

• Winnebago Grammar

WILLIAM LIPKIND

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MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS • NEW YORK
KING'S CROWN PRESS

1945

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Printed in the United States of America

KING'S CROWN PRESS

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Lithoprinted in U.S.A.

EDWARDS BROTHERS, INC.
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

1945

136756

FOREWORD

The field work upon which this study is based was done during the summer of 1936 and made possible by a Rockefeller gift. My greatest debt is to Franz Boas for my training for the work, the selection of the project, and advice and guidance during the preparation of this study. I wish also to thank Professor George Herzog of Columbia University for valuable suggestions in regard to phonetics. The published texts of Paul Radin I found valuable in the beginning of my analysis.

As soon as I reached the field I concentrated on conversational Winnebago. My warmest gratitude goes to the residents of Winnebago, Nebraska, who did much to make my stay there pleasant -- even during a protracted drought -- and particularly to the Mission of the Dutch Reformed Church which was my home. Finally I must repeat what has been said by so many field workers before me, I will never forget the kindnesses I received at the hands of my Winnebago hosts. My principal informant, Mrs. Marguerite Hittle, was a model for me of patience, precision and the taking of pains. My other collaborators are too numerous to mention because I shamelessly drew upon every Winnebago I had the pleasure of meeting.

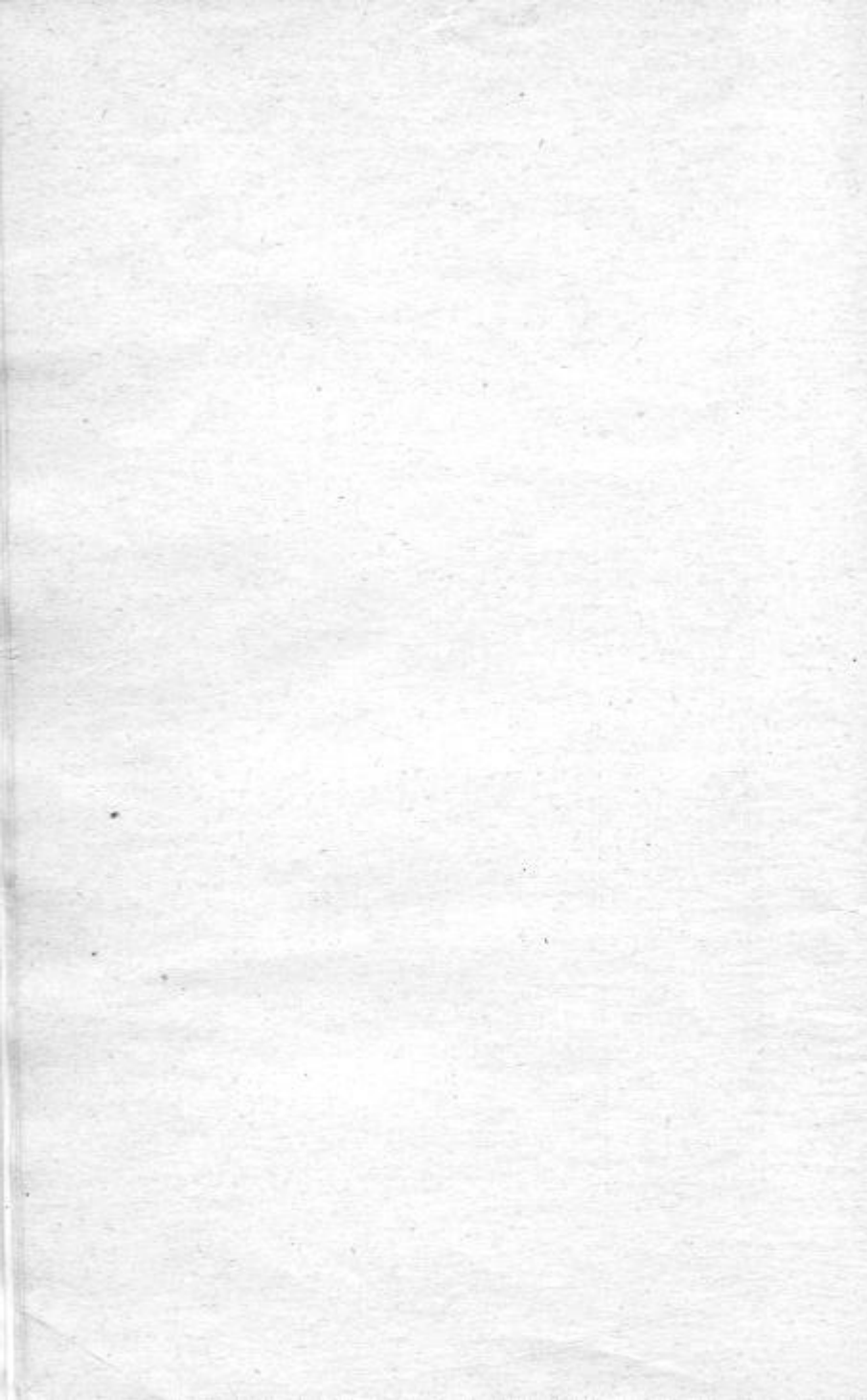
William Lipkind

Owing to the exigencies of the war the author was unable to read proof or supervise the publication of this material. I wish particularly to thank Paula Jacobs for her interest, careful proofreading and able suggestions in its preparation for the press.

M.C.L.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	PHONOLOGY.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
II.	MORPHOLOGY	.	.	.	.	.	.	12
	TEXT.	.	.	.	.	.	.	58
	NOTES FOR TEXT.	.	.	.	.	.	.	62



I. PHONOLOGY

CONSONANTS

1.	stops				affricatives			
	son.	surd	asp.	gl.	son.	surd	asp.	gl.
labial	b	p	p'	p'				
dental		t		t'				
alveolar					j	c	c'	c'
palatal	g	k	k'	k'				
glottal								

continuants						
	son.	surd	gl.	nas.	s.-v.	trill
labial				m	w	r
dental	z	s	s'	n		
alveolar	ʒ	ʃ	ʃ'			
palatal						
velar	g	h	h'			
breath		h				

2. All the consonantal phonemes are symbolized above. A few departures from phonemic transcription seem to facilitate text-reading and have the added advantage of conformity with the orthography of Radin's texts and the notes in the Handbook of American Indian languages. Thus, several additional symbols are used: ñ, a nasal otherwise identical with r; y, a palatal semi-vowel discussed below under vocalic changes; ŋ, a velar nasal sometimes heard after nasalized vowels. Also, the terminal consonant of stems is represented as it sounds. With stops and the affricate it is sonant before vowels, surd before consonants, and aspirate in final position. With spirants, it is sonant before vowels and otherwise surd. Similarly initial aspirates become surd when preceded by spirants. This does not affect the phonemic independence of these sounds in initial or medial position in a stem.

3. The aspirates are less strongly aspirated and the sonants more strongly voiced than English similars. j is somewhat more voiced than in jelly, ʒ than in azure. c' is less aspirated than in chair. g is quite like English sh. h' is a little less forcible than in German machen. r and ñ are made by a single rapid flap of the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge.

There is great variability in the point of contact of the sounds tabled as dental and alveolar. Their position is modified by neighboring sounds and tends to differ markedly with individual speakers. Glottalization is very light and the glottal stop almost imperceptible. All initial vowels are articulated with a slight glottal attack; this has been omitted from transcription as irrelevant to a structural analysis. Where the glottal stop is recorded it has, in composition, the effect of glottalizing preceding consonants. The glottal release occurs later after spirants than after stops.

4. The following table shows all the consonantal clusters that occur within stems and affixes.

initial consonant	second consonant
	<u>c k s é t j</u>
c	ck
k	ks k ^é kj
s	sk st
é	éc ék
ń	ńc ńk

These combinations are common in initial position but never occur terminally. A number of other combinations are formed by the juxtaposition of stems and affixes. bw, gw, jw, zw, źw, źw, sš, pn, kt, cn, pc have been observed and others are doubtless possible. The use of the sonant in the combinations with w shows that w is felt as of vocalic force in phonetic contact. Triconsonantal clusters are avoided.

VOWELS

5. As in most languages the quality of the vowel depends on its phonetic environment. Subtle differences are disregarded but the distinction between the closed and open position of the vowel is indicated by the use of a separate symbol for each, as it has been found impossible to reduce this marked differentiation of sound to rule. The following table shows all the vowels with two sets of symbols, one for closed and the other open position.

pure oral	<u>closed</u>	<u>open</u>
	a	ā
	i	ī
	u	ū
	e	ē
	u	ū

WINNEBAGO GRAMMAR

	<u>closed</u>	<u>open</u>
nasalized	ā	ō
	ī	ū
	ū	ū

6. Where two vowels are brought together there may be a glide or contraction or independence, depending on the compactness of composition or rapidity of utterance. Where the vowels are not kept separate intervocalic h disappears.

Examples:

nī h _ω zu'	water	pour in
nī _ω zu	tank	

pronounced with the vowels independent or with a glide and nasalization running on to the ω or with the ī remaining only as a slight palatalization of the n.

sēp hižō' hērenā	black	one	it is
sēbi'žō hēre'nā	it is	a	black one
sēbi'jērenā			

Contractions are avoided where they may tend to confuse. The following table shows the contractions most commonly found.

	<u>second vowel</u>							
<u>first vowel</u>	a	e	ī	ω	u	ā	ī	ū
a	a	e		ω	u	ā		ū
e	e	e					e	
ī			ī				ī	
ω				ω				
u					u			ū
ā	ā					ā		
ī			ī				ī	
ū					ū			ū

Sometimes even these combinations contract differently. For instance, although e very commonly results from the combination of e and ī, yet in the case of some words, such as žigi'žō from žigē' + hižō', the ī is dominant. The nasalization of one member tends to pervade all combinations except those involving e.

This apparently not fully regulated treatment of vowel combination, with its considerable freedom of choice for the speaker, applies only to what may be called casual combinations. The conjunction of affixes results in fixed combinations. These are best dealt with in the sections concerned with each affix but a few examples are in place here.

Examples:

wa + h _w	>	w _w	hi + ha	>	hira
wa + hi	>	wi	hi + hi	>	wi
ha + gi	>	hai	hi + ha	>	ya
ra + gi	>	rai			

THE SYLLABLE

7. Morphological elements are the basis of the syllable. When such an element has more than one syllable, the tendency is to divide it so that each syllable begins with a consonant or a pair of consonants. The syllable may consist of a vowel, consonant and vowel, two consonants and a vowel, consonant vowel and consonant, or two consonants vowel and consonant. The commonest unit is consonant and vowel.

DURATION

8. The length of consonants has no grammatical significance. The length of vowels is largely a matter of accent, accented vowels being ordinarily about twice as long as others. The obscure vowel introduced to separate contiguous consonants that may not be combined is roughly half as long as a short vowel. Similar to this is the situation in those disyllabic stems which are cognate with Dakota monosyllables, such as áára (Teton ála) and p'ára (Teton bla); when not bearing the accent these take the time of one short syllable. When an accent falls on a part of a verbal complex with little meaning content, such as the declarative suffix sá'nš, lengthening of the terminal vowel of the verbal stem will frequently occur. Also, non-accented vowels that are the product of contraction are often long.

Syllables are frequently lengthened for rhetorical effect. This is observed most strikingly in exclamations where vowels are drawn out to enormous length, often with a wide movement in pitch. A long h_w is substituted for terminal declarative suffix nš when talking to someone at a distance or trying to capture the attention of a careless listener. The final vowel of imperatives is lengthened to express a more forcible command. Very like our own practice is the drawling of vowels to convey such emotional effects as laziness, slowness and the like.

Of considerable importance in the analysis of words is the lengthening of vowels resulting from the composition of stems. When the first stem, which generally contains the substantive meaning, is monosyllabic and too close to an accent to bear a subsidiary accent, its vowel is lengthened. This is apparently

similar to the lengthening of the stem vowel before sa'nā, mentioned above, and its function is clearly to preserve the prominence of an important unit of meaning in a compound.

Examples:

a:hu'	wing (arm + leg)
ni:su'c'	Missouri river (water + riled)
c'a:stŋ'kwo'	gray ground squirrel (deer + fat + gray)
p't:u'	mend (good + make)

When a quantitative situation of this sort is observed in unanalysable or only partly analysable words, it points out the possibility of composition.

Examples:

hā:hē'	night (hāmp' -light + rahe' -go)
hū:ŋwā'	elk
ī:ŋgū'k'	whetstone (īnī' -stone + zōk' -wear fine)
mā:hū'ŋc'	milkweed (mā-ground)

ACCENT

9. Accent is an affair of rhythm and only tenuously related to grammatical processes. Every word is stressed at least once and, when there are several stresses, the general tendency is toward alternation of stresses with the greatest weight on the last. No stems were found differentiated solely by accent.

The accent of a stem shifts as affixes are added or other stems compounded with it but the changes cannot be reduced to rule. The desire to render especially meaningful or emphatic parts of a verbal complex salient is undoubtedly influential here, as in the duration phenomena discussed above, but other tendencies, rhythmic or phonetic or even, perhaps, grammatical, complicate the situation. What may be an important clue to the accentual maze is the position of the accent in the imperative. There the accent falls on the penult both in bisyllabic stems and monosyllables beginning with a glottalized consonant; otherwise on the ultima. Those stems that accent the ultima place the stress in the declarative on the suffix sanā; the others on the stem itself.

Examples:

rare'	go	t'a're	die	
hare'	bury	rušure'	shell	
k'a're	dig			
waru:žere'	eat	stem ruc'	waru:cšə'mē	he ate
wap'ogere'	stab	stem p'čn	wap'o:kšə'nā	he stabbed
nūwā'ŋgere	run		nūwā'ŋkšənā	he ran
mīnā'gere	sit		mīnā'kšənā	he sat

The obscure vowel which separates terminal stem consonants from the imperative suffix above is not counted as a syllable. Prefixes do not affect the accent.

PHONETIC PROCESSES

10. Most verb stems and a few suffixes ending in e change the e to a before the following suffixes:

-a'nēga	and	-nā	should, could, would
-gūnī'	already	-nī	negative
-hāŋk',	positional--lying,	-re	imperative
je, nēk'	standing, sitting	-re	subordinating
-hire'	third person plural	-wi	plural

This change also occurs when the stem is followed by another of the same type. But for this and the considerable number of stems ending in e that do not behave in this manner the process would seem grammatical rather than strictly phonetic in character.

