
MAIDU

BY

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MAIDU

By ROLAND B. DIXON

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND DIALECTS

The Maidu (or Pujunan) stock comprises the various dialects of the language spoken by a body of Indians in northeastern California. The region occupied by these Indians is a continuous single area, lying partly in the Sacramento valley and partly in the Sierra Nevada mountains. It may be roughly described as extending from the Cosumnes river in the south to a line drawn from Chico, through Lassen's Butte, to Susanville in the north, and from the Sacramento river eastward to the eastern base of the Sierra. The neighboring languages are, on the north the Achomawi-Atsugewi (Shastan) and Yana, on the west the Wintun (Copehan), on the south the Miwok (Moquelumnan), and on the east the Washo and Paiute (Shoshonean). Of these the Wintun and Shoshonean show the clearest morphological resemblances to the Maidu.

The Maidu language is spoken in three dialects, differing from one another more morphologically than lexically or phonetically, although differences of this sort, of course, occur. In general these morphological differences are in the direction of the morphological type of the languages of the other stocks with which the Maidu are in contact; the northwestern dialect most resembling the Wintun; the northeastern, the Achomawi-Atsugewi; and the southern, the Miwok. The northwestern dialect is spoken in that part of the Sacramento valley occupied by the stock, which lies north of the Yuba river, and also in the foothills adjoining, up to an elevation of about three thousand feet. It shows some minor variations within itself in the way of subdialects, these differences being as a rule, however, very slight. The northeastern dialect is spoken in the region of the high, flat-floored mountain valleys extending from Big Meadows in

the north to Sierra valley in the south. It has fewer variants than the other two dialects. This dialect is the one whose grammar is here given. The southern dialect comprises a number of slightly varying subdialects occupying the remainder of the area covered by the stock. In most respects this southern dialect is closer to the northwestern than to the northeastern.

With the exception of a few general statements in an article on the languages of California,¹ no account of the grammar of the Maidu has ever been given. Its grammar is, however, of interest, in that it may be taken as to some extent typical of a considerable group of central Californian languages, which in many important particulars are quite different from the majority of American Indian languages.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Maidu is only moderately extensive. It possesses but one series of *k*-sounds, of which only the *k* is frequent, and is lacking in velars and lateral (*l*) sounds. The consonant system includes palatals, alveolars, dento-alveolars, labials, and laterals. The sonants and surds are as a rule not very clearly differentiated, and it is sometimes difficult to determine in a given case which is intended. Surds are more common than sonants in the pairs *g-k* and *d-t*, *g* in particular being quite uncommon. Although in most groups of consonants there is a sonant, surd, and fortis, yet the fortis is often by no means strongly marked, and is difficult to separate from the surd. The glottal catch is but little used. A peculiar feature of the Maidu is the existence of two weak inspirational sonant stops *B* and *D*. The exact method of formation of these sounds is not clear. However, it is certain that inspiration proceeds no further than the soft palate; the peculiar quality of the sound being produced by a "smack" formed by a slight vacuum in the mouth. The *B* and *D* occur only as a rule before *ö*, and the difference between them and the ordinary *b* and *d* is, in the case of some speakers and in some words, very slight; in other words, or in the same words by other and generally older speakers, the difference is strongly marked. The consonant system of the Maidu may be shown in tabular form as follows:

¹ Roland B. Dixon and Alfred L. Kroeber, *The Native Languages of California*, in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., v, 1-26.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Inspirant	Nasal
Palatal	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	<i>ñ</i>
Alveolar	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	—	<i>D(ö)</i>	<i>n</i>
Dento-alveolar	—	<i>ts</i>	—	<i>s, c</i>	—	—
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p!</i>	—	<i>B(ö)</i>	<i>m</i>
Lateral	<i>l</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal catch	(')					

h, y and *w*.

The vowels are quite variable. One of the most characteristic features of the use of vowels is the fondness for the *ö*, *ä*, and *ü* sounds. The vowels are as follows:

	<i>ü</i>	
<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	
<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	
<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>	
<i>ä</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>o</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ō</i>

§ 3. Phonetic Character of Stems and Sound-Grouping

Stems are with few exceptions monosyllabic and consonantal, and consist as a rule either of (1) consonant, vowel; (2) consonant, vowel, consonant; or (3) vowel, consonant. Words may begin with a vowel, *h*, *y*, or *w*, or with any consonant except *x* or *ñ*. By far the greater number, however, begin with a consonant, most commonly *t*, *k*, *b* or *p*, with *h* and *w* also very common. The most frequent initial vowels¹ are *a*, *o*, and *e*. Whereas initial combinations of two consonants are impossible, such clusters are common in the middle of words. Groups of more than two are, however, unknown. In combinations of two consonants, sonants, except *l*, are never found as the first member of the group. Except for this restriction, the possible combinations are comparatively unrestricted, the only ones which are avoided being those of two spirants, a nasal and lateral, or those in which *x* is the second or *ts* the initial member. The following combinations are most frequent:

<i>ld, lb, lt, lp, lk, lts, ls</i>	<i>xb, xl, xk, xts, xp</i>
<i>kd, kb, kl, kt, kts, kp, ks, kn, km</i>	<i>sd, sb, sl, sk, sts, sn, sm</i>
<i>td, tk, tp, tn, tm</i>	<i>nd, nb, nk, nt, nts, np, ns, nm</i>
<i>pd, pb, pk, pt, pts, ps, pn</i>	<i>md, mb, mt, mts, mp, ms, mn</i>

¹ Verbal stems of the second class (§5, b), like the words themselves, tend very strongly to begin and end with surds. The larger number also of this class have *a*, *o*, or *u* for their vowel.

All words must end in a vowel, or in *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, or very rarely in *l*. The great majority end in a vowel (most commonly *i*); and of the consonantal endings, the nasals are by far the most common. The phonetic structure of the Maidu is thus quite simple, and, owing to the prevailingly vocalic character of the language and to the comparative lack of consonant combinations and phonetic changes, the whole structure is unusually transparent, and the component parts of any word are easily recognized.

§ 4. Laws of Euphony

Euphonic laws require sound-changes in some instances. These laws are mainly retroactive, and apply to consonants only in the case of *m*. Where *m* is followed by *k* or *w*, the *m* is changed to *ñ*; as,

amam that one (subj.) + *-kanand* = *amañkan* and that one
möm he + *wete* = *möñwete* he alone, he himself

There appears to be more or less of a tendency toward vocalic harmony in the Maidu. It is obscure, however, and never is more than a tendency, the exceptions to the rule being often very numerous. As will be pointed out more fully in § 12, the Maidu possesses a number of stems, which are ordinarily dependent on others, as prefixes, but which may in some instances stand as independent stems by themselves. These semi-independent stems are all composed alike of a consonant in combination with a vowel. The larger proportion of them seem to be grouped in series, with variable vowel; as,

ba-, *be-*, *bo-*, *bö-*, *bu-* *wa-*, *we-*, *wi-*, *wo-*, *wö-*, *wu-*, etc.

The significations of these are in most instances general, and in some cases very obscure; but it is probable that in each series, the *a*, *o*, *ö*, and *u* prefix-stems, at least, are alike in meaning, or closely related. Similar, although less complete, series of wholly independent stems occur; such as,

hap, *hop*, *höp*, *hup* *tas*, *tes*, *tos*, *tus*, etc.

and here again, in the *a*, *o*, *ö*, and *u* stems there seems to be often a close correspondence in meaning. Where these or other independent stems are combined with the prefix-stems, there seems to be a tendency to similarity of vowel-sounds; the vowel of the prefix being either the same as that of the stem, or of the same class; as, for instance, *bahap-*, *bohöp-*, *wököt-*, *yedip-*, *bapus-*, *böyöl-*, etc. This

tendency is most marked in the case of the *ö*-stems. The *o*-stems take preferably either *o* or *a* prefix-vowels; the *a*-stems, either *a* or *e*; the *e*-stems, either *e* or *a*; the *i*-stems, either *e* or *a*; and the *u* stems are very variable. In every case, however, except in the case of the *ö*-stems, any vowel may occur in the prefix, those noted being merely the most frequent. In all cases, *i*-prefixes are abundant, because the prefix *wi-* is one so important that it is used with practically every stem, and appears to suffer no phonetic change. In the case of other prefix-stems, whose meaning is more precise, which do not occur in series, and which generally refer to parts of the body as instruments in the action of the verb, no such tendencies toward vocalic harmony are apparent. Traces of a similar tendency toward vocalic harmony are also to be seen in the use of the general verbal suffix *-n*. This, in the case of *o* and *a* stems, has generally *o* for a connecting vowel; with other stems, however, it has *i*; as, for example,

yok-on, ok-on, pin-in

In a few instances, progressive euphonic changes occur, as where *ö* after *ä* becomes *ü*:

pä'küpem instead of *pä'köpem*

or in the change of *p* to *b* after *n*:

öpe'kanbem instead of *ope'kanpem*

There are also several instances of the insertion of *t* or *i* for euphonic reasons; as, for example,

yaiyö'tsopin instead of *yayö'tsopin*

të'tyollebüssin instead of *tëyollebüssin*

kö'doidi instead of *ko'dodi*

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

(§§ 5, 6)

§ 5. Composition

Of the different grammatical processes employed in Maidu, composition is by far the most important and widely used. It will be most conveniently considered by dividing it into—

- (1) Nominal composition, and
- (2) Verbal composition.

§ 5

Nominal Composition

Composition, in the case of nouns, occurs in its simplest form in the formation of compound nouns. Where the initial component ends in a vowel, a connective is usually employed. This connective is always *m* (changing to *ñ* before *k* or *w*; see § 4). As a nominal suffix, this *m* indicates syntactic relationship. With nouns which do not end in a vowel, the compound is formed by the mere juxtaposition of the two words. Composition is further used with nouns to express diminutives, superlatives, collectives, privatives, etc., all of which are indicated by unchangeable suffixes added to the nominal stem. The most important use of composition in the noun is, however, its use in indicating local and instrumental, as well as syntactic relations. These locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by suffixes added to the nominal stem (§ 30). Syntactic relations are also expressed by suffixes, there being a subjective and a possessive case-ending. Finally, composition is employed, although in a very small number of cases, to indicate ideas of number, a few animate nouns taking suffixes which indicate duality or plurality.

Verbal Composition

In verbal composition there are three elements to be considered—the stem, the prefix, and the suffix. In Maidu there are two classes of stems. In the first class, which includes all but a few out of the total number, the stem is wholly independent and is always used as a stem, never being subordinated to another stem as prefix or suffix. These stems are predominantly of the consonant-vowel-consonant type; and although they normally seem to be, as just stated, entirely independent, some are at times combined with others to form double stems, the double stem taking the regular prefixes just as if it were simple. The second class, which includes only about a half dozen or so, consists of stems which are sometimes independent and sometimes dependent, being subordinated to other stems as prefixes. In the case of these latter stems, we have what might be called co-ordinated composition. The true prefixes, on the other hand, are always subordinate to some stem, and never stand alone or as stems. There are but a small number of these prefixes, and they indicate as a rule the agent or instrument of the action, referring chiefly to parts of

the human body, as hand, foot, head, etc. In other cases, the prefixes point out the shape of the object.

Suffixes express a much wider variety of ideas, and are very much more numerous than prefixes. They indicate direction of motion, modal and temporal ideas, negation, etc., and, like the true prefixes, are (with one possible exception) always strictly subordinate to the stem, and can under no circumstances stand alone.

One feature of composition in Maidu which is very clear is the slight degree of coalescence between the component parts of the compound; prefix, stem, and suffix each keeping its separate individuality. With few exceptions there are no phonetic changes resulting from composition; no contractions, elisions, or assimilations between affix and stem taking place. The most important exceptions are the case of an *m* coming before a *k* or *w* (in which case the *m* changes to \tilde{n}), and the retention of the euphonic terminal *i* before the subjective suffix *m* in nouns whose stem ends in *m*. A few other exceptions are noted in § 4.

§ 6. Reduplication

Maidu makes use of duplication and reduplication to only a slight extent in expressing grammatic concepts.

Simple duplication is restricted largely to the noun, where it is used, in connection with a suffix, to indicate the distributive. Very few nouns, however, appear to form such distributives. With verbs, it gives an iterative meaning, and the duplication may include both stem and prefix; as,

witöswitösönoitsoia he went about picking here and there

Reduplication is quite frequent in verbs, both reduplication of stem and of prefix or suffix. In all cases the vowel of the reduplicated stem, prefix or suffix, is the same as that of the original, and the reduplication conveys the idea of iteration, or, in the instance of some suffixes, apparently gives the idea of A LITTLE, SLIGHTLY.

The reduplication or duplication is, in the majority of cases, initial, but there seem to be a number of instances of inner or terminal reduplication or duplication; as, for example,

paka'nkanto springs (distributive), from *paka'ni* spring
yaha'ham mai'düm good men (*yaha'm* good), the reduplication
 here expressing the plurality of the noun
oki'kitdom getting home one after another (*oki'tdom* getting home)

In the first two instances neither the noun nor the adjective can be analyzed into components, as may be done in the case of several other apparent instances of terminal reduplication.

§ 7. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES AND FORMS

Nominal and verbal stems are, in all but a few cases, distinct. There are a few nominal stems which also serve as verbal stems, but the number of such instances is small. With few exceptions also, the suffixes in use are confined strictly either to nouns or verbs.

Local relationships and directive ideas are expressed by suffixes, which are different for nouns or verbs. The nominal suffixes express such ideas as IN, OUT OF, TOWARD, FROM, IN COMPANY WITH, etc. The verbal forms point out the direction of motion; as, UP, DOWN, ALONG, THROUGH, etc. Instrumentality and agency are indicated in the noun by suffixes, but in the verb by prefixes. In the latter, the series includes terms designating actions performed by the various parts of the body, by objects of different shapes, or the method of action, as by force or pulling, etc.

The formal relations of the parts of the sentence are expressed by nominal suffixes, in so far as the subject, object, and possessive relations are concerned. Modal and temporal ideas are also expressed by suffixes; the latter in some cases, however, being so loosely connected to the verb that they may at times stand alone or precede the verb entirely.

There are in Maidu no generic classifications of nouns, unless we consider the half-dozen cases known, where a few nouns designating human beings take regular dual or plural suffixes. These are the only instances, however, of any such classification, for none is apparent in the case of the few distributives.

Ideas of plurality are but little developed in the noun. Here a dual and plural, formed regularly, as in the pronoun, is found only for the words WOMAN, CHILD, HUSBAND, and DOG. Distributives as opposed to plurals also occur with but few words. Indefinite plurals, expressing such ideas as A PILE OF, MANY, etc., and duals, are, however, common, and are indicated in both cases by suffixes. In the pronoun, ideas of number are abundantly developed, there being a regular dual and plural. As will be seen from § 28, the dual and plural are quite regular in form, and are strictly used. Both the dual and plu-

ral are indicated by suffixes. In the verb; plurality, or rather iteration, is expressed by duplication or reduplication. In the pronoun the dual and plural forms are derived in each case from the corresponding singular.

Diminutives, imitatives, inchoatives, desideratives, etc., are all indicated by suffixes, but are in general little used.

The pronoun indicates each of the three persons by a separate formal element, all of which possess both dual and plural forms. An inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural exists, but the distinction is not commonly made. The third personal pronoun is frequently used as a demonstrative; but there exist regular demonstrative forms as well that are never used in the personal sense.

The demonstrative possesses really but two forms, corresponding to our *THIS* and *THAT*, and denoting relative distance from the speaker. The demonstrative is thus comparatively undeveloped in so far as regards number of forms and accuracy of the expression of location, and, even in its simple contrast of nearness or remoteness, is not always strictly used.

The Maidu sentence is characterized by the definiteness with which the agent of action, the direction of motion, or the qualification of the action is expressed, and by the extent to which ideas of plurality are strictly carried out in all pronominal sentences. In its formal characters, the chief features of the sentence are its flexibility, openness, and clarity, the independence of the noun and pronoun, and the absence of the process of incorporation, well marked in many Indian languages. The expression of verbal ideas in nominal form is also a rather common feature.¹

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 8-37)

Composition (§§ 8-27)

§ 8. *Nominal Composition*

As has been stated in § 5, nominal composition is much less developed than verbal composition in Maidu. Its uses, apart from those expressing syntactic relations, are

- (1) In the formation of compound nouns.
- (2) In the formation of diminutives.

