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A Grammar of the Lake Miwok Language

By

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DISSERTATION

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of the

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Approved:

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To
Dr. Mary R. Haas
with deepest appreciation

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INTRODUCTION

Lake Miwok is a California Penutian language formerly spoken in a small area south of Clear Lake.¹ It is now remembered by about eight people, most of whom live on the Middletown Reservation just outside Middletown, California. It is closely related to Coast Miwok, spoken from the tip of the Marin Peninsula north to Bodega Bay, for which we have modern recordings of the Bodega dialect. It is more distantly related to the Eastern Miwok languages. These include the Sierra Miwok languages, spoken on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada Mountains from the Fresno River north to the Consumnes River; Plains Miwok, spoken between Ione and Stockton; and Sacran, which might have been the language of a group of Indians living west of Mount Diablo.² There is some evidence, mostly in place names, that the area between Mount Diablo and Stockton was also once inhabited by Miwok-speaking tribes.³

The most complete description of the original boundaries of the Lake Miwok area was made by S. A. Barrett in 1908:

"Beginning at a point on Cache creek about four miles from its source, the southernmost end of Clear lake, the boundary of the Northern or

or Lake Moquelumnan [Miwok] dialectic area runs in a general southeasterly direction, probably along the ridge between Jerusalem Valley and Morgan Valley creeks, crosses the latter near the confluence of the two, and passes through the hills east of Jerusalem valley to Putah creek, which it crosses at a point about five miles east of Guenoc. From here it runs for a short distance in the same direction, and then, turning in a southwesterly direction, it runs to a point probably about eight miles northeast of Mt. St. Helena. East of this portion of the boundary lies the Southerly Wintun [Patwin] area. At this point the boundary turns in a northwesterly direction and runs through the mountains and into Coyote valley to a point about three miles northeast of Middletown and about a mile and a half southwest of Guenoc. Turning then in a westerly direction it runs through Coyote valley, crossing Putah creek, and passes to the summit of Cobb mountain. This portion of the boundary separates the Northern Moquelumnan [Lake Miwok] from the Yukian Wappo area. It here turns and runs in a general northerly direction, following up the range connecting Cobb mountain with Mt. Knaktai, to a point just east of the headwaters

of Cole creek where it turns in a general easterly direction and runs through the foot-hills to the southern extremity of Lower Lake, and thence to Cache creek, down which it runs for about four miles to the point of starting. From Cobb mountain on to its northeastern extremity the boundary separates the Northern Moquelumnan [Lake Miwok] from the Eastern and Southeastern Pomo dialectic areas.

"To the north of the Northern Moquelumnan dialectic area lies the Southeastern Pomo area, to the east is Wintun [Patwin] territory, and to the south the territory of the Yukian Wappo, while on the west the Eastern Pomo area adjoins it."⁴

Lake Miwok appears to have remained undiscovered until relatively recent years. Powers, in 1877, placed the Lake Miwok area in Patwin territory,⁵ where it remained in the Powell classification of 1891.⁶ Powers, however, makes passing reference to a group of Indians which might have been Lake Miwok: ". . . in Pope and Coyote Valleys there was spoken a language now nearly, if not quite, extinct."⁷

As a result of the extensive field work undertaken around the turn of the century, Barrett announced,

in 1903, the discovery of a new Miwok language in the southern part of Lake County.⁸ In 1908, Barrett published a 282 word Lake Miwok vocabulary along with detailed information on the boundaries of Lake Miwok territory and the location of village sites.⁹ A portion of this vocabulary also appeared in Barrett's more general effort to delineate territory originally occupied by the Miwok Indians.¹⁰ Merriam published a few Lake Miwok legends in 1910, but they were in English except for the names of the principal characters.¹¹

After this initial period of research, the Lake Miwok language suffered considerable neglect. Attempts at classification have been based, until recently, largely on Barrett's early work. L. S. Freeland gathered some textual and paradigmatic material in 1922, but it was not published until 1947.¹² There is also an unpublished vocabulary of about 450 words taken by Sydney M. Lamb in 1955 from Mrs. Doris Yee of Middletown.¹³ In addition, there are about 300 pages of linguistic notes taken by Dr. John P. Harrington.¹⁴

The present study is based on field work done during the spring and summer of 1956, and the summers of 1957 and 1958 under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages, Linguistics Department, University of California, Berkeley. A dictionary based on this material

has already been submitted for publication.¹⁵ Numerous texts exist in manuscript form and are in process of being prepared for publication. My informants were Mr. John Knight and Mr. James Knight of Middletown, California, Mrs. Alma Grace of San Francisco, California, and Mrs. Doris Yee of Middletown, California.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to my Indian informants, whose kindness extended to every aspect of my work with them. Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Dr. Gene M. Schramm, and Dr. William F. Shipley have made many helpful suggestions in the preparation of this work. In particular, I wish to express deepest appreciation to Dr. Mary R. Haas, under whose direction this grammar was written.

FOOTNOTES

¹Catherine A. Callaghan, "California Penutian: History and Bibliography," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24.189-194 (1958).

²M. S. Beeler, "Saclan," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 21.201-209 (1955); "Saclan Once More," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 25.67-68 (1959).

³James Allen Bennyhoff, *The Ethnogeography of the Plains Miwok*, 1960 (unpublished).

⁴S. A. Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 6.314 (1908).

⁵Stephen Powers, "Tribes of California, U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region," *Contributions to North American Ethnology* 3.1-613 (1877).

⁶John Wesley Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico," *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Reports* 7.1-142 (1891).

⁷Barrett, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

⁸S. A. Barrett, "A New Moquelumnan Territory in California," *American Anthropologist* n.s. 5.750 (1903).

⁹Barrett (1908), *op. cit.*

¹⁰Barrett, "The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 6.333-380. (1908).

¹¹C. Hart Merriam, *The Dawn of the World Myths and Weird Tales Told by the Newen Indians of California*, Cleveland (1910).

¹²L. S. Freeland, "Western Miwok Texts with Linguistic Sketch," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 13.31-46 (1947).

¹³This vocabulary was collected under the auspices of the Survey of California Indian Languages, Linguistics Department, University of California, Berkeley.

¹⁴This material is now in the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

¹⁵Catherine A. Callaghan, *Lake Miwok Dictionary*, unpublished (1962).

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tian," Language 32.17-41.

100 PHONOLOGY

110. The phonemes of Lake Miwok are as follows:

Consonantal

Stops:	Plain	p	t	t̚	k	ʔ
	Aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	t̚ ^h	k ^h	
	Glottalized	p̚	t̚	t̚̚	k̚	
	Voiced	b	d		(g)	
Affricates:	Plain		c	č		
	Glottalized		c̚	č̚	č̚̚	
Spirants:		(f)(θ)	s	ʃ	ʒ	h
Sonorants:	Nasals	m	n			
		w	l	(r)	j	

Vocalic

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ii		u uu
Mid	e ee	(e)	o oo
Low		a aa	
		(aa) _{tt}	

Stress: ' and no mark

Juncture: ... ≠

Intonational patterns: . ; ? !

A sentence is a sequence of phonemes bounded by the onset of speech and the first instance of final juncture

(see 162), or by two consecutive instances of final juncture. A sentence may consist of a series of words (see 211) or a single word uttered in isolation, although not every word can be elicited in isolation, e.g.,

hɪntikaʔun ʔáaʔaw 'tree' kóɔca ʔáaʔawʔu. ʔálwa.

"How do you say 'tree' in the Indian language (Lake Miwok)? ʔálwa."

ʔinlɪistu? hɛlla. "Are you ready? No."

Each of these examples consists of two sentences. Most stressed words other than particles may occur in isolation. Unstressed words and particles other than the quotative particles are rarely found in isolation.

FINAL POSITION occurs immediately before final juncture (162). Distributional statements concerning final position involve the last phoneme of any sequence which can occur before final juncture. These sequences include all items which may occur in isolation as well as certain unstressed pronouns or particles which may end a sentence even though they never occur alone.

Present-day speakers of Lake Miwok, all bilingual in English, tend to insert English words or phrases into their speech with little or no phonetic modification. In such instances, I consider that they have temporarily switched languages, even though Lake Miwok morphological elements may occur in immediate constituency with the

foreign sequences, e.g.,

(Fourth-of-July)to hélla katawhál'ina. "I'm

not going to work on the Fourth of July."

-to is an allative case suffix in immediate constituency with the sequence "Fourth of July," which is pronounced as in English. I have not included the phonemes or syllable canons of such English sequences in my description of Lake Miwok.

Phonemes enclosed in parentheses in the chart are found only in loan words and exclamations. These phonemes will now be discussed individually.

/g/ is a voiced, lenis velar fricative. It occurs in a single word, sigáaru "cigarette," from Spanish cigarro "cigar."

/f/ is a voiceless bilabial fricative which is found in one exclamation and in a few Spanish loan words, e.g.,

fíinu "fine" (not coarse) from Spanish fino
"fine,"

káfe "coffee" from Spanish café "coffee," and

fjúuuuuu "Scat!" an exclamation used to chase
animals away.

θ/ is a voiceless interdental fricative which occurs optionally in k^hámduθ (also k^hámdut) "Kamduth," the name of the largest island in Clear Lake. This is probably a loan word from Southeastern Tono qómdot [q^hómdot] "Kamduth,"

or from English Kamduth.

/r/ is an apical trill, partially unvoiced in final position. It is of frequent occurrence in loan words from Spanish, e.g.,

ríiku "to be rich," from Spanish rico "rich";

kojméeru "umpire," from Spanish coimero "keeper of a gambling house," and

relóos "watch," from Spanish reloj "watch," possibly through Southern Pomo relós "watch."

/r/ is also found in tórtor "a greenish insect similar to a grasshopper," from Patwin t^hórt^hór, tóRtòR "cricket."

This is the only recorded instance of /r/ in a Lake Miwok word which was not ultimately borrowed from Spanish.

/e/ is a mid-central unrounded short vowel occurring optionally in čéčweji (also čéečweji) "church," from English church plus -weji "house."

/ã/ is a low central long nasalized vowel which is found optionally in the exclamation háah (also háah) "What did you say?" "What!"

Prolonged phonemes occur in a few exclamations. The number of moras are approximated by the number of times the phoneme is repeated in the transcription. These exclamations will now be listed:

fjuuuuuuu [fyúuuuuuu] Scat!, an exclamation used to chase animals away.

kAAAAA [kAAAAA] Bah! This is the only example
of a voiceless vowel in the language.

léep, léeeep [lEEp^h, lEEEEp^h] an imitation of
the sound of a large, mythical game animal.

psssssss Sound of a chicken hawk flying around.

The non-plain stops and affricates, /t/, and probably /s/, have apparently been borrowed from neighboring Indian languages. They are more frequent, however, than the phonemes discussed above. In a few cases they have spread by analogy or allophonic realignment into words from Proto-Miwok. Consequently, they are no longer peripheral.

120. Consonants.

Unglottalized consonants are lenis in Lake Miwok. Glottalized consonants are most fortis immediately preceding a stressed vowel, less fortis before unstressed vowels, and lenis in syllable final position; although the degree of force varies from speaker to speaker.¹ Geminate consonants occur only intervocalically and are pronounced as long consonants. There is no contrast between a long stop or affricate and a cluster consisting of a stop or affricate preceded by a homorganic plain stop; e.g., pácca "good-luck charm" could never contrast with *pátca.

¹James Knight usually pronounces glottalized consonants in a more fortis fashion than my other informants.

Thus ʔóttá "flesh" is phonetically [ʔót:ʌ]. The first consonant of a medial non-geminate cluster is optionally released.

