## YUCHI

BY
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## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The material on which this grammatical sketch of the Yuchi Language is based has been collected during several field trips to the Yuchi Indians of Central Oklahoma which were undertaken during the summer of 1928 and in the winter of 1929, covering in all a period of about five months. Both trips were financed by the fund for linguistic research of the Council of Learned Societies a $t$ the recommendation of Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, New York City.

I am deeply indebted to Professor Boas for many useful suggestions regarding the methods of fieldwork as well as the following elaboration and arrangement of the grammatical information.

The present grammatical sketch is intended to be used in connection with the collection of Yuchi Tales published by the same author as vol. XIII of the ,,Publications of the American Ethnological Society (New York 1931)." The illustrating examples contained in this grammar are without exception taken from that volume. To enable the reader to place them into their proper context all examples have been given with page and sentence references. Thus the reference 20,1 behind the example "dicaxdji I have reached" which will be found on page 306 of the present volume refers to page 20 sentence no. 1 of the "Yuchi Tales" where the example occurs in the full context of the narrative.

The lists of stems given in the chapters on the noun and the verb are not intended to be exhaustive. A full vocabulary of the Yuchi Language will be published separately.

London, May 1934.
Günter Wagner.

## YUCHI

## By GÜNTER WAGNER

## §§ 1-17. I. PHONOLOGY

## A. Vowels

## § 1. Description of vowels

There are four series of vowels in Yuchi which seem to be of equal importance: 1) an open, 2) a nasalized, 3) a closed, and 4) a glottalized series. The vowels occuring in each series are:

1) open series:
```
\iota as in English "pin", "thin" etc.,
\varepsilon as in English "get",
\rho voiced exactly as the German open " o", e.g. in "noch".
```

Of these three vowels $\varepsilon$ and $\rho$ occur frequently and may be considered the most characteristic vowel sounds of Yuchi. ıoccurs exclusively before $n$ and may have developed from the nasalized $\iota=\iota$. (see § 9). Open $\alpha$ and open $v$ occur only as nasalized sounds.
2) nasalized series:

```
\ell there is no equivalent in English for the open, nasalized i. It is
    articulated far forward: !la, dj\mp@subsup{\ell}{}{\prime}.
\varepsilon an open, nasalized e, similar to French "fin".
\alpha as in French "dans".
z as in French "mon".
v nasalized v.
```

3) closed series:
```
i as in English "meat", "feet" etc.,
a as in English "father",
o as in German "rot",
u as in English "room" or German "Buch".
```

A closed $e$ (as the French é) does not occur. There is, however, an obscure final a (as the $e$ in German "Name") which is sometimes slightly lengthened and then heard as $e$; e. g.: hawetwa'le, катa'те.
4) glottalized series:

All three series of vowels just discussed occur glottalized. In initial position the glottal stop is weaker than after a vowel or a consonant, but it can be distinctly recognized in initial ' $i$, ' $\iota$, ' $\varepsilon$, and ' $a$ where it is very frequent.

## § 2. JUX'TAPOSITION OF VOWELS

While there is no true diphthongization in Yuchi we frequently encounter juxtaposition of two vowels which enter into a more or less close relationship. Altogether we can distinguish three types of juxtaposition:
a) two vowels of equal length with a diphthongal glide between them:

```
a'od\varepsilonh\varepsilon, tsiac'\mp@subsup{\varepsilon}{}{\prime}, catio'n\varepsilon, tsi'\alpha, таlaon\mp@subsup{\imath}{}{\prime}, s'\mp@subsup{a}{}{\prime}\imathk`a.
```

As may be seen from these examples the accent can be on the second vowel; vowels of all three series may be combined in such a diphthongal glide.
b) both vowels have a separate impulse of voicing:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
t s^{\prime} \mid g a \varepsilon^{\prime} \cdot \varepsilon n d \varepsilon^{1} & \text { wedza.a' on? } \\
k i w \varepsilon^{\prime} \cdot \xi w \varepsilon^{\prime} t a & \text { yuaafa }
\end{array}
$$

c) the vowels are separated by a glottal stop:

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
a l \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \eta^{\prime} & h \imath^{\prime} p^{\prime} d i t^{\prime} \varepsilon \\
a \times \kappa K \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon & s_{\imath} k^{\prime} q \kappa i^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} d \partial
\end{array}
$$

The combinations in which these various types of juxtaposition occur donot seem to be limited, although the diphthongal glide occurs most frequently in the combinations $a 0$ and $i o$. The following table shows the most frequent vowel combinations and the types of juxtaposition:

|  | $\iota$ | $\varepsilon$ | $\bigcirc$ | \& | $\xi$ | $\underline{ }$ | ? | $v$ | $i$ | $a$ | 0 | $u$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\iota$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\varepsilon$ |  | $\varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  |  | $\varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  | $\varepsilon^{\prime} 2$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| 0 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\ell$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\varepsilon$ |  |  |  |  | $\varepsilon^{2} \xi$ |  |  |  |  | $\varepsilon^{\prime} a$ |  |  |
| $\underline{\chi}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ? | $\imath^{\prime} \imath$ | २' $\varepsilon$ |  |  | $\chi^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  | ? 2 |  |  | $\mathfrak{p}^{\prime} a$ |  |  |
| $\vartheta$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $i$ |  | $i^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & i ` \\ & i \xi \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & i \cdot a \\ & i a \\ & i . a \end{aligned}$ | io |  |
| $a$ |  | $a^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  | $a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ | $a^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  |  |  |  | $a^{3} a$ | $\begin{aligned} & a^{\prime} o \\ & a o \\ & a . o \end{aligned}$ |  |
| 0 |  | $O^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  |  | $o^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  | $o^{\prime}{ }^{2}$ |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & o^{\prime} a \\ & o a \end{aligned}$ |  |  |
| $u$ |  | $u^{\prime} \varepsilon$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $u^{\prime} a$ |  |  |

[^0]
## §§ 3-6. VOWEL PROCESSES

## § 3. (a) Contractions

Contraction is one of the most frequent processes of Yuchi phonology. It occurs exclusively in rapid speech and the full forms can always be easily reconstructed. There are two types of contraction, one which shortens words to mere fragments and which does not seem to underlie any phonetic rules ${ }^{1}$ and another one which is restricted to a few definite combinations of sounds. Thus we have:

1) Whenever the semi-vowel $w$ is preceded by the vowels $i, e, a, o$ and followed by $\varepsilon$ a contraction may take place which results in the elimination of $w$ and produces a different vocalic quality:

$$
\begin{array}{lll}
i+w \varepsilon \text { becomes } & u \\
e+w \varepsilon & , & o \\
a+w \varepsilon & , & o, a o, \text { or } a \\
o+w \varepsilon & , & o, o o
\end{array}
$$

Examples:
тi'wekw ${ }^{\prime} d j i n$ becomes $\tau u^{\prime} k w_{\varepsilon} d j i n$ in he put
тi'wefa becomes $\tau u^{\prime} f a$ in they stand
тi'wep'a becomes $т u^{\prime} p^{\prime} a$ in he looked
ale'wegahe becomes alo'gahe when they get there
le'wenz becomes lo'nz that one
gont' $\varepsilon$ ' wen? becomes gont'o' $n_{2}$ the person
cafawe'ng becomes cafo'ng the moon
Talawen $\boldsymbol{q}^{\prime}$ becomes ralaon ${ }^{\prime}$ the wolf
$a^{\prime} w \varepsilon g w a d j$ becomes $a^{\prime}$ gwadjin he said
tso'wenๆ becomes tso'onๆ the sun
got'o' wen? becomes got'o' $n$ ? the child
ya Pil'o' wen? becomes yaril'o' $n$ ? the wagon
2) In connection with the semi-vowel $y$ only one instance of contraction has been observed, viz.:
$o+y a$ becomes $a$ :
gоya' $\underset{\text { к }}{ } a$ becomes $g a \cdot^{\prime} x$ ка a white man
3) If $h$ stands between two vowels a contraction may occur in the following combinations:
$a h i$ becomes $a \cdot$ :
hahit' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ becomes $h a \cdot{ }^{\prime} t ' \varepsilon$ not one
$a h 2$ becomes $a \cdot$ :
ahrgwahe' becomes $a^{\prime}$ 'gwahe when they say
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} h_{\imath} w i$ becomes $s^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ 'wi he fell down

[^1]$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} h_{\imath} t^{\prime} a w_{\varepsilon}$ becomes $s^{\prime} a^{\prime} t^{\prime} a_{w_{\xi}}$ he drops

$\varepsilon h \varepsilon$ becomes $\varepsilon$ :
yone $h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ becomes yons'nd $\varepsilon$ the fawn and then. . .
4) If $n$ stands between two vowels the following contractions may occur:
an $\varepsilon$ becomes $\alpha$ :
tscha'n $\varepsilon h \varepsilon$ becomes $t s \varepsilon h q^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ you swim
$\varepsilon n \varepsilon$ becomes $\varepsilon$ :
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon$ becomes $t s \xi \operatorname{dog}$
ale'negaya becomes alq'gaya if you get back there
5) Intervocalic $l$ is eliminated and the vowels contracted in the following case:
ala becomes $a \cdot$ :
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} \boldsymbol{T} a$ becomes $k^{\prime} a^{\prime} \boldsymbol{T} a$ things on top of
6) Contractions of vowels standing in juxtaposition is extremely rare. Only the two following examples have been observed:
goa'dene becomes ga'dene
we's'ntaha becomes w'ntaha

## § 4. (b) Nasalization

In a few cases nasalization of the vowels $o, a$, and $\varepsilon$ has been observed without any accompanying change in meaning:
$n a$ becomes $n q$ and 88,47 and 100,11
$\varepsilon$ becomes $\varepsilon$ in : $\xi^{\prime \prime}$ ondzela she will eat us 102,31 , and
छуитпя ${ }^{\prime} c_{\imath}$ she makes signs.

## § 5. (c) ASSIMILATION

Vowel assimilation has been observed in a few cases only, all of which represent the type of a regressive assimilation:

1) Assimilation to $i$ :
weditn $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ becomes widitn $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ I saw him 250,10
Kewi'he becomes kiwi'h $\varepsilon$ when it passed 176,46
$w^{\prime \prime} i t_{\varepsilon} w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\mathcal{\imath}}$ becomes $w i^{\prime \prime} i t_{\varepsilon} w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ the big ones 292,10
2) Assimilation to $\alpha$ :
$h o n d z \varepsilon ' t w a$ becomes hondza'twa they kill me 170,12 yub'a' becomes $y a b^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ high 172,21
3) Assimilation to $\varepsilon$ :
$h i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ becomes $h \varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ all
$f^{\prime}$ ow' $\varepsilon^{\prime} d a$ becomes f' $\varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} d a 4,6$

## § 6. (d) DISSIMILATION

Vowel dissimilation seems to be restricted to the vowel 9 . Examples:
$h_{2} n_{2}$ becomes $h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ they
hido's'nda becomes hidə's'nda I know
$h_{\imath} k^{\prime} q^{\prime} g_{2}$ becomes $h_{\imath} k^{2} \varepsilon^{\prime} g_{2}$ they run with
$h_{\imath} h_{\imath} l \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ becomes hohqle' $n_{\imath}$ catch him, 126, 76
§§ 7-10. B. Consonants
§ 7. SURVEY OF CONSONANTS

|  | Stops |  |  |  |  | Spirants |  |  | Affricatives |  |  |  | Nasals |  | Laterals |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 菏 } \\ & \text { W8 } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{0} \\ & \stackrel{N}{N} \\ & \underset{N}{0} \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ |  |  | $\underset{y}{c}$ |  |  |  | $\begin{gathered} \underset{y y y}{3} \\ \sqrt[3]{2} \end{gathered}$ |  |  | 苟 |
| bilabial | $b$ | $P$ | $p^{\prime}$ | $p^{\prime}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | $m$ |  |  |  |  |
| labio-dental |  |  |  |  |  | $f$ | $f^{\prime}$ | fw |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| ling. $\left\{\begin{array}{l}\text { dental to } \\ \text { alveolar }\end{array}\right.$ | $d$ | $T$ | $t^{\text {c }}$ | $t>$ | $t w$ | $s$ | $s^{\prime}$ |  | $d z$ | $t s$ | $t s^{2}$ | tsw |  |  |  |  |  |
| ling.-alveol. |  |  |  |  |  | $c$ | $c^{\prime}$ | $c w$ | $\overline{d j}$ | tc | $t c^{\prime}$ | tcw | $n$ |  | $l$ |  |  |
| dorsalpalatal | $g$ | $K$ | $k^{<}$ | $k^{\prime}$ | $\begin{aligned} & g w \\ & k w \end{aligned}$ | $x$ |  |  |  |  |  |  | ( $\eta$ ) |  |  | $l$ | $l^{\prime}$ |
| velar |  |  | $k^{\text {c }}$ | $k^{\prime}$ | kw | $x$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Further:
Semi-vowels: $w, y$,
Aspirated: $h$,
The stops occur in five series:

1. Sonant bilabial $b$, linguo-dental or alveolar $d$, and dorsalpalatal $g$.
2. Unaspirated $P, T$, and $\kappa$ which in the texts have been described as intermediate between sonant and surd. Since no experiments have been made on the kymograph, it is impossible to decide whether these entirely unaspirated stops are partly voiced or not. According to my impression they actually stand between sonant and surd.
3. Surds $p, t$, and $k$ which occur with various degrees of aspiration. In cases of strong aspiration this is denoted by '.
4. Glottalized $p^{2}, t^{2}$, and $k^{2}$. $k$ in rare cases is articulated as a velar or even a uvular $k$ or $k^{\prime}$; e. g.: lé $l^{\prime} u$ tribe, kya'fa behind.
5. Labialized series, comprising surd $t w$, sonant $g w$ and surd kw (kw).

The spirants are restricted to the surd series which is well developed with a labio-dental $f$, a linguo-dental $s$, an alveolar $c$, a dorsal-
palatal $x$ (as in German "ich"), and a velar $x$ (as in German "ach"). $f, s$, and $c$ also occur glottalized as $f^{\prime}, s^{\prime}$, and $c^{\prime}$, and $f$ and $c$ labialized as $f w$ and $c w$.

Among the affricatives there are four series: 1. sonant, 2. surd with varying degrees of aspiration, 3. glottalized and 4. labialized. As to the point of articulation we have linguo-dental $d z$ and $t s$, and linguo-alveolar $d j$ and $t c$.

There are only two nasals, the sonant bilabial $m$, and $n$ which varies from linguo-dental to alveolar. Before palatal stops a nasalization of a vowel often develops into a palatal $n$, e. g. nojka three.

Of the laterals $l$ is an alveolar sonant and $l$ a dorsal-palatal surd which also occurs glottalized as $t^{3}$.

## §§ 8-10. CONSONANTIC PROCESSES

## § 8. (a) Elimination of consonants

The semi-vowels $w$ and $y$, the aspirate $h$ and the consonants $n$ and $l$ may be eliminated when they stand between certain vowels (see vowel contractions, p. 4).

## § 9. (b) Consonantic development of vowel quality

(a) Whenever a nasalized vowel is followed by a stop an assimilative consonant may be inserted. Thus:
$\left.\begin{array}{ccc}\ell & \text { becomes } & m \\ \varepsilon & " & \varepsilon m \\ \alpha & ", & \alpha m \\ z & " & m \\ v & ", & v m\end{array}\right\}$ before $b, p, p$

Examples:


Examples:
gowa'c'Endjon I was burning $\quad \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j u b i$ all day hondze they andze you
$a^{\prime}$ ntsole are you asleep ?

| $\ell$ | becomes | $\iota \eta^{1}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\varepsilon$ | $\#$ | $\varepsilon \eta$ |
| $q$ | $"$ | $\alpha \eta$ |
| $\ell$ | $"$ | $\partial \eta$ |
| $\psi$ | $"$ | $v \eta$ |$|$ before $g, \kappa, k$

[^2]
## Examples:

$a^{\prime} n \ni \eta g a$ we arrive
nє $\eta g a^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ true enough
са' $a^{\prime} a$ bull snake
( $\beta$ ) Whenever an open or closed unnasalized vowel is followed by a dental or alveolar stop ( $d, T, t$ ) or by a palatal stop ( $g, k, k$ ) the surd spirants $x$ (dorsal-palatal) and $x$ (velar) respectively may be inserted. Thus:
$\left.\begin{array}{ccc}i & \text { becomes } i x \\ \iota & , & \iota x \\ e & " & e x \\ a & " & a x \\ \alpha & " & a x \\ o & " & o x \\ 0 & " & o x \\ u & " & u \dot{x} \\ v & " & v \dot{x}\end{array}\right\}$ before $d, T, t, g, k, k$

Examples:
dica' $x$ dji I have reached 20,1
axкe'la there 20,6
wextit $h \xi^{\prime}$ they were pulling 22,6
$y u^{\prime} x \kappa \varepsilon$ yonder
dix tadjigo'la I may have been afraid 26,19
wexto' go with them 30,2
goxdi'c $\varepsilon$ liar 196,18

## § 10. (c) PHONEMES

There are a number of parallel sounds in Yuchi which are either freely interchangeable or which replace each other according to their position in the word-unit and therefore may be considered as the same phonemes:
( $\alpha$ ) $\operatorname{Tn} \varepsilon-{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon:$

$$
\begin{aligned}
& a \chi{ }^{*} \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon-a \chi_{\kappa} \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} n \varepsilon \\
& \text { Pado }{ }^{\prime}{ }^{2} \text { - Pado' }{ }^{\prime} \text { ne } \\
& \text { таPi' }{ }^{\prime}{ }_{\varepsilon}-\text { tapi' } T n \varepsilon
\end{aligned}
$$

see § 50 ,
( $\beta$ ) $n \varepsilon-\varepsilon$ :

$$
w a h \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon c a-w a h \varepsilon^{\prime} . \varepsilon c a
$$

( $\gamma$ ) $n-h$ :
These two sounds are interchangeable in initial position only:

$$
n a-h a
$$

( $\delta) ~ t s-d z, t_{c}-d j$ :
The surd affricative changes often but not always into the sonant when it occurs within a word:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& t s \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon-n a^{\prime} d z \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon \\
& t s \varepsilon-n a^{\prime} n d z \varepsilon \\
& t c i-s^{\prime} q^{\prime} d j i
\end{aligned}
$$

§§ 11-14. C. Relative Frequency and Groupivg of Sounds § 11. Relative frequency of sounds
An analysis of a few pages of texts (taken from different tales to avoid the frequent repetition of the same words) yielded the following distribution of sounds:


Although the number of sounds analysed in this index is not sufficient to represent accurately the numerical proportion of sounds in Yuchi, it is sufficiently large to demonstrate the following points:

Among the vowels the closed $a$ (as in father) and the open $\varepsilon$ occur most frequently while open $\alpha$ and closed $e$ are lacking almost entirely. $i$ and $o$ are fairly equally distributed. $u$ occurs much less frequently than all other vowels which, however, may be due to the fact that it does not occur in any of the pronominal forms.

As to consonants there is a considerable predominance of the nasal $n$ and the spirant $h$. The stops come next, the dentals being the most and the labials the least frequent ones. The other numbers are not sufficiently large to permit any generalizations.

Comparing all vowels with all consonants we find a proportion of 771 vowels to 729 consonants.
§ 12. Distribution of vowels and consonants within a word An analysis of several hundred mono- and bisyllabic words yielded the following distribution of vowels and consonants:

```
v
c V
v C V
c C V
vec v
c vev
cevev
C V cev
vevev
```

This list gives the possible combinations only without reference to the relative frequency of their occurence. Such a list would be difficult to obtain as there are many homonyms and derived stems which would render the results irrelevant. Approximately, the combination v c v is the most frequent one, next to which come the monosyllabic stems consisting of $\mathrm{c} v$.

## § 13. initial and final position

Both vowels and consonants occur in initial position. A survey of several hundred verbal and nominal stems shows that every sound occurs in initial position except the vowels $e, u$, and $v$, and the spirants $x$ and $x$. With the exception of the temporal -djin (see p. 118) all words end in a vowel which may be open, closed, nasalized, aspirated or glottalized.

## § 14. Consonantic clusters

The juxtaposition of two consonantic sounds is not frequent, as may be seen from the list of sound-combinations given above in the paragraph on "distribution of vowels and consonants." Out of the nine sound-combinations that occur only four have consonants in juxtaposition (cev, vecv, ccvev, cvecv). Clusters of more than two consonants do not seem to occur at all (except in cases of $m, n$, $x$ or $x$ developed from nasalized or aspirated vowels, see § 9).

By far not all consonants can stand in juxtaposition. The only combinations that have been found in more than 3000 words and word complexes are: the fricatives $s$ and $c$ with the stops $p, p$, $d, T, t, K, k$, resulting in $s p, s p, s d, c p, c P, c d$, etc.; the dental stops $T$ and $t$ with $n=T n$, $t n$, and, finally, $n$ followed by $d, T$, , $t w, s, c, t s, t c, t s w, t c w$, and $t$. (for examples see $\S \S 24,45$ ).

## §§ 15-16. D. Accent

## § 15. ACCENT IN BISYLLABIC WORDS

In Yuchi the significance of stress is more psychological and semantic than morphological. There is no primary position of the accent on a fixed syllable within the word-unit. Nevertheless certain tendencies may be observed: With bisyllabic nominal stems the accent in most cases falls on the second syllable. This seems to be due to the fact that the second syllable, as a rule, modifies and specifies the first syllable which represents the general element:
$y_{\mathcal{P}} S P a^{\prime}$ pecan
$y o n t^{\prime} O^{\prime}$ acorn $\quad y_{\mathcal{Z}} C P i^{\prime}$ walnut
see § 24.

In some cases the position of the accent has a semantic significance, e. g.:

| ca'ya squirrel | caya' weeds |
| :--- | :--- |
| $n \varepsilon ' w \varepsilon n$ ? this | $n \varepsilon w \varepsilon ' n ?$ these |

Nominalized verbal stems (see § 25) that end in the suffix -ne have the stress on either the first or the second syllable, e. g.:

| gon $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ baby | tso'ne pig nut |
| :---: | :---: |
| gwa'ne owl | tsene' dog |
| canz' duck | sene ${ }^{\prime}$ iron |
| ctine ${ }^{\prime}$ spoon | $s \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon$ bird |

The bisyllabic nouns of a third group seem to be composed of two monosyllabic stems of equal value with the accent on either the first or the second syllable, e. g.:


$$
\begin{aligned}
& a^{\prime} g a \text { day } \\
& p^{c} i^{\prime} h_{\xi} \text { noise }
\end{aligned}
$$

etc.
In bisyllabic verbal stems the position of the accent seems to be entirely irregular (see § 45).

## § 16. ACCENT in polysyllabic word-untts

(a) Primary and secondary accent

In most word-units that consist of more than two syllables we may distinguish a primary (') and a secondary (') accent. As in the case of the bisyllabic words it is impossible to recognize definite rules as to the position of both accents: The secondary accent may precede or follow the primary accent, both may stand close together, or they may be separated by several syllables, e. g.:
a'gawaha'la days many
anehe'nedjin we used to stay $h_{\imath} w \varepsilon l a n \varepsilon^{\prime} c \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i$ (the road) that he there
taha' $h_{2} n^{\prime}$ ' the older one used to go
(b) Change of accent in compounded words
(a) If two nouns are compounded the more specialized noun usually carries the main accent:
goc'i-bilo'ne shirt (cloth round) yudac'i'-T\&n $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ door-lock
$y u$-dac' $i^{\prime}$ door (house-mouth) $y a^{\prime} s o-y a s^{\prime} i^{\prime}$ pine-stick
$(\beta)$ Whenever contractions take place the contracted syllable is stressed:
go'nt' $\varepsilon w^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ becomes gənt'o. $n_{\text {? }}$
(cp. § 3).
Pitch accent, if it occurs at all, is of no grammatical-significance.

## § 17. E. Quantity

Aside from its grammatical and semantic significance (see § 54) the quantity of vowels figures phonetically in cases of vowel con-
tractions. Thus the vowels resulting from the contractions discussed above (see §3) are lengthened: $i+w \varepsilon$ becomes $u^{\cdot 1}$, ahi becomes $a$ etc.

In rapid speech the last vowel that is stressed in each sentence is often lengthened and slightly raised in pitch.

## § 18. II. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The following grammatical processes may be distinguished in Yuchi:

1. Compounding (see $\S \S 24,48$ ),
2. Prefixing (see $\S \S 30-42,57-59$ ),
3. Suffixing (see $\S \S 25-27,50-56$ ),
4. Reduplication (see $\S \S 27,54$ ),
5. Nasalization (see § 51),
6. Position (see $\S \S 22,32$ ).

## §§ 19-22. III. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY MORPHOLOGICAL DEVIÇES

## § 19. A. Nominal Ideas

The basic element in the nominal complex is the mono- or bisyllabic stem which is either primary or a compound of several primary stems. Apart from this class of stems a word can be nominalized by suffixing a noun-forming element to an adjectival or verbal stem.

Nouns are classified by means of article-suffixes as animate and inanimate. Within the former group a general dividing line is drawn between members of the tribe and all other animate beings, the former again being distinguished according to kinship and sex. Within the second, the inanimate group, the distinction between round, upright and horizontal dimensions of objects serves as the classifying principle.

The idea of number is not very well developed. Both collectivity and plurality of inanimate objects are denoted by one nominal suffix which replaces the classificatory suffixes of the singular forms. With animate nouns the distinction between tribal and non-tribal is upheld by two distinct plural suffixes while the kinship and sex differentiations are reduced to a few forms. When the number is indicated by numerals or numeral adverbs like "a few", "many" etc. the plural suffixes do not occur.

Local and temporal distribution (here and there, in places, now

[^3]and then etc.) are expressed by reduplication of the nominal or adjectival stem (see § 54).

Locative concepts are expressed in the noun by a few suffixes of a general character (see § 29), the more specific expressions of location always being found in verbal prefixes or in independent locatives.

## § 20. B. Pronominal Ideas

The pronoun is by far the best developed grammatical category of the Yuchi language. Except in the independent emphatic forms it does not constitute a word-unit by itself but is prefixed either to the noun or to the verb.

Personal and possessive pronouns have first, second, and third persons singular, an inclusive and exclusive first person plural (but no dual) and a second person plural. The third person plural is identical with that of the singular. Within the third person the same ideas are distinguished as in the nouns designating animate objects, viz.: tribal membership as against all other animate beings, different degrees of kinship-relationship between the speaker and the person referred to (this includes reference to sex in some pronominal forms), and male and female speech. There is only one third person referring to inanimate objects with no further distinction as to the shape or dimension of the object.

The personal pronouns have three subjective series, the first implying a general and the second a specific object, while the third one is independent and emphatic. Furthermore there are a direct objective and an indirect objective series. The reflexive series consist of contracted forms of the first two subjective series and the direct objective series.

Among the possessive pronouns four distinct series may be recognized with forms parallel to the personal pronouns. It has not been possible, however, to show corresponding differences in meaning between the four series.

The ideas of dual reciprocity (e. g.: they [two] talk to each other) and of plural reciprocity (e. g. they [many] fight one another) are expressed by two particles, placed between the pronoun and the verbal stem.

The interrogative pronouns are not well developed. There is only one formative prefix that can be modified by compounding it with various other elements, especially the classifying suffixes (see § 26).

There are two general demonstrative prefixes corresponding to English "this" and "that" which are modified by compounding with the classifying elements discussed above.

## § 21. C. The Verb:

The verbal, like the nominal stems, are either monosyllabic or compounds of several elements of speech which cluster round a primary verbal stem. Furthermore verbs are formed by suffixing a verbalizing element to nouns, adjectives, adverbials and even prefixes (e. g. "to be on," "to be inside" etc.)

The ideas of a general and a specific object of the verb are expressed by two different pronominal series (see § 31). With some verbs this approaches the distinction between transitive and intransitive (e. g. I burn a field, and I am burning [as a state]).

Instrumentality as a general concept (without implication or mentioning of the instrument) is expressed by a prefix, the range of which extends beyond those verbs the English equivalents of which are usually thought to involve an instrumental (see § 57).

Locatives which are suffixed when they modify the noun are prefixed when they function in the verbal complex (see above).

All other ideas modifying the verbal stem are expressed by suffixes. The tenses are comparatively well developed. Approximately the forms express: 1) The incomplete past (corresponding closely to the English imperfect), 2) the completed past, 3) the near future, and 4) the distant future. These ideas, moreover, are considerably extended and modified by compounding the temporal suffixes with modal and other elements. Such compounds are understood as units with a stereotyped meaning and may be considered secondary temporal suffixes.

The following modes may be distinguished: The infinitive (the verbal stem prefixed by an impersonal pronoun "people" or "liuman"), the indicative, the imperative, the hortative, the potential, the emphatic, the mood denoting "ability" and, finally, the interrogative. Except the infinitive they are all indicated by suffixes.

There are only a few aspects that are denoted by formal devices: The continuative or durative, the habitual, the reiterative and the distributive, the last two being denoted by reduplication of the verbal stem.

Comparison is expressed both in adjectives and static verbs, a distinction being made between the degrees "quite", "too" and "very". The suffix denoting "very" also occurs with the meaning of a true superlative while the comparative can only be expressed by the adverbial "more" following the adjective which it modifies.

## § 22. D. Syntactic Structure

The definition of the word-unit in Yuchi cannot be given in absolute terms as it is extremely flexible, due to the far reaching
processes of compounding. The determination of the word-unit in one direction, viz. its minimal extent, is indicated clearly by the criterion of the independent and meaningful unit ${ }^{1}$. Although this is a subjective criterion which does not primarily rest upon formal (e. g. phonetic) principles, it seems to be the only valid principle of classifying the elements of speech into independent words and affixes.

The upper limit of the word-unit, viz. the maximal size of a compound, is more difficult to determine. Thus noun plus adjective may be considered as two independent words in juxtaposition or as a nominal compound (see § 24b).

