

4 parts

G 6.5

Swadesh, Morris
1939

Chitimacha grammar, texts and vocabulary
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Grammar, texts, free translations; vocabulary.
Earlier versions of the texts are in G 6.6 and G 6.2.
Vocabulary also in G 6.2

Also: copy 2 of same, lacking p. 169-170 of grammar.

Donor, Morris Swadesh, Dec., 1953

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Section A., texts 1-88, Benjamin Paul
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CHITIMACHA

GRAMMAR

(copy 1)

Grammar contains no p. 55-56 & 228,
but the p. 148.

Chitimacha Grammar

No p. 55 + 56 (non-existent)

Has p. 148 + 148 hrs

p. 228 missing

JKO

Norman

would you keep this at
your place. I don't want
all the copies to be
under one roof, because
sometimes there are fires.

Chitimacha Linguistic Material

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I. Grammar

1. PHONETICS¹

¹The present treatment departs in a few details from that given in Language 10, 343ff. The changes were made on the basis of a reconsideration of the data contained in my notes (and my memory of the actual sounds), and are intended as an improvement in the accuracy of the description and in the representation of the total configuration. Some uncertainties are revealed, which were not recognized in the first treatment.

A purely orthographic change, adopted for typographic convenience, is the use of b d g ʒ ʒ̣ to represent the glottalized stops and affricates.

§1-3 Prosodic Units

§1. The Word. The word is set off as a phonetic unit by certain prosodic and phonetic criteria, not all of which were adequately observed. Phonemes have special variants in final as contrasted with initial or medial² position; such differences are noted, insofar as they were observed, in the description of the different phonemes. Further, there are sequences of consonants that occur in word juncture and not otherwise, e.g. p h as in pu'p hup 'to the rabbit'; these facts are accounted for in the discussion of the phonemes. Finally there are differences in the dynamic weight of syllables according to their position in the word, which likewise help to set off the phonetic unit of the word; these are discussed in § 2.

The word as a phonetic unit in many cases does not coincide with the word as a lexical unit. Composites are a numerous class of lexemes² which have the phonetic characteristics of sequences

²"Lexeme"=lexical unit, see § 115ftn.

of words. On the other hand, sequences of independent lexemes occur amalgamated into a single phonetic word.

§2. The Syllable. The syllable has one initial consonant, one vowel or m or n, and any number of final consonants, from none to five or six. A syllable is formed around m or n when these stand between consonants or in final position after a consonant,¹

¹In the discussion of syllabication a hyphen is used to indicate the point of syllabic division when it falls between phonemes. In the cases where syllabic division falls within a consonant, this consonant is printed in roman type.

e.g., šak-šm-pa 'to saw them', hi|way-tm 'more, better', except when the preceding consonant is y or w, e.g. hi'uyw|he is'. Of medial clusters of consonants, only the last is ordinarily syllabified with the following vowel, e.g., 'unk-pa 'somewhere', 'ašt-kan-ki 'sometime', šakšt-ga 'I want to saw it', kupš-niš 'gray-haired', šahtp_m-gušt_k 'rushing in', ka-kanks-mank 'yellow-hammer'. When the preceding vowel is long, the same rule usually holds, but there is a certain tendency to take less of the cluster with the preceding syllable and more with the following, thus: ordinarily ka'k-wi'g but occasionally ka'-kwi'g 'knowing', ordinarily te'dš-nan but occasionally te'd-šnan 'they are saying'.

A single medial consonant is always syllabified with the following syllable in B. In A, it is syllabified with the following syllable whenever the preceding vowel is long and whenever the following syllable is closed, has a long vowel, or is in phrase-final position; thus: 'a'-wi-ti 'large clam', ko'-ši-ʔi 'he is calling', he-ʔin 'holy', ki-pi 'meat', pi-nun 'red', 'a-niš-ke 'a few', ka-kanks-mank 'yellow hammer', ki-pin-ki 'in the meat'. When the following syllable is open with a short vowel or nasal and is not in phrase-final, a single medial consonant

after a short vowel in A is ordinarily syllabified with both syllables. In this event the preceding syllable is a closed syllable and the following begins in a consonant, although there is but one (unlengthened) consonant involved. Examples: *ini-mi 'he chased them', ōiki-ne-mi 'he tickled him', kiſi he-ſin 'holy woman', kapnac-pikm-pa 'to begin', pini-kank 'red (pl.)', ſuſu-gu 'trunk, coffin', kipi-nun 'mulatto', geti-ſi 'he killed him', pegi-di 'bottle', heſi-gen 'again'.

There are some subtle differences in force and care of enunciating different syllables according to certain mechanical considerations. Part of these differences arise from the fact that each phoneme is given its own time value regardless of its situation, so that it takes (roughly speaking) twice as long to pronounce a series of two consonants at the end of a syllable as it does to pronounce a single consonant. The time value of a syllable depends upon the length of its vowel, whether short or long, and upon the number of final consonants, whether none or part of one (when a single consonant goes with both the preceding and following syllables) or one or two or three, etc.

In addition to differences in time value, there are differences as to the care of articulation and force of enunciation depending on the position of the syllable in the word and phrase and on considerations mentioned in connection with time values. Word-initial syllables, in polysyllabic words and monosyllables ending in a long vowel or a consonant tend to be heavier than other syllables; phrase-final syllables (e.g. the last syllable of *huc kiſa* 'his wife') and pre-finals having the high pitch (e.g. the second syllable of *kaſtuda* 'shove it!') are clearly articulated.

but are weaker than the word-initial syllables. Closed syllables and syllables containing a long vowel are heavier than open syllables with short vowel. The lightest syllables are non-initial open syllables with short vowel not in phrase final; and short-voweled monosyllables not in phrase-final and not bearing the high pre-final tone are almost as light: thus, the second syllables in the following three examples are very light: pinikank 'red (pl.)', kiči hožin 'holy woman', šuš ki gan 'not in the woods'; also the first syllables of we paně 'that man', hi te'ti 'he said', ni ŋuča 'do it!'. The weight differences are fairly subtle except as between the extreme types.

§33. Phrase, Clause, Sentence. The words that make up a phrase are ordinarily spoken together without any pause. The phrase is further characterized as a prosodic unit by being spoken on one of two melodic patterns, one with high final syllable, and one with high pre-final syllable. Between one phrase and the next, there may or may not be a pause, and the pause may be very brief. There is usually no break in the enunciation of successive phrases in normally fast speech; thus, in we waštik kičandī nuhōpi'ī 'the cow chased the woman', the two *k*'s are usually pronounced with a single closure (as is regular when two homorganic stops come together in adjacent words) in spite of the fact that the two words belong to different phrases. Phrases are set off from each other by marks ' or ', placed at the end of each phrase and indicating the phrase melody.

There is often little pause between clauses in the same sentence, but the two clauses are phonetically disconnected; that is, the final sound of one clause does not run together with the initial sound of the next clause. A clause is set off from a following clause

in the same sentence by a comma.

The sentence is marked by a full pause at the end. In addition there seems to be a modulation of the phrase melodies toward the end of the sentence, but this feature has not yet been studied out sufficiently to be described. The sentence is indicated by means of a period.

§4-27 The Phonemes

§4. The following tables show the phonemes with a partial indication of their quality. * marks defective phonemes.

Phrase Melodies:

High Final:

High Pre-Final (low final):

Vowels:

Short: i e a o u (ə)*

Long: i* e* a* o* u*

Consonants:

	Obstruents			Sonorants		
	Stops and affricates		Fricatives	Nasals	Semi-Vowels	Liquids
	For-tis	Lenis Ejectives				
Bilabial	p	b		m	w	
Labio-dental					v*	
Linguo-dental	t	ɖ		n		l*, r
Alveolar Sibilant	c	ʒ	s			
Palatal Sibilant	ç	ʝ	š			
Palatal					y	
Guttural	k	g		(ŋ)*		
Glottal	ʔ		h			

I am uncertain as to the status of *e* and *ɲ*; see §10 and §26. *y* occurs only in B; see §29. *l* and *r* occur only in a few imitatives (§92); they are pronounced like French *l* and *r* (§50). Overlong vowels, marked *iːː* *aːː*, occur in some imitatives; see §92.

§§5-7 Phrase Melodies

§5. The present description is hardly complete in detail, but gives some general notion of the tonal character. In all cases the syllables preceding the high-toned syllable are spoken more or less on one level, which may be called the normal tone. In the high-final phrase melody the last syllable is given a higher pitch; in A, this tone is usually about a minor third above the normal tone. High final tone is marked with [˘] placed at the end of the phrase. This mark is omitted in quoting a single word or phrase.

§6. In the high-prefinal phrase melody, the second or third last syllable has the high tone and the last syllable has a tone somewhat lower than the normal. The high tone is most commonly on the penult, but in some words and phrases falls on the antepenult. If the antepenult is high, the penult may also be high or may have the pitch of the ultima. Sometimes a falling tone instead of a high tone is heard. High-prefinal melody is marked with [˘] placed at the end of the phrase; in the cases where the high pitch is on the antepenult, this syllable is marked with [˘], but the cases of high pitch on the penult are not specifically marked.

As high-prefinal melody, I class a unique case in B of a phrase-final long vowel with falling tone, namely, *ʔap ɕaː˘* 'come here!' This is the only known case of a phrase-final long vowel. A has *ʔap ɕaː*.

§7. In excitement the intervals of pitch are increased. Some particularly striking cases of this were noted in high-pre-final melodies, as in hank 'apš tapša' 'step this way!' (shouted to a person standing near a dangerous snake) 57a;¹ the tone is

¹Text references are given by means of a number and letter, representing the text number and the paragraph in part II. B texts have a B set before the number, A texts omit the letter. The present reference is then to part II, section A, text 57, paragraph a. Note that the translations given in the illustrations of the grammatical discussion do not necessarily coincide with that given in the text.

definitely falling rather than level. Perhaps such cases should be recognized as constituting a distinctive melodic type.

(8-~~25~~) Vowels

§8. Vowels may occur after and between consonants, but never at the beginning of a word or in vowel clusters. Long and short vowels occur in the same positions except that only short vowels occur in phrase final position, or immediately before a final²?. However, a long final vowel was heard in B in 'ap ča'' 'come!'

Long vowels are about twice as long as short vowels, tending to be somewhat shorter than this in closed syllables and somewhat longer in open syllables. They are decrescendo.

§9. There is a tendency to nasalize vowels in the neighborhood of nasal consonants. This nasalization seems most regular in final vowels preceded by^a nasal, e.g. žima 'night', ti^ama 'grits', ne 'also', hi^amu 'bee', di^apno 'cardinal', ka^ani 'seed'. In other positions nasalization is always noticeable only for e a a', e.g., ne^ama 'oil', ga^an 'not', ke^an' 'uncle', nuč^ama^am 'worker', ha^ana 'house',

da'na 'mat'. Nasality extends to an adjoining syllable of a disyllabic word when only ʔ or h intervenes between the two vowels; thus in ka'han 'unable', nehe 'self', naʔa 'they are'. But this rule does not apply in the tri-syllabic word nehə'pu 'doll'.

The affirmative interjection ʔe'he (A,B) or he'he (B) ordinarily has nasality in both vowels.

§10. On the whole the evidence seems to indicate that the assumption of a phoneme e is unnecessary and that cases where such a phoneme was formerly assumed involve variants of other phonemes. If this correction is justified, the original notation of e is to be reinterpreted as i in the majority of cases; in some cases, it was written for other short vowels. In a few cases, em was written for syllabic m (§27). e was recorded only in light syllables, and for the most part only in the lightest type (§2), where vowel qualities depart most from the most distinctive norms and where extreme brevity makes differentiation difficult. That the new interpretation may be correct is suggested by variant writings of the same word. When the informant was asked to syllabify, thus giving the light syllables more time and attention than they ordinarily receive, he sometimes retained an e-like vowel timbre; this perhaps need not be regarded as contradictory evidence. The evidence of the written forms is complicated, and it is by no means completely certain that the new formulation is correct. e was rarely recorded in B.

§11. i and u are respectively high front and high back rounded. They vary from high narrow (Eng. beat, boot) to a slightly wider quality (not quite as wide as Eng. fit, foot). The wider variety occurs in all closed syllables except those ending in ʔ, e.g. hiʔin 'porch, deck', niʔá 'lane', yo'tiʔ 'summer', kiʔ 'women', suʔ 'water

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oak', nučmi'g 'working', 'unkpa 'somewhere', kuš 'tree'; also in the first syllables of 'uči ke 'somebody or other', kubidi 'moccasin snake', pinikank 'red (pl.)', which are closed syllables because of the nature of the following syllable (see §2). The wider quality also occurs in open syllables followed by ʔ in turn followed by a like vowel having the wider quality by virtue of a closed syllable, e.g., hi'ink 'chez lui', tu'uš 'shoe'. In prosodically light syllables, the wider quality is common even when the syllable is open; thus in the second syllables of nahzibu 'child', pinikank 'red (pl.)', ti'guni'g 'angry', hiimu ziya 'honey', kici nahzibu 'girl'. In A i and u in this position tend to be somewhat centered. i in this position approaches a mid narrow central quality when preceded by a guttural or labial, e.g. pegidi 'bottle', gamigi 'long'; when a dental precedes, the quality tends to be front, e.g., hesigen 'again', ʔatigi 'large'; it may be slightly rounded in the neighborhood of an m or w, as in nešziwa 'alligator'. Examples of i and u with narrow quality: hi'ɪ 'he is', tu'ʉ 'hole', su'ʉ 'skin', ʔi'ɪ 'tooth', ʃi'ɪ 'rope', ku'ʉ 'water', hipi 'prairie', ʔasi 'man', huču 'bayou clam', hoku 'mortar', ʔuči 'he did it'.

B seems to have the close variety almost exclusively, except in very light syllables.

§12. i and u are close in quality, except that i is open in quality in A before k or g of the same syllable. Examples: ti'ma 'grits', ʃi'ša 'fine seive', ʃi'š 'leaf', ni'hkup 'downward', hamči'dina'ʔa 'they will have', ku'mit 'squirrel', hu'h 'lake', tu'kun 'bag', ʔu'šti 'clothes'. Examples of open i in B before k and g of the same syllable: ni ti'kmiš 'governor', kap ti'ksn 'despicable', nuhōwi'g 'standing'.

§13. o and o* are mid-close back rounded (French eau).
 Examples: poku 'wind', ?okun 'shoulder', gohta 'snail', dipno
 'cardinal', ko? 'aunt'; ?o*nak 'all', ?o*? 'buzzard', ?o*t 'chicken',
 ?o*ta 'crawfish', ?o*gs 'many'. o sometimes has a somewhat more
 open quality in komtepa 'cover', which is the only word in which o
 occurs before a nasal.

§14. i and i* do not occur after initial y nor before final
y or y*. u and u* do not occur after initial w nor before final
w or w*. i*y and u*w, as also o*w, do not occur anywhere before
 consonants, and iy, uw, ow were heard only rarely before medial
 consonants with the exception of ?, examples of which are tuw?i?na?a
 'they are dying', niy?i?i?i 'he is wading'. In words where iy, uw,
ow were heard before other consonants than ?, it was also common
 to hear i* u* o*; thus ni huwpuykin 'I used to farm' was also
 heard as ni hu*puykin¹.

§15. e is a front vowel varying between mid narrow and low
 narrow quality. It is low narrow (between set and sat) in phrase
 final, and within the word before ?, h, m, n; examples: pe?e 'it
 lies', ge?e*b 'bed', ge? 'neck', nehe 'self', nehti 'he struck',
 nema 'oil', hen? 'cane-rod splint', denu 'blue frog', ?ip?zapenk
 'by the loggerhead turtle', paye 'side'. A mid narrow quality
 (French été) occurs in non-final open syllables except before ?
h m n, e.g. pe?i 'he flew', keta 'partner', ge?uk 'I'll kill him',
 pagis 'up', ?u?eya 'fence', pehneki 'I'm tired'. A similar qual-
 ity occurs in light word-final syllables, ^{not in phrase final,} e.g. hu?h ne gan 'not
 even the lake', we nema 'that oil'.¹ An intermediate quality

¹Note that we was written weʲ in The Phonetics of Chitimacha, eʲ being treated as a defective phoneme (p. 356). The existence of the same variant in phrase-medial ne was overlooked. These are the only common cases of this sound in word-final position.

(slightly more close than Eng. set) occurs in closed syllables other than before ʔ h m n, e.g. peʲk 'flying', hespani 'Spaniard', teʲp 'fire', wetk 'then', heʲwank 'nephews and nieces', tekt 'briers', ketmiʲ 'rat, mouse'.

e before y in the same syllable is sometimes pronounced with the intermediary quality, sometimes with a closer quality so that the combination is like the vowel of English fade. Examples in which the more open quality was heard: kap neʲyɡ 'drying off', teʲyɡ 'sitting', heʲʔi 'ten', neʲʔ 'earth', weʲ 'that one'; examples in which both qualities were heard interchangeably: peʲpit 'rosin', weypt 'peach', neʲt 'tobacco', ʂeyti 'Grand River', ʂeyt 'straight', heʲvi 'right away'.

The lowest of the three varieties of e in B is like the vowel of Eng. set.

§16. e is low front (like Eng. bad). Examples: ʂe 'nest', ʂe 'ni' 'pond', pe 'sdemank' 'garter snake', ne 'pē' 'land turtle', he 'yg' 'bringing'.

§17. a and a are low central or back unrounded (German hasse and Haken). Examples: ʂa 'a 'd' 'bayou', wa 'aʂ' 'ear', wa 'maternal uncle', gasta 'north'; ʂa 'mu' 'flower', ʂa 'hken' 'basket', ʔa 'yʔ' 'mother', na 'wa' 'sand'.

§§18-29 Consonants

§18. Generally speaking, consonants occur before, after, and between vowels and before, after, and between consonants. Special limitations of particular consonants and consonant types are given below.

§19. p t k are voiceless and moderately fortis. They are unaspirated in word-final position (e.g. ?ap 'hither', tep 'fire', ku'mit 'squirrel', nuk 'outside'), moderately aspirated in pre-vocalic position, (e.g., pinun 'red', geti 'he killed him', tekina?a 'they told me'), heavily aspirated in preconsonantic position within the word (e.g. ?utšuk 'I shall tie', hi waytm 'more', ?ukga 'I want to count', t in wetk 'then', the first p in kappa 'light'). The amount of aspiration before a vowel is conditioned by the weight of the syllable (§2) so that the t of ti'ma 'grits' is more strongly aspirated than the t of geti gayik 'I did not strike him'. Before š and s, the aspiration is hardly audible apart from the following spirant; examples: kapš 'name', siksi 'eagle'. Pre-consonantic p t k are only moderately aspirated in B.

§20. c and č are affricates similar to the initials of German Zentrum, English church. Examples: ša?a*d 'bayou', kiča 'woman', pa'witšuk 'I shall stitch', nuščk 'running', hamčišuk 'I shall have', casn 'tender', hacga 'I want to measure', zahczahen 'salty', ?uc 'ears'. c č do not occur after n in the same syllable.

§21. b d g ʒ ʒ̣ are voiceless lenis oral stops and affricates accompanied ordinarily by glottal closure. They occur only (1) before vowels and (2) ^{in syllabic final} after long vowels or sequences of vowel plus sonorant. The strength of the glottalization varies according to the weight of the syllable. In initial syllables and other fairly heavy syllables, the glottal release is slightly retarded in A, coming after the oral release, e.g. da'na 'mat', ʒo't 'chicken', bakkakniš 'flat'; though the oral closure is relatively lenis, there is nevertheless some compressive (ejective) force in its explosion. In light syllables, the glottal release tends to be synchronous with the oral release, e.g. nadičuk 'I'll lie down', šagiti 'he hung it up'. When the ^{ejectives} glottalized lenis occur in syllabic final, the glottal stricture slightly precedes the oral closure, the glottal release coming before or with the oral release; examples: wa'bten 'knife', no'dāi'g 'drifting', toyg 'sitting', ču'čuying 'he has to go'. The glottal stricture tends to be less clear-cut in B, taking the form of a glottal trill rather than a closure.

§22. Of the stop-affricates, only k and g occur in word final after a nasal, e.g., hi ʒamg 'seeing', ʒiš ʒank 'my aunt' (with -k suffix, see §168), ču'čuking 'I must go', ka'čpank 'with a stick'. After n in a polysyllable, the stop is weaker than in other positions (cf. §26); this does not apply in a monosyllable, e.g. hanč 'hither'.

§23. ʔ, glottal stop, varies from a strong glottal closure

to a mere hiatus with no audible glottal element. It is ordinarily quite strong at the beginning of a word, e.g., ʔaki 'entrails', ʔuks 'snake', ʔapš 'coming back'. At the beginning of non-initial syllables, it is plainly audible when either the preceding or following syllable has the high tone, e.g. šaʔa 'sleep', hiʔi 'he is', hewʔu 'nephew', nesʔums 'scorpion'; otherwise, it is weak or reflected only in a syllabic division, e.g. natmaʔinki 'when he told him', hus hiʔink šuyiki 'I went to him', ʔamʔiši 'he is looking'. In word-final, it is quite strong, e.g. geʔ 'neck', šīʔ 'rope', ʔaʔ^y 'mother'. When ʔ follows m n y w, the glottal closure takes place before the preceding consonant is released, e.g., hinʔiš 'only, in vain', hi ʔamʔa 'look!', himʔ 'you', neyʔ 'earth'. I₂B₂ʔ occurs only in word initial and between vowels. In A, it also occurs in medial pre-vocalic position preceded by a continuant (never by a stop); also finally after a short vowel or a sonorant in monosyllables at the end of sentences, and sometimes at the end of a phrase within the sentence.

§24. s š are voiceless sibilant spirants like the initials of English sip, ship. Examples: šupšu 'lungs', siki 'eagle', šuš 'tree', kaš 'clam', hišgiš 'under', hus 'he', waʔkati 'late, evening', naʔkšbu 'children'. Two sibilants never occur in succession within a word.

s has not been found after dental stops, but there are a few cases of tš and dš, e.g., weytš 'thus' with -š postposition, teʔdšna 'they are saying'.

§25. h is an aspiration with indefinite vocalic timbre in part controlled by preceding and following vowels. Examples:

haksigam 'young man', huktk 'locking', hihmu 'bee', ša'hken
 'basket', šuhtpi'g 'boiling it', nehe 'self', gaha 'bite it!',
 pehmā'šna '(hens) are setting'. When h is followed by y or w
 it has in part the timbre of the following semivowel (e.g. nahwi
 'he threw it') and, when the following semivowel is in the same
 syllable, the semivowel is voiceless and the combination may be
 heard as only a voiceless semivowel, e.g., ka'hw 'tongs', hi
 hukuhtik 'I sicked (the dog) at him'. hw seems not to occur after
o u nor hy after e i, but these vowels affect the timbre of the
 following h in A so that it has something of the quality of hw,
hy, e.g., tohk 'breaking', ?uhiya 'cough', ?i'ha' interjection,
 ?ehk 'arriving'. h occurs only before and after vowels; in phrase-
 final position, h and clusters of h plus semivowel are limited
 to monosyllabic words, e.g. šah 'bird, animal', hu'h 'lake',
 ka'hw 'tongs'.

§26. [ŋ] is ^{only} the pre-guttural variant of n in A, if recorded
 final n can be interpreted in all cases as nk and if certain cases
 of recorded [nk] or [ng] can be interpreted other than as n ^{plus} word-
 medial guttural. The first condition is probably correct, since
 the same words were recorded now with, now without k and since
 word-final stops are unreleased and therefore easily overlooked
 in such a position. Of [nk], the most frequently occurring instance
 is [?unkun] 'something' which is perhaps analyzable into two pho-
 netic words, and therefore to be written ?un kun; my recollection
 of the prosody of the expression would bear out this analysis.
 Some cases of recorded [nk] may be incorrect for ntk, thus in
 tiškiniki 'he threw me down', recorded both with and without the

t, [nk] once recorded in ta'dinkank, pl. of ta'din 'younger brother', may have been a mishearing for [ŋk], as is suggested by other comparable plurals; the mishearing or non-hearing might have been due to the singular, which was more familiar to me. Similarly, paradigmatic forms of ?o'ni-, as ?o'nga 'I want to take it away', may have had [ŋ] rather than [n].

In B, on the other hand, there seems definitely to be an independent ŋ phoneme, occurring in final position where A has nk and in medial position before gutturals. In the former position, there is no suggestion of the presence of a final k. In the latter, B's ŋk contrasts with nk in words where A has ntk. Thus, B's ŋ is very limited in its positions of occurrence. Interestingly, B does not have the word ?un kun.

§27. m and n are voiced nasals (Eng. men; night, sink). m is bilabial, n is alveolar except before k or g in the same word, in which position it is guttural. In word final, the nasals are very short and the release is without voice, e.g., kamčin 'deer', ?okun 'shoulder', haksigam 'young man'. Between obstruents and in word-final after an obstruent, the nasal is syllabic, e.g., nučmpa 'to work', hi waytm 'better', casn 'tender, dear'. Examples in other positions: meša 'four', nema 'oil', hamšiči 'he had', wame 'catfish', gimniš 'girl', šunči 'strength', hanki 'here'. A sequence of two nasals occurs only between vowels, e.g., gimniš 'girl', ni šamma 'dance!' n is very rare before a labial consonant, but has been found in such paradigmatic forms as ?o'npa 'to deprive'; m is not similarly restricted, e.g., ?ampup 'whither?', ni šanti 'ball, dance', namkičiči 'he dwelt'.

§28. y and w are semivowels like the initials of English yet, wet. They occur only before and after vowels, except that they may also follow postvocalic h even when not followed by a vowel. After vowels in the same syllable, they have the quality of high narrow vowels but are non-syllabic, e.g., buygi 'good', waymi 'he wove', ka·yʔi 'three', he·yg 'carrying', heyvi 'right away', ka·ywi 'weak', ʔiwgi 'bad', ʔewgi 'deep', ke·wtik 'I belched'. After h in the same syllable they are voiceless, e.g., mahy 'presto!', ka·hw 'tongs'. Examples in syllabic initial: ya·gi 'swift', piya 'cane-reed', wams 'catfish', huhwi·g 'entering', ʔowa 'raccoon'.

§29. y is a labio-dental voiced spirant occurring only in B and limited to a set of demonstrative words including ve 'that, the', vey 'that one', venki 'there', vetk 'then', and a few others. A has w in these words, and B also often uses w.

§§50-51 French and English Words

§30. Some French and English words (especially names) occur in the texts, pronounced with French and English phonetics. These words are set off from the others by being put in roman type as compared with the italics used otherwise in the texts, and the sounds are shown by symbols adapted to represent the phonetics of French and English as pronounced by the informants. The French forms include: dotriv (D'autre-Rive--name of a lake) 9b; delfin (Delphine) 45e, 76a; frōsis (cf. Fr. François, Sp. Francisco, Eng. Francis) 37f; ter bon (Terre Bonne) 37e; ʔq gaš ʔb va terqže (represents an Indian who speaks French poorly, sang de garce, je va t'arranger) 48a; ʔq gaš ʔe terqže

(sang de garce, j'ai t'arrange') 48a; misye pyer (Monsieur Pierre) 48c; zilmi (Zilmi) 58a, d, 65f; mari (Marie) 64c; polin (Pauline) 73g. The phonemes of the local dialect of French are:¹

¹See also G. S. Lane, Language 10.323ff and 11.5ff and references given there.

Vowels: i e ɛ o u (ɔ̃) (ũ) ə ɔ̃.

Consonants: voiceless stops and affricate p t k ç; voiced stops and affricate b d g ʒ; voiceless spirants f s š h;

voiced fricatives v z ʒ; nasals m n; liquids l r; semivowels w y.

e, o, and ɔ̃ are close in open syllables, open in closed syllables; e is especially open before r of the same syllable. ɔ̃ is very low and back. r is a single-tap sound produced with the tip of the tongue. The voiceless stops are slightly aspirated. Otherwise the sounds are about as in Standard French. ç, ʒ, and h, which are lacking in Standard French, are pronounced about like the corresponding sounds in English. ɔ̃ and ũ are present in some varieties of Louisiana French, absent in others. My informants sometimes used them, sometimes replaced them by e and i.

§31. There are very few English words in the texts. In B we have a 'kstre for X-ray, pronounced^{nasal} as a local speaker of English would pronounce this sound complex. A's English pronunciation was marked by an accent, employing French, Indian, and some peculiarly English sounds. I did not make sufficient study of this phonetic system to describe it fully and to provide adequate phonemic symbols for it. I therefore use symbols in these words in their general phonetic values. The instances are: kara'ŋkawe (Karankawa--this word, having been learned from a Spaniard, is

perhaps to be regarded as Spanish rather than English in its
 pronounciational basis) 37d,e; ha'ranten (Harrington) 45e; tam
 (Tom) 48b,c; gi'lbet (Gilbert) 48b; jo'n bo'ldwin (John Baldwin)
 49a.

§§32-34 Critique, Normalization

§32. It may be worthwhile to indicate here as well as I
 can the kinds of phonetic errors which are most likely to have
 crept into my phonetic recording. These include: errors due
 to misspeaking on the part of the informant or mishearing on my
 part; errors in copying; inadequacies in the record due to my
 failure to recognize certain phonetic problems while still in
 the field; errors in normalization, resulting from the attempt
 to translate inadequately recorded data into a strictly nor-
 malized form.

Misspeakings on the part of the informant and mishearings on
 my part were largely eliminated by the expedient of rechecking
 forms again and again. It is possible that some words were not
 rechecked carefully enough, but I am inclined to think that such
 errors are virtually absent. However, there are some types of
 differentiation which are inherently difficult. Simple and
 glottalized stops in very light syllables are hard to distinguish,
 particularly when there is a succession of stops in the word,
 e.g., sagiti 'it hangs', pegidi 'bottle', nahzibu 'small, young
 person'. I believe the informant, too, would sometimes vacillate
 in the pronunciation of such words, making the recorder's dif-
 ficulty even greater. The quality of vowels in light syllables
 was not easy to perceive on account of their extreme brevity.
 Long and short vowels are not too easy to distinguish in closed

syllables in those cases where there is no qualitative difference.

As for errors in copying, I can only say I have guarded very carefully against them.

First among inadequacies resulting from failure to recognize phonetic problems are those connected with word, phrase, clause, and sentence division. I began with the notion that such matters were connected with meaning primarily and with phonetics only secondarily. I wrote preverbs with their verbs until I discovered that the combination had something in common with the phonetics of word groups. Here and in some other places showing similar treatment, I introduced hyphens, but I was also using hyphens in compound words, whether or not they showed phonetic features of a special nature. It was a long time before I recognized the necessity for considering all matters of word division in the light of the phonetic evidence,¹ which meant that I never fully

¹It remains to be demonstrated whether the problem of word division may be regarded as a purely phonetic one in Chitimacha and in other languages. I am inclined to believe that there is much to be discovered in this province of phonetics, that there is much more phonetic marking, by various subtle and obvious means, of word boundaries than are generally recognized. At any rate it is clear that the failure to mark word boundaries in Chitimacha would leave definite phonetic features unindicated.

The recognition of phonetic word-boundaries does not negate the importance of semantic units. Instead, the conclusion to be drawn is that phonetic word and lexeme are not necessarily completely correlated.

observed those data which might prove to be important.

My use of punctuation marks in recording Chitimacha was for the most ^{part} a projection of my own English habits. The idea that there are probably objective phonetic criteria that might be used came as a late afterthought.

Phrasing, on the other hand, presented itself as tangibly real much earlier, on account of the marked phrase intonation. The record of phrasing is far from truly representative, because of the variability in phrasing, and dictation speed probably made for smaller phrases than might otherwise have been used.

As for ^{segmental} (non-prosodic) phonemes, I operated with the theory that there must be a limited number of phonemes such that all utterances were referable to this limited stock of type-sounds without qualification or amendment. I still hold to this fundamental viewpoint, but have come to recognize the complexity of phonetic detail. Early in my work with Chitimacha, I came to recognize some special limited phonemes, occurring only in some positions: glottalized sonorants, ŋ, ɛ, eY, v. The phonemic alphabet I used for the major part of my recording used special signs for these entities. When I finally saw that all of these with the exception of v were not convincingly demonstrated, and that other interpretations seemed to fit the facts better, some of my original recordings were thereby shown to be ambiguous. In some cases there were variant writings which gave the clue; in some cases there was no evidence or not enough evidence.

§33. If one has full knowledge of the phenomena, one should normalize all spellings to correct for slips on the part of the informant and errors in recording. If one has a poor control of the facts, it is usually advisable to retain one's actual recordings as an approximation, which may be used as an indication of what the actual utterances were like. In the present case, the proper treatment presents a problem. My control of the facts is almost satisfactory, but there are certain points in which it is

not completely so. The primary evidence in these cases is very complicated. Shall I retain the ambiguous writings without differentiating them from the mass of unambiguous? This would obviously be confusing. To retain the original writings and provide careful annotations for all cases where there was reason for doubt would be a very difficult and complicated thing to do. I have chosen a course which I believe avoids the difficulty without destroying the evidence. In the texts and grammar, I have used an orthography based on my theory of the phonemic analysis which is most likely to be correct. In the dictionary, I have noted all the cases I know of where the evidence leaves room for doubt about the phonetic form. These notes taken together with the discussion in the present chapter, I feel, give as complete information on the subject as conveniently can be given. Some footnotes to the texts also help.

§34. Alternate forms have to be recognized in certain cases, particularly in the case of inflectional forms. No attempt is made to normalize in such cases. The text forms are given as recorded, and the alternate forms are given in the grammar and in the dictionary.

2. Formational Mechanics

§§35-38 General Remarks

§35. It is proposed in this chapter to discuss the formal aspects of the grammar, so that the following chapters may deal with the functional aspects without digressions. The morphological techniques involved in syntax, inflection, and lexeme-building are discussed, and also phonological changes in the forms. The phonetic form of lexemes and their inflections are discussed; the inflectional suffixes are listed, and irregularities noted.

The names of the grammatical categories have to be used, but no attempt is made to explain them, since they are fully discussed in subsequent chapters.

§36. The ^{morphological techniques of} ~~treatments applied to~~ Chitimacha forms in the expression of meanings include: juxtaposition, phrasing, modulation of phrase melodies, suffixation, amalgamation, suppletion.

Juxtaposition, or the simple placing of one word after another, is the characteristic and usual process in syntax and lexeme building, and also functions in the formation of the periphrastic tense-moods. According to the independence or dependence of the elements and their position, we may distinguish between coordinate ^{in post} juxtaposition, or the combination of potentially independent elements; proclisis, involving the placing of proclitics, incapable of occurring alone, before independent elements; enclisis, involving the placing of enclitics, incapable of occurring alone, after independent elements.

Elements which are ordinarily juxtaposed are sometimes fused into single words; this process may be called amalgamation. It

is most common in composite lexemes, i.e., lexemes derived from syntactic combinations of originally distinct lexemes, as kipinun 'mulatto' < kipi 'flesh, body' + pinun 'red'. It is also found in some paraphrastic inflectional forms and in certain common syntactic constructions.

Since different groupings of the same sequence of words may give different meanings, we may regard phrasing as a morphologic process. Use of the two phrase-melodies falls short of being a purely syntactic process. It is best regarded as dependent on certain lexemic elements (postposition to, interrogative, and certain independent particles) and certain inflectional forms (the interrogative and imperative). The most usual and characteristic use of suffixation is inflection. In addition, while the addition of postpositions is typically postclitic, certain postpositions are combined with the preceding word. One also finds a limited number of root-determinants added to certain roots to make verb-stems; this is a lexeme-building function of suffixation.

Suppletion consists of the use of unrelated or irregularly related forms in cases which are exactly parallel to the use of regularly related forms in more typical instances, e.g., gat- 'to strike, kill one' ; dema- 'to strike, kill several' as compared to witi- 'to shoot one' ; witma- 'to shoot several'. Suppletion is found in Chitimacha mainly in the number and voice inflection of certain verbs.

§37. The morphological processes are accompanied by various phonological changes, both regular and irregular. Changes tend to be limited in application, so little could be gained by devoting a separate section to a general treatment of phonology. Instead,

each change is taken up in the particular connection in which it applies. In general, we may state that the phonology consists mainly in: vowel contraction, iotization (change of vowels a e i to ɨ) under certain circumstances, loss of vowels, contraction of ^{aspirate} simple stop + ^{ejective} ʔ into glottalized stop, loss of h after consonants and other simplifications of consonant groups, sibilant assimilation.

§38. Chitimacha has a striking number of instances of formal differences without difference in meaning. There are alternate forms in inflection. Adjectives generally have more than one form. A few nouns and particles have alternate forms: ka'nuš, ka'ně 'white man; master'; yo'tiš, yo'tě 'summer' (contrast fixed yo'tiš 'roach'); segis, seygs 'interior, inside'; hin'iš, hině 'only', ki'saktis, ki'saktě 'on the left side'.

§§39-54 Syntax

§39. Syntax involves no phonologic complications except for the limited cases of amalgamation and certain cases of variation in form according to position in the phrase. Words are grouped into phrases and pronounced with one or the other of the two phrase-intonations (see §§5-7).

§40. The locus of the high-prefinal tone is partly determined by phonetic, partly by morphological factors. The complete theory is not known. Certain morphemes with open penult syllable always take the high-^{pre}final tone on their penult when they stand at the end of the phrase; thus, ^{interrogative} future singular suffixes -išuki, -išuyi, plural formatives -inaka, -inana (or -ina'na). Otherwise, the high-prefinal tone falls on the phrase penult if it is a closed syllable or contains a long vowel. If the

penult is a light syllable (other than the cases mentioned), the antepenult has the high tone if it is a heavy syllable (closed, long-voweled, or initial in a polysyllable). I do not know what the treatment is if both the penult and the antepenult are light, but believe that it then falls on the penult.

§§41-44 Proclitics and Postpositions

§41. Coordinate juxtaposition is the rule, the cases of proclisis, enclisis, and suffixation being limited. The preverbs and special forms of the demonstratives (§87) are proclitic: these forms occur only before other words.

§42. The only enclitics and syntactic suffixes are postpositions. Postpositions differ as to whether they are postposed or suffixed.

Some postpositions are always postclitic; thus, kin 'with', kečun 'between', čun 'for', ne 'also, even', nak 'and so forth', gan 'not', hugu 'it is', te 'is it?' and a few others. A few postpositions are always suffixed: ^{-s when...} -š (see §166), -k emphatic, -nk (after vowels), -k (after consonants) general relationship, -tka (only with hin, pen 'although', -ngi 'sort of....', -ga (only with pronouns) 'on his part', -in (see §89). When suffixes are added to monosyllables in ?, these take the phrase-medial form (see §51), e.g. ku*k < ku? 'water'. Three postpositions have a suffixal form used after a final vowel of a polysyllable and an enclitic form used in other cases: (-n)ki 'in, at' (e.g., hana-aki 'in a house', ku|ki 'in water', ša'hken ki 'in a basket'), (-n)kite't 'after', (-n)giš 'just, only'. One postposition is made up of a suffix added to the preceding word and an independent en-

clitic which follows: -nkš after vowels, -tkš after n, -kš or occasionally -š after other consonants + te't 'like' (e.g., hana-nkš te't 'like a house', ša-hkentkš te't 'like a basket', šuš-kš te't 'like a tree'); If the preceding word ends in š, the formation may omit any apparent suffix, e.g., šuš te't 'like a tree'; this may be taken to be a simplification of šušš, which is impossible in Chitimacha. One postposition has a suffix after vowel or ʔ → a postclitic but lacks the suffixed part after a consonant other than ʔ: -nk or -nkš after vowels, -kš or -k after ʔ + hiš 'by means of'; examples: ʔasi-nk hiš 'by means of the man', ku'-kš hiš 'by means of water', ney-kš hiš 'by means of earth', šuš hiš 'by means of wood'. hup 'toward' usually takes a suffix -nk after a final vowel of the preceding word, e.g., hana-nk hup 'toward the house' 83c, but the suffix is sometimes omitted, e.g., nahzipu hup 'to the child' 86f.

ʔam 'what?' is irregular in its addition of -nk and (-n)ki, the forms being ʔampink and ʔampinki. With kin, it makes the irregular formation ʔampink kin.

te' interrogative, always stands at the end of its phrase and requires that the phrase have high-prefinal tone.

§43. Personal pronouns containing an s (hus 'he', hunks 'they', was 'you') generally assimilate the š of an immediately following postposition (hiš, giš, -kš); thus, hus hiš or husis 'by him', huskiš 'just he', husks 'he'—emphatic. Unassimilated hus giš and the like occur, but are less common. *Sibilant assimilation of postpositions is also occasionally found after other elements than pronouns, thus, hus ka-mis hiš 'with his rear' 82a.*

§44. Final h and clusters of h + semivowel do not ordinarily occur in polysyllabic words, but in three morphemes are found before a following gan 'not' or ki 'at, in'. Whenever desiderative

verbs in -ga stand before gan, the former takes a final h, e.g., hup^hwigah gan 'I don't want to enter'. šl'ša 'fine sieve' and šušway 'barrel, tub' have an h before ki, as šl'šah ki, šušway ki. Perhaps this h also occurs before other postpositions (as gan, giš) but data is lacking.

§§45-49 Amalgamation

§45. The postpositions hiš and hup usually amalgamate with a preceding personal pronoun. The initial h of the postposition is lost, e.g., 'išiš 'by me', 'išup 'to me'. All the pronouns except him² 'thou' end in a single sibilant and the treatment is exactly like that of 'iš, except for sibilant assimilation in wasis 'by you', hūsis 'by him', hūksis 'by them'. The amalgamations with him² are himsis 'by thee' and himup 'to thee'.

§46. Certain common combinations of noun plus hup may have amalgamation with loss of the initial h; thus hu'hup 'to the lake' (< hu'h), šušup 'to the woods', ke'bup 'to bed' (< ke'e'b), ša'dup 'to the bayou' (< ša'a'd), si'tup 'to the seashore', nusup 'to the west'. Two particle-nouns, pegis 'space above, top part, above' and segis 'interior, inside' have amalgamations with hup involving a loss of the final -is: pegup 'upward', segup 'to the inside'.

§47. The auxiliary hi(h)- often loses its initial h and amalgamates with a preceding participle when the latter ends in -š (this is an optional element in participles), e.g., teygāin, teygāin 'he is seated'.

§48. Amalgamated forms are found in combinations of wašta 'day' or šima 'night' plus ʔungu 'one' or ʔo'nak 'all, every': wašdungu (d < t + ʔ) 'one day', wašdo'nak 'every day, all day', šimdungu 'one night', šimdo'nak 'every night, all night'. Note the irregularity of the inserted t in šima. Unabbreviated wašta ʔungu, wašta ʔo'nak, šima ʔungu, šima ʔo'nak also occur. Forms like wašt ʔungu, šimt ʔungu were also recorded but may be mishearings due to consciousness of the analysis.

§49. Amalgamation occurs of demonstratives wey and sa 'that' and interrogative ʔam 'what?' with ʔuči- 'to do...'¹, giving weyči-

¹Dots are used thus to indicate the transitive implications of verbs.

or weyči- 'to do that', sa'či- or sa'či- 'to do that', ʔamči- or ʔamči- 'to do what?'

§§50-54 Contextual Variation

§50. Words which have certain phonetic forms in isolation or in phrase-final position have different forms in other positions. If we may speak of such words as being basically of the form they have in isolation, they include: (a) words ending in ʔ, including monosyllables of the forms CVʔ and CVSʔ, in which formulas C=any consonant, S=any sonorant consonant, V=any vowel, ʔ=any short vowel; (b) disyllables of the form CVʔVC or CVʔV and all polysyllables ending in -VʔV; (c) polysyllables ending in -a not preceded by ʔ; (d) polysyllables endingⁱⁿ postvocalic -yi or -wi. The changes are partly regular, partly optional or dependent on speed of utterance.

§51. Words of the form CV^o out of context often have this form at the end of a sentence and sometimes in phrase-final within the sentence. Otherwise, they drop the ? in phrase-final. In phrase non-final the ? is dropped and the vowel is lengthened. Examples: ku^o 'water, liquid', hi ka-^oti^oi^o waku(?)', we ku^o hi ka-^oti^oi^o 'he drank that liquid', ku^o ki 'in liquid'.

Words of the form CVS^o are treated the same way with respect to the ?, but the vowel is not affected. Example: ^oa^oy^o 'mother', hi he-^oti^oki^o ^oiš ^oa^oy^o(?) 'I met my mother', ^oiš ^oa^oy^o hananki^o hi^oi^o 'my mother is in the house', ^oiš ^oa^oy^o hiš^o ^ouči^oi^o 'my mother did it'.

In the texts the ? is usually omitted.

B has no final ?. The CV^o words are distinguished by the vowel lengthening in non-final. Sometimes B amplifies the words into CV^oV with repeated vowel, e.g., so^o 'foot' corresponding to A so^o.

§52. All cases of disyllables of the form CV^oVC_A have vowels of the same quality in both syllables; the quantitative pattern is short-short or short-long. In phrase non-final they usually contract the two vowels into a single long vowel of the given quality, e.g., ke^oe^op 'bed', ke^ob ki, occasionally ke^oe^ob ki 'in bed', tu^ouš 'shoe', tu^oš ki or tu^ouš ki 'in the shoe'.

All the cases of final -V^oV have both vowels short and the quality, though usually the same, is sometimes different. In phrase non-final contraction to a long vowel of the quality of the first of the two usually takes place. Examples: tu^ou 'hole', tu^o gan (or tu^ou gan) 'not a hole'; ša^oi 'to sleep', ša^o gihti 'he wants to sleep'; henška^o 'true', henška^o gan 'not true'; gahti^oi 'he bit it', ^oašt gahti^o ne 'how indeed he bit it'.

With the exception of postpositional forms (e.g. ša^oi-š 'when he gave')

§53. Polysyllabic words ending in a (not preceded by ə) change this to i in phrase non-final, e.g., nuōmpa 'work', nuōmpi gan 'no work', xiya 'egg', xiyi gušti'i 'he ate an egg.' The change is regular only for the common gerund forms in -pa and for a few others in əa (e.g., šuwa 'to go') and for adjectives in -a. In other cases the change is optional.

The changed vowel under discussion was frequently recorded as e, and e was recorded for other word-final short vowels in phrase non-final. It is now assumed that this represented a failure to differentiate distinct vowels in a position in which they are brief or than usual. e was rarely recorded for B.

§54. Words ending in post-vocalic yi or wi, whether basic or reduced from ya or wa, may lose the i in non-final position, e.g., tey gan 'he did not sit' < teyi, huy keystigi 'very good' < huyi. If i precedes the y, i' results, e.g., pi' hentk 'peeling canoe-rced' < piyi < piya. If u precedes w, u' results, e.g., ni hu' ka'han 'I can't farm' < huwi; if o precedes w, o' results, e.g., no' gan 'not ripe' < nowi < nowa.

Words ending in mi or ni occasionally lose the i, e.g., šima huynak 'all night' for šimi (< šima) huynak.

In B, the ending -ičuy of the singular non-first person future of the verb is regularly changed to -iču' in phrase medial, e.g., geču' gan 'he will not beat him', hihču' ne 'if he is.'

§§55-94 Lexeme-Form and Inflection§§55-58 The Auxiliary Verbs

§55. There are four auxiliaries, whose stem forms may be represented as follows:

hi(h)- 'to be'	}	singular
š1(h)- 'to be (in standing position)'		
pe(h)- 'to be (in lying position)'		
na(h)- 'to be' --plural		

The conjugational forms are made by endings or modifications of the final; in one set of aorist forms there is an element *š1š- coming before the simple aorist forms. The conjugations are complicated and irregular, so that the simplest account is a list of the forms. Frequently there are alternate equivalent forms. In many cases there is a formal differentiation into a brief and a full form, the latter having one more syllable than the former.

§56. In the following list of forms, the abbreviations F and NF stand for first person and non-first person, respectively. Equivalent forms are set off by commas, except that it is convenient to list the general types of aorist separately. Also, whenever possible, parentheses are used to indicate alternate possibilities; thus hi(*i) means either hi**i* or hi. Parentheses about the final h of the desiderative symbolize the phonologic context phenomenon mentioned in §44, that the h occurs only before the postposition gan.

Only actually attested forms are listed. Others may be assumed on the basis of the known forms.