Examples:

-a'nēga

ra'nēga he went and (-re go > -ra)

waši'ranēga they danced and (waši' to dance: -hire' third person plural > -hira)

hit'at'a'nēga he talked and (hit'et'e' to talk > hit'at'a)

rw:sā'nīkp'ī'naja'nēga one side of your body is good and (rw body; sā'nīk' side; p'ī good; ra- second person pronoun; -je positional standing > -ja)

-gūnī'

haŋa'gūnī'nē I've already buried it (ha- first person; Me to bury > ŋa)

šūbara'gūnī'nē it has fallen already (šūbare' to fall > šūbara)

-hāŋk', -je, -nēk'

waga'ksē she meant (wage' to mean > waga; -hāŋk' appears also in this form without nasalization; -ē quotative)

tira'jēnē it is growing (tire' to grow > tira)

t'a'nēksēnē he is dead (t'e to die > t'a)

wa:nēk'ūnī he must be saying (we to say > wa)

-hire'

huhai'renē they were on the way (huhē' to come > huha)

warai'renē they worked (ware' to work > wara)

t'ai'renē they died (t'e to die > t'a)

-nā

tanē'nē I could go (te to go > ta)

hōk'awanē'gē so that he could come in (hōk'ēwe' come in > hōk'awa)

k'aranā'nē he should go home (k'ēre' to go back > k'ara)

-nī

k'ēnīzū'janī'nē it isn't raining (k'ē- negative; nīzū' to rain; -je positional standing > -ja)

hāṅk'ē' ze:ska'nīnē it isn't so (hāṅk'ē' negative; ze:ske to be thus > ze:ska)

hāṅk'ē' ta:nīkēne'nē I will not go (te I go > ta)

-re imperative

k'a're dig (k'e to dig > k'a)

warare' work (ware' to work > wara)

Mare' bury (Me to bury > Ma)

-re subordinating

k't'rikje'narē' that is to come (k't'ri' to return; -kjēne future suffix > -knēna)

nīḡi'p'aḡū'n'kjēna'rē which I am going to pour for you

(nī- second person object; ḡi- dative; p'aḡū'ṅk' I pour;

-kjē'ne future suffix > -kjēna)

-wi

nāḡu'hūwa'wināna' hai'ḡawinē we've passed by the road we should have taken (nāḡu' road; hūwe' go in > hūwa; -wi plural; -nā should; -ra subordinating; haiḡa' to pass by)

hīḡu'k'āḡḡawī'nē they covered us (hī- first person object; ruk'ā' cover; -hire' third person plural > -hira)

other stems of the same type

ajirēḡa' when he starts talking (e to speak > a; jire' to start)

wara'renē he went to work (ware' to work > wara; re to go)

The following stems change e to a:

būc'e'	break off	nāḡḡi're	to be frightened
c'awe'	go toward	nīhe'	continue
e	say	rac'e'	bite off
ḡic'e'	skim	rawe'	carry in mouth
hawe'	suffer	ruc'e'	break off
hiḡe'	ask	ruške'	untie
hērēhi're	put in place of	re	go
hire'	think	ḡibere'	fall
hit'e't'e	speak	tire'	move
hūk'ē'we	come in	wāḡe'	mean
hūnase'	shut	ware'	work
hūk'i't'e	talk to	wē	grind
hūhe'	come	Me	bury
hūske'	thus	k'e	dig
k'e	open a carcass	t'e	die
k'ēre'	go home		

Also the following suffixes:

-je	positional standing	-kje	intensive
-hire'	third person plural	-kja'ne	future
-k'e	often	-ske	dubitative

This process is subject to many exceptions. Any of the above stems may occur unchanged although they are much more frequently encountered with the change. In addition, the following stems never change final e:

giže'	break up	rut'e'	hurt
hap'e'	wait	ruwe'	pluck
hik'ruše'	be tangled	ruže'	undo
hiwaše'	be plentiful	ruže'	take out of water
kje	revenge	ske	be clean
p'e	drip	š'e	drip
raže'	fish out with	že	jeer
	mouth	k'e	drip
ru'e'	open a bundle		

The above lists are not exhaustive and many derivatives and forms with other prefixes have been omitted. However, a sufficient number have been collected to show that no phonetic distinction can be made between those stems that change the vowel and those that do not.

A comparison with the Ponca and Mandan change from e to a and the Teton change from a to e strengthens the probability that this process was in origin grammatical and a correlate of suffixation.

11. r changes to ń whenever it follows a nasalized vowel.

Examples:

- māṅsūna feather (māṅsū; -ra definite article)
 hīnu's we took it (hī- dual subject pronoun; rus to take)
 ru:k'ī'ne roast (ru:k'ī' to roast; -re imperative)
 nāp'ā'ūī'ne they make baskets (nāp'ā basket; 'ū to make;
 -hire third person plural)

12. After a nasalized vowel the plural suffix wi is nasalized.

Examples:

- nāṅšī'wī'ne stand (nāṅšī' to stand; wi plural; -re imperative)
 tackā'wī we drink (tackā' I drink; -wi plural)
 waṅinā'wī we intertwine (waṅinā' to intertwine; -wi plural)

13. After the prefix hi the h of the prepositional prefixes ha and h_w changes to r.

Examples:

- hirawa'jō push with (hi- with; hawajō' push)
 hirawē'gū blow with (hi- with; hawēgū' blow on)
 p'ējīrot'ū' kindling (p'ec' fire; hi- with; h_w- in; t'ū cast)
 nājtrawē' be easy on (nāc' heart; hi- with; hawē' suffer)
 hirak'ē'wēra the sixth (hi- with; hak'ē'wē six; -ra definite article)

14. The suffixes -gi, -ga, -ga'jō, -gunī', -gi'zi, -gē lose their g after k.

Examples:

- tuŋu'ruk'zi if I accomplish it (tuŋu'ruk' I accomplish it; -gi'zi if)
 hamī'ngēmō'ŋk'a I lying there (hamī'ŋk' I lie; -mōŋk' first person of the positional -hāŋk' lying; -ga subordinating suffix which forms verbal nouns)
 hūnūkc'ē'k'a my son's wife (hūnūkc'ē'k' son's wife; -ga used after names and terms of relationship in reference)
 wūgī'tēk'ni' after he got angry (wūgī'tēk' to get angry; -gunī' after)
 nānā'k'ajō' he is already sleeping (nā to sleep; -nāk' positional sitting; -gajō already)

15. When an element beginning with z is added to one ending in a consonant, in a closely compounded word, z changes to s.

Examples:

- rapšē'ē that beaver (rap' beaver; zē'ē that)
 mīā'nāksīkje' at least I'll sit (mīā'nāk' I sit; -zi at least; -kje future imperative)
 wap'o'nsē he stabbed (wap'o'n to stab; -ze quotative)
 tuwā'ŋksezi would I could pull it down (tuwā'ŋk I pull down; -ze'zi optative)

After s the consonant z is assimilated.

Examples:

- wacki'sē he sawed (wacki's to saw; -zē quotative)
 ruḡa'sē he tore (ruḡa's to tear; -zē quotative)

But wacki'ssē and ruḡa'ssē are also heard. The assimilation of s after s may best be observed in the frequently encountered use of the declarative suffix šanā after stems ending in s. Some speakers always drop the s, others only in rapid speech. The appearance of only the uncontracted form in Radin's texts and the insistence of two informants that only this form is

correct (although the other was heard in their speech) tend to indicate that this may be a very recent phonetic development.

16. n is often palatalized when it occurs before ɹ followed by a palatal consonant. This is exceedingly common in very rapid speech.

Examples:

- c'ini'k' small house (c'i house; -nīk' diminutive)
 wāginā'nīgē' piece of rope (wāginā' rope; nī'gē' piece)
 hāṅkē' tānī'kjāne I will not go (-hāṅkē' negative; ta I go
 -nī negative; -kjāne future)
 nāi'nāgenū'nīgē' although he's fallen asleep (nā to sleep,
 hinā'k' to flop down in a sitting position; -nū'nīgē' sub-
 ordinating disjunctive)

17. Rather unusual phonetic phenomena attend the use of the future suffix -kjāne. In the first place, after a stem ending in a consonant the vowel i is inserted instead of the very short a which is generally used to separate consonants that cannot form a combination. Further, an alternative and even more unusual form is possible. The i is introduced into the final syllable of the verb and the final consonant of the verb which now follows, enters into combination with the initial consonants of the suffix, k disappearing and j being transformed into c, c' or t.

Examples:

- rac'o'p' to chew rac'obi'kjāne' or rac'oi'pjāne'
 mīnā'k' to sit mīnā'g'kjāne' or mīnāi'kjāne'
 waru'c' to eat waru'j'kjāne' or waru'i'c'āne'
 ruḡa's to tear ruḡazi'kjāne' or ruḡai'stāne'
 wap'oñ to stab wap'oḡ'kjāne' or wap'oi'ñcāne'

18. When a stem ending in a stop is followed by n, the usual practice is to use the sonant form of the stop and to insert the obscure vowel between the consonants. In rapid speech, however, n is heard directly after the medial form of the stop without vocalic interval.

Examples:

- hinūknī'ḡḡera the girls for the more usual
 (hinūgenī'ḡera, hinū'k' woman; -nīk' diminutive; -ra definite article)
 haḡēpnā'ksānē it is growing for the more usual
 (haḡēbenā'ksānē, haḡēp' to grow; -nēk' positional sitting;
 -sēnē declarative)

19. A few very common words sometimes appear, particularly in rapid speech, in very contracted forms.

Examples:

nĭkjāī'ŋk' child for nĭkjō'ŋgənĭk', -nĭk' diminutive;
(-jōŋk' real; -nĭk' diminutive)

zīgā' a squirrel for zi: gī'zō, zik' squirrel; (-hizō'
indefinite article)

II. MORPHOLOGY

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

20. Position is the chief source of grammatical relations. There is no clear limit between juxtaposition and composition; contiguity in most cases results in phonetic modification. Clauses are thus firmly welded together with the particles that indicate the broadest syntactic relationships placed at the end. A small number of prefixes and suffixes serve for a great variety of grammatical functions. Some words have apparent infixes but there is evidence that such forms may be the result of composition. Reduplication is still in common use although other methods of expressing continuation, repetition and distribution are perhaps as frequent. There are many examples still remaining in the vocabulary of a now obsolete process of representing intensity by consonantal variation.

GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

21. Nominal stems are distinguished from verbal stems although nouns may bear most of the verbal affixes, and many of them with slight modification of form may serve as verbs. Plurality of the noun is suggested by a suffix to the verb which attaches the idea of plurality of the whole sentence without indicating the plural elements precisely. A classification of nouns according to form is implied by the use of verbal auxiliaries which describe the position of the subject as standing, sitting or lying. There are three sets of possessive pronouns, one restricted to kinship terms and another, which resembles it closely, to animals.

Subjective and objective pronouns are distinct. The former are used as the subjects of active verbs, the latter as the objects of transitive verbs and the subjects of verbs expressing a state or condition. Only the first person, the second person, the inclusive dual and the third person plural are specified. The indirect object, the reflexive object and the object possessed by the subject are indicated with great exactness by additional prefixes placed after the pronominal prefixes.

Demonstratives seem to designate at least four positions but these are not clearly distinct. The positional auxiliaries are used with demonstratives.

Suffixation is used to express tense, mode, number, aspect, definiteness, subordination, and a variety of adverbial ideas. The prefixes are pronominal, locative and instrumental. Complex verbal ideas are largely expressed by composition, and some stems, such as to come, to go, to try, to make, to cause, to become, etc., are used in this way so frequently that they may be regarded as auxiliaries.

COMPOSITION OF STEMS

22. Compound nouns are formed by the combination of noun and noun, noun and neutral verb, and noun and active verb.

Examples:

Noun and Noun

hišca:su' eye	hišca face; su seed
i:nī' saliva	i mouth; nī water
mā:'i' spring	mā ground; i mouth
nā:ha' bark	nā tree; ha skin

Noun and Neutral Verb

nī:šw' Missouri river	nī water; šw' riled
nā:sā'ŋk' maple	nā tree; sā'ŋk' tasteless
c'a:šī'ŋšw' gray ground squirrel	c'a deer; šī fat; šw' gray
c'a:ska' sheep	c'a deer; ska white

Noun and Active Verb

hāmpgu' dawn	hāmp' light; gu to come
sa'k'ērē war-bundle	sa reed; kē're to stand
k'w'gawanā' barrel	k'w'k' box; hawanā' to roll
p'ē'jirw't'ū' kindling	p'ēc' fire; hi with; h _w in; t'ū to cast

Compound verbs, both active and neutral are formed by the composition of noun and verb, and verb and verb.

Examples:

Noun and Verb

wa:zī' to suckle	wa breast; hī to suck
mā:ra'c' to make an appointment	mā ground; ra'c' to name
nā'mbiruga'c' to sacrifice	nāmp' hand; hi with; ruga'c' to spread
Muša'ra to be bare	Mu skin; ša'ra bare

Verb and Verb

t'ŭre' to discard	t'ŭ to cast; re to go
mānigu' to walk toward here	mānī to walk; gu to come
p'ī'ŭ' to mend	p'ī good; ŭ to do
ŭnc'ebi' to finish	ŭ to do; c'ep' new; hi to make
t'ē'hip'ī vulnerable	t'ēhi' to kill; p'ī good

Very complex compounds are frequently formed.

Examples:

hāmba'jask@Mcī broad daylight	hāmp' day; haja' to see; ske clear; Mcī intensive
rwāmbot'ē'k'īra' the killing outright	rw body; hāmp' whole; h _w - nominalizer; t'ēhi' to kill; k'i reflexive; -ra definite article

A study of these compounds, when, as in the examples given above, they are not too complex or broken down phonetically, shows that their formation follows the ordinary syntactic patterns. When a compound noun is formed out of nominal stems, the last stem has the substantive meaning and preceding stems are qualificatory. In a compound noun resulting from noun and verb combination the noun is first and the verbal modifiers of meaning follow, as in the normal subordinate clause. A compound verb, if a compound of noun and verb, is organized as it would be if the noun were object of the verb. If a compound of two verbs or more the last verb determines whether the compound is active or neutral. There is only one respect in which compounds differ from the ordinary products of juxtaposition: their meaning is fixed and more limited. Juxtaposed elements have a wider variety of possible meanings and depend on context and vocal emphasis for their more precise definition.

THE VERB

Verbal Complex

23. The most common order of elements in the verbal complex is: locative, pronoun, instrumental, stem and suffixes. There are, however, a number of departures from this order. The inclusive dual subject hī- and the inclusive dual object wā'uga- always occupy first position in the complex. The third person plural object wa also precedes the locative but is placed after hī-. On the other hand, the other subjective and objective pronouns follow the instrumentals nā-, mā-, b_w- and ta-.

Locative Prefixes

24. There are three prefixes, ha-, hwa- and hi-, which are generally locative or directional in meaning but also have less easily described meanings of adverbial character. In some cases a stem is not found without one or another of these prefixes and it is impossible to isolate the significance of the prefix.

(a) ha- can usually be translated "on."

Examples:

mīŋk' to lie	hamī'ŋk' to lie on
šibere' to fall	hašibere' to fall on
waŋū' to pour	hawaŋū' to pour on
t'āmp' to jump	hat'āmp' to jump upon

(b) hwa- can usually be translated "in" or "into."

Examples:

nā to sleep	hwanā' to sleep in
t'ē to die	hwt'ē' to die in
t'āmp' to jump	hwt'āmp' to jump into
mīnā'k' to sit	hwamīnā'k' to sit in

(c) hi- can most often be translated "with."

Examples:

ruti' to pull	hiruti' to pull with
'ū to do	hi'ū' to do with
nāwā' to sing	hināwā' to sing about
hāŋte' to dream	hihāŋte' to dream about

In some of the verbs never found without a locative it is possible to see the influence of the locative meaning; others are altogether unanalyzable.

Examples:

hawaŋa'wa to push into (but hawaŋa'wa to push)
hawajā' to push
hawaskī'ŋk' to pack
hawaro' to swing
hawjā' to wear on the foot (may be from jā standing positional)
hawc'ā' to wear on the legs
hap'e' to wait for
hip'ē'rēs to think (may be from p'ē'rēs clear)
hawegū' to blow
hawuŋu'c' to look at
hawrup'ā'nā to smell

There are a number of instances of two locatives used together. In most of these one of the prefixes is inseparable from the stem but in some cases both prefixes are separable.

Examples:

hirok'ū' to use	hi-; hok'ū' to give
hirasa' together	hi-; hasa' to fasten
hiraru'c'ap' together	hi-; haruc'a'p' to get hold of
hiro'it'ū fireplace	hi-; h _w ; gi- indirect object; t'ū cast
hir _w nē'k' to follow	hi-; h _w nē'k' to run along
hir _w we' to track	hi-; h _w we' to go in
nāj'rawe' to be easy on	nāc' heart; hi-; hawe' suffer
hiraru'k'ā to cover with	hi-; haruk'ā' to cover

These prefixes have a variety of other uses, some of them difficult to understand.

(a) ha- is used with the third person plural of verbs of motion.

Examples:

ha _g u'ire they came	gu he came (starting)
harai're they went	re he went (starting)
hāhuhai're they came	huhe' he came (on the way)
harahai're they went	rahe' he went (on the way)
haji're they arrived	ji' he arrived (coming)
hahi're they arrived	hi he arrived (going)

(b) h_w- is used to nominalize verbs and generally can be translated "the place where" or "the time when" when so used.