Wherever affixes enter into a compound the word-unit is determined by the first prefix and the last suffix modifying the central stem; e. g.: ha-hi-тa-we-p $a^{\prime}-T \varepsilon-d j \iota^{\prime} n=$ they could not pull up with; $p^{\prime} a$ is the verbal stem "pull"; $h a-h i-\tau a-w \varepsilon$ are the various prefixes: $h a$ - negative, $h i$ instrumental, $\tau a$ - locative, we-personal pronoun "they"; $-T \varepsilon$ is the suffix denoting ability and $-d j{ }^{\prime} n$ the temporal suffix, indicating the incomplete past.

Proclitics and enclitics which modify the whole sentence are losely connected with the word with which they precede or follow, and do not form with them word units.

As the nominal complex precedes the verbal complex it was sometimes difficult to decide whether we are dealing with a nominal suffix or a verbal prefix. Thus in the sentence: yu-ti-hz-ta-djin house-into-he-go-past, $i i$ may be considered suffixed to the noun $y u$ or prefixed to the verb $t a$. In such cases the decision has been made either on phonetic grounds (accent and hiatus between two words) or by analogy with parallel forms where the position of the affix clearly indicates whether it belongs to the nominal or the verbal complex.

The following types of word-units may be distinguished:

1) The noun or nominal complex,
2) The independent (emphatic) pronoun,
3) The verb or verbal complex,
4) The independent particle (locative, temporal, conjunctive, adverbial and exclamatory).
The position of the various pre- and suffixes within the word-unit is definite. Of the prefixes the pronouns (both personal and possessive) stand nearest to the stem, the objective pronoun in most forms preceding the subjective pronoun (see § 32). In the nominal complex there are no prefixes apart from the possessive pronouns, the demonstratives being independent words preceding and following the nominal complex. In the verbal complex the personal

[^4]pronouns are preceded by the locative prefixes and by the instrumental，the latter preceding the former．If there is a proc－ litic（e．g．the negative $n a$－）it precedes all other prefixes．

Of the suffixes the nominalizing and verbalizing elements imme－ diately follow the stem．In the nominal complex the only other suffixes are the classifying elements（singular and plural forms） which are followed by the general locatives（see § 29）．In the verbal complex the sequence of suffixes is：Comparative，modal， nterrogative，temporal．The enclitics，as a rule，follow the temporal iuffixes（see accompanying chart with analysed verb forms）．

|  | Pronouns |  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & E \\ & \underset{\sim}{Z} \\ & \mathbb{N} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ت్ } \\ & \text { ご } \\ & \text { e } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 票 | 0 $D$ D 己 0 0 $n$ | $\begin{aligned} & \overbrace{1}^{3} \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \\ & 0 \end{aligned}$ |  | $\left\lvert\, \begin{gathered} \vdots \\ 0.0 \\ 00 \\ 0.2 \\ 0 \end{gathered}\right.$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. |  |  |  | h？ |  |  | ce |  |  | djin | we＇n？ |
| 2. |  |  |  | $n_{2}$ |  |  | $f \varepsilon$ | $n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ |  | djın |  |
| 3. | $\overline{h i^{\prime}}$ |  |  | $d i$ |  |  | $p^{\prime} a$ |  |  | djin |  |
| 4. |  | $K \varepsilon$ |  | $w \varepsilon^{\prime}$ |  |  | $h \varepsilon$ | $n \varepsilon$ |  | djın | $w \varepsilon^{\prime} n^{\prime}$ |
| 5. |  | $a^{\prime}$ |  |  |  |  | $(x) d j i$ |  |  | djı＇nfwa |  |
| 6. |  | $T i^{\prime}$ |  | $h_{2}$ |  |  | ${ }^{2}$ ？ |  |  | djinfwa |  |
| 7. |  |  |  | $h_{2}$ | nıtso＇ |  | l＇it＇i |  |  |  |  |
| 8. |  |  |  | $h_{\chi}$ | dzo |  | ty？ |  |  |  |  |
| 9. |  |  |  | ho（hQ） | $n)^{\text {a }} d z o$ |  | gwa |  |  |  | $h \varepsilon^{\prime} l a$ |
| 10. |  |  | $\overline{n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon^{\prime}}$ | di |  |  | Tn |  |  | djın |  |
| 11. |  |  | $h_{?}$ | do |  |  | $\bar{c} \bar{i}^{\prime}$ |  |  |  |  |
| 12．$n a$ |  | Kə |  | hq |  | $c^{2} ?^{\prime}$ | $f \varepsilon$ |  |  |  | $h \varepsilon$ |
| 13. |  |  |  | $w \varepsilon$ |  | $2^{2} a^{\prime}$ | fa |  |  | djı＇n |  |
| 14. |  |  |  | $h_{2}$ | n̨dzə | $c^{2} 2^{\prime}$ | la |  |  | djin |  |
| 15. |  | $\boldsymbol{T} a$ |  | $o$ |  |  | $f a^{\prime}$ |  |  |  | T？ |
| 16. |  |  |  | $h_{\text {q }}$ |  |  | wo | $n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ |  |  | to |
| 17. |  | K8 |  | $n \varepsilon$ |  |  | $f a^{\prime}$ |  |  |  | lah？ |
| 18. |  | P¢ |  | $w \varepsilon^{\prime}$ |  |  | dji |  |  | djinfwa |  |
| 19. |  | kya |  |  |  |  | $w \varepsilon d a$ |  |  |  | cé＇ha |
| 20. |  | kya＇ |  |  |  |  | $t c a$ | T $\varepsilon$ |  |  |  |
| 21. |  |  |  | $a$ |  |  | $t s a^{\prime}$ |  | 12 |  |  |
| 22. |  |  | $h_{2}$ | $n \varepsilon$ |  |  | Tn $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ |  | a |  |  |
| 23. | $\overline{h i^{\prime}}$ |  |  | di |  |  | $n_{2}$ |  |  |  |  |
| 24. | $\overline{h i}$ |  |  | do |  |  | $k^{2}$ ？ |  |  | djı |  |
| 25. |  |  |  | $w \varepsilon$ |  |  | ${ }^{\text {＇we＇de }}$ |  |  |  | $c E^{\prime} d j i$ |
| 26．na |  | $\overline{\text { tcy } a^{\prime}}$ |  | $\overline{d i}$ |  |  | tcya |  |  |  |  |
| 27．na |  |  |  | $y_{2}{ }^{\prime}$ |  |  | $w_{2}$ |  |  |  |  |
| 29．$n a^{\prime}$ |  |  | $t s \varepsilon$ | ${ }^{2} a$ |  |  | $t^{\prime} a$ | $n \chi^{\prime}$ |  |  |  |
| 29. |  |  | hq ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |  |  | $h_{2} l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | nq |  |  |  |
| 30. |  |  |  | $\overline{d i}$ |  |  | wado＇ | go |  |  |  |

Translations of analysed verbal forms on accompanying chart:

1) those who had died, 248,18
2) we used to go, 260,2
3) I was born from, 104,46
4) those that used to stay there, 248,7
5) it happened to be there, 286,17
6) she had put in, 86,41
7) they fiddle for us, 14,12
8) he scolded me, 262,19
9) when they said to us only, 266,17
10) I saw you
11) I pity him
12) and there when they went with her, 22,8
13) they hit one another, 302,39
14) they went with us, 272,14
15) while he was standing on, 256,34
16) whether he used to fish, 280,10
17) you are standing here and so, 134,16
18) she had been up there, 40,23
19) (things) that I have gone through, [weda $=$ I go, §35, 10], 286,26
20) it could pass through, 266,9
21) are you asleep? 14,11
22) do you see him?
23) I become with
24) I made with
25) (something) that he talked about, 260,2
26) not into the water I jump (I wanted), 262,21
27) not they give (they wanted), 116,26
28) do not turn me loose! 102,31
29) catch him! 126,76
30) I may die, 94,45

The sentence structure is comparatively simple and very regular. The simple sentence consists of a subject noun (which may be modified by attributes, classifying suffixes etc.), an object noun, and the predicative verbal complex in which the subject and object are always repeated in the forms of the personal pronouns. Thus the sentence: "the man saw the horse" is rendered in Yuchi: gont' $\varepsilon$ ' $n$ ? b'axqe'wang we'hgrne Man the - horse the - it he saw. If there are several verbal ideas they are expressed by juxtaposition of verbal complexes (e.g. p. 92, 31: How to get home she did not know but she ran, she kept on, she went).

The position of the independent particles seems to be free; they either precede or follow the subject (e. g. the rolling stone there it was in the water, he found).

Sentences are coordinated and subordinated by enclitics (see $\S \S$ $60-63$ ) placed following the verb of the first clause. Subordination of a clause under a word (corresponding to the English relative clause) is achieved by suffixing enclitics to the last element of the relative clause (see $\S 62 \mathrm{~b}$ ).

The more specific features of syntax will be dealt with in the following discussion of morphology.

§§ 23-69. IV. MORPHOLOGY<br>§§ 23-29. A. The Noun

Although in a few exceptional cases there is no distinction between nominal and verbal or adjectival stems ${ }^{1}$ noun and verb can, as a rule, be clearly distinguished. However, nouns can often be used in a predicative sense and verbs, on the other hand, can be transformed into nominal forms. The specific positions taken by the nominal and verbal categories will be elucidated through the subsequent discussion of the nominal and verbal complexes.

The nominal stem is either monosyllabic or polysyllabic. All polysyllabic stems which may be compounds of practically every element of speech, belong to one class and differ only in the degree to which the compounded elements are fused together. While this fusion in some bisyllabic stems is so firm (and probably so old) that they cannot be analyzed into their compounding elements, others yield to analysis easily. The stems of more than two syllables can almost always be reduced to their component elements. Nevertheless, they function as stems and can only be modified by affixation to the whole unit.

## § 23. Monosyllabic stems

The number of monosyllabic stems is limited to a short list of words of rather elementary meaning:

| $i$ | tobacco | tso | mint |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $o$ | horn | $t c \varepsilon$ | belly |
| $y a$ | wood, tree, log | $t c u$ | bed |
| ${ }^{\prime} y z$ | star, spider, uncle | $t c u$ | penis |
| $y u$ | house | $s^{\prime} a$ | earth |
| ${ }^{2} y u$ | pain | $c i$ | juice |
| $w a$ | summer | $c^{\prime} \varepsilon$ | pond, lake |
| $P a$ | sack | $c a$ | farm, field |
| $f^{\prime} a$ | evening | $c a$ | snake |
| $T i$ | rock | $c o$ | body |
| $d j u$ | boat | $c u$ | string |
| $d \varepsilon$ | leg | $c u$ | fish |
| $T \varepsilon$ | cedar | $c^{\prime} u$ | vine |
| $T a$ | face | $c p a$ | blackberry |
| $t a$ | heart | $g \varepsilon$ | tooth |
| $t o$ | potatoe | $R o$ | neck |
| $T i$ | name | $h^{\prime} o$ | throat |
| $t c i$ | eye | $k^{\prime} u$ | tribe, country |
| $t s \varepsilon$ | water | $l a$ | bullet |
| $t s^{\prime} \xi$ | jay-bird | $l a^{\prime}$ | cause |
| $t s o$ | sun |  |  |

[^5]
## § 24. POLYSYLLABIC STEMS

## (a) Bisyllabic stems

Bisyllabic stems are by far more numerous than the monosyllabic ones and, in fact, comprise the bulk of nominal stems. As to their structure we may distinguish three groups:
( $\alpha$ ) Compounds, consisting of a noun plus an adjective, both of which also occur as independent words; e. g.:

```
y\imathsPa' pecan (y\imath nut, spa oblong)
yzcPi' walnut (cri black)
gocpi' negro (go human being)
```

( $\beta$ ) Compounds, consisting of a monosyllabic noun plus a specifying element which does not occur as independent word. A few typical examples of this second group are furnished by the derivatives formed from the nominal stems $y a$ tree, log, wood; go human being; and $c u$ fish:

| yaw ${ }^{\prime}$ | shade, shadow | goyu' | ache, pain, sickness |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ya'ha | forest, timber, wilderness | goha' gop'a' | old <br> shawl |
| yapo' | peach | got' $\varepsilon$ ' | man |
| yate' | prairie | got'o' | child |
| ya'dz? | scratcher | gone' | baby |
| yas'a' | woods | golq ${ }^{\prime}$ | ghost, wizard |
| yaso' | pine | $g o n t)^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | person |
| ya'ha | war-stick, war-staff | gok' $a^{\prime}$ | vulva |
| yat' $a^{\prime}$ | gun |  |  |
| yas ${ }^{\prime} i^{\prime}$ | stick, switch |  |  |
| yasta' | table | сиса' ${ }^{\prime}$ | eel |
| yace' | charcoal | сис ca' $^{\prime}$ | garfish |
| $y a c^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ | leaf | сихтi ${ }^{\prime}$ | catfish |
| yacta' | camp |  |  |
| yaxdju' | limb, branch |  |  |
| yaxti' | fire |  |  |

( $\gamma$ ) Compounds, consisting of a general theme-element the meaning of which cannot be ascertained plus a specifying element which may occur as an independent word or not. Such themeelements are: $w \varepsilon, \tau \varepsilon, \tau a, c a$ etc.
we- theme:

| $w \varepsilon^{\prime} y q^{\prime}$ | deer |
| :--- | :--- |
| $w \varepsilon y u^{\prime}$ | lard, oil |
| $w \varepsilon h i^{\prime}$ | feather |
| $w \varepsilon p^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ | fin |
| $w \varepsilon d z a^{\prime}$ | hog |

wetca' chicken
wetc'o' tiger, panther
wela' hawk
$w \varepsilon c^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ bone
$w \varepsilon c t ?^{\prime}$ winter
ca-theme:

| $c a^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | rattle snake | $c a n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | duck |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $c a^{\prime} y a$ | squirrel | $c a g \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | beaver |
| $c a y a^{\prime}$ | weeds | $c a l^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ | crow |
| $c a^{\prime} f a$ | moon | $c a d i^{\prime}$ | paddle |

те- theme:

| $T \varepsilon z^{\prime}$ | bullfrog | $T \varepsilon t i^{\prime}$ | root |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $T \varepsilon p^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ | bottom | $T \varepsilon s a^{\prime}$ | ankle |
| $T \varepsilon d j u^{\prime}$ | strawberry | $T \varepsilon s a^{\prime}$ | clean |
| $T \varepsilon T a^{\prime}$ | edge | $T \varepsilon h^{\prime} i^{\prime}$ | track |

ra-theme:

| тарi ${ }^{\prime}$ | salt | таса ${ }^{\prime}$ | fishotter |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tapé ${ }^{\prime}$ | end | rak' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ | ball |
| тар'а' | turtle | тасі' | sputum |
| тата' | bin, crib | тахта' | forehead |
| tasti' | basket | taka' | notch |
| талти' | soft end of a grain of |  |  |

## (b) Polysyllabic stems

Nominal stems of three and more syllables are always compounds of several words. Although there is no limitation as to the number of compounded elements, the possible combinations are restricted to the following basic types:

1) Noun plus noun:
```
\(h o c d u d a^{\prime} c^{\prime} i\) gate (hocdu' fence, \(d a^{\prime} c^{\prime} i\) mouth) \(t s \varepsilon t a^{\prime} \mathrm{l}^{2} a\) bank of a river (tse water, \(\boldsymbol{T} a^{\prime} \mathrm{l}^{\prime} a\) edge) tsot'okal'o' cornbread (tsot'o' corn, \(\mathrm{kal}^{\prime} \mathrm{o}^{\prime} \mathrm{o}^{\prime}\) bread)
\(k^{\prime} a^{\prime}\) nditapi' bacon ( \(k^{\prime} a^{\prime} n d i\) meat, tapi salt) ya'soyas'i' pine-stick (ya'so pine, yas'i' stick) wetciayont'o' chicken-egg (wetcia chicken, yont'o' egg)
```

2) Noun plus adjective:

$y a^{\prime} T \xi P i^{\prime} t ' o$ wheel (pine lumber round)
yaces' $i^{\prime}$ spark (coal little)
ya'po'atixtitapiha' lemon (peach big yellow sour ones)
ya'stempado' fog (smoke dark)
yac'axтi' autumn (leaves yellow)
yaxpit'o' wagon (wood round)
yaxpit'osa'ga buggy (wagon light)
$y_{2}{ }^{\prime} i^{\prime} g_{\xi}^{\prime}$ sword (knife long)
тitcya'lati' copper (stone (rock) red yellow)
тikap'a' rock-cave
yakap'a' hollow tree (tree cave)
totapisg' sweet potatoe (potatoe sweet)
tsebaka' whisky (water bitter)
tsexdjuge' wine, vinegar (water sour)
$\operatorname{senet} a^{\prime} t s^{\prime} a$ parrot (bird noisy)
$s \xi s^{\prime} i \xi^{\prime}$ needle (iron little)
kal'os' $i^{\prime}$ biscuit (bread small)
$k a l^{\prime} o s^{\prime} i^{\prime} k a^{\prime}$ Pa roll (bread small swollen)
3) Noun plus neutral verb:
```
tsot'o'bilika' corn meal (corn round pulverized)
s'ayucu' earthquake (earth shakes)
yzb
```

4) Noun plus suffix:
```
agqfa' east (day towards)
aga'l\varepsilon morning (day again)
yastat\varepsilonk'?' chair (board leg[s] with)
```

5) Noun plus independent particle:
sçhafa' heaven (good[ness] towards) $s^{\prime} a y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ hill (earth upward) c'į̧hafa' hell (bad[ness] towards) kal'opohe' pie (bread under)
6) Noun plus possessive pronoun plus noun:
yahot'o' fruit (ya tree, ho its, t'o fruit) yapit'ohict' $\xi$ ' road (wagon its path) yapilotipaho' $i^{\prime} c t$ ' $\varepsilon$ railroad (wagon inside burns its road) 'ypwek' $i^{\prime}$ spider web (spider its web) b'axtewetsole' $^{\prime}$ barn (horse its home) cpahot'o' blackberry seed (blackberry its seed)
(see possessive pronouns § 39).
Each of these types, of course, can take the part of the noun in the same or any of the other types whereby the number of actual combinations becomes considerably larger. Thus the word for railroad yapit'oripaho' $i^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} t t^{\prime} \xi$ is a combination of the types 2 plus 4 plus 3 plus 6 as the following analysis shows:
```
yapil'o' wood round > noun plus adjective (type 2)
yarit'o ri wagon inside> noun plus suffix (type 4)
yapib'ori Pa (wagon inside) burns > noun plus verb (type 3)
yapil'oripa ho 'isl'& (wagon inside burns) its path > noun plus
    possessive pronoun plus noun (type 6)
```


## § 25. nominalization

As has been shown in the preceding discussion of polysyllabic nouns the first element in any nominal compound is always a primary nominal stem. This initial element seems to determine the nominal character of the whole compound. In all cases, however, where an active verb enters into the nominal compound the verbal element weighs so strong that the suffixation of a nominalizing element $-n \varepsilon$ is required. This suffix is identical with the verbal habitual and it seems possible that its nominalizing force rests upon the implied idea of frequent repetition.

Examples:

```
yaxtipa'ne fireplace (yaxti fire, pa burn)
\(w \varepsilon^{\prime} y\) ppon \(\varepsilon^{\prime}\) elk \(>\) deercaller ( \(w \xi^{\prime} y q^{\prime}\) deer, \(p_{2}\) call)
\(T \varepsilon k^{\prime} i k^{\prime} \partial^{\prime} n \varepsilon\) trackmaker ( \(\quad\) el \(l^{\prime} i^{\prime}\) track, \(k^{2} \eta\) make)
ts \(\varepsilon p^{\prime} \varepsilon n \varepsilon^{\prime}\) drunkard (ts water, \(p^{\prime} \varepsilon\) drink)
culane' fish otter (cu fish, la eat)
\(b^{\prime} a x\) tolane' oats ( \(b^{\prime} a x t \varepsilon\) horse, la eat)
\(i c t{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon c^{\prime} \varepsilon n \varepsilon^{\prime}\) soldier (ict'\(\varepsilon\) road, \(c^{\prime} \varepsilon\) watch)
```

A number of animal names which do not yield to analysis seem to have been formed after the same pattern:

| ca'anc ${ }^{\prime}$ | duck | c'etanc' | black bird |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| cat'anc' | wildcat | gosone' | goat |
| cadjwane' | rabbit | gua'ne | owl |
| catione ${ }^{\prime}$ | fox | tcone' | ground-squirrel |

In a few cases $-n \varepsilon$ is suffixed to a noun plus adjective compound which seems to be exceptional:

```
hoсти's'i\varepsilonn\varepsilon' garden (fence little)
s'ahistan\varepsilon' prairie (earth flat)
d\varepsiloncon\mp@subsup{\varepsilon}{}{\prime}}\mathrm{ May (mulberry ripe)
cpacon\varepsilon' June (blackberry ripe)
```

Single verbal stems are nominalized by suffixing $-n \varepsilon$ to the infinitive form of the verb which is formed by the verbal stem and a general pronominal prefix go- human being, people (see § 34).

Thus:
gостi' to dance becomes goctine' a dance
gotwa' to kill becomes gotwane' a murder
gola' to eat becomes golan $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ food
go' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ to lie becomes $g o^{\prime} \varepsilon n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ bed, bedspread
goky?' w? to think becomes gokyzwone' thought
While practically all verbal stems can be nominalized in this way only a few adjectives can be transformed into nouns:
pi't'o round becomes pit'on $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ wheel
ispi' black becomes ispine' blackness
$c^{\prime} i \varepsilon^{\prime}$ bad becomes $c^{\prime} i \varepsilon n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ badness, ugliness
cf. however:
тa'pi salt, salty
pado' dark, night
Tapisॄ̇' sweet, sugar
тa'ts'a noisy, tca'he noise
hicahi' hot, heat

## § 26. CLASSIFICATION

Nouns are classified in several groups by a number of article suffixes, the main principle of classification being that of a distinction between animate and inanimate objects. Within the first group
of nouns, designating animate beings, the article suffixes are differentiated into two groups, one referring to members of the Yuchi tribe only and the other one to all other animate beings, comprising all humans outside the tribe, animals and a few mythological beings such as the Sun and the Moon. The further differentiation is restricted to the tribal group within which different degrees of kinship are distinguished (for the exact definition of these kinship classifications see the chapter on personal pronouns, § 31).

The suffixes denoting these various ideas are:

1) tribal:

$$
\left.\begin{array}{l}
-n_{\imath} \\
-s \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2} \\
-s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{q} \\
-\varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath} \\
-o^{\prime} n_{2} \\
-i^{\prime} n_{?}
\end{array}\right\} \text { denoting different degrees of kinship and male and }
$$

2) non-tribal: -wana'
Examples: та'tawan? the wolf gont'en $\Omega^{\prime}$ the (Yuchi) man
gont'Ewan?' the man (a white man, and Indian of another tribe, a negro, etc.)
tsowatne'sen? my sister doтаопеs' $\varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ my brother
ditssh $\varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ ? my mother tset ${ }^{\prime} \xi^{2} i^{\prime} n_{2}$ my father
The inanimate objects are differentiated into three parallel groups of equal importance:
3) objects with a prevailingly vertical dimension (such as standing poles, trees, high mountains, tall houses etc.).
4) objects with a prevailingly horizontal dimension (such as lakes, streams, roads, fields, logs lying on the ground, etc.).
5) objects of a roundish shape or, generally speaking, of a dimension that is indifferent to the ideas of vertical and horizontal (such as rocks, bushy trees, chairs etc.).

The suffixes expressing these are: vertical $=-f a$, horizontal $=$ ${ }^{-} \varepsilon$, and round $=-d j i$. They are identical with the verbal stems "to stand", "to lie", and "to sit".

Examples:

| $y a^{\prime} f a$ the tree | $n ?^{\prime} n n^{\prime}$ ' the creek |
| :---: | :---: |
| $y u^{\prime} f a$ the house | ri'dji the rock |
| $y^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ the log | yastadkk' $z^{\prime}$ dji the chair |

Abstract nouns and nouns the physical extension of which is insignificant may be grouped under any one of the three categories. A few examples from the text will illustrate this usage:
tseta' paxdji my strength dita' $x d j i$ my heart h२weden ${ }^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ their language $k^{2}$ alagoyun $\varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ the sickness $g_{2} \operatorname{cicinc}^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ the poverty
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ the rain $k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ the thing tsewonefa' my spirit ditcifa' my eye

## § 27. number

With all inanimate objects plurality and collectivity are expressed by a suffix -ha which takes the place of the classifying suffixes $-f a,-^{\top} \varepsilon$ and $-d j i$. If the noun is followed by one or several adjectives, $-h a$ is suffixed to the last adjective modifying the noun. There is no dual form of the noun.

Examples:

> ya'ha trees
> yagé $h a$ long trees
> yas $i \xi^{\prime} h a$ small logs
> yuha' houses
> yul'a' yaxkaha' big white houses
> golak's'ncha food
> tsoka' $x k a h a$ flour
> tsosoriha' sugar
> tobioloha' a pile of potatoes

If the noun is modified by a numeral or by adverbials implying the idea of plurality $-h a$ is not suffixed:
yan?we' two trees
ya Tala' four trees
$y u k^{\prime} a^{\prime} t$ ' $\varepsilon$ a few houses
wawaha'le many summers (waha'le many)
Nouns denoting animate beings are pluralized by the addition of suffixes that correspond closely to the singular forms of the article suffixes. While the distinction between Yuchi and nonYuchi and between male and female speech is carried over to the plural, the various degrees of kinship relation (expressed by $h 2$, $s \varepsilon, s^{\top} \varepsilon$ in the singular) are not expressed in the plural forms. Thus we have:

1) tribal members:
a) male speech: $-h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$
b) female speech: -o'n $\boldsymbol{o}_{\boldsymbol{q}}$

$$
-i^{\prime} n_{2}
$$

2) animate beings outside of the tribe:

$$
-w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}
$$

Examples:
gont' $\varepsilon$ he' $n$ ? the people dotao'one' ${ }^{\prime} o^{\prime} n_{2}$ my brothers (woman talking)
mdzetset $\varepsilon^{\prime} i^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ our fathers (women talking)
gocpiwe' $n$ ? the negroes
$b^{\prime} a x_{T} \varepsilon w_{\varepsilon}^{\prime} n_{2}$ the horses

With a number of tribal names the plural suffix for inanimate objects -ha occurs as an element of the stem without, however, denoting plurality:

yudjiha' a Yuchi<br>$y^{\prime}$ djihahe' $n_{2}$ the Yuchi Indians<br>sagehawz' $n_{\mathcal{q}}$ the Sac and Fox<br>Kacahawe'n? the Chickasaw<br>Pancwa'hawe' $n_{\ell}$ the Pawnee<br>waca'cihawe' $n_{2}$ the Osages

Another device for expressing plurality is that of reduplication of the stem. Although in a few instances nouns representing inanimate objects are thus pluralized (e. g. $k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}$ a thing, k'akala' things, but also $k^{\prime} a l a h a^{\prime}$ ) this device is principally limited to a number of kinship terms:

```
tsiotane' my ( \(\sigma^{\pi}\) ) brother
tsioтатаne' my ( \(\sigma^{\text {r }}\) ) brothers
tsowatne' my ( \(\sigma^{T}\) ) sister
tsowatnetné my ( \(\sigma^{\top}\) ) sisters
dотаопе' my (q) brother
dотао'one' my ( f ) brothers
do'wene' my (q) sister
do'wewene' my ( \((+)\) sisters
\(d_{i s}{ }^{2} a n \varepsilon^{\prime}\) my ( \(\sigma^{\top}\) ) son
dis'as'anz' my ( \(\sigma^{\top}\) ) sons
di'yane' my ( \(\sigma^{\pi}\) ) daughter
di'ya'yane' my ( \(0^{\top}\) ) daughters
dots'on \(\varepsilon^{\prime}\) my (ㅇ) son, daughter
dots'ots'onع' my ( \()\) ) sons, daughters
tsst' \(\xi^{\prime}\) my father
ondze- \(t^{\prime} \xi \xi^{\prime}\) ' \(\varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime}\) our fathers
\(d i^{\prime} y ?^{\prime}\) my uncle
di'y? \(y>n \varepsilon^{\prime}\) my uncles
ditset' \(\varepsilon s^{\prime} i \xi\) my little father
ditste' \(\xi s^{\prime} i^{\prime} s^{\prime}\) ine my little fathers
ditsch\(\xi^{s} s^{\prime} i \xi^{\prime}\) my little mother
ditsch \(\xi^{\prime}\) i' \(^{\prime} \operatorname{s}^{\prime}\) in \(\varepsilon\) my little mothers
dodjine' my grandchild
dodjidjine' my grandchildren
```

cf. however :
tsssone' my nephew
tsesonehe' $n_{\mathfrak{\imath}}$ my nephews
ditsché my mother
ondzehene' our mothers
dilaha' my grandmother
dilahane' our grandmothers (see goha'hane old ones 2, 1)

## § 28. NEGATION

Negation of the noun is expressed in the same way as in the verb by prefixing $n a$ - and $h a$-; (see verbal negation, § 59).

Examples:
$n a^{\prime}$ gont' $\varepsilon$ no person, nobody
nak'ala' not a thing, nothing
nahit' $\varepsilon$ ' noone
$n a^{\prime} d z \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ no father (lit.: not my father, see 316,167 )

## § 29. LOCATION

Most locative ideas are expressed by a number of verbal prefixes (see §58) or by independent particles which, as a rule, follow the noun they modify (see §65).