Aorist of Simple Form

F	hiki	šiki		naka
NF	hi(ʔi)	ši(ʔi)	peʔe	na(ʔa), nan

Aorist of n-form (A only)

F	hikin	šikin	peken	nakun
NF	hin, hiʔin	šin	pen	nak(š)

Aorist of ʔiš-form (A only)

F	ʔišikin	ʔiššikin		ʔišnakun
NF	ʔišin	ʔiššišiʔi, ʔiššin		ʔišnaʔa, ʔišnak(š)

Aorist of Usitative Form (n-forms in A only)

F	hiʔuyki(n)	šiʔuyki(n)		naʔuynaka
NF	hiʔuyi(n), hiʔuym(iš), hiʔhuyi	šiʔuyi(n)	peʔuymiš, peʔhuyi	naʔuyna(ʔa), naʔuynak(š)

Future

F	hihšuki	šihšuki		nahdinaka
NF	hihšuy(i)	šihšuyi	pehšuyi	nahdinaʔa

Conditional

F	hihšukiš	šihšukiš		nahdinakaš
NF	hihšuʔš	šihšuʔš	pehšuʔš	nahdinaʔš

Necessitative

F	hihšuking			
NF				

Desiderative

	higa(h)			naga(h)
--	---------	--	--	---------

Imperative

	ni hi	ni ši, ni šiʔaʔ (Bšd)	ni pe	ni na
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Gerund

NF	hiʔi	šiʔi	peʔe	naʔa
F	hika			

Participle

	hiʔg(š)		peʔg(š)	
--	---------	--	---------	--

§87. Observations: Some of the endings are like those of the normal verb, thus the future, conditional, necessitative, participle, the F gerund. In other categories the normal-verb endings are derived from the auxiliaries (§88). The aorist of usitative form has -?uy- as a characteristic element, resembling the -puy- or -uy- of the normal conjugation. The endings appear to be amalgamations of the simple aorists of hi(h)- and na(h)- except for the -niš form, which agrees with the gerundive of the normal verb. The ?iš- forms of the aorist involve an element which, in the light of the general structure of the language, has to be regarded as an amalgamated stem rather than as a prefix. The n- forms have simply a suffix, phonologically like a postposition, attached to the simple aorist except for the NF of na(h)-, where comparison with the normal conjugation leads to making nak(š) rather than nan as the n- form: in the normal conjugation, where the n- forms are semantically different from the n-less forms, nak(š) is found to have continuative meaning while nan does not.

The ni preverb given with the imperative forms is an element common with imperatives. It is possible that it is not absolutely required here, as with other verbs, but imperative auxiliaries are rare and all the known cases have ni.

The F of na(h)- has not been recorded in the brief form, but we may assume from the normal-verb conjugation that the form would be nuk.¹

¹This form, taken with the n-form nakan, seems to point to an earlier period of the language, when a labiodental phoneme k^w existed. At that time, *nak^w : *nak^wa i *nak^wan compared with hik : hiki : hikin. Further inferential evidence for the earlier existence of a labialized k series lies in the fact that k and g are more than twice as frequent in morphemes than any other stops, suggesting that they represent coalescences of more than one original phoneme. ^{He} may also note the comparison of Chit. kaš, Natchez k^wa^š, both mean- ing 'salami' and probably related by borrowing.

§58. The auxiliaries are different from other verbs (cf. §§71, 72) in some points of interrogative and postpositional usage. The NF interrogative is made with the postposition ta, e.g., hi' to', except for na²a for which the interrogative is nana' or na'na'. The auxiliaries are not used with the postposition -ā 'when'. They always have the full form, generally uncontracted, before postpositions, e.g., hi²inkl 'where he is', na²ank 'to where they are'.

§§59-74 Normal Verbs

§59. The inflection of the normal verb may be divided into (a) stem-extension, or the addition to the stem of suffixes of voice, number, and first person object; (b) conjugation, or the addition of endings expressing tense-mood and person and number of the subject. The conjugational suffixes are added to extended stems in the same way as to the basic stems.

§60. A periphrastic conjugation is made by placing a conjugated auxiliary after the participle of a normal verb. The two forms are sometimes amalgamated (see §47). Since the formation is mechanically made up of elements separately described, it is not necessary to treat this conjugation further.

§§61-65 Stem-form and Stem Extension

§61. On the basis of the phonology of the conjugational endings we may abstract a basic form for each verb and verb extension, such that the paradigmatic forms may then be stated in terms of the final of the stem or the last extensional suffix. The stems thus abstracted are either monosyllabic, ending in a consonant, or

polysyllabic, ending either in a consonant or a short vowel. Most stems are either monosyllabic or disyllabic; no stems of more than three syllables have been found. Consonant finals are most commonly t, but all other consonants are found to occur with the exception of the ejectives. ʔ as stem final is preceded only by a short vowel. Vowel finals are either i, a, or e; i is the most common, e is the least common.

§82. The stem extensions, in their order of addition to the stem are:

- 1) Causative -pa-
- 2) Plural
 - a) Simple plural -ma-
 - b) Plurimal -mama-
- 3) Indirective -aʔ- ('for.., acting on something belonging to..')
- 4) First person object
 - a) Singular -ki- ('me')
 - b) Plural -kuy- ('us')

-ma- and -mama-, -ki- and -kuy- are mutually exclusive. Otherwise all possible combinations of the extensions in the given order may occur, except that the plurimal does not ordinarily combine with other extensions.

It is to be noted that the stem extensions have finals in keeping with those possible to stems. The conjugation of extended stems is like that of basic stems having the given final except for some peculiarities of -ki- and -kuy-.

§83. The stem final is subject to certain changes before the extensions: except when preceded by an ejective, stem-final i

is syncopated before the initial consonant of an extension, e.g.,
 *utpa- 'to cause..to tie', *utma- 'to tie them', *utki- 'to tie
 me' < *uti- 'to tie..'. Postconsonantic t normally is lost before
-ma-, e.g., his nuyma- 'to answer them' < his nuyt-, gahma- 'to
 bite them' < gaht-. Postconsonantic t is also often lost before
-ki-, and -kuy-, but the conditions are not clear; see §70 j,
 dealing with a related problem. Postconsonantic w_l or wa > u
before -ma- or -mama-, e.g., nuh^{PA}wa-, pl. nuh^{PA}uma- 'to stand',
-a? elides a preceding vowel, e.g., *uta?-'to tie..for..' <
 *uti-.

§64. Irregular phonology in the addition of causative -pa-
 is found only in:

te't- 'to say..', causative tepa-

verbs ending in determinative -bwa- 'moving in vertical position',
 causative -dupa-.

Suppletive causatives are as follows:

toh- (pl. tohma-) 'to break' toht- (pl. tohma-) 'to break..'

wiš- 'to burn'

*ici- 'to burn..'

tus- 'to hide'

*iki- 'to hide..'

ka'št- 'to drink..'

hakte- 'to give..to..to drink'

gušt- 'to eat.'

nokšte- 'to feed..to..'

nu'p-, pl. tuw- 'to die'

get-, pl. dema- 'to beat, kill..'

verbs with determinative
-duwa-, pl. -t^{PA}gušt-
 'moving rapidly, violently,
 unexpectedly'

-kint-, (pl. -kintma-) 'to throw,
 drop..; to handle..violently'

Some of the causatives here listed were also recorded with causa-
 tive extension -pa-, but in no case were such forms found in
 text. It is possible they were unnatural forms.

One stem has been noted with both causative and non-causative meaning without formal difference: *hi kante-* 'to bend down' (A5f, 75h), 'to bend..down' (A 35b).

§65. Stems with irregular phonology in the addition of the plural *-ma-* (and *-nema-*) are fairly common. The irregularities include:—(a) loss of final *-wa-* or *-wi-*, (b) loss of post-vocalic *t* (loss of postconsonantic *t* is regular), (c) loss of *-pt-*, (d) plural by addition of *-uma-*.

(a) *-šwa-*, pl. *-šma-* 'moving vertically' (contrast *ka'kwa-*, pl. *ka'kuma-* 'to know')

dadiwa-, pl. *dadima-* 'to feel cold'

ʔiniwa-, pl. *ʔinima-* 'to chase..'

neniwi-, pl. *nenima-* 'to take..out of a vessel'

šaniwi-, pl. *šanima-* 'to take..out'

nahwi-, pl. *nahma-* 'to send, throw..'

(b) *hatut-*, pl. *hatuma-* 'to fan..'

kišut-, pl. *kišutma-* (A), *kišuma-* (B) 'to swim'

hogut-, pl. *hoguma-* 'to shake'

za't-, pl. *zama-* 'to spear, lance..'

tu't-, pl. *tuma-* 'to finish..'

(c) *hendupt-*, pl. *henduma-* 'to lick..'

gapt-, pl. *gama-* 'to seize, take..'

(d) *ʔuh-*, pl. *ʔuhuma-* 'to cough' (cf. *toh-*, pl. *tohma-* 'to break')

Note vowel shortening in *zama-* and *tuma-*, above.

Other irregular plural formations are:

tey-, pl. *ten-* 'to sit'

tus-, pl. *tusnema-*, *tusma-* 'to hide'

ʔam-, pl. *ʔamka-* 'to see!.'

The *-ka-* plural of *ʔam-* is like that of adjectives (§§78,80).

The following purely suppletive plurals occur:

get-, pl. dema- 'to beat, kill..'

nu'p-, pl. tuw- (occasionally nu'pma-, thus 50a) 'to die'

šuw-, šuy-, pl. dut- 'to go'

*sh-, pl. *uy- 'to arrive'

determinant -duwa-, pl. -təgus(t)- 'moving violently, rapidly, unexpectedly'

determinant -št-, pl. -šma-, -ti-, -ši- 'moving, handling..'

determinant -y-, pl. -ne- meaning not clear (see)

The last pair is quite limited in use, and -ne- is even less common than -y-. šuw- forms a regular plural šu'ma- or šu'mama- in

the special meaning of 'to wander about'. The suppletive plurals may add ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ ~~-ma-~~ to form plurimials; ^{a single -ma- is sometimes} thus we find the forms used as a mere equivalent of the simple form (5).
šupma(ma)-, šumma-

There are stems which have identical form in singular and plural. Such stems include all those which end in -ma- in their basic form, (e.g., niwopma- 'to ask..of..') and perhaps also stems ending in -ka- (e.g. waižika- 'to play'). In addition, the following seem to have no separate form for the plural: ha?- 'to experience..', te't- 'to say..', šam- 'to converse'. The plural of verbs in -ma- has a second -ma- in the one attested examples, natmama- (35b).

§§66-74 Conjugation of the Normal Verb

§66. Conjugation of the normal verb is accomplished by the essentially mechanical addition of conjugational suffixes to a stem or an extended stem. Certain rules of phonological combination apply, including loss of vowel before following vowel, contraction of non-final V?l combinations to a, change of vowel before certain suffixes to i, contraction of aspirate + ? to ejective, simplification of consonant groups. These rules are taken up in detail

in §70. Certain stems depart in some of their conjugational forms from these rules (§74).

§67. A table of the conjugational suffixes follows. Sg = singular, pl = plural, F = first person, NF = non-first person; alternate forms are indicated by commas and parentheses; superscript 1 marks iotizing suffixes (preceding vowels are replaced by i).

Aorist

sg F -ik(i)
 NF -i(?i)
 pl F -ⁱnaka, -ⁱnuk
 NF -ⁱna(?a)

Continuative (n-forms in A only)

sg F
 neutral -^oišik(i); -^oišikin; -ikin
 standing -^oiščik(i); -^oiščikin
 lying --; -išpeken
 sg NF
 neutral -^oiši(?i); -^oišin; -in
 standing -^oišči(?i); -^oiščin
 lying --; -išpen
 pl F -^oišnaka, -^oišnuk;
 -^oišnakun; -ⁱnakun; -ⁱyunk²

NF -^oišna(?a), -^oišnan;
 -^oišnak(š); -ⁱnak(š)

Unitative (n-forms in A only)

sg F -puyki(n); -ite·tik
 NF -puyi(?i), -puyim(iš); -puyin;
 -ite·ti, -iten
 pl F -puynakun; ?
 NF -puyna(?a); -puyman; -^oišnakun;
 -ite·nak

Future

sg F -ⁱčuk(i)
 NF -ⁱčuyi(?i), -ičuy
 pl F -ⁱčinaka, -ⁱčinuk
 NF -ⁱčina(?a)

Conditional

sg F -ⁱčuk(i)
 NF -ⁱčuyi(A), -ⁱčuyi(B)
 pl F -ⁱčinaka
 NF -ⁱčina-š(A,B), -ⁱčinaš(B)

Emphatic conditional

future + postposition na

Necessitative

future + -ng(š) or occasionally -ngiš

Desiderative

sg F -ga(h)

pl F -^oa

sg and pl NF, desiderative participle (B only) -gi

Imperative -^oa

Polite Imperative -ite, -^oa, -^oaš te

Permissive ('let me...') (A only) -ku

Hortative ('let's...') -ⁱyu

Participle -k(š), -g(š), -i·g(š),
 -dk(š)

Prior ptop. -ⁱtu·t, -itut

Gerund

NF -pa, -i

sg F -ka

pl F -a

Gerundive

sg -m(iš), -n(iš); -m

pl -man

Personal Participle
 gerund + ite

§68. Observations: Many of the conjugational suffixes are like the forms of the auxiliaries. We may think of these endings as amalgamations but it has to be noted that the rules of phonological combination depart from those which apply in other cases of amalgamation (cf. §103). The aorist endings are amalgamations of the auxiliaries of neutral position, eg. hi(h)- and pl. na(h)-. The first group of continuative endings are amalgamations of the auxiliaries with *iš-; the other set consists of the n-forms of the aorist. -ⁱnak(a) is listed with the n-forms because it is semantically equivalent. The common usitative has an element -puy- and endings like the aorist, except for the NF -miš and -mank which are like the gerundive. Another usitative is characterized by -te't-, -te-. The future has an element -ⁱšuy(y)- in the singular, -ⁱdi- in the plural; these elements are reminiscent of the stems for 'to go', namely eg. šuw-, šuy-, pl. dut-. The hypothetical and the necessitive are postpositional forms of the future. -šuy(i) + -š > -ⁱšuy'š in A. The desiderative endings are somewhat similar to the independent verb of similar meaning, giht- 'to want'. The prior participle is an amalgamated and modified form of the participle tu'tk 'finishing' of the independent stem tu't- 'to finish..'

Imperative -^aa' and one of the forms of the polite imperative, -aš te' are marked by high-prefinal tone. It is to be noted that verbs having a monosyllabic imperative, as the auxiliaries and irregular ša 'come!' (< šuw- §74 a), and gay 'don't!' (§74d).

§69. Alternate Forms: Except as otherwise noted here, alternate forms given in the table are equivalent and interchangeable.

(a) The usitative in -ⁱte't-, -ⁱte- applies to a certain few verb stems, replacing or alternating with the regular -puy- forma-

tion. It is regular in: gay- 'to be not', he'upa- 'to help..', na? 'to happen', ni wa'st- 'to observe..', yante- 'to get tired'. Both types of usitative occur in: ʔa'n- 'to converse', ʔo'ki- 'to pay.. to..'.
 to..'

(b) ¹-yunk for the pl. F continuative is a rare alternate, recorded only in A. The only text occurrence is: dutunk 48a.

(c) The different forms of the participle are used according to the final of the stem, -i'g(ʔ) after vowels, -dk after /n/, -g after sonorants other than n, -k after obstruents.

(d) Of the gerund formatives, -i is the only form used after stem-final t. Both forms seem to be used interchangeable after other stem finals.

(e) The m and n forms for the singular gerundive are apparently absolutely interchangeable after stems ending in consonants or elidable i. After e and a, only -m is used. After postconsonantic wa (which changes to u by §70), only -n is used. In the plural, -nk is used instead of -mank when the stem ends in ma, e.g., kimank 'believers' < kima- 'to believe..'

(f) The imperative was sometimes recorded without ʔ or without the glottalizing effect of ʔ. I do not know whether this represents an actual alternate form or mishearing.

(g) The desiderative elements show some indication of an alternate treatment, in which they are added to the gerund instead of to the stem. Thus we have in A the one form ʔuʔpi'gah gan 'I don't want to do it' A 56e; because there is only one form one might think of assuming this to be an error for ʔuʔpi gihki gan, of equivalent meaning, made with the independent stem gih't- 'to want..' In B there are cases of -gi added to the gerund, as ʔampigi 'in order to see'; naʔmpigi 'in order to hurt'; all the instances occur in cases where A would have

used the independent word *gihk*.

§70. Phonology of conjugational suffixes:

(a) Vowel finals are lost in contraction with vowel initials of suffixes, as aorist -ik(i), -i(ʔi), participial -i'g(š), gerundial -i; examples: *nokšti* 'he fed it to him', *nokšti'gš* 'feeding it to him', *nokšti* (or *nokštepa*) 'to feed it to him' < stem *nokšte-*.

(b) Vowel finals contract with suffixal ʔ + vowel to a in final position, as with imperative -ʔa, to a' in non-final position, as with continuative -ʔiš-; examples: *ʔuča* 'do it!', *ʔuča'ši* 'he is doing it' < *ʔuči-*. There are no recorded examples of desiderative pl F -ʔa with vocalic stems, ^{but} this suffix presumably has the same phonology as the imperative -ʔa'.

(c) Vowel finals are replaced by i before iotizing suffixes, e.g., *nokštičuk* 'I'll feed it to him' < *nokšte-*.

(d) The iotized vowel before fut. pl. -¹di- in A may be lengthened, and di may then be reduced to d, e.g., *nušmidinaʔa*, *nušmi'dinaʔa*, *nušmi'dnaʔa* 'they will work' < *nušma-*. In B, the regular development is lengthening of the vowel with complete loss of di, e.g. *nušmi'naʔa*.

(e) Before non-iotizing consonantic suffixes, a remains, i is lost except when it is preceded by a ^{an ejective,} ~~glottalized stop or affricate~~, a is retained except for certain cases when it is preceded by m; if final a is preceded by a post-consonantic m, the vowel is lost before non-iotizing p (usitative and gerund) but retained before non-iotizing k and g (permissive, sg F gerund, desiderative); final a preceded by postvocalic m is lost in these positions and is optionally lost before desiderative -ga. For examples, see paradigms below.

(f) Post consonantic -wa- is replaced by u before -n of the gerundive, e.g., ka^h*kun 'knowing' < ka^h*kwa-, kap kečun 'drowned' < kap kečwa-,

-uwa- is replaced by u in various stems involving the determinant -duwa-, e.g., tišdun 'fallen' < tišduwa-.

(g) Final aspirates contract with suffix-initial ʔ to the corresponding ejectives, e.g., gediši 'he is beating him' < get- + ^ʔiši.

(h) Stem-final t is lost before č and d of the future, and before t of the subsequent participle and of the polite imperative. The same rule may be assumed to apply to usitative -i-te-t, but no examples have been recorded.

(i) Postconsonantic final t is frequently lost before the imperative ending. This treatment seems to be common when the consonant preceding the t is a spirant or n, e.g., gah^hʔa, gaha^h, 'bite it!' < gaht-, tiškin^hʔa, tiškina^h, 'throw it' down' < tiškint-, šah^hʔa, šaha^h, 'chop it' < šaht-, šaki^hʔa, šakša^h, 'saw it!' < šakšt-, etc. The stem gapt- 'to take hold..' also loses the t (gaba^h or gapa^h; see # 17b, e, 86a).

(j) Post-consonantic final t is regularly lost before suffixal n, e.g., hokna^hʔa 'they left it' < hokt-, nuyna^hʔa 'they answered' < nuyt-. Occasional cases of retained t under these circumstances in my record represent either an alternate usage or an analogical error in recording. Stem-final postconsonantic t is sometimes lost before suffixes beginning in k or g. The application of this rule may be dependent on the type of consonant preceding the t, but my material suggests no rule except possibly that the circumstance is more common when k or spirant preceded. In general, my notes are very confused on questions relating to the treatment of post-consonantic stem-final t.

(k) p of the usitative is regularly lost after stem-final t and usually after stem-final ʔ. However, the forms without p may be based on a usitative in -huy-, for such a usitative was heard a few

times instead of -puy- after vowels (cf. also the conjugation of auxiliaries); the -huy- forms could have been errors in dictation, since they were usually changed to -puy-, but they might also have represented a very rare alternate formation.

(l) y or -lyu (hortatory) and -lyunk (continuative) is lost after stem final t, e.g. getu 'let's beat him'.

(m) Except before ʔ, stem-final ʔ is regularly lost before a consonant with lengthening of the preceding vowel, e.g., ni ši'šuk 'I'll speak' < ni šiʔ-.

(n) Stem-final ʔ + suffix-initial ʔ > ʔ in the imperative and the continuative, but in the latter the resultant Vʔi may contract to Vʔ, e.g., imp. ni ši'a 'speak', ni ši'išin or ni ši'šin 'he is speaking'.

(o) iy uw ow may contract with continuative -ʔi to i' u' o', e.g., kow'išin or ko'šin 'he is calling' < kow-. In other cases of Vy Vw, -ʔi may be lost, e.g., kap tey'išin or kap teyšin 'he is stopping'.

(p) iy uw ow at the end of a stem may be contracted to i' u' o' before a consonant. This never happens before ʔ, is regular before -g of the participle, and is frequent but not absolutely regular in other positions. iy uw ow reduced from iyi uwi owi may also contract to i' u' o' before a consonant, but this is not as frequent as in the case of stem final iy uw ow.

(q) There is uncertainty as to points of phonology of stems ending in n, including ša'n- 'to converse', šun- 'to strain,' ten- (pl.) 'sit'. Forms like šuntka, šuntga, šuntpa were recorded with inserted t, but the evidence is not sufficient to really establish the forms. Inserted t before -ka and -ga is likely enough in view of the form -dk of the participle in such verbs.

(r) Imperatives of stems ending in aspirate plus vowel were in a very few instances recorded with ejective, e.g. *ixá^h 'burn it!' but the more common type *ica^h is probably correct.

(s) Irregularities, that is, special treatment limited to given stems, are treated in §74.

§71. The interrogative is made in part by the postposition te (which is also used with substantives), in part by the simple change from normal high-final to high-prefinal intonation. The postposition is used with the continuative sg. NF in -i^h, with n-forms, with the usitatives in -m(iã) and -mank, with the necessitative, and with the participles, the gerund, and the gerundive. In the purely intonational interrogatives, the brief form is used in the NF, the full form in the F, the principle being that the shortest form ending in a vowel is used; examples: getiki 'did I beat him?' geti 'did he beat him?' gečuyi 'will he beat him?' The pl NF has a special interrogative form -i^hna^hna, or -i^hnana e.g., getna^hna 'did they kill him?'

-i^hčuki, -i^hčuyi, -i^hnaka, -i^hna(·)na take the high-final tone on their penult. I am uncertain about the treatment of the two other endings with light penult, -iki and -puyi. Otherwise, the general rules apply (§40).

§72. Just as the interrogative uses the shortest vocalic form, certain postpositions are added to this form: -i^h 'when', -nki 'when, where', -nk 'to the place where'. The full NF forms in -i^h and -a^ha, especially contracted to -i^h and -a^h, are sometimes used, e.g., nučma^hšana^hnki 'when, where he was working', more usually nučma^hšananki, very occasionally nučma^hšana^hanki. -i^h 'when' and -nk are added to the aorist and occasionally to

the continuative, and are found only with vocalic forms. (-n)ki is used also in cases where there is no vocalic form, where the postconsonantic form has to be used. Other postpositions used with verbs are not restricted as to the forms they are added to.

§73. Some abbreviated paradigms are given to illustrate the conjugation of verbs having various types of stem-final. Only such forms are given for each tense-mood as are necessary to illustrate the manner in which the suffixes are added.

To illustrate consonant finals we take the stems:

get- 'to beat, kill..'	peš- 'to fly'	kow- 'to call'
hokt- 'to leave..'	ʃa'n-(usit. in -te-) 'to converse'	deʔ- 'to break wind'
šeč- 'to vomit'	kuy-{ag. only) 'to enter a vehicle'	

To illustrate vowel finals, we take the stems:

ʔuči- 'to do..'	dema- 'to beat them'
nadi- (pl. nam'i-) 'to lie down'	nušma- 'to work'
nokāte- 'to feed..to..'	howi- '(wind) blows'
heʔpa- 'to help..'	ʔaʔi- 'to give..to..'

Aor SG	geti	hokti	šeči	peši	ža'ni	kovi	de'ci
Pl	getna	hokna	šečna	pešna	ža'nna	ko'na	de'na
Cont SG	gediši	hokdiši	šečiši	pešiši	ža'n'iši	kow'iši,	de'ši
Usit SG	getuyi	hoktuyi	šečuyi	pešuyi	(ža'nten)	kowuyi	de'puyi
	geduyi	hokduyi	šečuyi	pešuyi	ža'nđuyi	ko'puyi	
Pl	gedina	hokdina	šečdina	pešdina	ža'ndina	ko'dina	de'dina
Des SG F	getga	hoktga	šečga	pešga	?	ko'ga	de'ga
Imp	geda	hokda	šeča	peša	ža'n'a	ko'a	de'a
Perm	getku	hoktku	šečku	pečku	?	ko'ku	de'ku
Hort	getu	hoktu	šečyu	pešyu	ža'nyu	kowyu,	de'yu
						ko'yu	
Ger NF	geti	hokti	šeči,	peši,	?	ko'pa,	de'pa,
			šečpa	pešpa		kovi	de'ci
SG F	getka	hoktka	šečka	pečka	?	ko'ka	de'ka
Pl F	geta	hokta	šeča	peša	ža'na	kowa	de'a
Ptop	getk	hoktk	šečk	pešk	ža'ndk	ko'g	de'g
Gerundive	getniš,	hokniš,	šečniš,	pečniš,	?	ko'niš,	de'niš,
SG	getniš	hokniš	šečniš	pečniš		ko'miš	de'miš
Pl	getmank	hokmank	šečmank	pešmank	ža'n'mank	ko'mank	de'mank
Pr. Ptop.	getu't	hoktu't	šečtu't	peštu't	?	ko'tu't	de'tu't

Aor sg	vuči	nadi	nokšti	he'čpi	demi	nučmi	howi	ʔa'oi
pl	vučina	(namčina)	nokština	he'čpina	demina	nučmina	howina	ʔa'na
Čast sg	vuča'si	nada'či	nokšta'či	he'čpa'či	dema'či	nučma'či	howa'či	ʔa'a'či, ʔa'či, ʔa'či
Usit sg	vučpuyi	nadipuyi	nokštepuyi	he'čpapuyi	dempuyi	nučmpuyi	howpuyi	ʔa'puyi
Put sg	vučičuyi	nadičuyi	nokštičuyi	he'čpičuyi	demičuyi	nučmičuyi	howičuyi	ʔa'čuyi
pl	vučidina, (namčidina), vučidna, (namčidna), B vučina (B namčina)	nadičina, (namčina), nadičina, (namčina), B nadičina	nokština, (namčina), nokština, (namčina), B nokština	he'čpidina, (namčina), he'čpidina, (namčina), B he'čpina	demidina, (namčina), demidina, (namčina), B demina	nučmidina, (namčina), nučmidina, (namčina), B nučmina	howidina, (namčina), howidina, (namčina), B howina	ʔa'dina
Dee sg F	vučga	nadiğa	nokšteğa	he'čpaga	demğa, demğa	nučmağa	howğa, ho'ğa	ʔa'ğa
Imp	vuča	nada	nokšta	he'čpa	dema	nučma	howa	ʔa'a
Perm	?	nadiğa	nokšteku	he'čpaku	demaku	nučmaku	howku	ʔa'ku
Hort	vučiyu	(namčiyu)	nokštiyu	he'čpiyu	demiyu	nučmiyu	howyu,	?
Ger NF	vučpa	nadipa	nokštepa,	he'čpapa,	dempa,	nučmpa	howpa,	ʔa'pa
sg F	vučka	nadiğa	nokšteka	he'čpaka	demaka	nučmaka	howka,	ʔa'ka
pl F	vuča	(namča)	nokšta	he'čpa	dema	nučma	?	?
Ptop	vuči'g	nadi'g	nokšti'g	he'čpi'g	demi'g	nučmi'g	howi'g	ʔa'gi'g
Gerund-	vučmiš,	nadičiš	nokštemiš	he'čpamiš	demamiš	nučmamiš	howmiš,	ʔa'miš
ive sg	vučniš						ho'niš	
pl	vučmank	(namčimank)	nokštemank	he'čpamank	demamank	nučmamank	howmank	ʔa'mank
Prior	vučitu't	naditu't	nokštitu't	he'čpitu't	demitu't	nučmitu't	howitu't,	?
ptcp							ho'tut	

§74. Conjugational irregularities: Several stems and two stem extensions (-ki- and -kuy-) have conjugational irregularities, which mainly concern the treatment of the stem final with certain of the endings.

(a) The following elements are best given in complete paradigmatic summaries because of the number of irregularities:

čuw-, čuy- (B ču'y-), pl. dut- 'to go'

te't- 'to say...'

-ki- sg F object extension illustrated in getki- 'to beat me'.

-ku(y)- pl F object illustrated in demku(y)- 'to beat us'.

ʔam-, sg F ʔa(k)- 'see...'. This verb is irregular and unique in having a distinct stem form for sg F subject. Sometimes

ʔam- is used for sg F also.

Aor sg	šuyi	te-ti	getki	demkuyi	ʔami (F ʔakik, ʔamuk)
pl	dutna	te-tna	getkina	ʔ	
Cont. sg	šu-ši	te-ši	getka-ši	demku-ši	ʔamʔiši, B occasionally ʔama-ši (F ʔaka-šik, ʔamʔišik)
pl	du-dšna				
Usit sg	šuwuyi	te-tuyi	getkite-ti	ʔ	ʔempuyi (F ʔ, ʔempuyiki)
pl	dutuyna				
Fut sg	šu-šuyi	te-šuyi	getkišuyi	demkušuyi	ʔamšuyi, B occ. ʔamišuyi (F ʔakšuk, ʔamšuk, B occ. ʔamišuk)
pl	dudina	te-dina	getkidina, B getki-na	ʔ, B demku-na	
Des sg F	šu-ga	tege	---	---	ʔaga, ʔamga; B ʔakigi
Imp	ša(A), šwa(B), A), duda	te-da	getki	demku	ʔamʔa, ʔama
Perm	šu-ku	teku	---	---	ʔaku
Hort	dutu	te-tu	---	---	ʔanyu
Ger NP	šuva; duti	te-ti, tepa	getki	demku	ʔampa, ʔami
sg F	šu-ka	teka	---	---	ʔaka
pl F	duta	te-ta	---	---	ʔamg
Ptop	šu:gi; dutk	te-tk, tatk	getki-g	ʔ	
Gerundive sg	šu-alš, šun	te-taiš, te-taiš			ʔ
pl	dutwank	te-tsank			

It needs to be noted that the NF of -ki- used as the F of the deponent verbs (§118) ordinarily has the brief and not the full form. There is no data on the deponent use of -kuy-.

The ending -kuyaiš for Usit NF of F object is found in 49d. This form is either wrong, or represents an alternate of -kite+ti given above, or might even be pl F object (a form otherwise lacking) for the context would permit such an interpretation.

(b) tu't- 'to finish,' has tuga and tuka as occasional alternate forms for tu'tga and tu'tka, of te't-, above.

(c) weyči-, 'to do that', and sa'či- 'to do that' and presumably also ʔamči- 'does what?' are inflected like ʔuči- ('to do,'), that is, with syncope of i instead of retention, as is regular when an ejective precedes. Note that these stems alternate with non-glottalized forms: weyči-, saʔči-, ʔamči-.

(d) The imperative is made without -ʔa in three cases: gay, varying with gaya, 'do not!' < gay-; hi ketiš and hi ketup 'take yourself off', stems ketišt- and ketupt-. (Note also -ki, -ku under a).

(e) gay- commonly had gayki for the sg F aorist rather than gayiki. gayik is quite as common.

(f) The participle has a shortened stem-vowel in tetk and ʔandk, occasional variants of te'tk and ʔa'ndk to stems te't- 'to say,.' and ʔa'n- 'to converse'.

(g) The gerundive of xit- 'out' is ʔišan, pl. ʔišanak.

(h) The stem, ʔišt- 'haul', the only stem ending in double š, loses one t before all consonants except ʔ (where contraction takes place). It is to be noted that this stem is recorded in several forms, ʔišt-, ʔištkt-, ʔiškkt-, ʔištkt-, which may be due to confusion on the part of the informant arising out of the peculiar stem

form; it is of course not certain that ʔiātt- is to be regarded as more correct than some other of the forms.

(1) natmaʔ- 'to tell..to..' and ne'maʔ- 'to teach..to..' and perhaps all polysyllabic stems in Yʔ- have -i'g in the participle (natmi'g, ne'mi'g) and not -a'g as might be expected from cases of monosyllabic stems in Yʔ-. On the other hand, -a'g is recorded once in B poktma'g 'laying hands on..' (the stem in A is poktmat-), this being the only case in B of the participle of a stem that might be of the type under discussion.

~~(4) gay- frequently has gayri in the sg Y series rather than gayiki.~~

§§75-82 The Adjective

§75. Adjective paradigms show little uniformity. With about seventy-five adjectives in the vocabulary, there are few cases of two or more with exactly the same paradigm. The basic forms of the inflection are four: substantival singular and plural, and singular and plural verbiform stems. The substantivals, particularly the singular, are frequently expressed by several alternate forms; thus, ʔiwi, ʔiwgi, ʔiwin, ʔiwg(š), ʔi'niš, ʔiwa 'bad' has six equivalent forms and it is quite usual to have three or four different forms. The verbiform stems are inflected like verb-stems, except that they are not carried through all the tense-moods, and the relation of the singular and plural stems is not regular. It is not possible to give general rules of formation. The following paragraphs discuss the forms in a general way, and §82 illustrates with a number of paradigms. Other forms will be found in the vocab-

ulary. However, the data on adjectival paradigms is rather incomplete, and we lack some of the key forms in many cases.

§76. It is not always possible to abstract basic stems of adjectives (in principle we must deal with the four basic forms as irregularly related principal parts). Insofar as we ^{can} derive some notion of underlying forms, these seem to be mainly like verb stems (§61). Several adjectives, unlike verbs, have a reduplicated stem, e.g., *sitsitniš* 'sharp', *že·hže·hniš* 'pale', *goksgoksnīš* 'round', *bakbakniš* 'flat', *kap gasgāsn* 'bothersome'.

Usually the verbiform stems lack the reduplication, thus, *gokste-*, *bakte-*. *mu·migi*, unreduplicated in the substantival forms, is reduplicated in the verbiform singular *mu·hmu·hma-*.

§77. The substantival singular is characterized by several endings including zero, *-a*, *-i*, *-(i)gi*, *-(i)n*, *-a(iš)*, *-n(iš)*, *-pa*. Two endings, *-n(iš)* and *-a(iš)*, are identical with endings used in forming the gerundive of verbs; *-i* and *-pa* are identical with verb endings used in making the gerund; *-a*, *-(i)gi* and *-(i)n* are characteristic only of adjectives. The most frequent endings are *-in*, *-(i)gi*, and *-i*; examples: *ʔati(gi)*, *ʔatin* 'large'; *ʔuʔin* 'rotten'; *mesdi(gi)*, *meddin* 'white'; *neʔi*, *neʔgi*, *neʔin* 'fatty'; *šihmigi*, *šihmin* 'deep gray'. An adjective having the ending *-(i)gi* generally also has the form in *-i*, and the two forms have to a certain extent a complementary relation, the longer one being more common in phrase-final, the shorter in phrase medial. *-a* is rare, occurring only in *šawa* 'bad', *šawa* 'new, fresh', *gama* 'long', *žuwa* 'fast'; each of these has other alternate forms. *-n* occurs only in *pinun* (pl.

pinikank, conjugating stem piniwa-) 'red', ka'yun (also ka'ywi) 'weak'; -in is the common form, occurring in all other cases. -n(iš) is usual with reduplicated root elements, thus, xanzanhiš (also zantigi) 'soft, tender', sepepehiš 'erect', suksukhiš 'trembling, shaking', še'hšehniš 'pale', pe'špe'šn 'very thin; ribbon', bakkahn(iš) 'flat, low and broad', deykdeykhiš 'soft, soggy, mushy', šišitniš (also šidi) 'sharp-pointed', kekakekhiš 'shiny', gonggohniš 'small and square', gokgoksn(iš) 'approximately equal in two dimensions: round, square'. -n(iš) also occurs with unreduplicated elements, thus šištn(iš) 'foolish' case 'dear, tender', kikhniš 'sensual', ka'msn 'malicious, mischievous', keyan (also kaysti) 'difficult', šišn (also šisi) 'stale smelling', kupšniš 'gray haired'. ni kayup (also ni kayupniš) is the only example of an adjective with apparently no ending. putputmank 'shiny, shined' seems to be a singular though it is plural in form. Adjectives in -m are all interpretable as resultant participles of the verbiform stem, e.g., sepepe (beside sepepehiš) 'erect'; stem sepe- . -pa occurs only in neškapa, neškapi (also neška'gi) 'strange, peculiar'.

substantival

§78. The plural is formed in various ways, usually involving a suffix. There is one case of plural without suffix: sg nahzi(gi), pl. na'kš 'small'. The commonest plural formatives are -kank or -ki'g, added to -i or to -(i)n singular, e.g. hešikank, hešinkank 'holy, sacred; taboo, profane; supernatural', dišikank, dišinkank 'foul-smelling', sometimes added with loss of i, e.g., šatkank 'large'; šikank, šik'g (sg. šiw) 'bad'; -gank, possibly a mishearing of -kank, e.g., mešdigank 'white', mu'migank 'brittle'; -kapa, added with loss of preceding i, e.g., šatkapa 'large', mintkapa (sg. mini—note inserted t) 'short'; -kpa, -kpigi added with loss of preceding i or a, e.g., he'huympigi 'light of weight', huykpi(gi) 'good'.

gankpa, gankpa, gankpigi (sg. gama) 'tall, long, long-enduring';
-mank, -mam, replacing -n(iš) or -m of singular, e.g., sitsitmank,
sitsitmam 'sharp', še'nše'bmank 'pale', ʔiʔitemank (sg. ʔiʔitem)
 'yellow'. Other plural forms are ka'yinki'g 'weak' (sg. ka'ywi,
ka'yun), šamkam (sg. šama, etc.) 'new', heʔikamiš (also heʔikank,
heʔinkank) 'holy, sacred, taboo', ʔatkin (also ʔatkank, ʔatkapa)
 'large'.

§79. Singular verbiform stems of adjectives are most frequently identical with the -i form of the adjective, if there is an -i form; thus: ʔati- 'large', ʔuʔi- 'rotten', sidi- 'sharp', kisgi- 'deep'. For some stems the i is lacking, e.g. ʔiw- 'bad', huy- 'good', šam- 'sour', gew- 'deep', gast- 'cold'. For some stems, the ending is e or a, thus nehumse- (nehumaigi) 'thick', sise- or sis- (sisn, sisi) 'stale-smelling', ^{ko p ʔe} (kupšeniš) 'gray-haired', he'huyma- (he'huymigi) 'light of weight', šihma- (šihmin, šihmigi) 'deep gray', šahapšše- (šahapššin) 'spotted', ka'mse- (ka'msn) 'malicious, mischievous'. The usual pattern for reduplicated adjectives in -n(iš) is non-reduplicated root with added -te-, e.g., bakte- (bakbakniš) 'flat', septe- (sepsepniš) 'erect', sukte- 'trembling, shaking', še'hte- 'pale', zante- 'soft, tender'. In at least one case, the reduplication is maintained: dokdokste- (also dokste-) 'round', and in mu'hmu'hma- 'brittle', we have a reduplicated stem corresponding to an unreduplicated adjective, mu'migi. pinun has the stem piniwa- 'red'.

§80. The plural conjugating stem is in some instances made from the singular by the addition of -ma-, the regular process for verbs; thus baktema- 'flat', septema- 'erect'. Those adjectives which

make a substantival plural in -kank or -gank make their plural conjugating stem in -ka- or -ga- added in the same way, e.g., *atka- (*atkank) 'large', *i·ka- (*i·kank) 'bad'. Note mu·miga-, pl. or sg. mu·hmu·hma-, following the substantival plural mu·migank and not the singular conjugating stem.

§81. It is seen that the phonological processes show little consistency. Changes include loss of final vowel, contraction of V^o and of V + semivowel to V^o. Examples will be found in the discussion above. A peculiarity is the contraction of iw to i in certain forms of *iwgi: *i·niš, *i·ki'g, *i·ka-.

§82. Some illustrative adjective paradigms follow, grouped according to formation insofar as they permit grouping. Unattested forms are omitted.

gamin, gama, gami(gi), gamg, pl. gankpi, gankpi(gi), gankpa 'long'
*atin, *ati(gi), pl. *atkapa, *atkin, *atkank; *ati-, pl. *atka- 'large'
*iwin, *iwi, *iwgi, *i·niš, *iwg(š), *iwa, pl. *i·kank, *i·ki'g;
*iwa-, pl. *i·ka- 'bad'
mesdin, medi(gi), pl. mesdikank; mesdi- 'white'
pinun, pl. pinikank; pi·hne-, piniwa-, pl. pinika- 'red'
*užin, *uži(gi), pl. *užikank; *uži-, pl. *užika- 'rotten'
ne?in, ne?i, ne?gi; ne?- 'fatty'
*ihmin, *ihmi(gi); *ihma-(š) 'gray'
*akšgin, *akšgi; *akšgi- 'rough'
diši(gi), pl. diši(n)kank; diši- 'foul-smelling'
peksi(gi), peksi'g, pl. pekskank 'high, deep, tall'
mu·migi, pl. (or alternate sg.) mu·migank; mu·hmu·hma-, mu·miga- 'brittle'
huygi, huyi(gi), pl. huykpi(gi) 'good, satisfactory, right'

mini(gi), pl. mintkapa 'short'
 šama, šamigi, šamniš, pl. šamkam 'new, fresh; first'
 nahzi(gi), pl. na'kš; pl. na'kika- 'small'
 šami, šamniš, pl. šamkank; šam- 'sour'
 ʔa'kšiti(gi), ʔa'kšniš, pl. ʔa'kšmank; ʔa'kšt- 'poor, miserable'
 bakkakniš, pl. bakkakmank; bakte-, pl. baktoma- 'flat'
 gokšgokaniš, pl. gokšgoksmank; gokste- 'round'
 ya'i, ya'gi, ya'g(š), pl. ya'migi, ya'gigš; yaʔ- 'hard, firm'
 ša'gi, ša'gi; šeʔ-, pl. ša'ka- 'warm'
 ʔa'nzi(gi), ʔa'nziniš; ʔa'nzi-, pl. ʔa'nzima- 'mouldy, rancid'
 ʔemziwgš, ʔemzi'niš; ʔemziw- 'cowardly, balky'
 wa'kat(gi); wa'kati- 'late' (probably no plural)
 ʔowa, ʔowi, ʔo'gi, ʔo'gš; no pl. form 'many, numerous'
 pe'ki gan; pe'ki gay- 'clean'
 nehumi(gi); nehumse- 'thick'
 yaʔa, ya'gi; yaʔ- 'grown, adult; swift'

§§83-84 The Noun

§83. Primary simplex (non-composite) nouns are most often monosyllabic or bisyllabic, the latter being the more numerous. There are also a fair number of trisyllabic and a few quadrisyllabic nouns (ʔašinšada, ʔašanda 'old man', tuskunkači 'iron', ʔinkinišči 'American, English', ʔokidada 'black walnut'); the five syllable B zi'szigahsigut 'ant' is the only unanalyzable noun of this length. All the monosyllables end in obstruent consonants, including ʔ both after vowels and sonorants (the ʔ is lost in context according to §61). Polysyllabic ^{nouns} consonants, most commonly end in a short vowel but ^{also end in consonants,} all the consonants except ʔ are also found

in final position; h is found only in ši'ša(h) 'fine sieve'.

Composite nouns are made up of two or more words, some of them nouns and some of them other lexemic classes, including particularly inflected forms of verbs and adjectives.

§84. Those nouns which form plurals do so in different ways.

The methods include: the addition of suffixes, such as -kank, -kampa, -mank, -ka'ə, and others; dropping a terminal vowel (thus kiča, pl. kič 'woman', 'uca, pl. 'uo 'car', 'asi, pl. 'ayš 'man'); in one case, a kind of reduplication, gimniš, pl. ginkgank 'young woman'. Loss of vowel frequently accompanies the addition of the plural suffix, e.g., kiča, pl. kičkampa; ^{wife} ejectives are ^{changed to aspirates} deaspiratized in a few instances: kičanda, pl. kičantka(ə), 'old woman', 'ašinžada, 'ašanda, pl. 'ašinžatka(ə), 'ašantka(ə) 'old man', nada, pl. nat ga 'chief, sheriff, judge. One component element of a composite is pluralized in : 'asi nahzibu, pl. 'asi na'kšbu 'boy' < 'young male'; both elements are pluralized in kici nahzibu, pl. kič na'kš 'girl'. 'ayš na'kš, apparently a doubly pluralized form of 'asi nahzibu 'boy', has a different meaning 'young men'--it has no proper singular.

It is to be noted that nouns derived from adjectives or gerundives ordinarily do not form plurals, in spite of the fact that they are based on words having this inflection.

The actual cases, in alphabetical order, are:

'inži, pl. 'inžigampa (perhaps read -kampa) 'father'

'a'y', pl. 'a'y'ampa 'mother'

'ayš na'kš, 'ayšga'šank plurals without specific singulars 'young man'

'apš kiše, pl. 'apš kišemank 'married couple'

'am', pl. 'amkampa 'female cousin of self or parent, sister of parent
or grandparent'

*amihem, *amihemank 'woman past the menopause; hag'

*asi, pl. *aysä 'man'

*asi nahzibu, pl. *asi na*käbu 'boy, son'

*as'eypa (B perhaps *as'eapa), pl. *as'eymank 'brother'

*ašinžada, *ašanda, pl. *ašinžatka(?a), *ašantka(?a) 'old man;

] 'old thing.'

*uca, pl. *uo 'paddle, oar'

hew?u pl. hewmank(A) 'niece, nephew'

haksigan, pl. haksiga*šank (A, B), haksiga*šam (B), haksiga*šmank (B)

] 'young man'

yapa, pl. ya*mank 'human' offspring, child'

wa? (A), wa?a (B), pl. wa*kampa 'brother of mother or grandmother'

wa?aš, pl. wa?aškampa (B) 'cousin's child'

ta'din, pl. ta'dinkank 'younger sibling or maternal first cousin'

nahzibu, na*käbu 'child; ~~also adj. 'young, small'~~

napšžank (A sg. and pl.; B sg. only), pl. B napšžigank 'negro'

] (cf. napšžin, pl. napšžikank 'black')

nada, p. natga 'chief; sheriff, judge'

nanša?a, pl. ? 'older sister'; na'nša*kamank, na'nša*kampa, na'nša-

]kaš (Allc) pl. 'siblings'

kida'čun, pl. kada'čikank 'orphan'

kici nahzibu, pl. kič na*kš 'girl, young woman; daughter'

kiča, pl. kiš 'woman'

kiča, pl. kičkampa 'wife'

kičanda, pl. kičantka (?a) 'old woman'

kižeypa, kežeypa, pl. kižeymank, kečkampa 'sister'

ken?, pl. (?) 'male cousin of self or parent; brother of father

] or grandfather'

gimniš, pl. ginkgank 'young woman; daughter'

§§85-86 The Quantitatives

§85. The proper numerals, one to ten, are bisyllables ending in a vowel. The other ^{quantitatives} numerals are too few to generalize about: pu'p 'hundred' (homonymous with 'rabbit'), pu'p 'ašínžada 'thousand', 'o'nak 'all', 'upinak, 'upankának, 'upšnak 'both', 'aniš 'how many?' 'aniš ke 'a few', 'apš nehe 'half', ~~also grouped with the numerals~~ are huynak 'all, whole', and wa'a 'other'.

§86. The secondary forms of the numerals from 'two' to 'ten' are made by the addition to the primary of -kami'g '...-eth', -kamink 'the ...-eth time', -kaminki 'at the time of the...-eth'. A final vowel is lost before these suffixes except when a glottalized consonant precedes, e.g. 'upkami'g 'second' < 'upa 'two', kištkami'g 'seventh' < kišta 'seven', ka'yžikami'g 'third' < ka'yži. The form ka'yžimanki instead of ka'yžikaminki 'on the third(day)' is recorded §86b, and the form ka'yžimank hup 'on about the third (day)' is recorded 10a. These forms seem to indicate an alternate ordinal formation with -ma- instead of -kami-.

