

# NORTHERN PAIUTE

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## INTRODUCTION

Northern Paiute is a Numic language and the most northern of the Uto-Aztecan family. It is a major language on ten reservations and nine colonies in Idaho, Oregon, Nevada, and California. It is spoken by approximately 3000-5000 people. All dialects from Lee Vining in California to Fort Hall in Idaho are mutually intelligible. The Northern Paiute native to Owens Valley, California speak a language often called Mono which is distinct from the language discussed in this paper. The Northern Paiute of this paper is specifically the dialect spoken at the Fort McDermitt reservation in Nevada. Other names that have been used for this language or for the speakers of this language include Piute, Bannock, Snake, Western-Shoshoni-Paiute-Snake, and Paviotso [pabioco'o].

Historically, the Paiute people were divided among at least nineteen bands each representing a dialect of the Northern Paiute language. After settlement on reservations, many bands found themselves split between two or more reservations and living with members of other bands and often other languages as well. Individual reservation and colony dialects have begun to emerge from convergence of band dialects and divergence of location. There is still easy intelligibility among all dialects, but the language as spoken south of the Humboldt River in Nevada is different in some ways from the language spoken north of it.

Allen Snapp is a native speaker of Northern Paiute. He was born in McDermitt in 1919 and has lived most of his life there. He is responsible for the idiomaticity and accuracy of all Paiute utterances in this work and for their pairing with the free translations.

Joy and John Anderson are native speakers of English and have lived in McDermitt since 1968. They are responsible for the glosses below each morpheme, for the English prose, and for the Paiute transcriptions.

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## PHONOLOGY

Phonemes

p	t	c	s		k	k <sup>w</sup>
b	d	z	z	ɟ	g	g <sup>w</sup>
mm	nn				ŋŋ	
m	n				ŋ	
w			ɣ			h <sup>1</sup>
	i		ɨ		u	
			a		o	

Most second-syllable vowels of a word are long. The only exception is when the first-syllable vowel is long. Some suffixes contain a long vowel as well. Length is written only when not on the second syllable.

/nana/	[nanaː]	<i>nan</i>
/naana/	[naːna]	<i>nen</i>
/tiniɟui/	[tiniːɟui]	<i>teach</i>
/na-tiniɟui/ <i>REFL-teach</i>	[natɨːniɟui]	<i>learn</i>

The primary word stress and highest pitch occur on the long vowel, except on a very few words where the length is on the first syllable but the stress on the second. The lowest pitch immediately follows the highest pitch. Secondary stress pitches occur on every even syllable after the primary stress. Stress and pitch are not written in this sketch.

- 1 = lowest pitch
- 4 = highest pitch
- ˘ = primary stress
- ˙ = secondary stress

2 4 13  
tiniɟui  
*teach*  
*teach*

2 4 1 32  
na-tɨniɟui  
*REFL-teach*  
*learn*

2 4 1 3 23  
su-naː-tiniɟui  
*want-REFL-teach*  
*want to learn*

All syllables and all morphemes end in a vowel. A syllable contains only one vowel, or a consonant and a vowel, or a glottal stop or h plus a nasal or semi-vowel plus a vowel.

V = any vowel Northern Paiute syllable patterns:

C = any consonant

C<sub>1</sub> = ' , h

C<sub>2</sub> = m, n, ŋ, w, w

V

CV

C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V

a.da	<i>crow</i>	na.ka	<i>ear</i>	sa.'mi	<i>wet</i>
pa.ba	'-yu <i>big</i>	pa.hmu	<i>tobacco</i>	'ma.ha.ni	<i>prepare</i>

The proper rhythm of a Northern Paiute sentence comes from spacing the sentence stresses equally. This equal spacing is achieved by lengthening or shortening all syllables in a stress group. Up to three sentence stresses are placed on any one clause. The sentence stress falls on the last word of the phrase, on the syllable receiving the primary word stress. One stress is placed on the verb. Another is placed on a topicalized phrase, if any. Others may be placed on any other phrase, with nouns getting preference over pronouns, long phrases over short, and subjects over objects.

" = sentence stress  
 ^ = primary word stress  
 ` = secondary stress

ka''ba-mâku nʔ ka pukʔ punnʔ  
*mountain-on I ACC horse see*  
*On the mountain I see the horse.*

### Major Phonological Processes

Every consonant except h and ' is paired with another in a fortis-lenis contrast.

Fortis	p	t	c	s	k	k <sup>w</sup>	mm	nn	ŋŋ	j	k <sup>w</sup> /g <sup>w</sup>
Lenis	b	d	ʒ	z	g	g <sup>w</sup>	m	n	ŋ	y	w

At the beginning of a phrase, the contrast between fortis and lenis is phonetically neutralized. The neutralized form is phonetically similar to the fortis (except for w and y), but there are underlying contrasts in fortis and lenis that are brought out when the word falls phrase medially.

## Single Nouns

Frame: su...paba'yu *This...is big.*

[kapa] /gapa/ <i>bed</i>	[su gapa pəβa'yu] /su gapa paba'yu/
[kuca] /kucu/ <i>cow</i>	[su kucu pəβa'yu] /su kucu paba'yu/
[pak <sup>w</sup> i] /bak <sup>w</sup> i/ <i>fish</i>	[su βək <sup>w</sup> i pəβa'yu] /su bak <sup>w</sup> i paba'yu/
[puku] /puku/ <i>horse</i>	[su puku pəβa'yu] /su puku paba'yu/
[tammu] /dammu/ <i>sinew</i>	[su rəmmu pəβa'yu] /su dammu paba'yu/
[tɪβə] /tiba/ <i>pinenut</i>	[su tɪβə pəβa'yu] /su tiba paba'yu/

Certain morphemes have the property of causing the following morpheme within the phrase to begin with a fortis.

/nobi-k <sup>w</sup> ai/ <i>house-into</i> into the house	/i mai-wai/ <i>my hand-in</i> in my hand
/nobi-k <sup>w</sup> a'ni'yu/ <i>house-be</i> <i>like</i> like a house	/mai-wa'ni'yu/ <i>hand-be</i> <i>like</i> like a hand
/ada-k <sup>w</sup> a'ni'yu/ <i>crow-be</i> <i>like</i> like a crow	/agal-wa'ni'yu/ <i>trout-be</i> <i>like</i> like a trout
/kawona-k <sup>w</sup> ai/ <i>carrying-into</i> <i>basket</i> into the carrying basket	/isa-wa'ni'yu/ <i>wolf-be</i> <i>like</i> like a wolf
/kawona-k <sup>w</sup> a'ni'yu/ <i>carrying-be</i> <i>basket like</i> like a carrying basket	/toogɪ-wa'ni'yu/ <i>dog-be</i> <i>like</i> like a dog
/kaadi-k <sup>w</sup> a'ni'yu/ <i>cat-be</i> <i>like</i> like a cat	

The durative morpheme changes lenis to fortis or inserts a glottal stop into a morpheme (see STEMS for spelling rules and examples).

Lenis consonants spirantize after all vowels except i.

[su βee piše kama]  
 /su baa bisa kamma/  
*that water good taste*  
*That water tastes good.*

[paa βiše kama]  
 /baa bisa kamma/  
*water good taste*  
*Water tastes good.*

[ka<sup>i</sup> βiše tē noβi mataβenna]  
 /gai bisa t† nobi mmatabinna/  
*not good own house fix*  
↑  
*They didn't fix their house.*

[pitsu ga<sup>i</sup> o maβiceβine]  
 /pitsu gai o mmabicabina/  
*he not it clean*  
*EMPH*  
*He himself did not clean it.*

Voicelessness regresses from pause or fortis.

suUPITAK <sup>W</sup> ATU	/supitak <sup>W</sup> atu/	<i>knows (DUR)</i>
suUPITAK <sup>W</sup> Atuna	/supitak <sup>W</sup> atu-na/	<i>knows (+ SUBR)</i>

High vowels become centralized after low vowels.

[ntga poku †mi uunak<sup>W</sup>a wa'mo]  
 /ntga puku imi uunak<sup>W</sup>a wa'mu/  
*my horse they behind gallop*  
*EMPH*  
*My horse gallops faster than their horse.*

Low vowels become centralized after high vowels.

[ka noβi]	[i noβi]
/ka nobi/	/i nobi/
<i>that house</i>	<i>my house</i>
<i>that house</i>	<i>my house</i>

  

[su gəpa pəβa'yū]	[su kucu pəβa'yū]
/su gapa paba'yū/	/su kucu paba'yū/
<i>that bed big</i>	<i>that cow big</i>
<i>This bed is big.</i>	<i>This cow is big.</i>



## BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The most frequent, the unmarked, and almost surely the underlying basic sentence structure is SOV. The surface-structure subject is not necessarily overt.

nɪ puku punni  
*I horse see*  
*I see the horse.*

Location, temporal, and manner expressions occur anywhere in a sentence except between object and verb. They occur most frequently in initial position, and most commonly in the relative order TEMP-LOC-MAN. There is preference for two adverbs not to be adjacent. TEMP, LOC, and MAN can be realized as adverbials, adverbial phrases, adverbial subordinate clauses, noun phrases, or postpositional phrases.

izi'i nɪ puku punni kaiba-maku  
*yesterday I horse see mountain-on*  
*Yesterday I saw the horse on the mountain.*

Any constituent of a sentence, except the verb, or any major semantic word within a constituent, may be moved to sentence-initial or sentence-final position. The semantic effect of such a move is to identify the moved constituent as new information or to emphasize it. Case is usually marked on all constituents of the sentence that has undergone topicalization.

ka puku nɪ punni kaiba-maku  
*ACC horse I see mountain-on*  
*It was a horse that I saw on the mountain.*

kaiba-maku nɪ ka puku punni  
*mountain-on I ACC horse see*  
*It was on the mountain that I saw the horse.*

kaiba-maku ka puku punni usu  
*mountain-on ACC horse see he*  
*It was he who saw the horse on the mountain.*

kaiba-maku ka puku punni izi'i  
*mountain-on ACC horse see yesterday*  
*He saw the horse on the mountain yesterday.*

## PARTICLES AND CLITICS

Conjunctions (see COORDINATION)

yaisi	then (temporal sequence)
pino'o	DS
tiwazu/tiwau	also
pana	but
piti	or
-noo/nooku	and/with
(tu'itu)...tu'itu	(either)...or
=siapt	but

yaisi tammi mia'a-k<sup>W</sup>†

*TEMP we go-POT*

*SEQ PL*

*Now we are going to go.*

ni tam†di-wai-tu mia-k<sup>W</sup>† usu pino'o mia-k<sup>W</sup>† tiwazu

*I PN-to-go go-POT he DS go-POT also*

*I will go to McDermitt and he will go also.*

usu waa'adi-du-d† tiwau

*he bow-make-PRTC also*

*He is a bow maker also.*

ni |zi|i tauna-mai pana usu gai

*I yesterday town-to but he not*

*Yesterday I went to town, but he didn't.*

himma usu paca-u mopon† piti muibi

*what he kill-PNCT mosquito or fly*

*What did he kill, a mosquito or a fly?*

toogi-noo kaad† tiipa-kuba yak<sup>W</sup>i

*dog-and cat ground-on sit*

*DL*

*The dog and cat sit on the ground.*

usu tauna-mai-k<sup>W</sup>† tu'itu saa-k<sup>W</sup>i

*he town-to-POT or cook-POT*

*He will go to town or cook.*

ni stkudu-ga=siapt ni gal u-ma sunami

*I school-go=but I not it-on think*

*I went to school, but I didn't pay any attention.*

Source Evaluation

tabt'a	apparently	(clause-final)
ntimma	it feels like	(clause-final)
mi	QUOT/say	(immediately follows quote)

umi mia'a-k<sup>w</sup>i-di-k<sup>w</sup>a'ni tabt'a  
 they go-POT-PRTC-like apparently  
 PL

It looks like they are going.

usu suk<sup>w</sup>ida mani-di-k<sup>w</sup>a'ni ntimma  
 he hurry do-PRTC-be feel  
 like like

He seems to be in a hurry.

usu yaa tabinu pidt-u-k<sup>w</sup>t mi  
 he this day arrive-PNCT-POT QUOT  
 He said he will arrive today.

Modal

-ha/ha'a	Q
=sak <sup>w</sup> a	should/would
iga	used to
-pana	UNR
gai...-pana	NEG IMP
tu'i	try
-wa'ni'yu	can/should
=wa'ni/k <sup>w</sup> a'ni	be like
stimna	might/maybe
=ga	must

t ha'a tka-k <sup>w</sup> t	tammi=sak <sup>w</sup> a mia
you Q eat-POT	we=should go
Are you going to eat?	We should go.

nt o su-mia-na [hau=sak<sup>w</sup>a tu'i usu ina gwii-u-ka]  
 I there want-go-SUBR if=would try he here invite-PNCT-go  
 I want to go there if he would invite me.

usu iga ni-noo tt-hoawai-yak<sup>w</sup>i  
 he used I-with UNSPEC-hunt-HAB  
 to  
 He used to go hunting with me.

nt su-ttka-pana gadu'u na-ttka-di  
 I want-eat-UNR not REFL-eat-PRTC  
 have  
 I want to eat but there is no food.

gal yaga-pana  
not cry-UNR  
Don't cry!

nimmi tu'l na-tñijui  
we try REFL-teach  
Learn  
We are trying to learn.

umt u punni-gia-wa'ni'yu pana gal  
they him see-go-can but not  
They could go see him but they haven't.

umt mia'a-k<sup>W</sup>t-tt=k<sup>W</sup>a'ni tabi'a  
they go-POT-PRTC=be apparently  
like  
It looks like they are going.

simina paama-k<sup>W</sup>t  
might rain-POT  
Maybe it will rain.

usu=ga hanano'o kimma [gai pñmi i punni-ptñi-no'o]  
he=must when come not he me see-STAT-along  
EMPH watch DUR  
He must have come sometime when I wasn't watching for him.

### Polarity

aha	yes
gai	no/not
gai...-pana	don't!
gai...-wa'ni'yu	won't
=ci	INTNS
tñt	very/too
tabici	truly
nagtza	really
ga'yu	have/exist
gadu'u	not have/not exist

aha nt piha-bi	gai nt kopi'l
yes I sugar-ABS	no I coffee
Yes, I want sugar.	No, I want coffee./
	I don't want coffee.

nt gal su-mi'a	gal yaga-pana
I not want-go	not cry-UNR
DUR	Don't cry!
I don't want to go.	

nt gal mla-wa'ni'yu	tñt=ci	nt ttoya'i
I not go-can	very=INTNS	I siok
I can't go.		I am really sick.

tabici nɪnt  
truly Indian  
truly Indian

ɪntɪ plawabi  
very old  
woman  
She is a very old woman.

usu nagiza ɪntɪ paba-'yu  
he really very big-PRED  
He is really too big.

## BE/HAVE/DO

BE

Many clauses have no overt verb. Instead they consist of two nonverbal units juxtaposed. In most cases the linear order may be inverted without changing meaning.

Two noun phrases, one generic and one specific, are juxtaposed to convey the idea of set membership.

sɪgɪ ɪntɪ waɪci PN very old man	isu mogo'nli ɪntɪndui this woman my relative This woman is my relative.
---------------------------------------	---

Sɪgɪ is a very old man.

The generic noun phrase is frequently a nominalized clause. This greatly increases the productivity of the N + N construction and yields a more forceful way of expressing the concept than if it were left as a verbal-type clause.

usu nana nobi-tu-dɪ  
that man house-make-PRTC  
DUR  
That man is a carpenter.

An adjective can function as the predicate of the clause by juxtaposition of a noun phrase and an adjective. The adjective will appear in its predicate form suffixed with -'yu, -tipɪ, or -kʷɪj'a'a (see ADJECTIVES).

sawa-bi odi-'yu  
sagebrush-ABS tall-PRED  
The sagebrush is tall.

A locative can function as a predicate by juxtaposition of a noun phrase and a locative phrase (usually postpositional).

kɪnɪmmɪ obi nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai  
 PN over house-in  
 there

Kɪnɪmmɪ is over there in the house.

A special case of the above is where motion towards an object is marked by the addition of the postposition -tu towards.

usu gaiba-ma-tu  
 he mountain-on-towards  
 He went on the mountain.

An adverbial and a temporal may be juxtaposed to form a clause.

yau 'awamua  
 now morning  
 Now it is morning.

toisu 'awamua  
 still morning  
 It is still morning.

Existence can be overtly indicated with the suffix -ga'yu exist/have.

kaiba wogo-ka'yu  
 mountain pine-exist  
 The mountains have pines.

Existence can be denied by the free-standing but usually initial word kadu (-'yu) not existing/not have. -'yu PRED occurs on kadu sentence-final.

kadu sawa-bi yaa-tɪ  
 not sagebrush-ABS here-at  
 have  
 There is no sagebrush here.

kadu haga oi-tɪ  
 not someone there-at  
 have  
 No one is there.

i moon!i kadu-'yu  
 my money gone-PRED  
 My money is gone.