Examples:

h _w mīā'nāgēra the place where I sat	
h _w -; mīnē'k' with first person pronoun ha inserted;	
-ra definite article	
h _w t'ē' the place to die, time to die	
h _w -; t'ē to die	
h _w asī' dance, dancing-place	
h _w -; wasī' to dance	
h _w ru'ī' dozen	
h _w -; ru'ī' to buy	

(c) hi- is prefixed to kinship terms, forms ordinals and adverbs, and, preceded by the nominalizer wa-, forms terms denoting instruments.

Examples:

hic'w'k'ē grandfather	in address c'w'k'a
hitə'k' mother's brother	in address te'ga
hic'ūwī' father's sister	in address c'ū'wī
hinūmbəra' the second	hi-; nūmp' two; -ra definite article
hijəbərə' the fourth	hi-; jəp' four; -ra
hiskē' also	suffix -ske also
hi'zi' at least	suffix -zi at least
hiskē' like	dubitative suffix -ske
wiru'c' fork	wa- nominalizer; hi-; ruc' to eat
wik'ē' spade	wa-; hi-; k'e to dig
wirə' something to work with	wa-; hi-; ware' to work

Modal Prefix

25. The prefix wa-, which probably means "something" or "thing" (the word for "something" is wa'zē' - wa- + hi'zē', the indefinite article), is used to make transitive verbs intransitive and to form nouns out of active and neutral verbs.

Examples:

waru'c' to eat	ruc' to eat it
wat'e' to kill	t'e to kill him
we to say	e to say it
wa'ū' to be	ū to make it
waga'ñ paper	gañ to plan
watə'ñ bladder	təñ to urinate
wə'rə'k' story	hə'rə'k' to tell
wac'ē'k' virgin	c'ē'k' new
wasī' fat	sī fat
waskē' dish	ske clean

wa- is placed before the locative prefixes and forms close combinations with them. It assimilates ha-, and forms wa- and wi- with ha- and hi-. The pronominal prefixes take the same order with regard to wa as with the locative prefixes.

Instrumental Prefixes

26. The meaning of verbal stems is modified by the use of eight prefixes which indicate the instrument by which an action is performed or define the character of the action with

respect to direction of motion. This process is no longer entirely free: there are many stems which cannot be used without the instrumentals.

(a) nā-, by the use of the foot.

Examples.

nāst'és to break	nāt'e' to hurt
nājī'imp' to tilt	nāmv'ruk' to accomplish
nāksū' to spill	nāscā' to release
nāncə'k' to kick	nāgā' to scratch as a chicken does
nām'tip' to pound	nāk'ē's to scratch
nāsū' to upset, to stretch feet out	nāk'o'k' to tap
nājt'k' to scrape, to straighten legs out	nāti' to climb
nāmv'k' to break something brittle	nāst'k' to run ahead of
nāwī's to pinch	nājt's to outrun
h _w nāzi'p' to squash something smeary	nāḡzī' to stand
h _w nānt'ri to squash	hanājā' to push
	h _w nājā' to drive in
	h _w nāno'rok' to go through

(b) mā-, with the knife, by cutting.

Examples:

māk'v'nuk' to cut	māc'ki's to sever
māḡze'nā to cut to nothing	mājo'k' to burst
mānt'ri to squash	māno'ro to peel
māja's to blister	māmv'ruk' to accomplish
māwī's to pinch	māḡzī'p' to whittle
māt'e' to hurt	māksə'p' to cut in half
māzt'p' to smear	māc'o'p' to cut in small pieces
māha'p' to open, to make a hole	māp'ē're to slice thin
mājt'k' to stretch	māso'ga to cut thick
māj'imp' to bend	māḡśw' to whittle
māk'ē's to scrape	māp'op'o'k' to cut holes in
māc'e' to cut a piece off	

(c) wa-, by pressure, by pushing away from the body.

Examples:

wašt'és to break	wašt'p' to knock down
wak'v'nuk' to break off with a saw	wap'o'k' to stab
waht'ri to smash	wasā'ra to wear off
	waga's to tear

wazi'p' to mash
 wat'e to hurt
 waha'p' to punch a hole
 waku'k' to break something
 brittle
 waqã' to raise
 wak'ë's to scrape
 wajl'mp' to tilt
 waha' to wear clothes till
 threadbare

(d) gi-, by striking.

Examples:

gisã'k' to kill, to knock
 unconscious
 gik'u'nvk' to chop, to
 hammer off
 gizu'p' to stir something
 soft
 gihi'ri to mash
 gic'ki's to cut with a
 scythe
 gi'ku'k' to break something
 brittle
 giwë'nk' to knock down,
 chop down
 giže' to break up
 gista'k' to dent
 gik'a' to scour

(e) ra-, with the mouth.

Examples:

rasta'k' to dent
 rac'ki's to cut
 rau'k' to break something
 brittle
 raš'š to break
 rac'e' to bite off
 raq'k' to chew to fragments
 rati' to pull
 rawe' to carry
 raña'ta to spit out
 ras'ri to vomit
 rac'o'p' to chew
 rari'c' to bend

wakū' to spill
 waso'roc' to pry out
 waji's to push away
 waski' to sting
 waže' to break down
 waka' to scour
 hawajã' to push
 hawaskl'nk' to pack
 waku'ruk' to accomplish
 hawaru' to swing

gi'jo'k' to break something
 pulpy
 gik'ã' to knock over
 gisë'we to quiet a trembling
 thing
 gijl'mp' to tilt
 gisū' to upset
 gip'ë're to hammer thin
 gisa'ra to cut bare
 gišku' to clear off
 gi'no'ro to strip off
 giha' to wear out
 giwī's to strike an edge
 gisë'p' to beat out a fire
 giže'nã' to knock to smithereens
 gic'ka' to try, to dig for
 giga's to tear

rawš to pinch
 raš'aš'a' to tickle
 raske' to untie
 rawa'k' to break a thread
 raga's to tear, to make a faux-
 pas
 rac'ka' to taste
 rac'kã' to drink
 rasu' to seed
 rajt'k' to stretch
 rat'e' to hurt
 razt'p' to mouth something soft
 rage' to fish out

(f) ru-, with the hand, by pulling toward the body.

Examples:

ruwī's to pinch	ruwe' to pluck, to pick
ruš'as'a' to tickle	ruzi'p' to get fingers in some-
ruti' to pull	thing soft or sticky
ruwē'nk' to pull down	ruhi'ri to get fingers in some-
ruŋv'ruc' to accomplish	thing not so soft
ruze' to undo, to take to	ruc'e' to break off a hunk
pieces	rukša'p' to break in half
ruške' to untie	ru'e' to take out
rut'e' to hurt	rušip' to take down
ruwa'ñ to break a string	ruğa'k' to break a splinter
rust'ri to squeeze out	off
rusu' to shell	ruji'k' to stretch
ruño'ro to peel	rusv'wu to feel something
ruŋv'ñ to break something	grainy, to get lumps out
brittle	ruc'a'k' to sew

(g) ta-, with fire, with heat.

Examples:

taŋu' to burn	taho'bere cooked to a turn
tac'ēp' to burn up	tašē'p' blacken
taŋ'ē'k' to wilt	taga's to tear
taŋē're to fry	taño'ro to peel
tagic' to over-roast	tap'i'ris to shrivel up
tazi'c' to sizzle	tawu's to dry
taŋē'we to overcome, to	tasā' to fade
overheat	tašē'p' to tan
taŋi'nī to burn to embers	taso'ñ to make a frying sound
taŋi'ri to melt metal, to	taŋa'c' to burst while cooking
cook something thick	tajo'k' to cook till tender
tac'o'woš to cook to a	taksi's to harden
crisp, to shrivel	tašv'c' to warm
taka'c' hot	

(h) bw-, by shooting, by blowing, by great force.

Examples:

bwš'i's to break	bwšo'roc' to pry out, blow out
bwga's to burst	bwš'i'p' to knock down
bwŋv'ñ to break something	bwč'č'wis to strike a glancing
brittle	blow, to hit the edge of the
bwŋ'e' to hurt	target
bwski' to sting	bwŋi'ri to mash
bwstē'k' to dent	bwŋi'tip' to pound

bwšē'nā to miss	bwħa'p' to bore a hole
bwzi'p' to mash	bwta' to punch with the fist
bwġ'ē's to blow clean	bwšē'k' to knock down
bwġ'ē'we to fall violently	bwħa' to rot
bwša'ra to blow bare	bwġ'ū'ŋškūnī to blow to pieces
bwġ'ū'nuk' to break	bwšē'rik' to shoot off an edge
bwš'a's'a to tickle	bwŋū' to squirt

27. When an action occurs of its own accord or the cause is unknown or if, for any reason, it is desirable not to specify the agent, it is expressed by using the verbal stem without instrumentals in the third person plural form.

Examples:

jo'gire it is broken -joġ to break; -ire third plural
ga'zire it is torn -gas to tear

This is treated as a neutral verb taking the objective personal pronouns. The third person plural form indicates that the pronouns cannot be regarded as objects.

Examples:

hīšī'zire I am broken hī first person; -šīš to break; -ire third plural
šīšī'ra're they are broken -šīš to break; -ire third plural

An obsolescent prefix nā- is still sometimes used when the meaning is very forcibly "of its own accord."

Examples:

nājo'ġ to burst (a boil)
nāp'a'raš to burst (a balloon)
nāŋo'ro to peel (a scab)
nāga'k' to break off (a splinter)
nāŋu'ġ to break (something brittle)
nāŋ'ē'c' to get loose
nāške' to untie
nāwa'ġ to tear (a string)
nāŋš to ferment

Verb Classes

28. Two classes of verbs are found: (a) those prefixing all the ordinary pronouns and (b) those prefixing š for the second person subject.

PRONOUNS

First Class

29. Two kinds of stems are distinguished by the use of different subject pronouns: (a) verbs expressing an activity and (b) neutral verbs which express a state or condition and take as subjects the pronouns otherwise used as the objects of active verbs.

The pronominal subjects and objects of active verbs are:

	<u>subjective</u>	<u>objective</u>
First person	ha-	hī-
Second person	ra-	nī
Inclusive dual	hī-	wānga-

The general pluralizing suffix wi is used to indicate the plural of all these forms. There is no third person singular pronoun; wherever no pronominal subject or, in the case of a transitive verb, no pronominal object is expressed, a third person subject and object is inferred. In the plural the third person subject is marked by the suffix -ire both for active and neutral verbs, and the object of transitive verbs by the prefix wa-. It seems likely that these forms are of later development than the other personal pronouns: an unspecified third person plural consisting of the verb stem and the suffix -wi may be used instead.

With transitive verbs where both pronominal subject and object are required the object is put before the subject. The only exception is the inclusive dual subject which invariably precedes all other prefixes. The first person subject is assimilated after pronominal objects and affects the accent.

Examples:

Active stem he to bury

ha'he' I bury him	ra'kawi' you bury him
ra'he' thou buriest him	mai're or mawi' they bury him
he he buries him	hī'kawi' we (you and I) bury him
hī'he' thou and I bury him	nī'he I bury thee
	wa'he I bury them
ha'kawi' we (they and I) bury him	hī'ha'he' thou buriest me
	wa'ra'he' thou buriest them

Neutral stem s'ak' old

hīs'a'k' I am old	hīs'a'gwi we (they and I) are old
nīs'a'k' thou art old	old
ś'ak' he is old	nīs'a'gwi you are old
wāngas'a'k' thou and I are old	ś'a'gire they are old
old	wāngas'a'gwi we (you and I) are old
	old

Second Class

30. A number of verbs beginning with w, r, g, n, ', h, j, or t indicate the first and second persons by modifications which with V representing the first vowel of the stem, are shown on the following table:

	w	r	n		h	g	j	t'
First person	p'v	tv	hanv	ha'v	hv	k'v	c'v	c'v
Second person	śwv	śrv	śnv	ś'v	śv	śkv	ścv	ścv
Third person	wv	rv	nv	'v	hv	gv	jv	t'v
Inclusive dual	hīwv	hīrv	hīnv	hī'v	hīhv	hīgv	hījv	hīt'v

Verbs in w and r are very numerous as all stems bearing the instrumental prefixes wa, ra and rū belong to this class. Plurals are formed as in verbs of the first class.

Examples:

te I go	tawi' we (they and I) go
śere' thou goest	śarawi' you go
re he goes	rai're they go
hīne' thou and I go	hīrawi' we (you and I) go

tuścā' I stop
śuruścā' thou stoppest
ruścā' he stops
hīruścā' thou and I stop
tac'ka' I taste
śarac'ka' thou tastest
rac'ka' he tastes
hīrac'ka' thou and I taste
p'asi' I dance
śawaši' thou dancest
waši' he dances
hīwaši' thou and I dance
p'ap'o'ŋ I stab
śawap'o'ŋ thou stabbest
wap'o'ŋ he stabs
hīwap'o'ŋ thou and I stab

Verbs in n and ' are common and, as the table shows, differ from first class verbs only in the second person.

Examples:

ha'ū' I do	ha'ūwī' we (they and I) do
ś'ū thou dost	ś'ūwī' you do
'ū he does	ū'īde they do
hī'ū' thou and I do	hī'ūwī' we (you and I) do
ha'ī' I survive, turn into	
ś'ī thou livest	
'ī he lives	
hī'ī' thou and I live	
mīā'nāk' I sit	
mīśō'nāk' thou sittest	
mīnā'k' he sits	
hīmīnā'k' thou and I sit	
ha'nī I have	
haśīnī' thou hast	
hanī' he has	
hīnī' thou and I have	

Verbs in h and g are rare and almost always occur in doubly conjugated compound verbs.

Examples:

huhe' I come on the way
śuše' thou comest
huhe' he comes
hīhuhe' thou and I come
k'u I come start
śku thou comest
gu he comes
hīgu' thou and I come
k'uhe' I come back on the way
śkuše' thou comest back
guhe' he comes back
hīguhe' thou and I come back

Slightly varying from this group is the verb e to say:

Examples:

hihe' I say	hihawi' we (they and I) say
hiśe' thou sayest	hiśawi' you say
e he says	ai're they say
hī'e' thou and I say	hī'awi' we (you and I) say

Of the last group in j and t' the only examples found are the verbs given below.

Examples:

hac'a' I see	c'e I die
hasca thou seest	šce thou diest
haja' he sees	t'e he dies
hija' you and I see	hit'e' thou and I die

The auxiliary for the sitting position -nōk' belongs to the second group of second class verbs and is identical in forms with the verb mīnō'k' "to sit" given above minus the prefix mī. The auxiliary for the lying position hōnk' has unusual forms:

-mōnk' I lie	-hahā'ņk' we (they and I) lie
-šā'wāņk' thou liest	-hasā'wāņk' you lie
-hōnk' he lies	-hahā'ņk' they lie
-hōņk' thou and I lie	-hahā'ņk' we (you and I) lie

The suffix -wi may be added to all the plural forms. No ambiguity is created by the similar forms as the verb which precedes the auxiliary bears the ordinary pronouns.

Second class verbs prefix the same pronominal objects as the first class.

Examples:

nip'ap'o'm I stab thee
hīšca' thou seest me
wac'a' I see them

CONTRACTIONS WITH PREFIXES

31. Contractions of the pronouns occur with a number of prefixes.

(a) Verbs with the prefix ha contract:

First person subject	ha-ha-	into	ha -
Inclusive dual	hī-ha-	into	hī- or ha:-
First person object	ha-hī-	into	hī-
Third person plural object	wa-ha	into	wa'-
Inclusive dual object	wāņga-ha	into	wāņga-

Examples:

ha't'ūmp' I lay on	ha'te I chop
harat'ū'mp' thou layest on	harate' thou choppest
hat'ū'mp' he lays on	hate' he chops
hit'ū'mp' thou and I lay on	hate' thou and I chop
wa't'ūmp' he lays them on	
wāņgat'ū'mp' he lays us on	

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(b) Verbs with the prefix h_u contract:

First person subject	h _u -ha-	into	wa-
Inclusive dual subject	hī-h _u -	into	h _u -
First person object	h _u -hī	into	hū:-
Inclusive dual object	wāṅga-h _u -	into	wāṅg _u -
Third person plural object	wa-h _u -	into	w _u -

The combined forms of the prefixes wa, and h_u, w_u, contracts in the same way with the personal pronouns with the exception of the inclusive dual subject with which no contraction occurs.