The other numerals have no inflection, except that pu'p 'ašínžada 'thousand' (literally 'old hundred' or 'old rabbit') has a plural, pu'p 'ašínžatka.

§§87-89 Demonstratives and Interrogative-Indefinites

§87. The demonstratives have a short proclitic form, monosyllabic ending in a vowel, and a longer independent and postpositive form, characterized by lengthened vowel, or in one case added y, plus -i or -ki. The suffixed element is subject to sibilant assimilation when added to sa. we has wey as a special form for

independent use; weyš and weykš are used either ^{post}proclitically or independently. One proclitic, ha 'this' has a form with changed vowel (ho) for plural, and two forms with added -ŋ and -š for sitting and standing positions. [-nk] and [-nki] added to the short form make adverbs ^{locatives and directionals} of place related to the demonstratives. The regular forms are then:

ha		'this'				
han	ha*(k)š	'this sitting'	hanki	'here'	hank 'hither'	
haš		'this standing'				
ho	ho*(k)š	'these'				
sa	sa*(k)š, sa*(k)š	'that'	sanki	'there'	sank 'thither'	
A we	wey; wey(k)š	'that aforementioned'	wenki	'there'	wenk	'thither'
B ve	vay; vay(k)š		venki		venk	

§88. Less regularly related to the demonstrative stems are certain particles:

haš1'1 'now'

weyt (B veyt), sa't both meaning 'thus'

weytki, sa'tki 'at that time'

wetk (B vetk) 'then, thereupon'

Other particles which seem to be similarly formed are na't 'thus', da't 'now'.

§89. Interrogative-indefinites have no regular formations, so that the relationship of forms is essentially one of suppletion. Formally there seem to be certain recurrent elements in the words.

All the forms but neš kun 'someone' begin in ʔa- or ʔu-; thus:

^{indant 2. apat. 3} ʔa-(ʔan-, ʔamp-, ʔanš-, ʔašt-) ʔam 'what', ʔampink, ʔampinki

postpositional forms, ʔamin 'anything', ʔampup 'where, whither',

ʔanʔuš 'why', ʔašt 'how?', ʔaštka 'perhaps', ʔašti 'whether',

ʔaštkaniki 'sometimes', ʔaštem 'which one?', ʔaštemin 'anyone',

*anʔit 'where?', *anʔup 'whither, where?'

*ʔu-: ʔuʂ(1) 'who?', ʔun kun 'something', ʔunkpa, B ʔunk 'somewhere'

The forms are shown in their semantic relationship in §§139, 215.

The suffix -ʔin or -gin is found with certain indefinite forms with the force of emphasizing the indefiniteness, thus ʔaʂtkankiʔin 'any time at all, whenever', ʔun kunʔin + negative 'nothing at all', ʔaʂtgin 'any way at all, whatever way'. The formation is not found in sufficient cases that it might be regarded as regular.

§§90-94 Uninflected Lexemic Classes

§90. The remaining lexemic classes are uninflected, except for the number inflection of weytem, sa'tem (§94), and kaye (pl. kaymank)^{'alive'}, and it is necessary to comment only on their phonetic form. The personal pronouns are monosyllables of the form CVC or CVCVC (hunks 'they') with s or ʂ as final consonant except in the case of himʔ 'thou'. There is no regular formal relationship between singular and plural, but there is similarity between ʔiʂ 'I' and ʔuʂ 'we' and between hus 'he' and hunks 'they'.

§91. Particle-nouns, postposition-independents, and independent particles (excluding imitatives and two sentence-words) may be generally characterized as having forms phonetically like those described for nouns. (§83).

§92. Imitatives show some phonetic peculiarities. The prosody in which the vocables are spoken is usually conventionalized and often departs from the norm for ordinary discourse. ʂa''k, representing the wind suddenly decreasing (see 14a, 15b), is spoken with a long sustained vowel starting on a level high tone and going down

the scale at the end. There is a long drawn-out vowel, but with ^{high level} different tone pattern, at the end of *šilink' šilink' šilink' širi...*, the cry of the "chin^hah"¹ when the rain is stopping (see 84f).

¹An unidentified bird, see *šinā* in the vocabulary

ti'ri' šil'ri', representing the robin, has a long first syllable on an even musical level followed by a brief second syllable nearly a major fourth above. In *wa's' wa's'*, representing the sound of a cricket, each syllable is pronounced with a sharply rising inflection. *pe'steniko*, intended to imitate the limping run of the buzzard, is said in a tonally monotonous voice with the first syllable standing out because of its length and the last prominent by a marked staccato stress. The foregoing attempts at description are intended to be illustrative; a thorough treatment would require an accurate separate description for each of the imitatives. In addition to prosodic peculiarities, imitatives employ two phonemes not otherwise found in the language, r and l. The vocable of assent (not an imitative, of course), *ʔe'he* or *he'he* (B), is usually spoken with nasalized vowels.

Certain imitatives, an exclamation, and two sentence words have high-prefinal tone, otherwise limited to interrogatives and imperatives. The cases are:

kisuya' cry of the ^{chinsh} ~~cinā~~-bird presaging a fortunate event. ('good luck!')

panāuya', *panā huya'* cry of the ^{chinsh} ~~cinā~~ forecasting a good visitor ('good person')

šu'īā' another cry of the ^{chinsh} ~~cinā~~ ('go look!')

ku'nak kap wiā' cry of the red-winged blackbird (see 18b, 19c) =

ku'nak kap wiā'šī' or *kap wiā'šī'* 'water and everything is burning'

*i'ha' expressing impatience or annoyance

huya' 'thanks'

nam'i's' expressing warning or retribution ('just wait!')

It is to be noted that imitatives include brief quasi-sentences.

The normal syllabic extent of imitatives is one, two, or three syllables, as is that of other classes of words. One quadrisyllable occurs, pe'steniko or pe's'teniko. A nonsense vocable in a song, pe'spe'sdama(nk) (B15b, d), is quadrisyllabic. These cases are mentioned because of the rarity of basic four syllable words.

§93. Preverbs are all monosyllabic and have short vowels except for ka'bs 'up' (used with two verbs as equivalent to kap). Two end in short vowels, the others in obstruents or obstruent clusters (s, p, bs, pš). There is little point in attempting generalizations about so small a class, but there is a rather striking uniformity of phonetic structure, as may be shown by placing the eight preverbs in the following order: ni, hi, his, 'ap, 'apš, kap, kas, ka'bs.

§94. The typical postposition is monosyllabic, of the form CV or CVC. Some, however, have the form CV'C or are bisyllabic, or consist of a consonant or consonant cluster (added to the preceding syllable) with or without an additional syllable. See §42.

The modifying postpositions weytem, pl. weytemank and sa'tem, pl. sa'temank 'of that sort' are like substantives rather than like the other postpositions. This is true of their number inflection and phonetic form. In addition there are a few other postpositions of non-typical form: hi'saniš, patn(iš) 'in excess', gihn '...-ish', keystigl 'very'.

§§95-108 LEXEME BUILDING

§95. There are practically no processes employed exclusively in lexeme building. A lexeme, an inflectional form, or a syntactic construction acquires a transferred or specialized meaning often without change, sometimes with certain minor modifications, which may be called inflectional change, form fixation, order fixation. In the case of syntactic constructions, we sometimes find amalgamation. And, in all types of secondary lexemes we find some irregularities not contained in the normal form, inflection, or syntax of the elements involved.

The only processes used exclusively in the derivation of lexemes are the use of the suffix (-n)kätəm (or -təm), plural (-n)kätəmənk (or -təmənk) 'thing resembling.' and the process of root extension, which involves the addition of certain verbal root determinants to a limited number of roots. Formal irregularities and amalgamations serve incidentally to identify forms as different from their etymons.

§§96-97 Special Processes

§96. The suffix (-n)kätəm (§) would seem to be related in form and meaning to the postposition (-n)kē te't 'like' and its phonology is similar (§48) except for the existence of the alternate form -təm, plural -təmənk. The few examples are: hu'ta-nkätəm 'pircouge of boards', šušugu-nkätəmənk 'trunk shaped basket', kamkut-kätəmənk 'sweet pea', šl'š-təmənk 'bluejay', 'akun-təmənk 'wood rat of a certain kind', wey-təm, plural wey-təmənk 'of that sort', sa'-təm, pl. sa'-təmənk 'of that sort'.

§97. In root extension the determinant is suffixed to the root, with phonological changes only as follows:

- (a) determinants beginning in n elide a final n of the root, e.g.,

šant- 'pl. go out' < *šan- + -nt-.

(b) n added to *kuy- gives kum- or kuy-.

(c) š or -št- and -šwa- changes to š after n, e.g., šanšwa- 'to go out' < *šan- + -šwa-.

(d) two determinants show some free variation of form, possibly due to uncertainty on the part of the informant. The determinant which normally has the form -tgešt- is found in the equivalent alternates šanktgešt- and šantgešt- 'to dump: (a soft mass) out'. A determinant, which most often has the form -pguš(t)-, is found also as -ptguš(t)- and -tpguš(t)-. Forms with and without the stem-final t are about equally common.

(e) -pguš(t)- combines with preceding n to -ntguš(t)-, e.g., šantguš(t)- 'pl. rush out'.

(f) -wi- has the form -iwi- (possibly -uwi-) after n, e.g., šaniwi- 'to take..out'. Such words were recorded with ewi, and the interpretation iwi is not certain. The plural after n is as after other consonants -uma-, e.g., šanuma-.

§§98-100 Zero Change, Inflectional Change

§98. We may illustrate lexemic derivation without formal change with the examples neka name given to a dog < 'devil', pu'p 'ašinšada 'thousand' < 'old hundred' or 'old rabbit' (pu'p 'rabbit; hundred'), mi'ku' 'milk' < 'breast water'.

§99. While adjectives are multiformal, that is, have more than one alternate form, adjectives in derived lexemes ordinarily do not have this variability. One of the alternate forms is fixed in the derived lexeme. For example, 'foul-smelling' is either dīši or dīšigi; the derived 'urophygial gland' is dīši only. 'large' is 'ati, 'atigi,

of ^{usually} ~~that~~ ^{adjectives} a number of derived lexemes containing this word are uniform, e.g., nanu ^{usually} ~~that~~ ^{adjectives} *patin* 'apple', < 'big persimmon', kiš *patin* 'horse' < 'big dog', *zo't patin* 'turkey' < 'big chicken'. It is to be noted that adjectives ^{usually} have the *-n* form in composites of the type just illustrated.

Certain verb forms demonstrate form fixation in derived lexemes, e.g., *getniš* or *getniš* 'killer' (gerundive), *ʔupa getniš* 'man's name ('two killer')'. On the other hand, derived lexemes containing finite forms of the verb do not show fixed form as between the brief and the full forms, e.g., *panš ney nučpuyna(ʔa)* 'cemetary' < 'they bury people'.

\$1000. Inflectional change is common in lexeme derivation, particularly when there is a change in the lexemic class, as when a noun is derived from an adjective or a verb. Most nouns are uninflected, and nouns derived from adjectives or from constructions containing adjectives are usually uninflected, e.g., *pu'p patin* 'sheep', singular or plural, from *pu'p* 'rabbit' + *patin*, pl. *patkank* 'large'. When a noun is derived from a verb, it is taken from some particular form of the verb; the derived lexeme has a single form, though derived from an inflected lexeme type. It is identical with one of the forms of the basic lexeme but differs from it in inflection. This must be regarded as a formal change.

Where most inflectional change is from an inflected lexeme to an uninflected one, the opposite is found in :

keta 'side, space beside' : *keta*, pl. *ketkampa* 'partner, companion, friend'

hana 'house' : *hana*, pl. *hanmank* 'kin'

In a few cases we find the basic and derived lexemes with the same inflectional categories, but differing in the inflectional forma-

tion. Thus:

kiša, pl. kiš 'woman, female' : kiša, pl. kiškampa 'wife'

nahri(gi), pl. na·kš(gi) 'small' : nahribu, pl. na·kšbu 'child'

š napščank, pl. napščigank 'negro' (A has napščank for sg. and pl.)

napštin, pl. napščigank 'black'

Another example is probably ?asi, pl. ?ayš 'man, male' : ?asi 'husband', but the plural of 'husband' was not obtained.

For the most part inflectional change is self-evident and follows from the change of lexemic class, and it is not necessary to list cases here.

§§101- 104 Treatment of Composites

§101. Most usually the order of words in composite lexemes is fixed, e.g., 'they tighten baskets' is either ša·hken ?apš žakšžepuyna?a or ?apš žakšžepuyna?a ša·hken, but the same words used in the derived lexeme 'instrument for tightening weave' has the words only in the first-mentioned order. The syntactic constructions occurring most frequently in composite lexemes have fixed order to begin with, so there are relatively few cases of express order fixation. The case cited illustrates the usual order for composites containing noun and verb.

There are some exceptions to fixed order in composites, cases where the composite is virtually as free as the elements of a syntactic construction. These relatively rare constructions may be called ^{loose} base composites and symbolized by a plus mark between the elements, as tep hiš + šahšt- 'to set fire to..' (< 'with fire' + 'to put..in').

§102. Occasionally the elements of composites show sibilant assimilation (cf. also §43), that is, palatal sibilants in one of the words are assimilated to alveolar sibilants in the other. Examples:

suseyga 'woods'; susegap 'to the woods' < šuš + seyga, segup

gusnahza*pu 'breakfast' (Eise) < guñti 'food' + *nahza*pu¹ (*nahziigi,

In this section and in following ones we have cases of elements which differ from the normal form occurring independently. This is indicated by starring the form abstracted from the composite, and the actual independent form is given in parentheses. It is understood that the identification of elements is sometimes doubtful.

nahzibu 'small')

kiol nahzibu 'girl' < kiōa + nahzibu (of. *asi nahzibu 'boy', where the component words agree in sibilants to begin with)

*uks gasma 'peas' < *ukš 'snake' + gasma 'corn'

zi's tusmigank 'cricket' < zi*š + *tusmigank (*tusmank 'hidiers')

On the basis of the last example, one might also see zi*š 'worm, insect' in zi'szigaholgut 'ant' (E only), though the last four syllables cannot be identified, and in zi'spogut 'robin'. In the latter, there is no sibilant element to account for the change of the sibilants. And a plausible etymology for kapmahc 'comet' would leave the sibilant here unaccounted for: kapi 'to illuminate'² (of. kappa 'light') + *mahc

²For convenience the English infinitive is given as the translation for the Chitimacha gerund, though this is only one of its meanings (§).

*mahši 'tail'. Thus we have apparently two examples of sibilant change not under influence of assimilation. The clear cases of sibilant assimilation, aside from those involved in the addition of postpositions to pronouns (§43), are few. We must conclude that this process has little productive force. In this connection we may note that the informants did not seem to connect the first part of *uks gasma with 'snake'.

§103. Amalgamation sometimes takes place between the elements of composites. This phonological modification involves first of all the elimination of the word division. A final vowel of a preceding

polysyllable is syncopated. Initial h of the second word is always lost. ^{ejective} ʔ is lost after a preceding ~~glottalized stop or affricate~~; it often contracts with a preceding ^{aspirate} ~~non-glottalized stop or affricate~~ to the corresponding ejective, but in some cases is simply lost. If two like consonants come together, one of them is lost. These combinatory rules are illustrated in the cases of syntactic amalgamation discussed in §§45-49 as well as in the following composites:

ʔaštaʔg(š) (also ʔašt haʔgš) 'how, why' < ʔašt 'how' + haʔg(š) 'happening'

weytintka, weytinška, 'nevertheless' < weyt 'thus' + hintka, hinška 'although'

weytenk, weytengenk 'only then' < weyt + henk, hengenk

daʔtenk, daʔtengenk 'only now' < daʔt 'now' + henk, hengenk

gituygi 'parched' < giti 'dry' + huygi 'good'

panšuyaʔ (also recorded panšhuya) cry of the činš-bird, interpreted as equivalent to panš huyi

kiʔaktiš, kiʔaktš 'left side' < *kiʔsV¹ + haktiš 'side'

huyaktiš (also huyi haktiš, huygi haktiš) 'on the right side' < huyi 'right' + haktis

wašʔakt 'fingernail' < waši 'hand' + ʔakt 'reed musical instrument' (?)

ʔasʔeypa 'brother' < ʔasi 'man, male' + *ʔeypa

hanšaʔa 'door' < hana 'house' + *šaʔa (= šaʔ 'mouth')

kesuym (also kee huym) 'one who makes faces' < kesi 'liver' + *huym (= huyman 'lover')

sowʔakt 'toe, toenail' < sowV (= soʔ 'foot') + ʔakt

1y is used where there is no positive evidence for the vowel quality.

gasmana (B) 'store, barn' < gasma 'corn' + hana 'house'

haniszin (also hana hiszin) 'porch' < hana + hiszin 'porch'

hanežin 'church' < hana + hežin 'holy'

waštežin 'Sunday, week' < wašta 'day' + hežin

wa'ktiš 'on the other side' < *wa'aktiš < wa'a 'other' + haktiš
'side'

sa'dšin 'that's all' < sa't 'thus' + 'išin 'it is'

kišeypa (also kešeypa) 'aister' < kiča 'woman' + *šeypa

gušdatin 'glutton' < gušti 'food' + 'atin 'large'

kidakt 'throat' < kiti 'neck' + 'akt

nicbatin 'drum' < *nicp (= nic 'pot' ?) + 'atin 'large'

šeyguši- (also šeygi puči-) 'to injure..' < šeygi 'hurt' + puči- 'to
do..'

hipo? 'prairie grass' < hipi 'prairie' + po? 'herb'

kipinun 'mulatto' < kipi 'flesh' + pinun 'red'

nukaci 'dorsal fin' < nuku 'back' + kaci 'bone'

Cases involving sibilant assimilation:

suseygs 'woods', susegup 'into the woods' (§102)

gusnahza 'pu 'breakfast' (§102)

Loss of t between consonants is seen in the last example and
in:

šakšžaht- 'to poke about, ruminate' possibly < šakšti 'to saw' +

žaht- 'to chop..'

Loss of n between consonants seems to be involved in:

ʔo'ksži'niš 'thief' < ʔo'ksni 'to steal' + ži'niš 'bad'

n seems to be lost in contraction with preceding m in:

hečmašta 'yesterday', for the second element seems to be

wašta 'day', though the first element is unknown.

m > n before ʃ in ʔanzampa 'axe' < ʔam zampa 'what one spears (with)'

Two cases occur showing loss of glottal stop after stop or
affricate:

kičanda hu'ta'yiniš poku (also hu'ta 'a'yiniš) 'old woman boat
 lender wind' (humorous appellation of the northeast wind--see 70a)
 ka'ži kut kacatin (also kaci 'atin) 'owl' of a certain variety
 ('big-skulled owl')

The clarity of the etymologies in these cases and the relative ob-
 scurity of some of the cases with glottalized stop suggest that this
 pattern may be the more productive one.

In cases where only subtle phonetic change was involved, only
 four clear composites were recorded without word division:

nam'iaht- 'to impress, emboss..' < nam' 'brand, mark' + iaht-
 'to chop..'

'am'puč 'why?' < 'am 'what' + 'puč (= 'puči'g 'doing'). (One of the
 meanings of 'am 'puči'g is 'in order to do what?')

'o'nak 'all' < 'owi 'all' + postposition nak 'and everything
 else' (unamalgamated phrase medial form of 'owi is 'o', e.g.,

'o'k'eystigi 'very many')

huynak 'whole' < huyi 'right' + nak

It is likely that more amalgamations would have been noted if the more
 subtle criteria had been studied. The following composites, recorded
 originally with word division, may be deduced to be amalgamations
 on the basis of the characteristic loss of the final vowel of the
 first word:

zaytep'ži.niš, -žiwgi, pl. -žiči'ki'g, -žiči'kank 'lazy' < zaytepa
 'to be lonesome' (?) + žiči.niš etc. 'bad'

kapmahc 'comet' < kapi + mahc (101)

kip'čušmpa 'shirt' < kipi 'body' + čušmpa 'to sew ^{them} pl.'

hu'nučmank (perhaps plural) 'farm workers' < huwi 'to farm' + nučmank
 'workers' need not be an instance of amalgamation, since the loss

of i in this position is a possible context change¹ (see §54):

¹A said it was from hukasi 'field' + nušmank, but this may have been an attempt to make it jibe with the current English expression 'field workers'.

similarly B's ^okesum, translated 'raccoon' but corresponding to A's ^owa kesuym 'monkey' (< 'raccoon who makes faces').

If ^oam hatpanki 'Bayou Grue' can be taken to be for ^oamu hatpapanki 'at the grue trap', we would have a syncopated vowel without the loss of h which should have taken place if amalgamation were involved. Possibly this etymology is incorrect or possible an original ^oamatpanki was modified, after hatpa- came to be a rare verb, so as to make the first element into the interrogative-indefinite ^oam 'what, that which', which is common in derived lexemes. Gatchet's amatpan (^oamatpank ?) namu 'village at Bayou Gris'² (read Grue) seems to

²See Swanton, Indian Tribes, p. 343.

bear out the existence of a form without h. The form kes huym recorded as an alternate to kesuym, above, is probably a special pronunciation given by the informant to bear out his etymology. sep huyl 'very straight', if from *sepl (cf. septem, sepserniš 'erect', kap sepl- 'to have an erection') + huyl is perhaps to be explained in the same way, but note so³ sep, nickname of a certain negro boy, said by A to be < so³ 'foot' + septem, the boy being so called because he had the appearance of being very erect.³

³Could so³sep perhaps be an old form for French Joseph, with accommodation to hitimacha phonetics and sibilant assimilation? If this is true, A's explanation would be a secondary rationalization of a form which for him had no similarity to sozer.

Several partially analyzable composites show amalgamation:

*akšun 'cypress' < *pak + šun 'tree'

* Could this be for *aki 'entrails', and the tree so named because of its peculiar grain? Or is it an archaic element for 'water' related to Atakapa ak?

šamšit- 'to milk..' < *šam + šit- 'to pluck..'

šipki 'vine of a certain variety, Fr. saspere' < *šip + ki? 'vine'??

sošape 'toe' < so? 'toe' + *šape, cf. waši šape 'finger'

kisde?e 'skunk' cf. de? - 'to break wind'

ša'šū 'beard' cf. ša? 'mouth'

ge'giti 'necklace' cf. ge? 'neck'

Two words that are apparently composites seem not to have the usual vowel synope:

kamšit 'thorned hackberry' < kam? 'hackberry' + šit 'locust'

kamikiš 'wolf' < *kami+kiš 'dog'.

The first example actually seems to have an inserted vowel. In the second case we have no etymology. We may also recall the amalgamation of auxiliaries and other elements in the verb conjugation where a preceding stem vowel is changed to i. Perhaps we see here evidence of another phonological type of amalgamation (cf. §104).

It is not to be inferred from the long discussion of amalgamation that this is the most usual treatment of composites. This was rather necessitated by the complexities involved, and complexities are often a concomitant of non-productive processes. In this case we may say that non-amalgamation is definitely the most usual though amalgamation is not altogether unproductive.

§104. Non-final elements of unamalgamated composites often have i for final a in the same way that other words in phrase non-final

have iotization, that is, the form vacillates between i and the original vowel. In a few cases, the iotization seems permanent, thus: *kici nahzibu* 'girl' (*kisa* 'woman') + *nahzibu* 'young'), *wašti gan* 'morning' (*wašta* 'day' + *gan* 'not').

§§105-108 Irregularities

§105. There are a number of cases of nouns similar to verbs in such a way that they may be regarded as irregular gerunds. In the following cases the noun lacks a final i of being a regular -i gerund.

ka'čt- 'to drink' : *ka'čt* 'a draught, drink'

kuti- 'to look, face..' : *kut* 'head' (also of. *kuti* 'end, top')

gečt- 'to carry, on the arm, shoulder' : *gečt* 'muscle'

tapše- 'to step, to stand' : *tapš* 'post'

na'še- 'to poison..' : *na'š* 'poison'

nakte- in *kap nakte-* 'to freeze', *ʔapš nakte-* 'weather cools off' :

nakt 'ice, hail'

na'käte- 'to write to..' : *na'kät* 'paper, letter'

šiče- (static) '(tree) is foliated' : *šič* 'leaf'

ših- (static deponent) 'to be pregnant' : *ših* 'belly'

šiče- 'to smoke, steam, be foggy' : *šič(t)* 'fog, smoke'

peypit- 'to cover with pitch' : *peypit* 'pitch'

We may mention here a similar formal relation between a noun and an adjective:

wa'keti(gi) 'late' : *wa'kst* 'evening'

In the following cases an ʔ is added after a sonorant:

wayi- 'to weave..' : *wayʔ* 'spider's web'

kap ney- '(water) recedes' : *neyʔ* 'earth' (??)

In the following case the vowel of gerundial -pa is absent:

*uti- 'to tie' : *utp 'tanned hide' (?--perhaps connected because of the tying of the hide in the tanning process, see 72a)

In ša' ni šī 'language < ša' 'mouth, voice' + ni šī? 'to speak', the syllable šī is lacking.

In the following cases as also in one of the forms of šič(t) 'smoke, fog', a syllable ti is lacking:

wamst- 'to wriggle, fidget' : wams 'catfish' (?)

hent- 'to peel (cane reed) in making splints' : hen? 'cane-reed splint, used in basket-weaving'

ša'pōt- 'to have, take..(liquid) in the mouth : ša'š 'saliva'

zent(e)- 'to make a play in lacrosse' : zeh 'trap; lacrosse racket' (perhaps 'lacrosse ball'--the informant was uncertain)

Whereas in the foregoing examples the irregular gerund is an abbreviated form, in nowa 'Indian hominy' as compared to now- 'to be ripe, cooked', there is an ending that differs from the normal (no'pa or nowi); it is like the gerund šuwa, which is regular for the verb šuw- 'to go'. hihža 'reflection, image', as compared to hihže- 'to be overclouded', also has final -a.

Another irregular gerund is seen in:

hi:kima- 'to believe..; to think of, remember..' : ni kimti- 'sense, cunning; spirit, ghost'

§106. There are cases of noun-verb relation in which the verb is longer than the noun by a suffix -ka- (compare the adjective plural), -ki-, or -ma- (compare the regular verb plural). Note incidentally that most of the cases treated in §105 could likewise be taken as involving verbs derived from nouns by the addition of zero, -e- or -i-; since verbs are not commonly derived from nouns

some preference may be given to the other treatment. Suffix -ka- is seen in:

ziya 'egg' : zi-ka- 'to lay eggs'

ya²a 'child, human offspring' : ya-ka- '(animal) begets' (note the contrast between human and animal reference)

ʔuybi 'blood' : ʔuybika- 'to bleed'

keta 'side, space beside, partner' : ʔapě ketka- (kin) 'to be partners(with..)'

namu 'town, village, settlement, country' : namka-, nampa- 'to remain, dwell'

-ki- occurs in:

niya 'sickness' : ni-ki- 'to be sick'

nitiya 'master, owner' : niti-ki- 'to lead, direct, supervise..'

The suffix -ma- occurs in :

tu²u 'hole, hollow' : ʔapě tu-ma- 'to be full of holes'

ney da²pa 'mud, muddy' (ney² 'earth') : kap da²pima- 'to be dirty'

kapě 'name' : kapěma- 'to apply a name to..'

ʔašinžada, ʔašantma-, pl. ʔašinžatka(ʔa), ʔašantka(ʔa) 'old man' :

ʔašinžatma- ʔašantma- 'to be old'

kičanda, pl. kičantka(ʔa) 'old woman' : kičandma- '(woman) gets old'

wašta 'day, time' : kap waštma- 'day comes'

yo²t(i)š 'summer, year' : yo-tišma- '(summer) comes'

hipě 'winter' : kap hipěma- '(winter) comes'. Note also hipěpatě-

hipěpatma- '(winter) approaches'

In the last three examples, very little of the paradigm seems to be used; such forms as yo²-tišmi-nki 'when summer comes!' (84b) seems to be the only typical ones. -ma- forms a verb from an adjective in

huyi 'good' : huyma- 'to like, love..'. -tkama occurs in :

hana, pl. hanmank 'relative' (of. hana 'house'); *apě hantkama-

'to be related'.

A few phonological changes are to be noted in the foregoing, processes that are also found in other connections.

§107. A few examples may be characterized as irregular gerundives and involve relationship between noun or adjective and verb:

ga'še- 'to be inclined, bent, dishonest' : ga'en 'dishonest'

ni kašma- 'to doctor; to dream, : kašmiš 'doctor'

tuči-, ni tuči- 'to cook..' : ni tučemank 'skin eruption, boil'

*apě wa'bte- 'to slash about' : wa'bten 'knife'

peš- 'to fly' : pe'špe'šn 'very thin; ribbon'

pohte- 'to spread..on' : pohpohniš 'all patched up' (e.g., a crazy quilt)

kapkikse- 'to partake of..with zest' : kiksniš 'sensuous, having a hearty appetite', kapkiksepigi 'having a hearty appetite'

tuw-'pl. die' : tu'gš 'dead--pl.' (gerundive of participial form)

§108. Other cases of irregular relation of morphemes are not easily classified. For convenience we divide them into (a) sets of words in which the end-partials differ, (b) pairs of words involving a difference in the first vowel, (c) ~~rhyming~~ ^{rhyming} sets, differing in their initial consonant. The latter two groups include cases involving the first type of peculiarity. The pair giht- 'to want..' : kap *agichte- 'to be greedy' does not fit in with any of these groups.¹

Could this be an amalgamation of *aki 'entrails' with *gihte- =giht-?

Frequently the fact of relationship is not at all clear, so that conclusions must be drawn with caution.

(a) words differing in their end-part:

*akt 'bow; musical horn', : *akta 'elbow; water chiniquapin'
 makt 'rump' : makta 'rear, stern, bottom' : mahča 'anus' :
 mahči 'tail, pot-handle' : mahčín 'nickname given to a
 certain long-handled pot in A's boyhood home' : kap mahč
 'comet' (§102)

kut 'head' : kuti 'end, top' : kuti- 'to face..' (see also §105)

*uh- 'to cough' : *uhiya 'bad_{III} cold'

nehe 'oneself' (used with pronouns) : *apě nehe 'middle'

(*apě 'together') : nehe pu 'doll'

nahzi(gi), pl. na *kě 'small' : nahzibu, pl. na *kěbu (~~B-nahzibu~~,
~~na *kěbu~~) 'child'

wa *bit 'money' : wa *bten 'knife' (§107) *apě wa *bte- 'to
 slash about'

kiča 'woman' : *apě kiče, pl. *apě kičemank 'married couple'
 (*apě 'together')

tuu 'hole', : tuuš 'shoe'

kup 'fire coals' : kups 'coal, fire coal'

peki gan 'clean (gan 'not') : pe *gatn 'dirty'

gastigi 'cold' : gasda 'north' : ga *ste- '(breeze) rises;
 to shiver'

gast- 'to dig..', gast, esp. ni gast- 'to plant..' : gasma 'corn'

heyst- 'to dislike, hate..' : heysma 'trouble' (*am heysma-nki
 'in some trouble')

nei 'fatty' : nema 'oil'

poku 'wind, air' : pokta 'sky, cloud' : pokpa- 'to be cloudy'

ka *mu 'sprout, stem' : ka *pti 'stem'

gekaII 'plate' : gekite- 'to dig, hollow out..'

kata 'side, space beside', *apě kətka- (kin) 'to be partners'

(with...)' (§106) : ketigi 'near' ; root *ke- 'close'
 kupu ša'ka 'long-handled gourd, gourd rattle' (kupu 'gourd') :
 ša'kpa- 'to rattle..'
 ku? 'water, liquid' : ku'pa- or ku'ba- 'to melt..' : kap ku'bšma-
 '(vessel) fills up with water; (hollow thing) collapses from
 external pressure'
 nekt- 'to skin, peel..': nekst- 'to re-peel..(cane), i.e., to
 separate the outer part of the splint from the inner so as to make
 a finer splint'
 dapgi or dapki 'dark' : dapst- 'to extinguish..'
 si? - 'to have an odor' : si'ht- 'to smell..'
 kap žandi- 'to rub..pointwise' (72b) : ža't- (pl. žama-) 'to thrust..
 pointwise; to spear, lance..; to strike..with a missile'
 ka'ci- 'to shove..with the end of a long object, žapš ka'ci- 'to
 splice..together' : ka'tut- 'to shove, push..' : ka'tema- 'to rub..'
 ne'e š 'vulva' : žapš ne'bit- 'to copulate' : žapš ne'kmatma- 'to
 indulge in sexual play'
 ka'hw 'pincers; hair stay' : ka'hmpa 'tongs'
 puhtibak (or puhdibak) 'blowgun' : puhdup 'thistle' : pu'hte- 'to
 blow through a tube'
 nuku 'back' : nugus 'behind' : nuk 'outside'
 šip? 'rope' : šim(?)iš '(fishing) line'
 šipšži 'snapping turtle; bad cold' : šipšžape 'loggerhead turtle'
 kupšš 'lime' : kupšin 'grosbeak' : kupšniš, kupše- 'gray-haired'
 žuwa, žu'gi, žuwi 'quickly, fast; soon' : žu'unk 'at once, soon'
 wašta 'day' : waštme(nk) 'next day, tomorrow' : hešmašta 'yesterday'

(§103)

gohgohniš 'small and square' : gokšgokšniš, pl. gokš gokšmank
 'approximately equal in two dimensions, i.e. round or square' ;
 gokštem, gokš(gokš)te- 'round'

deyktem 'damp' : deykdeykniš 'soft, soggy, mushy'

(b) sets of words with changed vowel

neka 'devil' : niksta 'spirit, soul, mind'

meša 'four' : mišta 'nine'

ka'yži 'three' : ke'ta 'eight'

kiča 'woman' : kižeypa, kežeypa 'sister'

ša° 'mouth, voice, language' : ni šī°- 'to talk' : ša/ni šī 'lan-
guage' (§105) : hanša°a 'door' (§103) : ša'žima- 'to gnaw at..'

: ša'gi- 'to yawn' : ša'pēt- 'to have, take..(liquid) in the mouth'

: ša'pš 'saliva' (§105) : ša'št- 'to have a bite in the mouth'

zantem 'dots' : zintemank 'polka dotted', zini name applied to a
spotted calf : zintem 'soft and smooth'

(c) sets of ^{vñyming} words

°akst- 'to buy..', kap °akst- 'to sell..' : kap nakst- 'to sell..'

°učī- 'to do, make..' : nučma- 'to work' : tuči- 'to cook..'

haši-, pl. hašma- 'to sneak up on, stalk..', hašma- 'to hunt..' :

našma- 'to hunt..'

na'kšte- 'to draw..; to write to..' : na'kšte- 'to write..to..'

hokt- 'to leave, depart from..; to release.., leave..undisturbed,
avoid..; permit..(to..)' : nokt- 'to permit..(to..)' and other
meanings of hokt-

hokšte- 'to feed..to..' : nokšte- same meaning

paži- 'to set (the table)' : naži- same meaning

°okua 'shoulder' : mokun 'knee, lap'

°ištt- 'to haul..' : kištt- 'to drag..'

°apš hečt- 'to guard, take care of..' : hiskečt- 'to wait for,
expect..' : wečt- 'to take care of..'

°ioi- 'to burn..' : nie 'pot' : *niepa (-pa gerund of *niei-)
in niebatin 'drum'

3. Lexeme¹ Classes

¹The term 'lexeme' is used for a 'semantically unitary form other than an inflectional morpheme. In the case of an inflected element, the lexeme is the abstraction derived from all the forms of the paradigm. In giving the form of a lexeme, I use an abstracted stem-form (marked with hyphen) in the case of verbs, a characteristic form in the case of substantives and particles. The actual forms of the verb may be found by consulting the treatment of verb conjugation and stem extension. The remaining forms for other lexeme classes may be found in the vocabulary.

The justification for using the essentially new technical term, 'lexeme' (to my knowledge, it is as yet used only among a group of my colleagues), lies in the fact that no word already in use could be used without confusion. "Word" has been used in this book as a phonetic concept (see §2) which does not necessarily coincide with the lexical unit. "Morpheme" is too general a term, covering any meaningful unit, and would include inflectional endings. Bloomfield's 'glosseme' (Language, 1933, p. 264) is even more inclusive than morpheme, since it includes 'tagmeme' (e.g., a syntactic construction).

§§109-110 General Classification

§109 Types of Units

§109. Lexemes include simplexes and composites, the former being completely unanalyzable, the latter made up of small primary elements by processes of lexeme building (see chap. VI). Composites include juxtaposition composites, in which the component elements retain their phonetic independence, and amalgamated composites, in which the elements have been welded into a single phonetic unit. The component elements are in some cases unknown otherwise.

Composites, particularly juxtaposition composites, must be carefully distinguished from syntactic constructions. The difference lies in the unitary, distinctive meaning of the composite, which is more limited than that of the corresponding syntactic combination. In practice, there are cases where one does not have

enough information about a form and its uses to decide whether it is construction or lexeme, and there are cases which by nature are ambiguous; but the theoretical distinction is important, for, if composites were not distinguished from constructions, it would not be possible to reduce the syntax to rules.

In the same way, specialized derivatives must be distinguished from paradigmatic forms with which they may be homonymous. Thus, *pešmank* 'dusk' (singular and plural) is derived from and homonymous with the plural gerundive of *peš-* 'to fly', but is not to be considered identical with it. It differs both as to meaning and inflection. It is an uninflected noun, where the plural gerundive is a single form of the extensive verb paradigm.

The essential point with regard to derived lexemes is that they are treated in every way like other lexemes. There is an exception in the case of one class of composites, called loose composites, whose syntax is like that of their component parts. They are units for the purpose of definition only.

§110 Inflectional-Syntactic Classes

§110. On the basis of their inflectional and syntactic traits, lexemes fall into a number of classes. The different classes may be conveniently grouped into verbs, substantives, and particles. This classification and grouping is not without its uncertain points. For example, the adjective has verbal features and substantival features; it has been grouped with substantives because its substantival functions seem to be more characteristic. Particles are a heterogeneous group of word classes brought together on the basis of lack of inflection and general dissociation from any inflected type. By comparison with particles, the substantives are a homogeneous group.

And verbs are definitely homogeneous.

Aside from difficulties inherent in the nature of the facts, the classification suffers from lack of data regarding some of the words.

§§111-122 Verbs

§111. Verbs are the most extensively inflected lexeme class, being inflected for person and number of the subject and object, occurrence number (see §), voice, and a set of categories, called tense-moods, involving tense, mood, aspect, and other notions.¹ The

The inflectional categories mentioned in this chapter are fully discussed in chapter 4. Syntactic functions, such as term, modifier, predicator, relater, and others, are defined and discussed in chapter 5.

tense-moods include: aorist, future, continuative, usitative, stative; imperative, polite imperative, hortative, permissive; necessitative, desiderative; conditional, participial; gerund, gerundive. These categories are defined in chap. VI.

Not all verbs have all of these inflectional categories. This leads to a sub-classification into normal verbs and auxiliary verbs, and a further classification of the normal verbs into active and static aspect types. Normal verbs may also be classed, on the basis of their treatment of the subject, into a common type and a deponent type. Finally, there are differences in inherent voice, leading to a division into intransitive and various kinds of transitives.

§112 Auxiliary Verbs

§112. Auxiliary verbs include three singulars, differentiated as to positional implication, and a plural: hi(h)- 'to be (in indifferent position)', si(h)- 'to be (in standing position)', pe(h)-

'to be (in horizontal, lying position)'; na(h)- 'to be' pl. subject. The inflection system is not as extensive as that of the normal verb; it includes: a participle, a gerund, and the finite tense-moods of aorist, future, conditional, necessitative, imperative, and desiderative. Person and number of subject are distinguished but no other grammatical categories.

The auxiliaries express the fact of relationship, the relation itself being expressed by other elements or implied in the type of syntactic construction. Examples:

sa hana-nki hi'í 'He is in that house' (that house in he-is)

nahxi keystigi' hi'í 'It is very heavy' (heavy very it-is)

weyt hi'í 'It is thus' (thus it-is)

panš pinikank hi'í 'He is an Indian' (Indian he-is)

Illustrated in the last example is what may be called the classification or identification or designation relationship; it is implicit in the very fact that the substantive is used as a predicate modifier (§) and is not dependent on the use of the auxiliary.

It may be noted here that existence is not typically predicated in Chitimacha style. One does not, for example, say, 'There was an Indian and he lived in the woods', but 'A certain Indian lived in the woods'; not 'There is a cypress in my yard' but 'A cypress is in my yard'. I do not know whether this stylistic avoidance of predicating existence is an indication that there is no direct means of expressing it. In particular one wishes to know (and I do not) if the auxiliaries are used as predicaters of existence.

§§113-117 Aspect Types of Normal Verbs

§113. From the point of view of basic aspect, verbs may be classified into static and active, the latter being the commoner type.

The active verb has a full conjugation in all the verbal categories. It expresses action (movement, motion, changing or vacillating state, etc.; causation of movement, i.e., transportation, of motion, of changing or vacillating state) except in the stative and the gerundive, thus:

nu·pi'í 'he died'

nu·pōu'š 'if he dies'

nu·pk 'dying, having died'

nu·pi 'to die, death'

nu·pk hi'í 'he had died, was dead'

nu·pn 'dead'

The classification of verbs as active or static is essentially logical, and one can ordinarily determine from the meaning whether a particular verb will be treated as one or the other.

§114. The basic inflection of the static verb includes only the aorist, future, conditional, and necessitative categories. The aorist commonly has the periphrastic form, but may also be simple; in a few instances, a continuative form occurs but seems to be equivalent to the aorist. Static verbs express persisting state, condition, attitude, relation; an example is ni kima- 'to believe..':

ni kimi'gš hi'í, ni kimi'í 'he believed it'

ni kimišū'š 'if he believes it'

ni kimi'g 'believing'

ni kimpa 'to believe, belief'

ni kinam 'believed'

The first person singular aorist is often given the form of the first person gerund, as:

ni kinaka 'I believed it' commonly ni kimi'gš hiki, occasionally

ni kiniki

§112. In addition to the basic inflection and meaning just described, static verbs have a full conjugation with active inchoative meaning. The different usage is not marked by a difference in form except that the inchoative may be accompanied by the preverb *kap*, provided the basic verb is without preverb. Thus:

hamči'gš hi'í, *hamči'í* 'he had it'

(*kap*) *hamči'í* 'he acquired it'

The periphrastic aorist is, of course, unambiguous.

In the causative static verbs always have inchoative meaning,

e.g.,

ga'se- 'to be bent, inclined; dishonest', *ga'sepa-* 'to bend, incline.., to make..dishonest'

§113. Some active and static verb stems may be listed here for illustration. Active verbs:

šuv- 'to go'

nuhč- 'to run'

nuhčwa- 'to enter'

ʔeh- 'to arrive'

tey- 'to sit down, to sit'

mači- 'to carry, lead..'

nuhšt- 'to take..inside'

wopma- 'to ask..of..'

te't- 'to say..'

he'spa- 'to help..'

his he'št- 'to meet..'

ʔimšt- 'to pour..(in, out)'

gapt- 'to take, get, catch..'

get- 'to beat, kill..'

ʔapš dama- 'to fight (with..)'

tuči- 'to cook..'

wiš- 'to burn'

ʔiši- 'to seek..'

ʔiki- 'to hide..'

ʔa'í- 'to give..to..'

žant- 'to dance'

ʔuti- 'to tie..'

ʔuki- 'to count..'

Examples of static verbs:

- hambi- 'to have, possess..'
 we'kte- 'to have the legs spread out'
 ka'kwa- 'to be able'; 'to know, understand..'
 ti:ket- 'to hate, dislike..'
 kap da'pina- 'to be dirty'
 ka'kte- 'to extend across'
 ga'ke- 'to be bent, inclined, dishonest'
 ney'e- 'to be ashamed'
 ne'kma- 'to have gonorrhoea'
 kap nu'ke- 'to have some congenital mark'
 si'- 'to have an odor'
 septe- 'to be erect'
 'ap'e hantkama- 'to be related (to..)'

§117. A few verbs are either active or static with irregularly variant meanings; thus:

ha'- stat. 'to have..wrong with one', act. 'to experience.., have..
 happen to one'

aglit- stat. 'to hang', act. 'to hang..up'

kap kikse- stat. 'to have an appetite (for..)', act. 'to partake of..
 with zest'

kudiht-, kudihtma- 'to extend around..', kudiht- 'to circle around..'

namka-, nampa- 'to remain, dwell' and giht- 'to want..' are ordinarily static but occasionally active with no other difference in meaning; that is to say, the meaning is the same but the use of the verbal categories is different in that continuation normally expressed by the aorist, usually periphrastic, in the manner of static verbs, is occasionally expressed by the continuative in the manner of active verbs.

The continuative examples are:

we gahšin ʔatin ki ka ʔi ʔatintkə namka ʔi 'The horned owl lives
in the live oak,' 12c

yukš ʔatin nus hananki namka ʔi 'A panther lived in her house'

we haksigamə ʔo ne ni gihdiššin 'that young man wants medicine'
58a, also 521a

The common usage is shown by:

ni ti knišk sa miš hi kutinki namki ʔai 'The governor lives at
the end of that road' 4c. Also 5a, e, f, 14a, and many other cases.

gay- is static in the senses of 'to be lost' and 'to be without..' but varies between active and static in the meaning 'to be not', construed with dependent gerund. -In the latter meaning, the voice depends on that of the expressed or implied dependent gerund; if there is none, the verb is static. Thus, active examples:

panš pinikank siksi dempi gayənaʔa 'Indians do not kill eagles' 2c

panš pinikank ku mit gušmpi gayənaʔa 'Indians don't eat squirrels'

wehk .ni dutmpi gayənak 'they don't travel that way' 5g

weytkite t ki ʔam ʔo nak ni ʔa ntpi gayənaʔa 'Since then dogs
and such don't talk', 6c

wetkite t ʔap mašmpi gayənaʔa 'After that they didn't bring them
after that' 32b

Static examples:

we ʔašinʔadanki ni kimpi gaygə naʔuyna 'They didn't believe in
the old man' 11a

ʔud panš weyšk kin ʔapə ʔi mipi gihši gaygə naʔa 'Our people
didn't want to mix with them' 16g

wey ne kimpi gayik 'I don't believe that' 50a

ʔašandaš šəškapi gaygə ciʔuyi 'the old was not pleased' 22a

§§118-119 Deponent Verbs

§118. Certain verbs, which we may call deponent, have the inflectional peculiarity that a first person subject is expressed as a first person object with non-first subject; only singular examples have been found. Thus *dadiwa-* 'to feel cold' in *dadiwaki-gi weyne hi'ehki* 'that happened to me because I felt cold' 70a. Some, perhaps all, deponent verbs may also be inflected in the ordinary way, thus *kap dadiwi-g' ?iék' ?u' gayki*. 'I felt cold and didn't go' loc. cit.. Compare also *him pan ki' nu'pki?u'š* 'if I die before you' A55a and *him pan ki' nu'p?ukiš* same meaning; loc. cit.

It is possible that the verbs treated in this section are to be taken as literally construing as object what we have called the subject. Thus instead of translating 'to want..', perhaps it should be 'to be desired by..', instead of 'to feel cold', perhaps 'to be coldness felt by..'. The evidence is, however, not compelling. Without other evidence, the present interpretation has to recommend it that it provides a simple formulation of the variation between deponent and non-deponent treatment.

§119. Most deponent verbs refer to bodily states or bodily changes. A few refer to mental conditions or processes. They may be active or static. The known instances are:

kap ?ašise- 'to become wearied'

kap, ni ?agihte- 'to be greedy'

wokt- 'to taste, feel..'

kap mokte- 'to become incapable of performing the sex act'

teki- 'to suffer pain'

dadiwa- 'to feel cold'

nu'p- 'to die'

zi's(?)š- 'to shiver'

(kap) sep- 'to have an erection'

kap ʔi-šema- 'to feel itchy; to have one's hair stand on end'

kiti ʔey(ka)ma- 'to make a hoarse sound in the throat'

ni šiki 'to forget..'

kap še-gima 'to have pus'

(ni) šaʔ- 'to sleep, fall asleep'

ga-šte- 'to shiver'

go-šte- 'to get sprained'

šeka- (šun) 'to be pleased (with..)'

giht- 'to want..'

pa-kine- 'to be tired'

kap kiti to-gama- 'to be hoarse'

ne-mi- 'to be afraid'

Of the foregoing, wokt-, dadiwa², nu-p-, and giht- are known to occur also as non-deponent.