Existence of inanimate objects or abstracts can be indicated by making them subjects of a posture verb.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
kadɪ	yɪtɪk <sup>w</sup> i	aata'a	sit
habi	k <sup>w</sup> abi	k <sup>w</sup> ak <sup>w</sup> abi	lie (INAN)
'wɪntɪ	wamɪ	kono	stand
pidɪ	pɪbidɪ	pidɪ	arrive

um† pa-paba-'yu tipi ka kaiba-kuba yitk<sup>w</sup>i  
 those RDP-big-PRED rock ACC mountain-on sit  
 DL

Those big rocks are sitting on the mountain.

usu mi taka iwa-u tiipa-na k'ak<sup>w</sup>api o may†-u  
 he PL arrowhead lots-ACC ground-on lie:PL there find-PNCT  
 DUR

He found those arrowheads lying on the ground.

su siqa-bi huu-d† kimbaba 'wint  
 NOM cottonwood-ABS flow-PRTC by stand  
 The cottonwood tree stands by the river.

tomo pit†  
 winter arrive  
 DUR

The winter arrived.

The idea of becoming can be expressed several ways:

-'waya'ni turn into/become (suffixed to adjectives)  
 -tua become (suffixed to nouns)  
 'mani become (free-standing)

siqa-bi naka oha-'waya'ni  
 cottonwood-ABS leaf yellow-become  
 The cottonwood leaves are turning yellow.

[usu hitci-ku puku-ga-si] lwa puku-tua  
 he few-ACC horse-have-SUBR many horse-become  
 He had just a few horses; then his horses became many.

nana 'mani  
 man become  
 He became a man.

## HAVE

Possession, whether long-term or fleeting, is expressed by -ga'yu have/exist suffixed to the noun of a noun phrase.

wiy†pui pid† nobi-ka'yu	puha-ga'yu su waici
PN new house-have	power-have NOM old
Wiy†pui has a new house.	man
	The old man is a shaman.

Possession is negated by a free-standing word kadu (-'yu) not have/not exist, which usually occurs clause-initial. Clause-final the suffix -'yu PRED occurs on kadu.

kadu mooni'i  
*not money*  
*have*  
*He hasn't any money.*

mooni'i kadu-'yu  
*money not-PRED*  
*have*  
*He hasn't any money.*

DO

Certain verbs with the general meaning of *do* and *make* are general enough in meaning to function as transitive pro-verbs, particularly in questions such as *What are you doing?* Most begin with the prefix *ma-* *by hand/cause*, although the remnant is usually not a productive morpheme.

'manak <sup>w</sup> i	do
manai	do/complete
hani	put/prepare
mahani	work on/preparing
mada'i	create
matabui	make/fashion
N-du	make N
mabicap!	fix/repair
mabicia	take care of

su nana yayawa 'manak<sup>w</sup>i  
*NOM man lively do*  
*That man is lively.*

su nana bisa 'manak<sup>w</sup>i  
*NOM man good do*  
*That man is doing good/well.*

usu muasu tɬ-bo mada'i  
*he already UNSPEC-write create*  
*He already knows how to write.*

tɬba tɬ-uunnak<sup>w</sup>a hani  
*pinenut REFL-behind put*  
*He put pinenuts behind himself.*

su mogo'ni tɬkabɬ mahani  
*NOM woman bread work*  
*on*  
*The woman is working on bread.*

su isa ka tiipa mada'i  
*NOM wolf ACC earth create*  
*That wolf creates the earth.*

su nana kadɬ-nu matabui  
*NOM man sit-NR make*  
*chair DUR*  
*That man made the chair.*



su nana nobi-tu  
*NOM man house-make*  
*The man made the house.*

su nana kaazi mabicapi  
*NOM man car fix*  
*The man is fixing the car.*

su mogo'ni ka duaki mabicia  
*NOM woman ACC children take*  
*care*  
*DUR*  
*That woman takes care of the children.*

#### NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA

##### Reflexive

The reflexive prefix *na-* has several uses. When prefixed to a verb with a collective subject, it can be reciprocal in function.

umt waha na-kinma'yu-su nimt na-nodt<sup>w</sup>a-du  
*those two REFL-different-ADVR people REFL-wife-make*  
*Those two peoples different from each other are*  
*marrying each other.*

o naaci-noo cia'a na-noo sikudu-ga  
*there boy-with girl REFL-with school-go*  
*The boy and the girl go to school together.*

umt na-waga'a-mt  
*PL REFL-brother-PL*  
*those brothers to each other*

It is also reciprocal in certain frozen forms incorporating numbers, nouns, or verbs.

naa-pahl-'yu <i>REFL-three-PRED</i> <i>six</i>	na-bui <i>REFL-eye</i> <i>glasses</i>	na-bunni'i <i>REFL-see</i> <i>DUR</i> <i>mirror/window</i>
--	---	---

When it is used with specifically reflexive (non-reciprocal) value, a reflexive pronoun is optionally inserted. (Without the reflexive pronoun, the statement is ambiguous between reflexive and passive sense.)

n† (n†zu) na-punni      n† ka huud†-k<sup>W</sup>ai na-bagia-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 I myself REFL-see      I ACC river-in REFL-bathe-POT  
 I see myself.      I will bathe in the river.

The prefix na- can also have passive force. The logical subject cannot occur in an agentive construction, but must be left unspecified.

yaa tomo simina iwa t†h†ja na-koi-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 this winter might many deer REFL-kill-POT  
 PL  
 Lots of deer might be killed this year.

m† kid† t†pi-kia-k<sup>W</sup>ai-ku na-may†  
 PL groundhog rock-ADJR-in-at REFL-find  
 Groundhogs are found in rocky places.

### Unspecified Arguments

When an argument is not specified, it may be marked with t† UNSPEC. For instance, when there is no object of an obligatory transitive verb, the verb will be prefixed with t†-UNSPEC (OBJ).

usu t†-hoawa'i	vs.	usu t†h†ja hoawa'i
he UNSPEC-hunt		he deer hunt
DUR		DUR
He is hunting.		He is hunting deer.

This morpheme is also used for the subject of meteorological verbs.

[gai t† bau'ma] tammi mia-'a-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 not UNSPEC rain we go-PL-POT  
 DUR

When it isn't raining, we will go.

[t† taba clbugi-ki-si] toisu na-'iqt†  
 UNSPEC sun rise-come-SUBR still REFL-cold  
 Until sunrise it will still be cold.

usu nonoca t† puku-kuba n†mmi [t† togano-k<sup>W</sup>aitu]  
 he always UNSPEC horse-on travel UNSPEC dark-to  
 He always rides his horse until it gets dark.

The morpheme t† also has a variety of coreferential functions, essentially complementary to those of na-. When the object of the verb is a full clause, either a complement or a relative clause, the object can be copied as t†.

usu tɪ [na-tɪnɪʝui-na] bisa mayoho  
 he UNSPEC REFL-learn-SUBR good follow  
 He follows the ways he was taught.

usu ka [hama-ma tɪpagida-ʝak<sup>W</sup>] nɪ-maku tɪ tɪmɪ-pt  
 he ACC hammer-with hit-REPET I-from UNSPEC buy-PERF  
 PRTC  
 He bought the hammer he is hammering with from me.

If a possessor or postpositional object is coreferential to the main clause subject, it is marked with tɪ.

usu tɪ oŋa'a wasa-k<sup>W</sup> tɪ  
 she UNSPEC baby wash-POT  
 (REFL)  
 She bathes her own baby.

tɪba tɪ uunnak<sup>W</sup>a hani  
 pinenut UNSPEC behind put  
 (REFL)  
 He put the pinenuts behind himself.

If the possessor of an obligatorily possessed noun is not specified, it is marked with the absolutive suffix -bi.

usu oŋa'a-bi wasa-k<sup>W</sup> tɪ  
 she baby-ABS wash-POT  
 She washed someone's baby.

## QUESTIONS

Yes/No Questions

-ha (bound form)  
 ha'a (free form)

A question marker may be added to any sentence (except a content question) to form a yes/no question. Either the free or bound form can be used. The bound form is the more frequently used and is suffixed to the last word of the first constituent.

†-ha izi'i ka puku maka  
*you-Q yesterday ACC horse feed*  
*Did you feed the horse yesterday?*

The free form can occur immediately after the first constituent or the verb.

† ha'a ka puku punni	paamau-k <sup>w</sup> † ha'a
<i>you Q ACC horse see</i>	<i>rain-POT Q</i>
<i>Did you see the horse?</i>	<i>Will it rain?</i>

The intonation of a yes/no question is highest on the primary stress immediately preceding the question marker and is otherwise the same as non-question intonation. A yes/no question can be answered with *yes* or *no*; a complete or partial repetition of the sentence with nouns pronominalized; *I don't know*; or in the case of an action verb, an adverb. A partial repetition most frequently consists of *no* plus pronominalized subject; or (*yes*) *SUBJ OBJ VERB*.

†-ha tika-mak<sup>w</sup>†  
*you-Q eat-finish*                      *Have you finished eating?*

Answers:    aha    Yes.    gai    No.    muasu    Already.  
                   yes                    no                    already

gai-su	gai-su nt
<i>not-yet</i>	<i>not-yet I</i>
<i>Not yet.</i>	<i>Not yet.</i>

nt muasu tika-mak<sup>w</sup>†  
*I already eat-finish*                      *I finished eating.*

Alternative Questions

One special type of yes/no question is an alternative question where two noun phrases or complete clauses are conjoined with (p)ti or. Again, the -ha or ha'a will occur after the first constituent. (Cf. COORDINATION.)

mogo'ni ha'a pti nana † punni  
*woman Q or man you see*  
*Did you see a woman, or a man?*

† ha'a izi'i mia-u pti i-'izi'i  
*you Q yesterday go-PNCT or RDP-yesterday*  
*Did you go yesterday, or the day before yesterday?*

WH Questions

Content interrogative words can take the place of any content construction in a sentence or phrase. The question word is moved to initial position in the sentence. Each constituent has its unique, synchronically unanalyzable question word, although all begin with h followed by a non-back vowel.

<u>NOM</u>	<u>ACC</u>	
haga	haka	<i>who/whom</i>
hi-i-'yu	hi-i-u	<i>how many</i>
hauni-'yu	hauni-ku	<i>what kind</i>
hano		<i>where</i>
hano-ti		<i>where at</i>
hano-tu		<i>where to</i>
ha'u		<i>why</i>
hautu		<i>which direction</i>
haa'no		<i>how much</i>
haa'no-k <sup>w</sup> ai		<i>what time</i>
himma		<i>what</i>
himma...hauniku		<i>what kind of thing</i>
himma...ha-y+k <sup>w</sup> i		<i>what is/are NP doing</i>
hii		<i>what</i>
hii-pt		<i>what used to be</i>

haga tauna-wal  
*who town-in*  
*Who is in town?*

haka † izi'i punni  
*whom you yesterday see*  
*Whom did you see yesterday?*

hi-i-'yu nmt oo  
*how-NOM people there*  
*many*  
*How many people are there?*

hɪt-u † cipisa koi  
*how-ACC you squirrel kill*  
*many PL*  
*How many squirrels did you kill?*

hauni-'yu umt nɪm†  
*what-NOM those people*  
*kind*  
*What kind of people are they?*

hauni-ku † na-tɪka-dɪ tɪm†  
*what-ACC you REFL-eat-PRTC buy*  
*kind*  
*What kind of food did you buy?*

hano † mia-u  
*where you go-PNCT*  
*Where did you go?*

hanotɪ † na-'oŋa-du-pɪ  
*where you REFL-baby-make-PERF*  
*at born PRTC*  
*Where were you born?*

hanotu mi'a  
*where to*  
*to DUR*  
*Where are you going?*

ha'u usu tɪkabi-du  
*why she bread-make*  
*Why is she making bread?*

hautu mi'a  
*which go*  
*direction*  
*Which way shall I go?*

haa'no na-ninaka  
*how REFL-cost*  
*much*  
*How much does it cost?*

haa'no-k<sup>w</sup>ai-ku † ɪwok†  
*how-in-at you work*  
*much*  
*What time do you come to work?*

haa'no-k<sup>w</sup>ai † ɪwok†  
*how-in you work*  
*much*  
*How much area are you working for?/  
 How much area are you working?*

himma † [tauna-wal-ku o tɪm†-u-sɪ] u punni  
*what you town-in-at there buy-PNCT-SUBR it see*  
*What did you see him buy in town?*

himma usu hauni-ku † gi'a  
*what he kind-ACC you give*  
*of*  
*thing*  
*What kind of thing did he give you?*

himma † hau-yik<sup>w</sup>i  
*what you how-doing*

*What are you doing?*

hii mau  
*what that*  
*What is it?*

hiip† isu  
*what this*  
*used*  
*to*  
*be*  
*What did this used to be?*

Content interrogative words can be placed in second position because of topicalization. Since the indefinite is identical in form but isn't moved forward, any interrogative which is not moved is ambiguous with the indefinite.

usu hano mia-pt  
*he where go-PERF*  
*PRTC*

*Where did he go?/  
 He went somewhere.*

The content question word cannot occur in the same clause as the yes/no question marker. Several of the question words, taking the place of a noun phrase, show case.

hit-'yu duaki stkudu-ga  
*how-NOM children school-go*  
*many*  
*How many children go to school?*

hit-u † duaki punni  
*how-ACC you children see*  
*many*  
*How many children do you see?*

When a content interrogative word is a possessor or postpositional object, it carries the larger constituent with it when it is moved to initial position.

haga tua usu kuma-du  
*who son she husband-make*

*Whose son did she marry?*

himma-ma usu ti-boo  
*what-on he UNSPEC-write*

*What did he write on?*

haga puku kuba usu kat† paataimapi-k<sup>w</sup>ai  
*who horse on he sit rodeo-in*  
*DUR*

*Whose horse did he ride in the rodeo?*

## IMPERATIVES

The positive imperative is expressed with -u *PNCT* on the verb. Rarely does any other inflection except directionals go on the verb. Reduplication for the dual can co-occur with the imperative -u *PNCT*, but -a *PL* will displace -u *PNCT*.

kimma-u	ki-kimma-u-si	mī tika-na
come- <i>PNCT</i>	RDP-come- <i>PNCT-SUBR</i>	PL eat- <i>SUBR</i>
Come! (SG)	Come to eat!	(DL)

kimma-'a-si mī tika-na  
 come-*PL-SUBR* PL eat-*SUBR*  
 Come to eat! (PL)

Sometimes an overt subject may be used:

mī du-duaki ikia-u agai mī nobta'a za-gia-u-dua  
 PL RDP-child this-*ACC* trout PL neighbor hand-carry-*PNCT-UNR*  
 You children carry this trout to your neighbors!

The imperative idea may be carried by a modal:

=sak<sup>W</sup>a should (requires overt subject)  
 gai...-pana not...*UNR/NEG IMP* (used with second  
 person, no overt  
 subject)

f=sak<sup>W</sup>a nī-noo tauna-mai  
 you=should I-with town-to Go with me to town!

gai yaga-pana	gai umt-ma-tu tik <sup>W</sup> asa-pana
not cry- <i>UNR</i>	not they-at-to throw- <i>UNR</i>
Don't cry!	Don't throw it at them!

A polite request will be formed by the expression of a wish with a desiderative su- want or simna might.

nī tauna-i-tī su-mi'a	nī simna tauna-i-tu
I town-to-at want-go	I might town-to-towards
	I might go to town.
I want to go to town.	



## NOUN MORPHOLOGY

N + X = N

-ci	<i>DIM</i>
-ga'yu	<i>POSSR (NOM)</i>
-gaku	<i>POSSR (ACC)</i>

Nouns may be made out of other nouns by the addition of the diminutive or possessor suffix. The diminutive is only marginally productive, but the *POSSR* suffix is a productive nominalizer.

naa-ci	puha-ga'yu	puku-ga'yu
<i>male-DIM</i>	<i>power-POSSR</i>	<i>horse-POSSR</i>
<i>boy</i>	<i>shaman</i>	<i>horse-rider</i>

puku-kaku yaa mio-ga'a ni punni  
*horse-POSSR here go-by I see*  
*ACC*  
*I saw the horseman going by.*

X + N = N

Instrumental prefixes are used on some body parts to distinguish or reinforce their meaning.

ma-togo	ta-togo	co-pihti
<i>hand-appendage</i>	<i>foot-appendage</i>	<i>scalp-hair</i>
<i>thumb</i>	<i>big toe</i>	<i>hair on head</i>

Certain other prefixes occur in fossilized form on animal names or others but are no longer productive nor easily recognized by the native speaker:

pa-	<i>big OR water</i>	
na-	<i>a pair with (REFL/RCPR)</i>	
'kak <sup>w</sup> i-		
wobl-	<i>head</i>	
pa-tihti'a	na-bul	! na-nihti
<i>water/big-deer</i>	<i>pair-eye</i>	<i>my pair-people</i>
<i>elk</i>	<i>glasses</i>	<i>my relatives</i>

kak <sup>w</sup> i-tuhu'u wildcat mountain lion	kak <sup>w</sup> i-ada crow valley crow	wobi-agai head-trout salmon
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V + X = N

-pi	one on which V is done	(PATIENT NR)
-nu	one with which V is done	(INSTR NR)
-'a	person characterized by V	(CHAR NR)
-wabi	habitual doer of V	(HAB AB)

t†-bo-pi UNSPEC-write-PATIENT NR letter	t†-bo-nu UNSPEC-write-INSTR NR pencil
--	--

kid† t†ka-'a groundhog eat-CHAR NR Fort Bidwell Paiute (lit. groundhog eater)	ɟadua-wabi talk-HAB AG speaker/interpreter
---	---

The most frequent nominalizations are special cases of headless relative clauses.

