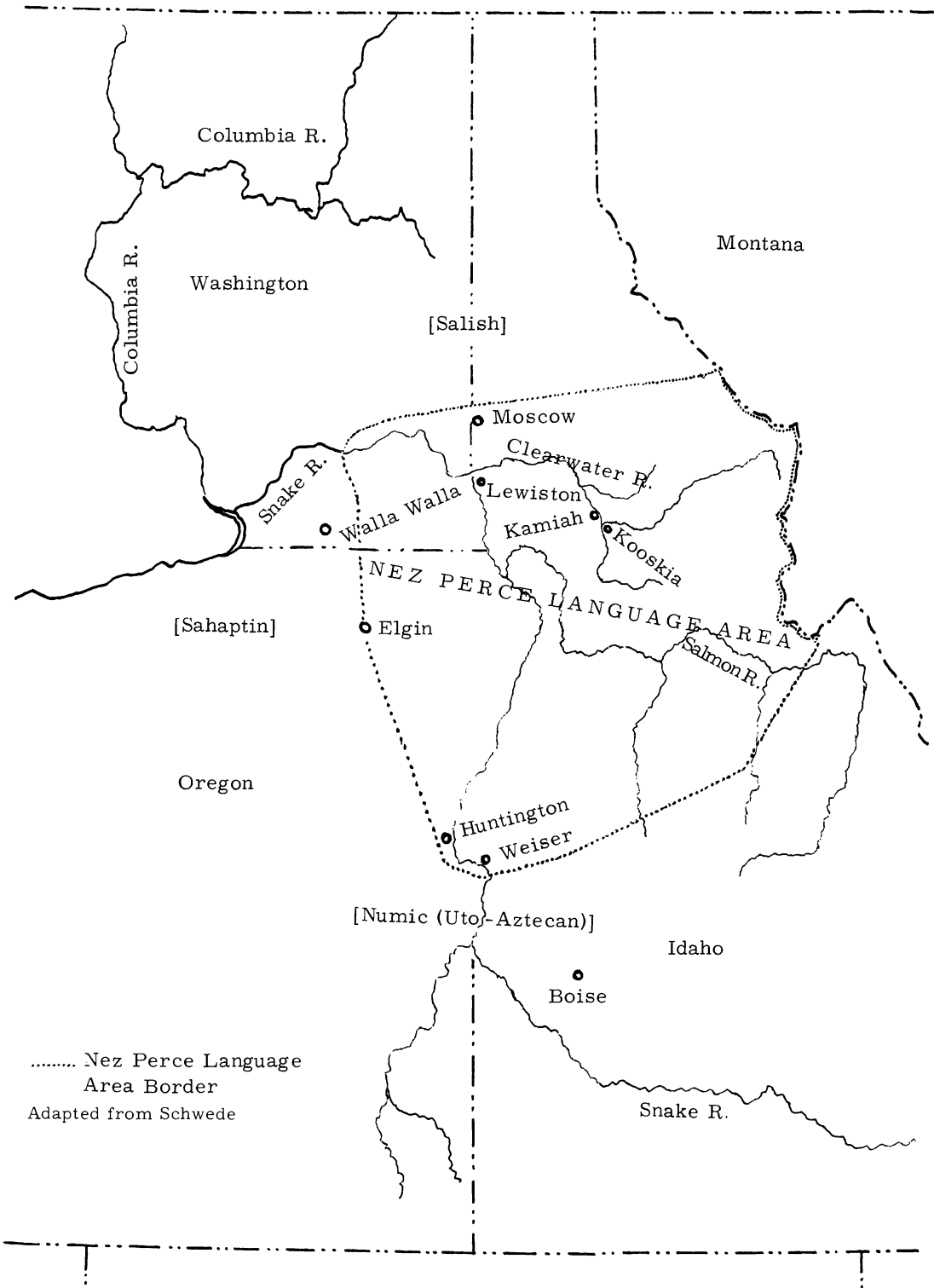


NEZ PERCE GRAMMAR



..... Nez Perce Language Area Border
 Adapted from Schwede

NEZ PERCE GRAMMAR

BY
HARUO AOKI

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PREFACE

Time is running short for the Nez Perce language. Of the 2,097 tribal members (including full- to quarter-blood members) in 1968, only a small fraction have a productive knowledge of the language. The number decreases with frightening regularity. I present this work in this form at this time in the hope that some of us may be able to use this as a point of departure in furthering more works in Sahaptian linguistics. In terms of recent theoretical advances this work is an analysis of the "surface structure" of the Nez Perce language. In the view of some workers such an analysis is a necessary preliminary to any one of a variety of possible restatements. I have attempted (to quote Teeter, who put it so aptly) "to facilitate the task of would-be restaters, rather than try to work out an 'air-tight' description which would turn out to be well-vented, as is too frequently the case in such matters."¹ The present work is offered also in the hope that it might contribute to the general discussion of theoretical points beyond the Sahaptian area.²

The field work for this description was done during the summers of 1960-1962 at Kooskia and Kamiah, Idaho, under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley, with the cooperation of the Idaho State Historical Society.

My thanks go to my teachers, William F. Shipley, Mary R. Haas, and Murray B. Emeneau, for their assistance in too many ways to mention.

My thanks also go to Sven Liljeblad for making available a valuable tape of Mrs. Agnes Moses, who was one of the last monolingual speakers of this language and had died before I reached the field; to Mr. H. J. Swinney, Director of the Idaho State Historical Society, Dr. Merle W. Wells, Historian and Archivist of the same Society, Mr. Marcus J. Ware of Lewiston, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Swayne of Orofino, Mr. William Johnston and Mr. Ladd Hamilton of the Lewiston Tribune for their kind assistance; and finally, to my teachers of the language, especially to Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wheeler and

¹Karl V. Teeter, *The Wiyot Language*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 37, p. 2 (1964).

²A note on a phase of Nez Perce (Aoki, 1966) invited some comments on its theoretical implications (Chomsky and Halle, 1968; Jacobsen 1968; Kiparsky MS; Rigsby and Silverstein, 1969).

Mrs. Elizabeth P. Wilson, whose warm hospitality and rewarding friendship will never be forgotten.

While I am indebted to many in this study, the final responsibility for any errors or inconsistencies is mine alone.

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SYMBOLS

[]	phonetic brackets (Chapter One)
[x]	"x is optional" (Chapters Two and Three)
/ /	phonemic brackets
	morphophonemic brackets
{ }	morphemic brackets
< x >	"class of items including x"
±	"in free variation with"
~	"varies with"
:	"is represented by" (between two forms)
C	consonant
V	vowel
P	stop

ABBREVIATIONS

aS	adjective stem	dT	demonstrative theme
aT	adjective theme	esT	expanded substantive theme
At	attributive	GPh	general phrase
C	connective	gvS	general verb stem
Cc	coordinating connective	gvT	general verb theme
CL	clause	H	hortatory particle
CLc	copulative clause	HW	hortatory word
CLd	dependent clause	I	interjection
CLg	general clause	IPh	interjectory phrase
CLh	hortatory clause	kS	kinship stem
CLi	interrogative clause	kT	kinship theme
CLp	possessive clause	L	locative
Cs	subordinating connective	nS	general noun stem
cvS	copulative verb stem	nT	general noun theme
cvT	copulative verb theme	nuS	numeral stem
dS	demonstrative stem	nuT	numeral theme

O	object	S	subject
Ph	phrase	SEN	sentence
ppS	personal pronoun stem	sT	substantive theme
ppT	personal pronoun theme	Vc	copula
pS	pronominal suffix	Vf	finite verb
Q	question particle	Vg	general verb
QW	question word	Vp	possessive verb

Special symbols for the section on kinship term stems (513)

(m)	man speaking	Mo	mother, mother's
(f)	woman speaking	O	older
Br	brother, brother's	Si	sister, sister's
Ch	child, child's	So	son, son's
Da	daughter, daughter's	Wi	wife, wife's
Fa	father, father's	Y	younger
Hu	husband, husband's		

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The Nez Perces called themselves /nimí·pu/. The neighboring Indians called them šíwaniš 'stranger,' šuk^Wíšuk^Wi 'dark brown' (Sahaptin dialects), sêhápten (Flathead) (Teit, 1930: 300), cugádika?a 'kows (edible root) eater,' sáiduka?a 'people under the tule' (Bannock), cóiga?a 'kows people' (Shoshoni), kúmunuitsitapi 'dark green or dark blue people' (Blackfoot).¹ The whites called them Nez Perces, Pierced Noses, Chopunnish, Blue Earth Indians, Blue Mud Indians, Green Wood Indians, and Flatheads.

/nimí·pu/ is analyzable into /nimí·/ and /pu·/. The former occurs only with /pu·/, which means 'people.' Together, they mean 'the Nez Perce people.' An apparent variant numipu is also found (Spalding, 1840; Morvillo, 1888, 1891a, 1895; Spinden, 1908a: 171). Haines has Nimapu and notes that it means 'the Real people' (Haines, 1955: 8). Curtis offers nun 'we' and pu 'people' as the etymological components, and states that Numípu or Nimípu means 'we people' (Curtis, 1911: 4, footnote 1).

šíwaniš 'stranger' is used by all the dialects of Sahaptin for the Nez Perce.² Some older people, according to Rigsby, use šuk^Wíšuk^Wi, which means 'dark brown' or 'mahogany color,' because the Nez Perces are supposed to have darker skin.

The name sêhápten and its variants are recorded by Thompson as early as 1809 (White, 1950: 72). Sometimes it was used to refer only to the Nez Perces (by Thompson, see Tyrrell, 1916; White, 1950); or only to Northern or Northwestern Sahaptin (by Tolmie and Dawson, 1884: 78-87, who call their obviously Northern Sahaptin vocabulary "Shahaptan or Nez Percée"); or presumably to S(h)ahaptin including both Northern Sahaptin and Nez Perce.

sáiduka?a 'people under the tule' apparently refers to a Nez Perce type of dwelling, and cugádika?a 'kows eater' and cóiga?a 'kows people' to one of

¹The following terms come from personal communications: Sahaptin dialects from Bruce Rigsby, Bannock and Shoshoni dialects from Sven Liljeblad, Blackfoot from Allan Ross Taylor.

²Chinook form i-šíwaniš 'he is a Nez Perce' (Dyk, 1933:108) is presumably a loan from Sahaptin.

their favorite foods. According to Liljeblad, sáidukaʔa in Oregon Paiute means 'enemy,' 'enemies.'³

According to A. R. Taylor, kúmunuitsitapi is analyzable into kúmunui 'dark green or dark blue' and tsitapi 'people'; the former is a possible loan from Nez Perce. Nez Perce has no word resembling kúmunui with the suggested meaning. However, the Nez Perce word /qemúynu·/ for the Wallawa band of Nez Percés (probably identical with kamúinu, defined as 'own name' in Bulletin 30 of the Bureau of American Ethnology) may possibly be the source of the Blackfoot form.

According to Josephy (1955: 14), Nez Perce as a tribal name was coined by the French Canadians. It was first recorded in David Thompson's Journal on March 11, 1810 (White, 1950: 96). The name derives from the early Nez Perce custom of wearing a dentalium shell through the septum of the nose as noted by Meriwether Lewis: "The ornaments worn by the Chopunnish are, in their nose a single shell of Wampom, the pirl and beads are suspended from the ears." (Thwaites, 1904-5: 4.37 f.) The custom was also noted by Thompson in about 1812 (Tyrrell, 1916: 486 f.), by Ross about 1818 (1855: 1.185), by Chief Joseph (1879: 416), by Spinden (1908a: 172), by Curtis (1911: 8.4, footnote 1), and by Teit (1930: 82, 147, 340). An early discontinuation of this custom was indicated by Parker (1838: 80) in an entry for August 12, 1835: ". . . but how will those . . . account for the Nez Percés being so called, since they do not pierce their noses." and by Ferris (Phillips, 1940: 303), who, in recounting his experiences in the Rocky Mountains from 1830 to 1835, noted ". . . there is not among the Nez-perces an individual having any part of the nose perforated."

This early discontinuation probably accounts for the view that the custom never existed and that the name is a misnomer—a view held by not a few including the authors of the article on Nez Perce in Bulletin 30. It is to be noted that Nez Perce was also used to designate the Northern Sahaptin as evident from vocabularies by Ross (1855: 1.312-323) and Tolmie and Dawson (1884: 78-87). The anglicized Pierced Noses occurred as early as the date of Lewis and Clark's first historical encounter with the Nez Percés, September 20, 1805. Numerous variants are known, including Neepercil and Nenper-saas (Henshaw and Farrand, 1910: 2.67). Occasional missing of the mark is noted in Neckpercic (Henshaw and Farrand 1910: 2.67) and Oreille Percé (Coues, 1897: 1.398).

Chopunnish was used by Clark in 1805 (Thwaites, 1904-5: 3.78). Henshaw and Farrand (1910: 2.66) suggested that this is a corrupted form of a

³That the feeling was mutual is indicated by the Nez Perce word tiwélqe, which at once means 'the Snake Indians (and other Uto-Aztecs)' and 'enemy.'

Nez Perce word Tsútpěli, a self-designation. Spinden (1908a: 172, note 1) suggested that it might be from a Sioux word Tsunitpelun, a possible corruption of the Nez Perce form. While I could not confirm Tsútpěli of Henshaw and Farrand, I learned that there is a self-designation cú·pʔnitpělu·. The verb prefix cu· means 'with a pointed object'; piʔní· (may appear as pʔni) means either 'come out of woods' or 'pierce'; t is a nominalizing suffix; and pělu· is a common derivative suffix for tribal names. The word cú·pʔnit 'pierce with a pointed object' also exists and appears close in form to Chopunnish. Clark could have changed the final t to sh on the analogy of many national names in English that end in sh such as British, Irish, Scottish, Turkish, Spanish, and so on. If this proposed etymology is correct, and I suspect it is because many instances of Chopunnish are immediately followed by the phrase "or pierced noses," then the oldest name for Nez Perce meant "nez percé."

Blue Earth Indians and Blue Mud Indians may refer (as the Blackfoot word might) to the color and material of face paint. Green Wood Indians could be a result of an evasive explanation by members of the tribe annoyed by the newcomers' curiosity, using the alternate meaning of piʔní· 'come out of woods' noted above (Aoki, 1967). Blue Mud Indians was recorded by Lewis and Clark (Thwaites, 1904-5: 6.106), Blue Earth Indians and Green Wood Indians by Henry (Coues, 1897: 2.712), and the latter again by Thompson (White, 1950: 105).

The name Flathead seems to have been applied to at least three groups: (1) the ethnic group speaking a Salish language, (2) any group practising frontal deformation, (3) any tribe inhabiting the mountainous area west of the Rocky Mountains. It is possible that in either of the latter two applications the Nez Percés may have been included.

The practice of frontal deformation among the Nez Percés is noted by Teit (1930: 168, 381 f.). Spinden (1908a: 226) refers to skeletal evidence suggesting that it may have been an ancient or occasional practice. However, the reference Chittenden makes to the testimony of an "eye-witness" that the Nez Perce delegates to St. Louis in 1831-32 had flat heads (Chittenden, 1902: 2.889) appears to be unfounded since Haines clarifies that the "eye-witness" William Walker arrived in St. Louis late in 1832, after the delegates had left the city (Haines, 1937: 78). Further, Catlin did not paint them with flat heads. Even among the Salish-speaking Flatheads who did flatten their heads, the practice may have been discontinued early, as noted by Parker (1838: 80) in 1835: "I was disappointed to see nothing peculiar in the Flat-head Indians to give them their name."

Flathead as an areal term inclusive of the Nez Percés is mentioned by Lewis and Clark. After noting that all nations west of the Rockies practiced

flattening of heads Lewis remarks: ". . . it is from this peculiar form of the head that the nations east of Rocky mountains, call all the nations on this side, except the Aliotans or snake Indians, by the generic name of Flatheads." (Thwaites, 1904-5: 4.184)

Further evidence of this use may be found in Catlin's statement: "The Nez Percés who inhabit the upper waters and mountainous parts of the Columbia, are a part of this tribe [Flatheads]." (Catlin, 1841: 2.108) and in the following phrasing in a burial certificate of an 1831 Nez Perce delegate to St. Louis: "Je sousigné ai inhumé dans le Cemetière de Cette Paroisse le corps de Keepellelé ou Pipe Bard du Nez Percé de la tribu de Chopoweck Nation appelé Tête Plates . . ." (Chittenden and Richardson, 1905: 22, note 3).

The territory occupied by the Nez Perce, according to Spinden (1908a: 172), extended from the Bitterroot mountains on the east to the Blue Mountains on the west, between latitude 45° and 47°. Thus, while mostly in Idaho, they occupied a considerable area in Oregon and Washington. The adjacent tribes were Northern Sahaptin to the west, Flatheads to the north and east, and the northern Uto-Aztecan to the south, in increasing order of enmity. The military alliance between Nez Perce and Salish against the common enemy, horse-thieves who were after the famed breed of Appaloosa, resulted in an amicable symbiosis of the two tribes. Structural borrowing from the Salish, in consequence, appears probable.

Driver and Massey (1957: 167) state that "every anthropologist agrees that man's biological evolution took place in the Old World." But we are yet to learn of the relations of the Old World languages to the present American Indians languages, the dates of their intercontinental migrations, or their subsequent development in the New World.

The evidence for human habitation in nearby areas includes the Five Mile Rapids in Oregon where continuous human occupation of a site from about 11,000 years ago up to the 1820's was established (Cressman, 1960: 66; 1962: 2), the Indian Well site dating from 7,500 to 8,500 years ago (Butler, 1959: 13) on the Washington side across the Columbia from the Dalles, the Lind Coulee site of some 8,700 years ago (Daugherty, 1956: 256), and the Ash Cave site of about 7,940 years ago in the Columbia Basin (Butler, 1962: 71). The famed Fort Rock Cave sandals have a radiocarbon date of 9,053 ± 350 (Libby, 1955: 119). Within the present Nez Perce territory, the Weis Rockshelter site indicates continuous human habitation from 7,340 ± 140 years ago to about 1400 A.D. (Butler, 1962: 28-29) with indications of volcanic ash deposits identified as eruptions of Mt. Mazama (*ibid.*: 25 f.), which are dated as having occurred around 6,453 years ago (Libby, 1955: 118 f.). The Weis Rockshelter is located in /nipéhe/ or Rocky Canyon near Cottonwood, Idaho.

Cressman notes that the time of the impact of the first Shoshonean-speaking peoples who filtered into the intermontane region may be the end of the Altithermal, that is 4,000 to 4,500 years ago (Cressman, 1960: 69), and that the date of Salish settlement in the Tillamook area may be 2,000 years ago (*ibid.*: 71). In reference to the pre-Shoshonean linguistic groups, Cressman notes that "Sapir's Penutian stock was apparently that of the old Great Basin population" (*ibid.*: 74).

Butler recognized an early culture characterized by leaf-shaped projectile points found not only in the Northwest but also in Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Chile. He called it the Old Cordilleran Culture (Butler, 1961). At Weis Rockshelter, Butler considers the Craig Mountain phase of 5500 B.C. to 1400 B.C. (Butler, 1962: 54) to be the regional expression of this culture (*ibid.*: 56). At The Dalles and in the Columbia Basin the culture was co-terminous with the anathermal period, but in the Camas Prairie region, in the Puget Lowland, and in northeastern California it persisted until a later date (*ibid.*: 56). Swanson (1962: 157) refers to the correspondence between the Old Cordilleran Culture and Penutian.

A different linguistic identification of this culture has been suggested by Daugherty, who after revising the Old Cordilleran Culture to "Northwest Cordilleran Area tradition," notes that "the remarkable correspondence, both temporally and spatially, between the concept of Northwest Cordilleran Area tradition and the apparent distribution of early Salishan languages, suggest a relationship" (Daugherty, 1962: 149).

Both Cressman and Swanson agree that Penutian preceded Shoshonean.

Still another view is expressed by W. W. Taylor, who in reference to the Macro-Penutian classification suggested by Whorf (1935: 608) notes that "if the concept of Macro-Penutian is valid, the split between Penutian and Utaztecan was thus probably in the neighborhood of 10,000 years ago and somewhere in the mountainous region north of the Great Basin" (Taylor, 1961: 75). He adds that "in fact, the Macro-Penutian speakers, as they moved southward along the western flanks of the Northern Rockies, may have been split by running into the block of Hokaltecan already occupying the desert habitat of the northern Basin." It is to be noted that Taylor's quotation begins with "if." In Taylor's statement, the suggested sequence is first Hokaltecan, then the Macro-Penutian, which later split into Penutian and Uto-Aztecan.

With our present knowledge it is premature to establish any linguistic chronology subsequent to the earliest evidence of human habitation in the area, especially in view of the possibility that neither the equation of archaeological cultures with linguistic groups, nor that of transitions in cultures with migrations is necessarily warranted. One simple possibility is that the ancestors of the Nez Perces may have occupied their present habitat for

several millennia, and that the people who occupied the Weis Rockshelter for the first time some 7,340 years ago may have spoken a language ancestral to Nez Perce.

Nez Perce, along with Northern Sahaptin, is a member of the Sahaptian family of languages. Sapir proposed that Sahaptin, Waillatpuan, and Lutuami are members of a larger group, Plateau Penutian, which in turn is a member of a still larger group, Penutian (Sapir, 1929). Sahaptian and Lutuami are probably related (Aoki, 1963b), but beyond this there is no published demonstration of Plateau Penutian as a genetic group. Besides Sapir, exploratory attempts toward the placement of Sahaptian in a larger group include Swadesh (1954, 1956), and Hymes (1957, 1964). California Penutian, proposed by Dixon and Kroeber (1919) and demonstrated as related by Pitkin and Shipley (1958), and Sahaptian, together with Klamath, probably belong to the same genetic group.

Spinden in 1908 listed some forty divisions or bands within the Nez Perce tribe (Spinden, 1908a: 174 f.). That they are geographical or micropolitical units and not necessarily linguistic subdivisions is suggested by their names which are mostly derivations of place names, e.g., /lamtá·ma/ 'Whitebird band on Salmon River' is composed of /lamáta/ 'Whitebird (place name)' and /ma/ 'from,' 'people from.'

Almost a century after the tribal relocation onto reservations, the historical dialect situation is not clear. According to the informants, all of whom live in the middle and south fork regions of the Clearwater River (Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler in Stites, Mrs. Wilson in Kamiah, Mr. Arthur in East Kamiah, and Mrs. Moody in Koskia), there is a separate dialect, which may be termed the Lower Nez Perce dialect. The dialect treated in this study, the Upper Nez Perce dialect, and the Lower dialect are mutually intelligible. This division may have some historical relevance since a similar division of the tribe was mentioned by Captain Bonneville in the early 1890's.

The scanty information may be summarized as follows:

Upper	Lower	
petkúhtu?	petk ^W éhtu?	'we will be shooting'
tukéytet	tuk ^W éytet	'hunting'
pí·tamyalon	pí·tamyanon	'chicken hawk'
célmén	cénmén	'Chinese'
mé·ywi	mé·ymi	'morning'
so·yá·po·m	so·yá·po·nim	'of the white'
maná	manáma	'how'
sepú·msise	sepí·wemsise	'I am leading'
pe?énpe?yse	pe?énpe?nse	'he takes somebody else's'

Upper	Lower	
konwacá·n	konwacá·t	'for that reason'
lí·ckaŵ	ní·čkaw	'basket cap'
kócackócac	k ^w acack ^w acac	'pointed'

The Lower dialect seems to have at least one additional phoneme /k^w/, which would mark it as the more conservative dialect of the two, according to the tentative inventory of phonemes on Proto-Sahaptian (Aoki, 1962: 173). The two sets with /l/ in the Upper dialect and /n/ in the Lower may or may not be significant since n-1 consonant symbolism (300) exists in both dialects. The set with /y/ in the Upper dialect and /n/ in the Lower in allomorphs of {e·y} (benefactive suffix) may involve an incorrect identification by informants. A. B. Smith, in reference to his linguistic observations at Kamiah in 1839-41, notes that kiansha means 'go for another,' and hahnansha means 'see another's wife, children, etc.' (Drury, 1958: 105). In the dialect of this study Smith's forms would be /kiyé·yse/ and /hexné·yse/. Smith's teacher of Nez Perce was Chief Lawyer (ibid.: 107), whose old home was in the Upper Nez Perce area of Kamiah.

It is possible that there was an extensive vocabulary limited to myths. According to Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson, there are at least the following sets, one for common use and the other limited to myths.

Common	Myth	
ʔiceyé·ye	nisé·ʔweynu·	'coyote'
wé·ɣpus	nenínme	'rattlesnake'
wé·ptes	tipiyeléxne	'eagle'
hími·n	teqelixniké·t	'wolf'
yá·ʔyax	wiskeʔyné·t	'goose'
titó·qan	netí·telwit	'human beings'
hí·semtuks (luminary)	wiyetené·t	'sun'

The words used only by older people include /nícu/ 'younger kinsman,' /no·ciwá·tɣ/ 'we alone.' The former is without a one-word equivalent in common usage; the newer and more common form for the latter is /nonciwá·tɣ/. /kí·ʔmolikam/ 'mountains' is used only in connection with the guardian spirit quest. The common word for mountain is /mé·ɣsem/.

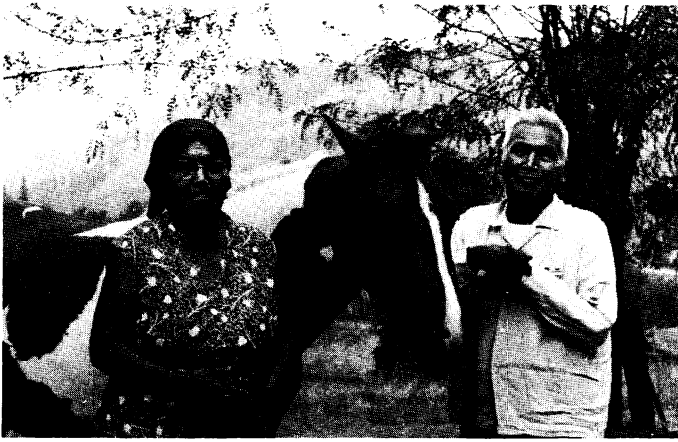
Certain phonetic modifications produce various subsystems of the Nez Perce language as spoken by different animals in myths.⁴ Phinney notes, "Fox

⁴Among others, Sapir discusses this phenomenon in his "Abnormal Types of Speech in Nootka," reprinted in D. G. Mandelbaum, ed., *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*, University of California Press, 1958, pp. 179-196.

speaks with utmost clarity and directness. Bear slurs consonants into ɫ. Skunk nasalizes in a high pitched voice and changes ɣ to x and k, s to ts, a to á." (Phinney, 1934: ix)

No corresponding information was available except for the change of n to l and s to š in Coyote's speech, e.g., /nisé·ʔweynu/ 'coyote' (in common speech) and [lišé·ʔweylu·] 'coyote' (in Coyote's speech).

My principal informants were Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wheeler (1960-61), and Mrs. Elizabeth P. Wilson (1961-62). Other informants were Mr. David Arthur, Mr. John Moffett, and Mrs. Lottie Moody.



Mr. and Mrs. Harry Wheeler



Mr. David Arthur



Mrs. Elizabeth P. Wilson
(left) and Mrs. Lottie Moody

CHAPTER II PHONOLOGY

100. PHONEMICS

Nez Perce has 36 phonemes as follows:

Segmentals

Consonants

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Velar	Post-velar	Glottal
Plain:						
Stops	p	t	c	k	q	ʔ
Spirants		ɬ	s	x	χ	h
Nasals	m	n				
Semivowels	w		y			
Lateral		l				
Glottalized						
Stops	p̣	ṭ	c̣	ḳ	q̣	
Nasals	ṃ	ṇ				
Semivowels	ẉ		ỵ			
Lateral		ḷ				

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid			o
Low	e	a	

Suprasegmentals

Length: ·

Stress: ˈ

Junctures

Phonological word juncture +

Pause form ,

Terminal contour

110. Consonants.¹ There are at least two directions in which general allophonic statements for consonants may be made: (1) according to the manner of articulation, and (2) according to the point of articulation.

1. The voiceless plain stops /p/, /t/, and /c/ are unaspirated before a vowel, moderately aspirated before another consonant, and strongly aspirated before a juncture.

The voiceless plain stops /p/, /t/, /c/ and /q/ occur in close transition when geminated. /k/ and /ʔ/ do not geminate.

The voiced continuants /m/, /n/, /w/, /y/, and /l/ are frequently voiceless before a terminal contour.

2. The dental consonants /t/, /tʰ/, /n/, and /l/ are palatalized before /u/. The lamino-alveolar consonants /s/ and /c/ are palatalized before /i/.²

/p/ (bilabial) is unaspirated and without initial closure (since the preceding segment is unreleased) after /p/ and before a vowel, e.g.,

mitíʔpe 'at a place where elderberries are'

unaspirated with initial closure elsewhere before a vowel, e.g.,

páyn 'to arrive'

ʔápa 'brick of ground camas'

weyí·letpu· 'Cayuse'

cí·kspe 'at sister-in-law's' (a woman speaking)

unreleased before /p/, e.g.,

mitíʔpe 'at a place where elderberries are'

Moderately aspirated before a consonant other than /p/, e.g.,

qepsíʔs 'evil'

múʔpc 'one-year old fawn'

walápsksa 'I jerk it away'

and strongly aspirated elsewhere, e.g.,

ʔásqap 'younger brother' (a man speaking)

céyne·sp (place name)

/t/ (apico-dental) is unaspirated and palatalized before /u/,³ e.g.,

tú·skex 'upward'

peʔtú·qes 'man-crazy'

¹The allophony describes Mrs. Wheeler's ideolect.

²In the ideolect of Harry Wheeler /s/ and /c/ are palatalized everywhere, apparently as in the dialects studied by Smith, Spalding, and Ainslie.

³/t/ does not occur, probably fortuitously, after /t/ and before /u/.

unaspirated, unpalatalized, and without initial closure after /t/ and before vowels other than /u/, e.g.,

ʔipnattiwá·tit 'telling a story about oneself'

unaspirated, unpalatalized, and with initial closure elsewhere before vowels other than /u/, e.g.,

téhes 'ice'

ʔá·tim 'arm'

ʔisá·ptakay 'parfleche'

kú·xsteyn 'to guess wrong'

ʔeʔnpté·ce 'I go to get it'

unreleased before /t/, e.g.,

weqítise 'I loudly speak'

moderately aspirated before consonants other than /t/, e.g.,

petkúhtuʔ 'we will be shooting'

wasátqsa 'I whip'

weqíwtkse 'I am cutting grass'

and strongly aspirated elsewhere, e.g.,

lepít 'two'

ʔelwéht 'spring' (season)

wehéyqt 'necklace'

keʔnípt 'to bite'

/c/ (apico-alveolar) is unaspirated, palatalized, and without closure after /c/ and before /i/, e.g.,

picpíccim 'only red fir trees'

unaspirated, palatalized, and with initial closure elsewhere before /i/, e.g.,

cíلمي 'squirrel'

hiwehcí·x 'they are barking'

unaspirated, unpalatalized, and without initial closure after /c/ and before vowels other than /i/, e.g.,

kaccaynó·myaʔc 'coyote'

unaspirated, unpalatalized, and with initial closure elsewhere before vowels other than /i/, e.g.,

cawí·tx 'wild carrot'

piké·xsce 'I am unlucky'

unreleased before /c/, e.g.,

picpíccim 'only red fir trees'

moderately aspirated before consonants other than /c/, e.g.,

lí·ckaw (place name)

léq̣excne (place name)

and strongly aspirated elsewhere, e.g.,

wálc 'knife'

pálx̣c 'snowshoe rabbit'

títeʔwxc 'chisel mouth'

/k/ (dorso-velar) is unaspirated and slightly labialized before /i/, e.g.,

kimíle 'tamarak'

ḳapskísa 'I eat from the bones'

unaspirated and unpalatalized before vowels other than /i/, e.g.,

ké·tim 'spear'

lí·ckaw (place name)

and moderately aspirated before consonants, e.g.,

tewlí·kt 'tree'

walápsksa 'I jerk it away'

/k/ does not occur before /k/ or a juncture.

/q/ (dorso-postvelar) has a spirantal off-glide without initial closure after /q/ and before a vowel, e.g.,

hiqqé·wise 'he is drunk'

has a spirantal off-glide with initial closure elsewhere before a vowel, e.g.,

qí·wn 'old man'

hiʔpsqíkeʔykse 'he is walking'

tewqequé·wit 'nightmare'

is unreleased before /q/, e.g.,

hiqqé·wise 'he is drunk'

and moderately aspirated before a consonant other than /q/, e.g.,

ná·qc 'one'

wéwpeʔqt 'to split'

wasátqsa 'I whip'

With one exception noted in 200, /q/ does not occur before a juncture.

/ʔ/ is glottal, e.g.,

ʔé·leʔ 'paternal grandmother' (vocative)

táʔc 'good'

múʔpc 'one-year old fawn'
 ʔewɣcʔúpeʔqe 'I split it by sitting on it'

The spirants are represented by the following allophones:

/ɬ/ (apico-alveolar lateral) alternates freely with a homorganic affricate between vowels, e.g.,

cú·him 'bull, steer'

elsewhere /ɬ/ is an apico-alveolar lateral spirant, e.g.,

lé·plep 'butterfly'

/s/ (lamino-alveolar) is palatalized before /i/, e.g.,

símux 'charcoal'

and unpalatalized elsewhere, e.g.,

sáway 'graveyard'

máqs 'gall'

/x/ (dorso-velar) is backed before /q/ or /x̣/, e.g.,

ʔatwíyaxqana 'I advised him'

te·xxí·cémkse 'I am angry because of cold'

and is dorso-velar elsewhere, e.g.,

watí·sx 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday'

/x̣/ (dorso-postvelar) is a fortis trill between consonants, e.g.,

pitxpá·ma 'nephews,' 'nieces'

and is a less fortis spirant elsewhere, e.g.,

tásx̣ 'grease'

/h/ (faucal), after a vowel and before a consonant, is a voiceless, non-vocalic off-glide homorganic with the preceding vowel, e.g.,

ʔelwéḥt 'year'

and is a faucal spirant elsewhere, e.g.,

há·ma 'man,' 'husband'

The sonorants are represented by the following allophones:

/m/ (bilabial nasal) is frequently voiceless in final position, e.g.,

wá·ʔwam 'head of streams'

and voiced elsewhere, e.g.,

mitá·t 'three'

/n/ (apico-dental nasal) is velarized before /k/ or /q/, e.g.,
 ʔanká·xalpx 'remove!', uncover!'

palatalized before /u/, e.g.,
 nú·snu 'nose'

frequently voiceless in final position, e.g.,
 ʔí·mn 'knee'

and is an apico-dental voiced nasal elsewhere, e.g.,
 ná·qc 'one'

/w/ (bilabial semivowel) is frequently voiceless in final position, e.g.,
 ní·ckaw 'basket-cap'

and is voiced elsewhere, e.g.,
 wú·yce 'I run away'

/y/ (palatal semivowel) is frequently voiceless after a vowel and in final position, e.g.,
 kúy 'go away!'

is voiced and with strong friction after /n/ and before a vowel, e.g.,
 konyá 'over there'

and is voiced without friction elsewhere, e.g.,
 yá·caʔ 'elder brother' (vocative)

/l/ (lamino-alveolar lateral) is palatalized and voiced before /u/, e.g.,
 ʔilú·t 'belly'

voiceless in final position, e.g.,
 ʔexcí·mil 'throat'

and is lamino-alveolar and voiced elsewhere, e.g.,
 lepít 'two'

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/p/ - /t/	pé·qt	'bark (of tree)'
	té·qt	'woodpecker'
/t/ - /c/	ʔá·tim	'come out!'
	ʔá·cim	'come in!'
/c/ - /k/	yá·caʔ	'elder brother'
	yá·kaʔ	'brown bear'

/k/ - /q/	pé·kt pé·qt	'woman's younger brother' 'bark (of tree)'
/q/ - /ʔ/	qí·wn ʔí·wn	'old man' 'urination'
/yi/ - /ʔi/	wé·yikt wé·ʔikt	'to move across' 'grease'
/wu/ - /ʔu/	wú·yce ʔú·yce	'I run away' 'I begin' (imperfect pair)
/t/ - /s/	hiwtelí·kse hiwselí·kse	'he spreads (something)' 'he stands'
/c/ - /s/	hé·cu hé·su	'firewood' 'eel'
/q/ - /x̣/	qápqap x̣ápx̣ap	'cottonwood tree' 'skin disease' (imperfect pair)
/k/ - /h/	kéhen héhen	'biceps' 'stem of plants'
/ʔ/ - /h/	ʔehétewise hehétewise	'I admire him' 'he admires'
/x/ - /x̣/	ʔawyá·xnoʔqa ʔawyá·x̣noʔqa	'I could see it as I went' 'I could find it' (imperfect pair)
/x̣/ - /h/	x̣alálalcix halálalcix	'we walk along the border' 'we cheer'
/m/ - /n/	ʔí·m ʔí·n	'you (sg.)' 'I'
/n/ - /nn/	ʔimí·ne ʔimí·nne	'knee' (object case) 'gopher' (object case)

The glottalized consonants are distinguished by simultaneous coarticulation of glottal closure, while ʔC and Cʔ are cases of preglottalization and postglottalization, the latter being very infrequent. In glottalized stops, after simultaneous closure at the two points, the oral closure is released slightly before the release of the glottal closure. As a result a slight pop is sometimes produced, e.g., ʔáyn 'to be drained.' In cases of preglottalized stops, three articulatory stages are observed: first, glottal closure; second, simultaneous glottal release and oral closure; and finally, oral release, e.g.,

ʔaʔpáwaca 'I am putting it.' In cases of postglottalization, the three stages are: first, oral closure; then simultaneous oral release and glottal closure; and finally, glottal release, e.g., hipʔímce 'it is growing.'

