

ZUNI

BY

RUTH L. BUNZEL



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INTRODUCTION

Zuni is the language of the so-called Zuni Indians, a tribe occupying a single pueblo with outlying villages in Valencia Country, western New Mexico. The population in 1928 was 1,920 having increased somewhat since the federal census of 1910 in which the tribe was numbered at 1,640. The village of Zuni is situated on the north bank of the Zuni River, 38 miles south of Gallup, division point of the Santa Fé Railway and the nearest town and trading center. The reservation extends some miles west of Zuni along the river, and northeast along the river valley to the continental divide. In addition to the town of Zuni, which has grown greatly in extension in recent years, are four farming villages occupied for the most part in summer only, although a few families remain in their country houses all year round. These villages are situated at distances of from four to twenty miles from the town.

The Zunis call themselves *a'ciwi*; the word may possibly be derived from *ci-*, "flesh". (*a-* plural prefix; *-wi* unknown significance. Cf. *ci'le*, a piece of meat; plural *ciwe*. Note difference in final vowel.) Mrs. Stevenson erroneously connects this word directly with the stem word *ciwe* despite the significant difference of the final vowel.

The word may also be related to the Keresan word *ciwan·a* storm cloud, which finds its way into the Zuni language in the word *ciwan·i* "priest," and in songs, as *ciwan·a*, "rain cloud;" also the *ciwana·kwe*, a curing society.

The popular name for the town is *ciwina·kwi* (*ciwi* + *na*, "at," common affix for place names, + *kwi* "place"). The term *ciwona* given by Cushing, Bandelier and others quoting them, has never been heard by the writer during years of residence in the village. The proper name of the village is *i'tiwan·a*, "the middle," a term of mythological significance. The word Zuni was first applied to the village by Antonio de Espejo, and is the Keresan term *sini*, which, according to Boas, is an obsolete and sacred Keresan word for "middle".

The language contains many Spanish and fewer English loan words. The Spanish words for the most part are names of objects of foreign provenience, and were taken over along with the objects, during the early period of Spanish contact, e. g. *kä'ne·lu* sheep (Sp. *carnero*), *olo*, gold (Sp. *oro*), *wa'käci*, cattle (Sp. *vaca* + *ci* Zuni

termination for animal names), *ma'nsana* apple (Sp. *manzana*), *ma'kina* sewing machine (Sp. *máquina*). The present tendency is to use a Zuni descriptive phrase for borrowed objects, e. g. *he'onan·e* railroad (*he-* "metal" + *onan·e* "road"); *he'kākwen·e*, railway train (*he-* "metal" + *kākwen·e* "house"); *k'äkwenla'tap'a* (*k'äkwen·e* "house" + *latap'a* "winged"); *ci'wayan t'a'tepololon·e* automobile (*ciwayan·e* derivation unknown + *tatebololon·e* "wagon", a descriptive term, literally "wood roller"); but *ci'porea* (Chevrolet) any automobile that is not a Ford.

Almost all Zuni proper names are of foreign origin. There are a great many Spanish names frequently not recognized as being of Spanish origin, but given as "Zuni"¹ names. There are also many names of Navajo and Keresan origin. It is probable that all names ending in *-tiwa* (m.) and *-titsa* (f.) are of Keresan origin, since these are the obligatory masculine and feminine endings in that language. The ending *-tiwa* for masculine personal names is also common among the Hopi.

Zuni's nearest neighbors at present are the Navajo (Athapaskan), who practically surround their reservation. Their nearest neighbors among the settled peoples are the Acoma and Laguna (Keresan) about 60 miles northeast, and the Hopi (Shoshonean) 150 miles to the northwest. Their most frequent contacts seem to have been with the Hopi and Navajo. There is a tradition of tribal warfare with both of these tribes. They have extensive trading relations with both.

The published material on the Zuni language comprises a few short ritual texts included by F. H. Cushing in *Zuni Fetishes* (RBAE 2) and by Stevenson in *Zuni Indians* (RBAE 23). These texts are not analyzed. A series of ritual texts collected by the writer has been published in the 47th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and a collection of ethnological texts and folk tales in the *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. 15. The references marked (Z) in the following pages are to this publication.

The material upon which the grammar is based was collected in 1926—1928 in the course of two trips under the auspices of the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University and the Social Science Research Council of the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation. Texts were dictated by the following informants:

1. Flora Suni, F., age 40, (daughter of 4), English.
2. Clarence, M., age 28, English.
3. Margaret Suni, F., age 42, daughter of 4, no English.

¹ See E. C. Parsons, *Zuni Names and Naming Practises*, J.A.F.L. 36: 171—176.

4. Lina Suni, F., age 70 (wife of 8.), no English.
5. Walelio, M., age 55, no English.
6. Lio Suni, M., age 45, son of 4, no English.
7. Nick, M., age 65, Spanish, English.
8. Suni, M., age 85, no English; father of 1, 3, 11.
9. Andelesi, M., age 60, no English.
10. Dick, M., age 65, a little English.
11. Josie Suni, F., age 25, daughter of 4, no English.

Warren Andelesi interpreted for his father; Flora Suni for the members of her family. Nick was his own interpreter. Flora proved to be not only a first rate interpreter but an excellent linguist as well, and much of the analysis is on the basis of her information. Informants 1—9 dictated texts published in the Ethnological Society Publication.

Ruth L. Bunzel.

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ZUNI

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1. Naming

1 *ho'na·wan*(1) *wi'hatsa'na*(2) *tem*(3) *hic*(4) *e'le*(5) *i'yaiyu'ya'*-
Our baby still very girl getting to know
k'äp'a(6) *ci'ik'än·a*(7). *ɔ'tsi*(8) *te'känuwap'a*(9) *an*(10) *na'na*(11)
something will have a name. Man if it had been his grandfather
yam(12) *ci'in*(13) *u'tsin·a*(14). *ta'htcic*(15) *tcim*(16) *an*(17)
his own name would give. Meanwhile first his

(1) Possessive pronoun, 3rd person, plural. See ¶ 138 of Grammar.

(2) *wiha*, stem, "baby"; *tsana*, stem, "small".

(3) adverb, "still, yet".

(4) adverb, "very".

(5) *e-*, stem, "girl", *'le*, nominal suffix with monosyllabic stems, inanimate class, singular; here an exception. See ¶ 128.

(6) *i-* reflexive, special usage with causative *-k'* ¶ 25; *-y-*, glide; between *i* and *a*; *ai* = *an*, direct object; *yu'ya-* transitive stem, "to know", possibly compounded of *yu'*, frozen stem, ¶ 23a "to feel", and *ya-*, active stem "to become complete"; *-k'* causative, special usage with *i-*; *-ä-* active, completive; *-p'* (*a*), present participle, new subject following. ¶ 105. Literally, "causing herself to know something".

(7) *ci'*- neutral stem, "name"; *-i-*, reduplicated vowel between ' and *k*; *-k'än·a*, present subjunctive, static, singular by inference, since there is no plural prefix. Literally, "there may be a naming." See ¶ 70.

(8) nominal stem, "male".

(9) *te-* neutral stem, "to be, to do"; *-känuwap'a*, subjunctive participle, based on present subjunctive. "had it been". See ¶ 111.

(10) *an*, possessive pronoun, 3rd person, singular.

(11) stem, "grandfather," (father's father or mother's father), "grandchild", man speaking. Reciprocal.

(12) reflexive possessive pronoun, "his own".

(13) *ci'in*, syntactic form of *ci'in·e*, *ci'*- neutral stem, "name"; *n·e*, nominalizing suffix, singular, inanimate (cf. *ci'le*, [pl. *ci've*] based on stem *ci-* "meat"). The duplication of the vowel is due to the glottal stop which is part of the stem, followed by the long consonant *n*. ¶ 130.

ci'in(13) *a'can·a*(18). *tcims*(16) *ci'unan*(19) *hom*(20) *na'na*(11)
 name would make. So first naming my grandchild
t'o'(21) *tsa'wak*(22) *yo't'u'*(23). *t'o'*(21) *la'cit'u'*(24). *t'o'*(25) 5
 you youth may become. You may grow you old. You
o'na-ya't'u'(26). *t'o'*(21) *te'hyat'u'*(27) *hom*(20) *p'i'nan*(28)
 road may become finished. You may be valuable my breath

(14) present subjunctive, singular of the irregular verb *utsi*, to give it to him. See ¶ 104 for complete conjugation.

(15) adverb, "meanwhile", "on the other hand".

(16) adverb, "then", "first".

(17) independent pronoun, 3rd person, singular, oblique. "For him." ¶ 137.

(18) *ac-* transitive stem, "to make"; *-a-*, completive aspect; *na*, present subjunctive, singular. ¶ 70, 90.

(19) *ci'*-, neutral stem, "name"; *-u-*, conjugating vowel, transitive conjugation; completive; *-nan*, present participle; "naming her". See ¶ 80.

(20) possessive pronoun, 1st person, singular.

(21) independent personal pronoun, 2nd person, singular, subjunctive.

(22) *-ki*, nominal suffix used with names of classes of human beings. The stem *tsawa-* is probably related to *tsana*, "small, young".

(23) *yo-*, active intransitive stem, "to become"; *t'u*, optative, singular. See ¶ 77.

(24) *laci-*, stem, "old", also, "to be old, to grow old"; *t'u*, optative.

(25) *t'o'*, see note 21. Not strictly grammatical. Strictly speaking, the subject of the following verb is *ona*. See below.

(26) *ona-* neutral stem, "road"; *ya-*, active intransitive stem, "to become complete"; *t'u*, optative. Literally, "may (your) road become complete", *ona*, being the incorporated subject. However, it is used as a fixed compound, *ona* being regarded as part of the stem, and is used with the subjective pronoun, *t'o'*, freely translated, "may you finish your road". The transitive verb "to finish" is *ya·k'ä*, *ya-* and causative *k'*. See ¶ 36.

(27) *tehya*, neutral stem, "valuable", *t'u*, optative, singular. "may you be valuable", or "may you be saved".

(28) *p'i'nan* syntactic form of *p'i'nan·e*. *p'i'na-*, stem, "breath"; *-n·e*, nominalizing suffix, inanimate, singular.

(29) *tehya-* stem, "valuable"; *-p'(a)*, present participle, new subject following. ¶ 105.

(30) *le'*, stem, "this", *an-* indirect object, "to him", *ikw-* transitive stem, singular "to say"; *-a-* active, completive; *-nan*, present participle; *-s*, connective particle, "so". ¶ 40.

- te'hyap'a*(29) *le'anikwanans*(30) *ci'un·a*(31). *o'kä*(32) *te'*
 being valuable thus to him saying he will name him. Woman if
kānuwap'a(9) *an*(33) *hot*(34) *hoł*(35) *ta'htci*(15)
 it should be her maternal grandmother either meanwhile
an(33) *wo'wo*(36) *hoł*(35) *ci'in*(13) *u'tsin·a*(14).
 her paternal grandmother or name will give.
- 10 *ta'htci*(15) *an*(37) *tcim*(16) *na'na*(11) *a'can·a*(18). *tcim*(16)
 Meanwhile for her first grandfather will make. First
ci'un·a(31). *ʔa*(38) *u'hsite*(39) *p'e'na·wa'k·ä*(40) *yam*(41) *ho'ta*
 will name, and those same words with her own grand-
tsa'na(42) *o'na·ya'tun'ona*(43) *an*(44)
 daughter little road that it may be the one to be finished for her
p'e'yen·a(45).
 will speak.

(31) *ci'*-, neutral stem, "name;" -*u*-, conjugating vowel, active completeive; *n·a*, present subjunctive, singular. Cf. *p'ət'u*, ¶ 80.

(32) stem, "woman".

(33) possessive pronoun, 3rd person, singular.

(34) *hot* = *hota*, stem, "mother's mother". See note 42.

(35) *hoł* . . . *hoł*, "either or".

(36) stem, "father's mother".

(37) This might be either 3rd person possessive pronoun, "her", or independent personal pronoun, 3rd person, dative, "for her". ¶ 137.

(38) stem, "and".

(39) *uhsi*, demonstrative pronoun, "that"; -*te*, intensifying suffix, "that very one".

(40) *p'enaw* = *p'ena·we*, words (pl.) from stem *p'e*- "to speak", *ak·a*, post position, "by means of". ¶ 157.

(41) reflexive possessive pronoun, "her own".

(42) *hota*, stem, "mother's mother" or any grandchild, woman speaking; not a reciprocal term; *tsana*, adjective, "small, young".

(43) *ona*-, stem, "road;" *ya*- stem, "to become complete" (see note 26); *t'un*- participle based on the optative; *'ona*, agentive. Literally "may she be the one whose road may become complete". ¶ 112, and 167.

(44) Independent personal pronoun, 3rd person, singular, oblique, "for her".

(45) *p'e*, intransitive stem, "to speak," (irregular); -*n·a*, present subjunctive durative, singular by inference. See ¶ 104 for complete conjugation.

1. Naming

As soon as our baby is quite a girl and begins to recognize things, then she will have a name. If it should be a male his grandfather would give him his own name, or else he would make up a name for him. Then he would name him. "My grandchild, may you become a young man. May you grow old. May your road be fulfilled. May you become valuable, since my breath is valuable." So he would say and he would give him the name. If it should be a female, her mother's mother, or else her father's mother would make a name for her, and would name her. Then she would use these same words. She would speak to her grandchild that her road might be fulfilled.

2. Witchcraft

<i>a-pi'ta-ciwan-i</i> (1).	<i>kwa</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>luknia</i>	<i>a-ho'i</i>	<i>a-team·ep'a</i> (1a).	1
Bow priests.	Not	yet	these here	persons	not being	
<i>kak'holi</i>		<i>i-halikwicena'kä</i> (2).		<i>tem</i>	<i>ho'</i>	
long ago	there	used to be a taking away of witchcraft.		Still	I	
<i>t'opin-te tea'l il-ikä</i> (3).	<i>laciki</i>	<i>hatikwikä.</i>	<i>ha'i</i>	<i>pi'taciwan-i</i>		
only one child	had.	Old man practiced sorcery.	Three	bow priest		
<i>t'opa naiyutci</i>	<i>t'opa</i>	<i>kiye'isi</i>	<i>na-patu</i>	<i>uhsona</i>	<i>p'iyanapkä.</i>	
one (name)	one	(name)	(name)	those the ones	hung him.	
<i>ma·k'ona</i> (4)	<i>ank'etsana</i> (5).	<i>uhsona</i>	<i>ma·ki</i>			5
Young woman the one	in her he delighted.	That one	young woman			
<i>kwa antecemanam·e.</i>	<i>ikane'a</i> (6).	<i>ma·ki</i>	<i>samu</i>	<i>we'a.</i>		
(not) does not want him.	He is angry.	Young woman	ugly	is sick		

(1) In the following pages stress accent has not been indicated. It is always on the first syllable. See ¶ 10. ¶ (1a.) *kwa . . . a-team·ep'a*. *kwa* introduces the negative phrase; *a-* plural of intransitive verbs; *te-* neutral stem, to be or do; *am·e*, present, static, negative; *-p'a*, participle, new subject following.

(2) *i-* plural, indirect object (see ¶ 40); *hatikwi*, neutral stem, "witch" "to be a witch", (*kwi* possibly is a suffix); *-c-* suffix, "to remove" (see ¶ 27); *-e-*, repetitive; *na'kä*, resultative, past. Literally "witchcraft used to be removed from them".

(3) *il-*, neutral stem, "with," *-i-*, static; *kä*, past, singular.

(4) *ma·ki*, young married woman with children; *ki*, nominal suffix (see ¶ 126); *'ona*, "the one who is", indicating direct object; See ¶ 136.

(5) *an*, indirect object; *k'et'sa-* active stem, "to enjoy"; *na*, adjectival or static suffix. See ¶ 34.

(6) An active verb, like *we'a* below. The stem is *ikä-* (cf. *ikäti*, "to become angry") *ikäne'a* is based on a participial or adjectival form. Present tense, durative. The narrative precedes in the present tense.

- acen'iha*(7). *an e'nin·e pipto· le· uhsona ante-*
She is about to die. Her belt fringes this much that one from her
- hakikä*(8) *ak·ä halicotikä*(9). *halikwi p'i'nakä*(10) *t'sume*
he cut off; therefore she became crazy. Witch wind strong
- ye·makuna*(11) *an e'nin·e an pipton·e antehak'i'koa*(12)
coming up her belt its fringe which was cut off
- 10 *tolto·kä ak·ä halicotikä. acen'iha.*
he set up on a stick therefore she became crazy. She is about to die.
- napatu cema·kä. halikwi we'an'ona*(13) *ma·ki tcu-ał-*
(name) sought him. Witch the sick one young woman lying down
- kwin*(14) *ikä. halikwi i·mukä*(15). *kwa antecemanam·-*
where she is he came. Witch seated himself. (Not) he did not wish
- kä*(16). *kwa ho' lesnunam·kä. kwa ho' anikwam·e t'o'*
it. (Not) I this did not do. (Not) I do not know how. You
- tekwan·te p'eye'a. kwa ho' anikwam·e. t'o' yosek'e'a*(17).
all in vain are talking. (Not) I do not know how. You lie.
- 15 *kwa kä·k'i t'om ho' al·tena'ma*(18). *t'o' tekwan·te t'o'*
Not ever you I did not approach (you). You all in vain you

(7) *ace-* stem, "to die", *n'iha*, present imminent. See ¶ 66.

(8) *an-*, indirect object, "for her"; *te*, a pluralizing and probably a distributive element; *haki-* active stem, "to cut off"; *kä*, past tense, singular. *te* probably refers to plural object, cf. *tehaktco*.

(9) *halico*, "crazy", *-ti-* inceptive; *kä*, past tense, active, singular.

(10) *kä*, a suffix for abstract nouns and infinitives; there is no corresponding verbal form. *p'i'nan·e* is the usual word for wind.

(11) *ye·mak^u*, "to ascend"; the stem is probably *ak^u* (cf. *elemaku*, to stand up, *pilaku* to sit up); *na* = *nan*, present participle.

(12) a static, not a passive form. *'koa*, the one which was . . ."

(13) *we'an-*, adjectival or participial form of the active verb *we'a*; *ona*, "the one who is".

(14) *tcu-*, stem, "lie down", (of a person); *a(l)-* stem, "a long or flat object lies", static conjugation of the verb *a-*; *kwin* locative suffix "where it is".

(15) *i-* reflexive; (*i*)*m-*, stem, "to sit or be sitting"; *-u-*, active; *-kä*, past, singular.

(16) *antecema*, "to desire", at present unanalysable, but probably based on *cema*, "to ask for"; *nam·kä*, past, singular, negative. See ¶ 164.

(17) *yose*, adjectival stem, "false"; *-k'*-, causative; *-e'a*, present, durative.

(18) *a* = *an*, direct object; *lote*, neutral stem, "near"; *na'ma*, active, present, singular, negative.

p'eye'a. ele·te homan t'o' e'nin·e pipton·e t'o' antehakikä
are talking. Yes indeed from me you belt fringe you cut off.

akä kwa hom tse'makwin k'okcam·e. p'ene pi'laciwan·i
Therefore (not) my spirit is not good. Speak! bow priest

le'anikwakä(19). hatikwi lesanikwakä(19). kwa
thus to him said. Witch this that follows to him said. (Not) [I]

antecema·na'ma. t'o' kwa p'ena'map'a yätokwi(20) t'o' kwai'in·a.
do not wish it. You (not) not speaking sun to you will go out.

Pelapte lesanikwakä. ma·ki hom 20
At night even this that follows she said to him. Young woman me

ankohati. homa·ni(21) e'nin·e pipton·e hom t'o' lesnac-
pity (me). Mine belt fringe my you which you have

koa(22). uhsona hom a·wutsi. hom ankohati.
thus taken away those to me give them. Me pity.

ten·a' hom t'o' lesalewukä. t'o' yam otpan·e t'o'
Notwithstanding to me you thus did. You your headband you

a·pik'aiakä. pi'laciwan·i otpahkä(23). isk'on peha'kä
tied them to it. Bow priest, headband took off. There it was wrapped.

e'nin·e am pipto·we a·pik'aiakä. an ank'ohakä. 25
Belt its fringes he had tied them on. Him he discovered (him).

kwa antecemanam·kä. ikänikä kwa hatikvam·e(24).
(Not) he did not wish it. He was angry. (Not) [I] am not a witch.

kwa antecemana'ma. ikäne'a.
(Not) he did not want it. He is angry.

ma·ki acen'iha. tek'ohati(25)kwa p'eyena'ma.
Young woman is about to die. Daybreak (not) she does not speak.

(19) *le-* "thus or this much"; *an*, "to him"; *ik^u-*, stem, "to say", (with direct quotation.) This form follows the quotation. *leskwa*, or *lesanikwa* precedes the quotation.

(20) *yäto-*, stem, "to cross over"; *kä*, abstract nominal suffix; (cf. *yäton·e*, "day", literally "a crossing over" (of the sun). The meaning of the sentence is "your crime will be revealed to the Sun."

(21) Independent personal pronoun, 1st person, singular, genitive.

(22) One of a number of verbs based on the stem *les-*, "thus"; *-c-* is a suffix meaning to remove. See ¶ 27.

(23) *otpa-*, neutral stem, "headband"; *-h-*, suffix, "to undo"; *kä*, past, singular, active.

(24) *hatikw(i)*, neutral stem, "witch, to practise sorcery"; the form is static, present, negative.

(25) *t'e-*, "time, space"; *k'oha*, "white, to be white" (the adjective "white" is *k'ohana*, based on a participial form. See ¶ 34) *-ti-*, inceptive; "space (the sky) begins to whiten".

- t'elap'a kə-wi p'eyekä. halikwi t'ewus amp'eyekä. kwa*
At night a little she spoke. Witch prayers to him she spoke. (Not)
- 30 *antecemanam-kä. halikwi ikänikä. an tatsu pi'laciwan-i*
he did not wish it. Witch was angry. His father bow priest
- yam t'am ak'ä ikätikä. yam t'amk'äpnān-ē(26).*
his own club with he became angry. His war club.
- itowenapkä'tap'a(27) ma'ki acekä. halikwi ma'ki*
They ate and then young woman died. Witch young woman
- acen'ihap'a(28) ana-kwai'ikä. wan-an yam*
being about to die running he went out. For a moment his own
- k'äkwin a-kä. halikwi an-a-kä. ma'ki acekä. an*
house to he went. Witch running went. Young woman died. Her
- 35 *a-tsita an a-papa a-k'oyekä. kwanteapkä(29). k'ocona'-*
mothers her elder brothers wept. She was dressed. She was
- kä(30). an kuku a^uwatekä(31). an kuku k'äwai-wak'ä*
washed. Her aunt washed her head. Her aunt prayer meal with
- tem-l k'usk'äkä(32). acekä. halikwi ainakä. k'wamasi e'nin-e*
all dried her. She died. Witch killed her. Worthless belt
- piptowe ak'ä an eleteakä(33).*
fringes with her he fixed.
- ma'k'ona acekä. pi'laciwan-i ha'imona hali-*
Young woman the one died. Bow priest three the ones exor-
- 40 *kwickä(34). ha'imona t'opa naiyutci t'opa kiye'isi kwil-i hic*
cised. Three the ones one (name) one (name) two very

(26) *t'a(m)*- a short thick stick, *k'äp(i)*, transitive verb, "to beat"; *-nan*, participial or nominalizing suffix; *-n-e*, nominal suffix, singular, inanimate. See ¶ 130.

(27) *ito-*, stem, "to eat", here in durative aspect; *nap*, plural (transitive); *kä*, past; *t'a*, enclitic, "and", with the gerundive ending, *p'a*. See ¶ 105.

(28) participle based on the imminent aspect, *acen'iha*, "she is about to die".

(29) *kwantea* (*we*), "clothing", from *kwa*, "something" and *lea*, "to carry"; an impersonal plural. See ¶ 58.

(30) *k'oco-*, transitive stem, "to wash"; resultative, past tense. ¶ 67.

(31) *a^u* = *an*, direct object. The *n* is elided and the *a* diphthongised due to stress accent and following *n*. See ¶ 3, 14.

(32) *k'us-* active stem, "to become dry"; *-k'*-, causative.

(33) Probably *ele*, "well", and *te-*, "to be or do".

(34) *halikwi*, stem, "witch", *-c-*, suffix "to remove", *kä*, past, active, completive, singular. See note 2, ¶ 399.

məsiye(35). *i·lata·we.* *t'a* *t'opa* *napatu* *ha'i* *a·pi'ta·ciwan·i.*
are leaders. Wars. And one (name) three bow priests.

ma·k'ona *an* *a·papa* *an* *ak'onapkä*(36).
Young woman the one her elder brothers for her dug a grave.

ahnān(37) *kwa'i'ikä.* *ak'o* *tetacak'änapkä.* *a·k'oyekä.*
Taking it a they went out. Grave deep they made. They cried.

ete·lokwi(38) *p'alonapkä.* *hatikwi* *an* *k'äkwin* *ana-*
Corpse burying place they buried her. Witch his house to running

kwa'i'ik'änapkä(39). *i·wəhanap'enankwi*(40) *a·pi'ta-* 45
they brought out. At the place where they used to hang them bow

ciwan·i *hatikwi* *il·ap* *a·wikä.* *ma·k'ona*
priests witch being with they came. Young woman the one

ainakoa(41) *k'ume tacana* *kwa'i'ina'*(42) *p'iyanapkä.*
the one who had killed her log long coming out they hung him.

kempik'aianak·ä. *yalicekä.* *kwa* *antecemanam·kä.* *pi'laciwan·i*
Hide string with. He denied it. (Not) he did not wish it. Bow priest

ma·k'ona *p'alokä.* *ak·ä* *ikane'a.* *napatu* *hic*
young woman the one he buried. Therefore he is angry. (Name) very

ace·we *k'oye'a.* *mak'ona* *p'alokä.* *hic* *yam* 50
hard wept. Young woman the one he buried. Very his

t'amk'apnan·e *ak·ä* *contela'koa*(43) *ocokwi'koa* *t'am* *ak·a* *t'am-*
war club. with face all over head all over club with war

(35) Dual; the dual pronoun is omitted.

(36) *ak'o*- neutral stem, "hole, to dig a hole"; past tense, active, plural.

(37) *a*- "one small or long thing lies"; *-h*- conversive; *-nan*, present participle. This does not refer to the corpse, but to some small implement.

(38) *ete* (*we*) corpses; *-lo*- "to hide or bury", (cf. following word, *p'alonapkä*); *kwi*, locative.

(39) *ana*- stem occurring in compounds only, "to run"; *kwa'i'i*-, to go out", *-k'*-, causative.

(40) *i*-, plural object; *wəhana*, neutral stem, "many things hang", *p'e*- customary (See ¶ 29); *nan*, present participle; *-kwi*, post position, "where"; "where they always used to hang them".

(41) *aina*-, transitive stem, "to kill or strike one;" *koa*, nomen actoris, past tense, "the one who killed her"; *ma·k'ona* is the direct object of the clause.

(42) *kwa'i'i*, "to come out"; (*n*)*a*, locative. The final aspiration does not appear to be a significant part of the suffix, but is frequent enough and pronounced enough to be recorded. It may indicate something elided.

- k'äpnan·e ak' ainakä. habikwi kwa k'onam·kä*(44). *ace·*
club with he struck him. Witch not he did not cry out. Hard
- ainapte*(45) *kwa k'onam·kä. p'iyaye. itiwap'a*
striking even not he did not cry out. He is hanging. At midday
- p'iyakä. et paloknan p'iyakä. yätonil·i*
he was hanging. Corpse being buried he hung him. All day long
- 55 *p'iyakä. lesnapte kwa habikvam·e. kwa antecema·*
he was hanging. Even so (not) he is not a witch. Not he does not
- nam·kä. ainanapkä. a·pi'ta·ciwan·i ha'imona aina·*
wish it. They struck him. Bow priests three the ones they
- napkä. kwa antecemana'mapte p'ek'äna·wetiha*(46)
struck him. (Not) not wanting even though they will make him speak
- ak'ä ace· ainanapkä. lesnapte acen'iyahnan·te*(47)
therefore hard they struck him. Even so even though about to die
- kwa p'ena'ma. t'awak'a ainanapkä. a·pi'ta·ciwan·i*
not he does not speak. Clubs with they struck him. Bow priests.
- 60 *ko·macko·na a·ho'i anhap'okä*(48). *pi'tacivan·i weatco·*
Many people gathered about him. Bow priest called out to all
- kä*(49). *k'äl hap'o a·ho'i. ho'na·wan hap'o. lukä*
directions. Hither gather people! To us gather! This one
- p'eyen'iha. kwahot yam ai·yutcian'ona*(50)
is about to talk. Something his own to be marvelled at, the ones
- p'eyen'iha. k'äl ho'na·wan hap'o. lukä p'eyen'iha.*
he is about to speak. Hither to us gather! This one is about to talk.

(43) *contela*, "side of the face"; *-koa*, post-position, "at different places, all over"; not to be confused with the other *koa*, "the one who did..."

(44) negative of *k'one*, completive aspect of *k'oye'a*.

(45) *aina-*, "to kill or strike one"; *-p*, participle, new subject following; *-te* intensifying (see ¶ 29a).

(46) *p'e-* stem, "to speak", *-k'*-, causative; *na·we*, plural, active; present; *-tiha*, imminent aspect, plural.

(47) Based on the present imminent, *acen'iha*. See ¶ 7 for phonetic shift.

(48) *an-*, indirect object; *hap'(o)*, stem, "to gather together", (intransitive); *kä*, past.

(49) *wea-* transitive stem, "to call out"; *-tco-* suffix, "on all sides", *kä*, past, singular.

(50) *ai = an*, indirect object; *yutci-* stem, "to marvel", *-an*, participial or adjectival suffix; *'ona*, "the one". See ¶ 167 for discussion of the syntax.

wan p'iyahnapkä(51) akä p'eyen·a. anha-
For a moment they took him down so that he might speak. They gathered
p'okä. hatikwi yam a·ho'i late'koa uhsona p'eyekä. 65
to him. Witch his own people the ones he had killed that he spoke.

ko·macko·na a·ho'i hap'okä. anhatianapkä. p'eyekä.
Many people gathered. They listened to him. He spoke.

aiyutciāna p'eyekä. tcuhoti tcak'okci tcawil·ap'a
Things to wonder at he spoke. Whoever child good children having
kwahoti w·wak·ä k·āne·lu wakäci kwahot ak·ä eleteap'a
something flocks with sheep cattle something with being well fixed

ho'na·wan ike·nan(52) uve. ak·a hon latena·we(53). kopl·ati
our hearts in it hurts. Therefore we are killing them. Why

lesap t'o' ma·k'ona ainakä? le'ana'käp'a ho' 70
being thus you woman the one killed her? This to him being said I

il alan'ihap'a kwa antecemanam·e. ikänikä.
with her wishing to sleep (not) she did not wish it. She was angry.

ma·ki hom anap'ekä. isk'onhoti hom ike·nan
Young woman me scolded. There somewheres my heart in

uwetikä(54). ak·ä ho' antehakikä. t'owayälakwi
it began to hurt. Therefore I cut it off from her. Corn Mountain at

p'i'nakä t'sume ye·makunankwi an e'nin an pipto·we ho'
wind strong coming up where her belt its fringes I

antehakikä. ho' p'ehan ackä. käpuli latsiton·e ho' tcolto·kä. 75
cut off. I bundle made. twig I set it up on a stick.

ak·ä p'i'nakä t'sume ye·makunan p'ehan tcolto·kwi
Therefore wind strong coming up bundle where it is tied up

ak·ä nabilik'äkä. halicotikä ma·ki
therefore it shook in the wind. She became crazy. Young woman

acekä. ko·macko·na ho'·o a·ho'i ho' latekä. t'a tenati
died. Many I people I killed them. And notwithstanding

le·wi ho' tehya'kä. ko·macko·na hon i·yanaiyu'ya·nap'a(55)
this much I was valuable. Many we one another knowing

(51) *p'iya-*, neutral stem, "to hang"; *-h-* conversive; *-nap-*, plural transitive; *kä*, past.

(52) *ike·na*, "heart"; *-n-*, locative suffix. See ¶ 151.

(53) *lat-*, transitive stem, "to kill many"; *-e-*, durative; *na·we*, plural, present.

(54) *uve*, static verb, "it hurts", *ti*, inceptive.

(55) *iyān*, reciprocal; *ai=an*, direct object, "it"; (see ¶ 3 for vocalic shift); *yu'ya·na*, transitive stem, "to know" (see note 6 p. 396); *p'a*, irregular plural, present tense, probably distributive (¶ 58).