Plain stops are always released before final juncture and optionally released before non-homorganic consonants. Plain stops other than /ʔ/ receive slight aspiration before /j/ and /w/, and optional slight aspiration before non-initial vowels and when released before other consonants. In other positions they are unaspirated. Slight aspiration is indicated by an underlined raised "h", e.g.,

/ʔáaʔaw/ = [ʔá:t^hʔw ~ ʔá:tʔw] "to speak"

/ʔáppi/ = [ʔá:p^hi ~ ʔá:p:i] "father"

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop; e.g.,

/páapa/ = [pá:pa^h ~ pá:p^hʌ] "grandfather,"

/léep/ = [lÉ:p] "cry of a large animal," and

/búmpjuk/ = [búmp^hyUk] "coarse acorn fibers."

/t/ is a voiceless interdental stop formed by pressing the blade of the tongue against the upper teeth, e.g.,

/táata/ = [tá:tʌ ~ t^há:t^hʌ] "uncle,"

/kút/ = [kút] "tooth," and

/ʔátkal/ = [ʔá:t^hkʌ ~ ʔá:t^hkʌ] "mushroom."

Underlining is used to indicate interdental position.

/ʈ/ is a slightly retroflex voiceless post-alveolar stop formed by placing the tip of the tongue just behind

the alveolar ridge. When /o/ precedes /t̚/ plus a stop, anticipatory retroflexion produces an "r" coloring, indicated by a raised "r", e.g.,

/t̚ille/ = [t̚íll̥:E] "noon,"

/ʔútu/ = [ʔútu̥ f ʔútu̥^hu] "whiskers," and

/ʔótt̚a/ = [ʔó^rt̚:ʌ f ʔó^rt̚:ʌ^h] "two."

/t̚/ is rare in word initial position and does not occur in word final position.

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop, e.g.,

/káaka/ = [ká:kʌ f ká:kʌ^h] "uncle,"

/kíik/ = [kí·k] "water," and

/ʔókjapo/ = [ʔók^hyʌpʌ].

/ʔ/ is a glottal stop. Before vowels in sentence medial position, /ʔ/ is often weakly articulated or absent. When /ʔ/ is the first member of a consonant cluster, it is optionally released, in which case an echo vowel appears between /ʔ/ and the following consonant, e.g.,

/tóʔle/ = [tóʔl̥E f tóʔ^ol̥E] "star,"

/máakʔena/ = [má·kʔɛnʌ] "to get sick," and

/ʔinʔúunu/ = [ʔInʔú:nu] "your mother."

/ʔ/ never occurs in final position.

Aspirated stops occur only in syllable initial position, and they usually alternate with plain stops. Historically, they are in the process of merging with the latter. Where a contrast between plain and aspirated

stops still exists, the aspirated stops are marked by a greater degree of aspiration, e.g.,

/p^háakum/ = [p^há:kũm] "dwarf sunflower,"

/pákah/ = [pákΛh] "flower,"

/ʔóʔʔ^haja/ = [ʔó^rʔ:ʔayΛ] "eight," and

/ʔóʔʔa/ = [ʔó^rʔ:ʔΛ f ʔó^rʔ:Λ] "two."

/p^h/ is a bilabial voiceless aspirated stop, e.g.,

/p^hákp^hak/ = [p^hákp^hak] "egg." This word alternates freely with pákpak.

/t^h/ is a voiceless aspirated interdental stop formed by pressing the blade of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth, e.g.,

/t^hókóllu/ = [t^hókólu] "knee,"

/kanókt^haj/ = [kanókt^hay] "Mt. Kanocktay." This word alternates freely with kanóktaj.

/ʔ^h/ is a slightly retroflex voiceless aspirated post-alveolar stop formed by placing the tip of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge, e.g.,

/ʔ^hó1ʔojo/ = [ʔ^hó1ʔoyΛ] "to be tall,"

/ʔóʔʔ^haja/ = [ʔó^rʔ:ʔayΛ] "eight."

/k^h/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop, e.g.,

/k^hádo/ = [k^hádΛ] "sweet black acorn bread,"

/búk^hal/ = [búk^hal] "fish trap."

Glottalized stops are formed by closure at the point of articulation and the glottis. Tongue release occurs

slightly before glottal release. There is a contrast between glottalized consonant and a stop plus glottal stop,¹ e.g.,

/máakʔena/ = [má·kʔenʌ] "to get sick"

/p^háakum/ = [p^há:kUm] "dwarf sunflower"

Glottalized stops are rare in syllable final position and never occur in final position.

/p̚/ is a voiceless glottalized bilabial stop, e.g.,

/p̚ódwaj/ = [p̚ódwaj] "snake"

/lúpum/ = [lUpUm] "to be diving"

/t̚/ is a voiceless glottalized interdental stop formed by pressing the blade of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth, e.g.,

/ʂótah/ = [ʂót̚ʌh] "type of medicinal plant"

/t̚áwih/ = [t̚áwih] "bottomless basket"

/léetkaʔi/ = [lÉ·t̚kaʔi] "to cut off a small piece."

/t̚/ is a slightly retroflex voiceless glottalized post-alveolar stop formed by placing the tip of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge, e.g.,

/t̚úlíp/ = [t̚ÚlIp] "to glisten"

/p^hít̚kaʔi/ = [p^hít̚kaʔi] "to press down"

/k̚/ is a voiceless glottalized velar stop, e.g.,

¹In the rapid speech of James Knight, stop plus glottal stop alternates freely with a glottalized stop; e.g., máakʔena [má·kʔenʌ] "to get sick" varies with máakena [má·kenʌ].

/kúpum/ = [kú^hpUm] "finger"

/ʔíikʂal/ = [ʔi·kʂa^hl] "whooping cough"

/ʂúmka^hj/ = [ʂúmka^hy] "carrot."

The last two forms vary with ʔíikʂal and ʂúmka^hj respectively.

There are two voiced stops in Lake Miwok, excluding /g/, which occurs in a single word, sigáaru "cigar."

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop, e.g.,

/búmpjuk/ = [bú^hmp^hjUk] "coarse acorn fibers"

/k^hábbaja/ = [k^háb:əya^h] "to be bald."

/d/ is a voiced post-dental stop formed by placing the tongue at the base of the teeth, e.g.,

/dolóomen/ = [dól^hə·men] "throat"

/k^hádo/ = [k^hádə] "sweet black acorn bread"

/ʔídka^hʂi/ = [ʔí^hdka^hʂi] "to squirt."

122. Plain affricates are lenis and unaspirated.

/c/ is [ts], a post-dental stop plus a post-dental slit spirant. Before consonants the stop component is often weakly articulated or absent, e.g.,

/cúuk/ = [tsú:k] "to melt"

/héeko/ = [hÉ·tskə] "to hate, chase away, avoid"

/káac/ = [ká:ts] "fish"

/pácca/ = [pát·sə] "good luck charm."

/tʂ/ is [tʂ], an apico-alveolar stop plus an apico-

alveolar groove spirant. /č/ is rare except in Spanish loan words. In words not of Spanish origin, /č/ varies freely with /c/. Examples are:

/čáa/ = [tʃá:] "tea" from Spanish cha "tea"

/čówte/ = [tʃówtE] "to be pleasing"

The latter word varies freely with cówte.

There are three glottalized affricates.

/č'/ is [tʃs] in all positions, a post-dental glottalized stop plus a post-dental slit spirant, e.g.,

/č'íwʃi/ = [tʃíwʃi] "hail,"

/kócc'a/ = [kót·'sʌ] "to poke something"

/p^hič'wati/ = [p^hi·tswaʃi] "to crush one thing fast"

/č'/ is a rare phoneme. It usually varies freely with /č/. /č'/ is [tʃs], a glottalized apico-alveolar stop plus an apico-alveolar groove spirant, e.g.,

/č'éčis/ = [tʃéʃtʃis] "tan oak acorn"

/wuč'áaʃi/ = [wUʃá:ʃi] "to switch"

These words alternate with čécis and wuč'áaʃi respectively. Thus far, /č'/ has not been found in syllable-final position.

/č''/ is a glottalized lateral stop followed by a lateral spirant, with variation in the degree of glottalization. /č''/ has been found in only four words, always in morpheme initial position, e.g.,

/č''apáaʃi/ = [č''apá:ʃi] "to slam a door"

/ʔáwaw/ = [ʔáwəw] "to gulp down"¹

/ʔawáwʔawaw/ = [ʔəwəwʔəwəw] "to slurp slowly"

/ʔáwʔawəʃi/ = [ʔəwʔəwəʃi] "to slurp fast"

The last three forms are historically derived from the same root, ʔáw-.

123. Spirants are lenis and voiceless.

/s/ is a post-dental slit spirant of rare occurrence except in Spanish loan words, e.g.,

/sérka/ = [sérkʌ] "fence" from Spanish cerca
"fence"

/késa/ = [kéʃʌ] "Borax Lake"

/lúskume/ = [lúʃkUmE] "fish hook"

/tumístumis/ = [tUmíʃtUmis] "name of a spring"

/ʃ/ is a slightly retroflex post-alveolar groove spirant formed by placing the tip of the tongue just behind the alveolar ridge. When /o/ precedes /ʃʃ/, anticipatory retroflexion produces a slight "r" coloring, not as great as that produced before /ʈ/ plus a homorganic stop. Instances of /ʃ/ in word-final position are rare, apparently being confined to items borrowed from other Indian languages. Examples are:

/ʃéeliʃ/ = [ʃÉ:lIʃ] "snail"

¹John Knight claims that ʔáwaw is not correct Lake Miwok.

/póşşol/ = [póş:ol] "lungs"

/ʔúşkun/ = [ʔÚşkUn] "pinole"

/wilíkşi/ = [wIlíkşi] "to go and get something"

/ɬ/ is a lateral spirant; e.g.,

/ɬúnta/ = [ɬÚntʌ] "snot"

/ʔéɬkaʈi/ = [ʔéɬkʌʈi] "to come off"

/mólɬ/ = [mólɬ] "Sulphur Banks"

The last example is the only recorded instance of /ɬ/ in final position.

/h/ is a glottal spirant [h] before vowels. Elsewhere /h/ is the velar spirant [x]. Before /ʔ/ or juncture, /h/ is often weakly articulated or absent, e.g.,

/húul/ = [hú:ɬ] "trout"

/póhhol/ = [póh:ol] "to swell"

/lóhlok/ = [lóhlok] "mudhen"

/hákhakaşi/ = [hákhakʌşi] "to pant"

/páwih/ = [páwix] "mountain"

/pawíh kaʔúteʔ/ = [pawíhkaʔÚtEʰ] "I see the mountain"

124. There are two voiced nasals and three other voiced continuants in Lake Miwok.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal, e.g.

/mú/ = [mú:] "breast"

/ʔámko/ = [ʔámko] "older girl cousin"

/ʔupúʂmin/ = [ʔUpÚʂmIn] "helldiver"

/ʂímme/ = [ʂím:E] "bark"

/cáam/ = [tsá:m] "to wear out, die off"

/n/ is [ŋ] before velar stops in rapid speech. Elsewhere, /n/ is post-dental, e.g.,

/níi/ = [ní:] "this"

/ʔínte/ = [ʔÍntE] "tears"

/holónka/ = [hɔlónka] "to fell"

/túnni/ = [tÚn:i] "heel"

/loʈíhnaka/ = [lɔʈíxnaka] "to be noisy"

/háan/ = [há:n] "penis"

/w/ is a bilabial sonorant; e.g.,

/wáak/ = [wá:k] "crane"

/káwko/ = [káwka] "brother-in-law"

/p^híicwaʈi/ = [p^hí·tswaʈi] "to crush fast"

/ʔáwwe/ = [ʔáw:E] "morning"

/ʔéew/ = [ʔÉ:w] "pine needles"

/l/ is a backed lateral change before /w/ and before juncture. Elsewhere, /l/ is a fronted lateral. In both cases there is also apico-post-dental contact. Examples are:

/lólol #/ = [l̥á:l̥^h] "to come off" (hair, feathers, etc.)