The glottalized stops occur word-initially and word-medially, while the general pattern seems to indicate that the glottalized continuants occur word-medially and finally. In general, the glottalized consonants are found much less frequently than their unglottalized counterparts. That /ŋ̣/ and /ḷ/ are not found word-finally is probably fortuitous.

/p̣/ is bilabial stop, e.g.,

p̣áyn 'to be drained'

ʔilp̣ílp 'red'

/ṭ/ is apico-dental stop, e.g.,

ṭáwn 'to guess in stick game'

ʔí·ṭít 'end,' 'stern of canoe'

/c̣/ is apico-alveolar stop, e.g.,

čí·x̣lu 'mountain ground squirrel'

wé·c̣ekse 'I am jumping'

/ḳ/ is dorso-velar stop, e.g.,

ḳúyc 'nine'

hi·ḳíwce 'it is sunny'

/q̣/ is dorso-postvelar stop, e.g.,

q̣áx̣no 'prairie chicken'

yoq̣opí 'that'

/ṃ/ is bilabial nasal, e.g.,

cú·hiṃayn 'for the steer'

laʔáṃ 'all'

/ṇ/ is apico-dental nasal, e.g.,

ʔa·kíṇax̣ 'I would have seen him'

/ẉ/ is bilabial semivowel, e.g.,

ʔéwní·se 'I am giving it'

kí·ẉ 'cut' (past participle)

/ỵ/ is palatal semivowel, e.g.,

ʔé·ýṣce 'I am happy'

hipstú·ỵ 'enough'

/ḷ/ is lateral, e.g.,

kiwkiwílec 'drum'

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/p/ - /p̣/	páyn p̣áyn	'to arrive' 'to be drained'
/t/ - /ṭ/	táwn ṭáwn	'to make stone tools' 'to guess in stick game'
/c/ - /c̣/	cewcé·w c̣é·ẉcéw	'whisper' 'ghost' (imperfect pair)
/k/ - /ḳ/	tukúx ṭukúx	'stiff' 'straight'
/q/ - /q̣/	qócqoc q̣ócq̣óc	'meadowlark' 'naked' (imperfect pair)
/n/ - /ṇ/	tinú·n ṭinú·n	'grass widow' 'male mountain sheep'
/w/ - /ẉ/	wá·wa ẉá·ẉa	'mosquito' 'fish hook'
/y/ - /ỵ/	hé·yey há·ỵám	'steelhead salmon' 'scratch me!' (imperfect pair)
/ʔp/ - /p̣/ - /pʔ/	ʔaʔpáwaca ʔápápá·p̣ap hipʔímce	'I am putting it' 'lizard' 'it is growing'

120. Vowels. All unstressed vowels have somewhat centralized lenis and lax allophones.

After glottalization, vowels have a pharyngealized quality, e.g.,

c̣á·no 'that man'
c̣él·c̣él 'fat, awkward'

After /h/ or /ʔ/ and before /n/, stressed vowels are frequently nasalized, e.g.,

ʔé·ni 'fool hen'
hé·nẹke 'again'

/i/ is high, front and unrounded before /·/, e.g.,
sí·s 'broth'

has a centralized on-glide after /q/ or /x̣/, e.g.,

qí·wn 'old man'
x̣í·c̣emce 'I am angry'

and is lower high, front and unrounded elsewhere, e.g.,
lepít 'two'

/e/ is lower mid, front and unrounded after /y/, e.g.,
kiyéwkiyew 'katydids'

and higher low, and unrounded elsewhere, e.g.,
ʔé·ks 'sister'

/a/ is higher low, central and unrounded after /w/ or /m/, e.g.,
máqs 'gall'

and is low central and unrounded elsewhere, e.g.,
ná·qc 'one'

/o/ is mid, back and rounded after /w/ or /m/, e.g.,
mó·łaʔ 'maggot'

and is lower mid, back and rounded elsewhere, e.g.,
ʔoylá·qc 'six'

/u/ is high and back before /·/, e.g.,
ʔú·yit 'beginning'

and is lower high and back elsewhere, e.g.,
kúyc 'nine'

In general, rounding is nondistinctive.

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/u/ - /e/ - /a/	súhuy séhey sáhay	'fat' 'worm' 'sore'	(imperfect set)
/i/ - /u/	qiyé·sqiyes quyé·squyes	'mean looking' 'bluejay'	(imperfect pair)
/u/ - /o/	qulusqú·lus qolosqó·los	'dandruff' 'esophagus'	(imperfect pair)
/i/ - /e/	nikíse nekíse	(place name) 'I think'	
/i/ - /a/	ʔa·kcí·qa ʔa·kcá·qa	'we saw it' 'I saw it'	

130. Suprasegmentals.

/·/ (vowel length) is characterized by relative tenseness in the syllable and a vowel length of approximately two morae, e.g.,

sí·s 'broth' (cf. sís 'navel')

mé·qe? 'snow' (cf. méqe? 'paternal uncle' [vocative])

ha·lálalcix 'they cheer' (cf. halálalcix 'we cheer')

/´/ (stress) is characterized by high pitch and relative loudness in the syllable, e.g.,

mé·qe? 'snow'

/+/ (phonological word juncture) is characterized by a mid-to-high glide on the following long stressed syllable, and by an occurrence of the dental allophone of a preceding /n/ when /k/ or /q/ follows, e.g.,

/nk/ : [ŋk] ʔanká·c̣kilḳsa 'I tear it with hand'

/n+k/ : [nk] ʔí·n + kú·se 'I go'

/,/ (pause form) is characterized by a clearly marked short silence. The following long stressed syllable starts with middle pitch.

/./ (terminal contour) is characterized by a slight drop in pitch, and by voiceless allophones of the preceding m, n, w, y, or l.

The following examples support the phonemic analysis given above:

/·/ - no length	sí·s	'broth'	
	sís	'navel'	
	mé·qe?	'snow'	
	méqe?	'paternal uncle' (vocative)	
	ʔa·tóʔsa	'I go out to see somebody else's'	
	ʔatóʔsa	'I go out to see mine'	
/´/ - weak stress	ʔó·q̣oꝯc	'ankle'	
	ʔóq̣oꝯc	(man's name)	
/+/ - no juncture	mú·	'cow'	
	mú	'call'	
/·/ - no length	wé·cese	'I am riding'	
	we·cé·se	'I am dancing'	(imperfect pair)
/+/ - no juncture	ʔé· + wí·ce	'you are crying'	
	ʔewí·ce	'I am sleepy'	(imperfect pair)

140. Phonotactics.

141. The syllable canon is $C_1V(\cdot)(C_2)(C_3)(C_4)(C_5)$. After a phonological word juncture C_1 may be any consonant except glottalized continuants; elsewhere, C_1 may be any consonant. V may be any vowel. C_2 , when followed by a juncture, may be any consonant except /k/, /q/, /h/ and glottalized stops.⁴ There are no consonant clusters after a phonological word juncture.

142. Prejunctural consonants and consonant clusters. In general, three-member and four-member prejunctural clusters contain two-member prejunctural clusters in final position. Namely, in $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4$, C_3C_4 are permissible final position two-member clusters (with the exception of qt and qs); so are C_4C_5 in $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4C_5$. However, in four-member clusters $C_3C_4C_5$ are permitted final three-member clusters in only seven cases out of ten examples.

No gemination or glottalized consonants are found in prejunctural clusters. It may be significant that /p/ and sonorants do not occur as the final member after stops (with the exception of /ʔ/) in prejunctural clusters.

The prejunctural consonants and consonant clusters may be summarized as follows:

C_1	$V(\cdot)$	C_2	C_3	C_4	C_5
	any vowel	$C^{-k,q,h,\acute{P}}$			
		$C^{-l,\acute{C}}$	$C^{-k,q,h,\acute{C}}$		
		$C^{-p,t,k,q,\acute{C}}$	p,t,c,q,x,y	t,c,s,x	
		p,ʔ,h,x	t,c,n,y,w,s	p,k,s x,q	t,c,s

Examples of $C_1(V)(\cdot)C_2$:

p	ʔásqap	'younger brother of a male'
t	mitá·t	'three'
c	ḡáʔwic	'sharp' (of points)
ʔ	ʔé·leʔ	'paternal grandmother' (vocative)
l	tá·qma·l	'hat'
s	téhes	'ice'
x	símux	'charcoal'
ḡ	peqíyex	'nephew'

⁴An exception is /hoqho·q/ 'hog,' a probable loan from English.

m	cú·lim	'bull'
n	tinú·n	'grass widow'
w	sá·w	'silence'
y	weté·key	'leggings'
l	ʔeḫcí·mil	'throat'
m̄	laʔám̄	'all'
n̄	qeḳé·wiñ	'drunk'
w̄	ǰí·w̄	'cut' (past participle)
ȳ	hipstá·ȳ	'enough'
í	ḫitíí	'break'

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3$:

The combinations found are as follows (Arabic numerals in the chart refer to the subsequent list of examples):

$C_2 \backslash C_3$	p	t	c	ʔ	ł	s	x	ḫ	m	n	l
p		1	2			3	4	5			
t						6	7	8			
c							9				
k		10				11					
q			12			13					
ʔ	14	15	16			17		18			
s	19	20			21	22	23	24			
x		25	26			27					
ḫ	28		29			30					
h		31									
m		32				33	34	35		36	
n								37	38		
w		39					40			41	
y			42			43	44			45	46
l	47	48	49			50	51				

1. pt ʔuyné·pt 'seven'
2. pc ǰapćǰapć 'furious'
3. ps ʔehíps 'I ate it'
4. px ʔenímipx 'toward winter'
5. pḫ sipḫsípḫ 'dirty'
6. ts só·ts 'deep water'
7. tx ʔiní·tx 'to the house'
8. tḫ pí·tḫ 'maternal uncle'
9. cx ʔá·cx 'go in!'

10.	kt	tewlí·kt	'tree'
11.	ks	pewé·yiks	'we crossed over'
12.	qc	ná·qc	'one'
13.	qs	sá·slaqs	'moose'
14.	ʔp	ʔeʔpʔéʔp	'sneaky'
15.	ʔt	kikéʔt	'blood'
16.	ʔc	táʔc	'good'
17.	ʔs	sewíʔs	'mussel'
18.	ʔx	nacóʔx	'Chinook salmon'
19.	sp	céyne·sp	(place name)
20.	st	píst	'father'
21.	sł	másł	'so long,' 'that long'
22.	ss	píss	'drizzling'
23.	sx	qilá·sx	'otter'
24.	sx̣	písx̣	'tick'
25.	xt	múxtmuxt	'small sucker fish'
26.	xc	hé·yuxc	'cottontail'
27.	xs	púxs	'inner skin'
28.	xp	pitáxp	'man's sister's child'
29.	x̣c	táx̣c	'definitely'
30.	x̣s	táx̣s	'willow'
31.	ht	ʔelwéht	'spring' (season)
32.	mt	pú·timt	'ten'
33.	ms	tíms	'chokecherry'
34.	mx	tamántoyamx	(place name)
35.	ṃx̣	pí·ṃx̣	'paternal uncle'
36.	mn	ʔí·mn	'knee'
37.	ṇx̣	sapankitá·ṇx̣	'to plant'
38.	nm	kínm	'this' (possessive case)
39.	wt	laymíwt	'small'
40.	wx	ʔiskíwx	'cut it!'
41.	wn	qí·wn	'old man'
42.	yc	kúyc	'nine'
43.	yx	ʔú·tkuyx	'take it away!'
44.	ỵx̣	ʔaỵx̣áỵx̣	'white'
45.	yn	ciwáyn	'projection'
46.	yl	kiwáyl	'this long'
47.	lp	ʔilpíp	'red'
48.	lt	qúlt	'penis'
49.	lc	wálc	'knife'
50.	lx	cú·yekilx	'close it!'
51.	ḷx̣	ʔispá·ḷx̣	'sack'

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4$:

The combinations found are as follows:

C ₂	C ₃	C ₄			
		t	c	s	x
ʔ	p	1	2		
x					3
x̣					4
h		5			
n		6			
y				7	
l		8		9	10
m		t			
w					12
y					13
x̣	c				14
c	k	15			
ʔ		16		17	
ł		18		19	
s		20			
m		21		22	
ḥ		23			
w		24			
y		25		26	
l		27			
ʔ		q	28		29
y	30				
l	x̣		31		
ʔ	y				32

1. ʔpt ce·ptukteḫéʔpt 'to crawl under'
2. ʔpc múʔpc 'one-year old fawn'
3. xpx wepsú·xpx 'to the right'

4.	xpx	ʔeqtéxpx	'to the side'
5.	hpt	wé·plehpt	'imagination'
6.	npt	wiyeʔénpt	'to carry'
7.	yps	ʔaypstáyps	'tough' (of wood)
8.	lpt	temé·ci·lpt	'encampment'
9.	lps	lílps	'mushroom, sp.'
10.	lpx	ʔanká·xalpx	'open!'
11.	mtx	ʔú·yitimtx	'come and start!'
12.	wtx	ʔá·cqawtx	'go in!'
13.	ytx	wiskeʔéytx	'go on a trip!'
14.	xcx	léqéxcx	(place name)
15.	ckt	ʔicapýó·ckt	'strip of tanned hide'
16.	ʔkt	hí·kteʔkt	'to cover'
17.	ʔks	tuxcéʔks	'get stuck (in mud)'
18.	łkt	niká·qólkt	'to remove'
19.	łks	tuké·pǫełks	'I crushed with hand'
20.	skt	sapó·ta·skt	'to blow to put out'
21.	mkt	píʔamkt	'council'
22.	mks	wislámks	'I moved'
23.	ńkt	sepé·ketińkt	'poison'
24.	wkt	taxsáwkt	'echo'
25.	ykt	wapáykt	'to wash'
26.	yks	wapáyks	'I washed'
27.	łkt	taqakálkt	'to close door'
28.	ʔqt	wéwpeʔqt	'to split'
29.	ʔqs	wé·ʔmupeʔqs	'I broke with head'
30.	yqt	wehéyqt	'necklace'
31.	łxc	pálxc	'rabbit'
32.	ʔyx	wilé·keʔyx	'run!'

Examples of $C_1V(\cdot)C_2C_3C_4C_5$:

pckt	wel'éykipckt	'to tie'
kckt	wáwtokckt	'to hatch'
ʔtktl	weʔlé·muʔtktl	'to tie hair on the forehead'
ʔmqt	we·cíʔmqt	'to get splinter in foot'
ʔnpt	kéʔnpt	'to bite'
ʔykt	quqúkeʔykt	'to gallop'
ʔwxc	títeʔwxc	'chisel mouth'
htkt	watáhtkt	'to wade out'
xskt	ʔúxskt	'I smashed with hand'
xskt _{2u}	ʔicetúxskt	'to cut open'

143. The consonants and consonant clusters that occur intervocally may be summarized as follows:

C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	C ₄
any C			
Cu, [́] c, [́] k, [́] q, [́] w	C- [́] w, [́] y		
Cu	Cu- [́] l, h	Cu-x, h, [́] p- [́] p	
p, [?] , w, l	p, t, c, s, ^x , m, n, y, l	p, c, k, q, s	t, c, k, q, [?] , s

Cu: unglottalized consonants

[́]P: glottalized stops

Examples of V(·)C₁V:

p	ʔápa	'brick of ground camas'
t	ʔá·tim	'arm'
c	ʔá·cim	'come in!'
k	hekíce	'I see'
q	ʔá·qam	'above'
ʔ	ʔá·ʔa	'crow'
l	cú·lim	'steer'
s	ʔé·se	'claw'
x	túxit	'to make fishing lines'
^x	ʔexewíkeʔykt	'to go alongside'
h	ʔe·hé	'yes'
m	ʔáma	'island'
n	ʔé·ni	'fool hen'
w	ʔá·wit	'widow'
y	ʔáyi	'younger sister'
l	ʔá·la	'fire'
[́] p	típut	'lung'
f	ʔé·tis	'red face paint'
ć	ʔećíc	'short time'
k	ʔé·kex	'magpie'
q	ʔó·qoxc	'ankle'
m	cú·limayn	'for the steer'
n	tińú·n	'male mountain sheep'
w	wá·wá	'fish hook'
y	cú·yem	'fish'
l	kiwkiwílec	'drum'

1.	pp	mitíppe	'at elderberry'
2.	pt	?isé·ptekey	'parfleche'
3.	pc	?istú·ptupce	'I cut hair'
4.	pk	cá·pki?laksa	'I gather'
5.	pq	he?lepqénut	'without shoes'
6.	p?	hip?ímce	'it is growing'
7.	pł	laťápláťap	'flimsy,' 'easily bent'
8.	ps	niké·pse	'I eat in a hurry'
9.	pꞡ	xápxap	'skin disease'
10.	pn	nexsepníx	'quite different'
11.	pw	pilepwé	'four (men)'
12.	py	?icapyó·ckt	'strip of tanned hide'
13.	pl	talí·play	'short pestle'
14.	pť	?ipté·se	'I hit'
15.	pķ	kápapkápap	'round'
16.	pǫ	qápapqápap	'tight'
17.	tp	weyí·letpu·	'Cayuse'
18.	tt	weqíttise	'I loudly speak'
19.	tc	teṭtéqetce	'I worry'
20.	tk	petkúhtu?	'we will be shooting'
21.	tq	hipetqú·ye	'they drowned'
22.	ts	?á·tsa	'I go out'
23.	tx	tátxinma	(place name)
24.	tꞡ	xétꞡet	'spine'
25.	tm	sapátma	'late season'
26.	tn	wisé·tnix	'we have been standing'
27.	tw	títwite·s	'tooth mark'
28.	ty	pí·ckatyo	'brook trout'
29.	tl	tátlo	'ground squirrel'
30.	tǫ	wixci?letpét	(place name)
31.	tť	fatťát	'easy to tear'
32.	tķ	kátkat	'cut fringes'
33.	tǫ	hipetqúlewske	'they came back in a hurry'
34.	tń	qí·tńes	'smoke hole'
35.	cp	?icpe?stúptupne	'I cut hair'
36.	ct	ká?lí·cti?maý	'civet cat'
37.	cc	káccaynó·mya?c	'coyote'
38.	ck	lí·ckaw	(place name)
39.	cq	qí·cqin	'to take care of'
40.	cs	wá·csaca	'I beat with stick'
41.	cꞡ	cicꞡemé·mkt	'elk with one horn'

42.	cm	né·cmiʔs	'I wish'
43.	cn	ʔipoʃpoqácna	'your great grandparent' (object case)
44.	cw	wacwácno	'saddlehorn,' 'pommel'
45.	cy	xaxa·cyá·ya	'man-like grizzly bear'
46.	cl	wiclekú·pt	'to break in cutting'
47.	ck	ʔickátkatin	'fringes'
48.	cq	qócqóc	'naked'
49.	kp	ʔekpí·keʔykse	'I trace it'
50.	kt	hí·kteʔke	'cover'
51.	kc	hé·wlekce	'I am disappearing'
52.	ks	ʔewní·kse	'I put it'
53.	kn	cepé·knekt	'to select the best'
54.	ky	wewúkye	'bull elk'
55.	kl	liklí·ce	'I turn'
56.	kʔ	pilawtiwa·nektípec	'anxious to be friendly'
57.	kc	watikcá·sa	'I step on'
58.	kú	cákýax	'left handed'
59.	qp	péqpe	'high noon'
60.	qt	hilíwheqteqt	'dead timber'
61.	qc	te·wčíqce	'I talk at night'
62.	qq	hiqqé·wise	'he is drunk'
63.	qs	wéʔwuqse	'I vomit'
64.	qm	tá·qma·ł	'hat'
65.	qn	wisteqné·mit	'gift'
66.	ql	ʔipeqlísne	'man's son's child' (object case)
67.	ʔp	ʔaʔpáwaca	'I am putting it'
68.	ʔt	peʔtú·qes	'man-crazy'
69.	ʔc	wá·tiwaʔca	'I am wearing belt'
70.	ʔk	hí·kteʔke	'cover'
71.	ʔq	septeqepéʔqe	'I broke it'
72.	ʔł	híteʔhíteʔ	'flat'
73.	ʔs	ʔaʔsakíwkaʔnya	'I cut his'
74.	ʔx	ʔeʔxílpíse	'I am quarreling with him'
75.	ʔm	saʔmáwas	'belt'
76.	ʔn	pú·ʔniks	'he names it'
77.	ʔw	ʔé·leʔwic	'easy to get'
78.	ʔy	tíʔyet	'laugh'
79.	ʔl	heʔlepqénut	'without shoes'
80.	ʔí	micýó·xoʔfas	'radio'
81.	ʔc	ʔé·leʔcáyn	'for father's mother'
82.	ʔq	luʔqí·ckínike·y	'south'

83.	ln	kálna	'wild currant'
84.	lt'	cepé·lt'e?kse	'I flatten'
85.	sp	paspasí·n	'rancid'
86.	st	?ástay	'awl'
87.	sc	wacáscasca	'I splash'
88.	sk	tú·skex	'upward'
89.	sq	qé·sqe·s	'dotted,' 'parti-colored'
90.	ss	kássáyno	'elbow'
91.	sx	çaxí·sxis	'goat'
92.	sh	hiné·shin	'tell them!' (in slow speech)
93.	sm	sismáxnot	'without shirt'
94.	sn	sayqisníx	'very beautiful'
95.	sw	waswásno	'chicken'
96.	sy	yo·syó·s	'blue'
97.	sl	sá·slaqs	'moose'
98.	sp'	?ispá·lx	'sack'
99.	st'	hilistéqíce	'it sticks'
100.	sc'	wacáscasca	'I splash'
101.	sk'	?iskí·í	'rock mouse'
102.	sq'	qósqos	'blackbird'
103.	xp	?ilé·puxpux	'ashes'
104.	xt	tukuxtúkux	'protruding'
105.	xc	ca·xcá·x	'wild onion'
106.	xk	peté·?mixki	'they went over'
107.	xq	qi?yaxqí?yax	'squawfish'
108.	xł	lixí·ks	'scattered rubbish'
109.	xs	?enú·xsukse	'I know by smell'
110.	xx	te·xxí·çemke	'I was angry because it was cold'
111.	xh	hewlé·xhewlex	'thin air'
112.	xm	múxmukt	'fish, sp.'
113.	xn	tukelixne?wé·t	'hunter'
114.	xw	?acixwá·ko?s	'canteen'
115.	xl	ci?mtaxló·yn	'to wear clothes inside out'
116.	xç	çíxçix	'hay'
117.	xk'	ta·xkó·mayka	'I became ill from cold'
118.	xq'	qeyexqéyex	'young chub'
119.	xn'	túxnípec	'radio'
120.	xp	poxpóqc	'great grandparent'
121.	xt	teçteqétce	'I worry'
122.	xç	caqaxçáqax	'small sore'
123.	xçs	neçsepníx	'quite different'

124.	ɣn	sismáɣnot	'without shirt'
125.	ɣw	piwɣwí·qin	'argument'
126.	ɣy	ʔéɣyew	'mane'
127.	ɣl	čí·ɣlu	'mountain chipmunk'
128.	ɣt	téɣtɣ	'strawberries'
129.	ɣc	čo·ɣcoqca	'I am sucking'
130.	ht	petkúhtuʔ	'we will be shooting'
131.	hc	hiwehčí·x	'they are barking'
132.	hk	hiweʔynéhkeʔyke	'he took her home'
133.	hs	tiʔnéhse	'(the sun) rises'
134.	hn	mú·hne	'cow' (object case)
135.	hw	ʔinahwá·latksa	'I carry fire'
136.	hy	teʔnéhyekse	'I am going up hunting'
137.	hl	mú·hlaykin	'near a cow'
138.	hq	niktéhquyimkse	'I am dragging (something) up'
139.	mp	neʔé·lempe	'my paternal grandmother's place'
140.	mt	té·mtɣlikse	'I spread something'
141.	mk	neʔé·lemki	'through my peternal grandmother'
142.	mq	hiyé·mqece	'I cry after'
143.	mʔ	há·mʔawit	'widower'
144.	ms	té·msepeye	'I pack by throwing in'
145.	mɣ	ɣoyímɣoyim	'alone'
146.	mm	pammí·wacpa	'frequently'
147.	mn	hamná·wisa	'I (a married woman) return to visit my old family'
148.	mw	neʔé·lemwécet	'because of my paternal grandmother'
149.	my	pí·tamyalon	'chicken hawk'
150.	ml	weylí·mleks	'stray one' (e.g., a dog)
151.	mʔ	ɣémʔuy	'periwinkles'
152.	mč	ʔamčíya	'I heard it'
153.	mǰ	tamǰáckac	'hail'
154.	mń	cepé·puʔlemńes	'baking powder'
155.	np	ʔinpíse	'I take it'
156.	nt	kuntemelú·kt	'the second' (e.g., a son)
157.	nc	ʔinciwá·tɣ	'I alone'
158.	nk	ʔenkitipíse	'I am tanning hide'
159.	nq	capalá·nqana	'I was working'
160.	nm	sepú·nmise	'I blow horn'
161.	nn	ʔimí·nne	'gopher' (object case)
162.	nw	ʔínwim	'last year'
163.	ny	konyá	'there'

164.	nl	patánlaykin	'near a bush'
165.	nk̓	?imu·né·nke	'they also'
166.	nm̓	?inmé·ks	'my sister'
167.	wp	ciKí·wpe	'at wife's brother's'
168.	wt	té·wti?yese	'I laugh at night'
169.	wc	tamtamáwca	'I throw too far'
170.	wk	?a?sakiwka?nya	'I cut his'
171.	wq	tewqeqé·wit	'nightmare'
172.	w?	taw?oxo?óxaca	'I cough at night'
173.	ws	wé·wsese	'I thrash beans'
174.	wh	hiliwheqteqt	'dead timber' (in slow speech)
175.	wn	qalawní·n	'beaded'
176.	ww	tewwí·ce	'I cry at night'
177.	wy	pí·wyu·cix	'we separate'
178.	wl	hé·wlekse	'I am disappearing'
179.	wł	cá·włalabsasa	'I raise front lock of hair with stiffener'
180.	wc̓	te·wc̓iqce	'I talk at night'
181.	wq̓	q̓a?áwq̓a?aw	'white horse'
182.	yp	paypayló·ya	'tattle-tale'
183.	yt	táytay	'little salmon'
184.	yc	pe·lé·yce	'I got lost'
185.	yk	tiwáyka·s	'hair oil'
186.	yq	tayqísa	'I thread'
187.	y?	?a·tway?áyn	'for an old woman'
188.	ys	sukuysúkuy	'dark' (of skin)
189.	yx̓	x̓ayx̓áyx̓	'white'
190.	ym	laymíwt	'small'
191.	yn	páyna	'I arrived'
192.	yw	mé·ywi	'morning'
193.	yy	hipeyyewicwíye	'they were poor'
194.	yl	capáylaqca	'I wound (someone) fatally'
195.	yč̓	tuké·yč̓illiks	'I am exhausted'
196.	yk̓	k̓ayk̓áyoc	'raccoon'
197.	yq̓	sayq̓isnix̓	'very beautiful'
198.	yn̓	wayáwyawnas̓	'fan'
199.	lp	wisalpó?s	'paddle'
200.	lt	taltátki	'with cedar'
201.	lk	?etelkelí·kce	'I am leading'
202.	lq	hiwa·tálqa	'it stopped'
203.	ls	čí·lilse	'I curl up'
204.	lm	cílmi	'pine squirrel'
205.	ln	k̓alk̓álna	'maggot' (object case)

206.	lw	lawí·lwit	'intelligent'
207.	ly	cilyé·xne	'fly' (object case)
208.	ll	tillá·pca	'I am lonesome'
209.	lp	cilpú·?	'ace' (of cards)
210.	lk	káلكal	'maggot'
211.	lq	pá·lqallay	'both ends'
212.	cx	xičí·c	'rubber'
213.	cn	?iné·cnehwewitise	'it is going downstream'
214.	cy	micýó·xo?fas	'radio'
215.	kp	có·yakpapt	'butter'
216.	kn	?iné·knikt	'band' (of people)
217.	kl	titeklu·ynin	'pigeon-toed'
218.	qp	seqpise	'I am scratching'
219.	qh	hoqhó·q	'hog'
220.	mt	lemtú·s	'opponent'
221.	mk	?ickumkumé·lx	'calf'
222.	mn	?imnicix	'we are here to dig'
223.	nk	?esepé·ketinke	'I poisoned him'
224.	wc	?ilcwé·wcix	'monster'
225.	wn	?ewní·se	'I put it'
226.	wl	hiléwlu·cix	'they (fish) are resting in deep water'
227.	yn	lamtaýnix	'the very last'
228.	lw	?eíwice	'I spend winter'

Examples of V(·)C₁C₂C₃V:

The combinations found are as follows:

C ₁	C ₂	C ₃	p	t	c	k	q	?	s	x	m	n	w	y	l	t'	c'	k'	q'	
p	t					1														
	c						2		3						4					
	k								5											
	?												6		7					
	s					8	9													
	x												10							
t	k								11				12							
	q								13											
	x								14	15				16		17				
									18	19	20									
	x								21	22		23	24						25	

C ₁	C ₂	C ₃																		
		p	t	c	k	q	ʔ	s	ɣ	m	n	w	y	l	t'	c'	k'	q'		
n	p															95				
	k	96																		
	ʔ															97				
w	k															98				
	ʔ																	99	100	
	s	101															102			
	x			103																
y	n															104				
	k															105				
	q															106	107			
	s															108				
l	ɣ																	109		
	p															110	111			
	c																	112		
	k															113				
	q															114				
	s	115																		
x			116																	
ń	ɣ	117															118			
	k	119																		

1. ptk taɣcáptka 'I shot (it) lengthwise'
2. pcq ʔipcqí·tit 'bird with long bill'
3. pcɣ capcɣiláyksa 'I sweep'
4. pcl lapclápc 'covered all over'
5. pks ʔecu·yeʔípkse 'I am cultivating'
6. pʔn cúpʔnit 'emerge from timber'
7. pʔl hipʔlátaca 'he goes mining'
8. psc qépsce 'I close eyes'
9. psq ʔipsqíkeʔykse 'I walk'
10. pxn tasí·pxne 'cow elk' (object case)
11. tks cú·yeti·pitkse 'I make it smooth'
12. tkw petkwéhtuʔ 'we will be shooting'⁵

⁵Mr. Wheeler gave this form, which Mrs. Wilson said belonged to the lower dialect.