There are, however, four locative suffixes of a very general character: $-h \varepsilon,-l \varepsilon,-\pi \varepsilon$ and $-f a$ which are suffixed to the noun:
-he, denotes a static location near the speaker (or the object talked about) "at", or a motion away from the speaker (or the object talked about) to a certain locality within close range:
$n$ ntsols'he at our home 244,1
$n \imath^{\prime} ?^{\prime}$ 'kihe at our arms 248,4
$s^{2} \xi^{\prime} s c ̧ h \varepsilon$ at the clean ground. (ceremonial town-square) 276,39
$k^{2} a^{\prime} h \neq n d \varepsilon k w=n \varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ at his belt 250,8
non?'he to the creek 270.34
$s^{\prime} a c^{\prime} i^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ to the grave 22,8
$-l \varepsilon$, denotes the motion "along" an object and "back" to an object (cf. the homonym $-l \varepsilon=$ again);
$i_{c t} t^{\prime} \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} t \varepsilon u \varepsilon p^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ along the road she looked 116,38
$n_{2} n_{\imath} l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ weladje'n along the creek it went 142,15
tcull' $h_{\imath} f \varepsilon^{\prime}$ back to the sitting logs they went 182,12
yuha'le back to the house 162,12
$-\kappa \varepsilon$, denotes a static location away from the speaker "yonder", "over there":

уихкєfa' $x_{\kappa \varepsilon}$ house yonder where it was standing 294,18
-fa, denotes the motion towards an object:
aga'fa towards day, towards the east 148,8
okmvlgifa' towards Okmulgee 288,11
cp. these four suffixes with their independent forms in connection with the locative prefixes, $\S 65$.

## §§ 30-42. B. The Pronoun

§§ 30-38. PERSONAL PRONOUNS
§ 30. (a) Introductory
The pronoun in Yuchi is always prefixed to the stem, both in the nominal and in the verbal complex. Within the group of personal pronouns we can distinguish eight different series:

1) subjective series, occuring with or implying a general object. (This group comprises also the subjects of intransitive verbs).
2) Subjective series, occuring with or implying a specific object.
3) Subjective independent series.
4) Direct objective series, occuring with the first subjective series. While the distinction between the general and the specific object is recognized quite clearly when the object is a noun (see § 31), it is apparently lost when the object is a pronoun. The difference in meaning, therefore, between this and the following series is not clear.
5) Direct objective series, occuring with second subjective series.
6) Indirect objective series.
7) Reflexive series, occuring with or implying a general indirect object.
8) Reflexive series, occuring with or implying a specific indirect object.
§ 31. (b) Subjective personal pronouns

|  | Subjective <br> 1. series |  | Subjective <br> 2. series | Independent series |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. | $\left(\begin{array}{l}1 . \\ 2 .\end{array}\right.$ | di- | do- | $d i$ |
|  |  | $n \varepsilon$ - | yo- | $t s \varepsilon$ |
|  |  | $h ?^{-}$ | $h^{2}{ }^{-}$ | $h_{\imath} d i^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | $s \varepsilon$ - | sio- | $s \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon$ - | s'io- | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$ |
|  | 3. | $\varepsilon$ - | ع 2 $^{-}$ | $\xi d i^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | 0 - | 0 - | odi' |
|  |  | $i$ | - | - |
|  |  | $w \varepsilon^{-}$ | $y^{2}{ }^{-}$ | $w \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$ |
| Plur. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text { l. incl. } \\ \text { 1. excl. } \\ 2 . \end{array}\right.$ | $2^{-}$ | $\mathrm{P}^{-}$ | $p d i$ |
|  |  | $n 2^{-}$ | $n{ }^{-}$ | $n{ }^{2} d i^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | q- ( ${ }^{-}$- | a'yo- | $a^{\prime} d z e$ |
|  | 3. | $h^{2}-$ | $h 2^{-}$ | $h q d i^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | 0 - | $o$ - | odi ${ }^{\prime}$ |
|  |  | $i-$ | - | - |
|  |  |  | $y 2^{-}$ | $w \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$ |

As this table shows the forms of the three series are not entirely distinct. In most cases they correspond closely and in some they are even identical. Nevertheless, it does not seem possible satisfactorily to reduce the different forms to one basic series. As contractions of vowel - semi-vowel - vowel to $o$ are very frequent (see phonology, §3) it seems likely that the second series consists of the contracted forms of the first series plus an objective element. A reconstruction of the hypothetical full forms, however, has not yet been possible.

## Definition of these pronouns:

$d i$-, do-, di "I", are used by one person speaking regardless of who he is.
$n \varepsilon$-, yo-, tse $=$ "thou", refer to any second person singular regardless of who is speaking and who is addressed.
$h 2^{-}, h{ }_{2} d i^{\prime}$, are used by men only and refer to a third person singular or plural, male or female Yuchi, except certain female relatives (cp. se, sio-, sedi'). Their English equivalents are: he, she, and they.
$s \varepsilon$-, sio-, sedi', are used by both men and women and refer to a third person singular female Yuchi. If used by men they are restricted to a female relative of the same or a descending generation as the speaker (sister, daughter, niece, granddaughter). They thus correspond to $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-, s^{\prime} i o$ - in female speech (see below). If used by women they refer to any female of the same or a descending generation whether related or not.
$s^{\prime} \varepsilon-, s^{\prime} i o-, s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$, are used by women only and refer to a third person singular Yuchi who is a male relative of the speaker and belongs to the same or a descending generation (brother, son, nephew, grandson).
$\varepsilon$ - $\varepsilon y 2^{-}, \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$, are used by both men and women and refer to a third person singular Yuchi who is a female relative of the speaker and belongs to an ascending generation (mother, aunt, grandmother).
$o$-, odi', are used by women only and refer either to a third person singular male Yuchi not related to the speaker or, in the plural, to any third persons Yuchi that belong to the same or a descending generation whether related or not, male or female (this pronoun must not be confused with the contracted form of the pronoun $w^{-}-=o$, see phonology, §3).
$i$ - (which occurs in the first series only) is used by women only and refers to a third person singular male Yuchi who belongs to an ascending generation (father, uncle, grandfather, husband, and not related old men) or any third persons Yuchi who belong to an ascending generation whether related or not, male or female. It is a term of respect ${ }^{1}$.
$w \varepsilon-, y 2^{-} w \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$, are used both by men and women and refer to any third person singular or plural outside of the Yuchi tribe, regardless,

[^6]of age, sex, race or species. They comprise, therefore, all animate beings other than the Yuchi Indians.
$2^{-}, 2 d i^{\prime}$, are used by both men and women in the first person plural, including the addressed person or persons. No further distinctions are made.
$n_{2}-, n_{2} d i^{\prime}$, are used by both men and women and refer to any first persons, excluding the addressed person or persons.
$a_{-},(a-)$, ayo- $a^{\prime} d z \varepsilon$, "you" are used by both men and women and refer to any second persons, regardless of who is speaking and who is addressed.

As may be seen from this discussion of the pronominal forms the differentiation of ideas is almost exclusively restricted to the third person. As in many other languages the practical need of expressing sex, age, and kinship-relationship arises primarily in the use of these third person pronouns. The reflection of the social structure of the tribe in the pronominal forms is an interesting and rare example of an interrelation between culture and language.

Although the different third person pronouns are still clearly distinguished by the older generation ${ }^{1}$, there are certain indications that the distinction of the various pronouns in the actual use of the language is slowly breaking down. Thus in the texts given by my female informant Ida Clinton (Yuchi Tales nos. 48-52) "hq'gwa is often used instead of "ogwa" while in the texts given by her mother (nos. 44-47) the pronouns correspond with the above definitions with only three exceptions (206,3:həta'; 208,6 and 208,3[2]: hegwa). In the animal stories the pronouns referring to animals sometimes denote Yuchi and sometimes non-Yuchi. Otherwise, however, and especially in Maxey Simms' Life Story the distinction of the various pronominal ideas is carried through consistently.

The less rigid distinction of ideas in the plural forms seems to be due to the fact that in the actual use of a language the majority of plural pronominal forms refer to a heterogeneous group of people.

## Examples from the texts:

```
dinq'djigo' I may have been 20,2
wextsa' they slept 14,8
\(n_{2} k i l a^{\prime}\) we escape 14,10
\(y_{2} f \varepsilon^{\prime}\) they went 14,14
\(h_{\text {qguwadi'n }}\) they said 36,15
\&уитn' \(\boldsymbol{c}_{2}\) she is making signs 102,31
dot'a'lع I stopped 328,74
anega'he when you get there 334,123
sio'ladjı'n she went 320,15
segwa' she said 230,2
```

[^7]ogwadji'l $\varepsilon$ everytime he says 208,5
${ }_{2}$ laha' let us eat 42,34
yoxdjineha' if you stay 302,28
The difference between the subjective first series implying a general object and the second series, implying a specific object, is demonstrated by the following examples:

```
diad\varepsilon' I hunt (with no definite aim in mind)
doad\varepsilon' I hunt (for a certain animal)
di'w\varepsilond\mp@subsup{\varepsilon}{}{\prime}}\mathrm{ I talk, I am talking
do'w\varepsilond\mp@subsup{\varepsilon}{}{\prime} I talk to somebody
di'lah\varepsilon I offer (for anybody to accept)
dola'h\varepsilon I offer (to a definite person)
di'syaxts\varepsilon I set afire
do'syaxts\varepsilon I burn (e. g. a patch of grass around a fence or haystack)
tsot'odi'ho I plant corn
tsot'o' ha'doho I plant corn for him
di'hi I carry on my back
do'hi I carry something on horseback
w\varepsilon'gwa he said
h\varepsilon'yagwa that he said
```

As these examples show the definition of what is a general and what is a specific object is only relative. But once defined the distinction can in each case be recognized quite clearly.

While some verbs can take the pronouns of both the first and the second series, others are restricted to one series.

1) Examples of verbal forms and their English equivalents, implying a general object:
```
diad\varepsilon' I hunt
diptca' I groan, I grunt
di'ya' I roast
diya'ha I dip
diyahedi'c'o I starve to death
diya' P{ I sow, I pour out
di'ya'gwa I tell
diyaxts\varepsilonॄ' I set afire
di'yphz I am hungry
di'wi I am lost
di'w\varepsilond\varepsilond\varepsilon I talk
diwe'ndjidji I crawl
diw\varepsilon̨l\varepsilon' I wake up
diwa'c I bite
diwqh?' I play
di'wondji I buy
di'hi I carry on my back
dihi'tadjubi I am pleased
diha' I breathe
diho' I plant
diPa' I file, I saw
dipatg' I twist
```



| dip ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ I drink | $d i^{\prime} k^{\prime} a$ I laugh |
| :---: | :---: |
| dipa' I chop | $d i^{\prime} k^{\prime} a h a^{\prime}$ I watch |
| tip'a' I am born | dik'aha' I fight |
| di'fa I whip | $d i k^{\prime} a^{\prime} s \varepsilon$ I bet |
| didji $i^{\prime}$ I am going | $d i^{\prime} k^{\prime} \uparrow w \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon$ I read, I talk with |
| di'dit. $h_{\varepsilon}$ I pull | di'kypwz I think |
| ditne' I see | dikwane' I borrow |
| diti' I beg | dilahé I offer |
| dit' $a w_{\xi}$ I I loose | di'l'i I cut |
| ditafa' I am afraid | di't'entci I chase, I run after |
| dit' $a t^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ I braid | $d i^{\prime} l^{\prime} a \cdot \mathrm{I}$ dig |
| dit ${ }^{\prime}$ as ${ }^{\prime} i_{\xi}^{\prime}$ I hate | di'l'o I bake, I roast |
| dito' Pat? $^{\prime}$ I am dizzy | di'l'qкє I push |

2) Examples of verbal froms and their English equivalents, implying a specific object:
do' ${ }^{\text {T }} \boldsymbol{\tau} a^{\prime}$ I know, I foretell dotcata' I paint red, I redden
do'weha' I notice, I discover
$d o^{\prime} w \varepsilon d \varepsilon^{\prime}$ I speak, I call
dowage' I hunt
dow $q^{\prime}$ I give
doha' I smell
$d o h o^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \xi$ I frighten, I scare somebody
dohot' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ I let go
dohoc $P i^{\prime}$ I use force
doh? I take
dohole' I catch
dobiti' I wind, I turn
do $P a^{\prime} P a \mathrm{I}$ brush, I shake
dop६' I row
$d o p^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ I grip, I squeeze
dop 'a' I cut open
dop 'a' I send for
dofa'fa I flap
dofz' I cut off
dodo' I touch
doтnє̨ga' I have an idea
$\operatorname{dot}^{\prime} a^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ I stop
dotc' $w a^{\prime}$ I hear

done' I blow<br>$d o s^{2} \xi^{\prime}$ I bite a piece off<br>dos ${ }^{\prime} ?^{\prime}$ I suck<br>dosten? ${ }^{\prime}$ I smash, I bust<br>dosta' I break<br>doci' I pity<br>$d o c^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ I wait<br>dост?' I close<br>doka' I rest<br>dokasa' I crush<br>dok' $w \xi^{\prime}$ I send<br>dok' $\xi^{\prime} s^{2} i \xi$ I sneer at, I criticize<br>dokwa'ne I borrow from<br>doxpi'l'o I roll<br>dolaha' I eat up<br>dola $T \xi^{\prime}$ I cut down<br>dola'h ${ }^{2}$ I offer to somebody<br>dolaha' I win<br>dol'i't'i I fiddle<br>dol $\xi^{\prime}$ I fear<br>doła' I weave

The pronouns of the independent series occur emphatically either without a verb or preceding the verbal pronouns. They occur with both the first and the second series:

```
\(d i^{\prime} d i \neq n \varepsilon \mathrm{I}\) see
\(t s \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon T n \varepsilon\) you see
\(h_{\mathfrak{q}} d i^{\prime} h_{\mathfrak{Q}}\) tne he sees
\(s \varepsilon d i^{\prime} \operatorname{s\varepsilon }\) Tn \(\varepsilon\) she sees
\(d i^{\prime} d o p^{\prime} a\) I cut open
\(t s \varepsilon^{\prime} y o p{ }^{\prime} a\) you cut open
\(h_{\imath} d i^{\prime} h_{\imath} m p^{\prime} a\) he cuts open
```

```
s\varepsilondi' siop'a
s'\varepsilondi s'iop'a
\varepsilondi' \varepsilony२mp'a}}3\mathrm{ 3rd person cuts open
odi' op'a
w\varepsilondi' y{mp'a
\imathdi' }<mp\mp@subsup{p}{}{\prime}a\mathrm{ we (inclusive plur.) cut open
n\imathdi\mp@subsup{i}{}{\prime}}n\imathmp'a we (exclusive plur.) cut open
adz\varepsilon' a'yop'a you cut open
```


## §32. (c) Objective personal pronouns

The objective personal pronouns correspond closely to the subjective pronouns. In many cases their forms are identical with the subjective pronouns but they can always be recognized as objective pronouns by their position. There are three partially distinct series, the first two denoting the direct object and the third the indirect object. The first direct objective series occurs with the first subjective series ( $d i-, n \varepsilon-$, etc.) while the second direct objective and the indirect objective series occur with the second subjective series (do-, yo-, etc.). Within each series again there are two forms for most objective pronouns, each being used within a definite range of combinations with the subjective pronouns (see the following examples). The forms are:


The position of the objective pronoun shifts for the different persons. It precedes the subjective pronoun in the subjective first and second person, singular and plural and in those forms where the subjective third person and the objective third person coincide (he - him, she - him etc.). It follows the subjective pronoun in the other forms of the subjective third person.

Example:

Direct objective first series:

|  | I | $\begin{aligned} & \text { to } \\ & \text { thou } \end{aligned}$ | ${ }^{T n \varepsilon}{ }_{\text {he }}{ }^{1}$ | we, excl. | you |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| me | - | $t s \varepsilon^{\prime}-n \varepsilon$ | $h_{\text {Q }}{ }^{\prime}-t s \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | - | $t s \varepsilon$-a' |
| thee | $n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon-d i^{\prime}-2$ | - |  | $n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon-n z^{\prime}-$ |  |
|  | $h_{\chi^{\prime}}{ }^{-} d i-$ | $h_{2^{\prime}}$ - $n \mathrm{E}-$ | $h_{\chi} d i^{\prime}-h_{\chi}-$ | $h z^{2}-n z^{\prime}-$ | $h_{p}-a^{\prime}-$ |
|  | $s \varepsilon^{\prime}-d i-$ | $s \varepsilon^{\prime}-n \varepsilon$ | $s \varepsilon d i^{\prime}-h_{2}$ | $s \varepsilon-n z^{\prime}-$ | $s \varepsilon-a^{\prime}-$ |
|  | $\varepsilon^{\prime}-d i$ | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}-n \varepsilon$ | $s^{\prime} \mathrm{c} d i-h$ | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-n p^{\prime}-$ | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-a^{\prime}$ |
| 3d pers. | ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$-di | $\varepsilon^{\prime}-n \varepsilon$ - | edi-h ${ }^{-}$ | $\varepsilon-n \chi^{\prime}$ - | $\varepsilon-a^{\prime}$ |
|  | ${ }^{\prime}-$-di- | $0^{\prime}$-ne- | odi-h $\chi^{-}$ | $0-n Q^{\prime}-$ | o-a'- |
|  | $i{ }^{\prime}-d i-$ | $i^{\prime}$-ne- |  | $i-n{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}-$ |  |
|  | we'-di- | we'-nc- | wedi-h | we-na'- | $w \varepsilon-a^{\prime}$ |
|  | - | we'-n¢ | $h_{\text {P'-o' }}$ 'ndze- | - | $w \varepsilon-a^{\prime}$ |
|  | - | $w \varepsilon^{\prime}-n \varepsilon$ - | hq-ns'ndze- |  | $w \varepsilon-a^{\prime}$ |
| you | $a n d z \varepsilon^{\prime}-d i$ | - | $h_{\chi}$ - $a^{\prime} n d z \varepsilon$ - | $a^{\prime} n d z \varepsilon-n_{i}{ }^{\prime}$ | - |

With a few intransitive verbs the subjective pronominal idea (I, you, he etc.) is expressed by the first series of objective pronouns. Such verbs are:

| tssoxpa', ${ }^{\text {E }}$ | I am full of |
| :---: | :---: |
| tseyada' | I am called |
| tseyu' | it hurts me, I ache |
| tseyuç ${ }^{\prime}$ | I am wounded |
| tseyucu' | I shake, I move around |
| tseta' ${ }^{\text {a }}$ a | I am strong |
| tseta'de | I am broke |
| tsesa'sahe | I tremble |
| $t s \varepsilon c \varepsilon^{\prime} c_{\varepsilon}$ | I am ready |
| $t s \varepsilon c \varepsilon ¢ \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | I recover, I get well |
| $t_{s s c}{ }^{\prime} O^{\prime}$ | I am tired |
| tsek'aco' | I am accustomed to |
|  | I am wrapped up |

## Example:

| $t s \varepsilon c^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ | I am tired |
| :---: | :---: |
| $n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon c^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ | thou are tired |
| $\begin{aligned} & h_{\imath} c^{\prime} o^{\prime} \\ & s \varepsilon c^{\prime} o^{\prime} \end{aligned}$ |  |
| $s^{\prime} \varepsilon c^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ |  |
| $\varepsilon c^{\prime} O^{\prime}$ | he (she, etc.) is tired |
| oc'o' |  |
| $i c^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ |  |
| wec'o' |  |
| $m{ }^{\text {m }}$ /zec ${ }^{3} o^{\prime}$ | we (incl.) are tired |
| nondzec'o' | we (excl.) are tired |
| andzec ${ }^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ | you are tired |

The forms we us, dzio, nendzio, mdzio, nondzio and andzio do not occur with these verbs.

[^8]
## Direct objective second series:

| to pity ci |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | I | thou | he | we, excl. | you |
| me | - | tss' - yo- | $h^{\chi^{\prime}}-d$ dio | - | tse-a'yo- |
| thee | nendze-do- | - | $h_{\text {Q-n }}$ 'ndzio- | $n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon-n^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}-$ |  |
|  |  | $h_{2}$ - yo- |  | $h_{\mathfrak{\chi}-n^{\prime} \chi^{-}}$ | $h_{\chi}-a^{\prime}$ yo- |
| 3d persons | $s \varepsilon$-do- ${ }^{1}$ | $s \varepsilon^{\prime}-y o-$ | sedi ${ }^{\prime}-h \chi^{-}$ | $s \varepsilon-n 2^{-}$ | sc-a' yo- |
|  | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon$-do- | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}-y o-$ | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i^{\prime}-h^{2}-$ | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-n$ ? - | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-a^{\prime} y o-$ |
| us incl. | ue-do- | w' ' ${ }^{\prime}$ yo- | $h_{\chi}$-o' $n d=i o-$ | - | we-a' yo- |
| us excl. | we-do- | $u \cdot \varepsilon^{\prime}-y o-$ | $h_{\text {Q-no'ndzio- }}$ | - | we-a' yo- |
| you | $a^{\prime} n d z \varepsilon-d o-$ | - | $h_{\chi}$-a' ${ }^{\prime}$ ndzio- | andze-n? | - |

The other third persons (sio, s'io, $\varepsilon y p, o, y p, c p . \S 31$ ) are formed in the same way. But sio and $s^{\prime} i o$ become $s \varepsilon$ and $s^{\prime} \varepsilon$ (forms of the first subjective series) in the first and second persons:

| $s \varepsilon^{\prime}-d z i o-c i$ | she pities me | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-d z i o-c i$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | he pities me

$\varepsilon^{\prime} y_{\mathfrak{Q}}$-dzio-ci she pities me
$o^{\prime}-d z i o-c i \quad$ he pities me
$y Z^{\prime}-d z i o-c i \quad$ he (not Yuchi) pities me

## Indirect objective series:

$$
\text { to work something for }{ }^{2} k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}-k^{\prime} ?
$$

|  | I | thou | he | she ${ }^{3}$ | we | you |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| me | - | -ns'n-tso- | $-h_{\imath}-t s o^{\prime}-$ | -se-tso- | - | $-a^{\prime}-t s o-$ |
| thee | - $a^{\prime}$ so- | - | -hq-so'- | -sc-so- | -na'-so- |  |
|  | - -ho'n-do- | $-h q^{\prime}-y o-$ | $-h \chi^{-}$ | - $\mathrm{h}_{\mathfrak{2}}$-sio- | $-h_{\imath}-n{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}-$ | - $h_{\mathfrak{q}}$ - $a^{\prime} y o-$ |
| 3d pers. | $\left\{-s \varepsilon^{\prime}-d o-\right.$ |  | $-s \varepsilon d i^{\prime}-h^{\prime}-$ | -scdi-sio'- | $-s \varepsilon-n_{\chi^{\prime}}{ }^{\prime}$ - | -se-a'yo- |
|  | $-s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}-d o-$ | $-s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}-y 0-$ | $-s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i^{\prime}-h_{2}-$ | -s'zdi-sio'- | $-s^{\prime} \varepsilon-n^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}-$ | - $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-a^{\prime} y o-$ |
| us in | $-w \varepsilon^{\prime}$-do- | $-w \varepsilon^{\prime}-y o$ | - $h_{\chi}$-o'ntso- | -se-o'ndzo- | - | -we-a' yo- |
| us excl | - | - | -ho-no'ntso- | -se-no'ndzo | - | - |
| you | -a'so- | - | - $h_{2}-a^{\prime}$ so- | -se-a'so- | $n_{2}-a^{\prime}$ so- | - |

As will be seen from this example, in a few cases the indirect objective pronouns differ from the direct objective pronouns also in regard to their position: cp. thou - me and thou for me, we thee and we for thee.

[^9]Furthermore the subjective pronouns ${ }^{1}$ undergo some changes in connection with the indirect objective series. Instead of doso we have aso "I for thee (you)" and instead of yotso and $a^{\prime}$ yotso we have ne'ntso and a'ntso respectively, the subjective pronouns following in the last two cases the first subjective series, while $a^{\prime}$ so is apparently a contracted form.

Examples from the texts:
$a^{\prime}$ sol' ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{t}^{\prime} \mathrm{i}^{\prime} n \varepsilon$ I will fiddle for you 14,13
wetso' w? she gave to me 262,17
$h_{\imath} d z o^{\prime} t_{y}$ he was mad at me 262,19
$h_{\imath} n_{p} t s^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{l}^{\prime} i \mathrm{t}^{\prime} i$ they fiddle for us 14,12

## § 33. (d) Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are amalgamated forms of the objective first series with slight changes in the third person plus the first subjective and the second subjective series respectively:

> First reflexive series:

Plur. $\begin{cases}\text { 1. i. } & \text { nndze. } q^{\prime}- \\ \text { 1. } & \text { e. } \\ \text { 2. } & \text { andzzn, } q^{\prime}- \\ \text { andz. } q^{\prime}-\end{cases}$

Second reflexive series:
$t s \varepsilon d o^{\prime}-$
nendze yo'-hmdio'-siodio'$s^{\prime}$ iodio'-Eyondio'-odio'-yondio'-
maze. $\boldsymbol{q}^{\prime}-$ nondzen, ${ }^{\prime}$ andze. $a^{\prime} y o-$

Examples:
$t s \varepsilon-d i-l^{\prime} i^{\prime}$ I cut myself
$n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon-n \varepsilon^{\prime}-l^{\prime} i$ you cut yourself
$h q d \varepsilon-l^{\prime} i^{\prime}$ he cuts himself
tse-do-ci' I pity myself
nendze-yo-ci' you pity yourself

A number of verbs occur exclusively with the reflexive pronouns:
tse dia'a' I am embarrassed,
I am ashamed
tse dipe'nde I twist myself
tse dotnstn $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ I attempt
$t s \varepsilon$ dotyp' I abstain from, I fast
tse dona' I believe
ts $\varepsilon d o s^{\prime} a h a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi \mathrm{I}$ am careful
tse doci' I mourn, I weep tse docq' I enjoy myself tsedoge' I call myself tsedolag ${ }_{\xi}^{\prime}$ I burn myself tse dot'o' I scorch myself

## § 34. (e) Indefinite Pronominal Prefix

The idea of an indefinite personal pronoun "one", "somebody" is expressed by the prefix go- which is of a much more general character

[^10]than the personal pronouns. It is a compounding element in a number of bisyllabic nouns ( $\mathrm{cp} . \S 24 \alpha \beta$ ) and also acts as an infinit-ive-forming prefix.

## Examples:

> agogwa' $x$ T $\varepsilon$ one should say 8,26
> gmt' $\varepsilon$ ' go'widjinfwa somebody had gone (there) 10,29
> gotc' $w a^{\prime}$ ) one would hear 176,42
> goxti't( $\xi^{\prime} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ if one pulls 62,7
> go'nt' $\varepsilon$ goya' somebody passed by 128,98
> go'nt' $\varepsilon$ go'копdjin somebody was coming 154,51

With infinitive meaning:
gola' to eat 112,43
go' ${ }^{\prime} n \varepsilon$ to see 26,17
gok'in ' to get 258,37
go'anene' to ask 264,30
The prefix go- must not be confused with the contraction of $\kappa \varepsilon$ (locative prefix [see § 58] and we (third person pronoun); e. g.:
$\operatorname{gog}_{2^{\prime}}{ }^{\prime}<\operatorname{Keweqg}_{2}{ }^{\prime}$ he was coming 162,104

rala gona' ${ }^{\prime}$ rala kewe'n $n_{2}$ Wolf was here 36,1

## §§ 35-37. (f.) Irregular Personal Pronouns

## § 35. ( $\alpha$ ) Amalgamation of pronoun and verb

While as a rule pronoun and verb can be clearly distinguished there are a number of verbs with irregular pronominal forms in the first and second person. These incorporated pronominal forms are quite different from the regular forms and, although they show similarities among themselves, they cannot be reduced to one common pattern.

