

ACOMA GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

BY
WICK R. MILLER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS IN LINGUISTICS
Volume 40

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES

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Advisory Editors: W. E. Bull, C. D. Chrétien, M. B. Emeneau, M. R. Haas,
Harry Hoijer, D. L. Olmsted, R. P. Stockwell
Volume 40

Approved for publication September 27, 1963
Issued June 30, 1965
Price, \$5.00

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles
California

Cambridge University Press
London, England

X - 61709

Manufactured in the United States of America

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INTRODUCTION

The Indian pueblo of Acoma is located in New Mexico, about sixty miles west of Albuquerque. The pueblo was built on a mesa top to offer protection from the Navajo and Apache. Today most of the Acomas live in the nearby farming colonies of Acomita and McCarties, and return to Acoma only for special occasions. Only a few of the older people live permanently at Acoma. There are approximately two thousand Acoma Indians, and virtually all of them are native speakers of Acoma.

Acoma belongs to the Keres language family, which includes also six other closely related languages or dialects. Laguna, a Keres pueblo located a few miles to the east, is Acoma's closest neighbor. Laguna and Acoma are mutually intelligible. The other five Keres pueblos are located in the Rio Grande Valley to the east and north. Cochiti is the most northern of the Keres pueblos, and it differs more from Acoma than any other Keres language. Cochiti and Acoma are mutually intelligible only if the speakers have had considerable opportunity to hear each other's language. There is a gradual transition in the Keres language family from Cochiti in the north to Acoma in the west (see Davis, 1959).

Keres is not known to be related to any other language group. Sapir placed Keres in the Hokan-Siouan stock, but evidence is still lacking.

There are three other language families represented in the pueblo area, namely Zúñi, Tanoan, and Uto-Aztecan. Zúñi is spoken at the single pueblo of the same name in western New Mexico. The Tanoan languages are spoken at a number of pueblos in the Rio Grande Valley and form a more diversified family than Keres. Uto-Aztecan is represented by the Hopi language, spoken at a number of pueblos in northeastern Arizona.

Acoma has been in contact with other pueblo groups for some time, probably at least since the beginning of the pueblo era, some fifteen hundred to two thousand years ago. There has been much cultural borrowing but surprisingly little linguistic borrowing. Acoma has been in contact with Spanish for over three centuries and has borrowed more from that language than from neighboring pueblo languages (Miller, 1959b,

1960). On the other hand, the more recent contact with English in the past one hundred years has resulted in very little borrowing.

There are a few monolingual Acomas, most of whom are older women. Spanish is spoken by a few of the older people, but the language is seldom used today, and apparently it was never as common at Acoma as it was in the Rio Grande pueblos. The majority of the Acomas have been to the Indian Service schools and speak English. What eventual effect English will have on the native language remains to be seen, but it can be predicted that it will be considerable. In 1949 none of the first grade children at Acomita Day School spoke English when they entered school. Today a few of the first graders already speak some English, but Acoma is still their first language. (See Fox, 1959, for an excellent account of language use and function at Cochiti; the situation at Acoma is probably similar to that at Cochiti, except for the position of Spanish.)

The pueblo area is ethnographically one of the best known areas in North America north of Mexico. Linguistically, it is one of the least known, and Keres is the least known of the four pueblo language families. The first serious linguistic work was done by Boas (1923, 1925, 1928). Spencer (1946) attempted to present a phonemic analysis which would account for all the dialects. Unfortunately, many important phonemic distinctions are ignored. The only thorough treatment of a Keres language has been done by Davis (in press).

My field work was done entirely in the San Francisco Bay Area from 1956 to 1959, under grants from the University Patent Fund and the Department of Linguistics, University of California at Berkeley. Most of the field work was done with Anne Hansen, an Acoma speaker who was then about thirty-five years old. Tape-recorded texts were obtained from Mrs. Hansen, as well as from other Acoma speakers living in or visiting the San Francisco Bay Area: Andrew Lewis, Margaret Lim, Bell Lewis, Mary Histia (brother and sisters of Mrs. Hansen), George Garcia, Mary Valley, and her daughter Ruth Valley. All of the texts were transcribed with the help of Mrs. Hansen, and all of the grammatical notes were obtained from Mrs. Hansen. The phonemic analysis is based on material from Mrs. Hansen and Mrs. Lim.

The grammar is a revision of my dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of the University of California in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1962. Grateful thanks are due to the members of the committee, Mary R. Haas, Murray B. Emeneau, and Francis J. Whitfield, for their suggestions and patience; to my wife for her patience; and to the Acoma speakers, whose willing coöperation made this grammar possible.

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GRAMMAR

100. PHONOLOGY

110. Phonemes

The phonemes of Acoma are divided into three groups—consonants, vowels, and tonal accents:

CONSONANTS

	<u>plain</u>					<u>glottalized</u>				
OBSTRUENTS	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Labial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
OCCLUSIVES										
Stops										
unaspirated	b	d	dy		ɣ					
aspirated	p	t	ty		k	p̣	ṭ	tỵ		ḳ
Affricates										
unaspirated			z	ʒ	ɳ					
aspirated			c	č	č̣		č̣	č̣	č̣	
SIBILANTS			s	š	ʂ		ṣ	ṣ̌	ʂ̣	
SONORANTS										
Nasals	m	n				ṃ	ṇ			
Semivowels and flaps	w	r	y			ẉ	ṛ	ỵ		
MANNER CONSONANTS	ʔ and h									

VOWELS

i ə u
 e
 a
 *

* in the chart represents length which is handled orthographically as a doubling of the preceding vowel.

TONAL ACCENTS

High (ˊ), Falling (ˆ), and Glottal (ˑ)

(Juncture and terminal contours are given in Section 140)

120. Distribution¹

121. Every word has at least one tonal accent. The domain of the accent is the syllable, and for convenience the diacritic is written over the first vowel.

The high accent is unrestricted in its distribution:

kú 'woman'	sái 'all'
múši 'soap'	šína 'louse'
báani 'sash'	díní 'above'
dáwáa 'good'	skúruuná 'peas'
zíibái 'he is sleeping'	mayú 'song leader'
šísáwá 'six times'	sídyá 'I touched it'

The falling accent is normally restricted to nonfinal syllables with vowel clusters:

sêeča 'I am warm'	sîuní 'I know him'
dyâana 'four'	kâakaati 'plaza'
híyâani 'road'	

A syllable with a single vowel may have the falling accent if the following syllable has a plain sonorant, is final, and has the high accent:²

gûní 'he knows him'	dyâwá 'early'
ʒukâwá 'willow'	ʔisdûwá 'arrow'

The falling accent is found in final position in two monosyllabic words:

čai 'last'	râi 'king'
------------	------------

¹Some of the distributional statements are deferred until the morphophonemics is treated.

²The contrast between the falling and high accents with single vowels was found rather late. Since I did not recheck all my field notes with reference to this contrast, forms written with the high accent in this environment may, in some instances, be misrecordings. All the forms listed in Section 121, however, were checked.

The glottal accent is restricted to syllables that have vowel clusters:

séeča 'my tooth'	čúudá 'plums'
yáisé 'fine hailstones'	šíyúuce 'I took him'
búuráika 'butterfly'	?adáušī 'cooking pot'
číyáiču 'it stopped raining'	wášúuzá 'it fits him'

Words that have the glottal accent in final position are not common. Most such words are either monosyllabic, are baby talk words, or are probably from baby talk:

bábábá 'grandparent, grand-child of the opposite sex'	žííži 'sibling of the opposite sex'
bíbíi 'insect' (baby talk)	?ədədə 'hot'
wée 'that one'	děi 'here'

The first accent normally falls on the first or second syllable. Most of the exceptions are either loanwords or else have accent ablaut (see Sections 210, ||19 and ||22):

?arawagéki 'Albuquerque'	?arawagú 'apricot'
?ayuná 'Lent'	sahusé 'San José'
sakisdâana 'sexton'	kápišění 'at night'

Contrary to the general rule there are a few words that have no accent: ku 'or', nê 'down', si 'back' and ša 'in both directions'. These words are usually phonologically affixed to the preceding or following word (see Sections 741 and 750).

Some forms of {-záaN} 'to talk' have an optionally unaccented initial syllable (see Section 210, ||7.8). This sometimes results in a word with no accent: sgâa?acikuya ~ skaa?acikuya 'I said to them'.

122. The syllable has the shape (C)CV(V). Most of the consonant clusters consist of /s/ plus a stop:

sbúuná 'pottery'	spáaí 'mocking bird'
wíispi 'cigarette'	sdákaci 'tangled hair'
?účastáani 'walking cane'	sustá 'I took water'
?úusdyúúci 'drum'	guístyaša 'knot'
?ésgá 'rawhide'	skúuýu 'giant'
skáašu 'fish'	

Nasal plus plain stop clusters in noninitial syllables are found in a few words. Only single vowels are found before these clusters. All such words are loanwords or probable loanwords:

kumbâari 'godfather'	sárâmpi (name of a Kachina dancer)
sântu 'saint'	
mendâana 'window'	?íntyu 'Indian'
wánku 'bank'	mánki 'monkey'

The remaining consonant clusters form no pattern. The examples given are exhaustive:

- /sč/, sč- an allomorph of the distributive dubitative prefix (see Section 233), sčâu?u 'they dwell'
 /nč/, ránču 'ranch'; kumánči 'Comanches'
 /ns/, pinsibâari 'Principal' (a pueblo officer); ransiisku 'Francisco'; sawaransiisku 'San Francisco'; sawururénsu 'San Lorenzo'
 /ny/, nyáanyáa 'to nurse' (baby talk)
 /hy/, hyêesta 'feast day'
 /sw/, swêera 'sweater'
 /gr/, hisugrístu 'Christ'

Any vowel except length may be the first member of a vowel cluster, but only /i/, /u/, and length may be the second member. The clusters are:

....	iu	ii
ei	eu	ee
ai	au	aa
ui	uu
əi	əə

The only real gap is /ə/ + /u/. The other two gaps are, in effect, filled by /i/ and /u/ + length. Examples:

ćú ^h kú ^h mí 'string'	mí ^h řa 'hummingbird'
séibé 'I am a liar'	há ^h ráméuřa 'tortilla'
pé ^h ęa 'jack rabbit'	gáibé 'he is a liar'
háu 'who'	táas ^h káná 'potsherds'
kú ^h isdya ^h ma 'smoke hole'	kú ^h uku 'winter'
bó ^h íníišu 'by the west side'	né ^h é ^h ę 'rubber'

Vowel clusters are not found before the first accent. There are a few exceptions, resulting from irregular morphophonemic changes: řaayániya 'we were talking' (see Section 210, ||7.9).

123. There are certain restrictions in the distribution of consonants and of consonant-plus-vowel sequences.

123.1 Retroflex consonants and palatal stops are not found before front vowels. In reality the contrast between dental and palatal stops is neutralized in this environment, and these stops are identified with the dentals for morphophonemic reasons (see Sections 210, ||12, and 221) rather than with the palatals, which would be phonetically more realistic (see Section 131).

123.2. Unaspirated occlusives are not found in unaccented syllables that are after the last accented syllable. In other unaccented syllables unaspirated occlusives are found only if (1) the following vowel is short, (2) the following syllable is accented, and (3) the initial consonant of the

following syllable is a glottalized occlusive, glottalized sonorant, or glottal stop. This distributional fact is associated with the morphophonemic change described in Section 210, || 29. The few forms that do not fit this formulation, all in a particular morphophonemic environment, are discussed in || 29.

123.3. The sequence /ye/ is found in a small number of forms:

śáyúyéca 'I made up my mind'

yēenisi 'Friday'

yēetu 'mesquite bean'

The sequence /yi/ is found only in forms that undergo a morphophonemic process described in Section 210, || 1.7:

ʔúwāneeyi 'the hunt'

ʔááćáwáiyí 'stick race'

/ý/ is not found before front vowels.

The sequence /wu/ is found only in: sawururénsu 'San Lorenzo'. /wú/ does not occur.

123.4. Normally, the glottal stop in medial position is preceded and followed by the same vowel; or, if preceded by the length vowel, is preceded and followed by syllables that have the same initial vowel:

yaʔáaná 'skunk brush'

húuʔúuka 'dove'

tiʔišáaci 'I am strong'

śámáʔáké 'my daughter'

śáayaaʔána 'we allowed it'

ýáaʔa 'reeds'

şaʔáúʔu 'our home'

yaʔái 'sand'

śípænaiʔi 'I put it in'

náwáaʔai 'adult'

The few examples of nonidentical vowels before and after glottal stop are morphophonemically irregular and are given in Section 210, || 14.

The glottal stop is not found between two single unaccented vowels after the last accented syllable, nor between a single accented vowel and a single unaccented vowel. The glottal stop is rare between two single accented vowels.

The sequences /ʔiu/ and /ʔui/ are not found in initial position, and in medial position vary freely with /ýuu/ and /wii/ (see Section 210, || 16). It would be possible to analyse initial /ýuu/ and /wii/ as /ʔiu/ and /ʔui/ (see Section 135), but then we would find that while initial /ýuu/ and /wii/ did not occur, /ýu/, /wi/, /yuu/, and /wii/ did.

123.5. /h/ is found in morpheme medial position only in:

bíhí 'female in-law'

yâihiya (a woman's name)

báhá 'bread'

kuháya 'bear'

sahusé 'San José'

máuhárúuci (a kiva name)

ʔáhíiná (name of a Koshari
dance)

nahâaya 'day before yesterday'

gúhúuca 'he howled'

sgúhima 'I believed'

/h/ is found in morpheme initial and word medial position in a few restricted morphophonemic environments (see Section 210, || 5.4, || 18.2):

híhiika 'he is grinning' háuhouse 'I am yawning'
 sahâami ~ sâami 'my tobacco'

123.6. Initial /r/ is found only in Spanish loanwords:

rîiku 'rich' risdûuna 'ribbon'
 rûuku 'crazy' rûuniši 'Monday'
 rusá 'prayer' rusâayu 'silver beads'

Initial /r̥/ is found in one word, rêurêubâša, the name of a Kachina dancer. It is probably borrowed from an eastern Keres dialect.

123.7. /č/ and /č̣/ are not found before /e/. /č̣/ is almost always found before /a/, but there are a few words with other vowels:

č̣óádígá 'sparrow hawk'
 súucúuci 'I volunteered'
 č̣ubáya 'build the fire!'

/ž/ is found in four Spanish loanwords:

žîinu 'curly' kužđuna 'mattress'
 kužîinu 'pig' matažîina 'Matachina'

The phoneme is also found in one non-Spanish word: žízîi 'sibling of the opposite sex'. The word is probably taken from baby talk (see Miller 1959a).

130. Phonetics

Acoma is a lenis language. This feature is characteristic in the speech of Acomas whether speaking Acoma or English. The principal objection to my pronunciation of Acoma was that I spoke with too much force.

131. Obstruents. The glottalization of obstruents is light and follows the consonant. The glottalized occlusives and sibilants are phonetically identical with the unaspirated occlusives and plain sibilants except for the feature of glottalization. The aspiration of the aspirated occlusives is light.

The affricates have two phonetic components, a stop component plus a homorganic sibilant component. The sibilant following the dental affricates is [s]. In other affricates the sibilant component is phonetically identical with the corresponding sibilant phoneme. The sibilant component appears to be slightly voiced at the termination of its production when the affricate is unaspirated. It is voiceless in other affricates.

The labial stops are bilabial and show no detectable positional allophonic variation:

bíyá 'tilted'	wáabóni 'abalone shell'
píici 'deer hide'	pákura 'salamander'

The dental occlusives are clearly dental. The affricates show little or no variation in position. The stops are usually palatalized before front vowels and appear to be phonetically identical to palatal stops (note that palatal stops are not found before front vowels; Section 123.1). The dental sibilants are followed by a theta offglide. The /s'/ is difficult to distinguish from the /s/ because the glottalization is imbedded in the theta offglide:

dâani 'squash'	tâama 'five'
tée?e 'far'	tákaci 'it is square'
fiča 'spring'	zêeni 'language'
ciña 'turkey'	cúku 'twins'
séepe 'I went to bite it'	séepe 'we bit it'

The palatal stops are articulated with the flat of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge, and are similar in position to the 't' of 'tune' as pronounced in some Oklahoma dialects of English. The palatal affricates and sibilants, similar in position to English /č/ and /š/, are fronted before front vowels and slightly retroflexed before /ə/ and /u/. When retroflexed, the contact is still made with the blade of the tongue, thus maintaining the contrast between palatal and retroflex consonants:

dyáamí 'eagle'	háatyani 'yucca'
záatýau 'plains'	žīnu 'curly'
čámi 'three'	čóná 'river'
kúučíni 'yellow'	čánanaci 'cloth'
šáaku 'pipe'	kašéená 'albino'
šídīita 'star'	šúta 'crow'

Retroflex consonants are slightly backed before /u/ and /a/, slightly fronted before /ə/. The contact is made with the tip of the tongue, the position of articulation being similar to that of English 't' in 'true'. The sibilant element is not as marked for the retroflex affricates as for the other affricates, probably because there are no contrasting retroflex stops:

záici 'rabbit club'	z'éəpəšísə 'small piece'
zúusa 'brittle bush'	çúukača 'did you see it?'
kəçáána 'you said it'	šâakaaku 'frost'
záci 'raw'	šáci 'it is torn'

The range of the velar stops is slightly greater and the position is slightly more backed than in English. They are fronted before front vowels and backed before /u/:

géesu 'cheese'	gánami 'beans'
gúuci 'firewood'	kúuku 'winter'
kóœci 'antelope'	kúuti 'mountain'
pikíiki 'bat'	káyámá 'chipmunk'

_132. Sonorants. A sonorant is lengthened when it is preceded by a single accented vowel.

Glottalization is medial for lengthened glottalized sonorants, initial elsewhere. Glottalization is especially light in initial position, and it is difficult to distinguish glottalized sonorants from plain sonorants in this position.

The flap phonemes are single dental flaps, much like medial 'r' in Spanish.

The dental nasals are palatalized before front vowels, before consonants (other than /k/) plus front vowels, and before /ty/ and /č/:

síuni 'I know him'	népišugú 'it will be night'
mandêeki 'lard'	pinsibâari 'Principal'
ʔíntyu 'Indian'	ránču 'ranch'

The /ny/ of nyáanyáa 'to nurse' (baby talk) is phonetically identical with the /n/ before a front vowel. The alternative to setting up a cluster would be to set up two phonemes, /n/ and /ñ/, which would hardly ever contrast. /n/ is a velar nasal before /k/: wánku 'bank'; mánki 'monkey'.

Examples of the sonorants follow:

múši 'soap'	múšu 'a kind of plant'
néeti 'prairie dog'	ńśəwá 'loose'
wái 'there'	wái 'today'
hérérégá 'tadpole'	búuráika 'butterfly'
yaʔái 'sand'	ýagéçœni 'rib'

133. Sibilant clusters. The sibilant in sibilant clusters varies between a palatal and retroflex sibilant. It is retroflex before labial and velar stops plus /a/, /u/, or /œ/; elsewhere it is palatal. In the following examples the sibilant under consideration is written phonetically and underlined:

špíníní 'dwarf corn'	híušbáyú 'cry baby'
ýaašbá 'dough'	ʔúušpúruuná 'chicken pox'
ýúcišpétini 'backbone'	číišdiini 'honey'
naaštémi 'starry eyes'	wíišdáani 'container'
máaštu 'silver fox'	štéœci 'it is straight'
šdyáici 'it is muddy'	ʔúušdyúuci 'drum'
wíištyégáni 'beads'	šúuškiici 'I am brave'
ʔíšké 'the one'	ʔíška 'one'
sgúzúwa 'tadpole'	škəzəœná 'crumbs'
ščâuʔu 'they dwell'	

The retroflex sibilant sometimes varies freely with the palatal sibilant, but the reverse never occurs.

The palatal and retroflex sibilants (as well as the other four sibilants) contrast in prevocalic position: ?ašáňi 'a step'; ?ašáňi 'wheat'. In the sibilant clusters, however, the sibilant contrasts are neutralized, and 's' is written, for example, ?íské 'the one'; ?íska 'one'.

134. Vowel quality. Most of the vowel allophony can be described by a sliding allophony between two positions:³ /i/ high to lower-high front unrounded; /ə/ high to higher-mid central or back unrounded; /u/ high to higher-mid back rounded; /e/ higher-low to mid front unrounded; /a/ low to lower-mid front unrounded. The first position is approached if the vowel is (1) accented, (2) part of a vowel cluster (with some exceptions, noted below), (3) phonetically voiced (see Section 136), and/or (4) nonfinal. The second position is approached if these conditions do not obtain. By various combinations of these conditions, various points between the two positions can be reached. In addition, there is a certain amount of free variation, so that it would be unrealistic to state the exact phonetic quality for any given environment.

There are certain allophonic variations crosscutting this scheme that apply to particular vowels. /u/ is lower after labials and in the vowel clusters /au/ and /eu/. In the cluster /eu/ the first vowel is higher than normal and the second vowel lower than normal so that both vowels are at about the same tongue height.

The vowel /ə/ has allophonic variations conditioned by the preceding consonant. The consonants are placed in four groups that condition allophones from central to back, in the order: (1) labials, (2) other consonants not listed, (3) palatal affricates and sibilants, and (4) retroflex consonants. The onset of /ə/ is slightly labialized after labial consonants, giving the effect of a diphthong.

135. Vowel clusters and vowel quantity. Vowel clusters are a little more than twice as long as single vowels. Vowel clusters have little variation in vowel length. A final single vowel is shorter than other single vowels.

In vowel clusters ending with /i/ or /u/ the second vowel is about twice as long as the first. There is never any question about the vocalic character of the second vowel. The length vowel is realized as a continuation of the first vowel.

³The phonetic terms are used as defined by Block and Trager, *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, Special Publications of the Linguistic Society of America (1942), p. 22.

In the clusters /iu/ and /ui/ the first vowel often loses its vocalic character after certain consonants: a velar stop plus /ui/ can be phonetically a labialized velar plus [i]; a dental nasal plus /iu/ is always a palatalized nasal plus [u] (cf. the treatment of /n/ before front vowels and in the cluster /ny/, Section 132); /ʔiu/ can be phonetically [ʔyu]; and /ʔui/ can be phonetically [ʔwi]:

[g^wi] in: gúičaapə 'he crossed over'

[k^wi] in: šâukui 'my wife'

[ñu] in: ñfukúičánigú 'it will be divided'

[ʔyu] in: siʔíuyá 'I killed them'

[ʔwi] in: šuʔúičaapə 'we crossed over'

The contrast between /ʔiu/ and /ʔuu/ and between /ʔui/ and /wi/ (found in medial position only, Section 123.4) is very slight and can disappear entirely (Section 210, || 16).

The contrast between dental stop plus /iu/ and palatal stop plus /uu/ is not very great, but the two sequences never fall together. In the first sequence the palatal element between the stop and [u] is slightly longer and always maintains something of its vocalic character: diukača 'the other one saw him' (obviative); dyukača 'he saw him'.

The vowels in /ɥy/ and /ɥw/ (where /ɥ/ represents any vowel except /i/ and /u/ respectively) sometimes sound like the vowel clusters /ɥiy/ and /ɥuw/, since the sonorant is lengthened in this position (Section 132). The distinction between the two types is manifested by the fact that the second vowel in the phonemic cluster is always long and clearly vocalic:

gúyá 'he killed him'

gúiyâuwi 'he threw a rock'

síwíizéəca 'he aimed'

zíuwaica 'he scratched him'

136. Devoicing. Vowels and plain sonorants of final unaccented syllables are devoiced or have a devoiced termination under certain conditions. A vowel can be devoiced if it is final or followed by a devoiced syllable (as defined below) and comes after the last accented syllable; the devoicing is in part conditioned and in part in free variation. If the preceding consonant is a plain occlusive (always an aspirated occlusive, see Section 123.2) or /h/ the vowel is devoiced. If the preceding consonant is a plain sonorant or glottal stop the vowel may be voiced, devoiced, or terminally devoiced; if the vowel is devoiced the sonorant may be voiced, devoiced, or terminally devoiced. If the preceding consonant is glottalized the vowel may be voiced or terminally devoiced. A devoiced syllable is defined as consisting of a voiceless obstruent or devoiced plain sonorant plus a devoiced vowel.

In the following examples the vowel is underlined if it is optionally devoiced or terminally devoiced; capitalized if it is always devoiced,

that is, when final or followed by a devoiced syllable:

cáplpIcI 'it is spotted'	sgúhIma 'I believed'
gáwici 'seeds'	kápAcIšI 'thick'
zítyApI 'it is wooded'	zítyApIIma 'forest'
kawáayu 'horse'	skáašU 'fish'
yúusi 'God'	báašU 'straw'
siúkAČA 'I see him'	šfukusIcA 'I limp'
sínani 'skin'	kuháaru 'curd'
sénáa?ašI 'my arch'	kusêe?e 'his hair'
zíyúucEE?e 'they took him'	

A devoiced vowel after an aspirated occlusive is little more than prolonged aspiration with the proper vowel coloring. Two or more such syllables at the end of a word sound like a final consonant cluster. A final devoiced high vowel after a plain sibilant is usually realized as a long sibilant with front articulation before /i/, unrounded and backed articulation before /e/, rounded and backed articulation before /u/.

A short unaccented vowel that does not come after the last accent is optionally devoiced if it is preceded and followed by plain obstruents:

kəzāaná 'your eye'	šúkačána 'we saw him'
kašāiti 'summer'	sačəkání 'when I smoked'

137. Accents. The accents consist of pitch, stress, and glottal features. The feature of pitch is more important than the other features. The stress differences and pitch intervals are less than in English.

If a word has more than one accent, each succeeding accented syllable starts at a lower pitch. The difference in pitch is slightly greater if the intervening consonant is an obstruent than if it is a sonorant. The accented syllables may be equally stressed, or the last accented syllable may have a slightly louder stress than the others. An unaccented initial syllable, if voiced, has a mid or high-mid level pitch, not much lower than the pitch of the accented syllables; such a syllable is unstressed. All other unaccented voiced syllables have a low pitch, are at the same pitch, and are unstressed. The difference between the highest and lowest pitch of a word is about a minor third.

The high accent on single vowels is usually realized as a high pitch with a slight fall if (1) the following syllable is unaccented and starts with a glottalized sonorant, or (2) the following syllable is short, accented, has an initial plain sonorant, and is followed by a glottalized consonant: dyáni 'deer'; húwáka 'cloud' (the accent under consideration is underlined). In these environments the high accent has the same pitch contour as that of the falling accent on short vowels. Since there is no contrast between the two accents in these environments, the phonetically

falling pitch is analyzed as a high pitch to yield neater phonemic and morphophonemic statements (Sections 121; 210, ||28). In all other environments the high accent is a high level pitch.

The falling and glottal accents with vowel clusters are phonetically similar, and the similarities are especially marked when the speakers are not carefully articulating the words for my benefit. In addition, the speaker that I worked with most made less of a phonetic distinction between the two accents than other speakers and was not aware of the contrast between the two types of accents in Acoma in spite of minimal pairs that she gave me. As a result, there are probably many misrecordings of these accents, misrecordings in both directions. Some days I would hear only glottal accents, on other days only falling accents. Both accents have a falling pitch. If the following syllable is accented, the first two-thirds of the vowel nucleus has a level pitch, and the fall occurs abruptly during the last third. After the fall there is a short rearticulation of the vowel for the falling accent; a short rearticulation preceded by a light glottal catch or glottal stricture for the glottal accent. If the following syllable is unaccented, the fall starts with the onset of the vowel nucleus and continues to the end of the syllable; if the following syllable is devoiced (as defined in Section 136), the termination of the fall is devoiced. In this environment the vowel is not rearticulated for the falling accent; the vowel is rearticulated with or without glottal stricture or a glottal catch or the glottal accent. The pitch range of the fall is greater for both accents when an unaccented syllable follows.

The falling accent on single vowels is realized as a slight falling pitch, just below the pitch level of the following accent.

140. Juncture and Terminal Contours

Little time was spent with the speaker in working out junctural and intonational phenomena. Only the plus juncture has been reasonably well delimited.

141. The plus juncture, indicated by space or by /+/ if greater specificity is desired, marks off phonological words. There is a close, but not perfect, correlation between the phonological and grammatical word.

Many of the phonetic features that define plus juncture have been anticipated in Section 130. That is, the position within the word governs allophonic variations of pitch and stress of accents, vowel quantity, and devoicing of vowels. The word-final devoiced vowels are the best single marker of plus juncture, but they are not infallible markers because ini-

tial syllables sometimes contain voiceless vowels. The following paragraph gives additional phonetic features that reflect the presence of plus juncture.

In a sequence of two words the first accent in the second word is slightly lower in pitch than the first accent of the first word, but slightly higher than the second or following accents of the first word; it can be seen that this phenomenon can be a criterion only when the first word has more than one accent. A final accented vowel ends with a slight aspiration. There is often a short pause, about half the length of a single vowel, between words; the final vowel sometimes continues during this period giving, phonetically, half long vowels.

Several of the features that mark plus juncture are optional. Others are operative when certain phonological sequences are found. And some indicate that a plus juncture is present but do not indicate exactly where it is. This can give rise to ambiguous situations. Such is the case with the following two words, which occur in a tape-recorded text: *šáaránčuši sædeʔéku* 'we went to our ranch', lit. 'our-ranch we-went'. The last two vowels of the first word and the first vowel of the second were devoiced. There was no pause between the words. The pitch of the accented syllable of the second words was lower than the pitch of the first accent of the first word, but higher than the pitch of the second accent. The second syllable of the first word had a slightly stronger stress than the first syllable. By using only phonological evidence and by listening only to the forms that occur on the tape (that is, not asking the speaker for repetitions of the same forms), it is impossible to tell if the forms are to be written *šáaránču+šisædeʔéku*, *šáaránčuši+sædeʔéku*, or *šáaránčušisæ+deʔéku*. If there had been a slight pause between the words or if the first vowel of the second word had been voiced, there would have been no problem. According to some schools of thought, this sort of phenomenon would force us to either set up an additional phoneme or arbitrarily to make a rule that in such situations the juncture will always be written after the last voiceless vowel. A far more practical and methodologically defensible solution is to use grammatical evidence and to consider repetitions of the forms as being phonemically identical.

The plus juncture is found within grammatical words before certain suffixes and auxiliaries. Such forms are unmarked in the grammar except in the section of the morphophonemics that deals specifically with plus juncture (Section 210, || 24).

142. Several punctuation marks are used in the chapter on syntax and in the texts, some of which have little or no phonological, or even grammatical, foundation. The primary justification for their use is convenience.

These punctuation marks are: quotation marks (" "), comma (,), period (.), and question mark (?).

The beginning of a quotation starts out at a high pitch level, often with considerable glottal constriction, and drops down to normal level without glottal constriction after the first few syllables. This feature is used by Acomas in speaking both Acoma and English. The quotation mark is used to mark both the beginning and end of a quote, even though there is no phonetic marking of the end.

The use of the period and comma is probably based on a feel for Acoma phonology and syntax, along with a certain amount of interference from English. There appears to be no phonological marking for questions, and the use of the question mark is based solely on semantic considerations.

200. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Hockett has used the term morphophonemics for that which "subsumes every phase of the phonemic shape of morphemes: the typical shapes of alternants, the types of alternations, which elicit one alternant or another of those morphemes which appear in more than one shape."¹ This usage is consistent with the view, held by many linguists, that language consists of two levels or structures: phonological and grammatical. Morphophonemics, then, is a system that serves as a bridge between the two, and is, of course, applicable only when the two levels do not display a one to one relationship.

In this grammar, alternations are divided into two groups, morphophonemic and allomorphic.² The division, made to facilitate the presentation of the linguistic material, is not based on any theoretical principles. It is arbitrary and no attempt is made to define it in any rigorous fashion. In general, alternations that are not limited to, and definable by, specific morphemes are treated under morphophonemics. Alternations that must be defined in terms of individual morphemes and have little bearing on the morphophonemic alternations are treated under allomorphy. In Acoma these two kinds of alternations are not distinct, and it is sometimes convenient to include alternations of specific morphemes in the morphophonemics. The morphophonemics is treated in Sections 210 and 220. The pronominal prefixes and plural suffix enter into several different constructions described in several different places in the grammar; therefore the allomorphy of these affixes is pulled together and described in one place (Sections 230 and 240). The remaining allomorphy is treated in the course of the grammatical description (Sections 400-700).

¹Charles F. Hockett, "Peiping Morphophonemics," *Language* 26.63-85 (1950).

²This division is similar to, but not identical with, that which Hockett calls phonemically and morphemically conditioned alternations (*A Course in Modern Linguistics*, New York: The Macmillan Company [1958], p. 281).

The morphophonemic alternations are described by setting up basic forms and applying a series of morphophonemic rules. The rules are ordered; that is, the first rule must be applied before the second, and so on. This is the method used by Bloomfield³ and is outlined briefly by Lounsbury.⁴ A form to which no morphophonemic rules have yet been applied is defined as a basic form, and is written morphophonemically. A form that has not had all the applicable morphophonemic rules applied is defined as a morphophonemic form. Thus, by definition, a basic form is always a morphophonemic form, but a morphophonemic form is not always a basic form.

Basic forms consist of phonemes and morphophonemes.⁵ The morphophonemes, set up to account for some common alternations, mark which forms undergo certain alternations, alternations defined in terms of the morphophonemic⁶ and/or morphological environment. It would be possible to extend the use of morphophonemes by setting up a morphophoneme for every alternation that is not automatic. But by so doing it would not be clear which alternations are productive, which alternations are limited to a small number of forms that could and should be listed, and which alternations could be described by a common pattern in most constructions but are irregular in a few constructions. Other common alternations are accounted for by setting up basic forms with nonoccurring phonemic sequences. This procedure is essentially the same as setting up morphophonemes. Nonoccurring phonemic sequences could just as easily have been used in place of most of the morphophonemes, and vice versa.

A few morphemes are not set up with any basic form and thus must always be written morphemically. These are the number prefixes (|| 7),⁷ the reduplicative and length morphemes (|| 18), and certain thematic pre-

³"Menomini Morphophonemics," *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 8. 105-115 (1939).

⁴Oneida Verb Morphology, Yale University Publications in Anthropology 48 (1953).

⁵A phoneme in a basic form is not the same construct or unit as a phoneme in a phonemic form, though the two are obviously related. Alternatively, basic forms could be defined as consisting wholly of morphophonemes. There would then be two types of morphophonemes: those that define alternations, and those that are coterminous with phonemes. The two sets of statements are equivalent; they differ only in terminology.

⁶In this context, "phonological" rather than "morphophonemic" is often used in the older literature, e.g. Morris Swadesh and Charles Voegelin, "A Problem in Phonological Alternation," *Language* 15. 1-10 (1939). These two terms are used interchangeably in this grammar.

⁷See Section 203 for an explanation of the symbols in parentheses.

fixes (§5). The pronominal prefixes (Section 230) can contain up to three morphemes, and the morpheme complex is treated, morphophonemically, as one morpheme. A morphophonemic sequence that is not considered part of a basic form is set up as an empty morph. Empty morphs are found between certain pronominal prefixes and themes (Section 230) and certain roots and one of the continuative suffixes (Section 441.1).

Within the morphophonemic framework that has been outlined it can be stated that if a morpheme has more than one basic form, those basic forms are allomorphs of that morpheme. Occasionally the term is applied when a morpheme has only one basic form.

201. Lounsbury has noted that a morphophonemic interpretation "cannot be said to represent a previous state of the language."⁸ This is because the rules correspond to phonetic changes that have occurred at different historical periods and some of the rules correspond to analogical changes, not phonemic changes. Another factor, not mentioned by Lounsbury, is that phonemic changes are reflected in the morphophonemics only if the morpheme boundaries happen to be in the right place; for example, the change in Acoma of palatal stops to dental before front vowels is reflected morphophonemically only if there is a morpheme boundary between the consonant and the vowel (see §12). By placing the rules in an ordered sequence it is sometimes possible to separate out different chronological layers of change. Morphophonemic, or internal, evidence for historical change is, of course, never as solid as comparative evidence. Nevertheless, it is useful in supplying additional evidence, and when internal and comparative evidence do not agree, there is a problem worth investigating. When the method of morpheme alternants is used, the problem is never brought out. And while the internally reconstructed forms do not reflect a single period of time, the same can be said of reconstructions based on the comparative method; the only difference is that the time span is greater for the internally reconstructed forms.

In the presentation of the morphophonemic rules, the internal and external evidence is compared in footnotes when such comparisons are interesting.⁹ A general survey of the problem is given in Section 220 when the distribution of the morphophonemes is discussed. The Keres languages are closely related, so many of the morphophonemic rules reflect Pre-

⁸Op. cit.

⁹The Santa Ana material by Davis and Proto-Keres material by Miller and Davis (see bibliography) is used as the basis for the comparisons.

Keres changes. For the most part rules ||1 through ||20 reflect this earlier period, and ||21 through ||30 reflect changes peculiar to Acoma. A few of the rules seem to be out of order from the historical point of view, and some rules reflect changes that took place at about the time of the breakup of Proto-Keres and hence are difficult to identify as Pre- or Post-Keres. Most of the early rules must take the morphemic environment into account, and therefore it is clear that analogical changes have modified the phonetic changes. Santa Ana has similar, but not identical, morphophonemic rules that reflect this period. It is difficult, and it may even prove impossible, to sort out those analogical changes that took place in Pre-Keres and those that took place in the separate Keres languages. The analogical changes that affect the later rules are easier to locate, and in a few instances they can be inferred from the morphophonemic rules. The comparative evidence sometimes corroborates the internal evidence.

202. The following morphophonemes have been set up:

Final morphophonemic consonants: N, M, \bar{M} , W, \bar{W} , B, G^W , Y, D, SD, \mathcal{S} , Z, S (see ||1)

Replacive morphophoneme: || $\bar{\quad}$ || (see ||2)

Harmonic vowel morphophoneme: ||V|| (see ||15)

Morphophonemic accent: || $\bar{\quad}$ || (see ||3)

Variable length morphophoneme: ||: \quad || (see ||13, 20)

Primary coarticulation morphophonemes: j, q, ' (see ||11)

Secondary coarticulation morphophonemes: J, \bar{J} , Q, A (see ||10)

Accent ablaut: ||(') \quad || (see ||19)

Accent ablaut with length: ||('') \quad || (see ||19)

The phoneme / \bar{z} /, found in very few words (Section 123.7), never undergoes any alternations and never is the result of an alternation. Every other phoneme is included in the morphophonemic system, and either undergoes alternations and/or is the result of alternations. A few phonemes are never or are rarely found in basic forms and thus are normally the result of morphophonemic changes. These phonemes are discussed in Section 220.

203. The following symbols are used:

/ . . . / to indicate phonemic material

|| . . . || to indicate a morphophonemic form

{ . . . } to indicate a morpheme

Reference is made to a particular rule by a numeral preceded by the morphophonemic double bar; thus ||10 indicates morphophonemic rule no. 10. A basic form can be distinguished from other morphophonemic forms by placing a zero after the double bar: || . . . ||0. Morphophonemic

forms that have had certain rules applied can be distinguished in a similar fashion: ||. . .||10 indicates that all the rules up to and including ||10 have been applied, but ||11 and following rules have not yet been applied. Some or all of these symbols are omitted when the context is clear. When it is not convenient to order certain rules in respect to each other they are grouped together as a number of subrules of one rule. Subrules are symbolized by a decimal point followed by a number; thus ||7.3 indicates subrule no. 3 of morphophonemic rule no. 7. A zero in the subrule position is used for the introductory remarks of a rule, never for a subrule as such; thus ||7.0 indicates the introduction of rule no. 7. An 's' in the subrule position is used in a similar manner to indicate a summary of the rule: ||7.s.

In giving some of the morphophonemic rules, reference is made to themes and stems. These terms are defined in Section 300. Additional terms are necessary. Thematic syllable refers to the vocalic nucleus of the first syllable of the theme; the rule will indicate whether preceding coarticulation morphophonemes which may be present are to be considered part of the syllable. Stem syllable is defined in the same way with reference to the stem. Thematic and stem syllables never have an initial consonant. Initial vowel refers to a vowel that is the first phoneme in a suffix or a thematic syllable, excluding any coarticulation morphophoneme that may precede.

A long vowel refers to a vowel cluster with length as the second member of the cluster. A vowel cluster is restricted to mean a vowel cluster with ||i|| or ||u|| as the second member of the cluster. A long syllable refers to a long vowel or vowel cluster. A variable length vowel refers to a vowel along with a following ||:|| (but "variable length" refers only to the morphophoneme ||:||, as listed in Section 202).

210. Ordered Rules

||1.0 When a suffix with an initial vowel is added to a form, a consonant usually appears before the suffix, a consonant that is not found in the unsuffixed form: gúukača 'he saw him', gúukačáňa 'they saw him'. It might appear from this example that the /n'/ can be considered part of the suffix. But it turns out that such consonants can most easily be accounted for by setting up the preceding morphemes with final morphophonemic consonants, since the same consonants are normally found with the same morphemes whenever an initial vowel suffix follows. However, it is also necessary to specify which suffix follows because some final morpho-

nemic consonants have different realizations before different suffixes. In addition, some of the suffixes have allomorphs the choice of which is determined by the preceding final morphophonemic consonant. These final morphophonemic consonants are found entirely with verb roots and verb suffixes.

The initial vowel suffixes are:

- {-qədyəəZ} dual suffix, Section 433
- {-qeeD} plural suffix, Sections 240 and 433
- {-qiŞ} completive suffix, Section 442.7
- {-qeeY} motion suffix, Section 442.3
- {- 'í?iD} benefactive suffix, Section 411
- {-(')í} a subordinative suffix, Section 762, || 19
- {-iku} Section 442.8
- {-iši} a subordinative suffix, Section 761
- {-iguyaN} a continuative suffix, Section 441.3
- {-u} Sections 442.9, 764

Suffixes that do not typically begin with a vowel but have some allomorphs that do, are:

- {-náatáN} habitual suffix, Section 442.2
- {=itaaN} a continuative suffix, Section 441.1
- {=áayaN} a continuative suffix, Section 441.2

Not considered here are the inceptive suffix {-ižaadyaaN} (Section 442.4), which typically begins with a vowel, and the subordinative suffix {-şa} (Section 763), which has allomorphs that begin with vowels, since there are too few examples of these suffixes in diagnostic environments.

The reader is forewarned that the resulting forms often undergo further morphophonemic changes. The consonant may be glottalized (|| 11, 30) or aspirated (|| 11, 29); there may be accent changes (|| 21, 28).

|| 1.1 N > n and ?N > 'n when followed by:

- || -qədyəəZ || allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}
- || -qaaD || allomorph of {-qeeD}
- || -qiŞ || allomorph of {-qiŞ}
- || -qeeY || allomorph of {-qeeY}
- || - ' í?iD || allomorph of {- ' í?iD}
- || -(')í || allomorph of {-(')í}
- || -iku || allomorph of {-iku}
- || -iši || allomorph of {-iši}
- || -iguyaN || allomorph of {-iguyaN}
- || -u || allomorph of {-u}
- || -qáayaN || allomorph of {=áayaN}

Elsewhere N is dropped and ?N > ?V (see || 15).

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -úukačaN 'to see';
-úsúm'é?estaaN 'to learn, study'; -ú:wagəN 'to dress'; -Jugúu?N 'to be
pregnant':

- ||-qədyəəZ||: síukačánətyə 'we (dual) saw them'; zísúm'éestaánətyə
'they (dual) taught him'
||-qaaD||: síukačána 'we (plural) saw him'; suwáwagəna 'we (plural)
got dressed'
||-qiŞ||: ?úukačáni 'mirror'; gáusúm'éestaáni 'he has him trained'
||-qeeY||: súsúm'éestaáne 'I am on my way to school'
||- 'í?iD||: síwakəní 'I dressed him for her'
||-(')Í||: susúm'éestáaní 'when I was in school'; súwágəní 'when I
got dressed'
||-iku||: káisúm'éestaaniku 'they would learn'
||-iši||: káisúm'éestaaniši 'students'; cigúuníši 'her pregnancy'
||-iguyaN||: síukačanikuya 'I am seeing him'
||-u||: skúwakənu 'when one dresses'
||-qáayaN||: súwagənáaya 'I am getting dressed'

Elsewhere:

- síukača 'I saw him', final position
níukačagú 'he will see him', auxiliary {gú}
síuwakəse 'I (continuously) wear his clothes', suffix ||-səθ||
síuwakənáata 'I wear it (every day)', suffix ||-náataN||
cigúu?u 'she is pregnant', final position

The sequence -cʋ?vN (where 'c' = a plain consonant and 'v' = a short
vowel) becomes -cʋvN before ||-qədyəəZ||, ||-qeeD||, and ||-qiŞ||.¹⁰ Six
forms have this sequence: -bé?eN 'to tell'; -'úkaazá?aN 'to announce';
-úikaášá?aN 'to support (supply livelihood)'; -udiišá?aN 'to feed';
-pəkadá?aN 'to use up'; -názá?aN 'to be healthy':

- ||-qaaD||: síupééna 'we (plural) told him'; sídiišána 'we fed him';
sépakatána 'we used it up' (see ||17)
||-qiŞ||: cíupééni 'the notice was given'; sánačáani 'I am healthy'

Contrast:

- ||- 'í?iD||: síwiikaašáaní 'I supported her for him' (see ||23)
||-(')Í||: síube?éni 'when I told him'; sídiišá?áni 'when I fed him'
(see ||19, ||23)

Final position: síubé 'I told him'; sídiišá 'I fed him' (see ||23,
||25)

¹⁰The rule can probably be stated more generally: the change takes place before
suffixes with an initial ||q||. The suffix ||-qeeY||, however, has not been recorded
with these roots.

-béʔN sporadically becomes -péeN in other environments: kúipéetita 'he is lying' from ||-péeN-zaN=itaaN|| (cf. kúibéeça 'he lied').

-úikaašáʔaN becomes -úikaašáu in final position: síwíikaašáu 'I am supporting him'

The form -áayúunáʔaN 'to move' undergoes the same accent changes described above, but the preceding consonant, basically glottalized, is usually unchanged. In a few forms, however, the consonant is deglottalized when followed by an initial vowel suffix that does not have ||q||: sáayúunaʔání 'when I moved'. The change is probably optional and is clearly analogical. When the plural suffix ||-qaaD|| is added, the /-náa-/ is optionally dropped by haplogy; the singular is then distinguished from the plural by a difference in accent: káayúuná 'he moved'; káayúuná ~ káayúunáána 'they moved'.

The verb forming suffix {-zaN} (Section 621) plus the completive suffix {-qiš} irregularly yields ||-ziš||: cúššíici 'it has been borrowed'; cíicitamaci 'it has been turned over'; cf. súššízána 'we (plural) borrowed it from him'; šícitamazána 'we (plural) turned it over'.

||1.2 M > m and ʔM > m̃ when followed by:

||-qədyəəZ|| allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}

||-qeeD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}

||-qiš|| allomorph of {-qiš}

||-qeeY|| allomorph of {-qeeY}

||-íʔiD|| varying freely with ||-qíʔiD|| allomorphs of {-íʔiD}

||-(´)í|| varying freely with ||-(´)qí|| allomorphs of {-(´)í}

||-iku|| allomorph of {-iku}

||-iši|| allomorph of {-iši}

||-iguyaN|| allomorph of {-iguyaN}

||-a|| allomorph of {-u}

Elsewhere M is dropped; ʔM > ʔV in final position, and elsewhere ʔM > ʔV varying freely with zero.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after údíM 'to plant'; -ámáwáistíM 'to wash hands'; -u:šuwíM 'to put on shoes'; -naiʔM 'enclosed' (suffix, Section 442.5):

||-qədyəəZ||: sáudímətyə 'we (dual) planted'; sípənaimətyə 'we (dual) put it in'

||-qeeD||: sáudíme 'we (plural) planted'; sípənaimé 'we (plural) put it in'

||-qiš||: ʔámáwáistími 'sink'; ʔúdími 'to plant'

||-qeeY||: sáudíme 'I went to plant' (homophonous with the plural)

{-íʔiD}: síušuwimí 'I put shoes on him for her'; síudímí 'I planted it for him' (see ||22)

- {-(´)í}: sáamáwáístíímí ~ sáamáwáístíími 'when I washed my hands'
 ||-iši||: káudíímíši 'that is how one plants'; zâaʔapənaimíši 'that
 she had sent them through'
 ||-a||: sáamáwáístííma 'when I washed my hands'; zázíí sdípənaimí
 'I didn't put it in'

Elsewhere:

- sáamáwáístí 'I washed my hands', final position
 sáamáwáístísə 'I am washing my hands', suffix ||-sə∅||
 náudiisí 'I will plant', auxiliary {gú}
 sípənaiʔi 'I put it in', final position
 sípənaisə 'I am putting it in', suffix ||-sə∅||
 síuwáácinaiʔisə 'I am going visiting', suffix ||-sə∅||

{-iku} and {-iguyaN} are attested after ||M|| in only two forms.

gâaʔašumiku 'they (dual) would be (in a place)' is formed from the theme
 ||-âaʔaB|| 'to be located' (dual of the auxiliary {gâa}, Section 461.6). The
 element /-ʂu-/ is unidentified but is presumed to be morphophonemically
 ||-ʂuM-||. síutâanikuya ~ síutâamikuya 'I am practicing' is formed from
 ||-úutâaN|| ~ ||-úutâaM|| 'to test, try'.

||1.3 \bar{M} > m when followed by:

- ||-ədyəəZ|| allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}
 ||-eeD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}
 ||-iŞ|| allomorph of {-qiŞ}
 ||-eeY|| allomorph of {-qeeY}
 ||-´íʔiD|| allomorph of {-´íʔiD}
 ||-(´)í|| allomorph of {-(´)í}

Elsewhere \bar{M} is dropped.¹¹

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -úyauška \bar{M} 'to plaster';
 -úuka \bar{M} 'to dye':

- ||-ədyəəZ||: sâuyauskamətyə 'we (dual) plastered'
 ||-eeD||: sâuyauskame 'we (plural) plastered'; sâukame 'we (plural)
 dyed it'
 ||-iŞ||: ćúyauškami 'it has been plastered'; ʔúukámi 'dye' (see
 ||30); ćúkami 'it has been dyed'
 ||-eeY||: sâuyauskame 'I went to plaster' (homophonous with the
 plural)
 ||-´íʔiD||: sîuyauskamí 'I plastered for him'
 ||-(´)í||: sâuyáuskámí 'when I plastered'

¹¹In this and following subrules of ||1, "elsewhere" does not include a following initial vowel suffix that does not appear in the list immediately above. Such suffixes are unattested. In most cases the form can be deduced by the general pattern.

Elsewhere:

śáuyauska 'I plastered', final position

śáuyauskasə 'I am plastering', suffix -səθ

náukagú 'he will plaster it', auxiliary {gú}

|| 1.4 W > w when followed by:

||-aaD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}

||-iŞ|| varying freely with ||-qiŞ|| allomorphs of {-qiŞ}

||-eeY|| varying freely with ||-qeeY|| allomorphs of {-qeeY}

||-í?iD|| allomorph of {-í?iD}

||-(´)í|| allomorph of {-(´)í}

||-itaaN|| allomorph of {≠itaaN}

W > b when followed by ||-ədyəəZ|| allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}

W > u when followed by ||-guyaN|| allomorph of {-iguyaN}

W > g varying freely with n when followed by ||-u|| allomorph of {-u}

Elsewhere W is dropped.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -áaʔaW 'to open':

-áamáakúyaW 'to take a handful'; -úbeW 'to eat':

||-ədyəəZ||: sééʔapətyə 'we (dual) opened his'

||-aaD||: sééʔawa 'we (plural) opened his'

||-qiŞ||: ʔúpewi 'to eat'; čamáakúyawi ~ čamáakúyáwi 'a handful was taken'

||-qeeY||: sééʔawe 'I went to open his'; sáamáakúyawe ~ sáamáakúyáwe 'I went to take a handful'

||-í?iD||: sípewí 'I ate it for him'

||-(´)í||: sééʔawí 'when I opened his'

||-guyaN||: sééʔaukuya 'I am opening his'

||-u||: záazíi sdyáaʔanu 'I didn't open his'

||-itaaN||: sééʔawita 'I have been opening his'

Elsewhere:

sééʔa 'I opened his', final position

núpegú 'he will eat', auxiliary {gú}

There are a few irregular developments of W + -guyaN:

subéukuya 'I am eating' (loss of first accent, regular by || 22)

síwádyâinawakuyaánaʔa 'I find them all the time', -JuýâinaW 'to find it' (see || 8 for ý > dy)

?W is set up for three forms: -áina?W 'to lap up, lick, taste';

-íiná?W 'to stick out, peer out'; -dáa?W 'to cover'. No general rule

can be stated for ?W, because it behaves slightly differently in each

form; but its development is analogous to ?N, ?M and ?B. /m/ rather

than /w/ is found in some forms, because of the interchange of W and

M (see || 1.14):

- {-qədyəəZ}: káinapətyə 'they (dual) lapped it up'; kináamətyə 'they (dual) looked out' (see ||26); sídâamə 'we (dual) covered him'
- {-qeeD}: káinawá 'they (plural) lapped it up'; kaʔaanáame 'they (plural) looked out'; sídâame 'we (plural) covered him'
- {-qiʃ}: cáináwi 'it has been tasted'; wíinámi 'glass'; cúdâami 'it has been covered'
- {-qeeY}: káináwe 'he went to lap it up'
- {- 'íʔiD}: šéinawí 'I tasted his (pudding) for him'; síudâamí 'I covered him for her'
- {-(')í}: káináwí 'when he lapped it up'; kináawí 'when he looked out'; sídâamí 'when I covered him'
- {-iguyaN}: káinâukuya 'he is lapping it up'
- {-u}: zází skáinanu ~ zází skáinaku 'I didn't lick it'

Elsewhere:

- káinâuʔu ~ káina 'he lapped it up', final position
- kináu 'he looked out', final position
- kináasə 'it is sticking out', suffix ||-sə∅||
- sídâuʔu 'I covered him', final position
- sídâasə 'I am covering him', suffix ||-sə∅||

||1.5 W̄ is only found in the sequence aW̄. The W̄ is replaced by M before {-qədyəəZ} and {-qeeD} (cf. ||1.14) and by W before other initial vowel suffixes, including ||-itaaN|| allomorph of {~itaaN}; rules ||1.2 and ||1.4 apply. Elsewhere aW̄ normally becomes áu, sometimes á.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -ukúyawaW̄ 'to thread a needle'; -úudâakaadyaW̄ 'to uncover':

- ||-qədyəəZ||: síkúyámətyə 'we (dual) threaded a needle';
síudâakaadyámə 'we (dual) uncovered it'
- ||-qeeD||: síkúyáme 'we (plural) threaded a needle'; síudâakaadyáme
'we (plural) uncovered it'
- ||-iʃ||: cúkuuyawi 'it is threaded'
- ||-qeeY||: síkúyawe 'I went to thread it'
- ||- 'íʔiD||: síkuuyawí 'I threaded a needle for her'
- ||-(')í||: síudâakáadyawí 'when I uncovered it'
- ||-u||: zází stikúyanu 'I didn't thread a needle'
- ||-itaaN||: síkúyawita 'I am threading a needle'

Elsewhere (cf. ||3 and ||4 for other changes):

- síkúyáu 'I threaded a needle', final
- síkúyasə 'I am threading a needle', suffix ||-sə∅||
- níkúyáusí 'I will thread a needle', auxiliary {gú}
- síudâakaadyáu 'I uncovered it', final
- síudâakaatyauku 'I am uncovering it', suffix ||-G^w||
- síudâakaatyasə 'I am uncovering it', suffix ||-sə∅||

|| 1.6 B and G^W > b, and ?B > ?Vb (see || 15 for ||V||) before:

||-ədyəəZ|| allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}

||-eeD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}

||-iŞ|| allomorph of {-qiŞ}

||-eeY|| allomorph of {-qeeY}

||- 'í?iD|| allomorph of {- 'í?iD}

||-(')í|| allomorph of {-(')í}

||-iši|| allomorph of {-iši}

||-iguyaN|| allomorph of {-iguyaN}

||-itaaN|| allomorph of {zitaaN}

B and G^W > g, and ?B > ?ug before ||-u|| varying freely with ||-unu||, allomorph of {-u}.

Elsewhere B is dropped, G^W > gu, and ?B > ?u.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -údyúB 'to find out'; -a?áčəB 'to be enclosed'; -awáiG^W 'to fight'; -G^W repetitive suffix (Section 442.1); -šâa?B 'to urinate'; -âa?B 'to give, take a light object':

||-ədyəəZ||: séetapətyə 'we (dual) kept opening his'; kišâa?apətyə 'they (dual) urinated'

||-eeD||: séetape 'we (plural) kept opening his'; ka?âašâa?ape 'they (plural) urinated'

||-iŞ||: cúdyúpi 'it was found out'; cáwáipi 'war'

||-eeY||: séetape 'I went to keep opening his'; gúwíšâa?ape 'he went to urinate'

||- 'í?iD||: séetapí 'I kept opening it for him'; sêe?eepí 'I gave it to him for her'

||-(')í||: ka?áudyúpi 'when he found out'; sawáipi 'when I fought'

||-iši||: ga?áčupiši 'the one enclosed'

||-iguyaN||: kišâa?apikuya 'he is urinating'

{-u}: záazí sdâa?aku 'I didn't give it to him'; sgayâa?akunu 'when one gave it to them'

||-itaaN||: ka?áudyúpita 'he is finding out'

Elsewhere:

ga?áčə 'he is enclosed', final position

níičəgú 'he will be enclosed', final position

kišâu?u 'he urinated' (see || 14)

níšâu?ugú 'he will urinate'

kawáiku 'he fought'

kawáikugú 'he will fight'

Many of the forms with B, G^W, and ?B are slightly irregular. The final vowel of -âa?B 'to give, take a light object' is lengthened before initial vowel suffixes (see above examples); and ?B > ?au before ||-guyaN||

allomorph of {-iguyaN}: saýáa?aukuya 'I am taking it'.

In -áaG^W 'to bite' G^W > p̣ where b is expected; otherwise G^W develops normally in this morpheme:

||-eeD||: séépe 'we (plural) bit it'

||-eeY||: séépe 'I went to bite it'

||-iguyaN||: séépikuya 'I am biting it'

||-unu||: zázáí sgáakunu 'I didn't bite it'

gáaku 'he bit it', final position

-awáiG^W 'to fight' is sometimes interpreted as -awáiN plus the repetitive suffix -G^W:

sawáína 'we fought'

sawáipe 'we are fighting' and 'we fought'

sawáiku 'I am fighting' and 'I fought'

-awáiN is used only when a vowel initial suffix follows, that is, *sawái 'I fought' does not occur.

-údyúB 'to find out' becomes -údyu in final position: ka?áutyu 'he found out'.

|| 1.7 Y is dropped before:

||-dyəəZ|| allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}

||-ʔVVD|| allomorph of {-qeeD} (see || 15 for ||V||)

Y > y before:

||-iS|| allomorph of {-qiS}

||- 'íʔiD|| allomorph of {- 'íʔiD}

||-(')í|| allomorph of {- (')í}

||-iši|| allomorph of {-iši}

||-u|| allomorph of {-u}

||-qáafaN|| allomorph of {-náafaN}

The vowel ||u|| in the sequence ||uY|| > ||ui|| before the above suffixes; this change also applies when Y varies with M (see || 1.14).

Elsewhere Y is dropped.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -qeeY motion suffix (Section 442.3); -áačawaiY 'to run a foot or stick race'; -uʔáikuY 'to take a basket along':

||-dyəəZ||: síuʔáaneetyə 'we (dual) visited him'; suʔáikuityə 'we (dual) took a basket along'

||-ʔVVD||: síuʔáaneeʔe 'we (plural) visited him'; sáačawaiʔi 'we (plural) had a stick race'; suwáʔáikuiʔi 'we (plural) took it along'

||-iS||: cíuʔáaneeyi 'he has been visited'; ʔáačawáiyí 'stick race'

||- 'íʔiD||: séečawaiyí 'I ran for him'; síʔáikuíyí 'I took a basket along for him'

||-(')í||: síuʔáanéeyí 'when I visited him'; suʔáikúiyí 'when I took a basket along'

- ||-iši||: sâačawaiyiši 'the race that I ran'
 ||-u||: zâazîi skufâikuiyu 'I didn't take a basket along'
 ||-qâataN||: sâutâaneeýâata 'I am checking'

Elsewhere:

- síufâane 'I visited him', final position
 néýâatâaneesí 'I will visit him', auxiliary {gú}
 sâačawai 'I ran a stick race', final position
 suťaiku 'I took a basket along', final position

-íibâiY 'to sleep' becomes -íibá?a before a suffix with an initial consonant other than ||-dyæZ|| and ||-?VVD||: zíbáatu 'he went to sleep' (see ||23||; céebâi?i 'they are sleeping'; zíbái 'he is sleeping' (see ||28||). ||-guyaN|| allomorph of {-iguyaN} is used with this stem: síibâakuya 'I am sleepy'.

||1.8 D is dropped before ||-dyæZ|| allomorph of {-qedyæZ}.

D > d before:

- ||-aaD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}
 ||-iŞ|| allomorph of {-qiŞ}
 ||-eeY|| allomorph of {-qeeY}
 ||- 'í?iD|| allomorph of {- 'í?iD}
 ||-(')í|| allomorph of {-(')í}
 ||-iku|| allomorph of {-iku}
 ||-iši|| allomorph of {-iši}
 ||-iguyaN|| allomorph of {-iguyaN}
 ||-qâataN|| allomorph of {-náataN}
 ||-qâayaN|| allomorph of {=âayaN}

D > dy before ||-a|| allomorph of {-u}

Elsewhere D is dropped.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -umínaaD 'to speak to'; -qeeD plural suffix (Sections 240 and 433); -učáyúmaaD 'to get tired'; -úwáaguD 'to hide it'; - 'í?iD benefactive suffix (Section 411):

- ||-dyæZ||: símínaatyæ 'we (dual) spoke to him'; síucuucaniityæ 'we (dual) moved it for him'
 ||-aaD||: símínaata 'we (plural) spoke to him'; síucuucaniita 'we (plural) moved it for him'
 ||-iŞ||: cúmínaati 'it has been spoken of'
 ||-eeY||: símínaate 'I am on my way to speak to him'
 ||- 'í?iD||: símínaatí 'I spoke to him for her'
 ||-(')í||: símínaati 'when I spoke to him'; zi?íukačanáati 'when they saw them'
 ||-iku||: zíyúucee?eetiku 'they would take it'
 ||-iši||: zâa?apeetiši 'that they had eaten them'

- ||-iguyaN||: šimínaatikuya 'I am speaking to him'
 ||-a||: gúukačánaatya 'if they saw it'
 ||-qáaťaN||: skučáyúmaťaaťa 'I am getting tired' (see || 24, 25)
 ||-qáayaN||: suwáagufaaya 'I am hiding it'

Elsewhere:

- šimína 'I spoke to him' (see || 30), final position
 šíucucaní 'I moved it for him' (see || 23, 25), final position
 gúukačána 'they saw it', final position
 níukačánagúusa 'they will see it', auxiliary {gú}

||dya|| is the normal development of ||D|| plus the suffix ||-a||. In addition, ||dyanu, diidya, gu|| are found:

- ka?áatee?etyanu 'if they bring'
 záazíi sdimínaaku 'I didn't speak to him'
 stídyáaku 'when one catches it'
 kuwáamasawaatiitya 'one cooks'

The allomorph ||-náaťaN||, rather than ||-qáaťaN||, is used after {-qeeD} plural suffix and {- 'í?iD} benefactive suffix: sáyastiipeenáaťa 'we would winnow'; síumáacitaanínáaťa 'I would help her'.

|| 1.9 SD > šaN before {-qədyəəZ} (cf. || 1.14) and rule || 1.1 applies. SD > sd before:

- ||-aaD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}
 ||-iš|| allomorph of {-qiš}
 ||-eeY|| allomorph of {-qeeY}
 ||- 'í?iD|| allomorph of {- 'í?iD}
 ||-(')í|| allomorph of {-(')í}

SD > d before:

- ||-iguyaN|| allomorph of {-iguyaN}
 ||-qáaťaN|| allomorph of {-náaťaN}
 ||-qitaaN|| allomorph of {zitaaN}
 ||-qáayaN|| allomorph of {záayaN}

Elsewhere SD > ša.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -úwáameeSD 'to put up a tent, to make shade'; -údyuSD 'to cover'; -u:ťaaSD 'to hang up'; -áSD 'to step':

- {-qədyəəZ}: suwáameešánətyə 'we (dual) put up a tent'; guťaášánətyə 'they (dual) hung it up'
 ||-aaD||: suwáameesta 'we (plural) put up a tent'; guťaasta 'they (plural) hung it up'
 ||-iš||: cíwameesti 'the tent has been put up'
 ||-eeY||: suwáameeste 'I went to put up a tent'
 ||- 'í?iD||: síwameestí 'I made shade for him'

- ||-(´)í||: síuʔáasti 'when I hung it up'
 ||-iguyaN||: sátikuya 'I am taking a step'
 ||-qááʔaN||: súdyúʔáaʔa 'I keep putting on a cover' (see ||21)
 ||-qitaaN||: súdyúʔita 'I am covering myself'
 ||-qáayaN||: súdyúʔáaya 'I am covering myself'; síuʔaʔáaya 'I am hanging up clothes'

Elsewhere:

- suwáameeša 'I put up a tent', final position
 nuwáameešagú 'he will put up a tent, auxiliary {gú}

SD plus the suffix {-u} has been recorded as -šanu, -daadya, and -šaadyanu. There are not enough examples to determine the common pattern:

- záazí sguwáameešanu 'I didn't put up a tent'
 styaʔátyušaatyau 'everyone would be covered'
 kaʔáišataatya 'it was spread'

||1.10 Š > š (see ||12) before:

- ||-adyəəZ|| allomorph of {-qədyəəZ}
 ||-iiD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}
 ||-(´)í|| allomorph of {-´)í}
 ||-iku|| allomorph of {-iku}
 ||-i|| allomorph of {-iši}
 ||-a|| allomorph of {-u}

Elsewhere Š is dropped.

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -úuméekúmeš 'to watch'; -qiš completive suffix (Section 442.7):

- ||-adyəəZ||: síuméekúmešatyə 'we (dual) are watching him';
 sídyáatišatyə 'we (dual) are holding him'
 ||-iiD||: síuméekúmeši 'we (plural) are watching him'; sídyáatiši
 'we (plural) are holding him'
 ||-(´)í||: síuméekúméši 'while I was watching him'
 ||-iku||: káudyaʔátišiku 'one would hold it'
 ||-i||: gáadyazániši 'something that is carved' ({-udyáaʔaN + -qiš + -iši}, see Section 761)
 ||-a||: záazí sguuméekúmeša 'I didn't watch him'

Elsewhere:

- síuméekúme 'I am watching him', final position
 síuméekumeńáaʔa 'I always watch him', suffix {-ńáaʔaN} (unglottalized -m-, irregular)

||1.11 Z > z before:

- ||-iš|| allomorph of {-qiš}
 ||-(´)í|| allomorph of {-´)í}

||-iku|| allomorph of {-iku}

||-iši|| allomorph of {-iši}

Z > g before ||-a|| allomorph of {-u}

Elsewhere Z is dropped.

Z is found only in -qedyəəZ dual suffix (Section 433) and -áwáičaiZ, -áwáičaaZ 'to be hot' (liquid):

||-iš||: gáwáičáizíši 'while it was still hot' ({-qiš + -(')í})

||-(')í||: gúukačánədyəəci 'when they (dual) saw it'; gáwáičáaci
'when it was hot'

||-iku||: kuwíistityaańətyəəciku 'they (dual) would count'

||-iši||: gúukačánətyəəciši 'so that they (dual) could see'

||-a||: záazíi čúubúuzánətyəəka 'they (dual) were not afraid'

Elsewhere:

gúukačánətyə 'they (dual) saw him', final position

ńúukačánətyəšúu?u 'we (dual) will see him', auxiliary {gú}

dyái?ipeetawánətyəńáata 'they (dual) always made them (plural) cry',
suffix ||-ńáataN||

gáwáiča 'it is hot'

If no ambiguities result, the syllable ||-dyəə-|| may be dropped from the dual suffix when an initial vowel suffix does not follow. That is, the second syllable of a disyllabic allomorph may be dropped in this environment, except when the allomorph -ədyəəZ follows ||əθ|| (see ||1.13) or the allomorph -adyəəZ follows ||š||:

ńúukačánəšúu?u, ńúukačánətyəšúu?u 'we (dual) will see him'

śúukačánə, śúukačánətyə 'we (dual) saw him'

śáuýatapə, śáuýatapətyə 'we (dual) ate'

śéepə, śéepətyə 'we (dual) bit it'

The syllable /-tyə/ is the only mark of the dual for those forms that do not show this variation:

sufáikuityə 'we (dual) took a basket along' (-ufáikuY 'to take a basket along', ||1.7)

gúucímətyə 'they (dual) love him'; cf. gúucímə 'she loves him' (see ||1.13)

sgúuméekuməşatyə 'they (dual) are watching me'; cf. záazíi
sgúuméekuməşa 'I didn't watch him' (see ||1.10)

||1.12 S > s before ||-aaD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}; this is lost in final position. S is found only in -ú?uS plural form of the auxiliary {gú} (Section 461.1) and -waižámaS 'to go to war':

ńúukačánaşúusa 'we (plural) will see him'

stawáawaižámasa 'they had wars, went to fight'

gúuwaižáma 'he went to war', final position

||1.13 A few verb roots and verb suffixes do not end in a final morphophonemic consonant, and \emptyset is written in such cases. (Omission of an overt mark indicates that the status of the final morphophonemic consonant is unknown.) In such forms the final vowel is lost before:

- ||-ədyəəZ|| allomorph of {-ədyəəZ}
- ||-eeD|| allomorph of {-qeeD}
- ||-iS|| allomorph of {-qiS}
- ||- 'í?iD|| allomorph of {- 'í?iD}
- ||-(')í|| allomorph of {-(')í}
- ||-iku|| allomorph of {-iku}
- ||-iši|| allomorph of {-iši}
- ||-qjáaʔaN|| allomorph of {-náaʔaN}

Examples of the preceding morphemes after -sə \emptyset repetitive suffix (Section 442.1); -qéeyu \emptyset 'to go (dual)'; - 'úustu \emptyset 'to die'; -áizéesa \emptyset 'to dream'; -áayúma \emptyset 'to know how':

- ||-ədyəəZ||: síukáasətyə 'we (dual) are shelling corn'; káayúmətyə 'they (dual) know how'
- ||-eeD||: síukáase 'we (plural) are shelling corn'; káayúme 'they (plural) know how'
- ||-iS||: kúustí 'he was dead'
- ||- 'í?iD||: síukáasí 'I am shelling corn for him'
- ||-(')í||: síukáasi 'when I was shelling corn'; céeyí 'when they (dual) went'; kúustí 'when he died'
- ||-iku||: céeyiku 'they would go'
- ||-iši||: céeyiši 'how they had gone'
- ||-qjáaʔaN||: kúustáaʔa 'he is dying'; gáizééšáaʔa 'he is dreaming'

{-iši} is also represented by the allomorphs ||-ši|| and ||-aiši||: guməsəši 'that which comes out' (suffixes {-sə \emptyset } and {-iši}); záipašaišimée 'as though they were chasing them' ({-áipaša \emptyset + -iši- + -mée}).

||1.14 There are some variations in the final morphophonemic consonants and final morphophonemic sequences. The variations are of three kinds: (1) mandatory variation definable by the morphophonemic consonant and the following suffix; (2) free variation between certain morphophonemic consonants, definable by the morphophonemic consonants involved; and (3) free variation between morphophonemic consonants in certain morphemes that must be listed or specially marked.

The first kind of variation has been built into the preceding subrules, for example, SD > šaN before the dual suffix and the subrule for N applies; W̄ > M before certain suffixes and > W before other suffixes.

The second kind of variation is nonreversible. A statement of the form "A ~ B" is to be interpreted as "all A's can vary freely with B,

but not all B's can vary with A." The first and second type of variation often converge so that the variation is mandatory before certain suffixes, optional before others. The second type of variation is the subject of the next several paragraphs.