¹*nis'ki hes'timenmapem*, literally, *OUR WHAT-NOT-SHALL-DO* (our nothing shall do), instead of *WE SHALL DO NOTHING, CAN DO NOTHING*.

(3) In the formation of collectives.

(4) In the formation of privatives.

(5) In the formation of terms, such as are expressed in English by words like ONLY, MERELY, etc.

1. *Connectives*. In the formation of compound nouns a connective may or may not be used. Where the stem of the primary component ends in a consonant, the connective is very generally omitted; as in—

hös-bini spider-web (*hös* buzzard; *bini* net)

ba't-sāwi head-plume (*bat* [?] *sā'wi* grass)

In other cases, the euphonic *i* is retained, as in—

tolī'-waka calf of leg (*tolī'* leg; *wakā'* meat)

When a connective is used, this is invariably *m* (or *ñ*, see § 4), and it may be used either with a noun whose stem ends in a vowel, or with one ending in a consonant, but retaining the euphonic *i*; as,

sü'-m-bukū dog-tail (*sü* dog; *bu'ku* tail)

hi'nī-m-butū eye-lash (*hi'ni* eye; *butū* fur)

Inasmuch as *m* is the regular nominal suffix of the subjective case, it may be regarded here as expressing a weak syntactic relation between the two components of the compound word.

2. *Diminutives*. These are, on the whole, little used in Maidu. In the dialect here discussed, the formation of the diminutive is by means of the suffix *-bě*; as,

ōbě little stone (*ō* stone)

sü'bě little dog (*sü* dog)

The suffix is added directly to the stem, and is applied indiscriminately apparently to animate or inanimate objects.

3. *Collectives*. These express such ideas as A PILE OF, A CROWD OF, A LOT OF, and are quite commonly used. The most frequently used is the suffix *-nono* added directly to the stem; as,

kūlo'k-nono a lot of women, all the women

mai'dü-nono the men as a body

Beside this suffix, there are two others that are frequently used as such, although they may be used alone, and stand before the noun. These other forms are *-bomō* and *-loko*; as,

mai'dümbomō all the men, the crowd of men

tsā'mloko a bunch of trees, cluster of trees

In the case of both these latter forms the connective *m* is always used.

4. *Privatives*. These are used only in connection with the suffix *-pe(m)*, the various uses of which will be found discussed in § 22. There are three suffixes indicating privation, and each is added directly to the stem, and is followed by the suffix *-pe(m)*; as,

bu'k-mul-pe(m) tailless (*bu'kū* tail)

hi'n-kol-pe(m) eyeless (*hi'nī* eye)

pai'-wī-pe(m) foot-less (*pai*, *paiyi'* foot)

The last of these suffixes, *-wī*, is simply the stem of the negative *wīn* NO. The stem *-kol-* also appears in the word *ko'lon* NONE.

5. *The suffix -dökö* is used to express the idea of ONLY A, MERELY, etc. It is generally added directly to the stem, but occasionally requires the connective *m*; as,

onō'-dökö merely a head

tsakā'-m-dökö only pitch

Verbal Composition (§§ 9-27)

§ 9. CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBAL COMPOSITION

In verbal composition we have to deal with three component factors—prefixes, stems, and suffixes. As a class, the prefixes are not numerous; whereas the suffixes, at least in comparison, are abundant, there being between fifty and sixty of them in use. Nearly all the prefixes are composed of consonant and vowel, or a single vowel. The suffixes, however, are not so regular.

PREFIXES (§§ 10-14)

§ 10. Groups of Prefixes

Verbal prefixes may in the first place be divided into two types, according as they are or are not arranged in series, as stated in § 4. As pointed out in § 5, prefixes are also of two different types, according as they are wholly subordinated to the stem, or co-ordinate with it, and able sometimes to appear as stems themselves. About half the prefixes are of this latter class, although it is possible that many not as yet noted as of this type may eventually be found to belong to it. In the majority of cases the prefix indicates the agent by which the action is performed. In a limited number of instances, however, the prefix appears to point out the object of the action; as, for example, the prefix *tš-*, which normally indicates actions done WITH the foot, may in some cases refer to actions done TO the foot. Classified

§§ 9, 10

according to their meaning, the prefixes fall into two groups; the smaller and more definite referring to different parts of the body as the agents (or objects) of action, the other and more numerous pointing out the general shape or character of the thing or agent by which the action is performed.

§ 11. Prefixes Referring to Parts of the Body

1. *ha(n)* actions performed with the shoulder or the back (also used as stem).

ha'n-dak-dau-dom prying off board with shoulder

ha-la'p-no-dom dragging along (by rope over shoulder)

ha-yō'sip carry it out on back!

ha'-kīn to lay down a load (carried on back)

2. *hī-* actions performed with the nose or snout.

hī'-tul-sip-dom breaking a pane of glass in window by pressing with nose

3. *īn-* actions performed by sitting on.

ī'n-bat-o-dom breaking stick by sitting on

ī'n-no-ti-moto bend together by sitting on

4. *is-*, *ic-* action performed with the foot.

is-dot-sono-tsoia he kicked it over

is-wa-wa-koi-tsoia he scraped away with feet

ic-dot-o-kō foot-ball

5. *ka-* actions performed with the flat hand, or sometimes with the flat side of something (also used as stem).

ka'-bak-dau-dom prying off shingle with hand

ka'-dak-kin to shut a pocket-knife

ka'-dek-to to shove hand through something

ka'-not-kit-dom bending down with the hand

ka'-moto to place the hands together

6. *kī-* actions performed with the fingers.

kī'-bak-dau-dom picking off scab with finger

kī'-tus-to to break twig in fingers

kī-ūsū-pi rub (with fingers)

7. *ō-* actions performed with the head (also used as stem).

ō-ba't-to-dom breaking a stick with the head

ō-pō'-pök-dom shaking water out of the hair

ō'-pul-don to root up (as a hog), to dig up with horns

ō'-moto to put heads together

ō'-mit-on to look into a house; i. e., stick head down in through smoke hole

8. *sō-* actions done with the arms (also used as stem).

sōhu'n-bōk-tsoia he jumped at to seize in his arms

sō'-wo-dom lifting in arms

9. *tě-* actions performed with or upon the foot (also used as stem).

tě'-as-pin to pull toward one with the foot

tě'-hul-dom stamping upon

tě'-lap-sito to shove something sharp through the foot

tě'-pes-ton to step on and mash something soft and wet

tě'-sin to step out of; i. e., put the foot out from

In the case of two of these prefixes, there is apparently a very clear relation to nominal stems — *ō-* with *o'no* HEAD, and *hī-* with *hī'ku* NOSE. The others show no such connection.

§ 12. Prefixes Indicating the Shape or Portion of the Agent by which the Action is Performed, or the Character of the Action Itself

10. *ba-*, *be-*, *bo-*, *bō-*, *bu-* actions performed in connection with a rounded or massive thing. This series of prefixes is one of the most puzzling, as they seem on the whole to express but a single idea, yet many of the forms are quite erratic. In this series the influence of vocalic harmony makes itself strongly felt, and there are many instances of sympathetic variation of the vowel in both stem and prefix without change of meaning, as well as cases where the change in vowel of the stem forms a new stem with different meaning. The following examples will make the use of this series of prefixes clear. Only *ba-* and *bo-* may stand alone as independent stems.

(a) Examples illustrating the regular use of these prefixes:

ba-da'k-dau-dom knocking a board off wall with a rock or hammer

ba'-pes-ton to crush something soft and wet with fist

ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato, stone

ba'-yau-kin to throw a stone through the floor

ba'-sin to scrape dirt out of a hole

be'-dek-kīn to throw a stone downward and pierce something

be'-ke't-sito to throw past; i. e., throw, and not hit

bō'-dak-dau-dom knocking something out of a tree with a stone

bo'-kot-dau to cut a snake in two with a heavy rock

bo'-lok-don to make a snowball

bo'-kīn to put down something round or bulky

bō'-tōi-don to bounce up, as a ball, rock

bō'-le'k-wo-doi-dom reaching the top of a mountain

bö'-tul-to-dom breaking a window with a stone
bū'-dut-min to force a stone into the ground by stepping on it

(b) Examples illustrating change of vowel in prefix only:

ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato
bo-po'l-don to wash or dig a gopher out of a hole
ba'-top-to to break small stick with fist
bo'-top-kin to break stick with stone, throwing it downward

(c) Examples illustrating change of vowel in both prefix and stem:

ba'-kap-kin to force a peg into the ground by pressing
bo'-kop-kin to stick needle in floor
bö'-köp-kin to force a stake into the ground
ba'-yal-dau to split or break to pieces with wedge and hammer
bo-yo'l-kin to smash a cup with a stone
bö-yö'l-kin to split or break up fine by a blow

In the first examples in this last group, there seems to be a departure from the otherwise general meaning of something rounded or bulky. As these variations from the general meaning occur, however, only with three stems (*k-p*, *l-p*, and *h-p*) which always seem to carry with them the idea of something long and slender, the prefix in these cases would seem to refer to the massiveness of the whole upper part of the body by which the pressure was exerted, or something of that sort. There are, however, a number of forms like the following, where the meaning of the prefix is obscure:

ba'-ta-don to drive up cattle
ba-tsa'p-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil
bö-töi'-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil

11. *ho-*, *hu-* actions performed with the edge of a long thing, generally by a steady, continuous motion (*hu-* also as stem).

hō-yö't-dau-dom taking off a fine shaving with knife
hū'-bak-dau to cut off a piece of bark, sole off shoe
hū-de'k-to-dom piercing with sharp knife
hū-no't-kin to bend down by means of a stick used as lever
hū-tu'l-to to break pane of glass by pressing with a stick

As stem, *hu-* seems to have a very general meaning.

hū'-mit-dom taking something into the house
hū'-sito to take a horse across river
hū'-tso-pin to take something off a high shelf

12. *si-*, *sü-* actions performed with the end of a long thing.

si'-dak-dau to scrape out a basket
sü'-dak-dau to poke away with a stick
si-kē'-yo-dom drying meat (cutting it in slices?)

sü-tā'-no-dom shoving along with a stick
si-kes-tsoi-a she cooked.
si'-sup-dom falling, slipping from the hand
si-to'k-dom drying meat
si-wa'-wai-to-weten having dug it apart
si-dak-dau scrape something dry out of a basket
si-ka'la-ma-kökan they would bother me

13. *wa-*, *we-* actions performed with the edge or side of a thing, often by a sudden motion or blow.

wa-a'p-dau to scrape off with edge of a knife
wa-ba't-on to break a stick by a blow with the butt of an axe or with a club
wa'-das-ton to split with an axe
wa'-hap-kin to insert a stick into a bunch of sticks
wa'-kat-sito to bat across, knock across, with side of pole
wě'-kut-to-dom biting in two with teeth
we'-pit-in to pinch with thumb and fingers
we'-tsap-dau-dom tearing off with teeth

14. *wo-*, *wö-*, *wu-* actions performed with the end of a long thing, generally by a blow. The preceding prefixes *wa-* and *we-* are so close to these that it seems probable they all belong together in one series, as in the case of *ba-*, *be-*, *bo-*, *bö-*, *bu-*. *Wo-* is used also as a stem.

wö'-bak-dau to pry off shingle with stick
wö'-das-dau to split or pry piece off a log
wö-do't-sito to bat across
wö'-kot-dau to chop off end of log
wö-to'k-dom clapping together (the hands)
wö'-kīn to lay down a stick or long thing (cf. *bö'-kīn*)
wö'-pö-pök-dom shaking one's self (cf. *o'-pö-pök-dom*)
wö'-töi-dom bouncing up, as a stick (cf. *bö'-töi-dom*)
wü'-su-wala-ka-no to knock over backwards with a club.

15. *ya-*, *ye-*, *yo-*, *yö-*, *yu-* actions performed with the end of a long thing, endways, or in a direction parallel to the length of the thing (*yo-* also as stem).

yā'-ās-dau to strike a thing with end of spear and slide it along; to hit with fist, and move
yā'-bak-dau to knock bark off tree by stroke with arrow or bullet
yā'-dat-kīn to put knife in sheath
yā'-moto to pile up boards on end
ye-ā's-sito to drag one's self across on a pole
yě'-dek-ton to shoot through anything, and pierce

- yě'-hap-kit-īn* to lower a window
yě'-sīto to take a boat across a river (?)
yo-do't-sīto to knock across with end of stick, as ball with a
 billiard cue
yo-ho'p-doi-dom shoving a pole up through a crack
yō-kot-tōn to cut in two with edge of shovel
yō'-nōn to flow, as water in a ditch
yō-tōi'-to to drive the fist through a curtain
yū'-lūp-sīto to stick a knife or nail into one
yū'-ta-no-dom shoving along with shoulder (considered appar-
 ently as end of body)

This class of prefixes, as a whole, is one of the most obscure features of the language, and can not yet be considered as satisfactorily explained.

§ 13. Prefixes Indicating the General Character of the Action

16. *he-* actions occurring spontaneously or by accident. Although this prefix would seem to be part of a series (*ha-*, *he-*, *ho-*, *hu-*), its meaning is apparently not at all related to the others. It is often very obscure. It occurs also as a stem.

- hē'-as-dau-dom* snow sliding off roof
hē'-dak-dau a shingle or leaf pulled off by some agency unknown
he'-kot-sīto to break up of itself, to crack, as a glass
he'-poi-dom bending by falling of itself
he'-tsap-dau-dom knocking off hornet's nest with stick (?)
he'-mīn to brush flour into a hole
he'-dan to comb the hair, brush clothes

17. *wi-* actions performed by force, very frequently by pulling. This is the most common prefix of all, and seems to have a very general meaning. It occurs with every stem, seems to suffer no phonetic changes, and may also be used as a stem itself. Its uses are so varied that only a few can be given. As in the case of the last prefix, *he-*, although *wi-* would form part of the series *wa-*, *we-*, *wi-*, *wo-*, *wō-*, *wu-*, it seems to be really independent, and to have no relations to any of the others in the series.

- wī'-ās-pin* to pull toward one
wī'-bak-dau-dom wrenching off a board or shingle
wī'-bat-kīn to pull down and break, as a branch of tree
wī'-dek-kīn to tear in strips downward
wī'-hap-sīto-dom pulling a rope through a hole
wī'-hus-doi-dom pulling on socks

- wī'-kot-doi-dom* breaking off a piece of something soft, like bread, by upward motion
wī'-not-kīn to pull and bend down
wī'-pol-dau to pull brick out of wall
wī'-tā'-tā-moto-pi to hug in arms
wī'-tō'k-dau to pull off a button
wī'-yal-kīn to pull off a sliver downwards
wī'-moto to gather together, as a crowd

§ 14. Composition of Prefixes

In a few instances, prefixes of the classes described in §§ 11 and 12 may be used together, although this is rare. An example of such use is the form

wō-wō'-han-o-dom carrying on the shoulder a man extended at length (i. e., head-first)

§ 15. STEMS

In §§ 3 and 4 the phonetic features of stems were pointed out, and their tendency to occur in incomplete series with variable vowel was illustrated. As in the case of the prefixes, the pairs or series appear to have, for the most part, similar meanings, although a considerable proportion differ radically in their significance, as do the prefixes. The less noticeable feature of a variable consonant in the stem was also pointed out. Further discussion of verbal stems will be found in the analysis of the vocabulary (§ 41).

SUFFIXES (§§ 16-26)

Verbal suffixes are, as already stated, numerically far more important than prefixes. Their range of meaning is also much greater, and, unlike the prefixes, they may be compounded one with another to a considerable extent. They do not, moreover, show any tendency toward occurrence in pairs or series, as is characteristically the case with many of the prefixes.

§ 16. Groups of Suffixes

The various suffixes may be divided, according to their meaning, into the following groups:

- (1) Suffixes expressing direction of motion.
- (2) Modal suffixes.
- (3) Temporal suffixes.
- (4) Suffixes indicating relative success or completion of action.

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- (5) Suffixes indicating number, iteration, reciprocity.
- (6) Nominalizing suffixes.
- (7) Participial suffixes.
- (8) Suffixes giving general ideas of motion.
- (9) Suffixes indicating negation, inability.

