CHEMEHUEVI

A Grammar and Lexicon

BY

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INTRODUCTION

0.1 *The People*

The Chemehuevi Indians currently number somewhat over three hundred. They reside primarily in the eastern portions of San Bernardino and Riverside Counties in California, and on the Arizona bank of the Colorado River near Parker. Their current homeland is considered to be Chemehuevi Valley, at the eastern edge of the Mohave Desert in Southern California. Officially this area has only recently been returned to the Chemehuevis; from about 1940 to 1970 the tribe was not legally recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Currently many members are moving back to Chemehuevi Valley as part of an attempt to rebuild and reorganize the tribe.

The Chemehuevis actually migrated into California fairly recently, being the last major wave of Great Basin Indians to travel south.[1] The time of their move apparently coincides roughly with their first entrance into recorded history, some time in the late seventeen hundreds. Within the next hundred years they wandered as far west as the Tehachapi Mountains.

Bands living at Twentynine Palms and along the Colorado River apparently did some farming; however, by and large the Chemehuevis were seed-gatherers and small-game hunters. They enjoyed a rich oral tradition and highly structured tribal life. Territorial rights and clan membership were defined in songs each Chemehuevi youth inherited from his father. The three major song cycles were known as the Mountain Sheep, Deer, and Salt Songs.

In addition to basket making, the Chemehuevis were apparently well-known for their practice of "visiting" (constantly being out) which they do to this day. In the past, Indian agents responsible for various bands would on occasion lose

[1] *For notes to Section 0, see p. 196.*

them for years.

The Chemehuevi language is part of the branch of Southern Numic languages, consisting additionally of Southern Paiute, Ute and Kawaiisu. The Numic languages as a whole comprise what was formerly termed the Plateau Shoshonean branch of Uto-Aztecan.

Mary Hanks Molino, my principal informant, was born in Chemehuevi Valley in 1916. She remembers as a child having few playmates, the older children from the families around her being "away at school." During the cotton season her father would travel down to Parker to work, returning at season's end with staples for the family and frequently candy for the children. It was a two-day walk from Parker to Chemehuevi Valley; the night before his return the family would spot the glow of his campfire in the distant hills.

The Indians in the valley planted cotton on the bank of the Colorado, relying on the annual flooding of the river. In 1940 Parker Dam was built, and Lake Havasu which resulted covered the eastern portion of the valley. By this time the Hankses had moved down to Parker. Most of the family live now in what is known as 'Hanks' Village', a few miles south of Parker.

When she was older Mary was sent by train to the Indian School in Riverside, from which she graduated in the thirties.

Mary's father was a possessor of the Bird Song, since he belonged to that moiety. In addition he sang the Salt Song[2] at funerals in Parker for many years, being the last head singer in that area. Mary's brothers inherited the Bird Song, but never learned it.

0.2 *Previous Work*

Very little has been published on the Chemehuevi language to date. A few words and notes are recorded in Kroeber's *Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California* (1909). One of the more closely related languages, Southern Paiute, is extensively documented in Sapir's *Southern Paiute, A Shoshonean Language* (1930). Some linguists consider Chemehuevi to be a dialect of Southern Paiute -- the two are certainly mutually intelligible. The two languages differ with respect to several phonological rules. A considerable amount of vocabulary has diverged, as have portions of the tense-aspect system. Each language has a subset of personal pronouns the other lacks. Syntactic constraints seem to differ somewhat, to the extent that such constraints can be inferred

from Sapir's data.

Sapir's work has been extremely useful, although its concentration is on morphology and phonology rather than syntax. Most subsequent analyses of Southern Paiute have used Sapir's data and many of his generalizations.

The most exhaustive work previously done on Chemehuevi was that attributed to John P. Harrington in the early part of this century. Harrington sent his wife Carobeth to Parker, Arizona to begin an extensive collection of Chemehuevi data and texts. Carobeth later divorced Harrington and married her Chemehuevi informant, George Laird. The results of her fieldwork and Harrington's subsequent data and notes currently reside in the National Anthropological Archives in the Smithsonian Institution.[3]

Recently Carobeth Laird has written an exhaustive ethnographic description of the Chemehuevis which includes numerous detailed glossaries and brief notes on phonology and morphology.[4] Most of the material at the Smithsonian has not yet surfaced in print. Further publications by C. Laird are eagerly awaited.

Linguistic fieldwork on Chemehuevi has also recently been done by Pamela Munro, and her findings have appeared in several papers.[5]

0.3 *Organization and Theoretical Framework*

This grammar is organized into two parts: section one deals with phonology, section two with syntax.

For the phonological analysis of Chemehuevi I am using a generative approach, such as is outlined in Chomsky and Halle's *Sound Pattern of English,* Harms' *Introduction to Phonological Theory,* and others. However my analysis differs from the standard approach in two respects. It has been pointed out that for many languages several so-called morpheme structure conditions must be restated as phonological rules, for example sequence constraints which apply across morpheme boundaries as well as within morphemes. Stating these rules twice results in an obvious loss of generality. Therefore I am following instead the convention of marking these morpheme structure rules as "persistent" rules, meaning they can reapply as feature-changing rules in the phonological component.

The second departure is that instead of taking advantage of extrinsic rule ordering in writing phonological rules, I have chosen to complicate individual rules somewhat wherever that

has eliminated the need for ordering. With the possible exception of one problematic rule, this turns out to be rather easily accomplished.

In the syntax section I use what are known as the Standard and Extended Standard Theories[6] as a point of departure, employing a model which assumes a syntactic level of "deep structure" independent of the level of semantic representation. However, the model I adopt places restrictions on the types of transformational rules allowed in a grammar. In an effort to curtail the excessive power (or "weak generative capacity") which exists in transformational models, I have chosen an approach similar to that used by Jackendoff (1972) and Shopen (1972), among others. Each proposes heavy constraints on the transformational component and an increased burden on lexical redundancy rules, output conditions, and rules of semantic interpretation. Most of the task of relating sentence types is thereby placed in the lexical and interpretive components.

In brief, the only types of transformations I make use of are rules of permutation. No rules of deletion or addition of material are permitted. This entails the following:

a) Clauses where a noun phrase is pronominalized are generated originally with a pronoun, rather than via a rule of "pronominalization." Each pronoun constitutes a separate entry in the lexicon.

b) Clauses where a noun phrase is missing or "understood" (such as in participial, nominalized and imperative constructions) are generated in the deep structure without the NP node, rather than resulting from a deletion rule.

c) Conjoined constituents (to the extent that they occur) are generated as just that; e.g., conjoined NPs or VPs, not as reductions of conjoined sentences.

d) Passives without agents are generated with the surface subject in deep structure subject position.

e) Compounds and nominalizations cannot be formed transformationally, but must be assembled in the lexicon.

f) Attributive adjectives do not arise from "reduced relative clauses" but originate in the NP in which they occur. Similarly, possessives are generated directly as modifiers.

g) The semantic functions of noun phrase arguments

are assumed to be specified in the lexical entries for each verb, rather than in the phrase structures.

Arguments in favor of the lexicalist approach have been extended to cover entirely productive morphological processes (in Jackendoff (1975), Halle (1973) and Shopen (op. cit.)). The result of this extension is that even such things as noun inflection and verb paradigms appear to be better handled in the lexicon by entering separately all inflectional and derivational forms of a stem. (Since irregularities must be marked anyway, including the regularities as well adds no extra "cost" if they can be stated in a series of lexical redundancy rules.) Transformational rules of concord and agreement are eliminated by allowing inflected forms to be inserted freely, constrained only by rules of interpretation and output conditions (one of which will discard as "uninterpretable" any sentence which for any reason interpretive rules fail to account for).

Examples of lexical entries and redundancy rules are given in Appendix A. Each entry is assumed to include references to all redundancy rules which apply to it. The cost of referring to each rule is roughly proportional to the relative number of exceptions to the rule (exceptions being lexical items which *could* undergo the rule as written but do not).

In many cases portions of lexical rules relating to morphology and semantics are split up into two separate rules when such a separation results in greater generality for each subpart.

For a more detailed explanation of the theoretical model sketched here, see Press (1975).

0.4 *Key to Symbols and Terms*

I am following conventions adopted in Chomsky and Halle (1968) and Harms (1968), unless otherwise noted.

MM Mary Hanks Molino (principal Chemehuevi informant).

\# Word-boundary.

\+ Morpheme-boundary.

C Represents any consonant, glide, or *r*, i.e., replaces $\begin{Bmatrix}[+\text{cons}]\\[-\text{voc}]\end{Bmatrix}$

C_o Stands for a string of any number of consonants or none.

V Represents only $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}$ segments.

N Represents any nasal consonant.

C? Glottalized consonants, although analyzed as single segments, are written as a sequence of consonant + glottal stop.

c = the affricate [*ts*].

g In the syntax sections and in the lexicons the fricative γ is written as *g*.

j = the palatal glide.

? = the glottal stop.

// Slashes enclose underlying segments or morphemes when it is useful or important to distinguish them as such.

[ ] Square brackets are similarly used for phonetic strings.

x When the status is irrelevant, or the level is intermediate, segments within the text are given simply in italics, as are Chemehuevi morphemes and strings. Segments, morphemes and strings in set-off examples are unmarked.

* Forms or sentences which are unacceptable in Chemehuevi are preceded by an asterisk.

(X)* = a string of any number of Xs (including none).

Chemehuevi forms:

X-Y Within words, morphemes are separated by dashes when necessary for clarification. In sections dealing with syntax, forms are given in a taxonomic phonemic transcription (i.e., rules of vowel deletion, consonant alternation are assumed to have applied, but backing of *k*, rounding of ŋ, etc. are ignored). Stress is predictable and will not be indicated.

Because of the optionality of vowel - shortening and glottal stop deletion rules, morphemes may be transcribed inconsistently in different examples; e.g., *nukwi-vaa-n* run-fut-I, ∿ *nukwi-va-n*.

X∿Y X and Y are variants of the same form.

X- A dash at the end of a word given in isolation indicates the word is a stem normally followed by suffixes. Therefore its final vowel is left undeleted in the cited form for the sake of clarity.

Johni- Underlined Chemehuevi forms, or portions of forms, are borrowings from English, and are given in English orthography. They are pronounced essentially as in English, except for indicated modifications, such as the addition of stem-final vowels.

English glosses:

Following Chemehuevi strings, morpheme by morpheme translations are given in English with the equivalent of each morpheme being underlined. Within a word these morpheme equivalents are separated by dashes. Fluent translations are given in single quotes.

Glosses in brackets, e.g., run[mom], are actual features (e.g., "momentaneous") on the stem; the same glosses without brackets are separate morphemes, e.g., eat-mom */tika-ŋu/*.

Abbreviations used in glosses:

A = */-ʔa/∿/-a/*, enclitic morpheme with possible copular or focusing function, discussed in section 2.2251.

abs = absolutive (derivational) suffix on noun stems.

anim = animate agreement marker, or feature [+anim].

cont = continuative aspect marker, */-niʔi/*.

du = dual, [-several] [-singular]. Two only.

dur = verb stem feature or verb suffix indicating non-momentaneous (or "durative") aspect; i.e., [-mom].

fut = future tense, marked by */-vaa/* or */-mpaa/*.

habit ∿ptc = "habitual aspect" marker, not a true aspect, but a special use of the subject relativization participle ending.

imp ∿mom = momentaneous aspect marker used to form imperatives of some verbs.

inan = inanimate, [-anim].

intr = intransitive, [-tran].

K = third person inanimate (invisible) postfix pronoun, used as copular or other auxiliary element, (section 2.225), or in place of the subject pronoun you[sing].

mom = any of several verb suffixes indicating momentaneous aspect. As a feature on a verb stem, [+mom] marks the verb as inherently momentaneous.

neg = negative morpheme; /*-wai ∿ wa?a*/ or /*-apa*/, depending on syntactic properties of stem.

nml = nominalizer suffix on verbs; /*-na*/ or /*-pɨ*/.

not = negative adverb optionally co-occurring in sentence with negative markers given above. The adverb may be omitted, but the suffixes may not.

ob = oblique case marker. Normally /*-a ∿ -ja*/ on nouns, /*-ku*/ on numbers, postpositions.

pass = passive (agentless) suffix on verbs, /*-tɨ*/.

perf = perfect, or completed action. Marked by /*-kai*/, verb suffix, or /*-caa*/, enclitic (or both).

pl = plural, specifically [-singular]. (i.e., a cover term for dual and several.)

plob = agreement suffix marking (on verb) plural object. (Not the same as pl(ob); see X(ob) below.)

p/p = present/past; a verb tense suffix /*-ka*/ which can translate either as present or past.

pres = present tense, marked by /*-jɨ*/ for most verbs.

ptc = participle ending; /*-tɨ*/ is used for participles arising from subject relativization (see section 2.33); /*-na*/ is used for those arising from object relativization (so-called "passive" participles.)

Q = interrogative morpheme; /*urɨɨ*/, enclitic /*-raa*/, or glottal stop (see section 2.24.)

rem = remote past tense suffix, / *-pɨgai* /.

result = resultative, difficult to distinguish from perfect marker, since it is also / *-kai*/. Means 'being in the state of having ---ed'; can co-occur with perfect.

sev = several, [+several] ([-singular]); includes three or more.

sing = singular, [+singular] ([-several]).

subord = subordinating morpheme, / *-gai* ∿ *-ju* /, / *-gu*/, / *-ci*/, or / *-ka*/, attached to verb in subordinate clause.

tran = transitive; any verb taking one or more objects (without postpositions).

X(ob) = oblique ending added to X, but deleted by vowel-deletion rule. Stem-final vowel on X surfaces.

Pronouns are not glossed with all the relevant features, unless needed for clarity, e.g., *tam* would be glossed simply as we; for complete translation, see charts in sections on pronouns or lexicon. Since postfix forms in general are not marked for case in Chemehuevi, they are simply translated according to the semantics, e.g., I vs. me, etc. Third-person pronoun glosses vary freely between personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, since they are equivalent in Chemehuevi. Thus, *maŋ* will be glossed variously as he, she, that one, or that.

Similarly suffixes which represent more than one feature, e.g., / *-ʔumɨ*/ plural-animate agreement marker on verbs, may frequently be glossed only as pl or anim (depending on what the example is intended to illustrate).

Terms used in text:

affix: includes bound morphemes which are associated with a particular stem class, e.g., occur only with verbs. "Suffix" is used for post-stem affixes, "prefix" for pre-stem affixes.

enclitic: used in somewhat more restricted sense than normal: refers to bound morphemes which, if they show up in a sentence, must be attached to the first word.

All enclitics in Chemehuevi are postclitic, i.e., are attached after the stem rather than before.

oblique case: the only non-nominative case in Chemehuevi is referred to as "oblique". It is used both for possessor and object nouns. Postpositions attached to nouns are attached directly to the bare stem (which could be considered the nominative, except that some absolutives, etc., are deleted before postpositions). For motivation for not calling postpositions "cases", see section 2.23.

POSSESSABLE: used for nouns which can be overtly possessed in the sentence. Animals, for example, are not possessable in Chemehuevi, unless compounded with pet. There are two overlapping subgroups of POSSESSABLE nouns: POSSESSED (nouns which in fact have an overt possessor in the sentence) and INHERENTLY POSSESSED (nouns which are expected to be possessed, though not always inalienably, e.g., territory, foodstore; when an overt possessor is present these nouns augment their stem with a special suffix. See section 2.211.)

(Features in capitals are meant to be informal representations of semantic information which must be accounted for in an as yet unspecified way.)[7]

postfix: includes bound morphemes often referred to as "enclitic" in other sources; unlike normal suffixes, they may appear on (almost) any word in the sentence, without regard to the type of stem. Most notable examples are the bound forms of pronouns, which attach to nouns, verbs, postpositions, adverbs, conjunctions and modifiers, anywhere in the sentence. They are not restricted to the first word in the sentence, the only difference between them and enclitics.

root: any lexical category stem stripped of all derivational affixes; a single morpheme. Compounds consist of two or more roots.

stem: that portion of a word to which inflectional affixes are added, i.e., the root plus any derivational affixes.

word: defined phonologically; the domain of the stress rules and the final vowel-deletion rule. When there is

any doubt, I use the latter as the criterion. Word boundaries must be inserted in a string before the phonological rules can apply. I assume all bound morphemes to be so marked in the lexicon, with a separate feature for enclitics.

The only postfixes seem to be the bound pronouns, so [+bnd, +pro] is used rather than introducing a third feature. It is the job of the syntactic component to position and order all morphemes correctly. Readjustment rules, at the end of the transformational cycle, insert word boundaries fairly straightforwardly.

Prefixes have to be distinguished from suffixes at some point; e.g., since many "free" morphemes are optionally prefixed to verbs, a general feature [pref], "prefix" is used, with most nouns being marked [*pref] (obligatorily specified as + or -. In general, conventions regarding features used in Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee 1973 are followed here).

SECTION 1
PHONOLOGY

1.1 *Phonetics*

The following phonetic segments appear in Chemehuevi:

(1) Consonants

p	t	k	ḵ	q	?	k^w
	s	γ			h	
	c	̥				
β~v		γ				γ^w
	r	(l[1])				
m	n	ŋ				η^w
m?	n?	ŋ?				
w	j					
w?	j?					

Consonant clusters

mp	nt	ŋk	
	nc	ŋkw	

Vowels

i	ɨ	u	i:	ɨ:	u:
(æ)	a	o		a:	o:

Vowel clusters

ɨi	ia	aɨ	
ui	ɨa	au	
oi	ua	$e^i \sim a_i \sim ɨ_i$	
ai	oa		

Consonants

Stop consonants in Chemehuevi are unaspirated. The velar, *k*, is fronted (to ḵ) after *i* and backed (to *q*) after *a* and *o*. There is only one affricate, *c* (pronounced [*ts*]), in this dialect (in contrast to Southern Paiute). Pamela Munro reports instances of *č* in her informant's speech. Neither dialect of Chemehuevi contains *š*.

[1] *For notes to Section 1, see p. 196.*

The fricative γ may show up voiceless when word-final, as in [*paran?i̥γ̊*] Paiute, or in [*jajaγ̊*] burst into tears! It seems to be in free variation with [γ̊] in this environment.

The segment *l* appears in only a handful of loanwords. Most loans substitute *r* for *l*; the residue of unaltered loans probably varies from speaker to speaker. Thus, for MM, *volita* in Chemehuevi means marble, and *papiliv* paper, both from Spanish. On the other hand, *aporos* apple has lost the *l*. The second source of *l* in MM's dialect is its usage in baby-talk, where it frequently replaces *r*; e.g., *ni̥luaciŋ* give me! for adult *ni̥ruaŋ*, and *kali̥ciŋu?* sit! *for kari̥ŋu?*.

Vowels

Although fronting of *a* to *æ* is common in Southern Paiute, it is rare in this dialect of Chemehuevi. The only clear case I've found where *a* is fairly consistently fronted in rapid speech is in */ti̥rawi?i* / dash off, showing up as [*ti̥ræwi?*]. (Here, *a* is sandwiched between two high vowels.)

The diphthong $e^{i} \sim {}^{a}i \sim {}^{i̥}i$ arises only from an underlying *i* following a sequence of *a* plus a back consonant, as in */pahiju/* three [*pahe*^{i}*j*], */ja?iji̥ /* dead [*ja?*^{a}*ij*], and */jaaqivi̥i̥/* brought [*jaaq*$^{i̥}$*iv̥i̥*].

1.2 *Lexical Representation*

The above segments can be reduced to the set of underlying segments given in Table I, which gives the distinctive feature specifications. Note that each vowel is listed twice; the second group being marked [-voiced]. These "voiceless" vowels never surface in MMs dialect of Chemehuevi, though they are omnipresent in the Harrington-Laird material (as well as in Southern Paiute). Their sole purpose in this analysis is to trigger a particular phonological rule--see discussion under P1, p. 26. The distribution of these vowels is given in morpheme structure rules 31 and 32 below.

Morpheme structure rules (MSRs) are assumed to be unordered, applying wherever and whenever they can. The following MSRs specify segmental redundancies in lexical entries in Chemehuevi:

MSR 1

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{voc} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{cnt} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ +\text{cor} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

Table I

	p	t	k	kw	v	r	γ	γw	c	s	m	n	ŋ	m?	n?	ŋ?	w	j	w?	j?	?	h	i	ɨ	u	o	a	i	ɨ	u	o	a
voc	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasal	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+																
cnt	-	-	-	-	+		+	+	-	+											-	+										
del rel		-							+																							
glot											-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+												
cor	-	+	-	-	-		-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-																
ant	+		-	-	+		-	-			+		-	+		-																
hi																	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
back																	+	-	+	-			-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
rnd			-	+			-	+																-	+	+	-		-	+	+	-
voiced																							+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-

(Fills in predictable features for the segment */r/*.)

MSR 2 $[-\text{cons}] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix}-\text{nasal}\\-\text{cor}\\-\text{ant}\end{bmatrix}$

(Glides and vowels are all nonnasal, nonanterior, and noncoronal.)

MSR 3 [+cor] ⟶ [+ant]

(There are no underlying palatals in Chemehuevi.)

MSR 4 $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\-\text{cor}\\-\text{ant}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+\text{hi}\\+\text{back}\end{bmatrix}$

(Velar consonants (not including glides) are high and back.)

MSR 5 [+ant] ⟶ [-hi]

(Anterior consonants are not high.)

MSR 6 [+nasal] ⟶ [-cnt]

(Nasal consonants are considered to be stops, i.e., noncontinuants.)

MSR 7 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cons}\\\{+\text{hi}\ \}\\\{+\text{voc}\}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [+cnt]

(Marks all vowels and the glides */w, j/* as continuants.)

MSR 8 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{hi}\\-\text{voc}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [-back]

(All nonhigh consonants and glides are also nonback.)

MSR 9 [-back] ⟶ [-rnd]

(Nonback segments are never round.)

MSR 10 [+nasal] ⟶ [-rnd]

(Nasals are never round, i.e., there is no */ŋw/*.)

MSR 11 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cons}\\-\text{voc}\\+\text{back}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [+rnd]

(The only back glide */w/* is also round.)

MSR 12 $\left\{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\-\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cons}\\-\text{hi}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ ⟶ [-glot]

(Everything except the nasals and */w, j/* is nonglottalized; i.e., all vowels, all nonnasal consonants, and the nonhigh glides, */h, ʔ/*.)

MSR 13 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{voc}\\+\text{cons}\\-\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix}$ ⟶ [-son]

MSR 14 $\left\{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}+\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ ⟶ [+son]

(Vowels, glides, *r* and nasals are sonorant, all other segments are not.)

MSR 15 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{son}\\+\text{cnt}\end{bmatrix}$ ⟶ [+del rel]

(*v*, γ, γ*w*, and *s* are [+del rel].)

MSR 16 $\left\{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{son}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}-\text{cnt}\\-\text{cor}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ ⟶ [-del rel]

(nasals, glides, vowels, *p*, *k*, *kw*, are [-del rel]. *t*, *c* are lexically marked for this feature.)

MSR 17 $\left\{\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cnt}\\-\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}-\text{voc}\\\left\{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{cor}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}-\text{hi}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}\right\}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ ⟶ [-voiced]

MSR 18 $\left\{\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\+\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}+\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}+\text{hi}\\+\text{son}\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\\+\text{cnt}\\-\text{cor}\end{bmatrix}\right\}$ ⟶ [+voiced]

(The consonant *r*, nasals, high sonorants, and non-coronal continuant consonants are voiced. All other segments are voiceless, except vowels, which can be either voiced or voiceless.)

MSR 19 $\left\{\begin{matrix}[-\text{del rel}]\\ [+\text{voiced}]\end{matrix}\right\} \longrightarrow [-\text{strid}]$

MSR 20 $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{del rel}\\ -\text{voiced}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{strid}]$

(*c* and *s* are strident. All other segments are not.)

MSR 21 $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\ -\text{cons}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [-\text{stress}]$

(Vowels are originally unstressed.)

Many of the above segmental MSRs are persistent; i.e., can be used to specify redundant features in the output of phonological rules. These include MSRs 1, 4-9, 11, 12, 14-16, 19 and 20.

Table II, on the following page, gives the full specifications of the underlying segments as filled in by the above rules.

Sequential redundancies are specified by the following morpheme structure rules:

MSR 22 $[+\text{seg}] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\ -\text{cons}\end{bmatrix} \quad / \quad \left\{\begin{matrix}\underline{\quad\quad}+\\ \begin{bmatrix}\left\{\begin{matrix}[+\text{cons}]\\ [-\text{voc}]\end{matrix}\right\}\\ -\text{nasal}\end{bmatrix}\underline{\quad\quad}\end{matrix}\right\}$

(All morphemes end in vowels. Except for nasals, all consonants (including *r* and glides) must be followed by a vowel, i.e., clusters of nonnasal consonants are prohibited.)

MSR 23 $[-\text{cons}] \longrightarrow [-\text{voc}] \quad / \quad \begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\ -\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\ -\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\ -\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}\underline{\quad}$

(The maximum string of vowels in a morpheme is three; if a nonconsonantal segment follows, it can only be a glide. Otherwise only [+cons] segments or morpheme boundaries may follow.)

Table II

	p	t	k	kw	v	r	γ	γw	c	s	m	n	ŋ	m?	n?	ŋ?	w	j	w?	j?	?	h	i	ɨ	u	o	a	i	ɨ	u	o	a
voc	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
cons	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cnt	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
del rel	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
glot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
cor	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ant	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
hi	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
back	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
rnd	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
son	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
voiced	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
strid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

MSR 24 $\left\{\begin{matrix}[-voc]\\[+cons]\end{matrix}\right\} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}+cons\\-voc\\-cnt\\-nasal\end{bmatrix}$ / [+nasal] ____

(Any nonvowel after a nasal must be *p*, *t*, *k*, *kw*, or *c*.)

MSR 25 $[+nasal] \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}\alpha cor\\ \beta ant\\ \gamma hi\\ \delta back\end{bmatrix}$ / ___ $\begin{bmatrix}+cons\\ \alpha cor\\ \beta ant\\ \gamma hi\\ \delta back\end{bmatrix}$

(Nasals in nasal plus obstruent clusters are always homorganic.) (Persistent rule.)

MSR 26 $\begin{bmatrix}+voc\\-cons\\\{+hi\\+rnd\}\\+back\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}\alpha hi\\ \beta rnd\\ \gamma back\end{bmatrix}$ / $\begin{bmatrix}+voc\\-cons\\\{+hi\\+rnd\}\\ \alpha hi\\ \beta rnd\\ \gamma back\end{bmatrix}$ $\left(\begin{bmatrix}-cons\\-cnt\end{bmatrix}\right)$ ___

(Sequences of two vowels are restricted as follows:

a or *i* can follow any vowel.

ɨ, *u* or *o* can only follow themselves (i.e., forming long vowels) or *a*. (**ao* is prohibited in the next rule.)

This is a persistent rule, e.g., whenever *u* follows a vowel other than *a* it assimilates: / *upaa* / in

> *kani-ipa* 'in the house'

ma-upa 'in that'

/tɨka-vɨɨ-uka / eat-past-it ⟶ *tɨka-vɨɨ-ɨk*

This rule seems to apply across intervening glottal stops, possibly since glottal stops are optionally deletable (see P26). E.g.:

/ nukwi-jɨ-ʔumɨ / run-pres-pl ⟶ *nukwi-jɨ-ʔɨm*

MSR 27 $\begin{bmatrix}+voc\\-cons\\-hi\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [-rnd] / $\begin{bmatrix}-cons\\-hi\\-rnd\end{bmatrix}$ ____

(The sequence **ao* is unpermissable.)

MSR 28 $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-voc}\\ \text{+hi}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [-rnd] / ____ [+rnd]

(Sequences of **wo, *wu, *kwo, *kwu* are forbidden.)

MSR 29 $\begin{bmatrix}\text{-voc}\\ \text{-cons}\\ \text{+hi}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [+back] / ___ [-back]

(**ji* is an unpermissible sequence.)

MSR 30 $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+cor}\\ \text{-son}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [+del rel] / ___ [-back]

(**ti* is an unpermissible sequence.)

MSR 31 $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+voc}\\ \text{-cons}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [-voiced] / ____ +

MSR 32 $\begin{bmatrix}\text{+voc}\\ \text{-cons}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow$ [+voiced] / ____ [+seg]

(MSR 32 is persistent, MSR 31 is <u>not</u>. See rule P1 for discussion.)

1.3 *Phonological Rules*

1.31 *Analysis of Consonants*

The clusters *kw* and γw are treated as single phonological segments since *w* does not cluster with nonvelars. (Also, there are no parallel clusters with *j*.) The cluster ηw arises in Chemehuevi only from an underlying η following the vowel *u*.

One of the most complex aspects of Chemehuevi phonology is the behavior of nonglide consonants in medial position, particularly after morpheme boundaries. These consonants behave almost identically in Southern Paiute, and for that language many analyses have been proposed. Most are potentially applicable to Chemehuevi as well, and were considered in some detail in Press (1975).[2]

The situation is as follows:

(a) The consonants *v*, *r*, γ, γw, and the nasal clusters never occur word-initially (in either language; Southern Paiute has the same underlying segments as Chemehuevi except for */h/*).

(b) Word-internally these occur in two situations:

(i) morpheme-initially, where for most morphemes the voiced continuants given in (a) above alternate with the stop series and the nasal cluster series. In each case the preceding morpheme usually determines (in some way) the following consonant series.

(ii) morpheme-internally, where except for a few situations, these consonants don't alternate at all.

In Southern Paiute the word-internal stop series shows up in some cases as geminate stops, the distribution with respect to single stops being predictable on the basis of stress. (Sapir called this series the "geminated" series, the nasal clusters he called "nasalized" and the voiced continuants "spirantized.")

The alternations in Chemehuevi are tabulated in (2) below, the differences in Southern Paiute are as noted:

(2)

stop series[(a)]	voiced continuant series	nasal cluster series
p	v	mp
t	r	nt
k	γ	ŋk
kw	γw	ŋkw
c	c^nc	nc
s	s	s
m	w[(b)]	m[(c)]
n	n	n
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ

(a) When non-word-initial, these consonants ("geminate series") occur as geminates before an unstressed vowel segment in So. Paiute.

(b) ŋw in So. Paiute.

(c) Nasals in this series are long in So. Paiute.

Examples of these morpheme-initial alternations are given in (3) below; morpheme-internal examples, where they don't alternate, follow in (4):

(3) In a-g the first morpheme (*/na/* or the reduplicating morpheme) triggers a following voiced continuant:

a. /na + punikai/ ---> navunika
reflexive see see oneself

b. /na + tɨka/ ---> narɨka-
reflex eat eat oneself

c. /na + koa/ ---> naɣoa-
reflex cut cut oneself

d. /REDUP + kwiiɣantɨ/ ---> kwiɣwiiɣant
pl left-handed one left-handed ones

e. /na + cikwɨ/ ---> nancikwɨ-[3]
reflex cut cut oneself

f. /na + mavoa/ ---> nawavoa- ~namavoa-
reflex cover cover oneself

g. /na + wɨn?oɣi/ ---> nawɨn?oɣi-
reflex shave shave oneself

The same verb stems show up with stops after morphemes like / *pɨŋka* /:

h. /pɨŋka + punikai/ ---> pɨŋkapunika
keep on look keep on looking

i. /pɨŋka + tɨka/ ---> pɨŋkatɨka-
keep on eat keep on eating

The first morphemes below trigger nasal clusters in the stems following:

j. /nɨ + po?otu?i/ ---> nɨmpo?otu?i-
person teach[tran] teach [intr]

k. /juhu-ɣai + tɨ/ ---> juhuɣant
fat-be ptc being fat

l. /nɨ + kuu/ ---> nɨŋkuu-
person bury[tran] bury [intr]

m. /nɨ + kwɨhɨ/ > nɨŋkwɨɨtu?ikat
person catch policeman
(person-catcher)

(4) Nonalternating internal occurrences of consonants in (2) above: (second syllable consonant)

a. /oṗi/ mesquite bean
b. /otavi/ sand
c. /tɨka/ eat
d. /cikwɨ/ cut

e. /kaaci/ rat
f. /asiv̥i/ skin
g. /kam̥i/ jack-rabbit
h. /t̥ivaci/ wolf
i. /t̥ir̥inav̥i/ root
j. /n̥iɣar̥i/ wind
k. /uɣwi/ smell
l. /t̥impi/ rock
m. /tant̥ici/ northerner
n. /puŋku/ pet
o. /oncia/ fox
p. /naŋkwaru?u/ metal

In Press (1975) I argued in favor of a feature analysis rather than a segmental approach for consonantal alternation in Chemehuevi. Such a feature analysis involves listing in the lexical representation of each morpheme one of three rule features. Each of these features triggers some phonological change in the immediately following consonant. Morpheme-internal instances of the voiced continuants and nasal clusters are considered to be present in the underlying forms.

Thus, for example, the first (or left-hand) morphemes in (3) above would have lexical representations something like the following:

(5)

na [+s]	self
p̥iŋka [+g]	keep on[4]
n̥i [+n]	person

For mnemonic purposes, the feature symbols used are keyed to Sapir's terms (spirantizing, geminating, nasalizing) even though his labels are not entirely appropriate.

The rules for consonant alternations in this analysis are assumed to be:

(6) $i \begin{bmatrix} -son \\ -strid \end{bmatrix} \text{ --> } \begin{bmatrix} -cnt \\ -voiced \end{bmatrix} / \quad [+g] \_\_$

ii $\begin{bmatrix} -son \\ -strid \\ \alpha cor \end{bmatrix}$ --> $\begin{bmatrix} +cnt \\ +voiced \\ \alpha voc \\ \alpha son \end{bmatrix}$ / [+s] ___

iii $\begin{bmatrix} +nasal \\ -cor \\ +ant \end{bmatrix}$ --> $\begin{bmatrix} -cons \\ -nasal \\ -ant \\ +hi \\ +back \end{bmatrix}$ / [+s] ___

(m --> w / [+s] ___)

iv Ø --> N / [+n] ___ $\begin{bmatrix} -son \\ -cnt \end{bmatrix}$

There are several situations in which the preceding morpheme does not determine the following morpheme-initial consonant. For one, there exists a large class of suffixes (in both Southern Paiute and Chemehuevi) which occur in only one form. These may be with initial stops (e.g., the plural subject suffix on verbs, /*-ka*/ in Chemehuevi, *-kka* in Southern Paiute), an initial voiced continuant (e.g., the durative suffix /*-γa* /) or an initial nasal cluster (e.g., the indirective verbal suffix /*-ŋkɨ*/).

In addition to these invariable suffixes, there are many instances of consonant alternation triggered by morphological factors. In Chemehuevi for example, the form of the past tense suffix *-vɨ* ∿ *-mpɨ* is determined (for some verbs) by whether the verb is to be interpreted as inchoative or not. (In other cases the difference in form does not seem to be semantically determined.) A few postpositions in Southern Paiute vary their initial consonant according to whether the noun to which they are attached is animate or not, regardless of the "phonological shape" of the stem.

Reduplication processes in both languages further complicate the picture. Consider the forms given in (7) from Chemehuevi:

(7) a. kwɨhɨ- catch
kwɨγwɨɨ- catch [iterative] (for loss of *h*, see P14 in section 1.33)

b. kwipa- beat
kwikwipa- beat [iterative]

c. kar*ɨ*- sit
kakar*ɨ*- sit [momentaneous]

Whether the reduplicated syllable "spirantizes" or not is unpredictable in the two languages. (Nasalization seems to be triggered only by the presence of a nasal in the stem, e.g., / *t̃ɨmpi* / rock, [*t̃ɨnt̃ɨmp*] rock [pl]; / *kani*/ house, [*kaŋkan*] house [pl].) The consonant series is not entirely determined by the function of the reduplicated syllable; "iterative" reduplication "spirantizes" the stem-initial consonant in (a) above, but not in (b). Nor does it reflect the second syllable consonant series; the medial consonant of the stem in (c) is a voiced continuant, but the first syllable does not "spirantize" itself upon reduplication.

In the present analysis nonalternating morphemes are given underlying forms as if they alternated, e.g., /*ka*/ durative, /*ka*/ plural, and /*kɨ*/ indirective, but are each marked as obligatorily undergoing the appropriate rule in (6) above. Following Harms (1968), I am adopting the notation and convention that [+SDRi] means "meets the structural description of rule (i)" and therefore undergoes it, whether a [+g] actually precedes or not. This feature [+SDRi] is therefore in the lexical representation of /*ka*/ plural, and similar features are associated with the other invariant morphemes. (Each is redundantly specified with minus rule features for the other rules.)

Handling each of the other morphological problems mentioned would be done by adjusting these morphological features, rather than the straight insertion or deletion of phonological segments.

Reduplication must unfortunately be handled by marking each stem for which type of reduplicating morpheme it takes (just as nouns must be marked for which plural suffix they take). Thus far these forms would be

$$\text{CV-}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{redup}\\+\text{g}\end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{CV-}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{redup}\\+\text{s}\end{bmatrix} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{CV-}\begin{bmatrix}+\text{redup}\\+\text{n}\end{bmatrix}$$ [5]

with the following phonological rule:

$$(8)\quad C\ V \rightarrow C_1\ V_1 \,/\, \left[\frac{\quad}{+\text{redup}}\right]\ C_1\ V_1$$

(For more detailed discussion of reduplication, see rule P3, in section 1.33.)

1.32 *Analysis of Vowels*

Vowel length in Chemehuevi must be assumed to be distinctive in order to predict stress. The converse analysis would not be as simple; given the positions of primary and secondary stresses in a word, one could predict the lengths of the vowels, but the rule would be much more complex. In addition, diphthongs must be taken to be underlying, and since they always count as "long" vowels for the purposes of stress, redundancy rules would have to be included in the grammar, which would be unnecessary in a grammar predicting stress from vowel length.

Long vowels are analyzed as clusters (vowel sequences), rather than as single vowels with the feature [+long]. This makes minor rules of lengthening and shortening a bit less simple, but the stress-assignment and vowel-deletion rules are then considerably easier to write.

1.33 *Rules*

None of the phonological rules for Chemehuevi require the assumption of a cycle. Furthermore, extrinsic ordering is unnecessary. They are written with the understanding that to obtain the correct output they must be permitted to apply (and reapply) whenever they can. The only rule which poses problems for this approach is P1, which as it is written requires an extra feature on vowels specifically to prevent reapplication of this rule.

The following phonological rules are used to derive phonetic forms in Chemehuevi. Explanation follows each rule:

P1 $\quad V \;\; \text{--> } \emptyset \;/\; V \;\; C_o \;\_\_\_\_\; \#$

$\quad\quad$ [-voiced] $\quad$ [+voiced]

(All final vowel segments are deleted, one per word. (MSR 31 insures that final vowels at this point are in fact "voiceless".) E.g., */moa/* --> *mo* father, */pacɨ/* --> *pac* daughter, and */nukwivaa/* --> *nukwiva* will run. (Note that since phonetically long vowels are analyzed as clusters they are merely shortened.)

In Press (1975) the form of this rule was:

[+voc] --> $\emptyset$ / ___ #

Since this rule could, through reiteration, delete an entire vowel string, e.g., */moa/* --> *mo* --> *m*, it presented one of the few major obstructions to dispensing

with extrinsic rule ordering altogether. By introducing a switching feature[6] to trigger this rule, it can be written to prevent reapplication to its own output (and to the output of P2.) The persistent MSR 32 continues to voice any remaining voiceless vowels at this point.

P2 $\emptyset \text{ --> } \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha F \\ +\text{voiced} \end{bmatrix} / \text{ \# C } \_\_ \begin{bmatrix} V \\ \alpha F \end{bmatrix} \text{ (C) \#}$

(This rule lengthens (geminates) short monosyllables, including those affected (or created) by vowel deletion (rule P1). E.g., father is actually phonetically [*moo*] when unsuffixed, daughter is [*paac*]. The notation [αF] is used as shorthand to mean "agrees in all features" except [voiced] here.)

P3 $C\ V \langle V \rangle \text{ --> } C_1\ V_1 \langle V_1 \rangle / \left[\overline{\text{+redup}} \right] C_1\ V_1$

(The reduplication morphemes copy all features of the first consonant and vowel of the stem.[7] All stems are here analyzed as consonant-initial, though not all morphemes are, e.g., */-a/* oblique case. Forms like [*ʔaipac*] boy could have been analyzed as */aipaci/* with the word-initial glottal stop predictably inserted by a phonological rule. However, since I am treating reduplication as an underlying prefixed morpheme, there would be no elegant way of inserting the second *ʔ* in, e.g., [*ʔaʔaipac*] boy[pl]. Indeed the problem is the same for a vowel-initial stem prefixed by any morpheme. If one were to posit such a rule, one would have to prevent it from inserting *ʔ* before the oblique case marker, e.g., in */ʔaipaci + a/* -->[*ʔaipaci*]
*[*ʔaipaciʔ*].)

P4 $\underset{[-\text{stress}]}{V} \text{ --> } [1\ \text{stress}] / \text{ \# } C_o\ V\ C_o \text{ } \_\_$

(Primary stress is assigned to the second vowel segment in a word, e.g., *puŋkú-n* dog-my 'my dog'.)

P5 $\underset{[-\text{stress}]}{V} \text{ --> } [2\ \text{stress}] / \left\{ \begin{matrix} [1\ \text{stress}] \\ [2\ \text{stress}] \end{matrix} \right\} C_o\ \underset{[-\text{stress}]}{V}\ C_o \text{ } \_\_$

(Secondary stress is assigned to all even-numbered vowel segments in each word, starting with the fourth segment.[8] Stress rules for Chemehuevi are somewhat simpler than for Southern Paiute.[9] This simplification is a result of the fact that Chemehuevi deletes final vowels and lengthens monosyllabics; Southern Paiute's not doing so results in complications in the rule of stress assignment. (C_o stands for a string of any number of consonants or none.) E.g.:

/ *na-ravasɨ-tu?i-vɨɨ* /
reflex-dry-cause-past 'dried oneself'

1 2 2
--> *na-ravasɨ-tu?i-vɨ*

P6 V --> [n stress] / ___ V (n = 1 or 2)
[n stress]

(Any sequence of vowels in which the second vowel is stressed, becomes stressed throughout, i.e., the stress spreads backwards. This does not seem to be true in the opposite direction. E.g., *kɨ́ɨ́aw* yesterday, from */kɨawi/*, is stressed equally on the two vowels. Compare with *urúaɣa* walking, where the second, but not the third vowel segment is stressed.)

P7 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{son}\\-\text{strid}\end{bmatrix}$ --> $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{cnt}\\-\text{voiced}\end{bmatrix}$ / [+g] ___

(After "geminating" morphemes, the nonstrident obstruents are *p t k* and *kw*--see discussion, section 1.31.)

P8 $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{son}\\-\text{strid}\\\alpha\text{cor}\end{bmatrix}$ --> $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{cnt}\\+\text{voiced}\\\alpha\text{voc}\\\alpha\text{son}\end{bmatrix}$ / [+s] ___

(After "spirantizing" morphemes, the nonstrident obstruents become voiced continuants, and in the case of */t/*, vocalic and sonorant (i.e., *r*).)

P9 $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{nasal}\\-\text{cor}\\+\text{ant}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}-\text{nasal}\\-\text{cons}\\-\text{ant}\\+\text{hi}\\+\text{back}\end{bmatrix} / \quad [+s] \_\_\_$

(*m* -->*w* after "spirantizing" morphemes.)[10]

P10 $\emptyset \rightarrow N / \underset{[+s]}{N\ V} \_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix}+\text{strid}\\-\text{cnt}\end{bmatrix}$

(After "spirantizing" morphemes which end in a nasal plus vowel, *c* becomes *nc*. E.g., section 1.31 (3e).)

P11 $\emptyset \rightarrow N / [+n] \_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{son}\\-\text{cnt}\end{bmatrix}$

(*p*, *t*, *k*, *kw*, *c* become *mp*, *nt*, *ŋk*, *ŋkw*, *nc* respectively, after "nasalizing" morphemes.)

P12 $V \rightarrow [-\text{nasal}] / \_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix}-\text{nasal}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}$

(Vowels which might have been nasalized by rule P18 are denasalized in cases where *m* --> *w* by rule P9. $\begin{bmatrix}-\text{nasal}\\-\text{cons}\end{bmatrix}$ includes both *w* and preceding vowels, to denasalize the whole preceding string.)

P13 $\begin{Bmatrix}k\\q\end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \underset{\frown}{k} / [-\text{back}]\ (N) \_\_\_$

(*k* or *q*, preceded by ŋ or not, is fronted to $\underset{\frown}{k}$ after *i*. E.g., / *punika*/ see -->[*puni*$\underset{\frown}{k}$].)

P14 $h \rightarrow \emptyset / \underset{[+\text{stress}]}{V} \_\_\_$

(*h* is usually deleted after stressed syllables, as the following examples illustrate:

/puhagai/	> puhága-nt	doctor
have power		
	> pu-vúaga-nt*i*m	doctors
	> na-vúaga-nump	medicine
/kw*i*h*i*/	> ni-ŋkw*í*i-tui-kat	policeman
catch		

/waha/ + /hokont*ɨ*/ --> wahá-okont very-big
very big

P15 ai --> aa / ___ [active ptc]

(The diphthong *ai* becomes simply long *a* in several morphological environments in Chemehuevi, most notably before the "active" participle ending /-*tɨ* / (∿ -*rɨ* ∿ -*ntɨ* ∿ -*cɨ*). This affects, for example, perfective /-*kai*/, and remote past /-*pɨgai* /, which with the participle ending become -*kaa-nt* and -*pɨgaa-nt* respectively. The verb /-*gai* / (have, be, suffixed to noun stems) becomes -*gaa-nt* with the participle ending, e.g., / *juhugai* / fat, *juhugaant* is fat.)[11]

P16 $\begin{Bmatrix} \underset{\frown}{k} \\ k \end{Bmatrix}$ --> q / [-high] (N) ___

($\underset{\frown}{k}$ or *k*, whether preceded by ŋ or not, are backed to *q* after the non-high vowels *a* and *o*, regardless of what follows. Example: / *tɨka-ŋu-aka* /, eat-imp-that → [*tɨkaŋuaq*].)

P17 $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \overset{\text{opt}}{\text{-->}} [+\text{round}] / \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \alpha\text{hi} \\ \alpha\text{rnd} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle_{V} \text{u (N)} \_\_\_$

(This changes *k*, ŋ , ŋ*k*, and γ to k^w, $ŋ^w$, $ŋk^w$ and $γ^w$ respectively, following *u* only if *u* can't then assimilate to a preceding *i*, *ɨ* or *o* (via the persistence of MSR 26); i.e., *u* must follow *u* or *a* if it follows a vowel at all. This rule is optional--the same form uttered twice in succession will alternate between e.g., *k* and k^w. Example: / *uŋa-ja* /, he-ob → [*uŋaj* ∿ $uŋ^waj$].)

P18 $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \end{bmatrix}$ --> [+nasal] / ___ [+nasal]

(Vowels are nasalized before nasal consonants. E.g., hiimp --> [*hi͂i͂mp*] what.)

P19 $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{nasal} \end{bmatrix} \overset{\text{opt}}{\text{-->}} \emptyset / [+\text{nasal}] \_\_\_ C$

(This optionally deletes nasals in clusters, after vowel-nasalization has had an opportunity to apply.

Whether the rule applies, and the degree to which it applies, depends on several things, including the nature of the vowel (*i* seems to trigger it more than *a*, for example), the position relative to stress (nasals are deleted less after stressed vowels than unstressed ones), and whether the cluster is word-final or followed by a vowel (nasals seem to be retained more often when the cluster is word-final.) Example: *hiimp* $\overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow}$ [*hiip*] what.)

P20 $a \overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow} aw \;/\; \_\_\_\; (N)\; kw\; \#$

(See next rule.)

P21 $kw \overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow} k \;/\; aw\; (N)\; \_\_\_\; \#$

(Final clusters of $ŋk^w$ or k^w optionally spread or shift their glide back to the preceding segment, if that segment is an *a*. Example: */kani-ipatɨ-manaŋk^{w}a/* house-inside-from, → [*kaniipatɨmanaŋkw* ∿ *kaniipatɨmana^{w}ŋkw* ∿ *kaniipatɨmana^{w}ŋk*].)

P22 $\gamma \overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow}$ [-voice] / ___ #

(This rule optionally devoices word-final γ. See section 1.1 for examples.)

P23 $a \overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow}$ [-back] / ... $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{voc}\\-\text{back}\end{bmatrix}$ ...

(This rule is to account for *a* → *æ* in words like [*tɨræwi?*] < */tɨrawi?i/* dash off. (There are not enough examples of this to further specify the environment.))

P24 $i \overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow} ɨi \;/\; q\; \_\_\_$

(After the backed velar, *i* is partially assimilated to *ɨi*, i.e., given a back onglide. Example: */jaaki/* $\overset{\text{(P16)}}{\longrightarrow}$ *jaaqi-* $\overset{\text{(P24)}}{\longrightarrow}$ [*jaaqɨi-*] bring.)

P25 $i \overset{\text{opt}}{\dashrightarrow} \begin{Bmatrix}\varepsilon^i\\e^i\\a^i\end{Bmatrix} \;/\; a \begin{bmatrix}-\text{voc}\\-\text{cons}\\-\text{hi}\end{bmatrix} \_\_\_$

(*i* is partially lowered, and sometimes backed, after *a* plus one of the glides *h* and *?*. Examples:

/pahiju/ --> [pahe^{i}j]
three

/ja?i-j*i*/--> [ja?a^{i}j ∿ ja?ɛ^{i}j].)
dead-pres

P26 $\overset{\text{opt}}{?} \rightarrow \emptyset$ / V ___ V

(In rapid speech *?* is frequently dropped intervocalically; e.g., / *t*i*ka-tu?i-v*ii*/ 'caused to eat' → [*t*i*ka-tui-v*i*].)[12]

P27 $\overset{\text{V}}{[\alpha F]} \rightarrow \overset{\text{opt}}{\emptyset}$ / V ___ [+seg]
$\begin{bmatrix} \alpha F \\ 2 \text{ stress} \end{bmatrix}$

(When a long vowel does not contain primary stress, it is optionally shortened. (If the first vowel in the sequence wasn't assigned secondary stress by P5, it was by P6). E.g.,
*t*i*ka-vaa-nt* --> [*t*i*ka-va-nt*].)
eat-fut-ptc

SECTION 2
SYNTAX

2.1 *Phrase Structure Rules*

1. S ---> $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{S S (S)*} \\ \text{(CONJ) (NP) (SUBORD) VP (Q)} \end{matrix}\right\}$

2. SUBORD ---> (NP) (VP)

3. NP ---> $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{NP NP} \\ \text{(D) (NUM) (N) (D) (PP) (PTC) (D)} \\ \text{(NP) NOM} \\ \text{PRO} \end{matrix}\right\}$

4. PP ---> NP POST

5. PTC ---> S

6. D ---> $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{NP} \\ \text{POSS} \end{matrix}\right\}$

7. POSS ---> NP

8. NOM ---> VP

9. VP ---> $\left(\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{PP} \\ \text{ADV} \end{matrix}\right\}\right)^{*}$ $\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{(S)} \\ \text{PTC} \end{matrix}\right.$ (NP)* (V)$\left.\right\}$ (K)

These rules will be discussed in the sections to follow.

I adopt the convention that when all symbols in an expansion are parenthesized, one or more must be included.

2.2 *Simple Sentences*

2.21 *Noun Phrases*

The phrase structure rule expanding noun phrases in Chemehuevi is as follows:

$$(1)\quad NP \text{ ---> } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP\ NP \\ (NP)\ NOM \\ (D)\ (NUM)\ (N)\ (D)\ (PP)\ (PTC)\ (D) \\ PRO \end{array} \right\}$$

The first line is to accommodate subject "copy-pronouns," explained on p. 120, section 2.4. The symbol D is expanded to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} POSS \\ NP \end{array} \right\}$, where POSS is the source of possessive noun phrases (which are in the oblique case) modifying the head noun N in (1) above, and NP (from D) is the node to which third person pronouns attach when used as "demonstrative adjectives." Three nodes for D are provided because, although movement rules allow still more orders, up to three can appear in a single NP. (See section 2.214 on possessives and demonstratives.)

NUM stands for numeral, which modifies the head N and agrees with it in case.

PP is postpositional phrase, and is among other things a source of NP conjunction (see sections 2.23 on postpositions, 2.31 on conjunction).

PTC is expanded to S, the source of relative clauses (which are always participles in Chemehuevi--see section 2.33). Participles may be used without head nouns, thus the N in (1) above must be optional.

(NP) NOM is the source of all nominalizations, with or without "subjects." (See section 2.34.)

PRO is the source for all pronouns.

2.211 *Derivation of Nouns*

Simple nouns consist of proper nouns, pronouns, or common nouns. Common nouns usually consist of just a noun stem, but often are derived from a root (nominal or otherwise) plus some sort of derivational affix. The most common of these affixes is the set of "absolutive" suffixes, found throughout the Uto-Aztecan family. Absolutives are peculiar in that they attach to roots which are already noun roots, and furthermore, most of them delete when the noun is compounded (as the first member) or possessed (whether the possessor is a postfix or not).[1] Most absolutives have lost whatever semantic significance they once might have had. Since relatively few noun roots also function as verb roots, there is little if any functional load

[1] *For notes to Section 2, see p. 197.*

in absolutives' "marking" a word as a "noun."

In (2) below, examples are given of noun stems which appear to consist solely of a root, with no derivational affixes.[2] In the nominative case nothing else is added to these to make them "words," and nothing is deleted when they're compounded or suffixed.

(2) a. /paa/ water
b. /tua/ son
c. /kuna/ fire
d. /naga/ mountain sheep
e. /tomo/ winter

The underlying forms of absolutive suffixes are given in (3) below:

(3) /-ci/ e.g., /puŋku-ci/ puŋkuc dog
{nɨni puŋk / puŋku-n} 'my dog'

/sɨgɨpi-ci/ sɨgɨpic lizard
sɨgɨpi-rɨkaw?i-c 'turning into a lizard'

(*/-ci/* almost certainly originated from the diminutive suffix */-ci/*, but as long as it behaves like an "absolutive" I will classify it as such.)