- 80 *kwa ho' sama team'e. hom takikwi hom a-tatcu hom*
 not I alone am not. My paternal household my fathers my
tatcutsana a'tci tem a'tci ho'i. luknok'ona hom
 little father (uncle) both still both people. These the ones me
puanapkä. ma i'cimana-we'(56). a-pi'la-ciwan-i le'a-wanikwakä.
 initiated. Well call them! Bow priests thus to them he said.
i'cemanapkä. an tatcutsan'ona a-pi'la-ciwan-i i-ce-
 They called them. His little father, the one bow priests they
manapkä. an kuku an tatcu kwilim'ona la' an kuku
 called them. His aunt his father two the ones then his aunt
- 85 *ha'imona i'cemanapkä. p'o'ula'kä. hatikwic-*
 three the ones they called them. He was sitting outside. They stripped
napkä. an tatcutsana p'o'ulakwi te'tcinan
 off his witchcraft. His little father sitting outside where arriving
ikätikä. an tatcu ikätikä. kwahot t'o' tekwan-te
 he became angry. His father became angry. Something you all in vain
p'eye'a. kwa ho' aiyu'ya-nam'e. imatcic t'o' sam aiyu'ya-na.
 speak. (Not) I do not know how. Of course you alone know how.
t'o' yosek'e'a. kwa kwahot t'ek'aiala kwa ho' aiyu'ya-nam'e.
 You lie. (Not) anything destructive (not) I do not know.
- 90 *t'o' yosek'e'a. imatcic hot t'o' yanik'äkä(57). an kuku*
 You lie. Of course somewhere you learned it. His aunt
k'oyekä. kwa hatikwam'ekän'iyahnan(58) k'oyekä. kwa p'eye-
 cried. (Not) not wanting to be a witch she cried. (Not) she did
nam-kä yam kuku yam tatcu unatikana kwa p'eyenam-kä.
 not talk. His own aunt his own father seeing (not) he did not talk.
t'as ak'a a-pi'laciwan-i anhemotinapkä(59). anap'enap-
 Again then therefore bow priests tortured him. They scolded
kä. ik'walte pi'yakä. kwa p'eyena'map'a t'as ainana'kä.
 him. Once again they hung him. (Not) not speaking and so he is struck.
- 95 *t'awakä a-pilaciwan-i i-känikä(60). p'ena-t'sumek'ekä(61).*
 clubs with bow priests were angry. Words strong he is making.

(56) *i-*, plural object; (see ¶ 46); *cema*, transitive stem, "to call", *na-we*, plural imperative. Note final accent.

(57) *y-*, reflexive; *anikw-*, intransitive stem, "to know (a technique)", *-k'*, causative; the *kw* of the stem and *k'* have become assimilated, (see ¶ 5); *-a-*, conjugating vowel, active, completive; *kä*, past, singular.

(58) *hatikw(i)*, stem, "witch". Negative imminent participle. See ¶ 105, 163.

(59) *an*, direct object; *hemo-*, stem, "to boil over," *-ti-* inceptive; plural, past tense.

- anhatiana-we' et t'on loł wosliye. ko-macko-na t'on yam*
Listen to him! But you around are with them. Many you your
- i-yanaiyu'ya-nap'ona(62) luk p'eye'a. kwa luk sam'a*
knowing one another the ones this one speaks. (Not) this one alone
- team.e. uhsitetcoli(63) honkwati kwanhohi hon luwalaye.*
is not. That very one whoever perhaps or else a few we are standing.
- tewus ike'n'ona honkwat t'on puckwai'i. uhsitetcoli*
Prayer heart the ones perhaps you exceed. That very one whoever
- a-hatikwi ko-macko-na luk p'eye'a. ele yu'hatiak'äna-we'. 100*
witches many this one speaks. Well heed him!
- yam ko'lehoł ho'na a-wana-t'sumena-we. uhsona luk p'eye'a.*
His something us he tries us. That this one speaks.
- kwa luk sam'a team.e. lon hoł t'on wosliye.*
Not this one alone is not. Around somewhere you are with them.
- ace konhohi t'o'na lakna'kät'apte(64) kwa t'on*
Hard whatever you have been beaten and even so (not) you
- a-p'eyena'ma(65). t'opehoł ainan'a itonuwanhohi(66).*
do not speak. Whichever one he may kill whether one may eat it.
- imatcic kwa yu'ya-nam-ep'a(67). a-wiyanikinane(68) is kwa 105*
Surely not are not wise. One another relatives that (not)

(60) *i-*, plural; *ikä*, stem, "to be angry". See note 6, ¶ 399.

(61) *p'ena-*, "words", from *p'e-*, "to speak"; *t'sume*, strong; *-k-* causative; *-e-*, durative; *kä*, past, singular. "He shouted".

(62) A common way of rendering indirect discourse, syntactically simple, but impossible to translate literally. See ¶ 167.

(63) *uhsi*, "that"; *-te*, intensifying (¶ 29a); *tcu(w)-* "someone" (140); *hohi*, "somewhere". *hohi . . . hohi*, "either . . . or".

(64) *lat-* "to kill many," (*t* changes to *k* before *n*;) resultative, past, with connective, *t'ap*, "and"; and the intensifying *-te*. "You have been beaten, and even so . . .". The preceding *t'o'na* is incorrect for *t'on*. However the usage in regard to the subject of resultatives is not always clear.

(65) *a-*, plural; *p'e*, intransitive stem, "to speak", irregular. See ¶ 104.

(66) Subjunctive participle (see ¶ 105), with the particle *hohi*, "whether". The whole sentence is a rhetorical question, "Can you eat whichever one you may kill?"

(67) *yu'ya-na-*, intransitive, "to know"; to be distinguished from the transitive *aiyu'ya-na*, "to know something"; *m'e*, negative (with preceding *kwa*); *p'a*, irregular plural (See ¶ 58).

(68) *a(w)-* plural of nouns denominating classes of human beings; *iyanimikinane*, "relative"; (*ikina* is the term for younger sister, man speaking; *yan-*, reciprocal pronoun.) *iyanimikina-we*, is a more usual plural.

- elam·e ak' acetcop'a*(69) *kwac*(70) *ike·na uwam·e?*
 not well therefore on the point of death does (not) heart not hurt?
- imatcic hatikwap'a kwa yam i·yanikinan·e kwa ancohaticukwa*(71).
 Surely witches being not your relative not would not pity.
- kwa k'et'sanakäm·e*(72) *lukä p'eye'a. k'wamas lestenapte*
 Not it is not to be happy. This one speaks. Worthless even being thus
- t'on tcuwaiya ak'ä antehack'änä·wa*(73). *imat'hol*
 you someone therefore will cause him to suffer. It seems however
- 110 *twa tcak'o·kci tcawil'ap'a yam tcawakä eleteap'a*
 someone child good children having his children because of prospering
- kwa to'na·wa tse'nakwi. k'o·kcam·e. is lukä p'eye'a*
 (not) for you thoughts are not good. That this one speaks
- aiyutciana. ko'lehoti lukä pu'ana'koa*(74)
 wonderful. Whatever this one according to which he was initiated
- lukä p'eye'a. t'opa kwahoti ak'ä elete·ap ainanan an*
 this one speaks. One whatever with prospering killing him his
- hol kwahoti il·ikänuwanhoti*(75). *imatcic kwa yu'ya·*
 somewhere whatever whether one may have it? Surely not they are
- 115 *nam·ep'a. kwahol tem·la tewu'asela*(76) *hol tcuhoti*
 not wise. Something all jealous all the time somewhere whoever
- kwahol ak'ä eleteap'a to'na·wan ike·na kwa elam·e.*
 something because of prospering your heart (not) is not well.
- t'o'na hon a·wantehack'änä·wa. kwa uhson holi t'on i'tse-*
 You we shall cause to suffer. (Not) that whether you do not
- mana'ma. yam t'on ho'i antehack'änä·wa. t'opahoti*
 think of it. Your own you person you cause him to suffer one whichever

(69) *ace-*, stem, "to die"; this form has no parallel.

(70) *kwa*, indefinite pronoun, here introducing a negative clause; *-c-*, interrogative particle.

(71) *ankoha*, stem, "to pity", (*an* is probably incorporated object; *-ti-*, inceptive); *cukwa*, negative subjunctive (see ¶ 165).

(72) *k'et'sa-*, active stem, "to enjoy"; *-na*, participial or adjectival suffix; *kä*, infinitive; *m·e*, negative; "it is not at all a happy time".

(73) *an*, object; *k'*- causative; *na·wa*, present, subjunctive, active, plural. The rest at present unanalysable.

(74) *pu'a-*, transitive stem, "to initiate"; *-na*, resultative; *'koa*, "that which was"; the glottal stop appears in the past tense of static verbs.

(75) See note 66 above.

(76) *yu'asela*, "to feel jealous"; *te-* is a pluralizing or distributive element; probably the meaning is "jealous of everyone".

ainan'a *itonuwanhoti.* *kwahot* *ak'ä* *ele-*
 one may kill whether one may eat him. something with it that with
tea'koa *hoti* *il'ikänwanhoti* *t'opa* 120
 which he had prospered whatever whether one may have it. One
ainanak'an'a. *kwa t'on yaiyu'ya·nam·e.* *imatcic* *hotno* *t'on*
 will be killed. (Not) you are not wise. Surely wherever you
te'kaial *yanik'ena·we.* *t'on* *arwantehaca.* *kwahot* *il'ik'*
 destruction learn. You them make suffer. Something to have
hot *taphoti* *kwahot* *ak'ä* *kwa* *il'am·ek'anuwap'a(77)* *t'o'*
 either or else something with it (not) if you may not have you
yam *ulohnan·e* *yam* *ho'i* *t'on* *antehack'ana·we.* *imatcic* ·
 your own country your own people you cause to suffer. Surely
hatikwap'a *kwa* *kwahot* *iyo(78)* *team·e.* *tcuwaiya* *kwahot* 125
 being witches not something poor thing! is not. Whoever something
an ant'elakwina'(79) *t'o'na·wan* *tse'makwiwe* *hatikwap'a* *kwahot*
 his sustenance your thoughts being witches something
ak'ä *k'oyetun(80)* *te'tci* *tcuhot* *tse'makwiwe* *teatun'ona* *t'on*
 with it to weep only whoever thoughts the ones to be your
tse'makwiwe *kwa* *t'on* *yaiyu'ya·nam·e.* *hatikwap* *kwa* *tcuwa*
 thoughts not you are not wise. Being witches not someone
ankohatina·wam·e. *t'o'na·wan* *tse'makwin* *ak'ä* *hot*
 (you) do not pity him. Your thought because of somewhere
tcuw *ike·na* *we'a.* *tcuwa* *k'oye'a* *imatatcic* *lesnap'a* 130
 someone heart is sick. Someone is weeping. It seems indeed thus being
t'on *i'k'et'sana(81).* *tcuwa* *k'oyap'a* *yam* *tcawak'ä*
 you rejoice. Someone weeping his own children because of
ike·na *we'ap'a* *t'o'na·wa* *tse'makwi* *k'o·kci.* *kwa* *yu'ya·namep'a*
 hearts being sick your thoughts good. (Not) are not wise
hatikwap'a *kwa* *telankohatinakä(82)* *team·e.* *le'kwakä.*
 being witches (not) ever to feel sorry for him is not. Thus he said.

(77) Negative subjunctive participle, expressing negative condition. See ¶ 165.

(78) An exclamation of pity.

(79) *t'elakwi*, "touching or embracing"; cf. *tse'mak-t'elakwi*, "beloved", a poetic term. *ant'elakwina'* was translated "that by which we live".

(80) Gerund based on the optative. Stem, *k'o-*, "to cry out".

(81) *i'-*, plural subject, intransitive (see ¶ 51); *k'et'sa-*, stem, "to enjoy"; *-na*, adjectival ending (See ¶ 33).

(82) *tel-* prefix without parallel, but probably related to distributive *te-*.

- pi'laciwani ikānikā. weatcokā. yam*
 Bow priest was angry. He called out to all directions. His own
- 135 *a'ho'i i'nap'ekā(83). luwalan tem'la kwa aiyu'yanam-e.*
 people he scolded. Village all not he did not know it.
- i'nap'ekā. ma'ki aceko' ak'ä*
 He scolded them. Young woman the one who had died because of
- hatikwicna'kä. tcimt'ap yalicekä. yose kwa*
 the witchcraft was removed. First and he denied it. In vain (not)
- iltemana:wam'e(84). t'a tenati imate tcimi-*
 they did not believe him. And notwithstanding it seems when the
- k'āna'kāp'a(85) kolehol yanhetocna'kä(86).*
 first beginning was made something instruction was given to them.
- 140 *ak'ä lesna a'ho'i. a'wan a'lacina:we holno i'wihtohnaye(87).*
 Therefore thus people. Their ancestors somewhere are tied end to end.
- holno kwa yaiyu'yanam'e a'lacina:we. hom nana*
 Somewhere (not) they do not know ancestors. My grandfather
- hom uhsona hom amp'eyekä t'a tealati kwa*
 me that me he spoke to and in spite of all this (not)
- iltemana:wam'e. ten a'hatikwi ten elanaye. uhkwati hic*
 they do not believe it. Yet witches yet abound. For indeed really
- ma'ki acekä. hatikwi ainakä. an tatcu k'onete*
 young woman died. Witch killed her. Her father even crying
- 145 *hatikwi ainakä. p'iyakä. yam ko'na(88) antse-*
 witch he killed him. He hung him. His according to that which he
- man'ona(89) ainakä. t'amak'ä awak'ä. a'yocnan*
 thought about he struck him. Club with stones with. Stones picking up

(83) *i-*, plural object (see ¶ 46, 47). Cf. *anap'ekä*, "he scolded him". We would expect the plural to be *yanap'ekä*, but this is not used.

(84) *ilte*, "true", *-ma*, verbalizing suffix (see ¶ 27a); *na:w-* plural, active, present; *am:e* negative.

(85) *tcimi-* "first," "then"; *-k'(ä)-* causative; *na'kä*, resultative, past tense; *p'a*, participle. "when it had come to be made first", or, freely translated, "at the first beginning". ¶ 67.

(86) *y-*, plural indirect object; *an*, object; *hetoc-* "to instruct" (probably related to *haito*, "custom"); *na'kä*, resultative, past.

(87) *i'wi-*, reciprocal (see ¶ 41); *ihtoh-* intransitive stem, "tie on", *naye*, resultative, present.

(88) post-position, here used as a preposition, following the reflexive pronoun *yam*.

(89) *an-*, direct object, "it"; *tse'ma*, stem, "think;" *'ona*, "that which". *tse'ma* (intransitive) means "to think", *antse'ma*, (transitive), "to desire".

<i>ainakä.</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>artsita</i>	<i>a'k'oyekä.</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>a'papa</i>	<i>tem-ł</i>
he struck him.	His	mothers	wept.	His	elder brothers	all
<i>a'k'oyekä.</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tcarve</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>i'yanikina·we</i>	<i>ansam</i>	<i>a'k'oyekä.</i>
wept.	His	children	his	relatives	together	wept.
<i>habikwi</i>	<i>ma·k'ona</i>	<i>ainakä.</i>	<i>uhkwati</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>ł'unakä.</i>
Witch	young woman	the one he killed	her.	Verily	really	I saw it.
<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>aiyu'ya·na.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ko'lehoł</i>	<i>teatika(90)</i>	<i>ho'</i> 150
Really	I	know it.	Really	whatever	that which happened	I
<i>aiyu'ya·na.</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>k'äk'ona</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>käkä</i>
know it.	There	the one who has her house	her	mother	her	uncle
<i>kwili</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>käkä</i>	<i>ha'i</i>	<i>habikwi</i>	<i>p'o'ulakä.</i>	<i>ko·macko·na</i>
two	her	uncles	three	witches	sat outside.	Much
<i>aiyu'ya·na.</i>	<i>a·habikwi.</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>tcarve</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>yatine.</i>
know it.	Witches.	I	my own	children	I	tell them.

(90) *te-* neutral stem, "to exist or do"; *-ti*, inceptive; *koa*, "that which was;" "that which began to be".

2. Witchcraft.

Concerning the bow priests. Long ago when these people were not yet born, they used to exorcise witches. Then I had only one child. An old man practiced witchcraft. Three bow priests, one Naiyutci another K'iy'e'isi, and Na'pału. These hung him.

He was in love with a young married woman. This young woman did not want him. He was angry. Then the woman became dangerously ill. She was about to die. He had cut off a little piece from the fringe of her belt. Therefore she went crazy. The witch went up to where the strong wind ascended. He hung up in a high place the little piece of the fringe of her belt which he had cut off. Therefore she went crazy. She was about to die. Na'pału sent for him. The witch came to where the young woman who was sick was lying. The witch sat down. He did not want (to admit it). "I didn't do it. I don't know how. You are talking nonsense. I don't know how. You are lying. Never have I come near to you. You are talking nonsense." "Oh yes, indeed! You cut off a piece of the fringe of my belt. Therefore I do not feel well." "Speak!" the bow priest said to him. So he said to the witch. But he did not want to. "If you do not speak you will be brought out before the Sun, even though it is night." So he said to him. The young woman said, "Have pity on me! What have you done with the fringe of my belt? Give it back to me, that which you took from me. Have pity on me! For, indeed, you have done this to me. You have tied them in your headband."

The bow priest took off his headband, and there it was wrapped up. The fringe of her belt was tied to it. So they discovered him. He did not want to admit it. He was angry. "I am not a witch!" He did not want to admit it. He was angry. The young woman was about to die. At daybreak she could no longer talk. During the night she had spoken a little bit. She had implored the witch to save her, but he did not want to. The witch was angry. His father, the bow priest, became angry (and struck him) with his club. With his war club.

After they had all eaten the young woman died. When the young woman was about to die the witch ran out. For a little while he went to his house. The witch ran away. The young woman died. Her mothers and her brothers cried. They dressed her. They bathed her. Her aunt washed her hair. Her aunt dried her all over with prayer meal. She died. The witch killed her. With the worthless fringes of her belt he did for her.

The woman died. The bow priests, three of them, stripped the witch of his power. There were three of them. One was Naiyutci, and another K'iyé'isi, these two were the war chiefs. And another Na'pału. Three bow priests. The young woman's brothers dug a grave for her. They took her out. They made the grave deep. They cried. They buried her in the graveyard. They dragged the witch out of his house. The bow priests brought the witch to the place where they used to hang them. Where the long beams stick out they hung the one who had killed the young woman. They hung him with thongs. He denied it. He did not wish to admit it. The bow priest buried the young woman. Therefore he was angry, Na'pału. He cried bitterly. He buried the young woman. With his club, his war club, he struck him on the face and on the head. With his club, his war club. The witch did not cry out. Even though he struck him hard, he did not cry out. There he was hanging. At noon they hanged him. After they had buried the body they hanged him. All day long he hung there. Nevertheless, he was not a witch. He would not admit it. They struck him. The bow priests, three of them, struck him. But he would not admit it. They wanted to make him speak, therefore, they struck him hard. Nevertheless, even though he was about to die, he would not speak. They struck him with clubs, the bow priests. Many people gathered there. The bow priest called out, "Come hither, people! Come here to us! He is going to speak! He is going to tell all his marvels! Come here to us! He is going to speak!" For a while they took him down so that he might speak. The people gathered about him. The witch told about his people, those whom he had killed. Many people gathered there, and listened to him. He spoke. He spoke wonders. "Whenever anyone has fine children, whenever

anyone has children, or any kind of animals, sheep or cattle, or anything by which he prospers, then our hearts ache. Therefore we kill them." "But why, if this is so, did you kill this young woman?" they said to him. "When I wanted to sleep with her, she did not wish it. She was angry. The young woman scolded me. Ever since then my heart has hurt. Therefore I cut off a bit (of her clothing). On Corn Mountain, where the strong wind blows up, I cut off a fringe of her belt. I hung it up on a shrub¹, so that the strong wind might blow it. I hung the bundle up there so that it shook. So the young woman went crazy. She died. Many people have I killed, but it can't be helped. That is all. I was valuable. There are many of us who know one another. I am not alone. My father's people, my fathers and my uncle, two of them, are still alive. These are the ones who initiated me. Now call them." So he told the bow priests. They called them. The bow priest called his uncle. His aunt and his uncles, two of them, and his aunt, three of them altogether, they called. He was sitting outside. They had stripped him of his power. His uncle came to where he was sitting. He was angry. His father was angry. "You are talking some nonsense! I don't know anything. Of course you alone know. You are lying. We do not know anything destructive. You are lying. Surely you learned it somewhere else." His aunt cried. She did not want to be a witch, and she cried. She did not talk. And the witch did not talk again. When he saw his aunt and his father, he did not talk again. Therefore the bow priests tortured him. They upbraided him. They hung him up again. When he did not speak, again they struck him. With their clubs (they struck him). The bow priests were angry. He talked loud. "Listen to him! But many of you around here are in this. There are many of you known to one another. He says so. He is not the only one. Maybe all of you are like that! Or else perhaps a few of us live here who truly pray in our hearts! Maybe you are more. Maybe all of you, everywhere, are witches. There are many, he says. He told us. Heed him well. He is telling us all the ways in which he tried us. That he has told us. He is not the only one. Many of you here are in this. Even though you are beaten severely you will not speak. Can you eat those whom you kill? Why then have you no sense? Now here, one of your relatives is suffering. He is on the point of death. Does not this hurt your heart? Surely you are witches. Surely since you are witches you do not have pity on your relative. He is in misery. He is speaking. And even though it is worthless, one of you will cause him to suffer because of it. And so if anyone has fine children, and prospers because of his children, your thoughts are not good. This

¹ He names two unidentified shrubs, *k'äpuli* and *latsitona*.

one talks wonders. He speaks of how he was initiated. If you kill anyone because of that by which he prospers, will you get his property? Surely it seems you have no sense. All of you are always jealous. Whenever any one prospers because of something your hearts are not right. We shall make you suffer. You do not think about that. You torment someone. But can you eat the one whom you have killed? When you kill someone will you get that by which he has prospered? You have no sense. Indeed, where do you learn this destruction? You torment us, but do you gain anything by it? Even though you do not gain anything by it, you torment your country and your people. I wonder that even though you are witches, you do not feel sorry for him. Whoever possesses anything whereon to live, because of the thoughts of you witches, it is merely something to weep for. Your thoughts are what make him worry. You have no sense. Because you are witches you do not feel sorry for anyone. Because of your thoughts someone's heart is heavy. Someone weeps. I wonder that you can be happy thus. Whenever any one weeps, whenever he is sick at heart because of his children, then you feel happy. Because you have no sense, because you are witches, you do not know how to feel sorry for anyone." So he said. The bow priest was angry. He called out. He scolded his people. The whole village, even though he did not know them, he scolded them. Because of the woman who had died, they stripped the witch of his power. But still he denied it. In spite of everything, they did not believe him. It cannot be helped. Indeed, at the time of the first beginning, someone instructed them. Therefore there are such people. Somehow their parents pass it on. Somewhere there are people who have no sense. The old people, my grandfather, used to talk to me like that. But nevertheless, some people do not believe it. For there are still some witches now. For indeed, did not this woman die? The witch killed her. Even while her father was weeping for her, he struck the witch. He hanged him. He struck him as much as he wished with his club and with stones. He picked up stones and threw them at him. His mothers cried. His brothers all cried. His children and his relatives all cried together. The witch killed the woman. Indeed, I myself saw it. I know all about it. I know just the way it happened. This woman who lives here, her mother and her uncle, two of her uncles, three witches, sat there outside. I know many things. And so I told my children about the witches.

3. Marriage Customs

<i>e'lactok</i>	<i>oyemc</i>	<i>yi-lup(1)</i>	<i>tapninkän</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>oyemci</i>	<i>ant'e- 1</i>
Girl	husband	taking	for the first time	her	husband	coming
<i>wanan(2)</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>camli</i>	<i>ana-kwai'in·a(3)</i>	<i>ya·tsanan</i>	
to day	still	very	early	running will go out	being ashamed	
<i>ak·ä.</i>	<i>a·witenakän</i>	<i>t'elap</i>	<i>inan</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>oy</i>
because of.	Four times	at night	coming	first then	his own	wife
<i>an eha</i>	<i>le-iyän·a.</i>		<i>t'ewaps</i>	<i>e'lactok</i>	<i>yam</i>	
her dress	carrying he will come.		Next day then	girl	her own	
<i>ulakwin</i>		<i>tcu'lak'an·a(4).</i>		<i>ots an</i>	<i>k'äkwen</i>	
husband's household at		she will prepare shelled corn.		Man his	house	
<i>te'tcip an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>i·munan(5)</i>	<i>hakänans</i>	<i>itok'an·a(6).</i>		<i>5</i>
arriving his	mother	to seat herself	inviting her	so will give her to eat.		
<i>iton-tcunekät'ap(7)</i>	<i>s'an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>aiyatak'an·a.</i>	<i>kop</i>		
Eating finished and then	so her	mother	will question her.	What		
<i>t'o' ikwe'a.</i>	<i>le'kwan·a.</i>	<i>el·a.</i>	<i>homan</i>	<i>mi'le</i>	<i>eto'u.</i>	
you say	thus she will say.	No.	For me	ear of corn	put down.	
<i>le'kwan·a.</i>	<i>s'an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>te'itokwin</i>	<i>kwatanan</i>	<i>an</i>	
Thus she will say.	So her	mother	inner room to	entering	her	
<i>miwe</i>	<i>wolunan(8)</i>	<i>wölea</i>	<i>kwai'in·a.</i>			
ears of corn	putting in (a basket)	carrying them	she will come out.			

(1) *y-* reflexive; *il-*, neutral stem, "with"; *-u-*, conjugating vowel active conjugation; *-p*, participle, new subject following.

(2) *an-*, incorporated subject; *t'ewa-* "day", from *t'e-*, "time, space"; *-nan*, participle. See ¶ 39 for discussion of this word.

(3) *ana-* frozen stem, "run", found only in compounds; *kwai'i*, "to go out". *-n·a*, present subjunctive, singular. See ¶ 71.

(4) *tcu'l(e)*, "a grain of corn", from *tcu*; a grain of corn, *-le*, nominal suffix, inanimate, singular; *-k'*- causative; "she will cause it to be single grains of corn". Cf. *tcucan·a*, "she will remove the grains of corn" below.

(5) gerund, active reflexive, "to seat herself". See ¶ 105.

(6) *ito-*, "to eat it", *-k'*- causative; present subjunctive, complete.

(7) *iton-* from *itonan*, present participle of *ito*; *tcunekä*, past tense, durative of *tcun(a)*, "to stop", *t'a*, "and", *-p*, gerund, new subject following. See ¶ 105.

(8) One of a number of words, very specific in meaning, relating to the handling of objects. It means "to put many small things into a closed or deep receptacle," based probably on the stem *ul-* "to put one thing in it". *wöla'up*, on the next line, "to put down a receptacle containing many things".

- kwai'inans* *an* *wola'up* *tcucan·a*(9).
 Coming out so for her putting them down she will remove the grains.
- tem·t* *tcucnan* *ʔa* *te·ya* *le'kwap* *ʔa* *an* *tsit* *an*
 All grains removing and again thus saying and her mother for her
- alnāt* *mi'le* *etonan* *tcims* *ʔa* *e'lactok* *yam*
 once more ear of corn putting down now so again girl her
- tcuw* *antelian* *tcucan·a*. *hic* *mi·* *lo'*-
 grains of corn adding to will remove the grains. Very ears will
- 15 *ok'än·a*(10) *kwa* *an* *tsita* *hanilinam·e*(11). *ta·htcic* *hanilinan*
 be hard not her mother does not like her. However liking her
- kwa* *an* *mi·* *lo'am·e*(12) *wolun·a*. *tem·la* *tcuc-*
 not for her ears not hard she will put in. All she has
- kät'ap*(13) *ans* *ho'inak·ä* *tcuwe* *wolacan·a*(14)
 removed the grains and for her and basket with corn grains pouring in
- an* *pisenak·ä* *wolpeha'un·a*(15). *an* *pisena* *wolpeha'ups*
 for her cloth with she will wrap it up. For her cloth wrapping up
- wote* *le'anans* *a·nuwa* *yam* *käkwi*(16). *tcutea*
 bundle carrying it she will go her own house to. Corn
- 20 *te'tcips* *an* *tsit* *an* *tcu* *k'älk'än·a*(17). *tem·t*
 carrying arriving her mother for her corn will roast. All
- a·k'älkäp*(18) *s'ake·* *picnans* *tcuwe* *wolunans*
 roasting them so grinding stones brushing corn putting in

(9) *tcu*, "grains of corn", -c- suffix, "to remove", see ¶ 27.

(10) *lo'o*, adjectival stem, "hard". Here used as a static verb, present subjunctive, singular.

(11) *kwa* . . . *hanilinam·e*, "she does not like her". The indefinite pronoun *kwa* introduces the negative. The form in this place should rightly be participial, *hanilina'map*.

(12) Adjectives form negatives, like verbs.

(13) A periphrastic construction based on the past tense of the verb, used instead of the expected participle. See ¶ 105.

(14) *wə-*, incorporated collective pronoun; -*t-*, probably from the stem *le-*, to carry in the hand, (cf. *wotea* below); *ac-* transitive stem, "to make". Literally, "making the corn grains into something to be carried."

(15) *wol-*, "many things done up to be carried", (see above); *peha-* neutral stem, "bundle".

(16) Contraction of *k'äkwekwi*, *k'äkw* (*en·e*), "house", -*kwi*, post position, "at, to".

(17) *k'äl-* active stem, "to become hot", -*k'*- causative. (Cf. *k'ätna*, "hot").

(18) *a-* plural object.

<i>sak'o·w</i>	<i>acan·a.</i>	<i>sak'o·wacnans</i>	<i>a·tsak'än·a(19).</i>		
coarse meal	she will make.	Coarse meal making	she will make it small.		
<i>ta·htcic</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ulakwin</i>	<i>tcim</i>	<i>tculea</i>	
Meanwhile	her	husband's household at	first	corn carrying	
<i>kwai'ikäp</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>wleak'än·a(20)</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>cokya</i>	
she went out and then	for her	there will be stew	for her	waiting	
<i>wleatun'ona(21).</i>			<i>itiwap</i>	<i>itowens 25</i>	
those which are to be taken away, the ones.			Midday being	eating so	
<i>lutsik'än·a.</i>	<i>kəkwas</i>	<i>i·p'o'un·a(22)</i>	<i>owes</i>		
she will make it fine.	A little while so	she will bend over	meal now		
<i>a·lutsiap an i·te'tcun·a.</i>	<i>o·moka'mon</i>	<i>acnan</i>	<i>itehan·a.</i>		
being fine it	she will test.	Meal ball	making she will throw it down.		
<i>kwa k'uhmona'map</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>wolun·a.</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>tems</i>	<i>ace·</i>
(Not) not breaking	first now	she will put it in.	Not	yet now	very
<i>sunhanam·ens</i>	<i>o·lea</i>	<i>a·nuwa.</i>	<i>ta·htci</i>	<i>amina-</i>	
evening (not) being	meal carrying	she will go.	Meanwhile	should she	
<i>känuwap(23)</i>	<i>ace·</i>	<i>sunhap</i>	<i>tcim</i>	<i>a·nuwa.</i>	<i>o·lea-te'tcip 30</i>
be lazy	very	evening	first	she will go.	Meal carrying arriving
<i>itok'än·ak'än·a(24).</i>	<i>iton-tcunaps</i>	<i>ots</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tsita</i>	<i>s'an</i>
she will be given to eat.	Eating finished so	man	his	mother	so for her
<i>wlea</i>	<i>sa'lak·ä</i>	<i>wlacan·a</i>	<i>t'a</i>	<i>pisenak·ü</i>	<i>muwe</i>
stew	bowl with	she will pour into	and	cloth with	loaves of bread
<i>pehanan e'lactok'ona(25)</i>	<i>seto'un·a(26).</i>	<i>seto'unan</i>			
wrapping	girl the one	she will put it on her back.	Putting on her back		

(19) *a·-* plural object; *tsa-*, basic form of *tsana*, meaning, probably, "to become small", *-k'*- causative.

(20) *wlea(n·e)*, "stew", from *wə-* and *(u)l-* "many things in a receptacle"; the form is static, present, subjunctive; literally, "there will be stew", but meaning "they (impersonal) will be cooking stew for her". Not to be confused with the homonym "she will cause many things to be inside".

(21) *wə-* collective pronoun; *lea-* "to carry", *tun*, gerund based on the optative; *'ona*, nomen actoris. Freely translated, in order that she may take them away with her. See ¶ 163, 112.

(22) *i·-* reflexive; *p'oa*, "to stand bent over", as of an animal.

(23) Subjunctive participle, based on the static, *amina*, "lazy". "If she should be lazy".

(24) *ito-* stem, "to eat,"; *-k'*-, causative; *-na-*, resultative; *k'än·a*, present, subjunctive, static. Literally, "she will be given to eat", generally translated freely, "they (impersonal) will give her something to eat".

(25) *-'ona*, demonstrative particle, "the one", here used to indicate direct object. See ¶ 136.

- p'a'un·a.* *wle'ups* *s'yam* *k'äkwin*
 she will put a blanket on her. Bowl of stew handing her so her own house to
- 35 *a·nuwa.* *te'tcinans* *sa'le* *t'ehwanans* *sa'le* *t'a* *pisens*
 she will go. Arriving bowl emptying so bowl and cloth so
- a'uk'än·a* *yam* *tsit* *a·ni(27).* *le·* *tcim* *iwil·ik'äp*
 she will put down her mother hers. So much first marrying
le'nap'e'a(28).
 so it always is.
- e'lactoks* *tas* *eha* *uknakätekwin(29)* *o·kän·a.* *yamte*
 Girl now again so dress given her for that she will grind. Her very own
- tcuwe* *t'ewana·* *o·kän·a.* *emak'änan(30)* *o·l-*
 corn every day she will grind. Much making basket of meal
- 40 *haktos* *ots* *an* *k'äkwen* *a·tcis* *i'wil·i(31)*
 carrying on the head man his house both now together
- s'a·nuwa.* *a·tci* *te'tcips* *a·tciä* *aniktohnaq'än·a(32).* *hic*
 now will go. Both arriving them they will be met. Very
- o·tea* *yu·ktap* *ak·ä* *an* *tsita* *o·te*
 meal basket being heavy therefore her mother basket of meal
- aiyo·nan* *ake·lokwi(33)* *wleä* *kwatonan* *isk'on*
 taking from her grinding bin to carrying the basket going in there
- ipokwik'änans* *an* *kälun·a* *an* *ho'ina(34).* *a·tci*
 turning it out for her wheat will put in her basket in. Both

(26) Transitive, not reflexive. "She will put it on (the girl's) back".