The verbs are:
(1) $g o^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ to cry:
$t s^{\prime} a^{\prime 2}$ I cry
$t c^{\prime} y a^{\prime \prime}$ you cry
$h p^{\prime} a^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ he cries
$\left.\begin{array}{l}s \varepsilon^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} \\ s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime}\end{array}\right\}$ he (she etc.) cries
$o^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime}$
$2^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime}$ we (incl.) cry
$n q^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime}$ we (excl.) cry
adj' $y a^{\prime \prime}$ you cry
(2) agogo'ne to come:
$a d z a^{\prime}$ I come adja' you come ahrga' he comes
(8) $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon$ 'goti to arrive:
$n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} d z i$ I arrive $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} c i$ you arrive $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} l i$ he arrives $\left.\begin{array}{l}n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} s \varepsilon l i \\ n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} s^{\prime} \varepsilon l i\end{array}\right\}$ he (she etc.) arrives $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} t i$ we (incl.) arrive $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon l i$ we (excl.) arrive $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} a c i$ you arrive
(9) $K \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \xi g o t a$ to do :
$\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ 㐭ica I do
$\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime \prime}$ छneca you do $\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi_{2} \neq \frac{1}{2}$ he does, etc. cp. 3
asega' he comes
ane'ga we (excl.) come
$a^{\prime} a^{\prime} d j a$ you come
$a h \varepsilon^{\prime} g a$ they come
(3) gote'de to beat, to hit:
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ I beat
tce'de you beat
$h_{\imath} t \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$
$s \varepsilon t \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ he (she etc.) beats
$s^{\top} \varepsilon t \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$
ote'd
$n_{2} t^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ we (excl.) beat
$a^{\prime} t c \varepsilon d \varepsilon$ you beat
(4) gotwa $a^{\prime}$ to kill:
tswa' I kill
tcwa' you kill
$h_{2} t w a^{\prime}$ he kills
(for the following forms cp.3).
(5) $a^{\prime} g o^{\prime} \xi$ to think:
$a^{\prime} d_{i t s}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon$ I think
$a^{\prime} d j$ ' $y z$ you think
$a^{\prime} k q^{\prime} \varepsilon$ he thinks
$a^{\prime} n \eta^{\prime} \varepsilon$ we think
$a^{\prime} a^{\prime} d j^{\prime} y z$ you think
(6) $a^{\prime}$ gogwa to say:
$a^{\prime} d i t s a$ I say
a'ndja you say
$a^{\prime} g w a\left(a^{\prime} h^{2} g w a\right)$ he says, etc. cp. 3 and 5
(7) gola's $i$ to shoot at:
$t s a^{\prime} i$ I shoot at
$y a^{\prime \prime} i$ you shoot at
$h_{2} l a^{\prime} i i$ he shoots at, etc. cp. 3
(10) gota to go:
weda' I go
weca' you go $h_{2} z a^{\prime}$
scia' $\}$ he (she etc.) goes
$s^{\prime} \varepsilon l a^{\prime}$
${ }_{2}{ }^{2} a^{\prime}$ we two go
रf $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ we (incl.) go
$n_{q} f \varepsilon^{\prime}$ we (excl.) go
$a f \varepsilon^{\prime}$ you go
(11) k'ala'gota to eat:
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} d a$ I eat
$k^{\prime}$ ala'ca you eat
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} h_{\imath} l a ~ h e ~ e a t s$
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} a^{\prime} n_{p} l a$ we (excl.) eat
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} a^{\prime} c a$ you eat
(12) $g \varepsilon^{\prime} 7 a$ to find:
$h i^{\prime} t s a$ I find
$h i^{\prime} c a$ you find
$h \xi^{\prime} t a$ he finds
$\varepsilon^{\prime} n d a$ we (incl.) find
$n \varepsilon^{\prime} n t a$ we (excl.) find
$a^{\prime} c a$ you find
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} n t a$ they find
(13) $g o^{\prime} z^{\prime}$ to be here:
$T q^{\prime}$ I am here
$y 2$ you are here
$h \chi^{\prime} z^{\prime}$ he is here
$n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ we (excl.) are here
$a^{\prime} h a$ you are here
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} h a$ they are here

## § 36. ( $\beta$ ) Irregular pronominal forms

With a few verbs $o$ changes to $e$ in the third person singular and plural and in the first person plural:
aneha'djin where we lived 24,13
Kغnehe'nedjon we used to stay there 26,19
ancn? ${ }^{\prime}$ we were there 246,19
anend $j i^{\prime}$ we were going 270,10
Kวne'ndjihe when we were going 280,9
K $\varepsilon$ he' $n_{\imath} d j \iota^{\prime} n$ they were there 148,12
кعhe'hadjigo' they may have been here 148,17
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} n$ l'idode after they scratched 148,6
heyadane' they were called 148,16
$h \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} a^{\prime}$ they cried 150,19
he'nla they traced 168,146
ahe'hendji ${ }^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ as they went there 168,147
§ 37. ( $\gamma$ ) Amalgamation between pronoun and instrumental prefix The instrumental prefix $h i$ - (see § 57) which precedes the pronoun in the first person, enters into a close connection with the personal pronoun, resulting in the following forms:
hi plus di (first subjective series):
$h i^{\prime} d i$-ca I steal with
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon-c a y$ you steal with
$h \varepsilon^{\prime}-c a$
$s \varepsilon^{\prime}-c a$
$s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}-c a$
$\left.\varepsilon^{\prime}-c a \quad\right\}$ he (she etc.) steals with
$o^{\prime}-c a$
$i^{\prime}-c a$
$w \varepsilon^{\prime}-c a$
$\varepsilon^{\prime}-c a$ we (incl.) steal with
$n \varepsilon^{\prime}-c a$ we (excl.) steal with
$\varepsilon^{\prime}$-ca you steal with
hi plus do (second subjective series):
$h i^{\prime} d o-s T i$ I deceive
$h i^{\prime} y o-s t i$ you deceive
hจyu'-sti
sєyu'-sti
$\left.\begin{array}{l}s \varepsilon y u{ }^{\prime}-s t i \\ s^{\prime} \varepsilon y u^{\prime}-s T i \\ \varepsilon y u^{\prime}-s t i\end{array}\right\}$ he (she etc.) deceives
ฉ $y u u^{\prime}-s t i$ we (incl.) deceive
$n_{\imath} y u^{\prime}-s T i$ we (excl.) deceive
$a^{\prime} y o-s t i$ you deceive
An exceptional form is the verb hi'doki "I suspect", which follows partly the first and partly the second paradigm:


## § 38 (g) Reciprocal and Collective

The ideas of mutual or reciprocal and of collective or social action are closely associated with the pronoun, so that it seems appropriate
to deal with them in this place rather than with the verbal complex. They are expressed by two particles $k^{\prime} a$ and $k^{\prime} \geq$ ( $k^{\prime} \xi$ ) which follow the pronoun, being the only affixes in Yuchi that stand between the pronoun and the verbal stem:
$k^{\prime} a$, denotes reciprocity:
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} h_{\imath} h^{\prime} a^{\prime} g w a$ they said to each other 46,8
gotia'ha wek'a'k'? wars they made with each other 270,1
$h_{\imath} k^{\prime} a^{\prime} k^{\prime} \varepsilon n T n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ they visit one another 284,4
$w \varepsilon h^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ fadjı' $n$ they hit one another 302,39
$k$ ' 2 , denotes collective action "together", "in company with" and the relation between the subjective and the objective pronoun:
naкәhək'q' $f \varepsilon h \varepsilon$ and when they went with her 22,8
$w \varepsilon^{\prime} h^{2} \imath w \varepsilon d \varepsilon^{\prime} d j \iota n$ he was talking with him 260,4
gohacons' $h_{\imath} k^{\prime} \imath^{\prime}$ 'wededjı'nha life-ruler that they talked with (him)-. . 268,29
gone' gok'onodji' baby she was there with 268,31
honq'dzak' $\imath^{\prime}$ 'tadjın they went with us 272,14
$\kappa ว s^{\prime} \alpha h_{\imath} h^{\prime} \jmath^{\prime} n t^{\prime} \varepsilon h \varepsilon$ when he was running with 274,35
Kєk'o'nodjin he was there with 286,18
$k^{\prime} \supseteq$ changes into $k^{\prime} \varepsilon$ if it occurs with the verbal stems: $n \geq, h a, d j i$ etc., see § 44.
$w \varepsilon t s \varepsilon k^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i$ (away) that they went with me 254,16
gok' $n \eta_{2}^{\prime} d j i$ that she was here with 270,32
a'ok' $\varepsilon n n^{\prime} n \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} n$ they used to be there with 290,20
$w \varepsilon^{\prime} k^{\prime} \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ they were (there) with 312,122

## § 39. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

The possessive pronouns are prefixed to the nominal stem, just as are the personal pronouns to the verbal stem. There are four different series, the first being identical with the first personal subjective series (di-, ne-, etc.), the second and third showing similarities to the second personal subjective series with different forms in the first and second persons, and the fourth being identical with the personal objective series:

The pronouns of the first series seem to imply inalienable possession as they are used in connection with most parts of the body and the majority of kinship-terms (see § 39).

Example:
$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text { dito }{ }^{\prime} \text { my head } \\ \text { neto } \\ h_{q} t o^{\prime} \\ \text { seto } \\ s^{\prime} \varepsilon t o^{\prime} \\ \varepsilon t o^{\prime} \\ \text { oto }^{\prime} \\ \text { ito } \\ \text { weto }^{\prime}\end{array}\right\}$ his (her etc.) head

```
2to' our head (incl.)
neto' our head (excl.)
qto' your head
```


## Nouns following this series:

| $d i^{\prime} \imath^{\prime} m_{P a}$ my finger | dit $t^{\prime} \xi^{\prime} k^{\prime} a$ my tongue ( I lick) |
| :---: | :---: |
| $d i{ }^{\prime} \chi^{\prime} s a m y$ wrist | ditac ' $\xi^{\prime}$ my breast ( I am jealous) |
| di' $\chi^{\prime} k i$ my arms | $d i t^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ my heart ( I want) |
| $d i x d i^{\prime} t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ my shoulder | dito' my head |
| did $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' my legs | ditot'a' my back |
| didst' $a^{\prime}$ ) my feet | ditce' my stomach, my entrails |
| $d i^{\prime} d a c^{\prime} a$ my lips | dince' my teeth |
| dida'mp'i my nose | dikenda'ca my gum |

also :

| diwz'dene my talk | $d i k^{3} a x x i^{\prime}$ my friend |
| :---: | :---: |
| ditoc'ine' my hat |  |
| ditsols' ${ }^{\prime}$ my home | dik'axt ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{q}^{\prime}$ my husband, my wife, |
| and kin |  |

The differences in meaning between the three other series of possessive pronouns is not clear and we can, therefore, only give the forms and examples as such :


The majority of nouns follow the second series, e. g.:
tso-b'ax̃ $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ my horse
Nouns following the third series:

| tsio-wi' $i^{\prime}$ | my blood | tsio-t'ot'ons ${ }^{\prime}$ | my kidney |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tsio- $y^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} m_{P i}$ | my liver | tsio-tcwa' | my skin |
| $-b^{2} a^{\prime} c^{\prime} \varepsilon$ | my backbone | tsio'-хтsaxтa' | my sides |
| tsio-c'ibilone' | my shirt | tsio-c ${ }^{\text {r }}{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ | my coat |

Nouns following the fourth series:

| tseyadane' my name | $t s \varepsilon s^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ | my land |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| tseyu' ¢ $^{\text {a a my clan }}$ | tses ${ }^{\text {q }}$ | my hair |
| tsew?ne' my shadow, my spirit | $t s e c o^{\prime}$ | my body |
| tseta'pa my strength | $t s \varepsilon x T i^{\prime}$ | my (clan) name |

Possessive pronouns in connection with kinship-terms:

The possessive pronouns, occuring with kinship terms, comprise all the four series just discussed and in addition the second personal subjective series. Thus we have:
$d i$ - series:

| ditssh $\xi^{\prime}$ | my mother |
| :---: | :---: |
| dis'anc' | my son |
| di'yane' | my (man's) daughter |
| dik'a went' | my (woman's) sister |
|  | my (woman's) father's brother's daughter my (woman's) mother's sister's daughter |
| $d i^{\prime} y q^{\prime}$ | my mother's brother |
|  | my mother's brother's son |
| ditssh $\xi^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} i^{\prime} \xi$ | my mother's sister |
|  | my father's sister |
|  | my mother's brother's daughter |
| $d^{\prime} s^{\prime} a n \varepsilon s^{\prime} i \xi^{\prime}$ | my (man's) brother's son |
| di'yanes ${ }^{\prime} i^{\prime} \xi$ | my (man's) brother's daughter |
| ditco'o' | my grandfather (on both sides) |
|  | my father's sister's husband |
| dilaha' | my grandmother (on both sides) |
| dicph? ${ }^{\prime}$ | my brother's wife |
|  | my wife's sister |
|  | my husband's brother |
|  | my husband's sister |
|  | my (woman's) sister's husband |
| diwexto ${ }^{\prime}$ | my sons's wife |
| diwextso ${ }^{\prime}$ | my daughter's husband |

tso- series:

| tsowatne' | my (man's) sister |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | my (man's) father's brother's daughter |
|  | my (man's) mother's sister's daughter |

tsio- series:
\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{ll}\text { tsiotane' } & \text { my (man's) brother } \\
& \begin{array}{l}\text { my (man's) father's brother's son }\end{array}
$$ <br>

my (man's) mother's sister's son\end{array}\right]\) tsiodjiyanধ' $\quad$| my (man's) sister's husband |
| :--- |
| tsiodjiane' |
| my wife's brother |

tse- series:

| tstt' $\xi^{\prime}$ | my father |
| :---: | :---: |
| $t s t t^{\prime} \xi^{\prime} i^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ | my father's brother |
| tsesonz' | my (man's) sister's son |
|  | my (man's) sister's daughter |
|  | my (man's) father's sister's son |
|  | my (man's) father's sister's daughter |
| tsethi' | my wife's (husband's) father |
|  | my wife's (husband's) mother |

do- series:

| dots ${ }^{\prime} 0 n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | my (woman's) son |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | my (woman's) daughter |
| dotaon $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ | my (woman's) brother |
|  | my (woman's) father's brother's son |
|  | my (woman's) mother's sister's son |
| $d o^{\prime} w \varepsilon n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | my (woman's) sister |
| dots'ones' $2 \varepsilon^{\prime}$ | my (woman's) brother's son |
|  | my (woman's) brother's daughter |
|  | my (woman's sister's son |
|  | my (woman's) sister's daughter |
|  | my (woman's father's sister's son |
|  | my (woman's) father's sister's daughter |
| dodjing' | my grandchild (no further differentiation) |

## § 40. TMPERSONAL PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

The impersonal third person pronoun, both "it" and "its" is expressed by the prefixes $h i$ - and ho. The differences in meaning between both prefixes are not clear.

Examples:
$h i$-:
'yq'spa hiha'he pecans where they are 256,31
yufa' tsaxtcib' $i^{\prime}$ ' ${ }^{\text {' }}$ Pendj $\iota^{\prime} n$ the house window it had 258,43
$k^{\prime} a l a t ' \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ 'yapi't'o tihi'hadjinha'de other things wagon that had been in 270,8
тic'o' hi' yada' they were called tic'o' 158,79
ho-:
howag ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ it is left 182,14
tsoti' $x d j i$ P $\varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon h o n o n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ the medicine it will overcome (them) 182,11
hocuk' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} l a a^{\prime} \varepsilon$ it was tied to 98,35
tso'ti ho'a'ga medicine its day 276,39
gowa' $d o^{\prime} \varepsilon h o^{\prime}$ yuhe the grave its house 176,44
rot'oha' $n_{2} d \varepsilon t a h a^{\prime} h o d j u l a^{\prime}$ the sand our feet it burned 284,1
$k^{2}\left(a l a^{\prime} t^{\prime} \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}\right.$. . . . howale'lade' $\varepsilon g o^{\prime}$ other things they may have been left out 288,30
gol'it'ine's $\varepsilon$. . . hocuha' the fiddle .... its strings 312,121
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} \operatorname{sog}_{\mathfrak{\chi}} т a n \varepsilon^{\prime} h o^{\prime} y u^{\prime} f a \tau i^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ the school in its yard 312,122
In a few cases ho- occurs as objective impersonal pronoun:
$k a^{\prime}$ '' $^{\prime}$ o howage' hotan?' bread hunt it, eat it! 300,10
With the following verbs ho- occurs as the direct impersonal object following the indirect object. As a rule, however, the direct object precedes the indirect object, e. g.: $k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} a^{\prime} s o k^{\prime} ?$ something I work for you (cp. §32).
asohot' $a^{\prime} \quad$ I let it go for you
asoho'kasa I crush it for you
asoho'la I wove it for you
asohoh?' I took it from you dohokita' I escape from it ${ }^{4}$ soho ${ }^{\prime \prime} \xi$ I spread it out for you

## § 41. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

There are only two general demonstrative prefixes in Yuchi which are modified by the various forms of the classifying suffixes discussed above (see § 26).

The two demonstrative prefixes are $n \varepsilon-=$ this (local and temporal proximity and $l_{\varepsilon}=$ that (local and temporal remoteness).

From a combination with the classifying suffixes the following forms result:
a) inanimate:

| sing.: | $n \varepsilon f a^{\prime}$ | $l \varepsilon f a^{\prime}$ <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br> $n \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| plur.: | $n \varepsilon^{\prime} h a$ | $l d j i^{\prime}$ <br> $l \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ |
|  | $l \varepsilon^{\prime} h a$ |  |

b) animate:

| sing.: | $n \varepsilon^{\prime} n^{2}$ | $l \varepsilon^{\prime} n^{2}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $n \varepsilon$ 'sen? | $l \varepsilon^{\prime} s \varepsilon n^{\prime}$ |
|  | $n \varepsilon^{\prime} s^{\prime} \varepsilon n^{\prime}$ | $l \varepsilon^{\prime} s^{\prime} \varepsilon n^{\prime}$ |
|  | $n \varepsilon^{\prime} \mathrm{En}^{2}$ | $l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon n_{2}$ |
|  | $n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ 'on? | $l \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{n}_{2}$ |
|  | $n \varepsilon^{\prime} i^{\prime} n^{2}$ | $l \varepsilon^{\prime} i^{\prime} n^{\prime}$ |
|  | ne'went | $\ell^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \operatorname{con}^{\prime}$ |
| plur.: | $n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} n^{\prime}$ | $l \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\text {Q }}$ |
|  | $n \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} n^{2}$ | $l \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} n^{\prime}$ |

Examples:
Inanimate:
$n \varepsilon^{\prime} f a y a^{\prime} f a \quad$ this tree $\quad l \varepsilon^{\prime} h a y a^{\prime} h a$ those trees
$n \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} d i^{\prime} d j i$ this rock $n \varepsilon^{\prime} h a y u^{\prime} h a$ those houses $n \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon s^{\prime} a^{\prime} \varepsilon \quad$ this field
Animate:
$n \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ gont' $\varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ this man (referring to a Yuchi)
$n \varepsilon^{\prime} \operatorname{sen} n^{\prime} s^{\prime} a n t$ ' $\varepsilon^{\prime} s \varepsilon n_{2}$ this girl (referring to a man's sister etc.)
$l \varepsilon^{\prime} s^{\prime} \varepsilon n^{2}$ that one (referring to a woman's brother etc.)
$n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ ciqcanche' $n_{2}$ these boys
$n \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2} b^{\prime} a x t \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ these horses
$n \varepsilon^{\prime} i^{\prime} n_{\mathcal{Z}} g o n t t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} i^{\prime} n_{\mathcal{Z}}$ these men (woman speaking)
$l \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{q}$ gocpiwe' $n_{2}$ those negroes
$n \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon n 2$ is frequently contracted to $n o^{\prime} n 2, ~ с p$. phonology, § 3:
no'n殳 go'nt'on? this person (not Yuchi) 392,38

## § 42. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Corresponding to the general demonstrative prefixes there is a general interrogative prefix wa- which is specified by suffixing the classifying elements and general locative elements (see §§ 26 and 29).

## 1. Interrogative referring to animate beings: wanq' Subjective form: <br> ```wan \({ }^{\prime}\) ' axk \(\varepsilon^{\prime}\) ahigga'? who (Yuchi) comes there? \\ wan \({ }^{\prime}\) axкধ' \({ }^{\prime}\) aypga' ? who (not Yuchi) comes there? \\ wanฉ' hyya'gwa? who told (that)?```

Objective form :
In the objective forms the interrogative pronoun remains unchanged and the objective personal pronoun precedes the subjective pronoun:
wan?' honerne? who him you see = whom (Yuchi) do you see ?
wanq' wenetne'? whom (not Yuchi) do you see?
2. Interrogative referring to inanimate objects:

With the interrogatives referring to inanimate objects the classifying suffixes do not occur. There is only one pronoun: wik $a^{\prime}$ what.

Example:
wika' netne'? what are you looking at?
wika' yok' $z^{\prime}$ ? what are you doing?
The selective interrogative pronoun "which" is denoted by waplus a classifying element ( $-n_{2}, h \varepsilon^{\prime} n 2$ etc. when it refers to animate beings and $-f a,{ }^{\top} \varepsilon,-d j i$ when it refers to objects). Like the adjectives it follows the noun it refers to.

The forms are:

1. Referring to animate beings:

2. Referring to inanimate objects:
sing.: waxkefa' which one (of vertical objects)
waxk $\varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ which one (of horizontal objects)
waxkedji' which one (of roundish objects)
plur.: waxkeha' which ones (of objects of any kind)
Examples:
$g \partial^{\prime} n t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ wan ${ }^{\prime}$ ' which (Yuchi) man?
go'cpi wahewan?' which negro?
wahe'n $n_{2}$ nedji hi hadji'n which ones have done this?
$b^{\prime} a x \tau \varepsilon^{\prime}$ waws' $n_{\mathcal{Z}}$ which ones of the horses?
ya'fa waxk $\varepsilon f a^{\prime}$ which tree?
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ waxк $\varepsilon^{3} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ which land?
тi'dji waxkedji' which rock?
тi'ha waxkeha' which rocks?

The interrogrative "where" is formed by wa- and addition of the locatives $-h \varepsilon$ and $-f a$. Thus we have:
wahe' where at?
wafa' where to ?

## Examples:

wahe' hitz' ? where does he live?
wahe' yoxtr $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ ? where did you put (it)?
$b^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ xि $^{\prime} \varepsilon w_{2} n_{?}$ wanc'wen?? where is the horse?
wafa' nedji'? where are you going?
The other interrogative ideas are apparently of a very vague nature and have not developed definite forms. Thus the interrogative "how" can be expressed by:

1) $w a h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ :
wahe' neca yo'k'? how do you make it ?
wahe' la't' $\varepsilon$ how much ?
2) $w a x k \varepsilon^{\prime}$ тnє:
waxke' тne sono'la? how do you feel ?
3) $w a h \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }_{T} n \varepsilon$ :
wahe'rne sons'la how do you feel?

## §§ 43-59. C. The Verb and Adjective

§§ 43-47. VERBAL AND ADJECTIVAL STEMS

§ 43. (a) Introductory

Like the nominal stem the verbal or adjectival stem is either primary or secondary, i. e. mono- or polysyllabic. Except for a few cases of plural stems all modifications of the verb are achieved by suffixing and not by internal changes of the stem.

Verbal and adjectival stems are closely related; adjectives occur as verbs without any formal changes:

## § 44. (b) Monosyllabic stems

verbal:
$\varepsilon$ to lie
$a^{c}$ to carry
$o$ to belong to
$y a$ to roast
$w i$ to pass
$w \varepsilon$ to dream
$w a$ to bite
$w a$ to give for a present
$h i$ to carry on the back
$h \varepsilon$ to bathe
$h a$ to live
$h a$ to smell
t'o to menstruate
typ to be angry
tsa to sleep
$t c^{2} a$ to drown
tc'wa to hear
$t c w \varepsilon$ to rub
$n \varepsilon$ to blow
$s^{\prime} \varepsilon$ to bite off
so to stink
$s^{\prime} o$ to suck
sTa to break
ho to plant
$h_{2}$ to take
$p a$ it burns
$p^{2} \varepsilon$ to drink
$p \varepsilon$ to row
$p^{2} \varepsilon$ to grip
pa to cut open, to saw
$p^{\prime} a$ to send for, to look for
$p^{\prime} a \cdot$ to be born
$p^{\wedge} a$ to chop
$f a$ to stand
$f a^{\prime}$ to whip
$f q$ to cut off
do to touch
$d j i$ to sit, to go, to stay
$x i$ to wash
to to go with
Ta to set a date
tne to see
ti to beg
$t^{\prime} i$ to urinate
te to play
$t$ t $\varepsilon$ to cough
ta to pick
$t^{\prime} a$ to let go, to bury
adjectival:
$a$ big tca hard, loud
di yellow
$T \varepsilon$ wild
to small
tsq low, short
tsya dry
stz to swim
ci to stick (trans.)
$c i$ to pity
$c \varepsilon$ to hide
$c^{\prime} \varepsilon$ to wait
cti to dance
CT2 to close, to shut
$g_{2}$ to come
gwa to say
$K \varepsilon$ to call
к $\alpha$ to rest
$K_{2}$ to cook
$k^{\prime} i$ to get, to earn
$k$ ' $a$ to laugh
$k_{2}$ to blow
$k^{2} 2$ to make, to build
$k w \xi$ to send, to put
kwa to fetch, to bring
$l^{\prime} i$ to cut, to scratch
$l$ ' $\varepsilon$ to fear
$l a$ to weave
lq to make
l'a to dig
b'o to bake
$s \xi$ good
co soft, ripe, sore
$c_{p} i$ wet, moist
$g_{\varepsilon}$ long

## § 45. (c) Bisyllabic stems

The bisyllabic stems cannot be grouped under themes nor analysed into their compounding elements. The following list, although it may not be exhaustive, comprises most of the bisyllabic verbal and adjectival stems:
verbal:

| atca' to groan | tata' to braid, to plait |
| :---: | :---: |
| $y a^{\prime} h a$ to dip | $t^{\prime} \varepsilon k a^{\prime}$ to taste, to lick |
| yabz' to pour | $t^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} l^{\prime}$ ' to quit |
| ya'gwa to tell | tyayu' to love |
| ya'cta to camp | tсита' to listen |
| $y_{2} h o^{\prime}$ to be hungry | sat $\xi_{\xi}^{\prime}$ to scrape, to shave |
| $w \varepsilon d \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to call | kita' to escape |
| $w \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon$ to talk, to speak | kil? ${ }^{\prime}$ to miss |
| $w \varepsilon / \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to wake up | $k^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to swallow |
| $w a^{\prime} d i$ to brag about | $k^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to visit |
| wage' to hunt | $k \varepsilon^{\prime} g \varepsilon$ to hasten |
| $w a h ?^{\prime}$ to play | $k^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to smile |

wale to give up
wone' to fish
wond $j i^{\prime}$ to buy $h_{\imath} l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to catch
biti ${ }^{\prime}$ to turn
$b^{\prime}$ t' $^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ to roll padg' to twist Tit. h $^{\prime}$ to pull тat.h $\xi^{\prime}$ to sweep tale' to appear тnєg $o^{\prime}$ to believe $t^{2} a w \xi^{\prime}$ to loose tafa' to be afraid of

## adjectival:

ispi' black
$i \ell \xi^{\prime}$ big
$a w i^{\prime}$ loose
$a l i^{\prime}$ heavy
oxpa' full
o'nda plain, clear
yaxk $a^{\prime}$ white
watci' slow, stupid
hidz?' green, blue
hite' last
hits $z^{\prime}$ short
$h i^{\prime} s t a$ flat, level
hico' wet
hicu' slow
hiki' fierce
hapa' flat
hoto' brief, short
holo' deep
pado' dark (night)
fifi' bright, shiny
djuge' sour
Ti $i^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ mean, low
т $\varepsilon s a^{\prime}$ clean
$k^{\prime} a h a^{\prime}$ to watch, to take care of
$k^{2} a h h^{\prime}$ to fight
$k^{\prime}$ 'ass' to bet
$k^{\prime} a r e^{\prime} ?^{\prime}$ to scuffle
$k y_{2}{ }^{\prime} w_{2}$ to think
kwans ${ }^{\prime}$ to borrow
law $\xi^{\prime}$ to wake up (trans.)
$l a h_{\xi}{ }^{\prime}$ to offer
laha' to eat up
laha' to win
lat $\xi^{\prime}$ to cut down, to fell
$\ell^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ntci to chase
$\ell^{\prime} \mathfrak{q}^{\prime} \kappa \varepsilon$ to push

T $\varepsilon k i^{\prime}$ different
Tapa' strong, hard
Tats'a' noisy
tatca' difficult
tanz' fat
та' $\varepsilon$ ع ripe
$t^{\prime} \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ different, next
tsobi' straight
tsuta' short, low
tsya'l'a red
tciga' rotten
'ngga' true, rich
$s^{2} i \xi^{\prime}$ little, small
$s^{\prime} a T i^{\prime}$ low
safi' fast, quick
$s^{\prime} u l_{\xi}^{\prime}$ bare, bald, naked
$c^{\prime} i^{\prime} g \varepsilon$ deep
$c \xi^{\prime} c \varepsilon$ ready
cale' raw
coco' rotten
кас'о' left
$\kappa a^{\prime} \not x \kappa a$ white
$k$ 'asg' industrious

## § 46. (d) Polysyllabic stems

Polysyllabic verb-stems of more than two syllables are extremely rare. An analasys of more than three hundred printed pages of texts yielded only the following few examples:
verbal:
dihi'tadjubi' I am pleased
$d i t t^{\prime} a s^{\prime} i \xi^{\prime}$ I hate
dita's $a x \boldsymbol{x} \varepsilon$ I order
(dita'tseyu I mourn, (my heart hurts))
ditopat?' I am dizzy
ditcirp ${ }^{\prime}$ la I blink, I twinkle ( $t c i=$ eye)
dikyo'nec' $i_{\varepsilon} I$ am provoked (my thought is bad), and a number of reduplicated bisyllabic stems (see § 54)
adjectival:

| hitafa' greedy <br> hitn६g? new |
| :---: |
| hicig $\xi^{\prime}$ deep, steep |
| hicahi' hot |
| hapa' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ broad |
| hapas' $i_{\varepsilon}^{\prime}$ ' narrow, (broad little) |
| hatsih $\xi^{\prime}$ silent |
| hass' $\xi^{\prime}$ bad (not good) |
| hoha's $\varepsilon$ empty |
| hopaya'хка pale |

hofęle' mild<br>тapis६́' sweet (salt good)<br>tsobila' straight, just<br>$s_{\imath} h_{\imath}{ }^{\prime 2} \varepsilon$ still, quiet<br>goxтiç' false, untrue gok'ita' lazy, lonesome $g_{2}$ cine' poor<br>k'iya'a' careful<br>$k^{\prime}$ abilq' even, smooth<br>$T \xi w_{\xi} \xi^{\prime}$ sparkling, brilliant

## § 47. (e) NUMERALS

The numerals are independent words of adjectival character following the noun they refer to. If the noun occurs with one or more adjectives the numeral follows those. It takes the place of the plural suffix -ha (see § 27). The numeral classification is that of the decimal system, as is shown in the following list:

Cardinal numbers:
$h i t$ ' $\varepsilon$ ' one
$n q^{\prime} w \varepsilon$ two
nq $_{2} a^{\prime}$ three
тala' four
$t c^{\prime} w a h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ five
$i c d u^{\prime}$ six
laxdju' seven
bifa' eight
$t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} x_{\kappa} \alpha$ nine
laxpe' ten


```
laxpe \(n q^{\prime} w \varepsilon\) тa'wi twelve (ten two laid over)
\(k^{\prime}\) 'охтап२we' twenty
```



```
\(k^{\prime}\) ’охтапఇwe' n२we тa'wi twenty-two
```



```
k'охтатаla' forty
\(k^{\prime}\) '杀тatc'wahe' fifty
k'oхта'icdu' sixty
\(k^{〔}\) oxtalaxdju’ seventy
k`ox̣tabifa' eighty
```



```
\(i c t^{\prime} \xi t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}\) one hundred (road one)
\(i c t t^{\prime} \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon h i t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}\) one hundred and one
\(i c t t^{\prime} \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon n_{q} q^{\prime} w \varepsilon\) one hundred and two
\(i^{\prime} c t^{\prime} \xi n_{\imath}{ }^{\prime} w \varepsilon\) two hundred
\(i^{\prime} c t\) ' \(\varepsilon n \imath^{\prime} w \varepsilon n^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} w \varepsilon\) two hundred and two
\(i^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} t^{\prime} \xi n_{2} K a^{\prime}\) three hundred
\(i^{\prime} c t^{2} \varepsilon\) rala' four hundred
```

$i c t^{\prime} \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon x к а k^{\prime} о х т а t^{\prime} \varepsilon x к а t^{\prime} \varepsilon x к а$ та' wi nine hundred ninety nine $i c t^{2} a^{2} a t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ one thousand, (road big one)
$i^{\prime} t^{\prime} a^{\prime} a$ ñ $w \varepsilon^{\prime}$ two thousand

```
ict' ' ' 'a'laxp\varepsilon' ten thousand (road big ten)
ict' ' ' 'a'.ict'\xihit' }\varepsilon\mathrm{ ' one hundred thousand (road big road one)
ict'\xi'a goha'n\varepsilon hit'\varepsilon' one million (road big old one)
```

Ordinal numbers:
There is no formal difference between cardinal and ordinal numbers except for "the first" which is $c$ тaha" $\varepsilon$. instead of hit' $\varepsilon$ '. With the other numerals the ordinal character is denoted by adding one of the article suffixes $-f a,-^{-} \varepsilon$ or $-d j i$ (according to the character of the noun, see § 26) to the numeral; e. g.:
ya $n_{\imath}$ we'fa the second tree $\quad a^{\prime} g a$ ctaha' $\xi$ the first day $n_{२} n_{\imath} n_{\imath} n_{\imath} w \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon$ the second creek $a^{\prime} g a \operatorname{laxpe} f a$ the tenth day
$s^{\prime} a y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ rala' $x d j i$ the fourth hill

The numeral adverbs are denoted by suffixing the pluralizing element $-h a$ to the cardinals. Only the first two have different forms:

| sahq' once | Talaha' four times |
| :--- | :--- |
| $n_{2} h a^{\prime}$ twice | taxpeha' ten times |

$n_{2}$ каha' three times

## § 48. COMPOUND VERBS

While, as we have seen, the composition of verbal stems serves only to a very limited degree to express complex verbal ideas, there is another type of compounding which represents an almost universal pattern of verb-formation. This type of compound consists of specifying element plus personal pronoun plus verbal stem.