-d†	N is coreferential with the subject of V (PRTC)
-p†	N is coreferential with the object of V, perfective action (PERF PRTC)
-na	N is coreferential with the object of V, imperfective action (SUBR)

na-t†ka-d† REFL-eat-PRTC food (not already eaten)	t†ka-p† eat-PERF PRTC food (already eaten)
---	---

ya'i-d† die-PRTC dead one	u ɟadua-na his talk-SUBR his speech	u t†ka-na his eat-SUBR his eating
---------------------------------	---	---

## VERB MORPHOLOGY

N + X = V

-dua	become
-du	make
-ya	put on
-ga	go
-ga	hunt
-ga'yu	have/be

sag<sup>W</sup>ani tiba-ka'yu gal nti iwa pinak<sup>W</sup>a tomo iwa  
*few pinenut-have not very many next year many*

tiba-tua-k<sup>W</sup>†  
*pinenut-become-POT*  
 DUR

*There are very few pinenuts; next year there will be many.*

n† dikab†-du	isa n†mt ma-n†mt-du
<i>I bread-make</i>	<i>Wolf people hand-people-make</i>
<i>I make bread.</i>	<i>Wolf made people.</i>

um† pinak<sup>W</sup>a nanasati-k<sup>W</sup>ai nobi-tu-k<sup>W</sup>†  
*they next week-in house-make-POT*  
 DUR

*Next week they will build a house.*

† kuudi-k<sup>W</sup>ai kuudi-ya-u  
*you coat-in coat-put-PNCT*  
 on

*Put on your coat!*

n† muu'a nag<sup>W</sup>i-ya-k<sup>W</sup>†  
*I tomorrow dress-put-POT*  
 on

*I will put on the dress tomorrow.*

usu sikudu-ga	kidi-ga-ga
<i>he school-go</i>	<i>groundhog-hunt-go</i>
<i>He goes to school.</i>	<i>go groundhog hunting</i>

[usu hitci puku-ga-si] iwa puku-dua  
*he few horse-have-SUBR many horse-become*  
*He had just a few horses; then his horses became many.*

su tika-pi iní oŋa-ga'yu  
 NOM eat-PERF very salt-have  
 PRTC

*That food is very salty.*

These can be shown to be a single word by prefixation:

ní su-kid†-ga-ga  
 I want-groundhog-hunt-go  
 I want to go groundhog hunting.

vs.

n† kid† su-hoawai  
 I groundhog want-hunt  
 I want to go groundhog hunting.

### ADJ + X = V

-'waya'ni become

su nag<sup>w</sup>i toha-'waya'ni himma naka oha-'waya'ni  
 NOM dress white-become some leaf yellow-become  
 The dress becomes white. Some leaves become yellow.

## COMPOUNDS

### Noun Compounds

There are two types of compound nouns, one of which is tightly bound phonologically with the stress and length shifted, showing it to be one word. The semantic whole may be fairly different from the semantic sum of its parts. This type is very limited in its productivity and recursion in it has not been observed. The second type involves two separate words.

#### Type 1

$N_1 + N_2 = N$ ;  $N_2$  located in  $N_1$ .

pa-luŋa'a  
 water-baby  
 a supernatural being  
 living in water

pa-tipi  
 water-stone  
 water worn rock/  
 river bottom rock

$N_1 + N_2 = N$ ;  $N_2$  made of  $N_1$ .

waa-'adi	sii-osa
juniper-gun	willow-bottle
bow	willow jug

$N_1 + N_2 = N$ ;  $N_2$  part of  $N_1$ .

wiyi-pui  
buckbrush-berry  
buckberry

### Type 2

$N_1 + N_2 = N$ ;  $N_2$  for/part of  $N_1$ .

agai zanu	siqa-bi	naka
trout grapplehook	cottonwood-ABS	ear
grapplehook for trout	cottonwood	leaf

$N_1 + N_2 = N$ ;  $N_2 = V + NR$ .

nabu tika-dt	a user of peyote
peyote eat-PRTC	

ADJ + N = N; ADJ attributive to N.

tuu k<sup>w</sup>obi  
black head  
Negro

$V + N = N$ ; N is for the purpose of V.

nanisut <sup>i</sup> hi nobi	ti-k <sup>w</sup> it <sup>i</sup> ma	nobi
pray house	UNSPEC-jailing	house
church house	jailhouse	

### Verb Compounds

Verbs can be made up of two or more easily recognizable and elsewhere independent forms bound with different degrees of tightness.

Many stative verbs have become so tightly bound that they have lost their meanings and accents, have taken on aspectual meanings, and can no longer be considered to form true compounds. However, they still retain the same phonetic shape as

the free forms and still inflect suppletively with the same suppletives to agree in number with the subject. (See NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION, Aspect.)

usu tika-wɪnt <i>he eat-CONT</i> <i>He is eating.</i>	vs.	usu tika-na 'wɪnt <i>he eat-SUBR stand</i> <i>He stands and eats.</i>
---	-----	---

umɪ tɪka-kono <i>they eat-CONT</i> <i>PL</i> <i>They are eating.</i>	vs.	umɪ kono <i>they stand</i> <i>PL</i> <i>They stand.</i>
---	-----	--

Some verbs of the semantic domain of *do, make, create, finish, and tell* occur as second elements, usually without any accent.

umɪ tɪka-mak <sup>w</sup> ɪ <i>they eat-finish</i> <i>They finished eating.</i>	usu mɪ nɪmɪ himma hau yak <sup>w</sup> ɪ-tɪŋa <i>he PL people what how do-tell</i> <i>He told those people what to do.</i>
---	--

Many verbs are made up of two stems still carrying independent meanings, but closely enough bound so that the first always receives primary stress. No suffixing of the first element is permitted, although prefixation of the second element may be possible or obligatory. There are four types of these.

MOD + V = V

sɪmɪ-bitɪ  
*one-arrive*  
*assemble*

N + V = V; N is the direct object of the resultant verb.

usu tɪ kusa-i kusa-ya-u  
*he own pants-in pants-put-PNCT*  
*on*  
*He put on his own pants.*

$V_1 + V_2 = V$ ;  $V_2$  in the manner of  $V_1$ . ( $V_1$  is a small class of verbs usually carrying manner idea, but  $V_2$  is less restricted.)

wazi-zakat+  
*secretly-catch*  
 secretly catch/steal

wazi-punni-pini  
*secretly-see-STAT*  
                   *watch*  
 secretly watch/spy

$V_1 + V_2 = V$ ;  $V_2$  in order to  $V_1$ .

tika-ga-pt  
*eat-go-PERF*  
 PRTC

*He went in order to eat.*

Then there are loosely bound, two-word constructions where each element receives stress, may be affixed, and retains its semantic value.

MOD + V = V

usu siida kama  
*it bad taste*  
 It is sour/bitter.

usu bisa sunami  
*he good think*  
 He is happy.

usu in+ sunami  
*he very think*  
 He is smart.

usu in+ kama  
*it very taste*  
 It tastes strong.

N + V = V

iza'a ya'i  
*coyote die*  
 to have rabies

pti-pi    jai'i  
*blood-ABS sick*  
 bleeding

$V_1 + V_2 = V$ ;  $V_1$  in order to  $V_2$  or  
 $V_1$  simultaneous with  $V_2$ .

usu sogo kid+ka  
*he walk groundhog-hunt*  
 DUR

*He is walking and hunting/in order to hunt groundhogs.*

usu kid+       sogo hoawa'i  
*he groundhog walk hunt*  
 DUR

*He is walking and hunting/in order to hunt groundhogs.*

$V_1 + V_2 = V$ ;  $V_1$  object of  $V_2$ .

naka oijtkiti  
 hear believe  
 believe (what you hear)

$V_1 + V_2 = V$ ;  $V_1$  generic of  $V_2$ .

kojt	piti	mi	sunami
return	arrive	say	think
arrive	back	think	

### BASIC INFLECTIONAL ELEMENTS

#### Absolutive

Most plant names and a few other intrinsic quality nouns take *-bi/-pi ABS* when not in compounds, possessed, or the object of a postposition.

oqa-bi salt-ABS salt	siti-bi willow-ABS willow	wogo-pl pine-ABS pine
oqa-ga'yu salt-have salty	siti-osa willow-jug willow jug	wogo-ka'yu pine-have having pine trees on it

The absolutive is lost when *-na POSSD* (see POSSESSIVES) occurs on a noun.

i siqa-na my cottonwood-POSSD my cottonwood	i siqa-bi my cottonwood-ABS my cottonwood
---	---

The absolutive is optional on objects of postpositions.

siti-bi-ma willow-ABS-on on the willow	siti tuha willow under under the willow
siti-bi tuha willow-ABS under under the willow	



Number

Some nouns of person and adjectives (except color adjectives) show plural--and motion verbs show dual--by reduplication. The first syllable of the word is reduplicated, and stress is placed on the second syllable. A glottal stop is inserted to separate identical vowels.

$$(C_1)V_1X \longrightarrow (C_1)V_1(C_1)V_1X \qquad V_1V_1 \longrightarrow V_1'V_1$$

ct'-cfa'a <i>RDP-girl</i> <i>girls</i>	naaci <i>boy</i> <i>boy</i>	na-na'aci <i>RDP-boy</i> <i>boys</i>
--	-----------------------------------	--

o-'odɨ-'yu <i>RDP-Long-PRED</i> <i>long ones</i>	ki-kiɩma <i>RDP-come</i> <i>come (to two people)</i>
--	--

Two exceptions to the reduplication rule are *nana man* and *mogo'ni woman*, which are partially suppletive:

naana <i>men</i>	mo-moko'ni <i>women</i>
------------------	-------------------------

Reduplication on numerals gives the idea of *by*.

ma-manigi-'yu <i>RDP-five-PRED</i>	by <i>fives</i>
---------------------------------------	-----------------

Reduplication on some temporals doubles their time reference.

i-'izɨ'i <i>RDP-yesterday</i>	day <i>before yesterday</i>
----------------------------------	-----------------------------

The rest of the human nouns pluralize with -mɨ PL on either the reduplicated or unreduplicated form.\*

u k <sup>w</sup> oho-mɨ <i>his enemy-PL</i> <i>his enemies</i>	u pi-pɨa'a-mɨ <i>his RDP-friend-PL</i> <i>his friends</i>
--	---

\*This appears to be a remnant of a singular-dual-plural distinction no longer maintained in the noun system though still used in some verbs. The reduplication may previously have marked dual for both nouns and regular verbs, while plural was formed on either the singular or dual form.

Most nouns do not show number. However, the entire noun phrase can be marked for number by the particle *m̄* *PL*.

*m̄ m̄ p̄th̄i cib̄l̄-hu*            *I took the feathers off ducks.*  
*I PL duck pluck-PNCT*

Number may be redundantly marked.

*m̄ wahu t̄n̄t̄ yu-ŷuhu mo-moko'ni punni*  
*I two very RDP-fat RDP-women see*  
*ACC*  
*I see two really fat women.*

### Accusative

Nouns are not marked for case. However, the entire noun phrase most frequently is marked for case by attributive modifiers or by a case-marking particle. Any phrase, including adverbial phrases but excluding the subject or predicate, can be marked accusative. Subordinate clauses are an exception to this rule. Certain subordinate clauses undergo a case switch in which the object may no longer be marked *ACC*, but the subject must be (see the subordinate clause sections for further discussion). A noun phrase may, but need not, have redundant *ACC* marking.

*-ku/-u ACC* (on all adjectives taking *-'yu PRED* suffix)  
*-ka ACC* (on *DEM*)  
*ka ACC* (on noun phrases)

*usu paba-u puku sag<sup>w</sup>ani waha maka*  
*he big-ACC horse some hay feed*  
*He feeds the big horse some hay.*

*usu ka t̄t̄ci-ku nana t̄i-bo-pi            gia-u*  
*he ACC small-ACC man UNSPEC-write-NR give-PNCT*  
*He gave the small man a letter.*

*m̄ iz̄l̄'i            i-ka            wida'a punni*  
*I yesterday this-ACC bear see*  
*I saw this bear yesterday.*

*m̄ [ka mogo'ni usapa isayal-d̄] supidak<sup>w</sup>atu*  
*I ACC woman always lie-PRTC know*  
*DUR*  
*I know that woman always lies.*

*ka iz̄l̄'i            m̄ u            nob̄ni            Yesterday I visited him.*  
*ACC yesterday I him visit*

Nominative

Nouns are not marked for case. However, all subject noun phrases in main clauses and in subordinate clauses that have not undergone case switch (see individual subordinate clause sections for rules and examples of case switch), and all object noun phrases in clauses that have undergone case switch, may be marked nominative.

su    *NOM* (as first element in the noun phrase)  
 -su   *NOM* (in any *DEM*)  
 ∅     *NOM* (inflection on adjective)

l-su    nobi-ha tmiti    o'o'o su wihl  
*this-NOM house-Q yours    there NOM knife*  
*Is this house yours?       The knife is over there.*

paba nana nobi-ka'yu    *The big man has a house.*  
*big man house-have*

If the subject has been topicalized (i.e., moved to follow the verb), or in a narrative, the first mention of a character must be overtly marked *NOM*.

## POSSESSIVES

Syntax

To show possession, an accusative (possessor) noun phrase is placed immediately before the possessed noun.

su paba-u nana nobl anuahu  
*NOM big-ACC man house fall*  
*The big man's house fell.*

n† ka †    pabi'i nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai-tu mia-u  
*I ACC your older house-in-to go-PNCT*  
*brother*  
*I went to your older brother's house.*

n† ka m† gai naka-dagi-d† t†ka-pt† t†ka-u  
 I ACC PL not hear-hole-PRTC eat-PERF eat-PNCT  
                   deaf   PRTC  
   food

I ate those deaf people's food.

Possession is recursive.

i pabi'i kucu dua'a t†oya'i  
 my big cow child sick  
           brother                         DUR  
 My older brother's calf is sick.

Reciprocal relationship terms such as kinship terms or friend or enemy are obligatorily possessed. If not possessed, they may be marked with the absolutive, which effectively marks unspecified possessor.

iwa-u     n† pabi'i-m† punni  
 many-ACC I big-PL see  
                               brother  
 I see many big brothers.

n† iwa-u     woho-m†-bi     punni  
 I many-ACC enemy-PL-ABS see  
 I see many enemies.

u pabi'i t† k<sup>w</sup>oho-m† tamaza'i  
 his big own enemy-PL help  
           brother                         DUR  
 His older brother helps his own enemies.

Nouns taking the absolutive are usually not possessed. If they are, the ABS may be dropped, replaced by -na POSSD. If the POSSD suffix isn't used, the ABS is then optional.

usu | oḡa-na     t†tiha     He stole my salt.  
 he my salt-POSSD steal

usu | siḡa-na     w†-napa-u  
 he my cottonwood-POSSD with-knock-PNCT  
   tool down  
 He cut down my cottonwood.

usu n†ḡa siḡa-bi     w†-napa-u  
 he my cottonwood-ABS with-knock-PNCT  
           EMPH   tool down  
 He cut down my cottonwood.

If the third person possessor is coreferential to the subject, the possessor is *tɪ* *own* (see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA, Unspecified Arguments).

usu ka tɪ oŋa'a na-bagia-kiti  
*she ACC own baby REFL-bathe-BEN*  
*She bathed her own baby.*

usu ka u oŋa'a bagia  
*she ACC her baby bathe*  
*She bathed her (someone else's) baby.*

usu izi'i tɪ oŋa timt-na ʒa-punni-kiti  
*he yesterday own salt buy-SUBR CAUS-see-BEN*  
*Yesterday he showed me the salt he bought.*

### Possessive Pronouns

The possessor may be a simple possessor pronoun, or an emphatic pronoun. If the pronoun is the complete predicate, it will take the predicate form.