W, W̄, and Y ~ M. However the W in -úukáyaW 'to wipe, rub' varies with M̄:

- áyaceeW 'to whitewash' + {-qiš}: cáyaceewi ~ cáyaceemi 'it was whitewashed'
- úukáyaW(M̄) 'to wipe' + {-qeeD}: síukáyawa ~ síukáyame 'we wiped it'
- ukúuyaW̄ 'to thread a needle' + {-qiš}: cíukuuyawi ~ cíukuuyáwi (see || 1.4) ~ cíukuuyámi 'it is threaded'
- áawiiY 'to throw' + {-qeeD}: šáawii'i ~ šáawiimi 'we threw it' (see Section 241)

SD ~ šaN (examples with -úwâameeSD):

- {-qeeD}: suwâwâameesta ~ suwâwâameešána 'we (plural) put up a tent'
- {-qiš}: cíwâameesti ~ cíwâameešáni 'it has been put up'
- {-qeeY}: suwâameeste ~ suwâameešáne 'I went to put up a tent'
- {- 'í?iD}: síwâameestí ~ síwâameešaní 'I made shade for him'
- {-(')í}: suwâameesti ~ suwâameešáni 'when I put up a tent'

The sequence ||aaM|| ~ ||aaN||. This variation does not apply to forms with M that are the result of variations of other morphophonemic consonants:

- úufâaM 'to practice' + {-iguyaN}: síufâamikuya ~ síufâanikuya 'I practiced every day'
- ú:yâaM 'to butcher' + {-qiš}: cíuyâami ~ cíuyâani 'it was butchered'

The third kind of variation, which must be defined by the individual morpheme rather than by the morphophonemic content of the morpheme, is marked as follows: if a final morphophonemic consonant varies freely with another morphophonemic consonant or morphophonemic sequence, the variant morphophoneme(s) are placed in parentheses. Thus -ugáwidyaaD(N) indicates that -ugáwidyaaD ~ -ugáwidyaaN; -ánamaD(čaN) indicates that -ánamaD ~ -ánamačaN. If a final morphophonemic sequence varies with another morphophonemic sequence, both sequences are placed in parentheses. Thus -ústí(í?iD)(ičaN) indicates that -ústí?iD ~ -ústíčaN. The variations described here are in addition to the variations described above. Thus -âačawaiY(N) indicates that -âačawaiY ~ -âačawaiM ~ -âačawaiN.

Most occurrences of D vary with čaN: -ánamaD(čaN) 'to sit down!'; -úmasawaaD(čaN) 'to stew food!'; -úwáist(aN)(iD)(ičaN) 'to dish up food!'

Most roots that end with no final morphophonemic consonant (\emptyset) vary with forms that have a final morphophonemic consonant. The evidence seems to indicate that the variation is not completely free, but that certain variations are mandatory when certain suffixes follow. Some examples are: -áayúm(a \emptyset)(a \S)(i \S) 'to know how'; -úúíím \emptyset (\S) 'to love'; -âaweeM(pe \emptyset) 'to winnow'; -úúkéesi \emptyset (N)(\S) 'to be jealous'; -ínáu(da \emptyset)(daN)(tíuD) 'to finish'.

Two forms have variants with an extra syllable -mēN: -âasbanašúm(mēN)(waN) 'to wash hair'; -âanúm(mēN)(\emptyset) 'to take a bath'. The second variant is usually used before an initial vowel suffix; only the first variant is used elsewhere: ka'âaspanašúmána 'they washed their hair'; ka'âaspanašú 'she washed her hair'; cáanumēni 'it has been bathed'; ka'âanú 'he took a bath'.

There is no pattern to the remaining variations. Some examples are: -čáaSD(z α SD)(z α N) 'to listen'; -âačawaiY(N) 'to run a stick race'; -ugáwidyaad(N) 'to thresh grain'; -úúciG^W(t α aN) 'to punish'; -'úkaaz(á α aN)(íM) 'to announce'; -úúdíM(\bar{M}) 'to plant'; -úúšiyaW(N) 'to beat in a contest'; -t α α D(dy α M) 'to stand up'.

|| 1.s The application of || 1 is restated in tabular form. Table 1 shows the development of the final morphophonemic consonants before initial vowel suffixes. Table 2 lists the allomorphs of the suffixes. Table 3 gives the development of the final morphophonemic consonants and the allomorphs of suffixes that do not typically begin with a vowel. No attempt is made to include all the details described in || 1.

|| 2 A replacive morphophoneme || z̄ || is set up before some allomorphs of the continuative suffixes {z̄itaaN} (Section 441.1) and {z̄áayaN}, some empty morphs (Section 441.1), and the suffix {z̄áikuY} (Section 452), to account for the loss of the final vowel of the preceding form:

- || z̄itaaN || allomorph of {z̄itaaN}
- || z̄qitaaN || allomorph of {z̄itaaN}
- || z̄etaaN || allomorph of {z̄itaaN}
- || z̄é α etaaN || allomorph of {z̄itaaN}
- || z̄áayaN || allomorph of {z̄áayaN}
- || z̄jáayaN || allomorph of {z̄áayaN}
- || z̄qíit̄- || empty morph
- || z̄qíit̄- || empty morph
- || z̄ic- || empty morph
- || z̄áikuY || allomorph of {z̄áikuY}

Examples:

- || z̄itaaN ||: siúšanawita 'I am shearing him'; cf. siúšanawa 'I sheared him'

||ʔetaaN||: kaʔâušeeʔeta 'he is asking for permission'; cf. kaʔâušaaʔa
'he asked for permission' (see ||14)

||ʔqíit-||: séyastíitita 'I am canning'; cf. séyasta 'I canned'

A long or accented vowel before the morphophoneme shows alternative treatments. There are not enough examples to formulate a general rule:

śízúwiita 'I am paying him'; -ízúwaaN 'to pay'

sugáwítita 'I am threshing grain'; -ugáwidyaaN 'to thresh grain'

sáusiita 'I am getting some water'; -séeN 'to get water'

An additional syllable is lost when ||ʔitaaN|| is added to -únuúnaaʔaN: suńũnita 'I am getting ashamed'. Cf. -ũušaaʔaN 'to ask for permission', given above.

||3.0 Before certain suffixes and auxiliaries the glottal accent replaces any accent that may be found on final syllables, and short vowels are lengthened.

||3.1 This change takes place (1) in periphrastic constructions with the auxiliary {gú} (Section 470) and (2) before the suffix {-saa} (Section 652.1). The change only takes place, however, if the final syllable is accented:

néinuustuziigú 'he will put the fire out'; -áinuustízíM 'to put the
fire out'

ńikũuyáusí 'I will thread a needle'; cf. śikũuyáu 'I threaded a needle'
hãaniisa 'the east side'; cf. hãaní 'eastern part'

The auxiliary {gú} that conditions this change and the changed morpheme are separated by a pronominal prefix (see Section 461). The change does not take place in nonperiphrastic constructions with {gú}: ʔámúgú 'he loves her' (Section 632.6).

||3.2 The accent change is found before the auxiliary {zá} (Section 461.8) and the suffixes {-méʔe} (Section 647), {-zéeši} (Section 653.2), and {pədə} (Section 654.6), but only with certain forms. These forms are marked with the morphophonemic accent || ` ||:

||-qúudì||: kúudízá 'it is mountainous'; kúudíimé 'Cochiti Indian';
kúuti 'mountain'

||múši||: múšízá 'it is sudsy'; múši 'soap'

||báasù||: báasúumé 'Mexicans'; báasu 'Mexico'

||yúuwì||: yúuwízéeši 'the side part'; yúuwí 'along, beside'

||háćè||: háćèepədə 'just a little bit'; háćəsái 'how many days?'

Contrast:

ʔúurazá 'it is gold'

díiwimé 'Santo Domingo Indian'

náyázéeši 'the underneath part', from ||náyáa||

túuhámepədə 'just any old time'

TABLE 2

Initial Vowel Suffixes

	-qədyəəZ	-qeeD	-qiŞ	-qeeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í	-iku	-iši	-iguyaN	-u
N, ?N	-qədyəəZ	-qaaD	-qiŞ	-qeeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í	-iku	-iši	-iguyaN	-u
M, ?M	-qədyəəZ	-qeeD	-qiŞ	-qeeY	-‘í?iD, -qí?iD	-(‘)í, -(‘)qí	-iku	-iši	-iguyaN	-a
M̄	-ədyəəZ	-eeD	-iŞ	-eeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í				
W	-ədyəəZ	-aaD	-iŞ, -qiŞ	-eeY, -qeeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í		-guyaN	-u	
W̄	-qədyəəZ	-qeeD								
B, G ^W , B?	-ədyəəZ	-eeD	-iŞ	-eeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í		-iši	-iguyaN	-u, -unu
Y	-dyəəZ	?VVD	-iŞ		-‘í?iD	-(‘)í		-iši		-u
D	-dyəəZ	-aaD	-iŞ	-eeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í	-iku	-iši	-iguyaN	-a
SD	-qədyəəZ	-aaD	-iŞ	-eeY	-‘í?iD	-(‘)í			-iguyaN	
Ş	-adyəəZ	-iiD				-(‘)í	-iku	-i		-a
Z						-(‘)í	-iku	-iši		-a
S		-aaD								
∅	-ədyəəZ	-eeD	-iŞ		-‘í?iD	-(‘)í	-iku	-iši		-nu

TABLE 3

Final Morphophonemic Consonants
and Other Suffixes

	-náátaN	ʔitaaN	ʔáayaN
N			-n-qáayaN
W, W̄		-w-itaaN	
B, G ^w		-b-itaaN	
Y	-y-qáátaN		
D	-d-qáátaN		-d-qáayaN
SD	-d-qáátaN	-d-qitaaN	-d-qáayaN
∅	-qjáátaN		

{máədì} has the allomorph ||máədè|| before {zá}, ||máədì|| elsewhere:
máədéézá 'it is a boy'; máəti 'boy'.

||4 A short accented vowel or sequence of -áu (< ||aW̄||, see ||1.5) becomes unaccented before the repetitive suffixes {-sə∅} and {-G^w} (Section 442.1):

- ||-uśúwíM(N)||: suśúwisə 'I am putting on shoes' (see ||30); suśúwiku
'I am putting on shoes'; suśúwí 'I put on shoes'
||-útisdyuwíM||: kútistiyuwiku 'it is sticky'; kútistiyuwí 'it is stuck'
||-ədyazíM||: sətyacisə 'I kept stopping'; sətyazí 'I stopped'

Contrast:

- ||-úukáaM||: síukáasə 'I am shelling corn'
||-úutáaM||: síutáaku 'I am trying it'

Occasionally -sə∅ is realized simply by the accent change:

- síudâakaatyau ~ síudâakaatyasə 'I am uncovering it'; síudâakaadyáu
'I uncovered it'
cítistyuwi 'it is sticking to it'; sítistyuwí 'I stuck it on'

A short unaccented vowel is (optionally?) lengthened in some stems before -G^w:

- ||-úučaN||: síukúičaaku 'I am dividing it up'; gáayâačaape 'they keep giving some of it away' (plural suffix -eeD); síukúičasə 'I am dividing it up'; cf. síukúičána 'we divided it up' (plural suffix -qaaD)
||-úisdyaN||: síwíistyaaku 'I keep making a knot'; cf. síwíisdyaní 'when I made a knot' (suffix {-(´)í})

|| 5.0 This rule describes the changes that take place when a thematic prefix is added to a stem syllable. The stem syllables that are set up are: ||uu, u, u:, ui, a, aa, ai, au, áa, ii||. The stem syllable listed as ||áa|| is to be read as ||áa - a|| and is found only before a glottalized sonorant. The three stem syllables ||aa, ai, au|| develop in identical fashion and are indicated by aV in stating the rules; note that V is not the morphophoneme ||V|| described in || 15. The most common stem syllables are ||uu||, ||u||, and ||ii||. Many ||ii|| stems have alternates with ||uu||, ||ai||, ||awii||, or other types, and it is often difficult to identify this stem syllable.

Most of the thematic prefixes have an initial coarticulation morphophoneme, and some of the prefixes consist solely of such a morphophoneme. The morphophonemic changes produced by these morphophonemes are described in || 10, 11, 13.

There are a number of accent changes that take place when thematic prefixes are added. The changes are accounted for in || 5.1, 6, 20, 22, 28. In addition there is an apparent change that is the result of the convention of writing the accent over the first vowel of the syllable (see Section 121). When two syllables, one accented and one unaccented, are joined to form one syllable, the accent is unchanged but is sometimes placed over a different vowel because the first vowel of the new syllable is not always the first vowel of the old accented syllable. Note, however, that the variable length morphophoneme ||:||, which is not a vowel but can carry an accent, is exempted from this convention.

Examples are given in three forms: basic form, morphophonemic form after the application of || 5, and phonemic form. The theme is a bound form, and it is therefore necessary to add a pronominal prefix in listing the phonemic form.

|| 5.1 If both the thematic prefix and stem syllables are accented, the accent of the stem syllable is lost. The variable length morphophoneme in the stem syllable ||u:|| is lost, and any accent that occurs with ||:|| is usually shifted to the following syllable. This subrule applies to the following prefixes:

- 'úu- reflexive, || 5.2
- 'á?i- by mouth, || 5.2
- 'á?- second active prefix, || 5.3

Examples are given in || 5.2 and || 5.3.

|| 5.2 The following thematic prefixes replace the stem syllable:

first set

- 'úu- reflexive
- 'á?i- by mouth

first set (continued)

- 'i-	by body
-qja-	dispersional
-Auu-	external possessive

second set

-Jaýa-	intransitive prefix
-qja'a-	passive
-'áaýa-	collective plural

The replacement by the first set is identical for all stem syllables.

|| - 'i- || glottalizes a following sonorant, and the resulting form sometimes undergoes the accent change described in || 22. Examples:

- 'úu-úurácizaN > - 'úuráciza: kúurácica 'he banged himself'
- 'úu-uîçáyuzaN > - 'úuçáyuz: kúuçáyuca 'he shot himself' (see || 30)
- 'úu-uîmætizaN > - 'úumætiza: kúumætica 'he killed himself'
- 'úu-ubáyaN > - 'úbáyá: súubáyá 'I burned myself'
- 'á'i-úustúwízaN > - 'á'istúwíza: sáistúwíca 'I pointed with my lips' (see || 23)
- 'i-úunéəzaN > - 'ínéəza: kinéəca 'he became rigid' (see || 22)
- 'i-úukúduzaN > - 'íkúduza: kikútuca 'he bunched up into a ball'
- 'i-uîkusizaN > - 'iîkusiza: kikúsica 'he curled up'
- qja-úukúduzaN-qiŞ > -qjákúduzi: čakútuci 'there are a whole bunch of lumps' (see || 22)
- qja-uîçáyuzaN-qiŞ > -qja:çáyuzi: çaçáyuci 'it was all shot up' (see || 20, 30)
- qja-únadyumeN-qiŞ > -qjánadyumen-qi: cánatyuméni 'it has been suffered from'
- Auu-uîçáyuzaN-qiŞ > -Auu:çáyuzi: gáuçáyuci 'his has a bullet hole'
- Auu-âzəkəN-qiŞ > -AúuzəkəN-qi: súuçəkəni 'mine (e.g., cigarette) has been smoked'

The second syllable of the second set of prefixes is lengthened before a long stem syllable. The vowel may be lengthened before ||u:||, and ||ii|| may be replaced by ||ai||; these variations are probably free.

Examples:

- Jaýa-úušíizaN > -Jaýáášíiza: séyáášíica 'I borrowed'
- Jaýa-úçayawaN > -Jaýáčayawa: séyáčayawa 'I got mad'
- Jaýa-âačawaiY > -Jaýâačawai: zayâačawai 'he took part in a stick race'
- qja'a-úušíizaN > -qja'ášíiza: ska'aášíica 'it was borrowed from me'
- qja'a-u'mayanikuyaN-qaaD > -qja'a'mayanikuyan-qaa: ska'amáyanyukuyána 'I was made fun of'

- qja?a-ú:wageN-qaad > -qja?aaʔwagəN-qaɑ: s̥kaʔáawágóná 'my clothes have been worn'
- qja?a-učáwaN-qaad > -qja?ačáwan-qaɑ: s̥kaʔačáwána 'it was stolen from me'
- qja?a-íṣatáawaN-qaad > -qja?áiṣatáawan-qaɑ: s̥kaʔáiṣatáawána 'I was fattened up'
- ‘áayá-úçayawaN-qaad > -‘áayáçayawan-qaɑ: s̥áayáçayawána 'we (in a group) argued'
- ‘áayá-íizúwaan-qaad > -‘áayázúwaan-qaɑ: káayázúwaaná 'they (in a group) paid'

||5.3 The middle voice prefix ||-Qa-|| is added to long stem syllables and the short stem syllable ||u||. The second active prefix ||-‘áʔ-|| is added primarily to ||uu|| stems, but also to a few ||ii|| stems. ||-Qa-|| is added to ||u|| stems with no morphophonemic change. The development of the prefixes with long stem syllables is shown diagrammatically:

stem vowel:	uu	aV	ii
plus -Qa- :	Qau	QaV	Qai
plus -‘áʔ- :	‘áʔu		‘áʔi

Examples:

- Qa-úpəzaN > -Qáupəza: kaʔáupəça 'he shook himself'
- Qa-úunəzaN > -Qáunəza: kaʔáunəça 'he pulled himself (e.g., his own hair)'
- Qa-úumúrazaN > -Qáumúraza: s̥áumúraça 'something of mine got dented'
- Qa-áišaSD > -Qáišaša: s̥áišaša 'I spread out bedding'
- Qa-íitaaN > -Qáitaa: kaʔáitá 'he stepped on himself'
- ‘áʔ-úumúrazaN > -‘áʔumúraza: s̥áumúraça 'I dented it (see ||23)
- ‘áʔ-íiskəəʔəzaiM > -‘áʔiskəəʔəzai: káiskəəʔəçai 'he turned it around'

||5.4 The morphophonemic changes found with the possessive prefix {-qa-} are similar to those found with the prefixes discussed in ||5.3. The main difference is that the possessive prefix can be added to almost all stem syllables, including noun stems that can begin with a consonant. In addition, there are many irregular forms.

||-qa-|| is usually added without change to noun stems with an initial consonant:

- qa-pánaci > -qapánaci: kápánaci 'his lungs'; cf. pánaci 'lungs'
- qa-dúwímiši > -qadúwímiši: s̥adúwímiši 'my socks'; cf. dúwímiši 'socks'

||-qa-|| plus ||ʔ|| and ||h|| may result in the loss of the manner consonant, provided that the resulting stem syllable is one of those listed in ||5.0. (See examples under ||-qa-|| plus stem syllables, below.)

||-qa-|| replaces a following short stem syllable:

- qa-ú'cayuwáN-qiŞ > -qá'cayuwán-qi: sá'cayawá'ni 'I am mad'
- qa-áSD-qiŞ > -qá'sán-qi: ká'sá'ni 'he stepped and left footprints'
- qa-?úwíizí'ni > -qáwíizí'ni: sáwíizí'ni 'my cradle board'; ?úwíizí'ni
'cradle board'

||-qa-|| added to long stem syllables gives the results shown in the diagram:

stem vowel:	uu	ui	aV	áa
plus -qa-	qau	qai ~ qau	qaV	qa (~ qáa?)

Examples:

- qa-ú'míšum'éewáN-qiŞ > -qá'míšum'éewán-qi: ká'míšum'éewá'ni 'he moistened the ground'
- qa-ú'íšázáN(M)-qiŞ > -qá'íšázán-qi ~ -qá'ušázán-qi: sá'íšázá'ni ~ sá'ušázá'ni 'I am wearing pants'
- qa-á'atáW-iŞ > -qá'atáw-i: sá'atáw-i 'I have it opened'
- qa-á'yát'-iŞ > -qáyát'-i: káyát'i 'he has it all smeared'
- qa-húucí'ni > -qáucí'ni: sáucí'ni 'my kilts'; cf. húucí'ni 'kilts'
- qa-háamí > -qáamí: sáamí 'my tobacco'; cf. háamí 'tobacco'
- qa-?-ú'íšázáN(M)-qiŞ-(') > -qá'íšázán-qi-('): ká'íšázá'ni 'his pants';
cf. wí'íšázá'ni 'pants' (see ||16)
- qa-?-á'igayaW-qiŞ-(') > -qá'igayám-qi-('): sá'igayá'mí 'my brakes';
cf. ?á'igayá'mí 'brakes'

The loss of an initial manner consonant of a noun stem is optional, and alternate forms occur: sáamí ~ sáhámí 'my tobacco'. The glottal stop is almost always dropped from infinitive-derived nouns (Section 643). The last two examples above come in this category.

The possessive prefix has an accented allomorph ||-qá-|| which is found with a few nouns that have an initial plain sonorant:

- qá-ná'ci: sáná'ci 'my food'; ná'ci 'food'
- qá-méədi: sáméəti 'my son'; méəti 'boy'
- qá-wáastí: káwáastí 'his young ones'; wáastí 'little ones; young of animals'
- qá-má'ágə: sámá'ákə 'my daughter'; magə 'small girl' (irregular stem change)

A few nouns have irregular stem and possessive prefix formations:

- qáatísdýú'mí: káatísdýú'mí 'his belt'; húufísdýú'mí 'belt'
- qjéeska (~ -qa-híiska): céeska (~ káhíiska) 'his knife'; híiska
'knife'
- qáusdya: sáustya 'my bow'; husdyáaka 'bow'

The nouns ná'isdiya 'father' and ná'aya 'mother' take ||-i-||, allomorph of the possessive prefix, when preceded by a first person prefix (see

Section 230): *sináisdíya* 'my father'; *tiʔináisdíya* 'I had a father (dubitative)'. The possessive prefix is $\| -qá - \|$ before other pronominal prefixes and before the number prefixes regardless of the pronominal prefix; the initial sonorant of the stem is unglottalized: *kánáisdíya* 'his father'; *taʔánáisdíya* 'we (dual) had a father (dubitative)' (see $\| 7.9$).

$\| 5.5$ Certain stem syllable changes are found after:

- {tr-1} first transitive prefix
- {tr-2} second transitive prefix
- Ĵ- benefactive
- qj- perfect

{tr-1} plus $\|uu\|$ in stems that have the derivational suffix *-zaN* (Section 621) becomes $\|u:\|$. {tr-1} is realized as zero before $\|u:\|$ stems. Elsewhere the prefix has the allomorph $\| -Ĵ \|$. {tr-2} is realized as zero before all stem syllables.

$\|u:\|$ and $\|ii\|$ become $\|u: \sim uu:\|$ and $\|ii \sim uu\|$ respectively after $\| -qj - \|$ and become $\|uu:\|$ and $\|uu\|$ respectively after {tr-2} and $\| -Ĵ - \|$. These stem syllables are unchanged after {tr-1}.

$\|u\|$ becomes $\|u \sim uu\|$ after $\| -Ĵ - \|$ and $\| -qj - \|$ and becomes $\|uu\|$ after {tr-2}. It is unchanged after {tr-1}.

The remaining stem syllables are unchanged. Many of them, however, undergo vocalic changes described in $\| 11.3$ when they come after a palatalizing morphophoneme (*j, J, Ĵ*).

Examples:

- {tr-1}-*úpuúku-zaN* > -*ú:púkuza: kupúkuca* 'she sprinkled it'
- {tr-1}-*úuṣáa* > -*Júuṣáa: zúṣá* 'he approved of him'
- {tr-1}-*u:čáyuz-aN* > -*u:čáyuz: gučáyuca* 'he shot it'
- {tr-1}-*u:daiskaaM(N)* > -*u:daiskaa: kudáiska* 'he peeled it'
- {tr-1}-*ubáyaN* > -*Jubáya: cibáya* 'he burned her'
- {tr-1}-*úišazaN(M)* > -*Júišaza: zúišaça* 'she put his pants on him'
- {tr-1}-*áasgəN* > -*Jáasgə: séeskə* 'I fried it'
- {tr-1}-*íicitama-zaN* > -*Jíicitamaza: zíicitamaca* 'he turned it over'
- {tr-2}-*úpuúkuzaN* > -*úpuúkuza: gúpuúkuca* 'she sprinkled his'
- {tr-2}-*u:čáyuzaN* > -*uu:čáyuz: guučáyuca* 'he shot something of hers'
- {tr-2}-*ubáyaN* > -*uubáya: gúupaya* 'he burned hers' (see $\| 6$)
- {tr-2}-*úišazaN(M)* > -*úišaza: gúišaça* 'she wore his pants'
- {tr-2}-*áasgəN* > -*áasgə: séeskə* 'I fried his'
- {tr-2}-*íicitamazaN* > -*úucitamaza: gúucitamaca* 'he turned hers over'
- Ĵ-*úušúiz-aN*-*ʔiD* > -Ĵ-*úušúiz-aN*-*ʔi: súušúicaní* 'I borrowed it for him'

- Ĵ-u:daiskaaM(N)-'í?iD > -Juu:daiskaan-'í?i: sífutaískaaní 'I peeled it for him'
- Ĵ-íicitamazaN-'í?iD > -Ĵúucitamazan-'í?i: síucitamacání 'I turned it over for him'
- qj-úúšíizaN-qiŞ > -qjúúšíizi: cúúšíici 'it has been borrowed'
- qj-úúnadyumeN-qiŞ > -qjúúnadyumen-qi ~ -qjúúnadyumen-qi: cúúnatyuméni ~ cúúnatyuméni 'it has been hurt'
- qj-úúšázaN(M)-qiŞ > -qjúúšázan-qi: cúúšázání 'the pants have been worn'
- qj-íicitamazaN-qiŞ > -qjíicitamazi ~ -qjúucitamazi: cúicitamaci ~ cúucitamaci 'it has been turned over'

||5.6 The stem syllable ||uu|| becomes ||uu ~ u|| and the stem syllable ||ii|| becomes ||i|| after the first active prefix ||-'||. If the resulting thematic syllable is ||u|| or ||i||, a following plain sonorant is glottalized, and the form may then undergo an accent change described in ||22 (cf. ||-'i-||, in ||5.2). Examples:

- '-úukudyaaN > -'úukudyaa ~ -'úkudyaa: kúukutya ~ kúkutya 'he gathered wood'
- '-úuméyuzaN > -'úméyúza: suméyúca 'I got bruised'
- '-íiśáfaaN > -'iśáfa: kíśáfa 'he is fat'
- '-úyúutaaN > -'úyúutaa: kúyúuta 'he sang'

Other stem syllables are unchanged:

- '-úúšázaN: kúúšáca 'he put pants on'
- '-áyaceeM: káyace 'he whitewashed it'¹²
- '-ááyáatéewízaN: kááyáatéewíca 'he stepped in mud'

||5.s Not all of the morphophonemic changes involved in thematic prefixation are covered by the subrules of ||5. A number of nonproductive prefixes are difficult to isolate for morphophonemic and semantic reasons. There are a number of stems that do not fit into the stem syllable classes given in ||5.0. Many stems have different stem syllables after different prefixes so that it is often difficult or impossible to separate the prefix and the stem syllable. There are also many irregular prefix and stem combinations. All such phenomena are left for dictionary listing. In the remainder of the grammar, themes rather than stems will be treated as the basic unit wherever possible. When it is necessary to give the stems of such themes, the stem will be identified morphemically

¹²The glottalization of this form is not the result of the prefix; ||-'|| glottalizes sonorants only when the thematic syllable is short ||u|| or ||i||. The glottalization is the result of ||30, as can be seen by káyácéemí 'when he whitewashed it'. This form has the prefix ||-'||, but the conditions for the operation of ||30 are not present.

only. Thus the stem underlying the themes - \acute{e} :sk \acute{e} D 'to drink', - \acute{u} sk \acute{a} D 'to drink someone else's drink', - \acute{J} is \acute{k} aD-aW(N) 'to give someone a drink' is written {-sk \acute{a} D}; the regular stem underlying the themes - \acute{J} áasg \acute{e} N 'to fry it', - \acute{J} áasg \acute{e} N- \acute{i} ?iD 'to fry it for someone', -qj \acute{a} asg \acute{e} N-qi \acute{S} 'to have been fried' is written - \acute{a} asg \acute{e} N.

The application of ||5 is summarized in table 4. The table gives the thematic syllables that result from the combination of the thematic prefixes (vertical line) and the stem syllable (horizontal line). There are several blanks in the table. A few of the blanks are probably due to lack of data. Most of them, however, are probably real, but are of morphological rather than morphophonemic significance (see Sections 411-415).

||6 If a long unaccented thematic syllable results through the operation of ||5, the accent of the following syllable is shifted to the thematic syllable.

In the examples that follow the stems are -u \acute{s} u \acute{w} M(N) 'to wear shoes'; -u \acute{s} i \acute{u} s \acute{d} yaN 'to rope, tie up'; -u \acute{d} yá \acute{a} zaN 'to write':

\acute{s} u \acute{s} u \acute{w} i 'mine (for example, my horse) is shod'; prefix -Au \acute{u} -, ||5.2
 ka \acute{r} á \acute{u} siustya 'he is tied up'; prefix -Qa-, ||5.3
 \acute{s} i \acute{u} siustyaní 'I roped it for him'; prefix - \acute{J} -, ||5.5
 \acute{s} i \acute{u} siustya 'I roped his (for example, his horse)'; prefix {tr-2}, ||5.5
 \acute{c} i \acute{u} tyaa \acute{z} áni 'it has been written'; prefix -qj-, ||5.5

||7.0 The dual and plural prefixes are so tightly fused to a following theme that it is convenient to set up the prefixes in morphemic rather than morphophonemic shape, {dl} and {pl}, and give a set of rules that account for the morphophonemic shape of themes with prefixes included. The morphophonemic shape of such themes is governed by one of the following factors: (1) the thematic syllable and coarticulation morphophoneme, ||7.1-3; (2) the thematic syllable excluding any coarticulation morphophoneme, ||7.4-5; (3) the initial vowel excluding any coarticulation morphophoneme, ||7.6-8; or (4) the following thematic prefix, ||7.9. Irregular forms are treated in ||7.10. In stating the subrules ||7.4-8, in which the coarticulation morphophoneme is not a governing factor, the symbol X is used to indicate a coarticulation morphophoneme that may be present.

The thematic syllable with a number prefix is usually expanded to two syllables. The accent of the thematic syllable falls on the second syllable, unless otherwise stated.

Examples are given in three forms: the morphophonemic form of the theme after the application of rules preceding ||7, the morphophonemic form of the theme after the application of ||7, and the phonemic form with a pronominal prefix.

TABLE 4
Thematic Prefix and Stem Syllable

	uu	u:	u	ui	a	aV	áa	ii	
5.2	- 'úu-	'úu	'úu	'úu					
	- 'á?i-	'á?i							
	- 'i-	'i	'i:						
	-qja-	qja	qja:						
	-Auu-	Auu	Auu:	Auu	Auu			Auu	
	-Jayá-	Jayáa		Jayá		Jayáa			
	-qja?a-	qja?aa	qja?a: ~ qja?aa:	qja?a	qja?a	qja?aa	qja?a	qja?ai	
	- 'áayá-	'áayáa		'áayá				'áayáa	
5.3	-Qa-	Qau		Qau		QaV		Qai	
	- 'á?u-	'á?u	'á?u					'á?i	
5.4	-qa-	qau		qa	qai ~ qau	qa	qaV	qa	
5.5	{tr-1}	u:, Juu	u:	Ju	Jui	Ja	JaV	Jáa ~ Ja	Jii
	{tr-2}	uu	uu:	uu	ui	a	aV	a	uu
	-J̄-	J̄uu	J̄uu:	J̄u ~ J̄uu	J̄ui	J̄a	J̄aV	J̄áa ~ J̄a	J̄uu
	-qj-	qjuu	qju: ~ qjuu:	qju ~ qjuu	qjui	qja	qjaV	qjáa ~ qja	qjii ~ qjuu
5.6	- ' -	'uu ~ 'u	'u:	'u	'ui	'a	'áa	'i	

||7.1 The following subrule applies to the thematic syllables ||Ju|| and ||Ĵu|| that are followed by a sonorant:

{dl} + Ju, Ĵu > aʔa

{pl} + Ju, Ĵu > aʔa

Examples:

{dl} + -Júyáaka > -aʔáyáaka: gaʔáyáaka 'he burned them (dual)'

{pl} + -Júyáaka > -aʔáyáaka: gaʔáyáaka 'he burned them (plural)'

{dl} + -Ĵúwáistan- 'íʔi > -aʔáwáistan- 'íʔi: seʔéwáistaní 'I dished up stew for them (dual)' (see ||13)

{pl} + -Ĵúwáistan- 'íʔi > -aʔáwáistan- 'íʔi: seʔáwáistaní 'I dished up stew for them (plural)'

Cf. zíyáaka 'he burned him'; síwáistaní 'I dished up stew for him'

This rule also applies to three themes that have an obstruent after the thematic syllable: -JučáwaN 'to blame someone'; -JúspáawaN 'to sprinkle (clothes)'; -JúpkaawaN 'to chop wood'. Examples:

gaʔačáwa 'he blamed them (dual)'; gaʔačáwa 'he blamed them (plural)'

seʔépkaawa 'I chopped two pieces'; seʔápkaawa 'I chopped a few pieces, one by one'

||7.2 The following rule applies to the thematic syllables ||Ju|| and ||Ĵu|| that are followed by an obstruent:

{dl} + Ju, Ĵu > áaʔa

{pl} + Ju, Ĵu > áiʔi

If the thematic syllable is accented, the accent is lost. If the thematic syllable is unaccented, the accent on the following syllable is lost.

Examples:

{dl} + -Jupánúustu > -áaʔapanúustu: gáaʔapanúustu 'they (dual) are thirsty'

{pl} + -Jupánúustu > -áiʔipánúustu: gáiʔipánúustu 'they (plural) are thirsty'

{dl} + -Júbənaiʔi > -áaʔabənaiʔi: gáaʔapənaiʔi 'he put them (dual) in'

{pl} + -Júbənaiʔi > -áiʔibənaiʔi: gáiʔipənaiʔi 'he put them (plural) in'

{dl} + -Ĵutáañizan- 'íʔi > -áaʔataañizan- 'íʔi: sêeʔetaañicaní 'I worked for them (dual)'

Cf. cipánúustu 'he is thirsty'; zípənaiʔi 'he put it in'; sitáañicaní 'I worked for them'

This rule also applies to one theme that has a sonorant after the thematic syllable, -JumínaaD 'to speak to someone'; sêeʔemína 'I spoke to them (dual)'; sêiʔimína 'I spoke to them (plural)'. Cf. símína 'I spoke to him'.

Either this subrule or ||7.1 applies, in free variation, to a few forms that have an obstruent after the thematic syllable: sgáaʔadyú ~ sgaʔadyú 'we (dual) are covered', theme -Júdyú.

The plural prefix is zero in a small group of classificatory verb themes (Section 451). This group consists of: -JústíD(čaN) 'to place a container of liquid'; -JúsdíD(čaN) 'to place a sack of something'; -JútiD(čaN) 'to place a basket of something'. Examples:

śístíča 'I placed one container of liquid'

sêeʔestíča 'I placed two containers of liquid'

śístíča 'I placed several containers of liquid'

|| 7.3 {dl} + Juu, Ĵuu > aʔau

{pl} + Juu, Ĵuu > áawaa

Examples:

{dl} + -Júusdyəgə > -aʔáusdyəgə: sgaʔáustyəkə 'he put beads on us (dual)'

{pl} + -Júusdyəgə > -áawáasdyəgə: sgáawáastyəkə 'he put beads on us (plural)'

{dl} + -Júumáazan-ʔíʔi > -aʔáumáazan-ʔíʔi: seʔéumáacaní 'I helped them (dual)'

{pl} + -Júumáazan-ʔíʔi > -áawáamáazan-ʔíʔi: séewáamáacaní 'I helped them (plural)'

Cf. skúistyəkə 'he put beads on me'; śíumáacaní 'I helped him'

|| 7.4 {dl} + Xui > uʔui

{pl} + Xui > uʔau

An initial coarticulation morphophoneme, represented in the rule by X, is lost. Examples:

{dl} + -úičaabə > -uʔúičaabə: guʔúičaapə 'they (dual) crossed over'

{pl} + -úičaabə > -uʔáučaabə: guʔáučaapə 'they (plural) crossed over'

{dl} + -qúiska > -uʔúiska: guʔúiska 'they (dual) have a bruise'

{pl} + -qúiska > -uʔáuska: guʔáuska 'they (plural) have a bruise'

Cf. guičaapə 'he crossed over'; kúiska 'he has a bruise'

|| 7.5 Forms with a variable length vowel have a number of treatments with the dual and plural prefixes. If one separates forms that have the high accent from forms that have the falling or glottal accent in the initial syllable, it is possible to construct rules that will account for all but six of the almost forty forms of this type that have been recorded with the number prefixes:

High accent:

{dl} + Xu: > uʔu:

{pl} + Xu: > uʔá

Falling or glottal accent:

{dl} + Xu: > úu?u

{pl} + Xu: > úwâa

In the second case, the accent of the thematic vowel or variable length morphophoneme is lost. It is possible that the rules do not represent productive morphophonemic processes, but are formulations that account for the few forms that happen to be in the corpus. Examples:

{dl} + -ú:yáa > -u?ú:yáa: gu?úyá 'he slaughtered them (dual)'

{pl} + -ú:yáa > -uwáyáa: guwáyá 'he slaughtered them (plural)'

{dl} + -u:šánawa > -úu?ušánawa: gúu?ušánawa 'he cut their (dual) hair'

{pl} + -u:šánawa > -úwâašánawa: gúwâašánawa 'he cut their (plural) hair'

{dl} + -ú:šiya > -úu?ušiya: gúu?ušiya 'he beat them (dual)'

{pl} + -ú:šiya > -úwâašiya: gúwâašiya 'he beat them (plural)'

Cf. gúyá 'he slaughtered him'; kušánawa 'he cut his hair'; gúšiya 'he beat him'

The thematic syllable of -ú:kasdyaN 'to invite someone' is replaced by ||uu|| after {dl}, and ||7.6 applies; the form is regular after {pl}.

The thematic syllable of -ú:cífuwaaN 'to drain something' and -ú:yáaniš 'to hate someone' is replaced by ||uu|| after both {dl} and {pl}, and ||7.6 applies:

síukastya, si?íukastya, síwáakastya 'I invited him, them (dual), them (plural)'

síu'cístuwa, si?íu'cístuwa, síwâacístuwa 'I drained it, them (dual), them (plural)'

síuyáani, si?íuyáani, síwáayáani 'I hate him, them (dual), them (plural)'

The falling accent of the thematic syllable in -u:wiskæziš 'to have a scratch' (< -u:wiskæ-zaN-qiš) is replaced by the high accent after {dl}, and the regular rule applies; the form is regular after {pl} (other derivations of the stem -u:wiskæ-zaN 'to scratch' are regular). The high accent of the thematic syllable in -ú:cískaiM 'to be full of water' is replaced by the falling accent after {dl}, and the regular rule applies; the form is regular after {pl}:

síuwiskæci, šu?úwiskæci, šúwâaskæci 'I, we (dual), we (plural) have a scratch'

síu'cískai, šúu?ú'cískai, šúwâcískai 'I, we (dual), we (plural) are full of water' (see ||21 for accent change in the dual)

The theme -u:šeeniši 'hair' combines irregularly with the number prefixes to give -úšeeniši (dual) and -úwâšeeniši (plural): kušeeniši 'his

Examples: zǐɕaaçuwa, gaʔâiɕaaçuwa, gáyazáaçuwa 'he woke him, them (dual), them (plural)'.
 ||7.8 {dl} + Xa > aʔa
 {pl} + Xa > aýa

This rule applies to themes with an initial ||a||, except those treated in ||7.9. Examples:

- {dl} + -Jâanú > -aʔâanú: gaʔâanú 'she gave them (dual) a bath'
 {pl} + -Jâanú > -aýâanú: gayâanú 'she gave them (plural) a bath'
 {dl} + -'ásdǐi > -aʔásdǐi: ʂaʔásdǐ 'our (dual) feet'
 {pl} + -'ásdǐi > -aýásdǐi: ʂaýásdǐ 'our (plural) feet'
 {dl} + -qáusa > -aʔáusa: gaʔáusa 'they (dual) are slowpokes'
 {pl} + -qáusa > -aýáusa: gayáusa 'they (plural) are slowpokes'
 Cf. zâanú 'she gave him a bath'; sésdǐ 'my feet'; káusa 'he is a slow poke'

Themes that are formed by the passive prefix {-qjaʔa-} (||5.2) lose the initial vowel and glottal stop after the number prefixes. Note that by the application of this rule the dual differs from the singular by the absence of the initial coarticulation morphophonemes. Examples with -qjaʔaašaazíM 'to be cut': skáʔaašaazí 'I was cut'; sgaʔaašaazí 'we (dual) were cut'; sgaýaašaazí 'we (plural) were cut'.

The theme -JâaciguyaN 'to say to someone' has two alternates, in free variation, with the number prefixes. One set of alternates has an unaccented initial syllable, and the resulting forms have no accent (see Section 121). One alternate with {pl} is regular; the other alternate with {pl} and both alternates with {dl} are irregular and have shapes similar to themes with ||Ju|| described in ||7.2: -âaʔaciguyaN ~ -aaʔaciguyaN (dual prefix); -aýâaciguyaN ~ -aiʔiciguyaN (plural prefix). Examples: séecikuya 'I said to him'; sêeʔecikuya ~ seeʔecikuya 'I said to them (dual)'; seýâacikuya ~ seiʔicikuya 'I have said to them (plural)'.

The theme -ánadiš '(corn) to get ripe' has the form -áyánadiš with the plural prefix (the dual is lacking): gánati 'it got ripe'; gáyánati 'they got ripe'.

{dl} and {pl} are not prefixed directly to the theme -qázáaN 'could be heard, to be loud enough'. Instead, a new theme is used, -úukázáaN, formed by prefixing the thematic syllable ||úu|| and the third person prefix ||g-||. {dl} and {pl} are prefixed to the resulting theme, and ||7.6 applies: kázá 'he could be heard'; guʔúukázá 'they (dual) could be heard'; guwákázá 'they (plural) could be heard'.

||7.9 The development of the dual prefix plus forms with the thematic prefixes {-qa-} 'possessive' and {-Jaya-} 'intransitive' is regular, and ||7.8 applies. The development of such themes with the plural prefix dif-

fers from other themes with an initial $\|a\|$ and is treated in this sub-rule. There are four types of development:

- (1) {p1} + qa, Ja > áa
- (2) {p1} + qa > qa
- (3) {p1} + qa > a
- (4) {p1} + qa > áa

The accent of type 1 replaces any accent found with the thematic syllable.

Themes with {-Ja'ya-} use only type 1. Noun themes with {-qa-} use types 1 and 2. Verb themes with {-qa-} use types 1, 2, and 3. Type 1, however, is found only with short thematic syllables (the thematic syllable is always short with the thematic prefix {-Ja'ya-}). Aside from these restrictions there is free variation between these three types.

When type 4 is used, the accent following the thematic syllable is lost. This type is used with a small group of themes, all of which have a short unaccented thematic syllable:

- qadyáa 'domesticated animal'
- qabáaš 'to have a fire going'
- qasbózeN-qiš 'to have (for example, chili, beads) strung'
- qasdyácézaN-qiš 'to have on a hat'
- qasdyúwaaN-qiš 'to sweat'
- qadyáwaN-qiš 'to have a splinter'
- qašúwiM(N) 'to have on shoes'
- qagáyaN 'to be stuck'
- qadúwiM 'to have on socks'

In the examples that follow, a singular and plural form are given phonemically. The plural forms have, in addition to the plural prefix, the harmonic plural suffix (see Section 241). Forms that contain {-Ja'ya-} are identified; all others have {-qa-}.

Type 1:

- kádyúni 'her pottery'; gáadyúniši 'their pottery'
- śáwáaméesti 'my tent'; śáawáaméestiši 'our tent'
- káwáaskoti 'he is ticklish'; gáawáaskotyaimiši 'they are ticklish'
- kámašáaci 'he is always hitting'; gáamašáaciši 'they are always hitting'
- śa?áapə 'my stuff is scattered'; śáa?áapəši 'our stuff is scattered'
- śáwízími 'my cradle board'; śáawízímiši 'our cradle board'
- śeyáamáaca 'I helped'; śáayáamáazána 'we helped', prefix {-Ja'ya-}
- zayáacawai 'he took part in a stick race'; gáayáacawai?i 'they took part in a stick race', prefix {-Ja'ya-}

Type 2:

kadyūuni 'her pottery'; kadyūuniši 'their pottery'
 káunádíisti 'his clothing'; káunádíistiši 'their clothing'
 šáigámi 'my trap'; šáigámiši 'our trap'
 kəʒáinaaʔáni 'you gambled'; kəʒáinaaʔániši 'you (plural) gambled'
 (see || 11.4)

Type 3:

šáiši 'they are mine'; šáišíimí 'they are ours'
 kəʒáinaaʔáni 'you gambled'; kəʒáinaaʔániši 'you (plural) gambled'
 káapastyu 'he has a hair knot'; gáapastyumiši 'they have hair knots'

Type 4:

šadyá 'my pet'; šaatyaaši 'our pet'
 kábá 'he has a fire going'; gáapaaši 'they have a fire going'
 šasdyúwaani 'I am sweating'; šaastyuwaaniši 'we are sweating'
 kadyáwáni 'he has a splinter'; gáatyawániši 'they have splinters'

The themes -qjéeska 'knife' (see || 5.4) and -qjéezəzaN-qiš 'to be persistent' contain the possessive prefix {-qa-}. They are unique in that they are the only forms with ||ee|| to take the number prefixes. The development is: {dl} + qjee > jeʔee; {pl} + qjee > qjee. Examples: céeska 'his knife'; zeʔéeska 'their (dual) knife'; céeskaši 'their (plural) knife'.

The theme -JayáaciguyaN 'to be talking, gossiping' (prefix {-Jayá-}) has two alternates, in free variation, with {dl} and {pl}. One of the alternates with {pl} has a long unaccented initial syllable (see Section 122). (Cf. the similar treatment of the theme -JáaciguyaN 'to say to someone', || 7.8; both themes are irregular derivations of the stem {-záaN}.) The first alternate with {dl} is regular; the remaining forms are suppletive: -aʔayáaciguyaN ~ -aʔawázáaniguyaN (dual), -aayániya ~ -áawázáaniguyaN-qaad (plural). Examples: séyáacikuya 'I was talking'; šaʔayáacikuya ~ šaʔawázáanikuya 'we (dual) were talking'; šaayániya ~ šáawázáanikuyána 'we (plural) were talking'.

|| 7.10 A number of intransitive verb themes have irregular formations with the dual and plural prefixes which must be listed. A few themes are regular with one of the prefixes or are similar to the formations described in || 7.1-9. Some themes have regular alternates in addition to the irregular formations.

Unlike the regular formations, the number prefixes usually combine with the thematic syllable of the irregular themes to form one syllable. The thematic vowel is usually changed, and often a coarticulation morphophoneme is added or changed.

A number of themes undergo changes when the number prefixes are added. Sometimes the changes are so great that the themes can be considered suppletive. There is, however, no clear-cut difference between irregular and suppletive changes. Occasionally themes derived from the same stem undergo the same irregular changes, and this is indicated in the list. Normally, however, related themes are regular.

In the following list, alphabetized by gloss, three forms are given: unprefix theme, theme with {dl}, and theme with {pl}, that is the singular, dual, and plural forms. The theme is written morphophonemically with the final morphophonemic consonant indicated and is followed by a phonemic form with a pronominal prefix. Only the singular form is translated. Roman numerals in parenthesis refer to pronominal prefix sets explained in Section 230.

- to arrive: -jaʔáciN, seʔéci 'I arrived'
 -âaʔáciN, şâaʔáci
 -jéedyuB, sædétyu
- to be big: -'jícə ~ -'jísə, cíçə ~ cíşə 'it is big'
 -áiçáa ~ -aʔâišáa, gáičáa ~ gaʔâišáa
 -áačáaŞ ~ -ayâaşáaŞ, gáačáa ~ gayâaşáa
- to be born: -'jáyáaN, cíyá 'he was born'
 -qáiyáaN, káiyá
 -áidyáaN, gáidyá

The same changes are found with the derivation -'jáyáaN-qiŞ 'to be alive'. Different changes are found with the derivation -'jáyáaNiši:

- 'jáyánişi, cíyánişi 'his soul, the life in him'
 -aʔáiyánişi, gaʔáiyánişi
 -qáiyánişi, káiyánişi
- to buy: -JúnáadaN, sínáata 'I bought it'
 (dual, regular)
 -âanáadaN-qaad, şanáadána
- to climb: -éyaN, síya 'I climbed'
 -áayaN, şáaya
 -jéeyaN, sædéeya
- to have it
 closed: -qâaʔaʔa, şâaʔaʔa 'I have it closed' (III)
 -aʔâaʔa, şaʔâaʔa
 -qáačíşi, şáačíşi
- to cry: -'áatikuya, sétikuya 'I was crying'
 -qáatikuya, şáatikuya
 -qáata, şáata

- to die: -'úustú \emptyset , kúustú 'he died'
-aʔástú \emptyset , gaʔástú
(plural, unattested)
- to drink: -é:skáD, síiska 'I drank'
-aʔáskáD, ʂaʔáská
-qáaskaD-aaD, ʂáaskata
- to dwell: -Aâuʔu, ʂâuʔu 'I live at, dwell' (II)
-âaʔa, ʂâaʔa (varying with regular dual)
-âazəədyə, ʂâaʒəətyə
- to eat: -'úbeW, súpe 'I ate' (II)
-âaʔabeW, ʂâaʔape (dual and plural)
- to be enclosed: -aʔáčəB, gaʔáčə 'he is enclosed'
-âaʔáčəB, gâaʔáčə
-jeʔéčəB, zeʔéčə
- to enter -ú:bəN, síupə 'I went in'
-âaʔabəN, ʂâaʔapə
-jéebəN, sədéepə
- eyes, to be closed: -səčáiʔM ~ -səčáiM, síčáiʔi ~ síčái 'my eyes were closed'
-qáičáiM, ʂáičái
-qjéečáiʔM-iiD, səťéečáimi
- to fall in: -úuzaʔabəN, síuçaapə 'I fell in'
-áuzáabəN, ʂáuzáapə
-qjéezábəN-iiD, səťéezápəni
- to fall off: -úuzaʔačá, síuçaáčá 'I fell off'
-áuzááčá, ʂáuzááčá
(plural, unattested)
- to be fat: -'íʂáta \emptyset , kíʂáta 'he is fat'
-âiʂáta \emptyset , gâiʂáta
-áyáaʂáta \emptyset , gayáaʂáta
- to finish: -'jínauda \emptyset (N), cínáuta 'he finished'
-qáináuda \emptyset (N) ~ -qáináutíuda \emptyset (N), káináuta ~ káináutiuta
-qjéenáudi ~ -qjéenáutíuda \emptyset (N), céenáuti ~ céenáutiuta
- to be first: -jíyáadyuwiiY, síyáatywi 'I am first'
-qáiyáadyuwiiY, ʂáiyáatywi
-qáiyáadywi-mišiiD ~ -âizáadyuwiiY, ʂáiyáatywimiši ~ ʂáizáatywi

- to float: -jidâaʔa, sidâaʔa 'I am floating'
 -âidâaʔa, şâidâaʔa
 (plural, unattested)
- to fly: -'jîyúø(N), cíyú 'he flew'
 -qáiyú, káiyú
 -ââyú, gââyú
- to go: zúu-, zúuse 'I went' (see Section 632.7)
 -qjéeyuø, sætéeyu
 -jeʔéguY, sædeʔéku
- to grow: -'ítûuníM, kitûuní 'he grew up'
 -áʔitûuníM, gâitûuní
 -QáatuuníM, kaʔáatuuní (II)
- to hear: -'akáaN, seká 'I heard it'
 (dual, regular)
 -âakáaN-iiD ~ -âakáaN-eeD, şâakáani ~ şâakáane
- to be hungry: -Júyámastuø, şíyámastú 'I am hungry'
 (dual, regular)
 -aʔízámastuø, şaʔízámastú
- to know how: -û:sú, sîusú 'I know how, I am skilled'
 (dual, regular)
 -ûuʔusa, şûuʔusa
- to leave: -û:məN, sîumə 'I left'
 -ûuməN, şûumə
 -jêeməN, sædêemə
- to listen: -áačáaza, séečáaça 'I listened'
 (dual, regular)
 -qáačáazaSD-eeD, şáačáaçašte (varying with regular plural)
- to be lost: -'áyawaaN, sáyawa 'I am lost' (II)
 (dual formed with dual suffix)
 -'aʔízawaaN, saʔíçawa
- Cf. 'to lose', given in list below
- to have luck: -qáweeʔeŞ, káweeʔe 'he had luck' (III)
 (dual, regular)
 -âiweeʔeŞ-iiD, gâiweeʔeši
- to nurse: -jîisdyaB(SD), zíistya 'he nursed'
 -qáisdyaB(SD), káistya
 -qjéesdyaB(SD)-eeD, céestyape
- to grow old: -'jîináwéetuø, cíináwéetu 'he has grown old'
 -qáináwéetuø, káináwéetu
 (plural, regular)

- to pass by: -Júyádyu, síyátyu 'I passed by'
 -qáiyádyu, šáyátyu
 -áizádyu, šáizátyu
- to be pregnant: -Jugúu?N, cigúu?u 'she is pregnant'
 -áigúu?N, gáigúu?u
 (plural, regular)
- to release: -áaťúwiiY, sáaťúwi 'I released it, let it go' (II)
 (dual, regular)
 -qáaťúwiiY-?VVD, šáaťúwiime
- to rise: (from sitting?) -'jípətee?edyə, cípətee?etyə 'he got up'
 -qápətee?epədyə, kápətee?epətyə
 -qjépətee?edyəM-eeD, cépətee?etyəme
- to rise: (from lying?) -'jípadyəM(N), cípatyə 'he got up'
 -qáipadyəM(N), káipatyə
 -qjéepadyəM(N)-iiD, cépatyəni
- to say: -ánaaťaN, sénaaťa 'I said it'
 -qáańikuya, šáańikuya
 -qáańa, šáańa
- to sleep: -jǐbáiY, zǐbái 'he is sleeping'
 -qáibáiY, káibái
 -qjéebáiY-?VVD, céebái?i
- to speak up: -amášaN, semáša 'I spoke up'
 (dual, regular)
 -âamášaN, šámáša
- to stand up: -əťaadyəM, gəťaatyə 'he stood up'
 -qáítaadyəM, káítaatyə
 -qjéetaadyəM-eeD, céetaatyəme
- to be standing: -ó:čániŞ, síčáni 'I am standing'
 -áičániŞ, šáičáni
 -qjéecániŞ-iiD, səťečániši
- to step down: -ə'dyaaN, síitya 'I stepped down'
 -âa?adyaaN, šâa?atya
 (plural, unattested)
- to be strong: -JušáaziŞ, síšáaci 'I am strong'
 -áišáaziŞ, šáišáaci
 -ayáašáaziŞ ~ -'áašáaziŞ, šayáašáaci ~ sáašáaci (IV ~ II)
- to be stuck: -qagáyaM, šagáya 'I am stuck' (III)
 -âagáyaM, šâagáya
 -âagayaN-iiD, šâakayani

- to be talk-
ative: -(q)ázáʔaN, kázá 'he is talkative'
-áazáʔaN, gáazá
-áazíʔa, gáazíʔa
- to throw: -áawiiY, sáawi 'I threw it' (II)
(dual, regular)
-qáawiiY-ʔVVD, šáawiiʔi
- to throw
away: -átizuwiiY, sátiçuwi 'I threw it away' (II)
(dual, regular)
-šatizuwiiY-ʔVVD, šáatiçuwiiʔi
- to wake up: -'izáačúwaN(M), kizáačúwa 'he woke up'
-áizáačúwaN(M), gáizáačúwa
-'áazáačúwaN(M), káazáačúwa (II)
- to be
walking: -šanažədeyaW, sēenaçəteya 'I am walking'
-qjéeyáaN, sətéeyá
-jéʔegúyaN, sədéegúya
- to win: -jíšiyaW, zíšiya 'he won'
(dual, regular)
-šaašiyaW-aaD, gáašiyawa

A few themes that are not intransitive verbs can best be considered at this point:

- to be a fast
runner: -Jíiyái, sgúiyái 'I am a fast runner' (static)
-aʔáyái, sgaʔáyái 'we are fast runners'
-šaidyái, sgáidyái 'we are fast runners'
- to find: -JuyáinaW, síyáina 'I found him' (transitive)
(dual prefix, regular)
-úwadyáinaW, síwadyáina 'I found them'
- to know: -ú:níM, sfuní 'I know him' (transitive)
(dual prefix, regular)
-šizuuníM, sēiçuuní 'I know them (plural)'
- to lean: -'jígúta∅-iS, cígúti 'it is leaning; it is a bridge' (impersonal)
-áigúta∅-iS, gáigúti 'they are leaning'
(plural, unattested)
- to lie down: -JiikaiD, skúikai 'I am lying down'
(dual, regular)
-júucai, sədíucai 'we are lying down'

The singular and dual are static themes; the plural is an intransitive theme (Section 410).

to look for:	-Ju'yáibaaD(N), zi'yáipa 'he looked for him' (transitive) (dual, regular) -úwát'yáibaaD(N), gúwát'yáipa 'he looked for them'
to lose:	-JúyawaaN, sí'yawa 'I lost it; I told him to go' (transitive) (dual, regular) -a'í'zawaaN, se'í'çawa 'I told them to go'
to spend the night:	-Júyáaska, skúyáaska 'I spent the night' (static) (dual, regular) -âiyáaska, sgâiyáaska 'we spent the night'
to take:	-JúyúuzeeY, sí'yúuce 'I took him' (transitive) -âa'ayuuzeeY, sêe'eyuuce 'I took them' -âizúuzeeY, séizúuce 'I took them'
to tend:	-JúyúugaiY, sí'yúukai 'I tended him' (transitive) -âa'ayuugaiY, sêe'eyuukai 'I tended them' -âizúugaiY, séizúukai 'I tended them'
to wait for:	-JúyúukamiŞ, skúyúukami 'he waited for me' (transitive) -âa'ayuukamiŞ, sgâa'aguukami 'he waited for us' -âizúukamiŞ, séizúukami 'he waited for us'

||7.s A synopsis of ||7.1-9 is given in table 5. The initial morphophonemic sequence that is effected by the subrule is listed, followed by the morphophonemic shape of the sequence that results after {dl} and {pl} are prefixed. The accent of the resulting form is given only if it is not predictable from the accent of the thematic syllable. The thematic syllables that have been recorded with the number prefixes for each initial type are listed in the last column. The accents of the thematic syllables are not listed except in the case of ||u:||, where the type of accent conditions the shape of the resulting form.

||8 A few stems that have ||y|| or ||ý|| as the first consonant of the stem replace the consonant with ||z||, ||dy||, or ||ty|| when the plural prefix precedes. The plural prefix is irregular with these forms (see ||7.10). The changes may be grouped as follows:

	without {pl}	with {pl}
(1)	y	z
(2)	y	dy
(3)	ý	z
(4)	ý	dy
(5)	ý	ty

The following list of themes that undergo this change is complete:

TABLE 5

Number Prefixes and Thematic Syllable

Rule	Initial	Dual	Plural	Thematic Syllable
7.1	Ju, $\bar{J}u$	aʔa	aʔa	Ju, $\bar{J}u$ + sonorant
7.2	Ju, $\bar{J}u$	âaʔa	âiʔi	Ju, $\bar{J}u$ + obstruent
7.3	Juu, $\bar{J}uu$	aʔau	âawâa	Juu, $\bar{J}uu$
7.4	Xui	uʔui	uʔau	ui, qui, Aui
7.5	Xu:	uʔu:	uʔa	ú:, uʔ, 'ú:
	Xu:	ûuʔu	úwâa	û:, uʔ, ú:, uʔ
7.6	Xu	uʔu	uʔa	u, uu, Au, Auu, 'u, qu, quu
7.7	Xi, Xə	aʔa(i)	aʔa	Jii, 'ji, jii, qji, qjii, 'əə
7.8	Xa	aʔa	aʔa	a, aa, Ja, Jaa, $\bar{J}a$, $\bar{J}aa$, 'a, 'aa, jaa, 'ja, qaa, au, Jau, qau, Aau
7.9	qa, Ja	aʔa	(1) áa (2) qa (3) a (4) áa	qa, qaa, qai, qau, Ja ({-qa-} and {-Jáa-})

- (1) -Júyádyu, síyátyu 'I passed by'
 -áizádyu, şáizátyu 'we passed by'
- JúyúuzeeY, síyúuce 'I took him with me'
 -áizúuzeeY, seízúuce 'I took them with me'
- JúyúugaiY, síyúukai 'I tended him'
 -áizúugaiY, seízúukai 'I tended them'
- JúyúukamiŞ, síyúukami 'I waited for him'
 -áizúukamiŞ, seízúukami 'I waited for them'
- Júyámastuø, síyámastu 'I am hungry'
 -aʔízámastuø, şaʔízámastu 'we are hungry'
- JúyawaaN, zíyawa 'he lost it'
 -aʔízawaaN, gaʔíčawa 'he lost them'
- 'áyawaaN, sáyawa 'I am lost'
 -'aʔízawaaN, saʔíčawa 'we are lost'

- (2) - 'jáyáaN, síyá 'I was born'
 -áidyáaN, šáidyá 'we were born'
 (The same change is found with - 'jáyáaN-qiš 'to be alive';
 see || 7.10)
- Jíiyái, sgúiyái 'I am a fast runner'
 -áidyái, sgáidyái 'we are fast runners'
- (3) -jíyáadyuwiiY, síyáatywi 'I am first'
 -áizáadyuwiiY, šáizáatywi 'we are first'
- (4) -JuýáiNaW, ziyáiNa 'he found him'
 -úwádyáiNaW, gúwádyáiNa 'he found them'
- (5) -Juýaibaad(N), skúyáipa 'he looked for me'
 -úwátyaibaad(N), sgúwátyáipa

A number of other themes show somewhat similar irregularities:

- QáuyástíM, šáuyástí 'I washed one piece of clothing'
 -'úitée'estíM, síutée'estí 'I washed several'
- QáinaD-aN, šáinata 'I roasted a piece of meat'
 -'úitáinaD-aN, síufáinata 'I roasted some meat'
- qjýáčəN-iš, cíyáčəni 'it is burned'
 -qjútáčəN-iš, cítáčəni 'they are burned'
- ú:yáabəN, gúyáapə 'he went wading'
 -úuza?abəN, gúuçaapə 'he fell in (water?)'

The members of each pair are certainly related, but not by any recurrent derivational pattern. The first two pairs are intransitive verb themes; such forms take number affixes, but for subject, not for what is here translated as the object. The themes of the third pair are impersonal themes; impersonal themes are not inflected for number, but they may include a number prefix in derived forms (Section 415).

|| 9.0 Some intransitive verb themes undergo a thematic syllable expansion, symbolized (TSE), when the plural suffix is added. The shape of the expansion can usually be predicted by the morphophonemic shape of the thematic syllable.

Examples are given in three forms: basic form, morphophonemic form after the application of || 9, and phonemic form.

|| 9.1 (TSE) + 'u, 'ú > 'úwá. The expanded syllable undergoes further accent changes defined in || 22. Examples:

(TSE) + -'úskúmeN-qaaD > -'úwáskúmen-qaa: suwáskúména 'we fell in the water'

(TSE) + -'u?índyuzaN-qaaD > -'úwá?índyuzan-qaa: suwá?íntyuzána 'we made fools of ourselves, just like Indians'

(TSE) + -'utâañizaN-qaaD > -'úwátâañizan-qaaD: kúwatâañizána 'they worked'

Cf. súksúme 'I fell in the water'; su?íntyuca 'I made a fool of myself'; kutâañiça 'he worked'

The expansion is not found with -'účaN 'to fall'; kúčána 'they fell'; cf. kúča 'he fell'

|| 9.2 (TSE) + 'úu > 'úuwáa (if followed by an obstruent); > 'úwá (if followed by a sonorant). The expanded syllable undergoes further accent changes defined in || 22. Examples:

(TSE) + -'úučáwaN-qaaD > -'úuwáačáwan-qaa: kúuwáačúwána 'they stole'

(TSE) + -'úumáacáacáazaN-qaaD > -'úwámáacáan-qaa: kuwámáacáazána 'they made jerky'

Cf. kúučáwa 'he stole'; kúumáacáaça 'he made jerky'

|| 9.3 (TSE) + 'ui > 'uwau; the accent of the thematic syllable occurs with the second expanded syllable:

(TSE) + -'uíbéezaN-qaaD > -'uwáubéezan-qaa: kuwáubéezána 'they lied'

(TSE) + -'úisdâaW-aaD > -'uwâusdâaw-aa: suwâusdâawa 'we took a sack'

Cf. kúibéeça 'he lied'; súisdá 'I took a sack'

|| 9.4 (TSE) + 'i, 'í > Qá?a. The accent following the thematic syllable is usually lost. The expanded syllable undergoes further accent changes defined in || 23. Examples:

(TSE) + -'ídyéəzaN-qaaD > -Qá?adyəəzan-qaa: ka?áatyəəzána 'they stretched'

(TSE) + -'isípazaN-qaaD > -Qá?asipazan-qaa: sâasipazána 'we blinked our eyes'

(TSE) + -'ináaM-qeeD > -Qá?anáam-qee: ka?âanáame 'they looked out'

Cf. kidyéəca 'he stretched'; sisípaca 'I blinked my eyes'; kináu 'he looked out'

|| 9.5 (TSE) + Qau > 'úwáa (if the following syllable is accented); > 'úuwáa (if the following syllable is unaccented). Examples:

(TSE) + -QáudyáazaN-qaaD > -'úuwáadyáazan-qaa: kúuwáadyáazána 'they got married'

(TSE) + -QáukačaN-qaaD > -'úuwáakačan-qaa: súuwáakačána 'we see ourselves'

Cf. ka?áudyáaça 'he got married'; sáukača 'I see myself'

|| 9.6 A few themes undergo irregular expansion. In the following list the theme is written without (TSE), followed by the form with the expansion. The final morphophonemic consonant is written with the forms. The first five themes are exceptions to || 9.1 and || 9.2; the remaining themes have thematic syllables not found in the forms treated in the preceding subrules:

- 'u?úkaN; -'uwáakaN 'to look around'
- 'úsúmé?estaaN; -'úwáasúmé?estaaN ~ -'áisúmé?estaaN 'to learn'
- 'úwíišaN; -'úwáawíišaN ~ -'úwíišaN 'to undress' (the second alternate irregularly shows no expansion)
- 'úutiM; -'áiwátiM 'to go together'
- 'úsdýúwaaN; -'áisdýúwaaN ~ -'áisdýuwaan 'to be sweating'
- Aú:kasdyaN; -'áiwakasdyaØ 'to plan'
- 'áatišēeyuzaN; -'áayáitišēeyuzaN 'to slide'
- 'á?udyúmizaN; -'úwáadyúmizaN 'to learn'
- 'áayúudya; -'áayúudyaN ~ -'áiwáayúudya ~ -QáayúudyaiM 'to make a living, support oneself'
- 'é?əčáiM; Qáačai?M 'to close the eyes'
- QáisdýúB; -QáisdýúB 'to defecate'

|| 9.8 The plural suffix is sometimes omitted in themes that have (TSE): súwatáanižána ~ súwatáaniča 'we worked'. The expansion alone marks such forms as plural. The plural suffix is usually found with themes that have the thematic syllables ||'u||, ||'uu||, and ||'ui|| (|| 9.1-3), is often omitted with ||'i|| (|| 9.4) and is usually omitted with ||Qau|| (|| 9.5). The expansion is optional with ||Qau||; thus there are three possible treatments for such themes in the plural: (1) plural suffix, (2) (TSE), and (3) (TSE) and plural suffix. No themes have been recorded with all three types of treatments, but there are many recordings of themes with two of the three types: súwáadyáača ~ súwáadyáazána 'we got married'; sáyéezána ~ súwáayéeca 'we made up our minds'. There seems to be no difference in meaning between the alternates.

The structural status of (TSE) is not clear. The expanded syllable is similar to the thematic syllable plus the plural prefix (cf. the synopsis of (TSE) in table 6 and of {pl} in table 5). The primary difference between the two is that coarticulation morphophonemes are found with the expanded syllables. Thus it would appear that the expansion could be treated as an allomorph, or set of allomorphs, of the plural prefix. It is not convenient, however, because a basic distinction is made between those intransitive verb themes that take the number prefixes and those that take the number suffixes (Section 410). The thematic syllable expansions, as well as the harmonic plural suffix (Section 241), make it difficult

TABLE 6

Thematic Syllable Expansion

Rule	Thematic Syllable	(TSE) Plus Thematic Syllable
9.1	'u, 'ú	'úwá
9.2	'úu	'úwáa (before an obstruent)
	'úu	'úwá (before a sonorant)
9.3	'ui	'úwau
9.4	'i, 'í	Qá'a
9.5	Qau	'úwáa (before an accented syllable)
	Qau	'úwáa (before an unaccented syllable)

to maintain a clear-cut distinction between these two theme types, at least in regard to the plural (the distinction is almost always clear for the dual). If the distinction were not kept, it would be more difficult to account for the allomorphy of the pronominal prefixes (Section 230).

||10.0 A number of coarticulation morphophonemes have been set up to account for terminal changes of morphemes, changes that are usually conditioned by the following morpheme. There are two groups of coarticulation morphophonemes, called primary and secondary. The primary group, ||q, ' , j||, accounts for phonologically predictable changes and are treated in ||11.

The secondary group, the subject of this rule, consists of ||J, J̄, Q, A||. They are limited to theme initial position, and account for alternations of pronominal prefixes. In effect, they are set up to account for alternations of the primary group, for example ||J|| becomes ||q|| after certain prefixes, and ||j|| after others; the effect of ||q|| and ||j|| are then described in ||11.

In the following subrules reference is made to the pronominal prefixes which are listed in Section 230, table 9. The prefixes are grouped into four allomorphic sets, labeled by Roman numerals. Each of the secondary morphophonemes is found with only one set: ||J|| and ||J̄|| with set I; ||Q|| with set II; and ||A|| with set III. There are several possible analyses of the secondary morphophonemes and of the allomorphic pronominal prefix sets. An alternate analysis of one effects the analysis of the other.

||10.1 The morphophonemes ||J|| and ||J̄||, found after set I pronominal prefixes, undergo the following changes:

- (1) J, J̄ > q after ||j||, and after ||a||
- (2) J > qj, and J̄ > j after ||u||

(3) J, \bar{J} > j after a consonant

The rule can also be stated in terms of the morphological environment instead of the morphophonemic environment:

(1) J, \bar{J} > q after: all the 1(-3) prefixes except the negative prefix; all obviative prefixes; all 1-2 prefixes; the expective prefix; the 3-1 negative prefix; the indefinite-obviative prefix

(2) J > qj, and \bar{J} > j after: all 2-1 prefixes; the 3-1 nonmodal prefix

(3) J, \bar{J} > j elsewhere

The first set of statements, made in terms of the morphophonemic environment, is preferred because it is more concise. In this respect the development of ||J|| and || \bar{J} || differs from that of ||Q|| and ||A|| (||10.2-3).

