YUCHI

BY

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CONTENTS

Introductory Note	
§§ 1—17. I. Phonology	
§§ 1—6. A. Vowels	
§ 1. Description of vowels	300
§ 2. Juxtaposition of vowels	301
§§ 3—6. Vowel Processes	302
§ 3 (a) Contraction	302
§ 4 (b) Nasalization	303
§ 5 (c) Assimilation	303
§ 6 (d) Dissimilation	304
§§ 7—10. B. Consonants	
5 2 42	304
§§ 8—10. Consonantic Processes	305
§ 8 (a) Elimination of consonants	305
§ 9 (b) Consonantic development of vowel quality	305
§ 10 (c) Phonemes	306
§§ 11—14. C. Relative frequency and grouping of sounds	
3 = 2. 200202, 0 = 20040200	307
§ 12. Distribution of vowels and consonants within a word	
§ 13. Initial and final position	308
§ 14. Consonantic Clusters	308
§§ 15—16. D. Accent	
§ 15. Accent in bisyllabic words	308
§ 16. Accent in polysyllabic word-units	309
(a) Primary and secondary accent	309
(b) Change of accent in compounded words	309
§ 17. E. Quantity	309
§ 18. II. Grammatical processes	310
§§ 19—22. III. Ideas expressed by morphological devices	310
§ 19. A. Nominal ideas	310
§ 20. B. Pronominal ideas	311
§ 21. C. The Verb	312
§ 22. D. Syntactic structure	312
§§ 23—69. IV. Morphology	316
§ 23—29. A. The noun	316
§ 23. Monosyllabic stems	316
§ 24. Polysyllabic stems	317
(a) Bisyllabic stems	317
(b) Polysyllabic stems	318
§ 25. Nominalization	319

§ 26. Classification	320
§ 27. Number	322
§ 28. Negation	323
§ 29. Location	324
§§ 30—42. B. The pronoun	
§§ 30—38. Personal pronouns	324
§ 30. (a) Introductory	324
§ 31. (b) Subjective personal pronouns	325
§ 32. (c) Objective personal pronouns	330
§ 33. (d) Reflexive pronouns	333
§ 34. (e) Indefinite pronominal prefix	333
§§ 35—37. (f) Irregular personal pronouns	334
§ 35. (α) Amalgamation of pronoun and verb	334
§ 36. (β) Irregular pronominal forms	335
§ 37. (γ) Amalgamation between pronoun and in-	
strumental prefix	336
§ 38. (g) Reciprocal and Collective	336
§ 39. Possessive pronouns	337
§ 40. Impersonal pronominal prefixes	340
§ 41. Demonstrative pronouns	341
§ 42. Interrogative pronouns	341
§§ 43—59. C. The verb and adjective	
§§ 43—47. Verbal and adjectival stems	343
§ 43. (a) Introductory	343
§ 44. (b) Monosyllabic stems	343
§ 45. (c) Bisyllabic stems	344
§ 46. (d) Polysyllabic stems	345
§ 47. (e) Numerals	346
§ 48. Compound verbs	347
§ 49. Impersonal verbs	350
§ 50. Verbalization	350
§ 51. Temporal suffixes	351
§ 52. Plural stems	352
§ 53. Modal suffixes	353
§ 54. Aspects	355
§ 55. Comparison	356
§ 56. Interrogative Suffixes	357
§ 57. Instrumental prefix	357
§ 58. Locative prefixes	358
§ 59. Negation	361
§§ 60—63. D. Enclitics	
	362
§ 61. Coordinative enclities	362
§ 62. Subordinative enclitics	364
§ 63. Enclitics of adverbial character	369

§§ 64—69. E. Independent Particles	
§ 64. Introductory	 370
§ 65. Locative particles	
§ 66. Temporal particles	
§ 67. Conjunctives and disjunctives	 371
§ 68. Independent adverbials	 372
§ 69. Exclamatory particles	
§§ 70—72. Appendix	
§ 70. Table of Pronouns	 373
§ 71. List of Homonyms	
§ 72. Text	

CONTENTS

297



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 at 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.

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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 occurring in each series are:

1) open series:

```
\iota as in English "pin", "thin" etc.,

\epsilon as in English "get",

\mathfrak o voiced exactly as the German open "\mathfrak o", e. g. in "noch".
```

Of these three vowels ε and ϑ occur frequently and may be considered the most characteristic vowel sounds of Yuchi. ι occurs exclusively before n and may have developed from the nasalized $\iota = \iota$. (see § 9). Open α and open ν 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: \ell l \partial, dj \ell'. \ell an open, nasalized e, similar to French "fin". \ell as in French "dans".
```

q 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 \acute{e}) does not occur. There is, however, an obscure final \eth (as the e in German "Name") which is sometimes slightly lengthened and then heard as e; e. g.: hawetwa'le, $\kappa al q're$.

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, i, ϵ , and a where it is very frequent.

§ 2. JUXTAPOSITION 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'odεhε, tsiac'ε', catio'nε, tsi'ą, τalaonγ', s'a'ąk'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:

ts' $iga\ Pe'$. $ende^1$ wedza.a' ong kiwe'.ewe'la yu.afa'

c) the vowels are separated by a glottal stop:

 $\begin{array}{ccc} al \varepsilon`w\varepsilon'\varepsilon' \gamma' & h \gamma' \gamma' dit'\varepsilon \\ a x \kappa \varepsilon'' \varepsilon & s'a'' \varepsilon \\ & h \gamma k' \gamma \kappa i' \varepsilon' d \sigma \end{array}$

The combinations in which these various types of juxtaposition occur do not seem to be limited, although the diphthongal glide occurs most frequently in the combinations *ao* and *io*. The following table shows the most frequent vowel combinations and the types of juxtaposition:

	ι	ε	o	Ł	ę	ą	5	ų	i	a	o	u
ι												
ε		ε ' ε			ε'ε		ε,5					
2												
Į. į												
Ę			ļ		€,€					ξ'a_		
ą												
5	5,1	δ,ε			5,€		5,5			2'a		
v												
i		i'ε			$i^*arepsilon \ iarepsilon$					i'a ia i.a	io	
a		<i>α</i> 'ε		a'į	a'ę					a'a	a'o ao a.o	
0		ο'ε			ο'ε		0,5			oʻa oa		
u		u'ε								u'a		

¹ This type of juxtaposition is indicated by a dot on the line between the two vowels.

§§ 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 rules¹ 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 ε a contraction may take place which results in the elimination of w and produces a different vocalic quality:

 $i + w\varepsilon$ becomes u $e + w\varepsilon$,, o $a + w\varepsilon$,, o, ao, or a $o + w\varepsilon$,, o, oo

Examples:

 $\tau i'w \varepsilon k w \varepsilon dj in$ becomes $\tau u' k w \varepsilon dj in$ in he put $\tau i'w \varepsilon fa$ becomes $\tau u' fa$ in they stand $\tau i'w \varepsilon p'a$ becomes $\tau u' p'a$ in he looked

ale'wegahe becomes alo'gahe when they get there le'wenq becomes lo'nq that one gont'e'wenq becomes gont'o'nq the person

cafawe'nş becomes cafo'nş the moon ralawenş' becomes ralaonş' the wolf a'wegwadjın becomes a'gwadjın he said

tso'wɛn¿ becomes tso'on¿ the sun got'o'wɛn¿ becomes got'o'n¿ the child ya pil'o'wɛn¿ becomes ya pil'o'n; the wagon

- 2) In connection with the semi-vowel y only one instance of contraction has been observed, viz.:
 - o + ya becomes a:

 $goya'x \kappa a$ becomes $ga \cdot 'x \kappa a$ a white man

3) If h stands between two vowels a contraction may occur in the following combinations:

ahi becomes $a \cdot :$

 $hahit'\varepsilon'$ becomes $ha\cdot't'\varepsilon$ not one

ah ah becomes $a \cdot :$

ahəgwahe' becomes $a \cdot 'gwah\varepsilon$ when they say $s \cdot a'h \cdot awi$ becomes $s \cdot a' \cdot wi$ he fell down

[.] g. k'ala' $w\varepsilon$ ' ε 'ndi becomes k'a'ndi.

 $s'a'h\eta t'aw\xi$ becomes $s'a't'aw\xi$ he drops $yah\eta kw\xi djt'n$ becomes $ya'kw\xi djt'n$ he sang

$\varepsilon h \varepsilon$ becomes ε :

yone $h\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon$ becomes $yon\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon$ the fawn and then...

4) If n stands between two vowels the following contractions may occur:

an ε becomes α :

tsεha'nεhε becomes tsεha'hε you swim

 $\varepsilon n \varepsilon$ becomes ε :

 $ts\varepsilon'n\varepsilon$ becomes $ts\varepsilon$ dog $al\varepsilon'n\varepsilon gaya$ becomes $al\varepsilon'gaya$ if you get back there

5) Intervocalic l is eliminated and the vowels contracted in the following case:

ala becomes $a \cdot :$

k'ala' τa becomes k'a·' τa things on top of

6) Contractions of vowels standing in juxtaposition is extremely rare. Only the two following examples have been observed:

 $goa'd\varepsilon n\varepsilon$ becomes $ga\cdot'd\varepsilon n\varepsilon$ $w\varepsilon' \circ' ntaha$ becomes $w\circ' ntaha$

§ 4. (b) NASALIZATION

In a few cases nasalization of the vowels o, a, and ε has been observed without any accompanying change in meaning:

na becomes nq and 88,47 and 100,11 ε becomes ε in: ε ' and $z\varepsilon la$ she will eat us 102,31, and $\varepsilon yu \, Tn \varphi' c\varphi$ 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:

 $w\varepsilon ditn\varepsilon'$ becomes $widitn\varepsilon'$ I saw him 250,10 $K\varepsilon wi'h\varepsilon$ becomes $Kiwi'h\varepsilon$ when it passed 176,46 $w\varepsilon''il\varepsilon$ $w\varepsilon'n\varepsilon$ becomes $wi''il\varepsilon$ $w\varepsilon'n\varepsilon$ the big ones 292,10

2) Assimilation to α :

həndze'twa becomes həndza'twa they kill me 170,12 yub'a' becomes yab'a' high 172,21

3) Assimilation to ε :

 $hi'l\varepsilon$ becomes $h\varepsilon'l\varepsilon$ all $f'ow\varepsilon'da$ becomes $f'\varepsilon w\varepsilon'da$ 4, 6

§ 6. (d) DISSIMILATION

Vowel dissimilation seems to be restricted to the vowel \mathfrak{d} . Examples:

h g n g becomes $h \varepsilon' n g$ they h i d o' o' n d a becomes h i d o' o' n d a I know h g k' g' g g becomes $h g k' \varepsilon' g g$ they run with $h g h g l \varepsilon' n g$ becomes $h o h g l \varepsilon' n g$ catch him, 126, 76

§§ 7—10. B. Consonants

§ 7. SURVEY OF CONSONANTS

		S	Stops	S		Sp	iran	ts	Af	fric	ativ	es	Nas	sals	La	tera	als
	Sonant	Surd	Aspirate	Glottalized	Labialized	Surd	Glottalized	Labialized	Sonant	Surd	Glottalized	Labialized	Sonant	Surd	Sonant	Surd	Glottalized
bilabial	$\mid b \mid$	P	p^{ϵ}	p,									m				
labio-dental						f	f	\overline{fw}									
ling. dental to alveolar	d	T	tc	t'	tw	8	8,		dz	ts	ts'	tsw					
lingalveol.						c	c	\overline{cw}	dj	tc	tc'	$ \overline{tcw} $	n		l		
dorsal- palatal	g	K	k*	\overline{k}	$\frac{gw}{kw}$	x							$\overline{(y)}$			ŧ	l'
velar			ķ	ķ	$ \overline{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 dorsal-palatal g.
- 2. Unaspirated P, T, and K 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 $\dot{}$.
- 4. Glottalized p, t, and k. k in rare cases is articulated as a velar or even a uvular k or k; e. g.: ku tribe, kua'fa behind.
- 5. Labialized series, comprising surd tw, sonant gw 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, s, and c, and f and c labialized as fw and cw.

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 dz and ts, and linguo-alveolar dj and tc.

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. $n \circ yka$ three.

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

§§ 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:

$$\left. \begin{array}{cccc} \ell & \text{becomes} & \ell m \\ \ell & \ddots & \ell m \\ \alpha & \ddots & \alpha m \\ \ell & \ddots & \beta m \\ \ell & \ddots & \beta m \end{array} \right\} \text{ before } b, \ P, \ P$$

Examples:

həmp'a' they look for hemp'adji' you look for

sempe'' ę very good yo'mp'ac'ę' e' his backbone

$$\left. \begin{array}{ccc} \ell & \text{becomes } in \\ \xi & \cdots & \varepsilon n \\ q & \cdots & an \\ \ell & \cdots & n \\ \ell & \cdots & n \\ \ell & \cdots & \ell \end{array} \right\} \text{ before } d, \ \tau, \ t$$

Examples:

gowa'c'endjin I was burning həndze they andze you

 $\varepsilon'ndjubi$ all day a'ntsole are you asleep?

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
\iota & \text{becomes } \iota \eta^1 \\
\xi & ,, & \varepsilon \eta \\
q & ,, & \alpha \eta \\
\varrho & ,, & 2\eta \\
v & ,, & v \eta
\end{array}
\right) \text{ before } g, \kappa, k$$

¹ The palatal η has not been distinguished from the linguo-alveolar n in the text.

Examples:

a'nɔŋga we arrive
nɛŋga'lɛ true enough
ca'ŋ κa bull snake

(β) Whenever an open or closed unnasalized vowel is followed by a dental or alveolar stop (d, τ, t) or by a palatal stop (g, κ, k) the surd spirants x (dorsal-palatal) and x (velar) respectively may be inserted. Thus:

Examples:

dica' xdji I have reached 20,1 αx κε'lə there 20,6 wextit hε' they were pulling 22,6 yu' x κε yonder dix radjigo'la I may have been afraid 26,19 wexto' go with them 30,2 goxdi'cε 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:

(a)
$$Tn\varepsilon$$
 — ' ε :
$$ax K\varepsilon' \cdot \varepsilon - ax K\varepsilon' Tn\varepsilon$$

$$Pado' \cdot \varepsilon - Pado' Tn\varepsilon$$

$$Ta Pi' \cdot \varepsilon - Ta Pi' Tn\varepsilon$$

see § 50,

$$(β)$$
 $nε - ε:$

$$wahε'nεca - wahε'.εca$$

(γ) n - h:
These two sounds are interchangeable in initial position only:

(
$$\delta$$
) $ts - dz$, $tc - dj$:

na — ha

The surd affricative changes often but not always into the sonant when it occurs within a word:

$$tset$$
' ε — $na'dzet$ ' ε
 tse — $ns'ndze$
 tci — s ' $\gamma'dji$

§§ 11—14. C. Relative Frequency and Grouping 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:

i = 79	$\rho = 21$	m = 0	k = 0
$\iota = 41$	$\varrho = 99$	f = 13	x = 4
$\ell = 4$	u = 11	d = 66	x = 23
e = 0	v = 0	r = 41	l = 41
$\theta = 31$	v = 0	t = 26	l = 18
$\varepsilon = 169$	y = 20	n = 146	dz = 11
$\varepsilon = 30$	w = 36	s = 9	dj = 66
a = 185	h = 146	c = 18	ts = 14
q = 1	b = 3	g = 48	tc = 3
a = 1	P = 2	$\kappa = 27$	
o = 43	p = 2	k = 34	

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 ε occur most frequently while open a 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:

 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 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 -djun (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 (ccv, vccv, ccvcv, cvccv). 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).

§§ 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:

 $y \geqslant pa'$ pecan $y \geqslant nt'o'$ acorn

y q c P i' walnut

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

ca'ya squirrel $n\varepsilon'w\varepsilon n\varphi$ this

caya' weeds $n\varepsilon w\varepsilon' n\eta$ these

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

 $gon \varepsilon'$ baby $gwa'n\varepsilon$ owl $can\varepsilon'$ duck $c \pi in\varepsilon'$ spoon

tso'ne pig nut tsene' dog sene' iron se'ne 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.:

τζ' τα light nҳnҳ' creek

a'ga day $p'i'h_{\xi}$ noise

etc.

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

§ 16. ACCENT IN POLYSYLLABIC WORD-UNITS

(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'lə days many anɛhɛ'nɛdjı'n we used to stay there raha'h n n the older one h n c c c' d i (the road) that he 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'nε shirt (cloth round)
yu-dac'i' door (house-mouth)

yudac'i'- τεπε' door-lock ya'so-yas'i' pine-stick

(β) Whenever contractions take place the contracted syllable is stressed:

gs'nt'ewe'nq becomes gsnt'o'nq (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 $a \cdot \text{etc.}$

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

§§ 19—22. III. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY MORPHOLOGICAL DEVICES

§ 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

¹ Lengthening of vowels is denoted by a raised dot following the vowel.

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 "human"), 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 unit¹. 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.: $ha-hi-\tau a-w\varepsilon-p'a'-\tau\varepsilon-dji'n$ = they could not pull up with; p'a is the verbal stem "pull"; $ha-hi-\tau a-w\varepsilon$ are the various prefixes: ha- negative, hi instrumental, τa - locative, $w\varepsilon$ - personal pronoun "they"; $-\tau\varepsilon$ is the suffix denoting ability and -dji'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-ri-hz-ta-djm house-into-he-go-past, ri may be considered suffixed to the noun yu or prefixed to the verb ta. 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

¹ This could be ascertained in each case by isolating certain parts of word-complexes 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.

pronouns are preceded by the locative prefixes and by the instrumental, the latter preceding the former. If there is a proclitic (e. g. the negative *na*-) it precedes all other prefixes.

Of the suffixes the nominalizing and verbalizing elements immediately 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 suffixes (see accompanying chart with analysed verb forms).

Pronouns										70	
Proclit.	Instrum.	Locative	Object-	Sub- jective	Object- ive	Reciprocal	Stem	Modal	Interrogat	Temporal	Enclitics
1.				$h_{\tilde{Q}}$			$ c\varepsilon $			$dj\iota$ 'n	$w\varepsilon'nq$
2.				$\overline{n_Q}$			$f\varepsilon$	$n\varepsilon'$		\overline{djin}	
3.	hi'			di			p' a			$\overline{dji'n}$	
4.		$K\varepsilon$		$w\varepsilon$			$h\varepsilon$	$n\varepsilon$		\overline{djin}	$\overline{w\varepsilon'n}$
5.		\overline{a}					$\overline{(x)dji}$	\ \		dji'ntwa	
6.		$\overline{Ti'}$		$\overline{h_Q}$,5			dji`nfwa	
7.				$\overline{h_Q}$	$\overline{nqtso'}$		$ \overline{l^i l^i}$				
8.				$\overline{h_Q}$	\overline{dzo}		\overline{ty}				
9.				$ho(h_Q)$	$n_{\hat{i}}dzo$		\overline{gwa}				$h \varepsilon' l \partial$
10.			$\overline{n \varepsilon n d z \varepsilon'}$	\overline{di}			$Tn\varepsilon$			\overline{djun}	
11.			h_Q	\overline{do}			ci'				
12. na		кә		$h_{\tilde{Q}}$		\overline{k} '?'	$f\varepsilon$				harepsilon
13.				$w\varepsilon$		\overline{k} 'a'	fa			$\overline{dj\iota'n}$	
14.				$h_{\tilde{Q}}$	$\overline{n_{i}dz_{i}}$	\overline{k} '?'	\overline{la}			$dj\iota$ 'n	
15.		\overline{ra}		o			fa'				TQ
16.				$\overline{h_Q}$			wo	$n\varepsilon'$			\overline{to}
17.		Kε		$\overline{n\varepsilon}$			fa'				$\overline{lah q}$
18.		Pε		$w\varepsilon'$			dji			$\overline{djinfwa}$	
19.		\overline{kya}					$w \varepsilon da$				$c \varepsilon' h a$
20.		\overline{kya}					tca	$T\varepsilon$			
21.				a			tsa'		lə		
22.			$h_{\overline{Q}}$	$n\varepsilon$			$Tn\varepsilon'$		lə		
23.	$\overline{hi'}$			\overline{di}			$n_{\tilde{Q}}$				
24.	hi			do			k' q			\overline{djun}	
25.				$w\varepsilon$			$w \varepsilon d \varepsilon$				$c \varepsilon' dj i$
26. na		tcya'		\overline{di}			tcya				
27. na				$y_{?}'$			$w_{\tilde{i}}$				
29. na'			$ts\varepsilon$	'a			t'a	nq'			
29.			h_{Q}				$h \varrho l \varepsilon'$	nq			
30.				$ \overline{di} $			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: gənt'e'nə b'axte'wənə we'hətne 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 §§ 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 § 62 b).

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

§§ 23—69. IV. MORPHOLOGY §§ 23—29. A. The Noun

Although in a few exceptional cases there is no distinction between nominal and verbal or adjectival stems¹ 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
0	horn	$tc\varepsilon$	belly
ya	wood, tree, log	tcu	bed
\dot{y}_{2}	star, spider, uncle	tcu	penis
yu	house	s' a	earth
'yu	pain	ci	juice
wa	summer	c ϵ	pond, lake
Pa	sack	ca	farm, field
$f^{\bullet}a$	evening	$c\alpha$	snake
Ti	rock	co	body
dju	boat	cu	string
$d\varepsilon$	leg	$cu\cdot$	fish
$T \varepsilon$	cedar	c' u	vine
$T\ell t$	face	cpa	blackberry
ta	heart	garepsilon	tooth
to	potatoe	KO	neck
Ti	name	k'o	throat
tci	eye	k $^{\circ}u$	tribe, country
ts arepsilon	water	la	bullet
ts ϵ	jay-bird	la	cause
tso	sun		

¹ a'ga means as well "day" as "it comes"; dit'a' "my heart", and "I want"; dit'ac'ε' "my breast" and "I am jealous".

§ 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:

(α) Compounds, consisting of a noun plus an adjective, both of which also occur as independent words; e.g.:

