<b>hup</b>
lake+to	going,	boat+in	over-crossing,	north	to
<b>naxmiig</b>	<b>cuug,</b>	<b>juqunk</b>	<b>kāmcin</b>	<b>getiki.</b>	
hunting	going,	soon	deer	I struck	

2. **We nux gaptk, him susbi wey hix hi kaatēmiig, wetk nāxmiig cuucuux, qaxtkānki qoonāk qun kun getsuy.** *If you take that stone and rub your gun with it and then go hunting, you will soon kill something.*

<b>We</b>	<b>nux</b>	<b>gaptk,</b>	<b>him</b>	<b>susbi</b>	<b>wey</b>
That	stone	taking,	your	gun	that
<b>hix</b>	<b>hi</b>	<b>kaatēmiig</b>	<b>wetk</b>	<b>nāxmiig</b>	<b>cuucuux,</b>
with	thither	rubbing,	then	hunting	if you go,
<b>qaxtkānki</b>	<b>qoonāk</b>	<b>qun</b>	<b>kun</b>	<b>getsuy.</b>	
then	soon	some	thing	you will kill	

3. **Hānā hup cuyqi, nēncuu waaksti hi qehiqi.** *He went to the house, but he arrived too late.*

<b>Hānā</b>	<b>hup</b>	<b>cuyqi,</b>	<b>nēncuu</b>	<b>waaksti</b>	<b>hi</b>	<b>qehiqi.</b>
House	to	he went	too	late	thither	he arrived

4. **Qēēhē, qucpi kaakān.** *Yes, I can do it (or) Yes, that is possible.*

<b>Qēēhē,</b>	<b>qucpi</b>	<b>kaakān.</b>
Yes,	to do	is able

5. **Qiiha, kap tohqixiqi.** *Oh, it's breaking up!*

<b>Qiiha,</b>	<b>kap</b>	<b>tohqixiqi.</b>
Oh,	up	it breaks.

6. **Qaxtkānki cuucuy — waxtmēnk?** *When will you come — tomorrow?*

<b>Qaxtkānki</b>	<b>cuucuy</b>	<b>— waxtmēnk?</b>
When	you will come	— tomorrow?

7. **Hoku quciqi, qām nī kihtspuynā nē.** *He made a mortar and a pestle.*

<b>Hoku</b>	<b>quciqi,</b>	<b>qām</b>	<b>nī</b>	<b>kihtspuynā</b>	<b>nē.</b>
Mortar	he made	what	down	pushes	and.

8. **Qix nāda daat.** *I am now a chief.*

<b>Qix</b>	<b>nāda</b>	<b>daat.</b>
I	chief	now

9. **Pānx pinikānk gān kāānux quciqi.** *Not an Indian but a White Man did it.*

<b>Pānx</b>	<b>pinikānk</b>	<b>gān</b>	<b>kāānux</b>	<b>quciqi.</b>
Man	red (pl.)	not	white man	he did (it).

10. **Hunks xuxeyānki waajikinānki nucmik.** *While they played in the enclosure, I worked.*

Hunks	xuxeyānki	waajikinānki	nucmik.
They	enclosure + in	play + at	I worked.

11. We pānx kix hi getiqi. *The man struck a dog.*

We	pānx	kix	hi	getiqi.
The	man	dog	thither	he struck.

This sentence might also be translated: *He struck the man's dog.*

12. We kuukx kas cuuxiqi. *The water is receding.*

We	kuu-kx	kas	cuuxiqi.
The	water- (emphasis)	back	it goes.

13. We pānx nē we kici nē qapx waacmināqā. *The man and woman got married.*

We	pānx	nē	we	kici	nē	qapx	waacmināqā.
The	man	and	the	woman	and	together	they joined.

14. Him haksigām nē qām sānki quci. *And what are you doing there, young fellow?*

Him	haksigām	nē	qām	sānki	quci?
You	young fellow	and	what	there	you do

15. Hānā qakstk, qix yaqa hi qaqik. *I bought a house and gave it to my child.*

Hānā	qakstk,	qix	yaqa	hi	qaqik.
House	bought	my	child	thither	I gave (it).