§§120-122 Voice Classification

§120. Voice relations are part of the meaning of verbs. There are verbs which imply no object, there are verbs which imply one or more objects, thus:

šuyiʔi 'he went'

getiʔi 'he beat him'

nokōtiʔi 'he fed it to him'

In some cases, a postposition used with an expressed object is to be regarded as forming part of the expression of voice of the particular verb. Thus natmaʔ- 'to tell' is construed with šun and hup, the former indicating the object of narration and the latter the object to whom it is told, as wey šun ʔasi hup natmaʔiʔi 'he told that to the man'.

kap nakst- 'to sell..' employs kin ('with') to indicate the one to whom one sells, as *asi kin' kiš *atin' kap nakstiki' 'I sold a horse to the man'. The choice of postpositions in these cases is not statable in general rules; it can only be stated in terms of the particular verb stems. As a convenient way of indicating the relation of a verb to its objects, we may use two points to indicate an object and so write get- 'to beat, kill..', nokšte- 'to feed..to..' In the cases of verbs construed with postpositions, we may write, e.g. nakst- (kin) 'to sell..(to..)', natma^o- (žun, hup) 'to tell(.., to..)'.

§121. Certain verbs take a verbal complement in the gerund form. In some cases, the verbal complement is alternate to and mutually exclusive with an object; thus, ka-kwa- 'to know..; to be able to..', giht- 'to want..; to want to..', kap tu't- 'to complete the construction of..; to finish ...-ing'; kap naepikma- 'to begin to be, take place; to begin to produce..; to begin to...' kaniwi- 'to try to...' has been found only with a verbal complement. gay- 'not to be; not to...' takes either a predicate modifier or a verbal complement.

§122. Certain normal verbs are like auxiliaries in being construed with predicate modifiers: gay- 'not to be', ha^o- 'to become' (also 'to happen; to experience..'), kap tey- 'to turn into'

*učī- in the sense 'to cause..to become (such)' has a predicate apposition to the object. The causatives of gay- and kap tey- are similarly construed.

§§123-140 Substantives

§§123-124 General

§123. Substantives embrace several fairly distinct sub-classes: adjectives, numerals, nouns, particle-nouns, pronouns, demonstratives,

interrogative-indefinites. All substantives refer to entities, and have similar syntactic functions including appositional reference to the subject and object of predicaters, use with postpositions, modifying and possessive-appositional constructions with other substantives, predication (alone or with auxiliary verbs) with implied relation of classification or designation. These different functions are illustrated by nouns in the following cases:

panš pinikank (hiš) 'we kiča' hi kowi'i' 'An Indian called that woman'

panš pinikank čun' natmpuykin' 'I used to tell about the Indians' (or 'about an Indian')

we panš pinikank ney 'that Indian's land'

we panš pinikank nada 'that Indian chief'

panš pinikank (hi'i) 'He is an Indian'

In the discussion of the different sub-classes of substantives, mention of the syntactic functions will be made mainly in cases where they depart from those enumerated here.

§124. There are no inflectional features applicable to all substantives. The sub-classes of substantives are distinguished by inflection and by detail of syntactic function. There are, however, elements with individual peculiarities which make it impossible to classify them simply. There are also lexemes whose classification either as static verbs or adjectives is not sufficiently indicated by their known characteristics.

§§125-126 Adjectives

§125. The substantival state of adjectives is taken to be primary, because it is the most commonly used and the most characteristic.

It refers to an entity characterized solely by some given quality, state, condition, attitude, or the like. Examples: ?atin 'a large one', meedin 'a white one', ?omži-niš 'a cowardly one', ?a-kštigi 'a poor, miserable one', bištigi 'an energetic, industrious one', šana 'a new one'. An illustrative list of adjectives is given in §82. It is convenient, for the sake of brevity, to translate Chitimacha adjectives with English adjectives (i.e., in the preceding, 'large', 'white', 'cowardly', 'poor, miserable', 'energetic, industrious', 'new'), but the function of the Chitimacha adjective goes beyond that of English, and is essentially the same as that of the Chitimacha noun; thus,

we ?atin 'that large one' (cf. we ?asi 'that man')

we ?atin ?inži 'that large one's father' (cf. we ?asi ?inži)

?atin ki 'in the large one' (cf. šuš ki 'in the tree')

?atin (hi?i) 'He is large'

The adjective differs from most nouns in the frequency of its use as a postposed appositional modifier, as hana ?atin 'a large house' (at least some nouns share this function, §). Some adjectives are found in the function of predicator modifiers, a function not shared by nouns. Examples:

yukš te-t' peksigi memtepi ka-kun' 'He could jump (as) high as a cat' 48c

ya-gi' ōu-ši' 'You go swiftly' 18a

nidik huygi' ?aša-šiki' 'I believe I am doing well' 51

It is not known whether this usage is possible for all adjectives or only certain ones.

The entity referred to by the adjective is, in the nature of things, most often a concrete object. It may however be an abstract thing like a quality, a fact, a way of acting, or any other referent

to which the given adjective can be applied. Examples:

henška²e hi te šuying² 'He had to tell the truth' 33f (= the true account)

nygi² nušmakišuy² 'You will do us good' 35b (= you will do a good action toward us)

§125. In the substantival state, adjectives distinguish a singular and a plural (?atin 'a large one', ?atkank 'large ones'). In addition to the substantival state, there is a verbal state, which potentially has the same inflectional development as a static verb. Actually, the verbal state is relatively little used. In the primary aspect, the conditional is the only tense-mood and voice at all commonly used, e.g., ?atišu²š 'if he is large', ?atki²dna²š 'if they are large'. In the inchoative aspect various tense-moods are found, e.g., aorist kap ?ati²i 'he became large', kap ?atkina²a 'they became large'. Causatives, with inchoative meaning, are also found, e.g., kap ?atpi²i 'he raised him, made him big', kap ?atkapi²i 'he raised them, made them big'. Even these functions are usually filled by syntactic constructions employing the adjective in the substantival state, thus: ?atigi hihšu²š 'if he is large', ?atigi kap teyi²i 'he became large', ?atigi ?uči²i 'he made him large'.

Since the gerundive of many static verbs has a meaning like that of adjectives (cf. ni²kniš 'sick' and ?atin 'large'), it is sometimes difficult to distinguish adjectives from static verbs. The distinction is clear when the adjective is of a form that could not be taken as a gerundive, thus ?atin, ?ati, and ?atigi 'large' (contrast ?ap² ?atniš 'enlarged, grown large', gerundive of the verbal state, inchoative aspect, of this adjective), še²h²še²hniš 'pale' (verbal gerundive še²ntem). An element that is formally ambiguous can be

identified as an adjective only if the substantival form is clearly predominate in usage, thus *ižitem, pl. *ižitemank 'yellow'. This is about the only case. In pinun 'red' which is like the gerundive of its verbiform stem (piniwa-), the plural formation, pinikank, pinika-, is formally adjectival.

§§127-129 Quantitatives

§127. We may group together various substantives expressing quantitative notions: the numerals from one to ten, *ungu, *upa, ka'yži, meša, husa, *hatka, kišta, ke'ta, mišta, heyži; pu*p 'hundred', pu*p *ašinžada, pl. pu*p *ašinžatka 'thousand'; fractionals, indefinite quantifiers, and totalizers including *apš nehe 'half' (also 'middle'), *aniš ke 'a few, a small part', *aniš te 'how many? how much?' *upinak, upank(ak), *upšnak 'both', *o'nak 'all', hūynak 'the entire, whole'; wa'a 'other; the opposite bank of..'. These have in common with each other, as also with the adjective, the common syntactic usage as postposed modifier of terms, e.g., panš wa'a 'the other person'. They differ from the adjective in lacking its inflection.

Some of the quantitatives are uninflected. pu*p *ašinžada has singular-plural number inflection. The numerals from 'two' to 'ten' inflect for numeral state: cardinal, ordinal, temporal-quantitative. Thus *upa 'two entities', *upkami'g (sometimes *upkamⁱ before postpositions) 'the second one', *upkamink 'two times, the second time'. *ungu occurs only in the cardinal state; the corresponding ordinal notion is expressed by the adjective šama 'new, fresh; first'.

The cardinals from one to ten and the words for 'hundred' and 'thousand' enter into syntactic constructions to express higher numbers. pu*p and pu*p *ašinžada are used only with qualifying numerals, e.g., pu*p hatka 'six hundred', '100' is pu*p *ungu, never pu*p alone.

§128. ʔungu has also the meanings 'a certain one', and 'one, some entities (as contrasted with another, others)'. In the partitive meaning, the correlative of ʔungu is either ʔungu itself or waʔa, e.g. panē ʔungu...panē ʔungu or panē ʔungu...panē waʔa 'one person, some people...another person, other people'.

waʔa, when dependent on a noun referring to a body of water, has the meaning 'opposite bank of..', as in:

wa še:ni waʔank hi peš1ʔ1 'He flew to the opposite side of the pond'
1c

§129. ʔoʔnak in addition to its normal use occurs in combination with ʔam, either immediately preceding or before the modified substantive which ʔoʔnak follows. The combination has the meaning 'everything, all sorts of things'. It has a special function at the end of enumerations where it implies continuation of the enumeration, to be translated 'and so forth' or 'and others'. Examples:

ʔam ʔoʔnak kas š1paš1ʔ1. 'it ruins everything' 84d

ʔam kapš ʔoʔnak we ʔašinʔadaš hi ʔaʔpuynaʔa 'they used to give (i.e. call) that old man all sorts of names' 11a

kap neʔmki te ʔ1š ʔuš šakēti ʔam ʔoʔnak hiʔoktk hanank hi šuyiki. 'frightened, I left my saw and so forth and went to the house' 63d

kamč1n yukš ʔatin ʔam ʔoʔnak kin ne ʔun kun ʔučišuy hamčišuy.

'You'll have to do with deer, panther, and so forth' 71c

pešmankš ʔam šah ʔoʔnakš 'ducks and all sorts of birds' 63a

§§130-134 Nouns

except

§130. Nouns are uninflected, ^{except} for certain ones, including kinship terms and several others, which distinguish singular and plural (list given in §84). Nouns make specific or generic reference to entities.

Nouns of specific reference, e.g., *kučmahin* 'God', *ka'a* 'the sun', *waydi nimš* 'Franklin, La.', *ʔa-šokti* 'a certain man', are of course quite different semantically from adjectives. Nouns of generic reference are semantically nearer the adjective, and such a noun as *kiča* 'woman', if thought of as 'human, female entity', is seen to approach the adjective in the nature of its reference. However, the adjective refers to a more broadly characterized class, the noun to a more narrowly characterized class. Some examples of nouns will serve to suggest the range of meanings: *šuš* 'tree, wood, woods', *peypit* 'pine', *makš* 'fish', *nuš* 'stone', *kuč* 'head', *kuʔ* 'water', *pu'p ʔiʔ* 'rabbit's tooth-basketry design', *nada* 'chief', *ka'nuš* 'master', *ni gušti* 'food', *wašta* 'day, time', *čušeya* 'fence, enclosure'. The four cardinal directions, we may note, are expressed by nouns referring to the region lying in the given direction: *agaska* 'the north', *na'wa* 'the south', *šani* 'the east' (< 'sun rise'), *nus* 'the west'.

The syntactic functions of the noun are those given for the substantive in general in §123. Noun illustrations are given there.

§131. *ʔašinžada* and *kičanda* are perhaps to be classed as adjectives since there are verb forms *kap ʔašinžatma-* and *kap kičantma-* 'to become old'. However, compare *hipšminki* 'when winter came' and *waštinki* 'next day' (< 'when day came') related to *hipš* 'winter' and *wašta* 'day', whose syntactic functions are not like those of adjectives.

§132. We may recognize as a special sub-class of nouns several words expressing notions of age and sex, found frequently in the syntactic function of postposed appositional modifiers of terms, e.g. *we panš pinikand kiča* 'that Indian woman'. All distinguish singular and plural:

nahziḡu, pl. *na'kšpu* 'child'

*asi nahzipu, pl. *asi na*kāpu 'boy'

kiči nahzipu, pl. kiču na*kā 'girl'

patma 'young of animal'

*asi, pl. *ayš 'man, male'

kiča, pl. kiš 'woman, female'

*ayš na*kā (pl.) 'young men'

haksigam, pl. haksiga*žank 'young man'

gimniš, pl. ginkgank 'girl, young woman'

*ašinžada, *ašanda, pl. *ašinžatka(?a), *ašantka(?a) 'old¹ man, male;

¹Not necessarily old in the English sense, but anyone who is no longer young; the complement, rather than the opposite of 'young'.

old thing'

kišan^{da}, pl. kišantka(?a) 'old¹ woman, female'

The last two words are possibly to be classified as adjectives, especially since there are corresponding verb stems *ašinžatma- and kišantma-. The present classification has only the advantage that it places these words with the other age-sex terms, shown not to be adjectives by the fact that they have no verbiform stems. Furthermore, there are two other nouns (hipě 'winter', wašta 'day') having similarly corresponding stems, (mainly occurring in the forms hipž mi-nki 'when winter came', waštmi-nki 'next day'), while these nouns are not at all like adjectives in meaning and lack the characteristic adjective syntax of appositional modifiers.

Age-sex words are not the only nouns used as appositional modifiers. Nouns expressing status, e.g., heka *atkank 'chief', or profession, e.g., kačmiš 'doctor', are also found in this function. The age-sex words are marked out as a class only by a stylistic predilection to specificity in these matters, which makes the words particularly common in use.

§132. Many nouns are not used except with a preceding possessive modifier, e.g. ʔiš ʔinʔi 'my father', kiča ʔinʔi 'a woman's father'. Such nouns, which may be called dependent nouns, include relationship terms and words expressing ^alocated part or space, e.g. kita 'bottom', keta 'side, space beside or alongside', tiya 'side, space beside', nuku 'back, back portion', ʔapš nehe 'middle'¹, ʔapš kudihn 'region,

¹May be used independently in the sense of 'half'.

space about something'. In addition to kinship terms, dependent nouns include others expressing different kinds of relationship as: ka'nuš 'master', keta 'friend', panš 'friend, relative' (also used as non-dependent in the meaning 'person'), ʔapš šankmam 'confederate, spiritual guardian', ka'ksepa 'betrothed'.

Body-part nouns are most commonly used with possessive modifiers, but are not restricted to this use. Examples with possessives:

poku waši hi tohčūš 'if you broke the wind's arm' 15c

hus kut' hi gaypa'šči'1' 'she is losing her head' 13b

hus šiš has šaptinki te't' 'after he had split his nose' 16c

Examples without possessives:

kiči hežin hiš' wašink' we piyi ših ki' hi wokmi'. 'The holy woman has felt of the cane joint with the hand' 13d

himš' nenčugu' šanki' kut huygi' hi'1'. 'You already have too good a head' 17h

weytkite't' pu'pkš' ʔo'nak' šiš kas šapmank' panš hup' ʔap ʔuy'lašna'ʔa'.

'Since then all rabbits come into the world with split noses' 16d

§133. Unique among dependent nouns in ʔeypi, used only with personal pronouns to express any possessed entity already in the context. It makes anaphoric reference to a "possession" parallel to an already mentioned one belonging to someone else, e.g., ʔiš wa'1' him ʔeypi hi

wayta² 'atkapa' 'My hands are larger than yours' 255.

§134. The kinship terms for consanguineous relations are:

ʔasʔeypa, pl. ʔasʔeymank 'brother (including half-brother by the same mother)', ʔasʔeypa ʔapš nehe (literally 'half brother') 'the son of one's father by a different mother'

kiʔeypa, pl. kiʔeymank 'sister (including half-sister by the same mother)', kiʔeypa ʔapš nehe 'the daughter of one's father by another mother'

taʔdin, pl. taʔdinkank 'junior sibling or cousin on one's mother's side'¹

naʔnčaʔa, pl. naʔnčaʔkamank, naʔnčaʔkampa, naʔnčaʔkaʔpa 'older sibling or cousin on one's mother's side; siblings in general'¹

¹There was some confusion on the part of the informant with regard to these terms. He was uncertain of the extent of the application of both terms; he felt that they applied at least to first cousins on one's mother's side. naʔnčaʔa was translated 'older sister'; in C, it is translated 'brother'. In 1a, 2a, 10i, 11c, and 37a, it is translated 'brothers', but in some of these contexts the meaning 'siblings' would seem to fit even better.

ʔinʔi, pl. ʔinʔikamank 'father'

ʔaʔyʔ, pl. ʔaʔyʔampa 'mother'

ʔinʔi ʔatin, pl. ʔ 'grandfather'

ʔaʔy ʔatin, pl. ʔ 'grandmother'

waʔ, pl. waʔkampa 'brother of mother or grandmother'

kenʔ, pl. ʔ 'brother of father or grandfather; male cousin of self or parent'

ʔamʔ, pl. ʔamkampa 'sister of parent of grandparent; female cousin of self or parent'

yaʔa, pl. yaʔmank 'child'. The regular terms for child, boy, and girl (nahʔipu, ʔasi nahʔipu, kici nahʔipu) are also used for one's children.

new'u, pl. newmank 'niece, nephew'

The only affinal kinship terms obtained were:

ʔasi, pl. ? 'husband' (cf. ʔasi 'man, male')

kiša, pl. kiškampa 'wife' (cf. kiša pl. kiš 'woman, female').

hestma 'step-father, father-in-law'

§135 Particle-Nouns

§135. Certain words are used both as terms referring to locations and as postpositive locative relaters; e.g., hana kamis 'the back part of the house; in back of the house'. These are:

haktiš 'side, direction; in the direction of..'

huyi haktiš, huyaktiš 'right side; on the right side of..; right'

ki'saktiš, ki'saktš 'left side; on the left side of..; left'

wa'ktiš 'other side; on the other side of..'

hisgis 'under part; under!.'

kamis 'hind part; behind..; hind'

samis 'front part; in front of..; fore'

segis 'interior; inside..' --amalgamated with hup, segup

pegis 'top; over..' -- amalgamated with hup, pegup

All except haktiš and hisgis are also found used as independent modifiers, e.g., kamis 'nahōwa'š'i' 'he was running (along) behind'.

kamis, samis, ki'shkitš and huyaktiš also occur as postposed modifiers.

Examples showing the different functions of kamis:

him ge' kamis rusōu'š' 'if the back of your neck twitches' A81

weY ʔasi nahripu kamis ʔap ōu'š'in' 'he was coming along behind the boy' A5c

kamis' hi hoktiki' 'I left him behind' A22d

ʔišk' kamis' ša'ga' 'I want to sleep in back' A30e

kamšintk hunks šama ^{hunks so kamis ki} hamči'gš na'ʔa', hunks segis ki gan', hunks kēs-

inkl gan' 'Deer have their bile in their hind legs, not in their insides, not in their livers' A71b.

Except for their use as postpositive relaters, independent modifiers, and postposed modifiers, these words are like dependent nouns like keta 'side' §132; thus they combine the usages of nouns, postpositions, and independent modifiers.

§§136-137 Pronouns

§136. Personal pronouns are distinct from nouns in that syntactically they are restricted to preposed modifier and independent use; (hus hana 'his house'; ?iš hus ?akik' 'I saw him'); they cannot serve as appositional modifiers, nor may they be modified by demonstratives or other preposed modifiers. They may, however, be themselves modified by postposed appositional modifiers, as ?uš panš pinikank 'we Indians'. Note the use of the pronouns with nehe () and ?eype (§133), and the phonological peculiarity of amalgamating with postpositions hiš and hup (§45). The pronouns are:

?iš	'I'	?uš	'we'
him?	'thou'	was	'you-pl.'
hus	'he, she, it'	hunks	'they'

§136. Every explicit reference to first and second person is made by the personal pronouns. In the third person, the situation is different. hus and hunka refer only to third-persons which are already in the context; in other words, their reference is purely anaphoric. Furthermore, the function of anaphoric third-person reference is shared with the demonstratives, mainly way (§138). If the referent is a human, the pronoun is normally used. Otherwise way is used, except in the possessive relation where way is impossible. Thus we find way(š) referring to turtles in:

we kamčín hiš' wey nugus' hi hoktiš', ča'čup čun' nušči'í'.
 we 'upkami'gš' nugus hokti', weys ne' ča'čup čun' hi nušči'í'.

'When that deer left that one behind, he ran for the bayou.

When he left that second one behind, that one too ran for the bayou.'

22e

The use of hus for possession is shown in:

we kiš gaptkš' hus ših' kas žušiki' 'I took that dog and sewed up
 his belly' 58c

It is further to be noted, on the one hand, that repetition of the original reference is frequent in Chitimacha style, and, on the other hand, that omission of special explicit reference is often possible because of the pronominal reference or implication of the predicator. Examples with an animal reference:

we yukš ne' gušti pažipank' 'ap čuy'. wetk hus nitiyank' nehti'í'.
 wetkš' we yukš' hus kin' ni guščuyi' ni gihti saygš', we yukš
 geti'í'. 'That cat came to the table. Its master struck it.

Not wishing that that cat eat with him, he struck that cat'. 41a

In the second sentence we have hus as a possessive, and no explicit form for the object. In the third sentence we have yukš repeated twice.

§138 Demonstratives

§138. The demonstratives are ha (pl. ho) 'this one' (near deixis), sa 'that one' (far deixis), we 'that aforementioned' (anaphoric). ha and sa refer to an indicated entity or location, ha when it is relatively near the speaker, sa when it is relatively removed from the speaker. we refers to an entity previously mentioned or otherwise present in the context of discourse. However, the deictic demonstratives are sometimes used in the anaphoric sense.

The inflection distinguishes substantival (e.g., ha'š 'this one') and locative (hanki 'here') and directional (hank 'hither') states. The substantival state has three syntactic functions, involving formal differences (§87): (a) predeterminative, e.g., ha'hana 'akstiki 'I bought this house'; (b) independent, e.g., ha'š 'akstiki 'I bought this one'; (c) emphatic, involving a predeterminative plus a postposed form, e.g., ha hana ha'š 'akstiki 'I bought this here house'. The demonstrative of near deixis makes the number distinction of singular (ha) and plural (ho), and in the predeterminative singular distinguishes standing (haš), sitting (han), and neutral (ha) positions. Locative and directional forms express place in which and place to which. Note the difference in meaning between ha'š ki 'in this one' < ha'š + postposition (-n)ki and hanki 'here'. Like locative and directional particles and (-n)ki and hup phrases, the -nki and -nk forms of demonstratives are used as predicator and predication modifiers.

The function of anaphoric reference, as far as the independent use is concerned, is shared with the third person pronoun, as explained in §137.

Examples showing ha and sa in deictic function are:

ʔun kin' huyi gan' hanki' hi ʔeyʔuyi ha ney hanki' 'Something bad will happen here in this land' A63b

hank' ʔap ʔehi' 'it reached here' 63b

han hapšʔank hiš' yukē ʔatin ʔun' gamkičuy' 'this negro will take us for the panther' 54a

sa'sk' mari kiel nahzibuš' 'that is Marie's little girl' 64c

heʔin' sa'kš'. 'That thing is sacred.' 33a

sa'kš' ʔa' šahi haktiš' kap šanšwa'šš'i'i'. 'That's coming up on the sunset side' 63a

hanki' sa tep kani kotanki' hi teyg hi' 'You are sitting there beside

that fire' 31a

Examples showing we in referential function (examples are very numerous throughout the texts):

wetk' we kioi nahzipu hi 'amnaka'. we napəʔank hiš' hi te'ti'ʔi' 'amta-š
 'amta-š'. wetk we ka'nā 'ašandankš' hi te'ti'ʔi', ni xenda'. 'ami
 ganš te' sa'sk' mari kioi nahzipuš' kap nu'pkšia', 'Then we saw
 that girl. That negro said, "Look! look!" Then that white man said,
 "Hush!" Don't you see that is Marie's girl who has died'. 84a

Examples showing sa and ha forms in referential function are:

sa'dšin' ha naki dempi ha'š ki'. 'That's all (there is) of this story.'
 18d
 18d

ʔiš kičank' ha naki dempi ha'š 'apš kimpaki' ho wačti gantk'.
 weyt' 'uči'gš' sa naki sa'sk 'apš kimpaki'. 'My wife reminded me
 of this story this morning,....By doing thus she reminded me of
 that story'. 23d

we 'ašinžadi ne' 'ašt 'uči'g' sanki' hišš' 'uš hiš' ka'kwigan'. 'No
 one knows how that old man got to be there'. 5c

§§139-140 Interrogative-Indefinites

§139. Interrogative-indefinites show a confusingly irregular differentiation of forms. It is necessary to distinguish the following reference types: (a) interrogative ('who?'), (b) selective interrogative ('which one?'), (c) indefinite ('someone') (d) indefinite unknown ('someone or other, it is not known who'), (e) indefinite hypothetical or indifferent ('anyone at all'), (f) negative ('no one'); but many of the actual forms are identical. It is further necessary to differentiate predeterminative and independent forms, and the latter distinguish animate ('who?'), 'which one?', etc.) and inanimate ('what?', 'which?', 'something', 'something or other', 'anything at all', nothing'). The forms

for these different functions are:

	Predeterminative	Independent	
		Animate	Inanimate
(a)	ʔam	ʔuʃ(1)	ʔam (with postpositions: ʔampink, ʔampinki, ʔampink kin)
(b)	ʔ	ʔaʃtem	ʔaʃtem
(c)	ʔam	neʃ kun	ʔun kun, ʔam
(d)	ʔam..ke	ʔuʃ(1) ke	ʔam ke
(e)		ʔaʃtemin	ʔamin
(f)	ʔamin + neg.	ʔuʃ(1) + neg.	ʔun kun(ʔin), ʔamin + neg.

Examples illustrating these functions follow.

(a) Interrogative:

ʔam kutnehin ʔ pehʃuyi ʔ 'What (sort of) God would he be?'

ʔam ʃah te ʔ 'What animal is that?' 53b

→ ʔam pinki ʔ ʃuhtpi ʔ g ʔ kap pinikapa ʃnaʔa ʔ ...hi nu ʔkainaʔa ʔ 'They learned in what to boil it in order to make it red' 13d

ʔam gihtkʃ te ʔ hank ʔ ap dutminaʔa ʔ 'What do you wish that you come here?' 4d

ʔam ʔuʃiʃuki ʔ 'What shall I do?'

ʔam guʃmi ʔ dinaʔa ʔ ʔa ʔ Ńuki ʔ 'What shall I give them to eat?'

ʔam ha ʔ na ʔ ne ʔ ka ʔ kwaki gan ʔ 'What became of them I do not know'.

→ ka ʔ kwiki ʔ ʔam hi ʔ i ʔ putputmankʃ ʔ 'I know what "shined" is'

ʔampinkʃ ʔ ʔapʃ giʃiʃi ʔ. ʔ 'who is choking?' 86f

(b) Selective interrogative

ʔaʃtem ʔ iʃ ʔ Ńamigi ʔ 'Who will be first?' 81d

ʔaʃtem gapdinaka ʔ, ʔam ʔ ukʃ ʔ o ʔ nak ʔ po ʔ ne ʔ hi ka ʔ kwigʃ naka ʔ

'We know the medicine of all kinds of snakes which to take' 75q

we kipi ʔ upanki ʔ ʔaʃtem ʔ hi ʔ te ʔ huy waytm ʔ tupti ʔ. ʔ 'Of the two meats, which one do you find (to be) better'

(c) Indefinite

ʔam naki dempanki ʔ kutnehin ʃun ni ʃa ʔ n ʔ iʃnaʔa ʔ 'They speak of God in

some (of the) stories'

*iik' *am keystinki' hiki' 'I am in some difficulty' 10a

*am kišl ka'kwi gan' 'some woman you don't know' 81

neš kun hiš' wa'ššuying' 'someone (of you) must marry her' 22b

*un kin' huyi gan' hanki' hi' *ehšuyi' ha ney ki' 'Something not good will happen in this land' 63c

*un kin hiš' ne'mpakišuyi' *iša'šiki' 'I'm looking for something that will frighten me' 33a

him kišaš' *un kun' guššuy' hamššuy'. 'Your wife will have something to eat' 18f

*am weytemankš ne' huyi gan' *išišuyi' 'It is not good to do something of that sort' 65c

*am gasšu'š' 'if she planted something'

*am kap gaymank' 'something non-existent'

(d) Indefinite unknown:

*uš ke' ko'šl' wopi' 'He heard someone call.' 86c

*ušl ke' kamšin getk' nektk' kun' 'Apparently someone had killed a deer and skinned it.' 30f

*uš hiš ke' *iška' te'ti'?, ni wayma' sa ša'hkan' 'Someone (unseen) said, "weave that basket." 13a

*am po'ke' hi' *a'na'a' 'They gave her some medicine'

siksikut katmaš' *am ke' *ušpuy na'a' weykš' hunks nehe' *apš kašmpi gihtk'. 'They did something to eagle brains in order to anoint themselves with it' 2d

*am ke' *ap šu'ššl'i'. 'Something or other is coming' B6a

*am ke' hus hišgiš ki' ni wokti'?' 'She felt something beneath her'

B14a

(e) Indefinite hypothetical or indifferent

huyi gan' *aštemin hiš' we kamšin' gašuyi' 'It is not good that any one at all kill those deer' 71d

ʔaštemin ʔuš ka'yžinki' ka'yžinki' kap nu'pdu'š' 'if any one of us
three dies' 65e

(f) Negative:

ʔamin hunka gihti'...ʔuša'šna'a' 'they do anything they wish' 67k

ʔamin ni žeyt gan 'nothing much' 21a

ʔuš hišgan' ka'kwil'i' 'No one knows' 1d

ka'šiš' žah ni'ša' ʔo'niš kin' ʔapš waytina'a', ʔušiš' gami waytm'

šuš kimunki' kap pehk' ni gušti gan' hunka kaymi ʔuši'dina'

'The owl and the mocking-bird wagered (as to) who could remain live
the longest perched on a limb without eating' 24a

ʔun kun gušti gayčukiš' 'If you don't have anything to eat' 24a

ʔamin gan 'There was nothing' 21e

ʔamin ni wopmaki gan 'I don't ask anything' 7b

ʔamin gušmi'dina' ganš na'uyžš' 'They were without anything to eat' 86d

But there is some vacillation in usage. The following instances seem
to show untypical usages:

ʔakun' kamčin kin' ʔam ʔun kun' hamčičuyi' 'You will have something
to do with bear and deer' 71c. ʔam ʔun kun instead of ordinary
ʔun kun

ʔuš temankš te' 'Who could they be?' 64e. An otherwise unknown
form, apparently involving -tem, pl. -temank 'of..sort' (§96); per-
haps 'of what sort art they?'

tewe' pašš pinikankš' ʔaštemkš' we ʔašinžadanki' ni kimi'gš' na'uyyna'

'However, while some Indians believed in the old man...' 11a. ʔaštem
postposed for predeterminative ʔam.

hus kin' kap yantemi'dna'a', namu' ʔun kun hup' hi ču'šil'i' 'if they
get tired of him, he goes to another town' 7a. ʔun kun seems to
be used in the sense of 'other' (normally expressed by wa'a)

§140. Note that in ?am.ke, the ?am comes in the prädeterminative position, the ke follows in the position of postpositions, e.g., ?am ?ah ke 'some animal or another'. Note the extension of ?am to ?ampi-, ?ampink before relational postpositions. In the place of the ?uð hið + negative for the independent negative animate with agentive postposition, ?uð hin + negative is occasionally used in ^A, thus A5e (2times), 13b, 63b, 77e. -?in found in ?un kun?in + negative (§89) may be more emphatic than the simple use of ?un kun or ?amin. From ?am taken with ?o'nak 'all' is derived the composite ?am..?o'nak, ?am ?o'nak 'everything, all sorts of things', treated in §129.

§§141-214 Particles

§141. The grouping of various types of lexemes in a class called particles is partly arbitrary, since there is no positive characteristic that each element in the group has in common with every other one. Negative generalizations may be made, that they are all uninflected, that their reference is not to entities. In the first point, they are different from verbs; in the second, they are different from substantives. In semantic content, they include different kinds of relaters, modifiers, predicaters, expressives, imitatives, and others. As to syntactic position, they are proclitic, postclitic, and independent. Some of the sub-classes are fairly clearly defined, others less clearly.

§142. Postpositions may stand in relation to various kinds of syntactic elements, terms, predicaters, modifiers, and may express (a) qualificative relations, (b) inclusional relations, (c) predication, (d) modification. The postpositions are grouped according to their primary function, but some have both qualificative and inclusional force, and one (gen) combines qualificative, inclusional, and predication function.

§§143-159 Qualificative Postpositions

§143. Qualificative postpositions express spatial location, direction, temporal location, means, purpose, reason, and other notions. Practically all have more than one meaning depending on context. One, kin, has an inclusional as well as a qualificative relational meaning. They are used with terms and with verbs. Because of the uniqueness of the different postpositions in meaning and in syntactic function, it is necessary to discuss each separately. In the following definitions, the subordinate element is indicated by two dots (..) if it is a term, by three dots (...) in other cases.

The postpositions kin, čun, hup, hiš frequently form part of a verb complex, with the function of indicating the object (§120 and §). The definitions given in the following discussion do not attempt to cover such cases.

§144. -(n)k is used mainly in postvocalic position as an equivalent of either hiš or hup and occasionally for ki. It is very common as a substitute for hiš or hup in cases where no ambiguity is likely because of the nature of the context. The following example shows the equivalence of -(n)k and hup:

ʔunguš ʔ nus hup ʔ ču.gš ʔunguš ʔ gasdank čuyi ʔ 'One went toward the west and one went toward the north' 63c

A common special usage is with the auxiliary forms hiki, hiʔi, naka, naʔa in expressions like ʔiš hikink 'to my home' (literally, 'to where I am'), him hiʔink 'to your home', etc., e.g., 47d, 49b, 3d, e, 4a, c, d, g, i, 6a, 7c, 10f, 26b, 38b, 47c, et al. Other examples of -(n)k in the meaning of hup:

we šeʔni waʔank ʔ hi pešʔi ʔ 'He flew to the other side of the pond' 1c
wetk ʔ šiksink ʔ, huyukt ʔ, teʔtiʔi ʔ 'Then he said, "Very well" to the

eagle ʔ2b

we wašti ʔ ganš kas čutnaka ʔ načmpanki ʔ 'Next morning, we went back to

work' 56b

we 'pašín'adaš' ney' ku' 'am 'o'nak' hi kutink' hi namki'g hi'uyi'.

'That old man lived at the end of the earth, water, and all' 8f
 -(n)k in the meaning of hiš:

ka'yžinkš' 'apš duk' kašm' kap tenna'a' 'Three returned and became
 doctors' 3g

wa'ašk' potank' kap demi' 'The sky killed the others' 4g

'o'š hepšink' kap mesdi'g hi'uyi' 'He was white with buzzard excrement' 4g

'uš hiš waytišuyink' we gimniš' wa'ššuy' 'Whoever wins will marry that
 girl' 22b

nahti po'kš' him 'uybi kas' nušmišuy' 'Sarsparilla will fix your blood'

75a

§145. (-n)ki 1. spatial location 'at, in, on, among..' 2. temporal
 location, used with terms referring to temporal periods, 'at, in, dur-
 ing..', with predications 'when, while...'. 3. partitive 'of, from, among.'
 The spatial locative notion includes simple location and the indication
 of the part of an entity to which an action applies or affects (e.g.
 'they stood on their knees', 'he took him by the tail'). (-n)ki is used
 with verbs expressing or implying movement from, through, or to, to give
 a combined meaning of 'from, from in, from on, from at, through, to,
 into, onto..' In the simple allative sense, hup is commonly used, but
 ki may be used instead. Examples illustrating the different meanings:

miš kiš' šuwymiš' 'He used to go about on the road' 7a

hus nukpi we kasn ki' 'ašiču'š' 'if he says his prayers over the mink'

77c

hunks ki' 'apš ne'žima'šnan' 'They were talking among themselves' 6a

hunks 'imčk' šuš na'kš ki' hi ka'temi'g' 'rubbing their horns on small
 trees' 28c

šuš ki' kap pehk hin' 'He had climbed into a tree' 66a

we ʔe·n ki' kap ʔanštək' 'the hornets coming out of the nest' 52b
 hus wiš tiyi ʔupi nakš ki' 'He cut flesh from both of his thighs' 37a
 weyʔi·g' panš pinkikankš' hunks ših ki' šahnema·šnaʔa' 'Therefore
 Indians sleep on their belly' 77a

him ʔi' ki' hi ʔutga' 'I want to tie you by your tooth' 17b

him nokun ki' ni tapš i·g' 'standing on your knees' 81a

hus hewʔunkš' we napšžanki' kap teypi' i' 'His nephew stopped him from
 (beating) the negro' 48c

hipš ki' naki dema·šnaʔa', yo·tiš ki gan' 'They told stories in winter
 not in summer' 68a

ʔo·nak ki' 'all this time' (lit. 'during all' 86d

ʔo·sge·ou' pan ʔapš kunihem ki' gasdišiki' 'I plant onions in the
 waning moon' 83b

ʔokidada ne gan kiš 'when there are no walnuts' 13d

wašti hatki kap gan ki' 'when six days are passed' 64d

we še·nink' hi nišwinkiš', weyk' hi kišuti' i' 'When he reached that
 pond he swam it' 1b

hetgaki tu'tkanki', hesigen' ʔapš heyšmišuk' 'When I have finished
 resting, I'll pick you up again' 3d

sa·dšin' ha noki dempi ha·š ki' 'That is all in this story' 16d

we makš ki' zisan hi gušti' i' 'He ate (another) piece of the fish' 86b

neškun' him panš ki' nu·pidinaʔang' 'Someone of your relatives must
 die' 80a

§146. kin 1. reciprocal location or mutual participation 'together
 with, in the company of, accompanied by, taken along by..' 2. 'in con-
 nection with, in the matter of..' 3. 'and..' (often repeated with each
 of the conjoined terms) 4. occasionally used for hiš 'by means of..' (28a, 49d, 52a, 55b, 84c, 22b).

Meaning 3 is inclusional rather than qualificative relational. In this meaning kin is sometimes used with each term, or it may be used correlatively with ne, which is the more common additive relater, or the combination kin ne may be used. If the relater is used only once, it ordinarily goes with the last term of the series. In a long series the relater goes ordinarily either with each term or only with the last but it is sometimes also found with some of the preceding terms. The combination kin ne is ordinarily found only with the last term of the series. When ne and kin are used correlatively, the order is indifferent. Examples:

panš kičanka² hus hew²u kin giš² hoktna²a² 'They left just an old woman and her nephew' 36a

kakankamank² we hu²ti ni ti²kmiš kin² kunugu² papš ži²kina²a² 'The yellow-hammer and the boat captain quarreled' 10c

šiš² pa²y² patin kin² kjš² giš² giš² hatka² '(We took) my grandmother and six (other) women' 37a

šiš² ne² šiš² keti kin² we nitiyi hanank² dutnaka² 'I and my partner went to the boss's house' 52b

we kamšin² pašandi we kišanda na² hus na²kšbu meši kin² pap šangušna² 'The old buck and the old doe and her four children rushed down' 38d

šiš² kin² we panš kišandi ne² ni gušminaka² 'I and that old woman ate'

šiš² kin² šiš² keti kin² we nušmpaš² gapnaka² 'My partner and I took the work' 51a

hus kin² hus šinži kin² ne² ni gušminak² 'He and his father ate it' 39b

That the function of kin in these cases is inclusional is clearly shown by the fact that the verb is plural in cases where the subject is made up of a combination of singulars.

Similar to the foregoing is the use of kin in correlation with ni kešim in the meaning of 'between...and...' (§148).

Meanings 1 and 2 are shown in the following examples:

išk *iš na-kābu kinš* *šikin* 'I am with my people' 47b

wey kin* makš *išan giš meša* kap gitgank* tupti*?i* 'He found four pieces of dried fish with this' 86b

hus kin* gušti pašipanki* nokštepuyiš* 'He used to feed (the oat) at the table with him' 41a

iš kin *ap gami-gšiki* 'I am taking them with me' 47c

išk he-špakišuyi* *iš hukaci kin* 'Will you help me with my field arrangements'

ukš kin *am keyšn* hamšišuyi* 'You will have trouble with snakes' 75h

kin is erroneously used for ki in *unguš* *uš kin* 'another of us must come' 65e.

§147. hup, B *up 1. movement 'toward..; to (into, onto)..'; 2. communication, bestowal 'to..' 3. location 'near, in the region of, facing the direction of..' 4. temporal location 'at about..' 5. occasionally used as an equivalent of šun 'concerning..' (50a). Occurs in the allative meaning with verbs implying motion into, onto, or otherwise defined as to specific direction. In the directional and allative senses, actual movement need not be explicit. Examples showing the different meanings:

unguš nus hup* šu-gš* *unguš* gasdank šuyi* 'One went toward the west and one went toward the north' 63c

išup *ap nuhšiši*?i* weš *ukš* 'The snake came running toward me' B17a

tep kanink hup* hi teypina?a 'They placed her by the fireplace' 47d

ša-šniš hup* dutna?a 'They went to Jeannerette' 51a

šušgay hup* hi pehwinaka* 'We put him on the wagon' 56b

ney hup* ney nušma* 'Bury it in the earth' 86d

hus *asšeypa hup* hi šuyi*?i* 'He went to his brother' 29c

we yukš 'atīn hup' hi hūghytemi' 'He sliced (his dogs) on the pan-
ther' 85b

'o'š hup' hi hokštepa' 'They left him to the buzzards' 3d

hūš kišank hup' hi te'ti'i' 'He said to his wife' 15a

'iš hup' 'ap ko'ki'i' 'He called to me' 66b

'ašandī 'ungūš' nusup' kun' namki'g' hi'uyin' 'a certain old man lived
in the west' 5a

nenu'u paš 'owi' zaytep'xi'kank' ha na'wank hup' 'There are too many,
lazy people around the south' 85e

'ungūš' kap teydinank hup' hi teypi'i' 'He placed one near the end' 22c

nusup' hi kuti' 'He faced the west' 15b

wašti ka'yšimank hupk' hešigen' hi šu'šuk' 'I'll go again in about
three days' 10a

§148. kešun, hi kešun uncommon and meaning uncertain, perhaps
'in the general direction of..'; used in conjunction with kin in the
meaning 'between..and..' Etymologically, it appears to be a participle
of kešwa- 'to go up close'. The only text examples are:

ša' šani kešun poku 'the easterly wind' (perhaps 'the wind in the
general direction of east') A84d

we poku' gaski hi kešun' ša' šani kin ne' 'the wind between north and
east' 70c

§149. (-nkš, -kš) hiš, B 'iš 1. indicating subject of an active
verb 2. 'by means of..instrument' 3. 'made out of, consisting of..
material' 4. occasionally used for kin 'with..' (19c, B4c) In connection
with the first meaning, it is to be noted that the subject of active
verbs need not be marked by any formal sign: hiš is a device for indi-
cating the subject unambiguously. -nk is also used (§144). Examples:

Heyš hiš ne' kap gočur' 'That might kill you' 75c

we yukš 'atin hiš' 'uš hi 'ami'i' 'The panther saw us' 55a

we panš hiš' šuški kas busk' 'The people hid in the woods' 13b

kamikiš hiš' 'apā tu'dšna'a' 'o'š 'inimi'g' 'The wolves came to chase
the buzzards off' 21e

hus mahši kuh hiš' 'apš nehpuyna' 'They adorn themselves with his
tail feathers' 10k

ku'kš hiš' hi popšiču'š' 'if you splash it with water' 74g

we napš'in hiš' him susbi hi ka'temiču'š' 'if you rub your gun with
the black one' 71c

kanš'in' kiš hiš' 'iniwiču'š' 'if you hunt deer with dogs' 71f

šušgay' šuš hiš' hi pehštk' '(We) loaded the wagon with wood' 56a

hus kamis hiš' kas tuhyti'g' hi šahdi'gš pen' 'Stooping down, he
crawled with his rear (first) 30e

ney hiš' nuš nie hapš'ig' 'making clay pots out of earth' 86i

'utp hiš' 'uom' we šagiti' 'the hanging piece made of hide' 30e

§150. šun 1. 'for the sake, benefit of..; taking the place of..' 2. 'in order to get..' 3. with expressions of mental and communicative process 'about, concerning..' 4. with expressions of quality, indicating basis of comparison or person whose judgment or needs are considered '--by reference to..; in the estimation of, for..' 5. 'because of, on account of..'; with garund 'because..' 6. temporal duration 'for..time'.

Examples:

we panš šun' we hani kas he'kinti' 'He opened the house for the people'
11e

wa'a šun' ša'šn hi hokdina'ang' 'They have to leave room for others' 3e

him kut šun ka'šču'š' 'If you drink the medicine for your head' 75a

hus wa'kš' hus šun' we top' 'apš kudihti'i' 'Her uncle circled the
fire for her' 47e

ʔo't ɕun ne' him hana' ʔapš kudihdiš'i' 'He circles your house for
(in order to get) a chicken' 60c

kamš'in so' Kamis' ki'saktiš hamša'āna' we nemi ɕun' 'They kept the
left hind leg of the deer for the oil' 71f

waštik gedinaʔa' ʔapš nehe ɕun' 'They'll kill a cow for half (shares)'
20a

wey ɕun' ni ža'ndinakaš' 'when we talked about it' 65d

ʔiš wey ɕun' ʔapš kimakangliš' 'just what I remember about it' 69e

ʔu'stupu ne' nus ɕun' '(the story of) Ustupu is about the west' 51

huyi gan him ɕuh 'It is not good for you' 81

nenču' ʔatip ʔiš ɕun' 'She is too big for me' 21a

weytkš' gamigi' nahzipu ɕun'-ni gušti gan' hihčuyi' 'That is a long
time for a child to be without food' B3a

kap ne'minaʔa' hu'ki napšžin' hus ša'ču ɕun' 'They were afraid of the
priest on account of his beard' B16a

wey ɕun' 'because of that' 45b, 46a, 64a, 671, 75c

ʔapš ʔi'mi'gš'i' ɕun' 'because she was mixed' 47e

wašti ke'ti ɕun' weyža'ānaʔa' 'They do it for eight days' 72b

A few other instances are too isolated to make possible general defini-
tions:

hipš ɕuntk' kap nu'pi'ʔi 'she died toward winter' 65b (= hup)

ʔam weytemank ɕun. ne' ʔamž'i'dina' ne' 'what to do for that sort of
thing' 4a

hači' ɕun' weydsin' 'That is all for now' 70d

kamš'in ɕun' ni kač hamčičuy' 'You will have luck with deer' 71f

him ni gaptiki' ʔiš kiči ɕun' 'I have you as my wife' B10e; see also

B13a

§151.)-n)kita't 1. 'since, after...' 2. 'as long as...' (only

58c). Occurs with nouns expressing temporal period and with verb gerunds. Examples:

we žimanki te't' hesigen woppi gaynaka' 'After that night we did not hear them again' 47b

kap žiopankite't' 'since he burned it' 13b

we pasi' kap ti'guninkite't' 'after the man got angry' 18a

we po' ka'žtinkite't' huyi waytm' žap du'džna'ž'a' 'As long as she drank the medicine, they came better' 53c

In ve haksiga'žank' hunks ki te't' 'when the youths were by themselves' B16b, there seems to be only te't' used approximately as an equivalent of kite't' (hunks ki expresses 'by themselves' in B).