Examples:

wanī' I look for
 horanī' thou lookest for
 h_uanī' he looks for
 h_u:nī' thou and I look for
 hū:nī' he looks for me
 wāṅg_unī' he looks for us
 wanī' he looks for them

wa'nēc' I borrow
 wora'nēc' thou borrowest
 w_u:nēc' he borrows
 hīw_unēc' thou and I borrow

(c) Verbs with the prefix hi contract:

First person subject	hi-ha	into	ya-
Inclusive dual subject	hī-hi-	into	hī-
First person object	hi-hī-	into	hī'-
Inclusive dual object	wāṅga-hi-	into	wāṅgi-
Third person plural object	wa-hi-	into	wi-
First person subject with third person plural object	wa-hi-ha	into	wia'-

Examples:

hip'ērēs he knows
 yap'ērēs I know
 hīp'ērēs thou and I know
 hī'p'ērēs he knows me
 wāṅgip'ērēs he knows us
 wip'ērēs he knows them
 wia'p'ērēs I know them

(d) Verbs with the prefix gi contract:

First person subject	ha-gi-	into	hai-
Second person subject	ra-gi-	into	rai-

Examples:

haihu' I swing it
 raihu' thou swingest
 gi hu' he swings
 hiŋgi hu' thou and I swing

(e) Verbs with the prefix b_w contract:

First person subject	b _w -ha-	into	boa'-
First person object	b _w -hi-	into	boi'-

Examples:

boa'sək' I knock down
 b_wsə'k' he knocks down
 boi'sək' he knocks me down
 hi b_wsə'k' thou and I knock down

(f) Verbs with the prefix mā contract:

First person subject	mā-ha-	into	mā'-
First person object	mā-hi-	into	māi'-

The prefixes nā and ta cause the same contractions.

Examples:

mā'ŋgas I tear
 māŋga's he tears
 māi'gas he tears me
 hi māŋga's thou and I tear

(g) The causative suffix hi contracts:

First person singular subject	ha-hi	into	ha
Second person singular subject	ra-hi	into	ra
Inclusive dual subject	hi-hi	into	hi
First person object	hi-hi	into	wi
Second person object	ni-hi	into	ni

Examples:

t'e'ha I kill
 t'e'ra thou killest
 t'ehi' he kills
 t'e'hī thou and I kill
 t'ewi' he kills me
 t'enī' I kill thee

(h) The pronominal forms of the ruc 'to eat' may be due to contraction.

Examples:

hac' I eat
 rac' thou eatest
 ruc' he eats
 hīnu'c' thou and I eat

INDIRECT OBJECT

32. The indirect pronominal object is expressed by the same forms as the direct pronominal object with the addition of the prefix gi- after the pronoun. This prefix is not contracted.

Examples:

nī'ke' I bury thee	nīnggi'ke I bury for thee
boi'sak' he knocked me down	boi'gisak' he knocked down for me
hīnaihu' thou swingest me	hīnai'gihu thou swingest for me
c'whi' he made blue	c'wgigi' he made blue for him
t'ehi' he killed	t'eingigi' he killed for me

The last two examples show that the prefix gi changes the causative hi to gi.

REFLEXIVES

33. The reflexive is indicated by placing the prefix k'i- after the regular subjective pronouns. The pronouns contract as usual with other prefixes except when the instrumental prefix gi- is assimilated by k'i-. k'i and the causative hi combine to form k'i. Verbs of the second class take their own pronouns as well as the first class pronouns that precede k'i-.

Examples:

hak'ike' I bury myself (ha- first person; k'i-; ke to bury)
 hak'ic'ki's I cut myself (ha- first person; k'i-; gi- instru-
mental; c'kis to cut)
 hak'ip'a'p'oñ I stab myself (ha- first person; k'i-;
p'ap'o'ñ first person of wap'oñ to stab)
 mañk'ic'kis I cut myself (mā- instrumental; ha- first person;
k'i-; c'kis to cut)
 rak'isa'wap'oñwi' you stab each other (ra- second person;
k'i-; sawap'o'ñ second person of wap'oñ to stab)
 t'ek'i' he kills himself (t'e dead; k'i-; hi causative)

To indicate that the object belongs to the subject verbs of the first class take the prefix k'ara- and verbs of the second class take the prefix k'v- (v represents the first vowel of

the stem), both after the regular first class subjective pronouns. The usual contractions occur except when k'ara- combines with the instrumental prefix gi to form k'arai-. The causative hi alters to gi under the influence of k'ara-.

Examples:

- hak'araŋe' I bury my own (ha- first person; k'ara-; ŋe to bury)
 hak'arai'c'kis I cut my own (ha- first person; k'ara-; gi- instrumental; c'kis to cut)
 boa'k'araŋip' I make my own fall (ba- instrumental; ha- first person; k'ara-; ŋip' to fall)
 hak'awac'ki's I saw my own (ha- first person; k'v-; wac'kis to saw)
 hak'uruga's I tear my own (ha- first person; k'v-; rugas to tear)
 ruŋcō'k'araŋi' he caused his own to stop (ruŋcō' to stop; k'ara-; hi causative)

EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUN*

34. No really independent personal pronouns are found but there are two particles e and ne which are used when emphasis is put on the pronoun. e, which may be identical with the demonstrative pronoun e, is used for the third person, and ne is used for all the other persons.

Examples:

- ne'wīde' it is I (ne; hī- first person objective; hēre to be)
 ne'nīde' it is thou (ne; nī- second person objective; hēre to be)
 e're it is he (e; hēre' to be)
 ne'wā'ngēre it is thou and I (ne; wānga- inclusive dual objective; hēre' to be)
 ne'zāiŋē'kjene' either you or I will go (ne; hūzē' indefinite article; hī- inclusive dual subjective; re to go; -kjene future)
 ežē' rai'rēkjene' one of them will go (e; hūzē' indefinite article; re to go; -ire third plural; -kjene future)
 e:c'āi'ngirv's he, instead of me, took it (e; c'ā instead; hī- first person object; gi- indirect object; rus to take)
 ne:c'ā'hanā' I slept, instead (ne; c'ā instead; ha- first person subjective; nā to sleep)
 ne'šanājwi' we only came (ne; šanā only; ha- first person subject; ji to come; -wi plural)
 e'šanā hēre' he is the only one (e; šanā only; hēre' to be)

INFIXED PRONOUNS

35. A number of verbs of more than one syllable, that cannot be shown to be compounds, insert the pronoun after the first syllable. The resulting forms are the same as pronominal forms with the locatives and the instrumentals mā and nā. It is striking that in more than half of the verbs of this type collected the first syllable is ha, hwa, wa, mā, or nā. But there is no hint in the meaning of the verbs or the character of their remaining syllables that would justify treating ha, hwa, wa, mā and nā in these cases as prefixes. A more exhaustive collection and comparison of stems may ultimately result in the full analysis of these verbs. A tentative hypothesis is that some of them are the result of composition and others of mistaking the first syllable for a prefix. Comparison with Dakota cognates* strongly suggests the latter possibility in some cases. The following verbs of this type were found:

First class

- 'āgc'u to unload
- 'āgc'k'ē'nāk' to take out of water
- nape' to wait (Dakota ap'e')
- hawe' to suffer
- hepsī' to sneeze (Dakota pśa)
- hwnē'k' to help lift or walk, to run along
- hoht'wi to cough (Dakota hoŋpa')
- nāp'ī' wear around the neck (Dakota nāp'ī')
- nāhkū' to hear (Dakota nāh'ū')
- nāše' to take away
- nācu' to hold an armlōad

Neutral verb

- twk'ēwēhi to be hungry
- nāwā' to sing (Dakota lowā' does not infix)
- nīhā' to breathe (Dakota niya' does not infix)
- nī'ē'mp' to live (nī living is a common element in compounds)
- nūwē'ŋk' to run (Dakota iyā'ka takes double pronouns)
- nūwā'wēŋk' to be shy, nervous
- nūhā'wā' to hide (Dakota nāh'ma')
- ragū' to want
- ragī' to forbid
- rwk'ī' to roast (Dakota c'ok'ī')
- watogī' to pout in anger (Dakota oŋī'yā' to pout in disappointment)
- umāk' to be used to

* Dakota cognates supplied by Professor Franz Boas.

Second class

hūnī' to hunt

hawēgū to blow

harupū'c' to look at

harup ā'nā to smell (Dakota m.na it gives off an odor)

mānū' to steal (Dakota manū')

māni' to walk (Dakota mani')

mānūnī to wander off, get lost (Dakota nuni' does not infix)

mīnā'k' to sit

ware' to work

Both first and second class pronoun in second person

tū'ī' to adorn oneself

nā'ī' to try

Double conjugation

nāgū're to be frightened (nāfa'gū'sere' thou art frightened)

POSSESSION

36. Several types of personal possession are discriminated by somewhat different treatment of three classes of words: the kinship terms, words denoting animals and all other nouns.

(a) With kinship terms the causative suffix hi as conjugated for the various persons and the subordinating suffixes -ra or -ga are suffixed after the term. The forms are as follows:

hara or ga	my	hawi'ra	our (exclusive)
raga	thy	rawi'ga	your
hira or ra	his	hi'rera	their
hīhi'ra	thine and my	hīhiwi'ra	our (inclusive)

All terms having the prefix hi- take the first person hara and the few terms without it take ga for the first person.

Examples:

nānī'ga my mother

c'ūwīn'ga my father's sister

hīsū'ŋk' hara my younger brother

hīnū'hara my elder sister

hīā'ŋjīhiwi'ra our father (inclusive)

(b) With stems denoting animals the element nī (possibly the stem meaning "living" found in compounds) is suffixed before the causative hi and the subordinating suffix. The form are as follows:

nīha'ra	my	nīhi'ra	his
nīā'ra or		nī'hira	thine and my
nīā'ga	thy	nīha'wira	our (exclusive)

nīña wira or	nīhi'rēra	their
nīñaiga your	nīhi'wira	our (inclusive)

The verb nīhi' "to own" is used with animal objects. The substantive formed from this verb wanīhi' has the meaning "slave."

Examples:

sū'ngənīha'ra	my dog
wī'ngənīña'wira	your duck
c'enihi'ra	his cattle
sū'ngənīha'	I have a dog

(c) With all other nouns the possessive is indicated by suffixing the second class verb hanī "to own" and the subordinating suffix -ra.

Examples:

c'i'hanīña'	my house
c'i'hasīnīña'	thy house
c'ihani'	I have a house

(d) The preceding forms are appended to nouns like relative clauses. With verbal stems that have been nominalized possession is expressed by prefixing the pronouns in the regular way. The stem c i "house" was selected for the last examples because it is also a verbal stem "to dwell." Nominalized by the prefix h_w- it forms:

wac'i'ra	my house
horac'i'ra	thy house
h _w c'i'ra	his house (literally 'in-dwell-the')
h _w 'c'ira	thine and my house

VERBAL SUFFIXES

37. A considerable number of elements are added to verbal stems to modify their meaning with respect to tense, mode, number, definiteness, subordination, and a variety of adverbial ideas. These particles, when a guess at their origin is possible, seem to derive largely from the demonstratives and the articles, the same sources which furnish a good deal of the material out of which the greatest number of adverbs are constructed.

For convenience in exposition they have been divided into three classes: (a) final suffixes, those that take last position in a verbal complex which may serve as a complete statement; (b) adverbial suffixes, those that are ordinarily found in intermediate positions; and (c) subordinating suffixes, those that take last position in a subordinate clause.

FINAL SUFFIXES

38. The final suffixes are chiefly modal in character. With the exception of the interrogative, which has no suffix, and a few truncated statements, mostly of an exclamatory nature, all sentences are completed by one of these suffixes.

39. Declarative -nã or -šãñã. Statements made of the speaker's own knowledge are completed by the suffixes nã after vowels and šãñã after consonants. These are by far the commonest sentence terminations and serve as little more than stops.

Examples:

wa'jara sepšã'nã the boat was black (wac' boat; ra definite article; sep' black; -šãñã)

nãřa' tira'jenã the tree is growing (nã tree; -ra definite article; tire' to move; je standing positional; -nã)

wašĩ'rëkjãne'nã e'gi waru'jirëkjãne'nã they are going to dance and eat (wašĩ' to dance; -ire third plural; -kjãne future; -nã; e'gi and, then; waruc' to eat; -ire third plural; -kjãne future; -nã)

wašĩnã'gi nã'wanãñã if he danced I would sing (wašĩ' to dance; -nã conditional; -gi subordinating; nãwã' to sing with ha-first person assimilated; -nã conditional; -nã)

40. Emphatic -nã. In calling to people at a distance or in trying to capture the attention of careless listeners, the suffix -nã, usually long drawn out, is used instead of -nã.

Examples:

haře'nã: I buried it I tell you (ha- first person; ře to bury; -nã)

k'ëre'nã he's gone (in response to the shouted question, where is he?) (këre' to go; -nã)

41. Emphatic -žarë'. This suffix throws emphasis on the whole sentence, as distinguished from the devices, discussed in section 34, for throwing emphasis on the subject and those, that will be discussed below in sections 63 and 64, for throwing emphasis on the verb.

Examples:

nãžarë' he did sleep (whatever you say) (nã to sleep; -žarë')

ha'ũ'ňžarë' I did it (and it's done with) (ha- first person; ũ to do; -žarë')

42. Imperative -re. The suffix -re is added to the stem to form the imperative. The final vowel varies from ê to e to e;

increasing in closure and length with the forcibility of the command. The accentual situation in the imperative is discussed in section 9, page 5, where examples will be found.

43. Quotative žê. This suffix is appended to all hearsay information.

Examples:

haja'žê he saw him (haja' to see; -žê)

girt'gnōksê it was coiled (girt'k to coil; nōk' sitting positional; -žê after consonants -sê)

we'žê he said

nī'nwagit'ō'mpsê he jumped back into the water (nī water; -ra definite article; hw- into; gi to arrive going back; t'amp' to jump; -žê)

All the above examples are from a story which the narrator has heard but not witnessed. When direct discourse is reported, the declarative suffix -nē is used. For example, from the same tale:

we'žê hāhā' c'ok'a' žegū'nē he said, 'Now, grandfather, it is done' (we to say; -žê; hāhā exclamation; c'ok'a' grandfather; žegū finished; -nē)

44. Optative -žezi. The optative mode is expressed by the suffix -žezi.

Examples:

nāhkū'īnēze'ži would they could hear (nāhkū' to hear; -ire third plural; -žezi)

mīā'nāksē'ži O, that I might sit (mīnē'k' to sit; ha- first person infixed; -žezi changes to -sēzi after a consonant)

žezi may be derived from the combination of the demonstrative žê'ê and -ži "at least." (See section 61, page 39.) The following examples suggest the possibility:

wajera'žezi the boat at least (wac' boat; -ra definite article; žê'ê that; -ži at least)

žē'žip'asī'nānō at least I could dance (žē'ê that; wasī' to dance; -nā conditional; -nā declarative)

p'asī'žē'ži O, that I might dance

45. Dubitative. A number of suffixes indicating doubt will be treated here because they can, and most frequently do, serve as final suffixes, although they may appear in intermediate positions. The suffixes -s'arê, -gŭnĭ, and -škŭnĭ are all used to imply that the statement to which they are appended is doubtful. Of the three, -s'arê implies the greatest degree of doubt and -škŭnĭ the least.