The nonmodal paradigms of - \bar{J} iitaaN 'to step on it, him' and - \bar{J} ústí?iD 'to give someone water' illustrate these changes. Three forms are given for each member of the paradigms: the morphophonemic form before the application of ||10.1, the morphophonemic form after its application, and the phonemic form. Rules ||11-15 in particular apply in accounting for the final phonemic form. The forms are to be glossed 'I stepped on him, you stepped on him', etc:

1-3	sj- \bar{J} iitaa	sj-qiiitaa	šiiita
2-3	š- \bar{J} iitaa	š-jiiitaa	šiiita
3-3	g- \bar{J} iitaa	g-jiiitaa	ziiita
obv.	gj- \bar{J} iitaa	gj-qiiitaa	ćiiita
1-2	ša- \bar{J} iitaa	ša-qiiitaa	šáiiita
3-2	gəz- \bar{J} iitaa	gəz-jiiitaa	kədiitaa
2-1	dyy- \bar{J} iitaa	dyy-qjiiitaa	tyúitaa
3-1	sgu- \bar{J} iitaa	sgu-qjiiitaa	skúitaa
1-3	sj- \bar{J} ústí?i	sj-qústí?i	śístí
2-3	š- \bar{J} ústí?i	š-jústí?i	šístí
3-3	g- \bar{J} ústí?i	g-jústí?i	zístí
obv.	gj- \bar{J} ústí?i	gj-qústí?i	ćístí
1-2	ša- \bar{J} ústí?i	ša-qústí?i	šástí
3-2	gəz- \bar{J} ústí?i	gəz-jústí?i	kədistí
2-1	dyy- \bar{J} ústí?i	dyy-jústí?i	dyústí
3-1	sgu- \bar{J} ústí?i	sgu-jústí?i	sgústí

||10.2 The morphophoneme ||Q||, found after set II prefixes, becomes:

(1) ||q|| after the 1st person nonmodal prefix, all 2nd person prefixes, and the expective prefix; and

(2) ||'V?'|| after all 1st person prefixes except the nonmodal, all 3rd person prefixes, and the indefinite prefix (see ||15 for the development of ||V||).

The nonmodal paradigm of -QáuyézaN 'to make up one's mind' illustrates these changes. The procedure used in listing the paradigms in || 10.1 is used here:

1st	s-Qáuyéza	s-qáuyéza	śáuyéca
2nd	ṣ-Qáuyéza	ṣ-qáuyéza	ṣáuyéca
3rd	g-Qáuyéza	g-'V?áuyéza	ka?áuyéca
ind.	sg-Qáuyéza	sg-'V?áuyéza	ska?áuyéca

|| 10.3 The morphophoneme ||A||, found after set III prefixes, becomes:

- (1) ||q|| after all 1st person prefixes except the negative, all 2nd person prefixes, and the expective prefix; and
- (2) ||a|| after the 1st person negative prefix, all 3rd person prefixes, and the indefinite prefix.

The nonmodal paradigm of -Aúnúutii 'ankle' illustrates these changes. The procedure used in listing the paradigms in || 10.1 is used here:

1st	s-Aúnúutii	s-qúnúutii	śúnúuti
2nd	gəz-Aúnúutii	gəz-qúnúutii	kuzúnúuti
3rd	g-Aúnúutii	g-áunúutii	gáunúuti
ind.	sg-Aúnúutii	sg-áunúutii	sgáunúuti

|| 11.0 The coarticulation morphophonemes ||q||, ||' ||, and ||j|| are set up to account for three morphophonemic processes, glottalization, aspiration, and palatalization, respectively. These processes affect the preceding consonant, which is usually part of a pronominal prefix. The glottalizing and aspirating morphophonemes usually condition a change in the manner of articulation. The palatalizing morphophoneme conditions a change in the point of articulation, and in addition the morphophoneme sometimes becomes a vowel. The term "palatalize" is not to be confused with the term "palatal." The latter term refers to a class of phonemes (Section 110).

In describing these three processes, the consonants are placed in a morphophonemic alignment. The alignment of single obstruents and sibilant clusters is shown in Table 7. The morphophonemic alignment of the sonorants is the same as the phonemic alignment given in Section 110. The coarticulation morphophonemes have no effect on the manner consonants.

|| 11.1 A plain (that is, unglottalized) consonant plus ||q|| becomes a glottalized consonant. The glottalization takes place when a vowel or ||j|| intervenes. ||q|| has no effect on a preceding manner consonant and is lost.

The nonmodal and dubitative paradigms of -qáusa 'to be slow' with set I pronominal prefixes illustrates the changes. The procedure used in listing the paradigms in || 10.1 is used here:

	<u>Nonmodal</u>			<u>Dubitative</u>		
1st	sj-qáusa	śj-áusa	śéusa	tV?j-qáusa	tV?j-áusa	te?éusa
2nd	ş-qáusa	ş-áusa	şáusa	ç-qáusa	ç-áusa	çáusa
3rd	g-qáusa	k-áusa	káusa	dy-qáusa	č-áusa	čáusa

In the remaining examples the form is written phonemically, with pertinent morphemes written in morphophonemic forms:

śâitâ 'I stepped on you'; prefix şa-, theme -JîiâaN, ||-qîitâa|| 10.1
 nîitâagú 'he will step on it'; prefix nj-, theme ||-qîitâa|| 10.1
 čâukîini 'his friend (dubitative)'; prefix dy-, theme -qâukîini
 zîsúméestaahâ 'they taught him'; theme -Jîsúmé?estâaN, suffix
 -qaaD (see || 1)

TABLE 7

Morphophonemic Alignment of Obstruents

<u>Single Obstruents</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u> ← <u>4</u>	<u>5</u> ← <u>6</u>		
Occlusives:						
unaspirated	b		d	dy	z	g
aspirated	p		t	č	c	k
glottalized	p̣		ṭ	č̣	c̣	ḳ
Sibilants						
plain		s	ś	ş		
glottalized		ṣ	ṣ́	ş̣		
 z :						
unaspirated			d	z		
glottalized			ṭ	č̣		
 ç :						
aspirated			č	ç		
glottalized				ç̣		
<u>Sibilant Clusters</u>			<u>3</u> ←	<u>4-5</u> ←	<u>6</u>	
unaspirated			sd	sḍy	sg	
aspirated			st	sṭy	sk	
glottalized			ṣṭ	ṣṭy	ṣḳ	

Normally, $dy + q > \check{c}$. In the 3rd person dubitative prefix of set IV, however, $dy- + q > \check{c} \sim \check{t}y-$; and in the 2-1 person nonmodal and dubitative prefix of set I, $dyu- + q > \check{t}yu-$:

$\check{c}áukîiniši \sim \check{t}yáukîiniši$ 'their (plural) friend (dubitative)'
 $\check{t}yûita$ 'you stepped on me'

|| 11.2 An unaspirated occlusive plus \check{t} becomes an aspirated occlusive. \check{t} has no effect in other environments, and is lost.

The nonmodal and dubitative paradigms of $-á\check{z}əkaN$ 'to smoke tobacco' with set II pronominal prefixes illustrate the changes:

	<u>Nonmodal</u>		
1st	$s-á\check{z}əka$	$s-á\check{z}əka$	$sáčəka$
2nd	$\check{s}-á\check{z}əka$	$\check{s}-á\check{z}əka$	$\check{s}áčəka$
3rd	$g-á\check{z}əka$	$k-á\check{z}əka$	$káčəka$
	<u>Dubitative</u>		
1st	$t-á\check{z}əka$	$t-á\check{z}əka$	$táčəka$
2nd	$\check{c}-á\check{z}əka$	$\check{c}-á\check{z}əka$	$\check{c}áčəka$
3rd	$dy-á\check{z}əka$	$\check{c}-á\check{z}əka$	$\check{c}áčəka$

Other examples:

$cîisipa$ 'his eyelash'; prefix $g-$, theme $-jîisipa$ (see || 11.3)
 $tîyú$ 'did he fly?'; prefix $dy-$, theme $-jîyú\emptyset$
 $śiwâameestî$ 'I made shade for him'; stem $-úwâameeSD$, suffix $-i'îiD$ (see || 1.9)

|| 11.3 Certain consonants are palatalized before $\check{t}j$. The consonants affected by this rule are listed in columns 4 and 6 of table 7, and the corresponding palatalized consonants are listed in columns 3 and 5. A sequence of two $\check{t}j$ s has the same effect as one.

The nonmodal and dubitative paradigms of $-ja'áciN$ 'to arrive' illustrate the palatalization. The pronominal prefixes (set I) are given in parenthesis:

	<u>Nonmodal</u>	<u>Dubitative</u>
1st	$se'e'áci (sj-)$	$te'e'e'áci (tV'j-)$
2nd	$\check{s}a'áci (\check{s}-)$	$\check{c}a'áci (\check{c}-)$
3rd	$za'áci (g-)$	$da'áci (dy-)$

Other examples:

$zîukača$ 'he saw him (obviative)'; prefix $gj-$, theme $-úukačaN$
 $śic'âadâaya$ 'I am pinning it'; theme $-Ju'âadyaN$, suffix $\check{z}jáayaN$
 (see || 2)
 $gáizéeśáaťa$ 'he is dreaming'; theme $-áizéeşa\emptyset$, suffix $-qjáaťaN$
 (see || 1.13)

The palatalization takes place if $\check{t}j$ or \check{t} intervenes, but not if a vowel intervenes:

cíipe 'his ear', prefix g-, theme -qjiipee
 sgústí 'he gave me water', prefix sgu-, theme -Ĵústí?iD,
 ||-jústí?i|| 10.1

The four series of palatalizable and palatalized consonants are collapsed to three for the sibilant clusters, for example, sg + j > sdyj and sdy + j > sdj. Double palatalization does not result by this rule, for example, sg + j > sdyj > sdj does not occur. Examples:

sdyáača 'someone's tooth'; prefix sg-, theme -jáača
 styáamúša 'someone's beard'; theme -'jáamúša
 stíišə 'someone's nose'; theme -qjiišəə (see ||12)
 sísiúsdáaya 'I am roping him'; theme -JusiúsdyaN, suffix =jáayaN
 (see ||2)

||j|| > ||i|| (1) before ||u|| and (2) after a consonant of a pronominal prefix that has no palatalized correspondent. The second statement applies to the following pronominal prefixes of set I: sj-, śj- 1(-3) non-modal; tV?j 1(-3) dubitative; p- 2(-3) hortative; pV?j- 3(-3) hortative; pj- obviative hortative; and nj-, ŋj- expective. The resulting vowel often undergoes morphophonemic changes described in ||13. Examples:

zíukača 'he saw him (obviative)'; prefix gj-, theme -úukačaN
 zíuśá 'he approved of him'; prefix g-, theme -JúuśâaN,
 ||-júuśâa|| 10.1

séeča 'my tooth'; prefix sj-, theme -áača (see ||13)
 séemúča 'my toe'; prefix sj-, theme -'ámúča

The palatalizing morphophoneme ||j|| can co-occur with either ||' || or ||q||:

cáamúša 'his beard'; prefix g-, theme -'jáamúša
 cíišə 'his nose'; prefix g-, theme -qjiišəə

There is no priority in the order of application of ||11.3 and ||11.1-2. Either order yields the same results, for example, in cáamúša g > z > c, or g > k > c. If two coarticulation morphophonemes are found in a theme, ||j|| is written second. This convention makes necessary the statement, given above, that palatalization also takes place when ||q|| or ||' || intervenes.

||11.4 ||z|| is not found before the aspirating morphophoneme ||' ||. It is found before the other coarticulation morphophonemes, and its development is irregular.

||z|| is not normally glottalized by ||q|| if it is part of a pronominal prefix:

kəzúkîni 'your friend'; prefix gəz-, theme -qáukîni
 zúkîni 'he can be your friend'; prefix z-
 kəzúunúuti 'your ankle'; theme -Aúunúutii, ||-qúunúutii|| 10.3

||z̥||, as part of a pronominal prefix, is glottalized by ||q|| if (1) the pronominal prefix belongs to set IV or (2) the pronominal prefix is found with a passive theme that has the passive thematic prefix {-qjaʔa-}:
 kəçáukĩniši 'your (plural) friend'; prefix gəz-, theme -qáukĩni-ši
 sətéeyu 'we (dual) went'; prefix səz-, theme -qjéeyu \emptyset

çáaskata 'drink! (plural)'; prefix z̥-, theme -qáaskaD-aaD (see ||7.10)
 təçaʔáašĩica 'they borrowed it from you (dubitative)'; prefix dəz-,
 theme -qjaʔáašĩizaN

If ||z̥|| is not part of a pronominal prefix, it is glottalized by ||q||. In all our examples it is also palatalized by the application of ||12: kudyaatita 'he is writing', theme -'udyáazaN, suffix ~qitaaN.

||z̥|| is not normally palatalized by ||j||: kəz̥aanú 'she gave you a bath'; prefix gəz̥-, theme -JāanúM, ||-jāanú||10.1. It is palatalized by ||j|| only if it is part of a pronominal prefix of set IV. The auxiliary {zá} (Section 461.8) offers the only clear example of this: háakúusədə 'I am ready'; prefix səz̥-, theme -JáʔaN. Elsewhere ||j|| is found with set IV pronominal prefixes in environments where the palatalization of ||z̥|| could be considered the result of ||12: sətéeyu 'we (dual) went'; prefix səz̥-, theme -qjéeyu \emptyset .

||12 Retroflex consonants and palatal stops are palatalized before front vowels (palatalization is defined in ||11.3). This change is in accord with the phonemic distributional fact that retroflex consonants and palatal stops are not found before front vowels (Section 123.1).¹³

In the following examples, the forms are written phonemically and the palatalized consonant is underlined. The morphophonemic form of the consonant before the application of this rule is given in parentheses:

kədĩita 'he stepped on you' (z̥)
 sumúšĩitita 'I am digging soapweed' (z̥; see ||29 for the change of
 d to t̥)
 šiz̥áačúwa 'you woke up' (s)
 s̥uméekúmeši 'we are watching him' (š < Š; see ||1.10)
 sugáwitita 'I am threshing grain' (dy; see ||29)
 st̥ĩni 'someone's body' (ty)

In the first example, the palatalization of the ||z̥|| in the pronominal prefix ||g-əz̥|| cannot be ascribed to the palatalizing morphophoneme (theme

¹³This rule reflects two historical changes that took place at different times. Proto-Keres did not have retroflex consonants before front vowels, and the historical change that this distributional feature reflects must have taken place in Pre-Keres times. Palatal and dental stops before front vowels fell together in Acoma after Proto-Keres times; most of the other Keres languages distinguish the two types of stops in this environment.

-JfítáaN) because of forms like kəzâanú 'she gave you a bath' (theme -JâanúM; see ||11.4).

A palatal stop in a sibilant cluster that is from a basic ||sg|| is palatalized twice if it is followed by a front vowel: the first time by ||11.3, the second time by this rule. Thus in stíni 'someone's body', the theme -'jíni, the prefix sg > sty by the application of ||11, and > st by the application of ||12.

When the second person dubitative ||ç-|| is palatalized by this rule, the resulting form is often homophonous with the third person dubitative: čizáačúwa 'did you wake up?; did he wake up?', prefixes ç-, dy-, theme -'izáačúwaM(N) (see ||11.2).

When the ||z|| of the empty morph ||-əz-|| (Section 230) is palatalized, a preceding ||z|| becomes ||dy|| (and > ty by ||29):

tyədřita 'did he step on you?'; prefix z-əz-, set I
 tyətěeyu 'did you (dual) go?'; prefix z-əz-, set IV
 tyədəetyu 'did you (plural) arrive?'; prefix z-əz-, set IV
 háakúutyədə 'are you ready?'; prefix z-əz-, set IV (auxiliary {zá})

||13 Vowel contractions take place when ||i||, ||a||, or ||u|| is added to the thematic syllable. The ||i|| is from a palatalizing morphophoneme (see ||10.1 and ||11.3), either as part of a pronominal prefix or as a theme initial coarticulation morphophoneme. The ||a|| is either part of a pronominal prefix or is from a theme initial ||A|| (see ||10.3). The ||u|| is always part of a pronominal prefix. The contractions are given in table 8. In the table, and in the formulations of rules ||13, 14, length is written by ||·|| rather than by a doubling of the vowel, so as to be able to distinguish a long thematic syllable (for example, ||u·||) from a vowel plus a thematic syllable (for example, ||u+u|| or ||uu||).

The following examples are written phonemically. The vowel sequences, before and after the application of this rule, are given with the example:

(i+á· > e·) šéenu 'I gave him a bath'
 (i+ai > ei) šéinazí 'I ran over it'
 (a+a > a) šázáaní 'I talked for you'
 (u+a > a) sgázáaní 'he talked for me'
 (i+í· > i·) šfíta 'I stepped on it'
 (a+i· > ai) ššáíta 'I stepped on you'
 (u+i· > ui) skúíta 'he stepped on me'
 (i+u > i) zísí 'he gave him a drink of water'
 (a+u > a) šásí 'I gave you a drink of water'
 (i+u· > iu) síukača 'I saw him'
 (a+u· > au) gáunúuti 'his ankle'
 (u+u· > u·) sgúukača 'he saw me'

TABLE 8

Vowel Contractions

First Vowel	Following Vowel(s)										
	a(V)	i	i·	u	u·	i+u	i+u·	ui	u:	ə(·)	ə:
i	e(V)	i	i·	i	iu	--	--	iu	iu:	i(·)	i:
a	a(V)	--	ai	a	au	--	--	au	au:	--	--
u	a(V)	--	ui	u	u·	u	u· ~	ui	u:	--	--
							ui				

(u+i+u > u) skúmína 'he spoke to me'

(u+i+u· > u· ~ ui) skúustyəkə ~ skúistyəkə 'he put beads on me'

(i+ui > iu) síučaapə 'I crossed it'

(a+ui > au) gáutyu 'he is stingy'

(u+ui > ui) sgúitaa?a 'he asked me'

(i+u: > iu:) síušánawa 'I cut his hair'

(a+u: > au:) šáušánawa 'I cut your hair'

(u+u: > u:) skušánawa 'he cut my hair'

(i+ə· > i·) sígáni 'I am blushing'

The thematic syllable ||ui|| varies freely with ||úwi·|| if the thematic syllable is, in some of the forms of its paradigms, sometimes preceded by a vowel. The accent of the thematic syllable falls on the second syllable of the disyllabic form. This variation is not found, however, with themes that have basic ||Jui|| or ||J̄ui||. The disyllabic form is most commonly found after pronominal prefixes that have a final vowel, and the monosyllabic form most commonly after a consonant:

síwíttaa?a 'I asked him'; prefix sj-, theme -úidaa?aN

gúitaa?a ~ gúwíttaa?a 'he asked him'; prefix g-

gáwíttyu ~ gáutyu 'he is stingy'; prefix g-, theme -Aúidyu

This variation is never found with a theme like -'úišazaM(N) 'to put on pants', a theme that takes set II pronominal prefixes and hence is never preceded by a vowel.

Some themes show alternations of the thematic syllable of the following type (prefixes si- < sj- and g-):

síusbéuca 'I whistled' síiska 'I drank'

kusbéuca 'he whistled' góska 'he drank'

The length of the thematic syllable for other themes is constant throughout the paradigms. Therefore the variable length morphophoneme ||: || has been set up to account for the variation in the length of the syllable, and

the themes given above are written -ú:sbéuzaN and -é:skaD. The morphophoneme is not lost by the application of this rule, as shown by the contractions listed in table 8, because $\|:\|$ also conditions accent changes treated in $\|20$.

$\|14$ Certain vocalic changes are found in sequences of two vowels separated by a glottal stop. The changes bring the sequences into conformity with the phonemic distribution described in Section 123.4. In initial syllables:

- (1) $e(\cdot)\text{?}v > e(\cdot)\text{?}e$
 (2) $v_1\text{?}v_2 > v_1\text{?}v_1v_2$.

The symbol \underline{v} stands for any vowel except $\|e\|$, length, or the morphophonemic vowel $\|V\|$. Rule $\|13$ is reapplied to the sequence v_1v_2 . These changes are especially common with the dual prefix. Examples:

- (e?a > e?e) se?éenu 'I gave them (dual) a bath'
 (e?ai > e?ei) se?éinazí 'I ran over them (dual)'
 (e?a > e?e) sêe?etyuša 'I covered them (dual)'
 (e?a > e?e) se?éšə 'my knee'
 (i?u > i?iu > i?iu) si?íukača 'I see them (dual)'
 (i?u > i?iu) si?íumayanikuya 'I made fun of them (dual)'

These changes do not normally occur when the possessive prefix {-qa-} is followed by a noun root with an initial glottal stop: ša?úyáami 'my paint brush'. There is one exception: ša?áwáaka 'my baby'; ?úwáaka 'baby'. The sequence $\|a?í\|$, found in three plural themes listed in $\|8$, is also unaffected. These changes also do not apply to the sequence $\|\acute{v}\text{?}v\|$, that is when both vowels are short, and the first vowel is accented: káu?úkuca 'he smoothed it'; theme -'á?u?úkazaN (see $\|23$).

The same vocalic changes are found in noninitial position with $\|\text{?}u\|$ from $\|\text{?}B\|$ (see $\|1.6$) and with the suffix $\|\text{?}etaaN\|$, allomorph of $\{\text{?}itaaN\}$ (see Section 441.1). The changes are regressive, however, instead of progressive: kišáu?u 'he urinated', theme -'išáa?B; kiý?éeta 'he is allowing it', theme -'iyáa?aW(N). No changes are found with certain irregular formations of classificatory verb themes ending with $\|ku?í?iD\|$ (Section 453): šemáaku?í 'I gave him a handful'.

$\|15$ The morphophoneme $\|V\|$ assimilates to the vowel preceding or following a glottal stop. In initial syllables the change is: $V\text{?}v_1 > v_1\text{?}v_1$. Elsewhere the change is $v_1\text{?}V > v_1\text{?}v_1$. The direction of assimilation is the opposite of that described in the preceding rule. Examples:

- ti?íifa 'I stepped on it (dubitative)'; prefix tV?j-
 te?éusa 'I am slow (dubitative)'
 ka?áuyéeca 'he made up his mind'; theme -QáuyéezaN,
 $\|-\text{'V?}áuyéeza\|10.2$

kiʔiisdýu 'he defecated'; theme -QíisdýúB
 cigúuʔu 'she is pregnant'; theme -JugúuʔN, ||-JugúuʔV||1.1
 šaačawaiʔi 'we had a stick race'; theme -QâačawaiY, suffix -ʔVVD
 (see ||1.7)

|| 16 ʔui > wii
 ʔiu > ýuu

This change is optional for both sequences in medial position, mandatory for ||ʔui|| in initial position. ||ʔiu|| is not found in initial position (see Section 123.4). Examples:

wíičáabáñi 'crossing'; prefix ʔ-, stem -úičaabəN (see Section 643)
 guʔúičaapə ~ guwíičaapə 'they (dual) crossed over'
 siʔíukača ~ siyúukača 'I see them (dual)'

|| 17 əCu > uCu

The change is mandatory if the empty morph ||-əʔ-|| is involved: guzúukača 'he saw you'; prefix g-əʔ-. Elsewhere the change is optional: níupugú ~ níupəgú 'he will enter'; theme -ú:bəN.

The reverse assimilation is found with the stem -úʔəgayaM 'to owe money': skúçukayámi 'he owes me money', theme -JúʔəgayaM-qiš; gâuçukaya 'he owes money', theme -AúʔəgayaM. Cf. zíčəkayámi 'he owes him money'.

In many stems that have ||ə||, ||ə ~ u|| or ||ə ~ a||. In most cases the variation is free: šépəkadá ~ šépakadá 'I used it up'. In some cases the variation is conditioned, as -qápišəN -(ʔ)í, -qápišuN elsewhere: kápišəní 'at night'; kápišu 'it is night'.

|| 18.0 There are three reduplicative morphemes, labeled {R₁}, {R₂}, and {R₃}, and one length morpheme, labeled {L}. {R₁}, {R₃}, and {L} are found with descriptive stems (Section 631), and {R₂} with a small class of stems treated in Section 632.1

|| 18.1 A monosyllabic stem plus {R₁} results in the total reduplication of the stem with no morphophonemic changes:

st'éəst'éəci 'they are straight'; cf. st'éəci 'it is straight'

The second syllable of a disyllabic stem with {R₁} is reduplicated. The resulting form often undergoes accent changes described in ||20, 21, and 22. Examples:

ćápipici 'it has lots of spots', stem ćápi-; cf. ćápici 'it has a spot'
 fákákaci 'they are square', stem fáka-; cf. fákaci 'it is square'
 muřáraci 'they are dented', stem muřa-; cf. muřáci 'it is dented'
 bérereci 'it is smooth', stem bêra- ~ beřra-; cf. sénáskáibéřeci
 'my head is smooth, I am bald' (sénáska 'my head')

|| 18.2 {R₂} has been found only with stems of the shape C[́]v- and C[́]v[́]-. When {R₂} is added, the syllable is totally reduplicated, and the resulting accent pattern is C[́]vCv[́]-. Examples:

 cáacaase 'I am breathing', stem cáa-; cf. cáase 'I took a deep breath'
 híihiika 'he grinned, off and on', stem híi-; cf. híika 'he grinned'
 bêepeeka 'they kept falling' (see || 27), stem bée-; cf. béeeka 'they fell'

|| 18.3 {R₃} has been recorded with only two stems. The forms are totally reduplicated. One form was recorded with plus juncture between the reduplicated elements; it is probably present in both forms:

 kúú+kúú 'candy', stem kúdu- ~ kú:du- 'round, spherical'
 šínašína 'cookies, crackers', stem ší:na- 'crunch, crack'

|| 18.4 {L} is found with stems of the shape CVCV and CV:CV. When {L} is added, CVCV > CV·CV and CV:CV > CV::CV. The resulting forms often undergo changes described in || 20. Examples:

 kâayuka 'they broke', stem ka:yu-; cf. káyúka 'it broke'
 kúutuka 'several bubbles formed', stem kúdu- ~ kú:du-; kútuka 'it formed a bubble'
 sáukúutuca 'I made them into balls'; cf. sáukútuca 'I made a ball'
 gúuúcaayuca 'he broke several of his things', stem cá:yu-; cf.
 gúuúcayuca 'he broke one thing of his'
 cúuyúka 'the road is washed out in several places', stem cú:yu-;
 cf. cúyúka 'it is washed out'

The initial consonant of the stem şa:di- 'tear' is glottalized when {L} is added: şáaticí 'it has several tears'; cf. şádíci 'it has one tear'.

|| 19 The morphophoneme of accent ablaut, symbolized (´), is set up to account for accent changes associated with certain suffixes. Every syllable of a word that has accent ablaut takes the high accent; any accent present in the basic form is replaced by the high accent. Accent ablaut with length, symbolized (´´), behaves like accent ablaut, and in addition the vowel before (´´) is lengthened. Under certain conditions described in || 22 a short syllable may lose the high accent conditioned by (´) and (´´). Other changes are described in || 23. The suffixes that contain these morphophonemes are:

- (´)í, Section 762
- (´), Section 643
- (´)wá, -(´)yá, Section 651.1
- (´)ná, Section 651.3
- (´)mí, Section 652
- (´)yá, Section 652.2
- (´)ma, -(´´)ma, Section 654.2
- (´´)ná, Section 644

-(´)káwáaka, Section 652.4

-(´)zé, Section 653.1

-(´)ci, Section 654.1

-(´), Section 415

Examples:

šízáačúwání 'when I woke him up', suffix -(´)í

súwágání 'when I got dressed', suffix -(´)í

dyáanáwá 'four times', dyána 'four', suffix -(´)wá

kabáaná 'pancakes', kába- 'thick', suffix -(´)ná

šúumáeci 'graveyard', šúumə 'corpse', suffix -(´)ci

A final syllable with an initial obstruent or glottalized sonorant is normally unaccented:

kúustí 'when he died', suffix -(´)í

síutáasti 'when I hung it up', suffix -(´)í

sáamáwáistími 'when I washed my hands', suffix -(´)í

?úyáasbáani 'grinding stone', suffix -(´)

There are a few exceptions:

tárérégá 'car', suffix -(´)

ziwáwáasáa 'patients', suffix -(´); see || 23

|| 20 Forms with an accented variable length morphophoneme undergo accent changes:

v'cv > ́cv

vv'cv > ́vvcv

In the formulation, v indicates any vowel and ´ indicates any accent.

In the following examples two forms are given, the first the morphophonemic form before the application of || 20, the second the phonemic form. The forms often undergo further morphophonemic changes described in || 22, 28, and 29.

siu:wisgəza > sɸuwiskəca 'I scratched it'

gu:wisgəza > gúwískəca 'he scratched it'

siu:šánawa > síušánawa 'I cut his hair'

gu:šánawa > kušánawa 'he cut his hair'

čačayuzi > čáčáyuci 'it was all shot up', theme -qjačayuziš (see || 5.2)

siu:čayuzi > síučayuca 'I shot it'

gu:máyaniguya > gumáyanikuya 'he made fun of him'

ka:yuga > káyúka 'it broke'

kaa:yuga > káayuka 'they broke' ({L}, || 18.4)

mu:rāzi > muráci 'it is dented'

If unaccented, the variable length morphophoneme is lost, and there is no accent change:

síu:sbéuza > síusbéuca 'I whistled'

gú:sbéuza > kusbéuca 'he whistled' (see ||22)

||21 A short unaccented syllable before an unaccented syllable with an initial glottalized consonant is sometimes accented.¹⁴ The change is mandatory in forms followed by an initial vowel suffix that contains ||q|| (see ||1, table 2), -tíza 'group of . . .' (Section 646), -ma(-zé) 'like' (Section 654.3), or {R₁} (see ||18.1).

Examples are listed in the same fashion as in ||20:

sutáañizáñedyæ > sutáañizáñetyæ 'we (dual) worked', suffix -qədyæZ

súwátáañizánaa > súwátáañizána 'we (plural) worked', suffix -qaaD

sutáañizánae > sutáañizánae 'I went to work', suffix -qeeY

?utáañizáni > ?utáañizáni 'to work', suffix -qiŞ

madáikuŋiŋa > madáikuŋiŋa 'Grape Men', madáiku 'grapes'

wagêeraŋiŋa > wagêeraŋiŋa 'cowboys', wagêera 'cowboy'

kaşâidímazé > kaşâidímazé 'it feels like summer', kaşâiti 'summer'

tákakazi > tákakazi 'they are square' (see ||22)

The change is optional in other constructions:

sêi?ícaatya ~ sêi?ícaatya 'I pinned them (plural)', see ||7.2

sáudímítita ~ sáudímítita 'I am learning', suffix ~qitaaN

The change optionally takes place if the form is followed by the suffixes -náata (Section 442.2), -qáayaN (||1; Section 441.2), or -nú (Section 412). This change takes place contrary to the restriction that the following syllable must be unaccented:

síukačánaata ~ síukačánaata 'I always see him'

sáišataaya ~ sáišataaya 'I am spreading it out'

skučáwanú ~ skučáwanú 'I am a thief'

||22.0 Under certain phonological conditions short syllables lose their accent. The accent loss is limited to certain constructions (see ||22.s). The rule is illustrated by forms with accent ablaut. By the operation of ||19 all syllables of such forms, except certain final syllables, have the high accent.

¹⁴This rule reflects a historical change that took place in Acoma after the break up of Proto-Keres. Cf. Proto-Keres *húwaka, Acoma húwaka 'sky' (capitals indicate voiceless vowels). In certain morphological environments the accent is lost on the analogy of the many forms that are not accented. Thus sêi?ícaatya 'I pinned them' is historically correct, and sêi?ícaatya is a reformation based on the analogy of the many forms like sêi?ipənai?i 'he put them in'. In those cases where the change is mandatory the unglottalized forms are much less frequent, and the analogical shift to the unaccented forms did not take place.

|| 22.1 A short syllable between obstruents and followed by an accented syllable loses its accent.¹⁵ These syllables are underlined in the following examples:

śisíusdyání 'when I roped him'
 ?úubəkáakáci 'nail'
 síukačání 'when I saw him'
 kúistyəgání 'when he put beads on himself'
 kubání 'at sunset'
 séinúustuzímí 'when I put the fire out'
 śíiskadáwí 'when I gave him a drink'

More than one syllable can lose the accent by this rule:

kəpišání 'at night'
 śapəgání 'early evening'
 śipəkáawání 'when I chopped wood'
 kəçəkání 'his cigarettes'

If three successive syllables of this sort occur, the second syllable does not lose the accent (cf. Section 121). The retained accent is underlined:

kəzácəkání 'your cigarettes'
 kagəçədíní 'when it is in bloom'
 sucítistáaní 'when I was thinking'

In one form an initial glottal stop configures like an obstruent, in two others it does not:¹⁶

?usdyáčci 'hat'
 ?ícítistááni 'mind, willpower'
 ?úfidúmíci 'headband'

In noninitial position glottal stop configures like an obstruent if either the preceding or following syllable is long (if both are short, || 23 applies):

číutée?estími 'dishwater'
 ?ái?icáadyáni 'clothespin'
 zi?íukačañaati 'when they (plural) saw them (dual)'

There are a few irregular forms. The accent is retained in káibátyuzání 'when it banged shut' and súkaaza?ání 'when I announced'. The accent is lost from long syllables in: síučuušání 'when I made a hole'; séityuceeyí 'when I dragged it'; súkaaza?ání 'when I announced'. Regular variants were recorded for two of the forms: síuzúušání, séityuzéeyí.

¹⁵This rule reflects a general historical change: Proto-Keres *?ádauší > Acoma ?adáuší 'cooking pot'; *bíšəná > pišəná 'purple'.

¹⁶In the second and third form the following syllable begins with a glottalized consonant. These two forms can be accounted for by reversing the order of || 21 and || 22. Such a reversal cannot be used for other forms, especially forms with {R₁} (see || 18, and Section 222).

|| 22.2 A short accented syllable before or after a glottalized sonorant usually loses its accent. If both of the syllables are short, either syllable (usually the first) may lose the accent, but never both:

suwáaméešání 'when I put up a tent'

šeméekúyyáwí 'when I gave him a handful'

gúkačánádyséci 'when they (dual) saw it'

ziʔíukačánáati 'when they (plural) saw them (dual)'

ʔúyyástími 'laundry'

kutániča 'worker'

šimináʔásti 'when I made stuffed tripe'

kəčániši 'when he was standing'

cičəniši ~ cičəniši 'the big one' (the accent of the first syllable should be lost by || 22)

sunáciimi 'when I took a lunch'

séyátáani 'when I stomped'

The change does not always take place:

ʔúmáasgənáasti 'diapers'

sáamáwáistími 'when I washed my hands'

ʔúmúuráci 'skirt'

šáasbánásúméni 'when I washed my hair'

síyámásti 'when I am hungry'

One would expect free variation to occur (that is, between the operation and nonoperation of this rule), but it has not been recorded.

|| 22.s The accent losses described in || 22.1-2 are limited to certain constructions:

(1) Forms with accent ablaut (see || 19). All the examples illustrating the rules are such forms.

(2) Descriptives, with or without {R₁}. Rule || 22.2 always applies and applies only to the syllable before the first glottalized sonorant:

muráci 'it is dented', stem muʔrá- (see || 20)

muráraci 'they are dented' (see || 18, 20)

takákaci 'they are square', stem taʔka- (see || 18, 21)

(3) Themes with ||: ||, the variable length morphophoneme (see || 13, 20):

kusbéuca 'he whistled', prefix g-, theme -ú:sbéucaN

kušánawa 'he cut his hair', theme -u:šánawaN

gumáyanikuya 'he made fun of him', theme -u:mumáyaniguyaN

čačáyuci 'it was all shot up', prefix g-, theme -qja:čačáyuziŠ

A few themes do not undergo the change: gsú 'he knows how', theme -ú:ssM.

(4) Forms with (TSE) that result in $\|\acute{u}w\acute{a}\|$ (see $\|\text{9.1-2}\|$). If the following syllable is a glottalized sonorant, both syllables of the expanded form may lose the accent:¹⁷

$s\acute{u}w\acute{a}sk\acute{u}m\acute{e}n\acute{a}$ 'we fell in the water'

$s\acute{u}w\acute{a}t\acute{a}n\acute{i}z\acute{a}n\acute{a}$ 'we worked'

$k\acute{u}w\acute{a}m\acute{a}c\acute{a}z\acute{a}n\acute{a}$ 'they made jerky'

(5) Short syllables that result when the thematic prefixes $\|-'i-\|$, $\|-qja-\|$, and $\|-'-\|$ (see $\|\text{5.2}, \|\text{5.6}\|$) are added:

$k\acute{i}n\acute{e}o\acute{c}a$ 'he became rigid'

$k\acute{i}k\acute{u}t\acute{u}ca$ 'he bunched up into a ball'

$\acute{c}ak\acute{u}t\acute{u}ci$ 'there are a whole bunch of lumps'

$s\acute{u}m\acute{e}y\acute{u}ca$ 'I got bruised'

This rule does not always operate, however: $k\acute{i}s\acute{a}f\acute{a}$ 'he is fat'.

The accent loss occurs sporadically with other forms:

$\acute{c}uk\acute{u}t\acute{i}\acute{c}a$ '(both) twins', $\acute{c}uku$ 'twin(s)', $-\acute{t}iza$ 'group of . . .', see

$\|\text{21}\|$ (cf. $\acute{h}ast\acute{i}\acute{f}i\acute{c}a$ 'group of old men', $\|\acute{h}ast\acute{i}\|$ 'old man')

$ciy\acute{a}a\acute{f}a$ 'he is flying', $< -'j\acute{i}y\acute{u}\emptyset + -qj\acute{a}a\acute{f}aN$

$s\acute{i}usk\acute{u}m\acute{a}t\acute{a}aya$ 'I am hiding' $< -'u\acute{i}sk\acute{u}m\acute{a}SD + -q\acute{a}ayaN$ (see $\|\text{21}\|$)

$\acute{h}ast\acute{i}iz\acute{a}$ 'he is very old' $< \acute{h}ast\acute{i} + \text{auxiliary } \{z\acute{a}\}$ (see $\|\text{3.2}\|$);

$\acute{h}ast\acute{i}iz\acute{e}e\acute{s}i$ 'old man', suffix $-z\acute{e}e\acute{s}i$ (see $\|\text{3.2}\|$)

$\acute{s}i\acute{u}d\acute{i}m\acute{i}$ 'I planted it for him'; $\acute{s}\acute{e}e\acute{s}aaz\acute{i}m\acute{i}$ 'I cut it for him'; themes

$-\acute{J}\acute{u}d\acute{i}M$, $-\acute{J}\acute{a}a\acute{s}aaz\acute{i}M$, suffix $-q\acute{i}'iD$

$\|\text{23.0}\|$ The morphophonemic sequences $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ and noninitial $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ (\acute{v} stands for a short vowel) are set up in the basic forms of a number of morphemes to account for alternations that are found with accent ablaut ($\|\text{19}\|$). These sequences do not occur phonemically. This rule describes not only the development of these two sequences, but also the development of $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$, a sequence usually from $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ or $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ plus accent ablaut.

$\|\text{23.1}\|$ The sequence $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ has three types of development:

(1) $\acute{v}^?v > \acute{v}^?v \sim \acute{v}^?v$ (in free variation?)

(2) $\acute{v}^?v > \acute{v}v$

(3) $\acute{v}^?v > \acute{v}v$

When the glottal stop is lost and the two vowels are identical, the second

¹⁷One of the differences between (TSE) and $\{pl\}$ is that both syllables that result from the former are usually accented, and then $\|\text{22}\|$ applies. Internal and external evidence shows that the first syllable that resulted when $\{pl\}$ was prefixed used to be accented, and the accent was lost by the historical change reflected in this rule. Cf. the irregular form $sg\acute{u}w\acute{a}\acute{t}y\acute{a}ipa$ 'they (plural) looked for me' ($\|\text{8}\|$) in which the sonorant is not glottalized and the preceding syllable is accented; and cf. Santa Ana $\acute{s}aiy^?a\acute{z}uwA$, Acoma $\acute{s}ay\acute{a}az\acute{u}wa$, $< \text{Proto-Keres } *s\acute{a}y\acute{a}az\acute{u}wA$ 'you paid them'.

vowel is replaced by length (there is no change in the writing, however, because of the orthographic convention of writing long vowels as double vowels).

The first type is found in stem final position and in suffixes. All of the following examples have accent ablaut:

śíwáistání?íti 'when I dished up stew for him', suffix -'í?iD

śíufáani?íti 'when I tried it for him'

śidyá?ání 'when I held it', stem -údyá?aD(N)

śezá?ání 'when I talked to him', stem -zá?aN

śíube?éni 'when I told him', stem -bé?eN

The sequence in -qámá?ágə 'daughter' (a form that does not have accent ablaut) is treated as though it were stem final: śámá?ákə ~ śáma?ákə 'my daughter'.

The second type is found in the first of two sequences of $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$. All of the following examples have accent ablaut:

śíustyэгáni?íti 'when I put beads on him', theme -Ījú?isdyaгəN-'í?iD

śezáani?íti 'when I talked for him', theme -Ījazá?aN-'í?iD

Cf. wíistyэгáni 'beads'; śezá?ání 'when I talked to him' (both forms have accent ablaut)

The third type is found elsewhere. All of the following examples have accent ablaut:

wíyáasíusdyáni 'hobble', stem -usí?usdyaN

?úyúuskámi 'pottery paint', stem -úyú?uskaM̄

śíuzáabóni 'when I fell in', theme -úza?abəN

sədəégúiyi 'when we (plural) went', plural theme -je?éguY (see || 7.10)

śáasúwíni 'when we (dual) wore shoes', dual theme -a?ásúwiM(N)

(see || 7.8)

There are a number of irregular forms. It is not clear whether these forms represent free variation between $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ and $\|\acute{v}v\|$ or between $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ and $\|\acute{v}v\|$; or if allomorphs are to be set up, the choice of the allomorph being dependent on the morphological environment:

śáumúur'aca 'I have a pleated skirt' (no accent ablaut); ?úmúur'áci

'pleated skirt' (accent ablaut); both from mu'ra- 'dented'

kagəçəťáaťa 'it is in bloom' (no accent ablaut); suffix {-náaťaN};

kagəçəťaťání 'when it is in bloom' (accent ablaut)

śáyúuskámí 'when I painted' (accent ablaut); ?úyúuskámi 'pottery paint' (accent ablaut)

|| 23.2 The sequence $\|\acute{v}^?v\|$ becomes $\|\acute{v}v\|$; if the two vowels are identical, the second vowel is replaced by length:

śísústya 'I roped him', theme -Jusí?usdyaN

śíwáistaníita 'we dished up stew for him', suffix -'í?iD

śézáani 'I talked for him', stem -zá?aN

|| 23.3 The sequence $\|v?v\|$ has two developments, depending on its position in the word:

$v?v > \acute{v}v$ varying freely with $v?v$ in initial position

$v?v > vv$ in noninitial position

If the two vowels are identical, the second vowel is replaced by length:

$ti?i\acute{s}\acute{a}aci - ti\acute{s}\acute{a}aci$ 'I am strong (dubitatively)', prefix $tV?j-$, theme

$-Ju\acute{s}\acute{a}azi\text{S}$

$s\acute{i}\text{u}\acute{c}aap\acute{e}$ 'I fell in', theme $-\acute{u}za?ab\acute{e}N$

|| 24 Internal word juncture¹⁸ is found before the following suffixes and auxiliaries:

$-m\acute{e}?e$ 'person of . . .', Section 647

$-n\acute{a}a\acute{t}aN$ habitual suffix, Section 442.2 (see also || 1)

{ $g\acute{u}$ } auxiliary, Section 461.1

{ $z\acute{a}$ } auxiliary, Section 461.8

{ $z\acute{e}$ } auxiliary, Section 461.9

{ $g\acute{a}a$ } auxiliary, Section 461.6

Internal word juncture is optionally lost. External juncture is also sometimes lost, in particular it is sometimes lost before the locative adverb $?\acute{e}e$ (Section 741). My recording of juncture is not accurate, and some cases of its omission may be misrecordings. But it is clear, because of the operation of || 25 and || 29, that some omissions are real and that this rule sometimes does and sometimes does not operate. The morphophonemic changes can be accounted for by stating that $\|+\|$ is optionally lost at this point in the sequence of morphophonemic rules. In addition, some forms that were not recorded with $/+ /$ are either misrecordings or else show that this rule may be reapplied after the application of || 25 and || 29.

The following examples are given in pairs. The juncture has been lost at this point in the sequence of the morphophonemic rules from the first member of the pair, but not the second:

(1) $s\acute{a}ateey\acute{a}a\acute{t}a$ 'I am hauling', suffix $\{-n\acute{a}a\acute{t}aN\}$

(2) $s\acute{a}ate+y\acute{a}a\acute{t}a$ (|| 25 has been applied)

(1) $k\acute{u}udi?\acute{e}e$ 'on the mountain', locative adverb $?e\acute{e}$

(2) $k\acute{u}uti?\acute{e}e$ (either || 24 has been applied after the application of || 29, or the form is a misrecording for $k\acute{u}uti+?\acute{e}e$)

(1) $k\acute{u}ud\acute{i}idyam\acute{e}$ 'Cochiti Indian', suffix $-m\acute{e}?e$

(2) $k\acute{u}ud\acute{i}ityam\acute{e}$ (either || 24 has been applied after the application of || 29, or the form is a misrecording of $k\acute{u}ud\acute{i}itya+m\acute{e}$)

¹⁸Phonemic juncture is treated in Section 140. Between words it is indicated by space. It is not marked internally except in the exposition of this rule, where it is marked by \pm .

Compare the following forms:

- gúpehááfa 'it (sun) sets', theme -ú:bəN
 síuwakəhááfa 'I always wear it', theme -ú:wagəN
 sééčáaçahááfa 'I always listen', theme -áačáaça

Either (1) this rule does not apply to short vowel plus {-hááfaN} and the forms are misrecordings for gúpə+hááfa, síuwakə+hááfa, and sééčáaça+hááfa, or (2) this rule applies to such forms after the application of || 29.

|| 25 A long unaccented vowel before juncture is always shortened:

- sáyace 'I whitewashed it', theme -'áyaceeM
 síyúuce 'I took it with me', theme -JúyúuzeeY
 gúy'éecita 'he is hitting it', suffix =itaaN
 cíišə 'his nose', theme -qjiišəə
 šáate+yááfa 'I am hauling', theme -QáadeeY (see || 24)

A long accented vowel before juncture is usually shortened in nouns and thematic forms:

- gúyá 'he butchered it', theme -ú:yáaN
 súcá 'I tanned', theme -'úcáaN
 síwáistáni 'I dished up stew for him', suffix -'í?iD, || -íi || 23
 kási 'her breast', theme -'ásii

But there are some exceptions:

- báabáa 'grandmother'
 čizáa 'they are long'
 číyáa 'they are wide'
 ziwáwáasáa 'patients'

In forms other than nouns and thematic forms, long vowels with the glottal accent are retained, and long vowels with the high accent are optionally shortened:

- ?ədéə 'hot'
 wée 'that one'
 bíyáa ~ bíyá 'tilted'
 ?áyáa ~ ?áyá 'Oh, that!'
 dáwáa ~ dáwá 'good'
 zíi ~ zí 'thing'

Vowel clusters are usually retained before juncture:

- šikúuyáu 'I threaded a needle', theme -JukúuyaW
 šáačawai 'I ran a foot race', theme -QáačawaiY
 zíbái 'he is sleeping', theme -jíbáiY
 karanú 'stud bull or horse'
 rái 'king'

But there are some exceptions. Vowel clusters in forms of the auxiliary

{gú} are shortened before juncture: núpesí 'I will eat it', prefix sj-, theme -ú:N. The vowel cluster is shortened in -ánásgai; sénáska 'my head' (contrast nasgáini 'head', absolutive form). The vowel cluster in ||háçəcai|| 'man' is optionally shortened or assimilated to /e/: háçəcai ~ háçəca ~ háçəce.

|| 26 A sequence of glottal accent followed by a glottalized sonorant does not occur phonemically. If such a sequence occurs morphophonemically, either the glottal accent is changed to the falling accent or the glottalized sonorant is changed to a plain sonorant:

číuyáani ~ chíuyáani 'it was butchered', stem -úyáaN, suffix -qiŞ

(see || 1.1 and || 11.1)

síutáane 'I visited him', theme -úutáaN, suffix -qeeY

sawáina 'we fought', theme -'awáaN (see || 1.6), suffix -qaaD; cf.

sawáiku 'I fought'

|| 27 The glottal accent apparently is optionally replaced by the falling accent in prepenultimate syllables and in penultimate syllables that are followed by an accent (but see Section 137):

ka?áaskətica ~ ka?áaskətiça 'he jerked'

śáatee?e ~ śáatee?e 'we hauled it'

śíutáanee?e ~ śíutáanee?e 'we visited him' (cf. || 26)

śíusú ~ śíusú 'I know how'

|| 28 Falling and glottal accents are replaced by high accents on short syllables:

gúwískəca 'he scratched it', theme -úwísgəzaN, ||gáwísgəza|| 20

gúšiya 'he beat him', theme -ú:šiyaaW

túkuka 'it snapped', stem tuku-; cf. túkuka 'several snapped' ({L},

see || 18.4)

káyuka 'it broke', stem kaŷyu-; cf. káyuka 'they broke' ({L}, see || 18.4)

gúyá 'he butchered it', theme -ú:yáaN

śíwáistaní 'I dished up stew for him', suffix -'í?iD, || -í || 23, || -í || 25

kásí 'her breasts', theme -'ásí

The falling accent remains on short vowels if the following syllable is accented and final and begins with a plain sonorant (cf. Section 121):

gúní 'he knows him', theme -ú:níM.

|| 29 Unaspirated occlusives are aspirated if there is no accent between the occlusive and the following juncture. In most cases this amounts to saying that they are aspirated if they are after the last accented syllable. In the following examples the occlusives affected by this rule are underlined:

kúuti 'mountain'

siukastya 'I asked him'

siupeuca 'I called him'

gúwiskəca 'he scratched it'

kúuti?ée 'In the mountains' (perhaps a misrecording for kúuti+?ée,
see || 24)

The same change also occurs if the occlusive is followed by a long unaccented syllable:

suwáutaa?ána 'we asked for it'

sēi?ityaičí 'I buried them'

The change also occurs before short unaccented syllables if the following syllable begins with a sibilant, plain occlusive, plain sonorant, or /h/:¹⁹

kusánaawa 'he cut his hair'

kəskáti 'when he drank'

kubáni 'at sunset'

citáaniçani 'he worked for him'

séikayáu 'I set the trap'

kəçahíišə 'your necklace'

This change does not take place before a short unaccented syllable if the following syllable is accented and has an initial glottalized occlusive, glottalized sonorant, or /ʔ/:

?ubəkáakáci 'nail'

sgutúpica 'it stung me'

gumáyanikuya 'he made fun of him'

šústyegənáaya 'I am putting beads on him'

zi?iukačanáati 'when they (plural) saw them (dual)'

kəza?áwáaka 'your baby'

Rule || 11.2 (the treatment of the aspirating morphophoneme || '||) and this rule often produce identical results. Thus the pronominal prefix g- (3rd person nonmodal) is aspirated in both -'ubáyaN and -ú:béuzaN:

kubáya 'he built a fire', || 11.2

kubéuca 'he called him', || 29

But compare the treatment of the prefix dy- (3rd person dubitative):

čubáya 'did he build a fire?', || 11.2

tyubéuca 'did he call him?', || 29

The ||z|| in the empty morph ||-əz-|| (see Section 230) may optionally

¹⁹The preceding paragraphs probably reflect historical changes of Pre-Keres: Proto-Keres *káci > Acoma káci 'ten', ||káci||, Pre-Keres *kázi. The statement in this paragraph probably reflects recent changes in Acoma, at least those changes that are brought about by the accent loss described in || 22 (see footnote 15).

be aspirated in ambivalents (thematic prefix {-qa-}, Section 520) even when found in an environment where the change does not normally take place:

kəzaʔáwáaka ~ kəçaʔáwáaka 'your baby'

kəzayúuni ~ kəçayúuni 'your song'

kəzámíná ~ kəçamíná 'your salt'

This alternation is also sometimes found in environments where only the aspirated consonants should occur: kəzaméesa ~ kəçaméesa 'your table'.

|| 30 A plain sonorant is glottalized if it is (1) preceded by the high accent, (2) followed by a short, unaccented vowel, and (3) not followed by a syllable with another sonorant. The glottalized sonorant is underlined:

číya 'it is wide'

sáatúwi 'I let go of it'

sáukáyuca 'I broke it'

šízúwa 'I paid him'

šímína 'I spoke to him'

gučáyuca 'he shot it'

If the preceding high accent is not the last accent in the word, the change is optional. No forms have been recorded that show both treatments, but there are many examples of the same theme or same construction, some showing the change, others not:

čánamačáni 'it was sat on'; sánamačána 'we sat down'

šíukáyucaní 'I broke it for him'; šíšíšáwəcaní 'I cracked nuts for him'

Contrast the following forms that only partially fulfill the requirements and show no change:

šímínaata 'we spoke to him'

bérereci 'it is smooth'

sáatúwiise 'I keep letting go'

šašúwinu 'when I have shoes on'

nízúwaasí 'I will pay him'

gumáyanikuya 'he made fun of him'

čérereci 'it is greasy'

kadúwina 'cliff'

The sonorant is irregularly glottalized in some forms:²⁰ kušánawa 'he cut his hair'; záazí skizááčúwanu 'I didn't wake up'.

Usually || 21 applies before || 30: suwíidyúmífta 'I am branding it' (cf. suwíidyúmíča 'I branded it'). However, the reverse order applies in one

²⁰This morphophonemic rule reflects a historical change in which a sonorant was glottalized if preceded by a high accent and followed by a voiceless vowel: zízúwa > zízúwa 'he paid him' (capitals indicate voiceless vowels). Voiced and voiceless vowels were almost phonologically predictable in Proto-Keres, and a final unaccented vowel preceded by a high accent and sonorant was normally voiceless. The vowel was normally voiced if, instead of being final, it was followed by a syllable with a sonorant: *gánami > gánami 'beans'. But occasionally the vowel was voiceless and the sonorant became glottalized. Thus the morphophonemic change sometimes takes place in environments where the change is not expected: *kúšánawa > kušánawa 'he cut his hair' (cf. síušənawa 'I cut his hair').

example: *sénáfitá* 'I keep turning the light on' (cf. *sénaça* 'I turned the light on', *sénázání* 'when I turned the light on', theme -*Jánažan*).

Rule || 30 does not apply to a number of forms:²¹

gáwi 'his neck'

šína 'louse'

nána 'grandfather'

béera 'pear'

220. Summary of the Morphophonemics

221. Acoma appears to have undergone a number of phonemic changes recently. The result is a simple syllabic structure, but a complicated morphophonemic system. There is a great deal of free variation in the morphophonemic system, probably as the result of analogical changes that are now taking place. The free variation creates a number of descriptive problems, and not all of them have been treated in the preceding rules. It is often difficult to delineate the limits of the free variation and to separate free and conditioned variation. In some cases forms that have been treated as free variants may actually represent different morphological forms.

A complicated morphophonemic system does have its rewards, however. By comparing the phonemic and morphophonemic distributional features it is possible to do a considerable amount of internal reconstruction.

The final morphophonemic consonants (rule || 1) undoubtedly represent morpheme final consonants that used to occur in final position. They were lost in final position, but preserved when a suffix followed. But it is also clear that the particular consonant found with a morpheme does not necessarily represent the earlier consonant, because analogical changes have taken place. Judging from the amount of variation between final morphophonemic consonants, such changes are still taking place. Well over half of the morphemes end in ||N||. Many verb roots with ||N|| are probably formed, historically, with the verb forming suffix -aN (the suffix is no longer productive, however; see Section 625), and many others probably represent analogical shifts from other final consonants

²¹Most of the exceptions are loanwords, e.g. *nana* (Zuñi) and *pera* (Spanish). The remaining words come from Proto-Keres words ending in a long voiced vowel that were shortened in Acoma (*šínaa) or from words that ended in a short voiced vowel (*gáwi). Final short voiced vowels in this environment normally became accented (e.g. *ʔisdúwa > ʔisdúwá 'arrow'), so that words like *gáwi* are rare in Acoma.

to this more common final consonant. $\|M\|$ is the second most common final consonant. It is found most commonly after $-i$, and it is the only one found after accented $-í$. The remaining consonants are not common.

$\|\bar{M}\|$ is very uncommon and is usually followed by an unaccented vowel. $\|M\|$ follows accented vowels more often than unaccented vowels. The two final consonants are distinguished by the choice of the allomorphs that follow. $\|M\|$ is followed by four suffixes that have the glottalizing morphophoneme $\|q\|$, the same four suffixes that have $\|q\|$ after $\|N\|$. $\|\bar{M}\|$ is never followed by $\|q\|$. It is very likely that $\|M\|$ and $\|\bar{M}\|$ have the same historical source. When $\|M\|$ follows an accented vowel, it is usually in an environment in which the sonorant is glottalized by the operation of $\|30\|$. The glottalization came to be associated with particular suffixes on the analogy of forms with $\|N\|$, and was applied to most forms that had a preceding unaccented vowel.

The final morphophonemic consonants $\|B, G^W, D, SD\|$ are often followed by a suffix with an unaccented vowel, and the consonants are aspirated by the application of $\|29\|$. They are also aspirated before the accented vowel of the benefactive suffix. They are rarely followed by other accented vowels, but when they are, they are usually unaspirated: *śiiskadáwí* 'when I gave him a drink', stem $-skaD$, suffixes $-aW(N)$ (Section 625), $-(')í$. For this reason it is stated in rule $\|1\|$ that they become unaspirated stops, and the basic form of the benefactive suffix is set up with the aspirating morphophoneme $\|'\|$. There are a few forms in which the aspirated stop is found where the unaspirated stop is expected: *kawáipéeti* 'when they were fighting', theme $-'awáiG^W$, suffixes $-eeD$ (plural), $-(')í$. The stop probably became aspirated on the analogy of forms that have the common benefactive suffix.

Velar stops are palatalized to dental affricates before the palatalizing morphophoneme $\|j\|$. It seems probable that historically the palatalization was caused by a following front vowel and that this process produced the dental affricates in Acoma. Note that a thematic syllable with a front vowel usually has a palatalizing morphophoneme, the only exception being the thematic syllable $\|i\|$. The palatalizing morphophoneme is also found in thematic syllables with other vowels, for example, $\|ja\|$; such a sequence could be from $*ia$ or $*ya$. Additional evidence is found in the distribution of the obstruents and vowels within morphemes. Velars are rare before front vowels, and most examples are found in Spanish loanwords: *géesu* 'cheese' < queso; *sakisdána* 'sexton' < sacristán. In addition, there are a few examples of a front vowel after a glottalized velar: *ʔáukíníši* 'friend'; *gáukíməni* 'he has supernatural power'. The dental affricates, on the other hand are most common before front vowels. There

are a number of morphemes that have /a/ after the affricate: záwini 'old'. The sequence probably is derived from *gia or *gya. Since the sequences ||g-ju|| and ||g-juu|| become /zi/ and /ziu/ (||11.3 and ||13), dental affricates should not occur before /u/ if the historical interpretation is correct. The sequence is found, but it is not very common: cúski 'fox, coyote'; s'ízúwa 'I paid him'; cúku 'twins'; and a few others.

A similar interpretation cannot be made for the dental stops and /š/ (palatalized correspondents of ||dy, č, č', š||), because these consonants are common before all vowels.

The phonemic alignment of the palatal stops and affricates (section 110) is recent. The older alignment, ||dy, č, č'||, is seen in table 7. The affricate /ž/ is found in a few Spanish loanwords and one native word (Section 123.7) and is never involved in morphophonemic alternations. The palatal stop /ty/, not found in basic forms, is either from ||dy|| through the operation of ||29 or is in the cluster /sty/ and is from ||sg|| through the operation of ||11.2 and ||11.3. /ty/ is found in the morpheme -tyau (for example, záatyau 'plains', see Section 654.5); elsewhere it is from ||y'|| through the operation of ||8, from ||dy|| through the irregular operation of ||11.1, or is in the cluster /stý/ and is from ||sg|| through the operation of ||11.1 and ||11.3.

All of the Keres languages have the phonetic alignment found in Acoma, although some of them do not have a complete series of palatal stops. None of the obstruents /ž, ty, ty/ can be reconstructed for Proto-Keres. The phonetic shift that isolated *dy from *č and *č' must have taken place in Pre-Keres times, and then the Keres languages independently filled in the gaps in the phonemic system after the split-up of Proto-Keres.

Morphophonemically, ||ç|| is only found in some 2nd person dubitative prefixes (Section 230). Phonemically, /ç/ is always from this source or from ||z|| through the operation of ||29. /č/ is always from ||z|| through the operation of ||11.4, or from the pronominal prefixes with ||ç|| through the operation of ||11.1. *č, in the pronominal prefixes, and *z can be reconstructed in Proto-Keres, but not /č/. Phonemically, /z/ is a retroflex obstruent, but it does not show the same morphophonemic patterns as do ||ç|| and ||š|| (see in particular ||11.4). It seems likely that ||z|| is historically (in Pre-Keres, not Proto-Keres) from a nonobstruent, perhaps something like *l.

The morphophonemic alignment of the sibilant clusters in table 7 represents a recent development in Acoma. Historically, the palatalized correspondents of *sg, *sk, and *sk' are sdy, sč, and š' (Proto-Keres *sč > š: *sčísA > šísA 'six'). This alignment can be internally reconstructed. The distributive pronominal prefixes (Section 233) have two

sets of allomorphs: \acute{s} -, sk- (nonmodal) and st'-, sč- (dubitative). If we assume that the distributive prefixes are *s plus the 3rd person prefix g- (nonmodal) and dy- (dubitative), the prefixes can be reconstructed as *sgqj-, *sg'- (nonmodal) and *sdyqj-, *sdy'- (dubitative). The palatalization of *sk to \acute{s} is also reflected in the allomorphs -áyaš- (before ʔitaaN), -áyaskaN (elsewhere) 'to sweep': sáyasha 'I am sweeping'; sáyaska 'I swept'.

||s̥|| is found in ||sédyu|| 'all day', ||šečúma|| 'daytime', and ||séega|| 'must' (the first two are clearly historically related). Elsewhere /s̥/ is found as the glottalized form of the first person nonmodal prefix (||11.1 and Section 230). The other glottalized sibilants are not common in basic forms, but they are more common than ||s̥|| (||š̥|| is somewhat more common because of the development of sč to š̥).

Within morphemes, ||č̥|| is usually found before ||a||. There are three exceptions: -Aúučúuziš 'to be willing'; č̥šédígá 'sparrow hawk'; č̥úu-, č̥úu-, allomorphs of the 2nd person hortative prefix. The glottalized affricate is found before other vowels across morpheme boundaries in various combinations of pronominal prefix plus thematic vowel.

||p̥|| is rare, and never found before ||u|| within morphemes. It is found before other vowels across morpheme boundaries as a development of the 2nd and 3rd person hortative pronominal prefixes. In ||1.6 it was noted that ||G^W|| became ||-g(u)|| in final position and before {-u} but ||-b-|| before other suffixes, many of which began with a front vowel; in one root the development was ||-g(u)|| and ||-p̥-||. It is quite possible that ||G^W|| is from Pre-Keres *g^W, which became /g(u)/ in final position and before /u/ and became /b/ before front vowels, or perhaps before other vowels; and that ||p̥|| is always from *k^W.

The phonemic contrast between aspirated and unaspirated occlusives is lost before most unaccented syllables. Cf. the following forms: séikayáu 'I set the trap', theme -áigayaW; šáuka 'I dyed it', theme -QáukaM̄. It is possible to determine the morphophonemic status of /k/ in these themes when they are in constructions in which either ||19 or ||21 apply: séigáyámí 'when I set the trap'; šaukámí 'when I dyed it'. In some themes it is impossible to distinguish ||g|| and ||k|| because the consonant is in an environment in which ||22 and subsequently ||29 apply if the following syllable is accented by ||19: síukačání 'when I saw him'. In such cases the aspirated consonant is written in the basic form. However, if /ty/ or /ç/ are found in this environment, ||dy|| and ||z̥|| are written because ||ç̥|| and ||ty|| are not normally found: síustyəkə 'I put beads on him'; síustyəgní 'when I put beads on him'; theme -JúisdyəgəN.

The most common vowels are ||i, a, u||. ||e|| is found in the thematic

syllable of a very few impersonal verb themes; $\|\text{ə}\|$ is found in a somewhat larger number of thematic syllables. In other positions $\|\text{e}\|$ and $\|\text{ə}\|$ are not very common. In thematic syllables the phoneme /e/ is found as a development of i + a, and it is possible that historically the phoneme in other positions is from the same or a similar sequence. There is some evidence that *a + i sometimes yields /e/; cf. the set of allomorphs for the suffix $\sim\text{itaaN}$ (Section 441.1) and the development of -qa- + *hiiska* 'knife' ($\|\text{5.4}\|$). /ə/ is never the development of any morphophonemic processes, and hence it is difficult to suggest its source. However, its infrequency suggests that it is not original. $\|\text{ə}\|$ has similar distributional habits to $\|\text{u}\|$; it clusters with a following $\|\text{i}\|$ and length vowel and can be followed by $\|\text{:}\|$ (the variable length morphophoneme is found after no other vowels). Thus it is possible that it is from a back vowel.

222. Most verb stems are composed of two syllables preceded by a stem vowel and followed by a final morphophonemic consonant:

- ázəkaN 'to smoke'
- āačawaiY(N) 'to run a stick race'
- usdyúwaaN 'to sweat'

Derived stems usually have an additional syllable:

- utāāni-zaN 'to work'
- āaskayu-zaN 'to pull teeth'

Longer stems are found, but they are not frequent:

- úwíistídyaaN 'to count'
- āáyáafééwi-zaN 'to step in mud'

Some verb stems are composed of one syllable, and a few are composed of only a stem vowel plus a morphophonemic consonant:

- āasgəN 'to fry'
- áSD 'to take a step'
- ú:bəN 'to enter'
- āaG^W 'to bite'

Most descriptive stems are disyllabic (see Section 631). The basic forms have been set up in the following fashion: if the medial consonant is an obstruent, the shape is usually $c\acute{v}cv-$; if a glottalized sonorant, it is usually $cv\acute{:}cv-$; if a plain sonorant, it is usually $c\acute{v}cv-$ (before $\{R_1\}$, $cv\acute{:}cv-$ (elsewhere). By setting up the disyllabic descriptives in this way, the forms with $\{R_1\}$ and $\{L\}$ can be accounted for by the application of $\|\text{18, 20, 21, 28}\|$:

čápi- + $\{R_1\}$ > čápipi-: čápipici 'it has lots of spots'; cf. čápici 'it has a spot'

ťáká- + $\{R_1\}$ > $\|\text{ťákáka-}\|$ 18, $\|\text{ťákákáka-}\|$ 21, $\|\text{ťakákáka-}\|$ 22: *ťakákaci* 'they are square'; cf. *ťákaci* 'it is square'

mu:ra- + $\{R_1\}$ > $\|\text{mu:ra-ra-}\|$ 18, $\|\text{múra-ra-}\|$ 20, $\|\text{murára-}\|$ 22: *muráraka* 'they got dented'; cf. *muráka* 'it got dented'

bére- + {R} > ||bére-||18, ||bére-||28: béreeci 'it is smooth'
 síka- + {L} > síka-: síkaka 'it got several wrinkles'; cf. síkaka
 'it got one wrinkle'

cu'yu- + {L} > ||cu'yu-||18, ||cu'yu-||20: cúyúka 'the road is
 washed out in several places'; cf. cúyúka 'the road is washed
 out in one place'

ka'yu- + {L} > ||ka'yu-||18, ||ka'yu-||20: káayuka 'they broke'; cf.
 káyúka 'it broke'

There are a few forms that do not fit the canon: cé:zə- 'broken (of
 string or something long)'; skə:di- 'round'; kú:du- varying freely with
 kúdu- 'spherical'; sgə:zə- varying (freely?) with sgəzə- 'warped'; kə:zə-
 varying (freely?) with kəzə- 'pink'.

Suffixes are of three phonological types: (1) initial vowel (cf. rule ||1),
 (2) initial replacive morphophoneme ||≡|| (always followed by a vowel; cf.
 ||2), and (3) initial consonant (cf. ||4). All the suffixes of the second type
 have allomorphs with a vowel, that is, without ||≡||. Some suffixes of the
 third type have allomorphs with an initial vowel, either by adding the
 vowel (cf. -iguyaN, -guyaN, rule ||1) or by subtracting the consonant (cf.
 -náaʔaʔN, -qáaʔaʔN, -qjáaʔaʔN, rule ||1).

The remaining morpheme classes are not characterized by any particu-
 lar canonical shape. Disyllabic morphemes are more common than mono-
 syllabic. Most of the monosyllabic morphemes are commonly occurring
 adverbs.

223. A large number of morphophonemic rules are ordered in respect
 to each other. Thus in séigáyási 'when I was setting the trap' (theme
 -aigayaW, suffixes -səθ and -(')i), rule ||4 (accent loss with -səθ) must
 be applied before ||19 (accent ablaut). Otherwise *séigáyasi would result.
 However, not all the rules are so ordered. Rules ||1-4 pertain only to
 suffixation, and ||5-10 pertain only to prefixation. It would be possible
 to reverse the order of these two groups of rules. The tightest ordering
 of the rules is found in ||18-30; some of these rules can be placed in a
 different order (for example, ||29 and ||30 could be reversed), but the
 choices are fewer than with respect to the earlier rules. Most of these
 later rules reflect historical changes that have taken place since Proto-
 Keres times.

Many of the earlier rules contain several subrules. If these subrules
 had been treated in the same way that separate rules are treated, many
 of them could be ordered in respect to each other. Thus ||1.5 states
 that ||W|| becomes ||M|| before certain suffixes (||1.2) and becomes ||W||
 before others (||1.4). If these subrules were ordered, ||1.5 would come
 before ||1.2 and ||1.4.

The order between some rules is occasionally reversed. This was seen in the application of ||21 and ||30 (discussed under ||30) and in the application of ||21 and ||22 (discussed under ||22, footnote 16). Rule ||21 accounts for the addition of an accent with certain short syllables, ||22 for the loss of an accent with certain short syllables. Thus the two rules are working in opposite directions, and this is probably why there are a few exceptions in the ordering of the two. There are a large number of forms which demonstrate that the rules have been placed in the proper order. Note that ||21 operates when (1) the following consonant is glottalized and (2) the following syllable is unaccented. One of the conditions for ||22 is that the following syllable be accented. We may guess that historically the addition of the accent before glottalized consonants took place before both accented and unaccented syllables. The accent was then lost before an accented syllable by the later historical change reflected in ||22. On the other hand, ||21 optionally operates on some forms with the suffixes -náataN, -qáayaN, and -nú, in spite of the fact that the following syllable is accented. These forms are difficult to interpret historically. It does not seem possible to treat them as analogical reformations, because most forms with these suffixes have a preceding unaccented syllable.

In ||6, 7.2, 7.9, 9.4 accent changes are described in which the accent following the thematic syllable is either lost or shifted to the preceding syllable. The accent changes that involve ||: || in ||20 are somewhat analogous. Very likely the several rules reflect one historical change, but due to some differences in the accent changes it is not practical, in some cases not possible, to incorporate them in one rule.

230. Allomorphy of the Pronominal Prefixes

Pronominal prefixes are used with verb, ambivalent, and noun themes. There are four sets (table 9) which stand in allomorphic relationship to each other. The exact number of sets recognized is arbitrary. Fewer sets could be set up by having more complex rules for the coarticulation morphophonemes (||10, 11) and/or by listing more allomorphs within each set. More sets could be recognized by listing fewer allomorphs in each set and having less complex rules for the coarticulation morphophonemes. The crux of the problem lies in the intimate relationship between the pronominal prefix sets and the coarticulation morphophonemes.

A pronominal prefix is often a portmanteau morpheme. It indicates (1) the subject of the verb or the possessor of the noun, (2) the object

TABLE 9

Pronominal Prefixes

	Person	Nonmodal	Dubitative	Hortative
Set I	1(-3)	sj-, śj-	tV?j-	ka-
	2(-3)	ş-	ç-	p-, ?-
	3(-3)	g-	dy-	pV?j-
	obv.	gj-	dyj-	pj-
	1-2	şa-	ça-	şa-
	3-2	g-əz-	z-əz-	p-əz-
	2-1	dyu-	dyu-	gu-
	3-1	sgu-	d-əz-	n-əz-
Set II	1st	s-	t-, tV?-	k-
	2nd	ş-	ç-	č-, čuu-, čuu-
	3rd	g-, s-	dy-	p-, pV?-
Set III	1st	s-	tV?-	n-
	2nd	g-əz-	z-əz-	z-
	3rd	g-	dy-	p-
Set IV	1st	ş-, s-əz-	d-əz-	n-əz-
	2nd	g-əz-	z-əz-	z-
	3rd	g-	dy-	p-

Other Pronominal Prefixes

Negative, 1-(3)	sg- (all sets)
Indefinite	sg- (all sets)
Expective	nj-, n'j- (set I)
	n- (sets II, III)
	n-əz- (set IV)

Set I only:

Negative, 3-1	sgj-
Indefinite-obviative	sgj-

Distributive (see Section 233):

Nonmodal	ś-, sk- (all sets?)
Dubitative	st', sč- (all sets?)

for transitive themes only, and (3) optionally, the mode for verb themes only.