(27) Independent pronoun, genitive. See ¶ 137.

(28) The stem is *le'na*, "thus". A special customary form. See ¶ 29.

(29) Stem *uts-* "to give it to him", an irregular verb; *ts* becomes *k* before *n*, (see ¶ 104 for full conjugation); *na-* resultative; *kä*, infinitive (see ¶ 114) or perhaps past tense. *tekwin*, post position, usually locative or temporal, "where (or when) it was", A common way of expressing purpose. See ¶ 156.

(30) *ema*, "much", also, "it is much"; *-k'*-, causative.

(31) *i'wi-*, reciprocal (see ¶ 41); *il-*, neutral stem, "with".

(32) *aniktoha*, stem, "face to face", at present unanalysable; *-na-*, resultative; *k'än·a*, present subjunctive, dual; "(the two) will be met face to face."

(33) *ake·(we)*, "grinding stones", (from *a-* "stone"); *-lo-* neutral stem, "bury" (found in *p'aloye*, it is buried, and *woloye*, they are buried); *kwi*, post position. "Where the grinding stones are embedded."

(34) *ho'in-* "basket", *a*, post position, locative. See ¶ 150.

<i>yam</i>	<i>ho'in</i>	<i>cokya</i>	<i>te'tci</i>	<i>a·tcia</i>	<i>itok'ānak'ān·a.</i>	<i>kātean-</i>	45
their	basket	waiting	only.	To them	will be given	to eat.	Wheat
<i>tin·kwai'ips</i>		<i>a·tci</i>	<i>tcunanans</i>	<i>e'la·ctok</i>	<i>kāli-</i>		
carrying	coming out	both	finishing so	girl	basket of	wheat	
<i>haktō'ups(35)</i>	<i>yam</i>	<i>kākwins</i>	<i>a·tc</i>	<i>a·nuwa.</i>	<i>ha'i-</i>		
putting on her head	their own	house to so	both	will go.	Three		
<i>kānhol</i>	<i>ta·htci</i>	<i>a·witenakānhol</i>	<i>ots</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>tsi-</i>		
times either	on the other hand	four times or	man	his	mother		
<i>tanān(36)</i>	<i>tculahanan</i>	<i>o·kān·a.</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>teatip'a.</i>			
for her	corn shelling	she will grind.	So first	it always is.			

(35) *kāl-*, “wheat in something”, from *kā(we)*, wheat; *i-* reflexive; *haktō*, neutral stem, “to carry or place on the head.”

(36) Genitive case, peculiar to terms of relationship. See ¶ 136.

3. Marriage customs

When a girl takes a husband, the first time her husband stays over night, he will run out very early in the morning, because he is ashamed. Four times he will come at night and then he will bring a dress for his wife. Then next day the girl will shell corn at her husband's house. When she reaches the man's house his mother will invite her to sit down and will give her to eat. When she has finished eating, her mother will question her. “What have you to say?” she will say. “Nothing. Put down an ear of corn for me,” she will say. Then her mother will go into the inner room and put ears of corn into a basket for her. She will come out carrying them. When she comes out she will set the basket down for her, and the girl will remove the grains of corn. When she has removed all the grains, “Yet again,” she will say, and her mother will put down one last ear of corn for her, and the girl will remove the grains to add to the shelled corn she already has. The ears will be very hard if her mother does not like her, or else, if she likes her, she will put down for her ears that are not hard. When she has removed all the grains, (her mother) will pour them into a basket for her and wrap it up with a cloth. After she has wrapped it up in a cloth for her, (the girl) will take it and go to her own house. When she arrives carrying the corn, her mother will roast the corn for her. When she has roasted them all, (the girl) will brush the grinding stones and pour the corn into the grinding bin and will grind it to coarse meal. After she has made the coarse meal, she will grind it fine.

Meanwhile at her husband's house, as soon as she has gone out carrying the corn, they will start to cook stew for her, while they are waiting for her, — the stew that she is to take away with her.

After she has eaten at midday, she will make the very fine meal, After she has been bending over a little while, if the meal is fine she will test it. She will make a ball of meal and throw it down, and if the ball does not break, then she will put it in a basket. When it is still not late in the afternoon she will go, carrying the basket of meal. Or, on the other hand, if she should be lazy, she will go late in the evening. When she arrives carrying the meal, they will give her to eat. When she has finished eating, the man's mother will put some stew into a bowl for her and will wrap up bread in a cloth. She will put this on the girl's back. After she has put this on her back, she will give her the stew to carry. And so (the girl) will go to her house. When she arrives she will empty the bowl and put down the bowl and cloth (to return) to her mother. This is how they do when they are first married.

So then again the girl will grind for the dress which they have given to her. Every day she will grind her own corn. When she has made much she will put the basket of meal on her head and together the two will go to the man's house. When they arrive there they will be met. The basket of flour will be very heavy, and therefore her mother will take the basket of flour from her and take it inside and empty it in the grinding bin. After she has emptied the meal there she will fill her basket with wheat. While they are waiting for their basket they will be given to eat. As soon as their mother comes out with the basket of wheat they will stop. The girl will put the basket of wheat on her head and so the two will go to their own house. Three or else four times she will ask the man's mother for corn to grind. That is when they are first married.

4. Gathering Salt.

- | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------|
| 1 | <i>käk'hot</i> | <i>hic</i> | <i>ho'</i> | <i>tsawaḵi</i> | <i>hic</i> | <i>ho'</i> | <i>le·hot</i> |
| | Long ago | really | I | youth | really | I | this much somewhere |
| | <i>a·nap'a(1)</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>ḷitam·e.</i> | <i>hic</i> | <i>kok</i> | <i>ṭiwe.</i> | <i>t'ewana</i> |
| | having gone | not | it did not rain. | Very | katcinas | dance. | Every day |
| | <i>kwa</i> | <i>ḷitam·e.</i> | <i>kwa</i> | <i>ḷita'map</i> | <i>hic</i> | <i>a·p'eye</i> | <i>a·ciwi.</i> |
| | not | it does not rain. | Not | not raining | very | they talk | Zunis. |
| | <i>ma·ḵ'aiakwin</i> | <i>a·nakä</i> | <i>p'ewo'.</i> | <i>lestikwanan(2)</i> | <i>tcuwap</i> | | |
| | Salt lake to | to go | discussion. | This they saying, | Who | | |
| 5 | <i>məs</i> | <i>a·nakä</i> | <i>k'o·kci?</i> | — <i>hinik</i> | <i>kälici</i> | <i>ciwan·i</i> | <i>patto·kwe</i> |
| | leading | to go | good? | I think | west | priest | end people |

(1) "having gone about so far", an idiom meaning "being about so big", indicating the stature of a child.

(2) *les-*, "thus"; *tikw-*, "they say", (plural of *ikw-*); *anan*, present participle. The quotation follows.

<i>pi'taciwani</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>məs'ona.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>a·wacuwakä.</i>	<i>a·witen</i>			
bow priest	really	leader.	Very	they talked to them.	Four			
<i>t'ewanan</i>	<i>a·wa·nuwa.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>t'ewap</i>	<i>camli</i>	<i>pi'taciwan</i>	<i>we'a-</i>		
days being	they will go.	Very	next day	early	bow priest	called		
<i>tcokä.</i>	<i>ta·htcic</i>	<i>a·mu·kwe</i>	<i>u·kwe·kä.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>ko·macko·na</i>			
out to all sides.	Meanwhile	Hopis	came out.	Very	many			
<i>hinik</i>	<i>a·witenakän</i>	<i>astem·ta</i>	<i>mecok'o.</i>	<i>ha'i</i>	<i>t'ewap</i>	<i>a·ciw</i>		
perhaps	four times	ten	burros.	Three	days being	Zunis		
<i>a·wa</i>	<i>hanela·wackä.</i>	<i>tawaptsiclenapkä.</i>	<i>hic</i>	10				
for them	provisions they made.	Prayersticks they cut.	Very					
<i>ko·macko·na</i>	<i>homkwati</i>	<i>a·witenakän</i>	<i>asiastem·ta</i>	<i>mecok'o.</i>	<i>ta·htcic</i>			
many	perhaps	four times	hundred	burros.	Meanwhile			
<i>hom</i>	<i>tatcu</i>	<i>a·n'iha.</i>	<i>kwili</i>	<i>mecok'o.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>t'op'in·te</i>	<i>luk</i>	
my	father	is about to go.	Two	burros.	Really	only one	this	
<i>ho'</i>	<i>il·i(3)</i>	—	<i>yätcun</i>	<i>a·ni.</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>ma·k'aiakwi.</i>	<i>t'ewap</i>	
I	have		month	its.	Not	salt lake for.	Next day	
<i>kə·w</i>	<i>itiwap</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>yeleteap'ap</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>akc</i>	<i>a·n'iha.</i>		
a little	midday being	really	getting ready	very	along	(I) want to go.		
<i>hic</i>	<i>k'oyekä.</i>	<i>kwa</i>	<i>mokwa·we</i>	<i>ku·wa.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>te·wukoli'a</i>	<i>hic</i>	
Very	(I) cried.	Not	moccasins	none.	Very	poor	really	
<i>kwa</i>	<i>kutcin</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>utcun.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>hamon</i>	<i>a·wan</i>	<i>pehapkona(4)</i>	
no	trousers	just	shirt.	Just	bacon	their	what had wrapped them	
<i>hic</i>	<i>wə·k'ocona'kona</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>i·pi'tap'a</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>utcuye.</i>			
just	which had been washed	just	sewed together	I	had for a shirt.			
<i>hic</i>	<i>t'ek'ätip</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>icana</i>	<i>kwa'i'inaiye(5).</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>kə·wi</i>	<i>luho·we.</i>	
Very	sunny being	very	grease	is coming out.	Just	little	dust.	
<i>hic</i>	<i>ho'</i>	<i>k'oye:</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>akc</i>	<i>a·n'iha.</i>	<i>hə·o.</i>	<i>hic</i>	<i>hotomace.</i>
Just	I	cry:	Really	along	(I) want to go.	No!	Very	far
<i>kwa</i>	<i>mokwa·</i>	<i>ku·wa.</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>käwona(6)</i>	<i>t'umokwa·we</i>	<i>manikä</i>	20	
no	moccasins,	none	my	elder sister's	stockings	below		
<i>a·k'äp'anap'a(7)</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>a·wukä.</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>a·wutsip</i>	<i>ho'</i>			
soled	to me	she gave them.	To me	having given them	I			
<i>akc</i>	<i>a·kä.</i>							
along	went.							

(3) indicating a Cactus society prayerstick.

(4) *peha-*, neutral stem, "wrap"; *-p-*, distributive plural (see ¶ 58), *-kona*, alternate form of *koa*, "the one that was".

(5) resultative of *kwai'i*, intransitive stem, "to go out".

(6) *käwu*, "elder sister," *-ona*, "the one", used to express the genitive relation with terms of relationship. See ¶ 136.

(7) *a-*, plural, intransitive; *k'äp'a*, stem, "flat"; *-na-*, resultative; *p'a*, participle; literally, "flattened".

- hi...c*(8) *ko·macko·n a·ho'i. hic la...k^ú olaya·kwin*
 Very many people. Very yonder (far away) Dry weed place
- hon a·te'tcip hic yäto p'iyahap*(8a) *hic ace· liton i·kä.*
 we arriving very sun falling very hard rain came.
- 25 *hic tehtse'. hic hon a·wa·kä. a'humo'anankwin hon a·te'tcikä.*
 Very cold. Just we went. Roaring cave to we arrived.
- isk'on hon a·want'ewakä. hic ko·macko·na a·ho'i ko·macko·n*
 There we passed the night. Very many people many
- a·mu·kwe hon a·want'ewakä. t'ewap hon a·wa·kä. ko·macko·na*
 Hopis we passed the night. Next day we went. Many
- a·ho'i hi...c itiwap. a'k'ap-elakwin hon a·te'tcinan ·isk'on*
 people just midday flat rock standing to we arriving there
- a·ciwi a·tsawaqi hompic kwilikänas ha'ikänas astem·ta*
 Zuni youths maybe twice three times ten
- 30 *holi la·t a·mu·kwe hinik aptenakän astemla holi. hic*
 or else then Hopis perhaps five times ten or else. Just
- a·ciwi hic pi'l i·tuwakä*(9). *a·mukw' i·yas·ena a·ciw*
 Zunis just in a row stood. Hopis mixed together Zunis
- a·wan telikina· tuwapa la·t a·mukw' a·wan cotsito-*
 their prayersticks standing up then Hopis their sweet corn
- muwe woyaktina'kona a·lacowap'a wotipkä.*
 cakes the ones that had been roasted feathered put they down.
- ta·htcic mōsa·n'on an pi'laciwan·i a·tci a·tci*
 Meanwhile the one who leads them his bow priest both both
- 35 *yam a·ho'i a·wil·i a·te a·kä. yälaninkwin lōtek'äna·wap*
 their people with them both went. Mountain sitting to approaching
- i·tuwahna*(10) *kwai'ikä. yu·holomace hic ko·macko·na yäla*
 running started out. Further on very many mountains
- t'etacana a·ye·makä. isk'on k'ätsowan a·te'tcinan ta·htcic*
 high they climbed. There summits to reaching meanwhile
- a·ciwi yam telikina· t'op'in·te a·wantcuk'oclenana i·cu-*
 Zunis their prayersticks only one on them spitting cleansing

(8) *hi...c*, the vowel is prolonged for emphasis.

(8a) *p'iya-*, neutral stem, "hang"; *-h-*, reversive; *-ap*, participle, new subject following. "When the sun begins to fall", i. e. about two o'clock in the afternoon.

(9) *i-*, reflexive; *tuwa-*, neutral stem, "stand" (plural only); *-kä*, past tense, singular, active.

(10) *i-*, reflexive; *tuwa*, stem; "stand"; *-h-*, reversive; *na* (*nan*), participle. Literally, "unstanding themselves".

wahnän kwihonan a·p'ani·lekä(11). *ta·htci a·mukwe*
 themselves throwing them down they descended. Meanwhile Hopis

yam cotsito motse·wak·ä i·cuwacnan a·p'ani·lekä. 40
 their sweet corn paste with cleansing themselves they descended.

ta·htci k·witean a·ho'i cokyapkä. a·te'tcikä.
 Meanwhile nearby people were waiting. They arrived one by one.

isk'on kwan-i·leanapkä(12). *isk'on luwalemaknan s'a·wa·kä.*
 There they dressed themselves. There arising so they went.

su·nhan'ihap yäto p'iyahap a·te'tcikä. k'äna-lana·kwe
 Evening about to be sun falling they arrived. Great lake people

t'inaiye. hic ho'i-p'ot'ikä(13). *isk'on iyanacna'kä.*
 are staying there. Just people it is full. There they were unsaddled.

yam wowe tanan'o·nan t'ehwate ukwai'ik'änapkä. isk'on 45
 Their animals herd made apart they drove out. There

m·sa·n'ona a·tci kwatokä. a·tci la·tukä(14).
 the ones who were leading both went in. The two put down prayersticks,

a·tci kwai'ip ho'i tem·t u·kwatokä. la·tipkä(15).
 The two coming out people all went in. They put down prayersticks,

ta·htci ho' ahaiyut a·tci yälakwin a·kä. t'omt
 Meanwhile I (name) the two mountain to went just

itiyulana latukä. So pani·kä. ma·
 standing against it (I) put down prayersticks. So I came down. Salt

kwai'ile. m—m! ho'i p·tiye. 50
 is coming out separately. people it is full.

tewap camli hon latakän a·kä. okcik' ainakä. hon
 Next day early we to hunt went. Cottontail (I) killed. We

te-i·nan t'sikwahnän ala-pita'kä. ta·htci a·laci·k
 carrying coming skinning it it was lying by the fire. Meanwhile men

(11) *a·-*, plural, intransitive; *p'ani·-*, intransitive active stem, "descend"; *-le-*, distributive; *-kä*, past tense.

(12) *kwan*, probably related to *kwa*, "something"; *i-*, reflexive; *lea-*, neutral stem, "carry", "wear"; *-nap-*, (*naw-*), plural, transitive; *-kä*, past tense (cf. *kwantea*, "clothing", ("something to wear"). (incorporated subject?)

(13) *ho'i*, „person”; *p'ot'-*, neutral stem, "full"; *-ikä*, static, past.

(14) *la-*, "stick", incorporated object; *-t-*, neutral stem, "put down many things" (cf. *wotu*); *-u-*, conjugating vowel, active; *-kä*, past tense, present.

(15) distributive plural of *latukä* (note 14); there is another plural, *latunapkä*, not idiomatic. See ¶ 58.

- ma kwai'ilek'ana-we. wetsi tek'ät i-k'okcikäp*
 salt brought out one by one. A little getting warm it becoming pleasant
a-wi-kä a-laci. kwa not'capi-w(15a) ku-wa. kwa ma-tcikwa.
 they came, the old ones. No coffee none. No sugar.
- 55 *hic k-wi ciwe hewe kwa mulo-we. hic m'otcikwa*
 Just a little meat paper bread no wheat bread. Just peach
kewe m'okwiwe k'ola hic i-tona'kä. ta'tcic t'op aktsikwin
 skins onions chili just was eaten. Meanwhile one boy with
yam okcik' hon i-ton'ihap ho'n aiyokä. hol-o t'on
 our rabbit we about to eat from us he took it. No! You
ci'teckwiye. kwa hon i-tonam-kä.
 meat are taboo. Not we did not eat it.
- tewap hon tuwalemakä. camli ma-p'o. tsil'aiye*
 Next day we arose. Early salt sacks are in single file
- 60 *ham-e a-laci ma hatuk'ana-kwe ma-p'o-setop'a käl*
 some men salt greedy ones salt sack carrying on the back hither
a-wa-kä. pipat-inkwin a-wiyulaknan a-want'ewakä.
 they came. Fringe lying place close against they passed the night.
ko-mackona tinaiye ak'äp ho'i tem-ta. lat tewap
 Many are staying there because people all. Then next day
camli tuwalemaknan käl a-wa-kä. hic itiwap kämakäkwin
 early arising hither they went. Just midday
a-wi-nan isk'on i-towena'kä. itowena'äp si' ace. titokä.
 coming there it was eaten. Having eaten now hard it rained.
- 65 *titon i-kä. titon-p'ot'iye. tuwalemaknan käl a-wa-kä. kecok-*
 Rain came rain it is full. Arising hither they went. Rock Slab
takwin a-wi-kä. isk'on hon a-want'ewakä. tewap camli
 Hollow to they came. There we passed the night. Next day early
tcim tek'ohatip yeleteapkä. käl a-wa-kä. pakikäkwin
 first daybreak being they made ready. Hither they went. Navajo smokeplace
a-wi-kä. tetcapik'ana'kä. ta'tcic tik'aian unap'an ha-
 they came. Fires were made. Meanwhile smoke seeing they
p'elkä. yam tcaw a-wan k'äkwe-kona hap'elkä.
 assembled. Their children their houses at they assembled.
- 70 *tcim-na-kwe a-wa-koa yanil-ikä w-p'onap'a. ta-htcic*
 First time the ones who had gone utensils brought together. Meanwhile
käl a-wa-kä. a'lahon inkwin a-wi-nan i-tinakä. isk'on
 hither they went. Red Coral Sitting to coming they stopped. There

(15a) *no(we)*, "beans"; *t'capi*, "burn".

yacuwatina'kä. *yalakwai'ip* *käl* *a-wa-kä.* *a-wi-kä.*
talking they stayed. All finished hither they went. They came.

a-wiyulaknan *isk'on* *weatconapkä:*
Coming close there they called out on all sides:

pi'tci-kwe *t'o'na-wan* *tca'le* *s'iya*
Dogwood people your child now comes.

tonaci-kwe *t'o'na-wan* *tca'le* *s'iya* 75
Badger people your child now comes

hic *hap'etnap'a* *a-wan* *k'äkwe'kon* *hap'etnap'a* *a-wan.*
Just assembling their houses at assembling their

a-kuku *a-wi-yap* *ma-kwatelap* *a-wan* *a-wowo*
aunts coming salt going in their paternal grandmothers

t'ehwitiwa'kona *so'tenan* *hek'onan* *elek'äna'kü* *teakona*
center spaces at sand putting down hollow was made ready when it was

luwenan *kwan-a-teacnan* *k'ätsen* *ak'ä* *tun*
standing them clothing removing from them water cold with body

temla *w-k'oconapkä.* *a-warwatenapkä.* *a-warwatenak'äp* 80
all they washed them. They washed their heads. Washing their heads

an *w-leat'ewak'ä.* *an* *hep'alokä.*
for him cooking they passed the night. For him they made *hepaloka*

an *w-la-ti-kä.* *i-tona'kä.* *an a-kuku* *i-towenapkä.* *i-tona*
for him they made stew. It was eaten. His aunts ate. Eating

yalakwai'ip *an a-kuku* *a-wam* *ma-lipkä.* *ho'ikäp*
all finished his aunts for them packed the salt. People coming

am *ma-we* *etthot* *yalakwai'ip* *i-w'hhaiyakä.*
his salt nearly finished they separated.

ta'htcic *a-mukwe* *ham-e* *tekuaiye*(16) *il-ap'ona* *yam* 85
Meanwhile Hopi some friends the ones who had their (own)

a-kuaiye *a-wan* *k'äkwe'koa* *a-want'ewaclip* *ta'htcic* *ham-e*
friends their houses at they passed the night meanwhile some

kwa *tekuaiye* *ila-wam'ona* *t'atekwi'kona* *a-want'ewacle.*
(not) friends the ones who had [not corrals in pass the night.

t'ewap *kwil* *ewactok* *ciwi* *a-tcia* *cemanan* *a-tc* *il-ap'a*
Next day two girls Zuni for them asking they with them

tsihkwai'inan *otipkä.* *otipkä't'ap* *luwalan* *tem-la*
hair coming out they danced. They danced and village all

hap'elkä. *hap'elap* *luwalemaknan* *s'a-wa-kä.* 90
assembled. Assembling arising so they went.

(16) *te-*, a pluralizing element in verbs (see ¶ 56), somewhat obscure; this is the only instance where it occurs in a noun. *kuaiye*, friend. Note *a-kuaiye*, in following line.

tcims li·lk'on lito·kä. lanhol t'oyakona hecot'a-t'sina'-
So then right here it rained. Outside Planting at Rock Painting

kona k'äpkwe·na'kona luwala pattop'a(17) k'ewo'e'a.
at Water Coming out at village edges thirst.

ta·htcic lak^u peciwan·inan(18) ma·ki acekä. lehol
Meanwhile there the priests' house at young woman died. About so

t'sana tca'l il·i. ta·htcic an hota set-al·u'ya.
small child has. Meanwhile his grandmother carrying him goes about.

95 *hic yu'aca(19). an tsit an hota an alekwi·we*
Very lonely. His mother his grandmother for him parched corn

he'awacnan i·tok'e'a. kō·wi wihatsana k'ō·kci. kō·wi
masticating gives him to eat. A little baby good. Little

t'ewap i·seto·nan set-al·u'ya. hic
time putting him on her back carrying him she goes about. Very

t'ewu'acona. kwa t'ina·wam·e. luwala pattop'a. hic
lonely place. Not they are not staying. Village edges being. Just

kō·wi su·nhan'ihap an tsana k'oyip i·seto·nan
little evening about to be her little one crying putting him on her back

100 *kwar'inan teala'kona set-itiyälacop kō·wi*
going out housetop on carrying him walking around a little

yaselak'äp liron i·kä. hic kō·wi holomace kō·wi lito'kä.
turning over rain came. Just a little far off a little it rained.

lak^u yälak'ona kwa li·l litam·e. luwalan wilo'-
Yonder mountains in not here it did not rain. Village lightning

atinan. hic a·tci itehkä. a·tc an·asiatikä.
played just the two struck. The two were struck by lightning.

hic luwalana hic ukwai'ip a·tc acekä. kwa tcuhoł
Just village people just coming out the two died. Not anyone

105 *a·tcia yatena'ma. hic a·tci at-yäla-t'ewa. t'ewap*
them did not touch. Just they lay up there all night. Next day

lakhol kwa tem a·tci yaiyu'ya·na'map tcim
just about now not yet they not becoming conscious then

li·lk'on hol tcu·wa an·asiati'kona
right here somewhere someone one who had been struck by lightning

tecuna'kä. cemanak'äp luk'on i·nan a·tcia ya·t'ekä.
was sought. Asking for him this one coming them he touched.

(17) i. e. the outlying farming villages.

(18) *t'e-*, "place"; *ciwan·i*, "priest"; *an*, post position, "at".

(19) *yu'-* (see ¶ 23), probably "to feel"; *aca*, stem, "lonely". Cf. *t'ewu'acona*, "lonely or deserted place".

<i>a·tcia</i>	<i>ya·t'enan</i>	<i>tcims</i>	<i>a·tcia</i>	<i>kwatok'āna'kä.</i>	<i>kwato-</i>
Them	touching	then	first	for them	it was brought in.
					When they
<i>k'ānaknan</i>		<i>tcims</i>	<i>a·tci</i>	<i>a'ikä.</i>	
had been brought in		so then	them	they buried.	
<i>le'na</i>	<i>teatikä.</i>				
Thus	it happened.				

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4. Gathering Salt.

Long ago, when I was just a boy, when I was just about so tall, it did not rain. The katecinas danced all the time, but it did not rain. When it did not rain they talked much about it, the Zunis. There was talk of going to the Salt Lake. They said, "Who would be best to go as chiefs?" "I think the west priest of Pałtowa." The bow priest was head of all. They talked together a great deal. In four days they would go. Early the next morning the bow priest called out. Meanwhile the Hopis started out. There were many of them, I think about forty burros. After three days the Zunis prepared their provisions. They cut prayersticks. There were many, perhaps four hundred burros. Now my father wanted to go. He had two burros. I had only one prayerstick, like this, the one for the month. I had none for the Salt Lake. Next day, just before noon, they were all ready. I wanted very much to go along. I cried. I had no moccasins. We were very poor. I had no trousers, only a shirt. The cloth wrappers from bacon, all washed and sewed, I had for a shirt. It was very warm, and the grease ran out. The dust stuck to it. I just cried. I wanted to go along. "No, it's too far. You have no moccasins." My sister gave me her stockings with soles underneath. She gave them to me and I went along.

There were lots of people. We came way over there to Dry-Weed-Place. Just as the sun began to sink heavy rain came. It was very cold. We went on. We came to Roaring-Cave. There we camped over night. There were many people. Many Hopis. We camped over night. Next day we went on. There were many people. Just at noon we came to Where-The-Rock-Slab-Stands-Upright. There the Zuni boys, maybe twenty or thirty, and the Hopis, I think about fifty, and all the Zunis, stood in line. The Hopis were mixed in with them. The Zunis stood their prayersticks up. Then the Hopis put down their sweet corn cakes that had been roasted in the fire, and their prayer feathers. Meanwhile the leader and his bow priest, these two went with their people. When they approached the mountain they began to run. Further on they climbed many high mountains. There they came to the summit. Then the Zunis spat on one of their prayersticks, purified themselves with it and threw it

down. Meanwhile the Hopis purified themselves with their sweet corn bread and they came down. Meanwhile, a little ways off, the people were waiting. When they came they dressed. Then they started out and went on. When it was nearly evening, when the sun was sinking, they arrived. The Laguna people were there. It was full of people. They unsaddled their animals and drove the herd out a little ways off. Then their two chiefs entered (the lake.) They planted their prayersticks. Then they came out and all the people went in. They planted their prayersticks.

Meanwhile I went to Ahaiyuta's Mountain. I just stood against the side of the mountain and planted my prayerstick. Then I came down. They were bringing out the salt. The place was full of people.

Early next morning, two of us went hunting. I killed a rabbit. We brought it in, skinned it and it was lying beside the fire. Meanwhile the men were taking out the salt. When it got a little warm, it became very pleasant. Then they came, the men. There was no coffee, no sugar; just a little meat and paper bread. No wheat bread. Just dried peaches and onions and chili. That is what one ate. Meanwhile the other boy and I were about to eat our rabbit when they took it away from us. "Oh no, you must fast from meat." So we didn't eat it.

Next day we got up early. (The animals with) sacks of salt went in single file. Some old men who were greedy for salt carried a sack of salt on their backs. So they came hither. We came close to Where-The-Fringe-Lies and camped over night. There were many camping there, because all the tribes (were there). Early next morning we arose and came this way. Just at noon we came to Kāmaḡä. There we ate. After we had eaten, now it rained hard. The rain came. The air was full of rain. We arose and came this way. We came to Rock Hollow. There we camped over night. Next morning, just at dawn, they made ready. They came this way. We came to Navajo Smoke. They made a signal fire. Meanwhile, when (the village people) saw the smoke, they gathered together. They gathered at their children's houses. They brought everything they needed for those who had gone for the first time. So they came this way. They came to Where-The-Red-Coral-Sits and there they waited. There they talked together. When this was over they came this way. They came. As they came close to the village they called out:

Dogwood Clan, your child is coming.

Badger Clan, your child is coming.....

So they all met. They met at their houses. There their aunts came when the salt came in. Their fathers' mothers put the sand down in the middle of the floor where they had made a hollow ready. There

they stood them up and took off their clothing. There they bathed their whole bodies with cold water. They washed their hair. After they washed their hair, they spent the night cooking for them. They put out *hepalokä* for them. They ate. His aunts ate. After they had finished eating his aunts put the salt in baskets for them. Many people came and his salt was nearly all gone. Then they separated.

Meanwhile the Hopis, those of them who had friends, stayed over night at the houses of their friends. And those who had no friends camped over night in the corrals. Next day they asked for two Zuni girls and with them they danced the Buffalo Dance. After they had danced the whole village gathered together provisions for them. After they had gathered these things together, they started out and went.

And now here, it rained. But outside, at Nutria and Pescado and Caliente, in all the farming villages, the land thirsted.

Meanwhile, over there at the house of the priests, a young woman died. She had a little child, so big. So now his grandmother carried him around on her back. He was very lonely. His mother (i. e. mother's sister) and his grandmother masticated parched corn and gave it to him to eat. After a little while the baby was all right. In a few days she took him on her back and carried him around with her. The village was deserted. No one was staying here. They were all out at the farming villages. It was in the early afternoon. Her little one cried. She put him on her back and went out, and walked around the housetop carrying him. The sun had just turned over; then rain came, just a little. It was far off and it only rained a little. The storm was over in the mountains; here it did not rain. The lightning played around the village and struck them. The two were struck by lightning. The people of the village came out. The two died. No one would touch them. They lay out on the roof all night. Next day, about this time, they had not yet come to their senses. Then they looked around here for someone who had been struck by lightning. They summoned him and he came and touched them. After he had touched them, then they took them in. They took them in and buried them.

So it happened.

PHONOLOGY

1. The outstanding features of Zuni phonology are the absence of consonantal clusters and all harsh sounds, very slight intensity of articulation, and a characteristic and subtle rhythm of speech. Precision of articulation is not a feature of Zuni speech, and the consequent slurring of words has made the language difficult to record. There is considerable variation in the speech of different groups, e. g. men and women and old and young. The young people at Zuni are all bilingual. In addition to these dialectic differences there is a considerable range of variation in the speech of any one individual. The variations are marked in the slurring of unaccented syllables, variability of vowel quality, omission of glottal stops and loss of glottalization. All of these features, found frequently in the speech of older people, and especially women, have become more marked in the speech of the younger generation who are accused by their elders of "not speaking plainly".

2. THE VOCALIC SYSTEM

The vocalic phonemes are as follows:

<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>
	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ɪ</i>
		<i>a</i>		
<i>u·</i>	<i>o·</i>	<i>a·</i>	<i>e·</i>	<i>i·</i>
semivowels		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	
diphthongs	<i>ai</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>oi</i>	

The open and closed vowels alternate freely, even in the same word as pronounced by the same person at different times. There is a tendency for the quality of the vowel to be influenced by surrounding consonants and conditions of accent. Unaccented short vowels are usually open; accented or long vowels, and especially vowels that are both long and accented, are usually closed, except *ɔ*; vowels followed or preceded by glottalized consonants or followed by glottal stops tend to be closed. However, these are tendencies, and cannot be stated as rules. *ä* is a variant of *a* following *y* and the palatalized consonants *k̚* and *k̚'*.

w and *y* are both vowel and consonant. They are treated as consonants in combination with other consonants (*p* being considered the unvoiced form of *w*; see below ¶ 5), but under certain conditions

described below, they unite with preceding vowels to form diphthongs. *ai* is the only true diphthong. Pseudodiphthongs *ai*, *oi* and *au* are formed when short *a* or *o* in an accented syllable unites with the following long *y* or *w*. All short vowels in unaccented syllables are variable or obscure in quality. There is an alternation of *o* and *u* and of *e* and *i* in such positions, although in positions of importance they are distinct phonemes.

More significant than the quality of vowels is their quantity which will be discussed, along with other dynamic features, below (see ¶ 12 et seq.).

3. VOCALIC SHIFTS

We have already called attention to the variable quality of all vowels, and their tendency to be influenced by surrounding consonants. Short vowels are influenced by preceding and succeeding consonants, long vowels are never influenced by what follows. There are, moreover, a number of regular vocalic shifts.

a and *a'* become *ä* (*ä'*) after the palatalized *k* and *k'*.

a becomes *ä* after *y*; except when followed by *n*, *m*, *k*, *k'*, *l*. *a'* does not change following *y*.

a becomes *ai* before *y*, especially in accented syllables. In unaccented position the shift is common, but not invariable.

a becomes *a^u* before *w* in accented syllable.

a^uwanapkä

a^uwatin'e

o becomes slightly diphthongized before *y*.

oⁱyemci, *oⁱye*

A word composed entirely of vowels never occurs, and the consonant *l* is sometimes introduced between the two vowels. This explains the apparent irregularity of the verb *a-*, a stem which predicates concerning a single flat object:

a'u put it down (*a'e'a*, durative; the glottal stop is a consonant) and *ale*, it lies there, but *a'kä* it lay there. The *l* obviously is not part of the stem.

4. THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

The consonantal system is relatively simple. There are two series of consonants, the unaspirated surd, with a very slight intensity of articulation and a series belonging to the group usually called glottalized. There is no glottal closure; these sounds are produced by the simultaneous release of anterior and posterior palatal closures. The term fortis which has been suggested as an alternative to the misleading term glottalized is hardly applicable to sounds with so strikingly little force of articulation. The characteristic feature

of these sounds is that there is a small amount of air in the mouth, under pressure. Hence it seems preferable to retain the term "glottalized." Due to characteristic Zuni slovenliness of speech the glottalization is frequently lost, or the posterior release precedes the anterior release sufficiently to destroy the impact. The resulting sound is a true medial *B*, *D*, *G*, etc., barely distinguishable from the unaspirated surd *p*, *t*, *k*. This general tendency in the language has gone furthest in the labials in which it is almost impossible to distinguish the two series. There is a single aspirated consonant, *t'*, which occurs only in *-t'u*, the optative suffix, which is always accented, at variance with the usual pattern for accentuation. *t* and *t'* are, therefore, one phoneme.

The anterior palatals are subject to a special variation, especially marked in women's speech, whereby they move forward and assume a slightly affricative quality, *k̲* becoming *ty* sometimes even *tc*; and *k'*, *Dy* or *DJ*.

The dental stops are true dentals but the corresponding continuants are dento-alveolar.

k and *k̲* (as also *k'* and *k'̲*) are variants of the same phoneme, appearing as *k̲* (*k'̲*) before *ä*, *e*, *i*, and as *k* before *o* and *u*. *kw* is a distinct phoneme. *η* has been recorded in one or two words as a variant of *n* before *k* in an accented syllable.

There are no velar consonants.

Any consonant, including *h* and *'*, may be lengthened according to the rules of dynamics given below.

The complete series of consonants is as follows:

	Stops		Continuants				Laterals	
	Unv.	Glott.	Spirant		Affricatives		Voiced	Unv.
			Voiced	Unv.	Affricative	Nasal		
Labial	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>w</i>	—	—	<i>m</i>	—	—
Dental	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	—	<i>s, c</i>	<i>ts, t's</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l'</i>
Dental					<i>tc, t'c</i>			
Alveolar								
Anterior								
Palatal	<i>k̲</i>	<i>k'̲</i>	<i>y</i>	—	—	(<i>η</i>)	—	—
Palatal	<i>k̲</i>	<i>k'̲</i>	<i>y</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Lab. Pal.	<i>kw</i>	<i>k'w</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal	—	<i>'</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—

5.—7. CONSONANTAL SHIFTS

5. ASSIMILATION

Most consonantal changes come under the head of assimilation. Some of these shifts are the obvious ones, such as:

Unvoicing of voiced consonants before voiceless stops. The only voiced consonants are *l* and *w*, which change to *l̥* and *p* respectively, and *y*, which has no unvoiced form.

acna·we, they make it; *acnapk̄ä*, they made it.

ukwatela, they come in one by one; *ukwatetnan*, having come in, one by one.

n becomes *m* before *p* or *p'*

am papa, his elder brother (*an*, possessive pronoun)

amp'eyek̄ä, he exhorted him (*an*, 3rd person objective pronoun).

n sometimes becomes *ŋ* before *k* or *k̄*

tenk̄ä, it was used up (*tenaye*, it is wearing out)

lowo'an̄k̄ä, it became cloudy

tek̄änaŋk̄ä, it would have been Z 20:71

but *ank'ohati*, he finds out

ank'et'sana, he delights in her, and all combinations of the pronoun *an*,

ku becomes labialized *kw* before vowels (except *u*)

teku, stick it in; *tekuk̄ä*, *tekwiha*, *tekwiye*, etc.

also *t'ecku*, *t'eckwiye*, *paku*, *pakwiye*, etc.

kw + *k̄* become *k̄'* and

kw + *k̄'* become *k̄'*

ak'a, it got cooked (*akw-*, to get cooked + *k̄ä*)

anik'ä, teach him (*anikw-* to know + *k'ä*, causative)

ye·mak'äna·we, they made him go up (*yemaku* + *k'ä*)

t + *k* become *k̄'*

lak'ä, he hunted (stem *lat* + *k̄ä*)

6. OTHER PHONETIC SHIFTS

The cause of other phonetic shifts is less apparent:

n is dropped before *w* and *y*, and the preceding vowel is lengthened or diphthongized.

a^wwate'a, she washes his hair (*an*, objective pronoun + *wat-*; cf.

i·wate'a, she washes her own hair)

aiyu'ya·na, he knows it (cf. *yu'ya·na*, to know)

aiyosek'e'a, she is lying to him (*yosek'e'a*, she is lying)

p'a'i·we, blankets, plural of *p'a'in·e*

p'ena·we, words, plural of *p'enan·e*, and all plurals of nouns

in *-n·e*. See ¶ 130

The sequence *t* + *n* never occurs; *t* changes to *k* when followed by *n*.

laknapkä, they hunted; *laknaye*, they were killed but *latakä*², hunting, *latap*, having hunted, etc.

yat'ekä, he grabbed it, *yaknaye*, it is held, *yaknahan'a*, he will put it aside.

also *utsi*, give it to me (*utsin'a*, present subjunctive) and *uknamkä*, he did not give it, *uknaye*, and also, *yaknaye*, they have been given away.

h + *e* (in durative aspect of verbs) changes to *c lesnaha*, take it away, *lesnaca*, durative; *lesnackoa*, etc. (*lesnah* + *e'a*)

yelahkä, he ran; *yelaca*, he is running and *yelackä*, he was running,

but also *ace'a*, durative of *aha*, and *akcice'a*, durative of *akciha*

7. METATHESIS

There are a few cases of metathesis.

The suffix *iha-* (imminent aspect) becomes *iyah* in the past tense, before the suffix *kä* or before the participial ending *-nan*).

The distributive suffix appears in two forms *le* and *el*.

kwatela, to come in severally (stem *kwato*)

lawaptsicle, to cut many prayersticks.

8.—14. SYLLABIFICATION, ACCENT AND QUANTITY

8. THE NORMAL SYLLABLE

The normal Zuni syllable consists of consonant and following vowel:

*a'-ye''-ma-ku*¹

i'-le-a-na

te'-a-ye

Glottal stops are treated as consonants. Where two consonants occur together the syllable division is between the consonants:

yu²-ya·na

yak-na²-kä

k²us-k²e-²a

ak-ci²h-kä

Long or lengthened consonants between two vowels are treated as two consonants and the syllabic division comes *in* the consonant. However, long stops are not doubled, e. g. *ak²ü* not *ak²-kä*.

9. SYLLABIFICATION OF COMPOUNDS

Words formed by composition retain the syllabification of the component parts. The break between the syllables is marked but there is no glottal closure as in such a word as *a-²u*.

¹ Double accent designates secondary accent.

wɔ-ta-pan-a-ne (*wɔ-tapan* + *a-ne*), not *wɔ-ta-pa-na-ne*.
k'ä-tuḷ-u-lap-na
al-u-le

Certain morphological elements also retain their identity although forming part of the word complex.

The prefixed pronoun *an* (*a-wan*) is treated independently, i. e. as a syllable

a'n-a-ha (not *a-na-ha*)
a'n-ula-we
ya'n-il-te-ma
a'-wan-a-ce-'a

The suffixes *-ona*, *-iha*, are similarly treated.

The corresponding *koa* and *tiha*, beginning with consonants, form no exception to the rule of syllabification.

mos-o-na not *mo-so-na*
ti-kil-o-na
a'n-i-ha

10.—11. ACCENT AND QUANTITY

10. Rules of Accentuation

The Zuni language has clearly marked and characteristic stress accent. The primary accent is always on the first syllable. Words of five or more syllables have a secondary accent, usually on the penult, occasionally on the antepenult, but never on the final syllable, except for a rhetorical accent in the imperative and optative.

a'ntecemana''we
a'pani·le''kä
lu'walema''knan

but also

te'tcapik'ä''na'kä
hu'momo'a''nankwin
a'nhatia''napkä

11. Accentuation of Compounds

Compounds retain the original stem accents:

a'nah-kwai''ik'äna'pkä
a'tel-i'minan
o'na-e'latekä (pl. *a wona-e'latekä*)
o'na-ya'nakä

In compounds of which the first part is a monosyllabic stem, followed by a polysyllabic stem or stem plus suffixes, the two stems are accented, the primary accent being on the second syllable:

i'm-yä'to' up
t'u'n-a'l'u'ya
ci''-te'ckwiye

Prefixes and prefixed pronouns, however, take the primary accent:

<i>ta'tcu</i>	pl. <i>a'tatcu</i>
<i>i'l'i</i>	pl. <i>a'wil'i</i>
<i>k'e't'sana</i>	pl. <i>i'k'et'sana</i>
<i>tse'me'a</i>	pl. <i>a'ntse'me'a</i>
but <i>a'nt'ewakä</i>	<i>a'want'e''wakä</i>
<i>wə hanaye</i>	<i>i'wə·ha''nap'e''nankwi</i>

12.—14. QUANTITY

Principles of syllabification and accent have farreaching effects upon vocalic and consonantal quantity. Each sound, whether vocalic or consonantal, has its morphological quantity. Furthermore, each syllable has its dynamic quantity determined by the position of the stress accent.

13. Syllabic Value

There are two kinds of syllables, strong and weak. A strong syllable is one that contains either a long vowel or a diphthong, or a short vowel followed by a consonant, e. g., the first syllable of each of the following words: *a-kä*; *mu-la*; *an-te-ce-ma*; *a'-le*. The presence or absence of initial consonant does not affect syllabic value. Weak syllables are those terminating in short vowels. All accented syllables must be strong syllables; and the accent lengthens the syllable. If the accent falls on a syllable containing a long vowel the vowel is lengthened slightly, giving a double long vowel. This subsidiary length disappears when the accent is shifted to another syllable, e. g. *a:kä* (pl. *a'wa:kä*).

In syllables containing a short vowel plus consonant, there is a slight lengthening of the consonant under the influence of the accent.

<i>a'n(·)tecema</i>	pl. <i>a'wantecema</i>
<i>i'l(·)tema</i>	pl. <i>ya'n(·)iltema</i>

If the accent falls upon a morphologically weak syllable, i. e. one terminating in a short vowel, the syllable is lengthened by borrowing from the following syllable, whose initial consonant is lengthened,

the syllabic division occurring in the consonant. There is a slight lengthening of the preceding vowel, but not sufficient to make it a full length vowel.

tsi(·) t'a pl. *a:'tsita*
ta(·)'t'cu pl. *a:'tatcu*
i(·) m'e (cf. *i:'mu*, *i + im + u*)
a^w'watin'e
a^w'wanapkä ("he found it," cf. *a^w'wawanapkä*,
 "he found them") See ¶ 3.

These features are especially marked in initial syllables which receive the principal stress accent. Secondary accents are usually attracted to morphologically strong syllables. If, as sometimes occurs, subsidiary accents fall upon weak syllables, there is a similar secondary lengthening. However, except for initial syllables, the quantitative distinctions are not clearly maintained, and the quantities of final syllables are frequently doubtful.

14. *Vocalic Quantity, Phonemic and Acoustic*

There are, therefore, four vocalic quantities, double long (morphologically long and accented); full long (morphologically long and unaccented); half long (morphologically short and accented); and short (morphologically short and unaccented). The two middle quantities are very similar acoustically, especially when not occupying initial position.

The following are examples of various types of syllables:

a:'kä, "he went" (initial *a:* long and accented)
a(·)'kä, "therefore" (initial *a(·)* short, accented)
a:'wa'kä, "they went" (*-wa-* long, unaccented)
a:wa'kä, "they got cooked" (*-wa-*, short, unaccented)

In the following pages only morphological quantities will be indicated, the dynamic shifts due to accent being regular and understood.

15. *LOSS OF SYLLABLES*

Final vowels are regularly dropped before words beginning with vowels. Frequently the words contract, the final consonant of the preceding word, if a stop, becoming glottalized. Although the vowel is regularly elided contraction does not always take place. Frequently whole syllables are elided in this way. Nominal suffixes are regularly dropped in syntactic relations. Certain verbal suffixes are elided in rapid speech but reappear in dictation. Nominal suffixes never appear in texts or connected discourse except where emphasis is desired. There is a marked tendency to slur all unaccented syllables in the middle of words.

16. DIALECTIC DIFFERENCES

Reference has already been made to the range of variation in the pronunciation of sounds by different individuals. There is considerable difference in the speech of men and women. There are a few words restricted to one or the other sex — principally exclamations. *ti'comaha'* (oh dear!) is a man's word, *a'na·ha'* the corresponding woman's word. There are a few others. But there is no woman's speech, distinct from man's. There are a few children's words, and a simplified set of relationship terms used by young children — *tsime* for *tsita*, mother, mother's sister, *home* (*hota*) mother's mother, *kume* (*kuku*) father's sister, classificatory, etc.

There is a tendency among women to soften all glottalized sounds, and to pronounce the anterior palatals far forward (*kä* becomes *tya*, *k'ä* becomes *vya*). However, these features appear occasionally also in the speech of men. There is marked pitch accent, which turns women's speech into a singsong. Inflection has not been recorded, since it is not constant and has no morphological significance.

There is a tendency among young people of both sexes to elide glottal stops and soften glottalized consonants. This is characteristic of the speech of all people under fifty, and is especially marked among those who speak English. Many of these younger people are not aware of the true character of the sounds and cannot distinguish between such words as *p'i'yakä*, he hung it up, and *p'i ya'kä*, it was hanging. There is also some inaccuracy in quantities of such words as *i'käne'a*, he is angry and *i'käne'a*, they are angry.

With dialectic differences might be classed the elisions and contractions referred to above, since they appear and disappear in the texts with no regularity. The slurring of syllables in rapid speech, characteristic alike of Zuni and English, is perhaps a tendency of all languages with marked stress accent.

17. PHONETIC DECAY

There is reason to believe that the present decay of the language is nothing new, but that the language has been undergoing phonetic disintegration for a long time. The consonantal system was probably once richer than it is at present. The glottal stop is being lost. But the behavior of glottal stops in certain verbal conjugations (e. g., *p'iyaye*, *p'iya'kä*, *p'iyak'än·a*; *p'iya'u*, *p'iyakä*, *p'iyän·a*; *i'to'ya*, *i'to'na·we*) invites the hypothesis that the glottal stop in turn replaces lost consonants. There are words that appear variously as *t'elikto*, *t'eli'to*, *t'eli'to* (rare). We have also such series as *a'le*, "stone," pl. *a·we* but, based on this stem, *apk'oskwi*, "window pane," (formerly a translucent stone).

The general wearing down of distinctions, which is the present phonetic trend, makes it seem plausible that many elements that now sound alike were at one time distinct, e. g., *i*-plural, also indirect object, and *i*-reflexive; *yanikʹä*, he learns (lit. makes himself know) and *yanikʹä*, he teaches them. Furthermore, the reflexive prefix displays numerous irregularities in combination with other sounds, e. g., *i**mu*, he sits down (*i* + *im*, to sit or be seated) but *yilʹu*, she marries (*y* (*i*) + *il*-, stem, "with"). *yoʹa*, to become (*y* + *o*-stem "to be made") forms a plural *aʹwiyoʹa*, whereas other words beginning in *y*-form their plurals *a*- (*aʹyaʹa*, *aʹyemaku*, etc.).

MORPHOLOGY

18. MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Syntactic relations and the various categories of thought are expressed through mechanisms of affixation, composition of stems and juxtaposition of word complexes. Of these the first two processes are most important. There are a few reduplicated words, but reduplication is not used as a grammatical process. There is no internal stem modification (except the single instance of the verb *staye*, to dance, pl. *stive*).

The usual word order is subject — object — verb, but this is not fixed. Hence there is a slight ambiguity in all sentences which do not employ other means for distinguishing subject and object, and this ambiguity may be used for literary effect. See "Zuni Ritual Poetry"¹ for a discussion of this point. Adjectives always follow the nouns they modify, but adverbial clauses occupy first position, with the connective, if any, following the clause.

Apʹewan hoʹ satoʹwe wotukä. hoʹ hekätco ackä.
 Stone floor on I potsherds them put down. I clay paste made.
 Z 5:85, 86

but also, *saʹle hoʹ ackä.*
 bowl I made. Z 5:88

hom tsita hom atinekä.
 my mother me told. Z 35:63

aʹtsawaki hoł ankʹohanapkä eʹlactokʹona.
 Youths somewhere her they discovered girl the one. Z 177:8

¹ R. B. A.E 47: 619.

laciki kwa yaiyu'ya·nam·e an tse'makwin ak'a tuwalan
 Old man know-nothing his thoughts because of village

łana hic i'tse·mekä.
 large very much they worried.

The old man had no sense and because of his doing the large village worried.
 Z 51:83

ho' t'sanap atel imikä.
 I being small mountain side fell.

When I was small the mountain side fell. Z 52:98

łil t'o'na ho' a'lea'up'a. . . .
 Here to you I them offering. . . .

Complex ideas are expressed by stem composition; many derivational ideas, by verbal suffixes. Mode, aspect, tense and number are also expressed by suffixes. The only prefixes are prefixed pronouns and pluralizing prefixes, which are probably part of the pronominal system. Independent pronouns are always used for first and second persons, subject and object. There are also incorporated objective pronouns, which appear in a few instances as the subjects of intransitive verbs.

19.—23. STEM COMPOSITION

19. Stem composition is used for the expression of numerous types of complex ideas. All types of composition are employed: noun and noun, noun and adjective, noun and verb, pronoun and verb, verb and verb.

20. NOUN AND NOUN

When two nouns are compounded, the modifying element precedes, e. g.

ma'k'aiakwin salt lake (*ma'[we]*, salt; *kaiā[n·e]*, water, lake; *kwin*, at) 420:4

pi'łaci'wain·i bow priest (*pi'ła*, bow; *ci'wan·i*, priest) 399:3
a'na-wo'p'un sack of tobacco (*ana*, tobacco; *wəp'un·e*, sack)
 Z 139:33

t'a'sakwin·e digging stick (*t'a-*, wood; *sakwin·e*, leg) Z 1:2
t'su'tikān·e shell society Z 39:34

21. NOUN AND ADJECTIVE

Adjectives follow nouns in composition as in juxtaposition.

t'e'k'ohanan·e space white, i. e. daylight

<i>k'ä'kwenla'tap'a</i>	house winged, i. e. aeroplane (not a true compound, since the initial stem retains its nominalizing suffix)
<i>wiha'tsana</i>	baby (<i>wiha</i> , baby, doll; <i>t'sana</i> , small)
<i>k'ä'p'ali</i>	whisky (<i>k'ä-</i> , water; <i>p'ali</i> , bitter, hot) Z 45:45
<i>motcikwa</i>	peach (<i>mo-</i> , fruit; <i>tcikwa</i> , sweet)
<i>k'ätsena</i>	cold water Z 1:8

22. NOUN AND VERB

Noun-verb combinations may be the result of subject or object incorporation.

<i>p'e'na-t'su'mek'ekä</i>	he talked loud (<i>p'ena</i> , words; <i>t'sumek'äkä</i> , he made strong) 406:95
<i>o'na-ya't'u</i>	may your road be fulfilled 397:6 (<i>ona</i> , road; <i>ya-</i> to become finished; <i>t'u</i> , optative)
<i>na'ptiye</i>	there are many deer (<i>na</i> , deer; <i>p'tiye</i> , it is full) Z 101:71
<i>mop'iyakwin</i>	peach orchard (<i>mo-</i> , fruit; <i>p'iya</i> , hang; <i>kwin</i> , where) Z 53:11
<i>la'wapsiclana''pkä</i>	make prayersticks (<i>lawe</i> , sticks; <i>aptsi</i> , to cut, -c-repetitive ?; <i>le</i> , one by one) 421:10
<i>t'si'lahnan</i>	picking up a basket (<i>t'si'le</i> , basket; <i>ahnan</i> , picking up) Z 139:31
<i>tcawackä</i>	she gave birth (<i>tcawe</i> , children; <i>aca</i> , make) Z 122:2
<i>up'inaye</i>	it snowed (<i>u</i> , wool; <i>p'inaye</i> , to blow) Z 210:69

Nouns may be incorporated to express locative concepts, e. g.:

o'na-e'latena (on the) road pass

Pronominal incorporation is discussed below, ¶ 37 et seq.

23. VERB AND VERB

Verbal stems are compounded freely to express many types of complex action or condition:

<i>t'un-a'lukän</i>	look, go about, i. e. in order to hunt Z 101:73
<i>i'teh-kwai'ik'ä</i>	drop, make go out, i. e. throw it out! (imperative) Z 117:90
<i>p'o'a-yä'laye</i>	sit, be above, i. e. sit in a high place

<i>i'm-iyältökä</i>	sit, put on top (reflexive), to climb up on it Z 67:89
<i>o'ceman-a'ce</i>	starve, die; to be starving to death
<i>ya't'ena-t'sumek'e'a</i>	hold, make strong; to hold fast
<i>otea-te'tcip</i>	meal carrying arriving; to come carrying a basket of meal 417:30
<i>t'una-kwai'ip</i>	look, come out; to come over the top Z 2:27

Among verbal compounds are to be found a number of petrified stems, found only in certain combinations, e. g.:

<i>imapila'kä</i>	it was lying by the fire (<i>im-</i> to be sitting)
<i>alapila</i>	to lie by the fire
<i>ana-kwai'ikä</i>	he ran out (<i>kwai'i</i> , to go out)

23a. *yu'*

Probably *yu'*, used initially in many words relating to sensation or emotion, is a petrified stem.

yu'ya'na, to know; *yu'su*, to feel warm; *yu'acona*, to be lonesome, (cf. *t'ewuacona*, a place is deserted); *yu'teclati*, to be frightened, etc.

24.—29. AFFIXING

24. VERBAL SUFFIXES OF DERIVATION

Besides the suffixes that are used to express grammatical categories in the verb, there are a number of verbal suffixes that express derivational ideas. These are all suffixes of first position, i. e. they precede endings denoting time, aspect, number, mode, etc.

25. *-k'*- CAUSATIVE

This suffix is free and can be attached to any verb as a causative or transitive suffix. It precedes suffixes denoting aspect, tense, number.

Attached to active intransitive verbs its meaning is causative and transitive.

<i>i·tok'än'a</i>	she will give him to eat (<i>i·to</i> , to eat)
<i>a·k'äkä</i>	she sent him away (<i>a·(n)-</i> to go) 415:5
<i>pena·kwatok'äkä</i>	he called in (<i>kwato</i> , to go in) Z 141:63
<i>p'ani·k'änapkä</i>	they let him come down (<i>p'ani</i> , come down) Z 340:52
<i>kwatok'änan</i>	pushing it in (<i>kwato</i> , go in, <i>-k'</i> -; <i>änan</i> , participle) Z 100:49

It is attached with similar function to static verbs or adjectives, which partake of many of the characteristics of static verbs (see ¶ 159).

alok'ä, make a light! (*alo[naye]*, there is a light; cf., however *aklu*, light a fire; and *akliye*, there is a fire)

elek'e'a, she is getting it ready (*ele-* to be ready)

k'äpak'ä, spread it out (*k'äpa*, flat)

lo'ok'änan, making it hard (*lo'o*, hard) Z 111:77

ikwanik'e'a, he is working at it (*ikwani'a*, there is work)

lutsik'än'a, she will grind it fine (*lutsi*, soft) 417:26

p'ena'tsumek'ekä, they were talking loudly (lit.: making strong words) 406:95

It is sometimes used with the reflexive prefix *i·* (*y*) to form active verbs from static stems.

yelanak'ä, they became plentiful, lit.: they caused themselves to be many (*elanaye*, there are many)

yantcianak'ä, it becomes difficult (*antciana*, difficult)

i·yu'ya·k'äp'a, getting to know something 396:1

i·cetk'änan, when he was satisfied (lit. had filled himself) Z 100:55

i·yu'hetok'än, to show themselves (*yu'heto*, clear) Z 18:41

With the inceptive *-ti-*:

ikätik'ä, it makes him angry (*ikä [ne'a]* he is angry)

i·natik'ä, he fails (*i·na*, to lack)

k'et'satik'ä, it makes (him) rejoice. Cf., however, *k'et'sanak'ä*, it is a source of happiness to him, from the static verb stem *k'et'sana*, to be happy

yunatik'änapkä, they acquired (literally they caused themselves to begin to see them) Z 42:98

26. *-ti-* INCEPTIVE

Attached to active verbs with the meaning "it begins to"

ocetinan, getting hungry (*oce'a*, he is hungry) Z 99:34

tse'matikä, (I) felt badly, i. e. began to worry (*tse'ma*, to think) Z 103:14

i·nati, it fails, i. e. gives out (*i·na*, to lack)

ikätikä, he became angry (*ikäne'a*, he is angry) 402:31

a·tc unatikäp'a, when they looked at him Z 167:91

With adjectives or static verbs:

tacitikä, she grew old (*taci*, old, an adjective; as a verb it exists only in the optative, in prayers, *tacit'u*, may you grow old) Z 120:70

t'ek'ohatip, at daybreak (*t'e*, place, time; *k'oha(na)*, white) 424:67

halicotikä, she went crazy (*halico*, crazy) 400:8

Sometimes the reflexive prefix *i-* is required:

i-lo'oti, it gets hard (*lo'o* hard)

i-t'sumeti, he gets strong (*t'sume*, strong)

i-hemotikā, he works himself into a fury (lit., he causes himself to begin to boil over, from *hemo'a*, to boil over)

yanikwati, he learns (from *anikwa*, to know how)

ipisatikā, she became annoyed (cf. *ampisa*, mischievous)
Z 207:9

27. *-h-(c)* CONVERSIVE

Can be attached freely to all active and many neutral verbs with the meaning of undoing. The variation between *h* to *c* is phonetic. It appears as *c* when followed or preceded by two vowels; therefore it is always *c* in the continuative aspect.

aha, pick it up (stem *a-*, in *a'u*, put it down; *ale*, it is lying, of one flat object) pl. *ahna-we*

akciha, he chooses one (*akc-* among, neutral verb stem)

p'iyahnapkā, they took him down (*p'iya*, to hang) 405:64

t'sikwacekā, he was skinning it (*t'sikwaye*, to have a skin; static aspect,) Z 114:44. See ¶ 6 for phonetic shift *h* to *c*.

t'sikwahnan, having skinned it, 423:52

With the reflexive *i-*

i-tuwahna, running (plural stem.) (*tuwa*, many things are standing upright) *i-tuwackā*, they raced 422:10

i-wolohk'ā, they come out of ambush (*woloye*, to lie buried)
Z 131:64

i-yu'tetcinaha, rest (*yu'tetci*, to feel tired) Z 175:64

i-setohnan, taking them from his back (*seto*, to carry on the back) Z 15:73

c, probably a variant of *-h-* is attached to nominal stems, with the meaning of remove.

tcucan'a, she will remove kernels from the cob; 416:11 (but also *tcu'lahanan*, with the same meaning)

ateacip, picking squash blossoms (*ateawe*, squash blossoms)
Z 130:43

i-leacan'a, he will remove his clothing (*lea*, to wear; also clothing)

habikwicnapkā, they stripped off his witchcraft (*habikwi*, witch)
406:85

27a. *ma* TO THINK OF

The suffix *ma* is used in a number of words relating to mental processes, and is primarily a verbalising suffix with the meaning, "to think or feel".

iltema, to believe (*ilte*, true)

otcoma, to envy (*otco*, an exclamation of pleasure)

ocema- to feel hungry (*oce'a*, to be hungry, or possibly to lack food)

itsuma, to feel cold- (*itsu*, an exclamation of cold)

The same ending is found in

tse'ma, to think

itcema, to love or value

antecema, to desire

28. DISTRIBUTIVE SUFFIXES

There are a number of closely related suffixes attached to active verbs, all of them referring to distributed action. *tco* refers especially to spatial distribution, *-el-*, with its variants *-le-*, *-tel-*, refers to distribution in time, *tcel* is perhaps a combination of *tco* and *el*. These distinctions are not clearly maintained in accordance with the general lack of distinction in concepts of time and space.

-tco- distributive, "in different directions," also, rarely, "many times".

This is attached to certain verbs only. Its use is not free.

With the idea of scattering:

weatcoḱä, he called out (a formal announcement) (*wea*, to cry out) 421:7

ipaktco, to throw away many things, to scatter (*ipaku*, to throw one thing, to shoot)

iloptco, to go about borrowing from many places (*ilopi*, to borrow one thing)

lepaktco, to chop wood (*le-*, pieces of wood, *paku*, to throw)

but also:

a·weletcoḱä, they used to go there repeatedly, (cf. *eletcela*, she goes back and forth; however, there is no stem *ele* meaning "to go") Z 1:14

anhemotcoḱä, he scolded her Z 174:39

antehtco'ya, he is watching him closely

aiyanhaktconan, breathing on him Z 100:48

-l-, *-le-*, *-tel-*, distributive, "one by one," "one after another (not to be confused in meaning with other suffixes for customary, repeated, or continuous action).

ukwatelḱä, they came in one by one: *u-*, pl. *kwat (o)*, go in; *-el* (*-el*) distributive, the *l* is an voiced preceding consonant; *ḱä*, past, active, singular Z 109:40

a·te'tcila, they arrive one after another Z 127:89

ma·kwai'ile, the salt is coming out 423:49

anip'etna-hapelkä, they came to court her (*anip'ela*, to court, probably from *p'e-*, to speak, plus *-l*, *hap(o)*, to gather; *-el* (*-el*), one by one; *-kä*, past, singular) Z 139:23

yätokwai'ilenankwi, where the sun always comes out (*yato*, sun, day; *kwai'i*, come out; *le-*, distributive following a vowel; *-nan*, participle; *-kwi*, postposition, where, place of) Z 79:42

itecpani'lek'änapkä, they kept on throwing them down (*iteh-*, throw plus repetitive; *pani-*, descend; *-le* distributive; *-k'*, causative; *-ä*, active, momentaneous; *nap* (*naw*), plural; *-kä*, past for phonetic shift $h > c$ see ¶¶ 6, 65.

a'witela, they came separately, (or many times) (*-tel*, distributive following vocalic stem) Z 229:59

up'inatela, it snowed intermittently Z 210:81

In a number of words the element *-c-* appears before the distributive prefix. This is, perhaps, related to the durative-repetitive *e'* which appears as *c* under certain phonetic conditions. See ¶ 6

lawapt'siclenapkä, they made prayersticks (*lawe*, sticks; *apt'si*, cut; *-c-*, repetitive (?); *-le*, distributive) 421:10

yatcuclekä, he trampled on it (*yatcu*, step; *-c-*, repetitive (?); *-le*, distributive; *-kä*, past) Z 211:97

a'want'ewacle, they passed the night (in various places) 425:87

-tcel- distributive, "back and forth", "one after another":

eletcela, he goes back and forth (stem does not exist in other combinations)

a'haktcela, he takes food for sacrifice from each dish (*a'*, plural object; *hak-*, to divide; *-tcel-*, distributive; *-a*, indicative, active, present, singular); *tehaktco'ya*, has the same meaning (*te-*, distributive plural; *hak-*, *-tco-*, distributive, here and there; *-ya*, present indicative, durative)

29. CUSTOMARY

There are two suffixes for customary or habitual action, *-p'e-*, *-k'e-*. The use of both of these suffixes is restricted and idiomatic and not enough examples have been collected to formulate any rule for the use of one or the other. Customary action is usually expressed by the use of the durative or repetitive aspect. See ¶ 65.

-k'e-, customarily

towowok'e'a, they always blow it Z 40:59

ist imok'e'a, this is where she always sits

akcik'e'a, he is always among them

ulalak'ekä, it used to snow all the time Z 30:61

unake'nankwin, the place they had always seen Z 165:62

-pe-, customarily (possibly related to the distributive plural in -p-. See ¶ 58).

yut'ulap'e'a, they always run away Z 41:83

iwo'haiyap'ekä, they used to scatter Z 1:17

tuwalap'e'en'ona, the ones who always live here Z 62:3

iwohanap'enankwi, where they always used to hang them
403:45

le'nap'e'a, so it always is 418:37

29a. -te. INTENSIFYING

The most important use of this suffix is with participial phrases with the meaning, "even as", or "even though," but it is also used with locatives, demonstratives, numerals etc.

lesnapte, even so 404:55

k'onete, even as he was crying Z 91:85

kwa antecemanapte, even though he didn't want to 404:58

uhsite, those same

yamte, her very own 418:38

t'opinte, only one 399:3

isk'ante, right there

30—115. MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

30. GENERAL CHARACTER OF VERB

The simplest complete predication consists of the stem alone. The absence of affixes indicates that the verb is singular, present, active, indicative, completive. The statement is grammatically complete, but not wholly unambiguous since this form is customarily used to express commands. There is also a regular imperative form in addition to the exhortative and optative. For grammatical correctness all of the above categories must be expressed either directly or by implication.

ito, "he eats," or "eat!" also, "he eats it"

al'u, "he goes about," or "go about!"

kwato, "come in!" or "he comes in"

Only a few active stems (see ¶ 33) can be thus used without affixes. All other verbal stems require various affixes to make a grammatically complete predicate.