/kúlla/ = [kÚl̥:ʌ] "liver"

/ʔálwa/ = [ʔá:l̥wʌ] "tree"

/mólpa/ = [mól_lp^h] "cloud"

/číbletí/ = [čsɪblɛtɪ] "to spring"

/j/ is [y], produced with very little friction; e.g.,

/jódjti/ = [yódj_lti] "to struggle"

/tájh/ = [táj_h] "man"

/búmpjuk/ = [bÚmp^hyUk] "coarse buckeye fibers"

/ʔókjapo/ = [ʔók^hy_hap_h] "to develop"

/káaj/ = [ká:y] "to dry up"

130. Vowels.

There are five short vowels and five corresponding long vowels in Lake Miwok. Front vowels and /a/ are unrounded; back vowels are rounded. Long vowels in non-final closed syllables are about one and a half moras in length. Elsewhere, they are from two to three moras in length. Short vowels are centralized in non-final unstressed syllables. They are shortest and most centralized in non-final open unstressed syllables.

/i/ is a short high front vowel which varies from [i] to [ɪ]. It tends to be higher before final juncture and lower elsewhere, e.g.,

/kúcci/ = [kÚt:si] "small"

/páwih/ = [páwih] "mountain"

/pawih kaʔuʔe./ = [pawíhk_hʔÚtE^h] "I see the mountain"

/wájik/ = [wáyIk] or [wáyik] "some"

/ii/ is a long close high front vowel in all positions; e.g.,

/tíi/ = [tí:] "claw"

/kíik/ = [kí:k] "water"

/p^híic'waʔi/ = [p^hí·tswaʔi] "to crush fast"

/e/ is a short mid front vowel which varies from [e] to [ɛ]. It tends to be highest before /j/, somewhat lower elsewhere **in final syllables**, and lowest in other positions; e.g.,

/ʔéjje/ = [ʔéj:E] "manzanita berries"

/ʔejjeʔala/ = [ʔéj:ɛʔa₁Λ] "manzanita tree"

/ʔáwweh/ = [ʔáw:Eh] "to dawn"

/ʔélaʔj/ = [ʔé₁ay] "child"

/ee/ is a long mid front vowel in all positions; e.g.,

/née/ = [nÉ:] "this"

/ʔéew/ = [ʔÉ:w] "pine needles"

/jčebkati/ = [yÉ·bkaʔi] "to cave in"

/a/ is a short low vowel which varies from [a] to [a̠].¹ It tends to be fronted before a nasal plus consonant, less fronted before /j/, backed before /w/ and /lw/, and central elsewhere. /a/ in open syllables is often [Λ]. Examples are:

/ʔájaw/ = [ʔáyaw] "to gather"

¹[a̠] is a low central unrounded vowel. A dot under a vowel indicates backing; e.g., [a̠] is not as fronted as [a].

/mána/ = [mána] or [mána] "to be gay"

/ʔáttá/ = [ʔá:t̪:ʌ] "elder brother"

/lákəh/ = [lákəh] or [lákəh] "cottonwood"

/ʔókjapo/ = [ʔók^hyapɒ] or [ók^hyapɒ] "to develop"

/ʔánʔajʔalwa/ = [ʔánʔajʔalwa] "elderberry tree"

/aa/ is a long low central vowel in all positions, e.g.,

/káa/ = [ká:] "door"

/náawkaʃa/ = [ná·wkʌʃa] "to miaow"

/káa/ = [ká:t̪] "to be damp"

/ʔáala/ = [ʔá:l̪] "east"

/o/ is a short mid back vowel, symmetrical with /e/.

It varies from [o] to [ɔ]. It tends to be highest before

/w/, somewhat lower elsewhere **in final syllables**, and

lowest in other positions, e.g.,

/mówen/ = [mówen] "to trap"

/koʔéçti/ = [koʔé:t̪i] "to push over"

/hóloh/ = [hóloh] "to lean against something"

/ʔámko/ = [ʔámkɒ] "older girl cousin"

/oo/ is a long mid back vowel in all positions; e.g.,

/kóo/ = [ká:] "to push"

/kóok/ = [ká:k] "tail"

/lólolo/ = [lól:lɒ] "leg"

/k^hóobkaʔti/ = [k^há·bkʌʔti] "to gash"

/u/ is a short high back vowel, symmetrical with /i/.

It varies from [u] to [U]. It tends to be higher before

final juncture, and lower in other positions, e.g.

/kúkuh/ = [kÚkuh] "flea"

/kukúhto/ = [kUkÚht̪ɔ] "on the flea"

/ʔúunuʔala/ = [ʔú:nUʔaɭɔ] "buckeye tree"

/púttu/ = [pÚt̪:u] "baby"

/kút/ = [kUt̪^h ~ kut̪^h] "tooth"

/uu/ is a long high back vowel in all positions; e.g.,

/kúu/ = [kú:] "to be rotten"

/ʔúune/ = [ʔú:nE] "to put in"

/ʃúul/ = [ʃú:ɭ] "eagle"

/lúuntu/ = [lú·nt̪u] "creek dogwood"

The approximate range of the **ten** vowel phonemes is summarized in the following chart:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i: i I		U u u:
	e		o
Mid	E: E		ɔ ɔ:
	ɛ		ɔ
Low	a ɶ	ʌ	ɶ
		ɑ	
		ɑ:	

140. Syllables.

Syllables are of the canon $C_1V(V)$ (C_2), where C_1 and C_2 may be any consonant and V may be any vowel, except

for cases discussed below.¹ If C_2 is in word-final position, it is never a non-plain stop, /ʔ/, /č/, /č̣/, or /ʔ̣/.

Initial clusters of two consonants occur only in a few loan words and a single exclamation; namely,

fjuuuuuu "Scat!"

skóowa "broom" from Spanish escoba "broom"

stáat "to start" from English start

stúufa "stove" from Spanish estufa "stove"

Syllable-final clusters of two consonants are also extremely rare. The cluster /mp/ occurs in the first syllable of a single word:

búmpjup "coarse buckeye fibers"

The cluster /jh/ is found in four words:

tájh "man"

tájhtajispawih "name of a hill by Gwenock Lake"

(also tájtajispawih and tájtajpawih)

wájh "an exclamation of emphasis or regret"

(also wáj)

the second member of the phrase ?úuj hújh "a dance signal"

tájh "man" and čálaj "bug" illustrate a contrast between /...ajh/ and /...aj/. tájhto "on the man" and čalájto "on the bug" are examples of this contrast in non-final

¹Phonemic slashes are omitted in citing examples if there is no ambiguity.

position. The cluster /jw/ occurs in one exclamation:

ʔóowh "all right" (also ʔóow)

Long syllables contain long vowels; short syllables contain short vowels; closed syllables end in consonants; and final syllables occur immediately before final juncture.

Examples of long open syllables are:

káa "door"

/loo.../ in lóolo "leg"

Examples of long closed syllables are:

kíik "water"

/lúun,,,/ in lúuntu "creek dogwood"

Examples of short open syllables are the sequences:

/ku.../ and /...le/ in kúle "bear"

Examples of short closed syllables are:

kút "tooth"

/...luk/ in káluk "skunk"

/ʃút.../ and /...tak/ in ʃúttak "to have eyes"

141. Consonant clusters occur only intervocalically and consist of two members (C_1C_2) except in the special cases previously discussed. If C_1 and C_2 are voiceless homorganic stops, C_1 is always a plain stop; e.g.,

bápp^ha "to club"

líkkamɿ "to have a contest"

íɿɿa "two"

If C_2 is an affricate, C_1 is never a voiceless homorganic stop. Thus far, no clusters consisting of a stop or affricate plus λ have been recorded.

150. Stress.

There are two degrees of phonemic stress in Lake Miwok, // and no mark.

151. // is emphasis and falling pitch [$\wedge$] on long final syllables and occasionally on long open pre-final syllables. Otherwise, // is emphasis and high pitch [$\acute{}$]. The last stressed syllable in a sentence tends to have a higher pitch than preceding stressed syllables. Examples are:

/kóo/ = [k $\acute{\lambda}$:] "to push"

/kíik/ = [kí:k] "water"

/kíikto/ = [kí·k $\acute{t}$ o] "on the water"

/híina/ = [hí:n Δ] or [hí:n Δ] "to give"

/šút/ = [š $\acute{U}$ t] "eye"

/šímme/ = [š $\acute{í}$ m:E] "bark"

It is assumed that these examples were followed by final juncture.

152. Unmarked syllables have lower pitch and less emphasis than stressed syllables [$\sim$], and non-final short open unstressed syllables have the least emphasis and shortest duration of all [no mark]. An example of a

sentence containing stressed and unstressed syllables is:

/keláckelac káʃʃatu ʔúlki konʔókaj #/ = [keláckelácc-
káʃ:ʌtʊʔúlki kǝnʔókǝy^{'h}] "Long, long ago,
this is the way they made acorn mush."

160. Juncture.

There are two junctures, pause juncture and final juncture.

161. Pause juncture /.../ is the cessation of the flow of speech without the concomitant features of final juncture. The pause may be very short, or it may last as long as a couple of seconds. It may occur between any two morphemes except those which constitute the verbal theme (see 235), although it is commonest between two words. It usually indicates reflection or an afterthought on the part of the speaker. The previous word or morpheme of the utterance, or an augmented phrase containing the previous word or morpheme may follow the pause. The incidence of this juncture does not effect the contours of the intonational patterns (see 170). Examples are:

miʔi ʔekáal kon...konjécca. "And then they . . .
they mash it."

ʔolúut konʔokáj miʔi...konʔajée konwócca. "When
they make baskets . . . they whittle the
sticks."

kostállatu ?úunu...hintíil ?úunu konwilíkši.

"They went after fruit . . . old-time
fruit (buckeye) with a sack."

máa kon...máa kon...nawáaha kučíijaŕtu kon wócca.

"That they . . . that they . . . they
whittle with a pocket knife or a kitchen
knife."

réej kóola...ŕtu lákat...ŕtu máac kúnun. "King's
Girl . . . that's what my mother used . . .
to call her."

In the last example, the first instance of pause juncture occurs between kóola- "girl" and the instrumental case suffix -ŕtu, and the second instance separates lákat "to call, name" from -ŕtu.

162. Final juncture /#/ is glottal stricture ['], glottal stricture plus breath release ['^h], or breath release [^h] after vowels and sonorants. After stops, /#/ is usually a slight breath release, but occasionally there is a fortis glottal stricture followed by breath release ['^h]. Elsewhere, /#/ is breath release.

Examples are:

/ʔóttat#/ = [ʔótt:ʌ'] or [ʔótt:ʌ'^h] or [ʔótt:ʌ^h]
"flesh"

/túmajt#/ = [túmaj'] or [túmaj'^h] or [túmaj^h]
"wood"

/nɪk #/ = [nɪ:k^h] or occasionally [nɪ:k''^h]

"to settle to the bottom"

/ʔawéecu máa kaʔúte #/ = [ʔAwÉ:tsUmá:kaʔÚtE']

"That's all I have seen."

170. Intonational patterns.

There are three intonational patterns: declarative, interrogative, and exclamatory.