13.	tqs	wasátqsa	'I whip'
14.	txs	cemitxsáway	'buckleberry bush'
15.	txm	ʔí·txme	'sister's children' (of women)
16.	txl	litxlítx	'bushy'
17.	txć	ʔatxćáʔksa	'I shoot and hit the target'
18.	txp	pitxpá·ma	'mother's brother's'
19.	txt	ʔatxtó·ca	'I am sneaking up on it'
20.	txc	ʔátxcapsa	'I shoot it lengthwise'
21.	txʔ	we·txʔipsqíkeʔykse	'I am walking in anger'
22.	txs	hitxsáwksa	'it is echoing'
23.	txm	wá·txmicísa	'I hear it in anger'
24.	txw	wé·txweñpse	'I am singing in anger'
25.	txđ	wá·txđilawksa	'I am turning around in anger'
26.	cpk	poʔpoqáćkiñix	'from great grandparent's'
27.	cqc	qí·cqce	'I take care of it'
28.	cʔl	hicʔlí·ce	'he is proud'
29.	cʔk	wicʔkóyhláhnapa	(place name)
30.	ksp	cí·kspe	'at sister-in-law's' (a woman speaking)
31.	kst	ćiʔlá·kstin	'deer claw bells'
32.	ksy	hi·semtuksyé·ye	'luminary' (personified)
33.	qcs	ʔoylaqcsikí·wpa	'six days before or after'
34.	qcn	ʔinípoʔpoqcna	'my great grandparent' (object case)
35.	qcw	ʔoylá·qćwa	'six' (persons)
36.	qst	teqsté·qs	'fern'
37.	qsm	maqsmáqs	'yellow'
38.	naqsn	naqsní·x	'only one'
39.	ʔpx	ʔeʔpxéʔp	'sneaky'
40.	ʔpt	ʔeʔpté·se	'I hit it'
41.	ʔts	sapáʔtsa	'I let it out'
42.	ʔcs	sapáʔcsa	'I let it in'
43.	ʔcn	ʔeleʔcnú·t	'without paternal grandmother'
44.	ʔks	hí·kteʔkse	'I cover'
45.	ʔqs	ʔicepéʔqse	'I cut'
46.	ʔst	ʔicpeʔstú·ptupne	'I cut hair'
47.	ʔsʔ	sapó·nmiʔsʔayn	'elderberry'
48.	ʔsn	sewiʔsníme	(place name)
49.	ʔsw	teqepsiʔswíye	'he made me upset'
50.	ʔxm	kúʔxmac	'several'
51.	ʔxs	heʔxsiʔmilwí·se	'he eats much'
52.	ʔxl	laʔxláʔx	'powdery'
53.	ʔmp	hí·tiʔmpeʔqs	'I broke it with knee'

54.	ʔmt	leʔmtú·s	'opponent'
55.	ʔmc	hí·tiʔmce	'I am kneeling'
56.	ʔmq	ʔilsté·ʔmqet	'partly burned tree'
57.	ʔmw	sáʔmwa·ca	'I wear a belt'
58.	ʔml	hí·tiʔmlikse	'I am about to kneel'
59.	ʔmk	híʔmkápac	'edge of mouth'
60.	ʔnp	ʔeʔnpíse	'I arrest him'
61.	ʔnn	tiʔnnúx	'quick death'
62.	ʔnw	keʔnwí·se	'I knit'
63.	ʔny	ʔaʔsakíwkaʔnya	'I cut it for him'
64.	ʔws	ce·péʔwse	'I select'
65.	ʔwn	ʔeʔwní·se	'I give it to him'
66.	ʔyk	hiweʔynéhkeʔyke	'he took her with him'
67.	ʔys	pá·nyaʔysa	'he makes it for someone'
68.	ʔyn	toʔynóʔayn	'crupper'
69.	ʔyy	ʔaʔyyíʔc	'dangerous'
70.	ʔyq	pikunʔmaʔyqá·l	'September'
71.	ʔlw	haʔlwíya	'I went for nothing'
72.	łks	co·lahółksa	'I slip it off'
73.	sks	wató·sksa	'I turn it off'
74.	xpk	wepú·pkińike	'right hand'
75.	xcn	léq̣excne	(place name)
76.	xcw	loxcwí·sa	'I am industrious'
77.	xck	hinúxckomayn	'to be sick from smell'
78.	xʔl	ta·xʔlá·twisa	'I am tired from freezing'
79.	xst	kú·xsteyn	'to guess wrong'
80.	xsc	piké·xsce	'I am unlucky'
81.	xcʔ	wıxcʔútekey	'pillow,' 'cushion'
82.	xcsc	ʔemú·xcsc	'I swallow it'
83.	hps	hiwwé·plehpse	'I imagine'
84.	hts	tukéhtse	'I am shooting'
85.	htq	siwléhtqisa	'I swim to the shore'
86.	mtn	ʔapolámtna	'bride' (object case)
87.	mck	temckileyleké·t	'grasshopper-like insect'
88.	mck	tamckápaʔs	'top' (toy)
89.	mkc	píʔamkca	'they are gathering'
90.	mks	q̣uyímkse	'I drag'
91.	mkf	wisq̣uyimkté·sx	'before travelling uphill'
92.	mst	ʔemsteqeʔénpse	'I am answering him'
93.	msc	ʔemscú·kwece	'I understand'
94.	msk	hímskuye	'dirty mouth' (with food)

95.	nps	ʔemsteqeʔénpse	'I am answering him'
96.	nkt	hinktí·kce	'he is dragging'
97.	nʔm	pikúnʔmaʔyqá·l	'September'
98.	wks	hitxsáwksa	'it is echoing'
99.	wʔy	yiʔyé·wʔyew	'all of a sudden'
100.	wʔt	wawʔtí·liyaxc	'woodpecker, sp.'
101.	wst	piwsteqʔné·mit	'farewell'
102.	wsw	pewswe·lú·ye	'we are going down'
103.	wxk	kewxké·wx	'brown'
104.	wny	yawnyá·ya	'Cold' (a mythical figure)
105.	yks	ʔiné·tepeleykse	'I am getting confused by talking so much'
106.	yqs	wehéyqse	'I put a necklace on'
107.	yqn	wehéyqne	'necklace' (object case)
108.	ysn	ʔaysníma	(place name)
109.	yxc	qoyxcá·l	'July'
110.	lps	tuké·pilpse	'I carry in arms'
111.	lpx	xálpxalp	'mythical figure on cloud'
112.	lcw	ʔilcwé·wícix	'monster'
113.	lks	ʔo·ciki·lksa	'I spoil it'
114.	lqs	wa·tálqsa	'I stop'
115.	lst	ʔilsté·mqet	'partly burned tree'
116.	lxc	cálxcalx	'cricket'
117.	lxp	qoqalxpípam	'among buffaloes'
118.	lxn	ʔilxni·wisix	'we increased in number'
119.	ńkt	ʔesepeketińkteté·se	'I am going to poison him'

Examples of V(·)C₁C₂C₃C₄V:

ʔpsq	hiʔpsqíkeʔykse	'he is walking'
ʔcks	captiʔwacáʔcksa	'I am ready to shoot'
ʔmks	ʔeqsímteqetiʔmkse	'I am throwing it in anger'
ʔnpt	ʔeʔnpté·ce	'I go to get it'
ʔnpt	ʔeʔnptipé·cwise	'I want to marry her'
ʔnps	wé·txweʔnpse	'I sing in anger'
ʔypt	tukéʔyptése	'I throw harpoon'
ʔyks	hiʔpsqíkeʔykse	'he is walking'
ʔlqs	ʔehísiʔlqse	'I am moistening'
ptks	ʔátxcaptksa	'I shoot it lengthwise'

pcks	wel'éykipckse	'I tie up (top of basket)'
psks	walápsksa	'I jerk it away'
wtkš	weqíwtkše	'I am cutting grass'
wɣcʔ	ʔewɣcʔúpeʔqe	'I broke it by sitting'
lpsc	qí'lpšce	'I snap eyes at'
lpsk	kálpškísa	'I eat from the bones'

200. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Nez Perce has 17 morphophonemes represented by phonemic alternations. These morphophonemes are in two groups.

- ||c||, ||k||, ||q||, ||' ||, ||' ||, ||k^w||, ||q^w||
||h||, ||H||, ||^ ||, ||e||, ||u||, ||_||, ||-||
- ||r||, ||r_i||, ||R||

210. The members of the first group show the following phonemic alternation:

- ||c|| : /s/ before ||n|| or ||w||; /c/ elsewhere, e.g.,
 ||yúʔc|| : /yúʔc/ 'poor,' 'pitiful'
 ||yúʔcne|| : /yúʔsne/ 'poor' (object case)
 ||'uylé·qc|| : /ʔoylá·qc/ 'six'
 ||'uylé·qcwe|| : /ʔoylá·qswa/ 'six' (of men)
- ||k|| : /x/ before ||k||, ||q||, ||n||, ||l|| or ||+||; /k/ elsewhere, e.g.,
 ||cemitékki|| : /cemitéxki/ 'with huckleberry'
 ||'iyelí·kqewne|| : /ʔiyalí·xqawna/ 'I drifted by'
 ||cemitknú·t|| : /cemitxnú·t/ 'without huckleberry'
 ||cemitékleykin|| : /camitáxlaykin/ 'near huckleberry'
 ||cemí·tk|| : /cemí·tx/ 'huckleberry'
 ||cemitk'éyn|| : /camitk'áyn/ 'for huckleberry'
- ||q|| : /ɣ/ before ||k||, ||n||, ||l||, or ||+||; /q/ elsewhere, e.g.,
 ||hickilí·tuɣkike|| : /hickili·toɣkika/ 'he went on back'
 ||hi'í·qne|| : /hi'í·ɣne/ 'he spoke'
 ||cí·qlu|| : /cí·ɣlu/ 'talking squirrel'
 ||tú·q|| : /tú·ɣ/ 'tobacco'
 ||tú·qise|| : /tú·qise/ 'I smoke tobacco'

||' || : Ø after ||ʔ || or ||' ||; /' / after other stops; /ʔ / elsewhere, e.g.,
 ||tísqəʔ || : /tísqəʔ/ 'skunk'
 ||tísqəʔéyn || : /tísqəʔáyn/ 'for skunk'
 ||'im'ís || : /im'ís/ 'your mother'
 ||teʔéxet'u || : /teʔéxet'u/ 'just a youngster'
 ||'inít || : /ʔinít/ 'house'

||' || : /ʔ / $\bar{\text{L}}$ /·/, e.g.,
 ||helxpí's || : /halxpíʔs/ $\bar{\text{L}}$ /halxpí·s/ 'all day'

||h || : Ø after a consonant at normal speed; /h/ elsewhere, e.g.,
 ||hiné·shin || : /hiné·sin/ 'tell them!'
 ||héhen || : /héhen/ 'stem,' 'vine'

||H || : a homorganic unglottalized stop before a glottalized stop; the same consonant before a sonorant (||m ||, ||n ||, ||l ||); Ø elsewhere, e.g.,

||kúyc || : /kúyc/ 'nine'
 ||peHkúyc || : /pek'kúyc/ 'nine each'
 ||lepít || : /lepít/ 'two'
 ||peHlepít || : /pellepít/ 'two each'
 ||pú·timt || : /pú·timt/ 'ten'
 ||peHpú·timt || : /pepú·timt/ 'ten each'

||^ ||. With vowels. || $\hat{\text{V}}$ || : /V/ when ||^ || occurs with the first vowel in a word or with the third vowel which follows a consonant cluster; and Ø elsewhere, e.g.,

||míc'íkú·ynekse || : /mićkú·ynekse/ 'I believe'
 ||himíc'íkú·ynekse || : /himćikú·ynekse/ 'he believes'
 ||míc'í·se || : /mićí·sa/ 'I hear'
 ||'emíc'í·se || : /ʔamćí·sa/ 'I hear someone else's'
 ||éné·smíc'ise || : /ʔaná·smićisa/ 'I hear them'
 ||hipé'íleléʔemkse || : /hipaʔlaláʔamksa/ 'they are all burned up'

||^ ||. With length. || $\hat{\text{L}}$ || : /·/ when ||^ || occurs after the first or third vowel after ||+ ||; Ø elsewhere, e.g.,

||hí $\hat{\text{L}}$ miyece || : /hí $\hat{\text{L}}$ miyaca/ 'I lick'
 ||hihí $\hat{\text{L}}$ miyece || : /hihí $\hat{\text{L}}$ miyaca/ 'he licks'
 ||'é $\hat{\text{L}}$ yewise || : /ʔé·yewise/ 'I am peaceful'
 ||hi'é $\hat{\text{L}}$ yewise || : /heʔéyewise/ 'he is peaceful'

||^ ||. With length and ||R ||. || $\hat{\text{R}}$ || is Ø in the reduplication and /·/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||té $\hat{\text{L}}$ mul || : /té·mul/ 'hail'
 ||R té $\hat{\text{L}}$ mul || : /temulté·mul/ 'sleet'

||k^W||. ||k^WV|| : /ku/ after ||^|| with the second vowel after ||+||; /kV/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||tûk^Weylê·kse|| : /tukeylê·kse/ 'I drive down'

||hitûk^Weylê·kse|| : /hitkuylê·kse/ 'he drives down'

||q^W||. ||q^WV|| : /qu/ after ||^|| with the second vowel after ||+||; /qV/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||tûq^Weléhnece|| : /tuqeléhnece/ 'I swim down'

||hitûq^Weléhnece|| : /hitquléhnece/ 'he swims down'

Nez Perce has extensive vowel harmony. In a harmonic sequence bounded by ||-|| or ||+|| and either coterminous with or smaller than a morphophonemic word, either the set /i/, /a/, /o/, or the set /i/, /e/, /u/ is found. The four morphophonemes ||e||, ||u||, ||_||, and ||-|| describe the harmony. Among older speakers, the harmonic sequences are frequently coterminous with morphophonemic words. Consequently, the occurrence of harmonic sequence boundary marker ||-|| is very infrequent, the main exception being foreign loans.

||e|| : /a/ with ||_|| within the same harmonic sequence bounded by ||-|| or ||+||; /e/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||tû·te?|| : /tó·ta?/ 'father' (vocative)

||'í·te?|| : /?í·te?/ 'mother' (vocative)

||pîlêqe?|| : /pîláqa?/ 'grandmother' (vocative) (maternal grandmother')

||cēwitk'ēyn|| : /cawitkáyn/ 'for wild carrot'

||lém-he·y|| : /lémha·y/ 'the Lemhi River, Idaho'⁶

||u|| : /o/ with ||_|| within the same harmonic sequence bounded by ||-|| or ||+||; /u/ elsewhere, e.g.,

||su·yé·pu·|| : /so·yá·po·/ 'the white people'

||tewé·pu·|| : /tewé·pu·/ 'people of Orofino, Idaho'

||tu?úynu|| : /tu?úynu/ 'tail'

||tu?ynú'eyn|| : /to?ynó?ayn/ 'crupper,' 'for the tail'

||cú·lim-'eyn|| : /cú·lim'ayn/ 'for the steer'⁷

||_||. ||e|| : /a/, ||u|| : /o/, ||i|| : /i/. ||_|| is phonemically \emptyset , e.g.,

||né·qc|| : /ná·qc/ 'one'

||tû·te?|| : /tó·ta?/ 'father' (vocative)

||cí·ce?|| : /cí·ca?/ 'paternal aunt' (vocative)

⁶Lemhi, originally Limhi, was named after a king by Mormon immigrants in the area ca. 1855.

⁷cú·lim 'steer' is a loan from Salish.

|| - || (harmonic sequence boundary marker) is phonemically \emptyset , e.g.,
 ||lém-hé·y|| : /lémhá·y/ 'the Lemhi River, Idaho'
 ||cú·kím- 'eyn|| : /cú·kímáyn/ 'for steer'

220. The members of the second group are morphophonemes of reduplication.

||r|| : /he/ before ||ʔi|| or ||'i||; /hV/ before ||ʔV|| or ||'V|| (V representing ||e|| or ||u||); elsewhere a sequence of a consonant and a vowel corresponding to the initial CV, e.g.,

||'ískit|| : /ʔískit/ 'trail'
 ||r 'ískit|| : /heʔískit/ 'trails'
 ||'éhew|| : /ʔéhew/ 'wounded'
 ||r 'éhew|| : /heʔéhew/ 'wounded' (distributive)
 ||héhé·cwe|| : /há·cwal/ 'son'
 ||r héhé·cwe|| : /hahácwal/ 'sons'

||r_i|| : a sequence of the following consonant and /i/, e.g.,

||téhé·c|| : /táʔc/ 'good'
 ||r_i téhé·c|| : /titáʔc/ 'good' (distributive)
 ||xéhé·wic|| : /xáʔwic/ 'sharp' (of points)
 ||r_i xéhé·wic|| : /xixáʔwic/ 'sharp' (distributive)

||R|| : complete reduplication of the following stressed sequence, e.g.,

||qíʔyex|| : /qíʔyax/ 'squawfish'
 ||R qíʔyex|| : /qiʔyaxqíʔyax/ 'little squawfish'
 ||méhqs|| : /máqs/ 'gall'
 ||R méhqs|| : /maqsmáqs/ 'yellow'
 ||'íl|| : /ʔíl/ 'reddish skin eruption'
 ||R 'íl|| : /ʔilpíl/ 'red'
 ||'éys|| : /ʔáys/ 'parsnip sp.'
 ||R 'éyc|| : /ʔaycáyc/ 'parsnip sp.'

230. Morphophonemic sequences. ||ewe|| and ||éwe|| are phonemically /u·/, /o·/, /ú·/, /ó·/.

||ewé|| : /ewé/ or /awá/.

||weyíknikuʔ|| : /weyíknikuʔ/ 'I will be flying around'
 ||peweyíknikuʔ|| : /pu·yíknikuʔ/ 'we will be flying around'
 ||wé·yiksik|| : /wé·yiksix/ 'we are going across'
 ||sítéweyiksik|| : /sitú·yiksix/ 'we are looking across'
 ||wepteméwne|| : /waptamáwna/ 'I murdered'

- || 'ewepteméwne || : /ʔoʔtamáwna/ 'I murdered (somebody else's)'
 || wé·pciʔyewcik || : /wá·pciʔyawcix/ 'we are killing'
 || 'ewépciʔyewcik || : /ʔó·pciʔyawcix/ 'we are killing (somebody else's)'
 || wéwyece || : /wáwyaca/ 'I beat with stick'
 || 'ewéwyece || : /ʔawáwyaca/ 'I beat (somebody else's)'

There are the following exceptions:

- || méwe || : /máwa/ 'when'
 || téwe || : /táwa/ 'well . . . '
 || kéwe || : /káwa/ 'so much,' 'that much'
 || kéweye || : /kéweye/ 'let them'
 || weʔléwe || : /waʔláwa/ 'Wallawa, Wash.'
 || 'ipéwece || : /ʔipáwaca/ 'I put in papoose'

|| VhV || and || V'V || show the following:

- || V₁hV₂ || : /V₂·/ ʔ /V₂hV₂ /
 || heqtí·se || : /heqtí·se/ 'I am getting old'
 || hiheqtí·se || : /he·qtí·se/ ʔ /heheqtí·se/ 'he is getting old'
 || V₁hV́₂ || : /V₂hV́₂ /
 || hé·se || : /hé·se/ 'I breathe'
 || hihé·se || : /hehé·se/ 'he breathes'
 || V₁'V₂ || : /V₂ʔV₂ /
 || 'elwíce || : /ʔelwíce/ 'I spend winter'
 || hi' elwíce || : /heʔelwíce/ 'he spends winter'
 || V₁'V́₂ || : /V₂ʔV́₂ /
 || 'éyewíse || : /ʔéyewíse/ 'I am peaceful'
 || hi' éyewíse || : /heʔéyewíse/ 'he is peaceful'

300. CONSONANT AND VOWEL SYMBOLISM

An interesting feature of Nez Perce is the occurrence of consonant and vowel alternation, mainly with augmentative-diminutive significance. /s/, /n/, /k/, and /e/ as nondiminutive forms are paralleled by /c/, /l/, /q/, and /a/ as diminutive forms. The diminutive forms indicate smallness in size, possession by the first person (in kinship terms), verisimilitude, or

contempt (in tribal names). These diminutives often occur with ||R||.

s ~ c:

- ||pé·su·yece|| : /pé·su·yece/ 'he rocks (a child)'
 ||pé·cu·yece|| : /pé·cu·yece/ 'he rocks (a baby)'
 ||R wés nu || : /waswásno/ 'chicken'
 ||R wéc nu || : /wacwácno/ 'saddle horn'
 ||neʔyé·c|| : /naʔyá·c/ 'my elder brother'
 ||'imyé·s|| : /ʔimyé·s/ 'your elder brother'
 ||neʔcí·c|| : /naʔcí·c/ 'my paternal aunt'
 ||'imsí·s|| : /ʔimsí·s/ 'your paternal aunt'
 ||'iskí·cuʔmix|| : /ʔiskí·cuʔmix/ 'Coeur d'Alene'
 ||'ickí·cuʔmix|| : /ʔickí·cuʔmix/ 'Coeur d'Alene' (in derision)

n ~ l:

- ||hité·mnes|| : /hité·mnes/ 'book' ({hité·me} 'read')
 ||kiwkiwílec|| : /kiwkiwílec/ 'drum' ({kiwkiwí} 'beat')
 ||'iceyé·ye-qen|| : /ʔiceyé·yeqan/ 'young coyote' ({'iceyé·ye} 'coyote') cf. ||qel|| in 'dog' below.

k ~ q:

- ||síkem|| : /síkem/ 'horse'
 ||ciqé·mqel|| : /ciqá·mqal/ 'dog'

e ~ a:

- ||sé·x|| : /sé·x/ 'onion'
 ||R cé·x|| : /ca·xcá·x/ 'wild onion'
 ||ké·tis|| : /ké·tis/ 'spear'
 ||R kété·tic|| : /katická·tic/ 'toy spear'

CHAPTER III
MORPHOLOGY

400. INTRODUCTION

The Nez Perce morphological word is a sequence of one or more morphemes between successive morphological word junctures symbolized as {+}. {+} is represented by free alternation of ||+|| and \emptyset , e.g.,

{yuq + 'ipn^ím + 'in^í·t} 'that house of his' : ||yuq + 'ipn^ím + 'in^í·t||
 └ ||yuq + 'ipn^ím in^í·t|| └ ||yuq 'ipnim + 'in^í·t|| └ ||yuq 'ipnim
 'in^í·t|| : /yo^x + ?ipn^ím + ?in^í·t/ └ /yo^x + ?ipn^ím in^í·t/ └
 /yo^qipn^ím + ?in^í·t/ └ /yo^qipn^ím in^í·t/.

The morphological word is either identical with or larger than the theme, which, in turn, is either identical with or larger than the stem.

There are three morphological word classes internally defined: substantives, verbs, and particles. These are differentiated by discrete sets of affixes or by the absence of affixes.

500. SUBSTANTIVES

Substantive stems are discussed in 510 and substantive themes are discussed in 520.

510. Substantive stems. There are six stem classes.

511. General noun stems (nS) : one or two general noun root morphemes.

Three factors determine the allomorphs of general noun stems; the first is morphological, the others are phonological: (1) the absence or presence of affixes, (2) the absence or presence of stress in the affix, (3) whether or not the initial consonant of the suffix is a voiced continuant. The combination of these three results in five sets of environments:

- I. No affixes.
- II. Followed by an unstressed suffix with initial voiced continuant, e.g., {nim}, {ne}.

- III. Followed by an unstressed suffix with initial voiceless stops, e.g., {pe}, {cim}, {k}, {kek}, {ki}, {ki^hnik}.
- IV. Followed by a stressed suffix with initial voiced continuant, e.g., {léykin}, {níme}, {nú·t}.
- V. Followed by a stressed suffix with initial voiceless stops or glottalization, e.g., {pípem}, {éyn}.

The alternation between allomorphs of a general noun may be summarized as a difference in the number of segments, in length, and in stress.

Of segmental differences there is but one, namely, the stem-final t, which alternates with zero in environments II and IV. Others involve vowels, the most frequent being the alternation between C^h(·)CC in environment I and CVC^hC in environments II and III.

Length difference may be observed in the alternation between final short vowels in environments I, IV, and V and final long vowels in II and III. This alternation is morphologically conditioned.

Stress difference is generally characterized by stressed allomorphs in environments I, II, and III and stressed allomorphs in IV and V. Though there are exceptions, allomorphs in II and III tend to occur with the stress placed closer to the stem-final position than in I.

The types of allomorphy and examples are as follows:

1. {weḡwéqt} type. The members of this type have six allomorphs, two forms in environment V. An example is {weḡwéqt} 'frog'

- I. {weḡwéqt +} : ||weḡwéqt|| : /weḡwéqt/ 'frog'
- II. {weḡwéqt ne} : ||weḡweqé ne|| : /weḡweqéne/ 'frog' (object)
- III. {weḡwéqt pe} : ||weḡweqét pe|| : /weḡweqétpe/ 'at the frog'
- IV. {weḡwéqt nime} : ||weḡweqe nime|| : /weḡweqeníme/ 'Frog-Place'
- Va. {weḡwéqt 'éyn} : ||weḡweqt - 'éyn|| : /weḡweqtáyn/ 'for a frog'
- Vb. {weḡwéqt pípem} : ||weḡweqet pípem|| : /weḡweqetpípem/ 'among frogs'

2. {telétet} type. The members of this type have five allomorphs. An example is {telétet} 'cedar.'

- I. {telétet +} : ||telétet|| : /talátat/ 'cedar'
- II. {telétet ne} : ||telté ne|| : /taltána/ 'cedar' (object)
- III. {telétet pe} : ||teltét pe|| : /taltátpa/ 'at the cedar'
- IV. {telétet níme} : ||telte níme|| : /taltaníma/ 'Cedar-Place'
- V. {telétet pípem} : ||teltet pípem|| : /taltatpípam/ 'among cedars'

3. {cé·qet} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs. An example is {cé·qet} 'raspberry.'

- I. {cé·qet +} : ||cé·qet|| : /cé·qet/ 'raspberry'
 II. {cé·qet ne} : ||ceqé· ne|| : /ceqé·ne/ 'raspberry' (object)
 III. {cé·qet pe} : ||ceqé·t pe|| : /ceqé·tpe/ 'at raspberry'
 IV and V. {cé·qet níme} : ||ceqet níme|| : /ceqetníme/ 'Raspberry-Place'
 {cé·qet pípem} : ||ceqet pipem|| : /ceqetpípem/ 'among rasp-berries'

4. {té·mses} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs. An example is {té·mses} 'wild rose.'

- I. {té·mses +} : ||té·mses|| : /tá·msas/ 'wild rose'
 II and III. {té·mses nim} : ||tesé·s nim|| : /tamsá·snim/ 'wild rose'
 (possessive-nominative)
 {té·mses pe} : ||temsé·s pe|| : /tamsá·spa/ 'at the wild rose'
 IV. {té·mses nú·t} : ||temses nú·t|| : /tamsasnó·t/ 'without wild rose'
 V. {té·mses éyn} : ||temse·s éyn|| : /tamsa·sáyn/ 'for wild rose'

5. {qé·msit} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs. An example is {qé·msit} 'kows' (edible root) (lomatium kaus).

- I and III. {qé·msit +} : ||qé·msit|| : /qá·msit/ 'kows'
 II. {qé·msit ne} : ||qé·msi ne|| & ||qé·msit ne|| : /qá·msina/ &
 /qá·msitna/ 'kows' (object)
 IV. {qé·msit nú·t} : ||qemsi nú·t|| & ||qemsit nú·t|| : /qamsinó·t/ &
 /qamsitnó·t/ 'without kows'
 V. {qé·msit pípem} : ||qemsit pípem|| : /qamsitpíbam/ 'among kows'

6. {qequí·t} type. The members of this type have four allomorphs, with two freely alternating allomorphs each in environments II and III. An example is {qequí·t} 'root somewhat like kows.'

- I. {qequí·t +} : ||qequí·t|| : /qequí·t/ 'qequí·t'
 II. {qequí·t ne} : ||qequí· ne|| & ||qequí·t ne|| : /qequí·ne/ & /qequí·tne/
 'qequí·t' (object)
 III. {qequí·t pe} : ||qequí·t pe|| & ||qequí·t pe|| : /qequí·tpe/ & /qequí·tpe/
 'at qequí·t'
 IV and V. {qequí·t pípem} : ||qequí·t pípem|| : /qequí·tpíbam/ 'among qequí·t'
 {qequí·t nú·t} : ||qequí·t nú·t|| : /qequí·tnú·t/ 'without qequí·t'

7. {pé·ps} type. The members of this type have three allomorphs. An example is {pé·ps} 'red fir tree.'

- I. {pé·ps +} : ||pé·ps|| : /pá·ps/ 'red fir tree'
 II and III. {pé·ps nim} : ||pepés nim|| : /papásnim/ 'red fir tree' (possessive-nominative)
 IV and V. {pé·ps pípem} : ||peps pípem|| : /papsípam/ 'among red fir trees'
 Other examples in this type are {sí·ks} 'nest,' {pí·ps} 'bone,' {é·yɣ} 'white salmon.'

8. {hié·n} type. The members of this type have three allomorphs. An example is {hié·n} 'bitterroot.'

- I, II and III. {hié·n +} : ||hié·n|| : /hiá·n/ 'bitterroot'
 {hié·n ne} : ||hié·n ne|| : /hiá·nna/ 'bitterroot' (object)
 {hié·n k} : ||hié·n k|| : /hiá·nx/ 'to bitterroot'
 IV. {hié·n nú·t} : ||hié·n nú·t|| : /hiánnó·t/ 'without bitterroot'
 V. {hié·n pípem} : ||hié·n pípem|| : /hiá·npípa/ 'among bitter-
 roots'

9. {yé·ke?} type. The members of this type have two allomorphs. An example is {yé·ke?} 'brown bear.'

- I, II and III. {yé·ke? +} : ||yé·ke?|| : /yá·ka?/ 'brown bear'
 {yé·ke? ne} : ||yé·ke? ne|| : /yá·ka?na/ 'brown bear' (object)
 {yé·ke? pe} : ||yé·ke? pe|| : /yá·ka?pa/ 'at the brown bear'
 IV and V. {yé·ke? níme} : ||yé·ke? níme|| : /yaka?níma/ 'Brown Bear
 Place'
 {yé·ke? pípem} : ||yé·ke? pípem|| : /yaka?pípa/ 'among
 brown bears'

The frequency of the nine types in a sample of 52 general noun stems is:

Type	Environments					Number of Allomorphs	Frequency (percent)
	I	II	III	IV	V		
{ <u>wexwéqt</u> }	1	2	3	4	5 6	6	1.9
{ <u>teléttet</u> }	1	2	3	4	5	5	3.8
{ <u>cé·qet</u> }	1	2	3	4		4	1.9
{ <u>té·mses</u> }	1	2		3	4	4	3.8
{ <u>qé·msit</u> }	1	1 ~ 2	1	3 ~ 4	4	4	1.9
{ <u>qequí·t</u> }	1	1 ~ 2	1 ~ 3	4		4	1.9
{ <u>pé·ps</u> }	1	2		3		3	53.8
{ <u>hié·n</u> }	1			2	3	3	3.8
{ <u>yé·ke?</u> }	1			2		2	25.0

In compound stems, the maximal number of constituent morphemes appears to be two. As in monomorphemic stems the allomorphic variation is in number of segmentals, in length, and in stress. Unlike monomorphemic stem allomorphs, some morphemes with consonant-final allomorphs before a morphological word juncture have allomorphs ending in a stressed vowel when they are the first member in a compound. Though there are exceptions, the second member tends to have unstressed allomorphs.

|| hecwelé· miyeʔc || : /hacwalá·miyaʔc/ 'son'

|| hé·cwel || : /há·cwal/ 'boy'

|| miyéʔc || : /miyáʔc/ 'child'

|| cewitéx si·s || : /cawitáxsi·s/ 'carrot soup'

|| cewí·tk || : /cawí·tx/ 'wild carrot'

|| sí·s || : /sí·s/ 'broth'

|| 'ele télu || : /ʔalatálo/ 'yellowjacket'

|| 'é·le || : /ʔá·la/ 'fire'

|| té·lu || : /tá·lo/ 'testes'

|| piyéxc 'ini·t || : /piyéxc'ini·t/ 'Mt. Idaho' (from its shape)

|| píyexs || : /píyexs/ 'rawhide strap'

|| 'iní·t || : /ʔiní·t/ 'house,' 'tepee'

512. Numeral stems (nuS) : any numeral. The numeral allomorphy may be summarized as follows:

After	Stem	Before								
		{+}	{ne}	{t}	{we +}	{we nik}	{eʔéle}	{éhem}	{hú·sus}	{eʔéptit}
+	{né·qc} '1'	né·qc	=	∅	né·qc	neqc	nexc	neqc	∅	∅
+	{lep} '2'	∅	∅	lepi	lep	=	=	=	=	1
+	{mité·}	∅	∅	mité·	mité		mit	=	=	=
pí·	{lep} 2x '2'	∅	∅	lep	=	*	lep	=	=	=
+	{pé·xe} '5'	∅	∅	pé·xe	pé·x	peḡ	peq	pe·q	pé·q	pe·q ¹ peq ²
'uy	{né·qc} 5+'1'	lé·qc	=	∅	lé·qc	*	leqc	=	=	leqs
'uy	{lep} 5+'2'	∅	∅	né·p	=	nep	=	=	=	n
'uy	{mité·} 5+'3'	∅	∅	mété	=	mete	mit	=	=	=
+	{kúyc} '9'	kúyc	kúʔíc	∅	kúʔíc	kúʔíc	kúyc	=	=	kúys
+	{pú·tim} '10'	∅	∅	pú·tim	=	pu·tim	putim	pu·tim	pu·tm	pú·t

∅ Nonoccurrence

= Same as left

* Lacunae

1 Before {eʔéptit} followed by {+}

2 Elsewhere before {eʔéptit}

513. Kinship term stems (kS) : any kinship term. The kinship term stems may be divided into two groups and five subgroups. The relationship of these groups and subgroups and affixal allomorphs may be summarized as follows:

	{ne?}	{'im}	{pe·}	{e?c}	Environments				{e}	{e?}
					1	2	1	2		
Stem groups Group 1a			∅	e?c					e	
Group 1b	ne? né?	'i 'im 'im	pí pi pé· pe· pé pí·	∅	em	pim im	ep	ne		e?
Group 2a	'iní									
Group 2b	'in 'inm	'im	∅		*		ep		∅	
Group 2c	'iním						p ~ ne			

Environment 1: + {ne?}/{'im} stem - +

Environment 2: + {pe·} stem - + or + stem {e?c} - +

The membership of the groups above is as follows:

Group 1a. {qeléc} 'FaFa,' {'é·l} 'FaMo,' {pîléq} 'MoFa,'
{qé·c} 'MoMo'

Group 1b. {tú·t} 'Fa,' {'í·c} 'Mo,' {méq} 'FaBr,'
{cí·c} 'FaSi,' {téq} 'MoBr,' {qé·q} 'MoSi,'
{yé·c} 'OBr,' {né·n} 'OSi'

Group 2a. {'écqe} 'YBr(m),' {nípe} 'YBr(f),' {qéni} 'YSi(m),'
{'éyi} 'YSi(f),' {'é·ks} 'Si(f),' {pé·qiy} 'BrCh(m),'
{pé·mte} 'BrSo(f),' {pú·y} 'BrDa(f),' {mém} 'SiCh(m),'
{'íte} 'SiCh(f),' {miyé?c} 'Ch,' {péhep} 'Da(m),'
{peqélis} 'SoCh(m),' {péplex} 'DaCh(m),'

{píptex} 'SoCh(f),' {péqex} 'DaCh(f),'
 {pinú·kin} 'HuBr,' 'BrWi(m),' 'WiSi,' 'SiHu(f),'
 {cí·ks} 'HuSi,' 'BrWi(f),' {tiwé·ye} 'WiBr,'
 {ciki·wn} 'WiBr,' {piné·xsin} 'HuFa,' 'HuMo,' 'SoWi,'
 {pí·ses} 'WiFa,' {íwé·p} 'Wi'

Group 2b. {hé·me} 'Hu'

Group 2c. {ciwé·qu} 'WiMo'

Semantically Group 1 includes the forms referring to senior consanguineal kin, while Group 2 includes the forms referring to junior consanguineal kin and affinal relationships. Group 1a includes four grandparent-grandchild forms.

The stem allomorphy in Group 1 is characterized by a ||c|| - ||s|| alternation between first and second person singular possessed forms, the former occurring with ||c|| and the latter with ||s||, and by final t-less allomorphs before suffixes with initial n and by p-less allomorphs before suffixes with initial m.

The complete inventory of kinship stem allomorphy is:

Environments:

1. + - +
2. + - {e?}
3. {ne?} - +
4. {ne?} - {nim}/{ne}
5. {im} -
6. {pe·} - + or + - {e?c} +
7. {pe·} - {ne} or + - {e?c}{ne}
8. {pe·} - {me} or + - {e?c} {me}

Kinship Terms		Environments							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
{qeléc}	FaFa	∅	qeléc	=	=	=	=	=	=
{'é·l}	FaMo	∅	'é·l	'él	'é·l	=	=	=	=
{pfléq}	MoFa	∅	pfléq	=	=	=	=	=	=
{qé·c}	MoMo	∅	qé·c	=	=	qé·s	qé·s	=	=
{tú·t}	Fa	∅	tú·t	=	=	=	st	sí	sít
{'í·c}	Mo	∅	'í·c	=	=	'í·s	ke	ké·	=
{méq}	FaBr	∅	méq	=	=	=	mq	méq	=
{cí·c}	FaSi	∅	cí·c	=	=	sí·s	sis	sí·s	=
{téq}	MoBr	∅	téq	=	=	=	tq	téq	tq
{qé·q}	MoSi	∅	qé·q	=	=	=	qeq	qé·q	=
{yé·c}	OBr	∅	yé·c	=	=	yé·s	yep	yé·p	yé·
{né·n}	OSi	∅	né·n	nic	=	nis	het	hé·	hét

Environments

Kinship Terms	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
{'écqē}	YBr(m) 'écqē	'ésqep	=	=	'sqep	'ésqep	'ésqep	'esqé
{nípe}	YBr(f) nípe	pekt	pek	pé·kt	pekí	pé·kt	peki	pekít
{qéni}	YSi(m) qéni	qenis	=	qénis	qení·s	qénis	qénis	qení·s
{'éyi}	YSi(f) 'éyi	'écip	=	=	'cí·p	'écip	'ecí·p	'ecí·
{'é·ks}	Si(m) 'é·ks	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
{pé·qiy}	BrCh(m) pé·qiy	peqiyex	=	peqiyex	peqiyé·x	peqí·yex	peqiyé·x	=
{pé·mte}	BrSo(f) pé·mte	pentin	=	pé·mtin	=	=	pé·mte	pé·mtin
{pú·y}	BrDa(f) pú·y	pu·t	pu·	pú·t	pú·	pú·t	pú·t	=
{mém}	SiCh(m) mém	pitxpe	=	pitéxp	=	=	pitxpé·	=
{'í·te}	SiCh(f) 'í·tx	=	=	=	=	=	=	=
{péhép}	Da(m) péhép	pehép	pehép	péhép	pehép	péhép	péhép	péhé

Environments:

1. + - +
2. + {ne?} - +
3. + {ne?} - {ne} +
4. + {im} - +
5. + {im} - {ne} +
6. + {pe} - +
7. + {pe} - {ne} +
8. + {pe} - {me} +

{peqélis}	SoCh(m)	∅	peqélis	=	peqélis	peqlís	peqélis	peqlís	=
{pépl̄ex}	DaCh(m)	∅	pépl̄ex	=	pépl̄ex	pepl̄éx	pépl̄ex	pepl̄éx	=
{pipt̄ex}	SoCh(f)	∅	pipt̄ex	=	pipt̄ex	pipté·x	pipt̄ex	pipté·x	=
{péqex}	DaCh(f)	∅	pqex	=	péqex	pqé·x	péqex	peqé·x	=
{pinú·kin}	HuBr	∅	pnukin	=	pnú·kin	pnukún	pinú·kin	pinukún	=
{cí·ks}	HuSi	∅	ciks	=	cí·ks	=	=	=	=
{piné·xsin}	HuFa	∅	pnexsin	=	pné·xsin	=	piné·xsin	=	=
{ciki·wn}	WiBr	∅	cikiwn	=	ciki·wn	=	=	=	=
{tiwé·ye}	WiBr	∅	tiweye	=	tiwé·ye	=	=	tiweyé·	=
{píses}	WiFa	∅	psés	=	píses	=	=	pisé·s	=
{'iwé·p}	Wi	∅	'iwé·p	=	=	=	=	=	'iwé·pneme
{hé·mē}	Hu	∅	hé·mē	=	hé·m	=	hé·mē	=	*
{ciwé·qu}	WiMo	∅	ciweq	=	ciweq ~ ciwequ	=	ciwé·qu	*	*

514. Personal pronoun stems (ppS) : any personal pronouns. The stem allomorphy of the personal pronouns is:

		+	nim	ne	ke	'eq	ciwé·tq	ník	hí·n	me
{í·n}	1sg	í·n	=	=	=	=	'in	=	*	∅
{í·m}	2sg	í·m	'im	'ime	í·m	∅	'im	=	*	'im ¹
{ipí}	3sg	ipí	'ip	=	'ipín	∅	'ip	'ipin	'ipn	∅
{nú·n}	1pl	nú·n	=	=	=	=	nun ² ~ nu·	nun	*	∅

¹{í·m} with {me}, a plural suffix, indicates either second or third person; and second person singular without {me}.