```
yəspa' pecan (yə nut, spa oblong)
yəcpi' walnut (cpi black)
gocpi' negro (go human being)
```

(β) 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 ya tree, log, wood; gohuman being; and cu fish:

```
yaw?'
          shade, shadow
                                         goyu'
                                                    ache, pain, sickness
          forest, timber, wilder-
ya'ha
                                         goha'
                                                    old
                                         gop'a'
                                                    shawl
                ness
yapo'
           peach
                                         got^{*}\varepsilon'
                                                    man
yafe'
                                                    child
           prairie
                                         got'o'
ya'dz
           scratcher
                                                    baby
                                         gon \varepsilon'
yas'a'
           woods
                                         gol \varepsilon'
                                                    ghost, wizard
                                         qont'\varepsilon'
yaso'
          pine
                                                    person
           war-stick, war-staff
                                         gok'a'
                                                    vulva
ya'ha
yat'a'
           gun
           stick, switch
yas'i'
yasta'
           table
                                         cuca'
                                                    eel
                                                    garfish
           charcoal
yace'
                                         cuc<sub>P</sub>a'
yac'a'
          leaf
                                         cuxti'
                                                    catfish
yacta'
           camp
           limb, branch
yaxdju'
yaxti'
           fire
```

(γ) 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 theme-elements are: $w\varepsilon$, $\tau\varepsilon$, τa , ca etc.

$w\varepsilon$ - theme:

ca-

	$w \varepsilon' y \gamma'$	deer	wetca'	chicken
	$w \varepsilon y u'$	lard, oil	wetc'o'	tiger, panther
	warepsilon hi'	feather	$w\epsilon la'$	hawk
	$w \varepsilon p$ ' a'	fin	$w \varepsilon c \epsilon'$	bone
	wedza'	hog	$w \varepsilon c \tau i'$	winter
· t	heme:			

ca ' ϵ'	rattle snake	$can \varepsilon'$	duck
ca'ya	squirrel	cagarepsilon'	beaver
caya'	weeds	cal $'o'$	crow
ca'fa	moon	cadi'	paddle

$\tau \varepsilon$ - theme:

$Tarepsilon \gamma'$	bullfrog		au arepsilon tii'	\mathbf{root}
au arepsilon p'a'	bottom		au arepsilon s a'	ankle
redju'	strawberry		au arepsilon s a'	clean
$T \varepsilon T a'$	edge	•	au arepsilon k i'	track

ra- theme:

TaPi'	salt	$\boldsymbol{\tau}a\boldsymbol{c}a'$	fishotter
$TaP \varepsilon'$	end	au a k' $arepsilon'$	ball
ap' a'	turtle	raci'	sputum
$\boldsymbol{\tau}a\boldsymbol{\tau}a'$	bin, crib	$\boldsymbol{\tau}a\boldsymbol{x}\boldsymbol{\tau}a'$	forehead
rasti'	basket	Taka'	notch
rastu'	soft end of a grain of		
	corn		

(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:

hocduda'c'i gate (hocdu' fence, da'c'i mouth)
tsɛra'l'a bank of a river (tse water, ra'l'a edge)
tsot'okal'o' cornbread (tsot'o' corn, kal'o' bread)
k'a'ndirari' bacon (k'a'ndi meat, rari salt)
ya'soyas'i' pine-stick (ya'so pine, yas'i' stick)
wetciayənt'o' chicken-egg (wetcia chicken, yont'o' egg)

2) Noun plus adjective:

```
ya'po'ecpacpa' pear (ya'po peach, ecpacpa' oval)
ya'rɛpi'l'o wheel (pine lumber round)
yaces'i' spark (coal little)
ya'po'atixtitapiha' lemon (peach big yellow sour ones)
ya'srempado' fog (smoke dark)
yac'axti' autumn (leaves yellow)
yaxpil'o' wagon (wood round)
yaxpilosa'ga buggy (wagon light)
y g l^{\prime} i g \varepsilon^{\prime} sword (knife long)
ritcya'lari' copper (stone (rock) red yellow)
Tikap'a' rock-cave
yakap'a' hollow tree (tree cave)
torapise' sweet potatoe (potatoe sweet)
tsebaka' whisky (water bitter)
tsexdjuge' wine, vinegar (water sour)
senera'ts'a parrot (bird noisy)
s \in s' i \in s' needle (iron little)
kal'os'i' biscuit (bread small)
kal'os'i'ka' pa roll (bread small swollen)
```

3) Noun plus neutral verb:

tsot'o'bilika' corn meal (corn round pulverized) s'ayucu' earthquake (earth shakes) yyl'ite'o' pocket knife (knife bends)

4) Noun plus suffix:

agafa' east (day towards)
aga'le morning (day again)
yastatek'e' chair (board leg[s] with)

5) Noun plus independent particle:

sęhafa' heaven (good[ness] towards) s'ayub'a' hill (earth upward) c'ięhafa' 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)
yapil'ohict'\(\xi'\) road (wagon its path)
yapilotipaho'i'ct'\(\xi\) railroad (wagon inside burns its road)
'y\(\xi\)w\(\xi\)' spider web (spider its web)
b'a\(\xi\)tewetsol\(\xi'\) 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'ct' ξ 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)
yapil'o ti wagon inside > noun plus suffix (type 4)
yapil'oti pa (wagon inside) burns > noun plus verb (type 3)
yapil'otipa 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)
we'yqpone' elk > deercaller (we'yq' deer, pq call)
tek'ik''o'ne trackmaker (tek''i' track, k''q make)
tsep'ene' drunkard (tse water, p'e drink)
culane' fish otter (cu fish, la eat)
b'axtolane' oats (b'axte horse, la eat)
ict'ec'ene' soldier (ict'e road, c'e watch)

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

 $\begin{array}{ccccc} ca^{\prime}an\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{duck} & c^{\prime}etan\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{black bird} \\ cat^{\prime}an\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{wildcat} & goson\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{goat} \\ cadjwan\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{rabbit} & gwa^{\prime}n\varepsilon & \text{owl} \\ cation\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{fox} & tcon\varepsilon^{\prime} & \text{ground-squirrel} \end{array}$

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

hoctu's'iene' garden (fence little) s'ahistane' prairie (earth flat) decone' May (mulberry ripe) cracone' 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:

gocri' to dance becomes gocrine' a dance gotwa' to kill becomes gotwane' a murder gola' to eat becomes golane' food go'e' to lie becomes go'ene' bed, bedspread gokyy'wy to think becomes gokyywone' thought

While practically all verbal stems can be nominalized in this way only a few adjectives can be transformed into nouns:

pi'l'o round becomes $pil'on\varepsilon'$ wheel ispi' black becomes $ispin\varepsilon'$ blackness $c'i\varepsilon'$ bad becomes $c'i\varepsilon n\varepsilon'$ badness, ugliness

cf. however:

ra'pi salt, salty
pado' dark, night
rapise' sweet, sugar
ra'ts'a noisy, tea'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:

```
 \begin{array}{c|c} -n \gamma \\ -s \varepsilon' n \gamma \\ -s' \varepsilon' n \gamma \\ -\varepsilon' n \gamma \\ -o' n \gamma \\ -i' n \gamma \end{array} \right\} \  \, \text{denoting different degrees of kinship and male and female speech, see § 31}
```

2) non-tribal:

-wənş'

Examples:

```
Ta'lawənş the wolf

gənt'enş' the (Yuchi) man

gənt'ewənş' the man (a white man, and Indian of another tribe, a

negro, etc.)

tsowatne'senş my sister

dotaones'e'nş my brother

ditsehş'e'nş my mother

tset'ş'i'nş my father
```

The inanimate objects are differentiated into three parallel groups of equal importance:

1) objects with a prevailingly vertical dimension (such as standing poles, trees, high mountains, tall houses etc.).

2) objects with a prevailingly horizontal dimension (such as lakes, streams, roads, fields, logs lying on the ground, etc.).

3) 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 = -fa, horizontal = $-\epsilon$, and round = -dji. They are identical with the verbal stems "to stand", "to lie", and "to sit".

Examples:

ya'fa the tree yu'fa the house $ya'\varepsilon'$ the log $s'a'\varepsilon'$ the field

nq'nq'ε the creek τi'dji the rock yasτadεk'q'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:

tsera' paxdji my strength dita' xdji my heart hwedene''e their language k'alagoyune''e the sickness gycicine''e the poverty

tse'ę'e' the rain k'ala''e 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 -fa, $-\epsilon$ and -dji. If the noun is followed by one or several adjectives, -ha is suffixed to the last adjective modifying the noun. There is no dual form of the noun.

Examples:

ya'ha trees
yagç'ha long trees
yas'iç'ha small logs
yuha' houses
yu'a' yaҳκaha' big white houses
golak'ɔ'nɛha food
tsoka'ҳkaha flour
tsosoтiha' sugar
tobioloha' a pile of potatoes

If the noun is modified by a numeral or by adverbials implying the idea of plurality -ha is not suffixed:

yanǫwε' two trees ya τala' four trees yuk'a't'ε a few houses wawaha'lε many summers (waha'lε 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 non-Yuchi and between male and female speech is carried over to the plural, the various degrees of kinship relation (expressed by h_2 , s_{ε} , s_{ε} in the singular) are not expressed in the plural forms. Thus we have:

1) tribal members:

a) male speech: $-h\varepsilon'nq$ b) female speech: -o'nq-i'nq

2) animate beings outside of the tribe:

 $-w\varepsilon'nQ$

Examples:

gənt'ehe'nə the people do tao'one''o'nə my brothers (woman talking) əndzetset'e'i'nə our fathers (women talking) gocpiwe'nə the negroes b'axtewe'nə 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 yudjihahe'nə the Yuchi Indians sagehawe'nə the Sac and Fox kacahawe'nə the Chickasaw panewa'hawe'nə the Pawnee waca'cihawe'nə 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'ala' a thing, k'akala' things, but also k'alaha') this device is principally limited to a number of kinship terms:

tsioτanε' my (♂) brother $tsiotatan\varepsilon'$ my (σ') brothers tsowaτnε' my (♂) sister tsowarnerne' my (3) sisters $dot raon \varepsilon'$ my (\mathfrak{Q}) brother $dorao'on\varepsilon'$ my (\bigcirc) brothers do'wene' my (Q) sister do'wewene' my (\mathcal{Q}) sisters dis'an ε' my (σ') son dis'as' $an\varepsilon'$ my (\nearrow) sons $di'yan\varepsilon'$ my (\nearrow) daughter di'ya'yans' my (7) daughters dots'on ε' my (\mathcal{P}) son, daughter dots'ots'on ε' my (\mathcal{Q}) sons, daughters tset'e' my father $indz \varepsilon - t' \varepsilon t' \varepsilon n \varepsilon'$ our fathers di'yy' my uncle $di'yy'yn\varepsilon'$ my uncles ditset'es'ie my little father ditsεt'εs'i's'inε my little fathers ditsεhεs'iε' my little mother ditsehęs'i's'ine my little mothers dodjine' my grandchild $dodjidjin\varepsilon'$ my grandchildren

cf. however:

tsesone' my nephew tsesonehe'nə my nephews ditsehe' 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 na- and ha-; (see verbal negation, § 59).

Examples:

 $na'gmt'\varepsilon$ no person, nobody nak'ala' not a thing, nothing $nahit'\varepsilon'$ noone $na'dz\varepsilon t'\varepsilon'$ 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: $-h\varepsilon$, $-l\varepsilon$, $-\kappa\varepsilon$ and -fa which are suffixed to the noun:

 $-h\varepsilon$, 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:

nətsəle'he at our home 244,1 nə'ə'kihe at our arms 248,4 s'e'sehe at the clean ground, (ceremonial town-square) 276,39 k'a'həndekwene'he at his belt 250,8 nənə'he to the creek 270,34 s'ac'i'he to the grave 22,8

 $-l\varepsilon$, denotes the motion "along" an object and "back" to an object (cf. the homonym $-l\varepsilon = \operatorname{again}$);

ict'ɛˈlɛ wɛp'a' along the road she looked 116,38 nənəlɛ' weladjı'n along the creek it went 142,15 tculɛ' həfɛ' back to the sitting logs they went 182,12 yuha'lɛ back to the house 162,12

 $-\kappa\varepsilon$, denotes a static location away from the speaker "yonder", "over there":

yuxκεfa'xκε 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, § 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, occurring 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, occurring with or implying a general indirect object.
- 8) Reflexive series, occurring with or implying a specific indirect object.

§ 31. (b) Subjective personal pronouns

		Subjective 1. series	Subjective 2. series	Independent series
Sing.	<i>c</i> 1.	di-	do-	di
	2.	$n \varepsilon$ -	yo-	tsarepsilon
	3.	$h_{\tilde{q}}$	$\overset{\circ}{h}$ ${ar{\gamma}}$ -	h arrho di'
		8E-	sio-	sarepsilon di'
		ε'ε-	s'io-	s' $arepsilon di'$
		ξ-	εy ?-	arepsilon di'
		0-	0-	odi'
		i-		
	t	w_{ε} -	<i>y</i> ?-	wedi'
Plur.	(1. ii	nel. 9-	<i>Q-</i>	arrho di'
	1. e	excl. $n_{\tilde{q}}$ -	n_Q -	n_Qdi'
	2.	q- (a-)	a'yo-	a'dze
	{	(h2-	h_Q -	h q di'
	3.	0-	0-	odi'
	"	<i>i</i> -		_
	t	$w\varepsilon$ -	<i>y</i> ?-	w arepsilon di'

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:

di-, do-, di "I", are used by one person speaking regardless of who he is.

 $n\varepsilon$ -, yo-, $ts\varepsilon=$ "thou", refer to any second person singular regardless of who is speaking and who is addressed.

hq-, hqdi', are used by men only and refer to a third person singular or plural, male or female Yuchi, except certain female relatives (cp. $s\varepsilon$, sio-, $s\varepsilon$ di'). 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 $s'\varepsilon$ -, s'io- 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.

 $s'\varepsilon$ -, s'io-, $s'\varepsilon di'$, 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).

 ε -, εy ?-, $\varepsilon di'$, 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, grand-mother).

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 $w\varepsilon$ - = 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 respect¹.

 $w\varepsilon$ -, $y\varrho$ - $w\varepsilon di'$, are used both by men and women and refer to any third person singular or plural outside of the Yuchi tribe, regardless,

¹ I failed to ascertain the corresponding pronominal form of the second series. It appears, however, that o-, odi' (the female pronouns corresponding to male $h_{\tilde{\tau}}$ -) 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.

of age, sex, race or species. They comprise, therefore, all animate beings other than the Yuchi Indians.

 ϱ -, $\varrho di'$, are used by both men and women in the first person plural, including the addressed person or persons. No further distinctions are made.

nq-, nqdi', are used by both men and women and refer to any first persons, excluding the addressed person or persons.

q-, (a-), ayo- a'dzε, "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, 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) "h2'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: h2ta'; 208,6 and 208,3[2]: h2gwa). 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:

dinə'djigo' I may have been 20,2
wextsa' they slept 14,8
nəkila' we escape 14,10
yəfe' they went 14,14
həgwadji'n they said 36,15
eyurnə'cə she is making signs 102,31
dot'a'le I stopped 328,74
anega'he when you get there 334,123
sio'ladji'n she went 320,15
segwa' she said 230,2

¹I have checked the definitions given above with three informants at three different places and there were no contradictions or uncertainties.

ogwadji'lɛ everytime he says 208,5 qlaha' let us eat 42,34 yoxdjinɛha' 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:

diade' I hunt (with no definite aim in mind)
doade' I hunt (for a certain animal)
di'wede' I talk, I am talking
do'wede' I talk to somebody
di'lahe I offer (for anybody to accept)
dola'he I offer (to a definite person)
di'yaxtse I set afire
do'yaxtse I burn (e. g. a patch of grass around a fence or haystack)
tsot'odi'ho I plant corn
tsot'o' he'doho I plant corn for him
di'hi I carry on my back
do'hi I carry something on horseback
we'gwa he said
he'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 diştca' I groan, I grunt di'ya' I roast diya'ha I dip diyahədi'c'o I starve to death diya'P? I sow, I pour out di'ya'gwa I tell diyaxts ξ' I set afire di'yyhy I am hungry di'wi I am lost $di'w \epsilon d \epsilon d \epsilon I$ talk diwε'ndjidji I crawl $diw_{\xi}l\varepsilon'$ I wake up diwa' I bite diwaha' I play di'wəndji 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 diρατε' I twist

ditc'a' I drown ditcura' I listen dixtcu' I pound di'tcatcwa' I whisper ding' I become disatę' I scrape, I shave dist?' I swim $di'c\varepsilon$ I hide myself dicti' I dance dix_{P2} I yell (also dox_{P2}) $di'xric_{\xi}$ I lie on dixra' I fear, I am scared $di'xrath \varepsilon$ I sweep di'xtsa I sleep digę'l'ę I smile $di' \kappa \varepsilon I$ always say, I do say $di'k'i \tau \alpha I$ am lazy di'kila I escape di'kila I miss dik' $\varepsilon n\varepsilon'$ I swallow $dik' \varepsilon'' n\varepsilon$ I visit dikaga' I hasten

dip'e' I drink
dipa' I chop
tip'a' I am born
di'fa I whip
didji' I am going
di'dit.he I pull
dirne' I see
diti' I beg
dit'awe' I loose
ditafa' I am afraid
dit'at'a' I braid
dit'as'ie' I hate
dito' pare I am dizzy
dityayu' I love, I like, I am
stingy with

di'k'a I laugh
di'k'aha' I watch
dik'aha' I fight
dik'a'sɛ I bet
di'k'qwɛ rɛ I read, I talk with
di'kyqwq I think
dikwanɛ' I borrow
dilahɛ' I offer
di'l'i I cut
di'l'ɛntci I chase, I run after
di'l'a· I dig
di'l'o I bake, I roast
di'l'qĸɛ I push

2) Examples of verbal froms and their English equivalents, implying a specific object:

do'ara.' I know, I foretell do'weha' I notice, I discover $do'w \epsilon d\epsilon'$ I speak, I call $dowag\varepsilon'$ I hunt dowq' I give doha' I smell doho'', ¿' ¿ I frighten, I scare somebody $dohot'\varepsilon'$ I let go dohoc pi' I use force doho' I take doh gle' I catch dobili' I wind, I turn dopa'pa I brush, I shake $dop_{\xi'}$ I row $dop' \varepsilon'$ I grip, I squeeze dop'a' I cut open dop'a' I send for dofa'fa I flap dof?' I cut off dodo' I touch dornega' I have an idea dot'a' $l\varepsilon$ I stop

dotcala' I paint red, I redden $don\varepsilon'$ I blow $dos'\varepsilon'$ I bite a piece off dos'?' I suck dosten?' I smash, I bust dosta' I break doci' I pity $doc'\varepsilon'$ I wait docty' I close doкa' I rest dokasa' I crush $dok'w\varepsilon'$ I send dok'ę's'ię I sneer at, I criticize $dokwa'n\varepsilon$ I borrow from dox pi'l'o I roll dolaha' I eat up dola Tę' I cut down $dola'h_{\xi}$ I offer to somebody dolaha' I win dol'i'l'i I fiddle $dol \xi'$ I fear 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:

di'di της I see tsε' ης της you see hǫdi' hǫ της he sees sɛdi' sε της she sees

dotc'wa' I hear

di' dop'a I cut open tse' yop'a you cut open hadi' hamp'a he cuts 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 (di-, $n\varepsilon$ -, 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:

	Direct objective first series	Direct objective second series	Indirect objective series
Sing. {	1. $ts\varepsilon$ 2. $n\varepsilon ndz\varepsilon$ $\begin{cases} h\varrho, \ h\varrho di' \\ s\varepsilon, \ s\varepsilon di' \\ s'\varepsilon, \ s'\varepsilon di' \\ \varepsilon, \ \varepsilon di' \\ o, \ odi' \\ i, \ \\ w\varepsilon, \ w\varepsilon di' \end{cases}$	$tse,\ dzio$ $nendze,\ nendzio$ $hq,\ hqdi'$ $se,\ sedi'$ $s'e,\ s'edi'$ $e,\ ędi'$ $o,\ odi'$ $,\$ $we,\ wedi'$	tso so hq $s\varepsilon$, $s\varepsilon di'$ $s'\varepsilon$, $s'\varepsilon di'$ ε , $\varepsilon di'$ o , odi' i , — $w\varepsilon$, $w\varepsilon di'$
Plur. {	1. i. $w\varepsilon$, $nndz\varepsilon$ 1. e. $w\varepsilon$, $nndz\varepsilon$ 2. $andz\varepsilon$	$warepsilon,\ nndzio \ andze,\ andzio \ andze$	$w\varepsilon$, $nntso$ $w\varepsilon$, $nntso$ aso

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:

		to see	$Tn\varepsilon$		
	I	thou	$ m he^{1}$	we, excl.	you
me	_	tsarepsilon'-narepsilon-	h q' - ts $arepsilon$ -		tsε-a'-
thee	$n arepsilon n dz arepsilon ext{-} di' ext{-}^2$		h q - $n arepsilon' n dz arepsilon$ -	n arepsilon n dz arepsilon - n arrangle' -	
($h_{{ar Q}'}$ - di -	h arphi' - $n arepsilon$ -	h arrho di' - $h arrho$ -	h $arrho$ - n $arrho'$ -	h $ au$ - a' -
	sarepsilon'- di -	$s\varepsilon'$ - $n\varepsilon$ -	sarepsilon di'- h 2-	$s\varepsilon$ - $n\gamma'$ -	sε-a'-
	s ' ϵ' - di -	$s'\epsilon'$ - $n\epsilon$ -	s'edi-h?-	s'ε-n ₂ ′-	s'ε-a'-
3d pers. {	arepsilon'- di -	ε' - $n\varepsilon$ -	arepsilon di- h $arrho$ -	ε - n_{i} '-	ε-a'-
	o'- di -	o' - $n\varepsilon$ -	odi-h?-	o-n ₂ '-	o-a'-
	i'- di -	i' - $n \varepsilon$ -	_	i- n $arphi'$ -	i-a'-
· · ·	w arepsilon'- $d i$ -	$w\varepsilon'$ - $n\varepsilon$ -	$warepsilon di ext{-}h \gamma$	$w \varepsilon$ - $n \gamma'$ -	$w \varepsilon$ - a' -
us incl.	_	$w\varepsilon'$ - $n\varepsilon$	h ϱ '- ϱ ' ndz $arepsilon$ -	_	$w \varepsilon$ - a' -
us excl.	_	$w\varepsilon'$ - $n\varepsilon$ -	hұ- n ɔ' ndz $arepsilon$ -	_	w arepsilon - a' -
you	$andzarepsilon' ext{-}di$	_	h q - $a'ndz$ $arepsilon$ -	a' ndz $arepsilon -n$ $arrho'$ -	_

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:

tseoxpa''e	I am full of
ts arepsilon yada'	I am called
$ts \varepsilon y u'$	it hurts me, I ache
tseyuce'	I am wounded
ts arepsilon y u c u'	I shake, I move around
tseta' Pa	I am strong
$ts \varepsilon \tau a' d\varepsilon$	I am broke
ts arepsilon sah arepsilon	I tremble
tsecarepsilon'carepsilon	I am ready
tsecarepsilon carepsilon let	I recover, I get well
tsec'o'	I am tired
tsek' aco'	I am accustomed to
tsarepsilon larepsilon' l'arepsilon'	I am wrapped up

Example:

tsec' o'	I am tired
$n \varepsilon n dz \varepsilon c$ 'o'	thou are tired
hąc'o'	
sec'o'	
s'εc'0'	
εc 'o'	he (she, etc.) is tired
oc'o'	
ic'o'	
wec'o'	
indzec'o'	we (incl.) are tired
non dz $arepsilon c$ 'o'	we (excl.) are tired
andzec'o'	you are tired

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

¹ The other third persons are formed in the same way: $s\varepsilon'$ - $ts\varepsilon$ she-me, etc.

² The hyphens separate the pronouns.

Direct objective second series:

to pity ci

	I	thou	he	we, excl.	you
me	_	tsε'-yo-	hə'-dzio-	_	tse-a' yo-
thee	nεndzε-do-	_	hq - $n\epsilon' ndzio$ -	nendze-ny'-	
	(h2-do-	hə-yo-	hədi'-hə-	h_Q - n_Q -	hə-a' yo-
3d persons	$\{s\varepsilon - do^{-1}\}$	sε'-yo-	sedi'-hq-	sε-nγ-	sε-a'yo-
	s'ε-do-	s'ε'-yo-	s'edi'-hə-	s'ε-n ₂ -	s'ε-a'yo-
us incl.	wε-do-	$w\varepsilon'$ -yo-	hą-o'ndzio-	_	wε-a'yo-
us excl.	$w\varepsilon$ -do-	wε'-yo-	hq-no'ndzio-	_	wε-a'yo-
you	$a'ndz$ ε - do -	_	h q - $a'ndzio$ -	$andz$ ε - n $arrho$	

The other third persons (sio, s'io, εy_2 , o, y_2 , cp. § 31) are formed in the same way. But sio and s'io become $s\varepsilon$ and $s'\varepsilon$ (forms of the first subjective series) in the first and second persons:

```
se'-dzio-ci
                     she pities me
                                                        s'e-dzio-ci
                                                                            he pities me
s\varepsilon-n\varepsilon'ndzio-ci she pities thee
                                                        s'\varepsilon-n\varepsilon'ndzio-cihe pities thee
                                           hədi'-s'io-ci he pities him sedi'-s'io-ci he pities her cp. § 31 edi'-s'io-ci he pities her odi'-s'io-ci' he pities him
hadi'-sio-ci
                    she pities him
sedi'-sio-ci
                    she pities her
εdi'-sio-ci
odi'-sio-ci
wεdi'-sio-ci'
                    she pities her
                    she pities him
                                                        wedi'-s'io-ci he pities him
                    she pities him
se-andzio-ci'
                    she pities us (incl.)
                                                        s'\varepsilon'-obdzio-ci he pities us (incl.)
s\varepsilon'-nondzio-ci she pities us (excl.)
                                                        s'\varepsilon'-nondzio-cihe pities us (excl.)
s\varepsilon.-a'ndzio-ci she pities you
                                                        s'\varepsilon.-a'ndzio-ci he pities you
                           \varepsilon'y?-dzio-ci she pities me
                           o'-dzio-ci
                                            he pities me
                           yy'-dzio-ci he (not Yuchi) pities me
```

Indirect objective series:

to work something for k'ala' - k'a

					τ	
	I	thou	he	${ m she^3}$	we	you
me		$-n\varepsilon' n$ - tso -	-hq-tso'-	-se-tso-	_	- <i>q'-tso-</i>
thee	-a'so-		-h <i>q-so'-</i>	-88-80-	-nə'-so-	_
	-ho'n-do-	-hq'-yo-	<i>-h</i> ⊋-	-hq-sio-	-hq- nq' -	-h <i>q-a' yo-</i>
3d pers.	$\langle -s\varepsilon' - do -$	-sε'-yo-	- $s \varepsilon di'$ - $h \gamma$ -	-sedi-sio'-	-sε-nγ'-	-sε-a' yo-
	-s'ε'-do-	-s'ε'-yo-	-s'εdi′-h⊋-	-s'edi-sio'-	-s'ε-nγ'-	-s'ε-a′ yo-
us incl.	- $w\varepsilon'$ - do -	$-w\varepsilon'$ -yo	$-h$ ϱ - $\sigma' ntso$ -	$-s\varepsilon$ -o'ndzo-		-wε-a' yo-
us excl.	_		-ho-no'ntso-	$-s\varepsilon$ - $n\sigma' ndzo$		_
you	-a'so-		-h <i>q-a</i> 'so-	-sε-a'sο-	ną-a'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.

¹ the other third person forms correspond to the direct objective first series.

² k'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. § 40.

³ The other third persons $(\varepsilon, o, w\varepsilon)$ are formed in the same way.

Furthermore the subjective pronouns¹ 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'yotso we have $n\varepsilon'ntso$ and a'ntso respectively, the subjective pronouns following in the last two cases the first subjective series, while a'so is apparently a contracted form.

Examples from the texts:

a'sol'il'i'ne I will fiddle for you 14,13 wetso'wə she gave to me 262,17 hədzo'tyə he was mad at me 262,19 hənətso'l'il'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	Second reflexive
	series:	series:
	$ \begin{cases} 1. & ts \epsilon \ di' - \\ 2. & n \epsilon n dz \epsilon \ n \epsilon' - \\ & \left\{ \begin{array}{c} h \gamma d \epsilon' - \\ siod \epsilon' - \end{array} \right. \end{cases} $	tse do'- nendze yo'- həndio'- siodio'-
Sing.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} s. \ s \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ $	s'iodio'- εymdio'- odio'- ymdio'-
Plur.	$ \begin{cases} 1. \text{ i. } ondz\epsilon. \text{?'-} \\ 1. \text{ e. } nondz\epsilon n\text{?'-} \\ 2. & andz\epsilon. \text{?'-} \end{cases} $	əndze.ə'- nəndzenə'- andze.a' yo-

Examples:

tsε-di-l'i' I cut myself nεndzε-nε'-l'i you cut yourself hɔdε-l'i' he cuts himself tsε-do-ci' I pity myself nεndzε-yo-ci' you pity yourself

A number of verbs occur exclusively with the reflexive pronouns:

I am ashamed

tse dipe'nde I twist myself

tse dotnetne' I attempt

tse doty?' I abstain from, I fast

tse don?' I believe

tsε dos'aha''ε I am careful tsε doci' I mourn, I weep tsε docε' I enjoy myself tsεdogε' I call myself tsεdolagε' I burn myself tsε dol'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

¹ These follow partly the subjective second series (I, thou, you) and partly the subjective first series (she, and the other third persons).

than the personal pronouns. It is a compounding element in a number of bisyllabic nouns (cp. § 24 α β) and also acts as an infinitive-forming prefix.

Examples:

agogwa'xte one should say 8,26
gmt'e' go'widjinfwa somebody had gone (there) 10,29
gotc'wa' one would hear 176,42
goxti't'e'neha' if one pulls 62,7
go'nt'e goya' somebody passed by 128,98
go'nt'e go'kmdjin somebody was coming 154,51

With infinitive meaning:

gola' to eat 112,43 go'rns to see 26,17 gok'ins' to get 258,37 go'ansns' to ask 264,30

The prefix go- must not be confused with the contraction of $\kappa\varepsilon$ (locative prefix [see § 58] and $w\varepsilon$ (third person pronoun); e. g.:

 $gog_{?}' < \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon g_{?}'$ he was coming 162,104 $w \varepsilon' n t' \varepsilon \ gon_{?}' < w \varepsilon' n t' \varepsilon \ \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon' n_{?}$ a woman was there 170,1 $tala \ gon_{?}' < tala \ \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon' n_{?}$ Wolf was here 36,1

§§ 35—37. (f.) Irregular Personal Pronouns

§ 35. (α) 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) go'a' to cry:

 ts'a' I cry
 tc'ya' you cry
 hç'a' he cries

 sɛ'a'
 s'ɛ'a'
 he (she etc.) cries

 ç'a' we (incl.) cry
 nç'a' we (excl.) cry
 adj'ya' you cry
- (2) agogo'ne to come:

 adza' I come

 adja' you come

 ahqga' he comes
- (8) nehe'goti to arrive:

 nehe'dzi I arrive

 nehe'ci you arrive

 nehe'li he arrives

 nehe'seli

 nehe'seli

 nehe's'eli he (she etc.) arrives

 nehe'li we (incl.) arrive

 nehe'neli we (excl.) arrive

 nehe'aci you arrive
- (9) κε'' εgota to do:
 κε'' εdica I do
 κε'' εnεca you do
 κε'' εhγla he does, etc. cp. 3

asega' he comes ane'ga we (excl.) come a'a'dja you come ahe'ga they come

(3) gote'de to beat, to hit:

 $ts\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ I beat $tc\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ you beat $h\eta t\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ set $\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ he (she etc.) beats $s'\varepsilon t\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ or $\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ n $\eta t\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ we (excl.) beat $a'tc\varepsilon d\varepsilon$ you beat

(4) gotwa' to kill:

tswa' I kill tcwa' you kill hətwa'' he kills (for the following forms cp.3).

(5) a'go'ε to think:

a'dits' & I think a'dj'y & you think a'h & e thinks a'n & e think a'a'dj'y & you think

(6) a'gogwa to say:

a'ditsa I say a'ndja you say a'gwa (a'h\qqua) he says, etc. cp. 3 and 5

(7) gola'i to shoot at:

tsa''i I shoot at ya''i you shoot at hild''i he shoots at, etc. cp. 3

(10) gota to go:

weda' I go
weca' you go
həla'
sela'
the (she etc.) goes
s'ela'
the (she etc.) go
s'ela'
the (she etc.) go
s'ela'
the (she etc.) go

(11) k'ala'gola to eat:

k'ala'da I eat
k'ala'ca you eat
k'ala'həla he eats
k'ala'nəla we (excl.) eat
k'ala'a'ca you eat

(12) $g\varepsilon'ta$ to find:

hi'tsa I find hi'ca you find $h\varepsilon'la$ he finds $\varepsilon'nla$ we (incl.) find $n\varepsilon'nla$ we (excl.) find a'ca you find $h\varepsilon'nla$ they find

(13) $go^{\flat}\varrho^{\prime}$ to be here:

rq' I am here yq you are here hq'q' he is here $n\epsilon ha'$ we (excl.) are here a'ha you are here $h\epsilon' ha$ they are here

\S 36. (β) Irregular pronominal forms

With a few verbs o changes to e in the third person singular and plural and in the first person plural:

ansha'djın where we lived 24,13
Kenshe'nedjın we used to stay there 26,19
ansnə' we were there 246,19
ansndji' we were going 270,10
Kəns'ndjihs when we were going 280,9
Kehs'nədji'n they were there 148,12
Kehs'hadjigo' they may have been here 148,17
hs'nl'idods after they scratched 148,6

 $h \epsilon y a d a n \epsilon'$ they were called 148,16 $h \epsilon' a'$ they cried 150,19 $h \epsilon' n l a$ they traced 168,146 $a h \epsilon' h \epsilon n d j i' d \epsilon$ as they went there 168,147

§ 37. (γ) Amalgamation between pronoun and instrumental prefix

The instrumental prefix hi- (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):

```
\begin{array}{l} hi'di\text{-}ca \text{ I steal with} \\ h\varepsilon'n\varepsilon\text{-}ca \text{ you steal with} \\ h\varepsilon'-ca \\ s\varepsilon'\text{-}ca \\ s'\varepsilon'\text{-}ca \\ \varepsilon'\text{-}ca \\ i'\text{-}ca \\ w\varepsilon'\text{-}ca \\ \varepsilon'\text{-}ca \text{ we (incl.) steal with} \\ n\varepsilon'\text{-}ca \text{ we (excl.) steal with} \\ \varepsilon'\text{-}ca \text{ you steal with} \\ \end{array}
```

hi plus do (second subjective series):

```
hi'do-sri I deceive
hi'yo-sri you deceive
həyu'-sri
seyu'-sri
syu'-sri
eyu'-sri we (incl.) deceive
nəyu'-sri we (excl.) deceive
a'yo-sri you deceive
```

An exceptional form is the verb hi'doki "I suspect", which follows partly the first and partly the second paradigm:

```
hi'do-ki I suspect hi'yo-ki you suspect hi'yo-ki you suspect hi'-ki si'-ki he (she etc.) suspects i'-ki we (incl.) suspect i'-ki we (excl.) suspect i'-ki we (excl.) suspect i'-ki you suspect
```

§ 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'a and k'q (k'q) which follow the pronoun, being the only affixes in Yuchi that stand between the pronoun and the verbal stem:

k'a, denotes reciprocity:

he'hok'a'gwa they said to each other 46,8 gotia'ha wek'a'k'o wars they made with each other 270,1 hok'a'k'entne' they visit one another 284,4 wek'a'fadji'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:

nakəh?k'?'fɛhɛ and when they went with her 22,8

we`k'?wede'djin he was talking with him 260,4

goharone' h?k'?`wededji'nha life-ruler that they talked with (him)-..

268,29

gone' gok'onodji' baby she was there with 268,31

hən?'dzək'?'ladjin they went with us 272,14

Kəs'ah?k'?'nt'ɛhɛ when he was running with 274,35

Kɛk'o'nədjin he was there with 286,18

k' ϱ changes into k' ϱ if it occurs with the verbal stems: $n\varrho$, ha, dji etc., see § 44.

wetsek'e'ndji (away) that they went with me 254,16 gok'enq'dji that she was here with 270,32 a'ok'enq'nedji'n they used to be there with 290,20 we'k'eha' 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-, $n\varepsilon$ -, 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:

```
dito' my head

neto' your head

hyto'
seto'
s'eto'
eto'
oto'
ito'
weto'