171. Declarative intonational patterns are by far the commonest in the corpus elicited to date. In a sentence with declarative intonation, the last stressed syllable is as high or higher in pitch than any preceding syllable in the sentence. If an unstressed syllable follows, it has a lower pitch than other unstressed syllables in the sentence. If a series of unstressed syllables follow, the pitch level of each of these succeeding syllables tends to be lower than the last one. If the last stressed syllable is final and long, it has a pronounced falling pitch. Words spoken in isolation show declarative intonational patterns.

A DECLARATIVE SENTENCE has a declarative intonational pattern. It is marked by a period, e.g.,

/ʔéetaw ʔuníhi./ = [ʔÉ:t̄əwʔUní:hí'^h] "It's hot today."

/ʔóow./ = [ʔʌ:w^h] "All right."

/wíinu kawilíkşin?ina./ = [wí:nŪkĀwīlīkşIn?īnĀ'h]

"I'm going after wine."

/ʔujéc wéejiton hówo./ = [ʔŪyĒ:wĒ:yītōnhówĀ'h]

"Come into the house and sit down."

The straight lines above syllables indicate relative pitch.

Occasionally a sentence has two successive declarative intonational patterns with no intervening final juncture. In such cases the two sequences will be separated by a semicolon, e.g.,

/miṭi ʔekáal konkíikto konhínte; miṭi ʔekál kon...

kon jéeca./ = [mīṭīʔEkā·lkōnkí·ktōkōnhIntĒ

mīṭīĒkalkōn...kōnyét:sĀ'h] "And then they

put it in water and then they mash it."

172. The interrogative intonational pattern differs from the declarative intonational pattern in that the pitch level of unstressed syllables following the last stressed syllable is not appreciably lower than that of the last stressed syllable. If the last stressed syllable is a final long syllable, there is little if any falling pitch. An INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE has an interrogative intonational pattern. It is followed by a question mark; e.g.,

/ʔinlíistu?/ = [ʔInlí·stū'] "Are you ready?"

/nít kahíntikaşaja?/ = [nītĀhIntīk şAyĀ'h]

"What shall I do?"

/ʔáaj ʔúu?/ = [ʔā:yʔúu:h] "Oh, yeah?"

On rare occasions the interrogative intonational pattern is followed by another intonational pattern with no intervening final juncture. In these instances the first sequence is followed by a question mark plus a semi-colon, e.g.,

/ʔálwa kaʔettuja ʔajeʔ; nít kahíntikaʂajaʔ/ =
[ʔá]wākāʔét:UyāʔayēnItkākIntIkāʂayāʔ^h]

"Should I climb this tree, or what shall I do?"

173. The exclamatory intonational pattern consists of increased loudness and rapidly falling pitch on the last stressed syllable, sometimes with prolongation of vowels or consonants.

An EXCLAMATORY SENTENCE has exclamatory intonation. It is followed by an exclamation point. Many exclamatory sentences are exclamations, though not all instances of exclamations will show exclamatory intonational patterns. Examples are:

/fjuuuuu! / = [fyuuuuu^h] "Scat!"
/ʔekáal ʔiwéeta! / = [ʔēkā: ʔīwÉ:tā^h] "And then,
he went away!"

If an exclamatory intonational pattern is followed by another intonational pattern with no intervening final juncture, the two sequences are separated by an exclamation point plus a semi-colon; e.g.,

/t^huuu!; wéeɛtanco; huwúmnakako./ = [t^huuuwE:tʰʌn-
ts̄hŭwŭmnʌkʌk̄n'] "Scat! go on, you ugly
fellows!"

180. Morphophonemics.

Morphophonemic writing is indicated by double slashes; i.e., by // . . . //,¹ and morphs are separated by hyphens. Hyphens are omitted in statements of morphophonemic rules and the representations of morphophonemes.

181. Most morphophonemes have a single phonemic representation. The exceptions will be discussed individually.

181.1. //N// is /n^f m/ in the sequence //...V(h)^SNp ...//. //N// is /n/ in the sequence //...V(h)^SN// followed by word or final juncture. Elsewhere, //N// is not represented, e.g.,

//páwih-^SNpa-tO// = /pawínpat^f pawímpat/ "toward
the mountain"

//ʔédak-^SNpa-tO// = /ʔedákpat/ "far off"

//tájh-^SN// = /táj/ "man" (nominative case)

//páwih-^SN// = /páwin/ "mountain" (nominative case)

//káac-^Sn// = /kaac/ "fish" (nominative case)

¹The slashes will be omitted where there is no chance of ambiguity.

181.2. //O// is /o/ in the sequence //...CCO//.
Elsewhere, //O// is optionally /o/ or not represented,
e.g.,

//páwih-tO// = /pawih^tto/ "on the mountain"
//jómi-tO// = /jómit^f jomíto/ "at the village"

181.3. //S// is /s/ after voiceless stops and affricates. Elsewhere, //S// is /ʃ/, e.g.,

. //wíp-S^me-ṭi// = /wípseṭi/ "to come undone"
//ʔóc-S^me-ṭi// = /ʔócseṭi/ "to split open"
//ʔól-S^me-ṭi// = /ʔólseṭi/ "to come off"

181.4. //Ṭ// is /ṭ/ in the sequence //...V(h)^sṬ...//.
//Ṭ// is not represented in the sequence //...C^{-hs}Ṭ...//.
When not preceded by raised "s," //Ṭ// is /ṭ/ in the sequence
//...ṬV// plus word or final juncture, and /ṭ^f s/ elsewhere,
e.g.,

//lákíh-S^sṭak// = /lakíṭak/ "dancer"
//ʔúṣṣu-S^sṭak// = /ʔúṣṣuṭak/ "drinker"
//híccuw-S^sṭak// = /híccuwak/ "runner"
//ʔúb-ṭiṭa// = /ʔúbṭiṭa/ "to leave things, one at a
time"
//ʔúb-ṭiṭa-nuka// = /ʔúbṭiṭanuka^f ʔúbṭiṭanuka/
"to make people leave things, one at a
time"

181.5. //U// is /u/ in the sequences //...CCU// and //...VCuU...//. Elsewhere, //U// is not represented, e.g.,

//tájh-nU// = /tájhnu/ "man" (post-verbal subjective case)

//ríiku-kon-nU// = /ríikukonnu/ "the rich ones" (post-verbal subjective case)

//ʔálwa-nU// = /ʔálwan/ "tree" (post-verbal subjective case)

//kát-uUʔa// = /katúʔa/ "to slaughter"

//lál1-uUʔa// = /lálluʔa/ "to feel around"

181.6. After consonants, //V// is the vowel of the preceding syllable. After vowels, //V// is length,¹ e.g.,

//ʔáʔaw-Vʂi// = /ʔaʔáawaʂi/ "to talk on and on"

//háp-VV1-a// = /hapáala/ "to be cracking into little pieces"

//ʔúnu-V// = /ʔunúu/ "mother" (vocative case)

182. Morphophonemic rules operate in the following order on phonemic sequences after the appropriate phonemic representation of any morphophonemes:

182.1. Subtraction.

Subtraction is symbolized by a raised "s," //...h^s...// is not represented. //...n^s// is not represented if word

¹Long vowels are written double for ease of reading.

juncture follows, e.g.,

//tállah-^spu// = /tállapu/ "to put something up"

//ʔútel-kon-^s// = /ʔuťélko/ "white people"

(appositive case)

Elsewhere, there is no subtraction, e.g.,

//tállah-mi// = /tállahmi/ "Stand up."

182.2. Vocalic reduction.

V_2 is not represented in the sequence //... V_1V_2 ...//.

//páwih-^suc// = /páwic/ "mountain" (objective case)¹

//téma-^sak// = /témak/ "enemy, opponent"

182.3. Metathesis.

Metathesis is symbolized by raised "m." //... $C_1VC_2^m$...// is //... C_1C_2V .../.

//pít-ak-^mti// = /pítkaʔi/ "to tighten something"

//ʔáliw-^mti// = /ʔálwiʔi/ "to miss the mark once"

Elsewhere, there is no metathesis, e.g.,

//báp^ha-^mti// = /bap^háaʔi/ "to club once"

182.4. Consonantal reduction.

C_2 is not represented in the sequence //... $C_1C_2^{-h}C_3$...//²

¹Note that subtraction operates first, then vocalic reduction.

²There are two exceptions: búmpjuk "coarse acorn fibers" and ʔáwnuka "to strike someone out" (from English out plus ʔ-nukaʔ).

e.g.,

//jólʔ-ak-^mʔi// = /jólkaʔi/ "to rip something off"¹

//p^húmʔ-ʔi// = /p^húmʔi/ "to arch the back" (cat)

//tájh-tO// = /tájhto/ "on the man"

182.5. Componential loss.

In a cluster consisting of two identical non-plain stops or affricates, the first member loses its aspiration or glottalization, e.g.,

//báp^hp^ha// = /bápp^ha/ "to club repeatedly"

//létta// = /létta/ "to throw several things"

//wúčča// = /wúčča/ "to switch someone several times"

182.6. Morphophonemic stress shift.

Morphophonemic stress shift is obligatory across morpheme boundaries and optional across word boundaries.² It can be schematized as follows:

//C[́]V(h)V(V)CV// = /CVC(h)V[́]VCV/

//C[́]V(h)VCCV// = /CVC(h)V[́](V)CCV/,

with /CVC(h)V[́]CCV/ being the commoner alternant.

¹Note that metathesis operates first, then consonantal reduction.

²This criterion defines the word boundary.

Elsewhere, there is no stress shift, e.g.,

//táwhal-^sʔak// = /tawháalak/ "worker"

//ʔúpuh-^sʔak// = /ʔupúʔak/ "swimmer"

//káwaj kaʔúʔe// = /kawá(a)j kaʔúʔe^f káwaj

kaʔúʔe/ "I see the horse."

//ʔóle kaʔúʔe// = /ʔolée kaʔúʔe^f ʔóle kaʔúʔe/

"I see Coyote."

//káni-ni// = /kaníini/ "with me"

//kéʔ-eeʔi// = /keʔéeeʔi/ "to scrape dirt"

//tállah-mi// = /tállahmi/ "Stand up."

//ka-ʔáppi kaʔúʔe// = /kaʔáppi kaʔúʔe/ "I see my
father."

182.7. Geminatation.

Geminatation is symbolized by a raised "g."

//...ʔC^gV// is /...ʔCCV/.

//...ʔC^gCV// is /...ʔCCV/, e.g.,

//hówo-n^gi// = /howónni/ "chair"¹

//wék^g-el^g-a// = /wekélla/ "to have several turns"

//ʔúʔe^g-po// = /ʔuʔéppo/ "to find something for
oneself"

Elsewhere, there is no gemination, e.g.,

//líd^gda-n^gi// = /liddani/ "iron"

¹Note that morphophonemic stress shift operates first, then gemination.

//p'ém-m-el^g-a// = /p'ém-mela/ "to stick into something" (several objects)

182.8. Assimilation

//...V₁t₁V// is /...V₁t₁V^f ...V₁t₁V/

//...V₁t₁V// is /...V₁t₁V^f ...V₁t₁V/ if V₁ is unstressed.

//hojót-tu// = /hojót^ftu hojót^ftu/ "beginning" (instrumental case)

//néenut-tu// = /néenu^ftu néenu^ftu/ "knowing" (instrumental case)

Elsewhere, there is no assimilation, e.g.,

//néenut-to// = /néenutto/ "knowing" (allative case)

//ríiku-kon-nU// = /ríikukonnu/ "the rich people" (post-verbal subjective)

In other portions of the grammar, the following substitutions have been made:

"G" for raised "g"

"M" for raised "m"

"S" for raised "s".