§ 17. Suffixes Expressing Direction of Motion

Of the different classes of suffixes, that which includes those indicating direction of motion is decidedly the most numerous. The following examples will illustrate the use of these directive suffixes:

1. **-da** downward, to the end.

wo-dā'-kas I fell (from a tree)

mē'-da-to-tsoia he took down, it is said

2. **-dau** separation, off from.

bā'-kas-dau to knock a shingle off with a hammer

yē'-dis-dau-tsoia she slid off, it is said

3. **-dik(no)** against, up to, alongside of.

lök-diknō-mā'-kas I shall crawl up to

sü-ta-dī'kno-dom pushing or rolling it up against something

4. **-doi** upward.

ka-pwi'lim-doi-no-dom rolling a log up hill

o-no'-doi-tsoia he went along up, it is said

5. **-ki(t)** down, on ground.

hu-ko't-kit-dom cutting to pieces (by bearing down on knife)

sō'-wō-kit-tsoia he carried a long thing and laid it down, it is said

6. **-koi** away, away from.

i'c-dot-koi-dom kicking away something

ö-koi'-tsoia he went away, it is said

7. **-mi(t)** down into a hole, into a house, into a box.

ha's-mit-asi I slid into a hole

ö-mi't-dom going into the house

8. **-moto** together, toward each other.

ka-ta'-moto-dom squeezing between hands

ö'-moto-dom coming together, approaching each other

ka-tsik-i-moto-bos-weten having completely surrounded on all sides

9. **-pai** against, at.

hit-pai-dom throwing water at some one

hom-pai-to-dom boxing, fighting

10. **-pin** toward the speaker.
ö-pi'n-tsoia he came toward
hu'n-moi-pi-pin-kit-toi-tsoia they came by degrees back down
 toward from hunting, it is said
hë'-ap-pin-pin-tsoia she slid toward, little by little, it is said
11. **-si(p)** out of, out from.
ö-si'p-tsoia they got out (of the boat)
has-si'p-asi I slid out (of the house)
12. **-sito** across, through.
la'p-sito-dom crawling through (a hole in the fence)
ö-si'to-yë-wë'-büs-ma-pem one who shall continually travel back
 and forth across
13. **-ta** on top of, off the ground.
tus-bö-tä'-dom standing by the smoke hole on the roof
wö'-ta-nü it lies on top of, said only of a long or flat thing
töp-ta-tsoia he jumped upon
14. **-tso** round and round, over and over, over.
la'p-tso-no-ye-dom crawling around something
lö'k-tso-pin-wë-bissim they kept crawling over toward speaker
15. **-wai** apart, asunder, stretching out.
hë'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
ka-tä'-wai-to-dom flattening out by patting between hands

§18. Modal Suffixes

These suffixes may be divided to good advantage into two sub-classes,—those which are modal in the general sense of the term, and those which are temporal.

16. **-n** infinitive.
bü'sin to be
dön to seize or hold in mouth
ö'sip-in to go out
17. **-us** reflexive.
pë-bo's-us-tsoia he ate himself entirely up
yapai'-to-us-dom talking to himself
wa's-wëye-us-tsoia he swore at himself
nï'-us I myself
18. **-ti** causative.
wile'-u-kit-ti-koi-tsoia he caused to run away down
bu-dut-no-ti-pai-kan he made water to rise
wö'no-ti-dom killing (causing to die)
19. **-p, -pa, -pada** imperative.
ö-nö'-p go!

mē-p give (me)!
ö-nō'-pa go!
hata'm-pada do ye search for!

20. **-ta** future imperative.

wō'no-ta it shall die, let it die!
tse-ta' let them see!
ma-ta'-si let me be!

21. **-bo** future imperative.

yahā'-bo let it be good!
wō'no-kön-kâdo ma-bō' a mortal-world let it be!

22. **-pö, -pě, -pee** exhortative.

ö'-no-pö let us go!
bü's-ta-pě let us stay!
helai'-to-pě let us gamble!

23. **-de** interrogative.

oka'-de möyē'm is he hungry?
wō'no-ti-ma-ka-de-s shall I kill?
suda'ka-de is it sweet?

24. **-beně(e)** obligation, must.

ö-koi'-bēně mintse'm ye must go away
so'-doi-ben must bring, carry on shoulder
ö-noi'-ben-ma-p do not go away!

25. **-lut** obligation, compulsion, intensive.

ö-nō'-lut-ma-ka-s I must go along
ya'k-tse-ti-lut-weten looking exactly like

It is used also with adjectives, as *tetē'-luti* VERY LARGE, and with nouns sometimes, as *e's-to-luti* THE VERY CENTER.

26. **-yaha** ought, should.

ö-koi'-yaha-ka-ankano you ought to go away (*yaha* GOOD, although an independent adjective, seems in such cases as this to be fully incorporated as a suffix into the verbal structure)

27. **-nats** can.

wō'no-men-atse-s I can not die
wi-wo'-doi-natse-no can you lift it (a long thing)?
wilē'-no-natse-n mo'-yě can he run?

28. **-bö** might.

ö'n-no-ti-bö-si I might swallow
ya-tai'-bö-nö you might miss (with arrow)

29. **-helu** may, perhaps (?).

yo-do't-pa-nu-to-helü'-kö-kan he may have tied them up to
ok-hē'lu-kö-enkesi we all may be hungry

This seems also to be used independently, when it means **SOME**, **A FEW**. It would appear probable from this, that its use in the verb would indicate the plurality of the object, as in the case of *woli* **MANY**, which is used similarly for this purpose. The examples available, however, only indicate its meaning as above.

§19. Temporal Suffixes

30. **-ka** incompleted action (present).

ö-koi'-ka-si I am going away
o'kasi (ok-ka-si) I am hungry
wë'ye-don-kö-ka-n he is talking

This suffix is still somewhat uncertain. It is used in the great majority of instances, but is occasionally omitted in direct statements of immediate action; as *ö-koi-s* I GO, *tse-s* I SEE. It is probably intimately related to the auxiliary verb *ka* TO BE, seen in such forms as *ka-s* I AM; *ka-an-ka-no* YOU ARE; *ka-ti'-ka-s* I CAUSE IT TO BE, I DO, etc.

31. **-ma** incompleted action (future).

ökoï'-ma-ka-s I shall go away
ö-yë'-ma-dom will be going
ko-bë'-bek-ti-men-ma-pem one who shall not cause to cry aloud
 As indicated in the first example, this suffix is often combined with **-ka**. Like the latter, it also is extensively used as an independent auxiliary verb; as *ma-ma-ka-s* I SHALL BE; *kul-dom ma-mä'-pem* ONE WHO SHALL BE MOURNING; *hesä'dom ma-ka-de-s* WHAT SHALL I BE, DO?

32. **-as, -has** completed action (past).

ok-ä's-asi I was hungry
yok-ä's-has min I struck you
adom as ö-koi-ka-s so I went away
nik as kai'-kö-kan me she was calling

This may be used, as shown in the last two examples, separately before the verb, which is then in the usual present form. It is not, however, as in **-ka** and **-ma**, used as an auxiliary verb.

33. **-paai** completed action (remote past).

ok-paai'-kan he was hungry long ago
ä-paai'-kan he said long ago

34. **-tsoi** completed action (mythic past, known indirectly).

ökoï'-tsoi-a he went away, it is said
wi-dö'k-dau-tsoi-a he tore off, it is said

35. **-wea, -ea** incompleted action. Used only in direct quotation, as a sort of historical present; also with the idea of the action being customary.

la'p-ti-kinu-wea-s I sit beside

tse-wē'ano you see

tö's-bo-kit-eam he stands

36. **-weu, -yeu, -eu** completed action. Used only in direct quotation.

tse-hē'-ye-weu-kan he looked around

kai-yē'u-ka-si I called

tse-me'n-eu-ka-s I did not see

37. **-yak** completed action. Generally, but not always used in direct quotations.

dōnī'-no-men-yak-es I did not hold

ok-ya'k-eno ai'sōi you were hungry, I think

homō' ö-koi'-yak-en whither they had gone

38. **-büs, -bis** continuative.

so'lle-büs-im kept on singing

hi'sse-büs-tset while continuing to weave

tsō'-wē-büs-pe-di into the still burning one

This suffix is identical with the stem of the verb *büsin* TO LIVE, STAY, REMAIN.

§ 20. Suffixes Indicating Relative Success or Completion of Action

39. **-bos** to do a thing thoroughly, completely, and hence, derivatively, an action done by or to all of a number of persons or things without exception.

tso'-bos-poto-tset while almost wholly burned

tui'-bos-no-tsoia she slept soundly, it is said

wē'yē-bos-weten after having told everything

wilē'-koi-bos-tsoia they every one ran away

40. **-kanim** to finish doing, to bring the action to an end. It is related clearly to *kani*, meaning ALL.

so-ha'n-oñ-kanim he carried him there, i. e., finished the act of carrying

ö-dikno-ñ-kanim he arrived

41. **-hēkit** inchoative, to just begin.

pī'yē-to-hēkit-dom just beginning to bathe

42. **-hudoi** almost, nearly.

wö-köt-dau-hudoi-as I almost cut off

tē'-dis-doi-hudoi-ye-bis-im (her feet) were all the time almost slipping up

43. *-hehē* only, just.

kūlū-nan-na-mōni-hehē' only when nearly dark

bō-yōk-sip-dom-hehē' only selecting

44. *-poto* almost, nearly.

batā'-potō'-tset nearly catching up with her

§ 21. Suffixes Indicating Number, Iteration, Reciprocity

45. *-to*. This suffix, of general and very frequent use, is somewhat puzzling. It is used in some cases to indicate iteration; in others, reciprocal action; at times it seems to point to a plural object. It occurs frequently in combination with other suffixes, particularly the directive suffixes. It is also used as a nominal suffix in connection with the reduplicated distributives. Examples of its use in these various ways will show its variability.

mo'-tōn to drink repeatedly (*mon* to drink)

yo'k-ō-tōn to strike repeatedly with fist (*yo'k-ōn* to strike)

yapai'-to-to-dom talking to each other

si'mak-to-dom talking to each other

hē'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart

tsā'-tsa-to trees

si-kala-to-to-men-wet not bothering each other

§ 22. Nominalizing Suffixes

46. *-pe* forms nomina actoris, and also indicates place of action.

ho'm-pai-to-pe a fighter (*ho'mpaito* to fight with the fists)

mōng kū'lē hē'-doi-pem a runner after that woman, one who runs after that woman

tus-wō'-ye-pe-nan from the standing-place, from where he stood
o'k-pem mai'dū hungry man

This use of verbal nouns to take the place of true adjectives is very common in Maidu. Adjectival stems, most intransitive verbal stems, and many transitive verbal stems, form verbal nouns of this sort, which are used in place of regular adjectives. In many instances both forms are in use,—the more strictly adjectival and the verbal noun.

la-la'm-pem tsa, *la'-lam-im tsa* long stick

opi't-pem wolo'm, *opi't-im wolo'm* full basket

47. *-kō* indicates the quality of being or having, and seems to be identical with *kō-*, the stem of the verb TO POSSESS.

pě'-kō food (*pě* to eat)

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tī-yū'k-sip-men-köm mai'düm a man who does not come out; i. e., one who has the quality of not coming out
ok-helü'-kō-kasi I may be hungry; i. e., I am one who has the quality of perhaps being hungry
piye'-to-kō bathing place; i. e., having the quality of being appropriate for bathing

This suffix is also much used with nouns, being followed then by pronominal suffixes or participial forms, and indicating possession or ownership.

ha'n-wo-kiit-kō-di at the place to which he carries people
höbö'-kō-dom a householder; i. e., one who has the quality of having a house
tetē' si'm-kō-dom big-mouth-having; i. e., being one having the quality of having a large mouth
yepō'ni-kō-pem having a chief

48. **-ma** forms verbal nouns.

han-ö'-koi-s-ma what I carry off
nikī bi's-ma-s-ma my future abiding-place
wō'no-ti-s-ma what I kill

What relation this suffix bears to the regular future suffix **-ma** is uncertain. The latter is never found following the pronominal suffixes, and yet the nominalizing **-ma** always seems to carry with it an idea of futurity. It is very rarely used.

§ 23. Participial Suffixes

These are largely used in Maidu, and participial construction is a very common feature. Such expressions as AND TRAVELING, HE ARRIVED, OR RUNNING, HE WENT AWAY, are constantly recurring.

49. **-do(m)** present participle.

ö-koi'-dom going away
mū'-hun-e-pin-i-moto-dom gathering together from hunting
tsě-do'm seeing

50. **-tset(e)** when, while.

hesū'pai-ti-tset while, when, dressing (causing to be dressed)
okit-(t)set when he arrived
hi'sse-büs-tset while she stayed there weaving

51. **-möni** when, at the time when.

ö-koi'-s-möni when I went away
lo'l-möni when crying

52. **-wet(e)** after having, having (past participle, immediate past).

o'nkoi-tin-wet having caused to conquer
tsedā'-da-weten having breakfasted

wō'nō-ti-men-wet not having killed; i. e., not having caused to die (*wō'nō* to die; *-ti* to cause; *-men* not)

ā'-weten it having been so or thus

The use of this suffix with pronominal and nominal forms will be described in § 31.

53. *-wono* past participle, more distant past than *-wet*.

wilē'-koi-wonom having run away

pō'p-koi-wono-pem the one that had burst out

tu's-kit-wono-di at the place where he had stood

he-yu'-kit-wono-kō-tsoia (they were such) as had the quality of having fallen down of themselves, it is said

54. *-yatan* past participle, similar in most respects to *-wono*.

wowō'-kinu-yatan having lain down on the ground

bū's-yatan having stayed, having lived, after having remained

sol-yatan after having sung

§ 24. Suffixes Giving General Idea of Motion

55. *-no* general idea of motion.

piye'-to-no-tsoia he went to bathe, it is said (*piye'totsoia* he bathed)

ō'-no-tsoia he went along, he traveled, it is said

hoi'-pai-no-ma-kas I shall go last, behind (*hoi'pai* behind)

56. *-ye* general idea of motion.

ō'-yēn to come, come toward

lō'k-doi-ye-bis-im kept crawling up

hu'n-mo-koi-to-ye-tsoia they went away to hunt, it is said

Both of these may be used together, giving the meaning of **HERE**

AND THERE, ABOUT.

be-he's-no-ye-dom scratching here and there

la'p-no-ye-dom crawling about

§ 25. Suffixes Indicating Negation, Inability

57. *-men* general negative, not.

ō-koi'-men-wet not having gone

ba-pol-doi-men-tsono-dom not being able to dig up

tse-me'n-tsoia he did not see, it is said

58. *-tsōi* inability, can not.

wō'nō-ti-tsōi-tsoia he could not kill him, it is said; i. e., could not cause him to die

ōpi'n-tsōi-dom not being able to come home

sol-tsō'i-dom not being able to sing

§ 26. Composition of Suffixes

Examples of the extent to which these various suffixes can be combined are shown in the following:

wile'-no-ye-tsöi-büss-ma-pem one who shall be unable to be always running about

han-wo-tso-no-wē-bis-dom continuing to carry over

wo-hop-mit-hudoi-to-we-bisim kept almost inserting long thing into

lap-no-ye-wē-bis-kö-tsoia continued to sit about

§ 27. COMPOSITION OF STEMS

Stems may be combined into compound verbs with considerable freedom. Such compounds may consist of single stems, or of stems with affixes. This method of treatment of prefixes in compounds increases the impression of independence of these elements, which is conveyed by the occurrence of many of them as independent stems.

sō-hu'n-bök-tsoia he jumped at it to seize it in his arms (*sō-* action done with arms [§ 11 no. 8]; *hun-* to capture [?]; *bök* to seize; *-tsoia* it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

dō'n-wi-kap-pin-tsoia she dragged toward in her mouth (*dōn* to seize or hold in mouth; *wi-* action done by force [§ 13 no. 17]; *kap* to move with friction; *-pi[n]* [§ 17 no. 10]; *-tsoia* it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

§ 28. Number

Ideas of number are unequally developed in Maidu. In nouns, the exact expression of number seems to have been felt as a minor need; whereas, in the case of pronominal forms, number is clearly and accurately expressed. In the degree to which the expression of number in nouns is carried, the dialects differ. In the northeastern dialect here presented it is less marked than in the northwestern. Not only are true plurals rare in nouns, but distributives also seem to have been but little used. Where these forms occur, they are formed by reduplication or duplication, with the addition of a suffix (see § 21); as,

sēu'sēuto each, every river (*sē'wi* river)

höbo'boto every house, or camp (*höbo'* house)

ya'manmanto every mountain

tsa'tsato every tree (*tsa* tree)

Distributives appear not to be used in ordinary conversation to any extent, and are rare in the texts. The above are practically all the forms that have been noted.