All of the prefixes of Set I are used with transitive themes. The static themes use 3-1, 3-2, and obviate prefixes for the first, second, and third persons. The remaining theme classes take only those prefixes which are used for third person object with transitive themes.

There are one nonmodal and three modal series of prefixes. Two of the modes, the dubitative and the hortative, have full paradigms. The third mode, the negative, is defective.

There are also indefinite, expective, and distributive prefixes. The indefinite prefix does not distinguish mode. The expective, used with an auxiliary in periphrastic constructions (Section 471), is not properly a pronominal prefix, but it functions tactically and morphophonemically like one, and can best be treated with them. The two distributive prefixes, the nonmodal and dubitative, are treated in Section 233.

An empty morph $\| -\text{əz} - \|$ is used after some of the pronominal prefixes. When it is found, it forms a tight unit with the pronominal prefix and behaves, tactically, as a single morpheme. It is impossible to attach any meaning to $\| -\text{əz} - \|$ or to predict its occurrence. It is therefore listed in the combinations in which it occurs. The preceding pronominal prefix usually has identical or similar forms which lack the empty morph in other sets.

231. The occurrence of the pronominal prefix sets can be predicted in part by the initial coarticulation morphophoneme and in part by the thematic class. The thematic classes, transitive, static, intransitive-A, intransitive-B, impersonal, inalienably possessed nouns, and ambivalents are treated in Sections 410, 510, and 520. In some cases it is impossible to predict the set, and the set must be listed with the theme (when theme and stem are coterminous) or with the thematic affix (when the theme is derived from a stem).

Set I is used with: all transitive and static themes; most intransitive-A, impersonal, inalienably possessed noun themes; and a few intransitive-B themes. The few intransitive-A themes that do not take set I are also irregular in their formations with the number prefixes, and in the list given in ||7.10 such themes are marked as to which set they take. Almost all themes with an initial palatalizing morphophoneme take set I.

Set II is used principally with intransitive-B themes. It is also used with a few impersonal and intransitive-B themes and for a part of the paradigm of one transitive theme listed in Section 234. Almost all themes with initial $\| \text{Q} \|$ take set II. All intransitive B themes with initial $\| ' \|$ take set II.

Set III is used with themes that have initial $\|A\|$ and themes formed with the possessive thematic prefix -qa-. It is also used with the following inalienably possessed noun themes:

- qjîlîka 'mouth, lips'
- qjîimúuça 'upper lip, snout'
- qjîipee 'ear'
- qjîiŝəə 'nose'
- Aúúúyátiŝa 'shin'
- Aúúúma 'vagina'
- Aúúúuça 'buttocks'
- Aúúúuti 'ankle'
- Aúúúúkuciŝa 'elbow'
- qâanáa 'eye'
- qáiskâami 'calf of leg'
- qayáatiima 'wisdom tooth'

The inalienably possessed noun themes that have initial $\|qj\|$ take either set I or III. Because of the operation of the morphophonemic rules $\|11$ only the second person shows the variation:

<u>Set I</u>	<u>Set III</u>
ŝimúuça	ŝimúuça 'my lip'
ŝimúuça	kəðimúuça 'your lip'
çimúuça	çimúuça 'his lip'
stîimúuça	stîimúuça 'one's lip'

The inalienably possessed noun themes that have initial $\|A\|$ may replace the $\|A\|$ with $\|a\|$ and take set I. Because of the operation of the morphophonemic rules ($\|10.3, 13$) only the first and second persons show the variations:

Set I, theme	Set III, theme
<u>-áumúça</u>	<u>-Aúumúça</u>
séumúça	súumúça 'my buttocks'
ŝaumúça	kuzúumúça 'your buttocks'
gáumúça	gáumúça 'his buttocks'
sgáumúça	sgáumúça 'one's buttocks'

When a number prefix is present, set IV is used with intransitive-A, ambivalent, and inalienably possessed noun themes. A few intransitive-A themes do not take set IV under these conditions. These themes are also irregular in their formations with the number prefixes, and in the list given in $\|7.10$ such themes are marked as to which set they take. Set IV is also used with the singular forms of: -aʔáu 'sister of a woman'; the auxiliaries {zá} and {zé} (Section 461.8-9); -jéeguyaN 'to be making', irregular continuative form of -jîizaaN 'to make'.

The pronominal prefix sets are illustrated by the nonmodal paradigms of -úukačaN 'to see' (set I); -'úučáwaN 'to steal' (set II); -qáanáwé 'uncle' (set III); -aʔánáwé 'uncle', dual possessor (set IV):

síukača 'I saw him'
 şúukača 'you saw him'
 gúukača 'he saw him'
 zíukača 'the other one saw him'
 şáukača 'I saw you'
 kuʔúukača 'he saw you'
 dyúukača 'you saw me'
 sgúukača 'he saw me'

súučáwa 'I stole'
 şúučáwa 'you stole'
 kúučáwa 'he stole'

śáanáwé 'my uncle'
 kəʔáanáwé 'your uncle'
 káanáwé 'his uncle'

şaʔáanáwé 'our (dual) uncle'
 kəʔaʔáanáwé 'your (dual) uncle'
 gaʔáanáwé 'their (dual) uncle'

232. The set I prefixes śj- 1-3 person nonmodal and ŋj- expective, allomorphs of sj- and nj- respectively, are used with transitive themes that have a number suffix. The allomorphs are illustrated with -úukačaN 'to see':

síukača 'I saw him', prefix sj-
 śíukačáña 'we (plural) saw him', prefix śj-
 niukačagú 'he will see him', prefix nj-
 níukačáhəkúuʔu 'they (dual) will see him', prefix ŋj-

Stems that have initial ||J|| and ||Ĵ|| glottalize the prefixes sj- and nj- by the regular application of the morphophonemic rules (§ 10.1, 11.1) and thus do not normally reflect the distinction between the two groups of allomorphs. Compare the forms with -JućáadyaN:

śíćáatya 'I pinned it', prefix sj-
 śíćáadyánətyə 'we (dual) pinned it', prefix śj-

However, when the dual or plural prefix is used to show number of object, the ||J|| or ||Ĵ|| is lost (§ 7) and the alternation between the two groups of allomorphs is seen:

sêiʔíćáatya 'I pinned them (plural)'
 sêiʔíćáadyánətyə 'we (dual) pinned them (plural)'

The set I second person hortative prefix has two allomorphs, p- and ʔ-. The former is used with transitive and intransitive-B themes, the latter with intransitive-A themes:

- púukača 'look at it!' (transitive)
 páinuustúzí 'put the fire out!' (intransitive-B)
 ʔíbái 'sleep!' (intransitive-A)
 ʔáska 'drink!' (intransitive-A)

The set II prefixes tVʔ- first person dubitative and pVʔ- third person hortative are used before ||'i||. Their allomorphs t- and p- are used elsewhere. Examples are with the themes -'ícéetaN and -'úwagəN:

- tiʔícéeta 'did you dance?'
 piʔícéeta 'let him dance!'
 túwakə 'did I get dressed?'
 púwakə 'let him get dressed!'

The second person hortative prefix of set II has three allomorphs. čuu- is used before ||Qau||; čúu- is used before ||'áʔu|| (always from the thematic prefix {-'áʔ-} plus ||u|| or ||u: ||, see ||5.3); and č̣- is used elsewhere. The vowels of čuu- and čúu- replace the thematic syllable, and the accent of čúu- replaces the accent of the thematic syllable. In this respect the prefix behaves more like a thematic prefix (||5.1-2) than a pronominal prefix (||13). In addition the thematic accent is sometimes replaced by the high accent after č̣-, and if the following syllable begins with a glottalized sonorant (through the operation of ||5.6) it is replaced by a plain sonorant. The conditions for this change are unknown:

- čúukúya 'take them!', prefix čuu-, theme -QáukúyaW
 čúutáawaca 'boil it!', prefix čúu-, theme -'áʔutáawazaN
 čáaspanašú 'wash your hair!', prefix č̣-, theme -QáasbanašúM(məN)-
 (waN)
 čáyâuʔu 'take it!', prefix č̣-, theme -'áyâaʔB
 čúwíiça 'make it!', prefix č̣-, theme -'úwíiçaN
 čáipéetuca 'wet your lips!', prefix č̣-, theme -'áʔipéetuzaN

The set II prefix s-, third person nonmodal, is used with one theme, -'jíšə: zəəsišə 'it is small' (prefix zəə-, Section 660). The first person nonmodal form is homophonous and apparently for this reason is seldom used with this theme.

Set IV has two allomorphs for the first person nonmodal prefix, s-əʔ-, used after ||j||, and ʂ-, used elsewhere:

- səféeyu 'we (dual) went', theme -qjéeyu∅
 ʂaaʔáci 'we (dual) arrived', theme -âaʔáciN

Many more examples will be found in ||7.10.

233. I did not record the distributive prefixes for very many paradigms, and as a result it is difficult to isolate the morphophonemic properties of these prefixes. The allomorphs \acute{s} - (nonmodal) and st - (dubitative) were the most common forms elicited in paradigms. They were usually given with plural themes. Unexplained vowel changes sometimes occur:

$\acute{s}ig\acute{u}u^?u$ 'many are pregnant', theme - $Jug\acute{u}u^?N$

$\acute{s}iityu$, $st\acute{i}ityu$ 'they all arrived' (nonmodal, dubitative), plural theme - $j\acute{e}edyuB$

$\acute{s}\acute{a}a\acute{y}\acute{a}am\acute{a}az\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{a}$, $st\acute{a}a\acute{y}\acute{a}am\acute{a}az\acute{a}\acute{n}\acute{a}$ 'everyone helped' (nonmodal, dubitative), plural theme - $\acute{a}a\acute{y}\acute{a}am\acute{a}azaN-qaad$

$\acute{s}iim\acute{e}$, $st\acute{f}iim\acute{e}$ 'everyone left' (nonmodal, dubitative), plural theme - $j\acute{e}em\acute{e}N$

$\acute{s}\acute{e}e\acute{c}\acute{a}imi\acute{s}i$, $st\acute{e}e\acute{c}\acute{a}imi\acute{s}i$ 'everyone had their eyes closed' (nonmodal, dubitative), plural theme - $qj\acute{e}e\acute{c}\acute{a}i^?M-i\acute{s}iiD$ (?)

A few forms have been recorded with sk - (nonmodal) and $s\check{c}$ - (dubitative). These forms have a high text frequency:

$sk\acute{a}u^?u$, $s\check{c}\acute{a}u^?u$ 'they dwelled; there was a large crowd' (nonmodal, dubitative), theme - $A\acute{a}u^?u$

$sk\acute{a}a\acute{m}\acute{a}$, $s\check{c}\acute{a}a\acute{m}\acute{a}$ 'they dwelled; there was a large crowd' (nonmodal, dubitative), theme - $A\acute{a}a\acute{m}\acute{a}$

$sk\acute{a}aku\acute{y}\acute{a}a\acute{t}\acute{a}$, $s\check{c}\acute{a}aku\acute{y}\acute{a}a\acute{t}\acute{a}$ 'they would keep coming' (nonmodal, dubitative), plural theme - $je^?e\acute{g}uY$ plus suffix {- $\acute{n}\acute{a}a\acute{t}\acute{a}N$ }

234. A few themes have allomorphs that are conditioned by the pronominal prefixes.²² Four transitive themes have two allomorphs: the first used with the 1-3, 2-3, and 3-3 person prefixes; the second with other prefixes (the indefinite and distributive have not been recorded):

- $\acute{a}aG^W$, - $J\acute{a}aG^W$ 'to bite'

- $\acute{a}a\acute{w}istuuzaN$, - $J\acute{a}a\acute{w}istuuzaN$ 'to pinch'

- $\acute{u}:n\acute{i}M$, - $J\acute{u}:n\acute{i}M$ 'to know'

- $Q\acute{a}az\acute{e}deya$, - $J\acute{a}az\acute{e}deyaW(N)$ 'to run after'

The first allomorph of the last theme takes set II prefixes (the second allomorph takes set I, as is usual for transitive themes). The nonmodal paradigm of - $\acute{a}aG^W$ illustrates the allomorphs:

1-3 $s\acute{e}eku$ 'I bit him'

1-2 $\acute{s}\acute{a}aku$ 'I bit you'

2-3 $\acute{s}\acute{a}aku$ 'you bit him'

3-2 $k\acute{e}z\acute{a}aku$ 'he bit you'

3-3 $g\acute{a}aku$ 'he bit him'

2-1 $\acute{t}y\acute{a}aku$ 'you bit me'

obv. $\acute{c}\acute{a}aku$ 'the other one bit him'

3-1 $s\acute{k}\acute{a}aku$ 'he bit me'

²²Some auxiliaries have allomorphs of this type. These are treated in Section 460 rather than here.

The transitive theme 'to whip' has three allomorphs: -ííšaayaN after 1-3 person prefixes, -ušáayaN after 2-3 and 3-3 person prefixes, and -JííšaayaN after other persons and the expective prefix. The first two allomorphs cannot be set up as *-u:šáayaN (for example, like -ú:ním, above) because the 1-3 nonmodal form is sííšaaya rather than *síúšaaya.

The transitive theme 'to make, do to' also has three allomorphs: -jíizaaN after 1-3, 2-3, and 3-3 person prefixes, -íizaaN after obviative prefixes, and -JíizaaN after other persons and the expective prefix.

The transitive theme 'to go after, invite' has two allomorphs: -u:deeY after ||j|| and ||a|| and the number prefixes and -u:diiY elsewhere:

- 1-3 síute 'I went after him'
- 3-3 kudí 'he went after him'
- 1-2 šáute 'I went after you'
- 3-1 skudí 'he went after me'
- {dl} gûu?ute 'he went after them (dual)'

Three intransitive-A themes have two allomorphs:

-JíičəB (1st and exp.), -aʔáčəB (elsewhere) 'to be enclosed, inside', set I

-qâanažədeyaW(N) (3rd), -âanažədeyaW(N) (elsewhere) 'to walk, wander', set I

-ázáaN (1st and exp.), -qázáaN (3rd) 'to be talkative', set III

For the last theme either allomorph could be considered as occurring after the second person, since all second person prefixes of set III end in ||z|| (see ||11.4).

The intransitive-A theme zúu- 'to go' (dual -qjéeyuø, plural -jeʔéguY, see ||7.10) has special forms with the second person hortative prefix (?- set I, z- set IV):

- ?íimá 'go!', theme -íimá
- íéemá 'go (dual)!', theme -qjéemá
- déegûumá 'to (plural)!', theme -jéegûumá

235. The accent is irregularly shifted to the empty morph with three themes: -ú:kasdáayaN 'to invite someone', transitive theme; -ú:hima 'to believe', static theme; -ázáaN, -qázáaN 'to be talkative', intransitive-A theme:

- gúçukasdáaya 'he invited you'
- dúçukasdáaya 'he invited me (dubitative)'
- gúçuhima 'you believed'

236. The pronominal prefixes nú-, zú-, and ʔé- (first, second and third persons) are found with the theme -dyu and its derivative -dyuyú (see Section 560):

nútyu 'and me?; how about me?'	nútyuyú 'my turn'
zútyu 'and you?'	zútyuyú 'your turn'
ʔétyu 'and him?'	ʔétyuyú 'his turn'

The modal, expective, and indefinite prefixes are not used with these themes.

240. Allomorphy of the Plural Suffix

241. The plural suffix {-qeeD} has the allomorphs -qaaD, -qeeD, -eeD, -aaD, -ʔVVD, and -iiD. The choice of the allomorph is normally dependent upon the preceding final morphophonemic consonant, as described in rule ||1. When the plural suffix is used as a derivational or harmonic plural suffix, it sometimes has other allomorphs or allomorphs that are not determined by the regular application of ||1. The forms involved are the passive derivations (Section 411), harmonic plurals of themes with the possessive prefix (Section 413, 521), and the harmonic plurals of certain intransitive-A themes. The harmonic plurals of themes derived by the prefix {-Jaʔa-} (Section 413) always use the regular set of allomorphs.

Passive derivations take the regular set of allomorphs varying with -qiiD (and probably -iiD before those final morphophonemic consonants that do not take suffixes with an initial ||q||; see ||1.s): *čaʔáawagáni* ~ *čaʔáawagána* 'his clothes were worn', stem *-ú:wagəN*. The speaker gave the forms with -qiiD only in texts and always corrected them to the regular form when paradigmatic data were being elicited on the basis of the texts.

Possessive verb and ambivalent themes have several similarities. Both are formed by the possessive thematic prefix {-qa^a}, which is added to verb stems in the case of possessive verbs or to nouns in the case of ambivalents. Both forms take a harmonic plural suffix, which usually has the allomorph -iiD after possessive verb themes and -šiiD after ambivalents:

šáastyuwaáníši 'we are sweating', verb theme -qasdyúwaan-qiš

(see ||7.9)

šáwítuunímiši 'we are careful', verb theme -qáwítuunímiš

gáamáacáazáníši 'they have jerked meat', verb theme

-qamáacáazaN-qiš

káastyuwimi 'they have suspenders on', verb theme -qáasdyuwim

gáakabáanáši 'their cornbread', noun kabáaná

gáakawéši 'their coffee', noun kawé

A few themes take -mišiiD or other irregular endings:

gáaháíšiiimišii 'their tonsils', noun háišii
 šáasiíšumišii 'our name', noun síišu
 gáabáašumišii ~ gáabáašusi 'their straw', noun báašu
 gáišíimí 'they own some', verb theme -qáiši

Note that the ambivalent theme does not end with a final morphophonemic consonant, whereas the verb theme does. Most possessive verb themes have a final ||š||, either as part of the verb stem or as part of the completive suffix {-qiš} which is common with these forms. The result is that both the possessive verb and ambivalent usually have the final phonemic sequence /-ši/ in the plural.

A number of intransitive-A themes take the harmonic plural. All such themes have irregular number prefix formations and are listed, along with the harmonic plural, in ||7.10. Sometimes the regular set of allomorphs is used:

céestyape 'they nursed', plural theme -qjéesdyaB, allomorph -eeD
 cêéfaatyəme 'they got up', plural theme -qjêéfaadyəM̄, allomorph
 -eeD

gáašiyawa 'they won', plural theme -âašiyaw, allomorph -aaD

Sometimes the allomorphs -iiD and -eeD, regular after certain final morphophonemic consonants, are used after final morphophonemic consonants that do not otherwise take these allomorphs:

səféezáapəni 'we fell in', plural theme -qjéezáabəN, allomorph -iiD
 šâakayani 'we are stuck', plural theme -âagayaN, allomorph -iiD
 šâakáani ~ šâakáane 'we heard it', plural theme -âakáaN, allomorphs
 -iiD, -eeD (or -qiiD, -qeeD?; see ||26)

šáačáaçaaste 'we listened', plural theme -qáačáazaSD, allomorph -eeD

242. The plural suffix combines with the continuative suffixes {ɹitaaN} and {ɹáayaN} (Section 441) to form portmanteau morphs, or more properly portmanteau allomorphs. The continuative suffixes have a number of allomorphs. All the allomorphs of {ɹitaaN} but one include the morphophonemic sequence ||taaN||, and all the allomorphs of {ɹáayaN} include the morphophonemic sequence ||áayaN||. The rule can be formulated as:

||taaN|| + {-qeeD} > ||tiyaaD||
 ||áayaN|| + {-qeeD} > ||áitiyaaD||

Any morphophonemic sequence of the continuative allomorphs that precedes the sequences ||taaN|| and ||áayaN|| is retained in the portmanteau morphs:

čaʔáyéəcitiyaatiku 'he would be getting hit', theme -qjaʔáyéəzaN,
 suffixes ɹitaaN, -qeeD (ɹitiyaaD), -iku

kuwánatyumetiya 'they would get hurt', theme -'úndadyumeN, suffixes
 -taaN, -qeeD (-tiyaaD)

śiutaafáitiya 'we put it out to dry', theme -u:ʔaaSD, suffixes -qáayaN,
-qeeD (-qáitiyaD)

A few themes show similar changes with the plural suffix (all of the themes take (TSE), ||9):

<u>Theme</u>	<u>With -qeeD</u>
-ʔúćítistaaN	-ʔúwáćítistitiyaaD 'to think'
-ʔubêecistaaN	-ʔúwábêecistitiyaaD 'to pray'
-ʔúwíśáayaN	-ʔúwáwíśáitiyaaD 'to play'

These forms cannot be considered as containing a continuative suffix, because a continuative suffix can be added: sućítisťítita 'I keep on thinking about it' (empty morph ≈qííʔ- + -itaaN, see Section 441).

300. INTRODUCTION TO THE GRAMMAR

A basic division is made in this grammar between morphology (Sections 400-600) and syntax (Section 700), that is, arrangements within words and arrangements between words. The division is in part arbitrary, but none the less useful. It is not hard to maintain except in a few constructions, the most important being those that include auxiliary verbs (Sections 470, 630) and subordinating suffixes (Section 760). A few general observations can be made regarding the characteristics of the grammatical word. Plus juncture usually can occur at the grammatical word boundary, but juncture also is found within a few words (§24). While there are certain basic rules which must be observed, a great deal of freedom is allowed in word order, and discontinuous immediate constituents are not infrequent. Morpheme order is rigid within a word; discontinuous immediate constituents occur within words, but always conforming to the strict rules of position of occurrence. Most morphophonemic alternations take place within word boundaries.

Inflection is limited entirely to verbs and nouns. Derivation is found with verbs, nouns, descriptives, and certain adverbs. The morphology is described in three sections. Section 400 describes the morphology of the verb theme, and Section 500 the noun theme. Section 600 describes the remaining morphology: verb and noun derivation that is not related to theme formation, adverbial derivation, and the use of auxiliaries and auxiliary complements.

A few definitions are in order. A verb theme is a form to which pronominal prefixes are added to form a verb. A verb stem is a form to which thematic affixes are added to form verb themes. Some verb themes do not include a thematic affix; the stem and theme are coterminous for such forms. A verb stem may be either a single morpheme, or it may be a derived form.

Possessed nouns show a similar hierarchical structure. A noun theme is a form to which pronominal prefixes are added to form a possessed noun. A noun theme may be either a single morpheme, or it may be derived from a noun.

Most of the morphology and syntax revolves around the verb. A verb includes a pronominal prefix which indicates subject and for transitive verbs also indicates object. The sentence mirrors the verbal relationships, but the reflection is not perfect: the favorite sentence type consists of a verb, which normally can take an optional noun subject, and, if the verb is transitive, an optional noun object.

The noun system, second in importance to the verb, can be characterized as a watered-down verb system. All of the inflectional affixes found with the noun are also found with the verb, but not vice versa. One subclass, ambivalent nouns (Section 520), can also function as verbs, and when so functioning can be inflected for categories otherwise restricted to verbs. A possessed noun includes a pronominal prefix which indicates possessor. A possessed noun can enter into a syntactic construction with a possessor noun, a construction that is analogous to a sentence consisting of a subject noun and a verb. Nouns can also be used to form a noun plus noun sentence. Unlike the verb, the noun need not have a pronominal prefix to be a free form.

These remarks characterize the main stream of the language system. They show that there is a parallelism between the morphology and syntax and between the verb and noun system. But there are also many eddies and some cross currents, seen for example in the infinitive (Sections 420, 720), the subordinating suffixes (Section 760), the locative adverbial phrase (Section 741), and the directionals (Section 652).

The units of morphology (morphemes) and syntax (words) can be grouped, very roughly, into three categories: (1) nuclear units, for example, verb stems, noun themes, and descriptives in morphology; verbs and nouns in syntax, (2) modifiers, for example, nonthematic verb suffixes, adverbs, and demonstratives, and (3) function units, for example, inflectional and thematic affixes, conjunctions, and certain locative adverbs. These categories have no significance for the organization of the following sections but are listed to give some idea of the character of Acoma. It would be difficult to use them as pivotal points in the grammar because many morpheme and word classes fit into more than one of these categories, their placement depending upon the given construction they are in. The nuclear units can be assigned lexical meaning; they are the basic terms in communication behavior. The modifiers limit or more carefully define the nuclear units and can less clearly be assigned lexical meaning. The function units are the glue of Acoma grammar. They define the interrelationships between the other units. The nuclear and function units figure more heavily in the morphology, the modifiers in the syntax, but all the units are common in both systems. Acoma

is neither a 'syntax language' nor a 'morphology language', though morphology is given a somewhat heavier load.

There are some groups of words which are on the periphery of the grammatical system of any language and only rarely are they incorporated into it. In Acoma these are interjections and baby-talk words. Some interjections are brought into the grammatical system when they are inflected by means of auxiliary verbs (Section 632.6). Interjections include words like ?áyáa?á 'ouch' (man speaking), ?áyaa?á 'ouch' (woman speaking), ?ái?iíši 'ouch' (child speaking), bíisti 'shut up, behave!' ('to be quiet' when inflected with an auxiliary), ?ímíi 'Oh, I'm scared', ?áyá 'drat it' ('to dread doing it' when inflected with an auxiliary).

Baby talk is phonetically and apparently functionally similar to Comanche baby talk as described by Casagrande.¹ The Acomas used baby-talk words in speaking to their children in my presence, but this constituted only a limited experience, since I did not do any of the field work at Acoma. Unlike Comanche, the system is very much alive. It is said to be used in talking to very young children "to make it easy for them." I have collected about thirty baby-talk words, and I suspect the number is much larger. Examples are: yáayáa 'mother', dyáadyáa 'daddy', gšəgšə 'rabbit', hšəyáa 'bite', ?áka+?áka 'drink', babáu 'sleep'. For every baby-talk word there is a corresponding word in adult speech.

Interjections and baby-talk words are used alone and are complete predications by themselves. The latter, especially, have a wide range in meaning when so used, for example, ?áka+?áka means 'you drink!; did you drink?; I want a drink; I had a drink', etc. These words will not be further treated in the grammar.

¹"Comanche Baby Language," IJAL 14.11-14 (1948).

400. VERB THEMES

The relative position of the verbal affixes is shown in table 10. Prefixes occupy positions one through three, the verb stem occupies position four, and suffixes occupy positions five through ten. Normally only one affix fills a given position at a time. Occasionally a verb has been recorded that has two affixes of the same position class. Some of these forms are possibly mistakes, ungrammatical slips of the tongue. There are some variations in the relative order, and a few affixes are not listed in the table. These are described in the course of this chapter.

The verb stem may consist of a single morpheme, or it may be derived by suffixation and/or compounding (see Sections 610, 620).

Thematic affixes fill positions three, six, and ten. The position of suffix -nú is unknown, because it has not been recorded in cooccurrence with other suffixes. It is placed in position six because it, like -'í?iD, is a thematic suffix.

Inflectional affixes fill positions one (pronominal prefixes), two (number prefixes), and seven (number suffixes). Nonthematic suffixes fill positions five, eight, and nine.

The following sections are based on the immediate constituents of the verb theme, rather than on the relative order of the affixes. Immediate constituents are often discontinuous. Illustrative examples will be given phonemically and morphemically. Forms will not be given in their morphophonemic shape except when specifically indicated. In most cases, however, the morphemic writing is identical with the morphophonemic writing.

410. Thematic Derivation

There are two general types of themes, derived and underived. Derived themes are composed of a verb stem plus thematic affix(es). Nonthematic affixes are also used in some thematic derivations. Nonderived themes make no distinction between stem and theme; the stem is the theme.

TABLE 10

Verb Affix Positions

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Pron.	{dl}	Thematic	Verb	-itaaN	-i'iID	-qedyæZ	-náafaN	-qiŞ	-şú
pref.	{pl}	prefixes	stem	-áayaN	-nú	-qeeD	-náafaN - səφ		
				-iguyaN			-səφ - náafaN		
				-səφ					
				-G ^w					
				-qeeY					
				-iz.aadyaaN					
				-nai?M					
				-duφ(N)					

Verb themes are divided into five classes, differentiated on the basis of the kinds of combinations they enter into with inflectional affixes that mark person and number (Section 430):

(1) Transitive themes indicate subject and object for all persons. Number for subject is indicated by the number suffixes, for object by the number prefixes.

(2) Static themes indicate first, second, third, and indefinite subject by the 3-1, 3-2, obviative, and indefinite-obviative prefixes, respectively. Number is indicated by the number prefixes.

(3) Intransitive-A themes indicate subject for all persons and number by the number prefixes.

(4) Intransitive-B themes also indicate subject for all persons, but indicate number by the number suffixes instead of the number prefixes.

(5) Impersonal themes indicate third person subject and do not indicate number.

411. The transitive derivations are:

- (1) {tr-1} + Stem: direct transitive
- (2) {tr-2} + Stem: indirect transitive
- (3) -Ĵ- + Stem + -'í?iD: benefactive

The morphophonemics of the prefixes is treated in ||5.5. All the themes take set I pronominal prefixes.

The direct transitive means 'to do it to someone or something'; the indirect transitive 'to do it to something belonging to someone'; the benefactive 'to do it for someone'. Examples:

kupúkuca 'she sprinkled it', g- {tr-1} -ŭpúkuzaN
 séeskə 'I fried it', sj- {tr-1} -'ásgəN
 zícitamaca 'he turned it over', g- {tr-1} -'ícitamazaN
 skubáya 'he burned me', sgu- {tr-1} -ubáyaN
 gŭpúkuca 'she sprinkled his', g- {tr-2} -ŭpúkuzaN
 séeskə 'I fried his', sj- {tr-2} -'ásgəN
 gúcitamaca 'he turned over hers', g- {tr-2} -'ícitamazaN
 sgŭpaya 'he burned mine', sg- {tr-2} -ubáyaN
 zúcitamacaní 'he turned it over for her', g- -Ĵ- -'ícitamazaN
 -'í?iD
 séeskəní 'I cooked it for him', sj- -Ĵ- -'ásgəN -'í?iD
 súšúicání 'I borrowed it for him', sj- -Ĵ- -úšúizaN -'í?iD
 súutaiskaaní 'I peeled it for him', sj- -Ĵ- -u'daiskaaM(N) -'í?iD

A number of ||uu|| stems that do not distinguish the direct and the indirect transitive take either {tr-1} or {tr-2}. The meaning of the resulting themes seems to be the same as that of the direct transitive:

zíuṣá 'he approved of him', g- {tr-1} -úuṣáaN

gúukača 'he saw him', g- {tr-2} -úukačaN

The morphophoneme $\|\bar{J}\|$ is almost always a representation of the benefactive prefix $-\bar{J}-$. Most of the exceptions are found with classificatory themes (Section 450). It is almost possible to set up $\{-\bar{J}- . . . -'iD\}$ as a discontinuous affix. There are, however, a very few examples of the suffix with nontransitive themes that lack the prefix $-\bar{J}-$: *čáyáwíistítáanítiku* 'it would be counted for them' (passive static); *gááyáakúyáapikuyánínáafa* 'they always give away' (intransitive-A). This use of the benefactive suffix appears to be irregular. It is clearly not a thematic affix in these forms.

412. The static derivations are:

(1) $-qja?a-$ + Stem (+ $-qeeD$): passive

(2) Stem + $-du\phi(N)$: inchoative static

(3) Stem + $-\acute{n}\acute{u}$

The themes take set I pronominal prefixes.

The addition of the plural suffix $-qeeD$ to the passive theme is optional. The morphophonemics of the prefix is treated in $\|\text{5.2}$, the plural suffix in 241. The theme means that the subject was acted upon by an unstated agent. It is often translated by the English passive or the English active with an undefined 'they' as subject. Examples:

ska?áašízána ~ ska?áašúica 'it was borrowed from me', sgu-
- $qja?a-$ - $úušíizaN$ ($-qeeD$)

ska?áčáwána 'it was stolen from me', sgu- $-qja?a-$ - $učáwaN$ - $qeeD$
ska?áwagóna 'my clothes have been worn', sgu- $-qja?a-$ - $ú:wagəN$
- $qeeD$

The second persons of passive themes are indicated by 3-2 or 2-3 pronominal prefixes, in free variation (the 3-2 pronominal prefixes are the regular ones for static themes):

kəčáamayanikuya ~ šáamayanikuya 'they made fun of you' (see
 $\|\text{14, 27}\|$, prefixes $g-əz-$, $š-$

čəčáamayanikuya ~ čáamayanikuya 'did they make fun of you?',
prefixes $z-əz-$, $č-$

The inchoative static theme is formed only with stems derived from descriptives plus the suffix $-zaN$ (Section 621). The inchoative suffix $-du\phi(N)$, which also has a nonthematic function (Section 442.6), replaces the stem suffix $-zaN$. The meaning is 'something belonging to the subject got . . .'. Examples:

sgúustiwiwitu 'mine got wet', sgu- $-úustí:wíwizaN$ - $du\phi(N)$

sgúusgəçətu 'mine got twisted', sgu- $-úusgəzəzaN$ - $du\phi(N)$

sgúustətu 'it got straight for me', sgu- $-úustəzaN$ - $du\phi(N)$

The suffix -nú occurs with too few stems to be able to determine its morphophonemic properties. The themes often show irregular changes. The forms usually mean 'to be given to . . .-ing'. The following list is exhaustive:

- Jućáwańú 'to be a thief', stem -ućáwaN 'to blame, steal'
- úpanú ~ -úpanú 'to be thirsty all the time', stem -paN 'to be dry'
- JúdyúmiżañúŞ 'to be smart, quick to learn', stem -údyúmiżaN 'to learn'
- Judyúifú 'to have respect', stem -údyúitiŞ 'to respect'
- Jubêeńañú ~ -Jubêeńañú 'to be inquisitive', stem -JubêeńaW 'to ask for information'

The suffix -nú is probably present in the following themes:

- Jiisíyańú 'to be nosey' (underived static theme)
- qjúúćiskúmeńú 'to be absorbent' (impersonal theme; cf. ćíci 'water', and the stem -úskúmeN 'to put in liquid')

413. The intransitive-A derivations are:

- (1) -qa- + Stem (+ -qiŞ): possessive
- (2) -Auu- + Stem (+ -qiŞ): external possessive
- (3) -Auu- + Inchoative Static Theme: inchoative intransitive
- (4) -Jaýa- + Stem
- (5) Stem + -qiŞ + -şú

The morphophonemics of the prefixes -Auu- and -Jaýa- is treated under ||5.2, of -qa- under ||5.4. Themes with the prefixes -qa- and -Auu- take set III pronominal prefixes. The other themes take set I.

Most possessive themes have the completive suffix -qiŞ (Section 442.7). The plural form takes the harmonic plural suffix (Sections 241, 433). The theme indicates that the subject has something in a certain state; or that the subject himself is in a certain state, caused by an outside agent or caused by the subject himself but incidental to some other activity.

Examples:

- śásúmeńestańi 'I have schooling, education', s- -qa- -úsúmeń'estaaN -qiŞ
- kaćáatya 'he has it pinned', g- -qa- -ućáadyaN
- kaďyáwańi 'he has something stuck in him' (for example, a splinter), g- -qa- -udyáwaN -qiŞ
- śaćayawańi 'I am mad', s- -qa- -úćayawaN -qiŞ
- śasďyúwańi 'I have sweat, am sweating', s- -qa- -usďyúwaaN -qiŞ
- śászańi 'I stepped and left footprints', s- -qa- -ásSD -qiŞ

Most external possessive themes have the completive suffix -qiŞ (Section 442.7). The meaning is the same as the possessive theme except that the condition refers to something belonging to the subject. Examples:

gáusúm'éestaani 'he has it trained', g- -Auu- -úsúm'é?estaaN -qiŞ
 gáusdyúwaaani 'his (for example, horse) is sweating', g- -Auu-
 -usdyúwaaN -qiŞ
 súu'çayawáni 'I have (him) mad', s- -Auu- -ú'çayawaN -qiŞ
 gáu'çəkáni 'his (for example, cigarettes) have been smoked', g-
 -Auu- -âzəkəN -qiŞ
 súu'çayuci 'mine has a bullet hole', s- -Auu- -u'çayuzəN -qiŞ

The inchoative intransitive theme is derived from another theme rather than from a stem. The prefix -Auu- is added to the inchoative static (Section 412). The meaning of the two themes appears to be identical.

Examples:

gáuśáwitu 'his got fine', g- -Auu- -úśáwidu∅(N)
 súusgáçətu 'mine got twisted', s- -Auu- -úusgáçədu∅(N)

Themes derived with the prefix -Jaýa- usually mean 'to take part in an activity'. This meaning, however, is not consistently found. The prefix is not uncommon, but the theme derivation is not productive. The plural form takes the harmonic plural suffix (Section 433). Examples:

śéyáçayawa 'I got into trouble', sj- -Jaýa- -úçayawaN (stem, 'to get mad')

zayáačawai 'he took part in a stick race', g- -Jaýa- -âačawaiY
 (stem, 'to run a stick race')

śéyáamáaca 'I helped', sj- -Jaýa- -úumáazaN (stem, 'to help')

zayákéesi 'he is jealous', g- -Jaýa- -úukéesiŞ (stem, 'to be jealous')

śéyáaśiica 'I borrowed (it)', sj- -Jaýa- -úúśiizaN (stem, 'to borrow')

Themes formed with the suffix -şú always have the completive suffix -qiŞ. It would be possible, therefore, to set up the suffix as ||-ú|| instead of as ||-şú|| and apply ||1.10. The meaning is 'the subject knows how to . . .':

síyúutaanişú 'I know how to sing', sj- -úyúutaan -qiŞ -şú
 séyaceemişú 'I know how to whitewash', sj- -áyaceeM -qiŞ -şú
 gáçəkánişú 'he knows how to smoke', g- -âzəkəN -qiŞ -şú

414. The intransitive-B derivations are:

- (1) -' + Stem: first active
- (2) -'á? + Stem: second active
- (3) -'úu- + Stem: reflexive
- (4) -Qa- + Stem: middle voice
- (5) -'á?i- + Stem: 'by mouth'
- (6) -'i- + Stem: 'by body'
- (7) -'áaya- + Stem: collective plural

The morphophonemics of these prefixes is described in ||5.2, 5.3, 5.6.

All the themes take set II pronominal prefixes.

The first four thematic derivations form a complex in which the thematic prefixes are in overlapping distribution. The second active prefix is found almost exclusively with long $\|uu\|$ stems that are derived by the stem suffix $-zaN$ (Section 621). The theme usually denotes action upon an object, and frequently is translated with a direct object in English. The first and second active prefixes are seldom found with the same themes, and, when they are, there appears to be no systematic difference in meaning between the two. The meaning of the first active theme is not as consistent as that of the second active theme. Sometimes the theme denotes a general intransitive activity, and sometimes it has the same meaning as the second active theme. The first active prefix is most commonly found before short stem syllables and stem syllables with an initial $\|u\|$.

The reflexive prefix is only found before the stem syllables $\|uu\|$, $\|u:\|$, and $\|u\|$. It is not entirely consistent in its meaning, but usually it denotes an intentional reflexive action.

The middle voice prefix is most frequently found before long syllables excluding $\|ui\|$. If the stem is derived from a descriptive plus $-zaN$ (stem syllable $\|uu\|$; see Section 621), the theme denotes that something belonging to the subject is acted upon. Before other stems with an initial $\|u\|$ the meaning is often reflexive, but the action is not intentionally initiated by the subject. Frequently the subject is the passive recipient of the action. Before stems that do not have an initial $\|u\|$ (where it never contrasts with the reflexive and seldom with the first active prefix), the meaning of the middle voice prefix is less consistent. It sometimes indicates a reflexive and sometimes a general intransitive relation.

Examples of first active themes with $\{-' -\}$:

$ku'á'cica$ 'he made a banging noise'; $-úur'á'cizaN$ 'to bang, slam'
 $sú'natyume$ 'I got hurt'; $-ú'nýadyumeN$ 'to hurt'
 $sú'cayawa$ 'I am mad, got mad'; $-ú'cayawaN$ 'to get mad'
 $ká'çaka$ 'he smoked'; $-á'çakaN$ 'to smoke'
 $sá'sa$ 'I took a step'; $-áSD$ 'to step'
 $sum'éyuca$ 'I got bruised'; $-úum'éyuzaN$ 'to scratch'

Examples of second active themes with $\{-'á? -\}$:

$káur'á'cica$ 'he unintentionally banged himself'; $-úur'á'cizaN$ 'to bang, slam'
 $sáuc'áyuca$ 'I broke (it)'; $-úuc'ayuzaN$ 'to break something brittle'
 $sáum'ú'aca$ 'I dented (it)'; $-úum'ú'azaN$ 'to dent'
 $káuž'îinuca$ 'she made curls, got a permanent'; $-úuž'îinuzaN$ 'to make curls'

Examples of reflexive themes with {-‘úu-}:

kúusúméesta 'he is teaching himself'; -úsúmé?estaaN 'to teach, learn'

kúurácíca 'he banged himself on purpose'; -úurácízaN 'to bang, slam'

súučáyúca 'I shot myself (on purpose?)'; -u?čayuzaN 'to shoot'
kúučáwa 'he stole (it)'; -učáwaN 'to steal'

kúučayawa 'he got mad at himself'; -účayawaN 'to get mad'

súuméyúca 'I intentionally scratched myself'; -úuméyúzaN 'to scratch'

kúuñatyume 'he is pretending that he is hurt'; -úñadyumeN 'to hurt'

Examples of middle voice themes with {-Qa-}:

śaumúra 'something of mine got dented'; -úumúrazaN 'to dent'

ka?áučayuca 'mine broke'; -úučayuzaN 'to break something brittle'

ka?áurácíca 'he banged himself'; -úurácízaN 'to bang, slam'

ka?áufáayuca 'he has a rash'; -úufáayuzaN 'to have a rash'

śáuukača 'I see myself; I have an examination'; -úukačaN 'to see'

śáaskə 'I fried (it)'; -‘aasgəN 'to fry'

śáaspanaśú 'I washed my hair'; -‘aasbanaśúM 'to wash hair'

ka?áasazí 'he cut himself'; -‘aasazíM 'to cut'

śáačawai 'I ran a stick race'; -‘ačawaiY 'to run a stick race'

The 'by mouth' and 'by body' themes are not common. They are always formed from stems that have the suffix -zaN (Section 621):

káikəçəca 'she put lipstick on', g- -‘á?i- -úukəçəzaN (stem, 'to make red')

sáipēetuca 'I wet, licked my lips', s- -‘á?i- -úupēetuzaN (stem, 'to lick')

sáistúwica 'I pointed with my lips', s- -‘á?i- -úustúwizaN (stem, 'to make sharp')

sinéəca 'I got rigid; fainted', s- -‘i- -úunéəzaN (stem, 'to be stiff, to pull')

kíkútuca 'he bunched up into a ball', g- -‘i- -úukúduzaN (stem, 'to be spherical')

kizənáca 'he shivered', g- -‘i- -u?zənəzaN (stem, 'to be cold')

The collective plural theme usually has a number suffix. It indicates that the activity is done by a group of people:

sáayáwatapətyənáaʔa 'we would take turns', s- -‘áayə- -úwadaW
-qədyəəZ -náaʔaN

sáayácayawitiyanáaʔa 'we would argue', s- -‘áayə- -účayawaN
-itaaN -qeeD -náaʔaN (see Section 242)

415. The impersonal derivations are:

(1) -qj- + Stem + -qiṢ: perfect

(2) -qja- + Stem + -qiṢ: dispersional

The morphophonemics of the prefixes is described in ||5.2 and ||5.5. Set I pronominal prefixes are used.

The perfect theme means 'it has been . . .':

ćúšúici 'it has been borrowed', g- -qj- -úšúizaN -qiṢ

ćúcitamaci 'it has been turned over', g- -qj- -ícitamazaN -qiṢ

ćáçəkáni 'it has been smoked', g- -qj- -ázəkaN -qiṢ

ćáasgəni 'it has been fried', g- -qj- -áasgəN

The dispersional theme is used only with the stem syllables ||uu||, ||u:||, and ||u||. It means 'a whole bunch is . . .':

ćakəçəci 'there is a lot of red (as in a sunset)', g- -qja- -úukəzəzaN -qiṢ

ćakútuci 'there are lots of lumps', g- -qja- -úukúduzaN -qiṢ

ćáčáyuci 'it was all shot up', g- -qja- -u:čayuzaN -qiṢ

Impersonal verb themes do not distinguish number. A stem, however, can include a number prefix:

ćúťúukuci 'it has been smoothed', g- -qj- -úťúukuzaN -qiṢ

ći?úťúukuci 'two have been smoothed, g- -qj- {dl} -úťúukuzaN -qiṢ

ćiwáaťúukuci 'they have been smoothed', g- -qj- {pl} -úťúukuzaN -qiṢ

The number prefixes must be considered part of the stem rather than the theme, because the coarticulation morphophonemes of the theme are normally lost after the number prefixes (see ||7, table 5).

The suffix -(´´), accent ablaut with length (see ||19), is used to form plural stems for two impersonal verbs:

ćíyáa 'they are wide', g- -qjíya -(´´)

ćizəə 'they are long', g- -qjízə -(´´) (see ||22)

Compare:

ćíya 'it is wide', g- -qjíya

ćíçə 'it is long', g- -qjízə

416. The morphophonemics of the thematic prefixes is rather complex, and a number of prefixes have the same or similar realizations before certain stem syllables (see table 4). The prefixes often indicate subtle voice distinctions that are not always reflected in the English glosses. As a result, some of the prefixes, particularly those in Section 414, may not be properly identified. In addition, there are a number of nonproductive thematic derivations which are left for dictionary listing.

417. The theme can sometimes serve as a stem. The inchoative intransitive (Section 413) is an example of this. There are a few other examples, but they are rare: *čayáamáaci* 'it had been helped', g- -qj- -Jaýa- -úumáazaN -qiŞ. The impersonal theme (-qj- + Theme + -qiŞ) is derived from the intransitive-A theme (-Jaýa- + Stem).

Occasionally a third person nonmodal verb is used as a stem. The pronominal prefix of the verb is incorporated in the resulting theme: *gáukúistiti* 'his (for example, horse) is brown', g- -Auu- kúistiti. The verb is a nonderived intransitive-A theme: *kúistiti* 'it is brown', g- -quíistiti.

420. Infinitives

Infinitives are formed from verb stems by the addition of the infinitive prefix *ʔ-* and the completive suffix *-qiŞ*. There are often unexplained changes in the stem syllable:

ʔubáyáni 'to fire (pottery)', *ʔ-* -ubáyaN -qiŞ

ʔúpewi 'to eat', *ʔ-* -úbeW -qiŞ

ʔúudyáati 'to catch', *ʔ-* -údyáʔaD -qiŞ

ʔúyúpəni 'to get in', *ʔ-* -ú:bəN -qiŞ (the /n/ is irregularly not glottalized)

ʔáityaáni 'to gather', *ʔ-* -áidyaaN -qiŞ

The nonthematic verbal suffixes described in Section 440 can be used with the infinitive:

ʔúukíʔaukuyáni 'to be collecting, charging money', *ʔ-* -úukíʔaW -iguyaN -qiŞ

ʔátyaciši 'to always stand', *ʔ-* -ádyazíM -səθ -qiŞ (expect *ʔátyacisi*; see || 1.13 and || 4)

ʔustíyáafáni 'to habitually fetch water', *ʔ-* -ustíiY -náataN -qiŞ

The infinitive is presumably derived from stems rather than themes, because thematic prefixes are never found with it. However, the benefactive suffix (Section 411) and the number prefixes for objects (Section 433) are found with the infinitive. These infinitives must be based on transitive themes rather than on stems:

ʔaʔáwáasêeʔeniiti 'to show them (dual) how' *ʔ-* {dl} -Ī- -úwáasêeʔeN -'íʔiD -qiŞ

ʔaʔáyáidyáni 'to meet them (dual)', *ʔ-* {dl} -J- -úyáidyáW -qiŞ

ʔúwáatafaiskaapi 'to keep husking them', *ʔ-* {pl} -u'daiskaaM -G^W -qiŞ

So that one may account for the shape of the dual prefix, the first two

infinitives must be set up with the morphophonemes $\|\bar{J}\|$ and $\|J\|$, respectively. These morphophonemes are allomorphs of the benefactive and first transitive prefix (§5.5).

430. Inflection

The verb is inflected for mode, person, and number. Person and number apply to the subject and, in addition, to the object of transitive verbs. Person and mode are indicated by portmanteau pronominal prefixes (Section 230).

431. Mode is the most important feature in distinguishing verbs from possessed nouns. Only verbs and ambivalents when functioning as verbs (Sections 520) indicate mode. Three modes are distinguished: dubitative, hortative, and negative.

The dubitative is used (1) when there is a doubt in the speaker's mind that the event happened or will happen, (2) when the event was not witnessed by the speaker, and (3) in asking questions. It is especially common in myths. The following examples are taken from texts:

báa çəzáweeʔe 'May you have luck (the next time)!'; báa 'may';

z-əz- set III pronominal prefix

çáityata dyáiyáani 'Are you gathering piñons?'; ç- set II, dyáiyáani 'piñons'

çəzáwáistíçatyai 'I guess they are your kids'; z-əz- set II

ʔúutisdýáwísti taʔúukúyawi 'I lost my saddle (and did not know it)';

ʔúutisdýáwísti 'saddle', t- set II

With second person subjects the hortative is used for commands. With other persons it is usually translated as 'let . . .'. It is used with a negative adverb for prohibitions. Examples:

pídyá '(you) hold it!'; p- -JúdyáʔaD, pronominal prefix 2-3, set I

puʔúukača '(come out and) look at the two of them!'; p- {dl}

-úukačaN, prefix 2-3, set I

pêeʔepənaiʔi 'let the other one put them (dual) in!'; pj- {dl}

-JúbənaiʔM, prefix obvative, set I

The negative mode is defective. It is found only with the 1(-3) and 3-1 persons. With other persons the nonmodal or (if the context is appropriate for it) the dubitative is used. The suffix -u (Section 442.9) is often added to the verb. A sentence with a negative verb must have a negative adverb, which is usually záazíi:

záazíi skuwáwíśáisətiyaatya 'we had nothing to play with'; sg- (TSE)

-ʔúuśáiyaN -sə∅ -qeeD -u (see Section 242)

záazíi háu stíuyâa?aniitya 'nobody gave me permission'; háu 'someone', sgj- -Júyâa?aN -'í?iD -u

záazíi sdyái?isuméestiya 'they didn't teach us anything'; sgj- {pl} -Júsúmé?estaaN -qeeD (see Section 242)

432. The first, second, third, indefinite, and distributive persons are distinguished for subject. The indefinite indicates 'someone, somebody'. The distributive is not common. It indicates 'many of them', and is used principally with plural verbs. It appears to have the same meaning as the indefinite with plural verbs.

The object of transitive verbs distinguish the first, second, and third persons. In addition, transitive verbs distinguish an obviative person in which the third person subject and third person object roles ('he . . . him') are reversed ('the other one . . . him'); the central figure of discourse is the object, and a secondary figure is the subject. Less commonly the obviative is used to indicate that 'the other one' is the subject of a verb that has an inanimate object. These two usages are illustrated by examples from a text about the War Twins, in which the War Twins are the central figures:

da?áyáita 'he (their father) painted them (the two War Twins)', dyj- {dl} -JáyáitaaN

tídyá nábaasti 'she (Spider Woman, rather than the War Twins) took hold of the spider web', dyj- -Júdyá?aD (nábaasti 'spider web')

An indefinite-obviative pronominal prefix is found, but there is no indefinite-obviative person. The prefix is used only with static verbs to indicate the indefinite person.

433. There are three numbers—singular, dual, and plural. Singular number is unmarked. The dual and plural suffixes, -qedyæZ and -qeeD (rule || 1), are used with nonsingular subjects of transitive and intransitive-B verbs. The dual and plural prefixes, {dl} and {pl} (|| 7), are used with nonsingular subjects of static and intransitive-A verbs and with nonsingular objects of transitive verbs. The number suffix is sometimes omitted from transitive verbs if both the subject and object are nonsingular.

The number prefixes condition irregular stem changes for a number of verbs (see || 7.10). The number suffixes condition irregular stem changes for the transitive verb theme -JáaciguyaN 'to say to someone': -JáaciguyaN + qedyæZ > || -JáníyaaB-edyæZ ||; + qeeD > || -JáníyaaB ||.

Examples:

séecikuya 'I said to him'

séniyaapetyæ 'we (dual) said to him'

séniya 'we (plural) said to him'

This theme is also irregular with the number prefixes (see ||7.8).

A harmonic plural suffix is added to the plural forms of certain intransitive-A verbs: (1) possessive verbs (thematic prefix {-qa-}, Section 413), (2) verbs with the thematic prefix {-Ja'ya-} (Section 413), and (3) certain irregular verbs listed in ||7.10. The harmonic plural suffix is in certain respects similar to the thematic syllable expansion (||9.s). The suffix is frequently irregular (see Section 241). Examples:

- gáa'áapəši 'their (plural) things are scattered', g- {pl} -qa'áapəṢ -qeeD; cf. ká'áapə 'his things are scattered'; ga'a'áapə 'their (dual) things are scattered' (possessive verb with {-qa-})
 ṣáayáamázána 'we (plural) helped', ṣ- {pl} -Ja'yáamázaN -qeeD; cf. séyáamáaca 'I helped'; ṣa'yáamáaca 'we (dual) helped' (thematic prefix {-Ja'ya-})
 ṣáanáadána 'we (dual) bought it', ṣ- {pl} -JúnáadaN -qeeD; cf. sínáata 'I bought it'; ṣa'ánáata 'we (dual) bought it' (irregular verb, ||7.10)

The harmonic plural is the last suffix added to possessive verbs and is added without regard to suffix position classes (table 10): gáastyuwaaniši 'they are sweating', g- {pl} -qasdyúwaaN -qiṢ -qeeD ({{-qiṢ}}, position class nine; {-qeeD}, position class seven). The usual order is maintained when the harmonic plural suffix is added to other verbs: gáanáatitiyánaáfaṣə 'they would buy it', g- {pl} -JúnáadaN ≈itaaN -qeeD -náataN -sə∅ (see Section 242 and table 10).

The plural suffix is optionally used in the thematic derivation of passive static verbs (Section 412). The suffix is sometimes irregular (Section 241).

440. Nonthematic Suffixes

The nonthematic suffixes fill positions five, eight, and nine. Two suffixes, -iku (Section 442.8) and -u (Section 442.9), have not been placed in a position class. It is not entirely certain that these are nonthematic verb suffixes.

The suffixes are not restricted in their occurrence with the five verb classes (Section 410), except that those suffixes that are used in certain thematic derivations do not again occur with these verbs. That is, they occur only once, functioning either as thematic suffixes or as nonthematic suffixes.

441. The continuative suffixes ≈itaaN, ≈áayaN, and -iguyaN may constitute three allomorphs or, more accurately, three sets of allomorphs

of one morpheme. (There is also the possibility that the repetitive suffixes $-s\emptyset$ and $-G^W$ are allomorphs of the continuative suffix; see Section 442.1.) The three suffixes have the same, or at least very similar, meanings. The material does not allow us to decide, however, which analysis is correct. I have chosen to treat them as three morphemes, because this analysis makes it easier to state the allomorphy.

- 441.1. The suffix $\approx itaaN$ is used to express continuous action:
súwáyámawéetitiya 'we wedged clay (over a period of time)', $s-$
 (TSE) -'úúyámawéézaN $\approx itaaN$ -qeeD (see Section 242)
čá?áyééçitiyaatiku 'he would be getting hit', $gj-$ -qja?áyéézaN
 $\approx itaaN$ -qeeD -iku
sgáyáadyánâawita 'we were laughing', $sg-$ {pl} -JíidyánâawaN
 $\approx itaaN$

The following types of allomorphs are found:

- (1) $\approx itaaN$
- (2) $\approx qitaaN \sim \approx itaaN$
- (3) $-itaaN$
- (4) $-qitaaN$
- (5) $-itaaN$ (with empty morphs)
- (6) $\approx etaaN$
- (7) $\approx é?etaaN$
- (8) $-taaN$
- (9) $-i\text{š}aaN$

The first four types are common and can be predicted by the preceding morphophonemic sequence. The remaining types are limited to a few themes which must be listed. The allomorphs with the morphophoneme $\| \approx \|$ condition vowel loss ($\| 2$). The suffix forms a portmanteau morpheme with the plural suffix (Section 242).

(1) $\| \approx itaaN \|$ is found after most final sequences of $\| (C)aN \|$ (excluding the sequence $\| \text{za}N \|$; see type 2, below):

- gukúšícita* 'he is crippled', $\| -u\hat{i}kúšizaN \approx itaaN \|$
šúškatita 'I am giving him a drink', $\| -JúškádaN \approx itaaN \|$
šáinatita 'I am cooking meat', $\| -QáinadaN \approx itaaN \|$

It is occasionally found after other sequences:

- šúfízúwiita* 'I am paying him', $\| -JífízúwaaN \approx itaaN \|$
káušúita 'he is getting water', $\| -'á?uséE \approx itaaN \|$

(2) $\| \approx qitaaN \sim \approx itaaN \|$ is found after most final sequences of $\| \text{za}N \|$ (see $\| 12$):

- séečááfitá* \sim *séečáátita* 'I kept listening', $\| -ááčááza(N?) \approx qitaaN,$
 $\approx itaaN \|$
sénáfitá 'I keep turning the light on', $\| -JánazaN \approx qitaaN \|$

- ka?áamítita 'he is making a nest', ||-QáamízaN=itaaN||
 (3) ||-taaN|| is found after ||W, W̄, B, G^W|| (see rule ||1):
 séefawita 'I have been opening his', ||-áaŋaW-itaaN||
 ka?áudyúpita 'he is finding out', ||-QáudyúB-itaaN||
 (4) ||-qitaaN|| is found after ||SD|| (see rule ||1.9):
 súdyúŋita 'I am covering myself', ||-‘údyuSD-qitaaN||
 (5) ||-itaaN|| is found after the empty morphs ||=qíit̄-||, ||=qiiŋ-||, and
 ||=ic-||. The empty morphs are found after certain stems and before
 =itaaN. The stems usually end with ||sdaaN|| or some similar sequence
 and are:

- (with =qíit̄-)
 -umínaásdaaN 'to make stuffed tripe'
 -úyámásdāaN 'to stuff in'
 -áyasdaaM(N) 'to enclose; can'
 -QáumúkustaaN 'to eat with big mouthfuls'
 -unúusdáaN 'to make sausage'
 -udáaN 'to place in a container'

- (with =qiiŋ-)
 -úkudyaaN 'to gather wood'

- (with =ic-)
 -úwáistaN 'to serve stew'
 -‘áićéwaN 'to wedge clay'

Examples:

- šíŋíŋítita 'I am putting them in' (theme, -JudáaN; see ||21)
 šíkutiŋítita 'I am gathering wood'
 káićéwícita 'she is wedging clay'
 (6) ||=etaaN|| is found after three stems that end with ||aa?aN||:
 -ýāa?aN(W): kiýēe?eta 'he is allowing it'
 -ūšāa?aN: ka?āušēe?eta 'he is asking for permission'
 -úidaa?aN: sūitee?eta 'I am asking for it'
 (7) ||=é?etaaN|| is found after six stems:
 -udíiśá?aN: šidišēeta 'I am feeding him'
 -úwáakasdaaN: síwáakasdeeta 'I am imitating him'
 -ááyúuná?aN: sáyúunéeta 'I am moving'
 -íicáaN: sícéeta 'I danced' (this stem is seldom found without the
 continuative suffix)
 -‘úćáaN: sūcéeta 'I am tanning'
 -úkaazá?aN: kúkaazéeta 'he is announcing'
 (8) ||-taaN|| is found after the following stems:
 -únadyumeN: súnatyumeta 'I keep getting hurt'
 -áasbanašú(M)(méN)(waN): šáaspanašúmēta 'I am washing my hair'

- ubáyaN: subáyata 'I am building the fire'
- áidyaaN: sáityata 'I am gathering'
- úyáizaaN: suyáičaata 'I am weeding'
- úskúmeN: sískúmeta 'I am dipping it in water'
- ugúyaN: kugúyata 'he keeps getting on'
- áitíM: sáifita 'I measured myself'

Several of these alternate with the first type, $\| \approx itaaN \|$: sáitita, sáityata 'I am gathering'

(9) $\| -i\text{šaa}N \|$, alternating with the regular $\| -itaaN \|$, is found with one stem that ends in $\| B \|$: ka'áudyúpiša, ka'áudyúpita 'he is finding out', -úudyúB.

441.2. The continuative suffix $\approx áayaN$ is not as common as $\approx itaaN$. It was recorded with about thirty stems. The suffix appears to have the same meaning as $\approx itaaN$. The following allomorphs are found:

- (1) $\approx áayaN$
- (2) $\approx jáayaN$
- (3) -qáayaN

The allomorphs with the morphophoneme $\| \approx \|$ condition vowel loss ($\| 2$). The suffix forms a portmanteau morpheme with the plural suffix (Section 242).

(1) $\| \approx áayaN \|$ is found after the following stems:

- âa'azaaN: sâa'azáaya 'I am piling wood'
- úpežaN: sípežáaya 'I am shaking it out'
- 'áicéwaN: sâicéwáaya 'I am wedging clay'
- úfížudyaN: súfíčudyáaya 'I am weighing myself'
- skédaN: sâiskédáaya 'I am scratching myself'

(2) $\| \approx jáayaN \|$ is found after $\| dyaN \|$ and $\| dyaaN \|$:

- sísíusdáaya 'I am roping him', $\| -usíusdyaN \approx jáayaN \|$
- síicâadáaya 'I am pinning it', $\| -uóáadyaN \approx jáayaN \|$

(3) $\| -qáayaN \|$ is found elsewhere:

- sáasgǵnáaya 'I am frying it', $\| -áasgǵN -qáayaN \|$
- siútaatáaya 'I am hanging it up', $\| -u'ítaaSD -qáayaN \|$ (see $\| 1.9$)

441.3. With some stems, -iguyaN expresses a continued action and appears to have the same meaning as $\approx itaaN$ and $\approx áayaN$: síukačanikuya 'I am seeing it, am looking at it', theme -úukačaN. With other stems it expresses a repeated action and appears to have the same meaning as -sə∅ and -G^W (Section 442.1): sêépikuya 'I am nibbling it, I bite it several times', theme -áaG^W.

The suffix has two allomorphs, $\| -iguyaN \|$ and $\| -guyaN \|$. These have been treated in rule $\| 1$. In addition, there are a few irregular formations:

- síibáakuya 'I am sleepy', $\| -jībáaguyaN \|$, from -jībáiY (see $\| 1.7$)

síwádyâinawakuyaánaata 'I find them all the time', plural theme
 -úwádyâinaW

The suffix is incorporated in a few themes:

śáańikuya 'we spoke', dual theme -qáańikuya (probably -qáańiguyaN);
 singular -ánaata (see || 7.10)

símáyanikuya 'I was laughing at him, making fun of him', theme
 -u:máyaniguyaN, stem -máyani; cf. gamáyani 'he is funny'

442. The remaining nonthematic suffixes are:

442.1. -səθ, -G^W, repetitive suffixes (see || 4 and || 1.6). The meaning of these suffixes is not clear. They are sometimes translated as a continuative (cf. Section 441), sometimes as a repetitive and sometimes as a habitual (cf. Section 442.2). There appears to be no difference in meaning between the two suffixes. They cannot be regarded as allomorphs of a single morpheme, however, because of different positional properties (see below). -səθ is the more common of the two. Any stem that can take -G^W can also take -səθ, but not vice versa. Most stems that take -səθ do not take a continuative suffix. Examples:

káačasə 'it rains, keeps on raining', g- -'áačaN -səθ
 cíúćistaikasi 'it is always strained', g- -qjúćistaikaW -səθ -qiŞ
 ča?autikuse 'they kept getting them', dy- -QautigúM -səθ -qeeD
 gumésisa 'where (the sun) comes up', g- -ú:məN -səθ -şa (see
 Section 763)

gáitúnisi 'as they grew up', g- {dl} -'itúnim -səθ -(')í (see
 Section 762)

sgái?íminaku 'one usually talks to them', sg- {pl} -JumínaaD -G^W
 dyúubičape 'they kept on dividing', dy- -úubičaN -G^W -qeeD

-səθ and -G^W are normally found in position five: síukáasi, síukáapí
 'I am shelling corn for him', sj- -úukáaM -səθ (second form -G^W)
 -'í?iD; -'í?iD is a position six suffix. -səθ, but not -G^W, can occur in
 position eight when it occurs with -náataN. It may either precede or
 follow -náataN, and it may occur in both position five and position eight
 after -náataN:

súwabáyatiasənáata 'we would build fires', s- (TSE) -'ubáyaN
 ɤitaaN -qeeD -səθ -náataN

súwíśáayánətyənáatasə 'we (dual) used to play', s- -'úwíśáayaN
 -qədyəəZ -náataN -səθ

sáiwatiseháatasə 'we would go together', s- (TSE) -'úutiM -səθ
 -qeeD -náataN -səθ (see || 9.6)

When -səθ and -náataN co-occur, the habitual meaning of -náataN is intensified.

There is one example each in which -səθ co-occurs with -G^W and ɤitaaN:

zayáapatyəsəku 'he always got them out of bed', gj- {pl} -JiipadyəM
-səϕ -G^W

ziitísitaatyanu 'when they are measuring', g- -JiitíM -səϕ =itaaN
-qeeD -u (irregularly, =itaaN and -qeeD form =itaadyaN instead
of the usual portmanteau morpheme; see Section 242)

When preceded by the derivative -tuwaaN (Section 623) and followed by another suffix, -G^W has the allomorph ||-guyaN||: gâamaatuwaakuyána 'they are taking the leg off', g- -âamaatuwaaN -G^W -qeeD. This allomorph cannot be considered an allomorph of -iguyaN, because ||-iguyaN||, allomorph of -iguyaN, is found after ||N|| (see ||1.1, and table 2). In addition, ||-guyaN|| was given in paradigms of forms that have -G^W:

gâamaatuwaaku 'he is taking the leg off'

gâamaatuwaakuyána 'they are taking the leg off'

gúwâameetuwaaku 'he is taking the tent down'

gúwâameetuwaakuyánətyə 'they (dual) are taking the tent down'

442.2. -náataN, habitual suffix, normally expresses a habitual or customary event:

kuwâanáata 'there would be plants', g- -'i'wá -náataN (probably
/kuwá+náata/)

sáayáwatapətyənáata 'we (dual) would take turns', s- -'áayáwadaW
-qədyəəZ -náataN

It sometimes expresses inevitability:

di?iuyáata 'it (swarm of bees) flew at them (dual)', dyj- {dl}
-úuyəϕ -náataN

The suffix has the allomorphs ||-náataN|| after ||N, W, W̄, S̄|| and after the plural suffix -qeeD; and ||-qáataN, -qjáataN|| after ||Y, D, SD, ϕ|| (see ||1). It does not occur after other final morphophonemic consonants, and this may account for the habitual meaning that is sometimes found for -səϕ (-səϕ is especially common after ||M||).

The allomorph ||-zátəe?eeD|| is found after ||-VVD||, the allomorph of the plural suffix -qeeD that is found after ||Y|| (see ||1.7). ||-náataN|| optionally follows ||-zátəe?eeD||:

ca?áyúucee?eezátəe?e ~ ca?áyúucee?eezátəe?eenáata 'he is always taken', g- -qja?áyúuzeeY -qeeD -náataN

kuwâušaate?eezátəe?eese 'they would go after meat', g- (TSE)
-úišaateY -qeeD -náataN -səϕ

In one case -səϕ is found between ||-zátəe?eeD|| and ||-náataN||:
sâacawai?iizátəe?eesənáatasə 'we would have stick races'.

442.3. -qeeY, 'to go to . . . , to come . . . ' (see rule ||1). The suffix indicates purposeful movement, usually to a definite place:

súsúmeestaane 'I went to school', s- -'úsúmé'estaaN -qeeY

kuwáane 'he went hunting', g- -'u'wáaN -qeeY (lit. 'he went to kill')
 -qeeY does not occur with the continuative or repetitive suffixes because they all belong to the same position class. -náataN is used instead: sínáameeyáata 'I kept going to look out', s- -'ináa?W -qeeY -náataN.

-áidyaaN plus -qeeY irregularly becomes ||-áidyaiY||:
 sáitya 'I gathered'; sáityai 'I went to gather'.

442.4. -izaadyaaN, inceptive suffix, 'starting to . . . , beginning to . . .':

gáispizáadyaání 'when dawn was coming', g- -áisbiiY -izaadyaaN
 -(')í (see Section 762)

tigúuníçaatya 'she became pregnant', dy- -Jugúu?N -izaadyaaN
 síufuunímiçaatya 'I started to remember things', s- -'úituuníM
 -izaadyaaN

There are not enough examples to determine the morphophonemic properties of this suffix. It is probably an initial vowel suffix (see ||1.0), perhaps with an initial ||q||.

442.5. -nai?M, 'enclosed, inside'. This suffix is not common:

seyázánaaityə 'we (dual) made them (dolls) talk', sj- {pl} -Jáazá?aN
 -nai?M -qədyəəZ (lit. 'we talked in them')

sípənai?i 'I put it in', s- -JúbəN -nai?M (-ú:bəN, 'to enter')

A few stems are always found with -nai?M or -náai?M:

-úyaaçiciñai?M 'to surround'
 -úwiikúmastiiñai?M 'to smother'
 -Jíisdýənai?M 'to be constipated'

442.6. -duø(N), inchoative:

kaméetu 'it froze', g- -'amée?N -duø(N); cf. kaméee?e 'it is frozen'
 káwéetu 'it snowed', g- -'áwée -duø(N); cf. káwé 'it is snowy'
 tíipánítu 'it (for example, river) went dry' (dubitative), dy- -qjípániS
 -duø; cf. cíipáni 'it went dry'

The suffix also functions as a thematic affix; see Section 411.

442.7. -qiS, the completive suffix, has several functions. It is used (1) in certain thematic derivations (Sections 413, 415), (2) in forming the infinitive (Section 420), (3) in certain stem derivations (Section 625), and (4) in nonthematic constructions. As a nonthematic suffix, it emphasizes that the action is finished:

síwáakučáni 'I have it hidden', sj- -JúwáakuD(čaN) -qiS
 cibêetaukuyánaánaatániši 'the questions that they had always asked',
 g- -JubêetaW -iguyaN -qeeD -náataN -qiS -iši (see Section 761)
 súsúméestaani 'I had learned (as a child in school)', s-
 -'úsúmé?estaaN -qiS (expect /-ni/, rather than /-ni/)

-qiṣ has two allomorphs, ||-qiṣ|| and ||-iṣ||, treated in rule ||1.

442.8. -iku has been recorded only with the nonmodal pronominal prefixes and hence may not be a verb suffix (see Section 760). It is the last suffix in the form. The suffix means 'that's the way it's done'. It is used primarily with the completive suffix and with the third person pronominal prefix:

kaʔāačawaiʔizáteeʔeetiku 'they would race, that's the way they would race', g- -QāačawaiY -qeeD -náátaN -iku
gačípətišiku 'that is what is needed', g- -ačípəD -qiṣ -iku
čidyáatiku 'that's the way he catches it', gj- -JúdyáʔaD -iku

442.9. The suffix -u has three functions. It is used (1) as a subordinative suffix (Section 764), (2) with verbs in the negative mode, and (3) with verbs that have the indefinite person. The last two functions are considered here. Perhaps there are two homophonous suffixes, one a subordinative suffix, the other the suffix treated here. If so, both suffixes have identical allomorphs distributed in an identical fashion (see rule ||1).