/-cɨ/ e.g., /pavon?okwi-cɨ/ pavon?okwic watermelon
pavon?okwi-?asiv 'watermelon rind'

/-pi/ e.g., /sɨ?i-pi/ sɨ?ip flower
sɨ?i-rɨkaw?i-c 'turning into a flower'

/kukwa-pi/ kukwap stick
kukwa-tapoka-ga 'chopping wood'

/-vi/ e.g., /sɨna?a-vi/ sɨna?av coyote
sɨna?a-rɨkaw?i-c 'turning into a coyote'

/hawi-vi/ hawiv corn
hawi-n 'my corn'
hawi-?ɨga-ga 'planting corn'

/mpi/ e.g., /nɨwɨ-mpi/ nɨwɨmp liver
nɨwɨ-n 'my liver'

/-pɨ/	e.g.,	/sawa-pɨ/	sawap	arrow-weed
			sawa-kan	'arrow-weed house'
		/tɨvi-pɨ/	tɨvip	earth, ground
			tɨvi-tɨkaw?i-c	'turning into dirt'
/-vɨ/	e.g.,	/maha-vɨ/	mahav	tree
			maha-?ɨga-n	'my tree-plant'
		/wana-vɨ/	wanav	web
			wana-?uŋ	'his web'
/-mpɨ/	e.g.,	/aso-mpɨ/	asomp	salt, alkaline
			aso-kama-ga	'tasting salty'

These could constitute four separate absolutives (*/-ci, -cɨ, -pi, -pɨ/*; the variants *-mpi, -vi*, etc., are predictable from the "spirantizing" and "nasalizing" features on the stem, see section 1.31). The only semantic generalizations one might make on the basis of my data are that animate nouns tend to take only the absolutives */ci/* and */-vi/; /-ci/* being apparently restricted to this class.[3]

Absolutives on most nouns in the oblique case are followed by the normal oblique marker */-a ∿ -ja/*, as in (4) below:

(4) puŋku-ci-a-n taŋa-vɨ
dog-abs-ob-I kick-past 'I kicked the dog'

Plurals of nouns with absolutives retain them when the plural suffix is added:

(5) sɨna?av coyote sɨna?avi-m coyote-pl
sɨgɨpic lizard sɨgɨpici-w lizard-pl

Absolutives seem to be retained when postpositions are added, even when the latter function as verbs (see section 2.23 on postpositions). Examples:

(6)	oho-v	bone	oho-vɨ-wa?	'with a bone'
	puŋku-c	dog	puŋku-ci-wa?	'with a dog'
	tusu-p	flour	tusu-tɨkaw?i-c	'turning into flour'

		tusu-pɨ-want	'part of (=post-position) the flour'
tɨvi-p	earth	tɨvi-pɨ-va?an	'on the ground'
puŋku-c	dog	puŋku-ci-rua-ŋ	'Give the dog!' (-tua = towards)

Some derivational suffixes regularly cause deletion of the absolutive:[4]

(7) tavu-c hare tavu-ruac 'bunny' (hare-offspring, diminutive suffix, probably from *tua-*, son, plus */-ci/*, diminutive)

Some nouns occur with two absolutives in a row, as in:

(8) /muhu-mpɨ-ci/ muhumpɨc owl

{muhu-mpɨ-tɨkaw?i-c / muhu-ntɨkaw?i-c} 'turning into an owl'

The overall situation with absolutives is actually not quite as simple as the above examples suggest. Some nouns optionally appear without the absolutive in non-compounded, non-possessed environments. Others may include the absolutive in compounds or possessed forms, e.g., */aŋaa-vi/ aŋaav* ant, *aŋaa-rɨkaw?i-c* ∿ *aŋaa-vi-rɨkaw?i-c* 'turning into an ant'; */ukwi-vɨ/ ukwiv* charcoal, *ukwi-rɨkaw?i-c* 'turning into charcoal', but *ukwi-vɨ-n* 'my charcoal'. Some nouns have a choice of absolutives (usually only in the nominative--one seems preferred with the oblique case), e.g., *kwihi-p* ∿ *kwihi-v* smoke, *soo-g* (=absolutive?) ∿ *soo-v* lungs. Other nouns have two different meanings in the nominative depending upon whether the absolutive is included or not. The oblique case of these nouns, however, does include the absolutive and can be translated both ways, e.g., */wici?aa/* wing, */wici?aa-vɨ/* feather, but */wici?aa-vɨ-a/* wing, feather in the oblique case. (Similarly, */tuku?aa/* flesh, */tuku?aa-vi/* edible meat, both */tuku?aa-vi-a/* in the oblique case.)

These facts strongly suggest that absolutives are extremely susceptible to relexicalization. For many nouns the absolutives are considered part of the stem in some environments, but not in others. (I am, for the sake of the discussion, calling a suffix an absolutive if it deletes in any

environment and still allows the stem to be interpreted nominally--e.g., nominalizing suffixes which are retained in all the above environments but are deleted when the stem is verbal in meaning, do not count as absolutives. Obviously many historical cases of absolutives which now never delete will no longer be called absolutives here (although they are by Sapir, for example).) The system of absolutives itself does not seem to be in danger, since new suffixes seem to pile on as old ones meld into the stem. Rather, it is each particular instance of the absolutive, on a given noun stem, which is unstable and continuously in flux. The unique syntactic properties and the diffuse semantic classification (even historically) of these suffixes certainly contribute to the explanation of their gradual fusion to the stem. (See Nichols (1973) for discussion.)

In this grammar absolutive forms are listed as separate entries in the lexicon. Noun stems such as in (3) above have three entries associated with it (see example E1 in Appendix A), one each for the prefix form, bare stem, and stem + absolutive. Any information which is generalizable is restated in redundancy rules such as in L1 and L2, Appendix A.

For nouns like */ukwi-vɨ/* charcoal there are only two entries (example E2 in Appendix A), since the bare stem never seems to show up unless it is a prefix. (The gap makes this noun an exception to parts of the generalizations stated in L1 and L2.)

Other derivational suffixes

In addition to the absolutives there are a few other derivational suffixes in Chemehuevi which add to noun stems to create other nouns. Following is a list of these suffixes, along with examples of each:

(9) a. /-ci/ small (diminutive,[5] added to concrete nouns.)

e.g., wihi-c small knife < /wihi/ knife

puŋkuci-c little dog < /puŋkuci/ dog

b. /-pɨ/ plant, bush (added to stems denoting fruits of plants.)[6]

e.g., opi-mp mesquite < /opi/ mesquite bean

ijaavi-mp grapevine < /ijaavi/ grapes

hu?upi-v squawbush < /hu?upi/ squawbush berry

c. /-vɨ/ language (added to tribenames)

e.g., ajata-v Mojave lang. < /ajata/ Mojave

haiku-v English < /haiku/ whiteman

d. /-pɨ/ old, abandoned

e.g., kani-p abandoned house < /kani/ house

e. /-vɨ/ skin, material

e.g., puŋku-v wool < /puŋku/ domesticated animal, sheep

tɨhija-v deerhide < /tɨhija/ deer

A handful of suffixes which are associated in one way or another with "possession" but which otherwise seem to make no semantic contribution are given in (10). They are apparently restricted to nouns which are inalienably or inherently possessed.[7] The first three of these suffixes require the presence of an overt possessor in the sentence.

(10) a. /-wa/ (added to many body parts and plant parts, though not to all of them.)

e.g., {pɨ-wa-n / nɨni pɨ-w} 'my blood' < /pɨ-pi/ blood-abs

huvaa-wa-uk 'its sap' < /huvaa/ sap

kuca-wa-uk 'its ashes' < /kuca-pɨ/ ashes-abs

(an example which is not a body part is:)

tɨvi-wa-n 'my land' < /tɨvi-pɨ/ ground-abs

(To the extent that the last example in (a) is interpretable as "territory," one could still make the generalization that

all the above noun stems are "normally" possessed, except when used with their absolutives.)

b. /-?aa/ (also added to body parts, with distribution distinct from */-wa/*. There are still many body parts which take neither.)

e.g., sagwi-?aa-n 'my guts' < /sagwi-vi/
guts-abs

pavon?okwicɨ asi-?a 'watermelon rind'
< /asi-vɨ/
skin-abs

naŋka-?aa-ik 'its leaf' < /naŋka-vɨ/
leaf-abs

c.f. naŋka-vɨ-n 'my leaf'
(not part of my body)

c. /-akaa/ (added to body parts, kinship terms, objects which also normally have to "belong" to something or someone.)

e.g., ju?u-akaa-v 'one's leg' < /ju?u/
leg

e.g., moa-akaa-v 'someone's father' < /moa/
father

pipiso?o-akaa-m 'their children'
< /pi-piso?o-ci/
pl-child-abs

The suffix */-akaa/* normally co-occurs with the suffix */-vi/* 'someone's' (see (d) below), though a few examples exist (e.g., 'children') with a true possessive pronoun. All the examples I have obtained with *-akaa* are in the nominative; in oblique cases it deletes leaving only the *-vi* or possessive suffix.

d. /-vi/ (unlike all the above, this is added to nouns normally possessed which do not have an overt possessor in the sentence, since it is itself interpretable as a possessor.)

e.g., ju?u-v 'someone's leg' < /ju?u/
leg

nɨwɨ-?aa-v 'someone's body' < /nɨwɨ/
body

This suffix is difficult to distinguish from an absolutive in many cases, since it can as easily be translated, e.g., 'a leg'.

It, too, would of course disappear when the noun is possessed, and never shows up in compounds. It is the only quasi-absolutive which can follow */-akaa/* or */-ʔaa/*, however. It differs from normal possessive pronouns in that it is always a suffix and it is followed by the oblique marker */-a/*, whereas possessive pronouns are preceded by */-a/*, e.g., *juʔu-vi /juʔu-vi-a/* 'someone's leg (oblique)'. (See section 2.214 on possessives.)

The suffix */-vi/* is entirely productive and can be used on any noun which can be possessed, in lieu of a possessor. For those words which have absolutives (and for which the poss suffix is obligatory) the only occurrences of the stem alone are in compounds. They all have gaps in the paradigm much as charcoal did above.

Lexical rules summarizing the semantics of the suffixes */-wa/* and */-vi/* are given in Appendix A.[8]

Nouns in Chemehuevi can also be derived from verb stems as well. Nominalizations formed with the suffix */-na/* have some noun-like properties, yet co-occur with tense suffixes. These are treated separately in section 2.34. A second type of nominalization is formed with the suffix */-pɨ/*, does not take normal tense elements and adds the case marker */-a/* when in the oblique case. Whereas nominalizations with */-na/* always have a consistent, predictable translation, nominalizations with *-pɨ* are somewhat more idiosyncratic and the suffix is not as productive. Examples of verb + *pɨ* are given in (11):

(11) a.	/pa-hoora-pɨ/	well	<	/pa-hoora/	dig a well
	/tɨnia-pɨ/	story, news	<	/tɨnia/	tell, say
	/suwa-pɨ/	breath	<	/suwa/	breathe
	/tɨga-pɨ/	picture, snapshot	<	/tɨga/	take a picture
b.	/tɨka-pɨ/	eating	<	/tɨka/	eat
	/navakɨ-pɨ/	swimming	<	/navakɨ/	swim
	/ivani?i-pɨ/	being here	<	/ivani?i/	be here

Most of the examples in (11a) can be viewed as the 'result of' the respective verbs. The examples in (b) translate more as the activity itself in sentences such as "Eating makes me fat,' or 'Swimming is dangerous.' As the complement to verbs

like know, they usually translate as action completed prior to the tense of the main verb, as in (12):

(12) a. John Anni ivani?i-pɨ-a-uŋ putucuga-vɨ
John Ann(ob) be here-nml-ob-her know-past
'John knew Ann had been here.'

b. John Anni ivani?i-pɨ-a-uŋ ha?ɨsutu?i-vɨ
John Ann(ob) be here-nml-ob-her like-past
'John liked Ann('s) having been here.'

(compare with the following example without an embedded "subject":)

c. nɨɨ-k nukwi-pɨ ha?ɨsutu?i-c
I-K run-nml(ob) like-habit
'I like running.'

I consider these nominalizations all to have originated in the phrase structure as simple N, and in the case of (12a,b) as a possessed noun, D + N. The different types of *-pɨ* are morphologically the same, though their exact semantic contributions differ. (It may be that (12a,b) can also be interpreted as 'result of VERBing' and differ from the examples in (11) in that the latter are "concrete," the former "abstract.") For rules relating these forms see L7-L10, Appendix A.

Other less productive nominalizing suffixes are listed in (13) below, along with examples of each.

(13) a. /-numpɨ/ instrument THING WITH WHICH ONE VERBS

e.g., kusa?a-nump 'frying pan'
fry-instrument

tavi-nump 'hammer'
hit-instrument

pa-jua-nump 'bucket'
water-carry-instrument

(See section 2.224 on object-prefixation.)

b. /-tɨaa/ place PLACE FOR VERBING

e.g., havi-tɨa 'bed'
lie-place

karɨ-tɨa sit-place	'chair'	
tɨka-tɨa eat-place	'table (anyplace one eats)'	

c. /-ci/ PERSON WHO (REGULARLY) VERBS

e.g., tapica-c tie-one	'lawman (one who ties people up)'	
tupunua-c dark-one[9]	'Negro'	

d. /-pi/

e.g., tɨka-p eat-suffix	'foodstore, food'	
nɨŋa-p basket-weave-suffix	'basket'	

The suffix in (d) seems to translate variously as 'what one VERBs' and 'result of VERBing', depending on the stem. (For participles used as nouns, see section 2.33.)

Compounds

Compounding is very common in Chemehuevi, some types being extremely productive. Examples of noun + noun compounds are given in (14) below: (For deletion of absolutives see section 2.211.)

(14) a. naga-vuŋkuc 'domesticated mountain sheep'
mt. sheep-pet

papawa-mpi 'she-bear'
bear-female

b. wa?arovi-mpagap 'horseshoe'
horse-shoe

c. kukwa-tɨkatɨa 'wooden table'
wood/stick-table

pa-rɨ?asɨ-tɨwap 'window'
water-freeze-closing (pa-rɨ?asɨ- is used for 'glass'.)

d. kaiva-kuvaj?a 'mountain top'
mountain-top

Noun forms also result from verb + noun compounds, as in the following: (For adjectives as verbs see section 2.214, p. 56.)

(15) aŋka-gan 'red house'
red-house

aɨ-nɨw 'young person'
new-person

Examples of lexical redundancy rules specifying compounds are given in Appendix A, L11-17.

Compounds resulting in verbs are discussed in section 2.221 below.

2.212 *Pronouns*

The independent pronoun system in Chemehuevi can be described with the following features: person (I, II, III), number (singular, dual, several), exclusivity (vs. inclusivity of addressee), proximity (here, visible, invisible) and animateness. These combine to give the following independent personal pronouns (cited in underlying form):

(16)

		SING	DUAL	SEVERAL	
I		nɨɨ/nɨɨni	tami	tawɨ	INCLUSIVE
			nɨmi		EXCLUSIVE
II		ɨmi	mɨmi		
III	(anim)	iŋa	imɨ		here
		maŋa	mamɨ		visible
		uŋa	umɨ		invisible
	(inan)	icɨ/ika/i-			here
		marɨ/maka/ma-			visible
		urɨ/uka/u-			invisible

The first person singular has two possible stems, the second being the suppletive form used in oblique cases (namely with the accusative-possessive */-a ∿ -ja/*). Either stem can be used with postpositions, e.g., *nɨɨ-wa?i- ∿ nɨɨni-wa?i-* 'with me';

nɨɨ-rua- ∿ *nɨɨni-cua-* 'give me'. (For postpositions as verbs, see section 2.23.) The third person inanimate pronouns have three series of stems, and use the third series (*i-, ma-, u-*) only with postpositions. The second series are the suppletive forms used with the oblique suffix.

First person inclusive is the only category utilizing the dual-several contrast. If it were not for the fact that the distinction occurs outside the pronoun system as well, one might be able to dispense with it here, breaking down */tami/* and */tawɨ/* as [I-sg + II-sg] vs. $\left[\text{I-sg} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{II-pl} \\ \text{II-sg + III}\end{matrix}\right\}\right]$, respectively. */nɨmi/* could be viewed as [I-sg + III].

The number feature undergoes further syncretism in the set of inanimate pronouns, where no number distinction is marked overtly at all. Semantically, however, inanimate things may be understood to be singular, dual or plural--when an inanimate subject or object is dual or plural, the number suffixes on the verb reflect this.

The proximity features, relevant only to third-person pronouns, are not really three points in a distance spectrum. "Here" means both visible and close to the speaker (within, say, arms' reach). "Visible" means some distance away (actually, any distance, beyond arms' reach, as long as it is within sight of the speaker) and "invisible" means out of sight, whatever the distance. There is no indefinite, unmarked pronoun as there is in Southern Paiute (*aŋa, amɨ, arɨ*, "indefinite" third person sg, pl, inanimate, respectively (Sapir p. 177).)

All third person pronouns are in fact demonstrative pronouns and may also function as demonstrative adjectives (modifying nouns--see section 2.214). In addition, each form may occur with an optional prefix */hu-/*, whose contribution to the meaning, if any, is not yet determined. *hu-* may be prefixed whether the pronoun is used as a pronoun or modifier, whether it occurs alone or in a postpositional phrase (e.g., *hu-ʔu-va*, there), and even with postpositional verbs (e.g., *hu-ʔuva-niʔi-vɨ*, 'was being there'). Furthermore, *hu-* shows up (optionally) on words derived from third person pronoun roots, either transparently, as in the series *i-cuʔa-, ma-ruʔa-, u-ruʔa-*, 'resembling this, that, that (invis)', respectively, or not transparently, as in the verbs based on *mai-*, say, which historically seems to be derived from *ma-*. Thus, one finds

hu-mai-, alongside *mai-*, and *hu-mai--ni-*, alongside *mai--ni-*, think. Sapir makes no mention of such a prefix in Southern Paiute, though Harrington and Munro both find copious examples in their Chemehuevi dialects.

For oblique cases of independent pronouns, see discussion of noun inflection in general, section 2.213. (All forms take */-a/* in the oblique case, except those whose final stem vowel is *-a*, which take */-ja/*.

Each of these pronoun forms is entered in the lexicon with the feature [+pro]. In the case of 1st and 2nd person, a strict subcategorization feature, $-[^{D}[^{NP}[\_\_\_]]]$, prevents their insertion under a NP node directly dominated by a D node, since they cannot be used as demonstratives. As NPs all pronoun forms except the first two stem variants of the inanimate pronouns may be inserted immediately before a postposition. For the inanimates, */icɨ/*, */marɨ/*, */urɨ/*, */ika/*, */maka/*, and */uka/* all are marked -[___Post]; the forms *i-*, *ma-*, *and u-* are marked +[___Post].

The forms with *hu-* also constitute separate entries. For the redundancy rule relating them to the bare stem forms, see L18 in Appendix A.

Postfix pronominal forms

All personal pronouns have postfix forms which can be used in place of their independent forms (usually not in addition to them, but see section 2.4). The following table gives the underlying forms of each:

(17)

		SING	DUAL	SEVERAL	
I		-nV	-rami	-rawɨ	INCLUSIVE
			-nɨmi		EXCLUSIVE
II		-ukV ∿ -?	-wV		subject
		-mV	-wɨmV		object
III	(anim)	-iŋa	-imɨ		here
		-aŋa	-amɨ		visible
		-uŋa	-umɨ		invisible
	(inan)	-ika			here
		-aka			visible
		-uka			invisible

In general the choice of whether to use the independent forms or the postfix forms depends on what in the sentence is considered "new information" and what is "old information." The normal way to respond to the question, 'Who ate?' would be *maŋ tɨka-vɨ* 'He ate', for example, where a response to 'What did he do?' would be *tɨka-vɨ-aŋ*, 'He ate'. The emphasis is apparently rather mild; in isolation (out of discourse context) the two forms alternate freely for most elicited sentences. There are in addition two or three stronger devices for focusing and emphasizing constituents. In Southern Paiute (and for Pamela Munro's Chemehuevi informant) some of the distinction in proximity is lost in the postfix forms (Sapir p. 183). If the theory here is correct, it is easy to see why--when the referent is understood, the demonstrative aspect of the pronoun is less needed. (When the pronoun is even more de-emphasized, it can be dropped altogether, though in isolation such sentences are re-judged "incomplete.")

The second person postfixes are somewhat irregular. In non-imperative sentences (for imperatives, see section 2.26) when you [singular] is the subject, it almost always uses */-ukV/* for the postfix form. This morpheme may be historically from the third person inanimate invisible postfix (Sapir and Harrington both allude to it, but Sapir's examples do not include this particular usage; for other uses of this postfix, see section 2.225); however, since there is no synchronic motivation for calling it such, I will not. Due to various morpheme order constraints, no postfix or enclitic may ever follow */-ukV/* in a word, therefore it is impossible to tell what the final vowel is (synchronically).

When you [singular] is the object, its postfix form is */-mV/* (again, since nothing ever follows it, the vowel never shows up).

When you [plural] is the subject, the postfix form is */-wV/*. When you [plural] is the object, the postfix form seems to be */-wɨmV/*, although for MM the independent form is almost always used for some reason.

There is an alternate form for the subjective you [singular], namely */-ʔ/* (glottal stop), which is used consistently in imperatives but also occasionally in non-imperatives as well. MM always seems to prefer */-ukV/* in non-imperatives, but will often

accept */-?/*, occasionally volunteering it (largely in interrogative sentences). In Harrington's data the opposite was true--the subjective postfix usually being *-?* and only occasionally *-uka*$_o$; hence I would assume the glottal stop to be the older form, now being replaced by */-ukV/*.

No other pronominal postfixes reflect a case distinction.

Lexical entries for all second person pronoun forms are given in E5, Appendix A.

The first person singular postfix also has an indeterminate vowel, since it too is last in any sequence of suffixes, enclitics, and postfixes. One might wonder how both first-person and second-person pronominal postfixes can be constrained to be last in a series, since postfixes may attach to each other. In fact, there is also a strong constraint in MM's dialect of Chemehuevi which forbids first- and second-person postfix pronouns from co-occurring in the same word. (For more on pronominal postfix sequences, see section 2.4.) Historically, the final vowel in */-nV/* was *i*. All these final vowels are recoverable from Harrington's material, since his informant did not delete final vowels, but only devoiced them.

The inclusive first person forms both begin with *r*, or more accurately */t/*. (The forms are marked for obligatorily undergoing the "spirantizing" rule--features on preceding morphemes are prevented from affecting it.)

These postfix forms are separately listed in the lexicon with the feature $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{pro} \\ +\text{bnd} \\ -\text{prefix} \end{bmatrix}$.[10] (The full pronoun forms in the previous section are actually marked [*prefix] since all nouns and pronouns can appear prefixed to certain verbs.) For the lexical rule specifying the redundancy between the independent and bound pronoun forms, see L19, Appendix A.

The correct positioning of these bound forms with respect to other words and morphemes is handled in the transformational component and by output conditions.

In addition to personal pronouns, there are interrogative pronouns, treated in section 2.242; a relative pronoun, discussed in section 2.33; and a reflexive-reciprocal morpheme, discussed below.

Reflexive-reciprocal morpheme

In sentences where the verb can be interpreted either reflexively or reciprocally, a prefix */na-/* is added to the verb. (Derived from this a non-bound morpheme *nahump* which translates as oneself in such sentences as 'I myself saw him' or 'He did it himself', but this is generally emphatic rather than "reflexive." Examples of *na-* are given in (18) below:

(18) a. maŋ na-wavo?a-mpɨ
he self-cover-past
'He covered himself'

b. nɨ na-nukwi-tu?i-j
I self-run-cause-pres
'I am making myself run'

c. im na-ju?a-ka-vɨɨ-m
these self-carry-sev-past-pl
'They carried each other/themselves'

d. nɨ {pa?a-ntɨ-m / pa?a-j} na-mai-vɨ
I {tall-habit-anim / tall-pres} self-say-past
'I said I was tall'

e. Ann Johni na-ha?ɨsutu?i-ŋu-tu?i-vɨ
Ann John(ob) self-like-mom-cause-past
'Ann made John like her/himself'

Reflexivization seems to occur in a greater number of environments in Chemehuevi than in English, as shown in examples (18d) and (18e) (first meaning) above. I will return to these below.

Example (18c) illustrates the fact that sentences with plural subjects are ambiguous as to whether the action was reflexive or reciprocal. Frequently *na-* is reduplicated when the subject is plural, as in (19) below;

(19) na-na-goi-ka-vɨɨ-?ɨm
self-self-kill-sev-past-they
'They killed themselves/each other'

Even when reduplicated, the sentence is still ambiguous.

When the subject is a semantically "conjoined" noun phrase

arising from a postpositional phrase using */-wai/* with (see section 2.31), the action is still ambiguous, as in (20):

(20) maŋ mamɨ-wa na-na-goi-ka-vɨɨ-m
he them-with self-self-kill-sev-past-pl
'He and they killed themselves/each other'

However, semantically conjoined subjects which use */-gajaa/* (section 2.31) result in non-ambiguous sentences; nouns to which *-gaja* has been added are translated more as 'and noun, too' and are not thought of as accompanying the subject in the action. (In section 2.31 I propose that the source of noun + *gaja* is in a subordinate clause.) Therefore, verbs with *na-* translate only as reflexive. Example:

(21) John aipaci-gaja na-gukwi-vɨɨ-m
John boy-too self-shoot-past-pl
'John and the boy each shot themselves/*shot each other'

Examples (18b) and (18e) both involve the causative */-tu?i/* which is treated as a transitivizing verb suffix attached in the lexicon (see section 2.223, pp. 66 , 67 .) The extra NP argument which the verb takes (as a result of becoming causative) can create yet another kind of ambiguity; in (18e) *na-* is coreferential either with John or Ann.

In other words, *na-* "replaces" an object under identity with the subject or with another object. An even clearer example (although the sentence is somewhat contrived) is given in (22) below:

(22) nɨɨ-k maŋa-j na-maga-mpɨ
I-K he-ob self-give-past
'I gave {him to myself / myself to him / him to him(self)}'.

Here *na-* can replace an indirect object as well as a direct, resulting in the three-way ambiguity.

The example in (18d) above involves one of a small number of verbs which allow non-nominalized sentential clauses (see section 2.34). The embedded verb in such clauses is a finite one (or a participle used predicatively--see section 2.225),

and the embedded subject is usually in the nominative case.

The reflexivization in (18d) is optional; the sentence is synonymous with:

(23) nɨɨ-k pa?ã-jɨ-an mai-vɨ
I-K tall-pres-I say-past
'I said I was tall.'

Nonetheless the existence of examples where the verb is reflexive means the interpretive rule regarding *na-* must be expanded to include coreference between subject and embedded subject.

In the lexicon *na-* could be considered either an intransitivizing prefix or a simple pronoun, inserted into the tree like any other object and being prefixed to the verb by a general object-prefixation process (see section 2.224).

The evidence for determining whether it is a pronoun or not is not overwhelming. Since *na-* is obligatorily prefixed even to verbs which normally do not allow object prefixation, one might argue that it is not. However, the fact that its source (or reference) can be either in the matrix sentence or in an embedded clause (example (18d) above) might be somewhat easier to account for if *na-* is treated as a pronoun. Furthermore, like nouns in general, *na-* can be found as the prefixed object of a postposition, as in:

(24) na-vin?apa-aka-aŋ juna-mpɨ
self-behind-them-he put-past
'He put them down behind himself.'

(where *na-* is the object of behind).

Reciprocal *na-* is also found in the form *na-ma-*, 'together', (lit. with each other) as in the following examples:

(25) a. na-ma-?im nukwi-vɨɨ-m
recip-with-they run-past-pl
'They ran together.'

b. nɨ na-ma-ntua-um co-kwipa-tu?i-vɨ
I recip-with-toward-them head-hit-cause-past
'I bashed them together.'

c. Ann Johni Margareti na-ma?a-k punikai-vɨ
Ann John(ob) Margaret(ob) recip-with-ob see-past
'Ann saw John and Margaret together.'

I tentatively propose that *na-* be analyzed as a pronoun (with the features [+pro, +reflex]). All pronouns are insertable under any NP node; *na-*, however, must be restricted from insertion under a D since it cannot modify another noun, either as a possessor or as a demonstrative. Nor can it ever function as the subject of the main clause (such a reading will be excluded by the interpretive rules).

When the subject (or whatever *na-* is coreferential with) is semantically plural, *na-* is interpreted either reflexively or reciprocally (i.e., two readings are assigned it). Sentences with singular subjects "conjoined" with the suffix *-gaja* will be given only a reflexive reading.

The reflexive possessor */-vɨ/*

Any object noun which is possessed by a third person subject of the sentence is postfixed by a reflexive possessor pronoun morpheme, */-vɨ/*, as in:

(26) maŋ kani-a-v punikai-vɨ
he house-ob-own see-past
'He saw his (own) house.'

/vɨ/ is marked in the lexicon as:

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{pro} \\ +\text{reflex} \\ +[_{\text{Poss}}[\_\_\_]] \end{bmatrix}$$

(i.e., it can only be inserted as a possessive).

2.213 *Inflection of Nouns*

Case

The nominative case in Chemehuevi is unmarked; i.e., represented by the noun stem, including any absolutive suffixes on the root. This case is used for the (non-conjoined) subjects of matrix sentences, the subjects of embedded clauses with a small number of embedding verbs (see section 2.34), the (non-conjoined) objects of imperatives (both direct and indirect objects),[11] and nouns given in isolation.

The oblique case suffix is */-a/*, for most nouns ending in vowels other than *-a*. The latter take the suffix */-ja/* in the oblique case. There is a borderline area of nouns ending in *-ɨ* which varies--some always take */-a/*, some always take */-ja/*, and a few can take either. In addition there are one or two non-productive oblique case suffixes; the small number of nouns which take them must be lexically marked. The only one of these suffixes which MM has given is */-na/* (exemplified below), though Harrington lists a couple others. The oblique case is used for all objects in non-imperative sentences (both direct and indirect, as long as no postposition is adjoined), for objects of postpositions when the latter are suffixed to a modifier of the noun rather than the noun itself, for possessor nouns ("genitive" case), and for subjects of embedded clauses.

Examples of oblique case endings are given in (27):

(27)	a.	/sapɨ/	saap	belly[nom]
		/sapɨ+a/	sapɨ	belly(ob)
	b.	/huna/	huun	badger[nom]
		/huna+ja/	huna-j	badger-ob
	c.	/tawa/	taaw	tooth[nom]
		/tawa + {ja, na}/	tawa-n ∿ tawa-j	tooth-ob

The bare noun stem (with no case marking) is used when prefixed to verbs, when the first member of a compound, or when postpositions are directly attached; however, if the postposition of which it is an object is attached instead to an accompanying demonstrative, the noun takes an oblique ending. (For behavior of absolutives, see section 2.211).

Number

There are three productive plural markers in Chemehuevi; the suffixes */-wɨ/* and */-mɨ/* (limited to animate nouns), and reduplication. Some animate nouns use both reduplication and a suffix to form the plural. A few differentiate between dual and several by adding a suffix for two or more, and reduplicating in addition for three or more. In general, though, the plural markers do not differentiate dual from several. (Number agreement on verbs, however, does.)

Inanimate nouns, when they have plural forms at all, use

reduplication. At this point, whether an inanimate noun pluralizes or not, seems to be idiosyncratic.

Examples of plural nouns are given in (28) below:

(28)	a.	tɨvac /tɨvaci/	wolf	tɨvaci-w /tɨvaci-wɨ/	wolf-pl
	b.	poo?av /poo?avi/	flea	poo?avi-m /poo?avi-mɨ/	flea-pl
	c.	mo?ov /mo?ovɨ/	hand	mo-mo?ov /CV-mo?ovɨ/	pl-hand
	d.	maapɨc /maapɨci/	old lady	ma-maapɨci-w /CV-maapɨci-wɨ/	pl-old lady-pl
	e.	tuuk /tuku/	mountain lion	tuku-w /tuku-wɨ/	mountain lion-pl
	f.	wii /wihi/	knife	wii /wihi-Ø/	knives
	g.	aipac /aipaci/	boy	aipaci-w a-?aipaci-w /CV-aipaci-wɨ/	boy-pl sev-boy-pl

Some nouns lose an absolutive suffix before adding the plural suffix, as in (29) below:

(29)	a.	taw?a-c /taw?a-ci/	man-abs	tawa-m /tawa-mɨ/	man-pl

(Note that man idiosyncratically loses its medial consonant glottalization as well. This simply has to be lexically marked.)

	b.	aiva-c /aiva-ci/	youth-abs	aiva-w a-?aiva-w /CV-aiva-wɨ/	youth-pl sev-youth-pl

For idiosyncracies in reduplication, see section 1.33. Note that all vowel-initial nouns are assumed to begin with glottal stop (or have one added) before reduplication.

Plural nouns in the oblique case add the suffix */-a/* after the plural suffix. Examples:

(30) a. tɨvaci-wɨ wolf-pl(ob)
/tɨvaci-wɨ-a/

b. poo?avi-mɨ flea-pl(ob)
/poo?avi-mɨ-a/

Redundancy rules for inflectional suffixes of case and number are given in Appendix A, L20-L26.

2.214 *Modifiers*

Demonstratives

As stated in section 2.212 above, all third-person personal pronouns are also demonstratives, and may be used as modifiers of other (nonpronoun) nouns. As such they either precede or follow the noun they modify, or both for added emphasis. Examples:

(31) { iŋ aipac / aipac iŋ / iŋ aipac iŋ } 'This boy'

Demonstratives agree with their head nouns in case as well as number and animacy:

(32) a. maŋa-j aipaci
that-ob boy(ob) 'That boy'

b. ic wii '{This knife / These knives}'
this knife

c. umɨ puusi-wɨ
those(ob) cat-pl(ob) 'Those cats'

When modifying other nouns demonstratives cannot be postfixed to anything. When they immediately follow their head noun, however, they appear in somewhat different phonological forms, shown in (33) below:

(33)

	Full pro (prenominal dem)	post-nominal dem	postfix pro
anim	iŋ	iŋ	-iŋ
	maŋ	aŋ	-aŋ
	uŋ	uŋ	-uŋ
inan	ic	ic	-ik
	mar	ar	-ak
	ur	ur	-uk

Whereas the animate series suggests these post-nominal forms are equivalent to the postfix pronoun forms, the inanimate series shows they cannot be. Instead they seem to be related to the full pronoun forms by a phonological process deleting initial *m*, a process which shows up in a few other sporadic (and frozen) instances in the language.

This consonant deletion does suggest an affix-like character for these post-nominal demonstratives. A further argument for perhaps calling them postfixes concerns a word-order constraint requiring subject postfix pronouns to attach to the first word in the sentence (see section 2.4). Noun + demonstrative is the only exception in the language to this constraint. Bound subjects attach to a post-nominal demonstrative rather than to the noun itself, e.g.,

(34) a. aipaci aŋa-ja-n kwipa-vɨ
boy(ob) that-ob-I hit-past
'I hit that boy.'

b. *aipaci-a-n aŋa-j kwipa-vɨ

However, in two crucial tests post-nominal demonstratives look very much like words, not suffixes: (1) Enclitics, which are absolutely constrained to appear on the first "word" in the sentence, always precede post-nominal demonstratives, i.e., attach to the head noun. In general enclitics come last in a series of affixes and postfixes. (2) Phonological rules, the most manifest being final vowel deletion, treat demonstratives as separate words--e.g., the final vowel in */aipaci/* boy, is protected by any affix, postfix, or enclitic, but not by a dmonstrative: *aipac aŋ*, 'that boy'.

Since I consider the vowel-deletion rule the most crucial argument I propose calling post-nominal demonstratives separate words rather than affixes, making the appropriate modifications on the subject constraint.

Adjectives

Adjectives are essentially equivalent to verbs; as modifiers they, like all other verbs can appear in participle form. They precede or follow the head noun, with which they agree in case and number:

(35) a. {pa?a-ntɨ-m aipac / aipac pa?a-ntɨ-m} nukwi-j

{tall-ptc-anim boy / boy tall-ptc-anim} run-pres

'The tall boy is running.'

b. aipaci-w pa?a-ka-rɨ-m nukwi-ka-jɨ-?ɨm
boy-pl tall-sev-ptc-anim run-sev-pres-pl
'The tall boys are running.'

c. nɨ aŋkaga-rɨ wihi puni-vɨ
I red-ptc(ob) knife(ob) look-past
'I looked at the red knife.'

Adjectives differ from nonadjective verbs in several respects:

(i) The verb suffix */-?umɨ/* (which loses its *?* after the participle ending, allowing the *u* to assimilate and thus delete) is primarily a [+anim] agreement marker. For nonadjective verbs $\begin{bmatrix}+V\\-Adj\end{bmatrix}$, whether finite or participles, the suffix is added only if the subject (or head noun) is in addition [-sing]. For adjectives $\begin{bmatrix}+V\\+Adj\end{bmatrix}$, the same is true when they are used as finite verbs. However, when adjectives are in participle form they add */-?umɨ/* for any animate noun, whether singular or plural:

(36) a. maŋ {tɨka-r / *tɨka-rɨ-m} aŋ saaronci

he {eat-ptc / *eat-ptc-anim} that one beer(ob)

hivi-sua-ŋ
drink-finish-mom
'The eating one drank up the beer.'
(tɨka- = [-Adj])

b. maŋ {pa?a-ntɨ-m / *pa?a-nt} aŋ saaronci

he {tall-ptc-anim / *tall-ptc} that one beer(ob)

hivi-sua-ŋ
drink-finish-mom
'The tall one drank up the beer.'
(pa?a- = [+Adj])

c. maŋ {pa?a-j / *pa?a-jɨ-?ɨm}

he {tall-pres / *tall-pres-anim}

'He [that one] is tall.'

(For further examples of */-?umɨ/* on finite verbs, see section 2.226 on verb agreement.) The above holds as well for participles used predicatively--see section 2.225.

(ii) Nonadjective verbs must co-occur with a demonstrative when modifying a noun; adjectives need not:

(37) {*nukwi-c / nukwi-c aŋ} aipac pa?a-j

{*run-ptc / run-ptc that} boy tall-pres

'That running boy is tall.'

(iii) When used predicatively (see section 2.225), participialized nonadjectives require the enclitic K in the sentence, participialized adjectives do not.

Participle forms may be used as nouns themselves, nonadjectives, however, require a co-occurring demonstrative:

(38) a. {*nukwi-c / nukwi-c aŋ} wɨ?iku-vɨ

{*run-ptc / run-ptc that} fall-past

'The running one fell.'

b. pa?a-ntɨ-m wɨ?iku-vɨ

tall-ptc-anim fall-past

'The tall one fell.'

(For ordering of demonstratives with respect to participles, see section 2.4 on Word Order.)

Numerals

Numerals modifying nouns show agreement in case by the addition of the nominative suffix */-ju/* or the oblique suffix */-ku/* as in the following examples:

(39) waha-j kaiv pa?a-j
two-nom mountain tall-pres
'Two mountains are high.'

Ann waha-k tɨmpi punikai-vɨ
Ann two-ob stone see-past
'Ann saw two stones.'

Numerals, like adjectives, add */-?umɨ/* whenever the noun they are modifying is animate:

(40) waha-ju-m aipaci-w nukwi-jɨ-?ɨm
two-nom-anim boy-pl run-pres-pl
'Two boys are running.'

Ann waha-ku-mɨ aipaci-wɨ punikai-vɨ
Ann two-ob-anim(ob) boy-pl(ob) see-past
'Ann saw two boys.'

Note that the surfacing of the last vowel in *waha-ku-mɨ* (last example above) indicates the presence of an underlying final */-a/* oblique case suffix, attached rather redundantly to the animate marker.

Possessives

Possessive modifiers are always in the oblique case and are unaffected by the case of the possessed noun. These modifiers may be common nouns (which can themselves be modified), proper nouns or pronouns. In the first two instances the possessor must precede the head noun, as well as any adjectives (participles) modifying the head. If the possessor is a pronoun it has two possible positions: in full form it precedes the head and all other modifiers, in postfix form it attaches directly to the head (never to another modifier). Pronouns may occur concurrently in both positions (if coreferential) and postfix pronouns may co-occur with common and proper noun possessors (if coreferential). Examples:

(41) a. { nɨɨni tuu / tua-n / nɨɨni tua-n } iva-ni?i-j
my son-my here-cont-pres
'My son is here.'

b. owasiaka-r pampɨn?i-iŋ kac iva-wa?
yellow-ptc pot - his not here-neg

iŋa-j owasiaka-r pampɨn? kac iva-wa?
his-ob yellow-ptc pot not here-neg

'His yellow pot is gone.'

c. mar pampɨn?i-n hɨpɨki-j
that pot-my holey-pres
'That pot of mine has a hole.'

d. pavi-a-n naro?o-oŋ aŋkaga-j
brother-ob-my shirt-his red-pres
'My brother's shirt is red.'

e. nɨɨ-k {wihi-a-uŋ / uŋa-j wihi} puni-kai-vɨ

I-K {knife-ob-his / his-ob knife(ob)} see-result-past

'I saw his knife.'

f. nɨɨ-k maŋa-j piso?oci puni-kai-vɨ
I-K him-ob child(ob) see-result-past

'I saw {his child / that child}.'

Note that when the head noun is also oblique and agrees in number and animacy with the possessor, the sentence is ambiguous. (For further discussion see section 2.4.)

As in other Uto-Aztecan languages there are certain restrictions on what kinds of common nouns may be possessed. In section 2.211 nouns which normally must be possessed were discussed, such as body parts and kin-terms. Animals cannot be directly possessed without first being compounded with */-puŋku/* pet. With the verb */-gai/* have (which is bound), pet is attached as a verb prefix. Examples:

(42) a. nɨɨni tuku-puŋku-n
my mountain lion-pet-my

'my {mountain lion / cat},

b. nɨɨ-k waha-ku-mɨ wa?arovi-mɨ
I-K two-ob-anim(ob) horse-pl(ob)

puŋku-wɨ-ga-nt
pet-pl-have-ptc
'I have two horses.'

Plants are generally not possessable unless compounded with */-ɨgapɨ/* plant (cultivated, not wild). An exception is */hawi/* corn, perhaps because it is understood to be "cultivated."

In contrast to English, which uses possessive constructions for a large variety of things other than ownership, Chemehuevi seems to use these constructions more restrictively. For example possessor nouns are not used with bare nouns to mean the "maker" of the object, thus to say 'Her coffee is always bitter' one must say:

(43) {kuupi-cu-na-aŋ / *kuupi-aŋ} utusamp mohara-t

{coffee-make-ptc-she / *coffee-her} always bitter-ptc

'The coffee she makes is always bitter.'

2.22 *Verb Phrases*

2.221 *Derivation of Verbs*

Verb stems in Chemehuevi can either be monomorphemic or derived from other lexical categories by the addition of various suffixes. Most of the former are roots which are exclusively verbal, though there are a few sets of roots which have more than one lexical category assigned to them, most notably the postpositions (which with tense-aspect markers are verbs, as bare stems are postpositions). A small number of verb roots are also noun roots, e.g., *taŋa* [+N] knee, *taŋa* [+V] kick; similarly a number of adverbs when suffixed with tense-aspect markers become verbs: *kwaɨ* [+Adv] away, *kwaɨ* [+V] go away.

Verb stems derived in part from nouns include various productive types of compounds (for example, most verbs allow their object to be prefixed--see section 2.224 below). They also include nouns suffixed with bound morphemes, which on the basis of their semantics could be viewed as compounds too. (Synchronically the question of whether a morpheme is a stem or affix is probably not entirely decidable, especially for

those cases where diachronically something is changing from one to the other. In my analysis I simply use [+bnd] for anything which cannot appear alone in a word. The features [prefix] and [suffix] only describe the nature of the junctures and are not intended to imply that a morpheme is not a "stem.")

Examples of verb stems formed by compounding to nouns are given in (44) below:

(44) a. kwipa- hit ; puŋku-kwipa-
dog-hit
'hit a dog'
(=puŋkuci kwipa-)

b. punikai- see ; nɨwɨ-punikai-
person-see
'see a person'
(= nɨwɨ punikai-)

There is a small class of nouns which are frequently used in capacities other than (or in addition to) direct object, which have special shortened forms for these prefixes (in some cases the forms are suppletive, e.g., */nampa/* foot; */ta-/* foot [prefix]). Obviously some of these are or will become candidates for relexicalization as alternations without the prefix drop out. Examples of this class:

(45) a.	pa-hoora-	'dig a well'	<	/paa/	water
				/hoora-/	dig
b.	ma-nujukwa-	'shove'	<	/moʔovɨ/	hand
				/nujukwa-/	move
c.	nɨ-mpoʔo-tui-	'teach school'	<	/nɨwɨ/	person
				/poʔo-tui-/	cause to write

The regular long prefix forms may be used productively with verbs with which these nouns are not frequently associated, compare (45c) with (44b) above.

The quasi-compound suffixes (bound verbs) are illustrated in (46):

(46) a. /-gai/ be, have (= */-gaa/* before a small number of suffixes, e.g., */-tɨ/* ptc. See P 15 in section 1.33.)

e.g., kani-gai-
house-have
'have a house'

ha?ɨtɨ-na?incici-gai-
good -girl -be
'be a good girl'

b. /-tu ∿ -tu?i/ make (These may be two separate suffixes, though they vary freely when suffixed to nouns. */-tu?i/* is used as a causative suffix with verb stems and then does not alternate with */-tu/* .)

e.g., wihi-{cu- / cu?i-}[12]

knife-make
'make a knife'

c. /-tu?a/ become (Also used with verb (adjective) stems to mean turn X.)

e.g., wa?arovi-cu?a-
horse -become
'become a horse'

By and large adjectives are equivalent to verbs in Chemehuevi, i.e., their stems take normal tense-aspect suffixes. The subclass of adjective stems comprising color terms[13] is somewhat of an exception in that they must be first suffixed either with */-tu?a/* become or a special stative suffix */-ka/*, used only with this class apparently. When augmented in this manner the resulting stem behaves like any other verb with respect to tense-aspect markers. Color roots appear without these suffixes when used in compounds, e.g., *aŋka-gan* red-house.

2.222 *Features on Stems*

Verb stems in Chemehuevi are inherently marked in the lexicon for transitivity (co-occurrence with NP arguments other than the subject) and aspect ("momentaneousness"). The former is incorporated in the overall syntactic co-occurrence feature assigned to the verb, e.g., $+_{VP}[(\{PP / Adv\})^*$ ___] for intransitive verbs (e.g., *nukwi-* run), and $+_{VP}[(\{PP / Adv\})^*$ NP__]

or $+_{VP}[(\{^{PP}_{Adv}\})^*$ NP NP ___] for transitive verbs with one and two objects respectively (e.g., *parɨgi-* wash, and *maga-* give). Verbs which allow elliptical objects, such as *tɨka-* eat, simply have those NPs in parentheses. In contrast, there are a small number of verbs with both transitive and intransitive meanings where the latter is not ellipsis of the former, e.g., *kwipa-* which means to hit when with an object but fall without. For these, two separate lexical entries are assumed. (See E3, Appendix A.) (Since both the meanings and the syntactic environments differ, they may as well be treated as separate (though homophonous) verbs.)

The aspect "momentaneous" is a feature on each verb stem which essentially dictates what other tense-aspect markers the verb may co-occur with. (Also which subordinating suffixes they take.) Semantically, "momentaneous" verbs are usually inceptive or are accomplished instantaneously. A few stems may be used with either aspectual meaning, and will be specified [*mom].

Examples of these specifications:

(47) a. tɨka- [-mom] eat

b. tɨrawi?i- [+mom] dash off

c. kwɨhɨ- [*mom] catch

Portions of the paradigms which are affected by the [mom] feature are as follows (the suffixes referred to will be discussed in turn below):

A. [+mom] verbs cannot take the present tense suffix, */-jɨ/*. Instead [+mom] verbs may take a zero present tense suffix which [-mom] (or "durative") verbs may not take. (This results phonetically in the loss of the stem-final vowel; see section 1.33 on phonology.) E.g.:

(48) a. maŋ {tɨrawi? / *tɨrawi?i-j}

he {dash off-Ø / *dash off-pres}

'He {dashes off / *is dashing off.},

b. maŋ {*nukw / nukwi-j}

he {*run-Ø / run-pres}

'He runs/is running.'

B. [+mom] verbs cannot take the aspect (or quasi-aspect) markers */-ni?i/* (continuous activity), or */-karɨ/*, sit (while Vb-ing). E.g.:

(49) maŋ {*tɨrawi?i-ni?i-vɨ / nukwi-ni?i-vɨ}

he {*dash off-cont-past / run-cont-past}

'He {*was dashing off. / was running.},

C. [+mom] verb stems take a zero suffix in the imperative (with same phonetic results as above). [-mom] verb stems add */-ŋu/* in the imperative (see section 2.26 on imperatives). E.g.:

(50) a. {tɨrawi?i-? / *tɨrawi?i-ŋu-?}

{dash off-you / *dash off-imp-you} 'Dash off!

b. {*nukwi-? / nukwi-ŋu-?}

{*run-you / run-imp-you} 'Run!'

D. [-mom] verbs form subordinate gerunds in */-gai/*; [+mom] verbs in */-ci/*. E.g.:

(51) a. {tirawi?i-c / *tɨrawi?i-ga}

'dashing off(?)/having dashed off'

b. {*nukwi-c / nukwi-ga} 'running'

2.223 *Verb Suffixes*

Suffixes may be added to verb stems to accomplish the following:

a) change the inherent specification (transitivity, etc.)
b) mark aspects, tenses, voice and "mood"
c) mark number agreement

The inherent specification of a verb stem may be switched by adding suffixes like */-ŋkɨ/* (transitivizer or benefactive) or */-tu?i/*, cause, both of which allow the addition of one object (oblique case with no postpositions) to whatever number already may co-occur with the verb. (The passive suffix */-tɨɨ/* could be included here as an intransitivizer, but is discussed separately in section 2.25.)

Examples:

(52) /ŋkɨ/: a. nɨɨ-k mavacigi-vɨ
I -K clap-past
'I clapped.'

nɨɨ-k maŋa-j mavaciki-ŋkɨ-vɨ
I-K him-ob slap-tran-past
'I slapped him.'

(*k/g* alternation has to do with change in momentaneousness.)

b. maŋ puusi-cu kijasui-ka
he cat-at smile-result
'He's smiling at/toward the cat.'

maŋ puusi kijasui-ŋkɨ-ka
he cat (ob) smile-tran-result
'He's smiling at the cat.'

/-tu?i/: c. nɨɨ-k nukwi-vɨ
I-K run-past
'I ran.'

nɨɨ-k maŋa-j nukwi-tu?i-vɨ
I-K he-ob run-cause-past
'I made him run.'

d. nɨɨ-k Johni tukuavi maga-vɨ
I-K John(ob) meat(ob) give-past
'I gave John meat.'

nɨɨ-k Johni puusi tukuavi
I-K John(ob) cat(ob) meat(ob)
maga-tu?i-vɨ
give-cause-past
'I made John give the cat meat.'

The feature [momentaneous] may be changed by modifying the stem in the following ways:

(53) 1) internal stem change:

Some verbs "spirantize" some of their internal consonants to form the durative ([-mom]) counterpart of their stem.

Examples:

	[-mom]	[+mom]
a.	mavika- feel	mapika- touch
b.	ijavaga- be afraid	ijapaka- get a scare

2) reduplication:

Verbs such as *karɨ-* sit; *wɨnɨ-* stand; *havi-* lie; (as well as the suppletive forms for plural subject) form the [+mom] counterparts by reduplicating the first syllable.

	[-mom]	[+mom]
a.	karɨ- sit [sing]	ka-karɨ- sit down [sing]
b.	jɨwi- sit [pl]	jɨ-jɨwi- sit down [pl]

3) suffix */ŋu/*.

A large number of verbs regularly form their momentaneous counterparts by adding the suffix */-ŋu/*.

a.	tavi?i-j hit-pres	tavi?i-ŋu- 'start-to hit'
b.	mucu-j be strong-pres	mucu-ŋu- 'get strong'

4) suffix */-ku/:*

Several verbs become momentaneous by suffixing */-ku/*.

a.	wɨ?i-vɨ fall-past 'was falling'	wɨ?i-ku-vɨ fall-mom-past 'fell'
b.	puca-ka be full-result	puca-ku-ka 'has filled [result]'

All the constraints on momentaneous verbs noted above apply to verbs with momentaneous suffixes.

In addition to momentaneousness, verbs can be marked for several other aspects. Some verb-verb compounds will be included in this category when the second member has aspectual rather than coordinate significance. The following list gives examples and illustrations of the various aspectual suffixes, and tenses with which they co-occur:

(54) a. (continuative) */-ni?i/* (co-occurs with past */-vɨɨ/*, pres */-jɨ/*, fut */-vaa/*; results in durative verb.)

e.g.,

tɨka- eat	tɨka-ni?i- 'be eating while doing something else'
jawi- carry	jawi-ni?i- 'hold'
uni- be (e.g., location)	uni-ni?i- 'belong (somewhere)'

b. (iterative) reduplication of first syllable, together with glottalization of second syllable; i.e., formation of the iterative could be viewed as: $CV_1CV_2 \rightarrow CV_1\text{-}CV_1CV_2\text{-}?V_2$. (co-occurs with whatever tenses the stem does, i.e., does not affect [mom] feature.)

e.g.,

puni- look	pu-mpuni?i- 'look repeatedly'
ukwi- smell	u-?ukwi?i- 'sniff around'

c. (perfective) */-ma?aku/* finish (co-occurs with past */-vɨɨ/*, perfect (enclitic) */-caa/*. Changes aspect to [+mom]; cannot take pres */-jɨ/* or imp */-ŋu/*.)

e.g.,

n̈i̇-ca ẗi̇ka-ma?ak
I-perf eat-finish
'I have finished eating.'

n̈i̇ ẗi̇ka-ma?aku-v̈i̇
I eat-finish-past
'I finished eating.'

d. (perfective) */-mai̇/* finish (co-occurs with past */-v̈i̇i̇/*.)

e.g.,

n̈i̇ ẗi̇ka-mai̇-gi-ga
I eat-finish-come-pres
'I came to finish eating.'

n̈i̇ kac ẗi̇ka-mai̇-v̈i̇i̇-wa
I not eat-finish-past-neg
'I didn't finish eating.'

e. (perfective) */-kai ∿ -kwai ∿ -ŋkwai/* have -en
(co-occurs with pres */-j̈i̇/*, past */-v̈i̇i̇/*, pres Ø.)

e.g.,

mava-aka-aŋ wac̈i̇-ŋkwa
there-it-he put-perf
'He has put it there.'

f. (resultative) */-kai/* (co-occurs with Ø pres, past */v̈i̇i̇/*, pres */-j̈i̇/*, past */-mp̈i̇i̇/*, fut */-vaa-/*, */-mpaa/*.)

e.g.,

n̈i̇ puni-v̈i̇ — I look-past — 'I looked.'
n̈i̇ puni-kai-v̈i̇ — I look-result-past — 'I saw.'

g. (cessative) */-maupa/* stop (does not take */-ŋu/* in imper; makes verb [+mom].)

e.g.,

kac ẗi̇ka-maupa-?ap
not eat-stop-neg
'Don't stop eating!'

tɨka-maupa-ka-j
eat-stop-pl-you[pl imp]
'Stop eating (to several)!'

h. (usitative) */-mi/* used to (co-occurs with pres */-jɨ/*, past */-mpɨɨ/*, cannot be used in future.)

e.g.,

utusampa-n tɨka-mi-mpɨ
always -I eat-used to-past
'I always used to eat.'

i. (continuative) */-karɨ/* sit (with durative verbs only)

e.g.,

nɨ puni-karɨ-j aipaci
I look-sit-pres boy(ob)
'I watch the boy.'