§152. gan ki (gan 'not' + ki 'at, when') 'before...' Usually with verbal gerund but occasionally with substantival expression of temporal period, as wašti hatki gan ki 'before six days (have passed)' 64d. The meaning is ordinarily temporal, but a spatial meaning is indirectly involved in žunguš' hi žehi gan ki' hi teypi'ž'i' 'One he placed (at a distance) before the end (literally, arrival) 22c. Other examples:

duti gan ki 'before they went' B14e

wey hi teyktepi gan kiš' 'before that gets wet' 71f

wey pu'p' kas žehi gan ki' 'before the rabbit got back' 16c

§153. -ž is added mainly to aorist verbs as an infrequent equivalent of ki 'when...'; occasionally also with the continuative. Added to the future, it forms the conditional (§67, 68). Examples with aorist and continuative:

žapš žuyminkiš' we panš ni'km pentk' kunugu' kap nu'pk ži'žuyin'

'When they came back, the person who had been sick had died' 3h
nušmpank' hi žuynakaš' 'When we arrived at our work' 66b

we kamžin hiš' wey nugus' hi hoktiš', ža'dup žup' nužči'ž'i' 'when

the deer left that one behind, he ran for the bayou' 22a

kamčín hiš hi 'amiš, žanki' we huyuš' hesigen' we kamčín 'samiš' hi
šanišwi'g šuyin' 'when the deer looked, the turtle had already got
out in front of the deer' 22a

ni 'akikiš' 'lš samis' hi'uyi' 'When I looked, he was ahead.' 22d

§154. *te't* preceded by *-nkš* (after vowels), *-tkš* (after *n*), *-kš*,
-š, zero (after consonants) expresses similarity or approximation:
with substantives 'like..; as..is, does'; with verbs (participle, gerund,
finite form) 'as, as though...' with adjectives 'as though..; rather,
fairly..' with numerals 'approximately..'; with expressions of temporal
location 'approximately...' with predicative modifiers 'as, one is,
does...' (i.e. under the given conditions). The actual basis of com-
parison is not necessarily expressed, so that elliptical expressions
result (as indicated in the preceding definitions), e.g., *poktanšiš*
hanšiq' te't' su'ʔu' naksma'šna'ʔa' 'in the sky, as (they do) here, they
sell skins' Bld. In one instance, the postposition is found added to
an element in a predication when it is intended to express the whole
predication as apparently true: *kipingiš te't' ni gušmi'dnaka'* 'We will
eat as though only meat' for 'apparently we will eat nothing but meat'
87b; it is not known whether this usage is normal. Other examples:
we 'ašinžadankš te't' 'ušpuykin' 'I used to do as the old man' 49d
'išk' nadankš te't' 'ap toypaki'gš na'ʔa' 'They have placed me here
as chief' 85a

yukš te't peksigi' mentepi ka'kun' 'He could jump as high as a cat'

48o

?išk hinkš te't' gan' 'I am not like you' 33a

?un kun ?iniwa'snankš te't' ?uši'g kas nuhmina'a' 'They ran back,
acting as though someone were chasing them' 47b

panš pinikankš ni tušpuynankš te't' 'as the Indians cook' 49b

hus hi topankš te't' 'He did as he had been told' 86o

heki mentemi'gš te't' šu'š'i' 'He goes along as though jumping logs'

67f

hesigen hašmišukinkš te't' hi wotiki' 'I feel as though I will hunt
again' 37a (= Eng. 'I feel like hunting again')

weyk' panš pinikank ni tušpuynan'ankš te't' 'that (is) how the Indians
used to cook' 74p

deyktomkš te't' 'rather damp' 84c

pan ?ungunkš te't' '(for) about one month' 71d

waštmenkš te't ki' hi šu'šu'š 'If you go the next day or so' 36d

yo'tiš kinkš te't' 'as in summer'

hankinkš te't' gasti gan' 'It is not cold (in the same way) as here'

84c

hanank hupš te't' ?ap šu'šš'in' 'It was going apparently toward the
house' 63c

§185. -tka occurs only with hin, pen, auxiliary verb forms, in
the meaning 'although...'. There are few examples of this usage, and
it is not known whether it extends to other persons and numbers or not.
Perhaps hintka and pentka are simply to be classed as particles. The
text examples are:

?akuntk' kap teygš' hintka' 'although she had turned bear' 27d

hus šiš' ?uybink' pi'hni'gš' pentka' 'although her nose was bloody'

61a

ku'kš' nu'pk' pentka' 'although he was drunk' 61a

§186. *hengenk*, used only with expressions of temporal location including phrases with *ki* and participles, 'only after...'. Occurrences are not common so that the full range of usage is not known. The examples:

*apē *uyinki *hengenk* ni.guḡmina?a 'Only after they returned did they eat'

no.*kkite? *hengenk* *ap' ḡu.gḡ? *ap kewi?i 'Only after I had sworn at him did he return to land' 49b

pan ka.y?inki *hengenk* 'only after three months' 62b

Examples given out of text are haḡi? *hengenk* 'not till now', ho waḡta *hengenk* 'just today'. There is a composite particle weyt *hengenk* or weyt*hengenk* 'only then, not before then' (). The similar forms da.*tengenk and sa.*tengenk obtained out of text, 'only now', may be incorrect.

§187. *gihn* (gerundive of *giht-* 'to want..') occurs with color adjectives, in the -i form, in the sense of 'somewhat..'. It is possible that we are dealing with a literal use of a syntactic construction which would mean 'wanting to be, become...'. Examples: ?iḡipi *gihn* 'yellowish', mespidi *gihn* 'whitish'. There are no occurrences in the texts.

§188. A few adjective formations in -ngi, translated 'kind of..' were obtained. The informant was so uncertain of the use of this element that it is perhaps entirely an error. The examples: ?ati.ngi 'not so big, kind of big, good sized', gami.ngi 'kind of long', beka?nki (so recorded) 'kind of tall', neḡka.gi 'kind of funny'. The last is simply the regular form of the word for 'funny'.

§189. -nkpa occurs only in hi?inkpa 'to where they were' 36b,

apparently equivalent to -nk. Compare also the particle A ?unkpa 'somewhere' (non-text), B ?unk 'to somewhere' (B11c).

§§160-188 Inclusional Postpositions

§160. Inclusional postpositions relate the elements to which they are added to other elements, expressed or implied, with which they share a syntactic function. Postpositions of emphasis and one of attenuated meaning are included here.

§161. ne 1. addition '..too, likewise; even..; ..as well (as others mentioned); and..' 2. emphatic reference 'just, precisely..; with negative or indefinite '(not, any)..at all' 3. with future of verb 'even if...' 4. with substantive to indicate vocative mention. ne is most commonly used with terms, whether substantives or more complex constructions involving verbs. Otherwise it is not used with finite verbs aside from meaning 3. There are some cases of ne with modifiers (see below).

In the sense of 'and', ne may be correlated with kin (§146) or with itself, that is, ..ne ..ne, or only some of the terms in the junction may have ne, that is,ne or ..ne .. Examples:

wašti ne' žimi ne hatka šun giš 'for six days and nights' 64a

na·kšbu ne' kičantka' ne' dudišna'a' 'Women and children were going along' 64e

ča·hpadi ne' tu' gasmpi ne' gan' 'They had neither hoe nor spade' 85a

we huyu' kamčin ne' 'the turtle and the deer' 22a

ʔiš ʔinži' ʔiš ne' 'my father and I' 66a

nic gan' nemi ne' gan' 'without a pot and without oil' 74p

ʔiš ʔa·y ʔatin ne' hus ʔam ʔupinakš hiš' 'my grandfather and both her cousins (agreed...)' 65e

Examples showing the additive notion with only one of the terms expressed (with meanings 'also, even'):

na·kǎbu ne· kaš ni gušmina?a· 'The children too ate clams' 74r

him ne· veyt ?uđpi ka·kun· 'You too could have done that' B10c

kaikiš ne· ni gušpi gan· 'Neither did the wolf eat of it' 81e

wey ne· hi kimpǐ gayik· 'I don't believe that either' 39a

kayank ne· ?uš ?amin· ?uđpi ka·han· 'Even the rain could not harm us' 66b

?amin gan· ša·ša· ne gan· 'There's nothing, not even rice' 87b

šuš čiči·š tišbušinki ne· 'also when the leaves fall' 77a

we panš pinikank ne· we ka·nē hiš· hi nokātemina?a· 'The Whites fed the Indians too'

In the emphatic sense, the reason for the use of ne is not always clear. It is very common in negative sentences even where there is no strong reason for emphasis. Similarly, the use in positive sentences, though less common, is also often not obviously called for. It would seem then that the degree of emphasis implied is rather mild and that the usage is largely stylistic. Perhaps in some instances the force is to call attention to something surprising or unexpected. Examples:

?am po· ne· ?amđuy ne ka·kumi·gš· naki gan· 'We do not know what medicine to give you' 3a

?uš hin ne· ka·kumi·g na·gan· 'No one knows' 5e

hu·h ne· nenti ka·han· 'They could not cross the lake' 15b

?am weytemankš ne· guššču·š· 'if you eat anything of that sort' 29d

?uš nitiyaš· gasmi nep kap gaygšī· 'Our master is out of corn' 25a

we panš pinikank· ku·ne· ka·šma·šna· gan· 'the Indians who had not been drinking liquor' 44b

?uđ weyšmi· ne· ka·kumpi gan· 'They didn't know who did it' 52b

wa·aš· ?am ha·na· ne· ka·kwaki gan· 'I don't know what happened to the others' 3f

*ud hiš' wa'šduy ne' ka'kwaga' 'I want to know who will marry her'

30c

*am tupduy ne' *ami gihtk' šu'gš hin' 'He went to see what he could find' 86b

weyži'g hugu' nus poku ne' ya' keystigi *ap howa'ššin' 'That was why [the west wind was blowing so hard' 15b

*iš *i' ne' kap tohta'ki' 'You broke out my tooth' 17e

watk tep ne'ni *o'kanina*a' 'Then they stole that fire' 5e

Further examples: 2a, 3e, 4a, d, 5e, 6b, 9c, 11g, h, 13d, 17b, e, 21e, 25a, 26g, 28a, 29d, 37c, 38a, 48a, 49b, 50b, 52b, 65d, e, 67h, 68c, 71d, 75c, i, 84a, 86i, 87b.

ne added to the future in the meaning of 'even if' is illustrated in:

susbink pa'kmišuy ne' himkš geti ka'han' 'Even if you shot it with a gun, you could not kill it' 67c

*apš wa'ššinaki ne', *amin' huyi gan' 'If we do get married, there will be nothing advantageous' 83a

him wa'ššuyki ne', *am huygi' *uškšišuyi' 'If I did marry you, what good would it do me?' 83a

Also: 53a, c, 68a, 71b, d, 72c, 75h, 83a, 85d.

The examples of vocative are:

*amža'š'i' him ne' sanki' 'What are you doing there?' 2b (possibly emphatic rather than vocative)

*a'y *atln ne', *am ha'gš'i' 'What is the matter, grandmother?' 75j

him haksigam ne', *amža'š'i' sanki' 'You young man, what are you doing there?' 1b

ne is only occasionally used with a modifier, in which case it may have various meanings already illustrated with terms. Examples:

našmi'g ne' dutk' tewe' *amin geti gan' 'And when they went hunting they failed to kill game' 86a

*išk' hin'is ne' hi'uyki gan' 'I was not idle' 86f

huy gan ne' we po' gapču'š' 'if you take that medicine wrongly' 75j

wenk ne' duti ka'han' 'They can't go there' 28d

šuš čiči'š tišbušinki ne' 'also when the leaves fall' 77a

§162. ken was recorded out of text in an additive-emphatic meaning like that of ne. It is very ⁱⁿ frequent, and the range of usage is not known. Examples, some of which may be untypical, since they were obtained by direct questioning:

him nehe ken' hi' a'mi' 'Even you gave it'

weyš ken' wenk' čin' 'Even that one is there'

waštik ken' kišudišiči' 'Even a cow can swim'

§163. nehe with pronouns 1. forms reflexive-reciprocal expressions 2. 'of..self, ..in person' 3. emphatic reference, apparently equivalent to ne (but ne also occurs with pronouns). There is one instance of nehe after something other than a pronoun, namely, we' ukš hiš gahti nehenki' 'right where the snake had bitten' 78e. (nehe also occurs in the composites' apš nehe 'middle, half' and kut nehe 'noon'.)

Examples:

*iš nehe' apš no'žmiki' 'I harmed myself' 48c

him nehe' po' ne' zučpi ka'han' 'You cannot doctor yourself' 78b

hunks nehe' apš hežipi'g' 'respecting each other' 35c

hunks nehe' apš ne'žimipuyna'a' 'They discussed it with each other'

llg

*iška' hunks nehenki' apš ne'žimina'a' 'They talked among themselves'

46a

naki dempaš' hunks nehe' kap hapšža'šna' 'They made up stories themselves' 68d

kap nušwi'g' hus nehe' hanan' kas čuyi' 'He got up and went home by himself (i.e. unaided)' B2d

ʔiš nehenk' weyk' hi ʔakiki' 'I have seen that myself' 36d

ʔišk' kubnehin' hus nehek' 'I am God himself' 11c

naka dempaš' hunks nehe' kap hapš'a šna'a' 'They made up stories themselves' 66d

we heka ʔatkank hus nehenk' hi witaš'u.š' kap demin' 'If the minister himself shot it, he killed it' 67c

ʔiš nehenk' weyk' hi ʔakiki' 'I have seen that myself' 36d

weykək' ʔiš nehe' ʔiš kiši ne' du'džnaka' 'These are my wife and myself' 35c

we ʔasi nah'ipuš hus nehe' šuš ʔapš hayštkš' tēp ʔuča.š'i'1' 'The boy made a fire while he (the man) himself gathered wood' 65a

What is here referred to as emphatic reference, is insistence on the given reference in order to contrast it with another or any other, the indication that someone is involved in person, or the like.

§164. hi šaniš and patn(iš), hi patn(iš), B pacniš used with numerals 'in excess'. Either of these postpositions may be used in numeral construction to mark the number less than ten by which the total numeral exceeds the highest contained ten, e.g., hayši husa' husa hi šaniš' 'fifty five', that is, 'ten five' five in-excess' or five tens and five over. See for general discussion of numeral constructions.

§165. (-n)giš 1. '...and no one, nothing else; only, just..' 2. apparently only with pronouns '...alone, unaccompanied, unaided' 3. with substantives followed by numerals or numeral constructions, as a formal mark of the numerate relation 4. with expressions of temporal location 'until...' Like ne, giš is found most frequently with substantives, but also with modifiers. For use with future to make the necessitative, see §67. Examples:

ʔiš giš "we ša niš i ka kwikin" 'I am the only one who knows the language' 5j

ʔiš wey šun "ʔapš kimakangiš", hatniki "I told just what I remember about it' 69e

wey giš kunugu "wopa šin" 'She kept hearing just that' 13a

panš pinikank giš "nahdinakaš" 'if we were just Indians' 54a

husks "ku tep ka štkš giš" wey toka "šankindiši?" 'He sang the song only when he drank whiskey' B15c

šibin giš naʔa "they were just naked' 52b

ša "kap šaningiš" 'just at twilight' 64a

hinkš "him giš hiʔi" 'You are by yourself' B14a

hus giš "hi kap pa kini'g" 'tired of being along' 12a

ʔiš giš nušmi'g 'working by myself' B10c

hus giš "nušmi'g ka kwigan" 'He could not work alone' B13b

panš pinikank giš ka yšiš "three Indians' 50a

tep giš ʔupa "two fires' 53c

ho waštangiš 'to this day' B23a

šimangiš 'till night' 21c

we siksink "ni wopmiʔi", him haksigam ne", ʔamša šil "sanki" ʔiš-k"

ku ketanki ʔap ni gšiki "The eagle asked, "You young fellow, what

are you doing there?" "I have come to the water side...." 1b

we še nink "hi nišwinkš", wey-k "hi kišutiʔi" 'When he reached that

pond, he crossed that one' 1a

kiš-k "ni ša nten" weytkiš "Dogs used to talk in those days' 6a

him-k "hepšil" guššuying "You must eat excrement' 6c

naki dempaš "nus šuntk" ʔo keystigi "Stories about the west are

very many' 51

kunugu "miš kiš" šuvuyiš ʔapš šu mankš te't "ni ti kmiš-k" 'They

say God used to go on the roads like a traveler' 7a

ve neki šama' šuš' šup' šu'te', hus-ks nuhš'i' 'When the new-devil went to the woods, he (the boy) ran off.' B5c

šiš ne' šuš-k' ni ginki tešikin', tewaš' kap dadiwi'g', šiš-k' šu' gayki' 'I needed wood myself, but I felt cold and didn't go' 70a

§166. -š is freely added at the end of phrases except those ending in š. It is also not ordinarily added to a finite verb form; thus it is not used in positions where it might be confused with qualificative -š 'when...'. The -š under discussion has little or no positive meaning. Its only function appears to be to mark the end of the phrase. We may also note here the optional -š at the end of certain particles and verb endings, e.g. participial -k(š), -g(š), necessitative -ng(š). This element is essentially identical with the one under discussion, except that it is sometimes found in phrase medial. Examples of phrase terminal -š are very numerous in the texts. The following are taken from the first short paragraph of the first text:

wetk-š' hus na'nča' kamank-š' wetk' hi hokai'š'i' 'Then he left his brothers' la

wetk-š' we še'nink'hi nišwinkiš' 'Then when he reached the pond' la

ha še'ni-š' nenšu' šati' nenšwišuki' 'This pond is too large for me to cross' la

ke is used with interrogative indefinites to give the meaning of unknown indefinite. See §139.

§167. nak '.. and everything else; everything including..' an occasionally used equivalent of šam šo'nak (§129) in enumerations. nak occurs in several composites: šo'nak 'all', huynak 'whole', šupi nak 'both', šanšitnak 'everywhere'. In one case it is used with a modifier, kaypi nak 'alive' B4d (kaypa 'alive'); the force is not clear. The text occurrences with substantives:

*o's nak 'buzzards and everything else' 70d

ney nak 'the earth and everything' 18b

ku' nak 'water and everything else' 18a, 19c

ve paně he's pa'opa nak 'a'ki gan' ni gušuki' 'Those people didn't even give me bread and the like to eat'

The A. examples occur in such situations as to suggest that the usage is not commonplace. Thus ku'nak occurs in a phrase which imitates the call of a bird, ku' nak kap wiša'.

§168. -k, -tk (after n) indicates mild contrast or emphasis ('..on the other hand'). The meaning is often so attenuated that one can hardly be certain of the basis for use. It occurs only with terms and is apparently limited to use only after a consonant. Formally it coincides in at least some phonologic positions with -(n)k (§144) and it is often difficult to know which of the two is involved in a given context. This is especially true in view of the semantic weakness of the present postposition. In cases where the use of -(n)kš is optional (marking the subject), one is quite at a loss. Examples:

*apš *uyminkiš' we paně ni'km pen-tk' kunugu' kap nu'pkāi'uyin'

'When (they) returned, the person who had been sick had died' 3h

§§169-175 Predicational Postpositions

§169. The predicational postpositions are as follows:

hugu 'it is...'

te' 'is it...?'

gan 1. 'it is not...'. 2. 'not'. 3. 'without..'

-ga 'what of..?'

These occur in two functions, which may be called normal and selective predication. In the former function the postposition serves like any other predicational element, as, for instance, an auxiliary. Selective

predication is involved when the postposition is attached to one of the elements of an otherwise complete predication; the postpositionally marked syntactic element comes to be the nucleus of the predication and the normal nucleus comes to be logically subordinate. Compare the three sentences:

we ʔasi ʔ we kiča kin ʔapə wa ʔtiʔi ʔ 'That man married that woman'

we ʔasi hugu ʔ we kiča kin ʔapə wa ʔtiʔi ʔ 'It was that man (who) married that woman'

we ʔasi we kiča kin hugu ʔapə wa ʔtiʔi ʔ 'It was that woman (whom) that man married'

§170. hugu 'it is...' is sometimes used as a normal predicator but is characteristically a selective predicator. It is used with terms and modifiers. Examples: ▽

ʔašinʔadi zaytepʔi niš ʔ hugu ʔ 'He is a lazy old man' 7c

weyʔi ʔgə hugu ʔ 'That is why' 17f

himkə ʔ kap zaytepʔiwgə ʔ kap toygə hugu ʔ 'You stopped because you are lazy' 85c

wey ka ʔəuyi ʔ, huygi hugu ʔ 'It is good to drink that' 73c

wey huymi ʔgə hugu ʔ piyank ʔ we panš pinikankə ʔ hi mašmpuykin ʔ 'It is because I liked it that I used to take the Indians to the cane (patch)' 68a

weyt hugu ʔ ʔuška ʔšši ʔ 'That is how he treats me' 24b

wotkə ʔ hugu ʔ weʔ kičandankə ʔ gaptk ʔ ʔitk ʔ ni tučiʔi ʔ 'Then it was that the old woman got it, plucked it, and cooked it' 15d

weyʔi ʔgə hugu ʔ čaʔa ʔd ʔuybi čaʔa ʔd ka ʔənaʔa ʔ 'That is why they call it Bloody Bayou' 49a

nenšugu kap ʔa ʔkstk hugu ʔ hiki ʔ 'It is that I am too miserable' 88b

sa ʔ hugu ʔ ʔiša ʔšiki ʔ 'That is what I am looking for' 75i

weyš hiš hugu ʔ ʔiš ko ʔ našpiʔi ʔ 'It was she who cured my aunt' 75h

Though *hugu* does not ordinarily occur with a finite verb form, it is found with the desiderative in two cases. In these cases causality is implied.

ni wa'žiga' hugu' 'It is because I wanted to play' 34b

hink kap gušga' hugu' 'It is because I wanted to eat you' 69a

In these cases we are perhaps to construe the desiderative construction as a term, as *ni wa'žiga* '(the fact that) I wanted to play'. The same may likewise be the case in the following, which is the only known example of *hugu* after a finite verb:

ʔoš hiš' hus kut kap xidinaʔa hugu' ne'mi'g' 'It was that the buzzards would cut off his head--fearing that....' 21e

hugu is sometimes found in places where one might ordinarily expect a finite verb form, e.g.,

ʔamin huyi gaygš pe' hugu' 'He is something no account' 7c (gerund + *hugu* instead of aorist)

§171. *te'*, occasionally *te'*, is essentially the interrogative counterpart of *hugu*, being used in much the same way, except that it is common in the normal as well as in the selective predicational function. In limited cases it is used in forming the interrogative of finite verbs (§§58,71), and it is the only means of indicating interrogation of terms, modifiers, and predicative particles. Examples:

ʔakun kipiš te' 'Bear meat?' 87a

sa gimniš' him kičl' te' 'Is that girl your wife?' 811b

wey te' hinkš huymi'gš hi'te' 'Is that what you like?' 87a

xum te' ho'kš ne' 'Are these things testicles?' 30e

kapi gaygš te' gasti ganš hi'ʔi' 'Is it because you have no seed that you didn't plant?' 86b

hinkš' pan kitte' ni gasdiši' 'Is it in the moon that you are planting?' 59a

hanška' te' kiš kin ni wa'žikiču'š', su'p ne' ničtpi ka'han te'

'Is it true that you can't tan hides if you play with women?' 72d

ʔutpi ka'kun₁ 'Can you tie it up?' 56b

ʔam ʔuđpi gihtk te' 'What do you want to do?' 58a

weʔ ʔašinžadaš' nu'pčuy te', nu'pi gayčuy te' 'Will that man die (or) won't he die?' 16b

ku'ki' ni nehčwi'ʔi' ʔamigi' kičuti ka'kun te' 'he got into the water to see if he could swim' B14b

The following example is interesting in showing the interrogation of an entire predicational term:

him panš kap nu'pi gaydina' te' ni gihtl' 'Is it that your people should not die that you wish?' 3e.

High final melody instead of high prefinal is found in 5h, 49d, 72d, 87c, B9a, 11b, 14c.

Interrogation indicated for both the basic and the selective predication is found in:

wey te' himkš huyml'gš hi'te' 'Is that what you like?' 87a (Is that it? do you like it?)

ʔašt ʔuđi'gš te' kap kočwi gan te' 'How is it you are not drowned?' B14c (How is it? are you not drowned?)

§172. The postposition gan is used in several different ways, as a normal or selective predicator governing the gerund or a predicate modifier, as a modifier of term or modifier of verb. It will be seen that these functions overlap, so that it is not always possible to say which function is involved in a given context. In certain usages, gan is at least ostensibly like a relational modifier with the meaning 'without...'.⁷

It is the personal gerund (§) that gan is construed with. Examples in the first person (the personal gerund is not different from the imper-

sonal in the non-first):

ni gihmaki gan 'I don't want you' 47b

gaski gan 'plāk' 'I haven't planted' B 88d

Non-first examples:

ne'mpi gan 'He was not afraid' 39a

huykš' ni ka'kmpi gan 'They didn't know yet' 11g

Occasionally gan is construed with auxiliary verbs, as in:

gasti ganš'i?i 'You didn't plant' 88b,

?ašt 'uči'gš' gasti gantkš'ič 'How is it you have not planted?' 88b

Examples of gan as predicator with predicate modifiers:

?amin' panš' gušmi'dna' ne gan 'There was nothing for people to eat' 84a

ša'ša' ne ganš' 'There is no rice' 87b

hankapi gan' weyk' 'That was not true' 77f

zaytepš'i'niš' gan' 'plāk' 'I am not lazy'

huyi gan' nončugu' ney zahzas' 'Too much salt was not good' 74a

panškš' te't' gan' 'They are not like people' B11d

Coupled with a term or a non-personal gerund, gan may have the meaning 'without..' But this use may be regarded as a possessive implicit derivation (§), such as is regularly possible for a modified term; 'no money' may be possessive implicit derivation mean 'having no money', therefore 'without money'. Examples:

?iš' ne' wa'bit gan' 'I also have no money'

?išk' wa'bit ne gan' kapi ne' 'aksčuki' 'I have no money to buy seed' 88b

?amin' gušmi'dina' ganš' na'uykš' 'They have not anything to eat' 88d

?iš' ?asi' nušmpi gan' 'My husband is out of work' B88d

Such constructions may serve as predication modifiers, giving circumstance or condition. Examples:

ka'opi gan' hi šu'gš' hugu' hiniš' hi nušpiki' 'Because I went without a stick, I only chased him away' 87c

ni gušti ganš' 'eypinkš' kap nu'pidnaka' 'Without food, we'll die of

hunger' 87b

ni gušmpi gan' kaymi na'uyna'a' 'They lived without eating' 4e

'amin' geti gan', kas dutnaka' 'Without killing anything we returned home'

63a

Examples of gan with other types of verb and predication modifiers:

po' 'amin' 'a'i'gš gan' 'uša'žna'a' 'They did not do it by giving any medicine' 67i

'apš šu'gš gan' hananki', wašti heyži' wenki' namki'g' 'The holy man stays there ten days without returning home' B21a

kamč'in su'qu' 'akun su'unkš te't gan' niša'žna'a' 'Deer skin, unlike bear skin, they soak' 72b

was nušma'žna'nkš te't gan' 'išk nušma'šik' 'I work not as you do' 85c

gan with term modifier:

ša'hken šipniš gan' 'an unfinished basket' 13a

gan in many contexts may be taken to be a selective predicator comparable to hugu and te'. Thus:

ka'nuš giš gan' 'eypinkš nu'pkš na'a' 'It is not the whites alone who are starving' 45a

'amin hiš gan' 'iž ne'mpakišuyi' 'There is nothing that can scare me' 38a

But the same sentences could be translated 'Not only the whites are starving', 'Nothing can scare me', showing that it is not easy to distinguish between the selective and the non-selective function. The following sentence seems to be less easy to interpret in different ways:

'uš gan' ti'ksmi-gš' na'uynaka' 'It was not we who hated you' B11b

§173. Following predicative verbs, gan acts as a predication modifier negating the predication. This is most usual for other tense-moods than the aorist, gerund plus gan being the usual expression when the reference field of the aorist is involved, but some examples of the aorist, too, occur. Thus:

ka'kunimaka gan' 'We did not know' 80b

With the assist of the auxiliaries gan is found fairly frequently.

Examples:

ka'kwil'g' na'uynaki gan' 'We did not know it' 63c

?amin ha'g' hi'uy gan' 'There was nothing wrong with him' 67g

Examples with continuative, usitative, future, desiderative are:

we^y panš pinikank' ku'ne' ka'šma'šna' gan' 'The Indians, who had not been drinking liquor' 44b

?am weytémankš ne' ?ampuynaki ga' 'We are not used to seeing that sort of thing' 4d

?apš ?ehšuyi gan' 'He won't come back' 87c

?amin' ?ušičuy gan' 'You won't produce anything' 59b

him' šeygi ?uščah gan' 'I don't want to hurt you' 17e

The future plus gan in the following case is equivalent to a negative conditional:

?amin' hus kin' hamšičuy gan' 'if you do not have anything with her' 71e

It may be recalled here that the negation of anything expressed by a verb form may be accomplished by a gerund complement with the appropriate form of the negative verb gay. Thus, in the last example, one might have said hamšpi gayš.

§174. There is some freedom in the use of gan, in that it may be attached to different segments of the sentence without any appreciable difference of meaning. Thus compare the two following sentences:

?amin gan' ?ušičuki' 'I will do nothing' 17e

?amin' ?ušičuy gan' 'You won't produce anything' 59b

Often the segment to which gan is attached is the one to which it most strictly applies, as:

ya' gan' šu'šič' 'He goes not fast' 71f

panš ?o'nak gan hugu' kap huhščuyi' 'It is not all the people, I will put in not all the people' 10f

ni ti'kaib gan' ko'ana'a' da'tk' 'They call him not governor now' 11f
 hus nehe ki gan' we top' 'apš kudihti'i' 'She circled the fire not by
 herself' ^{47e} She did it by proxy.

But the strict logic is not always followed, so that

weyt gan' 'uča'ana'a' 'They do not that way' 85a
 stands in contrast to

sa't' nahdina' gan' 'They will not be that way' 11c

Besides the negative meaning, gan sometimes has the meaning of 'the
 opposite of...' when used with expressions of quality, e.g., gamigi gan
 'short' (73f), huyi gan 'wrong' (45b, 58a, 75c), 'bad' (7a, 45a, 63c, 81),
 žeyt haktiš gan 'the wrong side' (73c), ya'gi gan 'lightly' (17e).

gan is used with imperative force in ne'api gan 'don't be afraid!'
 83d, but this is not regular.

§175. -ga is commonly used, in only one connection, in the form
 himga 'How about you?' in an exchange of greetings which takes the form:
 huygi hi' to' 'Are you well?'--(huygi', huygi gan', etc.) himga' '(I'm
 well, ill, etc.), and you?' The force of -ga, as shown by examples sug-
 gested by the informant on questioning, is general interrogation with
 reference to the given entity, English 'How about...?' 'What of...?' The
 specific question implied is determined by the context. The specific
 implication may be 'How is, where is, what is the news of...? Should
 not...be considered? Might not...be included?' If food is being distri-
 buted, 'iāga 'How about me?' would imply 'Am I not to get some too?'
 If there was talk of going hunting and someone puts in 'iāga, it would
 imply, 'Mayn't I go too?'

§§176-179 Modifying Postpositions

§176. There are four words used only postpositively which have
 the syntactic function of modifying the term to which they are added.

These are:

weytem, pl. weytemank 'of that kind, nature'

sa'tem, pl. sa'temank (B only) 'of that kind, nature'

wa'ne 'strange, foreign, different'

niki 'genuine, true'

The first two have the peculiarity of number inflection, a characteristic shared with adjectives. All four lexemes share the modifying function with adjectives but lack the other potentialities of adjectives.

The postposition keystigi 'very' is used with modifiers to express high degree. It may be used in conjunction with the preverb kap which then preceded the modified modifier, as kap ?ati keystigi 'very large'. Possibly the form with preverb adds some notion of increased degree.

§177. The use of weytem, sa'tem is illustrated in:

kiš weytem 'a dog like that' 67e

?am weytem 'something of the sort' 4d

neškun hiš' ?un kun weytemank' ni wopmičú's' 'If someone asks you some thing of that sort' 85c

kiča weytemkš' panš ?o'nak' ni huymipi gan' 'The whole world dislikes that sort of a woman' B13a

panš sa'tom' ?amna'ne waska' 'Did you ever see a person like that?' B16b

The most frequent use in A is with ?am (interrogative-indefinite), either immediately before or predeterminative to another substantive; the plural is more common than the singular. Examples:

?am weytemank' 'If I had asked things of that sort' 2d

panš palkank' ?am weytemankš ne'....gapti gayšha?a' 'Indians don't catch things of that sort' 29d

?am weytemank ki ne' hunksk' ni kimpí gayšna?a' 'They didn't believe in things of that sort' 38a

zaytepž'i'niš' ?am kapš weytemank' ?a'puyna?a' 'Lazy and (other) names of that sort they gave him' 11a

wa'ne is an antonym of waytem. Examples:

ʔun kun wa'ne 'something different' A13b

ʔam kiði wa'nenk 'some strange woman' 81a

ney wa'nenki ʔapə ʔu'miðuyi 'You will go about on strange soil' 81a

One phrase was recorded in which wa'ne stands alone without a term which it modifies; the expression wa'nenkəte't ʔuðm 'differently made' was recorded not in text.

The word niki 'genuine, true' is attested in the following two text occurrences:

weyā kaməin niki 'Those are real deer' A35c

hus kapə niki ku'kwaki gan 'I don't know its true name' 75k

§178. Some examples of the use of keystigi 'very' follow:

dapki keystigi ʔuði'ʔi 'It became very dark' 63c

ʔo' keystigi we yukə na'uyina 'Those cats were very numerous' 55c

ya' keystigi ʔap ʔu'əin 'It was coming very swiftly' 63c

piyi huykpi keystigi 'It was very good cane' 88a

ʔam kap neškapi keystigi hus wa'gipanki wopi'ʔi 'He heard something very strange in his pillow' 26h

hani kap heʔi keystigi ki' hi'ʔi 'He is in a very ugly house' 4c

Two peculiar usages of keystigi have been found. In the following it is added to a gerund:

ʔiäk huympi keystigi 'I liked very much (to...)' 68a

In the following kap keystigi is placed before a predicator form of an adjective:

kap keystigi ʔatkinaʔa 'They grew larger' 86c

If this usage were typical it would perhaps be necessary to classify the element as an independent particle rather than as a postposition. In still another case we have a causative predicator form:

hus tep kap keystigi g' hi'uyin 'He prizes his fire' 5a

Such a form would suggest that the element may be an adjective, but in view of the wide difference in meaning between *keystigi* and this occurrence of *kap keystpa-*, we might better consider the latter a derived lexeme than an inflectional form.

§§179-180 Postpositive-Independents

§179. A few elements, expressing notions of spatial location, temporal location, and quantity are used both as postpositive relaters added to terms and as independent modifiers of predicaters or predications. One element, *ʔapš kanime*, is used as a postposed modifier and as an independent modifier. As a postpositive it is found with modifiers, even more than with terms. *hi waytmiš* also is used as a postposed modifier of modifier.

nugus 'behind..; 'behind'

niwis 'to one side of..', 'to one side'

panki temporal 'before..is, does, before one does to..; beforehand, first'

(hi)waytm(iš) 'more than..is, does, more than one does to..; more than.., more; most'

ʔapš kanime (as modifier of adjective or of verb) 'sufficient.., sufficiently...'; 'plenty, sufficient'

It is to be noted that the first four postpositive-independents share functions of particle-nouns; see §135. *ʔapš kanime* as a postpositive is like *keystigi* 'very' (§§177,179); examples of use as postpositive relaters:

weʔ ʔašinžadaš' weʔ haksiga šank' nugus' hi nenšwi'g' 'The old man crossed behind the youths' 38b

ʔiš him pan ki' nu'pkišu'š' 'if I die before you' 65a

pu'p ʔungu' hi waytm' 'more than a hundred'

him hi waytm' ʔowa' gapčuk' 'I'll catch more than you' 26d

wey hi waytmiš 'gamigi' 'longer than that' B12c

hus ʔasi hi waytmiš 'huyimi.gš' ʔiʔuyi 'She loved him more than her husband' B13a

weyšk' ʔažinžadi hi waytmiš 'That is the oldest' 11i

Examples of use as independent modifiers:

hesigen' nugus' hi hoktiʔi 'Again he left him behind' 22d

ʔiš' pan ki' ʔap ʔuyikin' hanki' 'I came here first' 22b

ʔapš kanime te'ti' 'You have talked enough' 83b

In the function of postposed relater, the postpositive-independents govern terms except that waytmiš may also govern a predication. Example:

hus ni gušuy hi waytm' 'more than he would eat' 86c

As independent modifiers nugus and niwis modify verbs or are predicate modifiers. pan ki modifies predications rather than verbs. waytmiš modifies verbs, terms, and modifiers.

§180. As postposed modifiers, ʔapš kanime and hi waytmiš may modify terms or modifiers. They express quantity or degree according to context; with terms it is usually quantity, with modifiers usually degree. Examples:

ney ne' ʔapš kanime gan' 'not enough land'

ni kinti' ʔapš kanime' poku waži hi tohšu'š' 'enough sense to break the wind's arm' 15c

himš' ni kinti hi waytm' ni gihti gan' 'You don't want more cunning' 17h

gama ʔapš kanime' ʔap dudišnaʔa' 'You have been coming long enough' 30c

ya' ʔapš kanime gan' 'not strong enough' 17e

ni.kpi waytmiš 'sicker' B19a

¶ The modifying and relating functions of hi waytmiš may both be involved in the same context. In this case it stands as postposition to the related term and the modified element stands separate:

gasman' hi waytm' žuwa' '(it grows) faster than corn' 87b

As a modifier waytmiš may mean 'most' as well as 'more'; that is, the

basis of comparison may be more than one other entity.

weyšk 'pašinžadi hi waytmiš' 'That is the oldest' lli

'am ni naki dempi 'pašinžadi hi waytmiš' 'That is the oldest story' lli

§§181-191 Preverbs

§181. There are several particles of directional and other meanings which occur always before the element they modify, never after and never independently. They usually precede the modified element immediately, but in certain cases other elements may intervene. Their characteristic usage is with verbs, but some other usages apply in the case of some of them. The list of preverbs with their normal meanings follows:

'ap 'hither, in this direction; to come and...'

hi 'thither; to go and...'

'apš 1. 'returning hither; to come back and...' 2. 'moving together'

3. reflexive, reciprocal 4. 'moving about, round and round, at random'

5. B, with adjectives 'sufficiently'

kas 1. 'moving back thither; to go back and...' 2. 'reversing a process'

3. 'apart'

kap 1. 'up' 2. inchoative of adjectives and static verbs (see § -)

3. B with adjectives (= A kap..keystigi) 'very, most...'

ka'bs 'up' Found only with two verbs: kayi- 'to get up from sleep, unconsciousness' (llc, s, 89c), nuhōwa- 'to stand up' (18b, 751). Both of these verbs occur more commonly with kap.

ni 1. 'down' 2. used with the imperative 3. with substantives (see §).

his 1. 'redoing' 2. 'doing in response' Not very common.

It is to be noted that most of the meanings of the preverbs are expressible by independent particles, such as hank 'hither', sank 'thither', hosigen 'again, back again', 'apš kanime 'sufficiently', keystigi 'very', pegup 'up', ni 'hkup 'down'. The preverbs are very common in occurrence, but do not always represent the most direct means

of giving the pertinent information, and are in a large measure stylistically used.

§182. Most of the preverbs, all but *ʔap* and *hi*, are frequently found to form an essential part of the verbal lexeme. Thus 'to tease, mock..' is *ni wačt-*, 'to meet, join..' is *hi he'čt-*, 'to deprive..of..' is *kap ʔo'ni-*, 'to fool..' is *kas hukunt-*. Sometimes there is vacillation, as in the case of *ni tučl* 'to cook..' recorded in 14 cases out of 35 without the preverb; *ʔo'ksne-* 'to steal..' about equally frequent with and without preverb *kap*. Sometimes otherwise homonymous verbs are differentiated by their preverbs, as *hi he'čt-* 'to meet, join..' : *kas he'čt-* 'to move..away'; *ʔakst-* 'to buy..' : *kap ʔakst-* 'to sell..' : *ʔapš ʔakst-* 'to exchange..'; *ni wopma-* 'to ask..' : *kas wopma-* 'to answer..'; *kanima-*, *ni kanima-* 'to get ready' : *ʔapš kanima-* 'to look alike'. In some cases there is overlapping of different preverbal usages; for example, *ʔici-* 'to burn..' is sometimes used where one might expect *kap ʔici-* 'to burn..up, to set fire to..'

The presence of preverbs as fixed parts of verbal lexemes comes into conflict with the free use of preverbs in their literal senses, for the rule is that two preverbs may not precede the same verb stem. Verbs with bound preverbs either resist the use of free preverbs or are subject to what might be called preverb displacement; the free preverb is used and the bound one omitted. Thus the preverb of *hi he'čt-* 'to meet, join..' (1b,4c,1,6c,17b, e.f,g,21a,34a,b,38b,39a,47e) is displaced by *hi* and *ʔapš* in the following cases:

hesigen' šušup kas nuhōi'wi' we ʔasi nahzibu hi he'čti gihtk' 'He ran back

to the woods in order to go and meet that boy' 34b

ney' pokti kin' ʔapš he'čdiāna'anki' hi'uymina'a' 'They arrived where the

earth and sky meet together' 3c

ka'kseki'g' ʔap wa'čkičuy ne', ʔašt ʔapš he'čdinaka' 'If you woo and marry

me, how will we come together?' 83a

The preverb of *ni wačt-* 'to tease, mock..' (33a,b,43b) is displaced by *hi* in:

we haksigam ʔungunk hiš ʔ hi wačtiʔi 'That young man went and teased him' 42a

The preverb of *ni wa-ʔika-(kin)* 'to play with..' (71e,72c,54b) is displaced by *ʔapš*

The verb *kas ʔi-kint-* 'to turn..over, about' (33b,73f,85a) is found with *hi* 'thither' and *kap* 'up' in:

we gamkpi hi waytm hiš ʔ him samis ʔ hi ʔi-kintmi ʔg 'turning it with the longer (ends) before you' 73c (directions for weaving a basket)
we ʔasi nahzibuš ʔ hus hu-ti kap ʔi-kintk ʔ hus hu-ti hisgis ʔ hisdiʔi

'The boy turned his boat up and crawled under' 33a Inverting a boat is called turning it up. Not next example.

pan ʔ hus ʔims ʔ pekup ʔ kap ʔi-kintkš ʔ apš pehōwīču-š 'if the moon is crescent and turns its horns upward' 84e

In the following case we seem to have bound *kas* displaced by free *kas*:

we hu-ti kas ʔi-kintiʔi. 'He turned the boat back (over)' 33b

While there clearly exists a process of preverb displacement, it is not as common for bound preverbs to be displaced as it is for free preverbs to be added to verbs having no bound preverb. In other words there is a stylistic restriction to the use of preverbs, which is in large part a stylistic matter any way. We may compare the following two sentences:

him kišī kin ʔ apš wa-ʔikiču gan 'You will not play with your wife' 71e

him kišī hin ʔ ni wa-ʔikitu-t 'after you have played with your wife' 71e

Here we seem to have displacement of *ni* by *ʔapš* in one case and not in another, though the contexts are altogether parallel. If there were no bound preverb here, we almost certainly would have *ʔapš* ('together') in both cases. The tendency to use *ʔapš* in actual actions is fairly strong. On the other hand we find displacement of *hi* in such a case as the follow-

ing though the usage here is little more than stylistic:

wa^oa' hi ^ou'kižiwgě', weyži'g' weyžina^oa' 'They did that because they were jealous of the others'. kap ^ou'kižiw- 'to be jealous of..'

§183. In certain enumerable cases a bound preverb, instead of preceding the stem immediately, is separated from the latter by another syntactic element with which it is construed. There is no general principle governing this phenomenon. It is the function of given lexemes:

kap.. tey- 'to turn into, become..', e.g., kap panš pinikank teyi 'he turned Indian'. By preverb displacement we have kas..tey- 'to turn back into..', e.g., kas panš teyi 'to turn back into a person'. The order ..kap tey- also occur.

kap...keystigi 'very...', e.g., hani kap hežikeystigi ki' hi'zi' 'He is in a very ugly house' 4c. The form without the preverb is more common, e.g. ^oo' keystigi 'very many' 55c

kap + gerund + nacpikma- 'to start to...'; na'kšbu' kap ^oatpampi nacpikminki' 'When they began to raise children' 77b. This order is found only in the given example.

§184. Combinations of two preverbs with a single verb occur in a few B contexts:

^oapš ni kanimi'g' na^ouyna^oa' 'They were ready' B5d ^oapš kanima- 'to be

ready'

ʔapə ni kimi'gə 'ka'kwaki gan'. 'I cannot recall it' B12c kima-, ni
kima- 'to remember..'

veta'gə 'ni kas ŋu' gan' 'In that way they do not come back' (?) B20
ŋuw- 'to go'

The significance of these cases is not clear. In A, ʔapə ni nekt- (kin) 'to league (with..)' was recorded three times in 67a. Since combinations of preverbs are otherwise lacking in A, we may perhaps guess that the ni in this verb is part of the stem rather than preverb ni. ʔapə ninekt- is in accord with the established usage with regard to preverbs. ninekt- without ʔapə is found at 2c, 47e, 67a, h, k, 74m. Against this explanation is the dissociation of ni and nekt- in B where we find ni nekt B6d, ʔapə nekt B1c, kas nekt- B4b, c, 6d.

§185. Practically all the preverbs have a directional force as one of their meanings. Four of the directions expressed are orientations with reference to a point of interest, which is the location of the speaker, the subject of discourse, or of some other center about which the discourse turns. The point of interest may easily shift during a discourse. The orientations expressed are toward and away from the point of interest and returning toward and away from it (ʔap, hi ʔapə, kas). Other directional meanings expressed by preverbs are 'up', 'down', 'round and round, at random', 'together', 'apart'.

The direction may be of a movement already completed. In this sense, directional prepositives may be used with auxiliaries or static verbs or in resultant static tense-modes of active verbs, e.g.,

hesigen' ʔap kowiš' hedi hi keystigi ʔap ŋin'. 'When he cried out again,
he was very close' 54 (he had come close)

weyt hugu' panš pinikank ne' hank ʔap na' 'That is how the Indian is
here' 2c

him naksti hananki 'ap tenmami'gš na'a' 'They come and sit in your house' 85e

panš' gasdi haktiš 'ap šuntkš' hinga' 'You are a person come from the north'

we pu'pk' tu'kun ki hi šahyk hin' 'The rabbit was in the bag' 23h

we pu'p kutnehin hi'ink hi šun 'The rabbit who had gone to God' 16d

The notion of direction applying prior to the actual time of the predication is also involved in active verbs in cases implying movement before the action of the verb; thus:

'išk' him kin' 'ap namki'g', him' heššuki' 'I'll come and live with you and take care of you' 34c

'ap no'mičuk' gihšu'š' 'I'll come and teach you if you wish' 67h

ge' bup' hi nadi' 'He went to bed and lay down' 86b

The use of the preverbs in their directional sense of activity or attention may be indicated. The freest use of directional indication applies with verbs that do not otherwise take a prepositive. Displacement of bound prepositives to express direction is much less common.