his (her etc.) head
```

ǫto' our head (incl.)
nǫto' our head (excl.)
qto' your head

Nouns following this series:

di'q'mpa my finger di'q'sa my wrist di'q'ki my arms dixdi't'\varepsilon my shoulder did\varepsilon' my legs did\varepsilont' my feet di'dac'a my lips dida'mp'i my nose dixdju'b'a my ear

dit'ε'k'a my tongue (I lick)
ditac'ε' my breast (I am jealous)
dit'a' my heart (I want)
dito' my head
ditot'a' my back
ditcε' my stomach, my entrails
diκε' my teeth
diκεnda'ca my gum

also:

diwe'dene my talk ditoc'ine' my hat

dik'axti' my friend

 $ditsol\varepsilon'$ my home $dik'a\chi\tau \varphi'$ my husband, my wife, and kinship terms, see p. 90.

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:

Se	cond series:	Third series:	Fourth series
1.	tso-	$tsio ext{-}$	tsarepsilon-
2.	80-	n arepsilon n dz io-	n arepsilon n dz arepsilon-
	hq-	h_Q -	$h_{\widehat{\mathcal{Q}}}$ -($h_{\widehat{\mathcal{E}}}$ -)
	sio-	sio-	8E-
3.	s'io-	s'io-	ε'ε-
	arepsilon y?-	arepsilon y?-	ε-
	0-	0-	0-
	$y_{ec{arphi}'}$ -	$y_{Q'}$ -	$w \varepsilon$ -
1. i.	ndzo-	ondzio-	ndz $arepsilon$ -
1. e.	nondzo-	n n dz io-	n otan dz otane-
2.	aso-	andzio-	$andz\epsilon$ -

The majority of nouns follow the second series, e. g.:

tso-b' $ax\tau \varepsilon'$ my horse so-b' $ax\tau \varepsilon'$ your horse

Nouns following the third series:

$tsio ext{-}wi$ ' i'	my blood	$tsio ext{-}t$ 'ot' $onarepsilon'$	my kidneys
$tsio ext{-}yarphi'^m ext{P}i$	my liver	$tsio ext{-}tcwa'$	my skin
tsio-b'a'c'ε	my backbone	tsio'- x tsa x ta'	my sides
$tsio ext{-}c ext{'}ibilonarepsilon'$	my shirt	tsio-c'i'a'	my coat

Nouns following the fourth series:

tseyade	$an\varepsilon'$ n	ny name	tses' a'	my land
$ts \varepsilon y u'$	x r a n	ny clan	$tses_{?}{'}$	my hair
tsewin	arepsilon' n	ny shadow, my spirit	tseco'	my body
tse Ta' 1	ea n	ny strength	$ts \varepsilon x \tau i'$	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:

di- series:

 $ditseh \xi'$ my mother $dis'an \epsilon'$ my son

di'yanε' my (man's) daughter dik'a wεnε' my (woman's) sister

my (woman's) father's brother's daughter my (woman's) mother's sister's daughter

di'yə' my mother's brother

my mother's brother's son

ditsehęs'i'ę my mother's sister my father's sister

my mother's brother's daughter

dis'anes'iş'my (man's) brother's sondi'yanes'i'şmy (man's) brother's daughterditco'o'my grandfather (on both sides)my father's sister's husband

dilaha' my grandmother (on both sides)

dicəhə' my brother's wife my wife's sister my husband's brother my husband's sister

my (woman's) sister's husband

diwexto' my sons's wife

diwextso' 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

tsogoto' my child tsogoha'hane my parents tsok'ala' my kin

tsio-series:

tsiotane' my (man's) brother

my (man's) father's brother's son my (man's) mother's sister's son my (man's) sister's husband

 $tsiodjian\varepsilon'$ my wife's brother

$ts\varepsilon$ - series:

 $tsiodjiyan\varepsilon'$

tset'e' my father

tset'ęs'i'ę my father's brother
tsesone' 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' one'my (woman's) son my (woman's) daughter doraone'my (woman's) brother my (woman's) father's brother's son my (woman's) mother's sister's son do'w $\epsilon n\epsilon'$ my (woman's) sister dots'ones'ię' 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 dodjine'my grandchild (no further differentiation)

§ 40. IMPERSONAL PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

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

Examples:

hi-:

'y'''' spa hiha'he pecans where they are 256,31
yufa' tsaxtcib'i' hi'pendji'n the house window it had 258,43
k'alat'ele' 'yapi'l'o rihi'hadjinha'de other things wagon that had
been in 270,8
ric'o' hi'yada' they were called ric'o' 158,79

ho-:

howag?' it is left 182,14

tsoti'xdji pe'hehonone' the medicine it will overcome (them) 182,11

hocuk'?'la'e it was tied to 98,35

tso'ti ho'a'ga medicine its day 276,39

gowa'do'e ho''yuhe the grave its house 176,44

rot'oha' n?detaha' hodjula' the sand our feet it burned 284,1

k'ala't'ele' ... howale'lade'ego' other things they may have been

left out 288,30

gol'il'ine'e ... hocuha' the fiddle ... its strings 312,121

k'a'sog?rane' ho'yu'fari'he the school in its yard 312,122

In a few cases ho- occurs as objective impersonal pronoun:

ka't'o howage' hotany' 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'ala' a'sok'q something I work for you (cp. § 32).

asohot'a'I let it go for youasohohç'I took it from youasoho'kasaI crush it for youdohokila'I escape from itasoho'taI wove it for youasoho''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.: $n \epsilon f a'$ $l \epsilon f a'$ $n \epsilon d j i'$ $l \epsilon d j i'$ $n \epsilon' \epsilon'$ $l \epsilon' \epsilon'$

plur.: $n\varepsilon' ha$ $l\varepsilon' ha$

b) animate:

 sing.:
 ne'nq
 le'nq

 ne'senq
 le'senq

 ne's'enq
 le's'enq

 ne'onq
 le'onq

 ne'i'nq
 le'i'nq

 ne'wenq
 le'wenq

plur.: nehe'nə lehe'nə lewe'nə

Examples:

Inanimate:

 $n\varepsilon'fa\ ya'fa$ this tree $l\varepsilon'ha\ ya'ha$ those trees $n\varepsilon dji'\ di'dji$ this rock $n\varepsilon'ha\ yu'ha$ those houses $n\varepsilon''\varepsilon\ s'a''\varepsilon$ this field

Animate:

ne'nq gont'e'nq this man (referring to a Yuchi)
ne'senq s'ant'e'senq this girl (referring to a man's sister etc.)
le's'enq that one (referring to a woman's brother etc.)
nehe'nq ciqcanehe'nq these boys
newe'nq b'axtewe'nq these horses
ne'i'nq gont'e'i'nq these men (woman speaking)
lewe'nq gocriwe'nq those negroes

ne'wen? is frequently contracted to no'n?, cp. phonology, § 3:
no'n? 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: wan?' Subjective form:

wan γ' αχκε' ah γga'? who (Yuchi) comes there? wan γ' αχκε' ay γga'? who (not Yuchi) comes there? wan γ' h γya'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?' hənetne? who him you see = whom (Yuchi) do you see? wan?' 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: wika' what.

Example:

wika' netne'? what are you looking at? wika' yok'?'? what are you doing?

The selective interrogative pronoun "which" is denoted by wa-plus a classifying element (-ni), hi'ni) etc. when it refers to animate beings and -fa, -ii, -dji when it refers to objects). Like the adjectives it follows the noun it refers to.

The forms are:

1. Referring to animate beings:

sing.: wan?' which one (Yuchi)
wahewən?' which one (not Yuchi)
plur. wahe'n? which ones (Yuchi)

wawε'nş which ones (not Yuchi)

waẋκεhε'nş which ones of us

waẋκε.anş' which ones of them (Yuchi)

waxκε.anγ which ones of you waxκεhγηγ which ones of them (Yuchi) waxκεwε'ηγ which ones of them (not Yuchi)

2. Referring to inanimate objects:

sing.: waxκεfa' which one (of vertical objects)
waxκε'ε' which one (of horizontal objects)
waxκεdji' which one (of roundish objects)
plur.: waxκεha' which ones (of objects of any kind)

Examples:

gɔ'nt'ɛ wanɔ' which (Yuchi) man?
go'cpi wahɛwənɔ' which negro?
wahɛ'nə nɛdji' həladji'n which ones have done this?
b'axrɛ' wawɛ'nə which ones of the horses?

ya'fa waxκεfa' which tree? s'a''ε waxκε'ε' which land? τi'dji waxκεdji' which rock? τi'ha waxκεha' which rocks? The interrogrative "where" is formed by wa- and addition of the locatives $-h\varepsilon$ and -fa. Thus we have:

 $wah\varepsilon'$ where at ? wafa' where to ?

Examples:

wahe' həte'? where does he live? wahe' yoxte'? where did you put (it)? b'a'xtewənə wahe'wenə? 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) $wah\varepsilon'$:

wahe' neca yo'k'? how do you make it? wahe' la't'e how much?

2) waxke'rne:

waxκε' τηε sono'la? how do you feel?

3) $wah \varepsilon' T n \varepsilon$:

wahε'τηε sonɔ'la how do you feel?

 $\S\S$ 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:

ε to lie

a' to carry

o to belong to

ya to roast

wi to pass

wε to dream

wa to bite

wa to give for a present

hi to carry on the back

hε to bathe

ha to live

ha' to smell

to to menstruate
ty? to be angry
tsa to sleep
tc'a to drown
tc'wa to hear
tcwɛ to rub
nɛ to blow
s'ɛ to bite off
so to stink
s'o to suck
sra to break

ho to plant ho to take Pa it burns $p'\varepsilon$ to drink p_{ξ} to row $p'\varepsilon$ to grip pa to cut open, to saw p'a to send for, to look for p'a to be born p'a to chop fa to stand fa' to whip fa to cut off do to touch dji to sit, to go, to stay ri to wash ro to go with To set a date $rn\varepsilon$ to see ti to beg t'i to urinate $t\varepsilon$ to play t^{ϵ} to cough ta to pick t'a to let go, to bury

sto to swim ci to stick (trans.) ci to pity $c\varepsilon$ to hide c' ε to wait cri to dance cro to close, to shut g_{2} to come gwa to say $\kappa \varepsilon$ to call Ka to rest κο to cook k'i to get, to earn k'a to laugh ka to blow k's to make, to build kw_{ξ} to send, to put kwa to fetch, to bring Pi to cut, to scratch l'ε to fear la to weave la to make

adjectival:

a big
di yellow
T\varepsilon wild
to small
ts\varphi low, short
tsya dry

tca hard, loud sę good co soft, ripe, sore cri wet, moist gę long

Pa to dig

Po to bake

§ 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:

ytca' to groan
ya'ha to dip
yabş' to pour
ya'gwa to tell
ya'cra to camp
yzho' to be hungry
wede' to call
we're to talk, to speak
wele' to wake up
wa'di to brag about
wage' to hunt
wahş' to play

tata' to braid, to plait

t'ɛ̞ka' to taste, to lick

t'alɛ' to quit

tyayu' to love

tcura' to listen

satɛ̞' to scrape, to shave

kila' to escape

kilə̞' to miss

k'ɛnɛ' to swallow

k'ɛ'nɛ' to visit

kɛ'gɛ to hasten

k'a''ɛ̞ to smile

wale to give up

wone' to fish

wondji' to buy

hale' to catch

bili' to turn

bil'o' to roll

pade' to twist

rit.he' to pull

rat.he' to sweep

rale' to appear

rnego' to believe

t'awe' to loose

tafa' to be afraid of

k'aha' to watch, to take care of k'aha' to fight k'ase' to bet k'acta' to scuffle kya'wa to think kwane' to borrow lawe' to wake up (trans.) lahe' to offer laha' to eat up laha' to win late' to cut down, to fell l'e'ntci to chase l'a'ke to push

adjectival:

ispi' black ilę' big awi' loose ali' heavy oxpa' full o'nda plain, clear yaxka' white watci' slow, stupid hidzą' green, blue hite' last hits?' short hi'sra flat, level hico' wet hicu' slow hiki' fierce hapa' flat hoto' brief, short holo' deep pado' dark (night) fifi' bright, shiny $djug\varepsilon'$ sour $Ti^{2}\varepsilon'$ mean, low τεsa' clean

τεki' different rapa' strong, hard rats'a' noisy ratca' difficult $\tau an \varepsilon'$ fat $Ta'c\varepsilon$ ripe $t^{\prime} \varepsilon h \varepsilon^{\prime}$ different, next tsobi' straight tsura' short, low tsya'l'a red tciga' rotten ' $n \in ga'$ true, rich s'i& little, small s'ari' low safi' fast, quick s'ulę' bare, bald, naked $c'i'g\varepsilon$ deep $c\varepsilon'c\varepsilon$ ready $cal\varepsilon'$ raw coco' rotten Kac'o' left κα' χκα white $k^{\alpha}s_{\xi'}$ 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
dita'as'iε' I hate
dita'axτε I order
(dita'tsεyu I mourn, (my heart hurts))
ditopaτε' I am dizzy
ditciτε'lə I blink, I twinkle (tci = eye)
dikyɔ'nɛc'iε I am provoked (my thought is bad), and a number of reduplicated bisyllabic stems (see § 54)

adjectival:

hitafa' greedy
hitnęgą' new
hicigę' deep, steep
hicahi' hot
hapa'e' broad
hapas'ię' narrow, (broad little)
hatsihę' silent
hase'ę' bad (not good)
hoha''ę empty
hopaya'ҳҡa pale

hofęle' mild

rapisę' sweet (salt good)

tsobila' straight, just

sęhę''ɛ still, quiet

goxricę' false, untrue

gok'ira' lazy, lonesome

gęcine' poor

k'iya'a' careful

k'abile' even, smooth

ręwęwę' 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:

 $hit'\varepsilon'$ one $n\varrho'w\varepsilon$ two $n\varrho\kappa a'$ three $\tau ala'$ four $tc'wah\varepsilon'$ five

icdu' six laxdju' seven bifa' eight t'ε' xκα nine laxpε' ten

k'oχταηςwε' twenty k'oχταηςwε' hit'ε τα'wi twenty-one k'oχταηςwε' ηςwε τα'wi twenty-two

k'oxtan?'ka thirty
k'oxtata' forty
k'oxtatc'wahe' fifty
k'oxta'icdu' sixty
k'oxtalaxdju' seventy
k'oxtalaxdju' seventy
k'oxtat'exka' ninety
ict'et'e' one hundred (road one)
ict'et'e hit'e' one hundred and one
ict'et'e n?'we one hundred and two

 $i'ct' \in n \gamma' w \varepsilon$ two hundred $i'ct' \in n \gamma' w \varepsilon$ two hundred and two

i'ct'ε nqκa' three hundred i'ct'ε τala' four hundred

ict'εt'εκκα k'οχταt'εκκα t'εκκα τα'wi nine hundred ninety nine ict'a'at'ε' one thousand, (road big one) ict'a'a nγwε' two thousand

ict'\varepsilon'\v

Ordinal numbers:

There is no formal difference between cardinal and ordinal numbers except for "the first" which is $c \pi a h a$ " ε . instead of hit" ε . With the other numerals the ordinal character is denoted by adding one of the article suffixes -fa, $-\varepsilon$ or -dji (according to the character of the noun, see § 26) to the numeral; e. g.:

ya $n gw \varepsilon' fa$ the second tree $n g' n g n gw \varepsilon' \varepsilon' \varepsilon$ the second creek a' ga $l a \chi p \varepsilon' fa$ the tenth day

a'ga cταha''ε the first day s'ayub'a' ταla'ҳdji the fourth hill

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

sahə' once nəha' twice nəkaha' three times ralaha' four times laxpeha' ten 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, $(dica' = I \text{ make, see. } \S 35)$, Examples:

axke''sendica I pretend, I act like oxpa'dica I fill (full I make) oxpale'dica I refill suda'dica I explain (plain I make) yz'dica I boil yucu'dica I shake wel'i'dica I plough hipe'ndica I put it on hitc's'ndica I grease hi'xrodica I wrap in

hac' $\varepsilon'dica$ I burn howa'dica I save hoha'dica I make empty hoh?'dica I join together hot'ale'dica I stop hoxti'dica I pay $Pih\varepsilon'dica$ I shoot Pa'dica I set fire to $d\varepsilon pol\varepsilon'dica$ I repeat, I do again $djah\varepsilon'ndica$ I rattle τεsa'dica I clean ταρε'dica I finish Tapa'dica I tighten racru'dica I pour on $t' \in h \in c'' \in ndica$ I change, I make different tahe'dica I uncover, I turn over ta'p'adica I saddle tsya'dica I dry tca'dica I harden, I dry fruit s'a'l'idica I plough s'a's'adica I waste soso'dica I write, I mark sori'dica I soften, limber I make c'i \varepsilon' dica I spoil cpi'dica I moisten cpa'dica I spread κεcτu'dica I pile up k'a'a'dica I finish k'a' fidica I comb k'a'radica I include, I put with kasa'dica I crash lafa'dica I bust open

2) gowi' to pass,

Examples:

ogaledi'wi I forget djika'di'wi I go along s'aledi'wi I get down s'apo'diwi I set into the ground (plants, fence posts, etc.) s'adi'wi I fall down

3) gok'q' to make,

Examples:

γ' Pa'dok' γ I sharpen
ho χτίlε' dok' γ I pay back
tsotici' dok' γ I make medicine, I doctor
n γες 'dok' γ I draw, picture I make
sε' sε dok' γ I plead, peace I make
cado' k' γ farm I make, I farm
gε dok' γ' I sharpen, sharp I make
godjih γ' dok' γ I arrest, prisoner I make
k' a' dok' γ I work, something I make

4) $gokw_{\xi'} = \text{to put, to send.}$

Examples:

ya'dokwę I sing
yub'a'dokwę I lift, I raise
yule'dokwę I tie around
hopale'dokwę I diminish, I make less
deki'dokwę I divide, I separate
rahe'dokwę I continue
t'a'dokwę I tear
κεττι' κεταdokwę I throw in a pile (pile there on I throw)
k'aka'dokwę I split
k'ą'lədokwę I gather, I heap up

5) goxta' (occurs with compounds only),

Examples:

Tanek''s'nta I take it off
(Ta'w\text{qwe'ta} I walked on to it, I found, I discovered)

Ta'w\text{qdixta} I appoint

\$\si'l\text{lak'}a'\dixta I appreciate, I think well of}

\$\karket \text{kelek'}a'\dixta I am satisfied}

\$\karket \text{kelek'}s'\nda I take home}

\$\karket \text{kelek'}s'\nda I begin}

\$k'\text{ahi'dixta} I am pleased, I mind, I count for}

\$k'\text{atse'}\dixta I am proud}

\$k'\text{atse'}\dixta I regard}

\$ks'\ndita I climb}

\$lah\text{lake} it out}

Examples of other verbs:

?'Pase'dola I point at ondadi'gε I explain (plain I say) wεyu'diκą I fry, lard I cook ha''ado'€ I neglect hopale'dina I fail, (left over I become) $P \varepsilon l \varepsilon' w \varepsilon' T a I join$ *τak'ε'nditε* I play ball ralε'doxdji I get up ταχταlε'dip'a I look around to'doha I cover tsa'difa I stand tsobila dik'a'' EI make an agreement neledzi' I come back s'apo'di' E I bury, ground under I put s' $adot\epsilon'$ I run off s'a'dit'awe I drop golane'dow? I feed, something to eat I give k'a'dop'a I sew kodota' I open lahe'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
ya''\xi\ it is dead
ya's\ta\xi\ it smokes
y\xi' it swells, it boils
yuh\xi'\xi\ it is strange
yu'c'o it is withered
yucu' it shakes
Piy\xi'c\xi\xi\xi\xi' it thunders
P\xi\xi'\xi\ta\x

pi'he it blasts, it explodes
djile' it is said (usually ends a
tale)

Te it melts
tse''e it rains
sten?' it bursts
st'a'hi it cracks, it pops
cta''e it snows
ga'ge it sounds
k?' the wind whistles

§ 50. VERBALIZATION

Nominal stems and particles are transformed into static verbs by suffixing the verbalizing element $-\frac{1}{\xi}$ (or $tn\varepsilon$, see phonology, § 10). This device can be used with all nouns the meaning of which can be transformed into a verbal idea.

Examples:

tse rain, becomes tse'ε' it rains
τρ'τα light, becomes τρτα''ε it is light
wa summer, becomes wa'τπε it is summer
wεcτρ' winter, becomes wecτρ'τπε it is winter
hρto' child, becomes hρto''εdjın it was a child
αχκε' there, becomes αχκε''ε that way (or there) it is
τεcα' close, becomes τεcα''ε it is close
τί inside, becomes τί''ε it is inside
τα on, becomes τα''ε it is on
s'ayab'a''εya if he is a warrior (ya if, see § 62) 148,7

Although $m\varepsilon$ in most cases seems to be a synonym with ' ε (see phonemes) there are a few cases in which it implies a slightly different meaning; e. g.:

Pado'' ε it is dark, but: $Pado'Tn\varepsilon$ it is too dark $a'Tn\varepsilon$ it is too big

-' ξ is often suffixed to adjectives, even though adjectives may occur as verbs without the verbalizing particle:

s'ię'' \(\varepsilon\) it is little 42,39 coco'' \(\varepsilon\) it is rotten 162,113 w\(\varepsilon\) it is covered with 142,12 wihiki'' \(\varepsilon\) it is fierce 142,16 goyalili'' \(\varepsilon\) it is fierce 88,46 haw\(\varepsilon\) it is fierce 88,46 hatsih\(\varepsilon'\) it is quiet 246,20 gok'ita'' \(\varepsilon\) 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) -djin, denoting the incomplete past:

 $Tala' gon i' yən \epsilon' nd \epsilon gonod ji'n$ wolf was here, fawn also was here 36,1(2)

depole' goyali'nηης yηρηdji'n again the young man he called 72,26 ya'dεmbilo'xdji κε'yηhobil'o wε'la'i gok'ηfεdji'n the wheel he rolled 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) -dji'nfwa, denotes the complete past, corresponding closely to the English pluperfect; e. g.:

hγhγlε'dodedji'nfwa after she had caught them 86,41 we.odji'nfwa they had climbed 104,43 we.oҳτε'dji'nfwa she had put him there 148,7

Verbs denoting a static idea usually take $-dj\iota'nfwa$ in the past tense, the past in a static verb being always complete:

Ka' xKadjinjwa (he) was a white (man) 154,51 axKe'ledji'njwa right there it was 164,125 na'wecedji'njwa they were not dead 104,43 gohaha''edji'njwa they were very old 88,46 pewe'djidjinjwa she was sitting on 40,23

When dji'nfwa is followed by the habitual suffix $-n\varepsilon$ (see § 54) it changes to djinfa':

wewaha'djinfa'ne they used to be many 246,2
Kəhe'nədjinfa'ne they used to be there 264,30
hək'a'yugwadjinfa'ne they had been discussing 268,23
Kəhe'hadjinfa'ne they used to be there 272,19
wextidji'nfa'ne happened to be his name 282,30
axketne'djinfa'ne it had been that way 308,88

In some cases -djin is added to -dji'nfwa, so that the whole suffix becomes -djinfwadji'n; e. g.:

goʻladjinfwadji'n (the disease) it had spread 248,10 yudjiha'djinfwadji'n they happened to be Yuchi 260,7

Kɛfa'djınfwadjı'n he happened to be standing there 282,35 k'at'ɛ'lə yəwadjınfwadjı'n few only they were left 248,9 k'a'rawədjı'nfwadjı'n chance it had been 330,84 wwwado''ædjınfwadjı'n she had been dead 326,7

The suffixation of -djin 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'le go'nt'e dinq'djigo' 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 axke'tnedjigo' it may have been that way 26,17 hondionq'djigo' they may have thought 244,4 k'ala' se'le kotnq'ladjigo'la something good they may have done but (-la but, see § 61) 254,17a kehe'hadjigo'la they may have been here but... 264,30 na'i'kqga la'de'edjigo' not too long it may have been 288,4 axke'tnodjigo'la it may have been that way but.... 190,19 axkictale' la'de'endjigo' 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.:

wετα' I go becomes wετα' I shall go dicτi' I dance becomes dicτ_ℓ' I shall dance dotc'wa' I hear becomes dotc'wa' I shall hear nεlεdz_ℓ' I come back becomes nεlεdz_ℓ' 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, $\varepsilon'l\varepsilon$; e. g.:

 $siola'\epsilon'l\epsilon dji'n$ she would surely run off 320,15 $ditsa'\epsilon'l\epsilon$ I shall sleep, I have to sleep $diwato'\epsilon'l\epsilon$ I shall die

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

tse'ęgę' it may (will) rain cra''egę' it may snow

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:

həla' he goes, changes to:

 $nqf\varepsilon'$ we go $qf\varepsilon'$ you go $hqf\varepsilon'$ they go (cp. § 35)

hq'q' he is here, changes to:

 $n\varepsilon ha'$ we are here qha' you are here $h\varepsilon' ha$ they are here

di'wi I am lost, changes to:

 $n \gamma y a'$ we are lost q y a' you are lost $h \gamma y a'$ they are lost

A peculiarity of these three verbs is that they can form an inclusive dual by the prefixing of the pronoun ϱ (otherwise first person inclusive plural) to the singular stem. Thus we have:

qla' we two go $qf\varepsilon'$ we (incl. plural) go $nqf\varepsilon'$ we (excl. plural) go

A parallel formation of an exclusive dual by prefixation of $n_{\tilde{\ell}}$ 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 -n₂. e. g.:

tcu'e' Ti'dzoxdjinə' get with me into the boat! 78,11
tse'a'yudonə' reach for me! 102,28
na'tse'at'anə' do not turn me loose! 102,31
KE''aənə' you lie there! 16,19
ho'waa'solanə' leave them for me! 154,44
tsek'a'da alanə' together with me put them! 170,13
KEle' nə'ndzek'ənlanə' home take us! 260,4
nas'asetelanə' do not let her run off! 320,14
Talega' k'a'hanə' study hard! 336,123
hohəle'nə catch him! 126,76

Indirect speech:

 $y_2 lan \varepsilon' n_2$ she should do! 8,20 $h_2 lan \varepsilon n_2$ they shall use 162,96

Exhortative:

The Exhortative is expressed by the suffix $-w_2$:

k'ala' şla'wş he'yşgwadjın something let us eat, he said 62,2 hodjura'wş they should listen (he said) 68,16 yula'ade'wş he shall go around, let him go around 72,17 şk'a'k'ənte'wş let us play together (he said) 74,30

Exception:

nofe'no let us go! 246,14

Emphatic:

The emphatic suffixes $-h\varrho$ and $-w\varrho$ 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:

hele'yqce dodehq' all he had killed already 116,25
yqgwadji'hq that he said 118,10
dihq' I! 52,15
Kehq' now! 16,19
nendjahq' you said, you did say! 164,123
hqgwahq' he did say! 62,9
hq'a'ndziohqle'nedji'hq he used to catch you 64,9
ditsahq' (very poor we were) I had said 258,41
wectq'c'iqpe''qhq they were very angry 260,48
diyagwadode'hq I told already 262,21
na'q'le nqdi'hq but we 266,12
di'yqhq'lelehq' I was very hungry (le very) 300,11
hnnti'ega'hq he was too mean! (ga too, see § 55) 320,12
a'odega'hq they were too many! 348,33

In some cases $h_{\tilde{q}}$ changes to $-y_{\tilde{q}}$ $(y_{\tilde{q}})$:

a'digeyq' I do say 268,29 kɛdoxdji'yq I am going to stay here! 252,1

-wa:

hitsawa' (old arrow) I found! 40,29
yu'sqwa' polecat! (she said) 44,7
nadze'rnqcq'wa not you should imitate me (I told you) 48,13
tsenq'wa you also (not a thing you can do) 110,30
s'apole' hqdjiwa' under the ground they are going (he called) 60,4
a'lanqwa' make it (he said), (nq imperative, see § 53) 74,40

Potential:

The potential mood is expressed by the suffix -go:

diwado'go I may die 94,45
hγwado'go he may be dead 58,18
wε'yusτί'go you may be lying to us 64,5(1)
hαχκε''ṣgo'la it may be that way but (la but, see § 61) 22,9
nayukγ'lɛ nγ'ladε'ṣgo' not long it may be! 284,8

In a few cases -go 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):

 $s \in Tn \in g = sene Tn e' g$ you may see her 306,76 $dol'il'iT \in g$? I may write 328,61

Ability:

The ability of action (I can) is expressed by the suffix $-\tau\varepsilon$:

na'κε'εdica'τε not that way I can do 134,17
na'wεla'τε they could not find her 40,22
'ya ril'o'xdji hahi'dawεp'a'τε the wagon they could not pull up the bank 270,8
κεγγε'τε they could go there 248,17
na'nγdzəga'xτε not enough for us it would be 286,17
k'ala' κεωγdjiτε'ndji something that one could buy 256,29

In some cases the potential suffix -go and -TE occur in combination, thus rendering the idea of a subjunctive:

na'a'ditsaxtəgo' I could not say, I cannot possibly say 288,1 gok'ita''ş sonətego' lonesome you might be, you can possibly be 298,3 aws'nətego' 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:

wek'ot'at'a' he zigzagged around 46,7
we'sosose'djin she was beautifully spotted 36,2(2)
ahe'hqgaga' they roamed about 168,151
gonqwe'we they were two by two 276,48
Pexpele'tcadjin they jumped over here and there 278,51
tcatca' yqdeya'bq 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:

wek'qwedede' they talked with them 104,45
we'fafa he whipped 10,30
k'ala' hqtc'wa'tc'wa na'nde k'ala' hqtnetne' something they heard and
then something they saw (again and again) 26,20

yucucu' it was shaking 250,3
wes'is'i'wela' they cut into pieces 40,31
we'papa he cut up (into pieces) 100,10
yyriti' they kept asking 208,1
wek'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 la:

yəfe'la· they kept going 76,3
wegwala' she was saying 102,21
yucucu'la· (pines) they were shaking 146,22
westəla· he was swimming 106,52
djik'a'weyala· they were going along 106,54
ya'okwela· he was singing 170,16
goyətne'la· he kept looking at 64,11

Sometimes the durative is expressed by $-g\varepsilon$:

ya'okwęge he was singing 106,55 $aog_i'ge$ she was coming 102,21 $wedj_i'ge$ as they were going

Habitual:

The habitual is expressed by the suffix $-n\varepsilon$ (cf. the nominalizing suffix § 25):

yzge'nedjin they used to say 24,10
gowane' weha'hane quilts they used to wear 24,17
wextale' yzdelane'dji he used to appear 28,23
ciącane'he'nz he'nl'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
hzdela'ne they used to want 264,31
hzhene' he would take a bath (from a description of an annual
tribal ceremony) 278,54
hek'one' he uses 280,12
honondzo'ane' he used to ask us 286,24
hzgene'dji'n they used to call (him) 292,37

§ 55. COMPARISON

Comparison in static verbs and adjectives is expressed by suffixes:

1) -ga, denotes "too", "very",:

nadehe'si se'ga not much too good 280,6 s'atsafaga' it is too hot 280,8 hicahiga' too hot 284,1 ts'a'sraga'djinfwa too shallow it had been 304,45 hənri'ega'hə he was too mean 320,12 nət'a'gadji'n we stopped entirely 338,5 yub'a'ga too high 334,119

2) -le, denotes "very", "quite", "fairly", "rather", and sometimes also the superlative:

hiki'le very fierce 182,12 b'axte'wec'ie'lewənş the poorest horse 126,76 tatcya'lə very hard 246,15 tapa'le very strong 22,9 axtele' (quite) enough 42,39

3) $-P\varepsilon''\varepsilon$, denotes the superlative:

ilępε''ę very big 246,16 tcaxpε''ę very strong 270,7 go'nt'ε hąwahapε''ę people they were very many 272,17 tsεc'oxpε''εdim I was very tired 288,7

§ 56. INTERROGATIVE SUFFIXES

In direct speech the interrogative form of the verb is expressed by the suffix -l_{\(\theta\)}:

hqtsa'lə does he sleep ?
hqnerne'lə do you see him ?
necri'lə do you dance ?
k'alacqta'lə do you want to eat (lit.: something you eat-want-interrog. suf.)
qdza'lə a'ndja 'a'a'djq 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):

nalε' hǫnετηε' don't you see him? nalε' hǫdjidji'n didn't he go?

The suffix -yi is used when the interrogative implies the future:

nąkila'yi how shall we escape? 14,10 wahε'ε nąla'yi what shall we do? wa'fa ąfε'yi where shall we go? wahε' lat'εną'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 $wah\varepsilon'$, 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: hi- which establishes the relation between the implied or mentioned "instrument" and the verb; e. g.:

yşl'i' hi'dok'ş knife I make with ya'hi'dok'ş stick I make (it) with dike'ha hi'dok'ş my teeth I do (it) with

Examples from the texts:

s'a'xdji hityubi' rq'ra hi'oxra' the earth all over light it was filled with 6,18

tse'co hiraha'ledə water moss I eat with only (spare my teeth) (rada I eat, cp. § 35) 154,44

cu'wonε' k'axτanε''ε hi'dok'? fish-pole I did it with 252,5

k'aso gek'a yup'ane' gęcine' hidinę' playing cards poor I became with 118,5

In the following cases hi- simply expresses the relation to the object:

 $na'k'alaka tne' \ hi'dop'a'$ nothing of that kind I was looking for 316,163

s'a dohqeç'dji nak'ala' hi'dok'i land that I had bought not a thing I got for 354,101

hoda'' $ts\varepsilon$ k'a'' ε hi'dip'adji'n wind rain together I was born from 104.46

(cp. the impersonal pronoun hi-, § 40).

hi- 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:

hidinə'cə I make signs hi'dica I steal hi'dipilah EI chase away hi'dipa I paint hi'dipaτε' I lock hi'difa I pound $hi'dirn\varepsilon$ I measure hi'dit' I hide something hidita''a I depend on hi'dityə I help $hi'ditc\varepsilon$ I lean against $hi'dis\varepsilon$ I possess hi'dixta I hold something hi'dix**T**? I supervise hi'dixto I go with $hi'dil'\varepsilon$ I wrap hi'dila I trace

hi'do'ə'nda I know hido'andale' I recognize, I know again hidoha' I wait for hidop'a' I expect, I look for hidorę' I mend, I patch hi'dof? I stop somebody hido'rna I try hidornəc ξ' I expect, I hope hidotyy' I forbid hi'dotwa I spit on hi'dosti I deceive, I cheat hi'dosta I spread out, I sprawl hidoki' I suspect hidok'?' I use hidolo' I singe

§ 58. LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Direction in the verb is expressed by prefixes¹ 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:

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, § 65.

(1) a-, $\kappa \varepsilon$, apparently synonymous, denote general static location: here, there:

nq'nq κε'ε' creek was lying there 22,10
κεπεhε'nεdji'n we used to stay there 26,19
κεπηξεdji'τηε that we went there 22,6
κετρ'ηεdji'n I used to be there 244,4
κεωε'hεπεdjiηνε'ης those that used to be there 248,7
κεωεhα'χdji where they live 316,12
κεχκε'ha (the houses) they were there 248,21
gρ'ητ'ε κεωε'ης people they were here 250,10
κετζ'dji I was here 417,6
kε' γρ'ρdji'η they were lying there 14,14

ahe'də aneha'djın there we lived 24,13 a'yəgadjı'n they got there 24,17 anəfene'djın we used to go there 246,13 anenə' we were there 246,19 na'aditadjı'n not there I wanted 246,19 a'xdjidjı'nfwa it happened to be there 286,17

Verbal compounds with a-:

a'dioxte I keep, I put there
adi'wi I come off
a'diwe I untie
a'dip? I take off
a'dip? I glance
a'dide I have been there
a'dit'awe' I deliver, I turn over
a'ditsa I say

a'dits'ε I think a'diga I get there, I reach a'do'ε I care a'dohε I reach a'doṣτε I stay there a'dogε I mean it, I call it adzε' I come

Verbal compounds with κε-:

κεdiya'bǫ I throw κεdi'wi I pass, I go by κε'dip'a I look over κε'difa I stand there κε'ditcya I jump $\kappa \varepsilon' digo \ I \ send \ (somebody)$ $\kappa \varepsilon' dotwa \ I \ spit$ $\kappa \varepsilon dos \tau \varepsilon n \gamma' \ I \ seatter$ $\kappa \varepsilon \tau \gamma' \ I \ am \ here$

(2) *ri*-, denotes "inside" (any hollow object):

tqmp'ahocdu' τi'hq'qdji'nfwa gourd shell in she had put (them) 86,41
yuτu'kwε = yuτi'wεkwε house she put in 38,6
τalaonq' τiyq'τε wolf she put in 38,6
axκε' caicri' τu'xdji (contraction of τiwe) there black snake was
in 100,10
yaxτi'dji ya'kab'a' τi'wεk'qla the fire hollow tree in he went with
46,10
dila'' τi'odzio'xτε block they put me in 36,4

Verbal compounds with ri-:

ridi'wi I enter, I go in ri'difa I wear, I am in ridit.hɛ̞' I pull

- (3) f'o-, denotes: "inside the earth" and "under the water":

 la'c'u f'owe' arrow they stuck into the ground 18,24

 f'o'o'k'?la he went into the water with 234,5

 f'ole'y?fe back under the water they went 234,8

 f'owe'ra (contracted to f'o'da) I dive
- (4) tca-, tcya-, denotes "into the water" and "in the water":

 tcahɛ' in the water 40,21

 tcya'ra I go into the water

 tcya'dokwɛ I throw into the water

 tcya'ditcya I wade in the water

 tcadji' it was in the water
- (5) ra-, denotes: "on", "on top of":

 s'ayub'a' ra'wsla' hill on top of she went 38,16
 k'ala' s'axraofa'on; things that are standing on earth 6,18
 na't's s'axralshs'n; not one (that) should be on the ground 10,30
 rahs'; they put on 258,40

b'axte' wextany'dji horse we were sitting on 278,1 yuda'c'i ta'sefa door she stood at 318,4

Verbal compounds with ra-:

τadiwετε' I complainτa'ditca I step onτa'difa I get onτa'dil'ρκε I push on

(6) po-, denotes: "under":

p'o'a'k'antcofε (when they dance) take them in there with 88,43
tci'canε tca'la p'o'xdjidji'nfwa a red rat happened to be under
there 106,56
nεhi'τaba' p'o'wε'γ' your wings under put us 260,4
ya'ha p'o'wεdadji'n into the woods I went 318,169

(7) kya-, denotes: through any object or through a distance:

kia'wɛla'i'xτε he could shoot through 160,93
kyalε'dica just little over I reached 20,6
k'ala' kya'wɛdacɛ'ha things that I have gone through 286,26
kya'hɛladɛ'ɛ̞go' longer time it may have been 262,15
na'hoda' kya'tcaτε haẋκε'hə̞la 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) ta-, denotes: "out" of any object:

hoda' la'tca wind jumped put 88,44

yufa' yəcτə'la'wɛla the house she shut, out she went 38,7

ca'onə la'wɛtcaha'lɛ the snake as soon as she came out 100,10

tsia'hɛndɛ lao'wi when it was dry he went out 46,10

τi'sτα κε'dji αχκε'polawɛ'wi flat rock was there, under there out she (would) come 160,91

αχκε'lahotcia' there she jumped out 164,117

Verbal compounds with ta-:

lahek'ə'nda I take it out la'dip'a I peep out la'ditca I jump out la'dokwɛ I pour out

(9) $P\varepsilon$ -, denotes: "above" or "over" any object:

Pewedjih?' she was up there 38,21
Pewe'djidji'nfwa she had been up there 40,23
s'a'daga rala' Pele'wek'?' four mountains over they ran 36,4

Verbal compounds with Pe:

Pεwε'da I go up Pε'don I conquer, I overcome

(10) yu-, denotes "up in the air":

k'ala yu.qwe'nq things that fly yu're he flew yula'oredji'n he flew around yub'a'ogq she came up

Verbal compounds with yu-:

yuwe'ra I grow yuwe'ladica I grow (trans.), I make grow yub'a'dokwe I lift, I raise something yup'ap'ale'ditca I jump up and down yudi're I fly yu'dica I hurt somebody

(11) ya-, denotes "across", "to the other side":

τa'pi nọnọ yọgε' ya'nọla salt-creek they call across he went 288,7
nọnọ'ε' ya'nọfε across the creek we went 294,14
k'ala' họ'a yahɛ'họk'ṇḍjidji'n something he carried, across he was taking 270,9

§ 59. NEGATION

The verbal complex is rendered negative by prefixing na- or ha- which are synonymous and freely interchangeable (see phonology, § 10; also § 28).

Examples:

na'ditadjın not I wanted 254,16
'yapil'o'xdji hahirawεp'a'τε the wagon they could not pull up with
(ha- negative, hi- instrumental, τa- locative, wε- pronoun,
p'a stem, -τε suffix, denoting ability)
ha'wεgoτπεsε''ε they were not many 248,11
na'hoyuτnda he did not know 110,20

In some cases na- occurs as a proclitic, preceding the first element of the sentence which it thus renders negative:

na'tcyago'la gç\mpadi'nε gelals'τεha'ţ'lə not into the water to go fingerring could have been found (by going into the water the fingerring could not have been found) 120,27

nayə'wə wetadji'n not they give they wanted (not they wanted to give) 116,26

nateya'diteya ditadji'n not into the water I jump I wanted (I did not want to jump into the water) 262,21

 $na'dzet' \varepsilon' h ggo' Th\varepsilon$ not my father he lives (my father does not live) 316,167

nadεhε'si hγyuτηda' not much they know 264,30

nasəhə'də anəla'ndji gə'nt'e a'hənədzogwadji'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

-lah?' therefore, and so

-ya'hq therefore, and so (after negation)

 $-d\varepsilon$ and, also

 $-l\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon$ only and then

-la but

-lahy', denotes the illative :"therefore", "and so",:

Kenefa'laha you are standing here and so.... 134,16 $y_{\tilde{i}}g\varepsilon'lah_{\tilde{i}}y_{\tilde{i}}wag\varepsilon'$ he told (her) and so she hunted 42,38

yəge'lahə cugek'ə'wenə rao'wi they said and so the fish with sharp teeth ran against him 106,53

 $k'ala'k'al_{\xi}K\iota'Tn\varepsilon$ $kya'w\varepsilon dac_{\xi}'ha$ $diyagwa'lah_{\xi}'$ k'ala' $n \ni x \, K\varepsilon' \varepsilon' ha$ di'yagwa things whatever kind that I have gone through I told; therefore things these kinds I am telling 286,26

na'diyagwa' kewi'lahə' di''yagwa (things) I did not tell, (I) left out and so I am telling them (now) 352,75

wεkwε\lahq' f'ε\wela'dji they sent (him) and so down into the water he went 4,7

wexti'e' yo'ane'laho' wexti'e' weyugwadji'n (for) his name he asked and so his name he told 156,57

gocrinsha' hoyurnda' şlahş' gok'a'da hşcri'djin the dances he knew, therefore he was with them, he danced 278,54