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210. Morphemes are of two types in Lake Miwok, ROOTS and AFFIXES. Roots are monomorphemic, although there is occasional submorphemic resemblance between different roots (see 260). Affixes include both prefixes and suffixes. There are both stressed and unstressed roots, but affixes never bear the stress.

211. A WORD comprises one or more roots with accompanying affixes. Only one of these roots may be a stressed root, although not all words contain a stressed root. There are no strictly phonological criteria distinguishing morpheme boundaries from word boundaries, but morphophonemic stress shift is obligatory across morpheme boundaries and optional across word boundaries (see 182.5). Words sometimes consist of a single root, such as *hél-la* "no," and *mi-ti* "and, when." *ʔoléejomi* "Coyote Place" consists of two roots, *ʔóle* "coyote" and *-jomi* "place," plus a zero representation of the appositive case suffix. The resulting canon requires morphophonemic stress shift. *kaʔóoni* "I come" contains the first person singular pronominal prefix *ka-* and the verbal root *ʔóoni* "to come."

There are four classes of root morphemes in Lake

Miwok: nominal roots, verbal roots, particles, and exclamations. These classes are definable in terms of type of accompanying affixes, lack of accompanying affixes, and immediate constituency with the rest of the utterance.

220. Nouns.

NOMINAL ROOTS may be immediately followed by one of a set of case suffixes. Nominal roots are of two types, stressed and unstressed. STRONG ROOTS are stressed, and WEAK ROOTS are unstressed. Strong nominal roots of the canon $\acute{CVCV}(C)$ regularly have a weak alternant $-CVCV(C)$,¹ e.g.,

páwih "mountain," whose weak form is -pawih

Certain other strong roots also have weak alternants, but the canonical forms of the latter cannot be predicted, e.g.,

táwhal "work," whose weak form is (-)tawhal(-)

ʔálwa "tree," whose weak form is usually -ʔala

221. A NOMINAL COMPOUND consists of two or more nominal roots, one strong and the others weak, or of a strong nominal root with non-final nominal affixes plus a weak nominal root. Examples are:

¹A citation of a weak root which follows the strong root in a compound will be preceded by a hyphen, and one which precedes the strong root will be followed by a hyphen. One which may either precede or follow the strong root will be both preceded and followed by hyphens enclosed in parentheses.

héenaputu "little boy" from héena "boy" plus
-putu "baby"

wikíijolumlakah "Fire Eating Dance" from wíki
"fire" plus -jolum "to eat" (both a
nominal and a verbal root) plus -lakah
"dance"

jolúmníloklo "garden" from jólum "to eat" plus
-nGi "impersonal agentive suffix" plus
-loklo "field"

The weak root usually follows the strong root in a
nominal compound consisting of a strong root and a weak
root, e.g.,

wajáaʔala "oak tree" from wája "acorn" plus
-ʔala "tree"

Some weak roots always precede the strong root, and others,
like (-)tawhal(-) "work," sometimes precede and sometimes
follow the strong root, e.g.,

tawhalkénne "Monday" from tawhal- plus kénne
"one"

cówtetawhal "easy work" from cówte "easy, nice"
plus -tawhal

Quite frequently the first member of a nominal com-
pound translates an English adjective, e.g.,

cówtetawhal "easy work"

Occasionally, a nominal compound consists of strong

and weak alternants of the same nominal root, e.g.,

wikíiwiki "shooting star" from wíki "fire" plus
-wiki

dóodo "over there" from dóo "there" plus -do

The latter type of compound more frequently involves pronominal roots than other types of nominal roots.

222. A NOMINAL COMPLEX consists of a nominal root or a nominal compound followed by one or more non-final nominal suffixes. Examples are:

húkkewa "in front" from húkke "farther out" plus
the locational suffix -wa

?oléejomimpa- "towards Coyote Place" from the
compound ?oléejomi "Coyote Place" plus
the directional suffix {-Npa}

The first member of a nominal compound is sometimes a nominal complex, e.g.,

jolúmníloklo "garden" from jolúmní "food" plus
-loklo "field"

jolúmní is a nominal complex consisting of the root
jólum "to eat" plus the impersonal agentive suffix //nGi//.

223. A NOMINAL THEME may be either a nominal root, a nominal compound, or a nominal complex.

224. A NOMINAL UNIT consists of a pronominal prefix (if any) plus a nominal theme plus a case suffix, e.g.,

?iṭiháju "his dog" from ?iṭi- "his" plus háju

"dog" plus a zero representation of the
appositive case

?oléejomimpat "towards Coyote Place" from
?oléejomi- "Coyote Place" plus the direc-
tional suffix {-Npa} plus the locative
case suffix {-to}

Sometimes a nominal unit will be based on a weak rather
than a strong root, e.g.,

wuwec "creek" from wuwe- "creek" plus {-uc},
an allomorph of the objective case

225. PRONOUNS are a special subclass of nominal
roots which never take pronominal prefixes. All pro-
nominal roots have strong and weak alternants, and pro-
nominal themes are quite often based on the weak alter-
nans, e.g.,

kanic "me, obj. case"¹

Case suffixes which follow pronominal themes often have
allomorphs differing from the allomorphs of those which
follow other nominal themes, e.g.,

máṣṣu "by that means" which has the instrumental
suffix -ṣṣu rather than -tu

225.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS never form compounds,
although they might be found in pronominal complexes,

¹There is also a strong form kánnic "me, obj. case."

e.g.,

kani- in kanímpa- "towards me" from káni "me"

plus the directional suffix {-Npa}

These pronouns usually translate English personal pronouns.

225.2. IMPERSONAL PRONOUNS may form compounds. They usually translate English demonstratives, such as née "this," but in addition such roots as mú'e "all, every," ?eke "something," and máa "he, she, it, that" are included. They are often the first root of a nominal compound, e.g.,

máahaju "that dog" from máa "that" plus -haju
"dog"

dóodo "over there," from dóo "there" plus its
weak alternate -do

Both members of the latter compound are pronominal roots. An example of an impersonal pronominal root in a pronominal complex is:

dóoşa "the other side" from dóo "there" plus the
place or time marker -şa

230. Verbs.

VERBAL ROOTS may occur in conjunction with verbal suffixes. Verbal roots, like nominal roots, may be either stressed or unstressed. Strong verbal roots are stressed, and weak verbal roots are unstressed. The same morph may function sometimes as a nominal root and sometimes

as a verbal root. *kóoca* "Indian," for example, usually occurs with nominal suffixes, but it can take verbal suffixes, in which case it is best translated as "to be an Indian."

231. A VERBAL COMPOUND is composed of two verbal roots, one strong and one weak, e.g.,

henujóok "to be really dead" from *henu-* "really, truly" and *jóok* "to be dead"

Most color terms are verbal compounds consisting of a strong verbal root followed by its weak alternant, e.g.,

ʔawáaʔawa "to be red" from *ʔáwa-* plus *-ʔawa*

In this instance the strong root appears by itself in the nominal compound *ʔawáahuja* "magnesite beads," but the roots of such compound color terms usually have no separate occurrence.

232. SUBJECTIVE PRONOMINAL PREFIXES may immediately precede verbal roots, e.g.,

ʔi- "he" in *ʔiʔúte* "he sees"

These prefixes may precede a verbal compound, e.g.,

ʔihenujóok "he is really dead" from *ʔi-* "he" plus *henujóok* "to be really dead"

Occasionally they are in immediate constituency with a phrase; that is to say, with a sequence composed of more than one word, e.g.,

hélle mahénu kóoca níh ʔaje "we're not really

Indians now"

Here, ma- "we" is in immediate constituency with hénu kóoca "to be really Indians."¹

233. In cases not involving verbal compounds or verbal phrases, a verbal stem is the first meaningful unit which can follow a subjective pronominal prefix. A verbal stem is often a verbal root, e.g.,

ʔúʔe "to see" in ʔiʔúʔe "he sees"

In other cases, the verbal stem is derived from a verbal root by one of the following stem formative processes: no change, change in length of one or more of the phonemes of the root, reduction of the canonical form of the root, and reduction in the root canon followed by change in the length of a phoneme of the root. There may be one, two, or three stems derived from the same root.

233.1. Semelfactive stems are associated with single action. They are usually identical with the verbal root, e.g.,

ʔúʃʃu "to drink once"

ʔít- in // ʔít-ak-Nʔi// = /ʔítkaʔi/ "to peel one thing rapidly"

233.2. Iterative stems are associated with finite

¹hénu "really, truly" has a weak alternant henu- which appears as the first member of verbal compounds, e.g., henujóck "to be really dead."

repeated action. They are derived from verbal roots by one or the other of the stem formative processes mentioned in section 233, e.g.,

łít- in łítak "to peel several things rapidly,"

which illustrates no change

tállah "to be standing" (said of several objects),

derived from tálah "to stand," which shows consonantal augmentation

ʔúşu "to drink repeatedly," derived from ʔúşu

"to drink," an example of vocalic augmentation plus consonantal reduction

hij- in híjṭiṭa "to win all the time," derived

from híja "to win" through loss of the final vowel

233.3. Repetitive stems are associated with non-finite repeated action. They are derived from verbal roots by one of the stem formative processes discussed in section 233, most commonly by no change or by reduction of the verbal root to the canon $C_1V_1C_2-$ or $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_3-$, e.g.,

lálaj- in // lálaj-Vṣi// = /laláajaṣi/ "to feel

around," from the verbal root lálaj

"to feel"

péloj- in // péloj-Vṣi// = /pelóojoṣi/ "to fix

things up," from the verbal root péloj

"to fix"

234. Some verbal stems always occur before certain suffixes. These suffixes will be called thematic suffixes. In a given sentence, there may be zero, one, or two thematic suffixes following the verbal stem. A BASAL SUFFIX is a first position thematic suffix. An ASPECTUAL SUFFIX is a second position thematic suffix. When there is a single thematic suffix, it is sometimes a basal suffix and sometimes an aspectual suffix. The category to which a particular thematic suffix belongs is determined from those cases in which it is one of two thematic suffixes.

234.1. Basal suffixes usually refer to speed or type of verbal action, e.g.

-ak "swift, careless, or medio-passive action"

in // ɬít-ak-M̥ɬi // = /ɬítkaɬi/ "to peel one thing fast" or "to come off in a large piece" from ɬít- "to peel" plus -ak plus the semelfactive suffix // -M̥ɬi //

-uk "slow, deliberate action" in // ɬít-uk-M̥ɬi // = /ɬítkuɬi/ "to peel something thoroughly"

234.2. Aspectual suffixes are of three kinds: semelfactive, iterative, and repetitive, e.g.,

// -M̥ɬi //, a semelfactive suffix in // ɬít-uk-M̥ɬi // = /ɬítkuɬi/ "to peel something thoroughly"

-uʔe, an iterative suffix in //hájap-uʔe// =
 /hajáapuʔe/ "to shout several times,"
 from hájap-, an iterative stem derived
 from the verbal root háajap "to shout" by
 reduction in the length of the first vowel.

There is no basal suffix in the latter example.

Lake Miwok has only one repetitive suffix, -Vʕi,
 which occurs with every repetitive stem, sometimes with
 an intervening basal suffix, e.g.,

//ʔáʔaw-Vʕi// = /ʔaʔáawaʕi/ "to talk on and on"
 from the repetitive stem ʔáʔaw-, derived
 from the verbal root ʔáaʔaw "to talk"
 through reduction of the first vowel

// cáj-VVC₂-Vʕi// = /cajéajaʕi/ "to shake the head
 quickly and repeatedly," from the repe-
 titive stem cáj-, derived from the verbal
 root cája "to shake" through loss of the
 final vowel.