<u>Possessor</u>	<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Predicate</u>	
i	nɪ-ga	nɪga-tɪ	1P SG
ɪ	ɪ-ga	ɪmi-tɪ	2P SG
u	u-mi	uga-tɪ	3P SG
ta	ta-ga	taga-tɪ	1P DL
ti	tammi-ga	tammi-ga-tɪ	1P PL INCL
ni	nɪmmi-ga	nɪmmi-ga-tɪ	1P PL EXCL
mɪ	u-mɪ	ɪmu-tɪ	NON-1P PL

nɪ izi'i u pabi'i punni  
*I yesterday his big see*  
*brother*  
*I saw his brother yesterday.*

nɪga puku pa'a 'wini	isu puku nɪgatɪ
<i>my horse high stand</i>	<i>this horse mine</i>
EMPH	<i>This horse is mine.</i>
<i>My horse is tall.</i>	

## POSTPOSITIONS

First Order

-noo	with
-naumu	middle of
-ba	by/with
tuha	under
kuba	over
kobina	in front of
kɪma(ba)	beside
uunnak <sup>W</sup> a	behind
sɪga	at the side of
na <sup>W</sup> ka	next to
k <sup>W</sup> aiŋa'a	far from
cagi'i	near
naga	in/among
-tammi	towards
-muupa	pass by
kɪmai	beside
uunak <sup>W</sup> a	more than
wa'ni/k <sup>W</sup> a'ni	like

Second Order

-wai/-k <sup>W</sup> ai/-i	in/to/into
-ma	on/at/INSTR
-wana	away from

Third Order

-tu	motion to/through
-ti	(temporarily) at
-ku	(customarily) at
-yuna	leaving

Any order or combination of orders can occur, except that the comparative *uunak<sup>W</sup>a more than* and *wa'ni/k<sup>W</sup>a'ni like* cannot co-occur with any second-order postposition. The third-order postpositions will permit the postpositional phrase to be the predicate of the sentence but are by no means limited to this use. Objects of postpositions are ACC noun phrases or pronouns in their NOM form, except for third singular pronouns, which occur in ACC form. The ABS will optionally drop off nouns taking postpositions.

nɪ u-noo	mia	su caki	pantnadi-naumu-k <sup>W</sup> ai
I	him-with go	NOM	boat lake-middle-in
I	went with him.	The	boat is in the middle of the lake.

nimmi-ba	tika-ga	su	cia'a	ka	sii	tuha
we-with	eat-go	NOM	girl	ACC	willow	under
Go	eat with us.	The	girl	is	under	the willow.

nɪ u	punni	huclba'a	nobi	kuba-'yuna	yozi-u
I	it see	bird	house	on-leaving	fly-PNCT
I	see	the bird	fly	off	the top of the house.

su nana nobi kobina  
 NOM man house in  
                                   front  
 The man is in front of the house.

su nana nobi kimaba  
 NOM man house beside  
 The man is beside the house.

su nana nobi uunnak<sup>W</sup>a  
 NOM man house behind  
 The man is behind the house.

su toogi ka nobi siaga-wai mi'a  
 NOM dog ACC house side-in go  
   DUR  
 The dog is going by the house.

ni nobi mua siqa-bi                   nak<sup>W</sup>a  
 our house old cottonwood-ABS next  
   to  
 Our house is next to the old cottonwood.

su nana nobi k'aiña'a  
 NOM man house far  
                                   from  
 The man is far from the house.

su nana nobi cagl'i  
 NOM man house near  
 The man is near the house.

yoci-nu kimiba naga-tu yoci-u  
~~fly-NR~~ cloud in-to fly-PNCT  
 airplane  
 The plane flew into the cloud.

usu ka matapo nî-tammi tuwazi-u simî-su  
 he ACC ball I-towards throw-PNCT one-ADVR  
 He threw the ball to me one time.

mî nîmî u-muupa mia'a   The people are passing him.  
 PL person he-pass go  
                                   by PL

nana nobi kîmai mia-u  
 man house beside go-PNCT  
 The man went by the house.

nfga uunak<sup>W</sup>a fni sunami           He is smarter than I am.  
 I more very think  
 EMPH than

usu stt-bi-k<sup>W</sup>a'ni tabi'a           It looks like a willow.  
 it willow-ABS-be appear  
   like

usu cia'a saki-wai                   ni nobi-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu  
 that girl boat-in                   I house-in-to  
 That girl is in the boat.           I am going home.

baa ka ba-nono osa-i  
 water ACC water-carry water-in  
   jug  
 The water is in the jug.

pipo-ma ni tt-bo-nu-ma                   tt-bo'o  
 paper-on I UNSPEC-write-INSR-INSR UNSPEC-write  
   NR                                   DUR  
 I write on paper with a pencil.

su toogt ka kaadt-wana-tu ta'nomanaI  
 NOM dog ACC cat-from-to run  
 The dog ran away from the cat.

ni ka huu-dt-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu                   ni ka huu-dt-tu  
 I ACC flow-PRTC-in-to                I ACC flow-PRTC-through  
 I went to the river.                   I went through the river.

usu nobi-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tt  
 he house-in-at  
 the one in the house

yaa tabinu i milda-na tauna-wai-ku timi-k<sup>W</sup>t  
 this day my meat-POSSD town-in-at buy-POT  
 Today I will buy my meat in town.

nt muua tamidi-wai-'yuna mia-u-k<sup>W</sup>t  
 I tomorrow McDermit-in-leaving go-PNCT-POT  
 Tomorrow I will leave from McDermit.

yftciba nobi-tuha-tu tt-hi'wi  
 gopher house-under-to UNSPEC-dig  
   DUR  
 The gopher is digging to under the house.



su sadi'ti nobi-tuha-'yuna tanomani  
 NOM dog house-under-leaving run  
 The dog ran out from under the house.

na- REFL/RCPR or the reduplicated na-na- may be prefixed to a postposition to give a reciprocal concept.

umi na-kimaba nobi-ka-'yu  
 they RCPR-beside house-have-PRED  
 They live beside each other.

waci na-na-kuba tiipa na-madabui  
 four RDP-RCPR-above earth REFL-make  
 The earth was made four on top of each other

### DEMONSTRATIVES

#### Pronominal Demonstratives

	<u>PROX</u>	<u>PROX/DIST</u>	<u>DIST</u>	<u>UNMARKED</u>	<u>Q/INDF</u>
NOM	i-su	ma-su	oo-su	u-su	haga, himma
ACC	i-ka	ma-ka	oo-ka	u-ka	haka, himma
EMPH	i-ga	ma-ga	oo-ga	u-ga	---
Old Informa- tion	i-kia(u)	ma-kia(u)	oo-kia(u)	---	---
kind NOM	yuu-ni('yu)	ma-ni('yu)	oo-ni('yu)	uu-ni('yu)	hauni'yu
kind ACC	yuu-niku	ma-niku	oo-niku	uu-niku	hauniku

Pronominal demonstratives can occur alone as the whole noun phrase or as an attributive to a noun within a noun phrase. As attributives, they precede all other attributives except the partitive numeral.

isu tigapu maga uunak<sup>w</sup>a odi-'yu  
 this rope that more long-PRED  
 NOM EMPH  
 This rope is longer than that.

ikia ni na-tiŋa-pana usu uka i gia  
 this I ask-UNR that that me give  
 (old) NOM ACC  
 (he)

I asked for this one, but he gave me that.

yuuni'yu nagiza paba-'yu  
 this really big-PRED  
 kind  
 NOM  
 This kind is too big.

uuniku nɪ ɪzi'i tɪmɪ  
 unmarked I yesterday buy  
 kind  
 ACC  
 I bought that kind yesterday.

usu manigi-baatɪ yuuniku nati tɪmɪ  
 that five-PRTV this belt buy  
 NOM kind  
 (he) ACC  
 He bought five of this kind of belt.

Pronominal demonstratives are inflected for case, but not for number. The third person plural pronominal can function as a plural demonstrative when plurality rather than distance is in focus; but the pronoun is not marked for distance. Pronominal demonstratives are used with plural nouns.

nɪ ɪkia tɪka usu pɪno'o umɪ tɪka  
 I this eat that DS they eat  
 (he) (those)  
 I ate this and he ate those.

isu tɪtɪɪ'yu puku gai i noo-wa'ni'yu  
 this small horse not me carry-can  
 NOM  
 This small horse can't carry me.

[ka † ɪka puku-kuba] o'no nɪ pɪno'o kuba  
 ACC you this horse-on then I DS on  
 ACC  
 If you ride on this horse, I will ride on that.

usu umɪ paɪhu nadino'o su-tɪmɪ'ɪ  
 that they three saddle want-buy  
 NOM ACC DUR  
 (he)  
 He wanted to buy these three saddles.

A demonstrative that is object of a postposition will have only its bare stem, unmarked for case.

usu mi i nitama [gai i-ma tɪ-bo-pana] mɪ  
 that say me tell not this-on UNSPEC-write-UNR say  
 NOM  
 (he)  
 He said to me, "Don't write on this."

uuni-ma usu izi'i i tft+u  
*that-on that yesterday me buy-PNCT*  
*kind*      *NOM*  
                    *(he)*

*sell*

*He sold me that kind yesterday.*

Demonstratives cannot co-occur with case markers since the case marker is already incorporated into them. *usu* 'unmarked *NOM* demonstrative' is used frequently to introduce new characters in a discourse and sometimes as the third singular *NOM* pronoun, which is otherwise  $\emptyset$ .

usu mino'o ma'no 'wini      *He is that tall now.*  
*that now that stood*  
*NOM            much*  
*(he)*

### Adverbial Demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives can take the place of any adverbial phrase or can introduce an adverbial phrase.

	PROX	PROX/DIST	DIST	Q/INDF
Adverbial	yaa	maa	o'o	hano/hanano'o
Adverbial Predicate	yau	mau	oo	hano'yu
_____ much	ya'no	ma'no	oo'no	ha'no
from _____	yaano'yuna	maano'yuna	oono'yuna	hano'yuna
LOC _____	iwi	mawi	oowi	hanotu
LOC _____ PRED	iwiu	mawiu	oowiu	hano'yu

izi'i      pactgo'a yaa      pasa-pt  
*yesterday icy      this dry-PERF*  
                    *DUR      ADV      PRTC*

*Yesterday it was icy; now it's dry.*

mau    su    wih      *The knife is there.*  
*there the knife*

gai=sak<sup>w</sup>a    usu    oo'no    ma'na'wi    na-hani  
*not=should it that complete REFL-do*  
  *much*

*It shouldn't have taken that long to do it.*

usu    simt<sup>n</sup>a    yaa-no'yuna    yaa    toganu    mia-dua  
*he might this-from this night go-UNR*  
  *ADV      ADV*

*He might leave from here tonight.*

usu uusapa baa iwi-u hani-di osa-i  
*he always water this-PRED fix-PRTC jug-in*  
 LOC

*He used to keep water here in this jug.*

Adverbial demonstratives can take the adverbializer -su, which favors a temporal interpretation. Adverbial phrases are often initiated with the ACC marker.

ka oo'no-su mi nini no'yuna wagina-ga'yu  
*ACC that-ADVR PL person all wagon-have*  
 much

*Long ago all the people had wagons.*

Adverbial demonstratives can precede other adverbials to give more precise or more intensive information.

gal umi oo'no k<sup>w</sup>aiga'a oo-noo mani-wa'ni'yu  
*not they that far it-with do-can*  
 much

*They can't go that far with it.*

They can take third order postpositional suffixes:

-ti at  
 -tu towards

oo-ti paci'go'a yaa-ti pasa-pi  
*that-at icy this-at dry-PERF*  
 ADV ADV PRTC  
*There it's icy; here it's dry.*

[mau-tu mia-'a] mi usu mi nitama  
*that-towards go-PL say he PL tell*  
 ADV

*"Go that direction", he told them.*

Adverbial demonstratives are often discontinuous to their phrase, occurring just before the verb, after the rest of the phrase has been topicalized to the edge of the clause.

usu uusapa baa iwi-u hani-di osa-i  
*he always water this-PRED fix-PRTC jug-in*  
 LOC

*He keeps water in this jug all the time.*

## QUANTIFIERS

Nominal Attributives

One set of nominal attributive quantifiers can optionally inflect for case to agree with the noun phrase containing them.

<u>NOM</u>	<u>ACC</u>	
sist'madi	mɪ	some/few
iwa	iwa-u	many
sist'mɪ'yu	sist'mina, sist'mɪ-u	each
hiɪci'yu, hiɪci'i	hiɪci-ku	a little bit
noo'yuna	nooko	all/every
hiɪ'yu	hiɪ-u	a few/how many?
nami	nami-ku	each

sist'madi tɪhiɪja aa-ga'yu      *Some of the deer have horns.*  
*some deer horn-have*

usu mɪ tɪhiɪja kaiba-maku punni  
*he PL deer mountain-on see*  
*He sees some deer on the mountain.*

iwa kaiba-mati tɪhiɪja-ga'yu  
*many mountain-on deer-exist*  
*Many deer are on the mountain.*

usu iwau puku maka      *He feeds many horses.*  
*he many horse feed*  
 ACC

usu iwa tooisa-bui      za-boka  
*he many chokecherry-berry force-pick*  
*He picked many chokecherries.*

stsi'mɪ'yu duaki      stkudu-ga-k<sup>w</sup>ɪ  
*each children school-go-POT*  
*Each of the children will go to school.*

stsi'mɪu nɪ nɪka o      himmi-na himmau  
*each I I him give-SUBR have*  
 ACC      EMPH  
*I have one of each thing he gave me.*

hɪtʃi'yu piha-bi kopi'i bisa kama-kiti  
*little sugar-ABS coffee good taste-CAUS*  
*bit*  
 A little bit of sugar makes the coffee good.

usu hɪtʃiku hoŋo-natɪŋa  
*he little flour-ask*  
*bit*  
*ACC*  
 He asked for a little bit of flour.

usu hɪtʃi-ku piha-ga'yu He had some sugar.  
*he little-ACC sugar-have*

noo'yuna toha nobi punni Everyone saw a white house.  
*everyone white house see*

noo'yuna hii nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai Everything was in the house.  
*every thing house-in*

nooko himma supidak<sup>w</sup>atu He knows everything.  
*every thing know*  
*ACC DUR*

hɪtʃ'yu tɪhɪʃa i nobi-cagi'i plɪt-u  
*few deer my house-near arrive-PNCT*  
 A few deer came near my house.

nimmi hɪtu hucɪba'a punni We saw a few birds.  
*we few bird see*  
*ACC*

hɪtu t iʒi'i mayt  
*how you yesterday find*  
*many*  
*ACC*  
 How many did you find yesterday?

nami sɪmt-u tɪmt-u nɪ namiku mɪ naana punni  
*each one-ACC buy-PNCT I each PL men see*  
 Each one bought one. ACC  
 I saw both men.

Quantifiers may take -su ADVR suffixed to the NOM form.

iwa-zu usu sogo tauna-mai-yak<sup>W</sup>i  
*many-ADVR he walk town-to-REPET*  
*many*  
*times*  
*Many times he walks to town.*

tammi noo'yu-su We are everyone.  
*we everyone-ADVR*

su nami-su mi-batt timt-u  
*he each-ADVR PL-from buy-PNCT*  
*He bought one of each of them.*

nimmi nami-su si'mt timi We bought one apiece.  
*we each-ADVR only buy*

These quantifiers can also stand alone as nouns or predicates when they take the -'yu PRED form.

niga puku iwa-'yu	umi iga hit-'yu
<i>my horse many-PRED</i>	<i>they used few-PRED</i>
<i>EMPH</i>	<i>to</i>
<i>My horses are many.</i>	<i>be</i>
	<i>They were a few.</i>

There is also a group of nominal attributive quantifiers that do not inflect.

si'mt	<i>only</i>
nanoo	<i>both</i>
nanasimt	<i>each</i>
sag <sup>W</sup> ani	<i>some</i>

usu kadt-nu si'mt punni He saw only chairs.  
*he sit-NR only see*  
*chair*

umt nanoo kaazi timt-u Both bought a car.  
*they both car buy-PNCT*

noo'yuna nanasimt (hi) bisa tabi'a  
*everything each things good apparently*  
*Each thing looks nice.*

kalba-matt sag<sup>W</sup>ani tthija-ga'yu  
*mountain-on few deer-exist*  
*Just a few deer were on the mountain.*

Adverbial Quantifiers

These quantifiers may be introducers or the second or third constituent in the sentence.

sĩmĩsu	once
sĩmĩdui	sometimes
hĩĩdui	few times
sĩsĩmana	each time/sometimes
nanoca	every time/often
samupi	mostly
uusapa	always/often
nanajabi	often
ĩwazu	many times/mostly
tu'ĩ nanoca	usually

sĩmĩsu u i manĩ-tĩĩŋa He told me to do it once.  
once it me do-tell

sĩmĩdui nĩ i nobi-kĩmai o mi'a u punni  
sometimes I my house-beside there go him see  
DUR  
Sometimes I see him go by the side of my house.

nĩmmĩ yau iwiku hĩĩdui agai hani-yak<sup>w</sup>ĩ  
we here this few trout catch-REPET  
place times  
We have caught trout a few times here.

sĩsĩmana gai tabĩ tĩka-yak<sup>w</sup>ĩ  
sometimes not noon eat-REPET  
Sometimes he doesn't eat his dinner.

mĩ nanoca sogo tauna-ma'ĩ  
they every walk town-go  
time DUR  
Every time they go to town, they walk.

usu samupi huciba'a punni sũ-bi-maku  
he mostly bird see tree-ABS-on  
He saw mostly birds in the tree.

nĩmmĩ uusapa yuhu tĩkabĩ tĩka awamua  
we always fry bread eat morning  
We always eat fry bread for breakfast.



nĩmĩ nanaʃabi tauna-ma'i tĩkabi-waitĩ  
 we often town-go bread-about  
 DUR

We have often gone to town for bread.

iwazu sitowa tĩkabi-ka'yu  
 many store bread-have  
 times  
 Many times the store has bread.

nĩ tu'i nanoca winai-di punni  
 I usually fish-PRTC see  
 fisherman  
 I usually see fishermen.