²{nú·n ciwé·tq} has two forms, /nonciwá·tq/ and /no·ciwá·tq/, the latter being an "older" form (cf. p. 7).

515. Demonstrative stems (dS) : any demonstrative. There are two demonstrative stem morphemes: {kí·} 'this' and {ku} 'that.' The allomorphs are:

		Environments				
		1	2	3	4	5
{kí·}	'this'	kí·	kín	kin	kin	kí·
{ku}	'that'	∅	kun	kún	kun	kun

- Environments
- before {+}, {kek}
 - before {pe +}, {ike}, {ki}, {kíník}, {ne}, {nim}, {wecet}
 - before {'éyn}
 - before {pe mé}
 - before {me}

Examples are:

		{kí·}	{ku}
Environment	1	before {+}	kí·
		before {kek}	kí· kek
Environment	2	before {pe +}	kín e
		before {ike}	kín ike
		before {ki}	kín ki
		before {kíník}	kín ik
		before {ne}	kín ye
		before {nim}	kín m
		before {wecet}	kín wecet
			kun é
			kun iké' ¹
			kun k'í
			kun í·k
			kun yé
			kun ím
			kun wecé·n

			{kí·}	{k <u>u</u> }
Environment	3	before { 'éyn }	kín 'yeyn	k <u>u</u> n 'yeyn
Environment	4	before {pe mé}	kin é· me	k <u>u</u> n e mé
Environment	5	before {me}	ki· me	k <u>u</u> n mé

{yuq} 'that' is semantically similar to {ku} 'that.' However, the allomorph ||ne|| of {ne}, instead of ||ye|| or ||yé||, occurs with yuq, which may be taken as a general noun. Because yuq occurs in the first environment, where ku does not, yuq frequently is found as a suppletive element.

516. Adjective stems (aS) : any adjective. Adjective stem allomorphy may be treated more systematically after a larger corpus is examined; affixes occur with adjectives much less frequently than with the other subclasses of substantives. However, three trends may be observed: (1) stems with stress on the last syllable in an allomorph which occurs after a {+} tend to have an allomorph with stress on the first syllable after an unstressed prefix; (2) an unstressed allomorph occurs after { 'eteyé· } or before { ník }; (3) allomorphs ending in $\acute{V}^?C$ before a {+} tend to have an allomorph ending in $V^?V\acute{C}$ before a suffix.

Example of (1):

|| cicqí[?]c || : /cicqí[?]c/ 'generous'

|| r cícqi[?]c || : /cicícqi[?]c/ 'generous' (distributive)

Example of (2):

|| té[?]c || : /tá[?]c/ 'good'

|| 'eteyé· te[?]c || : /[?]atayá·ta[?]c/ 'too good'

|| te[?]c ník || : /ta[?]sníx/ 'very good'

Example of (3):

|| te[?]éc wi t || : /ta[?]ácwit/ 'goodness'

|| qepsí[?]s || : /qepsí[?]s/ 'bad'

|| qepsí[?]ís wi t || : /qepsí[?]íswit/ 'badness'

520. Substantive themes (sT).

Each of the above stem classes is defined by its occurrence in special thematic constructions. These constructions include classes of substantive affixes, which are shown below, together with their distributions among the various stem-classes.

521. Thematic affix classes.

Prefixes

Class	Subclass	Number of members	Occurs with					
			nS	nuS	kS	ppS	dS	aS
< r >		1	x					x
< peH >		1	x	x				
< ne? >		3	x		x			x
< 'et >	'et	2	x					x
	'eteyé·	1	x		x			x
	'ic	10	x					
	wiweqi	1	x		x			
	'úy	1	x	x				
	'uy	2		x				
	siléw	1						x

Suffixes

Class	Subclass	Number of Members	Occurs with					
			nS	nuS	kS	ppS	dS	aS
< 'é·l >		31	x					
< e?éce >		4		x				
< e?éptit >		1		x				
< we >	we	1	x	x				x
	t	1		x				
< e?c >		2			x			
< 'eq >		5				x		
< weyl >		1					x	
< ník >	ník	1	x	x	x	x	x	x
	cim	1	x				x	
	tí·te	1				x	x	

Suffixes (continued)

Class	Subclass	Number of Members	Occurs with					
			nS	nuS	kS	ppS	dS	aS
< nú·t >		1	x					
< nim >		1				x	x	
< me >		1	x		x	x	x	
< 'éyn >	'éyn	1	x					x
	hí'n	1	x		x	x		
	mé	1	x					x
	pe	1	x			x		x

521.1. Thematic prefix classes.

- < r > The single member of this class is {r} (distributive), e.g.,
 ||h_é·cwel|| : /há·cwal/ 'son'
 ||r h_é·cwel|| : /hahácwal/ 'son' (distributive)
 ||wepcú·k|| : /wepcú·x/ 'intelligent'
 ||r_i wé·pcuk|| : /wiwé·pcux/ 'intelligent' (distributive)
- < peH > The single member of this class is {peH} 'each' (with general nouns and kinship terms), 'in groups of . . . ' (with numerals), e.g.,
 ||h_é·pey|| : /h_é·pey/ 'middle'
 ||peH h_é·pey|| : /peh_é·pey/ 'each of the middle ones' (e.g., any toe other than big and little toes)
 ||peH lepít|| : /pellepít/ 'in twos'
- < ne? > The three members of this class are {ne?} (first person singular possessive), {im} (second person singular possessive), {pe·} (non-possession). An example with {ne?} is:
 ||ne? t_ú·t|| : /na?tó·t/ 'my father'
- < 'é·t > This class has 18 members, generally attributive in meaning. An example is {'é·t} 'big,' 'very.'
 ||t_é·c|| : /tá·c/ 'good'
 ||'é·t- t_é·c|| : /'e·ttá·c/ 'very good'

The others are:

- {'eteyé·} 'distant,' 'unbelievably'
- {'ic} 'direction of'
- {'ilé·} 'of fire'
- {'iliw} 'by fire'
- {ke·} 'connected with biting'
- {kun} 'once removed'
- {pex} 'each'
- {teli·} 'short'
- {tem} 'throw'
- {we·?} 'with hand'
- {wiyé·} 'in camping'
- {wiweqi} 'old'
- {'úy} 'all,' 'both'
- {'uy} 'five'
- {pi·} 'twice,' 'mutually'
- {siléw} 'seemingly'
- {R} (diminutive)

521.2. Thematic suffix classes.

- < 'é·1 > This class has 28 members. An example is {'é·1} 'season of . . .'
 ||'qúyxc|| : /'qóyxc/ 'small reddish salmon'
 ||'quyxc 'é·1|| : /'qoyxcá·1/ 'season of small reddish salmon'

The others are:

- {'es} 'cure for . . . '
- {?m} 'season of . . . '
- {?wé·t} 'person who uses'
- {e?él} 'place where . . . is'
- {e?é·t} 'female . . . '
- {en} (meaning uncertain)
- {e·s} 'site of . . . '
- {ete·s} 'place where . . . lives'
- {hí·c} 'place where . . . is' (of plants)
- {ht} 'beginning of . . . '
- {i} 'possessor of . . . '
- {i?les} 'one that lives in . . . ' (?)
- {ínme} 'a creature from . . . '
- {ki'nike·y} ' . . . one of the two'
- {mep} 'place of . . . '
- {nikey} 'all of . . . '

{níme} 'place where . . . is'
 {nimu·} 'people who eat . . . '
 {nume} (place name formant)
 {pe'lu·} 'person connected with . . . '
 {pu·} 'residents at . . . , 'band or tribe of . . . '
 {qen} 'young of . . . , 'small'
 {sí'wey} 'bush of . . . '
 {twe·} 'friend in . . . , ' -mate, 'person having . . . in
 common' twe· after vowels, otherwise tiwe·.
 {wé·kuʔs} 'a thing like . . . '
 {wite·s} 'place where . . . was, 'person who used to be . . . '
 {yé·ye} 'the family of . . . '

- < eʔéce > The four members of this class are {eʔéce} 'group,' {eʔéle} 'pair,' {éhem} 'times,' {é·luy} 'string (of beads).' An example (with {éhem}) is:
 ||lep éhem|| : /lepéhem/ 'twice'
- < eʔéptit > The single member of this class is {eʔéptit} 'ten times,' e.g.,
 ||'uy mit eʔéptit|| : /ʔoymitaʔáptit/ 'eighty'
- < hú·sus > The single member of this class is {hú·sus} 'hundred times,' e.g.,
 ||'uy mit hú·sus|| : /ʔoymitó·sos/ 'eight hundred'
- < we > The two members of this class are {we} (personal classifier),
 {t} (neutral classifier), e.g.,
 ||'uy né·p we|| : /ʔuyné·pwe/ 'seven' (people)
 ||'uy né·p t|| : /ʔuyné·pt/ 'seven'
- < eʔc > The two members of this class are {eʔc} (non-possession), and
 {eyu·} ' . . . and others,' e.g.,
 ||qeléc eʔc|| : /qalácaʔc/ 'paternal grandfather'
 ||neʔ tú·t eyu·|| : /naʔtó·tayo·/ 'my father and others'
- < 'eq > This class has six members. An example is {ciwé·tq} 'alone.'
 ||'í·n|| : /ʔí·n/ 'I'
 ||'in ciwé·tq|| : /ʔinciwá·tɣ/ 'I alone'
- The others are:
 {'eq} (optative suffix)
 {ké} 'also'
 {qu·c} 'first'
 {tí·t} 'being the same one again'
 {xwey} 'instead of another'

- < weyl > The single member of this class is {weyl} 'so much,' e.g.,
 ||ki wéyl|| : /kiwáy/ 'this long,' 'this much'
- < ník > The three members of this class are {ník} (intensifier), {cim} 'only,' {tí·te} 'same.' Examples with {ník} are:
 ||té?c|| : /tá?c/ 'good'
 ||te?c ník|| : /ta?sníx/ 'very good'
 ||'í·n|| : /?í·n/ 'I'
 ||'in ník|| : /?inníx/ 'I myself'
 ||kuné|| : /koná/ 'there'
 ||kuney ník|| : /konayníx/ 'at that very place'
- < nú·t > The single member of this class is {nú·t} 'without,' e.g.,
 ||'é·tim|| : /?á·tim/ 'arm'
 ||'etim nú·t|| : /?atimnó·t/ 'armless,' 'General Oliver O.
 Howard'
- < nim > The single member of this class is {nim} (possessive-nominative), e.g.,
 ||síkem|| : /síkem/ 'horse'
 ||siké·m nim|| : /siké·mnim/ 'horse' (possessive-nominative)
- < 'éyn > The four members of this class are {'éyn} '(thing) for . . . ,'
 {hí'n} '(an object) with . . . ,' {mé} '(people) from . . . ,' {pe}
 'at . . . ,' 'place of . . . ,' {pí} (emphatic particle).
 ||ciqé·m qel|| : /ciqá·mqal/ 'dog'
 ||ciqé·m qel 'éyn|| : /ciqá·mqaláyn/ 'for dog,' 'dog sled'
 ||hé·ses|| : /há·sas/ 'nit'
 ||hesé·s hi'n|| : /hasá·si?n/ 'nitty,' 'Shoshoni'
 ||'elpéwewi|| : /?alpáwawi/ 'Alpowa Creek, Wash.'
 ||'elpewewi mé|| : /?alpawawimá/ 'people from Alpowa'
 ||túhun|| : /tóhon/ 'leggings'
 ||tuhún pe|| : /tohónpa/ 'in leggings' (pe occurs as pe before
 space, otherwise as pey, e.g., waqí·pa 'long ago,'
 waqí·paynikay 'even after a long time!')
 ||yú·qu|| : /yó·qo/ 'that'
 ||yuqu pí|| : /yoqópi/ 'that very'
 ||kun é|| : /koná/ 'there'
 ||kun e pi|| : /konapí/ 'that very place'

522. Thematic constructions. The varying internal structures of the substantive theme (sT) are described in the following sections. The elements surrounding the stem-class markers are references to the preceding chart of affixes.

sT:	neʔ	r	peH	'e·t	nS	'é·l	'éyn	me	we	ník
1.	x				x	x				
2.		x			x		x			x
3.		x	x		x					
4.			x		x		x			
5.				x	x					
6.					x	x	x		x	
7.					x			x		
8.					x				x	
9.					x					

Examples:

- {neʔ 'flú·t twe·} : ||'in 'flú·t we·|| : /ʔinlú·twe·/ 'my half-brother' (a woman speaking) ({neʔ} 'my,' {'flú·t} 'belly,' {twe·} 'a person having . . . in common')
- {r 'ínwim mé cim} : ||r 'inwí·m e cim|| : /heʔinwí·mcim/ 'only yearlings' ({r} distributive, {'ínwim} 'year,' {mé} '(a being) from,' {cim} 'only')
- {r peH néqe} : ||r_i peH néqe|| : /pipennéqe/ 'half-breeds' ({r} distributive, {peH} 'each,' {néqe} 'half')
- {peH ciké·t pe} : ||peH cíket pe|| : /pecíketpe/ 'every night,' 'night after night' ({ciké·t} 'night,' {pe} 'place or time of . . .')
- {'eteyé· kú·s} : ||'eteyé· ku·s|| : /ʔeteyé·ku·s/ 'ocean' ({'eteyé·} 'distant,' 'deceased,' {kú·s} 'water')
- {'éys níme pe we} : ||'eys nimé pe we|| : /ʔaysnimá·po·/ 'Catholics' ({'éys} 'parsnip sp.,' {níme} 'a place where . . . is,' {pe} 'place of . . .,' {we} personal classifier)
- {léwtiwe· me} : ||léwtiwe·me|| : /láwtiwa·ma/ 'friends' ({léwtiwe·} 'friend,' {me} plural suffix)
- {leʔém we} : ||leʔém we|| : /laʔámwa/ 'all the people' ({leʔém} 'all,' {we} personal classifier)
- {léwtiwe·} : ||léwtiwe·|| : /láwtiwa·/ 'friend'

ST: nS nú·t

Example:

{'é·tim nú·t} : ||'etim nú·t|| : /ʔatimnó·t/ 'armless,' 'General O. O. Howard' ({'é·tim} 'arm,' {nú·t} 'without')

Unlike substantive themes in which a general noun stem is a constituent, the substantive themes having a numeral stem as the constituent occur with at least one obligatory suffix.

sT:	peH	'e·t	nuS	eʔéptit	hú·sus	we	eʔéce	ník
1.	x	x	x				x	
2.			x	x	x			
3.			x			x	x	
4.			x			x		x
5.			x	x			x	
6.			x		x	x		
7.		x	x			x		x
8.			x			x		

Examples:

- {peH 'uy né·qc éhem} : ||peH 'uy leqc éhem|| : /paʔoylaqcáham/ 'six times each' ({peH} 'each,' {'uy} 'five,' {né·qc} 'one,' {éhem} 'times')
- {lep eʔéptit hú·sus} : ||l eʔeptit hú·sus|| : /leʔeptitú·sus/ 'two thousand' ({lep} 'two,' {eʔéptit} 'ten times,' {hú·sus} 'hundred times')
- {pú·tim t eʔéle} : ||pu·tim t eʔéle|| : /pu·timteʔéle/ 'ten pairs' ({pú·tim} 'ten,' {t} neutral classifier, {eʔéle} 'pair')
- {pé·xe we ník} : ||pex lu· ník|| : /paʔlo·níc/ 'only five people' ({pé·xe} 'five,' {we} personal classifier, {níc} intensifier)
- {pé·xe eʔéptit éhem} : ||peq eptit éhem|| : /paqaptitáham/ 'fifty times'
- {lep hú·sus we} : ||lep hú·sus we|| : /lepú·suswe/ 'two hundred people' ({lep} 'two,' {hú·sus} 'hundred times,' {we} personal classifier)
- {'uy lep we ník} : ||'uy nep we ník|| : /ʔuynepweníc/ 'only seven people' ({'uy} 'five,' {lep} 'two,' {we} personal classifier, {níc} intensifier)

8. {lep t} : ||lepí t|| : /lepít/ 'two' ({t} neutral classifier)

Either the < ne? > class, or the < e?c > class is required as a constituent with a kinship stem (kS).

sT:	'e·t	ne?	kS	e?c	me	nim	'é·yn	ník
1	x	x	x					
2.		x	x			x	x	
3.		x	x			x		x
4.			x	x			x	
5.			x	x	x			
6.		x	x					
7.			x	x				

Examples:

- {pi·pe·'é·ks} : ||pí·pe 'eks|| : /pí·pe?pe?eks/ 'cowives,' rivals' ({pi·} reciprocal prefix, {pe·} non-possession, {'é·ks} 'sister')
- {ne? 'é·l nim 'é·yn} : ||ne? 'é·l em - 'é·yn|| : /ne?é·lemayn/ 'article for my paternal grandmother' ({ne?} 'my,' {'é·l} 'paternal grandmother,' {nim} possessive-nominative, {'é·yn} '(thing) for . . .')
- {ne? 'é·l nim cim} : ||ne? 'é·l em cim|| : /ne?é·lemcim/ 'only my paternal grandmother' ({cim} 'only')
- {'é·l e?c 'é·yn} : ||'é·l e?c - 'é·yn|| : /'é·le?cayn/ 'article for a paternal grandmother' ({e?c} non-possession)
- {qeléc e?c me} : ||qeléc e?c me|| : /qaláca?cma/ 'paternal grandfathers' ({qeléc} 'paternal grandfather,' {me} plural suffix)
- {ne? qeléc} : ||ne? qeléc|| : /na?qalác/ 'my paternal grandfather'
- {qeléc e?c} : ||qeléc e?c|| : /qaláca?c/ 'paternal grandfather'

sT:	ppS	me	nim	'e·q	ník	'é·yn
1.	x	x	x		x	
2.	x	x	x	x		
3.	x		x		x	x
4.	x					x
5.	x				x	
6.	x			x		
7.	x	x				
8.	x					

Examples:

1. {í·m me nim ník} : ||'im e m ník || : /ʔimemníx/ 'your (pl.) very own,' 'their very own' ({í·m} 'you (sg.),' {me} plural suffix, {nim} possessive-nominative suffix, {ník} intensifier)
2. {í·m me nim ké} : ||'im é· m ké || : /ʔimé·mké/ 'you (pl.) also,' 'they also' ({ké} 'also')
3. {í·pí nim ník pe} : ||'ip nim níx pe || : /ʔipnimníxpe/ 'his own place' ({í·pí} 'he, she, it,' {pe} 'place of . . .')
4. {í·m pe} : ||'im pé || : /ʔimpé/ 'your (sg.) place'
5. {í·m ník} : ||'im ník || : /ʔimníx/ 'you (sg.) yourself'
6. {í·m ké} : ||'í·m ké || : /ʔí·mke/ 'you (sg.) also'
7. {í·m me} : ||'im é || : /ʔimé/ 'you (pl.),' 'they'
8. {í·m} : ||'í·m || : /ʔí·m/ 'you (sg.)'

sT:	dS	w <u>e</u> yl	me	nim	'é <u>y</u> n	ník
1.	x		x	x		x
2.	x				x	x
3.	x		x		x	
4.	x				x	
5.	x		x			
6.	x	x				
7.	x					

Examples:

1. {ku me nim tí·te} : ||kun me m tí·te || : /konmamní·ta/ 'the same those' ({ku} 'that,' {tí·te} 'same')
2. {ku pe ník} : ||kun ey ník || : /konayníx/ 'that very place'
3. {ku me 'éyn} : ||kun me 'yen || : /konmaʔyáyn/ 'an article for those'
4. {ku pe} : ||kun é || : /koná/ 'that place'
5. {ku me} : ||kun mé || : /konmá/ 'those'
6. {kí· weyl} : ||ki weyl || : /kiwáyyl/ 'this long'
7. {kí·} : ||kí· || : /kí·/ 'this'

sT:	r	'e·t	aS	we	ník
1.	x		x		
2.		x	x		
3.			x		x
4.			x	x	
5.			x		

Examples:

- {r néxsep} : ||r_i néxsep|| : /ninéxsep/ 'different' (distributive) ({r} distributive, {néxsep} 'different')
- {'eteyé· t_é?c} : ||'eteyé· t_é?c|| : /?atayá·ta?c/ 'unbelievably good' ({'eteyé·} 'unbelievably,' {t_é?c} 'good')
- {nexsep ník} : ||nexsep ník|| : /nexsepník/ 'very different'
- {'il_xni we} : ||'il_xní· we|| : /?il_xní·we/ 'many' (people) ({'il_xni} 'many,' {we} personal classifier)
- {t_é?c} : ||t_é?c|| : /tá?c/ 'good'

523. Deverbative themes. There are also substantive themes which contain verb stems (vS).

523.1. Deverbative themes in which affixes for substantive themes occur as optional constituents:

sT:	vS	'é·1
1.	x	x
2.	x	

Examples:

- {p_éy nime} : ||p_éy nime|| : /páy_nima/ (place name) (literally 'place of arrival') ({p_éy} 'come,' {nime} a place name formant, a member of <'é·1 > class)
- {l_éwy_ele} : ||l_éwy_ele|| : /láw_yala/ 'fishing' ({l_éwy_ele} 'fish (vb.)')

523.2. Deverbative themes in which special suffixes for verb derivation occur. This special suffix class will be called <?é·t > class. The 21 members of this class and their allomorphs are as follows:

{ʔé·t} (agentive 1) indicates the performer of an action. There are four morphemes (agentives 1-4) with similar semantic content, the last two are extremely limited in occurrence. {ʔé·t} : ||ne·t|| or ||né·t|| after a c-class verb theme (cf. 620 for c- and s-class distinctions); ||yeʔé·t|| after an s-class theme ending in ||i||; ||ʔé·t|| or ||ʔét|| elsewhere.

- ||ne·t|| {pʔí·m ʔé·t} : /piʔí·mne·t/ 'young person' ({pʔí·m} 'grow' c-class)
- ||né·t|| {tém·t·y ʔé·t} : /tam·t·y·ná·t/ 'minister' ({tém·t·y} 'preach,' 'gossip' c-class)
- ||yeʔé·t|| {sepí·newi ʔé·t} : /sepí·newiyeʔé·t/ 'surveyer' ({sepí·newi} 'measure' s-class)
- ||ʔé·t|| {túk^We lú· ʔé·t} : /tukelu·ʔé·t/ 'diver' ({túk^W} 'dive'; {lú·} 'move under water' s-class)
- ||ʔét|| {wepeyete ʔé·t} : /wapayataʔát/ 'helper,' 'assistant' ({wepeyete} 'help' s-class)

{eʔwé·t} (agentive 2): ||neʔwé·t|| after a c-class theme; ||yeʔwé·t|| after an s-class theme ending in a vowel other than ||e||; ||ʔwé·t|| after an s-class theme ending in ||e||; ||eʔwé·t|| elsewhere.

- ||neʔwé·t|| {sepé· hité·me eʔwé·t} : /sepehitemeneʔwé·t/ 'teacher' ({sepé·} causative 620; {hité·me} 'read' c-class, literally 'one who makes one read')
- ||yeʔwé·t|| {túk^W lú· eʔwé·t} : /tukelu·yeʔwé·t/ 'diver'
- ||ʔwé·t|| {wepeyete eʔwé·t} : /wapayataʔwá·t/ 'helper,' 'assistant'
- ||eʔwé·t|| {hipí eʔwé·t} : /hipeʔwé·t/ 'eater' ({hipí} 'eat' s-class)

{un} (agentive 3) occurs after s-class themes.

- {ímé·cín·p un} : /ʔímé·cín·pun/ 'prophet' ({ímé·cín·p} 'prophecy' s-class)
- {kú· e·yík un} : /kíké·yíkun/ 'perennial traveler' ({kú·} 'go' s-class; {e·yík} repetitive 620 s-class)

{lu} (agentive 4) is found in the following single example after a c-class theme.

- {cí·q lu} : /cí·xlu/ 'talking squirrel' ({cí·q} 'talk' c-class)

{eʔí} (inanimate agentive) : ||eʔí|| before {+}; ||eʔí·|| elsewhere. There are no examples of {eʔí} after a c-class theme.

||eʔí|| {we·keʔéyk eʔí} : /we·keʔykeʔí/ 'airplane' ({we·} 'fly'; {keʔéyk} 'go' s-class)

||eʔí·|| {ʔipné·wílé·keʔéyk eʔí ki} : /ʔipnewlekeʔykeʔí·ki/ 'by automobile' ({ʔipné·} third person singular reflexive prefix, < pí· > class 620; {wílé·} 'run' 610.1; {ki} 'by' of < k > class 533)

{eʔs} 'an object for . . . ing' : ||nes||, ||íec|| or ||s|| after a c-class theme; ||eʔs|| after a consonant-final stressed s-class theme; ||éʔs|| after an unstressed s-class theme; ||tes|| elsewhere.

||nes|| {hité·me eʔs} : /hité·meñes/ 'book' ({hité·me} 'read' c-class)

||íec|| {kiwkiwí eʔs} : /kiwkiwííec/ 'drum' ({kiwkiwí} 'beat' c-class)

||s|| {tí·pseʔ eʔs} : /tí·psaʔs/ 'scraper' ({tí·pseʔ} 'scrape' c-class)

||eʔs|| {ʔise kíw k eʔs} : /ʔisakíwkaʔs/ 'saw' ({ʔise} 'with a cutting instrument'; {kíw} 'cut'; {k} meaning uncertain, < etk > class 620, s-class)

||éʔs|| {wetikí eʔs} : /waticáʔs/ 'sole' ({we tíkí} 'step on' s-class)

||tes|| {ʔipé·té eʔs} : /ʔipé·tétes/ 'scraper' ({ʔipé·té} 'scrape' s-class)

{úʔs} 'an object for . . . ing' : ||-núʔs|| after a c-class theme; ||uʔús|| after an s-class verb theme ending in a single consonant and not before {+}; ||úʔs|| elsewhere after a consonant-final s-class theme; ||-túʔs|| elsewhere.

||-núʔs|| {ʔíye léhne úʔs} : /ʔiyehnenóʔs/ 'pole' (for a canoe) ({ʔíye} 'afloat'; {léhne} 'down' c-class)

||uʔús|| {wislíp úʔs ne} : /wislipoʔósna/ 'snow-shovel (object case)' ({wislíp} 'shovel' s-class; {ne} objective 532)

||úʔs|| {wislíp úʔs} : /wislipóʔs/ 'snow-shovel'

||-túʔs|| {cuké·ymi úʔs} : /cukeymitóʔs/ 'bone instrument for scraping the inner pine bark used for food' ({cuké·ymi} 'get bark' s-class)

{nwe·s} 'place of . . . ing' : ||niwe·s|| after a c-class consonant-final theme; ||inwe·s|| after an s-class consonant-final theme; ||nwe·s|| elsewhere.

- || niwe·s || { 'é·ʔys nwe·s } : /ʔé·ʔysniwe·s/ 'heaven,' 'Happy Hunting Ground'
({ 'é·ʔys } 'be happy' c-class)
- || inwe·s || { 'é·lik nwe·s } : /ʔá·likinwa·s/ 'fireplace' ({ 'é·lik } 'make fire'
s-class)
- || nwe·s || { 'ítemyé· nwe·s } : /ʔitamýá·nwa·s/ 'store,' 'town' ({ 'ítemyé· }
'sell' s-class)

{ tesi·n } 'place of . . . ing' is found in one example.

{ wepté· tesi·n } : /wepté·tesi·n/ 'place for feathering arrows'
({ wepté· } 'feather arrows' s-class)

{ éhe } 'place of . . . ing' is found in one example.

{ 'ú·yi éhe } : /ʔuyéhe/ 'starting place' ({ 'ú·yi } 'begin,' 'start'
s-class)

{ sí·mey } 'one incapable of . . . ing' : || cí·mey || after a c-class theme;
|| sí·mey || elsewhere.

- || cí·mey || { lem_{em}t sí·mey } : /lamamtcí·may/ 'impatient person' ({ lem_{em}t }
'be patient' c-class)
- || sí·mey || { 'cí·q sí·mey } : /'ciqsi·mey/ 'deaf-mute,' 'quiet person' ({ 'cí·q }
'talk' s-class)

{ eʔyé·ʔy } 'one incapable of . . . ing' : || ʔné·ʔy || after a c-class theme;
|| yé·ʔy || after a stressed vowel-final s-class theme; || eʔy'e·ʔy || or || eʔyé·y ||
elsewhere.

- || ʔné·ʔy || { siwlé· eʔyé·ʔy } : /siwleʔné·ʔy/ 'one unable to swim' ({ siwlé· }
'swim' c-class)
- || yé·ʔy || { teqé lú· eʔyé·ʔy } : /teqelú·ye·ʔy/ 'one unable to dive' ({ teqé }
'dive,' { lú· } 'underwater' s-class)
- || eʔyé·ʔy || { we k_{éy}k eʔyé·ʔy } : /wakaykaʔyá·ʔy/ 'unrinsed' (of clothes),
'unsifted' (of sand) ({ we } 'with implement'; { k_{éy}k } 'clean'
s-class)
- || eʔyé·y || { nekí eʔyé·y } : /nekeʔyé·y/ 'unthinking person' ({ nekí } 'think'
s-class)

{tpeš} 'one who is unwilling to . . . ' is found in one example.

{míćí tpeš} : /míćí tpeš/ 'one who does not want to understand,'
'stubborn person' ({míćí} 'hear' s-class) cf. /míćisí may/ 'one
who does not understand (a language),' 'deaf-mute'

{tekey} 'object for . . . ing' is found in the following two examples.

{wixs ʔú tekey} : /wixcʔú tekey/ 'buffalo robe to sit on,'
'cushion' ({wixs} 'sit'; {ʔú} meaning uncertain, c-class)

{isé pe tekey} : /isá ptakay/ 'parfleche' ({isé pe} 'put in a
parfleche' c-class)

{tpeš} 'object for . . . ing' : is found in one example.

{kícuy íte tpeš} : /kícú yítetpeš/ 'purse' ({kícuy} 'money,'
'metal'; {íte} 'put in' s-class)

{'ew} 'characterized by . . . ing'

{hením 'ew} : /henímew/ 'lazy man' ({hením} 'not to go' c-class)

{'íkú y tim 'ew} : /'íkú ytimew/ 'honest man' ({'íkú y} 'be honest';
{tim} 'speak' s-class)

{iʔn} 'one that is . . . ed'

After a stressed s-class theme with final ||i||

and before {+} ||ʔn||

After a stressed s-class theme with other finals

and before {+} ||iʔn||

After a stressed s-class theme elsewhere ||iʔs||

After an unstressed vowel-final s-class theme

and before {+} ||íʔn||

Elsewhere after an s-class theme and before {+} ||yíʔn||

After a c-class theme and before {+} ||niʔn||

Elsewhere after a c-class theme ||niʔs||

{iʔn} is not found after an unstressed s-class theme and not before {+}.

- ||ʔn|| {qêqê·wi iʔn} : /qeqê·wiʔn/ 'drunk' ({qêqê·wi} 'drink' s-class)
- ||iʔn|| {we káyki iʔn} : /wakáykiʔn/ 'sifted (sand)' ({we} 'with implement'; {káyki} 'clean' s-class)
- ||iʔs|| {sepé·pîyúxte iʔn 'éyn} : /cepé·pyuxtiʔsʔayn/ 'for a pie' ({sepé·} causative prefix 620; {pîyúxte} 'place in between' s-class; {'éyn} 'for' 534)
- ||ʔí·n|| {yexse iʔn} : /yaʔsaʔí·n/ 'poured over' ({yexse} 'spill' s-class)
- ||yí·n|| {he·ní iʔn} : /hanyí·n/ 'made,' 'manufactured' ({he·ní} 'make' s-class)
- ||niʔn|| {'é·tim kí·w iʔn} : /ʔa·timkí·wniʔn/ 'Gen. O. O. Howard' (< 'arm cut') ({é·tim} 'arm'; {kí·w} 'cut' c-class)
- ||niʔs|| {'é·tim kí·w iʔn ne} : /ʔa·timkí·wniʔsna/ 'Gen. O. O. Howard (object case)' ({ne} object case suffix 532)

{t} '-ing'

After a vowel-final c-class theme and before {+} ||n||
 Elsewhere after a vowel-final c-class theme ∅
 After a consonant-final c-class theme ||in||
 After an s-class theme ||t||

- ||n|| {pí·we·p ciʔyew t} : /pí·wapciʔyawnt/ 'war' ({pí·} reciprocal prefix 620; {we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ciʔyew} 'kill' c-class)
- ∅ {pí·we·p ciʔyew t pe} : /pí·wapciʔyawpa/ 'during the war' ({pe} 'at the time of' 534)
- ||in|| {túk^{we}e lí·k t} : /tukelí·kin/ 'hunting' ({túk^{we}e} 'hunt'; {lí·k} 'move,' 'go' c-class)
- ||t|| {nekí t} : /né·kt/ 'thinking,' 'idea' ({nekí} 'think' s-class)

{típec} (desiderative suffix) indicates (1) desire and (2) tendency

After a c-class theme and before {+} ||nípec||
 Elsewhere after a c-class theme ||nípé·c||
 After an s-class theme and before {+} ||típec||
 Elsewhere ||típé·c||

- ||ńípec|| {túk típec} : /túxńípec/ 'one who likes to talk,' 'gossiper' ({túk} 'gossip' c-class)
- ||ńípé·c|| {ciklí· típec wi s e} : /ciklí·ńípé·cwise/ 'I want to go home' ({ciklí·} 'turn' c-class; {wi} 'do' 622.1)
- ||típec|| {'iné· kú· típec} : /?ineku·típec/ 'one given to drinking' ({'iné·} reflexive prefix 620; {kú·} 'drink (with a reflexive prefix)' s-class)
- ||típé·c|| {hi ciklí· tuq típec wi s e} : /hickili·toqtípá·cwise/ 'he is anxious to return' ({tuq} 'back' s-class)

{tíc} 'one who does,' 'one who is characterized by . . . ing'; ||'ic||, ||'is||, or ||c|| after a c-class theme; ||tíc|| elsewhere.