(Similarly with verbs stand, lie.)

j. (motionals) */-gi/* come to (*/-gi-voro/* for plural subject); */-wa?i/* go to (*/-voro/* for plural subject).

e.g.,

hivi-gi-mpaa-n
drink-come to-fut-I
'I will come to drink.'

k. (others) */-maga/* try to
/-suawagai/ want to
/-musu/ be unable to; try in vain to
/-tɨtu?ani/ seem to
/-tɨvicu/ ask to; want to

e.g.,

nɨ tɨka-suawagai-vɨ
I eat-want - past
'I wanted to eat.'

"Tenses" are temporal suffixes (or enclitics) which can co-occur with other suffixes but not with each other. They in general follow aspect suffixes and precede postfix pronouns,

nominal and participle suffixes, etc. The following list includes all such suffixes in Chemehuevi:

(55)

/-jɨ/	present
/-vɨɨ/	past
/-mpɨɨ/	past
/-vaa/	future
/-mpaa/	future
/-ka/	present/past
/-caa/	perfect (enclitic)
/-pɨ-gai/	remote past
Ø	present

Which of these suffixes a verb can take is by and large determined by the momentaneous feature on the stem. E.g., */-jɨ/* present does not attach to [+mom] stems. In the case of the two past suffixes */-vɨɨ/* and */-mpɨɨ/*, the determination is partly phonological and partly semantic. Some morphemes require one or the other--a stem's requirement may be overridden by what an intervening suffix allows. In other cases, e.g., for the entire class of adjectives, the choice of past tense reflects a meaning change: Adj-*vɨ* means 'was Adj', Adj-*mpɨ* means 'got Adj'.

The following suffixes could be classified as "modals," signifying unreal action, or action contrary to fact:

(56) a. /-guu/ would

e.g., nɨ tɨka-gu
I eat-would
'I would eat.'

e.g., tɨrawi?i-guu-n ɨmi-gai-j
dash off-would-I you-be-subord
'If I were you I would run.'

b. /-guu-pɨ/ should

e.g., nɨ tɨka-guup
I eat-should
'I should eat.'

c. /-ŋkuu/ could

e.g., nɨ tɨka-ŋku
I eat-could
'I could eat.'

e.g., paa-gaa-ku-n navakɨ-ŋku
water-be-subord-I swim-could
'If there were water I could swim.'

d. /-ŋkuu-pɨ/ could

e.g., navakɨ-ŋkuupɨ-gaisapa-?aŋ,
swim-could-though-he
kac uni-suawaga
not do-want
'He could swim but he doesn't want to.'

These suffixes occur with no tense.

2.224 *Object Prefixation*

As illustrated in (44) above, most verbs may optionally prefix their object. The fact that a noun is prefixed is evidenced by shifting of stress on the verb, by mutation of the verb-initial consonant (with some nouns), by changes in the position of postfixed subject (see section 2.4 on Word Order) and for most nouns, loss of the absolutive suffix.

With verbs which are normally non-bound (i.e., which do not require object-prefixation) inflectional markers, such as plural suffixes or oblique case endings, are omitted from the noun. If an object is plural, the tendency is not to prefix it unless the fact that it is plural is otherwise overtly shown in the sentence (independent modifiers exhibiting plural agreement for example, or the inclusion of the plural-object suffix */-tu/* on the verb--see section 2.226 on agreement).

Verbs which require object-prefixation, e.g., postpositions and the quasi-compounds in (46) above, do co-occur with plural suffixes on the noun (though oblique markers are still omitted):

(57) a. nɨɨ-k waha-ku-mɨ puŋku-wɨ-gaa-nt
I -K two-ob-pl(ob) dog-pl-have-habit
'I have two dogs.'

c.f. nɨɨ-k waha-ku-mɨ { puŋku-ci-wɨ kwipa-vɨ / *puŋku-(ci)-wɨ-kwipa-vɨ }
I -K two-ob-pl(ob) dog-abs-pl(ob) hit-past
'I hit two dogs.'

Some verb-object combinations do not occur in prefixed form, e.g.,

(58) maŋ puŋku-ci kɨ?i-vɨ
he dog-abs(ob) bite-past
*maŋ puŋku-kɨ?i-vɨ
'He bit the dog.'

It may be that possible combinations (with prefixed objects) are determined by such things as the frequency or plausibility of the semantic association (as is true for compounds in general).

Rather than assembling all possible object-verb compounds in the lexicon (as was done for noun-noun and verb-noun compounds), I propose that every noun simply be entered twice in the lexicon, in prefix and non-prefix form. This is needed anyway for nouns with absolutives (section 2.211) and furthermore seems to be the simplest way of handling examples where the object is modified, as in (57a) above.

Either form of a noun can be inserted under any N node. (The two forms of the same noun will not co-occur in a verb phrase.) If a [+prefix] noun is positioned immediately before the verb originally or by a permutation transformation (see section 2.4) a compound is created. If a [+prefix] noun is left stranded in the sentence, or a verb requiring object-prefixation ends up with no [+prefix] object to its left, the sentence will be discarded.

The redundancy rule relating prefix to non-prefix noun forms is given in L28, Appendix A. Prefix forms are always interpreted as oblique (e.g., for the purposes of modifier agreement), though they never occur with an overt oblique case marker.

2.225 *The Enclitic K and the Habitual*

Semantically there is one other aspect marker occurring frequently in Chemehuevi, namely the habitual, which behaves syntactically quite differently from the suffixes discussed in 2.223. The habitual suffix is actually the active participle ending */tɨ/*, described in section 2.33 below.[14] Examples of */-tɨ/* (*/∿ -rɨ ∿ -cɨ ∿ -ntɨ/*) with various tenses are given in (59); with no tense suffix the verb translates in the present:

(59) a. nɨɨ-k nukwi-c
I-K run-ptc
'I run.'

b. Johni-k utusamp mucu-ntɨ-m, aɨvi-aŋ jum?iga-j
John-K always strong-ptc-anim, now-he weak-pres
'John is always strong, (but) right now he's weak.'

c. tɨka-vaa-ntɨ-k nɨ
eat-fut-ptc-K I
'I will eat.'

d. nɨɨ-k utusamp tɨka-mi-nt
I-K always eat-usit-ptc
'I used to eat all the time.'

e. nɨɨ-k pawa-pɨgaa-nt
I-K swell-rem past-ptc
'I used to swell (e.g., from liver disease).'

The habitual (participle) suffix differs from true tense-aspect suffixes in that it requires, for nonadjective verbs, the enclitic *-uk*[15] to appear in the sentence, as in the following example:

(60) {nɨɨ-k / *nɨ} tɨka-r
I-K eat-ptc
'I eat.'

With adjective-verbs *-uk* is optional:[16]

(61) {aipac / aipaci-k} pa?a-ntɨ-m
{boy / boy-K} tall-ptc-anim
'The boy is tall.'

For this reason *-uk* (which Harrington associated with the third-person inanimate invisible postfix pronoun, but which I will refer to simply as K for these usages) might be related to some kind of copular verb. Indeed it replaces the verb be in predicate nominative constructions such as:

(62) {nɨɨ-k / *ni} nainc

I-K girl
'I am a girl.'

K also seems to be used in focusing the subject of the sentence, such as in cleft constructions (involving the subject: 'It was John who cut the wood') or in responses to questions like 'Who caught the fish?' (For further discussion of K see section 2.4.) However K also co-occurs with normal finite verbs. In such cases it generally seems to contribute very little semantically; the subject may be somewhat focused, but not as strongly as in the cleft sentences:

(63) {nɨ / nɨɨ-k} nukwi-j

I-(K) run-pres
'I am running.'

With K attached to the first word in the sentence, the participle verb form is the only type of predicate which permits the subject to occur in non-initial position (first in the sentence, or postfixed to the first word; see section 2.4 on word order). It is also the only verb form which, like predicate nominatives, does not allow its subject to postfix to it, thus:

(64) a. nukwi-jɨ-aŋ
run-pres-he
'He is running.'

b. pagɨci-ja-uk maŋ tɨka-r
fish-ob-K he eat-ptc
'He eats fish.'

but

c. *pagɨci-ja-uk tɨka-rɨ-aŋ
fish-ob-K eat-ptc-he

As I will suggest in section 2.33 these verbs might simply be thought of as somewhat like headless relatives (though not entirely equivalent to them.[17] Note that as main predicates, even nonadjective participles do not co-occur with demonstrative

pronouns). I will still call them participles then, allowing participles to be inserted directly under the VP node. Participles of nonadjective verbs are lexically marked as requiring co-occurrence with K (which I would generate optionally in the VP) when they are used predicatively (i.e., when directly dominated by a VP node).

2.2251 *The Enclitic A, /-a/*

Frequently postfixed pronouns appear in a curious augmented form, as shown in (65) below. As with examples elsewhere in this monograph the spurious element is glossed as A (and shows up with or without a glottal stop):

(65) a. aɨvi-a-n navakɨ-j
now-A-I swim-pres
'I am swimming now.'

b. ha?ɨju-?a-n
well - A -I
'I am well.'

c. kacu-?a-ram ha?ɨju-wa?
not-A-we well-neg
'We are not well.'

d. taŋa-vɨ-a-iŋ John Anni
kick-past-A-he John Ann(ob)
'John kicked Ann.'

e. navakɨ-ŋu-ca-su-a-n
swim-mom-perf-again-A-I
'I am swimming again.'

f. waha-ku-a-n totoci-vɨ punikai-vɨ
two-ob-A-I head-pl(ob) see-past
'I saw two heads.'

g. kacu-a-iŋa-n mamɨ maga-vɨ-wa
not-A-him-I them(ob) give-past-neg
'I didn't give him to them.'

h. kacu-a-ra-?um nukwi-ka-va-wa
not-A-Q-they run-pl-fut-neg
'Won't they run?'

Exactly what this element represents is unclear. The Harrington material includes an abundance of examples; in his notes he calls it "thematic" or "declarative *-ʔa-*" and finds no particular meaning for it. (It is also found in Sapir's Southern Paiute data.)

The distribution of */-ʔa/ ∿ /-a/* may be characterized as follows:

1. It must appear on the first word in the sentence (if it appears at all.)
2. It cannot attach to a subject noun stem. (No clear examples with oblique nouns have been found, possibly since A is indistinguishable from oblique */-a/*.)
3. When it appears it is always followed by a subject postfix pronoun (which is also restricted to the first word in the sentence). Other postfix pronouns or enclitics may intervene, as in the last two examples in (65) above.
4. It cannot co-occur with K in the same sentence.

These facts become more intriguing when compared with the distribution of K in the previous section. One might venture to hypothesize that A and K are variants of one copular-like morpheme, the choice being determined by whether the subject is full or bound. The usage of A and K interacts with the syntax of the rest of the sentence to effect various degrees of emphasis ranging from a simple copular function all the way to clefting. It is possible that K is used when the subject is focused (albeit mildly), and A is used for focusing any other constituent (sentence-initial).

The distribution of A seems to be a bit more constrained than that of K; A tends to co-occur with the present *-j* (sometimes with a past tense meaning) more easily than with the past *-vɨ*. It is found much more frequently with the first person singular pronoun than with any other subject.

2.226 *Verb Agreement*

Verbs in Chemehuevi agree in number with their subjects, and optionally with their objects. There are two suffixes which refer to the number of the subject. */-ʔumɨ/* is added to

the verb for two or more (only if animate), and follows tense suffixes. However, it is omitted if any postfixed pronouns are attached as well. Thus, for the nonsingular subjects in (b), (c) and (d) below, *-ʔum* is added only in (b):

(66) a. maŋ nukwi-j
he run-pres
'He is running.'

b. mam nukwi-jɨ-ʔɨm
they run-pres-pl
'They [two] are running.'

c. nukwi-jɨ-ʔam
run-pres-they
'They [two] are running.'

d. wii honono?o-j(ɨ-*ʔɨm)
knives fall-pres(-*pl)
'The knives [two] are falling.'

(*-ʔum* is used for both singular and plural animate subjects if the verb is an adjective; see section 2.214.)

For three or more (i.e., [+several] as opposed to just [-sing]) the suffix */-ka/* is added to the verb, whether the subject is animate or not. This suffix precedes tenses. Examples:

(67) a. mam nukwi-ka-jɨ-ʔɨm
they run-sev-pres-pl
'They [all] are running.'

b. wii honono?o-ka-j
knives fall-sev-pres
'The knives [all] are falling.'

When the verb is suffixed with */-ka/*, the [-sing] marker *-ʔum* is optional; e.g., (67a) could have been just *mam nukwi-ka-j*.

When the object of the verb is three or more (i.e., [+several]) a suffix */-tu/* is added, preceding tenses (ordered optionally before or after */-ka/*, if there is one). Example:

(68) nɨ mamɨ puni-tu-kai-vɨ
I them see-plob-result-past
'I saw them.'

A small number of verbs have suppletive stems for marking plurality. These stems are used with non-singular subjects if the verb is intransitive, or with non-singular objects if the verb is transitive:

(69) a. maŋ karɨ-j
he sit-pres
'He is sitting.'

b. mam jɨwi-jɨ-ʔɨm
they sit-pres-pl
'They [two] are sitting.'

c. mam jɨwi-ka-jɨ-ʔɨm
they sit-sev-pres-pl
'They [all] are sitting.'

(70) a. nɨ maka-j wacɨ-mpɨ
I that-ob put-past
'I placed that.'

b. nɨ maka-j juna-mpɨ
I those-ob put-past
'I placed those [two].'

c. nɨ maka-j juna-tu-mpɨ
I those-ob put-plob-past
'I placed those [all].'

In imperative sentences, */-ka/* is added to the verb only if the second-person subject (whether overt or not) is three or more. The suffix */-tu/* is added only if the object is [+sev], despite the fact the latter is in the nominative case. *-ʔum* is not used at all.

In sentences with "passive" participles (actually object-relativizations), */-ka/* reflects the number of the subject of the relative clause--what on the surface looks like an "agent" (see section 2.33):

(71) puusi-k nɨmi jaki-ka-kai-n
cat-K us(ob) bring-sev-perf-ptc

{'The cat was brought by us [all].'
'The cat was what we [all] brought.'}

(*-ʔum* again, does not occur.) Similarly if the subject of the

above sentence (the understood object of the relative) is plural, the plural stem of (transitive) bring is used:

(72) puusi-wɨ-k nɨmi ju?aki-ka-kai-n
cat-pl-K us(ob) bring-sev-perf-ptc
'The cats were brought by us [all].'

When the causative suffix */-tu?i/* is added to a verb, */-ka/* is suffixed if either the subject or the object (i.e., semantic subject of the "embedded" verb) is [+sev]:

(73) nɨɨ-k mamɨ tɨka-ka-tu?i-vɨ
I-K them(ob) eat-sev-cause-past
'I made them [all] eat.'

Since causative verbs are assumed to be listed separately in the lexicon (i.e., treated just like any other suffixed verbs--see L29, Appendix A) rather than to be higher verbs, this complicates the output conditions and interpretive rules relating to number agreement.

2.227 *Semantic Imperatives*

The suffix */-vɨɨ/* (normally past tense; see section 2.223) may be used with a future, semantically imperative meaning if the subject is second person. Syntactically or morphologically, sentences with *-vɨ* have nothing in common with imperatives (see section 2.26) though they can translate as 'you must (verb)' or even '(verb)!' Objects are in the oblique case, and the plural subject enclitic is */-wɨ/* (used in indicative sentences), not */-ja/* (used in syntactic imperative sentences--section 2.26). Such sentences are ambiguous (or homophonous) with the normal past tense interpretation.

(74) a. kani?i-wa?i-vɨɨ-w
visit-go-past-you[pl]
{'You went and visited.' / 'You must go and visit.'}

b. kacu-k aipaci puni-vɨɨ-wa
not-you boy(ob) see-past-neg
{'You didn't see the boy.' / 'You are not to see the boy.'}

c. ɨɨm orangei tɨka-vɨ
you orange(ob) eat-past

{'You ate an orange.' / 'You're to eat the orange.'}

MM suggests these differ from true imperatives in that the latter are more immediate, whereas examples with the past-tense suffix are somewhat more "future" in intent, commanding something to be done after the speaker leaves, for example.

The future tense suffix *-va* may also be used with somewhat of an imperative meaning. Again, such sentences translate more as 'you're to (eat).' However this usage is not restricted to second-person if the habitual (participle--see section 2.225) ending is added:

(75) nɨɨ-k uni-va-nt
I-K do-fut-ptc

{'I'm going to do it!' / 'I'm to do it!'}

Pamela Munro's informant (1974a) gives normal, full imperative translations for this suffix (*-va*) in such sentences (second person).[19] She points out that the objects are in the accusative case, by contrast with true imperative constructions, and that the negative suffix after *-va* is the *-wa?* used with indicative verbs. As for the subjects, her sentences are of two types: those with *-k* on the first word (negative *kacu-* in her examples), which she analyzes as subject-less, and those with *-?* on the first word (e.g., the object) which is, in fact, a second-person singular (nominative) pronoun enclitic.

For MM, *-k* replaces second-person subjects in any kind of sentence except true imperatives (see section 2.212). Therefore these sentences are not structurally different from normal futures, and are ambiguous for her. The enclitic *-?* is normal for MM in true imperatives, and is rare in other kinds of constructions. The examples Munro gives with *-?* and *-va* co-occuring are ungrammatical for MM.

2.23 *Postpositional Phrases*

There are two kinds of postpositions in Chemehuevi: those

which can be used as verbs and those which cannot. The former may be optionally suffixed with normal tense-aspect markers and be interpreted as verbs of location or motion (depending on the postposition stem). Without tense-aspect markers these same postpositions co-occur with normal verbs of location or motion and behave more adverbially in the sentence. In either case their objects (or appositive pronouns) are always prefixed to the postposition stem.

Stems of this first type (all, including the compound stems, optionally verbs) are given in (76) below, with examples of each:

(76) a. /-vaa/ at/on (location)

tɨmp i-vaa-ni?i-j
rock this-at-cont-pres
'The rock is {here / on this}.'

b. /-vaa-ntua/ onto (motion)/at

haga-vaa-ntua-ca-uŋ tɨrawi?i-kwa?
what-at-toward-perf-he dash-away
'Where did he run off to?'

c. /-upa?a/ in (location)

pagɨc paa-upa? uni-kai-vɨ
fish water-in be-result-past
'The fish was in the water.'

d. /-upa?a-tua/ into (motion)

kani-a-n ma-upa?a-tu nukwi-vɨ
house-ob-I that-in-to run-past
'I ran into that house.'

e. /-va?a-na/ on top of (location)

ma-va?ana-vɨɨ-ɨk
that-on-past-it
'It was on that.'

f. /-va?a-ntua/ onto/on top of (motion)[20]

mahavɨ ma-va?a-ntua-ŋ
tree(ob) that-on-to-imp
'Get on top of that tree!'

g. /-ruka/ under (location)

wii pagɨci uŋa-ruk uni-ka
knife fish(ob) that-under be-result
'The knife is under the fish.'

h. /-ruka-tua/ under (motion)

tɨkatɨaa-ruka-tua-ŋu-?
table-under-to-imp-you
'Go under the table!'

i. /-vin?apa/ behind (location)

i-vin?apa-uk uni-kai-vɨ
this-behind-it be-result-past
'It was behind this.'

j. /-vin?apa-cua/ behind (motion)

mahavɨ ma-vin?apa-cu tɨrawi?
tree(ob) that-behind-to dash
'Run behind that tree!'

k. /-tua/ towards (motion)

nɨ-rua-aŋ kijasui-ka
I-toward-he smile-result
'He's smiling at me.'

maŋa-rua-ŋu-ik
he-toward-imp-it
'Give him this!'

(Note that for location, using the postposition as verb, or using the verb be instead, seems to make little difference in the meaning, cf. (76e) and (76i) above.)

All the above stems are listed in the lexicon as $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{post}\\+\text{V}\end{bmatrix}$ to allow insertion under either node. Furthermore, they are all [+bnd] since they require objects to be attached. Most non-compound stems are marked [-motion], whereas those compounded with */-tua/* (and */-tua/* itself) are [+motion]. (See L30, Appendix A.) (The specification of this feature essentially dictates what type of verb the postpositional phrase co-occurs with.) A few postpositions do not compound at all and may be used with both verbs of motion and location, e.g., */-vajɨwi/* beside, which is also [-V] (cannot be a verb--I know

of no examples of non-verb postpositions which can compound with */-tua/*, and */-wa?i/* with (accompaniment), which can be a verb. These postpositions are lexically marked [*motion]; corresponding forms with */-tua/* simply do not exist in the lexicon.

Postpositions which cannot be used as verbs are marked $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{post}\\-\text{V}\end{bmatrix}$. However they share the rest of their syntactic behavior with the stems in (76); e.g., they append their objects (or appositives). These stems are listed and exemplified in (77):

(77) a. /-vajɨwi/ beside

huu {*wihi-vajɨwi-vɨ / wihi-vajɨw uni-kai-vɨ}

arrow knife-beside be-result-past

'The arrow was beside the knife.'

mahavɨ ma-vajɨw kwaɨ-ŋ

tree(ob) that-beside go-imp

'Go beside the tree!'

b. /-wa/ with (instrument)

uŋ wihi-w tukuavi cikwɨ-vɨ

he knife-with meat(ob) cut-past

'He cut the meat with a knife.'

c. /-waŋku/ from

John aipaci-waŋk pagɨci ɨjɨŋi-ŋkwa

John boy-from fish(ob) steal-perf

'John stole the fish from the boy.'

d. /-mantɨa/ ∿ /-wantɨa/ some of/part of

puusi-wɨ-a-n umɨ-wantɨ puni-kai-vɨ

cat-pl-ob-I those-some see-result-past

'I saw some of those cats.'

e. /-vacɨ/ about

himpɨ-vacɨ-a-uk nonosi-ga

what-about-A-you dream-pres

'What were you dreaming about?'

f. /-manaŋkwa/ from

maŋ ja?i-ŋucik tɨgɨi-manaŋkw
he die-about to hunger-from
'He is dying of hunger.'

kani-ipa?a-tɨ-manaŋkwa-ca-n tɨrawi?
house-in-ptc-from-perf-I dash
'I ran (out) from inside the house.'

Note that objects of postpositions do not take the oblique marker */-a/* if they are prefixed to the postposition.[21]

2.24 *Interrogatives*

2.241 *Yes-No and Alternative Questions*

Yes-No questions in Chemehuevi are formed by the addition of the enclitic */-raa/* to the first word in the sentence. Examples in (78) below demonstrate that this can be verb, noun, or adverb. (Since I am using "?" as "glottal stop," question marks will be "??", representing intonation contours[22] associated with questions.)

(78) a. Anni-ra ɨmi pagɨci maga-j ??
Ann-Q you(ob) fish(ob) give-pres
'Did Ann give you a fish?'

b. tɨka-jɨ-ra-?aŋ aipac aŋ ??
eat-pres-Q-he boy that
'Is the boy eating?'

c. utusampa-ra-?uk maŋ navakɨ-r ??
always-Q-K he swim-habit
'Does he swim all the time?'

d. kacu-ra-? tɨka-vaa-wa ??
not-Q-you eat-fut-neg
'Aren't you going to eat?'

In Yes-No questions, the present and past tenses fall together, present tense *-j* being used for both. Past *-vɨ* is prohibited in questions, though frequent use of the preterite enclitic *-ca* is made.

The enclitic *-ra* co-occurs with other tense suffixes, and precedes suffixed pronouns. (Its positioning is handled by transformational rules.)

I have been unable to obtain any obvious alternative questions in Chemehuevi (or alternative statements for that matter, see section 2.31). In order to ask something like 'Is he here or there?' in Chemehuevi, one simply asks two Yes-No questions in succession, as in (79):

(79) ivani-jɨ-ra-ʔuŋ ?? uvani-jɨ-ra-ʔuŋ ??
here-pres-Q-he there-pres-Q-he
'Is he here? Is he there?'

Another question type involves a final glottal stop suffix which, when suffixed onto single-word utterances, has the effect of questioning just that constituent, as though raising it as a possible answer to a previous question. Again, one can approximate an alternative question by questioning two such constituents, though the meaning is still not exclusively disjunctive. Examples: (This -ʔ not only protects the stem-final vowel, it phonetically lengthens it.)[23]

(80) a. haŋ tɨka-j ?? Anni-? ??
who eat-pres Ann-Q
'Who's eating? {Ann? / Is it Ann?},

b. haŋ uni-vaa-nt ?? ɨmii-? ?? nɨʔɨ? ??
who do-fut-hab you-Q I-Q
'Who's to do it? You? I?'

c. hagaka-ja-? iva-ntɨ-n ha?ɨsutui-j ??
which-ob-you at here-ptc-nml like-pres
'Which one do you like?

ika-ja-? ?? maka-ja-? ??
this one-ob-Q that one-ob-Q
This one? That one?'

There is one other type of interrogative that semantically functions as a Yes-No question, namely the predicate *urɨɨ*, which translates something like 'is it still the case that ...'. This either precedes or follows a clause consisting of a subject in the oblique case and a nominalized verb. The verb must contain the suffix */-su/*, meaning still or too. Due perhaps to the semantics of the "higher" verb the clause cannot be in the past tense. Examples:

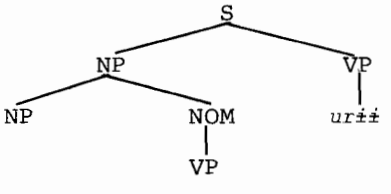
(81) a. urɨɨ ɨmi nukwi-na-s ??
Q you(ob) run-nml-still
'Are you still running?'

b. urɨɨ tɨka-ni?i-va-na-su-?um ??
Q eat-cont-fut-nml-still-you(ob)
'Will you still be eating?'

c. tɨka-na-su-?uŋ urɨɨ ??
eat-nml-still-him Q
'Is he still eating?'

For these I assume a structure such as the following: (See E4, Appendix A, for a proposed lexical entry for *urɨɨ* and other interrogatives.)

(82)



(For the frequent shifting of clauses to a position after the verb, see section 2.4.)

2.242 *Information Questions*

Information questions are full sentences in which one constituent is being questioned. Unlike English, Chemehuevi has the same word order in declarative and interrogative sentences. There is a somewhat greater tendency to front the questioned constituent, but all order constraints are strictly adhered to (see section 2.4). The following is a list of interrogative forms (given in underlying form) in Chemehuevi:

(83)

himpɨ	what [-anim] [*concrete]
haŋa	who [+human]
hini	who/what [+anim] [*human]
hanoko	when
haga-ka-ja	which
haga-vaa	where (loc)
haga-rua	whither

(similarly for other postpositions)

hanopai	how many
haga-ru?a	how
haga-ru?a-gai	why
haga-ni	why/how
haga-ni-gai	why

The following are WH-verb forms (discussed below):

hania	say what/say how
haga-ni	do what

(As with Yes-No questions, the past tense suffix *-vɨ* is prohibited.) Examples:

(84) a. himpɨ-a-uŋ po?o-j
what-ob-he write-pres
'What did he write?'

b. ɨɨm haŋ
you who
'Who are you?'

c. hanoko-ca-uŋ tɨrawi?i-kwa
when-past-he dash-away
'When did he run off?'

d. haga-vaa-ntua-ca-uŋ tɨrawi?i-kwa
where-at-towards-past-he dash-away
'Where did he run off to?'

e. hagarua-jɨ-?
how -pres-you
'How are you?'

f. ɨɨm hagaruaga kac tɨka-wa-t
you why not eat-neg-ptc
'Why aren't you eating?'

g. hagan mai-ka-t
how say-p/p-pass
'How is it said? (How do you say...)'

h. tugump ar hagan ma?aka-t
sky that how paint-pass
'What color is the sky?'

i. haganigai-iŋ Ann nukwi-va
why -she Ann run-fut
'Why is Ann going to run?'

j. hagani-ŋu-ca-uŋ
do what-mom-past-he
'What did he do?'

k. hania-ka-uŋ = hania-uŋ mai-k
say what-p/p-he = say what-he say-p/p
'What did he say?'

l. himp hania-ti-j
what say what-pass-pres
'What was said?'

m. hani tinia-ti-j
how tell-pass-pres
'How was it told (what manner, speaking, writing, etc.)?'

The last few examples illustrate some of the peculiarities of the questioned verb forms. *hania-* can take normal verb suffixes and behave exactly as the main verb in the question, or unsuffixed it can function as the object of the verb *mai-* say, (but not of *tinia-* tell) of *nija-* name, and according to Pamela Munro (p.c.) of hear, mean, cry about, and dream. As a verb, note that *hania-* itself can take an object, *himp* (84 l). Elsewhere it is used adverbially, e.g., in (84 m) above.

The verb do what could be identical to, or the source of, the adverb */haga-ni-(gai)/*. The suffix */-gai/* is a common subordinator (like-subjects, concurrent time), and the adverb could be translated as 'doing what,...' e.g., 'What did he do to cut it?' for 'How did he cut it?'. In other instances where it appears with tenses (with the "main" verb subordinate), one could think of the translation as 'What was he doing cutting it?' for 'Why did he cut it?'

Morphologically, one might add that the suffix */-ni/* in */haga-ni/* is most certainly relatable to *uni-* do (cf. Sapir, p. 209). (It also might be that the */-ru?a/* in */haga-ru?a-gai/* is the stem be, and that this adverb, too, probably comes from a verb, being how.)

Indirect questions may be formed using the same forms. Example:

(85) kacu-uka-n putucuga-wa Anni mam̥i
not-it-I know-neg Ann(ob) them(ob)
himp̥i maga-tu-kai-n
what(ob) give-plob-perf-ptc
'I don't know what Ann gave them.'

2.243 *Tag Questions*

Tag questions are very straightforward in Chemehuevi. Any sentence (except another question) may end in a tag, which is always */hm̥naa/*.[24] Examples:

(86) a. iva-ni?i-j̥i-aŋ, hm̥naa ??
here-cont-pres-he, tag
'He's here, isn't he?'

b. ic kac ha?i-ju-wa, hm̥naa ??
this not good-pres-neg, tag
'This isn't good, is it?'

/hm̥naa/ may also be added to imperatives:

(87) huvitu-ŋu-?, hm̥naa ??
sing-imp-you, tag
'Sing, {huh? / won't you?},'

2.25 *Passives*

There are two kinds of constructions in Chemehuevi which can translate as passives in English. Transitive verbs to which a suffix */-t̥i̥/* has been added become passive in meaning but may not co-occur with an overt agent. These are discussed below. To express an agent in a sentence where the "object" is in the nominative, one must use a participial construction with the agent in the accusative, the verb being participialized by the addition of the suffix */-na/*. Strictly speaking, these latter constructions may be related to headless object relative clauses, and are discussed in section 2.33 below.

The suffix */-t̥i̥/* could be viewed simply as an intransitivizer. Verbs with *-t̥i* take a full range of tenses, as

illustrated in (88) below. All such examples are judged ungrammatical if an agent noun is introduced.

(88) a. tukuav cikwɨ-tɨɨ-j
meat cut-pass-pres
'The meat is being cut.'

b. samita?ap tɨka-tɨɨ-vɨ
bread eat-pass-past
'The bread was eaten.'

c. pagɨc tɨka-tɨɨ-va
fish eat-pass-future
'The fish will be eaten.'

The only surface expression of an implied agent shows up in the number agreement marking on the verb. Recall that when the underlying subject of a verb is three or more in number */-ka/* is suffixed to the verb stem (see section 2.226). In a passive sentence in which the implied agent is plural, whether or not the surface subject is, */-ka/* shows up on the verb, as in (89):

(89) tukuav tɨka-tɨɨ-ka-j
meat eat-pass-pl-pres
'The meat is being eaten by many.'

Compare this with the interpretation of */-ka/* with */-tu?i/* causatives, section 2.226. The cases with */-tɨɨ-ka/* require the same complication in the interpretive rules.

L31 in Appendix A gives the redundancy rule relating passive verbs to the corresponding active verb stems.

2.26 *Imperatives*

The following surface features signal syntactic imperatives[25] in Chemehuevi:

A. Verbs which are inherently durative add */-ŋu/* to the stem (or stem + any affixes except tense). Verbs which are inherently momentaneous add nothing. Verb stems which can be used either momentaneously or duratively add Ø or */-ŋu/* respectively (depending on the meaning assigned to the stem). Examples: (For */-?/* see D below.)

(90) a. nukwi- run [-mom]
nukwi-ŋu-? run!

b. tɨrawi?i- dash off [+mom]
tɨrawi?i-? dash off!

c. suwaka- breathe [*mom]
{suwaka-ŋu-? breathe! / suwaka-? take a breath!}

No tense suffixes occur in (syntactic) imperatives.

B. Objects of the verb which are normally marked oblique are in the nominative case in imperatives. This includes "direct" as well as "indirect" objects, but does not include objects of postpositions. (For postpositions as verbs, see section 2.23.) Examples:

(91) a. aipac wampakwic punikai-tu?i-ŋ
boy scorpion see-cause-imp
'Show the boy the scorpion!'

b. mahavɨ mawa-ntua-ŋ
tree(ob) on there-toward-imp
'Get onto the tree!'

C. Word order constraints on surface subjects seem to apply to the nominative objects of imperatives. Either the object occurs sentence-initially, or it (or a copy pronoun) is attached as an enclitic to the first word.[26] For double-object verbs the two (nominative) objects occur in first and second position. The enclitic K (see section 2.225) cannot occur in an imperative sentence. Examples:

(92) a. tɨka-ŋu-ja-aŋ pagɨc aŋ
eat-imp-pl-him fish that
'Eat [dual] that fish!'

b. kacu-aŋ tawɨ-wai-tu?i-?ap
not-him us-with-cause-neg
'Don't let him [come] with us!'

D. In singular imperatives the subject you shows up either in full form */ɨmi/*, as a postfix */-?/* (second person singular nominative), as both, or not at all. Apparently the full form

is added to the sentence only for emphasis. For all imperatives, whether the postfix *-ʔ* occurs (or nothing does) depends strictly on the word-order in the sentence. First, *-ʔ* (like normal subject postfixes; see section 2.4) must attach to the first word in the sentence. However (in MM's dialect) *-ʔ* can only attach to verbs. Furthermore, it cannot co-occur with other postfix pronouns on the same word. Therefore, in a sentence with an object, which must also occur first in the sentence, *-ʔ* is destined not to show up. In any sentence in which it can occur, it must.

Examples of singular imperatives:

(93) a. ɨɨm nukwi-ŋ (*ɨɨm nukwi-ŋu-ʔ)
you run-imp
{'Run!' / 'You run!'}

b. nukwi-ŋu-ʔ (*nukwi-ŋ)
run-imp-you(sg)
'Run!'

c. ic hivi-ŋ (*ic hivi-ŋu-ʔ) (*icu-ʔ hivi-ŋ)
this drink-imp
'Drink this!'

d. tɨka-ŋu-ʔ ɨɨm
eat-imp-you(sg) you
'Eat!'

E. For plural imperatives (dual or more) the enclitic form of the subject is */-ja/*. This, too, is constrained to suffixation on the first word, but that word may be a verb, noun, or adverb. */-ja/* may co-occur with enclitic pronouns on the same word. Plural imperative sentences may also use the full pronoun form, in this case *mɨɨm*. As in the case of the singular, the two forms of you may co-occur if the full form is not sentence-initial, since */-ja/* cannot attach to *mɨɨm*.[27]

(94) a. mɨɨm man tɨka-ka-ŋ
you[pl] all eat-pl-imp
'All of you, eat!'

b. mano-j tɨka-ka-ŋ
all-you[pl] eat-pl-imp
'All of you, eat!'

c. ˌicu-j huvitu-ŋ
this-you[pl] sing-imp
'Sing (dual) this!'

(compared with *ic huvitu-ŋ* for singular)

d. huvitu-ka-ŋu-ja-ik
sing-pl-imp-you[pl]-this
'Sing [pl] this!'

e. aɨvi-j navakɨ-ka-ŋ
now-you[pl] swim-pl-imp
'Swim [pl] now!'

F. Negative imperatives are formed by the inclusion of the negative *kac* in the sentence, and the suffixation of *-ʔap* directly onto the verb stem. No */-ŋu/* appears in negative imperative sentences. Examples:

(95) a. kac huvitu-ʔap
not sing-neg
'Don't sing!'

b. kacu-j huvitu-ka-ʔap
not-you[pl] sing-pl-neg
'Don't sing (pl)!'

G. Imperatives of passive verbs are formed just as in declaratives, with the suffix *-tɨ* and no agent. Examples with agents (i.e., participial constructions, see section 2.33) have not been obtained in imperatives, perhaps due to problems with the semantics. Examples:

(96) kac kwikwipa-tɨɨ-ʔap
not beat-pass-neg
'Don't be beaten!'

(Lexical entries for all the second person pronouns are given in E5, Appendix A.)

Imperative sentences in which full and bound subject forms co-occur will be handled in section 2.4 on word order.

2.27 *Negation*

Sentences are negated by the addition of a negative suffix (usually on the main verb), together with the somewhat optional inclusion of a negative marker */kacu/* within the clause. Examples contrasting negative and affirmative sentences are given in (97) below:

(97) a. ẗka-vaa-aŋ
eat-fut-he
'He will eat.'

kacu-aŋ ẗka-vaa-wa?
not-he eat-fut-neg
'He won't eat.'

b. pag̈c ẗka-ẗ̈-v̈
fish eat-pass-past
'The fish was eaten.'

pag̈c kac ẗka-ẗ̈-v̈̈-wa?
fish not eat-pass-past-neg
'The fish was not eaten.'

With most tense-aspect markers the negative suffix */-wa?i/* is used, preceding any habitual (participle) suffix (which changes *-wa?i-* to *-wa?a-*; see P 15, p. 30), animate plural marker, and subordinating suffix, but following most others.

The present tense */-j̈/* does not co-occur with a negative suffix. Either it deletes or the semantics of negation are such that the Ø present suffix (normally used with momentaneous verbs) is required instead. In any case, simple sentences in the present tense are negated by adding */-wa?i/* to the verb stem:

(98) ävi-?a-n navak̈-j
now -A-I swim-pres
'I am swimming now.'

ävi-?a-n kac navak̈-wa?
now-A-I not swim-neg
'I'm not swimming now.'

In a few cases the form of the negative suffix is *-?a* (either from */-?ai/* or */-?aa/*). These include its use as a suppletive form of */-gai/* have, be, and following the suffix

/-guupɨ/ should, where it seems to require the habitual suffix as well. Examples of *-ʔa* contrasted with *-ga* are shown in (99):

(99) a. ɨɨm kac samʔapɨ-ʔa
you not rug-have[neg]
'You don't have a rug.'

ɨɨm kac samʔapɨ-ʔa-t
you not rug-have[neg]-habit
'You don't have a rug.'

b. maɳ pupui-ga
he eye[pl]-have
'He has eyes.'

maɳ pupui-ga-nt
he eye[pl]-have-habit
'He has eyes.'

The following table lists co-occurrences of the negative suffix with other verb suffixes (all given in underlying form with final vowels intact). V indicates verb stem, N = noun stem.

On nouns, adverbs, and certain kinds of nonfinite verb stems the negative suffix is */-ʔapa/* (in a few cases */-waʔapa/*). Verb stems take */-ʔapa/* in the imperative (where it replaces */-ɳu/*, or requires the Ø imperative suffix) and in object relativization ("passive" with overt agent constructions). Examples:

(100) a. nɨ-ʔɨk aipac
I-K boy
'I am a boy.'

nɨ-ʔɨk kac aipaci-ʔap
I-K not boy-neg
'I am not a boy.'

b. kac naataika-ʔap
not everyday-neg
'not every day'

c. kac tɨka-ʔapa-s
not eat-neg-too
'Don't eat too!'

Table I

	Affirmative	Negative
present	V - jɨ	V - wa?i
present	V - Ø	V - wa?i
past	V - vɨɨ	V - vɨɨ-wa?i
past	V - mpɨɨ	V - mpɨɨ-wa?i
future	V - vaa	V - vaa-wa?i
future	V - mpaa	V - mpaa-wa?i
present/past	V - ka	V - wa?i
fut + habit	V - vaa-ntɨ	V - vaa-wa?a-tɨ
fut + habit	V - mpaa-tɨ	V - mpaa-wa?a-tɨ
habit/ptc	V - tɨ	V - wa?a-tɨ
usitative + pres	V - mi-jɨ	V - mi-wa?i
usitative + past	V - mi-mpɨɨ	V - mi-mpɨɨ-wa?i
modal	V - guu	V - guu-wa?i
modal	V - guu-pɨ	V - guu-pɨ-?aa-tɨ
momentaneous	V - ŋu	V - ŋu-wa?i
know how to	V - paki-gaa-ntɨ	V - paki-?aa-tɨ
subord	V - gai	V - wa?i-ju[a]
have	N - gai	N - ?aa
have + habit	N - gaa-ntɨ	N - ?aa-tɨ
Adj (color) + be	A - ka	A - ka-wa?i
Adj + become	A - tu?a	A - tu?a-wa?i

[a]For *-gai → -ju* see p. 108.

kacu-j tɨka-ka-?ap
not-you[pl] eat-pl-neg
'Don't eat [pl]!'

d. kac tɨvisampa-tɨ-?ap
not true-ptc-neg
'That's not true.'

tɨvisampa-tɨ-k
true - ptc - K
'That's true.'

e. marɨ-k kacu-n tɨka-kai-na-?ap
that-K not-I eat-perf-ptc-neg
'That's not what I ate.'

In some instances the suffix *-?ap* (or *-wa?ap*) apparently replaces the participle (object relativization) suffix:

(101) a. taw?aci-k Johni kac kwikwipa-na-?ap
man-K John(ob) not hit-ptc-neg
'The man wasn't beaten by John.'

but:

b. ijav wagataci-wɨ kac tɨka-ka-gupɨ-ap
grapes frog-pl not eat-pl-should-neg
'Grapes shouldn't be eaten by frogs.'

c. pusi-k piso?oci kac puni-va-wa?ap
cat-K child(ob) not see-fut-neg
'The cat won't be seen by the child.'

c.f.:

pusi-k piso?oci kac puni-va-wa?a-t
cat-K child(ob) not see-fut-neg-habit
'The cat won't see the child.'

In colloquial speech *kac* is often left out of the sentence; the negative suffixes, however, are still obligatory:

(102) Johni-k nɨni puŋkuci tɨka-tui-vɨɨ-wa?
John-K me(ob) dog(ob) eat-cause-past-neg
'John won't let me feed (or eat) the dog.'

nainci-ʔapa-ra-ʔuk ɨɨm
girl-neg-Q - K you
'Aren't you a girl?'

The negative *kac* can appear almost anywhere in the sentence, as long as constraints on the order of other morphemes are met (see section 2.4). With respect to syntactic rules *kac* seems to behave much like an adverb and is therefore labeled as such in the lexicon.

In elliptical sentences (or sentence fragments) *kac* can show up with tenses suffixed to it:

(103) kacu-va-aŋ
not-fut-she
'No, she won't.'

2.28 *Adverbs*

In the phrase structure rules presented here adverbs all originate in the verb phrase. There seems to be no syntactic motivation for distinguishing between sentential and verb phrase adverbs in Chemehuevi; both appear to enjoy the same freedom of movement (or position) within the sentence.

Adverbs are of two types; those which are prefixed to verbs and those which are free morphemes in the sentence. There is no obvious semantic distinction between these two classes, exemplified below:

(104) a. nɨɨ-k utusamp navakɨ-mi-nt
I-K always swim-usitative-habit
'I always used to swim.'

Dino nahumpa-ik tɨgu?uni-suawaga
Dino himself-this cook-want
'Dino wants to cook this himself.'

nɨɨ-k suuv tɨka-va
I-K maybe eat-fut
'Maybe I'll eat.'

mɨɨga?i-n pa?a-j
very-I tall-pres
'I am very tall.'

b. nɨɨ-k ono-tɨka-ma?aku-c
I-K just-eat-finish-subord[mom]
'I just finished eating.'

piŋka-nukwi-vɨɨ-n
keep on-run-past-I
'I kept on running.'

nɨɨ-k aa-garɨ-vɨ
I-K quietly-sit-past
'I sat quietly.'

ic waha-oko-nt
this very-big-ptc
'This is very big.'

nɨɨ-k waha-tɨka-mpɨ
I-K almost-eat-past
'I almost ate.'

Free adverbs can have postfixed pronouns and enclitics attached to them and can usually occur anywhere in the clause (subject to constraints discussed in section 2.4).

Many adverbs have corresponding verb stems which take normal tense-aspect suffixes, such as given in (105) below:

(105) a. pahiku-tavapɨci-n kwaɨ tɨka-mpa
three-days-I away eat-fut
'I'll eat in three days.'

kwaɨ-ŋu-?
away-imp-you
'Go away!'

b. nɨɨ-k pitaŋ tɨka-vɨ
I-K fast eat-past
'I ate fast.'

nɨɨ-k pitaŋa-rɨ-m
I-K fast-ptc-anim
'I am fast.'

These stems seem to be limited to the free morpheme type adverbs.

Some morphemes which translate into adverbs in English function somewhat like aspectual markers in Chemehuevi, e.g.,

/-su/ still, too:

(106) kacu-a-n nukwi-wa?i-s
not-A-I run-neg-still
'I'm not still running.'

nukwi-mpa-su-n
run-fut-still-I
'I'm going to run too.'

Since it is difficult to draw a line between suffixes with adverbial and suffixes with aspectual meaning, morphemes like */-su/* are treated as aspect markers (part of the verb paradigm) rather than adverbs generated in the phrase structure.

The suffix */-nii/* like occasionally shows up on many adverb stems with little or no semantic contribution:

(107) a. nɨɨ-k{sampav / sampava-ni} nukwi-vɨ
I-K quietly run-past
'I ran quietly.'

b. piikaju-n tɨka-va
later - I eat-fut
'I'll eat later.'

c.f.

piikaju-ci-ni
later-dim-like
'a little later.'

c. {suupi-n / suupi-ni-n} tika-va
{maybe-I / maybe-like-I} eat-fut
'Maybe I'll eat.'

This suffix is also found on adjective (verb) stems to form complements of sensory verbs like smell, look, taste, etc.:

(108) huvav ɨcɨ-ni kama-j
soup bad-like taste-pres
'The soup tastes bad.'

pa?a-ni-a-uk tɨwavaga-vɨ
tall-like-A-it sound-past
'That sounded loud.'

nɨɨ-k ɨvɨ-ni tɨgai-vɨ
I-K bad-like act-past
'I acted bad.'

A less productive suffix found on a handful of adverbs is */-su/* (whose meaning is unclear) illustrated below:

(109) namɨ-su-n tɨka-vɨ
first-?-I eat-past
'At first I was eating.'

sɨ?ipi-a-n ika-j aɨvi-s ugwikai-mpa
flower-ob-I this-ob now-? sniff-fut
'I'm going to sniff this flower in a moment.'

2.3 *Complex Sentences*

2.31 *Conjunction, Coordination*

Conjunction in Chemehuevi is very limited. Two clauses may be coordinated by juxtaposition under a single sentence-intonation curve without requiring a conjunction. If the subjects of the clauses are identical and the actions are not concurrent, a clausal connector */haita-/* (listed in the lexicon as a conjunction) may be used, with the meaning then or after that.[28] Single sentences may contain *haita-* but presuppose prior discussion of the subject. The subject in fact must be postfixed to the adverb, indicating that presupposition and focus play a role in determining whether a pronoun is to be free or bound. (Of course the use of a pronoun at all presupposes the hearer knows the referent. The point is, a clause or sentence with *haita-* (or perhaps any clause with a postfix pronoun) cannot use the subject contrastively). Attaching the object pronoun to *haita-* does not satisfy the requirement; the subject must be attached as well:

(110) a. haita-uka-aŋ tɨka-mpɨ
then-it-he eat-past
'He ate it then.'

b. *maŋ haita-uk tɨka-mpɨ
he then-it eat-past

There is some indication that *haita-* requires momentaneous action in the past rather than durative. Verbs which can take either the *-mpɨ* or *-vɨ* past tense endings (see section 2.223) must use *-mpɨ* when introduced by *haita-*.

Further examples of *haita-*:

(111) a. navakɨ-jɨ-aŋ haita-uŋ tɨka-jɨ-s
swim-pres-he then-he eat-pres-too
'He is swimming and eating, too.'

b. nɨɨ-k samita?a-tɨka-vɨ haita-n waini
I-K bread-eat-past then-I wine(ob)
hivi-vɨ-s
drink-past-too
'I ate bread and then drank wine, too.'

c. haita-uŋ tɨka-{mpɨ / *vɨ}
then-he eat-past
'He ate, then.'

Note that though the subjects are identical, no deletion is allowed in the second clause. (I don't know why the pronouns disagree in (111a); there seems to be a preference for an invisible subject after *haita-*.)

A second way to semantically conjoin verb-phrases is to subordinate one, using one of four subordinating suffixes (see section 2.32). To indicate the simultaneity of two actions, */-gai/* is used (for like subjects). E.g.:

(112) Ann ijavi tɨka-ga pihivo?ovi hivi-vɨ-s
Ann grapes(ob) eat-while milk(ob) drink-past-too
'Ann ate grapes and drank milk.'

(Note the frequent use of */-su/*, meaning too in the examples above; with *haita-* this may cement closer together two otherwise independent clauses, with */-gai/* it may help balance the subordinateness to imply more coordinateness.)

Subordination originates in the second line of the rule expanding S. SUBORD can be expanded simply to a VP. Verb forms

taken from the lexicon with the suffix */-gai/* , interpreted subordinately or coordinately, are inserted in the context $_{SUBORD}[_{VP}[X\_\_]]$.

There are two ways of semantically conjoining NPs. The first is a suffix */-gajaa/* , comparable to the verb suffix */-su/*, also meaning too, which is attached to nouns. (Like */-su/*, it apparently can attach to verbs as well but not in the presence of a second verb.) It can occur in a non-coordinate NP, as in (113a) below, but is frequently used with two overt NPs. Examples:

(113) a. ɨmi-gaja nukwi-ŋu-s
you-too run-imp-too
'You run, too!'

b. Ann Johni nɨni-a-gaja punikai-vɨ
Ann John(ob) I-ob-too see-past
'Ann saw John and me.'

c. Ann Margaret uŋa-gaja Johni punikai-vɨ-(-?ɨm)
Ann Margaret she-too John(ob) see-past-(pl)
'Ann and Margaret saw John.'

(In (113c) the verb is optionally marked "dual-subj.") *-gaja* is not a postposition, since case is marked on the noun stem to which it is attached (cf. section 2.23). This particular NP conjunction may be the Chemehuevi construction closest to syntactic coordination.

Since *-gaja* can occur on a non-conjoined noun, it is treated simply as a noun suffix (resulting in a noun). N + *gaja* can be inserted in the matrix sentence under any NP, whether under the SUBORD node or not. (Examples (113b) and (113c) above both use SUBORD as the source.) Nouns with either case suffixed with *-gaja* can be inserted freely under the SUBORD node; when an oblique noun appears, interpretive rules will translate it as "conjoined" with the object, when a nominative noun appears it is interpreted as conjoined with the subject.

The suffix *-gaja* never implies the NPs were "together" in the action, as shown in the following examples:

(114) a. John Anni{-wa (see below) / -*gaja} na-gumaru-mpɨ-?ɨm

John Ann-{with / *too} recip/reflex-marry-past-pl

'John and Ann married.'

b. John aipaci-gaja na-gukwi-vɨ-?ɨm
John boy-too recip/reflex-shoot-past-pl

'John and the boy shot{themselves. / *each other.},

The second method of combining NPs is to use the postposition */-wai/* (∿ */-wa?a-/*, see section 1.33), meaning with (accompaniment). This can be used either for subject NPs or object NPs; but since postpositions do not allow oblique case markers on the noun stem, */-wai/* itself has a special oblique case form, */-wa?a-ku/* .[29] (*/-ku/* is used as an oblique case marker for such things as numerals as well; see section 2.214, p. 58.) Without this, all such NPs would be ambiguous. Examples of this type of "conjunction" follow in (115) below:

(Semantically, the difference between (115c) and (113b) is that */-wai/* implies the objects were together, *-gaja* does not.)

(115) a. puŋkuc aŋ pusi-wa nukwi-jɨ-?ɨm
dog that cat-with run-pres-pl (=dual)
'The dog and the cat are running.'

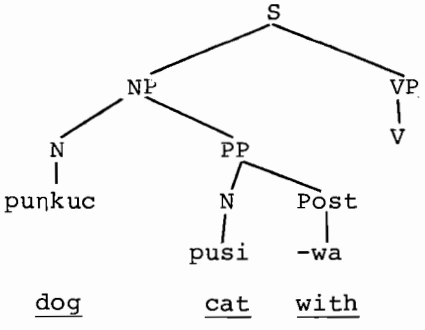
b. puŋkuc ohovɨ-wa tɨrawi?i-kwai-vɨ
dog bone-with dash-away-past (=sing)
'The dog ran away with a bone.'

c. Ann Johni nɨni-wa?a-k punikai-vɨ
Ann John(ob) I-with-ob see-past
'Ann saw John and me.'

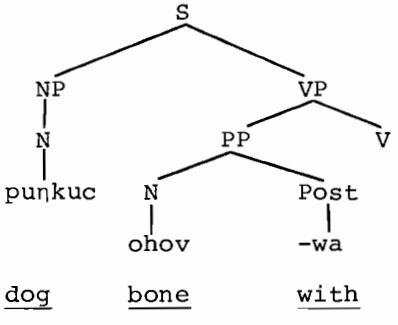
Note that the verb is dual in (115a) (since there is no */-ka/*) probably to emphasize that semantically the subject is coordinate, cf. (115b) where the verb is singular, perhaps because the object of with is not willingly partaking in the action. Scattered examples occur where sentences with conjoined animate subjects show up with a singular verb. Perhaps these, too, are interpreted less like conjuncts. It may be

that there are two sources for the nominative instances of N + *wai*, as shown in (116):

(116) a.



b.



(116a) represents NPs semantically conjoined, both "acting together." (For direct objects, PP is embedded under the NP in the VP.) (116b) represents instead an adverbial use of N + *wai* (though it still means "accompaniment" as opposed to "instrument," a separate suffix). This then is not properly conjunction at all, either syntactically or semantically.

The coordinateness of two noun phrases may further be stressed by using 'both', as in the following example:

(117) wahajugaisu-?um Ann Johni-wa nukwi-v̈ɨ̈ɨ-m
both-they Ann John-with run-past-pl
'Both Ann and John were running.'