-u is the last suffix of the verb. Unlike other verbal suffixes, it follows the auxiliary that is used in the periphrastic expective construction (Section 471). No meaning can be attached to the suffix, and its presence is optional. Examples:

sgúistyānu 'one ties it', sg- -úisdyaN -u
náigámisgúnu 'one wants to catch it', n- -qáigámiṣ sg- {gú} -u
(expective construction, Section 471)
záazíi sdiukačanu ~ záazíi sdiukača 'I didn't see him', sgj-
-úukačaN (-u)

450. Classificatory Verbs

The classificatory verb stems constitute a small group of stems that undergo special thematic derivations and take special nonthematic suffixes. Some of the stems are defective, and many of the formations are irregular. The stems are:

úšə
-úť- 'to handle things in a basket'
-úst- 'to handle liquid'
-úisd- 'to handle things in a sack or box'
-áamáaku- 'to handle grainlike or sandlike objects'
-úišaa- 'to handle meat'
-úipady- 'to carry on the back'
-áaʔB 'to handle one flexible object'

- úuku- 'to handle several flexible objects'
- úúd- 'to handle one compact object'
- úúyad- 'to handle several compact objects'

The first three stems are more regular, are found in a larger set of formations than the others, and will be considered first.

451. The thematic derivations with -út-, -úst-, and -úisd- follow.

(1) ||-Ĵ-. . .-í?iD||, transitive, 'to give . . . to a person'. The themes are not the benefactive (see Section 454):

- Ĵutí?iD, šíťí 'I gave him a basket of something'
- Ĵústí?iD, šístí 'I gave him a container of water'
- Ĵúisdí?iD, šíusdí 'I gave him a sack of something'

(2) ||-J- . . . -iD(čaN)||, transitive, 'to place . . .'. The dual prefix is regular with these forms, but the plural prefix is realized as zero (see ||7.2):

- ĴutíD(čaN), zíťiča 'he placed a basket'
- ĴústíD(čaN), zístiča 'he placed a container of water'
- ĴúsdíiD(čaN), zísdíiča 'he placed a sack'

(3) ||-Ju- . . . -iızaN, -áaN||, transitive, 'to put in . . ., to fill . . .':

- ĴutíızaN ~ -ĴutáaN, šíťiča ~ šíťá 'I filled a basket, put it in a basket'
- ĴústíızaN ~ -ĴustáaN, šístiča ~ šístá 'I poured water in'
- ĴusdáaN, šísdá 'I put it in a sack'

(4) ||-' . . . -áW, -áaN, -áaW||, intransitive-B, 'to take a . . .':

- 'utáW ~ -'utáaN, kuťá 'he took a basket'
- 'ustáaN, kustá 'he took a container of water'
- 'úisdáaW ~ -'úisdaaN, kuísdá ~ kuísta 'he took a sack'

In -'utáW the accent shifts to the preceding syllable when thematic syllable expansion is present (||9): suwáťawa 'we (plural) took a basket'

Additional intransitive-B derivations are:

- 'utíızaN, suťiča 'I helped myself to something from a basket'
- 'áusdíızaN, saúsdíiča 'I packed it (in a box, sack)'

452. The intransitive themes (type 4, above) are found with some non-thematic affixes.

(1) Suffix ||z'áikuY|| 'to take . . . with oneself' (cf. -iguyaN, continuative suffix, Section 441.3)

- 'utáikuY, suťáiku 'I took a basket with me'
- 'ustáikuY, sustáiku 'I took water with me'
- 'úisdáikuY, suísdáiku 'I took a sack with me'

(2) Suffixes ||z'áikuY + -aN|| 'to be holding, carrying . . .':

- 'utáikuiyaN, suťáikuiya 'I am carrying a basket'
- 'ustáikuiyaN, sustáikuiya 'I am carrying water'

-‘úisdáikuiyaN, súisdáikuiya 'I am carrying a sack'

(3) Extension of the thematic syllable from ||‘u|| to ||‘u?ú||, with loss of the following accent, 'to just now . . .':

-‘u?útaW, su?úta 'I just now took a basket'

-‘u?ústaN, su?ústa 'I just now took some water' (final syllable is shortened)

This formation is also found with -Ĵuť?iD (Section 451, type 1): sí?ití 'I just now gave him a basket'. The accent is not changed.

Additional forms are:

-‘ustíiY, kustí 'he went after water (with an open container?)'

-‘úsdíišiiY, kúsdíiši 'he took water (with a closed container?)'

-‘úsdíišiiaN, kúsdíišiia 'he is carrying water (in a closed container?)'

453. The formations with the remaining classificatory stems follow.

(1) -áamáaku- 'to handle grainlike or sandlike objects':

-Ĵamáaku?í?iD, sámáaku?í 'I gave him a handful' (transitive)

-‘ámáakúyaW, sámáakúya 'I took a handful' (intransitive-B)

-‘ámáakúišiiaN, sámáakúišiia 'I am holding a handful' (intransitive-B)

(2) -úišaa- 'to handle meat':

-‘úišaaťeeY, súišaaťe 'I went after meat' (intransitive-B)

-‘úišaaaseeY, súišaaase 'I went by with meat' (intransitive-B)

(3) -úipady- 'to carry on the back'

-‘úipatinaW, kúipatináu 'he put it on his back' (intransitive-B)

-Ĵíipadyuiya(N?), cíipadyuiya 'he is carrying (several objects?) on his back' (static)

-Ĵíipatiya(N?), cíipatiya 'he carried (several objects?) on his back' (static)

(4) -áa?B 'to handle one flexible object'

-Ĵáa?B, séu?u 'I gave it to him' (transitive)

-‘áyáa?B, sayáu?u 'I took it' (intransitive-B)

-QáikuY, sáiku 'I took it with me' (intransitive-B)

-QáikuiyaN, sáikuiya 'I am holding it, carrying it' (intransitive-B)

(5) -úuku- 'to handle several flexible objects'

-Ĵúuku?í?iD, síuku?í 'I gave them to him' (transitive)

-QáukúyaW, sáukúya 'I took them' (intransitive-B)

(6) -úud- 'to handle one compact object'

-Ĵúudí?iD, síudí 'I gave it to him' (transitive)

-JudáaN ~ JúdaW, sídá ~ síta 'I took it' (transitive)

-JudáikuiyaN, súdáikuiya 'I am holding it' (transitive)

-JudíiyaaB, sídiia 'I carried it (placed it?)' (transitive)

- (7) -úúyád- 'to handle several flexible objects'
 -Júúyádí?iD, súúyádí 'I gave them to him' (transitive)
 -'úiyáteyaW, súiyáteya 'I took them' (intransitive-B)
 -'úiyášeeY, síuýaše 'I took them with me' (intransitive-B)
 -QáadeeY, sáate 'I took them with me, I hauled them' (intransitive-B)
 -'úiyášeeyaN, síuýašeeya 'I am holding them' (intransitive-B)
 -QáadeeyaN, sáateeya 'I am holding them' (cf. -uîdeeY, -uîdiiY 'to fetch a person')

454. The themes listed above can serve as stems and can undergo thematic derivation of the kind described in 410. The initial coarticulation morphophoneme of the classificatory theme is dropped when it functions as a stem. A bewildering array of forms result. A few examples are given with -úisd- 'to handle things in a sack or box'.

- (J)úisdí?iD (Section 451, type 1): súsdíití 'I gave a sack to someone for him' (benefactive, Section 411); cíisdíiti 'the sack was given' (perfect, Section 415)
 -(J)usdáaN (Section 451, type 3): kásdáani 'he has it packed in a sack or box' (possessive, Section 413)
 -(')úisdáaW (Section 451, type 4): cúsdáawi 'the sack has been picked up' (perfect)
 -(')áusdíizaN (Section 451): císdíici ~ cúsdíici 'the sack has been packed' (perfect; the vowel and accent change of the thematic syllable is irregular)
 -(')úisdáikuY (Section 452, type 2): súsdáikuimí 'I went to give him a sack, took a sack for him' (benefactive)

In the first example the benefactive suffix is added to -(J)úisdí?iD. This shows that the classificatory theme ||-J- . . . -í?iD|| cannot be considered a benefactive theme, in spite of the similarity in shape and partial similarity in meaning. The two theme types are, however, undoubtedly from the same historical source.

460. Auxiliary Verbs

The auxiliary verbs are used to inflect the auxiliary complements (Section 630) and to form periphrastic constructions (Section 470). The auxiliary is in second position in these constructions. These verbs are few in number and often irregular. They are usually short and may be unaccented. The auxiliaries {gú}, {zá}, {gáa}, and {zé} are preceded by word juncture, but the juncture is usually lost through the operation of

||24. The rest of the auxiliaries are joined to the preceding complement without an intervening juncture. A limited amount of thematic derivation is found with the auxiliaries.

461. Most of the auxiliaries are morphemically identified by the phonemic form of the 3(-3) person singular nonmodal. {sé} is identified by its first person singular nonmodal form because the third person form is homophonous with that of {zá}. The static auxiliaries are identified by their 3-1 person singular nonmodal form.

In the following sections the auxiliaries are exemplified by partial paradigms. The phonemic forms shown in the paradigms are those found in final position.

461.1. {gú} is found in the constructions described in Section 632.6 and in the periphrastic constructions described in Section 470. It has the following allomorphs:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First allomorph	-ú:N	-qúu?N	-úuS
Second allomorph	-u:máN	-u:máN	-ú:máS

Singular, dual, and plural refer to number of the subject. The auxiliary has not been recorded with nonsingular objects.¹ The first allomorphs are used with 1(-3), 2(-3), 3(-3), indefinite, and expective prefixes. The second allomorphs are used with other pronominal prefixes. The second allomorph of the dual suffix and both allomorphs of the plural take the dual and plural suffix, respectively. The first allomorph of the dual adds on the dual suffix when there is another suffix following. The first allomorphs of the dual and plural take set IV pronominal prefixes, and the remaining allomorphs take set I. The second allomorph of the plural form is unaccented if, through the operation of ||13, the thematic syllable is long. The nonmodal paradigms of {gú} are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1(-3)	-sí	-şúu?u	-şúusa
2(-3)	-şú	-kuçúu?u	-kuşúusa
3(-3)	-gú	-kúu?u	-gúusa
obv.	-ciumá	-ciumánetye	-ciumása
1-2	-şaumá	-şaumánetye	-şaumása
3-2	-kuzumá	-kuzumánetye	-kuzumása

¹Number prefixes have been recorded with {gú} (usually to indicate object number) in the periphrastic expective construction. This use of the number prefixes, however, does not represent the usual pattern. See Section 471.

	Singular (cont'd)	Dual (cont'd)	Plural (cont'd)
2-1	-dyumá	-dyumánətyə	-dyúmasa
3-1	-sgumá	-sgumánətyə	-sgúmasa
exp.	-nú-	-núu?u-	-núusaa-
ind.	-sgú	-skúu?u	-sgúusa

461.2. {sé}, an intransitive-B auxiliary verb, is used in the constructions described in Section 632.5. The forms of the auxiliary are ||-Já?aN|| singular and ||-JáníyaB|| dual and plural. The dual is distinguished from the plural by the addition of the dual suffix. Set I pronominal prefixes are used. The nonmodal paradigms of {sé} are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-śé	-śéniyapətyə	-śéniya
2nd	-śá	-śániyapətyə	-śániya
3rd	-zá	-zániyapətyə	-zániya
exp.	-ńée-	?	?

The auxiliary {cáaci}, a perfect impersonal thematic derivative of {sé}, has the morphophonemic shape ||-qjá?aziŞ||. It is used in constructions described in Section 632.5.

461.3. {ci}, an intransitive-A auxiliary verb, is used as described in Sections 631 and 632.4. The forms are ||-ji∅(Ş)|| singular, ||-qáa?N|| dual, and ||-jeeY|| plural. The plural suffix is optionally added to the plural form. Set I pronominal prefixes are used in the singular, set IV in the dual and plural. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-si	-śáa?a	-səte, -sətee?e
2nd	-ši	-kəçáa?a	-kəte, -kətee?e
3rd	-ci	-káa?a	-ce, -cee?e
exp.	-ne- (?)	?	?

461.4. {ka}, an intransitive-A auxiliary verb, is used as described in Sections 631, 632.1, 632.2, and 632.5. The singular form is ||-aN||. The dual and plural forms are identical with those of {ci}. Set I pronominal prefixes are used in the singular, set IV in the dual and plural. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-se	-śáa?a	-səte, -sətee?e
2nd	-şa	-kəçáa?a	-kəte, -kətee?e
3rd	-ka	-káa?a	-ce, -cee?e
exp.	-ne-	?	?

The auxiliary {gáñi}, used as described in Section 632.3, is formed from {ka} by the addition of the completive suffix -qiŞ. The plural form, ||-jeeʔeŞ||, is an irregular formation. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-séñi	-şáañi	-səteeʔe, -səteeʔeşi
2nd	-şañi	-kəçáañi	-kəteeʔe, -kəteeʔeşi
3rd	-gáñi	-káañi	-ceeʔe, -ceeʔeşi
exp.	-néñi-	?	?

461.5. {ku}, an intransitive-A auxiliary verb, is found only in the singular and only with the stem zúu- 'to go' (the dual and plural themes of 'to go' are -qjéeyu∅ and -jeʔéguY respectively; see ||7.10 and Section 632.7). The auxiliary has two allomorphs, ||-aa∅|| and ||-əu∅||. The first allomorph is used after pronominal prefixes ending in ||j||, and the second allomorph is used elsewhere. The paradigm is:

	Nonmodal	Dubitative	Hortative
1st	-se	-te	-ne (prefix nj- ?)
2nd	-şu	-çu	... (see Section 234)
3rd	-ku	-tyu	-puşu
exp.	-nee-		
1st neg.	-sku		

The pronominal prefixes are similar to, but not identical with, those of set I (Section 230).

The suffix ||-qjáataN||, allomorph of -náataN, is added directly to the pronominal prefixes (see ||1.13). If the pronominal prefix ends with ||j||, the vowel of the suffix becomes /e/:

zúuséeta 'I kept going'
 zúucáata 'he kept going'

The pronominal prefixes are palatalized before a front vowel of an initial vowel suffix:

zúuci 'when he went'; suffix -(´)í (Section 762)
 ʔúzúuci 'to go'; suffix ||-iŞ||, allomorph of the completive suffix
 -qiŞ

The last example is the infinitive form, in which the third person pronominal prefix is incorporated in the irregular stem formation ||-uzúug-aa∅||.

When a suffix that conditions accent ablaut is added to the auxiliary, the accent ablaut also applies to the auxiliary complement. Cf. the example zúuci, given above.

461.6. {gáa}, an intransitive-A auxiliary verb, is used in the constructions described in Section 632.8. The auxiliary has two allomorphs in the singular, ||-JíiB|| and ||-á?aB||. The first allomorph is used after the pronominal prefixes that end in ||j||, and the second allomorph is used elsewhere. The long vowel of the second allomorph is retained in final position, in spite of ||25. The remaining forms are ||-âa?aB(N)|| dual and ||-je?éeB(M,N)|| plural. Set I pronominal prefixes are used in the singular and set IV in the dual and plural. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-sí	-şâa?a	-sède?é
2nd	-şáa	-kəzâa?a	-kède?é
3rd	-gáa	-gâa?a	-ze?é
exp.	-níi-	-nəzâa?a-	-nède?ée-

461.7. {gá}, an intransitive auxiliary verb, is found only in the singular and is used as described in Section 632.9. It has the morphophonemic shape ||-á|| and uses set I pronominal prefixes. The nonmodal paradigm is:

1st	-sé
2nd	-şá
3rd	-gá

461.8. {zá}, an intransitive-A auxiliary verb, is used as described in Section 632.10. It has the forms ||-já?aN|| singular and ||-jaa?aB(N)|| dual and plural. The plural is distinguished from the dual by adding the plural suffix allomorph ||-aaD|| to ||-jaa?aB|| (the expected allomorph of the plural suffix after ||B|| is ||-eeD||; see ||1.6). Set IV pronominal prefixes are used for all three numbers. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-sədə	-sətaa?a	-sətaa?apa
2nd	-kədə	-kətaa?a	-kətaa?apa
3rd	-zá	-caa?a	-caa?apa
exp.	-nədəa-	-nətaa?a-	-nətaa?apaa-

The singular form ||-já?aN|| plus the adverbializing suffix ||-(')í|| (Section 762) results in either the morphophonemically regular form or the irregular combination ||-(')ée||. When the combination is irregular, the long vowel is retained in final position in spite of ||25, and the accent ablaut of the suffix operates on the auxiliary complement. In either case the final vowel of the auxiliary complement is lengthened: rūnišízée ~ rūnišiiza?ání 'when it was Monday'; cf. rūnišizá 'it was

Monday'. When the irregular combination results, ||3.2 optionally applies after ||19 (||3.2 applies to forms with the morphophoneme ||´||, and ||19 is the operation of accent ablaut). Thus a form that contains ||´|| has three alternate forms: mʰədéesədée ~ mʰədéesədée ~ mʰədéesədəʰání 'when I was a boy'; ||mʰədɛ|| 'boy'.

The auxiliary {ská}, used as described in Section 632.12, is a static derivative of {zá}. It has the forms ||-JáʰaN|| singular, ||-aaʰa|| dual, and ||-aiʰi|| (probably ||-aiY|| plus the plural suffix) plural. The plural of {ská} may optionally be replaced by the plural of the intransitive auxiliary {zé} (Section 461.9). The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3-1	-ská	-skaaʰa	-skaiʰi (or -sətéeʰeši)
3-2	-kədə	?	?
obv.	-cá	-caaʰa	-caiʰi (or -ceeʰeši)
exp.	-né-	?	?

The auxiliary {skáaci}, used in constructions described in Section 632.13, is a static derivative of {zá}. It is probably derived from {ská} by the completive suffix -qiʰ. It has the forms ||-Jáʰaziʰ|| singular and ||-aaʰaziʰ|| dual. No plural forms have been recorded; the plural of the auxiliary {zé} (Section 461.9) has been recorded instead. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	(Plural)
3-1	-skáaci	-skaaʰaci	(-sətéeʰeši)
3-2	-kəzáaci	?	?
obv.	-cáaci	-caaʰaci	(-ceeʰeši)

461.9. {zé}, an intransitive-A auxiliary verb, is used in constructions described in Section 632.11. It has the forms ||-jée|| singular and ||-jeeʰeʰ|| dual and plural. The plural is distinguished from the dual by the addition of the plural suffix. Set IV pronominal prefixes are used for all three numbers. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-sədə	-sətéeʰe	-sətéeʰeši
2nd	-kədə	-kətéeʰe	-kətéeʰeši
3rd	-zé	-ceeʰe	-ceeʰeši

461.10. {ká}, an intransitive-A verb, is used in constructions described in Section 632.14. It has the forms ||-qáa|| singular, ||-aʰá|| dual, and ||-qáaši|| plural. It takes set III pronominal prefixes in the singular and set IV in the dual and plural. The nonmodal paradigms are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-śá	-şaʔá	-śáaši
2nd	-kəʒá	-kəʒaʔá	-kəçáaši
3rd	-ká	-gaʔá	-káaši

462. A synopsis of the auxiliary allomorphs is given in table 11.

TABLE 11

Allomorphs of the Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary		Singular	Dual	Plural
(461.1)	gú	1. -ú:N	-qúuʔN	-úuS-aaD
		2. -u:máN	-u:máN-qədyəəZ	-ú:máS-aaD
(461.2)	śé	-JáʔaN	-JániyaB-ədyəəZ	-JániyaB
	ćáaci	-qjáʔaziŞ		
(461.3)	ci	-jiϕ(Ş)	-qáaʔN	-jeeY(-ʔVVD)
(461.4)	ka	-aN	-qáaʔN	-jeeY(-ʔVVD)
	gáni	-aN-qiŞ	-qáaʔN-qiŞ	-jeeʔeŞ(-iiD)
(461.5)	ku	1. -aaϕ		
		2. -uuϕ		
(461.6)	gáa	1. -JíiB	-áaʔaB(N)	-jeʔéeB(M, N)
		2. -áʔaB		
(461.7)	gá	-á		
(461.8)	zá	-jáʔaN	-jaaʔaB(N)	-jaaʔaB-aaD
	ská	-JáʔaN	-aaʔa	-aiʔi
	skáaci	-JáʔaziŞ	-aaʔaziŞ	
(461.9)	zé	-jée	-jeeʔeŞ	-jeeʔeŞ-iiD
(461.10)	ká	-qáa	-aʔá	-qáaši

470. Periphrastic Constructions

Periphrastic constructions have the following form: periphrastic prefix + theme + auxiliary {gú} (Section 461.1). The theme is either a verb theme or an ambivalent theme functioning as a verb. Noun themes are not found in this construction. The periphrastic prefix is placed in the pronominal prefix position (position class one). Person and mode are indicated by the auxiliary verb. There are three periphrastic constructions formed by one of the following prefixes:

- n- expective
- p- mandative
- ?- desiderative

The expective prefix has four allomorphs: nj-, n̄j-, n-, and nəz-. Their distribution is given in Section 232. The other prefixes have no allomorphs.

The expective is very common. The other two periphrastic constructions are rare, and the details of their formation are not known, but it can be expected that they are similar to those of the expective.

471. The expective is used to indicate that the action is expected to, is desired to, or might take place. Thus 'I will walk', 'I was going to walk', 'I would have walked', 'I might (have) walk(ed)', and 'I want(ed) to walk' are all translated by the expective in Acoma. The following examples are taken from texts:

- n̄eʔepee-kuzuʔumá 'he might eat you up'
- n̄adyáa-sgúnu 'one will keep it as a pet'
- zũunee-sgúnu 'one wants to go' (auxiliary {ku}, Section 461.5)
- n̄anáci-gúniši 'what would be used for his lunch'
- n̄audii-sgúniši 'what one wants to plant'
- nigũuniçaa-gúniši 'that she would become pregnant'

The last three examples are nominalized verbs (Section 761).

The thematic class of the expective construction is governed by the thematic class of the main verb, not by the auxiliary (see Section 410):

- gũukača 'he saw him'; n̄ũukačagú 'he will see him' (transitive)
- súpe 'I ate'; núpesí 'I will eat' (intransitive-A)
- kaʔáudí 'he planted'; n̄áudíigú 'he will plant' (intransitive-B)
- sk̄aanawáni 'I am mean'; n̄aanawánisgumá 'I will be mean' (static)
- čũkúičáni 'it has been divided'; n̄ũkúičánigú 'it will be divided' (impersonal)

A nonsingular subject is indicated both by the appropriate number prefix or suffix (depending on theme class, Section 433) with the main verb and by the appropriate nonsingular form of {gú}:

- n̄ũukačán̄etyəšúuʔu 'we (dual) will see him', transitive theme
-ũukačaN, dual suffix ||-qədyəəZ||, dual auxiliary
- n̄ũukačánašúusa 'we (plural) will see him', plural suffix ||-qaaD||,
plural auxiliary
- nəzaʔaʔawikučúuʔu 'yours (dual) will be open, it will be open for you', intransitive-A theme -qáaʔaW-qiš, dual prefix, dual auxiliary

The nonsingular number of the object of a transitive verb is indicated by a number prefix with the main verb:

- niʔúnatyumeciúmá 'he might hurt them (dual)' (obviative); theme
-ú:nadyumeN

néy'askátašú 'you will give them (plural) a drink'; theme -JiiskadaN
(plural prefix irregular, || 7.7)

Sometimes the number prefix (indicating either number of subject or object, depending on theme class) is found with both the main verb and the auxiliary:

ne?éečáaçašetiú?úmasa 'they (dual) will be heard', static
nêe?epeekuzu?umá 'he might eat you (dual) up' (transitive)

472. The mandative is used for a request or polite command. The main verb is an intransitive verb, either type A or B, and the resulting construction is transitive:

pižáačúwasí 'I told him to wake up', theme -'izáačúwaM(N), intransitive-A

pâizúwaasí 'I wanted him to pay', theme -'á?izúwaaN, intransitive-B
pâizúwaasgumá 'he wanted me to pay'

473. The desiderative is similar in meaning to the mandative. The main verb is intransitive (type B only?), and the resulting construction is also intransitive. The main verb usually, but not always, has the completive suffix and hence is usually homophonous with the infinitive (Section 420). Examples:

?áy'aceepisí 'I asked to have it whitewashed'

?âizúwaanísí 'I wanted it paid'

500. NOUN THEMES

There are two classes of noun themes, inalienably possessed themes (Section 510), and ambivalent themes (Section 520). The noun theme is inflected for person and number (Section 530). A noun theme and pronominal prefix form a possessed noun.

510. Inalienably Possessed Nouns

The theme and root of inalienably possessed nouns are identical. This class includes only body part terms, and almost all body part terms belong to this class. Many of the themes have an absolutive form (Section 641).

The inalienably possessed themes are given in the following list. The theme is followed by the third person form, written phonemically, and the gloss:

- 'aʔášə; kaʔášə 'his knee'
- Aúúciyáatiša; gáúciyáatiša 'his shin'
- áčšákaya; gáčšákaya 'his armpit'
- jáača; zaača 'his tooth'
- jáza; záça 'his horn'
- qjika; čika 'his mouth, lips'
- Aúuma; gáuma 'her vagina'
- 'áamaa; káama 'his thigh'
- 'umáci; kuáci 'his groin'
- 'amáapaa; kamáapa 'his palm, paw'
- 'amásdí; kamásdí 'his hand'
- 'ámasdyáa; kámasdyá 'his finger' (?)
- 'áamúča; káamúča 'his big toe'
- 'jáamúča; cáamúča 'his toe'
- Aúumúča; gáumúča 'his buttocks'
- qjímúča; čímúča 'his upper lip, snout'
- 'jáamúša; cáamúša 'his beard'

- qâanáa; kâaná 'his eye'
- ánâaʔaʒəši; gánâaʔaʒəši 'the crown of his head'
- ánâaʔaši; gánâaʔaši 'the arch of his foot'
- û:náčai; kúnáčai 'his stomach'
- ánásgái; gánáska 'his head'
- 'jíní; cíni 'his body'
- Aúunúutii; gáunúuti 'his ankle'
- 'ábâa; kábá 'his testicles'
- qjîipee; cíipe 'his ear'
- âipéfa; gâipéfa 'his anus'
- qúupi; kúupi 'his forehead'
- u:sêeniši; kusêeniši 'his hair'
- 'ásí; kásí 'her breasts'
- 'jîisipa; cíisipa 'his eyelashes'
- jáaskáaci; záaskáaci 'his chin'
- qáiskâami; káiskâami 'the calf of his leg'
- 'ásdí; kásdí 'his foot'
- áustu; gáustu 'his temple'
- qjîišə; cíišə 'his nose'
- Aúušúkuciša; gáušúkuciša 'his elbow'
- áišupa; gâišupa 'his hip'
- áiša; gâiša 'the small of his back'
- 'áadáka; káadáka 'his heel'
- 'ádáwi; kádáwi 'his navel'
- 'úwáačə; kuwáačə 'his tongue'
- 'úwápə; kuwápə 'his cheek'
- 'úwasə; kúwasə 'his feather, wing'
- qúwáwi; kúwáwi 'his face'
- áwi; gáwi 'his neck'
- áwíci; gáwíci 'his chest'
- jáawíiča; záawíiča 'his nail, claw'
- áwîizá; gáwîizá 'his throat'
- áwínuska; gáwínuska 'his heart'
- áya; gáya 'his penis'
- jáýagəzə; záýakəçə 'his rib'
- qayáatiima; kayáatiima 'his wisdom tooth'
- 'jîyúci; ciyúci 'his upper back'
- 'jîyúumii; ciyúumi 'his arm'
- 'jîyuská; ciyuská 'his tail'
- 'jîyúuspii; ciyúuspi 'his shoulder'

520. Ambivalents

Ambivalents may function as verbs or nouns. When functioning as nouns they are inflected for person and number like other noun themes (Section 530). When functioning as verbs they are additionally inflected for mode (Section 431) and may enter into the periphrastic expective construction (Section 471). Most ambivalents are translated 'to have . . .' when they function as verbs. Examples:

čadyŭuni 'does she have pottery?', dubitative; theme -qadyŭuni,
noun dyŭuni 'pottery'

šaʔadyŭuni 'we (dual) have pottery', verb, nonmodal; 'our (dual)
pottery', noun

ňadyŭunigú 'she will have pottery', expective

çəzáwiçə 'do you have a brother?', dubitative; theme -qáwiža

521. Derived ambivalents are composed of a free noun and the possessive prefix -qa- (§5.4):

dyŭuni 'pottery': -qadyŭuni, for example, kadyŭuni 'her pottery'

pánaci 'lungs': -qapánaci, for example, šapánaci 'my lungs'

dyaʔáu 'grandmother': -qadyaʔáu, for example, kadyaʔáu 'her grandmother'

ʔudyáatítáani 'pen': -qadyáatítáani, for example, šadyáatítáani 'my pen' (noun derived from the infinitive ʔudyáatítáani 'to be writing', Section 643)

522. Basic ambivalent themes are few in number and are composed of a noun root that occurs only with the possessive prefix. It is impossible to segment basic ambivalent themes into two morphophonemic parts because of the nature of the morphophonemic rule that applies to the possessive prefix (§5.4). The basic ambivalent themes are:

-qakúiza 'sister of a man'

-qáwazə 'brother of a woman'

-qāáwi 'clansman'

-qakúuyá 'father's clansman'

-qáazə 'husband'

-qāukui 'wife'

-qadyáa ~ -qadyáaši 'pet, domesticated animal'

-qáwaşu 'scar'

-qáapaa 'bag'

-qáişa 'field, garden'

-qáukíini 'friend'

The last three themes have unpossessed noun derivatives (Section 642).

Animal terms do not enter into the ambivalent construction. Instead, the theme -qadyáa(ši) 'pet' is used with animal terms: kawáayu śadyá 'my horse', díya kadyá 'his dog'.

The themes -aʔáu 'sister of a woman' and -Aáama 'house' are basic ambivalent themes in function, but not in form. The theme -aʔáu is irregular in that it takes set IV pronominal prefixes in all three numbers (see Section 231). When functioning as a verb, -Aáama has the same meaning as the intransitive-A verb -Aáuʔu 'to dwell'. The plurals of the verb and the ambivalent themes are the same: -áazəədyá, for example, gāaçəətya 'their (plural) house; they (plural) dwell' (see ||7.10).

523. The kinship terms bíhí 'a woman who has married a clansman' and wáati 'a man who has married a clansman' have two ambivalent constructions. The first construction is regular, -qabíhí and -qawáati: śabíhí 'a woman who has married my clansman'; kábíhí 'a woman who has married his clansman'. The second construction, -Jubíhí and -Juwáati, is a static verb in form (Section 410), but an ambivalent in function. This construction is used to show the reciprocal relationship: skúbíhí 'my husband's clansman'. The nonmodal singular paradigms are:

skúbíhí 'my in-law'	skuwáati 'my in-law'
kətibíhí 'your in-law'	kətiwáati 'your in-law'
ćibíhí 'her in-law'	ćiwáati 'his in-law'

524. A few ambivalent themes take only the third person prefixes. In this respect they are like impersonal verbs (Section 410):

kúuti 'mountain; it is a mountain'; ćúuti 'is it a mountain?' (dubitative); theme -qúudì

kiwá 'plant; it is growing'; čiwá 'is it growing?' (dubitative); theme -'iwá

káçə 'building, house; it is a building; it is tall'; čáçə 'it is a building?; is it tall?' (dubitative); theme -'ázəəD

The theme -'iwá has been recorded with the nonthematic verb suffix -náataN (Section 442.2): kiwáanaáata 'there would be plants'.

530. Inflection

Pronominal prefixes (Section 230) and number prefixes (||7, especially ||7.9) are used in the inflection of noun themes. Noun themes distinguish four persons, first, second, third, and indefinite, and three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. The singular is unmarked. A harmonic plural suffix (Section 241) is added to plural ambivalents. Person and number refer to the possessor of the noun theme. Examples:

- 'amásdii 'hand', inalienably possessed theme: samásdí 'my hand', kamásdí 'his hand', skamásdí 'one's hand', šaʔamásdí 'our (dual) hands', šayámásdí 'our (plural) hands'
- qaháazáni, ambivalent theme derived from háazáni 'hair': šaháazáni 'my hair', skaháazáni 'one's hair', šaaháazáni 'our (dual) hair', šaháazániši 'our (plural) hair'

540. Plural of Nouns

The verbalizing suffix -dyaiM (Section 624) and the nominalizing suffix -iši (Section 761) are used with ambivalents and unpossessed nouns to form the plural of the noun. Plurality is an optional category. Examples:

- mákatyaimiši 'dippers'; máka 'dipper'
kamákatyaimiši 'his dippers'; kamáka 'his dipper'
ʔúwáakatyaimiši 'babies'; ʔúwáaka 'baby'
šadyáatyaimiši 'my livestock'; šadyá 'my domesticated animal'

An ambivalent with a plural possessor (indicated by the plural prefix) does not take the harmonic plural suffix -šiiD (Sections 241, 530) in this formation: šaawítyaimiši 'our (plural) relatives'. The harmonic plural suffix is probably lost by haplology.

A few kinship terms indicate the plural with the suffix -ši: nánaši 'grandfathers'; náisdiyaši 'fathers'.

550. Vocatives

Three kinship terms have a special vocative form:

- náyé 'mother!'; náaya 'mother' (cf. nayéézá 'married woman with children')
gaʔáu 'sister!'; -aʔáu 'sister of a woman'
bíya ~ bíyai ~ bíhiyai 'in-law!'; bíhí 'a woman who has married a clansman'

The vocative gaʔáu is homophonous with the third person form 'her sister'.

Other kinship terms indicate the vocative by the free noun form or, if they are basic ambivalents, by the first person form:

- dyúmə 'brother!'; dyúmə 'brother of a man'
šáwiçə 'brother!'; -qáwiçə 'brother of a woman'

The first person ambivalent forms are used for the vocative of two derived ambivalents. The free noun forms are not kinship terms:

śámśəti 'son!'; ||mśədì|| 'boy'

śámáʔákə 'daughter!'; ||magś|| 'little girl'

These forms are also morphophonemically irregular; see ||5.4.

560. Inflection of ʔédyu, ʔédyuyú

The adverb-conjunction ʔédyu and its derivative ʔédyuyú, both meaning 'and then, next', have the special thematic forms -dyu and -dyuyú. The themes are inflected for first, second, and third person by an anomalous set of pronominal prefixes (Section 236). The resulting forms appear to be nouns. Examples:

nútyuyú 'my turn'

ʔétyuyú 'his turn'

nútyu 'and me?; how about me?'

600. DERIVATION

Derivational processes that apply to verb and noun themes have been described in the preceding chapters (Sections 410, 440, 520). The remaining processes are the subject of this chapter.

610. Compounds

Compounding is not a common process. Most compounds are irregular:

sémasdáistaaya 'my hand is cold', -ámásdáistaaya (intransitive-A):

-'ámásdíi 'hand'; -áistaaya 'to be cold' (intransitive-A)

káanáaši 'he has a sty', -qāanáašiM (intransitive A): -qāanáa 'eye';

-'áišiM 'to be swollen' (intransitive A)

húušénāani 'head or nose cold': -qjiišəə 'nose'; -qāanáa 'eye'

kaʔáiciináawa 'she put on face powder', -QáiciʔináawaN (intransitive

B): -áiici 'to be fair of complexion' (intransitive A); ʔináawí
'flour'

dítyabámə 'San Fidel' (place name): dídyā 'north' (adverb); nabámə

'wild fruit; dry farming'

ýausbónáná 'sling': ýāuni 'stone'; sbónáná 'forked stick'

The most common type of compound is composed of an inalienably possessed noun plus an intransitive verb theme, and the resulting form is an intransitive verb theme (see first two examples). The composition of other compounds is varied. The compounded elements may be verb stems or themes, nouns, descriptives, or adverbs, and the resulting compound may be a verb stem, verb theme, or noun. Adverbs are not common in compounds. Compounds composed of two verb stems or themes have not been found. If one of the elements of the compound is a verb stem or theme, the resulting form is usually a verb stem or theme.

A number of compounded verb stems are composed of a verb stem plus a preposed or postposed element of unique occurrence. Examples:

-úudáakadyáW 'to take off the lid or cover': -dāaʔW 'to cover'

-úbēecistaaN 'to pray': -béʔeN 'to tell'

-'úticuuzaN 'to crawl: -ucuúzaN 'to move'

620. Formation of Verb Stems

621. -zaN is suffixed to descriptives (Section 631) to form verb stems.

The stem syllable ||ú ~ ú|| is used with these forms:

gáu'tákaci, gáu'tákaci 'his got square', stem -ú'tákazaN, -ú'tákazaN;
táka- 'square'

sáu'síkica 'I folded it', stem -ú'síkizaN; síki- 'wrinkled'

cíuspátaci 'it has been dampened', stem -ú'spátazaN; spáta- 'damp'

A descriptive that has the shape ||cv'cv-|| and a medial glottalized sonorant (see Section 222) becomes ||c'vcv-|| in this formation:

síumúra 'I dented his', stem -úumúrazaN, -úumúrazaN; mu:ra-
'dented', for example, mu'ráci 'it is dented'

síušína 'I crushed it', stem -úušínazaN; ší:na- 'crushed', for
example, ší'nána 'it got crushed' (reduplicated, ||18.1)

Other unpatterned accent changes often occur:

-u:sgəzəzaN 'to bend'; sgəzə-, sgə:zə- 'bent, warped'

-úučayuzaN, -úučáyuzaN 'to break'; cá:yu-, cáyu- 'broken'

-úušauzaN 'to pop out'; šáu- 'popped out'

The initial consonant of n̄ə- 'rigid, stretched' is deglottalized in the verb stem: cíunəci 'it has been stretched'.

In addition to the descriptives, members of other auxiliary complement classes (Section 632) sometimes form verb stems with -zaN. In this case, however, the formations are unproductive and irregular:

-íišupəzaN; šúpə- (Section 632.1): šíšupəca 'I spit on him'; šúpəse
'I spit'

-ucuúzaN; cúu- (Section 632.1): cicúuca 'he moved it'; cúuka 'he
moved'

-úuwakazaN; wáka- (Section 632.5): ka?áuwakaca 'it all spilled from
him'; wákazá 'he spilled it'

A large number of verb stems are always found with -zaN. The majority of these forms have the stem syllable ||uu||:

-úušíizaN 'to borrow', gúušíica 'he borrowed it from him'

-úupayazaN 'to laugh', sgúupayuca 'I laughed'

-úupətizaN 'to scatter', cíupətici 'it has been scattered'

-áaskayuzaN 'to pull teeth', sgáaskayuca 'he pulled my tooth'

-íicitamazaN 'to turn over', šíicitamaca 'I turned it over'

622. -zaN 'to make . . . , to get . . . ready' is suffixed to nouns to form verb stems. The resulting forms usually have the unaccented stem

syllable ||u||. An initial plain sonorant is glottalized. The noun suffix -ni (Section 642) is often lost in this formation:

sumúšiča 'I gathered soap weed', stem -umúšizaN; múši 'soap weed'
 sumázíča 'I made blue corn paper bread', stem -umázizaN; mazíni
 'blue corn paper bread'

súuwábáča 'I put feathers together', stem -úuwabázaN; wabáni
 'feathers'

súmáacáača 'I made jerky', stem -úmáacáazaN; máacáani 'jerky'
 súkíiniča 'I made friends with him', stem -úkíiničaN; -qáukíini
 'friend' (basic ambivalent, Section 522)

kázámēniča 'he made prayer sticks', stem -ázámēnizaN; házámēni
 'prayer stick'

The allomorph ||-izaN|| is sometimes used: šiméesičaní 'I made a table for him', méesa 'table'.

A number of stems are always found with -zaN:

-úpezaN 'to shake', sipəča 'I shook it out'

-úwákuizaN 'to get married', skúwákuiča 'I got married' (cf.
 -qáukui 'wife')

-udyáazaN 'to write', sudyáača 'I wrote'

-usbézaN 'to string', susbéča 'I strung it'

623. -tuwaan 'to take . . . off' is added to inalienably possessed noun themes (Section 510) to form verb stems. There are sometimes changes of the final syllable and the initial vowel:

zāawítuwaaní 'she cut his nails', stem -āawítuwaan; -jáawíiča
 'nail, claw'

síuyúuspiituwa 'I took the shoulder off', stem -ú:yúuspiituwaan;
 -jiyúuspii 'shoulder'

gāamaatuwa 'he took the leg off', stem -āamaatuwaan; -'āamaa
 'thigh'

gánásgáituwa 'he took the head off', stem -ú:násgáituwaan; -ánásgai
 'head'

The suffix is found with one verb stem: síwāameetuwa 'I took the tent down', stem -úwāameesD-tuwaan; -úwāameesD 'to make shade, put up a tent'.

624. -dyaiM 'to have several . . .' is added to ambivalents (Section 520). The resulting forms are verb themes (intransitive A) rather than verb stems:

čámšētityai 'she had sons' (dubitative): -qámšēdi 'son'

kámúšityai 'he has lots of soap weed': -qámúši 'soap weed'

náwāastīcatyagú 'he will have offsprings' (expective): -qáwāastīza
 'young one'

kadyúmetyai 'he has brothers'; -qadyúme 'brother'

The final syllable of -qáméədi is sometimes dropped before the suffix: káméətyai, káméətityai 'he has sons'.

625. The suffix -aN is added to some verb stems. The resulting form may be a verb stem or a verb theme. The suffix has a number of morphophonemic shapes; ||-aN||, ||-áaN||, and ||-áawaN|| are typical. The suffix is not productive. Examples:

- áinaD 'to cook meat'; -áinadaN 'to cook meat' (stem)
- skáD 'to drink'; -JiiskadaW(N) 'to give someone a drink' (transitive theme)
- qabáa 'to have a fire going'; -ubáyaN 'to build a fire, to burn' (stem)
- učáwaN 'to blame, steal'; -Jučáwidaáawa 'to blame someone' (transitive theme)
- pəkadá?aN 'to use up'; -úpakadáawaN (see ||17) 'to use up' (stem)

A few stems that appear to contain the suffix -aN are paired with forms that have the completive suffix -qiŞ. The forms with -qiŞ are usually impersonal themes rather than stems:

- áyáitaaN 'to paint'; -qjáyáitiŞ 'to be painted' (impersonal theme)
- úyúuskaM 'to paint, decorate'; -úyúuşiŞ 'to be painted' (impersonal theme; cf. Section 221)
- áayátaW(M, N) 'to get smeared'; -ayátiŞ 'to be smeared' (stem)
- úgúfa 'to make a bridge'; -'júgútiŞ 'to be a bridge' (impersonal theme)
- áyasdaaN 'to enclose'; -áyasdiIM, -'júyasdiIM 'to be enclosed' (stem)

Instead of occurring in position nine (see table 10), the completive suffix is added directly to the stem in these forms: cíyastináata 'they graze', lit. 'they keep being enclosed'; -náataN, position eight suffix. Contrast cíwáneeyáatáni 'there used to be hunting', in which the normal relative order of -náataN and -qiŞ is maintained.

630. Auxiliary Complements

Auxiliary complements are inflected by a following auxiliary verb (Section 460). The complements fall into a number of classes that are defined by their occurrence with particular auxiliaries. Only one class, the descriptives (Section 631), is of much importance. The remaining classes (Section 632) tend to be small and do not enter into as many constructions as the descriptives.

631. The descriptives are inflected by the auxiliaries {ci} (Section 461.3) and {ka} (Section 461.4). There are two formations with {ci}, one intransitive and the other impersonal. {ka} is used impersonally. The intransitive forms use the full paradigm of the auxiliary and mean 'to be . . .'. The impersonal forms use only the third person auxiliaries and with {ci} mean 'it is . . .', with {ka} 'it got . . .'. The impersonal constructions with {ci}, unlike other impersonal constructions (Section 410), distinguish number. The plural, in this case meaning more than one, is indicated by using the plural forms of {ci}. The dual forms are not used. Examples are given with skúu- 'wet':

Intransitive forms with {ci}

skúusi 'I am wet'

skúuci 'he is wet'

skúukáaʔa 'they (dual) are wet'

skúusəteeʔe 'we (plural) are wet'

Impersonal forms with {ci}

skúuci 'it is wet'

skúuceeʔe 'they (two or more) are wet'

Impersonal forms with {ka}

skúuka 'it got wet'

{R₁} or {L} (reduplicative and length morphemes, see || 18) is added to the descriptive to form the distributive, meaning 'to be . . . all over, everywhere'. A given descriptive can occur with one or the other morpheme, never both (except under special circumstances described below). Examples:

ćápipici 'it has lots of spots'; ćápicici 'it has a spot'

muřářaci 'they are dented'; muřáci 'it is dented'

mátyutyuka 'it got steamed up everywhere'; mátyuka 'it got steamed up'

kāayuka 'they broke'; kāyúka 'it broke'

kúutuka 'several bubbles formed'; kútuuka 'a bubble formed'

A number of descriptives always occur with {R₁} in auxiliary constructions. The reduplication in this case does not indicate the distributive:

ćérereci 'it is greasy, has one grease spot'

bérereci 'it is smooth'

šínánaka 'it got cracked, crushed'

{L} is used with the unreduplicated form of these descriptives to form the distributive: ćéereci 'it has lots of grease spots'.

{R₁} is not ordinarily found with the descriptive in the verb stem formations with -zaN (Section 621). Those descriptives that are always reduplicated in auxiliary constructions are unreduplicated in this forma-

tion: sáušínaca 'I crushed it'. {L}, however, is used with descriptives in this formation:

sáušínaca 'I crushed them (as in chewing popcorn)'
 sáukúutuca 'I made them into balls'; sáukútuca 'I made a ball'
 ka?áukaayuca 'his things broke'; ka?áukayuca 'something of his
 broke'

{R₃} is used with two descriptives to form nouns:

kúdu+kúdu 'candy'; kúdu-, kúdu- 'round, spherical'
 šínašína 'cookies, crackers'; šína- 'crunched, cracked'

A list of the descriptives follows. Forms that are always reduplicated in auxiliary formations are written with -R₁. Forms with a medial plain sonorant have two allomorphs, cŋcv- with {R₁}, cvŋcv- elsewhere (see Section 222). Only the second allomorph is written. Other descriptives that have allomorphs (presumably in free variation, see Section 222) are listed with both forms:

ćápi- 'spotted'
 ćáŋyu- 'broken' (something brittle)
 će:žə- 'broken' (something long)
 ćéka- 'grease stained'
 će:re-R₁- 'greasy, grease spotted'
 ćíyúu- 'wet'
 ću:ŋyu- 'washed out, gullied' (of a road)
 čšə- 'cracked'
 kába- 'thick'
 kaŋyu- 'broken' (something not brittle)
 kəžə-, kə:žə- 'pink, purple'
 kúdu-, kúdu- 'round, spherical'
 mádyu- 'steamed up'
 mísdyə- 'black'
 mu:ra- 'dented'
 nəə- 'stiff, stretched'
 be:re-R₁- 'smooth'
 peťá- (accent?) 'split'
 béə- 'bloated, blown up'
 píša- 'flat'
 búubu- 'cool'
 séə- 'rough, ugly'
 síki- 'wrinkled'
 sgáci- 'hard, stiff'
 sgəžə-, sgə:žə- 'warped; in bloom'
 skúu- 'wet'

skûdu- 'dome-shaped'
 skə:di- 'round, circular'
 spáta- 'damp'
 sdyə:ri-R₁- 'dangling, jingling'
 sdúku- 'wrinkled'
 sfəə- 'straight'
 stúku- 'pointed, conical'
 stú:wí- 'sharp'
 ste:re- 'dirty'
 stí:wí-R₁- 'damp'
 ša:wí- 'fine' (for example, sand)
 šáci- 'have a hole, burst'
 ša:mə- 'white'
 šápa- 'light' (in weight)
 šáu- 'popped open'
 ša:wə- 'tender, fresh'
 ší:na-R₁- 'crushed, cracked'
 ša:di- 'torn'
 šu:wí- 'crooked'
 táka- 'square'
 táawa- 'boiling'
 túku- 'neat; smooth (of wood)'

632. The remaining classes of auxiliary complements follow.

632.1. The complements that are inflected by {ka} (Section 461.4) to form intransitive constructions are:

?ésu- 'to sneeze'
 cáa- 'to take a deep breath'
 cúu- 'to move'
 čúu- 'to burp, belch'
 háu- 'to yawn'
 hí- 'to grin'
 káča- 'to be afraid, apprehensive'
 múci- 'to squirt water from the mouth'
 búuşu- 'to smell (have an odor), stink'
 šúpə- 'to spit'
 šúu- 'to swallow'
 šúşu- 'to cough'
 yáşa- 'to be out of breath, to pant'

Monosyllabic complements form a continuative with {R₂} (see || 18.2):

háuhause 'I was yawning'; háuse 'I yawned'
 cáacaaka 'he is breathing'; cáaka 'he took a deep breath'

632.2. The third person forms of {ka} form impersonal constructions with the following:

šápə- 'to be early evening'

čāamu- 'to be dawn or early evening'

gu'ára- 'to be smoky, dusty'

búu- 'to fall' (one object)

bée- 'to fall' (several objects)

kəə- 'to glow' (a fire)

sáwawa- 'to throw up small piles of sand' (of a raindrop)

térərə- 'to roar' (machinery)

gu'ára- also occurs in the thematic formation -qu'áragaN with the same meaning: kú'áraka 'it is smoky'; ču'áraka 'is it smoky?' (dubitative).

Two forms occur with {R₂} to express the continuative:

kəkəkəka 'it glowed'; kəkəka 'it glowed once'

bēepeeka 'they kept falling'; bēeka 'they fell'

bée- can be used intransitively in the plural: béesətee'e 'we fell'.

632.3. {gáni} (Section 461.4) is used with the following:

dyəə- 'to be slow'

híi- 'to smile'

kəə- 'to be red'

Two of the forms have different meanings when they are inflected by {ka} (Sections 632.1, 632.2):

kəkəka 'it glowed'; kəkəgáni 'it is red'

híise 'I grinned'; híiséni 'I smiled'

dyəə- and híi- are inflected intransitively with the full paradigm of the auxiliary, and kəə- is inflected impersonally with the third person forms of the auxiliary. The intransitive verb theme -'əgáni 'to be red' is used with the full set of pronominal prefixes:

si'gáni 'I am red, am blushing'

šə'gáni 'you are red'

kə'gáni 'he, it is red'

The anomalous third person dubitative form čə'edyáni 'is it red?' is marked twice for person and has the same meaning as čə'gáni (dy- + the theme -'əgániš) and as kə'edyáni (kəə- + dy- + the auxiliary theme -ániš).

632.4. The following complements are inflected by {ci} (Section 461.3):

nəwəwə- 'to be strong, healthy'

bási- 'to be bushy haired'

wínunu- 'to be quick'

báska- 'to be fine, well woven' (basket)

šúku- 'to be a lump'

wáašuu- 'to be dusty'

The first three complements are inflected intransitively; the last three are inflected impersonally.

632.5. The following complements are found in three auxiliary constructions:

wáka- 'to spill, empty (any object?)'

wáa- 'to spill water'

míi- 'to spill, throw away large granular objects (for example, wheat)'

wíi- 'to spill, throw away small granular objects (for example, sugar)'

Intransitive constructions are formed with {sé} (Section 461.2), impersonal constructions with {ka} (Section 461.4), and perfect impersonal constructions with {cáaci} (Sections 461.2, 415):

wákazá 'he spilled it, threw it away'

wákaka 'it spilled'

wáka'cáaci 'it has been thrown away'

632.6. Complements inflected by {gú} (Section 461.1) are:

?ámúu- 'to love' (transitive)

?a'né- 'to like (of a man)'

?a'níumée- 'to like (of a woman)'

?ánú- 'to like (food)'

?áyáa- 'to dread doing it'

?áyáamaa- 'to regret it'

?é- 'to consent, allow it'

?e?é- 'to remember'

máagü- 'to be quiet (noiseless)'

bíisti- 'to be quiet (still)'

tenée- 'to value it'

One of the complements forms a transitive construction, and is so marked in the list (?ámúusgumá 'he loves me'). Some complements seem to be intransitive (for example, máakusí 'I am quiet'). Other complements, because of their semantic content, may be transitive (for example, ?e?ésí 'I remember [him?]'), but the diagnostic forms have not been recorded.

Many of the complements also occur as free forms, sometimes with a different shape. Two complements appear to be nouns. The rest are interjections:

?ámu 'love' (noun?); ?ámúsí 'I love him'

?a'née 'nice' (man speaking); ?a'négú 'he likes it, him'

?áníumé 'nice' (woman speaking); ?áníuméegú 'she likes it, him'
 ?áníu 'goody!'; ?áníusi 'I like it (food)'
 ?áyá (interjection showing disgust); ?áyáasi 'I dread doing it'
 máaku 'quiet (quietness?)'; máakugú 'he is quiet, noiseless'
 bíisti 'keep still, behave!'; bíistigú 'he is quiet, still'

632.7. {ku} is used with zúu- 'to go': zúuse 'I went'; zúuku 'he went'
 (see Section 461.5).

632.8. {gáa} (Section 461.6) is used with adverbs to form intransitive constructions. Examples:

dyéggáa 'he is riding horseback'; dyé 'up'
 ?áiyáaniší 'I was in front'; ?ái 'there', yáani 'in front'
 ?aišáa?á 'we (dual) stayed there'; ?ái 'there'
 sísí 'I am sitting down'; si 'back, again'
 núwánašusí 'I am the only one surviving'; cf. núwána 'separate,
 different'

632.9. The auxiliary {gá} (Section 461.7) has been recorded with only two forms:

?áinésé 'I was lying there (dead drunk)'; ?ái 'there', nē 'down'
 šínašínágá 'they are crackers'; šínašína 'crackers' (see Section
 631; note accent change)

632.10. The auxiliary {zá} (Section 461.8) is used primarily with nouns:

náwáa?aisədá 'I am middle-aged'; náwáa?ai 'adult'
 hūuruzá 'he is stubborn'; hūuru 'donkey'
 kúudizá 'it is mountainous'; kúuti 'mountain'

It is also used with noun qualifiers, adverbs, and third person non-modal verbs:

čame?éézá 'there are three'; čame?é 'three'
 tée?ezá 'it is far'; tée?e 'far' (adverb)
 kúistitizá 'it is brown'; kúistiti (verb, same meaning)
 səəcizá 'it is ugly'; səəci (auxiliary construction with {ci}, same
 meaning)

632.11. {zé} (Section 461.9) is added to a small group of complements to form intransitive or impersonal constructions. Some of the complements are derivatives formed by the suffix -ma (Section 654.3). Some of the other complements have the final sequence -ma, but no underlying forms can be identified:

?ée- 'to have initiative' (intransitive)
 ?adéema- 'to be untidy' (intransitive)
 ?ədəməaa- 'to be sunny'; ?ədəə 'hot'
 kašádíima- 'to be chartreuse'

n̄aawíikáma- 'to be oval'; n̄aawíika 'egg'
 kúi- 'to be spoiled; strange'
 m̄aa- 'to look like'
 kaṣáidíma- 'to feel like summer'; kaṣáiti 'summer'
 kúgúma- 'to feel like winter'; kúuku 'winter'
 t̄lízama- 'to feel like spring'; t̄liça 'spring'
 háyaačíma- 'to feel like fall'; háyaaçi 'fall'

632.12. The static auxiliary {ská} (Section 461.8) is used with:

šónaa- 'to have a nose cold'
 z̄aa- 'to tingle (limbs, from being asleep)'
 púuña- 'to have hunger pangs'

632.13. The static auxiliary {skáaci} (Section 461.8) is used with one complement, w̄idi- 'to be sullen'.

632.14. The intransitive auxiliary {ká} (Section 461.10) is added to nouns and noun qualifiers:

šáaku-śá 'I have a pipe'; šáaku 'pipe'
 ?úusúsyáni-śá 'I have a rope'; ?úusúsyáni 'rope'
 h̄ee-ká 'that is his'; h̄ee 'that one'

The auxiliary is similar in form and meaning to the possessive prefix -qa- that is used to form ambivalents (§5.4, Section 520). Cf. śášáaku 'I have a pipe; my pipe'. In contrast to the ambivalent construction, the auxiliary construction is always a verb construction, never a noun construction, and the auxiliary is always accented.

640. Nominal Derivation

641. Most inalienably possessed noun themes (Section 510) have an absolutive form, that is, a free noun form that is not inflected. The absolutive is formed by the following means:

(1) Affix h- . . . -ni:

háçani 'horn', theme -jáza
 háawíičani 'nail, claw', theme -jáawíiča
 hááčani 'tooth', theme -jáača
 háaskáacini 'chin', theme -jáaskáaci
 hiisipani 'eyelash', theme -'jiiisipa
 háamúšani 'beard', theme -'jáamúša
 háamúučani 'toe', theme -'jâamúuča
 hádáwini 'navel', theme -'ádáwi
 hamásdiini 'hand', theme -'amásdi
 háamaani 'thigh', theme -'âamaa

háadákani 'heel', theme -'áadáká
háamúčani 'big toe', theme -'ámúča
háiskâamini 'calf', theme -qáiskâami
húwáwini 'face', theme -qúwáwi
hûumañi 'vagina', theme -Aûuma (/n/, irregularly glottalized)
húumúčani 'buttocks', theme -Aúumúča

(2) Affix h- . . . -ni, with the thematic syllable changed:

húwanáani 'eye', theme -qáanaa
húyáni 'penis', theme -'áya
háabáani 'testicles', theme -'ábáa
háasiini 'breasts', theme -'ásii
háamasdyáani 'finger' (?), theme -'ámasdyaa
háasdiini 'foot', theme -'ásdii

(3) Affix w- . . . -ni (perhaps ?u- . . . -ni, see || 16):

wíikáni 'mouth, lips', theme -qjiiika
wíimúučani 'upper lip, snout', theme -qjiiimúuča
wíipeeni 'ear', theme -qjiiipee
wíišəəni 'nose', theme -qjiišəə

(4) Loss of the thematic syllable:

nâa?açəši 'crown of the head', theme -ánâa?azəši
wíñuska 'heart', theme -'áwíñuska

(5) Suffix -ni and loss of the thematic syllable:

núutiini 'ankle', theme -Aúunúutii
wíćini 'chest', theme -'áwíći
yúuspiini 'shoulder', theme -'jiiyúuspii
yúumiini 'arm', theme -'jiiyúumii

(6) Suffix -ni, loss of the thematic syllable, and accent changes:

yágəçəni 'rib', theme -jiiyagəçə
yuskáni 'tail', theme -'jiiyuská (see || 30)
wasəni 'feather, wing', theme -'úwasə (see || 30)
wáačəni 'tongue', theme -'u'wáačə (see || 30)
máapáani 'palm, paw', theme -'ámáapaa
nasgáini 'head', theme -ánásgai

The preceding list of absolutes is exhaustive.

Ambivalents may be derived from absolutes, and a contrast between alienable and inalienable possession results:

kaháçani 'his horn' (for example, a horn belonging to a person),
ambivalent theme -qaházani

záça 'his horn' (for example, a deer's horn), inalienably possessed
theme -jázça

642. Nouns are derived from verb stems, descriptives, other nouns, and adverbs by several techniques: (1) suffixes -ni and -ši; (2) prefixes ʔ- and h-; (3) loss of the stem syllable; (4) accent changes; and (5) irregular stem changes. Two or more of these techniques are often used. Many of the derived nouns resemble the absolutive forms of the inalienably possessed nouns (Section 641). These processes are not productive, in spite of the fact that such noun derivatives are common. Examples:

- pâani 'bag'; -qâapaa 'bag' (basic ambivalent, Section 522)
 ʔâukîinîši 'friend'; -qâukîini 'friend' (basic ambivalent)
 ʔičóni 'building'; -JíičəB, -aʔáčəB 'to be enclosed' (see || 30)
 ʔagəçəci 'flower'; -'agəçə-du∅ 'to bloom'
 ʔíiwáçəni 'snot'; -qáiwáçəkaya 'to have a runny nose'
 húutyašini, húutyašani 'fast'; -Aúudyaši 'to fast (abstain)'
 húuwáipi 'whip'; -awáiG^W 'to fight'
 hâamé 'ice'; -'amêeʔM 'to freeze'
 hâawé 'snow'; -'áwée 'to snow, to be snowy'
 ýûuni 'song'; -úyúutaan 'to sing'
 čáyáani 'medicine man'; -úučáyáazíM 'to finish penance, to renew'
 cayá 'oldest sibling'; cáyá 'first' (adverb)
 wáistâani 'dish'; -úwáistāN 'to serve stew, soup'
 pišánani 'peelings'; píša- 'flat' (descriptive)
 ýâuni 'stone', ýáuši 'flat cooking stone'; cf. ýáu-sbónáná 'sling'
 kašééši 'white corn; navy beans'; cf. kašéená 'albino, blond' (cf.

Section 644)

- naháayaši 'day after tomorrow'; nahâaya 'day before yesterday'
 dúwímíniši 'socks'; -udúwím(N) 'to have, wear socks'
 šúgúčáci 'crucifix'; -ú:čácizaN 'to make the sign of the cross'
 gáwici 'seeds, pits'; -ugáwidyaad(N) 'to thresh grain'

The underlying stems of a number of nouns with -ni are only found in the noun formation:

- máacáani 'jerky'
 házáməni 'prayer stick'
 zēeni 'language, word'
 ýúbíini 'soot'

The suffix -ni is sometimes lost when the noun is denominalized by the suffix -zaN: súmáacáaça 'I made jerky' (see Section 622).

A number of noun derivatives appear to include the third person non-modal prefix g-:

- záiša 'garden'; -qáiša 'garden' (basic ambivalent, Section 522)
 gáibééši 'The Liar' (a constellation); -úibéézaN 'to lie'
 cibáaši 'fire'; -qabáa 'to have a fire going'

kúuskəédíci 'wheel'; skə:di- 'round' (descriptive)
 káačáníši 'rain water'; -'áačaŋ 'to rain'
 kúmásdána 'patches, quilt'; -úumaasdánaaSD 'to make a patch'
 kásti 'stirrup'; -'ásdii 'foot' (inalienably possessed noun)
 búuşuka 'odor, stench'; búuşu- 'to smell' (auxiliary complement,
 Section 632.2; cf. the homophonous form búuşuka 'he smells')
 cáaci 'breath, air'; cáa- 'to take a deep breath' (auxiliary comple-
 ment, Section 632.2)

643. The suffix of accent ablaut, -(´) (see || 19), is added to infinitives and third person nonmodal verbs to form nouns. Nouns with an infinitive or impersonal verb base indicate the instrument of action, those with an intransitive or transitive base indicate the agent of the action, and those with a static base indicate the recipient of the action:

?áasbánašuméni 'shampoo'; ?áaspanašuméni 'to wash hair'
 ?úyáasbaani 'grinding stone'; ?úyáaspaani 'to grind'
 ?úuyə?əci 'hammer'; ?úuyəəci 'to hit'
 cíumáaci 'donation'; cíumáaci 'there was help' (impersonal)
 tərérégá 'car'; tərərəka 'it (machinery) is roaring' (impersonal
 auxiliary construction)
 káizúwiita 'taxpayer'; káizúwiita 'he is paying' (intransitive)
 ziwáwaasáa 'patients'; ziwáwaasá 'they are sick' (static)

The singular, dual, or plural subject form of the verb is used in the derivation to indicate the appropriate number for the noun:

gáubiičáni 'Divider' (a Kachina dancer); gu?úubiičáni 'Dividers'
 (dual); guwáabiičáníši 'Dividers' (plural)
 kice?éta 'dancer'; ka?áacéedíya 'dancers' (plural)
 kutáaniça 'worker'; kúwatáaniça 'workers' (plural)
 kusumə?ésta 'student'; káisumə?ésta 'students' (plural)

644. -(´)ná is added to descriptives to form nouns:

kabáaná 'cornbread; pancake'; kába- 'thick'
 sdyéríiná 'bells worn by dancers'; sdə:ri- 'dangling, jingling'
 sgáciiná 'bread crumbs'; sgáci- 'hard, stiff'

The suffix was recorded with a verb form in a text from an older speaker: díinážaná 'whoever wants to shoot'; díináça 'he shoots' (dubitative). This suffix does not seem to be used by younger speakers with verbs.

-(´)ná is probably also contained in:

kašéená 'albino, blond'; cf. kašééši 'white corn'
 skəzəəná 'crumbs'
 pišəəná 'purple'
 yáapadíiná 'pebble'

ʔúukudúuná 'kidney'; cf. kú̂du- 'round, spherical'

ʔúunádáaná 'measles'

645. The prefix yáa- is used to form nouns which usually mean 'lots of little . . .'. This formation is not productive, and the examples are exhaustive:

yáačíní 'shelled corn, corn seed'; -qúučíníš 'to be yellow'

yáašáwí 'temper of ground pottery'; ša:wi- 'fine (like sand)'

yáapéetukani 'Ice Caves' (place name); cf. háapéetukani 'icicle'

yáasbá 'dough', yáasbátawé 'mud, adobe'; cf. -úyáaspaawaW 'to knead'; -úyáasbaaN 'to grind'

yáaspáišuma 'alter'; cf. cáaspáišuma (same meaning)

yáasti 'early morning' (probably an adverb); -qáastitya 'to be early morning'

646. -tíza 'group of . . .' is added to nouns:

wagêerátíça 'cowboys'; wagêera 'cowboy'

náwâa?aitíça 'adults'; náwâa?ai 'adult'

čukútiça '(both) twins'; čúku 'twin(s)'

The allomorph ||-za|| is used after -m'é?e 'people of . . .' (Section 647):

sšeniiméçça 'Zuñi tribesmen'; sšeniimé 'Zuñi Indian'

múuciméçça 'Hopi tribesmen'

The allomorphs ||-za||, ||-siza||, and ||-wáza|| occur in:

wáastiça 'young ones'; wáasti 'young one'

máasiça 'group of unmarried girls'; magš 'little girl' (cf. also

-qámá?ágə 'daughter')

kúyâawáça 'group of girls'; cf. kúuyá 'Navajo lady'

hánuça ~ hánuça 'clan'; hánu 'people'

Rule ||30 optionally does not apply to the last form.

647. -m'é?e 'people of . . .' is added to locative adverbs to form nouns:

báasúumé 'Mexicans'; báasu 'Mexico'

sšeniimé 'Zuñi Indian'; sšeni 'Zuñi Pueblo'

ʔáakúumé 'Acoma Indian'; ʔáaku 'Acoma Pueblo'

bónísdiiimé 'Orientals'; bónísti 'across to the west'

This suffix probably also occurs in hínumé, šínúmé 'I' and híšumé 'you'.

The underlying forms do not otherwise occur.

648. -záñi 'imitation, not real' is added to a few nouns. Irregular stem changes sometimes occur:

ʔúwánáazáni 'eye glasses'; húwanáani 'eyes' (absolute form, Section 641)

číyáuzáni 'adobe bricks'; yáuni 'stone' (suffix -ni, see Section 642)

kánâayazáni 'his foster mother'; kánâaya 'his mother'

kámšətizáni 'his foster son'; kámšəti 'his son'

649. -zá is found with three nouns that refer to women:

kúuyáuzá 'Old Woman' (a Kachina dancer); kúuyáuzá 'she is an old woman' (auxiliary {zá}, Section 642.10)

nayéezá 'married woman with children'; nayée-zá 'she is a mother'

máagšəzá 'young lady'; magš 'small girl', -qámáʔágə 'daughter'

650. Adverbial Derivation

Adverbial derivation is treated in the following sections, along with some nonadverbial derivation that it is convenient to treat at this point.

651. The numerals, a separate syntactic class (Section 733), occur with a special set of adverbializing suffixes. The numerals, written morphophonemically, are:

ʔísga, ʔíské 'one, other'	šísà 'six' $\overline{1}2^?$
dyúu, dyúuwée 'two'	máidyaana 'seven'
čámi, čameʔée 'three'	kukúmišu 'eight'
dyāana 'four'	máyúkù 'nine'
tāama 'five'	kázì 'ten'

The first three numerals have two forms. The first form is an indefinite ('one, another'), the second a definite ('the one, the other'). The indefinite forms are used in the adverbial derivations.

651.1. -(')wá 'times' has two allomorphs. ||-(')yá|| is used with two and three, and ||-(')wá|| is used with higher numerals. The suffix is not used with the numeral one (the adverb háikámíizé 'the first time, once' is used instead). The allomorph ||dyú-|| 'two' is used in this construction:

dyúyá 'twice'	šísáwá 'six times'
čámíyá 'three times'	kázíwá 'ten times'

These forms are followed by 'ten' to indicate units of ten: dyāanawákáci 'forty' (lit. 'four times ten'), kázíwákáci 'one hundred' (lit. 'ten times ten'). Units of one in the higher numbers are indicated by adding the appropriate number and the verb zízá 'it is more, extra': dyúyákáci ʔíska zízá 'twenty one' (lit. 'two times ten, one is extra'). The numbers eleven through nineteen are indicated in the same fashion, using kázì as the base: káci ʔíska zízá 'eleven' (lit. 'ten, one is extra').

651.2. -kaa ' . . . places, the . . . -th place'. In this formation the allomorphs for one and two are ||íská-|| and ||dyúwi-||, respectively. The suffix has the allomorphs ||-kúu|| when used with one and ||-kaa|| when used with higher numerals. Rule ||21 operates on these forms:

ʔískákú 'one place, the first place'

dyúwíka 'two places'

dyáanáka 'four places'

máityaanáka 'seven places'

This suffix is also used with háasí 'somewhere': háadíka 'either place'.

651.3. -(´)ná 'by . . . -s' has two allomorphs. ||-(´)ná|| is added to the numbers two through five, and the independent word ||gáaná|| is added to the forms with -(´)wá (Section 651.1) for the numbers six through ten. The allomorph ||dyúwi-|| 'two' is used in this formation. The suffix is not used with the number one:

dyúwíná 'by twos'

táamáná 'by fives'

máidyáanáwá gáaná 'by sevens'

kazíwá gáaná 'by tens'

651.4. -sáʔi ' . . . days', -bíšu ' . . . nights':

dyúusái 'two days'

dyáanasái 'four days'

ʔískasái 'one day'

dyáanabíšu 'four nights'

The suffix -bíšu is related to the impersonal verb theme -qápišun, -qápišəN 'to be night'. The suffixes are also added to adverbs:

háčəsái 'how many days?'; háčə 'how many?'

hééméesái 'so many days'; héémée 'enough; within a certain area or period of time'

hééméebíšu 'so many nights'

The suffix -sáʔi behaves morphophonemically as a separate word in that accent ablaut (§19) applies only to the suffix, not the preceding word: čámisaʔízé 'on the third day', suffix -(´)zé, Section 653.1.

651.5. The numeral one, ʔísga, occurs in the following nonproductive derivations:

ʔisgáawa 'together'

ʔísgáya, ʔísgáyáa-si 'on the other side' (si, 'back, again')

Perhaps ʔíské, the definite form of 'one', occurs in:

skáiná, skáináaka, skáiwá 'both'

skáináaya 'both sides'

652. The directionals are a subclass of locative adverbs (Section 741). The serial arrangement starts with north, like English, but proceeds in a counterclockwise direction: north, west, south, east. This order is ceremonially significant. Written morphophonemically, the directionals are:

dídya 'north'

bó 'west'

kúwa, ku- 'south' (see Section 741)

háa 'east'

A number of derivational suffixes are added to the directionals. Some of these suffixes are also added to the locative adverbs dyó 'up' and né 'down'.

Nouns are formed by the suffix -(')mí (allomorphs ||-(')mí|| and ||-(')námí||):

tidyámí 'the north'

bónámí 'the west'

kúwámí 'the south'

háanámí 'the east'

dyónámí 'the zenith'

There is apparently no corresponding term for 'the nadir'.

In the remaining derivations (with one exception, Section 652.2) the resulting forms are directionals, that is, they belong to the same syntactic subclass of locative adverbs as the stem. The stems dyó and né belong to a different subclass of locative adverbs. The derivatives of these two stems, however, are directionals.

All of the directional derivatives are based on a form with the suffix -ní. Portmanteau and irregular allomorphs are common, both when the suffix -ní is used and when suffixes are added to forms with -ní. The resulting forms are grouped into four sets (table 12), and the derivations in the following sections are described in terms of these sets. The abbreviation Dir is used for the directional stem.