## NUMERALS

### Basic Forms

1	sĩmĩ	sĩmĩu	sĩmĩ'yu
2	waha	wahu	waha'yu
3	pahi	paihu	pahi'yu
4	waci	wacik <sup>w</sup> ĩu	wacik <sup>w</sup> i'yu
5	manigi	manigiũ	manigi'yu (begins with <i>hand</i> prefix)
6	naapahi	naapaihu	naapahi'yu ( <i>RCP</i> of 3)
7	natak <sup>w</sup> asĩ	natak <sup>w</sup> asiũ	natak <sup>w</sup> asik <sup>w</sup> i'yu
8	namiwaci	namiwacik <sup>w</sup> ĩu	namiwacik <sup>w</sup> i'yu (contains 4)
9	sĩmĩ kadupĩ	sĩmĩ kadupĩ	sĩmĩ kadupĩ (one missing)
10	sĩmĩ manoi	sĩmĩ manoi	sĩmĩ manoi

Numbers inflect in case to agree with the case of the noun phrase in which they stand as an attributive. They may stand alone as head.

ka izi'i toganu wact naana i nobini  
 ACC yesterday night 4 men me visit  
 Last night four men visited me.

wacik<sup>W</sup>iu ni maka I feed four.  
 4 I feed  
 ACC

naapahl'yu nmt<sup>t</sup> togi i kaazi-wai mi'a  
 6 people can my car-in go  
 EMPH DUR  
 Six people can go in my car.

Numbers reduplicate to show distributive.

wa-k<sup>W</sup>aha'yu-na na-na-nak<sup>W</sup>ai niga mi'a  
 RDP-2-SUBR RDP-RCPR-by dance go  
 PRED DUR  
 They are dancing two by two behind each other.

usu wa-k<sup>W</sup>aha-k<sup>W</sup>a'ni'yu He is like a twin.  
 he RDP-2-like  
 PRED

### Derivatives of ONE

mul	first
smt(-su)	once
st'mi	only
smt-bit	assemble

[I mul maka-na] nana ctaya'i  
 me first feed-SUBR man hungry  
 DUR  
 The first man I fed was hungry.

smt ni aaba-ga'yu VS. ni smt-u aaba-ga'yu  
 once I white-have I one-ACC white-have  
 horse horse  
 Once I had a white horse. I have one white horse.

usu smt-su ka tihja k<sup>W</sup>ati-u  
 he once-ADVR ACC deer shoot-PNCT  
 He shot the deer once.

usu tihja st'mi hoawa'i He hunts only deer.  
 he deer only hunt  
 DUR

umt noo'yuna i nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai simt-bitit-u  
*they all my house-in one-arrive-PNCT*  
*assemble*

*They all assembled at my house.*

umt pakodoci maa simt-bitit  
*those blackbird there one-arrive*  
*assemble*

*Those blackbirds are there in a bunch.*

### ADJECTIVES

Adjectives can stand as attributives in noun phrases or as predicates. There are three types of adjectives: color, age, and other.

As predicates or emphatic nominatives, the colors take -k<sup>w</sup>ijja'a/k<sup>w</sup>ijjat<sup>i</sup> PRED. These do not inflect for case or number.

aca	red/brown
puhi/pui	green/blue
toha	white
tu(hu)	black
ik <sup>w</sup> isl	grey
oha	yellow

n+ tu t+pi punni kaiba-maku  
*I black rock see mountain-on*  
*I saw a black rock on the mountain.*

uga nobi puhi-k<sup>w</sup>ijjat<sup>i</sup> n+ga nobi aca-k<sup>w</sup>ijjat<sup>i</sup>  
*his house green-PRED my house red-PRED*  
 EMPH EMPH  
*His house is green, but mine is red.*

As predicates or emphatic nominatives, age adjectives take -t+pi PRED. They optionally reduplicate to show number but do not inflect for case.

mua	old
p+di	new

usu mua adt-ma i t+mt  
*he old gun-to me buy*  
*sell*

*He sold me an old gun.*

usu adi iní mua-tíþí                    That gun is very old.  
*he gun very old-PRED*

umí mu-mua-tíþí himma pík<sup>w</sup>ai na-hani-na nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai  
*those RDP-old-PRED some-place REFL-put-SUBR house-in*  
*thing in in*  
The old dressers are in the house.

umí mua nobi toha-na písa'a  
*those old house white-SUBR paint*  
The old houses are painted white.

umí momoko'ni mu-mua-tíþí              Those women are old.  
*those women RDP-old-PRED*

mí mua momoko'ni nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai  
*those old women house-in*  
The old women are in the house.

umí kucu mua-tíþí                        Those cattle are old.  
*those cattle old-PRED*

usu nag<sup>w</sup>i píðí-tíþí                        The dress is new.  
*that dress new-PRED*

usu píðí nag<sup>w</sup>i-ga'yu                        She has a new dress.  
*she new dress-have*

umí píðí kucu tíka-kono                    The new cattle are eating.  
*those new cattle eat-CONT*  
PL

umí nobi nagíza pí-píðí-tíþí  
*those house really RDP-new-PRED*  
Those houses are really new.

The use of píðí *new* for *young* does not have the predicate form. Instead it is used as an adverb.

umí píðí duaki                                Those children are young.  
*those newly child*

umí momoko'ni píðí momoko'ni  
*those women newly women*  
Those women are young.

Among the remaining adjectives are all numbers and most quantifiers; these are not listed here (see QUANTIFIERS and

NUMERALS). The other adjectives take -u/-ku when attributive in a non-nominative noun phrase and -'yu when functioning as predicate. They optionally inflect for number by reduplication to agree with their heads.

paba	big	tĩci	small
bisa	good	sĩta	bad
odĩ	long	miici	short

su paba-'yu puku ka tĩci-ku puku uunak<sup>W</sup>a inĩ nazu'i  
 NOM big-PRED horse ACC small-ACC horse more very strong  
 That big horse is stronger than the small horse.

usu bisa-u wihi-ma i tĩmĩ  
 he good-ACC knife-to me buy  
 sell

He sold me a good knife.

nĩ ka odĩ-u tĩgapu na-tĩĩna-na su ka miici-ku i  
 I ACC long-ACC rope REFL-tell-SUBR he ACC short-ACC me  
 ask

gia'a  
 give

I asked for a long rope, but he gave me a short one.

umĩ aca nobi pa-paba-'yu Those red houses are big.  
 those red house RDP-big-PRED

## COMPARATIVES

### Comparisons of Inequality

One noun phrase can be compared to another as *more* in respect to some ground of comparison. The first noun phrase (which is more) is nominative. The second noun phrase is the object of the postposition uunak<sup>W</sup>a *more than*. The ground of comparison is expressed in the predicate. (Also the concept of *greater than* can be expressed periphrastically with two sentences; the first is intensified, and the second is negated, usually with the redundant parts deleted from the second sentence.)

Isu naaci tĩ naa uunak<sup>W</sup>a 'wĩnĩ  
 this boy own father more stand  
 This boy is taller than his father.

usu niga uunak<sup>w</sup>a yuhu-pt            He is fatter than I.  
 he I more fat-PERF  
 EMPH                                  PRTC

isu gapa uga simi-u uunak<sup>w</sup>a paba-'yu  
 this bed it one-ACC more big-PRED  
 EMPH  
 This bed is bigger than that one.

usu aaba ikia simi puku uunak<sup>w</sup>a wa'mu  
 that blond this one horse more gallop  
 That white horse runs faster than this horse.

su k<sup>w</sup>i'na'a ka naka'i uunak<sup>w</sup>a pa'a-k<sup>w</sup>al yooci  
 NOM eagle ACC hawk more high-in fly  
 The eagle flies higher than the hawk.

### Comparisons of Equality

-ngo	as
-k <sup>w</sup> a'ni	be like

A comparison of equality can be made between two noun phrases by putting the first noun phrase in the nominative, the second in the postpositional form, and adding some form of the equality postpositions. This postposition can go on one of the noun phrases, on na- *REFL/RCPR*, or on both. The ground of comparison is provided by the predicate.

isu naaci tt naa-no'o-su 'wini  
 this boy own father-as-ADVR stand  
 DUR  
 This boy is as tall as his father.

usu ada-noo k<sup>w</sup>idawo'yo na-wa'ni-ku-su yoozt  
 that crow-as magpie RCPR-be-at-ADVR fly  
 like DL  
 That crow flies like a magpie.

Equality can be negated to give a form where the first is less than the second. The second then receives the equality postposition.

ani gai ka nota-noo paba-'yu  
 cutter not ACC bee-as big-PRED  
 ant  
 The cutter ant isn't as big as the bee.

masu gai nagiza ni-k<sup>w</sup>a'ni yuhu-pt  
*that not really I-be fat-PERF*  
*like PRTC*  
*That one is not really as fat as I.*

u k<sup>w</sup>idawo'yo gai naka'i-wa'ni-ku-su yooci  
*it magpie not hawk-be-at-ADVR fly*  
*like*  
*The magpie doesn't fly as fast as the hawk.*

### Superlatives

tɪbɪɪ	truly
nagiza	really
ɪnt...dɪ/pt (...-waitɪ)	very
uunak <sup>w</sup> a...dɪ (...-waitɪ)	most

Superlatives can be expressed with a noun phrase followed by an intensifier of comparison, which is followed in turn by a nominalized predicate expressing grounds of comparison and optionally a partitive idea expressed by a noun phrase and the postposition -waitɪ *among*.

usu mogo'ni mi tɪbɪɪ odɪ mana 'wɪni-wabi yaatɪ  
*that woman PL truly tall among stand-HAB here*  
*AG*  
*That woman is the very tallest woman here.*

masu ni nagiza na-mua-tɪptɪ iwɪu nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai-tɪ  
*that our really RCPR-old-PRED here house-in-at*  
*She is the oldest one in the room.*

usu mogo'ni ɪntɪ mooni yabi tɪcina-dɪ  
*that woman very money fast count-PRTC*  
*That woman must be the fastest money counter.*

isu puku ɪntɪ tanomani-dɪ nooku ikiau tiptɪ-waitɪ  
*this horse very run-PRTC all this world-among*  
*ACC ACC*  
*This horse is the fastest in the world.*

usu mtɪ simtɪ uunak<sup>w</sup>a 'wɪni-dɪ i na-nimɪ-waitɪ  
*he PL one more stand-PRTC my RCPR-person-among*  
*relative*  
*He is the tallest of my relatives.*

## INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

There is a scale of definiteness for nouns and pronouns. Pronouns and demonstratives assume the speaker and listener know the antecedent. The minimally specific *a* also assumes the speaker knows the antecedent but that its identity is irrelevant. The indefinite pronoun implies the speaker doesn't know the antecedent or is purposefully unwilling to specify an antecedent. The indefinite occurring with *tui*-...-*tui* *any* implies the antecedent to be any member of a certain set. Negated, the indefinite implies that there is no member of the set for which the statement is true. Finally, *tɪ UNSPEC* implies no particularized antecedent at all.

Proper Name	nɪ sigɪ punni	<i>I see Sgt.</i>
Pronoun	nɪ u punni	<i>I see him.</i>
Demonstrative Pronoun	nɪ uka punni	<i>I see that one.</i>
Minimally Specific	nɪ a punni	<i>I see it.</i>
Indefinite	nɪ haka punni	<i>I see someone.</i>
Any	nɪ tui-haka-tui punni	<i>I see anyone.</i>
Negative Indefinite	nɪ gai haka punni	<i>I see no one.</i>
Unspecified	nɪ tɪ-punni	<i>I watch.</i>

The minimally specified pronoun can be object of an obligatorily transitive verb or possessor of an obligatorily possessed noun.

tilbo-kuba-ku a punni                      *I see it on the table.*  
*table-on-at it see*

[usu pabici a nobi mayɪ-si] mɪ noo tɪka-u-k<sup>w</sup>ɪ  
*that weasel its house find-SUBR PL egg eat-PNCT-POF*  
*If the weasel finds a nest, he will eat the eggs.*

Indefinites are marked by content-question words.

hii	<i>thing NOM</i>	haunik <sup>w</sup> ai	<i>kind of place</i>
hiipɪ	<i>thing (used to be)</i>	haga	<i>who NOM</i>
hiɪmma	<i>thing ACC</i>	haka	<i>who ACC</i>
hanano	<i>where</i>	haa'no'yu	<i>how much NOM</i>
hanano'o	<i>when</i>	haa'noku	<i>how much ACC</i>
hauniku	<i>kind of</i>	hautu	<i>some direction</i>
hau	<i>way</i>		



The *some* indefinites are marked by just the content-question words. These indefinites, not using modals, are ambiguous with questions.

hii ka si<sup>+</sup>-bi-ma                      *Something is on the tree./*  
*thing ACC tree-ABS-on*                      *What is on the tree?*

hiip<sup>+</sup>-wa'ni tab<sup>+</sup>'a  
*thing-be appears*  
*(used like*  
*to)*

*It looks like it used to be something.*

n<sup>+</sup> himma tilbo-kuba-ku punni *I saw something on the table./*  
*I thing table-on-at see What did I see on the table?*  
*ACC*

usu hano mia-p<sup>+</sup>i                      *He went somewhere./*  
*he somewhere go-PERF*                      *Where did he go?*  
*PRTC*

usu=ga hanano'o kirma [gai p<sup>+</sup>mi i punni-p<sup>+</sup>ni-noo]  
*he=must when come not he me see-STAT-along*  
*EMPH*

*He must have come sometime when I wasn't watching for him.*

usu hauniku na-tika-d<sup>+</sup>i tika  
*he some REFL-eat-PRTC eat*  
*kind*

*He eats some kind of food./What kind of food does he eat?*

haga ta punni                      *Someone saw us./*  
*someone us see*                      *Who saw us?*

usu haka punni                      *He saw someone./*  
*he someone see*                      *Whom did he see?*  
*ACC*

haa'no-'yu m<sup>+</sup>t duaki yab<sup>+</sup>i bok<sup>W</sup>au-ka-k<sup>W</sup><sup>+</sup>  
*how-NOM those children fast lie-go-POT*  
*much*                      *down*  
*PL*

*A certain number of children go to bed early./*  
*How many children will go to bed early?*

nt haa'no-ku suga tft+k<sup>W</sup>  
 I how-ACC sugar buy-POT  
 much  
 I'll buy a certain amount of sugar./  
 How much sugar will I buy?

gai hauniku su kaazi umi mabicabi-wa'ni'yu  
 not kind NOM car it fix-can  
 of  
 There is no way to fix the car.

The *any/ever* indefinites are marked by the content question words with *tui* *any* prefixed and suffixed to the question word or the phrase containing it.

usu tui-himma-tui tka He'll eat anything at all.  
 he any-thing-any eat  
 ACC

usu tui-hano-tul t mia-k'ai-tu mi'a  
 he any-where-any you go-in-to go  
 DUR

He goes anywhere you go.

usu tui-hanano'o-tui ttbunni-k<sup>W</sup> yaa awamua  
 he any-when-any wake-POT this morning  
 up

He's going to wake up sometime this morning.

usu tui-hauniku-tui tka He'll eat any kind of thing.  
 he any-kind-any eat  
 of

ntmml tui-hau-tui tu'l koj t tabt'a  
 we any-how-any try return apparently  
 We have tried every way to go home.

tul-haga-tui ka saki timi-k<sup>W</sup>  
 any-who-any ACC boat buy-POT  
 Anyone will buy the boat.

usu tui-haka-tui ptmi gunna ktftbita-ktft tiba-maka-k<sup>W</sup>  
 he any-who-any he wood chop-BEN pinenut-give-POT  
 ACC EMPH  
 He will give pinenuts to anyone who will cut wood for him.

tui-haa'no-'yu-tui duaki sɪkudu-ga-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ  
 any-how-NOM-any children school-go-POT  
 much

Any number of children will go to school.

tui-haa'no-ku-tui suga nɪ tɪmɪ-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ  
 any-how-ACC-any sugar I buy-POT  
 much

I'll buy any amount of sugar.

nɪ tui-haunik<sup>W</sup>ai-tu-tui mia-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ  
 I any-kind-to-any go-POT  
 of  
 place

I will go to any kind of place.

[usu tui-hautu-tui mia-si] misu ʒuhu tɪmɪ'ɪ  
 he any-direction-any go-SUBR can gas buy  
 DUR

Any direction he goes, he can buy gas.