Disjunctive coordination is even more restricted in Chemehuevi. The following examples illustrate available ways to get around the lack of any syntactic or morphological 'or':

(118) a. tami-want tɨgu?uni-va
we[inclus]-some of cook-fut

{'Either you or I will cook.'
'One of us will cook.'}

b. Oder, suuv Ann, pipicɨ-va
Oder, maybe Ann, arrive-fut

{'Oder or Ann will come.'
'Oder, maybe Ann, will come.'}

(For discussion of disjunction in questions, see section 2.241.)

There is no exact equivalent of the clausal connector 'but' in Chemehuevi, although there is a suffix */-gaisapa/* which added to verbs means something like (even) though. It is not clear where *-gaisap* comes from, but the result may be some sort of non-finite verb, perhaps a subordinate clause. In (119) below are given examples of *-gaisap* (∿ *-kaisap*) with and without a second clause. In the latter case the translation is more 'contrary to what you might think'. (Bear in mind that other non-finite verbs can show up as main verbs, see section 2.225.)

(119) a. nɨɨ-k nukwi-gaisap
I-K run-though
'I'm running (...I'm just resting a second!)'

b. naŋka-kaisapa?a-n
hear-though-I
'I hear (though he may not think so).'

c. puni-karɨ-gaisapa?a-n kac humpait himpɨ
see-sit-though-I not any what
puni-vɨ-wa
see-past-neg
'I watched, but I didn't see anything.'
('Though watching, I didn't see anything.')

d. paa-ga-ku-n navakɨ-ŋku hu?urua-gaisapa-n
water-be-subord-I swim-could be-though-I
kacu-gu
not-would
'If there were water I could swim, but I wouldn't.'

2.32 *Subordination*

There seem to be four major types of adverbial clauses in Chemehuevi, depending on whether the subject and tense match those of the main clause. For each possible situation there is a separate subordinating suffix on the embedded verb. These are given in (120) below, with examples of each in (121):

(120)	a.	/-gai/	like-subjects	contemperaneous (durative) action
	b.	/-gu/	unlike-subjects	contemporaneous (durative) action (∿ /-ku/)
	c.	/-ci/	like-subjects	momentaneous action
	d.	/-ka/	unlike-subjects	momentaneous action

(There is a suppletive form for */-gai/*, which is */-ju/* after any sequence *-ai-*.) The suffixes */-ci/* and */-ka/* by themselves refer to antecedent actions, but may occur with future *-va* to indicate 'being about to'.

(121) a. John huvitu-ni?i-ga wɨnɨmi-j
John sing-cont-subord dance-pres
'John is singing and dancing.'
('John is dancing while singing.')

b. puŋkuci huvitu-g, aipac aŋ tɨka-vɨ
dog(ob) sing-subord, boy that eat-past
'While the dog sang, the boy ate.'

c. Ann ijapaka-c tɨrawi?i-kwai-vɨ
Ann be scared-subord dash-away-past
'Ann got scared and ran away.'
('Ann ran off because she got scared.')

d. nɨɨm jaga-ka-vɨ?ɨ-m naga-vuŋkuci-wɨ
we cry-sev-past-pl mountain sheep-pet-pl(ob)
kogo?i-tɨ-ka-k
kill-pass-sev-subord
'We cried because the sheep were killed.'

(For */-gai/* → */-ju/*:)

e. ja?i-vɨ-n navakɨ-kai-kai-j
be tired-past-I swim-result-perf-subord
'I was tired because I swam.'

These clauses can be translated often as 'if' or 'because' as well as simply 'while' (for the contemporaneous suffixes), 'when' or 'in order to' (for the non-contemporaneous momentaneous suffixes). When an antecedent durative clause is subordinated, there seems to be a tendency to add the resultative (or perfective and resultative) suffix and thereby use the contemporaneous suffixes. In all cases the tense of the clause is relative to that of the main verb--e.g., */-gai/* is interpreted as past tense if the main verb is also past.

These clauses are generated with optional subjects[30] in the deep structure; verbs suffixed with */-gu/* and */-ka/* being marked for insertion in $_{\text{SUBORD}}[\text{NP}_{\text{VP}}[\ \text{X}\_\_\_\ ]\ ]$, those with */-gai/* and */-ci/* marked for $_{\text{SUBORD}}[_{\text{VP}}[\ \text{X}\_\_\_\ ]\ ]$. (Subjects in subordinate clauses which are coreferential with subjects in the main clause are obligatorily omitted in the surface structure.)

2.33 *Participles (Relativization)*

Relative clauses in Chemehuevi are equivalent to participial phrases. There are two participle endings, the active */-tɨ/* (with the usual variants */-ntɨ, -rɨ, -cɨ/*), and what might be called the passive */-na/*. The former is always used in subject-relativization, the latter in object-relativization. Sentences which on the surface translate as passive sentences with overt agents could be taken to be derived from sentences with headless relatives; relativization and agent-passivization therefore are not independent processes in Chemehuevi. Subject-relativization is illustrated in (122) below.

(122) a. tɨɨmp ar wɨ?iku-ka-t pɨtɨjant uru?a-j
rock that fall-p/p-ptc heavy be-pres
'That rock which fell was/is heavy.'

b. puusi-a-n sɨja?i-cɨ mavo?a-mpɨ
cat-ob-I cold-ptc(ob) cover-past
'I covered the cat which was cold.'

With some tenses */-tɨ/* is simply suffixed, e.g., future */-vaa/* becomes */-vaa-ntɨ/*. Others, like the present tense, delete: */-jɨ-tɨ/* > */-tɨ/*. Participles may not be formed from simple past *-vɨ*; perfective */-kai-tɨ/* > */-ka-ntɨ/* or remote past */-pɨ-gai-tɨ/* > */-pɨ-ga-ntɨ/* are used instead. (For *ai* → *a*, see section 1.33 under Phonology.) Note in (122b) that the verb, having become a participle, agrees in case with the noun it modifies. All active participles take */-a/* in the oblique case, which deletes word-finally (but protects the vowel in */-tɨ/*.)

Participles do not always appear with a head noun on the surface. There are two situations where they show up without a head: (1) when the relative clause is the predicate nominative of an understood BE, resulting in the surface "habitual" aspect, and (2) when, for some verbs, the relative clause (in a transformational account) would be headless or modifying some sort of indefinite third-person pronoun ('one who'). The latter act like ordinary nouns and could be treated as such. In many cases the participles have probably been lexicalized (e.g., see words for teacher, doctor, policeman).

Examples of the "habitual" aspect:

(123) a. nɨɨ-k utusamp tɨka-r
I-K always eat-ptc
'I always eat.'

b. aipac pa?a-ntɨ-m
boy tall-ptc-anim
'The boy is tall.'

(See section on Adjectives, 2.214 for discussion of the animate suffix on verbs.)

Examples of headless subject relatives:

(124) a. pa?a-ntɨ-m nukwi-j
tall-ptc-anim run-pres
'The tall one is running.'

b. nɨɨ-k hoko-ntɨ-mɨ kwɨhɨ-vɨ
I-K large-ptc-anim(ob) catch-past
'I caught a large one.'

In the case of object-relativization, the subject of the clause appears in the oblique case and could be considered to

be either agentive or possessive on the surface. (For arguments against the latter see section 2.34 under nominals.) The verb forms a participle by adding */-na/* with tense restrictions very much like */-tɨ/*. These, too, can appear without heads. When embedded under the predicate nominative of a missing BE they may be optionally translated either as passives with agents ('X was VERBED by Y') or as headless relatives ('X is what Y VERBED'). Examples of object-relativization are given below:

(125) a. puusi-a-n punikai-vɨ mavo?a-kai-na-n
cat-ob-I see-past cover-perf-ptc-I
'I saw the cat which I had covered.'

b. waampakwic nɨni paka-mpa-n aipaci kwipa-vɨ
scorpion I(ob) kill-fut-ptc boy(ob) sting-past
'The scorpion I'm going to kill stung the boy.'

The participle */-na/* takes a zero accusative ending. Headless object-relatives are shown in (126):

(126) a. tukuavi-k Anni cikwɨ-mpa-n
meat-K Ann(ob) cut-fut-ptc
{'The meat is what Ann is going to cut.'
{'The meat will be cut by Ann.'

b. marɨ-k huvav tɨka-kai-na-n
that-K soup eat-perf-ptc-I
{'That soup is what I ate.'
{'That soup was eaten by me.'

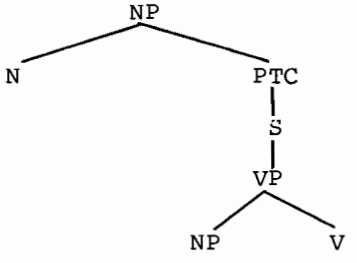
c. icɨ-k tɨka-na-?iŋ
this-K eat-ptc-he
{'This is what he's eating.'
{'This is being eaten by him.'

(The enclitic K, or */-ukV/*, is very common with participles; see section 2.225.)

Participles are analyzed as sentential in origin, bearing in mind that the S-node optionally expands to a VP without a subject. (In main clauses this is needed as the source of, e.g., many imperatives.) The following structures, generated by the Phrase Structure rules in section 2.1, are taken

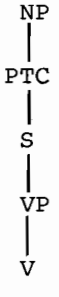
to be the sources of all participle constructions discussed above:

(127) a. Subject-relatives



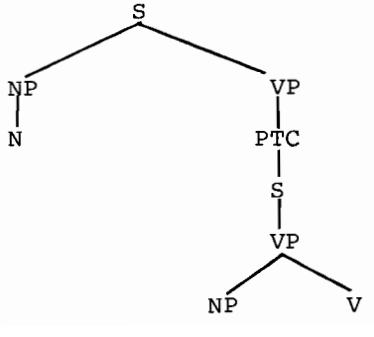
e.g., aipac puŋkuci tavi-ka-t
boy dog(ob) hit-perf-ptc
'The boy who hit the dog.'

b. Headless subject-relatives



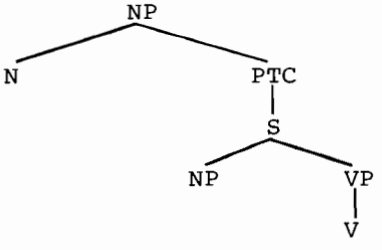
e.g., pa?a-nt
tall-ptc
'The tall one [inan].'

c. Habitual aspect



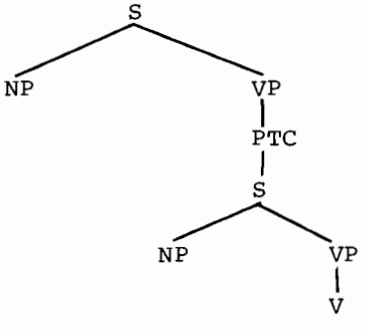
e.g., nɨɨ-k pagɨci tɨka-va-nt
I-K fish(ob) eat-fut-ptc
'I will eat fish (generally).'

d. Object-relatives



e.g., puus nɨɨni mavo?a-kai-n
cat I(ob) cover-perf-ptc
'The cat which I covered.'

e. Passive with Agent



e.g., icɨ-k nɨɨni tɨka-kai-n
this-K I(ob) eat-perf-ptc
'This {is what I ate.' / was eaten by me.'}

Postpositioned relativization

When the head noun is coreferential with the object of a postposition in the relative clause, the latter surfaces in the form of a special relative pronoun, */pɨ-/*.

Verbs in postpositional relative clauses take the participle ending */-na/*, as in object relative clauses, since in

both cases there is an embedded subject of the verb (distinct from the head noun). Examples:

(128) a. wii tukuavi-a-n pɨ-w cikwɨ-kai-n kɨwa-ga
knife meat-ob-I Rel-with cut-perf-ptc edge-have
'The knife I cut the meat with is sharp.'

b. John kahoni nopavi pɨ-ɨpa?a-tu-kai-n taŋa-va
John box(ob) eggs(ob) Rel-in-plob-perf-ptc kick-fut
'John will kick the box the eggs are in.'

c. tɨkatɨa puusi pɨ-vaan karɨ-kai-n jokoki-vɨ
table cat(ob) Rel-on sit-perf-ptc collapse-past
'The table the cat sat on collapsed.'

/pɨ-/ refers to animate and inanimate nouns, and is oblivious to the function (in the main clause) of the noun phrase in which it is embedded.

Note the use of the postposition as verb, in (128b) (see section 2.23).

2.34 *Nominalization*

In section 2.211 I discussed one form of nominalization which, though fairly productive, was somewhat idiosyncratic. The */-pɨ/* forms given there seem to parallel English deverbal nouns such as amusement, theft, etc. Chemehuevi has an entirely productive nominalizing suffix */-na/* as well, corresponding more to the English -ing forms (amusing, stealing, etc.) The */-na/* forms constitute part of the paradigm of every verb in the lexicon. Unlike for */-pɨ/*, lexical redundancy rules involving */-na/* will be completely general.

Examples of nominalizations with */-na/*, in subject and object positions, are given below:

(129) a. nɨɨ-k nukwi-na-aŋ putucuga-vɨ
I-K run-nml-he know-past
'I knew he ran.'

b. Anni-a-n tɨnia-vɨ pipicɨ-va-na-uŋ
Ann-ob-I tell-past arrive-fut-nml-he
'I told Ann he would come.'

c. John Anni karɨtɨa-j kɨaw taŋa-kai-n
John Ann(ob) chair-ob yesterday kick-perf-nml
putucuga-j
know-pres
'John knows Ann kicked the chair yesterday.'

d. kacu-a-n sumai-vɨ-wa tɨka-va-na-n
not-A-I remember-past-neg eat-fut-nml-I
'I didn't remember to eat.'

e. kani?i-wa?i-na-n ha?ɨsuntui-j
visit-go-nml-I like-pres
'I like going to visit.'

f. kacu-a-uk tɨvisampa-tɨ-ap Johni
not-A-it true-ptc-neg John(ob)
puusi puni-kai-n
cat(ob) see-result-nml
'It's not true that John saw the cat.'

Verbs with the suffix */-na/* translate in the present tense (relative to the tense of the main clause) if they have no tense suffix (*/-jɨ/* is prohibited with */-na/*). */-na/* co-occurs with future */-vaa/* and perfect */-kai/* (but not */-vɨɨ/*); it follows tense-aspect markers and precedes postfix pronouns. Semantic subjects of these embedded verbs are in the oblique case. If coreferential with the subject of the main verb they are omitted (though for some verbs the omission is optional).

In many cases the difference in meaning between */-pɨ/* forms and */-na/* forms is not obvious. Compare for example (129e) above with (12c) in section 2.211; also (129c) above with (12a). Syntactically they differ in several respects, however. Forms with */-pɨ/* do not contain tense suffixes, and they take the oblique ending */-a/* when used as verb complements. Forms with */-na/* have no oblique case. */-pɨ/* forms seem quite noun-like in that their "subjects" behave like possessors, optionally appearing in full and postfix form simultaneously (e.g., (12a,b) in section 2.211). This is true of all normal possessive constructions (see section 2.214), (e.g., *nɨɨni moo* ∿ *moa-n* ∿ *nɨɨni moa-n* 'my father'). Forms with */-na/*, however, do not allow this dual occurrence of their subject, as exemplified in (130) below.

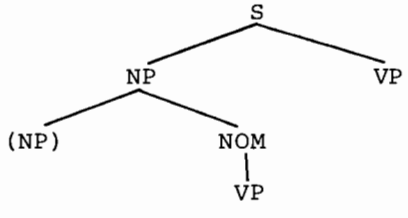
Neither do finite verbs in main clauses (unless the word order is changed--see section 2.4).

(130) John putucuga-j{ nɨɨni tɨka-va-n / tɨka-va-na-n / *nɨɨni tɨka-va-na-n }

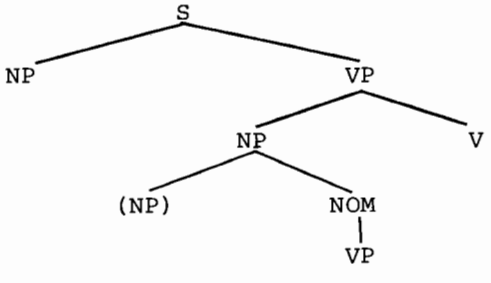
John know-pres (I(ob)) eat-fut-nml-(I)
'John knows I will eat.'

Forms in */-na/*, therefore,will be treated as originating in the deep structure as VPs, embedded under a NOM node. The NOM itself, together with an optional "subject" is an NP. Structures for NOMs in subject and object position are given in (131a) and (131b) respectively:

(131) a.



b.



There are two verbs which are exceptions to the above generalizations on complements, namely, think, */mai--nii/*, and say, */mai/* (which are related to each other). The clauses of these two verbs may be nominalized, but they may also contain normal finite verbs and nominative subjects instead. Examples illustrate this in (132) below:

(132) a. pa?a-jɨ-aŋ aipac aŋ mai-ka-n
tall-pres-he boy that say-p/p-I
'I say the boy is tall.'

b. nɨɨ kac mai-wa?i-ni John puusi puni-ka
I not think-neg-like John cat(ob) see-result
'I don't think John saw the cat.'

c. nɨɨ-k{punkuc / punkuci} ontokwa-rɨ-m mai-vɨ

I-K{dog / dog(ob)} brown-ptc-anim say-past

'I said the dog was brown.'

d. nɨɨ-k pa?a-ntɨ-m na-mai-ka-ni
I-K tall-ptc-anim reflex-think-p/p-like
'I thought I was tall.'

e. haŋ puŋkuc ontokwa-rɨ-m mai-k ??
who dog brown-ptc-anim say-p/p
'Who said the dog is brown?'

These are not instances of direct quotation, since coreference in the embedded subject does not result in a first person pronoun (unless the main subject was first-person).[31]

These verbs are marked in the lexicon as optionally being inserted in: $^{VP}[X\ S\ X\_\_X]$. Most other verbs are negatively marked for this environment.

2.4 *Word Order*

Sentence word order in Chemehuevi enjoys a fairly high degree of freedom. Many constituents of a sentence may be fronted, extraposed, or internally scrambled with no apparent change in meaning, or even focus, necessarily. However, word order is not totally free--Chemehuevi has only two syntactic cases, and numerous order constraints help keep ambiguity within tolerable limits.

In (133) below examples are given of simple sentences which demonstrate the range of word order possibilities. (For clarity I will use lower case terms in the schemata in (133) to indicate constituents which are postfixes.) Some general constraints are given in (134):

(133) a. SUBJ VB nɨɨ nukwi-vɨ
I run-past
'I ran'

b. VB-subj
nukwi-vɨɨ-n
run-past-I
'I ran'

c. SUBJ OBJ VB
nɨɨ puusi maga-vɨ
I cat(ob) give-past
'I gave a cat.'

d. OBJ-subj VB
puusi-a-n maga-vɨ
cat-ob-I give-past
'I gave a cat.'

e. SUBJ VB OBJ
nɨɨ maga-vɨ puusi
I give-past cat(ob)
'I gave a cat.'

f. VB-subj OBJ
maga-vɨɨ-n puusi
give-past-I cat(ob)
'I gave a cat.'

g. SUBJ OBJ OBJ ADV VB
nɨɨ mamɨ maka-j kɨaw
I them(ob) it-ob yesterday
maga-vɨ
give-past
'I gave it to them yesterday.'

h. SUBJ OBJ OBJ ADV VB
nɨɨ maka-j mamɨ kɨaw maga-vɨ
'I gave it to them yesterday.'

i. SUBJ ADV OBJ VB OBJ
nɨɨ kɨaw maka-j maga-vɨ Johni
'I gave it to John yesterday.'

j. SUBJ OBJ OBJ VB ADV
nɨɨ Johni maka-j maga-vɨ kɨaw
'I gave it to John yesterday.'

k. SUBJ OBJ ADV OBJ VB
nɨɨ maka-j kɨaw Johni maga-vɨ
'I gave it to John yesterday.'

l. SUBJ ADV OBJ OBJ VB
nɨɨ kɨaw mamɨ maka-j maga-vɨ
'I gave it to them yesterday.'

m. SUBJ OBJ ADV VB OBJ
nɨɨ maka-j kɨaw maga-vɨ mamɨ
'I gave it to them yesterday.'

n. OBJ-subj OBJ ADV VB
mamɨ-a-n maka-j kɨaw
them-ob-I it-ob yesterday

		maga-vɨ̈ give-past 'I gave it to them yesterday.'
o.	ADV-subj OBJ VB OBJ	kɨ̈awi-n maka-j maga-vɨ̈ yesterday-I it-ob give-past mamɨ̈ them(ob) 'I gave it to them yesterday.'
p.	SUBJ OBJ ADV-obj VB	nɨ̈ɨ̈ maŋa-j kɨ̈awi-ak I him-ob yesterday-that maga-vɨ̈ give-past 'I gave that to him yesterday.'
q.	SUBJ OBJ-obj ADV VB	nɨ̈ɨ̈ maka-ja-aŋ kɨ̈aw I that-ob-him yesterday maga-vɨ̈ give-past 'I gave that to him yesterday.'
r.	OBJ-subj VB-obj	pusi-a-aŋ maga-vɨ̈-n cat-ob-he give-past-me 'He gave me the cat.'
s.	ADV-obj-subj OBJ VB	kɨ̈awi-ika-n maŋa-j yesterday-this-I him-ob maga-vɨ̈ give-past 'I gave this to him yesterday.'
t.	SUBJ VB-obj-obj ADV	nɨ̈ɨ̈ maga-vɨ̈ɨ̈-wa?i-ika-iŋ I give-past-neg-it-him kac not 'I didn't give it to him.'

(134) Constraints:

a. SUBJECT, when free (i.e., unbound) must be first in the sentence. Putting it anywhere else in the above sentences results in an ungrammatical string.

b. SUBJECT, when bound (i.e., postfixed), must be attached to the first word in the sentence. Attaching anywhere else makes it ungrammatical.

c. VERB is either last in the sentence or next to the last. Only one full word may follow it, though there may be postfixed pronouns on the verb as well.

d. Except for constraint (b), pronoun postfixes may appear anywhere in the sentence, on any lexical category, up to two in a row. (Three pronominal postfixes in a row, or two attached to a pronoun, are not allowed.) The one exception is that no pronominal postfixes may attach to the SUBJECT (free). Any personal pronoun may appear in either full or postfix form.

Sentences which are slightly less simple exhibit somewhat different constraints, largely with respect to the subject. One set of such sentences involves the use of a "copy" pronominal postfix, co-occurring (and agreeing) with the subject of the sentence. Any full (non-bound) subject, including proper nouns, common nouns or pronouns, may co-occur with a copy postfix on the first word in the sentence with no change in meaning. This postfix may attach to any type of constituent except the subject itself, which prohibits pronominal postfixes. Examples in (135) illustrate the use of this postfix.

(135) a. nukwi-vɨɨ-n nɨɨ = nɨɨ nukwi-vɨ
run-past-I I I run-past
'I ran.'

b. kacu-aŋ aipac aŋ nukwi-vɨɨ-wa
not-he boy that run-past-neg
= aipac aŋ kac nukwi-vɨɨ-wa
'That boy didn't run.'

c. wihi-a-uŋ nɨɨni maga-vɨ John uŋ
knife-ob-he me(ob) give-past John that
= John nɨɨni wihi maga-vɨ
'John gave me a knife.'

d. pagɨci-a-uŋa-n maga-vɨ Ann uŋ
fish-ob-she-me give-past Ann that
= Ann uŋ pagɨci nɨɨni maga-vɨ
'Ann [that one] gave me a fish.'

The constraints in (134) must now be amended as follows:

(136) a. When the subject occurs in both full and bound form (both representing the same subject) in a sentence, the latter (i.e., postfix) obeys constraint (134b). The full subject form is free to appear anywhere in the sentence except sentence-initially. Constraint (134c) still holds--i.e., the subject (full) may come after the verb if no other full words do.

b. The subject may not appear twice as a postfix or twice as a full noun.[32]

Since transformational rules may not create new material in the model adopted here, the slot for this copy-pro must be present in the deep structure. Thus the first line of the NP expansion rule is: NP → NP NP, where one of the NPs can have a postfix pronoun inserted under it.[33]

The next series of complications arises when modified nouns are considered. Expanded noun phrases enjoy some degree of freedom, e.g., adjectives (participles) and demonstratives may precede or follow the noun they modify, with no difference in meaning. However, constituents within a noun phrase may not be separated. With the exception of bound (postfix) pronouns and other affixes, nothing intrudes between modifier and noun. Examples with expanded NPs are given in (137) and (138), and constraints thereby entailed are listed in (139). (Demonstratives, which are equivalent to third-person pronouns (see section 2.214) have certain peculiarities of their own.)

(137) Expanded NPs (nominative case):

a. nɨɨni moa-n = moa-n = nɨɨni moo
my(ob) father-my
'my father'

b. iŋ aipac = aipac iŋ
this boy

c. mar hokont karɨtɨa = hokont ar karɨtɨa
that big chair big that chair

d. aipaci aŋa-j wii = aipaci aŋa-j wihi-aŋ
boy(ob) that-ob knife boy(ob) that-ob knife-his
'that boy's knife'

e. maŋa-j juhuganti-mi nainci nagap
that-ob fat-anim(ob) girl(ob) shawl
'that fat girl's shawl'

f. owasiakar pampin?i-n = niini owasiakar pampin?
gold pot-my my gold pot
'my gold pot'

(138) a. waha-ku-a-n totoci-vi punikai-vi
two-ob-A-I head-pl(ob) see-past
'I saw two heads.'

b. puusi aŋa-ja-n maga-vi
cat(ob) that-ob-I give-past
'I fed that cat.'

c. nukwi-ka-aŋ aipac aŋ pa?anti-m aŋ
run-pres-he boy that tall-anim that
[copy / pro]
'That tall boy is running.'

(139) Constraints

a. Only affixes or postfixes may intervene between a modifier and head noun.

b. If a noun is followed by a demonstrative, any adjective modifying it is also followed by an identical demonstrative.[34]

c. The constraint regarding pronominal postfixes on subjects is relaxed to allow possessive postfixes.

d. Within a NP, a full possessive cannot immediately precede a demonstrative which is not its own, nor can it precede a noun immediately followed by a demonstrative, e.g., 'his knife' cannot be **iŋa-j wii ic*, or **iŋa-j ic wii*, only *iŋa-j wii* his-ob-knife.

e. A possessive postfix attaches only to the head noun, never the modifying adjective or demonstrative.

f. A full possessive must be first in the NP, i.e., unless it is a postfix it precedes all other modifiers as well as the head.

g. A bound subject or subject copy-pro in a sentence beginning with an (object) noun followed by its own demonstrative, attaches to the demonstrative, not the noun. In all other cases, it attaches to the first phonological word of the sentence.

h. The one-post-verbal word constraint must be relaxed to allow NPs with modified nouns, i.e., changed to allow one post-verbal constituent.

Postpositional phrases in Chemehuevi, like NPs, have fairly rigid internal structure, though like NPs and Advs they may scramble around in the sentence. Within the phrase the postposition is always attached either to the head noun itself or to an appositive pronoun stem (see section 2.23). The choice is optional, does not seem to reflect a meaning difference, and is independent of whether the head noun is modified or not. Examples of postpositional phrases follow in (140); the constraints are listed in (141) below:

(140) a. kupi-ja-iŋ tɨkatɨa-va wacɨ-mpa
coffee-ob-he table-at put-fut
'He will put the coffee on the table.'

b. nɨ-rua-aŋ kijasui-ka
I-at-he smile-pres
'He's smiling at me.'

c. wii pagɨci uŋa-ruk unika
knife fish(ob) he-under is
'The knife is under that fish.'

d. pagɨc maka-j pa-upa unika
fish that-ob water-in is
'The fish is in that water.'

(141) a. Nothing may intervene between the NP (object of the postposition) and postposition, or NP and pronoun plus postposition, except affixes (postfixes or enclitics).

b. The postposition must be attached to the head noun or to an appositive pronoun stem (which agrees with the head noun and which, in the case of inanimates, is a special suppletive stem--see section 2.212).

c. Nothing in the NP follows the postposition.

d. All case suffixes are "deleted" from anything to which a postposition is affixed.

Interrogatives do not complicate matters at all. Yes-No questions are all formed by the enclitic *-ra* , which attached to any first word (co-occurring optionally with K, which it precedes). WH-questions substitute different interrogative pronouns for various constituents, including two different VP interrogative forms. They are frequently fronted, but so are the constituents they replace. In both kinds of interrogatives all the normal word-order constraints are neatly adhered to. Tag questions always consist simply of ending the sentence with *hɨnaa* (roughly equivalent to French *n'est-ce pas*). (See section 2.24.)

One more set of complications arises in simple sentences when the special enclitic marker, which is referred to here as K (phonologically */-ukV/*; final vowel undeterminable), is introduced. K can optionally appear in almost any sentence, provided the word order is such that K's own constraints can be met. I am not certain exactly what K is; it is prohibited in imperatives, required in certain kinds of cleft sentences, obligatory in predicate nominative constructions with no overt copula, and obligatory with at least one aspect (which without K in the sentence is interpreted as an active participle). (See section 2.225.)

In this grammar I have somewhat arbitrarily assigned K to the verb-phrase. Its Deep Structure position (linear) is unimportant since a late transformation must move it (and all other enclitics) to a position immediately after the first "word" (or alternatively an output constraint must determine that that is where it is). Use of K is illustrated in (142), and constraints pertinent to it are given in (143):

(142) a. nɨɨ-k nukwi-vɨ
I-K run-past
'I ran.'

b. icɨ-k wii
this-K knife
'This is a knife.'

c. pa?antɨ-mɨ-k aipac nukwi-j
tall-anim-K boy run-pres
'The tall boy is running.

d. kacu-k nukwi-vɨ-wa
not-K run-past-neg
'You didn't run.

e. tɨka-rɨ-k nɨɨ
eat-habit-K I
'I eat.'

f. pagɨci-ja-uk maŋ tɨka-mi-nt
fish-ob-K he eat-past-habit
'He used to eat fish.'

(143) a. If the main verb is HABITUAL[35] (present, past, or future), or if the subject is second-person (which is often deleted in a sentence with K),[36] then any word may appear first in the sentence with K attached to it. The subject NP is then free to (though not required to) move anywhere in the sentence.

b. In all other sentences with K, K must be attached to the first word of the subject NP which, therefore, must be sentence-initial; i.e., K does not appear in the same sentence as a subject copy-pro or bound subject.

Complex sentences complicate the constraints on word-order in two ways: (1) "Embedded clauses" (including S, PTC, NOM, or SUBORD) may appear at the end of a sentence after the verb. (2) Some clauses show up at the beginning of a sentence in violation of the subject constraints. Most examples of this consist of complements of the two (related) verbs think and say, which may optionally appear in non-nominalized form. Whereas all other verb complements have subjects in the oblique case and verbs with nominalizing suffixes, the clauses of say and think can contain normal finite verbs and nominative subjects (as stated in section 2.34 above). These clauses (which I analyze as S, not NOM) may appear as a unit anywhere in the main sentence (except in the middle of another NP). Other than these, examples which violate subject constraints are extremely rare.[37] By and large, such violations are judged ungrammatical. Therefore, the original constraints (134a) and (134b) are amended as follows:

(144) In a sentence with no K and no copy-pro, the subject is either first in the sentence or attached to the first word (plus postnominal Dem). The only exception in either case is that clauses dominated by S (or SUBORD) may precede in the sentence.

Other embedded clauses (namely NOMs, PTCs and SUBORDs) behave somewhat like NPs--the subject (non-nominative) remains contiguous to the (nominalized or participialized) verb, nothing intervening except the bound subject of the matrix sentence. Sentences in (145) demonstrate possible ordering in complex sentences:

(145) a. nɨɨ-k Anni pipicɨ-n putucuga-vɨ
I-K Ann(ob) come-nml know-past
'I knew Ann came.'

b. Anni-a-n pipicɨ-va-n putucuga-j
Ann-ob-I come-fut-nml know-pres
'I know Ann will come.'

c. Anni-a-n tɨnia-vɨ pipicɨ-va-na-uŋ
Ann-ob-I tell-past come-fut-nml-him
'I told Ann he would come.'

d. pa?a-jɨ-aŋ aipac aŋ maika-n
tall-pres-he boy that say-I
'I say that boy is tall.'

e. pipicɨ-va-na-n sumai-vɨ
come-fut-nml-I remember-past
'I remembered to come.'

f. puusi-a-n sɨja?i-cɨ mavo?a-mpɨ
cat-ob-I cold-ptc(ob) cover-past
= puusi-a-n mavo?a-mpɨ sɨja?i-cɨ
'I covered the cat which was cold.'

g. puusi-a-n punikai-vɨ mavo?a-kai-na-n
cat-ob-I see-past cover-result-ptc-I
'I saw the cat (which) I covered.'

h. tɨkatɨa puusi pɨ-vaan karɨ-kai-n
table cat(ob) which-on sit-result-ptc

jokoki-vɨ

collapse-past

'The table the cat sat on collapsed.'

Summary of constraints

1. In a sentence with no K and no copy-pro of the subject, the SUBJECT is first in the sentence, except that it may be preceded by clauses dominated by S or SUBORD.[38]

2. In a sentence with no K, a bound SUBJECT (whether it is a copy-pro or not) must be attached to the first word unless the sentence begins with noun plus demonstrative, in which case the bound subject is postfixed to the demonstrative. (Clauses dominated by S or SUBORD may precede the "first" word.)

3. The VERB, in addition to any affixes it may have, may be followed in the sentence by one and only one constituent, e.g., a NP, S, or Adv.

4. No more than two pronouns may appear together in a word as postfixes on another word or as a single postfix plus independent pronoun. (See end of this section for constraints on the order of these postfixes.)

5. No pronominal postfix (copy or otherwise) may attach to the (full) subject except for possessive pronouns modifying the subject.

6. Only one K can occur in a sentence, and it cannot co-occur with a bound subject in the main clause, whether copy-pro or not.

7. The same subject cannot occur bound twice in the same sentence; i.e., if there is a copy-pro, the subject itself must be full (unbound).

8. Nothing may intervene between a noun and its modifiers except enclitics and pronominal postfixes arising from other NPs.

9. If a noun is followed by a demonstrative, any adjective (participle) modifying it must also be followed by an identical demonstrative.

10. A full (unbound) possessive cannot immediately precede a demonstrative which is not its own (i.e., does not modify the possessive), nor can it immediately precede a noun which itself immediately precedes a demonstrative, within the same NP.

11. A possessive postfix attaches only to the head noun, never the modifying adjective or demonstrative.

12. A full possessive must be first in the NP; i.e., unless it is a postfix, it precedes all other modifiers as well as the head.

13. A postposition is affixed either to the head noun of its object, or to a pronominal stem agreeing with the head. In either case, nothing intervenes between the object NP of the PP and the postposition (or pro plus postposition).

14. A postposition always follows its entire object NP.

15. In a sentence with K, if the main verb is HABITUAL or if the subject is second-person the subject is not required to be sentence-initial.

16. K, like all enclitics, must be on the first phonological word of the sentence, with no exceptions.

Analysis

The following transformation rules[39] introduce limited freedom in sentence order; output constraints will restrict the permissible orderings:

(146) Permutation rules

1. (NP)* (SUBORD) ($\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{PP}\\\text{Adv}\end{matrix}\right\}$)* (S) (NP)* (V)

SD:

SC: 

(Notation used to indicate optional scrambling of all named constituents, with respect to each other. This rule scrambles everything between, but not including, Conj (*=haita-*) and Q. Ordering within each constituent is not affected.)

2. $\begin{bmatrix}+\text{pro}\\+\text{bnd}\\-\text{prefix}\end{bmatrix}$ - $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{PTC}\\\text{N}\\\text{Num}\\\text{D}\end{matrix}\right\}$

SD: 1 2

SC: 2 + 1

Cond: optional

(This rule allows postfix pronouns to intrude into NP constituents.) (May reapply, moving postfix anywhere in NP.)

3. $^{\text{NP}}[\ \text{X} - \text{N} - \text{Y} - \text{PTC}\ (\text{D})\ - \ ]$

SD: 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 4 2 3 5

(Optionally reorders participle (plus demonstrative) to prenominal position.)

4. $$S\left[\left\{\begin{matrix}+N\\+V\\+Adv\\+Num\end{matrix}\right\}\left(\left[\begin{matrix}+bnd\\-prefix\end{matrix}\right]\right)^{*} - X - \left[\begin{matrix}+bnd\\-pro\\-prefix\\-suffix\end{matrix}\right] - Y\right]$$

SD: 1 2 3 4

SC: 1 + 3 2 4

Cond: obligatory

(Obligatorily moves all enclitics to position immediately after first word.)

The constraints listed on p. 127 can now be implemented fairly easily by the output conditions in (147) below, stated in the form of "templates" or matching filters. These may be written either as positive or negative filters--i.e., some templates must be matched and others, if matched, result in the sentence being discarded.

Positive templates of the sort used here will be written somewhat like transformations in that they may contain a "structural description" as well as a "structural constraint." In order, for example, to force all sentences with subjects to obey the subject constraints and still allow intransitive imperatives without subjects, the conditions are written to include a statement to the effect that "if a sentence contains a [+nom] (S ⊃ [+nom]), then it must be analyzable as X." Negative templates apply to all sentences (note that elements in parentheses in negative templates mean the sentence is bad with or without the contents).

(147) Output Conditions

A. No S may contain:

$$*[+pro]\left[\begin{matrix}+pro\\+bnd\end{matrix}\right]\left[\begin{matrix}+pro\\+bnd\\-prefix\end{matrix}\right]$$

(Constraint #4)

B. Any S with $\begin{bmatrix}+N\\+nom\end{bmatrix}$ and no K must be:

$$S\left[\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}S\\SUBORD\end{matrix}\ [NP\ VP]\right\}\right)\left\{\begin{matrix}\begin{bmatrix}+NP\\+nom\\-bnd\end{bmatrix}\\\left\{\begin{matrix}\begin{bmatrix}PTC\\N\\-nom\end{bmatrix}\\V\\Adv\\N\ Post\end{matrix}\right\}\end{matrix}\right\}\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}[+bnd]*\\D\begin{bmatrix}+pro\\-nom\end{bmatrix}\end{matrix}\right\}\right)\begin{bmatrix}+N\\+nom\\+bnd\end{bmatrix}\ X\right]$$

(Constraints #1,2)

C. Any S which is $S_{[X\ VP_{[X\ V\ X]}\ X]}$ must be:

$$S[X\ V\ (\left\{\begin{matrix}K\\[+bnd]*\end{matrix}\right\})\ (\left\{\begin{matrix}S\\NP\\Adv\\Q\end{matrix}\right\})\ ]$$

(Constraint #3)

D. If there exists $\begin{bmatrix}+N\\+nom\\-bnd\end{bmatrix}\begin{bmatrix}+pro\\+bnd\\-prefix\end{bmatrix}$, then it must be:

$$\begin{bmatrix}+N\\+nom\\-bnd\end{bmatrix}\ D\left[\ NP\left[\ \begin{bmatrix}+pro\\+bnd\\-prefix\end{bmatrix}\ \right]\ \right]$$

(Constraint #5)

E. No S may contain:

$$*\left\{\begin{matrix}K\\\begin{bmatrix}+nom\\+bnd\end{bmatrix}\end{matrix}\right\}X\quad\left\{\begin{matrix}K\\\begin{bmatrix}+nom\\+bnd\end{bmatrix}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

(Constraints #6,7)

F. No S may contain:

$$*\left\{\begin{matrix}NP_{[X\ N\ D[Pro]\ PTC]}\\NP_{[X\ PTC\ N\ D[Pro]]}\end{matrix}\right\}$$

(Constraint #9)

G. No S may contain:

$$* \; {}^{NP}[X \; {}^{D}[\; {}^{NP}[\alpha F] \;] \; X \; {}^{D}[\; {}^{NP}[-\alpha F] \;] \; X \;]$$

where F = [vis], [sing], [anim] or [nom]

(Constraint #9)

H. No S may contain:

$$* \; {}^{NP}[\; {}^{D}[NP] \; N \; {}^{D}[Pro] \; X \;]$$

(Constraint #10)

I. Any S which contains [+post] must be (for every post):

$${}_{S}[\; X \; {}_{PP}[\; X \; \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +prefix \end{bmatrix} \; [+post] \;] \; X \;]$$

(Constraints #13, 14)

J. No S may contain:

$$* \; {}_{S}[\; \begin{bmatrix} +bnd \\ -prefix \end{bmatrix} \; X \;]$$

K. No S may contain:

$$* \; [+imp] \ldots K$$

L. Any S with K must be:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} {}_{S}[X \; [+nom] \quad K \; X] \\ {}_{S}[X \; \left\{ \begin{array}{l} {}^{VP}[X \; \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +HABIT \end{bmatrix} \; X] \\ {}^{NP}[\; \begin{bmatrix} II \; pers \\ +nom \end{bmatrix} \;] \end{array} \right\} \; X] \end{array} \right\}$$

(Constraint #15)

M. Any NP containing $^{Poss}\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ -bnd \end{bmatrix}$ must be:

$$^{NP}[\; {}^{D}[\; {}^{Poss}\begin{bmatrix} NP \\ -bnd \end{bmatrix} \;] \; X \;]$$

(Constraint #12)

N. Any NP containing $\overset{\text{Poss}}{\left[\begin{smallmatrix}\text{NP}\\+\text{bnd}\end{smallmatrix}\right]}$ must be:

$$\text{NP}_{[}\ \text{X}\ \left[\begin{smallmatrix}\text{N}\\-\text{bnd}\end{smallmatrix}\right]\ \text{D}_{[}\ \text{Poss}\left[\begin{smallmatrix}\text{NP}\\+\text{bnd}\end{smallmatrix}\right]\ ]\ \text{X}\ ]$$

(Constraint #11)

O. No NP may contain:

$$*\ \text{NP}_{[}\ \text{X}\ \text{D}_{[}\ \text{Poss}\left[\begin{smallmatrix}\text{NP}\\\alpha\text{bnd}\\\beta\text{F}\end{smallmatrix}\right]\ ]\ \text{X}\ \text{D}_{[}\ \text{Poss}\left[\begin{smallmatrix}\text{NP}\\\alpha\text{bnd}\\-\beta\text{F}\end{smallmatrix}\right]\ ]\ \text{X}\ ]$$

(Constraint #8 is met in the permutation rules 1, 2 and 4 in (146) above; rule 4 also takes care of constraint #16.)

Postfix pronoun order

In the first part of this section it was observed that postfix forms of personal pronouns in Chemehuevi may attach to any word in the sentence (subject to various word-order constraints). When two such postfixes are found on a single word, a rigid order is maintained between them--that order being determined not by function (subject vs. object) but by such features as person, animacy, etc.

The following orderings and co-occurrence restrictions apply to such sequences of postfixes:

1. The maximum length of such a sequence is two, unless the word they are "attached" to (i.e., the first non-bound morpheme to the left) is a pronoun, in which case the sequence is limited to one.

2. First- and second-person pronouns may not co-occur (with each other or with themselves):

$$*\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}\text{I}\\\text{II}\end{smallmatrix}\right\}\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}\text{II}\\\text{I}\end{smallmatrix}\right\}$$

3. A third-person pronoun may not follow a first- or second-person pronoun:

$$*\left\{\begin{smallmatrix}\text{I}\\\text{II}\end{smallmatrix}\right\}\ \text{III}$$

4. An inanimate pronoun may not follow an animate one:

*an in

5. A third-person animate plural pronoun may not precede another third-person pronoun (plural or singular). In the case of pl-pl sequences, I see no evidence of

"number-dissimilation" in Chemehuevi[40]--they are simply blocked. The constraint is not applicable to inanimate pronouns, apparently since they never overtly reflect number. (However there have to be number features on them since they trigger number-agreement rules on verbs.)

6. Two 3rd-person pronouns may not differ in "visibility" (or "proximity"), which is actually a trinary feature.

Utilizing a template notation proposed by Perlmutter[41] for other languages, these constraints can be combined into a single positive matching filter:

(148) $\quad$ III $\quad$ III $\quad$ III $\quad$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{II} \\ \text{I} \end{Bmatrix}$

$\quad\quad$ αvis $\quad$ αvis $\quad$ αvis

$\quad\quad$ in $\quad$ $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{sing} \\ \text{in} \end{Bmatrix}$ $\quad$ an

This template consists of a strictly ordered string of "slots," with each slot representing a set of bound pronouns. A sentence may contain a sequence of these pronouns only if (a) no more than one is taken from each slot, and (b) the order matches the slot order in the template, or a subset of those slots. Any or all slot(s) may be left out of a sentence. Since the domain of the template (any continuous sequences of bound pronouns) is completely specified (no Xs or Ys) sentences with the wrong order of morphemes will not be able to slip through via the slot-optionality condition.

In addition to this template there must be an output condition limiting the size of the sequence to two (or one, after a full pronoun), namely:

(149) $\quad$ * $\quad$ pro $\quad$ pro $\quad$ pro

$\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad\quad$ [+bnd] $\quad$ $\begin{bmatrix} \text{+bnd} \\ \text{-prefix} \end{bmatrix}$

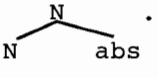
(Output Condition A, in (147).)

This says a string of three pronouns is prohibited (whether or not the first is bound) provided they are all in the same word; i.e., if the last pro were a prefix attached to some following stem and was preceded by a word-boundary we would not want the sequence to be thrown out.

APPENDIX A

Lexical Redundancy Rules (selected examples)

Formalism

Much of the format of these rules is borrowed from Jackendoff (1972) and Shopen (1972). <---> means "implies the existence of" and x represents the phonological string in common. Features such as [+Prefix] (marking the form used as the first member of a compound) and [+N] are syntactic; the feature $+_N[[N]+abs]$ is intended to show that in addition to the form being a N it has the internal structure 

. Subcategorial features like $[+_{VP}[(^{PP}_{Adv})*\_\_]]$ state restrictions on what types of structures the entry can appear in, for this example the entry verb must be inserted in a VP with no objects. The subcategorial features in rules such as L29 state that the form with */-tu?i/* (in this case) co-occurs with one more NP than the form on the left.

The indices on the NPs in the syntactic environments are used to indicate that whatever selectional restrictions and semantic function are assigned to NP_1 on the left side of the rule will also be assigned to the NP in the NP_1 position on the right side. The semantic functions are determined by the individual lexical entries for each verb. (See Shopen, op. cit.)

Generalizations about aspects of the semantics of the entries are informally represented by capitalized strings like POSSESSED; I make no claims about the actual form (or formalism) such information should take.

For further discussion of features and terms, see section 0.4.

Rules

L1 a. [/x/ +N -Prefix] <---> b. [/x + *ci*/ +$_N$[[N]]+abs] -Prefix <---> c. [/x/ +N +Prefix]

L2 a. [+N POSSESSED] <---> b. [+$_N$[[N]]+abs] UNPOSSESSED <---> c. [+N +Prefix *POSSESSED]

L3 [/x/ +N +Count X] <---> [/x + *ci*/ +$_N$[[N]+dim] +Count LITTLE X]

L4 [/x/ +N X FRUIT] <---> [/x + *pɨ*/ +$_N$[[N]+plnt] X PLANT]

L5 [/x (+ abs)/ +N INHERENTLY POSSESSED UNPOSSESSED] <---> [/x + *wa*/ +$_N$[[N]+poss] INHERENTLY POSSESSED POSSESSED]

L6 [/x (+ abs)/ +N POSSESSABLE] <---> [/x + *vi*/ +$_N$[[N]+indef poss] UNPOSSESSABLE]

L7 [/x + *pɨ*/ +N] <---> [/x/ +V]

L8 $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +[({}_{D}[NP_1])\_\_\_(P\ NP_2)] \\ \text{CONCRETE RESULT OF X-ING} \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +[NP_1((P)NP_2)\_\_] \\ X \end{bmatrix}$

L9 $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +[({}_{D}[NP_1])\_\_(P\ NP_2)] \\ \text{ABSTRACT RESULT OF X-ING} \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +[NP_1((P)NP_2)\_\_] \\ X \end{bmatrix}$

L10 $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +[({}_{D}[NP_1])\_\_(P\ NP_2)] \\ \text{ACT OF X-ING} \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +V \\ +[NP_1((P)NP_2)\_\_] \\ X \end{bmatrix}$

L11

$\begin{bmatrix} +_N[[N_1]+[N_2]] \\ \text{X WHICH BELONGS TO Y} \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +N_2 \\ X \end{bmatrix}$

<---> $\begin{bmatrix} +N_1 \\ Y \end{bmatrix}$

L12

$\begin{bmatrix} +_N[[N_1]+[N_2]] \\ \text{X MADE OF Y} \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +N_2 \\ X \end{bmatrix}$

<---> $\begin{bmatrix} +N_1 \\ Y \end{bmatrix}$

L13

$\begin{bmatrix} +_N[[N_1]+[N_2]] \\ \text{X PART OF A Y} \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +N_2 \\ X \end{bmatrix}$

<---> $\begin{bmatrix} +N_1 \\ Y \end{bmatrix}$

L14

$$\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + \underline{y}/ \\ +_N[[N]+[N]] \end{bmatrix} \quad <---> \quad \begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} /\underline{y}/ \\ +N \end{bmatrix}$$

L15

$$\begin{bmatrix} +_N[[N_1]+[N_2]] \\ X \text{ WHICH IS A } Y \end{bmatrix} \quad <---> \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N_1 \\ X \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N_2 \\ Y \end{bmatrix}$$

L16

$$\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + \underline{y}/ \\ +_N[[V]+[N]] \end{bmatrix} \quad <---> \quad \begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +V \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} /\underline{y}/ \\ +N \end{bmatrix}$$

L17

$$\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ X \text{ WHICH IS } Y \end{bmatrix} \quad <---> \quad \begin{bmatrix} +V \\ Y \end{bmatrix} \quad \begin{bmatrix} +N \\ X \end{bmatrix}$$

L18

$$\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +\text{pro} \\ \text{IIIpers} \end{bmatrix} \quad <---> \quad \begin{bmatrix} /hu + \underline{x}/ \\ +\text{pro} \\ \text{IIIpers} \end{bmatrix}$$

L19

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{pro} \\ \alpha\text{bnd} \\ \alpha\text{prefix} \end{bmatrix} \quad <---> \quad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{pro} \\ +\text{bnd} \\ -\text{prefix} \\ \text{NONFOCUSED} \end{bmatrix}$$

L20 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + a/ \\ +_N[[N]+ob] \\ -Prefix \end{bmatrix}$

L21 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \\ +anim \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + w\dot{\imath}/ \\ +_N[[N] + pl] \\ +anim \end{bmatrix}$

L22 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \\ +anim \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + m\dot{\imath}/ \\ +_N[[N] + pl] \\ +anim \end{bmatrix}$

L23 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +_N[[N] + pl] \end{bmatrix}$

L24 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} / \begin{matrix} CV \\ [+redup] \end{matrix} + {}_N[\underline{x}]/ \\ +_N[[N] + pl] \end{bmatrix}$

L25 $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +sing \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +_N[[N] + pl] \\ -sing \end{bmatrix}$

L26 $\begin{bmatrix} +N \\ +sing \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} +_N[[N] + pl] \\ +sev \end{bmatrix}$

L27 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +V \\ -mom \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + \eta u/ \\ +_V[[V] + mom] \\ +mom \end{bmatrix}$

L28 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +N \\ -prefix \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +_N[[N] + ob] \\ +prefix \end{bmatrix}$

L29 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +V \\ +^S[NP_1\ ^{VP}[X\_\_\_]] \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + tu?i/ \\ +_V[[V]+caus] \\ +^S[NP\ \ ^{VP}[X\ NP_1\_\_\_]] \end{bmatrix}$

L30

$\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + tua/ \\ +[[post] + [post]] \\ + mot \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +post \\ -mot \end{bmatrix}$

<---> $\begin{bmatrix} /-tua/ \\ +post \\ +mot \end{bmatrix}$

L31 $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x}/ \\ +V \\ +[NP\ _{VP}[X\ NP_1\_\_\_X]] \\ X \end{bmatrix}$ <---> $\begin{bmatrix} /\underline{x} + t\ddot{i}i/ \\ +V \\ +[NP_1\ VP[X\_\_\_X]] \\ BE\ X\text{-}EN \end{bmatrix}$

Lexical Entries (selected examples)

E1 a. $\begin{bmatrix} /puŋku/ \\ +N \\ -Prefix \\ \underline{dog} \\ POSSESSED \end{bmatrix}$ b. $\begin{bmatrix} /puŋku+ci/ \\ +_N[[N]+abs] \\ -Prefix \\ \underline{dog} \\ UNPOSSESSED \end{bmatrix}$ c. $\begin{bmatrix} /puŋku/ \\ +N \\ +Prefix \\ \underline{dog} \end{bmatrix}$

E2

a. [ ]

(no entry for *[/*ukwi*/ -Prefix].)

b. [/*ukwi-vɨ*/ ; +$_N$[[N]+abs] ; -Prefix ; charcoal]

c. [/*ukwi*/ ; +N ; +Prefix ; charcoal]

(These entries are related by a rule like L1 b-c but not by any of the subparts of L2 (a-b, b-c, c-a) since prefixation, not possession, seems to be the only parameter for determining the form of charcoal.)

E3 a. [/*kwipa*/ ; +$_{VP}$[({PP / Adv})* NP ___] ; hit]

b. [/*kwipa*/ ; +$_{VP}$[({PP / Adv})* ___] ; fall]

E4 [/*-raa*/ ; +Q ; +bnd ; +encl ; IS IT THE CASE THAT]

[/*urɨɨ*/ ; +V ; +[$_{NP}$[NP NOM]___] ; IS IT STILL THE CASE THAT]

[/*hɨnaa*/ ; +Q ; -bnd ; RIGHT?]

[/*-ʔ*/ ; +Q ; +bnd ; +suffix ; IS IT]

E5 a. [/ɨmi/ ; +pro ; +sg ; II pers ; αbnd ; αprefix]

b. [/mɨmi/ ; +pro ; -sg ; II pers ; αbnd ; αprefix]

c. [/ɨmi + a/ ; +pro ; +sg ; II pers ; -bnd ; -prefix]

d. [/mɨmi + a/ ; +pro ; -sg ; II pers ; -bnd ; -prefix]

e. [/-ukV/ ; +pro ; +sg ; II pers ; -imp ; +bnd ; -prefix ; -suffix]

f. [/-wV/ ; +pro ; -sg ; II pers ; -imp ; +bnd ; -prefix ; -suffix]

g. [/-mV/ ; +pro ; +sg ; II pers ; -imp ; +bnd ; -prefix ; -suffix ; $+_N$[[N]+ob]]

h. [/-wɨmV/ ; +pro ; -sg ; II pers ; -imp ; +bnd ; -prefix ; -suffix ; $+_N$[[N]+ob]]

i. [/-ʔ/ ; +pro ; +sg ; II pers ; +imp ; +bnd ; -prefix ; -suffix]

j. [/-ja/ ; +pro ; -sg ; II pers ; +imp ; +bnd ; -prefix ; -suffix]

(The co-occurrence feature [+imp] is used to mark those forms which appear as subjects of imperative verbs. For discussion of the other features, see sections 0.4 and 2.212.)