Examples:

- wanō'k'ūnī he must be saying (we to say; -nāk' sitting positional; -gūnī)
 nā's'arē maybe he's asleep (nā to sleep; -s'arē)
 c'ī'žērēs a'rē it may be a house (c'ī house; -hīžā' indefinite article; hēre' to be; -s'arē)
 t'ā'nāḡk'ūnī they may be flying (t'ā to fly; -nāḡk' sitting positional plural; -gūnī)
 warē'skūnī he probably is working (ware' to work)

These suffixes and the conditional -nā and what is apparently the suffix -śke "also" have a tendency to form long combinations in speech. The longer the combination the greater the degree of doubt implied.

Examples:

- k'ēr'skēnāgūnī he must have gone home (k'ēre' to go home; -śke, -nā, -gūnī)
 k'aranā'nāśkēnā'gūnīśkē's'arē, etc. without any preferred order so long as it sounds good, means -- he must have gone home (k'ērē' plus an assortment of -nā, -śke, -gūnī, -s'arē)

There will be examples below of these suffixes appearing before subordinating suffixes with no differences in function.

46. Interrogative. Although it does not have a suffix, discussion of the interrogative seems in place here. The interrogative is indicated vocally by a wide movement of pitch mostly on the long-drawn-out last accented syllable of the stem. The dubitative s'arē is frequently added to the stem. The conditionals, the future suffix -kjēne, the conditional suffix -nā, and other temporal and modal suffixes, which ordinarily cannot take last position in a complete statement, may be added to the stem. Where the stem appears without suffixes, the accent shifts to the first syllable.

Examples:

- wa'ruc' did he eat? (waru'c' to eat)
 waru'jēnāk' is he eating? (-nāḡk' sitting positional)
 waru'jt'kjēne will he eat? (-kjēne future)
 ra'nā would he go? (re to go; -nā conditional)
 nīžu'jes'arē is it raining? (nīžu' to rain; -je standing positional; -s'arē dubitative)

The movement of pitch is most often falling but in forms with -nā there is a rise of roughly a fourth.

ADVERBIAL SUFFIXES

47. The suffixes that are placed between the stem and either the final or subordinating suffix have been termed adverbial because most of them are of that character.

48. Intentive -kje. This suffix indicates a future act or condition which is to result from the will of the speaker or agent, or from other compelling forces in the speaker's purview. It is sometimes used as a mild or polite imperative.

Examples:

- nākje'nā he shall sleep (nā to sleep; -kje; declarative -nā)
 rutikje'gē so that he can pull (ruti' to pull; -kje; -gē
 causal)
 hak'ērēkje'zeske'nā I have to go home (ha- first person;
 k'ēre to go home; -kje; zē'ē demonstrative; huske' like;
 -nā declarative)

49. Future -kjane. This suffix, probably derived from kje, designates the future. The peculiar phonetic modifications which accompany its use have been discussed in section 48.

Examples:

- yap'ē'rēzanīhē'kjanenā I will remember (hip'ē'rēs to know
 with ha- first person inserted; ha- first person; nīhe' to
 continue; -kjane; -nā)
 waši'rēkjane'nā they are going to dance (waši' to dance;
 -ire third person; -kjane; -nā)

50. Customary -sūnū. The suffix -sūnū denotes customary action and may be translated "usually" when referring to the present and "used to" when referring to the past.

Examples:

- k'i:'ūi'rhēsūnū'nā they used to gamble (k'i:'ū to gamble;
 -ire third plural; -sūnū; -nā)
 rugaga'zirēsūnū'nā they usually destroy (ruga's to tear re-
 duplicated; -ire third plural; -sūnū; -nā)
 hana'sūnū'nā I usually sleep (ha- third person; -nā to sleep;
 -sūnū; -nā)

51. Continual -s'ə. The regular repetition of an action or condition is expressed by the suffix -s'ə.

Examples:

- hajai'rēs'əzē again and again they used to see (haja' to see
 -ire third plural; -s'ə; -zē quotative)
 c'wra'ranēks'ə'zē blue moving around from time to time (c'w

blue; re to go reduplicated; -nāk' sitting positional; -s'ə; -žē quotative)
 nās'ə'gi when he goes to sleep, regularly (nā to sleep; -s'ə; -gi subordinating)

52. Conditional -nā. This suffix has an extremely wide range of meanings. While most often used to express the idea that a future action is uncertain or hypothetical or dependent upon a contingency which is stated in a conditional clause or understood, it may also express ideas of a hortatory or obligatory or compulsory nature.

Examples:

ha'ūnā'gi k'aranā'nē if I should do it he would go home (ha- first person; 'ū to do; -nā; -gi subordinating; k'ēre' to go home; -nā; -nō)

e'jahw'gi haji'ranānē if we went they would come (e'ja there; ha- first person assimilated; hi to go; -gi subordinating; ha- with third plural of verbs of motion; ji to arrive; -ire third plural; -nā; nō)

haji'ranā'hirēžē' he thought they might come (hajiranā as above; hire' to think; žē quotative)

waranā'nē he should work (ware' to work; -nā; -nō) depending on context this might mean "he ought to work" or "he must work" or "he can work"

53. Negative -nī. The negative is formed by the suffix -nī and the prefix k'ē- or preceding word hānk'ē'.

Examples:

hānk'ē' nīžu'janī'nō it isn't raining (nīžu' to rain; je standing positional; -nī; -nō)

hānk'ē' nīžu'nīgi if it does not rain (-gi subordinating)

k'ē'žeska'nīnē it isn't so (k'ē- negative; žē'ē this; huske' like; -nī; -nō)

The prefix k'enī- and the suffix -nī form a negative which may be translated "not yet" in sentences and "before" in subordinate clauses.

Examples:

k'enīā'jinī before I came (k'enī- not yet; ha- first person; ji to arrive; -nī)

k'enī'warujenī'nē he hasn't eaten yet (k'enī-; waruc' to eat; -nī; -nō)

54. Plural -wi, -ire. The suffix -wi attaches the idea of plurality to the entire clause. Subject, direct object, indi-

rect object, all or any of these, may be plural, and it is left to the context to indicate which. The suffix -ire specifies the third person plural.

Examples:

- hīṣap'ê'rêzwinē you know us, thou knowest us, ye know me (hī- first person object; ra- second person subject; hip'ê'rēs to know; -wi plural; -nē)
 hīṣagiṣa'winē you bury for us, thou buriest for us, you bury for me (hī- first person object; ra- second person subject; gi- indirect object; ke to bury; -wi; -nē)

55. Dubitative -ske. This suffix adds a quality of uncertainty to the stem. With the prefix hi- it forms the neutral verb hiske' "to be similar to" or "thus"; this is the most valuable hint of its meaning as it is very difficult to translate.

Examples:

- jaḡwa'mīnēgirê'skanēk'ū' while he was sitting on he didn't know what (jaḡu' what; ha- on; mīnē'k' to sit; hire' to think; -ske changes to -ska; -nēk' sitting positional with ū to do forms the subordinator "while")
 jaḡwa'wa'ūṣeskē for no reason at all (jaḡu' what; hawa'ū on account of; hire' to think; -ske)

56. -niske. This is apparently formed out of the negative suffix -ni and -ske. It imparts a quality of vagueness to the stem it follows:

Examples:

- c'ωnīske'zē it was sort of blue (c'ω blue; -niske: -zē quotative)
 Morω'niske'nē he was kind of snoring (Morω' to snore; -niske -nē)

57. -êgê. This suffix indicates a future possibility which is contrary to the wish of the speaker or agent.

Examples:

- warujê'ge he might eat (but I don't want him to) (waruc' to eat; -êgê)
 hi'êre'girêgê' because he thought they might find him (hi'e' to find; -ire third plural; êgê; hire' to think; -gê causal)

58. -sike. This indicates that the action performed was done in addition to some other, whether mentioned or understood. It

can be translated "also" but "also" qualifies the verbal meaning only.

Examples:

waši'škēre'nā they also danced (waši' to dance; -ške; -ire third plural; -nā)
nāške'nā he also slept

59. -rēške. Preceded by the element re, which may be the demonstrative adjective, -ške forms the suffix meaning "even."

Examples:

nāwā'nēške'renā they even sang (nāwā to sing; -rēške; -ire third plural: -nā)
t'ēhākjānerēške'nā I will even kill (t'e dead; ha first person of causative hi; -kjāne future; -rēške; -nā)

60. -c'ā. This indicates that the action of the verb stem is done instead of some other action.

Examples:

hanāc'ētekjāne'nā I'll go to sleep instead (ha- first person; nā to sleep; -c'ā; te first person of re to go; -kjāne future; -nā)
warecā'nā he worked instead (ware' to work; -c'ā; -nā)

61. -ī. This may be translated "at least."

Examples:

rac'kā'žira having at least drunk (rac'kā' to drink; -ži; -ra subordinating)
nā'nāskīkje'nā at least I'll sit (mīnā'k' to sit with -ha first person inserted; -ži; -kje intensive; -nā)

62. -k'e. This can be translated "often."

Examples:

māṅšw'k'ēsunūnā he often whittles (māṅšw to whittle; -k'e; -šunū customary; -nā)
hāṅk'ē' waru'c'kanī'nā he seldom eats (hāṅk'ē negative; waru'c' to eat; -k'e; nī negative; -nā)

63. -īcī. This suffix can most often be translated "very." It intensifies the meaning of the stem it follows:

Examples:

p'īṅkī'nā it is very good (p'ī good; -īcī; -nā)
hāwā'reṅkī'nenā they were enjoyed (literally, they went in deeply) (hāwē' to go in; re to go; -kī; -ire third plural; -nā)

64. -gere. This suffix throws emphasis on the verb. The implication usually is that the action was performed against opposition.

Examples:

nāge'renē he did sleep (nā to sleep; -gēre; -nē)
wahac'ke'renē I did eat (wahac' first person of waru'c' to eat; -gēre; nē)

65. -ginī. This suffix can be rendered "already." It indicates that the action of the stem has been completed in the past.

Examples:

wak'ū'ginī'nē he has already given it to them (wa- third person plural object; wak'ū to give; -ginī; -nē)
ha'ha'ginī'nē I've already buried it (ha- first person; he to bury; -ginī; -nē)

SUBORDINATING SUFFIXES

66. In this group the strongest traces of derivation from the demonstratives and the articles are found. There seems to be ground for the supposition that the central idea in the formation of subordinate clauses is the nominalization of verbal concepts.

67. Temporal -ra. The action in the subordinate clause formed by -ra occurs immediately before the action in the main clause. It can often be translated by a past participle or by treating the two clauses as coordinate. -ra also forms an agentive. There seems to be little reason for not identifying it with the definite article.

Examples:

wāzō'nāhi'rēra having gone hunting (wāzō something; hānī' to look for; ha- with third plural of verbs of motion; hi to go; -ire third plural; -ra)
c'inē'gējahi'ra when I went to town (c'inē'k' town; -eja post-position; ha first person assimilated; hi to go; -ra)
nā'p'ā'ūi'mēra they made baskets and (nāp'ā basket; 'ū to make; -ire third plural; -ra)
nā'ptēra' the wood-chopper (nā wood; hate' to chop; -ra)
wanāgi'hēra the one who buries the corpse (wanāgi' corpse; he to bury; -ra)

68. -re. This suffix is much more limited in its scope than -ra although it clearly stems from a similar type of source,

the demonstrative suffix -re. It forms clauses that qualify nouns.

Examples:

wanĩ'k' t'era'rê the bird that you killed (wanĩ'k' bird; t'e dead; ra- second person of causative hi; -re)
 nã'ntuzarê' the wood I took (nã tree; tus first person of rus to take; -re)
 p'e'cwac' k'i'rikjã'narê' train that is to come (p'ec fire; wac' boat; k'iri' to come back; -kjanë future; -re)

69. -ga. This suffix forms subordinate clauses which, if not connected causally with the principal clause, are yet associated in the sense of accompanying actions. It is almost invariably followed by the customary suffix -šũnũ in the principal clause. In addition, it forms an agentive of the same sort as -ra. It appears to be derived from either the demonstrative suffix -ga or the article -ga used with names.

Examples:

e'jahwi'ga hajifšũnũ'nã when we go there, they usually come (e'ja there; ha- first person assimilated; hi to go; -wi plural; -ga; ha- with plural of verbs of motion; ji to arrive; -ire third plural; -šũnũ customary; -nã)
 nã'giwãgã' when I sing for him (nãwã' to sing with ha- first person assimilated and gi- indirect object infix; -ga)
 hižõ't'êga' when someone dies (hižõ' indefinite article; t'e to die; -ga)
 wat'ehi'jeğa the killer (wa- intransitivizer; t'ehi' to kill; -je positional standing; -ga)

70. Causal -gê. Causal subordination is indicated by this suffix. It sometimes appears in the longer form -gêjunĩ without any apparent differentiation of meaning. Preceded by conditional -nã or hortatory -kje, it forms purpose clauses.

Examples:

nãnũ'gê because he stole (nãnũ' to steal; -gê)
 hiwuskê'junĩ because I was dry (hi- first person objective; wus dry; -gêjunĩ)
 warekje'gê so as to work (ware' to work; -kje intensive; -gê)
 nãnã'gê so that he might sleep (nã to sleep; -nã conditional; -gê)
 k'êrêkjê'gê so that he can go home (k'êre' to go home; -kje hortatory; -gê)

71. Conditional -gi. This suffix indicates the contingency on which a future event in the main clause depends. In the past it forms contrary to fact conditions. An alternative form -gizi is used in the same way but in addition seems to function occasionally as an oral stop. When preceded by the demonstrative -re, -gi forms purely temporal clauses. In conditional clauses -nā and kje frequently appear before -gi.

Examples:

- ze'skēhi'gi if he does so (ze'ē demonstrative pronoun; hiske like; hi causative; -gi)
 tuḥv'ruk'gizi if I accomplish it (tuḥv'ruk' first person of ruḥv'ruk' to accomplish; -gizi)
 k'enīzu'nūgi' if it doesn't rain (k'ē- negative; nīzu' to rain; nī negative; -gi)
 hīt'ū'ḡēgi if he leaves me (hī- first person object; t'ū to cast; re to go; -gi)
 waha'janē'gwiḡēgi' while we were eating (waha'c' first person of waru'c' to eat; ha- first person; nek' sitting positional; -wi plural; -regi)
 tanō'gi if I should go (te first person of re; -nā conditional; -gi)

72. Temporal -gajš. -gajš indicates the priority of the action in the subordinate clause and may be translated "after." It consists, apparently of the subordinating suffix -ga and the standing positional š. Occasionally it seems to function merely as an oral stop: its meaning is obviously compatible with the movement of a continuous narrative style and possibly may be translated in such use as "and then."

-gajš is also used as a final suffix for rhetorical questions and truisms.

Examples:

- wahajwi'gajš' after we had eaten (wa- intransitivizer; hac' first person of ruc' to eat; -wi plural; -gajš after)
 e'jahwi'gajš' after we got there (e'ja there; ha- first person assimilated; hi to go; -wi plural; -gajš after)
 hā'mbera p'īḡēci'gajš' nice day, isn't it? (hāmp' day; -ra definite article; p'ī good; -ḡēci intensitive; -gajš)
 wi'ra wā'ngērēginēk'ajš' the moon is up above (wi moon; -ra definite article; wā'ngērēgi above; -nēk' sitting positional; -gajš)

73. Temporal -ū. An action or state in a subordinate clause which is synchronous with the action in the main clause is expressed by the suffixation of the appropriate positional and

the element -'ū, probably from the verb 'ū "to do." The suffix -regi, discussed in section 71, is somewhat less frequently used in the same way.

