The Cocopa Language

By

James Mack Crawford, Jr.

B.S.F. (University of Georgia) 1949

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Linguistics

in. the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

....

....

....

Committee in Charge

Degree conferred...
                                    Date

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The original homeland of the Cocopas was south of the international boundary along the Colorado River and in the delta region westward to the mountains of Baja California. By 1890, according to Kelly (Bronson n.d.:7), a considerable number of Cocopas had moved northward across the boundary to seek employment in connection with the building of canals and subjugation of the Imperial Valley of California and, somewhat later, of the Yuma Valley of Arizona. The annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1879 lists 180 Cocopas not living on a reservation (Bronson n.d.:6). There were some 200 Cocopas living in the Yuma Valley in 1917 when an Executive Order established a reservation for them near Somerton (Colorado River Indian Agency 1944:1, Halford n.d.:1).

Only a small proportion of the Cocopas living in the Yuma and Somerton areas enrolled as wards of the government and moved to the reservation, which consisted of two areas: about 360 acres bounding the Colorado River northwest of Somerton and 160 acres southeast of Somerton along the eastern boundary of the flood plain of the river. The nonenrolled Cocopas continued to live in and around Somerton seeking employment as unskilled laborers on the ranches of the Valley. Until the Second World War there was much visiting back and forth across the border among friends and relatives, with a minimum of restraint from the United States guards at the San Luis border station. Security restrictions during the war and since have made entry into the United States more difficult and have re-

duced the immigration of Mexican Cocopas.

Kelly (1942) estimates the number of Cocopas in the United States as 300. Haverland (Bronson n.d.:14) in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1958 says there are 250 Cocopas in the vicinity of Yuma. Chafe (1962) estimates there are 300 to 400 living in Arizona. My own inquiries (1963, 1965) brought forth estimates ranging from 350 to 400.

The number of Cocopas living in Mexico is greater than this. My informants speculated there were from 700 to 800 who lived in Sonora and Baja California. A missionary to the Mexican Cocopas, Miss Ruth Halford (Halford n.d.:4), estimates a grand total of 1055 Cocopas of both pure and mixed blood, 850 of whom live in Mexico.

At the present time Cocopas live in the United States in two major areas: the Yuma Valley and the Buckeye-Laveen area west of Phoenix. Most of the Cocopas in the latter area have arrived within the last ten to fifteen years, having been attracted by the demand for labor on the grain and cotton ranches. A further inducement to their migration into the west Phoenix area is the presence in the northwestern portion of the Gila River Reservation of their traditional friends, the Maricopas. Some 50 to 60 Cocopas were living in this area in the spring of 1965.

Cocopa is one of some ten languages of the Yuman family of the Hokan stock (Dixon and Kroeber 1913, Sapir

1917). It is not certain whether there are dialectal
variations throughout the area where Cocopa is spoken.
The 'mountain' Cocopas of the western delta region of
Baja California are said by some informants to speak
differently from the 'river' Cocopas. Other informants
maintain that all Cocopas speak alike no matter where
they are from. Kelly (1942) says the hwanyak group of
the lower delta region is culturally and dialectally
different from three other descent groups (p. 675).
There has been considerable intermarriage between the
Cocopas and the Paipais to the south and the Diegueños
to the west. It is possible that observed differences
may be due to lexical items borrowed from Paipai or
Diegueño as a result of marriage or social contact.
Differences in pronunciation might be explained in the
learning of Cocopa after marriage by a native speaker
of Paipai or Diegueño. An interesting future study will
be that of possible dialect variation in Baja California.

Cocopa is the sole living member of the Delta group
of Yuman languages (Kroeber 1943). The Kahwan (or
Cajuenches) and the Halyikwamai (or Jalliquamai) in
earlier times lived north of the Cocopa along the Colorado
River and are believed to have spoken languages closely
related to Cocopa. As far as is known, no word list
has been recorded from anyone who spoke the language
of the Halyikwamai. Kroeber (1943) obtained a list of
words from a Kahwan speaker who was living with the

Maricopas. In the spring of 1963 I collected a short
list of words from Mrs. Joan Yaramata, who is reputed
to be the last Kahwan, on the Gila River Reservation.
No significant difference is apparent between Cocopa
and Kahwan in either my list or Kroeber's. It is very
possible that the Kahwan were a clan or a group of clans
who spoke the same language as the Cocopa, but who lived
separately from the main tribe.

The Cocopa call themselves k^wpá (in rapid speech
kpá). When spoken more slowly with careful enunciation,
two velars are present: k^wkpá (phonetically, $k^{wi}k^a$pá or
$k^u k^a$pá). They also call themselves capáy which they
translate as 'Indian' and use in reference to other
tribes as well as to themselves. The root -pá of both
forms is unquestionably identical to that of apá 'man',
sipá 'creator', i·páy 'become alive, be enlivened'.

Cocopas insist that the correct spelling of their
name is Cocopah and, indeed, this is the spelling adopted
in the executive order establishing the reservation and
used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They are identified
by various spellings in the accounts of explorers and
missionaries, e.g., Cocapa, Cucupa, Cucapa. The latter
is the offical Mexican spelling. The common spelling
in American ethnographic and linguistic literature is
Cocopa. This is the spelling adopted in the present
grammar.

Various vocabularies and word lists have been col-
lected from speakers of Cocopa over the years, some of

which have appeared in print and others of which have
remained in manuscript. As far as is known, there has
been no detailed phonological or grammatical description
of the language. The amount of literature, in print or
in manuscript, relating to the Cocopas is not large.
The accompanying bibliography includes the major publica-
tions and manuscripts which contain both linguistic and
ethnographic or cultural information.

The data for the present work were collected during
the spring of 1963 and the winter and early spring of
1965 with financial support provided by the Survey of
California Indian Languages of the University of Calif-
ornia, Berkeley. My principal informants were Mrs.
Lillian Hayes, Mrs. Hope Miller, Mrs. Josephine Thomas,
and Mrs. Mary Thomas. To these ladies I should like to
express my appreciation for their patience in enduring
the long sessions of elicitation and for their wit and
humour which removed the drudgery and made the sessions,
at least for me, a delight. I am very grateful to Mr.
Charlie Huck for permitting me to record on tape his nar-
ration of numerous Cocopa tales. I should also like to
thank Mr. Rudy Hayes and Mr. Victor Hayes who served as
occasional interpreters and intermittent informants.

I am very much indebted to Professor Terrence Kauf-
man who has given me many valuable comments and suggestions.
I am indebted to Professor William Shipley who has been
a source of inspiration and encouragement since my first

interest in linguistics and American Indian languages, and to Professor Alan Dundes who encouraged me to delve into the relationship between language and culture and to study the context of speaking from the point of view of the speaker. I am deeply grateful to Professor Mary R. Haas for her guidance in my work and studies over the past six years, for the support and encouragement she provided during my weeks in the field, and for her valuable criticisms in the subsequent period of analysis and writing. Finally, I wish to express my appreciation to Mrs. Eileen C. Odegaard for her patience and care in the typing of the manuscript.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations Used

AA	American Anthropologist
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SMC	Smithsonian (Institution) Miscellaneous Collections
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics

Bronson, Leisa G.

    n.d.   A chronological history of the Cocopah Indians and their lands. 23 pp. (Released in mimeograph form in 1963 by the Phoenix Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.)

Castetter, Edward F. and Willis H. Bell

    1951.   Yuman Indian Agriculture. Univ. of New Mexico Press. Albuquerque.

Chafe, Wallace L.

    1962.   Estimates regarding the present speakers of North American Indian languages. IJAL 28:162-171.

Chittenden, N. H.

1901.   Among the Cocopahs. Land of Sunshine
         (Out West) 14:196-204.

Colorado River Indian Agency

1944.   Cocopah Reservation Program. 10 pp.
         (Mimeograph). Parker, Ariz.

Densmore, Frances

1925.   Field work among the Yuma, Cocopa, and
         Yaqui Indians. SMC 74: 147-154.

Dixon, R. B., and A. L. Kroeber

1913.   New linguistic families in California.
         AA 15:647-655.

Gatschet, Albert S.

1877.   Der Yuma-Sprachstamm. Zeitschrift für
         Ethnologie 9:341-350, 365-418.

Gifford, E. W.

1933.   The Cocopa. UCPAAE 31:257-324.

Haas, Mary R.

1963.   Shasta and proto-Hokan. Language 30:40-59.
         (Cocopa forms are cited in the recon-
         struction of proto-Hokan forms.)

Halford, Ruth

n.d.   Cocopah Indians of Arizona and Mexico.
         4 pp. (Typed manuscript. Notes on
         number of speakers, culture, and missionary
         work with the Cocopas in Baja California.
         Has reference to Second World War indicat-
         ing it was prepared in 1943 or 1944.)

Harrington, John P.

1908.   A Yuma account of origins. Jour. of Amer.
          Folk-Lore 21:324-348. (List of numerals
          from Cocopa and other Yuman languages in
          footnote on pp. 324 and 325.)

Heintzelman, S. P.

1853.   Indian Affairs on the Pacific. HR Ex.
          Doc. no. 76; 3rd Sess., 34th Cong. (1856-
          57):34-58.

Henshaw, H. W.

1907.   Cajuenche. BAE-B 30:187.

Herzog, Wilh.

1878.   Ueber die Verwandtschaft des Yumasprach-
          stammes mit der Sprache der Aleuten und
          der Eskimostämme. Zeitschrift für
          Ethnologie 10:449-459.

Hodge, F. W.

1907.   Cocopa. BAE-B 30:319-320.

Kelly, Dorothea S.

1951.   A brief history of the Cocopa Indians of
          the Colorado River Delta. For the Dean
          (Essays in Honor of B. S. Cummings):159-170.

Kelly, William H.

1942.   Cocopa gentes. AA 44:675-691.

1944.   A preliminary study of the Cocopa Indians
          of Mexico. Harvard Univ. Ph.D. dissertation.

1949a.   Cocopa attitudes and practices with re-
          spect to death and mourning. SJA 5:151-164.

1949b.   The place of scalps in Cocopa warfare.
                El Palacio 56:85-91.

Kroeber, A. L.

1920.   Yuman tribes of the lower Colorado.
                UCPAAE 16:475-485.

1931.   The Seri. Southwest Museum Papers
                6:1-55. (Comparative vocabularies of
                Seri, Cochimi, Yuma, and Cocopa on
                p.34.)

1943.   Classification of the Yuman languages.
                UCPL 1:21-40.

Law, Howard W.

1961.   A reconstructed proto-culture derived
                from some Yuman vocabularies. AL 3:4.45-57.

Lumholtz, Carl

1912   New trails in Mexico. New York. (Appen-
                dix I, pp. 368-376, contains short
                vocabularies "obtained from the Smith-
                sonian Institution" from the languages
                of the Papago, Pima and Cocopa Indians.)

North, Arthur W.

1908.   The native tribes of Lower California.
                AA n.s. 10:236-250.

Sapir, Edward

1917.   The position of Yana in the Hokan stock.
                UCPAAE 13:1-34.

Smithsonian Institution manuscripts

MS. no.

1627 (part)	Heintzelman, Major S. P. Vocabulary of the Cocopa language. Ft. Yuma, April 19, 1854. Copy by J. R. Bartlett pp. 165-166 in notebook.
1546	McGee, W. J. Cocopa vocabulary of Lower Colorado River. Nov. and Dec. 1900. Approx. 60 pp. in Powell's printed schedule.
1866 (part)	Peabody, E. P. Cocopa vocabulary. n.d. (ca. 1858). 1 page, _in_ Stone, Col. Charles P., B.A.E. MS. 1866, "Notes on the Indians of Lower California."
1133	Gibbs, George, copyist. Cocopa vocabulary of about 80 words. Copy by George Gibbs from "one obtained by Mr. Bartlett from Major Heintzelman" April 19, 1854 (B.A.E. MS. 1627, pp. 165-166), to which Gibbs has added and marked with an asterisk "some words collected by Mr. E. T. Peabody of Capt. C. P. Stone's surveying party in Sonora" (B.A.E. MS. 1866). 5 pp.

Spier, Leslie

1933.	Yuman tribes of the Gila River. Chicago.

Stewart, K. M.

    1946.   Gila and Colorado River Yumans.
                      Univ. of Calif. PhD. dissertation.
                      Unpublished.

Wares, Alan C.

    1965.   A comparative study of Yuman consonant-
                      ism. Univ. of Texas. PhD. disserta-
                      tion. Mimeographed.

Winter, Werner

    1957.   Yuman languages I: First impressions.
                      IJAL 23:18-23.

100. PHONEMICS

110. The phonemes.   The phonemes of Cocopa are as follows:

Consonantal:

Obstruent:

Stop	p	t	ṭ	c	k	k^w	q	q^w	?
Spirant		s	ṣ	š	x	x^w			
Lateral			ł	$ł^y$					

Semiconsonant:

Lateral	l	l^y
Nasal	m	n	n^y
Tap		r

Semivowel: w   y

The phonemes /d/, /f/, /v/, /ḏ/, and /ŋ/ occur in a few Spanish and English loanwords.

Vocalic:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Low		ə	

The front vowel /e/, always long, is present in a small number of loanwords from Spanish and English. The back vowel /o/, long, occurs in one native word, an interjection.

Prosodic:

Vowel length	:	• No mark
Juncture	Space between forms	

Accentual:

Stress   ′   ′′   No mark

Pitch level   1   2   3

Terminal contour ↑ ↓ |

111. The consonants. The semiconsonants and semi-
vowels are voiced and lenis. The spirant and lateral
obstruents are voiceless and fortis. The stops are fortis
and voiceless in any position prior to the stressed syllable.
They are somewhat less fortis following the stressed syllable.
In the latter position they are voiceless before an obstruent
or in final position and voiced or voiceless before a vowel,
semivowel, or semiconsonant.

The articulatory positions of the consonants are as follows:

/p/ is an unaspirated bilabial stop. The release
is nasal before /m/ when /p/ follows the vowel of a stressed
syllable. It is normally unreleased in final position:

spáp 'be four'

xṭpá 'coyote'

xápm 'when I came in'

/t/ is an unaspirated interdental to apicodental
stop:

ptáy 'be big'

túx 'be very little and round'

/t/ is rare in native words, but is very frequent in Spanish,
and occasionally in English, loanwords:

tu·má·t 'tomato'

tré·n 'train'

tí·n 'tub'

ka·rít 'wagon'

/ṭ/ is a moderately aspirated apicoalveolar to api-
copostalveolar stop, fully released in all positions:

ṭáp   'I split'

cupíṭ   'I cover'

pa·ṭím   'he shot him'

/c/ has two allophones. Prior to the stressed
syllable it is an affricate composed of an apicodental
stop with laminoprepalatal spirantal release, very slightly
aspirated. Following the stressed syllable it is an un-
aspirated palatalized apicodental stop, optionally released
in final position:

cawís   'fish net'

cn^{y}ám   'night'

n^{y}á·c   'I'

mapúca   'and you?'

/k/ has two allophones. It is dorsovelar before
/a/, /u/, and nonpalatal consonants excluding /ʔ/. It is
dorsoprevelar to dorsopalatal before /i/ and, for most
speakers, before palatal consonants. The allophone of /k/
before /ʔ/ is determined by the quality of the vowel follow-
ing /ʔ/. /k/ is slightly aspirated and is fully released
in all positions:

kúɬ^y 'I climb; be long'

kʔúy   'I cut hair'

kʔík   'Say!'

kí·s   'cheese'

kpín^y 'beaver'

kn^{y}á·p   'I relate'

/k^W/ is a slightly aspirated labialized dorso-velar stop:

> k^{W}áš 'be brown'
>
> s̩k^{W}ín^y 'cup'
>
> k^{W}r?ák 'old man'
>
> k^W?ás 'that which was said'

/q/ is a slightly aspirated dorsopostvelar stop, fully released in all positions:

> qá·q 'crow'
>
> cáqs̩ i 'I jump'
>
> qyáw 'be cool'
>
> ruqíw 'he chokes (someone)'

/q^W/ is a slightly aspirated labialized dorso-postvelar stop:

> q^{W}áqš 'horse'
>
> s̩q^{W}áy 'blackbird'
>
> q^{W}lyáw 'sparkle, shine'
>
> ł^{y}q^{W}áq 'be bitter'

/?/ is a glottal stop. It freely varies with nothing in initial position. (/?/ will be written only when it occurs in noninitial position.):

> ?í· or í· 'wood'
>
> ?a?á or a?á 'saguaro'
>
> lu?úy 'he plays'
>
> x?á 'cottonwood tree'

/s/ is an apicodental rill spirant:

xasán^y 'young girl before puberty'

spáp 'be four'

yás 'seed'

xsú·r 'be cold'

/ṣ/ is an apicopostalveolar rill spirant:

ṣuk^wír 'he winds'

ṣráp 'be five'

xpṣú· 'I blow (with my mouth)'

lmíṣ 'fur'

/š/ is a laminoprepalatal groove spirant:

šíṭ 'be one'

šmá 'I sleep'

xpšíw 'leaf out'

kúš 'be tall'

/x/ is a dorsovelar slit spirant with very little friction:

xá 'water'

pxká· 'be seven'

xcá·s 'corn'

rxúp 'tin can'

umáx 'he intends to eat'

/x^w/ is a labialized dorsovelar slit spirant with very little friction:

x^wáṭ 'be red'

px^wáy 'be good'

lx^wacáq 'ghost'

x^wí 'I smell'

/ɬ/ is an apicoalveolar to apicopostalveolar voiceless lateral, very slightly spirantized:

ɬapá·y 'pillow'

ɬkʷíṣ 'I squeeze'

xɬuʔíš 'he's stingy'

šukʷíɬ 'he's noisy'

/ɬʸ/ is a laminoprepalatal voiceless lateral, very slightly spirantized:

ɬʸáp 'be hot'

šukʷíɬʸ 'I sew'

ɬʸnʸcu·pí·ṭx 'they will lock us in'

xɬʸʔá 'moon, month'

/l/ is an apicoalveolar to apicopostalveolar voiced lateral:

líp 'flame up, be in flames'

lxá 'saliva'

plík 'I taste'

šmá·l 'my ear'

/lʸ/ is a laminoprepalatal voiced lateral:

lʸá·k 'I lick'

lʸpák 'be light in weight'

xlʸʔúṭ 'be short in length'

mwálʸ 'be soft'

/m/ is a bilabial nasal. Release is commonly oral before /p/. It is normally unreleased in final position:

mapílʸ 'now'

mʔú·ɬ 'antelope'

ṣmál 'grass, shrub'

mpár 'I know how'

łʸyú·m 'I think'

/n/ is an apicoalveolar to apicopostalveolar nasal. Release is oral before /ṭ/. It is fully released in final position:

panák 'I kill him'

nmák 'I quit'

nṭmá·k 'we quit'

pnáp 'I hide something in my hand'

kxú·n 'young boy before puberty'

/nʸ/ is a laminoprepalatal nasal. Release is commonly oral before /c/. It is always unreleased in final position/.

nʸá·k 'east'

nʸwaʔá·l 'clothes'

xnʸáłʸ 'tule'

mapúnʸ 'your, you (obj.)'

nʸcá· 'my mother'

/r/ in the speech of middle-aged and older speakers has two allophones. After /ṣ/ or a nasal before a vowel, as a simple onset, or as the first phoneme in a complex onset, it is an apicopostalveolar retroflex, somewhat grooved, voice spirant. Elsewhere it is an apicoalveolar to apicopostalveolar voiced flap. This allophony applies only to native words. Generally, the flap is the only permissible allophone in Spanish loanwords. For many

younger speakers the spirant and flap are in free variation in the above environments. Some of the younger speakers have the flap exclusively:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

rá·n^{y}c   'ranch'

ráp   'it hurts; I ache'

cn^{y}ár   'yesterday'

rxúp   'tin can'

mrí·k   'beans'

pri·wí·   'be the same, similar'

prxá·w   'fox'

ṣráp   'be five'

</div>

/w/ is a bilabial semivowel, functioning as a vowel before a consonant or in final position and as a consonant before a vowel:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

wá⅃   'yes'

cawír   'I stack'

ṣwí   'I wipe'

pškwá·kx   'we shall take him back'

xpšíw   'it puts out leaves'

pawyá·   'he knows him'

pmsk^{w}ayá·wx   'you will teach them'

</div>

/y/ is a laminoprepalatal semivowel, functioning as a vowel before a consonant or in final position and as a consonant before a vowel:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

yá·k   'bone'

payíl   'I carry him on my back'

syá·   'I sing'

</div>

n^yšyú·ɨ^y 'his tail'

kwáyɨ^y 'under'

makáy 'at some place; somewhere'

k^ʔúy 'I cut hair'

xšú·yk 'I whistle'

/d/ is an apicodental voiced stop. It is of very rare occurrence in Spanish loanwords:

dú·ls 'candy'

/f/ is a labiodental voiceless spirant. It has been recorded in one English loanword:

stú·f 'stove'

/v/ for most speakers varies freely between a bilabial voiced spirant and a labiodental voiced spirant. Older speakers often substitute the bilabial semivowel for this phoneme. /v/ is fairly common in Spanish loanwords:

aví·x 'bee'

vá·st 'club (of cards)'

aruví·l 'automobile'

/đ/ is an interdental voiced slit spirant. It has been recorded in a few Spanish loanwords:

spá·đ 'spade (of cards)'

đuryá·l 'quarter (money)'

/ŋ/ is a dorsovelar voiced nasal. It occurs in a few Spanish loanwords:

lará·ŋk 'orange (fruit)'

dumí·ŋk 'Sunday'

sí·ŋk (or sí·ŋku) 'five'

112. The vowels. The vowels are voiced and fairly tense. Vowels of unstressed syllables are somewhat less tense than those of stressed syllables. A short vowel under stress is one mora in length. A long vowel under stress is about two morae. A short vowel in an unstressed syllable is about three-quarters of a mora. A long vowel in an unstressed syllable is about one and one-half morae. (See 113.1 for further description of length.)

The qualities of the vowels are as follows:

/i/

1. When long or short, is lower-high, unrounded, and slightly centralized in these environments:

a. After an alveolar consonant, /x/, or /q/:

şí   'I drink'

štíp   'I shoot'

mşí·ɨ   'my thigh'

mát mawqí·r   'a plow'

xír   'I tie'

xí·súr   'winter'

b. Before an alveolar consonant unless preceded by a palatal consonant:

lmíş   'fur; be furry'

şpí·r   'shoulder'

cu·píṭ   'he covers'

2. When short in environments other than the above, is lower-high, unrounded, not centralized:

mí   'I cry'

pín^y 'be warm'

šíţ 'be one'

mapíl^y 'now'

mʔíx 'you will say'

3. When long in environments other than the above
is high to lower-high, unrounded, not centralized:

k^wí• 'cloud'

sí• 'saddle'

ši•má• 'it takes root'

papí•l 'paper'

ł^yucí•ţşin^y 'in that place where he

defecates'

/u/

1. When long or short, is upper-mid, rounded
in these environments:

a. Before any consonant immediately preceding
a vowel:

u•yá• 'I know'

mšuráy 'he's angry'

mu•n^yá• 'your daughter-in-law'

b. After /ş/ or /s/:

n^ycpuşú 'his liver'

şú•n^y 'rat'

mi•xú 'your nose'

xmxú•k 'be six'

xú• 'I conceal'

2. When long or short in environments other
than the above, is lower-high, rounded:

xṭúp 'I jump'

cwaʔú•r 'chair'

ukúɫ^y 'he climbs'

i•cú 'my stomach'

/a/

1. When short, is low to higher-low, unrounded in these environments:

a. Before a consonant that immediately precedes the vowel of a stressed syllable:

pawí• 'I see him'

amán 'airplane'

capáy 'Indian'

b. Before an alveolar consonant unless preceded by a palatal consonant:

wáɫ 'yes'

q^wáṣ 'be yellow'

máṭ 'ground, land'

yuʔár 'a piece of string'

2. When short, it is higher-low to lower-mid, unrounded, and slightly fronted following a palatal consonant before a non-palatal consonant or in final position following a palatal consonant:

xcáq 'be bad, ugly'

šá 'bird'

cáp 'I throw'

ɫ^yáp 'be hot'

yás 'seed'

3. When short, it is higher-low to lower-mid, unrounded, and considerably fronted between two palatal consonants:

xcác 'spine'

šáy 'be fat'

lʸcáš 'be little'

xyánʸ 'I carry in my arms'

xnʸáɫʸ 'tule'

4. When short in environments other than any of the above, it is higher-low to lower-mid, unrounded, and fully central:

pám 'I fall'

máx 'I intend to eat'

páy 'here'

wá 'house'

sʔák 'woman'

5. When long, is upper-low, unrounded, and slightly fronted in these environments:

a. After a palatal consonant:

nʸá·c 'I'

lʸá·k 'I lick'

mnʸcá· 'your mother'

b. Before /y/ after any consonant:

mi·yá·y 'your heart'

kikʷá·y 'cow, cattle, beef'

wá má·y 'on top of the house'

6. When long in other environments, is low to upper-low, unrounded, and fully central:

> mapá·s   'you men'
>
> má·m   'now'
>
> xsá·w 'cotton'
>
> lá·x   'no'
>
> ṣá·   'he goes along there'

/e/ is mid to upper-mid, unrounded, and always long. It occurs only in loanwords from Spanish and English. Many speakers substitute the native /i/ for this vowel:

> lmé·s   'table'
>
> ré·   'king'
>
> lé·c   'milk'
>
> ké·k   'cake'

/o/ is a lower-mid to upper-low, back, rounded vowel which occurs only as the interjection ó·, an expression of frustration or disappointment.

113. Prosodic features.

113.1. Vowel length. In normal speech vowels are short or long, ranging from three-quarters of a mora to one mora for short vowels and one and one-half morae to two morae for long vowels. A vowel in an unstressed syllable is characteristically shorter than one in a stressed syllable. A short vowel is unmarked. A long vowel is indicated by a raised dot: /·/. A vowel or semivowel in a stressed syllable is lengthened to three or four morae to indicate emphasis, augmentation, or diminution. An extra long vowel or vowel

nucleus is marked by a colon: /:/. A long vowel in a
stressed syllable can be shortened to about three-quarters
of a mora to denote diminution.

Associated with the lengthening of a long or short
vowel is the raising of the pitch level to 4 or 5 (see 113.4)
and often a pharyngeal stricture. Pharyngeal stricture,
but ordinarily not a higher pitch level, accompanies a
shortening of a vowel. Emphatic stress (113.3) often occurs
on the syllable with the modified vowel.

1. Lengthening of the vowel:

kú:ɫ^y 'be extremely long' (kúɫ^y 'be long')

ptáy:xan^y 'be extremely large' (ptáy 'be large';
-xan^y 'very')

pn^{y}á:c 'afterwards he went along here, on and
on and on' (pn^{y}á•c 'afterwards he went along
here')

in^{y}á'ːmxan^y 'an extremely large amount'
(in^{y}á•m 'be very much')

2. Shortening of the vowel:

láxxan^y 'not in the least, not at all'
(lá•x 'no, not')

mám 'right now, exactly at that moment'
(má•m 'now, then')

113.2. Juncture. The analysis of the syllabic struc-
ture presented below (130) requires that the only necessary
junctural phenomenon be one which will identify the be-
ginning of a macrosegment (defined in 130). Such juncture

is indicated either by a space between macrosegments which
contain stressed syllables or by the juxtaposition of macro-
segments with no intervening space. Included in the latter
are reduplicated verbs and compound nouns. Unstressed
auxiliary verbs and a few verbal nouns derived from them
are not preceded by juncture, but are, for syntactic reasons,
written with a preceding space:

pcawín^{y}wín^y 'I shake him'

láplá•p   'be flat'

wáškáʾ   'tent'

xákṣʔíɨ^y 'ocean'

k^{w}árk^{w}ár ac   'he talks'

uʔá k^{w}ʔas   'he did as he was told to do'

pʔá•c yuṣ   'I'm standing'

113.3. Stress. It is necessary to recognize three
phonemic degrees of stress. Syllables are strongly stressed
/"/, stressed /'/, or unstressed (unmarked). A macrosegment
contains ordinarily only one stressed syllable. A stressed
or strongly stressed syllable can only be one which con-
tains a vowel. An unstressed syllable need not contain a
vowel. Strong stress is always accompanied by phonetic
pitch level 4 or 5 and often by pharyngeal stricture and
modification of the length of the vowel (113.1).

The rhythm of Cocopa utterances is stress-timed. That
is, the length of time required for an utterance is determined
by the number of stressed syllables. Thus the timing of
the third sentence below, which consists of four stressed

monosyllables, is approximately the same as that of the
first sentence with four stressed syllables plus three
unstressed syllables, and also that of the second sen-
tence with four stressed syllables and six unstressed syl-
lables. (A syllable is defined in 130.) The fourth sen-
tence below illustrates a macrosegment with strong stress:

1. $\overset{2}{n^y}$á·c $\overset{22}{cn^y}$ár $\overset{2\ 2}{laká}$·ym $\overset{1}{á}$·c $\overset{1}{yus}$ↄ'I went to town yester-
   day.'

2. $\overset{22}{ayá}$·ₚin^y $\overset{2}{s̩á}$y $\overset{22}{ccšá}$·cm $\overset{2}{s̩n^y}$$\overset{2\,2}{ayá}$·m̩ 'We planted the
   trees over there.'

3. $\overset{2}{n^y}$á·c $\overset{2}{wát^y}$ $\overset{2}{mán}$ $\overset{2}{spác}$ↄ 'I went out of the house.'

4. $\overset{2}{x^ʔác}$ ptáy: $\overset{2}{n^y}$$\overset{2}{p^ʔá}$·c $\overset{2}{p^ʔá}$·c $\overset{1}{yu}$ acↄ 'There was a
   really tall cottonwood tree standing there.'

An utterance has almost completely level stress when
the stressed syllables have the same pitch level, e.g., in
the second and third sentences above. There are, however,
two phonetic degrees of stress /´/ which correlate with dif-
ferent co-occurring pitch levels in an utterance. A phonetic
primary stress occurs on the stressed syllables with the
higher or highest pitch level. A phonetic secondary stress
occurs on stressed syllables with the lower or lowest pitch
level. In a macrosegment which contains only one stressed
syllable with more than one unstressed syllable preceding
it, the first unstressed syllable has a slightly stronger
stress than the following unstressed syllables.

113.4. Pitch level. There are three phonemic pitch levels: /1/, /2/, and /3/, and two higher phonetic pitch levels, 4 and 5. Pitch levels 4 and 5 always accompany strong stress /″/ (113.3). An unstressed syllable ordinarily has pitch level /3/ only when it is the final syllable of an utterance.

A sequence, or construction, of pitch levels of an utterance plus the terminal contour constitutes its melody. An utterance can have more than one melody. There are, however, certain standard, or characteristic, melodies for the various syntactic structures (840).

In the following examples the pitch level is indicated for stressed and unstressed syllables. (See 113.3 for other examples.):

1. apác uʔámↆ 'The man did it.'

2. lus̩ím lá·x ʼI don't drink.'

3. wáↆ ǂn^y á·c aʔímↆ 'Yes, I did it.'

4. n^y awí· lkt̩ʔím lá·x 'I'm not doing anything.'

5. kmyúk má·x ic 'How are you going?'

6. s̩xmpá·c n^y a·šácↆ 'A wasp stung me.'

7. lú·p kmt̩ʔíc mwayá·c maʔíc 'What are you doing?'

113.5. Terminal contour. There are three terminal contours: /↓/, /↑/, and /→/. /→/ indicates that the

utterance has not been completed. /↓/ and /↑/ ordinarily occur only at the end of an utterance. When /↑/ occurs between macrosegments within an utterance it appears to denote emphasis, e.g.,

11 3 ²   1
lpaʔím︢lá·xc iṣ↓ 'I didn't give it to him.'

   (The concept which is emphasized here is

   'my giving'.)

/↓/ denotes a slight fall in pitch. /↑/ denotes a slight rise in pitch. Both are accompanied by a decrease in the force of articulation. /|/ maintains the same pitch (or at the most, there is a very slight fall) and the same force of articulation throughout the syllable.

Examples of terminal contours are given in 113.3 and 113.4. The combination of pitch level and terminal contour to form a melody is described in 840.

120. Distribution. Consonants. Except for the restrictions given below there are no limitations in the distribution of consonants, either in relation to one another or to vowels:

  1. /w/ and /y/ must either precede or follow a vowel.

  2. /ʔ/ when it is not in free variation with nothing in initial position must precede the vowel of the stressed syllable.

  3. Contiguous laterals do not occur in a macrosegment which contains only one stressed syllable.

  4. /r/ can not be contiguous to another /r/ in a macrosegment which contains only one stressed syllable.

5. Contiguous sibilants do not ordinarily occur in normal speech. (See 227.)

122. Vowels. There are no restrictions on the occurrence of vowels in relation to consonants. An unstressed syllable containing a vowel followed by a coda prior to the stresses syllable occurs, but is rare:

$k^W l^y an^y cáš$ 'the little one'

Short /i/ is relatively rare in unstressed syllables:

$kik^W á \cdot y$ 'cow, cattle, beef'

$și?áw$ 'my granddaughter'

A semivowel rarely functions as a vowel except in a stressed syllable. The possible combinations of a vowel plus a semivowel are as follows:

1. /iw/

    xpšíw   'it puts out leaves'

    ríw ic   'it extends'

    mcuwíw   'they see each other'

    $kn^y yíwsk$ 'Come! (pl.)'

2. /i·w/

    $n^y i \cdot yú$ șawíw   'face towel'

    $łx^W í \cdot w$ 'skunk'

3. /uy/

    xm?úy   'it can't be seen'

    xli·kúy   'it's exciting'

4. /u·y/

    xšú·yk   'I whistle'

    $n^y i \cdot yú$ xm?ú·y   'he's blind'

5. /ay/

    kwáyɬ^y 'under'

    šáy 'be fat, greasy'

6. /a·y/

    ɬapá·y 'pillow'

    laká·ym 'to town'

    mi·yá·y 'your heart'

7. /aw/ (this sequence is fairly common in un-
stressed syllables.)

    kyaráwk 'Quick! Be fast!'

    puʔáw 'he walks'

    pawyá· 'he knows him'

8. /a·w/

    pmsk^{w}ayá·wx 'you will teach them, him'

    pʔá·w 'we walk'

    smís ɬ^{y}kwá·w 'ice box'

Sequences of two vowels can occur in a stressed syllable.
The second vowel must be /a/. The first vowel is the peak
of the syllable. The following combinations occur:

1. /ia/

    maʔía 'Did you do it?'

    mṣía 'Did you drink it?'

2. /i·a/

    n^{y}mwí·a 'Do you see me?'

3. /a·a/

    pmu·yá·a 'Do you know him?'

4. /ua/

    yú ac 'it is, he says' (These forms are

written with an intervening space for

syntactic reasons.)

/u•a/ would also be expected, but is not recorded.

130. Syllabic structure. A macrosegment in Cocopa
is defined as a stretch of speech in a given utterance that
can be spoken between pauses. That is, a macrosegment is
itself a potential utterance. Thus an utterance consists
of one or more macrosegments. A macrosegment contains one
or more syllables, at least one of which is stressed with
a vowel as the peak. Unstressed syllables containing a
vowel can occur in the macrosegment both before and after
the stressed syllable. A syllable can be entirely consonantal
and consist of an onset only or of an onset and a coda with
a predictable 'murmur' vowel following the onset as phonetic
peak. Such consonantal syllables can occur both before
and after the stressed syllable. The location of syllable
boundaries in a sequence of consonants is determined by
the number and quality of the consonants and by their posi-
tion in relation to the beginning of the macrosegment and
to the stressed syllable.

130.1. Onsets. Three types of onsets are recognized:
initial, medial, and final. An initial onset begins a macro-
segment. A final onset occurs before a phonemic vowel.
A medial onset is one which follows an initial onset or
another medial onset and which does not precede a vowel.

Onsets are either simple or complex. A simple onset con-
sists of a single consonant. Any consonant can be a simple
onset. An onset, whether simple or complex, which begins

a macrosegment and also precedes a vowel is at the same time both an initial and a final onset.

130.1.1. Complex initial-final onset to a stressed syllable. A complex initial-final onset to a stressed syllable can consist of:

    1. Any sequence of obstruents, provided that:

        a. A voiceless lateral is initial in the sequence.

        b. /ʔ/ or a labiovelar immediately precedes the vowel.

        c. Stops (excluding /ʔ/) are not contiguous.

    2. A voiceless lateral followed by a spirant and/or a semiconsonant.

    3. A voiceless lateral followed by a semivowel.

    4. A stop followed by /r/ before a long vowel.

The following examples illustrate a complex initial-final onset to a stressed syllable:

    xsá·m 'be almost'

    šqáw 'green heron'

    šmá 'I sleep'

    cšá·c 'I plant'

    ɬ^ymár 'I light a fire'

    kʔúy 'I cut hair'

    ɬ^yq^wáq 'be bitter'

    kšúpk ic 'I swim under water'

    ɬ^yyú·m 'I think'

    xpsíw 'be blue, green'

—

psk^wá   'I gossip about him'

sxt̯ú   'I spit'

spxú·k   'be eight'

ł^yksís   an unidentified plant species

ł^ysmíx   'I intend to lay something big in'

ps̯c?á·w   'I have them as daughters'

s̯cx?á·k   'I hang up several (things)'

šc?ú·n^y   'yellowshafted flicker'

tré·n   'train'

krú·s   'cross'

130.1.2. Complex initial-final onset to an unstressed
syllable. A complex initial-final onset to an unstressed
syllable consists of:

1. The same sequence of obstruents, with the ex-
clusion of /?/, permitted for a stressed syllable.

2. These same permitted sequences of obstruents
followed by a semivowel.

3. A semiconsonant followed by a semivowel.

4. A spirant and/or a stop followed by /r/ be-
fore a long vowel.

The following examples illustrate a complex initial-
final onset to an unstressed syllable:

ks̯ca?árk   'Dry!'

pskuwí·sc   'he was chasing them'

ł^yxpucú·n^y   'church'

s̯cxu?á·k   'she hangs up several (things)'

psk^wayá·w   'I teach him'

ɨ^yṭuyním   'he faces towards here'

šcumá·pca   'they slept (separately)'

kyaráwxan^y   'Hurry up!'

mwayá·c   'you are around'

cwaʔú·r   'chair'

sri·wí·   'I compare, contrast'

pri·wí·   'be the same'

şkru·wí·   'be in the middle'

130.1.3. Complex initial, medial, and final onsets.
The sequences of consonants permitted in the above two para-
graphs are nonsyllabic. In sequences of consonants other
than these there occurs one or more syllables (seldom more
than three). Such syllables have no distinctive peak. They
can consist entirely of onsets, either simple or complex.
Or they can consist of onsets followed by codas.

Long strings of consonants are theoretically possible.
However, a sequence of consonants with no intervening vowel
seldom consists of more than five consonants. Four or five
are about the maximum number recorded for a complext initial-
final onset. A medial onset is seldom complex. A complex
final onset, that is, one which presupposes a following
onset before the vowel, seldom contains more than two con-
sonants, but theoretically can consist of any of the ob-
struents permitted for initial-final onsets.

130.2. Codas. A coda is a consonant or a sequence
of consonants which terminates a syllable. A coda can be
simple or complex. Only simple codas are possible prior

to the stressed syllable. They ordinarily can be only either a semiconsonant, stop, or voiceless lateral. Possible codas in sequences following the stressed syllable are described in 132.2.

131. Quality of phonetic vowel. An anaptyctic phonetic vowel follows the onset of a syllable with no phonemic vowel. The quality of this indistinct 'murmur' vowel is determined by the quality of the preceding onset and/or that of a following onset or coda. This vowel is voiceless between voiceless consonants and voiced adjoining a voiced consonant. If an anaptyctic vowel occurs between two consonants, it has the following qualities and environments:

1. Lower-high back rounded
   a. Before /w/.
   b. Before a labiovelar.
2. Lower-high front unrounded
   a. After a palatal or dental consonant before any consonant except /w/ or a labiovelar.
   b. After a labial consonant before a palatal or dental consonant.
3. Lower-high mid unrounded
   a. After an alveolar consonant before any consonant except /w/ or a labiovelar.
   b. After /x/ or /q/ before a palatal consonant.
   c. Before an alveolar consonant after any consonant except a palatal or dental consonant.

4. Lower-high mid, freely alternating with front, unrounded

   a. After /k/ before a palatal consonant.
      (/k/ is velar if the anaptyctic vowel
      is mid and is prevelar if it is front.)

5. Central mid unrounded

   a. In all other environments than the above
      (viz., combinations of a labial, velar,
      or postvelar).

The quality of the phonetic anaptyctic vowel varies according to its environment in a manner fairly similar to the allophony of phonemic vowels in their environment (112). The quality of a vowel in a given environment is much the same, whether it is phonetic or phonemic. Therefore, in the examples in the section on syllable boundary anaptyctic vowels are equated with one of the three phonemic vowels as follows:

1. /i/

   a. Lower-high front unrounded (see 2 and
      4 above).

   b. Lower-high mid unrounded (see 3 and 4 above).

2. /u/

   a. Lower-high back rounded (see 1 above).

3. /a/

   a. Central mid unrounded (see 5 above).

132. Syllable boundary. In the examples which follow a hyphen indicates syllable boundaries. Anaptyctic vowels are superposed.