## 8. A SUMMARY: THE IRREDUCIBLE MINIMUM OF SITIMAXA GRAMMAR

Enmeshed in the details of the grammar of each language is a set of constructions without the use of which speaking the language would be difficult to impossible. These are the most important and frequently used rules of grammar, often called the *irreducible minimum* of the grammar of the language. In most instances, and Sitimaxa is no exception, these basic language structures and patterns can be succinctly described in a brief and concentrated manner. The structures given in this section of the grammar should be used by the reader as a summary reference guide to the details covered in the earlier sections of the book.

**Sitimaxa Sentences.** A sentence in Sitimaxa will always contain: (1) a *verb*, a word which indicates either action or condition. It may also have: (2) a *subject*, which will be a noun (the name of a person or thing) or pronoun (a name substitute, such as 'they', 'he') describing who or what is performing the action or in the condition indicated by the verb; (3) an *object*, which will be a noun or pronoun naming the receiver of the action; and (4) *complements*, which add further detail about the other major sentence parts and which may be any part of speech.

The words in a Sitimaxa sentence are placed in a specific order: (I) *complements*; (II) *interrogatives, demonstratives or possessive pronouns*; (III) a *noun or pronoun as subject*; (IV) a *noun or pronoun as object*; (V) *adjectival modifier or postposition* words describing the subject and/or object; (VI) *adverbial modifier* words describing the verb or adjectival modifiers; (VII) *preverbs*, which help define the *action* or *condition* of the verb in the sentence; and finally, in last position, (VIII) the *verb* itself. Each of these is discussed in that order below.



(I) **Complements.** In Sitimaxa the verb of an English dependent clause, such as *when I arrived*, is shown by a special form, and the relating word (in this case *when*) is not translated. When the subject of both parts of a Sitimaxa sentence are the same, such forms are made by adding **-iig(x)** to verb stems ending in a vowel, **-g(x)** to stems ending in **m, w, or y**, **-dk(x)** to stems ending in **n**, and **-k(x)** to stems ending in any other consonant — **quci-** *to do*, **quciigx** *doing*; **qām-** *to see*, **qāmgx** *seeing*; **jāān-** *to talk*, **jāāndkx** *talking*, **giht-** *to hit*, **gihtkx** *hitting*. Thus *when I saw him* is translated simply as **qix hus qāmgx** — these structures are modifying complements to the rest of the sentence and, in this case, may be translated literally as “*My seeing him*”. When the subject of both parts of a Sitimaxa sentence are different, as in *When I saw him, he left*, the dependent clause verb form will add **-<sup>l</sup>te** as in **qix hus qāmte**. This device is **very** widely used in Sitimaxa and should be employed whenever **any** kind of dependent clause would be used in English.

(II) **Interrogatives.** Interrogatives come first in a Sitimaxa sentence after any complement forms. For example; **Qām sa?** *What is that?*; **Quc sānki?** *Who is there?*; **Qānjit hus?** *Where is he?*; **Qaxtēm cuyiqi?** *Which one is coming?*; **Qaxtaagx?** *Why?*; **Qāmquc cuyiqi?** *Why is he coming?*; **Qānjup cuyiqi?** *Where is he going?*; **Qaxt cuyiqi?** *How is he going?*; **Qānix?** *How much/many?*; **Weytēnk cuyiqi?** *When is he coming?*

**Demonstratives.** Demonstratives are placed after any interrogatives, as in **Qām sa?** *What is that?*, but before any noun subject or object which they modify, as in **ha hānā** *this house*, **sa hānā** *that house* or *those houses*, **ho hānā** *these houses*, **we hānā** *the house*, **Qām sa patmā?** *What is that animal?*

**Possessive Pronouns.** Pronouns used to indicate possession are placed before the noun to which they refer:

<b>qix</b>	<i>my</i>	<b>qux</b>	<i>our</i>
<b>himq</b>	<i>your (sg.)</i>	<b>was</b>	<i>your (pl.)</i>
<b>hus</b>	<i>her, his, its</i>	<b>hunks</b>	<i>their</i>

Examples are: **qix kix** *my dog*, **himq guxti** *your food*.