Some examples showing the indication of direction by preverbs are:

šu'gš' neki šiš gamin 'i' 'ap maša'ki' 'Go and bring me the elephant's tooth' 17a

gasdank' hi dutna'a' 'They went to the north' 3a

kutnehin hiš' 'apš nahwi' 'God sent him back here' 17a

we panš' kaš huhnemanki' 'when the people went back into the house' 21c

we ku'k' poktank' kap 'ehi' 'The water reached up to the sky' 11b

ve meša' ni šu'yi'i' 'Those four descended'

we šahk' hus pa'ndin' nišmpi šipankš te't' 'apš getk' hanaš' 'apš kudiht-i'i' 'That creature, beating his wings together like tin, circled about the house' 42a

'iš šinži' 'ap kowi' 'He called to my father' 55

ʔaštka neškunʔ ʔuš kiʔ ʔap ʔitmišuyiʔ 'Perhaps he will cut one of us'

54a

niš hišʔ ney hupʔ ʔap nehtiʔiʔ 'The waves struck the land' 82a

ʔiš koʔ ʔap tapšiiʔiʔ 'My aunt stepped up' 75h

ʔašt ʔušiʔgšʔ kačmišʔ ʔap gapčukiʔ 'How shall I get a doctor?' B12b

we panš ni kmʔ hi haktinaʔaʔ 'They gave it to that sick person to drink' 75b

hi nehgaʔ him kut kiʔ 'I want to strike you on your head' 17e

hi ʔamiʔiʔ 'He saw him' 22a

ʔam ʔušʔ sa kaš neʔ sa panš kinʔ hi ney nučminaʔaʔ 'Why did you bury those clams with that man?' 46a

ʔo kidadi kapiʔ hi gaptkʔ šuhtpiʔgʔ hen napšžigankʔ ʔuša šnaʔaʔ 'They take walnuts, boil them, and make black cane' 13d

kupčes kiʔ hi ničpi gam kiʔ ni šuhtpičeuʔšʔ, ʔižimank hi ʔuša šnaʔaʔ

'If you boil it before you soak it in lime, you make it red' 13d

ʔiš ʔasišʔ ʔapš ʔa kišuyiʔ ni giškiʔiʔ 'I want you to give me back my husband' B10e

suʔunkš ʔupaʔ ʔapš žušiʔgšʔ 'sewing two skins together' 74b

huskʔ ʔapš kutmiʔgʔ ʔanžanki ʔo nakʔ ʔišiiʔiʔ weʔ panš šunʔ 'Looking about he sought everywhere for that person' 13a

panškʔ ʔapš ko miʔgʔ 'calling the people together' 86g

we tepʔ kas he štkʔ 'raking the fire apart' 74p

ʔampupʔ wa bitʔ gaptkʔ kas ʔa dinaʔaʔ 'Where will they get money to give it back' 85b

pekupʔ kap neštmpi gayšnaʔaʔ. 'They don't look up' 33b

ni kantiʔgʔ ʔamčuʔšʔ 'if you bend over and look' 10f

§186. The reflexive and reciprocal meanings of ʔapš are illustrated in the following examples. Pronominal reflexives, pronoun + nehe (§163), are ordinarily used in addition to ʔapš.

him nehe' huygi' 'apš nikšmi'g' 'washing yourself well' 71e

'iš nehe' 'apš ne'žmiki' 'I harmed myself' 45c

'ašt 'uči'gš' 'apš 'amdinaka' 'How would we see each other?' 83a

tey' 'apš 'a'ypuyna' 'They lend fire to each other' 5d

hunks nehe' 'apš hežipi'g' 'respecting each other' 35c

§187. kas 'reversing a process' (changing back, repairing, and the like) is illustrated in:

kas panš teygš' kunšln' 'He had turned back into a person' 35d

we kiš gaptk' hus ših' kas žušiki' 'I took the dog and sewed up his belly' 56c

hesigen' kas hučtkama'šna'a' 'They grew back out' 28c

§188. ni is common with imperative verbs, but is not essential. In the negative imperative, the ni ordinarily goes with the dependent gerund rather than with the negative verb. Examples:

ya'a ni 'uča' 'Make haste' 65d

neš kun hiš' 'un kun weytemenk' ni wopmiču'š', ni 'uči' गया' 'If someone asks something of that sort, don't do it' 65c

'iš kin' 'ap šu'g' ni še'a' 'Come sleep with me' 65b

§189. his is used in two meanings, 'doing again', as in processes that have to be repeated in order to gain the desired results, and 'doing in response', as with verbs of communication. Examples:

gasmi gaptk' 'i'žimi'g' wetk nie ki' kap šanšt' hi he'ptu't' hokunki hi šahōtk' kihci'g', tutk' wetk' kap šanšt' hi haymi'g' hesigen' his kihci'g' 'They take corn, parch it, take it out of the pot, put it into a mortar after fanning it, pound it, then take it out, sift it, again pound it....' 74e

hesigen' his dutk' 'returning again' 5b. Occurrence of his with an ordinary verb of motion is out of the ordinary.

In two instances in the texts we find the combination *huš ni* used with imperatives.
pušinknak' huš ni po' 'lie still' 17g

huš ni hokta.ki' 'leave some for me' 20a

189. *His* is used in two meanings, 'doing again', as in processes that have to be repeated in order to gain the desired results, and 'doing in response', as with verbs of communication. Examples:

gasmi gaptk' ?i.šimi.g' wetk nic ki' kap šanštk' hi ha.ptu.t' hokunki hi šahčtk' kihci.g', tutk' wetk' kap šanštk' hi haymi.g' hesigen' his kihci.g' 'They take corn, parch it, take it out of the pot, put it into a mortar after fanning it, pound it, then take it out, sift it, again pound it....' 74a

hesigen' his dutk' 'returning again' 5b. Occurrence of *his* with an ordinary verb of motion is quite unusual.

tutk' wa'bten 'iš' šapšma'šnaka'. vetkš' his neksti'gš naka' 'Then we split (the cane splints) with a knife. In that way we re-peel them (making finer splints).' 21a

his kow- 'to answer' 4g,17c,31a,65b,f ; kow- 'to call'

his te'šl'šl' 'He said (in rejoinder)' lle : te't- 'to say..'

§190. The use of preverbs with substantives and particles is not clear. Šap and ka'bs are entirely limited to use with verbs. All the other prepositives occur in composites with non-verbal elements, (§), or in usages which appear to be free, but only two of which can be defined: Šapš + adjective 'sufficiently...' (B only); kap + adj. + keystigi, B kap + adj. 'very...' hi may have stylistic directional force when used with substantives and particles; examples:

hi patkam 'preceding' 35c

yukš hi ži'niš 'a spoiled, pampered (cat)' 41a

wašti hi hatkam ki 'on the sixth day' 64a

'iš hi gami hi waytm' hi kayi'šučilšuy' 'I shall not remain alive longer'

24a

hi nenšu' Šati 'too big' 1b

hi kuti 'end' 4c,5f,73b,81

we^y poku' gasdi hi kečun' ža' šani kin ne' 'the wind between north and east' 70c

hi waytm(iš), common equivalent of waytm(iš) 'surpassingly, more' <

wayti- 'to exceed, win' 53b

hi šaniš = šaniš with numerals 'in excess of...'

Šapš in the meaning 'sufficiently' is illustrated in:

Šapš gami gayču'š' 'if it is not long enough' 61c

hi kimina'a' Šapš gamigi' 'they thought it was long enough' 61c

Other cases of Šapš are:

Šapš ketanki 'side by side' 73b (keta 'side' -nki 'at..')

ʔapš ʔima 'at night, during the night' 75j

There is a similar formation with kas, e.g.

šuš kas ketanki 'on the edge of the woods'

hana kas ketanki 'by the house'

In the construction kap..keystigi, e.g., kap bišti keystigi 'very industriously', the kap may be taken as forming a composite with heystigi. In

B kap alone expresses the same meaning, e.g.

was ʔasi kap hežin 'your holiest man'. B16c.

§191. By contrast to the rare free use of other prepositives with non-verbs, ni is quite frequent with adjectives and nouns. The force of the usage is completely unclear.¹

¹The only theory I have ever had was that there may be some implication of dignity or importance.

ni poʔ 'medicine (weykš ša ʔniš ni poʔ 'That is ground-rattlesnake medicine' 75g) : without ni 3a, e, g, 4f, 9b, 18a, d, 19b, 37e, et al.

ni naki dempa 'story' (5e, 11i) : without ni 5i, 11f, h, i, 18d, 23d, 68d, 69e, 83b (note 11i, illustrating occurrence with and without ni : ʔam ni naki dempa ʔašinžada hi waytmiš', weykš' pokta hisdimank naka dempaš' ʔašinžada hi waytmiš' 'What story is the oldest? -- That one, the story of the one who went under the sky, is the oldest story')

ni žah 'creature, beast, bird' 12a, 74e, B1a, 3b, 4c, 18a, b : without ni 4g, 6b, 10b, j, k, 12a, 18a, 19c, 24b, 29d, 33b et al.

ni žah ni ša ʔo ʔniš 'mocking bird' 24a, b : žah ni ša ʔo ʔniš 24a, b

ni šaʔ, B ni šaʔa 'voice, language' 50a, 84f, 85f, B2d, 9a : without ni 'mouth, voice, language' 29c, 48a, 64e, g, B14b et al.

ni kut 'head (of a fighting force)' B16c : without ni 'head' 2d, 17e, 21e, et al.

ni kuti 'top' B14b : without ni 5e, 18c, 30e, 55a, 81, 86b, B1d, 8d

ni ša'pš 'saliva' 39a : without ni 39b,c

ni heki 'atkank 'counsellor' 4a,11e,71d,74m : without ni 3e,f,4a,b,g,
11e,15a,c,22a,b,g,27f,et al.

ni ži'kank 'possessions, effects' 64 a : ži'kank 'coin of a certain
kind (French eskale)'

ni with adjectives and particles:

ni dapgi 'dark' 5f : without ni 63a,c

ni hež1(n)kank (pl.) 'sacred, pure, supernatural' 28d,71d : without ni
4e,9e,33a,80a,d,B3a,18a,19a,g,21a

ni huyi + neg. 'bad, wrong' (we^v kiš' 'am ni huyi gaymank' 'no-account
women' 52b) : with kap 7a, 12c,25a : without prepositive 45b,58a,81
'amin ni žeyt gan' 'nothing much' 21d

ha ni mahyniš ki 'recently' 85e : ha mahyniš ki 77f

ni žimniš ki 'at nightfall' 63c,64a,f

§§192-213 Independent Particles

§192. Independent particles are of various kinds. As to syntactic
functions, they are ^(a)interpolative (extra-syntactic or essentially so)
including predicationals, exclamatives, imitatives, and nonsense vocables,
(b) predicative, (c) modifying, including predicate-modifier particles,
connectives, inclusional hin'iš 'just, only', gradative nenču'u, and gen-
eral modifiers of time, place, cause, means, probability, evidence, mode.
A few of the particles classed here cannot be used alone and in this res-
pect are like postpositions and preverbs, but are different in being free
in their positional possibilities.

§§193-196 Interpolatives

§193. We may designate as predicationals words of affirmation or
negation, consent, thanks, and a few others which express the equivalent
of a complete predication. They form independent sentences or coordinate

parts of compound sentences.

ʔe·he, B also he·he (usually pronounced with nasalized vowels) 'yes'.

gayl 'no'

huyukt 'very well' (expressing willingness to comply with a request or to accept a fact)'

huya', B huya' 'thanks!'

nito 'let's go!' 'good bye!'

namʔi·š' expressing warning of retribution 'just wait!'

ʔaštgin gan 'never mind'

§194. The following exclamative vocables have been found. Their syntax is essentially like that of predicational.

ʔi·ha' expressing excitement, fear, admiration

Kap ʔišt expressing impatience or annoyance

ʔa expressing despair, irritation (?)

ʔoh expressing impatience (?)

mahy, ma·hy 'presto!' indicating a very brief moment required for an action to take place

§195. Imitatives include various vocables or sequences of vocables representing animals' cries for the most part. Other sounds are represented by ye·pye·p, sound of flapping or fluttering, sinksinksink sound of wolves sniffing, ša'·k sound of the wind suddenly decreasing, pe·stenik or pe·szeniko, the sound and rhythm of running buzzards. The syntax, imitatives usually stands as quotational objects to a verb referring to vocalization or to ʔuši- 'to make, do..'

Frequently the imitative is repeated more than once. Three repetitions seems to be a common pattern, tilink' tilink' tilink' (84h), gop' gop' gop' (26h; also two times and four times), sinksinksink (47c). We may also note pe·szeniko said twice in 21e, five times in 20a. In some cases two vocables are involved in one imitative and there is usually a

definite pattern of how many times each is said, as šilink šilink šilink širi'' (84h), žiwi' žiwi' wi' wi' wi' (75h), ti'ri' širi' song of the robin. The repetitions are probably in some cases to be regarded as a fixed part of the form, but the information on this point is insufficient. Note also special phonetic features of imitatives (§92).

The following imitatives have been recorded.

tilink' repeated cry of šinš while building his nest

šilink šilink šilink širi'' cry of šinš when rain is stopping. See 84f

žiwi' žiwiz wi' wi' wi' cry of šinš indicating danger. See 75h

ki'suya' cry of šinš meaning 'good luck!', i.e. something fortunate is going to happen (cf. ki's- 'left', huy- 'good')

panš huya' or panšuya 'good person!' as said by the šinš forecasting that a good person is coming to visit one. (panš 'person' huyi 'good')

ču'liša' another cry of the šinš (cf. čuw- 'to go', 'liša 'seek it!')

ku'nak kap wiša' 'water and all burn' See below

ti'ri' širi' song of the robin

ku'psku'ps song of the cuckoo (to'tu)

gop' repeated cry of rabbit, used to frighten bear. See 26h

gew' repeated cry of the bull frog (denu wa'hyti), a sign that the river is rising.

wa's' repeated sound of cricket

wa'skite'ž peken See below

ye'pye'p sound of flapping or fluttering

sink repeated sound of wolves sniffing. See 47c

pe'steniko pe'szenito repeated sound of buzzards running, in limping fashion. See 20a, 21c

ša'•k (with falling pitch and stress) sound of the wind suddenly decreasing. See 14a, 15b

It is to be noted that some of the imitatives are distortions of ordinary

words and constructions. They are imitative and at the same express the meanings of the forms of which they are distortions. Thus:

ʒiwi cry of chinsh indicating danger = ʒiwi 'bad'

ki'suya' cry of chinsh indicating good luck, of ki's- 'left' and huyi 'good'

panšuya' cry of chinsh forecasting the coming of a good person = panš huyi 'good person'

ʒu'ʒā' cry of chinsh = ʒu'g 'ʒā' 'go and look!'

ku'nak kap wišā' cry of the blackbird (see 18a, 19c) = ku'nak kap wišā 'water and all burns'

gew' cry of the bull frog indicating that the river is rising, = gewi 'deep'

wa'skite*ʒ peken 'I'm worried' See 32a, b. The verb on which this cry is based is not otherwise known. Apparently the stem is wa's-, the form being F participle with F auxiliary of lying position.

§196. Two other extrasyntactic elements were recorded, which we may call nonsense vocables:

ʒo'ʒis used in a certain children's game: several people place their hands one upon the other, each hand holding loosely on to the one beneath it by the skin of the back of the hand held between the finger and thumb; the hands in this position, the players begin to move them, rhythmically in unison saying ʒo'ʒis with each movement; after several movements the arrangement of the hands is suddenly broken and the players begin tickling each other.¹

¹The informant believed this to be a real Indian game, but it is more probably of European origin. At any rate I learned a very similar game from my father (Bessarabian Jew) when I was a child. In this game the procedure was the same except that everyone ended shaking his hands up and down and saying ayayayayay. A rhyme was recited during the preliminary movements: ʒiyp ʒiyp hemerl, kim oi mir in kemerl; il dir epis rayzn, a kisali mit ayzn ayayayayay. (Tsip tsip little hammer, come to me in my little room; I'll show you something, a little pot containing iron oh oh oh oh oh) or 'ʒiyp ʒiyp hemerl, kim oi mir in kemerl; fiyi ferd yugn zix,

kdli xden šildgn zix' ('four horses are chasing themselves, i.e., going full speed, bride and groom are fighting, oh oh oh oh oh). Cf. also Denmore, Teton Sioux music BAE 61, p. 492

pe'spe'sdama(nk) used in a song, B16b,d. Cf. pe'sdamank 'garter snake'

§§197-200 Predicative Particles

§197. Predicative particles may stand alone to form a predication or may be combined with other elements into a predication construction. The details of usage have to be discussed for each of them separately. The list follows:

ka·kun 'is able, has permission, reason to...'

ka·han, B ka'an 'is unable, is not permitted to...'

ʔiškka 1. 'says...' 2. occasionally used for kunugu (§)

ʔamta, ʔamtaš te' (30e), ʔamtaš, ʔamta' (B9a) 'what is it?'

weyđšin, sa'dšin 'that is all' (indicating the end of a story or account)

§198. ka·han is the negative of ka·kun, apparently used to the exclusion of a synthetic negative with gan. Construction with an auxiliary verb expressing predication is not regular but has been found in 75h (šimankš' ka·ka·han' hi'uyki' 'I was unable to sleep at night'). Otherwise it is clear that these particles express the nuclear predication. They take verbal gerunds as complements, šu·ka·han 'I can't go'. They may occur without gerund only in complementive predication, that is, as the completion of an implied predication clearly suggested by the context, as

we waštik' ʔaksti ka·kun te'. ka·han' "'Can you buy that cow?"--"I

can't"; ʔišk šakššuki' gihöu's' ka·kun' 'If you want me to buy it, I

can't.

ka·kun and ka·han have no implication of person. They can be used equally well with expressed or implied first, second, or third person.

Examples:

wašti žiwa' his kešti ka'kun' 'You can expect bad weather' 36d

wenki' him piyaš' gapti ka'kun' 'You can take your cane there' 13e

we ʔašinžadaš' yukš te't' žu'gi' šu' ka'kun' 'That old man could go as
swiftly as a cat' 48c

hink' he'špapi ka'han' '(We) cannot help you'

ha nanankiš' ʔišk' hi' ka'han' 'I cannot stay in this house' 26h

huynak' kap wešti ka'han' 'I can't get it out whole' 73j

ʔučpi ka'han' 'You can't do it' 11e

nuhōwi ka'han' hi ha'gš šin' 'She had gotten so she could not stand' 57b

§199. The particle ʔiška never stands alone but is always construed with a quotational object either a direct quotation or a paraphrase (marked by changed use of pronominal reference.) Like ka'han it is perhaps free of personal implication, but has not actually been found in a reference to first person.

ʔiška is frequently used in conjunction with a verb of saying, so that the expression is at least partly redundant; often, however, the verb is more specific than ʔiška in indicating a special way of saying. Examples:

ʔiška' him keti hi te'ti'ʔi'.... 'You said to your partner...' 85c

we ku' šun' natmami'ʔi' ʔiška'.... 'He told them about the water saying....'

10f

ʔiška' we ʔakun hiš' we pu'p ni wopmi'ʔi'.... 'The bear asked the rabbit....'

26d

ʔiška' gop' gop' gop', ʔuča' šin' 'He went "gop gop gop" 26h. Also 2b, 4g,

11a, c, d, 13a, 34b, c, 79a, 88d

Examples of ʔiška used without a verb of saying:

ʔiška' da'tk' ʔiš nokki' 'They would say, "Let me (do it) now" 68b

ʔu'stupu' ʔiška' we' nahzipu waši tohčuyi' kaš su'unkš' 'Ustupu said he
would break that youngster's arm with a clam shell' 14a

In addition to its common and normal use already described *ʔi̯ka* is found in places where *kunugu*, quotative particle, might be used. *kunugu*, in turn, is found in places where *ʔi̯ka* might be expected (§). Examples of *ʔi̯ka* as quotative:

we ʔasi ʔi̯ka ʔu̯ hup ʔuyi ʔi̯ 'The man went to the woods' 37a

him so ʔ nuku ʔu̯ ʔu̯ ʔi̯, ʔu̯ ʔu̯ ʔamkam ʔoʔ kun hi̯ ʔi̯ hi ʔa ʔuyi ʔi̯ 'If

the arch of your foot twitches, they say someone will give you new shoes' 81a

ʔi̯ka, him kaci ʔam ʔo ʔnak ʔap muʔaiga ʔi̯ 'They say your bones and everything get soft' 77d

ʔi̯ka ʔ hus wi̯k ʔap pi ʔnemi ʔe ʔi̯ ʔuyi, ʔewe ʔe ʔ kut ne ʔ gan 'His

legs were all red, but he had no head' 33a.

Also 13a, 19c, 45a, 64a, 77d, 80a, e, 81, 86h.

§200. The particles *weyð̄in*, *sa ʔd̄in* and *ʔamta* are ordinarily used alone but may also be construed with modifiers, e.g., *weyð̄in ʔa ʔtk* 'That is all now' 1d, *ʔamta ʔ sa ʔt ʔuyi* 'What is it that went in that way?' 63c

§§201-213 Modifying Particles

§201. Predicate-modifier particles express quality or state and function as predicate modifiers. Their meanings are like those of adjectives except that they refer only to the possession of qualities and not to entities possessing the given qualities; or syntactically stated, they express modification with reference to quality and not terms defined by reference to quality. The syntactic function is illustrated in: *kaye ʔ hi ʔi* 'He is alive'.

The predicate-modifier particles are uninflected except for the plural inflection of *kaye*, pl. *kayma* 'alive'.

kaye, pl. *kayma* 'alive'

toktok, *do ʔk do ʔk* (perhaps there is a phonetic error in one of these

forms) 'scattered about, pell-mell'

suksuk 'atremble'

kas ʔungunk 1. 'without difference, alike, equal' 2. 'heterogeneous ones together' 3. 'just as well, equally acceptable'

ʔeyt 'straight'

§202. The connectives wetk 'then, and so', tutk 'then, thereupon', tew, tewəʔ 'however, but; nevertheless, in spite of that; at any rate' serve to connect and relate sentences or parts of sentences with what has gone before. It follows from the nature of these elements that they do not occur alone.

§203. Temporal particles express temporal location as modifiers of predications expressed or implied. Because of their meanings, some tend not to occur alone, but probably all are potentially capable of occurring alone.

weytki, wetki 'at that time, just the, at that point'

weytkiteʔt, wetkiteʔt, wenkiteʔt (48c) 'since, after that time'

weytenk, weytengenk 'after that, only then'

ʔaʔtkanki(ʔ) 'sometimes, at times, part of the time'; (in conditional clauses) 'at any time'; 'at some time (in the future)'. ʔaʔtkangiʔ (perhaps ʔaʔtkankingiʔ) 'only sometimes'

ʔaʔtkanki te 'when?'

ʔaʔtkanki ʔoʔnak 1. 'always' 2. 'every now and then'

ʔaʔtkankiʔin 'sometimes'; 'anytime' (?). With negative 'never'.

ʔaʔtkanki gan 'never'

haʔiʔi 'now'

daʔt(k) 'now, at the present time, nowadays'

daʔtenk 'only now, not before now'

daʔtengiʔ 'only now' 74a

žeyt giš 1. 'straightway, at once, directly' 2. 'without interruption'

(žeyt 'straight' + (-n)giš 'only')

heyvi A 'after a while' B 'soon'

heyvink 'soon, right away'

žužunk 'soon, at once'

žužunki 'at once'

ha (ni) mahyniš ki 'lately'

nišžum 'last night'

his waštaš, his waštankiš, he(y)swaštankiš 'in the morning, next day'

72a, 86b, c

ho wašta 'today, nowadays, now'

ho waštagan 'this morning'

hešmašta 'yesterday'

žanki 'already'

huykš 'still, yet'

hesigen 1. 'again, further, still' 2. 'returning to a former location,

state' 3. 'likewise, also, again' (in giving an alternate mode of

obtaining the same result'

žuwa, žu'gi, žuwi 1. 'quickly' 2. 'soon'

hesigen and žuwa have some meanings other than temporal location. In meaning 2 of hesigen and meaning 1 of žuwa, these particles have the syntactic function of verb modifiers. In meaning 3, hesigen has a syntactic function like that of the connectives.

§204. Spatial particles express spatial orientation, whether location or direction. Some have both locational and directive meanings, some only one of these. They function as predicate modifiers and as verb and sentence modifiers. Directional meanings can apply ordinarily only in verb modification.

žampup 'where? whither'

ʔanʒit 'where?'

ʔanʒit ki 'somewhere'

ʔanʒitnak 'everywhere'

ʔanʒitin With verb in the hypothetic mood 'wherever' (48c)

ʔanʒup 'whither?' (A and B), B 'where?'

ʔanʒupin + negative 'not anywhere'

ʔanʒanki to:nak 'everywhere' A 13a

ʔunkpa, ʔunktet, B ʔunk 'somewhere'

ni·hkup 'downward, down'

pekup 'up'

nuk (A), B nukt 'outside, to the outside'

nukpaktiš, nukki 'outside'

sa heykup 'a little farther away'

huyakt ki 'on the right side'

§206. Particles of cause, reason, and purpose are as follows. They function as modifiers of predications.

weyʒi'g(š) 1. 'therefore, consequently' 2. in giving an illustration

'thus'

veyta'gš (B) 'therefore'

ʔaštgin gan (< 'not in whatever way') 'regardless' (?) 88a, 'under no circumstance' (?) 89b

haop ʔungu 'expressly for that'

weytintka, weytinška 'nevertheless, however'

hinš žun 'in vain'

ʔam ʔuš, ʔam ʔuš žun (88a) 'why?'

'Nevertheless, however' is here classed as a causality meaning, since it is equivalent to the negation of a given conceivable cause. The translation of ʔaštgin gan is not absolutely clear in the two contexts in which it occurs.

§206. Particles of manner and means function as modifiers of predicaters and predications.

ʔašt (1) 'how?' 2. with adjectives 'to what extent?' exclamatory 'so, how...!' 3. polite imperative

ʔašt ʔuši'g (< 'how doing?') 1. 'in what manner, way, by what means?' 2. 'why?'

ʔašt ha'g(š), ʔašta'g(š) (< 'how happening?') 1. 'how?' 2. 'why?'

ʔaštgin 'in whatever way' 4g, 89b

ʔampink ('by means of what?') 'how?'

weyt 1. 'thus' 2. 'to that extent'

ʔuwa, ʔu'gi, ʔuwi 1. 'quickly' 2. occasionally for ʔuʔunk 'soon'

§207. In meaning 2, ʔašt and weyt are degree modifiers of modifiers, e.g., ʔašt huygi 'how good? how good!' In this function these degree modifiers have the same position as nenčuʔu in similar function (§). Text examples:

ʔašt gama pe' ʔaga' 'I want to see how long you are' 17g

ʔašt huygi' ʔuški' 'How much good he did me!' 18b

ʔašt ʔuši'gš te' him ney zahzi ko'kš' ʔašt ge'si' ʔap ʔu'gš'i' 'How is it your sugar cane has grown so nicely?' 85c *ney' deahdsi ko?*

ʔašt šeškaki 'How glad I am!' 17g

§208. ʔašt occurs also as a particle accompanying an imperative verb, particularly a polite imperative. Even with an ordinary imperative it carries some implication of politeness. It is not necessarily placed in juxtaposition with the imperative form. It precedes the verb but other elements, including the imperative preverb ni, may intervene. Examples:

ʔašt kap nuhōwi'g', kahpi ni ka'šda' 'Get up and drink some coffee!' 29e

ʔašt ni ʔuwi ʔušiteš' šo'ti kači' ʔapš paktk' kap ʔioma' 'Make haste,

rake together the crawfish bones and burn them' 23b

ʔašt ni tøyteš 'Have a seat' 89b

ʔašt ʔap huhōwa 'Come in' 89b

ʔašt ni ša'šte 'Have some to eat' 89b

§209. In the meaning 'why?', ʔašt ʔuši'g and ʔašt ha'g(š) express cause. The meaning 'soon' of šuwa is one of temporal location. In these functions these particles serve as predication modifiers.

§210. Particles of probability, nature of evidence and mode function as predication modifiers.

ʔašti¹ 'perhaps' 2. 'whether'

ʔaštka(š) 'perhaps'

ʔaštugu 'apparently, it would seem'

nidik 'it seems'

kunugu(š), kunʔ, kunu (A only) 1. quotative 'it is said' 2. occasionally misused by the informant as he himself pointed out, in a statement not based on hearsay (§216).

huš imperative particle

huš is found occasionally to accompany imperatives, and precedes the verb with only a preverb intervening in the available examples. It is perhaps to be considered a special type of preverb. Just what it adds to the meaning of the sentence is not clear. The examples are:

pušinknak huš ni pe 'Lie still!' 17g

huš ni hokda'ki 'Leave some for me!' 20a

kas tusnemi'g huš ni na 'Go back and hide!' 47b

The meaning 'whether' of ʔašti is what seems to be involved in two examples:

ni wopmaš wə panš kap nu'pšuy ne ʔašti 'Ask whether that person will die' 16a

ka'kwl gayik kap nu'pk ʔašti ʔašt ha'gā suseygs ʔo'xi'pu kap teyi

'I don't know whether he died or how it was that he turned opossum'

89d

§211. *kunugu* ordinarily modifies predications by indicating that the fact is reputed to be true rather than known by experience. It occurs frequently in myths and stories known only by hearsay. Examples:

kunuguš' huyi gan' nenčugu' ney zahzas' 'They say, too much salt was not good' 74a

wetkito't' kunugu' hu'h kitanki' niebatin' getuyna'a' 'Since then, it is said, they beat a drum (from time to time) at the bottom of the lake' 36c

kunugu' we' o'š hiš' o'nak kap' ištiti' 'The buzzard hauled it away' 20a

wetkš' kunugu' ša'hken čipniš' gan hus wašinki nehtkš' ney hap' hi tišduwi' 'Then an unfinished basket struck her on her arm and fell to the ground' 13a

kunugu' weytkš' ter bon ki' namki'gš nakš' we' karankawe 'They, the Karankawa, lived in Terre Bonne' 37e

we' apš' ču'mamš' wetkš' kunugu' hus makta kap' šahi wiš' tu'kun ki' pu'p' ašinžatka pu'p' ungu' kap' šanuwi' 'The tramp took out a hundred thousand (dollars) out of his breeches pocket' 49a

In some instances *kunugu* is found in statements of things which the informant himself experienced. But he once remarked of one such instance, 'I shouldn't say *kunugu* in that story because I saw that myself.' In spite of this indication that such instances are errors, we find the same thing occurring in 7b, 36d, 45d, 48c, 63d, 64e, 66a, 72d, 75b, 84a, B22a, and perhaps a few other places. In view of the great frequency of the particle under discussion, these cases are a very small proportion. Nevertheless, they are enough to suggest that *kunugu* may have some further implication other than reputedness. Perhaps it is to a slight extent also a stylistic indication of formal narration. Certainly it never occurs in ordinary

conversation other than in the quotative sense.

kunugu is occasionally used as an equivalent of 'iška 'say, said'.

kunugu^o ni guštu^t hesigen našmi^o dnaka^o 'We said we would hunt again'

87a

we na^o kšt^o ki^o kunugu^o, žu^o unk^o pap žu^o šuying^o 'In the letter it said,

"You must come right away" 65d

kunugu^o pašt^o huyi hi wokkite^o (One) said, "How good it tastes to me!" 87a

Also 10a, c, 17h, 18b, 28a, 40, 65d

Contrariwise 'iška is sometimes used for kunugu (see §).

§212. hin(?)iš, hinš 'just, only, simply' is semantically equivalent to the postposition (-n)giš- but it modifies predications instead of terms and modifiers. It is never used alone. Examples:

hiniš^o hi nuhšpi^o 'I only chased him away' 87c

ža^o ša^o š ne^o hinš hi šuhtpi^o g^o gušmpuynakun^o 'We ate rice after just boiling it' 74a

hin^o iš^o we^v kamšin hi ne^o mpami^o 'He only scared the deer' 66b

hiniš^o we^v ni kamgetmi^o g^o 'only to fool the people' 77f

hinš^o kap pašinžatmi^o g^o kap tu^o na^o pa^o 'They simply got old and died' 50a

hin^o iš is found once in the function of a predicative modifier:

'išk^o hiniš ne^o hi^o šuykigan^o 'I was not idle' 85f

It may perhaps be so construed also when used with the verb hokt- 'to leave.. (undisturbed)', but one may interpret the combination as 'just leave.. (undisturbed)' as well as 'leave..alone':

hin^o iš^o kiš^o hi hokmi^o g^o 'leaving women alone' 71a

hinš^o him kiša^o hi hokšuying^o 'You must leave your wife alone' 75e

§213. Semantically, nenču^o 'too much, too many' is very much like waytmiš^o 'more' and papš kanime^o 'sufficient, sufficiently' (§§180-181). It is used as a modifier of terms, modifiers, and predicaters and expresses

quantity or degree according to context. It differs, however, in its position in the construction, since it always precedes the term or modifier which it modifies.¹ Examples:

¹If waytmiš and ?apš kanime are called postpositive independents, nonču?u might be called a prepositive-independent. It is, however, the only member of this class, except that ?ašt (§203) in the sense of 'to what extent?' also precedes the modified element.

nenčugu' ka'nuš' na'kšbu' gu'mpuyna' 'They ate too many white children'

37e

(nenčugu ni ?agihtemi'g') nenčugu' demi gihtk' '(They were too greedy and) wanted to kill too many.' 53b

nenču' ži'šk žiwgš na?a' 'The bugs are too bad' 84b

nenču' panš ?o'kš 'too many people' 85a ('many' is here expressed by ?o'kš)

nenču?u kiš huymi'gš čl'?' 'You like women too much' 72d

nenčugu žu'gi 'too soon' 58d

nenčugu' kap ?agihtemina?a' 'They are too greedy'

kamisit' nenču' ka'šču'š' 'If you drink too much thorned hackberry' 75c

nenču?u normally immediately precedes the modified modifier or the term and never comes between a term and a postposed modifier, but precedes the entire construction, e.g., nenču?u panš ?o'gi 'too many people'. It is found separated from the modified term by an intervening element in one case:

himš nenčugu' žanki' kut huysi' hi'?' 'You have too good a head already'

17h

nenču?u is used where one might expect keystigi 'very' in some cases, but there is no reason to interpret other than 'too much'. Such an example is:

niš ki' tučiču'š' ?ašt ha'gš to', nenču' huyl gan' 'How is it that it is not too good when you cook it in a pot?' 74q

§214 Special Reference Classes

§214. There are lexemes of anaphoric, interrogative, indefinite, total and zero reference for various classes of notions, including entity, number, quality, spatial location, temporal location, cause, manner, degree. For reference to entities, the interrogative-indefinites form a special class of lexemes and have been discussed in that connection (§139). For anaphoric reference one uses the demonstrative *we* (§138; *sa* and *ha* are also sometimes used) or the personal pronoun *hus*, plural *hunks* (§137). Equally full sets of special reference lexemes have not been found for other kinds of notions. For number we have: *ʔaniš te* 'How many?' (§127) *ʔungu* 'some' (also 'one' §128), *ʔo nak* 'all' (§127), *gan* 'none' ('not' §172). For quality we have: *weytem, sa tem* 'of that sort?' (§§176-177). *ʔam* (especially in predeterminative use; §) 'of what sort?' (also 'what?' §139), *ʔam..ʔo nak* 'all sorts of' (§129). For spatial location: *weki* 'there', *wenk* 'thither' (locative and directional states of demonstratives, §138), *ʔanʔit*, *ʔampup* 'where?' (§205), *ʔampup, ʔanʔup* 'whither?', *ʔunkpa* 'somewhere', *ʔanʔit nak* 'everywhere', *ʔanʔitin* 'anywhere', *ʔanʔupin* + negative 'nowhere'; §205. For temporal location: *weytki* 'then', *ʔašt kanki te* 'when?' *ʔašt kanki* 'sometime', *ʔašt kanki ʔo nak* 'always', *ʔašt kanki ʔin* 'anytime', *ʔašt kanki gan* 'nowhere' 'never'; §204. For cause: *weyta gš*, *weyʔi gš* 'therefore', *ʔam ʔuž*, *ʔašt ʔuči gš* 'why?'; §206. For manner: *weyt* 'thus', *ʔašt ʔušt ʔuči g*, *ʔašt ha g* 'how?' *ʔašt gin* 'anyhow'; §207. For degree: *weyt* 'to that extent', *ʔašt* 'to what extent?'; §208.

It is to be noted that the sets for the expression of different types of reference are not all homogeneous within the class of notions. A postposition (*gan*) is used alongside of quantitative substantives. Demonstratives and particles and other heterogeneities are found. The special reference classes are formally not systematized even where the semantic relations are clear.

4. INFLECTIONAL CATEGORIES

§216. The following sets of inflectional categories may be recognized:

Entity number(indicated in adjectives, some nouns, a few particles,

demonstrative ha; subject and object of verb): singular, plural

Occurrence number(verbs): singular, plural, plural

Voice(verbs): primary, causative, indirective, medio-passive

Person(subject and object of verb): first, non-first

Tense-mode(verbs): aorist, future, continuative, usitative;

desiderative, necessitative; imperative, ^{polite imperative} hortative, permissive;

conditional, participle, prior participle, desiderative part-

iciple (B only); gerund, gerundive

Aspect(verbs): primary, inchoative; primary, resultant

Adjectival state(adjectives): substantival, verbal

Demonstrative state(demonstratives): substantival, locative,

directional

Numeral state(numerals): cardinal, ordinal, temporal ordinal

Position(singular auxiliary verbs, certain normal verbs, demon-

strative ha): vertical, horizontal, neutral

Predicative Mode(verbs): indicative, interrogative

Many of the categories indicated as applying to verbs also apply to the verbal state of adjectives. 'State' is used with a modifying work to refer to categories for which there is no convenient term.

The categories of each set are mutually exclusive except in the case of voice. Mutually ex^{clusive} categories are strict in some cases, as entity number and person; in other cases, particularly occurrence number, there is overlapping in the use of the categories.

The formal expression of the different categories is taken up

in chapter 2. The devices used are suffixation, suppletion, use of particles (*kap* in inchoatives, *te* in imperatives), change of phrase melody (interrogative and imperative). Where suffixes are used, several notions may be expressed by a single suffix, thus particularly in the case of verbal endings which combine tense-mode with person and number of subject.

ENTITY NUMBER

§217. Entity number is regularly indicated in the substantival state of adjectives, in certain nouns (see §84), in the subject of verbs and of the verbal state of adjectives, in the first-person object of verbs (or of the causative of adjectives). The pronouns have singular and plural forms for each of three persons. One of the demonstratives, *ha* (pl. *ho*), distinguishes singular and plural. Verbs show the number distinction whether or not the substantives they refer to indicate it. The categories distinguished are singular and plural. Singular applies to a single entity or to a continuum (as 'water', 'land', 'cloth'), including a mass of small things conceived as a continuum (e.g., 'leaves', 'sand'). Plural applies to two or more entities, whether referred to together or separately (i.e. 'two people' or 'a man and a woman'). A zero quantity is treated as a singular. Adjectives used as predicative modifiers are sometimes in the singular even though referring to more than one entity.

Examples:

singular predicate-modifier with singular subject

kaye 'iʒikinʹ 'I am alive' 10e

plural predicate modifiers with plural subject

ni gušmpi gan' kaymi na'uyuna'a' 'They lived (literally, were alive) without eating' 4e

singular predicate modifier with plural subject

pu:pk' ?ašt'kanki ?o:nak gan' huygi na'a' 'Rabbits are not always good' 74n

single entities

him haksigam ne', ?amža·šič' sanki' 'You young man, what are you doing there?' 1b

weytugu' we ?asiš' hank' ?ap nenšwi'i' 'That is how that person came to this shore' 1d

kišučuk', ku·ki·hi nikintkiču·š' 'I'll swim if you drop me into the water' 2b

?unguš' kus wa·his nuyti'i', ?učpi ka·kwiču·š', ni?uča' 'One answered his uncle, "Do it if you can"' 3Ba

continua

ney' kap šandi:g hi·te' 'Has the land emerged?' 10a

we ku·kš' kas ču·šič'i' 'The water is receding' 10a

kap žaza·šič', ku·kš' hiš' hi popšiču·š' 'It (pounded corn) mildews if you splash it with water' 74g

we pahn ?ati po·kš' we' čiči·š' ?ašt'kankiš' pahnem no' načpa·čič'.

The leaves of the great-fits herb....sometimes cures fits. A 75e

zero

?uo his gan' ka·kwi'i' 'No one knows' 1d

more than one entity: simple plurals

hank' ?ap nemna?a' 'They came here' 2c

we panš ?ašantkank' 'Those old people' 2d

zum te' ho:kš ne' 'Are these things testicles?'

kiš giš mešank' wa'čmi'g' kap dempuymiš: hus kičkampa' kap
gusmpuyi'. 'He married four women and would kill them.

He would eat his wives' 37b

?ašandi ?unguš' hus hewmank giš' ?upa', ?iš ?am ?uša'šikinki
ne' ni kimpi gayšna?a', ?iska' 'An old man said to his two
nephews, 'You don't believe in what I do'' 38a

?ašt huygi ?učmatuyi'?' 'How (much) good he did us!' 18d
we žektk' hus patmaš' pa'ndin pinikank hiš' panš ki' ?ap
?uy'isna' 'That bird's young come into the world with red
wings' 19c

more than one entity: groups of singulars

?iš ne' ?iš keti kin' weV kičk' hi mačmi'gš' nakun'.

My partner and I had taken those women (to the cane field). A57a
hus kin' hus ?inži kin ne' ni gušminak' 'He and his father ate
it' 39b

kakanksmank' weV hu'ti ni ti'kmiš kin' kunugu' ?apš ži'kina?a'
'The yellow hammer and the best captain quarreled' 10c

In texts 3 and 4 there are several references to the earth
and sky beating together, and the verb-subject in singular, thus:

wa?aš' kunugu' ney kin' pokti kin' ?apš nehtk' kap demi'.

'The earth and sky, beating together, killed the others' 3c
wa?aš' ney kin' pokti kin' ?apš nehtk' kap diktem'?' 'The
earth and sky beat together and crushed the others' 3i

The plural is also used:

ney kin' pokti kin' panš ?o'gi' hi gaypina?a' 'The earth

and sky destroyed many people' 31

ney' pakti kin' ?apš he'odišna?anki' 'where the earth and sky meet together' 3a

It is not clear why the singular should be used, but the fact that this was done several times suggests that is is not a mere error. Perhaps the earth and sky are conceived in this context as forming a simple entity. If so, the rules of usage would be amended to include such cases.

§218. A generic reference, applying to a whole class of entities (as rabbits, animals, oak trees, people), may be either in the singular or the plural, most often the latter. If an independent pronoun is used it is hus or hunks, except that, if the reference is to people and singular, it is likely to be by means of the second person³ pronoun, him². That is, 'thou' (singular) is taken as exemplifying people in general. If the reference is not to people third person hus is used. Under appropriate conditions, generic reference may be first person plural, as when the informant described Indian ways of doing things. Examples:

generic reference by non-first singular, third person pronoun

že'm' hapšžepi gayši' husk' 'It (the cuckoo) does not build a nest' 78a. Other examples ibid. Cf. plural used for a bird species in 78c.

weyži'g' we gahčín ?atin ki' ka'čoi ?atintkš' namka'š'i' 'Therefore the horned owl lives in the live oak' 12c

generic references to persons, by non-first singular, second person pronoun when expressed

kap ?iopi gayču'š', we nekaš hesigen' ?apš kaya'š'i' 'If you burn him, the devil come back to life' 31d

siksi' geču's, 'am keysmanki' hihčuyi' 'If you kill an eagle, you
will be in trouble' 1d

huyi gan' 'iška' nenču?u guščuyiš' 'They said it was not good if
you ate too much' 74a

himkš' ka·kwi gan' 'ašt'kanki pu'pkš' ni·ki·gši' 'You don't know
when a rabbit is sick' 74n

hins' hus nemankigiš' kap now'iš'i'i', kup ki hi pa'čiču's'

'It (a fish) just cooks in its grease, if you roast it on coals'
74p

'ašt'kankiš' pu'p hi 'amču's' huygi hi'inkš' te't ču'si'i' tewe's'
ni·ki·gši', ču'si'i'.. 'ašt'kankiš' ču'si'inkiš' kap nu·biši'i'.

Sometimes, if you see a rabbit, he is going along as though
not well. He is going though he is sick. Sometimes he is dying
while going along. 74n

generic references by non-first plural, pronoun third person
when expressed

wey'i·gš kunugu' panš pinikankš' siksiš' geti gaysna'a' 'That is
why Indians do not kill eagles' 1d

ka·nuš' we panš weykš' karankawe' ko·puyna' 'The white people call
those people karankawe' 37c

gasmi baktepa' ko·šna'a' 'They call it flattened corn' 74g

pu'p kipi gušču's', pu'p hiš' him kipi 'ep 'o·ksna·šna'a' 'If
you eat rabbit meat, the rabbits steal your flesh' 74n

wey'i·g' panš pinikank' siksi' dempi gaysna'a' 'therefore Indians
do not kill eagles' 2c

našmi·g' dudina's', hunks ne' hin'iš' kič' hi hokmi·g' we wašti

ni hašpaš' gihtina·nki' wetk' hi dudišna' 'If they go hunting,
they leave women alone the day they wish to hunt, and then go. 71a

Text 73 is interesting in the way in which it employs both singular and plural in the same context. Another interesting example is the following in which we find both types in the same sentence referring to different hypothetic individuals.

we kipi casn' hi ?a'pi gayšna?a'. neš kun' hi ?a'čūš' kanuga' him' kas nučmi'dna?a' wetk' kamōin ne' geti gayōuyi'. 'they do not give away the tenderloin. If you give that to some, they fix you so you don't kill any more deer.' 71b

Even more striking is:

nenti po' ko' pinikanḡ' him ?uybi čun' gapdišna?a' 'They take red-stemmed sarsparilla for your blood.' 75a

generic reference to people including the speaker by first-person plural

?ušk' ža'ša?a' ni tučminakaš' ney zahzi ne' nenčugu ne' ni guštinkiš ni zahopi gayšnaka' 'When we cook rice we don't put too much salt in the food' 74a

šuhpi'g', ku' ki' šuhpi'g', ka'čma'šnaka' 'We boil it, boil it in water and drink it' 75a

In these same contexts we also find NF sg and pl in generic reference.

OCCURRENCE NUMBER

§219. The occurrence numbers are singular, plural, and plurimal and apply to verbs and to the verbal state of adjectives. However, the plurimal does not apply to auxiliary verbs, nor has it been found with adjectives. The common means of indicating occurrence number is the use of the suffix -ma- for the plural, -mama- for the plurimal, but suppletion is also used for the singular plural distinction and there are stems which make no formal distinction (§§62, 65, 55).

Occurrence number may refer to number of the subject, of the

object, of repetitions of the action, or places in which the action takes place. In other words the reference is to any kind of spacial or temporal spread of the action. The categories are not rigidly mutually exclusive but overlap considerably in usage. To indicate the semantic overlapping, we may define the singular as implying at least one; the plural, more than one; the plural, a fair number. It is possibly to be inferred from the instances in the texts that the plural is distributive in force, referring to disconnected actions rather than group action. On the other hand, contexts involving distribution often have the plural, not to speak of the singular. The plural is not very common.

§220. With auxiliary verbs, adjectives, and intransitive verbs, the occurrence number refers ordinarily to the number of the subject. With such verbs, the distinction between singular and plural tends to be more rigid than with other types of verbs. The distinction is completely rigid for auxiliaries, since there are no plural endings for singular auxiliaries, nor singular endings for the plural stem. With normal verbs, examples may be found of singular-occurrence forms with plural subject. Plural-occurrence stems almost always have plural subject. Plural stems likewise have plural subject. Examples of auxiliaries:

kušaknān' singular

kušnehin' hi'uyi' 'He was God' 11g

pušinknak' hunks segis' hihōuking' 'I had to remain quiet among them'

2d

o'is na'kšbu kinš' čikin' 'I am with my children' 47b

we nekaš' kap nu'pkš pen' 'That devil lay dead' 31c

plural

šus segis naka' 'We are in the woods' 38a

ʔupšnak' kap ni·kmi'g naʔuynaʔa' 'Both were now sick' 61a

Examples of normal verbs:

singular with singular subject

kut nehe' hi ʔehinki' 'when noon came' 64g

kami kiš te't' ya'gi' nuhčuyi' 'You would run as swiftly as
the wolf' 69a

pu'pkš' ʔap huhōwi'ʔi' 'Rabbit came in' 26f

ha nasta kap tohʔiši' 'This root is breaking' 75j

nenčugu ʔatiču·š' 'if it is too big'

plural with plural subject

weyži'gš' kap tuwʔišnaʔa' 'That is why they die' 3e

ʔapš waytitutk' nuhminaʔa' 'After wagering, they (the man and
the wolf) ran' 69a

kas tusmi'g huš ni na' 'Remain hidden' 47c

na·kšbu' kap ʔatki·dnaʔa' 'for children to grow up' 3h

him ōiški nowa' no·ki'g' ʔišnaʔa' 'Your watermelons are ripe' 67d

singular with plural subject

we panš ʔo·nak' kap kečwinaʔa' 'All the people were drowned' 11b

weyži'gš' hugu' kap nu·bišnaʔa' 'That is why they die' 3e

wašt ʔonak' na·kšbuš' panš hup' ʔap ʔehʔišnaʔa' 'Children are
coming into the world every day' 3e

yehdišnakaš' 'While we are crying' 11c

plurimal with plural subject

we kičk' wey hisgis' tenmami'g', hunks piyi hendišnaʔa' 'Those
women were sitting inside it and peeling their cane reed' 66a

tenmami'gš' naʔa'. ʔapš ži' ka·šnaʔa' ʔuč hi wayti'g' 'They were

lying to see who could beat (tell the best lie)' 66b. Note that

Tenmami - Tenma - to lie

the second verb is singular in occurrence number although the subject is the same.

waʔaš' tenmami·g' wopa·šnakš' 'The others sat about and listened' 69b

hu'tanki' kas kuymani·g' 'getting back into their canoes' 68d

wetkiš' hus ʔasi' ʔapš ʔehk' paš ʔo·nak' ʔap ʔuymami·g' weʔ

neki zami·g' kap getnaʔa' 'When her husband arrived, all the people came, speared the devil, and killed him' 32c

ʔapš ʔuymami·g' paš ʔašinžada ʔungunk hiš' hite·tiʔi'....