132.1. In positions prior to the stressed syllable.
In a sequence of consonants prior to the stressed syllable,
a boundary occurs:

1. After the first noninitial semiconsonant or
voiceless lateral which immediately precedes the final onset
of the sequence. The semiconsonant or voiceless lateral is
coda to the initial onset and together they constitute a
syllable:

$š^i$m-wáp 'he dreams'

$x^a ɨ^y$-ʔá· 'cottontail'

$ş^i$n-ʔáw 'newborn calf'

$p^i ɨ^y$-mín^y 'I singe'

p^in-mák 'I leave him'

$şx^a$m-pá· 'yellowjacket'

$ɨ^y p^a$m-wák 'you are tɔ ride him'

p^am-sk^{w}á·k 'you are to ask hiɯ for it'

2. After a medial semiconsonant or voiceless
lateral preceded by any consonant which is not part of the
initial onset. This semiconsonant or voiceless lateral
is always a coda. Such a sequence contains two syllables
whose boundary cannot clearly be distinguished: the con-
sonant preceding the semiconsonant or voiceless lateral
functions as coda to the initial onset as well as onset
to the semiconsonant or voiceless lateral. However, since
onsets can occur without codas, but codas cannot occur with-
out onsets, a syllable boundary is arbitrarily made:

3. Before the first consonant which is not part

of, or coda to, the initial onset. The following examples
illustrate both 2 and 3:

p^a-m^in-t^i-má•k   'we abandon them'

$ł^{yi}$-n^{yi}m-ta-?ámk   'you lay it down in'

n^{yi}-$m^ł n^y$-k^wáys   'we are your mother's older
        brothers'

n^{yi}-$ł^{yi}$m-wa-yá•c   'you are around in it'

m^i-c^im-p^a-ká•wc   'you meet each other'

$m^i n^y$-x^am-n^yáw   'you put on shoes'

m^a-$p^i ł^y$-mák   'you roast it'

p^a-$m^i ᴸ^y$-qác   'you tickle him'

m^a-p^ir-wí   'you sound like'

m^a-sp^il-xáy   'you wet your lips'

When two (or three, if the third syllable contains a
vowel) unstressed syllables precede the stressed syllable
and each contains a ·potential coda and medial onset, there
can be a non-phonemic alternation between what consitutes
the coda and what constitutes the onset. For example:

n^{yi}m-n^{yi}-k^wáys   'we are your mother's older
        brothers'

$n^{yi}ł^y$-mwa-yá•c   'you are around in it'

are as acceptable with this syllable division as with that
presented above. Note that the latter form has either three
or four syllables according to the location of the syllable
boundary. This alternation apparently occurs only among semi-
consonants, voiceless lateral, and stops (see 6 below). It
does not take place, however, if the semiconsonant /r/ is

involved, at least when /r/ is preceded by a lateral. Alternate syllable boundaries are not possible for the following:

$n^{yi}m-\dot{t}^{yi}r-?\acute{a}k$ 'you fool me'

$n^{yi}-\dot{t}^{yi}r-?\acute{a}k$ 'I fool you'

4. After an initial semiconsonant. An immediately following semiconsonant or voiceless lateral which does not precede another semiconsonant or voiceless lateral or a vowel functions as coda to the initial semiconsonant. If this is not the situation, the initial semiconsonant has no coda. (This is the normal situation. See 3 above for possible alternation of the boundary.):

$m^{a}-k^{i}-n^{y}\acute{a}\cdot p$ 'you relate'

$m^{a}-w\acute{a}l^{y}$ 'be soft'

$m^{a}m-c^{i}-k^{u}-w\acute{a}\cdot p$ 'you are going to look for a medicine man'

$m^{a}-k^{i}\dot{t}^{y}-k\acute{u}\dot{t}^{y}$ 'you peer over'

$m^{a}-m\acute{a}k$ 'you are to eat'

$n^{i}-m\acute{a}k$ 'I quit'

$m^{i}-\check{s}c\acute{u}k$ 'you are to take'

$r^{i}-x\acute{u}p$ 'tin can'

$l^{i}-x^{w}a-c\acute{a}q$ 'ghost'

$l^{yi}-p\acute{a}k$ 'be light in weight'

$l^{i}n^{y}-mu-x\acute{a}ym$ 'she didn't like it'

5. After an initial obstruent which does not combine with a following consonant to form a complex onset:

$k^{a}-p?\acute{a}\cdot k$ 'Stand!'

$p^{a}-k^{i}-y\acute{a}\cdot k$ 'Lead him!'

ṭⁱ-ṭʔá·p   'I turn something upside down'

kⁱ-cxáṣk   'Scrub! Whittle!'

pᵃ-qⁱ-la-šáw   'he cleaned him'

pⁱ-cxᵃ-mu-káp   'he embraced her'

ṭⁱ-má·y   'waves of the ocean'

cⁱ-nʸám   'dark'

pⁱ-lík   'I taste'

xⁱ-ru-páy   'he is near'

ṣⁱ-yá·w   'we were there'

xᵘ-wák   'be two'

sᵘ-wá-mⁱɨʸ   'all of them'

ɨʸⁱ-nʸa-nʸáɨʸ   'it dropped into it'

6. After a medial obstruent which does not combine with a following consonant to form a complex onset. When this is a stop before a nonidentical stop, it is coda to a preceding stop or semiconsonant. It is otherwise an onset. A medial spirant which does not form a complex onset with the following consonant is a coda. A medial voiceless lateral is always a coda:

mᵃ-kⁱ-nʸá·p   'you relate'

ɨʸⁱp-cíkp   'it sticks to it (as glue)'

kⁱṭ-pápk   'Bow your head!'

lⁱk-ṭʔím   'I'm not doing anything'

mⁱṭ-páp   'you bowed your head'

mⁱc-ku-wá·p   'he looks for a medicine man'

pⁱɨʸ-má   'done, cooked'

mⁱs-yá·   'you sing'

p^{i}ṣ-n^{y}u-pís 'she casts a spell on him'

m^i-ṭ^{i}ṭ-ʔá·p (also m^i-ṭ^i-ṭʔáPp) 'you turn up-
side down'

n^{yi}-k^a-mím 'we arrive'

The medial obstruent may be part of an initial complex
onset:

pšk^u-wá·kx 'we intend to return him'

sk^i-n^{y}áp 'we talk, gossip'

A medial stop before a medial semiconsonant alternates
between a coda and an onset. The semiconsonant is coda if
the stop is onset:

m^{i}c-m^i-yáw or m^i-c^{i}m-yáw 'you are married to
each other'

7. After a vowel or semivowel of an unstressed
syllable before a single consonant preceding a vowel:

n^{y}i·-yáɨ^y 'into, in his mouth'

si-pá 'creator'

k^{w}a-šíṭ 'the same'

u-cíṭx 'he intends to defecate'

aw-cák 'he peels the skin off'

8. After the first of two (more than two are
not recorded) consonants betwen vowels. The first consonant
is ordinarily a coda, but if the two consonants are a
potential complex onset, the syllable boundary can be either
before or after the first consonant:

k^{wi}-l^{y}an^y-cáš 'the one who is little'

xun-cáq 'he is an ugly little one'

ṣi-xká· or ṣix-ká· 'my granddaughter'

132.2. In positions following the stressed syllable
or the vowel of the stressed syllable. A macrosegment can
end with a stressed or unstressed syllable. Usually not
more than three unstressed syllables follow the stressed
syllable. An unstressed syllable in this position may
contain a vowel or it may be entirely consonantal.

A stressed syllable ending a macrosegment has as its
coda one of the following:

1. Any single consonant except /ʔ/ or a labiovelar:

x^am-xù·k 'be six'

ka·-rít 'wagon'

mwa-már 'you irrigate'

ṣu-kán 'he escapes'

2. A semiconsonant followed by a stop or a spirant,
or by a spirant and a stop. (A coda consisting of semicon-
sonant, stop, and spirant is no doubt possible, but is not
recorded.):

kšk^{w}á·lk 'Peel!'

xa-sán^{y}c 'young girl before puberty (subj.)'

a-yúmp 'I change course'

ku·-kán^{y}k 'Break (in two)!'

m^i-c^{i}n^y-mí·lp 'we could scarcely afford it'

šk^{w}á·ls 'we peel'

ł^{y}yú·ms 'we think'

n^{y}i·-ša-máns 'we started from there'

ca-pín^{y}x 'I will warm (it)'

kxí•rsk 'You (pl.) tie!'

ku•-kán^{y}sk 'You (pl.) break (in two)!'

3. An obstruent followed by a stop or a spirant, or by a spirant and a stop. Contiguous stops must not be identical:

ṣmá•ps 'we borrow'

cxáṣx 'I intend to sharpen, whittle'

ca-kúšx 'I intend to raise'

ɬ^{y}úɬ^{y}x 'I intend to boil (it)'

k^{a}m-ʔúšk 'Smile!'

kštípk 'Shoot!'

ṣc^i-nákp 'be tied in a knot'

kṣú•xsk 'You (pl.) suck!'

ksq^{w}áqsk 'You (pl.) tear, rip!'

k^i-cxá•ṣsk 'You (pl.) scrub, whittle!'

  (See 227 for morphophonemic rule regarding /s/ and /ṣ/.)

4. /ṭ/ or /n/ followed by a voiceless lateral (only /ɬ^y/ is recorded):

máṭɬ^y 'in, on, into the ground'

tí•nɬ^y 'in, into the tub'

A consonant following the vowel nucleus of a stressed syllable is both coda to the preceding vowel nucleus and onset to an immediately following vowel, semiconsonant, or voiceless lateral (except when the consonant is /ṭ/ or /n/; see 4 above) which ends the macrosegment. In such cases the syllable boundary is indistinct. The boundary

is likewise indistinct between unstressed syllables.

In the examples given below the syllable boundary is arbitrarily marked before the consonant when it is thus both coda and onset.

A coda to a stressed syllable, unless it consists of homorganic semiconsonant and stop, is always simple before a following unstressed syllable. The consonant following this simple coda is onset to the unstressed syllable. A complex onset has not been recorded in any position following the stressed syllable. The coda to an unstressed syllable can be either simple or complex. If simple, it can be any consonant except /?/ or a labiovelar. A complex coda is not at all common. /ɫ^y/, however, which is restricted in its occurrence in a complex coda to a stressed syllable (see 4 above), can here follow other consonants than /ṭ/ or /n/:

n^{yi}-sk^{w}á·n^y-x^{a}m 'I also intend to ask you
        for something'

yúmp-xan^y 'be very easy'

— k^{a}m-yú-x^{i}ɫ^y 'I hope that somehow you will'

n^{y}a-wí· más-n^{yi}x (also má-s^{i}n^{y}x) 'we also
        intend to eat'

n^{yi}-?ís-ya 'I say to you again'

kx^{w}a-múk-pi-ca 'these three (people)'

m^i-šu-ší·l-k^{a}m 'if you don't know'

k^a-pár-xan^{y}ɫ^y 'in the very last one'

a-pá-pic 'this man (subj.)'

n^{y}a-yú-k^{a}m 'if it's all right'

ma-pú-ca 'and you?'

200. MORPHOPHONEMICS

When a phoneme or a sequence of phonemes which denotes a unit of meaning is in immediate contact with another phoneme or sequence of phonemes which also has meaning, the two phonemes or the initial and final phonemes of the sequence of phonemes are susceptible to modification. The result of this contact may be the coalescence of the two phonemes into one phoneme phonemically similar to both phonemes; or it may result in the modification of one or both of the phonemes to another or others phonemically similar. Certain modifications are mandatory and result to some extent from the manner of analysis. Others depend upon the tempo of speech or upon idiolectal preferences.

The phonemic analysis of the syllabic structure (130) minimizes the number of morphophonemic statements necessary to account for vowel modification. A few statements in which vowels figure, however, are necessary and all are mandatory.

The consonant modifications, on the other hand, are alternations which may occur in particular environments, but whose actual occurrences are, as a rule, optional or non-predictable.

210. Vowels

211. /i/ or /i·/ unstressed:

1. Becomes /y/ before any unstressed vowel when /i/ or /i·/ is initial or follows a consonant other than /r/:

i·-umá : yumá 'he dances' (i·má 'I dance')

xi·-apúk : xyapúk 'the first one' (xi·púk 'be first')

ši-amú·ɨ^y : šyamú·ɨ^y 'tribe, clan' (šɨ́ 'I name; mú ɨ^y 'be named')

2. Disappears before an unstressed vowel following /r/:

pri·-uwí· : pruwí· 'He resembles' (pri·wí· 'be similar to')

sri·-uwí·: sruwí· 'He compares' (sri·wí· 'I compare, contrast')

3. Becomes /y/ following stressed /a/ or /u/:

n^{y}ṣá-i : n^{y}ṣáy 'at that place, time'

wá-i : wáy 'at the house'

šmá-i·x : šmáyx 'I'll sleep again'

n^{y}pú-i : n^{y}púy 'at this place, time'

4. Becomes /·/ after a preceding stressed /ɨ/:

ṣɨ́-i·x : ṣɨ́·x 'I'll drink again'

5. Disappears after a semiconsonant and before a consonant which is not a simple onset to a stressed syllable:

m-ixká· : mxká· 'your daughter's son'

m-iskáw : mskáw 'your father's younger brother'

212. /i·/ stressed becomes /i/ following /u/:

n^{y}u-í·ɨ^y : n^{y}wíɨ^y 'he is dark-colored (e.g., a horse)' (n^{y}í·ɨ^y 'be black')

213. /u/ or /u·/ unstressed:

1. Becomes /w/ before /a/ or /i/:

u-á· : wá 'he goes' (á· 'I go')

pu-á· : pwá 'he arrives'

cu-a?ú·r : cwa?ú·r 'chair' (cu?úr 'he sits on')

šu·-ak^{W}í·ɨ^y : šwak^{W}í·ɨ^y 'needle' (šu·k^{W}íɨ^y 'he sews')

n^{y}u-í·l^y : n^{y}wíl^y 'he is dark-complexioned' (n^{y}í·ɨ^y 'be black')

2. Becomes /·/ after /u/:

cu-umán : cu·mán 'he opens' (cumán 'I open')

šu-upíṭ : šu·píṭ 'he closes' (šupíṭ 'I close')

3. And /w/ disappear after a consonant before stressed /i·/ or /a·/:

ɨ^{y}šu-wí· : ɨ^{y}ší· 'he puts into' (ɨ^{y}šwí· 'I put into')

cu-wá·x : cá·x 'he grinds' (cwá·x 'I grind')

n^{y}i·šu-wá·ɨ : n^{y}i·šá·ɨ 'he wants something (i·šwá·ɨ 'I want')

cu-wá·m : cá·m 'he throws (underhand?)' (cwá·m 'I throw')

(This is the regular morphophonemic change. There are, however, two known exceptions: šwá·ɨ 'I paddle', šuwá·ɨ 'he paddles' and swá· 'I sow', suwá· 'he sows', in which /uw/ in this environment do not disappear.)

214. /a/ becomes /·/ after /a/:

pmwá-a : pmwá• 'You who are sitting, are

you ...?'

215. /a·/ becomes /a/ after /u/:

u-á• : wá 'he goes'

su-á•m : swám 'they are all'

220. Consonants. The following statements regarding
the morphophonemic alternation of consonants are variable
in the extent of their application. They are applicable,
for most speakers at least, in normally articulated speech.
Even in what appears to be normally articulated speech the
same speaker will on different occasions make use of both
alternations in the same environment. This is particularly
true regarding the /k^w/-/k/ alternation.

221. /c/ finally becomes /ṭ/ after /n/:

pšawín-c : pšawínṭ 'I grabbed, stopped him'

umán-c : umánṭ 'he arises, flies'

awpún-c : awpúnṭ 'he hoes'

222. /ł^y/ plus /l/ become /ł/:

n^{y}ł^y-luwám : n^{y}łuwám 'it is not in it'

n^{y}ł^y-luyákm lá•x : n^{y}łuyákm lá•x 'it does

not lie in it'

223. /m/ disappears initially before unstressed /a/.
The dropping of /m/ is known definitely to occur in only
two forms: mapúc (also mapún^y) 'you' and mapíl^y 'now'
and appears to occur only in rapid articulation. It was
observed in the speech of several informants. When it was
remarked upon, one informant observed that 'it's wrong, only
kids do it.'

224. /x/ becomes /x^W/ before /i·/ or /y/ following /k^W/:

> k^W-xyapúk : k^Wx^Wyapúk   'the one who is first'
>
> (xi·púk 'be first')
>
> k^W-xi·mí·k : k^Wx^Wi·mí·k   'the one who has
>
> become a young man'

225. /k^W/

1. Becomes /k/ before any consonant except /ʔ/, /x/, /x^W/, or /y/ immediately preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable:

> k^W-pá·p : kpá·p 'he who bakes'
>
> k^W-ɬ^yáp : kɬ^yáp 'that which is hot; star'
>
> k^W-cúr : kcúr 'tire, wheel; that which rolls'
>
> k^W-rár : krár 'the one who works'
>
> k^W-wáspiɬ^y : kwáspiɬ^y 'the one who is in this'

but: k^Wʔás 'the one who says, what was said'

> k^Wx^Wíspic 'the smell' (x^Wí 'it smells')
>
> k^Wyá·w 'things in a temporary location'

(In very rapid speech /k^W/ before /ʔ/ or /y/ may also become /k/.)

2. Before any consonant not immediately preceding the vowel of the stressed syllable, there is considerable variation in the alternation of /k^W/ and /k/, except that before /m/ and before /p/ it is always /k/. In slow speech /k^W/ may become /ku/. The following examples illustrate the various possibilities:

> k^W-mcawíɬ^ypic : kmcawíɬ^ypic 'the one who is
>
> the oldest' (mcwíɬ^y 'be older, the oldest')

k^W-pyutá·n : kpyutá·n 'the one who is chief'

(pi·tá·n 'be a chief')

$k^W n^y$axá·ṭ or kn^{y}axá·ṭ or kun^{y}axá·ṭ 'the

one who has a dog, dogs, pets'

k^Wyamá·s or kyamá·s or kuyamá·s 'dancer'

(i·má 'I dance)

k^Wr?ák or kr?ák 'old man'

n$^y k^W$ra?ák or n^{y}kura?ák 'her husband'

k^Wsayá·w or ksayá·w 'the one who is a singer'

k^Wspáp or kspáp 'the four ones' (spáp 'be

four')

k^Wṣ?ár or kṣ?ár 'the one which is dried out'

(The last two forms with /k^W/ were elicited in very

slow speech.)

226. /n^y/ becomes /m/ when coda to an unstressed

syllable before or after /p/:

pawác yun^y-pa : pawác yumpa 'I'm here (sitting)'

This change also takes place in normal speech across word

boundaries:

n^{y}á·p n^{y}cá· : n^{y}á·p mcá· 'my mother'

227. /s/ plus /ṣ/ become /ṣ/. This occurs in rapid

speech regardless of which sibilant precedes. In normal

speech when /ṣ/ precedes /s/ each tends to retain its

phonemic identity, e.g., kcxá·ṣsk 'You (pl.) whittle!'.

These are the only sibilants which are known to come into

morphophonemic contact. An example of /s/ preceding /ṣ/ is:

sxuṭús-ṣin^y : sxuṭúṣin^y 'that which she

has spit there'

230. External sandhi. The present analysis has not preceeded to the point that comprehensive statements can be made dealing with the morphophonemic changes that occur across word boundaries. One change was noted above (226). Some of the statements regarding external changes can be expected to differ from those presented above which apply within the word only. For example, the change stated in 227 does not apply in the following, in which there is inserted between the two sibilants an anaptyctic vowel:

n^yakayús ṣmyúk ... : n^yakayús ^{i} ṣmyúk...'Some day when you are there ...'

Insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between words is a common phenomenon in the ordinary flow of speech. The rules for the occurrence and quality of the vowel appear to be the same as those which apply to its insertion within the word (131, 132). The presence of the anaptyctic vowel between words thus alters the status of the first consonant of the second word. For example, it may become a coda and the anaptyctic vowel which follows it when the word is uttered in isolation disappears. This is the case in the example cited in 226. Two further examples illustrate this:

pí·s n^{yi}šucúk... : pí·s ^{i} n^yšucúk ... 'If he gets the money ...'

mxpcú·n^yx m^apʔá·a : mxpcú·n^yx ^{a} mpʔá·a 'are you going to church, you who are standing?'

The opposite may also occur: a coda may become an onset:

(šuqám) mʔík^{a}m lá·x : mʔíkm^a lá·x 'If you say it is not (expensive) ...'

240. Remarks on transcription of data. An attempt has been made to record the data in phonemic, rather than morphophonemic, notation. The phonemic representation of the vowels presents no problems. It is not always easy, however, to determine which of the alternations of consonants is the proper phonemic representation, as, for example in the /k^w/ -/k/ alternation. Thus, throughout the analysis there may be variant transcriptions of the same word. In cases of doubt as to the proper notation the one which will not obscure the basic form of the affix or root has been chosen.

300. INTRODUCTION TO THE MORPHOLOGY

A macrosegment has been defined (130) as a stretch of speech in an utterance that may be spoken between pauses. Thus a macrosegment is a free form. For the purpose of describing the phonological units of meaning which comprise it and its relationship to other macrosegments which can occur in an utterance, a macrosegment is considered as equivalent to a word. A word contains a root which is modified by morphological processes. A root is the stressed syllable of a word plus contiguous phonemes or phoneme sequences which necessarily accompany the stressed syllable in order to signify a unit of meaning. A root frequently has the phonological shape: CVC. Other common shapes are: CVʔ CCV, and CCVC. Of less frequent occurrence are: V, VC, and CCV. Roots of shapes other than these occur, but are rare.

A root is modified by processes which are inflectional or derivational. A root thus modified is a stem. A stem modified by inflectional processes only is a primary stem. A stem modified by derivational and inflectional processes is a secondary stem. Inflectional processes employed are: prefixation, suffixation, compounding, reduplication, and consonantal modification of the root. The process of suffixation is syntactic in relating words to each other or in relating sequences of words.

A root is identified as a <u>noun</u> <u>root</u> or a <u>verb</u> <u>root</u>
according to its ability to attach certain affixes restricted
to one or the other root, or as an <u>invariable</u> <u>root</u> if it
is not modified by any morphological process. A verb root
is distinguished as such by its ability to attach, as a
primary stem, the verb inflectional suffixes. The ability
of a root to attach the intentive suffix -x is an excellent
criterion for designating its status as a verb. A noun root
is most easily distinguished as such by its inability to
attach these suffixes.

Primary and secondary stems are assigned to a <u>word-</u>
<u>class</u> of <u>nouns</u>, <u>verbs</u>, or <u>interjections</u> according to the
relationship of one to another in a syntactic sequence.
A primary stem modified by derivational processes results
in a secondary stem which is a noun derived from a verb
or another noun, or is a verb derived from a noun or another
verb. A noun can be derived from any verb. Verbs, on the
other hand, can be derived from only a small number of nouns.

Nouns are distinguished as <u>nouns</u> <u>proper</u> and <u>pronouns</u>.
Pronouns have an overtly marked objective case suffix; nouns
do not. The use of the term noun is to be interpreted as
including both nouns proper and pronouns. Pronouns are clas-
sified according to whether they are: personal, demonstra-
tive, definite, or indefinite. Nouns proper may or may not
be possessable. If possessable, they are alienably or in-
alienably possessed. Nouns are inflected for person, case,
and (nouns proper only) plural.

Verbs are classified as essentially <u>active</u> or <u>stative</u>.
In a general sense, a stative verb is descriptive of a state
or condition; an active berb denotes the performance of an
action. This semantic distinction is validated by certain
formal characteristics which for the most part serve to dis-
tinguish the two classes. An active verb can be derived
from any stative verb, and it is in its manner of deriva-
tion that a stative verb is formally identified: a stative
verb requires the simultaneous affixation of the 'active'
prefix a- upon the affixation of a derivational instrumental
prefix. Stative verbs are subgrouped as follows:

Group I. Stative verbs which are not inflected for
person without the simultaneous affixation of the prefix
a-. This prefix is undoubtedly to be equated with the 'active'
prefix a-, in spite of a lack of 'active' semantic denota-
tion in the inflected verb. Most verbs of this group have
this common semantic feature: their semantic reference
may equally be animate or inanimate.

Group II. Stative verbs which are inflected for person
without the affixation of a-. Most verbs of this group have
an animate semantic reference.

The distinction of the two types of stative verbs is
in greatest evidence in the inflection for first person.
The inflection for first person subject and third person
inanimate subject is identical for all verbs except those
considered as stative group I verbs. The alternative to
considering a- a derivative prefix would be to consider it

a first person pronominal prefix. It in effect functions as such. Considering a- as derivative rather than inflective, however, permits the first person for all verbs to be viewed as having no overt marker.

Active verbs are basically <u>transitive</u> or <u>intransitive</u>. A transitive verb is one to which a pronominal object prefix can be attached. An intransitive verb is one to which a pronominal object prefix can not be attached. The 'object' of a transitive verb can only be animate. An intransitive verb may have either no object or one which is inanimate. An active verb is further classified as <u>personal</u> if it can attach a pronominal subject prefix and thus have an animate reference, or as <u>impersonal</u> if it can not attach a pronominal subject prefix, in which case the reference is inanimate, or more commonly, 'impersonal'. Hence, there are four categories of active verbs: personal transitive, impersonal transitive, personal intransitive, and impersonal intransitive.

It is necessary to assume another class of verbs whose classificatory features are other than those presented above. <u>Auxiliary</u> verbs are those which are formally identified by their ability to attach one or more of the locative-temporal prefixes and which can function syntactically as an auxiliary verb in a verb phrase. With a few exceptions (í 'say' and aʔí 'do' may be transitive) auxiliary verbs are personal intransitive. (One intransitive auxiliary (yá· 'happen, occur') functions primarily as an impersonal verb.)

Most interjections are invariable roots. A few have roots which are basically noun or verb roots. Interjections are subgrouped into exclamations and absolutes.

Some seventy-five percent of all roots are verb roots. Invariable roots comprise not more than one percent. The remainder are noun roots.

As will be described in the section on syntax, the primary requisite of a major sentence is the presence of a verb. The functions of the verb result in a fairly complex and elaborate inflective apparatus.

The verb marks animate subject and/or object by means of pronominal prefixes. The pronominal prefixes are affixed regardless of whether there is present a noun which is the overt subject or object.

The concept of number is not an inherent feature of the verb. The verb can be modified to express a concept of 'more than one', which concept, however, is extended not only to the subject but to the object as well. A plural animate subject is dichotomized into a collective and distributive plural, i.e., whether the subject is considered as acting as a group of individuals, or as individuals acting separately. The plural notion also includes such aspectual concepts as repetitive and continuous action, or repetitive and continuous conditions and states of being. There is considerable overlapping in the correlation betwen the plural concepts and the morphological processes employed in the plural formation. In many instances the plural form of a verb has a potential denotation of two, and occasionally

three, of the above-mentioned concepts, in which case the specific denotation is evident syntactically or is implied in the context of the situation. The plural is by far the most intricate feature of Cocopa grammar. A comprehensive knowledge and intensive study of the language will be required to unravel its intricacies.

Certain notions of position are indicated by means of prefixes several of which can also function as suffixes with the same or a similar denotation. These positional affixes are virtually identical to the case suffixes of the noun.

Similar to, but occupying a different position class than, the positional affixes is a referential prefix which is identical in form to the 'objective' suffix to the pronoun. Its reference is to an unspecified or indefinite object, time, or place. This prefix is obligatory with numerous verbs.

Prefixes which denote location in time or space from a point of reference attach only to auxiliary verbs. These include an aspectual prefix denoting continuous, repetitive, or intermittent action, rather than location.

Two non-referential prefixes, one with definite and the other indefinite denotation, are restricted to three auxiliary verbs. The former may co-occur with a suffix whose simultaneous affixation expresses negation, in which case the definite prefix can attach to any verb.

A variety of semantic notions are expressed by a group
of suffixes which occupy several position classes. These
notions are: anefactive, imitative, usitative or habitual
or repetitive (the denotation of this suffix is not essent-
ially different from one of the plural notions), intentive,
desiderative, assertive, emphatic, and perfective-sequential.

Tense is not marked, although there is an intimation
of tense in the intentive suffix. The action denoted by
a verb with this suffix has not occurred; in this sense
it is a sort of future. The suffix more strictly denotes
rather an expression of intention by the subject of the
verb to perform the action. The action denoted by a verb
without the intentive suffix may be either past action or
action presently occurring; if it is necessary to make a
distinction, it is accomplished syntactically.

Certain of the suffixes, to the noun as well as to
the verb, are syntactic in function in addition to being
inflective. At least they are identical in form. This
analysis treats them as being the same if they occupy
the same position class and are not otherwise restricted in
their occurrence. Homonymy in affixes and in stems and
words is a common pehnomenon in the language. No attempt
is made to resolve their identity or distinction on higher
levels of abstraction.

Derivational processes are on the whole straightforward.
Certain affixes identical in form are used with verbs or
nouns. Again the question is moot as to whether they are

to be considered the same or different affixes. The prefix a- is particularly troublesome, and it is not certain what is the best method of accounting for it.

Two features of the derivational process are noteworthy in the manner of its application by verbs and nouns. Verbs are extremely productive in their capacity to derive verbs from other verbs, but are relatively very unproductive in their capacity to derive verbs from nouns. Nouns, on the other hand, are very productive in their ability to be derived from verbs, but are far less productive in their ability to derive other nouns.

400. INFLECTION: THE VERB

410. Pronominal prefixes. The verb is inflected for person by means of prefixes for subject and/or object. Object precedes subject, and may be attached only to a transitive verb. There is no overt marker for inanimate subject or object. The second person prefix is identical for subject or object. The imperative prefix belongs to this paradigm and occurs only as subject prefix and in the same position as second person. The first person subject has no overt marker. The first person form of a verb and the form of a verb whose reference is inanimate subject are often identical. The form of the third person animate subject is determined by the phonological environment before the stressed syllable of the stem. The position of the third person subject prefix is normally immediately before the first phoneme of the root. (See Appendix I)

411. Object prefixes. The object prefixes are:

n^y-   first person

m-   second person

p-   third person

With no subject prefix they can be attached only to impersonal intransitive verbs:

n^{y}ṭkší�figk   'I hiccough'

mṭkší�figk   'you hiccough'

pṭkší�figk   'he, she hiccoughs'

n^{y}cx?ák 'I snagged (e.g., my clothes on

   something'

pṣkmí·rq 'he, she slipped and fell'

— (pṣkumí·rq is also possible)

mayúɬ 'you got a splinter'

412. Subject prefixes. When not preceded by object

prefixes, the subject prefixes are:

   1. First person

      No overt marker. Examples are presented accord-

      ing to verb class.

         Group I stative verbs

         ašáy 'I'm fat

         mawál^y 'I'm soft'

         ašíṭ 'I'm alone (one)'

      Group II stative verbs

         ptáy 'I'm big

         px^{w}áy 'I'm good

         rí·k 'I'm rich

         xwák 'we are two'

         xcáq 'I'm bad, ugly

      Active verbs derived from stative verbs

         cmawál^y 'I soften

         cpatáy 'I make big

         šakúɬ^y 'I lengthen

         cxamá·ɬ^y 'I whiten

         mi·wár 'I crumble

Primary stem intransitive verbs

    mán   'I get up'

    pát   'I lie down

    wí•   'I look, see'

    ṣí   'I drink

    sk^{W}á   'I swell up

    šmá   'I sleep

Secondary stem intransitive verbs

    cumán   'I open, uncover

    šuk^{W}íⱡ^y 'I sew'

    sx$^?$ák   'I hang up'

    kmáⱡ   'I sharpen, grind'

    u•máⱡ   'I powder my face'

    pkáṭ   'I head off, take a short-cut'

Auxiliary verbs

    wá   'I sit'

    yák   'I lie

    yí•   'I come'

    yú   'I am'

    á•   'I go'

    wayá•   'I'm around'

    pwayá•   'I'm around here'

    p$^?$á•   'I stand'

    pšuyí•   'I come here bringing'

    šuyí•x   'I will bring'

    ṣp$^?$á•x   'I will stand over there (far away)'

2. Second parson

    m- attached immediately before a primary

or secondary stem in the fifth position class (see Appendix I):

<div style="margin-left:3em">

mptáy 'you're big'

mšakúɨ^y 'you lengthen'

mšmá 'you sleep'

mu·máɨ 'you powder your face'

mwá 'you sit'

myú 'you are'

pmwá 'you're sitting here'

pmwayá· 'you are around here'

ṣmyákx 'you will lie over there'

</div>

3. Third person

    a- used only with the stem xcaq:

        xacáq 'he is bad (Cf. xucáq 'he is ugly')

    u- used with stems in which non-initial

/a/ or /u/ does not immediately precede the consonant which immediately precedes the vowel of the stressed syllable:

<div style="margin-left:3em">

putáy 'he or she is big'

xucáq 'he is ugly'

urí·k 'he is rich'

ṣxuʔák 'he hangs up'

ƚupáp 'he bows his head'

uwá 'he sits'

wá 'he goes'

suk^wá 'he swells up'

myuwár 'he crumbles'

yumá 'he dances'

</div>

šawín 'I stop' has two third person forms:
ša·wín and šuwín. The latter form is preferred.

aw- used with (secondary) stems with /u·/
immediately before the consonant preceding the vowel of the
stressed syllable:

> awmáł 'he powders his (own) face'
>
> awpún 'he hoes'
>
> awqʷáq 'he tears in two'

·- (lengthened vowel) used in stems with
non-initial /a/ or /u/ immediately before the consonant which
precedes the vowel of the stressed syllable:

> cma·wályʸ 'he softens'
>
> ša·kúłyʸ 'he lengthens'
>
> pa·wá 'he is sitting here'
>
> cu·mán 'he opens'
>
> pwa·yá· 'he is around here'
>
> pu·yí· 'he is coming there (nearby)'

4. Imperative

k- occurs in the same position class as m-
'second person'. The imperative is usually accompanied by
the syntactic suffix -k or -m (801.4, 801.5), particularly
if the stem ends in a vowel:

> kyí·k 'Come!'
>
> ka·k 'Go!'
>
> kyák 'Lie!'
>
> kpáṭk 'Lie down!'

lká·m lá·x 'Don't go!'

ku·káṭ 'Cut! Chop!'

kṣísk 'Drink! (pl.)'

413. Object-subject prefixes. The object and subject prefixes are used concomitantly only with personal transitive verbs. Second person object - first person subject ('I... you') is simply n^y-. Following the third person object prefix first person subject is a- before primary stems beginning with a single consonant. The desinences are otherwise regular and the object-subject prefixes are attached according to the rules for their respective form and position. The reflexive mc- is a fourth object prefix which occurs with personal transitive verbs. (See Appendix I for position classes.):

n^{y}nák 'I kill you'

n^{y}mnák 'you kill me'

panák 'I kill him'

pmnák 'you kill him'

pa·nák 'he kills him'

ma·nák 'he kills you'

n^{y}a·nák 'he kills me'

mcnák 'I kill myself'

mcmnák 'you kill yourself'

mcunák 'he kills himself'

n^{y}knák 'Kill me!'

mcknák 'Kill yourself!'

pu·yá·   'I know him'

pawyá·   'he knows him'

n^{y}sun^{y}ú   'I believe you'

n^{y}su·n^{y}ú   'he believes me'

pmcašéy   'you fattened him'

n^{y}suk^{w}í   'he asked me a question'

mkuwí   'he pursued you'

420. Plural. By means of several morphological pro-
cesses the verb is inflected to denote a variety of mean-
ings, all of which may be subsumed under the concept 'plural'.
Five plural conceptual types are distinguished:

1. Collective subject: two or more animate
beings perform a singular or plural action collectively.

2. Distributive subject: two or more animate
beings perform a singular or plural action individually,
or one performs a plural action.

3. Distributive object: one or more animate
beings perform a singular or plural action upon a plural
animate or inanimate object, or upon a singular or plural
object, animate or inanimate, repetitively or continuously.

4. Stative subject: a condition or state exists
for a plural subject or for a singular or plural subject
repetitively or continuously, animate or inanimate.

5. Impersonal subject: a plural inanimate
action occurs singly, or a singular or plural action occurs
repetitively or continuously.

The plural conceptual types correlate in a general
manner as follows with the verb classes:

1. Transitive verbs and intransitive verbs with an inanimate object have a distributive object plural.

2. Stative verbs and impersonal intransitive verbs denoting a condition have a stative subject plural.

3. Impersonal intransitive verbs denoting an action and personal intransitive verbs with an inanimate subject have an impersonal subject plural.

4. Most personal intransitive verbs and auxiliary verbs with an animate subject are inflected both for collective and distributive subject plural.

421. Plural formation. More than one process can be used to denote the same type of plural. The same process or affix, on the other hand, can denote, according to the class of verb, different types of plurals. A large number of transitive and intransitive verbs can be inflected simultaneously for collective or distributive subject and distributive object. The prefixes occupy third position; the suffixes first position.

1. s- This prefix is not common. It usually denotes distributive object with the notion of repetitiveness:

xám 'I hit' : sxám 'I beat'

It is of somewhat more common occurrence when accompanied by the suffix -s or -p and/or root vowel modification, with or without the added notion of collective or distributive subject. The derivational prefix u·- is dropped:

u·káṭ 'I cut (once)' : skáṭ or ská·ts

'I or we cut to pieces'

u·q^wáq 'I tear (once)' : sq^wáq or sq^wáqs

'I or we tear to pieces'

pwár 'I fail' : spwá·rp 'We fail'

kn^yá·p 'I tell' : skn^yáp 'I tell (a story)',

also 'we tell'

mxán 'I watch' : smxá·n 'we watch'

2. c-, (ṭ- after /n/). This prefix denotes distributive subject, or distributive object with the notion usually of plural object. It is often accompanied by the suffix -s or -p and/or root vowel modification. The derivational prefix u·- (which is u- following another derivational prefix) is dropped:

ṣ?áw 'I bear a child' : ṣc?á·w 'I bear

children'

nmák 'I quit, leave' : nṭmák 'I quit,

leave (several things or several times)':

nṭmá·k 'we quit, leave'

mšyá· 'I'm afraid' : mšcyáyp 'We're afraid'

mšráy 'I'm angry' : mšcrás 'we're angry'

cuwár 'I'm tired' : ccwá·r or cwá·r 'we're

tired'

ṣa?ár 'I dry (something)' : ṣca?ár 'I dry

several things'

ṣkán 'I escape' : ṣcká·n or ṣká·n 'we escape

3. n^y- This prefix is used primarily with verbs of motion or position. It denotes collective subject. It is often accompanied by root vowel modification and one

of the plural suffixes. The stem of a number of verbs
which take this prefix is suppletive:

payí· 'I come' : pn^{y}yí·w 'we come'

sán^y 'I descend' : n^{y}sán^y 'we descend'

á·x 'I'll go' : n^{y}á·x 'we'll go'

wayá· 'I'm around' : wan^{y}í· 'we're around'

pá· 'I arrive (here)' : n^{y}kmís 'we arrive
(here)'

pá·m 'I arrive there' : n^{y}kmím 'we
arrive there'

4. -s can denote any plural concept except col-
lective subject. It is often accompanied by a plural pre-
fix and/or vowel modification. The derivational prefix
u·- (u-) is dropped:

şí 'I drink' : şís 'I drink a lot'

yú 'I am' : yús 'I am, we are, contin-
uously; it is continuously'

akú· 'I'm an old woman' : akúss 'we're
old women'

sán^y 'I go down' : sán^{y}s 'we go down'

pká· 'I carry in my arms' : pká·s 'we carry
in our arms'

xmí· 'I am born' : xmí·s 'we are born'

ší 'I name' : ší·s 'I, we name many'

šawín 'I hold' : šawí·ns 'we hold'

šuţíp 'I untie, loosen' : šţíps 'I untie
several things or several times'

štíp 'I shoot' : ští·ps 'we shoot, I shoot a lot'

5. -p denotes collective subject and is used primarily with personal intransitive verbs. Root vowel modification may occur simultaneously. An accompanying plural prefix denotes distributive object:

má 'I eat' : má·p 'we eat'

mcnʸmí·l 'I can scarcely make, afford'

mcnʸmí·lp 'we can scarcely make, afford'

nʸwáy 'I inhabit' : nʸcwá·yp 'we inhabit'

ṣmáy 'I miss, lose' : ṣcmá·yp 'we miss, lose'

šcú 'I gather, pick up' : šcú·p 'we gather, pick up'

ṣí 'I drink' : ṣí·p 'we drink'

6. Root vowel modification. Modification of the stressed vowel of the root, most commonly by lengthening, may denote any of the plural concepts. It is the most common method for forming the stative subject plural. It is commonly used to denote distributive object, often with an accompanying affix. The derivational prefix u·- (u-) is dropped.