Examples:

wawac'ki'sjā'ū while he was sawing (wa- intransitivizer; wa-instrumental; c'kis to cut; -jā positional standing; -'ū)
 nānā'garegi while he was sleeping (nā to sleep; nāk' positional sitting; -regi)
 wāngē'zā c'i'ruruguc'jā'ū a man looking at the house (wāng' man; hūzā' indefinite article; c'i house; hūruguc' to look at; -jā positional standing; -'ū)
 nā'wānāk'ū while I was singing (ha- first person assimilated in nāwā' to sing; -nāk' positional sitting; -'ū)

74. Disjunctive -nūnīngē. This is the common disjunctive suffix and has the force of "although" or "but."

Examples:

tak'a'cjānūnīngē although it is hot (tak'a'c' hot; -jā positional standing; -nūnīngē)
 waru'jenūnīngē he ate but -- (wa- intransitivizer; ruc' to eat; -nūnīngē)

75. -hūskē. This suffix can be translated "even if" or "even though." It is derived from the adverbial suffix -ské (see sections 58 and 59). It may be preceded by -gi and -nā.

Examples:

k'ēre'skē)
 k'ēregi'skē) even if he went home
 k'aranāi'skē)
 (k'ēre' to go back; -gi; -nā; -hūskē)
 nāi'skē even though he slept
 (nā to sleep; -hūskē)

76. Conjunctive -anōga. This is the most common connective and is used to connect nouns as well as verbs. It is distinctly verbal in character, however, and when used to connect nouns will be preceded by the copulative hēre'.

Examples:

waši'ranōga they danced and -- (waši' to dance; -ire third plural; -anōga)
 hit'at'a'nōga he talked and -- (hit'ēt'e' to talk; -anōga)
 zazac'ke'zērea'nōga a grasshopper and -- (zaza'c'kē grasshopper; -hūzā' indefinite article; hēre' to be; -anōga)

The adverb nĭge'ákê means "or" and "or else" and -anāga acts as the connective. nĭge'ákê is probably nĭgê "a piece" with the suffix -hĭákê.

Examples:

- māṅṅi'wia'ganāga' nĭge'ákê it is cloudy or -- (māṅṅi'wi cloudy; -ak positional lying; -anāga)
 ta'nāga nĭge'ákê I go or -- (te first person of re to go; -anāga)
 sūṅgi'zērea'nāga nĭge'ákê a dog or -- (sūṅk' dog; hĭzē indefinite article; hēre' to be; -anāga)

VERBS OF GOING AND COMING

77. The actions of coming and going are subdivided into three positions, starting, arriving, and being on the way. The stems for starting and arriving are distinct; the verbs for being on the way are formed by adding the element -he to the stems for starting. In addition, there is a form, which closely resembles a reflexive, for each of the above verbs, with the added implication that the place toward which the coming or going is directed was previously visited. The following table shows all these verbs:

	come	go	come back	go back
start	hu	re	gu	k'êre'
arrive	ji	hi	k'iri'	gi
be on the way	huhe'	rahe'	guhe'	k'arahe'

These verbs are combined in pairs to form a considerable number of verbs with travel meanings. Some of these are:

- * jire' to pass by
- k'irik'êre' to pass by going back
- hire' to go by
- jik'êre' to go quickly
- rehi' to go quickly

78. Verbs of coming and going have a special prefix wawa- to express the ideas "from" and "to." This may be derived from the stem we, found only in combination, which means roughly "to go along." This prefix sometimes appears as hawa, which may be the verb hawe' "to go in."

Examples:

- c'inā'gēra wawa'tenā I go to town (c'inā'k' town; -ra definite article; wawa-; te first person of re to go; -nā declarative)

wawarehi'nā he sent it away from him (wawa-; re to go; hi causative; -nā declarative)

h_wwa'h_whi'žē he sent it towards (h_wwa-; hu to come; hi causative; -žē quotative)

VERBAL AUXILIARIES

79. A few verbs are never used independently but are always added to other verbs to modify their meaning. Among these are the causative hi (see section 31, part (g), for pronominal forms), which can be appended after any active or neutral verb and has the meaning "to cause to" or "to make"; and the causative gigi', a regular first class verb, which functions similarly but has the meaning "to make" in the sense of forcing and, in addition, the possible meaning "to permit" or "to allow."

Examples:

c'whi'nā he made it blue (c'w blue; hi causative; -nā declarative)

was_ihi'nā he caused him to dance (was_i to dance; hi causative; -nā declarative)

ruscōgigi'nā he made him stop (ruscō to stop; gigi causative; -nā)

'ūā'ngigi'nā I compel him ('ū to do; ha- first person; gigi'; nā)

k'ibahi'nā he doubted (k'i- reflexive; ba to have no confidence in; hi causative; -nā)

nāingigi're let me sleep (nā to sleep; hī- first person objective; gigi'; -re imperative)

80. Continuous action, past and present, and present state or condition, are auxiliaries, the first class verb je or jä for the standing position, and the second class verbs härk or hak for lying or running and nōk for the sitting position (see section 30 for slightly irregular pronominal forms). Unlike the causatives, in this case, both the principal verb and the auxiliaries take pronouns. The positionals beside their verbal function are also used with demonstratives (see section 93). Long things are talked of as lying, tall or upright things as standing, and other things as sitting. Clouds "lie," rain "stands," the sun and moon "sit." The classification does not altogether follow from the character of the action: sleeping, for example, usually is spoken of in the sitting position. It may be said generally that the sitting position is strongly favored and most often used. An amusing instance of inconsistency is the word mīnō'kāsāwā'ngerē "those of you sitting here in a lying position."

Examples:

- c'itē'ē hinū'gworu'c'əglē' wa'ūnē'ksənē this room is a woman's sewing-room (c'i house; tē'ē this; hinū'k' woman; wa- intransitivizer; h_w- in; ruc'ē'k' to sew; -h_izē' indefinite article; wa- intransitivizer; 'ū to do; -nēk' positional sitting; -sənē declarative)
- nāfa' tira'jenē the tree is growing (nā tree; -ra definite article; tire' to move; -je standing positional; nē declarative)
- wā'ḡkpežē wa'ūāḡ'k'ūnī who is it? (wāḡk' man; p'eže who; wa- intransitivizer; 'ū to do; -hāḡk' positional lying; -ḡūnī dubitative)

REDUPLICATION

81. Reduplication of verbal stems is used to express repetitive and distributive ideas. All monosyllabic stems that end in vowels are doubled:

c'tc'i' to live here and there	stem c'i to live
k'ēh'ē' earring	stem kē to drip
rac'kac'ka' to keep tasting	stem -c'ka to try
rutiti' to keep pulling	stem -ti tē move
kkuḡku' scaly	stem -kku to take off layers
nāki'ki to brush lightly against with the foot again and again	stem -ki to touch
zizi' yellow in spots	stem zi yellow

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel are treated in the same way:

śaraśa'ra bare here and there	stem -śa'ra to make bare
k'trik't'ri to keep coming back	stem k't'ri to come back
MoḡMo'ḡ to keep snoring	stem Mo'ḡ to snore
giḡtriḡ't'ri to mash to bits	stem -ḡi'ri to get into something soft
rus'risi't'ri to keep squeezing out	stem -si't'ri to squeeze out
p'orwḡp'o'ḡ round	stem p'o'ḡ round

Stems ending in a consonant drop the final consonant:

rugaga's to tear to pieces	stem -gas to cut
ḡaga'k' to cry repeatedly	stem ḡak' to cry
ruksūksū'ḡc' to rock	stem -ksūḡc' to move

hirac'a'c'as to chatter	stem -c'as to click
pso'psuc' fine	stem -psoc' to make fine
rurus to take again and again	stem rus to take
ruru'c' to nibble at this and that	stem ruc' to eat
k'erék'e'rés spotted	stem -k'e'rés to make designs

SOUND SYMBOLISM

82. There are many indications in the vocabulary of a now obsolete process of representing the intensity of an action or condition by consonantal variation. There are two series: a, é, h; and z, z', g; which seem to express three stages of intensity. The following examples have been found:

- sā'wā to melt
- śā'wā to soften
- mā'wā to moisten
- skl̄ŋk' to wring out moisture
- škl̄ŋk' to draw out color or essence
- mkl̄ŋk' to draw out fluid
- su'wu to feel a grainy thing
- śu'wu to make itchy or to scratch
- mu'wu to crunch, to make a crackling sound
- soŋ to make a frying sound
- šoŋ to make a bubbling sound
- moŋ to make a sound like the breaking of something brittle,
thin-crust and hollow
- p'iri's to wrinkle
- p'iri's to curl
- p'iri'm to curl in large curls
- sā'nē to fall out
- śā'nē to drop
- mā'nē to collapse
- ric' to bend
- riś to bend in a wide bend
- riŋ to coil
- k'és to scrape bare
- k'ém to scrape
- si'ri to squeeze out
- ki'ri to squash

- śa'ra to make bare
- ŋa'ra to strip
- giso' to cut off strips of leather
- šo to whittle, to break off thin strips
- sĩŋc' tail
- śĩŋc' buttocks
- šku to take off kernels of corn
- ŋku to take off layers
- jas to make a snapping sound
- jaś to make a knocking sound buja's marbles
- jaŋ to splash ruja'ŋ thunder-clap
- hiwasu'ruk' to push through so it appears on other side
- wasu'ruk' to push back foreskin
- ski to pinch
- ŋki to touch lightly
- c'as to make a small metallic sound
- c'aś to make a clicking sound
- ś'ē to extract fruit-juice ś'ē to leak
- ŋ'ē to drip
- ski bitter sku sweet, salty
- h_wwaški' unripe
- ŋki taste like sunburnt potato or bile
- nāŋs light disagreeable odor as of mice
- nāŋś to ferment
- nāŋŋ heavy disagreeable odor as of urine
- nāt'ı's to swell
- t'ıś to make round
- nāt'ı'ŋ to shrink
- 'aś to open
- 'aŋ to split
- śĩ'nĩ to shed sparks
- ŋĩ'nĩ to knock off coals to make better blaze
- sa-raŋ to clatter
- śa-raŋ to thud
- ksəp' to bring to consciousness
- kśəp' to break open
- k'ē'rēs to make figures or designs
- ruk'ē'rēŋ to tattoo
- ś_{wc}' hazy, roily
- ŋ_{wc}' gray

- zəp' to make a rough tear
- zəp' to peel
- gəp' to remove a layer
- zək' to stretch
- zək' to wear fine
- gək' to push or pull through a tube or eye
- zi yellow
- zi brown
- gi light brown
- zıp' to press something soft and sticky
- gıp' to press something soft
- zək' to split partly
- gak' to break off a splinter
- ruza'c' to make spindly
- zəc' to spread out at top like a bucket
- gəc' to taper like a tree
- hi-zī'ŋc' to muss
- gīŋc' to fray, to fringe

THE NOUN

83. Nominal stems are clearly distinguished from verbal stems. Although verbal stems may be nominalized in a number of different ways (see sections 24, 25, 67, 69) the closest approach to the verbalization of a noun is by suffixation of the verbal auxiliary k'i from k'i- the reflexive prefix combining with the causative hi which may be translated "to act like."

Examples:

- wā'ŋk'i to act like a man
- śū'ŋk'i to act like a dog
- a'k'i to serve as an arm

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

84. Definite article. The definite article is the suffix -ra.

Examples:

- si'ra the foot
- hu'jəra the acorn
- mā'ŋgəra the garden
- nā'da the tree

85. Indefinite article. The suffix -hizə is the indefinite article.

Examples:

rabi'zē a beaver
 wak'āl'ŋzē a snake
 šūŋgi'zē a dog
 māŋsū'ūzē a feather

86. The indefinite article may be suffixed after the definite article to express the idea "some -- or other."

Examples:

hinūgerai'zē some woman or other
 ražerai'zē some name or other
 k'wəgerai'zē some box or other

87. -ga. When referring to individuals by name or by kinship term or to animal characters in tales, this suffix is added as a mark of respect. It is never used in address.

Examples:

ja'j'ga father
 k'v'nūga proper name for eldest son
 māc'wəsu'c'ka red-grizzly-bear surname
 k'ec'ē'ŋgega turtle tale character

88. Diminutive. The suffix -nŋk' acts as a diminutive.

Examples:

c'inā'k' small house
 hinūgənī'k' girl
 sinī'k' small foot
 māngənī'k' small field

89. There are several common noun-terminations which may be old suffixes no longer free.

(a) -ksk may be an old diminutive

Examples:

ksu'ksk' small
 nā'ksk' twig nā tree
 hu'ksk' hazel-nut hu stem
 wiju'ksk' weasel siju'k' cat
 ja'j'ŋksk' mink
 mānī'k'aksk' coyote
 kšeksuksk' crabapple kšē apple
 wic'ā'wāksk' small squash wic'ā'wā squash

(b) -tok' seems to be an augmentative.

Examples:

c'eto'k' big buffalo
 hūŋc'to'k' big bear

(c) A very large number of nouns, mostly names of animals and plants, have the termination -k'ê or -k'. In some cases the etymology of the rest of the word is clear. -k'ê may be the adverbial suffix discussed in section 62.

Examples:

wak'ê' raccoon
 gū'nškê skunk
 māhō'nāk'ê pocket-gopher (mā ground; Mā'nā to collapse)
 wijugwamānū'k'ê mouse (wijū'k' cat; wa- intransitivizer;
 mānū' to steal)
 wasē'rēk'ê fox
 wak'anāškê frog
 hic'kē' egg
 nāc'kē' heart (appears in composition as nāc')
 sūŋc'kē' testicles
 hūŋške' basswood
 waškē' poplar
 nāhō'skē box-elder
 wazip'a'riskê white cedar (wazi' pine; p'a'ras flat)
 ra'ŋkê weed
 hazašūc'kē red raspberry (has berry; šuc' red)
 hap'ūnūp'ū'nūŋkê gooseberry
 hūc'əh'k'ê cranberry

 warušūc'kē red corn
 zaza'c'kē grasshopper (zaza'c' spindly)

 zik' squirrel
 gūk' badger
 hāŋk' ground-hog
 c'wz't'k' bullhead
 nāŋz't'k' pike
 hezt'k' bee (he horn; zi yellow)
 hiwtz't'k' chicken-hawk
 hinanē'k' field-mouse
 wic'a'wak' muskrat
 tūšē'nāk' otter

(d) A few words show an old feminine suffix -wī. hinū'k' "woman" is more commonly added now.

Examples:

c'e'wī cow (only used by old people)
 wawī' young she-bear
 hinarē'gewī female field-mouse

90. Locative -eja. The adverb e'ja "there" is suffixed to nouns when they are used in locative and directional phrases.

Examples:

nīšw'jēja to the Missouri	nīšw'c' the Missouri river
p'ajē'ja in the timber	p'ac' timber
tec'ē'jēja on the shore of the lake	te lake; c'ec' edge
māskē'ja on the clean ground	mā ground; h _w - in; ske clean

91. -egi. The adverb e'gi "here" forms similar adverbial phrases.

Examples:

c'inā'garegi in town	cinā'k' town: -ra definite article
hāhē'gi tonight	hāhe' night
mānē'gi to the earth	mā ground; -ra definite article
wā'ngaregi above	wāṅk' top; -ra definite article

92. Many of the verbal suffixes may be used with nouns. Some of them require the verbal assistance of the copula hēre'.

Examples:

māṅc'ku'nāižē a could-be-bow (māṅc'ku' bow; -nā conditional;
-h_ižē indefinite article)
 c'isūnū'na the used-to-be house (c'i house; -sūnū customary;
-ra definite article)
 waguje'žērēkjā'nēra the moccasins-to-be (waguje' moccasin;
hēre' to be; -kjāne future; -ra definite article)
 nāhcī' real wood (nā wood; -hcī intensitive)
 c'i'žērēs'a'rē a house perhaps (c'i house; -h_ižē indefinite
article; hēre' to be; -s'arē dubitative)

DEMONSTRATIVES

93. Demonstrative pronouns. tē''ē and mē''ē are interchangeable and refer to what is near the speaker. žē''ē indicates what is near the person addressed and ga''a what is near the person spoken of or else simply far off. e refers to something mentioned before.