The basal suffix -VVC- "quick action" occurs in the second
 example.

235. A VERBAL THEME is a morpheme or a sequence of
 morphemes which may be preceded by a subjective pronominal
 prefix and which may be followed by one or more post-
 thematic suffixes. Thus defined, a verbal theme may be
 either a verbal root which does not undergo any stem

formative processes, a verbal compound, or a verbal stem plus any accompanying thematic suffixes, e.g.,

ʔúʔe "to see," a verbal root from which no verbal stem is ever derived

cúunih "to move several things," an iterative stem derived from the verbal root cúnih "to move something" by lengthening of the first vowel, and which takes no thematic suffixes

//cáj-C₁VC₂-Vʔi// = /cájcajəʔi/ "to shake the head uncontrollably," from the repetitive stem caj- plus the basal suffix -C₁VC₂- "slow action" plus the repetitive suffix -Vʔi

235.1. A SEMELFACTIVE VERBAL THEME contains a semelfactive stem; e.g.,

ʔúʔʔu "to drink once," which takes no thematic suffixes

//ʔit-sk-ʔi// = /ʔitkaʔi/ "to peel one thing fast" or "to come off in a large piece," which was discussed in section 234.1

235.2. An ITERATIVE VERBAL THEME contains an iterative stem, e.g.,

ʔúuʔu "to drink repeatedly," which does not occur with thematic suffixes

//lít-ak// = /lítak/ "to peel several things
rapidly

//híj-ṭiṭa// = /híjtiṭa/ "to win all the time"

Further discussion of these iterative themes is presented in section 233.2.

235.3. A REPETITIVE VERBAL THEME contains a repetitive stem, e.g.,

//ʔáṭaw-Vṣi// = /ʔaṭáawaṣi/ "to talk on and on"

//cáj-VVC₂-Vṣi// = /cajáajaṣi/ "to shake the head
uncontrollably

These items are discussed in section 234.2.

236. Post-thematic suffixes express a variety of ideas; reciprocity, distance, and many more, e.g.,

-ku, a passive suffix in //túw-en-ku// = /tuwénku/
"to be shot once," which follows the verbal
theme //túw-en// = /túwen/ "to shoot once"¹

Most verbal themes may occur with or without post-thematic suffixes, but a few are always found before certain suffixes, e.g.,

lállu-, an iterative verbal theme which is always
followed by the andative suffix ~~ṭiṭa~~ giving
lálluṭi "to fly away, one at a time"²

¹túwen is derived from túw- "to shoot" plus the semelfactive suffix -en.

²lállu- is derived from the verbal root lálu- "to fly" by gemination of the medial consonant.

Many other verbal themes, however, may occur with or without **f-tj**, e.g.,

lákíh "to dance" in ?ilákíh "he is dancing" and
/?ilákíhʔi/ "he is going dancing"

Likewise, other post-thematic suffixes which always follow certain verbal themes may or may not occur after other verbal themes.

When two or more post-thematic suffixes appear, their relative word order is rigidly determined, e.g.,

//ka-túw-en-ku-nʔina// = /katuwénkunʔina/ "I'm
going to be shot," which includes the
passive suffix **-ku** and the future
marker **-nʔina**.

237. A VERBAL UNIT consists of a verbal theme plus any accompanying affixes; that is to say, a subjective pronominal prefix, if there is one, and any post-thematic suffixes. Examples are:

?iʔúte "he sees"

//ka-túw-en-ku-nʔina// = /katuwénkunʔina/ "I'm
going to be shot," discussed in the pre-
ceding section

A verbal unit, like a nominal unit, has at most a single stressed syllable.

238. ADJECTIVES are a special subclass of verbal units which never have subjective pronominal prefixes.

They always precede the noun with which they are in immediate constituency. Usually, they are monomorphemic, e.g.,

ʔóbu "to be bad" in /ʔóbu kóoca/ ^f /ʔobúu kóoca/
"bad person"

There is optional morphophonemic stress shift in the preceding example across the word boundary. Adjectives are sometimes verbal compounds, e.g.,

//ʔáwa-ʔawa// = /ʔawáaʔawa/ "to be red," from the
strong root ʔáwa- plus its weak alternate
-ʔawa

Some adjectives are more complex types of verbal units, e.g.,

//jómu-nGaka// = /jomúnnaka/ "to be fine, pleasant,
beautiful" from jómu "to laugh" plus the
indirect causative suffix -nGaka

Occasionally, words which translate English adjectives follow the noun with which they are in immediate constituency, in which case they take the same case endings as the nouns in question and function as nouns.

240. Particles.

PARTICLES never take affixes, and they are not always separated from the rest of the utterance on the basis of junctural or intonational features.

241. SIMPLE PARTICLES are monomorphemic. They may

be stressed or unstressed, e.g.,

hélle "no, not"

kaṭi "just like (something)"

242. COMPLEX PARTICLES are morphemic sequences **usually** consisting of a nominal or pronominal root plus a simple particle. They are all stressed and, like simple particles, they do not take affixes. An example is:

maháli "yet" from ma- "that" plus háli "still, yet"

250. Exclamations.

Exclamations, like particles, never take affixes. Unlike particles, however, they are always stressed and never compounded with other parts of speech. Individual exclamations or phrases consisting of two or more exclamations either constitute separate utterances or are separated from the rest of the utterance by intonational or junctural features. Exclamations or exclamatory phrases occur in the following examples:

hée! "No!" (an exclamation of contradiction)

fjúuu!; kaṣa weno. "'Scat!" he said."

kóol kól kól kól kasa weno. "He went 'plop, plop, plop.'"

Exclamations often contain phonemes or clusters not otherwise found in Lake Miwok, such as the /fj.../ in fjúuu! "Scat!" and the voiceless vowel in kAAAA! "Bah!"

Prolonged vowels are also common, as in the two preceding examples.

260. **Submorphemics.**

Lake Miwok, like English, has a large number of sequences which are partially resemblant but not capable of complete analysis. These resemblances follow various patterns, most of which, oddly enough, resemble similar patterns in English. Some of these patterns represent the remnants of processes which might have been active in Proto-Miwok or Pre-Miwok, like the English pairs blood-bleed, food-feed, etc. Others may be the results of consonantal symbolism or analogy.

Various sequences of the canon CV(V)C... can be isolated and given a vague meaning, much like the gl... in English glisten, glitter, glow, glimmer, gleam, etc. As in English, the remaining portions of such sets cannot be assigned meanings except possibly in terms of other marginal sets of the same type, like the ...inner in "glimmer," which also occurs in "shimmer." An example of such a submorphemic sequence in Lake Miwok is mol..., which seems to convey the meaning "to cover" in the broadest sense. This sequence is found in the following items:

móla	to pile wood
móle-	to pour
mólle	shade, shadow, reflection
móllu-pa	to cover
mólo-k	mask
mólpa	cloud
mólu	to wear

The sequence ...pa in mólpa also occurs in the words micpa "fog, mist," and ?úpa "rain," and can be said to pertain vaguely to the heavens. From this point of view, mólpa "cloud" might be said to mean "that which covers the heavens." However, this analysis leaves one with the sequences mic... and ?ú..., which have no assignable meaning.

The following sequences of the form CV(V)C... appear to have submorphemic status. Some of them, like mol..., can nowhere be isolated as separate morphemes. A few, like húk "nose," can be segmented on the morphemic level, but they also occur in other items in which it is impossible to give morphemic status to the remaining sequences.

ʼca(a)k...	split, torn, cracked
he(e)n...	pertaining to the breath
huk...	pertaining to the nose or smelling
jokʼ...	to hang
ka(a)w...	to cut

lak...	pertaining to naming, calling, or wishing
lal...	to feel
let...	pertaining to the tongue
loj...	to rub
mol...	to cover
pol...	pertaining to water
p ^h uk...puk...	to be rounded
p ^h um...	to be humped
p'em...	to stick
şul...	pertaining to the skin
şun...	pertaining to a protective covering
ten...	pertaining to fur or feathers
tut...	to be twisted or rolled up
wil...	pertaining to air movement
wo(o)t...	to be bent

In certain cases there is a fossilized relationship between a noun and verb of the blood-bleed type, but in Lake Miwok, this relationship is usually one of quantitative ablaut.

In the first type of ablaut the noun is of the canon ^{or CVCVC} CVC(C)V₁ and the verb is of the canon CVCVCV.

húke	a while ago	húuke	to be first
jútte, -jute	pitch, chewing gum	júute	to chew
kílli	horn	kíili	to hook with the horns

lólo	foot	kóolo	to track
wíki	fire	wíiki	to burn
ʔólak	oar, mush spoon	ʔóolak	to row

In the second type of ablaut the noun is of the canon C[́]VCCV[́]) and the verb is of the canon C[́]VCV.

kíccaw	blood	kícaw	to bleed
mólle	shade, shadow, reflection	móle-	to pour ¹

The remaining noun-verb pairs show aberrant relationships, some of which involve qualitative as well as quantitative ablaut, or the loss or addition of frozen sequences.

háttuk	shot, explosion	//hát-uk-N̥ti//	to burst
-hukuj	old lady	hukúuju	to grow old (said of a woman)
jókku	a lie	jóko	to tell a lie
káal	smoke from a fire	kálle	to be smoky, sultry
kée	excrement	kúnuh	to defecate
kíwwa	arrow	kíiwi	to point with a wand
kójjo	salt	kójup	to salt some- thing
kówwa	half	kówuh	to be in the middle

¹This is a questionable set from a semantic standpoint.

lákko	thirst	//lákum-Mṭi//	to swallow
pólpol	lake	//pól-uk-Mṭi//	to flood
túnni	heel	//túna-Mṭi//	to kick
ʔále	grave	ʔálla	to bury
ʔálok	ear	ʔálu	to hear
ʔínte	tears	ʔínte	to cry

The remaining pairs are not noun-verb pairs.

káṣṣa	this kind, this time (noun and verb)	káṣa	still, thus (particle)
kúle	bear	kúule	sound of bear (exclamation)
wállí	outside (noun)	wáli	season, year, area, world (noun)

There are a very small number of verb sets in which the intransitive member ends in /h/.¹ The intransitive member of these sets behaves as a monomorphemic unit in the morphology of the language. The iterative stem tállah "to stand" (several people), for example, is derived from the verbal root tálah "to stand" by gemination of the medial consonant, one of the common processes by which iterative stems are derived from verbal roots.

¹Elsewhere in the language, both transitive and intransitive verbs may end in /h/.

móle-	to pour	móleh	to spill
'áwwe	morning, to be morning	'áwweh	to dawn

;

300 NOUNS AND PRONOUNS

310. Possessive pronominal prefixes immediately precede nominal themes and nominal phrases. Kinship terms and nouns designating body parts usually take a possessive pronominal prefix, though not always. These prefixes are:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
first person inclusive		ʔoc-, ʔic- ¹	
	ka-		ma-
first person exclusive		ʔic-	
second person	ʔin-	moc-	mon-
third person non-reflexive	ʔiɬi-	koc-	kon-
third person reflexive	hana-	hanakoc-	hanakon-
indefinite	ʔan-	ʔan-	ʔan-

Like the English pronouns, these pronominal prefixes are capable of partial analysis. -c, for example, could be segmented as a personal dual suffix, and mo- and ko-

¹The inclusive-exclusive distinction appears only in the first person dual pronominal prefix in the speech of Mrs. Grace. Other speakers use ʔic- for both the inclusive and the exclusive, although John Knight remembers that a distinction was formerly made by older people.

could be analyzed respectively as non-singular second and third person elements. hanakoc- and hanakon- are clearly compounded from other prefixes. A complete analysis of this type, however, would involve more statements than there are elements in the chart; consequently, it will not be attempted.

hana- "his own, her own, its own" has the same referent as the subject or subjective prefix of the verbal theme in the same clause, whereas ?iṭi- "his, her, its" has a different referent; e.g.,

hanaháju ?úṭe. "He sees his own dog."