The order of elements in the predicative complex is as follows:

1. Initial elements: *a-*, *i-*, *te-*, (pluralising) and the prefixed objective pronouns, *an-*, *i-*, *wo-* and their variants.
2. Radical elements.
3. Suffixes of first position: the derivational suffixes, *-k'*, causative; *-ti*, inceptive; *-el*, *-le*, *-tco*, *-tcel*, distributive; *-p'e*, *-k'e*, customary, and *-ma*.

4. Suffixes of second position. These form a complex that carries the burden of relational concepts, the aspective, pluralising, modal and temporal elements occurring, roughly, in the order named. The negative, when present, forms part of this complex.
5. Terminal elements: The subordinating suffixes, *-nan* and *-p*, participial and gerundive, and *-ona*, relative.
6. Post positions, *-ak'a*, instrumental, and *-kwin*, *tekwin*, *-tea*, locative and temporal.

The affixes that express relational concepts are not distinct and separable entities, but coagulate in complexes, with special meanings. For example, the ending for the present tense active, singular, is nothing, or vowel, or glottal stop plus vowel; the corresponding plural form ends in *-na·we*, or vowel plus *-na·we*; the corresponding forms for the past tense end in *-kä* (or vowel plus *kä*) and *-napkä*. But the present tense singular of the static verb ends in *-ye*, the past tense in *'kä*. The plural of static verbs is always indicated by prefixed *a*. The element *-kä* occurring finally in a verb always indicates past time (there is also a nominalizing *-kä*) but there is no corresponding element to indicate present time, and the element *-'* as such certainly does not indicate static aspect. This is further complicated by distinct endings used to indicate special aspects of the verb, such as durative or imminent or resultative. For this reason it is impractical to approach verbal analysis from the purely formal side.

31. FUNDAMENTAL VERBAL CATEGORIES

The fundamental classification of predicative concepts is into verbs of condition and verbs of action, which are differently conjugated in regard to tense and number. The true static verb predicates a quality. Included among the static verbs in Zuni are verbs of condition, verbs predicating existence, (there is a house, e. g., literally "it houses"), position, (to be on, in, beside a certain class of object). There is also a special class of static verbs derived from active stems, to which belong all passives of transitive verbs, which predicate condition as a result of action ("it has been made," "he lies dead," "he stands descended.")

Adjectives, in their attributive aspect, are equivalent to static verbs, conceptually and formally.

Equal in importance to the classification of verbs as active or static is the classification as transitive or intransitive. Many verbs ordinarily considered intransitive are in Zuni transitive, e. g. to sing, eat, drink, to cry out, to sweep, cook, plant, etc., the real meaning being always to sing *it*, eat *it*, shout *it* out, etc. Object may or may not be expressed. All transitive verbs are active, and all static

verbs are intransitive. This leaves a middle group, the active intransitive verbs. It is in these verbs that most irregularities are found. The conjugation of these verbs resembles the active transitive verb in indication of time, but resembles the static verb in the indication of plurality.

In all verbs number of subject (and of object, if any), tense and mode must be expressed. Active and static verbs are conjugated differently in regard to tense, transitives and intransitives in regard to number. The prefix that indicates plural subject in all static and most active intransitive verbs is the same as that indicating plural object of the transitive verb, and probably survives from an old set of incorporated objective pronouns. In active verbs condition of action, whether completive, durative (also repetitive) or not yet begun, is expressed.

The durative of intransitive verbs if of very rare occurrence, and repeated action in intransitives is usually expressed by means of derivative suffixes (see ¶ 28).

32—34. CHARACTER OF VERBAL STEMS

32. *Neutral Stems*

A large number of Zuni stems are neutral in regard to active or static aspect. Chief among these are stems relating to the position and handling of objects. With suitable affixes such stems become either active or static, the active form being transitive, with the object appearing as subject of the static form. Nouns also may be formed from these stems. For example:

aklu, he makes a fire; *akliye*, there is a fire; *aklin'e*, fire

ela'u, he sets it up (a single object); *elaye*, it is standing

p'ewu, he spreads out a blanket; *p'ewiye*, a blanket lies spread out

p'a'u, he puts a robe on him; *p'a'iye*, he is wearing a robe;

p'a'in'e, robe

atana, he fears it; *atani*, it is dangerous

Also *te'u*, he does it; *teaye*, it exists

33. *Active Stems*

Other verbal stems are basically active. The corresponding static verbs are formed by derivation from the participle, and are really passives or resultatives.

i'ya, he comes; *i'naye*, he is coming along

aca, he makes it; *acnaye*, it has been made

ace'a, he dies; *acenaye*, he lies dead

ya'a, it gets finished; *ya'naye*, it is finished

In some stems of this class the original active verb has been lost, and only the participle, now used as an adjective, remains:

k'ohana, white (*k'oha-* does not exist as an independent stem, but there is a verb *t'ek'ohati*, day breaks, with the inceptive suffix *-ti*)

teclana, afraid (*teclati*, to become frightened)

34. *Static or Adjectival Stems*

Words denoting quality or condition, including all adjectives used attributively are static verbal stems. The corresponding active verbs are formed by derivative suffixes:

lo'o, hard; it is hard; *lo'oti*, it hardens; *lo'ok'ä*, he makes it hard
ele, well; it is all right; *elek'ä*, he gets it ready

There are very few adjectival, or fundamentally static stems. Many common adjectives can be traced to active verbal stems, the fundamental idea being a change of state, the derivative, based on the participle, being the resulting condition,

lana, large, from *la'a*, to get large

k'usana, dry, from *k'usa*, to get dry

k'älna, hot, from *k'äli*, to get hot, etc.

35—42. INCORPORATION

35. The incorporation of nouns or pronouns into the verbal complex is common. Due to the loss of formative nominal suffixes in all syntactic relations (see ¶ 15) the line separating juxtaposition from true incorporation is vague. In many cases, especially monosyllabic nouns, stress accent can be used as the deciding criterion. (See ¶ 11)

36. *Nominal Incorporation*

The incorporation of direct object in the verbal complex is very common:

ti'kil'i, he belongs to a society (*tikän'e*, society + *il'i*, to have)

la'wapsiclenapkä, they cut prayersticks (*tawe*, sticks + *aptsi*, cut + *le*, distributive) 421:10

le'paktco, to chop wood (*lewe*, boards + (*i*)*paktco*, to scatter)

tca'wackä, she gave birth (*tcawe*, children + *ac-* to make; *kä*, past tense) Z 122:81

co'yälto'nan, inserting an arrow Z 111:77

i'tsukwatcikä, he ripped open his (own) stomach Z 37:94 (*i-*, reflexive; *tsu-*, stomach; *kwatc-*, to tear) Z 37:94

ayocnan, picking up stones (*a*, stone; *yoc-*, pick up, (plural obj.); *-nan*, participle) 410:146

These are all cases of indisputable incorporation. Such cases are comparatively rare; it is more usual for the noun and verb to be less firmly united, and for the noun to appear sometimes in juxtaposition with formative endings, and sometimes incorporated, without its nominal suffixes. Incorporation of this type is common in ordinary speech but tends to disappear in dictation, when the nominal suffixes reappear.

t'o' sawe a'waca, you make bowls, and, on the same page,
t'o' sawaca Z 6:7

ole ha'ktokä, she carried the basket of meal on her head, and immediately afterwords *othaktokä* Z 12:17

The subject of intransitive verbs may also be incorporated into the verbal complex:

hom a'tip'otikä, I had a hemorrhage, literally "my blood filled itself"

na'p'otiye, there were many deer (*p'ot-*, full) Z 101:71

mo'p'iyakwin, peach orchard (*mo-*, fruit; *p'iya*, hang; *-kwin*, locative) Z 67:100

p'ena'hai'yakäp, word having gone about (*p'ena-*, words; *haiya-*, to spread out, like water; *-käp*, participle) Z 129:27

tca'wo'a, a child is born (*tca-*, child; *o'a*, to come into being)

37—42. Pronouns

37. Pronominal Incorporation

There are independent pronouns (subjective, objective, genitive and dative) for first and second person and third person dual (see below ¶ 137). Except for the last, these are never incorporated into the verbal complex. There are, however, a number of pronominal elements incorporated in the verb which are related to the third person possessive pronouns, *an*, *a'tcian*, *a'wan*.

38. Incorporated Objective Pronouns

ho' antse'ma, I think of her (from *tse'ma*, to think, intransitive)
Z 139:38

aiyu'aconan, they were lonesome for him (*ai-* from *an-*, *yu'aco*, to feel lonely) Z 193:49

ansatukä, she helped her Z 169:43

a'wamatcikä, (I) mocked them (*matci*, to smile) Z 37:88

kwas a'waiyonam.kä, she didn't take them away from them
Z 180:72

a'wantcuk'oclenana, spitting on them 422:38

These prefixed elements, although related to the third person possessive pronoun (*an*, his; *a'wan*, their) cannot be considered

third person direct object, because they form an integral part of the verb, and do not disappear with the use of independent objective pronouns:

hom ampatcu, sit next to me (*hom*, me; *am-(an-)*, singular object; *patcu*, to stick against)

t'o'n a·wam'peye'a, he is talking to you (*to'n*, you; *a·wam-*, plural object; *p'eye'a*, he speaks)

t'o'na hon a·wantehack'äna·wa, we shall cause you to suffer
408:117

These pronominal prefixes are rarely used when the direct object is a thing, but even where they are not used, plurality of object is indicated by the prefix *a·* (*a·w*)

ac'ea, he is making..., or he is making it; *a·wace'a*, he is making them

39. The Objective Pronouns as Subjects

There is one clear case of the incorporation of the objective pronoun as subject of an intransitive verb:

ant'ewakä, he passed the night, literally, "he dayed"; *a·want'ewakä*, they passed the night (from *t'ewa*, day; cf. *t'opin·te t'ewaye*, it is the first day). This form cannot be interpreted "it was day for him," or "it dayed on him," since in other persons it appears with indubitable subjective independent pronouns, i. e., *ho' ant'ewakä*, I passed the night, never *hom ant'ewakä*

Although this is the only clear case, there are a number of intransitive verbs beginning in *an*, where incorporation may be inferred, although comparative forms do not exist that would prove beyond doubt that *an* is not part of the stem.

anikcia, he is lucky (cf. *anikcia'u*, he gives him good luck, i. e., blesses him)

ho' ant'sumeha, I am anxious (*t'sume*, strong)

analtiye, he is locked up (*altu*, close it!)

Like the objective pronouns, these are unaffected by the use of independent first or second person pronouns:

ho' ant'ewakä, *t'o' ant'ewakä*, *ho' ant'sumeha*, etc.;

also *a·tc ant'ewakä*, the two passed the night

The incorporated objective pronoun also becomes subject of the corresponding resultative:

a·wampoktikäna'kä, they were given smoke (*a·wam*, pronoun; *pokti*, to smoke; *k'(ä)*, causative; *na'kä*, resultative, past tense) Z 109:38

a·waiyu'tciana'kä, they used to be wonderful (*yu'tcia*, to wonder at) Z 39:27

40. Indirect Object

Indirect object (singular *an*·, plural *yan*, see ¶ 47) is regularly prefixed: *hom anhetocna'k̄ä*, I was told what to do (lit: it was instructed to me) Z 107:95

yaniltemana, believing in them Z 30:60

yanhetocna'k̄ä, they were instructed 410:139

a'tci yanik̄ik̄ä, they (dual) greeted them Z 237:24

yaiyosek'e'a, she used to lie to them. (See ¶ 3 for phonetic shift.)
Z 240:99

Where indirect object is not incorporated, *i* (*y*) indicates plural indirect object:

ho'na yatinaḡk̄ä, they told us (*hom atinaḡk̄ä*, they told me)

yanik'e'a, he is teaching them (*anik'e'a*, he teaches him; but

a'wanik'e'a, he teaches them, also is correct but not idiomatic)

41. Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexive constructions are exceedingly common and varied. The reflexive pronoun is *i*·.

i'k'ocok̄ä, she washed herself (*k'oco*, wash) Z 99:29

i'muk̄ä, he sat down (lit., seated himself, from *im-*) Z 112:88

yela'u, stand up! (*ela'u*, stand it up)

i'yu'te'tcinaha, she rested (lit., she untired herself, from *yu'te'tcina*, tired)

oyemc yil'up, when she marries (lit., when she puts herself with a husband) (*oyemc(i)*, husband; *y* reflexive; *il'*, neutral stem with; *-u*, active; *-p*, participle) 415:1

i't'inaḡä, be seated (polite form) (lit., cause yourselves to be sitting) Z 159:41

There are two reciprocals, *i'wi'-(i'· + i'·)* which is really a double or plural reflexive, used where the basic form is reflexive, and the true reciprocal *i'yan* (*i'· + an*), used with verbs in which the direct object *an* is expressed.

i'wi'tok'än'iyahnan, when they would give one another to eat
Z 32:96

hon i'wiyat'en-t'sumek'änapḡk̄ä, we held one another fast (*i'wi'·*, reciprocal; *yat'e*, stem, "grasp", not reflexive; *n*, participle; *t'sume*, stem "strong;" *-k'ä*, causative; *-napḡk̄ä*, plural, past tense)

i'wi'tcemanapḡk̄ä, they loved one another (*i'w(i'·)*, reciprocal; *itcema*, stem, love) Z 56:79

i'wiatinaḡk̄ä, they told one another (*i'wi'·*, reciprocal; *atin-*, stem, tell; *-(n)apḡk̄ä*, plural, past tense)

i'wil'i, together (*i'wi'·*, reciprocal; *il'i*, to be with) 418:40

- i·yantehkunanapkä*, they questioned one another (*i·*, reflexive; *antehkuna*, question him; *-napkä*, plural, past tense)
- i·yaniktohna p'oaye*, they are sitting face to face (*i·*-, reflexive; *aniktohna*, stem, face to face; *p'oaye*, to be sitting)
- i·yank'olonapkä*, they played hidden ball together (*i·*-, reflexive; *an-*, indirect object; *k'olo-*, stem, hide; *-napkä*, plural, past tense) Z 135:53
- i·yantenapi'lapkä*, they sang their song sequences for one another (*i·*-, reflexive, *an-*, indirect object; *tena*, stem, to sing (or songs); *pi'l-*, stem, to count; *-ap*, distributive plural; *-kä*, past tense)
- i·yaiyu'k'älna·we*, they quarrel together all the time (*i·*, reflexive; *ai-(an)-*, object; *yu'*-, to feel; *k'äl-* stem, to get hot; *-na·we*, plural, present tense. Cf. *a·iyu'k'äli*, I hate him; *yu'k'äli*, I feel hateful, or angry)
- iyanap'ena·we*, they quarrel with one another Z 9:70
- iyaniḱinan·e*, relative (*iḱina*, younger sister, man speaking)
- hon iyanitcup'alowena·wa*, let's play hide-and-seek (lit., hide from one another) Z 215:13

42. *wə-*

Another incorporated pronoun is the impersonal, collective, objective pronoun *wə* which, like *an*, represents the object of the transitive and subject of the intransitive verb. It is used chiefly with plural stems, and usually refers to inanimate objects:

As a plural object:

- wə·tukä*, he put them down (singular *a'ukä*, he put it down, used for flat things; for persons and round objects the corresponding stem is *t'ina'u*, singular *animu*)
- wə·low'ya*, he is burying them (*p'alo'ya*, he is burying it, round objects or persons)
- wə·lu*, she puts them in a bowl, etc. (*eto'u*, she puts one thing in a bowl)
- wə·ptsickä*, he separated them (*aptsi*, to cut)
- wə·k'oconan*, when I have washed them (*wə-*; *k'oco*, to wash; *-nan*, participle) Z 4:68.

As subject of corresponding intransitives:

- wə·tiye*, they are lying there (singular *ale*; for persons and round things)
- wə·lowye*, they are hidden (singular *p'aloye*)
- wə·liye*, they are in a bowl (singular *etoye*)
- wə·hanaye*, they are hanging (singular *p'iyaye*) (persons or objects)
- wə·k'oconak'än·a*, (the wool) should be washed (*wə-*; *k'oco*, to wash; *-nak'än·a*, resultative, subjunctive) Z 5:79.

43—77. ANALYSIS OF VERBAL CATEGORIES

43—58. NUMBER

The concept of number is fundamental in the language, and the various ways in which plurality is expressed in verbs form the true index to their character and meaning.

The number of subject and of object, direct and indirect are invariably expressed. There are three numbers, singular, dual and plural. There are, moreover, distributive plurals. The dual in the verb is essentially a modified singular. Duality is expressed only in the pronoun, the verb appearing as singular; the dual can, therefore, be disregarded in the analysis of number in verbs.

44. *Ways in which Plurality is expressed*

Plurality of subject or object may be expressed by prefixes, suffixes, or the use of different and specifically plural stems, the mechanism employed being conditioned by the character and fundamental significance of the verbal stem.

45—47. *Number in the Active Transitive Verb*

45. Number of Subject

Simple plurality of subject of the active transitive verb is expressed by the suffix *-na·w-*. The suffix appears in three forms: present tense *na·we*, past tense *napk̄ä*, (see ¶ 5 for the phonetic law covering this shift), future (present subjunctive) *na·wa*. The discussion of distributive plurals, and the plurals of special forms such as imminent aspect, imperatives, exhortatives, optatives, participles and all negatives, must be deferred to a later place, but in all of these except the imminent aspect the element *-na·w-* or its variant *-nap-* may be isolated.

hom anhatiana·we, they listen to me Z 57:6

wɔ·hayena·we, they are spreading them out (*wɔ·haye'a* he is spreading them out)

akcuna·we, they put him among them (*akcu*, he puts him among them)

piyahna·we, take it down! (pl.) (*piyaha*, he takes it down)

i·cemana·we, call them! 406:82

anulanap̄k̄ä, they appointed him (*anulak̄ä*, he appointed him)

k̄äpunap̄k̄ä, they drew water (Z 17:19)

ak'onap̄k̄ä, they dug a grave 403:42

p'iyana·we, they hung him 399:4

ainana·wa, they will kill him (*ainan'a*, he will kill him)

a'una·wa, they will put it down (*a'un·a*, he will put it down)
ankohanena·wa, they will always feel sorry for her (*ankohanen·a*,
 he will feel sorry for her, durative)
pani·k'äna·wa, they will take him down (*pani·*, to go down;
 -*k'*-, causative) Z 15:77
i'tona·wa, they will eat. Z 11:8

46. Number of Direct Object

In most transitive verbs plurality of direct object is expressed by the prefix *a·*, which has already been referred to in the discussion of incorporated pronouns.

a·witok'äna·we, they give them to eat (lit.: cause them to eat:
a·(w), pl. object; *ito*, stem, eat; *k' (ä)*, causative, momenta-
 neous; *na·we*, plural, present) Z 53:17

ho' a·waptsi, I cut them (*aptsi*, I cut it)

a·hantikä, he stole them (*hantikä*, he stole it)

a·pehe'a, he is tying them up (*pehe'a*, he is tying it up)

a·wanhatiawa, listen to them! (*anhatiawa*, listen to him!
hatiawa, listen!)

ho' a·k'ätukä, I sprinkled them with water Z 79:22

a·wawatenapkä, they washed their hair (*a'watekä*, she washed
 his hair; *i'watekä*, she washed her own hair) 425:80

a·wutsip, giving them to him (*utsi*, give it to him) 421:21

a·wunap'a, they saw them Z 91:71

ho' a·witcema, I love them Z 9:67

also *ukwai'ik'änapkä*, they made them come out (*u·*, variant of *a·*)
 before labialized *kw*

In many cases, however, different stems are used, according to singularity or plurality of object of the action. To this class belong many transitive verbs which are derived from neutral stems (see ¶ 32), in which the corresponding static verb relates to the position or existence of objects.

ela'u, he sets it upright; *luwala'u*, he sets them upright

a'u, he puts it down; *w·tu*, he puts them down

patce'a, he is putting it against something; *w·pane'a*, he is
 putting them against something

akcu, he puts it among them; *w·slu*, he puts them among them

i·mu, he sits down (reflexive); *i'ina'u*, they sit down

aina, to kill or strike one person; *lata*, to kill or strike many, to
 hunt (See 405:70, 78)

Occasionally, plurality of direct object is expressed by the prefix *i*, the usual prefix for indicating plural indirect object (see below ¶ 47).

icemana·we, call them (*cema*, call him)

itapi, pick them up (round things or human beings) *tapi*, pick it up

yelete'u, get them ready (*elete'u*, get it ready, do it right)

The use of *wə·* to express collective plurality has already been noted (§ 42). *wə·* is frequently used with plural stems.

47. NUMBER OF INDIRECT OBJECT

Plural indirect object is indicated by prefixed *i-* (*y*).

ho'n yaniktcia'u, it brings us good luck (*hom aniktcia'u*, it brings me good luck)

ho'na yatinapkä, he told us (*atinapkä*, he told him)

ho' ihanukwahn'a, he will prevail over us (*hom hanukwan'a*, he will prevail over me) Z 40:48

kwa yant'ewusuna'ma, he will not yield to them (*t'ewusu*, prayer) Z 131:75

i'nap'ekä, he scolded them 410:135 (*anapenapkä*, they scolded him) 406:93

yaniltemana, believing in them Z 30:60

but also *le'a·wanikwakä*, thus he said to them (*le'kwakä*, thus he said to her)

The verb *utsi* is used for giving to one person, *yakna* for giving to many. These stems are undoubtedly related (cf. *ukä*, he gave it to him; *ukna'ye*, it has been given to him). The apparent irregularity is probably due to a phonetic shift, which cannot be traced. (See § 6.) The prefixed *y-* indicating plural indirect object is regular.

48—51. Number in Static Verbs.

Most static verbs either are based on neutral stems, or derived through suffixes from active transitive verbs. Plurality of subject in verbs of condition is expressed by the same devices that are used to express plurality of object in the corresponding transitive verbs.

49. Singular and Plural Stems

p'iyaye, it is hanging; *wə·hanaye*, they are hanging (cf. *p'iya'u*, he hangs it, and *wə·hana'u*, he hangs them)

akciye, he is among them; *wə·sliye*, they are among them (cf. *akcu* and *wə·slu*)

elaye, it is standing upright; *luwalaye*, they are standing upright (cf. *ela'u*, *luwala'u*)

ale, it is lying; *wə·tiye*, they are lying there (cf. *a'u* and *wə·tu*)
ainanaye, he has been struck; *laknaye*, they have been struck, or killed (from *aina* and *tata*)

utce, he is inside; *upe*, they are inside (cf. *utcu* and *upo'ya*)

50. Plurals in *a*-

Where the transitive has plural object in *a*- the corresponding verb of condition forms its plural in *a*-. By far the greater number of static verbs form their plurals thus:

a·wat'ani, they are dangerous (*at'ani*, it is dangerous; cf. *at'ana* and *a·wat'ana*, he fears it or them) Z 14:59

a·p'a'iye, they are wearing robes (*p'a'iye*, he is wearing a robe; cf. *p'a'u*, he puts a robe on him, and *a·p'a'u*, he puts a robe on them)

a·wapsinaye, they have been cut (*aptsinaye*, it has been cut; cf. *a·wapsi*, he cuts them)

a·hanlinaye, they have been stolen (*hanlinaye*, it has been stolen; *hanti*, he steals it; *a·hanti*, he steals them)

hon a·halowilap'a, if we have good luck. Z 7:28

a·teckwi'kä, they were taboo. Z 13:31

also *hon a·teaye*, we live. Z 23:36

Also the plurals of adjectives, whether based on adjectival stems or derived from active intransitive verbs, are formed by prefix *a*-

a·lo'o, hard, they are hard (*lo'o*, hard)

a·lana, large, they are large (*la'a*, to get large)

a·k'usna, dry, they are dry (*k'usa*, to get dry), etc.

a·tewuko'lia'kä, they were very poor. Z 27:6

t'on a·lohaiyap'a, you with gray hair... Z 55:65

a·k'akci'kä, they were good (*k'akci*, good) Z 6:2

51. Plurals in *i*-(*y*)-

Static verbs based on transitives that have plural object, direct or indirect, in *i*-(*y*) from plurals in *i*-(*y*)-

yeleknaye, they are ready (*yelek'e'a*, to get them ready; *elek'e'a*, to get it ready)

yanulaye, they are appointed (*anulaye*, he is appointed, *anula'u* and *yanula'u*)

yaknaye, it has been given to them (*uknaye*, it has been given to him, *yak'ä* and *utsi*. There seems to be no reason for the change of initial vowel *u* to *a*. However, the verb is irregular throughout. See ¶ 104)

i·k'et'sana, they are happy. Z 9:57

yaniktcia, they have been blessed. Z 9:60

52—58. Plurals of Active Intransitive Verbs

The greatest variability exists in the formation of the plurals of active intransitive verbs. In so far as they generally form plurals by prefixing, they resemble verbs of condition. There are several classes.

53. Plural Stems

ala, he sleeps; *ya'tela*, they sleep
elemaku, he stands up; *tuwalemaku*, they stand up
 (*tuwalemakä* 424:59)

54. Plural in *a·-(u·-)*

Most verbs of motion and change of state belong to this class.

<i>a·ne</i> , he goes	<i>a·wa·ne</i> , they go
<i>ye·maku</i> , he ascends	<i>a·ye·maku</i> , they ascend
<i>la'a</i> , it grows	<i>a·la'a</i> , they grow
<i>ya'a</i> , it gets to be finished	<i>a·ya'a</i> , they get to be finished
<i>we'a</i> , he is sick	<i>a·we'a</i> , they are sick
<i>a·k'usa</i> , they are drying up Z 7:23	
<i>a·cohokä</i> , they turned yellow Z 69:36	
<i>a·koyekä</i> , they cried 402:35	
<i>a·p'eye</i> , they talk 420:3	
<i>a·wa·nuwa</i> , they will go 421:7	
<i>a·te'tcikä</i> , they arrived 422:25	

To this group probably should be added also the following:

kwato, he enters; *u·kwato*, they enter; and
kwai'i, he comes out; *u·kwai'i*, they come out; although the
 change to *u·* before labialized *k* is not a regular phonetic shift
 (e. g. *akwa·we*, *a·k'win·e*, etc.)

55. Plural in *i·-(y·-)*

<i>k'et'sati</i> , he becomes happy	<i>ik'et'sati</i> , they become happy (<i>iketsana</i>)
<i>acekä</i> , he died	<i>yacekä</i> , they died. Z 31:85
<i>yu'ya·na</i> , he finds out	<i>iyu'ya·na</i> , they find out
<i>ikäne'a</i> , he is angry (active)	<i>ikäne'a</i> , they are angry
<i>tse'ma</i> , he thinks	<i>itse'ma</i> , they think
<i>ikänikä</i> , they were angry (<i>ikänikä</i> , he is angry) 406:95	
<i>i'halicotikä</i> , they became crazy. Z 41:77	

56. Plurals in *te* (RARE)

tcune'a, he is stopping; *tetcune'a*, they are stopping
t'unaye, he looks, has his eyes open; *tet'unaye*, they look
 (*t'unaye* also has another plural, *t'unap'a*)
tetcapik'änä'kä, fires were made (*tcapi*, it burns)
tetcunap'a, finished Z 14:49
tep'oap'ap, standing up (of animals) Z 101:74

Very few words form their plurals this way; one should note, however, the transitive verb *ikwe'a*, he says (it); *tikwe'a*, they say it and possibly *ela* and *luwala*. There are a few special idioms containing *te*, which would indicate a distributive function:

tehaktco, to remove a bit from each dish at a meal for sacrifice, an alternative and more idiomatic form for the regular *a'haktcela* (*a'*, plural object; *hak(i)*, stem, to cut off; *-tcel-*, severally; (§ 28); *a*, present tense, active)

teloce'a, there is famine in the land (*oce'a*, he is hungry; the regular plural is *a'woce'a*)

tewu'asela, jealous all the time

Moreover, both tenses of the imminent aspect form their plural by the suffix *-t-* preceding the aspective suffix.

57. Stem Modification

The verb *ota*, to dance, has irregular plurals, formed by stem modification.

otaye, he is dancing

otakä, he danced

otak'an'a

otiwe, they are dancing

otipkä, they danced¹

otiwa, they will dance

58. Impersonal and Distributive Plurals

Certain verbs, both transitive and intransitive, have special distributive or impersonal plurals in *p'* (*p'a*, *pkä*, *p'ana*, or *wa*). These forms, in transitives, usually have an impersonal meaning.

hom atinap'a, people tell me (cf. *ho'n yatina'we*, they tell us)

aincokyapkä, they were waiting for him Z 102:92 (*cokyapkä*, they were waiting; 423:41)

acuwa'wa, people will speak to her (cf. *acuvena'wa*) Z 97:92

(The future of *atinap'a* is *atinap'an'a*)

latipkä, people planted their prayersticks (cf. *latunapkä*)

kwanteapkä, they dressed her

tse'manap'an'a, they will still be thinking about it Z 11:11

i'tuwalapkä, they built their villages Z 29:52

up'inap'a, it snowed all the time Z 210:70

hon lata'wa, we shall have a hunt Z 97:93

The plurals of *una*, to see, and *il'i*, to have, follow this form. *unap'a*, they see; *il'ap'a*, they have; *il'apkä*, they had; *ila'wa*, they will have; *t'una*, to look, has two plurals, *tel'unaye*, and *t'unap'a*.

In the case of static verbs the meaning is definitely distributive:

aklip'a, there are fires all around (*akliye*, there is a fire)

¹ Regular phonetic shift of *w* to *p* before a stop.

- lenap'a*, he has crops growing in different places (*lenaye*, he has crops, or really, there are crops) Z 7:20. *lenapkä*, Z 25:60
etcip'an'a, they will be left (here and there) Z 2:29
wwanap'a, there were wild fruits all over. Z 277:32
k'äkwenip'a, they live in different houses, Z 9:68 (plural of *k'äkweniye*, they live together in one house, literally, there is a house, Z 9:69)
a·pasikwipkä, they had them around their wrists (cf. *a·pasi-kwiye*, he has them on his wrist, literally, they are around a wrist)
onap'an'a, there will be many roads (*ona*, road)

59—62. TENSE

59. *Expression of Tense*

The location of an act or condition in past, present or future time is expressed or implied in all predicative concepts. There are two tenses, present and past, which relate to absolute time and are not to be confused with the quasi-temporal aspects to be considered later.

The expression of tense is always in suffixes; but these suffixes express more than tense alone. They express also aspect, temporal-aspect, and, in the transitive verb, number of subject. Verbal conjugations had best be left, therefore, to a later time, after a consideration of other verbal categories.

60. *Present.*

The present tense is used for events occurring at the moment of speaking. Therefore in active verbs the completive aspect of the present tense is rarely encountered in text, and is sometimes secured only with difficulty, as in the verb "to die", for instance; informants cannot conceive of dying as occurring in present time; one has already died or is on the point of death. As in English, the usage of the present tense is extended with rhetorical effect to rapid narrative to relate events occurring in past time, where it is desired to convey the sense of suspense of present action. The present tense has many forms.

- le'ap'e'a*, so they always do 418:37
hon latena·we, we are killing them 405:69
p'eye'a, he is speaking 408:111
we'a, it is sick 409:130
ho' aiyu'ya·na, I know it 411:151
t'o' ikwanik'e'a, you are working Z 8:41
hon k'äkweniye, we are living Z 9:69

hon a·waiyupatic'ena·we, we look after them Z 20:68
a·p'eye, they spoke 420:3
t'inaiye, they were staying there 423:44
ikäne'a, he was angry 401:27
hap'onaiye, they were meeting together Z 156:74
t'una·t'ewa, she stayed up all night Z 170:53
a·ne, she went on Z 185:77
kwato, she came in Z 216:97

61. Past

The past tense is used to describe any event or condition occurring or existing previous to the narration. So it covers both the perfect and imperfect tense of European languages. It is formed by suffixing *-kä* in final position

ho' latekä, I have killed 405:78
k'usk'äkä, she dried her 402:37
otpahkä, he pulled off his headband 401:24
halicotikä, she became crazy 400:8
ho' t'ehya'kä, I was valuable 405:79
peha'kä, it was wrapped up 401:24
k'ocona'kä, she was washed, or she had been washed 402:35
ho' ikä, I have come Z 110:48
anawanapkä, they had guessed it Z 54:32
hon a·te'tcikä, we have reached Z 79:41

62. Expression of Futurity

There is no future tense. Futurity may be expressed in either completive, durative or static aspects by the use of the present subjunctive, or by the use of the present tense of the intentional or imminent aspect. The latter usage implies either intention or certainty.

a·nuwa, she will go 416:19
 but *a·n'iha*, he is about to go 421:12
 and *ho' a·n'iha*, I want to go 421:19
ci'ik'an'a, she will have a name 396:2
te-i·yan'a, he will bring (lit., he will come carrying) 415:4
ho' acan'a, I shall make Z 3:50
tek'an'a, there will be Z 98:5
a·pik'aiap'an'a, they will be tied Z 3:37
ite'tcip'an'a, they will try to practice Z 27:76
toweyek'an'iha, he is going to plant Z 1:1
ainan'iha, he wanted to kill her Z 39:43
acen'iha, she is about to die 400:10
otiwetiha, they are going to dance Z 25:68
hom piyana·wetiha, they are going to hang me Z 47:93

63—67. TEMPORAL ASPECT

Action is conceived as single and momentaneous (completive), durative or repeated, or as imminent but not yet begun. The first and third are categories of all active verbs, the second of transitive verbs only. Intransitive verbs practically all relate to motion or to change of state and are durative in their essence; repeated action is expressed by derivative suffixes. See ¶ 29.

It is impossible to generalize in any way concerning the formal character of the present tense. In the completive aspect, the present may be merely the stem, or else stem plus *-a*, *'u*; the durative ends in *e'a* or *'ya*. The present tense of static verbs ends in *-ye*, *-e* or has no suffix (e. g. some adjectives). With subjunctives, plurals, etc. new complexities appear, which only the verbal paradigms on pages 469 cf. can make clear.