The indefinite pronouns, when referring to a place, can take -tɪ (temporarily) at, -tu to, or -ku (customarily) at.

umɪ tui-hano-tɪ-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tɪ-tui tɪkabi tɪmɪ-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ  
 they any-where-at-in-at-any bread buy-POT  
 They will buy bread in any place.

umɪ hano-tu-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu sɪkudu-ma'i  
 they where-to-in-to school-go  
 DUR

They went to a certain place to go to school.

## DEFINITE PRONOUNS

	<u>SUBJ</u>	<u>OBJ</u>	<u>OBJ</u> <u>of P</u>	<u>EMPH</u>	<u>POSS</u> <u>PRON</u>	<u>EMPH</u> <u>REFL</u>
1P SG	n†	i	n†	n†ga	n†gat†	n†su
2P SG	†	†	†	†ga	†mit†	†su
3P SG (Coreferential to SUBJ)	∅	p†	p†	p†mi	p†mit†	p†su
3P SG (Non-Coreferential to SUBJ)	(DEM) u	u		†mi	ugat†	uus
1P DL	ta	ta	ta	taga	tagat†	tasu
1P PL INCL	tammi	ti	tammi	tammiga	tammigat†	tammisu
1P PL EXCL	n†mmi	ni	n†mmi	n†mmiga	n†mmigat†	n†mmisu
Non-1P PL	um†	†m†	um†	um†ga	um†gat†	um†su

## STEMS

Number

Many verbs show no number; however, certain semantic categories of verbs do inflect for number. Intransitives agree with their subjects, while transitives agree with their objects.

Motion verbs show dual by initial reduplication and a few show plural by final reduplication. Some use the singular or dual form for plural, while others pluralize by fortification of the final (or other) consonant (" indicates a fortis consonant).

$C_1V_1X \rightarrow C_1V_1-C_1V_1X$	(DL)
$Xa \rightarrow Xa'a$	(PL)
$XCV \rightarrow X''CV$	(PL)

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
mia	mimia	mia'a	go
kimma	kikimma	kimma'a	come
pid†	pibid†	pit†	arrive
y†ciŋa	y†y†ciŋa	y†ciŋa	move/live
koj†	kokoj†	koj†	return
wa'mu	wawa'mu	wak <sup>w</sup> a'mu	gallop

Verbs of distress take *yai* *die SG* in the singular but *koi* *kill PL* in the plural.

<u>SG</u>	<u>PL</u>	
ttoyai	ttoikoi	<i>sick</i>
paayai	paakoi	<i>drunk</i>
pitjai	pitkoi	<i>thirsty</i>
ciayai	ciakoi	<i>hungry</i>

Many posture verbs dualize and pluralize suppletively.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
'wint	wammi	kono	<i>stand</i>
kat	y <sup>w</sup> g <sup>w</sup> i	aata'a	<i>sit</i>
habi	k <sup>w</sup> abi	bok <sup>w</sup> a	<i>lie (AN)</i>
pahabi	pak <sup>w</sup> abi	pabok <sup>w</sup> a	<i>swim</i>

Some motion verbs only partially supplete.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
yoci	yost	yoozt	<i>rise</i>

Some motion verbs mix reduplication and partial or complete suppletion.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
wiu	wiwu/sawiu	sawiu	<i>fall</i>
nim	moo	moo	<i>move/live</i>
igia	zuzunua	zunua	<i>enter</i>
po'ya	popo'ya	tipo'ya	<i>climb</i>

Many verbs may supplete the stem or reduplicate the first syllable, but they rarely show more than two independent forms.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
tak <sup>w</sup> t <sup>t</sup>	tadima	tadi'ma	<i>carry in claw</i>
tok <sup>w</sup> t <sup>t</sup>	todima	todi'ma	<i>carry in beak</i>
tigt	tfunna	tfunna	<i>set down</i>
gia	himmi	himmi	<i>hand over/give</i>
k <sup>w</sup> t <sup>t</sup>	himma	himma	<i>carry</i>

Some aspect suffixes are derived from motion or posture verbs; except for stress and glottals, these retain their phonological shape and suppletive potential, so that number may be shown by suppletion of the suffix. This number marking does not prevent pluralization of the stem as well.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
matonimmi	matomok <sup>w</sup> ati	matom <sup>o</sup> 'o	<i>crawl</i>
pahabinimmi	pawabimo <sup>o</sup>	pabok <sup>w</sup> amo <sup>o</sup>	<i>swimming around</i>
tikawini	tikawami	tikakono	<i>continue eating</i>

Most verbs show no number at all.

<u>SG</u>	<u>DL</u>	<u>PL</u>	
naka	naka	naka	<i>hear</i>
punni	punni	punni	<i>see</i>

### Durative

Another stem change arises from the durative. Although the durative is in the mutually exclusive set of aspect markers, it actualizes as an infix or process.

$XV_1V_2 \rightarrow XV_1'V_2$	
$XC_1V_1 \rightarrow X''C_1V_1$	( $C_1$ = lenis consonant other than semivowel)
$X''C_2V_1 \rightarrow X''C_2V_1'V_1$	( $C_2$ = oral fortis consonant)
$XC_3V_1 \rightarrow X'C_3V_1$	( $C_3$ = nasal consonant or oral semivowel)

<u>UNMARKED</u>	<u>DUR</u>	
mia	mi'a	<i>go</i>
yaga	yaka	<i>cry</i>
nimi	nimmi	<i>move about/walk/go</i>
tik <sup>w</sup> i	tik <sup>w</sup> i'i	<i>tell</i>
zoba	zopa	<i>gather</i>
himma	hi'ma	<i>carry PL</i>
sumaya	suma'ya	<i>remember</i>

Directionals receive durative marking instead of the stem.

<u>UNMARKED</u>	<u>DUR</u>	
-gi	-ki	<i>movement towards speaker</i>
-gia	-gia'a	<i>UNSPEC DIR</i>
-ga	-ka/ga'a (word final)	<i>movement not towards the speaker</i>
-noo	-no'o	<i>movement for the purpose of</i>

usu ka ttha'a-ku gapa-kuba za-habi-ki-u  
 he ACC child-ACC bed-on CAUS-lie-come-PNCT  
 DUR

He laid the child on the bed.

usu puku-ga-na ttkab† tka kad†-no'o  
 he horse-have-SUBR bread eat sit-along  
 DUR

He was going along eating bread on his horse.

### INCORPORATION

The first-order prefixes on nouns and verbs show relationship with, or use of, a body part or certain other nouns. Some are obviously related to nouns or verbs still used in the language. Some stems require a prefix; some take it optionally.

#### Prefixes:

su- mind  
 ma- hand  
 ni- talking  
 za- force/hands  
 pa- water  
 ta- foot  
 ci- nail/pointed instrument  
 wi- side/blunt instrument  
 co- scalp/horn  
 mo- face  
 to- beak/shoulder  
 ki- teeth  
 ku- fire  
 pi- back end

#### Historically related free forms:

mia hand  
 †ni say  
 baa water  
 macidu fingernail  
 copigi brain  
 mobi nose  
 k†i bite

su-y†k<sup>w</sup>i  
 mind-move  
 think

su-pidak<sup>w</sup>adu  
 mind-know  
 know

ma-n†'ya  
 hand-bump  
 bump one's hand

ma-hani  
 hand-fix  
 prepare/doing

ni-hani  
 talk-fix  
 meeting/judging

a za-k†-u  
 it force-carry-PNCT  
 lift something

pa-habi  
 water-lie  
 swim

moko-i ta-nigliya-u  
 shoe-in foot-put-PNCT  
 put on one's shoe

a ci-ka'a  
 it pierce-cut  
 cut it

wt-naupa  
*side-push:over*  
 knock it down

mo-ni'ya  
*face-bump*  
 bump one's face

to-k<sup>w</sup>i'ti  
*shoulder-carry*  
 DUR  
 carry on shoulder

pl-ki  
*back-bite*  
 sting

co-ni'ya  
*scalp-bump*  
 hit one's head

to-k<sup>w</sup>i-ga'a  
*beak-carry-go*  
 DUR  
 carry in beak

ki-k<sup>w</sup>i-u  
*teeth-carry-PNCT*  
 pick up in mouth

Many body part nouns, particularly the hands and feet, have instrumental prefixes.

ma-togo  
*hand-big*  
 appendage  
 thumb

ta-togo  
*foot-big*  
 appendage  
 big toe

The instrumental uses have been extended to causation (see NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION). *su-* is also used for *want/desire*.

ma-yuhu-dui-k<sup>w</sup>i  
*CAUS-fat-become-POT*  
 fatten

za-punni  
*CAUS-see*  
 show

su-kidi-ga-ga  
*want-groundhog-hunt-go*  
 He wants to go groundhog hunting.



## SYNTACTIC MARKING

There are no pronominal affixes on the verb in Northern Paiute. For number agreement, see STEMS.

Non-Distinct Argument Markers

The prefix *na-* has reflexive, reciprocal, passive, and--when reduplicated--distributive value. The prefix *ti-* marks unspecified objects. See NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT PHENOMENA for further examples and details.

su nana piisu na-ma'i-u  
*NOM man himself REFL-hurt-PNCT*  
*The man hurt himself.*

umi na-nod+k<sup>W</sup>a-du                      *They married each other.*  
*they REFL-wife-make*

umi na-na-hoisu na-na-punni  
*they RDP-REFL-REFL RDP-REFL-see*  
*They each one saw the other.*

na-tika-df      na-tika-pi              *The food has been eaten.*  
*REFL-eat-PRTC REFL-eat-PERF*  
*PRTC*

usu ti-bo'o	vs.	usu [i ini-na] bo'o
<i>he UNSPEC-write</i>		<i>he me say-NR write</i>
<i>DUR</i>		<i>DUR</i>
<i>He wrote.</i>		<i>He wrote what I said.</i>

Sentence Type

While most mode is marked in second position in the clause, the negative imperative is marked partially on the verb. It involves *gai* *not* and *-pana* *UNR*.

gai makau tfka-pana  
*not that eat UNR*  
 └──────────┘  
*don't*  
*Don't eat that!*

gai yaga-pana  
*not cry UNR*  
 └──────────┘  
*don't*  
*Don't cry!*

Subordination

Subordination of a clause is also marked on the verb. (See following sections for more extensive discussion and examples of -na, -pt, and -dt.)

-∅	Simultaneous Action
-si	Sequential Action
-na	Simultaneous Related Action
-pt	PERF PRTC
-dt	PRTC

su naaci pidt-u [ni tka]  
 NOM boy arrive-PNCT us eat  
 The boy arrived while we were eating.

[nt u-noo yadua-si] tka  
 I her-with talk-SUBR eat  
 After I talked with her, I ate.

su naaci [ni punni-na na-g<sup>w</sup>lbau-dt] stkudu-ga  
 NOM boy us see-SUBR REEL-hit-PRTC school-go  
 The boy whom we saw hit goes to school.

[ni tka-pt] miidt-ma timt mogo'ni pidt-u  
 us eat-PERF meat sell woman arrive-PNCT  
 PRTC  
 After we ate, the meat saleswoman arrived.

Unified Discussion of -na

Throughout all the uses of -na runs the common thread of related action and simultaneity. Of all the subordinators -na is the most widely and frequently used.

In relative clauses -na is used to mark that the noun phrase coreferential to the head is not the subject of the embedded clause in all cases where simultaneous action is taking place.

usu kidt [ja'i-na] za-k<sup>w</sup>t'  
 he groundhog die-SUBR hands-carry  
 DUR DUR  
 He was carrying the groundhog which was dead.

Compare: usu kidt [yai-pt] za-k<sup>w</sup>t'  
 he groundhog die-PERF hands-carry  
 PRTC DUR  
 He was carrying the groundhog that died.

su naaci [ni supɪdak<sup>W</sup>atu-na] sikudu-ga  
 NOM boy us know-SUBR school-go  
 The boy whom we know goes to school.

A special case of the relative is the headless relative, which is used as a subject or object. When it consists of only a verb, the result is a nominalization.

nɪ [u tɪ-madabui-na] punni  
 I him UNSPEC-make-SUBR see  
 I saw what he makes.

[mogo'ni saa-na] tɪt oŋa-ga'yu  
 woman cook-SUBR very salt-have  
 The woman's cooking is too salty.

[baa-huu-na] i gunna  
 water-flow-SUBR my wood

pa-to-ɟak<sup>W</sup>i-kɪ-k<sup>W</sup>ɪnai-hu  
 water-shoulder-carry-APPLIC-away-PNCT  
 The flood carried away my wood.

In adverbial clauses -na is used to mark a unity of relationships. In temporal clauses it marks simultaneous action.

nɪmɪ ka nana punni [tabi tɪka-na]  
 we ACC man see noon eat-SUBR  
 We saw a man while we ate dinner.

[nɪ tabi ɪwi-na] ka yadua-pi sumaya  
 I noon sleep-SUBR ACC talk-NR remember  
 While napping I remembered a word.

In conditional sentences it marks the *if* clause.

[gai haga i-noo-na] nɪ gai tauna-wai-wa'ni'yu  
 not someone me-with-SUBR I not town-to-can  
 If no one takes me, I can't go to town.

In concessive sentences -na can mark the *although* clause.

[nɪ u nobi-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu tu'i mi-a-yaɪ-na] gal u mayi-dɪ  
 I his house-at-to try go-HAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC  
 Although I went to his house many times, I never found him home.

In causal sentences -na marks the reason if the two clauses are simultaneous and the subjects coreferential.

usu i toog<sup>w</sup> k'ati-u [ka gai u bizabi-na]  
*he my dog shoot-PNCT ACC not him like-SUBR*  
*He shot my dog because he didn't like it.*

In instrument sentences the -na marks the *by means of* clause if the action is simultaneous.

n<sup>+</sup> ka kaazi mabicapi [p<sup>+</sup>td<sup>+</sup>-t<sup>+</sup>p<sup>+</sup> piw<sup>+</sup> o-i  
*I ACC car fix new-EMPH battery there-in*  
*DUR*

za-kat<sup>+</sup>i-ga-na]  
*CAUS-~~sit~~-go-SUBR*  
*I fixed my car by putting in a new battery.*

Embedded questions are also marked by a -na.

n<sup>+</sup> u may<sup>+</sup>t [hano-t<sup>+</sup>t maina hiwi-na]  
*I it find where-at mine dig-SUBR*  
*I found where he is digging a mine.*

A -na can be attached to a noun to give a simultaneous temporal idea.

n<sup>+</sup> [ka naaci-na] nana punni  
*I ACC boy-SUBR man see*  
*When I was a boy, I saw that man.*

#### Unified Discussion of -di

Throughout all the uses of -di runs the idea of habitual or characteristic action. It is not used adverbially but is frequently used in nominalization.

[n<sup>+</sup> u nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai-tu tu'i mia-'yai-na] gai u may<sup>+</sup>t-d<sup>+</sup>  
*I his house-at-to try go-HAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC*  
*Although I went to his house many times, I never found him.*

n<sup>+</sup> gai t<sup>+</sup>-noo t<sup>+</sup>tka-d<sup>+</sup> I never ate with you.  
*I not you-with eat-PRTC*

In relative clauses -d<sup>+</sup> marks that the subject of the embedded verb is coreferential to the head.

su naaci [ni supidak<sup>w</sup>atu-d<sup>+</sup>] s<sup>+</sup>t<sup>+</sup>kudu-ga  
*NOM boy us know-PRTC school-go*  
*The boy who knows us goes to school.*

A special case of this is the headless relative.

su nĩmĩ tusu-dĩ tĩ kawona ʒa-nono ona  
*that people grind-PRTC own basket force-carry there*

mia-ka'i  
 go-walk  
 DUR

*That people grinder went along carrying his basket.*

A very common use of the nominalization is in a verbless construction (see BE/HAVE/DO, BE).

usu saa-dĩ *She is a cook.*  
*she cook-PRTC*

### Unified Discussion of -pĩ

The main concept expressed with -pĩ is completed action. As aspect on the main verb, it expresses a perfective or completed idea.

usu tauna-wai-pĩ  
*he town-to-PERF*  
 PRTC

*He has gone to town.*

usu tabi saa-pĩ  
*she noon cook-PERF*  
 PRTC

*She had cooked dinner.*

Similarly in adverbial clauses it subordinates but carries a perfective sense.