Shortening of the root vowel occurs only rarely, seldom without an accompanying plural affix. A few irregular modifications of the vowel occur in which /a·/ and /i·/ become /ay/ or /aw/, and /iw/, respectively:

r?ák 'I'm an old man' : r?á·k 'we're old men'

šmá 'I sleep' : šmá·s 'we sleep'

pʔáw 'I walk' : pʔá·w 'we walk

ašáy 'I'm fat' : ašá·y 'we're fat'

xcáq 'I'm bad, ugly' : xcá·q 'we're bad, ugly'

ṭuk^wán^y 'I finish eating' : ṭk^wá·n^y 'we finish eating'

i·yú pʔúr 'I'm drowsy' : i·yú pʔú·r 'we're drowsy, I'm very sleepy'

sk^wí 'I ask a question' : sk^wí·s 'I ask several questions'

n^yú·p 'I fight' : n^yúp 'we fight (someone)'

šmá·p 'I dream' : šcmás 'we dream, I dream several times'

an^yá·k 'I do all night' : an^yák 'we do all night'

mšyá· 'I fear' : mšcyáyp 'we fear'

wí· 'I see' : wíw 'we see'

ṣá· 'I eat (hard things)' : ṣáw 'we eat (hard things)'

pa·wíwp 'they (collectively) looked at him (or them)

šmá·l pí·ṭ 'I'm deaf'

7. Suppletion. The auxiliary verbs wá 'sit', yák 'lie', pʔá· 'stand' (and perhaps yá· 'be, happen, be located') share two suppletive plural forms: yá·w 'be located temporarily' and wá·y 'be located permanently', which denote plural subject. -p (with vowel shortening) may be attached to distinguish collective subject:

payá·w 'we are here'

uyáwp 'they are there together'

pawá·y 'we live here'

ṣa·yá·w 'they are over there'

puwá·yk 'they stay over there (nearby) somewhere'

430. Positional affixes. A group of affixes denoting position, motion, or manner occur either as prefix or suffix to the verb, as well as suffix to the noun (530). As prefixes they occupy two position classes. m- and k- occur in fourth position. ɬ^y- is a prefix only and occurs in eighth position (see Appendix I). The former two may occur as first position suffixes to a few verbs denoting motion:

1. ɬ^y- 'in, into, on, onto'

   ɬ^{y}uxáp 'he went inside'

   ɬ^{y}pa·xáp 'he went into him'

   ɬ^{y}un^{y}áɬ^y 'he dropped into (it)'

   ɬ^{y}yá·w 'we are in (it)'

   ɬ^{y}n^{y}cu·pí·ṭx 'they will lock us in'

   ɬ^{y}pmwáx 'you will sit on (ride) him'

   ɬ^{y}mcuwí·c 'he saw himself in it'

2. m- 'with, by means of, direction away from a point of reference'

   muxáp 'he went away (speaker is reference)'

   pmuxáp 'he passed him (subject is reference)'

   n^{y}mu·ká·ṭ 'I measure' (lit. 'something- by means of- I-cut repetitively)

n^y mxuwá·k 'they are courting, going

together' (lit. 'someone-with-they are two')

n^y murár 'he is occupied with it'

3. k- 'direction to a point of reference, usually
away from an unspecified or indefinite location'. The
validity of this prefix is difficult to establish. It is
identical in form with and occurs in the same position as
the derivational prefix k- 'do with the foot' (614.2).
Its meaning in the following forms is ambiguous:

pkuxáp 'he caught up with him' (he didn't

pass him)

pkwí 'I ran after, followed him'

cxáy kuyúm 'he went north' (cxá-y 'north-

in' is reference)

páy kuyúm 'he turns off here'

makáy kuyúm 'he went somewhere'

4. -m 'direction from a point of reference'

wám 'he went' (from a point of reference)

n^y kumím 'they got there'

pá·m 'he went along' (from the place where

he was)

n^y xuká·m 'they crossed'

5. -k denotes 'direction to a point of refer-
ence, from more than one direction, or at different times' and
in effect functions as a distributive plural. Both -m and
-k may occur simultaneously as suffixes, with -m in the
prior position:

pa·yí·k 'they came (not together and/or not at the same time)

upák 'they arrived here'

upámk 'they arrived there' (point of refer-ence is both the location of the speaker and the place of arrival)

myí·k 'you come here'

440. Referential indefinite prefix

1. n^y- 'something, someone' This prefix has as reference an object or animate being which is other than the subject of the verb to which it is ,attached. It is identical in form, and very likely in function and meaning, to the objective pronoun suffix. It may co-occur with one of the positional prefixes. It always immediately precedes m- or k-. When used with $ɨ^y$-, it appears to be optional as to which precedes the other. The position of n^y- is normally the ninth, or last, position:

n^ykuyúm 'I go in that direction'

n^ymkuyúm 'you go in that direction'

n^ymxáp 'I go through'

n^ymmxáp 'you go through'

$ɨ^y n^y$mṭaʔámk 'you put it in upside down'

$n^y ɨ^y$wác 'it was in it'

2. It is an obligatory prefix to many stems, in which case it occupies the fourth position class:

n^ywíɨ 'I refuse'

mn^{y}wíɨ 'you refuse'

pn^yuwíɬ 'he refuses him'

n^ywáṭ 'I finish'

mn^ywáṭ 'you finish'

mn^yuʔá·l 'you put clothes on'

n^yu·ʔá·l 'he puts clothes on'

In this position it can be used to distinguish animate and inanimate reference:

kú·k aʔís 'I have a Coke'

n^yaʔís 'it is mine, they are mine (e.g., a child)'

k^wramáṣ pn^yaʔís 'I have children'

3. As a non-obligatory prefix n^y- clearly has reference in many instances to an indefinite or unspecified location, rather than to an object or animate being. With this reference it has the freely variable allomorph n^yi·- (except before a consonant which is a coda):

n^yi·puʔá·c 'he stood there'

n^ypʔá·c 'I stood there'

n^yi·wa·yá·c 'he was around there'

n^yi·yák 'it was lying there'

n^yi·pa·xír 'he tied him there'

n^ypmxír 'you tied him there'

n^yyuwác 'he was there'

4. n^y- can also have reference to time with the meanings 'then, when, if (true-to-fact), afterwards':

n^ypkuyá·c 'then he lead him (viz. horse)'

n^ypí·m 'then he gave to him'

n^{y}pa·yá·c 'then he took him'

n^{y}pmxír 'when you tie him'

n^{y}numák 'then he left'

n^{y}mmán 'then you get up'

With this reference it always follows a locative
temporal prefix (450) in fourth position:

pn^{y}wá 'then he was (located) here'

pn^{y}á·m 'afterwards he went along'

ṣn^{y}pu?á·c 'then he stood over there'

pn^{y}pu?á·c 'then he stood here'

(n^{y}pu?a·c may mean either 'then he stood'

or 'he stood in an unspecified location')

Before primary stems with a single consonant preceding
the stressed vowel, it has the allomorph n^{y}a-.

n^{y}amán 'then I got up'

n^{y}a·mán 'then he got up' (Cf. n^{y}yuyák 'he

lies there in an unspecified location')

n^{y}a·?ác 'then he said'

(n^{y}a·?ác also means 'he said to me')

n^{y}a·xú·c 'then he hid himself'

450. Locative-temporal prefixes. The prefixes pa- 'here
nearby, now' , pu- 'there nearby, then', and ṣa- 'over
there, a distant time' denote position or time in relation
to a point of reference in the mind of the speaker. They
are used only with auxiliary verbs. The prefix c-, with
the alternate forms cu- and, less commonly, ca- denotes the
continuation of an action or state, usually one which is

already in progress. None of the prefixes retain the vowel
except before a single consonant immediately preceding the
vowel of the stressed syllable.

451. pa-

pawá   'I am (located here, it is here')

pmwá   'you are here'

pa·wá   'he is here

payák   'I am here in a lying position'

pa·yák   'he is here in a lying position'

pa·yá·w   'they are here'

pwa·n^yí·   'they are around here'

452. pu-

pu·wá   'he is there, nearby'

puwá·y   'we live there (nearby)'

puwá   'it is, I am, was there, nearby'

puyá·c   'It happens, has happened, that is,
        was the situation'

ppuʔá·   'he stands here'

453. ṣa-

ṣayú   'it exists there, then'

ṣa·yá·w   'they are located there (far away)'

ṣa·yí·   'he is coming along there'

ṣpuʔá·c   'he is standing there'

ṣwa·yá·c   'he is around there'

ṣn^yayá·m   'and then it is located there
        (i.e., a tree which we have planted)'

454. c-, ca-, cu- ca- with the continuative notion appears only in the stem cawí•m 'make no difference, be all the same to one'. a- is perhaps here a derivative prefix (611). u- is very likely the derivative prefix u•- (which has the former shape following another derivative prefix). There is, however, no apparent difference in the meaning of the three forms:

> cuyúc 'I have been and am (doing something)'
>
> cuwáx 'I'll stay (i.e., I am here now and
> will remain)'
>
> cu•mác 'he continues to eat, not necessarily
> without stopping, but off and on over a
> period of time'
>
> cwá•yc 'I dwell, inhabit'
>
> cmpá•xan^y 'you really will continue to go
> along'
>
> cu?á•xa 'I will continue to go'
>
> mxcál cmyákxa 'you who are lying down will
> continue to remain poor'
>
> (-a in the last two examples is stylistic.
> See 801.8.)

There are certain irregularities in the conjugation for person upon the prefixation of the locative-temporal prefixes to the stem á• 'go'. First person has /?/ which is freely variable before word-initial vowels. /?/ is not present in second person. Third person has no overt marker:

pa?á•c   'I am going along here'

pmá•c   'you are going along here'

pá•c   'he is going along here'

ṣá•m   'he is going along there away from
  (a point of reference)'

cu?á•x   'I will continue to go along (in
  time or place)'

cmá•x   'you will continue to go'

cá•x   'he will continue to go'

pa- is to be distinguished from the derivative prefix
p- 'do by walking' (614.4) which does not contain /?/ in
first person and whose position follows the pronominal pre-
fix (as determined from second person; see Appendix I):

pá•c   'I arrive' (lit., 'I go by walking')

mpá•c   'you arrive'

pwac   'he arrives'

There is a distributive object plural to the latter
form: pwá•c   'he is on his way, and has not yet arrived',
for which there is apparently no corresponding first or
second person form. The same notion is expressed in first
and second person by c(u)-: cu?á•c, cmá•c.

460. Non-referential

461. Indefinite. k-, ka-, kt̲- A prefix expressing
indefiniteness as to manner, time, quantity, object, purpose,
etc., occurs only with the verbs: í 'say, do, be', a?í 'do,
act', and yú 'be, exist'. It has the form ka- before í
and yú, and kt̲- before a?í. (The vowel /a/ of a?í is dropped

upon prefixation of kṭ-.) It may be that kṭ- is better con-
sidered as two prefixes, as /k/ and /ṭ/ occupy two position
classes: kmṭʔíc 'How, what can you do, are you doing? You
are doing something, in some manner'. /a/ of ka- is present
only before a consonant immediately preceding the root vowel.
The freely variable initial /ʔ/ of í 'say' is functional
upon the prefixation of ka-. í is not conjugated for animate
person with this prefix:

> kayú 'it is to this extent, about, perhaps'
>
> ka·yúsx 'whatever they will be; they will
>
> > be something, somewhere'
>
> kaʔím 'How is it?'
>
> kayúc uyúm 'Why is he like that?'
>
> kmyúc 'How is it that you ...?'
>
> kṭʔík 'How am I to do ...?'
>
> lú·nʸ kayús 'all sorts of things'
>
> kṭuʔák 'How is he to do? He will do somehow.'

The referential indefinite prefix nʸ- in fourth position
may be used with k- with an impersonal reference to time:

> knʸayúkm 'sometime it will take place ...'
>
> knʸaʔím 'it sometimes is that ...'
>
> knʸayúm puʔá·xi 'When is it that he will
>
> > stand up?'

462. Definite. l-, lu- This prefix when not part of
the discontinuous negative affix l(u)-... -m is usually used
only with í 'say'. It is undoubtedly derived from, or re-
lated to, the demonstrative pronouns lú·p and lú·nʸ.

lmʔíxi 'What would you say?'

luʔíc ím 'What did I say?'

luʔík kn^{y}á·pxi 'How will I tell it?'

luʔác ám 'What did he say?'

lma·ʔác ma·šía 'what do they call you?'

470. **Negative affix.** Negation is expressed by means of the discontinuous affix l(u)-...-m, with /u/ present only before a consonant which immediately precedes a stressed vowel. Although the notion of negation is otherwise evident without it, a verb with the negative affix is usually followed immediately by the impersonal verb lá·x. The suffixal element -m is always in last position. The prefixal element l(u)- occupies the seventh position class (see Appendix I). Negation may be expressed simply by lu- (this is not common): u·yá·luxan^y 'I don't know everything' (see 616.2). The element lu- is undoubtedly the non-referential definite described above (462). The element -m is probably the subordinate syntactic suffix (801.4). The semantic notion of negation is somehow derived from their simultaneous affixation.

n^{y}łuwám (n^y-ł^y-lu-wá-m) 'it is not in it'

n^{y}łuyákm lá·x (n^y-ł^y-lu-yák-m) 'it does not lie in it'

laʔím lá·x (l-aʔí-m) 'I didn't do (it)'

lușím lá·x (lu-șí-m) 'I don't drink; I didn't drink (it)'

lu·șím lá·x (lu-u-șí-m) 'he didn't drink'

ln^{y}nákm lá·x 'I didn't kill you'

lpmnákm lá·x 'you didn't kill him'

lká·m lá·x 'Don't go!'

lksxṭúm lá·x 'Don't spit!'

ln^{y}knákm lá·x 'Don't kill me!'

lpawyá·xm 'they don't know them'

480. Inflective suffixes. The inflective suffixes (excluding those already described) are not readily classifiable into explicit semantic categories. They are presented according to the position class they are known to occur in.

481. First position. The first suffixal position is occupied by a positional or plural suffix (430, 421) and:

-wa (-w after a vowel) benefactive 'do for someone':

pan^{y}áywax 'I will hunt something for him'

n^{y}a?íw 'I do something for you'

pwaṣá·w 'I feed him hard things'

pí·s n^{y}yá·wx 'I'll get you some money'

payá·wx 'I'll get him something'

payá·wx 'I'll get him something'

ppŝá·ywax 'I'll guard it for him'

482. Second position

-n^y; -n^y: imitative This suffix denotes that an action performed by the subject is the same as that performed previously or simultaneously by someone else. Its function following í 'say', especially with the emphatic -pa immediately following, is that of a quotative. Following

yú 'be, exist' its meaning is less obvious, e.g., yún^{y}pa

'it happened so, in such a manner' (cf. yúxpa 'it will hap-

pen'). Finally after a consonant it has the form -n^{y}i (in

one idiolect -n^{y}a):

> pá·n^{y}c 'he went along too'
>
> pwán^{y}xa 'he'll arrive also'
>
> ṣawán^{y}a 'he's there too'
>
> ká·n^{y}xu·c 'Go too if you like!'
>
> ukúɨ^{y}n^{y}i 'he's climbing too'
>
> pwán^{y}i·c (pwá-n^y-i·-c) 'he also came again'
>
> ṣu?úln^{y}i·c 'she's also washing (which she
>
> habitually does)'
>
> uyákn^{y}i 'he's lying down too'
>
> yulú pa?ín^{y}pa 'you know who I mean'
>
> (lit. somebody him-I say-also-mildly emphat-
>
> ically)

483. Third position.

-y; -i·; -ya habitual, usitative, repetitive, con-

tinuative. This suffix denotes that an action has been per-

formed previously by the subject of the verb, either a

single previous performance or one customarily performed.

The suffix has the form -i· between consonants, -ya after

a consonant when final or before -x, and after /i/ or /i·/

when final. It is optionally -y or -ya finally after

vowels other than /i/ or /i·/, and -y before a consonant

after vowels other than /i/ or /i·/. After /i/ before a

consonant, /i/ is lengthened:

ṣá·yx   'I'll eat again'

4   šmáyx   'I'll sleep again'

ṣí·x   'I'll drink again'

pca·núpi·c   'he washed him again'

ṣʔúlya   'I washed (clothes, as I usually do)'

pwáyxa   'He'll come back'

šumáyc   'he was sleeping (as he customarily does)'

awyá·yc   'now he knows (he remembers, having forgotten)'

nʸkumísi·c   'they came back here again'

uʔásyax   'they will do it again'

The continuative notion is expressed by attaching the suffix to the auxiliary verb í 'say, do' immediately following the main verb with the intentive -x, with the implication that the action of a following verb is simultaneous or immediately follows:

pá·x ay(c)   'He's still going along'

pá·x i·c nʸawí· mác   'As soon as I arrived, I ate'

pwáx ayc nʸawí· umác   'As soon as he arrived, he ate'

pá·x i·c nʸawí· máx   'As soon as I get there, I'll eat'

nʸawí· umáx ayc puwác   'H has just sat down and is now eating ' (Something he-will-eat he-says he-sits-here (doing it))

484. Fourth position

-x intentive   This suffix denotes that an action
is to be performed by the subject, usually with the impli-
cation that it is the desire or intention of the subject,
if animate, that the action of the verb take place:

ci·xáyx   'it will be windy'

kayúx   'whatever will be'

n^{y}mpáṭx   'you are about to lie on it (the

   bed)'

i·ʔí·px   'I'll listen'

pa·nákx   'he intends to kill him'

mi·yá·y píṭx   'you'll be crazy'

mṣn^{y}upís   'she'll bewitch you'

With the second person it can function as a polite (?)
imperative:

má·x   'you are to go'

mʔíx   'you will say, do'

mi·ʔí·pxa   'you better listen!' (not very

   polite, according to one informant)

485. Fifth position

1. -ɨ^y desiderative-potential   This suffix is
used only with the intentive -x and expresses a desire on the
part of the speaker that an action take place, or his opinion
on the potentiality of occurrence of an action. The verb
to which this suffix is attached is commonly followed by
í 'say':

á·xɨ^y 'I want to go'

> cuwáxɨ·ʸ 'I want to stay'
>
> špšá·sxɨʸ íc iṣ 'I think we should move'
>
> šmáxɨʸá· 'I would really like to go to
>
> sleep'
>
> pmwá·yxɨʸ íc iṣ ' want you to call him'
>
> kayúxɨʸ ic 'it might be (such and such)'
>
> kmyúxɨʸ nʸʔísya 'I hope that somehow you
>
> (pl.) will, or can' (lit., somehow-you-will
>
> -I-wish to-you-(pl.)- I-say-again),
>
> puyá·xɨʸ nʸʔíc 'it will happen, I hope,
>
> that you will ...'

In a question the reference is to the desire or opinion of the subject of the verb: lú·p kmyúxɨʸ pmá·m myú 'Where might you be going? Where do you wish to go?'

2. -pa mild emphatic This suffix is used primarily with yú 'be' and í 'say'. Its meaning is approximately 'it is, or will be, exactly as has been stated'. The verb phrase uyú ac inʸpa occurs commonly in narrations in sentence-final position and may be broadly translated as: He did what I have just said and I am only repeating it as I was told it':

> pawác yunʸpa 'I'm here (too)'
>
> yúxpa 'it will be thus'
>
> pšuyí·pa 'I just come bringing'
>
> uyú·ppa 'they **are** together'
>
> ác anʸpa 'he said so' (he said that they
>
> said)
>
> á·xpa 'I will surely go'

3. -ṣ assertive As a suffix to í, aʔí, or yú, -ṣ emphasizes the truth of a statement and/or implies that the information conveyed was previously unknown to the hearer. It also occurs immediately following the intentive -x with the same meaning, and therefore must be considered a fifth position suffix. As a suffix other than to the above three auxiliary verbs, and without the intentive -x, there is included an element of doubt or hesitation. It is possible that the meaning in the latter instance is sufficiently distinct to consider it a different suffix. It can only be preceded by the syntactic suffix -k or by a plural suffix in the latter usage:

aʔíṣ 'I did do it, I am doing it'

íṣ 'I'm saying it, and it's so'

pawác yuṣ 'I'm here (sitting)'

ṣawác uyuṣ 'he's over there'

mnᵞá·xc iṣ 'it will taste good, sweet, I say'

nᵞṣá·xṣ 'I will eat you'

nᵞṣá·ṣ 'I'm eating you'

(The informant expanded upon the meaning of the last four forms as follows:

mnᵞá·xc iṣ 'It might taste sweet; I think it'll be sweet'

nᵞṣá·xc iṣ 'I'm telling you I'm going to eat you. I'll eat you if you don't watch out'

nʸṣá·xṣ   'I'm going to eat you for sure'

nʸṣá·ṣ   'I'm eating you, but...maybe you
   don't taste so good')

í·ṣ (distributive object plural of í 'say')

   'I think so, I continuously assert it'

sumíc aṣ   'he laid it down'

kmyúxṣ   'you would, will be able somehow to
   be, do'

lá·xṣ   'if not; it may not be so'

pa·wí·ṣ   'he saw him, but (he was doubtful
   about something)'

payákṣ   'as for me (lying down)'   (lit.,
   'I am in a reclining position as I talk to
   you and my opinion is such and such or I
   am doubtful about something')

4.   -c perfective-sequential   It is difficult
to arrive at the exact function and meaning of this com-
monly occurring suffix.   In a sequence of verbs denoting
a series of actions by the same subject, verb stems ending
in a vowel attach -c while those ending in a consonant
ordinarily do not, although they may do so with apparently
no difference in meaning, e.g., wáɨʸ uxáp uyá·c supás nʸiyuwác
awxám pa·wác pa·wác pa·wác   'He went into the house, picked
(something) up, came out, then sat and hit (it on the ground)
three times'.   In this function it is not clear whether a per-
fective aspect is indicated.   Its function here is definitely
syntactic, however, as it contrasts with the syntactic sub-

ordinating suffix -m (801.4) which denotes the following

verb as having a different subject: ṣa·yí·c pa·wí·c 'He

was coming there and saw him' (same subjects), ṣa·yí·m pa·wí·c

'He saw him coming there' (different subjects). (See 863.1.)

In other instances the aspective function is more

obvious: pawí· 'I·m looking at him', pawí·c 'I saw him'.

The latter may also mean 'I'm looking at him', but with an

apparent emphasis on the initiation of the action and/or the

denotation that the action is expected to be completed.

There is no reference to tense in the former form. pawí·

may also mean 'I was looking at him'. The lack of the suffix

-c may thus indicate a sort of 'progressive'. It does not

appear, however, necessarily to denote a progressive action,

but rather a lack of emphasis on aspect:

Compare the following examples with the comments of the

informant:

> uṣá·c ṣa·wá 'He's there eating (hard things)'
> ('You say this if you are outside and
> tell somebody, and you know he's still
> eating')
>
> uṣá·c ṣa·wác Informant: 'This means the
> same as the other, except that you ex-
> pect more to follow'. Note: This does
> not mean that the two forms are not pred-
> icative, but rather that -c anticipates the
> completion of the eating and a statement
> of further action by the subject. A more

satisfying statement than the latter is:
uṣá·c ṣa·wác uyuṣ which means 'He's
there eating' or 'He ate there', in
which the syntactic function of -c is
evident.

With certain verbs the combination -xc denotes an
habitual or continuative action rather than an intention
to complete an action (cf. nʸṣá·xc iṣ above, 3. -ṣ): wá
kwáspił̓ʸ nʸwáyxc yuṣ 'I live in this house' (house which-
is-located-ermanently-in I-live-intentive-perfective I-do-
evidential).

Certain verbs, e.g., má- 'be ripe', do not occur with-
out the suffix -c or -x, and thus lend credence to the per-
fective function of -c. Being ripe is to the native speak-
er a completed action.

Other examples of -c:

pa·ʔác 'he says to him'

law̓ʔámx ac 'he won't do it, he says'

pa·yí·c pwác nʸmá·m nʸyuwác ucíṭ 'He
comes here, arrives, then sits there and
defecates'

pa·wí·c awṣáy ṣpuʔá·c 'He looks at him
and laughs, as he stands there'

pxʷáyc 'Good! That's o.k. Fine!'
(implying that what was said has been
accepted by the hearer)

šucúc kuwá·k pá· 'She picks it up and as she

is going along returning...' Note:
This is a complete sentence, but the
emphasis is directed to the action of
her going along (pá·). The sentence
following this states what happens
while she is going along.

500. INFLECTION: THE NOUN

Noun inflection involves fewer affixes and position classes, but does not essentially differ from verb inflection. Noun inflectional categories are: pronominal prefixes, plural, and case suffixes. The second person pronominal prefix is the same for the verb and noun. First person has no overt marker in either the noun or verb. The third person pronominal prefixes, however, differ, and it is often by means of the form of the third person that the two word classes may be distinguished.

The formation of the noun plural, though deficient and much less elaborate than the verb plural, is accomplished by the same affixes and processes. The noun case suffixes can be equated with the positional affixes of the verb. The objective suffix $-n^y$, attached to pronouns, is identical in form and perhaps is related in function and meaning, to the referential indefinite verb prefix.

Nouns consist of nouns proper and a subclass of pronouns. Pronouns are formally distinguished from nouns proper by the objective suffix $-n^y$, as opposed to an unmarked objective for nouns proper. Pronouns, in addition, differ from nouns proper in not being inflected for plural and in not deriving verbs.

510. Pronominal prefixes. Pronominal prefixes distinguish person with no reference to number or sex and, for most nouns, denote possession. For a few nouns referring

to humans the prefixes establish identity rather than possess. Possession of most nouns that are ordinarily possessed (but excluding kinship terms and body parts) is accomplished syntactically by means of the distributive object plural of the verb aʔí 'do' (i.e., aʔís 'have, own') immediately following the possessed noun (which is object of the verb): nᵞqʷál uʔás 'her front dress', nᵞqʷál maʔís 'your front dress' (See also 440). Kinship terms and body parts are inalienably possessed and require a pronominal prefix. A few alienably possessed nouns can be possessed by means of pronominal prefixes by attaching first to the stem the derivative prefix nᵞ- 'animate possessive', which often modifies somewhat the meaning of the stem. (See Appendix I for position class.)

511. First and second person. First person has no overt marker to indicate possession. Second person prefix is m-:

i·xú 'my nose'

mkúr 'my forehead'

nᵞwá 'my house'

nᵞcá· 'my mother'

nᵞxʷát̬ 'my blood'

ixmá 'my penis'

iskáw (or skáw) 'my father's younger brother'

šmá·l 'my ear'

psá· 'my daughter (m.s.)'

mi·yá 'your mouth'

mmx^{w}á⚦ 'your hair'

mn^{y}xáţ 'your dog, pet'

mn^{y}k^{w}á· 'your mother's brother'

mxká· 'your daughter's son'

mṣwá⚦ 'your armpit'

mlxá 'your saliva'

512. Third person. The third person pronominal prefix
is n^y- for all nouns which may take a pronominal prefix
other than those dealt with in 512.1 and 512.2:

n^{y}i·xú 'his nose'

n^{y}mṣí·⚦^{y} 'his thigh'

n^{y}xckár 'his chest'

n^{y}lxá 'his saliva'

n^{y}šmá·l 'his ear'

n^{y}ṣcʔáw 'her son or daughter (w.s.)'

512.1. Secondary stem nouns with the derivative prefix
n^y- 'animate possessive' attach a- in the position immediately
before the consonant preceding the vowel of the stressed
syllable. a- in effect denotes third person possession,
although the third person pronominal prefix n^y- may option-
ally be attached, providing the possessing noun is not present:

(n^y)n^{y}awá 'his house'

apá n^{y}awá 'the man's house'

n^{y}kamí 'his pocket'

n^{y}ax^{w}áţ 'his blood'

n^{y}axáţ 'his dog, pet'

512.2. Most kinship terms indicate third person pos-

session by means of a verbal noun. That is, the kinship
term (basically a noun) is converted into a verb either with
no change in the stem or by means of the verb-forming suffix
-y (621) and concomitant shortening of the root vowel,
from which verb a noun is derived by means of the deriva-
tive prefix k^w- (721). Kinship terms which indicate third
person possession in this manner have /a/ in the position
immediately before the consonant preceding the vowel of the
stressed syllable. This prefix a- is possibly equated with
the same prefix co-occurring with n^y- 'animate possessive'
(512.1), although it is more probable that its function
is that of the derivative prefix a- (611).

$k^w n^y ac\acute{a}y$	'his, her mother'
$k^w n^y a\Omega\acute{a}y$	'her father (w.s.)'
$k^w n^y ak\acute{u}$	'his father (m.s.)'
$k^w aw\acute{a}n^y$	'his younger sister's son (m.s.)'
$\underset{.}{s}k^w aw\acute{a}n^y$	'his younger sister's daughter (m.s.)'
$\underset{.}{s}k^w axk\acute{a}\cdot$	'her, his daughter's daughter'

$\underset{.}{s}\Omega\acute{a}w$ 'son or daughter (w.s.)' is apparently
the only kinship term which denotes third person possession
simply by the pronominal prefix n^y- (i.e., $n^y\underset{.}{s}\Omega\acute{a}w$). The
following are the only kinship terms obtainable which have
both n^y- and a-:

$n^y pas\acute{a}\cdot$	'his daughter (m.s.)'	(psá· 'my ...')
$n^y x^w am\acute{a}\cdot$	'his son (m.s.)'	(xu·má· 'my ...')
$n^y wan^y\acute{a}\cdot$	'his, her daughter-in-law'	
	(u·n^y\acute{a}· 'my ...')	

/n^y/ is a common phoneme preceding the root syllable of kinship terms. It undoubtedly is to be segmented, although the root is not a free form. It is not certain whether its meaning should be considered equivalent to that of the derivative n^y- (512.1, 711).

513. Identity. The pronominal prefixes attached to certain nouns referring to humans, e.g., 'man', 'woman', 'boy', 'girl', which are not thought of as being possessed, establish identity with meanings like: 'you women', 'we men', 'I who am a man', 'they who are girls'. The second person construction prefixes m-, as for possession:

> ms?á·k 'you women, you who are women'
>
> mapá 'you who are a man'
>
> mapá·s 'you men'
>
> msxá· 'you who are a girl past puberty
>
> but not married'

Third person identity is formed by n^y-, which can be equated with the third person pronominal prefix (512) attached to all such nouns <u>except</u> apá 'man'. n^y- prefixed to apá means 'I who am a man' (n^yapá·s 'we men'). The form for third person identity is apá 'man' (or apá·s 'they who are men, those men, the men'). The use of n^y- for third person identity somewhat parallels that of the referential indefinite verb prefix n^y- (440).

n^y- can be used when the reference is to first person, as well as to third person. Thus, n^ys?á·k may mean 'we women' or 'they who are women'. Although the alternate meanings appear somewhat incongruous, the reference to first per-

son may have been analogized from the first person pro-
nominal object verb prefix n^y-, or from /n^y/ of the first
person pronoun n^yá•c.

520. Plural. The elaborate plural concepts of the verb
are lacking in the noun plural. A plural form of a noun
means simply 'more than one'. The processes of the forma-
tion of the noun plural, however, are virtually identical
with those used in forming verb plurals (421).

Nouns other than those which overtly mark the plural
can have either singular or plural reference. Except for xáṭ
'dog', nouns inflected for plural refer to human beings.

The plural formation is described according to the morph-
ological process involved:

1. Root vowel modification. Shortening of the root
vowel without further modification occcurs only in one form,
a kinship term: n^ysú•s 'my younger sister', n^ysús 'my
younger sisters'. Final /a•/ and /u•/ of a stressed syllable
is usually modified to /ay/ and /uy/, respectively:

> psá• 'my daughter' (m.s.)' : psáy 'my
>
> > daughters (m.s.)'
>
> xu•má• 'my son (m.s.) : xu•máy 'my sons
>
> > (m.s.)'
>
> ṣxá• 'girl from puberty to marriage' : ṣxáy
>
> > 'girls ...'
>
> k^wakú• 'old woman' : k^wakúy 'old women'

Shortening of the root vowel and -s occur in one form:

> kn^ywí• 'my father's older brother' : kn^ywís
>
> my father's older brothers'

The vowel of the stressed syllable is commonly lengthened:

xasán^y 'young girl before puberty' : xasá·n^y

'young girls ...'

s$^?$ák 'woman' : s$^?$á·k 'women'

capáy 'Indian (Cocopa)' : capá·y 'Indians'

xáṭ 'dog' : xá·ṭ 'dogs'

Lengthening of the root vowel and -s occur in two forms:

äpá 'man' : apá·s 'men'

wán^y 'my sibling's son' : wá·n^{y}s '... sons'

2. -s This suffix is fairly common:

ṣiṣ$^?$á· 'my younger sister's daughter' :

ṣiṣ$^?$á·s '... daughters'

n^{y}xú·l 'my younger brother' : n^{y}xú·ls

'... brothers'

u·n^{y}á· 'my daughter-in-law' : u·n^{y}á·s

'my daughters-...'

áw 'my grandson' : áws 'my grandsons'

ṣi$^?$áw 'my granddaughter' : ṣi$^?$áws 'my

granddaughters'

3. c- This prefix forms the plural of one kinship term:

ṣ$^?$áw 'my son, daughter (w.s.) : ṣc$^?$áw 'my

offspring'

4. Suppletion. One noun has a suppletive plural:

k^{w}an^{y}úk 'baby, child under two years' :

k^{w}ramáṣ 'babies, children ...'

5. The plural of two nouns is formed by shortening the
vowel of the stressed syllable, by consonantal modification, and
by prefixing the element /a·/ before the consonant preceding
the stressed syllable. The plural forms resemble

verbal nouns formed by means of the prefix a- (722):

kxú·n 'boy of age two until puberty' :

k^{w}a·xún 'boys ...'

xmí·k 'boy from puberty to marriage' :

x^{w}a·mík 'boys ...'

(ka·xún and xa·mík are also acceptable for the plural forms.)

530. Case suffixes. The noun case suffixes, with two exceptions, parallel the verb positional affixes (430). The noun suffixes -i and -c do not occur as verb positional affixes. -c performs the syntactic function of denoting subject (801.1).

There are two sets of 'demonstrative' suffixes whose last element consists of one of the case suffixes, with the exception of -m and -k, and whose first element is p- or ṣ-. Between the latter and the case suffix (except -i) is the vowel /i/, apparently euphonic. The pronoun objective case suffix -n^y comprises the last element of a demonstrative suffix to denote the 'objective' case of a noun. The first elements of these suffixes are identical in form and in meaning to the consonantal elements of the locative prefixes of the verb (450) and of the demonstrative pronouns (543).

Either the bare case suffix or the demonstrative suffix may be attached to the noun. The demonstrative suffix is commonly used to identify or specify someone or something previously mentioned, and is best translated as 'this,

that, the'. The demonstrative suffix can be used syntactically to denote a nominalized clause (801.2, 801.3).

1. -c 'subject' This suffix marks the noun as being the subject of a (usually) following verb. A noun can function, however, as subject of a verb without the suffix. It is not usually attached to a noun ending in more than one consonant or in /t̞/:

> wác 'the, a house'
>
> xác 'water'
>
> s'ákc 'the, a woman'
>
> apá·sc '(the) men'

2. Unmarked 'objective' The noun is unmarked when it is the direct or indirect object of a verb, when it indicates possession of a following noun, or when it is in apposition with a following noun:

> s'ák 'woman'
>
> apá 'man'
>
> xt̞pá 'coyote'
>
> ṣká· 'bowl'
>
> (See 811, 814, 861 for examples of the
>
> 'objective' in syntactic constructions.)

3. -ɨ^y 'in, into, inside'

> wáɨ^y 'in, into the house'
>
> xáɨ^y 'in, into the water'
>
> tí·nɨ^y 'in the tub'
>
> má·ɨ^y 'in the sky, in heaven'

This suffix has a figurative and somewhat special meaning when attached to nouns derived from verbs by no overt process (723). It is possible here to consider -ɨ^y a derivative suffix, but it does not seem necessary to do so, as nouns can be derived from verbs without an overt derivative marker:

>spápɨ^y 'in the fourth (grade)'
>
>x^{w}átɨ^y xmá·l 'pink'
>
>xpsíwɨ^y plíw 'purple'
>
>xwákɨ^y 'both; in the second (grade)'
>
>xmúkɨ^y 'all three; in the third (grade)'
>
>mcswámɨ^y 'all of them'
>
>mcsá·mɨ^y 'all of us'

4. -i (-y after vowels) 'along, on the surface of, in the vicinity of'

>máți 'on, along the floor'
>
>papí·li 'on the paper'
>
>lamé·si 'on the table'
>
>sxlápi 'on the blanket'
>
>cúy 'in, at the center'
>
>n^{y}wáy 'at my house'
>
>má·y 'on, at the top'

5. -m 'with, by means of; direction toward; in or to a specific location; accompanied by' The specific meaning of this suffix is determined by the noun to which it is attached:

i·šá·ɨ^{y}m (payá·) '(I catch) with my hand'

cúm 'between; in, toward the center'

má·m 'into the sky (in a specific direction)'

cuk^{w}í·m 'to the grocery store'

wám (kuxáy) 'I (I paint) the house'

cxám (á·x) '(I'm going) north'

(s?ákc) apám '(a woman) accompanied by a man'

6. -k 'direction away from; in or to a general or un-spcified location'

laká·yk 'from town'

n^{y}ák 'east (lit. 'from the sun')'

špáyk 'alongside of'

(xá) má·k (cu·wá) '(He continued to sit) in an unspecified place above (the water)'

531. Demonstrative suffixes. These suffixes are analyzed in 530.

1. -pic 'this'; -ṣic 'that'

n^{y}cá·pic 'the, this mountain lion'

payí·spic 'my coming'

(n^{y}ámkɨ^y) mánpic 'my getting up (early)'

(apá) k^w?áspic '(the man) who said, did it'

spwé·lṣic 'those spurs'

2. -pin^y 'this'; -ṣin^y 'that' objective

s?ákpin^y 'this woman'

ašíțṣin^y 'that (person) alone over there'

sxuțúsṣin^y 'her spitting, that which she has spat over there'

n^yawí· umáxpin^y 'his present and future

acts of eating'

3. -pił^y 'in this'; -şił^y 'in that'

xápił^y 'in the water here; in this water'

n^yawáşił^y 'in that house of his'

4. -pi 'at this'; -şi 'at that'

wápi 'at this house'

$n^y n^y$awáşi 'over there at his house'

540. Pronouns. Pronominal prefixes occur only with
the personal pronouns. First and second person pronouns and
third person pronouns which refer to animate beings take
only the suffixes -c and -n^y. The definite pronouns occur
only in two forms with no apparent distinction in their use,
the final elements of which (-p and -n^y) are probably to be
considered as objective suffixes, although -c can be suffixed
to either form. The indefinite pronouns, the demonstrative
pronouns, and the third person pronouns referring to other
than animate beings take the same set of case suffixes as
the noun.

541. Personal pronouns. The following are the personal
pronouns that are used when the reference is to animate beings.
The first person objective suffix is -p rather than -n^y.
Second and third person pronouns resemble the locative-temp-
oral verb prefixes (450) as well as the demonstrative pronouns
(543). The meanings of the roots -pú- and -şá- are, respect-
ively: 'nearby' and 'far away'. The use of the prefix
-u in third person is anomalous, as it otherwise occurs

only as a subject prefix to the verb (412). u- refers to someone not yet identified by the speaker and apparently occurs only with -pú-. n^y- has reference to someone previously mentioned by the speaker or hearer, or to someone identifiable without further reference by the hearer.

	Subject	Object
First person	n^yå·c	n^yá·p
Second person	mapúc	mapún^y
Third person	n^ypúc	n^ypún^y
	n^yṣác	n^yṣán^y
	upúc	upún^y

541.1. Impersonal and inanimate reference. -pú- and -ṣá with the prefix n^y-, and -pú- and -pá- with the prefix u- may take the other case suffixes (in addition to -c and -n^y) when the reference is impersonal (e.g., time, place) or inanimate. -pá- and -ṣá- can attach -y without n^y- or u-:

n^ypúy 'here, at this place (known to both of us)'

upúy 'at this place (which I will identify forthwith)'

n^yṣáɨ^y 'in it, in that (far away)'

(wá) n^yṣáɨ^y 'in that (house) over there'

n^yṣám 'to that place, up to that time, and then'

n^ypúm 'to this place, until this moment, and now'

páy 'here'

upáy 'at this place close by'

şáy 'there'

542. Definite pronouns. The definite pronouns refer
to a specific person or thing. They are: lú·p and lú·n^y
'something, someone, what, who'. Either may occur as the
form of the objective case. The only case suffix which
may be attached is -c:

lú·pc and lú·n^{y}c

543. Demonstrative pronouns. The stems of the demon-
strative pronouns are: pí·- 'this nearby', pú·- 'that near-
by', and şú·- 'that far away'. They can take the prefix
u-, but not n^y-:

pí·c 'this one nearby (subj.)'

şú·c 'that one far away (subj.)'

pú·n^y 'that one nearby (obj.)'

pí·k 'to this general area'

pí·m 'to this specific place'

pí·ɫ^y 'in this one, in this place'

uşú·c 'this place (subj.)

uşú·ɫ^y 'in that place'

upí·m 'to this place'

The suffix -i (-y after vowels) is not used with the
demonstrative pronouns. Instead, the third person inanimate
pronoun is used: (mát) n^{y}şáy 'in that (land)'.

544. Indefinite pronouns. The stem of the indefinite pronoun is maká-. It takes any of the case suffixes, including the demonstrative suffixes:

makác	'someone, who (subj.)'
makán^y	'someone, whom (obj.)'
makáɫ^y	'in something, in what'
makám	'to some place, to where'
makák	'from some place, from where'
makáy	'at some place, at where'
makápic	'which one, whichever one (subj.)'
makápin^y	'whichever one (obj.)'
makáṣiɫ^y	'in whichever one over there'

600. DERIVATION: THE VERB

610. Verbs derived from verb stems

611. a- 'active' An active verb stem can be derived from any stative verb by means of a- which occurs in second position (see Appendix I). An active stem thus formed is bound and is always accompanied by an instrumental prefix, usually c-, s-, or š-. (See 614.1 for use of a- with active verbs.):

> ɬⁿáp 'be hot', caɬⁿáp 'I heat'
>
> šáy 'be greasy', mcašáy 'you grease, (e.g., the car, frying pan)'
>
> šíṭ 'be one', ca·šíṭ 'he arranges one by one'
>
> kʷáš 'be brown', cakʷáš 'make brown'
>
> kúɬⁿ 'be long', cakúɬⁿ (or šakúɬⁿ) 'I lengthen'
>
> xmá·ɬⁿ 'be white', mcxamá·ɬⁿ 'you whiten'
>
> xwák 'be two', sxa·wá·k 'he arranges in pairs'
>
> (Note distributive object plural)

611.1. wa- 'causative' This prefix is analyzed as the morphophonemic result of the juxtaposition of the prefixes u·- (614.3) and a- (611, 213). It occurs in second position. Its meaning is 'to cause someone or something to assume the attributes of, or to perform the action denoted by, the verb stem'. This prefix is not used with stative verb stems:

> páṣ 'I touch', pwapáṣ 'I make him touch'
>
> šʔák ' carry by the handle', pšwaʔák 'I make him carry by the handle'

má 'I eat', pwamás 'I feed him, make him eat'

(Note dist. obj. plur.)

lu?úy 'he plays', plwa?úy ' make him play'

x?á•p 'I'm jealous (w.s.)', pxwa?á•p 'I make

her jealous'

šmk^wír 'I'm jealous (m.s.)', pšmwak^wír 'I make

him jealous'

612. i•- (y- before vowels; see 211) 'be, become'
This prefix used singly denotes the subject of the verb as
assuming the attributes of, or performing the action indicated
by, the verb stem. Accompanied by an instrumental prefix,
its effect is causative, with a meaning similar to wa- (611.1).
It occurs in second position. This prefix can derive an active
verb from a stative verb, although it is not as common a
method as a- (611). i•- with a similar meaning is a mod-
erately productive prefix for deriving verbs from nouns (622):

xáy 'be wet, moist' (from xá 'water'), i•xáy 'I

get wet, it is soupy'

şkmírq 'be slick, slippery', şki•mírq 'become

slick, slippery'

šáy 'be fat, greasy', yušáy 'he becomes greasy'

(/i•/ before a vowel becomes /y/; see 211.)

The prefix may induce a simultaneous plural inflection
and/or slight modification of the meaning of the primary stem:

mšyáyp (from mšyá• 'I fear'(?)) 'I'm, its

dangerous', mši•yá•yp 'I'm, it's frightening'

má 'I eat', i·má 'I dance'

wí· 'I see', mci·wí·p 'we hold a meeting' (lit.,

'we become seen by each other')

mxán 'look at, watch', mi·xá·n 'it is good,

pleasant'

páṭ 'I lie down', i·páṭ 'I become alive, active'

pá·m 'I arrive', pyá·m 'I move back', pšyá·m 'I

move him back' (p-in the first two forms is derivative (614.4)

but inflective (411; 413) in the latter.)