'They came together and one old man said....' 31c

Plural intransitive verbs with singular subject are rare, except in the meaning given in §221. An example is:

no·kiču·š' 'If it (the watermelon crop) is ripe' 67e

§221. Intransitive verbs expressing motion are found with ʔapš preverb in the plural occurrence-number in the meaning of moving about at random. This usage is limited by the meaning of the verb; relatively few verbs express movement that can be randomly directed. Examples:

ʔapš memtemi·g' we šipšʔapes' hi hoktpi' 'Jumping about, he made the loggerhead turtle let go' 26e

ʔapš memtemi·g' hus ʔi' kap tohti' 'Jumping about he broke his tooth' 17b

kutnehin weyt ʔapš čumipuyi' hunke segis' 'God used to go about thus among them' 11g

ʔišk' tekt ki' ʔapš nučmi·g', ʔiš tu·kun' kap ho·ppiki' 'I ran about in the briars and filled my bag' 28f

In the verb čuw-, pl. dut- 'to go', the plural expressing random movement is distinct from the plural for plural subject. For random movement, we have ʔapš čuw-, pl. ʔapš dutma- made by the addition of -ma-, as well as preverb ʔapš, to the normal suppletive singular and plural. Examples of usage:

*apš ōu·mam 'Traveler, one who goes about' 7a

panš pinikank *ašinžadankš kunugu', ?išk' *apš kanime' šuš segis'

*apš ōu·miki' 'An old Indian said, "I have gone about enough
in the woods"' 28a

hekank' hi ōu·g' we hekanki' *apš ōu·miki' 'I went to the raft
and went about on that raft' 49b

we *apš na·ks' hušmi·g' *apš dutma·šna' we šuš segis' ki' 'Those
young men were hunting and went about in the woods' 38b

§222. Transitive verbs, and causatives and indirectives generally make occurrence-plurals and plurimals referring to multiple object or to repeated activity. The occurrence number may also apply to the subject, as in the case of intransitives, but this is relatively infrequent. ⁴³Examples of plurals showing plurality of the object:

weyt hugu' maks' tučma·šna?a' ni gušmi·dna?a' 'That was the way
they cooked fish to eat them' 74p. Fish treated as plural,
unlike English.

himsis' ?iš kani' *apš huktmakičuyingsš' 'You must come and shut
my eyes' 65a

po·hi *ampami?i' ?am po·gaptk' panš ni·knank' haktemā·dna?a'

'He showed them medicines, what medicines to give to sick people' 3.e

panš' hin?iš' ni kamgetma·šči' 'He is only deceiving people' 7a

we pu·p hiš' na·kšbu kečma?i' 'The rabbit took care of the children
for them' 26b

?am ?uš' him tu?uš' ksp pe·gatpami' 'Why did you dirty your shoes?'

60a

we *ašandank' his nuymi'... 'That old man answered them...' 69c

Examples showing repetition or spatial spread of the action:

we neki žami 'g' kap getna?a' 'They speared the devil and killed him'

[32c. 'Spearing' is plural in occurrence-number since the devil was speared more than once. 'Killing' is singular in occurrence-number.

hus nehengiš' ?apš paktmi' 'He only scratched himself up' 2Jg

we su?už' tep kani šī kš hiš' kunugu' hi patma šna?a' 'they strewed the skin with ashes' 72a. Process of tanning skins.

sa kimuš' ?apš žitma' 'Cut up that limb' 9d

we haṇaš' ?apš kudihtinki' si hma ščin' 'As it went about the house, it sniffed' 42a

we ?ukš hiš' hus wiški' gahmi' 'The snake bit her in the leg several times' 57a

The use of occurrence-plural solely to indicate the plurality of the subject is rather unusual for transitive verbs. There are however some examples, as:

we paṇš hiš' we ?ašanki hiš nuymina?a' 'Those people told the old man....' 11c

hus kin' kap yantemi dna?a' 'They will get tired of him' 7a

The occurrence-plural occurs also, of course, in cases where various features, subject, object, and spatial spread, call for it. A few examples are included in those already given. Other examples are:

paṇs pinkikamk' hunks waši ?upank' ?am gušmi dna?a' tupma šna?a'

'The Indians had to find things to eat with their two hands' 85a

?inkiniši' ?ašantka š' ku tep' ka čma šnakš' 'Some old Americans were drinking whiskey' 43b. Plural subject, number of drinks, quantity of liquor.

In po hi ?ampami?i' 'He showed them medicines' (3e), the plurality might apply to either of the objects.

Instances of singular occurrence-number being used in spite of plural elements in the context are not infrequent. When only the

subject is plural, the occurrence-number is ordinarily singular. The following examples show that singular occurrence-number may be used even when a plural object is involved:

wetk' witmi'g' kunu' kamčín getk', hunks hi'ink' kas mači'g',
 hunks ni tuči'g', hunks na'kšbu nokštemina'a' 'They shot and
 killed deer, brought them home, cooked them, and fed their
 children' 35d. Only the first and last verbs are plural.

ʔuš ʔayš na'kš' piyi sidipi'g' we ʔukš zaminaka' 'We young men
 sharpened cane reeds and speared the snakes' 37b. The first
 verb is singular.

Only three examples have been found of plurimals of transitive verbs. Plural object is involved in all the cases.

panš ney ʔa'kstk hiš' hana' čuhmamina'a' 'People bought land and
 built houses' 49a

we heki ʔatkank ʔašandank ču'g', hus panš segis' hi ču'g'
 natmami'ʔi'....'The old counsellor went, went among his people
 and told them....' 35b

panš ʔašinʔada hi čuyi'ʔi' panš pinikank' naʔankš' tutk' we
 ku' čun' natmami'ʔi' 'An old man went to the Indians. He told
 them about the flood' 10f

VOICE

§223. Normal verbs and adjectives form a causative by the stem extension -pa- and in a few cases by suppletion (§ ,). Verbs of transitive meaning form an indirective by the stem extension -aʔ-. (§). The indirective may be superimposed on the causative (§).

§224. The causative expressed causation of any kind, intentional or unintentional, by manipulation or moral suasion, by action or by allowing action to take place. The causative of adjectives and static

verbs is always inchoative, 'to cause to become...'. The causing agent is the subject of the causative. The subject of the underlying verb becomes the object of the causative; if the basic verb is transitive, the implied object or objects continue to be implied in the derived verb. An expressed first person object of a causative is the object of causation, never the object of the underlying verb; for example, *getpaki?i* is 'he caused me to hit him', never 'he caused him to hit me'. Examples of causatives of transitive verbs:

weyt' ?uči'gə' sa naki dempi sa-sk ?apš kimpaki' 'By doing so she reminded me of that story' 25d. *?apš kima-* 'to remember...'

we ?ari' ni ?ampami' 'He showed them the man' 69a. *?am-* 'to see...'

?apš nemtemi'g' we? šipš?apeš' hi hoktpi' 'By jumping about he made the loggerhead turtle let him go' 26e

weyt hugu' ?iš wa' kiš ?atinhiš' hi waytpi?i' 'It was in that way that he made my uncle's horse win (over the others)' 67f

hus kiči mahynišin hiš' kap getpi?i' 'His last wife caused him to be killed' 37b. *kap get-* 'to kill...'

The object of causation may be indefinite in a given context, as shown in the last example, giving the equivalent of an English caused passive. In the second last example, the object of causation has the postposition *hiš*, the mark of an agent or subject; unless this is an error, it indicated that the subject relation to the underlying verb is maintained in this case. No other similar case has been found.

Examples of causatives of intransitives:

wetkiš' kaya' sa-gš sa-gš', paš wa?aš' kap kečupani'. 'Then it rained and rained, and drowned the other people' 10g

was paš' sa tu-gš ki' mahdina's', hi ko-mi'g' kap kaypamičuk'

'If your people are among those dead, I'll call them and cause them to arise' 11c

ʔišk' hananki' hi teypoki'g' 'seating me in the house' 24b
 hi huhōupami' kiō giš ʔupa' ʔayš giš ʔupa' we hananki' 'He had two
 men and two women go into the house' 10g

gitpa'šnaʔa' 'They dry it' 74a git- 'to become dry'.

we panš ʔašantkank' ko'š hiš' getki'g' hi ču'pakidina' 'The old
 old folks would have struck me with a switch and made me go
 away' 2d

kap ni'kpiʔi' 'He caused him to become sick' 67g. ni'ki- 'to be
 sick'.

ʔašt ʔuči'g' ʔiš yaʔa' kaypi ne' ʔučpičuyi' 'How will you support
 my daughter' 30d. kaypa + ʔuči- 'to gain one's subsistence'

Causatives of adjectives:

po'waʔaš ki' hi šuhtpi'g' pinikapa'šnaʔa' 'They boil it in dock-
 weed and make it red' 13d

hus hani kap po'ki gaypi gihtk' 'wishing to clean her house' 23d

ʔuš ʔayš na'kš' piyi sidipi'g' we ʔukš' hi zaminaka' 'We young
 men sharpened cane-reeds and speared the snakes' 57b

ti'manki ne' ney zahzank' zahcpi gayšnaka' 'In grits too, we

do not season it with salt' 74a. zahci 'seasoned, good-tasting'

ʔapš xitmitu't' hi zahcpi'g', zāʔank hi čanšt'k' wetk' gitpa'šnaʔa'.

'After cutting it up, they season it, put it out in the sun,

and dry it' 74a. zahci 'seasoned, good-tasting'; 'to dry' is

a verb'.

we gaami he'put't' hokunki' hi šahōtk' baktepa'šnaʔa' 'After

fanning the corn, they put it into a mortar and flatten it' 74g

ʔam ʔuč' him tuʔuš' kap po'gatpami' 'Why did you dirty your shoes?'

§225. The indirective expresses action for someone, or action affecting someone's possession. The object is at least ordinarily a human being. A first-person object in the verb always refers to the object of the indirective, not to the object of the underlying verb. Examples:

čú·gš' neki šiš gamin ?i' ?ap mača·ki' 'Go and bring me an elephant's tooth' 17a

?ap mača·čūk' 'I'll bring it for you' 17a

we pu·p hiš' na·kšbu hečma?i' 'The rabbit took care of the children for them' 28b

huš panš ?o·nak kap dema·ga 'I want to kill all his people' 17f

huš ni hokda·ki' 'Leave some for me' 20a

?išk' kacink hokda·ki' 'He left the bones for me' 20a

?iš kamikiš' kap getsa·ki' 'You have killed my wolf' 34c

nu·pkiču·š' himsis' ?iš šušugu' hapšža·kičuyi' ni ginki' 'If I die, I want you to build my coffin for me' 80c

The indirective is not very commonly used. Instead constructions with čun 'for..' and possessive constructions are used.

PERSON

§226. Person is indicated in the subject and object of the verb and of the verbal state of the adjective. Person of the subject is indicated along with number and mode by the inflectional endings of the verb (§). Deponent verbs indicate person of the subject by means of the stem extensions used for the object, the verbal ending being that of a non-first subject (§). Non-first person object is implicit in transitive verbs, causatives, and indirectives, when there is no first-person extension. First-person

object is indicated along with number by the stem extensions -ki- 'me' and -ku(y)- 'us' (§).

The first person of verbs corresponds to the first person pronouns, singular ?iš, plural ?uš. The non-first of verbs corresponds to all other substantives, including the second (him and was) as well as the third person (hus and hunks) pronouns.

§227. In addition to referring directly to an entity, a subject or object may refer to a part of the entity. This is particularly clear when the first person is involved, as in the following:

him pan ki' nu·pkiču'š', himsis' ?iš kani' ?apš huktmakeičuying'
 'If I die before you, you must close my eyes' 65a. My eyes'
 you-must-close-me (plural verb, because of the plural object or
 because of the two actions). Contrast himsis' ?iš kani' ?apš
 huktmičuyi' also in 65a, 'my eyes' you-must-close-them'.

When the part of the first person is the subject, it is expressed with an object extension and a non-first ending; that is, the formation is like that of a deponent verb. Examples:

weyži'gš hugu' ?iš mahčiš' kap ?ižimaki'. ?iš mahčiš' ku·k hiš'
 kap ni·ki'. 'My tail got soaked in the water. That's how my
 tail got yellow' 10j

§228. The first-person refers to the speaker in the singular, to the speaker plus one or more others in the plural. The non-first refers to any person or thing other than the speaker or any number of persons or things not including the speaker. Examples of first-person object:

?ap ?a·kičuyi' 'Will you give it to me?' 17b

?uči'či' ?ap natma·kuyi' 'He told us who he was' 49b

ʔiš wa·kš' hu·h hup' hi nahwki' 'My uncle sent me to the lake' 49b

ʔap he·ʔpaki' 'Come help me!' 37a

Examples of non-first object:

kutnehin' hi ʔaʔi' 'He gave it to God' 17f

hus yaʔa' wa·ʔčuki' 'I'll marry his daughter' 17f

sa šuš ki himk' hi ʔutgə' 'I want to tie you to that tree' 17b

he·ʔpičuk' 'I'll help you' 1b

hus na·ča·kamank' hi hoktmi' 'He left his brothers' 2a

Examples of first person subject:

ku·ki' hi nikičuking' 'I'll have to drop you in the water' 1c

ʔiš kin' ʔiš keti·kin' kap ka·čminaka' weʔ ku·tepk' 'I and my

partner drank up that whiskey' 52b

ʔam ʔuči·dnaka ne' ka·kwi·gənnaki gen' 'We don't know what to do' 4a

Example of non-first subject:

woyk' hi kišutiʔi' 'He swam that' 1a

ʔamʔa·ši' sanki' 'What are you doing there?' 1b

ʔiš ʔam ʔuča·šinkinki ne' ni kimpi gayənaʔa' 'You don't believe

in what I do' 3Ba

Examples of first person subject with deponent verbs:

pa·kinekiču·š' 'if I get tired' 1c

dadiwaki·g' wey ne' hi ʔehki' 'That happened to me because I was

cold' 70a

šeškakičuy' he·ʔpakiču·š' 'I'll be glad, if you help me' 17b

meškami·g' ʔašt ʔuči·g' ni nohōwi ne' ni šikki' 'I forgot how the

fourth got down' 8g

TENSE-MODE

§229. Tense-modes apply to all verbs and the verbal state of adjectives, but, as already stated in §§ - , not all kinds of verbs have all the tense-modes. Tense-mode, along with person and

number of the subject is indicated by the paradigmatic endings (§), but person and number of the subject are not distinguished in all the tense-modes. The imperative and the polite imperative are restricted to non-first person and do not distinguish number. The hortative is restricted to the first person plural. The desiderative in A and the permissive are restricted to the first person singular; in B there is a non-first desiderative, which does not distinguish between singular and plural. The participle and the prior participle do not distinguish person or number. The gerundive distinguishes number but not person. The gerund does not distinguish number in the non-first person.

§230. The tense-modes are a set of mutually exclusive categories, comprising a set because they are mutually exclusive and because they apply in the same way to the same lexemes. Semantically there is no consistent relation among them. The ideas involved are of tense, aspect, different kinds of mode including relational modes. The aorist, future, continuative, usitative, desiderative, and necessitative are predicative; the first four predicate the action or state of a subject, the last two predicate of a subject condition of desire or necessity for the action or state. The imperative, polite imperative, and hortative, are modes of prompting to action or state; the permissive is a mode of prompting to the permitting of action. The conditional, participle, prior participle, desiderative participle are relational; the prior participle involves a tense notion, the desiderative a mode of attitude. The gerund and gerundive are non-predicative and non-relational in their characteristic usages: the gerund refers

to the action or state of the verb as a term, the gerundive refers to the subject of the verb. There are other uses of the gerund and gerundive which are not unlike those of predicative verbs.

The meaning of each tense-mode has to be separately defined, both in general and with reference to different kinds of verbs. For different types of verbs differ both in their capacity to take the tense-modes and in the meanings some of those they take. Some of the categories overlap in their meanings or in the possible extension of their usage. This is true in the case of the aorist, usitative, and continuative, giving them in an order which suggests the overlapping; in relative clauses, the gerund and gerundive are usable for any of these three.

§231. The aorist of active verbs predicates a complete occurrence of an action in the past. With auxiliaries and static verbs, the aorist expresses the existence of a state in the present or past. The aorist is also used for action or state prior to any given point in the present or past. Examples of active verbs:

wetk' we^y siksink hiš' we^y ?asink hup' hi-ne' žimi'. 'The eagle spoke to the man'. 2b

we^y po' ?ampami' i'. 'He showed them the medicines' 4f

wetkš' hus panš' hi ne' ma' i'. 'Then she taught her people'. 13c

wetk' we^y panš' ?ap šanna' a' hesigen' susbi kin'. 'The people again came out with guns. 21c

wetkš' kamčintkš' we^y huyu' kemiş' hi hokti' i'. 'The deer left the turtle behind. 22d

kamčintk' ya' hiwaytm' hi čuyi' i'. 'The deer went faster.' 22d

weyt' ?uči' kš' sa nakidempi sask ?apš' kimpaki'. 'In doing thus, she reminded me of that story.' 23d.

wetk' kas ču' g' we^y ?akun čun' we^y he' š' ?učpaš' kas mači' i'. 'Returning, he brought the prepared-meal back for the bear.' 26b

tewe' hus ya'maš' ?aniške' ?atpami' 'Still he raised a few children' 77f

ōu'gā' wusti ka'yzi' ōuyi' 'She went for three days' B4d

Examples of auxiliaries and static verbs, present time:

?ašt' ?uoi'gsto' sa'ne' ?o's hepšink' hi' 'How is it that you are (covered) with buzzard excrement?' 4c

?iš' ?asi kin' hi' 'You are (living) with my husband' B10e

?o'gi' na'a' 'There are plenty' 53a

weytkite't' ka'kwidi' ?am hi' putputmankš 'Since then I know what "shined" is' 60b

wey ne' ni kimpī gayik' 'I do not believe that' 7?e

nowa gihki' 'I want hominy' 31a

Examples of auxiliaries and static verbs, past time:

?išk' wetkiš' nenču' nahzi' hi'uyki'. 'At that time I was too young' 2d

wetkš' we' ?asiš' ka'kwaki kan hi'uyki'. 'I did not know that man' 49b

kačhuygi hi-waytmiš' hi'uyi' we' namunki'. 'He was the richest man in that country. 86h

we' ?asis' ve' panš kin' hi'uyi'. 'The man was with the people'. B1b

we' kičaš' ka'kwi gan' we' ?asis' ?učī hi' 'The woman didn't know who the man was. B4a

šimankš' ša' ka'han' hi'uyki'. 'I was unable to sleep at night.' 75h

šami čin hiš' hite'ti' 'The one who was first said' 4g

we' hakeigamkš' kemiki' kayi hi'uyi', kap-?ošantmi'k' hi'uyi'

The youth lived to be an old man' 86h

we' huyuš' hus samis' hi' hesigen'. 'The turtle was ahead of him again' 22d

hunkš panš ?o'nak' hu'(h) ketanki' na'uyyna'a' 'Their people were all at the lake side!

Examples showing the use of the aorist for time prior to a given time:

weŷ ʔo·šhiš ʔo·nak kap ʔišt̄ti hus ya·mi kin'. 'The buzzard with his young had hauled it all away' 20a

weŷkš, ʔiš nehank hiʔakiki 'I have seen that myself' 36d

veŷ tep ne·mi·gš, nuhčiʔi'. 'Being afraid of the fire, he had run' B6d

ʔam ʔučinaʔa ni šikki veŷ ʔasi niʔkmiš kin'. 'I have forgotten what they did with the sick man' B12c

hanank ʔapš ʔuygš, veŷ ʔasi hežin natma·naʔa veŷ paš hana ni tupnaʔa ku·ki'. 'When they came back, they told the holy man that those people had found a house in the water' B14c

ʔišks zo·t ʔašantka·š kap ʔamin huy gaymina'. 'The old roosters had gotten to be of no account' 25a

The aorist is sometimes found referring to habitual actions, normally expressed by the usitative. Examples:

weŷkite·t paš-pinikank šihhe·ymank kap-tennaʔa'. 'Since then Indians have become mid-wives. 4d

ʔuks žahapš žin gaptk kunugu ša·pniš hup hi tiškintiʔi'.

'one takes a kingsnake and throws it toward a ground-rattle-snake' 75g

wetk ʔo·nak kap gušmpi gantk, hanank kas mači·k ne·kšbu ōun ni-tučī·g na·kšbu hokštemina. 'all they did not eat they

brought home, cooked for the children, and fed the children' 74r

ni gušti tu·tinki ʔam kap-teyniš tep hup higitpi'. 'What he had left after he had eaten he dried over the fire'. 86c

ʔapš hejšma·š ʔi, he·čpiṭe·ti te·tiki'. 'I gather things up and I say, "It helps"'. 49c

wey čun' panš nenču' ka·nuš kin' ʔapš ʔi·maŋk' wey' tep ne' ni-ʔanti
 kaynaʔa'. 'Because of that, people who are too mixed with white
 blood do not do the fire dance' 67e

In the following, an aorist is used where a continuative might
 be expected:

wašti ʔunku' kiči ʔunku' hus yaʔa kin' čuyi'ʔi'. 'Once a certain
 woman went with her child' B3a

§232. The continuative is normally restricted to use with
 active verbs. It expresses in present, past, or prior time: (a)
 action in progress at a given time, (b) incessant continuation or
 repetition of action, (c) repetition at intervals. Usage (c) is
 the same as that of the usitative. The continuative is occasionally
 used for the future, particularly with čuw- pl. dut- 'to go', when
 some notion of plan or intention is involved. Examples, action in
 progress:

ho waštaš' kičandi hu·ta·ymiš poku' ʔap howa·šci'. 'Today Old-
 woman-boat lender-wind is blowing. 70b

ha nasta kap-tohʔiši'. 'This root is breaking' 75j

kun' hus' šuš ka·ci' heyštin', wey' ʔašinžadaš' his he·čnakaš'.

'When we met the old man, he was picking chips'. 4c

ʔanžup' du·dšna' was ne'. 'And where are you going?' 4c

nidič huygi' ʔuča·šiki'. 'I believe I am doing well'. 5j

wetk' hus keti kin' ʔapš-ne·žimi' ʔam hus panš hiš' te·dšnaʔa'.

'Then he spoke with his friend (about) what his people were
 saying'. 6a

tutk nayš' pešmi·g' dudišnaʔa'. 'Then some geese went flying (by)'

15d

wetk' kun čuyin' hesiken' ni-ʔamiš' 'When he looked again as he
 was going along' 22d

han haksigamk' žah ni ša 'o-niš' ka-či kas hukuntinkš te-t' 'učka-ši'.

'This young man is treating me as the mocking bird when he fooled the owl' 24b

we^y 'ašinžada' kun' 'akun' kap-tey'iši'i'. 'The old man was turning bear' 27b

miš kiš' hi dutnakun'. 'We were going along on the road' 48a

we^y 'ašandaš' hus' ni-tučin' 'ap nonšwakankiš'. 'The old man was cooking when I came to shore' 49b

Examples, incessant continuation or repetition:

nugus' hi hoktikin' 'I kept leaving him behind' 22d

wetkš' pu-p hiš' we^y 'akuntk' ne-mpapi gihtk' kun' ni ši'išin'.

'Then the rabbit, wishing to frighten the bear, spoke' 26h

weygiš te-dšin'. 'He kept saying just that' 31a

wetki' nekas' we^y tep šič šandun kamis 'ap toyg' šuš ba-ptem' kap

wečtk', nowi giniki', hi te-dšin' we^y nekank' we^y 'asi nahziunkš

te-t'. 'At that point a devil came, sat down behind the fire-

place, pried off a board, and the devil kept saying just as the

boy, "I want hominy" 31b

wašt 'ungu' we^y ka-či 'atintk' 'iš hanša' mina-punki' 'ap teygš'

ni ši'in' 'Once the horned owl came and sat on my window and

spoke'. 30b

nenču-gš kap huyi gaygš', weyži-gš' 'apš ču-ma-šči'. 'He is too

much (of a) no-account, and therefore he goes about' 7a

weyži-gš 'iš wa-bten' 'apš mača-šiki'. 'Because of that I carry

my knife about' 48a.

gami 'apš kanime' 'iš ya'a' ka-ksa-šna'a'. 'You have been courting

my daughter long enough' 22b

sa-huku' 'iša-šiki'. 'That is what I have been looking for' 73i

The use of the continuative for repetition at intervals is quite

Kap wašt-
Tx pay pay

Board

common, in fact it is more common than the use of the usitative for this purpose. Examples:

ʔaštkan̄kiš' kap-teyin' ku' huhčimi'g'. 'Sometimes he would stop to beg for water.' 7a

kun' ʔunguš' nu'pin' ʔaštkan̄ki ʔo'nak'ki' 'Every now and then, someone died.' 31

ʔaštkan̄ki' waši huynak' hi ʔamʔiši' nam žahtk hi'.. 'Sometimes you see the whole hand imprinted'. 13e

wašdo:nak' maks' ʔati hi waytm' ʔap mača'šna'. 'Every day they brought a bigger fish' 86c

ʔaštkan̄kiš' ʔuš panš' kep-nu'pk', hi ney nučmitu't' duđišnaka: 'Sometimes when (one of) our people died, we would go on after having buried him.' 4b

himk' ʔiška' panš' pinikank he'čpapi gayšiči'. 'You say you do not help Indians' 85c

kutnehin žah' ʔiška' tetk' gušmpi gayšnaʔa'. 'They say it is God's bird and do not eat it' 10b

po' gaptk' hi ka'čdišiči'. 'She gets medicine and drinks it' 58d

wetk' naki dempaš' hunks nehe' kas hapšža'šna' 'They made up stories themselves.' 68d

wetkš' weʔ huyu' kamčin ne' weʔ kici nahzipuš' ʔap dutkš' ʔamʔišnaʔa: 'Then the turtle and the deer would come to see the young woman. 22a

ʔiš ʔam' kičandank' po hakdišiči'. 'My old cousin is giving her medicine to drink.' 58d

tam' ko'šiki' himk' 'I call you Tom' 48c

weʔ na'kšbunki' kap ʔo'ksmidina'š' kap gušma'šna'. 'If they stole (any) of the children they ate them' 37d

wetk' tep' kapdišnaʔa' ʔapš-ʔa-yi'g'. 'They get fire by lending back and forth' 5d

weyži·g' yehdisiki'. 'That is why I cry out.' 10j

weytkite·t' kutnehin' ko·šna?a' ?am naki dempanki'. 'After that they called him God in any story. 11i

kayi ?ap sa· gihōu·š, ^{hus} so' kap šeygama·š'i'i'. 'If it is going to rain, his foot pains him. 84f

su?unkš ?upa' ?aps' šaši·gš', wey' nema' wey' su?unk' hišahōtič' hamča·šna?a' 'They would sew two skins together, put the oil into the skins, and save it' 74b

Examples of the continuative used for the future:

?ašt' was hi?ink' kas du·dšna'. 'How will you return home?' 4g
nadi haksigam hiš' ?iš' ginkgank' ?ampi gihtk' ?ap ōu·š'i'i'.

'The chief's son is coming to see our daughters' 23c

waštežin ?ungunkš te·t' ōu·kin'. 'I'm going in about a week' 88a

?ašt'kanki te gasdiš'i'i'. 'When are you planting?' 89c

Static verbs in the continuative are rare, but some examples occur. The meaning is like that of the corist of such verbs.

?utpi ka·kwikin'. 'I can tie it up' 86b

po· ni gihdišōiki'. 'I want medicine' 88a

weyta·gš hi·kima·šiki', huygi' ?uč'i'i' him kin'. 'Therefore I think he did right with you' 810c

The force of the continuative in the following is not clear:

?am ?uč' wey te·dš'i' 'Why do you say that?' 85a, 85a

?am ?uč' weyt te·dšna' 'Why do you say that?'

§233. The usitative predicates a repetition at intervals in present, past or prior time. A notion of habitual action or repetition under given circumstances is often involved. Examples:

wetkite·t' wey' kiš hiš' ?asp hōčtuyna' 'After that the dogs watched her' 47e

wašti kan' kastigi' ?učpuyi'. 'It makes it cold in the morning. 70c
 heki ?atkank ?asi-nahz ipu' kun' našmi'g' ?uwuyniš'. 'A minister's
 son used to go hunting. 39a

wey ?ašandaš' wey ?apš ?u·mam' ?ašandaš' kun panš pinikank segis'
 ?apš ?u·mipuymiş' wey panšk' he' ?pampi gihtk'. 'The old man,
 the old traveler, used to go about among the Indians in order
 to meet the people'. 11a

wetk' wey panš kap ?ipanki' ni ka·kumina?a', kutnehin weyt ?apš-?u·-
 mipuyi' hunks segis'. 'Then, at the end of the world, they
 found out it had been God traveling about thus among them'. 11g
 ?am weytemankš ne' ?ampuydaki gan' 'We are not used to seeing
 that sort of thing.' 4d

wey^{gami} nenu?u gan' wey piyi kappas' ?ampuykin'. 'It is not too long
 ago that I used to see these cane torches. 38d

duskunkaci ?ašantka?a' ?apš-heyšmpuykin'. 'I would collect old
 metal'. 42d

wey makš nemank' ni tučpuyi'. 'He used to cook with the oil of
 that fish'. 77f

wey hugu' našmi'g' dudínakaš', ?uš ?ačpa' ?učpuynaka'. 'It is
 that which makes our lunch when we go hunting.' 74g

panš pinikank' ni guštiš' hinš' kap šuhtpi'g' gušmpuyna?a'.

'The Indians ate their food after just boiling it' 74a

wey ?ašinžadankš te't' ?učpuykin'. 'I used to do as the old man'. 49d

§234. The future predicates (a) an event or circumstance in
 future time or time subsequent to some point of reference in the past,
 as predicted or expected on the basis of intention or willingness of
 the speaker or on the basis of existing conditions or prearrangement;
 (b) the consequence of an unreal hypothesis. The future may occur

(c) as the nucleus of modifier clauses expressing purpose or anticipated action; such clauses give the purpose of the main clause, modify term by giving the action which it is intended it shall perform or have a part in, or modify an adjective by giving the purpose or connection in which the adjective applies. That is, such notions as 'I went to help him', 'I want you to do it', 'He gave it to him to eat it', are expressed 'I went, I'll help him', 'I want you'll do it', 'He gave it to him he'll eat it', 'It is too much he'll eat it', 'It is too much to eat'. Examples of event in future or subsequent time:

hi-henšwi he·öpičuk'. 'I'll help you to cross' 2b

kas ?iwi·gš' kas ču·čuks'. 'I shall go back by going back around' 3f

kas ?iwičuy gan' 'You won't go back around.' 3f

?o·ksaičuk' 'I'll steal it' 5b

panš ?o·nak gan hugu' kep huhtičuki' 'I shall not put all the people in' 10f

?ašt ?uči·k' temičuyi' 'How will you kill them?' 15d

weyžičuk'..?apmača·čuk'. 'I'll do it....I'll bring it to you' 17a

?utičuk' 'I'll tie you' 17b

?am ?učičuki' 'What shall I do' 17e

?iš kiš ?atin' hi naksmičuk' 'I'll sell my horse' 67g

?išk' he·čpakičuyi' 'Will you help me?' 85b

?u·stupu' ?iška' wey nahzipu waši' tohčuyi' kas su?unkš'

'Ustupu said he would break that youngster's arm with a clam shell' 14a

wey heki ?atkank hiš' šegis' nuhmidina', ?iška'. 'The minister

said they were to run inside that' 67a

ni-šiki?i' ?am te·čuyi' 'He forgot what he was to say'. 16c

?akčuk' ?ampink' getkičuyi'. 'I will see how you will kill me' 39a

ʔagaʔ ʔam gapʔukiʔ 'I want to see what I will catch' 56a

ne-mi-g ʔis kap nu-ʔʊkiʔ 'Fearing I would die' B 19f

han ʔasi-nahʔciʔpuʔ ka-kwi-kʔsiʔiʔ ʔampup ca-tkʔ neki neʔ kečuyiʔ.

'That boy knows where to spear in order to kill a devil' 31c

ʔiskʔ ʔunkun kušti kayʊukišʔ, kap-ʔeypinkš-nu-ʔkičuyʔ. 'If I don't

eat something, I'll die of hunger' 24a

weyčiču-šʔ, huy kan hihčuyʔ ʔuš nehe čunʔ. 'If you do that, it

will be bad for ourselves' 45a

him kani huyki haktiš hi-kučinkiʔ cusču-šʔ, ʔun kun huykiʔ him kani

kučink hiš kišʔ hi ʔamčuyiʔ. 'If your right eye twitches in the

corner, you will see something good only out of the corner of

your eye. 81

ʔuš naksti hanankiʔ hunks pānšʔ ʔo-kai-dna-šʔ, weʔ panškʔ ʔuš

kinʔ ʔaksdinaʔaʔ 'If they pay their people in our store, the

people will buy from us' 85b

Examples of the future in the consequences of unreal hypotheses:

ʔašt huygiʔ ha-kičuyiʔ, ʔungu gapti ka-kwi-gʔ hihčukisʔ. 'How

much good it would do me if I could get one!' 15d

sa-t ka-kwičukisʔ sa-žpi gayčukiʔ. 'If I had known that, I would

not have done that way' 45b

ney ʔapš kaniceʔ tu-gasmpi gaptkʔ ney kas ʔi-kintkʔ ʔun kunʔ

gasmi-dina-šʔ ʔun kun gušmi-dinaʔaʔ hamči-dinaʔaʔ. 'There is

enough land so that if they took spades, turned the soil, and

planted something, they would have something to eat.' 83a

ka-nušʔ weytʔ hunks ni guštiʔ ʔuči-dina-nkiʔ kap ʔeypinkš tu-dinaʔaʔ

'If the white men had to make their food that way, they would

die of hunger' 85a

huygiʔ ʔučičuyišʔ, ho waštašʔ him ʔasi kinʔ hihčuyiʔ. 'If you had

done right, you would be with your husband today' B10c

Examples of the future in modifier clauses of purposes:

weV ʔašinʔadaš' weV kamikiš' kap getk', weV kiš so·kamis kači
nemi gaptk', hus nehe' ʔapš kašmi' weV kiš te·t ya·ki nuhōčuyi'.

'The old man killed the wolf, took the marrow of the dog's hind
leg and annointed himself so that he would run as fast as the
wolf' 69a

wetkite·t pans ʔašinʔatkaš' na·kšbu' kap ʔatki·dnaʔa' ča·čn'
hoktinaʔank'. 'Since then old people have to leave room for
youngsters to grow up' 3h

hus hanank' kas ʔəhk' hus kiči hi ʔaʔi' hus tuči·g' hus yaʔa'
hokštičuy'. 'When he reached home he gave it to his wife to
cook and give to his child' 86a

wetkš' he·čpakičuyi' ni wopmaki te' 'When I asked him to help
me' 85b

sa ʔasi-nahʔibu' ne·ma·pigi' pans ʔasi' ya·gi' hihčuyi', haksigam
teyčuyinki' 'I want to teach her boy to be a strong man when
he becomes a young man' B6d

wetk' kamčin' yukš ʔatin' ʔam ʔo·nak kin ne' ʔun kun' ʔučičuy'
hamčičuy'. 'You will have something to do with deer, panther,
and everything. 71c

ʔam' him ni gihti' ʔučičuyi' 'what you want to do' B15a
gimniš' ni gihti gan te', was ʔa·y kin' hihčuyi' ʔapš žima'.

'Don't you want a girl to be with your mother at night? B19g

naksži' ʔap mačiki' ni guščuyi'. 'I brought home blackberries for
you to eat' 26f

ʔun kun tupčuy' huygi' he·čpičuy'. 'You will find something which
will help you' 86c

wetkš' him kičaš' ʔun kun' guščuy' hamčičuyi' 'You will then have
something for your wife to eat' 15f

*un kun guščuyi' tupčuk' 'I will find something to eat.' 28a

wetk' hus giš' hi' kap pa'kini'g' *asi' hapšči'i', hus kin' hihčuyi'.

'Then being tired of being alone, he created man to be with him'

12a

weytkš' kamigi' nahribu čun' ni gušti gan' hihčuyi' 'That is a long (time) for a child to be without food.' B3a

we' še'niš' *iška' nenčugu *ati' kišutk' nešwičuyi' 'He said that pond was too big for him to cross by swimming.' 2a

B has the following examples of future used with necessitative meaning:

*asi' kin' hus kiči kin' *apš heči'na?a' 'A man and a woman must take care of each other' B10c

da'tkš' *apš dem'na?a'. 'Now we shall have to fight'. B16b

§235. The desiderative, limited to first person subject, expresses desire to act or to be in a state. The meaning is the same as that expressed by the independent verb giht: 'to want to...'. Instances of the plural desiderative are rare, none occurring in text. Examples of singular:

we' panš *ašanika' segis' hika'. 'I wanted to stay amongst the old people' 2d

*isk' ku'mitks te't' ni nehdiwaga' 'I want to descend like a squirrel' 4g

*isk' panš' kap na'šemina'. 'I want to poison people' 17f

we' gimniš' *isk' wa'čtga' 'I want to marry that young woman' 22b

*isk' him yo?a ka'ksega', nokkiču's'. 'If you will permit me, I should like to court your daughter' 30b

*aga' *am gapčuki'. 'I want to see what I will catch.' 26a

wey'ki'g' we' nahribuš hi' geypiga' 'Therefore I want to abort the

Zilmi 'aga' 'I want to see Zilmi' 58d

'išk' ču'g' hiš he'čmiga'. 'I wanted to go and meet them' 64e

'iš tega' da'tk' 'I want to talk now' 68b

Examples of plural desiderative:

him gaptk' kap getk' guš miy'a' 'We want to get you, kill you,
and eat you' 69a

ni ti'km' 'a'ks'žiya' du'dsnaka' 'We want to see the governor
(and) are going (there)' 4c

'uš ne' 'ašt huygi' ha'te'ti' wokde' 'We want to feel how much
good it does me' 69c

The purposive meaning in the following B example is isolated:

kimniš 'unyunk' ni hokki'i' 'ap huh'wičuki' him 'aga'. 'Some
girl let me come in to see you' B19f

This usage is like that of the desiderative participle (see §).

§236. The necessitative expresses the necessity, in the past, present, or future, for action on the part of the subject. Examples:

wa'a čun' ša'čp hi hokdina'ang'. 'They have to leave room for
others' 3e

wetkite't' paňš 'ašin'žatkaš' na'kšbu' kap 'atki'dna'a' ša'čn
hokdona'ang'. 'Since then old people have to leave room for
youngsters to grow up' 3h

wetk' paňš na'kšbuš' paňš hup' 'ap 'uydina'ang' 'Young people have
to come into the world' 4d

tew's' 'iška' husk 'učičouyngiš' 'Nevertheless, she said she had to
do it' 13c

ney hoččuking' 'I must watch the earth' 10a

weyči'g' hus 'asiš' we' šuš tu'unk hup' hi šahni'dna'ng' 'iška'.

'Therefore she told her husband they were to sleep by that hollow

kap tendina?ang' da'tk' 'They have to stop now.' 52b

wey kap teyčuying' 'She must stop it.' 58d

panš wa?a' gapdina?ang'. 'He had to get another person' 612b

§237. The imperative expresses command, whether firm or mild.

Examples:

sa'žpi gay'. 'Don't do that' 33a

ni wačtpi गया' 'Don't mock him' 43b

kap teyas' kap teyas' kap teyaš' 'Stop, stop, stop' 61a

hanank kəs ča' 'Go back to the house!' 64e

hi ?amaš' 'Look!' 66b

delfin hi?ink hi ču'g' po' ni-wopma'. 'Go to Delphine and ask for
medicine.' 76a

tiškinki' 'Throw me down' 83b

top ni ?uša' 'Make fire' 85b

sanki ni čipa' 'Stay there' 88d

kayi' him wa?a' hi kow?a'. 'No, call your uncle.' 817a

hus hewmank' hi ko'mi', henk' ?ap duša' 'He called his nephews,
'Come here' 38a

The imperative form is used for statement, imitating the cry
of a bird:

ku' nak kap wiša' 'Water 'n all burn'. 18a

§238. The polite imperative differs in meaning from the ordinary
imperative in having some special connotation of a special politeness

The normal imperative, on the other hand, is not impolite. Examples:

?ašt ni teyteš' 'Have a seat' 89b *hananki ?ap huchwig ni Teytey*

?ašt ?ap huhōwa' 'Come in' 89b

?ašt ni ša'ōte' 'Have some to eat' 89b

?ašt ni žuwi ?učiteš' 'Make haste' 23b

č'u·g' ni wopma·š' wəy panš' kap nu·pčuy ne 'ašti' 'Go find out if
that person will die' 16a

wəy panš' hi natma·a' nu·pi gayčuyi' 'Tell that person he won't
die' 16b

ča·dup hi duda' 'Go to the bayou' 54a

§239. The hortative is limited to the first person plural and expresses a proposal by the speaker that he and his hearer or hearers perform some action. No contextual examples have been found. Other examples: are četu' 'Let's beat him', nučmiyu 'Let's fix it', dutu 'Let's go'.

§240. The permissive is limited to the first person singular and expresses a request for permission to act. It is rarely used, the usual method of expressing such a request being by means of the verb nokt- 'to permit..' in the form nokki' 'permit me!' construed with a future form e.g. nokki' ču·čuk' 'let me go' (literally, 'let me I'll go'). Examples:

kas 'is·čwaku' 'Let me turn away' 89a Formula for asking to be

excused from the table!

No other contextual form has been found. Other examples are:
nehtku' 'Let me strike it', ču·ku 'Let me go'.

§241. The conditional expresses as a condition of another proposition, an event, or circumstance, which may be conceived as possible but not actually known to be a fact, or it may be an impossibility, or something known not to be true. In the former case, a real condition, the verb of the apodosis may be any tense mode according to circumstance. If the protasis is unreal, the verb of the apodosis is always future (§), expressing the unreal con-

sequence of the unreal condition. In object clauses to certain verbs, the conditional has the force of 'whether...(or not)'. Examples of real conditions:

ʔisk' him yaʔavka·ksega', nokkiču·š'. 'I want to court your daughter if you will permit me' 30b

čilink čilink čilink čiri·..., ʔičiču·š', kaya' kap teyʔiši'.

'If he goes..., the rain is stopping.' 84f

wey ʔamʔišiʔi' hu·h hup' ču·ču·š'. 'You see that if you go to the lake' 36d

wey na·kšbunki' kap ʔo·ksmidina·š', kap gušma·šna' 'If they stole any of the children they ate them.' 37d

wetkš' nu·p gastí gihču·š', ʔis ni wopmaka·šiʔi', ʔaštkaški te' kasdišiʔi'. 'Thereafter if he wanted to plant potatoes, he would ask me, "When are you planting?"' 59c

ʔaštkaškiš' pu·p hi ʔamču·š' huygi hiʔinkš te·t' ču·šiʔi'. 'Sometimes when if you see a rabbit, it is going along as though not well'. 74n

kayi ʔap sa·gihcu·s', hus so' kap seykema·siʔi'. 'If it is going to rain, his foot pains him. 84f

wey paňš' ʔampigi'. 'hoping to see the people if the wind went down' Bl4c

him kani huygi haktiš hi kutinkí' zušču·š', ʔun kun huygi' him kani kutink hiš giš' hi ʔamčuyi'. 'If your right eye twitches in the corner, you will see something good only out of the corner of your eye.' 81

ʔuš naksti hananki' hunks paňš' ʔo·kmi·dna·š', wey paňšk' ʔuš kin' ʔaksdinaʔa' 'If they pay their people in our store, the people will buy from us' 85b.

wey hugu' našmi·g' dudínakaš', ʔuš ʔačpa' ʔušpuynaka'. 'It is that wi

weytke' na-pöukis', ?apš huya'. 'If I die that way, it's better. B19d
 nakszi hanank hi ču-ču-š' wenki' hana hiszintk' hi tenmami-g'

wašti huynak' tenmami-gš na?a'. 'If you go to the store, (you
 see that) they sit on the porch, sit all day.' 85a

hips' ža-gi' ?učiču-š', ?amin ?atpepi ka-han'. 'If the winter is
 hot, one cannot raise anything.' 84b

It is to be noted that in some instances the meaning of the real con-
 dition is essentially the same as 'when...' Example of unreal
 conditions:

sa't ka-kwičukiš' sa-žpi gayčuki'. 'If I had known that, I would
 not have done that way. 43b

ney ?apš kanime' tu: gasmpi gaptk' ney kas ?i-kintk' ?un kun'
 gaami-dina-š' ?un kun gušmi-dina?a' hamčl-dina?a'. 'There is
 enough land so that if they took spades, turned the soil, and
 planted something, they would have something to eat.' 85a

huygi' ?ušičuyiš', ho-waštaš' nim ?asi kin' nihčuyi'. 'If you had
 done right, you would be with your husband today. B10c

Examples of conditional object clauses:

§242. Two particles have to be recognized, the inflectional
 form in -g or -k and the postpositional form made by adding te to
 the gerund. The inflectional participle does not distinguish person
 and number of the subject, the postpositional participle does. The
 functions are virtually identical, but for convenience of illustration,
 the second participle is discussed separately in §243.

The participle is used (a) in conjunction with auxiliaries to form

periphrastic tense-modes (§), (b) in a few complexes as complement of verbs, (c) as the nucleus of modifier clauses. The last function is the most characteristic. The participial clause, which may have subject, object, verbal complement, modifiers, stands in the relation of a generalized modifier of the superordinate clause, and expresses an event or circumstance somehow related to it. Temporal proximity, simultaneous, prior, or occasionally subsequent, is always implied. The relation may be purely temporal, as in the expression of sequence or combinations of actions, or it may involve causality, non-prevention ('although...'), means, or some other relation. In so far as the events of the participle or series of participles and the superordinate verb have a temporal sequence, this is reflected in the order of use. In giving a sequence of events, for example, the steps in a manufacturing process, it is a common device to express all the steps but the last in participial clauses, the last being given the form of a predicative verb, formally the main verb of the sentence. The participle does not indicate tense-mode; the implied tense-mode is ordinarily the same as that of the superordinate verb. The implied subject is likewise frequently the same as that of the superordinate verb, but it need not be. Examples indicating temporal sequences:

Simple Sequences

(any number of participial clauses precede the main clause and express actions taking place in the given sequence with the action of the main clause last)

wetks' ka-yžinkš' papš kutk' kačm' ksp tenna'a'. 'Three came back and became doctors! 3s'

wetk' kutnehintk' ču·k', gahčoin ʔatin' hapšzi'ʔi'. 'Then God went and created the live oak.' 12c

wotkš' hus hanankš' kas ču·gš' hesigen' kap-ti·guni'. 'Returning to his house, he again became angry.' 17c

weʔ ka·opi kaptk', tutk' weʔ ʔukš-ʔatin ketanki' hi-nowii 'He

wetk' hunks susbi' hi tiškintk' šušup kap pehnina'. 'Dropping their guns, they climbed a tree.' 38b

wetk' kas nučmi·g', weʔ ʔašinzadaš' weʔ kamikiš' kap getk', weʔ

kiš so kamis kaci nemi gaptk', hus nše' ʔapš kašmi' weʔ kiš

te·t ya·gi nuhčuyi'. 'When they made up, the old man killed

the wolf, took the marrow of the canine's hind leg and anointed

himself so that he would run as fast as that canine.' 69a

Habitual, customary, repeated sequence--expressed by

continuative main verb

wetkš' weʔ huyu' kamčoin ne' weʔ kici nahzibuš' ʔap dutkš' ʔamʔiānaʔa'

'Then the turtle and the deer would come and see the young woman.'

22a

ka·kiminaʔa' ʔanžup' weʔ kamčointkš' dutk' hunks ʔims hi hamōma·šnaʔa'

'They know where the deer go and get their antlers' 28d

piyi ših' hi ga·ctk', wetk' weʔ nuš gaptk' ʔutp ki' ʔapš wa·ctk',

huygi' ʔapš ʔuti·g', wetk' weʔ piyi ga·on ki' hi šahčtk', wetkš'

huygi' kas huktk', wetkš' hesigen' ʔutp' hi gaptk', weʔ piyi

ga·on' weʔ ʔutp ki' ʔapš wa·ctk', huygi' ʔapš ʔuti·g', weyt

hugu' kas nučmi·g', kas hamōu·šnaʔa'. 'They cut a cane joint,

take the stones and wrap them in hide, tie them well, put them

into the out cane, stop it up well, take leather again wrap

the out cane in the leather, tie it well, and fixing it thus

they save it'. 71c

wetkš' hiš waštankiš' kunugu' kas he·kintkš' kas septepi'g'

huygi' ?utmi'g' tutk' kunugu' ka·cpi gaptk' ka·temi'g' we^y
nemaš' ?o·nak' hi paktma·šna?a'. 'In the morning they open
it out, straighten it, tie it well, then take a stick, rub
all the grease, and scrape it away.' 72a

su?unkš' ?upa' ?apš žušī·gš', we^y nema' we^y su?unk' hi šehōtk'
hamoa·šna?a'. 'They would sew two skins together, put the oil
into the skins, and save it.' 74b

Habitual Sequence--expressed by the Usitative
panš pinikank' ni guštiš' hiš' kap šuhtpi'g' gušmpuyna?a'.