64. *The Completive*

The completive aspect describes a single completed action. It exists in two tenses: present and past, but is rarely found in transitives in the present except when used as an imperative.

65. *Durative and Repetitive*

The durative expresses action in progress at the time of statement. It is used also for repeated or customary action:

itetcu, he tries it; *itetce'a*, he is trying it, or he practices, i. e.

tries over many times

ok'äkä, she ground it Z 98:18

ho' okekä, I was grinding Z 54:26

a'kok'ä, they cried out Z 42:93

a'koyekä, they were crying Z 51:84

aklukä, he made a fire Z 9:85

akle'a, he was making the fire Z 9:85

hatikwicna'kä, the witch was exorcised 410:15

i'hatikwicena'kä, witches used to be exorcised 399:2

k'usk'äkä, she dried her 402:37

i'k'usk'ekä, (did you) dry yourself? (customary)

lak'ä, he fought with them (*lat* + *-kä*, see ¶ 5) Z 45:64

latekä, he used to kill (deer) Z 35:61

Some few verbs, transitive and intransitive, have a special customary aspect. Customary action is usually expressed by the durative. See also ¶ 29.

ace'e'a, he always makes it (*ace'a*, he is making it)

we'e'a, she is always sick (*we'a*, she is sick)

66. *Imminent*

The imminent expresses an action that is impending, or desired, and has not yet begun; it is not to be confused with the simple future. It exists in two tenses, present and past:

e. g., *ho' a-n'iha*, I want to go (*ho' a-nuwa*, I shall go) 421:19
ho' a-niyahkã, I was about to go, or I wanted to go (*a-kã*,
 he went)

The plurals in transitive verbs are formed by the suffix *-t-* (cf. *te-* as a pluralizing prefix, ¶ 56).

acan'iha, he is about to make it; 401:28

acantiha, they are about to make it; and *acan'iyahkã* (sing.)
 and *acantiyahkã*

acen'iha, she is about to die

yacentiha, they were about to die Z 156:65

p'ek'äna-wetiha, they are going to make him speak 404:57

a-n'iha, (I) want to go

ho' alewuniyahkã, I wanted to do that Z 115:48

el ho' acaniyahkã, I was going to make them well Z 152:87

acuwa-wetiha, they wanted to talk to her Z 97:91

to' ansewahan'iha, you are going to consent Z 167:87

o'aniyahkã, he almost became (war chief) (*o'a*, to come to be)

67. *Resultative*

This is a category of all active verbs, whether transitive or intransitive, and whether derived from active or neutral stems. The resultative describes a condition resulting from an action. The resultative of transitive verbs corresponds to our passive. It expresses a condition of which the object of the active verb is subject. Morphologically the resultative is a static verb based on the present participle.

The resultative aspect is conjugated like any other static verb. The tense suffixes are:

Present	<i>-naye</i>
Past	<i>-na'kã</i>
Present subjunctive	<i>-nak'än'a</i>

Plurals of the resultatives of transitives are formed by prefixing *a-* unless a different stem is used; the plurals of resultatives of intransitives are variously formed.

acenaye, he lies there dead (*ace'a*, he dies; plural, *yacenaye*)

ya'naye, it is finished (from *ya'a*, it gets to be finished; plural
a'ya'naye)

p'a'inaye, he has been robed (*p'a-*, neutral stem. Cf. *p'a'iyē*,

- he is wearing a robe, and (*i*)*p'a'u*, he puts a robe on himself;
plural *a·p'a'inaye*)
- akcihnaye*, he has been chosen (*akciha*, he picks him out, from
akc- neutral stem + *h*, conversive suffix; plural *woslihnaye*)
- kwai'inaye*, it was running out (*kwai'i*, to come out) 421:18
- ci'na-ya'naiye*, he is full fleshed (*ci'na[n'e]*, flesh; *ya·*, to come
to be finished) Z 156:80
- a'naiye*, it goes along Z 104:38
- yätonaiye*, they (dual) will be wearing over their shoulders . . .
(*yäto*, to cross over) Z 44:24
- kwai'ina'kä*, it was coming out Z 145:46
- toweyena'kä*, they planted (literally, it was planted) Z 155:58
- tcimaiyacnak'än·a*, they will cut wheat (literally, it will be
wheat-harvest; *tcimaiya*, standing wheat; *c*, conversive, see
¶ 27) Z 16:2
- hom ancemana'kä*, it was demanded of me Z 263:67
- k'ocona'kä*, she was washed 402:35
- halikwicna'kä*, witchcraft was removed 410:137
- tetcapik'äna'kä*, signal fires were lighted (*te*, plural; *tcapi*, to
burn; *k'ä*, causative)
- a·wukna'kä*, they (corn) were given to him Z 27:7
- t'owo'atina'kä*, he was shot Z 91:80
- awaiyutciana'kä*, they were wonderful (literally, they were
marvelled at) Z 254:71
- i·tok'änak'än·a*, she will be given to eat 417:31 (cf. *itokän·a*,
she will give her to eat, 415:5)
- w·ticnak'än·a*, they will be fetched (*w·tic-*, to pick up many
things, *w* + *t(i)* + *h*) Z 2:25
- ho'na anhetocnak'än·a*, it will be told us Z 238:59
- i·p'anaye*, he will be punished Z 85:79
- akna(ye)*, it is cooked Z 4:64
- hap'onaye*, they are gathered together Z 11:1

68—77. MODE

In addition to the indicative mode of the verb, there are distinguished the subjunctive and conditional, imperative, exhortative, and optative. The usage of the last three is not always clearly differentiated. They, together with periphrastic constructions, are used idiomatically to express various subtle shadings in the issuing of commands.

69—74. Subjunctive

The subjunctive exists in two tenses, present and past. The present is used to express conditional or problematical statements,

hence for all simple futures, and for queries, indirect, polite commands and instructions. It is formed by adding *-n·a* (plural *-wa*) in final position. It has both completive and durative forms. Completive *-an·a*, *un·a*, *in·a*; durative, *-en·a*.

The past tense is formed by adding *-nkä* to the present subjunctive (*-kä* is the usual element for expressing past time).

hon a·wianankä, we would have come

ho' il'in tom ho' utsinankä, if I had had it I should have given it to you

et t'om han·i tek'änankä, it would have been your sister but . . .

Z 20:71

70—74. Uses of the Subjunctive

70. (1) To express futurity

ho' acan·a, I shall make Z 3:50

a·ta'an·a, they will grow Z 8:37

itona·wa, they will eat Z 11:8

a·yäluk'än·a, they will be behind Z 15:86 (*yälu*, "behind," neutral stem)

up'ok'än·a, they will be in Z 17:23

hon a·walacnak'än·a, we shall be run down Z 104:33

t'o'na hon ona-elatena·wa, we shall pass you on your roads Z 153:9

71. (2) For statements of events not definitely placed in time:

e'lactok yi·lup . . . an oyemci anakwai'in·a . . ., 415:2 whenever a girl marries . . . her husband will run out . . . (The whole description which follows is in present subjunctive, freely translated by our future tense)

k'äkwen o'antiahnan . . . ihap'ok'än·a, when a house is to be built . . . they are gathered together

ak'a kwai'in·a, so that it may come out Z 1:6

akä peyen·a, that he might talk 405:64

72. (3) For conditional statements

aminak'änuwap sunhap a·nuwa, if she should be lazy she would go in the evening (The form *a·nuwa* is irregular; see below.)

t'on oyemc il'in t'o'na ak'ä aiylacinak'än·a, if you have a husband, respect will be shown you for it (*t'on*, you; *oyemc-*, husband; *il'in*, having; *t'o'n (t'o'na)*, to you; *ak'ä*, on account of; *aiylacinak'än·a*, it will be respected) Z 126:64

otsi tek'änuwap'a an nana yam ci'in utsin·a, if it had been a boy his grandfather would give him his own name (*otsi*, male; *tek'änuwapa*, see below, ¶ 111; *an*, his; *nana*, grandfather; *yam*, reflexive pronoun; *utsina*, *u[ts]*, give)

p'iyahanankä, he would have fallen. . .

honkwati akä elek'änankä, perhaps with this it might have been all right. Z 41:72

yu'yackwi a.tek'änankä, (you) would have been well provided with food. Z 130:57

Where the subjunctive is used to express conditional statements, the subordinate clause stating the condition may be expressed by a participle (see ¶ 111). In regard to the form of the conditional participle, it might be pointed out that the two irregular verbs *a·ne* and *-p'ene* have present subjunctive in *-uwa*.

aminak'änuwap, if she should be lazy (*amina*, lazy; *aminap*, if (when) she is lazy) 417:29

otsi tek'änuwap'a, if it should be a boy (*teaye*, it is; the present participle would be *teap'a*, being, but it is rarely used) 396:2

kwa elam·ek'änuwap hom atinen·a, if anything were wrong she would tell me (*kwa*, negative participle; *el-*, stem, right; *-a-*, conjugating vowel; *-m·e*, negative; *-k'änuwap*, participle; *-p*, form (see ¶ 105); *hom*, me; *atinen·a*, she would tell, present subjunctive)

73. (4) For questions

tcuwahol t'o' tekän·a, whoever may you be? Z 110:43

kotcimat ho' ikwan·a, whatever should I say? Z 126:64

kwako'na t'o' anteceman·a, whatever may you want? Z 124:34

koplea ho' samuk'än·a, why should I be angry? Z 9:66

74. (5) For polite commands

t'os a·nuwa, now you will go. Z 105:61

t'on aiyu'aya·känawa, you (pl.) will let them know. Z 133:2

t'o' awayupatcikän·a, you will take care of them. Z 171:84

t'on tem·la iton·a, you must eat it all. Z 152:92

75. The Imperative

The common way of expressing direct commands is the present-tense complete.

itowena·we', eat! (pl.) Z 189:46

kwato, come in (pl., *u·kwato*)

aca, make it!

ipa'u, put on your robe (*i*, reflexive)

i'cemana·we', call them 406:82

eto'u, put it down 415:7

altu, shut the door Z 75:47

yulak'äti', stand still! Z 105:44

This is usually, but not always, differentiated from the indicative by a heavy stress accent on the final syllable, which by men may be diphthongized (*kwatoi'*, *yaktohai'*, *wan yucanai'*).

For polite commands and instructions the present subjunctive is used, as has already been pointed out.

There is a peremptory imperative ending in *-naknana'* employed only in addressing children (or by priests in addressing their people, who are their children). Morphologically this seems to be not a direct imperative, but rather a periphrastic construction based on the past participle (see ¶ 105).

lepaktconaknana', chop the wood! (literally, have the wood chopped. *lepaktconaknan*, wood having been chopped, past participle of *lepaktco*, to chop wood)

ip'ewenaknana', spread the beds! (*i-*, pl. object, *p'ew-*, stem, spread out a blanket; *-naknan*, past participle) Z 140:44

sewahnaknana', see that you say yes! Z 125:50

anitinaknana', they must be saved Z 138:19

76. Exhortative

The exhortative, the use of which is confined to first person dual and plural, is expressed by the suffix *-ce* attached to the present tense forms, singular or plural. This probably is related to the interrogative particle *-ci*. It is used with personal pronouns,

hon kwai'ice, let's go out (dual) Z 171:70

hon a'ce, let's go (dual) Z 173:29 (*hon a'ne*, we are going.)

hon a'wa'ce, let's go (plural) Z 167:100

si' hon itonapce, well, let's eat (*si'*, now; *hon*, we; *ito*, stem, eat; *-nap* (*-na'w*), plural; *-ce*, exhortative) Z 125:58

iyu'te'tcinace, let's rest. Z 146:75

Without the pronoun it is used as an imperative, more peremptory than the usual imperative, but more respectful than the periphrastic forms:

tu cemace, go on, call him! (*tu'u*, go on)

tu k'äpuce, go, get water (more emphatic than the optative

tu k'äput'u)

luno a'ce, go ahead! (dual) Z 102:94

77. Optative

The suffix for the optative is *t'u* (plural *napt'u*) attached to the present tense. It is the mode of polite greetings and of prayers. It is always used with personal pronoun.

t'o' k'et'sanici t'ewanan teat'u, may you always live happily.

Z 147:81

t'o' tsawak yo-t'u, may you live to be a young man (*t'o'*, you; *tsawaki*, youth; *yo-*, stem, become) 397:5

hon t'ek'ohanan yanikt'cianapt'u, may they bless us with life

lesnapa lesnatik t'on a-t'u, even thus may you go (dual) Z 164:29

Frequently it is used as a polite exhortative:

eles yalakwet'u, better let it be destroyed Z 41:65

wan t'elat'u, wait till it gets dark (wait, let it get dark)

ama ho' yemakt'u, please, let me go up there Z 117:92

a'ho' unapt'u, let the people see him Z 40:51

hon a'wat'u te'ya, better let's go back again

sewulan hakät'u, let me send him with a message Z 143:22

Or it is used for polite commands or requests:

ele t'o' imo-t'u, you had better stay here

t'o' otat'u, you are to dance, or, please dance Z 71:74

homan to' otsit'u, you are to be my partner Z 72:83

ipakut'u, you had better cover yourself Z 146:80

t'o' hecikät'u, you had better hurry Z 47:2

78—104. VERBAL PARADIGMS — THE CONJUGATIONS

78. Verbs are inflected according to several patterns which have no connection with their conceptual or phonetic character, and which must therefore be regarded at present as arbitrary conjugations. The actual syntactic suffixes, except present, completive singular, follow the same pattern, the variation occurring in the presence or absence of various conjugating vowels.

79—83. Conjugation of neutral stems

The basic verbal pattern is a neutral stem with an active transitive and a static conjugation. It is these verbs that best illustrate the fundamental character of the language, and which, moreover, show the fewest irregularities. Neutral stems belong to one of two conjugations; the first has no conjugating vowel, although *u* appears in all tenses of the active completive. The second conjugation has *a* as a conjugating vowel, in both active and static aspects. The vowel vanishes, however, before the durative *-e'a*.

80. Class I (Stem Ending in Consonant)

Example: *p'ot-*, full

INDICATIVE

Active

Completive

Singular

Plural

Present *p'otu*, he fills it

p'otuna-we, they fill it

a-p'otu, he fills them

a-potuna-we, they fill them

Past *p'otukä*, he filled it

p'otunapkä, they filled it

Durative

Present	<i>p'ote'a</i> , he is filling it	<i>p'otena·we</i> , they are filling it
Past	<i>p'otekä</i> , he was filling it	<i>p'otenapkä</i> , they were filling it

Imminent

Present	<i>p'otun'iha</i> , he is about to fill it	<i>p'otuna·wetiha</i> , they are about to fill it
Past	<i>p'otuniyahkä</i> , he was about to fill it	<i>p'otuna·wetiya^hkä</i> , they were about to fill it

Static

Present	<i>p'otiye</i> , it is full	<i>a·p'otiye</i> , they are full or <i>p'otip'a</i>
Past	<i>p'oti'kä</i> , it was full	<i>a·p'oti'kä</i> , they were full

Resultative

Present	<i>p'otinaye</i> , it has been filled	<i>a·p'otinaye</i> , they have been filled
Past	<i>p'otina'kä</i> , it had been filled	<i>a·p'otina'kä</i> , they had been filled

SUBJUNCTIVE

*Active**Completive*

Present	<i>p'otun'a</i> , he might fill it	<i>p'otuna·wa</i> , they might fill it
Past	<i>p'otunaykä</i> , he might have filled it	<i>p'otunawaykä</i> , they might have filled it

Durative

Present	<i>p'oten'a</i> , he might be filling it	<i>p'otena·wa</i> , they might be filling it
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Static

Present	<i>p'otik'an'a</i> , it might be full	<i>a·p'otinak'an'a</i> , they might be full
Past	<i>p'otik'anaykä</i> , it might have been full	<i>a·p'otik'anaykä</i> , they might have been full

Resultative

Present	<i>p'otinak'an'a</i> , it might be filled	<i>a·p'otinak'an'a</i> , they might be filled
Past	<i>p'otinak'anaykä</i> , it might have been filled	<i>a·p'otinak'anaykä</i> , they might have been filled.

IMPERATIVE

p'otu', fill it! *p'otuna·we'*, fill it!
p'otunaknana', see that it
 is filled

EXHORTATIVE

(hon) *p'otuce*, let's fill it (hon) *p'otunapce*, let's fill it
 (dual) (plural)

OPTATIVE

p'otut'u, may he fill it *p'otunapt'u*, may they fill it
p'otit'u, may it be full *a·p'otit'u*, may they be full

Partial list of neutral stems of Class I

ulu (*uliye*, *ule*), to put one thing in
aklu (*akliye*), to light a fire
akcu (*akciye*), to place among
patcu (*patciye*), to place against
pactu (*pactiye*), to place in the mouth
p'otu (*p'otiye*), to fill
p'ewu (*p'ewiye*), to spread (a blanket)
he'u (*he'iye*), to build a wall
yanu (*yaniye*), to cover with a blanket
optsu (*optsiye*), to tie into a bunch
wotu (*wotiye*), to put down many things
wolu (*woliye*), to put many things into a jar
ehku (*ehkuye*), to go ahead
etcu (*etciye*), to leave behind
ula'u (*ulaye*), to stand outside, or against
woslu (*wosliye*), to place many things among
p'a'u (*p'a'iye*), to cover with a robe
tecku (*teckwiye*), to fast (rare in the active conjugation)

The verbs, *ihtoha*, to tie on to the end, follows this pattern, except for the present active tense, which ends in *-a* instead of *-u*.

81. Class II (Stem ending in *o*)

Example: *p'alo-*, to bury

The same as Class I except for the duratives, as follows:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Present	<i>p'alo'ya</i>	<i>p'alo'na·we</i>
Past	<i>p'alo·kä</i>	<i>p'alo'napkä</i>
Present Subj.	<i>p'alo·n'a</i>	<i>p'alo'na·wa</i>

	<i>ikolo'u</i> , to hide something
	<i>p'alo'u</i> , to bury one object
	<i>wolo'u</i> , to bury many things
	<i>palto'u</i> , to end
	<i>hakto, hakto'u</i> to place on the head
	<i>seto, seto'u</i> to place on the back
also	<i>teku</i> , to stick in

82. Class III

A small group of stems ending in consonants form static in *-e*. These are conjugated as follows:

Present	Past	Subjunctive
<i>wape</i>	<i>wapo'kä</i>	<i>wapok'än'a</i> to be inside a deep receptacle, pl.
<i>ime</i>	<i>imo'kä</i>	<i>imok'än'a</i> to be sitting (sing.)
<i>utce</i>	<i>utcu'kä</i>	<i>utcu'k'än'a</i> to be inside (sing.)
<i>upe</i>	<i>upo'kä</i>	<i>upok'än'a</i> to be inside (pl.)
<i>ale</i>	<i>a'akä</i>	<i>a'ak'än'a</i> to be lying, a single, flat object
<i>ule, uliye</i> (rare)	<i>uli'kä</i>	<i>ulik'än'a</i> to be inside a deep receptacle (sing.)

83. Class IV

The conjugation is the same as Class I except that *a* appears as a conjugating vowel in all forms except the durative. The present tense singular ends in *-a'u*. The *a* probably is not part of the stem.

Class IV (*a*- conjugation)

Example: *p'iya-*, to hang

INDICATIVE

Active

	Singular	Plural
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>p'iya'u</i> , he hangs it (<i>wohana'u</i> , he hangs them)	<i>p'iyana'we</i> , they hang it
Past	<i>p'iyakä</i> , he hung it	<i>p'iyana'p'kä</i> , they hung it
<i>Durative</i>		
Present	<i>p'iy'e'a</i> , he is hanging it	<i>p'iy'e'na'we</i> , they are hanging it
Past	<i>p'iy'e'kä</i> , he was hanging it	<i>p'iy'e'nap'kä</i> , they were hanging it
<i>Imminent</i>		
Present	<i>p'iyana'iha</i> , he is about to hang it	<i>p'iyana'wetiha</i> , they are about to hang it
Past	<i>p'iyaniyah'kä</i> , he was about to hang it	<i>p'iyana'weti'yah'kä</i> , they were about to hang it

Static

Present	<i>p'iyaye</i> , it is hanging	(<i>wəhanaye</i> , they are hanging)
Past	<i>p'iyakä</i> , it was hanging	

Resultative

Present	<i>p'iyanaye</i> , it has been hung	(<i>wəhananaye</i> , they have been hung)
Past	<i>p'iyana'kä</i> , it had been hung	

*SUBJUNCTIVE**Active**Completive*

Present	<i>p'iyana'a</i> , he should or might hang it	<i>p'iyana'wa</i> , they might or should hang it
Past	<i>p'iyanaŋkä</i> , they should or might have hung it	<i>p'iyana'waŋkä</i> , they should or might have hung it

Durative

Present	<i>p'iyen'a</i> , he might be hanging it	<i>p'iyena'wa</i> , they might be hanging it
Past	<i>p'iyenaŋkä</i> , he might have been hanging it	<i>p'iyena'waŋkä</i> , they might have been hanging it

Static

Present	<i>p'iyak'än'a</i> , it should or might be hanging	(<i>wəhanak'än'a</i>)
Past	<i>p'iyak'änanäkä</i> , it should or might have been hanging	

Resultative

Present	<i>p'iyanak'än'a</i> it might be hung
Past	<i>p'iyanak'änanäkä</i> it might have been hung

IMPERATIVE

p'iyau', hang it! *piyana'we'*, hang it!
p'iyanaknana', see that it is hung!

EXHORTATIVE

hon p'iyace, let's hang it (dual) *hon p'iyana'pce*, let's hang it (plural)

OPTATIVE

<i>p'iyat'u</i> , may he hang it (may it hang)	<i>p'iyānapt'u</i> , may they hang it (<i>wḥānat'u</i> , may they be hung)
---	---

Partial list of neutral verbs of Class IV

- awela'u* (*awelaye*), to step aside
anula'u (*anulaye*), to appoint to office
ela'u (*elaye*), to place upright (one object)
icoaya'u (*icoayaye*), to engage a group for work
waiya'u (*waiyaye*), to cover with something heavy
wḥaiya'u (*wḥaiyaye*), to scatter over a large area
p'iya'u (*p'iyaye*), to hang up one thing (pl. *wḥāna'u*)
p'o'ya'u (*p'o'yaye*), to cover (a jar, etc.)
(i)p'o'a'u (*p'o'aye*), to bend over (pl. *te-*)
-pita'u (*-pilaye*), to set by the fire (in composition only)
t'ina'u (*t'inaye*), to put down many round things; to seat
 persons
telia'u (*teliaye*), to add on
lena'u (*lenaye*), to raise crops
lea'u (*leaye*), to give into the hand
tuwa'u (*tuwaye*), to set upright (many things)
wōpana'u (*wōpanaye*), to place several things against a wall,
 etc. (pl. of *patcu*)

A few neutral verbs are conjugated irregularly. Among them are:

<i>aniktcia'u</i> (<i>aniktcia</i>), to bless with	
<i>te'u</i> , to do	<i>teaye</i> , to be
<i>atana</i> , he fears it	<i>atani</i> , it is dangerous
(<i>atankä</i> , <i>atanan'a</i>)	(<i>atani'kä</i> , <i>atanikän'a</i>)

84. *Conjugation of Active Stems*

Verbs based on active stems are less regular than neutral verbs, and fall into many more classes. There is, in the first place, the large number of active intransitive verbs, which form their plurals according to various patterns already considered. The grouping of these verbs according to tense and modal conjugation does not correspond to the number groupings. The tense forms are formed according to their phonetic character. Any grouping according to tense-mode-aspect inflection will include within the same group intransitives forming plurals by prefix, and transitives forming plurals by suffix.

85—94*a*. *Active Transitive Verbs*

85. Transitive Verbs, Class I

Example: *elate-*, to overtake*INDICATIVE**Active**Singular**Plural**Completive*Present *elate*, he overtakes him *elatená·we*, they overtake him*a·welate*, he overtakes them *a·welatená·we*, they overtake themPast *elatekã*, he overtook him *elatenapkã*, they overtook him*Durative* (none)*Imminent*Present *elaten'íha*, he is about to overtake him *elatená·wetíha*, they are about to overtake himPast *elateniyahkã*, he was about to overtake him *elatená·wetiya^hkã*, they were about to overtake him*Resultative*Present *elätenaye*, he has been overtaken *a·welätenaye*, they have been overtakenPast *elatená'kã*, he had been overtaken *a·welatená'kã*, they had been overtaken*SUBJUNCTIVE**Active*Present *elaten·a*, he should or might overtake him *elatená·wa*, they should or might overtake himPast *elatenan^hkã*, he should or might have overtaken him *elatená·wan^hkã*, they should or might have overtaken him*Resultative**elatenak'än·a*, he might be overtaken *a·welatenak'än·a*, they might be overtaken*IMPERATIVE**elate'*, overtake him! *elatená·we'*, overtake him!*EXHORTATIVE**hon elatece*, let's overtake him (dual) *hon elatenapce*, let's overtake them

OPTATIVE

<i>elatet'u</i> , may he overtake him	<i>elatenapt'u</i> , may they over- take him
<i>elatenat'u</i> , may he be over- taken	<i>a'welatenat'u</i> , may they be overtaken

Partial list of transitive verbs of Class I

<i>elate</i> , to overtake him
<i>ilopi</i> , to borrow (-i dropped before -tco)
<i>ok'ä</i> , to lose it
<i>imuye</i> , to rub one's self (reflexive)
<i>lehati</i> , to think thus

86. Transitive Verbs, Class II

86. This conjugation differs only in having durative in 'ya.

Example: *ito-*, to eat (it)

INDICATIVE

Active

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>ito</i> , he eats (it) (<i>a'wito</i> , he eats them) ²	<i>itona'we</i> ¹ , they eat (it) (<i>a'witona'we</i> , they eat them)
Past	<i>itokä</i> , he ate	<i>itonapkä</i> , they ate
<i>Durative</i>		
Present	<i>ito'ya</i> , he is eating	<i>ito'na'we</i> , they are eating
Past	<i>ito'kä</i> , he was eating	<i>ito'napkä</i> , they were eating

Resultative

Present	<i>itonaye</i> , it has been eaten	<i>a'witonaye</i> , they has been eaten
Past	<i>itona'kä</i> , it had been eaten	<i>a'witona'kä</i> , they have been eaten

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present	<i>iton'a</i> , he might eat	<i>itona'wa</i> , they might eat
Past	<i>itonañkä</i> , he might have eaten	<i>itona'wanäkä</i> , they might have eaten

Resultative

Present	<i>itona'än'a</i> , it might be eaten	<i>a'witona'än'a</i> , they might be eaten
---------	--	---

¹ Variant *itowena'we*.
possible but not idiomatic.

² The forms in parantheses are theoretically

The rest follow pattern of Class I.

ito, to eat

tecu, to seek

tutu, to drink

87. Transitive Verbs, Class III.

Derivatives in *-tco* (Duratives in *'ya*).

iloptco, to go about borrowing (transitive)

antehtco, to gaze at fixedly (transitive)

we'atco, to call out to all directions (transitive)

ipaktco, to scatter (transitive, *i-* is probably plural object; stem

paku, to shoot, or hurl)

88. Transitive Verbs, Class IV.

Derivatives in *-ma*. (No duratives).

iltema, to believe

otcoma, to envy

antecema, to want

itcema, to love

89. Transitive Verbs, Class V: *a* Conjugation

The principal transitive conjugation is the conjugation in *-a*. The first group contains stems ending in consonants or glottal stops. In one group *a* is retained before all tense suffixes in the completive aspect; in another group it is dropped before *-kä*.

Example: *aina*, to kill

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

Completive

Present *aina*, he kills him

ainana·we, they kill him

(*lata*, he kills them)

Past *ainakä*, he killed him

ainanapkä, they killed him

Durative

Present *aine'a*, he is killing him

aine·na·we, they are killing
him

Past *aine·kä*, he was killing him

aine·napkä, they were kill-
ing him

Resultative

ainanaye, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE

ainan·a, etc.

90. Transitive Verbs, Class VI

There are also conjugated with *-a*. They differ in some forms, e. g. past tense completive.

Example: *aca-* to make

*INDICATIVE**Active*

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>aca</i> , he makes it (<i>a·waca</i> , he makes them)	<i>acna·we</i> , they make it <i>a·wacna·we</i> , they make them
Past	<i>ackä</i> , he made it	<i>acnapkä</i> , they made it

Durative

ace'a, he is making it, etc.

Resultative

acnaye, it has been made, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE

acan'a, he might make it etc.

Verbs of Class VI

alica, to change places

ankohana, to pity

ank'ohana, to discover

aca, to make

tepica, to sweep

ikoca, to play

pokti'a, to smoke

acuwa, to talk with

cema, to call

le'kwa, to say it

itsuma, to plant

The following verbs, apparently irregular, follow the *a* conjugation, the seeming irregularities being due to phonetic assimilations (see ¶ 5).

ok'- to grind

Completive

Present *ok'ä*, she grinds

okna·we

Past *o'okä*

oknapkä

Durative ok'e'a, etc.

ok'ena·we

Imminent ok'an'iha

Exhortative (irregular) o't'u

Subjunctive ok'an'a, etc.

ok'äna·we

tok'- to pound*Completive*Present *tok'ä*, he pounds it *tokna·we*Past *to'okä* *toknapkä**Durative tok'e'a*, etc.*Imminent tok'an'iha**Subjunctive tok'an'a*, etc.*Exhortative to't'u**iyok'*- to take away*Completive*Present *iyok'ä*, he takes it awayPast *iyo'okä**Durative none**Imminent iyok'an'iha**Subjunctive iyok'an'a**lat-* to kill many*Completive*Present *lata*, he kills them *lakna·we*Past *lakä* *laknapkä**Durative late'a*, etc.*Imminent latan'iha*, etc.*Passive laknaye*, etc.*Subjunctive latan'a*, etc., pl. *lakna·wa*

91. Transitive Verbs, Class VII

Class VII contains all verbs ending in the derivative suffix *-h-*, which can be attached to any active transitive or neutral stem, with the meaning of reversal. These are all transitives. They show a curious phonetic shift in the durative, *h* + *e'a* becoming *ce'a*.

Class VII

Example: *aha*, to take one thing(from *a'u*, to put down)

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

*Completive*Present *aha*, he takes it *ahna·we*, they take it
(*wə·tiha*, he takes them) (*wə·tihna·we*, they take them)Past *ahkä*, he took it *ahnäpkä*, they took it

Durative

Present	<i>ace'ʼa</i> , he is taking it	<i>ace'na'we</i> , they are taking it
Past	<i>ace'k̄ä</i> , he was taking it	<i>ace'napk̄ä</i> , they were taking it

Imminent

ahan'iha, he is about to take it, etc.

Resultative

ahnaye, it has been taken, etc.

SUBJUNCTIVE

ahan'a, he might take it etc.

cuwaha, *iteha* and *alaha*, follow this pattern.

92. Transitive Verbs, Class VIII

Derivatives in *k'*-. The *a* is retained before all suffixes in the completive aspect.

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	- <i>k'ä</i>	- <i>k'äna'we</i>
Past	- <i>k'äkä</i>	- <i>k'änapkä</i>
<i>Durative</i>	- <i>k'e'a</i> , etc.	
<i>Imminent</i>	- <i>k'an'iha</i>	
<i>Resultative</i>	- <i>k'anaye</i> , etc.	

SUBJUNCTIVE

<i>Completive</i>	- <i>k'an'a</i> , etc.
<i>Durative</i> :	<i>k'en'a</i> , etc.
<i>Resultative</i>	<i>k'an'a k'an'a</i> , etc.

93. Transitive Verbs, Class IX, *u* Conjugation

These differ from the preceding in being conjugated with *-u* instead of *-a*. in the present tense. The endings of the basic forms are as follows:

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	-ʼ <i>u</i>	<i>na'we</i>
Past	- <i>kä</i>	<i>napk̄ä</i>
<i>Durative</i>		
Present	-ʼ <i>ya</i>	-ʼ <i>yana'we</i>
Past	- <i>k̄ä</i>	- <i>napk̄ä</i>

Subjunctive

-un'a, etc.

Resultative

-naye, etc.

*Partial list of verbs of Class IX.**ak'o'u*, to dig a hole*tcolto'u*, to put at the end of a pole or stick*kwiho'u*, to throw away many things*lesnu*, to do thus*aniktcia'u*, to bless him

94. Transitive Verbs, Class X

Present tense in *a'u*

	<i>Completive</i>		<i>Durative</i>	
Present	-a'u	-na·we	-e'a	-ena·we
Past	-akä	-anapkä	-ekä	-enapkä
<i>Subjunctive</i>				
	-an'a, etc.	-ana·wa	-en'a, etc.	-ena·wa, etc.

*List of verbs of Class X**tena'u*, to sing94a. Transitive Verbs, Class XI, *i* ConjugationConjugated with *-i* (the *-i* is not part of the stem)

	<i>Completive</i>		<i>Durative</i>	
Present	-i	-na·we	-i'a	-ina·we
Past	-kä	-napkä	-ikä	-inapkä
<i>Subjunctive</i>				
	-in'a, etc.			

Resultative

-naye, etc.

*List of verbs of Class XI**yälupi*, to turn around*tapi*, to take one large object*tipi*, to spin

95—103. Active Intransitive Verbs

95. Intransitive Verbs, Class I. Without conjugating vowel

INDICATIVE

Active

Singular

Plural

*Completive*Present *te'tci*, he arrives*a·te'tci*, they arrivePast *te'tciä*, he arrived*a·te'tciä*, they arrived*Durative none* (Repetitives in *-el*, *-le*, *-tel*, etc.)