The specifying element may be a noun, an adjective, a prefix, an independent particle or an adverbial, but the unit of the whole word-complex is expressed both by the fixed position of the specifying element and by the stereotyped meaning of the compound. Although every verbal stem can be thus modified and specified, there are a few monosyllabic verb-stems of an auxiliary character which prevailingly take the place of the general verb. These auxiliary verbs are:

1) gota' to do, to make, to cause, (dica' = I make, see. § 35), Examples:

```
oxpa'dica I fill (full I make)
oxpal\varepsilon'dica I refill
onda'dica I explain (plain I make)
y?
yucu'dica I shake
wel'i'dica I plough
hip\varepsilon'ndica I put it on
hitc's'ndica I bend (bent I make)
hinq'dica I grease
hi'xtodica I wrap in
```

$h a c^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ dica I burn<br>howa'dica I save<br>hoha'dica I make empty<br>hohq'dica I join together<br>hot'ale'dica I stop<br>hoxti'dica I pay<br>pihq́dica I shoot<br>Pa'dica I set fire to<br>depolع'dica I repeat, I do again<br>djahe'ndica I rattle<br>тesa'dica I clean<br>таPÉdica I finish<br>тapa'dica I tighten<br>тасти'dica I pour on<br>$t^{\prime} \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon n d i c a$ I change, I make different<br>tahe'dica I uncover, I turn over<br>ta' $p^{\prime}$ adica I saddle<br>tsya'dica I dry<br>tca'dica I harden, I dry fruit<br>s'a'lidica I plough<br>$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} s^{\prime} a d i c a$ I waste<br>soso'dica I write, I mark<br>soтídica I soften, limber I make<br>$c^{\prime} i \varepsilon^{\prime} d i c a$ I spoil<br>cpídica I moisten<br>cPa'dica I spread<br>кєсти'dica I pile up<br>$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} a^{\prime} d i c a$ I finish<br>$k^{2} a^{\prime}$ fidica I comb<br>$k^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ тadica I include, I put with<br>kasa'dica I crash<br>lafa'dica I bust open

2) gowi' to pass,

Examples:
ogaledi' wi I forget
djika'di'wi I go along
$s^{\prime} a l \varepsilon d i^{\prime} w i$ I get down
$s^{\prime}$ apo'diwi I set into the ground (plants, fence posts, etc.)
$s^{\prime} a d i^{\prime} w i$ I fall down
3) gok'? to make,

## Examples:

$q^{\prime} P a^{\prime} d o k^{\prime}$ ? I sharpen
hoxtilq'dok' ${ }_{2}$ I pay back
tsotici'dok' ${ }_{2}$ I make medicine, I doctor
$n_{2} c_{2}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{dok}^{2}$ ? I draw, picture I make
$s_{\xi}$ 's $\varepsilon^{2} d o k$ '? I plead, peace I make
cado'k'? farm I make, I farm
gedok' $\imath^{\prime}$ I sharpen, sharp I make
godjih2 ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{dok}^{\prime}{ }_{2}$ I arrest, prisoner I make
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} d_{0} k^{2}$ I I work, something I make
4) $g o k w \varepsilon^{\prime}=$ to put, to send.

Examples:

```
ya'dokw I sing
yub'a'dokw 1 lift, I raise
yulq'dokw \(I\) tie around
hopalq'dokw \(\boldsymbol{q}^{2}\) diminish, I make less
deki'dokw I divide, I separate
тahs'dokw I continue
\(t^{2} a^{\prime} d o k w \xi\) I tear
кєсти' кєтаdokw६ I throw in a pile (pile there on I throw)
\(k^{3} a k a^{\prime} d o k w \xi\) I split
\(k^{\prime} \imath^{\prime}\) ladokw \(^{\prime}\) I gather, I heap up
```

5) gox $\tau a^{\prime}$ (occurs with compounds only),

## Examples:

```
таn\varepsilonk'ว'nta I take it off
(Ta' w\imathw\varepsilon'тa I walked on to it, I found, I discovered)
та' wح\mp@code{lixTa I appoint}
s\varepsilon'lak'a'dixTa I appreciate, I think well of
к\varepsilond\varepsilonk'a'dixTa I am satisfied
```



```
k\varepsilonk'o'nda I begin
k'ahi'dixra I am pleased, I mind, I count for
k'ats\varepsilon'dixTa I am proud
k`al\varepsilon'dixтa I regard
ko'ndita I climb
lah\varepsilonk'\partial'nda I take it out
```

Examples of other verbs:

```
q` Pasc'dola I point at
moladi'g\varepsilon I explain (plain I say)
w\varepsilonyu'diк}\mathrm{ I I fry, lard I cook
ha's}ado'\xi I neglect
hopal\varepsilon'din? I fail, (left over I become)
P\varepsilonl\varepsilon'w\varepsilon'Ta I join
тak'\varepsilon'ndit\varepsilon I play ball
Tal\varepsilon'doxdji I get up
тахта啋dip'a I look around
to'dohz I cover
tsa'difa I stand
tsobila dik'a's}\varepsilon\mathrm{ I make an agreement
n\varepsilonl\varepsilondzi' I come back
s'apo'di'\xi I bury, ground under I put
s'adot\varepsilon' I run off
s}\mp@subsup{s}{}{\prime}\mp@subsup{a}{}{\prime}dit\mp@subsup{t}{}{\prime}aw\xi I dro
golan\varepsilon'dow I feed, something to eat I give
k'a'dop'a I sew
kodota' I open
lah\varepsilon'dipa I throw away
```


## § 49. IMPERSONAL VERBS

These are a small group of verbal stems which express an impersonal act or state and can neither take personal nor impersonal pronouns. In all other respects, however, they are treated like true verbs and can be modified by suffixing. Such verbs are:

a'ga it reaches $y a^{\prime}, \varepsilon$ it is dead $y a^{\prime} s t \varepsilon$ it smokes $y q^{\prime}$ it swells, it boils $y u h \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ it is strange yu'c'o it is withered yucu' it shakes piyq ${ }^{\prime} с \boldsymbol{r}_{\imath} с т q^{\prime}$ it thunders pelq' $c т u$ it spills over pac $\xi^{\prime \prime} \xi$ it is burning

## § 50. verbalization

Nominal stems and particles are transformed into static verbs by suffixing the verbalizing element $-{ }^{\prime} \xi$ (or $\tau n \varepsilon$, see phonology, § 10). This device can be used with all nouns the meaning of which can be transformed into a verbal idea.

Examples:
$t s \varepsilon$ rain, becomes $t s \varepsilon^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ it rains
$\tau_{Q^{\prime}} \boldsymbol{T} a$ light, becomes $\boldsymbol{\tau}_{\imath} T a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ it is light
wa summer, becomes wa'rne it is summer
$w \varepsilon c t ?^{\prime}$ winter, becomes wect? ${ }^{\prime}$ tne it is winter
$h_{\imath} t o^{\prime}$ child, becomes $h_{\imath} t o^{\prime \prime}{ }_{\varepsilon} d j \iota n$ it was a child
$a \not x K \varepsilon^{\prime}$ there, becomes $a \not x K \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ that way (or there) it is
т $\varepsilon$ ca' close, becomes $T \varepsilon c a^{\prime \prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon$ it is close
$T i$ inside, becomes $T i^{\prime \prime} \xi$ it is inside
$\tau a$ on, becomes $\tau a^{\prime \prime} \xi$ it is on
$s^{\prime} a y a b^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} \xi y a$ if he is a warrior (ya if, see § 62) 148,7
Although $\pi n \varepsilon$ in most cases seems to be a synonym with ' $\varepsilon$ (see phonemes) there are a few cases in which it implies a slightly different meaning; e. g.:

Pado's ${ }^{\prime}$ it is dark, but: Pado' ${ }^{\prime} n \varepsilon$ it is too dark $a^{\prime} т n \varepsilon$ it is too big
${ }^{-}$' $\xi$ is often suffixed to adjectives, even though adjectives may occur as verbs without the verbalizing particle:
$s^{\prime} i \xi^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ it is little 42,39
$\operatorname{cocos}^{\prime \prime}{ }_{\varepsilon}$ it is rotten 162,113
$w \varepsilon x T o^{\prime \prime}{ }_{\xi}$ it is covered with 142,12
wihiki's $\varepsilon$ it is fierce 142,16
goyatili's it is fierce $^{2} 8,46$
haw ' $s \xi^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ he is not good 152,34
hatsine ${ }^{\prime \prime}{ }_{\xi}$ it is quiet 246,20
gok ${ }^{\prime} i T a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ it is lonesome 24,16

## § 51. TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

Tenses are not very fully developed in Yuchi. As far as they find expression they are denoted by a number of verbal suffixes.

The verbal stem as such without any temporal suffixes generally implies the present tense (cp. the suffixes denoting aspects). In the past tenses the ideas of incomplete and complete past are distinguished. The temporal suffix, however, is not added to every verb that stands in the past but, as a rule, only to the last verb in the sentence which thus renders the whole sentence in the past tense. Outwardly, at least, this position of the past tense suffix after the last verb in the sentence gives the impression of an enclitic rather than a verbal suffix.

The forms are:
(1) $-d j \omega$, denoting the incomplete past:
tala' gon,' yone'nde gonodjı'n wolf was here, fawn also was here 36,1(2)

 for him, he shot, he went with. (This is a typical example of a sentence in the past with several verbs of which only the last one takes the temporal suffix) 74,28
(2) -djı'nfwa, denotes the complete past, corresponding closely to the English pluperfect; e. g.:
$h_{\mathfrak{\imath}} h_{\mathfrak{\imath}} l \varepsilon^{\prime} d o d \varepsilon d j \jmath^{\prime} n f w a$ after she had caught them 86,41
we.odjı'njwa they had climbed 104,43
we.oxte'djinfwa she had put him there 148,7
Verbs denoting a static idea usually take -djı'nfwa in the past tense, the past in a static verb being always complete:

ка' $х к а d j i n f w a(h e)$ was a white (man) 154,51
$a x \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $\ell d j \iota^{\prime} n f w a$ right there it was 164,125
na'wecedj'nfwa they were not dead 104,43
gohaha's $\varepsilon d j i \nsim n f w a$ they were very old 88,46
pewe'djidjenfwa she was sitting on 40,23
When dj'nfwa is followed by the habitual suffix -ne (see § 54) it changes to djinfa':
wewaha'djinfa'ne they used to be many 246,2
кәhe'nzdjinfa'ne they used to be there 264,30
$h_{\imath} k^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ yugwadjınfa'ne they had been discussing 268,23
Kəhe'hadjinfa'ne they used to be there 272,19
wextidjinfa'ne happened to be his name 282,30
axкeтne'djinfa'ne it had been that way 308,88
In some cases -djin is added to -djı'nfwa, so that the whole suffix becomes -djinfwadjı'n; e. g.:
go`ladjinfwadji'n (the disease) it had spread 248,10
yudjiha'djinfwadji $n$ they happened to be Yuchi 260,7

кعfa'djinfwadjı'n he happened to be standing there 282,35
$k^{2} a t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} l a ~ y q w a d j i n t w a d j i ' n$ few only they were left 248,9
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ Tawpdji $n$ fwadji'n chance it had been 330,84
wewado ${ }^{\prime}$ غdjinfwadjin she had been dead 326,7
The suffixation of $-d j i n$ seems to lend emphasis to the past. In some cases it has the idiomatic meaning of "it happened to have been", or "it must have been."
(3) djigo', denotes the aspect of uncertainty in the complete past: "may have been". The second part of the compound is identical with the potential suffix -go (see § 53).
dji'l$\varepsilon g o^{\prime} n t{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon \operatorname{din} \imath^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} d j i g o^{\prime}$ at that time person I may have been 20,2
dip'adjigo' (In Tuskegee) I may have been born 20,3
wewado'djigo' she may have been dead 20,5
axкe'tnedjigo' it may have been that way 26,17
hondion?'djigo' they may have thought 244,4
$k^{\prime} \alpha{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ s $\varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ кәтñ'ladjigo'la something good they may have done but (-la but, see § 61) 254,17a
Kहh $\xi^{\prime}$ hadjigo'la they may have been here but. . . 264,30
$n a{ }^{\prime} i^{\prime} k_{2} g a \operatorname{la}{ }^{\prime} d \varepsilon^{3} \xi d j i g o^{\prime}$ not too long it may have been 288,4
aхкв'тnadjigo'la it may have been that way but . . . 190,19
ахккістаlе' la'd $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ हndjigo' at that time it may have been 344,3
The future tense is indicated by two devices. The first one that is most frequently employed consists of lengthening, nasalizing and stressing the last syllable of the verbal stem; e. g.:

> wera' I go becomes weT $a^{\prime}$ I shall go
> $d i c r i^{\prime}$ I dance becomes dicr $l^{\prime}$ I shall dance
> dotc $w a^{\prime}$ I hear becomes dotc'w I shall hear
> $n \varepsilon l \varepsilon d z i^{\prime}$ I come back becomes $n \varepsilon l \varepsilon d z \ell^{\prime}$ I shall come back

While this stress more properly denotes the intention and hencewith the immediate future with an active verb, the idea of the remote future is expressed by a special suffix, $\varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon$; e. g.:
siola' $\varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} n$ she would surely run off 320,15
ditsa' $\varepsilon$ ' $\ell \varepsilon$ I shall sleep, I have to sleep diwato' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon$ I shall die

With impersonal verbs the future tense is denoted by the potential suffix -go (see § 53); e. g.:

$$
\begin{aligned}
& t s \varepsilon^{\top} \xi g_{z^{\prime}} \text { it may (will) rain } \\
& c t a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon g_{\text {z }} \text { it may snow }
\end{aligned}
$$

All other temporal ideas are expressed by independent particles, see § 66 .

## § 52. PLURAL STEMS

A formal distinction of a verbal singular and plural by changes of the stem is limited to a few exceptional cases:
$h_{2} \not a^{\prime}$ he goes, changes to:

```
nฉfe' we go
\(\alpha f \varepsilon^{\prime}\) you go
\(h_{\imath} f \varepsilon^{\prime}\) they go (cp. § 35)
```

$h e^{\prime} \imath^{\prime}$ he is here, changes to:
$n \in h a^{\prime}$ we are here
aha' you are here
$h \xi^{\prime} h a$ they are here
$d i^{\prime} w i$ I am lost, changes to:
nəya' we are lost
qya' you are lost
$h_{\imath} y a^{\prime}$ they are lost
A peculiarity of these three verbs is that they can form an inclusive dual by the prefixing of the pronoun $₹$ (otherwise first person inclusive plural) to the singular stem. Thus we have:
${ }_{2} l a^{\prime}$ we two go
${ }^{2} f \varepsilon^{\prime}$ we (incl. plural) go
$n_{2} f \varepsilon^{\prime}$ we (excl. plural) go
A parallel formation of an exclusive dual by prefixation of $n ?^{-}$ to the singular stem is apparently not possible.

## § 53. MODAL SUFFIXES

With the exception of the infinitive (see the indefinite pronoun go-, §34) the modality of the verb is expressed by suffixes. The following forms can be distinguished:

1. Indicative,
2. Imperative,
3. Exhortative,
4. Emphatic,
5. Potential,
6. Ability.

## Indicative:

The indicative mood is simply denoted by the stem itself without the suffixing of any formal elements.

Imperative:
In both direct and indirect speech the imperative mood is expressed by the suffix $-n 2$. e. g.:
tcu' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $i^{\text {' }}$ dzoxdjin?' get with me into the boat! 78,11
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} a^{\prime} y u d o n$ ?' reach for me! 102,28
$n a^{\prime} t s \varepsilon^{\prime} a t$ 'anz' do not turn me loose! 102,31
$\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} a_{2} n_{?^{\prime}}$ you lie there! 16,19
ho' waa'solanq' leave them for me! 154,44
tsek'a'da alan?' together with me put them! 170,13
K $\varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ no'ndzek'ontan?' home take us! 260,4
nas'asstelan?' do not let her run off!320,14
talहga' $k^{\prime} a^{\prime} h a n{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ study hard! 336,123
hohale'n? catch him! 126,76

Indirect speech:
$y_{2}$ tans' $n$ ? she should do! 8,20
hętanena' they shall use 162,96

## Exhortative:

The Exhortative is expressed by the suffix -w2:
$k^{\prime}$ ala' pla'w? he' yqgwadjin something let us eat, he said 62,2
hodjut a' $w_{2}$ they should listen (he said) 68,16
yula' $a d \varepsilon^{\prime} w_{2}$ he shall go around, let him go around 72,17
$\imath k^{\prime} a^{\prime} k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} n^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} w_{\imath}$ let us play together (he said) 74,30

## Exception:

note'na let us go! 246,14

## Emphatic:

The emphatic suffixes $-h_{2}$ and $-w \alpha$ are used idiomatically and can, therefore, only be roughly defined. The range of their meaning will come out most clearly by giving a list of examples:
$h \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime} y_{2} c \varepsilon$ dodeh? ${ }^{\prime}$ all he had killed already 116,25
$y_{2} g w_{a d j i} h_{\imath}$ that he said 118,10
$\operatorname{dih}^{\prime}$ I! 52,15
Keliq' now! 16,19
nendjah?' you said, you did say! 164,123
$h_{2} g w^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ he did say! 62,9
$h_{\imath}{ }^{2} a^{\prime} n d z i h_{\imath} l \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} h_{\imath}$ he used to catch you 64,9
ditsah?' (very poor we were) I had said 258,41
wect $\ell^{\prime} c^{\prime} i \xi P \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi h ?$ they were very angry 260,48
diyagwadod $\varepsilon^{\prime} h_{2}$ I told already 262,21
$n a^{\prime} \ell_{1}^{\prime} l e n_{2} d i^{\prime} h_{?}$ but we 266,12
$d i^{\prime} y_{p} h_{\imath}{ }^{\prime} l \varepsilon l \varepsilon h_{\chi^{\prime}}$ I was very hungry ( $l \varepsilon$ very) 300,11
honti' $g g a^{\prime} h_{2}$ he was too mean! (ga too, see § 55) 320,12
a'odega' $h$ ? they were too many! 348,33
In some cases $h 2$ changes to $-y 2(y \alpha):$
$a^{\prime} d i g e y q^{\prime}$ I do say 268,29
Kعdoxdji'yq̆ I am going to stay here! 252,1
-wa:
hitsawa' (old arrow) I found! 40,29
yu'spwa' polecat! (she said) 44,7
nadzz' тnұср' wa not you should imitate me (I told you) 48,13
tssna' wa you also (not a thing you can do) 110,30
$s^{\prime}$ apole' hidjiwa' under the ground they are going (he called) 60,4
a'łan૧wa' make it (he said), ( $n$ ₹ imperative, see § 53) 74,40

## Potential:

The potential mood is expressed by the suffix $-g o$ :
diwado'go I may die 94,45
$h_{\imath} w a d o^{\prime} g o$ he may be dead 58,18
wغ' yustígo you may be lying to us 64,5(1)
hax ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon g o^{\prime} l a$ it may be that way but (la but, see § 61) 22,9
nayukq'le ng'lad $\varepsilon^{\prime} \xi g o^{\prime}$ not long it may be! 284,8

In a few cases $-g_{0}$ is suffixed to a noun which occurs in a predicative sense:
wetsagowa'go opossum, maybe 42,3
When -go denotes future possibility it occurs nasalized and stressed (cf. § 51):

dot'ibi'itegq' I may write 328,61
Ability:
The ability of action (I can) is expressed by the suffix -T\&:
$n a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon d i c a a^{\prime} \tau \varepsilon$ not that way I can do 134,17
na' ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime} T \varepsilon$ they could not find her 40,22
'ya Pit'o'x $x d j i$ hahi'dawsp'a' $\boldsymbol{T} \varepsilon$ the wagon they could not pull up' the bank 270,8
кєyzfe'т $\varepsilon$ they could go there 248,17
$n a^{\prime} n_{2}{ }^{\prime} z a g a^{\prime} \times T \varepsilon$ not enough for us it would be 286,17
k'ala' ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon w_{2} d j i t \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i$ something that one could buy 256,29
In some cases the potential suffix $-g o$ and $-T \varepsilon$ occur in combination, thus rendering the idea of a subjunctive:
na'a'ditsax̣тago' I could not say, I cannot possibly say 288,1
gok'ita's ${ }^{\prime} \operatorname{son}_{\imath} T \varepsilon g o^{\prime}$ lonesome you might be, you can possibly be 298,3
aw\&' $n_{\imath}$ т $\varepsilon g o^{\prime}$ they might be there 334,123

## § 54. ASPECTS

Only a very few of the various verbal aspects are expressed by formal devices, most of them being denoted by independent adverbials.

The distributive and reiterative are expressed by reduplication while the durative and the habitual are formed by suffixing formal elements.

## Distributive:

$w \varepsilon k^{\text {s }}$ 't'at' $a$ ' he zigzagged around 46,7
$w \varepsilon ' \operatorname{sosos\varepsilon } \varepsilon^{\prime}$ djin she was beautifully spotted $36,2(2)$
$a h \varepsilon^{\prime} h_{2} g a g a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ they roamed about 168,151
gon $2 w \xi^{\prime} w \xi$ they were two by two 276,48
Pexpelq'tcadjin they jumped over here and, there 278,51
tcatca' yzd ${ }^{\prime} y a^{\prime} b_{2}$ they threw themselves into the water here and there 40,22
ahehe'hadji'n (the clouds) were there in spots 330,78
In the last two examples the locative prefix is reduplicated instead of the stem.

## Reiterative:

$w_{\varepsilon} k^{\prime}{ }^{2} w \varepsilon d \varepsilon d \varepsilon^{\prime}$ they talked with them 104,45
wéfafa he whipped 10,30
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} h_{\imath} t c^{\prime} w a^{\prime} t c^{\prime} w a n a^{\prime} n d \varepsilon k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} h_{\imath} t n \varepsilon t n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ something they heard and then something they saw (again and again) 26,20
yucuси' it was shaking 250,3 $w \varepsilon s^{\prime} i s^{\prime} i{ }^{\prime} w \varepsilon l a^{\prime}$ they cut into pieces 40,31
$w \varepsilon^{\prime}$ papa he cut up (into pieces) 100,10
$y_{\mathcal{Z}}{ }^{\text {riti }}{ }^{\prime}$ they kept asking 208,1
wel'a' yugwagwa he was talking now and again 208,2
dol'i'l'i I write (I scratch repeatedly)

## Durative:

The Durative or continuative is indicated by the suffix $l a \cdot$ :
$y z^{2} f \varepsilon^{\prime} l a \cdot$ they kept going 76,3
wegwala' she was saying 102,21
уисиси'ta. (pines) they were shaking 146,22
westala' he was swimming 106,52
djik' $a$ 'weyala they were going along 106,54
$y a^{\prime} o k w \xi \varepsilon l a \cdot$ he was singing 170,16
goyptne'la. he kept looking at 64,11
Sometimes the durative is expressed by $-g \varepsilon$ :
$y a^{\prime} o k w \xi g \varepsilon$ he was singing 106,55
$a{ }^{2} q^{\prime} ' g \varepsilon$ she was coming 102,21
$w \varepsilon d j$ 'g $g$ as they were going
Habitual:
The habitual is expressed by the suffix $-n \varepsilon$ (cf. the nominalizing suffix § 25):
$y_{\imath} g^{\prime} n^{\prime} n d j ı n$ they used to say 24,10
gowane' weha'hane quilts they used to wear 24,17
wextale' ypdelane'dji he used to appear 28,23
ciqcane'he' $n_{2} h \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon^{2}$ ine' the boys they used to scratch 244,8
hendits'ene' I used to think 254,17a
adoxtene'djin I used to stay there 254,21
$h_{\imath} d 2 t a ' n \varepsilon$ they used to want 264,31
$h_{\imath} h e n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ he would take a bath (from a description of an annual tribal ceremony) 278,54
$h \varepsilon k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ he uses 280,12
honondzo'ans' he used to ask us 286,24
$h_{2}$ gene'djin they used to call (him) 292,37

## § 55. COMPARISON

Comparison in static verbs and adjectives is expressed by suffixes:

1) -ga, denotes "too", "very",:
nadzhe'si sq'ga not much too good 280,6
$s^{\prime}$ atsafaga' it is too hot 280,8
hicahiga' too hot 284,1
ts'a'staga'djentwa too shallow it had been 304,45
honti'gga' $h$ ? he was too mean 320,12
$n 2 t{ }^{2} a$ 'gadji'n we stopped entirely 338,5
yub'a'ga too high 334,119
2) $-l \varepsilon$, denotes "very", "quite", "fairly", "rather", and sometimes also the superlative:
$h i k i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ very fierce 182,12
$b^{\prime} a x T \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon c^{\prime} i \varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon w^{\prime} n_{2}$ the poorest horse 126,76
tatcya'la very hard 246,15
таРа'le very strong 22,9
$a x T \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ (quite) enough 42,39
3) $-P \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$, denotes the superlative:
$i l_{\xi} P \varepsilon^{\prime \prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ very big 246,16
tcaxpr ${ }^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ very strong 270,7
go'nt' $h_{\imath}$ wahaP $\varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ people they were very many 272,17


## § 56. INTERROGATIVE SUFFIXES

In direct speech the interrogative form of the verb is expressed by the suffix -la:
$h_{\imath}$ tsa'la does he sleep?
$h_{\imath} n \varepsilon \tau n \varepsilon^{\prime} l a$ do you see him?
necti'la do you dance ?
k'alacata'la do you want to eat (lit.: something you eat-wantinterrog. suf.)
$q d z a^{\prime} l$ a $a^{\prime} n d j a{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime} a^{\prime} d j$ y you sleep interog. suf. - you said - you have come? = you said you have come to sleep here? 12,4
If the question is negative the interrogative is suffixed to the negative proclitic (see § 59):
nale' h${ }^{2} n \varepsilon T n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ don't you see him?
nale' h${ }^{2} d j i d j ı ' n$ didn't he go?
The suffix - $y i$ is used when the interrogative implies the future:
$n_{2} k i l a^{\prime} y i$ how shall we escape ? 14,10
wahe' $\varepsilon n_{\imath} l a^{\prime} y i$ what shall we do?
wa'fa $\frac{2}{} f \varepsilon^{\prime} y i$ where shall we go ?
wahe' lat'en?' yi how much shall it be ?
These cases seem to be exceptional, for, as a rule, there is no interrogative suffix when the sentence begins with an interrogative pronoun (as wahe', wafa' etc.).