?iṭiháju ?úṭe. "He sees his (somebody else's) dog."

Likewise, hanakoc- translates as "their own (dual)," and hanakon- as "their own (plural)."

The indefinite ?an- "one's, someone's" occurs most frequently in translations of an English superlative, e.g.,

?anlíilewa kakiwa. "I'm the strongest one here,"

or more precisely, "I'm stronger than anyone" from ?an-, plus líilewa, a noun meaning "greater degree," plus ka- "I," plus kíwa "to be strong." A completely literal translation would be "Anyone's greater degree I am strong."

320. Non-final nominal suffixes occur after nominal

roots or nominal compounds in nominal themes. When there are two or more of these suffixes, their relative order is rigidly determined. These suffixes are presented in alphabetical order. A statement of their distribution will follow.

320.1. -ja occurs only after kénne "one" in kénneja "one at a time", e.g.,

kénnejaṭu konwéwṭiṭa. "They're going, one at a time."

320.2. -ka also occurs with a single root, ?ekée "where, which, somewhere, some such," in ?ekéeka "how many, how much, that many, just a few, about"; e.g.,

?ekéekaṭu konhíja? "By how much did they win?"

320.3. -kaṣa "type of, kind of" occurs after both nominal and pronominal roots, e.g.,

néekaṣa "this kind of" from née "this," as in

néekaṣalakih "this kind of dance"

híntikaṣa "how" from hínti "what," as in

híntikaṣa cáne? "How much?"

dóokaṣa "just like that" from dóo "that," as in

dóokaṣa kahíccuw. "I run, just like that."

320.4. -kon, a plural suffix, is rare except in nominal units referring to people or personages, e.g.,

?uṭélkon "white people"

ṣolókkon kóocakon "the mouse people"

-kon always follows any other suffixes in a nominal theme except -şaka(h) and -welak, e.g.,

ʔéelaʔakkon "players" from ʔéela "to play,"

plus -Sʔak, a personal agentive suffix,

plus -kon.

-kon is sometimes in immediate constituency with a phrase, as in the second example, or with a clause, e.g.,

konlemájhintekon "those whom they invited"

-kon is often omitted when there is some other overt indication that the nominal unit refers to more than one person, e.g.,

konmíiw híccuw. "Their husbands are running" from

kon- "their" plus míiw "husband" plus

híccuw "to run"

320.5. -koc is a dual suffix whose occurrence parallels that of -kon. It appears mainly in nominal units referring to persons or personages, e.g.

ʔóʔʔa púttukoc "two babies"

It is sometimes omitted, however, when there is some other overt reference to duality, e.g.,

kocmíiw híccuw ʔ kocmíiwkoc híccuw. "Their (dual) husbands are running."

-koc always follows any other suffixes in the nominal theme except -şaka(h) and -welak, e.g.,

ʔéelaʔakkoc "two players" from ʔéela "to play"

plus the agentive suffix -Sṭak plus
-koc

§20.6. † -Npaṭ is -mpa after the locational suffix
-wa and -Npa elsewhere.¹ It is a directional suffix
meaning "onto, to, toward." It is found only before the
allative suffix; e.g.,

ʔolómpat "eastward"

níimukpat "into this road"

† -Npaṭ follows any other non-final suffixes, e.g.,

numáawampat "in different directions" from núma

"different" plus -wa, a locational marker

plus † -Npaṭ plus the allative case suffix
-tO.

This suffix often occurs after pronominal roots, e.g.,

kanímpat "towards me"

mámpat wéeta. "he went over that way."

Other examples follow:

háalin šúkuh kaṣa weno nekóolan nehéenampat

(//ne-héena-Npa-tO//). "Are you still

alive,' the girl asked the boy."

mác ʔajénpat (//ʔáje-Npa-tO//) koncáanih. "They

tie that to the stick."

níimukpat (//níi-muk-Npa-tO//) kaʔúkan. "I just

came into this road."

¹// -Npa// is more frequently /-mpa/ than /-npa/.

ʔilákten ʔotóttawampat (//ʔotóttawam-pa-to//)
 şúkuh. "He named (the directions) four
 ways."

‡ -Npaʔ is sometimes in immediate constituency with
 a phrase, e.g.,

híin takénninpat "towards where the sun rises,"

literally, "towards the sun's rising place"

When the suffix is in immediate constituency with a clause,
 it has the meaning "while, until," e.g.,

jájjumpat "while he's calling"

hélle hinti jólum lákin muʔénpato. "He didn't
 eat anything until the dance was over."

320.7. -nGi is an impersonal agentive suffix mean-
 ing "that which does something," "place where something
 is done," "for the purpose of doing something," e.g.,

liddani "clothes iron" from lídda "to rub"

howónni "chair" from hówo "to sit"

ʔóppojni "driving" from ʔóppoj "to drive," as

in ʔinʔóppojnic cacíhmin. "Watch your
 driving" or, more literally, "Watch the
 place where you're driving."

Examples of the purposive usage are:

wajánni "to give away," an answer to the question,

"What are those gifts for?"

típmuʔi láktek ʔupúhnito. "It's too cold for

swimming."

A slightly more abstract meaning of -nGi is illustrated by:

ʔáwweni "morning, early in the morning" from
ʔáwwe(h) "to dawn" or, more literally,
"time when it is dawning"

Although -nGi is a nominal suffix, it is added to verbal roots and verbal stems. Thus it can be called a nominalizing suffix.

Sometimes a variant form of the verbal root occurs with -nGi, e.g.,

póje- in pojénni "necklace," as contrasted with
póoje "to put something around the neck."

Like many of these suffixes, -nGi also occurs in immediate constituency with clauses, e.g.,

neʔolúut konʔokájni hintišúccanşakah. "What
they make this basket with is something
like string."

320.8. -şa is a nominal suffix meaning "position, side, time, way," e.g.,

níişa "the near side" from níi "this"
máaşa "that way, through there" from máa "that"
kúččişa "a little while" from kúčči "little"
kénneşa "one time" from kénne "one"

This last expression often appears at the beginning of

narratives, e.g.,

kénneşa weno kénne héenán lákte weno 'cǐddidik
kíwa. "One time, it is said, there was
a young man whose name, it is said, was
Stoutheart."

-şa often precedes the locational suffix -wa, e.g.,

dóoşawa "the other side" from dóo "over there"

320.9. -şaka(h) "like, this kind of, this manner"
always follows the possessive case of its immediate
constituent, e.g.,

kóocanşakah "like an Indian" from kóoca "Indian"
mákşanşakampat híccuw. "That's the way it's
going," where mákşa means "that way."

When -şaka(h) is in immediate constituency with two units,
both of these units take the possessive case, e.g.,

niwéejin ?álwanşaka "like the house, like the
trees"

-şaka(h) is sometimes in immediate constituency with the
dual or plural of a nominal or pronominal unit, in which
case -şaka(h) follows the possessive dual or possessive
plural suffix, e.g.,

héenakonşakah "just like young men"

?íkkonşakah "just like them"

míkkocşakah "just like you two"

-şaka(h) is often found after the possessive case

of verbal stems or even verbal units, e.g.,

hélle ?i?i?áa?aw?aka?u ka?áa?aw témma. "I can't
talk like him," where ?áa?aw is a semel-
factive theme meaning "to talk."

Since -?aka(h) can convert a verbal theme into a nominal unit, it may be called a nominalizing suffix. In fact, ?i?i?áa?aw?aka?u is marked as a nominal unit, both by the presence of the possessive prefix ?i?i- "his" and the instrumental case suffix. Consequently, hélle ?i?i?áa?aw?aka?u ka?áa?aw témma translates literally as "I can't talk like his talking."

Even though -?aka(h) is a nominalizing suffix, the resultant theme sometimes functions as a verbal theme. Thus hujúuman?aka means both "like a meadowlark" and "to be like a meadowlark," e.g.,

néeputun hujúuman?aka. "This baby is like a
meadowlark (he talks all the time)."

This situation exactly parallels the distribution of the root kóoca, which may function either as a nominal root meaning "Indian" or a verbal root meaning "to be an Indian."

-?aka(h) can be in immediate constituency with phrases and clauses as well as portions of nominal units, e.g.,

hínti ?úccan?akah "just like some sort of string"

makóllan weno líile niwéjin ?álwanşaka líile
cóketeja. "Waves, it is said, as high as
the house, as high as the trees, came
one after the other."

In the second example, -şaka(h) is in immediate constituency with a phrase consisting of two nominal units in the possessive case, namely, niwéjin "the house" and ?álwan "tree." An example of -şaka(h) in immediate constituency with a clause is:

hélle maşu nih kóono maşáwwuţenşaka "not the kind
of gun we have now"

in which -şaka(h) is in immediate constituency with the clause kóono maşáwweşe "we have a gun."

§20.10. -Ştak is a personal agentive suffix meaning "one who does" or "one who is." This suffix is also a nominalizing suffix. Examples are:

hacíitak "a selfish person" from hécih "to be
selfish"

híccuwak "runner" from híccuw "to run"

?aţáawak "lawyer" from the repetitive stem ?áţaw-
"to talk on and on"

?úşşuţak "drinker" from the semelfactive stem
?úşşu "to drink"

?úuşuţak "drunkard" from the iterative stem
?úuşu "to drink all the time"

320.11. -wa is a locational suffix meaning "place, side, way, one," e.g.,

joléewa "the shortest way" from jóle "near"

héllawe "bottom" from hélla "below"

mu?éewa "all around" from mú?e "all"

míiwa "your side" from míi "you"

wajíkwa "some of it" from wájik "some"

?eméenewa "best ones" or "the best" from ?eméene
"good"

tóppawa "behind" from tóppa "after," as in the sentence háali ko tóppawam ka?óppoj kataw-háaluc. "I'm still behind in my work."

-wa follows the nominal suffix -şa but precedes all other suffixes, e.g.,

dóoşawa "the other side"

kenéewampat "to one side"

In the case of kówwa "half," -wa follows the unique root ków-; compare kówuh "half, middle."

-wa can be in immediate constituency with phrases and clauses, e.g.,

?awéecu men mát kacatéhwaŋu ka?alúupa. "I just listen while sitting there."

Occasionally, a sequence with the suffix -wa functions as a verbal theme, e.g.,

katawhál tóppawa. "I'm behind in my work" or,

more literally, "My work is behind."

320.12. -welak is a benefactive nominal suffix meaning "for the sake of," e.g.,

hanacáccowelaku lócok. "He's doing it for his grandchild."

mamáksawelak ka'óoni nitto. "That's what I came here for."

hújka^ksupowelak konlákih. "They dance to be happy" or, more literally, "They dance for happiness."

-welak follows all other non-final suffixes. A preceding plural suffix is in the possessive case, e.g.,

hanakon[?]elájkonwelakuc konkója. "They sing for the sake of their children."

Compare the verbal suffix -welak, meaning "might, to be about to, let's, to wish, to want."

320.13. -wi is a nominal suffix meaning "house, place" which has thus far been found only after cíppa "bread" in the word cíppawi "bakery." -wi is probably a shortened form of -weji, a weak form meaning "house."