(III) & (IV) **Nouns as Subjects and Objects.** Nouns have the same form in the singular and plural except for 29 nouns indicating relationships (see Section 4). They are used as subjects and objects in Sitimaxa sentences (see the examples in the previous and following sections). Nouns used as objects are placed after nouns used as subjects. Indirect objects (indicating *to* or *for* whom something is done) usually come after direct objects. For example; **We pānx sa kica qāmi** *The man saw that woman* (lit. *The + man + that + woman + saw*); **We kica we guxti sa kix hup qaqi** *The woman gave that dog the food* (lit. *The + woman + the + food + that + dog + to + gave*).

**Pronouns as Subjects and Objects.** Pronouns are used exactly like nouns as the subject or object of a sentence:

<b>qix</b>	<i>I, me</i>	<b>qux</b>	<i>we, us</i>
<b>himq</b>	<i>you (sg.)</i>	<b>was</b>	<i>you all</i>
<b>hus</b>	<i>he, she, it, him, her</i>	<b>hunks</b>	<i>they, them</i>

Examples are: **qix hiki** *I am*, **hus qix demiqi** *he hit me*, **qux guxti hunks hup qaquinuk** *we gave them food*.

(V) **Adjectival Modifiers.** Nouns, whether subjects or objects, are followed by their modifiers, which act like English adjectives. These normally end in **-i, -in, -(i)gi, -a, -mix, or -nix**. They use plural forms in **-kānk, -kiig, -kapa, or -kpigi**, as in **hejin** *holy (sg.)*, **hejinkānk** *holy (pl.)*;

**qatin** *large* (sg.), **qatkapa** *large* (pl.); **huygi** *good* (sg.), **huykpigi** *good* (pl.). For example: a *Holy man* would be **pānx hejin**; *holy men* would be **pānx hejinkānk**; *the holy man* would be **we pānx hejin**, and *the holy men* would be **we pānx hejinkānk**.

**Postpositions.** Postpositions function like English prepositions, except that they always come after the word they go with. The commonest postpositions are: **cun** *for*, **kin** *with*, **hup** *to*, and **hix** *by*. For example; **we pānx cun** *for the man*; **we kici kin** *with the woman*; **sa kix hup** *to that dog*; **himq hix** *by you*. *In* is expressed by the suffix **-nki**, as in **hānānki** *in the house* (= “at home”).

(VI) **Adverbial Modifiers.** Sitimaxa has many words which, like English adverbs, are used to modify the meaning of verbs. Most of these forms are actually modifying noun adjectives by form, many of them ending in **-(i)gi**. Since the verb comes last in a Sitimaxa sentence, these adverb-like forms are usually placed immediately before the **verb**. For example; **hus juugi nuhc māxi** *he is running swiftly*, **Was hecmāxta qucaaxnā** *You all did it yesterday*. As in English, such adverbial modifiers may also modify a modifying noun adjective. When an adverbial modifier is used in this manner, it will be placed after the word it modifies. For example; **qix huygi keystigi** *I am very well*, **hus juugi keystigi nuhc māxi** *he is running very swiftly*.

(VII) **Preverbs.** There are seven words, called preverbs, which may be used before many verbs to give them added meaning. These are:

<b>hi</b> <i>away</i>	<b>nī</b> <i>down</i>
<b>his</b> <i>again</i>	<b>qap</b> <i>toward</i>
<b>kap</b> <i>up</i>	<b>qapx</b> <i>together, around</i>
<b>kas</b> <i>away and back</i>	

These forms are used very frequently, often with difficult to see function and meaning. Some verbs always use a preverb, and they are listed with the preverb in the vocabularies. For example; **hi cuw-** *to travel* (**cuw-** *to go*), **qapx cuw-** *to travel around*, **kap nīy-** *to get flooded* (= *filled up*); **nī cuw-** *to decrease* (= *to go down*).