Segmentation of i·- often results in bound stems or stems

which do not occur other than with this prefix:

i·páy ' rise from the dead' (undoubtedly related

to apá 'man' and spá 'I emerge')

xli·kúy 'it is, I am exciting'

sri·wí· 'I compare, contrast'

pri·wí· 'it's, I'm the same, similar'

xi·púk 'I'm, it's first'

612.1. ya- Although not of common occurrence, this seems

to be the combination of the prefixes i·- and a-. The follow-

ing are the only known verbs with this prefix:

yaxáṭ 'I'm greedy', yuxáṭ 'he's greedy' (obviously

deɛived from xáṭ 'dog', probably by means of the

intervening (but unattested) i·xáṭ 'I become a

dog')

yawíɫ^y 'I'm filled up, sated', myawíɫ^y 'you're sated'

yawár 'be hungry' (impersonal only, e.g. n^{y}á·p

yawár 'I'm hungry' mapún^y yawár

you're hungry', apá yawár 'the man's hungry')

yaráw 'I'm quick' (cf. ráw 'it flows' and aráw

'I'm fast')

613. n-, n^y- 'diminutive' It is not certain whether
there is any distinction in meaning in the use of these two
prefixes. n^y- is found only with the two stative verbs l^{y}cáš
'small (in size)' and rmáṣ 'young (in age)'. n- never occurs
with these two verbs, but may occur with a few other stative
verbs and the auxiliary verb yú 'be'. There is one instance
of its occurring with a pronoun: unpáy (upáy 'at this previously
unmentioned place') 'a little here'. Either prefix can denote,
though not necessarily, a quality of affection or tenderness.
The symbolic change of /c/ to /t/ (618) is always accompanied
by one or the other of these prefixes. They occupy the first
position class:

> xncáq 'it's bad'
>
> xuncáq 'he's ugly'
>
> rn^{y}máṣ 'it's young'
>
> rn^{ʔ}úr 'it's spherical'
>
> l^{y}n^{y}cáš 'it's small'

The diminutive prefix can be attached only to the auxiliary
verb:

> unyúm ru^{ʔ}írxan^y 'he was very skinny'

or a sequence of verbs, including the auxiliary:

> xuncáqxan^y ka·nyú lun^{ʔ}ámxan^y 'none whatsoever was
>
> as bad as he' (lit., 'he-was-little-bad-very
>
> he-was-little-in-any-manner he-did-not-little
>
> -say-very')

614. Instrumental prefixes. The following prefixes are for the most part causative in nature. Most of them denote, in varying degrees of clarity and concreteness, the means or manner in which the action expressed in the verb root is performed. They occupy the fourth position class. Most of the consonantal prefixes freely combine with u·- and a-. Such combinations are discussed below (614.1). Although consisting of two phonemic elements, sk(^{w})- is considered one prefix because of its precise denotation. Segmentation by form alone would allow the combination of several of the consonantal prefixes in numerous instances. Such segmentation is not resorted to unless a semantic relationship can be established with the general meaning of the prefix. There are a number of recurring prefixal elements which invite segmentation, but whose semantic classifications are somewhat obscure. These are described in 615. The prefixes are presented in alphabetical order:

1. c- 'general causative' This prefix is extremely common and apparently quite productive in combinations with u·- and a- (614.1). It is only moderately common when used singly:

cr?úk ' bend into a curved shape (e.g., a stick)'

cqúlqúl i 'I stack (books)'

pc?ír 'I startle him'

cmwáș 'I flesh a hide'

cmwár (also cmawár) 'I mash, crumble'

pcuk^{w}ír 'he follows him'

cxáș 'I whittle, scour, scrape, scrub'

cxupáșl^y 'he pulls'

cxpíɬ^y 'I make stick'

2. k- 'do with the foot or with a large instrument'

    kmwár 'I crush, smear with my foot'

    kmáɬ 'I sharpen, grind (e.g., an axe, saw)'

    kʔúy 'I cut hair'

    kyá·r 'I kick', ki·wár 'he kicks' (There

        are two prefixes here: k- and i·-, attached

        to the bound stem -á·r, possibly derived

        from or related to á· 'go'. Differences in

        the forms are the result of morphophcnemic

        rules 212 and 213.)

3. u·- No specific notion appears to attach to this suffix other than 'performance of an action'.

    u·pák 'I carry on my shoulders'

    u·x^wák 'I break (a cup, glass, egg)'

    u·kúp 'I open'

    u·máɬ 'I powder my face'

    u·má·ɬ 'I sweep the floor'

    awpún 'he hoes' (For third person see 412)

    mu·n^yú·r 'you write'

4. p- 'do on foot or while walking; do, occur with force, tension, pressure'

    pʔá· 'I stand'

    puʔáw 'he walks'

    pkáţ 'I cut off by walking, take a shortcut'

    mpšá· 'you guard, watch'

    pnáp 'I hide in my hand'

    mpţáx 'you slap'

pu?út 'he closes his eyes'

puṭúk 'he winks his eye'

psí· 'I urinate'

psíṭ 'I break wind'

pcpák 'it bursts'

p- appears to be segmentable in a few other forms without the above semantic notions:

pwáṭ 'it's used up, all gone' (cf. n^{y}wáṭ 'I've
finished (e.g., a task) and suwáṭ 'I've
finished talking')

pk^{w}áṭ 'I sort out things, pick up (a bunch of
things)'

plík 'I taste'

pɬ^{y}má 'it's done, cooked'

p?á·m 'it remains, is left over'

pṭáw 'I spread things out'

5. s- 'do in the mouth or by talking; general causative' This prefix is to be distinguished from the inflective plural prefix (421):

suyá· 'he sings'

sxṭú 'I spit'

sx^{w}ár 'we laugh' (This is the suppletive
plural for u·sáy. s- could justifiably
be considered a plural prefix here.)

ská· 'I carry in my mouth'

sxyáɬ^y 'I spit out'

mswá·r 'you're mean (because of what you say)'

suwá 'he places in an upright sitting position'

spíṭ 'I cover a house'

skáṭ 'I pick (e.g., beans, cotton)' (cf. sukáṭ

    'I bite off')

smí 'I place (a long object)'

6. sk^w- (before /i/ or /a/), sk- (before /u/ or a consonant) 'do by talking' Much talking is implied in many forms in which this prefix occurs and it could reasonably be argued that the element s- might better be considered the plural prefix:

psk^{w}í 'I ask him a question' (possibly from

    í 'I say')

pmsk^{w}ír ·'you're teasing him'

sk^{w}á·p 'I pray'

pskupás 'he fired him'

skn^{y}áp 'I talk, discuss, gossip' (i.e., with

    someone. This is very likely a plural form

    of kn^{y}á·p 'I tell, relate')

7. ṣ- 'perform an action involving a definite sort of motion, e.g., in a revolving, rotating, or to-and-fro manner, or a motion involving close contact of objects'

ṣukán 'he escapes, runs away'

ṣk^{w}ín^y 'I pierce my ears'

ṣk^{w}í 'I screw'

ṣk^{w}ír 'I twist, screw'

(i·n^{y}áɬ^y) ṣx^{w}á·n^y 'I clear (my throat)'

ṣʔúl 'I wash clothes'

şnák 'I tie a knot'

şx?ák 'I hang up'

mşwí 'you wipe'

şuwí·rq 'he steers (a car)'

şwí·rq i 'I whirl myself around'

8. š- 'do with the hand'

šk^wá·l 'I peel'

pškáp 'I pinch him'

šuk^wíł 'he's noisy'

šmírmír 'I straighten'

šn^yá·x 'I dip up'

mšṭáp 'you split, slice, cut, shell (e.g., peas)'

šṭíp 'I shoot, fire'

šuxár 'he kneads'

š?úy 'I poke with my finger'

škáṭ 'I pick (e.g., grapes, cotton; cf. skáṭ
    'I pick'. s- denotes that the action is
    done with greater care.)

9. ṭ- 'cause to change from one position to another'
This is not a common prefix used singly. See 614.1 for
examples in combination with u·- and a-:

ṭpáp 'I bow my head'

ṭxm?ám 'I stoop over'

10. x- 'do in a manner involving friction or close
contact'

xṭúp 'I jump (over)'

xpíṭ 'it is sticky, it sticks; I closed,
    sealed his, their lips'

xuṣí·ɫʸ 'he blows his nose'

xˑcá·ɫʸ 'I crawl'

xpšíw 'it leafs out'

xpṣú· 'I breathe on, blow with my mouth'

xkʷá·k 'I yawn'

xnʸú 'I become infected'

xsá·m 'it is almost' (cf. sá·m 'it is all')

xuyánʸ 'he holds, carries in his arms'

xsʔíṭ 'I'm sex-crazed'

614.1. Combinations of prefixes. The consonantal prefixes occasionally occur in combinations (seldom more than two) that permit segmentation witu fairly clear semantic notions assignable to each, e.g., špʔá· 'I place something in a standing position', sxyáɫʸ 'I spit out', cxʔák 'I fasten, hang up'. There are, however, numerous instances in which it is difficult to determine the semantic contribution of one or the other, or both, of the prefixal elements, e.g., xsʔíṭ 'I'm sex-crazed', špšá 'I move (my place of abode)', xpcú·nʸ 'I go to church'. There do not appear to be fixed position classes for such consonantal combinations.

Much more common is the combination of a consonantal prefix with a-, which is equated with the prefix a- 'active' (611) or with u·- (with the combining form -u-) 'performance of an action' (614.3). In addition to deriving active verbs from stative verbs, a- in combination with a consonantal prefix can form secondary stems from a few active verbs:

psawí·w 'I showed him' (wí· 'I see')

sarár 'I'm industrious' (rár 'I'm occupied
  with something')

psapáṭ 'I laid him down'

(i·šá·ɫ^y) ṭaká·p 'we place our palms together'

(i·šá·ɫ^y) caká·p 'we mix our hands together
  (e.g., in a game)'

The combination of u·- (i.e., u-) and a consonantal
prefix is quite common. u·- has not been found to occur
with x- or ṣ-. It is especially common with c-:

cumíl 'I pour out'

cuqáw 'I fry (eggs)'

pcucúk 'I pull his hair'

cusáq 'I slap mud on my face'

ṭuk^wán^y 'I eat up, consume'

ṭux^wíš 'I swing my arm in preparation for throw-
  ing'

ṭumák 'I turn my back'

šuk^wíɫ^y 'I sew'

šumán 'I open'

šupíṭ 'I close'

sukáṭ 'I bite off'

sun^yú 'I repeat, speak (a language)'

suwáṭ 'I finish (a talk or story)'

skụyá· 'I'm generous'

pupíṭ 'I stand blocking the way'

pucín^y 'I bump, nudge, kick (a ball), stub (my
  toe)'

kuxáy   'I rub'

kuxá·y   'I paint'

kukáṭ   'I saw (wood)'

cukáṭ   'I cut (with an axe)' (cf. u·káṭ   'I

    break, cut (in two pieces)')

615. Prefixes of uncertain status or of obscure
semantic content. The semantic contribution of the fol-
lowing prefixal elements to the meaning of a particular
form is considerably less evident than that of the in-
strumental prefixes described above. It may be that they
were formerly productive prefixes of more common usage and
are now petrified. Or they, or at least certain of them,
may simply be non-segmentable consonantal elements of the
root:

1. xm- This prefix is possibly related to or
derived from the verb xámxám i 'I drop, discontinue my
work'. With effort one might be able to assign it the
general meaning 'lacking some characteristic' in most of
the following forms:

pxman^{y}áw 'I shod him' (xmn^{y}áw 'my shoes')

xmkxá·p 'Mohave' (possibly to be analyzed
    rather as a compound: xá 'water',
    -m case suffix (530.5) k- derivative prefix
    (721), xá·p plural (421.6) of xáp 'enter,
    go in')

xmṣpuʔá·p 'I turn something upside down' (cf.
    ṭuʔáp 'I turn something upside down',

šp'á· 'I stand something up')

xmwár 'it's not ripe'(cf. mwár 'it's soft')

xmxú·k 'be six' (cf. spxú·k 'be eight' and

ṣa·xú·k 'be ten')

xmxmúk 'be nine' (cf. xmúk 'be three')

xm'úł 'be gray'

i·yú xm'ú·y 'I'm blind' (i·yú 'my eye(s)')

2. ł- If this is a valid prefix, it may denote exertion of pressure, or some sort of unpleasant or aberrant situation:

łmcu·xúm 'I cut off my hair, having become a

widow' (mc- is undoubtedly the reflexive

pronominal prefix (413).

łkʷíṣ 'I squeeze (a lemon), milk (a cow)'

łxi·cúc 'be, become kinky (hair)' (i·- 'be,

become' (?) (612), cf. xcúc 'Lycium

pallidum squawberry')

łupáy 'he lies on a pillow'

łxm'ú 'I belch'

łxusú·s 'he sweats'

3. ł^y- On account of its occurrence in the position class immediately before the root and after a pronominal prefix (410), ł^y- is justifiably considered a derivative prefix as well as an inflective positional affix (430). Its semantic contribution as a derivative prefix is, however, not evident. The following examples illustrate the

use of ɨ^y- in its possible derivative function:

> (sʔá·k) mɨ^ywí·s 'You (pl.) are like (women)'
>
> ɨ^ymár 'I light a fire'
>
> mɨ^yqáw 'you're bald'
>
> mɨ^ykušáq 'he (e.g., a cat) scratches you'
>
> pɨ^ymín^y 'I singe (a chicken)'
>
> pɨ^ywáṭ 'I char, scorch, scald; it is charred,
>
>   scorched, scalded'

4. 1- If this is a valid prefix, it may possibly be related to or derived from the non-referential definite inflective prefix lu- (462):

> lxúx 'it is empty'
>
> lcín^y 'it is shallow'
>
> lʔúy 'I play' (cf. kʔúy 'I cut hair' and
>
>   šʔúy 'I poke with my finger'
>
> lmíṣ 'be hairy, furry'
>
> lpá 'I squeeze a pimple', mlpá 'you squeeze
>
>   a pimple'
>
> splxáy 'I moisten my lips (with saliva)' (lxá
>
>   'saliva', xáy 'be moist')

5. 1^y- 1^y- occurs in only two forms in the position class which renders it eligible for consideration as a derivative prefix, with no hint as to semantic content:

> l^ypák 'be light in weight'
>
> ml^ycáš 'you are small (in size)'

6. m- m- is a fairly common prefixal element prior to the stressed syllable. Its frequent occurrence provides

few or no clues as to its semantic content. It occurs
as the first element of numerous stative verbs, but is also
present in a prefixal position in active verbs:

mwál^y 'be soft' (cf. Spanish muelle)

mwál 'be loose (e.g., a drawer)'

mwár 'be crumbled, crumbly' (This and the
above two forms may possibly be related
symbolically in the alternation of the final
consonant; see 618.)

mxán 'I observe, watch (e.g., television)'

pmxán 'I love, like him'

mi·xá·n 'it is good, pleasant (e.g., to
the taste)'

myú·lq 'be sweet to the taste'

mn^{y}á· 'be delicious, taste good'

mn^{y}íx 'be too heavy to lift'

mpár 'I know how, learn'

mpín^{y}q 'I skin (an animal)'

mmxú·ɬ^y 'you roast (corn)' (Initial m- is
pronominal prefix (412).)

7. n- The consideration of n- for derivative status
is based solely on its occurrence in one stem:

nmák 'I quit, leave' (cf. impersonal intransi-
tive mák 'be behind')

mnmák 'you quit, leave'

8. r- r- is relatively common in a prefixal position.
If it is a valid prefix, its meaning is not revealed in

the forms in which it occurs. (See, however 618.) It occurs in a few instances with the prefixal element p- and once each with s-, ṣk- (perhaps the two instrumental prefixes ṣ- and k-), and x-:

ṣkruwí· 'be in the middle' (apparently impersonal only)

mpri·wí· 'you are similar to, resemble'

mpryá·p 'you turn over in bed'

mxrpáy 'you are near, close by'

sri·wí· 'I compare, contrast (e.g., material for a dress)'

rʔár 'be deep'

ryár 'be circular and flat (e.g., a tortilla)'

rpúy 'I do secretly, disappear, it is secret'

(nʸnʸáⁱʸ) mrqíw 'you choke, strangle (his neck)'

rṣá·w 'be thin (e.g., hair on the head)'

rʔák 'I (a man) am old'

rʔúr 'be spherical'

rʔír 'be scrawny, skinny'

616. **Compounding.** Except for the special type of compounding, viz., reduplication (617), compounding as a derivative process for verbs is virtually non-existent. Or at least the language may be analyzed so as to exclude it as an active process. There are, however, several forms, mostly bound, which appear to be verb stems and which conjoin with other verb stems in such a manner that warrants considering the process compounding.

1. -wí· 'seem' (?) This may possibly be equated with the root appearing in such forms as ɨ^{y}wí· 'be like, resemble', sri·wí· 'compare, contrast', pri·wí· 'be similar to', and cawí·m 'be indifferent, equivalent to':

> i·ʔí·pi·cwí· 'it seems I've heard it before'
>
> > (-i·after /p/ is inflective; see 483.)
>
> mʔí·mwí· '(I think) you've said it before'
>
> áymwí· 'he said it before'
>
> máxɨ^{y}wí· 'I crave' /ɨ^y/ is probably the desiderative suffix (485.1) and not the derivative prefix (615.5).)

2. -xan^y (-xán^y) 'be very (much)' -xan^y is augmentative in function and is somewhat suffixal in its unstressed position following a verb stem. However, it appears to be a verb stem in its own right as it may attach the negative prefix (470), in which case it is a stressed syllable:

> mi·xá·nxan^y 'it tastes really good'
>
> n^{y}í·ɨ^{y}xan^y 'it's very black'
>
> li·ʔí·pmxan^y 'I don't hear at all'
>
> pmu·yá·xan^y 'I really know him, I know him well'
>
> awyá·xan^y 'he knows for sure, knows all'
>
> awyá·luxán^y 'he doesn't know at all' (It is interesting to note that negation is accomplished here without the suffixal element -m (470), but by what is formally the non-referential definite (462).)

3. -xú·c -xú·c is known to occur only with impera-
tives and is best translated as 'please'. It is considered
a verb stem on account of the stressed syllable. It is pos-
sible to consider the element -c the perfective-sequential
suffix (485.4), but such consideration is entirely ad hoc
as the stem has not been found to occur with any of the
other inflective suffixes:

<blockquote>

kyaráwxú·c 'Please hurry up! Be quick, please!'

ká·n^yxú·c 'Go too, if you like. Please go!'

kkúɬ^yxú·c 'Please climb!'

kyí·n^yxú·c 'You come too, if you like.'

</blockquote>

4. -yáwp This element, which is considered as an
impersonal intransitive verb stem, is known to occur only
with the two elements yú- and wí·- forming respectively the
compounds: yúyáwp 'be identifiable by sight' and wí·yáwp
'be identifiable by feeling'. yú- without hesitation may
be assumed to be the root of the noun meaning 'eye' (cf.
i·yú 'my eye'). None of the known semantic notions of
the phonemic sequence /wí·/ in any of its occurrences deals
with the notion of 'feeling'. It is possible that it
may be equated with -wí· 'seem' (616.1). -yáwp is very
likely related to the verb u·yá· 'I know'.

5. kí· 'Is that so? Well, what of it? So what?'
kí· may occur alone with the meaning 'Is that so?'. It
may occur as what appears to be the second element of a
compound: pá·kí· 'So it's true he's going along, huh?', al-
though it could as well be considered a verb phrase:

pá· kí·. It is tempting to analyze kí· as the imperative
of the verb í 'say' followed by the inflective third posi-
tion suffix -i·(483). Although the semantic content of
the form invites this analysis, it is probably incorrect as
it does not explain the absence of /ʔ/. The expected form
in such case would be kʔí· (cf. mʔí 'you say', kʔí 'Say!').
It is considered in this analysis as an impersonal intransi-
tive verb which may comprise one of the elements of a com-
pound verb:

> (pxʷáy) mʔíakí· 'Do you think it's (all right,
>   good)?'
>
> ṣuʔú·lakí· 'So she's washing, huh?'
>
> pa·nákakí· 'He killed him, huh?'
>
> šumá·kí· 'He's sleeping, is he?' (/a/ plus
>   /a/ gives /a·/ (214))
>
> a·wṣápakí· 'Oh, they're laughing, are they?'
>   (awṣáp is collective plural of awṣáy.)
>
> mi·ʔí·pkí· 'You heard that, didn't you?'

/a/ preceding kí· is probably to be considered the
interrogative suffix -a (801.7), although its use is
not obligatory with kí·. An element which is possibly
equated with one of the alternate forms of the referential
indefinite (440), viz., nʸa-, can occur in a prefixal posi-
tion to kí· :

> luʔáxnʸakí· 'What would he say?'
>
> luʔíxnʸakí· 'What can I say? How can I say it?'
>
> luʔínʸxnʸakí· 'How would I say it too (what
>   someone else has said)?'

617. Reduplication. Reduplication is a special type of compounding consisting of the repetition of a primary verb stem whose phonemic shape is most commonly CVC. A reduplicated verb usually denotes a repeated or an intermittent action. Many reduplicated verbs do not occur in their non-reduplicated form. Reduplicated verbs are inflected in the manner of other verbs (400) or periphrastically, in which case they consist of verb phrases (822.1). The reduplicated verb is formally an impersonal intransitive verb, undergoing no inflective process except modification of the root vowel for plural impersonal subject. Inflection for person takes place in the immediately following unstressed form of the auxiliary verb í 'say'. A large number of reduplicated verbs are impersonal in reference and are not inflected for person. The following are periphrastically inflected verbs:

qípqíp i 'be ragged, in strips'

šmáɬʸšmáɬʸ i 'I move rapidly'

šílʸšílʸ i 'be long and thin'

múrmúr i 'I shake my head to indicate "no"'

káɬʸkáɬʸ mʔi 'you nod your head indicating "yes"'

kʷárkʷár i 'I talk' (cf. kʷá·r(p) 'we quarrel')

láplápᵢ (also láplá·p i) 'be flat'

támktámk i (also kámkkámk i) 'it flashes intermittently' (cf. támk 'it flashes once')

páqpáq i 'it makes a popping nose'

cáqṣcáqṣ a 'he hops' (cf. cáqṣ a 'he jumps')

xʷáyxʷáy mʔi 'you whisper'

kánʸškánʸš i 'be bumpy'

ṣáqṣáq i 'be itchy (e.g., a blanket)'

Reduplicated verbs with a preceding instrumental prefix, with one known exception: cqúlqúl i 'I stack (e.g., books)', are inflected for person in the ordinary manner:

pcawínʸwínʸ 'I shake him'

mcalíllíl 'you shake (e.g., a tree)'

šmírumír 'he straightens (something)' (cf.
    mírmír i 'be straight')

The instrumental prefix may replace the first consonant of the verb:

šírmír 'I take aim' (presumed to be derived
    from mírmír i 'be straight')

The first consonant of the verb may be modified upon attaching the prefix:

skárxár 'I break into small pieces' (sxárxár
    is also possible)

At least two reduplicated verbs which do not have an instrumental prefix are inflected for person in the ordinary manner (there are undoubtedly others):

mílmíl 'be long and thin (e.g., a pencil)'

mílumíl 'he is long and thin' (Reference is to
    a fat and sleek coyote.)

mínumín 'he is long and thin' (apparently no
    difference in meaning from mílumíl)

618. Consonant modification and sound symbolism.
The alternation of consonants in a derivative function is

a productive process primarily among the laterals, specific-
ally /ɫʸ/, /l/, and /lʸ/, and possibly also /r/. The
exact nature of this alternation is not clearly under-
stood.

There is one clear case of a stative verb witᴀ /l/
corresponding to an active verb with /ɫʸ/:

> lúl 'it boils', ɫʸúɫʸ 'I boil' (cf. calúl
>
> 'I boil', apparently no difference in
>
> meaning)

The same may be true of the following verbs, if they are
related:

> xcál 'be bereft, uncared for', xcá·ɫʸ 'I
>
> crawl (e.g., a baby)'

The opposite situation occurs in the following:

> ɫʸáp 'be hot', líp 'it flames up, I catch fire'

The active verb kʔú·ɫʸ 'I string beads' is obviously
related to the noun ṣakʔú·l 'beads', whicᴀ may be derived
from an obsolete stative verb.

All of the following are stative verbs in which there
are alternations of /ɫʸ/, /l/, and /lʸ/. Note the abnormal
position class of the third person pronominal prefix in
four of the forms:

> xmá·ɫʸ 'be white', xumá·ɫʸ 'he is white
>
> (e.g., a horse)', xmwáɫʸ 'he is pale-yellow,
>
> off-white (e.g., a horse)'
>
> xmá·lʸ 'be light-complexioned', xmwálʸ 'he
>
> is light-complexioned'

xmá·l 'he grey-haired', xmwál 'he is grey-haired'

x^wátɨ^y xmá·l 'be pink'

xpsíwɨ^y xmá·l 'be light-blue'

n^yí·ɨ^y 'be black', un^yí·ɨ^y 'he is black (e.g., a horse)', n^ywíɨ^y 'he is dark-colored (e.g., a horse)'

an^yí·l^y 'I am dark-complexioned', n^ywíl^y 'he is dark-complexioned'

n^yí·l 'honey' (This may possibly be a related form.)

xpsíwɨ^y n^yí·ɨ^y 'be navy-blue'

Other examples in which the alternation of laterals probably performs a derivative function are:

ɨ^yá· 'father's sister's son (m.s.)', l^yá· father's sister's daughter (m.s.), father's sister's child (w.s.)'

šuk^wíɨ^y 'I sew', í·l 'thread', n^yi·yá šakí·l 'toothpick'

n^yáɨ^y 'I fall, it falls', pun^yá·l 'dagger' (p- is probably the instrumental prefix (614.4) meaning 'do with force or pressure')

In a number of forms /r/ following the vowel of a stressed syllable alternates with one or more of the laterals in some sort of derivative fashion. /r/ in this position, at least with certain roots, seems to have a symbolic meaning of 'extension in space or time':

kúⱡ^y 'be long', kúr 'be distant (in time or

space)' (cf. kúrⱡ^y 'in the distance'),

mkúr 'my head'

şˀíⱡ^y 'be salty', şˀír 'salt'

mpáⱡ^y 'tongue, my tongue', şupáⱡ^y 'I chew',

mpár 'I learn, know how'

mwál^y 'be soft', mwál 'be loose', mwár 'be

crumbled, mashed (e.g., potatoes)'

pa·máⱡ^y 'he burns him (who is a corpse)',

ⱡ^{y}már ' light a fire'

The symbolic meaning of /r/ suggested above is
evident in the following, for which there are no known
alternating forms with a lateral:

u·x^{w}í·r 'I string out', awx^{w}ír 'a fence'

şˀúr 'I point with my finger'

yuˀár '(a piece of) string'

c̣n^{y}ár 'yesterday'

cˀár 'a mile', cˀárⱡ^y '(in the) outdoors'

cúr 'it rolls', kcúr 'a wheel'

xír 'I tie'

This symbolic meaning of /r/ may possibly be extended
to its occurrence in prefixal position (615.8).

Undoubtedly other consonants participate in alterna-
tions which have symbolic relevance. A few forms have mean-
ings which indicate that their symbolism is related to the
meanings of the consonants in their function as instrumental
prefixes. The following contrasting pairs and sets give

hints as to possible symbolic alternations which may occur:

q^Wáṣ 'be yellow', k^Wáš 'be brown'

q^Wáqš 'horse', k^Wák 'deer'

ɛkúš 'I'm tall' (cf. kúɫ^y 'be long' and kúr 'be distant')

k^Wí•ṣ 'be tough (e.g., meat)', k^Wí•š 'be thick (e.g., gravy, honey)'

i•yá•ṣ 'I breathe', cxáṣ 'I scrub, scrape, whittle', cmwáṣ 'I flesh a hide' (cf. mwál^y 'be soft', mwál 'be loose', mwár be crumbled')

maṭk^{W}aṣá 'shadow', ṭk^{W}i•šá• 'shade (e.g., of a tree)'

xcál 'be bereft, uncared for', (k^Wák) xntíl 'young (deer)' (n- 'diminutive' (613))

l^{y}cáš 'be little, small (in size)', l^{y}n^{y}túš (also l^{y}n^{y}tíš and l^{y}n^{y}táš) 'be very little' (/t/ has the symbolic meaning of 'tenderness, affection' in its alternation with /c/.)

620. Verbs derived from noun stems.

621. -y The use of this suffix is restricted to kinship terms and to a few other nouns the stressed syllables of whose roots end in /a/ or /u/. The function of this suffix appears to be merely that of deriving a verb from a noun. It occupies the first position class. At least one stem with this suffix is known to function both as a noun and a verb:

n^ywá 'my house', n^ywáy 'at my house; I in-
habit, "I'm married"'

(Ambiguity as to word class disappears in
third person: n^yawá 'his house', n^yawáy
'at his house', n^yuwáy 'he inhabits')

For other nouns the suffix functions unambiguously as in-
flective or derivative:

múy 'on the blanket' (cf. i·mú 'be woolly,
downy') Inflective

xáy 'be wet, moist' (cf. i·xáy 'it gets, I get
wet') Derivative

As a large number of kinship terms end in /a/ or
/u/, the suffixation of -y is a productive means for deriv-
ing verbs from them, often with accompanying shortening of
a long vowel. Verbs derived from kinship terms are transi-
tive only:

xká· 'my grandson (w.s.)', pxkáy 'I call him
grandson, he is my grandson'

n^yʔá· 'my father (w.s.)', pn^yuʔáy 'she·calls
him father, he is her father'

l^yá· 'my female cousin', pal^yá·y 'I call her
cousin, she is my cousin', n^ya·l^yá·y 'he,
she calls me (a female) cousin'

n^ycá· 'my mother', pn^ycáy 'she is my mother'

n^ykú 'my father (m.s.)', pn^yukúy 'he is his father

Examples of nouns other than kinship terms from which
verbs are derived by means of -y are:

xá 'water', xáy 'be wet, moist'

ki·má 'ashes', ki·máy 'be ashy'

nʸwá 'my house', nʸwáy 'I inhabit'

ṣkʷi·yá· 'doctor, medicine-man', ṣkʷi·yáy

    'I doctor, am a doctor'

šá 'bird', šáy 'be fat, greasy'

    622. i·- 'be, become' This prefix is as productive
in deriving verbs from nouns as from other verbs (612).
If the stressed syllable of the root ends in /a/ (unattested
for /u/), the prefix may be accompanied by the suffix -y,
(621), with shortening of a long vowel. Its position class
is second (see Appendix I):

mpúṭ 'dust', mi·púṭ 'be dusty'

mú 'sheep, wool, blanket', i·mú 'be wooly,

    downy'

kxú·n 'boy aged two to puberty', ki·xú·n

    'I'm a boy ...'

xmí·k 'male from puberty to marriage', xyumí·k

    'he is a male ...', colloq., 'he's a teen-

    ager'

kʷí· 'cloud', i·kʷí· 'be, become cloudy'

máṭ 'ground, land, soil, dirt, floor', i·máṭ

    'it is, I am dirty'

xʷá 'enemy', yuxʷá 'he is an enemy, is hostile',

    i·xʷá· 'we have war', i·xʷá·p 'we are

    enemies'

mú·y 'palmtree', i·mú·y 'it becomes, I become

    a palmtree'

xɬ^{y}ʔá 'moon', xɬ^{y}i·ʔá· 'the moon shines'

(k^{w}ák) n^{y}k^{w}á '(the deer's) horns', (k^{w}ák)

    yuk^{w}á·p '(the deer) has horns'

ṣʔír 'salt', ṣi·ʔír 'it turns to salt, I

    become salt-covered'

Accompanied by -y:

ṣ̌ʔá· 'sand', ši·ʔáy 'be sandy'

cxá 'wind', ci·xáy 'be, become windy'

ṣxá· 'girl from puberty to marriage', ṣi·xáy

    'I am, become a female teen-ager'

623. No marker. A few kinship terms and the possessed

form of the noun xáṭ 'dog' can function as verbs without

a derivative affix:

n^{y}xáṭ 'my dog, pet, domestic animal', pn^{y}xáṭ

    'I have a pet, it is my pet'; n^{y}axáṭ 'his

    dog, pet', pn^{y}uxá·ṭ 'He has pets, cattle,

    domesticated animals'

ṣʔáw 'my child (w.s.)', n^{y}ṣʔáw 'you are my

    child, I am your mother', pṣcʔá·w 'they

    are my children'

n^{y}sú·s 'my younger sister', n^{y}n^{y}sú·s 'I call

    you younger sister'

n^{y}kú 'my father (m.s.)', pmn^{y}kú 'you call

    him father, he's your father'

700. DERIVATION: THE NOUN

710. Nouns derived from nouns.

711. n^y- 'animate possessive' This prefix is attached to a few alienably possessed nouns to denote animate possession. It occupies the second position class (see Appendix I):

>máṭ 'land, ground', mn^{y}máṭ 'your land, country'
>
>wá 'house', n^{y}wá 'my house'
>
>kmí 'bag, sack', n^{y}kamí 'his pocket'

Attached to the noun x^{w}áṭ 'redness', derived from the verb x^{w}áṭ 'be red' (723), it denotes a body part:

>n^{y}x^{w}áṭ 'my blood', mn^{y}x^{w}áṭ 'your blood'

A body part is derived when the prefix is attached to mrí·k 'bean':

>n^{y}mrí·k 'my kidney', n^{y}marí·k 'his kidney'

The stem of one body part is not known to occur other than with this prefix:

>n^{y}qál 'my testicles'

A considerable number of kinship terms whose stems are bound contain the prefix n^y-:

>n^{y}xú·l 'my younger brother'
>
>n^{y}cá· 'my mother (m.s., w.s.)'
>
>n^{y}ʔá· 'my father (w.s.)'
>
>n^{y}ká· 'my mother's mother'
>
>n^{y}k^{w}á· 'my mother's brother'
>
>n^{y}k^{w}á·w 'my mother's father'

n^ymá· 'my father's mother'

n^ymú· 'my mother's younger sister'

n^yṣí· 'my mother's older sister'

n^ypí· 'my father's sister'

712. i·- 'animate possessive' This prefix appears
to have the same function as n^y- (711). It occurs with
several nouns denoting body parts whose stems occur only
with this prefix (except in certain compounds; see 714).
It occurs in the second position class:

i·mí· 'my foot, leg'

i·xú 'my nose'

i·yá 'my mouth'

mi·yú 'your eye, face'

n^yi·šá·ł^y 'my heart' (Third person is irreg-

ular: n^yi·wáy 'his heart')

One primary stem is known which is not bound and from
which is derived a body part:

cú 'the center', i·cú 'my belly'

In the speech of some informants there occurs the
phoneme /i/ before certain stems which appear to be primary
and which have more than one consonant preceding the vowel
of the stressed syllable. Only a few nouns denoting body
parts and kinship have this phonemic element (which is act-
ually present in first person only; see 211) which may
reasonably be considered an alternate form of the prefix
i·-. It appears to be optional for those informants in
whose speech it was recorded. Its optional occurrence,
or rather its non-occurrence, may possibly result from

analogy with the second (and occasionally the third) person form in which there is no phonemic vowel prior to the stressed syllable. The following are the only forms in which this alternate form of the prefix is known to occur. It is interesting to note that all stems but one contain /x/:

> ixká· 'my daughter's son' (cf. mxká· 'your daughter's son')
>
> iskáw 'my father's younger brother' (cf. mskáw 'your ...')
>
> xcác 'thorn', ixcác 'my spine' (cf. n^yxcác 'his spine')
>
> xmá 'chicken', ixmá 'my penis' (cf. mxmá 'your penis')
>
> ixckár 'my chest' (cf. n^yxckár 'his chest')

713. m- This prefix is not common and occurs most often in a few nouns denoting body parts. Its meaning is not apparent. With a few exceptions the primary stems to which m- attaches are bound. It is uncertain whether they can be equated with phonemically similar or identical stems with unrelated meanings:

> mkúr 'my forehead' (cf. kúr 'be distant in space, time')
>
> mxǎ. 'puddle of water' (cf. xá 'water')
>
> mx^wáɨ 'my heair'
>
> mpáɨ^y 'my tongue' (cf. ṣupáɨ^y 'I chew')
>
> mṣí·ɨ^y 'my thigh' (cf. xṣí·ɨ^y 'snot')

mx^{w}á 'badger' (cf. x^{w}á 'enemy')

714. Compounding. Compounding of nouns is a much
more common phenomenon than compounding of verbs (616).
The units of a noun compound can consist of freely occur-
ring forms or of bound forms. As with verb compounds,
it is sometimes difficult to determine whether an utter-
ance should be considered a compound or a verb phrase.
If nouns which are free forms are to be considered at
all as forming compounds, then such constructions as
wáška· 'tent', xmás?ák 'hen', mátk^{w}așá 'shadow' undoubtedly
are compounds. Although to a certain extent arbitrary,
this analysis considers as a compound any juxtaposition
of freely occurring forms which denote a single semantic
notion and to which final form can be attached a bare
case suffix (530). This allows such a construction as
mșupás ɬ^{y}pawá·p 'coffin' to be treated as a noun phrase
(810), which would be in apposition with an immediately
following third personal pronoun. Compare the following:

wámá·ɬ^y 'on the roof'

mátk^{w}r?úrc 'the world' (subj.)

xmá·pác (xmá-apá-c) 'rooster' (subj.)

but:

mșupás ɬ^{y}pawá·p n^{y}șáɬ^y 'in that coffin'

pka?úy k^{w}a?á·s n^{y}púc 'this barber, he' (subj.)

The use of the criterion of ability to attach a case
suffix to characterize a compound must exclude the demon-
strative suffix (530, 531) as the latter can be suffixed
to the final noun of a noun phrase:

pka?úy kᵂa?á·spinʸ   'the barber here, this barber'
(obj.)

nʸmxᵂáɫ cašá·ypiɫʸ   'in this hair oil'

as well as to constructions which are here treated as com-
pounds:

wáškà·ṣiɫʸ   'in that tent'

šá·ɫʸckxá·pṣinʸ   'that ring' (obj.)

Only a few examples are known of inalienably possessed
compounds. The pronominal prefix attaches either to the
second element:

wásway   'my wife', wámsway   'your wife',

wánʸswáy   'his wife'

(wá   'house', sway possibly a verbal noun

derived from the verb swá·   'I plant')

or to the first element:

i·yáwí·   'my tooth, teeth', mi·yáwí·   'your

tooth', nʸi·yáwí·   'his tooth' (i·yá 'my

mouth'; wí·   has several meanings: 'mountain',

'I see', 'knife, metal'. It is undoubtedly

a verb in this compound; see 721.)

Compounds whose first element is a noun with the deriv-
ative prefixes i·- (712) or nʸ- (711) are alienably possessed.
Unless actually possessed, however, these prefixes are
not present:

kmíṭa·ká·p   'pocketbook, wallet, purse' (kmí

'bag', nʸkmí   'my pocket', ṭa·ká·p verbal

noun formed from the verb ṭakáp   'put two

things together, in an adjoining position,

t̩- instrumental prefix (614.9), a̱- 'active'
(611, 614.1), -káp bound stem (cf. cakáp
'I mix', kakáp 'I go, walk around'))

šá·ɨ^yckxá·p 'ring' (i·šá·ɨ^y 'my hand, arm,
finger', ckxá·p verbal noun formed from
the verb ckxáp 'I cause a large object to
enter', c- instrumental prefix (614.1),
k- instrumental prefix (614.2), xáp 'I
enter, it enters')

mí·mckxá·p 'trousers' (i·mí· 'my foot, leg, toe',
-m case suffix (530.5))

No compound is known to occur which consists of
more than two juxtaposed nouns. Both elements of a com-
pound are noun stems, either primary or secondary. The
second, but not the first, element can be a verbal noun.
The following are other examples of constructions which
are considered compounds:

mát̩ká·m 'year' (mát̩ 'ground'; ká·m may be
related to á· 'go', although it is not
certain whether /k/ is an inflective case
suffix to mát̩ or a prefix to the second
element; -m is very likely a positional
affix (530.4))

n^yáɨ^yá·p 'summer' n^yá 'sun, day', ɨ^yáp 'be hot')

xáɨ^yawí· 'mirror, reflection' (xá 'water',
wí· 'see'; it is not clear whether /ɨ^y/
should be considered a case suffix to xá

or positional prefix (430.1) to the verb

wí•; a- nominalizes the verb (722))

i•yáxaʔá•w 'my jaw' (i•yá 'my mouth, face',

    xaʔá•w a verbal noun derived from xʔáw

    (unattested))

i•yálmíṣ 'my beard, mustache' (i•yá 'my face,

    mouth', lmíṣ 'be hairy')

wáška• 'tent' (wá 'house', šká• 'canvas')

xmásʔák 'hen' (xmá 'chicken', sʔák 'woman')

xmá•pá 'rooster' (xmá 'chicken', apá 'man')

máṭkʷaṣá 'shadow' (máṭ 'ground', kʷaṣá un-

    attested verbal noun possibly related to

    ṣá 'fog')

714.1. Bound first elements. There can occur in
numerous kinship terms prior to the stressed syllable
one of three unstressed elements, prefixal in nature,
and with more or less definite semantic denotation. Their
position relative to the root of the kinship term is
prior to all derivative and inflective prefixes. These
elements are considered as bound first members of compounds.

1. ṣi-, ṣ- 'female' /i/ is not present
in environments in which it is phonetically predictable
(211):

wán^y 'my sibling's son (m.s.)'

ṣiwán^y 'my sibling's daughter (m.s.)', ṣmwán^y

    'your ...', ṣkʷawán^y 'his ...'

wíc 'my older (?)brother's son (w.s.)'

ṣiwíc 'my older brother's daughter', ṣmwíc

'your ...', ṣkʷawíc 'his ...'

áw 'my son's son'

ṣiʔáw 'my son's daughter', ṣmʔáw 'your ...'

(cf. ṣʔáw 'my child (w.s.)', mṣʔáw 'your

child' and nʸṣí· 'my mother's older sister'.

/ṣ/ appears to be part of the root in the

latter and to be used symbolically. The

same may be true of /ṣ/ in ṣʔáw, although

here it is perhaps possible to consider

ṣ- a derivative prefix)

xká· 'my daughter's son' (also ixká·; see 712)

ṣixká· 'my daughter's daughter', ṣmxká· 'your ...'

ká·s 'my sister's daughter's son'

ṣiká·s 'my sister's daughter's daughter'

2. ki-, k- 'male' The status of /i/ is the

same as in the form above. ki- is not as common as ṣi-

and is known to contrast with it in only two sets:

knʸká·s 'my parent's parent's brother'

ṣnʸkás 'my parent's parent's sister' (Note

different root vowel lengths.)

kiyí· 'my greatgrandfather'

ṣiyí· 'my greatgrandmother'

It occurs with two kinship terms denoting males whose

female counterparts do not contain ṣi-:

kn^y pá· 'my father's father', kmn^y pá· 'your...'

(cf. n^y má· 'my father's mother')

kn^y wí· 'my father's older brother', kmn^y wí·

'your ...' (cf. n^y pí· 'my father's sister')

/k/ of kasá· 'my older brother (m.s., w.s.)' is un-doubtedly to be equated with this element. (/a/ of the unstressed syllable may perhaps be explained as assimi-lation to the vowel of the stressed syllable.)

3. x- This apparently denotes 'male offspring'. It contrasts in two sets with ṣi-:

xn^y pí· 'my brother's (?) son', xmn^y pí· 'your

brother's son'

ṣipí· 'my brother's (?) daughter', ṣmpí· 'your

brother's daughter'

xn^y ṣʔá· 'my younger sister's (?) son'

ṣiṣʔá· 'my younger sister's (?) daughter'

(The data reveal conflicting translations of

the above forms. Note that n^y- is absent

in the forms with ṣi-.)