The existence of a real plural seems to be closely associated with a dual, and all of the few nouns taking plural suffixes take dual forms as well. The use of either is, however, rare. The dual is more common than the plural. The dual is formed by the suffix *-tso*; as,

ama'm yě pitsom those two men
möpä'tso my two daughters
möing kü'letsoki those two women's . . .

This dual suffix is the same as that used with the third person of the personal pronoun (see § 31). The use of the dual suffix seems to be restricted to a very few terms of relationship and words for human beings only.

Plural forms are equally if not more restricted. In the few examples noted in which the plural is used, the noun takes indifferently *-söm* or *-sem*, the suffixes used for the plural of the second person and of the first and third persons of the pronoun, respectively (see § 31). The suffixes are added in all cases directly to the stem.

yě'psöm men, husbands (*yě'pi* man, husband)
mai'düsem men (*mai'dü* man)
kü'lesem women (*kü'le* woman)

As regards nouns, thus, the ideas of number are but little developed; the development, however, is greater in the northwestern than in the northeastern dialect, and it is altogether lacking apparently in the southern dialect. In the first two cases, the degree of development of the expression of number in the noun is parallel to the regularity of the development of its expression in the pronoun.

In pronouns, the feeling for the necessity of exactness seems to have been more strongly felt. On the whole, the forms may be said to be developed regularly, and, as opposed to the fragmentary nature of these ideas in the case of the noun, we have a full series of dual and plural forms in the independent personal pronoun. In the suffixed form of the pronoun, however, this completeness is lost, and distinctions of number are made only in the first person. As will be seen by referring to the paradigm of the subjective independent personal pronoun (§ 31), there is some little confusion in the series, the dual suffix of the second person being identical with that of the plural suffix of the first and third persons. The dual suffixes, again, are varied for the different persons (*-sam*, *-sem*, *-tsom*), although the plural suffixes are more uniform, the first and third persons being alike, with the second quite similar. In com-

parison with this northeastern dialect, the forms in the other dialects are interesting:

	Northwestern	Southern
First person singular	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>
Second person singular	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>
Third person singular	<i>mōm</i>	<i>mōm</i>
First person dual	<i>nīsām</i>	<i>nās</i>
Second person dual	<i>mimām</i>	<i>mām</i>
Third person dual	<i>mōsām</i>	<i>mōsām</i>
First person plural	<i>nīsēm</i>	<i>nēs</i>
Second person plural	<i>mimēm</i>	<i>mēm</i>
Third person plural	<i>mōpām</i>	<i>mōsēm</i>

It will be seen that in the northwestern dialect greater regularity prevails, the dual forms for the first and third persons being alike, and that of the second keeping the same vowel. In the plural, however, while the characteristic vowel-change in the first and second persons is preserved, the third takes a wholly new plural suffix. In the southern dialect this irregularity disappears, in spite of the considerable coalescence and contraction which the pronoun in its subjective form has suffered. It seems not improbable that this greater regularity of the dual and plural pronominal forms in the northwestern dialect may be connected with the still greater regularity which prevails in this particular among the Wintun stock, on which the northwestern Maidu border. In Wintun, the pronominal forms are perfectly regular throughout dual and plural. On the other hand, the northeastern dialect, with its smaller degree of regularity, is in contact with the Achomā'wi and Atsugē'wi, dialects of the Shasta, which, on the whole, have a still less regular development of dual and plural, and form a transition to the Shasta proper, which has no dual at all. Variations of this sort are found also in other Californian languages.

As stated above, the suffixed forms of the pronoun are much less clear in their expression of number, dual and plural forms existing for the first person only, as may be seen from the following:

First person singular	<i>-s</i>
First person dual	<i>-as</i>
First person plural	<i>-es</i>
Second person singular, dual, and plural	<i>-no</i>
Third person singular, dual, and plural	<i>-n</i>

The method of differentiation is apparently that which lies at the basis of the expression of number in the pronoun; i. e., the vowel-change of *a* to *e* to distinguish the plural from the dual. Co-ordinate with the greater regularity of the northwestern dialect in the independent pronoun is its greater regularity in the suffixed form, although this form is much less used than in the northeastern. In the southern dialect suffixed forms of the pronoun are not found. The lack of definite expression of number in the suffixed forms of the pronoun in the dialect here presented necessitates the use of the independent forms of the pronoun, in connection with the verbal form, to distinguish dual from plural; as,

mi'ntsem okmā'nkano ye two will be hungry
minsö'm okmā'nkano ye all will be hungry

§ 29. Case

The Maidu differs from many American languages in that it lacks any development of incorporation as a means of expressing syntactic relations. In common with most of the languages of central California, subjective and objective as well as possessive relations are expressed by regular case-endings, suffixed to the noun or independent form of the pronoun, both of which stand separate and independent, outside the verb. That the marking of both subject and object by means of a separate case-suffix is, for purposes of clearness, not a necessity, seems to have been recognized by all these languages. The Maidu is among those which distinguish by a special suffix the subjective, leaving the objective form unchanged. To designate the subjective, the Maidu uses the suffix *-m*. The following examples will render the use of the subjective as used with nouns sufficiently clear:

sü nī has wō'kas I hit the dog (with a stick) (*sü* dog; *nī* I)
süm has nik dō'kan the dog bit me
mai'düm a o'kōn the man is hungry
nīsā'm has mai'dü wō'nōtiankas we killed the man
mī kulū'di öñō'bene atso'ia thou must travel at night, she said
i'cyōkas mīn I am kicking you

While all nouns and all independent pronouns, except the first and second persons singular, form the subjective regularly in *-m* (the objective being the simple stem), the two forms referred to reverse the process, and are, besides, irregular. As shown in the

above examples, the subjective and objective forms of the pronoun in the first and second persons singular are, respectively, *nī*, *nik* and *mī*, *min*. In the dialect here presented the independent subjective forms of the pronouns above mentioned are somewhat rarely used, the subject being, as a rule, expressed by the suffixed form instead. That the *-m* used is really a subjective and not an agentive case is shown by the fact of its universal employment with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs.

The possessive relation is shown analogously to the subjective by a case suffix *-ki*. In this instance there is no irregularity, and all nouns and all forms of the independent pronoun alike take the suffix:

sū'ki bukū' dog's tail
mōim mai'dūmbomōki t'usyo those people's roast
niki hōbō' my house
mī'nki sū has wō'nōtias I have killed your dog
nīsā'ki ká'dō our country

The suffix is added always to the objective form of the noun or pronoun (i. e., the simple stem), and, at least in this dialect, is with few exceptions *-ki*. In the case of the interrogative form *WHOSE*, however, we find simply *-k*; as,

homō'nik sūm makā'dě whose dog is this?¹

This possessive suffix may in some cases be added after a previous locative, as in the form

sā'-wono-na-ki from-behind-the-fire's; i. e., belonging to the one who comes from behind the fire

§ 30. Locative and Instrumental Suffixes

In Maidu, locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by regular suffixes, continuing logically the indication of real syntactic relations by the same means. The development of these locative and instrumental suffixes in Maidu is not very great, there being but three locatives, an instrumental, and a comitative. The following examples will illustrate the use of these different forms: *-di* general locative, in, on, at.

mō'mdi in the water
betē'itōdi in the olden time

¹ In the northwestern dialect the possessive is the same as here; but in the southern form there seems to be a distinct tendency to its partial or complete abandonment. It there frequently becomes reduced to *-k*, and in the most southerly of all the dialects seems to disappear completely, the subjective form of noun or pronoun being used instead.

höbō'di in the house, at home
kau'di on the ground
noko'm ni'kdi ka the arrow is in me
tu'skitwonōdi at the place where he had stopped
ōng kanai'di underneath the rock

-na, -nak illative, to, toward; sometimes reduplicated.

o'lōlokna toward the smoke hole
ānī'na hither (this-toward)
mī'nna toward you
kūlū'nana just before dark, toward night

-nan ablative, from, away from.

höbō'nān öko'i'tsoia he went away from the house
tiktetē'nān from a little distance
tuswō'yepenān from the place where he stood

-ni instrumental, with, by means of.

sū has tsā'ni wō'kas I hit the dog with a stick
mō'ki ono'mbutū'ini wōma'ktikōtsoia she measured with her hair

-kan comitative, in company with, together with.

nī'ki sükan öko'i'as I went away with my dog
kū'lēkan ödi'k notsoia he arrived in company with the woman
mī'nkan öko'i'as I went off with you

There is some question as to this being a regular comitative suffix, its identity with the conjunction *kan* suggesting that the apparent suffix is merely the conjunction closely combined with the noun.

§ 31. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Maidu are characterized by their independence. In discussing the ideas of number, the independent forms of the pronoun have already been given; but for purposes of comparison, the subjective, objective, and possessive forms are here given in a single table:

	Subject	Object	Possessive
First person singular .	<i>nī</i>	<i>nik</i>	<i>nī'ki</i>
First person dual . . .	<i>nīsā'm</i>	<i>nīsā'</i>	<i>nīsā'ki</i>
First person plural . . .	<i>nīsē'm</i>	<i>nīsē'</i>	<i>nīsē'ki</i>
Second person singular .	<i>mī</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mī'nki</i>
Second person dual . . .	<i>mī'ntsem</i>	<i>mī'ntse</i>	<i>mī'ntseki</i>
Second person plural . . .	<i>mī'nsöm</i>	<i>mī'nsö</i>	<i>mī'nsöki</i>
Third person singular . .	<i>mō'yem</i>	<i>mō'ye</i>	<i>mō'yeki</i>
Third person dual . . .	<i>mōi'tsom</i>	<i>mō'tso</i>	<i>mō'tsoki</i>
Third person plural . . .	<i>mō'sem</i>	<i>mō'se</i>	<i>mō'seki</i>

The third person is in reality more a demonstrative than a true personal pronoun; but its use is predominantly that of a personal pronoun, and the corresponding demonstrative *unī* THIS is not used in either the dual or plural forms. As has already been pointed out, these independent forms of the personal pronoun take all the locative and instrumental suffixes, and are in every respect treated as nouns. The personal pronouns also, in their independent form, may take the suffix *-wet(e)*, used chiefly with verbal stems in a participial sense, but here giving forms like

nī'wete I myself, I alone

mō'ñwete he alone

In speaking of the development of ideas of number, the fact was referred to, that there were two forms of the personal pronoun—one independent and one suffixed to the verb. The two series show little in common, except that the first person dual and plural are differentiated in both series by the same vowel-change from *a* to *e*. The suffixed forms are always subjective, and are suffixed directly to the verbal stem or to the various modal, directive, temporal, and other suffixes which the verb may have, the pronominal suffixes, with few exceptions, always coming last. In the singular the resulting forms are clear enough without the addition of the independent form of the pronoun; in the dual and plural, however, these are usually added, although here the first person is always sufficiently distinct. When the sense of the sentence renders the person clear, this independent pronoun is frequently omitted. The following indicates the use of the pronouns with the intransitive verb:

nī o'kasi or *o'kasi* I am hungry

mī oka'nkano or *oka'nkano* thou art hungry

mōyē'm oka'n or *oka'n mōyē'm* he is hungry

nīsā'm oka'nkas or *oka'nkasi nīsā'm* we two are hungry

mī'ntsem oka'nkano or *oka'nkano mī'ntsem* ye two are hungry

mō'tsom oka'n or *oka'n mōtsom* they two are hungry

nīsē'm oke'nkes or *oke'nkesi nīsē'm* we all are hungry

mī'nsōm oka'nkano or *oka'nkano mī'nsōm* ye all are hungry

mō'sem oka'n or *oka'n mō'sem* they all are hungry

As will be seen from the above, the position of the independent pronoun is variable, it being placed either before or after the verb at will. It will also be seen that the suffixed form is by no means as fully developed as is the independent. This condition is instructive, when the forms in use in the other dialects are compared. It then appears that in the northwestern dialect the suffixed form is rare,

with the verbal stem, but is universally added to the auxiliary verb; in the southern dialect the use of the suffixed form of the pronoun disappears. It seems, then, that the northeastern dialect here presented, in the matter of pronominal usage, lies at the extreme, toward the close synthesis of pronoun with verb, the northwestern being less so, and the southern entirely without it. As the northeastern dialect is in close touch with the Achomā'wi, which shows much greater development of the incorporative idea, we may be justified in regarding this greater development of synthesis between the verb and pronoun as in part due to association and contact.

In the transitive verb, precisely the same conditions prevail. The subjective pronoun, in the pronominal conjugation, is suffixed to the verb in the northeastern dialect, the objective standing free and independent.

yō'-kas min I am hitting thee
yō-a'nkano möyě' thou art hitting him
nisā'm min yō-a'nkas we two are hitting thee
mō'tsom nik yō'-kan they two are hitting me
yō-a'nkano nisā' thou art hitting us two

With a nominal object, the method is the same:

sü wō'nōtīkas I am killing the dog

With a nominal subject, the pronominal suffix is always used:

süm has mai'dü dō'-kan the dog bit the man

For emphasis, it is customary to use, in the first and second persons singular of the pronominal conjugation, the independent form in addition to the suffixed; as,

yō'-kas ni min I am hitting you
yō-a'nkano mī möyě' thou art hitting him

Just as in the intransitive the dialect here presented tends more strongly toward synthesis between pronoun and verb than do any of the other dialects, so in the transitive the same conditions prevail, if anything, more strongly marked, as both the other dialects have the subjective as well as the objective pronoun entirely free and separate from the verb which appears in a participial form.

§ 32. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative is not as highly developed in Maidu as in many other American languages. But two forms are commonly

in use, corresponding to THIS and THAT, and indicating position near or remote from the speaker. For the former, *unī'* is used, and for the latter, *amā'*. Somewhat rarely a third form, *anī'*, is employed to indicate position still more remote. The third personal pronoun is often used in place of a demonstrative, and may take the place of any one of the three. All three demonstratives take all the nominal case and locative suffixes. The use of these demonstratives is shown in the following examples:

unī'm mai'düm yahā'maka this man will be good
amā'm süm that dog
anī'm mai'düm that (far off) man
amā'kan wōnōtitsoia and he killed that one
ūnī'nan from here, hence
amā'di there, at that place
amā'ki sū that person's dog
mō'im mai'düm this, that man

§ 33. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

A relative pronoun seems to be lacking in Maidu, its place being filled by the use of a reflexive suffix with the verb. Such constructions are, however, rare. An example is:

mōm mai'düm has kakā'n i'syōtiusdom this man it was causing to kick himself; i. e., he was the man who was kicked

Interrogative pronouns, on the contrary, are common. WHICH is expressed by *homō'*, and WHO by *homō'ni*, both taking case and locative suffixes, as do other pronouns. WHAT, WHY, and HOW are formed from a different stem, being respectively *hesi'*, *hesā'-*, and *hesā'ti*. A few examples of the use of these follow:

homō'mdi makā' bū'spem in which (house) do you live?
homō'nim makā' who are you?
homō'nik süm makā'dě whose dog is this?
hesi'm makā'dě what is it?
hesā'mōni kadi'kmenom makā'dě why doesn't it rain?
hesā'ti eto'spem . . . how strong . . . ?

§ 34. Adjectives

The adjective in Maidu is strongly nominal in character. In many cases it is a true nomen actoris, formed from a verbal stem, with or without duplication or reduplication, by the addition of the

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suffix *-pe*. Apparently any verbal stem may thus be used in this form to qualify or describe a noun; as,

o'k-pem mai'düm hungry man (literally, hungerer man)
eto'spem mai'dum strong man (*eto'skasi* I am strong)
di'pdipem pā'ka smooth board (literally, slider board)
lala'mpem tsa long stick

Many adjectives, however, do not admit of the form in *-pe*, and are formed from the verbal stem by merely adding to them the nominal subjective suffix(?) *-m*. The majority of these forms are made from verbal stems ending in a vowel. Examples of this type of adjective are:

tetē'm süm large dog *kē'yim hōbō'* old house
tēm süm small dog

Most, if not all, of the stems from which the adjectives are formed, are capable of taking the regular pronominal tense and modal suffixes and being used as intransitive verbs; as, *kē'yimakas* I SHALL BE OLD. Some stems, however, appear not to be used, except as forming these nominal forms, as adjectives. Either of the nominal forms of these stems (that in *-pe* or in *-m*) takes all regular nominal locative suffixes, and probably also all case-suffixes as well, although these have at present been noted only in the instance of those ending in *-pe*.

kē'yidi in the old one *lala'mpeki* the long one's . . .
tetē'ni with the big one

In some cases both the *-pe* and the *-m* forms are used with the same stem; as,

la'mim tsa, *lala'mpem tsa* long stick

In these cases, the form in *-pe* is generally, but not always, reduplicated.