APPENDIX B
LEXICON

Key to Symbols and Features (see also section 0.4)

The following word lists are intended to be practical only. They are not intended to illustrate the theoretical "lexicon" assumed in the grammar, sketched in section 0.3 and Appendix A. The features used here often bear little relation to features discussed in the text, and the level of phonological representation in which these forms are given is not the underlying level proposed in section 1. In particular, primary stress is marked on these forms although entirely predictable. Consonant mutation across morpheme boundaries is assumed to have applied, as is nasal assimilation, *h*-deletion, and various rules of neutralization. Low-level rules such as vowel-nasalization are not presumed to have applied. All morpheme-final vowels are preserved in these forms, but are given in parentheses if they are ever actually deleted (i.e., if the morpheme can show up word-finally). "Voicelessness" is not otherwise marked. Forms are given with the underlying vowel lengths marked; thus a word like [*'kaam*] jack-rabbit is given as *ka'm(ɨ)*.

The first listing is alphabetized by Chemehuevi forms, followed by English translations in upper case. Symbols in brackets indicate whether the form is a noun, verb, adverb, postposition, suffix or interjection. Each Chemehuevi form is assigned a lexical entry number, also within the brackets. The second listing is identical to the first, but alphabetized by English gloss.

The third listing is by lexical entry number. Each entry contains features representing phonological, syntactic and semantic information regarding that particular morpheme.

Chemehuevi forms:

ɨ is alphabetized as *e*, i.e., between *d* and *f*.

ng = [ŋ]

nk = [ŋk]

X--Y = discontinuous verb stem which inserts tenses and/or aspect markers between X and Y.

X( ) = final vowel unknown.

Borrowings from English which are pronounced as in English are written in English orthography, with the exception of the addition of a final (deletable) vowel. Such words will have "=ENG" in their feature listing.

Features:

/XXX/YYY	=	XXX and YYY are variant forms of this entry.
see 1234,5678	=	entry numbers 1234 and 5678 are related to this form.
<SPAN	=	word borrowed from Spanish.
--N	=	stem is "nasalizing."
--S	=	stem is "spirantizing."
--G	=	stem is "geminating."
+ANIM	=	stem is animate.
+V	=	stem is also a verb stem (used on postpositions and adverbs).
+ENC	=	form is an enclitic.
+TRAN	=	verb may take at least one argument in the oblique case, without a postposition. (Without a +, TRAN means transitivity not yet determined.)
*TRAN	=	can be either +TRAN or -TRAN.
+S	=	verb may take a NOM as one of its NP arguments.
+S-INC	=	complement is incorporated into VP, does not show up in full sentence form.
-S-INC	=	verb may co-occur with full S in the VP.
+S-SUBJ	=	verb takes a NOM as its subject.
+V-PREF	=	verb or suffix must have a verb prefixed to it.

+OBJ-PREF	=	verb must have one of its objects prefixed to it.
2-OBJ	=	verb may take two NP arguments in the oblique case (in addition to any postpositional phrases), or one in the oblique case and one NOM.
+ANIM-SUBJ	=	requires an animate subject.
+MOT	=	is a verb of motion.
+VMOT	=	co-occurs with (requires) a verb of motion.
+RESULT	=	verb form is in the "resultative"; i.e., includes the suffix */-kai/*.
1419=-RESULT	=	entry number 1419 is the nonresultative form of this stem.
+MOM	=	verb form is "momentaneous," either inherently or by some suffix.
NGU=MOM	=	verb becomes momentaneous by the addition of /ŋu/.
1482=MOM	=	entry number 1482 is the momentaneous form of this (durative) stem.
GA=DUR	=	verb becomes durative (i.e., [-mom]) by the addition of */-ga/*.
+CONT	=	verb may take the continuative suffix */-ni?i/*.
GA=GER	=	verb is subordinated by the */-gai/* suffix (i.e., is [-mom]).
C=GER	=	verb is subordinated by the */-ci/* suffix (i.e., is [+mom]).
NGU=IMP	=	verb forms the imperative by adding /-ŋu/.
O=IMP	=	verb forms the imperative by adding a zero suffix. (O/NGU=IMP means the verb can take either suffix, depending on the meaning.)
J=PRES	=	verb can take the present tense */-jɨ/*.
V=PAST	=	verb can take the */-vɨɨ/* past tense suffix.
V/M=PAST	=	verb can take either the */-vɨɨ/* or the */-mpɨɨ/* past tense suffixes.
KA=P/P	=	verb can take the present-past suffix */-ka/*.
T=HAB	=	verb forms participle in */-tɨ/* (as opposed to */-rɨ/*, */-cɨ/*, or */-ntɨ/*, which are represented by R=HAB, etc.).

V=PROX	=	form is specified as "visible" for the visibility feature (as opposed to "here" or "invisible," specified by H=PROX and I=PROX, respectively).
W=PL	=	noun forms plural (two or more) by adding */-wɨ/*.
A'-=SEV	=	noun (in this instance beginning with *ʔa-*) forms "several" (three or more) by reduplicating first syllable. Reduplicated syllable is short and unstressed.
E'--W=PL	=	noun forms plural by reduplicating first syllable and adding suffix */-wɨ/*.
'NAA-=PL	=	noun (beginning with *na-*) forms plural by reduplicating first syllable (first consonant and vowel); reduplicated syllable is long, however, and stressed.
(DAT=N-A)	=	a semantically dative (NP) argument shows up as a noun in the oblique case.
(DAT=N-RUA)	=	a dative argument shows up as a noun with */-rua/* attached.

CHEMEHUEVI-ENGLISH

'aa- QUIETLY/STILL [A; 0330]
'aaga- SECRETLY/STEALTHILY [A; 0331]
'aaga-musi HIDE [V; 1376]
'aaga-wacɨ HIDE [V; 1377]
'aaj(a) TURTLE [N; 2248]
'aaja-?asi-v(ɨ) TURTLE-SHELL [N; 2616]
'aap(ɨ) HORN [N; 2086]
'aaporos(i) APPLE [N; 2401]
'aaroo I THINK [I; 8130]
a'c(ɨ) BOW/GUN [N; 2511]
a'cit(a) WHEAT [N; 2427]
'aɨ-ga NEW/YOUNG [V; 1087]
'aɨ-nɨw(ɨ) YOUNG PERSON [N; 2134]
'aɨ-v(i) NOW/TODAY [A; 0261]
'aɨ-vi-s(u) SOON/IN A MOMENT [A; 0264]
-agav( ) IN [P; 0113]
a'go-mp(i) TONGUE [N; 2089]
'aipac(i) LITTLE BOY [N; 2102]
'aivac(i) YOUNG BOY [N; 2132]
a'jaampi LOVELY/PRETTY/DELICIOUS [V; 1056]
a'jaampi--ni(i) LOVELY [V; 1056.5]
a'jaampi-tu?a--ni(i) LOVELY [V; 1056.4]
a'jat(a) MOHAVE [N; 2116]
a'ja-wa?i LOVE/RESPECT/ADMIRE [V; 1128]
a'jɨɨ IT'S COLD [I; 9008]
a'kagupic(i) COW-KILLER (WHITE) [N; 2219]
a'mpaga TALK/SPEAK [V; 1450]
a'mpaga-p(ɨ) LANGUAGE [N; 2830]
a'mpaga-tu?i-ka-m(ɨ) COUNCIL [N; 2135]
a'nɨ OUCH [I; 9012]
a'ngaav(i) ANT [N; 2201]
a'ngav(ɨ) ARM [N; 2052]
a'nka-ga RED [V; 1013]
a'nka-sia-ka PINK [V; 1011]
-?ap(a) NEG [S; 0452]
a'rɨɨ IT'S HOT [I; 9009]
a'rɨɨ-ni HOT [V; 1075]
a'si-?a PEEL/SKIN/SHELL/FUR [N; 2054.7]
a'si-ga SILVER [V; 1014]
a'si-v(ɨ) RIND/PEEL/SKIN [N; 2054]
a'si-vo?a PEEL/SKIN [V; 1411]
a'somp(ɨ) SALT/ALKALINE [N; 2597]
a'so-na SALT [V; 1514]
ata'mup(i) CAR [N; 2524]
a'va?a- LOTS OF [A; 0603]
a'wa?ano WIDE [V; 1036]
a'wavantɨ-m(ɨ) SEVERAL [N; 2018]
-ca(a) PERFECT [; 5110]
ca'ga WEAVE/SEW [V; 1437]
ca'gip( ) CLOSE/NEAR [A; 0240]
ca'gip(a) NEAR [A; 0229]
ca'?i GRAB [V; 1526]
ca'?ikai HOLD BACK [V; 1382]
ca'jokwin?a DISMANTLE/TEAR DOWN [V; 1554]
'cake(i) CAKE [N; 2517]
ca'ki?(i) YOUNGER BROTHER [N; 2036]
ca'pɨkin?a TEAR [V; 1462]
ca'pika?a SEW [V; 1436]
'car(i) CAR [N; 2523]
ca-'wacug(u) DOG [N; 2223]
-c(ɨ) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5207]
cɨg(a) DUCK [N; 2262]
cɨ'pɨpɨ?ɨ FLASH [V; 1551]
ci'- POINTED OBJECT- [N; 2587]
-c(i) AFTER (SUBORDINATOR) [; 5132]
-c(i) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5208]
-c(i) (DIMINUTIVE) [N; 5250]

ci'?auc(i) THIN [V; 1035]
ci'kapin?a CUT OFF [V; 1340]
ci'kavica CUT OFF [V; 1339]
ci'kwa?ica CUT/SLICE [V; 1338]
ci'kwɨ CUT [V; 1335]
ci'kwicui TURN [V; 1489]
ci'kwi-cui-nump(ɨ) KEY [N; 2564]
ci'pi COME OUT-SG [V; 1260]
ci'puru?(u) CUT/DICE [V; 1336]
ci'vunga COME OUT-PL [V; 1263]
co'- HEAD- [N; 2072]
co-'kwipa BUMP (HEAD)/HIT [V; 1311]
co'nok(a) SHRINK/CRAMP [V; 1331]
'coon?a SCRATCH [V; 1501]
'coowaa PICK [V; 1413]
co'pik(i) BRAIN [N; 2058]
ɨ'c(a) ROADRUNNER [N; 2259]
ɨ'cɨ-ni UGLY/BAD [V; 1058]
'ɨɨs(u) LONG AGO/ALREADY [A; 0254]
ɨ'ga PLANT/ENTER [V; 1357]
ɨ'ga-p(ɨ) PLANT [N; 2419]
ɨ'ga-p(ɨ) EVENING [N; 2803]
ɨ'ga-tua-nt WEST [A; 0224]
ɨi- BEFOREHAND [A; 0282]
'ɨitɨ-pɨw OLD [V; 1092]
ɨ'jɨngi STEAL [V; 1453]
ɨ'jɨnkat(ɨ) THIEF [N; 2130]
ɨ'koi SLEEP-PL [V; 1446]
ɨ'm(i) YOU-SG [N; 2005]
ɨ'nɨp(i) GHOST/SPIRIT [N; 2108]
ɨ'nɨpi-poromp(ɨ) OCOTILLO [N; 2414]
ɨ'ngapic(i) BABY [N; 2101]
ɨ'pɨi SLEEP-SG [V; 1445]
ɨ'pɨi-p(ɨ) SLEEP [N; 2828]
ɨ'sa-vɨc(i) OLD MAN [N; 2122]
ɨ'vɨ-j BAD [I; 9001]
ɨ'vɨ-ju--ni ILL/BAD [V; 1043]
ɨ'vɨ-maw?(ɨ) DESTROY [V; 1345]
ɨ'vɨ-ni BAD [V; 1043.5]
ɨ'vɨ-pɨwɨ-ni BAD [V; 1044]
ɨ'vɨ-suntu?i HATE [V; 1126]
ɨ'wa RAIN [V; 1425]
ɨ'wa-r(ɨ) RAIN [N; 2590]
ɨ'witu LONG TIME [A; 0260]
-gaa-va?(a) OVER [P; 0116]
-gaa-va?a-c( ) MORE THAN [P; 0195]
-ga(i) WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) [; 5130]
-ga(i) BE/HAVE [V; 1120]
-gaip(ɨ) FORMER [N; 5220]
-gai-sap(a) THOUGH [; 5169]
-gi COME TO-SG [V; 1911]
-gi-voro COME TO-PL [V; 1912]
-g(u) WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) [; 5131]
-gu(u) WOULD [; 5115]
-guu-p(ɨ) SHOULD [; 5116]
ha'?aɨ OH [I; 9011]
ha'?at-aiku(u) MEXICAN [N; 2115]
ha'?ɨ-c GOOD/FINE [I; 9005]
ha'?ɨ-c(i) GOOD [V; 1050.5]
ha'?ɨ-j GOOD/FINE [I; 9006]
ha'?ɨ-ju WELL/GOOD [V; 1048]
ha'?ɨ-p(ɨ) GOOD/NICE/FUN [V; 1049]
ha'?ɨ-suntu?i LIKE [V; 1127]
ha'?ɨ-tɨ- GOOD [V; 1050]
ha'?ɨ-tɨ-maɨ CLEAN/FIX [V; 1322]
ha'gakaja WHICH [A; 0207]
ha'ga-ni DO WHAT [A; 0212]
ha'ganiga(i) HOW/WHY [A; 0202]
ha'ga-ni?ing(u) WHY/HOW [A; 0201]
ha'ganis I WISH [I; 8140]
ha'ga-rua WHERE (MOTION) [A; 0206]
ha'ga-ruaga(i) WHY [A; 0208]
ha'ga-va WHERE (LOC) [A; 0204]
ha'ga-vaa-ntua WHERE (MOTION) [A; 0205]
ha-'havi LIE (DOWN)-SG [V; 1283]
'haiku(u) WHITE-MAN/ENGLISH [N; 2106]
'hainu 'hɨɨn HECK [I; 9015]
'haita THEN/AND THEN [A; 0402]
'haita (AND) THEN [A; 0402]
ha'ng(a) WHO [N; 2021]
ha'nga-sap(a) SOMEONE [N; 2023]
ha'ni(a) WHAT/HOW [A; 0209]
ha'nok(o) WHEN [A; 0203]
ha'no-pai-jujum(ɨ) HOW MANY [A; 0210]
ha'no-pai-t(ɨ) HOW MANY [A; 0211]
ha'vi LIE-SG [V; 1275]
ha'vi-tɨa(a) BED [N; 2506]
ha'w?isi SNEEZE [V; 1539]
ha'wiv(i) CORN [N; 2407]
hɨ'?ɨ YES [I; 9013]

'hɨɨ- IN VAIN [A; 0307]
'hɨɨ- JUST/IN VAIN [A; 0307]
-hɨgac( ) AGED [N; 5255]
hɨ'naa TAG-Q/HUH? [A; 0200]
hɨ'pɨki HOLEY/HAVE A HOLE [V; 1023]
hɨ'pɨki-c(ɨ) HOLE [N; 2562]
hɨ'vɨ COME HERE [I; 9004]
hɨ'vɨɨ CERTAINLY [I; 9003]
hɨ'vɨgi-ca HOLEY/FULL OF HOLES [V; 1024]
'hiimara?apɨc(i) SOMETHING [N; 2028]
'hiiw(a) KIN/RELATIVE [N; 2111]
hi'mpa-jok( ) FEW/A FEW [A; 0606]
hi'mp(ɨ) WHAT [N; 2020]
hi'mpɨc(i) PLATE/DISH [N; 2640]
hi'mpɨ-sap(a) SOMETHING [N; 2022]
hi'ncum?i PINCH [V; 1414]
hi'n(i) WHO/WHAT [N; 2024]
hi'vi DRINK [V; 1350]
'ho(a) BACK [N; 2053]
ho'honono?o LOST-PL/FALL/DROP [V; 1352]
ho'ko BIG [V; 1021]
ho'koso?a-v(i) SPIDER [N; 2255]
ho'nono?o DROP-PL/FALL [V; 1352.9]
'hoora DIG [V; 1347]
ho'paki-c(ɨ) HOLE [N; 2561]
ho'paki-p(ɨ) HOLE [N; 2560]
ho'va PULL OUT [V; 1418]
ho'v(i) LUMBER [N; 2570]
ho'vi MOULT [V; 1407]
hu'cini?i POKE HEAD IN SOMEWHERE [V; 1487]
hu'cip(a) OCEAN [N; 2623]
hu'kump(ɨ) DUST [N; 2539]
hu-'mai--ni SUSPECT [V; 1112]
hu'mpait(a) ANY [A; 0605]
hu'n(a) BADGER [N; 2204]
hu'pa UNTIE [V; 1472]
hu'pa-ki UNTIE/COME UNTIED [V; 1545]
'huu ARROW/BULLET [N; 2501]
hu?up(i) SQUAW BUSH BERRY [N; 2429]
hu?upi-v(ɨ) SQUAW BUSH [N; 2428]
hu-'?urua-gai-sap(a) BUT [A; 8120]
hu'vacinoc(i) COW-KILLER [N; 2218]
hu'va-sa?ap(ɨ) JUICE/BROTH/SOUP [N; 2514]
hu'va-sa?ap(ɨ) BROTH/JUICE/FRUIT- [N; 2514]
hu'va-v(ɨ) JUICE/SAP/SOUP [N; 2603]
hu'va-v(ɨ) SAP/JUICE/SOUP [N; 2603]
hu'va-v(ɨ) SOUP/BROTH/JUICE [N; 2603]
hu'vi-av(ɨ) SONG [N; 2826]
hu'vi-tu SING [V; 1440]
hu'vi-tu-nump(ɨ) RADIO/RECORD-PLAYER [N; 2589]
hu'wip(i) WASH/CANYON [N; 2521]
i'- THIS/THESE [N; 2013.8]
i-'c(ɨ) THIS/THESE [N; 2013]
i-'cua WALK THIS WAY [V; 1268]
i-'cu?a RESEMBLE (SOMETHING HERE) [V; 1004]
i'jaav(i) GRAPES [N; 2411]
i'jaavi-mp(ɨ) GRAPE VINE [N; 2423]
i'jaga WILD [V; 1546]
i'japaka SCARED [V; 1040]
i'javaga AFRAID [V; 1041]
i'javi-ntuarɨni DANGEROUS/SCARY [V; 1089]
i-'ka- THIS/THESE [N; 2013.9]
i-'m(ɨ) THEY (HERE) [N; 2010]
i'ng(a) HE/SHE (HERE) [N; 2007]
i'piina(a) BEAVER [N; 2261]
i-'va HERE [A; 0225]
'jaaki BRING-SG-OBJ [V; 1254]
'jaa-kwa?i TAKE (AWAY) [V; 1262]
'jaasɨ FLY OFF-PL [V; 1434]
ja'ga CRY [V; 1334]
ja'ga-huvi-av(ɨ) CRYING SONG [N; 2840]
ja'hi HUNT [V; 1486]
ja'?i TIRED-SG/DRUNK/DEAD [V; 1046]
ja'?(i) DEAD-SG/TIRED/SUFFER [V; 1046]
ja'?i-kwa?(i) DIE [V; 1346]
ja-'jaga BURST INTO TEARS [V; 1482]
ja'wi CARRY-SG-OBJ [V; 1317]
ja'wi-ni?i HOLD [V; 1380]
-j(ɨ) PRESENT [T; 5101]
jɨ'?a-ki ENTER/SINK/SET [V;

1359]
jɨ'?a-ki SET (SUN)/ENTER/SINK [V; 1359]
jɨ'?ɨki SWALLOW [V; 1455]
jɨ'hɨva-nt OUTDOORS/OUTSIDE [A; 0238]
jɨ-'jɨwi SIT (DOWN)-PL [V; 1280]
jɨ'pak(i) COLLAPSE (OPEN STRUCTURE) [V; 1324]
jɨ'van SPRING OR AUTUMN [N; 2807]
jɨ'waav(i) PLAIN [N; 2586]
jɨ'wi SIT-PL [V; 1278]
jo'kok(i) COLLAPSE (ENCLOSED STRUCTURE)[V; 1325]
-j(u) WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) [; 5130]
ju'?a CARRY-PL-OBJ [V; 1318]
ju'?a-ki BRING-PL-OBJ [V; 1255]
ju'?ara WARM [V; 1081]
ju'hu-gai FAT [V; 1022]
ju'hu-v(i) FAT [N; 2542]
ju'm?a TIRED-PL/DRUNK/DEAD [V; 1047]
ju'm?a DEAD-PL/TIRED/SUFFER [V; 1047]
ju'm?i-ga WEAK [V; 1052]
ju'na PUT-PL-OBJ [V; 1422]
ju'nakaim( ) GANG/COMPANY/CLAN [N; 2145]
ju'?(u) LEG [N; 2076]
ju'vimp(ɨ) PINE-TREE [N; 2417]
ju'wip NINE [A; 0509]
ju'wita(a) UTE [N; 2142]
-k(a) AFTER (SUBORDINATOR) [; 5133]
-k(a) PRESENT/PAST [T; 5107]
-ka (+SEV SUBJ) [; 5152]
'kaac(i) RAT [N; 2244]
'kaag(i) NECKLACE/NECK THING [N; 2630]
'kaa-kaiva-gai MOUNTAINOUS [V; 1093]
'kaamp(ɨ) HILL [N; 2559]
'kaataniv(ɨ) COTTON [N; 2408]
kac ha'ɨc pi'juwa? WORRIED/BOTHERED [V; 8101]
ka'c(u) NO/NOT [A; 0450]
kac u-'vawi-wa?at EMPTY THERE [I; 8103]
ka'hon(i) BOX [N; 2512]
-ka(i) RESULT [; 5109]
-ka(i) PERFECT [; 5108]
'kaicog(o) HAT [N; 2629]
'kaiv(a) MOUNTAIN [N; 2577]
'kaiva-kuvai?a(a) MOUNTAIN PEAK [N; 2578]
'kaiva-taka(a) MOUNTAIN TOP [N; 2579]
ka-'karɨ SIT (DOWN)-SG/STOP [V; 1279]
ka'ma TASTE [V; 1172]
ka'm(ɨ) JACK-RABBIT [N; 2232]
ka'n(i) HOUSE [N; 2563]
ka'ni-gai LIVE/RESIDE [V; 1396]
ka'ni?i VISIT [V; 1475]
ka'ni-p(ɨ) VILLAGE (ABANDONED)/CAMP [N; 2518]
ka'ni-tɨwap(ɨ) DOOR/HOUSE-CLOSING [N; 2537]
ka'pak(i) SNAP/BREAK (STRING) [V; 1309]
ka'raga RATTLE [V; 1488]
ka'rɨ SIT-SG [V; 1277]
ka'rɨ-n?ump(ɨ) SADDLE [N; 2596]
ka'rɨ-tɨa(a) CHAIR [N; 2525]
-kat(ɨ) -ER [N; 5213]
'kɨaw(i) YESTERDAY [A; 0262]
kɨ'cijon(a) SPIT [V; 1503]
'kɨɨmaanc(i) OTHER/ANOTHER [A; 0550]
'kɨɨmaa-nɨw(ɨ) MORONGO/SERRANO [N; 2117]
'kɨɨwa(a) EDGE [N; 2541]
kɨ'?(i) BITE [V; 1304]
kɨ'maka?(a) TASTE [V; 1163]
kɨ'man DIFFERENT [A; 0551]
kɨ'manc(i) DIFFERENT ONE [N; 2143]
kɨ'rukwi BREAK/SNAP [V; 1307]
kɨ'wagai SHARP [V; 1026]
'kiijaa PLAY [V; 1415]
ki'ja-ni?i LAUGH [V; 1391]
ki'ja-p(ɨ) ENTERTAINMENT [N; 2831]
ki'ja-pitua FUNNY [V; 1086]
ki'ja-sui SMILE [V; 1447]
ki'ja-sui-kai SMILE [V; 1447.5]
ki'ja-sui-ni?i SMILE [V; 1447.6]
'ko(a) CUT/NICK [V; 1337]
ko'?a-p(i) TOBACCO [N; 2634]
ko'?a-tɨka SMOKE [V; 1510]
ko'c(i) BASKET [N; 2638]
ko'go?i KILL-PL-OBJ/SCOLD [V; 1388.2]
ko'?i KILL-PL-OBJ/SCOLD [V; 1388]

ko'miwa CORNER [N; 2625]
ko'n(o) CRADLE [N; 2533]
ko'pok(i) SNAP/BREAK (STICK) [V; 1308]
ko'to?o-ngu TURN AROUND/RETURN/COME BACK [V; 1428]
ku'ca-ka GREY [V; 1009]
ku'ca-p(ɨ) ASHES [N; 2624]
kuca-w(a) ASHES [N; 2624.8]
ku'ciki BURN [V; 1313]
ku'c(u) BUFFALO/CAMEL [N; 2210]
ku'kwap(i) WOOD/STICK/FIREWOOD [N; 2607]
ku'kwi SHOOT/STING [V; 1438]
ku'm(a) HUSBAND [N; 2038]
ku'm(a) MALE (NONHUMAN) [N; 2038.9]
ku'ma-ru MARRY (FEMALE SUBJECT) [V; 1529]
ku'n(a) FIRE [N; 2546]
ku'nav(ɨ) SACK/SHEATH [N; 2595]
kur(a) NECK [N; 2088]
ku'rar(i) FENCE/CORRAL [N; 2544]
ku's(a) PANTS [N; 2583]
ku'sa?a FRY [V; 1369]
ku'sa?a-nump(ɨ) FRYING-PAN [N; 2552]
ku'tucaa HOT [V; 1070]
ku'tuci HOT [V; 1076]
'kuu BURY [V; 1314]
'kuuci?(i) PIG [N; 2243]
'kuupi(i) COFFEE [N; 2531]
'kuuta?(a) SWEATER [N; 2612]
'kwaɨ IN (TIME)/AGO/FROM NOW [A; 0251]
'kwaɨ AGO/IN (TIME)/AWAY [A; 0251]
'kwaɨ-nkai SWIFT [V; 1543]
-kwa?(i) BECOME/GET/TURN [V; 1901]
-kwa?(i) AWAY [A; 0220]
kwa'?ija I DUNNO [I; 8150]
kwa-'kwavi LIE (DOWN)-PL [V; 1284]
kwa'rojaw(i) CHICKEN [N; 2215]
kwa's ɨ RIPE/COOK/BURN [V; 1328]
kwa's ɨ COOK/RIPE [V; 1328]
kwa's(i) TAIL [N; 2614]
kwa's(u) DRESS [N; 2538]
kwa'su-ntu DRESS/PUT ON DRESS [V; 1553]
kwa'vi LIE-PL [V; 1276]
kwɨ'h ɨ CATCH-SG-OBJ/TAKE/RECEIVE [V; 1293]
kwɨ'rɨki GET UP [V; 1512]
kwi'ca DEFECATE [V; 1552]
kwi'cara?(a) SPOON [N; 2605]
kwi'hi-ka SMOKE [V; 1538]
kwi'hi-p( ) SMOKE [N; 2633]
'kwii- LEFT [A; 0231]
'kwii-gant(ɨ) LEFT-HANDED ONE/SOUTH-PAW [N; 2113]
'kwiijaac(i) SNAKE [N; 2247]
'kwii-mi-tu(a) LEFT/TO THE- [A; 0233]
'kwii-mi-tu(a) TO THE LEFT/LEFT [A; 0233]
'kwiin?a TURN [V; 1470]
kwi'jukwimp(i) CUCUMBER [N; 2409]
kwi'nu?ungu SPIN/TURN [V; 1452]
kwi'pa HIT/FALL/STING (SCORPION) [V; 1361]
kwi'ta-rɨnia LIE/FIB [V; 1395]
kwi't(u) ANUS [N; 2051]
kwi'tu-mukw(i) BUTTOCKS [N; 2060]
ma'- THAT/THOSE (VIS) [N; 2014.8]
ma'- HAND- [N; 2070]
ma'?a COLOR/MARK/PAINT [V; 1326]
'maa SO/LIKE THAT [I; 9014]
-ma?ak(u) FINISH [V; 1904]
'maapɨc(i) OLD LADY/OLD WOMAN [N; 2121]
ma'?awa?i TAKE CARE OF [V; 1459]
ma'?awa?i REAR/RAISE [V; 1499]
-maɨ FINISH [V; 1905]
'maɨ MAKE [V; 1400]
-maga TRY [V; 1906]
ma'ga GIVE [V; 1292]
ma-'gugikai POINT AT [V; 1416]
ma'ha LAUNDER [V; 1392]
ma'hav(ɨ) TREE/PLANT [N; 2420]
ma'h(i) FIND [V; 1364]
'mai SAY [V; 1110]
'mai--ni THINK [V; 1111]
'mai-nkɨ EXPLAIN/TEACH [V; 1203]
ma-'jɨmpugi NUDGE [V; 1408]
ma'juma KILL-PL-OBJ [V; 1390]
ma-'ka- THAT/THOSE (VIS) [N; 2014.9]
ma'ma-sumparu(i) GATHER [V; 1371]

ma'ma?u(u) WOMAN [N; 2131]
ma-'m(ɨ) THEY (VIS) [N; 2011]
ma-'nana-nkɨ REAR [V; 1381]
-manankw(a) BECAUSE OF/FROM [P; 0120]
ma-nankwa-tu(a) TOWARDS THAT WAY (DIRECTION) [P; 0121]
ma'ncu SQUEEZE [V; 1505]
ma'nɨg FIVE [A; 0505]
ma'ng(a) HE/SHE (VIS) [N; 2008]
-mank(u) ON [P; 0162]
ma'n(o) EVERY/ALL [A; 0601]
ma'no CHASE [V; 1319]
ma'no?o CHASE [V; 1319.8]
ma'no?o-k(o) CHASE [V; 1319.9]
-mantɨ PART OF/SOME OF [P; 0190]
ma-'nujukwa-nkɨ MOVE/SHOVE [V; 1439]
ma-'nura RUB WITH HAND [V; 1532]
ma'pik(a) TOUCH [V; 1166]
ma-'r(ɨ) THAT/THOSE (VIS) [N; 2014]
ma'rɨgai HELP [V; 1375]
ma'rɨkwipa PUSH [V; 1496]
ma-'ru?a RESEMBLE (SOMETHING VIS) [V; 1004]
ma-'rua WALK THAT WAY [V; 1268]
ma-ruka-n?a CLIMB ON THAT [V; 1256]
ma-'rupun?i-nkɨ WAKE [V; 1477]
ma-'sɨa-gant(ɨ) FORK/FINGERED-THING [N; 2551]
ma-'sɨ(ɨ) FINGER [N; 2063]
ma'sɨw TEN [A; 0510]
ma'sico?(o) FINGER-NAIL [N; 2064]
masi'kwarip(i) CLOTH [N; 2529]
ma-'sonk(u) GLOVE [N; 2648]
ma'sua FINISH (CONSUME) [V; 1365]
ma'-tog(o) THUMB [N; 2079]
ma-'uni-ni?i HANDLE [V; 1558]
-maupa STOP [V; 1916]
ma'va- COLD (ILL) [N; 2835]
ma-'va THERE (VIS) [A; 0226]
ma-'vacigi CLAP HANDS [V; 1321]
ma-'vaciki SLAP [V; 1441]
ma'vacikinkɨ SLAP [V; 1502]
ma'va-ja?(i) HAVE A COLD [V; 1046.8]
ma'vang?i PET [V; 1412]
ma'vik(a) TOUCH/FEEL [V; 1165]
ma'vo?a COVER [V; 1330]
ma-'waga EXPENSIVE/COSTLY [V; 1085]
ma-'wava CREEP [V; 1333]
ma'wɨa LAZY/TIRE OF [V; 1059]
ma'wɨ?a AUNT (MA OLD SI) [N; 2041]
ma'wɨ-?ɨc( ) NEPHEW [N; 2042]
-m(ɨ) (-SG +ANIM SUBJ) [; 5150]
'mɨɨga(i) VERY [A; 0302]
mɨj(ɨ) GOPHER [N; 2263]
mɨ'm(i) YOU-PL [N; 2006]
mɨ'nɨsi RETURN-PL [V; 1266]
mɨ'ngimpɨc(i) EAGLE [N; 2252]
-mi USITATIVE [; 5111]
mi'?au-nci SMALL [V; 1028]
mi'?au-nci-n LESS [A; 0306]
mi'?au-pɨciw(ɨ) SMALL ONE [N; 2128]
mi'jarogopic(i) MOON [N; 2576]
mi'jo FAR [V; 1020]
mi'jot(o) FAR [A; 0228]
'mo(a) FATHER [N; 2030]
mo'hara BITTER [V; 1071]
mo'hara-t(ɨ) BITTER THING [N; 2643]
'moi LEAD [V; 1394]
mo'?o-v(ɨ) HAND [N; 2069]
-mpa(a) FUTURE [T; 5103]
-mp(ɨ) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5201]
-mpɨ(ɨ) PAST (MOM) [T; 5105]
-mp(i) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5202]
mu'cu STRONG [V; 1051]
mu'guaru THINK [V; 1463.8]
mu'guaruni?i THINK [V; 1463]
mu'guat BRAINLESS [I; 9002]
mu'humpɨc(i) OWL [N; 2239]
mu'kunt(a) STRAIGHT [V; 1542]
mu'kwis SEVEN [A; 0507]
mu'n?unki ROUND [V; 1034]
mu'pang(a) EMPTY OUT [V; 1356]
mu'ru?(i) BLANKET [N; 2508]
mu'ru?i-gaip(ɨ) BLANKET-CAST-AWAY [N; 2508.9]
mu'simpij( ) SISTER-IN-LAW [N; 2043]

-musu TRY (IN VAIN)/UNABLE TO [V; 1907]
-musu UNABLE TO [V; 1907]
'muuna?(a) MULE [N; 2238]
'muupic(i) FLY [N; 2228]
mu'v(i) NOSE [N; 2077]
-n(a) -ING (NOMINAL) [; 5126]
na'- SELF/REFLEXIVE [; 2016]
'naakɨ-mɨga(i) EXTREMELY/VERY [A; 0303]
'naanci EIGHT [A; 0508]
'naapagap(ɨ) KIN/RELATIVE [N; 2110]
'naapagap(ɨ) BELT [N; 2507]
'naapɨw(ɨ) OLD MAN [N; 2123]
'naa-ta?ik(a) EVERY DAY/DAY AFTER DAY [A; 0255]
'naaw(a) TRACK [N; 2635]
na'cukwi NARROW [V; 1032]
-nag(a) IN [P; 0118]
na'g(a) MOUNTAIN SHEEP [N; 2236]
na'gaap(ɨ) CAPE/SHAWL [N; 2522]
na'gami SICK [V; 1055]
na'ga-vunkuc(i) SHEEP [N; 2246]
na'gɨgi CRACK OPEN [V; 1521]
na-'gu-kwi SHOOT EACH OTHER [V; 1438.1]
na-'guma-ru MARRY (RECIPROCAL) [V; 1525]
na-'hukwivi HURT-SELF [V; 1384]
na-'hump(a) ONESELF [A; 0350]
na'?i BURN [V; 1312]
'nainc(i) YOUNG GIRL [N; 2133]
na'?inci-c(i) LITTLE GIRL [N; 2109]
na?isa-?angaav(i) ANT [N; 2258]
na'?isa-hiw(a) IN-LAW [N; 2146]
na'?i-tupik(ɨ) BURN UP [V; 1515]
na-'jawi?i-tui SEND [V; 1435]
na'ma- TOGETHER [A; 0351]
na'mɨ FIRST [A; 0256]
na'mi?(i) YOUNGER SISTER [N; 2037]
na'mp(a) FOOT [N; 2065]
na'na GROW [V; 1373]
na-nɨ-mpaka FIGHT [V; 1485]
na'nga-ja?i ANGRY [V; 1042]
na'nis( ) APART/SEPARATELY [A; 0333]
na'nka LISTEN/HEAR [V; 1155]
na'nka-ka(i) LISTEN/HEAR [V; 1156]
na'nka-v(a) LEAF [N; 2424]
na'nka-v(ɨ) EAR [N; 2061]
na'nka-vutucuga UNDERSTAND [V; 1123]
na'nkwaru?(u) METAL/CAN/CONTAINER [N; 2519]
na'rɨ ASK FOR [V; 1301]
na-'rɨgap(ɨ) PICTURE OF SELF [N; 2584.9]
na'rɨna RUN-PL/DASH [V; 1432]
na-'rona-p(ɨ) FIST-FIGHT [N; 2829]
na'ro?(o) SHIRT [N; 2599]
na'ro?o-ntu MAKE A SHIRT [V; 1511]
na'ru-ga BUY [V; 1295]
na'ruganip(ɨ) WAR [N; 2827]
na'ruga-tɨravi SELL [V; 1296]
na'ru-ga-tui-kan(i) STORE/SHOP [N; 2608]
na'sumɨa FORGET [V; 1124]
na-'sumɨa-sutui FORGET [V; 1124.5]
na-'tɨna TRAIL [V; 1389.9]
na'va SIX [A; 0506]
na'vakɨ SWIM [V; 1457]
na-'vuaganump(ɨ) MEDICINE [N; 2573]
na-'wa-cipi-nkɨ ESCAPE [V; 1360]
na-'waga-ka COST [V; 1410.9]
na-'waga-nkɨ PAY [V; 1410]
na'wa?itɨ APPEAR/SHOW UP [V; 1251]
'nɨa-p PROUD [V; 1530]
'nɨɨ I [N; 2001]
'nɨɨni I [N; 2001.9]
nɨɨvaav(i) SNOW [N; 2602]
nɨ'gar(ɨ) AIR/WIND [N; 2619]
nɨ'kap(ɨ) ROUND-DANCE [N; 2825]
nɨ-'maga-nt(ɨ) GENEROUS ONE [N; 2144]
nɨ'm(i) WE (EXCL) [N; 2004]
nɨ-'mpo?o-tui-kat(ɨ) TEACHER [N; 2129]
nɨ-'mpo?o-tui TEACH-SCHOOL [V; 1460]
nɨ-'mpuni-tu?i SHOW [V; 1151.7]
nɨ'nga WEAVE BASKET [V; 1480]
nɨ'ngap(ɨ) CHEST [N; 2092]

nɨ'nga-p(i) BASKET [N; 2504]
nɨ'nga-pi-v(ɨ) BASKET [N; 2503]
nɨ-'nkuu BURY (SOMEONE) [V; 1314.6]
nɨ-'nkwɨ-tui-kat(ɨ) POLICEMAN/PERSON-CATCHER [N; 2126]
nɨ'va-?ɨwa SNOW [V; 1556]
nɨ'w(ɨ) CHEMEHUEVI/INDIAN/PERSON [N; 2103]
nɨ'wɨ-?a-v BODY [N; 2056]
nɨ'wɨ-ga(i) LIVE [V; 1054]
nɨ'wɨmp(i) LIVER [N; 2087]
-ng(u) MOMENTANEOUS [; 5113]
'nia-v(i) NAME [N; 2823]
-ni(i) -LIKE (SENS VB COMP) [A; 5165]
-ni?i CONTINUATIVE [; 5112]
ni'?i(a) CACHE/FOOD STORE [N; 2516]
'niinga READ/COUNT [V; 1329]
ni'ja CALL [V; 1342]
ni'ja-ga HAVE A NAME [V; 1057]
ni'mpɨa ENGAGE IN CONVERSATION [V; 1484]
ni'mukumpa TRANSLATE/EXPLAIN /SET STRAIGHT [V; 1202]
-nku(u) COULD [; 5117]
-nkuu-p(ɨ) COULD [; 5118]
no'joga BOIL [V; 1305]
no'kom?a BEND [V; 1303]
no'mai-nukwi GALLOP [V; 1370]
no'nosi DREAM [V; 1131]
no'pav(i) EGG [N; 2540]
nu'jukwa MOVE [V; 1261]
nu'kwi RUN [V; 1430]
-nump(ɨ) INSTRUMENT [S; 5261]
o'hov(ɨ) BONE [N; 2057]
o'nci(a) FOX (LITTLE KIT) [N; 2253]
o'no- JUST (NOW/THEN) [A; 0257]
o'nto-ka BROWN [V; 1007]
o'p(i) MESQUITE BEANS [N; 2404]
o'pi-mp(ɨ) MESQUITE [N; 2413]
orange(i) ORANGE [N; 2416]
o'saramp(ɨ) (CACTUS) [N; 2405]
o'tav(ɨ) SAND [N; 2598]
o'wasia-ka YELLOW [V; 1016]
pa'- WATER [N; 2617.9]
'paa WATER [N; 2617]
pa'?a TALL [V; 1029]
pa-'?aaj(a) WATER-TURTLE [N; 2249]
'paaca?ac(i) BAT [N; 2205]
pa'?a-ni LOUD/TALL [V; 1029.5]
pa'?a-ntoga LONG [V; 1025]
'paapas(i) POTATOES [N; 2426]
pa'?a-v(i) WORM [N; 2257]
'paaviiv(ɨ) BARREL-CACTUS [N; 2403]
pa'caciv(ɨ) MOCCASIN [N; 2651]
pa-'caga WASH [V; 1478]
pa'cav(ɨ) LEATHER [N; 2567]
pa'c(ɨ) DAUGHTER [N; 2033]
pa'c(i) OLDER SISTER [N; 2035]
'paɨ-p(i) BLOOD [N; 2082]
'paɨ-w(a) BLOOD [N; 2082.8]
pa-'ga(a) RIVER [N; 2591]
pa'gacukwit(a) BLACKBIRD [N; 2209]
pa'gap(ɨ) SHOE [N; 2600]
pa-'garɨ-r(ɨ) LAKE [N; 2566]
pa-'gawic(i) NAVAJO [N; 2118]
pa'gɨ-c(i) FISH [N; 2226]
pa'gɨnav(ɨ) CLOUD [N; 2530]
pa'gi SOUND [V; 1171]
pa'gi WALK-PL [V; 1269]
pa'gi-ka-rɨm NOMADS/TRAVELERS [N; 2119]
pa'gi-kwa?i GO AWAY-PL [V; 1269.8]
pa'gi-mporo TRAVEL AROUND/WANDER [V; 1269.9]
pa'ha AUNT (FA SI) [N; 2040]
pa'hi THREE [A; 0503]
pa-'hivi-nump(ɨ) WATER GLASS [N; 2636]
pa-'hora DIG A WELL [V; 1348]
pa-'hoora-p(ɨ) WELL [N; 2618]
pa-'huina FLOAT [V; 1367]
'pai CALL OVER [V; 1316]
pajaa FRONT [N; 2067]
-paja?a-va(a) IN FRONT OF [P; 0115]
pa-'ja?i DROWN [V; 1353]
pa'j?(ɨ) KANGAROO RAT [N; 2233]
pa'jɨ RETURN-SG [V; 1265]
pa-'jɨ?a-ki SINK/DROWN [V; 1354]
pa'jɨ-kii COME BACK [V; 1267]
pa-'jua-nump(ɨ) BUCKET [N; 2515]

pa'ka KILL-SG-OBJ/SCOLD [V; 1387]
pa'ka-nkɨ HURT [V; 1383]
-paki KNOW HOW TO/CAN [; 5114]
pa'mpɨn?(i) POT [N; 2588]
pa'na LIGHT [V; 1010]
pa'na-cic( ) MOVIES/FLICKERS [N; 2652]
pa'na-ka-t(ɨ) LIGHT [N; 2815]
pa'nankwa COME DOWN/FR NORTH [V; 1257]
pa'na-pu?(i) GLASSES (EYE) [N; 2555]
pa-'nukwi-c(ɨ) STREAM [N; 2609]
pa'paw(a) BEAR [N; 2206]
pa'piliv(ɨ) PAPER [N; 2581]
pa-'rakwica LAUNDER [V; 1393]
pa'ran?ɨg(i) PAIUTE [N; 2124]
pa'rangar(a) PUMPKIN [N; 2421]
pa-'rɨasɨ-p(ɨ) GLASS (PANE)/ICE [N; 2554]
pa-'rɨasɨ-p(ɨ) ICE/FROZEN WATER/GLASS [N; 2554]
pa-'rɨ?asɨ-tɨwap(ɨ) WINDOW [N; 2639]
pa-'rɨgi SOAK/WASH [V; 1448]
pa-'rɨwa-p(ɨ) DAM [N; 2646]
pa'rowa-ga PURPLE [V; 1012]
pa-'ru MIX IN WATER [V; 1406]
pa's(a) FIELD/PASTURE [N; 2545]
pa'sa-rawac(i) FARMER/GROWER [N; 2107]
pa'sa-ru FARM [V; 1362]
pa'v(i) OLDER BROTHER [N; 2034]
pa'von?okwi-c(ɨ) WATERMELON [N; 2422]
pa-'vo(o) DITCH [N; 2627]
pa'wa SWELL (STING/DISEASE) [V; 1507]
pɨ- RELATIVE PRONOUN [N; 2025]
-p(ɨ) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5201]
-p(ɨ) (NOMINAL) [; 5140]
-pɨciw(ɨ) ONE [N; 5230]
-pɨga(i) LONG AGO [S; 0259]
-pɨga(i) REMOTE PAST [T; 5106]
pɨ'kɨki TEAR [V; 1461]
pɨ'nka- KEEP ON/INSIST ON [A; 0280]
pɨ'ra-mi-tu(a) TO THE RIGHT/RIGHT [A; 0234]
pɨ'tɨja HEAVY [V; 1031]
-p(i) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5202]
'pi(a) FEMALE (NONHUMAN) [N; 2031.9]
'pi(a) MOTHER [N; 2031]
-pica(a) MORE/ -ER [A; 0305]
pica'rak(i) DOG/BITCH [N; 2225]
picɨ SUCK/SUCKLE [V; 1508]
pi'h(i) BREAST/UDDER [N; 2059]
pi'hi-vov(i) MILK [N; 2574]
'pii I WISH [I; 9010]
'piikaj(u) LATER [A; 0258]
'piinkic(i) PIG [N; 2241]
'piisu?(u) DOLLAR/PESO [N; 2535]
pi'jagama SWEET [V; 1080]
pi'jagank(ɨ) ITCH [V; 1527]
pi'jɨ-p(i) HEART [N; 2074]
pi'jɨ-w(a) HEART [N; 2073.8]
pi'jɨ-w(i) HEART [N; 2073]
pi'joga PULL [V; 1495]
pi'kaga SMOOTH [V; 1033]
pi'kagaac(i) BUG [N; 2211]
pi'ka-hoa-ga(i) HAVE SORE BACK [V; 1513]
pi'ki ROT [V; 1429]
pi'naw?i-nkɨ LEAVE [V; 1398]
pi'nga-tɨ-m( ) YOUNGEST [N; 2148]
pi'picɨ ARRIVE [V; 1253]
pi'pitan?(a) VOMIT [V; 1490]
pi'so?oc(i) CHILD [N; 2104]
pi'tang(a) QUICKLY/IN A HURRY/FAST [A; 0322]
pi'w(a) WIFE [N; 2039]
pi'wa-ru MARRY (MALE SUBJECT) [V; 1528]
po'ni(a) SKUNK [N; 2254]
po'?o DRAW/WRITE [V; 1349]
po'?(o) PATH/TRAIL/STREET/ROAD [N; 2592]
po'?(o) ROAD/PATH/TRAIL/STREET [N; 2592]
'poo?av(i) FLEA/LOUSE [N; 2227]
'pooca SWELL/INFLATE [V; 1456]
'pooja TROT [V; 1465]
po'?o-kat(ɨ) LETTER [N; 2569]
po'?o-p(ɨ) LETTER [N; 2568]
'poor(o) CANE/WAND [N; 2520]
po'?o-tu?i TEACH [V; 1466]
pu'caku FILL [V; 1363]
pu'hagant(ɨ) MEDICINE-MAN/DOCTOR [N; 2105]

pu'?incac(i) MOUSE [N; 2237]
pu'?iv(i) EYE/SEED [N; 2062]
pu'kwi BLOW [V; 1483]
pu'nk(u) PET [N; 2240]
pu'nkuu-c(i) DOG/PET [N; 2222]
pu'nkuv(ɨ) WOOL [N; 2622]
pu'nua STINK/SMELL [V; 1079]
pu'ru?ai-ku BREAK/SHATTER [V; 1306]
pu'sagai LOOK FOR [V; 1397]
pu'tucuga UNDERSTAND/KNOW/LEARN [V; 1121]
'puuciv(ɨ) STAR [N; 2606]
'puunii SEE/LOOK [V; 1151]
'puunii-ka(i) SEE/LOOK [V; 1152]
'puus(i) CAT [N; 2213]
-ra(a) (YES-NO Q) [; 5160]
-rua GIVE/HAND [V; 1291]
-ruac(i) OFFSPRING/-LET [S; 5251]
-ruk(a) UNDER [P; 0108]
-ruka-tu(a) UNDER [P; 0109]
-ruka-tua-c( ) LESS THAN [P; 0196]
sa'?ap(i) GRAVY [N; 2556]
sa'gav(ɨ) WILLOW [N; 2430]
sa'gwi-v(ɨ) GUTS [N; 2085]
'sai MELT/DISSOLVE [V; 1405]
sa'map(ɨ) PALLET/RUG [N; 2580]
sa'mi-kar(ɨ) DOUGH/SQUISHY STUFF [N; 2628]
sa'mita?a-p(i) BREAD [N; 2513]
-samp(a) ONLY [A; 0604]
sa'mpav(a) SLOWLY/QUIETLY [A; 0323]
sa'mpava-ni SLOWLY/QUIETLY [A; 0324]
sa'na-p(i) SAP/GUM [N; 2632]
-sap(a) ACTUALLY/THOUGH [A; 0405]
sa'p(ɨ) BELLY/STOMACH [N; 2081]
sa'pi?ai DIFFICULT [V; 1090]
sa'pija?i BRAVE/FORMIDABLE [V; 1045]
'saronc(i) FOAM/BEER/SUDS [N; 2642]
sa'wa-ga GREEN/BLUE [V; 1006]
sa'wa-kan(i) CHEMEHUEVI-HOUSE (ARROW-WEED) [N; 2527]
sa'wa-p(ɨ) ARROW-WEED [N; 2402]
sɨ'gɨ-nka TART [V; 1094]
sɨ'gɨ-nkama TART/TASTE TART [V; 1095]
sɨ'gɨpic(i) LIZARD [N; 2234]
sɨ'?ip(i) FLOWER [N; 2410]
sɨ-'ja?i COLD [V; 1072]
sɨ'na?av(i) COYOTE [N; 2220]
sɨ'na?av(i) COPY CAT/COYOTE [N; 2220]
sɨ-'tu?i COLD [V; 1073]
si'?i URINATE [V; 1474]
si'?ip(i) URINE [N; 2091]
si'?i-wa?i URINATE (GO TO) [V; 1474.3]
si'kuc(i) SQUIRREL [N; 2256]
si'puna?(a) SPOON [N; 2604]
si'va WHITTLE/SHAVE-WOOD [V; 1481]
si'va-va WHITTLE [V; 1481.7]
si'vuja?(a) ONION [N; 2415]
si'wa?avaac(i) CHEMEHUEVI-VALLEY [N; 2528]
so'm?a SPREAD (BLANKET) [V; 1540]
'soo-g( ) LUNG/LUNGS [N; 2093]
'soo-v(i) LUNG/LUNGS [N; 2093.6]
-s(u) ALSO/TOO/STILL [S; 0401]
-s(u) TOO/STILL [S; 0401]
-s(u) STILL/ALSO [S; 0401]
-suawa-ga(i) WANT [V; 1910]
su-'mai REMEMBER [V; 1122]
-sumpa FEEL [V; 1524]
su'mpav(a) SLOWLY/QUIETLY [A; 0325]
su'mpava-ni QUIETLY/SLOWLY [A; 0326]
-su-ntu?i THINK [V; 1129]
'suu- EASY TO/READY TO [A; 0410]
'suu ONE [A; 0501]
'suukur(i) BEADS [N; 2505]
'suunava EVEN/STRAIGHT [V; 1523]
'suuparua GATHER TOGETHER [V; 1372]
'suupi-n(i) MAYBE [A; 0456]
'suu-tav(a) ALL DAY [A; 0252]
'suuv(a) MAYBE [A; 0455]
su'waink‡ KISS [V; 1519]
su'wa-ka BREATHE [V; 1310]
su'wa-p(ɨ) BREATH [N; 2821]
ta'- FOOT- [N; 2066]
ta'c(a) SUMMER [N; 2806]
ta'?ik(a) TOMORROW [A; 0263]
ta'ka(a) ROOF/TOP [N; 2593]
ta'kus(a) PANT-LEG [N; 2582]
takwi-ntui ENCIRCLE [V; 1492]