[ni tika-pĩ] miida-ma tĩmĩ mogo'ni pidĩ-u  
*us eat-PERF meat sell woman arrive-PNCT*  
 PRTC

*After we ate, the meat saleswoman arrived.*

And even in the relative clause the perfective idea persists, although -pĩ also marks the fact that the head is co-referential to a non-subject of the subordinate clause.

mĩ naana [ka na-saa-pĩ] tika  
 PL men ACC REFL-cook-PERF eat  
 PRTC

*The men ate that which was cooked.*

## NON-SYNTACTIC AFFIXATION

Causative

Some affixes add an argument to the verb. Instrumentals can be used as causatives (see STEMS), but usually only *ma-hand* and *za-force* are used.

ma-	CAUS	
za-	cause by force	
ti-	CAUS (see NON-DISTINCT ARGUMENT	
-ki(ti)	BEN/APPLIC	PHENOMENA)

usu ka kucu ma-yuhu-dui [u-matu tti-na]  
*he ACC cattle CAUS-fat-become it-on buy-SUBR*  
sell

kobina-su  
*in-ADVR*  
*front*  
*He fattens the cattle before he sells them.*

usu ka ttha'a-ku kapa-kuba za-habl-ki-u  
*he ACC child-ACC bed-on CAUS-lie-APPLIC-PNCT*  
*He laid the child on the bed.*

ca'a-bi na'i <i>weed-ABS burn</i> <i>DUR</i>	usu ca'a-bi ti-na'i <i>he weed-ABS CAUS-burn</i> <i>DUR</i>
<i>The weeds are burning.</i>	<i>He is burning the weeds.</i>

usu ka nati i timi-ki-u      *He bought me a belt.*  
*he ACC belt me buy-BEN-PNCT*

Adverbial

Adverbials of motion, many obviously related to motion verbs, can be suffixed to the verb to give the idea of movement in a direction.

Suffixes:

-ki motion towards speaker  
 -ga motion not towards goal  
 -gia motion towards goal  
 -noo motion for the purpose of  
 -nimi random motion (SG)

Independent verbs:

kimma come  
 gia'a go towards a goal  
 noo accompany  
 nimi travel/live (SG)



<u>Preverb form</u>	<u>Verb</u>	
su-	sunami	want
ni-	tʃiŋa	tell
tu'i	mapunni	cause to see/try
	supidak <sup>w</sup> atu	know
	natʃniʃui	learn
nisu-		be able to

Preverbal elements are in strict order. tu'i precedes nisu-, which precedes ni-. The postverb construction is more frequent than the other form. The volitionals often co-occur with the BEN also, redundantly with both preverb and verbal forms.

usu mʃ kucu nisu-su-k<sup>w</sup>isi-kʃti  
 he PL cattle be-want-lasso-BEN  
 able

He wants to be able to lasso cattle.

nʃ mʃ tiŋapu odt tu'i su-ʃag<sup>w</sup>i sunami  
 I PL rope long try want-make want  
 I want to try to make those ropes long.

nʃmʃ puha-ga'yu i su-ma-bisa-kʃ mapunni  
 Indian power-have me want-CAUS-good-BEN try  
 The Indian doctor wanted to try to make me well.

mino'o nʃ 'nʃmʃmi Now I am able to walk.  
 now I walk

usu uka mi u nitama [ʃ=sak<sup>w</sup>a kucu k<sup>w</sup>isi-kʃ  
 he that say him tell you=should cattle lasso-BEN

supidak<sup>w</sup>atu] mi  
 know say  
 DUR

He said, "You should learn to lasso cattle".

### Aspect

'/Fortis	DUR (see STEMS)
-pʃ	PERF PRTC
-u/hu	PNCT
-dua	UNR
-tʃa	again
-k <sup>w</sup> ʃ	POT
-wtʃ	CONT (SG)



-wami	CONT (DL)
-kono	CONT (PL)
-p+ni	COMPL/STAT
-ni+mi	STAT (SG)
-mo'o	STAT (DL/PL)
-yai	HAB (PERF)
-yak <sup>wi</sup>	HAB (IMPRF)/REPET
-no'o	go along doing

n† u-noo	yadu'a	na-t†ka-d†	na-t†ka-p†
<i>I her-with</i>	<i>talk</i>	<i>REFL-eat-PRTC</i>	<i>REFL-eat-PERF</i>
	<i>DUR</i>		<i>PRTC</i>
<i>I talked with her.</i>		<i>The food was eaten.</i>	

pauma-hu-k <sup>w†</sup>	<i>It will rain.</i>
<i>rain-PNCT-POT</i>	

usu mogo'ni	saa-d†	u	t†ka-u
<i>that woman</i>	<i>cook-PRTC</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>eat-PNCT</i>
<i>The woman, who was cooking,</i>			<i>ate it.</i>

muu'a	punni-dua	<i>I'll see you tomorrow.</i>
<i>tomorrow see-UNR</i>		

n† muu'a	sa'a	punni-dua	toisapa
<i>I tomorrow later see-UNR</i>			<i>really</i>
<i>I'll see you again tomorrow</i>			<i>for sure.</i>

n† sim†na	tui-hanano'o-tui	†	punni-dua
<i>I might any-when-any</i>		<i>you see-UNR</i>	
<i>I might see you</i>			<i>sometime.</i>

[n† ka	gai	t†-hoawai-g†a-na]	sim†na	n†	tauna-mai-dua
<i>I ACC not UNSPEC-hunt-go-SUBR</i>			<i>maybe</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>town-to-UNR</i>
<i>If I don't go hunting,</i>			<i>maybe</i>	<i>I will go to town.</i>	

[n† tauna-wai-si]	bui	na-t†ka-d†	t†m†-k <sup>w†</sup>
<i>I town-to-SUBR</i>	<i>green</i>	<i>REFL-eat-PRTC</i>	<i>buy-POT</i>
<i>I will go to town and</i>			<i>buy vegetables.</i>

sim†na	n†	muu'a	t†h†j†a-ga-ga-k <sup>w†</sup>
<i>might</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>	<i>deer-hunt-might-POT</i>
<i>I might go deer</i>			<i>hunting tomorrow.</i>

su	tauna-mai-k <sup>w†</sup>	tultu	saa-k <sup>w†</sup>
<i>she</i>	<i>town-to-POT</i>	<i>either</i>	<i>cook-POT</i>
<i>She will go to town or</i>			<i>cook the dinner.</i>

su kadt-nu-du-k<sup>w</sup>† [gai tabi saa-na]  
 he chair-make-POT not noon cook-NR  
 He will make the chair instead of cooking dinner.

[nimmi ta-tanomani-si] usu ni wa'agi-w†nt  
 we RDP-run-SUBR he us yell-CONT  
 We were running away when he was yelling at us.

[usu saa-w†ni-na] o pt-pt'a-m† t†ka  
 he cook-CONT-SUBR his friends eat  
 He was cooking while his friends were eating.

usu t†ka-w†nt†	umi t†ka-kono
he eat-CONT	they eat-CONT
He is eating.	PL
	They are eating.

[umi saa-kono-na] m† p†a'a t†ka  
 they cook-CONT-SUBR their friend eat  
 PL  
 They were cooking while their friend ate.

usu i kadt-nu-tu i punni-p†ni  
 he my chair-make me see-COMPL  
 DUR  
 He watched me make the chair.

n† h††-dul waanamoko-waitu mia-p†ni  
 I time-any Winnemucca-towards go-COMPL  
 I went to Winnemucca a few times.

tabi-wano n† yau kadt-nimmi  
 day-all I here sit-STAT  
 I have sat here all day.

umi t† kapa-kuba bok<sup>w</sup>a-mo'o  
 they own bed-on lie-STAT  
 PL  
 They are lying on their beds.

n† nano'oct t† nawak†no † punni-yai-dua  
 I every Monday you see-HAB-UNR  
 I will see you every Monday.

usu u naka [ka paba-u nana n†ka mia-yak<sup>w</sup>i]  
 he him hear ACC big-ACC man I go-REPET  
 EMPH  
 He heard the big man call me (again and again).

sistmina n̄ cikana noho awamua t̄ka-yak<sup>W</sup>i  
*sometimes I chicken egg morning eat-REPET*  
*Sometimes I eat eggs for breakfast.*

[u mia-no'o] n̄ tanomani-no'o  
*him go-along I run-along*  
*While he was walking along, I was running along.*

## OVERALL VERB STRUCTURE

want-DISTR-REFL-INSTR-CAUS-STEM-BEN-PNCT-DIRL-ASP-HAB-UNR-  
 (su-) UNSPEC SUBR-ADVR

n̄ su-na-ni-su-t̄thai  
*I want-REFL-INSTR-CAUS-pity*  
*I want to pray.*

um̄ na-na-hoisu na-na-bunni  
*they RDP-REFL-REFL RDP-REFL-see*  
*(DISTR)*  
*They are looking at each other.*

usu ka nat̄ i t̄m̄i-k̄i-u  
*he ACC belt me buy-BEN-PNCT*  
*He bought a belt for me.*

u pabi'i u t̄bic̄ naak<sup>W</sup>i-u-ga-yak<sup>W</sup>i  
*his brother him really accompany-PNCT-DIRL-REPET*  
*His brother will really get him to go along with him.*

pauma-hu-k<sup>W</sup>̄  
*rain-PNCT-POT* *It will rain.*

simina n̄ muu'a t̄th̄ja-ga-ga-k<sup>W</sup>̄  
*might I tomorrow deer-hunt-go-POT*  
*Tomorrow I might go deer hunting.*

um̄ na-na-pido t̄ni-k̄i-jak<sup>W</sup>i  
*they RDP-REFL-turns sing-POT-REPET*  
*(DISTR)*  
*They took turns singing.*

n̄ nano'oct̄ t̄i nawak̄no † punni-yai-dua  
*I every Monday you see-HAB-UNR*  
*I will see you every Monday.*

usu kimma-u-gi-na-su            *He is coming again.*  
*he come-PNCT-DIRL-SUBR-ADVR*

Reduplication for dual will not co-occur with prefixing.

um† ka nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai-tu ki-kimma-u  
*they ACC house-in-to RDP-come-PNCT*  
*(DL)*

*They come to the house.*

um† ka nobi-k<sup>w</sup>al-tu su-kimma-u  
*they ACC house-in-to want-come*  
*They want to come to the house.*

## COORDINATION

Two nouns may be conjoined with a conjunction immediately following one of the nouns.

-noo	<i>with/and (NOM)</i>
nooku	<i>with/and (ACC)</i>
piti	<i>or</i>

toog†-noo kaad† tiipa-kuba y†k<sup>w</sup>†  
*dog-and cat ground-on sit*  
*DL*  
*DUR*

*The dog and cat sit on the ground.*

n† naaci nooku cia'a punni            *I see the boy and girl.*  
*I boy and girl see*  
*ACC*

himma usu paca-u mopoŋa piti muibi  
*what he kill-PNCT mosquito or fly*  
*What did he kill, a mosquito or a fly?*

The conjunction p†ti or can also conjoin temporals.

usu mino'o tabi saa-k<sup>w</sup>† p†ti saa'a  
*he now noon cook-POT or later*  
*Will she cook lunch now or later?*

Clauses may be conjoined with a conjunction placed in the second clause.

=slapɪ	but
yaisi	then (temporal sequence)
pɪno'o	DS
tu'itu	or
tɪwau	also
pana	but

nɪ sikudu-ga=siapɪ nɪ gai u-ma sunami  
 I school-go=but I not it-to think  
 I went to school, but I didn't pay any attention.

nɪ waanamoko-mai=siapɪ usu gai  
 I PN-to=but he not  
 I went to Winnemucca, but he didn't.

usu u tiino-wai-tu mia-u-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ yaisi tɪwau  
 he that PN-to-go go-PNCT-POT then also

waanamoko-wai-tu  
 PN-to-go  
 He is going to Reno and then to Winnemucca also.

usu tauna-mai-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ tu'itu saa-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ  
 he town-to-POT or cook-POT  
 He will go to town or cook.

usu o-witu mia-k<sup>W</sup>ɪ i-witu tɪwau  
 he that-place go-POT this-place also  
 He will go to that place and this also.

nɪ izi'i tauna-mai pana usu gai  
 I yesterday town-to but he not  
 I went to town yesterday but he didn't.

Most conjoining of clauses is done by juxtaposition, with a repetition of inflection, subject, or other.

u mia-no'o nɪ tanomanɪ-no'o  
 him go-along I run-along  
 DUR DUR  
 He was walking along, and I was running along.

izi'i nɪ tauna nimmi yaa tabinu nɪ paamu-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu  
 yesterday I town travel this day I hot-to-go  
 springs  
 Yesterday I went to town and today I went to the hot  
 springs.

If the second clause is negated, then gapping will delete all repeated material.

nɪ ɪzi'i tauna-mai pana usu gai  
*I yesterday town-to but he not*  
*I went to town yesterday but he didn't.*

nɪ ka kaadɪ punni usu gai I saw the cat, but he didn't.  
*I ACC cat see he not*

nɪ ka kaadɪ punni gai ka toogɪ  
*I ACC cat see not ACC dog*  
*I saw the cat, but not the dog.*

Gapping is blocked if the second clause is not negated.

muigasu nanasati-k<sup>W</sup>ai ni kusa timɪ yaa nɪ nati timɪ  
*last week-in I pants buy now I belt buy*  
*Last week I bought some pants; now I bought a belt.*

#### COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Complement clauses, whether subject or object, may be finite. They can be embedded questions (see EMBEDDED QUESTIONS) or regular complement clauses. They may take -na *SUBR* as their final element, or they may take case switch (i.e., the subject is marked *ACC* and the object *NOM*), but in all other respects they are indistinguishable from main clauses.

#### Subject Complement Clauses

Sentences that take clauses as subjects usually have for their predicate an intransitive verb stem transitivized by a causative, or a transitive stem passivized. The complement clause must be marked by -na *SUBR* and never experiences case switch.

[usu toga-bina tɪ-nik<sup>W</sup>i-na] I ni-ma-sɪta'a  
*he night-middle UNSPEC-sing-SUBR me by-CAUS-angry*  
*speech DUR*  
*His singing at midnight made me mad.*

[kami wigia na-k<sup>W</sup>isi-na] tɪnɪ na-manak<sup>W</sup>i  
*rabbit blanket REFL-weave-SUBR hard REFL-do*  
*Rabbit blanket weaving is hard to do.*

If the embedded clause does not have a logical subject, the embedded object can be raised to become a matrix subject by a rule resembling "tough movement".

[pasa-pt sit-bi] tnt [ntipayu'i]  
 dry-PERF willow-ABS hard split  
 PRTC  
 Dry willows are hard to split.

### Object Complement Clauses

Certain verbs may optionally take clauses as objects. The complement clause may take -na *SUBR*, and when marked for case, the embedded subject will be marked *ACC* and the embedded object either *NOM* or *EMPH*. The complement clause can precede the verb or be moved to follow it.

usu [ni kadf-nu-tu] ni ni-yual-kt-u  
 he us sit-NR-make us by-stop-APPLIC-PNCT  
 DUR speech  
 He stopped us from making chairs.

usu i bunnī [gai pt-mi k<sup>w</sup>atī-na]  
 he me see not he-EMPH shoot-SUBR  
 at  
 He saw I wasn't shooting at him.

If the embedded subject is not coreferential to the matrix subject, it can be raised to, or copied as, the matrix object.

nt u ni-dau [t kucu-ma tīmī't]  
 I him by-stop you cattle-sell  
 speech DUR  
 I stopped him selling your cattle.

usu ni bunnī [tīt]a ni hoawa'i]  
 he us see deer us hunt  
 DUR  
 He saw us hunting deer.

nt ka nana punni-pīni [o kadf-nu-du]  
 I ACC man see-STAT him sit-NR-make  
 I saw the man make the chair.

If the subject is not raised, the whole embedded clause may have a pronoun copy *u it ACC* as matrix object.

nt u supidak<sup>w</sup>atu [nt gai kucu-ma tīmī't]  
 I it know I not cattle-sell  
 DUR DUR  
 I know I didn't sell cattle.

Verbs of mental action and direct quotation are a special case of complements and frequently take a whole discourse as complement. These verbs block case switch. Direct quotations, whether actually said or just thought, end in *mi say*.

nt u supidak<sup>w</sup>atu [usu gai i bunni]  
*I it know he not me see*  
 DUR  
*I knew he didn't see me.*

usu mi u sunami [nt t-noo mla-u] mi  
*he say it think I you-with go-PNCT say*  
*He thought, "I went with you".*

## EMBEDDED QUESTIONS

Questions can be embedded as subject or object in a clause, but object embedding is far more frequent. They are finite and can be fully inflected. They may be marked with *-na SUBR*. But other than that, embedded content questions are identical to nonembedded questions.

Questions embedded as subjects usually involve passivization of the main verb and occur sentence initial.

[hanano'o su t+kab+ noho] gai na-supidak<sup>w</sup>atu  
*when he bread bake not REFL-know*  
 DUR  
*When he baked bread is not known.*

Yes/no questions may have some form of *hau whether/if* instead of a question marker.

[ha'u su-mla-na] muasu na-supidak<sup>w</sup>atu-pni  
*whether want-go-SUBR already REFL-know-STAT*  
*Whether he wants to go is already known.*

Object embedded questions occur sentence final and may begin with *ka ACC*.