§ 35. Adverbs

Adverbs may be formed from adjectival stems by the suffix *-t*; as,

yahā'm good *yahā't* well, nicely
wasā'm bad *wasā't* poorly, evilly
tetē'm large *tetē't* much, greatly, very

Other adverbs, such as those of time and distance, etc., seem to be from independent stems.

tī'kte slightly, somewhat, a
 little *bēi* again
hadā' far away *bēi'duk* by and by
bē'nek to-morrow *lē'wo* a little, partially

§ 36. Connectives

With the exception of *kan* AND, connectives in Maidu are all formed from the auxiliary verb *ā* TO BE, by the addition of various temporal, modal, and other suffixes. Very often the resulting form is compounded with *kan*, which, while it may stand alone, is generally reduced to an enclitic. The more common of these connectives are:

<i>a-dom</i> , <i>ado' nkan</i> so, and so	<i>a-tse't</i> , <i>atse'tkan</i> while, and
<i>a-met</i> but	while
<i>a-mendom</i> if not, and if not	<i>a-we'ten</i> , <i>awete'nkan</i> then,
<i>a-mö'ni</i> , <i>amö'nikan</i> then, and	thereafter, and then
then	

§ 37. Interjections

There are quite a number of interjections in Maidu, the following being those most commonly in use:

<i>hēi</i> halloo!	<i>hō</i> well! all right
<i>sī</i> look! well!	<i>ham</i> an exclamation of rage,
<i>ā</i> exclamation of disgust	practically equivalent to a
<i>ettū'</i> stop!	curse
<i>hmm</i> exclamation of disgust	

VOCABULARY (§§ 38-41)

§ 38. Classes of Stems

In analyzing the vocabulary of the Maidu we may divide the stems into three classes:

(1) Those which admit of no suffixes, or only such as are neither nominal nor verbal.

(2) Those which take nominal suffixes.

(3) Those which take verbal suffixes.

The first group includes merely a few adverbs, interjections, and a connective. The second comprises nouns, pronouns, and most adjectives. The third takes in all verbs (with a few exceptions), some adjectives, and the remainder of the connectives. This grouping, which, on the whole, seems to be the most feasible, breaks down in so far as it is possible, in some cases, to use participial suffixes with stems normally taking only nominal suffixes, and also from the fact that there are cases where noun and verb are formed from a single stem. The latter cases will be considered §§ 36-38

in speaking of the stems of the second group; and as for the former, all that can be said here is that it is the ordinary usage rather than the extraordinary forms which should be given greatest weight.

§ 39. *Stems Taking no Suffixes, or Only Such as are neither Nominal nor Verbal*

Of stems taking no suffixes at all, there appear to be very few. Interjections include the majority of such stems. A list of these has been given in § 37. Except for these interjections, the only other stem taking no affix is the simple conjunction *kan* AND. This, moreover, although it may, and often does, stand independently, is at times so closely connected with the noun as to be enclitic.

Stems taking suffixes other than those taken by nouns or verbs are few also and are only adverbial:

<i>bēi</i> (<i>bēi'bim</i> , <i>bēi'bō</i>) again, also	<i>hū'koi</i> still, yet
<i>bei'duk</i> by and by	<i>lē'wo</i> a little, partially

A considerable number of adverbs are formed from adjectival stems by the suffix *-t*; as,

<i>yahā'm</i> good; <i>yahā't</i> well	<i>tetē'm</i> large, great; <i>tete't</i> much, greatly
--	---

Adverbial ideas, however, such as CAN, MUST, PERHAPS, ALMOST, WHOLLY, ALWAYS, etc., are expressed in Maidu by suffixes added to the verb.

§ 40. *Stems Taking Nominal Suffixes Only*

These stems may be further subdivided into nominal, pronominal, and adjectival stems.

NOMINAL STEMS

Maidu possesses a large number of true nominal stems showing no relation at all apparently to verbal or other stems. Derivatives formed from verbs exist in considerable numbers; but the greater mass of nouns are derived from purely nominal stems. A few examples of nouns derived from verbal stems may be given before considering the nominal stems proper:

<i>hī</i> to smell; <i>hī'ku</i> nose	<i>mai</i> to speak; <i>mai'dū</i> Indian;
<i>bō</i> to blow; <i>bō'wo</i> wind	<i>mai'ki</i> boy

In other instances noun and verb appear to be formed from the same root; as,

<i>ho'ni</i> heart	<i>ho'nsiptsoia</i> she breathed
<i>ho'nwě</i> breath	<i>ho'nkodom</i> coughing

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Nominal stems proper may be divided into three groups:

- (1) Monosyllabic.
- (2) Polysyllabic, duplicated or reduplicated.
- (3) Polysyllabic, without reduplication.

1. Monosyllabic stems are not very numerous, but as a class include some of the most common nouns. They may be grouped under several heads:

RELATIONSHIP TERMS	ANIMALS, PLANTS, PARTS OF BODY
son <i>tē</i>	dog <i>sü</i>
daughter <i>pō</i>	hand <i>mā</i>
younger sister <i>k'a</i>	flower <i>yō</i>
mother <i>nē</i>	bush <i>dō</i>
grandson <i>pē</i>	willow <i>pā</i>
	feathers <i>yē</i>
MISCELLANEOUS	
fire <i>sā</i>	stone <i>ō</i>
salt <i>bā</i>	road <i>bō</i>
cloud <i>yā</i>	raft <i>nō</i>
snow <i>kō</i>	mortar-stone <i>ā</i>

2. Duplicated and reduplicated stems are also not very numerous, and refer chiefly to parts of the body and to animals and birds.

DUPLICATED	REDUPLICATED
crow <i>ā'ā</i>	yellow-hammer <i>wolo'loko</i>
eagle <i>kā'kā</i>	robin <i>tsi'statakō</i>
quail <i>yū^hyū</i>	fly <i>emē'lulu</i>
nest <i>tū'tū</i>	shoulder <i>dā'daka</i>
rib <i>tsi'tsi</i>	star <i>lülü'</i>
breast <i>nā'na</i>	egg <i>pa'kpaka</i>
ankle <i>po'lōpolō</i>	cotton wood <i>wilī'ti</i>
grass <i>popo'</i>	smoke hole <i>olo'lokō</i>
yellow pine <i>böbö'</i>	thunder <i>witū'mtūmi</i>
twig <i>tötö</i>	

Onomatopœia seems to be but little in force in Maidu, being not particularly apparent in these duplicated and reduplicated animal and bird names, where, in other languages, it frequently plays a very important part.

3. Polysyllabic unreduplicated stems, in the case of nouns, form probably a majority of the total number of nominal stems. Although a considerable number of polysyllabic nominal stems are quite clearly descriptive, and hence analyzable into simpler stems, a large majority have so far resisted analysis and must be considered stems. The following are examples of such apparently unanalyzable stem-nouns:

PARTS OF THE BODY

head <i>onō'</i>	back <i>kī'wī</i>
face <i>mūsū'</i>	nipples <i>minī'</i>
eye <i>hi'ni</i>	arm <i>yi'mi</i>
mouth <i>si'mi</i>	armpit <i>kōwō'</i>
teeth <i>tsā'wa</i>	belly <i>kamī'</i>
tongue <i>ē'ni</i>	hip <i>mā'wa</i>
ear <i>bonō'</i>	penis <i>kosi'</i>
neck <i>kū'yi</i>	leg <i>tolī'</i>
foot <i>pai'yi</i>	liver <i>kula'</i>
nails <i>tsibi'</i>	bone <i>bō'mi</i>
blood <i>sēdē'</i>	dung <i>piti'</i>
sinew <i>paka'</i>	fat <i>hō'ti</i>
tail <i>bukū'</i>	skin <i>posā'la</i>

MAMMALS

grizzly bear <i>pā'nō</i>	coyote <i>wē'pa</i>
brown bear <i>mō'dē</i>	field-mouse <i>yosō'</i>
deer <i>sūmī'</i>	ground-squirrel <i>hī'lō</i>
fox <i>hawī'</i>	chipmunk <i>wi'sla</i>
gopher <i>hemē'</i>	mole <i>yū'tdūli</i>

BIRDS, FISH, INSECTS

fish <i>makō'</i>	grasshopper <i>tō'li</i>
salmon <i>māyi'</i>	angle-worm <i>kayī'</i>

MISCELLANEOUS

woman <i>kūlē'</i>	pack-basket <i>wolō'</i>
baby <i>konō'</i>	snowshoe <i>tsūwā'</i>
house <i>ū'yi</i>	meat <i>wakā'</i>
coals <i>hemī'</i>	sun <i>pokō'</i>
smoke <i>sukū'</i>	evening <i>kūlū'</i>
arrow-point <i>bosō'</i>	valley <i>koyō'</i>

As examples of nominal stems which are clearly analyzable, but not yet entirely explained, the following may serve:

forehead *sūn-daka* (perhaps from *sūn-* referring in some way to the head, as in *sō'ntsetopindom*, HEAD-FIRST; and *dā'daka* SHOULDER, i. e., head-shoulder)

beard *sim-pani* (perhaps from *sim* MOUTH, and *pan-*, a stem occurring in *pantsoia* THEY MADE ROPE)

wrist *ma-kulū'* (from *mā* hand and [?])

wild-cat *hi'n-tsepi* (from *hi'ni* eye, and [?])

otter *mo'm-pano* (from *mo'mi* water, and *pā'no* grizzly-bear)

rat *ō'm-sape* (from *ō* rock, and [?])

jack-rabbit *tsi'n-kuti* (from *tsi* robe, and *kuti* animal)

shite-poke *wak-si* (from the verbal stem *wak-* to cry)

PRONOMINAL STEMS

A full paradigm of the personal and demonstrative pronouns has been given in §§ 31, 32, and these need not therefore again be referred to here. The interrogative pronouns ought, however, to be noticed. These are *homō'* WHICH, and *homōni* WHO. The interrogative pronoun WHAT is *hesi'*, but, besides taking the regular nominal suffixes, it also may take certain verbal or semiverbal suffixes.

ADJECTIVAL STEMS

Adjectives are of two sorts: (1) those formed from independent stems, with or without reduplication; and (2) those formed from verbal stems, generally with the suffix *-pe*. The first of these classes may be divided according as to whether there is or is not any reduplication.

NO REDUPLICATION

little *tēm*
small *tibi'*
good *yahā'*
bad *wasā'*
short *nū'si*
old *kē'yi*

REDUPLICATION

large *tetē'*
long *lā'lami*

Quite a number of adjectives belonging apparently to this first class have the suffix *-pe*, although the stem shows no relation to any verbal stem, and seems never to be used as such. These are both reduplicated and unreduplicated, and include all color names. In some cases, two forms exist, one with, and one without, the suffix *-pe*.

NO REDUPLICATION

healthy *eto'spe*
heavy *wöhö'lpe*
thick *koil'pe*
short *nu'spe*

REDUPLICATION

weak *lē'lepe*
light *hehe'kpe*
thin *tötö'pe*
wide *da'pdape*
sour *tsūtsu'kpe*

COLOR NAMES

black *sēū'sēūpe*
green *titi'tpe*

red *la'klakpe*
white *da'ldalpe*

NUMERALS

The numerals belong to this first class of adjectival stems, and are as follows up to ten:

one *sū'ti*
two *pē'ne*
three *sā'pwi*
four *tsö'yi*
five *mā'wika*

six *sai'tsoko*
seven *to'pwi*
eight *pe'ntcöyë*
nine *pe'lío*
ten *mā'soko*

The numeral adverbs are formed by the suffix *-nini*; as, *sū'tēnini* ONCE, *pēnē'nini* TWICE, etc. Distributives are formed by reduplicating the final syllable; as, *sū'titi* ONE EACH, *pē'nēnē* TWO EACH, etc.

§ 41. Stems Taking Verbal Suffixes

Verbal stems may be divided into two groups, according as to whether they are treated always as stems pure and simple, or are sometimes used in connection with other stems, modifying these and serving as prefixes.

Stems of the first type are predominantly composed of consonant-vowel-consonant. Many occur in pairs or groups, with similar or nearly similar meaning, but with variable vowel; whereas a few pairs show not a variable vowel, but a variable consonant. Besides these tri-literal stems there are a number of bi-literal and uni-literal forms and a few as yet unanalyzable dissyllabic stems. The following list shows the tri-literal stems which have at present been determined, and indicates both the systematic character of these stems and also the pairing or grouping spoken of above. In some cases the meaning of the stem is yet uncertain, owing to the small number of instances in which it occurs. Tri-literal stems, as a rule, take modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

- bak-* to detach a flat thing; -*bek-*(?); -*bök-*(?)
- bal-* to mark, paint
- bas-* to sweep(?); -*bis-* to live, stay; *bus*(?)
- bat-* to break; -*bot-* to break
- dak-* to detach a flat thing; -*dek-* to make hole
- dam-* to give
- dip-* to slide
- dis-* to slide
- das-* to split
- dat-*(?); -*dot-* to overturn; -*dut-*(?)
- hak-* to tear; -*huk-* to whistle(?)
- hal-* to lie, cheat; -*hul-*(?)
- hap-* to move with friction; -*hop-* to move with friction; -*höp-* to stretch; -*hup-*(?)
- has-* to slide; -*hes-* to scratch; -*his-* to make basket; -*hös-* to scare(?) -*hus-*(?)
- kal-*(?); -*kel-* to perforate; -*kol-* to bore(?); -*köl-* to roll; -*kul-*(?)
- kap-* to move with friction(?); -*kop-* to move with friction(?); -*köp-*(?)
- kes-*(?)
- kat-* to strike; -*ket-* to graze; -*kot-* to divide; -*kut-* to divide
- tak-*(?); -*tek-*(?); -*lok-*(?); -*lök-* to creep; -*luk-* to creep

- lol-* to cry
- lap-* to crawl (?); -*lep-* (?); -*lip-* to cry out; -*lop-* to move with friction (?)
- los-* (?)
- mak-* to know, count, measure
- mal-* (?)
- not-* to bend
- pok-* to strike; -*pök-* to shake (?)
- pel-* to perforate; -*pol-* dislocate; -*pul-* dislocate, remove
- pin-* to hear
- pes-* to crumble
- pat-* (?); -*pít-* (?)
- sal-* (?); -*síl-* to shake
- tul-* to break flat thing
- tek-* to jump (?); -*tsik-* (?)
- töm-* (?)
- tap* to squeeze (?); -*top-* to break; -*töp-* to jump; *tup-* to break
- tsap-* to tear, rip
- tas-* to slap (?); -*tes-* to strip off; -*tos-* (?); -*tös-* (?); -*tus-* to break
- tsot-* to rip off
- usu-* to rub
- wak-* to cry out
- yak-* to crush; -*yok-* to strike
- yal-* to split; -*yol-* to break; -*yul-* to rip, split
- yat-* (?)