- ||'ic|| {tillé·p tíc} : /tillá·píc/ 'lonesome' ({tillé·p} 'be lonely' c-class)
- ||'is|| {seyqí tíc} : /sayqís/ 'beautiful' ({seyqi} 'be beautiful' c-class)
- ||c|| {kuméy tíc} : /komáyc/ 'sick' ({kú·mey} 'be sick' c-class)
- ||tíc|| {'ílé·twi tíc} : /?ilatwí·tíc/ 'tiresome' ({'ílé·twi} 'be tired' s-class)

{R} 'one who is characterized by . . . ing'

{R kéyk} : /kayxkáyx/ 'clean' ({kéyk} 'be clean' s-class)

{R tí·pit} : /ti·pití·pit/ 'smooth' ({tí·pit} 'be smooth')

The second type of deverbative themes may be summarized as follows:

sT: gvT < ?é·t >

General verb themes (gvT) are described in 622.1.

530. Substantive inflection.

The following five classes of suffixes occur as inflectional elements in constituency with substantive themes.

(Note: nT, nuT, kT, ppT, dT, aT are substantive themes having nS, nuS, kS, ppS, dS, aS as constituents respectively. nT also stands for an sT having a verb stem as a constituent.)

Class	Subclass	Number of Members	Occurs with					
			nT	nuT	kT	ppT	dT	aT
< nim >		1	x	x	x	x	x	x
< ne >		1	x	x	x	x	x	x
< k >	k	1	x	x	x	x	x	
	kek	1	x				x	
	ki	1	x	x	x	x	x	x
	ki ^h nik	1	x		x	x	x	
	hí ^h nek	1	x					
	leykin	2	x		x			
	ike	2					x	
	wecet	1	x		x		x	
< 'éyn >	'éyn	1	x		x	x	x	
	hí ^h n	1	x		x	x		
	mé	1	x	x			x	
	pe	1	x	x	x	x	x	
< e >		2			x			

531. < nim >. The single member of this class is {nim} (possessive-nominative), indicating either the possessor of an object or the performer of the action of the verb.

{nim}

With general nouns: ||m||, ||im||, ||nm||, ||nim||

As ||m|| after a thematic suffix, e.g., {ciq^hé·m qel nim} : /ciq^há·mqalm/ 'dog' (possessive-nominative)

As ||im|| elsewhere after ||n||, e.g., {qí^h·wn nim} : /qí^h·wnim/ 'old man' (possessive-nominative)

As ||nm|| elsewhere after a vowel, e.g., {píswe nim} : /píswé·nm/ 'stone' (possessive-nominative)

As ||nim|| elsewhere, e.g., {lé^h·qec nim} : /laq^há·snim/ 'mouse'

With kinship terms: ||em||, ||im||, ||pim||

As ||em|| with the first group (510.3) and with {neʔ} 'my,' or {'im} 'your (sg.),' e.g., {neʔ tút nim} : /naʔtó·tam/ 'my father' (possessive-nominative)

As ||im|| elsewhere after ||p||, e.g., {píyep nim} : /piyé·pim/ 'elder brother' (possessive-nominative)

As ||pim|| elsewhere, e.g., {pe· í·c nim} : /piké·pim/ 'mother' (possessive-nominative)

With personal pronouns: ||ním||, ||ím||, ||m||, ||im||

As ||ním|| after {'ipí} 'he, she, it,' e.g., {'ipí nim} : /ʔipním/ 'his,' 'he'

As ||ím|| after {'ím} 'you (sg.),' e.g., {'ím nim} : /ʔimím/ 'your (sg.),' 'you (sg.)'

As ||m|| after {me} (plural suffix), e.g., {'ím me nim} : /ʔimé·m/ 'your (pl.),' 'their,' 'you (pl.),' 'they'

As ||im|| elsewhere, e.g., {'í·n nim} : /ʔí·nim/ 'my,' 'I'

With demonstratives: ||m||, ||ím||

As ||m|| after {kí·} 'this,' e.g., {kí· nim} : /kínm/ 'this' (possessive-nominative)

As ||ím|| after {ku} 'that,' e.g., {ku nim} : /koním/ 'that' (possessive-nominative)

With adjectives: ||nim||

E.g., {ícwé·ys nim} : /ʔicweʔí·snim/ 'cold' (possessive-nominative)

Occasionally allomorphs of {nim} for general nouns occur with kinship terms, possibly indicating an analogical formation, e.g., {pe· í·c nim} : ||piké·nm|| : /piké·nm/ 'mother,' instead of /piké·pim/.

A possible indication of the preceding morphophonemic segment as the conditioning factor with general nouns may be in the following freely alternating doublets:

||cé·qet|| : /cé·qet/ 'blackberry'

||ceqé·t nim|| $\underline{1}$ ||ceqé· nm|| : /ceqé·tnim/ $\underline{2}$ /ceqé·nm/ 'blackberry' (possessive-nominative)

||'é·wit|| : /ʔá·wit/ 'widow'

||'ewí·t nim|| & ||'ewí·nm|| : /ʔawí·tnim/ & /ʔawí·nm/ 'widow'
(possessive-nominative)

532. < ne >. The single member of this class is {ne} (objective) indicating the object of the verbal action. When the verb in the same sentence contains no benefactive, {ne} marks the indirect object, otherwise it marks the direct object.

{ne}

With general nouns: ||né||, ||e||, ||ne||

As ||né|| after {kele} 'that much,' e.g., {kalaná ne} : /kalaná/ 'that much' (object)

As ||e|| after ||l|| or ||n||, e.g., {qí·wn ne} : /qí·wne/ 'old man' (object). Exceptions are tílel 'cliff' (tilé·lne) and té·kin 'meadow' (té·kinne)

As ||ne|| elsewhere, e.g., {cé·qet ne} : /ceqé·ne/ 'raspberry' (object)

With numerals: ||íne||, ||ine||, ||ne||

As ||íne|| after {t} (neutral classifier) preceded by {pú·tim} 'ten,' e.g., {pú·tim t ne} : /pu·timtíne/ 'ten' (object)

As ||ine|| elsewhere after {t}, e.g., {lep t ne} : /lepítine/ 'two' (object)

As ||ne|| elsewhere, e.g., {lep we ne} : /lepú·ne/ 'two (people)' (object) ({we} personal classifier)

With kinship terms: ||ep||, ||ne||

As ||ep|| with group 1 or 2b (510.3) and with {neʔ} 'my,' or {'im} 'your (sg.),' e.g., {neʔ qeléc ne} : /naʔqalácap/ 'my paternal grandfather' (object)

As ||ne|| elsewhere, e.g., {qeléc eʔc ne} : /qalácaʔcna/ 'paternal grandfather' (object)

With personal pronouns: ||né||, ||e||, ||né·n||, ||en||

As ||né|| after {'ipí} 'he, she, it' and before {+}, e.g., {'ipí ne} : /ʔipné/ 'him, her, it'

As ||e|| elsewhere before {+}, e.g., {í·n ne} : /ʔí·ne/ 'me'

As ||né·n|| elsewhere after {í·pí}, e.g., {í·pí ne ké} : /ʔipné·nke/
'him/her/it also'

As ||en|| elsewhere, e.g., {í·n ne ké} : /ʔí·nenké/ 'me too'

With demonstratives: ||ye||, ||yé||

As ||ye|| after {kí·}, 'this,' e.g., {kí· ne} : /kínye/ 'this' (object)

As ||yé|| after {ku} 'that,' e.g., {ku ne} : /konyá/ 'that' (object)

With adjectives: ||ene||

As ||ene|| everywhere, e.g., {kúckuc ne} : /kúckucene/ 'small'
(object)

533. < k >. The ten members of this class, mostly with locative or instrumental meanings, are as follows:

{k} 'to,' 'up to,' 'than,' 'against,' '-th' (with numerals).

This suffix appears also after nominalized verbs in sentences such as pé·kcene wíhnepx 'they saw him go,' ʔamčíya ké·ʔlesepx 'I heard him chewing something,' ʔamčíya weʔnpítx 'I heard him sing.'

With numerals: ||k||, ||kipk||, ||ípk||, ||ipk||

As ||k|| after {kúyc} 'nine' or {eʔéptit} 'ten times,' e.g., {kúyc k}
: /kúʔícx/ 'ninth'

As ||kipk|| after {hú·sus} 'hundred times,' e.g., {pú·tim hú·sus k}
: /pu·tmú·suskipx/ 'one thousandth' ({pú·tim} 'ten')

As ||ípk|| after {né·qc} 'one' or {pé·xe} 'five' followed by {t}
(neutral classifier), e.g., {pé·xe t k} : /pa·xatípx/ 'fifth'

As ||ipk|| elsewhere, e.g., {lep t k} : /lepítipx/ 'second' ({lep}
'two')

With non-numerals: ||pk||, ||k||

As ||pk|| after a vowel, e.g., {é·le k} : /ʔá·lapx/ 'against fire'
{é·le} 'fire')

As ||k|| elsewhere, e.g., {mé·xsem k} : /mexsé·mx/ 'to mountain'
{mé·xsem} 'mountain').

{kek} 'in the direction of . . .'

As ||kek|| everywhere, e.g., {né·we kek} : /newé·kex/ 'toward Lolo Creek' ({né·we} 'Lolo Creek, Idaho').

{ki} 'in the language of . . .', 'at the time of . . .', 'on account of . . .', 'in comparison with . . .', 'about . . .' (of a subject matter), 'by means of . . .', 'than' : ||kí|| after {ku} 'that'; ||ki|| elsewhere, e.g.,

{ku ki} : /konkí/ 'with that'

{su·yé·pe we timt ki} : /so·ya·po·tímtki/ 'in English' ({su·yé·} 'the white,' {pe} 'place of . . .', {we} personal classifier, {timt} 'language')

{kińik} 'from . . .': ||í·k|| after {ku} 'that'; ||ik|| after {kí·} 'this'; ||pkińik|| after ||ʔ||, ||k||, ||q|| or a vowel; ||kińik|| elsewhere.

||í·k||

{ku kińik} : /koní·x/ 'from that'

||ik||

{kí· kińik} : /kínix/ 'from this'

||pkińik||

{cemí·tk kińik} : /cemitéxpkińix/ 'from huckleberry' ({cemí·tk} 'huckleberry')

||kińik||

{neʔ tú·t nim kińik} : /naʔtó·tamkińix/ 'from my father'

In two instances of place names ||kińik|| is found after a vowel:

{we·ʔléwe kińik} : /waʔlwá·kińix/ 'from Wallawalla, Washington'

{leméte kińik} : /lamtá·kińix/ 'from Whitebird, Idaho'

With personal pronouns ||kińik|| is found after a thematic suffix and ||kińí·k|| elsewhere, e.g.,

{í·m nim kińik} : /ʔimímkińix/ 'from you (sg.)'

{í·m kińik} : /ʔimkińí·x/ 'from you (sg.)'

The last two were given as possible free alternants in a text.

{hí·nek} 'even . . .'

{pí·ps hí·nek} : /pipsí·nex/ 'even a bone'

{weswésnu hí·nek} : /waswasnohí·nax/ 'even a chicken' ({weswésnu} 'chicken')

{leykin} 'in the vicinity of . . .'

{lé·qe leykin} : /lá·qalaykin/ 'near a pine tree' ({lé·qe} 'pine tree')

{síkem leykin} : /siká·mlaykin/ 'near a horse' ({síkem} 'horse')

{pípem} 'among . . .'

{léwtiwe· pípem} : /lawtiwa·pípam/ 'among friends' ({léwtiwe·} 'friend')

{ike} 'at . . . side': ||ike|| after {ki·} 'this'; ||iké|| after {ku} 'that,' e.g.,

{kí· ike} : /kínike/ 'on this side'

{ku ike} : /koniká/ 'on that side'

{met} 'at the time of . . .'

{kí· met} : /kí·met/ 'at this time'

{wecet} 'because of . . .': ||wecé·n|| after {ku} 'that'; ||wecet|| elsewhere, e.g.,

{ku wecet} : /konwacá·n/ 'therefore'

{ítú· wecet} : /ʔitú·wecet/ 'why' ({ítú·} 'what')

534. < 'éyn >. The four members of this class may occur either as thematic affixes or inflectional elements.

{'éyn} 'for the sake of . . .': ||'yéyn|| after {ku} 'that' followed by {me} (plural suffix); ||'yeyn|| elsewhere after demonstratives; ||éyn|| ~ ||'éyn|| after ||s||; ||éyn|| ~ ||'eyn|| ~ ||-éyn|| elsewhere.

||'yéyn||

{ku me 'éyn} : /konmaʔyáyyn/ 'for those'

||'yeyn||

{kí· 'éyn} : /kínáyyn/ 'for this'

||éyn||

{pískis 'éyn} : /piskisáyyn/ 'for door'

||'éyn||

{ciqé·m qel 'éyn} : /ciqá·mqaláyyn/ 'for dog'

||'eyn||

{tuʔáynu 'éyn} : /toʔynóʔayyn/ 'for tail'

||-éyn||

{é·l eʔc éyn} : /ʔé·leʔcáyn/ 'for paternal grandmother'

{hí'n} 'with . . .': ||hí'n|| ~ ||hi'n||, e.g.,

{pe·tú·t hí'n} : /pistín/ 'with father'

{hé·ses hí'n} : /hasá·siʔn/ 'nitty' ({hé·ses} 'louse egg')

{mé} 'from . . .'

After {kú·seyñ} 'Montana' or {ku} 'that' ||emé||

After {té·kin} 'meadow' ||'mé||

After a theme with final ||m|| ||e|| ~ ||'é||

Elsewhere ||me|| ~ ||mé||

||emé||

{kú·seyñ mé} : /kuseyñémé/ 'from Montana'

||'mé||

{té·kin mé} : /tekinmé/ 'from meadow'

||e||

{'ínwim mé} : /ʔinwí·me/ 'from last year' ({'ínwim} 'year')

||'é||

{mé·xsem mé} : /mexsemé/ 'from mountain'

||me||

{nipéhe mé} : /nipehéme/ 'from Graves Creek, Idaho'

||mé||

{'elpéwewi mé} : /ʔalpawawimá/ 'from Alpowa, Washington'

{pe} 'at,' 'in,' 'at the time of . . .'

After {kí·} 'this': before {+} ||e||

before {ník} ||ey||

After {ku} 'that': before {+} ||é||

before {ník} ||ey||

After {ník} or {'ím} 'you (sg.)' ||pé||

Elsewhere ||pe||

||e||

{kí·pe} : /kíne/ 'here'

||ey||

{kí·pe ník} : /kineyníx/ 'at this very spot'

{kupe ník} : /konayníx/ 'at that very spot'

||é||

{kupe} : /koná/ 'there'

||pé||

{né·qc ník pe} : /na·qcnipá/ 'at the place of only one'

||pe||

{tuhun pe} : /tohónpa/ 'in leggings' ({tuhun} 'trousers,' 'leggings')

535. < e >. The two members of this class are:

{e} (junior vocative suffix) occurs with the four kinship terms denoting grandparent-grandchild relationship and indicates that the vocative refers to the younger referent of the reciprocal system. The four examples are:

{qelec e} : /qaláca/ 'son's child!' (a man speaking)

{pileq e} : /piláqa/ 'daughter's child!' (a man speaking)

{'é·l e} : /'é·le/ 'son's child!' (a woman speaking)

{qe·c e} : /qá·ca/ 'daughter's child' (a woman speaking)

{e?} (senior vocative suffix) occurs with twelve kinship terms and indicates the senior referent.

{qelec e?} : /qaláca?/ 'paternal grandfather'

{pileq e?} : /piláqa?/ 'maternal grandfather'

{'é·l e?} : /'é·le?/ 'paternal grandmother'

536. The substantive constructions in which the inflectional suffix classes above participate are:

Ss = subject substantive

Ss : sT [nim]

Example:	sT	< nim >
	{'ipí	nim}
	'ip	nim
	/ 'ipním	/
	he	

So = object substantive

So : sT [ne]

Example: sT < ne >
 { 'ipí ne }
 || 'ip né ||
 / ʔipné /
 him

Sl = locative substantive

Sl : sT k/ 'éyn

Examples:	sT	< k >	sT	< 'éyn >
	{ tiwélqe	ki }	{ ku	pe }
	tiwélqe	ki	kun	é
	/	tiwélqeki	/	koná
	on account of the enemy		at that place	

At = attributive

At : sT [nim]

Example: sT < nim >
 { 'ipí nim
 || 'ip ním ||
 / ʔipním /
 his

I = interjection

I : St e

Example: sT < e >
 { qeléc e? }
 || qeléc e? ||
 / qaláca? /
 paternal grandfather!

600. VERBS

Verb stems are discussed in 610 and verb themes are discussed in 620.

610. Verb stems.

There are two verb stem classes.

611. General verb stems (gvS) : one or two general verb root morphemes, or a general verb root morpheme plus a preceding general noun root morpheme.

The two main variables in the allomorphy of monomorphemic verb stems are stress and canonical forms.

The two major types of verb stems, in terms of the first variable noted above, are stressed and unstressed types, the latter with two subtypes.

A stressed verb stem occurs always with a stress and ends in either a consonant or an unstressed vowel, e.g.,

{têqí·k} 'come down' s-class
 ||têqí·k s e|| : /teqí·kse/ 'I am coming down'
 ||têqí·k s e qe|| : /taqí·ksaqa/ 'I came down'

{tí·we} 'smell bad' c-class
 ||tí·we c e|| : /tí·wece/ 'I smell bad'
 ||tí·we c e qe|| : /tí·wacaqa/ 'I smelled bad'

Members of the unstressed type are represented by some stressed and some unstressed allomorphs and may be further divided into two subtypes: {hipí} type and {hení·} type.

{hipí} type is characterized by final stressed ||í|| in an allomorph before {s} class marker and {e} singular suffix, and by unstressed allomorphs elsewhere, e.g.,

{hipí} 'eat' s-class
 ||hipí s e|| : /hipíse/ 'I eat'
 ||hip s é· qe|| : /hipsá·qa/ 'I ate'
 ||hip ú?|| : /hipú?/ 'I will eat'

{hekí} 'see' c-class
 ||hekí c e|| : /hekíce/ 'I see'
 ||hek c é· qe|| : /hakcá·qa/ 'I saw'
 ||'e hek n ú?|| : /'e·xnú?/ 'I will see it'

{hení·} type is characterized by final stressed vowel in an allomorph before {s} and {e}, {u?} indicative future suffix, or {u?qe} conditional past suffix, and by unstressed allomorphs elsewhere, e.g.,

{hení·} 'make' s-class
 ||hení· s e|| : /haní·sa/ 'I make'
 ||heni s é· qe|| : /hanisá·qa/ 'I made'
 ||hení yu?|| : /haníyo?/ 'I will make'

The following shows the suffixal allomorphs determined by the two stem types and subtypes discussed above.

	After Stressed Stem	After Unstressed Stem	
		{hipí}	{hení'}
{e} singular (not before {+})	e	é·	é·
{i} plural	i	í·	í·
{u?} indicative future	yu? u?	ú?	yu? u?
{eq} conditional present	eq	'é·q	'é·q
{u?qe} conditional past	yu?qe u?qe	ú?qe	yu?qe u?qe
{te} frequentative present	te , te·	té·	té·
{qeqe} frequentative recent past with {i}	ye?niqe e?niqe	ye?ní·qe	ye?ní·qe
{qene} frequentative remote past with {i}	yenixne enixne	ení·xne	ení·xne

When certain prefixes occur with an unstressed stem, a stressed allomorph of the prefix occurs if the prefix can be represented by a stressed allomorph. In such cases the stem allomorph before {s} and {e} is without the final ||í||. Furthermore, an unstressed set of suffixal allomorphs occurs, e.g.,

||weqe lpí s e || : /waqalpísa/ 'I hug' ({weqi} 'in arms,' {'inpí} 'seize')

||'ipné weqe lp t || : /?ipnó·qalpt/ 'to fold arms' ({'ipné·} third person singular reflexive prefix, {t} gerundial suffix; lit. 'to hug himself')

||pí· weqe lp s i k || : /pí·waqalpsix/ 'we are hugging each other' ({pí·} reciprocal prefix, {i} plural suffix, {k} indicative present)

The canonical alternation may be found stem-initially or stem-finally; the former is found in all types of stems, while the latter is found only in {hipí} and {hení} types.

The stem-initial alternation is as follows:

$C_1VC_2C_3$ after {+} and $C_1C_2VC_3$ elsewhere.

||ciklí·k s e|| : /ciklí·kse/ 'I return'

||hi ckilí·k s e|| : /hickilí·kse/ 'he returns' ({hi} third person subject prefix)

||titwetí· s e|| : /titwatí·sa/ 'I tell a story'

||hi ttiwetí· s e|| : /hittiwatí·sa/ 'he tells a story'

The stem-final alternation is as follows:

$C_1C_2\acute{V}(\cdot)$ before {s} and {e}, and $C_1\acute{V}C_2$ before {t}.

||we ʔíní s e|| : /weʔnpi·se/ 'I am singing' ({we} 'with mouth,' {ʔíní} 'seize')

||we ʔíní t|| : /weʔnípt/ 'to sing'

||tekpí s e|| : /tekpí·se/ 'I dip out water'

||tekpí t|| : /tekpí·t/ 'to dip out water'

||xeʔpí c e|| : /xeʔpí·ce/ 'I crawl'

||xeʔépin|| : /xeʔépin/ 'crawling'

l-stems. There is a group of stems which have ||1|| (or ||n||) - \emptyset alternation stem-initially. In general, allomorphs without ||1|| (or ||n||) occur after stops and spirants, while those with ||1|| occur after vowels and semivowels. There are some exceptions. Semantically, members of this group indicate some locative-directional ideas.

Forms with 1		Forms without 1		Meaning
	Occurs after		Occurs after	
léhse	V, m, w, q	éhse	t, k, q, s	'up'
léhne	V, y	éhne	k, q, s, y	'down'
léhyek	V	éhyek	k, s, n	'upstream'
lewí·k	V	ewí·k	t	'downstream'
leylé·k	w, y, V	eylé·k	k, k ^w , q, s, n	'into'
léht	V	éht	k, q, n	'out'

Examples:

||léhse|| ||hi qûqléhse ye|| : /hiqqoláhsaya/ 'she galloped up' ({qûqú·} 'gallop,' {e} indicative indefinite past)

<u>éhse</u>	wís <u>éhse</u> s e : /wisáhsasa/ 'I am moving up' ({wís} 'move,' 'travel')
léhne	wíle léhne c e : /wileléhnece/ 'I am running down' ({wíle} 'run')
éhne	wís éhne c i k : /wiséhnece/ 'we are moving down'
léhyek	hi ^ʔ ipsqi léhyek s e : /hiʔpsqiléhyekse/ 'he is walking upstream' ({hi} third person subject prefix, { ^ʔ ipsqí} 'walk')
éhyek	wís éhyek t : /wiséhyekt/ 'to go upstream'
lewí·k	hi wíse lewí·k e : /hiwselewí·ke/ 'she moved downstream'
ewí·k	wet ewí·k s e : /watawí·ksa/ 'I wade downstream' ({wet} 'wade')
leylé·k	hi wɣsi léylek s e : /hiwɣsiléylekse/ 'he sits in' ({wɣs} 'sit,' leylé·k alternates with léylek)
eylé·k	hi tûk ^w eylé·k s e : /hitkuylé·kse/ 'he dives in' ({tûk ^w } 'dive')
léht	^ʔ íye léht s e : /ʔiyeléhtse/ 'I am coming out of water' ({ ^ʔ íye} 'afloat,' 'in swimming')
éht	^ʔ ínek éht s e : /ʔínekéhtse/ 'I am taking out' ({ ^ʔ ínek} 'carry')

Compound verb stems are of three types:

- (1) adverbial prefix + verb root
- (2) verb root + verb root
- (3) noun root + verb root

The first type of compound stem is very common, the manner of action being expressed by the adverbial prefix and the general direction or scene of action by the root. There are at least 167 adverbial prefixes. They are:

c <u>éw</u> 'with shell- or beadlike object'	cú ^q ú· 'turn'
címí 'by lying on'	cú·ye 'with implement'
cu 'underneath'	cú·ye 'by shaking'
cú· 'with pointed object'	hí· 'in subduing'
cú· 'in a single file'	hicíl 'climb'
cu·le 'with a loop-like object'	him 'with mouth'
	hí ^t (causative)

hí·tem	'dance'	té·l	'run (of hoofed animals)'
hí·tiʔm	'with knee'	telé·	'sick'
ke·	'with teeth'	té·lke	'be in control,' 'lead (people),' 'tie (animals)'
kîpî·	'trace (animals)'	té·m	'throw (plural objects)'
kiyé·	'move,' 'travel,' 'wander'	temé·	'throw (one object)'
lek	'fuss (of babies)'	temé·	'lie down,' 'sit down'
lew	'build,' 'construct,' 'frame up'	têqe	'suddenly,' 'tentatively'
lé·w	'pertaining to fish'	teqełwe	'strand,' 'desert'
lé·w	'in speech'	têqe	'bathe,' 'swim'
lqí	'lift'	tew	'weed (?)'
mé·y	'in the morning'	téw	'meat'
mîs	'with ear'	té·w	'at night'
mu·	'with four (or more) legs'	te·x	'freeze,' 'be cold'
múxc	'swallow,' 'gulp'	teḫ	'heated'
nî	'leave behind'	têḫ	'sound,' 'echo'
nik	'with hide'	teʔén	'in hunting'
nîké·	'with hand (often in con- nection with fiber or hide)	teʔle	'in worship'
niktéh	'drag'	teʔpe	'cast'
nim	'with eyes'	til	'war'
nîmé·	'with eyes'	tîmné·	'at heart'
nú·xc	'with nose'	tiqe	'floating in air or on water'
pîti	'pound,' 'punch'	tîqi	'in hiding'
qi	'with sticky matter'	tisqiʔ	'backwards'
qîsîm	'in anger'	tîweh	'follow'
qûqú·	'gallop'	tiwî·	'lead (of warriors)'
se	'with eyes'	tîwe	'with stick or pointed object'
sek	'soar,' 'circle in the air'	tiyé·	'against,' 'in an obstructive manner'
sepé·	'wind,' 'air'	tiʔ	'sun,' 'moon'
sepú·	'blow'	tiʔn	'walk (plural subject)'
sike, sîke	'in the distance'	tiʔwc	'in connection with a barklike object'
sîlé·w	'on the surface,' 'in appearance'	tiʔwele	'in rain or snow'
sîlîm	'with eyes'	tu·	'throw'
sîsé	'in sight'	tú·	'hypnotize'
sîté	'look'	tukte	'crawl'
sîwî	'swim'	tûk ^w	'dive (underwater)'
sú·ḫ	'cause to stand'	tûk ^w	'shoot'
su·ye	'push'	tûk ^w é·p	'with lower arm or hand'
té·	'by speech'		

tûk ^{wé} y 'with forehead'	wîs 'travel,' 'camp,' 'pack or unpack for traveling'
tuké 'with palm'	wîsé 'in standing position,' 'in piles'
tú·ké 'with a cane-like object'	wîsle 'with implement'
tûk ^{mí} 'on one's belly'	wîstuk 'shoot'
tuk ^w e ^{le} 'in a hurry'	wîte 'spread out'
tulé· 'with foot'	wîti· 'while doing something else'
tú·le 'throw'	wîte 'in groups (of birds)'
tuq ^w 'fish'	wîte 'with clay (of hair)'
tûq ^w el 'swim'	wix ^{sí} ? 'sit'
tûx 'stickily'	wiy 'snow'
tûxpíl 'with leg'	wîyé· 'as one goes'
we 'river'	wú·l 'walk (of quadruped),' 'ride'
we 'with eyes'	xule 'roll'
we 'with chopping instrument'	yeq 'toss'
we 'with spouse'	'êlíw 'in starvation,' 'in winter'
we 'with mouth'	'êwíye 'in shooting (arrow)'
we· 'swiftly,' 'in flying'	'êxew 'abreast,' 'side by side'
wekím 'whip'	'îl 'in loud voice (?)'
wele 'while waiting,' 'in check'	'île 'in fire or smoke'
we·le 'in flying'	'île 'in talking'
we·p 'with hand or paw'	'îlelim 'cry,' 'sing'
wepe 'dressed'	'îliw 'in fire'
wepe 'run (of clawed animals)'	'îliwsteqe 'with face down'
wepe· 'unintentionally'	'îls 'in burning'
wesqe 'sit with legs spread'	'imle 'dig'
wet 'stick-like object'	'înek 'carry'
wé·tx 'loudly,' 'in anger'	'îp 'with fist,' 'with blunt instrument'
wé·w 'into pieces'	'îpé· 'with fist,' 'with blunt instrument'
wé·w 'meet'	'îpsqi 'on foot'
we·win 'sick'	'îptek 'carry'
wé·wqi 'hack away,' 'strike'	'îptqi 'pierce,' 'spear'
wextú· 'with seat,' 'by sitting'	'îqe 'in supine position'
wey 'with wife'	'îs 'with knife' (plural objects)
wêyé· 'in moving,' 'in flying'	'îse 'with knife' (one object)
we·lé· 'in knots'	'í·tem 'dance'
w ^e qi 'in arms'	'iwé·l 'pertaining to scalp dance'
w ^e t 'wade'	'îwi 'urinate'
w ^e w ^e 'fish'	'îyé· 'afloat,' 'swim,' 'pole (a canoe)'
wicx 'defecate'	'îyemí 'run'
wîlé· 'run,' 'move quickly'	
wîlé· 'wind'	

Examples:

{wîlé·} 'run'

|| wîlé· keʔy k s e || : /wilé·keʔykse/ 'I am running' ({keʔéy} general locomotion, {k} suffix of uncertain meaning)

|| wîle lēhse s e || : /wilaláhsasa/ 'I am running up' ({lēhse} 'up')

|| wîle lēh tēqí s e || : /wilaláhtqísa/ 'I am running up from the bottom of valley' ({lēh} 'up,' {tēqí·} 'come out of water')

|| wîlé· qúyím k s e || : /wilé·qúyimkse/ 'I am running up to the ridge' ({qúyím} 'to the top')

|| wîle tuyé·mi s e || : /wilatoyá·misa/ 'I am running on the ridge' ({tú·yem} 'ridge')

|| wîlé· yewne c e || : /wilé·yewnece/ 'I am running over (e.g., hills, humps)' ({yéwne} 'over')

|| wîle lēhne c e || : /wilelēhnece/ 'I am running down' ({lēhne} 'down')

|| wîlé· welu· s e || : /wilé·welu·se/ 'I am running down to the river' ({welú·} 'go down to the river')

|| wîle léhyek s e || : /wilelēhyekse/ 'I am running upstream' ({léhyek} 'upriver')

|| wîlé· wewiti s e || : /wilé·wewitise/ 'I am running downstream' ({wé·witi} 'downriver')

|| wîle wé·yik s e || : /wilewé·yikse/ 'I am running across (e.g., river)' ({wé·yik} 'across')

{'îpsqí} 'on foot'

|| 'îpsqí keʔy k s e || : /'îpsqíkeʔykse/ 'I am walking'

{kîpí·} 'trace (e.g., footprints)'

|| 'e kîpí· keʔy k s e || : /'ekpí·keʔykse/ 'I am tracing' ({'e} third person object prefix)

{qîsím} 'in anger'

|| qîsím keʔy k s e || : /qîsímkeʔykse/ 'I am going away in anger'

{qûqú} 'gallop'

||hi qûqú ke?y k s e|| : /hiqqúke?ykse/ 'he is galloping'

{sîwí} 'swim'

||sîwí ke?y k s e|| : /siwíke?ykse/ 'I am swimming'

{tú·ké} 'with a cane-like object'

||tú·ké ke?y k s e|| : /tú·kéke?ykse/ 'I am limping with cane'

Examples of the second type of compound stem are:

{'înpí} 'seize, catch' + {ciklí·} 'turn'

||'înpí s e|| : /?inpíse/ 'I catch'

||ciklí· c e|| : /ciklí·ce/ 'I turn'

||'înp ciklí· tuq i m e|| : /?inpciklí·toqima/ 'I came back to get it'

{tuq} 'back,' {i} plural suffix, {m} motion toward the speaker
or to the second person, {e} indicative indefinite past)

{'êwí·} 'shoot' + {tîwí·k} 'follow'

||'êwí· s e|| : /?ewí·se/ 'I shoot'

||tîwí·k c e|| : /tiwí·kce/ 'I follow'

||'e 'êwíye tîwik c e|| : /?e?wíyetwikce/ 'I shoot as I chase it'

{'e} third person object prefix)

A bound root morpheme may occur as the second member of a compound stem. {temé·w} 'be in excess,' which does not occur after {+}, but occurs immediately before suffixes, is an example.

{cí·q} 'speak' + {temé·w} 'be in excess'

||cí·q c e|| : /cí·qce/ 'I talk'

||cíq temé·w n|| : /cíqtamá·wn/ 'I talked too much' (||n||, an allomorph of {s} class marker)

The third type of compound stem, which shows a kind of noun incorporation, appears to be rare and often occurs with nominalizing suffixes.

Examples of noun root + verb root:

{qilílu·} 'raw hide' + {wéwye} 'beat'

||qilílu·|| : /qilílu·/ 'raw hide'

||wéwye c e|| : /wáwyaca/ 'I beat'

||qillú·wewye c e|| : /qilló·wawyaca/ 'I sing a departing song for warriors' (literally 'I beat raw hide')

{wélc} 'knife' + {'íte} 'put in'

||wélc|| : /wálc/ 'knife'

||'íte s e|| : /ʔitése/ 'I put in'

||welc 'íte tes|| : /walcítaʔas/ 'scabbard' (||tes||, an allomorph of {eʔs} 'an object for . . . ing')

{'é·tim} 'arm' + {kí·w} 'cut'

||'é·tim|| : /ʔá·tim/ 'arm'

||'e·tim kí·w niʔn|| : /ʔa·timkí·wniʔn/ 'General O. O. Howard' (literally 'arm-cut') (||niʔn||, an allomorph of {iʔn} 'one that is . . . ed')

The following may be considered an example of a verb stem consisting of a noun root and a bound verb root.

{tiwé·t} 'shaman' + {tim} 'speak'

||tiwé·t|| : /tiwé·t/ 'shaman'

||tiwetí·tim t|| : /tiwetí·timt/ 'dreamer religion' (literally 'shaman-speaking')

612. Copulative verb stems (cvS). The single member of this class is {wé·} 'be,' 'possess,' e.g.,

/hiwé·ke so·yá·po·/ 'he was a white man' ({hi} third person subject prefix; ||wé·k||, an allomorph of {wé·}; ||e|| an allomorph of {ne} indicative remote past; {su·yé·} 'the white')

/ʔewé·ke ʔiwé·pne/ 'he had a wife' ({'e} third person object prefix; {íwé·p} 'wife'; {ne} object case suffix 532.).

A copulative verb stem is always monomorphemic.

620. Verb themes (vT).

Each of the above stem classes is defined by its occurrence in special thematic constructions. These constructions include classes of verb affixes which are shown below. The thematic affixes occur only with general verb stems.

621. Thematic affix classes. All the suffixes have at least two morphologically conditioned groups of allomorphs: an s-group and a c-group. The verb stems and thematic suffixes may be labeled as to the group of allomorphs they occur with, the s-class or the c-class.