652.1. Set I forms consist of Dir plus -ní and are used in the derivations:

(1) Dir -ní ' . . . -ern part, in the . . . '

(2) Dir -ní -saa (see ||3.1) ' . . . side' (unattested with díní and n'ósí)

(3) Dir -ní -saa -wá 'from the . . . side' (unattested with díní and n'ósí)

Examples:

dídí 'northern part, in the north', < {dídya -ní}

díní 'above, on top', < {dyó -ní}

dídíisa 'the north side', < {dídya -ní -saa}

dídíisaawá 'from the north side', < {dídya -ní -saa -wá}

652.2. Set II forms consist of Dir plus -ní and -(')yá. The two set II forms for south are in free variation. The derivations are:

TABLE 12

Directionals

Set	North	West	South	East	Up	Down
I	dídí	bôní	kuńí	háaní	díní	ńézí
II	díyá	bóníyá	kúyá, kúiyá	háaníyá	díníyá	ńézíyá
III	tíišuu	bónííišuu	kúńííišuu	háanííišuu
IV	díi-	bóní-	kúí-	háaní-	díní-	...

(1) Dir -ní -(')yá (used as first member in compound directions)

(2) Dir -ní -(')yá -?V (see || 15) 'the one further to the . . .'

(unattested with díníyá and ńézíyá)

The compound directions are used to indicate the intermediate points of the compass. Acoma has all eight possible combinations of two member compounds. The order 'north-east' indicates somewhat north of northeast, and 'east-north', somewhat east of northeast. When díníyá 'up' and ńézíyá 'down' are used as first members of compounds, the following form indicates the direction of motion. Examples:

díyáhá 'north-east', < {díyá -ní -(')yá háa}

háaníyádíyá 'east-north', < {háa -ní -(')yá díyá}

díníyákúwa 'across the top, going south'

ńézíyákúwa 'down below, going south'

The vowel preceding the suffix -?V is lengthened, and the high accent is replaced by the falling accent. The derivatives are nouns and are used to compare the spacial relationship of two persons or things. The shape of the suffix is similar to the dual prefix (|| 7). Examples:

díyâa?a 'the one further to the north', < {díyá -ní -(')yá -?V}

kúyâa?a 'the one further to the south'

In compound directions, -?V is suffixed to the first direction: díyâa?asabé 'the one back again further to the northeast', < {díyá -ní -(')yá -?V si bés}. All the recordings of -?V in compound directions include ||sa-|| or ||s-||, allomorphs of {si} 'back, again' (locative adverb of a different subclass, Section 741). It is probably not necessary part of the construction.

Set II forms are used in place of set I forms when şu 'in both or all directions' or ?ée 'on, at' follow:

háaníyáşa 'in the eastern part in all directions'

díníyáşa 'above and back and forth'

háaníyá ?é 'at the eastern part'

652.3. Set III forms are used in a derivation consisting of Dir plus -ní and -šuu, meaning 'by the . . . edge, side':

ťíišu 'by the north side', < {dídyá -ní -šuu}

kúíníišu 'by the south side'

This derivation can be followed by another directional. The first directional indicates the location, and the second the direction of motion:

ťíišuusabé 'along the north side, going back west', < {dídyá -ní -šuu si bə} (||sa-||, allomorph of {si} 'back, again').

652.4. Set IV forms consist of Dir plus -ní and are used in the derivations:

(1) Dir -ní -sdì 'across to the . . .'

(2) Dir -ní -(´´)káwáaka 'on, at the . . . end'

Examples:

díisti 'across to the north', < {dídyá -ní -sdì}

háanísti 'across to the east', < {háa -ní -sdì}

díikáwáaka 'on the north end', < {dídyá -ní -(´´)káwáaka}

háaníkáwáaka 'on the east end', < {háa -ní -(´´)káwáaka}

653. The suffixes -(´´)zé, -zéeši, and -zéeša are similar in shape and meaning to forms of the auxiliary {zé} (Sections 461.9, 632.11) and are undoubtedly historically related to it. The suffixes are productive and are found with a large variety of preceding forms, whereas the auxiliary is restricted to a small number of preceding complements.

653.1. -(´´)zé 'at the time of . . .' is added to adverbs. The resulting forms are adverbs (Section 740; cf. Section 762). Examples:

šísáwázé 'the sixth time'; šísáwá 'six times' (Section 651.1)

kašáidíizé 'summertime'; kašáiti 'summer, year'

?íska kašáidíizé 'the first year'; ?íska 'one'

héyáwáášúuzé 'the last time'; héyáwáášu 'again'

rúuníišíizé 'on Monday'; rúuníiši 'Monday'

gáayúuzé 'in the morning'; gáayu 'this morning'

dyâanasazé 'on the fourth day'; dyâanasái 'four days' (Section 651.4)

653.2. -zéeši 'the one that is . . ., the part that is . . .' is added to nouns and adverbs to form nouns (cf. the suffix -iši, Section 761).

Examples:

dáwáazéeši 'the good part'; dáwáa 'good'

pizâamízéeši 'the beams, the part of a building composed of logs';

pizâami 'log'

máadáášúkúuzéeši 'the part that is like a ball'; máadáášúku 'ball'

náyáazéeši 'the underneath part'; náyáa 'under'

sənáazéeši 'the middle sibling'; səná 'middle'

háamáášúuzéeši 'the next person'; háamáášu 'next'

This suffix conditions an accent change when it follows the morphophoneme $\|\ \grave{\ } \|\$: *yúwíwízíééši* 'the side part', *yúwí* 'along, beside', $\|\ yúwí \|\$. This change is described in §3.2. There are, in addition, some accent changes that cannot be accounted for by this rule: *kúuyáuzééši* 'old lady, "grandmother"', cf. *kúuyáuzá* 'old woman'; *čáizééši* 'Last Little Chief', *čái* 'last'.

653.3. *-zéeşa* 'the place where . . . , the part where . . .' is added to nouns and descriptives to form locative adverbs (cf. Section 763). The suffix sometimes conditions accent and length changes of the preceding syllable, but there are not enough examples to determine its morphophonemic properties. Examples:

šuwízíééşa 'at the curve'; *šu:wí-* 'crooked' (descriptive)
pâaniizééşa 'cave, hollow'; *pâani* 'bag'
háacizééşa 'on earth'; *háaci* 'land'
čónáazééşa 'where there is a river'; *čóná* 'river'

654. Additional suffixes that form adverbs:

654.1. *-(´)ci* 'place belonging to . . . , pertaining to . . .' is added to nouns to form locative adverbs:

séeníci 'Zuñi Pueblo'; *séeni* 'Zuñi Indian'
šúuméaci 'graveyard'; *šúumə* 'corpse'
šəzóníci (name of a kiva); *šəçəni* 'seeds'
wəérərəci 'cliff trail at Acoma' (place name); cf. *wə'ərə-**ci* 'it is zigzagged'

héemíšíci 'Jemez Pueblo'; *hēemiši* 'Jemez Indian'

káunamáaci 'heaven'; cf. *káunámée* 'beautiful'

wašandúníci 'Washington, D. C.' (no underlying form)

wéenímáaci 'Wenimatsi, home of the Kachinas' (no underlying form)

654.2. *-(´)ma* 'each . . . , every . . .' is added to adverbs and inflected verbs to form adverbs. The suffix has two allomorphs: $\|\ -(´)ma \|\$ after adverbs and $\|\ -(´)ma \|\$ after verbs:

gáayúuma 'every morning'; *gáayu* 'this morning'

rúuníšíuma 'each Monday'; *rúuniši* 'Monday'

sónáama 'half'; *sóna* 'middle'

kaʔáidyáanúma 'as she gathered (them), one by one'; *kaʔáityaanu* 'as she gathered'

kápišúma 'every night'; *kápišu* 'it is night'

šápəgáuma 'every evening'; *šápəka* 'it is evening'

A related suffix (perhaps allomorph?), *-(´)čáama*, is found with a few forms. It seems to have the same meaning:

gáayúučáama 'every morning' (= *gáayúuma*?)

kašáidíičáama 'every year'; *kašáiti* 'year'

rúuníšííćáama 'each Monday' (= rúuníšííma?)

A related suffix, -(´´)šáama 'from . . . to . . .', has been recorded with three forms:

kúudííšáama 'from mountain to mountain'; kúuti 'mountain'

hánušáama 'from person to person'; hánu 'people'

háagúšáama 'one after another' (no underlying form)

654.3. -ma is added to a few nouns and adverbs to form auxiliary complements of {zé} (Section 632.11). The forms have been recorded only in the auxiliary construction, but very likely they are adverbs meaning 'like . . .':

kašáidímazé 'it feels like winter'; kašáiti 'winter'

náawíikámazé 'it is oval'; náawíika 'egg'

654.4. -mée 'like . . . , as if . . .' is added to nouns and adverbs to form adverbs:

putistántímée 'like a Protestant'; putistánti 'a Protestant'

hánumée 'like people'; hánu 'people'

?áakúmée 'like an Acoma Indian'; ?áaku 'Acoma Pueblo'

The suffix is common with verbs that have been nominalized by -iši (Section 761):

ka?áušaa?anišímée 'as if he had permission'; ka?áušaa?a 'he has permission'

záipašaišímée 'as though he were chasing them'; záipaša 'he was chasing them'

654.5. The suffixes -tyau and -dyai are added to the stems zaa-, čaa-, and zəçə- to form locative adverbs. The stems and suffixes are found only in these derivations. The suffix -dyai has two allomorphs, ||-dyai|| and ||-dya||:

záatýau 'plains, flat area'

čáatýau 'side'

zəçətyau 'edge'

záatya 'plains, flat area'

čáatya 'outside; side'

zəçətyai 'edge'

The two suffixes probably differ in meaning, but the difference has not been determined.

654.6. -pədə 'just any . . .' is added to adverbs and noun qualifiers:

háadípədə 'just any place'; háadí 'somewhere'

háupədə 'just anyone'; háu 'someone'

guwáapədə 'anyway'; guwáa 'how'

hámapədə 'any time in the past'; háma 'formerly'

660. The Prefix $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-}$

661. The diminutive opposite prefix $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-}$ is prefixed to the inflected forms of three verbs:

$\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}$, $\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}$ 'to be large' (irregular; see ||7.10)

$\text{-qj}\acute{\text{i}}\text{z}\text{e}$ 'to be long'

$\text{-q}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ci}$ 'to be deep (of water)'

Examples:

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{s}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}$ 'it is small' (s-, third person nonmodal prefix, see Section 232); $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'they (plural) are small'

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}$ 'it is short'; $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{t}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}$ 'is it short?' (dubitative)

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ci}$ 'it is shallow'

Compare:

$\text{g}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'they (plural) are large'

$\text{c}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}$ 'it is long'

$\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{ci}$ 'it is deep'

662. A few forms are always found with the prefix:

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-}$. . . $\text{-qa}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}\text{k}\text{a}$ 'to be narrow (for example, a room)', $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}\text{k}\text{a}$

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-}$. . . $\text{-qas}\text{e}\text{k}\text{a}$ 'to be narrow (of cloth)', $\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{k}\acute{\text{a}}\text{s}\text{e}\text{k}\text{a}$ 'it is narrow'

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-}\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{nana-}$ 'to be thin (of cloth)', inflected by the auxiliary {ci},

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{c}\acute{\text{a}}\text{nana}\text{ci}$ 'it is thin' (cf. $\acute{\text{c}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{nana}\text{ci}$ 'cloth, yardage')

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{-m}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a-}$ 'to be short (in stature)', inflected by the auxiliary {zá},

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\acute{\text{a}}\text{as}\text{e}\text{d}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'I am short'

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{m}\acute{\text{a}}$ 'short time' (adverb?)

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{p}\text{i}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}$ 'a small piece' (noun), derived from $\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}$, $\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}$ 'to be large'?

$\text{z}\acute{\text{e}}\text{g}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\acute{\text{a}}\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\text{i}$ 'little ones' (noun), derived from the plural of $\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{c}}\text{e}$, $\text{-}\acute{\text{i}}\check{\text{s}}\text{e}$? (see ||7.10)

700. SYNTAX

Most of the syntactic analysis is based on the text material and only slightly on material given by the speaker in response to questions. Since I was not able to gather an extensive body of texts, only a sketch of the syntax can be given.

Seven major word or syntactic classes have been set up: verbs, infinitives, nouns, numerals, demonstratives, adverbs, and conjunctions. A verb on the syntactic level is defined as a simple inflected verb theme (Section 430), a periphrastic construction (Section 470), or an auxiliary verb construction (Section 630). Three of the classes can be expanded to form phrases. The noun, infinitive, and adverb phrases are endocentric constructions consisting of one or more words in which the head is a noun (or noun substitute), infinitive, or adverb, respectively.

The major word classes and phrases may serve in one or more of the following syntactic functions: predicates, subjects, objects, secondary objects, noun modifiers, noun possessors, noun qualifiers, noun substitutes, adverbials, interrogatives, and connectives.

710. Predication

There are three kinds of predicates: finite verbs (Section 711), infinitives (Section 712), and nouns (Section 713). These three are used to form corresponding predication or sentence types: verbal, infinitival, and nominal sentences. The verbal sentence is by far the most common of the three.

711. A minimum verbal sentence is composed of a finite verb. Persons indicated by the pronominal prefix of the verb can optionally be indicated by a noun phrase:

mâagəzéeši kánâaya dyúubé 'The girl told her mother'.

(mâagəzéeši 'girl', subject; kánâaya 'her mother', object;
dyúubé 'she told her')

śadyaʔáu sgúwáasêeʔeníńáafasə 'My grandmother gave me directions.' (śadyaʔáu 'my grandmother', subject; sgúwáasêeʔeníńáafasə
she showed me how')

ṣuwée kápišóní kámaskukúuyá dyaʔáičaačuwa máaséewi ʔée ʔúyúyayai
 'In the night Spider Woman woke up Masewi and Uyuyai'.

(kámaskukúuyá 'Spider Woman', subject; dyaʔáičaačuwa 'she woke them (dual) up'; máaséewi ʔée ʔúyúyayai 'Masewi and Uyuyai', object)

ṣuwée kadyúmē dáacikuya 'Then he said to his brother.' (kadyúmē 'his brother', object; dáacikuya 'he said to him')

háma sināaya šáawaaya yááčíní 'My mother and I used to grind corn.' (sināaya 'my mother', subject; šáawaaya 'we (dual) ground')

A first or second singular person of a verb is never indicated syntactically. If it is nonsingular, however, it can be indicated syntactically (see the last example, above). The forms šínúmé, hínumé 'I' or 'me', and hísumé 'you' are never used as the subject or object of a verb. They are used, instead, as answers to questions such as 'Who is it?', 'Who did it?'.

Many impersonal verbs (Section 410) can take a syntactic subject: cáyá yáuší gačípətikú 'First, a flat stone is needed.' (yáuší 'flat stone', gačípətikú 'it is needed'). Some impersonal verbs have never been recorded with a syntactic subject, and because of semantic considerations it seems unlikely that they can occur with syntactic subjects, for example, káača 'it is raining', kučámaca 'it is evening'.

Some verbs can take a secondary noun object, an object that has no referent in the pronominal prefix. If the Acoma verb is transitive, the secondary object is translated in English as an indirect object, prepositional phrase, or (if the verb is a benefactive transitive, Section 411) direct object. If the verb is intransitive, the secondary object is translated as a direct object:

gáabáabáa daʔáwīičaaní husdyāaaka 'Their grandmother made bows for them.' (daʔáwīičaaní 'she made (it) for them (dual)', transitive; husdyāaaka 'bow', secondary object)

dīunáma dyáiyaani 'She thanked him for the piñons.' (dīunáma 'she thanked him for (it)', transitive; dyáiyaani 'piñons', secondary object)

ʔée wá náanú núuwée čaʔáityata dyáiyaani 'The next day she was gathering piñons.' (čaʔáityata 'she was gathering (it)', intransitive; dyáiyaani 'piñons', secondary object)

ʔái šáačəetya čáatyá šúyáná máadáášúku suwáwīititiyaanáaata 'We used to make snowballs by the side of our house.' (máadáášúku '(snow)ball', secondary object; suwáwīititiyaanáaata 'we used to make (it)', intransitive)

The order of the syntactic elements in the verbal sentences is: subject + object + secondary object; and subject + verb. The verb may be in any position in relation to the two objects. The order subject + object is reversed when an obviative pronominal prefix is used with a transitive verb. The obviative is used to indicate that the third person subject and third person object roles ('he . . . him') are reversed ('the other one . . . him') (see Section 432):

dúwa máagšzéeši kánâaya záazíi háu mâamé ?anéetiumánu 'Nobody liked this girl's mother.' (dúwa máagšzéeši kánâaya 'this girl her-mother', object; záazíi háu 'not anybody', subject; ?anéetiumánu 'the other one likes her')

Some verbs can take an infinitive phrase (Section 720). The structural position of the infinitive phrase in the sentence is not known, but, judging from the English translations, it appears to be roughly similar to the English infinitive phrase:

šáadábûpuši ská?ái?izána ?úukít aukuyáni 'Our Governor asked me to collect.' (ská?ái?izána 'he asked me'; ?úukít aukuyáni 'to collect', infinitive)

mámamé ša?áu gúsú karêeta ?úwîiçaañi 'My sister really knew how to make wagons' (gúsú 'she knew how'; karêeta ?úwîiçaañi 'to make wagons', infinitive phrase)

712. The infinitive is used as the predicate in sentences that give directions:

šuwée ?áinê cíci níya ?úyáaspaawámi 'And then you knead it with water.' (?úyáaspaawámi 'to knead')

kúistiti ka?áizáani yúuku sínê ?úukúyawí 'When they get brown, you take them off (the fire).' (?úukúyawí 'to take')

šuwée ?áyadiiśšáani 'Then you feed them.' (?áyadiiśšáani 'to feed them')

The structure of the infinitival sentence is the same as that of the infinitive phrase (Section 720).

713. The nominal sentence consists of two main noun phrases and is used to indicate a copulative relationship (the auxiliary {zá}, Section 632.10, indicates the same relationship and is more common):

wá šuwée wée cáyáazéeši máaséewi ?ée háamáašu múudêezéeši ?úyuyai 'The first one was Masewi, and the next boy was Uyuyai.' (wée cáyáazéeši 'that first-one'; máaséewi 'Masewi'; háamáašu múudêezéeši 'next boy'; ?úyuyai 'Uyuyai')

wá ?étyu dúwa cáačawaiyáatániši 'Now this is about stick racing.' (dúwa 'this'; cáačawaiyáatániši 'stick racing', nominalized verb, Section 761)

720. Infinitive Phrases

The infinitive phrase may be used as a component of a verbal sentence (Section 711) or as a predication (Section 712). In either case the structure of the phrase is the same.

The infinitive is morphologically similar to the finite verb (Section 420). The primary difference between the two is that the infinitive does not indicate person and does not indicate number for subject, whereas the verb does. These differences are reflected in the structure of the infinitive phrase. The infinitive phrase may not include a syntactic subject, but it may, like the verbal predication, include a syntactic object (if the infinitive is transitive) and a secondary object:

ʔétyuyú ʂuwée ʔíʂáti ʔáayaasti 'Next you mix in the lard.' (ʔíʂáti 'lard', object; ʔáayaasti 'to mix', transitive)

kámaskukúuyá ʔaʔáyanikuyána ʔaʔáyáidyámi wée ʂúyati 'Spider Woman was asked to meet the boys.' (ʔaʔáyáidyámi 'to meet them (dual)', transitive; wée ʂúyati 'those boy(s)', object)

ʂáumáacaní dyáíyaani ʔáityaani 'Let me help you gather piñons.' (dyáíyaani 'piñons', secondary object; ʔáityaani 'to gather', intransitive)

The suffix of accent ablaut, -('), is added to the infinitive to form nouns (Section 643). There are, however, many text examples of such forms in which the translation would seem to indicate that the form is an infinitive. Very likely there are two ambiguous constructions. Compare the following sentences, both of which contain ʔúyáasbáani. In the first sentence it appears to be an infinitive ('to grind'). In the second sentence it is clearly a noun ('grinding stone'):

gáika ʂaʔáu níuʂíicasí ká(osterizer) kí zíi wée héeyá ʔúyáasbáani
 'I was going to borrow my sister's osterizer to grind it with.'
 záa háu sgúuyáaʔaníitya yáuni ʔúyáasbáani dyé suyáaspa 'Since nobody let me use it, I ground it on a grinding stone.'

730. Noun Phrases

731. A noun may be modified by certain verbs, certain adverbs, or by another noun. The verb, when functioning as a noun modifier, takes the third person nonmodal pronominal prefix and may either precede or follow the noun:

cíčə kúuti 'the big mountain' (cíčə 'big; it is big')

kúuti cíčə 'the big mountain'
 šáməci hánu 'white man' (šáməci 'white; it is white')
 kawáayu kúučíni 'palomino horse' (kúučíni 'yellow; it is yellow')
 yáwasti stéəci 'a straight stick' (stéəci 'straight; it is straight')

Some of the adverbs that are commonly used as noun modifiers are:

núu, núuyú 'alone, only, own'
 háamáašu 'following, next'
 nanámí 'different'
 náuya, náuna 'lots, many'
 máamé, máamé 'very, many'
 dáwáa 'well, good'

When functioning as a noun modifier, the adverb precedes the noun.

Examples:

núuyú skúwáastíçatyaimiši 'one's own children'
 háamáašu múdēezéēši 'the next boy'
 nanámí husdyāaka 'different bow(s)'
 náuya dyáiyāani 'lots of piñons'

A modifying noun precedes the modified noun:

wáakaši ?ésgá 'cow hide'
 wáakaši ?iisa 'cow manure'
 kanēeru yáakašúuni 'sheep tripe'
 dyūuni ?áyáyáitāani 'pottery paints'
 háatyani múši 'yucca soap'

732. A third person possessed noun (Section 500) can be preceded by a syntactic possessor:

šúyati cíipe 'the boy's ear' (cíipe 'his ear')
 šúyati ga?ánaisdíya 'the boys' father' (ga?ánaisdíya 'their (dual) father')
 šadyúmə gāama 'my brother's house' (gāama 'his house')
 máagəzéeši kánāaya 'the girl's mother' (kánāaya 'her mother')
 wabūuri kahíyāani 'railroad tracks' (wabūuri 'train'; kahíyāani 'its road')

The possessor can be a modified noun (Section 731):

šáməci hánu kasuméestāani 'the white man's school' (kasuméestāani 'his school')

This construction probably has the same restrictions that apply to the subject and object of a verb (Section 711), that is, any possessed noun except a first or second person singular possessor can take a syntactic possessor. The diagnostic forms, however, have not been recorded.

733. Numerals and demonstratives may be used as noun qualifiers. A qualifier may be used with a single noun, a noun and its modifier

(Section 731), or a possessed noun and its possessor (Section 732).

The numerals are composed of the numbers one through ten (Section 651) and the indefinite numeral háćè 'some (amount); how much? how many?'. The numeral may either precede or follow the noun or noun phrase:

dyúwée şúyati 'two boys' (şúyati 'boy')
 husdyâaka kukúmişu 'eight bows (husdyâaka 'bow')
 háćè mîiya 'a few miles, several miles' (mîiya 'mile')
 hâaçəni háćè 'a little bit of onion, an indefinite amount of onion'
 (hâaçəni 'onion')

The most common demonstratives are:

wée 'that (further)'
 hée 'that (nearer)'
 dúwa 'this'
 míika 'others' (plural reference)
 zí 'some (thing); what (thing)?'
 háu 'some (person); who?'
 háidí 'a few, one of the; which?'

The demonstrative wée 'that' is often used to indicate a definite thing or person, and in this usage is best translated 'the'.

Demonstratives always precede the noun or noun phrase:

wée ?úwáaka 'that baby, the baby' (?úwáaka 'baby')
 wée kuháya káwaas̄ti 'the bear's cubs' (kuháya káwaas̄ti 'bear her-cubs')
 dúwa máagézéeši kánāaya 'this girl's mother' (máagészéeši kánāaya 'girl her-mother')
 míika hánu 'other people' (hánu 'person')
 zí čšeri 'things such as chili'

Numerals and demonstratives may co-occur. In this case the position of the numeral is fixed, and the order is demonstrative + numeral + noun: wée dyúwée dyáiyaani 'those two piñons'.

734. Numerals and demonstratives (Section 733) can function as noun substitutes:

dúwa núpeşú 'eat these'
 skāawí ku ?íska 'one's relatives, or others' (?íska 'one, other')
 wée s̄əci nîçaadyú 'those will be destroyed' (lit. 'that will be made ugly')
 háu şuwée ?ái tíyáidyáu 'someone, then, met her there'

A noun substitute can take a noun qualifier:

dúwa dyāana 'these four'
 wée míika 'the others'

There are probably some restrictions in the possible sequences.

735. Two noun phrases may stand in apposition to each other. There appears to be no internal difference between this construction and the nominal predication (Section 713):

sanisdēewa wée yūsi 'St. Stephen, the saint'

čapiyú kadyáaši wée kawáayu 'Chapiyu's horse' (lit. 'Chapiyu his-pet, the horse')

wée cíyáidyámiši, ?uṣâaçə páyadyámə 'the one that met her, Sun Youth' (cíyáidyámiši 'the one that met her', nominalized verb, Section 761)

gâačaaši wée dyáni 'the large deer' (lit. 'large-one, the deer')

The second noun phrase usually has the demonstrative wée 'that, the'. It is probably used to distinguish the construction from the noun modifier plus modified noun construction (Section 731).

740. Adverbs

The adverbs are divided into a number of classes, but only one class, the locative adverbs (Section 741), has been clearly identified. The adverb or adverbial phrase is usually placed just before the verb. It can occur in other positions, however, and usually does if there is more than one adverb or adverbial phrase in the sentence. There appear to be certain positional limitations that are governed in part by the adverb class.

741. The locative adverbs are divided into the following subclasses:

1 ?ái 'there, at (that place), to (that place)'

2 háu 'to, towards'

wée 'from'

kée 'through, along, to'

yúuku 'away, off'

wâa 'on out, over there (closer)'

wâi 'on out, over there (further)'

4 (open class)

5 directionals (see Section 652)

6 adverbs formed with the suffixes -tyau, -dyai (see Section 654.5)

7 ?ée 'on, at'

si 'back, again'

ša 'in both directions, in all directions'

nə 'down'

dyé 'up'

The locative adverb phrase consists of one or more of these adverbs and under certain conditions may include a noun. The class numbers correspond to the position of the adverb in the phrase. Only one member of a class can occur in the phrase, with the exception of class 7. If more than one adverb of class 7 is found in a phrase, the adverbs are in the order given in the list.¹ Classes 1 and 2 and 5 through 7 are small classes, and the list given above is complete. Class 4 is a large and open class which includes place names and adverbs such as *ṣuní* 'together, from all sides', *náyáa* 'underneath', *sónà* 'middle', *yáańí* 'in front', and many others.

In the following examples of adverb phrases the class number is placed after the adverb. The adverbs are written as single phonological words, and without the morphophonemic changes that sometimes apply (see below):

kámasku wáasṭíṭa ʔái (1) *čáaṭyau* (6) *ṣa* (7) *dyó* (7) *čáaʔáaṭa* 'The young spiders sat all around up on the side (of the wall).'
kée (2) *ʔáaku* (4) *ʔée* (7) *si* (7) *zúuneegú* 'It will go back to Acoma.'
ʔái (1) *kúńńišuu* (5) *si* (7) *ńə* (7) *ʔusuméestáańńízá* 'Back down at the south side there is a school.'

Position 3 is filled by a noun, rather than an adverb, and is filled only if position 1, 6, or 7 is filled:

ʔái (1) *čóná* (3) 'at the river'
ʔái (1) *čóná* (3) *yúuwi* (4) 'beside the river' (*yúuwi* 'beside')
čóná (3) *zəṣṭyau* (6) 'the edge of the river, the river bank'
čóná (3) *zəṣṭyau* (6) *ʔée* (7) 'on, along the river bank'
háaci (3) *si* (7) *dyó* (7) 'back up from the ground'

The adverb *ʔée* has little concrete meaning when it is used alone with a noun: *čóná ʔée* 'at the river' (less specific than *ʔái čóná*).

The words in the locative phrase usually have no intervening juncture. If the phrase is long, however, it can be broken into two or three phonological words.

Three of the class 7 adverbs are unaccented: *si* 'back, again', *ṣa* 'in both or all directions', and *ńə* 'down'. These words are phonologically affixed to a preceding or following word, usually to another adverb of

¹Locative adverbs have been recorded that do not conform to these rules. In every case juncture occurred between the adverbs (see below). It is assumed that the sequences represent two or more locative phrases, since sentences with more than one locative phrase are common. Many sentences consist of long strings of locative phrases followed by a finite verb (sometimes the verb is forgotten, probably because the speaker loses track of where he is).

the same phrase. Since *ńə* has an initial glottalized consonant, it can condition the accent change described in || 21. Therefore, when it follows either *si* or *şa*, a phonological word results: *sínə* 'back down'; *şánə* 'down and in all directions'.

The directional *ku* 'south' has two allomorphs, ||*kúwa*|| before juncture and ||*ku-*|| elsewhere:

<i>kúwa</i> 'south'	<i>kúnə</i> 'south and down'
<i>kudyə</i> 'south and up'	<i>kuzəçətyai</i> 'south edge'

When *si* 'back, again' (class 7) occurs with a directional (class 5), the normal order is usually reversed. In addition, the following allomorphs of *si* are used before a directional and *dyə* 'up' (class 7): ||*s-*|| before *dídya* 'north', *háa* 'east' (the ||*u*|| is dropped), and *dyə* 'up'; and ||*sa-*|| before *ku* 'south' and *bə* 'west'. These allomorphs are also used with the directional derivations (Section 652). The allomorph ||*si*|| is used elsewhere. Examples:

sdítya 'back from the north'
sabə 'back from the west'
sakúwa 'back from the south'
sá 'back from the east'
sdyə 'back up'

742. The remaining adverb classes probably include at least manner, temporal, and modal adverbs.

Manner adverbs include:

ńíya 'by means of'
díka 'pertaining to'
guwáa 'about, how, as to'
héeýa 'with'

These adverbs may be used with a noun or noun phrase to form an adverbial phrase:

kaşáiti ?ái şáaránchezi ?ée dyə səde?éku karēeta níya 'We went up to our ranch in the summer by wagon.' (*karēeta* 'wagon')
sináisdíya wáakaşi díka ?ée skúyúuceyáata 'My father used to take me on roundups.' (*wáakaşi* 'cattle')
mámamé zíi guwáa háçəcai da?áiča 'They (dual) became very manly.' (*háçəcai* 'man')
?ée wée kuháya káwáashti héeýa čúwíśáayánətyə 'And they played with the bear's cubs'. (*wée kuháya káwáashti* 'the bear's cubs')

Manner adverbs may also be used without a noun:

záazíná şuwée háu guwáa dyánaata 'Nobody, then, said anything about it.' (*záazíná háu* 'not anybody'; *dyánaata* 'he said')
múukaiča di?ípəetucita, héeýa čúwawíśáitiya 'The lions licked them (dual), and played with (them).'

Temporal adverbs include certain derivations (Sections 651.1, 651.4, 653.1, 654.2, and 762) and adverbs such as:

hákamişu 'first time'	kaşáidi 'year'
háma 'once, formerly'	kúgu 'winter'
gáayu 'this morning'	rúnişi 'Monday'

Some locative adverbs may be used in temporal phrases: siyúuku 'from that time on; in the future' (si 'back, again'; yúuku 'away, off'). The same adverbs are used in the locative phrase, but in the order prescribed for the locative phrase (Section 741): yúukusi 'back off, apart again'.

Modal adverbs are semantically related to the modes distinguished by the verb (Section 431) and sometimes govern the mode. Some of the modal adverbs are:

- ?áku indicates a question (governs the dubitative mode?)
- ?e- 'if' (indicates a conditional statement)
- záazíi, zaa 'not' (governs the negative mode when the verb is used with those pronominal prefixes that distinguish this mode)
- báa 'may, might' (governs the dubitative mode)

Examples:

zíi dyáiyáani ?eka?áiça hawée sáityatiyanáaata 'If there were any piñons, we would gather them.' (zíi dyáiyáani 'some piñons'; ka?áiça 'it becomes, there is')

?ézé şuwée ?ái zikaná báa çəzawee?e 'May you again be fortunate.' (çəzawee?e 'you are fortunate, you have luck', dubitative)

Certain verbs can be used as adverbs, probably the same verbs that can be used to modify nouns (Section 731). When functioning as an adverb, the verb takes the third person nonmodal pronominal prefix:

?ée wá ga?áaná şuyáná da?áyáita kéəgáni 'And he painted red around their eyes.' (da?áyáita 'he painted them (dual)'; kéəgáni 'red; it is red')

wée səəci nîçaadyú 'It will be destroyed.' (lit. 'It will become ugly.'; səəci 'ugly; it is ugly')

750. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used to connect words and phrases of the same syntactic class. The most common conjunctions are:

- ?ée 'and' (nontemporal)
- şuwée 'and, and then' (temporal)
- ?édyu, ?édyuyú 'and, but' (contrastive; also used as an adverb meaning 'then, next')

ʔédyu . . . ʔédyu 'but if . . . then'
 Zero (probably marked by a juncture) 'and'
 ku 'or' (probably inclusive)
 zíi 'or' (probably exclusive)
 zíi . . . zíi 'either . . . or'

The conjunction ku is unaccented and is often phonologically attached to the preceding or following word.

Examples:

táama ʔée śśisa dikáne 'in the fifth and sixth grades' (díka 'pertaining to', Section 742; n̄ə 'down', here meaning 'in')
 zíi ʔubéwí ʔée zíi wágóni 'things like food and clothing' (zíi demonstrative 'some, things such as')
 máamé gáí gáçaasti, ʔétyu gáí ʔan̄éézá 'it is very hard, but it is fun'
 wáakaši ku kan̄eru yáakaşúuni 'cow or sheep tripe'
 zíi táama zíi śśisa kaşáiti 'either five or six years (old)' (kaşáiti 'year')

760. Subordination

Dependent clauses are formed from verbal sentences (Section 711) by adding a subordinating suffix to the verb. The verb must be a nonmodal form (Section 431). Since a finite verb can be a complete verbal sentence, the dependent clause is frequently simply a subordinated verb.

761. -iši, nominalizing suffix (see rule || 1 for allomorphy):

şúyati tyáanikuya kée gaʔanáisdíya nútuáneetyékúun̄etyecişi 'The boys said that they would go to visit their father.' (kée gaʔanáisdíya nútuáneetyékúuʔu 'they will go to visit their father'; see Section 461 for the treatment of the auxiliary)
 şuwée ʔai çaʔáutyu ʔémí wée cigúniçaatişi 'She found out that she was getting pregnant' (cigúniçaatya 'she is getting pregnant')
 záazíi zíi dín̄aižáníşa dúwa dyáíyaani díkasi nigúniçaagúnişi 'She did not think that she would become pregnant from these piñons.'
 (dúwa dyáíyaani díkasi nigúniçaatyagú 'she will become pregnant because of these piñons')

The suffix can also be used to form nouns. The nominalized verb has all the synthetic properties of other nouns:

wée cíyáidyámişi, ʔuşâçe páyadyámə, şuwée táacikuya "çáityata dyáíyaani?" 'The one that met her, Sun Youth, then said to her "Are you gathering piñons?"' (wée cíyáidyámişi 'the one that

met her' subject, in apposition to ?uʃááçə páyadyámə 'Sun Youth
 cíváidyáu 'he met her'; obviative)
 místyəciši kúdi?ée cíuyateyapikuyáni 'The black ones are gathered
 in the mountains.' (místyəciši subject; místyəci 'it is black')

The allomorph ||-i|| (see ||1.10) is used after the completive suffix
 -qiʃ (allomorphs ||-qiʃ|| and ||-iʃ||, the combinations yielding ||-qiši||
 and ||-iši||). In the first case, the glottalization of the final morpho-
 phonic consonant is the only overt sign of the completive suffix:

cíbáyániši 'one that has been fired' (theme ||-qjubáyaN-qiʃ|| + ||-i||);
 cíufígúmiši 'that which has been taken out' (theme ||-qjú:figúM-qiʃ|| +
 ||-i||). In the second combination, ||-iši||, there is no overt sign of the
 completive suffix, but it can often be inferred from the morphology:
 cíufíkusiši 'that which was being taken out' (||-qjú:figúM-səθ-iʃ|| + ||-i||;
 a perfect theme which must have the completive suffix, Section 415).

762. -(')í forms temporal adverbial clauses:

déetya gúukačánədyəci díinažánə 'When they saw a rabbit, they
 shot.' (déetya gúukačánətyə 'they (dual) saw a rabbit')

wée háu za?áaçədəyáwí ne?éekuzíumáni suwée dɬutyəgə́nətyə 'When
 she charged them, when she was about to bite them, then they
 put it in her mouth.' (wée háu za?áaçəteya 'she charged them';
 ne?éekuciumá 'she will bite them')

cíci súwastíi?i háu sədəedyúpi 'We went after water when we
 arrived.' (háu sədəetyu 'we arrived')

The usual morphophonemic shape of the suffix is ||-(')í|| (see rules
 ||1 and ||19 for morphophonemics). The allomorph ||-(')á|| has been re-
 corded with a few forms: skubənú 'when one enters'; za?ácínú 'when he
 arrived'. This allomorph alternates freely with the regular form:
 za?ácíní 'when he arrived'.

The singular theme ||-áanažədeyaW|| 'to be walking, wandering' plus
 -(')í irregularly yields ||-áaní||: sēnaçəteya 'I was walking', sēní
 'when I was walking'. The dual and plural themes, -qjéeyáaN and
 -jé?egúyaN (see ||7.10), are regular with this suffix.

763. -ša forms locative adverbial clauses:

gábáabáa dāa?apuucitánáafa zaa máamé téə?e ?uzúúćáafani háwée
 wée mŭukaica ?ée kuháya ze?əema 'Their grandmother warned
 them not to go very far to places where there were mountain
 lions and bears.' (wée mŭukaica ?ée kuháya ze?é 'there are
 mountain lions and bears')

The suffix has a large number of allomorphs: -ša, -iʃa, -ma, -ima,
 -suma, -dya, and -ća. There are not enough examples to determine the
 distribution of the allomorphs. The distribution does not seem to be

governed by the final morphophonemic consonant of the preceding morpheme. Examples:

skábáaşa 'at one's fire'; skábá 'one has a fire going'

guístyanişa 'where he made a knot'; guístya 'he made a knot'

guńáatáayuma 'where there is a cave'; guńáatáayu 'there is a cave'

zítýapiima 'forest'; zítýapi 'it is thickly wooded'

gáaspeşuma 'where it is warmed by the sun'; gáaspeşe 'there are sunrays'

káčætya 'building'; káčæ 'it is tall; there is a building'

gúwáneeca 'where there is a hunt'; gúwáne 'there is a hunt'

764. -u 'when, if, since, as a result' forms conditional clauses (see rule || 1 for allomorphy):

héemée saúsšeenaatya ?ái ránču ?éesi sæde?éku 'When we got enough water, we went back to the ranch.' (háamée saúsšeńa 'we got enough water')

?étyu sái ka?áućánaatya ?étyu şuwéewá sái háubá wée nećáaşıidyúusa 'But if they divide it all up, it will belong to everyone.' (sái ka?áućána 'they divided it all up')

This suffix, or a homophonous suffix, is also used as a nonthematic suffix (see Section 442.9).

770. Indefinite-Interrogatives

Many of the word classes have one or more indefinite members. The most common indefinites are:

hácè 'some (amount); how many?' (numeral, Section 733)

zíi 'something; what (thing)?' (demonstrative, Section 733)

háu 'someone; who?' (demonstrative, Section 733)

háidi 'one of the; which?' (demonstrative, Section 733)

háadí 'somewhere; where?' (locative adverb, Section 741)

héku, hékudáa, hékuma 'some direction; which direction?' (directional adverb, Section 741)

These words function in a manner that is appropriate for their class:

şuwée wá céeyáanı́ háu dâa?ámina 'As they were on their way, someone spoke to them.' (háu 'someone', indefinite demonstrative, here functioning as a noun substitute)

In addition, the indefinites are used to form interrogative sentences and to introduce dependent clauses. The appropriate response to an interrogative sentence is a word or phrase belonging to the same syntactic class as the indefinite. A nonmodal form of the verb is used both in interroga-

tive sentences and in dependent clauses introduced by an indefinite:

háu təzâa'ámína? 'Who spoke to us?'

kékudáa zúusu? 'Which way are you going?'

hékudáa céeyu zíkaná wá hawée nəza'áuyâa'anatyúu'u 'They will be permitted wherever they go again.' (hékudáa céeyu zíkaná wá 'they went some direction again'; the main verb nəza'áuyâa'anatyúu'u is dubitative, but the dependent verb céeyu is nonmodal)

TEXTS

11

2

1

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

The texts were recorded on tape by a number of different speakers and were transcribed and translated with the help of Mrs. Hansen (see Introduction). The translations follow the Acoma as closely as grammatical English will allow. Parenthetical material in the translation represents English words and phrases that have been added to make the translation more understandable. Parenthetical material in the Acoma represents English words that were used with English phonology. The first text is provided with a grammatical analysis; it is hoped that the reader can provide his own analysis for the remaining texts by using the grammar in conjunction with a forthcoming dictionary.

The manner in which the texts are punctuated is described in Section 142 of the grammar. Space is used to separate words that are potentially delineated by juncture. There are a number of short adverbs, many of obscure meaning, that are characterized by the Acoma speakers as "little words." Sequences of three or four "little words" normally occur run together with no intervening plus junctures. In sequences of nine or ten, not uncommon in some texts, they are grouped together into three or four phonological words. The position of junctures in these longer sequences appears to be arbitrary. I have, however, written space between all the "little words."

The texts of Mr. Garcia (texts 32 through 37) require special comment. Mr. Garcia was in his fifties when the texts were collected, and he belonged to an older generation than Mrs. Hansen. He occasionally used words and phrases that Mrs. Hansen did not know or was not familiar with, and sometimes his style was obscure. In most cases Mrs. Hansen understood what was meant, probably because of contextual cues, and was able to offer a translation. But she was not always able to identify with certainty the individual components of the sentence. As a result Mr. Garcia's texts have been translated quite freely, and it is possible that the translation is wrong in some cases.

"The Birth of the War Twins" (text 38) is a translation by Mr. Lewis of the tale published by Stirling (1942, pp. 92-98). It is not translated

sentence by sentence, however, but rather paragraph by paragraph. The story was well known to Mr. Lewis, but apparently not well enough for him to tell the story without any props.

1. Baptizing
(By Mary Hestia)

1. kí (Adv.)	(Solomon) ² Solomon	ćíci ³ water	ćíizáani ⁴ when he did it to him	wáaṣu ⁵ starting now	
šísá ⁶ six	kaṣâiti ⁷ year	ka?áiča. ⁸ it became.	2. (Santa Ana) ⁹ Santa Ana	səde?éku ¹⁰ we went	
ṣa?ánâaya ¹¹ Our mother	?ée ¹² and	ṣa?ánâisdiya ¹³ our father	?ée ¹² and	(Margaret). Margaret.	
3. háu ¹⁴ Towards	sədəedyúpi ¹⁵ when we arrived	ṣuwée ¹⁶ then	(Tommy) ¹⁷ Tommy	gâama ¹⁸ his house	
səde?éku. ¹⁹ we went.	4. háu ¹⁴ Towards	sədəedyúpi, ¹⁵ when we arrived	kábáabáa ²⁰ his grand- mother	śiupéena. ²¹ we told her.	
5. ṣuwée ¹⁶ Then	skadíná ²² cornmeal	śemáaku?iityə. ²³ we gave it to her.	6. ?amaháa ²⁴ (Interjection)		
śéniyaapetyə ²⁵ we said to her	(Tommy) ²⁶ Tommy	záa ²⁷ not	?ée ²⁸ in	núučuucidýú ²⁹ he will be willing	ćíci water
níičaaciumá ³⁰ he will do it to him	wâa ³¹ now	ṣa?ámśəti. ³² our son.	7. ṣuwée ¹⁶ Then	gánaata ³³ she said	"wa ³⁴ now
dáwá?ée, ³⁵ thank you	wá ³⁴ now	sguwâanáma ³⁶ we are grateful	ṣuwée ¹⁶ then	?áci ³⁷ later	níyúucee?e ³⁸ let us take him
míisa Mass	kâiya. ³⁹ room.	8. ṣuwée ¹⁶ Then	kúuyáuzéeši ⁴⁰ Grandmother	gánaata ³³ she said	"nakée ⁴¹ go!
báa ⁴² might	sakisďana ⁴³ sexton	pudí. ⁴⁴ you go get him.	9. ṣuwée ¹⁶ Then	ćáadfi?i. ⁴⁵ they sent for him.	

10. wée ⁴⁶	zúuci ⁴⁷	şuwée ¹⁶	ca?amáaku?íta ⁴⁸	skadiiná, ⁴⁹		
From	when he went	then	he was given a handful	cornmeal		
şuwée ¹⁶	?ái ⁵⁰	gái ⁵¹	rusá	cíça. ⁵²	11. rusá	sái ⁵³
then	there	(adv.)	prayer	he did it.	Prayer	all
gańáatáni ⁵⁴	şuwée ¹⁶	míisa	káiya ³⁹	?éesi ⁵⁵	zúuku ⁵⁶	?ái ⁵⁰
when he said	then	Mass	room	back in	he went	there
tudaaci ⁵⁷	dyúubé. ⁵⁸					
priest	he told him.					

12. şuwée ¹⁶	míisa	káiya ³⁹	háu ¹⁴	sədəetyu, ⁵⁹	kée ⁶⁰
Then	Mass	room	towards	we arrived	through
səde?éku. ¹⁹	13. şuwée ¹⁶	gái ⁵¹	?ái ⁵⁰	zí ⁶¹	míşu ⁶²
we went.	Then	(adv.)	there	things	already

háaku ⁶³	zí ⁶¹	míşu ⁶²	tíça. ⁶⁴	14. şuwée ¹⁶	míşu ⁶⁵
prepared	things	already	he did it.	Then	already

sána ⁶⁶	héemée ⁶⁷	zí ⁶⁸	gáya ⁶⁹	?amaháa ²⁴
middle	at the end	things	(adv.)	(interj.)

nuzuwáunáutaşúusáati ⁷⁰	şuwée ¹⁶	caacikuya ⁷¹	?amaháa ²⁴
when we would be finished	then	he said to her	(interj.)

(Florinda) ⁷²	"hiná ⁷³	gánáska ⁷⁴	dái ⁷⁵	wáistáani ⁷⁶	díka ⁷⁷
Florinda	(adv.)	his head	here	bowl	with

háu ¹⁴	pídyá. ⁷⁸	15. méeşu ⁷⁹	?étyu ⁸⁰	sái ⁸¹	háunə ⁸²
towards	you hold him.	Instead	but	all	downward

məpənai?iciumá. ⁸³	16. ?ái ⁵⁰	háubá ⁸⁴	sáayasúkucitiya, ⁸⁵
she was going to put him inside.	There	everyone	we were pushing each other with our elbows

sgayáadyánāawita. ⁸⁶	17. şuwée ¹⁶	sái ⁸¹	şuwáunáudáni ⁸⁷	şuwée ¹⁶
we were giggling.	Then	all	when we were finished	then

tudaaci ⁸⁸	skai?icikuya ⁸⁹	wá ³⁴	gáika ⁹⁰	?ézézi ⁹¹	sái ⁸¹
priest	he said to us	now	(adv.)	(adv.)	all

háunā⁸² nípənaimēetuzúusa,⁹² putistántimée.⁹³ 18. šuwée¹⁶
 downward we should have put like a Protestant. Then
 him inside

gái⁵¹ šuwée¹⁶ sguwáanáma.³⁶
 (adv.) then we are grateful.

19. šuwée¹⁶ kéesi⁹⁴ sode?éku¹⁹ gáačəətya⁹⁵ ?ái⁵⁰
 Then on back we went their house there

šauyatawa,⁹⁶ ?ée¹² sóna cidíya⁹⁷ siyúuku⁹⁸ šuwée¹⁶
 we ate dinner and noon in the future then

ka?áčéetiya.⁹⁹ 20. šuwée¹⁶ māmésu¹⁰⁰ šapəgání¹⁰¹
 they danced. Then starting right at early evening

wée⁴⁶ kawāayu¹⁰² gŭumə.¹⁰³ 21. šuwée¹⁶ ša?ánaísdiya¹³
 from horse they left. Then our father

(Solomon) ?ái⁵⁰ zidyá¹⁰⁴ kawāayu.¹⁰⁵
 Solomon there he touched him horse.

In the following notes single morphemes are written morphophonemically. For this reason some monomorphemic words will not be written the same in the text and the notes, for example, item 7 appears in the text with a 't', but in the notes with a 'd'.

¹kí, adverb. Indicates that the event took place in the past or is completed.

²Solomon, object of *čízǎaní*.

³čízǎ 'water', secondary object of *čízǎaní* (Section 711).

⁴čízǎaní; the combination with *číci* means 'when he baptized him (obviative)'.
- *jǐzǎa* ~ -*JǐzǎaN* (Section 234) 'to make it, to do it to', transitive theme of the

verb stem -*iǐzǎaN* 'to make, become' plus the first transitive prefix (§ 5.5, Section 411). *g*-, obviative nonmodal prefix (§ 10.1, Section 230, 432); -(')í, adverbializing suffix (§ 1, § 19, Section 762).

⁵wâaşu 'starting now, at this time', adverbial phrase (Section 742). *wâa* 'now'; *şu* 'starting'.

⁶şísà 'six', numeral (Section 733).

⁷kaşâidi 'year, summer', adverb.

⁸kaʔáıca 'it became', impersonal verb. -*QáızǎaN*, impersonal theme derived from the verb stem -*iǐzǎaN* 'to make, become'. *g*-, 3rd person nonmodal prefix (§ 10.2).

⁹Santa Ana, locative adverb.

¹⁰sædeʔéku 'we (plural) went', intransitive-A verb. -*jeʔéguY*, plural theme of *zúu-* (§ 7.10); *s-əz-*, 1st person nonmodal prefix (Section 230). The syntactic subject of the verb (Section 711) is *şaʔánâaya ʔée şaʔánáisdíya ʔée* Margaret; the English translation 'I' results from the fact that the verb has a 1st person prefix.

¹¹şaʔánâaya 'our (dual) mother', derived ambivalent (Section 521). *ş-*, 1st person nonmodal prefix; dual prefix (§ 7.9, Section 530); -*qa-*, possessive prefix (§ 5.4); *nâaya* 'mother'. The dual was used because Mrs. Histia was telling one of her sisters, who was not present at her baptizing, about the event.

¹²ʔée 'and', conjunction (Section 750).

¹³şaʔánáisdíya 'our (dual) father', derived from *náisdíya* 'father'. Analysis identical to *şaʔánâaya* (note 11).

¹⁴háu 'to, towards', locative adverb.

¹⁵sædeedyúpi 'when we (plural) arrived'. -*jéedyuB*, plural of the intransitive-A verb theme -*jaʔáciN* (§ 7.10); *s-əz-*, 1st person nonmodal prefix (Section 230); -(')í, adverbializing suffix (Section 762).

¹⁶şuwée 'them, and then, next', conjunction (Section 750) and adverb (Section 742).

¹⁷Tommy, possessor of *gâama* 'his house' (Section 732).

¹⁸gâama 'his house', basic ambivalent (Section 522). -*Aâama*, theme; *g-*, 3rd person prefix.

¹⁹sædeʔéku (see note 10).

²⁰kabáabáa 'his grandmother', derived ambivalent (Section 521). g-, 3rd person nonmodal prefix; -qa-, possessive prefix (§5.4); báabáa 'grandparent, grandchild of the opposite sex'. Object of the verb síupééna.

²¹síupééna 'we (plural) told her', transitive verb. -úubé?eN 'to tell someone', transitive theme derived from the verb stem -bé?eN 'to tell'. sj-, 1st-3rd person nonmodal prefix; ||-qaad||, allomorph of the plural suffix -qeeD (§1.1). For the glottalization of ||s|| see Section 232; for the glottalization of ||b|| see §1.1.

²²skadíiná 'ceremonial cornmeal', secondary object of the verb séamáaku?iitya (Section 711).

²³semáaku?iitya 'we (dual) gave her a handful', transitive verb. -Jámáaku?í?iD, transitive theme of the classificatory verb stem -ámáaku- 'to handle grainlike or sandlike objects' (Section 453). sj-, 1st-3rd person nonmodal prefix; ||-dyæZ||, allomorph of the dual suffix -qedyæZ (§1.8).

²⁴?amaháa, interjection. Indicates a hesitation, much like English 'er'.

²⁵séniyaapetya 'we (dual) said to her', transitive verb; here, meaning 'to ask'. -JániyaaB, suppletive theme for dual and plural subject for -JáacikuyaN (Section 433). sj-, 1st-3rd person nonmodal prefix; ||-edyæZ||, allomorph of the dual suffix -qedyæZ (§1.6).

²⁶Tommy, subject of the verb núúúucidyú.

²⁷záa 'not', a negative adverb.

²⁸?ée 'in, at, on', locative adverb. Here it means 'in this affair, concerning this'.

²⁹núúúucidyú 'he will be willing', intransitive-A verb. -Aúúúuci, theme. n-, expective prefix (Section 230 and Section 471); /-dyú/, 3rd person singular dubitative form of the auxiliary gú (Section 461.1). The expective is used because the event was to take place in the future, the dubitative because the request had been made but not yet accepted.

³⁰cíci níicaaciumá 'he will baptize him' (see notes 3 and 4 for syntactic construction and theme). nj-, expective prefix; /-ciumá/, obviative singular nonmodal form of gú (see note 29).

³¹wáa 'now', adverb.

³²ša?ámóati 'our (dual) son', derived ambivalent (§5.4, Section 521). móadi 'boy'; see note 11 for construction.

³³gánaata 'she said', intransitive-A verb. -ánaataN, theme; g-, 3rd person nonmodal prefix.

³⁴wá 'now', morphophonemic variant of wáa, note 31 (§25).

³⁵dáwá?ée 'thank you', lit. '(there is) good in (it)'. dáwáa 'good'; ?ée 'in, on, at'.

³⁶sguwáanáma 'we (plural) are grateful, thankful', static verb. -úunáma, theme. sgu-, 3rd-1st person nonmodal prefix (Section 230); plural prefix (§7.6).

³⁷?áci 'later, in a little while', adverb.

³⁸níyúucee?e 'let us take him', transitive verb. -JúyúzeeY, theme. nj-, 1st-3rd person hortative prefix (Sections 230, 431); ||-?VVD||, allomorph of the plural suffix -qeeD (§1.7).

³⁹mísa káiya 'church'. mísa 'Mass' modifies káiya 'room, inside' (Section 731).

⁴⁰kúuyáuzééši, respectful term for an old lady. -z'ééši 'the one that is . . . , the part that is . . . ' (Section 653.2).

⁴¹hákée 'go!', modal adverb.

⁴²báa 'might, may', modal adverb.

⁴³sakisdâana 'sexton', object of the verb pudí.

⁴⁴pudí 'you go get him', transitive verb. -u'deeY - -u'diiY (Section 234) 'to go after, invite'. p-, 2nd-3rd person hortative prefix (Section 230).

⁴⁵áadîi?i 'they sent for him', static verb. -qja?a:dîi-?VVD 'to be sent for', static theme of the verb stem -u'diiY plus the passive prefix -qja?a- (§5.2, Section 412); and ||-?VVD||, allomorph of the plural suffix -qeeD (§1.7, Section 412). See §23.3 for the initial glottal accent. gj-, obviative nonmodal pronominal prefix.

⁴⁶wée 'from', locative adverb (Section 741).

⁴⁷zúuci 'when he went'; the combination with wée means 'when he came'. zúu- 'to go', singular intransitive verb theme inflected with an auxiliary (§7.10, Section 632.7). /-ku/, 3rd person singular nonmodal auxiliary (Section 461.5); -(')í, adverbializing suffix (Section 762).

⁴⁸áa'amáaku?iita 'he was given a handful', static verb. -qja'amáaku?í?iD-aaD, static theme from the classificatory verb stem -áamáaku- 'to handle grainlike or sandlike objects' (Section 453) plus the passive prefix -qja?a- (§5.2, Section 412); and ||-aaD||, allomorph of the plural suffix -qeeD (§1.8, Section 412). gj-, obviative nonmodal prefix.

⁴⁹skadîná 'ceremonial cornmeal', secondary object of the verb áa'amáaku?iita (cf. note 22).

⁵⁰?ái 'there, locative adverb (Section 741).

⁵¹gái, adverb of unknown meaning.

⁵²ciíça, transitive verb (see note 4); the combination with rusá 'prayer' means 'he said a prayer'. g-, 3rd-3rd person nonmodal prefix.

⁵³sái 'all, everything, whole', adverb. Here it indicates the completion of the action.

⁵⁴gánaafání 'when he said'. gánaafa 'he said' (note 33) plus -(')í, adverbializing suffix (Section 762).

⁵⁵?éesi 'back in, in again', locative adverbial phrase (Section 741). ?é 'in, at, on'; si 'back (to starting point)'.

⁵⁶zúuku 'he went', intransitive verb (see note 47).

⁵⁷tudáaci 'priest', object of the verb dyúubé.

⁵⁸dyúubé 'he told him', transitive verb (see note 21). dy-, 3rd-3rd person dubitative prefix (Section 230). The dubitative is used because the speaker was not present when the sexton told the priest (Section 431).

⁵⁹sədəetyu 'we (plural) arrived' (see note 15).

⁶⁰kée 'through, along', locative adverb.

⁶¹zîi 'thing(s), something(s)', indefinite demonstrative (Section 733) functioning as a noun substitute (Section 734) and object of the verb tiíça.

⁶²míşu 'already, completed', adverb. The repetition of the words zîi míşu appeared to represent a hesitation and backtracking on the part of the speaker.

⁶³háaku 'prepared', adverb.

⁶⁴tiiça 'he did it, made it', transitive verb (see note 4). dy-, 3rd-3rd person dubitative prefix (Sections 230, 431).

⁶⁵míișu (see note 62).

⁶⁶sónà 'middle', adverb.

⁶⁷héemée 'at the end of, at the completion of', adverb.

⁶⁸zîi (see note 61).

⁶⁹gáya, adverb of unknown meaning.

⁷⁰nuzuwáunáutașúsáati 'when we (plural) would be finished'. -AûinaudaN 'to finish', intransitive-A verb theme. n-əz-, expective prefix (Sections 230, 471); plural prefix (||7.4); ș-, 1st person nonmodal prefix (Section 230); -úuS-aaD, an allomorph of the auxiliary gú and the plural suffix (Section 461.1); -(')í, adverbializing suffix (Section 762).

⁷¹cáacikuya 'he said to her', transitive verb. -JáacikuyaN, theme. gj-, obviative nonmodal prefix.

⁷²Florinda, object of the verb cáacikuya.

⁷³hihá, modal adverb indicating a command (Section 742).

⁷⁴gánáska 'his head'. -ánásgai 'head', inalienably possessed noun theme (Section 510); g-, 3rd person prefix.

⁷⁵dái 'here', adverb.

⁷⁶wáistáani 'bowl', noun. Derived from the verb stem -úwáistaN 'to dish up liquid' (Section 642).

⁷⁷díka 'with, pertaining to', adverb. Forms and adverbial phrase with wáistáani, the combination meaning 'pertaining to the bowl' (Section 742).

⁷⁸pídyá 'you hold him', transitive verb. -Júdyá?aD 'to hold, catch, touch', transitive theme from the verb stem -údyá?aD plus the first transitive prefix (||5.5, Section 411). p-, 2nd-3rd person hortative pronominal prefix (Section 230).

⁷⁹méșu 'instead', conjunction (Section 750).

⁸⁰edyu 'but', conjunction (Section 750).

⁸¹sái 'all', adverb.

⁸²háunə 'downward', locative adverbial phrase (Section 741). háu 'towards'; nə 'down'.

⁸³nípenai?iciumá 'she was going to put him inside', transitive verb. -JúbəN, theme from the verb stem -ú:bəN 'to enter'. nj-, expective prefix (Sections 230, 471); -nai?M 'enclosed, inside' (Section 442.5); /-ciumá/, obviative singular nonmodal form of the auxiliary gú (Section 461.1).

⁸⁴háubá 'everyone'. Derived from háu 'someone; who' plus -bá, an element that occurs only in this word.

⁸⁵sáayasúkucitiya 'we were pushing each other with our elbows', intransitive-B verb. -'áayasúku-zaN, theme from the verb stem -ú:súku-zaN 'to elbow, jostle' plus the collective plural prefix -'áaya- (||5.2, Section 414); -zaN, stem formative (Section 621). s-, 1st person nonmodal prefix; =itaaN, continuative suffix (Section 441.1); the continuative suffix and the plural suffix -qeeD yield the portmanteau form ||=itiyaaD|| (Section 242).

⁸⁶sgayáadyánâawita 'we (plural) were giggling', static verb. -Jídyánâawa, theme. sg-, 3rd-1st person nonmodal prefix; plural prefix (||7.7); =itaaN, continuative suffix (Section 441.1).

⁸⁷šuwáunáudání 'when we (plural) were finished'. -AúinaudaN 'to finish', intransitive-A verb theme. š-, 1st person nonmodal prefix; plural prefix (||7.4); -(´)í, adverbializing suffix (Section 762).

⁸⁸tudáaci 'priest', subject of the verb skaiʔicikuya.

⁸⁹skaiʔicikuya 'he said to us (plural)', transitive verb. -JáaciguyaN, theme. sg-, 3rd-1st person nonmodal prefix; plural prefix (||7.8). This is one of the words that, contrary to the general rule, may have no accent (see Section 121, ||7.8).

⁹⁰gáika, adverb of unknown meaning.

⁹¹ʔézézi, adverb of unknown meaning.

⁹²nípənaimetuzúusa 'we (plural) should have put him inside', transitive verb. -qeeD, plural suffix (||1.2); /-tuzúusa/, 1st person plural dubitative form of the auxiliary gú (Section 461.1). See note 83 for the rest of the construction.

⁹³putistántímée 'like a Protestant', adverb. putistánti 'Protestant'; -mée 'like . . . , as if . . . ', adverbializing suffix (Section 654.4).

⁹⁴kéesi 'on back', locative adverbial phrase (Section 741). kée 'through, along'; si 'back'.

⁹⁵gáačətya 'their (plural) house', ambivalent. -áazədyā, plural theme of -Aāma, basic ambivalent (Section 522).

⁹⁶sáuýatawa 'we (plural) ate dinner', intransitive-B verb. -QáuýataW 'to eat several things', for example, 'to eat a meal (of people), to graze (of animals)', theme. s-, 1st person nonmodal prefix; ||-aaD||, allomorph of the plural suffix -qeeD (||1.4).

⁹⁷The verb theme -júdyu is only used with the adverb sónà 'middle': sóna zítu 'it is noon'. The form with the adverbializing suffix -(´)í (Section 762) is irregular: sóna cidíyá 'when it is noon', (or simply) 'noon'.

⁹⁸siyúuku 'in the future, from that time on', adverbial phrase (Section 742). si 'back, again'; yúuku 'away, off'.

⁹⁹kaʔaacétiya 'they (plural) danced', intransitive-B verb. -´ícáaN, theme from the verb stem -íicáaN 'to dance' plus the first active prefix -´- (||5.6, Section 414). g-, 3rd person nonmodal prefix; thematic syllable expansion (´í > Qáʔa, ||9.4); ||=éʔetaaN||, allomorph of the continuative suffix =ítaaN (Section 441.1); the continuative suffix and the plural suffix -qeeD yield the portmanteau form ||=éʔetiyaAD|| (Section 242). This stem is seldom found without the continuative suffix.

¹⁰⁰māaméšu 'starting right at, exactly at', adverbial phrase (Section 742). māamé ~ māamé 'very, exactly'; šu 'starting'.

¹⁰¹šápəgání 'when it is early evening'. šápə- 'early evening (before sunset)' is inflected with the auxiliary ku (Sections 461.4, 632.2). The adverbializing suffix -(´)í (Section 762) has been added. The adverbial phrase māaméšu indicates that it was the beginning of the time period covered by šápə-, namely the middle of the afternoon.

¹⁰²kawáayu 'horse(s)', subject of the verb gúumə.

¹⁰³gúumə 'they (dual) left', intransitive-A verb. -úumə, dual theme of -ú-mə (||7.10). g-, 3rd person nonmodal prefix. The locative adverb wée indicates movement from a location (in this case, unspecified) to the area of interest; hence, in this sentence the verb means 'they came'.

¹⁰⁴zídýá 'he touched (that is, patted) him', transitive verb. -Júdyá?aD 'to hold, catch, touch', theme from the verb stem -údyá?aD plus the first transitive prefix (§5.5, Section 411). g-, 1st-3rd person nonmodal prefix.

Note that the singular is used for both the subject and object. There are two syntactic subjects (ša?ánaísdíya Solomon), and the object (kawâyu) probably refers to two horses since the preceding sentence made it clear that there were two horses involved. The category of number is optional for transitive verbs (Section 433), and this is one of the rare instances in which it is not indicated.

¹⁰⁵kawâyu 'horse', object of the verb zídýá (see note 104).

Free Translation of "Baptizing"

1. Solomon was baptized six years ago.
2. Our mother and father and Margaret and I went to Santa Ana.
3. When we arrived, we went to Tommy's house.
4. We told his grandmother when we got there.
5. Then we gave her corn meal.
6. We asked her if Tommy would not be willing to baptize (that is, sponsor) our son now.
7. She said "Thank you, we are grateful; in a little while let's take him to the church."
8. Then the Grandmother said, "Go and get the sexton."
9. They sent for him.
10. When he came, he was given some cornmeal, and he said a prayer.
11. When he finished the prayer, he went back to the church and told the priest.
12. We arrived at the church and went in.
13. He (the priest) already had things prepared there.
14. When we were halfway through, he said to Florinda, "Put his head towards (over) the bowl."
15. But instead she started to put him all the way inside.
16. We were pushing each other with our elbows and giggling.
17. When we were finished the priest told us that we should have put him all the way in, like a Protestant.
18. We were grateful.
19. Then we went back to their house and ate dinner there, and from noon on they danced.
20. In the middle of the afternoon two horses came.
21. Our dad and Solomon patted the horses.

2. All Souls' Day
(By Anne Hansen)

1. dúwa wá níibéesí šūumə dāawáaçašu¹ nāwāa?aitiça sizēedyúpi.²
 2. cáyášu hástífiça kuwāušaaatee?eezátēe?eesə, ?étyu kúyāawáça báhá kuwāwíititiyanáaata. 3. šuwéesu wá ?émé ?ée ?íské háuñə kubóní šapəgání wéemée háčə ?ái sgāama ?amaháa háusi nədéetyugúusaatya, tée ?émé ?ée núuyú skáwaaštiçatyaimiši nēi?itiišáasgúñišimée ?émé ?ée ?ée káužáani.³ 4. cáyášu ?ubéwí zíi sái ?ái háaku stíçanu, ?ée wée šáamíi zíi sgaýánamatíitya⁴ šuwée ?ištíi níya ?ánázáni sdyánaçanu šuwée rusá stíiça šuwée káimíná?áatišiku.⁵ 5. zíi yúušusgúnu zíi sái ka?auyatawaatya šuwée ?áasa díka dyə ?utáani ?ubéwí ?ée šuwée skadíná, wíispi ?ée cíci háaku stíiça šuwée záiša ?ée kuwátaikui?izátēe?e. 6. ?ái háu sdyá?acínú túu ?émé ?ée zíkaná sgái?íimínaku ?ée šuwée ?áinə ?úuwíišáni héemée šuwée ka?aižáani ?íyáça zíi wée zéegúya gái ciyúu dyai?ipewíitanáaata.
 7. ?ée wá šuwée kapišóní ?étyu wéemée kučámázáni háwée kasdyórá zéegúyáaatasə rusá gáawáatitiyaníitanáaata. 8. wéemée zíi háu sdiwaaceeku rusá sdyāawaaçaniitya séegázé zíi gayáa?áapi⁶ zíi ?ubéwí zíi ?ézé zíisgúnu. 9. ?étyu šuwée wá gáayúuzé túu méyđuna héemée háčə nēi?itiišáasgúni túu ?émé ?ée zíkaná ?étyu šuwée wéemée ?áasa díka dyə ?utáani, ?étyu ?ái míisa káiya ?ái čáatya háusi zíkaná ?uwánáciiyi.⁷ 10. túu dyəəçəša ?ái skáu?unáaata. 11. háikámíná míisa cíiça. 12. ?ái káiya ?ée cáyá kée ?utáikúiyíizá.

¹šūumə dāawáaça 'November, month of the dead', lit. 'corpse month', so called because All Souls' Day occurs in this month.

²nāwāa?aitiça sizēedyúpi 'All Souls' Day', lit. 'when the old people come back'.

³The main verb is káužáani, and in combination with the adverb ?ée 'thus, so' it means 'it is done, prepared this way'; ambivalent (Section 521) derived from a nominalized infinitive (Sections 420, 643), theme -úužaaN 'to make for somebody'. kubóní 'when it (the first date) arrives', theme -ú:bəN 'to enter'. šapəgání, see note 101, text 1. nədéetyugúusaatya 'when they will return', see note 15, text 1, and Grammar, Section 764. nēi?itiišáasgúñišimée 'as if one (indef.) will feed them', theme -Judíišá?aN; see ||7.2, Section 761, and Section 654.4.

⁴sgaýánamatíitya 'when one sets a chair for them', theme -JánamaD(čaN)-'í?iD.

⁵káimíná?áatišiku, theme -JumínaaD 'to speak to', ambivalent derived from nominalized infinitive (see Sections 521, 643, 442.8).

⁶gayáa?áapi, theme -Jāa?B 'to give (light object) to someone' (see ||1.6, ||7.8). This is a subordinate verb in form (Section 762), but it appears to translate as the main verb.

⁷The cemetery is beside the church.

2. All Souls' Day
(By Anne Hansen)

1. I'm going to tell about All Souls' Day in November. 2. First the men go after meat, and the ladies make bread. 3. Then on the first evening, you prepare for however many will return to your house, just like you would prepare food for your own children. 4. First you get the food all ready, and when you have the table properly set for them then you light a candle and pray and talk to them. 5. When you think that perhaps they have eaten everything you put the food in a pan, and then you prepare corn meal, cigarettes, and water, and you take them to the garden. 6. When you get there you talk to them again and then put them down, and when this is done, if there are children wandering about, they will probably eat them (the several items in the pan).

7. Then in the evening when it is dark, Mexicans come and pray for them. 8. If they come to someone's (place) to say prayers for them, he must give them things such as food or whatever he has. 9. And in the morning, in the same way, you will feed them enough again, and you put it in a pan, and you take it to feed them outside the church. 10. There is always a crowd there. 11. Sometimes there is a Mass. 12. First (before Mass) you take it inside the building.

3. The Parish Priest

(By Anne Hansen)

1. ?ée dúwa zíka túu kánáa ?e?ésí, yúu zíi káuku (1933) háti kaşáiti káani. 2. kí şáanáisdíyaşı tudáaci⁸ zúuku (New York) káukume zíi (1935) háti záazíi máame ?e?ésígúnu. 3. kí ?émé şáanáayatyaimişi zaýáyanikuya háu şuní ?ái míisa káiya ?utáikuiyi ?ubéwí ?émí yúnáa há nánáçigúnişi. 4. ?égú gái háubá zíi dáwáa diwáuça şuwée zíi ?ézé zíi ?esdúçuanu háu ?émí zíi háu ?ée çiçaaña. 5. šée ?amaháa níibéedyú guwáa ?ái kahánutyaimişi guwáa kaaýúutyanişi.