/x/ which may be this same element is present also in xu·má· 'my son (m.s.)' and xká· 'my daughter's son'. Its usage in these two forms may be symbolic (or possibly derivative). Because of its position in relation to the pronominal prefix, it is not considered as forming an element of a compound in these forms:

mxu·má· 'your son', mxká· 'your daughter's son'

As kinship terms can readily be converted into verbs, it follows that these elements must be considered as entering into verb compounds. Examples of such were obtainable only with ṣi-. The following are inflected forms of the verb stem -ṣiwán^y 'a male to call (someone) sibling's daughter', derived from ṣiwán^y 'my sibling's daughter (m.s.)':

>   ṣn^ywán^y 'I call you niece, you are my niece'

>   ṣma·wán^y 'he calls you niece, you are his niece'

>   ṣn^ya·wán^y 'he calls me niece, I am his niece'

>   ṣpa·wán^y 'he calls her niece, she is his niece'

715. Reduplication. Reduplicated nouns are less common than reduplicated verbs. Reduplicated nouns rarely take the bare case suffix (530), but commonly attach the demonstrative suffix (531). They tend, more so than verbs, to have an onomatopoetic flavor.

The first consonant of the second syllable is optionally modified in one form:

>   n^yírwír (or n^yírn^yír) 'hummingbird'

One form occurs in which the vowel of the second syllable is lengthened:

>   xúlxú·l 'trumpet'

Most reduplicated nouns have phonemically identical syllables:

>   ríqríqɨ^y 'the corner, in the corner' (This
>   form apparently does not occur without
>   the case suffix -ɨ^y (530.3).)

>   tí·ntí·n 'guitar'

qátqáƭ   'duck'

wílwíl   'flute (One informant says lwíl)

xálxál   'cactus wren'

šá kálkál 'sandpiper' (a compound (?),

šá 'bird')

720. Nouns derived from verbs.

721. k^W-, k- 'definite' ('he who, that which')
(See 225 for statements regarding alternation of $/k^W/$ and
/k/.) This prefix is extremely productive in deriving
nouns from verbs. It occupies the fourth position class.
Its reference is to the subject of the verb to which it
is attached. The reference may be animate or inanimate.
In a large majority of the cases when the reference is
animate, both this prefix and the derivative prefix a-
(722) are present. Both prefixes are present also in
several forms when the reference is inanimate. It is not
possible to predict from any given verb stem whether the
'definite' verbal noun formed from it will or will not
also contain a-.

One set is known in which the presence of a- dis-
tinguishes animate reference:

k^Wyá•w 'things which are located (sitting,
standing, lying) for a period of time'
(yá•w distributive subject plural of wá
'be located sitting', yák 'be lying',
pʔá• 'be standing')

k^Wayá•w 'animate beings which are located ...'

a- in one set may possibly denote a plural (and was so stated by an informant):

 krár 'one who works' (rár 'I work, am occupied')

 k^{W}arár 'they who work' (k^{W}a·rár is also recorded with this meaning.)

The following are examples of the definite prefix without a-:

 kɬ^{y}áp 'star' (ɬ^{y}áp 'be hot')

 kcúr 'tire' (cúr 'it rolls')

 kráp 'sickness' (ráp 'I ache, it aches, hurts')

 k^{W}rʔák 'old man' (rʔák 'I'm an old man')

 (pán) kpá·p 'the one who bakes (bread), a baker' (pá·p 'I bake')

 kráw 'the fast one' (ráw 'it flows', aráw 'I'm fast')

 k^{W}ʔás 'he who said, did' (ás third person animate distributive object plural of í 'say')

 k^{W}ʔís 'that which "said", happened' (ís inanimate distributive object plural of í 'say'. This may be more freely translated as 'what was said')

 (wá) kwáspiɬ^y 'in it (the house) which is located (sitting) here' (wás inanimate distributive subject plural of wá 'be located'; -piɬ^y demonstrative suffix (531.3))

 (máṭ) k^{W}rʔúr '(land) which is spherical', the world' (rʔúr be spherical'; this appears

to be a compound; see 714.)

The following examples have k^w- and a-:

kxma?úɬ 'priest (xm?úɬ 'be grey')

k^wramáṣ 'babies' (suppletive plural of k^wan^yúk
'baby', rmáṣ 'be young in age, be an infant,
be newly germinated')

k^wamán 'he, they who arise, get up' (mán 'it
arises, flies, I arise')

n^yi·yák^wawí· 'dentist' (n^yi·yá 'his tooth';
the verbal noun is apparently derived from a
verb wí· whose meaning here is not clear.
wí· as a free form means 'I see'. For
its meanings as a bound form see 616.1.)

k^waṣíṭ 'the same (thing)' (ṣíṭ 'be one')

kn^yacáy 'the one who calls (her) mother' (This
is actually the third person possessive (512.2).
Cf. n^ycá· 'my mother'. For derivation of
verbs from kinship terms see 621, 623.)

k^wyamá·s 'a dancer' (i·má·s distributive subject
plural of i·má 'I dance')

k^waxán^y 'that which is very much' (-xán^y 'be very
much; see 616.2)

k^wl^yacáṣ 'the little one (in size)' (l^ycáṣ 'be
little')

ksayá·w 'singer' (syá· 'I sing' -w benefactive
(?); see 481.1)

n^yi·wáy k^wapíṭ (also wáy k^wapíṭ) 'the crazy one'

(n^{y}i·wáy 'his heart', píṭ impersonal in-
transitive verb of obscure meaning, per-
haps 'be dense, tangled, close together';
cf. an^{y}á·ɫ^y píṭ 'mesquite thicket', ayá·
píṭ 'grove of-trees', also i·yá·y n^{y}apíṭ
'I forget')

Evidence from two sets indicates that lengthening of
a- can distinguish animate:

> k^{w}axán^y 'that which is very much' (cited above):
> k^{w}a·xá·n^y 'the good people' (lengthening
> of the root vowel apparently denotes plural,
> probably collective)

> k^{w}ašíṭ 'the same (thing)' (cited above): k^{w}a·šíṭ
> 'the same person, people'

The second and third persons appear to be the only
references possible for k^w-. No verbal nouns were obtain-
able with k^w- which would be rendered in English 'I who'.
Its use with reference to second person is not common.
Two examples only were recorded:

> mk^{w}a·ší·ṭ 'each of you' (šíṭ 'be one'), ɫ^{y}mk^{w}awás
> 'you who sit in it' (wá 'I sit')

It may be noted that none of the above examples are
derived from transitive verbs. It appears reasonable to
assume that transitive verbs might form verbal nouns with
k^w-. However, it was possible to elicit only one such
example:

> pkn^{y}axá·ṭ 'the one who has him for a pet' (p-

third person pronominal object prefix (411),

kn^yaxá•ṭ 'one who has a pet', n^yxáṭ 'I

have a pet', xáṭ 'dog')

One verbal noun with k^w- occurs in which k^w- is pre-

fixed to what appears to be the third person form of the

verb (412):

> kpyutá•n 'the chief' (apparently from the verb
>
> > pi•tá•n 'I'm a chief' derived from the noun
> >
> > pi•tá•n 'chief')

722. a- 'indefinite' The term 'indefinite' will

serve to distinguish this prefix from the 'definite' k^w-,

and in most instances its reference is indefinite. How-

ever, its primary function seems to be gerundive, that is,

it nominalizes the action of the verb, with a reference

to the action itself, to the result of the action, or to

the means or manner by which the action takes place. The

verb which it nominalizes is commonly the second member

of a phrase. (The first member, as well as all members,

of a noun phrase may consist of verbal nouns formed with

a-.) The following examples demonstrate this gerundive

fumction of a-:

> a?úx 'a cough' (úx 'I cough')
>
> šayú•l 'a dress' (šyú•l 'I wear a dress')
>
> amán 'airplane' (mán 'I (a bird) fly, I get up,
>
> > arise')
>
> yamás 'a dance, circus' (i•má 'I dance', -s dis-
>
> > tributive subject plural (421.4))
>
> ṣa?úl 'a flag' (ṣ?úl 'I wash')

cmalú·ṣ 'measles' (cmlú·ṣ 'I have measles')

caká·ṭ 'axe' (cukáṭ 'I chop, cut with an axe')

ṭax^{W}í·š 'a swing' (ṭux^{W}íš 'I swing my arm')

aní·p 'a belt' (ní·p 'I put on, wear a belt')

n^{y}i·yú ṣawíw 'a towel' (ṣwí 'I wipe', -w plural

   (?), see 421.6)

sayáw 'song' (syá· 'I sing')

n^{y}šmá·l ṣak^{W}i·n^y 'earring' (n^{y}šmá·l 'his ear',

   ṣk^{W}ín^y 'I pierce'; ṣk^{W}in^y is also a noun

   meaning 'drinking glass')

máṭ šxayú·k 'spade' (máṭ 'ground', šxyú·k 'I

   dig up')

n^{y}i·yá cax^{W}áṭ 'lipstick' (n^{y}i·yá 'his mouth',

   cax^{W}áṭ 'redden')

axá·p n^{y}i·šá·ɬ^y 'cuff (on the sleeve)' (axá·p

   'shirt', xáp 'it enters, I enter', n^{y}i·šá·ɬ^y

   his arm, hand')

sayáw n^{y}awí·.kan^{y}áp 'radio' (sayáw 'song',

   n^{y}awí· 'thing' (perhaps from wí· 'I see',

   n^y- referential indefinite, see 440), kan^{y}áp

   'talk, speech, gossip' from kn^{y}áp 'I talk,

   speak, gossip')

cwasí·s 'a comb' (cusí 'I comb')

cwaʔú·r 'a chair' (cʔúr 'I sit on')

cwamá·ɬ 'a brush' (cumáɬ 'I powder (my face)',

   cumá·ɬ 'I sweep') (Note that the prefixal

   element -u- (614.1) is retained in cwasí·s

   and cwamá·ɬ, but not in caká·ṭ 'axe' (see

above). See 213 for change of /u/ to /w/.)

The noun formed by means of a- can have animate as well as inanimate reference:

cuk^Wí· pašá·y 'storekeeper' (cuk^Wí· 'store',

psá· 'I watch, guard')

xmá rawí· 'baby chick' (xmá 'chicken', verb stem

unknown)

xmá ramáṣ 'guinea hen' (rmáṣ 'be young, small

because of age')

q^Wáqš ramáṣ 'pony' (q^Wáqš 'horse')

a- in the above examples actually distinguishes animate reference. Compare the following:

í· rmáṣ 'small stick of wood' (í· 'wood')

šíṭ 'something alone' (šíṭ 'be one'): ašíṭ

'someone alone'

l^ycáš 'something small' (l^ycáš 'be small in

size'): l^yacáš 'someone small'

xán^y 'something new, pretty (?)' (xán^y 'be

new'): axán^y 'someone pretty'

Lenthening of a-, when not used with k^W-, may possibly denote plural, rather than animate, as evidenced by:

a·ṭúx 'a deck of cards' (ṭúx 'I play cards')

kxa·múk a?í·p 'a card game in which each player

has three cards' (k- 'definite' (721),

xmúk 'be three', a?í·p appears to be a

verbal noun derived from the collective

plural of í 'say')

The reference is deinitely animate, however, in the following with lengthening of a-:

xa·wák 'twins' (xwák 'be two')

xa·múk 'triplets' (xmúk 'be three')

sa·páp 'quadruplets' (spáp 'be four')

ṣa·ráp 'quintuplets' (ṣráp 'be five')

722.1. Contrastive sets with k^w- and a-. In the following sets the definite-indefinite function of the two prefixes is evident:

1^yacáš 'someone little, a little one': k^w1^yacáš 'he who is little, the little one'

axán^y 'a pretty one': k^waxán^y 'the pretty one'

patáy 'a big one': kpatáy 'the big one'

sayá·w 'a singer': ksayá·w 'the singer'

n^{y}awí· 'a thing': kn^{y}awí· 'the thing'

Two sets show a slight difference in the meaning of the stem according to the prefix used:

amán 'airplane': k^wamán 'he who got up'

ašíṭ 'someone alone': k^wašíṭ 'the same thing' (cf. k^wa·šíṭ 'the same person, people')

723. No marker. A number of verbs can function as nouns without an overt derivative affix. Generally, though not always, the form of the verb in its nominal function is a pluralized third person. The ability of the form to attach a case suffix, as well as its syntactic position, is evidence of its status as a noun rather than a verb:

awxám 'seedbeater' (awxám 'he hits')

cuk^{W}í• 'store' (cuk^{W}í• 'I sell'; the form cwak^{W}í•
   also occurs.)

cu•lá•y 'an iron' (cu•lá•y 'he presses many
   things', plural of cu•láy 'he presses, irons')

wá ɫ^{y}xpucú•n^y (or ɫ^{y}xpucú•n^y or xpucú•n^y) 'church'
   (wá 'house', ɫ^y- positonal affix (430.1),
   xpucú•n^y 'I go to church', xpucú•n^{y}ɫ^y
   'in the church')

q^{W}lyáw 'glare' (q^{W}lyáw 'it shines')

spáp 'the fourth', spápɫ^y 'in the fourth (grade)'
   (spáp 'be four')

The second member of a noun phrase (810) can be
marked as a verbal noun either by k^W- or a- (or both):

máṭ k^{W}xcáq 'a grave, the grave' (máṭ 'ground',
   xcáq 'be bad')

má•ɫ^y k^{W}ayí•k 'God' (má•ɫ^y 'heaven, in the above',
   yí• 'I come', -k directional affix (430.5))

mú sxawá•k 'double blanket' (mú 'blanket, sheep',
   s- instrumental prefix (614.5), xwák 'be two')

Very often, however, the second member has neither of the
above prefixes and is formally a verb. It seems feasible
to treat the unmarked verb in this position as a noun.
In many instances the form has attached a positional or
referential prefix. Such a form in its nominal function
is best rendered in English as 'that with which, in which
(or the like) one performs the action of the verb'. The

following noun phrases illustrate this function:

> ṣká· ł^{y}ṣuʔúl 'dishpan' (ṣuʔúl 'he washes', lit.,
> in which one washes dishes')
>
> n^{y}i·yá mṣuwí·w 'napkin' (cf. ṣká· mṣawíw 'dish
> cloth'; mṣawíw has the form of a verbal
> noun, derived by means of a-; mṣuwí·w is
> the distributive object plural of the third
> person of ṣwí 'I wipe', m- positional affix
> (430.2), -w is very likely benefactive)
>
> n^{y}i·mí· mawná·k 'garter' (n^{y}i·mí· 'his foot, leg',
> m- positional affix, verb stem would appear
> to be u·nák, possibly related to -nák 'kill')
>
> n^{y}awí· mṣuk^{w}i·r 'a screwdriver' (n^{y}awí· 'thing',
> ṣuk^{w}í·r third person distributive object
> plural of ṣk^{w}ír 'I screw, twist')
>
> n^{y}awí· n^{y}mawká·ṭ 'ruler' (n^y- referential in-
> definite (440), u·káṭ 'I cut, slice')
>
> papí·l ł^{y}xá·p 'post office' (papí·l 'paper',
> xáp 'it enters')

Verbal nouns derived with no overt marker, but utilizing
an inflective prefix, particularly ł^y-, m-, or n^y-, including
combinations of these prefixes, are extremely common. Such
a method is very productive in the naming of new cultural
items. Two-member phrases of this sort are perhaps com-
moner, but single verbal nouns with these prefixes are
by no means infrequent:

> ł^{y}kucáp 'claw' (k- instrumental prefix (614.2),

cáp 'I throw, place')

ɫʸucí·ṭ 'toilet, privy' (cíṭ 'I defecate')

nʸmxwá·k 'a companion' (xwák 'be two', lit.,
'with whom there are two')

mawnʸú·r 'pen, pencil' (lit., 'with which one
writes')

ɫʸxpucú·nʸ 'church' (lit., 'in which one kneels')

nʸpuʔú·r 'steps' (lit., 'on which one steps
(repetitively)')

nʸṣuʔár 'walking-stick' (ṣʔár 'be dried',
ṣʔá·r 'be dry', lit., 'that which is dried
out')

800. SYNTAX

The description of the constructions which result from arrangements of words in an utterance is facilitated by the identification of the following syntactic constituent units:

1. Interjection. A word which has no syntactic relationship, or whose relationship is peripheral or ambivalent, to the units which compose a major sentence.

2. Phrase. A construction which consists of one word or a sequence of contiguous words which comprises a unit of a clause and whose constituents relate immediately to each other more closely than any one of the constituents relates to a constituent of another construction. One of the constituents may be the head to which immediate constituents are subordinate, or the distinction of a head may be impertinent or equivocal. Two types of phrases are recognized: noun phrase and verb phrase.

3. Subject. A noun phrase or nominalized clause which performs the action denoted by the verb phrase or phrases in the predicate and to which is equated the actor denoted by the subject pronominal prefix of the verb. The subject is distinguished by the affixation of the subject syntactic suffix and/or by its position preceding the predicate.

4. Predicate. A verb phrase plus any nominalized clause or noun phrase, except the subject, with which it

is in immediate constituency. Immediate constituency of
the clause or phrase is determined by its position which
is immediately prior to the verb phrase.

5. Clause. A construction which consists of
one or more than one predicate with or without a subject
(as defined above) and whose final predicate has attached
to its final verb or verb phrase either no syntactic affix
or one of the syntactic affixes listed below. A clause
is simple if it contains only one predicate. It is coord-
inate if it contains two or more predicates. A clause is
also either independent, dependent, or nominalized.

An independent clause is identified by the absence
of the subordinating syntactic suffix -m. An independent
clause can function as a sentence without the aid of any
accompanying units or clauses.

A dependent clause is identified by the presence of
the subordinating syntactic suffix -m. A dependent clause
presupposes the presence of an accompanying independent
clause.

A nominalized clause is an independent clause function-
ing syntactically as a noun or noun phrase.

6. Melody. A construction of pitch levels and
terminal contours which embraces and necessarily accompanies
a sentence.

7. Sentence. A construction which consists
of one or more clauses or which consists of an interjection
or a fragment of a clause, and which is accompanied by
a melody. The former is a major sentence.

The latter is a minor sentence. A major sentence may be simple, coordinate, complex, compound, or compound-complex.

801. Syntactic suffixes. The relationships among the constituent units which result in a sentence can be established by position alone, or be implied by the context. However, most relationships are effected, either optionally or obligatorily, by means of one or more of the following syntactic suffixes:

1. -c (subject; present-past coordinating) Attached to the final constituent of a noun phrase or of a nominalized clause, this suffix denotes that the phrase or clause is the subject of a predicate (see 530). Attached to a verb which is not the final constituent of a nominalized clause, it equates the identity of the subject of the verb to which it attaches with that of a following verb. The use of -c with verbs has a somewhat overlapping inflective function (484.4).

2. -pic, -ṣic Alternate forms, with an added demonstrative meaning, of the above suffix when attached to a noun phrase or a nominalized clause. (See 530.1, 531.1.)

3. -pin^y, -ṣin^y Alternate forms, with an added demonstrative meaning, of the unmarked 'objective' (530.2, 531.2), which may attach to a noun phrase or a nominalized clause.

4. -m (subordinating) This suffix attaches to the final constituent of a verb phrase (in fifth position) and denotes that its subject is different from that of the

following verb phrase. In certain circumstances it may
attach to an auxiliary verb which is final in the sentence,
in which case it denotes that the subject of the preceding
verb is different from that of the auxiliary (863.1).

5. -k (future coordinating) This suffix attaches
to a verb phrase, ordinarily to all its constituents. Its
usage implies a future action which may or may not be ex-
pressed by the intentive -x (484) suffixed to a verb in
a phrase occurring elsewhere in the sentence. A future
action may be implied by, in addition to the intentive -x,
the imperative form of the verb. A verb phrase with -k
which is final in the sentence ordinarily may only be one
which consists of the imperative form of the verb. -k and
-c may not co-occur. -k and -m, however, may attach to
the same verb phrase with -k in the prior position. It
can also co-occur with many of the inflective suffixes
(480). Its relative position class is fourth (see Apprendix
I). The only inflective suffixes which are known definitely
not to co-occur with -k are -x (484), $-\dot{\imath}^y$ (485.1), and
-c (481.4).

6. -m (interrogative) Attached to a verb which
is sentence-final, this suffix together with a standard,
or characteristic, melody (840) makes a declarative sentence
interrogative.

7. -a (interrogative) Attached to a verb which
is sentence-final, and accompanied by a standard melody (840)
this suffix makes a declarative sentence interrogative.

8. -a (stylistic) This is not strictly a syn-

tactic suffix. It occurs mostly in narrations and can be attached to any final word in a sentence not ending in a vowel. It is of most frequent occurrence after the consonants /c/ and /n^y/. Its presence suggests on occasion a certain degree of emphasis to an utterance and perhaps a note of finality. A pause of varying length usually follows before the beginning of the next utterance. Its presence does not affect the melody of the sentence and often only the context distinguishes it from the interrogative suffix -a.

802. Order of syntactic units. The subject normally precedes the predicate. This order may be reversed, especially in narrations. In a clause of two or more predicates the predicates occur in an order which on the whole corresponds with that of the events or actions related. A noun or noun phrase which is part of a predicate precedes the verb or verb phrase of that predicate. Interjections normally initiate a sentence. The order of the units which constitute a construction are presented in further detail in the following sections, along with illustrations of the types of constructions which result from the constituency of the units.

810. Noun phrase. A noun phrase consists of one, two, or three contiguous freely occurring forms. A phrase containing two members is common. A three- or four-member phrase is not rare. The first member of a noun phrase is unambiguously a noun (or pronoun) which, if possessable,

can attach a pronominal prefix (510). The first member
may be a primary noun stem or a secondary noun stem derived
from a noun (710) or a verb (720). The final member
or members may, like the first, member be an unambiguous
noun (or pronoun), or may be identical in form to a verb
stem subject to modification by inflection for person,
plural, and case. The nature of the non-initial member(s),
together with the semantic relationships between members,
permits the postulation of four types of noun phrases:
possessive, attributive, directive, and appositive.

811. Possessive phrase. Non-initial members must
be nouns possessable by means of pronominal prefixes
(510). The first member may be a noun or pronoun. The
final member is the head with preceding members as attributes.

> apá n^{y}awá 'the man's house'
>
> n^{y}á·p n^{y}awáɬ^y 'in my house'
>
> mapún^y mn^{y}cá· 'your mother'
>
> mapún^y mn^{y}cá· n^{y}awáɬ^y 'in your mother's house'
>
> n^{y}ṣxá·pin^y n^{y}wa?á·l 'the girl's clothes'
>
> k^{w}akú·ṣin^y n^{y}i·xú 'that old woman's nose'
>
> mú·r n^{y}awáɬ^y 'in Mu·r's house'
>
> axá·p n^{y}i·šá·ɬ^y 'cuff' (lit., 'the shirt's
> hand, arm')
>
> xṭpápin^y n^{y}i·šá·ɬ^y 'coyote's hand (i.e., front
> foot)'

812. Attributive phrase. The first member is the
head and can not be a pronoun. Non-initial members of
the phrase are attributive.

The second member can be an indefinite pronoun (544):

cwaʔú·r makápin^y 'which chair, any chair' (obj.)

n^ysxá· makápic 'which girl, any girl' (subj.)

The attributive members of the phrase are ordinarily stative verbs (300) inflected for animate or inanimate third person (410, 412), and for plural (421) wh.en the head is animate plural:

n^yawí· l^ycáš 'a little thing'

ská· ptáy 'a big bowl'

sʔák putáy 'a big, fat woman'

pán mílmíl 'long and round (loaf of) bread'

pán mílmíl šíṭ 'one long and round (loaf of) bread'

minú·t ṣa·xú·k 'ten minutes'

maṭká·m ṣráp 'five years'

xá xsú·r 'cold water; soda pop'

apá·s supá·p 'four men'

k^wrʔá·k supá·p 'four old men'

n^yx^wáṭ l^ycáš 'a little of my blood'

ašíṭ xmúkɫ^y 'one of the three'

813. Directive phrase. The first member can not be a pronoun. The final member is a verbal noun, with or without an overt derivational affix (720). The characteristic feature of a directive phrase is the nominalization of the entire phrase. A secondary feature is that no member is unequivocally the head or the attribute. The final verbal noun can be derived from an active or a stative verb. A

stative verbal noun is always overtly marked. The first
member is commonly the object of the verbal noun. It can
also be the subject of the verb deriving the verbal noun,
in which case the verbal noun is always overtly marked as
such.

The following examples are presented according to the
manner of deriving the verbal noun (for other examples, see
720-723):

    1. No marker

        n^yi·mí· mawná·k 'garter'

        ṣká· ɬ^yṣu?úl 'dishpan'

        í· n^ymawká·t. 'crosscut saw'

        n^yawí· n^ymawká·ṭ 'ruler, yardstick'

        n^yawí· n^ymcá· pa·?áy 'the thing they call

            mountain lion'

    2. a-

        n^yi·yá cax^wá·ṭ 'lipstick'

        mú sxawá·k 'double blanket'

        cuk^wí· pašá·y 'storekeeper'

        mú·r ašíṭ 'Mu·r alone'

        n^yawí· amá·s 'food'

        n^yawí· ará·r 'work'

        n^yawí· amán 'airplane' (also amán)

        apá ašíṭ 'a man alone, one man'

        sayáw n^yawí· kan^yáp 'radio' (lit., 'the

            thing which tells songs')

3. k^w-

pán kpá·p 'baker'

wí· k^wyák 'the mountain which lies'

kú·c k^wa·šíṭ 'the same pigs'

i·šá·ɨ^y k^wl^{y}cáš 'my little finger'

wa?úɨ kspáppin^y 'the five candles'

n^{y}awí· k^w?ís 'what is said'

wí· kšáy 'Greasy Mountain' (place name)

n^{y}áɨ^{y}á·p k^wyáwpin^y 'this summer'

capáy (or capá·y) k^wa·xá·n^y 'the good people'

kú·c pkn^{y}axá·ṭ 'the one who keeps pigs'

One manner of denoting possession iṣ by means of a noun phrase, the final member of which is a verbal noun, derived from what is apparently the distributive plural of a?í 'do'. The first member is formally the object of the verb. The construction resembles a nominalized clause (863.2). Yet it functions syntactically as a noun phrase, and is treated as such in this analysis. Although the semantic relationship between the members is head-attributive in one respect, the formal relationship is similar to that between members of a directive phrase:

kú·k ma?ís 'your coke' (lit., 'you have, own a coke')

n^{y}awí· u?ás 'her things' (also n^{y}awí· n^{y}wa?ís)

k^wramáṣ pn^{y}a?ís 'my children'

814. Appositive phrase. In this type of phrase no
member is actually attributive to the other. The members
in a sense are in apposition. The first member usually
denotes a general notion (n^{y}awí· 'thing' is a very common
first member), with somewhat more specific identification
in the final member. If the first member is a pronoun,
it must be a demonstrative pronoun. The final member can
be a demonstrative or third personal pronoun (541, 543).
An appositive phrase can have as members verbal nouns;
however, few are recorded. If the final member is a personal
pronoun, it is the preceding member which is more specific.
The final member can be inflected for person to indicate
possession:

> n^{y}awí· vú·r 'the donkey' (lit., 'the donkey
>   thing')
>
> n^{y}awí· n^{y}mcá· 'the mountain lion'
>
> n^{y}s?ák mn^{y}cá· 'the woman (who is) your mother'
>
> ṣxá· wamswáy 'the girl (who is) your wife'
>
> n^{y}awí· k^{w}akú· 'the old woman'
>
> n^{y}awí· pí·n^y 'this thing'
>
> pí·n^y xá 'this (which is) water'
>
> xá n^{y}ṣán^y 'that water' (lit., 'the water,
>   it there')

Appositional constructions (as well as constructions
of the other types) may have a stronger semantic bond be-
tween members than the above examples, e.g., wá šká· 'tent',

xmá apá 'rooster'. Such constructions are treated as compounds (714).

820. Verb phrase. In a sequence of verbs one verb may relate to another in such a manner that it is convenient to recognize a verb phrase. However, it is not always easy to determine whether a sequence of verbs should be considered a phrase or a coordinate construction (862), a distinction which in many instances is perhaps trivial. An attempt has been made to identify as a verb phrase a sequence of verbs in which one verb is the main verb, providing the major semantic contribution, and other verbs of the sequence are ancillary, either modifying the meaning of the main verb or conveying information concerning the nature of the action or the physical status of the subject. A verb phrase in which one verb modifies the meaning of another is attributive. One in which an accompanying verb supplies information regarding the status or nature of the main verb is auxiliary. There is a special type of the auxiliary phrase in which the main verb is inflected for person by means of the auxiliary verb í 'say'. Such verbs are periphrastically inflected and comprise a class which includes most reduplicated verbs (617). Periphrastically inflected verbs constitute a periphrastic verb phrase.

821. Attributive phrase. The main verb is, of course, the head and may either precede or follow the attribute. It is possible to identify definitely as an attributive phrase one which contains only two members, although it is

very likely that phrases consisting of three or more mem-
bers are possible. A syntactic suffix is ordinarily attached
only to the final member. Both members may be inflected
for person. The attributive member is optionally inflected
for plural. Other inflective processes usually occur in
the head only. The attribute may be an active verb, a
stative verb, or certain of the interjections (830), espec-
ially those with temporal reference.

The head of the following examples is the final member:

l^{y}cáš ṣʔá·r 'be slightly paralyzed (i.e., dried up)'

n^{y}axán^y ṣʔá·r 'be really paralyzed'

muxá·m yák 'it lies a little ways off'

ušíṭ ṣá·c 'he went on alone'

mapíl^y u·yá· 'now I know'

cn^{y}ám má·mx 'it will end at night'

The head is the initial member in the following:

ł^{y}áy in^{y}á·m 'there are very many things' (ł^{y}áy
    'be numerous', in^{y}á·m 'be very much, many')

uł^{y}áy in^{y}á·m 'there are very many living beings
    (e.g., people)'

n^{y}n^{y}á·m n^{y}axán^y 'there are really a lot'

pa·nák xsá·mc 'he almost killed him'

u·ṣáy mṣpáxan^y 'I really died laughing'

awṣáy mṣupáxan^y 'he really died laughing'

n^{y}i·pʔá· xṣkáy 'it's still standing there'

n^{y}i·puʔá· xṣukáyc 'he's still standing there'

822. Auxiliary phrase. The head of an auxiliary phrase is always the initial member. There may be one or two (or more) attributive members, which can be any of the class of auxiliary verbs. A common function of the auxiliary verb is to denote the position or location of the subject of the main verb while the action of the latter takes place. One of the locative-temporal prefixes (450) is very commonly attached to the auxiliary verb to relate the action to a relative time or place of occurrence or to express the continuation of the action. When the auxiliary verb functions itself as a main verb, a following syntactically auxiliary verb is mandatory. The auxiliary verb in such case can be the same as the verb it modifies. The following examples illustrate this:

> yák yák 'it lay' (lit., it lay in a lying
>
> position')
>
> yák puyák 'it lay here' (lit., 'it lay in a
>
> lying position here')
>
> wác puwác 'it sits here'
>
> n^yp?á•c p?á•c 'it stood there (in a previously
>
> mentioned place)'

Syntactic suffixes are often attached to the auxiliary verb only. They may occur, however, with the main verb only or with both the main and auxiliary verbs.

Duration or continuation of the action of the main verb can be indicated by two or more repetitions of the auxiliary verb:

> pkuwíc pá•c 'he followed him as he went along':

pkuwíc pá·c p̓á·c p̓á·c 'he kept on following
him (i.e., for a long time)'

(ṣxlmú) kpn^ywílk pmwák pmwák pmwák ... 'You keep
right on shoöing (flies), as you sit here
(i.e., don't stop)'

The following are examples of typical occurrences
of auxiliary phrases:

šumác ṣa·yák 'he lay there and slept'

p̓á·c ṣayúm 'it stood there' (lit., 'it stood
existing there')

uyí·c ṣa·yí·c 'he was over there coming'

kúɬ^y wayá·c yuṣ 'I have climbed' (wayá· 'be
around doing something'; yú, as an auxiliary
verb, may be somewhat freely translated
as 'it's a fact what has just been said')

upámc uyu ac 'he fell' (lit., 'he fell, it's a
a fact, he did')

l̓ʔúy paʔá·mc yuṣ 'I'm going along playing'(said
in response to the question 'What are you
doing?')

puʔáw pá·c 'he went along walking'

(i·yáɬ^y kcáp) mák cuyá·w '(Throw them into my
mouth) while I eat as we continue to be here'

pa·ṣá·yc ṣwa·yá·yc 'he was around there eating
him again'

xuṭú·p pá·c 'he bucked (i.e., jumped several
times) going along'

pa·cáp ṣa·yá·wm ... 'he placed him and while they

    were there ...'

šucúx ac 'he intends to pick up' (lit., 'he

    will pick up, he says')

ukúɬ^y ac 'he climbs' (lit., 'he climbs, he does

    it')

pa·ʔá ac aṣ 'he says to him' (This phrase and

    similar ones are used following a quotation

    by someone. Lit., 'he says to him, he does

    (or says) it, he does it and as far as I

    know this is new information for you')

í 'say', most commonly in the third person form á
(but seldom stressed) and with the suffix -c, i.e., ac,
appears to be the only verb which can immediately follow
a verb with the syntactic suffix -m (801.4) with the sub-
jects of both verbs having the same reference. It is
usually the auxiliary verb which attaches -m. This type
of construction is not essentially different from the
more typical phrases above. An example of this is:

ṣá·m ac ... 'he was going along there, he was

    and ...' (The subject of the next verb has

    a different reference.)

Verb phrases with í 'say', aʔí 'do', and yú 'be'
as second member appear to differ somewhat from phrases
containing the other auxiliary verbs. It is possible to
construe most phrases containing one of these three verbs
as second (or final) member as appositional phrases, and

thus set up an additional type of verb phrase. Although this analysis postulates no appositional verb phrase as such, such a phrase might justifiably be recognized. The evidence is stronger for apposition when the auxiliary verb is a?í 'do'. In the following the inflected form of a?í might be considered in apposition to the preceding verb, with a?í (or perhaps the phrase, including the preceding verb) as head to the following auxiliary verb:

> suyá·c u?ác wa·yá· 'he's around singing, goes
>   about singing'
> psk^wa·yá·w ṣaw?ác pa·wás pa·wás 'he continued
>   to teach them' (lit., 'he taught them, he
>   did it there (or then), he was here, he
>   was here')

822.1. Periphrastic phrase. This subtype of auxiliary phrase owes its name to its manner of inflection. Inflection for all processes, except the modification of the root vowel for what can perhaps be termed a kind of plural, takes place in the following unstressed auxiliary verb í 'say'. A class of periphrastically inflected verbs must be set up which are distinguished from normally inflected verbs, which can also be followed by the auxiliary verb í (822). Most reduplicated verbs are periphrastically inflected (617). The following are examples of non-reduplicated periphrastically inflected verbs:

> ṣkáyp ix 'I'll be quiet'

aṣú· i 'later' (This most commonly occurs

    with the syntaxtic suffix -m (801.4).)

cáqṣ ac 'he jumped'

ṣwí·rq i 'I whirl, it whirls around'

támk i 'it flashes (once)'

mín ac 'he passed by'

qá·w i 'I scream'

láw i 'I turn my head quickly' (It is interest-

    ing to note the effect of lengthening the

    root vowel: lá·w i 'I turn my head slowly'

830. Interjections. Interjections comprise a class
of forms whose members are, for the most part, unanalyzable
and whose function in a sentence is peripheral. Certain
of them, e.g., the temporal absolutes, can occur as attrib-
utive member of a verb phrase (821). At least one (lá·x
'no') may function as a main verb. It is the peripheral
usage of the more or less analyzable forms which permits
their assignment to the class of interjections. For example,
n^yxú·l is an unambiguous noun meaning 'my younger brother'.
However, when used as a vocative, it is considered as
functioning as an interjection. Two types of interjections
are recognized: exclamations, whose characteristics are
more or less implied by the cover term, and absolutes.
The latter is, in effect, a depository for all forms not
considered as exclamations and which either relate periph-
ally to the sentence or are ordinarily neutral in their
function as noun or verb, even though their roots can be
analyzed as one or the other.

831. Exclamations. The following are examples of ex-
clamations, whose English translations only partially re-
veal their emotive ranges:

> xú·y 'My! Golly!'
>
> xúṭ (also xú·ṭ) 'Heavens! Well!' (expression of
> surprise)
>
> lá (also lá·) 'Oh! Gee! Now, wait a minute!'
> (of negative implication)

yáy 'Hey!

áwka 'Hello!' (standard form of greeting)

n^{y}axán^y 'Really! Indeed!' (cf. -xan^y 'be very
    much' (616.2))

apayú·ş (or yú·ş) 'My goodness!'

şá 'but, however'

wáɬ (also cwáɬ which is more polite) 'Yes'

lá·x 'No'

832. Absolutes. Forms considered as absolutes in-
clude those relating to time and nouns or personal names
used vocatively.

832.1. Temporal absolutes. Not all expressions refer-
ring to time function as absolutes, e.g., n^{y}áckuwár 'after-
noon' which appears to be used only as a verb. The follow-
ing are examples of forms functioning primarily as absolutes:

márk 'at one time, once upon a time'

mapíl^y 'now'

má·m 'then, now, and so, afterwards' (also n^{y}má·m.
    Either can be used as verbs with the mean-
    ing 'it ends'.)

cn^{y}ár 'yesterday'

n^{y}á·k 'tomorrow'

n^{y}ámkɨ^y 'morning'

n^{y}á·k n^{y}ámkɨ^y 'tomorrow morning'

n^{y}akúr 'long ago, for a long time'

n^{y}á·mk 'daytime'

tumí·ŋk 'Sunday'

lú·n 'Monday'

832.2. Vocatives. The form of the vocative for inalienably possessed nouns is that of the first person without case suffix. The form for other nouns, including personal names, is the stem without case suffix:

n^{y}cá· 'Mother!'

k^{w}akú· 'Old woman!'

xmí·k 'Young man!'

kɨ^{y}múš 'Mary!

ú·n^y 'Edward!'

840. Melody. It does not seem possible to avoid the conclusion that each of the prosodic features described in 113 has phonemic status and deserves to be so marked along with the phonemic representation of the segmental consonants and vowels. The marking of the prosodic features of stress, length, juncture, and even the terminal contour presents relatively little difficulty. The indication of the pitch level of each syllable by a superscript number or similar device, on the other hand, results in an unattractive and formidable clutter of symbols, tedious to decipher. In Cocopa, as in other languages, a sentence composed of the same segmental phonemes can be embraced by more than one construction of pitch levels and terminal contours. And it is equally true that other prosodic features can show variations in the same 'sentence'. The present analysis has not proceeded to a point that will permit a definitive statement to be made regarding these features and their relationships.

However, a number of recurrent constructions of pitch

levels and terminal contours (i.e., melodies) correlate
with certain syntactic constructions in a general fashion.
These constructions are referred to as 'standard melodies'.
These correlations are presented below with the identify-
ing punctuation marks which will henceforth be used in
illustrations of major sentences and in the sample text.

1. Period (.) With one exception the use of
the period is characterized by a falling terminal contour
/↓/. All unstressed syllables in the sentence usually have
pitch level /1/, but may have /2/. A final unstressed
syllable always has /1/. The construction of pitch levels
occurring with a typical declarative sentence on the stressed
syllables is most often one of the following: (The final
number represents the last stressed syllable. The middle
number represents the penultimate stressed syllable. The
first number represents preceding stressed syllables.)

/222/, /221/, /232/

An interrogative sentence formed by means of the inter-
rogative suffix -a (871) almost invariably has pitch level
/3/ on the final stressed syllable. The most common con-
struction of pitch levels for this type of sentence is:

/223/

A declarative sentence with one of the following con-
structions of pitch levels is most commonly one which is
an affirmative answer to a question:

/213/, /313/

The period when used with a negative statement, especially
when the final syllable is lá·x 'no, be not', denotes a

rising /↑/ rather than a falling terminal contour. The
construction of pitch levels present is usually:

/232/

2. Question mark (?) The use of the question mark
is characterized by a rising /↑/ terminal contour with
pitch level /3/ on the final syllable whether stressed
or unstressed. Non-final unstressed syllables may have
/1/ or /2/. The most common pitch level construction is:

/223/

The rising terminal contour with the above pitch level
construction appears to constitute the standard melody for
most interrogative statements which do not attach the in-
terrogative suffix -a. The following constructions of pitch
levels also occur with the rising terminal contour:

/323/, /313/

3. Comma (,) The use of the comma is characterized
by the sustained /|/ terminal contour. It signifies that
the utterance is not completed. A slight pause normally
follows. The use of the comma will be restricted to these
situations:

1. Following an interjection which relates
semantically to, or is felt to be naturally associated with,
the following macrosegment.

2. Before an interjection when the preceding
utterance is felt to be related semantically or to be
naturally associated.

3. Following a nominalized or dependent clause

when a slight pause actually occurs before the following macrosegment.

    4. Before a nominalized or dependent clause when a slight pause actually occurs following the preceding macrosegment.

In all the above situations the use of the comma will denote the sustained /I/ terminal contour. In the event that the interjection or clause has one of the other terminal contours, the period or question mark will be used, indicating that it is a major or minor sentence.

One other punctuation device will be used in the sample text:

    4. A sequence of three periods (...) This punctuation will separate independent clauses which constitute a sentence with an intervening /I/ terminal contour and pause.

850. Minor sentence. A minor sentence is an utterance which reveals no syntactic structure, occurring only in the context of a major sentence. Most exclamations (831) and any vocative (832.2) may comprise a minor sentence. A typical minor sentence is an utterance which consists of a noun phrase or an interjection in response to a question. Speech melodies possible for a minor sentence run the whole gamut.

860. Major sentence: declarative. A major declarative sentence is one whose termination is punctuated by a period and which consists of one or more than one clause. A declarative sentence can be simple, coordinate, complex,

compound, or compound-complex.

861. Simple sentence. The prerequisite of a simple sentence is that the clause which constitutes the sentence be independent and that its predicate consist of a single verb phrase. An independent clause which forms a simple declarative sentence may either attach to its predicate the syntactic suffix -c or -k, or have no overt syntactic marker.