	Class	Subclass	Number of Members
Prefixes	< pí· >	pí· (reciprocal)	1
		'iné· (reflexive)	5
	< wi >	(distributive)	1
	< sepé· >	(causative)	2
Suffixes	< etk >	(aspectual)	21

Examples of thematic prefixes:

< pí· > The two subclasses of this class are reciprocal and reflexive prefixes. The single member of the first subclass is:

{pí·} (reciprocal): ||pí·|| ~ ||pi·|| ~ ||pi||.

||pí·||

{pí· te?nwé· s i k} : /pí·te?nwesix/ 'we are talking to each other'
({te?nwé·} 'talk')

||pi·||

{pi· te yú·xu? s i k} : /pi·táyó·xo?six/ 'we are warning each other'
({té·} 'by speech' adverbial prefix, {yú·xu?} 'caution,' 'wait')

||pi||

{pí· titwetí· u?} : /pittiwatíyo?/ 'we'll tell story to each other'
({titwetí·} 'tell story,' {u?} future indicative)

{pi·} occurring with a plural suffix as in the examples above indicates that the actor is animate, and elsewhere that a natural phenomenon is involved, e.g.,

/pí·wewkunise/ 'they meet' (of rivers, mountains)

/pí·wewkunisix/ 'they meet' (of people)

/pí·wyu·yce/ 'they separate' (of trails)

/pí·wyu·ycix/ 'they separate' (of people)

The five members of the second subclass are:

{'iné·}, first person singular reflexive: ||'iné·|| ~ ||'iné|| ~ ||'ilé·||.

||'iné·||

{'iné· sepelú·k s e} : /ʔiné·sepelu·kse/ 'I hide myself' ({sepelú·k} 'hide')

||'iné||

{'iné· wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔinú·pelikce/ 'I dress' ({wepe} 'dress'; {lí·k} 'be, 'go')

||'ilé·||

{'iné· té· ílé·twi s e} : /ʔilá·taʔlatwisa/ 'I am tired from speaking' ({té·} 'by speech'; {'ílé·twi} 'tire')

{'imé·}, second person singular reflexive: ||'imé·|| ~ ||'imé||.

||'imé·||

{'imé· sepelú·k s e} : /ʔimé·sepelu·se/ 'you hide yourself'

||'imé||

{'imé· wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔimú·pelikce/ 'you dress'

{'ipné·}, third person singular reflexive: ||'ipné·|| ~ ||'ipné|| ~ ||'ipne||.

||'ipné·||

{'ipné· sepelú·k s e} : /ʔipné·sepelu·kse/ 'he hides himself'

||'ipné||

{'ipné· wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔipnú·pelikce/ 'he dresses'

||'ipne||

{'ipné· wílé· keʔéy k eʔí} : /ʔipnewilekeʔykeʔí/ 'car' ({wílé} 'move quickly'; {keʔéy} 'move'; {k} suffix of uncertain meaning; {eʔí} agentive suffix; literally 'self-fast-move-er')

{nemé·}, first person plural reflexive: ||nemé·|| ~ ||nemé||.

||nemé·||

{nemé· sepelú·k s i k} : /nemé·sepelu·ksix/ 'we hide ourselves'

||nemé||

{nemé· wepe lí·k s i k} : /nemú·pelikcix/ 'we dress'

{'imemé'}, second and third person plural reflexive: ||'imemé·|| ~ ||'imemé||.

||'imemé·||

{'imemé· sepelú·k s i k} : /ʔimemé·sepelu·ksix/ 'you hide yourselves,'
'they hide themselves'

||'imemé||

{'imemé· wepe lí·k s i k} : /ʔimemé·pelikcix/ 'you (pl.) dress,'
'they dress'

× < wi > The single member of this class is {wi} (distributive):
 ||wí·|| ~ ||wí|| ~ ||wi||.

||wí·||

{wi cilú· s e} : /wí·cilu·se/ 'I cook them separately' ({cilú·} 'cook')

||wí||

{'e wí· hekí i k} : /ʔewíhekitx/ 'look each one over!' ({hekí} 'see';
{i} plural suffix; {k} imperative)

||wi||

{'e né·s wí· weʔniki s} : /ʔené·swiweʔniks/ 'I named them one by
one' ({né·s} plural object prefix; {weʔniki} 'name')

< sepé· > The two members of this class are {sepé·} (singular and
 collective causative), and {sé·p} (distributive causative).

{sepé·} : ||sepé·|| ~ ||sepe|| ~ ||cepé·|| ~ ||cepe||.

||sepé·||

{sepé· céʔk s e} : /sapá·caʔksa/ 'I cause it to hang'

||sepe||

{pí· sepé· twe s i k} : /pí·sepetwecix/ 'we are mixing it' ({twe} 'be
together')

||cepé·||

{cepé· péy k s e} : /capá·payksa/ 'I wring it dry' ({péy} 'drain,'
'become dry')

||cepe||

{'e cepé· xéʔp s e} : /ʔecepéxéʔpse/ 'I put it (or them) underneath
(in single motion)' ({xéʔp} 'go under')

{sé·p} : ||sé·p|| ~ ||sep|| ~ ||cé·p|| ~ ||cep||. Final p is lost before w.

||sé·p||

{sé·p ćé?k s e} : /sá·pća?ksa/ 'I cause them to hang'

||sep||

{sé·p tequ·yí·k s e} : /septequ·yí·kce/ 'I cause them to be known'
({tequ·yí·k} 'be known')

||cé·p||

{é sé·p xé?p s e} : /?ecé·p_{xé}?pse/ 'I put them underneath one by one'

||cep||

{sé·p tekléy k s e} : /captakláykca/ 'I exchange them by mistake'
({tekléy} 'trade')

||ce||

{sé·p wílé·keyk s e} : /cáwlakaykca/ 'I am winnowing' ({wílé·} 'by wind,' {keyk} 'clean')

The thematic suffixes, represented by both s- and c-group allomorphs, are themselves either of the s- or the c-class. For example, {etk} 'as an object goes by' is represented by ||etk|| after an s-class verb stem and by ||netk|| after a c-class verb stem. {etk} is of the s-class.

Examples of thematic suffixes:

< etk > This class has 29 members, generally aspectual in meaning. The allomorphs and class affiliations of these thematic suffixes are:

Thematic Suffixes	Meaning	After an s-Class Stem	After a c-Class Stem	Class
<u>etk</u>	'as the object passes by'	<u>etk</u>	´] <u>netk</u> -] <u>né</u> ·tk	s
ce	'remote'	---	ce	c
cí·mi	'only'	´] cimi -] cí·mi	´] cimi -] cí·mi	s
<u>će</u>	'over the object'	---	<u>će</u>	s
é·ce	'on, upon'	´] ece -] é·ce	---	s

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Meaning	After an s-Class Stem	After a c-Class Stem
'trail behind'	ení·k	---
'into brush'	´] epe -] é·pe	---
'deprive . . . of something'	é·pí·k e?é·pí·k	né·pí·k
'move in order to . . . , move around'	e] yik -V] yé·yik -C] é·yik -] e?yik	né·yik ne?yik
benefactive, affective	(1) e] ?y -V] yé·y ´C] ey -] é·y (2) e] ?ny -] e?ny	ne?y ne?ny
inceptive	í·k	nik
(uncertain)	---	k
'away from here'	kik	nikik
(uncertain)	---	lé·w
'in vain'	C] liweq V] lweq	C] liweq V] lweq
completive	´] tneqí -] né·qí	neqí
'right through'	´] qew -] qé·w	´] neqew -] neqé·w
competitive	sú?	---
'in excess'	temew	---

Thematic Suffixes	Meaning	After an s-Class Stem	After a c-Class Stem	Class
<u>tey</u>	'half-heartedly'	<u>tey</u>	<u>tey</u>	c
té·	'go away to'	´] te -] té·	---	c
te'té·	intentional	te'té·	te'té	s
<u>tuq</u>	reversative	<u>tuq</u>	<u>tuq</u>	s
twe	comitative	twe	---	c
túyu	negative	---	túyu	s
ú·	directional	ú·	nú·	s
ú·kini	'as someone'	C] ú·kini -] yú·kini	nú·kiki	s
wi	'return from'	wi	wi	s
'eq	'be anxious to'	---	'eq	s

´] after a stressed stem.

-] elsewhere (-V] after a verb stem ending in a vowel other than the preceding).

e], C] after a verb stem ending in e, consonant.

--- lacunae.

(1) before {s e}, {teq}, {tetu}, {qe}, {k}.

(2) before inflectional suffixes {e}, {u}, {s}, {t}.

{etk} 'as an object goes by'

||etk||

{hi temé· sitk etk u?} : /hitamá·sitkatko?/ 'he will lasso as you go by' ({temé·} 'throw'; {sitk} 'encircle'; {u?} future)

||né·tk||

{hi weh etk s i k} : /hiwahná·tksix/ 'they barked as we went by' ({weh} 'bark')

||netk||

{'é·ýs etk s e} : /ʔá·ýsna^ʔksa/ 'I am happy to see it pass' ({'é·ýs} 'be happy')

{ce} 'remote'

{pe· nim tiwí·k ce uʔ} : /pé·mtiwikcenuʔ/ 'they will see them leave (from a place away from here)' ({pe·} 'he/they . . . him/them'; {nim} 'see'; {tiwí·k} 'follow') cf. /pé·mtiwixnuʔ/ 'they will see them leave (from here)'

{cí·mi} 'only'

||cimi||

{hi cí·q cí·mi s e} : /hičí·qcimise/ 'all he does is talk' ({cí·q} 'talk')

||cí·mi||

{hipí cí·mi s e} : /hipcí·mise/ 'all I do is eat' ({hipí} 'eat')

{ce} 'over the object'

||ce||

{pe· hú·xele ce s e} : /páhoʒal^ʔca/ 'it is rolling over him' ({pe·} 3rd person subject and non-identical 3rd person object, {hú·xele} 'roll'). Cf. /hú·xelece/ 'I am rolling'

{é·ce} 'on,' 'upon'

||é·ce||

{wiʒsiʔ lí·k é·ce s e} : /wiʒsiʔliké·cese/ 'I am sitting on something' ({wiʒsiʔ} 'sit'; {lí·k} 'do,' 'assume a position') cf. /wiʒsiʔlí·kse/ 'I am sitting'

||ece||

{teʔépe lí·k é·ce s e} : /teʔépelikecese/ 'I put something down upon something' ({teʔépe} 'lie') cf. /teʔépelikse/ 'I put something down'

{ení·k} 'trail behind'

{hipí ení·k s e} : /hipení·kse/ 'I eat after others' ({hipí} 'eat') cf. /hipíse/ 'I eat'; cf. hé·lik an independent adverb meaning 'behind'

{é·pe} 'into brush'

||epe||

{wú·le lí·k é·pe s e} : /wú·lelikepese/ 'I am riding into the bushes'
({wú·le} 'ride'; {lí·k} general locomotion)

||é·pe||

{'îpsqí lí·k é·pe s e} : /'îpsqiliké·pese/ 'I am walking into the bushes' ({'îpsqí} 'walk')

{é·pí·k} 'deprive . . . of something'

||é·pí·k||

{hi né·s wé· ke'éy k é·pí·k s e} : /hinaswaka'ýká·pí·ksa/ 'she flies/flew away from them' ({hi} 3rd person subject; {né·s} plural object; {wé·} 'fly'; {ke'éy} 'go'; {k} cf. k below). Cf. káálo? 'amcít pá·swisiqa ka· hinas waka'ýká·pí·ksa. 'We just disobeyed her (our mother) then she flew away from us.' Cf. /wé·ke'ýkse/ 'I am flying.'

||e'épi·k||

{'e 'é·t é·pí·k s e} : /'a'ta'ápi·ksa/ 'I am going out away from him' ({'e} 3rd person object; {'é·t} 'go out')

||né·pí·k||

{kú·mey é·pí·k s e} : /kómayná·pí·ksa/ 'my sickness keeps me away from (e.g., my child)' ({kú·mey} 'be ill')

{e'ýik} 'move in order to . . . , 'move around'; repetitive

||yik||

{hi we· letpé· e'ýik s e} : /hiwe·letpé·yikse/ 'he is bumping around' ({hi} 'he/she/it'; {we·} 'swiftly'; {letpé·} 'run into things') cf. /hiwe·letpé·se/ 'he runs into things'

||yé·yik||

{'e mící· e'ýik s e} : /'amcíyá·yiksa/ 'I came to hear it' ({'e} 'him/her/it'; {mící·} 'hear') cf. /'amcí·sa/ 'I hear it'

||é·yik||

{'înpí e'ýik s e} : /'înpé·yikse/ 'I go to take something' ({'înpí} 'seize') cf. /'înpíse/ 'I take something'

||e'ýik||

{'é·c e'ýik s e} : /'á·ca'ýiksa/ 'I go in from another,' 'I go out and in' ({'é·c} 'go in') cf. /'á·c·sa/ 'I go in'

||né·yik||

{é hekí e'yik s e} : /ʔe·xné·yikse/ 'I go around looking' ({hekí} 'see') cf. /ʔe·kíce/ 'I see it'

||neʔyik||

{xí·'cem e'yik s e} : /xí·'cemneʔyikse/ 'I go being angry' ({xí·'cem} 'be angry') cf. /xí·'cemce/ 'I am angry'

{é·y} (benefactive, affective) indicates an action beyond the expected sphere of the subject, and means '(do something) for the benefit of (someone)', 'dare (to do something)', '(do something) damaging to (someone).'

||ʔy||

{é títú·le é·y s e} : /ʔattó·laʔysa/ 'I forget his' ({títú·le} 'forget') cf. /ʔattó·lasa/ 'I forget it'

||yé·y||

{he·ní é·y s e} : /haniyá·ysa/ 'I make it for someone' ({he·ní} 'make') cf. /ha·nísa/ 'I make it'

||ey||

{é 'é·lik é·y s e} : /ʔaʔálikaysa/ 'I make fire for him' ({'é·lik} 'kindle fire') cf. /ʔaʔáliksa/ 'I make fire'

||é·y||

{înpí é·y s e} : /ʔinpé·yse/ 'I buy (from someone)' ({înpí} 'seize') cf. /ʔinpíce/ 'I take'

||neʔy||

{hité·me é·y s e} : /hité·meneʔyse/ 'I am reading for someone' ({hité·me} 'read') cf. /hité·mece/ 'I am reading'

||ʔny||

{títú·le é·y e} : /titó·laʔnya/ 'I forgot his' ({e} indicative indefinite past) cf. /titó·laya/ 'I forgot'

||eʔny||

{pe·înikí é·y e} : /pé·ʔnikeʔnye/ 'he put (someone else's)' ({înikí} 'place', 'put') cf. /ʔinikíce/ 'I put'

{í·k} indicates that the action is about to begin.

||í·k||

{piním í·k s e} : /pinmí·kse/ 'I am going to sleep' ({piním} 'sleep') cf. /pinímse/ 'I am asleep'

||nik||

{téʔwe yé í·k s e} : /téʔweyénikse/ 'I am settling down to live'
 ({téʔwey} 'live') cf. /téʔweyce/ 'I am living'

{k} of uncertain meaning occurs after a stem when one of the following adverbial prefixes is found as one of the stem-constituents: {íle}, {ínek}, {ípe} 'with fist', {ípe} 'due to smoke', {ípsqí}, {ís}, {íse}, {cú·ye}, {ké}, {múxc}, {níké}, {níktéh}, {qúqú}, {síwí}, {té}, {té·l}, {sílm}, {têx}, {tiʔwele}, {tiyé}, {túk^W}, {túk^{Wele}}, {túk^{We·p}}, {tulé}, {we}, {weʔlé}, {we·le}, {we·p}, {wepé}, {weqí}, {wé·tx}, {wé·w}, {wéyé}, {wíle}, {wís}, {wíti}, {wú·l}, e.g.,

{hi íle tehém k s e} : /hiʔletéhemkse/ 'it is dark from smoke'
 ({íle} 'in the fire'; {tehém} 'be dark') cf. /hitehémce/ 'it is dark'

{ínek péy k s e} : /ʔináhpayksa/ 'I am bringing it' ({ínek} 'carry'; {péy} 'come') cf. /páyca/ 'I am coming'

{sílé·w xí·cém k s e} : /siléwxícémkse/ 'I am angry to see it'
 ({sílé·w} 'see'; {xí·cém} 'be angry') cf. /xícémce/ 'I am angry'

{kik} indicates remoteness of the starting point of an action, or continuity of an action (usually away from the speaker).

||kik||

{hi kú· kik e} : /hikú·kike/ 'he went from a point away from here'
 ({kú·} 'go') cf. /hikúye/ 'he went from here'

||nikik||

{é tíwí·k kik e} : /ʔetwíxníkike/ 'I followed it on' ({tíwí·k} 'follow')
 cf. /ʔetwí·xne/ 'I followed it'

{lé·w} of uncertain meaning is found in the following example:

{piʔím lé·w neqí t} : /piʔimlálwlaqít/ 'adult' (piʔím is a verb stem meaning 'grow.' For neqí cf. entry after liweq.) There is a possibility that the vowel is e and not é.

{liweq} 'in vain'

||liweq||

{é·ýs liweq s e} : /ʔáyšliwaqsa/ 'I was happy for nothing' ({é·ýs} 'rejoice', 'be happy')

||lweq||

{kú·lweq} : /kó·lwaqa/ 'I went in vain' ({kú·} 'go'; {e} cf. 638.3
indicative indefinite past)

{neqí} indicates that an action is completed.

||tneqí||

{wís léhse neqí e} : /wisáhsatnaqíya/ 'I finished traveling up'
({wís 'travel'; {léhse} 'up') cf. /wisáhsaya/ 'I traveled up'

||né·qí||

{hipí neqí s} : /hipná·qís/ 'I am through eating' ({hipí} 'eat')

||neqí||

{pi·we·p ci'yew neqí e} : / pi·wapci'yawnaqíya/ 'they are through
with fighting' ({we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ci'yew 'kill'; {pi·}
reciprocal prefix) cf. /pí·wapci'yawna/ 'they were fighting'

{qew} indicates an action performed without interruptions.

||qew||

{hi íse sú?p qew s e} : /hicasó?pqawca/ 'he cuts it with a knife in
a hurry' ({íse} 'with knife'; {sú?p} 'cut') cf. /hi?cesú?pse/
'he cuts'

||qé·w||

{ínpí qew s e} : /?inpqá·wca/ 'I grab as I go' ({ínpí} 'seize') cf.
/?inpíse/ 'I grab'

||neqew||

{le?ém qew s e} : /la?ámnaqawca/ 'I empty it right through'
({le?ém} 'exhaust') cf. /la?ámca/ 'I finish it'

||neqé·w||

{'e hekí qew s} : /?a·xnaqá·wn/ 'I see it as I go by' ({hekí} 'see')
/hekíce/ 'I see it'

{su?} indicates that an action is performed in competition with someone
else, e.g.,

{'e wís tuk léhse su? s e} : /?awstokahsó?sa/ 'I shoot up against
(someone)' {wís} 'travel'; {tuk} 'shoot'; {léhse} 'up') cf.
/wistokáhsasa/ 'I shoot upward'

{teméw} indicates an action in excess.

{kú·teméw s e} : /kotamáwca/ 'I travel too much' ({kú·} 'go')

{hi wé·qi teméw s e} : /hiwaqitamáwca/ 'it is rains too much'
({hi} 3rd person subject prefix; {wé·qi} 'rain')

{tey} 'half-heartedly,' 'carelessly'

{hité·me tey s e} : /hitamatáyca/ 'I am studying half-heartedly'
({hité·me} 'study,' 'read') cf. /hité·mece/ 'I am studying'

{weíé· mu?tk téy s e} : /waíamo?tktáyca/ 'I am tying my hair
carelessly' ({weíé·} 'in knots,' {mu?tk} 'tie (hair) into a
ponytail') cf. /weíé·mu?tkse/ 'I am tying my hair'

{té·} indicates that one moves to another location for an action.

||te||

{îpé·té té· s e} : /?ipé·tése/ 'I go to scrape' ({îpé·té} 'scrape')
cf. /?ipe·tése/ 'I scrape'

||té·||

{înpí té· s e} : /?inpté·se/ 'I go to take' ({înpí} 'seize') cf. /?inpíse/
'I take'

{tefé·} indicates an action which is to take place in the immediate future,
or the intention of the subject to perform an action.

||tefé||

{pi· emk tefé· s i k} : /pi?amktaíasí·x/ 'we are going to be gathered'
({pi·} reciprocal prefix; {emk} 'gather') cf. /pí?amkcix/ 'we
are gathered'

||tefé·||

{ti?kí tefé· s e} : /ti?nkitefé·se/ 'I may die any minute' ({ti?nkí}
'die') cf. /ti?nkíce/ 'I die'

{tuq} indicates a movement back toward the original point of reference.

||tuq||

{wé·yik tuq s e} : /wá·yiktoqsa/ 'I am crossing back' ({wé·yik} 'go
across') cf. /wé·yikse/ 'I am crossing over'

{ciklí· tuq s e} : /ciklí·toqsa/ 'I am turning back' ({ciklí·} 'turn')
cf. /ciklí·ce/ 'I am turning around'

{twe} indicates that an action takes place in association with another person.

{hi tú·qi twe s e} : /hitú·qitwece/ 'he smokes with someone'
({tú·qi} 'smoke (pipe)') cf. /hitú·qise/ 'he smokes'

{tuyu} indicates negation.

{hi cí·q tuyu s e} : /hicí·qtuyuse/ 'he is not speaking' ({cí·q}
'speak') cf. /hicí·qce/ 'he speaks'

{ú·} indicates that an action is directed toward an object or goal.

||ú·||

{'înikí ú· s e} : /'înikú·se/ 'I put something for . . . ' ({'înikí}
'put') cf. /'înikise/ 'I put something'

||nú·||

{hi péy ú· s e} : /hipaynó·sa/ 'he comes to see someone' ({péy}
'come') cf. /hipá·yca/ 'he comes'

{ú·kini} indicates that an action takes place as an object approaches the subject.

||ú·kini||

{'e 'înpí ú·kini s e} : /'e'npú·kinise/ 'I take it as it comes' ({'înpí}
'seize') cf. /'e'npise/ 'I take it'

||yú·kini||

{hi 'îní· ú·kini s e} : /hi'nyú·kinise/ 'he is giving it to me as I go
up to him' ({hi} 3rd person subject prefix; {'îní·} 'give') cf.
/hi'ní·se/ 'he is giving it to me'

||nú·kini||

{pe· we·p ci·yew ú·kini s e} : /po·pci'yawnó·kinisa/ 'he kills him
as he comes' cf. /pó·pci'yawca/ 'he kills him'

{wi} indicates that an action is completed and the subject is returning to the point of origin.

{'imí wi s e} : /'imíwise/ 'I am returning from digging roots'
({'imí} 'camp to dig roots') cf. /'imícix/ 'we are camping
for digging roots'

{wi} may occur after {té·}, e.g.,

{'e hekí té· wi s e} : /'e·kté·wise/ 'I am returning after going to
see it' ({hekí} 'see') cf. /'e·kté·se/ 'I go to see it'; /'e·kíce/
'I see it'

{'eq} desiderative

{wiyé· wey 'eq s e} : /wiyú·'yeqse/ 'I am dying to go' ({wiyé·} 'as one goes'; {wey} 'separate') cf. /wiyú·yce/ 'I am going away'

622. Construction of verb themes. The varying internal structures of the verb theme (vT) are described in the following sections. The elements surrounding the stem-class markers are references to the preceding chart of affixes.

622.1. General verb theme (gvT). The two types of general verb themes are: (1) those with general verb stem (gvS) as a constituent, and (2) those with substantive stems (sS) as a constituent. The first type is as follows.

gvT:	pí·	wi	sepé·	gvS	<u>etk</u>
1.		x	x	x	
2.	x	x		x	
3.	x			x	x

Examples:

- {wi sepé· xé?p} in /?ene·swicepexé?psene/ 'I put them underneath separately' ({'e} third person object prefix; {ne·s} plural object prefix; {xé?p} 'go under'; {s} class marker; {e} singular subject prefix; {ne} indicative remote past)
- {'imemé· wi tekléy} in /?imama·witkaláyna/ 'they changed clothes' ({tekléy} 'exchange')
- {pí· cí·q ú·} in /picixnú·six/ 'we are arguing over it' ({cí·q} 'talk')

The second type of general verb themes is denominative. The following class of special suffixes enters into such verb theme construction:

< hí· >. The six members of this class are:

{hí·} 'put on,' 'go up to (?)' : ||hí·|| ~ ||hi||

||hí·||

{túhun hí· s e} : /tohoní·sa/ 'I put on trousers' ({túhun} 'trousers')

||hi||

{kepú· hí· s e} : /kapó·hisa/ 'I put on coat' ({kepú·} 'coat')

{ínek tú·yem hí·s e} : /ʔinaxtoyá·misa/ 'I carry it to the top'
 ({tú·yem} 'summit')

{í·nek} is found in one example.

{hé·me í·nek s e} : /hamí·naksa/ 'I am going to husband's place'
 ({hé·me} 'man,' 'husband')

{né·nek} 'become'

{léw tiwe· né·nek s e} : /lawtiwa·ná·naksa/ 'I become a friend'
 ({léw} '?!'; {tiwe·} 'together'; láwtiwa· 'friend')

{yé·k} 'go to get'

{cé·qet yé·k s e} : /ceqetyé·kse/ 'I go to get blackberries'
 ({cé·qet} 'blackberry')

{é·w} 'become characterized by'

{tésq é·w s} : /tasqá·ws/ 'I became fat' ({tésq} 'grease,' 'fat')

{wi} 'act as,' 'do' : ||wí·|| ~ ||wi||

||wí·||

{'iyéqis wi s e} : /ʔiyéqiswí·se/ 'I fight' ({'iyéqis} 'hot')

||wi||

{qepsíʔs wi s e} : /qepsiʔíswise/ 'I do evil'; 'I sin' ({qepsíʔs} 'bad')

Some substantive stems before {wi} have special forms ending in né· or uy;

/ʔipnu·wepcuxné·wise/ 'he pretends to be smart' ({'ipnú·} 3rd
 person reflexive prefix; {wepcú·k} 'intelligent')

/ʔipnu·wepcukuywí·se/ 'he pretends to be smart'

The general verb themes containing a substantive stem may be summarized as follows:

gvT: nS/aS < hí· >

All five members of < hí· > class occur with general noun stems (nS), and {wi} may also occur with adjective stems (aS).

622.2. Copulative verb theme (cvT). Copulative themes are always co-terminous with copulative verb stems (cvS):

cvT: cvS

Example:

{wé·} in /hiwé·ke/ 'he was' ({hi} third person subject prefix; ||e||, an allomorph of {ne} indicative remote past 638.5)

630. Verb inflection.

The following four classes of prefixes and four classes of suffixes occur as inflectional elements in constituency with verb themes.

Prefixes

Class	Number of Members
< hi > (subject/object prefixes)	2
< pe· > (subject and object prefix)	1
< pe\ > (plural subject prefix)	1
< ne·s > (plural object prefix)	1

Suffixes

< s > (class marker suffix)	1
< e > (number suffixes)	2
< m > (locative suffixes)	2
< k > (tense-modal suffixes)	14

631. < hi > class. The two members of this class are {hi} and {'e}.

{hi} (third person subject prefix) : ||hí·|| before {wé·} 'be' followed by {s} and {+}; ||hi|| elsewhere, e.g.,

||hí·||

{hi wé· s} : /hí·wes/ 'he is'

||hi||

{hi titwetí·s e} : /hittiwatí·sa/ 'he tells a story' ({titwetí·} 'tell a story')

{hi 'ełwí s e} : /he?ełwíce/ 'he spends winter' ({'ełwí} 'spend winter')

{'e} third person object prefix

With a simple transitive verb (i.e., without a benefactive suffix), 'e indicates that the subject is either first or second person and that the direct object is in the non-possessed third person, or, more specifically, that the object is neither closely related to the speaker nor possessed by the speaker. When an independent substantive is in the sentence as the object, it is followed by {ne} (532).

{'e mičí·s e miyé?c ne} : /?amčí·sa miya?ásna/ 'I hear a child' ({mičí·} 'hear'; {miyé?c} 'child') Cf. /mičí·sa miyá?c/ 'I hear (my) child'

With a transitive verb with a benefactive suffix, 'e indicates that the subject is either first or second person and that the beneficiary (or victim) is in the non-possessed third person. When there are two independent substantives in the sentence, one as the direct object and the other as the beneficiary, the former is without any case suffix and the latter is followed by {ne} (532).

With an intransitive verb, 'e indicates that the subject is in either the first or second person and the indirect object is in the non-possessed third person.

{'e hí s e} : /?ewíse/ 'I speak to him' ({hí} 'speak')

With an intransitive verb, 'e also indicates that the subject is in the third person and that the subject is possessed by someone else.

{himé·qís quqé·lq 'e têqe 'í s e} : /himé·qís qoqá·lɣ ?etqe?íce/ 'his huge buffalo was lying dead' (lit. his huge buffalo was suddenly lying) ({himé·qís} 'huge'; {quqé·lq} 'buffalo'; {têqe} 'suddenly'; {'í} 'lie')

{'e} : ||'ew|| before ||'V|| or ||hV||; ||'e|| elsewhere.

||'ew||

{'e 'íní s e} : /?ewní·se/ 'I am giving it' ({'íní·} 'give')

{'e hí s e} : /?ewíce/ 'I speak to him' ({hí} 'speak')

||'e||

{'e wepe lí·k s e} : /ʔu·pelí·kce/ 'I dress up someone not closely related to me' ({wepe} 'dress'; {lí·k} 'be,' 'go,' 'assume a position') cf. /wepelí·kce/ 'I dress up (someone close to me, e.g., wife, child, horse)'

Exceptionally, ||'e|| occurs before {'êwí·} 'shoot (arrow)' and before {hekí·} 'see.'

{'e 'êwí· s e} : /ʔeʔwí·se/ 'I shoot at it'

{'e hekí· s e} : /ʔe·kíce/ 'I see it'

632. < pe· > class. The single member of this class is {pe·} indicating that the subject and the object are in non-identical third person.

{pe·} : ||pé·||, ||pe·|| or ||pe||

||pé·||

{pe· wéwluq s e} : /pé·wewluqse/ 'he wants it' ({wéwluq} 'want')
cf. /ʔewéwluqse/ 'I want it'

||pe·||

{pe· titwetí· uʔ} : /pa·ttiwatíyoʔ/ 'he will tell him a story' cf.
/ʔattiwatíyoʔ/ 'I will tell him a story'

||pe||

{pe· 'înpí s e} : /peʔénpse/ 'he seizes him' ({'înpí} 'seize')

633. < pe > class. The single member of this class is {pe} indicating the plurality of the subject.

{pe} : ||pe|| ~ ||pé·|| ~ ||pé||

||pe||

{pe titwetí· uʔ} : /pattiwatíyoʔ/ 'we will tell a story' cf.
/pa·ttiwatíyoʔ/ 'he will tell him a story'

||pé·||

{hi pe kú· s} : /hipé·kus/ 'they just left' ({kú·} 'go')

||pé||

{'e pe we·p ci·yew k ki} : /ʔapó·pci·yawnki/ 'we killed him'
({we·p} 'with hand or paw'; {ci·yew} 'kill'; {k} indicative present; {ki} 'away from the speaker')

634. < ne·s > class. The single member of this class is {ne·s} indicating the plurality of the object.

{ne·s} : ||né·c|| ~ ||nec|| before ||' ||; ||né·s|| ~ ||nes|| elsewhere.

||né·c||

{'e ne·s 'înpí s e} : /ʔené·cînpse/ 'I seize them'

||nec||

{'e ne·s 'écúʔ s e} : /ʔanaçacóʔsa/ 'I go into them' ({'écúʔ} 'go in')

cf. /ʔacóʔsa/ 'I go in'

||né·s||

{'e ne·s mící· s e} : /ʔaná·smícísa/ 'I hear them' ({mící·} 'hear')

||nes||

{hí ne·s titwetí· uʔ} : /hinastitwatíyoʔ/ 'he will tell us a story'

{'e ne·s titwetí· uʔ} : /ʔanastitwatíyoʔ/ 'I will tell them a story'

635. < s > class. The single member of this class is {s} (class marker). {s} does not occur with the following tense-modal suffixes: frequentative present, imperative (without locative suffixes). {s} has the following allomorphs:

Environments After s-Class Verb Theme After c-Class Verb Theme

Before I	s	c
Before II	s	C] in , -] n
Before III	t	n
Before IV	∅	n
Before V	∅	C] ne , -] n
Before VI	∅	C] ni , -] n

Environments (arabic numerals refer to the tense-modal suffixes in 638.):

- I. Tense-modals 1, 4, 5, 8
- II. Tense-modal 2 (without locative suffixes)
- III. Tense-modal 7
- IV. Tense-modals 2 (with locative 1), 3 (without locatives, or with locative 1), 6, 9, 11, 12 (with plural), 13 (with plural), 14 (with locative 1)
- V. Tense-modals 12 (with singular), 13 (with singular)
- VI. Tense-modals 2 (locative 2), 3 (with locative 2)

Examples:

||s|| (before I)

{hipí s e} : /hipíse/ 'I eat' ({hipí} 'eat')

||c|| (before I)

{hekí s e} : /hekíce/ 'I see' ({hekí} 'see')

||s|| (before II)

{hi pe· kú·s} : /hipé·kus/ 'they just left' ({kú·} 'go')

||in|| (before II)

{wú·y s} : /wú·yin/ 'I just escaped' ({wú·y} 'run away')

||n|| (before II)

{hi hí s} : /hihín/ 'he just said' ({hí} 'say')

||t|| (before III)

{'e ípté· s eq} : /ʔaʔptá·taɣ/ 'I could hit him' ({ípté·} 'hit')

||n|| (before III)

{'e tíwí·k s eq} : /ʔatwí·xnaɣ/ 'I would have gone with him'
({tíwí·k} 'accompany, follow')

||n|| (before IV)

{hi pe p_{éy} s m} : /hipapáynim/ 'they have come' ({p_{éy}} 'arrive')

||ne|| (before V)

{'e hekí s qe_{qe}} : /ʔá·xnaqaqa/ 'many times you may have seen it'
({qe_{qe}} frequentative past)

||n|| (before V)

{'ípsqí lé· s qe_{qe}} : /'ipsqilá·nqaqa/ 'I walked around' ({'ípsqí}
'on foot'; {lé·} 'move,' 'move around')

||ni|| (before VI)

{pe ciklí· s ki} : /peckilí·niki/ 'we went on home' ({pe} plural
subject prefix; {ciklí·} 'return'; {ki} 'away from the speaker')

||n|| (before VI)

{'e pe we·p ci?yew s ki} : /ʔapó·pci?yawunki/ 'we killed it' ({'e}
third person object prefix; {we·p} 'with hand or paw';
{ci?yew} 'kill')

636. < e > class. The two members of this class are {e} and {i}.