4. St. Stephen's Day

(By Margaret Lim)

1. ?áaku sanisdéewa (September) háunə dyúuwée kubəni⁹ sái háu şunísi skáakuyáata ?áakúumé. 2. ?ée merigáanu zíi kasdyərá ?ée míika zíi háu şuní zéedyúpisə díwá ?ée káwáigamé səəni ?ée zíi tené. 3. waa dyúuwée háunə kubəni gáayúuzé stawáawadyámee?eezátée?e tudáaci míisa çiça. 4. şuwée wá héemée ?ái míisa ka?aiça, sántu ça?átikuse. 5. şuwée sái ?ái ?áaku háwée záastíyaagúmeetya şuwée wá sái míisa ka?aiça kée ça?aastíyaagúmeetya şuwée káakaati ?ái kúwáameeça ça?ápənaiime ça?áyúucee?eezátée?e. 6. şuwée gái kúyáawáça zíwáyáidyáasə zíi báhá, merđuni, ?ée ?išáani. 7. şuwée ?ée ?ái báasku ka?aacčetiyanáata. 8. ?ée ?ama gáika háma čapiyú za?ácisənáata ?áaku ?ée santiyáaku.¹⁰ 9. şuwée záazíná ciwá gái háu ?émé ?ée ziyúukaiyu. 10. gái ?étyu háma wá čapiyú síukačáni ?amaháa kawáayu níya wée zúuku wée dyə ga?ápi. 11. sái místyəci kúwakə ?ée ?émí ?ée çiçə káuspíici. 12. ?ée ?étyu santiyáaku zíka ?émí zəəsíšə kawáayu níya dyə gaa.

⁸şáanáisdíyaşı tudáaci, lit. 'our (plural) father, the priest' (See Section 735).

⁹háunə dyúuwée kubəni, lit. 'towards-down two when-it-arrives'; this combination is used to specify dates (cf. note 3, text 2). St. Stephen is the patron saint of Acoma.

¹⁰According to Mrs. Hansen, Santiago is the horse and man combined, and Chapiyu is a man who accompanies Santiago, riding his own horse. This account differs from that given by White (1943, p. 313).

3. The Parish Priest

(By Anne Hansen)

1. And this also I remember a little, happening perhaps about the year 1933. 2. Our Holy Father went to New York, perhaps about 1935. I don't remember very well. 3. He asked our mothers to help to gather food together at the church for his provisions going east. 4. Everyone's things turned out well (that is, they had good crops that year), and if one had things (crops), they prepared them. 5. Thus he would be able to tell how his people there made their living.

4. St. Stephen's Day

(By Margaret Lim)

1. On St. Stephen's day, the second of September, all the Acomas come together at Acoma. 2. And Anglos and Spanish Americans and others gather together, Isletas, Lagunas, Zuñis, and those such as Navajos. 3. On the morning of the second, everyone goes (to church) and the priest says Mass. 4. Then the Mass is over, and the Santo is taken out. 5. When everyone at Acoma goes in the procession, then the Mass is over, and when he (the Santo) is taken in the procession he is put into the shrine in the plaza, and he is taken (there). 6. The ladies toss out things such as bread, melons, and meat. 7. Then they have a dance. 8. Formerly Chapiyu used to come to Acoma with Santiago. 9. No one observes (the tradition) now. 10. One time when I saw Chapiyu he came by horse riding on top (that is, was riding the horse). 11. He was dressed all in black and (had) a lone whip. 12. And Santiago (came) the same way, mounted on a small horse.

5. Chicken Pull on San Juan's Day

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. wá ʃuwéeshu záatʃyau húučani kaʔáukúyáwáati yáapi, ʃuwée wá ʃiɕa háu zaʔáćíní, wá ʃuwéeshu sawá dáawáaça háu zaʔáćíní, ʃuwéeshu wá húučani zíyáadyúwí¹¹ neyáyanikuyagú ʃúyati daʔáa wá sawá zíućáasti dyúyá káci dyána zízá háunə kubəní héemáaku ʃuwéeshu guwáaku nənídáwaaagúusatiši.

2. ʃuwée wá ʃáa ʃúyati gáí gáyáwáasēeʔení guwáa nénaataasgúnu, guwáa nubēecistaasgúnu kawáayu santiyáaku,¹² čapiyú kadyáaši wée kawáayu.

3. gáí dəi sukúuná yúná dítya, bó, kúwa, sá héemée dəi dyé gáisbiiyu kawáayu zeʔēemiši sái héemée ʔái dyé zítíyáaniciši ʔémí ʔézé zíi ʔíyáani níçaagú nubēecistaagú wée ʔáinə nítagúniši.¹³

4. ʃuwée wá háu zaʔáćíní héemáaku zíućáasti ʔái ʃuwéeshu wá gáí háaku níçaanagúusa wéemée hánu háubá kúyáawáça, máasiça, háçəcai, ʃúyati, sái. 5. ʔée wá ʃuwée ʔái háu čətée kaʔáizáani, ʃuwée ciwá ʔái káakaati ʔái há húučani núkaazáagú. 6. ʃuwéeshu wá čətée zíuzáani ʔái héemáaku ʃuwée ʔái zíuzáani ʃuwée wá ʔáinə ʃúku ʔéenəkə nədəʔékugúusa ʃúyati kawáayu níya dyé sgáagúnú.¹⁴ 7. ʃuwée wá gáí kée ʔamaháa kée cišáaci nədeégúyáatagúusa ʔái yáunizíwáanáyúu wée sakuní ʔée kée ʃiisusabə ʔée wée bóiniisusakúwa dyáanáwá kée ʃúyáná zéegúiyí.¹⁵

8. wée nənítagúniši ʔái yáani zíyáatyuwínáata ʔée háamáašu níuwataciúmániši. 9. ʃuwée wá ʔái sdíyáne bənícíyáama¹⁶ ʔée dídyáne ʔée yúuku dídyáne kée díyasabə kée háma santiyáaku zúuciša ʔée yúuku bó zístikáca¹⁷ wée sáani ʔái zístikáca kée háaníyasakúwa ʔée yúuku sakúwa ʔái hámasťiyani¹⁷ sdíyasá ʔée yəkée sáa dyé bənísti háu sabəni dyé yáunizíwáanáyúu stíiisusá dyé, ʔái háu sáa dyé zaʔáćíní ʔái ʃuwée ʔái níuwataciúmá ʔái háamáašu háuzéeši. 10. ʔái zíuwata¹⁸ ʃuwée ʔái sabəne zíkaná níyúucegú zíkaná ʔémí yəkée hakée zúuciša bənícíyáama ʔée sdíyáne ʔée yəkée díyasabə ʔái zístikáca wée háani ʔée kée sakudyé ʔée zíkaná hakée ʔée sáa dyé ʔái háu sáa dyé zaʔáćíní ʃuwée háiti háuyée

¹¹húučani zíyáadyúwí 'First Chief', or War Chief. Unmodified, húučani 'chief' would also designate the War Chief.

¹²Santiago is the patron saint or protector of horses.

¹³nítagúniši 'the one that will take it (down, -nə)' (theme -JúdaW 'to take', see Sections 471, 761) is the subject, and nubēecistaagú 'he will pray' is the verb. The meaning of zítíyáaniciši is unknown, but it is probably a derivative of -jíyáaN 'to be born, to be alive'.

¹⁴The Acoma mesa is the starting point.

¹⁵The group circles Lonesome Rock four times in a counterclockwise direction. It is not clear if the chicken is taken down before or after circling. The chicken

5. Chicken Pull on San Juan's Day

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. When the Country Chiefs accept the staff of office, when spring arrives, when the month of San Juan (June) arrives, the First Chief will ask some boys for San Juan's feast day, the twenty-fourth (of June), to take down the chicken. 2. Then he instructs the boys in what to say, how to pray to the horse, Santiago, and to Chapiyu's horse. 3. The one that will take it down will pray from this point far towards the north, west, south, back to the east, places on this earth where horses dwell, all places, so that it will give *zítíyáanicíši* and life.

4. When it is almost time for the feast day the people will get things ready, everyone, ladies, girls, men, boys, everyone. 5. When it is ready the War Chief will announce it in the plaza at the east (side). 6. When it is ready, when it is time, the boys will go down below riding horses. 7. They keep going fast to Lonesome Rock, (approaching) from the south and on along the north side (going) back west and along the west side (going) back south, going around four times. 8. The one who is going to take it down is in the lead, and following (is) the one who will relieve him. 9. Then north and down (hill) again to West Gate, and north and down, off north and down along to the northeast where Santiago once went and off west to Zishtikatsa, by the eastern side of Zishtikatsa, on back southeast, off south to Hamashtiyani, back northeast and that way back east and up, across the western part, back and up from the western part by the north side of Lonesome Rock and up, and when he arrives back in the east (at the base of Acoma) the following (person) will relieve him. 10. He relieves him there, and then he will take it back to the west and down again, the place where he went (before) to West Gate and back north and down, that way north and back west, to the east of Zishtikatsa, and off again south and up, again that way back east and up, to the east and up,

is strung between two poles to the south of Lonesome Rock, and the riders pass beneath the chicken.

In this and the following sentences the cardinal points are used in places where English would use "left" and "right". This text illustrates the tendency of Acoma to indicate rather exact geographic locations by using a well-developed set of directions (Section 652) and complex locative phrases (Section 741).

¹⁶Compound (Section 610) of *báni* 'in the west' + *číyáama* 'door'. The name of a passage between two rocks to the west of Acoma.

¹⁷The name of a rock, unanalysable.

¹⁸*zíuwata* 'the other one relieves him', obviative. The obviative is used to indicate that the following boy relieves the one who had been in the lead.

ʔémí šúyati háu sâa dyə zaʔacínú zíudítýa.¹⁹ 11. šuwée ʔái sabónə nədeʔékugúusa ʔée cíyâama ʔée sdídyáñə ʔée yúuku díyásabə.²⁰

12. šuwée wá ʔái gái héeýa zíi ʔamaháa nitŋunisəsgúniši níýa wée wá máaséewi²¹ kámáawítáani héeýa zíi nitŋunisəsgúnu ʔái šuwée ʔái dyáanáwá čaʔáaspiizána. 13. ʔái šuwée yúuku nítagú ʔée wá šuwée ʔái sá dyə kée sá dyə ʔée šuwée ʔái núwáyáanəcadyúusa wée wá dyáana šukúuná hawée wée ʔíyatiku háma hawée čaʔáwišaçataníša. 14. ʔémí hawée wée dyáanáwá yúuku núwáyáanəcadyúusa guwáaku. 15. šuwée háuyée ʔémí zíi zíšiya ʔémí wée šuwée sái gáwaaʔaiti zíi ʔicáatyani wée šuwée sái náadyú guwáaku zítaku. 16. ʔétyu sái kaʔáučánaatya ʔétyu šuwée wá sái háubá wée nəčáašiidýúusa. 17. daʔáa ʔémí dúwa wá ʔáaku zíyúukaiʔi.

6. Around Acoma

(By Anne Hansen)

1. ʔái sâama dídyí zəçətyai ʔái sdyə máamé cíčə kúuti káwéestiima ʔéegá. 2. ʔée šuwée šaaçətya wée kúyásabə máakina híyāanizá. 3. ʔée ʔái ʔée kúnə wée sabə dyə wabŋuri kahíyāani. 4. ʔée šuwée ʔái kúiniíšu sínə ʔusuméestáaniizá. 5. wée ʔée háaniyásakudyə híyāanizá ʔáaku háu sdyə. 6. ʔái díicíyāama²² díníyákudyə ʔái sdyə kúuti cíčə gáa ʔétyu wée šaakayá ʔéegá. 7. ʔái nəziyá sdídyáñə ʔamaháa zityapi, hawée ʔamaháa háçəcai kúwábiiʔizáteeʔenáata. 8. šuwée ʔái sáanə díičóná²³ ʔái ʔée háaniyá tíišu sdyə zíka kúuti zəšəsišəgáa ʔétyu wée ʔagəçəci kúutiizá. 9. ʔée šuwée ʔái sáanə yúu háçə miiya zúusti yəkée sdyə híyāanizá ʔái ʔáaku ʔémí háu sdyə zíka. 10. ʔáaku nəziyáhāanə ʔái sdyə zəšəsišə kúutigáa ʔétyu kazíima čaʔániya. 11. ʔée šuwée wá ʔáaku nəziyášáñə, kée díibəçə há kubéwiwá, hakée kúuku wáakaši cíyastináata. 12. ʔée hawée háani bəçəkúwa zíka ʔémí hawée zeʔenáata. 13. ʔée hawéenə zaišazá ʔétyu yúuku kučónāaya zíka hawée wáakaši gŋuwawaaʔanáata háyáaci. 14. ʔée šuwée yəkée kúyábə dyə hawée zíi kanēeru dyŋuwawaaʔanáata. 15. ʔée kašaiti yəkée sdyə wáakaši gúfikuseenáata. 16. ʔétyu yúuku bə dyə čónāaya zíka hawée pesdúurácizá ʔée hawée bəniyádídyáñə yəkée zíka zaišazá. 17. šuwée ʔái dítya čaatýau gúmi ʔái sdyə guməsə ʔée hawée náuyá gái hawée yúu cíci dyuməsə.

¹⁹He gives the chicken to the first boy to arrive.

²⁰Apparently the group travels the same course four times, each time with a different boy in the lead carrying the chicken.

²¹máaséewi, one of the war twins (see text 38).

and when he arrives, when one of the boys arrives, he gives it to him.

11. Then they will go back to the west and down and to West Gate and further back to the northeast.

12. In order that one will grow up with Masewi's atonement, if one wants to grow up with this, he is then whipped four times (with the chicken). 13. Then he will take it back up to the east there, along to the east and up, and the group will pull it to the four corners which Iyatiku named long ago. 14. They will pull the chicken four times. 15. Whoever wins it will have all the fruits of life and fortune, if he takes the (whole) chicken. 16. But if they divide it all up, then it (the fruits of life) will belong to everybody. 17. This is the way they observe the tradition at Acoma.

6. Around Acoma

(By Anne Hansen)

1. From my house (running) along in the north there is a very big mountain called Mt. Taylor. 2. To the southwest of our house there is an automobile road. 3. And (further on) to the south, on down, and back up to the west there is a railroad track. 4. And there down by the south side there is a school. 5. From (that point) up to the southeast there is a road on up to Acoma. 6. Above McCarties, south and up, there is a big mountain, and it is called Rustling of the Trees. 7. Below there, back down to the north, there is a forest where men usually gather wood. 8. East and down to Acomita and (still further) east again there is a small mountain off to the north, and that one is Flower Mountain. 9. Then to the east and down, going a few miles, there is a road up to Acoma that way, another way (to get) up to (Acoma). 10. Below Acoma to the east and down there is a small mountain (going) up, and it is called Enchanted Mesa. 11. Spreading out to the north and east below Acoma is grassland, where the cattle are kept in the winter. 12. They (cattle) are also along to the east and on south. 13. There are fields down there (in the south), and still further on is South Canyon where they keep cattle in the fall. 14. And on up to the southwest they keep sheep. 15. And they take cattle up that way in the summer. 16. And still further west and up in a canyon there is a sheep camp, and down to the northwest there are fields. 17. And there on the north side is Gumi Spring, and there are many other springs there.

²²díí'íyáama 'McCarties' (lit. 'north door'), the location of Mrs. Hansen's house.

²³díí'čáná 'Acomita', lit. 'north river'.

7. What We Used to Do as Kids

(By Mary Valley)

1. wá dúwa dèisi ?ée názáasí guwáa zíi háma ?íyázáasədáa?abáati suwáwíšáitiyaatiši. 2. ?ái šúyáná súwáyáabéecitiyańáafasə. 3. zíi yúu káuku túuná zíi tãama zíi šísa kašáitisəde?éemí ?ée šáwaçətyaimiši ?ái šúyáná súwáyáabéecitiyańáata kée šúyáná míi ?émí héeméəša cáatyuma ?ái šáaçətya. 4. ?ée zíi zíka ?amaháa šáačəwai?iizátee?eesəńáafasə ?ái šúyána héeméə kášəka ?ái ?amaháa šáaçətya ?ái kučəńáya ?ée wée háaníbəçə sdítya ?ée wée ?ée sáani. 5. ?ée ?ézi háiti zíi yúu záazíi zíi háma máamé gái zíi skuwáwíšáisətiyaatya. 6. ?éze túu ?ái háati zíi hawée zíi čəná ?ée zíi hawée čáatyau ?ée šáa?azáitiyańáafasə.

7. gái wái máamé zíi nańámí zíi ka?áatuuními ?íyāça. 8. zíi gáanáatitiya ?étyu yuwée háma zíi túu ?éze zíi zíi háiti zíi háarú níyáka zíi yáuni hawée šúyáná héeyá šáa?azáitiasə, zíi wée súwabáyatiasəńáata hawée čáatyau ?ée zíi zíi skúučáwání ?éze zíi ?iššani čiiipániši zíi. 9. ?ée zíi hawée káni zíi šáasgəńáitiya túu zíi háiti zíi suwámasawáafaitiya túumá zíi.²⁴ 10. suwáwiititiyaasə zíi sguwáyáidyasə zíi háarú zíi kéeńə šáiyadífuwityaimiši.²⁵ 11. hawée zíi ?ée zíi denta sədéegúiyáafasə zíi ?éze háiti zíi hawée čáatyau ?ée zíi síwáfyāipaatikuyánańáafasə.

8. What We Used to Do as Kids²⁶

(By Anne Hansen and Margaret Lim)

Margaret: 1. ?ée ?áaku ?ée zəzətyau ?ée sədéeyasəńáata. 2. ?ée káačání ?amaháa súwastíizátee?e hawée káwáyániša ?ée. 3. záama kužəçədyá?ée²⁷ çustí?

Anne: 4. hímá, míi máikúiná wée sēnaçəteyańáata, yáapéetukani wée dídyáńə sáamáasúwaacitiyańáata.

²⁴That is, they would do pretend-cooking with pieces of cedar and the like if they had no real food at hand.

²⁵They were pretending to toss out food to spectators, as is done at some of the dances (for example, see text 4).

²⁶This is the only sample of conversation that I was able to collect. The situation was rigged and is reflected in the stiffness of the style.

²⁷kužəçətyai, lit. 'South Edge', the name of a water hole.

7. What We Used to Do as Kids

(By Mary Valley)

1. I'm going to talk about our playing when we were children. 2. We used to race around. 3. When we were probably about five or six years old my brothers and I would race around, on to as far as the fence by our house. 4. And we would also have foot races around in larger areas, from our house to South Canyon, and (then going) to the east, and back north, then (coming) back from the east. 5. We never had anything very special to play with. 6. We would build (play) houses just any place as at the river or on the hillside.

7. Today they raise kids very differently. 8. They buy things, but in those days we would build (play) houses with anything such as tin cans or stones (which were) around, or we would build a fire on the hillside when someone had sneaked away things such as dried meat or the like. 9. And we fried cedar there or just anything (we could find) and we boiled things just for fun. 10. We would make things and toss them, and what we threw out (were) things like tin cans. 11. When we went to the store or anyplace we would look for things at the side (of the road).

8. What We Used to Do as Kids

(By Anne Hansen and Margaret Lim)

Margaret: 1. We used to climb along the edge (of the cliff) at Acoma. When it rained we went for water at the waterholes. 3. Did you ever get water at *kuzáçetyai*?

Anne: 4. Yes, we used to go around there lots of times, and we used to slide down from the north side of the ice caves.

Margaret: 5. díicíyâama wée şa?áwíşá?áyáni, ?ái hâačáatya.
 6. şa?âama ?ái hâačáadya?ée, hawée guńáatâayuma ?ée hawée zí káni
 kiwáca yúuwí ?ée súwabáyatiyańáata. 7. ?ée ýaačíní sâasgəńáitiyańáata.
 8. ?ée hawée zí zaişa ?ée hawée zí sədəepəsəńáata, wíčəńíisətaa?anáata.
 9. hawée zí kínáti yúuku síwáutitiyańáata, sâayawitiyańáata ?ée zí
 merŭuni zâana gánáti zí şâa?apeeńáata súwáačáwáitiyańáata. 10. ?ée
 zí ya?áana sáutyatiyańáata, yu?ústu zí ýaaspuşu súwasbətitiyańáata.
 11. şuwée čóná ?éəŋə suwáwíşáwazánee?ežátee?e ?ée şuwáyaapəsəńáata.
 12. ?ée míi zí sawáipeeńáata, sáayáacayawitiyańáata ?ée wée zí
 sədəegúiyáni zí şáayáwaanińáata.

Anne: 13. íuná ?íyázáasədəe zšəsísšə şâa?a?áu, sáayáwatapətyəńáata
 ?úutitiyani. 14. ?ée háikámíná şu?úwílibáatáatásə, ?étyu sináaya ?áisi
 zíyŭkami sgâa?ayuukamináata hámaaca wéesi níyúuceşúunətyəciši.
 15. ?étyu wée suwáwíşáitiyaatya ?étyu ?ái dyúuni čuwíititáata.

Margaret: 16. ?ái čóná yúuwí háarú níya zí suwáwíşáitiyańáata.
 17. máamé şa?áu gúsú karčeta ?úwíčaani, wée skáašu héeýa
 cáyastiimiši—kusbətítáata. 18. şuwée zí tené hyēesta zēegŭiyišímée
 káwíşá?áyáni. 19. káwáika báasku skáakuuyáńáata ?émé ?ée káwíşá?áyáni.
 20. hâawíski káwíititáni. 21. šápəka ?ái şa?âama bə zəçətyai
 súwíşáayánətyəńáatásə. 22. mánta níya súdyútáayánə şuwée şa?áwáaka
 ?amaháa šeyázáanaityə suwáagutáayánətyə zí wée číššə záipaşaišímée
 suwáagutáayánətyə.

Anne: 23. šeyániyaapətyəńáata "ńáa ?ái ?ímíi abâači ze?éku."

9. Growing Up (By Anne Hansen)

1. wá dēisi níibeesí guwáa háma sitŭuniši. 2. cáyáşu ?éeséəsi,
 šáyúusitya ?éesé. 3. kí ?émé təçə?áişazána sáastíyágúmi. 4. ?ée
 şuwée skúmáawáni təçə?áişazána zíusdyawí. 5. máyúkuusətaa?a
 şa?áutyaimişi ?ée sáwaçətyaimişi dyŭuwée sáwaçətyai ?étyu máityaana
 máasiçasətaa?a. 6. ýúu zí káuku šísa kaşáiti sípi siyúuku wá ?émí
 níibeesí. 7. sináaya dyəəçəşa dyúuni kuwíitita, ?étyu şuwée
 şa?áutyaimişi sáwaaníńáata. 8. wéemée čóná ?éəŋə séizúuceyáatásə,
 hawée zí şuwáyaapəsəńáata.

9. şuwée wéemée kaşáiti yúuku kučáni, şuwéeşu ?usuméestáni
 káa?áatáwí háikamişu súsúméesta (McCartys). 10. záazíi máamé
 ?e?ésgúnu zí gúitšdékuya. 11. gáí ýúu zí wá dyāana dikánə

Margaret: 5. We used to play at McCarties on the east side. 6. Along the east side of our house, where there are caves and along the side where there are cedar trees we used to build fires. 7. We would parch corn. 8. We would go into the fields and snatch things. 9. We would pick fresh corn, and roast it, and we would eat melons before they were ripe, we would snatch them. 10. And we would pick skunk brush berries, and we would string cedar berries and cottonwood berries. 11. And we would go swimming and wading down at the river. 12. And we would fight and wrangle, and while we went about (doing these things) we would look after (smaller) children.

Anne: 13. When I was still young, we had a tiny sister, and we took turns carrying her on our backs. 14. Sometimes she would go to sleep for us, and my mother would wait, she would wait a while for us to bring her back. 15. Then we would play while she made pottery.

Margaret: 16. We would play with tin cans beside the river. 17. My sister really knew how to make wagons with the ones that fish are in (that is, with sardine cans)—she would string them. 18. Then she would play as if they were Navajos going to a fiesta. 19. She would play as if they were going to a Laguna dance. 20. She made little rag dolls. 21. In the evening we used to play by the west side of our house. 22. We covered ourselves with large sheets, and we made our dolls talk, and we would hide them as though the Apaches were chasing them (so) we would hide them.

Anne: 23. We would say to them, "Oh, the Apaches are coming!"

9. Growing Up (By Anne Hansen)

1. I'm going to tell about my growing up. 2. First my name, *šáyúusitya*, is my name. 3. They named me at my naming ceremony. 4. When they initiated me they named me Storm Clouds. 5. There were nine of us, my sisters and my brothers, my two brothers and seven of us girls. 6. I'm going to tell from about the time I was six years old and beyond. 7. My mother was always making pottery, and I would take care of my sisters. 8. I would take them down to the river, and we would wade there.

9. When summer was over, and when school was open I went to school for the first time at McCarties. 10. I don't remember very well what I used to do. 11. When I was in about the fourth grade, I finally started

śiīčúpi²⁸ šuwéesu gáitišu šáamíi sūitunímičaatyá. 12. háyáaci (picnics) sədəegúiyáafasə, zii dyaiyaani ʔekaʔaiča hawée šaityatiyanáafa. 13. ʔée šuwée taaṃa, ʔée šisa dikánə sədəečúpi zii wágəni suwáwilititiya. 14. ʔée zii kusinēeru ʔutitaani sgaiʔisuméestiya.

15. ʔée wá šuwée máityaana, kukúmišu ʔée máyúku dikánə śiīčúpi ʔarawagēeki súsúmēestaane. 16. máamé náuya ʔáakuuméecha ʔaisədeʔé. 17. šaʔáu ʔisgáawa ʔaišáaʔa, túu dyəəçəša háamáasu háu sēenaçəteya. 18. ʔée šuwée wá máyúku sūináudáni ʔétyuyú šáməci hánu kasuméestáni ʔée ʔétyu háu siupə. 19. kúimi zii káusa wée zii héeýa ʔusuméestáni. 20. wémée šápəka (bus) níya háu sínə seʔéci sināaya zika sūmáacitaanínáafa. 21. háyáaci zii séyastíititaañetyənáafa zii čəəri ʔée ʔišāani. 22. ʔée háikámína dyaiyaani šaityaiʔizáteeʔenáafa zii ʔekaʔaičaanu.

23. ʔée wá šuwée hémée ʔai sūináudáni šuwée duwée siumə.

10. When I Was a Guide at Acoma

(By Anne Hansen)

1. taaṃa kašaiti kaʔaiča sináisdíya húučani káuyáaʔaníši. 2. šadadábúpuši skáʔaiʔizána ʔúkířaukuyáni, hawée dyə hánu zéegúiyí ʔai ʔáaku guukačánaatyá. 3. dyə zēemənu kúuwáadyáafita. 4. šáməci hánu káayáazúwitiya ʔétyu skáukíini ʔintyu túumá wée zéegúiyáafa. 5. cíčə húučani²⁹ stitāaničanítiya záazii káayáazúwitiyaatyá. 6. wée ʔáaku číukířaukuyániši ʔai zístíitítiya hékudáa kaʔaižáani³⁰ héeýasi háaci nəžánaadánagúusa ʔée mísa káiya číukířaukuyániši ʔétyu héeýa sdyə náaʔačanagúusa, ʔée hawéesi zii dáwáa néyátitiyagúusa.

7. zii šáməci hánu máamé zii káupeetawiši, sái zii cibēetaukuyána háadí cíci sáusíitiyaatiši ʔée guwáa ʔáakuuméecha káayúutyaniši. 8. šuwée siwáapeeta cidyāayawiši níya káayúutyaniši ʔée záiša sdyə níya čayáaʔaukuyániši níya ʔémé ʔée ʔáakuumé ʔaigáa. 9. ʔée háadí ʔíyáça káisuméestaniši ʔée zii cíčə húučani sgayáazúwiitaniši ʔémí sái zii cibēetaukuyáni. 10. zii šáməci hánu cibēetaukuyánaanáatániši ʔáaku nəziyášánə. 11. ʔáaku ʔai nəziyáhāanə kazlíma ʔai sdyə gáa, háma ʔai

²⁸díka 'pertaining to' (Section 742; see ||21, ||22 for accent changes); nə 'down' (Section 741); śiīčúpi 'when I was inside, enclosed' (theme -aʔáčəB, see Sections 234, 762). The whole combination means 'when I was in the . . . grade' (cf. sentence 13, 15, following).

remembering things well. 12. We used to go on picnics in the fall, and if there were any piñons we would gather them. 13. When we were in the fifth and sixth grades we made clothes. 14. And they taught us to cook.

15. When I was in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, I went to school in Albuquerque. 16. We Acomas were very numerous there. 17. My sister and I were there together, and I always followed (her) around. 18. When I finished the ninth grade I went to the white man's school. 19. The studies were kind of hard. 20. It was evening when I got back (home) by bus, and I also helped my mother. 21. In the fall we used to can things like chili and meat. 22. Sometimes we went to gather piñons if there were any.

23. After I finished (school) I came to this place (San Francisco).

10. When I Was a Guide at Acoma

(By Anne Hansen)

1. It was five years ago that my father served as War Chief. 2. Our Governor asked me to collect (the fees) when the people came up to see Acoma. 3. When they arrived they signed their name (registered). 4. White people pay, but friends of the Indians just come in (free). 5. Those working for the U. S. government don't pay. 6. They put away that which is collected for Acoma for future use, and they will buy back land with it, and they will rebuild and repair (the church) with that which is collected for the church.

7. The white people are very inquisitive; they keep asking everything, about where we get our water and how the Acomas make a living. 8. I tell them they make a living with livestock and with what they raise in the fields; this is how the Acoma people are (that is, how they live). 9. And where the children go to school, and if the government pays us, they ask all these (questions). 10. The white people always ask about what is around below Acoma (in the valley). 11. Down to the east of Acoma is Enchanted Mesa (sticking) up, and people once lived up there.

²⁹cíčə húučani 'the U.S. government' (Section 731). cíčə 'big, it is big'; húučani 'chief', or, in contexts such as this, 'government'.

³⁰hékudáa kaʔáizáani 'when it gets to be some time'. Theme -QáizaaN 'to become', impersonal.

sdyé sčáu?u. 12. ?émí ?áisi yúuku sčáaku ?ái ?áaku şuwée ?émí ?ái dyé ťigúyáni. 13. şuwée şáméci hánu wée kubóní, ?usuméestáani káa?áatáwí ?áisi yúuku sčáaku.³¹ 14. díicíyáama hawéené čaa?áata ?ée díičóná, hawée cízízíeeši níya. 15. héemée sái ?ái ?áaku gúukačánaatya şuwéeşu kée síné zéegúiyí gánaatitiyanáata dyúuni.

11. Selling Pottery

(By Margaret Lim)

1. dyúuni šiýaatitiyanáatasə (highway) ?ée. 2. merigāanu ?émí gánaatitiyanáatasə dyúuni wáastiča. 3. ?áníuméezāanáatasə skáyaneeyu. 4. zíi sáiwatísenáatasə sga?áu zíi skāawi. 5. máamé gái merigāana ziwāawaniucanáata dyúuni. 6. ?ée gánaatitiyanáata zíi skáuklíni gáawāanaatitiyaníitanáata. 7. háitáa ?émí zíi sčáakuyáatasə, máamé gái şuwánámaasa zéegúyanáata máakina níya. 8. ?ée máamé gái zíi zái?ipeetanú háadí şaaçətiši ?émí máamé káupéetáwiši, ?ée guwáa ?éesayáaši, ?ée háadí skúsúméestaaniši, ?ée míika gái máamé túumá zíi cibéetaukuyána. 9. ?ée míika gái záazíi zíi gáawadyúitišiitya, túumá zíi ?íntyú níya kúwamátitiyanáatasə. 10. ?ée gái míika máamé ?áníuméecaa?a. 11. háikámíná zíi gáayáačaapeháatasə zíi ?ubéwí ?ée zíi wágóni gáayáakúyapikuyaníináata.

12. A Trip to Mt. Taylor

(By Anne Hansen)

1. kí háma kaşaiti ?ái şaaránčuši ?ée dyé səde?éku karēeta níya. 2. gáayúuzé dyáwá səlépatyəni ?ái kučaatyai guməsişa kée dyé sináisdíya sgaizúuce. 3. cíci súwasťii?i háu sədeedyúpi. 4. ?ái cíci níya suwawíşaitiya héeya wāawaasayániya. 5. héemée sausēenaatya ?ái ránču ?éesi səde?éku.

³¹Acoma is still considered home, and all of the important dances and ceremonies are conducted there. But most of the people now reside in McCarties or Acomita so as to be nearer to the fields.

They moved away from there, and Acoma was settled. 13. When the whites came, when the schools were opened, they moved away from there (from Acoma). 14. They settled at McCarties and Acomita where there is water. 15. After they have seen everything at Acoma, they buy pottery when they go down.

11. Selling Pottery

(By Margaret Lim)

1. We used to sell pottery by the highway. 2. White people would buy small pieces of pottery. 3. It is nice when you sell. 4. We would go together with a sister or a clan relative. 5. The white people would admire the pottery very much. 6. And they would buy some (for themselves), or they would buy some for their friends. 7. We wondered where they came from; they would come by car from many different places. 8. And they were very inquisitive about where we lived—that was their main question—and about our names, and where one went to school, and others just asked (foolish) questions. 9. And others didn't have any respect; they just made fun of the Indians. 10. And others were very nice. 11. Sometimes they would give away things; they would give away things like food and clothing.

12. A Trip to Mt. Taylor

(By Anne Hansen)

1. One summer we went up to our ranch by wagon. 2. Early in the morning when we got up, my father took us up to a spring on the south side (of Mt. Taylor). 3. We got water when we arrived. 4. We played there with water and threw it (had a water fight). 5. After we got the water, we went back to the ranch.

13. Prairie Dogs

(By Margaret Lim)

1. háma sʰəniici sədeʔéku karθeta níya sináaya ʔée sináisdíya. 2. ʃuwée yuwéesi sədəeguíyí ʔái háadí yúu ʔái saʃáanáati, sináisdíya séecikuyasə díya wáasí ʔúudyáati, kaʃumé ʔémí nsti wée dyə kaʔānāase.

3. ʔée ʃuwée ʔamaháa dyáiyāani kíwáca náyāa yúu taʃāna, ʃuwée ʔémí sináaya kée dyə káyāutuwiitya, níwāayəcagú dyáiyāani. 4. ʔée wéemée čáfi gúwāayəca wéenə dyáiyāani béepeeka.

14. Snow

(By Anne Hansen)

1. wéemée kúuku káwéetu. 2. čóná ʔéenə suwástiiʔizáteeʔenáafa. 3. ʔée hawée kaméeca sáayáitišēyucitiya. 4. ʔée ʃuwée ʔái ʃaaçətya čáatya ʃuyáná máadaašúku suwáwiititiyaanáafa. 5. kí zíi wée³² (snowman) suwáwiititiyaanáafa. 6. ʔée héeya máadaašúku níya sáamašáacitiyaanáafa.

15. Gathering Salt

(By Anne Hansen)

1. kí háma sináisdíya sgáizúuce kamínáace kamáakina níya. 2. máamé teeʔezá, kapišéní ʔái sáaʔáafa. 3. háu sədəedyúpi zázíi zíi háu ʔáigáagúnú, nánú gáayúzé dyāwá sətéepatyēniitya kée ʔái mīná kée gaʔáčupiša háunə ʃuwáyāapə, dyə síutāaʔakasə ʔáyāa skásdí nəzīyá káwaasá. 4. túu sái skáwagóni zíi sgačícici kaʔáitita. 5. zázíi ʔeʔésgúnú háce suwáustaanáatiši. 6. gái ʔétyu háma máikúiná déegúiyáafa karθeta níya júumíi zíi ʔíska tamīiku gáaná déegúiyáafa. 7. zázíi sguutuníma guwáa káyúugáiyíšiitya, túumée gái síuní šāawitya hánuça ʔée dāani hánuça káiwátiseetya.

³²kí zíi wée 'what you call, that which is'. The meaning cannot be determined by an analysis of its parts: kí (adverb) indicates completed action; zíi '(some)-thing', indefinite demonstrative; wée 'that one', demonstrative.

13. Prairie Dogs
(By Margaret Lim)

1. Once my mother and father and I went to Zuñi by wagon. 2. When we were coming back, when we had stopped someplace, I asked my father to catch a puppy; but they were just prairie dogs looking out (of their holes).

3. I think we stopped under a piñon tree, and my mother was throwing (cones) up (into the tree) in order to hit the piñons. 4. And when she hit them directly, the piñons fell down.

14. Snow
(By Anne Hansen)

1. During the winter it snows. 2. We would get water down at the river. 3. And we would slide where it was icy. 4. And we used to make (snow)balls around by the side of our house. 5. We used to make what you call snowmen. 6. And we would fight with (snow)balls.

15. Gathering Salt
(By Anne Hansen)

1. My father took us once to the salt lake in his car. 2. It was very far, and we spent the night there. 3. When we arrived nobody was there, and when we got up early the next morning we waded into where the salt was, and drained it up (that is, scooped it out), and oh! it hurt under your feet. 4. All your clothes just get stiff. 5. I don't remember how much we gathered. 6. But formerly (in the old days) they used to travel by wagon for a long time, perhaps they would travel for a week. 7. I don't know how the traditions were carried on, I only know that the parrot and pumpkin clan went together.

16. Picking Prickly Pears

(By Anne Hansen)

1. wéeméesu háyáaci ?áníumée ka?aiçaanu dyaiyaani sáitee?ezátee?e, ?ái şaaçətya díníyákúwá. 2. wéemée káni díka náyáa ?ée hawée dyś hawée náyáa dyś ?íitya kiwánáaŋa. 3. ?ée şuwée ?ái yúuku siwautitiyańaŋa cáasdyúmişa níya, ?ée yáabísi wéemée sáatee?eetya héeýa siwáabáakacitiya. 4. ?ée şuwée şumə dáawáaça ?ái şaaçətya dílčáatyau bś dyś wéemée ?íyaça náuyá sədeegúiyáaŋasə. 5. zíi ?áasa níya ?amaháa súwafíicitiya ?íitya. 6. hawée zíka ?émí sáyastíipeenáaŋa. 7. ?étyu záagú gái háma ča?aiapańaawitiyańaŋa ?ée ?amaháa ča?aatiwáitiya şuwée kí zíi wée díka ?ée dyáyáaŋaŋaŋa hāaŋi. 8. wéemée zíi ?áaku guwáa ka?aititaanu héeýa yúu dyuwáuciiçai?izátee?enáaŋa. 9. ?ée zíka diwáadyáawá héeýa zíi ?úukasi habúuša héeýa ?úukami níya.

17. Making Soap

(By Anne Hansen)

1. dúwa wá níibeesí guwáa háatyani múši ?áasbánaşuméni číutíkusiši. 2. wéemée kúuti ?ée dyś skubíiyu, cáyáşu ?ái háatyani skáučəçəca şuwée wáawaiçəni čiwáuşaiپی.³³ 3. şuwée şámíi sguwáabáakaca ?ái sgáama háusi sdya?ácínú ?amaháa skáusáapaca şuwée kí zíi wée díka dyś skúifainata hākaani díka, şuwée ?ədsəməzéeşa dyś čaiapańaawánitaani. 4. şuwée níudyáawástiumánu cáyáşu wíłtaa?azími, şuwée sái číyúugáni şuwéeşu sái čəŋé ka?aititańaŋa.

18. Indian Medicine

(By Anne Hansen)

1. nahāya háma kaşáiti ?íyaça gúwáaşı ?émé ?ée ?ədsəməaze?éši, máamé sái kánani díníyá zíwáača. 2. şuwée ska?ániya "záa káni şayáyáaspaaní, néyaskátaşú?" 3. şuwée gáika şa?áu níušíicasi ka-(osterizer) kí zíi wée héeýa ?úyáasbáani. 4. şuwée záazíi háu stíuyáa?aníitya, ska?ániya "sái

³³Soapweed is normally obtained on wood-gathering trips.

16. Picking Prickly Pears

(By Anne Hansen)

1. During the fall, when they were nice (that is, got ripe), we would go to gather piñons above and south of our house. 2. Under the cedar trees prickly pears would be growing up. 3. We would take them off with a forked stick, and we would take *yábísi* (a stiff grass) and brush them (to take the stickers off). 4. And in November many of us children would go up to the west of the hillside north of our house. 5. We would gather prickly pears in pans. 6. We would also sift them. 7. Long ago they used to dry and grind them and mix them into a meal. 8. When some (event, ceremony) took place at Acoma they would go to pray with it (that is, use it as an offering). 9. Also they used to dye things with it, such as to dye wool with it.

17. Making Soap

(By Anne Hansen)

1. I'm going to tell how soapweed shampoo is taken out (of the ground). 2. When one goes for wood in the mountains, first one cuts down the soapweed, then the roots are dug up. 3. Then you shake them well (to remove loose dirt), and when you get back home you pound them; then you cook them on charcoal; then you dry them where it is sunny. 4. Then when you are going to use them, first soak them, and when they are thoroughly soaked they are all ready to use.

18. Indian Medicine

(By Anne Hansen)

1. The year before last the children had diarrhea because it was hot, and they were overcome by the heat. 2. Then they said to me, "Why don't you grind cedar for them and give it to them to drink?" 3. I was going to borrow my sister's osterizer to grind it with. 4. Nobody would let me use it; they told me, "It will get the odor all (through it)." 5. Since

ñiúcaa?aciumá." 5. şuwée zaa háu sgúuyáa?aníttya yâuni ?úyáasbáani dyá suyáaspa. 6. şuwée ?íyáça séyaskáta, túu şuwée ?éesusi dáwáa ziwáuçá. 7. wéemée ?íyáça gúwáašiinu ?intyu káwawáaşıku zşəpəşísə káni.

19. School

(By Margaret Lim)

1. túuná háma ?arawagéki susuméestaani ?amaháa ?íyáça duwée wá mína yúuku zai?isuméestiya zaa ?émí zii ?usuméestaani túuná šíipi ?émí zii súsúméestaani. 2. túuná wá ?ái šíipi túumée ?émí zii ?intyu wée guwáa ?áayúudyáni zai?isuméestiya dyúuni ?úwíiçaani ?ée zii kanâasta ?úwíititaani ?ée zii wagéeta níya, ?ée zii ?amaháa báani ?úwíititaani zii ?úutisdyáni pisáari. 3. ?ée hawée zii ?utâanizáni ?úuyastími díka ?ée, zii máakina níya ?ée zii ?ayáafidyóeci, ?ée ?ái ?úuyadáwi ?ái. 4. ?ée zii guwáa ?ubéwizáni, wágóni ?úwíititaani, zii ?áyaşıtaani. 5. záazíi gái ?émí duwéewá wá zii ?émí gái sdyai?isuméestiya.

20. Cowboy Life as a Kid

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. kí háma túuná ?iyázáasədée sináisdíya wáakaši díka ?ée skúyúuceyáata. 2. wée háiti kawáayu kúučíni şadya máamé súukúituuní. 3. ?ée wá şuwée gáayú sədeégúiyúunú síwádyâinawkuyánanáafa wáakaši. 4. máamé záawáatyuşu. 5. ?ée şuwéesu háamáaşu hakée şáupaşáatasənáafa. 6. ?ée máamé háadiiku zii şapəgáni sei?idyáatikuyánanáafa. 7. ?ée záazíi háma zii səna cidíya háadi zii túuşu dyáwá zii háma sgâa?apeetya zii wée skáaskataatya. 8. máamé gái gáçaasti, ?étyu gái ?anéezá. 9. háma şuwée ?ái kámasku káwáışa ?ái hâačáatýau gáaspeesuma díníyáhá háma ?ái ?úutisdyúwísti ta?áukúyawi. 10. záazíi ska?áutyuku kí míi ménaşu ?ái kámasku káwáışa nəşúku háusi sədeedyúpi şapəgáni ménaşu ?ái sáutyu. 11. núu wée ?ái háusi se?éci gámpu. 12. kée ?éesi gáika síwátyápaate. 13. şuwée háamáaşu gái sináisdíya şuwée gái dyúwádyâina ?ée kasdyórá wée zéegúya. 14. túumée skáamáyanikuyánanáafa. 15. ?ée wá şuwée sitúunisi şuwée gái şuwée sáudyúmífta ?úusiusdyáni. 16. máamé gái ?anéezá sgúsúma. 17. ?ée wá şuwée zii ka?áizáni gái

nobody let me use it I ground it on a grinding stone. 6. I gave the children a drink, and they just got well (right away). 7. When the children have diarrhea a little bit of cedar is medicine for Indians.

19. School

(By Margaret Lim)

1. (Compared to) when I was in school in Albuquerque, they teach the children more these days, things I didn't learn when I was in school. 2. When I was there they just taught them to do everyday Indian things, to make pottery, to make baskets, to make things with leather, to make kilts, belts, blankets. 3. And how to work in the laundry, with machines, how to iron, and how (to work) in the dining room. 4. And how to cook, make clothes, keep house. 5. They don't teach this (that is, Indian crafts) these days.

20. Cowboy Life as a Kid

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. When I was still a child, my father used to take me to the roundups. 2. I had a very well-trained palomino horse. 3. When we left in the morning we would go out to find cattle. 4. They were very skittish. 5. And I chased them like (others did). 6. And sometimes we would (finish) gathering them up when it was very late in the evening. 7. And sometimes we would not eat or drink early at noon. 8. It was very hard, but it was fun. 9. One time on the east side of Spider Springs, where it was sunny (that is, on the north side of a ravine), above and going east, I lost my saddle without realizing it. 10. I didn't know it until we got back below to Spider Springs in the evening, and it was then that I found out. 11. I arrived back at camp alone. 12. I went back to look for it. 13. My father (arrived) next, and he had found it, and they (other men) and a Mexican were coming. 14. They just kept teasing me.

15. And as I was growing up I learned how to rope. 16. It is very nice when you know how. 17. As time went on, I used to ride at those

ṣuwée wāa dúwa hawée dyó káaʔáatitańáaʔa (rodeo) gáí ʔémí zíí wée dyó sugúyatańáaʔa. 18. máamé túumée sgúsúmiši níyáazá. 19. ʔée míika hawée wagēeráʔiça kuwánatyumetiya. 20. ʔée wá ṣuwée kaʔáizáaní záaziíná háma gáí wée máamé skāanu. 21. gáí zíkaná kéesi zūneesi hámapədá.

21. Getting a Drum at Cochiti

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. háma wá kúusdyúuci súuwáya ʔúwíçaaní wáí kúudfityamé sáukíini síyanikuya. 2. wáakaši ʔésgá kée dyó sēeteemí. 3. ṣuwée gáí tədíwíçaaní. 4. háamáasúuzé kée dyó zúusi hawée sgúuyuceemí. 5. ʔái sadyúmə gāama háusi zíyúuce.³⁴ 6. máamé ʔánée káazá. 7. ʔézé híizāaʔai níya çwíiça. 8. ṣuwée wá gáí ʔái skáʔáasšícitiyańáaʔa, ʔée wá míí (San Francisco) wée kāanaçeteya. 9. ʔée zíka ʔái sáí çaʔáyúuceeʔeezátəe. 10. sáí hawée kāanaçeteya. 11. wá zíkaná kée ʔáaku ʔeesi zūneegú túu máamé háawéná.

22. Irrigation Ditches

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. dúwa ʔétyu wá kúpáastyuwíça. 2. kúpáastyuwíça tāanízá gáí máamé dúwa ʔémí gáitiṣu tāanizáańáaʔa. 3. wāaṣu mayarūma gúuyéeca háidíkaaku díicýāama ku díičóná.³⁵ 4. gáí ṣuwée ʔái cáyá káiwadyámēetiku. 5. háubázá gáí háçəcai, ṣúyati. 6. wāaṣu háidíkaasi cáyá nuwádúucagúusa, wée sāaní ku wée sabəní. 7. gáí cáyá cíci čóná díka háu síne cigúyánaatiku. 8. ṣuwée dúwa kúuku gáí hēemée kaʔáizáaní báagú gáí zāama cíci kée kāanu. 9. wá ṣuwée gáí guýaistíkuseetiku kée čónāya ʔée zíí hawée gónəci zítakase zíí ʔíska zíí hawée háunə zéepəse. 10. ṣuwée wá guwáunaudání ʔétyuyú yuwée kúistisá ku díistisab. 11. háidíka zíí háidíka zíí cáyá kúwatańiça. 12. məəwá zíí ʔái háanýāaʔánə díičóná díkánə guwáunauta ṣuwée ʔétyuyú ʔái bónýāaʔánə díicýāama zíkaná túu ʔémí ʔée. 13. hákée ʔeesi gáí ʔémí kúsgáyú tāanízá.

³⁴Mr. Lewis' brother lives at Cochiti.

³⁵The ditch runs from McCarties in the west to Acomita in the east.

places where they had rodeos. 18. You really have to know how in order to do it. 19. And some of the cowboys would get hurt at the places (where they had rodeos). 20. As time went on I didn't go very much. 21. I will go again sometime.

21. Getting a Drum at Cochiti

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. Once I asked my Cochiti friend to make a drum for me. 2. I took some cow hides up there for him. 3. Then he made it for me. 4. The next time I went up there he took it to me. 5. He took it to my brother's house. 6. It was nice and loud. 7. He made it from cottonwood. 8. It is always being borrowed from me, and it even goes (as far as) San Francisco. 9. It is always being taken (borrowed) by everyone there (in San Francisco). 10. It goes everywhere. 11. It will go back to Acoma again very soon.

22. Irrigation Ditches

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. Now this is about ditches. 2. A ditch is work; it is really (hard) work. 3. The ditch boss plans (to start) at either McCarties or Acomita. 4. First they assemble. 5. It is for everyone, men and boys. 6. They will start at either end, (coming) from the east or from the west. 7. First they let the water wander (that is, flow) through the river (that is, ditch). 8. When the winter is over, the water does not flow through. 9. They take the sand out along the ditch and burn the weeds or anything else that gets in. 10. When they finish, they go across to the south side and (come) back east or to the north side and back west. 11. They work from either place first. 12. For instance, they finish the part in the east at Acomita, and then (it is) just the same again in the west at McCarties. 13. The work is the same on back (going the other direction).

14. šuwée wá zíkaná kašáiti zíi hakée čónāya ?ée káwina ka?áizáani gáí hawée kudāa?asetiku. 15. dyó káwina kúfikuseetiku zíi gónaci šuníno kuwáyaiçatiyaatiku. 16. zíkaná gáí ?émí ?ée skáināaka tānizāānāata díičóná ?ée ?ái bóníyāa?ánə, zíkaná gáí ?émí héemāaku háubá gáí kayáamāaci. 17. ?étyu zāa ?aisgāagúnú gáí káizúwāani. 18. ?ée šúyati háiti zíi zāa kánaisdíya ?aigāagúnú gáí šuwée kée zāagúyānatiku hakée cíci kustáikuiyāataniku záyaskátitaaniši. 19. gáí gamáyanišiku zíi hawée skúwatāaniça háubá.

23. Planting

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. wá tiiça ka?áizáani ?útisi čətée ka?áizáani hawéenəkə gáí báagú ša?autunímāsa háiti zíi náudíisgúníši. 2. wāamé yáaka gáí skáiná stíwíwici ku túuwé cíipáni gáí skáiná túuwé dúwa káudímišiku. 3. wá gáí zíi míná cáyá gáí wāašu káumišuméewánišiku hawée záiša ?ée. 4. gáí ?ískasái zíi sónāama ka?áizáani cíipaníti díníyāaku káudímišiku. 5. ?étyu wá gánami. 6. gánami ?údími čətée ka?áiçaaniku wāašu ?íibáni kagšəçətaátáni. 7. gáí ?émí dúwa héemāaku čətée ka?áiçaaniku. 8. ?ée wá dāani. 9. dāani gáí zíka ?émí héemāaku háti zíi čətée ka?áititaanáata. 10. ?ée wá ?asáni ku čšəri zíi ?íska zíi ?áisi gáí máamé túu dyəəçəša káuššákāanišiku, ?émí máamé ?úyáiçaani túu dyəəçəša ?usdyúwísti. 11. ?étyu dúwa nabámúuzéeši báagú túu ?émí háu díníno kaačase níya báagú dúwa ?émí túumée skáunáizániši gáí káuyúkámiši. 12. guwáa ?étyušu zíi gáí kaača gáí báagú dáwāa ka?áititaaniku.

24. Harvest

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. wāašu háyāaci ka?áizáani ?úwāityaani čətée ka?áizáani gáí túu káwāatíšánišiku túu yúuku. 2. ?ée wá šuwée gáí kayáaššəcišiku ?úwāataiskaapi yáaka. 3. kúyāawaça gáí máamé ?ézeē?eši báagú ?émí díiskámá ?émí díka háu ?údíci mágúcuýúná ?úwíizáani. 4. ?ée wá šuwée wáaka gáí káusdáanišiku gáí kúuku, ?ée wá šuwée kúuku kawāayu

14. And again in the summer when it gets mossy along the ditch bank, they take it out. 15. They take the moss out and rake the weeds together. 16. Again they work both at Acomita and in the west, and again at this time everyone helps. 17. If you are not there you pay a fine. 18. If some boy's father is not there, they send him (the boy) and he carries water in order to provide them with drinking water. 19. It is fun when everyone works (together).

23. Planting

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. When it is spring, when it is the right time to plant, everyone usually knows what they want to plant. 2. For example, corn is planted both wet or dry; both ways (are practiced). 3. For the first way you must moisten (that is, irrigate) the field. 4. After the first day when the upper half becomes dry, you plant.

5. Now for beans. 6. It is the right time to plant beans when the cholla cactus are in bloom. 7. This is the right time. 8. And now squash. 9. It is the right time for squash also. 10. And one must always take good care of wheat or chili or anything else, especially (being sure) to hoe and to always irrigate. 11. Then for dry farming, it must rain, (making it) necessary for you to depend and wait for this (rain). 12. If it turns out well (or not) depends on (how much) it rains.

24. Harvest

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. When fall comes, when it is time to harvest, you just peel them (corn ears) off. 2. And you invite people to husk the corn. 3. The women are very eager to grab the corn husks in order to make tamales. 4. And the corn stalks are stored for the winter, (to be used) to feed the horses in

ʔáiwáasáaniʔíti. 5. sanisdēewa dāawáaça³⁶ gáí wá dyúwéé háunə kubəní ʔémí héemáaku ʔáaku zíúcaastitya. 6. sanisdēewa wéé yūsi ʔéegú gáí báasku kaʔáitita. 7. ʔéé wá ʃuwéé káwáika zíka káci máyúku zízá háunə kubəní sahusé³⁷ ʔétyu zíúcaastitya. 8. túu ʔémí wéé sái kúsgáyu ʔémí wéé háyáaci báasku ʔái kaʔáititańáafa.

25. Grinding Corn

(By Margaret Lim)

1. ʔáaku háma kúyáawaça ʔyáawáitiyańáafasə cáastiima ʔéəñə. 2. gáí háma ʔamaháa sínáaya ʃáawáaya yáacíni.

26. Cornmeal Mush

(By Ruth Valley)

1. wá dəisi níibeesí guwá ʔamaháa háyani ʔúwíʔáańízéəši. 2. cáyáʃu ʔamaháa ʔináawí ʔáinə stítáani wáistáani díka. 3. ʃuwéé ʔamaháa zii háiti ʔíské (cup milk) skáutáawazáni ʔama(one quart) wá híma ʔéé ʃuwéé ʔamaháa dyé ʔáawaneegú dyúyá háti čámíyá. 4. ʔéé ʃuwéé háunəke húwíni níiséesú ʔái ʔináawí cífiima ʔéé ʃuwéé níwáçəʃaʃú záa ʔamaháa húrúwáaʃu zii háiti náičaagúniši. 5. ʔéé ʃuwéé túuná gáwáičáaci ʔúpewi.

27. Tortillas

(By Mary Valley)

1. wá dúwa ʔáisi níibeesí guwáa háráméuʃa ʔúwíʔáańízéəši. 2. cáyáʃu ʔináawí skuťáani ʔéé ʃuwéé kii zii wéé mĩná ʔéé wá kaʃáti ʔáayáasti túumá héeméé ʔéé háčənu wíičaasgúniši. 3. ʃuwéé ʔamaháa ʔáinə cíci

³⁶sanisdēewa dāawáaça 'September', lit. 'St. Stephen's month'. St. Stephen is Acoma's patron saint, and his feast day is September 2.

³⁷sahusé 'St. Joseph'. St. Joseph is Laguna's patron saint, and his feast day is September 19.

the winter. 5. On the second of September they have a feast at Acoma. 6. There is a dance for St. Stephen, the saint. 7. They also have a feast at Laguna on the nineteenth of September. 8. It is all the same; there is a dance in the fall (at Laguna, also).

25. Grinding Corn

(By Margaret Lim)

1. Formerly at Acoma the ladies used to grind corn in metates.
2. Once my mother and I ground corn.

26. Cornmeal Mush

(By Ruth Valley)

1. Now I'm going to tell how to make cornmeal mush.
2. First you put flour in a dish.
3. Then you boil one cup of milk, I mean one quart, for sure, then it will boil up two or three times.
4. Then you will put the milk in where the flour is, and you will stir it so that bubbles won't form.
5. Then while it is still warm you eat it.

27. Tortillas

(By Mary Valley)

1. Now I'm going to tell how to make tortillas.
2. First you get flour, and then you mix in salt and baking powder, (the amount depending on) how much you want to make.
3. Then you knead it with water, and when

níya ʔúyaaspaawámi ʂuwée sái dyé skuýáaspaawání ʔétyuyú ʂuwée ʔíʂáí ʔáayaasti. 4. ʂuwée sái dyé ʂáamíi sgáyáasti ʂuwée ʔétyuyú ʔúukúutuci wée dyé héemée gáaša túumá núwíizáasgúni. 5. gái háadíiku záazáma skádítici kaʔáičaanu háráméuša. 6. ʂuwée wíitainaidáni ʔái dyé (stove) díka díníyánədyé. 7. ʂuwée kúistiti kaʔáizáani túumée ʔézéʂu skáināya ʂuní báa túu zaa máamé zii guwá záama háu máamé kausgáacicanu.³⁸ 8. túumá héemáaku ʂuwéeʂu skáināya kúistiti kaʔáizáani yúuku sínə ʔúukúyawi. 9. ʂuwée ʔáyadiišáani.

A Warning

(By Ruth Valley)

10. báaʂu gái háma náuya čubáya zímáa ʔée čubáya háráméuša skuwíizáani šee čítačəčəəka, místyəci kaʔáitita.

28. Stuffed Tripe

(By Mary Valley)

1. guwáa wá dúwa ýakuʂúuni ʔumínaasdáaniizééši ʔée názaasi. 2. túu gái háiti zii wáakaši ku kanəeru ýakuʂúuni ʔúwíizáaniizá. 3. kí zii wée ʔiššani skaʔáuyáawízani ʔée wá háačəni háčə ʔée káni túu máamé háčə ʔintyu káwawášiku, ʔée wá ʂuwée kí zii wée mīná sái sgáyáasti, ʂuwée kée náya ʔupənaimi,³⁹ túumá háčə háunə (water) ʔustāani zaa héeya néyačəgúniši.

29. Pottery

(By Mary Valley)

1. wá daʔáa ʔáakúuméeča dyūni suwáwíititiya. 2. cáyáʂu múici šítuataítitiya, ʔée ʂuwée wá táaskána sausaapacitiya ʔée šáatiwáitiyaanáata. 3. ʂuwée sái šáafiwáanáati ʔée wá ʂuwée kí zii wée múici šítáaʔatítitiya.

³⁸That is, if they brown quickly they can be taken off the stove before they get hard.

³⁹Underneath the stove, that is, the oven.

you have kneaded it thoroughly then you mix in lard. 4. When you have it all well mixed you will make them into balls that are large enough. 5. Sometimes the tortillas don't get round. 6. Then you cook them on the top of the stove. 7. When they become brown on both sides you don't have to make them so hard. 8. As soon as they get brown on both sides you take them off (the stove). 9. Then you serve them.

A Warning
(By Ruth Valley)

10. Don't ever make the fire too big or make too much fire when you make tortillas, or else they (will) burn and get black.

28. Stuffed Tripe
(By Mary Valley)

1. Now I'm going to tell how to season tripe. 2. It is made from either cow or sheep tripe. 3. After you slice the meat and some onion and just a very (little) bit of cedar for an Indian treat, and then after you mix it all with salt, then you put it in underneath and pour in some water so that it will not burn.

29. Pottery
(By Mary Valley)

1. Now this is how we Acomas make pottery. 2. First we put the clay out to dry, and then we pound and grind up potsherds. 3. Then when we finish grinding, we soak the clay. 4. Then we wedge it, and when

4. ṣuwée súwáyámawééfitiya ?ée ṣuwée sái súwáyámawééẓání zíi ?ískasái háti ?áisi ga?ápi suwáwilititiyańáafasə ṣuwée.

5. zázíi gái māmé sái zíi sgúsúma, wá túu ?ézé da?áa śadya?áu sgúwáaséé?enińáafasə. 6. ?ée ṣuwée gái káusa dyṭuni ?úwfiṭcańi ṣuwée míi wá háčəsái ka?áititaasə ṣuwée skuwíizáńi míi ?úuyáakáici ?ée wá ?uwáawáaṭeci míi ?émí sáubfíticitiyańáafa kí zíi wée ?ípiša sgáyáyáitáńi. 7. ?ée ṣuwée zíkana sái gayáyáitáńi ṣuwéeyú ?úuyúuskami. 8. sái ska?áuyúuskámí ?étyuyú ṣuwée ?ubáyáni. 9. zíi ?ézé wáakaši ?iisa skáišinu, ?ée ṣuwée wá ?ubáyáni, ṣuwée sgudáukáma ?ézé zíi hékuma ?áateeyi ?áyaneeyi. 10. gái zázáma háikámína dáwaa gáinatya ṣuwée zízáa dáwaa skáinatya kée ?éesi ?uwfiṭcańi. 11. wá yúu héémé.

30. Pottery Paints

(By Anne Hansen)

1. níibéesí guwáa ?úuyúuskámí čúyateyaukuyániši. 2. místyəciši kúudi?ée čúyateyapikuyáni, māmé wée sgacičiciši. 3. ?étyu ?ípiša míi ?ái háti čústfífitańi, ?ée wá kúučíniši zíka ?émé ?ée.

4. sái túu ?émí háaci sdyə guməseši ?émí héeyá kí zíi wée místyəciši čúukayaukuyáni ?ái ?úuyúuskámí ?úukáyámi dyə, cíci dikáńə stidáa?azími. 5. ?ée wá kúučíniši sdiťaa?azími ?ée míi ṣuwée čúucistaikase, ?ée ?émí ?ée zíka ?ípiša wée dyṭuni ?áyáyáitáńi zíka túu ?émé ?ée sdiťaa?azími ?ée ska?áucístáiskámí. 6. ṣuwée ?étyu čubfíticitiańi ṣuwée ?émí bérereci ka?áitita skaubíitizáni. 7. ṣuwée čibáyániši gái ṣuwée māmé kí zíi wée kúuwáadāafaukuyána wée místyəciši, ?ée kúučíniši, ?ée śámeci.

31. Hunting

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. wá dúwa dyáni kúyáiti ?úwáanéeyí⁴⁰ níya ?étyuyú nemášasí. 2. wáaṣu háyáaaci ka?áizáńi gái kúyáiti ?úwáaneeyi káa?áafáwí,⁴¹ zíi ṣúyati

⁴⁰dyáni kúyáiti ?úwáanéeyí, lit. 'deer game hunting'.

⁴¹kúyáiti ?úwáaneeyi káa?áafáwí 'when it opens to hunt game': ?úwáaneeyi 'to go hunting' (theme -úwáaN-qeeY, Sections 420, 422.3); káa?áafáwí 'when it opens' (theme -'áa?áafaW).

we finish wedging it and when we set it (out to dry) at least one day, we make it then.

5. I'm not very skillful (at making pottery), but this is how my grandmother instructed me. 6. It's hard to make pottery, and it takes several days when you begin to mold and scrape it, (and taking still) more (time) we polish it after painting on the white slip. 7. When you have finished painting (the slip), you paint the design. 8. When you are finished painting the design you fire it. 9. When you have cow manure, you fire it, and when you take them out (of the oven) you take them some place to sell. 10. Sometimes they don't fire well, and if you don't have them well fired you make them again. 11. Guess that's all now.

30. Pottery Paints

(By Anne Hansen)

1. I'm going to tell how paint is gathered. 2. The black is gathered in the mountains, they (are) the hardest. 3. The white paint is gathered from a distance, and again the yellow (is also gathered from a distance).

4. They all come out of the ground, and the black ones are ground in the paint mortar, after you have soaked them in water. 5. After you soak the yellow ones they are strained, and the same way with the white pottery paint, when you soak them and strain them. 6. Then (after the (pieces of) pottery have been painted) they are polished, and they get smooth when you polish them. 7. Then (the colors) that have been fired stand out very much, the blacks, the yellows, and the whites.

31. Hunting

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. Next I'm going to talk about deer hunting. 2. When it is fall, when hunting season opens, the boys plan for the (hunting) trip. 3. First you

skâiwastya gâika zúucišiku. 3. ?éze cáya gâi ?ái zîi skúuwabázánú zîi skázáməça skáastíyáagúmi šáyâika dúwa gâi wášu kazúuci. 4. ?ái háadi zîi háiti kúuti háu sgúukuyánaatya gâi ?ái zîi ska?áastíyaagúmeetya zîi šáyâika⁴² šuní zîi sgúwáapeuca báagú ?émé dúwa héeyá ?émí dúwa zîi níudyá?átigúni kúyáiti. 5. šuwée wá gáayúuzé sdēmənu gâi šuwée ?ái hékuma núu šuwée hékuma zîi zúneesgúnu kazúucišiku. 6. šuwée wá stídyáaku gâi šuwée ?ái kaçəkáníšiku—?ée kúyáiti kaçəkáníšiku gâi ?ái. 7. ?ée wá šuwée gâi sgúyáawaafigúma ?ái náyázééši gâi šuwée ?ái yúuku sgúutišigúma ?ái gâi míná zíkaná háusi zíbēecisti níya ?émí káumina?áatišiku.

8. šuwée wá sái sgâi?idyáataatya háçəstyaa?atya šúyati, šuwée gâi sgáaçəetya sgâama ?éesi gâi šuwée hákéewási báagú ?émí kazúucišiku gâi šuwée.⁴³ 9. šuwée ?ái hánu báagú gâi zíyúukamišínáaŋa, gūnámazánaatiku. 10. šuwée wá háu sdéetyuku gâi káušáa?áni: "kâiŋa nədēepəšúusa kúyáiti, tímí ?içáatyani sgáuyáani záa gâi dói číyúukamiši." 11. "háa?a" gâi šuwée yuwéemée cibēeyudyánaatiku, šuwée wá wée sdípənaima ?áinə sdíizíma zíkaná gâi šuwée ?ái čáadišáánaatiku skadíná, háatawé zîi ?íska háiti zîi tímí skáaša gâi ?ái dyə kátitiku wíistyəgəni. 12. šuwée wá gâi ?áisi nánú kuwámasawáatiitya kuwáwáatee?eetiku skáawí ku ?íska, gâi háupədə káwáadéeyíšiku. 13. "?éze šuwée ?ái zíkaná báa çəzəwée?e" zîi da?áa ?ái šúyati zîi háuyée ?émí zídyáatiši da?áa ča?áyanikuyánaatiku.

32. Traps and Snares

(By George Garcia)

1. dúwa wá zîi háma yuwée ?íyázásədée zîi ?áigámíšíizéeku. 2. zîi bíisbíiná zîi nídyáasgúnu ku zîi séikayasenáaŋa. 3. šuwée ?étyu guwáa ?émé ?ée ?áigáyámíizééši ?étyu gâi ?étyu wá da?áa ?étyu. 4. cáya ýáuši gaçípətiku šuwée zîi ?ái háadi zîi skáuçəçəcanu zîi čáasdyúmiši ?ée šuwée ?íska zîi ýáwasti stəəci šuwée ?ái sínə číukúmi kée sdíupastyaniitya ?ée ?ái zəçətyai šuwée káigáyámíšiku. 5. néigáyáusgúni ?ái náyáanə zîi ?éze háiti zîi zîi káuwíišánišiku. 6. šuwée báagú šuwée zîi háti zîi káná, zîi kúistidíiši zîi kúize zîi bíisbíiná zîi háiti wée kugúyanu. 7. šuwée kéenə náyáa kubóni ?ái náyáa skáaša wée kée náyáa čaatyuma ?ái dyə kašáni ?émí šuwée háu sínə ýáuši kaibátuyazáni šuwée

⁴²The Shayaika are both the hunting charms (animal fetishes carved from stone) and the beings responsible for successful hunting.

⁴³That is, when each boy catches (kills) one.

make prayer sticks when you put feathers together—things you pray with, hunting charms—(then with) these you are ready to go. 4. You head for some place in the mountains, you pray, and you call together the Shayaika, so that you will, perhaps, catch game this way. 5. When everyone leaves in the morning, you will (each) go your own way. 6. When you catch one you smoke—you smoke to the game there (as an offering and prayer). 7. When you take the inside part (entrails) out, and when you take it apart (butcher it), then you pray some more by speaking (to it).

8. When you all catch some, for however many boys there are, then you go back to your homes. 9. The people there are probably waiting, looking forward (to your return). 10. When you arrive you ask for permission (to enter): "(You) inside, we are going to enter with game, and the wealth, good fortune, and fruits of life that you are probably waiting for." 11. "Yes, (enter)," they would answer, and you would bring it in and lay it down, and again it would be fed corn meal and pollen, and any valuables that you own would be put on it, (things such as) beads. 12. On the following days you cook (the game) and invite your relatives or others, just anyone who you happen to invite. 13. "May you again be fortunate," the boy who caught it is advised.

32. Traps and Snares (By George Garcia)

1. This is about setting traps, back when I was a child. 2. When you wanted to catch things such as birds or (other) things we would set traps. 3. The following is about how the traps were set. 4. First a flat rock is needed, then you cut a forked stick somewhere, and another one, a straight stick, then you tie a string to the end (going) back down and through, and then you set the trap. 5. When you set the trap you put some things (bait) down underneath. 6. What ever kind of bird it might be, káná, kúistidííši, or whatever, it sits on it (the trap). 7. When he goes down underneath where you have a line extending across, when he

ćidyáatiku. 8. daʔáa háma ʔémí zíi ǎaiʔidyáatikuyáni bílsbíná. 9. ʔétyu zíi ǎiyáaniši zíi nídyáasgúnu bílsbíná, zíi nádyáasgúnu ku zíi náutasgúnu. ʔétyu ʔái náyáańskə gáušakácišiku šuwée. ʔémé ʔée túu šuwée zíka bílsbíná kée kubəní ʔái náyáa ýáusi díka šuwée záama ʔémé kúustu, báagu ʔáinə gáušákaciša ʔái háunə ʔáinə šuwée kubəńiku. 10. šuwée kée náyáa skamásdí nýya yúuku káugúmišiku šuwée ǎiyáaniši káudyaʔátišiku ʔémí. 11. daʔáa ʔétyu háma ʔémí zíi séiʔidyáatikuyána zíi bílsbíná zíi kúistidíši, kána zíi náigámisgúnu.

12. ʔétyu zíi sliya, kúuku šuwéešu ʔétyu gái zíi sliya zíi káigáyamítáanišiku zíka ʔétyu zíi wéemée káwéetunu ʔái háadi yúuku skáyaskanu ʔái ǎaatya háti zíi wéemée šuwée kí zíi wée ýáwasti zíka ǎiǎə sgayáaʔaakunu ʔée šuwée háazáni, kawáayu háazáni zíi skušánawanu. 13. šuwée ʔémé ʔée túu wée dyə sguistyanu. 14. ʔée šuwée ʔái háadi wéemée zíka ʔaiša yúuku skáyaskanu šuwée ʔaiša kí zíi wée ʔémí wá dúwa wáasa, ʔémé ʔéegáašiku wáasa. 15. héeyaka ǎaiʔidyáatikuyániši, šuwée wée dyə skaʔúnásbúušaní šuwée ʔémí dúwa šuwée šuwéešu ʔégú zíi sliya, ku zíi háiti zíi bílsbíná háu šuní kaaʔáatáati šuwée hée wáasa wée dyə kúnaspətiši ʔémí gayánaska ʔée ku gayámásdí⁴⁴ zaiʔidyáatikuya zaiʔidyaʔáti ʔama sdyə gáyúni šuwée ʔémí záama sdyə gáyúni zaiʔidyáatikuya.