-ya'hq, denotes the illative "therefore", "and so" after a negative sentence:

> 'yaxrica'leha'de na'gorneya'hə ya'xri Pa'legoge'ne raPa'ledjin matches also did not exist, therefore fire to make burn was very hard 258,38

> na't'ε a'honz'ndzo'εya'hə nə'z'ntaha' nεk'ə' no-one took care of us

and so our hands we used..... 320,5

nadzεt'ε' hǫgo'τηε ya'hǫ na''adita' hε'həndəgwadjı'n my father does not live, therefore not there I want (to go) I said to him 316,167 nahidə'ə'ndaya'hǫ q'wǫhεηǫ'lə sεl'εtcinε' hǫdio'k'onεdjı'n (prayers) I did not know and therefore others only prayers they made for themselves 264,29

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

κα' χκαwε'ης ha'wegoτηεεε' ε dji' yah? the white people they were not very many at that time 248,11

na'fa k'ala' hqgwadjiya'hq (he may have been glad) never a thing he said 302,29

ca'nγης'ε' yufa' nayukş'lə holaya'hş the snake-creek the house not far from it was 435,7

nago'nt'ele' hqk'a'hateya'hq no other person could take care of him 336,135

- $d\varepsilon$, occurs as a copulative of words: "and", "also":

 $tala' \ gon'' \ ts$ 'ent'a' $d\varepsilon \ gonodji'n \ wolf \ was here, terrapin also (and terrapin) was here <math>36,1(1)$

 $yon\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon$ and the fawn 36,1(2)

yρ'yαχκα'dji'dε her dress also 296,34

k'asoso'a' $dji'd\varepsilon$ the bible also 328,64

 $yaka'\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ the war-stick also 162,104

 $ts\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ vou also 96,13

 $-l\varepsilon'nd\vartheta$, is a contraction of the conjunctions $-l\varepsilon = \text{only}$, and $h\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon = \text{and}$ then (see independent particles):

s'ao'wihele'nda when he falls only then.... 144,5

agehe'lendə (the appointed day) when it reached only then...

we'q'helenda (the big logs) when they put only then.... 344,7

-la, denotes the disjunctive conjunction "but":

yudjiha' 'honγ cτa'ha s'a' ҳτahγfadjigo'la dҳτεhε'lɛhγfa the Yuchi first he may have been standing on earth but he was backward 164,122

got'enç'ha nalat'e'ga ra'tcia həladjigo'la went'enç' ra'tcia həlanedji' həgwadjı'n the man not too much hard they may have treated but the woman hard that they used to treat they said 178,52

hohəndjigo'la (many people) it may have taken but (it did not take us) 248,14

sę'le kərnç'ladjigo'la something good they may have done but (at that time I did not think so) 254,17a

axκε'τησdjigo'la it may have been that way but (I did not know) 290,19

-la occurs often combined with one of the subordinative enclitics -fa and -dji (see § 62 b); e. g.:

hi'le we`xtsafa'la wa`hanq'nq na`wextsa'de all they slept but the old woman she could not sleep 14,7

na.oyu'rndqfa'la wɛkwɛ̯\lahə' (whether he could get there) he did not know but they sent him 4,8

Keneha'fa'la na'senędzio'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

wa'rnene'weng we'k'awene' k'a't'ewengdji'la yacele' the women sisters many they were but he killed (them) 116,21

na'fa weditnedji'la never I had seen her but (that time I saw her) 288,14

dotc'wane'dji'la I had heard about it but..... 308,87

yudinə'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)	$na-\ldots -l\varepsilon$	before
-ya -fa'la -'nε'ha	if	-dodarepsilon	after
-' $n\varepsilon'ha$	J	-djilarepsilon'	everytime when
-T?	while	-to	whether
-Τ? -Τε		-ha'harepsilon	where
$-h\varepsilon$	when		

The copulative conjunction "if" is expressed by three enclities: -ya, -fala and -ne'ha which are synonymous:

-ya:

 $na'\kappa\epsilon'\epsilon ca'ya$ $n\epsilon ha'\epsilon''wi'$ if you do not do so your life will be lost 122,31

gowetso'we'nə Kexkeweha''şya the intermarried ones if there were (any) 180,8

tsotifa' nahəkia''aya' the medicine if they do not take care of (it would overcome them) 182,11

ale'negaya na'fa gok'a'ҳτǫnǫ na'ţ'lə gonek'aҳτǫ'ya depole' nenǫ' if (when) you get home never marry but if you marry again you will die 54,22

alek'ə'ntsəya if I come back with (dirty water will come to the surface) 4,7

 $k^{2}at_{\xi}'n_{\xi} s'ayab'a''_{\xi}ya$ whoever was a warrior = whatever person if he was a warrior 148,7

Kədjifa'ya (something) if going on (they would get there) 284,7 agat'ɛ' nɛli'ya one day if it comes (the end would be there for us) 284,11

s'a'' $\xi la'd\varepsilon'\xi ya$ if he lies down (the pole-carriers would punch him) 278,52

-fa'la:

 $k'al\xi'h\varepsilon$ go'nt' ε a'od ε fa'la wherever person if he comes (they would call for him) 180,10

h v k' a' x T v k' v f a' l a' his wife if (he) had (he was not allowed to sleep with) 56,31

tse'ha gop'efa'la water if one drinks (it is very salty) 250,22

$-n\varepsilon'ha$:

yu'ahε' k'q'ləhqfε''nεha' big house when (if) they gathered 178,2 wε'yqwε'nq hqtwa''nεha' the deer if he killed (only the hide he took off) 52,4

la hərawi'neha' bullet if he was hit by (strong things were forbidden for him) 54,28

sęρε''ę'nεha if very good 152,35

gɔ'nt'ɛnə' həwa'do'nɛha' person if he dies (they bathe him) 174,32 ra'lɛga' goxri't'ɛ̞'nɛha' too hard if one pulls (deeper they go into the ground) 62,7

pado'neha' if it (was) dark (they were afraid) 26,19

həndik'ada'nərneha' if I would stay with him (he would buy red boots for me) 256,24

hi'lerneha' if all (gone) 258,37

k'ala' gɔ'nt'ε s'at'a'wε'nεha' something person if he drops (the polecarriers would take it) 278,53

nεxκε' yoxdji'nεha' here if you stay (would you not run off?) 302,28

The copulative conjunction "while" or "as" is expressed by the synonymous enclitics $-\tau_2$ and τ_{ε} :

-T2:

raofa'r? ya'xdju wefa'e' wekil?' while he was standing on the branch that he hit he missed it 256,34

κεfa'τη yub'a'fa goha'τοπε' a'hągwa' while standing there high above the life-ruler he said 268,29

ahε'nεης'τς κα' χκα aoga' while we were there a white man he came there 312,134

Keweha'T? tse' ciga tsexTawi' while they were there dirty water came to the surface 4,9

- $T\varepsilon$; - $d\varepsilon$:

κεdji'dε while (he was) sitting there (he thought) 88,52
wεdji'dε while they were going (one of them grew tired) 102,20
gok'?ρε'dε wεdabalε' while they were going with he grew strong 54,21
ahε'hεndji'dε tso'κα hit'εt'ε'lə s'a'h?'ε' as they were going grass one
by one they put down 168,147

gok'ęha'də 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?k'?'fεhε when they went with her 22,8 aoga'hε when he got there 62,8 y?'tc'wahε when they heard 66,19 nɛndjihɛ' when we went 262,20 diky?w?'hε when I think 284,11 pa'dohε when (it was) night 290,23

In a few cases $-l\varepsilon$ takes the meaning of "when"; e. g.:

hi'tne Kewera'lə le'fa 'yuhe'fa na'ditnedji'n when I first went I had not seen that house 254,9

Kenş'lə when he was here (yet) 246,23

The conjunction "before" is expressed by the prefix na- (ha-) and the enclitic $-l\varepsilon^{-1}$:

The literal meaning is perhaps not yet;

has' $\xi s \xi n \varrho la' l \varepsilon$ before we went to the clean ground 276,45 ha'h $\varrho y u \kappa \xi' l \vartheta$ before he told 322,15 na'h $\varrho y u \tau n da' l \varepsilon$ before he knew 262,23 naw $\varepsilon' y a l \varepsilon l \varepsilon'$ before he hit 40,28 hak'ala'h $\varrho l a' l \varepsilon$ before they eat 176,46 na $\varrho \kappa \varepsilon \varepsilon' w \varepsilon d a' l \vartheta$ before I go further 290,35

The conjunction "after" is expressed by the enclitic $-dod\varepsilon'$ or $-dod\varepsilon h\varepsilon'$ after, when:

hohole'dode'djinfwa after she had caught them 86,41
nocridode' notsane' after we dance we sleep 14,12
s'a' xdji k'a'adode'he the earth after it was made 6,13
henl'i'dode after they had scratched him 148,6
hi'le κε'τπεdodehe' all after it was done that way 152,33
weκε'ha yo'mbadode' his teeth after they filed 154,44
wela'dode'he after he had gone 162,109
wewaha'le κεwidode'he after many summers had passed 22,7
gocτup'o' κεwidode'he small pox after it had passed 248,18
goatsane' k'o'honolode' trial after it had been made 252,14
k'ala'ταdode'he after I had eaten 254,11
le'dji κεwidode'he that after it had passed 262,10
gowe'done κε''εdode'he talk after he had made 272,20

In some cases $-dod\varepsilon'$ takes the meaning of "already":

 $n\epsilon h\epsilon' lidod\epsilon'$ (what has been forecasted) it has already come 286,12 $di'ya'gwadod\epsilon h\gamma'$ I have already told 300,16

The conjunction "everytime", "everytime when" is expressed by the enclitic $-dji'l\varepsilon$:

na'gotne həgwadji'le there is none everytime she said 42,38
yəs'endji'le everytime they bite (the meat said "I suck") 102,17
yub'a'oxwetite'dji'le everytime they pull her up 102,34
Kecta'ladji'le every once in a while 106,58
Kehenodji'le when they were here (yet) 178,1
yəfedji'le everytime they go 12,2
s'axtale' wekədji'le everytime they come to the surface 152,30
nəfene'dji'le everytime we used to go 262,15
ahəgadji'lə everytime they came 274,31
agadji'lə everytime it comes 336,129
tasele' wep'adji'le one side everytime she chopped 18,27

Sometimes $-dji'l\varepsilon$ means "but" and "while":

na'koh?t'ha' $h?gwadji'l\varepsilon$ koh?'t'ha not he (should) open she had said but he opened $88{,}49$

nagolanε' hǫgwa'εdji'lε not to eat they said but (they are very good to eat) 112,43

wε'ya'gwadji'lε she told but (it was not so) 306,64 k'a'sogqτanε'hε do'xdjidji'lε while I stayed at school 328,64 p'a'l'ε goxdjidji'lε while he was chief 250,6

Suffixed to a numeral $-dji'l\varepsilon$ means "at that time":

wε'i'ct'ε'a't'ε i'ct'εbifa' k'o' x τala'dju i'cτuxτa'wi dji'lε summer one thousand eight hundred eighty one at that time 20,2

The conjunction "whether" is expressed by the enclitic -to:

a'weyogwadjit'o' whether you told him 62,17
hqwone'to whether he used to fish 280,10
hqk'onet'o' whether he uses 280,12
k'alq'he ano'qto' wherever whether we have been (if he said) 286,24
nas'a'nt.heret'o' would you not run off? 302,28
Kele' wedzek'qlatq'dji back that they might go with me... 308,84
hqditnene'to whether I had seen him (she asked) 322,24
ahe'ditarento' whether I would want to go (he asked) 334,120
di'yagwa' lade'q'tet'o' whether I would tell (they thought) 350,66

The conjunction "where" is expressed by $-ha'h\varepsilon$:

'yu'a'djiha'hε where the town is (it was close by) 330,86 yuhε' afa'cεha'hε the house where it had stood 128,97 adit'a'djiha'hε (it may have been eight or nine miles to) where I wanted to go 254,19

aha't'ahahe' where they were to bury him (they took him there) 316,155

Probably $-hah\varepsilon$ is a compound of the enclitic -ha (see § 62 b) and $-h\varepsilon = \text{locative suffix}$, (see § 29).

(b) Subordination of a clause to a word, and of one verb to another verb:

List of enclitics:

 $-c\varepsilon$ -dji -ha -ha

animate classifiers:

- $n\varrho$, - $w\partial n\varrho$, $h\varepsilon'n\varrho$, $w\varepsilon'n\varrho$ etc.

- $c\xi$, 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: -fa, -c, -di, -di, -di, etc.:

k'ala' wegwacę'ha things that he had said 44,20
ya' Pęhąwelacę'hąną he who had climbed the tree 108,11
yuhe' afa'cęha'he the house where it had stood 128,97
κε'hąfεςę''ε (the way) that they had gone. In this case the antecedent "the way" to which cε''ε refers is only implied 168,145
k'alę' fa hąfεςę' dji whichever way that they had gone 168,148
di'xdji αχκε' djicę'hαχκε αχκεlε' djidji'n the rock where it had been (before) right there again it was 142,9

k'alş'kəcra''ş ado'xdjice'ndji how long it was that I stayed 250,1
Time Bernett-cş'honş the one who was Time Barnett 256,26
k'alşla' la'lɛ diwicş'dji which way out again that I went 258,45
k'ala' wɛ'wɛ'dɛcş'dji something that he talked about 260,2
go'p'a hɛ'wɛdɛcş'dji na'hidə'ɔ'nda Creek (language) that he talked
I do not know 262,11

k'ala' $h q y u T n \sigma c \epsilon' d j i$ something that they believed in 264,30 goh q' $T \sigma n \epsilon' h \epsilon s$ ' $a' n \epsilon h \epsilon q^m p' a c \epsilon' d j i$ life-ruler his son that was born; (-d j i) in this case is exceptional; the regular form should be $-w \epsilon' n \epsilon$ 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 $-c_{\xi}$, simply by suffixing the classifying elements to the verbal complex.

Examples:

(α) Inanimate classifiers:

-fa:

axki''ş həlafadjı'n that way it was what they did 272,23 axkəla' he'nəfadjı'n it was like this that they were 274,28

-°ε:

hənde'k'iha' welane'e their tracks those they traced 160,81 i'ct' & ketsq'ce'e the road that I had come 254,8 ya'xdju wefa'e' the branch that he hit 256,34

-dji:

 $k'alahit'\epsilon'd\vartheta di`ky\chiw\lambda li'dji$ one thing also that I remember 22,6 titsia'so $axk\epsilon'djidjinfwa$ money that had been there 28,24 $axk\epsilon'\cite{r}$ evel a'ndji that way that they (would) do 104,41 evel a' evel a'

-ha: (plural suffix):

gɔ'nt'ɛ wɛdɛ'k'i hətnɛha' person his tracks that they saw 144,3
k'ala' k'alɛ\'wɛladjı'nha things whichever she had done 100,9
goxdju'b'ada hək'ə'tɛha mischief that they can make 180,4
rigofa'nɛha djɪnfa'la rihɛ hɛnɛdjı'nha clothes even that they used
to wear 182,19

golane' h?k'?'ha food that they make 174,33 k'ala' wegwaha' things that he said 44,19 ya'c'a h?'aha' leaves that they carried 274,37 k'a'so ditneha' books that I study 334,119 gocti'ne h?cti'djuha' dances that they danced 276,51 g?c'ięc'ię' tsya''ęha' 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: $gqc'i\epsilon c'i\epsilon tsyaha'$ dry rags.

(β) Animate classifiers:

gɔ'nt'ɛ ra'wəhəra djihɛ'nə persons whom they appointed 136,26 wɛya'linɛ na'fa hɛ'gɛhəhahɛ'nə young girl who had never been away 56,30

lehe'nə rahafa'le həyu'hahəladjı'nhenəle' those who had watched before (again they appointed) 134,13 k'ala' yu'əwe'nə things (beings) that fly 2,2 rə'ra welawe'nə light those who make 6,13

k'ala' s'axraofa'wɛ'nq beings that are standing on the earth 6,18 wi'hikiki' yo'ndɛtawɛ'nq fierce those who wanted to be 150,24

The suffix -dji also expresses the object relation of one verb to another verb. It is suffixed to the dependent verb:

s'a'ok'alawş'dji tso'bila wek'a'.şdji'n to run a race straight they agreed 36,3(1)

na'ı'le ya'xτafale'də axκε''ε wela'ndji weyu'rndadji'n, k'ale'nrne wsta'ndji sąle'de wsk'a' yux rą rą'dji'n but beforehand that way that they would do they knew, whatever to do right away they told each other 104,41

ahe'ndə aga'e'də ke'e' pado'e'də ke'e'ndji hi'le wek'a'hornegadji'n and then the day also to lie there, the night also to lie there all

they agreed 8,24

aga'e' pado'e' k'aret'eno'dji hi'le wek'a'hornegadji'n the day the night separate to be all they agreed 8,25

Padohe' k'ala''k'one'dji wegodji'n when night something to work he told him 120,25

goyu'dodji hə'gwa to reach for her, they said 102,29

na'go'yaga hək'ə' Kehehadji' hək'ə'wede' not they commit adultery. that way to be they talked to them 180,6

wedi'lə yuru'k'ədji tso'tiha yək'əne' wegwadji'n he only he would be in the house with 48,16

k'alş'rne həla' hekila'ndji na'həyu'rndadji'n what he (should) do to escape he did not know 108,11

wetwa'ndji cece'yeladji'n to kill (her) he got ready 118,42

naκε'də tca'le həwelq'dji aga', κε'hə'edji'n and now back into the water for him to go it came he was lying there 68,19

In a few cases -ha seems to take the same meaning:

həndzek'şfe'ha a'hşgafadjı'n to take me with them they had come there 316,164

s'a'gototeha' axketq'tnə yəndyonq' 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'oxpaledji'n it filled up again 18,27

yufa' yəcrəlediin the room she closed again 116,17

neso'gwalen?' to tell you again 136,31

we'ToTale'nedji'n hogwadji'n they she used to light up again, they said 150.19

hidə əndale he when I knew again (when I came back to consciousness) 330,91

$-l\varepsilon$, denotes "only" being homonymous with $-l\varepsilon = again$:

yətcwadji'le his hide only 52,4 $yaxkal\varepsilon'$ white only 56,30 $cyqcan\varepsilon'l\varepsilon$ boys only 100,1 $hit'\varepsilon'l\vartheta$ 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 $-h\varepsilon$, $-l\varepsilon$, $-\kappa\varepsilon$, and -fa (see § 29). Thus the general locative prefix a- becomes:

 $ah\varepsilon'$ here $ax\kappa\varepsilon'$ there, yonder afa' back to (here) afa' towards

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

there	$\kappa \varepsilon h \varepsilon'$	$\kappa arepsilon l arepsilon'$		κεfa'
across	$yah\epsilon'$	$yal\epsilon'$		yafa'
above	$yuh\epsilon'$		$yux\kappa \varepsilon'$	yuta'
in	Tih arepsilon'	Tilarepsilon'	TixKe'	Tifa'
through		$kyal\epsilon'$		kyafa'
over	pehe'	Pele'		

Examples:

antsole' rihe' a'newşlen?' your home inside you will wake up 88,42 yudi'le h?wi' house into he went 164,116

k'ala' hγ''a 'yahε' hγk'γ'djidji'n something he carried that he was taking across (a river) 270,9

tsε'aya'fa k'ala' wi'hikikiwε'nγ awε'nγ big water across (towards the other side) fierce beings they were there 162,100

 $yu'x\kappa\varepsilon \kappa\varepsilon''idji h\varepsilon'hqgwa$ up yonder they are going there she said 86,40

k'aka'' ε αχκε' yɔ'nt'a in the middle there she put 38,6

 $tse\ pehe'$ above the water 38,21

 $\kappa \varepsilon l \varepsilon' n \gamma k' \gamma j \varepsilon' n d j \iota' n$ 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:

 $ada'l\varepsilon$ all arounddjik'a' along $axk\varepsilon'la$ here $dja'\kappa a$ through (during) $axp\varepsilon l\varepsilon'$ any way, to all sides $\tau\varepsilon ca'$ near $ag\varepsilon h\varepsilon'$ from $\tau ah\varepsilon' \cdot \varepsilon$ farther $yax\tau ah\varepsilon'$ in front of, ahead $\tau api'$ on

yuha' high up
yub'a' upward
yuki'lə far (also temporal: long
time)
yula around
hityi' on, it is on
hila' towards
he'gefa away
hagye' away from
bili' around
dane' off
direle' backward

rasε' across (the earth)
ralε''ε in sight
ra'wε right there (right then)
rε'le at the same place
s'εdi' down
κεττα''ε far
k'aταωε'ε between
k'a'bi straight towards
k'at'ε' between
k'akahε' in the middle
lε'kyε 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 -fa:

yub'ahe' upward yub'ale' from above yub'afa' upward towards recafa' near towards Tasehe' across at Tasefa' across towards k'ak'ale' along in the middle

§ 66. TEMPORAL PARTICLES

icu''ş later i'ka long time endjubi' all day $\varepsilon' n l \varepsilon$ during day $\xi l \varepsilon' dji$ at day time $ab \xi' dji \text{ now}$ abε'κί''ε just now $a\chi\kappa\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ right then $ax\kappa \epsilon c \tau a l \epsilon'$ at that time $yaxrafa'l\varepsilon$ before that yuk?' a long time $hitoh\varepsilon'$ later on, afterwards $hitoh\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon$ afterwards and then $hi'tn\varepsilon$ first, at present $hitn\varepsilon'nd\varepsilon$ just now ha'fa sometimes