{e} (singular) does not occur with tense-modal suffixes 2, 3, 6, 7, or 9, and shows the following allomorphy:

With tense-modal 1 (without locatives)	e
With tense-modal 1 (with locatives), 4, or 5 and after a stressed stem	e
With tense-modal 1 (with locatives), 4, or 5 and after an unstressed stem	é·
With tense-modal 10	tu
With tense-modals 11, 12, 13, 14	∅

Examples:

|| e ||

{hipí s e} : /hipíse/ 'I eat'

{tîwí·k s e m} : /tiwí·kcem/ 'you are following me' ({tîwí·k} 'follow,' 'accompany')

|| é· ||

{é hipí s e ne} : /é·psé·ne/ 'I had eaten it'

|| tu ||

{é·t te tu} : /é·ttato/ 'I go in and out' ({é·t} 'go out'; {te} frequentative present)

{i} (plural) does not occur with tense-modal suffixes 2, 3, 6, 7, or 9, and shows the following allomorphy:

With tense-modals 1, 4, 5, 8 and after a stressed stem	i
With tense-modals 1, 4, 5, 8 and after an unstressed stem	í·
With 10.....	?nik
With 14 (without locatives) after a vowel, or with 14 (with locatives)	tk
With 14 (without locatives) after a consonant	itk
With 11, 12, or 13.....	∅

Examples:

|| i ||

{hi té·?we s i k} : /hité·?wecix/ 'they dwell' ({té·?we} 'dwell')

|| í· ||

{hipí s i k} : /hipsí·x/ 'we eat' ({hipí} 'eat')

|| ?nik ||

{é hekí e'yik te i} : /é·xné·yikte·nix/ 'we go to see him many times' ({hekí 'see'; {e'yik} 'move in order to . . . ' 620; {te} frequentative present)

||tk||

{wepté·i} : /wepté·tx/ 'put feather on!' (to pl.) (e.g., on arrows)
({wepté·} 'put feather on')

||itk||

{'é·c i} : /ʔá·citx/ 'go in!' (to pl.) ({'é·c} 'go in')

637. < m > class. The two members of this class are {m} and {ki}. {m} (locative 1) indicates an action toward the speaker (with second or third person subject), or an action toward the second person (with first person subject). The allomorphs are:

With tense-modals 1, 3 (after a vowel-final s-class theme),
4 (with singular), 10 (with singular), 14 (after a vowel-final
s-class theme) ||m||
With tense-modal 4 (with plural) ||nm||
With tense-modal 6 ||kum||
With tense-modals 2 (after a consonant-final s-class theme,
or after a c-class theme), 3 (after a consonant-final s-class
theme, or after a c-class theme), 14 (after a consonant-final
s-class or after a c-class theme) ||im||

Examples:

||m||

{tiwí·k s e m} : /tiwí·kcem/ 'you are following me' ({tiwí·k}
'accompany,' 'follow')

||nm||

{'e wíyé· hekí s i m qe} : /ʔawyá·kcinmqa/ 'we were looking at it
as we came' ({wíyé·} 'as one moves'; {hekí} 'see'; {qe} indi-
cative recent past)

||kum||

{hi 'é·t uʔ m} : /haʔátoʔkom/ 'he will come out' ({uʔ} indicative
future; {'é·t} 'move out')

||im||

{hi pe pé·y s m e} : /hipapá·ynima/ 'they arrived here' ({pé·y}
'arrive')

{ki} (locative 2) indicates a motion away from the speaker. The allomorphs are:

With tense-modal 1 or 2	ki
With tense-modal 3	kik
With tense-modal 4	nqe
With tense-modal 5	nqiq

Examples:

||ki||

{pe wé·yik ki} : /pewé·yixki/ 'we crossed over (to the other side)'
({wé·yik} 'cross')

||kik||

{hi ciklí· tuq kik e} : /hickilí·toḡkika/ 'he went on back' ({ciklí·}
'turn'; {tuq} 'back'; {e} indicative indefinite past)

||nqe||

{'e hekí s e ki qe} : /ʔa·kcá·nqaqa/ 'I have been to see him' ({qe}
indicative recent past)

||nqiq||

{'e hekí s i ki e} : /ʔa·kcí·nqíqa/ 'we have been to see him (long
ago)' ({e} indicative indefinite past)

638. < k > class. This class has 14 members generally indicating tense and modes.

638.1. {k} (indicative present) covers actual events of the present:

After {i} (plural) and with a locative (637)

||n||

Elsewhere after {i} (plural)

||k||

Elsewhere

∅

Examples:

||n||

{hi té·ʔmik s i k m} : /hité·ʔmiksínm/ 'they came down' ({té·ʔmik}
'go down')

||k||

{hi té·ʔmik s i k} : /hité·ʔmiksíx/ 'they move down'

||∅||

{hi té·ʔmik s e} : /hité·ʔmikse/ 'he moves down'

638.2. {indicative perfect} (to be abbreviated as {IP}) is morphophonemically zero.

{wú·y s IP} : /wú·yin/ 'I just escaped'

{IP} is used to describe an action just completed, or to constitute a hortatory construction with {ke}, e.g.,

/kex ʔehékin/ 'let me see'

638.3 {e} (indicative indefinite past) is used to describe an action that was completed at any time in the past. {e} : ||ye|| after a vowel; ||e|| elsewhere.

||ye||

{titwetí· e} : /titwatíya/ 'I told a story'

||e||

{pe· hipí e} : /pehípe/ 'he ate it' ({hipí} 'eat')

638.4 {qe} (indicative recent past) is used (1) to describe an action that was completed earlier on the same day or within a few days prior to the time of speech, (2) to describe an incomplete action, or (3) to describe an action completed and subsequent retention or regaining of the original state.

{titwetí· s e qe} : /titwatisá·qa/ 'I told a story (this morning, yesterday, a few days ago)' {titwetí· 'tell a story'}

{í·níní· s e qe} : /ʔinisá·qa/ 'I was giving it to you (but you did not take it)' ({í·níní·} 'give')

{kú· s e qe} : /kosá·qa/ 'I went (and came back)' ({kú·} 'go') cf. /kusé·ne/ 'I went (last year)'

638.5. {ne} (indicative remote past) is used to describe an action completed in a time that precedes the area covered by {qe} (638.4), especially to tell myths.

{têqe p̄éy s i ne} : /taqapáycina/ 'we dropped in (last year)' ({têqe} 'suddenly,' 'briefly'; {p̄éy} 'come')

638.6. {uʔ} (indicative future) is used to describe an action in future time, and future conditions.

/čalawí hiwekúʔ táʔc lé·heyn watí·sx, ka· ʔí·n kiyúʔ./ 'If it is fine tomorrow, I will go.' ({čelewí} 'if'; {hi} third person subject prefix; {wé·} 'be'; 9hi wé· uʔ} : /hiwekúʔ/; {têʔc} 'good'; {lé·heyn} 'day'; {wetí·sk} 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday'; {í·n} 'I'; {kú· uʔ} : /kiyúʔ/, {kú·} 'go')

{uʔ} : ||yuʔ|| after a vowel; ||úʔ|| elsewhere after an unstressed theme;
||uʔ|| elsewhere.

||yuʔ||

{hení· uʔ} : /haní·yoʔ/ 'I will make' ({hení·} 'make')

||úʔ||

{'e hipí uʔ} : /ʔe·púʔ/ 'I will eat it' ({hipí} 'eat')

||uʔ||

{pe té·ʔwye í·k uʔ} : /petéʔwyenikuʔ/ 'we are going to settle down to live' ({pe} plural subject prefix 633; {té·ʔwye} 'dwell'; {í·k} inceptive suffix 620)

638.7. Three morphemes describe conditions contrary to fact: {eq} conditional present, {neq} conditional perfect, {uʔqe} conditional past. {neq} occurs very infrequently. {eq} and {uʔqe} are used interchangeably, as noted in the four examples below. These terms, such as conditional present, are used for identification of the morphemes rather than for accurate description of their uses. All four sentences below mean 'if he came yesterday, I would have seen him.' Sentence 2 was given as the "best."

1. /'çalawí hipá·ynoʔqa ʔipí watí·sx, ka· ʔa·xnóʔqa./

2. /'çalawí hipá·ynoʔqa ʔipí watí·sx, ka· ʔa·kí'naḡ./

3. /'çalawí hipá·ýnaḡ ʔipí watí·sx, ka· ʔa·xnóʔqa./

4. /'çalawí hipá·ýnaḡ ʔipí watí·sx, ka· ʔa·kí'naḡ./

{'celewí} 'if'; {pe'y} 'come!'; {'ipí} 'he/she/it!'; {wetí·sek} 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday!'; {ke·} 'and,' 'then!'; {hekí} 'see!'

{eq} : ||'é·q|| or ||'eq|| after an unstressed stem; ||eq|| elsewhere.

||'é·q||

{hi we· s eq} : /hiwatá·ḡ/ 'it would have been'

||'eq||

{'e hekí s eq} : /ʔa·kí'naḡ/ 'I would have seen him'

||eq||

{'e 'ipté· s eq} : /ʔaʔptá·taḡ/ 'I could hit him'

{neq} : ||'neq|| after an unstressed stem; ||neq|| elsewhere.

||'neq||

{kú· s e neq} : /kosá·ʔnaḡ/ 'I would be doing' ({kú·} 'do')

||neq||

{'e kú· ú· s e neq} : /ʔakiyó·sanax/ 'you would have been advancing toward it' ({'e} third person object prefix; {kú·} 'go'; {ú·} directional suffix)

{uʔqe} is also used to describe the capability or potentiality of an action on the part of the subject, and to describe an action in interrogative and negative statements, e.g.,

/ʔí·n ʔa·xnóʔqa./ 'I can see.' ({'í·n} 'I'; {hekí} 'see'; {'e hekí s uʔqe} : /ʔa·xnóʔqa/)

/we·t ʔa·xnóʔqa./ 'can you see it?' ({we·t} question particle)

/we·tu ʔa·xnóʔqa./ 'I can not see it.' ({we·tu} 'no,' 'not')

{uʔqe} : ||yuʔqe|| after a vowel; ||úʔqe|| elsewhere after an unstressed stem; ||uʔqe|| elsewhere. This may be further analysed in {uʔ} and {qe}.

||yuʔqe||

{'e ípté· s uʔqe} : /ʔaʔptá·yoʔqa/ 'I could hit him' ({ípté·} 'hit')

||úʔqe||

{'e hekí s uʔqe} : /ʔa·xnóʔqa/ 'I would have seen him'

||uʔqe||

{pe wís leylé·k uʔqe} : /pawsayná·koʔqa/ 'we could go in' ({pe} plural subject prefix; {wís} 'travel,' 'camp'; {leylé·k} 'into')

638.8. The four morphemes describing frequentative or customary actions are: {te} frequentative present, {q} frequentative indefinite past, {qeqe} frequentative recent past, and {qene} frequentative remote past.

{te} : ||té·|| after an unstressed stem; ||te|| elsewhere.

||té·||

{'e hekí te e} : /ʔe·kté·tu/ 'I see him always'

||te||

{'é·t te e} : /ʔá·ttato/ 'I go in and out' ({'é·t} 'go out')

{q} : ||eʔnik|| after {i} (plural suffix); ||q|| elsewhere.

||eʔnik||

{cepeʔ lé· s i q} : /cepeʔlé·neʔnix/ 'we used to work' ({cepeʔ} meaning uncertain; {lé·} 'move,' 'move around')

||q||

{hi qûqû· lĕ· s e q} : /hiqqolá·nɣ/ 'he was in the habit of galloping around' ({qûqû·} 'gallop'; {lĕ·} 'move around')

{qe_qe} shows the following allomorphy:

With {e} (singular) ||qe_qe||

With {i} (plural)

After a stressed vowel-final stem ||yeʔniqe||

After an unstressed consonant-final stem ||eʔní·qe||

Elsewhere ||eʔniqe||

Examples:

||qe_qe||

{'ípsqí lĕ· s e qe_qe} : /'ípsqilá·nqaqa/ 'I used to walk around' ({'ípsqí} 'walk')

||yeʔniqe||

{qini· s i qe_qe} : /qiniyaʔniqa/ 'we used to dig' ({qini·} 'dig')

||eʔní·qe||

{hi kú· s i qe_qe} : /hikyaʔní·qa/ 'they used to go' ({hi} third person subject prefix; {kú·} 'go')

||eʔniqe||

{hi wú·y s i qe_qe} : /hiwó·ynaʔniqa/ 'they used to run away' ({wú·y} 'run away')

{qene} shows the following allomorphy:

With {e} (singular) ||qene||

With {i} (plural)

After a stressed vowel-final stem ||yenixne||

After an unstressed consonant-final stem ||ení·xne||

Elsewhere ||enixne||

Examples:

||qene||

{pé·ɣwi s e qene} : /pá·ɣwiqana/ 'I used to steal (but not any more)' ({pé·ɣwi} 'steal')

||yenixne||

{té·l wewí·ti s i qene} : /telwewitiyenixne/ 'we used to run downstream' ({té·l} 'run,' 'gallop'; {wewí·ti} 'downstream')

||ení·xne||

{hipí s i qene} : /hipení·xne/ 'we used to eat'

||enixne||

{hi hē·me nik né·wi s i qene} : /ha·manixná·wyanixna/ 'they used to act brave' ({hē·me} 'man'; {ník} 'very')

638.9. {k} (imperative) is used to make directive statements. {k} shows the following allomorphs:

With {e} (singular) and without locatives:

After an s-class theme ending in i 	k
After an s-class theme ending in other vowels	y
After an s-class theme ending in a consonant	∅
After a c-class theme ending in {té·} (620).....	∅
After a c-class theme ending in a vowel, y , w , or i 	n
Elsewhere	in
Elsewhere.....	∅

Examples:

||k||

{titwetí· e k} : /titwatíx/ 'tell a story!' (to one person) ({titwetí·} 'tell a story!')

||y||

{'e títú·le e k} : /'attó·lay/ 'forget it!' (to one person) ({títú·le} 'forget')

∅ (after an s-class theme)

{wíle· ke?éyk e k} : /wílé·ke?yx/ 'run!' ({wílé·} 'run!'; {ke?éyk} 'go')

∅ (after a c-class theme)

{'îpsqí léhne e k} : /'ipsqiléhne/ 'walk down!' (to one person) ({léhne} 'down')

||n||

{hí e k} : /hín/ 'speak!' (to one person) ({hí} 'speak')

||in||

{'e hekí e k} : /'ehékin/ 'look it over!' (to one person) ({hekí} 'see')

∅ (with {i} plural)

{'e wi hekí i k} : /'ewíhekitx/ 'look over each one of them!' (to more than one person) ({wi} distributive prefix)

∅ (with locative)

{kú· s m e} : /kú·m/ 'come!' (to one person) {{kú·} 'go'; {m}
toward the speaker)

{kú· s m i} : /kú·mtx/ 'come!' (to more than one person)

639. Inflectional suffix complex and verb constructions.

639.1. Inflectional suffix complex (isc). Of the four classes of inflectional suffixes < m > class (locative) is optional, and the rest are obligatory. The order of the four suffix classes varies depending on the tense-modal element involved.

Tense-Modals	Reference	s	k	m	e	m	k	m
1. Indicative present	638.1	x			x		x	[x]
2. Indicative perfect	638.2	x			∅		x	[x]
3. Indicative indef. past	638.3	x			∅	[x]	x	
4. Indicative recent past	638.4	x			x	[x]	x	
5. Indicative remote past	638.5	x			x	[x]	x	
6. Indicative future	638.6	x			∅		x	[x]
7. Conditional present	638.7	x			∅		x	
8. Conditional perfect	638.7	x			x		x	
9. Conditional past	638.7	x			∅		x	
10. Frequentative present	638.8	∅	x		x			[x]
11. Frequentative indef. past	638.8	x			x		x	
12. Frequentative recent past	638.8	x			x		x	
13. Frequentative remote past	638.8	x			x		x	
14. Imperative	639.9				x		x	
		∅		x	x		x	

∅ non-occurrence

[] optional

For tense-modals 6, 10, and 14 the position of the optional class of locatives is based on locative 1 (637) alone; for the tense-modal 5 it is based on locative 2 (637) alone. Locatives, particularly locative 2, occur infrequently.

Of the fourteen tense-modal suffixes, five (2, 3, 6, 7, 9) occur without singular-plural distinction. For these five tenses, the number distinction is indicated by the presence or absence of the plural subject prefix (633). Accordingly, if the paradigm is completely filled out, the theoretically possible inflectional suffix combinations are 2 (number of members of < e > class) x 3 (possibilities of locatives: locative 1, locative 2, no locatives) x (14 - 5)

2c	cik	/hité·w ^h yecix/ 'they live' (hi 3rd person subject prefix; te·w ^h ye 'live')
2c'	cí·k	/hekčí·x/ 'we see'
3s	sem	/papaynó·sam/ 'they came upon her' (pe· 632; pey 'come'; u· directional suffix)
3s'	sé·m	/kusé·m/ 'I am coming' (kú· 'go')
3c	cem	/tiwí·kcem/ 'you are following me' (tiwí·k 'follow')
3c'	cé·m	/ʔewcé·m/ 'he tells me' ('e 3rd person object prefix 631, this is an example of the usage 3b; hí 'tell,' 'say')
4s	sinm	/hité·m ^h iksinm/ 'they come down' (hi 3rd person subject prefix, 631; té·m ^h ik 'go down')
4s'	sí·nm	/hikusí·nm/ 'they are coming' (hi 631; kú· 'go')
4c	cinm	/hiʔnpté·cinm/ 'they are coming after me' (hi 631; ʔínpi 'capture'; té· 'move away to')
5s	senki	/hitiyó·xnaʔyiksanki/ 'he went around shouting' (hi 631; tiyú·k 'shout'; e·yik 'move around')
5s'	sé·nki	/hikusé·nki/ 'it goes away' (hi 631; kú· 'go')
5c	cenki	/hiyéwneceni/ 'it (trail) goes over (a hill)' (hi 631; yéwne 'go over')
6s	sinki	/teqeté·m ^h iksinki/ 'we all of a sudden went down' (têqe 'suddenly'; té·m ^h ik 'go down')
6s'	sí·nki	/hikusí·nki/ 'they go away,' 'they are still away'
7s	s	/hipé·kus/ 'they just left' (hi 631; pe plural subject prefix; kú· 'go')
7c (after V) n		/hihín/ 'he just said' (hi 631; hí 'say')
7c (after C) in		/wú·yin/ 'I just escaped' (wú·y 'escape,' 'run')
8s	im	/hipewsteqí·kim/ 'they just came down' (hi 631; pe plural subject prefix; wís 'travel'; teqí·k 'descend')
8c	nim	/hipapáynim/ 'they just came' (hi 631, pe plural subject prefix; péy 'come')
9s	ki	/pewé·yixki/ 'we crossed over' (pe plural subject; wé·yik 'cross')
9c	nki	/ʔapó·pciʔyawunki/ 'we killed it' ('e 3rd person object; pe plural subject; wé·p 'with arm'; ciʔyew 'kill')

10s (after C)	e	/ʔá·ta/ 'I went out' ('é·t 'go out')
10s (after V)	ye	/titwatíya/ 'I told a story' (títwetí· 'tell a story')
10c	ne	/pé·xne/ 'he saw it' (pe· 632; hekí 'see')
11s	me	/hipewewí·time/ 'they came downstream' (hi 631; pe plural subject; wewí·ti 'go downstream')
11c	nime	/hiqúyím·nime/ 'he came up' (hi 631; qúyím 'go up')
12s	kike	/hickilí·to·xkika/ 'he went on back' (hi 631; ciklí· 'turn'; tuq 'back')
12c (after C)	nikike	/hipapáy·nikika/ 'they came to a place away from here' (hi 631; pe plural subject; péy 'come')
12c (after V)	nkike	/ʔewyé·nkike/ 'she said it as she travelled (away from here)' ('e 631; wíyé· 'as one goes'; hí 'say')
13s	saqa	/ʔisakíwksaqa/ 'I cut with knife (yesterday)' ('ise 'with knife'; kíw 'cut'; k 621)
13s'	sá·qa	/hipsá·qa/ 'I ate (recently)' (hipí 'eat')
13c	caqa	/hipáycaqa/ 'he came (but left)' (hi 631; péy 'come')
13c'	cá·qa	/ʔa·kcá·qa/ 'I saw it (recently)' ('e 631, hekí 'see')
14s	siqa	/haʔátsiqa/ 'they went out (recently)' (hi 631; 'é·t 'go out')
14s'	sí·qa	/kosí·qa/ 'we went recently' (kú· 'go')
14c	ciqa	/páyciqa/ 'we came (recently)' (péy 'come')
14c'	cí·qa	/ʔa·kcí·qa/ 'we saw it (recently)' ('e 631; hekí 'see')
15s'	sá·mqa	/hi·psá·mqa/ 'he ate recently and came' (hi 631; hipí 'eat')
15c	camqa	/haní·tacamqa/ 'I came to make' (hení· 'make'; te· 'move away to')
15c'	cá·mqa	/ha·kcá·mqa/ 'he saw from there recently' (hi 631; hekí 'see')
16s	sinmqa	/captoktakaʔyktípá·cwisinmqa/ 'we wanted recently to come crawling' (ceptukte 'in crawling'; keʔyk 'go'; típec desiderative suffix; wi 'act as . . .')
16s'	sí·nmqa	/hikosí·nmqa/ 'he came recently' (hi 631; kú· 'go')
16c	cinmqa	/ʔawyá·kcinmqa/ 'we were looking at it as we came' ('e 631; wíyé· 'as one goes'; hekí 'see')
17s'	sá·nqaqa	/hi·psá·nqaqa/ 'he went and ate recently' (hi 631; hipí 'eat')
17c'	cá·nqaqa	/ʔa·kcá·nqaqa/ 'I went to see him recently' ('e 631; hekí 'see')

18s'	sí·nqíqa	/hi·psí·nqíqa/ 'they were away eating recently' (hi 631; hipí 'eat')
18c'	cí·nqíqa	/hakcí·nqíqa/ 'we went to see recently' (hekí 'see')
19s	sene	/pó·kíwksana/ 'he cut it down long ago' (pe· 632; ḱíw 'cut'; k 621)
19s'	se·ne	/ʔe·psé·ne/ 'I had eaten it' (ʔe 631; hipí 'eat')
19c	cene	/kó·maycana/ 'I was sick some time ago' (kú·mey 'be sick')
19c'	cé·ne	/ʔe·kcé·ne/ 'I saw him' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see')
20s	sine	/sitá·yiksine/ 'we looked across long ago' (síté· 'look'; wé·yik 'across')
20s'	sí·ne	/pittiwatisí·na/ 'they told stories to each other' (pi· reciprocal prefix; títwetí· 'tell a story')
20c	cine	/taqapáycina/ 'we dropped in for a brief while' (têqe 'suddenly'; 'briefly'; péy 'come')
20c'	cí·ne	/hicí·ne/ 'we said long ago' (hí 'say')
21c'	cé·me	/hekcé·me/ 'I saw from there long ago' (hekí 'see')
22c'	cí·nme	/hekcí·nme/ 'we saw from there long ago'
23s'	sé·nkike	/hipsé·nkike/ 'I was away eating long ago' (hipí 'eat')
23c'	cé·nkike	/ʔe·kcé·nkike/ 'I went to see it long ago' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see')
24s'	sí·nkike	/hipsí·nkike/ 'we were away eating long ago' (hipí 'eat')
24c'	cí·nkike	/hekcí·nkike/ 'we went to see long ago' (hekí 'see')
25s (after C)	uʔ	/peté·wýyenikuʔ/ 'you (pl.) are going to settle (to live)' (pe plural subject; té·wýe 'live'; i·k inceptive suffix)
25s (after V)	yuʔ	/haní·yoʔ/ 'I will make it' (hení· 'make')
25s'	úʔ	/ʔe·púʔ/ 'I will eat it' (ʔe 631; hipí 'eat')
25c	nuʔ	/páynoʔ/ 'I will come' (péy 'come')
25c'	núʔ	/ʔe·xnúʔ/ 'I will see' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see')
26s (after C)	uʔkum	/haʔátoʔkom/ 'he will come out' (hi 631; 'é·t 'go out')
26s (after V)	yuʔkum	/ná·wsiyamcíyoʔkom/ 'you will hear us as you come' (ne·s plural object; wíyé· 'as one goes'; mící· 'hear')
26s'	úʔkum	/hikiyúʔkum/ 'he will come' (hi 631; kú· 'go')

26c	nuʔkum	/pepé·xwitenuʔkum/ 'we will be back to steal' (pe plural subject; pé·xwi 'steal'; té· 'go away to')
26c'	núʔkum	/hexnúʔkum/ 'I will see this way' (hekí 'see')
27s	teq	/ʔaʔptá·tax/ 'I could hit him' (ʔe 631; ʔípté· 'hit')
27s'	té·q	/hiwtá·x/ 'it would have been' (hi 631; wé· 'be')
27c	neq	/ʔatwí·xnaḡ/ 'I would have gone with him' (ʔe 631; tíwí·k 'follow,' 'accompany')
28s	se ^u neq	/ʔakiyó·saḡnaḡ/ 'you would have been advancing toward it' (ʔe 631; kú· 'go')
28s'	sé· ^u neq	/kosá·ḡnaḡ/ 'I would be doing it' (kú· 'do')
28c	ce ^u neq	/pa·láycaḡnaḡ/ 'you would be getting lost' (pe·léy 'be lost')
29c	ci ^u neq	/páʔwyatwikciḡnaḡ/ 'they would have been shooting while chasing' (pe· 632; ʔéwí 'shoot'; tíwí·k 'chase')
30s (after C)	uʔqe	/pawsayná·koʔqa/ 'we could go in' (pe plural subject; wís 'travel'; leyné·k 'into')
30s (after V)	yuʔqe	/ʔaʔptá·yoʔqa/ 'I could hit him' (ʔe 631; ʔípté· 'hit')
30s'	úʔqe	/pakiyóʔqa/ 'we can go' (pe plural subject; kú· 'go')
30c	nuʔqe	/hipatwí·xnoʔqa/ 'they can accompany him' (hi 631; pe plural subject; tíwí·k 'follow,' 'accompany')
30c'	núʔqe	/ʔa·xnóʔqa/ 'I could have seen him' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see')
31s, 31c	tetu	/ʔá·ttato/ 'I go in and out' (ʔé·t 'go out')
31s', 31c'	té·tu	/ʔe·kté·tu/ 'I see him always' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see')
32s, 32c	te· ^u nik	/ʔe·xné·ʔyikte· ^u nix/ 'we go to see him many times' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see'; e·yik 'move in order to')
32s', 32c'	té· ^u nik	/hi·té· ^u nix/ 'they say continually and repeatedly' (hí 'say')
33s, 33c	tetum	/hiʔlé·setetum/ 'it rings all the time' (hi 631; ʔíle·se 'make noise')
33s', 33c'	tétum	/ʔe·ktétum/ 'you see from there all the time' (ʔe 631; hekí 'see')
34s, 34c	nq	/capalá·nḡ/ 'I am working all the time' (cepé· causative prefix; le· 'move')
35s, 35c	ne ^u nik	/cepelé·ne ^u nix/ 'we are working all the time'

36s	<u>qeqe</u>	/ʔaɫwínixqaqa/ 'I used to spend winter (there)' ('eɫwí 'spend winter'; í·k inceptive suffix)
36c	<u>nqeqe</u>	/ʔipsqilá·nqaqa/ 'I walked around' ('ípsqí 'on foot'; le· 'move,' 'move around')
37s (after C)	eʔni <u>qe</u>	/haʔálikaʔniqa/ 'they used to make fire' (hi 631; 'é·lik 'build fire')
37s (after V)	yeʔni <u>qe</u>	/qiniyaʔniqa/ 'we used to dig (roots)' (qiʔní· 'dig [roots]')
37s'	eʔní· <u>qe</u>	/hikyaʔní·qa/ 'they used to go' (hi 631; kú· 'go')
37c	neʔni <u>qe</u>	/hiwó·ynaʔniqa/ 'they used to go' (wú·y 'run')
37c'	neʔní· <u>qe</u>	/ʔa·xnaʔní·qa/ 'we used to see it' ('e 631; hekí 'see')
38s	<u>qene</u>	/pá·xwiqana/ 'I used to steal (but not any more)' (pé·xwi 'steal')
38c (after C)	<u>neqene</u>	/hiqoyímaqana/ 'he used to go up' (hi 631; qúyím 'climb,' 'go up')
38c (after V)	<u>nqene</u>	/ʔimínqana/ 'I used to go to dig some time ago' ('imíni 'go to dig')
39s (after C)	eʔnixne	/hiwspáykaʔnixna/ 'they would camp' (hi 631; wís 'travel'; péy 'come')
39s (after V)	yeʔnixne	/te·lwewitiyeʔnixne/ 'we used to gallop downstream' (té·l 'gallop'; wewí·ti 'go downstream')
39s'	eʔní·xne	/hipeʔní·xne/ 'we used to eat' (hipí 'eat')
39c	neʔnixne	/hiqúyímneʔnixne/ 'they used to climb' (hi 631; qúyím 'climb')
40s (after C)	∅	/wilé·keʔys/ 'run!' (to one person) (wîlé· 'go'; keʔyk 'general movement')
40s (after i)	k	/titwatíx/ 'tell a story!' (to one person) (títwetí· 'tell a story')
40s (after other Vs)	y	/attó·lay/ 'forget it!' (to one person) ('e 631; títú·le 'forget')
40c (after e)	∅	/ʔipsqiléhne/ 'walk down!' (to one person) ('ípsqi 'on foot'; léhne 'down')
40c (elsewhere)	n	/hín/ 'tell!' (to one person) (hí 'tell')
41s (after C)	itk	/ʔá·citx/ 'go in!' (to more than one person) ('é·c 'go in')
41s (after V), 41c	tk	/wepté·tx/ 'put feather on (arrows)!' (to more than one person) (wepté· 'put feather on')

42s (after C)	im	/ʔá·cim/	'come in!' (to one person) (ʔé·c 'go in')
42s (after V)	m	/kú·m/	'come!' (to one person) (kú· 'go')
42c	nim	/sepe·lkilí·nim/	'pass it over here!' (to one person) (sepé· causative prefix; liklí· 'turn')
43s (after C)	imtk	/wé·yikimtx/	'cross over this way!' (to more than one person) (wé·yik 'go across')
43s (after V)	mtk	/kú·mtx/	'come!' (to more than one person)
43c	nimtk	/sepe·lkilí·nimtx/	'pass it over here!' (to more than one person)

639.2. The verb constructions in which the inflectional affix classes listed above participate are:

Vg = general verb

Vg : [hi] [pe] [ne·s] gvT isc

(isc = inflectional suffix complex 639.1)

Example:	< hi >	< pe >	< ne·s >	gvT	< s >	< e >	< k >
	{ hi	pe	ne·s	qeʔén	s		e }
	hi	pe	ne·s	qeʔén	n		e
	/		hipana·sqaʔanna				/
			they respected us				

Vg : [pe·] gvT isc

Example:	< pe· >	gvT		< s >	< e >	< k >
		gvS	< etk >			
	{ pe·	kú·	ú·	s	i	ne }
	pe	kiy	ú·	s	i	ne
	/		pekiyú·sine			/
			they went to them			

Vg : [hi] sT

Example:	< hi >	sT
	{ hi	téʔc }
	hi	téʔc
	/	hitáʔc /
		it is good

Vc = copulative verb

Vc : [hi] cvT isc

Example: < hi > cvT < s > < e > < k >
 { hi wê· s }
 || hí· we s ||
 / hí·wes /
 he is

700. PARTICLES

710. Particle stems.

There are fifteen stem classes.

	Class	Examples of Members	Meaning
710.1	Adverbial modifiers	{q̣u} {u}	'awfully,' 'terribly' 'very'
710.2	Comparatives	{qétu} {tu·sk}	'more' 'more'
710.3	Relative	{ke}	'which,' 'that,' etc.
710.4	Indefinite	{kúʔ}	'maybe,' 'possibly'
710.5	Negatives	{ceʔye} {we·tu} {we·cu} {míʔs}	'not' (to possess) 'no,' 'not' 'no longer' 'not'
710.6	Coordinating connectives	{ke·} {métu} {é·tu} {kewé} {weq}	'and' 'but' 'then' 'then' 'and'

	Class	Examples of Members	Meaning
710.7	Subordinating connectives	{'inekí·k} {'etke} {'celewí} {qu?c} {qece}	'although' 'because' 'if' 'as soon as' 'if, 'even when'
710.8	Question particle (Q)	{we·t}	(question marker)
710.9	Interrogatives	{míne} {méc}	'where' 'how much'
710.10	Final particle	{ne?é}	'isn't it?'
710.11	Hortatory (H)	{ke}	'let me/us'
710.12	Prenominal	{'iske}	'like'
710.13	Interjectory	{'e·hé}	'yes'
710.14	Adverbial particles	{wetí·sk} {wé·qu} {'cé?é} {ké?le} {qece} {kúnku} {ku?ús}	'yesterday, 'tomorrow' 'now' 'exactly' 'just' 'even' 'always' 'thus'
710.15	Pronominal	{'é·}	'you' (sg.)

720. Suffixes.

Suffixes occur with the following stems: relative {ke}, indefinite {kú?}, negative {mí?s}, question particle {we·t}, interrogatives {míne} and {méc}, adverbial particle {qece}, and pronominal {'e·}. The two kinds of suffixes are pronominal and plural suffixes. The latter is found with {'e·} 'you (sg.)' and the former with the rest.

721. Pronominal suffixes. The pronominal suffixes of particles are in two major sets: (1) one indicating only the subject, and (2) the other indicating both subject and object.

721.1. The subject suffix set has the following membership and allomorpha:

		Type 1a	Type 1b	Type 2a	Type 2b
{k}	1st person sg.	e·k	kek	·k	k
{m}	2nd person sg.			m	m
{nm}	1st person pl.	e·nm	ke·nm	·nm	nenm
{pem}	2nd person pl.			pem	pem

Set 1a occurs with {míʔs} 'not' and {we·t} question particle.

Set 1b occurs with {míne} 'where' and {m_ec} 'how much.'

Set 2a occurs with {qece} 'even, even when' and {ke} relative.

Set 2b occurs with {kúʔ} 'maybe, possibly,' and {hu·kúʔ} 'or,' or else.'

{k} may occur with a plural subject morpheme in the same sentence, e.g., /wé·te·x kusí·x/ 'do we go?' ({we·t} question particle; /kusí·x/ 'we go'). In such a case, the second person is not included in the 'we.' When the second person is included, {nm} is used.

Examples of type 1a:

||e·k||

/míʔse·x ʔí·n manmaʔí kiyúʔ./ 'I cannot go' ({míʔs} 'not'; {ʔí·n} 'not'; {ʔí·n} 'I'; {m_enmeʔí} 'how,' 'in any way'; {kú·} 'go'; {uʔ} future 638.6)

||e·nm||

/míʔse·nm nú·n manmaʔí pekiyúʔ./ 'we cannot go in any way.'
({nú·n} 'we'; {pe} plural subject prefix)

The type 1a does not occur with second or third person subject:

/míʔs ʔí·m manmaʔí kiyúʔ./ 'you (sg.) cannot go in any way'

/míʔs ʔipí manmaʔí hikiyúʔ./ 'he cannot go in any way'

/míʔs ʔimé manmaʔí pekiyúʔ./ 'you (pl.) cannot go in any way'

/míʔs ʔimé manmaʔí hipekiyúʔ./ 'they cannot go in any way'

Examples of type 1b:

||kek||

/mínekex wé·s./ 'where am I?' ({míne} 'where')

||ke·nm||

/míneke·nm wisí·x./ 'where are we?'

In the following examples, {k} is represented by freely alternating ||kek|| and ||e·k||:

/mackex we kícuy./ 'how much money do I have?' ({mec} 'how much'; ||we|| an allomorph of {wé·} 'be'; {kícuy} 'metal,' 'money')

/mace·x we kícuy./ 'how much money do I have?'

Examples of type 2a:

||·k||

/qece·x ?í·n kú·se./ 'even I am going' ({qece} 'even')

||m||

/qecem ?í·m kú·se./ 'even you (sg.) are going'

||·nm||

/qece·nm nú·n kusí·x./ 'even we are going'

||pem||

/qecepem ?imé kusí·x./ 'even you (pl.) are going'

Examples of type 2b:

||k||

/kú?x we·t kiyú?./ 'I might go' ({kú?} indefinite; {we·t} meaning uncertain; {kú·} 'go'; {u?} future 638.6)

||m||

/kú?m we·t kiyú?./ 'you (sg.) might go'

||nenm||

/kú?nenm we·t pekiyú?./ 'we (including you) might go'

||pem||

/kú?pem we·t pekiyú?./ 'you (pl.) might go'

721.2. The subject-object suffix set has the following membership and allomorphs:

		Type 3a	Type 3b
{k}	1st person sg.	e·k	k
{m}	2nd person sg.		m
{nm}	1st person pl.	e·nm	nm
{pem}	2nd person pl.	epe	pe (before {mek}) pem (elsewhere)
{mek}	1st person subj. and 2nd person obj.	mek (after {pem}) emek (elsewhere)	mek

{pem} in 3a is found only before {mek}. {k}, {m}, {nm} and {pem} are found either as the subject or the object. {mek} indicates that the subject is in the first person and the object in the second person.