    1. A simple sentence can consist of a clause with no overt subject whose predicate is a verb phrase only:

> kʷárkʷár kʔik. 'Talk! Say something!'
>
> pcukʷír. 'He follows him.'
>
> šumác ṣa·yákc uyuṣ. 'He's lying over there
>
>   asleep' . (Lit., 'he-sleeps
>
>   he-lies-there he-does')
>
> ṣá·. 'He's going along there.'
>
> lʸcáš ṣʔá·r. 'It's slightly paralyzed.'
>
>   (Lit., 'it's-little it's-dry')
>
> pawʔác. 'He did it to him.'
>
> šumáx ac. 'He says he will sleep.' (Lit.,
>
>   'he-will-sleep he-says')
>
> mšuráy inʸá·m. 'He's very angry.' (Lit.,
>
>   'he-is-angry it-is-very-much')

    2. A simple sentence can consist of a clause with an overt subject whose predicate is a verb phrase only:

> apác awyá·. 'The man knows.'
>
> apápic nʸawyá·. 'This man knows me.'
>
>   (Lit., this-man he-knows-me')

nʸá·c pu·yá·c yuṣ. 'I recognized him; I
knew who he was.' (Lit., I know-him
I-do')

qʷáqš xutú·px ac. 'The horse wants, is
going, to buck.' (Lit., Horse he-will-
jump he-says')

xmí·kc nʸi·puʔá·. 'The young man is
standing there.'

mapúnʸ mnʸcá·c pa·wá xṣukáyc uyuṣ. 'Your
mother is not dead, is still alive.'
(Lit., 'Your your-mother she-sits
she-still-is she-is')

3. A simple sentence can consist of a clause
with no overt subject whose predicate consists of a verb
phrase preceded by one or more noun phrases:

nʸá·p nʸwáɫʸ pʔá·c ṣayu. 'It stands there
in my house.' (Lit., 'My in-my-house
it-stands it-is-there')

nʸṣay wa·ya·c uyuṣ. 'He is around there,
in that place.' (Lit., 'There he-is-
around he-is')

apá ašíṭ pa·ṣá·c. 'He bit, ate one man.'
(Lit., 'man one he-bit-him')

kú·c nʸawá nʸṣáɫʸ uwáṭ. 'He threw (them)
into the pigs' house.'
(The noun phrase is appositive. nʸṣáɫʸ
is in apposition with the possessive

phrase kú·c n^yawá. (Lit., 'pig his-
house in-it he-threw')

n^yawí· u?áspin^y ré· pí·c. 'She gave the
king her things.' (The noun phrase
n^yawí· u?áspin^y (813) is the direct
object of the verb. ré· is the in-
direct object. If ré· preceded the
noun phrase, the sentence would mean
'She gave someone the king's things.'
The relative positions of two or more
noun phrases in the predicate varies.
However, the one which is the direct
object of the verb normally occupies
a prior position as occurs in the
next two examples.)

n^yawí· amá·s n^yṣáɫ^y uwáṭ. 'He threw the
food into it.' (Lit., 'thing food
in-it he-threw')

n^yawí· n^yírwírpin^y k^wakú·pin^y pí·c. 'He
gave the old woman the wings.' (Lit.,
'Thing these-wings the-old-woman he-
gave-her')

4. A simple sentence may consist of a clause
with an overt subject whose predicate consists of a verb
preceded by one or more noun phrases:

ré·c ṣxá·pin^y pa·yá·x ac. 'The king says
he will marry the girl.' (Lit., 'King

this-girl he-will-take-her he-says')

apác k^wák pa·t̓ím. 'The man shot the deer.'
(Lit., 'The-man deer he-shot-him.')

q^wáqšc xasán^y pa·ṣá·c. 'The horse bit
the little girl.' (Lit., 'Horse
girl he-bit-her')

n^yá·p n^yʔá·c pí·s xwák n^ysú·s pí·c. 'My
father gave my younger sister two dol-
lars.' (girl speaking) (Lit., 'My my-
father money two my-younger-sister
he-gave-her')

xmí·kpic n^yawí· urár wa·yá·c. 'The
young man was around doing things.'
(Lit., 'This-young-man thing he-is-
occupied he-is-around')

It may be observed in the above examples with an overt
subject that the subject does not always attach the syntactic
suffix -c. Its affixation appears to be required only when
the noun or nounphrase ends in a vowel and when ambiguity
would result from its absence, e.g., when there is a noun
or noun phrase following which could either be part of the
predicate or form a noun phrase with the preceding noun.
Compare the following:

k^wák apá pa·wí·c. 'He saw the buck (male
deer).' (Lit., 'deer man he-saw-him')

k^wákc apá pa·wí·c. 'The deer saw the man.'

k^wák apác pa·wí·c. 'The buck saw him.'

k^{W}ák apác apá pa·wí·c. 'The buck saw

the man.'

(k^{W}ák apá is probably better considered

a compound, rather than a noun phrase;

see 714.)

862. Coordinate sentence. A coordinate sentence con-
sists of an independent clause which contains two or more
predicates. The sentence may have no overt subject or it
may have a single overt subject which is the subject of
both or all the predicates of the clause. The clause, in
effect, is merely a sequence of predicates whose reference
is to the same subject. The verbs or verb phrase of sev-
eral, or even all, of the predicates may affix -c or -k.
-c and -k are mutually exclusive; one or the other only
may be the syntactic suffix in a coordinate construction.
(This is not to say that both suffixes cannot be present
in the same sentence. It is possible for both to be present
in a complex sentence; (see 863.1 and 863.2.1.) -k implies
a future action. The absence of a syntactic suffix and
-c both denote either a present or past action. (See 485.4
for inflective aspects of -c.)

1. Absence of a coordinating syntactic suffix.
Coordination of the predicates is accomplished by position
and the absence of the subordinating suffix -m. Absence
of a suffix has an inflective function (485.4):

k^{W}r?ák pa·yí· páy pšu·wín. 'The old man

is coming along and stops him (the horʔe)

here.' (Lit., 'old-man he-comes here

he-stops-him')

šác umán wáɨʸ uxáp ṣú·k supám. 'The
bird flew through the house.' (Lit.,
'bird he-flew in-the-house he-entered
over-there he-went-out')

capá·y nʸkumís nʸka·káp kuwá·k. 'The
people arrived, then turned around
and went home.' (Lit., 'people they
-arrived they-then-turned-around
they-went-home')

2. -c as a coordinating syntactic suffix. Far
more common than the above is the affixation of -c to one
or more verbs in the sequence of predicates:

pí·s šucúc ṣkʷínʸ ɨʸusác. 'He picked up
the money and put it into the cup.'
(Lit., 'Money he-picked-it-up cup he
-put-into')

mapúc upú·k myí·k mpá·c myuṣ. 'You
came from over there.' (-k in myí·k
is inflective (430.5), as well as in
the pronoun upú·k (543). Lit., 'You
from-there you-came you-arrived you-
did')

nʸá·c nʸawí· pa·sá·m paná·k paṣá·c payákṣ.
'I kill everything, I can kill any-
thing.' (nʸawí· pa·sá·m 'everything'
is an animate verbal noun, object of the
following two verbs. Lit., 'I thing all
I-kill-him I-bite-him I-lie-here')

3. -k as a coordinating syntactic suffix. This suffix in a coordinate sentence is attached to the verbs in the predicate or predicates which precede a predicate whose verb attaches the intentive -x and to a verb in the imperative: (See 801.5 for further description of -k and its position relative to inflective suffixes.)

nᵞaᐧpác yúk sʔák yáᐧx ic. 'I'm a man who intends to get married.' (Lit., 'I-who-am-a-man I-am woman I-intend-to-get I-say.' This sentence is probably to be considered as an indirect quote; 863.2.1.)

ckwíᐧmk cwaʔúᐧr makápinᵞ kyáᐧk. 'Take any chair you like.' (Lit., 'Be-indifferent chair whichever take.')

káᐧk nᵞawíᐧ kmák kpáᐧk. 'Go eat and come back.' (Lit., 'Go thing eat arrive-here'.)

nᵞáᐧk nᵞsáɫᵞ wanᵞíᐧk nᵞawíᐧ másnᵞx capáy pawíwnᵞx. 'We are going to be there to eat and see people.' (Lit., 'We-are-going in-it-there we-are-around we-intend-to-eat-also people we-intend-to-see-them-also'.)

nᵞáᐧp nᵞkʷrʔák paᐧwákṣ maᐧţímx. 'If my husband were here, he would shoot you.' (Lit., My my-husband he-is-here-but he-will-shoot-you.' See 485.3 for use of inflective -ṣ.)

863. Complex sentence. A complex sentence contains one or more dependent or nominalized clauses and an independent clause. The independent clause is a potential simple or coordinate sentence.

863.1. A complex sentence with dependent clause. The subject in a dependent clause, whether or not overt, can be the object of the action denoted by the verb or verbs in the independent clause, or an action denoted by the verb of the dependent clause can precede or accompany the action denoted by the verb in the independent clause. A clause whose verb or verbs have attached the syntactic suffix -k may by affixing -m be a dependent clause, in which case future action is implied for both the dependent and independent clause. Following a fairly long dependent clause there often occurs in the independent clause a personal pronoun which is in apposition with, not the dependent clause itself, but rather, the subject of the dependent clause or the action denoted by the verb therein. The characteristics of a dependent clause are that it attaches the subordinating syntactic suffix -m and that it does not function alone as a major sentence.

lmintá·n ṣawám awkúpca. 'She opened the window there.' (Lit., 'window which-was-there she-opened.')

ṛś· nʸawáɫʸ pá·m, ṣxá·pic uwí·nʸca. 'When it arrived at the king's house, the young girl looked at it too,' (Lit.,

'King in-his-house when-it-arrived

the-young-girl she-looked-at-it-too.')

pwám, pa·wí·c pá·n^{y}pin^y awṣúṭ uyá·c uwí·m,

n^{y}ṣxá·pin^y umúɨ^y n^{y}i·yá·c puyá·. 'When

he arrived, she looked at him, she

pulled out his handkerchief and took

it, and when she looked at it, the young

girl's name was there.' (n^{y}i·yá· puyá·

'it was there'. The stem of both verbs

is yá· 'be located (inanimate object),

occur, happen', homonymous with yá·

'I pick up'. For n^{y}i·- and pu- see

440 and 450.)

ré· n^{y}awác ṣayá·m, n^{y}ṣáɨ^y pwámca. 'He

arrived there at the king's house.'

(Lit., 'King his-house which-is-there

in-it he-arrived.')

A few comments are pertinent regarding the form puyá·m

which appears in the last sentence above, and other forms

in which the verb yá· 'happen, take place, be located' may

appear, e.g., payá·, puyá·, n^{y}i·yá·, puyá·c, etc. This

verb apparently is impersonal intransitive. It is very com-

mon in one or the other of its inflected forms either as a

single verb or as the first verb of a verb phrase which is

the final phrase of a sentence. It seems to denote that

whatever has been said has happened, is happening, or will

happen. The verb which immediately precedes usually has

attached the subordinating suffix -m. However, if the preceding verb is inflected for first person and has the intentive suffix -x, it (the preceding verb) does not attach -m. In such instances, one is led to suppose that puyá· may denote first person rather than inanimate third person. (This would be the expected form of the first person.) It apparently does not, as informants insist that puyá· and similar forms refer to the situation and not to the 'I' of the preceding verb. Examples of this are:

> n^{y}awí· ará·r l^{y}cáš n^{y}yá·x puyá·c yu. 'I
>
> have a little job for you.' (Lit.,
>
> 'Thing work little I-will-get-you it-
>
> happens it-does.' yá·in n^{y}yá·x is the
>
> homonymous verb meaning 'I get, pick
>
> up', different from the yá· of puyá·c
>
> which means 'it happens'.)
>
> n^{y}awí· mi·šwá·ł m?íkm n^{y}ckn^{y}áyx puyá·c
>
> yuṣ. 'I'll pay you what you say you
>
> want.' (Lit., 'thing you-want which-
>
> you-say I-will-pay-you it-happens it-
>
> does.')

It is possible to consider the verb or verb phrase which contains yá· as being in apposition with the preceding clause, whether or not the preceding verb has attached -m. Without -m, however, the preceding clause is independent. With -m attached, on the other hand, the preceding clause is dependent and may not be as a rule a sentence with-

out some form of yá· (or other verb) following.

863.2. A complex sentence with nominalized clause.
The nominalized clause functions either as the subject
to the predicate of a clause (independent or dependent)
or as object of a verb or verb phrase in the predicate
in which case it is itself part of the predicate. The
distinguishing feature of a nominalized clause is the lack
of reference from the independent clause to any syntactic
unit within the nominalized clause. The reference is
rather to the entire clause functioning as a unit. The
suffix -c can attach to the final verb of the clause
to denote subject. The lack of a suffix denotes object.
More commonly used, however, are the demonstrative suf-
fixes (531): -pic or -ṣic for subject and -pin^y or -ṣin^y
for object. All appear to be optional and used primarily
to prevent ambiguity. The verb in the nominalized clause
is commonly inflected for plural.

> makáy uwás u·yá·c iṣ. 'I know where he
> is.' (Lit., 'where he-is-located-
> sitting (-s distributive subject
> plural) 'I-know I-do.')

n^{y}mcá· uyúspin^y añ^{y}ca. 'He did what the mountain
lion did.' (Lit., 'mountain-lion what-
he-did he-did-too.')

lú·p uṣíxpin^y n^{y}kn^{y}á·pk. 'Tell me what he
wants to drink.' (Lit., 'something what-
he-intends-to-drink tell-me.')

n^{y}akúr awyá·n^y ṣú·c n^{y}ɨ^{y}uwáxpin^{y}a. 'He knew also
for a long time of his being in it.' (or:
'He has also known for a long time that
he would be in it.) (Lit., 'For-a-long
-time he-knows-also that-one he-will-be-
sitting-in-it.')

n^{y}awí· mmáspin^y u·yá·c pawá. 'I know that you
are eating.' (Lit., 'Thing you-eat I-
know I-sit-here.')

makáy mṣupáspin^y wí·c yuṣ. 'I saw where he died.'
(Lit., 'where he-died I-saw I-did.' The
form wí·c 'I saw' is preferable here, but
one may also say pa·wí·c 'I saw him'. In
the latter there obviously is a reference
to the subject of the verb mṣupás 'he died'.
If pa·wí·c is used, the meaning is apparently
'I saw him as he died, or while he was dead.')

863.2.1. Quotations. It is often difficult to dis-
tinguish a direct quote from an indirect one. It seems
proper to consider the former a special type of nominalized
clause, and possibly the latter as well. It may be the con-
text as well as an undetected difference in melody which

distinguishes the two types of quotations. The quotation
is the nominalized clause followed by an inflected form
of í 'say'. The quotation can be broken with í inter-
jected at a logical point within. The following is an ex-
ample of a direct quotation. Double quotes enclose
the quoted speech:

> "xmí·k" ac "má·k x^{W}á pmsk^{W}ayá·wx ic payí·c yuṣ."
>> '"Young man" he said, "You (are to) go
>> teach the soldiers (I say as I come along,
>> I do)."'

The following are ambiguous. The contexts, however,
imply that they are indirect quotes:

> mú·r ašíṭ n^{y}awáy pwá ac. 'She said that Mu·r
>> arrived at his house alone.'

> ci·xáyx ic. 'I said it would be windy.'

A special type of indirect quotation involves the verbal
noun k^{W}ʔás (derived from í 'say, do'). Occurring finally
in a sentence and unstressed it denotes that the action
stated in the sentence is to be equated with a previous
statement as to what the action will be. It is perhaps
possible to consider the portion of the sentence preceding
k^{W}ʔás a nominalized clause to which k^{W}ʔás is in apposition,
although the sentence as a whole would then have no in-
dependent clause. Compare the following examples:

> n^{y}awí· vú·r ušíṭm psuk^{W}á· ac. 'He said that he

asked him for one donkey.' (Lit., 'thing

donkey one he-asked-him he-said.')

n^{y}awí· vú·r ušíṭm psuk^{w}á· k^{w}ʔas. 'He asked him

for one donkey, as he was told to do (as he said

he would do).'

863.3. A complex sentence with dependent and nominal-

ized clauses. A complex sentence with both types of clauses
is not essentially dissimilar from a complex sentence in
which one or the other is absent:

sxuṭússin^y ɨ^{y}numákm ṣawác ica. 'It was that spit
she left in it that said it.' (Lit.,
'She-spit-there which-she-left-in it-was
-there it-said.'

k^{w}akú· n^{y}i·pṣn^{y}upís n^{y}kun^{y}á·pm, xrupáy n^{y}awí·
wáyk^{w}apít má·m pwán^{y}a. 'When she told of
the old woman bewitching him there, the
crazy one was close by, and then he also
arrived.' (Lit., 'old-woman there-she-
bewitched-him this-she-told he-was-close
-by thing crazy-one then he-arrived-also.')

864. Compound sentence. A compound sentence contains
two (and possibly more) independent clauses. One clause,
ordinarily the first, is subordinate to the other in a
semantic sense. A first clause which is subordinate is
usually followed by some form of the personal pronoun, to
which the clause can be said to be in apposition. Such a
clause is not essentially different from a dependent clause
in its function in the sentence. It merely lacks the syn-
tactic suffix -m. The subjects of the predicates of the
clauses in a compound sentence usually are identical, but
are not necessarily so:

q^{w}áqš mák uyí·c n^{y}ṣác putáyxan^y ṣa·yí· uyu aca.
'The horse coming behind was the biggest,
he said.' (Lit., 'horse behind he-comes

that-one he-is-very-big he-comes-there
he-is he-said.')

wí·c muxá·m yák puyák n^{y}şán^y pwámc ukúł^{y}c
uwí·c şpuʔá·m, lá·xxan^y. 'He went
up to a mountain lying a little ways
off, climbed it, stood on the top, and
when he looked, there was nothing (to
be seen of them).' (Lit., 'mountain
a-little-ways-off it-lies it-lies-
there that-one he-arrived he-climbed
in-the-above he-stood he-looked when
-he-stood-there nothing-very-much.')

865. Compound-complex sentence. A compound-complex
sentence contains two (or more) independent clauses, simple
or coordinate, and one (or more) dependent or nominalized
clause:

şáy uwác má·m šxlmú pn^{y}uwíl k^{w}ʔas šumác şa·yákm
pawác pawác. 'He sat there then and chased
flies as he told him to do while he
slept'. (Lit., 'there he-sat now flies
he-chased-them that-which-was-said
he-slept he-lay-there-while he-sat-
here he-sat-here.')

870. Major sentence: interrogative. An interrogative
sentence may, like a declarative sentence, be simple, co-
ordinate, complex, compound, or compound-complex. Its
status as interrogative is indicated by an interrogative

suffix, by a characteristic melody, or by a characteristic melody and an interrogative suffix. The formation of an interrogative sentence is presented according to the process involved.

871. Suffixation of -a. A declarative sentence can be made interrogative by attaching -a to a verb which is sentence-final, provided: it is not yú 'be, do'; it is a verb other than í 'say', or a?í 'do', functioning as an auxiliary to a main verb; it is the main (or only) verb of the predicate, which may be í or a?í. It ordinarily does not attach to a verb with the intentive -x. One example is known of its affixation to what is apparently a verbal noun:

> n^yá kla?áma. 'What time is it?' (The derivation of the verbal noun is uncertain. Alone, without n^yá 'day, sun', it means 'how much, so much'.)

The melody accompanying an interrogative sentence formed with -a contains a falling terminal contour and more closely resembles that of a declarative sentence than that accompanying one formed by the other two processes. It is for this reason that the punctuation mark is a period (See 840.1):

> makám uxápa. 'Where did he go ("enter")?' (Cf.
> makám uxáp. 'He went somewhere.')
> mapúc pmu·yá·a. 'Do you know him?'
> n^yá·p n^ymwí·a. 'Do you see me?'
> mapúc kafí· a?ís mṣía. 'Did you drink my coffee?'
> mapúc kafí· ma?ís mṣía. 'Did you drink your coffee?'

ma?ía. 'Did you do it?' (Cf. ma?ís. 'You did it.')

mi·cúc rápa. 'Does your belly ache?'

mšmá·l makápic rápa. 'Which of your ears aches?'

makáy uyáka. 'Where is he lying?'

apác umíc puyáka. 'Is the man crying?' (Lit.,

'the-man he-cries he-is-lying-here-question'.

mapúc mxpcú·n^{y}x mp?á·a. 'Are you going to church?'

(Lit., 'You you-intend-to-go-to-church

you-are-standing-question'.)

šác umán makáy wáma. 'Where is the bird?' (Lit.,

'The-bird he-is-flying somewhere he-goes

-away-from-question.')

mwí·n^{y}a. 'Do, did you see it too?'

a?ín^{y}xa. 'Shall I do it too?'

makáy wa·n^{y}í·m pmwíwa. 'Where were they when you

saw them?' (Lit., 'Somewhere they-are-

around you-saw-them question.')

872. **Characteristic melody.** A declarative sentence
may be made into an interrogative sentence by means of a
melody whose terminal contour is rising and whose pitch
level on the final syllable, whether stressed or unstressed,
is /3/. Such melody is indicated by the punctuation mark:
? (See 840.2). This manner of forming an interrogative
sentence appears to be used primarily when there is direct
or indirect reference to the future and in negative questions,

and only when the final syllable of the sentence consists
of the root syllable of an inflected form of either í 'say'
a?í 'do', or yú 'be':

> lu?ík kn^yá·px i? 'What shall I say? How shall
> > I say it?'

> n^yá kayúm mkwá·kx i? 'What day will you come
> > back?'

> makápic má·x ic? 'Which of you is going?' (Lit.,
> > — 'Which you-intend-to-go I-say-question.')

> makápic á·x i? 'Which of us is going?'

> lú·p kmţ?íc mwayá·c ma?íc? 'What are you doing?'
> > (Lit., 'Something you-are-doing you-are-
> > around you-do-question.')

> lu?ác? 'What did he say?' (Lit., 'He-said-
> > something-question.')

> lpmu·yá·m ic? 'Don't you know me?' (Lit., 'You-
> > don't-know-me I-say-question.' For forma-
> > tion of negative see 470.)

> n^yá·p ln^ymwí·m myúc? 'Don't you see me? (Lit.,
> > 'Me you-don't-see-me you-do-question.')

> kayúm ic má·x ic? 'Why are you going?'

> kn^yayúm má·x ic? 'When are you going?'

> makák myí·c myúc? 'Where did you come from?'

> kmyúk má·x ic? 'How are you going?'

873. Characteristic melody and suffixation of -m.
The melody is that described in 872. The use of the inter-
rogative suffix -m is restricted for the most part to
one of the three verbs: í 'say', a?í 'do', yú 'be' function-
ing as an auxiliary verb in final position in the sentence.

When attached to one of these verbs the root syllable is
usually stressed. In the apparently rare instance when
it attaches to verbs other than one of these three, the
final syllable (which actually consists of the suffix itself)
is never stressed. An example of the latter is:

n^ymá·mm? '(Are you) ready?' (See 131 for syllable
boundaries.)

In contrast to primarily future reference of the charac-
teristic melody when used alone (872), the accompaniment
of the melody by the suffix -m seldom has future reference.
The following illustrate the use of this suffix with the
three auxiliary verbs:

makác uyúm? 'Who is that?'

lú·pc uyúm? 'What is that?'

lú·n^yc uyúm? 'What is that?'

lu?íc ím? 'What did I say? (Lit.,'I-said-some-
thing I-said-question.')

lú·p kayúx payá·c yum ám? 'What's going to happen?'
(Lit., 'Something it-will-be-indefinite
it-happens it-is- which it-says-question.'
Note that yum is unstressed.)

makám wáxc uyúm? 'Where is he going!'

cwa?ú·r makápin^y n^yá·p n^ya?ísc yum? 'Which chair
is mine?'

cwa?ú·rpin^y makán^y u?ásc yum? 'Whose is that chair?'

makáy kmyúm yum? 'Where are you?' (Lit., 'Some-
where you-are-indefinite it-is-question.')

ka?ím?   'How is it?'

kayú ák uyum?   'Why does he do it? Why does

he act like that?'

lú·p u?ác (or kṭu?ác) wa·n^{y}í·c uyúm?   'What

are they doing.' (Lit., 'something they-

do they-are-around they-are-question.')

APPENDIX I

AFFIX POSITION CHART

The following charts attempt to show the positions of
the various affixes relative to the verb and noun roots.
Derivative affixes are underlined once. Syntactic affixes
are underlined twice. Inflective affixes are not underlined.

The affixes are identified as follows according to posi-
tion class with references to their descriptions within the
grammar.

Verb: prefixal position:

9. n^y- referential indefinite (440)

8. $ɨ^y$- positional affix (430.1)

7. l(u)- non-referential definite (462) and
prefixal element of the negative affix (470)

6. n^y-, m-, p- personal pronominal object pre-
fixes (411, 413) and mc- reflexive (413); pa-, pu-, ṣa-,
c- locative-temporal (450); ka-, kṭ- non-referential in-
definite (461)

5. m- second personal subject prefix (412)

4. Instrumental prefixes (614, 615), k^w- definite
prefix which derives nouns from verbs (721), and k-, m-
positional affixes (430.2, 430.3); n^y- referential indef-
inite (440)

3. s-, c- (ṭ-), n^y- plural prefixes (421.1,
421.2, 421.3)

2. Third personal subject prefix (u-, etc.) (412)
and derivative prefixes a- (611, 722), wa- (611.1), i·- (612),

and ya- (612.1)

    1. n-, n^y- diminutive (613)

Verb: suffixal position

    1. -s, -p plural suffixes (421.4, 421.5), -m, -k positional affixes (430.4, 430.5), -wa benefactive suffix (481), -a interrogative suffix (801.7), and -m interrogative suffix (801.6)

    2. $-n^y$, $-n^y$i imitative suffix (482)

    3. -y, -ya, -i·- habitual, usitative, continuative (483)

    4. -x intentive (484) and -k future coordinating suffix (801.5)

    5. $-ɬ^y$ desiderative-potential (485.1), -pa mild emphatic (485.2), -ṣ assertive (485.3), -c perfective-sequential and present-past coordinating (485.4, 801.1), and -m subordinating (801.4)

Noun: prefixal position

    3. m-, n^y- second and third person pronominal prefixes (510, 511, 512)

    2. n^y-, i·-, m- derivative prefixes (711, 712, 713)

    1. c- plural prefix (520.3); a- third person pronominal prefix (512); u- third person pronominal prefix attached to pronouns (541, 543)

Noun: suffixal position

    1. -s plural suffix (520.2) and -y derivative suffix (621)

    2. Case suffixes (530, 531)

VERB

Prefixal position

9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	Root
nʸ-	ɬʸ-	l(u)-	nʸ-	m-	**Inst** **Pref** ---	Plur	3rd	nʸ-,	All
			m-		kʷ-	Pref	pers	n-	verbs
			p-		---		subj		
			mc-		k-		---		
					m-		a-		
							wa-		
							i·-		
							ya-		
	ɬʸ		pa-		nʸ		3rd		Aux
			pu-				pers		verbs
			ṣa-				subj		only
			c-						
			ka-,		kʷ-				í, yú,
			kṭ-		nʸ-				aʔí
									only

VERB

Suffixal position

Root	1	2	3	4	5
All Verbs	-s	$-\underline{n}^y$,	-y, -ya,	-x	$-\underline{ɨ}^y$
	-p	$-n^y_i$	-i·-	----	-pa
	----			$-\underline{\underline{k}}$	-ş
	-m				
	-k				----
					$-\underline{\underline{c}}$
	----				----
	-wa				$-\underline{\underline{m}}$

	$-\underline{\underline{a}}$				
í, yú, a?í only	$-\underline{\underline{m}}$				

NOUN

3	2	1	Root	1	2
m-	$\underline{n}^y$-	c-		-s	Case
n^y-	i·-	-a		---	suff
	$\underline{\underline{m}}$-	-u		$-\underline{y}$	

APPENDIX II

SAMPLE TEXT

The following short text is excerpted from a long narrative about Coyote's adventures. Its analysis in schematic detail will illustrate a considerable number of the possible constructions in the language.

Lines are drawn connecting the immediate constituents of constructions. Syntactic suffixes are separated by dashes.

A glossary follows the text with references to the various inflective processes.

The following abbreviations are used in the analysis:

NP	Noun phrase consisting of one noun or pronoun
NPdir	Noun phrase: directive (813)
NPpos	Noun phrase: possessive (811)
NPatt	Noun phrase: appositive (814)
VP	Verb phrase consisting of one verb
VPatt	Verb phrase: attributive (821)
VPaux	Verb phrase: auxiliary (822)
VPper	Verb phrase: periphrastic (822.1)
Subj	Subject (800.3)
Pred	Predicate (800.4)

Csim-ind	Clause:	simple and independent (800.5)
Csim-dep	Clause:	simple and dependent (800.5)
Ccoo-ind	Clause:	coordinate and independent (800.5)
Ccoo-dep	Clause:	coordinate and dependent (800.5)
Interj	Interjection (830)	
Ssim-dec	Sentence:	simple and declarative (861)
Scoo-dec	Sentence:	coordinate and declarative (862)
Scpl-dec	Sentence:	complex and declarative (863)
Scmp-dec	Sentence:	compound and declarative (864)
Ssim-int	Sentence:	simple and interrogative (870)
Scmp-cpl-dec	Sentence:	compound-complex and declarative (865)
Smin	Sentence:	minor (850)
Qind	Quote:	indirect (863.2.1)
Qdir	Quote:	direct (863.2.1)
Qind-nom	Quote:	indirect and nominalized (863.2.1)

Coyote

1. márk, xṭpác ṣá·c uyú ac in^y pa.

2. xṭpác ṣá·c ušíṭxan^y ṣá·c uyu ac.

3. ušíṭ ṣá·c má·m ... n^y i·wáy ca·wí·m ṣá·c uyu ac.

4. ṣá· ṣá·c má·m ... wan^y ám cupíṭ ṣá·m ac, n^y awí· n^y mcá· paẋ?áy n^y ṣác ṣa·yí·c wan^y ám uyí·c ṣa·yí·m, pa·wí·c uyú ac in^y pa.

5. pa·wí·c ac.

6. "xúṭ, apápin^y apá xacáqxan^y pa·yí·c.

7. wa·yá·k n^y a·xá·l^y n^y a·nákx pa·yí·c uyuṣ." ác aca.

8. pa·yí·c pukáwca.

9. pukáwm ac ... "áwka, n^y xú·l makám má·x myu?"

10. xṭpác mšuyá·c ac ... "lá, n^y awí· ará·r n^y áy pa?á·mc yuṣ." á ac.

11. "m, px^w áy ... n^y awí· ará·r l^y cáš n^y yá·x puyá·c yu. kyí·k." pa·?ac.

12. xṭpápin^y pa·yá·c.

13. pn^y wác pn^y wác.

14. á·m x?ác ptáy p?á·c ṭk^w i·šá·c mi·xá·n n^y kumímca.

15. ṣáy wa·yá·c maṭ ͡cru?úy ṣwa·yá·c ṣáy upáṭ uyu ac n^y mcá·pica.

16. "páy páṭ šmák payákm má·m ... n^y ác ṣkruwárm mán.

17. n^y awí· mi·šwá·ł m?íkm n^y ckn^y áyx puyá·c yuṣ." pa·?áca.

18. xṭpápin^y pa·?áca.

19. "px^w áy."

20. "šxlmú pmn^y wíl páy páṭ šmáx payá·c."

21. "px^wáy."

22. ṣáy uwác má·m šxlmú pn^yuwíl k^w?as šumác ṣa·yákm
pa·wác pa·wác.

23. n^yác kuwárxan^y umánc uyu aca.

24. umán.

25. "px^wáy.

26. mapíl^y n^yawí· mi·šwá·ɨ.

27. n^yá·c n^yawí· ... n^yawí· pa·sá·m paná·k paṣá·c payákṣ.

28. mi·?í·p mapúc makápin^y mi·šwá·ɨkm panákm pmṣá·ӿ
puyá·m." pa·?á ac.

29. "kyí°k." am má·m pn^ywáca.

30. xác puyákm n^ykumín.

31. x?ác ptǽy n^yp?á·c p?á·c yu ac.

32. má·m n^yawí· n^ymcá·pic ukúɨ^yi·c má·ɨ^y uyákca.

33. xṭpápic ukúɨ^y wa·yá·c.

34. lá·xxan^y ... lu·kúɨ^ym uyúm yú aca.

35. "yú·ṣ, kyaráwk kkúɨ^yxu·c."

36. "lá·x kayúk kúɨ^yx.

37. n^yá·p n^ywáɨ^y p?á·c ṣayúm kúɨ^y wayá·c yuṣ.

38. mapíl^y, mláyc ic."

39. "yú·ṣ, kyaráwk kúɨ^yxu·c."

40. ukúɨ^y makáy cxupíɨ^y cáqṣ ac máṭɨ^y un^yáɨ^y máṭɨ^y
un^yáɨ^y.

41. muláyca.

42. "yú·ṣ, kyaráwxu·c."

43. "lá, mapíl^y kúɨ^y cu?á·x."

44. ukúɨ^y ac makáy cxupíɨ^y ṣa·wác máṭɨ^y un^yáɨ^y máṭɨ^y
un^yáɨ^y.

45. ạṣú· im, nʸmcá·pic má·m usánʸ pa·yác mátᵻ·ʸ
pa·cápc uyu aca.

46. mátᵻ·ʸ u?á ... má·ᵻ·ʸ pa·cáp ix.

47. má·ᵻ·ʸ pa·cáp ṣa·yá·wm aṣú·x má·m xác puyákm
má·m, uṣíc uxáp nʸawí· kikʷá·y pa·?ac.

48. m ... qʷáqš ... mú·l pa·?ac ... vú·r ... kú·c
... cí·v lú·p nʸmksa?ú·rca.

49. wa·yá·m pa·wí·c.

Free Translation

1. Once upon a time, they say Coyote was going along.

2. Coyote was going along all by himself.

3. He was going along by himself now ... he didn't care where he was going.

4. He went on and on now ... He was going down the middle of the road when he saw Mountain Lion coming up the road.

5. He saw him.

6. "Golly, this is a bad man coming.

7. He's going to try to fool me and kill me." he said.

8. He (Mountain Lion) meets him.

9. "Hello, younger brother, where are you going?"

10. Coyote is afraid ... "Oh, I'm on my way to look for a job." he says.

11. "Hmm, fine ... I have a little job for you. Come along." he says to him.

12. He takes Coyote.

13. They go along for awhile.

14. Not far away they come to a big cottonwood tree which has good shade.

15. Mountain Lion fixes a place on the ground there and lies down.

16. "I'm going to lie down here and sleep now ... and in the afternoon I'll get up.

17. I'll pay you whatever you want." he says to him.

18. He says to Coyote.

19. "O.K."

20. "(If) you chase away the flies while I sleep."

21. "O.K."

22. While he lay there and slept, he (Coyote) sat there and chased away flies as he told him to do.

23. It was real late in the afternoon when he got up.

24. He got up.

25. "O.K.

26. You want something now.

27. I kill anything ... anything I want to eat.

28. Whatever you feel you want, I'll kill it and you can eat it." he says to him.

29. "Come along." he says and then they go off.

30. They come to where there is some water.

31. There is a real big cottonwood tree standing there.

32. Now Mountain Lion climbs it and lies up in the top.

33. Coyote tries to climb.

34. It's no use ... he can't climb it.

35. "My goodness, please hurry up and climb."

36. "I can't climb it.

37. There's one at my house which I can climb.

38. Now, I can't do it."

39. "My goodness, please hurry up and climb."

40. He climbs, hanging on where he can, jumps, and falls to the ground.

41. He can't do it.

42. "My goodness, please hurry up."

43. "Oh, I'm climbing now."

44. He does climb, hanging on as well as he can, (but) falls to the ground.

45. Later, Mountain Lion then goes down, picks him up, and throws him to the ground.

46. To the ground ... I meant to say he throws him up into the top.

47. He throws him to the top and they sit there until later now some animals come down to the water to drink.

48. Hmm ... horses ... mules ... donkeys ... pigs ... goats, all in a bunch.

49. He (Coyote) looks at them as they come.

1. once upon a coyote he was   he was   he did I say
    a time,   going along doing it it   it too.

márk,   xṭpá-c   ṣá·-c   uyú   a-c   in^{y}pa.

NP   VPaux   VP

Subj   Pred

Interj   Csim-ind

Ssim-dec

Qind
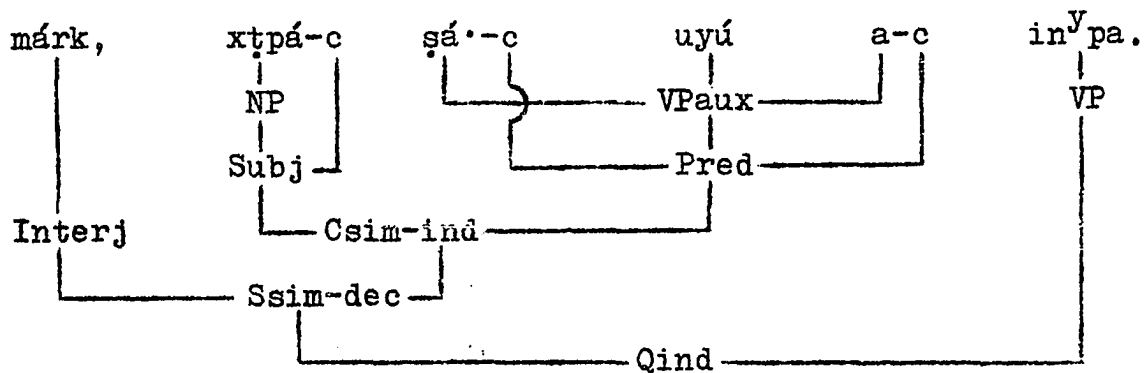
2. a coyote   he was   he was
                going along   all alone

xṭpá-c   ṣá·-c   ušítxan^y

NP   VPatt

Subj   Pred

Ccoo-ind

Scoo-dec
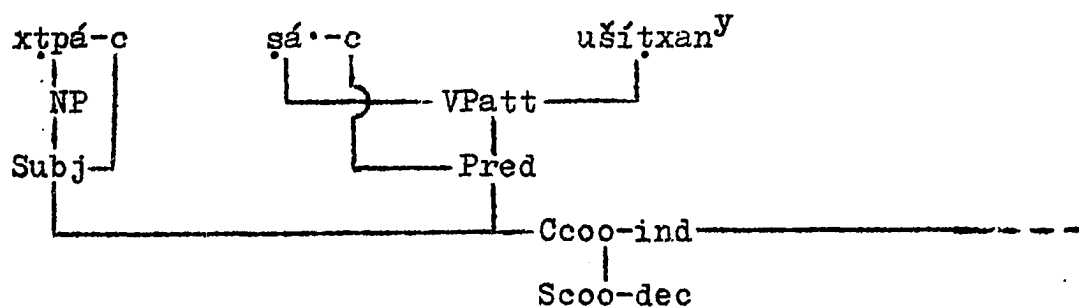
he was   he was   he did
going along   doing it   it.

ṣá·-c   uyu   a-c.