 $hafal\varepsilon'$ seldom $hafal\epsilon'nd\epsilon$ seldom and then haxke' at that time ha' xκεcτa since $hal\varepsilon'd\varepsilon$ right then $d\epsilon pol\epsilon'$ again $rafa'l\varepsilon$ before ts'its'i'& often ts'its' ℓ 'ga too often ts'ala' suddenly $sah \gamma' t^* \varepsilon$ once $s h \phi' d \varepsilon$ all the time $s_{\ell} l \varepsilon' d \varepsilon$ right away $crahafa'l\varepsilon$ long before $\kappa \varepsilon' d\theta$ now $k \varepsilon k \varepsilon l \varepsilon'$ often

§ 67. CONJUNCTIVES AND DISJUNCTIVES

i'le but
ahe'nde and then
andesq' and also
ya.i' also
wahe'rne why
he'nde and then
djinfa'la also
na and
na'i'le however, but (in the beginning of a sentence)

na'şya'nde or else
nahş' and so
na'nde and then
rahe''ş further
k'alarnela' for what reason
k'alşhe'de wherever
k'alenş' whoever
k'ale'nrne whatever
k'alş'ke whatever

Examples:

nq' gocTine' a'gahe and to dance when it came = and when it was time to dance 88,47

 $na'nd\varepsilon$ pado'ndji $gol'on\varepsilon'$ a'yqgwa and then at night the devil he said...124,56

na'i'l nak'ala' axkstns' but not a thing it was like that 306,61 ... i'l wsta' dit'a' ... but I go I wanted = ... but I wanted to go 306,76

wa'nɛnɛhɛ'nə ya.i' həcri' the women also they dance 278,58 go'p'a na''ɛya'nde $\kappa a'x\kappa a$ Creek or else Whites 342,28

gotcala' t'ele'wenş djınfa'la hşk'a'hş red people others also they fight with 158,77

 $k^{3}al\epsilon'n\gamma yah\epsilon'ntc.h\epsilon$ whoever tree if he leans against.... 278,52

§ 68. INDEPENDENT ADVERBIALS

 $a \tau i' l a$ enough $a \chi \tau \varepsilon'$ enough

τεsi' almost ταχκε' in vain

§§ 70--72

§ 70. LIST OF PERSONAL AND

		Subject. first series	Subject. second series	Indep. series Emphat.	Direct Object. first	Direct Object. second	Indir. Object. series
(1.	di-	do-	di	-tsε-	$egin{array}{c} ts arepsilon \ dz io \end{array}$	aso
	2.	$n\varepsilon$ -	yo-	$ts\varepsilon$	$-n \varepsilon n dz \varepsilon$ -	$n \varepsilon n dz \varepsilon$ $n \varepsilon n dz io$	80
Sing.	3. {	hą-	hą-	$h_{Q}di$	h q - h q di -	$egin{array}{c} h_{Q} \ h_{Q} di \end{array}$	$h_{\tilde{Q}}$
		se-	sio-	$s \epsilon d i$	$sarepsilon \ sarepsilon di$	$sarepsilon \ sarepsilon di$	s ' ϵ , s ' ϵdi
		ε'ε-	s'io-	s ' ϵdi	s ' ϵ s ' ϵdi	s'ε s'εdi	$s\varepsilon, s\varepsilon di$ etc.
		ε-	εy 2-	arepsilon di	$rac{arepsilon}{arepsilon di}$	arepsilon arepsilon arepsilon di	
		0-	0-	odi	$o \ odi$	$o \ odi$	
		i-		_	i	_	
		wε-	<i>y</i> ?-	$w \varepsilon di$	warepsilon wedi	$w = w \in di$	$w_{arepsilon}, w_{arepsilon}di$
		hi-	ho-				
$\operatorname{Plur.}\left\{\right.$	1.in.	2-	?-	qdi	$w arepsilon \ n d z arepsilon$	$w arepsilon \ ndz io$	$w\varepsilon$, $ontso$
	1.ex.	ną-	n _Q -	n q di	$w arepsilon \\ n arphi d z arepsilon$	$w\varepsilon \\ n n dz io$	we nontso
	2.	q- (a-)	ayo-	$adz\epsilon$	$andz\epsilon$	andze $andzio$	aso

axke'e that way
axke'e'nde anyhow
axte'le normally, usually
axkile'e the same way
axki'la in that manner
hi'le all
Pe''e very
Pece' more
dodehe' already

ts'i' \(\varepsilon \) almost
'n\(\varepsilon ga'l\varepsilon \) indeed, truly
si almost
safi'l\(\varepsilon \) quietly
gu'iyo maybe
kya'ga fluently
lad\(\varepsilon '\varepsilon' \) possibly
l'a'l\(\varepsilon \) easily, quietly

§ 69. EXCLAMATORY PARTICLES

aba' now!
adju' that's it!
axke''eha well then!
axke'le that's all
yi'?' alas!
hi'h? alas!
hona'' no!

h? yes!
dja oh my!
goho'go oh pshaw!
Keh?' now!
Ko oh!
lɛ yes, all right!
la'ya' well then!

APPENDIX

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

							
reflex. with first	reflex. with second	1. subject. with Instr.	2. subj. with Instr.	1. Poss.	2. Poss.	3. Poss.	4. Poss.
tsarepsilon di	tsedo	hidi	hido	di-	tso-	tsio-	tse-
n endz ϵ n ϵ	$n \varepsilon n dz \varepsilon y o$	$h \varepsilon n \varepsilon$	hiyo	<u>nε-</u>	80-	nendzio	$nsndz\epsilon$ -
$h q d \varepsilon$	həndio	$h_{ ilde{arepsilon}}$	hąyu	<i>h</i> 2-	<i>h</i> 2-	h2	h2
siod arepsilon	siodio	8E	seyu	<i>8E-</i>	sio-	sio-	<u>εε-</u>
s ' $iod \varepsilon$	s'iodio_	ε'ε	s'eyu	8'ε-	s'io-	s'io-	ε'ε-
eyide	εyəndio	ε	$\varepsilon y u$	ε	εy ?-	$\frac{\varepsilon y_{i}}{\varepsilon}$	ε
$od\varepsilon$	odio	0	oyu	0-	0-	0-	0-
		i	iyu	<u>i-</u>			<i>i</i> -
$y q d \varepsilon$	yəndio	$w \varepsilon$	$w \varepsilon y u$	$w\varepsilon$ -	y -	<i>y</i> 2-	wε-
_		_		hi-	ho-		
$ndz \varepsilon. \gamma'$	$ndz \varepsilon. z'$	Ę	ąyu	5-	əndzo	andzio-	$\frac{ndz\varepsilon}{}$
$\frac{n \textit{ond} z \textit{e} n \textit{q'}}{}$	n ondz ϵ n γ'	n arepsilon	nąyu	n2-	$n \circ n dz o$	nondzio-	n ondz ϵ
$andz \varepsilon. q'$	$and z \varepsilon. a' y o$	Ę	a'yo	q-	aso-	andzio-	$andz\epsilon$

§ 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 § 57
- go- 1) Indefinite personal pronoun, see § 34
 - 2) Contraction of $\kappa \varepsilon + w \varepsilon$, see § 3.

2. Suffixes and enclitics:

- -n? 1) Demonstrative and interrogative suffix $(n\varepsilon'n)$, $l\varepsilon'n$, wa'n? etc., see §§ 41, 42
 - 2) Imperative suffix, see § 53
 - 3) Verbal stem, "to become"
- $-n\varepsilon$ 1) Nominalizing suffix, see § 25
 - 2) habitual, see § 54
- -lε 1) Verbal interrogative suffix, see § 56
 - 2) adverbial "only", see § 63
 - 3) adverbial "again", see § 63
 - 4) conjunctive "when", see § 62
- -τε 1) modal suffix, denoting "ability", see § 53
 - 2) conjunctive "while", see § 62
 - 3) conjunctive "also", see § 61, $(d\varepsilon)$
- -fa'la 1) conjunctive "but", see § 61
 - 2) conjunctive "if", see § 62
- -fa, $-i\varepsilon$, -dji, -ha, $-h\varepsilon'n\gamma$, $-w\varepsilon'n\gamma$, etc. occur both as nominal classifiers and as relative pronouns by establishing the relation of the verb to the antecedent. -dji also expresses the object relation of one verb to another verb.

§ 72. TEXT

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

(Told by Maxey Simms)

1. $hi' \tau n \vartheta(1)$ $c \tau a ha' \cdot \varepsilon n d j i(2)$ n a k' a l a'(3) $g o' \tau n \vartheta(4)$ First (in) the beginning it was not a thing exist(ed) $t s \varepsilon' \varepsilon' l \vartheta(5)$ $\kappa \varepsilon' \varepsilon' (6)$ k' a l a'(3) $t' \varepsilon l \varepsilon' w \varepsilon n \vartheta' l \vartheta(7)$ $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon' n \vartheta d j u n (8)$

the water only lying there—something—other ones only—they were here $hax_{\kappa\varepsilon\tau n\varepsilon'}(9)$ $goha'hansh\varepsilon'nq(10)$ $hqua'gonsdj\iota'n.(11)$ in this way—the older ones—they used to tell.

2. k'ala' $yu.2w\varepsilon'n2$ (12) $\kappa\varepsilon w\varepsilon'n2$ (8) tsoon2'nd2 (13) go'xdji (14) Things that fly they (were) here the sun also was here $\kappa'al_{\xi}\kappa\varepsilon'.\xi gola(15)$ s'a' $g\varepsilon la\, \tau\varepsilon'ndji(16)$ $w\varepsilon k'aw\varepsilon'd\varepsilon(17)$ whatever to do earth to be able to find they talk with each other $\kappa \epsilon w \epsilon' hadji(18)$ $h \varrho g \epsilon n e dj \iota' n. (19)$ 3. $t soon \varrho'(13)$ $k^* a l a'(3)$ they were here they used to say. The sun something $w\varepsilon'x \tau q \tau q (20)$ $\kappa \varepsilon w\varepsilon' had j \iota' n. (18)$ 4. k'ala'(3)f'o'a'she dictated they were here. Something that belongs into $odon \ 2(21)$ s'a' $h \ 2wag \ e'n \ 2(2)$ $w \ e \ Tod \ ji'n \ 2(3)$ $cag \ e \ 2(24)$ the water earth to hunt for they asked the beaver gok'eno'la (26) na'. $\varepsilon w \varepsilon la \, T \varepsilon dj \iota 'n$. (27) $w \varepsilon y u \operatorname{rnac} \varepsilon' (25)$ they expected he could they were with him but not he could do. 5. $ah\varepsilon'nd\vartheta(28)$ cutan $\varepsilon'(29)$ ya'i' weyu' $\tau n\vartheta c\varepsilon'(25)$ lon $\varrho'd\vartheta(30)$ fishotter also they expected he could that one also na' rneweta' radji'n. (31) 6. ahe'nda (28) tsia' xtsaon at (32)wεκοnot he could do. And then the crawfish they dji'n (23) tsia'xtsaon?'(32) a'ogwa(33) $f'\varepsilon w\varepsilon' daya$ (34) asked the crawfish he said if I go down into the water k'ala'goyu' $\tau nda'n\varepsilon(35)$ $n\varepsilon ha'(36)$ $adjun\gamma'(37)$ $nats\varepsilon' \tau al\varepsilon'(38)$ something to know (signs) these will be the ones: not water top diwi'(39) $ax_{T} \in n_{2}' \cdot \epsilon ya(40)$ wi'i' $ts \in x_{T} = wi' \cdot (41)$ 7. $na' \epsilon' l_{\partial}(42)$ I come if it can be done blood water top comes. However s'a'xdji(43) hi'tsa(44) alek's'ntsyya(45) tseciga τi''ε (46) I find if I come back with water dirty yellow the earth $tsex_T awi'(41)$ hgwadji'n.(47) 8. s'a'.axdji'he(48) a'oga'-Where the earth is (whether) he water top comes he said. $r\varepsilon' ndji$ (49) $na.oyu' rnd\alpha fa'la$ (50) $v\varepsilon kv\varepsilon' lah\varrho'$. (51) 9. $f'\varepsilon' v\varepsilon$ could get there he did not know but they sent him. Down into the $yuk\gamma'l\vartheta(53)$ aga'(54) $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon h a' T \vartheta(55)$ $ts \varepsilon' ciga$ ta'dji (52) water he went long time it took while they were there water dirty tsextawi' (41) wetne' (56) sewe'hahe (57) water top come they saw while they were there $ri''\varepsilon(46)$ tsia'xtsaon? (32) we.2 c_Ta' (58) $\kappa'at'$ $\varepsilon h\varepsilon'$ (59) s'a'co $s'i\varepsilon'\varepsilon(60)$ his claws the crawfish between dirt (it) was little hipe'(61) tsetalowi'dji(62) higher hight higher higher higher higher higher higher higher higher high3a'co $s'i\xi''\xi dji(64)$ yilder high yi10. s'a'co $w\varepsilon' t\varepsilon \tau \varepsilon'$ (67) s'a' k'a''adji' (68) hgwadji'n. (47) 11. na'i'lo(42)they hit it (with) earth it was made they said. However g'wq (69) $agwa'h\varepsilon$ (70) s'aco'xdji (71) yzhz' (65) $\kappa\varepsilon w\varepsilon p'a'h\varepsilon$ (72) they took when they threw some when they say the dirt

And

 $ah\varepsilon'(28)$ s'a' k'a'dji(68) $hgg\varepsilon'n\varepsilon dji'n.(19)$ 12. yukg'lo(53) s'a'xdji(43)earth was made they used to say. Long time the earth $w \varepsilon k' w a h \varrho'(73) t s \varepsilon x \tau a l \varepsilon'(38) \qquad w \varepsilon' k' \varrho g \varrho h \varepsilon(74) \qquad s' a c o' x d j i (71) \tau \varepsilon'$ he went after water top when he was coming with the dirt melted $s'iarepsilon''arepsilon_{\epsilon}(60)$ $ho'wa_{\epsilon}(75)$ $tsex_{T}al\varepsilon'(38)$ $w\varepsilon k'arrange''widji_{\kappaarrange'}(76)$ $s'a''\varepsilon(77)$ little it (was) left water top he may have come with the earth k'a''a(68) k'ala'(3) $t'\varepsilon l\varepsilon' w\varepsilon n\gamma' d\sigma(78)$ $hi'l\theta$ $w\varepsilon' k'a'adji'(68)$ something else they also all they were made they $gwadj\iota'n.$ (47) 13. s'a'xdji (43) $k'a''adod\varepsilon'h\varepsilon$ (79) $na'\tau \gamma \tau ago'\tau n\partial$ (80) The earth after it was made there was no light κεdjidjι'n (81) κ'qlωνε'ha (82) tsoonq' (13) k'ala (3) wε'xτqτq (20) it was here they gathered the sun something she dictated $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon hadji'(18) \quad h g w adji' n (47) \qquad T g` T a w \varepsilon l a w \varepsilon' n g (83) \qquad w \varepsilon y u`$ they were here they said those who were to make light they $wag\varepsilon'(84)$ $\kappa\varepsilon w\varepsilon' hadj\iota' n.(18)$ 14. s' gdjiba' c'o(85) $w\varepsilon yu' \tau n \partial c\varepsilon'(25)$ hunted for they were here. Lantern-fly they expected he could $yu' \tau \varepsilon (86)$ $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon t a' . \iota' l_{\partial}(87)$ $s' i \varepsilon s' i \varepsilon' l_{\partial}(88)$ $\tau_{\partial} \tau a'$ $\kappa \epsilon \tau \epsilon' d\epsilon (89)$ he flew there he went but very little only light it flashed weta (90) axke'le (91) yula'o $redj\iota'n$ (92) 15. ahe' (28) 'yv'wenv (93) he made that (much) only he flew around. Then ya'i' $w\varepsilon \kappa odji'n.(23)$ 16. $aon\gamma'd\varepsilon(94)$ $t'a'l\varepsilon(95)$ $T\gamma'Ta$ $w\varepsilon ta'(90)$ There he also very dim light they asked. he made also ax K $\varepsilon l \varepsilon dj \iota' n$ (96) $ca'faon \varrho$ (97) ya'i' $w\varepsilon \kappa odj \iota' n$ (23) $t\varrho Ta'$ they asked that much only it was the moon also light $w\varepsilon la'' \mu l_{\theta}(87)$ $T_{\theta}' T_{\theta} = Pado'' \varepsilon(98)$ $ax_{\kappa} \varepsilon' l_{\varepsilon} l_{\theta} l_{\theta}' n. (96)$ 17. $ah \varepsilon' (18)$ she made but light was dark that much only it was. ya'i' $w \varepsilon y u' \operatorname{rnoc} \varepsilon'(25)$ $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon t a' d j i n. (99)$ tsoony'(13)they expected (she could) there she went. the sun also 18. *hi' mə* yub'a'og $_2$ (100) $\kappa\varepsilon'd\sigma$ (101) s'a'xdji (43) hityubi' (102) Just as soon as she came up now the earth all over with $hio x_P a'(103)$ k'ala'(3) $s'a x_T a of a' on y(104)$ TO'TAhile'it was full of things that are standing on earth all y_2 'n $d\varepsilon y_2$ ' $c\varepsilon$ (105) $taxk\varepsilon$ ' (106) $w\varepsilon$ 'k2 (107) tca'tca (108) $k\varepsilon w\varepsilon$ 'tathey were glad they sing loud all over they were just $dji'(18)\ hqgwadji'n.(47)$ 19. $tsoonq'(13)\ \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon t a'(87)\ yu x_P a t' \varepsilon'(109)$ The sun there she went at noon here they said. $ha'x\kappa\varepsilon$ (110) hi'loxdjidji'n. (111) 20. $ax\kappa\varepsilon'rn\varepsilon$ (112) $w\varepsilon rn\varepsilon h\varepsilon'$ (113) That way when they saw right then (all) she stopped. $tsoon_{2}'(13)$ s'a'xdji(43) $t_{2}'t_{1}a$ $y_{2}tan\varepsilon'n_{2}(114)$ $vegwadj_{i}'n.(115)$ the earth light she should make they said. the sun 21. na'(116) $ah\varepsilon'nd\vartheta(28)$ $\kappa\varepsilon w\varepsilon'hah\varepsilon(57)$ $\varrho'w\varrho(69)$ $aogwa'h\varepsilon(117)$

then when they were here some when they said

 $aga^{\prime}\varepsilon^{\prime}l\varepsilon$ (118) $\kappa\varepsilon^{\prime}\varepsilon^{\prime}$ (6) $na^{\prime}PadogoTn\varepsilon n\gamma^{\prime}$ (119) $w\varepsilon gwadj\iota^{\prime}n$. (115) the day only (should) lie here not dark it should be they said. 22. $q'wqd\vartheta(120)$ $aga'\varepsilon'd\vartheta(121)$ $\kappa\varepsilon'\varepsilon'(6)$ $pado'\varepsilon'd\varepsilon(122)$ $\kappa\varepsilon'\varepsilon h\varepsilon'(123)$ Others the day also (should) be the night also when it is here $s \in l \varepsilon' T \varepsilon (124)$ $w \in gwa'(115)$ $w \varepsilon k^{2} a w \varepsilon' d \varepsilon (17)$ $\kappa \epsilon w \epsilon'$ they they said they talked with each other would be good 23. $tcon\varepsilon'(125)$ a'ogwa(33) $pado'\varepsilon'd\vartheta(122)$ Ground-squirrel there he said "the night also $hadj\iota'n.(18)$ were here. $\kappa \varepsilon' \varepsilon'(6)$ $g \circ nt' \varepsilon h \varepsilon' n \circ (126)$ $\rho adoh \varepsilon'(127)$ $h g k^{3} a' g a$ (128) when night they have intercourse (should) be here the people h_2wal_{ε} ''a' $x_{T\varepsilon}$ (129) didza' (130) $h_2gwadj\iota'n$. (47) 24. $ah\varepsilon'nd\sigma$ (28) And then they could increase I say" he said. $\kappa \varepsilon' \varepsilon'(6)$ $\rho ado' \varepsilon' do(122)$ $\kappa \varepsilon' \varepsilon' ndji(131)$ $aga^{\flat}\varepsilon'd\vartheta(121)$ $hi'l\varepsilon$ the day also to be here the night also it was to be here $w \varepsilon k^3 a' ho \tau n \varepsilon g a d j \iota' n.$ (132) 25. $t soon \varphi$ (13) $\varepsilon l \varepsilon' d j \iota$ (133) $\tau \varphi' \tau a.$ they agreed with each other. The sun day time light was ota'(134) ca'faonz'(97) 'yzwenz'də(135) $padoh\varepsilon'(127)$ rz'ra weta'the moon the stars also when night light they were aga' ε' (118) e^{2i} $e^$ $hi'l\varepsilon$ din(99)the day the night was to be separate to make all wek'a'hornegadji'n. (132) 26. $ahe'nd\vartheta(28)$ tcon 2n2' (138) And then the ground-squirrel they agreed with each other. $ax\kappa\varepsilon' rn\varepsilon(112) \qquad h\gamma' gwa(47)$ a'ogwa(33) diadidza'ns'i(139)he said "I did say it (and) it is done that way" he said $tsits'i'' \varepsilon$ (140) a'ogwa (33) go'xdji (14) $cat'an\varepsilon'$ (141) $w\varepsilon t'$ every now and then he said he was there wildcat he got "Goho'go (143) godi" a'gogwa (144) axke tno.efa'la (145) "Oh pshaw! you you did say that way if it is asię' (142) $s2h2.\epsilon l\epsilon' d\epsilon (146) \quad agogwa'x \tau\epsilon" (147) \quad h2'gwa (47) \quad \tau alo'fa (148) \quad hil\epsilon'$ once only you should say" he said he jumped on him all $y \neq t' a t' a d j i' n$ (149) $t con \epsilon w \epsilon' n \neq$ (138) $w \epsilon so so d j i'$ (150) $h \neq g w a d j i' n$ (47) he scratched him the ground-squirrel he got spotted they said. 27. $s^{3}a^{\prime 3}\varepsilon(77)$ $hi' \operatorname{rn} \partial k' a'' a h \varepsilon (151)$ $co'' \varepsilon (152)$ $\kappa \varepsilon' dji$ (81) when it was just finished it was soft it was here The earth $s'a's_{T}a(153)$ $s \varepsilon' \varepsilon' l \varepsilon n \gamma (154)$ $w \varepsilon g w a' (115)$ $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon' h a d j \iota' n . (18)$ ground flat should be good they said they were there. 28. nak'ala' (3) Ta' Piwela' (155) Ee'dji (81) tsian pdji'n. (156) Not a thing over it (he) goes it is here it was to dry. 29. $y \not v v' i' (157)$ $s'a' w \varepsilon r n \varepsilon r n \varepsilon' (158)$ $w \varepsilon k w \varepsilon' (159)$ $w \varepsilon t a d j \iota' n (160)$ Buzzard he went earth he inspects they sent nay fafa'(161) $we yus \pi a' \varepsilon' l \varepsilon(162)$ $yula'o \pi end j \iota' n(163)$ he was not to flop he was to spread out only he was to fly around