ta'm(i) WE-DU (INCL) [N; 2002]
ta'mi-want(ɨ) YOU-OR-ME/ONE OF US [N; 2019]
ta'nga KICK [V; 1386]
ta'ng(a) KNEE [N; 2075]
ta'ntɨi-c(i) NORTHERNER [N; 2120]
ta'ntɨi-p NORTH [A; 0221]
ta'ntɨvai-t SOUTH [A; 0222]
ta'paki SPLIT ASUNDER [V; 1504.8]
ta'paki-n?(a) CUT DOWN/SPLIT [V; 1504]
ta'pang(a) BACON/PIG/PORK [N; 2203]
ta'panga-c(i) PIG [N; 2242]
ta'pas(ɨ) DRY/DRY UP [V; 1084]
tapic(a) TIE [V; 1509]
ta'picac(i) LAWMAN/POLICE [N; 2112]
ta-'pik(a) TOUCH WITH FOOT OR TOE [V; 1168]
ta'pok(a) CHOP [V; 1320]
ta'ru?i HOT [V; 1077]
ta'sɨant(ɨ) DAWN [N; 2801]
ta'sɨantɨ-pa-t EAST [A; 0223]
ta-'sɨ(ɨ) TOE [N; 2080]
ta'siav(i) ANT [N; 2202]
ta'sico?(o) TOE-NAIL/CLAW [N; 2083]
ta'sovoro HUMID/STICKY [V; 1078]
ta-'takusa-pagap(ɨ) BOOT [N; 2510]
ta'tɨwin?a OPEN [V; 1409]
ta-'tog(o) BIG TOE [N; 2055]
ta'va?ac(i) CHIPMUNK [N; 2251]
ta'va-j(ɨ) DAY [N; 2802]
ta'va-pɨc(i) SUN/DAY [N; 2611]
ta'vasɨ DRY [V; 1074]
ta'vasɨ-kwaipɨw SKINNY/DRIED UP/SHRIVELED [V; 1083.5]
ta'vasɨ-kwa?i DRY UP [V; 1083]
ta'v(i) HIT/STONE [V; 1379]
ta'vi-nump(ɨ) HAMMER [N; 2558]
ta'vu-c(i) HARE [N; 2230]
ta'vu-ruac(i) LITTLE HARE [N; 2230.9]
ta'w?a-c(i) MAN [N; 2114]
ta'w?a-c(i) MALE (HUMAN)/MAN [N; 2114]
ta'wa-mp(i) TOOTH [N; 2090]
ta'wasɨ SUN-BURN [V; 1454]
ta'wasɨ-nkwa?i SUN-BURN [V; 1454.5]
ta'w(ɨ) WE-SEV (INCL) [N; 2003]
tɨ'- PERSON [N; 2125]
-t(ɨ) (ACTIVE PARTICIPLE) [; 5124]
-tɨa(a) PLACE (FOR) [N; 5262]
tɨ'?asɨ FREEZE [V; 1368]
tɨ'cawa TAKE AWAY [V; 1458]
-tɨ(ɨ) (PASSIVE) (AGENTLESS) [; 5120]
'tɨɨmp(a) MOUTH [N; 2084]
'tɨɨrava-nt OUTSIDE/OUTDOORS [A; 0239]
'tɨɨrav(i) FLOOR/GROUND [N; 2547]
tɨ'ga TAKE A PICTURE OF [V; 1555]
tɨ'gai ACT [V; 1469]
tɨ'gap(ɨ) PICTURE/SNAPSHOT [N; 2584]
tɨ'gɨ?i NEED/LACK [V; 1125]
tɨ'gɨ-?iv(a) LACK/HUNGER [N; 2822]
tɨ'gɨ-?i-va-v(ɨ) HUNGER [N; 2822.9]
tɨ'gɨ-jumi HUNGRY-PL [V; 1053]
tɨ-'guu BURY (SOMEONE) [V; 1315]
tɨ'gu?uni COOK [V; 1327]
tɨ'hij(a) DEER [N; 2221]
tɨ'hija-v(ɨ) DEERHIDE [N; 2647]
tɨ'ka EAT [V; 1355]
tɨ'ka-p(i) FOOD/FOODSTORE [N; 2550]
tɨ'ka-tɨa(a) TABLE [N; 2613]
tɨ'kaw?i TURN INTO [V; 1471]
tɨ'm?a BAKE [V; 1302]
tɨ'mp(i) ROCK/MONEY [N; 2575]
tɨ'mpi-ka-t RICH [V; 1088]
tɨ'na FOLLOW/HUNT [V; 1389]
tɨ'na HUNT [V; 1389]
tɨ'nankwa COME UP/FR SOUTH [V; 1258]
tɨ'nia TELL [V; 1204]
tɨ'nia-p(ɨ) NEWS/STORY [N; 2824]
tɨ'ravi THROW DOWN [V; 1464]
tɨ'rawi?i RUN-SG/DASH/START (CAR) [V; 1431]
tɨ'rɨna-v(ɨ) ROOT [N; 2631]
tɨ'rijaw BUT/YET/THOUGH [A; 0403]
tɨ'rijaw YET/BUT [A; 0403]
tɨ's ɨv(i) GRASS [N; 2412]

tɨ-'sumɨa FORGET/LEAVE BEHIND [V; 1132]
tɨ-'sumɨa-sutui FORGET [V; 1132.5]
-tɨtu?a--ni(i) SEEM [V; 1908]
tɨ'v(a) PINON NUTS [N; 2418]
tɨ'vac(i) WOLF [N; 2250]
-tɨvicu WANT/ASK [V; 1917]
tɨ'vijawi WORK [V; 1517]
tɨ'vingi ASK [V; 1201]
tɨ'vip(ɨ) DIRT/EARTH/GROUND [N; 2534]
tɨ'visamp(a) TRUE [V; 1091]
tɨ'viw(a) LAND/COUNTRY [N; 2532]
tɨ'wa CLOSE [V; 1323]
tɨ'wa-p(ɨ) DOOR/CLOSING [N; 2536]
tɨ'wavaga SOUND/MAKE A SOUND [V; 1449]
tɨ'wɨni FAST [A; 0332]
'tii TEA [N; 2615]
to'c(i) HEAD [N; 2071]
to'ci-vɨ?a-v(ɨ) HAIR [N; 2068]
to'goi- IN MIDST OF [A; 0281]
to'goi-tava-j(ɨ) MIDDAY [N; 2816]
to'goi-?uni-ngu-ca?a-k( ) SERVES HIM RIGHT [I; 8105]
to'kwimaw?ɨ APPEAR/SHOW UP [V; 1252]
to'm(o) WINTER/YEAR [N; 2805]
to'n(a) HIT/PUNCH/STAB [V; 1378]
'tooro?(o) BULL [N; 2212]
to'posi-gi STAB [V; 1506]
to'posi-ki-nkɨ STAB/PIERCE [V; 1506.8]
to'sa-ga WHITE [V; 1015]
to'sikwa STICK IN [V; 1451]
to'vi-ci SHORT [V; 1027]
to'vi-pɨciw(ɨ) SHORT ONE [N; 2127]
-tu (+SEV OBJ) [; 5153]
-tu?a BECOME (A NOUN)/TURN (ADJ) [V; 1902]
'tu(a) SON [N; 2032]
-tu(a) TO/AT/TOWARD (MOTION) [P; 0150]
tu'ca-ga(i) DIRTY [V; 1082]
tu'ca-v(i) DIRT [N; 2626]
tu'gump(a) SKY [N; 2601]
tu'hiv(i) FLOUR [N; 2549]
-tui MAKE/CAUSE/LET [V; 1002]
tu'k(u) MOUNTAIN LION [N; 2235]
tu'kuav(i) MEAT [N; 2572]
tu'ku-punku-c(i) CAT [N; 2214]
tu'mirus(i) TOMATO [N; 2425]
tu'nap(ɨ) STRING [N; 2610]
tu'nkuka THICK [V; 1030]
tu'pa-ga BLACK/DARK [V; 1005]
tu'paki SLIP LOOSE/UNTIE [V; 1536]
tu'pun?i WAKE [V; 1476]
tu'punua-c(i) NEGRO [N; 2136]
tu-'punuwa DARK [V; 1008]
turu'ti?a TORTILLA [N; 2641]
tu'sup(ɨ) FLOUR/S.T.GROUND [N; 2548]
tu'?uma CATCH-PL-OBJ/TAKE/RECEIVE [V; 1294]
tu'vaki SLIP LOOSE/UNTIE [V; 1535]
tu'wan(u) NIGHT-TIME [N; 2804]
u'- THAT/THOSE (INVIS) [N; 2015.8]
u'gwi SMELL/SNIFF [V; 1159]
u'gwi-ka(i) SNIFF/SMELL [V; 1160]
u-'ka- THAT/THOSE (INVIS) [N; 2015.9]
u'kwiv(ɨ) CHARCOAL/COAL [N; 2526]
u-'m(ɨ) THEY (INVIS) [N; 2012]
u'ng(a) HE/SHE (INVIS) [N; 2009]
u'ni-a-ni?i WEAR [V; 1479]
u'ni-nupɨru MAKE [V; 1473]
-upa?(a) IN (LOC) [P; 0104]
-upa?a-tɨ-manankw(a) OUT FROM INSIDE [P; 0125]
-upa?a-tu(a) INTO [P; 0105]
u-'r(ɨ) THAT/THOSE (INVIS) [N; 2015]
u'rɨɨ IS S STILL THE CASE [I; 8135]
u-'ru?a BE LIKE (SOMETHING INVIS) [V; 1004]
u-'rua WALK-SG [V; 1268]
u-'ru?a RESEMBLE (SOMETHING INVIS) [V; 1004]
u-'ru?a HAVE/OWN [V; 1003]
u'rua-kwa?i GO/LEAVE [V; 1268.8]
u-'rua-voro WALK AROUND [V; 1268.9]
u'rump(ɨ) ROPE [N; 2594]

u'siwanav(i) CICADA [N; 2216]
u'tusamp(a) ALL THE TIME/ALWAYS [A; 0253]
'?uu THEN [I; 9016]
'uunii BE/DO [V; 1000]
'uunii-ka(i) BE [V; 1001]
u-'wan THERE (INVIS) [A; 0227]
-va(a) ON/AT (LOC) [P; 0102]
-va(a) FUTURE [T; 5102]
-va(a) AT/ON (LOC) [P; 0102]
-vaac IN ORDER TO [S; 0423]
-va?an(a) ON/-TOP OF (LOC) [P; 0106]
-vaa-nt+-manankw(a) AWAY FROM [P; 0123]
-va?a-ntu(a) ONTO/ON TOP OF (MOTION) [P; 0107]
-vaa-ntu(a) ONTO [P; 0103]
-vac+ ABOUT [P; 0122]
-va-j+w(i) BESIDE [P; 0112]
va'rir(i) BARREL [N; 2502]
-vaw(a) OF/FROM [P; 0165]
-vaw(a) FROM/OF [P; 0165]
-v(+) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5201]
-v+ LANGUAGE [S; 5240]
-v(+) ONE'S OWN (IIIRD PERS) [S; 2017]
-v+(+) PAST (DUR) [T; 5104]
-v(i) (ABSOLUTIVE) [N; 5202]
-vin?ap(a) BEHIND [P; 0110]
-vin?apa-cu(a) BEHIND [P; 0111]
vi'ntana?(a) WINDOW [N; 2620]
vo'lita?(a) MARBLE [N; 2571]
-voro AROUND/MOVING AROUND [V; 1915]
-voro GO TO-PL [V; 1914]
vu'tija?av(+) GLASS (DRINKING) [N; 2553]
'vuut(i) BOAT [N; 2509]
-w(a) WITH (INSTR) [P; 0170]
wa'?acug(u) DOG [N; 2224]
'waampakwic(i) SCORPION [N; 2245]
'waanaa-v(+) WEB/NET [N; 2637]
wa'?angi SHOUT [V; 1534]
wa'?arov(i) HORSE [N; 2231]
wa'?arovi-mpagap(+) HORSESHOE [N; 2649]
wa'?awi BARK [V; 1520]
wa'cav(i) BEE [N; 2207]
wa'c+ PUT-SG-OBJ [V; 1421]
wa'c+ ELECT/PUT [V; 1421]
wa'c+w FOUR [A; 0504]
-waga-ru(a) THROUGH [P; 0117]
wa'gata-c(i) FROG [N; 2229]
wa'gi ENTER-PL [V; 1358]
wa'ha- VERY (ADJ)/ALMOST (VERB) [A; 0301]
wa'ha- BOTH [A; 0602]
wa'ha TWO [A; 0502]
wa'ha- ALMOST (VERB)/VERY (ADJ) [A; 0301]
-wa?(i) NEG [S; 0451]
-wa?(i) WITH (ACCOMP) [P; 0172]
-wai GET/BECOME [V; 1903]
-wa?i GO TO-SG [V; 1913]
wa'ki COME FR EAST/WEST [V; 1259]
wa'mi STAND-PL [V; 1274]
wa'na-ru MAKE A WEB [V; 1401]
wa'nc(i) ANTELOPE [N; 2260]
wa'nkasi(i) COW [N; 2217]
-wank(u) FROM [P; 0160]
-want+ PART OF/SOME OF [P; 0190]
wa'va CRAWL [V; 1332]
wa-'wami STAND (UP)-PL [V; 1282]
'w+(a) PENIS [N; 2078]
w+'coi POUR [V; 1417]
'w++ka WORK [V; 1518]
w+'?i DROP-SG/FALL [V; 1351.9]
w+'?i-ku LOST-SG/FALL/DROP [V; 1351]
w+'n+ STAND-SG [V; 1273]
w+'n+mi DANCE [V; 1344]
w+'n?ogi SHAVE (BODY)/RAKE [V; 1427]
w+'pantui DANGLE [V; 1522]
w+'para SPREAD/HANG [V; 1374]
w+'puki JUMP [V; 1385]
w+'sivo?ona WHITTLE [V; 1493]
w+'tuc(a) WIPE [V; 1491]
w+'wai HANG [V; 1516]
w+-'w+n+ STAND (UP)-SG [V; 1281]
wi'ci FLY [V; 1366]
wi'ci?ic(i) BIRD [N; 2208]
wi'ci-ku FLY OFF-SG [V; 1433]
wi'ci-n?ump(+) AIRPLANE/FLYING OBJECT [N; 2645]
wi'h(i) KNIFE [N; 2565]
'wiiwav(i) OIL/GREASE [N; 2557]
wi'jutamp(+) CHOLLA [N; 2406]
'wine(i) WINE [N; 2621]
wi'sia-v(i) WING [N; 2543]

ENGLISH-CHEMEHUEVI

ABOUT -vacɨ [P; 0122]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -c(ɨ) [N; 5207]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -v(i) [N; 5202]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -p(i) [N; 5202]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -v(ɨ) [N; 5201]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -mp(ɨ) [N; 5201]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -mp(i) [N; 5202]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -c(i) [N; 5208]
(ABSOLUTIVE) -p(ɨ) [N; 5201]
ACT tɨ'gai [V; 1469]
(ACTIVE PARTICIPLE) -t(ɨ) [; 5124]
ACTUALLY/THOUGH -sap(a) [A; 0405]
AFRAID i'javaga [V; 1041]
AFTER (SUBORDINATOR) -c(i) [; 5132]
AFTER (SUBORDINATOR) -k(a) [; 5133]
AGED -hɨgac( ) [N; 5255]
AGO/IN (TIME)/AWAY 'kwaɨ [A; 0251]
AIR/WIND nɨ'gar(ɨ) [N; 2619]
AIRPLANE/FLYING OBJECT wi'ci-n?ump(ɨ) [N; 2645]
ALL DAY 'suu-tav(a) [A; 0252]
ALL THE TIME/ALWAYS u'tusamp(a) [A; 0253]
ALL/EVERY ma'n(o) [A; 0601]
ALMOST (VERB)/VERY (ADJ) wa'ha- [A; 0301]
ALREADY/LONG AGO 'ɨɨs(u) [A; 0254]
ALSO/TOO/STILL -s(u) [S; 0401]
(AND) THEN 'haita [A; 0402]
ANGRY na'nga-ja?i [V; 1042]
ANT a'ngaav(i) [N; 2201]
ANT na?isa-?angaav(i) [N; 2258]
ANT ta'siav(i) [N; 2202]
ANTELOPE wa'nc(i) [N; 2260]
ANUS kwi't(u) [N; 2051]
ANY hu'mpait(a) [A; 0605]
APART/SEPARATELY na'nis( ) [A; 0333]
APPEAR/SHOW UP to'kwimaw?ɨ [V; 1252]
APPEAR/SHOW UP na'wa?itɨ [V; 1251]
APPLE 'aaporos(i) [N; 2401]
ARM a'ngav(ɨ) [N; 2052]
AROUND/MOVING AROUND -voro [V; 1915]
ARRIVE pi'picɨ [V; 1253]
ARROW-WEED sa'wa-p(ɨ) [N; 2402]
ARROW/BULLET 'huu [N; 2501]
ASHES kuca-w(a) [N; 2624.8]
ASHES ku'ca-p(ɨ) [N; 2624]
ASK tɨ'vingi [V; 1201]
ASK FOR na'rɨ [V; 1301]
AT/ON (LOC) -va(a) [P; 0102]
AT/TOWARD/TO (MOTION) -tu(a) [P; 0150]
AUNT (FA SI) pa'ha [N; 2040]
AUNT (MA OLD SI) ma'wɨ?a [N; 2041]
AWAY -kwa?(i) [A; 0220]
AWAY FROM -vaa-ntɨ-manankw(a) [P; 0123]
AWAY/FROM NOW/AGO 'kwaɨ [A; 0251]
BABY ɨ'ngapic(i) [N; 2101]
BACK 'ho(a) [N; 2053]
BACON/PIG/PORK ta'pang(a) [N; 2203]
BAD ɨ'vɨ-j [I; 9001]
BAD ɨ'vɨ-ni [V; 1043.5]
BAD ɨ'vɨ-pɨwɨ-ni [V; 1044]
BAD/ILL ɨ'vɨ-ju--ni [V; 1043]
BADGER hu'n(a) [N; 2204]
BAKE tɨ'm?a [V; 1302]
BARK wa'?awi [V; 1520]
BARK/SKIN/HIDE/FUR a'si-?a [N; 2054.7]
BARREL va'rir(i) [N; 2502]
BARREL-CACTUS 'paaviiv(ɨ) [N;

2403]
BASKET nɨ'nga-p(i) [N; 2504]
BASKET ko'c(i) [N; 2638]
BASKET nɨ'nga-pi-v(ɨ) [N; 2503]
BAT 'paaca?ac(i) [N; 2205]
BE 'uunii-ka(i) [V; 1001]
BE LIKE (SOMETHING INVIS) u-'ru?a [V; 1004]
BE/DO 'uunii [V; 1000]
BE/HAVE -ga(i) [V; 1120]
BEADS 'suukur(i) [N; 2505]
BEANS (MESQUITE) o'p(i) [N; 2404]
BEAR pa'paw(a) [N; 2206]
BEAUTIFUL/DELICIOUS a'jaampi [V; 1056]
BEAVER i'piina(a) [N; 2261]
BECAUSE OF/FROM -manankw(a) [P; 0120]
BECOME (A NOUN)/TURN (ADJ) -tu?a [V; 1902]
BECOME/GET/TURN -kwa?(i) [V; 1901]
BED ha'vi-tɨa(a) [N; 2506]
BEE wa'cav(i) [N; 2207]
BEER/SUDS/FOAM 'saronc(i) [N; 2642]
BEFOREHAND ɨi- [A; 0282]
BEHIND -vin?ap(a) [P; 0110]
BEHIND -vin?apa-cu(a) [P; 0111]
BELLY/STOMACH sa'p(ɨ) [N; 2081]
BELT 'naapagap(ɨ) [N; 2507]
BEND no'kom?a [V; 1303]
BESIDE -va-jɨw(i) [P; 0112]
BIG ho'ko [V; 1021]
BIG TOE ta-'tog(o) [N; 2055]
BIRD wi'ci?ic(i) [N; 2208]
BITE kɨ'?(i) [V; 1304]
BITTER mo'hara [V; 1071]
BITTER THING mo'hara-t(ɨ) [N; 2643]
BLACK/DARK tu'pa-ga [V; 1005]
BLACKBIRD pa'gacukwit(a) [N; 2209]
BLANKET mu'ru?(i) [N; 2508]
BLANKET-CAST-AWAY mu'ru?i-gaip(ɨ) [N; 2508.9]
BLOOD 'paɨ-p(i) [N; 2082]
BLOOD 'paɨ-w(a) [N; 2082.8]
BLOW pu'kwi [V; 1483]
BLUE/GREEN sa'wa-ga [V; 1006]
BOAT 'vuut(i) [N; 2509]
BODY nɨ'wɨ-?a-v [N; 2056]
BOIL no'joga [V; 1305]
BONE o'hov(ɨ) [N; 2057]
BOOT ta-'takusa-pagap(ɨ) [N; 2510]
BOTH wa'ha- [A; 0602]
BOTHERED/WORRIED kac ha'ɨc pi'juwa? [V; 8101]
BOW/GUN a'c(ɨ) [N; 2511]
BOX ka'hon(i) [N; 2512]
BOY (LITTLE) 'aipac(i) [N; 2102]
BRAIN co'pik(i) [N; 2058]
BRAINLESS mu'guat [I; 9002]
BRAVE/FORMIDABLE sa'pija?i [V; 1045]
BREAD sa'mita?a-p(i) [N; 2513]
BREAK/SHATTER pu'ru?ai-ku [V; 1306]
BREAK/SNAP kɨ'rukwi [V; 1307]
BREAK/SNAP (STICK) ko'pok(i) [V; 1308]
BREAK/SNAP (STRING) ka'pak(i) [V; 1309]
BREAST/UDDER pi'h(i) [N; 2059]
BREATH su'wa-p(ɨ) [N; 2821]
BREATHE su'wa-ka [V; 1310]
BRING-PL-OBJ ju'?a-ki [V; 1255]
BRING-SG-OBJ 'jaaki [V; 1254]
BROTH/JUICE/FRUIT-hu'va-sa?ap(ɨ) [N; 2514]
BROWN o'nto-ka [V; 1007]
BUCKET pa-'jua-nump(ɨ) [N; 2515]
BUFFALO/CAMEL ku'c(u) [N; 2210]
BUG pi'kagaac(i) [N; 2211]
BULL 'tooro?(o) [N; 2212]
BULLET/ARROW 'huu [N; 2501]
BUMP (HEAD)/HIT co-'kwipa [V; 1311]
BURN ku'ciki [V; 1313]
BURN na'?i [V; 1312]
BURN UP na'?i-tupik(ɨ) [V; 1515]
BURST INTO TEARS ja-'jaga [V; 1482]
BURY 'kuu [V; 1314]
BURY (SOMEONE) tɨ-'guu [V; 1315]
BURY (SOMEONE) nɨ-'nkuu [V; 1314.6]
BUT hu-'?urua-gai-sap(a) [A; 8120]
BUT/YET/THOUGH tɨ'rijaw [A; 0403]
BUTTOCKS kwi'tu-mukw(i) [N;

2060]
BUY na'ru-ga [V; 1295]
CACHE/FOOD STORE ni'?i(a) [N; 2516]
CACTUS o'saramp(ɨ) [N; 2405]
CAKE 'cake(i) [N; 2517]
CALL ni'ja [V; 1342]
CALL OVER 'pai [V; 1316]
CAMEL/BUFFALO ku'c(u) [N; 2210]
CAMP/VILLAGE (ABANDONED) ka'ni-p(ɨ) [N; 2518]
CAN/CONTAINER/METAL na'nkwaru?(u) [N; 2519]
CANE/WAND 'poor(o) [N; 2520]
CANYON/WASH hu'wip(i) [N; 2521]
CAPE/SHAWL na'gaap(ɨ) [N; 2522]
CAR ata'mup(i) [N; 2524]
CAR 'car(i) [N; 2523]
CARRY-PL-OBJ ju'?a [V; 1318]
CARRY-SG-OBJ ja'wi [V; 1317]
CAT tu'ku-punku-c(i) [N; 2214]
CAT 'puus(i) [N; 2213]
CATCH-PL-OBJ/TAKE/RECEIVE tu'?uma [V; 1294]
CATCH-SG-OBJ/TAKE/RECEIVE kwɨ'hɨ [V; 1293]
CAUSE/MAKE/LET -tui [V; 1002]
CERTAINLY hɨ'vɨɨ [I; 9003]
CHAIR ka'rɨ-tɨa(a) [N; 2525]
CHARCOAL/COAL u'kwiv(ɨ) [N; 2526]
CHASE ma'no [V; 1319]
CHASE ma'no?o [V; 1319.8]
CHASE ma'no?o-k(o) [V; 1319.9]
CHEMEHUEVI-HOUSE (ARROW-WEED) sa'wa-kan(i) [N; 2527]
CHEMEHUEVI-VALLEY si'wa?avaac(i) [N; 2528]
CHEMEHUEVI/INDIAN/PERSON nɨ'w(ɨ) [N; 2103]
CHEST nɨ'ngap(ɨ) [N; 2092]
CHICKEN kwa'rojaw(i) [N; 2215]
CHILD pi'so?oc(i) [N; 2104]
CHIPMUNK ta'va?ac(i) [N; 2251]
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CLIMB ON THAT ma-ruka-n?a [V; 1256]
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CUT ci'kwɨ [V; 1335]
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DANGLE wɨ'pantui [V; 1522]
DARK tu-'punuwa [V; 1008]
DARK/BLACK tu-'pa-ga [V; 1005]
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DAWN ta'sɨant(ɨ) [N; 2801]
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DAY/SUN ta'va-pɨc(i) [N; 2611]
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DEER tɨ'hij(a) [N; 2221]
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DOG ca-'wacug(u) [N; 2223]
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DRESS/PUT ON DRESS kwa'su-ntu [V; 1553]
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DROP-PL/FALL ho'nono?o [V; 1352.9]
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DRUNK-PL/TIRED/DEAD ju'm?a [V; 1047]
DRUNK-SG/TIRED/DEAD ja'?i [V; 1046]
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DRY UP ta'vasɨ-kwa?i [V; 1083]
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EAGLE mɨ'ngimpɨc(i) [N; 2252]
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EAST ta'sɨantɨ-pa-t [A;

0223]
EASY TO/READY TO 'suu- [A; 0410]
EAT tɨ'ka [V; 1355]
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ENTERTAINMENT ki'ja-p(ɨ) [N; 2831]
-ER -kat(ɨ) [N; 5213]
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EXTREMELY/VERY 'naakɨ-mɨga(i) [A; 0303]
EYE/SEED pu'?iv(i) [N; 2062]
FALL-PL/DROP ho'honono?o [V; 1352]
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FALL/STUMBLE/HIT kwi'pa [V; 1361]
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FAST tɨ'wɨni [A; 0332]
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FAT ju'hu-gai [V; 1022]
FAT ju'hu-v(i) [N; 2542]
FATHER 'mo(a) [N; 2030]
FEATHER/WING wi'sia-v(i) [N; 2543]
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FENCE/CORRAL ku'rar(i) [N; 2544]
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FILL pu'caku [V; 1363]
FIND ma'h(i) [V; 1364]
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FINISH -maɨ [V; 1905]
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FISH pa'gɨ-c(i) [N; 2226]
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FLOUR tu'hiv(i) [N; 2549]
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FLOWER sɨ'?ip(i) [N; 2410]
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FOOD/FOODSTORE tɨ'ka-p(i) [N; 2550]
FOOT na'mp(a) [N; 2065]
FOOT- ta'- [N; 2066]
FORGET na-'sumɨa-sutui [V; 1124.5]
FORGET tɨ-'sumɨa-sutui [V; 1132.5]
FORGET na'sumɨa [V; 1124]
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[V; 1132]
FORK/FINGERED-THING ma-'sɨa-gant(ɨ) [N; 2551]
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FUNNY ki'ja-pitua [V; 1086]
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FUTURE -mpa(a) [T; 5103]
FUTURE -va(a) [T; 5102]
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GLASS (DRINKING) vu'tija?av(ɨ) [N; 2553]
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GO AWAY-PL pa'gi-kwa?i [V; 1269.8]
GO TO-PL -voro [V; 1914]
GO TO-SG -wa?i [V; 1913]
GO/LEAVE u'rua-kwa?i [V; 1268.8]
GOOD ha'?ɨ-c(i) [V; 1050.5]
GOOD ha'?ɨ-tɨ- [V; 1050]
GOOD/FINE ha'?ɨ-j [I; 9006]
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GRAB ca'?i [V; 1526]
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GRAPES i'jaav(i) [N; 2411]
GRASS tɨ's ɨv(i) [N; 2412]
GRAVY sa'?ap(i) [N; 2556]
GREASE 'wiiwav'i) [N; 2557]
GREEN/BLUE sa'wa-ga [V; 1006]
GREY ku'ca-ka [V; 1009]
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GROUND/FLOOR 'tɨɨrav(i) [N; 2547]
GROW na'na [V; 1373]
GUN/BOW a'c(ɨ) [N; 2511]
GUTS sa'gwi-v(ɨ) [N; 2085]
HAIR to'ci-vɨ?a-v(ɨ) [N; 2068]
HAMMER ta'vi-nump(ɨ) [N; 2558]
HAND mo'?o-v(ɨ) [N; 2069]
HAND- ma'- [N; 2070]
HANDLE ma-'uni-ni?i [V; 1558]
HANG wɨ'wai [V; 1516]
HANG/SPREAD wɨ'para [V; 1374]
HARE ta'vu-c(i) [N; 2230]
HAT 'kaicog(o) [N; 2629]
HATE ɨ'vɨ-suntu?i [V; 1126]
HAVE A COLD ma'va-ja?(i) [V; 1046.8]
HAVE A NAME ni'ja-ga [V; 1057]
HAVE SORE BACK pi'ka-hoa-ga(i) [V; 1513]
HAVE/BE -ga(i) [V; 1120]
HAVE/OWN u-'ru?a [V; 1003]
HE/SHE (HERE) i'ng(a) [N; 2007]
HE/SHE (INVIS) u'ng(a) [N; 2009]
HE/SHE (VIS) ma'ng(a) [N; 2008]
HEAD to'c(i) [N; 2071]
HEAD- co'- [N; 2072]
HEAR/LISTEN na'nka-ka(i) [V; 1156]
HEAR/LISTEN na'nka [V; 1155]
HEART pi'jɨ-p(i) [N; 2074]
HEART pi'jɨ-w(a) [N; 2073.8]
HEART pi'jɨ-w(i) [N; 2073]
HEAVY pɨ'tɨja [V; 1031]
HECK 'hainu 'hɨɨn [I; 9015]

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HILL 'kaamp(ɨ) [N; 2559]
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HIT/PUNCH/STAB to'n(a) [V; 1378]
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HOLE ho'paki-p(ɨ) [N; 2560]
HOLE hɨ'pɨki-c(ɨ) [N; 2562]
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HORSE wa'?arov(i) [N; 2231]
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HOW MANY ha'no-pai-t(ɨ) [A; 0211]
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HUNGRY-PL tɨ'gɨ-jumi [V; 1053]
HUNT ja'hi [V; 1486]
HUNT tɨ'na [V; 1389]
HURT pa'ka-nkɨ [V; 1383]
HURT-SELF na-'hukwivi [V; 1384]
HUSBAND ku'm(a) [N; 2038]
I 'nɨɨ [N; 2001]
I 'nɨɨni [N; 2001.9]
I DUNNO kwa'?ija [I; 8150]
I THINK 'aaroo [I; 8130]
I WISH 'pii [I; 9010]
I WISH ha'ganis [I; 8140]
ICE/FROZEN WATER/GLASS pa-'rɨasɨ-p(ɨ) [N; 2554]
ILL/BAD ɨ'vɨ-ju--ni [V; 1043]
IN -agav( ) [P; 0113]
IN -nag(a) [P; 0118]
IN (LOC) -upa?(a) [P; 0104]
IN (TIME)/AGO/FROM NOW 'kwaɨ [A; 0251]
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INDIAN/CHEMEHUEVI/PERSON nɨ'w(ɨ) [N; 2103]
-ING (NOMINAL) -n(a) [; 5126]
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INTO -upa?a-tu(a) [P; 0105]
IS S STILL THE CASE u'rɨɨ [I; 8135]
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JACK-RABBIT ka'm(ɨ) [N; 2232]
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KICK ta'nga [V; 1386]
KILL-PL-OBJ ma'juma [V; 1390]
KILL-PL-OBJ/SCOLD ko'?i [V; 1388]
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KILL-SG-OBJ/SCOLD pa'ka [V; 1387]
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KNEE ta'ng(a) [N; 2075]
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5114]
KNOW/UNDERSTAND/LEARN pu'tucuga [V; 1121]
LACK/HUNGER tɨ'gɨ-?iv(a) [N; 2822]
LAKE pa-'garɨ-r(ɨ) [N; 2566]
LAND/COUNTRY tɨ'viw(a) [N; 2532]
LANGUAGE a'mpaga-p(ɨ) [N; 2830]
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LAUGH ki'ja-ni?i [V; 1391]
LAUNDER pa-'rakwica [V; 1393]
LAUNDER ma'ha [V; 1392]
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LEARN/KNOW pu'tucuga [V; 1121]
LEATHER pa'cav(ɨ) [N; 2567]
LEAVE pi'naw?i-nkɨ [V; 1398]
LEFT 'kwii- [A; 0231]
LEFT-HANDED ONE/SOUTH-PAW 'kwii-gant(ɨ) [N; 2113]
LEFT/TO THE- 'kwii-mi-tu(a) [A; 0233]
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LESS mi'?au-nci-n [A; 0306]
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LET/MAKE/CAUSE -tui [V; 1002]
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LIE-SG ha'vi [V; 1275]
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LIGHT pa'na-ka-t(ɨ) [N; 2815]
LIKE ha'?ɨ-suntu?i [V; 1127]
-LIKE (SENS VB COMP) -ni(i) [A; 5165]
LISTEN/HEAR na'nka-ka(i) [V; 1156]
LISTEN/HEAR na'nka [V; 1155]
LITTLE BOY 'aipac(i) [N; 2102]
LITTLE GIRL na'?inci-c(i) [N; 2109]
LITTLE HARE ta'vu-ruac(i) [N; 2230.9]
LIVE nɨ'wɨ-ga(i) [V; 1054]
LIVE/RESIDE ka'ni-gai [V; 1396]
LIVER nɨ'wɨmp(i) [N; 2087]
LIZARD sɨ'gɨpic(i) [N; 2234]
LONG pa'?a-ntoga [V; 1025]
LONG AGO -pɨga(i) [S; 0259]
LONG AGO/ALREADY 'ɨɨs(u) [A; 0254]
LONG TIME ɨ'witu [A; 0260]
LOOK FOR pu'sagai [V; 1397]
LOOK/SEE 'puunii [V; 1151]
LOOK/SEE 'puunii-ka(i) [V; 1152]
LOST-PL/FALL/DROP ho'honono?o [V; 1352]
LOST-SG/FALL/DROP wɨ'?i-ku [V; 1351]
LOTS OF a'va?a- [A; 0603]
LOUD/TALL pa'?a-ni [V; 1029.5]
LOUSE/FLEA 'poo?av(i) [N; 2227]
LOVE/RESPECT/ADMIRE a'ja-wa?i [V; 1128]
LOVELY a'jaampi-tu?a--ni(i) [V; 1056.4]
LOVELY a'jaampi--ni(i) [V; 1056.5]
LOVELY/PRETTY/DELICIOUS a'jaampi [V; 1056]
LUMBER ho'v(i) [N; 2570]
LUNG/LUNGS 'soo-v(i) [N; 2093.6]
LUNG/LUNGS 'soo-g( ) [N; 2093]
MAKE 'maɨ [V; 1400]
MAKE u'ni-nupɨru [V; 1473]
MAKE A SHIRT na'ro?o-ntu [V; 1511]
MAKE A SOUND/SOUND tɨ'wavaga [V; 1449]
MAKE A WEB wa'na-ru [V; 1401]
MAKE/CAUSE/LET -tui [V; 1002]
MALE (HUMAN)/MAN ta'w?a-c(i) [N; 2114]
MALE (NONHUMAN) ku'm(a) [N; 2038.9]
MAN ta'w?a-c(i) [N; 2114]
MARBLE vo'lita?(a) [N; 2571]
MARRY (FEMALE SUBJECT) ku'ma-ru [V; 1529]
MARRY (MALE SUBJECT) pi'wa-ru [V; 1528]
MARRY (RECIPR) na-'guma-ru

[V; 1525]
MAYBE 'suupi-n(i) [A; 0456]
MAYBE 'suuv(a) [A; 0455]
MEAT tu'kuav(i) [N; 2572]
MEDICINE na-'vuaganump(ɨ) [N; 2573]
MEDICINE-MAN/DOCTOR pu'hagant(ɨ) [N; 2105]
MELT/DISSOLVE 'sai [V; 1405]
MESQUITE o'pi-mp(ɨ) [N; 2413]
MESQUITE BEANS o'p(i) [N; 2404]
METAL/CAN/CONTAINER na'nkwaru?(u) [N; 2519]
MEXICAN ha'?at-aiku(u) [N; 2115]
MIDDAY to'goi-tava-j(ɨ) [N; 2816]
MILK pi'hi-vov(i) [N; 2574]
MIX IN WATER pa-'ru [V; 1406]
MOCCASIN pa'caciv(ɨ) [N; 2651]
MOHAVE a'jat(a) [N; 2116]
MOMENTANEOUS -ng(u) [; 5113]
MONEY/ROCK tɨ'mp(i) [N; 2575]
MOON mi'jarogopic(i) [N; 2576]
MORE THAN -gaa-va?a-c( ) [P; 0195]
MORE/ -ER -pica(a) [A; 0305]
MORONGO/SERRANO 'kɨɨmaa-nɨw(ɨ) [N; 2117]
MOTHER 'pi(a) [N; 2031]
MOULT ho'vi [V; 1407]
MOUNTAIN 'kaiv(a) [N; 2577]
MOUNTAIN LION tu'k(u) [N; 2235]
MOUNTAIN PEAK 'kaiva-kuvai?a(a) [N; 2578]
MOUNTAIN SHEEP na'g(a) [N; 2236]
MOUNTAIN TOP 'kaiva-taka(a) [N; 2579]
MOUNTAINOUS 'kaa-kaiva-gai [V; 1093]
MOUSE pu'?incac(i) [N; 2237]
MOUTH 'tɨɨmp(a) [N; 2084]
MOVE nu'jukwa [V; 1261]
MOVE/SHOVE ma-'nujukwa-nkɨ [V; 1439]
MOVIES/FLICKERS pa'na-cic( ) [N; 2652]
MOVING AROUND/AROUND -voro [V; 1915]
MULE 'muuna?(a) [N; 2238]
NAME 'nia-v(i) [N; 2823]
NARROW na'cukwi [V; 1032]
NAVAJO pa-'gawic(i) [N; 2118]
NEAR ca'gip(a) [A; 0229]
NECK kur(a) [N; 2088]
NECKLACE/NECK THING 'kaag(i) [N; 2630]
NEED/LACK tɨ'gɨ?i [V; 1125]
NEG -?ap(a) [S; 0452]
NEG -wa?(i) [S; 0451]
NEGRO tu'punua-c(i) [N; 2136]
NEPHEW ma'wɨ-?ɨc( ) [N; 2042]
NET/WEB 'waanaa-v(ɨ) [N; 2637]
NEW/YOUNG 'aɨ-ga [V; 1087]
NEWS/STORY tɨ'nia-p(ɨ) [N; 2824]
NIGHT-TIME tu'wan(u) [N; 2804]
NINE ju'wip [A; 0509]
NO/NOT ka'c(u) [A; 0450]
NOMADS/TRAVELERS pa'gi-ka-rɨm [N; 2119]
(NOMINAL) -p(ɨ) [; 5140]
NORTH ta'ntɨi-p [A; 0221]
NORTHERNER ta'ntɨi-c(i) [N; 2120]
NOSE mu'v(i) [N; 2077]
NOW/TODAY 'aɨ-v(i) [A; 0261]
NUDGE ma-'jɨmpugi [V; 1408]
OCEAN hu'cip(a) [N; 2623]
OCOTILLO ɨ'nɨpi-poromp(ɨ) [N; 2414]
OF/FROM -vaw(a) [P; 0165]
OFFSPRING/-LET -ruac(i) [S; 5251]
OH ha'?aɨ [I; 9011]
OIL/GREASE 'wiiwav(i) [N; 2557]
OLD 'ɨitɨ-pɨw [V; 1092]
OLD LADY/OLD WOMAN 'maapɨc(i) [N; 2121]
OLD MAN ɨ'sa-vɨc(i) [N; 2122]
OLD MAN 'naapɨw(ɨ) [N; 2123]
OLD WOMAN/OLD LADY 'maapɨc(i) [N; 2121]
OLDER BROTHER pa'v(i) [N; 2034]
OLDER SISTER pa'c(i) [N; 2035]
ON -mank(u) [P; 0162]
ON/-TOP OF (LOC) -va?an(a) [P; 0106]
ON/AT (LOC) -va(a) [P; 0102]
ONE -pɨciw(ɨ) [N; 5230]
ONE 'suu [A; 0501]
ONE'S OWN (IIIRD PERS) -v(ɨ)

[S; 2017]
ONESELF na-'hump(a) [A; 0350]
ONION si'vuja?(a) [N; 2415]
ONLY -samp(a) [A; 0604]
ONTO -vaa-ntu(a) [P; 0103]
ONTO/ON TOP OF (MOTION) -va?a-ntu(a) [P; 0107]
OPEN ta'tɨwin?a [V; 1409]
ORANGE 'orange(i) [N; 2416]
OTHER/ANOTHER 'kɨɨmaanc(i) [A; 0550]
OUCH a'nɨ [I; 9012]
OUT FROM INSIDE -upa?a-tɨ-manankw(a) [P; 0125]
OUTDOORS/OUTSIDE jɨ'hɨva-nt [A; 0238]
OUTSIDE/OUTDOORS 'tɨɨrava-nt [A; 0239]
OVER -gaa-va?(a) [P; 0116]
OWL mu'humpɨc(i) [N; 2239]
PAINT/MARK/COLOR ma'?a [V; 1326]
PAIUTE pa'ran?ɨg(i) [N; 2124]
PALLET/RUG sa'map(ɨ) [N; 2580]
PANT-LEG ta'kus(a) [N; 2582]
PANTS ku's(a) [N; 2583]
PAPER pa'piliv(ɨ) [N; 2581]
PART OF/SOME OF -wantɨ [P; 0190]
PART OF/SOME OF -mantɨ [P; 0190]
(PASSIVE) (AGENTLESS) -tɨ(ɨ) [; 5120]
PAST (DUR) -vɨ(ɨ) [T; 5104]
PAST (MOM) -mpɨ(ɨ) [T; 5105]
PATH/TRAIL/STREET/ROAD po'?(o) [N; 2592]
PAY na-'waga-nkɨ [V; 1410]
PEEL/SKIN a'si-vo?a [V; 1411]
PEEL/SKIN/SHELL/FUR a'si-?a [N; 2054.7]
PENIS 'wɨ(a) [N; 2078]
PERFECT -ca(a) [; 5110]
PERFECT -ka(i) [; 5108]
PERSON tɨ'- [N; 2125]
PERSON/CHEMEHUEVI/INDIAN nɨ'w(ɨ) [N; 2103]
PET ma'vang?i [V; 1412]
PET pu'nk(u) [N; 2240]
PET/DOG pu'nkuu-c(i) [N; 2222]
PICK 'coowaa [V; 1413]
PICTURE OF SELF na-'rɨgap(ɨ) [N; 2584.9]
PICTURE/SNAPSHOT tɨ'gap(ɨ) [N; 2584]
PIG ta'panga-c(i) [N; 2242]
PIG 'piinkic(i) [N; 2241]
PIG 'kuuci?(i) [N; 2243]
PIG/BACON/PORK ta'pang(a) [N; 2203]
PINCH hi'ncum?i [V; 1414]
PINE-TREE ju'vimp(ɨ) [N; 2417]
PINK a'nka-sia-ka [V; 1011]
PINON NUTS tɨ'v(a) [N; 2418]
PLACE (FOR) -tɨa(a) [N; 5262]
PLAIN jɨ'waav(i) [N; 2586]
PLANT ɨ'ga-p(ɨ) [N; 2419]
PLANT/ENTER ɨ'ga [V; 1357]
PLANT/TREE ma'hav(ɨ) [N; 2420]
PLATE/DISH hi'mpɨc(i) [N; 2640]
PLAY 'kiijaa [V; 1415]
POINT AT ma-'gugikai [V; 1416]
POINTED OBJECT- ci'- [N; 2587]
POKE HEAD IN SOMEWHERE hu'cini?i [V; 1487]
POLICE/LAWMAN ta'picac(i) [N; 2112]
POLICEMAN/PERSON-CATCHER nɨ-'nkwɨ-tui-kat(ɨ) [N; 2126]
PORK/PIG ta'pang(a) [N; 2203]
POT pa'mpɨn?(i) [N; 2588]
POTATOES 'paapas(i) [N; 2426]
POUR wɨ'coi [V; 1417]
PRESENT -j(ɨ) [T; 5101]
PRESENT/PAST -k(a) [T; 5107]
PROUD 'nɨa-p [V; 1530]
PULL pi'joga [V; 1495]
PULL OUT ho'va [V; 1418]
PUMPKIN pa'rangar(a) [N; 2421]
PURPLE pa'rowa-ga [V; 1012]
PUSH ma'rɨkwipa [V; 1496]
PUT-PL-OBJ ju'na [V; 1422]
PUT-SG-OBJ wa'cɨ [V; 1421]
QUICKLY/IN A HURRY/FAST pi'tang(a) [A; 0322]
QUIETLY/SLOWLY sa'mpav(a) [A; 0323]
QUIETLY/SLOWLY su'mpava-ni [A; 0326]
QUIETLY/SLOWLY sa'mpava-ni [A; 0324]
QUIETLY/SLOWLY su'mpav(a) [A; 0325]
QUIETLY/STILL 'aa- [A; 0330]

RADIO/RECORD-PLAYER hu'vi-tu-nump(ɨ) [N; 2589]
RAIN ɨ'wa [V; 1425]
RAIN ɨ'wa-r(ɨ) [N; 2590]
RAISE/REAR ma'?awa?i [V; 1499]
RAKE/SHAVE (BODY) wɨ'n?ogi [V; 1427]
RAT 'kaac(i) [N; 2244]
RATTLE ka'raga [V; 1488]
READ/COUNT 'niinga [V; 1329]
REAR/RAISE ma'?awa?i [V; 1499]
RED a'nka-ga [V; 1013]
REFLEXIVE/SELF na'- [S; 2016]
RELATIVE PRONOUN pɨ- [N; 2025]
RELATIVE/KIN 'hiiw(a) [N; 2111]
RELATIVE/KIN 'naapagap(ɨ) [N; 2110]
REMEMBER su-'mai [V; 1122]
REMOTE PAST -pɨga(i) [T; 5106]
RESEMBLE (SOMETHING HERE) i-'cu?a [V; 1004]
RESEMBLE (SOMETHING INVIS) u-'ru?a [V; 1004]
RESEMBLE (SOMETHING VIS) ma-'ru?a [V; 1004]
RESULT -ka(i) [; 5109]
RETURN-PL mɨ'nɨsi [V; 1266]
RETURN-SG pa'jɨ [V; 1265]
RETURN/TURN AROUND ko'to?o-ngu [V; 1428]
RICH tɨ'mpi-ka-t [V; 1088]
RIGHT/TO THE- pɨ'ra-mi-tu(a) [A; 0234]
RIND/PEEL/SKIN a'si-v(ɨ) [N; 2054]
RIPE/COOK/BURN kwa'sɨ [V; 1328]
RIVER pa-'ga(a) [N; 2591]
ROAD/PATH/TRAIL/STREET po'?(o) [N; 2592]
ROADRUNNER ɨ'c(a) [N; 2259]
ROCK/MONEY tɨ'mp(i) [N; 2575]
ROOF/TOP ta'ka(a) [N; 2593]
ROOT tɨ'rɨna-v(ɨ) [N; 2631]
ROPE u'rump(ɨ) [N; 2594]
ROT pi'ki [V; 1429]
ROUND mu'n?unki [V; 1034]
ROUND-DANCE nɨ'kap(ɨ) [N; 2825]
RUB WITH HAND ma-'nura [V; 1532]
RUG/PALLET sa'map(ɨ) [N; 2580]
RUN nu'kwi [V; 1430]
RUN-PL/DASH na'rɨna [V; 1432]
RUN-SG/DASH/START (CAR) tɨ'rawi?i [V; 1431]
SACK/SHEATH ku'nav(ɨ) [N; 2595]
SADDLE ka'rɨ-n?ump(ɨ) [N; 2596]
SALT a'so-na [V; 1514]
SALT/ALKALINE a'somp(ɨ) [N; 2597]
SAND o'tav(ɨ) [N; 2598]
SAP/GUM sa'na-p(i) [N; 2632]
SAP/JUICE/SOUP hu'va-v(ɨ) [N; 2603]
SAY 'mai [V; 1110]
SCARED i'japaka [V; 1040]
SCORPION 'waampakwic(i) [N; 2245]
SCRATCH 'coon?a [V; 1501]
SECRETLY/STEALTHILY 'aaga- [A; 0331]
SEE/LOOK 'puunii [V; 1151]
SEE/LOOK 'puunii-ka(i) [V; 1152]
SEED/EYE pu'?iv(i) [N; 2062]
SEEM -tɨtu?a--ni(i) [V; 1908]
SELF/REFLEXIVE na'- [S; 2016]
SELL na'ruga-tɨravi [V; 1296]
SEND na-'jawi?i-tui [V; 1435]
SERRANO/MORONGO 'kɨɨmaa-nɨw(ɨ) [N; 2117]
SERVES HIM RIGHT to'goi-?uni-ngu-ca?a-k( ) [I; 8105]
SET (SUN)/ENTER/SINK jɨ'?a-ki [V; 1359]
(+SEV OBJ) -tu [; 5153]
(+SEV SUBJ) -ka [; 5152]
SEVEN mu'kwis [A; 0507]
SEVERAL a'wavantɨ-m(ɨ) [N; 2018]
SEW ca'pika?a [V; 1436]
SEW/WEAVE ca'ga [V; 1437]
(-SG +ANIM SUBJ) -m(ɨ) [; 5150]
SHARP kɨ'wagai [V; 1026]
SHAVE (BODY)/RAKE wɨ'n?ogi [V; 1427]
SHAWL/CAPE na'gaap(ɨ) [N; 2522]
SHEATH/SACK ku'nav(ɨ) [N; 2595]
SHEEP na'ga-vunkuc(i) [N;

2246]
SHELL/SKIN/COVERING a'si-?a [N; 2054.7]
SHIRT na'ro?(o) [N; 2599]
SHOE pa'gap(ɨ) [N; 2600]
SHOOT EA OTHER na-'gu-kwi [V; 1438.1]
SHOOT/STING ku'kwi [V; 1438]
SHORT to'vi-ci [V; 1027]
SHORT ONE to'vi-pɨciw(ɨ) [N; 2127]
SHOULD -guu-p(ɨ) [; 5116]
SHOUT wa'?angi [V; 1534]
SHOVE/MOVE ma-'nujukwa-nkɨ [V; 1439]
SHOW nɨ-'mpuni-tu?i [V; 1151.7]
SHRINK/CRAMP co'nok(a) [V; 1331]
SICK na'gami [V; 1055]
SILVER a'si-ga [V; 1014]
SING hu'vi-tu [V; 1440]
SINK/DROWN pa-'jɨ?a-ki [V; 1354]
SINK/ENTER/SET jɨ'?a-ki [V; 1359]
SISTER-IN-LAW mu'simpij( ) [N; 2043]
SIT (DOWN)-PL jɨ-'jɨwi [V; 1280]
SIT (DOWN)-SG/STOP ka-'karɨ [V; 1279]
SIT-PL jɨ'wi [V; 1278]
SIT-SG ka'rɨ [V; 1277]
SIX na'va [A; 0506]
SKIN/PEEL a'si-vo?a [V; 1411]
SKIN/PEEL/RIND/BARK a'si-?a [N; 2054.7]
SKIN/RIND/PEEL a'si-v(ɨ) [N; 2054]
SKINNY/DRIED UP/SHRIVELED ta'vasɨ-kwaipɨw [V; 1083.5]
SKUNK po'ni(a) [N; 2254]
SKY tu'gump(a) [N; 2601]
SLAP ma'vacikinkɨ [V; 1502]
SLAP ma-'vaciki [V; 1441]
SLEEP ɨ'pɨi-p(ɨ) [N; 2828]
SLEEP-PL ɨ'koi [V; 1446]
SLEEP-SG ɨ'pɨi [V; 1445]
SLIP LOOSE/UNTIE tu'paki [V; 1536]
SLIP LOOSE/UNTIE tu'vaki [V; 1535]
SLOWLY/QUIETLY sa'mpav(a) [A; 0323]
SLOWLY/QUIETLY sa'mpava-ni [A; 0324]
SLOWLY/QUIETLY su'mpav(a) [A; 0325]
SMALL mi'?au-nci [V; 1028]
SMALL ONE mi'?au-pɨciw(ɨ) [N; 2128]
SMELL/SNIFF u'gwi-ka(i) [V; 1160]
SMELL/SNIFF u'gwi [V; 1159]
SMELL/STINK pu'nua [V; 1079]
SMILE ki'ja-sui-ni?i [V; 1447.6]
SMILE ki'ja-sui-kai [V; 1447.5]
SMILE ki'ja-sui [V; 1447]
SMOKE kwi'hi-p( ) [N; 2633]
SMOKE ko'?a-tɨka [V; 1510]
SMOKE kwi'hi-ka [V; 1538]
SMOOTH pi'kaga [V; 1033]
SNAKE 'kwiijaac(i) [N; 2247]
SNAP/BREAK (STICK) ko'pok(i) [V; 1308]
SNAP/BREAK (STRING) ka'pak(i) [V; 1309]
SNEEZE ha'w?isi [V; 1539]
SNIFF/SMELL u'gwi-ka(i) [V; 1160]
SNIFF/SMELL u'gwi [V; 1159]
SNOW 'nɨɨvaav(i) [N; 2602]
SNOW nɨ'va-?ɨwa [V; 1556]
SO/LIKE THAT 'maa [I; 9014]
SOAK/WASH pa-'rɨgi [V; 1448]
SOME/PART OF -wantɨ [P; 0190]
SOME/PART OF -mantɨ [P; 0190]
SOMEONE ha'nga-sap(a) [N; 2023]
SOMETHING hi'mpɨ-sap(a) [N; 2022]
SOMETHING 'hiimara?apɨc(i) [N; 2028]
SON 'tu(a) [N; 2032]
SONG hu'vi-av(ɨ) [N; 2826]
SOON/IN A MOMENT 'aɨ-vi-s(u) [A; 0264]
SOUND pa'gi [V; 1171]
SOUND/MAKE A SOUND tɨ'wavaga [V; 1449]
SOUP/BROTH/JUICE hu'va-sa?ap(ɨ) [N; 2514]
SOUP/BROTH/JUICE hu'va-v(ɨ) [N; 2603]
SOUTH ta'ntɨvai-t [A; 0222]
SPEAK/TALK a'mpaga [V; 1450]
SPIDER ho'koso?a-v(i) [N; 2255]
SPIN/TURN kwi'nu?ungu [V; 1452]
SPIRIT/GHOST ɨ'nɨp(i) [N; 2108]
SPIT kɨ'cijon(a) [V; 1503]