VPaux

Pred
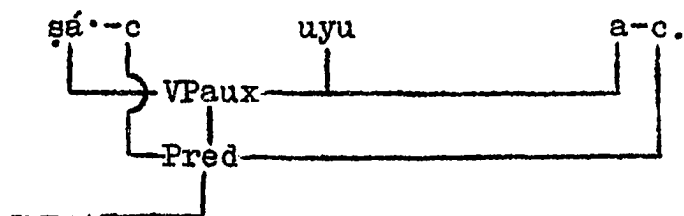
3.
he was	he was	now ...
alone	going along	

```
uší̦t          sá•-c              má•m ...
     └────VPatt─┘
          │
        Pred──────┘
          │
        Csim-ind            Interj
          │
        Ssim-dec────────────────┘
```
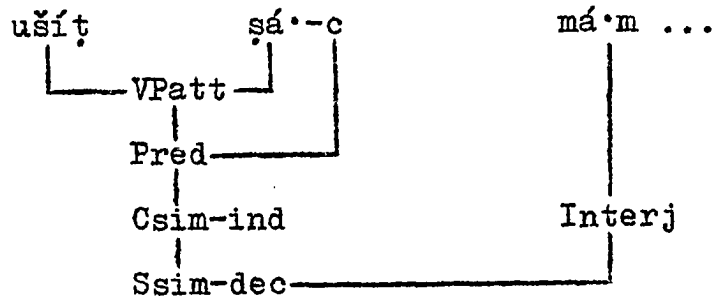
where he con-	he was in-	he was	he was	he did
tinued to go	different	going along	doing it	

```
nʸi•wáy        ca•wí•m       sá•-c          uyu        a-c.
     └────VPatt─┘                 └──┐
          │                         ╰─VPaux────┘         │
        Pred                      ╰─Pred───────────────┘
          │                         │
          └──────────Ccoo-ind───────┘
                        │
                     Scoo-dec
```
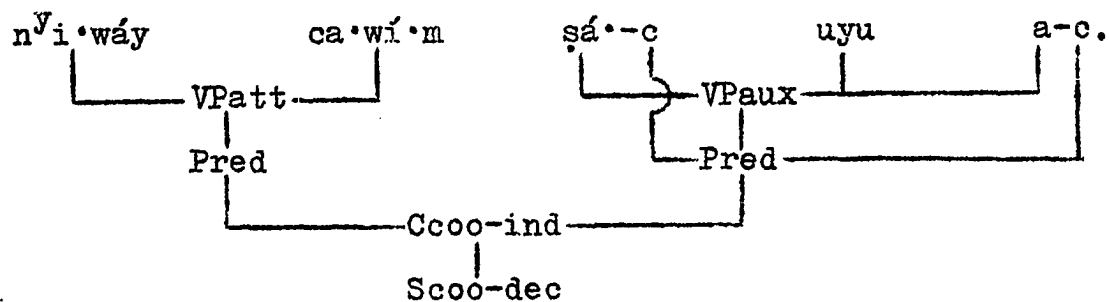
4.
he was	he went	now ...
going along	along there	

```
sá•            sá•-c            má•m ...
 │              │
VP             VP
 │              │
Pred           Pred┘
 │              │
 └──Ccoo-ind────┘            Interj
        │
     Scoo-dec────────────────────┘
```
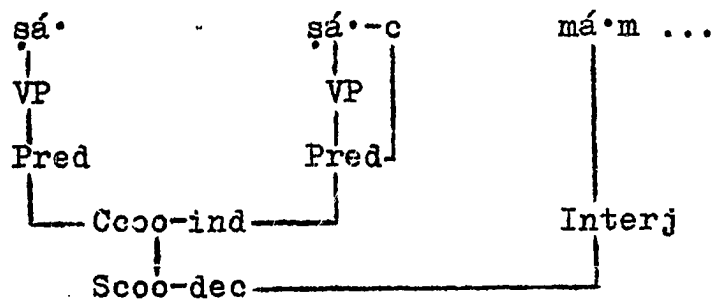
the road he covered he was going he did

              along there - as it,

wan^{y}ám   cupíṭ   ṣá·-m   a-c,

  NP   VPaux

       Pred

         Csim-dep

             Scpl-dec
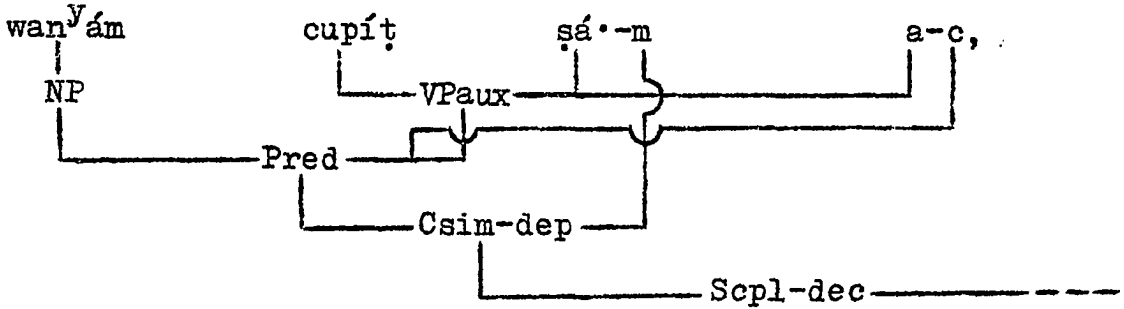
thing   mountain they say that one

      lion   him

n^{y}awí·   n^{y}mcá· pa·ʔáy   n^{y}ṣá-c

         NPdir

   NPapp

           NPapp

           Subj

        Scpl-dec
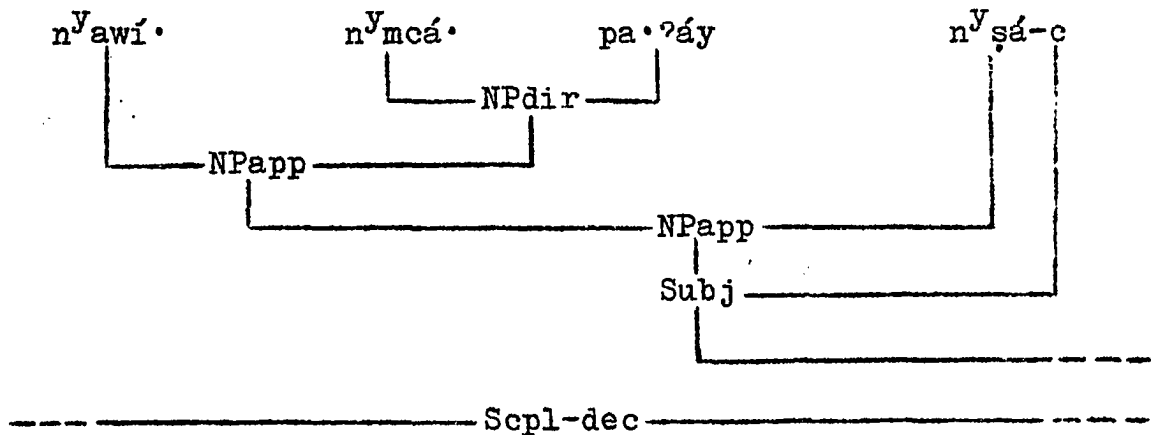
he came on the road he came he was

there   coming - as,

ṣa·yí·-c   wan^{y}ám uyí·-c   ṣa·yí·-m,

 VP   NP   VPaux

Pred   Pred

     Ccoo-dep
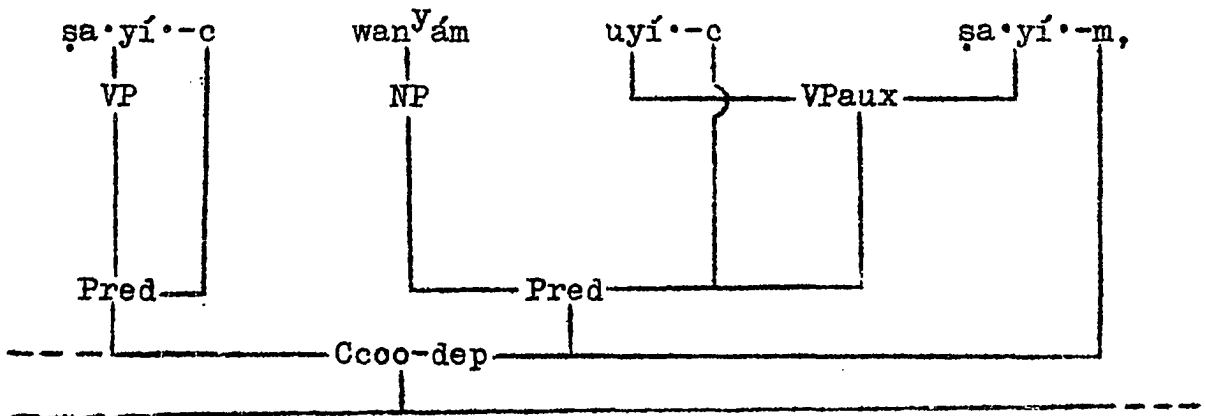
he saw him   he was doing it   he did it   I say it too.

pa·wí·-c   uyú   a-c   in^y pa.

```
pa·wí·-c        uyú              a-c           in^y pa.
   |___          _|               |              |
       \___------VPaux-----------|              VP
   |       ------Pred------------------------|
   |              |
   |            Csim-ind
   |              |
----Scpl-dec------|
        |                                          |
        |_____-- Qind -----|
```
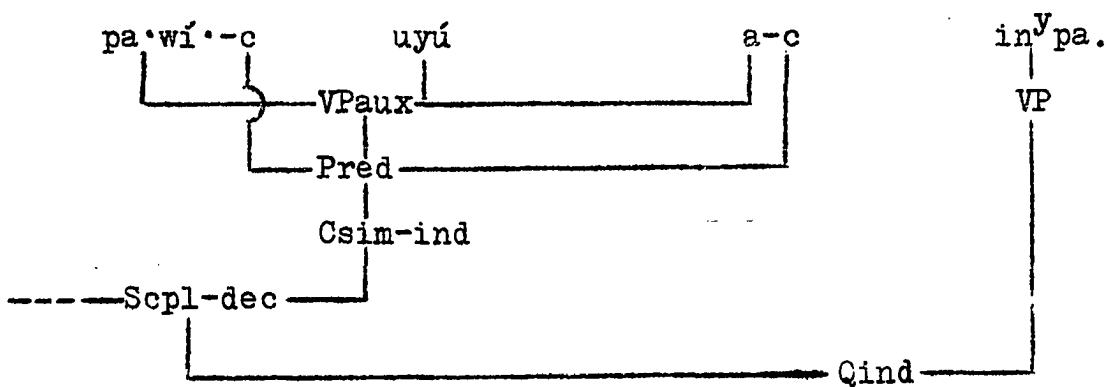
5. he looked   he did it.

   at him

```
pa·wí·-c        a-c.
   |___         _|
       \___-VPaux-|
   |     --Pred---|
   |        |
        Csim-ind
           |
        Ssim-dec
```
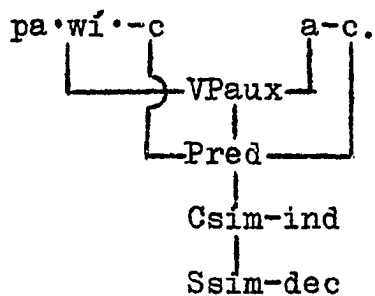
6. "Golly, this man   a man   a very   he is

                            bad one   coming.

```
"xúṭ,    apápin^y    apá    xacáqxan^y    pa·yí·-c.
   |        |          |_____NPdir_____|       |
   |        |_____NPapp_____|             VP
   |              |                             |
   |            Subj                          Pred-|
 Interj          |_____-Csim-ind----------|
   |                            |
   |_____-Ssim-dec
                        |_____ ----
```
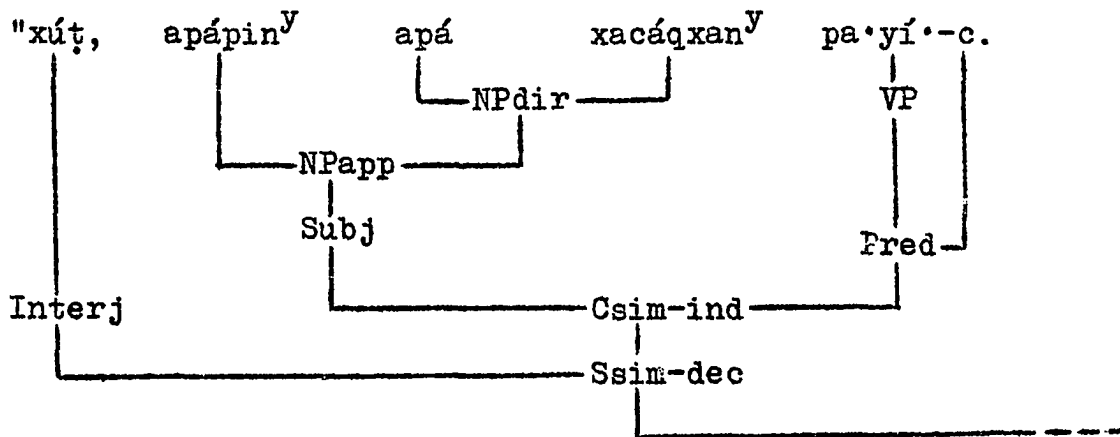
7. he is   he fools   he intends   he is   he does

    around - while   me   to kill me   coming   it."

wa·yá·-k   n^{y}a·xá·l^y n^{y}a·nákx   pa·yí·-c uyu$\underset{.}{s}$."

VP   VP   VPaux

Pred   Pred   Pred

Ccoo-ind

Scoo-dec

Qdir

he said   he did it.

á-c   a-c-a.

VPaux

Pred

Csim-ind

8. he is   he met   9. he met up   he said ...

    coming   him.   with him

pa·yí·-c   pukáw-c-a.   pukáwm   a-c ...

VP   VP   VP   VP

Pred   Pred   Pred   Pred

Ccoo-ind   Ccoo-ind

Scoo-dec   Scoo-dec
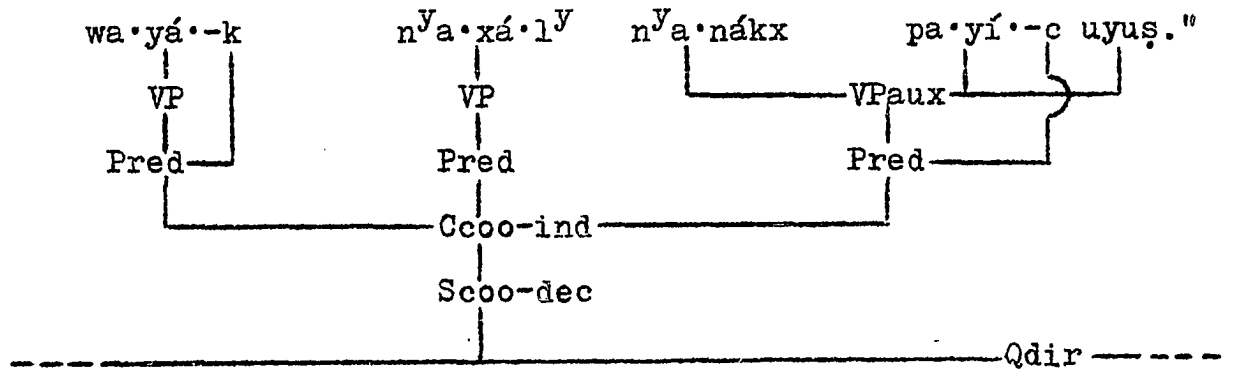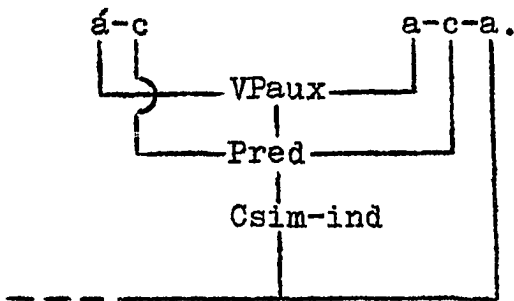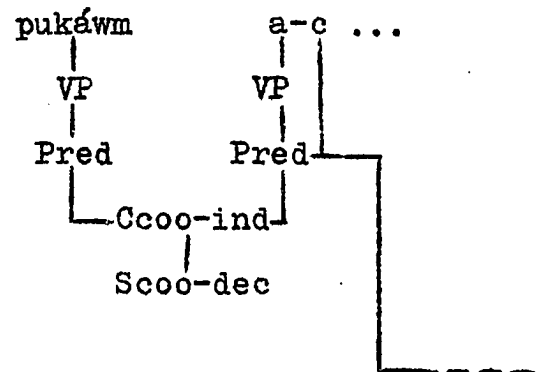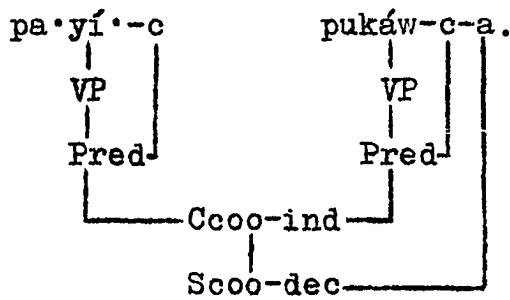
"Hello   younger   to where   you intend   do

          brother   to go   you?"

"áwka, n^yxú·l   makám   má·x   myu?"

                       NP   VPaux

                             Pred

Interj   Interj   Csim-ind

                         Ssim-int

—— Qdir
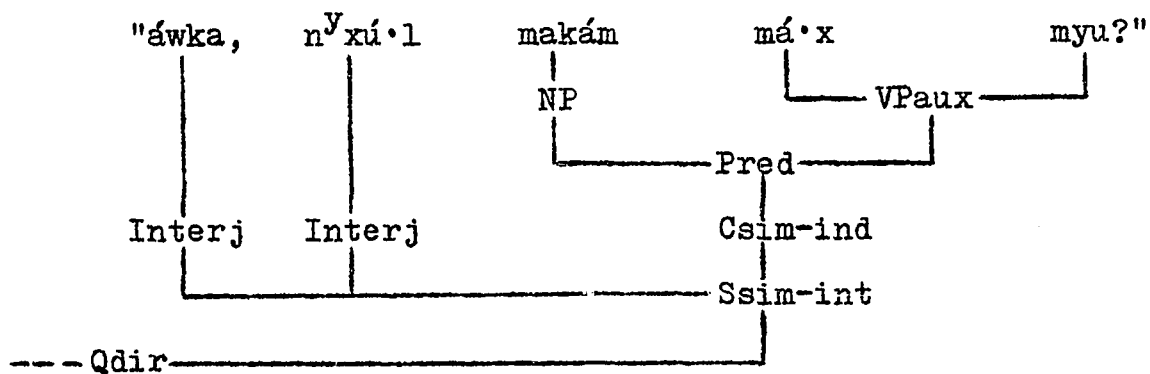
10. the coyote   he is   he said ...

                  afraid

xtpá-c   mšuyá·-c   a-c ...

NP   VP   VP

Subj   Pred   Pred

       Ccoo-ind

      Scoo-dec
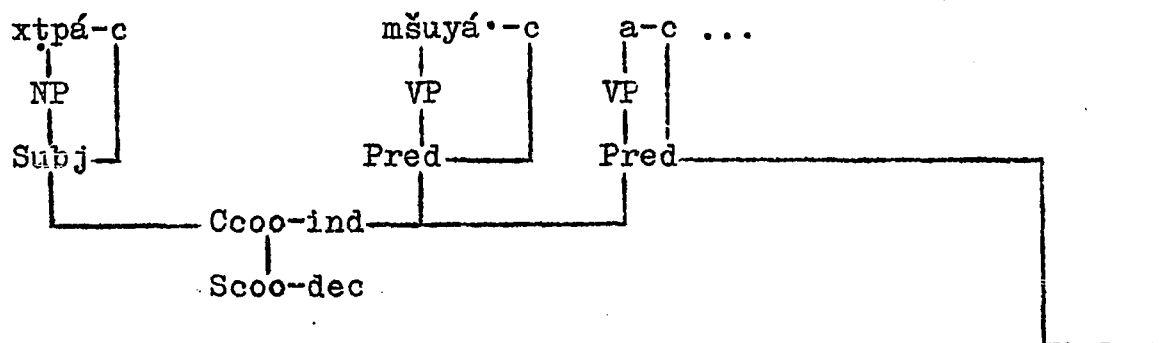
"Oh,   thing work   I look for   I go   I do   he   he did

                         along   it."   says it.

"lá, n^yawí· ará·r n^yáy   pa?á·m-c yus."   á   a-c.

          NPdir   VPaux   VPaux

              Pred   Pred

Interj   Csim-ind   Csim-ind

                Ssim-dec

—— —— Qdir
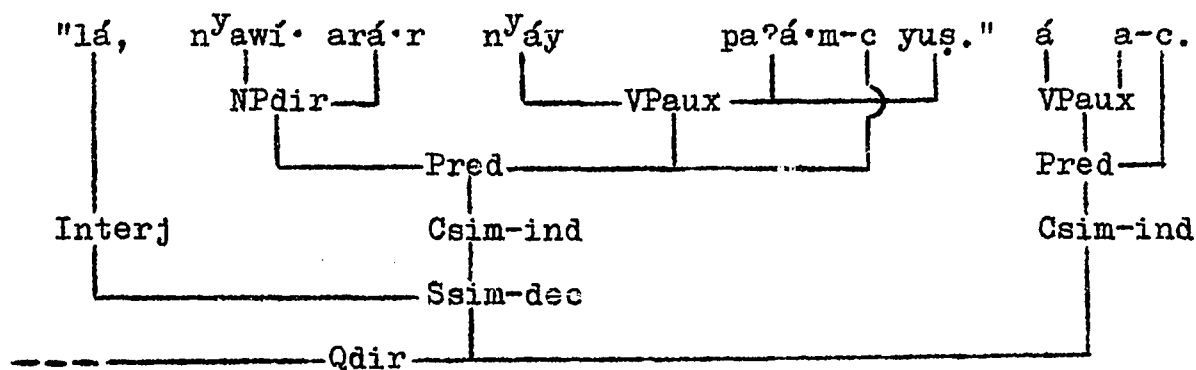
11. "Hmm, good ... thing work little I intend to
get for you

"m, pxʷáy ... nʸawí· ará·r lʸcáš nʸyá·x

                            └─NPdir─┘   VP

                       └────NPatt─┘

                          └────Pred────┘

Interj Interj   Csim-ind

it happens   it does.

puyá·-c   yu.

         └──VPaux──┘

      └──Pred

        Csim-ind

──Scmp-dec──┘

    Qdir

Come."   he says to him.

kyí·-k   pa·ʔa-c.

VP   VP

Pred─┘   Pred─┘

Csim-ind   Csim-ind

Ssim-dec

──┴─Qdir ─────┘
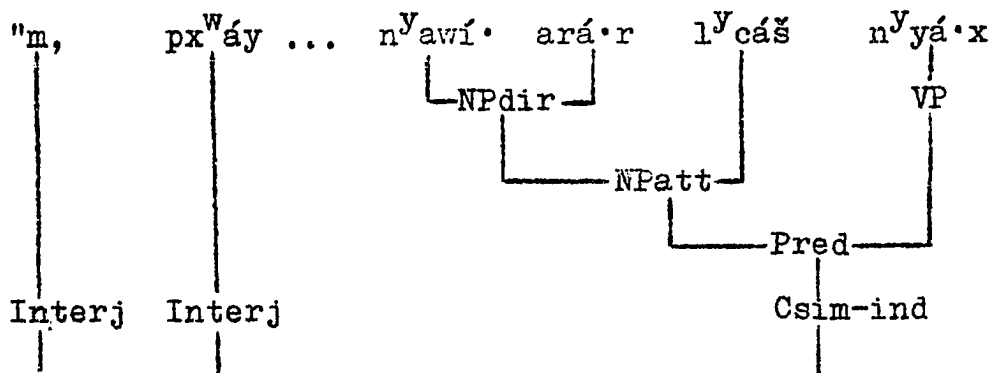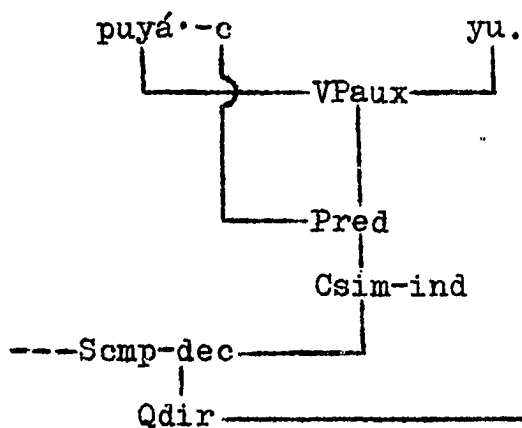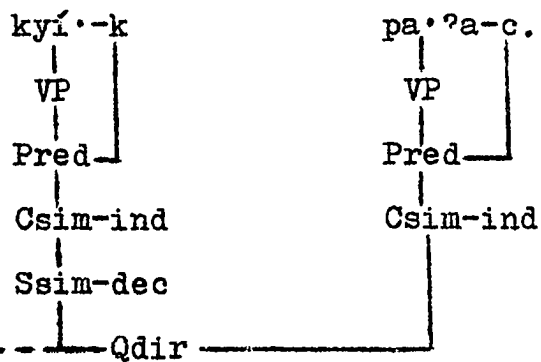
12. the coyote   he takes him.

$$\text{xtpápin}^{\text{y}} \qquad\qquad \text{pa·yá·-c.}$$

```
xtpápin^y              pa·yá·-c.
  |                      |
  NP                     VP
  |_____Pred_____|____|
                |
             Csim-ind
                |
             Ssim-dec
```
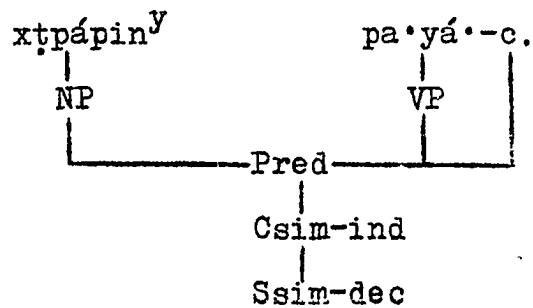
13. they went along   they went along.

```
pn^ywá-c              pn^ywá-c.
  |                     |
  VP                    VP
  |                     |
 Pred___               Pred___
  |_____Ccoo-ind_____|
                |
             Scoo-dec
```
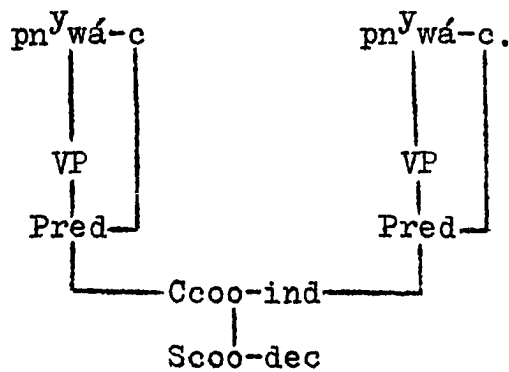
14. Not far off   cottonwood   it was   it stood

                                                          really big

```
á·m          x?á-c          ptáy        p?á·-c
 |            |              |___VPatt___|
 |           NP                   |
 |           Subj               Pred_____
Interj        |_____Csim-ind___|                  |
 |_____Scmp-dec ____ __ _
```
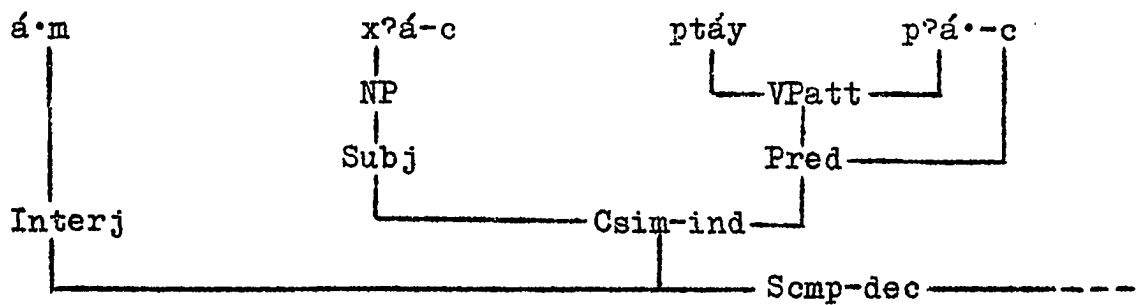
the shade   it was   they arrived.

pleasant

tk^{w}i·šá·-c   mi·xá·n   n^{y}kumím-c-a.

NP   VP   VP

Subj   Pred   Pred

Csim-ind   Csim-ind

Scmp-dec
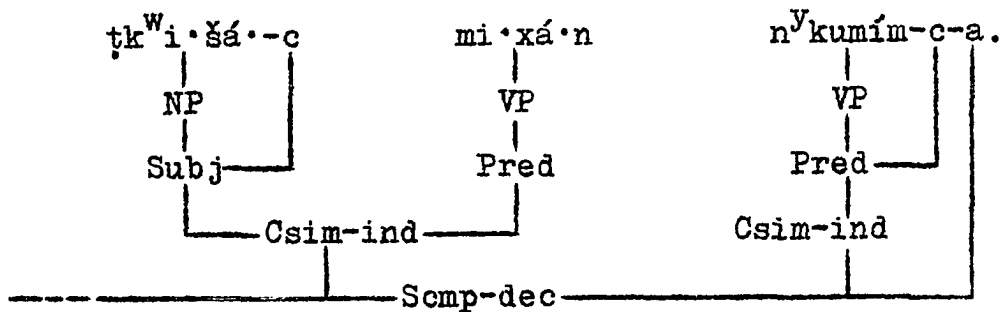
15. there   he was around

sáy   wa·yá·-c

NP   VP

Pred
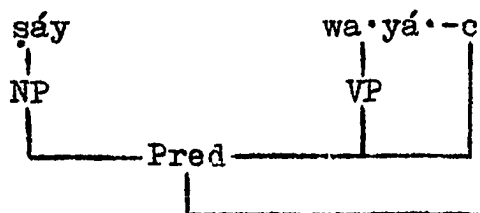
the ground   he prepared   he was around there

mát   cruʔúy   ṣwa·yá·-c

NP   VPaux

Pred

Ccoo-ind
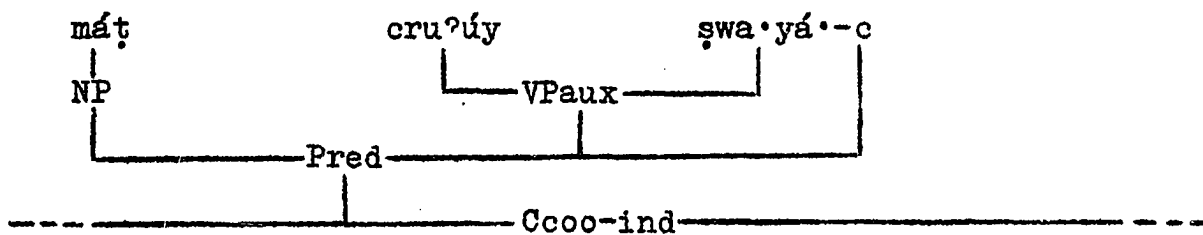
there   he lay down   he was doing it   he did it

sáy   upáṭ   uyu   a-c

NP   VPaux

Pred

Ccoo-ind

Scoo-dec

the mountain lion.

n^{y}mcá·-pic-a
     |
    NP
     |
  Subj
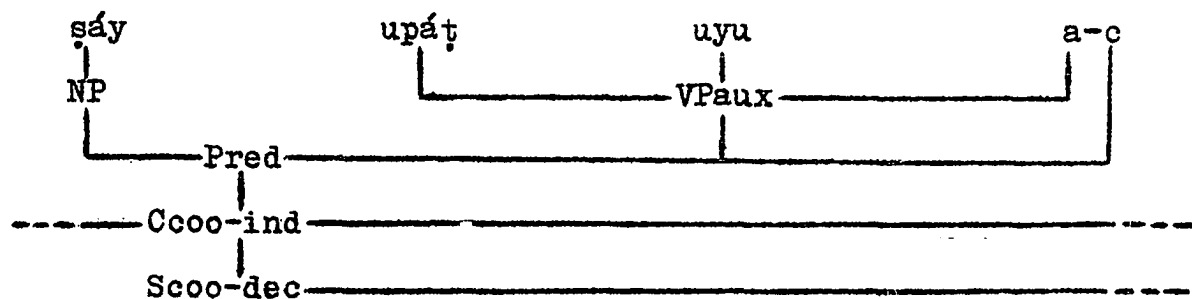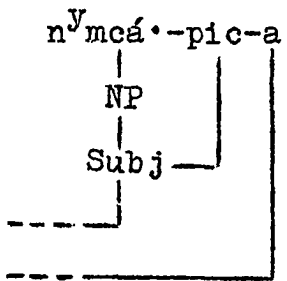
16. "Here   I lie down   I sleep   I lie here –   now ...
                                                until
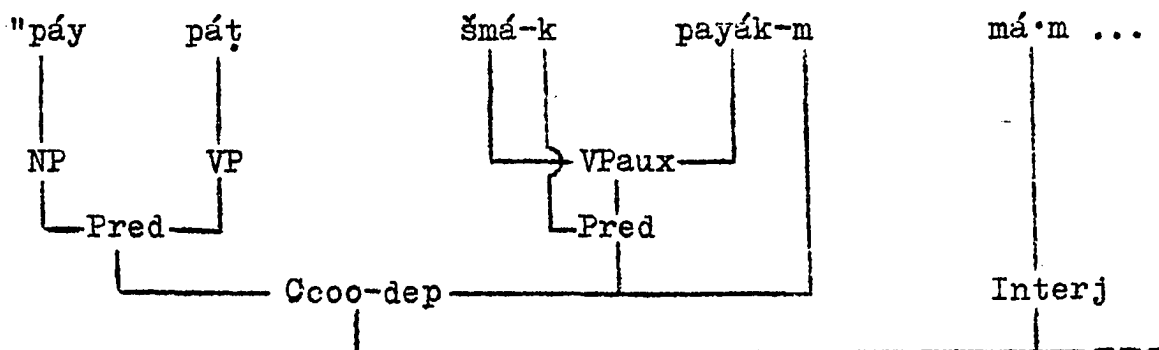
the sun, day   it is past the

                    middle – and then
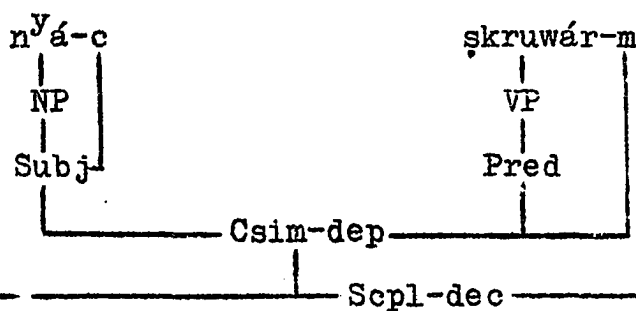
I get up.
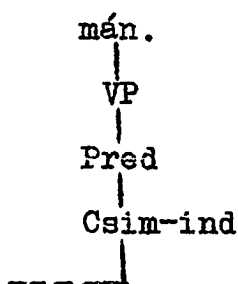
17. Thing   you want   you say – which   I intend to

                                               pay you
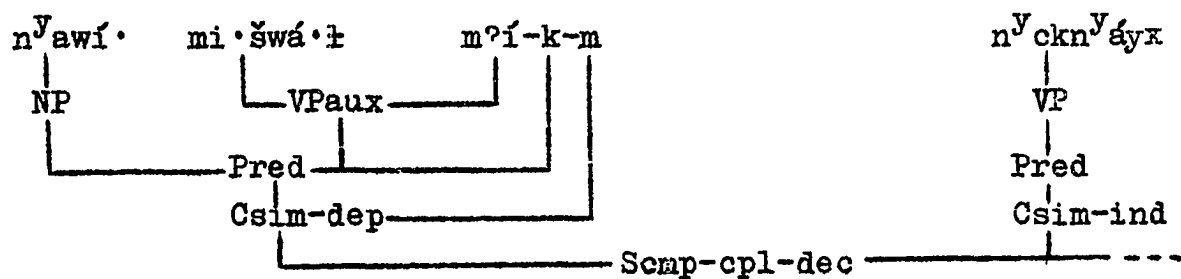
it happens   it does."   He said to him.

puyá·-c   yuş."   pa·ʔá-c-a.

VPaux — Pred — Csim-ind — Qdir

VP — Pred — Csim-ind — Ssim-dec
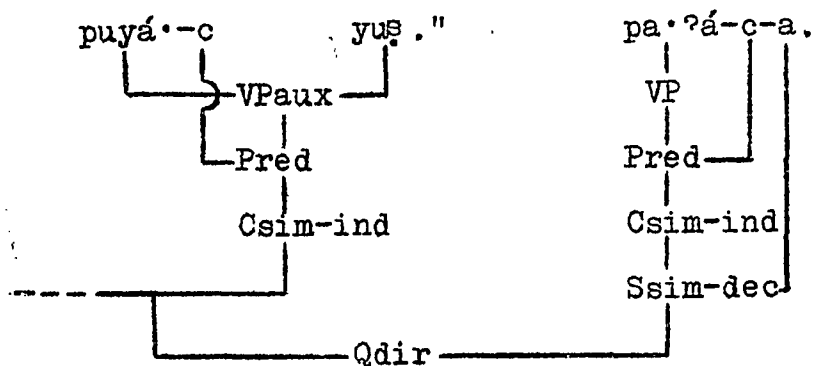
18. The coyote   he said to him.

xṭpápin^y   pa·ʔá-c-a.

NP   VP

Pred — Csim-ind — Ssim-dec
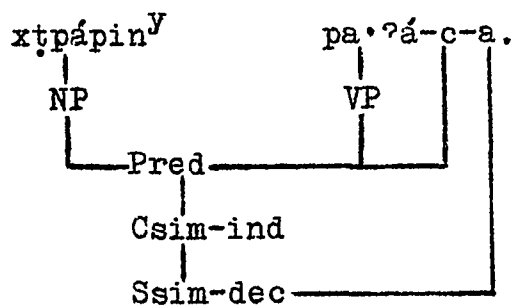
19. "Good"   20. "Flies   you chase away

"px^wáy"   "šxlmú   pmn^ywíl

Interj   NP   VP

Smin   Pred — Csim-ind
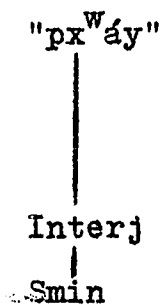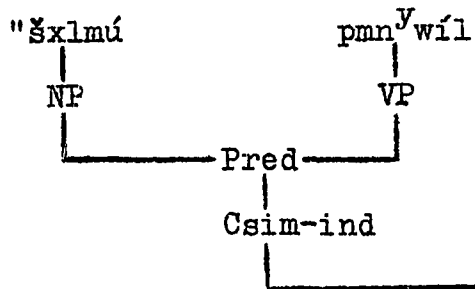
here   I lie down   I intend   it happens."

to sleep

```
   páy        pát            šmáx        payá·-c."
    |          |               |            |
   NP         VP              VP           VP
    |_____|               |            |
        Pred                  Pred         Pred
         |_____Ccoo-ind_____|         Csim-ind
                                  |
   _____Scmp-dec_____|_____|
```

21 "Good."

```
"px^w áy."
    |
    |
    |
    |
 Interj
    |
 Smin
```

22. There   he sat   now

```
   sáy        uwá-c          má·m
    |            |             |
   NP           VP            |
    |____Pred____|            |
          |                   |
       Csim-ind            Interj
          |                   |
          |_____|_____
```

flies   he chased   which he   he   he lay there

             away   said   slept   -while

```
   šxlmú      pn^y uwíl        k^w ʔas      šumá-c    ṣa·yák-m
    |           |                |            |         |
   NP          VP               NP           |_VPaux    |
    |___Pred____|                            |          |
          |                                  |_Pred     |
       Csim-ind                                 |       |
          |                              Csim-dep_____|
      Qind-nom_____|
          |
   _____|_____Scmp-cpl-dec_____
```

he was here   he was here

sitting   sitting.

```
     pa•wá-c           pa•wá-c.
        |                 |
       VP    |           VP    |
        |    |            |    |
     Pred—┘            Pred—┘
        └────Ccoo-ind——┘
                     ╱
  ┌──────────────────┘
```

23. The sun, day   it was very   he got up   he was   he did
                      far gone   doing it it.

```
     nʸá-c             kuwárxanʸ        umán-c        uyu         a-c-a.
       |                  |               |  ┐         |          ┐
      NP┄┤               VP              └──╲ ──VPaux─────────────┘
       |  |               |                   └──Pred─────────────┐
      Subj┘             Pred               ┌─────┘       |        |
       └── Csim-ind ──────┘                          Csim-ind     |
            └───────────── Scmp-dec ─────────────────────┴────────┘
```

24. He gets up.   25. "Good.

```
     umán.                 "pxʷáy.
       |                     |
      VP                     |
       |                     |
     Pred                    |
       |                     |
     Csim-ind              Interj
       |                     |
     Ssim-dec              Smin
```

26.   now   thing   you want.

```
mapíl^y   n^yawí•      mi•šwá•ɫ.
  |         |           |
  |         NP          VP
  |         |_____|
  |            |
  |          Pred
  |            |
Interj      Csim-ind
  |            |
  |_____Ssim-dec
```

27.   I   thing ... **thing**   that which   I kill them
                                       is all

```
n^yá•-c    n^yawí•...    n^yawí•      pa•sá•m        paná•k
  |          |            |            |              |
  NP         |_____|_NPdir_____|              VP
  |                 |                                  |
Subj─┘              |_____          |
  |                                Pred──────┘──────────┘
  |_____Ccoo-ind──────────── ── ·
                                             |
                                          Scoo-dec
```
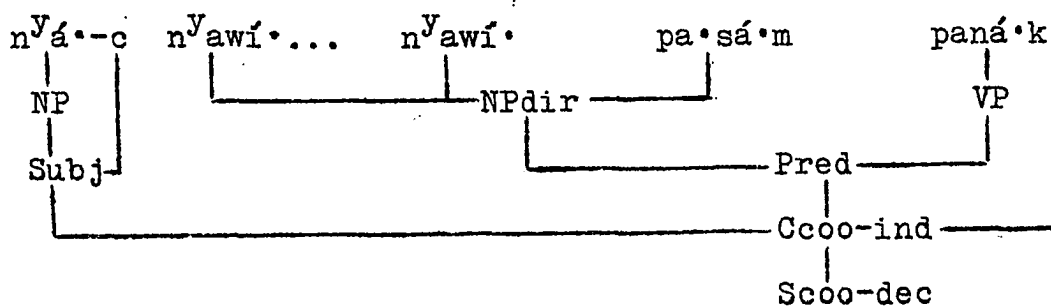
28.   You hear   **you**   whatever;   you want -
    (feel)   which   then

```
mi•ʔí•p      mapú-c    makápin^y        mi•šwá•ɫ-k-m
  |            |          |               |
  VP           NP         NP              VP       |
  |            |          |               |        |
Pred         Subj─┘     |_Pred───────────┘────────┘
  |            |            |
  |_____|__Ccoo-dep──┘
                            |_____ 
                                            |_____ ── ·
```
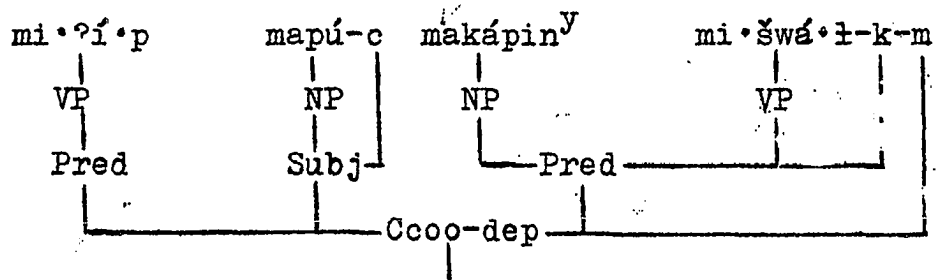
27. (concluded)   I bite him   I am lying here.
                  (them)

            pașá·-c   payákș.
              └────┐   ┘
                   ├─VPaux ──┘
                   └─Pred
    ___ ___ _____┘
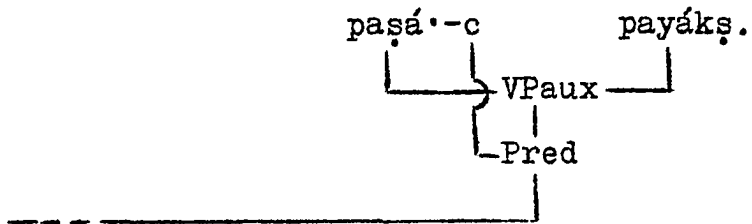
I kill it -   you intend·   it happens."

then   to eat it

panák-m   pmsá•x   puyá•-m."
  | | |
 VP   VP   VP
  | | |
 Pred   Pred   Pred
  | | |
 Csim-dep   Csim-ind   Csim-dep

---Scpl-dec

He said to him   he did it.

pa•ʔá   a-c.
    |_____Vpaux_____|
              |
            Pred
              |
            Csim-ind
              |
            Ssim-dec
              |
   _____Qdir
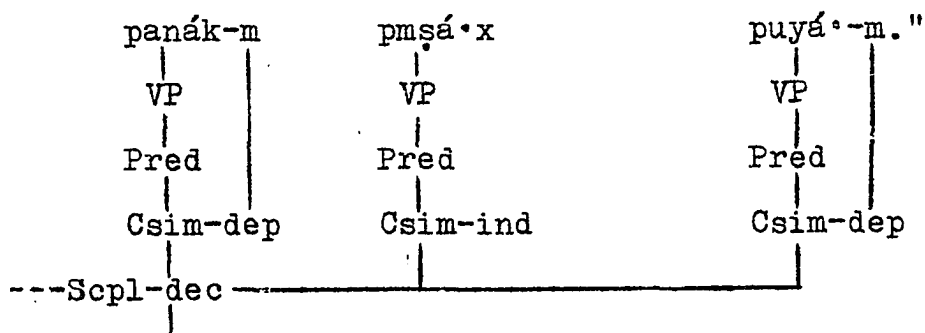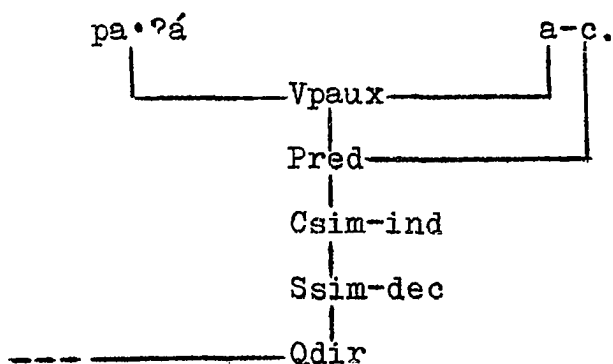
29. "Come." he said -   then   they went along.
                 when

"kyí•-k." a-m   má•m   pnʸwá-c-a.
  | | | |
 VP   VP | VP
  | | | |
 Pred──Pred | Pred──
  | | | |
Csim-ind Csim-dep   Interj   Csim-ind
  | |
Ssim-dec |───────Scpl-dec
  |
  |_____Qdir
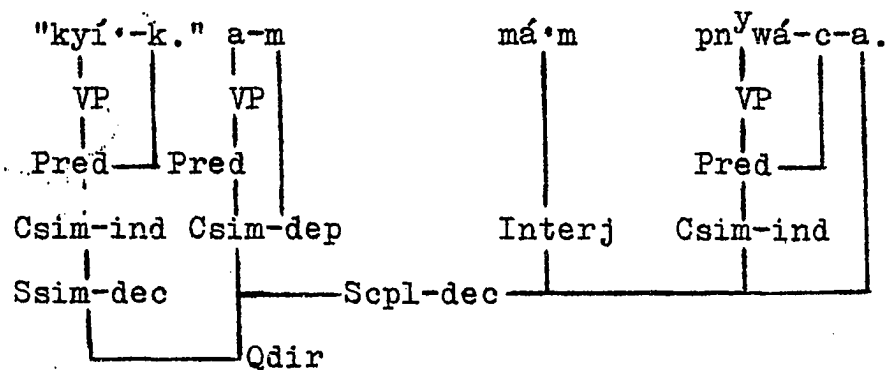
30. Water   it lay there   they arrived.