## § 57. INSTRUMENTAL PREFIX

The idea of instrumentality in connection with active verbs is not differentiated as to the particular instruments or means of doing something. It finds its only expression in a prefix of very general character: $h i$ - which establishes the relation between the implied or mentioned "instrument" and the verb; e. g.:
$y_{2} l^{\prime} i^{\prime} h^{\prime} i^{\prime} d o k^{\prime} ?$ knife I make with
$y a^{\prime} h i^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} ? ~$ stick I make (it) with
diEe'ha hi'dok'? my teeth I do (it) with

Examples from the texts:
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} x d j i$ hityubi' $\boldsymbol{T}^{\prime}$ 'тa hi'oxpa' the earth all over light it was filled with 6,18
tse'co hiraha'lsda water moss I eat with only (spare my teeth) (rada I eat, cp. § 35) 154,44
$c u^{\prime}$ wons' $k^{\prime}$ 'axtans' $\varepsilon$ hi'dok? 2 fish-pole I did it with 252,5
$k^{\prime}$ aso $g_{\varepsilon} k^{\prime} a^{\prime} y^{\prime} p^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} g_{2} c i n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ hidin?' playing cards poor I became with 118,5

In the following cases $h i$ - simply expresses the relation to the object:
na'k'alakəтne' hi'dop'a' nothing of that kind I was looking for 316,163
$s^{2} a$ doh?̨ç'dji nak'ala' hi'dok'i land that I had bought not a thing I got for 354,101
hoda'» tse $k^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime}{ }_{\xi}$ hi'dip'adjin wind rain together I was born from 104,46
(cp. the impersonal pronoun $h i-, \S 40$ ).
$h i$ - has entered into such a close connection with many verbs that together with the verbal stem it has formed a verbal compound of a stereotyped meaning:

| hidin ${ }^{\prime} c_{Q}$ I make signs | hi'do'o'nda I know |
| :---: | :---: |
| hi'dica I steal | hido'ondale' I recognize, I know |
| hi'dipila $h_{\varepsilon} \mathrm{I}$ chase away | again |
| hi'dipa I paint | hidoha' I wait for |
| hi'dipatg' I lock | hidop'a' I expect, I look for |
| $h i^{\prime} d i f a$ I pound | hidop $\xi^{\prime}$ I mend, I patch |
| hi'ditne I measure | hi'dof? I stop somebody |
| hi'dit' $\varepsilon$ I hide something | hido'tna I try |
| hidita's a I depend on | hidornaç̇' I expect, I hope |
| hi'dityp I help | hidoty?' I forbid |
| hi'ditce I lean against | hi'dotwa I spit on |
| hi'disc I possess | $h i^{\prime}$ dosri I deceive, I cheat |
| hi'dixta I hold something | $h i^{\prime}$ dosta I spread out, I sprawl |
| hi'dixt? I supervise | hidoki' I suspect |
| hi'dixto I go with | hidok'?' I use |
| $h i^{\prime} d i t^{\prime} \xi$ I wrap | hidolo' I singe |

## § 58. LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Direction in the verb is expressed by prefixes ${ }^{1}$ which have a fixed position before the personal pronouns. Only a few locative ideas, however, are expressed by these prefixes, the others being denoted by independent particles:

[^11](1) $a$-, $\kappa \varepsilon$, apparently synonymous, denote general static location: here, there:
$n q^{\prime} n_{\imath} \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ creek was lying there 22,10
Kenehe'nedjı'n we used to stay there 26,19
$\kappa \varepsilon n$ จfedji'тn $\varepsilon$ that we went there 22,6
кعTo'nedji'n I used to be there 244,4
кєwと'henedjınwe' $n_{2}$ those that used to be there 248,7
кєwعha' $x d j i$ where they live 316,12
кєxкє'ha (the houses) they were there 248,21
$g \partial^{\prime} n t^{\prime} \varepsilon \kappa \varepsilon w^{\prime} n_{\mathcal{Z}}$ people they were here 250,10
кєт $\imath^{\prime}$ dji I was here 417,6
$k \varepsilon^{\prime} y q^{\prime}{ }^{2} d j \iota^{\prime} n$ they were lying there 14,14
ahe'do ancha'djin there we lived 24,13
$a^{\prime} y z g a d j ı ' n$ they got there 24,17
$a n_{\imath} f \varepsilon n \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} d j$ n we used to go there 246,13
anen? ${ }^{\prime}$ we were there 246,19
na'aditadjı'n not there I wanted 246,19
a'xdjidjinfwa it happened to be there 286,17
Verbal compounds with $a$-:
$a^{\prime}$ dioxte I keep, I put there
adi'wi I come off
$a^{\prime} \operatorname{diw}_{\xi} \mathrm{I}$ untie
$a^{\prime} \operatorname{dip}_{2}$ I take off
$a^{\prime} d i p^{\prime} a$ I glance
$a^{\prime} d i d \varepsilon$ I have been there
$a^{\prime} d i t^{\prime} a w \xi^{\prime}$ I deliver, I turn over $a^{\prime} d i t s a$ I say
$a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} s^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi \mathrm{I}$ think
$a^{\prime}$ diga I get there, I reach
$a^{\prime} d o^{\prime} \xi$ I care
$a^{\prime} d_{0} h_{2}$ I reach
a'doxte I stay there
$a^{\prime} \operatorname{dog}_{\varepsilon}$ I mean it, I call it
$a d z q^{\prime}$ I come

Verbal compounds with $\kappa \varepsilon$-:
kediya'bą I throw K $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ digo I send (somebody)
кعdi'wi I pass, I go by
кє'dip'a I look over
$\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime}$ difa I stand there
$k^{\prime}$ 'ditcya I jump

${ }^{\kappa} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ dotwa I spit<br>кとdosten ${ }^{\prime}$ I scatter<br>кєт $?^{\prime}$ I am here

(2) $t i$-, denotes "inside" (any hollow object):
$t_{2}{ }^{m} p^{2} a h o c d u^{\prime} r i^{\prime} h \imath^{2}{ }^{2} d j i{ }^{\prime} n f w a$ gourd shell in she had put (them) 86,41
уити' $k w_{\xi}=$ уитi' $^{\prime} w \varepsilon k w_{\xi}$ house she put in 38,6

axкє $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ caicpi' ти' $x d j i$ (contraction of тiwe) there black snake was in 100,10
yaxti'dji ya'kab'a' ri'wek'?la the fire hollow tree in he went with 46,10
dita's $\boldsymbol{r} i^{\prime}$ odzio' $x$ т $\varepsilon$ block they put me in 36,4
Verbal compounds with $r i$-:
tidi'wi I enter, I go in
ri'difa I wear, I am in
ridit.h $\xi^{\prime}$ I pull
(3) $f^{\prime} 0$-, denotes: "inside the earth" and "under the water":
$l a^{\prime} c^{\prime} u$ f'ow ${ }^{\prime}$ arrow they stuck into the ground 18,24
$f^{\prime} o^{\prime} o^{\prime} k$ '? ${ }^{\prime} l a$ he went into the water with 234,5
$f^{\prime}$ ols' yp $f \varepsilon$ back under the water they went 234,8
$f^{\prime} o w \varepsilon^{\prime} T a$ (contracted to $f^{\prime} o^{\prime} d a$ ) I dive
(4) tca-, tcya-, denotes "into the water" and "in the water":
tcahe' in the water 40,21
tcya'ta I go into the water
tcya'dokwฐ I throw into the water
tcya'ditcya I wade in the water
tcadji ${ }^{\prime}$ it was in the water
(5) тa-, denotes: "on", "on top of":
$s^{\prime} a y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime} T a^{\prime} w_{\varepsilon} l a^{\prime}$ ' hill on top of she went 38,16
$k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} a a^{\prime}$ s'axa $^{\prime} a x$ тaofa'onp things that are standing on earth 6,18
$n a^{\prime} t$ ' $\varepsilon s^{\prime} a x$ тalehe'np not one (that) should be on the ground 10,30
тahe'? they put on 258,40
$b^{\prime} a x \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' wextant'dji horse we were sitting on 278,1
yuda'c'i ra'sefa door she stood at 318,4
Verbal compounds with $r a-$ :
tadiweré I complain ta'ditca I step on т $a^{\prime}$ difa I get on та'dil' $\imath^{\prime} \varepsilon$ I push on
(6) po-, denotes: "under":
$p^{\prime} 0^{\prime} a^{\prime} k$ 'antcof (when they dance) take them in there with 88,43
tci'cane tca'la $p^{\prime} o^{\prime} x d j i d j i n f w a$ a red rat happened to be under there 106,56
$n \varepsilon h i^{\prime}$ 'aba' $p^{\text {'o }}$ ' $w \varepsilon^{\prime} z^{\prime}$ your wings under put us 260,4
ya'ha p'o'wedadji'n into the woods I went 318,169
(7) kya-, denotes: through any object or through a distance:
kia' $w \varepsilon l a^{\prime} i^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} x \boldsymbol{\tau} \varepsilon$ he could shoot through 160,93
Kyale'dica just little over I reached 20,6
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} k y a ' w e d a c \xi^{\prime} h a$ things that I have gone through 286,26
$k y a^{\prime} h \varepsilon l a d \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon g o^{\prime}$ longer time it may have been 262,15
na'hoda' kya'tca $\boldsymbol{T} \varepsilon$ haxke' $h_{\imath}$ la not air through could pass that way they make 266,9

Verbal compounds with kya-:
kya'difa I follow kya'ga fluently, to the end
kya'diga I catch up with
(8) la-, denotes: "out" of any object:
hoda' $l a^{\prime} t c a$ wind jumped put 88,44

ca'one la'wetcaha'le the snake as soon as she came out 100,10
tsia'hende lao' wi when it was dry he went out 46,10
тi'sta $\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i \quad a x \kappa \varepsilon$ ' polawe'wi flat rock was there, under there out she (would) come 160,91
$a x \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ lahotcia' there she jumped out 164,117

Verbal compounds with $7 a$-:
lahsk'o'nda I take it out
$l a^{\prime} d i p^{\prime} a$ I peep out
ta'ditca I jump out
la'dokwध I pour out
(9) Pع-, denotes: "above" or "over" any object:

Pewedjihq' she was up there 38,21
P६we'djidji'ntwa she had been up there 40,23
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ daga tala' ${ }^{\prime}$ elle' wek' $z^{\prime}$ four mountains over they ran 36,4
Verbal compounds with $p e$ :
$p \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} d a \mathrm{I}$ go up
$P^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \mathrm{don}_{2}$ I conquer, I overcome
(10) yu-, denotes "up in the air":
k'ala yu.qw' $n$ 叉 things that fly
$y u^{\prime} \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \varepsilon$ he flew
yula'otedji'n he flew around
yub'a'og? she came up
Verbal compounds with yu-:
yuwe'тa I grow
yuwe'ladica I grow (trans.), I make grow
$y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime} d_{0} k w_{\xi}$ I lift, I raise something
yup'ap'alغ'ditca I jump up and down
yudi'т $\varepsilon$ I fly
yu'dica I hurt somebody
(11) ya-, denotes "across", "to the other side":

та'pi $n_{\mathfrak{\imath}} n_{\mathfrak{\imath}}$ yqge' $y a^{\prime} n_{\imath} l a$ salt-creek they call across he went 288,7
$n_{\imath} n_{\chi^{\prime}} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ya' $n_{\imath} f \varepsilon$ across the creek we went 294,14
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} h_{\imath^{\prime}}{ }^{\prime} a y a h \varepsilon^{\prime} h_{\imath} k^{\prime}{ }_{\imath} d j i d j \imath^{\prime} n$ something he carried, across he was taking 270,9
§ 59. negation
The verbal complex is rendered negative by prefixing $n a$ - or $h a$ - which are synonymous and freely interchangeable (see phonology, § 10; also § 28).

Examples:
na'ditadjin not I wanted 254,16
'yarit'o' $x d j i$ hahitawep' $a$ 'тє the wagon they could not pull up with
(ha- negative, $h i$ - instrumental, $\quad$ ta- locative, $w \varepsilon$ - pronoun, $p^{\prime} a$ stem, $-T \varepsilon$ suffix, denoting ability)
ha'wegorness' ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon$ they were not many 248,11
na'hoyurnda he did not know 110,20
In some cases $n a$ - occurs as a proclitic, preceding the first element of the sentence which it thus renders negative:
 fingerring could have been found (by going into the water the fingerring could not have been found) 120,27
nayq' $w_{\imath}$ wetadji'n not they give they wanted (not they wanted to give) 116,26
natcya'ditcya ditadji'n not into the water I jump I wanted (I did not want to jump into the water) 262,21
$n a^{\prime} d z \varepsilon t^{\prime} \xi^{\prime} h_{\imath} g o^{\prime}$ tne not my father he lives (my father does not live) 316,167
nadzhe'si h甲yutnda' not much they know 264,30
nasจ $h_{\imath}$ 'do anpla'ndji go'nt' $a^{\prime} h_{\imath} n_{\imath} d z o g w a d j \iota ' n$ not all the time that we go there the.people they said to us (they said to us that we should not go there all the time) 266,18

§§ 60-63. D. Enclitics

## § 60. INTRODUCTORY

The coordinative and subordinative relation between two clauses and a word and a clause is expressed by a number of verbal enclitics. However, as will be seen from the following discussion only a few conjunctive ideas are expressed by the formal device of enclisis while in the majority the conjunction is an independent particle (see § 67).

## § 61. COORDINATIVE ENCLITICS

-laha' therefore, and so

- ya' $h_{2}$ therefore, and so (after negation)
-d $d$ and, also
$-l \varepsilon^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ only and then
-la but
-lah $\varrho^{\prime}$, denotes the illative :"therefore", "and so",:
Kenefa'lahz you are standing here and so . . . . 134,16
$y_{2} g \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \operatorname{lah}_{2} y_{z} w_{a g} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ he told (her) and so she hunted 42,38
 teeth ran against him 106,53
 di'yagwa things whatever kind that I have gone through I told; therefore things these kinds I am telling 286,26
na'diyagwa' Kewi'lah殳' di's yagwa (things) I did not tell, (I) left out and so $I$ am telling them (now) 352,75
 he went 4,7
$w \varepsilon x \boldsymbol{i}^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} y_{P^{\prime}}{ }^{\prime} a n \varepsilon^{\prime} l a h \eta^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} w \varepsilon x t i^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ weyugwadjı'n (for) his name he asked and so his name he told 156,57
gocтincha' hoyutnda's $\varepsilon l a h q^{\prime}$ gok'a'da h̨cтi'djin the dances he knew, therefore he was with them, he danced 278,54
-ya'h?, denotes the illative "therefore", "and so" after a negative sentence:
 matches also did not exist, therefore fire to make burn was very hard 258,38
$n a^{\prime} t$ ' $\varepsilon a^{\prime} h o n \jmath^{\prime} n d z o^{\prime} \varepsilon y a^{\prime} h_{\imath} \quad n \imath^{\prime} \jmath{ }^{\prime} n t a h a^{\prime} n \varepsilon k^{\prime} \imath^{\prime}$ no-one took care of us and so our hands we used. . . . . 320,5
 not live, therefore not there I want (to go) I said to him 316,167
 I did not know and therefore others only prayers they made for themselves 264,29

Sometimes -ya'h? stands at the end of a sentence, apparently without establishing the connection with the following sentence. Its meaning then is not clear. Examples:

ка' хкашв' $\eta_{\imath} h a^{\prime} w \varepsilon g o t n \varepsilon s \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} y a h_{\mathcal{Z}}$ the white people they were not very many at that time 248,11
na'fa k'ala' hzgwadjiya' $h_{2}$ (he may have been glad) never a thing he said 302,29
ca' $n_{\imath} n_{\imath}{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' yufa' nayukহ'la holaya' $h_{\imath}$ the snake-creek the house not. far from it was 435,7
nago'nt' $\varepsilon l^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} h_{\imath} k^{\prime} a^{\prime} h a \tau \varepsilon y a^{\prime} h_{\imath}$ no other person could take care of him 336,135
$-d \varepsilon$, occurs as a copulative of words: "and", "also":
tala' gonq' ts'ont'a'de gonodji'n wolf was here, terrapin also (and terrapin) was here $36,1(1)$
yone'nde and the fawn 36,1 (2)
уर' уахкка' ${ }^{\prime}$ i $^{\prime}$ ' $d \varepsilon$ her dress also 296,34
$k^{\prime} a s o s o^{\prime} a^{\prime} d j i^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ the bible also 328,64
yaka' $\varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ the war-stick also 162,104
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ you also 96,13
$-l \varepsilon^{\prime} n d a$, is a contraction of the conjunctions $-l \varepsilon=$ only, and $h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d \varepsilon=$ and then (see independent particles):
$s^{\prime} a o^{\prime}$ wihele'nda when he falls only then.... 144,5
agehe'lenda (the appointed day) when it reached only then... 178,51
$w \varepsilon^{\prime} \imath^{\prime} h \varepsilon l \varepsilon n d a$ (the big logs) when they put only then. . . 344,7
-la, denotes the disjunctive conjunction "but":
 first he may have been standing on earth but he was backward 164,122
 $h_{\imath} g w a d j$ ' $n$ the man not too much hard they may have treated but the woman hard that they used to treat they said 178,52
hohondjigo'la (many people) it may have taken but (it did not take us) 248,14
sq'le kəTn?'tadjigo'la something good they may have done but (at that time I did not think so) 254,17 a
 290,19
-la occurs often combined with one of the subordinative enclitics $-f a$ and $-d j i$ (see § 62 b); e. g.:
$h i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ we'xtsafa'la wa'hañ'n々 na'wextsa'd all they slept but the old woman she could not sleep 14,7
na.oyu'тndafa'la wekw ${ }_{\xi}^{\prime} l a h_{\imath}{ }^{\prime}$ (whether he could get there) he did not know but they sent him 4,8

Keneha'fa'la na'senzdzio't'adji'n (we had hard times) we were there but she did not leave us 286,16
cp. also: $244,10,298,49,340,20$
 sisters many they were but he killed (them) 116,21
$n a^{\prime} f a$ weditnedji'la never I had seen her but (that time I saw her) 288,14
dotc'wans'dic'la I had heard about it but. . . . . 308, 87
yudinq'widji'la we came into the house but (what they did I do not know) 322,19

## § 62. subordinative enclitics

(a) Subordination of one sentence to another:

## List of enclitics:

| -ya |  | $n a-\ldots-l \varepsilon$ | before |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -fa'la | if | -dode | after |
| -'ne'ha |  | -djile' | everytime when |
| $-{ }^{\text {P }}$ \% | while | -to ${ }^{\text {- }}$, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ | whether |
| - $-\mathrm{h} \mathrm{\varepsilon}$ | when |  |  |

The copulative conjunction "if" is expressed by three enclitics: $-y a,-f a l a$ and -'ne'ha which are synonymous:
-ya:
$n a^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \xi c a^{\prime} y a n \varepsilon h a^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} w i^{\prime}$ if you do not do so your life will be lost 122,31
gowetso' $w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\mathcal{Z}} \kappa \varepsilon x_{\varepsilon} \varepsilon w \varepsilon h a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon y($ intermarried ones if there were (any) 180,8
tsotitia' nahpkia'aya' the medicine if they do not take care of (it would overcome them) 182,11
 (when) you get home never marry but if you marry again you will die 54,22
alek'?'ntspya if I come back with (dirty water will come to the surface) 4,7
$k^{\prime} a l \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{p} s^{\prime} a y a b^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ ' $£ a \operatorname{whoever}$ was a warrior $=$ whatever person if he was a warrior 148,7
кәdjifa' ya (something) if going on (they would get there) 284,7 agat' $\varepsilon$ ' neli'ya one day if it comes (the end would be there for us) 284,11
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} \xi\left(a^{\prime} d \varepsilon^{\prime} \xi y a\right.$ if he lies down (the pole-carriers would punch him) 278,52
$-f a^{\prime} l a$ :
$k^{\prime} a l \varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon g o^{\prime} n t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ a'odefa'la wherever person if he comes (they would call for him) 180,10
$h_{\imath} k^{\prime} a^{\prime} x x_{2} k^{\prime}$ ?fa'la his wife if (he) had (he was not allowed to sleep with) 56,31
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} h a \operatorname{gop}$ ' $\varepsilon f a^{\prime} l a$ water if one drinks (it is very salty) 250,22
-'ne'ha:
$y u^{\prime} a h \varepsilon^{\prime} k^{\prime} q^{\prime} l$ lahz $f \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ big house when (if) they gathered 178,2 $w^{\prime} y_{\imath} w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath} h_{\imath} t w a^{\prime 2} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ the deer if he killed (only the hide he took off) 52,4
la $h_{\imath}$ т $a w i^{\prime \prime} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ bullet if he was hit by (strong things were forbidden for him) 54,28
$s \xi P \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon h a$ if very good 152,35
go'nt'Enq' həwa'do'neha' person if he dies (they bathe him) 174,32
ra'lega' goxтi't ${ }^{\text {¢ }} \xi^{\prime} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ too hard if one pulls (deeper they go into the ground) 62,7
Pado' $n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ if it (was) dark (they were afraid) 26,19
hondik'ada' $n_{\imath}$ тncha' if I would stay with him (he would buy red boots for me) 256,24
hi'letneha' if all (gone) 258,37
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} g v^{\prime} n t^{\prime} \varepsilon s^{\prime} a t^{\prime} a^{\prime} w \xi^{\prime} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ something person if he drops (the polecarriers would take it) 278,53
$n \varepsilon x \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime}$ yoxdj $i^{\text {² }} n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}$ here if you stay (would you not run off ?) 302,28
The copulative conjunction "while" or "as" is expressed by the synonymous enclitics $-T 2$ and $\tau \varepsilon$ :
-T2:
 branch that he hit he missed it 256,34
квfa'т? yub'a'fa gohq'тวne' a'hzgwa' while standing there high above the life-ruler he said 268,29
 man ...... he came there 312,134
$k^{k} w \varepsilon h a^{\prime} \boldsymbol{T}_{\mathfrak{Z}}$ tss' ciga tsextawi' while they were there dirty water came to the surface 4,9
$-T \varepsilon ;-d \varepsilon$ :
$k \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ while (he was) sitting there (he thought) 88,52
$w \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ while they were going (one of them grew tired) 102,20
gok' ${ }^{2} f^{\prime} d_{\varepsilon}$ wedabal $\xi^{\prime}$ while they were going with he grew strong 54,21
$a h \varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon n d j i^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ tso' $k a h i t^{\prime} \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} l a s^{\prime} a^{\prime} h \eta^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ as they were going grass one by one they put down 168,147
gok'gha'da while they were there with him (they filed his teeth 154,44
wextsale' we'hade wecedji'n in their sleep while they were they died 140,7
$-h \varepsilon$, denotes "when". It is the by far most frequently used conjunction:
$h_{2} k^{\prime} \mathrm{q}^{\prime} f \varepsilon h \varepsilon$ when they went with her 22,8
$a o g \alpha^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ when he got there 62,8
$y^{\prime}$ 'tc'wahe when they heard 66,19
nendjihe' when we went 262,20
dikypw, $h \varepsilon$ when I think 284,11
$a^{\prime} a^{\prime} d o h \varepsilon$ when (it was) night 290,23
In a few cases $-l \varepsilon$ takes the meaning of "when"; e. $g$.:
hi'tne кеweтa'la lq'fa 'yuhe'fa na'ditnedjı'n when I first went I had not seen that house 254,9
Kहn? 'la when he was here (yet) 246,23
The conjunction "before" is expressed by the prefix na- (ha-) and the enclitic $-l \varepsilon^{1}$ :

[^12]has' $\varepsilon s \varepsilon n_{\imath} l a ' l \varepsilon$ before we went to the clean ground 276,45
ha'hұyuкॄॄ'la before he told 322,15
na' $h_{\imath} y u t n d a^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ before he knew 262,23
nawe' yalele' before he hit 40,28

napeç̨'weda'la before I go further 290,35
The conjunction "after" is expressed by the enclitic -dod $\varepsilon$ ' or -dodzh $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ after, when:
$h_{\imath} h_{\imath} l \varepsilon^{\prime} d o d \varepsilon^{\prime} d j$ infwa after she had caught them 86,41
$n_{2}$ ctidods' $n_{p}$ tsans $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ after we dance we sleep 14,12
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} x d j i k^{\prime} a^{\prime} a d o d \varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ the earth after it was made 6,13
$h \varepsilon n l^{\prime} i^{\prime} d o d \varepsilon$ after they had scratched him 148,6
$h i^{\prime} l \varepsilon \kappa^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} \tau n \varepsilon d o d \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ all after it was done that way 152,33
$w \varepsilon \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} h a y{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} m b a d o d \varepsilon^{\prime}$ his teeth after they filed 154,44
$w \varepsilon l a ` d o d \varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ after he had gone 162,109
wewaha'le kewidode'he after many summers had passed 22,7
gocтир'o' ${ }^{\prime}$ кwidods'he small pox after it had passed 248,18
goatsans' $k^{\prime}$ ?'honzdode' trial after it had been made 252,14
$k^{3}$ ala'radode'he after I had eaten 254,11
$l \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i{ }^{\prime}$ к $\varepsilon w i d o d \varepsilon^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ that after it had passed 262,10
gow' 'dən $\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ §dods'he talk after he had made 272,20
In some cases -dod $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ takes the meaning of "already":
$n \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ lidod $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ (what has been forecasted) it has already come 286,12 di' ya'gwadod\&h?' I have already told 300,16

The conjunction "everytime", "everytime when" is expressed by the enclitic $-d j i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ :
na'gorne $h_{\ell g}$ gwadjíle there is none everytime she said 42,38
$y_{\chi} s^{\prime} \varepsilon n d j i{ }^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ everytime they bite (the meat said "I suck") 102,17
yub'a'oxwetitḉ'dji'lv everytime they pull her up 102,34
кectac'ladji'l\& every once in a while 106,58
кعhenodjit $l$ when they were here (yet) 178,1
$y_{2} f \varepsilon d j i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ everytime they go 12,2
$s^{\prime} a x t a l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ wekpdji'le everytime they come to the surface 152,30
$n$ nfene'dji'le everytime we used to go 262,15
ahagadji'la everytime they came 274,31
agadji'la everytime it comes 336,129
Tasel $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ wep'adji'l\& one side everytime she chopped 18,27
Sometimes $-d j i{ }^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon$ means "but" and "while":
$n a^{\prime} k o h_{2} t^{\prime} h a^{\prime} h_{2} g w a d j i^{\prime} l_{\varepsilon} k k_{\gamma^{\prime}} t^{\prime} h^{\prime} h a$ not he (should) open she had said but he opened 88,49
nagotan $\varepsilon^{\prime} h_{\imath} g w a^{\prime} \xi d j i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ not to eat they said but (they are very good
to eat) 112,43
$w \varepsilon^{\prime} y a^{\prime} g w a d j i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ she told but (it was not so) 306,64
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} \operatorname{sog}_{2}$ тane'he do' $x d j i d j i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ while I stayed at school 328,64

Suffixed to a numeral - $d j i{ }^{\prime} l_{\varepsilon}$ means "at that time":
$w \varepsilon^{\prime} i^{\prime} c t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} a^{\prime} t t^{\top} \varepsilon i^{\prime} c t^{\prime} \xi b i f a^{\prime} k^{〔} o^{\prime} x$ таla'dju $i^{\prime} c т и х т a^{\prime} w i \quad d j i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ summer one thousand eight hundred eighty one at that time 20,2

The conjunction "whether" is expressed by the enclitic -to:
$a^{\prime}$ weyogwadjiťo' whether you told him 62,17
hqwon' 'to whether he used to fish 280,10
$h \varepsilon k^{\prime} כ n \varepsilon t^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ whether he uses 280,12

> nas 'a' $u t . h \varepsilon T \varepsilon t^{\prime} o^{\prime}$ would you not run off ? 302,28
> Kele' wedzek' ${ }^{2}$ latq' $d j i$ back that they might go with me... 308,84 $h_{\imath} d i t n \varepsilon n \varepsilon ' t o$ whether I had seen him (she asked) 322,24
> ahe'ditatento' whether I would want to go (he asked) 334,120
> di' yagwa' lad $\varepsilon^{\prime} \xi^{\prime} T \varepsilon t^{\prime} 0^{\prime \prime}$ whether I would tell (they thought) 350,66

The conjunction "where" is expressed by $-h a^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ :
'yu'a'djiha'he where the town is (it was close by) 330,86
$y u h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ afa'çha'he the house where it had stood 128,97
adit'a'djiha'h $\varepsilon$ (it may have been eight or nine miles to) where I' wanted to go 254,19
$a h_{\mathrm{q}}$ 't'ahahe' where they were to bury him (they took him there) 316,155

Probably -hahe is a compound of the enclitic -ha (see § 62 b) and $-h \varepsilon=$ locative suffix, (see § 29).
(b) Subordination of a clause to a word, and of one verb to another verb:

List of enclitics:

| $-c \varepsilon$ | $-d j i$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| $-f a$ | $-h a$ |
| $-{ }^{-} \varepsilon$ |  |

animate classifiers:
$-n_{2},-w a n \eta^{\prime}, h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}, w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ etc.
$-c \varepsilon$, denotes the attributal relation of the verb to the antecedent. It corresponds to the English relative pronoun. The relation is made specific by suffixing one of the classifying elements: $-f a$, ${ }^{-} \varepsilon,-d j i,-h a$, etc.:
$k^{\prime} a l a ' w \varepsilon g w a c \xi^{\prime} h a$ things that he had said 44,20
ya' ${ }^{\prime} \xi_{\imath}{ }_{2} w \varepsilon l a c \varepsilon^{\prime} h_{\imath} n_{\imath}$ he who had climbed the tree 108,11
yuhe' afa'cॄॄha'he the house where it had stood 128,97
$K \varepsilon^{\prime} h_{\chi} f \varepsilon c \xi^{\prime} \varepsilon \varepsilon$ (the way) that they had gone. In this case the ante-
cedent "the way" to which $c \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ refers is only implied 168,145
$k^{2} a l \xi^{\prime} f a h_{\chi} f \varepsilon c \varepsilon_{\varepsilon}^{\prime} d j i$ whichever way that they had gone 168,148

(before) right there again it was 142,9
$k^{\prime} a \|_{\xi}^{\prime} к ә с т a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ ado' $x d j i c \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i$ how long it was that I stayed 250,1
Time Bernett-ç'honp the one who was Time Barnett 256,26
$k^{\prime} a l \varepsilon l^{\prime} q^{\prime} l a^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ diwicg'dji which way out again that I went 258,45
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} w \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon c \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i$ something that he talked about 260,2
$g o^{\prime} p^{\prime} a$ he'wedeç' $d j i n a^{\prime} h i d \partial^{\prime} \partial^{\prime} n d a$ Creek (language) that he talked I do not know 262,11
$k{ }^{2} a l a^{\prime} h \geq y u т n \partial \varepsilon_{\xi}^{\prime} d j i$ something that they believed in 264,30
goha'тכnє' $h \notin s^{\prime} a^{\prime} n \varepsilon h_{2}{ }^{m} p^{\prime} a c \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i$ life-ruler his son that was born; (-dii in this case is exceptional; the regular form should be
$-w \varepsilon^{\prime} n \mathfrak{z}$ as it refers to a human being)

Often the same idea of bringing the verbal complex into an attributal relation to the preceding noun is expressed without $-c \varepsilon$, simply by suffixing the classifying elements to the verbal complex.