Bi-literal and uni-literal stems of this first type are quite numerous, and a partial list is here given. They are distinguished from the tri-literal stems as a rule, by the fact that they rarely take any modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>ā-</i> to say <i>a-</i> to be (auxiliary verb) <i>ap-</i> to slip, slide <i>bö-</i> to blow <i>böi-</i> to leach acorns <i>bū-</i> to stink <i>dī-</i> to swell <i>dō-</i> to bite, seize with teeth <i>hī-</i> to smell (?) <i>höi-</i> to spread apart (?) <i>kai-</i> to fly <i>k'ai-</i> to be called, named <i>kö-</i> to have, possess (?) <i>köi-</i> (?) <i>mē-</i> to take, seize 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>mō-</i> to drink <i>mö-</i> to shoot <i>o-</i> (?) <i>ö-</i> to go, travel <i>pē-</i> to eat <i>pū-</i> to sew -<i>tau-</i> to twist (?) <i>tö-</i> to burn -<i>töi-</i> to divide in strips <i>tse-</i> to see -<i>tsoi-</i> to bend -<i>yau-</i> to break flat thing <i>yö-</i> (?) -<i>yu-</i> (?)
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Special mention ought to be made, in speaking of stems of this type, of the connectives. The simple connective AND, indicated by *kan*, has already been referred to in speaking of the unchangeable stems. All other connectives seem to be formed from the auxiliary verb *a* TO BE, by the addition of various verbal suffixes. A list of these connectives, any of which may take the simple connective *kan* as an additional suffix, follows:

<i>ado'n</i> so, thus	<i>atse t</i> the whites, at this time
<i>amē't</i> but	<i>awē'bisim</i> continually
<i>amō'ni</i> then	<i>awē'te</i> then

Verbal stems which, although dissyllabic, yet appear to be unanalyzable, are not nearly as numerous as the other types. Some of the more common ones follow:

<i>hē'no-</i> to die	<i>-pwi'li-</i> to roll
<i>kölō'-</i> to rotate	<i>-tala-</i> to crush
<i>o'nkoi-</i> to conquer	<i>-tibil-</i> to wind around
<i>ōpē'-</i> (?)	<i>wilē'-</i> to run
<i>pedā'-</i> to steal, to answer	<i>wō'nō-</i> to die

Verbal stems of the second type have already been discussed in §§ 11-13, and need not therefore be taken up in detail here again. The *b*, *w*, and *y* series seem to be the clearest and least doubtful, and to offer the fewest apparent exceptions. The *h* series is quite puzzling; the *i* form (*hi-*), having no apparent relation to the others in the series in meaning, falling as it does into the class of pure prefixes, indicating parts of the body. The *e* and *u* forms (*he-* and *hu-*) are also very irregular. Although the characteristic feature of these stems is, that while they are most commonly used to modify another stem as a prefix, they may yet themselves stand as independent stems on occasion, there are one or more in each series which can not so stand independently, it seems. The reasons for this exception are not yet clear.

TEXT

Sō'tim ¹	nenō'mmaidūm ²	bū'sstsoia. ³	Wisō'tpini ⁴	he'nantē ⁵
One	old people	lived, it is said.	Big Springs	on this side of
ku'mmenim ⁶	hōbo'kōdom ⁷	mai'sem ⁸	bū'sstsoia. ³	Amā'ñkan ⁴
houseless ones	bark hut owning	they	lived, it is said.	That one and
pākūpem ¹¹	nenō'mmaidūm ²	matsoi'am. ¹²	Amā'dikan ¹³	mō'ñ ¹⁴
daughter possessing person	old people	it is related.	There and	she
kūle'm ¹⁵	bū'sstsoia. ³	Amā'ñkan ⁹	matsoi'am ¹²	ōpē'kanbenini' ¹⁶
girl	lived, it is said.	That one and	it is related	always

¹ *sō'tim* ONE (-*m* subjective).

² *nenō'mmaidūm* OLD PEOPLE; *ne'no*, *ne'nope* the usual adjective used for referring to animate things, and standing for OLD PERSON if unaccompanied by a noun; -*m* the connective, euphonic consonant used in forming compound nouns, etc.; *mai'dū* MAN, INDIAN, perhaps from root *mai-* TO SPEAK; -*m* the suffix of the subjective case.

³ *bū'sstsoia* LIVED (from the stem *būsa-*, *bis-* TO LIVE, TO REMAIN, TO CONTINUE IN ONE PLACE); -*tsoi-* verbal suffix indicating completed action, quotative, i. e. the knowledge is not obtained by the experience of the speaker, but comes to him merely by hearsay; -*a* the usual suffix of the third person, -*n* (-*kan*), is rarely used with -*tsoi*. This may be a contraction from -*tsoi-an* (?).

⁴ *wisō'tpini* a place known locally as Big Springs, one of the main sources of the North Fork of Feather river, in Big Meadows, Plumas county, California. I am unable to analyze this name satisfactorily.

⁵ *he'nantē* ON THIS SIDE OF. Analyzable as follows: *he-* a demonstrative stem (confined chiefly to the northwestern dialect) meaning THIS; -*nan-* the nominal locative suffix meaning FROM; -*ē* probably from -*di*, the general locative suffix AT, IN, etc.: hence the whole meaning THIS-FROM-AT, A SPOT BETWEEN THIS AND THE ONE SPOKEN OF.

⁶ *ku'mmenim* A HOUSELESS PERSON; *kum-* the name applied to the semi-subterranean, circular, earth-covered lodges; -*men* the negative or privative suffix; to this is then added a euphonic *t*, and finally the subjective suffix -*m*.

⁷ *hōbo'kōdom* OWNING A BARK HUT; *hōbo'* the conical bark huts in which the poorer people lived; *hō* alone seems to be used as synonymous with DWELLING. ANY SORT OF A SHELTER OR HOUSE; -*kō* a suffix very commonly used, indicating the quality of possessing, hence *hōbo'kō* HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING A BARK HUT; -*do* the suffix of the present participle; -*m* the subjective suffix. The whole might be rendered OWNERS OF A BARK HUT.

⁸ *mai'sem* THEY. This is apparently a form synonymous with *mō'sem* or *mōi'sem*. The final *m* is the subjective suffix.

⁹ *amā'ñkan* AND THAT ONE; *amā'* the demonstrative pronoun THAT, referring to the old people, here in the subjective case *amā'm*, the *m* being changed to *ñ* before *k*, in accordance with the regular rule (see § 4, -*kan* AND).

¹⁰ *sō'ti* ONE. Here in objective case (cf. note 1).

¹¹ *pā'kūpem* A PERSON HAVING A DAUGHTER; *pā*, *po* DAUGHTER; -*kū* the same as -*kō*, the suffix meaning HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; -*pe* the suffix used generally to form the nomen actoris, etc.; -*m* the subjective suffix.

¹² *matsoi'am* IT IS RELATED. This frequently appearing form seems to come from a verbal stem *ma-* TO RELATE, TO TELL; -*tsoi-* the quotative suffix of completed action; -*a* the suffix of the third person, generally used with -*tsoi*. The use of -*m* here is as yet not clear.

¹³ *amā'dikan* AND AT THAT PLACE; *amā'* demonstrative pronoun THAT; -*di* the locative suffix AT; -*kan* the conjunction AND.

¹⁴ *mōñ* THE, THAT. The independent form of the third personal pronoun. This is used very frequently almost as a demonstrative. Here *mōñ*, instead of *mōm*, because of the following *k*.

¹⁵ *kūlē m* WOMAN, GIRL (here subjective).

¹⁶ *ōpē'kanbenini'* EVERY TIME. ALWAYS. It is difficult as yet to analyze this completely or satisfactorily; *ōpē'* occurring alone means ALL; -*kan* seems to be derived from *kani*, meaning also ALL, EACH, EVERY; *be* is the same as -*pe* (the *p* changing to *b* after *n*); the final suffix -*nini'* appears to have a temporal significance; as also in *lē'wonini'* ONCE IN A WHILE (from *le'wo* SOME).

kūlū'nanamōnihēhē' ¹⁷ evening-toward-when- almost	piyē'tonokōm ¹⁸ one who went bathing	sō'tim ¹⁹ one	kūlū'nanamaā't ²⁰ evening-toward
wonō'mentsoia. ²¹ missed-not, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and	tū'itsoia. ²² slept, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and
Nēdī'wēbissim ²⁴ Dreaming kept on	kakā'nim ²⁵ every	pō ²⁶ night	nēdī'wēbissim ²⁴ dreaming kept on
nēdī'dom ²⁸ dreaming	nēdī'ustsoia. ²³ dreamed for her- self, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and	mōpi'kno ²⁷ same one
Piyē'tonopeñkan ³⁰ One who has gone bathing and	oki'tmenpem ³¹ one not returning	ē'kdatsoia. ³² it dawned, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and
			bē'nekto ³³ morning in is said.

¹⁷ *kūlū'nanamōnihēhē'* WHEN IT WAS ALMOST DUSK; *kūlū'* is the usual term for EVENING, the early part of the night; *-nana-* a reduplicated form of the locative suffix *-na*, meaning TOWARD; *-mōni* a temporal suffix with the force of WHEN, AFTER; *hēhē'* a suffix of somewhat uncertain meaning, usually indicating doubtfulness or approximation.

¹⁸ *piyē'tonokōm* ONE WHO WENT BATHING (from *piyē'*, *piyē'to-* TO SWIM OR BATHE); *-no* is probably merely the verbal suffix of generalized motion, although it may perhaps be a contraction from *ō'no-* TO GO, TO TRAVEL, hence TO GO TO BATHE; *-kō* the suffix indicating HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; *-m* the subjective suffix, this agreeing in case with the *amā'm* in *amā'ñkan*.

¹⁹ *sō'tim* ONE. It is not clear whether this refers to the girl or to the evening. It is probably, however, the former, as, if it meant ONE EVENING, the close connection of the two words would lead to the change of the *-m* to *-ñ*.

²⁰ *kūlū'nanamaā't*. The first portion of this is identical with the first portion of the word in note 17. The final suffix is, however, a rather puzzling one. It would seem to mean INDEED, THUS, but its use is obscure.

²¹ *wonō'mentsoia* DID NOT LOSE, MISS; *wonō'* seems to mean TO LOSE, TO MISS, and must be distinguished carefully from *wō'no*, which means TO DIE. The *-soi* is the usual quotative, completed action, with the suffixed form of the third personal pronoun.

²² *tū'itsoia* SLEPT (from the stem *tū'i-* TO SLEEP); *-soia* (see above).

²³ *nēdī'ustsoia* DREAMED FOR HERSELF, IT IS SAID; *nēdī'* is a DREAM, *nēdī'm-maidū* is a DREAMER, one of the two classes of shamans. The use of the reflexive suffix *-us* here is not wholly clear. It probably means SHE DREAMED FOR HERSELF. This construction—a participle followed by a verb, or a continuative followed by a verb—is one of the most frequent.

²⁴ *nēdī'wēbissim* KEPT DREAMING. The reflexive is not used in this case. The suffix *-bissim* is formed from the verbal stem *bis-* TO REMAIN, TO CONTINUE, and is the usual continuative suffix employed, giving the sense of TO KEEP ON. It is very generally joined to the verbal stem by *-wē*, which is of uncertain meaning.

²⁵ *kakā'nim* EVERY. A reduplicated form of *kani'm* EACH, ALL.

²⁶ *pō* NIGHT. This term is generally used in reference to the whole period of darkness, or, if restricted, applies more to the middle of the night. *pō'esto* MIDNIGHT.

²⁷ *mōpi'kno* THAT SAME ONE; *mō* is the independent form of the third personal pronoun. The suffix *-pi'kno* seems to be an intensive, and to mean THE SAME, THE VERY. It is here objective.

²⁸ *nēdī'dom* DREAMING (here the present participle, formed with *-dom*).

²⁹ *piyē'tonotsoia* WENT TO BATHE, IT IS SAID (cf. note 18).

³⁰ *piyē'tonopeñkan* THE ONE WHO HAD GONE BATHING; *piyē'tono-* cf. note 18; *peñg* the suffix of the nomen actoris, *-pem* becoming *-peñ* before *k*; the suffix *-kan* is the common connective.

³¹ *oki'tmenpem* ONE NOT RETURNING, *okit-* meaning TO RETURN, TO ARRIVE AT A PLACE. Analyzable, perhaps, into *o-* (an hypothetical verbal stem connected with *ō-* TO GO) and *-kit* the regular directive suffix meaning DOWN, DOWN TO. We have, in addition, *-men* the negative, and *-pe* the suffix of the nomen actoris, with the subjective *-m*.

³² *ē'kdatsoia* IT DAWNED. The verbal form *ekda-* is related closely to *eki'* DAY.

³³ *bē'nekto* IN THE MORNING (sometimes merely *bē'nek*). The suffix *-to* in use here is obscure. It occurs in a number of similar cases, with apparently a temporal meaning.

makō' ³⁴ fish	halā'pweten ³⁵ carried having	ōsi'pindom ³⁶ coming out of toward house.	oki'tsoia. ³⁷ Arrived, it is said.	Mōbē'ikōna ³⁸ Her father to
bohū'isitotsoia. ³⁹ handed over to, it is said.	Awete'nkan ⁴⁰ Thus having been and	bū'sstsoia. ³ stayed it is said.	Bōdoi'kinūdom ⁴¹ Sitting on ground	bū'sstsoia. ³ remained, it is said.
Amā'm ⁴² That one	mayā'ken ⁴³ say they	tsai'men ⁴⁴ by and by	tseme'npe(m) ⁴⁵ one unseen	oki'tkōtsoia. ⁴⁶ arriving-quality had, it is said.
Pū'iyanan ⁴⁷ Outside, from	mayā'ken ⁴³ it was	okō'kōinpintsoia. ⁴⁸ head lowered down to- ward, gradually, it is said.	A'ñkanim ⁴⁹ Then	mayā'ken ⁴³ it was

³⁴ *makō'* FISH (here objective).

³⁵ *halā'pweten* HAVING CARRIED. We have here the use of one of the troublesome prefix-stems, *ha-*. Taken by itself, *-lap-* is a verbal stem signifying TO CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OR TO SIT, KNEES ON GROUND. Combined with *ha-*, it means TO CARRY, perhaps TO DRAG, generally by a cord or rope, here CARRYING FISH ON A STRING. The suffix *-weten* is a temporal suffix meaning AFTER HAVING.

³⁶ *ōsi'pindom* COMING OUT OF TOWARD THE HOUSE. The verbal stem here is *ō-* TO GO, TO TRAVEL, to which are added two directive suffixes, *-si* OUT OF (THE WATER), and *-pin* TOWARD. In *-dom* we have the regular present participle.

³⁷ *oki'tsoia* ARRIVED, CAME BACK. *Okit-* cf. note 31. While this is sometimes heard *oki'ttsoia*, as a rule the second *t* is elided.

³⁸ *mōbē'ikōna* HER FATHER TO. With relationship terms, the simple third personal pronoun is often used in place of the regular possessive case, as here we have *mō-* instead of *mōki'*. *Bē'ikō* FATHER is apparently analyzable into *bē'i-*, a stem meaning AGAIN, ANOTHER (*bē'im* AGAIN; *bē'ibō* ANOTHER; *bē'duki* NEW), and the familiar suffix *-kō* HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING. The final suffix *-na* is the locative suffix meaning TOWARD, expressing the motion of the gift from the girl to her father.

³⁹ *bohū'isitotsoia* HANDED OVER TO, IT IS SAID. In *bo-* another of the prefix-stems appears. This usually seems to signify ACTIONS DONE WITH A BULKY OR ROUND OBJECT. Its application here is obscure, unless the fist is thought of as a bulky thing, in which the string on which the fish are strung is held. The main stem, *-hūi-*, is uncertain in its meaning, this being the only place where it occurs. In conjunction with *bo-*, however, it has the meaning given above. The suffix *-sito* is one of the directive verbal suffixes, meaning ACROSS, OVER.

⁴⁰ *awete'nkan* AND AFTER HAVING BEEN THUS. All conjunctions, except *kan* AND, are formed in Maldu from the auxiliary verb *a* TO BE. Here with the suffix *-wete(n)* we get the idea of sequence, usually expressed in English by AND THEN. The *-kan* is, of course, the simple conjunction AND.

⁴¹ *bōdoi'kinūdom* SITTING. In this case the initial syllable *bō-* is in all probability the same prefix-stem which appeared in *bohū'isitotsoia*, in this case changed in accordance with some obscure vowel-harmony. *bō-* as a simple verbal stem means, on the other hand, TO BLOW, as the wind. The prefix-stem *bō-* here is used as a stem, taking the suffix *-doi*, a verbal directive meaning UPWARD, and often appears thus without further addition; as *bōdoi'tsoia* HE SAT. It is not clear how the idea of sitting comes from the elements *bō-* and *-doi*, unless we assume that the idea is of a round thing (the knees?) sticking up (as one sits on one's haunches). The suffix (or suffixes) *-kinū* is not clear. It is of quite frequent occurrence, but is still uncertain. *-dom* is the usual present participle.

⁴² *amā'm* THAT ONE (subjective form of the demonstrative).