(which)

xá-c   puyák-m   n^{y}kumím.

NP   VP   VP

Subj   Pred   Pred

Csim-dep   Csim-ind

Scpl-dec
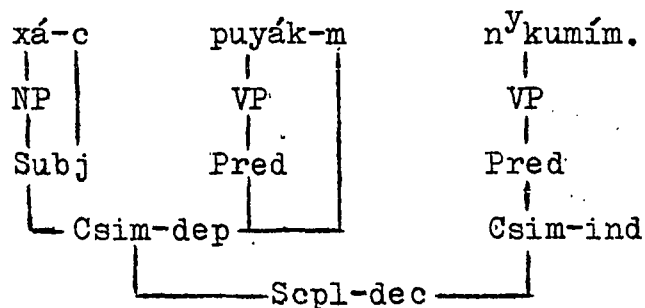
31. A cottonwood   it was very   it stood   it stood   it   it did

     tree   big   there   was   it.

x?á-c   ptáy   n^{y}p?á·-c   p?á·-c   yu   a-c

NP   VPatt

                         VPaux

Subj   Pred

Csim-ind

Ssim-dec
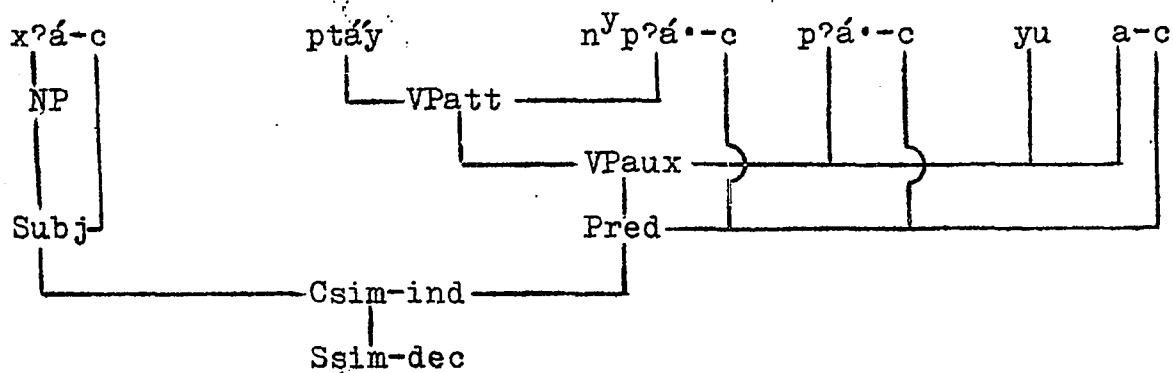
32. Now   thing   mountain lion   he climbed   in the top   he lay

                                           as usual

má·m   n^{y}awi·   n^{y}mcá·-pic   ukúɫ^{y}i·-c   má·ɫ^y uyák-c

               NPapp   VP   NP   VP

                  Subj   Pred   Pred

Interj   Ccoo-ind

                             Scoo-dec
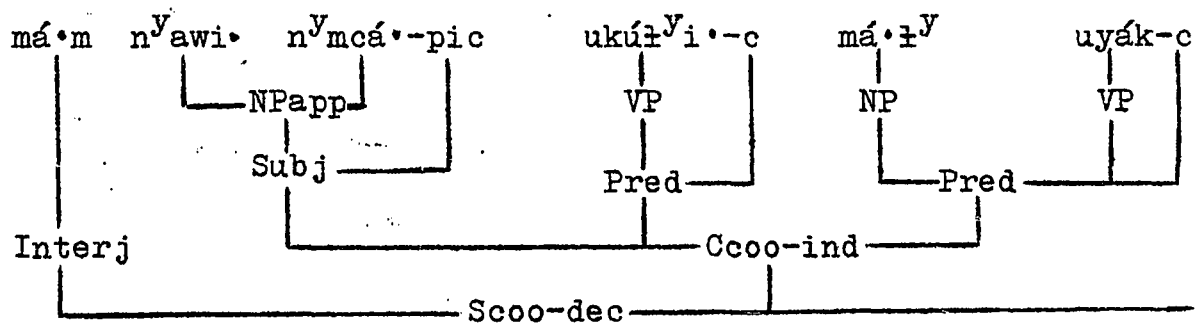
33. The coyote   he climbs   he is around.

```
xtpá-pic        ukúɬ-y          wa·yá·-c.
  |              |                |
  NP             └──VPaux────────┘
  |                  |
Subj──┐            Pred──────────────┐
  |   |              |               |
  └────Csim-ind──────┘
           |
        Ssim-dec
```
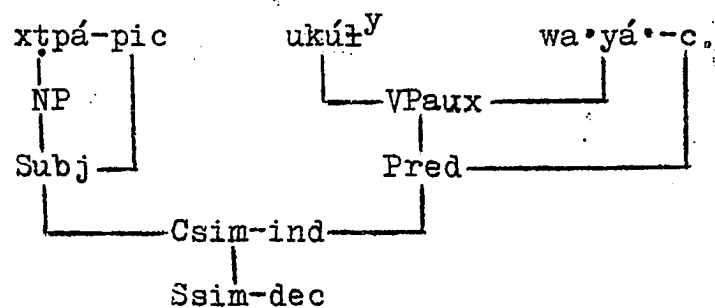
34. Not at all ...   he does   he does   it is   he did
                      not climb it - which   it.

```
lá·xxan-y ...    lu·kúɬ-y-m  uyú-m      yú          a-c-a.
  |               |          |           |           |
  |              VPaux───┐   |          VPaux────────┘
  |               |      |   |           |
  |              Pred    |   |          Pred─────────┐
  |               |      |   |           |           |
Interj          Csim-dep─┴───┘         Csim-ind      |
  |               |                      |           |
  └───────────────┴────── Scpl-dec───────┴───────────┘
```

35. "My goodness,   be quick   climb please."

```
"yú·s̨,          kyaráw-k    kkúɬ-y xu·c."
  |              |            |
  |             VP           VP
  |              |            |
  |            Pred──┐       Pred
  |              |   |        |
Interj          └─Ccoo-ind─┘
  |                           |
  └──────── Scoo-dec ─────────┘
```
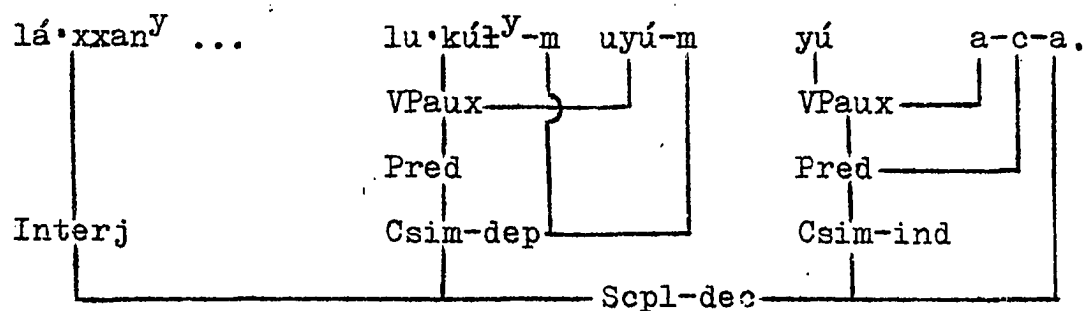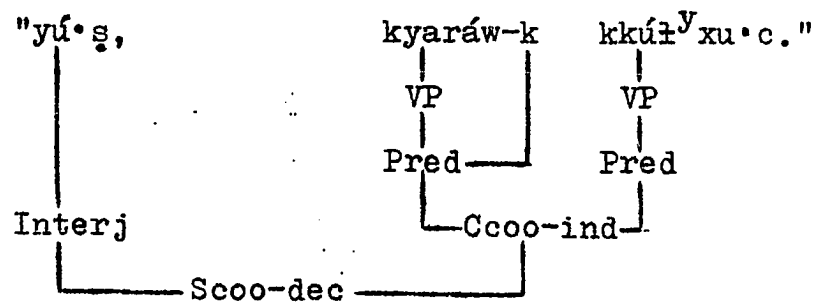
36. "It is not   I in some way am   I intend to
climb.

```
"lá·x                kayú-k                      kúɬ ʸx.
  |                    └──┐                         |
  VP                     ├─VPaux ───────────────────┘
  |                    ┌─┘
 Pred                  └─Pred
  |                      |
Csim-ind             Csim-ind
  └──────────Scmp-dec──────┘
```
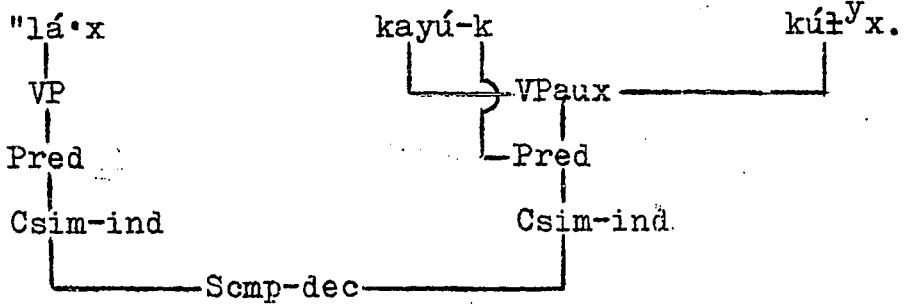
37. My   in my house   it stands   it is there
– which

```
nʸá·p      nʸwáɬʸ            p?á·-c           sayú-m
  └──NPpos──┘               └──┐ ┌───VPaux───┘  |
     └──────────Pred──────────┤ │               |
                  |           └─┘               |
              Csim-dep ────────────────────────┘
                  └──────────────Scpl-dec ──────────── ─ ─ ─
```

I climb   I am around   I do.

```
kúɬ ʸ                 wayá·-c                    yus.
  └────VPaux──────────┐   ┌─┐                      |
       Pred───────────┼───┘ └──────────────────────┘
         |            └─┘
      Csim-ind
─ ─ ─────┘
```

38. Now,   I am unable   I say."
```
mapílʸ,              mláy-c                      i-c."
  |                  └──┐ ┌──VPaux──────────────┐ |
  |                     ├─┘                      | |
Interj                └─┘──Pred─────────────────┘·
  |                            |
  └──────Ssim-dec──────── Csim-ind
                              └───────┘
```

39. "My goodness,   be quick   climb please."

"yú•s,   kyaráw-k   kúɫ^{y}xu•c."

Interj   VP   VP

Pred   Pred

Ccoo-ind

Scoo-dec

40. He climbs   ih some place   he hangs on   he jumps

ukúɫ^y makáy   cxupíɫ^y cáqs a-c

VP   VP   VP   VPper

Pred   Pred   Pred
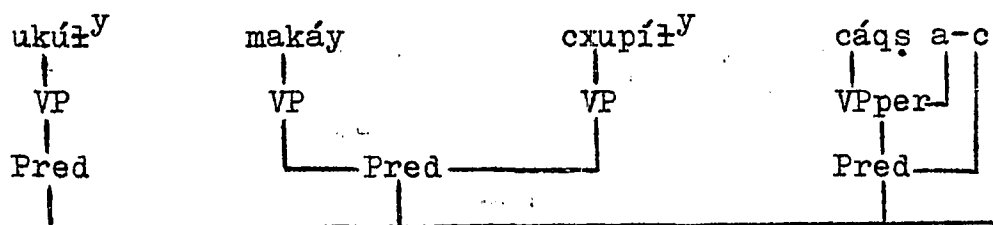
in the ground   he falls   in the ground   he

                                                  falls.

máti^y un^{y}áɫ^y máti^y un^{y}áɫ^y.

NP   VP   NP   VP

Pred   Pred

Ccoo-ind

Scoo-dec

41. He is unable.

muláy-c-a.

VP

Pred

Csim-ind

Ssim-dec
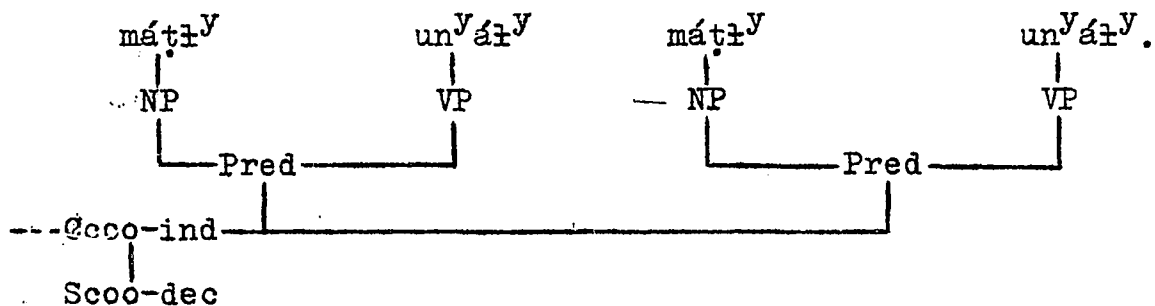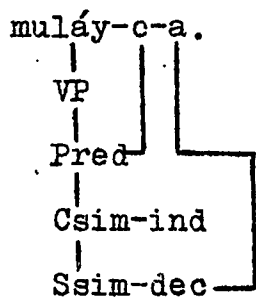
42. "My goodness,   be quick please."

```
"yú·s̩,                  kyaráwxu·c."
                             |
                             VP
                             |
                             Pred
                             |
Interj                    Csim-ind
  |_____Ssim-dec_____|
```
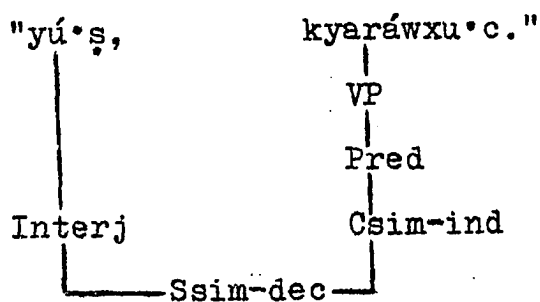
43. "Oh,   now   I climb   I am going."

```
"lá,    mapílʸ  kúɫʸ        cu?á·x."
          |      |___VPaux____|
          |          |
          |_____VPatt_____|
                   |
                  Pred
                   |
Interj          Csim-ind
  |_____Ssim-dec____|
```
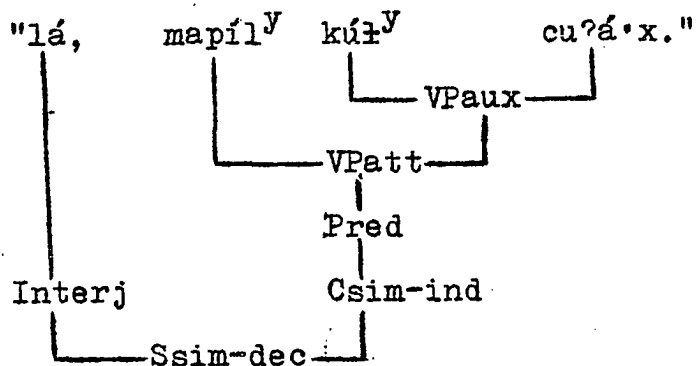
44. He climbs   he does it   in some place   he hangs on   he is there

```
ukúɫʸ           a-c        makáy          cxupíɫʸ       ṣa·wá-c
 |___VPaux___|    |          |               |___VPaux___|    |
      |           |          NP                  |            |
    Pred_____|          |_____Pred_____|
      |_____|
                                                    |
                                          Ccoo-ind————— — — —
                                                    |
                                                 Scoo-dec
```
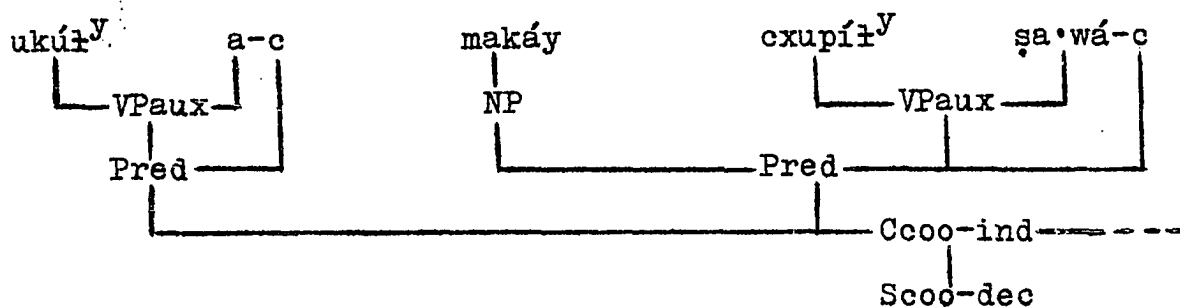
in the   he falls in the   he

ground   ground   falls.

$$\text{mát} \textbf{ɨ}^y \quad\quad \text{un}^y\text{áɨ}^y \quad\quad \text{mát} \textbf{ɨ}^y \quad\quad \text{un}^y\text{áɨ}^y.$$

```
mátɨ^y         un^yáɨ^y        mátɨ^y              un^yáɨ^y.
 |               |               |                    |
 NP              VP              NP                   VP
 |_____Pred_____|                |_____Pred_____|
         |_____|
_ _ _ _____|
```
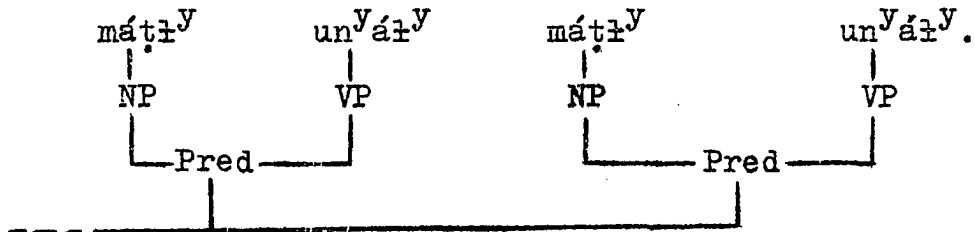
46. In the ground he does

        it ...

```
mátɨ^y             u?á ...
 |                  |
 NP                 VP
 |_____Pred _____|
           |
        Csim-ind
           |
        Ssim-dec
```

(Interrupted)
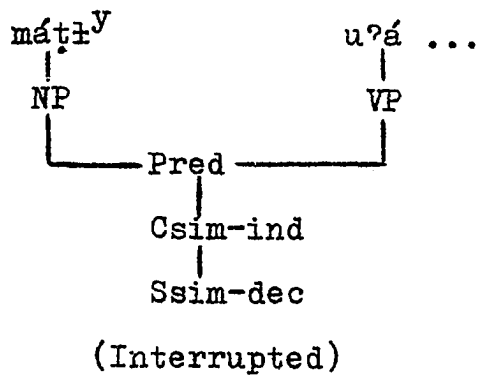
in the above   he throws him I intend to say.

```
má·ɨ^y              pa·cáp                 ix.
 |                   |___                   |
 NP                      |___VPaux_____|
 |_____Pred____|
            |
         Csim-ind
            |
         Ssim-dec
```
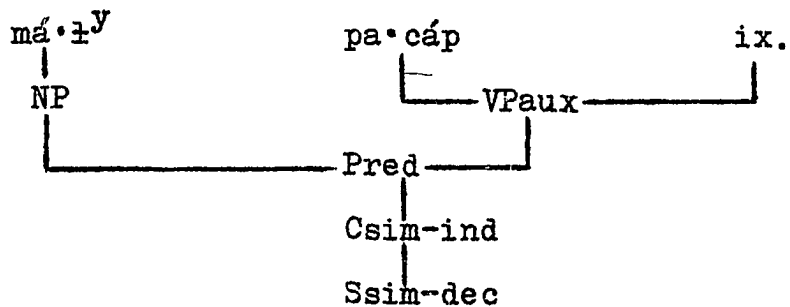
45. Later - then, the mountain now he goes he picks
        lion   down him up

aṣú• i-m, n^ymcá•-pic má•m usán^y pa•yá•-c

VPper —   NP   VP   VP

Pred   Subj —   Interj Pred Pred —

Csim-dep —   Ccoo-ind ——— — —

               Scpl-dec ———— — ——
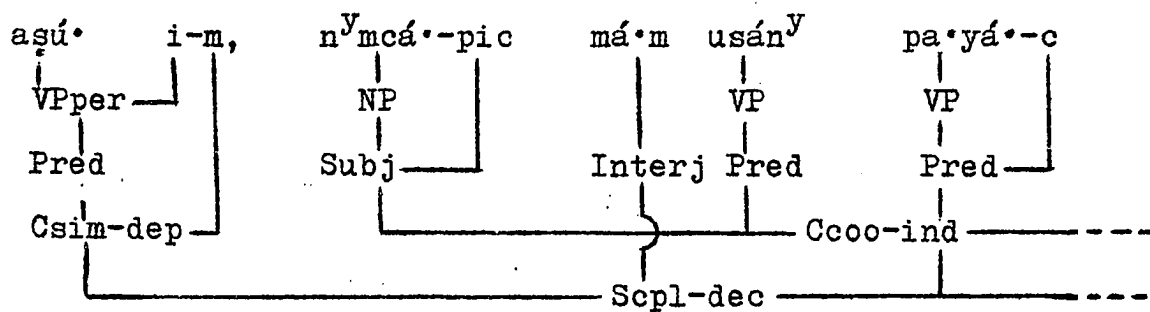
in the he throws he does he did
ground him   it   it.

mátɨ^y pa•cáp-c uyu a-c-a.

NP   VPaux —

       Pred
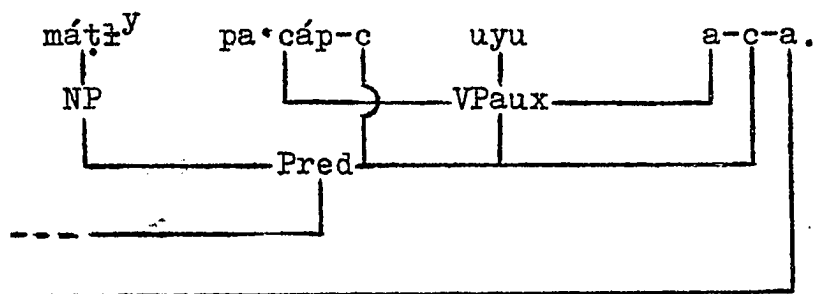
47. In the above   he throws him   they are there -
                                                while

má·ɨ^y   pa·cáp   sa·yá·w-m

NP   └———VPaux———┘

└————————Pred————————┘

Csim-dep
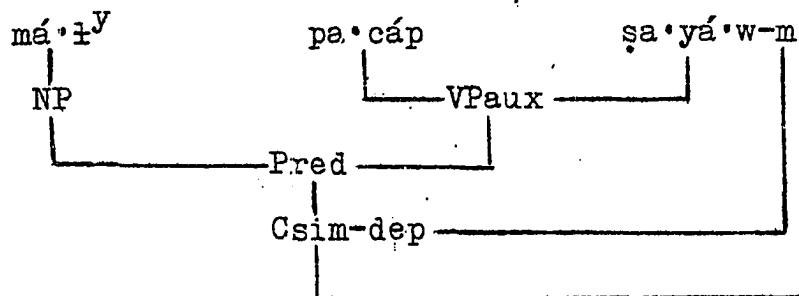
later   now   water   it lies -   now,
                                              where

asú·x   má·m   xá-c   puyák-m   má·m,

                       NP   VP

                       Subj   Pred

Interj   Interj   └——Csim-dep——┘   Interj

Scpl-dec
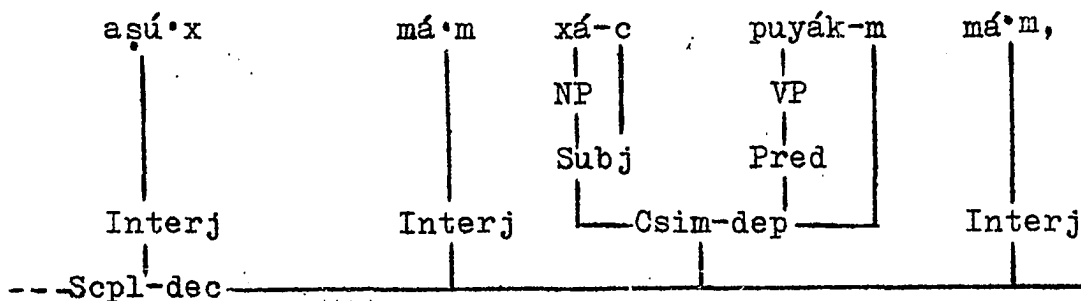
he drinks   he enters   he is around

usí-c   uxáp   wa·yá·-c

VP   └——VPaux————————┘

Pred┘   Pred

└————————————Ccoo-ind————————
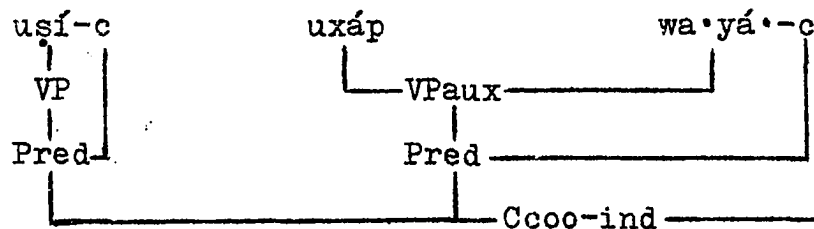
thing   edible animal   he said (named) him.

nʸawí·   kik^wá·y   pa·ʔa-c.

                └———NPdir———┘

└————————NPapp———┘

Subj
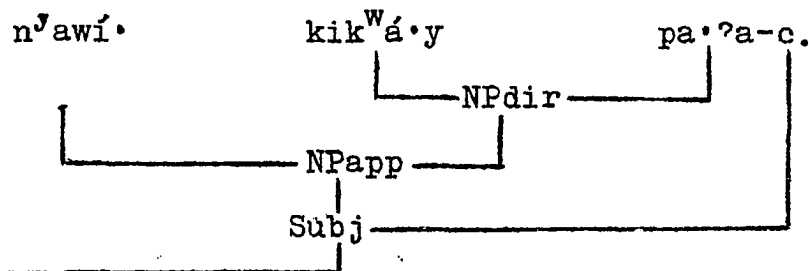
48. Hmm ...   horse ...   mule   he said him ...

m ... q^{W}áqš ... mú·l pa·ʔa-c ...

NPdir

Interj
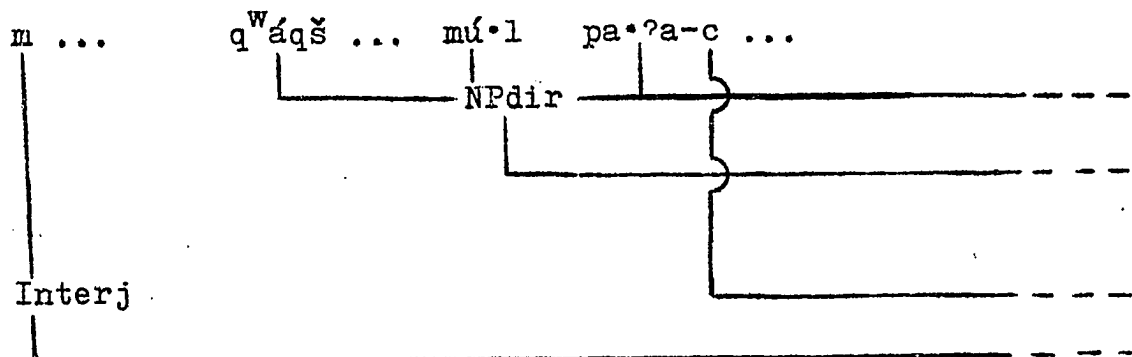
donkey ...   pig ...   goat   something   that which is

mixed up.

vú·r ...   kú·c ... cí·v lú·p n^{y}mksaʔú·r-c-a.

NPapp

NPdir

Subj

Smin
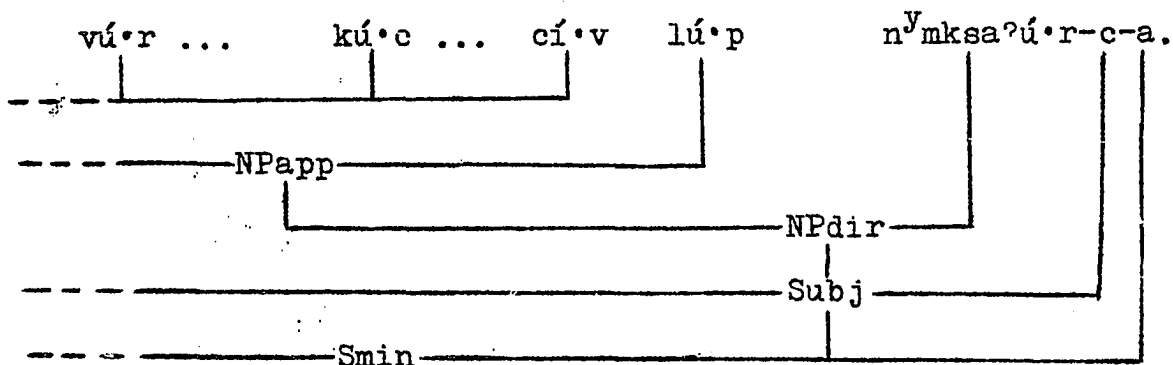
49. He was around - while   he looked at him.

wa·yá·-m   pa·wí·-c.

VP   VP

Pred   Pred

Csim-dep   Csim-ind

Scpl-dec
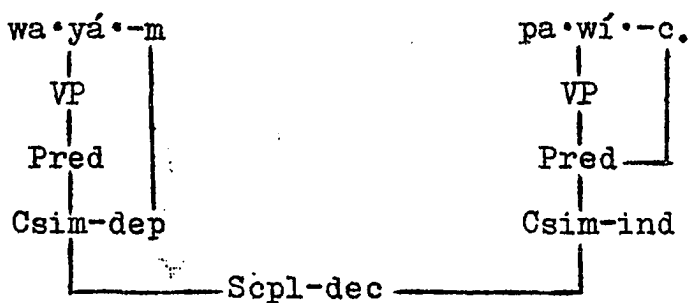
GLOSSARY FOR THE SAMPLE TEXT

Abbreviations used

a.	auxiliary verb
d. suff.	demonstrative suffix
def. pron.	definite pronoun
i. i.	impersonal intransitive verb
imp.	imperative
ind. pron.	indefinite pronoun
interj.	interjection
int. suff.	intentive suffix
n.	noun
neg.	negative
obj.	object
pers. pron.	personal pronoun
per. v. p.	periphrastic verb phrase
p. i.	personal intransitive verb
pron.	pronoun
p. t.	personal transitive verb
s.	stative verb
subj.	subject
v. n.	verbal noun

a

á	a. he says, said, does, did; irregular third person of í
á·m	interj. a little ways off, not far away
apá	n. man
apápin^y	the man; -pin^y d. suff. (531.2, 801.3)
apápic	the man; -pic d. suff. (531.1, 801.2)
ará·r	v.n. (722) work; rár p.t. I work
aṣú· 1	i.i. later; per. v.p. (822.1)
aṣú·x	later; used as interj. (830) with int. suff. -x (483)
áwka	interj. hello

c

ca·wí·m	p.i. he is indifferent; cawí·m I'm indifferent
cu·píṭ	p.t. he covers, closes; cupíṭ I cover, close
cru?úy	p.i. he prepares, makes ready; cr?úy I prepare
cxupíł^y	p.i. he hangs on; cxpíł^y I hang on
cáqṣ a	p.i. he jumps; cáqṣ i I jump; per. v.p.
cu?á·x	p.i. I am on my way; personal intransitive; á· I go; cu- (454), -x (484)
cí·v	n. goat

i

í	a. I say, do
in^{y}pa	I say too, repeat; -n^y (482), -pa (485.2)
ix	I intend to say -x (484)

k

kayu	a. I am, do in some manner; yú I am; it is; ka- (461)
kik^{W}á·y	n. cow, cattle, edible animal; beef
kú·c	n. pig
kúɬ^y	p.i. I climb
kkúɬ^{y}xu·c	Climb, please; k- imp. (412), -xu·c (616.3)
kúɬ^{y}x	I intend to climb; -x (484)
kúɬ^{y}xu·c	Form of kkúɬ^{y}xu·c in rapid speech
kuwárxan^y	be far gone; -xan^y (616.2); known to occur only in the expression n^{y}ác kuwár in the afternoon
kyaráw	s. Be quick; hurry up; imp. of yaráw I'm quick; k- (412)
kyaráwxu·c	Be quick, please; -xu·c (616.3)
kyí·	a. Come; imp. of yí·I come; k- (412)

$$k^W$$

k^{W}ʔas	v.n. the one who said; that which was said; í a. say; k^W- (721)

1

lá	interj. oh
lá·x	i.i. be not; may also be used as an interj.
lá·xxan^y	not at all; -xan^y (616.2)

lu·kúɨ^y–	he does not climb; neg. of kúɨ^y; l(u)-...-m (470)
lú·p	def. pron. something; someone (542)

ɨ^y

ɨ^ycáš	s. be little

m

m	interj. hmm
maká–	stem of indef. pron. (542)
makám	to where; -m (530.5)
makápin^y	which, whatever; -pin^y (531.2)
makáy	at which, at where; -y (530.4)
má·ɨ^y	n. in the above; from the n. stem má·- the above, top; -ɨ^y (530.3)
má·m	interj. now; and then
mán	p.i. I get up
mapíl^y	interj. now, at this moment
mapú–	stem of 2nd pers. pron. (541)
mapúc	subj. you
márk	interj. once upon a time
máṭ	n. ground, land, floor
máṭɨ^y	in the ground; -ɨ^y (530.3)
má·x	a. you intend to go; á· I go m- (410), -x (484)
mi·šwá·ɨ	p.i. you want; i·šwá·ɨ I want; m- (410)
mi·xá·n	s. be good, pleasant

mi·ʔí·p	p.t. you hear, feel (like), listen to; i·ʔí·p I hear, feel (like), listen to; m- (410)
mláy	p.i. I am unable, don't know how
muláy	he is unable
mú·l	n. mule
mšuyá·	p.t. he is afraid, fears; mšyá· I am afraid, fear
myu	a. you are, do; yú I am, do; it is, does m- (410)
mʔí	a. you say, do; í I say, do; it says, does; m- (410)

$$n^y$$

n^{y}á	n. sun, day
n^{y}á·-	stem of 1st pers. pron. (541)
n^{y}á·c	subj. I
n^{y}á·p	obj. me, my
n^{y}a·nákx	p.t. he intends to kill me; nák I kill; n^{y}a·- (413); -x (484)
n^{y}awí·	n. thing
n^{y}a·xá·l^y	p.t. he fools, tricks me; n^{y}a·- (413)
n^{y}áy	p.i. I look for, search
n^{y}ckun^{y}áyx	p.t. I intend to pay you; n^y- (413); -x (484)
n^{y}i·wáy	a. where he goes; he goes there; from wá he goes (á·I go); n^{y}i·- (440); -y (483)

nʸkumím	p.i. they arrived; suppletive (421.7) of pwám he arrived (pá·m I arrived); nʸ- (421.3); -m (430.4)
nʸmcá·	n. mountain lion
nʸmksaʔú·r	v.n. (722) things all mixed together; the verb stem is not known except in this form
nʸpʔá·	a. I stand, it stands there; nʸ- (440)
nʸṣá-	stem of 3rd pers. pron. (512)
nʸṣác	subj. he, it
nʸwáɫʸ	n. in my house; wá house; nʸ- (511); -ɫʸ (530.3)
nʸxú·l	n. my younger brother; nʸ- (711)
nʸyá·x	p.t. I intend to get for you; yá·I get; nʸ- (413); -x (484)

u

ukúɫʸ	p.i. he climbs; kúɫʸ I climb; u- (412)
ukúɫʸi·-	he climbs again; usually climbs; -i·(483)
umán	p.i. he gets up; mán I get up; u- (412)
unʸáɫʸ	p.i. he falls; nʸáɫʸ I fall; it falls; u- (412)
upáṭ	p.i. he lies down; páṭ I lie down; u- (412)
usánʸ	p.i. he descends, goes down; sánʸ I descend; u- (412)
uṣí	p.i. he drinks; ṣí I drink; u- (412)
ušíṭ	s. he is one, alone; šíṭ be alone, one; u- (412)
ušíṭxanʸ	he is really alone; -xanʸ (616.2)
uwá	a. he sits, is sitting; wá I sit, it sits; u- (412)

uxáp   p.i. he enters; xáp I enter; u- (412)

uyák   a. he is lying, reclining; yák I lie, it lies;
            u- (412)

uyí·   a. he comes; yí· I come; u- (412)

uyú   a. he is, does; yú I am, do; it is, does;
            u- (412)

  uyuṣ   he is, does; -ṣ (485.3)

                        p

pa·cáp   p.t. he throws, places him; cáp I throw, place;
            pa·- (413)

panák   p.t. I kill him; nák I kill; pa- (413)

  paná·k   I kill them; plural (421.6)

pa·sá·m   v.n. they who are all; sá·m be all

            This is analyzed as a verbal noun formed

            by a- (722). sá·m is definitely a stative

            verb in certain usages; it also resembles

            an impersonal transitive verb, as it may

            take the pronominal object prefixes in

            second and third person and the reflexive

            prefix. p- is probably third person

            object (411).

paṣá·   p.t. I bite, eat him; ṣá· I eat (hard things);
            pa- (413)

  pmṣá·x   you intend to eat him; pm- (413); -x (484)

páṭ	p.i. I lie down
pa·wá	a. he is here (sitting); wá I sit; pa- (451)
pa·wí·	p.t. he sees, looks at him; wí·I see, look at; pa·- (413)
páy	pron. (451.) here, at this place; -y (530.4)
payá·	a. (or i.i.) it happens here, now; yá· it happens; pa- (451)
pa·yá·	p.t. he takes him, picks him up; yá· I pick up; pa·- (413)
payák	a. I lie, it lies here; pa- (451)
payákş	I lie here; -ş (485.3)
pa·yí·	a. he comes (here); yí· I come; pa- (451)
pa·ʔá	a. and p.t. he says to him; he said (i.e., named) him; í I say; pa·- (413)
pa·ʔáy	he says, names him; -y (483); ordinarily used only as the second constituent of a directive noun phrase (813) to indicate that the speaker is not naming something on his own; it is approximately equivalent to 'the one they call'
paʔá·m	a. I go along; á· I go; pa- (451); -m (430.4)
pmnʸwíl	p.t. you chase him (them) away; nʸwíl I chase away; pm- (413)
pnʸuwíl	he chases him (them) away; u- (412)
pnʸwá	a. they went along; suppletive plural of pá· he goes along (paʔá· I go along); p- (451)

puyá·	a. (or i.i.) it happens there, then; yá· it happens; pu- (452)
puyák	a. I lie, it lies there; pu- (452)
ptáy	s. be big
px^wáy	s. be good; commonly used as interj.: 'Fine', 'O.K.'
p?á·	a. I stand, it stands

<div align="center">q^W</div>

q^wáqš	n. horse

<div align="center">ş̣</div>

ṣá·	a. he goes along there; á· I go; ṣ- (453)
ṣa·wá	a. he is located there (sitting); wá I sit; ṣa- (453)
ṣáy	pron. (541.1) there, at that place; -y (530.4)
ṣa·yák	a. he is located there (lying); yák I lie; it lies; ṣa- (453)
ṣa·yá·w	a. they are located there; suppletive plural (421.7) of three verbs: yák be lying, wá be sitting, and p?á· be standing; the plural stem is yá·w; ṣa- (453)
ṣa·yí·	a. he is coming there; yí· I come; ṣa- (453)
ṣayú	a. I am, it is there; yú I am, it is; ṣa- (453)
ṣkruwár	i.i. be past the middle; occurs only in the expression n^yác ṣkruwár in the early afternoon; cf. kuwár.
ṣwa·yá·	a. he is around there; wayá· I am around; ṣ- (453

š

šmá	p.i. I sleep
šmáx	I intend to sleep; -x (484)
šumá	he sleeps; u- (412)
šxlmú	n. fly, flies

ṭ

ṭkʷi·šá·	n. shade

v

vú·r	n. donkey, burro

w

wanʸám	n. along the road; wanʸá road, trail, path; -m (530.5)
wa·yá·	a. he is around; wayá· I am around

x

xá	n. water
xacáqxanʸ	v.n. (722) a very bad one; xcáq s. be bad, ugly; -xanʸ (616.2)
xúṭ	interj. Golly
xṭpá	n. coyote
xʔá	n. cottonwood tree

y

yú	a. I am, do; it is, does
yʋ.ş	I am, do; it is, does; -ş (485.3)
yú·ş	interj. My goodness; nevertheless

Syntactic suffixes

The syntactic suffixes: -c, -pic, -k, -m, and -a are present in the sample text. Reference is made to 801 for description of their usage and function.