The subject-object pronominal suffixes are used to express the following combinations of subject and object. In the following notation 2s-1p, for example, indicates that the morpheme is used when the subject is second person singular and the object is first person plural.

{k}:	1s-3s, 1s-3p, 3s-1s, 3p-1s
{m}:	2s-1s, 2s-1p, 2s-3p, 3s-2s, 3p-2s, 2s-3s
{nm}:	3s-1p, 1p-3s, 1p-3p, 3p-1p
{pem}:	3s-2p, 2p-1s, 2p-3s, 2p-1p, 2p-3p, 3p-2p
{mek}:	1s-2s, 1p-2s
{pem}{mek}:	1s-2p, 1p-2p

The set 3a occurs with {we·t} question particle and 3b with {ke} relative particle.

Examples of type 3a:

||e·k||

/we·te·x ʔetwí·kce./ 'shall I go with him?' ({'e} third person object prefix 631; {tíwí·k} 'accompany,' 'follow')

/we·te·x ʔené·stiwikce./ 'shall I go with them?' ({ne·s} plural object prefix 634)

/we·te·x hitwí·kce./ 'would he go with me?' ({hi} third person subject prefix 631)

/we·te·x hitwí·kcix./ 'would they go with me?'

||e·nm||

/we·te·nm hitwí·kce./ 'would he go with us?'

/we·te·nm ʔetwí·kcix./ 'shall we go with him?'

/we·te·nm ʔené·stiwikcix./ 'shall we go with them?'

/we·te·nm hiné·stiwikcix./ 'would they go with us?'

||emek||

/we·temex tiwí·kce./ 'shall I go with you (sg.)?'

/we·temex tiwí·kcix./ 'shall we go with you (sg.)?'

||epe mek||

/we·tepemex tiwí·kce./ 'shall I go with you (sg.)?'

/we·tepemex tiwí·kcix./ 'shall we go with you (pl.)?'

Examples of 3b:

||k||

/kex ka· ʔeʷníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave him the book . . . ' ({k_e·}
'and' and means 'when' with {ke}; {ʔíní·} 'give'; {tí·ʔmes}
'book')

/kex ka· ʔené·čniye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave them the book . . . '
({ne·s} plural object prefix 634)

||m||

/kem ka· ʔíní·me tí·ʔmes/ 'when you (sg.) gave me the book . . . '
({m} locative 1, 637)

/kem ka· né·čnime tí·ʔmes/ 'when you (sg.) gave us the book . . . '

||nm||

/kenm ka· hiné·čniye tí·ʔmes/ 'when he gave us the book . . . '

/kenm ka· ʔepeʔníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when we gave him the book . . . '
({pe} plural subject prefix 633)

||pem||

/kepem ka· peʔniye tí·ʔmes/ 'when you (pl.) gave me the book . . . '

/kepem ka· ʔepeʔníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when you (pl.) gave him/them the
book . . . '

||mek||

/kemex ka· ʔíníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave you (sg.) the book . . . '

/kemex ka· peʔníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when we gave you (sg.) the book . . . '

||pe mek||

/kepemex ka· ʔíníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when I gave you (pl.) the book . . . '

/kepemex ka· peʔníye tí·ʔmes/ 'when we gave you (pl.) the book . . . '

722. Plural suffix. The single plural suffix {tk} occurs after {ʔé·} 'you (singular); e.g.,

/ʔimé ʔé·tx paʔnáhpaykoʔ/ 'you (pl.) will bring it'

730. Particle constructions.

The question word (QW) and hortatory word (HW) have the following constructions:

QW: Q	PS	(Q is question particle, H hortatory
HW: H	PS	particle, PS pronominal suffixes.)

Examples are given in 821.

CHAPTER IV
SYNTAX

810. The tactic units of the sentence are:

I	interjections
C	connectives
At	attributives
S	subjects
O	objects
L	locatives
Vc	copula
Vg	general verbs
Vp	possessive verbs

These are described in order in the sections which follow.

811. Interjections (I). The following are members of interjections:

1. Interjectory particle (710.13).
2. A construction involving the class of vocative suffixes, < e > (535): I : sT e (536).

812. Connectives (C). The two subdivisions of this unit are (1) coordinating and (2) subordinating connectives.

812.1. The coordinating connectives (Cc) are coterminous with the class listed in 710.6 as coordinating connective particles.

812.2. The subordinating connectives (Cs) are:

1. Subordinating connective particles in 710.7.
2. A construction involving a relative particle (710.3) with appropriate pronominal suffixes (721), e.g.,

{ke ke'}	'when'
{ke ku pe}	'where,' 'at which place'
{ke míne}	'where,' 'at which place'

{ke mi k}	'where,' 'to which place'
{ke kuʔús}	'as'
{ke ki wéyl}	'as long as'

813. *Attributives (At)*. The following are found as constituents of attributives:

1. Substantive themes (sT) in which general noun stems (nS), numeral stems (nuS), demonstrative stems (dS), or adjective stems (aS) occur as constituents. These substantive themes are At1, At2, At3, and At4 respectively.
2. A substantive theme followed by < nim > (531) (At5).
3. A substantive theme with < 'éyn > (534), or < k > (533) (At6).
4. A substantive theme in which a verb theme (vT) and < 'e·t > occur as constituents (At7).
5. An adverbial modifier (710.1) (At8).
6. A construction of a substantive theme and a comparative particle (710.2) (At9).
7. A construction with an indefinite particle (710.4) (At10).
8. A construction with a prenominal particle (710.12) (At11).
9. An adverbial particle {kuʔús} 'thus' (At12).

814. *Expanded substantive themes (esT)*. This section is devoted to constructions involving substantive themes (sT) (520) as heads and extending over more than one morphological word, namely, expanded substantive themes (esT).

While all six subclasses of substantive stems—general noun stems (nS), numeral stems (nuS), kinship term stems (kS), personal pronoun stems (ppS), demonstrative stems (dS), and adjective stems (aS)—occur as heads in substantive themes, in an expanded substantive theme a dS or an aS does not occur as head of construction.

814.1. Expanded general noun themes seldom involve more than six morphological words. The expansion is mostly regressive; however, frequently in personal names (with At4 or At7, see 813) a head may precede, e.g.,

esT: sT At4
/ʔiceyé·ye ʔapsí·n/ 'Coyote with-Flint' (/ʔáps/ 'flint')

esT: sT At7
/wiyetené·t ʔilpíl/ 'Red Sun' (/ʔilpíl/ 'red')

For other expansions to the right, see examples with At6, At11, and At12 below. In some cases the order is not rigid, e.g.,

esT: At1 At5 sT ɿ At1 sT At5
 /yoɣ ʔipnám ʔiní·t/ ɿ /yoɣ ʔiní·t ʔipnám/ 'that house of his'
 (/ʔipnám/ 'his'; /ʔiní·t/ 'house')

Other examples are:

esT: At1 sT
 /titó·qan ʔiwé·pne/ 'Indian wife'

esT: At2 sT
 /pá·ɣlo· háham/ 'five men'

esT: At3 sT
 /kí· ʔískit/ 'this road'

esT: At4 sT
 /ʔilɣní·we titó·qan/ 'many Indians'

esT: At5 sT
 /ʔipnám miyá·c/ 'his child'

esT: sT At6
 /wapayata·wá·t Angusx/ 'assistant to Angus'

esT: At7 sT
 /qe·qé·wi·tes kú·s/ 'whiskey' ({qe·qé·wi} 'be drunk'; {kú·s} 'water')

esT: At8 sT
 /qó qí·wníx/ 'very old man' ({qí·wn} 'old man')

esT: At9 sT
 /qé·tu himé·qis wé·tes/ 'bigger land' ({himé·qis} 'big')

esT: At10 sT
 /kú· mac ʔiní·t/ 'some house'

esT: sT At11
 /ná·qc hekí·pe ʔiske cicámox/ 'one looking like negro' ({né·qc} 'one';
 {hekí·pe} 'seem'; {ʔiske} 'as, like'; {cicémuk} 'negro')

esT: At5 At4 sT
 /ʔipnám kúckuc miyá·c/ 'his small child' ({kúckuc} 'small')

esT: At2 At1 sT
 /naqc hí·kay lálx/ 'a cup of coffee' ({hí·key} 'cup'; {lélk} 'coffee')

- esT: At8 At9 sT
/qó qétu táʔc tiwé·t/ 'much better medicineman' ({t_éʔc} 'good';
{tiwé·t} 'medicineman')
- esT: At3 At4 At7 sT
/kí· taʔsníx sa·pi·kíʔn wálc/ 'this awfully sharp knife' ({se·pi·kiʔn}
'sharp')
- esT: At4 At7 At5 sT
/ʔiléxni qiyá·wís ʔimé·snim núkt/ 'much dry deer meat'
- esT: At10 At8 At4 sT A12
/kúʔ mac qó taʔsníx cú·yem kuʔús/ 'some very good fish like that'

814.2. Expanded numeral themes. The numeral system of the language is multiplicative and quinary-decimal. The multiplicative and quinary systems are indicated by affixes within morphological word boundaries and are dealt with in 520 (p. 55f.). Therefore, all the digits, 20, 300, 5,000, etc. are covered under sT with nuS as the head. The others, such as 21, 310, 5,432, are expressed by expanded numeral themes. A connective particle {weq} (710.6) participates in this construction.

- esT: nuT {weq} nuT
/pú·timt wəx ná·qcwa/ 'eleven (men)'

Along with the expanded numeral theme, a constructional doublet

- /pú·timwe wəx ná·qcwa/ 'eleven (men)'

with classifiers occurs with each word in concord.

814.3. Expanded kinship term themes involve only personal pronoun stems with {nim}, e.g.,

- esT: At5 kT
/ʔipním píst/ 'his father'

This construction provides the language with the possibility of doublets, e.g., /naʔtó·t/ 'my father' and /ʔí·nim píst/ 'my father.' The latter periphrastic form is more frequently used in a figurative, rather than factual father-son relationship, e.g., in religious usage.

814.4. Expanded personal pronoun themes occur only in the following form:

- esT: ppT At2
/nú·n lepúʔ/ 'we two'

815. Subject (S) and object (O). The simple or unexpanded subject has an optional {nim} (531) and the simple object has an optional {ne} (532) as one of the constituents, the other being a substantive theme (sT), i.e.,

S: sT [nim]
O: sT [ne]

The subject with {nim} is found when the verb occurs with {hi} (631) or with {pe·} (632). Elsewhere, the subject is without {nim}. The object with {ne} is found when the verb occurs with {'e} (631) or {pe·} (632). Elsewhere, the object is without {ne}.

The expanded subject and object are:

S: esT [nim]
O: esT [ne]

The object may also be expanded in the following way.

O': O Vf
/ʔipné hiweʔnpíse/ 'him singing' (literally 'him he-sings') as
in /ʔí·n ʔamčíya ʔipné hiweʔnpíse/ 'I hear him singing'

816. Locatives (L). The following occur as members of the locative class.

1. Adverbial particles (710.14), e.g.,

/watí·sx/ 'tomorrow,' 'yesterday'
/wá·qoʔ/ 'now'
/ká·la/ 'just'

2. A substantive theme (sT) or an expanded substantive theme (esT) with < 'éyn > (534) or < k > (533), e.g.,

/piké·pe/ 'at mother's' (/píke/ 'mother')
/matníʔski kú·ski/ 'with boiling water' ({mēt} 'boil'; {kú·s} 'water';
{ki} 533)

3. A verb theme with < ʔe·t > class of suffixes (523.2), e.g.,

/ʔú·yit/ 'at first' ({'ú·yi} 'begin')

4. A construction involving a pronominal particle as one of the constituents (710.12), e.g.,

/ʔiske ʔá·la/ 'like fire' ({'é·le} 'fire')
/ká·la ʔiske wé·qit/ 'just like rain' ({kēʔle} 'just' 710.14; {wé·qi}
'rain (vb.)')

5. A construction involving an indefinite particle {kúʔ} (710.4), e.g.,
 /kúʔ masɿ/ 'I don't know how long' ({mesɿ} 'how long') as in /kúʔ
 masɿ kú·se/ 'I am going away for indefinite length of time'
6. A numeral theme with {éhem} 'times' (521.2), e.g.,
 /mitáham/ 'three times'
7. A construction involving a relative particle (710.3), and {kuʔús}
 'thus,' e.g.,
 /ke kuʔús téhes/ 'like ice' ({téhes} 'ice')
8. A construction with adverbial modifier {ʔu} (710.1) and adjective
 themes, e.g.,
 /ʔo ʔilɰniníx/ 'very much' ({'iléɰni} 'much,' 'many'; {ník}
 intensifier 521.2)
9. A negative particle (710.5) or a construction involving a negative
 particle, e.g.,
 /wé·tú/ 'not'
 /wé·tú manmaʔí/ 'not in any way'
10. A pronominal particle with optional plural suffix (722), e.g.,
 /ʔé·/ 'you' (sg.) in /wí·ce ʔé·/ 'you are crying'
11. A verb theme with one of the following two suffixes: {'} (locative
 formant 1), {ʔyí} (locative formant 2), e.g.,
 /hipstú·ý/ 'enough' ({hipstú·y} 'be satiated')
 /weceʔyí/ 'on horseback' ({wé·ce} 'ride a horse')

817. Finite verbs (Vf). The finite verbs may be divided into general verbs (Vg), copulas (Vc), and possessive verbs (Vp).

817.1. General verbs (Vg). The simple or unexpanded verbs are found in three types of construction (639.2):

Vg : [hi] [pe] [ne·s] gvT isc
 Vg : [pe·] gvT isc
 Vg : [hi] ɿT

An expanded general verb (Vg') includes one obligatory general verb, an optional general verb in the same person, number, and tense-modes, and optional objects.

- Vg' : Vg Vg
 /hiʔpsiléhnecem hikú·tecem/ 'he came down to get water'
 (literally 'he-came-down he-came-after-water')
 /kú·tx wilelí·kitx/ 'run away!' (to more than one person)
 (literally 'go! run!')
- Vg' : Vg Vg O
 /ʔipsqilí·kcene wiyeʔénpse kapó·/ 'I walked carrying coat'
 (literally 'I-walked I-carried coat')
- Vg' : Vg O Vg
 /hicapá·láqyawa hú·kux hihínaqíya/ 'he finished drying hair'
 (literally 'he-dried hair he-finished')
- Vg' : Vg O
 /ʔiné·ku·ye konyá/ 'I drank that'
- Vg' : Vg O O
 /hiʔníye ʔí·ne leʔéptit wəx ná·qc waʔwá·lam/ 'he gave me
 twenty-one trout' ({leʔéptit weq né·qc} 'twenty-one,'
 {weʔwé·lem} 'trout')
- Vg' : O Vg
 /mitáwna hiná·swalawqqa/ 'he hanged three'
- Vg' : O O Vg
 /síkem titó·qana hiná·spaḡoyqana/ 'he stole horses from Indians'
 (literally 'horse from-Indian he-stole')
- Vg' : O₁ Vg O₂ (O₁ and O₂ constituting an expanded object)
 /konmaná hiná·swalawqqa yúʔcmene/ 'he hanged those poor ones'
 (literally 'those he-hanged poor (p. obj.)')

817.2. Copula (Vc). The copulative verb construction is:

Vc : [hi] [pe] vcT isc

A copula is not expanded.

817.3. Possessive verb (Vp). A possessive verb (Vp) has a copula and an object without {ne} as constituents.

Vp : Vc O
 /ʔú·s lepít mamáʔyac/ 'he has two children'

820. The clause (CL). A clause is preceded by silence, {,}, or {.} and followed by either of the latter two; it contains one obligatory verb (Vg, Vc, or Vp) and optional subject and locatives.

The types of clauses are:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. General clause (CLg) | CLg : [S] Vg [L] |
| 2. Copulative clause (CLc) | CLc : [S] Vc S [L] |
| 3. Possessive clause (CLp) | CLp : [S] Vp O [L] |

A subject in a copulative clause always occurs without {nim} (531), and a subject in a possessive clause always occurs with {nim}.

CL CLg + CLc + CLp

Examples:

CLg : Vg
/hiwí·ne/ 'he cried'

CLg : S Vg
/ʔí·n wí·ne/ 'I cried'

CLg : Vg S
/ha·níya Chapman/ 'Chapman made'

CLg : S Vg L
/ʔí·nke ʔehípe laʔám/ 'I too ate all'

CLg : S Vg L L
/kú·s hiwé·lece ʔiləxni wé·qitkinix/ 'water runs high from rain'

CLg : Vg L
/ʔamcí·sa cí·qipx/ 'I heard the talk'

CLg : L Vg
/kú·mtx wiskeʔéynimtx kiné·px/ 'come here!' (Vg : Vg Vg)

CLg : L L Vg
/kí· kulé·wit taɬc píʔamxnoʔ/ 'we'll soon have a meeting this evening'

CLc : Vc S
/hí·wes qí·wn/ 'he is an old man'

CLc : S Vc S
/há·ma hí·wes qí·wn/ 'the man is an old man'

CLc : Vc S S
/hí·wes há·ma qí·wn/ 'the man is an old man'

CLc : Vc S L L
 /hí·wes ʔicwéys ke kuʔús téhes ǵo tayamí·nax/ 'it is cold like
 ice even in summer'

CLc : S L Vc S
 /Chapman káʔlo hiwé·ke so·yá·po·/ 'Chapman was just a white
 man'

CLp : Vp
 /ʔú·s lepít mamáʔyac/ 'he has two children'

CLp : S Vp
 /ʔí·nim we·s kí· wé·tes/ 'this is my land'

821. The derivative clause. The two types of derivative clauses are:

1. Interrogative clause (CLi) CLi : QW CL

Examples:

/wé·te·x kú·se/ 'can I go?'
 /wé·temex lálkini·se/ 'shall I give you coffee?'

(2) Hortatory clause (CLh) CLh : HW CL

Examples:

/kex kú·s/ 'let me go'
 /ke·mex ʔí·n ʔínis/ 'let me give you'

In a hortatory clause, the verb is most frequently in the indicative perfect (638.2).

822. The dependent clause (CLd). In a dependent clause (CLd), any of the clauses may occur in constituency with a subordinating connective (Cs) (710.7).

CLd : Cs CL
 /ǵéce ʔimtó·tapmaʔá pó·pciʔyawna/ 'even when they killed your
 fathers'
 /ʔetke we·s waqí·ma/ 'because I am old'
 /ka ká· hinúxne/ 'when he died'
 /ke mípx pekiyúʔ/ 'wherever we will go'
 /ke kúʔús ʔipelí·kt hiʔlé·sece/ 'as a thunder rolls'
 /ke kiwáył kí· té·mux hiwekúʔ/ 'as long as this footprint will be
 here'

830. The phrase (Ph). The following construction types are phrases.

831. Interjectory phrase (IPh). I (811) followed by {, } or {.}.

/ʔe·hé./ 'yes'

/qalácaʔ./ 'grandfather!'

832. General phrase (GPh). S, O, or L followed by {, } or {.}.

/wé·tu./ 'no'

/pá·ʔys wé·tu neʔé./ 'perhaps not, huh?'

840. The sentence (SEN).

One of the two immediate constituents of a sentence is {.} (which in turn may be in IC with a final particle, 710.10), the other being one of the following.

841. The minor sentence. Any phrase noted above.

SEN: IPh

/ʔe·hé./ 'yes'

SEN: GPh

/ʔimé·cteʔqeni·n./ '(man's name)'

842. The major sentence. Any construction with an obligatory clause (CL), or a derivative clause, and optional dependent clause (CLd) and phrases (Ph). For examples of major sentences with derivative clauses see 821.

SEN: CL

/hiwí·ne./ 'he cried'

/hiná·swalawqqa mitá·w'na ʔetke./ 'he hanged three already'

SEN: IPh CL

/ʔe·hé, qoʔc ʔiná·taʔlatwisa./ 'yes, I am already tired from talking'

SEN: GPh CL

/wá·qo, hiné·steqekiyu·six./ 'now, they are after us'

SEN: CL CLd

/ʔí·n ʔeslé·wqitwece há·cwala, ka ká· ʔimé hiʔnaʔaksix hipt./

'I watch the child, while they are gathering food.' CL and

CLd in this sentence are reversible.

SEN: CLd CL.

/ʔinekí·x ʔipí hiwé·ke wilekeʔykeʔwé·t, métu ʔawí·n wé·tu ʔipnám

hiʔpé·twixne ʔí·ne./ 'even though he was a runner, he was

unable to overtake me'

When more than one CL occurs in a sentence, one of the constituents may be a coordinating connective (Cc 710.6).

SEN: Cc CL Cc CL.
 /ká· wá·qo pu·qú·pe pipísne ka· ʔipí hiʔnekéhte té·pul./ 'he broke
 the bone and took out the marrow'

850. Concord and agreement.

851. Concord. When morphologically appropriate, affixal elements occur distributively with every member in a substantive expansion, with the exceptions noted in expanded substantive themes (esT).

With {kiñik} 'from' (533)
 /koní·x ʔiní·ttalamkiñix/ 'from the roof of that house' (literally
 'from-that from-house-roof')

With {nim} (possessive-nominative) (531)
 /kúckucnim mamayaʔásnim kó·maynin/ 'children's disease'
 (literally 'small's children's disease')

With {ne} (objective) (532)
 /ʔá·yatona sík'é·mne/ 'mare (object case)' (literally 'female
 (object case) horse (object case)')

With {pe} 'at' (534)
 /konyá yaʔwí·cpa kú·spe/ 'in that cold water' (literally 'in-that
 in-cold in-water')

852. Agreement. When there is an objective prefix {é} (631), or subject-object prefix {pe·} (632) in the finite verb, the object in the sentence occurs with an object suffix {ne} (532), e.g.,

/tiwí·kce kí· ʔískit./ 'I am following this road'
 /ʔetwí·kce kínye ʔiskíne./ 'I am following this road'
 /sayqíca miyáʔc./ 'I admire a child (mine)'
 /ʔasayqíca miyaʔásna./ 'I admire a child (his)'

When three persons are involved, expressed by an affective or benefactive suffix {é·y} (620) in the finite verb, the following agreement is observed.

/kí·met ka· pó·pciʔyawcana miyaʔásna kúksnim./ 'then they killed
 Cook's son'
 /kí·met ka· pó·pciʔyawnaʔysana kúksne miyáʔc./ 'then they killed
 Cook's son' (they dared to, they went so far as to, they killed
 his son causing him to suffer)

900. TEXT WITH ANALYSIS

The following is the opening section of a long text on the Nez Perce War of 1877, as told by Mrs. Agnes Moses (1868?-1960). Mrs. Moses was one of the last monolingual speakers of this language. Her text is selected as indicative of the state of the language relatively little influenced by English. The analysis was made posthumously with the assistance of Mrs. Elizabeth Wilson.

910. Phonemic transcription.

1. ʔú·yitiwćé·ye pí·wapciʔyawn ha·níya cépmin. 2. mitá·w̄na hiná·swalaw-
qaqa hími·snim hú·sus ka· ʔiceyé·ye ʔapsí·sna ka· ná·qc ʔattó·laʔysa.
3. cépmin káʔlo hiwé·ke so·yá·po·. 4. cépmin konmaná hiná·swalawqaqa
káʔlo lilkúx yúʔcmene. 5. ʔiwé·pneki hiná·ssiyawna. 6. káʔla titó·qan
ʔiwé·pne ʔewé·ke, cépmin weʔnikí·n so·yá·po·. 7. tá·mnaqahtq̄inm há·ma
ʔewé·ke hími·snim hú·sus.

920. Free translation.

1. At first the war started and Chapman started it.¹ 2. He hanged three men; Wolf's Head, Coyote With-Flint, and the third I have forgotten.
3. Chapman was just a white man. 4. Chapman hanged those poor ones for no reason. 5. Because of his wife he was suspicious. 6. This white man named Chapman had an Indian wife. 7. Wolf's Head was Tá·ʔmnaqahtq̄it's husband.

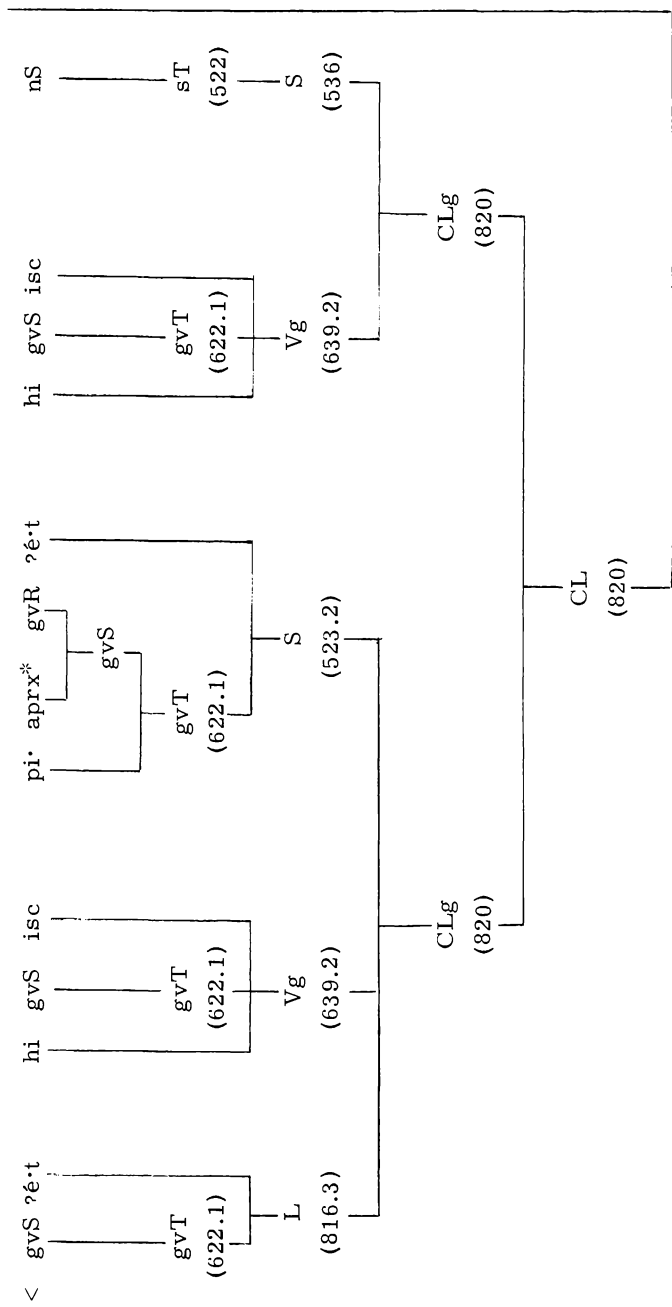
930. Analysis.

The text is given in phonemic, morphophonemic, and morphemic notations. Tactical classes and their constructions are indicated with reference to pertinent sections by numbers in parentheses.

¹This is probably Arthur I. Chapman, who fired at the Indians with the flag of truce (McWhorter, 1940:56) and was the interpreter at Chief Joseph's surrender (Howard and McGrath, 1941:282).

1. beginning it became war he made Chapman.

/ ʔú.yitiwécé.ye + pí.wapciʔyaw n + ha.níya + cépmin . /
 || 'ú.yi t + hi wicé.ye + pí.wep ciʔyew n + hi he.ní ye + cépmin . ||
 { 'ú.yi t + hi wicé.e + pi.wep ciʔyew t + hi he.ní e + cépmin . }



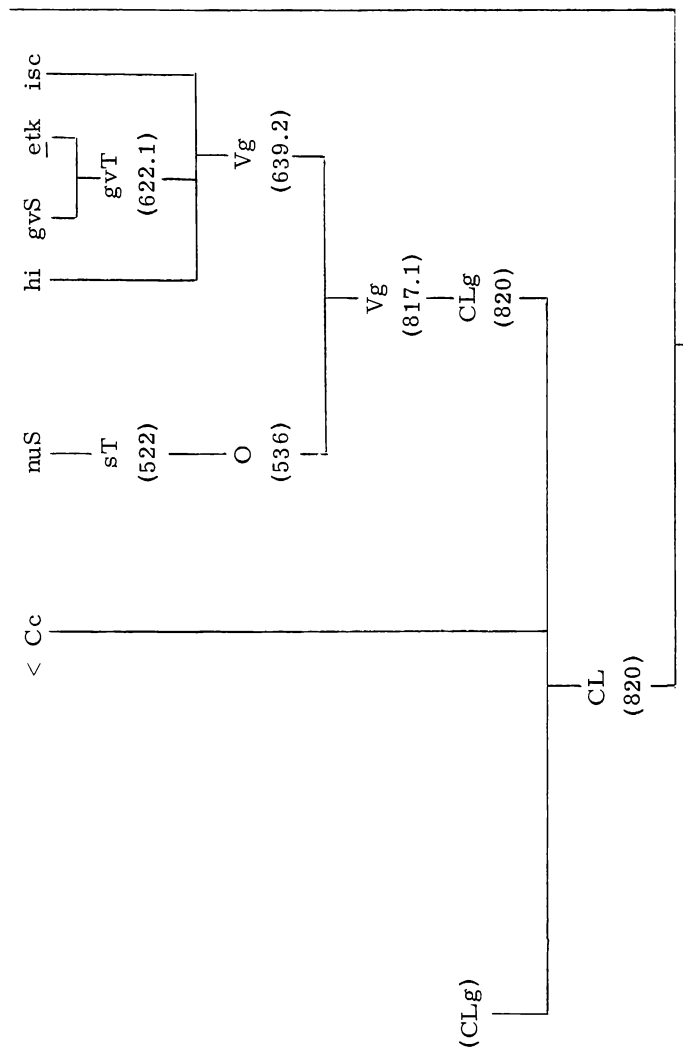
*aprx: adverbial prefix

I forgot

one

and

/ ka· + ná·qc + ?attó·la·?yssa /
 || ke· + né·qc + 'e tífú·le ?y s e ||
 { ke· + né·qc + 'e tífú·le é·y s e . }
 < Cc / hi gvS etk isc >

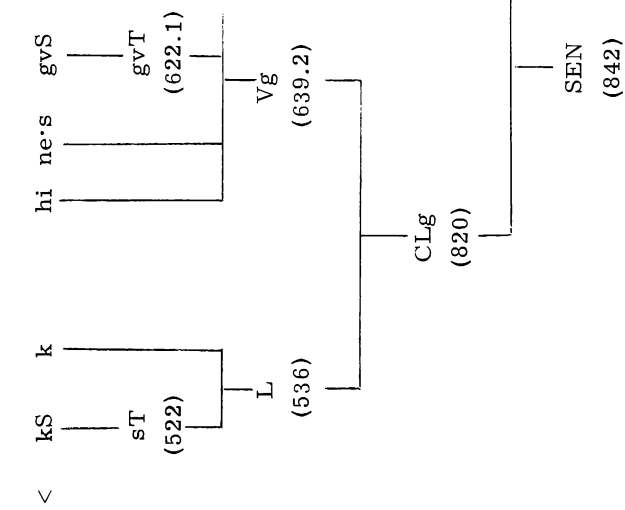


5. because of wife he suspected

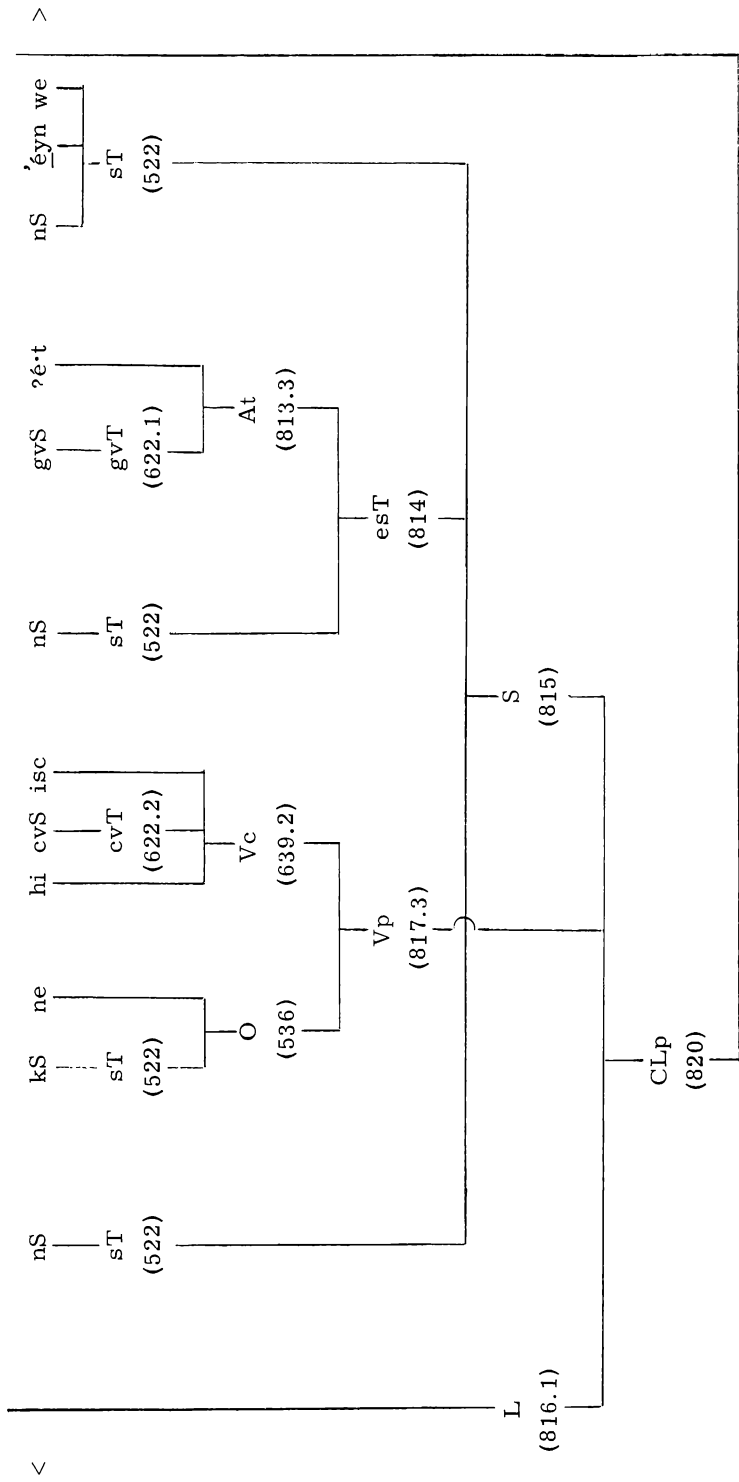
/ ?iwé·pneki hiná·ssiyawna /

|| 'iwé·pne ki + hi né·s siyew ne ||

{ 'iwé·p ki + hi ne·s siyé·w se . }



6. just Indian wife he had Chapman named white man
 / káʔla + titó.qan + ʔiwé.pne + ʔewé.ke + cépmin + weʔniki.n + so.yá.po.
 || kéʔle + tiú.qen + ʔiwé.p ne + 'e wé.ke + cépmin + weʔnik ín + suryé. pe we . ||
 { kéʔle + tiú.qen + ʔiwé.p ne + 'e wé.e + cépmin + weʔniki iʔn + suryé. pe we . }



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¹Schoenberg identifies Anthony Morvillo as the author (Schoenberg, 1957:66).

²Even though these are catalogued as "Cayuse," the language studied is a dialect of Nez Perce.

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