SPLIT ASUNDER ta'paki [V; 1504.8]
SPLIT/CUT DOWN ta'paki-n?(a) [V; 1504]
SPOON si'puna?(a) [N; 2604]
SPOON kwi'cara?(a) [N; 2605]
SPREAD (BLANKET) so'm?a [V; 1540]
SPREAD/HANG wɨ'para [V; 1374]
SPRING OR AUTUMN jɨ'van [N; 2807]
SQUEEZE ma'ncu [V; 1505]
SQUIRREL si'kuc(i) [N; 2256]
SQUAW BUSH hu?upi-v(ɨ) [N; 2428]
SQUAW BUSH BERRY hu?up(i) [N; 2429]
STAB to'posi-gi [V; 1506]
STAB/PIERCE to'posi-ki-nkɨ [V; 1506.8]
STAND (UP)-PL wa-'wami [V; 1282]
STAND (UP)-SG wɨ-'wɨnɨ [V; 1281]
STAND-PL wa'mi [V; 1274]
STAND-SG wɨ'nɨ [V; 1273]
STAR 'puuciv(ɨ) [N; 2606]
START-SG (CAR)/RUN tɨ'rawi?i [V; 1431]
STEAL ɨ'jɨngi [V; 1453]
STEALTHILY/SECRETLY/SNEAKILY 'aaga- [A; 0331]
STICK IN to'sikwa [V; 1451]
STICK/WOOD ku'kwap(i) [N; 2607]
STILL/ALSO -s(u) [S; 0401]
STILL/QUIETLY 'aa- [A; 0330]
STING (SCORPION)/HIT kwi'pa [V; 1361]
STING/SHOOT ku'kwi [V; 1438]
STINK/SMELL pu'nua [V; 1079]
STOMACH/BELLY sa'p(ɨ) [N; 2081]
STOP -maupa [V; 1916]
STOP-SG/SIT (DOWN) ka-'karɨ [V; 1279]
STORE/SHOP na'ru-ga-tui-kan(i) [N; 2608]
STORY/NEWS tɨ'nia-p(ɨ) [N; 2824]
STRAIGHT mu'kunt(a) [V; 1542]
STREAM pa-'nukwi-c(ɨ) [N; 2609]
STRING tu'nap(ɨ) [N; 2610]
STRONG mu'cu [V; 1051]
SUCK/SUCKLE picɨ [V; 1508]
SUMMER ta'c(a) [N; 2806]
SUN-BURN ta'wasɨ [V; 1454]
SUN-BURN ta'wasɨ-nkwa?i [V; 1454.5]
SUN/DAY ta'va-pɨc(i) [N; 2611]
SUSPECT hu-'mai--ni [V; 1112]
SWALLOW jɨ'?ɨki [V; 1455]
SWEATER 'kuuta?(a) [N; 2612]
SWEET pi'jagama [V; 1080]
SWELL (STING/DISEASE) pa'wa [V; 1507]
SWELL/INFLATE 'pooca [V; 1456]
SWIFT 'kwaɨ-nkai [V; 1543]
SWIM na'vakɨ [V; 1457]
TABLE tɨ'ka-tɨa(a) [N; 2613]
TAG-Q/HUH? hɨ'naa [A; 0200]
TAIL kwa's(i) [N; 2614]
TAKE (AWAY) 'jaa-kwa?i [V; 1262]
TAKE A PICTURE OF tɨ'ga [V; 1555]
TAKE AWAY tɨ'cawa [V; 1458]
TAKE CARE OF ma'?awa?i [V; 1459]
TAKE-PL-OBJ/GET/CATCH tu'?uma [V; 1294]
TAKE-SG-OBJ/GET/CATCH kwɨ'hɨ [V; 1293]
TALK/SPEAK a'mpaga [V; 1450]
TALL pa'?a [V; 1029]
TART sɨ'gɨ-nka [V; 1094]
TART/TASTE TART sɨ'gɨ-nkama [V; 1095]
TASTE ka'ma [V; 1172]
TASTE kɨ'maka?(a) [V; 1163]
TEA 'tii [N; 2615]
TEACH po'?o-tu?i [V; 1466]
TEACH-SCHOOL nɨ-'mpo?o-tui [V; 1460]
TEACH/EXPLAIN 'mai-nkɨ [V; 1203]
TEACHER nɨ-'mpo?o-tui-kat(ɨ) [N; 2129]
TEAR pɨ'kɨki [V; 1461]
TEAR ca'pɨkin?a [V; 1462]
TELL tɨ'nia [V; 1204]
TEN ma'sɨw [A; 0510]
THAT/THOSE (INVIS) u'- [N; 2015.8]
THAT/THOSE (INVIS) u-'ka- [N; 2015.9]
THAT/THOSE (INVIS) u-'r(ɨ) [N; 2015]
THAT/THOSE (VIS) ma-'r(ɨ) [N; 2014]
THAT/THOSE (VIS) ma'- [N; 2014.8]
THAT/THOSE (VIS) ma-'ka- [N; 2014.9]

THAT/THOSE (VIS) ma-'ka- [N; 2014.9]
THEN '?uu [I; 9016]
THEN/AND THEN 'haita [A; 0402]
THERE (INVIS) u-'wan [A; 0227]
THERE (VIS) ma-'va [A; 0226]
THEY (HERE) i-'m(ɨ) [N; 2010]
THEY (INVIS) u-'m(ɨ) [N; 2012]
THEY (VIS) ma-'m(ɨ) [N; 2011]
THICK tu'nkuka [V; 1030]
THIEF ɨ'jɨnkat(ɨ) [N; 2130]
THIN ci'?auc(i) [V; 1035]
THINK 'mai--ni [V; 1111]
THINK mu'guaru [V; 1463.8]
THINK -su-ntu?i [V; 1129]
THINK mu'guaruni?i [V; 1463]
THIS/THESE i-'ka- [N; 2013.9]
THIS/THESE i-'c(ɨ) [N; 2013]
THIS/THESE i'- [N; 2013.8]
THOUGH -gai-sap(a) [; 5169]
THOUGH/ACTUALLY -sap(a) [A; 0405]
THOUGH/YET tɨ'rijaw [A; 0403]
THREE pa'hi [A; 0503]
THROUGH -waga-ru(a) [P; 0117]
THROW DOWN tɨ'ravi [V; 1464]
THUMB ma'-tog(o) [N; 2079]
TIE tapic(a) [V; 1509]
TIRED-PL/DRUNK/DEAD ju'm?a [V; 1047]
TIRED-SG/DRUNK/DEAD ja'?i [V; 1046]
TO THE LEFT/LEFT 'kwii-mi-tu(a) [A; 0233]
TO THE RIGHT/RIGHT pɨ'ra-mi-tu(a) [A; 0234]
TO/AT/TOWARD (MOTION) -tu(a) [P; 0150]
TOBACCO ko'?a-p(i) [N; 2634]
TODAY/NOW 'aɨ-v(i) [A; 0261]
TOE ta-'sɨ(ɨ) [N; 2080]
TOE-NAIL/CLAW ta'sico?(o) [N; 2083]
TOGETHER na'ma- [A; 0351]
TOMATO tu'mirus(i) [N; 2425]
TOMORROW ta'?ik(a) [A; 0263]
TONGUE a'go-mp(i) [N; 2089]
TOO/STILL -s(u) [S; 0401]
TOOTH ta'wa-mp(i) [N; 2090]
TOP/ROOF ta'ka(a) [N; 2593]
TORTILLA turu'ti?a [N; 2641]
TOUCH ma'pik(a) [V; 1166]
TOUCH WITH FOOT OR TOE ta-'pik(a) [V; 1168]
TOUCH/FEEL ma'vik(a) [V; 1165]
TOWARD/AT/TO (MOTION) -tu(a) [P; 0150]
TOWARDS THAT WAY (DIRECTION) ma-nankwa-tu(a) [P; 0121]
TRACK 'naaw(a) [N; 2635]
TRAIL na-'tɨna [V; 1389.9]
TRANSLATE/EXPLAIN ni'mukumpa [V; 1202]
TRAVEL AROUND/WANDER pa'gi-mporo [V; 1269.9]
TREE/PLANT ma'hav(ɨ) [N; 2420]
TROT 'pooja [V; 1465]
TRUE tɨ'visamp(a) [V; 1091]
TRY -maga [V; 1906]
TRY (IN VAIN)/UNABLE TO -musu [V; 1907]
TURN 'kwiin?a [V; 1470]
TURN ci'kwicui [V; 1489]
TURN AROUND/RETURN/COME BACK ko'to?o-ngu [V; 1428]
TURN INTO tɨ'kaw?i [V; 1471]
TURN/SPIN kwi'nu?ungu [V; 1452]
TURTLE 'aaj(a) [N; 2248]
TURTLE-SHELL 'aaja-?asi-v(ɨ) [N; 2616]
TWO wa'ha [A; 0502]
UDDER/BREAST pi'h(i) [N; 2059]
UGLY/BAD ɨ'cɨ-ni [V; 1058]
UNABLE TO -musu [V; 1907]
UNDER -ruka-tu(a) [P; 0109]
UNDER -ruk(a) [P; 0108]
UNDERSTAND na'nka-vutucuga [V; 1123]
UNDERSTAND/KNOW/LEARN pu'tucuga [V; 1121]
UNTIE hu'pa [V; 1472]
UNTIE/COME UNTIED hu'pa-ki [V; 1545]
URINATE si'?i [V; 1474]
URINATE (GO TO) si'?i-wa?i [V; 1474.3]
URINE si'?ip(i) [N; 2091]
USITATIVE -mi [; 5111]
UTE ju'wita(a) [N; 2142]
VERY 'mɨɨga(i) [A; 0302]
VERY (ADJ)/ALMOST (VERB) wa'ha- [A; 0301]
VERY/EXTREMELY 'naakɨ-mɨga(i) [A; 0303]
VILLAGE (ABANDONED)/CAMP ka'ni-p(ɨ) [N; 2518]
VISIT ka'ni?i [V; 1475]
VOMIT pi'pitan?(a) [V; 1490]

WAKE ma-'rupun?i-nkɨ [V; 1477]
WAKE tu'pun?i [V; 1476]
WALK AROUND u-'rua-voro [V; 1268.9]
WALK THAT WAY ma-'rua [V; 1268]
WALK THIS WAY i-'cua [V; 1268]
WALK-PL pa'gi [V; 1269]
WALK-SG u-'rua [V; 1268]
WAND/CANE 'poor(o) [N; 2520]
WANDER/TRAVEL AROUND pa'gi-mporo [V; 1269.9]
WANT -suawa-ga(i) [V; 1910]
WANT/ASK -tɨvicu [V; 1917]
WAR na'ruganip(ɨ) [N; 2827]
WARM ju'?ara [V; 1081]
WASH pa-'caga [V; 1478]
WASH/CANYON hu'wip(i) [N; 2521]
WATER 'paa [N; 2617]
WATER pa'- [N; 2617.9]
WATER GLASS pa-'hivi-nump(ɨ) [N; 2636]
WATER-TURTLE pa-'?aaj(a) [N; 2249]
WATERMELON pa'von?okwi-c(ɨ) [N; 2422]
WE (EXCL) nɨ'm(i) [N; 2004]
WE-DU (INCL) ta'm(i) [N; 2002]
WE-SEV (INCL) ta'w(ɨ) [N; 2003]
WEAK ju'm?i-ga [V; 1052]
WEAR u'ni-a-ni?i [V; 1479]
WEAVE BASKET nɨ'nga [V; 1480]
WEAVE/SEW ca'ga [V; 1437]
WEB/NET 'waanaa-v(ɨ) [N; 2637]
WELL pa-'hoora-p(ɨ) [N; 2618]
WELL/GOOD ha'?ɨ-ju [V; 1048]
WEST ɨ'ga-tua-nt [A; 0224]
WHAT hi'mp(ɨ) [N; 2020]
WHAT/HOW ha'ni(a) [A; 0209]
WHEAT a'cit(a) [N; 2427]
WHEN ha'nok(o) [A; 0203]
WHERE (LOC) ha'ga-va [A; 0204]
WHERE (MOTION) ha'ga-vaa-ntua [A; 0205]
WHERE (MOTION) ha'ga-rua [A; 0206]
WHICH ha'gakaja [A; 0207]
WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) -ga(i) [; 5130]
WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) -g(u) [; 5131]
WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) -j(u) [; 5130]
WHIP/HIT/FALL kwi'pa [V; 1361]
WHITE to'sa-ga [V; 1015]
WHITE-MAN/ENGLISH 'haiku(u) [N; 2106]
WHITTLE si'va-va [V; 1481.7]
WHITTLE wɨ'sivo?ona [V; 1493]
WHITTLE/SHAVE-WOOD si'va [V; 1481]
WHO ha'ng(a) [N; 2021]
WHO/WHAT hi'n(i) [N; 2024]
WHY ha'ga-ruaga(i) [A; 0208]
WHY/HOW ha'ga-ni?ing(u) [A; 0201]
WIDE a'wa?ano [V; 1036]
WIFE pi'w(a) [N; 2039]
WILD i'jaga [V; 1546]
WILLOW sa'gav(ɨ) [N; 2430]
WIND nɨ'gar(ɨ) [N; 2619]
WINDOW vi'ntana?(a) [N; 2620]
WINDOW pa-'rɨ?asɨ-tɨwap(ɨ) [N; 2639]
WINE 'wine(i) [N; 2621]
WING/FEATHER wi'sia-v(i) [N; 2543]
WINTER/YEAR to'm(o) [N; 2805]
WIPE wɨ'tuc(a) [V; 1491]
WITH (ACCOMP) -wa?(i) [P; 0172]
WITH (INSTR) -w(a) [P; 0170]
WOLF tɨ'vac(i) [N; 2250]
WOMAN ma'ma?u(u) [N; 2131]
WOOD/STICK/FIREWOOD ku'kwap(i) [N; 2607]
WOOL pu'nkuv(ɨ) [N; 2622]
WORK tɨ'vijawi [V; 1517]
WORK 'wɨɨka [V; 1518]
WORM pa'?a-v(i) [N; 2257]
WORRIED/BOTHERED kac ha'ɨc pi'juwa? [V; 8101]
WOULD -gu(u) [; 5115]
WRITE/DRAW po'?o [V; 1349]
YEAR/WINTER to'm(o) [N; 2805]
YELLOW o'wasia-ka [V; 1016]
YES hɨ'?ɨ [I; 9013]
(YES-NO Q) -ra(a) [; 5160]
YESTERDAY 'kɨaw(i) [A; 0262]
YET/BUT tɨ'rijaw [A; 0403]
YOU-OR-ME/ONE OF US ta'mi-want(ɨ) [N; 2019]
YOU-PL mɨ'm(i) [N; 2006]
YOU-SG ɨ'm(i) [N; 2005]
YOUNG BOY 'aivac(i) [N; 2132]

YOUNG GIRL 'nainc(i) [N; 2133]
YOUNG PERSON 'aɨ-nɨw(ɨ) [N; 2134]
YOUNGER BROTHER ca'ki?(i) [N; 2036]
YOUNGER SISTER na'mi?(i) [N; 2037]
YOUNGEST pi'nga-tɨ-m( ) [N; 2148]

LEXICAL FEATURE LISTING

0102 -va(a) P AT/ON (LOC) *V, -MOT, --N, /-wa(a), see 0225
0103 -vaa-ntu(a) P ONTO *V, +MOT, /-waa-ntu(a), see 0102,0150
0104 -upa?(a) P IN (LOC) *V, -MOT, /-ipa?(a)
0105 -upa?a-tu(a) P INTO *V, +MOT, /-ipa?a-tu(a), see 0104,0150
0106 -va?an(a) P ON/-TOP OF (LOC) *V, -MOT,
/-va?a/-pa?an(a)/-mpa?an(a), see 0102
0107 -va?a-ntu(a) P ONTO/ON TOP OF (MOTION) *V, +MOT, see
0106,0150
0108 -ruk(a) P UNDER *V, -MOT, see 1256,0109
0109 -ruka-tu(a) P UNDER *V, +MOT, see 0108,0150
0110 -vin?ap(a) P BEHIND *V, -MOT
0111 -vin?apa-cu(a) P BEHIND *V, +MOT, see 0110,0150
0112 -va-jɨw(i) P BESIDE -V, *MOT
0113 -agav( ) P IN V
0115 -paja?a-va(a) P IN FRONT OF *V, -MOT,
/-paja?a/-vaja?a-va(a)/ka-vaja?a-va(a), see 2067
0116 -gaa-va?(a) P OVER *V, *MOT, NGU=IMP
0117 -waga-ru(a) P THROUGH *V, +MOT
0118 -nag(a) P IN V, MOT
0120 -manankw(a) P BECAUSE OF/FROM -V
0121 ma-nankwa-tu(a) P TOWARDS THAT WAY (DIRECTION *V, +MOT, see
0120,0150
0122 -vacɨ P ABOUT V, MOT, see 0123,0125
0123 -vaa-ntɨ-manankw(a) P AWAY FROM -V, +MOT,
/-vaa-cɨ-manankw(a), see 0102,0120
0125 -upa?a-tɨ-manankw(a) P OUT FROM INSIDE -V, +VMOT,
/-ipa?a--, see 0104,0120
0150 -tu(a) P TOWARD/AT/TO (MOTION) +V, +MOT, +VMOT, NGU=IMP,
V/M=PAST, /-ru(a)/-cu(a), see 1291
0160 -wank(u) P FROM -V
0162 -mank(u) P ON -V
0165 -vaw(a) P FROM/OF V
0170 -w(a) P WITH (INSTR) -V, -ANIM-OBJ
0172 -wa?(i) P WITH (ACCOMP) *V, *ANIM-OBJ, *CONT, J=PRES
0190 -mantɨ P SOME/PART OF -V
0195 -gaa-va?a-c( ) P MORE THAN V, see 0116
0196 -ruka-tua-c( ) P LESS THAN V, see 0108
0200 hɨ'naa A TAG-Q/HUH? +Q, -BND
0201 ha'ga-ni?ing(u) A WHY/HOW
0202 ha'ganiga(i) A HOW/WHY
0203 ha'nok(o) A WHEN
0204 ha'ga-va A WHERE (LOC)
0205 ha'ga-vaa-ntua A WHERE (MOTION)
0206 ha'ga-rua A WHERE (MOTION)
0207 ha'gakaja A WHICH
0208 ha'ga-ruaga(i) A WHY
0209 ha'ni(a) A WHAT/HOW *TRAN, +V, +PRO

0210 ha'no-pai-jujum(ɨ) A HOW MANY +ANIM
0211 ha'no-pai-t(ɨ) A HOW MANY -ANIM
0212 ha'ga-ni A DO WHAT TRAN, +V
0220 -kwa?(i) A AWAY
0221 ta'ntɨi-p A NORTH
0222 ta'ntɨvai-t A SOUTH
0223 ta'sɨantɨ-pa-t A EAST
0224 ɨ'ga-tua-nt A WEST
0225 i-'va A HERE
0226 ma-'va A THERE (VIS)
0227 u-'wan A THERE (INVIS)
0228 mi'jot(o) A FAR
0229 ca'gip(a) A NEAR
0231 'kwii- A LEFT
0233 'kwii-mi-tu(a) A TO THE LEFT/LEFT +V, +MOT
0234 pɨ'ra-mi-tu(a) A RIGHT/TO THE- +V, +MOT
0238 jɨ'hɨva-nt A OUTDOORS/OUTSIDE
0239 'tɨɨrava-nt A OUTSIDE/OUTDOORS
0240 ca'gip( ) A CLOSE/NEAR
0251 'kwaɨ A IN (TIME)/AGO/FROM NOW +V, +MOT, +TIME, +PLACE, NGU=IMP
0252 'suu-tav(a) A ALL DAY
0253 u'tusamp(a) A ALL THE TIME/ALWAYS
0254 'ɨɨs(u) A LONG AGO/ALREADY
0255 'naa-ta?ik(a) A EVERY DAY/DAY AFTER DAY
0256 na'mɨ A FIRST
0257 o'no- A JUST (NOW/THEN) +BND, +PREFIX
0258 'piikaj(u) A LATER
0259 -pɨga(i) S LONG AGO
0260 ɨ'witu A LONG TIME
0261 'aɨ-v(i) A TODAY/NOW
0262 'kɨaw(i) A YESTERDAY
0263 ta'?ik(a) A TOMORROW
0264 'aɨ-vi-s(u) A SOON/IN A MOMENT
0280 pɨ'nka- A KEEP ON/INSIST ON
0281 to'goi- A IN MIDST OF
0282 ɨi- A BEFOREHAND
0301 wa'ha- A VERY (ADJ)/ALMOST (VERB)
0302 'mɨɨga(i) A VERY
0303 'naakɨ-mɨga(i) A EXTREMELY/VERY
0305 -pica(a) A MORE/ -ER
0306 mi'?au-nci-n A LESS see 1028
0307 'hɨɨ- A IN VAIN
0322 pi'tang(a) A QUICKLY/IN A HURRY/FAST +V, R=HAB
0323 sa'mpav(a) A SLOWLY/QUIETLY
0324 sa'mpava-ni A SLOWLY/QUIETLY
0325 su'mpav(a) A SLOWLY/QUIETLY
0326 su'mpava-ni A QUIETLY/SLOWLY
0330 'aa- A QUIETLY/STILL
0331 'aaga- A SECRETLY/STEALTHILY
0332 tɨ'wɨni A FAST
0333 na'nis( ) A APART/SEPARATELY
0350 na-'hump(a) A ONESELF
0351 na'ma- A TOGETHER
0401 -s(u) S ALSO/TOO/STILL
0402 'haita A (AND) THEN
0403 tɨ'rijaw A BUT/YET/THOUGH
0405 -sap(a) A ACTUALLY/THOUGH
0410 'suu- A EASY TO/READY TO
0423 -vaac S IN ORDER TO

0450 ka'c(u) A NO/NOT
0451 -wa?(i) S NEG
0452 -?ap(a) S NEG
0455 'suuv(a) A MAYBE
0456 'suupi-n(i) A MAYBE
0501 'suu A ONE
0502 wa'ha A TWO
0503 pa'hi A THREE
0504 wa'cɨw A FOUR
0505 ma'nɨg A FIVE
0506 na'va A SIX
0507 mu'kwis A SEVEN
0508 'naanci A EIGHT
0509 ju'wip A NINE
0510 ma'sɨw A TEN
0550 'kɨɨmaanc(i) A OTHER/ANOTHER
0551 kɨ'man A DIFFERENT
0601 ma'n(o) A ALL/EVERY +N
0602 wa'ha- A BOTH +N
0603 a'va?a- A LOTS OF
0604 -samp(a) A ONLY
0605 hu'mpait(a) A ANY
0606 hi'mpa-jok( ) A FEW/A FEW
1000 'uunii V BE/DO *TRAN, KA=P/P, V=PAST, 1001=+RESULT
1001 'uunii-ka(i) V BE -TRAN, V=PAST, 0=PRES, 1000=-RESULT
1002 -tui V LET/MAKE/CAUSE +TRAN, *S, +OBJ-PREF, +V-PREF, C=HAB, 0/NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST
1003 u-'ru?a V HAVE/OWN +TRAN, R=HAB, V=PAST, J=PRES
1004 i-'cu?a V RESEMBLE (SOMETHING HERE) TRAN, GA=GER
1005 tu-'pa-ga V DARK/BLACK -TRAN, R=HAB, J=PRES, V=PAST, TU'-=PL, see 1008,2804
1006 sa'wa-ga V GREEN/BLUE -TRAN, R=HAB, SA'-=PL, J=PRES, V/M=PAST, GA=GER, see 2402
1007 o'nto-ka V BROWN -TRAN, R=HAB, O'-=PL, J=PRES
1008 tu-'punuwa V DARK -TRAN, /tu-'punu?a, V=PAST, see 1005,2804
1009 ku'ca-ka V GREY -TRAN, R=HAB, KU'-=PL, J=PRES, GA=GER, V/M=PAST
1010 pa'na V LIGHT -TRAN, NGU=MOM, KA=DUR, see 2810
1011 a'nka-sia-ka V PINK -TRAN, A'-=PL, R=HAB, V/M=PAST, see 1013
1012 pa'rowa-ga V PURPLE -TRAN, R=HAB
1013 a'nka-ga V RED -TRAN, R=HAB, A'-=PL
1014 a'si-ga V SILVER -TRAN, R=HAB
1015 to'sa-ga V WHITE -TRAN, R=HAB, J=PRES, TO'-=PL
1016 o'wasia-ka V YELLOW -TRAN, R=HAB, J=PRES, O'-=PL
1020 mi'jo V FAR -TRAN, GA=GER, T=HAB
1021 ho'ko V BIG -TRAN, NT=HAB, J=PRES
1022 ju'hu-gai V FAT -TRAN, V=PAST, J=PRES, see 2542
1023 hɨ'pɨki V HOLEY/HAVE A HOLE -TRAN, J=PRES, see 1024,2560-2
1024 hɨ'vɨgi-ca V HOLEY/FULL OF HOLES -TRAN, J=PRES, see 1023,2560-2
1025 pa'?a-ntoga V LONG -TRAN, NGU=MOM, *CONCRETE, V/M=PAST, GA=GER, see 1029
1026 kɨ'wagai V SHARP -TRAN, NT=HAB, 0=PRES, V/M=PAST, GA=GER, see 2541
1027 to'vi-ci V SHORT -TRAN, see 2127
1028 mi'?au-nci V SMALL -TRAN, V=PAST, see 2128
1029 pa'?a V TALL -TRAN, NT=HAB, GA=GER, J=PRES, V=PAST, PA'-=PL, see 1037

1029.5 pa'?a-ni V LOUD/TALL (SENS COMP)
1030 tu'nkuka V THICK -TRAN, V/M=PAST, J=PRES, NGU=MOM
1031 pɨ't‡ja V HEAVY -TRAN, J=PRES, V/M=PAST
1032 na'cukwi V NARROW -TRAN, J=PRES
1033 pi'kaga V SMOOTH -TRAN, V=PAST
1034 mu'n?unki V ROUND -TRAN, V=PAST
1035 ci'?auc(i) V THIN -TRAN, J=PRES, NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST
1036 a'wa?ano V WIDE -TRAN, J=PRES, NT=HAB
1040 i'japaka V SCARED -TRAN, 0=IMP, V=PAST, C=GER, 1041=DUR
1041 i'javaga V AFRAID -TRAN, V=PAST, GA=GER, J=PRES, NGU=IMP, 1040=MOM
1042 na'nga-ja?i V ANGRY -TRAN, J=PRES,0/NGU=IMP, see 1046
1043 ɨ'vɨ-ju--ni V ILL/BAD -TRAN, V=PAST, see 9001,1044, *S-SUBJ
1043.5 ɨ'vɨ-ni V BAD (SENS COMP)
1044 ɨ'vɨ-pɨwɨ-ni V BAD -TRAN, see 9001,1043
1045 sa'pija?i V BRAVE/FORMIDABLE -TRAN, GA=GER, NGU=IMP
1046 ja'?i V TIRED-SG/DRUNK/DEAD -TRAN, V=PAST, 0/J=PRES, GA=GER, see 2835,1346
1046.8 ma'va-ja?(i) V HAVE A COLD
1047 ju'm?a V TIRED-PL/DRUNK/DEAD -TRAN
1048 ha'?ɨ-ju V WELL/GOOD -TRAN, 0=PRES, V=PAST, see 9006,9005,1049, NGU=IMP
1049 ha'?ɨ-p(ɨ) V GOOD/NICE/FUN -TRAN, see 9005,9006,1048, W=ANIM
1050 ha'?ɨ-t‡- V GOOD -TRAN, see 1322,1127,9006
1050.5 ha'?ɨ-c(i) V GOOD (SENS COMP)
1051 mu'cu V STRONG -TRAN, J=PRES, NT/T=HAB, *ANIM, MU'-=PL, NGU=IMP, NGU=MOM, V/M=PAST
1052 ju'm?i-ga V WEAK -TRAN, R=HAB, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, J=PRES, see 1047
1053 t‡'gɨ-jumi V HUNGRY-PL -TRAN, V=PAST, see 1052,1047,2822
1054 nɨ'wɨ-ga(i) V LIVE -TRAN, V/M=PAST, see 2056,2103
1055 na'gami V SICK -TRAN, NGU=IMP, NGU=MOM, V/M=PAST, GA=GER
1056 a'jaampi V BEAUTIFUL/DELICIOUS -TRAN, V=PAST, R=HAB
1056.4 a'jaampi-tu?a--ni(i) V LOVELY
1056.5 a'jaampi--ni(i) V LOVELY (SENS COMP)
1057 ni'ja-ga V HAVE A NAME -TRAN, see 1120,1342,2823
1058 ɨ'cɨ-ni V UGLY/BAD -TRAN, (SENS COMP)
1059 ma'wɨa V LAZY/TIRE OF
1070 ku'tucaa V HOT -TRAN, C=GER, M=PAST, 0=PRES, 1076=DUR
1071 mo'hara V BITTER -TRAN, J=PRES, V/M=PAST
1072 sɨ-'ja?i V COLD -TRAN, C=HAB, +ANIM-SUBJ, J=PRES
1073 sɨ-'tu?i V COLD -TRAN, *ANIM-SUBJ
1074 ta'vasɨ V DRY -TRAN
1075 a'r‡ɨ-ni V HOT -TRAN, see 9009
1076 ku'tuci V HOT -TRAN, V/M=PAST, GA=GER, 1070=MOM
1077 ta'ru?i V HOT -TRAN
1078 ta'sovoro V HUMID/STICKY -TRAN, J=PRES
1079 pu'nua V STINK/SMELL -TRAN, V=PAST, J=PRES
1080 pi'jagama V SWEET -TRAN
1081 ju'?ara V WARM -TRAN, *ANIM-SUBJ
1082 tu'ca-ga(i) V DIRTY -TRAN, 0=PRES, see 2626
1083 ta'vasɨ-kwa?i V DRY UP -TRAN, J=PRES, see 1074,1084
1083.5 ta'vasɨ-kwaipɨw V SKINNY/DRIED UP/SHRIVELED
1084 ta'pas(ɨ) V DRY/DRY UP -TRAN, 1074=DUR, see 1083
1085 ma-'waga V EXPENSIVE/COSTLY -TRAN, see 1410
1086 ki'ja-pitua V FUNNY -TRAN, V=PAST
1087 'aɨ-ga V NEW/YOUNG -TRAN, V/M=PAST, R=HAB, J=PRES, see 0261,2134

1088 tɨ'mpi-ka-t V RICH -TRAN
1089 i'javi-ntuarɨni V DANGEROUS/SCARY TRAN
1090 sa'pi?ai V DIFFICULT -TRAN, /sa'pi-ja?i, V/M=PAST, J=PRES, T=HAB
1091 tɨ'visamp(a) V TRUE TRAN, +S-SUBJ, T=HAB
1092 'ɨitɨ-pɨw V OLD -TRAN
1093 'kaa-kaiva-gai V MOUNTAINOUS -TRAN
1094 sɨ'gɨ-nka V TART -TRAN
1095 sɨ'gɨ-nkama V TART/TASTE TART -TRAN
1110 'mai V SAY +TRAN, +S, V=PAST, KA=P/P, see 1110,1111,1203, (DAT: N-RUA), NGU=IMP
1111 'mai--ni V THINK +TRAN, +S, KA=P/P, J=PRES, V=PAST, see 1110
1112 hu-'mai--ni V SUSPECT +TRAN, +S, KA=P/P, see 1110,1111
1120 -ga(i) V BE/HAVE +TRAN, +OBJ-PREF, NT=HAB, 0=PRES, V=PAST, NGU=IMP
1121 pu'tucuga V UNDERSTAND/KNOW/LEARN +TRAN, V=PAST, R=HAB, *S, *IT, NGU=IMP,J=PRES
1122 su-'mai V REMEMBER +TRAN, *S, J=PRES, *V-PREF, *IT, V=PAST, NGU=IMP
1123 na'nka-vutucuga V UNDERSTAND TRAN, V=PAST, see 1155,1121
1124 na'sumɨa V FORGET +TRAN, see 1129,1132
1124.5 na-'sumɨa-sutui V FORGET
1125 tɨ'gɨ?i V NEED/LACK +TRAN, V=PAST, J=PRES, GA=GER
1126 ɨ'vɨ-suntu?i V HATE +TRAN, C=HAB, see 9001,1129
1127 ha'?ɨ-suntu?i V LIKE +TRAN, C=HAB, *S, J=PRES, V=PAST, NGU=MOM, /-sutu?i, see 9006,1129
1128 a'ja-wa?i V LOVE/RESPECT/ADMIRE +TRAN, C=HAB, V=PAST, M=PAST, see 1056
1129 -su-ntu?i V THINK +TRAN, +V-PREF, J=PRES, C=HAB, GA=GER, V=PAST, see 1124,1122,1126
1131 no'nosi V DREAM -TRAN, V=PAST, M=PAST, GA=GER, (OBJ: N-VACE)
1132 tɨ-'sumɨa V FORGET/LEAVE BEHIND +TRAN, /ta-'sumɨa, V=PAST, see 1124,1129
1132.5 tɨ-'sumɨa-sutui V FORGET
1151 'puunii V SEE/LOOK *TRAN, NGU=IMP, *OBJ-PREF, C=HAB, J=PRES, V=PAST, 1152=+RESULT
1151.7 nɨ-'mpuni-tu?i V SHOW
1152 'puunii-ka(i) V LOOK/SEE +TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, +RESULT, 1151=-RESULT, V/M=PAST, NGU=MOM, 0/J=PRES
1155 na'nka V LISTEN/HEAR *TRAN, V=PAST, 1156=+RESULT
1156 na'nka-ka(i) V LISTEN/HEAR +TRAN, +RESULT, 1155=-RESULT
1159 u'gwi V SMELL/SNIFF *TRAN, V=PAST, 1160=+RESULT, *CONT
1160 u'gwi-ka(i) V SNIFF/SMELL TRAN, +RESULT, 1159=-RESULT
1163 kɨ'maka?(a) V TASTE +TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, V=PAST, see 1172
1165 ma'vik(a) V TOUCH/FEEL +TRAN, V=PAST, *CONT, 1166=MOM
1166 ma'pik(a) V TOUCH +TRAN, V=PAST, 0=IMP, 1165=DUR
1168 ta-'pik(a) V TOUCH WITH FOOT OR TOE TRAN
1171 pa'gi V SOUND -TRAN, C=HAB, /1067/1101
1172 ka'ma v tastɨ -tran, V=PAST, *A-PREF, see 1163
1201 tɨ'vingi V ASK +TRAN, +S
1202 ni'mukumpa V EXPLAIN/SET STRAIGHT +TRAN, V=PAST
1203 'mai-nkɨ V TEACH/EXPLAIN +TRAN, V/M=PAST, GA=GER, 2-OBJ, *OBJ-PREF, see 1110
1204 tɨ'nia V TELL +TRAN, +S, 2-OBJ, R=HAB
1251 na'wa?itɨ V APPEAR/SHOW UP -TRAN, M=PAST
1252 to'kwimaw?ɨ V APPEAR/SHOW UP -TRAN, V=PAST
1253 pi'picɨ V ARRIVE -TRAN
1254 'jaaki V BRING-SG-OBJ +TRAN, C=HAB, NGU=IMP, *OBJ-PREF

1255 ju'?a-ki V BRING-PL-OBJ +TRAN
1256 ma-ruka-n?a V CLIMB ON THAT +TRAN, +OBJ-PREF
1257 pa'nankwa V COME DOWN/FR NORTH -TRAN
1258 tɨ'nankwa V COME UP/FR SOUTH -TRAN
1259 wa'ki V COME FR EAST/WEST -TRAN, NGU=IMP
1260 ci'pi V COME OUT-SG -TRAN, M=PAST
1261 nu'jukwa V MOVE -TRAN
1262 'jaa-kwa?i V TAKE (AWAY) +TRAN, NGU=IMP, see 1254
1263 ci'vunga V COME OUT-PL -TRAN, 1260=SG
1265 pa'jɨ V RETURN-SG -TRAN, M=PAST
1266 mɨ'nɨsi V RETURN-PL -TRAN
1267 pa'jɨ-kii V COME BACK -TRAN, see 1265
1268 u-'rua V WALK-SG -TRAN, R=HAB, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP
1268.8 u'rua-kwa?i V GO/LEAVE
1268.9 u-'rua-voro V WALK AROUND
1269 pa'gi V WALK-PL -TRAN, *V-PREF, *CONT, +MOT
1269.8 pa'gi-kwa?i V GO AWAY-PL
1269.9 pa'gi-mporo V TRAVEL AROUND/WANDER
1273 wɨ'nɨ V STAND-SG -TRAN, R=HAB, NGU=IMP, 1281=MOM, V=PAST, -MOM
1274 wa'mi V STAND-PL -TRAN, 1282=MOM, -MOM
1275 ha'vi V LIE-SG -TRAN, C=HAB, NGU=IMP, 1283=MOM, -MOM
1276 kwa'vi V LIE-PL -TRAN, 1284=MOM, -MOM
1277 ka'rɨ V SIT-SG -TRAN, R=HAB, NGU=IMP, *V-PREF, 1279=MOM, -MOM
1278 jɨ'wi V SIT-PL -TRAN, NGU=IMP, 1280=MOM, -MOM
1279 ka-'karɨ V STOP-SG/SIT (DOWN) -TRAN, R=HAB, 0=IMP, 1277=DUR, +MOM
1280 jɨ-'jɨwi V SIT (DOWN)-PL -TRAN, 1278=DUR, +MOM, V=PAST
1281 wɨ-'wɨnɨ V STAND (UP)-SG -TRAN, 1273=DUR, +MOM
1282 wa-'wami V STAND (UP)-PL -TRAN, 1274=DUR, +MOM
1283 ha-'havi V LIE (DOWN)-SG -TRAN, 1275=DUR, +MOM
1284 kwa-'kwavi V LIE (DOWN)-PL -TRAN, 1276=DUR, +MOM
1291 -rua V GIVE/HAND +TRAN, +DAT-PREF, 2-OBJ, NGU=IMP, M=PAST, (DAT: N-A)(OBJ: N-A), see 0150
1292 ma'ga V GIVE +TRAN, *OBJ-PREF, 2-OBJ, R=HAB, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP
1293 kwɨ'hɨ V CATCH-SG-OBJ/TAKE/RECEIVE +TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP
1294 tu'?uma V CATCH-PL-OBJ/TAKE/RECEIVE +TRAN
1295 na'ru-ga V BUY +TRAN
1296 na'ruga-tɨravi V SELL TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, see 1295,1464
1301 na'rɨ V ASK FOR +TRAN, *OBJ-PREF, NGU=IMP, 2-OBJ, GA=GER, VV=PAST
1302 tɨ'm?a V BAKE +TRAN, NGU=IMP, -0=IMP, J=PRES
1303 no'kom?a V BEND -TRAN, -IMP
1304 kɨ'?(i) V BITE +TRAN, 0=IMP, -NGU=IMP, -OBJ-PREF
1305 no'joga V BOIL -TRAN, -IMP, V=PAST, J=PRES
1306 pu'ru?ai-ku V BREAK/SHATTER -TRAN, V=PAST, -IMP, -M=PAST
1307 kɨ'rukwi V BREAK/SNAP -TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, 0/V=PAST, -M=PAST, -J=PRES, (SUBJ=STICK/BONE)
1308 ko'pok(i) V SNAP/BREAK (STICK) -TRAN, -IMP, 0/V=PAST, see 1309
1309 ka'pak(i) V SNAP/BREAK (STRING) -TRAN, -IMP, see 1308
1310 su'wa-ka V BREATHE -TRAN, R=HAB, 0/NGU=IMP, J=PRES, see 2821, (MOM=TAKE BREATH)
1311 co-'kwipa V BUMP (HEAD)/HIT -TRAN, M/V=PAST, NGU=IMP, -0=IMP, see 1361,2072
1312 na'?i V BURN -TRAN, NGU=IMP, (SUBJ=FIRE)
1313 ku'ciki V BURN +TRAN, M=PAST, 0/NGU=IMP
1314 'kuu V BURY +TRAN, NGU=IMP, see 1315, -0=IMP

1314.6 nɨ-'nkuu V BURY (SOMEONE) -TRAN
1315 tɨ-'guu V BURY (SOMEONE) -TRAN, NGU=IMP, see 1314,2125
1316 'pai V CALL OVER +TRAN, NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST, -0=IMP, GA=GER
1317 ja'wi V CARRY-SG-OBJ +TRAN, C=HAB, 0/NGU=IMP, V=PAST, -M=PAST, see 1254,1380
1318 ju'?a V CARRY-PL-OBJ +TRAN, R=HAB, NGU=IMP, V=PAST, see 1255
1319 ma'no V CHASE +TRAN, R=HAB, J=PRES
1319.8 ma'no?o V CHASE +TRAN, NGU=IMP
1319.9 ma'no?o-k(o) V CHASE +TRAN, 0=PRES, -J=PRES, 0/NGU=IMP, V=PAST
1320 ta'pok(a) V CHOP +TRAN, NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST, -0=IMP
1321 ma-'vacigi V CLAP HANDS -TRAN, see 1441,2070
1322 ha'?ɨ-tɨ-maɨ V FIX/CLEAN +TRAN, see 9006,1400
1323 tɨ'wa V CLOSE *TRAN, NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST, -0=IMP
1324 jɨ'pak(i) V COLLAPSE (OPEN STRUCTURE) -TRAN
1325 jo'kok(i) V COLLAPSE (ENCLOSED STRUCTUR -TRAN
1326 ma'?a V PAINT/MARK/COLOR +TRAN, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, -0=IMP, GA=GER
1327 tɨ'gu?uni V COOK +TRAN, NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST
1328 kwa'sɨ V RIPE/COOK/BURN -TRAN, NGU=IMP (TO A FRUIT)
1329 'niinga V READ/COUNT +TRAN, NGU=IMP, -0=IMP, V=PAST
1330 ma'vo?a V COVER +TRAN, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, -0=IMP, GA=GER
1331 co'nok(a) V SHRINK/CRAMP -TRAN, 0=IMP, V=PAST, -NGU=IMP, C=GER
1332 wa'va V CRAWL -TRAN, R=HAB, NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST, see 1333, -0=IMP
1333 ma-'wava V CREEP -TRAN, ARCHAIC, see 1332,2070
1334 ja'ga V CRY -TRAN, R=HAB, NGU=IMP, M/V=PAST, 1482=MOM
1335 ci'kwɨ V CUT +TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST, J=PRES
1336 ci'puru?(u) V CUT/DICE TRAN
1337 'ko(a) V CUT/NICK TRAN, V=PAST, 0/J=PRES
1338 ci'kwa?ica V CUT/SLICE TRAN
1339 ci'kavica V CUT OFF TRAN, GA=GER
1340 ci'kapin?a V CUT OFF TRAN, V=PAST
1342 ni'ja V CALL +TRAN, see 1057,2823
1344 wɨ'nɨmi V DANCE -TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, V=PAST, see 1273
1345 ɨ'vɨ-maw?(ɨ) V DESTROY +TRAN, V=PAST, see 9001,1400
1346 ja'?i-kwa?(i) V DIE -TRAN, V=PAST, 0=PRES, see 1046
1347 'hoora V DIG +TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP, V/M=PAST, J=PRES, see 1348
1348 pa-'hora V DIG A WELL -TRAN, V=PAST, see 1347,2617
1349 po'?o V WRITE/DRAW +TRAN, J=PRES, V=PAST, see 1460
1350 hi'vi V DRINK +TRAN, NGU=IMP, V=PAST
1351 wɨ'?i-ku V FALL-SG/DROP -TRAN, +MOM, C=GER, 91351=DUR
1351.9 wɨ'?i V DROP-SG/FALL -TRAN, J=PRES, -MOM, 1351=MOM
1352 ho'honono?o V LOST-PL/FALL/DROP -TRAN, +MOM, V=PAST, 91352=DUR
1352.9 ho'nono?o V DROP-PL/FALL -TRAN, -MOM, J=PRES, 1352=MOM
1353 pa-'ja?i V DROWN -TRAN, see 2617,1346
1354 pa-'jɨ?a-ki V SINK/DROWN -TRAN, see 1359
1355 tɨ'ka V EAT +TRAN, R=HAB, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, *OBJ-PREF, -C=GER, J=PRES, NGU=IMP
1356 mu'pang(a) V EMPTY OUT +TRAN, V/M=PAST, 0/NGU=IMP, GA=GER
1357 ɨ'ga V PLANT/ENTER TRAN, *OBJ-PREF
1358 wa'gi V ENTER-PL TRAN
1359 jɨ'?a-ki V SINK/ENTER/SET -TRAN, V=PAST, see 1354
1360 na-'wa-cipi-nkɨ V ESCAPE TRAN, V=PAST, see 1260
1361 kwi'pa V WHIP/HIT/FALL *TRAN, *OBJ-PREF, V=PAST, GA=GER, -M=PAST
1362 pa'sa-ru V FARM TRAN, V=PAST, see 2545

1363 pu'caku V FILL -TRAN
1364 ma'h(i) V FIND +TRAN, 0=PRES, V=PAST
1365 ma'sua V FINISH (CONSUME) +TRAN, *V-PREF, =HAB, M=PAST, NGU=IMP, /'sua
1366 wi'ci V FLY -TRAN, C=HAB, J=PRES, V=PAST, see 2208,1433
1367 pa-'huina V FLOAT -TRAN, see 2617, (WATER)
1368 tɨ'?asɨ V FREEZE -TRAN, V/M=PAST, GA=GER
1369 ku'sa?a V FRY +TRAN, +ANIM-SUBJ, V/M=PAST, GA=GER, NGU=IMP
1370 no'mai-nukwi V GALLOP -TRAN, V=PAST, GA=GER, see 1430
1371 ma'ma-sumparu(i) V GATHER +TRAN, J=PRES
1372 'suuparua V GATHER TOGETHER -TRAN, V=PAST, see 1371, (SUBJ=PL)
1373 na'na V GROW -TRAN, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, see 1381
1374 wɨ'para V SPREAD/HANG +TRAN, M=PAST
1375 ma'rɨgai V HELP +TRAN, *S, *V-PREF, V=PAST, J=PRES
1376 'aaga-musi V HIDE -TRAN, J=PRES, V=PAST, see 0331
1377 'aaga-wacɨ V HIDE +TRAN, J=PRES, V=PAST, see 0331,1421
1378 to'n(a) V HIT/PUNCH/STAB +TRAN, 0=IMP
1379 ta'v(i) V HIT/STONE +TRAN, C=HAB, 0=IMP, V=PAST
1380 ja'wi-ni?i V HOLD +TRAN, V=PAST, *OBJ-PREF, see 1317
1381 ma-'nana-nkɨ V REAR +TRAN, V/M=PAST, see 1373
1382 ca'?ikai V HOLD BACK +TRAN, *OBJ-PREF, V=PAST, J=PRES
1383 pa'ka-nkɨ V HURT +TRAN
1384 na-'hukwivi V HURT-SELF -TRAN
1385 wɨ'puki V JUMP -TRAN
1386 ta'nga V KICK +TRAN
1387 pa'ka V KILL-SG-OBJ/SCOLD +TRAN, R=HAB, M=PAST, NGU=MOM
1388 ko'?i V KILL-PL-OBJ/SCOLD +TRAN
1388.2 ko'go?i V KILL-PL-OBJ/SCOLD
1389 tɨ'na V HUNT TRAN, J=PRES, V=PAST, NGU=IMP, +HUM-SUBJ
1389.9 na-'tɨna V TRAIL +TRAN, GA=GER, NGU=IMP
1390 ma'juma V KILL-PL-OBJ +TRAN
1391 ki'ja-ni?i V LAUGH -TRAN
1392 ma'ha V LAUNDER +TRAN, NGU=IMP, M/V=PAST, GA=GER
1393 pa-'rakwica V LAUNDER TRAN, see 2617
1394 'moi V LEAD +TRAN
1395 kwi'ta-rɨnia V LIE/FIB TRAN, see 1204
1396 ka'ni-gai V LIVE/RESIDE -TRAN
1397 pu'sagai V LOOK FOR +TRAN
1398 pi'naw?i-nkɨ V LEAVE +TRAN, 2-OBJ
1400 'maɨ V MAKE +TRAN, *V-PREF, 2-OBJ, V=PAST
1401 wa'na-ru V MAKE A WEB -TRAN, see 2637,1002
1405 'sai V MELT/DISSOLVE -TRAN, M=PAST
1406 pa-'ru V MIX IN WATER +TRAN, V=PAST
1407 ho'vi V MOULT -TRAN, V=PAST, J=PRES, GA=GER, see 1418
1408 ma-'jɨmpugi V NUDGE TRAN, V=PAST, see 2070
1409 ta'tɨwin?a V OPEN *TRAN, 0=IMP, V=PAST
1410 na-'waga-nkɨ V PAY +TRAN, 2-OBJ, M=PAST, see 1292,1085
1410.9 na-'waga-ka V COST
1411 a'si-vo?a V SKIN/PEEL +TRAN, NGU=IMP, V=PAST, see 2054
1412 ma'vang?i V PET TRAN, *OBJ-PREF, see 2070
1413 'coowaa V PICK TRAN
1414 hi'ncum?i V PINCH +TRAN
1415 'kiijaa V PLAY TRAN
1416 ma-'gugikai V POINT AT TRAN, V=PAST
1417 wɨ'coi V POUR *TRAN, V/M=PAST, +MOT, NGU=MOM, NGU=IMP
1418 ho'va V PULL OUT +TRAN, V=PAST, 2-OBJ, see 1407
1421 wa'cɨ V ELECT/PUT +TRAN, V/M=PAST
1422 ju'na V PUT-PL-OBJ +TRAN
1425 ɨ'wa V RAIN -TRAN

1427 wɨ'n?ogi V SHAVE (BODY)/RAKE TRAN, V=PAST
1428 ko'to?o-ngu V TURN AROUND/RETURN/COME BAC -TRAN
1429 pi'ki V ROT -TRAN, M=PAST
1430 nu'kwi V RUN -TRAN, C=HAB, NGU=IMP, V=PAST, +MOT
1431 tɨ'rawi?i V START-SG (CAR)/RUN -TRAN, C=HAB, 0=IMP, 0=PRES, V=PAST, +MOT
1432 na'rɨna V RUN-PL/DASH -TRAN, 0=IMP
1433 wi'ci-ku V FLY OFF-SG -TRAN, V/M=PAST, +MOT, see 1366
1434 'jaasɨ V FLY OFF-PL -TRAN, V=PAST, +MOT
1435 na-'jawi?i-tui V SEND +TRAN, see 1317
1436 ca'pika?a V SEW TRAN, R=HAB
1437 ca'ga V WEAVE/SEW TRAN
1438 ku'kwi V SHOOT/STING +TRAN, V=PAST
1438.1 na-'gu-kwi V SHOOT EA OTHER
1439 ma-'nujukwa-nkɨ V MOVE/SHOVE +TRAN, V=PAST, see 1261
1440 hu'vi-tu V SING *TRAN, NGU=IMP, V=PAST
1441 ma-'vaciki V SLAP +TRAN, M=PAST, see 1321
1445 ɨ'pɨi V SLEEP-SG -TRAN, C=HAB, V=PAST, NGU=IMP
1446 ɨ'koi V SLEEP-PL -TRAN, NGU=IMP
1447 ki'ja-sui V SMILE -TRAN, V=PAST, NGU=IMP
1447.5 ki'ja-sui-kai V SMILE
1447.6 ki'ja-sui-ni?i V SMILE
1448 pa-'rɨgi V SOAK/WASH +TRAN, V=PAST, NGU=IMP
1449 tɨ'wavaga V MAKE A SOUND/SOUND -TRAN, V=PAST, J=PRES
1450 a'mpaga V SPEAK/TALK +TRAN, R=HAB, V/M=PAST, *OBJ-PREF, 0/NGU=IMP
1451 to'sikwa V STICK IN *TRAN, M=PAST
1452 kwi'nu?ungu V SPIN/TURN -TRAN, 0=IMP, M=PAST
1453 ɨ'jɨngi V STEAL +TRAN, C=HAB, *OBJ-PREF, 0/NGU=IMP
1454 ta'wasɨ V SUN-BURN TRAN, NGU=IMP
1454.5 ta'wasɨ-nkwa?i V SUN-BURN
1455 jɨ'?ɨki V SWALLOW +TRAN, 0=IMP
1456 'pooca V SWELL/INFLATE -TRAN, 0=IMP
1457 na'vakɨ V SWIM -TRAN, R=HAB, V=PAST, NGU=IMP
1458 tɨ'cawa V TAKE AWAY +TRAN, +OBJ-PREF, 0/NGU=IMP
1459 ma'?awa?i V TAKE CARE OF +TRAN, *OBJ-PREF, NGU=IMP
1460 nɨ-'mpo?o-tui V TEACH-SCHOOL -TRAN, NGU=IMP, see 1349,1466
1461 pɨ'kɨki V TEAR -TRAN, -IMP
1462 ca'pɨkin?a V TEAR +TRAN, 0=IMP
1463 mu'guaruni?i V THINK -TRAN, NGU=IMP, V=PAST, GA=GER
1463.8 mu'guaru V THINK
1464 tɨ'ravi V THROW DOWN +TRAN, 0=IMP, M/V=PAST, GA=GER
1465 'pooja V TROT -TRAN
1466 po'?o-tu?i V TEACH +TRAN, -OBJ-PREF, V=PAST, see 1349,1460
1469 tɨ'gai V ACT TRAN, GA=GER, V=PAST, -MOM
1470 'kwiin?a V TURN -TRAN
1471 tɨ'kaw?i V TURN INTO +TRAN, +OBJ-PREF, 0=IMP
1472 hu'pa V UNTIE +TRAN
1473 u'ni-nupɨru V MAKE +TRAN, see 1000,1002
1474 si'?i V URINATE -TRAN, 0/NGU=IMP
1474.3 si'?i-wa?i V URINATE (GO TO)
1475 ka'ni?i V VISIT -TRAN, NGU=IMP
1476 tu'pun?i V WAKE -TRAN, 0=IMP, V=PAST
1477 ma-'rupun?i-nkɨ V WAKE +TRAN, 0=IMP, see 1476,2070
1478 pa-'caga V WASH +TRAN, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP
1479 u'ni-a-ni?i V WEAR +TRAN, NGU=IMP
1480 nɨ'nga V WEAVE BASKET -TRAN, NGU=IMP, V=PAST
1481 si'va V WHITTLE/SHAVE-WOOD *TRAN, NGU=IMP, V=PAST
1481.7 si'va-va V WHITTLE
1482 ja-'jaga V BURST INTO TEARS -TRAN, 0=IMP, 1334=DUR