(VIII) **Verbs.** The main stem of the verb will add suffixes to show *tense*, *number* (singular or plural), and *person* (1st: *I* or *we*; 2nd/3rd: *you*, *he*, *she*, *it*, *you all*, *they*) in that order:

<p><b>TENSE:</b>  <b>Continuative Tense</b> (“am or was”):          -(q)ix after consonants          -aax after vowels  <b>Aorist Tense</b> (“do or did”): no suffix  <b>Future Tense</b> (“shall/shall”):          -<sup>1</sup>cu- singular, -<sup>1</sup>di- plural  <b>Conditional Tense</b> (“should, would”):          -x added to Future forms  <b>Usitative Tense</b> (“usually”):          -puy-  <b>Commnd (Imperative):</b>          -(q)aa = normal command          qaxt + -<sup>1</sup>te = polite</p> <p><b>NUMBER:</b>          Singular: -Ø or -(y)i = <i>I, you, he, she</i>          Plural: -n(ā/u) = <i>we, you all, they</i></p> <p><b>PERSON:</b>          1st: -k(i) = <i>I, we</i>          2nd/3rd: -Ø or -(q)i/a = <i>you, he, she, it, you all, they</i></p>	<p><b>Continuative Tense</b>  <b>After Cons. After Vowels</b>  <b>Singular:</b>          -(q)ixik(i) -aaxik(i)          -(q)ixi(qi) -aaxi(qi)  <b>Plural:</b>          -(q)ixnuk -aaxnuk (-naka)          -(q)ixna(qa) -aaxna(qa)</p> <p><b>Aorist Tense</b>  <b>Singular:</b> <b>Plural:</b>          -ik(i) -nuk (-naka)          -i(qi) -na(qa)</p> <p><b>Future Tense</b>  <b>Singular:</b> <b>Plural:</b>          -cuk(i) -dinuk (-dinaka)          -cuy(i) -dina(qa)</p>
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Examples:

**qām qixik(i)** *I see*  
**qām i(k)** *I saw*  
**qām cuk(i)** *I shall see*  
**Qām qaa!** *Look!*

**jāān qixi(qi)** *he is talking*  
**jāān qi(qi)** *he talked*  
**jāān cuy(i)(qi)** *he will talk*  
**Jāān qaa!** *Talk!*

**qucaaxik(i)** *I do*  
**qucik(i)** *I did*  
**qucicuk(i)** *I shall do*

**nucmāāxnā(qā)** *they work*  
**nucminā(qā)** *they worked*  
**nucmidinā(qā)** *they will work*

**Making New Words in Sitimaxa.** (1) Verbs may be made into general nouns by adding **-pa** or **-i** directly to stems ending in a consonant — **qām-** *to see*, **qāmpa** *sight*; and to the stem minus its final vowel with stems ending in a vowel — **huymā-** *to love*, **huympa** *love*; **nucmā-** *to work*, **nucmpa** or **nucmī** *work (noun)*.

(2) Verbs may be made into *-er* nouns by adding **-m** to verb stems ending in **-a** — **huymā-** *to love*, **huymām** *lover*; **nucmā-** *to work*, **nucmām** *worker*; and **-mix** or **-nix** to verb stems ending in a consonant or **-i** (which is dropped) — **quci-** *to do*, **qucmix** *a doer*; **pex-** *to fly*, **pexnix** *aviator, pilot*. These forms have plurals in **-mānk**, as in **nucmānk** *workers*, **pexmānk** *aviators, pilots*.

(3) Noun and verb bases may be compounded to yield new forms, often with accompanying sound change of the final or initial sounds of the parts of the resulting new form — **waxta** *day* + **hejin** *holy* = **waxtejin** *holiday/holy day*.

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