⁴³ *mayā'ken* IT WAS. This frequently-appearing form seems to be derived from the stem *ma-* TO BE, with the suffix *-yak-*, which indicates past time.

⁴⁴ *tsai'men* AFTER A WHILE. Derived from *tsai* ANOTHER, and the suffix *-men*,—not the negative, with which it is identical in form, but a suffix indicating TIME OF, which is used in the names of seasons, etc. (*yō'men* SUMMER, FLOWER-TIME; *ku'mmen* WINTER, EARTH-LODGE-TIME, i. e., the period during which the people live in the earth-lodges).

⁴⁵ *taeme'npe(m)* ONE WHO IS NOT SEEN. The verbal stem here is *tae-* TO SEE, with the negative suffix *-men*, and the *-pe* of the nomen actoris. It would seem to mean, therefore, ONE NOT SEEING, but is emphatically declared, in this instance, to be passive. No formal distinction of the passive has yet been noted in Maldu.

⁴⁶ *oki'tkōtsoia* HAD THE QUALITY OF ARRIVING, IT IS SAID (from *okit-* TO ARRIVE, TO REACH; cf. note 31). The use of the suffix *-kō* has already been sufficiently explained.

⁴⁷ *pui'yanan* FROM OUTSIDE; *pui'ya* means, in general, THE OUTSIDE, WITHOUT THE HOUSE. The suffix *-nan* is the usual locative, meaning FROM, AWAY FROM.

⁴⁸ *okō'kōinpintsoia* LOWERED HEAD LITTLE BY LITTLE DOWN TOWARD, IT IS SAID. In this instance we have the use of the prefix *o-* indicating actions done with the head. The verbal stem is *-kōi-*, meaning TO LOWER, TO DEPRESS (*kōitsono-* TO SET, as the sun, i. e., to go down over the edge of the world). The reduplication of the stem here indicates that the action took place slowly at intervals. The suffix *-pin* is directive, meaning TOWARD. The *n* before the *p* is probably phonetic.

⁴⁹ *a'ñkanim* THEN. This is a connective formed from the stem *a-* and the suffix *-kanim*, meaning TO FINISH, COMPLETE AN ACTION.

lök'npinwëbissim ⁵⁰ crawling in kept	lök'npinwëbissim ⁵⁰ crawling in kept	tsä'nwono ⁵¹ one side	t!öihä'dom ⁵² coiling around
säwo'nona ⁵³ fire behind towards	opi'tinodom ⁵⁴ filling up	pü'iyam ⁵⁵ door	i'nkina ⁵⁵ base to
		opi'tsipdom. ⁵⁶ filling out.	Awete'n ⁵⁷ Then
mayä'ken ⁴⁸ it was	küle'm ⁵⁸ girl	i'nkinan ⁵⁸ bealde, from	ono'm ⁵⁹ head
tsëkö'nwëbissstsoia. ⁶¹ looking-straight continued, it is said.	Amä'm ⁴³ That one	bü'ssyatan ⁶² staid after having	sö'ntsedönüdom ⁶⁰ projecting
Lo'ksipëbissim ⁶⁴ Crawling out continued	tsai'men ⁴⁴ by and by	lö'ksipbo'stsoia. ⁶⁵ crawled wholly out, it is said.	A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then
			mö'im ⁶⁶ he

⁵⁰ *lök'npinwëbissim* KEPT CRAWLING INTO, TOWARD. The main stem here is *lök-* TO CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OR ON BELLY (*lö'kdol-tsoia* CRAWLED UP). This stem is here apparently combined with *öno* TO GO, TRAVEL (from *ö*, the simple verb of movement) to form a compound verb, TO GO CRAWLING. The suffix *-pin* is the regular directive meaning TOWARD, INTO (into the house, toward the girl), whereas the *-wëbissim* is the continuative already explained; cf. note 24.

⁵¹ *tsä'nwono* ON ONE SIDE OF THE HOUSE; *tsan-* is a stem referring to the side of anything, as *tsä'na* (*tsan'-na*) SIDEWAYS. The suffix *-wono* is somewhat puzzling. There is a verbal suffix apparently identical, indicating the past participle. Here, and again a few words farther on, it occurs in terms indicating the parts of the floor of the house.

⁵² *t!öihä'dom* COILING AROUND. The verbal stem is here *t!öi-* meaning TO COIL, TO TWIST, TO TURN, as in *ö'nöiöiöiköm* ONE WHO IS CURLY-HEADED (*ö'nö* HEAD). The force of *-ä* is not known. The final suffix is the present participle *-dom*.

⁵³ *säwo'nona* TOWARD THE PLACE OPPOSITE THE DOOR; *sä* is the term for FIRE; the area back of the fire, i. e., the other side of the fire from the door, is called *säwo'no*, and is the place of honor. The final suffix *-na* is the locative, meaning TO, TOWARD.

⁵⁴ *opi'tinodom* FILLING UP. The stem *opit-*, meaning FULL, seems analyzable into *-pit-*, a stem entering into several verbal forms (as *hopi't-waitodom* FILLING AND BURSTING; *kapi'tdom* PINCHING SOMETHING LIKE A BERRY AND BURSTING IT), and a prefix(?) *o-* of uncertain meaning, possibly the prefix *o-* indicating actions done with the head (?). The suffix *-ino* following is probably *-no*, the suffix of generalized motion, with a euphonic *i*.

⁵⁵ *pü'iyam inkina* TO THE THRESHOLD; *pü'iya*, meaning really THE OUTSIDE AS CONTRASTED WITH THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE, is often used for THE DOOR, that which leads to the outside; *-inki* means THE BASE, BOTTOM, of a thing; *-na* is the locative TOWARD.

⁵⁶ *opi'tsipdom* FILLING IT OUT. The stem here is the same as above (note 54), with, however, a different suffix, *-sip*, meaning OUT OF, OUT FROM. The idea would seem to be that of filling the space so completely as to overflow, as it were.

⁵⁷ *awete'n* THEN; cf. note 40.

⁵⁸ *küle'm i'nkinan* FROM BESIDE THE WOMAN. This should probably be written as two words, although in speech the two nouns are very closely run together. *Küle'* is the usual term for WOMAN, and *-nan* the locative meaning FROM.

⁵⁹ *ono'm* HEAD (the subjective form with the *-m*).

⁶⁰ *sö'ntsedönüdom* PROJECTING, STICKING UP. As yet not analyzed satisfactorily. *Sö-* appears in a number of verbs as a stem whose meaning is doubtful. The *-n* is probably euphonic, while *-tse* may be the common stem *tse-* TO SEE. The following suffixes appear to be *-doi*, meaning UPWARD, and the vague suffix *-nü* or *-nö*, usually indicating simple motion (*söw'e'doitssoia* CRAWLED UPWARD; *söw'e'kadoidom* STANDING UPRIGHT).

⁶¹ *tsëkö'nwëbissstsoia* KEPT LOOKING STEADILY AT, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *tse-* TO SEE, which, with the suffix *-kôn* (perhaps related to *-koi* AWAY), has the meaning TO LOOK AT, TO GAZE ON. The continuative suffix *-wëbiss* gives the idea of steadiness and fixity of gaze.

⁶² *bü'ssyatan* AFTER HAVING STAYED. The stem *büss-* has already been referred to. The suffix *-yatan* is best translated by AFTER HAVING.

⁶³ *lö'ksiptsoia* CRAWLED OUT, IT IS SAID. The stem *lök-* has already been discussed. The suffix *-sip* OUT OF has also already been referred to in note 56.

⁶⁴ *lö'ksipëbissim* KEPT CRAWLING OUT. Here the continuative *-wëbissim* is shortened to *-ëbissim*.

⁶⁵ *lö'ksipbo'stsoia* CRAWLED WHOLLY OUT, IT IS SAID. The suffix *-bo-* gives the idea always of thoroughness, completion (see § 20, no. 39).

⁶⁶ *mö'im* HE (in the subjective form).

mo'mna ⁶⁷ water to	ō'tnotsoia. ⁶⁸ went into, it is said.	Lō'kmitnowē'bissim ⁶⁹ Crawling down into continued	lō'kmitsoia. ⁷⁰ crawled down into, it is said.	Atse't ⁷¹ Meanwhile
kūle'm ¹⁵ girl	bū'sstsoia ³ stayed, it is said	ūn'di ⁷² this-in	hōbā'di. ⁷ bark-but-in	Tsai'men ⁴⁴ By and by
“Ōkoi'tapō ⁷⁴ “Let us go away	ākā'nas ⁷⁵ said (he)	nikī' ⁷⁶ me-to”	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said she, it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then
ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (the father), it is said.	“Amā'm ⁴² “That one	be'nēk ³³ to-morrow	ōnō'mākasi ⁸⁰ go-shall-I	bē'nek ³³ to-morrow
ākā'nas ⁷⁵ said (he)	nik' ⁸² me-to,”	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said she, it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	mōm ⁸³ he
ōnō'benē ⁸⁵ go-ought	saā' ⁸⁶ ?”	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	tsai'men ⁴⁴ by and by
				bū'ssyatan ⁸³ stayed after having

⁶⁷ *mo'mna* TO THE WATER; *mo'mi* IS WATER. The terminal euphonic *i* is dropped always before locative suffixes such as this; *-na* TOWARD.

⁶⁸ *ō'tnotsoia* WENT INTO, IT IS SAID. The stem here, *ōt-*, is apparently a derived stem from the common *ō-* TO GO. (May not this be a contraction from *ōmit-* TO GO DOWN INTO?) The addition of the suffix *-no* of generalized motion does not seem to add strength.

⁶⁹ *lō'kmitnowē'bissim* KEPT CRAWLING DOWN INTO. We have here the suffix *-mit-*, meaning INTO, DOWN INTO A HOLE, CAVITY, ETC., which, it was suggested, may appear in contracted form in the preceding verb. Again, the addition of the suffix *-no* seems to add little, although here perhaps emphasizing the continuity of the motion. In *-wēbissim* we have, of course, the usual continuative.

⁷⁰ *lō'kmitsoia* CRAWLED DOWN INTO, IT IS SAID. Here *-mit-tsoia* coalesces to *-mitsoia*.

⁷¹ *atse't* MEANWHILE. A connective formed from the auxiliary verb *a-* TO BE by the temporal suffix *-set*, meaning WHILE, AT THE TIME WHEN.

⁷² *ūn'di* IN THIS; *ūni'* is the demonstrative indicating objects near the speaker; *-di* is the locative suffix meaning AT, IN, ON.

⁷³ *wē'yetssoia* SPOKE. Of the many verbs of speaking or saying, *wē'yen* is one of the most commonly used. The stem is in reality *wē-*, often reduplicated as *wē'wē-*. The suffix *-ye* is one of those verbal suffixes of so general a meaning that no definite translation can be given for them.

⁷⁴ *ōkoi'tapō* LET US GO AWAY. Here *ō-* TO GO is the stem, to which is added the directive suffix *-kol* AWAY FROM; a further suffix, *-ta*, which generally seems to indicate motion upward or along the surface of something; and finally the exhortative suffix *-pō*.

⁷⁵ *ākā'nas* SAID. The stem *a-* TO SAY is probably related to the stem *ma-* of similar meaning. The suffix *-kan* is the ending of the third person of a verbal form (see § 19, no. 30). The terminal *-as* is the indication of the perfect tense, here suffixed directly to the verbal form, and not standing independent (see § 19, no. 32).

⁷⁶ *nikī'* (TO) ME. Instead of the more usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun, *nik*, what is apparently an emphatic form is here used, distinguished from the possessive *ni'ki* by a different accent and long terminal *i*.

⁷⁷ *ātsoi'a* SAID, IT IS SAID. The stem *ā-* TO SAY here takes the regular quotative past-tense suffix. Instead of the usual ending of the third person, *-a*, as here, the form *ātsoi'kan* is sometimes used. As compared with *ākā'nas* above, the position of the tense and pronominal suffixes is reversed.

⁷⁸ *amō'ni* THEN. Another connective formed from the auxiliary with the suffix *-mōni*, apparently best translated by WHEN; hence WHEN IT WAS SO.

⁷⁹ *hō* WELL! ALL RIGHT! YES!

⁸⁰ *ōnō'mākasi* I SHALL GO. Here, from the stem *ō-*, the general verb TO GO, TO TRAVEL, *ōnō-* is formed. Of which the form given is the first person singular of the future, the *-mā* being the suffix of the future tense, the *-ka* a suffix still somewhat obscure (see § 19, no. 30), and the *-(i)* the suffix of the first person singular.

⁸¹ *ōnō'tapō* LET US GO (a form parallel to *ōkoi'tapō* [see note 74], but formed from *ōnō'-*).

⁸² *nik* (TO) ME. Here the usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun is used, instead of the emphatic *nikī'* (see note 76).

⁸³ *mōm* HE (THE). The subjective form of the third personal pronoun singular, used here as a demonstrative.

⁸⁴ *hē'ū* YES!

⁸⁵ *ōnō'benē* OUGHT TO GO. The suffix *-ben* or *-benē* conveys the idea of MUST. OUGHT.

⁸⁶ *saā'* (?) I am unable to explain this.

tū'itsoia. ⁸⁷ slept, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴² That one	bē'nēkto ³³ morning in	momī' ⁸⁸ water	hēnō'tsoia. ⁸⁹ went to get, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴² That one		
mō'i ⁶⁶ him	mōkī' ⁹⁰ her	yē'pī ⁹¹ husband	tsētsoi'a. ⁹² saw, it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	makō' ³⁴ fish	pī'luti ⁹³ many-very	mē'tsoia. ⁹⁴ gave, it is said.
Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	tsā'nān ⁹⁵ on one side	momī' ⁸⁸ water	hēdoi'wet ⁹⁶ carried up having	tsā'nān ⁹⁵ on other side	makō' ³⁴ fish	sō'doi- carried	
tsoia. ⁹⁷ up in arms, it is said.	Oki'tweten ⁹⁸ Arrived after having	momī' ⁸⁸ water	sō'kitsoia. ⁹⁹ set down, it is said.	A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then	makō' ³⁴ fish		
hā'psitotsoia. ¹⁰⁰ passed across (through), it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	mē'datotsoia. ¹⁰¹ took, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴² That one	bē'nēkto ³³ morning in			
tsedā'bosim ¹⁰² breakfasted completely	kani'm ¹⁰³ all	bū'sstsoia. ³ remained, it is said.	Atse't ⁷¹ Meanwhile	lōkō'npintsoia. ¹⁰⁴ crawled in toward, it is said.			
A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then	mōka'ndi ¹⁰⁵ same place at	t'ōi'kitsoia. ¹⁰⁶ coiled up, it is said.	Sāwo'nonaki ¹⁰⁷ Farther side's	opi'tinodom ⁵⁴ filling up			

⁸⁷ *tū'itsoia* SLEPT (from the stem *tū'-* TO SLEEP). This presumably refers to the girl only, although of course it might mean all the persons in the hut.

⁸⁸ *momī'* WATER. The objective retains the euphonic *i* (see note 67).

⁸⁹ *hēnō'tsoia* WENT TO GET. As it stands, this is obscure. It seems possible, however, that it was misheard for *hānō'tsoia*, especially in view of the occurrence of the form *hēdoi'*- two lines beyond, which has the same meaning as the more usual *hādoi'*-. It is also possible that *hē-* is really correct, and is the equivalent of *hā-*, in accordance with the system of vowel-shifts in prefix-stems. In either event, the analysis is not easy, as *hā-* seems to mean ACTIONS PERFORMED WITH THE BACK OR SHOULDER. With *-no*, the suffix of motion, it seems to be specialized to mean GOING FOR THE PURPOSE OF CARRYING (ON THE SHOULDER?). The more general use of *hē-* as a prefix-stem is to indicate actions that occur spontaneously.

⁹⁰ *mōkī'* HER. This is the regular possessive form of the third personal pronoun in the singular, with the suffix *-ki* (cf. note 66).

⁹¹ *yē'pī* HUSBAND (objective).

⁹² *tsētsoi'a* SAW, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *tsē-*, the usual form for TO SEE.

⁹³ *pī'luti* VERY MANY; *pī* alone means MANY, MUCH; *-luti* is an intensive suffix equivalent to the English VERY.

⁹⁴ *mē'tsoia* GAVE. TO GIVE, TO HAND TO, TO TAKE, is expressed by the stem *mē-*.