1483 pu'kwi V BLOW -TRAN, M=PAST
1484 ni'mpɨa V ENGAGE IN CONVERSATION TRAN
1485 na-nɨ-mpaka V FIGHT -TRAN
1486 ja'hi V HUNT TRAN, M/V=PAST, NGU=IMP, GA=GER
1487 hu'cini?i V POKE HEAD IN SOMEWHERE TRAN, GA=GER
1488 ka'raga V RATTLE -TRAN
1489 ci'kwicui V TURN TRAN
1490 pi'pitan?(a) V VOMIT TRAN
1491 wɨ'tuc(a) V WIPE +TRAN, NGU=IMP
1492 takwi-ntui V ENCIRCLE +TRAN
1493 wɨ'sivo?ona V WHITTLE +TRAN, GA=GER, /wɨ-'siva, V=PAST, see 1481
1495 pi'joga V PULL +TRAN, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, GA=GER, +MOT
1496 ma'rɨkwipa V PUSH +TRAN, -MOT, GA=GER, V=PAST
1499 ma'?awa?i V REAR/RAISE +TRAN
1501 'coon?a V SCRATCH +TRAN, GA=GER, V/M=PAST
1502 ma'vacikinkɨ V SLAP +TRAN, V/M=PAST, see 1441,1321
1503 kɨ'cijon(a) V SPIT TRAN, +MOT, V=PAST, 0/NGU=IMP, GA=GER
1504 ta'paki-n?(a) V CUT DOWN/SPLIT +TRAN, V/M=PAST, 0/NGU=IMP
1504.8 ta'paki V SPLIT ASUNDER
1505 ma'ncu V SQUEEZE +TRAN, V/M=PAST, NGU=IMP, GA=GER
1506 to'posi-gi V STAB +TRAN, V=PAST
1506.8 to'posi-ki-nkɨ V STAB/PIERCE
1507 pa'wa V SWELL (STING/DISEASE) -TRAN, J=PRES, V/M=PAST, GA=GER
1508 picɨ V SUCK/SUCKLE +TRAN, J=PRES
1509 tapic(a) V TIE +TRAN, V=PAST, see 2112
1510 ko'?a-tɨka V SMOKE -TRAN, R=HAB, see 1355,2634
1511 na'ro?o-ntu V MAKE A SHIRT -TRAN, GA=GER, /-ru, see 2599
1512 kwɨ'rɨki V GET UP -TRAN, 0=IMP
1513 pi'ka-hoa-ga(i) V HAVE SORE BACK -TRAN
1514 a'so-na V SALT *TRAN, M=PAST, see 2597
1515 na'?i-tupik(ɨ) V BURN UP -TRAN, V=PAST, see 1312
1516 wɨ'wai V HANG TRAN, M/V=PAST, GA=GER
1517 tɨ'vijawi V WORK TRAN, J=PRES
1518 'wɨɨka V WORK TRAN, <ENG
1519 su'wainkɨ V KISS +TRAN, NGU=IMP
1520 wa'?awi V BARK -TRAN, NGU=IMP
1521 na'gɨgi V CRACK OPEN -TRAN, C=HAB, /na'gɨi
1522 wɨ'pantui V DANGLE TRAN, GA=GER, (FROM HAND)
1523 'suunava V EVEN/STRAIGHT -TRAN, J=PRES, NT=HAB
1524 -sumpa V FEEL +A-PREF
1525 na-'guma-ru V MARRY (RECIPR) -TRAN
1526 ca'?i V GRAB TRAN, GA=GER
1527 pi'jagank(ɨ) V ITCH TRAN, V=PAST
1528 pi'wa-ru V MARRY (MALE SUBJECT) TRAN
1529 ku'ma-ru V MARRY (FEMALE SUBJECT) TRAN, M=PAST
1530 'nɨa-p V PROUD TRAN
1532 ma-'nura V RUB WITH HAND TRAN, GA=GER, NGU=IMP
1534 wa'?angi V SHOUT TRAN
1535 tu'vaki V SLIP LOOSE/UNTIE TRAN, GA=GER, -MOM, 1536=MOM
1536 tu'paki V SLIP LOOSE/UNTIE TRAN, C=GER, +MOM, 1535=DUR
1538 kwi'hi-ka V SMOKE TRAN, GA=GER, J=PRES, see 2633
1539 ha'w?isi V SNEEZE TRAN, V=PAST
1540 so'm?a V SPREAD (BLANKET) TRAN, GA=GER, V/M=PAST
1542 mu'kunt(a) V STRAIGHT -TRAN, MU'-=PL, NT=HAB
1543 'kwaɨ-nkai V SWIFT -TRAN, J=GER
1545 hu'pa-ki V UNTIE/COME UNTIED -TRAN, C=GER, 1472=+TRAN
1546 i'jaga V WILD -TRAN, J=GER

1551 cɨ'pɨpɨ?ɨ V FLASH TRAN, GA=GER, V=PAST
1552 kwi'ca V DEFECATE TRAN
1553 kwa'su-ntu V DRESS/PUT ON DRESS -TRAN, V=PAST
1554 ca'jokwin?a V DISMANTLE/TEAR DOWN TRAN, V=PAST
1555 tɨ'ga V TAKE A PICTURE OF +TRAN, GA=GER, M=PAST, see 2584
1556 nɨ'va-?ɨwa V SNOW TRAN, see 1425
1558 ma-'uni-ni?i V HANDLE TRAN, GA=GER
1901 -kwa?(i) V BECOME/GET/TURN -TRAN, +V-PREF, V=PAST, J=PRES
1902 -tu?a V BECOME (A NOUN)/TURN (ADJ) *TRAN, +OBJ-PREF, +V-PREF, /-ru?a/-cu?a, M=PAST, GA=GER, V=PAST
1903 -wai V GET/BECOME -TRAN, J=PRES, V=PAST
1904 -ma?ak(u) V FINISH -TRAN, +V-PREF, 0=IMP, V=PAST
1905 -maɨ V FINISH TRAN, V=PAST, +V-PREF, see 1400
1906 -maga V TRY -TRAN, V=PAST, +V-PREF, see 1292
1907 -musu V TRY (IN VAIN)/UNABLE TO -TRAN, +V-PREF, GA=GER, NGU=MOM
1908 -tɨtu?a--ni(i) V seeM -TRAN, +V-PREF, 0/J=PRES, V=PAST
1910 -suawa-ga(i) V WANT -TRAN, +V-PREF
1911 -gi V COME TO-SG -TRAN, +V-PREF
1912 -gi-voro V COME TO-PL -TRAN, +V-PREF
1913 -wa?i V GO TO-SG -TRAN, +V-PREF, NGU=IMP, see 0172
1914 -voro V GO TO-PL -TRAN, +V-PREF
1915 -voro V AROUND/MOVING AROUND -TRAN, +V-PREF, /-mporo, *MOT
1916 -maupa V STOP -TRAN, +V-PREF
1917 -tɨvicu V WANT/ASK -TRAN, +V-PREF, GA=GER, J=PRES
2001 'nɨɨ N I +ANIM, I=PERS, +SG, 'NɨɨNI=OBLIQUE STEM, +PRO, *PREFIX, -OB
2001.9 'nɨɨni N I +ANIM, I=PERS, +SG, +OB, +PRO, *PREFIX
2002 ta'm(i) N WE-DU (INCL) +ANIM, I=PERS, -SG, -SEV, +INCL, +PRO, *PREFIX
2003 ta'w(ɨ) N WE-SEV (INCL) +ANIM, I=PERS, -SG, +SEV, +INCL, +PRO, *PREFIX
2004 nɨ'm(i) N WE (EXCL) +ANIM, I=PERS, -SG, -INCL, +PRO, *PREFIX
2005 ɨ'm(i) N YOU-SG +ANIM, II=PERS, +SG, +PRO, *PREFIX
2006 mɨ'm(i) N YOU-PL +ANIM, II=PERS, -SG, +PRO, *PREFIX
2007 i'ng(a) N HE/SHE (HERE) +ANIM, III=PERS, +SG, H=PROX, +PRO, *PREFIX
2008 ma'ng(a) N HE/SHE (VIS) +ANIM, III=PERS, +SG, V=PROX, +PRO, *PREFIX
2009 u'ng(a) N HE/SHE (INVIS) +ANIM, III=PERS, +SG, I=PROX, +PRO, *PREFIX
2010 i-'m(ɨ) N THEY (HERE) +ANIM, III=PERS, -SG, H=PROX, +PRO, *PREFIX
2011 ma-'m(ɨ) N THEY (VIS) +ANIM, III=PERS, -SG, V=PROX, +PRO, *PREFIX
2012 u-'m(ɨ) N THEY (INVIS) +ANIM, III=PERS, -SG, I=PROX, +PRO, *PREFIX
2013 i-'c(ɨ) N THIS/THESE -ANIM, III=PERS, H=PROX, +PRO, -PREFIX, I-'KA=OBLIQUE STEM, -OB
2013.8 i'- N THIS/THESE -ANIM, III=PERS, H=PROX, +PRO, +PREFIX, *OB
2013.9 i-'ka- N THIS/THESE -ANIM, III=PERS, H=PROX, +PRO, -PREFIX, +OB
2014 ma-'r(ɨ) N THAT/THOSE (VIS) -ANIM, III=PERS, V=PROX, +PRO, -PREFIX, MA-'KA=OBLIQUE STEM, -OB
2014.8 ma'- N THAT/THOSE (VIS) -ANIM, III=PERS, V=PROX, +PRO, +PREFIX, *OB
2014.9 ma-'ka- N THAT/THOSE (VIS) -ANIM, III=PERS, V=PROX, +PRO, -PREFIX, +OB

2015 u-'r(ɨ) N THAT/THOSE (INVIS) -ANIM, III=PERS, I=PROX, +PRO, -PREFIX, U-'KA=OBLIQUE STEM, -OB
2015.8 u'- N THAT/THOSE (INVIS) -ANIM, III=PERS, I=PROX, +PRO, +PREFIX, *OB
2015.9 u-'ka- N THAT/THOSE (INVIS) -ANIM, III=PERS, I=PROX, +PRO, -PREFIX, +OB
2016 na'- S SELF/REFLEXIVE ANIM, +PRO, +PREFIX, +REFLEX
2017 -v(ɨ) S ONE'S OWN (IIIRD PERS) ANIM, +REFLEX, III=PERS
2018 a'wavantɨ-m(ɨ) N SEVERAL ANIM
2019 ta'mi-want(ɨ) N YOU-OR-ME/ONE OF US +ANIM, see 2002,0190
2020 hi'mp(ɨ) N WHAT -ANIM, *CONCRETE, +PRO
2021 ha'ng(a) N WHO +ANIM, +HUMAN, +PRO
2022 hi'mpɨ-sap(a) N SOMETHING -ANIM, *CONCRETE, see 2020
2023 ha'nga-sap(a) N SOMEONE +ANIM, HA'NGA-JA-SAP(A)=ACC, +HUMAN, see 2021
2024 hi'n(i) N WHO/WHAT +ANIM, *HUMAN, +PRO
2025 pɨ- N RELATIVE PRONOUN *ANIM, +PRO, +BND, +PREFIX
2028 'hiimara?apɨc(i) N SOMETHING -ANIM
2030 'mo(a) N FATHER +ANIM, MO'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2031 'pi(a) N MOTHER +ANIM, PI'-(VI)=PL, W=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2031.9 'pi(a) N FEMALE (NONHUMAN) +ANIM, PI'-(VI)=PL, W=PL, -HUMAN
2032 'tu(a) N SON +ANIM, TU'-=PL, M=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2033 pa'c(ɨ) N DAUGHTER +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2034 pa'v(i) N OLDER BROTHER +ANIM, PA'-=PL, M=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2035 pa'c(i) N OLDER SISTER +ANIM, PA'-=PL, W=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2036 ca'ki?(i) N YOUNGER BROTHER +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2037 na'mi?(i) N YOUNGER SISTER +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2038 ku'm(a) N HUSBAND +ANIM, KU'-NKU=PL, W=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2038.9 ku'm(a) N MALE (NONHUMAN) +ANIM, KU'-NKU=PL, W=PL, -HUMAN
2039 pi'w(a) N WIFE +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2040 pa'ha N AUNT (FA SI) +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2041 ma'wɨ?a N AUNT (MA OLD SI) +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2042 ma'wɨ-?ɨc( ) N NEPHEW +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2043 mu'simpij( ) N SISTER-IN-LAW +ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2051 kwi't(u) N ANUS -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2052 a'ngav(ɨ) N ARM -ANIM, A'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2053 'ho(a) N BACK -ANIM, HO'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2054 a'si-v(ɨ) N SKIN/RIND/PEEL -ANIM, +N-ABS, A'-=PL, see 1411, INHER POSSESSED
2054.7 a'si-?a N FUR/PEEL/BARK/SHELL -ANIM, +N-POSS, A'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2055 ta-'tog(o) N BIG TOE -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2056 nɨ'wɨ-?a-v N BODY -ANIM, +N-ABS, NE'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2057 o'hov(ɨ) N BONE -ANIM, 0=PL, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2058 co'pik(i) N BRAIN -ANIM, CO'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2059 pi'h(i) N UDDER/BREAST -ANIM, PI'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2060 kwi'tu-mukw(i) N BUTTOCKS -ANIM, KWI'-=PL, see 2051, INHER POSSESSED
2061 na'nka-v(ɨ) N EAR -ANIM, NA'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2062 pu'?iv(i) N seeD/EYE -ANIM, PU'-=PL, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2063 ma-'sɨ(ɨ) N FINGER -ANIM, MA'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2064 ma'sico?(o) N FINGER-NAIL -ANIM, MA'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2065 na'mp(a) N FOOT -ANIM, NA'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2066 ta'- N FOOT- -ANIM, +BND, +PREFIX, INHER POSSESSED
2067 pajaa N FRONT -ANIM, see 0115, INHER POSSESSED

2068 to'ci-vɨ?a-v(ɨ) N HAIR -ANIM, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2069 mo'?o-v(ɨ) N HAND -ANIM, MO'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2070 ma'- N HAND- -ANIM, +BND, +PREFIX, INHER POSSESSED
2071 to'c(i) N HEAD -ANIM, TO'-=PL, W=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2072 co'- N HEAD- -ANIM, +BND, +PREFIX, INHER POSSESSED
2073 pi'jɨ-w(i) N HEART -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 2074, INHER POSSESSED
2073.8 pi'jɨ-w(a) N HEART -ANIM, +N-POSS, INHER POSSESSED
2074 pi'jɨ-p(i) N HEART -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 2073, INHER POSSESSED
2075 ta'ng(a) N KNEE -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2076 ju'?(u) N LEG -ANIM, JU'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2077 mu'v(i) N NOSE -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2078 'wɨ(a) N PENIS -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2079 ma'-tog(o) N THUMB -ANIM, MA'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2080 ta-'sɨ(ɨ) N TOE -ANIM, TA'--W=PL INHER POSSESSED
2081 sa'p(ɨ) N BELLY/STOMACH -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2082 'paɨ-p(i) N BLOOD -ANIM, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2082.8 'paɨ-w(a) N BLOOD -ANIM, +N-POSS, INHER POSSESSED
2083 ta'sico?(o) N TOE-NAIL/CLAW -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2084 'tɨɨmp(a) N MOUTH -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2085 sa'gwi-v(ɨ) N GUTS -ANIM, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2086 'aap(ɨ) N HORN -ANIM, A'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2087 nɨ'wɨmp(i) N LIVER -ANIM, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2088 kur(a) N NECK -ANIM, KU'-=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2089 a'go-mp(i) N TONGUE -ANIM, +N-ABS, INHER POSSESSED
2090 ta'wa-mp(i) N TOOTH -ANIM, +N-ABS, JA/NA=OB, TA'-RA=PL, INHER POSSESSED
2091 si'?ip(i) N URINE -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2092 nɨ'ngap(ɨ) N CHEST -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2093 'soo-g( ) N LUNG/LUNGS -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2093.6 'soo-v(i) N LUNG/LUNGS -ANIM, INHER POSSESSED
2101 ɨ'ngapic(i) N BABY +ANIM, W=PL, UNPOSSESSABLE
2102 'aipac(i) N LITTLE BOY +ANIM, W=PL, A'-=SEV, UNPOSSESSABLE
2103 nɨ'w(ɨ) N PERSON/CHEMEHUEVI/INDIAN +ANIM, W=PL, see 1054,2056
2104 pi'so?oc(i) N CHILD +ANIM, W=PL, PI'-=SEV, +N-ABS
2105 pu'hagant(ɨ) N MEDICINE-MAN/DOCTOR +ANIM, PU'-VUAGA(NTE)M=PL
2106 'haiku(u) N WHITE-MAN/ENGLISH +ANIM, HA'-=PL, W=PL
2107 pa'sa-rawac(i) N FARMER/GROWER +ANIM, -RAWAM=PL, see 2114,2545
2108 ɨ'nɨp(i) N GHOST/SPIRIT ANIM, M=PL
2109 na'?inci-c(i) N LITTLE GIRL +ANIM, 'NAA--W=PL
2110 'naapagap(ɨ) N RELATIVE/KIN +ANIM, NA'-=PL
2111 'hiiw(a) N RELATIVE/KIN +ANIM, W=PL, HI'-=PL
2112 ta'picac(i) N LAWMAN/POLICE +ANIM, W=PL
2113 'kwii-gant(ɨ) N LEFT-HANDED ONE/SOUTH-PAW +ANIM, KWI'-GWIIGA(NTE)M=PL
2114 ta'w?a-c(i) N MAN +ANIM, TA'WA-M=PL
2115 ha'?at-aiku(u) N MEXICAN +ANIM, W=PL
2116 a'jat(a) N MOHAVE +ANIM, M=PL
2117 'kɨɨmaa-nɨw(ɨ) N SERRANO/MORONGO +ANIM, W=PL, see 0551,2103
2118 pa-'gawic(i) N NAVAJO +ANIM, W=PL
2119 pa'gi-ka-rɨm N NOMADS/TRAVELERS +ANIM
2120 ta'ntɨi-c(i) N NORTHERNER +ANIM, W=PL
2121 'maapɨc(i) N OLD LADY/OLD WOMAN +ANIM, MA'--V=PL
2122 ɨ'sa-vɨc(i) N OLD MAN +ANIM, E'--V=PL
2123 'naapɨw(ɨ) N OLD MAN +ANIM, NA'-=PL
2124 pa'ran?ɨg(i) N PAIUTE +ANIM, W=PL

2125 tɨ'- N PERSON +ANIM, +BND, +PREFIX
2126 nɨ-'nkwɨ-tui-kat(ɨ) N POLICEMAN/PERSON-CATCHER +ANIM, NE'-NKWETUIKA(TE)M=PL
2127 to'vi-pɨciw(ɨ) N SHORT ONE +ANIM, TO'-=PL, see 1027
2128 mi'?au-pɨciw(ɨ) N SMALL ONE +ANIM, MI'-=PL, see 1028
2129 nɨ-'mpo?o-tui-kat(ɨ) N TEACHER +ANIM, -KA(TE(M=PL
2130 ɨ'jɨnkat(ɨ) N THIEF +ANIM, E'-EJENKAM=PL, see 1453
2131 ma'ma?u(u) N WOMAN +ANIM, M=PL
2132 'aivac(i) N YOUNG BOY +ANIM, A'--W=PL, 'AIVAW=PL
2133 'nainc(i) N YOUNG GIRL +ANIM, NA--W=PL
2134 'aɨ-nɨw(ɨ) N YOUNG PERSON +ANIM, W=PL, see 1087
2135 a'mpaga-tu?i-ka-m(ɨ) N COUNCIL +ANIM, (PEOPLE THAT TALK FOR YOU)
2136 tu'punua-c(i) N NEGRO +ANIM, W=PL
2142 ju'wita(a) N UTE +ANIM, W=PL
2143 kɨ'manc(i) N DIFFERENT ONE +ANIM, KE'-GE--W=PL, see 0551
2144 nɨ-'maga-nt(ɨ) N GENEROUS ONE +ANIM, NE'--M=PL, see 1292
2145 ju'nakaim( ) N GANG/COMPANY/CLAN +ANIM
2146 na'?isa-hiw(a) N IN-LAW +ANIM
2148 pi'nga-tɨ-m( ) N YOUNGEST ANIM
2201 a'ngaav(i) N ANT +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS, (TINY RED STINGING)
2202 ta'siav(i) N ANT +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS
2203 ta'pang(a) N PORK/PIG *ANIM
2204 hu'n(a) N BADGER +ANIM, W=PL
2205 'paaca?ac(i) N BAT +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2206 pa'paw(a) N BEAR +ANIM, W=PL
2207 wa'cav(i) N BEE +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS
2208 wi'ci?ic(i) N BIRD +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2209 pa'gacukwit(a) N BLACKBIRD +ANIM, W=PL
2210 ku'c(u) N CAMEL/BUFFALO +ANIM, W=PL
2211 pi'kagaac(i) N BUG +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2212 'tooro?(o) N BULL +ANIM, W=PL, <SPAN
2213 'puus(i) N CAT +ANIM, W=PL, <ENG
2214 tu'ku-punku-c(i) N CAT +ANIM, W=PL, see 2235
2215 kwa'rojaw(i) N CHICKEN +ANIM, W=PL
2216 u'siwanav(i) N CICADA +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS
2217 wa'nkasi(i) N COW +ANIM, W=PL
2218 hu'vacinoc(i) N COW-KILLER +ANIM, W=PL
2219 a'kagupic(i) N COW-KILLER (WHITE) +ANIM, W=PL
2220 sɨ'na?av(i) N COPY CAT/COYOTE +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS, /sɨnawavi
2221 tɨ'hij(a) N DEER +ANIM, W=PL
2222 pu'nkuu-c(i) N PET/DOG +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2223 ca-'wacug(u) N DOG +ANIM, -CI-W=PL
2224 wa'?acug(u) N DOG +ANIM, W=PL
2225 pica'rak(i) N DOG/BITCH +ANIM, -STRESS-RULE, W=PL, <ENG
2226 pa'gɨ-c(i) N FISH +ANIM, V=PL, +N-ABS
2227 'poo?av(i) N LOUSE/FLEA +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS
2228 'muupic(i) N FLY +ANIM, +N-ABS
2229 wa'gata-c(i) N FROG +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2230 ta'vu-c(i) N HARE +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2230.9 ta'vu-ruac(i) N LITTLE HARE +ANIM
2231 wa'?arov(i) N HORSE +ANIM, M=PL
2232 ka'm(ɨ) N JACK-RABBIT +ANIM, W=PL
2233 pa'j?(ɨ) N KANGAROO RAT +ANIM, W=PL
2234 sɨ'gɨpic(i) N LIZARD +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2235 tu'k(u) N MOUNTAIN LION +ANIM, W=PL
2236 na'g(a) N MOUNTAIN SHEEP +ANIM, W=PL
2237 pu'?incac(i) N MOUSE +ANIM, W=PL, +N-ABS
2238 'muuna?(a) N MULE +ANIM, W=PL, <SPAN

2239 mu'hump+c(i) N OWL +ANIM, W=PL, MU'~=SEV, +N-ABS(-ABS)
2240 pu'nk(u) N PET +ANIM, W=PL, see 2222, POSSESSED
2241 'piinkic(i) N PIG +ANIM, W=PL
2242 ta'panga-c(i) N PIG +ANIM, W=PL
2243 'kuuci?(i) N PIG +ANIM, W=PL, <SPAN
2244 'kaac(i) N RAT +ANIM
2245 'waampakwic(i) N SCORPION +ANIM
2246 na'ga-vunkuc(i) N SHEEP +ANIM, see 2236,2222
2247 'kwiijaac(i) N SNAKE +ANIM
2248 'aaj(a) N TURTLE +ANIM, W=PL
2249 pa-'?aaj(a) N WATER-TURTLE +ANIM, W=PL, see 2248,2617
2250 t+'vac(i) N WOLF +ANIM, W=PL
2251 ta'va?ac(i) N CHIPMUNK +ANIM
2252 m+'ngimp+c(i) N EAGLE +ANIM
2253 o'nci(a) N FOX (LITTLE KIT) +ANIM
2254 po'ni(a) N SKUNK +ANIM, W=PL
2255 ho'koso?a-v(i) N SPIDER +ANIM, +N-ABS
2256 si'kuc(i) N SQUIRREL +ANIM
2257 pa'?a-v(i) N WORM +ANIM, +N-ABS
2258 na?isa-?angaav(i) N ANT +ANIM, M=PL, +N-ABS, see 2201
2259 +'c(a) N ROADRUNNER +ANIM, W=PL
2260 wa'nc(i) N ANTELOPE +ANIM, W=PL
2261 i'piina(a) N BEAVER +ANIM, W=PL
2262 c+g(a) N DUCK +ANIM, W=PL
2263 m+j(+) N GOPHER +ANIM, W=PL
2401 'aaporos(i) N APPLE -ANIM, <ENG
2402 sa'wa-p(+) N ARROW-WEED -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 1006
2403 'paaviiv(+) N BARREL-CACTUS -ANIM
2404 o'p(i) N MESQUITE BEANS -ANIM, 0=PL
2405 o'saramp(+) N (CACTUS) -ANIM
2406 wi'jutamp(+) N CHOLLA -ANIM
2407 ha'wiv(i) N CORN -ANIM, 0=PL, +N-ABS
2408 'kaataniv(+) N COTTON -ANIM, <ENG
2409 kwi'jukwimp(i) N CUCUMBER -ANIM
2410 s+'?ip(i) N FLOWER -ANIM, +N-ABS
2411 i'jaav(i) N GRAPES -ANIM, see 2423
2412 t+'s+v(i) N GRASS -ANIM, +N-ABS
2413 o'pi-mp(+) N MESQUITE -ANIM, see 2404
2414 +'n+pi-poromp(+) N OCOTILLO -ANIM, -PO-POROMP=PL
2415 si'vuja?(a) N ONION -ANIM, <SPAN
2416 orange(i) N ORANGE -ANIM, =ENG
2417 ju'vimp(+) N PINE-TREE -ANIM
2418 t+'v(a) N PINON NUTS -ANIM
2419 +'ga-p(+) N PLANT -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 1357, (CULTIVATED)
2420 ma'hav(+) N TREE/PLANT -ANIM, +N-ABS
2421 pa'rangar(a) N PUMPKIN -ANIM
2422 pa'von?okwi-c(+) N WATERMELON -ANIM, +N-ABS
2423 i'jaavi-mp(+) N GRAPE VINE -ANIM, see 2411
2424 na'nka-v(a) N LEAF -ANIM, NA'-=PL, +N-ABS, see 2061
2425 tu'mirus(i) N TOMATO -ANIM, <ENG
2426 'paapas(i) N POTATOES -ANIM, <SPAN
2427 a'cit(a) N WHEAT -ANIM, <MOJAVE
2428 hu?upi-v(+) N SQUAW BUSH -ANIM
2429 hu?up(i) N SQUAW BUSH BERRY -ANIM
2430 sa'gav(+) N WILLOW -ANIM
2501 'huu N ARROW/BULLET -ANIM, 0=PL
2502 va'rir(i) N BARREL -ANIM, <ENG
2503 n+'nga-pi-v(+) N BASKET -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 1480,2504
2504 n+'nga-p(i) N BASKET -ANIM, see 1480,2503, UNPOSSESSABLE
2505 'suukur(i) N BEADS -ANIM

2506 ha'vi-tɨa(a) N BED -ANIM, see 1275
2507 'naapagap(ɨ) N BELT -ANIM
2508 mu'ru?(i) N BLANKET -ANIM, MU'-=PL
2508.9 mu'ru?i-gaip(ɨ) N BLANKET-CAST-AWAY -ANIM, MU'-=PL
2509 'vuut(i) N BOAT -ANIM, <ENG
2510 ta-'takusa-pagap(ɨ) N BOOT -ANIM, -PA-PAGAP=PL, see 2582,2600
2511 a'c(ɨ) N GUN/BOW -ANIM
2512 ka'hon(i) N BOX -ANIM, <SPAN
2513 sa'mita?a-p(i) N BREAD -ANIM, 0=PL +N-ABS
2514 hu'va-sa?ap(ɨ) N JUICE/BROTH/SOUP -ANIM, see 2603,2556
2515 pa-'jua-nump(ɨ) N BUCKET -ANIM, see 2617,1318
2516 ni'?i(a) N FOOD STORE/CACHE -ANIM
2517 'cake(i) N CAKE -ANIM, =ENG
2518 ka'ni-p(ɨ) N VILLAGE (ABANDONED)/CAMP -ANIM, see 2563
2519 na'nkwaru?(u) N METAL/CAN/CONTAINER -ANIM
2520 'poor(o) N WAND/CANE -ANIM
2521 hu'wip(i) N WASH/CANYON -ANIM, *PREFIX
2522 na'gaap(ɨ) N SHAWL/CAPE -ANIM, *PREFIX
2523 'car(i) N CAR -ANIM, =ENG
2524 ata'mup(i) N CAR -ANIM, <ENG
2525 ka'rɨ-tɨa(a) N CHAIR -ANIM, see 1277
2526 u'kwiv(ɨ) N CHARCOAL/COAL -ANIM, +N-ABS, -PREFIX, POSSESSABLE
2527 sa'wa-kan(i) N CHEMEH-HOUSE (ARROW-WEED) -ANIM, see 2402,2563
2528 si'wa?avaac(i) N CHEMEH-VALLEY -ANIM
2529 masi'kwarip(i) N CLOTH -ANIM, -STRESS RULE, <MOJAVE
2530 pa'gɨnav(ɨ) N CLOUD -ANIM
2531 'kuupi(i) N COFFEE -ANIM, <ENG
2532 tɨ'viw(a) N LAND/COUNTRY -ANIM, +N-POSS, see 2534
2533 ko'n(o) N CRADLE -ANIM, 0=PL
2534 tɨ'vip(ɨ) N DIRT/EARTH/GROUND -ANIM, 0=PL, +N-ABS, see 2532, (SOLID, NOT SURFACE)
2535 'piisu?(u) N DOLLAR/PESO -ANIM, <SPAN
2536 tɨ'wa-p(ɨ) N DOOR/CLOSING -ANIM, see 1323
2537 ka'ni-tɨwap(ɨ) N DOOR/HOUSE-CLOSING -ANIM, see 2563,2536
2538 kwa's(u) N DRESS -ANIM
2539 hu'kump(ɨ) N DUST -ANIM, *PREFIX
2540 no'pav(i) N EGG -ANIM, +N-ABS
2541 'kɨɨwa(a) N EDGE -ANIM
2542 ju'hu-v(i) N FAT -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 1022
2543 wi'sia-v(i) N WING/FEATHER -ANIM, WI'-=PL, +N-ABS
2544 ku'rar(i) N FENCE/CORRAL -ANIM, <SPAN
2545 pa's(a) N FIELD/PASTURE -ANIM
2546 ku'n(a) N FIRE -ANIM
2547 'tɨɨrav(i) N GROUND/FLOOR -ANIM
2548 tu'sup(ɨ) N FLOUR/S.T.GROUND -ANIM, +N-ABS
2549 tu'hiv(i) N FLOUR -ANIM
2550 tɨ'ka-p(i) N FOOD/FOODSTORE -ANIM, see 1355
2551 ma-'sɨa-gant(ɨ) N FORK/FINGERED-THING -ANIM, see 2063, *PREFIX
2552 ku'sa?a-nump(ɨ) N FRYING-PAN -ANIM, see 1369
2553 vu'tija?av(ɨ) N GLASS (DRINKING) -ANIM, <SPAN
2554 pa-'rɨasɨ-p(ɨ) N ICE/FROZEN WATER/GLASS -ANIM, see 2617,1368
2555 pa'na-pu?(i) N GLASSES (EYE) -ANIM, see 1010,2062
2556 sa'?ap(i) N GRAVY -ANIM
2557 'wiiwav(i) N OIL/GREASE -ANIM, +N-ABS
2558 ta'vi-nump(ɨ) N HAMMER -ANIM, see 1379

2559 'kaamp(ɨ) N HILL -ANIM, KA'-GA=PL
2560 ho'paki-p(ɨ) N HOLE -ANIM, see 1023
2561 ho'paki-c(ɨ) N HOLE -ANIM, see 2560,1023
2562 hɨ'pɨki-c(ɨ) N HOLE -ANIM, see 2560,1023
2563 ka'n(i) N HOUSE -ANIM, 0=PL
2564 ci'kwi-cui-nump(ɨ) N KEY -ANIM, see 1489
2565 wi'h(i) N KNIFE -ANIM
2566 pa-'garɨ-r(ɨ) N LAKE -ANIM, see 2617,1277
2567 pa'cav(ɨ) N LEATHER -ANIM
2568 po'?o-p(ɨ) N LETTER -ANIM, see 1349
2569 po'?o-kat(ɨ) N LETTER -ANIM, see 1349
2570 ho'v(i) N LUMBER -ANIM
2571 vo'lita?(a) N MARBLE -ANIM, =SPAN
2572 tu'kuav(i) N MEAT -ANIM, +N-ABS
2573 na-'vuaganump(ɨ) N MEDICINE -ANIM, see 2105
2574 pi'hi-vov(i) N MILK -ANIM, see 2059
2575 tɨ'mp(i) N MONEY/ROCK -ANIM, 0=PL, *PREFIX
2576 mi'jarogopic(i) N MOON -ANIM
2577 'kaiv(a) N MOUNTAIN -ANIM, KA'-GAI=PL, 'KAA-=PL
2578 'kaiva-kuvai?a(a) N MOUNTAIN PEAK -ANIM, SE 2577
2579 'kaiva-taka(a) N MOUNTAIN TOP -ANIM, see 2577,2593
2580 sa'map(ɨ) N PALLET/RUG -ANIM, SA'-=PL
2581 pa'piliv(ɨ) N PAPER -ANIM, <SPAN
2582 ta'kus(a) N PANT-LEG -ANIM, see 2583
2583 ku's(a) N PANTS -ANIM, KU'-=&6
2584 tɨ'gap(ɨ) N PICTURE/SNAPSHOT -ANIM, see 1555
2584.9 na-'rɨgap(ɨ) N PICTURE OF SELF -ANIM
2586 jɨ'waav(i) N PLAIN -ANIM
2587 ci'- N POINTED OBJECT- -ANIM, +BND, +PREFIX
2588 pa'mpɨn?(i) N POT -ANIM
2589 hu'vi-tu-nump(ɨ) N RADIO/RECORD-PLAYER -ANIM, see 1440
2590 ɨ'wa-r(ɨ) N RAIN -ANIM, see 1425
2591 pa-'ga(a) N RIVER -ANIM, see 2617
2592 po'?(o) N PATH/TRAIL/STREET/ROAD -ANIM
2593 ta'ka(a) N TOP/ROOF -ANIM
2594 u'rump(ɨ) N ROPE -ANIM
2595 ku'nav(ɨ) N SACK/SHEATH -ANIM, POSSESSABLE
2596 ka'rɨ-n?ump(ɨ) N SADDLE -ANIM, see 1277
2597 a'somp(ɨ) N SALT/ALKALINE -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 1514
2598 o'tav(ɨ) N SAND -ANIM
2599 na'ro?(o) N SHIRT -ANIM, NA'-=PL
2600 pa'gap(ɨ) N SHOE -ANIM
2601 tu'gump(a) N SKY -ANIM, +N-ABS
2602 'nɨɨvaav(i) N SNOW -ANIM, +N-ABS
2603 hu'va-v(ɨ) N SOUP/BROTH/JUICE -ANIM, +N-ABS, see 2514
2604 si'puna?(a) N SPOON -ANIM, <ENG
2605 kwi'cara?(a) N SPOON -ANIM
2606 'puuciv(ɨ) N STAR -ANIM
2607 ku'kwap(i) N STICK/WOOD -ANIM, KU'-=PL, +N-ABS, -PREFIX
2608 na'ru-ga-tui-kan(i) N STORE/SHOP -ANIM, see 1295,2563
2609 pa-'nukwi-c(ɨ) N STREAM -ANIM, see 2617,1430
2610 tu'nap(ɨ) N STRING -ANIM
2611 ta'va-pɨc(i) N DAY/SUN -ANIM, see 2802
2612 'kuuta?(a) N SWEATER -ANIM, <ENG
2613 tɨ'ka-tɨa(a) N TABLE -ANIM, see 1355
2614 kwa's(i) N TAIL -ANIM
2615 'tii N TEA -ANIM, <ENG
2616 'aaja-?asi-v(ɨ) N TURTLE-SHELL -ANIM, see 2248,2054
2617 'paa N WATER -ANIM
2617.9 pa'- N WATER -ANIM, +BND, +PREFIX

2618 pa-'hoora-p(ɨ) N WELL -ANIM, see 2617,1347,1348
2619 nɨ'gar(ɨ) N AIR/WIND -ANIM
2620 vi'ntana?(a) N WINDOW -ANIM, <SPAN
2621 'wine(i) N WINE -ANIM, =ENG
2622 pu'nkuv(ɨ) N WOOL -ANIM, see 2222
2623 hu'cip(a) N OCEAN -ANIM
2624 ku'ca-p(ɨ) N ASHES -ANIM, +N-ABS, /kuca-vɨ
2624.8 kuca-w(a) N ASHES -ANIM, +N-POSS
2625 ko'miwa N CORNER -ANIM, KO'-=PL
2626 tu'ca-v(i) N DIRT -ANIM, +N-ABS, -PREFIX, see 1082
2627 pa-'vo(o) N DITCH -ANIM, see 2617,2592
2628 sa'mi-kar(ɨ) N DOUGH/SQUISHY STUFF -ANIM, see 2513
2629 'kaicog(o) N HAT -ANIM
2630 'kaag(i) N NECKLACE/NECK THING -ANIM
2631 tɨ'rɨna-v(ɨ) N ROOT -ANIM, TE'-=PL, +N-ABS
2632 sa'na-p(i) N SAP/GUM -ANIM, +N-ABS
2633 kwi'hi-p( ) N SMOKE -ANIM, +N-ABS, /kwihi-v
2634 ko'?a-p(i) N TOBACCO -ANIM, +N-ABS
2635 'naaw(a) N TRACK -ANIM, NA'-=PL
2636 pa-'hivi-nump(ɨ) N WATER GLASS -ANIM, see 2617,1350
2637 'waanaa-v(ɨ) N NET/WEB -ANIM, +N-ABS
2638 ko'c(i) N BASKET -ANIM
2639 pa-'rɨ?asɨ-tɨwap(ɨ) N WINDOW -ANIM, see 2554,2536,2617
2640 hi'mpɨc(i) N PLATE/DISH -ANIM
2641 turu'ti?a N TORTILLA -ANIM, <SPAN
2642 'saronc(i) N BEER/SUDS/FOAM -ANIM
2643 mo'hara-t(ɨ) N BITTER THING -ANIM, see 1071
2645 wi'ci-n?ump(ɨ) N AIRPLANE/FLYING OBJECT -ANIM
2646 pa-'rɨwa-p(ɨ) N DAM -ANIM, see 2617,2536
2647 tɨ'hija-v(ɨ) N DEERHIDE -ANIM, see 2221
2648 ma-'sonk(u) N GLOVE -ANIM, MA'-=PL
2649 wa'?arovi-mpagap(ɨ) N HORSESHOE -ANIM, see 2231,2600
2651 pa'caciv(ɨ) N MOCCASIN -ANIM
2652 pa'na-cic( ) N MOVIES/FLICKERS -ANIM, see 1010
2801 ta'sɨant(ɨ) N DAWN -ANIM, TA'-=PL
2802 ta'va-j(ɨ) N DAY -ANIM, -PREFIX
2803 ɨ'ga-p(ɨ) N EVENING -ANIM, see 1357
2804 tu'wan(u) N NIGHT-TIME -ANIM, see 1005
2805 to'm(o) N WINTER/YEAR -ANIM
2806 ta'c(a) N SUMMER -ANIM
2807 jɨ'van N SPRING OR AUTUMN -ANIM
2815 pa'na-ka-t(ɨ) N LIGHT -ANIM, see 1010
2816 to'goi-tava-j(ɨ) N MIDDAY -ANIM, see 2802,0281
2821 su'wa-p(ɨ) N BREATH -CONCRETE, see 1310
2822 tɨ'gɨ-?iv(a) N LACK/HUNGER -CONCRETE, +N-ABS, see 1053,1125
2822.9 tɨ'gɨ-?i-va-v(ɨ) N HUNGER -CONCRETE, +N-ABS-ABS, see 1053
2823 'nia-v(i) N NAME
2824 tɨ'nia-p(ɨ) N STORY/NEWS -CONCRETE, see 1204
2825 nɨ'kap(ɨ) N ROUND-DANCE -CONCRETE
2826 hu'vi-av(ɨ) N SONG -CONCRETE, see 1440
2827 na'ruganip(ɨ) N WAR -CONCRETE
2828 ɨ'pɨi-p(ɨ) N SLEEP -CONCRETE, see 1445
2829 na-'rona-p(ɨ) N FIST-FIGHT -CONCRETE, see 1378
2830 a'mpaga-p(ɨ) N LANGUAGE -CONCRETE, see 1450
2831 ki'ja-p(ɨ) N ENTERTAINMENT -CONCRETE
2835 ma'va- N COLD (ILL) -CONCRETE, +PREFIX
2840 ja'ga-huvi-av(ɨ) N CRYING SONG -CONCRETE, see 1334,2826
5101 -j(ɨ) T PRESENT

5102 -va(a) T FUTURE
5103 -mpa(a) T FUTURE
5104 -vɨ(ɨ) T PAST (DUR)
5105 -mpɨ(ɨ) T PAST (MOM)
5106 -pɨga(i) T REMOTE PAST
5107 -k(a) T PRESENT/PAST
5108 -ka(i) PERFECT /-kwa(i)/-nka(i)
5109 -ka(i) RESULT
5110 -ca(a) PERFECT +ENC
5111 -mi USITATIVE
5112 -ni?i CONTINUATIVE /-ni
5113 -ng(u) MOMENTANEOUS
5114 -paki KNOW HOW TO/CAN
5115 -gu(u) WOULD
5116 -guu-p(ɨ) SHOULD
5117 -nku(u) COULD
5118 -nkuu-p(ɨ) COULD
5120 -tɨ(ɨ) (PASSIVE) (AGENTLESS)
5124 -t(ɨ) (ACTIVE PARTICIPLE) /-r(ɨ)/-c(ɨ)/-nt(ɨ), SOURCE OF HAB TNS/ATTRIB ADJ/SUBJ REL
5126 -n(a) -ING (NOMINAL)
5130 -j(u) WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) -MOM, (BECAUSE), /j(u) aftɨr -ai-, (LIKE SUBJ)
5131 -g(u) WHILE (SUBORDINATOR) -MOM, (BECAUSE/IF), (UNLIKE SUBJ)
5132 -c(i) AFTER (SUBORDINATOR) +MOM, (HAVING V-ED) (VAA-CI=BEING ABOUT TO), (LIKE SUBJ)
5133 -k(a) AFTER (SUBORDINATOR) +MOM, (UNLIKE SUBJ)
5140 -p(ɨ) (NOMINAL)
5150 -m(ɨ) (-SG +ANIM SUBJ)
5152 -ka (+SEV SUBJ)
5153 -tu (+SEV OBJ)
5160 -ra(a) (YES-NO Q) +ENC, +Q
5165 -ni(i) A -LIKE (SENS VB COMP) +ADJ-PREF, +N-PREF
5169 -gai-sap(a) THOUGH
5201 -v(ɨ) N (ABSOLUTIVE)
5202 -mp(i) N (ABSOLUTIVE)
5207 -c(ɨ) N (ABSOLUTIVE)
5208 -c(i) N (ABSOLUTIVE)
5213 -kat(ɨ) N -ER +ANIM, -KA-RE-M( )=PL
5220 -gaip(ɨ) N FORMER
5230 -pɨciw(ɨ) N ONE +ANIM, +ADJ-PREF, (-CI- PROBABLY (DIMINUTIVE), (// TO -NTE-M(E))
5240 -vɨ S LANGUAGE -ANIM
5250 -c(i) N (DIMINUTIVE)
5251 -ruac(i) S OFFSPRING/-LET
5255 -hɨgac( ) N AGED
5261 -nump(ɨ) S INSTRUMENT /-n?ump(ɨ)
5262 -tɨa(a) N PLACE (FOR)
8101 kac ha'ɨc pi'juwa? V WORRIED/BOTHERED LIT=NOT HAVE GOOD HEART
8103 kac u-'vawi-wa?at I EMPTY THERE LIT=NOT HAVE THERE
8105 to'goi-?uni-ngu-ca?a-k( ) I SERVES HIM RIGHT
8120 hu-'?urua-gai-sap(a) A BUT
8130 'aaroo I I THINK
8135 u'rɨɨ I IS S STILL THE CASE +Q, +S
8140 ha'ganis I I WISH
8150 kwa'?ija I I DUNNO /kwa?ija ukwaj
9001 ɨ'vɨ-j I BAD
9002 mu'guat I BRAINLESS

9003 hɨ'vɨɨ I CERTAINLY
9004 hɨ'vɨ I COME HERE
9005 ha'?ɨ-c I GOOD/FINE
9006 ha'?ɨ-j I GOOD/FINE
9008 a'jɨɨ I IT'S COLD
9009 a'rɨɨ I IT'S HOT
9010 'pii I I WISH
9011 ha'?aɨ I OH
9012 a'nɨ I OUCH
9013 hɨ'?ɨ I YES
9014 'maa I SO/LIKE THAT
9015 'hainu 'hɨɨn I HECK

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NOTES

Introduction

1. Sources on history of the Chemehuevi include: Kroeber (1907), Miller and Miller (1967), and Laird (1976).

2. Traditionally sung on such occasions.

3. Harrington was employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology. He was considered a remarkably sensitive phonetician and his transcriptions were of impeccable accuracy (as were Carobeth's, who was formerly his student). He was totally preoccupied with his fieldwork, obsessed with the task of amassing as much data as was humanly possible from languages in danger of extinction.
For a full account of Harrington's strange life, see Carobeth Laird's intriguing account *Encounter with an Angry God* (1975).

4. Carobeth Laird, *The Chemehuevis* (1976).

5. For example, Munro (1974a) and (1974b).

6. As set forth in Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), for example.

7. See footnote 8, section 2.

Phonology

1. Non-native.

2. For a more complete survey of the various analyses, see also Nichols (1973). Others not mentioned there include Lovins (1970), Rogers (1967).

3. *c* → *nc* when "spirantized," only if the preceding syllable contains a nasal. (See rule P 10, section 1.33.)

4. These homorganic nasals are not specified for point of articulation in the lexicon, since MSR 25 fills in the appropriate features.

5. The fact that the nasalizing form occurs only with stems containing nasals could be stated in a redundancy rule.

6. The feature might simply have been some sort of ad hoc rule feature; the choice of [±voice] was (a) because it was available anyway, and (b) from a historical standpoint may be fairly well motivated.

7. A small number of stems when reduplicated have a long vowel in the first syllable, e.g.:

/kaiva/	mountain	/nainci/	young girl
[kaakaiv]	mountain [pl]	[naanainci-v]	young girl [pl]-pl

Since stems must be lexically marked for whether they take $\begin{bmatrix}\text{CV}\\+\text{redup}\\+\text{s}\end{bmatrix}$ or $\begin{bmatrix}\text{CV}\\+\text{redup}\\+\text{g}\end{bmatrix}$ anyway, (see discussion, section 1.31 above), I propose adding $\begin{bmatrix}\text{CVV}\\+\text{redup}\\+\text{g}\end{bmatrix}$ to the list of reduplication morphemes (all examples I have seen do not alter following consonants), and mark the appropriate stems accordingly.

8. This form of the rule was suggested by P. Schachter (personal communication).

9. As written for example in: Chomsky and Halle (1968), Harms (1968), and Lovins (1970).

10. For some morphemes this rule is optional, for others it is blocked; e.g., *na-maγa-* self-give is not **nawaγa-*. (There is a frozen form *nawaγa-* which now means 'cost; dole out'. Historically from */na-maγa/*, it has now been lexicalized.) The form */na-mavo?a/* self-cover is optionally *na-wavo?a-*. Sapir concludes that spirantization is no longer a productive process. I propose that since many morphemes have to be marked as unaffected by consonant-alternation rules anyway, *m → w* can still be treated as an active phonological rule.

11. This rule may actually be much more complicated. For some morphemes it applies even with intervening glottal stops; e.g., */wa?i/* neg + */tɨ/ → wa?a-t*. For others it does not; e.g., *sɨja?i-c* cold-ptc.

12. The whole situation with glottalization is much messier than I have managed to unravel here. The glottal stop associated with certain morphemes sometimes moves back into the preceding stem. With others it obligatorily deletes in many situations. In some cases the glottal stop is an infix on its own, to mention a few aspects of the problem still to be explored.

Syntax

1. In some cases absolutives drop from the second member of a compound if the first member "possesses" the second; e.g., */wanaa-vɨ/* 'web', but *hokoso?a-wana* 'spider-web'.

2. At least synchronically.

3. This does not include the purely semantic use of diminutive */-ci/*, which definitely adds the meaning of little to the noun, unlike the more formal, absolutive */-ci/*. The diminutive suffix is freely added to inanimate nouns, e.g., *wihi-c* 'little knife', but is syntactically different in that it does not delete in the environments absolutives do, e.g., *nɨni puŋku-ci-n* is acceptable only if translated 'my little dog'.

4. Others do optionally: *puŋku-ci-gai-ga* 'having/being a dog' (with verbalizing suffix */-gai/*), ∿ *puŋku-gai-ga*.

5. The suffix */-ci/* is still morphologically distinct from the phonologically identical absolutive */-ci/*, since the latter deletes when possessed but the former does not (see example (3) above, and footnote 3).

6. Within this set (fruits) the suffix */-pɨ/* is fairly, though not completely, productive. Although there are existing gaps in the lexicon, in the data reported by Harrington recent borrowings into Chemehuevi utilized this suffix (e.g., */lemani/* lemon, */lemani-vɨ/* lemon-tree). My only examples by the way are all "nasalized" or "spirantized," though Harrington (1969) gives examples with */-pɨ/* as well.

7. As far as I can tell, the choice of the suffix for a given noun is idiosyncratic.

8. I will use POSSESSED in the relevant lexical rules to mean that the form co-occurs with an overt possessor in the sentence. INHERENTLY POSSESSED will be used to describe nouns that are expected to be possessed, though not always inalienably (e.g., territory, food-store). When an overt possessor is available, these are the nouns which augment their stems with a poss suffix. When they lack a possessor (e.g., 'I saw a head in the road') the tendency is to attach */-vi/* someone's (as it is in English; 'You're on $\begin{Bmatrix}\text{someone's}\\ \text{*a/some}\end{Bmatrix}$ property'), but in most cases the absolutive form is permissible instead.

A third semantic cateogry is used, POSSESSABLE, which redundantly includes anything which is INHERENTLY POSSESSED, but also includes such things as shirts and refrigerators as well. (I'm not concerned with efficiency or elegance in semantic features here, only that these categories are distinct, and should be accounted for.)

Nouns with */-vi/* may not be overtly further possessed at the same time.

9. Adjectives are all verbs in Chemehuevi.

10. A separate feature will be used for suffixes--both are needed for the three-way distinction "prefix," "suffix," and "postfix" (see section 0.4 for discussion of terms).

11. See Munro (1974a) for a suggestion of why imperatives take nominative objects. Compare with section 2.26 in this monograph.

12. Several morphemes with initial *t-* (e.g., the participle suffix */-tɨ/*) undergo a rule changing *t* → *c* after *i*. This rule does not apply to all morphemes (e.g., */-tu/*, plural object marker on verbs, never changes), and for some the rule does not hold in all situations. For example the "causative" */-tu?i/* has the form *-cu?i-* after nouns ending in *i* (as in 46b) above), but not after verbs, e.g., *nukwi-tu?i-* (not **nukwi-cu?i-*) 'make run'.

13. Color terms and a handful of others; e.g., thick *tuŋku-ka*.

14. Sapir notes in So. Paiute a similar use of participles "in lieu of finite verbs," though in that language no K shows up.

15. Final vowel undeterminable; also, the *u* assimilates to any preceding vowel but *a* (see section 1.33 on Phonology).

16. Compare this with the further observation that while nonadjective participles used attributively or nominally must co-occur with a demonstrative pronoun, adjective participles need not--see e.g., (122a) vs. (122b) in section 2.33 below. Also, *pa?a-ntɨ-m* alone can mean 'the tall one', but 'the running one' must be *nukwi-c aŋ*. (For distribution of the *-m* (*/-?umɨ/*) suffix, see section 2.214 on Adjectives.)

17. See footnote 16.

18. Despite the glottal stop (which has peculiarities of its own) the *u* in this suffix assimilates to any preceding vowel but *a*. See section 1.33 on Phonology.

19. She was only able to obtain examples with */-vaa/* used as an imperative in negative sentences. MM has no such restriction, with the qualification that all her examples were felt to be less truly imperative in meaning.

20. There is no compound form **/va?a-na-tua/*, though the *-na* always occurs in the locational (noncompound) */va?a-na/*. I have no explanation for this.

21. This could suggest the alternative of analyzing postpositions as case suffixes, as has been done for other languages. However for Chemehuevi I reject this alternative since (a) postpositions are often equivalent to verb stems (b) modifiers do not "agree" in case/postposition with the noun (e.g., *maka-j paa-upa?* that-ob water-in 'in that water'); and (c) with an appositive prefixed to the postposition the noun is in the normal oblique case (as are all modifiers).

22. For Yes-No and Information questions the sentence ends at about the same level as it begins. For declaratives it ends somewhat lower.

23. The final, lengthened syllable also ends on a lower level--giving an exaggerated falling intonation contour. This same contour is given the tag-question morpheme (see section 2.243) as well.

Pamela Munro (p.c.) and Harrington both report similar uses of the suffix */-ʔ/* (for example, Harrington cites in isolation *nɨɨʔɨɨʔ*, 'Who--me?', and *tɨmpiiʔ*, 'Is it a rock?').

24. See footnote 23.

25. By "syntactic" imperatives I mean sentences which not only translate as imperatives but also employ syntactic devices whose combination is unique to imperatives. For the use of particular tense suffixes as "semantic" imperatives, see section 2.227.

26. The only exception is if the sentence contains the full subject pronoun you for emphasis (see D. below), it has priority over first position:

e.g.: mɨɨm ic tɨka-ka-ŋ
you[pl] this eat-pl-imp
'Eat this!'

27. For two reasons: (a) *mɨɨm* is in the nominative--postfix pronouns (except possessors) are never allowed on nominative nouns, and (b) *mɨɨm* and */-ja/* are coreferential, and nouns may not be suffixed by coreferential postfixes.

28. The PS rule expanding S includes Conj within the clause to make certain permutation constraints somewhat more general (namely that a postfixed subject must be attached to the first word in the sentence.)

29. Pamela Munro (1974a) observes that objects of imperatives use the */-waʔaku/* form when conjoined, despite the fact that the first NP is in the nominative. Whatever one decides about the derivation, the reason this is so is obvious; using the nominative form results in the interpretation, 'You, along with X, hit John!' (or whatever), rather than 'Hit John and X!'

30. These embedded subjects are in the oblique case.

31. They also do not look like likely candidates for parenthetical verbs since they are not restricted to present tense and first-person.

32. If one analyzed demonstrative modifiers as appositive pronouns then the constraint on the double appearance of full subjects would have to be restated (as it should be to include other instances of appositive nouns). One might simply say that two full (unbound) coreferential pronouns do not co-occur in the same clause.

33. In a grammar with no deletion, one might want to use such an expansion for appositive nouns as well, e.g., for 'John, my brother'.

34. P. Schachter (p.c.) has pointed out that this might argue for treating postnominal demonstratives as affixes since this looks very much like "agreement."

35. I.e., a participle; see section 2.33.

36. Or "replaced" by it--K is identical to one of the lexical entries for postfixed (nom) you[sg]. (See section 2.212).

37. The other notable exceptions seem to be SUBORD clauses, moved to the front of the sentence:

puŋkuci huvitu-g aipac uŋ t̬ka-vt̬
dog(ob) sing-SUBORD boy that eat-past
'While the dog sang, the boy ate.'

38. Actually only if SUBORD = NP VP. NP alone (N-*gajaa*) or VP alone (V-*ga* etc. for "like"-subjects) may not precede the (full) subject, etc.

39. In general I am following conventions in Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973) for transformational rule notation, e.g., $X_{[Y]}$ will mean "Y immediately dominated by X," whereas $_{X}[Y]$ means only "Y dominated by X."

40. Sapir claims this for So. Paiute.

41. *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax*, 1971. Perlmutter hypothesizes that in any language which allows enclisis there will be constraints on the relative order in a sequence of clitics, which are statable only as surface structure constraints.

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