 $aodji'h\varepsilon(164)$ $gont'\varepsilon'(126)$ go'wifjinfwa(165)weta' (155) while he was going he went somebody he must have gone there $w\varepsilon d\varepsilon' k'i(166)$ ahi'ha(167) $w\varepsilon tn\varepsilon''(113)$ $w\varepsilon ta'(168)$ $w\varepsilon k'atadii'n(169)$ his tracks they were there he saw he traced he went with $T\varepsilon' \circ di\iota' n fwa (170)$ kya'o $gadj\iota'n.(171)$ 30. $na't'\varepsilon(172)$ it happened to be a bull frog he overtook (him). Not one $s^{2}ax \tau al \epsilon h \epsilon' n \gamma (173) - h \gamma g w a d j \iota' n (47) - a x \kappa \epsilon l a' y \gamma (174) - h \epsilon' y \gamma g w a (175)$ ground on should (go) he said you are here he said wehi' Tapaha' (176) $w\varepsilon' fafa (177)$ $T\varepsilon' 2n2 (178)$ $w\varepsilon' a' djin (179)$ his wings he whipped him (with) bull frog he cried $wetci'x_{TE}(180)$ $\kappa aba'dji(181)$ hgwadji'n.(47)31. KEWE'Wi (182) his eye-brows swelled they said. He went on k'ala' (3) $\kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon t a' djinfwa (184)$ $ao'djih\epsilon'(164)$ $d\epsilon pol\epsilon'(183)$ while he was going again something must have gone there $w\varepsilon'ta$ (168) kia'ogadjin (171) tca'riqdji'nfwa (185) tsia'xtsa (32) he traced he overtook it happened to be a raccoon crawfish y2fa'(186)ao'xdjidji'nfwa (187) lon?'də (30) $w\varepsilon$ fafa' (177) he was fishing for he bad been sitting there him also he whipped wera'sosodji' (188) hągenedji'n (19)
his face got spotted they used to say $w\varepsilon^{2}adj\iota^{\prime}n$ (179) na'(116)he cried and y y t' u' n y (189) $h_{\varrho}yu's_{\varrho}a'\varepsilon'l_{\varrho}(190)$ $s'a'das\varepsilon(191)$ a'o $\tau \varepsilon n$ the buzzard he was to spread only earth across he was to $w\varepsilon'c'o$ (193) ts'i'ha s'as'a'owi (194) $h\varepsilon'nd\vartheta$ (28) dji'la (192) fly there but he was tired almost to the ground he fell and then $yub'a'l\varepsilon(195)$ $w\varepsilon ta'djin(160)$ s'ayub'a'(196) $k^{\mathfrak{d}}a'$ y2'fafa (161) he flopped upward again he went mountains were 32. $s'a \tau n \varepsilon \tau n \varepsilon' (158)$ $w \varepsilon k w \varepsilon dj i' n (198)$ yula'-'adji'n. (197) Earth to inspect they sent (him) he flew made. $w\varepsilon'c$ 'o (193) $y\varphi'fafadji'n$ (200) s'a yu'b'a (196) ore'la (199) around but he flopped mountains he got tired $h g \varepsilon' n \varepsilon d j \iota n. (19)$ $\kappa \epsilon hadji'$ (201) (they) were here they used to say.

FREE TRANSLATION

1. In the beginning not a thing existed; there was only water and some animal creatures, as the old people used to tell. 2. The fowl of the air and the sun met together: They held council what they could do to find the earth. 3. The sun took the lead at their meeting. 4. They asked the animals in the water to search for earth; they expected the beaver could find some earth, but he could

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 vellow 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) hi (?) (notes 61, 102, 105); rna verbalizing particle, § 50.

(2) $c\tau aha'$ verbal or nominal stem; $\varepsilon n = \varepsilon$ verbalizing suffix, §§ 9, 50; dji temporal particle denoting past, § 51; at end of sentence djin.

(3) na prefix expressing negation, § 28; k'ala' something.

(4) go indefinite personal pronom, § 34; Tno stem ,,see". (5) tsε water; ε classifier for inanimate, horizontal objects (= to lie), § 26; la only, § 63.

- (6) κε locative particle, § 65; ε to lie (note 5).
 (7) t'εlε' others; wεηγ' demonstrative, 3rd person, singular and plural, beings not Yuchi, § 26; not be; lo (note 5).
 - (8) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $w \varepsilon$ (note 7); $n \gamma$ (note 7); $d j \iota n$ (note 2).

(9) ha'xkɛ temporal particle, § 66; Tnə (note 2).

(10) go- classifying prefix, referring to human beings (note 4); $ha'n\varepsilon$ old, reduplicated, § 27; $n\varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix, § 25; $h\varepsilon'n\gamma$ demonstrative pronoun, referring to Yuchi, plural (note 7).

(11) hq 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'ala' something, (note 3); yu above, §65; 2 verbal stem 'to belong to', to be here, § 35, no. 13; $w\varepsilon'nq$ (note 7), § 62b.
- (13) $tsoon_{\tilde{q}} > tso-wen_{\tilde{q}}'$ (note 7). The sun is considered a living being; da also, § 61.
- (14) Contracted from $\kappa \partial w \partial' x dji$, § 3; $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $w \varepsilon$ (note 7); $x \S 9$; dji to sit, stay.
 - (15) $K'al_{\xi}K\varepsilon$ independent conjunctive, § 67; ξ (note 2); go (note 4); la to do.
- (16) gε irregular indefinite personal pronoun, § 35, no. 12; la to find; $\tau \varepsilon$ intention or ability, § 53; $ndji > n\varepsilon dji(?)$; for dji (note 2).
 - (17) $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); k'a reciprocal, § 38; $w\varepsilon' d\varepsilon$ to talk.
 - (18) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $w \varepsilon$ (note 7); ha to be; dji (note 2).
 - (19) h_2 (note 11); g_{ε} to say; n_{ε} (note 11); dj_{in} (note 8).
 - (20) $w\varepsilon$ (note 8); x, § 9; $\tau_2\tau_2$ to teach, instruct (duplicated).
- (21) fo under water, § 58, no. 3; $a > ah\varepsilon'$ here, § 65; $odon_2 > w\varepsilon d\varepsilon w\varepsilon' n_2$ (?) $w\varepsilon$ (note 8); $d\varepsilon$ stem (perhaps of generic character and identical with the stem $\tau \varepsilon$ in note 86); $w \varepsilon n \gamma$ (notes 7, 12).
- (22) $h_{\tilde{q}}$ (note 11); $wag\varepsilon'$ to hunt; $n\varepsilon(\S 25)$: "their hunting (it) they asked for"; (no usually occurs as a modal particle denoting the frequentative, § 54 (note 11)).
 - (23) $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); κo to ask; djin (notes 2, 8).
 - (24) cage beaver; on $q > w \varepsilon n q$ (note 7).

- (25) $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); yurn z c z' to suspect, irregular verb, § 37.
- (26) go (note 4); $k'\varepsilon > k'a$ (note 17); $n\flat > n\flat$ (note 8); la but, § 61.
- (27) na (note 3); $\varepsilon \text{ (note 2)}$; $w\varepsilon \text{ (note 8)}$; la to do; $\tau\varepsilon \text{ (note 16)}$; djun (notes 2, 8).
- (28) $ah\varepsilon'nd\vartheta > ah\varepsilon'na'nd\vartheta$ independent conjunctive, § 67.
- (29) cu fish; ta to eat; $n\varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix, § 25.
- (30) $lon \gamma' d\vartheta > lewen \gamma' d\vartheta$, § 3; $l\varepsilon$ demonstrative pronoun, § 41 (note 13).
- (31) Tno (note 2).
- (32) tsia'xtsa crawfish; -one (note 13).
- (33) $a' \circ gwa > ah\varepsilon' w\varepsilon gwa$; $ah\varepsilon'$ (note 21); gwa to say.
- (34) $f^2\varepsilon > f^2o$, § 5 no. 3, (note 21); $w\varepsilon'da$ I go, irregular, § 35, no. 10; ya if, § 62a.
- (35) k'ala (note 3); go (notes 4, 26); yundq' to know; $n\varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix (note 29).
 - (36) Demonstrative pronoun, § 41.
 - (37) adju' the right one; nq (note 8).
 - (38) na negation, § 59 (note 3); tse water; τa on, § 58, no. 5; $l\varepsilon$, § 29.
 - (39) di subj. pronoun I; wi to come.
 - (40) axte enough, § 68; nq (note 7); e (note 2); ya if, § 62 a.
 - (41) $ts\varepsilon$ water; x, § 9; $-\tau a$ on, § 58; wi to come.
 - (42) na and; i'le but, § 67.
 - (43) s'a earth; dji round objects, § 26.
 - (44) la to find, irregular verb, § 35, no. 12.
- (45) ale locative particle, § 65; k'qn > kq together with, § 38; tsq irregular verb 1st person, ya if, § 62a (note 34).
 - (46) Ti yellow; ε (note 2).
 - (47) hq (note 11); gwa to say, § 35, no. 6; djin (notes 2, 8).
- (48) s'a earth; a locative, § 65; x, § 9; dji to sit, to stay (note 14); $h\varepsilon$ locative, § 29.
- (49) $a'oga'\tau\varepsilon'ndji > ah\varepsilon'w\varepsilon ga\tau\varepsilon'ndji; ah\varepsilon'$ (note 21); $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); ga to arrive, § 35 no. 2; $\tau\varepsilon$ (note 16); ndji (note 16).
 - (50) na not, § 59; $o > w\varepsilon$ (note 7); yurnda' to know; fala if, but, §§ 61, 62.
 - (51) $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); $kw\varepsilon$ to send; $lah\varepsilon$, § 61.
 - (52) $f^2\varepsilon > f^2o$ (note 34); $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); la to go; dji (note 2).
 - (53) yukq' a long time; $-l\varepsilon$ very, § 55.
 - $(54) \ a \ \S \ 65 \ (note \ 45), \ ga \ to \ arrive \ (note \ 49).$
 - (55) $\kappa\varepsilon$ (note 6); $\kappa\varepsilon$ (note 7); κ plural stem to be, § 52); κ while, § 62 κ .
 - (56) $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); $\tau n\vartheta$ to see.
 - (57) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 7) κ to be; $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 48).
 - (58) $w\varepsilon$ possessive, § 39; qcra' claw.
 - (59) $\kappa'at'\varepsilon'$ between; $h\varepsilon$ (note 48).
 - (60) s' $i\xi'$ little; ξ (note 2).
 - (61) hi (note 1), instrumental prefix, § 57; $p\varepsilon$ to be on, to be covered.
- (62) $ts\varepsilon$ water-; ta (note 38); $lo > l\varepsilon w\varepsilon$, § 3; $l\varepsilon$ locative, § 29; $w\varepsilon$ (note 7); wi to come (note 41); dji (note 2).
 - (63) (note 19).
 - (64) s'i ξ ' little; ξ (note 2); dji (note 2).
- (63) y_{i} personal and possessive subjective pronoun, third person, not a Yuchi, § 31; h_{i} to take.
 - (66) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $y \gamma r'a$, perhaps yu above, § 58, no. 10; t'a to let go.
 - (67) $t \varepsilon \tau \varepsilon'$ to hit, to beat.
 - (68) k'a'a to be finished; dji (note 2).
 - (69) $\gamma' w \gamma$ some.
 - (70) $agwa'h\varepsilon > aw\varepsilon'gwah\varepsilon$; a (note 21); $w\varepsilon$ (note 7) gwa to say; $h\varepsilon$ (note 48).
 - (71) s'a earth; co soft; x, § 9; dji (note 43).
 - (72) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 7); ρa to throw; $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 48).

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WAGNER YUCHI
        (73) w\varepsilon (note 7); k'wa to go after; h2 emphatic, § 53.
        (74) w\varepsilon; k? (note 45); g? to come; h\varepsilon, § 29.
        (75) ho impersonal pronominal prefix, § 40; wa to be left.
        (76) w\varepsilon (note 7); k? (note 45); wi to come; di (note 2); \kappa i > go possibil-
 ity, § 53.
        (77) s'a earth; \varepsilon classifier (note 5).
        (78) t' \in l \in \ell' others; w \in n \in \ell' (note 7); d \ni also, \S 61.
        (79) k'a.a to be finished; dod\varepsilon'h\varepsilon after when, § 62a.
        (80) na \text{ not}, § 59; rqra \text{ light}; gorna \text{ (note 4)}.
        (81) \kappa \varepsilon (note 6); dji to sit, § 26; djin (note 8).
        (82) k's together (note 45); ls again, § 63; w\varepsilon (note 7), ha (note 55).
        (83) r \gamma r a light; w \varepsilon (note 7); la to do; w \varepsilon n \gamma' (note 7).
        (84) w\varepsilon (note 7); yu above, § 58, no. 10; wag\varepsilon' to hunt.
        (85) s' i \neq i to wink; i \neq i \neq i to i \neq i to i \neq i to burn; i \neq 
        (86) yu above, § 58, no. 10; yu > yuw\varepsilon; \tau\varepsilon to fly.
        (87) \kappa \varepsilon (note 6); \kappa \varepsilon (note 7); \ell a to go; i \ell a (note 42).
        (88) s'iε' reduplicated "very little" (note 64); la (note 5).
       (89) \tau \varepsilon d\varepsilon to flash (see note 67).
        (90) la to do, to make.
       (91) axk\varepsilon there, that yonder, § 65; l\varepsilon (note 5).
       (92) yula around; o > w\varepsilon; \tau\varepsilon to fly; din (notes 2, 8).
       (93) 'yy star; weny' (note 7).
       (94) aon\gamma'd\varepsilon > ah\varepsilon w\varepsilon n\gamma'd\varepsilon; ah\varepsilon (note 28); w\varepsilon n\gamma' (note 7); d\varepsilon note 13.
       (95) l^2a dim, easy; l\varepsilon (note 53).
       (96) axk\varepsilon (note 91); l\varepsilon (note 5); djin (notes 2, 8).
       (97) ca'fa moon; on g > wen g (note 7).
       (98) pado' dark; ε (note 2).
       (99) \kappa \varepsilon w \varepsilon (note 87); la to go; dj \iota n (notes 2, 8).
       (100) yub'a' upward, § 65; w\varepsilon (note 7); g\varrho to come (note 74),
       (101) \kappa \varepsilon' d\theta now, § 66.
       (102) hi (note 61); tyubi' entirely.
       (103) hi (note 61); oxpq' full.
       (104) s'a earth; x, § 9; \tau a on (note 38); o > w \varepsilon (note 7); f a to stand;
on_{\tilde{i}} > wen_{\tilde{i}}, § 62 b.
       (105) yə'ndeyu 3rd person pronoun of second reflexive series (§ 33) amal-
gamated with the instrumental prefix hi- (§ 37); c\xi to be glad, to enjoy, § 33.
       (106) raxk\varepsilon' just.
       (107) \kappa_2 to sing.
       (108) tca reduplicated, § 54.
       (109) yu up, § 58, no. 10; Pa to burn; P_{\xi}(?).
       (110) ha'x\kappa\varepsilon right then, at that time, § 66.
       (111) hi'l\varepsilon all, § 68; oxdjidjin; w\varepsilon (note 7); dji to stop; djin.
       (112) axk\varepsilon (note 91); tn\varepsilon (note 2).
       (113) The to see; he when, § 62.
       (114) y_{\overline{i}} (note 65); ta to do; n\varepsilon (note 11); n\overline{i} imperative suffix, § 53.
       (115) gwa to say.
       (116) na and, § 67.
       (117) (note 33); h\varepsilon (note 48).
       (118) aga day; \varepsilon l \varepsilon (note 5).
       (119) na \text{ not}, § 59; Pado \text{ dark}; QoTns \text{ (note 4)}; nq \text{ (note 114)}.
       (120) \varrho' w \varrho some; d\varepsilon (note 13).
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(121) aga day; ε (note 5); $d\varepsilon$ (note 13). (122) $Pado dark, \varepsilon d\varepsilon$ (note 121).

(123) $\kappa \varepsilon \varepsilon$ (note 6); $h\varepsilon$ when, § 62.

(124) $s \in \text{good}$; $l \in \text{very}$, § 55; $r \in \text{intention or ability}$, § 53.

- (125) tco(?); $n\varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix, § 25. (126) $q\sigma'nt'\varepsilon$ person (human one); $h\varepsilon'n\tau$ cla
- (126) $g\mathfrak{I}'nt'\varepsilon$ person (human one); $h\varepsilon'n\mathfrak{I}$ classifier, §§ 26, 27.

(127) pado dark; $h\varepsilon$ when, § 62.

- (128) h_{2} (note 11); k'a (note 17); ga stem.
- (129) $h_{\tilde{\ell}}$; wale waha'le to increase; axte (note 40).

(130) gwa to say, irregular verb, § 35, no. 6.

- (131) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $\varepsilon n > \xi$ (§ 9) verbalizing suffix (note 2); dji (note 2).
- (132) w_{ξ} ; k'a (note 17); $horn_{\xi}ga'$ to agree; djin.
- (133) $\varepsilon l\varepsilon(?)$; dji classifying suffix (?), § 26.
- (134) $\tau \gamma' \tau a$ light; $o > w \varepsilon$; la to make.
- (135) ' y_2 star; $w \varepsilon n_2$ (note 7); $d \vartheta$ (note 13).
- (136) Pado dark; ε classifier (note 5).
- (137) k'at' ε to be separate, reduplication of second syllable; nq (note 114); dji § 62 b.
 - $(138) > tcon\varepsilon$ -weng.
- (139) di independent personal pronoun, § 31; adidza > aditsa (§ 10, 8) I say, § 35, no. 6 (the repetition of the personal pronoun makes it emphatic); n > na and; si almost.
 - (140) ts i then, reduplicated with loss of glottal stop, §§ 8, 54; ε (note 2).
- (141) ca classifier in many animal names, § 24 b; t'a stem; $n\varepsilon$ nominalizing suffix, § 25.
 - (142) $w\varepsilon$; t'asi ξ ' to be angry.
 - (143) goho'go exclamation, § 69.
 - (144) godi' independent, indefinite pronoun, § 31; a'gogwa to say, § 35, no. 6
 - (145) $axk\varepsilon$ (note 91); $tn\vartheta$ (note 1); ε (note 2?); fala but (note 50).
 - (146) sphq once; ϵ (note 2); $l\epsilon$ only, \S 63; $d\epsilon$ (?).
 - (147) a'gogwa to say, (note 144); x, § 9; $T\varepsilon$ (note 16).
 - (148) Ta on (note 38); $lo > l\varepsilon w\varepsilon$, § 3; $l\varepsilon$ (note 38); $w\varepsilon$; fa to stand.
 - (149) y₂ (note 65); t'a to scratch, reduplicated, § 54.
 - (150) so spot, reduplicated, § 54.
 - (151) hi (note 1); $Tn \ni \text{ (note 1)}$; $k \ni a \ni a$ to be finished; $h \in \text{ (note 48)}$.
 - (152) co soft; ξ (note 2).
 - (153) s'a earth; sta flat.
 - (154) $s \in \text{good}$; $\epsilon l \epsilon \text{ future}$, § 51; $n \circ \text{2}$ imperative, § 53.
 - (155) TaPi' on, § 65; $w\varepsilon$; la to go.
 - (156) tsia dry; nq (note 7); djin.
 - (157) y_2t^2i' buzzard.
 - (158) s'a earth; $w\varepsilon$; $\tau n\varepsilon$ to see, duplicated, § 54.
 - (159) $w\varepsilon$; $kw\varepsilon$ to send.
 - (160) $w\varepsilon$; la to go; djin.
 - (161) na not, § 59; y_2 (note 65); fa to flop, duplicated.
 - (162) $w\varepsilon$; yusta to spread out (yu above; sta flat?); $\varepsilon l\varepsilon = \varepsilon l\varepsilon$ future (?), § 51.
 - (163) (note 92); n (? see note 16).
 - $(164) > ah\varepsilon' w\varepsilon djih\varepsilon$; $ah\varepsilon'$ (note 28); $w\varepsilon$; dji to go; $h\varepsilon$ (note 48).
 - (165) go (note 26); wi to come; djinfwa perfect, § 51.
 - (166) $w\varepsilon$ his, § 39; $d\varepsilon k$ 'i tracks.
 - $(167) > ah\varepsilon' w\varepsilon ha; ah\varepsilon' \text{ (note 28)}; w\varepsilon; ha \text{ to be, § 52.}$
 - (168) $w\varepsilon$; la to go.
 - (169) $w\varepsilon$; k? (note 45); la to go; djin.
 - (170) $\tau \varepsilon' \gamma$ bullfrog; $dj \iota' n f w a$ perfect, § 51.
 - (171) kya through § 57, no. $\tilde{7}$; $o > w\varepsilon$; ga to arrive; djin.
 - (172) na negation, § 28; t's contraction of hit's one, §§ 41, 3, 3.
- (173) s'a earth; τa on (note 38); $l\varepsilon$ (note 38); $h\varepsilon$ locative, § 65; $n\varrho$ imperative, § 53.
 - (174) axkela' locative particle; ya irregular verb go'a', § 35, no. 13.

- (175) $h\varepsilon$ (?); $y\varepsilon$ (note 65); gwa to say.
- (176) $w\varepsilon$ his, § 39; hirapa wing; ha plural, § 27.
- (177) $w\varepsilon$; fa to flop, whip, duplicated.
- (178) > $\tau \varepsilon' \varrho w \varepsilon n \varrho$. $\tau \varepsilon' \varrho$ bullfrog; $w \varepsilon n \varrho$ (note 7).
- (179) $w\varepsilon$; a to ery; djin.
- (180) $w\varepsilon$; tci eye; x, § 9; $t\varepsilon$ rim.
- (181) Kaba' to swell; dji.
- (182) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $w\varepsilon$; wi to come.
- (183) $d\epsilon pol\epsilon'$ again, § 66.
- (184) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); $w \varepsilon$; la to go; djinfwa perfect, § 51.
- (185) tca'riq raccoon; djinfwa perfect, § 51).
- (186) $y_{\overline{q}}$ (note 65); fa to fish.
- (187) > $ah\varepsilon$ here, § 65; $w\varepsilon$; x, § 9; dji to sit; djinfwa.
- (188) we; ra face, on; so spotted, duplicated; dji.
- (189) $y_{i}v'u'n_{i} > y_{i}v'iw\varepsilon n_{i}$, § 3.
- (190) hq (note 11); yustq'elq (note 162).
- (191) s'a earth; $das\epsilon'$ across, § 65.
- (192) (note 163); la (note 26).
- (193) $w\varepsilon$; c'o tired.
- (194) s'a earth, duplicated; $owi > h\varepsilon w\varepsilon wi$; $h\varepsilon$ locative, § 29; $w\varepsilon$; wi to fall.
- (195) yub'a (note 100); $l\varepsilon$ (note 38).
- (196) s'a earth; yub'a upward (note 100).
- (197) k'a'a to be finished; djin.
- (198) $w\varepsilon$; $\kappa w\varepsilon$ to send; djin.
- (199) yulaoτε (note 92); la (note 26).
- (200) yəfafa (note 161); djin.
- (201) $\kappa \varepsilon$ (note 6); ha to be; dji.