⁹⁵ *tsā'nān* ON ONE SIDE (literally, FROM ONE SIDE *tsān-nān*), ON THE OTHER SIDE. *Tsā'nān* . . . *tsā'nān* ON THIS SIDE . . . ON THAT SIDE.

⁹⁶ *hēdoi'wet* HAVING CARRIED UP (from water). The more usual form is *hādoi'*- TO CARRY UP, generally on shoulder (see note 89). The suffix *-wet* here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that, after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.

⁹⁷ *sō'doitsoia* CARRIED UP IN ARMS. The prefix-stem *sō-* generally indicates that the action is done with the arms: as *sō'doidom* CARRYING WOOD UP; *sōhā'nōyewi'bisim* KEPT LIFTING HIM ABOUT. The *-doi* shows that the motion was up from the water toward the house.

⁹⁸ *oki'tweten* AFTER HAVING ARRIVED (at the house). See notes 31, 35.

⁹⁹ *sō'kitsoia* SET DOWN, IT IS SAID. Here again the prefix-stem *sō-* appears, this time with the suffix *-kit*, meaning DOWNWARD, i. e., action with arms downward, laying down whatever is being carried.

¹⁰⁰ *hā'psitotsoia* PASSED ACROSS, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *hāp-*, meaning TO SEIZE, TO GRIP, TO HOLD FIRMLY; with the suffix *-sito* ACROSS, THROUGH, it comes to mean TO HAND OVER TO SOME ONE, ACROSS OR THROUGH AN OPENING, FIRE, ETC.

¹⁰¹ *mē'datotsoia* TOOK, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *mē-*, apparently meaning both TO GIVE and TO TAKE(?). The use of *-da* here is not clear entirely. It often means MOTION DOWNWARD, and may here mean HE TOOK DOWN, as the girl passed the fish to him through the smoke hole or doorway. The suffix *-do* is probably here indicative of a plural object; namely, the many fish (see § 21, no. 45).

¹⁰² *tsedā'bosim* WHOLLY BREAKFASTED; *tsedā* is TO BREAKFAST. The suffix *-bos* has already been alluded to as meaning WHOLLY, COMPLETELY. In the present instance an adjectival form seems to have been made. It is subjective as referring to THEY.

¹⁰³ *kani'm* ALL (subjective).

¹⁰⁴ *lōkō'npintsoia* CRAWLED IN TOWARD (he) (see note 50).

¹⁰⁵ *mōka'ndi* AT THE SAME SPOT; *mōka'ni* is always given the meaning of THE SAME.

¹⁰⁶ *t'ōi'kitsoia* COILED UP ON GROUND, IT IS SAID. The stem *t'ōi-* meaning TO COIL, TO TWIST, has already been discussed (see note 52); here, with the suffix *-kit* DOWN, ON THE GROUND, it is clearer than before with *-hā*.

¹⁰⁷ *sāwo'nonaki* FARTHER SIDE'S. As explained before (note 53), *sāwo'no* is the term applied to the portion of the house opposite the door. With this we have here the locative suffix *-na*, meaning TOWARD, and the possessive suffix *-ki*. This use of the possessive is curious, and it would seem that some word like SPACE, AREA, ought to be understood.

pū'iyānaki ¹⁰⁸ doorward	opi'tsiptsoia. ¹⁰⁹ filled completely, it is said.	Awetē'nkan ⁴⁰ Then and	bē'ibōm ¹¹⁰ again	mō'īn ¹¹¹ she (the)
kūlē'm ¹⁵ girl	i'nkinan ¹¹² beside-from	tsēkō'nwēbisstsoia. ⁶¹ looked straight continually, it is said.	Awetē'nkan ⁴⁰ Then and	
ti'ktena bū'ssdom ¹¹³ little while staying	bū'ssweten ¹¹⁴ staying after	lō'ksiptsoia. ⁶³ crawled out, it is said.	Lō'ksipēbissim ⁶⁴ Crawling out kept on	
lō'ksipbo'stsoia. ⁶⁵ crawled wholly out, it is said.	A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then	lōkdō'nutsoia. ¹¹⁵ crawled up, it is said.		
Hanō'leknanteñkā'doidi ¹¹⁶ Honey Lake from country in	amā'nantena ¹¹⁷ that from toward	ōno'doitsoia. ¹¹⁸ went off up, it is said.		
Amō'nikan ¹¹⁹ Then and	mō'īn ¹¹¹ she (the)	kūlē'm ¹⁵ girl	wē'yetsōia. ⁷³ spoke, it is said.	"Sū ¹²⁰ ōno'si" ¹²¹ "Well! going-I"
ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (she), it is said.	Amō'nikan ¹¹⁹ Then and	mō'im ⁶⁶ he (the)	neno'm ¹²² old man	"Hē'ū" ⁸⁴ "Yes"
"Ettū" ¹²³ "Stōp!"	min ¹²⁴ (for) you	basā'kō ¹²⁵ staff	yā'tisi" ¹²⁶ make-I"	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.
basā'kō ¹²⁵ staff	yā'titsoia. ¹²⁶ made, it is said.	A'nkaniñkan ¹²⁷ Then and	pīwī' ¹²⁸ roots (magic)	kan ¹²⁹ and

¹⁰⁸ pū'iyānaki DOORWARD. A similar construction to that in note 107. For pū'iya, see note 55.

¹⁰⁹ opi'tsiptsoia FILLED UP COMPLETELY, IT IS SAID (see note 54).

¹¹⁰ bē'ibōm AGAIN (from the stem bē'i- meaning AGAIN, ANOTHER, and the suffix -bō of unknown meaning).

¹¹¹ mō'īn SHE (THAT ONE). Subjective of the third personal pronoun singular, here used as demonstrative. Phonetic change of -m to -ñ before k.

¹¹² i'nkinan FROM BESIDE; inki, meaning BASE, with the locative suffix -nan, meaning FROM.

¹¹³ ti'ktena bū'ssdom STAYING A LITTLE WHILE; tikiē alone has the meaning of SLIGHTLY, SOMEWHAT, A LITTLE; i'ktēna has a temporal meaning, A LITTLE WHILE (is this -na the locative?); the verbal stem is būss- TO STAY, TO REMAIN, and has here the present-participle suffix.

¹¹⁴ bū'ssweten AFTER STAYING (from the same stem būss-, with the common suffix -weten, meaning AFTER, AFTER HAVING).

¹¹⁵ lō'kdō'nutsoia CRAWLED UP, IT IS SAID. The directive suffix -dōn here also has the general suffix of motion -no (-nū).

¹¹⁶ Hanō'leknanteñkā'doidi IN THE HONEY LAKE REGION. It is not clear yet whether Hanō'lek is merely the Indian pronunciation of the English name, or a real Indian name itself, of which the English name is a corruption. The suffix -nan is the usual locative FROM, apparently meaning THIS SIDE FROM, i. e., between here and Honey lake. The -te is a suffix of uncertain meaning, apparently nominalizing the locative form preceding it. The -ñ is from -m before k, and is the connective. Kā'do, kodo, is the usual term for PLACE, COUNTRY, WORLD, and frequently takes a euphonic i before the locative -di AT, IN.

¹¹⁷ amā'nantena THAT PLACE FROM TOWARD; amā' the demonstrative THAT, with the locative -nan FROM, meaning THIS SIDE OF THAT PLACE, i. e., between there and here; the same suffix -te, as in the preceding word; and finally the locative (exactly the reverse of -nan) -na TOWARD, i. e., the snake crawled off toward some spot between here and Honey lake.

¹¹⁸ ōno'doitsoia WENT OFF UP, IT IS SAID; ōno- TO TRAVEL, TO GO; -doi the directive UPWARD (north is apparently always UP to these Maidu).

¹¹⁹ amō'nikan AND THEN.

¹²⁰ sū WELL! (an exclamation).

¹²¹ ōno'si I AM GOING (from the stem ōno- TO GO, TO TRAVEL). Here the suffix of the first person singular is suffixed directly to verbal stem, without the -ka which is generally used (see § 19, no. 30).

¹²² neno'm OLD MAN. Here apparently refers to one or other of the parents; from context later, this seems to be FATHER. See note 2.

¹²³ ettū' STOP A MOMENT! WAIT!

¹²⁴ min FOR YOU. The objective form of the independent second personal pronoun.

¹²⁵ basā'kō A CANE, STAFF. This appears to be from a stem bas-, which seems to mean WIDE SPREADING, SPREADING APART, from which, with the suffix -kō, we have THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING WIDE SPREAD, i. e., a staff, with which one spreads out one's support. Here objective.

¹²⁶ yā'tisi I AM MAKING. The stem yā- means TO CREATE, TO MAKE (Kō'doyāpēm THE EARTH-MAKER, CREATOR), and, with the causative -ti, seems to mean about the same, TO PREPARE, TO MAKE. Here, again, we have the suffix of the first personal pronoun singular, without the usual suffix preceding, ka.

¹²⁷ a'nkaniñkan AND THEN.

¹²⁸ pīwī' ROOTS (objective).

¹²⁹ kan AND.

basā'kōmostsū'mdi ¹³⁰ staff (cane) end-on	widā'tpaitsoia. ¹³¹ tied-to, it is said.	"Ūni' ¹³² "This	ōdi'knodom ¹³³ arriving
o'lolokdi ¹³⁴ smoke hole at	tō'sdadom ¹³⁵ standing up	tsēhē'hētsonoweten ¹³⁶ looking-over (into)-after having	wōdō'minodom ¹³⁷ throwing-into
wōdō'mkitmaā'nkano ¹³⁸ throw-down-you-shall	sāmō'estodi' ¹³⁹ fireplace-centre-into"	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	'Sikā'latset ¹⁴⁰ 'Bother-while (if)
min ¹²⁴ you	ō'hōni ¹⁴¹ something mysterious with	min ¹²⁴ you	opo'ktibōs' ¹⁴² headache cause I may.
āā'nkano' ¹⁴⁴ say-you"	ātsoia' ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	Amō'nikan ¹¹⁹ Then and	Nik ⁸² Me
Awete'nkan ⁴⁰ Then and	ōno'doitsoia. ¹¹⁸ went off up, it is said.	sikā'lamen' ¹⁴³ bother not'	amā' ⁴² that
		"Hē'ū" ⁸⁴ "Yes"	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (she), it is said.

¹³⁰ basā'kōmostsū'mdi ON THE END OF THE STAFF. Basā'kō STAFF; -m the connective; ostsū'mi THE END, POINT. The locative -di has the force of AT, ON.

¹³¹ widā'tpaitsoia TIED TO, IT IS SAID. The prefix-stem *wi-*, indicating actions done by force, generally by pulling, is here combined with the stem -*dat-*, which, in its more common form, -*dot-*, is of frequent occurrence. It has a meaning alone of TO KNOCK, apparently, but with *wi-* has the meaning to TIE. The suffix -*pai* means AGAINST, UPON, i. e., to tie or affix to, on.

¹³² ūni' THIS (objective), the demonstrative pronoun.

¹³³ ōdi'knodom ARRIVING, WHEN YOU ARRIVE (from *ō-* TO GO, and -*dikno* AGAINST, UP AGAINST; hence TO REACH, TO ARRIVE); present participle suffix -*dom*.

¹³⁴ o'lolokdi AT THE SMOKE HOLE. From o'loloko is the smoke hole of the earth-covered lodge. The terminal euphonic vowel (here *o* instead of the more usual *i*, probably depending on vowel-harmony) is dropped before the locative -*di*.

¹³⁵ tō'sdadom STANDING UP (present participle). From *tōs-* a stem meaning TO STAND; the suffix -*da* indicates motion upward or position aloft; hence STANDING UP BY THE SMOKE HOLE.

¹³⁶ tsēhē'hētsonoweten AFTER HAVING LOOKED OVER INTO. From *tsē-*, the stem of the verb TO SEE, here with a suffix, -*hēhē*, which is obscure. The suffix -*tsono*, however, is a common one, meaning OVER EDGE OF, OFF OVER DOWN; hence TO LOOK OVER THE EDGE OF THE SMOKE HOLE INTO THE HOUSE. The -*weten* is the common suffix indicating AFTER HAVING.

¹³⁷ wōdō'minodom THROWING DOWN INTO. The prefix-stem *wō-* here refers to the staff, as a long thing; *wōdō'm* meaning TO THROW OR DROP A LONG THING. The stem *dōm-* is obscure. The directive suffix -*mi*, meaning DOWN INTO A HOLE, HOLLOW, ETC., follows, with the -*no* of general motion, and the participial (present) suffix -*dom*.

¹³⁸ wōdō'mkitmaā'nkano YOU SHALL THROW DOWN. The same stem as above; *wōdōm* here takes the suffix -*kit*, meaning DOWNWARD, TO THE GROUND. The future suffix -*ma* follows, with the regular ending of the second person coming last (see § 28).

¹³⁹ sāmō'estodi IN THE CENTER OF THE FIREPLACE; *sā* is the term for FIRE; *sāmō'* THE FIREPLACE, apparently *sā-m-ō* FIRE-STONE; -*esto*, often used independently, means THE CENTER OR MIDDLE OF ANYTHING, here with the locative -*di*.

¹⁴⁰ sikā'latset WHILE, AT THE TIME WHEN HE BOTHERS; *sikā'la-* has the meaning of TO BOTHER, TO TROUBLE, TO HURT, its analysis is not yet clear; *si-* is a prefix of uncertain meaning (*si'kes-* TO COOK, *siket-* TO SEIZE, etc.). The stem -*kal-* is also troublesome. The temporal suffix -*set* here really gives the idea of WHENEVER, IF.

¹⁴¹ ō'hōni WITH SOMETHING MYSTERIOUS, BAD (magically); *ō'hō* is anything which is evil in its effects, or by magical means works harm to a person. The instrumental suffix -*ni* requires no explanation.

¹⁴² opo'ktibōs I MIGHT MAKE HEADACHE; *opo'k* is a HEADACHE (probably from *o-*, the prefix referring to the head; and -*pok-*, meaning TO STRIKE); *opo'kti-* TO CAUSE A HEADACHE. The suffix -*bō* corresponds to our English MIGHT, the -*s* being the suffix of the first person, without, in this case again, the -*ka*. This -*ka* is, however, never used, I believe, after -*bō*.

¹⁴³ sikā'lamen DON'T BOTHER, HURT (*sikā'l-*, cf. note 140). The negative -*men* is often used thus to indicate negative imperative.

¹⁴⁴ āā'nkano YOU SAY (from *ā-* TO SAY, with the regular ending of the second person).

[Translation]

There was an old couple. They lived just this side of Big Springs, and, having no earth-lodge, lived in a bark hut. These old people had one daughter, who lived with them. Every evening, just at dusk, she always went bathing, and never missed a single night. One night she slept and dreamed of something; dreamed the same thing every night. Then one night she went bathing, but did not return. In the morning she came back, however, coming out of the water toward the house, carrying fish. She handed the fish to her father and then sat down. By and by a great snake came up unseen, lowered his head through the smoke hole, and crawled in. He kept crawling in and coiling around, till he filled all the space between the area back of the fire and the door on one side of the house; then, sticking his head up beside the girl, he looked steadily at her. After a while he began to crawl out, and, crawling entirely out, went down into the water and disappeared. Meanwhile the girl stayed in the house still. After a while she spoke, saying, "That person said to me, 'Let us go away.'" Then her father said, "All right."—"He said, 'I shall go to-morrow, let us go away to-morrow,'" said the girl. Then the old man replied, "Yes; you ought to go." Then they slept. In the morning the girl went to get water. She saw her husband the snake. He gave her a great quantity of fish. Then, carrying fish on one side and the water on the other, she came back to the house. When she arrived, she set the water down and passed the fish through the smoke hole to her father, who took them. That morning, after they had finished breakfast, the snake came again and coiled up in the same place as before. He looked straight at the girl, and then crawled out and went off toward the country between here and Honey lake. Then the girl spoke and said, "Well, I am going now." Then the old man said, "Yes." Then he added, "Stop a moment! I will make a cane for you." Then he made the cane and fastened magical roots to the end of it. "When you arrive at the snake's house, stand by the smoke hole and look over into the house and throw this staff into the center of the fire," he said. "If you trouble me, I might make your head ache with something mysterious. Don't trouble me. That is what you must say," he said. Then the girl answered, "All right." Then she went off up north, after the snake.