Examples:
( $\alpha$ ) Inanimate classifiers:
$-f a$ :

ахкวla' he'nqfadji'n it was like this that they were 274,28
$-{ }^{-} \varepsilon:$
$h \partial n d \varepsilon^{\prime} k k^{\prime} i h a^{\prime}$ ' $w \varepsilon l a n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon$ their tracks those they traced 160,81
$i^{\prime} c t{ }^{\prime} \varepsilon K \varepsilon s_{q_{2}} c^{\prime} \xi^{\prime} \varepsilon$ the road that I had come 254,8
$y a^{\prime} x d j u$ wefa' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ the branch that he hit 256,34
$-d j i:$
$k^{\prime}$ alahit' $\varepsilon^{\prime} d o d i{ }^{\prime} k y_{2} w_{2} l \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i$ one thing also that I remember 22,6 ritsia'so axкع'djidjinfwa money that had been there 28,24 $a \not \chi_{K \varepsilon} \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ wela'ndji that way that they (would) do 104,41 goxdju'b'ada $h_{2} k^{2}{ }_{2} T \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i$ mischief that they could do 180,6 $k^{2} a l \xi^{\prime} h \varepsilon$ adiga'ndji where that I would get to 252,3
$-h a:($ plural suffix) :
go'nt' $\varepsilon$ wede' $h$ ' $i$ h hincha' person his tracks that they saw 144,3
$k$ 'ala' $k^{\prime} a l \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon l a d j \imath^{\prime} n h a$ things whichever she had done 100,9
goxdju'b'ada $h_{\imath} k^{\prime} ?^{\prime}$ ' $\varepsilon$ cha mischief that they can make 180,4
rigofa'neha djenfa'la tine henedji'nha clothes even that they used to wear 182,19
golane' $h_{\imath} k^{\prime} q^{\prime} h a$ food that they make 174,33
$k^{\prime}$ 'ala' wegwaha' things that he said 44,19
$y a^{\prime} c^{\prime} a h_{\ell^{\prime}} a h a^{\prime}$ leaves that they carried 274,37
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ so ditneha' books that I study 334,119
gocтi'ne $h_{2}$ ст $i^{\prime} d j$ inha' dances that they danced 276,51
$g_{\mathfrak{Z}} c^{\prime} i \xi c^{\prime} c^{\prime} i \xi^{\prime}$ tsya's $\varepsilon a^{\prime}$ rags that were dry 258,40
In this case the verbalization of the adjective tsya dry seems superfluous as the same idea could be expressed by suffixing the plural element -ha to the adjectival form: g2c'i६c'i $\varepsilon \varepsilon$ tsyaha' dry rags.
$(\beta)$ Animate classifiers:

wॄya'tine na'fa le'gehthahe' $n_{2}$ young girl who had never been away 56,30
lehe'nว tahafa'le hpyu'hahqladjı'nhenple's those who had watched before (again they appointed) 134,13
$k^{\prime}$ 'alci yu' ${ }^{2} w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ things (beings) that fly 2,2
$T_{2}{ }^{\prime}$ 'Ta welaws' ${ }_{2}$ ? light those who make 6,13
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} s^{3} a x t a o f a^{\prime} w \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2}$ beings that are standing on the earth 6,18
wi'hikiki' yo'ndetawe'n? fierce those who wanted to be 150,24
The suffix $-d j i$ also expresses the object relation of one verb to another verb. It is suffixed to the dependent verb:
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime}{ }^{\circ} k^{3} a l a w_{\xi}{ }_{\xi} d j i$ tso'bila $w \varepsilon k^{\prime} a^{\prime}$. $\varepsilon d j \iota^{\prime} n$ to run a race straight they agreed 36,3(1)

 that they would do they knew, whatever to do right away they told each other 104,41
 and then the day also to lie there, the night also to lie there all they agreed 8,24
 night separate to be all they agreed 8,25
padohe' k'ala' ' $k$ 'one'dji wegodjı' $n$ when night something to work he told him 120,25
goyu'dodji $h q^{\prime}$ gwa to reach for her, they said 102,29
 that way to be they talked to them 180,6
wedi'lə yuru'k'ədji tso'tiha ypk'วne' wegwadji'n he only he would be in the house with 48,16
 escape he did not know 108,11
wetwa'ndji $c_{\varepsilon} c_{\xi}^{\prime} y \mathfrak{z l a d j}{ }^{\prime} n$ to kill (her) he got ready 118,42
 water for him to go it came he was lying there 68,19

In a few cases -ha seems to take the same meaning:
$h o n d z \varepsilon k^{\prime}{ }_{2} f \varepsilon^{\prime} h a a^{\prime} h_{\imath} g a f a d j i^{\prime} n$ to take me with them they had come there 316,164
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ gototeha' axкет?'тna yondyon?' to run away I was there they thought 308,83

## § 63. ENCLITICS OF ADVERBIAL CHARACTER

There are only a few enclitics of adverbial character, most adverbial ideas being expressed by independent particles (see § 68):
$-l \varepsilon$, denotes "again":
hi'oxpalsdjı' $n$ it filled up again 18,27
yиfa' урстきledji'n the room she closed again 116,17
neso'gwalen?' to tell you again 136,31
we't२тale'nedjı'n hagwadjı'n they she used to light up again, they said 150,19
hidə'ondale' $h \varepsilon$ when I knew again (when I came back to consciousness) 330,91
$-l \varepsilon$, denotes "only" being homonymous with $-l \varepsilon=$ again:
$y_{\imath} t c w a d j i^{\prime} l_{\varepsilon}$ his hide only 52,4
yaxкkale' white only 56,30
cyqcane'le boys only 100,1
hit' $\varepsilon$ 'la one only 116,26

§§ 64-69. E. Independent Particles

## § 64. INTRODUCTORY

The particles so far discussed were either nominal or verbal affixes or enclitics, i. e. formal elements which cannot be detached from the word complex they modify; the particles which will be dealt with in this chapter are independent words. Even detached from the word complex or sentence they have a definite meaning and their position in the sentence is only determined by the syntactical structure.

An analysis of these independent particles shows that most of them are compounds of various affixes.

## § 65. Locative Particles

A great number of independent locatives are compounds of a monosyllabic prefix and one of the four general locative suffixes $-h \varepsilon,-l \varepsilon,-\pi \varepsilon$, and $-f a$ (see § 29). Thus the general locative prefix $a$ - becomes:

| $a h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ here | $a x k \varepsilon^{\prime}$ there, yonder |
| :--- | :--- |
| $a l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ back to (here) | $a \dot{a} a^{\prime}$ towards |

In the same manner and with an analogous variation of meaning the following compound particles are formed:

| there | Kとhと' | K $\varepsilon$ l $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ | - | кعfa' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| across | yahe' | yale' | - | yafa ${ }^{\prime}$ |
| above | yuhe' | - | уихкв ${ }^{\prime}$ | yufa' |
| in | тine' | Tilc' | TixK ${ }^{\prime}$ | тifa' |
| through | - | kyale' | - | kyafa |
| over | Pehe' | Pclé | - | - |

Examples:
antsolq' rihs $^{\prime} a^{\prime} n \varepsilon w \varepsilon ̨ l \varepsilon n q^{\prime}$ your home inside you will wake up 88,42 $y u d i^{\prime} l_{\varepsilon} h_{\imath} w i^{\prime}$ house into he went 164,116
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime} h_{\imath}{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime}$ 'yahe' $h_{\imath} k^{\prime}{ }^{2}$ 'djidjı'n something he carried that he was taking across (a river) 270,9
$t s \varepsilon^{\prime} a y a^{\prime} f a k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}$ wi'hikikiwe' $n_{2}$ aw' $n_{\mathcal{O}}$ big water across (towards the other side) fierce beings they were there 162,100
 86,40
$k^{\prime} a k a^{\prime}{ }_{\varepsilon} \varepsilon a x k \varepsilon^{\prime} \quad y 0^{\prime} n t^{\prime} a$ in the middle there she put 38,6
tse $p \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ above the water 38,21
$\kappa \varepsilon \ell \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{2} k^{\prime} \geq \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j \iota^{\prime} n$ back home we went with 312,134
Another group of independent locatives are bi- or polysyllabic the majority of which yield to a partial analysis only:

| $a d a^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ all around | djik' $a^{\prime}$ along |
| :---: | :---: |
| $a x k \varepsilon^{\prime} l a ~ h e r e$ | dja'ка through (during) |
| axpele' any way, to all sides | т $¢$ ca' near |
| $a g \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ from | Tahe ${ }^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ farther |
| yaxтahe' in front of, ahead | TGPi $i^{\prime}$ on |

yuha' high up
yub'a' upward
yuk $\imath^{\prime}$ la far (also temporal: long time)
yula around
hityp ${ }^{\prime}$ on, it is on
hita' towards
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} g \varepsilon f a$ away
hagye' away from
biti' around
dans' off
$d_{\imath} T \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ backward
tase across (the earth)
Talı' $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ in sight
T $\alpha^{\prime} w_{\imath}$ right there (right then)
rq'la at the same place
$s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i^{\prime}$ down
кеста $a^{\prime \prime} \xi$ far
$k^{\prime} a \tau a w \chi^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ between
$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} b i$ straight towards
$k^{\prime} a t^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}$ between
$k^{\prime} a k a h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ in the middle
$l \varepsilon^{\prime} k y \varepsilon$ through

Most of these particles can be modified in the same way as the monosyllabic prefixes by suffixing the general locative elements $-h \varepsilon,-l \varepsilon,-\kappa \varepsilon$, and $-f a$ :
yub'ahe' upward yub'ale' from above yub'afa' upward towards т $\varepsilon c a f a^{\prime}$ near towards

> Tasshé across at tascfa' across towards $k^{\prime} a k^{\prime} a l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ along in the middle

## § 66. TEMPORAL PARTICLES

| icu's $\varepsilon$ later | hafale' seldom |
| :---: | :---: |
| $i^{\prime} k$ ? long time | hafale'nde seldom and then |
| endjubi' all day | haxke' at that time |
| $\varepsilon^{\prime} n l \varepsilon$ during day |  |
| $\varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i$ at day time | halc'de right then |
| $a b \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i$ now | depole' again |
| $a b \varepsilon^{\prime} \boldsymbol{K} i^{\prime \prime}$ ¢ just now | тafa'le before |
| $a \times$ кк' $d \varepsilon$ right then | $t s^{\prime} i t s^{\prime} i^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ often |
| ахккестаlе' at that time | $t s^{\prime} \mathrm{its} s^{\prime} \mathrm{l}^{\prime} g a$ too often |
|  | $t s^{\prime} a l a a^{\prime}$ suddenly |
| $y u k z^{\prime}$ a long time | sahq ${ }^{\prime} t \in \varepsilon$ once |
| hitohe' later on, afterwards | $s{ }_{2} h \chi^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ all the time |
| hitohe'nd ${ }^{\prime}$ afterwards and then | $s_{\imath} 7 \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ right away |
| hi'tne first, at present | ctahafa'le long before |
| hitne'nde just now | кє'də now |
| $h a^{\prime} f a$ sometimes | $k \varepsilon k \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ often |

## § 67. CONJUNCTIVES AND DISJUNCTIVES

$\ell^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ but
$a h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ and then
ondes ${ }^{\prime}$ and also
ya. $i^{\prime}$ also
wahe'tne why
$h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ and then
djenfa'la also
na and
$n a^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} l e$ however, but (in the beginning of a sentence)
$n a^{2} \varepsilon y a^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ or else
nah? ${ }^{\prime}$ and, so
$n a^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ and then
rahe $\varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon$ further
$k^{\prime}$ alatneka' for what reason
$k^{\prime} a l \xi h \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ wherever
$k^{\prime}$ 'alen ${ }^{\prime}$ ' whoever
k'ale'ntne whatever
$k^{\prime} a \not \varepsilon^{\prime} k \varepsilon$ whatever

## Examples:

$n q^{\prime}$ gocrine $a^{\prime}$ gahe and to dance when it came $=$ and when it was time to dance 88,47
$n a^{\prime} n d \varepsilon$ pado'ndji gol'on $\varepsilon^{\prime} a^{\prime} y{ }^{\prime} g w a$ and then at night the devil he said. . . 124,56
$n a^{3} \ell^{\prime} l a n a k{ }^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}$ axкeт $n \varepsilon^{\prime}$ but not a thing it was like that 306,61 . . $\ell^{\prime} l a ~ w \varepsilon T a^{\prime} d i t^{\prime} a^{\prime} \ldots$ but I go I wanted $=\ldots$ but I wanted to go 306,76
wa'nenche'n? ya. $i^{\prime} h_{2} c T i^{\prime}$ the women also they dance 278,58
go' $p^{\prime} a n a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon y a^{\prime} n d e ~ к a^{\prime} \nless к а$ Creek or else Whites 342,28
gotcala' t' $\varepsilon l^{\prime} w^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ ? djinfa'la $h_{\imath} k^{\prime} a^{\prime} h_{\imath}$ red people others also they fight with 158,77
$k^{\prime} a l \varepsilon^{\prime} n$ ? yahe'ntc.he whoever tree if he leans against. . . . 278,52
§ 68. INDEPENDENT ADVERBIALS
ati'la enough
$a \neq T \varepsilon^{\prime}$ enough

T $\varepsilon s i^{\prime}$ almost
тахк $\varepsilon^{\prime}$ in vain

$$
\S \S 70-72
$$

§ 70. LIST OF PERSONAL AND

|  |  | Subject first series | Subject. <br> second <br> series | Indep. series Emphat. | Direct <br> Object. first | Direct Object. second | Indir. Object. series |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sing. | 1. <br> 2. | di- | do- | $d i$ | -tse- | tse dzio | aso |
|  |  | $n \varepsilon$ - | yo- | $t s \varepsilon$ | -nendze- | nendze nendzio | so |
|  |  | $h_{\chi^{-}}$ | $h \chi^{-}$ | $h_{\chi} d i$ | $\begin{aligned} & h_{2^{-}} \\ & h_{\gamma^{2}} d i- \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & h_{Q} \\ & h_{Q} d i \end{aligned}$ | $h_{2}$ |
|  |  | se- | sio- | $s \varepsilon d i$ | $\begin{aligned} & s \varepsilon \\ & s \varepsilon d i \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & s \varepsilon \\ & s \varepsilon d i \end{aligned}$ | $s^{\top} \varepsilon, s^{\top} \varepsilon d i$ |
|  |  | $s^{\text {' }}$ - | s ${ }^{\text {io- }}$ | $s^{\top} \varepsilon d i$ | $\begin{aligned} & s^{\prime} \varepsilon \\ & s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & s^{\prime} \varepsilon \\ & s^{\prime} \varepsilon d i \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} s \varepsilon, s \varepsilon d i \\ \text { etc. } \end{gathered}$ |
|  | $3 .\{$ | $\varepsilon$ - | ع 2 $^{-}$ | $\varepsilon ¢ d i$ | $\begin{aligned} & \varepsilon \\ & \varepsilon \\ & \varepsilon \end{aligned} i$ | $\begin{aligned} & \varepsilon \\ & \varepsilon d i \end{aligned}$ |  |
|  |  | O- | 0 - | odi | odi | odi |  |
|  |  | $i$ - | - | - | $i$ | - | - |
|  |  | $w \varepsilon-$ | $y^{2}{ }^{-}$ | $w \varepsilon d i$ | $w \varepsilon$ $w \varepsilon d i$ | $w \varepsilon$ $w \varepsilon d i$ | $w \varepsilon, w \varepsilon d i$ |
|  |  | hi- | ho- | - | - | - | - |
| Plur. | $\left\{\begin{array}{l}1 . \mathrm{in} .\end{array}\right.$ | $2^{-}$ | $2^{-}$ | qdi | $w \varepsilon$ $2 n d z \varepsilon$ | we ondzio | $w \varepsilon$, ontso |
|  |  | $n_{2}{ }^{-}$ | $n \chi^{-}$ | $n \mathfrak{2 d i}$ | $w \varepsilon$ $n \ni n d z \varepsilon$ | we nondzio | $w \varepsilon$ nontso |
|  | $2 .$ | $q-(a-)$ | ayo- | $a d z \varepsilon$ | andze | andze andzio | aso |

$a x K \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ that way
axк $\varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n d e$ anyhow
$a \not x \tau \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ normally, usually
$a \times$ кilغ ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \xi$ the same way
$a x к i{ }^{\prime} l a$ in that manner
$h i^{\prime} l_{\varepsilon}$ all
$P \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon$ very
pecéz more
dodehq' already
$t s^{\prime} i^{\prime} \varepsilon$ almost
'nєga'le indeed, truly
si almost
safi' $l_{\xi}$ quietly
gu'iyo maybe
$k y a^{\prime} g a$ fluently
lad $\varepsilon^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ possibly
$l^{2} a^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ easily, quietly
§ 69. EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES
$a b a^{\prime}$ now!
adju' that's it!
$a \underset{K}{ } \varepsilon^{\prime}$ s $\varepsilon$ h $a$ well then!
$a \neq \kappa \varepsilon$ ' $1 \varepsilon$ that's all
$y i^{\prime} z^{\prime}$ alas!
$h i^{\prime} h_{2}$ alas!
hona' no!
$h_{\mathrm{z}}$ yes!
dja oh my!
goho'go oh pshaw!
Kehq' now!
ко oh!
$l \varepsilon$ yes, all right!
la'ya' well then!

## APPENDIX

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

| reflex. with first | reflex. with second | 1. subject. with Instr. | 2. subj. with Instr. | $\begin{gathered} 1 . \\ \text { Poss. } \end{gathered}$ | 2. Poss. | 3. Poss. | 4. Poss. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $t s \varepsilon d i$ | tsedo | hidi | hido | $d i-$ | tso- | tsio- | $t s \varepsilon$ - |
| nendze $n \varepsilon$ | $n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon$ yo | $h \varepsilon n \varepsilon$ | hiyo | $n \varepsilon$ - | so- | nendzio | $n s n d z \varepsilon$ - |
| $h_{\imath} d \varepsilon$ | hondio | $h \varepsilon$ | hayu | $h q^{-}$ | $h_{\chi^{-}}$ | $h^{\prime}{ }^{-}$ | $h_{\chi}{ }^{-}$ |
| siode | siodio | $s \varepsilon$ | seyu | $s \varepsilon-$ | sio- | sio- | $s \varepsilon$ - |
| $s^{\prime} i o d \varepsilon$ | $s^{\prime}$ iodio | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon$ | s'غyu | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon^{-}$ | s'io- | s'io- | $s^{\prime} \varepsilon-$ |
| $\varepsilon y_{\imath} d \varepsilon$ | عyondio | $\varepsilon$ | в ${ }^{\text {du}}$ | $\varepsilon$ - | $\varepsilon y^{2}-$ | عy2- | $\varepsilon$ - |
| $o d \varepsilon$ | odio | $o$ | oуи | 0 - | o- | o- | o- |
| - | - | $i$ | iуи | $i$ - | - | - | $i$ - |
| $y_{2} d \varepsilon$ | yondio | $w \varepsilon$ | weyu | $w \varepsilon$ - | $y z^{-}$ | $y 2^{-}$ | $w \varepsilon-$ |
| - | - | - | - | $h i$ - | ho- | - | - |
| ondze. $\chi^{\prime}$ | ondze. $2^{\prime}$ | $\xi$ | 2 24 | $2^{-}$ | ondzo | ondzio- | $9 n d z \varepsilon$ |
| nondzen ${ }^{\prime}$ | nondzenn ${ }^{\prime}$ | $n \varepsilon$ | nzyu | $n 2^{-}$ | nondzo | nondzio- | nondze |
| $a n d z \varepsilon . q^{\prime}$ | andze.a'yo\| | $\varepsilon$ | $a^{\prime}$ yo | q- | aso- | andzio- | andze |

## § 71. List of Homonymous Affixes

Throughout the discussion of morphology the various homonymous affixes have been dealt with in regard to the ideas they express, and, accordingly, have been mentioned in different places. It seems appropriate, therefore, to group them together here in a list:

## 1. Prefixes:

hi- 1) Impersonal pronoun, see § 40
2) Instrumental prefix, see $\S 57$
go- 1) Indefinite personal pronoun, see § 34
2) Contraction of $\kappa \varepsilon+w \varepsilon$, see $\S 3$.
2. Suffixes and enclitics:
$-n q$ 1) Demonstrative and interrogative suffix ( $n \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}, l \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{p}$, wa'n? etc., see §§ 41, 42
2) Imperative suffix, see $\S 53$
3) Verbal stem, "to become"
$-n \varepsilon \quad$ 1) Nominalizing suffix, see $\S 25$
2) habitual, see § 54
$-l \varepsilon \quad$ 1) Verbal interrogative suffix, see $\S 56$
2) adverbial "only", see $\S 63$
3) adverbial "again", see § 63
4) conjunctive "when", see § 62
$-T \varepsilon \quad 1)$ modal suffix, denoting "ability", see § 53
2) conjunctive "while", see $\S 62$
3) conjunctive "also", see $\S 61$, ( $d \varepsilon$ )
-fa'la 1) conjunctive "but", see § 61
2) conjunctive " "if", see $\S 62$
$-f a,-{ }^{2} \varepsilon,-d j i,-h a,-h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath},-w^{\prime} n^{\prime}$, etc. occur both as nominal classifiers and as relative pronouns by establishing the relation of the verb to the antecedent. - $d j i$ also expresses the object relation of one verb to another verb.

## § 72. TEXT

## The Creation of the World <br> (Told by Maxey Simms)



2．k＇ala＇yu． $2 w \varepsilon^{\prime} n 2$（12）
Things that fly
 they（were）here the sun also was here
$\kappa^{\prime} a t \varepsilon \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime}$ ．$\varepsilon g o t a(15) \quad s^{\prime} a^{\prime} \quad g \varepsilon \neq a \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i(16) \quad w \varepsilon k^{\prime} a w \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon(17)$ whatever to do earth to be able to find they talk with each other

кعw＇hadji（18）həgenedjı＇n．（19） they were here they used to say．
 she dictated they were here．
odonq（21）s＇á hqwagq＇nə（22）
the water earth to hunt for
3．tsoong ${ }^{\prime}(13) \quad k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}(3)$ The sun something
4．k＇ala＇（3）$f^{\prime} o^{\prime} a^{\prime}-$ Something that belongs into wとTodjı＇n（23）cageə̨nๆ＇（24） they asked the beaver
 they expected he could they were with him but not he could do．
 And then fishotter also they expected he could that one also
 not he could do．And then the crawfish they
djı＇n（23）tsia＇xtsaong ${ }^{\prime}(32) \quad a^{\prime} \operatorname{og}^{\prime} w a(33) \quad f^{\prime} \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} d a y a(34)$
asked the crawfish he said if I go down into the water
$k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}$ goyu＇$\tau n d a^{\prime} n \varepsilon$（35）
something to know（signs） $n \varepsilon h a^{\prime}(36)$ $a d j u n 2^{\prime}(37)$
natse＇Tale＇（38）
 I come if it can be done blood water top comes．
$\begin{array}{cccccc}s^{\prime} a^{\prime} x d j i(43) & h i^{\prime} t s a(44) & a l \varepsilon k^{\prime} J^{\prime} n t s 2 y a(45) & t s \varepsilon & c i g a & \tau i^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon(46) \\ \text { the earth } & \text { I find } & \text { if I come back with } & \text { water } & \text { dirty } & \text { yellow }\end{array}$ tsexтawi＇（41）həgwadjı＇n．（47）8．s＇a＇．axdji＇he（48）a＇oga＇－ water top comes he said．Where the earth is（whether）he т $\varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i(49) \quad$ na．oyu＇$n d \alpha \nprec f a^{\prime} l a(50) \quad w \varepsilon k w \varepsilon^{\prime} l a h q^{\prime} .(51) \quad 9 . f^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon$－ could get there he did not know but they sent him．Down into the $t a^{\prime} d j i(52) \quad y u k q^{\prime} l ə(53) \quad a g a^{\prime}(54) \quad$ кєwとha＇т卫（55）$\quad t s \varepsilon^{\prime} \quad$ ciga water he went long time it took while they were there water dirty
$T i^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon(46) \quad t s \varepsilon x_{T} a w i^{\prime}(41) \quad w \varepsilon T \mathrm{n} \varepsilon^{\prime \prime}(56) \quad$ K $6 v \varepsilon^{\prime} h a h \varepsilon(57)$
yellow water top come they saw while they were there
tsia＇$x t s a o n \imath^{\prime}(32) \quad$ we．2cта＇（58）

$$
\kappa^{\prime} a t^{\prime} \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime}(59) \quad s^{\prime} a^{\prime} c o \quad s^{\prime} i \varepsilon_{\varepsilon}^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon(60)
$$

the crawfish his claws between dirt（it）was little
$h i_{P \varepsilon^{\prime}}(61) \quad$ tsetalowi＇dji（62）h̨gq＇nedji（63）həgwadjı＇n．（47） on with water top he came they used to say they said． $\begin{array}{ccccc}\text { 10．} s^{\prime} a^{\prime} c o & s^{\prime} i \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon_{d} d j i(64) & \begin{array}{l}\text { g } h Q^{\prime}(65)\end{array} & k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}(3) & \text { rey } Q^{\prime} t^{\prime} a(66) \\ \text { Dirt } & \text { very little it was } & \text { they took } & \text { something } & \text { stuck up }\end{array}$ $w \varepsilon^{\prime} t \varepsilon T \varepsilon^{\prime}(67) \quad s^{\prime} a^{\prime} \quad k^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} a d j i^{\prime}(68)$ h2gwadjı＇n．（47）11．na $\iota^{\prime} \iota^{\prime} l_{2}(42)$ they hit it（with）earth it was made they said．However
 some when they say the dirt they took when they threw
$a h \varepsilon^{\prime}(28) s^{\prime} a^{\prime} k^{\prime} a^{\prime} d j i(68) h \nsucceq g \varepsilon^{\prime} n \varepsilon d j \iota^{\prime} n .(19)$ 12. $y u k g^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \partial(53) s^{\prime} a^{\prime} x d j i(43)$ then earth was made they used to say. Long time the earth
 he went after water top when he was coming with the dirt melted
 little it (was) left water top he may have come with the earth $k^{\prime} a^{\prime} a(68) \quad k^{\prime} a l a^{\prime}(3) \quad t^{\prime} \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon n q^{\prime} d \partial(78)$ hi'la we'k'a'adji'(68) hqmade something else they also all they were made they
 said. The earth after it was made there was no light
 it was here they gathered the sun something she dictated
 they were here they said those who were to make light they wagq'(84) кєw 'hadjı'n.(18) 14. s'2djiba'c'o(85) шєyu'тпวс $\varepsilon^{\prime}(25)$ hunted for they were here. Lantern-fly they expected he could
 he flew there he went but very little only light it flashed
 he made that (much) only he flew around. Then the star
 also they asked. There he also very dim light he made
 that much only it was the moon also they asked light
 she made but light was dark that much only it was. Then
 the sun also they expected (she could) there she went. 18. hi'тna $y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime} \operatorname{og}_{2}(100) ~ \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} d a(101) s^{\prime} a^{\prime} x d j i(43)$ hityubi' (102) Just as soon as she came up now the earth all over with
 light it was full of things that are standing on earth all
 they were glad just they sing loud all over they were
 here they said. The sun there she went at noon
 right then (all) she stopped. That way when they saw
 the sun the earth light she should make they said.
21. $n a^{\prime}(116) \quad a h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d ə(28) ~ \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime} h a h \varepsilon(57)$ ฉ'wき(69) аоgwa'he(117) And then when they were here some when they said
aga＇$\varepsilon^{\prime} l \varepsilon(118) \quad \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}(6) \quad n a^{\prime}$ padogoтnعnף＇（119）wとgwadjı＇n．（115） the day only（should）lie here not dark it should be they said．
22．$\imath^{\prime} w ข 2 \partial(120) a g a^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} d \partial(121) \pi \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}(6) \quad$ рado ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon(122) \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}(123)$ Others the day also（should）be the night also when it is here $s \varepsilon \varepsilon \varepsilon^{\prime} T \varepsilon(124) \quad w \varepsilon g w a^{\prime}(115) \quad w \varepsilon k^{\prime} a w \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon(17) \quad \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon^{\prime}-$ would be good they said they talked with each other they hadjı＇n．（18）23．tcone＇（125）a＇ogwa（33）pado＇$\varepsilon^{\prime} d ə(122)$ were here．