I t+k<sup>w</sup>i mino'o [ka hau t+ t+k<sup>w</sup>a-w+n+na]  
*me tell now ACC if UNSPEC snow-CONT-SUBR*  
*Tell me now if it is snowing.*



ni su-supidak<sup>w</sup>atu [hau yaa tabinu pauma-k<sup>w</sup>i]  
*I want-know if this day rain-POT*  
 DUR

*I want to know if it will rain today.*

ni u supidak<sup>w</sup>atu [hanano'o saa-u mani-na]  
*I it know when cook-PNCT become-SUBR*  
 DUR

*I know when he became a cook.*

usu supidak<sup>w</sup>atu [haka ti adt tittha-u-na]  
*he know whom UNSPEC gun steal-PNCT-SUBR*  
 DUR

*He knows who stole his gun.*

The question can have a pronoun copy *u it* placed before the verb. Also the question marker can occur instead of *hau whether/if* for a yes/no embedded question.

mi pabi'i u su-supidak<sup>w</sup>atu [i ha'a yaa  
*your older it want-know you Q this*  
 brother DUR (day)

ti-hoawai-gia-k<sup>w</sup>i]  
*UNSPEC-hunt-go-POT*  
*Your brother wants to know if you are going hunting*  
*(today).*

## RELATIVE CLAUSES

### General

A noun, regardless of its function in the main clause, may be modified by a relative clause. The relative can precede or follow an overt head, occur without a head, or be moved to follow the whole main clause. Relatives whose heads are matrix subjects or possessors most frequently directly follow their head.

usu toog<sup>t</sup> [izi'i ni punni-na] yaa tabinu ni  
*that dog yesterday us see-SUBR this day us*

naki-kia  
*chase-go*  
 DUR

*The dog which we saw yesterday chased us today.*

usu ka nana [pt-noo i tġ-hoawai-yai-na] tua  
*she ACC man he-with me UNSPEC-hunt-HAB-SUBR son*

kuma-du  
*husband-make*  
*She married the son of the man I used to hunt with.*

Those relatives whose heads are objects most frequently are moved to follow the verb. This is in line with a very strong tendency not to divide an untropicalized object from its verb.

nġmmi ka waici mooni-maka [nġmmi mooni'i na-tġġa-dġ]  
*we ACC old money-give we money REFL-ask-PRTC*  
*We gave money to the old man who asked us.*

Relatives attributive to an object of a postposition can occur between the object and the postposition or may be moved to follow the clause with the postposition optionally copied onto the end of the clause. In either case the postposition, if bound, will attach to the last word of the clause. The subordinator may drop before a postposition.

nġ ka i aakġġ [uga maġak<sup>w</sup>ġdu]-ma kuna k<sup>w</sup>abitġ  
*I ACC my axe he sharpened-with wood chop*  
*I chopped wood with my axe which he sharpened.*

usu ka hama-ma tġpagida-Jak<sup>w</sup>i [nġ-maku tġ  
*he ACC hammer-with hit-REPET I-from UNSPEC*

tġmi-pt(-ma)  
*buy-PERF(-with)*  
*PRTC*  
*He is hammering with the hammer he bought from me.*

Headless relatives tend to occur in the same position that their head, if overt, would occupy.

usu [tġ kucu tġġha-dġ] naki  
*he own cattle steal-PRTC chase*  
*He chased the one who stole his cattle.*

The noun phrase coreferential to the head is never overt unless it is the object of a postposition or possessive (see Non-Subject Relatives for examples).

nana [pt-noo i mia-na] pak<sup>w</sup>i i maka  
*man he-with me go-SUBR fish me feed*  
*The man whom I went with gave me a fish.*

The predicate of a relative clause is fully finite and can take any inflection a main verb will except the reduplicative plural. Even headless relatives functioning like nominalizations can still inflect with any aspect. No purely nominal affixing can be attached to the relative clause verb except a postposition.

k<sup>w</sup>inunuwi-wɪnt-dɪ tɪtɪcawa-kt-nu  
*spin-CONT-PRTC fan-BEN-NR*  
*mechanical fan*

Relative clauses are semantically restrictive. Non-restrictive clauses are identical to adverbial clauses and are covered under that rubric.

### Subject Relatives

Relative clauses in which the noun phrase coreferential to the head is subject of the subordinate clause are marked with -dɪ *PRTC* suffixed to the final word, the verb. If the head is matrix object, any object or dative object will be marked *NOM* or *EMPH*.

usu toogɪ [bisa ni supɪ]a-dɪ yaa tabɪnu ni bunnɪ  
*that dog good us like-PRTC this day we see*  
*The dog that likes us saw us today.*

ɪ=sak<sup>w</sup>a tɪga ka kak<sup>w</sup>i tuhu'u k<sup>w</sup>ati-u [ka  
*you=should UNR ACC mountain lion shoot-PNCT ACC*

ɪzi'i nɪka nakɪ-dɪ]  
*yesterday I:EMPH chase-PRTC*  
*You should shoot the mountain lion that chased me yesterday.*

Relative clauses can occur without overt heads. There are no special characteristics of headless relatives or nominalizations to distinguish these from other relatives.

usu [tɪ kucu tɪtɪha-dɪ] naki  
*he own cattle steal-PRTC chase*  
*He chased the one who stole his cattle.*

[na-tɪka-dɪ] na-tɪka-pɪ  
*REFL-eat-PRTC REFL-eat-PERF*  
*PRTC*  
*The food was eaten.*



## ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Adverbial ideas can be expressed by adverbial words or phrases or by adverbial clauses subordinate to the main clause. There are four structural types: locative, temporal, *without*, and *until*. Temporal clauses have been extended to cover many other semantic relationships, such as *by means of*, *because*, *in order to*, *if*, and *although*. Subordination is signaled by the final suffix on the predicate and by case switch (i.e., the embedded subject is marked *ACC* and the embedded object marked *NOM*). All movement rules that would result in the predicate being nonfinal are blocked. All adverbial clauses can occur either preceding or following the matrix clause, although some occur immediately following the matrix subject. If the two subjects are coreferential, the embedded or second subject may be, and usually is, deleted.

Locative Clauses

Locationals are often expressed with a clause. An embedded question beginning with the appropriate form of *hano* *where* and ending (like all embedded questions) in *-na* *SUBR* can be used.

nĩ u mayĩ [hano-tĩ maina hiwi-na]  
*I it find where-at mine dig-SUBR*  
*I found where he is digging a mine.*

A relative clause attributive to an object of a postposition can fill in many more details. It may be moved to follow the matrix predicate, but the head will be represented by a coreferential *pi* on which the postposition of the head will be copied. The relative clause itself will have an appropriate postposition following the predicate and, if a bound form, suffixed to it.

nĩmmi ka nobi-k<sup>w</sup>ai-tu mi-mia [pi-k<sup>w</sup>ai-tu i  
*we ACC house-in-to RDP-go it-in-to me*  
 (DL)  
 na-tua-tu-pi-wai-ti]  
*REFL-child-make-PERF-in-at*  
 PRTC  
*We went to the house where I was born.*

Instead of a postpositional expression, a locative word may be used. Then no coreferential pronoun will occur in the embedded clause, but the postposition still follows the predicate.

usu unatt [ti-hoawai] cagi'i nobi-ka'yu  
 he there UNSPEC-hunt near house-have  
 He lives near where he hunts.

That locative word can be an indefinite.

nɪ [ka tui-hano-tui † su-tika-k<sup>W</sup>ai] tɪka-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 I ACC any-where-any you want-eat-in eat-POT  
 I will eat anywhere you want to eat.

Or a locative expression can be formed by suffixing the locative nominalizer -pi *place* onto the predicate of the embedded clause and then adding an appropriate postposition. This -pi is apparently the source of -pi *ABS*.

usu nabu tɪka-pi-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu mia-pɪ  
 he peyote eat-place-in-to go-PERF  
 PRTC  
 He went to the peyote meeting.

usu ti-boo-pi-ma ti-bo'o  
 he UNSPEC-write-place-on UNSPEC-write  
 DUR  
 He wrote on the letter.

### Temporal Clauses

The temporal adverbial clause is the least marked adverbial clause and is used for a variety of adverbial concepts. If the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential, the second (or subordinate) subject will be deleted. If they are not coreferential, the subordinate subject will be marked *ACC* and the embedded direct and dative objects will be marked *NOM* or *EMPH*. The subordinate clause can either precede or follow the main clause.

#### Subordinators:

-si	sequential
-na	simultaneous (SS)
∅	simultaneous (DS)

Temporal adverbial clauses can be used to show temporal relationships.

nɪ [u-noo yadua-si] tɪka  
 I him-with talk-SUBR eat  
 After I talked with him, I ate.

[u saa-mak<sup>w</sup>t-si] nimmi tabi tika  
 him cook-finish-SUBR we noon eat  
 After he finished cooking, we ate dinner.

nimmi ka nana punni [tabi tika-na]  
 we ACC man see noon eat-SUBR  
 We saw the man while we ate dinner.

nimmi nana punni [m<sup>t</sup> duaki tabi tika]  
 we man see PL children noon eat  
 ACC  
 We saw the man while the children ate lunch.

They can be used to express by means of.

ni ka kaazi mabicabi [p<sup>t</sup>d<sup>t</sup>-t<sup>t</sup>p<sup>t</sup> piw<sup>t</sup> ol  
 I ACC car fix new-EMPH battery there

za-katiga-na]  
 force-put-SUBR  
 I fixed the car by putting in a new battery.

usu iwa-u mooni'i-gia mani [owa mooni'i may<sup>t</sup>-si]  
 he much-ACC money-POSSR beome yellow money find-SUBR  
 He became rich by finding gold.

Or temporal adverbials can carry the *because* idea with the cause in the subordinate clause and the effect in the main clause. The main clause usually precedes the subordinate one, but if it doesn't it may begin with *uuni'yu* therefore.

usu i toog<sup>t</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ati-u [ka gai u bizapi-na]  
 he my dog shoot-PNCT ACC not it like-SUBR  
 He shot my dog because he didn't like it.

usu i toog<sup>t</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ati-u [kucu naki]  
 he my dog shoot-PNCT cattle chase  
 He shot my dog because it chased cattle.

[usu tim<sup>t</sup>-ga-k<sup>w</sup>t u mani-gia-k<sup>w</sup>t-si] gai ni-noo  
 he buy-go-POT it do-go-POT-SUBR not I-with

ti-hoawai-gia'a  
 UNSPEC-hunt-go  
 DUR  
 Because he is going shopping, he can't go hunting with me.

[usu ka u n̄midui-na] uuni'yuna u tamaza'i  
 he ACC his relative-SUBR therefore him help  
 DUR

Because he is his relative, therefore he is helping him.

The *in order to* concept can also be expressed this way:

n̄t tauna-i-tu kimma [t̄tkabi t̄t̄mi-k̄<sup>W</sup>i-si]  
 I town-in-to come bread buy-POT-SUBR  
 I went to town to buy bread.

n̄t ka kucu iwa maka [u ma-yuhu-dui-na]  
 I ACC cow lots feed her CAUS-fat-become-SUBR  
 I feed the cow lots to fatten her.

*If* clauses use the same form; the *if* clause is subordinate.

umi [ka p̄imi nobi'ni] tooisa-bui i hani-kia-k̄<sup>W</sup>i  
 they ACC 3P visit chokecherry-berry me give-go-POT  
 EMPH  
 They will give me chokecherries if/when I visit them.

isu t̄t̄k̄<sup>W</sup>a-k̄<sup>W</sup>i [ka caḡi'd̄t̄-ma'yuna ī sual-si]  
 this storm-POT ACC porcupine-at you laugh-SUBR  
 It will snowstorm if you laugh at a porcupine.

[usu ka m̄t̄ nobini-na] usu=ga simina oit̄t̄ m̄t̄ t̄t̄k̄<sup>W</sup>i'i  
 he ACC them visit-SUBR he=might might that them tell  
 DUR  
 If he visited them, he probably told them about it.

Contrary-to-fact conditionals are marked by putting =sak<sup>W</sup>a should in the *if* clause and a modal in the result clause. The subordinator in *contrary-to-fact* clauses is always -na.

[usu iza'a=sak<sup>W</sup>a ika gai ka mago'o-k̄<sup>W</sup>a-i-tu punni-na]  
 that coyote=should it not ACC bag-in-to look-SUBR

su huna=sak<sup>W</sup>a ka pitumaba tabici k̄<sup>W</sup>i-t̄t̄-ka  
 that badger=should ACC whirlwind really carry-away  
 DUR

If that coyote hadn't looked into the bag, that badger would have taken the whirlwind completely away.

[um̄t̄=sak<sup>W</sup>a ka gai ka ni t̄imaht̄ tilpa gai k̄t̄ma-pidosi]  
 they=should ACC not ACC our grazing land not side-change



nabido-na] nfm̄mi=ga mino'o in̄t bisa-'yu-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 trade-SUBR we=might now very good-PRED-POT  
 If they hadn't changed our grazing lands to the other  
 side, we would be much better off.

If clauses can be negated to give the *unless* or *if not*  
 idea.

[gai haga i-noo-na] n̄t gai tauna-mai wa'ni'yu  
 not who me-with-SUBR I not town-to can  
 If no one takes me, I can't go to town.

[n̄t ka gai nobi-k<sup>W</sup>ai-ku u may†-na] n̄t st†m̄t  
 I ACC not house-in-at him find-SUBR I only

t†-hoawai-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 UNSPEC-hunt-POT  
 If I don't find him home, I will hunt alone.

The introduction of a modal to the subordinate but not  
 to the main clause gives the idea of *although*.

tui/tu'i	any/try/even
=sak <sup>W</sup> a	should
=siapt	might
-pana	UNR

[n̄t u nobi-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu tu'i mia-yai-na] gai u may†-di  
 I his house-in-to try go-HAB-SUBR not him find-PRTC  
 Although I went to his house many times, I never found  
 him there.

[tui=sak<sup>W</sup>a n̄t nika m̄t paca-k<sup>W</sup>†]=siapt gai n̄t  
 even=should I I them kill-POT might not I  
 EMPH

na-na-mia-wa'ni'yu  
 REFL-CAUS-go-can  
 Even if it might kill me, still I won't run away.

[tu'i gai haa'no i t†managa-ki-pana] n̄t u-ma u t†mi-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 even not some me pay-BEN-UNR I him it POT  
 sell

Even though he won't pay me much, still I will sell  
 it to him.

The manner adverbial idea is expressed by a subordinate clause ending in either *wa'ni('yu)* *be like* or *tabi'a* *apparently* or both. One can also occur in the matrix clause.

usu [ka naac[-na] ada ]uhu-ŋa na-zo-k<sup>w</sup>ina [o u  
 he ACC boy-SUBR crow grease-with REFL-head-rub DEM it

tɪ mani-wa'ni]  
 UNSPEC do-be  
*like*

When he was a boy he greased his hair with crow's grease  
 like he should.

usu [mɪ mu-mua-tɪpɪ nɪmɪ oka u matabui tabi'a  
 he these RDP-old-EMPH people that it make apparently

k<sup>w</sup>a'ni-su] u matabu'i  
 be-ADVR it make  
*like DUR*

He made it the same way the old people used to make it.

[ka tui-hau-tui maka i matabui tabi'a] ka  
 ACC any-thus-any that me do apparently ACC  
*EMPH*

togɪ'yu-kɪti  
 dislike-BEN  
 Whatever way I fix it, he won't like it.

[tui-hau maka saa tabi'a] nɪ gal a tɪka-wa'ni'yu  
 any-thus that cook apparently I not some eat-can/will  
*EMPH*  
 However she cooks it, I won't eat it.

nɪ [tui-hau-tui maka † plzabi tabi'a-k<sup>w</sup>a'ni] a matabui  
 I any-thus-any that you like apparently-be it fix  
*EMPH like*

tabi'a-k<sup>w</sup>ɪ  
 apparently-POT  
 I will fix it any way you want.

### Other

The adverbial clauses expressing the idea of *without* all begin with *gai* *not* and end with *-pana* *UNR* and contain no other subordinator. They do not show case switch.

usu [gai tabi saa-pana] mlo-k<sup>W</sup>†  
 he not noon cook-UNR go-POT  
 meal

He will go without cooking supper.

usu tthi<sup>Y</sup>ja hoawai-gia [gai tti<sup>W</sup>i-pana]  
 he deer hunt-go not tell-UNR  
 He went deer hunting without telling me.

The adverbial *until* clause uses certain postpositions which share the idea of *staying with* to subordinate the clause. Case switch occurs in *DS* subordinate clauses of this type. The subordinators *nootu* and *nooti* are used with a time idea and *k<sup>W</sup>aitu* with a goal idea.

noo-tu	with-to	} (time)
noo-ti	with-at	
k <sup>W</sup> ai-tu	in-to/live in	(goal)

usu mi i duami nogati-k<sup>W</sup>† [i piti-ga-no'o-t†]  
 she PL my children stay-POT me arrive-DIRL-with-at  
 with until  
 Until I get home, she will watch my children.

i puku in† yabi tika-wini-yak<sup>W</sup>i [††  
 my horse very quickly eat-DUR-HAB UNSPEC

k<sup>W</sup>azi'mlu-k<sup>W</sup>ai-tu]  
 full-in-to-  
 until

My horse always eats very fast until he gets full.

n† gai waanamoko-ma'i [i mooni'li nabonna i  
 I not PN-to my money my check me

g<sup>W</sup>†-no'o-tu]  
 give-with-to  
 until

I won't go to Winnemucca until I get my check.