94. Demonstrative adjectives. All the pronouns except e are used after nouns and especially when the reference is strongly

demonstrative. More frequently, however, the suffixes -rê "this" and -ga "that," both preceded by the appropriate positionals, will serve as demonstrative adjectives. The forms are:

-jãrê this standing	-jega that standing
-nãgêrê this sitting	-nãk'a that sitting
-hãngêrê this lying	-hãrk'a that lying

These suffixes added to verb stems, most often to the verbs mĩnã'k "to sit," mũrk' "to lie" and nãŋzí' "to stand," form a set of words which function like independent personal pronouns, being used as subject or object or vocatively. Both the verb and the positional take personal pronouns. As the forms are somewhat irregular the set for the sitting position will be given:

mĩã'nãganã'gêrê I sit,	mĩã'nãganã'gêrê or
here sitting	mĩã'nãganã'gwi'rê we exclusive
mĩsã'nãksãnã'gêrê thou	mĩsã'nãgãsãnã'gêrê or
	mĩsã'nãgãsãnãgwi'rê you
mĩnã'gãnã'gêrê he	mĩnã'gãnã'ŋgêrê or
	mĩnã'gãnãgwi'rê they
hĩmĩnã'gãnã'gêrê thou and I	hĩmĩnã'gãnã'ŋgêrê or
	hĩmĩnã'gãnãgwi'rê we inclusive

Identical forms with the above exist for -ga. For the lying position the regular first class verb mũrk' is followed by the irregular second class positional -hãrk (see section 30 for forms). For the standing position both the verb nãŋzí' and the positional (-jã before -rê and -je before -ga) are regular first class verbs.

95. Demonstrative adverbs. These are formed by suffixing -gi and -ja to the demonstrative pronouns and to several other elements that cannot be identified. The following list contains all that have been found:

e'gi here	place specified or understood
me'gi here	near speaker
te'gi	interchangeable with me'gi
higi' here	in its place
gagi' there	unspecified place to a side
gusi' gi there	beyond the person addressed or some specified object
cute'gi there	this side of the person addressed or some specified object
ŋegi' there	place near person addressed which has been mentioned
e'ja there	place mentioned or understood

ze'ja there near the person addressed
 hɛja' there in its place
 gai'ja there near the person spoken of
 gɔja')
 gɔ'ja) there distant or out of sight
 gaja')

Another group is formed by adding -ira to all above with the idea of motion in the direction indicated. This suffix may be the verb hi "to go" plus the definite article. A few examples will make this form clear:

megi'ra here nearer to the speaker
 zejai'ra there nearer the person addressed
 guʂgi'ra there farther beyond the person addressed
 cɔtɛgi'ra there farther from person addressed in the direction of the speaker

The word hɛjai'ra, thus formed, is of special interest. It is suffixed to adjectives to form the comparative and to nouns with the meaning "more."

hɛske "like" is suffixed to the demonstratives to form a number of adverbs that can be translated "like this" or "thus." The following have been found: me'skê, te'skê, ze'skê, ga'skê, me'zeskê, te'zeskê, ze'zeskê, ga'zeskê.

The suffix -nãga forms a similar group meaning "this much" or "that much": menã'ga, tenã'ga, zenã'ga, ganã'ga, mezenã'ga, etc.

The suffix -nãhã forms another group of adverbs meaning "this many times" or "that often": menã'ha, etc.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

96. There are several pronouns and adverbs used in initial position to introduce interrogative sentences or subordinate clauses. The following have been found:

p'ežê who
 jaɣu' what
 jaskê' how
 jajã' when
 jaɣu'ũ why

hac'ã', hac'ũŋja, hac'ãĩ'ŋja where, whither

janãga how much, how many
 janã'hã how often, how many times

All of the above combine with the intensive -hɛɕ and with

the adverb higū'. A few examples will show the kind of word that results:

p'e'zigū' whoever, anyone p'ežē'Mcī who in the world
 jagu'igū whatever, anything jagu'Mcī what in the world

There is an alternative form in which higū' precedes the interrogative word with no difference in meaning.

NUMERALS

97. The cardinal numbers are as follows:

1 - hčžēnk'i'ra	7 - šagw'wī
2 - nūmp	8 - haruwē'ŋk'
3 - tānī'	9 - hčžēnk'i'c'ūŋškū'nī
4 - jwp'	10 - k'ērep'a'nāžš
5 - sac'ā'	11 - hčžēnk'i'rasēnē
6 - hak'e'wē	12 - nū'mbašēnē

The ordinals are formed by prefixing hi- or wi- to the cardinal numbers. There is one exception: c'wānī'na "first." The definite article -ra is always suffixed.

hinūmbera' or winū'mbera the second
 hitanī'na or wita'nūna the third

The suffix -hā after the cardinal numbers indicates the number of times. "Once" is exceptional: hagak'i'rahā.

nūmbā'hā twice tanī'hā thrice

The suffix -k'ē indicates the total number when placed after the ordinal numbers. č is used after final consonants before the suffix.

hinūmbč'k'ē the two of them
 hitanī'nīk'ē the three of them

The suffix -wi after the cardinal numbers indicates part of a larger group. č is again used interconsonantly but this time it does not sonorize the terminal consonant.

nūmp'č'wi two of them
 tanī'wī three of them

INTERJECTIONS

98. The following interjections are used:

hwhwa:'	sadness, regret
hehehia:'	weariness, relaxation man
hohwhwa:'	weariness, relaxation

hwɪs, hɪs	Damn! at a minor annoyance or an unreasonable request
k'ora:	wonder, surprise, awe man
k'otē:	listen! man
nīk'atē:	try and get me to do it! in answer to a request woman
psiu, psu	phew! at an unpleasant odor
hāā	indicating attention
	with falling pitch on the echoed vowel
h _w :, hāh _w :	hear! hear! audience indicating approval
ū:nskē'	speaker hesitating for a word
wanā:	wonder, surprise woman
nīk'a:	wonder, surprise woman
tuwi:	ouch!
ānā:	ouch!
aru:	ouch!
hi'ɪs	is that so!
hā:	is that so!
	long drawn out with a wide pitch movement
he:he:	at something pleasing
si:	to drive a dog away
ś:	to drive a cat away or chickens
wa	what?
śi:	say there!
wi:ta:	of all the nerve! woman
wrak'i:	surprise woman
haḡw:	disgust
c'ia'	scolding
skiri'k'	to express disapproval or teasing
haḡaḡa'aske'zā	Alas! has it ever happened thus?

Where the sex of the speaker is not given, both men and women use the exclamation. All the interjections with long final vowel are also uttered at a somewhat lower pitch with short final vowel abruptly cut off by a glottal stop.

WORD ORDER

99. The normal order of words in the sentence is subject, indirect object, object, verb. The verb is generally the final element in the sentence. Occasionally the subject is put last for emphasis but the object almost invariably precedes the verb.

Subordinate clauses precede the main clause ordinarily. The normal order of words in an adjective clause is object, subject, verb. In adverbial clauses it is subject, object, verb.

Departures from normal order are not infrequent. Undoubtedly there are principles of emphasis involved here but these could not be reduced to rule. In ritual text the order of words departs widely from the conversational norm.

TEXT*

hiš'ŋj'ŋhwi'ra¹ jaḡu'² hamīnō'ŋgire'skanāk'ū'³
 our father what while sitting on he didn't know
 hip'ērēsaji'nāksē.⁴ e'ḡi⁵ hušca'nīā'kūḡzē.⁶ ḡaksē'.⁷ e'ḡi
 he came to know and tears flowed. he wept. and
 k'ēs'i'wēwīnī'.⁸ hāḡk'ē'⁹ wazō'dižō'¹⁰ hajanī'žē.¹¹
 he did not think long not anything he did not see.
 hāḡk'ē'⁹ wazō'dižō',¹⁰ k'ēwazō'dižō'.^{9,10} nīḡēnō'ŋḡenīžē.¹²
 not anything not anything somewhere was not.
 jaḡua'mīnāḡirē'skanāksēḡi'zi'¹³ hamīnō'ḡanōk'a'¹⁴
 what he sat on he didn't know that which he sat on
 e'ja¹⁵ wazāi'ŋzē¹⁶ hanīḡu'žē.¹⁷ hanīḡunā'k'a'¹⁸
 there something he took. that which he took
 mānā'ḡerē¹⁹ e'ja¹⁵ nīḡe'nīk'²⁰ waḡi'ū'ŋzē.²¹ e'ḡi⁵
 this earth there little piece he made for them. and
 hāmīnō'ḡanōk'a'²² k'ūhā'hīrē'ḡi'²³ huwa'huhī'žē.²⁴
 that which he sat in below he sent to.
 huḡ'uruḡu'jəḡajō'²⁵ mānā'ḡerē²⁶ žē'skē'²⁷
 after he looked at his own, this earth like this
 jināksē.²⁸ e'ḡi⁵ k'ēwazō'dižō'.^{9,10} haḡēbenī'žē.²⁹
 it came. and not anything did not appear.
 huša'ranāksē.³⁰ e'ḡi⁵ k'ēḡisēwēnī'nāksē.³¹ mānā'ḡerē²⁶
 it was bare. and it was not still. this earth
 huḡup'ī'nīnāksē.³² e'ḡi⁵ me'žēḡū'haḡi'zi'³³
 it was turning. and if I do thus
 ḡisē'wējināi'ŋkḡjē'ḡajō'³⁴ hīrēḡi'zi'³⁵ e'ḡi⁵ hīḡi'ū'ŋzē.³⁶
 it will get still. he thought and he did it with it.
 hāmīnō'ḡanōk'a'²² e'ja¹⁵ hāḡwī'žē³⁷ ru'zanāḡa³⁸
 that which he sat in there a grass he took and
 hīḡi'ū'ŋzē.³⁶ māḡuwa'huhīžē.³⁹ žēḡū'hīa'nāḡa⁴⁰
 he did it with it. he sent it to the earth. thus he did and
 huḡ'uruḡu'c'kajō'²⁵ hāḡk'ē'⁹ ḡisēwēnī'nāksē.³¹
 when he looked on his own not it was not still.
 žīḡi'žē⁴¹ 'ū'ŋzē.⁴² 'ūḡc'ebī'ḡi'zi'⁴³ k'ec'ā'ŋḡēḡa⁴⁴
 again one he made. when he finished him Tortoise

* Notes will be found on page 82.

higē'zē.⁴⁵ hunū'mbimānī⁴⁶ wuwē'wihwzējāl'ŋja⁴⁷
he called him. two-legged walker at the end of his thinking

wagū'ŋzera,⁴⁸ zējā'hik'o'rohwa'k sanā.⁴⁹ mā'na⁵⁰
having created them, it is ready to end. the earth

p'is'ū'sērēkjā'nenā⁵¹ k'ec'ā'ŋgēra.⁵²
you are going to make it good O Tortoise.

zēgū'hia'nāga⁴⁰ māhī'zē⁵³ hanīg'gi'zē.⁵⁴
thus he did and a knife he caused him to have.

mārē'gijigī'zī⁵⁵ wwnā'gīrē⁵⁶ ū'ŋzē.⁴² wagū'ŋzera⁵⁷.
when he came to earth war he made. the creation

hāŋk'ē⁹ hūgīrūku'cnīzē.⁵⁸ e'gi⁵ zīgē⁵⁹
not he did not look after for him. and again

hāŋk'ē⁹ hūgīrūku'janīzēgē⁶⁰
not because he did not look after it for him

e'skē⁶¹ zīgī'gū⁶² k'v'rusē.⁶³
therefore right back he took his own.

hagi⁶⁴ c'i'ra⁶⁵ hūik'ē'wezē.⁶⁶ hāhā⁶⁷
there the house he went in. now

k'u'nīk'a⁶⁸ hiā'ŋc'hara⁶⁹ warēhu'ŋgūgi'ra⁷¹
O grandmother my father work he sent me for

tuŋu'rukšanā.⁷¹ wagū'ŋzera⁵⁷ p'ī'ū⁵¹
I have accomplished. the creation to make good

hu'ŋg'gi'ra⁷⁰ hanā'c'⁷³ tuŋu'rukšanā.⁷¹
that he sent me for all I have accomplished.

wāŋkst'go'ina⁷² hitē'gwahara⁷³ hiūnī'wahara⁷⁴
the life my mothers' brothers my mothers'

wia'k'arak'iskē'ū'īnēkjāne'nā.⁷⁵ e'gi⁵ c'ūŋska'nū⁷⁶
they will have like my own. and O grandson

jaskē'ranāga⁷⁷ hitē'gwaraga⁷⁸ wāŋkst'go'ina⁷²
how did you make and your mothers' brothers the life

wira'k'iskē⁷⁹ jaskē'kjezē?⁸⁰ k'ēzeska'nīnā.⁸¹
like your own how could you? it is not so.

hiā'ŋjīhwi'ra¹ zēgū⁴⁰ gūŋskē⁸² zēgū'nā.⁴⁰
our father thus because he created it is thus.

hāŋk'ē⁹ zēgū'h'gi'p'īnī'nā.⁸³ k'v'nīk'a'ga⁸⁴
not it is not good to do to him thus. my grandmother

wazā'wahigū'nī⁸⁵ e'skē⁶¹ hāŋk'ē⁹
must be something to them therefore not

gip'īnī'gē⁸⁶ wanā'k'ūnī⁸⁷
because it is not good for her she must be saying

- t'ēwa'gigi'ra⁸⁸ hiranō'ksē.⁸⁹ hāṅk'a'a⁹⁰
that I killed them for her he thought. no
- c'ūṅska'nū⁷⁶ hāṅk'ēšē⁹¹ še'ske²⁷ yarē'⁹² wahanī'nāksānā.⁹³
O grandson not like this I think I am not saying.
- c'ūṅska'nū⁷⁶ rura.⁹⁴ huk'ānē⁹⁵ higūṅsā'nā.⁹⁶
O grandson the body the fall he created with.
- waru'c'⁹⁷ hik'iru'jis⁹⁸ k'ī'nēkjanegē'jīnī⁹⁹
food to fall short of because they would make each other
- e'skē⁶¹ huk'ānē⁹⁵ c'ū'wahigē¹⁰⁰ wa'ū'nā¹⁰¹
therefore the fall to make them have he made
- mānā'gare²⁶ hak'ī'nīk'ī'nēkjanegē'jīnī¹⁰² wa'ū'nā¹⁰¹
this earth because they would crowd each other he made
- hw't'e'¹⁰³ c'ū'wahigi¹⁰⁴ e'gi⁵ hīskē'ncī¹⁰⁵
death that he made them have. and really
- wasciṅgē'ga¹⁰⁶ hāṅk'ē'⁹ gip'īnī'nāksē¹⁰⁷ k'unīk'a'ga⁸⁴
Bare not it is not good for my grandmother
- hīskē'ncī¹⁰⁸ hāṅk'ē'⁹ gip'īnī'nēk'ajē'¹⁰⁹
really not it is not good for her
- e'wazē'wahigē'¹¹⁰ wak'a'rašī'genēk'ajē'¹¹¹
because she is something to them she is taking their part
- hiranō'ksē.⁸⁹ k'a'a'¹¹² c'ūṅska'nū⁷⁶ k'ēšeska'nīnā.⁸¹
he is thinking no O grandson it is not so.
- haga'wazē'ngajē'nāižē'¹¹³ nāc'kē'ra¹¹⁴ nīṭēgi'žē'¹¹⁵
for a long time the heart you ache and ache
- c'ak'o'¹¹⁶ hīṭē'gwaraga¹¹⁷ hīnī'waraga¹¹⁸
nevertheless your mothers' brothers your mothers'
- wāṅkšī'gwa'īnāzi¹¹⁹ hīp'ānāi'nēkjanā.¹²⁰ hws'agara.¹²¹
the life at least they will have enough. the old age
- hirahi'ncī'nēkje'nā.¹²² wagēžē¹²³ hāhā.⁶⁷
they will surely reach she said to him now
- c'ūṅska'nū⁷⁶ nāṅžī'nē.¹²⁴ hīro'īk'ānēk'ūīnā'nīhēkjanē'nā.¹²⁵
O grandson stand up they will keep on following me.
- e'gi⁵ hīranī'k'ānāi'ṅkjanīhē'nā.¹²⁶ cūṅska'nū⁷⁶
and I will keep on following you. O grandson
- hitajē'¹²⁷ wa'ūā'ṅjē'.¹²⁸ wā'ṅgeranī'nā.¹²⁹ hāṅk'ē'⁹
mightily do. you are a man. not
- hakjē'mbanīā'jē'.¹³⁰ hws'ṅgī'ṅgī'ṅh¹³¹ raw'gi¹³²
do not look back. around. as they started
- hāṅk'ē'⁹ hakjē'mbanīā'ksē'.¹³³ k'unīk'a'ga⁸⁴
not she was telling him not to look back. grandmother