Imminent

Present	<i>te'tcin'iha</i> , he is about to arrive	<i>a'te'tcintiha</i> , they are about to arrive
Past	<i>te'tciniyahkä</i> , he was about to arrive	<i>a'te'cintiha</i> , they were about to arrive

Resultative

Present	<i>te'tcinaye</i> , he has arrived (Lit., he is arrived)	<i>a'te'tcinaye</i> , they have arrived
Past	<i>te'tcina'kä</i> , he had arrived	<i>a'te'tcina'kä</i> , they had arrived

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present	<i>te'tcin'a</i> , he may arrive	<i>a'te'tsin'a</i> , they may arrive
Past	<i>te'tcinaṅkä</i> , he should have arrived	<i>a'te'tcinaṅkä</i> , they might have arrived

Resultative

<i>te'tcinak'än'a</i> , he may be arrived	<i>a'te'tcinak'än'a</i> , they may have arrived
---	---

IMPERATIVE

<i>(te'tci'</i> , arrive!	<i>a'te'tci</i> , arrive!)
---------------------------	----------------------------

EXHORTATIVE

<i>hon te'tcice</i> , let's arrive (dual)	<i>hon a'te'tcice</i> , let's arrive
---	--------------------------------------

OPTATIVE

<i>te'tcit'u</i> , may he arrive ("wait for him to come")	<i>a'te'tcit'u</i> , may he arrive
---	------------------------------------

List of Intransitive Verbs of Class I

- łaku*, to shoot
- okwi*, to wake up
- pulahi*, to jump (pl. *a*-)
- kwa'i*, to go out (pl. *u*-)
- pikwa'i*, to pass through (pl. *a*-)
- kwato*, to go in (pl. *u*-; *o* dropped before *-el*)
- te'tci*, to arrive (pl. *a*-)
- lahi*, to fly
- hap'o*, to come together (pl. stem; *o* dropped before *-el*)
- lani*, to fall (pl. *a*-)

96. Intransitive Verbs, Class II

Stems ending in *-o*, and derivatives in *-tco*. These are conjugated like foregoing, and have also duratives in *-ya*.

yäluco, to want to go along, is conjugated like a transitive verb of this class, with plural in *-naw-*.

itulaco, to walk about indoors, and *a·weletco*, to come and go, have plurals in *a·-*.

97. Intransitive Verbs, Class III. Derivatives in *-le*

(No duratives, the word itself is repetitive.)

kwai'ile, to go out one by one (pl. *u·-*)

Completive

Present *kwai'ile* (dual)

Past *kwai'ilekä* „

Durative: None

Imminent: *kwai'ilen'iha*

Present subjunctive: *kwai'ilen·a*

Resultative: None

pani'le, to go down one by one (pl. *a·-*).

lawapt'sicle, to cut prayersticks, etc.

98. Intransitive Verbs, Class IV: Derivatives in *ma*.

Conjugated like the foregoing:

tse'ma, to think (pl. *i·-*)

ocema, to be starving (no pl.)

itsuma, to feel cold (pl. *i·-*)

99. Intransitive Verbs, Class V. Derivatives in *-ti*

it'sumeti, to get strong (pl. *a·w-*)

icakäti, to get soft (pl. *a·w-*)

ilo'oti, to get hard (pl. *a·w-*)

yanikwati, to learn (pl. *a·wi-*), etc.

100. Intransitive Verbs, Class VI: Reflexives in *i—k'ä*

These are not to be confused with causatives, which are transitive. The tense suffixes are different, and the plurals.

Present *ip'otik'ä*, it is getting full *a·wik'otik'ä*, they are getting full

Past *ip'oti'k'ä*, it was getting full

Present subjunctive *ip'otik'än·a*, it may be getting full

Intransitive Verbs of Class VI

<i>ip'otik'ä</i> , to get full	<i>yelanak'ä</i> , to become many
<i>ip'o'yak'ä</i> , to get covered	<i>yelek'ä</i> , to get ready
<i>ikeatok'ä</i> , to rise	<i>iyok'ä</i> , to snatch away
<i>icilk'ä</i> , to come to have a bad name	<i>yantcianak'ä</i> , it gets difficult
<i>ipattok'ä</i> , to come to an end	<i>iyatok'ä</i> , to put a garment over one shoulder
<i>iyaiyu'ya-k'ä</i> , to begin to have sense	<i>ik'ähaiyak'ä</i> , water spreads out
<i>ihemotik'ä</i> , to get angry	<i>itcimaiyak'ä</i> , it gets to be wheat (i. e., wheat ripens)

101. Intransitive Verbs, Class VII: *a* ConjugationExample: *la'a*, to get large

INDICATIVE

Active

<i>Completive</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Present	<i>la'a</i> , it gets large	Plurals regular in <i>a-</i>
Past	<i>la-kä</i> , it got large	
<i>No Durative</i>		
<i>Imminent</i>		
Present	<i>la'an'iha</i> , it is about to get large	
Past	<i>la'aniyahkä</i> , it was about to get large etc.	

*Resultative*¹

Present	<i>lanaye</i> , it is large
Past	<i>lana'kä</i> , it was large

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present	<i>la'an'a</i> , it may get large
Past	<i>la'an'kä</i> , it might have gotten large

IMPERATIVE

la'a, get large!*No Exhortative*

OPTATIVE

la't'u, may it get large*Intransitive Verbs of Class VII*

<i>ala</i> , to sleep (sing. only; pl. <i>yatela</i>)
<i>o'a</i> , to be made (singular and plural)
<i>we'a</i> , to be sick (pl. <i>a-</i>)
<i>hemo'a</i> , to boil over (pl. <i>a-</i>)
<i>tsitsi'a</i> , to suck (pl. <i>a-</i>)

¹ See ¶ 34.

- taca'a*, to get long (pl. *a'-*)
tununu'a, to thunder (no plural)
lowowo'a, to roar (no plural)
lapa'a, to shake (plural not recorded)
lutsi'a, to get soft (pl. *a'-*)
la'a, to get large (pl. *a'-*)
ya'a, to get finished (pl. *a'-*)
i'ya, to come (pl. *a'w-*)
akwa, it gets cooked, has an irregular past tense (*akä*) due to phonetic assimilation

Another group, stems ending in *e*, drop the *a* before the subjunctive suffix:

- ace'a*, to die (pl. *y-*)
ikäne'a, to get angry (pl. *i'käne'a*)
oce'a, to be hungry (pl. *a'w-*)
yu'te'tci'a, to get tired (pl. *a'-*)

102. Intransitive Verbs, Class VIII: Verbs in *el*, *tel*, *tcel*

Derivatives in *-el*, *-tel*, *-tcel*, also have *-a* in the present tense.

Completive

Present *-ela*

Past *-elkä*

No Durative

No Resultative

Also: *yatela*, to sleep (plural stem)

kwatela, to come in repeatedly or severally (pl. *u'-*)

upinatela, (no plural) to snow intermittently

i'tela (pl. *a'w-*) to come one by one

te'tcila (pl. *a'-*), to arrive one by one

cila, to call by name (the stem is *ci'*, name)

103. Intransitive Verbs, Class IX: *u* Conjugation

Conjugated with *-u*. *ye'maku*

Completive

Plural

Present *ye'maku*

a'yemaku

Past *ye'makä*

a'yemakä

No Durative. Repetitives in *-el*, *-tel*, *-le*, etc.

Subjunctive, *ye'makun'a* etc.

Resultative, *ye'maknaye*, "he stands at the top"

ye'maku, to ascend (pl. *a'-*)

pani'u, to descend (pl. *a'-*)

pilaku, to sit up, or get up (pl. *a'-*)

104. *Irregular Verbs*

a·ne, to go; *p'ene*, to speak; *utsi*, to give, are irregular.

Conjugation of *a·ne*

INDICATIVE

Active

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i> ¹
<i>Completive</i>		
Present	<i>a·ne</i> , he goes	<i>a·wa·ne</i> , they go
Past	<i>a·k̄ä</i> , he went	<i>a·wa·k̄ä</i> , they went
<i>No Durative</i>		
<i>Imminent</i>		
	<i>a·niha</i>	
	<i>a·niyahk̄ä</i>	
<i>Static</i>		
Present	<i>a·naye</i> , it goes along	
Past	<i>a·na'k̄ä</i> , it went along	

SUBJUNCTIVE

Active

Present	<i>a·nuwa</i> , he might go
Past	<i>a·nuwan̄k̄ä</i> , he might have gone
	<i>a·nak'än·a</i> , it will go along

No Imperative

EXHORTATIVE

a·ce, let's go

OPTATIVE

a·t'u, may he go

Conjugation of *p'ene*

ACTIVE

Completive

Present *p'ene*, he speaks (Plurals all regular in *a·-*)

Past *p'e·k̄ä*, he spoke

Durative

Present *p'eye'a*, he is speaking

Past *p'eyek̄ä*, he was speaking

Imminent

Present *p'eyen'iha*

Past *p'eyeniyahk̄ä*

¹ Plurals all regular in *a·-*.

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present *p'enuwa*, he might speak¹Past *penuwan̄kä*, he might have spoken

IMPERATIVE

p'ene or *p'eye*, speak!

EXHORTATIVE

(p'eyece)

OPTATIVE

p'eyet'u, let him speak

No Static or Resultative

utsi, "he gives it to him."

The irregularities are probably due to phonetic laws which, for lack of comparative material, must remain obscure. The stem obviously ends in *ts*, and is subject of shifts before *-n* and *-k*, but that would not explain the form *uktu*.

ACTIVE

Completive

Present *utsi*, he gives to him *ukna·we*Past *uk·ä* *uknapkä*

No Durative

Imminent

utsin'iha

RESULTATIVE

uknaye

SUBJUNCTIVE

Present *utsin·a* *ukna·wa*Past *utsinan̄kä* *ukna·wan̄kä*

IMPERATIVE

utsi, give it!

No Exhortative

OPTATIVE (also used as exhortative)

ukt'u *uknapt'u*

Plural indirect object:

Completive

Present *yakä*², he gives it to them *yakna·we*Past *ya'akä* *yaknapkä*Subjunctive: *yak'än·a* *yakna·wa*Resultative: *yaknaye*

¹ The irregular subjunctive is clearly related to the conditional gerundive (see below ¶ 105) and may be the survival of another mode.

² This is probably a case of stem alteration, but the process is too rare in the language to formulate rules.

105—115. VERBAL NOUNS

105. *Participial or Gerundive Constructions*

There is a very full system of participial or gerundive forms, which are freely used to express all forms of subordination: temporal, causal, conditional, purposive. Theoretically every tense form has its corresponding gerundive. Most of these forms are precious, and only a few are used in ordinary discourse, although others are readily formed in translating precise English statements. The whole system, moreover, is double, each gerundive having two forms terminating in *-an* and in *-p*. The *an* forms are used when the subject of the following clause is the same as the present subject of discourse, the *p* forms when a new subject follows.

The complete participial system of the active transitive verb *ito-* follows. The forms not commonly used are in parentheses.

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>
<i>Indicative</i>			
Present	<i>itonan</i>	} eating (having eaten)	<i>itowena·wanan</i>
	<i>itop</i>		<i>itowena·wap</i>
Past ¹	<i>(itokānan)</i>	} having eaten	<i>(itowekāna·wanan)</i>
	<i>itokāp</i>		<i>(itowekāna·wap)</i>
<i>Durative</i> (no <i>-p</i> forms)			
Present	<i>itowen</i> , right after eating ²		<i>itowenape'ēn</i>
Past	<i>(itoke'ēn)</i> , having just eaten		<i>(itokānape'ēn)</i>
<i>Imminent</i>			
Present	<i>iton'iyahnan</i>	} being about to eat, or, wishing to eat	<i>itowena·wetiyanan</i>
	<i>iton'ihap</i>		<i>itowena·wetihip</i>
Past	<i>(itokān'iyahnan)</i>	} having been about to eat	<i>(itowenapkät'iyahnan)</i>
	<i>(itokān'ihap)</i>		<i>(itowenapkät'ihap)</i>
<i>Resultative itonaknan</i> , having been eaten			<i>a·witonaknan</i>
<i>Conditional</i>			
Present	<i>(itonuwan)</i>	} if he should eat	<i>(itona·wanuwan)</i>
	<i>itonuwap</i>		<i>itona·wanuwap</i>
Past	<i>(itokānuwap)</i> , if he should have eaten it		<i>(itonapkānuwap)</i>
<i>Optative itot'un</i> , that he may eat			<i>itonaptun</i>
(always with post-position <i>ak'ä</i>)			

¹ For these the periphrastic *itokät'ap* (he ate and..) and *itonapkät'ap* are usually used.

² The use of participial forms is highly idiomatic. This form is based on the durative, but is not used as a durative. The intensive form *itowen·te* (*itowapte*) is used for the durative — “even as he was eating.” See ¶ 106.

It will be noted that most of the forms based on past tenses (except *itokäp*) are not commonly used. The present participle is used for an action synchronous with or immediately preceding the main subjects of discourse, irrespective of the tense of that statement.

When it is important to stress the time sequence another construction, similar to the participles, is used:

itokät'ap, after he had eaten (lit., he ate and . . .) This is used without regard to the tense of the principal verb.

itokät'ap a'nuwa, after he has eaten, he will go.

There is no *-p* form in the optative. A preiphrastic agentive construction is substituted for this (see ¶ 115):

kwahot ho' yelekäptun'ona kwa yu'he'tame, what I have to get ready is not clear (to me). (*kwahot*, something; *ho'*, I; *yelekäptun'ona*, the one who may get them ready; *kwa*, not; *yu'he'tame*, it is not clear) Z 173:13

The participial system of the static conjugation is less fully developed. The present and the past participles (singular and plural) are the only ones used. Periphrastic constructions based on the active verb are substituted in the more subtle constructions. The readiness with which the subject can be changed by the use of *-n* or *-p* forms rids these constructions of any awkwardness or ambiguity.

106. Intensified Participial Forms

All gerundive forms may be intensified by the addition of *-te*:
itowen'te, *itowapte*, even as he was eating; even though he was eating (note quantity of *n*)

ace'ainapte, even though they hit him hard. . . 404:53

ho' iyapte, just as I come. . . 404:57

kwa antecemanapte, even when he did not want it

107—113. Use of Participial Forms

As has been said, gerundive constructions, with or without postpositions, are used to express all forms of subordination:

108. Simple Sequence

In narrative to indicate sequence of actions:

kwai'inans an wola'up tcucan'a, she will come out and put them down for her, and then she will remove the grains. 416:12
a'wan tcukoclenana i'cuwahnän kwihonan a'panilekä, they spit on them, cleansed themselves, threw them down, (and then) came down. 422:38

le'kwap i'tinaknan itonapkä, so she said, and they sat down and ate. Z 125:54

topakä miyap topakä mteala pik'aiap ateacan alup tahtcic Pautiwa i'kä, on one side was a corn field, on the other squash vines, and she walked about picking flowers, and meanwhile Pautiwa came. Z 145:50

109. Temporal Subordination

i'yaiyu'ya·k'äpa ci'ik'än'a, when she has begun to recognize something, she will have a name 396:1

itowenapkä'tap'a maki acekä, after they had eaten, the young woman died. 402:32

hon i-ton'ihap ho'n ai yokä, as we were about to eat it, he took it from us 424:57

kwatok'änaknan tcims atci a'ikä, after they (dual) had been brought in, then they buried them 427:109

a'tc iton tcunenän a'tc i·k'ocokä, after they finished eating, they washed themselves. Z 165:59

i-tonap'e'ens t'a otin-kwai'in'a, as soon as they have eaten, they will come out again to dance. Z 18:27

tcukik'ä'en ok'äkä, after she had soaked the corn, she ground it. Z 98:16

110. Causal subordination

ace teckwapa kwa tcuhoł ... tutucukwa, because they are strictly taboo no one ... must drink Z 20:66

uhson anteceman ... lawaptsiclenapkä, desiring this ... they cut prayersticks Z 22:6

hom pi'taciwan'i o'antihap ho' ikäne'a, when they wanted to make me a bow priest I was angry. Z 37:92

hic i'tsumanan kwa atna'ma, she became very cold and could not sleep. Z 146:79

an a·wokäna·we antse'man ... hantaklica, because he desires his sisters he is generous to him. Z 213:28

With postposition *ak'ä* (with, or because of see ¶ 157):

ulohnan tso'yap ak'ä hon i'kä, this country is beautiful, so we have come. Z 166:71

hom tsit i'k'änan ak'ä ho' i'ya, since my mother sent me, I have come. Z 105:51

sam'a te'tci cema itse'makunan ak'ä cemaikä, because she herself decided to call him, she called him. Z 217:15

telik'witip ak'ä, since it is getting dark. Z 223:40

111. Conditional

aminak'ānuwap ace sunhap a'nuwa, if she should be lazy, she would go late in the evening. 417:29

t'on a^wwanap'a kwa elecukwa, if he should find you it would not be well. Z 166:81

hon a'halowil'apa litok'ān'a, if we are lucky it will rain. Z 7:27

t'om anyetsak'ākāp t'o' ainanan . . . son itsemak-t'elakwikān'a, if he appears to you and you kill him, then we shall be married. Z 178:30

hom t'o' atinekāt'ap . . . ho' il'i paniyuwanāḡkā, if you had told me . . . I would have taken you down. Z 234:64

acekāt'ap . . . hon a^wwanawaḡkā, if she had died . . . we would have found her. Z 194:58

112. Purposive

tutunan kwai'ikā, she came out to drink. Z 99:34

t'on ceman haitocip, since he sent me to call you . . . Z 102:2

t'om at'suman atine'a, he tells you this to test you. Z 173:15

i'munan hakānans, asking her to sit down. 415:5

113. Use of *-te* Forms

lesnapte, even so 404:58

onan'te, right in the road Z 77:88

k'onete aklukā, even as he was crying, he built a fire. Z 91:85

elamekā yātokwai'inan'te ho' i'ya, even as the sun rises on evil days, I have come. Z 130:53

pa lakā'en'te oy il' alkā, although he had killed a Navajo, he slept with his wife. Z 134:32

le' tuwalan tcawil'in'te, even though you have all the village for your children Z 160:51

ainana'wapte kwac t'o' acecukwa, even if they strike you, won't you die? Z 46:74

laknakāt'apte kwa ton a'p'eyena'ma, even though you have been beaten you do not talk. 407:163

ik'ean yacentiyahnan'te, just as they were about to die of thirst Z 260:3

Also *yaman'te*, on foot (*yam*, reflexive pronoun) Z 28:2; *topin'te*, only one (*topa*, one) Z 36:88; *ele'te*, yes indeed (*ele*, well).

114. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by the suffix *-kā* affixed to the stem or stem plus conjugating vowel. The form is the same as that for past tense, active singular

itokä, to eat, eating (cf. *itoka*, he ate)

litokä, rain, from *lito*, to rain

yätokä, sun, from *yäto*, to cross over

aleakä, to sleep Z 57:97

a·walacnakä tek'an'a, (we) shall run after them (*a·walacnakä*, infinitive of *a·walacnaye*, they are pursued; *tek'an'a*, it will be) Z 104:28

a·nakä pewo, there was talk of going 420:4

Abstract nouns are formed in the same way from adjectives and static verbs.

laciakä, old age

lanakä, size (*la'na*, large, from *la'a*, to get large)

yulakä tek'an'a, there will be war Z 129:23

and *elamekä*, evil (from [*kwa*] *elam'e*, it is not good)

elamekä yäto kwai'inan'te ho' iya, even as an evil day dawns, I have come.

The infinitive is used with the nominalizing (or participial) suffix *-n* to express purpose:

latakän a·kä, he went out to hunt

acuwakän kwatokä, she went in to talk to them

115. Relative clauses

The suffixes *-ona*, present, *-koa* or *-kona*, past, are attached to the various aspects of the verb to form relative clauses, either active or resultative. All of these words are fundamentally ambiguous, meaning either the one who acts, or the one who is acted upon.

ho' itceman'ona, I am the one who loves her, or the one I love
e'lactok o'ko', the girl who had been lost (Z 194:68) and on preceding line, "the one who had lost his daughter"

i·yan'aiyu'ya·nap'ona, those who are known to one another

ihap'okä'koa, what she had gathered together Z 173:31

aiyu'k'äl'naw'ona, the one whom they hate Z 156:79

t'o'n ante'unapkoa, what they did to you

woleatun'ona, that which she is to take away 417:25

kwaton'ihan'ona, the one who is about to go in

woyaktina'kona, those which had been roasted by the fire
 422:33

kolehol teatiko, whatever happened 411:150

wean'ona, the sick one 400:11

mosona, chief (the one who is a chief, from *mosiye*, he is a chief.)

akä ya·natun'ona, that with which it may be finished Z 2:24

i'towatun'ona, that which they are to eat Z 14:53

ho' acetunon' ak'ä, lukä hom yaknahkä, this one left me there that I might Z 110:52

hاتیاتونون'akä, in order that he may obey (*hاتیاتون*, optative; *ona*, the one who; *ak'ä*, in order that) See ¶ 107.

116—136. MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

116. The noun is merely the name of an object; it does not predicate its existence. The noun has three grammatical categories: class, number, case.

117. *Classes of nouns*

The classification of denominating concepts is very much obscured by certain purely formal factors, phonetic or etymological. But in spite of numerous exceptions, there seems to be a broad classification of nouns into three classes, human, animate, and inanimate.

118. *Formation of nouns*

Nouns may be formed, usually by suffix, from strictly nominal stems; from stems that are either nominal or verbal, but more probably basically verbal, from verbs by suffixing; from adjectives, which also are basically verbal. There are a few nominal stems used without suffix, especially those denoting names of plants, but all verbal or neutral stems, and many nominal stems, require suffixes.

The classes of nouns according to form will be considered below.

119. *Nominal Suffixes*

Nouns denoting human beings are formed from nominal stems, sometimes with the suffix *-ki*, and have plurals in *a'*-, except *tca'le*, child, plural *tcawe*.

Nouns denoting plants or animals are based on independent nominal stems, sometimes with the suffixes *-ci* or *-k'o* (for animals), and are the same singular and plural (except *na'le*, deer, plural *nawe*).

Names of things are various in form and derivation, and all form plurals in *-we*.

Abstract nouns or verbal nouns form no plurals. Verbal nouns in *-ona* and *-koa*, agentive or relative, form plurals in *a'*- whether or not they denote human beings.

120. *The Plurals of Nouns*

As already indicated, number is usually expressed explicitly in the noun. This does not apply to nouns of the animate class which

are the same singular and plural and may be used with singular or plural verb. Abstract nouns are always singular (they are used invariably with singular verb), and certain collectives (*k'äwe*, water; *owe*, meal, etc.) are used in plural only. Those classes of nouns which express plurality use different devices. The class of human beings forms plurals by prefixing; the inanimate class by suffixing.

There is some obscure relation between the pluralizing mechanisms of nouns and verbs. The prefix *a-* which indicates plurality in nouns denoting human beings also represents plural subject of intransitive and plural object of transitive verbs. *-we*, which denotes plurality of inanimate objects, is undoubtedly related to *-naw-* the pluralizing suffix of transitive verbs.

The dual is expressed by the use of the dual pronoun *a'tci*, and either singular or plural noun, more often plural, but the verb is always singular in form.

hom a'tsan a'tci, my two little ones Z 148:9

ciwan an e'lactok a'tci, the priest's two girls Z 165:54

but also *ewactok a'tci*, the two girls Z 165:80

akcik' ai'yutsana a'tci a'tci akcihnan, picking out two rabbits, the two smallest. Z 218:39

121—135. Classes of Nouns According to Grammatical Form

Nouns fall into fourteen types according to linguistic form. The first three types belong to the general class of animate beings; the next two are human, the next five types are inanimate. The rest are verbal nouns, locatives, etc. These are descriptive terms, not strictly denominating concepts.

122. Class I. No Suffix

Nouns without suffix; same singular and plural. To this class belong all names of plants (when not descriptive) and many animals.

k'äk'äli, eagle

käne·lu, sheep (Spanish *carnero*)

mansana, apple (Spanish *manzana*)

anat'e, native tobacco

acek'ä, pine

123. Class II. *-ci*

Nouns ending in *-ci*. Same singular and plural. To this class belong only names of animals.

wa'käci, cattle (Spanish *vaca*)

t'u'ci, horse (possibly from *t'u-*, penis)

to'naci, badger

124. Class III. *-k'o*

A few names of animals ending in *-k'o*; same singular and plural
tsoklik'o, mouse
okcik'o, cottontail rabbit

125. Class IV. No Suffix, Plural *a-*

Nouns without suffix; plurals in *a-*. To this class belong all terms of relationship (except *tca'le*, child) and titles.

ta'tcu, father, pl., *a'tatcu*

su'we, younger brother, pl., *a'suwe*

ci'wan'i, priest, pl., *a'c'iwani*

also *ho'i*, person, human being, pl., *a'ho'i*, people

126. Class V. *-ki*

Nouns ending in *ki*, plurals in *a-*. To this type belong terms for classes of human beings, especially age groups (except *e'lactoki*, girl, pl. *ewactoki*. The abbreviated form *e'le* is not used in the plural except in composition, as for example, *awemosona*, the chief of the girls).

tsawaki, youth, unmarried man (from *tsana*, small?)

kaitsiki, little girl, daughter (affectionate)

laciki, old man (*taci*, old)

127. Class VI. No Suffix

Nouns without suffix; plural in *-we*. The final vowel of the singular is lengthened or changes before the plural suffix. To this type belong names of objects and *wiha*, baby. But this is used also for doll.

k'ume, log, pl. *k'uma·we*

wiha, baby, pl. *wihe·we*

pisa'li, (Navajo?) saddle blanket, pl. *pisali·we*

cotca, woman's bordered robe, pl. *cotce·we*

wem·e, wild beast, pl. *wema·we*

128. Class VII. *-le*

Nouns in *-le*, plurals in *-we*. All of these are monosyllabic stems. All are also inanimate, except *na'le*, deer, and *tca'le*, child. To this class belongs also the singular word *e'lactoki* (pl. *ewatoki*) girl.

k'u'le, seed of a tree, pl. *k'u·we*

sa'le, bowl, pl. *sa·we*

pi'le, thread, pl. *pi·we*

mu'le, loaf of bread, pl. *mu·we*

w'o'le, servant, bird, domesticated animal, pl. *w'o·we*

129. Class VIII. *me*

Monosyllabic stems with suffix *-me*. Plurals in *we*. All inanimate.

kem'e, buckskin (pl. *ke'we*)

t'am'e, club (pl. *t'a'we*)

lem'e, board (pl. *le'we*)

sam'e, bone (pl. *sa'we*; cf. *sa'le*, bowl, pl. also *sa'we*)

130. Class IX. *ne*

Nouns in *ne*, plurals in *-we*, with lengthening of preceding vowel. To this class belong all nouns based on verbal or neutral stems. The ending is undoubtedly made up of two elements, an *-n*, which is the same nominalizing and subordinating element found in participals, etc., and *-ne* nominal suffix indicating singular. In the plural, the *-n* disappears before *-w* (See ¶ 6.) The great majority of inanimate nouns are of this type.

p'a'in'e, robe (*pa-*, to wear or put over shoulder); pl. *pa'i'we*
yäton'e, day, from *yäto*, to cross over, hence "a passing over"
 of the sun

yätonan'e, any garment worn over one shoulder (*yä'tonaye*,
 resultative of *yäto*); pl. *ya'tona'we*

pi'k'aian'e, string, something to tie with; pl. *pi'k'aia'we* (*pi'k'aia*,
 to tie or be tied)

asin'e, hand

telikinan'e, prayerstick

ma'kinan'e, sewing machine (Spanish *máquina*)

131. Class X. Collectives

Collective nouns in *-we*; used in plural only.

k'äwe, water

hawe, alfalfa, hay

make'we, coals

ma'we, white crystalline substance (especially salt)

o'we, meal

käwe, wheat

132. Class XI. Abstract Nouns in *-kä*. No plural. Many of these are the infinitives of active and static verbs.

otsiakä, virility (*otsi*, male)

lanakä, size (*lana*, large, from *la'a*, to become large)

otakä, dancing (*ota-*, to dance)

yätokä, sun

133. Class XII. 'ona, koa

Verbal nouns (agentive) in -'ona and koa. (See ¶ 115). Plurals in a'-.
mosona, leader; pl. *a'mosona* (*mōsiye*, he is a leader)
te'ona, creature; pl. *a'te'ona* (*teaye*, he lives)
teakoa, the one who was, i. e. the deceased; pl. *a'teakoa* (from *teaye*)

134. Class XIII. -kwe, people

halo·kwe, Ant people (name of a curing society from *halo*, red ant)
yätokä·kwe, sun people, name of a clan (*yätokä*, sun, from *yäto*, to cross over)
yätona·kwe, neighbors in the same house group (*yätonaye*, passive of *yäto*, to cross over)
tsihe·k'ocona·kwe, the people who wash the scalp (important personages in the Scalp Dance)

135. Class XIV. Adjectives used as Nouns

Plurals in a'-.

to'o, hard (also it is hard.); pl. *a'to'o*, hard things, beads, (not any hard objects.)
t'owa, ancient, native; pl. *a't'owa*, ancient or native ones, i. e. corn plants (ritualistic name)
tsana, small, little one, i. e. child; pl. *a'tsana*

136. Case

The noun has three cases, subjective, objective, and oblique (including the genitive and dative). The explicit differentiation of subject and object is not a grammatical requirement except in cases of ambiguity. Usually it can be inferred from word order, from indications in the verb, or from the general context. The usual word order is subject, object, verb. Frequently the object is incorporated into the predicative complex. It is never necessary to express by explicit means the subject of an intransitive verb. A noun in juxtaposition is assumed to be the subject.

mi lo'ok'än'a, the ears of corn will be hard 416:14

s'an tsita teli'tokwin kwatonan, so her mother will go into the other room 415:8

Similarly a noun juxtaposed to a transitive verb, if no independent pronouns are used, is assumed to be the subject of the verb, the object being inferred to be an unexpressed third person:

Napatu cemaikä, *Napatu* sent for him 400:11

hatikwi ainakä, the witch killed her 402:37

The expression of case in the pronoun is obligatory, so that when an independent pronoun is used as subject or object, the pronoun

bears the burden of syntactic expression and the noun completes the sentence.

e. g., *ho' patcu ainakä*, I killed a Navajo (*ho'*, subjective pronoun see ¶ 137)

aktsik hom yaktokä, the boy struck me

ʔo'n atine'na, he will tell you (*ʔo'n < ʔo'na*, objective pronoun)

maki hom anapekä, the young woman scolded me

However, where the subject is an unnamed third person, or where two nouns are used as subject and object, ambiguity may be avoided by the use of the demonstrative suffix *-ona*, the one, (cf. agentive and relative clauses, and verbal nouns in *-ona*), affixed to the object.

e'lactok'ona le'anikwa, he said this to the girl (to her)

(cf. *e'lactok le'anikwa*, the girl said this to him)

patcu ainakä, the Navajo killed him

patc'ona ainakä, he killed the Navajo

e'lactok'ona seto'una, she will place it on the girl's back 417:33

mak'ona ank'et'sana, he delighted in a young matron 399:5

uwanam-i e'lactok'ona hantnapkä, the Uwanami stole the girl.

Z 192:26

mak'ona ainakoa, the one who had killed the young woman

403:44

This is used alike to distinguish either direct or indirect object from subject. There is no way of expressing distinction between direct and indirect object in the noun.

Proper names, and terms of relationship used as proper names, sometimes take the objective ending *-ya* in the objective relationship.

tatcuya cemace, call Father Z 52:3

but *an tate'ona cemace*, call his father

patcu an oye hom tate'ona anap'ekä, the Navajo's wife scolded my father Z 37:100

Relationship between nouns, whether possessive or partitive, is expressed by the use of possessive pronouns (see personal pronouns, ¶ 137).

tsi'ta an utcun, mother's dress

k'äkwen an he'in'e, the wall of the house

but also *e'lactok'ona a'lacina (we)*, the girl's parents Z 189:60

an tatcona k'äpin ho'i, her father's raw people... Z 187:20

mak'on an a'papa, the young woman's brothers 403:42

hom käwona tumokwawe, my sister's stockings 421:20

The true dative or genitive relation, where the object of possession is not named, is expressed, except in the case of proper names, and terms of relationship, by the suffix *'ona*, sometimes followed by the genitive case of the pronoun (see ¶ 137):

lukä lacik'on a'ni, this is the old man's or, this is for the old man
(literally, this the old man, the one, his)

kwa hom han'ona team'e, they are not my sister's Z 9:64

but also:

yatcun a'ni, the month's or for the month 421:13

ots an tsitanan, for the man's mother 419:48

tsit a'ni her mother's, or for her mother, 418:36

Proper names, and terms of relationship when used as proper names, have a special genitive case ending in *-aiya*:

luk Flolaiya, this is Flola's

luk tsitaiya, this is Mother's, or this is for Mother

137—143. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

137. Independent Personal Pronouns

Independent personal pronouns are used in the expression of common syntactic relations. They are inflected for person, number and case. There are three persons, first, second and third, and three numbers, singular, dual and plural. There are no distinctions in the plural, such as inclusive and exclusive. The dual subjective pronouns are the same as the plural subjective (except third person). Duality is indicated by the singular verb. In the third person subjective, only dual is expressed.

There are four cases, subjective, objective, genitive and dative.