'The Indians ate their food after just boiling it.' 74a

Sequence with Continuative main verb

expressing a continuing action

panš pinikenk' ?ašinžada' kap kiš teyg', wetk' hukacinki' hi
ču·šī?i'. 'An old Indian has turned dog and is going about
in your field.' 67c

wašt ?ungu' we^y ka·či-?atintk' ?iš hanša·mina·punkī' ?ap teygš'
ni šī'in'. 'Once the horned owl came, sat on my window, and
kept speaking' 80b

Future Sequence

we^y ?ašandank hup' hi ču'g' ?o·kšničuk'. 'I'll go to the old man
and I'll steal it.' 5a

Purposive sequence--expressed by Future

hus kiči hi ?a?i' hus tuči·k' hus ya?a' hokštičuy'. 'He gave it
to his wife that she might cook it and give it to his child
to eat'. 86a

HYPothetical Sequence

ney ?apš-kanime' tu· gasmpī gaptk' ney kas ?i·kintk' ?un kun
gasmi·dina·š' ?un kun gušmi·dina?a' hamči·dina?a'. 'There
is enough land so that if they took spades, turned the soil,

Imperative Sequence

delfin hi?ink hi ču'g' po' ni-wopma'. 'Go to Delphine and ask for medicine!' 76a

In such an example as the following, the participle is parallel to a gerund complement of the main verb:

ʔis kici nahzibuš' ʔap ču'g' ʔami ka·kun'. 'You may come and daughter'. 22a

But in the following the participle is not parallel to the gerund but to the main verb:

wetk' wa·bit ʔunguš hi čanšt' ʔis ʔo·kpi gihti?i'. 'Then, taking out a dollar, he wanted to pay me.' 49b

Examples indicating simultaneous action or attendant circumstance:

panš pinikan' weyt' hunks ʔapš hečtk' suʔuš hi niča·šneʔa'

'Indians tanned skins while thus taking care of themselves' 72a

nemi kappankš te·t' hunks wašinki' geptk' du·dšnakš'. 'They went along holding (what looked) like an oil lantern in their hands'. 64f

wetkš' weʋ kičk' wey hisgis' tenmami·g', hunks piyi hendišnaʔa'.

The women sat under it and peeled their cane.' 66b

wetkš' tep·kanink hup' hi teypinaʔe' ʔapš zi·čuyi' totk'.

'They placed her at the fireplace, telling her to warm herself.

47a

In the following the participle gives a redefinition of the action of the main verb:

da·tk' na·wi pacinki' šuš heyšdišnaʔa', hinš ni wa·žiki·g'

'Now they are gathering wood on the sandbar, just playing' 70a

The main clause redefines the participial clause in the following:

kičkin' ʔapš ne·žimi·g', žah ni ša· ʔo·niškš te·t' ʔuča·ščin'

weʋ haksiamkš' koč aegis' 'The young man converses with the

women (and thus) does as the mocking bird among the women' 24b
 The following example shows a sequence of events with the action of the main clause preceding that of the participial, the temporal order being reflected by the position of the verb. Such a sequence, with the main clause first, is quite unusual. Perhaps the participle should be interpreted as expressing purpose, but such a function for the participle is equally unusual.

ʔaštkanš' kap teyin' ku·hubčimi·g' 'Sometimes he would stop and beg for water' 7a

Sequences involving causality:

wetk' weʔ panš' ʔap šamtk', kunuga' weʔ panš' kap tu·gš' nakš' hi ʔamk', kap-yehnaʔa'. 'When the people came out and saw the people who had died, they cried.' 11c

hus šiš' kas šaptinki te·t' kap ti·guni·g' ni šikiʔi' ʔam te:čuyi'. 'Getting angry after he split his nose he forgot what he was to say' 16c

nenčuʔu kap-kičantmi·g' nabzibu kap teygš' hiʔuyi'. 'She had gotten too old and had turned child(ish). 47d

Sequences in which the first action, in the participial clause, is the circumstance or condition leading to the other action:

wetk' hus hiʔink' kas ʔehk' hus panš' ʔampami'. 'When she arrived home, she showed it to her people.' 13b

wetk' panš' hu·h hup' hi dutk', piyi wššmank' žismank' kuns' beksti·g' hu·h si·h ki' ʔap kemži·gs' kuns' nak'. 'When people went to the lake, (they found there) bits of burnt cane that had floated to the edge of the lake.' 36d

weʔ tep hi ʔamgš' ʔapš' dutinsʔa'. 'Seeing the fire they came back.' 6

Participial clauses expressing primarily cause:

nənču:gš kap huyi gaygš', weyžI:gš' ?apš ču:ma:šči'. 'He is too (of a) no-account, and therefore he goes about. 7a Note the reinforcement of the causal notion by the use of the particle weyžig 'therefore'.

kap-ti:kunemi:k' weyčínaka'. 'We got angry and did that.' 52b

wa?aš' ni gihti gan', ne:mī:g ?iš kap nu:pčuki'. 'The others

didn't want to come, because they feared I would die' B 19f

Purpose is frequently expressed by the participle gihtk 'wishing to...' plus a gerund complement. Examples:

we^y haksigam ?unkunkš hus kiči kap ?o:nipi gihtkš' weyži?i'.

'The young man, wishing to deprive him of his wife, did that' 50g

wetkš' kap-tey gan', we^y po:gapdiši?i' na:kšbu' kap gaypampi

gihtk'. 'She did not stop taking that medicine, because they wanted to abort the children'. 58c

we^y ?ašandaš' we^y ?apš ču:mam ?ašandaš' kun' penš pinikanak sogis'

?apš ču:mipuymiš' we^y pašk' he:čpampi gihtk'. 'The old man, the the old traveler, used to go about among the Indians in order to meet the people.' 11a

Participial clauses expressing an action in spite of which the action of the main verb takes place:

wetkš' we^y ka:nš ?ašandank' witmi:g' ni tiškinti ka:han'. 'Although

the old white man shot, he could not drop it'. 71d

hus ?a:y' ni ša?a' wopi:gš', ?ami ka?an'. 'Although he heard his

mother's voice he could could not see her.' B9a

Participial clauses expressing means are frequent; examples:

we^y še:niš' ?iška' nenčugu ?ati' kišutk' nenčwičuyi'. 'He said

that pond was too big for him to cross by swimming. 2a

wetk' tep' gapšišana?a' ?apš-?a:yig'. 'They get fire by lending bac.

and forth' 5d

weš menti·k nehōwi?i' 'Jumping, he got down' = 'He jumped down' 3f

weyt' ?uči·gš' sa naki dempi sask ?apš kimpaki'. 'In doing thus,
she reminded me of that story.' 25d

weŷ panš-pinikank kičantkank' po· hi hakti·g', weŷ šečniš' kap-
teypina?a'. 'Then the old Indian women gave her medicine to
drink and stopped the vomiting.' 57b

weŷ wa·bten ?atin nukunk hiš' weŷ ?ašinžadaš' nehtk' ni tiškintk'
kap teypi?i'. 'He stopped him by striking him with the back of
the sword and knocking him down.' 61a

It should be emphasized that the foregoing are not so many separate
functions, but only illustrate different aspects of the very
generalized relationship which is the meaning of the participle.

Examples may now be given to show that the implied subject
of the participle need not be the same as that of the main verb.

weytki' bus mahči' weŷ ku·ki' ni-ničtk', šagitk hi?uyi'.

'Then he hung there with his tail soaking in the water.' 10d

?aštkančiš' ?uš panš' kap-nu·pk', hi ney-nučmitu·t' dučišnake'.

'Sometimes when (one of) our people died, we would go on after
having buried him.' 4b

wetk' panšk' kamčín' ?akun' ?am-?o·nak' ?ap šamtinki' kipi ketk'
do·kdo·k hamči·gš' na?uynak'. 'When deer, bear, and so forth
came out (of the burning grass), people killed meat and had an
abundance.' 19d.

?apš ?uymami·g' panš ?ašinžada ?ungunk hiš' hi te·ti?i'....

'When they came together one of the old people said....' 31c

Repetition of the same participle is used as a device for
indicating long continuation. Two or three repetitions are char-

characteristic. Examples:

ču·gš' ču·gš', še·nink hup' hi niōwi'ʔi' 'He went and went and came to the edge of a pond.' 1a

ču·gš' ču·gš' ču·gš' še·nink hup' hi niōwi'ʔi' 2a

kaya' sa·gš' sa·gš', paš wa'ʔaš' kap kečupami' 'The rain fell and fell and drowned the other people' 10g

kayaš' sa·gš' sa·gš' sa·gš' we^v ku·k' poktank' kap ʔehi'

'The rain fell and fell and fell (till) the water reached the sky' 11b

The use of the same verb in the participial clause and in the main may have the same effect of indicating continuation, or may simply serve as a convenient device for giving further details of an action.

Examples:

ču·gš' wašti ka·yži čuyi'ʔi' 'Going, she went for three days' B4a
wenki' hans hiszintk' hi tenmami'g' wašti huynak' tenmami'gš' na'ʔa'

'They sit on the porch there, sit all day.' B5a

namu hi kutink' ču·g', hus wa·hanank' hi ču·yi'ʔi' namu hi kutink'

'He went to the end of that village, went to the house of his maternal uncle which was at the end of the village.' B6b

As stated, the participle as complement is limited to a few combinations. In A, the following occur:

našmi'g' + čuw-, pl. dut- 'to go hunting' 17g, 39a, 74g.

čimš ni·gš' + čuw-, 'to go fishing' B6c

ni·ki·g' + ni tišduwi- 'to fall sick' (wetk' hus ʔam kičandaš'

wašti kištami'g' ki' ni·ki·g' ni tišduwi' 'On the seventh day her elder cousin fell sick' B5e)

In B, the following instances occur:

po' ka·čtkš' kap-pa·kinki . 'I got tired drinking medicine' B19a

hokka gan' ni-waymi'gš'. 'I don't stop weaving' B18a

In B, there is an instance of a participial clause modifying a term, but this is probably not to be regarded as regular:

hus kiš nē-ko'mi.g' husks te't' hus 'a'y' ni-ša'a' wopi.gš'
 'hearing his mother's voice calling his dogs in the way he
 (did)' 69a

A participial clause is not often governed by a postposition. However the following instance occurs:

heki memt emi.gš te't' ōu.š'i'i' 'He goes along as though jumping
 logs' 67f

§243: The postpositional participle is like the inflectional participle in every respect, except that it expresses the person of the subject. Examples that have been found do not include a first person plural, and the form for this, if there is one, is not known. Like the inflectional participle, the postpositional is used with auxiliaries to make periphrastic verb forms (§) and as the nucleus of participial clauses expressing general relationship of time or circumstance. The postpositional participle is less frequent and never occurs in sequences of participial clauses.

Examples:

guški te' huygi' wokitki' 'When I eat I find it tastes good' 67a

no.ški te' hengenk' 'apš ōu.gš' 'ap kewi'i' 'When I cursed, only then
 he came back and landed' 49b

kap ne'mki te'...hanank' ni ōuyiki' 'Being scared....I went to
 the house' 63d

ni wekgaki te' way kas nučmaki te' 'Do you laugh at me because
 I fixed it?' 61b

hi te'ti'i' weŷ 'o.š kap 'ištkiti te', huš ni bokda'ki' 'He said
 as the buzzards hauled it away, leave some for me' 20a

šuš ki' kap pehi' weŷ kiš hiš waytpi te' 'He climbed a tree
when the dog beat him' 69a

he'čpakičuyi' ni wopmaki te', hus ketaš' hana kavis' hi mači'g',
?iška' 'When I asked him to help me his partner took him behind
the house and said....' 85a

hi ču'g' ko' te' ?apš nankāti gayi'?' 'When he went and called
him, he didn't move' 29c

In the last example an inflectional participle and a postpositional
participle are used in the same sequence. In the preceding example there
is a postpositional participle followed by an inflectional participle
referring to a different subject.

In the following B example, a postpositional participle clause
is used as an object of a verb:

teka' ni sankakatiite' wopiki' 'I hear singing' B9a

§244. While the simple participle expresses indefinite temporal
relationship and other relationships also, the prior participle
expresses a single temporal relation, that of precedence. It occurs
only as the nucleus of a modifier clause. Examples:

hi ney-nučmitu't' dudišnaka'. 'We would go on after having buried
him' 4b

?isk' ka'či ?ašendanks te't' henenki' kas-teypakitu't', kič kin'
?apš ne'žimi'k', vah ni ša'č'o-niškš te't' ?uča'ščin' weŷ weŷ

haksigamkš' kič segis'. 'After he has seated me in the house
like the old owl, the young man converses with the women (and
thes) does as the mocking bird amongst the women.' 24b

wa'a' kamčín getutk' kas ?uymamina'a'. 'The others returned after
killing deer.' 35d

panš 'ašínžatka' na·kšbu kap-?atpamitu·t giš' weykš dema·šna?a'.

'Only old people kill them after they have raised children.'

77b

A sequence of prior events is illustrated in:

tutk' weŷ ší·gs' patmitu·t' ?apš wa·ctu·t' žimt ?ungu' ?apš wa·cn'

hi hokdišna?a'. 'After they strew the dust and tie it together,

they leave it tied up for one night'. 78a

§245. The desiderative participle, occurring only in B, expresses the notion of wishing to perform a given action or be in a given state as the nucleus of a participial modifier clause. The relationship to the superordinate clause is usually one of cause, reason, purpose. Examples:

panš wa?a' ?ap dudišna?a' su?u' nekšmpiki' ?iš kin'. 'Other people are coming to sell me skins.' B1b

wetkš hus ?a·y kas čuyi?i' hus ya?a' ni gaptiki'. 'Then his mother went back to get her child'. B3b

vetkš' ve· panš čutna?a', hunks' našmpigi'. 'Then the people went to hunt'. B11b

?iškš' ču·ga veŷ panš na?a' veŷ panš ?amigi'. 'I want to go where those people are in order to see those people.' B11d

hunks panš ?o·nek' hu·h ketanki' na?uyna?a', poku' ni-tišdiwičuyiš', veŷ panš ?ampigi': 'Their people were all at the lake side hoping see the people if the wind went down.' B14c

A desiderative participial clause is used as an object clause in ve ?asi-nahžibuš' ka·kwi·g' hi?uyi' hus kap getigi'. 'The boy knew he wanted to kill him.' B5c

§246. The gerund distinguishes first and non-first person subject, and distinguishes singular and plural number in the first

person. However, the first person plural is relatively uncommon.

One must distinguish between personal and non-personal functions of the gerund. The non-first form of the gerund is used without personal implication (a) as the complement of certain verbs and predicative particles, (b) as the nucleus of a clause dependent on *gan* 'without (...ing)' or *gan ki* 'before having (...-ed)', (c) as a term referring to the action expressed by the verb or to something connected with it (see below), (d) as the nucleus of clauses governed by certain postpositions. (e) with *gan* as one method of expressing negation (§), (f) with postposition *te* to form the postpositional participle, (g) occasionally in place of the aorist in primary predications, but this usage is practically restricted to the first person singular.

When functioning as a term, the gerund may refer to the action or state expressed by the verb, to an event consisting mainly or characteristically of the action (e.g. 'a dance'), to the location of the action, to what is produced by or results from the action, to what is acted upon, to anything used or involved in the action. The range of reference is quite extensive. Examples:

ʔiʃ neʹ weʹ nučmpašʹ ʔušaʹ šikiʹ 'I do that work myself' 7a

him nuʹ pi geʹ b ki 'on your death bed' 65d

ʔiʃ kinʹ ʔiʃ keti kinʹ weʹ nučmpašʹ gapnakaʹ 'I and my partner took the job.' 51a

neki nučmpaʹ sa šušʹ 'That tree is devil's work' 9e (i.e. it is something produced by or acting the way it does because of the devil)

weʹ tepʹ ni ʒamtišʹ hiš pehwičuyiʹ 'We'll survive the fire dance' 67l

nučmpi hi hoktkʹ ...piyankʹ hi mačmpuykinʹ 'We left our work and took them to the cane(field)' 68a

ni žamtink' ču.š1' 'He went to a dance' 32a

weŷ su.ʔuš ʔapš žušpenki 'in the stitches of the skin' 861

ʔam nukpi ke' hi te.tk' 'saying some prayer' 9d

gasma ni hu.huygi' ʔučik' 'I made a good crop of corn' 89c

hus ka.ksepa 'his fiancée' 65d ka.kae- 'to woo..'

ney žahzi ko. ʔi.kšti 'sugar cane mill' 63d (ʔi.kšt- 'to grind..')

weŷ šagiti' weŷ giš hiš ʔapš ʔu.šdišin' 'He was wearing only that hanging (piece)' 30e

The non-personal gerund is used as complement of siht- 'to want (to...)', to be about to...', gay- 'not to(...)', ka.kwa- 'to be able (to...)', hokt- 'to cease (to...)', kap naepikma- 'to start (to...)', tu.t-, 'to finish (...-ing)'; nemi- 'to fear (to...)' (30d), ka.han 'am, is are unable (to...)', ka.kun (gerundive of ka.kwa-) 'am, is are able (to...)'. In these constructions, the gerund has no subject, but otherwise may have any other of the usual adjuncts of verbs, including objects, complements, and various kinds of modifiers. Examples:

wetkš' pu.p hiš' weŷ ʔekuntk' ne.mpapi kihtk' kun' ni š1'in'.

'Then the rabbit, wishing to frighten that bear, spoke.' 26h

weŷ kičandaš ne' kap ʔakun teŷi gihti?i'. 'The old woman too wanted to turn bear.' 27c

wetk' wa.bit ʔungus hi šanšt' ʔiš ʔo.kpi gihti?i'. 'Then, taking out a dollar, he wanted to pay me.' 49b

ni wačtpi गया'. 'Don't mock him'. 43b

weŷi.gš nu.k pi gayki'. 'Therefore I didn't learn.' 67h

wetkš' hi hokti?i' ʔapš-čuwa'. 'Then she left off coming back'.

wetk' hapšoi tu.tinki' ka.či-ʔatin hiš' hi pehčwi'. 'When he finished creating it, the horned owl perched on it.' 12c

ʔišk' no·nki' ʔišk' gišk' šušup hup' hi čuwa'. 'I am afraid to go to the woods alone. 30d.

ʔutpi ka·kwikini'. 'I can tie it up. 56b

ʔis kici nahzibus' ʔap ou·gš ʔami ka·kun'. 'You may come and see my daughter.' 22a

ʔutpi ka·kun te'. 'Can you tie it up?' 56b

hink' he·čpapi ka·han'. 'We cannot help you.' 3a

tewe' ʔo·kanepi ka·han'. 'However they could not steal it.' 5a

ʔišk' panš-pinikank ne' kap-teyi ka·han'. 'I cannot turn Indian.' 4

Examples of non-personal gerund with gan and gan ki in modifier clauses:

ni gušmpi gan' haymi naʔuynaʔa' 'They lived without eating' 4e

ʔamin' geti gan', kas dutnaka' 'Without having killed anything, we returned home' 63a

weʔkasm kap geti gan hi nuščpiki' 'I didn't kill the mink (but) chased him away'. 87c

weʔ pu·p' kas ʔchi gan ki' nušk' tangitk' hi mendikti'g' hus šiš kas šaptiʔi' 'Before he got back, the rabbit stumbled, somersaulted, and split his nose.' 16c

kap gušti gan ki' kap getnaʔa' 'Before he ate her, they killed him'

The gerund is found as the nucleus of clauses governed by the following postpositions: -nki 'when; at the place where'; -nk hup 'to, toward, near the place where'; -nk = nki, -nk hup; -nki te't 'since, after, as long as,'; -nkš te't 'like, as'. The time

reference of gerunds in this function is like that of the aorist.

Examples:

wetk' panšk' kamčin' ʔakun' ʔam ʔo·nak' ʔap šamtinki' kipi getk'

do·kdo·k hamčl·gs na·uynak'. 'When deer, bear and so forth came out, people killed meat and had an abundance.' 19d

kamčintkš te·t' ni-nehōwanki'. 'He was like a deer when he came down.' 35d

wey ʔašandaš' hus ni-tučin' ʔap nonšwakankiš'. 'The old man was cooking when I came to shore.' 49b

hus šiš' kas šaptinki te·t' kap-ti·guni·g' ni šiki·oi' ʔam te·čuyi'.

'Getting angry after he split his nose he forgot what he was to say.' 16c

wey po·ka·čtinki te·t' huyi waytm' ʔap du·dšnaʔe'. 'As long as she drank that medicine, they came better.' 58c

wetkite·t' wey kamčin' kap getinki te·t' kamčin ne' ʔami gəyši'.

'After that, after he had killed the deer, he did not see any deer.' 71d

han haksigamk' žah ni ša·ʔo·niš' ka·čl' kas hukuntinkš te·t' ʔučka·šič'.

'This young man is treating me as the mocking bird fooling the owl.' 24b

Examples showing the personal gerund with gan to predicate negation:

ʔamin ni wopmaki gan' 'I don't ask anything' 7b

wey pu·p tupti gan' 'He did not find the rabbit' 26c

ʔamin ne' ʔami gan' 'They saw nothing' 30f

ʔo·nak kap gušapi gank' 'all they did not eat' 74r

ka·kwaki gan' ʔišk' 'didn't know' 65d

Occasionally one finds the non-personal gerund used in negations, thus:

ʔamin ʔami gan' 'We saw nothing' 63a

ka·kwi gan ʔašt ʔuči·gš 'I don't know how' 1d

ni gapti ka·kwi gan' 'We can't get it' B14b

Use of first-person singular gerund as the nucleus as a main verb is rare, e.g.,

verb is rare, e.g.,

ʔiš' ni kimakaš' weŷ ʔašendaš' suseyga ʔo·ži·pu kap teyi' 'I believe that man turned into an opossum' 69d

§247. The agentive refers to an entity standing in the relation of subject or object to the verb. It may be a one-time or a habitual subject or object. The syntax of the agentive is very much like that of an adjective. A characteristic function is as nucleus of a relative clause; in this function, the agentive is equivalent to a predicative verb, but is also not unlike an adjective (see §). The agentive distinguishes singular and plural number of the entity referred to. Examples, referring to the subject:

ʔam kap teyniš' tep hup' hi gitpi'. 'What was left he dried over the fire.' 86c

weŷ ʔašandi ʔapš ču·manš' ʔuš nitiya' hiʔi'. 'The old traveler was our master.' 7a

weyži·g' weŷ pokti hisdimank' ni ti·kŷ' kutnehin' ko·šnaʔa'.

'Therefore, those who went under the sky called God Governor.111

weyšk' pokti- hisdimank naki dempaš' ʔašinžati hi waytmiš'.

'The story of those who went under the sky is the oldest.' 111

tutk' huygi' weŷ panš ni·kmank' ʔuča·šnaʔa'. 'They made the sick people well.' 3g

wey čun' panš nenču· ka·nuš kin ʔapš-ʔi·mank' weŷ tep ne' ni žanti gaynaʔa'. 'Because of that, people who are too mixed with the Whites do not dance the fire dance.' 67e

Examples, referring to the object:

he·š ʔučpaš' gašmankš' ʔučm'. 'parched meal is made of corn.' 74c

ʔiš ʔa·tipu ne' gahč hamčai. 'My grandmother has a penis.' 82
literally 'is a penis possessor'.

Aspect

§248. Static verbs and the verbal state of adjectives refer primarily to the existence of a state. They may have an inchoative, as a secondary aspect expressing entrance into the given state. The primary static aspect is expressed by the simple conjugation of the verb or by the periphrastic conjugation (participle + auxiliary), which, for static verbs, seems to be exactly equivalent to the simple form. The periphrastic form is especially common in the aorist. The inchoative has the form of simple conjugation with or without the preverb *kap*.

Active verbs express an action in their primary aspect, indicated by the simple conjugational forms. They make a resultant aspect, expressing existence in the state resulting from the given activity; the forms are those of the periphrastic conjugation. The resultant occurs with transitives as well as if the verb is transitive the resulting may express having the object in the condition resulting from the action of simply to having completed the action. The notion of completed action seems also to apply to intransitives.

Examples of active and static verbs are given in the discussion §§ - . Here may be given contextual examples illustrating the aspect categories. Examples of primary static simple conjugation;

ʔun kun gušmi·dinaʔa' hamcinaʔa' 'He had something to eat' 8b

kap nu·pi hi kimi 'He believed he had died' 86d

hi nehōwi gihti'oi' 'He wanted to get on' 3f

nu·p'gasti gihōu·š 'if he wanted to plant potatoes' 52c

kamčín ōun' ni kaš hamčičouy' 'You will have luck with deer' 71f

nendugu ʔatiču·š' 'if it is too big' 73e

Examples of primary static, periphrastic forms:

təp' hamči·g' hi'uyin' 'He had fire' 5a

weytkite·t' kamčintkš' hesigen ha ney kiš' hamči·gš' naka'

'Since then we have again had deer in this land' 35e

him 'inžiš' himup ti·guni·g' hihčuy' 'Your father will be angry
with you' 86a

ʔungu gapti ka·kwi·g' hihčukiš' 'if I could get one' 15d

ʔišk' ni·ki·gšikin' 'I was sick' 64g

sa·ne' kap teypapi gihkš'i'uyin' 'I wanted to put a stop to that'

52b

wey te' himkš' huymi·gš' hi·te' 'Is that what you like?' 87a

ʔiš' ka·kwi·gšiki' ʔampup' ʔo·gi' na'ʔa' 'I know where there are

many' 53a

žanki kap wa·ksti·gšiki' 'I am already late' 59a

It is to be noted that, for static verbs, the periphrastic form is much more common than the simple one in the aorist. In some verbs, like giht- 'to want..', the simple aorist is more common than in most verbs but not more common than the periphrastic aorist. In other tense-modes, the simple form is quite common for all static verbs.

Examples of the inchoative of static verbs and adjectives:

wetkš' hus hanankš' kas ču·gš' hesigen' kap ti·guni'. 'Returning
to his house, he again became angry'. 17c

hus suʔuš' weʔ žahkš-te·t' kap piniwi' 'His skin had become red
like (that of) that creature' 33b

poʔ' ka·čtkš' kap pa·kineki' 'I got tired drinking medicine'. 131

panš ʔunguš kunugu kap ni·kiʔi 'a certain man got sick' 3a
 hus pa·ndin ʔuyinkš kap pi·hniʔi 'His wing became red with
 blood' 19c

šimas kun kap ʔatkinak 'They had grown large during the night' 86c

Examples of primary active (given for contrast with some of the next
 group of examples):

ʔišk ni kantig weʔ po' gaptiki 'I bent down and took the plant' 75b

šuš tišdun ki hi teyi 'He sat down on the fallen tree' 34b

ʔapš ʔuyinkiš husk hesigen panš ʔasi kap teyiʔi 'When he
 returned, he turned back into a person' 28b

šušeyanki šahčnaka 'We put him in the pen' 56b

šuš segis kas tusneminaʔa 'They hid in the woods' 21e

Examples of resultant static:

ʔiš ʔam kičandank gaptkš hiʔuyi 'My old aunt kept them' 45e

hi teygš hiʔuykin 'I was sitting' 65f

nahzibu kap teygš hiʔuyi 'She had turned child(fish)' 47d

ʔiš ʔa·y nu·pinkiš, hus piyaš šušwahy ki hi šahčtk hiʔuyi

'When my mother died, she had her cane put away in a barrel' 64b

weʔ tep ši·ki weʔ pu·pk tuskš pen 'That rabbit lay hidden in
 those ashes' 26e

kas tusnemi·g haš ni na 'Remain hidden' 47b

weytkite·t panš wašiš weʔ ʔa·witinki namžahčtkš naʔa 'Since then
 a person's fingers are imprinted in those large clams' 19b

weyži·g weyt ha·gš hiʔuyi 'That was why she had become that way' 4

ʔišk nadankš te·t ʔap teypaki·gš naʔa 'They have put me here as
 chief' 85a

The translation of the last example would suggest that it merely expresses prior time, though it is clear that the meaning is resultant state. Similarly the following may be taken as resultant state:

wayti·g' ʔiʂikin' 'I have beaten' 59b (I am the victor')

nučmpi ka·kwi·gš' hugu' kas nučmi·gšiki' 'Because I know the work,

I have fixed it' 51b

ʔam guštk' hiʔuyi' 'What did you eat?' 10e

But that the resultant may sometimes refer simply to prior time is suggested by such an example as the following, when considered in its context:

weʔ ʔašandaš ha ney ki' hi hoktk' naʔuynaka' 'We had left the old

man on this earth' 4c (but now they find him in the sky--that

is, he is no longer in the given state)

Occasionally the resultant seems to have passive meaning, e.g.,

panš tu·gš ʔapš pehōtk' kunugu' naʔuynaʔa' 'The dead people were

piled up' 10h

weʔ ney zahʂi ko· ʔi·kštuynaʔa' kap tohtkšin' 'The sugar cane mill

was broken' 63d

The non-passive translation '(someone had broken it' is possible in the second example, but 'they had piled them up' does not seem as likely in the first example.

Adjectival State

§248. As already stated, adjectives in the substantival state have the syntactic functions of substantives, in the verbal state they are like static verbs. In the substantival state, they frequently occur as appositional modifiers of other substantives and as predicative modifiers as well as in other common substantival functions. Some

adjectives may also function as verb modifiers. Examples:

hən napš'ikank' hamči·gš'i·te' 'Have you black cane?' 88

hentk' hamči·g hi·te' pinikank' ?učičiyi' 'Have you cane to make red' 88

pinikank' kap ten'išna'a' 'They turn red' 13d

sa·t ya·gi hihōu·š 'if it is that hard' 40

kaš huygi hi waytmiš' hi?uyi weY namunki' 'He was the richest (man) in that country' 86h

huygi hi·te' 'Are you well?' 48c

yukš te·t' peksigi memtepi ka·kun' 'He could jump as high as a cat' 48c

šuš segup' we'igi' hi čuyi·nkiš' šu·keystigi', gop' gop' gop', ?uča·šin' 'When he had gone far into the woods, he started going "gop gop gop" very rapidly' 26h

The verbal state of adjectives is not very common. (The predication of adjectival notions is most commonly expressed by the substantival state with or without auxiliaries; the equivalent of the inchoative is made by means of the verb kap tey- 'to become'; the equivalent of the inchoative causative is made by means of ?učī- 'to make...') Some examples are:

nenčugu ?atiču·š' 'if it is too big' 73e

hus su?uš' kap piniwi' 'His skin had become red' 33b

panš ?ašin'katkaš' na·kšbu' kap ?atki·dna'a' ša·čn' hokdina?eng' 'Old people have to leave room for children to grow up' 3h

(lit. 'to get big')

him kipi kap ya·ši'1' 'you get cramps' 74n. (lit. 'your flesh becomes stiff')

?iči·gš' nuškš te·t' kap ya·pi'1' 'He burned it and made it hard as a rock' 11a

*ampinki' šuhtpi'g' kap pinikapa'šna'a', *ašt napš'kpa'šna'a',

hi nu'kina'a' 'They learned in what to boil it to make it
red and how to make it black' 134

Demonstrative State

§250. The inflectional categories of the demonstratives have been sufficiently discussed in §§ - . They include substantival and locative (place in which) and directional (place to which) states. The substantival state distinguishes a proclitic and an independent.

The interrogative-indefinites have something of the nature of an inflection, one that is similar to that of the demonstratives, but the forms are so irregularly related and in such a complex manner that it is not clear how much of it should be considered inflection and how much simply lexical difference. See §§ - .

Numeral State

§251. Numerals have a cardinal state, expressing so and so many entities; an ordinal state, expressing entities in the given numerical order in a series; a temporal state expressing number of times or numerical order in a series of occurrences. The cardinal state functions as a term, an appositional modifier, or a predicative modifier. The ordinal has the same functions, being ordinarily construed with giš when in apposition to a term. The cardinal differs from the ordinal in the syntactic feature of temporal functions as a modifier or a verb or a predication. Examples of the cardinal state:

hatkangiš hi 'uyna'a' 'Only six arrived there' 3i

*apš kičemank giš 'upang' weš hanankiš' hi huhōtpamičuki' 'He

put just two couples into that house' 10f

wašti ka·yži čun' žeyt giš' wey kiš' šuš segis' his he·čti'?'i'

'For three days straight he met that gog in the woods' 34b
yo·č ?upankinkš te·t', weytenk' kap gayi'?'i' 'It stopped only

after about two years' 65b

wey hatkanki' witmpi gay' 'Of those six don't shoot any' 35d

Examples of the ordinal state:

wey ?up kami'gš' nugus hi hokti' 'He left the second one behind'

22e

meškami·g' ?ašt ?uči·g' ni nehōwi ne' ni šikki' 'I forget now

the fourth got down' 4g

wašti ka·yžimank hupk' hesigen hi ču·čuk' 'On the third day I

went again' 10a

meškami·g' hiš' wayti'?'i' 'The fourth one beat him' 22e

Examples of the temporal state:

ka·yžikamink' waštanki' wey kiš' wey ?asi nahzibu ketanki' šuš

tišdun di hi teyi' 34b

ka·yžikami·g' ?ap dutna?a' waštmpi gan ki' 'They came a third

time before morning' 47c

?uč ke·kš hiš' ?iš do' ka·yžikami·g' ?ap kowi'?'i' 'Someone called

my aunt tree times' 65b

meštka·mink' hi kowiš' ?uš segis' ?ap čin' 'When he called the

fourth time, he had come amongst us' 54a

Position

§252. Position is perhaps to be regarded as a recurrent lexical differentiation rather than an inflectional set. The categories recognized may be called vertical, horizontal, and neutral and are found expressed by suppletion or non-regular

formative processes in (a) singular auxiliary verbs, (b) the singular of the demonstrative of near deixis, in the continuative tense mode, (c) several verbs made up of roots plus determinatives, vertical and horizontal positions being marked by the determinatives. The forms are assembled in the following table:

Neutral	Vertical	Horizontal	
ha	hač	han	'this'
hi(h)-	oi(h)-	pe(h)-	'to be'
-?iši-	-?išoi-	-?išpe-	continuative root
	*-čwa-, pl. *-čma-	*-di-, pl. -mži-	determinative, expressing motion

Motion-verbs made with the root-determinative *-čwa- include huhčwa- 'to walk into a building', šahčwa- 'to walk into an enclosure or container', šanšwa- 'to walk out', kuyčwa- 'to get into a vehicle', ničwa-, 'to get into the water; to come to the water's edge', nenšwa- 'to get out of a vehicle', out of water', pehčwa- 'to get on', nenčwa- 'to get down'. There are corresponding verbs for *-di-, šuhoi-, šahdi-, etc., meaning 'to crawl into a building', etc. For a discussion of root determinatives, see § .

§253. The meanings of the position categories are only partly concerned with position. When applied to persons, the vertical category may be simply a refined mode of speaking. The horizontal category almost never, except perhaps in myths, has simple positional denotation when applied to persons, but instead has a disrespectful or derogatory meaning. ¹ These secondary meanings are connected with

¹ See Swadesh, Chitimača Verbs of Derogatory or Abusive Connotation with Parallels from European Language, Language 9.192-201. The discussion there fails to include the demonstrative han, and does not specifically mention the positional forms of the continuative.

the fact that the position of (four-legged) animals is classed as horizontal. The neutral position is simply non-committal as to position and other connotations and is the category most commonly used.

In the case of the root-determinative verbs, there are no forms of neutral connotation. The classification is therefore more insisted on. The connotations of attitude toward persons apply only to verbs with roots *huh-, *šah-, *šan-, *kuy-, *nen-, and to *ni- in the meaning 'to come to the water's edge'; in the meaning of 'to get into the water', ničwa- is applied to a person wading in, niđl- to a person starting to swim without any derogatory connotation (as a matter of fact, niđl- is to be regarded as the normal word for entering the water). Other cases in which the given root determinants are found, e.g., nadi- 'to crawl', do not have an attitude connotation though they may have positional meaning.

The verbs šidi- (pl. šimži-), ketiš and ketup, all meaning 'to go' with abusive connotation, do not have position meaning but are like the vertical position forms in their attitude connotation. ketiš- and ketup are used mainly in the imperative.

§254. The abusive connotation of the vertical category covers a range of nuances including open insult, sarcasm, displeasure, disrespect, playful abuse or lack of regard of the speaker toward the subject of the verb, or it may imply that the action is performed against the will of someone other than the subject. If the subject is first person, the implication is most likely to be of action despite another, of playful abuse, or of disregard of oneself. Examples

have been given in Language 9.192ff. Further examples are:

han haksigank' žah ni ša' ʔo·niš' ka·či kas hukuntinkš te·t'

ʔučka·ši' 'This young man is treating me as the mocking bird in fooling the owl' 24b

han napšžank hiš' yuks' ʔatin čun' gamkičuy' 'This negro will take us for the panther' 34a

han ʔasi nahzibu' ka·kwi·gšiči' ʔampup za·tk' neki ne' gečuyi'

'That boy knows where to spear a devil in order to kill him' 31c

ʔun kun huyigi' pehču·š', hus ni'či' ʔučičgš', nučičg', ʔun kun

ʔučičg' ni guščuyi' 'If he were any good, he'd make a home, work, produced something and eat' 7a

ʔišk' žaytepžiči·niš' peken ne' 'Am I lazy?' 85c

Examples of horizontal position with literal meaning only:

han waštiki' geti ka·kun te' 'Can you kill this cow?' 21a

han kiči nahzibu kap·nu·pčuying' 'This young woman has to die' 4a

horizontal because

weyt pe'enki' hus ʔi·kap tohti'či' 'While (alligator) lay thus,

(rabbit) broke but his tooth' 17e

Examples of horizontal position with both literal and attitudinal meaning:

we^y nekaš' kap nu·pkš pen' 'That devil lay dead' 31c

we^y kičnadaš' hus ššš' ʔuybink' pi·hni·gš' pentka' teki šankindišpe'č

'Although the old woman lay with her nose bleeding, she lay singing

61

ku·kš' mi·pk' pentka', hesigen' gihtkš' hus ku·tep gihtk' kowišpe'č

'Although he lay drunk, he wanted more, wanted his whiskey, and was shouting (for it)' 61

§255. It is clear enough that the vertical category refers to erect position in many contexts, but there are many examples where positional implication is not clear. In some of the latter cases it may be that the vertical has sometimes the function of the neutral. The verb čuw- 'to go' and apparently also verbs in *-čwa- are frequently in the vertical (have the vertical auxiliaries or continuative) even when there is no implication of erect position; thus, note particularly the reference to a dog's going (horizontal would be expected) in the examples below. Examples in which the positional force is clear (there are no contextual examples of hač):

dotriv hu·h si·ki' weŷ ʔaksuš' ku·ki' čiči' 'That Cypress stands in the water at the edge of Lake D'Autre Rive'. 9b
 him yaʔa' ni wopmi·g ʔap ču·gš čikin' 'I have come to ask for your daughter' 15c

ko·gš' ʔap ču·ščin' 'He was coming along calling' 33a
 ʔis ko·kš' ʔukš ki' hi tapši·gš čičuyi' 'My aunt had stepped (near) to the snakes' 57a

weŷ po·segis' tapši·g' čiči' kowʔiščiči' 'She had stood among those plants; he stood calling' 75h

Examples in which the positional force is not clear:

ʔišč' was ʔo·nak' pegis' čičiki'. ʔišč' kutnehin' hus nehe' 'I stand above you all. I am God himself' 11e

ʔučiči kin' čičuyiki' ni ka·kwiki' 'I didn't know who he was' 49b
 kiš ʔašičadi so·tohn'ču·gš čičču·š' 'If an old dog with a broken foot has gone about' 67e

weŷ kiš ʔakiš' hi šanšwi·gš čičuyi' 'The dog's guts had come out' 5f
 weŷ kičič' hus ʔinči kin' kas nučmi·gš čičin' 'That woman had arranged

it with her father' 30g

*u-stupunk' heki *atkenk gimniš' wa-ōti gihtkš ōi'uyi'ī' 'Ustupu
wanted to marry the chief's daughter' 15a

*am *uō' hi šeški-gš ōi' 'Why are you glad?' (addressed to rabbit)

17g

da-t ka-kwi-gš ōiki' *iš giš' hiki' hesigen' 'Now I know I am alone
again.' 26g

The neutral categories need not be specifically illustrated since
examples are plentiful in the texts.

Interrogation

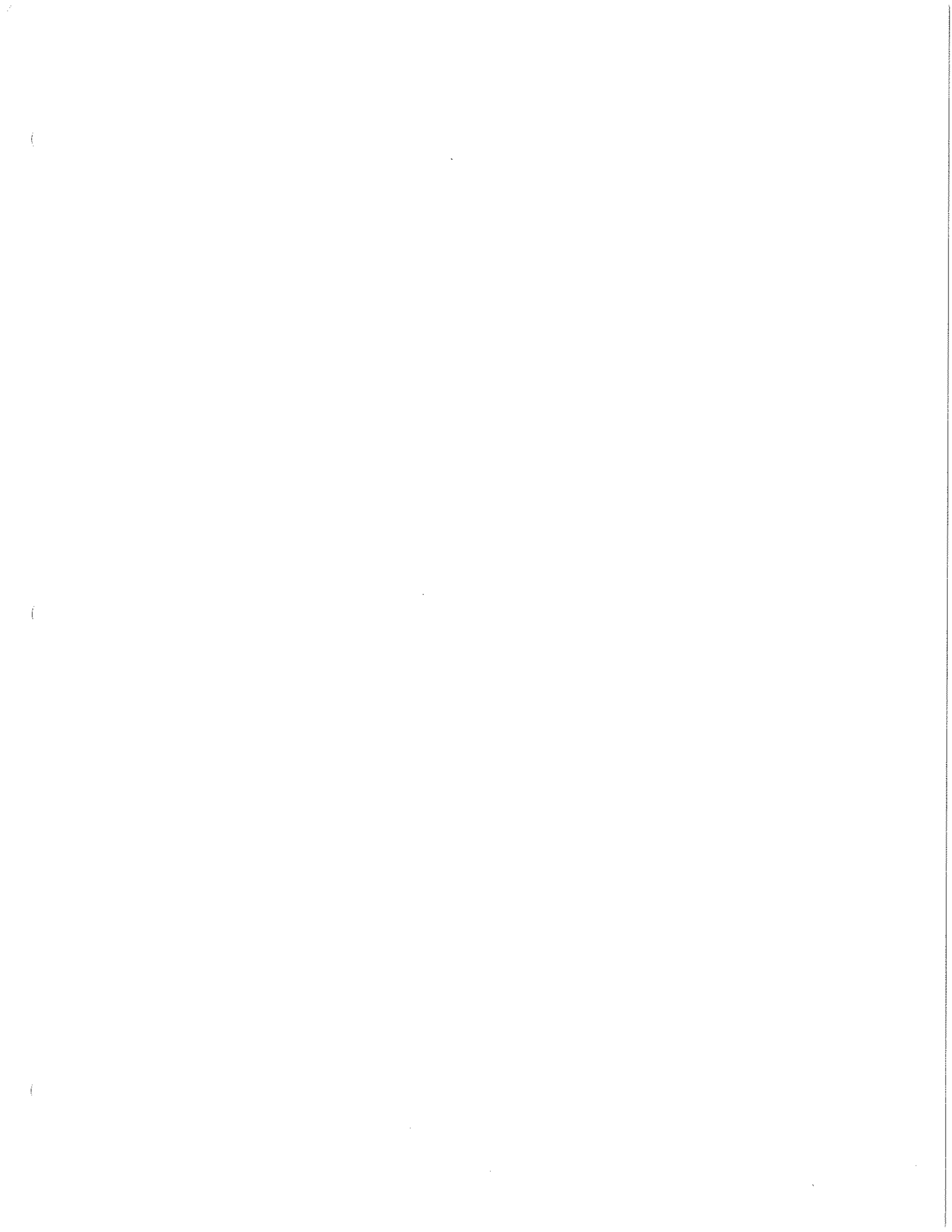
§256. In general all elements which may function as the predicative
nucleus of a sentence have an interrogative as well as a normal in-
dicative. No interrogative of a desiderative or a necessitative has
been found, but aorist, future, continuative, usitative, gerund,
and gerundive tense-modes of the verb and all sorts of predicative
modifier constructions make an interrogative. The formation is by
means of the prefinal phrase melody alone (see §) or the post-
position te with the same phrase melody. (see * .) te is the
interrogative corresponding to the indicative predicative particle
hugu.

The force of the interrogative is to evoke an affirmation or
denial of the given proposition.

Content-questions expressed with interrogative words, as who?
why? where? etc., which evoke predications, are not of the interrogative
inflectional category. The two types of questions are mutually
exclusive, but occasionally one finds the interrogative intonation in
a content question (without special signification). Known examples are:

Equivalent Forms

§257. Chitimacha is peculiar in the number of cases in which different forms have equivalent functions. It is perhaps in order to give some proof that we are really dealing with equivalent forms and not with inflectional differentiations. It is fairly easy to find parallel examples of formal differentiation where neither the context nor the translation given by the informant suggests any difference of denotation or connotation. The question remains as to whether there could not be some subtle difference, not easily detected. A hypothesis as to a subtle semantic feature has to stand the test of applicability to all the cases having the same form. It is impossible to present enough evidence to show the testing out of every conceivable hypothesis of this sort. Finally, it is conceivable that the differentiations represent tendencies rather than sharply differentiated meanings, for example, one might hypothesize that all in all it is more usual to say *hi* for a longer duration and *hi'í* for a shorter duration although the usages overlap. Such hypotheses are even more difficult to disprove. I can only say then that I have reached conclusions as to semantic identity of different forms only after gathering from my informant that there was no difference and after testing out various possible hypotheses. Here I give some instances of comparable sentences having different forms which seem to be equivalent. In a few instances, the examples happen to be taken from repetitions of the same story. Only four of the equivalences are illustrated: full and brief forms, different forms of the gerund, *-áis-* and *-n* continuative, different forms of the auxiliaries.



That full and brief forms are equivalent, except perhaps stylistically, was evidenced by the fact that frequently enough the informant would change from one to the other in the repetition of a sentence. Two sets of comparable sentences may be taken from the texts:

hus na·nča·kannakš' wetk' hi hokmi'ʔi' 'Then he left his brothers' 1a

hus na·nča·kamank' hi hokmi' 'He left his brothers' 2a

weŷ haksigam hiš' siksī' his nuyti'ʔi' 'The young man answered the eagle

2b

weŷ ʔasinkš' siksī' his nuyti' 'The man answered the eagle' 2b

Any number of further examples may be found in the texts.

Different forms of the gerund:

hink' he·čpapi ka·han' 'We can't help you' 3a

he·čpi ka·kwakiču·š' 'If you can help me' 2b (to help if-you-are-able)

nenčugu' demi gihtk' 'wishing to kill too many' 53b

weŷ panš pinikank kap čempi gihna'ʔa' 'They wanted to kill the Indians' 43c

Continuative in -n and in -ʔiš-:

weŷ heki ʔatkank hus hehenk' hi witmiču·š' kap demin' 'If

the counsellor himself shows, he would kill them' 67c

ni heki ʔatkank giš' weŷ kamčin šahapšžikank geđišna'ʔa'

(Only counsellors killed the spotted deer' 71d

weŷ ka·čoi ʔatin ʔiš hana' ʔepš kudihdina·š' dema·šiki' 'If those

large owls come around my house, I would kill them' 80d

našmi·gš' ču·kin' 'I am going hunting' 67a

Different forms of aorist auxiliaries:

*anki' kap wa·kati·gsiki' 'I am already late' 59a

kap ?u·ki·wi·gsin' 'She was jealous' 32a

ka·kwi·gš' čiči' 'He knew it' 39a

ka·kwi·gš' čiči' 'You know it' 45a

ka·kwi·gš' čin' 'You know it' 65d

weŷ hu·tanki' pehōwi·gš' čiči' 'He stood on the boat' 33a

hiniš' tapsi·gš' čin' 'She just stood' 75h

It is clear that the few examples given above are insufficient to demonstrate conclusively the points under discussion. They are intended only to be suggestive. The amount of evidence necessary to prove a negative point has to be so large as to make a serious demonstration impractical with the confines of this book. The evidences is all contained in the texts, and the reader can test out any hypotheses he may have.