jagu' 'ū ¹³⁴	wegū'nī ¹³⁵	hirēgē'jīnī ¹³⁶	c'wē'hcīnīk' ¹³⁷
why	she said it	because he thought	just a little
haira'c'kōja ¹³⁸	hakjō'mpōajō' ¹³⁹		
to the left	he looked back and then		
ha'gohu'ra ¹⁴⁰		huruhō'nājīk'ē'rēšē. ¹⁴¹	
the place they had come from	suddenly	caved in	
c'ūṅska'nū ⁷⁶	haga'gaske'zāṅhcī ¹⁴²	wā'ṅgeranīga'jē ¹⁴³	
O grandson	Alas	you are a man	
wažōn'w'k'ōnā ¹⁴⁴	hanīk'a'tažīṅhcī'gajō' ¹⁴⁵	c'ūṅska'nū ⁷⁶	
something great	I urged it upon you strongly	O grandson	
tē'ere'skē ¹⁴⁶	hānk'ē ⁹	k'urustuṅ'ruḡenīnā ¹⁴⁷	hak'ōnā'jāte ¹⁴⁸
this even	not	I can't take back	this fall
hot'a'jāte ¹⁴⁹	waga'ksē ¹⁵⁰	ai'renō ¹⁵¹	hwē'ṅgī'ṅh ¹³¹
this death	she meant	it is said	around
harai'reḡi ¹⁵²	p'ējic'ē'jara ¹⁵³	hwgi'wē ¹⁵⁴	
as they went	the edge of the fire	to go around	
wa'ū'lnēžē ¹⁵⁵	ai'renō. ¹⁵¹		
they did	it is said.		

NOTES FOR TEXT

1. hiā'ŋc' father; hī- inclusive dual pronoun; hi causative used as possessive suffix; -wi plural; -ra definite article.
2. jaḡu' regular interrogative and relative pronoun.
3. ha-on, locative prefix; mīnā'k' to sit; hire' to think; -skē dubitative adverbial suffix; -nāk' sitting positional; -'ū while, subordinating suffix.
4. hip'ē'rēs to know; ji to arrive coming; -nāk sitting positional; -sē quotative final suffix, used throughout the tale because the narrator has heard it, not witnessed it.
5. e'gi here, adverb used as a conjunction or might be translated "then."
6. hišca' face; nī water; ha- on, locative prefix; kū to drip; -zē quotative.
7. ḡak' to weep; -sē quotative.
8. k'ē- negative prefix; s'i long; wēwī' to think; -nī negative suffix; no final suffix because followed by coordinate verb.
9. Used alternatively with the prefix k'ē-.
10. wašō' something; -ra definite article; hišō indefinite article.
11. haja' to see; -nī negative; -zē quotative.
12. nīḡē' piece, prefixed to verbs with meaning "somewhere"; -nāk' sitting positional used as copula; -nī negative; -zē quotative.
13. jaḡu' what; a- on; mīnā'k' to sit; hire' to think; -ske dubitative; -nāk' sitting positional; -sē quotative; -ḡāzi ordinarily subordinating suffix, here used as an oral stop, repetition is generally involved when so used.
14. ha- on; mīnā'k' to sit; -nāk' sitting positional; -ḡa demonstrative adjective.
15. e'ja there, regular adverb here used as post-position that may be translated "from."
16. wašō' something; -hišō indefinite article; literally "a something."
17. hanī' to have; ḡu to start coming back; -zē quotative.
18. hanīḡu as in previous word; -nāk' sitting positional; -ḡa demonstrative adjective.
19. mā earth; -nāk' sitting positional; -rē demonstrative adjective.
20. nīḡē' piece; -nīk' diminutive.

21. wa- third plural objective pronoun; gi- indirect object; 'ū to make; -žē quotative.
22. h_w- in, locative prefix, used as a nominalizer with the sense "the place in which"; minē'k' to sit; -nāk' sitting positional; -ga demonstrative adjective.
23. k'ūhā' under; hi causative; -rē demonstrative; -egi locative prefix.
24. h_wwa- directional prefix with verbs of motion; hu to start coming; hi causative; -žē quotative.
25. h_wrukuc' to look at, with second class reflexive -k'u inserted; -gajā after, subordinating suffix.
26. See 19.
27. žē'ē demonstrative; h_skē like.
28. ji to arrive coming; -nāk' sitting positional; -sē quotative.
29. hažē'p' to appear; -nī negative; -žē quotative.
30. ŋu skin; ša'ra bare; -nāk' sitting positional; -sē quotative.
31. k'ē- negative; gisē'wē quiet; -nī negative; -nāk' sitting positional; sē quotative.
32. h_wrup'ī'nī to turn; -nāk' sitting positional; -sē quotative.
33. mē'ē demonstrative; žē'ē demonstrative; higū' adverb very difficult to translate, may be "just" or "almost" or "pretty"; ha first person of causative hi; -gūži conditional subordinating suffix.
34. gisē'wē still; ji to arrive coming; -nāk' sitting positional with phonetic intrusion caused by -kjene future suffix; -gajā oral stop.
35. hire' to think; -gūži oral stop.
36. hi- with; gi- indirect object; 'u to do; -žē quotative.
37. māṅwī' grass; -h_sžē indefinite article.
38. rus to take; -anēga connective.
39. mā earth; -ra definite article; h_wwa- locative with verbs of motion; hu to start coming; hi causative; -žē quotative.
40. žē'ē demonstrative; higū "just"; hi causative; -anēga connective.
41. ž_sžē' again; -h_sžē indefinite article.
42. 'ū to do; -žē quotative.
43. 'ū to do; c'ep' new; hi causative; -gūži subordinating.
44. k'ē turtle; c'ēṅk' or c'ēṅgē real; -ga with names in reference.
45. hige' to call; may be derived from hi- with, gi- indirect object, e to speak; -žē quotative.
46. hu leg; nūmp' two; hi- with; mānī' to walk.

47. wa- nominalizer; h_w- in; wēwī' to think; h_w- used as nominalizer meaning "the time when"; žejā' to end; -eja locative.
48. wa- third plural objective pronoun; gūns to create; -ra subordinating.
49. žejā' to end; hik'oroh_w ready; -hak' positional lying; -šanā declarative suffix, here used because the speaker is speaking of his own knowledge.
50. mā earth; -ra definite article.
51. p'i good; s'ū second person of 'ū to do; šere second person of re to start going; -kjane future; -nā declarative.
52. k'ecōnk' tortoise; -ra vocative.
53. māhī' knife; -hīzā indefinite article.
54. hanī' to have; giḡi' causative; -žē quotative.
55. mā earth; -ra definite article; -egi to; ji to arrive coming; -ḡiži subordinating.
56. wa- nominalizing; h_w- in; nāḡire' to be frightened.
57. wa- nominalizing; h_w- in; gūns to create; -ra definite article.
58. haruk'oc' to look at, with gi- indirect object inserted; -nī negative; -žē quotative.
59. Common adverb.
60. h_wḡirohujānīžē as above; -ḡē causal subordinator.
61. e demonstrative; h_wkē like; always used after causal clauses.
62. žiḡē' again; hiḡū' "just."
63. k'u reflexive with second class verbs; rus to take; -žē quotative.
64. Adverb.
65. c'i house; -ra definite article.
66. h_wk'e'wē to go in; the inserted i may be an irregularly assimilated reflexive k'i-, otherwise unexplainable; -žē quotative.
67. Common interjection to introduce a speech.
68. The vocative form.
69. hiōnc' father; ha first person of causative hi which acts as possessive with kinship terms; -ra definite article; the aspirate of hi is not assimilated with the possessive in the first person.
70. warē work; hu to start coming; hī first person objective pronoun; gi- indirect object; hi causative; -ra subordinating.
71. First person of ruhū'ruk' to accomplish; -šanā declarative.
72. wāḡk'ak' man; h_w- in, here used as nominalizer; 'i to live; -ra definite article.
73. hitēk' reference form of kinship term; wa- third plural

object; ha- first person of causative used as a possessive; -ra definite article.

74. hiūnī' reference form of kinship term; the rest as in note 73.

75. wa- third plural pronominal object; hi- with; ha- first person subjective pronoun; k'ara- reflexive; k'i- reflexive; hūske' like; ū to do; ire third plural subject; -kjəne future; -nē declarative.

76. Vocative form of kinship term.

77. jaskē' interrogative adverb; ra second person of causative hi; -anōga connective.

78. Second person form in note 73.

79. wa- third plural pronominal object; ra- second person subjective pronoun; k'i- reflexive; hūske' like.

80. jaskē' how, regular interrogative adverb; -kje intensitive; zē quotative.

81. k'ē- negative; zē'ē demonstrative; hūskē like; -nī negative; -nē declarative.

82. gūŋs to create; -gē causal subordinator.

83. zē'ē demonstrative; hiqū' "just"; hi causative; gi- indirect object; p'ī good; -nī negative; -nē declarative.

84. Reference form of kinship term; -ga first person possessive.

85. wāzā' something; wa- third person plural object; hi causative used as kinship possessive; -gūnī dubitative.

86. gi- indirect pronominal object; p'ī good; -nī negative; -gē causal subordinator.

87. wa- intransitivizer; e to say; -nāk positional sitting; -gūnī dubitative.

88. t'e to die; wa- third plural pronominal object; gi- indirect pronominal object; hi causative; -ra subordinating.

89. hire' to think; -nāk' positional sitting; -zē quotative.

90. Exclamatory negative.

91. hāŋk'e' negative; -zē quotative; curious order of elements in this sentence is due to unusual emphasis.

92. ha- first person subject pronoun; hire' to think.

93. ha- first person subjective pronoun; hihe' to say; -nī negative; -nāk' positional sitting; -sənē declarative.

94. rw body; -ra definite article.

95. hw- locative prefix used as a nominalizer meaning "the time to" or "the place to"; k'āte' to fall; possibly derived from k'ūhā' down and re to start going.

96. hi- with; gūŋs to create; -sənē declarative.

97. wa- nominalizer; ruc to eat.

98. hi- with; k'i- reflexive; rujt's to miss.

99. k'i- reflexive; hi causative; -ire third plural subjective pronoun; hi causative; -gē causal.
100. c'ū plenty, possessing; wa- third plural objective pronoun; hi causative; -gē causal.
101. wa- third plural pronominal object; 'ū to do; -nē declarative.
102. hak'īnī to exceed; k'i- reflexive; hi causative; -ire third plural; kjēne future; -gējīnī causal.
103. h_w- locative pronoun acting as nominalizer meaning "place to" or "time to"; t'e to die.
104. c'ū to have; wa- third person objective plural; hi causative; -gi subordinating.
105. h_ske' like; -Mcī intensitive.
106. -ga with names 'in reference.
107. gi- indirect pronominal object; p'ī good; nī negative; -nēk' positional sitting; -sē quotative.
108. Note different accent in form 105 which is more emphatic.
109. Identical with form 107 but for the final suffix; -gajā probably oral stop here.
110. e emphatic third person pronoun; wažā' something; wa- third person pronominal object; hi causative acting as possessive with kinship; -gē causal subordinator.
111. wa- third person plural object; k'ara- reflexive; -sck' not found without the reflexive; nēk' positional sitting; -gajā oral stop.
112. Negative interjection.
113. This and the following two words form an exclamatory type of phrase in common use; little more can be done than to translate the elements in order: hağa' once; wažā' something; -gajā after; -ra definite article; h_ižā indefinite article.
114. nāc'kē' heart; -ra definite article.
115. nī second person objective pronoun; tēk' pain; hi causative; -h_ižā indefinite article.
116. Adverb meaning "in spite of" or "notwithstanding."
117. See note 78.
118. See note 78.
119. wāḡsk'k' man; h_w- with nominalizing function; 'ī to live; -ra definite article; -ži at least.
120. hip'ā'nē enough; -ire third plural pronominal subject; -kje intensitive; -nē declarative.
121. h_w- with nominalizing function; s'ak' old; -ra definite article.
122. hirahi' to reach; -Mcī intensitive; -ire third plural; -kje intensitive; -nē declarative.
123. wa- intransitivizer; gi- indirect pronominal object; e to say; -sē quotative; the statement always follows.

124. nāḡāī' to stand; -re imperative.
125. hi- with; h_wnā'k' to go along, with hī- first person pronominal object and k'ā- second class reflexive inserted; 'ū to do; -ire third plural pronominal object; nihe' to continue to; -kjēne future; -nā declarative.
126. hi- with; h_wnā'k' to go along, with nī- second person pronominal subject and k'ā- second class reflexive inserted; -kje intensitive causing phonetic modification on preceding stem; nihe' to continue to; -nā declarative.
127. Translated as an adverb but probably; hi- with; ta to ask for; -je positional standing acting as imperative suffix.
128. wa- intransitivizer; 'ū to do; ha- locative prefix; -je standing positional acting as imperative suffix.
129. wāḡk' man; ranī second person of hanī' to have, sometimes used as a copula.
130. hakjā'mp' to look back; -nī negative; ha- locative prefix; -je standing positional acting as imperative suffix.
131. Adverb.
132. re to start going; -wi plural; -gi subordinating.
133. hakjā'mp' to look back; nī negative; śī' to order; -hak' positional lying or running; śē quotative.
134. Regular interrogative adverb.
135. we to say; -ḡūnī dubitative.
136. hire' to think; -ḡējīnī causal subordinator.
137. c'wē' almost; -hcī intensitive; -nīk' diminutive.
138. h_wira'c'kē left; -eja locative.
139. hakjā'mp' to look back; -ḡajā after.
140. hak' back; h_w- with nominalizing function; hu to start coming; -ra definite article.
141. h_w- in; ru- instrumental; hā'nā to collapse; ji to arrive and k'ē're to go back combine to form an auxiliary that is best translated "quickly" or "at once"; -śē quotative.
142. Interjection similar to one discussed in note 113; haga' once; ḡa'a that; -ske dubitative; -h_wzā indefinite article; -hcī intensitive.
143. -ḡajā as an oral stop after same form as 129.
144. wāzā' something; ruk'ā'nā too much; this word is really an interjection meaning "that's too much."
145. hak'araāī to encourage, with nī- second person pronominal object inserted; -hcī intensitive; -ḡajā oral stop.
146. tē'ē demonstrative; -reškē even.
147. k'u- second class reflexive; rus to take; tuḡu'ruk' first person of ruḡu'ruk' to accomplish; -nī negative; -nā declarative.
148. Same as note 95 plus -jā positional standing and -re demonstrative adjective.

149. See notes 103 and 148.
150. wage' to mean; -hak' standing positional; -se quotative.
151. e to say; -ire third plural; -nā declarative.
152. ha- with verbs of motion in plural; re to go; -ire third person plural subject; -gi subordinating.
153. p'ec' fire; hic'ē'c' edge; -ra definite article.
154. howe' to go along; gi- indirect object inserted.
155. wa- intransitivizer; 'ū to do; -ire third plural subject; -se quotative.
- 600