16. ʔée ʔémí ʔée zíka sdúuşu zíka ʔémé ʔée ʔáiʔidyaʔátigúyániizéeku ʔémí wáasa níyaka. 17. ʔétyu ʔáinə stičáni šuwéešu dyúwíná ýauni šuwée wée dyə káuyáatáanišiku šuwée báagu ʔémí záama wáasa sdyə kayáaʔawaatyanu. 18. daʔáa ʔétyu ʔémí kí zíi sdúuşu zíi ku zíi sliya ʔémí ǎaiʔidyáatikuyániši háma. 19. dúwa wá daʔáa ʔétyu gái ʔézé dúme zíi ʔégú šawáabé. 20. daʔáa wá háma ʔémí zíi séiʔidyáatikuyána zíi sliya zíi sdúuşu zíi skuwáanu zíi.

33. Building Houses

(By George Garcia)

1. báagu gái ʔétyu dúwa ʔáaku dyəəna zíi stíimóní haʔaastiiča kaʔázáani ku ʔémé ʔée ku záagu táaʔačani díkáváaka háani. ʔée wée səna háani ʔée wée kúikáváaka háani.⁴⁵ 2. háma záagu sáyúuzé gái táyáamaaci

⁴⁴gayámásdí, lit. 'their hands'.

⁴⁵Old Acoma is made up of three rows of buildings, running east and west (see map in Stirling 1942, facing p. 18). In some places the buildings are three stories high.

steps on (the line), and when the flat rock snaps back down, he is caught. 8. This is how birds used to be caught. 9. If you want to catch the bird while he is alive, if you want to keep it (as a pet) or (later) kill it, then you hollow it out underneath, and then when the bird goes underneath again he is not killed by the flat rock, because he goes down where it is hollow. 10. You take it out from underneath with your hand, and (thus) you catch it alive. 11. This is how we used to catch birds, such as kúistidíši and káná, when one wanted to catch them.

12. As for larks, you set the traps in winter the same way, and when there is snow you clear away a spot and you get a long stick and a hair, (that is) you cut a horse hair. 13. Then you just tie it (the hair) on (to the stick). 14. And you clear away (some snow) again, and this (which is placed) across is a snare—it is called a snare. 15. With it they are caught, and when you have the tension adjusted, and when those such as larks or any birds sit together in a bunch, then the snare that is strung (set) catches them by their heads or feet when it catches them; when they (try to) fly back up, it catches them before they fly up.

16. And also the way to catch bluebirds is with a snare. 17. When you set it down you set two stones on it so that they cannot pick up the snare. 18. This is how bluebirds or larks used to be caught. 19. I have told you all (I know) about it. 20. This is how we used to catch larks and bluebirds when one went hunting.

33. Building Houses

(By George Garcia)

1. When they came to the top of Acoma, when (Acoma) became a village, (a row) was built on the north side running east, and (a row) in the middle running east, and (a row) on the south side running east. 2. Every-

kazəθəʔiʃu. 3. dúwa daʔáa ʃuwéəʃu kumezáagú ʔičəni ʔayáačáni.⁴⁶

4. ʔétyu ʔémé ʔée ʃuwéəʃu wái nəzi sdyəna ʔiyáisiyáafáni zii ʔézé skúipatináma yaʔái šáwíciši ʔée héeya nuyauskamigúmiši zii.

5. ʃuwéé ʔégú zii cíyáuzáni ʔémí dúwa gái zii ʔíwíiçaani. 6. zii wáašini, yáwasti, mišai gáyáaci kúuméyawéəçanu. 7. ʃuwéəʃu daʔaa ʔémí kúwáyamawéəzánaatya ziyáuzáni ʔémí cíyáuzáni čuwáwiititiya. 8. ʃuwéəʃu cíyáuzáni čii pánitunu ʃuwéəʃu záagú kée ʔémí ʃuwéəʃu ʃuyáná cáyá ʔaaçaani méʃu.

9. ʔée ʃuwéəʃu záagú gái méʃu ʃuwéé dyubíičape səna ʔeesi, méʃu dyəna ʃuwéəʃu ʔée díyúuceeʔe. 10. ʔée kumezáagú gái ʔémé ʔée ʃuwéé ʃuwéəʃu háma zii ʔégú háani kúudyuʔée zii yúukuša gáika zii ʔézé ʔazəəsdýáwísti skaʔutyaaanu háani, háapani, ʔée ʔémé ʔée ʃuwéəʃu gái zii ʔézé ʔazəəsdýáwísti dúwa zii dyuwáadyáawá.

11. méyúuna gái wái zii ʔémí šiukačána wée zii záwini ʔái dyəna zii túuná káčətiši. 12. ʔée ʃuwéəʃu kumezáagú zii ʔégú wéesi zii kaʔáateeʔeetyanu ʔémé ʔée ʃuwéəʃu yúuná kúutyu zii ʔégú wéesi zii háma čaʔáateeʔezáteeʔe zii ʔégú zii hūuru dyuwáadyáawá. 13. ku túuná zii wéeyəə⁴⁷ háma dyuwáadyáawá ʔáaku sdyəna zii ʔégú čaʔaúfikuse zii pižáami nážəəsdýáwístigúniši. 14. ʔée ʃuwéəʃu ʔémé ʔée zii zika méyú ʔái dyə ʔúwúišáni zii žukáwá gái zii ʔémí dúwa daʔaa zii káni ziwáawazəci zii dyuwáadyáawá ʔái dyə. 15. daʔaa dúwa kumezáagú gái háma zii ʔaaçaani.

16. ʃuwéé túu wée ʔégú díkáwáaka háani yúuná ʃuwéəʃu ʔaaçaani túu ʔíské dyəna ʔiukuyáni ʔičəni, ʔée ʃuwéé díyásabə zika ʔémé ʔée.

17. ʃuwéəʃu ʔée səna ʔée ʔiubíičáni kumezáa ʔégú túu méʃu dyəna daʔaa ʔiuyúuceeyáafáni. 18. wá zii gái wái ʔémé ʔée zii háčə káaši zii dyənámi dyə čámíyá dyə zii dúwa daʔaa káčə. 19. ʔée ʔémé ʔée kumezáa ʔétyu ʃuwéəʃu zii gái ʔézé wée sənaʔéezéəši ʔétyu zii zii ʃuní náaçasgúniši ʔétyu kumezáa ʔégú dyuwáadyáawá háma háaskáni. 20. dúwa daʔaa gái ʔétyu ʔémí dyuwáadyáawá kumezáa ʔégú wée ʃuní zii zii néəšasgúnu ʔézé wéəne dəeʔemi nədaagúniši. 21. daʔaa ʔétyu ʔémí gáika zii háma dyuwáadyáawá záanəa háadi zii mendāana zii zaʔáni ʔétyu ʔémí háaskáni gái zii dyuwáadyáawá ʃuní náaʔaʔasgúniši. 22. ʔée ʔémé ʔée zii háadíku gái zii wái méyúuna daʔaa zii gái zii ʔúukačáníizá.

23. ʃuwéəʃu dúwa daʔaa zii ʔégú háma kumeʔétyu kumezáagú gái sái sáyúuzé hánu ʔái dyə haʔaastíiça zii ʔégú hánu zii čaayáamāacitiya ʔíské

⁴⁶ʔayáačáni 'they were divided'. Perfect theme, -qjayáačaN-qíS; stem, plural prefix plus -JúučaN (Section 415).

⁴⁷wéeyəə was not known to Mrs. Hansen, but the context suggests 'oxen', from Spanish buey, a common Spanish loanword throughout the Pueblo area.

body helped with each building. 3. This is how, I believe, the buildings were made. 4. The building materials were carried up from down below, things like fine sand being carried on the back to be used for plaster.

5. This is how adobe bricks were made. 6. Bark, sticks, and ashes were mixed together. 7. Then they mixed the adobe with this, and the bricks were made. 8. When the bricks dried, they built around (laying the foundation), and they kept on (going up).

9. And continuing on, they divided (into rooms) the middle part (that is, the second floor), and they continued on up this way. 10. And I believe they used to haul pine and oak from Pine Mountain for beams, and they used them (also) for the crossbeams.

11. Today we still see the old buildings up there. 12. When they brought things back from the mountains, they used to use donkeys to bring them back. 13. Or they used oxen, and they brought up to Acoma the logs that they were going to use for beams. 14. And then for the things placed on top, willow and scraped cedar were used on top (of the main beams for crossbeams). 15. This, I believe, is how they were built.

16. In the northern section (and proceeding) from the east the building was built and was put up as a single unit, and likewise (for the middle section and proceeding) from the west. 17. It was divided up into halves (that is, rooms), and this was continued on up (for the higher stories). 18. Today the building is three stories high in several places. 19. And for the middle part (that is, the second floor) they used mica for that which was going to be made on the sides (that is, windows). 20. This is what they used on the sides for light. 21. This is what they used to use; before there were windows they used mica for that which was going to be built on the sides. 22. And today it can still be seen in some places.

23. And formerly, I believe, all the people up at the village helped, and it was built as a single unit. 24. And each building, I believe, was

sái dúwa daʔáa ʃuwééʃu zíí t̃aaʔaçaani. 24. ʔéé ʃuwééʃu kaʒóəʔííʃu kumezáagú daʔáa ʃuwééʃu čáayáayadíita, ʔeté ʔayáaçaani guwáa yúuná ʔémé ʔéé zíí ʔégú níičəsgúniši. 25. wái há káwáaka sabə ʔéé yúuná bə sái cínáudáni, səna sá zíkaná, yuwéé kúikáwáaka sabə bəzáatya háu sabə daʔáa ʔégú tinauta.⁴⁸ 26. dúwa daʔáa ʃuwéé háma kumezáagú ʔégú ʔáaku dyəəna zíí ʔégú t̃aaʔaçaani zíí čaʔaiča.

27. ʔéé ʃuwéé gáí zíí ʔégú waʔíizééʃi ʔétyuyú yúuná dúwa daʔáa yúuná ʔétyu gáí zíí wái zíí daʔáa ʔégú zíí wéénə zíí čaaʔaçaani sái ʃúyáná zíí yúuku kúwa zíí háadí sínə sgúnu. 28. daʔáa zíí wái ʔétyuyú ʔéé háadíku sínə daʔáa zíí číukuutawi zíí záwini káčəətiši. 29. wá wái dúwa daʔáa gáí zíí ʔáaku dyəəna zíí ʔétyuyú síukačána.

30. daʔáa ʔétyu kumezáagú háma gáika zíí ʔégú ʔáaku dyəəna zíí gáika zíí ʔémé ʔéé zíí čáčə, zíí t̃aaʔaçaani sáyúuzé zíí čayáamáaci. 31. ʃuwéé ʔéé zíí pižāamizééʃi zíí gáí zí ʔanéézí gáika zíí gáatyazániši zíí daʔáa dúwa. 32. dúwa daʔáa kumezáagú háma zíí ʔégú míiʃu ʔáaku dyəəna zíí ʔémé ʔéé zíí ʔégú ičəni zíí čaʔaiča. 33. daʔáa dúwa wá ʔégú háma zíí t̃aaʔaçaani.

34. Shinny

(By George Garcia)

1. dúwa wá guwáa číumaataašúkucitaaniši háma zíí yuwéé ʔíyázáasədəe. 2. yuwéé zíí sáumaataašúkucitiya ʔái ʔáaku dyəəna. 3. ʃuhawéʔéná zíí načuwéenu ʔáaku háu sdyə šílmənu. 4. ʔái káakaati sáumaataašúkucitiya, wéé ʃuní zíí ʃúyati ku háčəca ku háu zíí ʔanéegúnu zíí ʔumaataašúkucitaani. 5. ʃuwéé ʔégú sái zíí káayáacííikumíitaatya, sánámí dyə, ʔéé yəkée bənámi ʃúwánámaaša čənáaya.⁴⁹ 6. yəkée ʃúyánáša ʃuwéé ʔémí zíyúuceeʔetiku ʃúyáná. 7. ʃuwéé háu cáyá káakaati háusi zíwácináima máadáašúku ʃuwéé ʔémí gáašiyawaatiku. 8. ʃuwéé ʔétyu máadáašúkúuzééʃi ʔétyu ʔémé ʔéé wéemé zíí číwíititaaniši zíí wáakaši ʔésgá ku zíí píici zíí čúyámasdāniša. 9. ʃuwéé ʔáinəkə ʃuwéé stidyáicíimeetya ʃuwéé ʔúumáadáašúkuci. 10. ʃuwéé ʔétyu gáí zíí háadí guuci skaʔautyaanu ku zíí háapani skaʔautyaanu ʔéé

⁴⁸The direction of construction for the three rows of buildings was the shape of an 'S', starting with the northern row in the east and finishing with the southern row in the west.

bəzáatya 'West Floor', name of the first dancing station (see White 1932, p. 66).

⁴⁹čənáaya 'canyon', here referring to the alleyway between the rows of buildings at Acoma.

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distributed (divided up among the families), and they were (each) entitled to be in it. 25. When the (northern) part was finished, (building) from the east back to the west, and the middle part, (building) back to the east again, then the southern part, (building) back to the west, was finished at the first dance station. 26. This is how, I believe, Acoma was built on top (of the mesa) and how it came to be.

27. But nowadays they build around (just anywhere), all around in the south (part of the mesa) wherever they choose. 28. In some places the old buildings are torn down. 29. This is what we see up at Acoma today.

30. This is how, I believe, the buildings used to be up at Acoma; they were built with everybody's help. 31. And the beams used to be beautifully carved. 32. This, I believe, is how the buildings came to be up on top at Acoma. 33. This is how they were built.

34. Shinny

(By George Garcia)

1. This is how shinny was played when I was a boy. 2. We played shinny up at Acoma back in those days. 3. Near Christmas time everyone came up to Acoma. 4. We played shinny in the plaza, together with the boys or men or anyone who liked to play. 5. Everyone paired off up in the east and to the west along the separate corridors. 6. They would take it (the ball) around (the building). 7. Whichever (side) got the ball back to the plaza first would win. 8. The ball was made from cowhide or buckskin, which was stuffed. 9. They would bury it to play shinny. 10. They gathered wood some place, or they gathered oak (sticks) that

ʔémé ʔée ʂuwée ʔái zəçətyai ʂuwíciša, héeyaka ʔúumáadaášúkucitáani.
 11. ʂuwéeşu náumáadaášúkucisgúni ʂuwée ʔáinəkə stidyáicímeetiku ʔáinə
 skausduuca. 12. ʂuwée ʔégú sáanamí dyəəzéeši hawée dídí nətyazígú,
 ʔətyu sabónámízéeši ʂuwée wée kuńi nətyazígú. 13. ʂuwée ʔái háu
 ʂuní ʂuwée kée gúwískəzánaatiku. 14. ʂuwée ʔətyu sái yəkée bónámí
 čnāyá sabónámínəzéeši kée kaşānaatiku, ʔətyu hánámízéeši yəkée há
 čnāyá ʂuwée kaşānaatiku. 15. ʂuwée ʔégú kuwíisfityaanətyəəciku háu
 ʂuní ʂuwée méşu čəeyiku, ʔée ʂuwée ʔái nəzaatya ʔémí ʂuwéeşu ʔáinə
 máadaášúku cidyáiciima. 16. ʂuwéeşu dyə gúbáicitaana, ʔée méşu dyə
 gúbáicitaana. 17. ʂuwéeşu dyə gúmóní máadaášúku zíi wée dídíisəwá
 gščániša cáyá gúbáicanu ʂuwée ʔégú háanamí yəkée wá nupónaucagú.
 18. ʂuwée yuwée ʔái sá dyə ʂuwéeşu sabónámí čnāyácaaaʔaatiši ʂuwéeşu
 háu nuwáduucagúusa ʔée ʔémé ʔée ʂuwéeşu sabónámínə níyúuceeʔeegúusa.
 19. ʔée méşu ʂuwée yəkée şúyaná káayazúuceeʔeetiku, túu ʔáişa ʔémé
 ʔée ʂuwéeşu čnāyá ʂuwéeşu kaʔaumáataaşúkucitiyaasə. 20. ʔée ʂuwée
 gái háuyée ʔémí gái ʂuwéeşu zíi ʔégú téeʔe şúyaná zíyúuceenu, yəkée
 şúyaná háusi zíwácināima ʔái káakaafi ʂuwéeşu ʔémí dəi díka ʂuwée ʔémí
 dúwa gaaşiyaawaatiku háiti ʔái díka. 21. ʂuwéeşu sái ʔíské zíkaná
 cīçanaatiku. 22. dúwa daʔaa ʔətyu ʔémí cíumaataaşúkucitáani háma.

35. Target Practice

(By George Garcia)

1. ʔətyu wá dúwa zíi yuwée zíka ʔíyázáasədée zíi wéemée zíi
 zíináfitiyaatiku. 2. ʂuwée ʔégú husdyáaka ʔée ʔisdúwa gacípətişiku.
 3. ʂuwée wéemée zíi ʔái háti zíi háčə skaaʔaacaanu şúyati. 4. wéemée
 zíi skáistuwaáša skahusdyáakaşa wéemée ʂuwéeşu kée kaşānaatiku.
 5. ʂuwée ʔətyu kí zíi wée ʔémí ziwáadyáawáaniku múkuzíši. 6. ʔémí
 ʂuwée dúwa ʔətyu zíi múkuzíši kanəeru ʔésgá ku zíi cíuyámásdāani zíi
 wéemée. 7. ʂuwéeşu ʔái háadi wéemée zíi zíifisitaatyanu, ʂuwéeşu ʔémí
 zíináfitiyaatiku ʂuwéeşu máamé ʔémí ʂuwéeşu ʔekúwáyáaacaanaatiku háu
 ʂuwéeşu hacəwá díinazáana dúwa kí zíi wée múkuzíši séniyaatişi. 8.
 ʔémí wéemée háma zíi wíináfitaani zíi káisuméestaaniku yúu ʂuwée
 ʂuwéeşu. 9. ʔée ʂuwéeşu ʔémé ʔée skáudyúmicanu ʂuwéeşu ʔémí zíi
 ʔégú hawéənə zíi kaʔaiça gúwāaneeça, zíi yúuná zíi ʂuwéeşu ʔémí zíi
 zíi dəetya, zíi síitya, zíi káyaşu zíi ʔáyánáfítáanízéeeku zíi skuwāaneeyu.
 10. zíi čóna háma cíwāaneeýáafáni. 11. daʔaa dúwa háma ʔətyu zíi
 zíináfitiyaatiku. 12. daʔaa wá dúwa ʔətyu ʂuwéeşu háma ʔətyu zíi

had a curve at the end to play shinny with. 11. The ones that were going to play ball dug a hole and buried (the ball). 12. Then the eastern team would stand in the north, and the western team would stand in the south. 13. Then they (each) scratched (a line) that (came) together (in the middle). 14. Then everyone on the western team would get in position in the west corridor, and the eastern team would get in position in the east corridor. 15. Then they would count and keep coming together to the place in the ground where the ball was buried. 16. Then they hit it up and kept hitting it up. 17. When the ball came up, if the one standing on the north side hit it first, it would roll to the east. 18. Then the ones who were in the west corridor would jump in, and they would try to take it to the west. 19. They would keep taking it around (the building), and they would play shinny back and forth along the corridor. 20. Whichever (team) took it around the furthest and arrived back around in the plaza, they would win in this way. 21. Then they would all make it one again (that is, start over). 22. This is how shinny was played.

35. Target Practice

(By George Garcia)

1. They used to shoot this way back when I was a child. 2. Bows and arrows were needed. 3. You would gather together a number of boys. 4. When you had arrows and a bow you would stand (take your position). 5. They would use a target. 6. The target was (made of) sheepskin or something stuffed. 7. When they measured off a certain distance they would shoot and compete very (intensely to see) who could shoot the most at that which we called the target. 8. In former times they learned to shoot this way. 9. When you had learned, there was a hunt, and you hunted rabbits, squirrels, and chipmunks by shooting them. 10. Pack rats used to be hunted (too). 11. This is how they used to shoot.

gúudyâawá zíi súwawíšâitiyaatya ku ?émé ?ée dúwa cíwínáítitaani zíi ?égú
?isdúwá níyáka ?ée husdyâaka zíi ?émí sguwáadyâawá. 13. wá dúwa
da?áa ?étyu ?émí.

36. Stick Racing
(By George Garcia)

1. wá ?étyu dúwa cáačawaiyáatáníši. 2. háma zíi gáika
ka?áačawi?izátee?eetiku. 3. háçəcai, şúyati ku ?íyáça zíka gáí ?émé
?ée zíi ka?áačawai?izátee?eetiku. 4. şuwéesu wéemée ?étyu zíi cičəníši
náačawaiğúnu wéemée şuwéesu háu zíi cá?áişazánaatyanu, şuwéesu ?émé
?ée zíi káadyúmenu, şuwéesu níutáanikuyánagúusa háçəcai háçə zíi
káa?áaçaanu. 5. háikáminá gáí dyáanawá guwáačíkumenáata. 6. şuwéesu
wéemée nêečawaiyigúnu, néyáačawaiyisğúnu wéeméeşu wéesu
gúutáanikuyánaatya gáí zíi ?égú zíi káistyuwaapeetiku. 7. ?ée wéemée
kápişu şuwéesu ka?áašawaitiyaatiku.

8. ?étyu ?émé ?ée şuwéesu dúwa háma zíi ka?áačawai?izátee?e ?áaku.
9. háu sdyó zíi stíimənu ku ?émé ?ée dúwa da?áa dáawáaça zíi ?égú
čətee ?émí şuwéesu dúwa zíi dáawáaça káani zíi kuréesima záanaasi
kučáyaaazími ?étyu ?émí şuwéesu zíi ka?áačawai?izátee?eetiku háma.
10. ?ée şuwéesu gáí zíi káiseetaanişi háçəcai zíi háiti zíi níuseetasğúnu.
11. şuwéesu dúwa da?áa gáí şuwéesu ka?áačawai?izátee?e.

12. şuwéesu ?égú háuyée ?émí zíi şuwéesu néyáačawaiyisğúnu ?étyu báa
şuwéesu dúwa şuwéesu ?émí núwaačíkugúusa. 13. şuwéesu ?ái háadínə
zífíimeetyanu, néyáačawaisğúnu, şuwéesu náa şuní ?égú skáakuniku háu
şuní zíi háiti hékuma, hékuma nədáasğúnu. 14. şuwéesu káiseetaniku.
15. ?ái dyó zíi cíišiimiku, ?áinə záadyánə zíi pisári ka?áişataatya, zíi
háitisğúnu zíi níuseetasğúnu şuwée ?émí ?ái dyó zíişıitiyaatiku. 16.
şuwéesu čətee ka?áazáani, şuwéesu kée gúučánaatiku şuwée ?áačawáiyí
dúwa ?áačawáiyízéeşi şuwéesu ?áinə ziyáataanətyəəciku. 17. şuwéesu
kée kətyazímətyəəciku, ?ée yəkée ýaani şuwéesu kaşánaatya guwáačíkumişi.
18. şuwéesu ?áisi čayáwíşítitaanítiku, şuwéesu dyáanawá kuwíşítidyáni,
şuwéeci ka?áatikuyaniku ?ée şuwéesu yəkée ýaani háu méşu túu káyáatawi.
19. şuwée yúuná şuwéesu háidíka zíi néyákumegúusaatyanu, şuwéesu yəkée
ştyáná záyákumee?eetiku. 20. ?ée şuwéesu gáí hakée zíi ?égú zíi ?émé
?ée zíi háçəcaiméesğúnu zíi stíiyáişanu ?ée şuwéesu gáí zíi kée
kazúucişiku.

12. This is how it was useful when we played, how the bow and arrow was shot, and what we used. 13. This is how it was.

36. Stick Racing
(By George Garcia)

1. This is about stick racing. 2. Formerly they used to have stick races. 3. Men, boys, or kids had stick races. 4. When there was going to be a big stick race someone was named (to be in charge), and if he was willing, then a number of men gathered together and started practicing (that is, training). 5. They usually formed groups of four. 6. If there was going to be a stick race and if a person was going to take part in the stick race, they would practice and would go to take sweat baths. 7. They would race (to get in shape) in the evenings.

8. This is how they had stick races at Acoma. 9. When the people came back up (to Acoma), on the right month, during the month of Lent (February), before Easter, they would have stick races. 10. The men would place bets on whoever they wanted to bet on. 11. This is the way it was with stick racing.

12. Those who were going to take part in the stick races paired up. 13. When the date was set, and if you were going to take part in the stick races, then you went (on that date) with whichever (side) you were going to be on. 14. And they placed bets. 15. There would be valuables there, and they would put them (the valuables) on a blanket that they would spread on the ground so that you could bet whatever you wished. 16. When it was ready, they would mark the course, and they would put down the racing sticks for the stick race. 17. (Each team) would stand (in position), and the teams would line up in front. 18. Someone would count for them, and when he counted four times, then they would go forward. 19. The crowd would go with (the racers), and they would go all the way around (the mesa). 20. If you were man enough, if you were a fast racer, then you went along (and kept up with the rest).

21. ?étyu túu dyə̀əçə̀şa şuwéəşu háu gāuyuukainu şuwée zíyúukai?iitiku ?áačáwáiyí, záa ?ái háadí zíi náyawagúniši díka. 22. ?ée şuwéəşu yúuná ?émé ?ée şuwéəşu zíyúucee?e. 23. yuwéesíizé şuwéəşu máamé gáí şuwéəşu kúwáyáaçaatiku, háu cáyá háusi ne?écígúniši ?áisi dyútigúmeəša ?áačáwáiyí. 24. ?éəşu wée háusi gáí şuwéəşu háu cáyá háusi zíwacínáimanu şuwéəşu háiti zíi ?áačáwáiyí zíi máamé hawé?ená káayapazáyawaatyanu, háiti şuwéəşu ?áačáwáiyí cáyáñə gūidyáciu, ?ái gūicániiša şuwéəşu háusi zíwacínáima cáyá şuwéəşu nəgūidyáci, şuwéəşu ?émí şuwéəşu déi díka şuwéəşu zíšiyawiku şuwéəşu dúwa káawášiyyawaatiku. 25. dúwa da?áa ?étyu háma zíi ?égú ?étyu dúwa zíi čáačawaiyiyáatáni da?áa wá dúwa da?áa ?étyu háma zíi ka?áačawai?izátee?eetiku. 26. ?étyu wa?iizéəši báagú záana háadí ?émé ?ée zíi gáí zíi háu zíi háma ka?áačawaiyu. 27. dúwa ?étyu zíi da?áa ča?áačawai?izátee?e.

37. Growing Up in the Old Days

(By George Garcia)

1. zíi háma ?iyázáasədée, gáí wáiša zíi ?égú máamé šáatuuní. 2. ?étyu yuwée gáí zíi skánáaya, skánáisdíya, zíi skabábáa, skána zíi háma zíi dyáwá zíi zayáapatyəsəku. 3. wéemée háma zíi gáí míišu zíi ?égú dyáwá zíi dyə̀ stá?áipadyśmeetyanu máamé túuná dyə̀ ?áaku skáami. 4. hawée şuwéəşu dyə̀ stá?áipadyśmeetyanu, pisāari ?ézé zíi stya?átyušaatyanu, ?ái čáatya styaagúyánaatyanu şuwéəşu sdíyúukamišaatyá hámaaca néisbīçaatyagúniši. 5. dúwa da?áa háma ?étyu yuwée záagú zíi gáika zíi dáwáa zíi ?émé ?ée zíi tūyuuceeyáatáni. 6. gáí ?émé ?ée zíi gáika dyuwáasgíci hástítiča háma. 7. báagú míišu ?égú dúwa ?émé ?ée zíi gáika zíi ?égú dáwázéəši zíi dyúukušana guwáa ?émé ?ée zíi ?égú zíi dáwáa zíi nitúunísgúniši zíi héeyá zíi náayúutyasgúniši. 8. ku yuwée háma ?égú kumézáa ?égú zíi ?égú čúwasti. 9. wéemée zíka ?émí şuwéəşu zíi ?égú míišu gáí zíi ?égú dyúutuunímáasa zíi ?égú zíi níuwaizámásgúniši déi yáani, gáí ?émí duhá gáišu zíi ?émí zíi šíukačána.⁵⁰ 10. ?étyu yuwée záagú míišu gáí zíka ?émé ?ée zíi ?égú stáwáawaižámáasa ?áaku dyə̀əna. 11. náa şuní zíi ?égú tené, číšé zíi háma čúuwáačáwáitiya. 12. ?émí héeyáka kumézáa ?égú gáika zíi dyúunámacitiya záa yúuwi zíi ?úuskatikuyáni, ku zíi skuwáaneyu pání záa nəeəcaayustiumániši níyáka ?émé héeyá gáí zíi záama zíi máamé zíi háuyá ?úpewi, ku háuyá zíi

⁵⁰Referring to the Second World War and the Korean War.

21. Somebody would always watch, and they would keep track of the sticks so that they would not get lost. 22. They would take (the sticks) way out. 23. Coming back, they would compete in earnest in trying to be first one back from where they started with the sticks. 24. The one who got back first with the racing stick while the others were closing in, the one whose stick landed first when he arrived at the (finish) line—he would win; this is how they won. 25. This is how there used to be stick races and how they used to race. 26. But nowadays nobody does stick racing any more. 27. This is how they would have stick races.

37. Growing Up in the Old Days
(By George Garcia)

1. Long ago I was a child, but today we have all grown up. 2. At that time (when I was a child) your mother, father, grandmother, and grandfather made you get up early. 3. And long ago when they made you get up early they still lived at Acoma. 4. They got you up, wrapped you in a blanket, and put you outside, and you waited until the sun rose. 5. This custom was practiced in the old days. 6. The older people were stronger in those days. 7. They knew beforehand the good things of life and how they would grow up and make a living. 8. And in the old days it was dangerous. 9. They already knew that in the future they would have to go to war, and now we have seen this. 10. In the old days they went to war from up at Acoma. 11. Nearby Navajos and Apaches used to steal things. 12. They used to advise (you) not to drink (too much), or else when you went hunting you would get mixed up in your directions because of thirst, and (they advised you) not to

háawéná zíi yúuwí ?úuskati cíci. 13. dúwa da?áa komezáa ?égú gáí háma zíi dyuwáasgíici ku zíi dyáwá wíipatyəsi dúwa da?áa komezáa ?égú gáíka zíi ?égú ?áneé zíi háu zíi nénatuçú, dáwáa zíi nitúuníçú zíi. 14. da?áa ?émí háma komezáa gáíka zíi ?égú čáiwáayúutya wáí káatya míšú. 15. ?ée šuwéesu ?émé ?ée zíi yúná zíi ?égú gúuwaizámanu, ku zíi skuwáane záazí zíi ?égú zíi háiti zíi zíi pání zíi yámastí zíi šúwamə díníyá néwáčadyúnu. 16. ?émí héeyá gáí zíi gúunámacitiya ku múudeesdyáanu zíi gáí zíi nánaši zíi sdyánatiši zíi záa māmámé zíi ?úkuyautáayáni, guwáakaasuma šuyáná zíi ?étyaciši. 17. ?ée ?émé ?ée zíi kúwíizáanu zíka ?émé ?ée gáí zíka záa máamóti zíi ?úkuyautáayáni zíi wéesi skubúnú. 18. ?émí gáí dúwa zíi da?áa zíi hástífiça háma zíi duwáasgíici zíi máikúiná zíi de?é. 19. wéemée zíi ?égú háçəcai zíi múudeesdyáanu zíka méyú zánáa héema háu dyé stíizání zíi záa ?áčəkasi, míi ménéašu zíi cúski kugáicanu. 20. dúwa da?áa ?étyu komezáa ?égú gáí zíi díyúukai?i šuwéesu ménéašu zíi ?égú héemáaku gáí ?égú zíi náçəkagúnu. 21. šuwée ?étyu zíi kúwíizééši ?étyu ?émé ?ée zíka méyú zíi háma šuwée dayáapatyəku dyáwá. 22. zíi tyáawáitiyaatiku gáayúuzé dyáwá, ?ée ?émé ?ée zíi ?ustíiyáatáni zíi ?égú. 23. dúwa da?áa ?étyu zíi ?égú kúwíizáa báagú gáíka zíi tyáaši zíi ?égú. 24. ?ée ?émé ?ée zíka méyú záa māmámóti zíi yúná zíi úyúuməsi zíi kápišu ka?áiča máasiça gáíka zíi da?áa báašúudá. 25. ku ?émé ?ée zíi háçəcaizééši zíka méyú náaya, náisdiya gáíka zíi dyúnámacitiya záa háawéná zíi ?úudyáatítaani. 26. ?étyu ?ézé zíi skánāaya, skánāisdiya ?ézé zíi máikui níumáazániisgúni cáacēema ?éénəkə. 27. dúwa da?áa sdiyáka záagú ?émé héeyá gáí zíi ?égú záazí gáíka háawéná ?úudyáazáni. 28. ku kúwíizééši zíka méyú ?émé ?ée zíi ?égú dúwa da?áa záa túu wée zíi yúná nēenaçəteyagúniši.

29. da?áa háma zíi komezáagú gáí zíi ?égú gáíka zíi čáiwáayúutya. 30. wá?iizééši gáí ?étyu nánámízá dúwa da?áa záazí zíná sguwáasgíicišanu, ku ?íyāça záazíná háawéná kitúunisə. 31. ?étyu háma yuwée zíi báagú zíi ?égú zíi yáaka kínatiši ku zíi ?íska háaci sdyé čayáa?áwiši dúwa zíi ?égú ?émé ?ée gāa?apeetiši níyáka dáwáa zíi gánatiši dáwáa zíi kínatunu ?émí héeyaka zíi dyuwáasgíici háma. 32. da?áa dúwa komezáa ?égú gáíka zíi ?égú ?émé ?ée háma zíi táiwáayúutya. 33. wá dúwa gáí zíi ?ézé dēe?emi sgúuçuanu da?áa gáí zíi ?égú zíi héeme sítuuní da?áa.

eat too much and not to drink too much water. 13. They were strong in those days, and they got up early; you would mature in a nice way, and you would grow up properly. 14. This is how they lived in earlier days. 15. And when one went to fight or to hunt he would not be overcome by thirst or hunger or misery. 16. Grandfathers advised boys who were hardy not to warm themselves by standing around the fire place. 17. And girls were (told) not to warm themselves when they came in (the house). 18. That is why people were stronger in the old days and lived longer. 19. Men and boys were (told) not to smoke before they grew up, not until the fox howled. 20. This is the way they believed in regard to when a person should smoke. 21. And as for girls, they got them up early, too, in the old days. 22. They would grind (corn) early in the morning, and (do) such things as fetch water. 23. This is how things used to be done in regard to girls. 24. Also girls had to be careful not to go out too long after it was dark. 25. Mothers and fathers used to advise boys not to get married right away. 26. The mothers and fathers expected them to help the family for a while. 27. This is the reason they didn't get married right away. 28. And as for girls, they didn't run around.

29. This is how they used to live in the old days. 30. Nowadays it is different, and this is why we are not strong any more, and children don't grow up quickly. 31. But in the old days the things they ate were fresh corn or other things grown from the land, good things such as fresh fruit, good things such as fresh corn, and because of this they were strong in the old days. 32. This is how we used to live. 33. This is what is clear to me; this is all I know.

38. The Birth of the War Twins

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. ṣuháma wá dítya kašiskáčəətya wá ʔáí kúwíizá ʔáí dyáuʔu, čámáʔákə. ^{ʔáí}

2. dúwa máagəzéeši kánāaya zázíí háu máamé ʔán̄etiumánu. 3. núuyú gáí ṣuwée dyúwííkaašāan̄ətyənáaṭa gaʔáiša zíí ʔéze wéemé guwáa zaʔámizán̄ətyəəka. 4. zázáma háu zíí dāaʔáminaatikuya, ku zíí háu diʔúšəəca wée wá míika hánu gáačəətya. 5. ʔétyu káazíná gáí diwāanámán̄áaṭa dyəəçəša gáí háusi ʔámúumaateeʔekuyān̄áaṭa.

6. ṣuwée wá hánu, gáí hánu kée dēeməsən̄áaṭa, dyáíyaani čaʔáityaiʔizáteeʔe, ʔée ʔíitya. 7. ṣuwée ʔáinə háma čətée kaʔáizáan̄í, máamé n̄auya dyáíyaani gaṭawán̄íši náyéezá zíí skámáʔákəša dyúubé kée dyáíyaani n̄aityaigún̄íši. 8. kánāaya táacikuya "wá zázíí háu kée n̄iūcaayukuzumánu." 9. ṣuwée ʔée máagəzéeši tēeçəəci, núuwée ʔée kée zúunedyú. 10. ṣuwée wá gáí čunáci, kée háamāašu čaʔáupaša hánu.

11. ṣuwée wá gáí háu déetyu ʔáí čāaʔaṭa. 12. zázíí háu díušəəca ʔáí, núuwée ṣuwée ʔáí čugúya, ṣuwée núuwée ʔáí kapišón̄í tíyáaska, ʔée wá nánú núuwée čaʔáityata dyáíyaani. 13. s̄óna cidíyá háu ṣuwée ʔáí tíyáidyáu. 14. wée cíyáidyámiši, ʔušāačə páyadyámə, ṣuwée táacikuya "čáityata dyáíyaani?" 15. "háaʔa; túu wá tyubúuca." 16. "šáumáacan̄í dyáíyaani ʔáityaan̄í. 17. wá wée šáuyašeem̄í dyúuwée dyáíyaani. 18. dúwa núpešú." 19. ṣuwée dyúupeeta háuzéeši. 20. "wée múdēezéeši wá ʔušāačəsədá." 21. "ṣuwée ʔétyuyú háad̄í kužauʔu?" 22. "háagáwaikuču." 23. gáí ṣuwée d̄iunáma dyáíyaani dúwa číuyad̄íitiši.

24. ṣuwée wá dúwa gáí dyáíyaani čúpe zíí hátí zúuci. 25. ṣuwée wá ʔáisi háma ýuu kaʔáizáan̄í ṣuwée tigŋuñičaatya. 26. gáí táacikuya n̄umáacan̄íciúmán̄íši dyáíyaani ʔáityaan̄í. 27. wéemée kaʔáidyáanúma dyáíyaani kaʔáityanu ʔée máamé nánú d̄iutita ḡyásf̄í dikán̄ə. 28. máamé n̄auya guwákača ʔée guwáa nánú d̄iutita. 29. ṣuwée kéesi zúutyu gāama ʔéesi, čŋipatináu, zázíí gáí dyáyúutaaya.

30. háusi zaʔácín̄í kánāaya d̄iunáma. 31. "máamé wá n̄auya čáitya dyáíyaani." 32. ṣuwée míika hánu dyuwákačán̄ə čaʔáipaanaawitiya dyáíyaani háwée ʔičón̄í dín̄í ʔée dyə, ʔée tíičaan̄ə. 33. ṣuwée n̄ókə wákazán̄íyáapedyəəci máamé n̄auya čaʔáiča zíkaná. 34. ṣuwée máagəzéeši kánāaya dyúubé guwáa wée ʔušāačə háçəcai čúmáacan̄íitiši. 35. ʔée dyúubé wée dyúuwée dyáíyaani číuyad̄íitiši. 36. ṣuwée ʔáí čaʔáutyu ʔém̄í wée cigŋuñičaatiši. 37. zázíí zíí d̄ín̄āizán̄iša dúwa dyáíyaani díkasi nigŋuñičaagún̄íši.

38. ṣuwée wá kaʔáizáan̄í cigŋuñíši dēeʔemi d̄iutita. 39. kánāaya zíka čaʔáutyu ṣuwée d̄iupeeta cigŋuñíši. 40. "zāa" dyánaaṭa, ʔégú zāma háu

38. The Birth of the War Twins

(By Andrew Lewis)

1. Long ago in the north at White House there lived a woman, and she had a daughter. 2. Nobody liked the girl's mother very much. 3. They took care of their garden by themselves, doing their job (as best they could). 4. Nobody ever spoke to them, nor did the other people ever invite them to their house. 5. But the Kachinas were grateful (to them) because they always prayed to them.

6. As for the people, the people usually went out and gathered piñon nuts and cactus fruit. 7. Then one time when they were ready (that is, ripe), when there were lots of piñons, the daughter asked the woman if she could gather piñons. 8. Her mother said to her, "Nobody will look after you." 9. But the girl insisted; she wanted to go alone. 10. She took some food and went after the people.

11. They arrived and camped there. 12. Nobody invited her there, so she camped alone, spent the night alone, and the next day she gathered piñons alone. 13. At noon somebody met her. 14. The one who met her, Sun Youth, said to her, "Are you gathering piñons?" 15. "Yes; how you scared me." 16. "Let me help you gather piñons. 17. I brought two piñons for you. 18. You will eat them." 19. She asked him who he was. 20. "I am the Youth of the Sun." 21. "And where do you live?" 22. "At the Sunrise." 23. She thanked him for the piñons that he had given her.

24. She ate the piñons soon after he left. 25. Some time after that she became pregnant. 26. He told her that he would help her gather piñons. 27. As she gathered piñons her gatherings became many (that is, multiplied) in her basket. 28. The more she saw them, the more they multiplied. 29. Then she went back home, she put them on her back, and they were not heavy.

30. When she arrived back (home) her mother praised her. 31. "You certainly have gathered lots of piñons." 32. They saw other people drying piñons on top of the buildings, (so) they did it (too). 33. When they poured them out they multiplied again. 34. The girl told her mother how the Sun Man had helped her. 35. And she told her about the two piñons that he had given her. 36. Then she found out that she was pregnant. 37. She did not think that she would become pregnant from these piñons.

38. As time passed her pregnancy became noticable. 39. Her mother also found out and asked if she was pregnant. 40. "No," she said, because

háadí háçəcai zíyáidyámiši. 41. ?ée míika hánu čúuwáaty zíka ?émí cigúniši. 42. šuwée wá gáí fíwáya dyúuwée šúyati. 43. wá šuwée wée cáyáazéeši máaséewi ?ée háamáasu múudéezéeši ?úyúyai. 44. šuwée čučítista guwáa ?émí wée cigúniši, šuwée ?e?edyú wée dyúuwée dyáiyani kúbéwiši wée ?ušaəçe páyadyámə čúyadíitiši.

45. wée ?úwáaka zəədyáišá, záazíi máamé dyu?úməədáwáanu, ?étyu máamé háawéná dyáitúnisə. 46. túu máamé háawéná čúticuucitaanə, záanaa ka?áizáani míi šuwéešu téeyá kəčaníši, máamé dyáwá dya?amáša. 47. ?ée šuwéešu tēyáaata záazíi zíi da?áutyušuša kée ?úyúuməni. 48. gáabábáa gáí di?íunámacitaanáata záa máamé tée?e ?ái za?áastiica yúuku ?uzúučáatasi, šuwée wá ?étyu zíi cidyáayawiši báamée niyúunatyumeciuná ?ái háti. 49. záazíi háma ?émí zíi dya?áacša.

50. máamé šuwéešu ?úwáani bíisbíiná ?ée déetyu ča?áuwaniuzáňə. 51. háusi gáa?ácinu ?émí šuwéešu dyáazáanáata zíi guwákačánətyəka hawée. 52. déetyu guwákačánətyəka šuwée ?émí dyáýacatináata démišutyu. 53. šuwée gáabábáa dyúupeeta zíi háidíicaa?a. 54. "wá wée déetyaaca?a." 55. šuwée gáabábáa da?áwíicaani husdyáaka héeýa nuwáanətyəkúunətyəəciši. 56. kí zíi wée gúyásti kée zəzətyau ?ée kée ga?áčupiši səňa ?eesi čaukáýuca šuwée ?áiša dáatya dáatautya. 57. šuwée dúwa ?émí husdyáaka ?émé ?ée dyáýasáça. 58. šuwée da?áwíicaani zíka ?isdúwá šuwée da?áwáasəe?eni šuwée guwáa ?úudyáawánízéeši.

59. dyəəçəša ga?ánáisdíya ?ušaəçe di?íuméekumeháata ?ée da?ámáacaniináata túu guwáa náýaa ?ée. 60. ?ée zíka ?émí núu ?ušaəçəzéeši ?émí ?émí núu ?ušaəçəzéeši ?émí núu šazəə da?ái?ituuní, dya?áinámaca. 61. šuwée déetya gúukačánədyəəci diinázáňə, túumée ?isdúwá háu zíi zíubáakazáni ?ée háunə čúuwíišitanaáata. 62. núu ?émí dúwa ?ušaəçe ?émí ?ée ?ée da?áutitaani wée dínínə, gáabábáa ?ée ga?ánáaya máamé di?íunáma.

63. hawée háadiiku čuwáwíšáitiyanáata ?íyáça míika díka hawée čúudáataayánətyəháata. 64. máamé dyáišáaci ?ée dyái?ipeetawánətyəháata ?ée núuwée tēyáaata kée kúuti ?ée. 65. šuwée máamé gáacšaši zíi čuwáčətaanətyəháata dyáni ?ée kəəci. 66. ?ušaəçe ?émí núu háu da?áuyateyapikuyanáata.

67. gáacšaši wée dyáni kuwáanətyəka záazáma dyái?itiyaapətyəka, šuwée gáabábáa núu kéesi ča?áateýáafasə da?áwáasəe?eni šuwée guwáa ?uwáyáanízéeši. 68. ?ée túuyú gáabábáa dáa?apuucitaanáata záa máamé tée?e ?uzúučáatani hawée wée múukaiča ?ée kuháya ze?əema, ?émí záazáma zíi čúubúuzánətyəka. 69. šuwée táa?acikuya "báamée háma kuháya nēe?epekuzu?umá." 70. šuwée kée čuwáanətyə.

71. háma zíkaná šuwée gáí ?ái dyúukačánətyə kuháya. 72. šuwée yáwasti čayáa?apətyə šuwée wée háu za?áacədéýawí ne?éekuzíumáni šuwée

she had not met any men anywhere. 41. And the other people found out about her pregnancy, too. 42. She gave birth to two boys. 43. The first one was Masewi and the next boy was Uyuuyay. 44. She gave thought to how she became pregnant, and then she remembered that she ate the two piñons which Sun Youth had given her.

45. The babies were small and not very handsome, but they grew up rapidly. 46. Very soon they were crawling, and it was not very long before they were walking standing up, and they talked very early. 47. They would leave (the house) and they were not afraid to leave. 48. Their grandmother would warn them not to go too far away from the pueblo, because wild animals might hurt them some place. 49. But they never listened.

50. They grew fond of hunting birds and rabbits. 51. When they came back they would talk about what they had seen. 52. When they saw rabbits it seemed that they had horns. 53. They asked their grandmother what they were. 54. "Those were rabbits."

55. Their grandmother made bows for them so that they could hunt with them. 56. She cut a basket rim in two and put a line across and connected (the two ends). 57. She named this husdyâaka (bow). 58. Then she made arrows for them and showed them how they were used.

59. Their father the sun always looked after them and helped them down below. 60. And it was only because of the sun, just because of the sun that they grew rapidly, and matured. 61. When they saw a rabbit they shot; when they shot an arrow they (the rabbits) would just fall. 62. The sun alone, from above, did this for them, and their grandmother and mother were very glad.

63. Children would be playing some places, and they would join in with the others. 64. They (the twins) were very strong and they would make them (the children) cry, and (so) they would go into the mountains alone. 65. They would kill the largest deer and antelope. 66. The sun alone gave them these.

67. When they killed large deer they were not able to carry them, so their grandmother carried them back alone and showed them how to butcher them. 68. Their grandmother warned them not to go too far where mountain lions and bears would be, but they were never afraid. 69. She said, "Sometime a bear might eat you up." 70. Then they went out to hunt.

71. Again at another time they saw a bear. 72. They took a stick and when she charged and was ready to bite them they put it in her

dĩutyəgśnətyə. 73. ʔée wée kuháya káwáasti héeeya čúuwíśáayánətyə túumá ʔée dyayáatitaanətyə, šuwée wée kuháya wáasti gáanāayaši hawée wée zúuci ʔémí šuwée wée yáwasti dītutəgśnətyə šuwée máaséewizéeši. 74. šuwée ʔaišasi kuháya wáasti gáanāayaši ʔaiša túuyú dyúnásiya ʔée yáwasti łiudíkaya, méešu túumée daʔáidyanaawita.

75. šuwée wá gáitúnisi dyəoci šúyati dyáazáanāafa háu gaʔánaisdíyaši.

76. túuyú tibēetaukuyánətyə "zégúma zaa šaʔánaisdíya wá hawéemée

ʔíyača gáanaisdíyaši?" 77. šuwée gaʔánāaya diʔiubé zaa gaʔánaisdíyaši

dai gāamiši, tibēetapətyə háadi gāamiši. 78. šuwée gaʔánāaya diʔiubé

"mí ʔai hāgúwaikəçə ʔémí ʔai gāuʔu." 79. tibēetapətyə hačəmázéeši.

80. gāabābāa taaʔacikuya "hawée dyə ʔuśāačə gumśsiša ʔémí ʔai gāuʔu."

81. šuwée šúyati tyāanikuya kée gaʔánaisdíya níutāaneetyəkúunətyəociši.

82. gaʔánāaya taaʔacikuya máamé téeʔezéeši zaa ʔai háu

nəžāaʔáikúunətyəociši. 83. zázíi dínāizániša háu nəžāaʔáikúunətyəociši ʔai.

84. dyāwá gáayúuzé káipatyunu ʔézézée háu sá kaʔáastiyaagúmətyə wai

sá téeyu. 85. dyúutāaneetyə gaʔánaisdíya. 86. šuwée wá ʔuśāačə dyə

gumśní wá túu máamé ʔai ʔuśāačə gumśsiša ʔai wá kúuti hāaníšúku ʔémí ʔai.

87. šuwée wá céeyāaní háu dāaʔámína, dúwa wá kámaskukúuyá.

88. šuwée taaʔacikuya "śabāabāatyaimiši, čúutāaneetyə kəžaʔánaisdíya?"

89. šuwée tyāanikuya "háu təžāaʔámína? 90. háu híšumé?" 91. dyānaata kámaskukúuyá.

92. "háadi?" 93. "wá dai." 94. ʔaiša čuʔúkasətyə zázíi háu háadi dyāagúnú.

95. šuwée tyāanikuya "ʔáku ʔémí kámaskukúuyá?"

96. "háaʔa." 97. šúyati tyāanikuya gaʔánaisdíya gúutāaneetyəociši. 98.

šuwée kámaskukúuyá taaʔacikuya zāaná ʔuzúuci mí hāti nāačamá. 99.

ʔuśāačə míšu ʔétyu dyúutuuní hawéene nətēeyukúunətyəociši. 100. šuwée

kámaskukúuyá ʔaʔayanikuyána ʔaʔyáidyámi wée šúyati ʔaʔawáasēeʔeniiti

guwáa háu ʔuwáćíni.

101. šuwée kámaskukúuyá gái kée dāaʔayuuca ʔai gāama. 102. "dai

śāuʔu, hawée nškə žāaʔadyá." 103. šuwée ʔai kēene dyāapə gúčuufiša ʔai

háaci díka. 104. "ʔégú wá máamé zśəkášəka kēene gúčuufi." 105. "túu

ʔai dyə náśašú, gái šuwée káčəka nāičaagú šuwée." 106. wée máaséewi

cáyá šuwée gái ʔai dyə čáša, šuwée ʔai dyə kaśání káčəka čaʔaiča, šuwée

ʔai číma kēene dyúpə. 107. šuwée kadyúmə dáacikuya "háamāasu wéene

ʔupə. 108. gái káčəka wá." 109. šuwée ʔai číma háunə gāapə gái máamé

ʔai káiyaadá.

110. kámasku wáastiča ʔai čáatyausa dyə hawée sái kúdútuci hawée

čāaʔaata. 111. daiʔipuuca šúyati wéene gāabóní. 112. šuwée

kámaskukúuyá dāaʔatišá. 113. šuwée kámaskukúuyá čáməeti ʔíské, šuwée

dáacikuya kí zíi wée nábaasti kée ʔáityaani ʔée šuwée ʔúukútuci kúdúci,

mouth. 73. They just played with the bear's cubs and teased them, and when the bear cubs' mother came towards them they put the stick in her mouth; it was Masewi (that did it). 74. The bear cubs' mother, (going) back and forth, was just frantic and the stick was in her mouth, but they were just laughing.

75. As the boys grew up, they kept wondering who their father was. 76. They kept asking, "Why don't we have a father like (other) children have fathers?" 77. Their mother told them that their father didn't live here, and they asked where he lived. 78. Their mother told them, "He lives at the Sunrise." 79. They asked how far it was. 80. Their grandmother said to them, "He lives where the sun comes up." 81. The boys said that they would go to visit their father. 82. Their mother told them it was too far and that they would not get there. 83. She did not think that they would get there.

84. When they got up early in the morning they prayed to the east and they went to the east. 85. They went to visit their father. 86. When the sun had come up a little from where the sun comes up, it was in the mountains in the eastern area.

87. When they were walking someone spoke to them, and it was Spider Woman. 88. She said to them, "My grandsons, are you going to visit your father?" 89. They said "Who spoke to us? 90. Who are you?" 91. The Spider Woman spoke. 92. (They said) "Where (are you)?" 93. "Over here." 94. They looked around and nobody was there. 95. Then they said, "Is it you Spider Woman?" 96. "Yes." 97. The boys said that they were going to visit their father. 98. Then Spider Woman told them not to go until tomorrow. 99. The Sun already knew that they would be going. 100. Spider Woman had been asked to meet the boys and show them how to get there.

101. Then Spider Woman took them to her home. 102. "This is my home, step down here." 103. They went to where there was a hole in the ground. 104. "But the hole is too small (to go) down in." 105. "Just step there, and it will become big then." 106. Masewi stepped in it first, and when he stepped in it it became big, and he went down below. 107. Then he said to his brother, "Come on down next. 108. It is large (enough)." 109. They went down below and there were lots of rooms.

110. Young spiders, all around on the wall like balls, sat there. 111. The boys scared them when they came in. 112. Then Spider Woman fed the two of them. 113. Spider Woman had one son, and she told him to get a spider web and roll it into a ball, because they would get to

ʔémí héeýa wée ʔuʂâaçə gâama ʔémí héeýa háu nəzâaʔáciŷyúuʔu.

114. ʂuwée wá gáí ʔái ʂúyati ʂugúyánətyə daʔáa kápišóní. 115. dyáwá ʂuwée nətəeyuŷyúuʔu gáayúuzé ýúu núwé kápišóní. 116. máamé téeʔedá dyáwá ʂaʔaizímətyə.

117. ʂuwée kápišóní kámaskukúuyá dyaʔaiçaaçuwa máaséewi ʔée ʔúyúuyai ʔée kámaskukúuyá kámóəti dáacikuya kí zíí wée kanáasta díkáne ʔúyúupəni, ʔémí héeýa ʔée nəeʔeyuuceetiumá wái ʔémí ʔuʂâaçə gâama.

118. ʂuwée wée kámaskukúuyá tídyá ʔái ʔísgáyáasi nábaasti. 119. ʂuwée wée kámaskumóəti ʂuwée kéenə tidúutya ʔée wá ʂuwée kée dyúisbátəukuya zéegúiyáafání. 120. ʂuwée wée ʂúyati ʂáyawaanətyə zázíí háiti dyúutuuníma hékudá ʂéeyiši. 121. zázíí zíí ʔétyu ʂuwée túumá wéemée téeýu ʔétyuʂu stíya. 122. ʂuwée wá háu zéedyúpi kámaskumóəti dáacikuya máaséewi ʔái ʂíipe ʔái káatyasi ʔukuyáni, ʔémí ʂuwée ʔáisi níminaatikuyatiúmá zíí wéemée ʔái háiti zíí guwáa ʔée níiçaaɡúniši.

123. ʂuwée wá gáí ʔái háu zéedyúpi ʔái ʔiçóni díka kée dyə ʂuwée guwáafíima kée dyə déeya. 124. ʂuwée háu kúwiizá diʔiukača "wá dyúuwée ʂúyati kée dyə gáaya, máamé wá túuzúʂu steréreci. 125. ýúu wá wée ʂáawaçəši ʂámóətyai, zázíí wá ʂáawaçəši démətyu ʔémí náwáastíçatyagúnu." 126. ʂuwée ʂúyati háu gáaʔacíní túu ʂuwée ʔeəʂu kée dyáapə kaʂáriimée záa háiti zíí kaʔaúʂaaʔanišimée. 127. ʂuwée ʔuʂâaçəməəti íaʔaapéeəna "wá dyúuwée ʂúyati dəi gáaʔáci, ýúukáuku ʔémí ʂəzáwáastíçatyai, məəwée dyə puʔúukača." 128. ʂuwée gaʔánáisdíya tibéetapətyə.

129. ʂuwéəʂu gáí ʔuʂâaçəməəti wée zúuci "wée tyətəeyu sámóətityaimiši?" 130. ʂuwée ʔái dyə dâaʔakuya ʔée kée kâaʔaçə ʔéənə dâaʔapənaiʔi. 131. ʔuʂâaçəməəti ʂadyúmətyai ʔái kâaʔaçə, ʂuwée tyaiʔicikuya "wá sámóətityaimiši háwée ʂéeyu," túumée méeəʂu ʂúyati diʔiúmayanikuyána. 132. "káu ʔémí hée wéemézé ʂuzáwáastíçatyai ʂúyati!" 133. ʂuwée háiti dyánaata "hée kəzáwáastíçatyaimi ʔémícaaʔa wái dídíisa ʔái mûukaíçə cíyastiima ʔái pēeʔepənaiʔi zíí ʔée ʔémícaaʔa dēeʔemi kée ýaanísi nuzúuməkúuʔu."

134. ʂuwéeci ʂúyati záa háiti zíí zaʔautyuʂuʂa, túumé ʔái záaʔabónáimi mûukaíçə diʔiupəetucita, héeýa ʂuwáwíʂáitiya. 135. ʂuwée háiti háçəcai dyə dyətaatyə ʔémí kée dyúukačáne zíí zâaʔapeeniši, méeəʂu zázíí ʔée. 136. túumé héeýa mûukaíçə níya ʂúuwíʂáayánətyə. 137. "ʂuwée ʔétyuyú ʔái bóníisa káiya ʔétyuyú ʔái kákana cíyastiima ʔái paaʔapənaiʔi." 138. zíkaná ʂuwée wéesi káiyaaní sdyə, ʂuwée ʔétyuyú ʔái kuńíisa ʔái ʂúuhúná⁵¹ cíyastiima zíkaná meýúnuna wéesi dyúumə. 139. ʔée ʔétyuyú ʔái hānīisa káiya ʔái ʂíisdíini cíyastiima sái wée diʔiuyáafá. 140. ʂuwée

⁵¹It is not clear whether ʂúuhúná means lynx or jaguar. See Stirling (1942, p. 23, footnote 57).

the Sun's house with it. 114. The boys stayed there for the night.

115. They would leave early in the morning, probably at midnight.

116. It was very far, (so) they went to bed early.

117. In the night Spider Woman woke up Masewi and Uyuyay, and Spider Woman told her son to get into a basket, because by means of (the basket) she would take them to the Sun's house. 118. Then Spider Woman took hold of the other side of the web. 119. Spider Boy hung down and kept unwinding it as they went. 120. The boys got lost, and neither one knew where they went. 121. They did not simply go (for fun), but for a reason. 122. When they arrived, Spider Youth told Masewi to (let him) sit behind his ear, so that he could talk to him whenever he was going to do something.

123. When they arrived there at the house they climbed up a ladder. 124. A woman saw them (and said) "Two boys are climbing up, and they are just filthy. 125. They are probably our brother's sons, (but) our brother wouldn't be apt to have (such) children." 126. When the boys arrived they just went right in like clowns as if they had permission. 127. Then Sun Youth was told, "Two boys have arrived; maybe they are your children; come up and see." 128. They (the boys) asked for their father.

129. When Sun Youth came (he said), "Did you come, my sons?" 130. He installed them and put them down in the kiva. 131. Sun Youth had brothers in the kiva, and he said to them "My sons have come here," but they just laughed at the boys. 132. "Is this the kind of kids you have!" 133. Then one of them said, "If these are your children put them in the lion den in the north, and if they are as they seem they will come out in front (that is, as victors)."

134. The boys were not afraid, and when he put them in the lions just licked them and played with them. 135. One of the men stood up and went to see if they were eaten up, but they were not. 136. They were just playing with the lions. 137. "Then put them in the wolf den in the cave in the west." 138. When they came out alive again, then the lynx den was next, and they still came out again. 139. Next was the beehive in the cave in the east, and they all flew (in a swarm) at them. 140. One (bee) sat on one of the boy's ears and went into his

háiti šúyati čiipeesi diukuya čiipe ?ééñə díuyúupə 141. šuwée kadyúmə
 ʔaʔacikuya "dúwa ʔanéézə—kuwéeʔe."⁵² 142. šuwée míika sái dyāaʔape,
 sái číisdíini dyāaʔape. 143. šuwée míika háçəcai wée ziʔíukačanáati
 záazíiná šuwée háu guwáa dyánaata. 144. sái číisdíini čuwáañətyə.

145. šuwée ʔétyuyú ʔái hākaani díka dyé ʔái cibáaşa háu dyé
 dāaʔakuyána, méəşu ʔétyu háu dyé zaʔáyákání háu dyé gaʔáyání máamé
 zíi guwáa háçəcai daʔáiça, ʔétyu méəşu guʔumšədāwá daʔáiça
 gaʔánaísdíyamée. 146. šuwée gáitişu míika díwāahima ʔémí wée
 ʔuşāaçə páyadyámə káwāastíçatyaimiši.

147. šuwée gái náanú kée gaʔāama ʔéesi pēeyutiuʔumá. 148. šuwée
 gaʔánaísdíya máaméti guʔumšədāwá neʔēiçaatiuʔumá. 149. šuwée náanámi
 husdyāaka daʔáwīiçaniita, náanámi ʔisdúwá díka wée zəçətyai húseni, ʔée
 híisťiyani wée zəçətyai ʔée ʔée daʔāuçaaní. 150. ʔée ʔisdúwá pədíina
 ʔisdúwá ʔúipədíyámi daʔáwīiçaani ʔémí hawééñə ʔisdúwá dyaʔáistiináata.

151. šuwéesu wá ʔuşāaçə páyadyámə dyaʔáyanikuya káwāastíçatyaimiši
 šúyati máamé nuzuʔúukímənikúunətyəəciši. 152. ʔée wá gái daʔáwīiçaani
 záipičáaná ʔée diʔunámaca záa ʔúudyāawáani máamé túu hámapədə.
 153. máamé zíi guwáa hawée wée səəci níiçaadyú héeýaka. 154. zíi gái
 máamé séeka niʔíudyāawáaciumá gái šuwée ʔétyuşu niʔíudyāawáatiuʔumá.
 155. ʔétyu háiti zíi wéemée kaʔautapətyəəka záa ʔémé ʔée zíi ziʔíuşāanu
 túu wée yáapi ku kí zíi wée híisťiyani ʔái héeýa ʔái dyé zíčánətyəəka
 šuwée gái zíi kaʔautyuku héeýasi níyáadyú. 156. gaʔánaísdíya taʔáwīiçaani
 husdyāaka kukúmišu, dyāana núwáná dyaʔáiši. 157. dúwa dyāana šuwée
 gái piʔíudyāawáatiuʔumá hawée ʔái máamé šuwéesu zíi ʔái háadi máamé
 čabáazúma háu zíi ʔái ziʔíuyéeca, gái wée míika šuwée gái míika héeýa
 ʔúwáanéeyí ʔémí héeýa niʔíudyāawáatiuʔumá. 158. šuwée gái wá
 taaʔacikuya hékudá čéeyu zíkaná wá hawée nəzaʔáuyāaʔanatyúuʔu tidyámí,
 bónámí, kúwámí, háanámí, hawée máamé cidýumíşa ʔée hawée
 neʔéčāaçəšetiuʔumasa guwáa káañətyəəka.

159. šuwée gaʔánaísdíya taaʔacikuya "gái zíkaná wéesi kəłēeyu dəi
 šāama, dəi čiyāama gái nəzaʔáatəwikuçúuʔu. 160. ʔée wá
 kəzaʔáunádiisti neʔéukuʔíişauʔumá máamé dúwáya nuzuʔumšədāwáakuçúuʔu."
 161. háaşúwími daʔáuyadi ʔée búkuyawi, ʔée gaʔamásdíbəçə ʔée mušáiça
 ʔésgá daʔáimáçayawisiustya. 162. dúwáya ʔémí héeýa nəzaʔawáiniúuʔu,
 záazíi háma dúwa yúuku níiçaanətyúunətyəəka hawééñə dyaʔáwínuskaati
 hawééñə dyaʔáisti. 163. ʔée wílstiyəgəni daʔáukuʔí šúwimi—šúwimi
 wílstiyəgəni. 164. "dúwáya ʔémí máamé nuzuʔumšədāwáakuçúuʔu."
 165. ʔée wá gaʔāaná šuyána daʔáyáita kəəgáni, dúwa ʔétyu máamé
 ʔúusgíici ʔémí wá dúwa daʔáyáita.

⁵²Probably 'mouth' rather than 'ear' is meant, as in Stirling (1942, p. 96).

ear. 141. He said to his brother, "This tastes good—it's sweet."

142. They ate all the others, and they ate all the honey. 143. When the other men saw them, nobody said anything. 144. They had killed all the bees.

145. Then they put the two (boys) on the hot coals in the fire, but when they were burned and when they climbed out they had become very manly, and he made them handsome like their father. 146. Then the others finally believed that they were Sun Youth's children.

147. He asked them to return to their home the next day. 148. Their father was going to make them still more handsome. 149. He made different (that is, new) bows for them, and he made different arrows for them with feathers on (one) end and arrowheads on (the other) end.

150. He made arrow quivers for them to carry arrows in.

151. Sun Youth asked his boys to be very powerful. 152. He made a rabbit stick for them and advised them not to use it just any time.

153. Everything would be made ugly (that is, destroyed) by it. 154. But if they had to use it, then it would be all right to use it. 155. If they killed something and were not satisfied, they could place the staff of office or the flint on it, and it would know and come to life again.

156. Their father made eight bows for them, and each one had four.

157. He wanted them to use four arrows if they were suddenly attacked somewhere, and the others, they would use the others to hunt with.

158. He said to them that wherever they went again they would be allowed, in the north, west, south, and east, where there are very sacred places, and what they said would be listened to.

159. Their father said to them, "If you should come back to my house here, the door will be open for you. 160. And now I will give you clothing, and you will become very handsome with it." 161. He gave them moccasins and a sash, and he placed a bow guard of buffalo hide on their wrists. 162. These would be their weapons, and they should never take them off (because) they had their soul in them.

163. And he gave them beads and turquoise—turquoise beads. 164. "You will be very handsome with these." 165. He painted red around their eyes; he painted this way for bravery.

166. ?ée wá dyəəçəʂa kámaskuməti taa?acikuya zaa hawée zii ?úbúuci.
 167. ʂuwée wá ga?ánáisdíya da?áwíiçaaní ?usdyacəci háiti zii ?émí ?ái
 ga?ánáska káatyasi hawéeə dya?apaçutya. 168. ?ée kí zii wée skadíná
 wíisdáani da?áwíiçaaní, ?émí dúwa dyəəçəʂa ?ée pu?úuçaanítii?umá.
 169. hawéeə ?émí dya?áisti šáyáika dúwa ?émí túu dyəəçəʂa zika ?ée
 pu?úuçaanítii?umá. 170. ʂuwée wá cíyáuʂa "wá hímá dúwáyáka ?ée
 náiçaagú waaʂu sái dúwa ?émí ?úusgíici zii máamé ?uśáaci dúwa ?émí
 ʂa?áwíiçaaní." 171. ?ée wá kapišóní gáí ?ái çugúyánətyə. 172.
 ga?ánáisdíya taa?acikuya náanú gáispizáadyáani kéesi nē?eyuuceetii?umá
 ga?áama ?éesi.

173. ?ée wá ?uʂáaçə dyə zúucáaťání, máamé téə?e dyə zúuci,
 ga?ánáisdíya ?ée dāa?áminaatikuya ?ée hawée zii da?áwáasē?estaani.
 174. máamé gáí zii tibēťaukuyánətyə, zaa ?ái háadí zii káusa
 ni?úuçaaciumániši níya. 175. waaʂu háusi zéedyúpi ?ái ga?áama gáí
 ?uʂáaçəməti dyúutuuní guwáa wée cēeyiši. 176. ?ée wá gáí wéemée
 kámaskuməti méyú wée dyəyasə wée téeyá. 177. ʂuwée wá ?ái dápaci
 dikánə dāa?apənai?i. 178. ʂuwée ?uʂáaçə dídyá nábaastu ?ísgáya ʂuwée
 kámaskuməti ʂuwée kée sínə tidúutya. 179. ʂuwée gáí ʂúyati
 ga?ánáisdíya taa?acikuya ʂuwée gáí ?émí ?ée ?ée níiçaanəťyúu?u guwáa
 za?áyanikuyaniši. 180. ?étyu záazii gáí ʂúyati dyúutuunímətyəəka guwáa
 hačəma cēeyiši.

181. ʂuwée wá ?ái kámaskukúuyá gāama háuʂu gaa?acíní túu ʂuwée
 ?éesu kéesi dyaapə. 182. ʂuwée gáí di?íunáma guwáa kée zāa?apənaimiši
 ?ée ga?ánáisdíya gúukačánətyəəciši, ʂuwée gáí zii ?ái ʂuwée ?ái
 ?ámúumadíuçaanítii?u ʂuwée téeyu.

183. ʂuwée wá ?ái ga?áama háusi gaa?acíní gāabáabaa ?ée ga?ánāaya
 ?ái gáí dāa?ayuukami dyəəçəʂa. 184. dínaižáníʂatyə zii hékudá téə?e
 káyawaanətyəəciši, zii mŭukaiça zāa?apeetiši. 185. gáí wée
 dāa?áyaiapaatikuyánáata, záazii háadí dāa?áyainawaatya. 186. záazii
 ga?ánāaya di?íwítawanu, máamé háçəcaitaa?a ?ée gu?úməədáwá háusi
 dyāa?áci, ?ée zika gāabáabaa záazii díuhimaaku ?ée wá ?ái ga?ánáisdíya
 gāama gāa?acíníši. 187. ʂuwée wá gáí ʂúyati čúuwíišánətyə ga?áwagóni
 ʂuwée wéənə díipaçudyánətyə, záazii háma túu hámapədə dúwa
 pi?íuwákətiu?umánu, míi máamé háma hawée ziu?ucibəti. 188. ʂuwée wá
 túu zíkaná háupədə hánúméesi čúwagónətyə, ʂuwée wá ʂuwée ?áisi yúuku
 dyāa?a ?ái hánu díka hawée háusi čúudáasánətyə.

166. All the while Spider Youth told them not to be afraid. 167. Their father made them a kind of hat that hung down behind their head. 168. He made cornmeal pouches that he wanted them always to have with them. 169. They had hunting charms in them and for this reason he wanted them always to have them with them. 170. He blessed them (saying), "With this it can be done; I made all these now for you for courage and strength." 171. They stayed there that night. 172. Their father told them that the next day at dawn he would take them back home.

173. When the sun was going up, when it went far up, their father kept talking to them, and he showed them where things (were).

174. They asked many questions so it would not be hard anywhere in their doing things. 175. As they were arriving at their house, Sun Youth knew how they had come (that is, with Spider Youth). 176. Spider Youth was still climbing (up with the Sun). 177. He put them (the boys) in the basket. 178. The Sun held the web from one side, and Spider Youth hung it on down. 179. The boy's father told them to do the way that he had asked. 180. The boys did not know how far they had gone.

181. When they got to Spider Woman's house they just went right in. 182. They thanked her for sending them through to see their father, and they prayed for her and left.

183. When they got back home, their grandmother and mother had been waiting for them all this time. 184. They thought that they were lost somewhere far away (or) that mountain lions had eaten them. 185. They had been looking for them, and they could not find them anywhere. 186. Their mother did not recognize them, (because) they were very manly and they returned handsome, and also their grandmother could not believe that they had reached their father's house. 187. The boys took off their clothes and hung them up, as they didn't want to wear them just any time, only when it was necessary. 188. Then once more they dressed like ordinary people, and from then on they lived among the people and joined in (with their daily life).