Ground－squirrel there he said＂the night also $\kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}(6) \quad$ go $n t^{\prime} \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime} n \supseteq(126) \quad$ padoh $\varepsilon^{\prime}(127) \quad h จ k^{\prime} a^{\prime} g a(128)$ （should）be here the people when night they have intercourse $h_{\imath} w a l \varepsilon^{\prime \prime} a^{\prime} x T \varepsilon(129) \quad d i d z a^{\prime}(130) \quad h 叉 g w a d j \imath^{\prime} n .(47) \quad$ 24．$a h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d ə(28)$ they could increase－I say＂he said．And then $a g a^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} d る(121) \quad \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}(6) \quad$ Pado＇$\varepsilon^{\prime} d \partial(122) \quad \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i(131) \quad h i^{\prime} \downarrow \varepsilon$ the day also to be here the night also it was to be here all
 they agreed with each other． The sun day time light was
 to make the moon the starsalso when night light they were $\operatorname{djın}(99) \quad a g a^{3} \varepsilon^{\prime}(118) \quad \quad$ ado ${ }^{\prime} \varepsilon^{\prime}(136) \quad k ' a t^{\prime} \varepsilon t^{\prime} \varepsilon n \vartheta^{\prime} d j i(137) \quad h i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ to make the day the night was to be separate all
wとk＇a＇hoтnєgadjin．（132）26．ahe＇nda（28）tconจn9＇（138） they agreed with each other． And then the ground－squirrel $a^{\prime}$ ogwa（33）diadidza＇ns＇i（139）axк $\varepsilon^{\prime} T n \varepsilon(112) \quad h \imath^{\prime} g w a(47)$ he said＂I did say it（and）it is done that way＂he said
tsits $i^{\prime \prime} \xi(140) \quad a^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ gwa（33）go＇xdji（14）cat＇an $\varepsilon^{\prime}(141) \quad w \varepsilon t^{\prime}-$ every now and then he said he was there wildcat he got
 mad＂Oh pshaw！you you did say that way if it is
 once only you should say＂he said he jumped on him all
 he scratched him the ground－squirrel he got spotted they said．

27．$s^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon(77)$
The earth
$s^{\prime} a^{\prime} s{ }^{2} a(153)$ ground flat

28．nak＇ala＇（3）
Not a thing
hi＇ m $^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime \prime} a h \varepsilon(151)$
$c o^{\prime \prime} \varepsilon(152)$
${ }_{\kappa} \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i(81)$ when it was just finished it was soft it was here
 should be good they said

$$
\tau a^{\prime} \text { Piweta }(155) \quad \kappa \varepsilon^{\prime} d j i(81)
$$

over it（he）goes it is here
$w \varepsilon k w \xi^{\prime}(159) \quad w \varepsilon t a d j \iota^{\prime} n(160)$ they sent he went
nayきfafa＇（161）
he was not to flop he was to spread out only
yula＇oтєndjı＇n（163）
he was to fly around
weta' (155)
he went
aodji'he(164) gont' $\varepsilon^{\prime}(126) \quad$ go'wifjinfwa (165)
 histracks they were there he saw he traced he went with $T \varepsilon^{\prime}$ odjı'nfua(170) Kya'ogadjı'n.(171) 30. na't' $\varepsilon$ (172) it happened to be a bull frog he overtook (him). Not one
 ground on should (go) he said you are here he said
 his wings he whipped him (with) bull frog he cried
 his eye-brows swelled they said. He went on
ao'djih $\varepsilon^{\prime}(164) \quad$ depol $\varepsilon^{\prime}(183) \quad k^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$ ala' $^{\prime}(3) \quad$ кとweta'djınfwa (184)
while he was going again something must have gone there $w \varepsilon^{\prime} t a(168) \quad k i a^{\prime} o g a d j i n(171) \quad t c a^{\prime}$ тizdjinfwa (185) tsia'xtsa(32) he traced he overtook it happened to be a raccoon crawfish $y \supseteq f a^{\prime}(186) \quad a o^{\prime} x d j i d j i ' n f w a(187) \quad$ lon $\imath^{\prime} d ə(30) \quad w \varepsilon ' f a f a^{\prime}(177)$
he was fishing for he bad been sitting there him also he whipped

| $w \varepsilon^{\prime} a d j \iota^{\prime} n(179)$ | weta'sosodjǐ' (188) | hagenedjo'n (19) | $n a^{\prime}(116)$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

he cried his face got spotted they used to say and
 the buzzard he was to spread only earth across he was to $d j i^{\prime} l a(192) \quad w \varepsilon^{\prime} c^{\prime} o(193) \quad t s^{\prime} i^{\prime} h a \quad s^{\prime} a s^{\prime} a^{\prime} o w i(194) \quad h \varepsilon^{\prime} n d ə(28)$ fly there but he was tired almost to the ground he fell and then $y q^{\prime} f a f a(161) \quad y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime} l \varepsilon(195) \quad$ weta'djin(160) $\quad s^{\prime} a y u b^{\prime} a^{\prime}(196) \quad k^{\prime} a^{\prime}-$ he flopped upward again he went mountains were
 made.
oтع'la (199)
around but
кعhadji' (201)
(they) were here
not do it. 5. And then they expected the fishotter to dive, but he also could not do it. 6. Thereupon they asked the crawfish who said, "If I dive into the water, the following sign will show you: if I cannot come back to the surface of the water, blood will rise up. 7. If, however, I come back with earth, some dirty yellow water will rise to the surface." 8 . He did not know whether he could get to where the earth was, but they sent him anyway. 9 . He went down into the water, and after they had waited for a long time they saw some dirty yellow water coming to the surface, and then the crawfish himself appeared with a little dirt between his claws. 10. It was only very little dirt; they took it and hit it against something that was sticking out of the water, and the earth was made. 11. Some storytellers, however, say that they just threw the earth upon the water and then the earth was made. 12. The crawfish had dived for earth for a long time, and when he came back to the surface of the water the dirt had almost melted, just a little was left over; after the earth was made the other animals were also created. 13. At first there was no light on the earth, and so they all met under the leadership of the sun to look for someone who would light the earth. 14. They expected the glow-worm could do it; it flew around, but it only made very faint gleams of light. 15. Then they asked the star. 16. He also made only a dim light, and then they asked the moon too; she gave light, but it was still too dark. 17. Then they expected the sun could do it, and up she went. 18. Just as soon as she came up the earth was flooded with light; all the creatures on earth were glad and sang aloud. 19. Right at noon the sun stopped on her way. 20. When they saw it, they said the sun should light the earth that way. 21. And then some were saying, it only should be day and never night. 22. Others said it would be good if there would be day as well as night; in this way they talked with one another. 23. After a while the ground squirrel said, "I say the night also should be for the people to have intercourse so that they may increase." 24 . And then they all agreed with one another that day should be and night as well. 25 . The sun should make the light during the daytime and the moon and the stars during the night; they all agreed that day and night should be separate. 26 . Then the ground squirrel said, "I said it and it is done that way;" every now and then he said this, and then the wildcat got mad at him; "Oh pshaw, even if you did say it you should say it only once," he said; he jumped on him and scratched him all over, and so the ground squirrel became spotted. 27. When the earth was just made it was soft, and they thought it would be good if the ground were flat. 28. Nobody was to go over it so that it could dry. 29. They sent the buzzard to inspect the earth; he was not to flop with his wings but only to spread them out and fly around; while he was flying he
noticed tracks where somebody must have gone; he traced them and it happened to be a bullfrog whom he overtook. 30. "Nobody is to go on the ground and here you are!" he said; he whipped him with his wings, and the bullfrog cried, and his eyebrows swelled. 31. The buzzard flew on, and while he was flying he saw again some tracks; he traced them and when he overtook them he saw it had been a racoon who was fishing for crawfish; he whipped him too and the raccoon's face became spotted; the buzzard was only to spread his wings, he was to fly across the earth, but he got tired and almost fell to the ground, and then he flopped; when he ascended again, the mountains were made. 32. They had sent him to inspect the earth; he flew around but he got tired, and so he flopped and the mountains were made.
(1) $h i$ (?) (notes $61,102,105$ ); tna verbalizing particle, § 50.
(2) ctaha' verbal or nominal stem; $\varepsilon n=\S$ verbalizing suffix, $\S \S 9,50$; dji temporal particle denoting past, $\S 51$; at end of sentence djin.
(3) na prefix expressing negation, § $28 ; k^{\prime}\left(a l a^{\prime}\right.$ something.
(4) go indefinite personal pronom, $\S 34$; tha stem ,,see".
(5) tse water; $\varepsilon$ classifier for inanimate, horizontal objects ( $=$ to lie), § 26; la only, § 63.
(6) $\kappa \varepsilon$ locative particle, $\S 65 ; \varepsilon$ to lie (note 5).
(7) $t^{\prime} \varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ others; wenq ${ }^{\prime}$ demonstrative, 3rd person, singular and plural, beings not Yuchi, $\S 26$; $n 2$ to be; la (note 5).
(8) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; w (note 7) ; $n_{2}$ (note 7); djin (note 2).
(9) $h a^{\prime} x k \varepsilon$ temporal particle, § 66 ; Tna (note 2).
(10) go- classifying prefix, referring to human beings (note 4); ha'ne old, reduplicated, $\S 27 ; n \varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix, $\S 25 ; h \varepsilon^{\prime} n_{\imath}$ demonstrative pronoun, referring to Yuchi, plural (note 7).
(11) $h_{2}$ personal pronoun, third person singular and plural, Yuchi; § 31; ya'go to tell; $n \varepsilon$ repeated or customary action, § 54 ; djin (notes 2, 8).
(12) $k^{\prime}$ ala' something, (note 3 ) ; yu above, $\S 65 ; 2$ verbal stem 'to belong to', to be here, § 35, no. 13; w''n? (note 7), § $62 b$.
(13) tsoon? $>$ tso-wen? ${ }^{\prime}$ (note 7). The sun is considered a living being; da also, § 61.
(14) Contracted from кəwa' $x d j i, ~ § 3 ; ~ к \varepsilon ~(n o t e ~ 6) ; ~ w \varepsilon ~(n o t e ~ 7) ; ~_{\text {( }}$ § 9 ; $d j i$ to sit, stay.
(15) $K^{3} a \ell \S \kappa \varepsilon$ independent conjunctive, § 67 ; $\S($ note 2$)$; go (note 4); $k a$ to do.
(16) $g \varepsilon$ irregular indefinite personal pronoun, § 35 , no. 12 ; $z a$ to find; Tع intention or ability, $\S 53$; ndji $>n \varepsilon d j i(?)$; for $d j i$ (note 2 ).
(17) $w \varepsilon$ (note 7) ; $k^{\prime} a$ reciprocal, $\S 38$; $w \varepsilon^{\prime} d \varepsilon$ to talls.
(18) $K \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; we (note 7) ; ha to be; dji (note 2).
(19) $h_{z}$ (note 11); ge to say; ne (note 11); djin (note 8).
(20) $w \varepsilon$ (note 8 ) ; $x, \S 9 ;$ т२т? to teach, instruct (duplicated).
 $w \varepsilon$ (note 8 ); $d \varepsilon$ stem (perhaps of generic character and identical with the stem $T \varepsilon$ in note 86); wenq (notes 7, 12).
(22) $h_{2}$ (note 11); wage' to hunt; $n \varepsilon(\S 25)$ : "their hunting (it) they asked for"; (na usually occurs as a modal particle denoting the frequentative, § 54 (note 11)).
(23) $w \varepsilon$ (note 7) ; ko to ask; djin (notes 2, 8).
(24) cage beaver; on? $>$ wen? (note 7).
（25）$w \varepsilon$（note 7）；yuтnacé＇to suspect，irregular verb，§ 37.
（26）$g o$（note 4）；$k^{\prime} \varepsilon>k^{\prime} a$（note 17）；no $>n_{2}$（note 8）；la but，§ 61.
（27）$n a($ note 3$) ; \varepsilon$（note 2）；$w \varepsilon$（note 8 ）；$l a$ to do；$T \varepsilon$（note 16）；djin（notes 2，8）．
（28）ahe＇ndる＞ahs＇na＇nda independent conjunctive，§ 67.
（29）$c u$ fish；$l a$ to eat；$n \varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix，$\S 25$.
（30）$l o n \imath^{\prime} d る>l \varepsilon w \varepsilon n \imath^{\prime} d \partial, \S 3 ; l \varepsilon$ demonstrative pronoun，§ 41 （note 13）．
（31）Tna（note 2）．
（32）tsia＇xtsa crawfish；－onq（note 13）．
（33）$a^{\prime}$ ogwa $>$ ahe＇wegwa；ahe＇（note 21）；gwa to say．
（34）$f^{\prime} \varepsilon>f^{\prime} 0$ ，§ 5 no．3，（note 21）；we＇da I go，irregular，§ 35，no．10；ya if， § $62 a$ ．
（35）k＇ala（note 3）；go（notes 4，26）；yurnda＇to know；ne nominalizing suffix（note 29）．
（36）Demonstrative pronoun，§ 41.
（37）adju＇the right one；$n_{2}$（note 8 ）．
（38）na negation，§ 59 （note 3）；tsع water；$T a$ on，§ 58，no． $5 ; l \varepsilon$ ，§ 29.
（39）$d i$ subj．pronoun I；wi to come．
（40）$a x \uparrow \varepsilon$ enough，§ 68；n2（note 7）；₹（note 2）；ya if，§ $62 a$.
（41）tse water；$x, \S 9 ;-T a$ on，§ 58 ；wi to come．
（42）na and；i＇la but，§ 67.
（43）$s^{\prime} a$ earth；dji round objects，§ 26.
（44）la to find，irregular verb，$\S 35$ ，no． 12.
（45）alc locative particle，§ $65 ; h^{2} \imath n>k_{\imath}$ together with，§ 38 ；$t s_{\imath}$ irregular verb lst person，ya if，§ 62 a（note 34）．
（46）ti yellow；$\varepsilon$（note 2）．
（47）$h_{2}$（note 11）；gwa to say，§35，no．6；djin（notes 2，8）．
（48）$s^{\prime} a$ earth；a locative，$\S 65 ; x, \S 9 ; d j i$ to sit，to stay（note 14）；$h \varepsilon$ locative，§ 29.
（49）a＇oga＇т $\varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i>a h \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon g a t \varepsilon^{\prime} n d j i z$ ；ah $\varepsilon^{\prime}$（note 21）；we（note 7）；ga to arrive，§ 35 no．2；$T \varepsilon$（note 16）；ndji（note 16）．
（50）na not，§ 59；o＞we（note 7）；yurnda＇to know；fala if，but，§§ 61， 62.
（51）$w \varepsilon$（note 7）；liwe to send；lah ${ }_{2}, \S 61$.
（52）$f^{\prime} \varepsilon>f^{\prime} o($ note 34$) ; w \varepsilon$（note 7 ）；$l a$ to go；$d j i$（note 2）．
（53）$y u k q^{\prime}$ a long time；－$l \varepsilon$ very，§ 55.
（54）a § 65 （note 45），ga to arrive（note 49）．
（55）$\kappa \varepsilon$（note 6）；we（note 7）；ha plural stem to be，§52）；т叉 while，§ $62 a$ ．
（56）$w \varepsilon$（note 7）；тna to see．
（57）$K \varepsilon$（note 6）；we（note 7）$h a$ to be；$h \varepsilon$（note 48）．
（58）we possessive，§ 39；२cta＇claw．
（59） $\mathrm{K}^{\prime} a t t^{\prime} \xi^{\prime}$ between；$h \varepsilon$（note 48）．
（60）s＇ię＇little；\＆（note 2）．
（61）$h i$（note 1），instrumental prefix，$\S 57$ ；$p \varepsilon$ to be on，to be covered．
（62）tse water－；$\tau a$（note 38）；lo $>l \varepsilon w \varepsilon, \S 3$ ；$l \varepsilon$ locative，$\S 29 ; w \varepsilon$（note 7）； $w i$ to come（note 41）；dji（note 2）．
（63）（note 19）．
（64）s＇ię＇little；$\varepsilon$（note 2）；dji（note 2）．
（63）$y_{\imath}$ personal and possessive subjective pronoun，third person，not a Yuchi，§ 31；$h_{2}$ to take．
（66）$\kappa \varepsilon$（note 6）；$y_{\chi} T^{\prime} a$ ，perhaps $y u$ above，§ 58 ，no． 10 ；$t^{\prime} a$ to let go．
（67）$t \varepsilon T \varepsilon^{\prime}$ to hit，to beat．
（68）$k^{\prime} a^{\prime} a$ to be finished；dji（note 2）．
（69） $\mathfrak{q}^{\prime} w_{\mathfrak{\imath}}$ some．
（70）agwa＇h $\gg a w \varepsilon^{\prime} g w a h \varepsilon ; ~ a ~(n o t e ~ 21) ; ~ w \varepsilon ~(n o t e ~ 7) ~ g w a ~ t o ~ s a y ; ~ h \varepsilon ~(n o t e ~ 48) . ~$.
（71）$s^{\prime} a$ earth；co soft；$x, \S 9$ ；dji（note 43）．
（72）K $\varepsilon$（note 6）；$w \varepsilon$（note 7）；$p^{‘} a$ to throw；$h \varepsilon$（note 48）．
(73) $w \varepsilon$ (note 7) ; $k^{\prime} w a$ to go after; $h 2$ emphatic, $\S 53$.
(74) $w \varepsilon ; k_{2}$ (note 45); $g_{2}$ to come; $h \varepsilon, \S 29$.
(75) ho impersonal pronominal prefix, $\S 40$; wa to be left.
(76) $w \varepsilon$ (note 7) ; $k^{2}$ ? (note 45); wi to come; dji (note 2); $\kappa_{\imath}>$ go possibility, § 53.
(77) $s^{2} a$ earth; $\varepsilon$ classifier (note 5).
(78) $t$ ' $\varepsilon l \varepsilon^{\prime}$ others; weñ' (note 7) ; da also, § 61.
(79) $k^{\prime} a . a$ to be finished; dods'he after when, $\S 62 a$.
(80) na not, § 59; т२та light; gотna (note 4).
(81) $K \varepsilon$ (note 6); dji to sit, § 26; djin (note 8).
(82) $k \imath$ together (note 45) ; la again, § 63 ; we (note 7), ha (note 55).
(83) т२та light; we (note 7) ; la to do; wenఇ' (note 7).
(84) $w \varepsilon$ (note 7) ; yu above, § 58, no. 10 ; wage' to hunt.
(85) $s^{\prime} \mathfrak{\imath}$ to wink; $d j i>t c i(\S 10, \delta)$ eye; $b a(P a)$ to burn; $c^{\prime} o$ tired.
(86) yu above, §58, no. 10 ; yu $>$ yuwe; т $\varepsilon$ to fly.
(87) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; we (note 7); la to go; ila (note 42).
(88) $s^{2} i \varepsilon{ }^{\prime}$ reduplicated "very little" (note 64); la (note 5).
(89) $T \varepsilon d \varepsilon$ to flash (see note 67).
(90) la to do, to make.
(91) axкк there, that yonder, $\S 65$; $l \varepsilon$ (note 5 ).
(92) yula around; $o>w \varepsilon$; $т \varepsilon$ to fly; djın (notes 2,8).
(93) ' $y$ २ star ; wen?' (note 7).
(94) aonz'd $\gg$ ahewen? $d \varepsilon$; ahe (note 28) ; wen? ${ }^{\prime}$ (note 7); de note 13.
(95) ${ }^{2} a \mathrm{dim}$, easy; le (note 53).
(96) ахжк (note 91); l (note 5); djın (notes 2, 8).
(97) ca'fa moon; on? > wen? (note 7).
(98) pado' dark; \& (note 2).
(99) $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon$ (note 87); la to go; djin (notes 2, 8).
(100) yub' $a$ ' upward, § 65 ; we (note 7 ); $g_{2}$ to come (note 74),
(101) Kغ'də now, § 66.
(102) $h i$ (note 61); tyubi' entirely.
(103) hi (note 61) ; oxpq' full.
(104) $s^{\prime} a$ earth; $x, \S 9$; т $a$ on (note 38); $o>w \varepsilon$ (note 7); fa to stand; onq > went, § 62 b .
(105) yo'ndعyu 3rd person pronoun of second reflexive series (§33) amalgamated with the instrumental prefix $h i$ - (§37); $c \S$ to be glad, to enjoy, § 33.
(106) тахкк' just.
(107) K? to sing.
(108) tca reduplicated, § 54.
(109) yu up, § 58, no. 10; pa to burn; $l^{2} \xi(?)$.
(110) ha' $x \pi \varepsilon$ right then, at that time, $\S 66$.
(111) $h i^{\prime} l \varepsilon$ all, § 68; oxdjidjin; we (note 7); dji to stop; djin.
(112) $a x$ к̃ع (note 91); тne (note 2).
(113) tna to see; $h \varepsilon$ when, § 62.
(114) $y_{2}$ (note 65); ta to do; $n \varepsilon$ (note 11); $n_{2}$ imperative suffix, $\S 53$.
(115) gwa to say.
(116) na and, § 67.
(117) (note 33); he (note 48).
(118) aga day; $\varepsilon l \varepsilon$ (note 5).
(119) na not, §59; pado dark; go Tne (note 4) ; n? (note 114).
(120) q$^{\prime} w \mathfrak{z}$ some; $d \varepsilon$ (note 13 ).
(121) aga day; $\varepsilon$ (note 5); d (note 13).
(122) Pado dark, $\varepsilon d \varepsilon$ (note 121).
(123) $K \varepsilon^{3} \varepsilon$ (note 6); $h \varepsilon$ when, $\S 62$.
(124) $s \varepsilon$ good; $l \varepsilon$ very, § 55 ; Tع intention or ability, § 53.
(125) tco(?) ; ne nominalizing suffix, § 25.
(126) $g 0^{\prime} n t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ person (human one) ; he'n? classifier, §§ $26,27$.
(127) Pado dark; he when, § 62.
(128) $h_{2}$ (note 11); $k^{\prime} a$ (note 17); ga stem.
(129) $h_{q}$; walc waha'le to increase; axte (note 40).
(130) gwa to say, irregular verb, § 35, no. 6.
(131) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; $\varepsilon n>\S(\S 9)$ verbalizing suffix (note 2); dji (note 2).
(132) $w \Xi$; $k^{\prime} a$ (note 17); hoтn气ga' to agree; djin.
(133) $\varepsilon l \varepsilon(?)$; dji classifying suffix (?), § 26.
(134) $T \imath^{\prime} T a$ light; $o>w \varepsilon$; la to make.
(135) 'yp star; wenर (note 7) ; da (note 13).
(136) Pado dark; $\varepsilon$ classifier (note 5).
(137) $k^{\prime} a t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ to be separate, reduplication of second syllable; $n_{2}$ (note 114); dji § $62 b$.
(138) >tcэnを-wenp.
(139) di independent personal pronoun, § 31; adidza $>\operatorname{aditsa}(\S 10, \delta)$ I say, $\S 35$, no. 6 (the repetition of the personal pronoun makes it emphatic); $n>n a$ and; $s^{\prime} i$ almost.
(140) $t s^{\prime} i$ then, reduplicated with loss of glottal stop, $\S \S 8,54 ; \xi$ (note 2).
(141) ca classifier in many animal names, § $24 b ; t^{\prime} a$ stem; ne nominalizing suffix, § 25.
(142) $w \varepsilon$; t'asie' to be angry.
(143) goho'go exclamation, § 69.
(144) godi' independent, indefinite pronoun, § 31; $a^{\prime}$ gogwa to say, § 35, no. 6
(145) axk (note 91); tna (note 1); $\varepsilon$ (note 2 ?) ; fala but (note 50).
(146) $s_{\imath} h_{\chi}$ once; $\varepsilon$ (note 2); l $\varepsilon$ only, § 63 ; $d \varepsilon$ (?).
(147) $a^{\prime}$ gogwa to say, (note 144) ; $x, \S 9$; $\tau \varepsilon$ (note 16).
(148) $\tau a$ on (note 38); lo>lewe, § 3 ; le (note 38); $w \varepsilon$; $f a$ to stand.
(149) $y_{z}$ (note 65) ; $t^{\prime} a$ to scratch, reduplicated, § 54.
(150) so spot, reduplicated, § 54.
(151) $h i$ (note 1) ; тna (note 1) ; $k^{\prime} a \cdot a$ to be finished; $h \varepsilon$ (note 48).
(152) co soft; $\varepsilon$ (note 2).
(153) $s^{2} a$ earth; sta flat.
(154) $s \varepsilon$ good; $\varepsilon l \varepsilon$ future, § 51 ; nq imperative, § 53.
(155) тapi on, § 65 ; we; $z^{\prime} a$ to go.
(156) tsia dry; $n_{2}$ (note 7); djın.
(157) $y_{2} t^{\prime} i^{\prime}$ buzzard.
(158) $s^{\prime} a$ earth; we; tn $\varepsilon$ to see, duplicated, § 54.
(159) $w \varepsilon$; kw k to send.
(160) $w \varepsilon$; la to go; djin.
(161) na not, § 59; y2 (note 65); fa to flop, duplicated.
(162) $w \varepsilon$; yusta to spread out (yuabove; sta flat ?) ; $\varepsilon l \S=\varepsilon l \varepsilon$ future ( ?), § 51.
(163) (note 92) ; $n$ (? see note 16).
(164) $>a h \varepsilon^{\prime} w \varepsilon d j i h \varepsilon ;$ ahe' (note 28); we; dji to go; he (note 48).
(165) go (note 26); wi to come; djinfwa perfect, §51.
(166) $w \varepsilon$ his, § 39 ; $d \varepsilon k^{\prime} i$ tracks.
(167) > ahe' weha; ahe' (note 28) ; we; ha to be, § 52.
(168) $w \varepsilon$; la to go.
(169) $w \varepsilon ; k^{\prime} 2$ (note 45); la to go; djın.
(170) Tє' $\_$bullfrog; djınfwa perfect, § 51.
(171) kya through $\S 57$, no. $7 ; 0>w \varepsilon$; ga to arrive; djin.
(172) na negation, § $28 ; t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ contraction of $h i t^{\prime} \varepsilon$ one, $\S 41,3,3$.
(173) $s^{2} a$ earth; $\tau a$ on (note 38 ) ; $l \varepsilon$ (note 38 ); $h \varepsilon$ locative, § 65 ; nQ imperative, § 53.
(174) $a x \underset{\kappa \varepsilon l a^{\prime}}{ }$ locative particle; $y_{\imath}$ irregular verb $g o^{\prime} \imath^{\prime}, \S 35$, no. 13.
(175) $h \varepsilon$ (?); yp (note 65) ; gwa to say.
(176) we his, § 39; hirapa wing; ha plural, § 27.
(177) $w \varepsilon$; fa to flop, whip, duplicated.

(179) $w \varepsilon ; a$ to cry; djin.
(180) we; tci eye; $x, \S 9$; т $\varepsilon$ rim.
(181) кaba' to swell; dji.
(182) $K \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; we; wi to come.
(183) depolé again, § 66.
(184) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; we; la to go; djinfwa perfect, § 51.
(185) tca'ті२ raccoon; djinfwa perfect, §51).
(186) yp (note 65) ; $f a$ to fish.
(187) $>a h \varepsilon$ here, $\S 65 ; w \varepsilon ; x, \S 9 ; d j i$ to sit; djinfwa.
(188) $w \varepsilon$; $\tau$ face, on; so spotted, duplicated; dji.
(189) $y_{2} t^{2} u^{\prime} n_{2}>y_{2} t^{\prime} i w_{2} n_{2}, \S 3$.
(190) $h_{\imath}$ (note 11); yustá $\varepsilon l \S($ (note 162).
(191) $s^{3} a$ earth; dasé across, § 65.
(192) (note 163); la (note 26).
(193) $w \varepsilon$; $c^{3} o$ tired.
(194) $s^{\prime} a$ earth, duplicated; owi $>h \varepsilon w \varepsilon w i ; h \varepsilon$ locative, $\S 29 ; w \varepsilon ; w i$ to fall.
(195) $y u b^{\prime} a$ (note 100 ) ; $l \varepsilon$ (note 38 ).
(196) $s^{\prime} a$ earth; yub'a upward (note 100).
(197) $k^{\prime} a^{\prime} a$ to be finished; djin.
(198) $w \varepsilon$; $\kappa w \underset{\text { ç to send; djın. }}{ }$
(199) yulaote (note 92); la (note 26).
(200) yzfafa (note 161) ; djin.
(201) $K \varepsilon$ (note 6) ; ha to be; dji.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ This type of juxtaposition is indicated by a dot on the line between the two vowels.

[^1]:    - g. k'ala' we' $\varepsilon^{\prime} n d i$ becomes $k{ }^{\prime} a^{\prime} n d i$.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ The palatal $\eta$ has not been distinguished from the linguo-alveolar $n$ in the text.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ Lengthening of vowels is denoted by a raised dot following the vowel.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ This could be ascertained in each case by isolating certain parts of wordcomplexes and asking my informants for their meaning. Whenever this could not be given without putting the element in question into a larger context I have called it an affix or an enclitic respectively.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ a'ga means as well "day" as "it comes"; dit' $a^{\prime}$ "my heart", and "I want"; $d i t^{\prime} a c$ ' $\varepsilon$ " "my breast" and "I am jealous".

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ I failed to ascertain the corresponding pronominal form of the second series. It appears, however, that $o-$, odi $i^{\prime}$ (the female pronouns corresponding to male $h_{\chi^{-}}$) is of wider meaning in the second series, so that the definition given for o-, odi' must be extended in the second series so as to comprise the ascending generation also. As these forms occur in the text only where female talk is quoted and in the tales told by my female informants (Ida and Sally Clinton) there are only a few examples to check its use.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ I have checked the definitions given above with three informants at three different places and there were no contradictions or uncertainties.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ The other third persons are formed in the same way: $s \varepsilon^{\prime}-t s \varepsilon$ she-me, etc.
    ${ }^{2}$ The hyphens separate the pronouns.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ the other third person forms correspond to the direct objective first series.
    ${ }^{2} h^{\prime}$ 'ala' "something" or a definite direct object must always precede these forms. With some verbs the direct object is expressed by the impersonal pronominal prefix ho- it which follows the indirect object, cp. $\S 40$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The other third persons ( $\varepsilon, o, w \varepsilon$ ) are formed in the same way.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ These follow partly the subjective second series ( $I$, thou, you) and partly the subjective first series (she, and the other third persons).

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the texts these prefixes have sometimes been erroneously suffixed to nouns since their position between noun and verb left some uncertainty as to their character (see §22). A thorough analysis, however, has shown that the locatives treated in this section exclusively occur as verbal prefixes. Direction in the noun can only be expressed by the suffixes dealt with in § 29 and by independent particles, $\S 65$.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ The literal meaning is perhaps not yet;