There are no independent pronouns for the third person subjective or objective, singular and plural. The dual pronoun is fully inflected. However, pronominal prefixes related to the third person possessive pronouns are frequently incorporated into the verb, but these are fixed and remain the same regardless of person of reference. (See ¶¶ 37, 38)

leskwakä, so he said (*les*, thus; *ik^u-*, stem, say; *a*, conjugating vowel; *kä*, past tense singular)

lesanikwakä, so he said to her

hom lesanikwakä, so he said to me (*hom*, me; *les*, thus; *an*, singular pronominal object; *ikwakä*, he said)

The complete system of independent pronouns is as follows:

	First Person		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
Subjective	<i>ho'o (ho')</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>hon</i>
Objective	<i>hom</i>	<i>ho'na (ho', ho'n)¹</i>	<i>ho'na (ho', ho'n)</i>
Genitive	<i>homa</i>	<i>ho'na</i>	<i>ho'na'wa</i>
Dative	<i>homan</i>	<i>ho'nan</i>	<i>ho'na'wan</i>

¹ Contracted forms, which occur more commonly than the full forms, given in parentheses.

Second Person

Subjective	<i>t'o'o (t'o')</i>	<i>t'on</i>	<i>t'on</i>
Objective	<i>t'om</i>	<i>t'o'na (t'o', t'o'n)</i>	<i>t'o'na (t'o', t'o'n)</i>
Genitive	<i>t'oma</i>	<i>t'o'na</i>	<i>t'o'na'wa</i>
Dative	<i>t'oman</i>	<i>t'o'nan</i>	<i>t'o'na'wan</i>

Third Person

Subjective	—	<i>a'tci (a'tc)</i>	—
Objective	—	<i>(a'tcia, a'tci)</i> <i>a'tcinaiya</i>	—
Genitive	<i>a'ni</i>	<i>a'tcinaiya</i>	<i>a'wa</i>
Dative	<i>an</i>	<i>a'tcinaiyan</i>	<i>a'wan</i>

Incorporated forms *an-*, *a'wan-*, are frequent, especially as direct object. The reflexive *i-* should be mentioned also. See ¶ 41.

The subjective pronoun is used as the subject of any verb, transitive or intransitive. The objective pronoun is frequently used for indirect as well as direct object. In the sentence *hom ukä*, he gave it to me, "me" is in the objective case, "he" and "it" being third person are not expressed. The genitive is employed for predicating possession, "it is mine." The dative has the significance "for me."

t'o' laci't'u, may you grow old (*t'o'*, subject) 397:5

a'tci a'nuwa, they (dual) will go (*a'tci*, dual subject) 419:47

t'o' mak'ona ainakä, you killed the woman (*t'o'*, subject)
405:70

hon latakän a'kä, we (two) went hunting (*hon*, dual, subject)
(see ¶ 43) 423:51

hon latena'we, we killed them (*hon*, plural, with plural verb)
405:69

ho' tsanap'a, when I was small (*ho'* subject) Z 74:22

t'oyakwin ho' imo'kä, I was staying at *t'oyakwi* (*ho'* subject)
Z 88:23

t'o'na lakna'kä't'apte, even though you have been beaten
(*t'o'na*, objective; the verb is resultative, literally, "even
though it has been beaten on you") 407:103

a'tcia aniktohnak'än'a, they will be met (*a'tcia*, dual, 3rd pers.
objective; see above) 418:31

ho'na a'wana'tsumena'we, he tries us (*ho'na*, object) 407:101

kwa t'om ho' alotena'ma, I never came near you 400:15

t'o'na hon a'wantehackäna'wa, we shall make you suffer 408:117

a'tcia kwantea-ya'kä, they dressed them (dual) Z 164:38

an hepalo'kä, they made sweet corncakes for him (*an*, objective
pronoun for indirect object. 425:81

an ak'onap'kä, they dug a grave for her 403:42

hom a wutsi, give them to me (*hom*, indirect object; *a*- plural object, (see ¶ 46)

ho'n aiyokä, they took it from us 424:53

ho' an acan'iha, I will make one for him Z 4:77

t'om ho' an ico'aiya'u, I engage you to work for him.

In all the examples above, the objective case is used for indirect object, but usually this relationship is expressed by the dative:

homan ik'atikä, she is angry at me

homan aca, she made it for me Z 78:14

homan mi'le eto'u, put an ear of corn down for me 415:7

ho'na'wan hap'o, gather about us! 404:61

homan t'o' tsit'u, you will be my partner (*homan*, for me, *t'o'* you, subject; *tsit'u*, may you be a man) Z 71:80

homan t'o' taku il'i, you have a necklace of mine (or for me) Z 38:9

a'tcian te'u, do it to them (dual, dative) Z 152:88

a'wa ona p'otca, their roads are bad (literally, the road is bad for them) Z 8:51

a'wa hom tcarve wolikä, my children will fill them for them Z 14:53

yam tsit a'ni, her (own) mother's (*a'ni*, genitive) 418:36

luk a'ni, this one is his

komackona hap'okä — *koyemci a'wa*, great quantities were gathered, the Koyemci's Z 12:23

kwa tcuholi hom'a, they are no one's but mine Z 9:64

luk hom'a, this is mine! Z 162:99

138. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns also are always independent, and are related to the independent personal pronouns. There is only one set of possessive pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First Person	<i>hom</i> (my)	<i>ho'na</i>	<i>ho'na'wan</i>
Second Person	<i>t'om</i> (your)	<i>t'o'na</i>	<i>t'o'na'wan</i>
Third Person	<i>an</i> (his)	{ <i>a'tcia</i> <i>a'tcinaya</i>	<i>a'wan</i>

The reflexive *yam* (my, your, his, their, our, own) is used for all persons and numbers, where reference is to the subject of the clause wherein it is contained. This need not necessarily be the primary subject of discourse.

The pronoun *a'wa* is used as an impersonal possessive pronoun, "one's".

- a'wa a'łacina*, our parents, ("yours, mine, everyone's")
 Z 81:80
a'wa tcawe, they are our children (literally one's children)
 Z 8:44
a'wa wowe, our animals
a'wa ts'emakwi k'okcap'a, if your thoughts are good Z 56:78
a'wa tateu aiyatsan'te, even if one's father is ugly Z 57:95

139. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are few. There are three sets, one based on *lukä*, this, on *uhsi*, that, and *le-*, this much.

lukä, this, this one, is often used as third person subject of a verb even where the demonstrative idea is not conspicuous. The plural is *lukno*, these. There are emphatic forms *luk'on* and *luknia*, and *luk'on'te*, this very one.

uhsi means both that and those. The emphatic form *uhsona*, that one, is more frequently used. There are other forms, *uhsite* and *uhsitapte*, that very one.

lesi and *le'wi* (also *lesite* and *le'wite*), "all," literally, "this much," are related to, and are used preceding and following an enumeration, actual or implied.

140. Indefinite Pronouns

The language is rich in indefinite pronouns. Almost all of these are based on the stems *tcuwa*, someone, who; *kwa*, something; and *ko-* (*ko'lea*, *kona*), something; especially things in a conceptual rather than an actual existence.

Among those derived from *tcuwa*:

tcuwaiya, someone's

tcuwakon, someone

tcuwahot, (*tcuhot*) anyone (also, no one; *hot* is an indefinite demonstrative adverb, "somewhere")

tcuwetcam'e, every single one (literally, not any left out)

tcuwatikoti, whichever one of them

and the interrogatives *tcuwapi*, who? (pl. *tcuwampi*); *tcuwatikoti*, which one?; *tcuwantikap*, which ones?

kwa is used to introduce all negative statements, the actual negative suffix being incorporated in the verb. (For negative constructions see below, ¶ 164).

Some of the words derived from *kwa*:

kwahot, something (*kwa kwahot*, nothing)

kwahot temla, everything, all kinds

kwakona, something, whatever

kwa tcuwa, no one

kwatik, some kind

kwatikot, somewhat; also, some one of them, anyone, anyhow.

Based on *ko-*:

ko'wi, a little, a few

ko'mackona, many, much

kokona, something or other

ko'na, each (*ko'na yäto'we*, every day; *yam ko'n antse'man'ona*, as much as he wanted)

ko'lea, something (unknown); *ko'lea tet'unak'än'a*, they will see, what will happen,

kolehot, whatever; *yam kolehoti*, whatever he has, i. e. power; *yam kolehot lesnukoa*, whatever he did (literally, his whatever that which he thus did)

There are a few more pronouns: *hilapacte*, a single one; *iteh'o*, both; *ham'e*, some, others; and the numeral pronouns (see ¶ 142).

141. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are *kwa'pi*, what? *tcuwapi*, who? (pl. *tcuwampi*); *kowip*, how much? how many?

142. Numeral Pronouns

There is one set, used for enumeration of all kinds of things, animate and inanimate. The system of enumeration is based on five.

1. *t'opa* (*t'opin'te*, just one)
2. *kwil'i*
3. *ha'i*
4. *a'witen* (in counting, *a'wite*)
5. *apte*
6. *t'opalekä* (obviously *t'opa*, one, and another element, but the derivation of the second element is unknown)
7. *kwililekä*
8. *ha'elekä*
9. *tenalekä*
10. *aste'mla* (*asin'e*, hand, fingers; *temla*, all)
11. *aste'mla t'opa yälto* (ten one on top)
12. *aste'mla kwili yälto*
20. *kwilikän aste'mla* (twice ten)
30. *ha'ikän aste'mla*
100. *asi aste'mla* (ten hands)
200. *kwilikän asi astem'la*

143. *Numeral Adjectives and Adverbs*

first: *t'opninkän*

second: *kwilikän*, etc.

These forms are rarely used, the numeral adverbs are more idiomatic.

kwilikän a·na, the second time (the second row?)

ha'ikän a·na, the third time, etc.

also *tcimna·kwe*, the first time; *tcimna·kwe yäto·ye*, it is the first day (literally, for the first time it is day)

144—148. ADVERBS

144. *The demonstrative and locative adverbs*

li·la (with its variants, *li·lno*, *li·lk'o*, *li·lk'on·te*), here, right here

lot, around here

la·kwa (*lak^u*), over there where we face; *lak^uhol*, somewhere over there

lahnak'o, different places over there where we face

lehok^u, yonder (out of sight)

lathok^u, thither (out of sight)

li·wan, *li·wanem*, *li·wani*, hither, (here behind me out of sight)

lalik, nearby (to that place); *lalikäk'on*, just a little way off (from there)

ist, *isk'on*, *iskänk'on*, there, in that place

isk'onholi, about there

isk'onte, right there

l·te, near

hol, *holno*, somewhere;

holnotikol, wherever

holomace, *holomackona*, far away (*holomackän*, obsolete)

145. *Adverbs of position and motion*

k'ält, hither, in this (or that) direction

ik'ält, back

anikton, face to face

wökäp'a, side by side

kwilimakte, on both sides

wecikä, on the left side

yälu, behind (verbal stem *yäluye* or *yälu*, he is behind)

yälukwina·na, towards the rear

ehkwi, ahead (verbal stem)

yälto, on top (verbal stem)

ule, within (verbal stem)

manikä, below

iyama, above
itiwa, in the middle
palto, at the end (verbal stem)
alakwi, against (verbal stem)
iwa'hina, across (from *iwahi*, to cross over)
masikwi, in back (of a person, tree, etc.)
hekāpanan, behind (wall, house, etc.)

146. Adverbs of time

tcim (*tcimi*), next, there
tcim t'ap, right away
si', so then (in connected narrative)
lał, then, also
ta'htcic, meanwhile, on the other hand
tenalana, *tenala'ap*, after a while, later, late (lit. time having past)
ista'na, next time
atnas, *atnate*, the last time
camli, early
t'ecukwa, yesterday
tem, *temi*, still
kwatem, not yet
t'ewani (*t'ewap*, *t'ewapi*), tomorrow
itcite, this morning
t'elapa, at night
yätokwi, in the day time
yäto'ma, *yätonil'i*, all day
le'tewa, last year (this much, or all the time having passed?)

147. Adverbs of Manner

le'na, *lesna*, thus (used in composition,
le'kve'a, so he says; *lesnukä*, so he did)
hic, very
tomt, just
te'tci, only
elehot, nearly
ace', exceedingly
eletokna, carefully
ihorte, easily, etc.

148. Formation of Adverbs from Adjectives

Adverbs may be formed from adjectival stems with the suffix *-ci*.

k'e'tsanici, happily (from *k'e'tsana*, happy)
teclanici, fearfully (*teclana*, afraid)

149—158. POSTPOSITIONS AND CONNECTIVES

Instrument, location, time, duration, purpose and mode of action are all expressed by the use of postpositions attached to nouns or verbal nouns, including all the participial and gerundive forms of the verb.

150. *-wa, at*

Locative; ending of place names

koliwa, Crow's Nest (stem *ko*) Z 32:99

p'i'nawan, at Wind Place (*p'i'na*, wind) Z 29:51

koluwalawa, at Katsina Village (*ko*, katsina; also crow
luwala[n'e], village, literally, standing things) Z 104:36

151. *-n or -an, at*

pi'tanan yaltonan, laying it across the bow (*pi'tan'e*, bow)

hom ike'nan uwetikä, my heart hurt; literally, it hurt in my
heart (*ike'na*, heart) Z 20:60 (cf. 405:69)

ap'ewan ho' wotukä, I put them down on the floor Z 5:85

t'ak'usna-pattan, by Dry Wood Edge Z 98:20

yälawan, in the mountains Z 59:41

k'ätsowanän, to the summit, 422:37

152. *-kona, koa, at (distributive), by, along.*

The two forms are used interchangeably.

teatcina pattokoa, all around the edge of the field (cf. *teatcina
pattokwin*, at the end of the field, Z 130:48)

oneala' kwa'inakoa, wherever (their) roads come forth

telipattokoa, at the edge of the wilderness

temanakoa, all over the board (*tem'e*, board; *an*, on; *a* (?);
koa, along)

t'atekwikona, in all the corrals 425:87

a'wan k'äkwe'kona, in all their houses 425:76

contelakoa, all over his face 403:51

miya'kona, among the corn plants Z 252:39

also *t'ewanakona*, every day Z 210:69

153. *ten'a, along*

onealaten'a, along the road of meal Z 188:41

t'anaya' ten'a, where the woods are

k'ätul-ulapna teala ten'a, along the shore of the encircling ocean
Z 190:75

also *t'etinan ten'a*, all night long Z 239:74

154. *kwi, kwin, at, to, where, place; also, rarely, with.*

Attached to nouns, meaning "at."

iyamulohnakwin, in the upper world (*ulohnan·e*, world)

Z 225:76 (cf. *ulohnanankwin*, Z 225:84)

sakäp'oakwin te'tcinan, reaching (to) the pile of bones Z 226:5

tetsilokwin·te, right on the ladder Z 110:42 (see ¶ 113 for *-te*)

yam hecotananakwin ho' i·kä, back to my own house I have come (*hecotan·e*, ceremonial for "house"; *an(a)*, at; *kwin*, to)

Z 110:48

awe·nakwin te'tcip, reaching the doorway Z 123:13

t'eli'tokwin kwatonan, entering the inner room 415:8

As a common termination of place names:

hecok'opikwi, (place name) Inside Corner Place; *hecokopi*, inner corner between two walls Z 101:65

kuyakwin, (place name) Clay place Z 99:25

t'esak'aiyälakwin, (place name) Bald Mountain (*t'e*, space;

sak'aia, naked; *yäla*, mountain; *kwin*) Z 100:63

p'ocoakwin, (place name) Bending Grass Spring Z 107:87

a'k'äp-elakwin, Rock Slab Standing 422:28

Attached to verbal forms, participles, or verbal stems, meaning "where":

ele·lokwin, burial ground (*ele·(we)*, corpses; (*wə*)*lo*, bury, plural stem; *kwi*) 403:44

t'at'a elakwi, where the tree stands

inkwin, where he stays, i. e. his home (*im·e*, to stay)

a'teakwin, where they live (*a·*, plural; *teaye*, to live; *kwin*)

tcualkwin, where she is lying (*tcuale*, to be lying down) 400:11

k'ätunankwin, where she was irrigating

ye·makunankwi, where it comes up

also *p'ekwin* (or *pekwin·e*, pl. *pekwi·we*), speaker, a religious officer, from *p'e*, to speak

"Along", "with":

topaksikwin, with another boy.... 424:56

This is an idiom common in daily speech, but rare in texts.

155. *-tea, where (when)*

This is possibly related to the stem *te-*, to exist.

hon i·kätea, where we have come

kwatokätea'koa, at the place where she had come in (*kwato*, come in; *kä*, past; *tea*, where; *koa*, along)

t'at'a elakätea, where the tree had been standing (cf. *t'at'a elakwi*, where the tree stands)

yam ainakätean, at the place where he had been killed

yatcikātea, where the branch had been (*yatcin·e*, branch;
yatci'ka, it was a branch) Z 200:83

tcimik'ānapkātea, the Place of Emergence (*tcimi*, adverb, then,
next; *-k'ā-*, causative; *-nap-*, plural; *kā*, past; *tea*, where);
also, at the time of the First Beginning

yam itokātean, at the place where he had been eating Z 219:57

yam anhetocnapkātea, at the place about which they had told
him Z 241:19

As a temporal connective:

itonapkātea, right after they had eaten

t'ewakātea, when the time had passed

156. *tekwin*, when, where, where it is

This is probably derived from *teaye*, it is, + *kwin*

ho'no a'ho'i a'wiyo-kā tekwi, ever since we have grown up
Z 54:45

o-kā tekwi, after it had been made

atela imikā tekwi, where the mountain had fallen Z 54:35

elet'un tekwin (or *elet'untea*), wherever it may be all right

tcimik'ānapkā tekwin, same as *tcimikānapkā tea* Z 29:51

kwin or *tekwin* are occasionally used to express purpose, where
strength of desire is to be expressed:

olhaktokwi uhs ho' antecama, to carry the bowl of meal on my
head, that is what I wish Z 126:78

p'eyenankwin ihatia'wa, listen to what he has to say Z 137:90

an i'nananakwin ho' ikwanik'ä, in order to pay my debt to him

I am working

litonakwi kwa itonapcukwa, so that it may rain they must
not eat

i'leanakā tekwin atewukoli'a, they had nothing at all to wear
(for something to wear they were poor)

eha uknakātekwin oknak'än'a, he will grind to pay for the dress
that was given her (*eha*, woman's dress; *uknakā*, it was
given; *tekwin*, for that; *oknak'äna*, it will be ground) 418:38

157. *ak'ä*, with, by means of, because of, on account of, in order to.

Attached to nouns its meaning is usually instrumental.

to'niwak'ä te'we a'pik'aiap'an'a, with ropes the jars will be tied
Z 3:37

yam cotsito motsewak'ä i'cuwacnan, with their sweet corn rolls
purifying themselves 423:40

k'ätsenak'ä wök'oconapkä, with cold water . . . they washed
them 425:79

yam t'am ak'ä, with his club 403:51

Following participial clauses with the meaning because of or therefore, in order to (see ¶ 112):

up'inan p'otan ak'ä, because the air was full of snow (snow, being full, because of) Z 214:49

kəwi yätcunan ak'ä cet'an mola kwai'in'a, stepping on it a little so that the cornstalk may come out straight Z 1:6

t'o'na'wan e'lona'nan ho' tse'mak telakwikän'iyahnan ak'ä ho' iya, because I wish to marry your daughter I have come (*t'o'na'wan*, your; *e'lona'nan*, girl towards; *ho'*, I; *tse'mak*, thoughts; *telakwikän'iyahnan*, having been about to touch; *ak'ä*, therefore; *ho'*, I; *iya*, come) Z 124:21

t'on əyemc il'in ak'ä tcuwa aiyulacin'ak'än'a, whichever of you has a husband will be held in respect (*t'on*, you; *əyemc*, husband; *il'in*, having; *ak'ä*, therefore; *tcuwa*, anyone; *aiyulacinak'än'a*, will be respected) Z 124:23

Attached to verbal nouns (*koa*, 'ona, *t'un'ona*) with the meaning because of, in order to:

litot'un'ona, a'towa i'ho-iya'k'änaptun'ona akäs i't'inakä, that it might rain, that the corn might reach maturity, for this now they sat down

lesna te'onakä, because of this (this, the one that is, because of) *ho' acet'un'on ak'ä*, in order that I might die (I, the one who might be about to die, because of)

As a connective, because, so that:

el to' itcianam't'u ak'ä t'o' halowit'i, do not be lazy so that you may be lucky Z 21:86

itop k'əkcik'än'a ak'ä yam atcian'e yaknahan'a, when he is eating it will be all right because he will let go of his knife Z 36:71

piyahnapkä ak'ä peyen'a, they took him down that he might speak 405:64

158. *ak'äp*, because.

It precedes the subordinate clause:

ho' antecema ak'äp, I want it because . . . Z 124:38

ak'äp lukä . . . mosiye, because this one is the chief . . . Z 197:22

158a. -s, then.

This is a contraction of the particle *si'*, then, used postpositively. It can be attached to any word in connected discourse. The frequency with which this particle is used varies with different individuals. Certain individuals use it three or four times in every sentence, others not at all.

tewaps, then next day 415:4

s'ake picnans tcuwe wɔlunans . . . so then brushing the grind stones and then putting the corn in . . .

158b. *-ci (-c)* interrogative.

The interrogative particle may be suffixed to any word in the sentence, usually to a pronoun. For examples see ¶ 166.

III. SYNTAX

159. *Predication*

The simplest complete discourse is the predication of an action or of a condition, state, or quality. In Zuni the two types of predication are clearly differentiated. Action or condition with reference to a given field of experience are expressed in verbal suffixes, which differ for active and static verbs based on the same stem. (See ¶ 30)

aklu, he makes a fire (burn, active, present, singular)

akliye, it is burning (burn, static, present, singular)

are examples of the simplest active and static predication concerning the concrete concept of burning.

Other examples:

akcu, he puts him among them (among, active, present, indicative, singular)

akciye, he is among them (among, static, present, indicative, singular)

p'iyā'u, he hangs it (hang, active, momentaneous, present, indicative, singular)

p'iyaiye, it hangs (hang, static, present, indicative, singular)

If the stem is not neutral, but active, static predication is expressed by derivation from the participle. See ¶ 67.

Attribution is another form of predication; there is no copulative (*teaye*, it exists, static of *te'u*, he does it, is rarely used in statements of attribution), and the adjective in attributive relations is treated like a static verb:

lem cok'o'kä, the wood was hollow

le ho' tacana'kä, I was so tall (*taca'a*, it gets long)

kwa t'o'na'wan tse'makwi k'akcam'e, your thoughts are bad.

(*kwa*, negative particle; *t'o'na'wan*, your; *tse'makwi*, thoughts, mind; *k'akcom'e*, not good; *k'akci*, good)

t'o p'ehyat'u, may you be valuable. 397: 6

160—162. FUNDAMENTAL SYNTACTIC RELATIONS

160. SUBJECT

Ordinarily subject and predicate are quite distinct and expressed by clearly separate words juxtaposed without connective. The subject may be a noun or a pronoun, and where no subject is expressed, third person pronoun, singular or plural according to number of predicate, is inferred.

A number of cases of subject incorporation, nominal and pronominal, occur, and are discussed in ¶¶ 35—42, and there are traces of an older, more complete system of pronominal incorporation.

a'tc i'yan'a, both would come *a'tci'* both (personal pronoun, third person, dual subject); *i'yan'a*, "come", active, present subjunctive, singular)

le'na a'teakä, thus they lived (*le'na*, adverb, thus; *a'teakä*, "live", static, indicative past, plural)

t'o' a'k'äkä, you sent him away (*t'o'*, second person singular pronoun; *a'k'äkä*, go, causative, active, past indicative, singular) Z. 125:44

hon i'tonapce, let's eat (*hon*, pronoun, first person singular, subjunctive; *i'tonapce*, eat, active, exhortative, plural) Z 125:58

a'tsawaki antecemanapkä, the young men desired her (*a'tsawaki*, youth plural; *antecemanapkä*, desire, active, indicative past, plural) Z. 123:8

p'ena'haiyakäp, the news having spread (*p'ena'*, words; *haiyakäp*, spread, active, past participle) Z. 129:27

kätsana. . . . itowena'kä, they ate wild grain (*kätsana*, wheat little; *itowena'kä*, eat, passive, indicative, singular, past, it was eaten)

a'wan itonakä ema'kä, their food was plentiful (*a'wan*, possessive pronoun, third person, plural; *itonakä*, verbal noun, eating; *ema'kä*, much, static, indicative, past, singular)

161. DIRECT OBJECT

The direct object is ordinarily expressed by a separate noun or pronoun, but the nominal object may be incorporated into the verbal complex in first position. Or else it is juxtaposed. Object incorporation is more common than subject incorporation, but is largely a matter of rhetorical choice. The nominal object is usually juxtaposed without case ending or connective following subject and immediately preceding the verb. In cases where there is any ambiguity, the demonstrative or agentive suffix *-'ona*, "the one", is affixed to the object.

laiyohkä, he got sticks (*la[we]*, sticks; *-yohkä*, take away, active, indicative, past, singular)

t'sinawace'a, she is at school (*t'sinawe*, "writing", literally, "marks"; *ace'a*, "make", active, durative, present indicative, singular) Z. 20 : 71

ulohnan ya:k'an'a, he would finish the world (*ulohnan'e*, world; *ya:k'an'a*, from *ya-*, to get finished, causative, active, present subjunctive, singular)

p'ehan a'up, putting down the bundle (*p'ehan'e*, bundled; *a'up*, putting down one thing, active, momentaneous, present participle, singular) Z 123 : 15

ho' ciwan an e'lona yi'luna, I shall marry the priest's daughter (*ho'*, pronoun, first person, singular, subjective; *ciwan'i*, priest; *an*, possessive pronoun, third person singular; *e'lona*, girl, with demonstrative suffix, indirect object; *yi'luna*, with, active, momentaneous, indicative, future, singular reflexive) Z 123 : 10

uhson antse'man, desiring that one (*uhsona*, demonstrative pronoun, that one; *antse'ma*, present participle; stem, *tse'ma*, think)

anime'a, he is setting it down (*an-*, object, singular; *ime'a*, active, durative, present, indicative, singular)

soman ihiki lawaptsiclenapkä, so they cut prayersticks for me also (*soman*, from *si*, now, plus *homan*, first person, singular dative or genitive; *ihiki*, along with; *lawaptsiclenapkä*, prayersticks cut, active, distributive, indicative, past, plural) Z 20 : 77

Independent pronouns are used to express object in first and second person dual. The third person object, singular and plural, is not expressed. However, some verbs have incorporated objective third person pronouns which are not dropped after nominal or pronominal object of another person. (See ¶ 38.) These may be indirect objects.

som yat'enapkä, so they laid hold of me (*som*, from *si*, now, plus *hom*, pronoun, third person, singular, objective; *yat'enapkä*, take hold of, active, indicative, past plural) Z 21 : 78

el hom il'am'ekän'iha, he did not want to have me (*el*, don't; *hom*, personal pronoun, first person singular, objective; *il'am'ekän'iha*, with, active, imminent, past, singular, negative) Z 125 : 44

ho' t'om tapkän pani'yu, I have come down to get you (*ho'*, first person, singular, subjective pronoun; *t'om*, second person, singular, objective pronoun; *tapkän*, get, infinitive plus *n* (?); *pani'yu*, descend, active, present, singular indicative) Z 226 : 95

lesanikwanan, thus saying to him (*les-*, thus; *an-*, to him; *ikwanan*, say, present participle, singular)

Syntactic relations are frequently implied by the number of the verb form, participial endings, etc.:

ciwan an e'le a'tsawak̄i antecemanap̄k̄ä, the boys wanted the priest's daughter (*ciwan*, priest; *an*, his; *e'le*, girl; *a'tsawak̄i*, boys [*a-*, plural]; *antecemanap̄k̄ä*, they wanted; *-nap-*, plural subject) Z 123:8

e'lactok̄ yam a'tatcu yatinek̄ä, the girls told her fathers (*yatinek̄ä*, *y*, plural, indirect object) Z 239:66

yam oye lesanikwak̄ä, he said to his wife (*yam*, reflexive pronoun) Z 238:54

e'lactok̄ oyemci yi'lup . . . an oyemci ant'ewanan, when a girl takes a husband, her husband will stay overnight . . . (the *-p* ending in *yi'lup* indicates a new subject follows) See ¶ 105, 415:1
wālihaktonan tcuk̄ina ot i'lea'up an hani k̄'äp i'haktonan sa'l iteaup s'a'tc a'kä, she set the bowl of stew on her head, took a basket of sweet corn meal; her younger sister set the bowl of water on her head and took a bowl in her hand. Thus the two went. Z 133:20

tsawak̄ unap na'setoye, the boy looked at him and (saw) he was carrying a deer Z 229:56

kwä tsawak̄ uhsonhot tse'manam'en an okcik' at'unan, the boy never thought of that, but scorched the rabbit for her Z 219:49

162. INDIRECT OBJECT

Indirect object, if a noun, is never incorporated. Frequently but not invariably it takes the ending *-ona* (see above, ¶ 136).

The pronouns have a dative which is used to express indirect object as well as other indirect relationships. However, verbs which have *an* incorporated to indicate indirect object take the personal pronoun (if first or second person) in the objective case. (See ¶ 137.)

163. SUBORDINATION

Subordination is expressed by participial constructions, with or without postpositions. See ¶ 105—115 for examples.

164. NEGATION

Negation is expressed in the verb by the suffix *-m-* (*'ma*, *m'e*), with the particle *kwa* introducing the negative clause. The negative suffix varies with tense and aspect.

'ma, active, present

kwa t'on a'p'eyena'ma, you do not speak (*t'on a'p'eye*, you speak)

kwa antecemana'ma, he does not want to (*antecema*, he wants to) 407:104

kwa tem ho' itona'ma, I have not eaten yet. Z 141:70

-*m'e*, static, present

i'natinam'e, without fail

kwa t'ina:wam'e, they are not staying there (*t'inaiye*, they are staying) 426:98

kwa ho' sama team'e, I am not alone 406:80

kwa an mi to'am'e woluna, she will set down corn that is not hard (*to'o*, hard) 416:16

kwa k'okcam'e, it is not good Z 9:70

kwa hol on elam'epte, even where the road is not right Z 16:96

-*m'kä*, past tense, active

kwa hatianam'kä, she did not hear Z 130:45

kwa k'onam'kä, he did not cry out 404:52

kwa ho' lesnunam'kä, I did not do that 400:13

-*me'kä*, past, static

kwa i'name'kä, they (dual) were not like this Z 164:43

kwa t'o' imame'kä, you were not at home

and *tem t'o' kwa ho'i teame'kä*, you were not yet alive Z 38:18

-*mekä*, past, durative and repetitive

kwa yemak'änawamekä, they would not let them come up
Z 157:97

kwa onahk'änawamekä, they did not kill any game

kwa i'towena:wam'ekä, they did not eat (customary) Z 28:24

-*man'iha*, present, imminent

kwa t'om ho' uknaman'iha, I don't want to give it to you

kwa ho' yemaknaman'iha, I don't want to go up

el hom ila:wamekantiha, they didn't want to stay with me
Z 140:62

165. NEGATIVE SUBJUNCTIVE

This is expressed by the suffix *-cukwa*:

kwa elecukwa, it would not be right Z 167:2

kwa hon ipakwicukwa, we must not sleep under one blanket!

But also *kwa ipakwamek'än'a*, with same meaning

kwa ankohaticukwa, you would not feel sorry for them! 408:107

kwa alcukwa, she cannot sleep Z 57:97

kwa sa kwihocukwa, they would not throw out the bones
Z 31:87

166. NEGATIVE COMMANDS

Prohibitions are expressed in three ways:

1. By present tense, active, with the negative particle *el*, and the negative suffix:

el koyena'ma, don't cry! Z 75:51

el hic ocokwihna'wam'e, don't really cut off his head! Z 86:78

2. The negative subjunctive:

kwa alcukwa, you must not sleep Z 40:46

kwa etcucukwa, you must not leave anything over Z 152:93

Also *el to' elate'una'man'a*, do not neglect to Z 240:90

3. The optative, with the negative particle *el* and the negative suffix:

el t'o' tse'manamt'u, don't worry!

el t'on tenik'änamtlu, better not delay! Z 166:77

el lesna teamet'u, oh, don't do that! Z 75:54

el t'o' p'enamt'u, don't you talk! Z 87:4

el t'o' itcianamt'u, do not be lazy Z 21:86

166. INTERROGATION

Queries are expressed by interrogative pronouns or adverbs or by the suffix *ci'(c)* attached to any word in the sentence.

kop ikwe'a, what does he say? Z 98:13

tcuwap ho'na tateu, who is our father? Z 147:90

t'onc a'wia, have you come? Z 139:29

kec t'o' yatinekä, have you told them already? Z 173:28

hom papa aiyu'ya'nici', does my elder brother know?

a'käci', has he gone?

hapic tene'aci', or is he singing? Z 203:48

kwac a'tci acuwatina'cukwa', don't you want to speak to them?
Z 157:100

mac ho' p'enap kwa kole'a'cukwa', well, if I speak nothing will
happen? Z 163:9

Rhetorical questions are expressed by the particle *holi*, "whether", following the subjunctive gerund.

topehol ainan'a i-tonuwanholi', can you eat the one you kill?
408:118

167. QUOTATIONS

Direct quotations are introduced by the appropriate form of the quotative *leskwa*, thus he said, and followed by *le'kwa*, so he said. Examples from the texts are too numerous to require quotation.

Indirect quotations are expressed by relative clauses in *-'ona* or *-koa*.

komackona t'on yam iyanaiyu'ya'nap'ona p'eyea, he says that
there are many of you who know one another 407:96

ko'lehol yam na'l aina'koa peyep, he told them all about
how he had killed the deer Z 184:52

ko'lea hom tsit ante'ukona ho yatinap, when I tell them all
that my mother did to me Z 107:93