321. A schematic representation of the distribution of non-final nominal suffixes now follows:

			-ja
			-ka
			-kaşa
		-şaka(h)	[-Npa]
	-kon	{ -şaka(h)	
		{ -welak	
	-koc	{ -şaka(h)	
		{ -welak	
-nGi			
-Sṭak	{ -kon		
	{ -koc		
	-şa	-wa	
		-wi	

330. Nominal units are closed by case suffixes, called final nominal suffixes, as distinct from the non-final nominal suffixes previously considered. There are ten case suffixes: appositive, subjective, possessive, objective, allative, locative, ablative, instrumental, comitative, and vocative, and they will be discussed in the order indicated. With the exception of the possessive case, these suffixes appear only at the end of nominal units. Their allomorphy depends upon whether or not they immediately follow a pronominal root, whether the nominal unit precedes or follows the verbal unit, and which

pronominal prefixes are present if a verbal unit immediately follows. In other words, case allomorphy is influenced in a rather complicated manner by morphological and syntactic criteria.

350.1. The appositive case $\{ -m\}$ is $-m \overset{f}{\sim} -\emptyset$ after the introductory pronominal roots *ma* "that" and *ne* or *nee* "this," e.g.,

ma kánni $\overset{f}{\sim}$ *mam kánni*. "That's me."

mam néen mi hínte. "This is the one that's doing it to you."

pawíhlulan nem pódwaj. "This 'pawíhlula' is a snake."

$\{ -m\}$ is $-S$ after the plural marker $-kon$, e.g.,

?uʔélko (//?uʔel-kon-S//) "white people"

Elsewhere, $\{ -m\}$ is $-\emptyset$.

All citation forms are given in this case, e.g.,

"*hintikaʔun ?áʔaw* 'tree' *kóocaʔaʔawtu*?"

"*?élwa*." "How do you say 'tree' in Lake Miwok?" "*?élwa*."

Likewise, the appositive case is used with all other forms which occur in isolation, where it usually translates as "it is," e.g.,

?uʔel kóono mahínti. "It's a white man's gun, you know."

This case occurs after demonstrative pronominal

roots and demonstrative pronominal compounds, having an introductory function, e.g.,

níini ?inlúppu." "Here is your money."

née?ane kela ?éetaw. "It's getting hot already."

mama máa? "Is this the one?"

nene née héena? "Is this the young man?"

mántin pánnu nene? "Whose handkerchief is this?"

máama hínti? "What's that?"

In the first of the above examples, the appositive case follows both members of the apposition; namely, níini "here is" and ?inlúppu "your money." A parallel situation obtains in the other examples. The first instance of the appositive case in the sixth example is in immediate constituency with the phrase mántin pánnu "whose handkerchief" rather than with a single word.

The appositive case appears after nominal units which occur as exclamations, afterthoughts, or asides,¹ e.g.,

jomúnnaka híi (//híi-Ø//). "What a beautiful day!"

kaníi (//káni-Ø//) ?aje kaşút ?óbu. "As for me,

¹James Knight often uses the subjective case after nominal units which occur utterance finally and are in apposition to other nominal units in the sentence, or which appear as afterthoughts, e.g., ?ictáwhal makóoca katúuŋa. "That's our job, killing people." John Knight would say ?ictáwhal ma kóoca katúuŋa. Both John Knight and James Knight use the appositive case after the nominal unit ?ictáwhal "our job," but James Knight uses the subjective case after the phrase ma kóoca katúuŋa "killing people."

my eyes are bad."

cakáttun táwlik konhawúñtu wéeṭa ʔawáaʔawahinte.

"They buy blackbird wings, those that are red."

In the last example, ʔawáaʔawahinte "those that are red" is in apposition to cakáttun táwlik "blackbird wings," which is in the objective case.

There is an especially strong tendency to use the subjective case after an utterance final nominal unit when it is in apposition with a nominal unit in the subjective case, e.g.,

mántin ʔóonina? ʔonáaṭaknu. "Who's coming?
Hunter."

máahintet kénne jómtan hówo ʔúʔkaṣan. "Then
there's one doctor sitting there, a
great hunter."

The appositive case may occur after nominal units designating time, especially if it is not specific, e.g.,

ʔúme (//ʔúme-Ø//) ʔúupa. "It was raining last
night."

deléeka ʔóorat (//ʔóora-tØ//) ʔáwwe (//ʔawwe-Ø//)
ma wéeṭa. "At three o'clock in the morn-
ing we went."

In the second example, the appositive case follows ʔáwwe "morning," while the allative case -tØ occurs after the

more specific temporal referent *deléeka ʔóora* "three o'clock."

330.2. The subjective case suffix *ɛ -nuɔ* is the final suffix in nominal units which function as subjects of verbs or verbal phrases.

ɛ -nuɔ is *-Ø* after first and second person pronominal roots, e.g.,

kánni kaʔóoni. "I myself am coming."

míi ʔinʔóoni? "Are you coming?"

In other instances where the subject precedes the verb, *-nu* is *-SN*, e.g.,

ʔíkkon (//ʔíkkó-SN//) kómoleeɕi. "They were the ones who spilled it."

múʔen (//múʔe-SN//) lóoho. "The whole lot of them are lazy."

kaʔunúun (//ka-ʔúnu-SN//) kani tákkopunenʔinaj.

"My mother is going to patch it for me."

táj (//tájh-SN//) ʔóoni. "The man is coming."

káac (//káac-SN//) jólum. "The fish is eating."

kapulúk (//púluk-SN//) kani kowóolodoɕi. "My stomach is growling."

kukún (//kúkuh-SN//) ʔintíkkít mékuh. "A flea is sitting on your forehead."

kúkun (//kúkuh-SN//) ʔintíkkít maɕáa wace. "A flea must have been biting your forehead."

Some of the above examples illustrate optional morphophonemic stress shift across word boundaries (see 182.2).

When the subject follows the verbal unit, † -nu‡ is -nU,¹ e.g.,

máa konʔáamuptu konwée‡a ríikukonnu (/ríiku-kon-nU//). "They pay him, the rich people."²

hél‡la jolúm ʔée‡ja ʔí‡‡a ne kóolan (/kóola-nU//).

"This girl still didn't want to eat."

muʔé‡wa şúkuh ʔolúut ʔoká‡nin (/ʔókaj-nGi-nU//).

"It's everywhere, basket making."

hél‡lako hunáama kapulúknu (/ka-púluk-nU//). "My stomach's not hurting yet."

There are instances where a single nominal unit functions as the subject of more than one verbal unit, e.g.,

née héenan weno húuke weno maʔidíi cánnanlakie
ní‡t ʔonín‡nuka. "This young man, it is
said, is the first, it is said, to bring
that Bighead dance here."

In this sentence //héena-SN// is the subject of húuke "to be first" and ʔonín‡nuka "to bring."

Sometimes † -nu‡ occurs after two nominal or

¹By far the commonest word order is subject-verb. The reverse order occurs most frequently when the subject is mentioned as an afterthought or to clarify possible ambiguity.

²//-kon-nU// = /-konu/ in the speech of James Knight.

pronominal units in the same clause; that is to say, where two nominal or pronominal units function as subjects of the same verb. In some cases, these units bear a noun-adjective relationship when translated into English, e.g.,

jomít şukúujomin ?ekéekan ?ómah. "There are just
a few people staying home who fast,"
where şukúujomi means "people staying"
and ?ekéeka means "that many, so many."

Occasionally, {-nu} is found after two nominal units, both of which function as subjects of the same verb, and which translate into English as a compound subject, e.g.,

kawáacun halíihalin şúkuh. "There's sugar and
everything there," where kawáacu means
"sugar" and halíihali means "everything."

The comitative case -ni, however, is commoner, in such instances.

{-nu} can be in immediate constituency with a phrase, e.g.,

camihlukaj ?ókaj mákşa. "Making rabbit skin blan-
kets is that way (that's the way they
make rabbit skin blankets)."

camihlukaj ?ókaj is a phrase meaning "making rabbit skin blankets" and mákşa is a verb which means "to be that way."

mákşa?ak ne?óttan máa wilíiku ?éejahinten hélla
wilík men mát jóok. "Then these two who

wanted to catch him did not catch him, and just died right there."

Here, $\pm$ -nu $\dot{\text{t}}$, represented as /-n/, is in immediate constituency with the phrase máa wilíiku ?ééja "wanted to catch him" plus the relative clause marker -hinte. The nominal unit $\text{?ó\text{t}\text{t}\text{a-nU}}$ plus the adjectival clause function as the subject of two verbal units.

An example of $\pm$ -nu $\dot{\text{t}}$ in immediate constituency with a clause is:

$\text{?ispeéhon mahúun ?i\text{t}\text{i} wajáahinten máa jóo \text{?uwéhka\text{?}at}$
 $\text{máa ?i\text{t}\text{i} híina\text{?u} wéé\text{?a}.$ "The mirror which
 the panther gave him will bring him what-
 ever he wishes for."

$\pm$ -nu $\dot{\text{t}}$, represented as - $\emptyset$, is in immediate constituency with the clause húun $\text{?i\text{t}\text{i} wája}$ "the panther gives him" plus the relative clause marker -hinte.

360.3. -SK is a possessive case suffix, e.g.,

$\text{?ólen (//?óle-SK//) \text{?úlu\text{?}}}$ "coyote skin"
 $\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ákp}^{\text{h}}\text{ak (//\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ákp}^{\text{h}}\text{ak-SK//) \text{?úlu\text{?}}}$ "egg shell"
 $\text{tá\text{?}} (//\text{tájh-SK//) \text{?ápa}$ "the man's hair"
 $\text{camín (//cami-SK//) \text{?úlu\text{?}}}$ "rabbit skin," from
 cámih "rabbit"

The similarity between the allomorphy of the subjective and possessive cases can lead to ambiguity, e.g., $\text{kóocan hó\text{?}pu}$ could mean either "the Indian's chief" or

"the Indian is a chief."

When there is a compound possessor with *he* "and" intervening between the members of the compound, *-SN* appears only after the last member, e.g.,

ném kaʔáppi he kaʔáppin ʔáppin kíwwa.¹ "This is my father's and my father's father's arrow (the arrow belonging to my father and grandfather)."

-SN, unlike other case suffixes, sometimes occurs medially in nominal units and occasionally between members of a nominal compound, e.g.,

kusnéerunweji "kitchen, cook house" from kusnéeru "cook" and *-weji* "house"

mákṣaṇṣekampat híccuw. "That's the way it's going," where *mákṣa* means "that way."²

When *-ṣaka(h)* is in immediate constituency with two nominal sequences, both of them take the possessive case, e.g.,

makóllan weno líile niwécjin ʔálwaṇṣaka líile cókṭeṭa. "Waves, it is said, as high as the trees, the house, came one right after the other," where *ʔálwa* means "trees" and *wécji* means "house"

¹Such compounds frequently take the comitative case.

²The nominal complex which results from adding *-ṣaka(h)* to *//mákṣa-SN//* itself takes further suffixes including a final locative case suffix.

330.4. † -uc‡, the objective case suffix, follows sequences which function as the direct or indirect object of one or more verbs. Like the subjective case, † -uc‡ has a very complex allomorphy, dependent upon morphological and syntactic criteria.

If a nominal unit in the objective case immediately precedes a declarative verbal unit¹ with no overt subjective pronominal prefix or with a second person singular subjective pronominal prefix,² † -uc‡ is -i after the dual marker -koc and -su elsewhere, e.g.,

káacun ?úte? (//káac-Su-n ?úte?//) "Did you see the fish?"

káacu ?úte. (//káac-Su Ø-?úte.//) "He saw the fish."

máataju (//máa-tágh-Su//) hínammaktu wéeta. "He was bragging about that man."

mákkoci (//mák-koc-i//) ?élu. "He's looking at us two."

mákkoc máa káacu (//káac-Su//) ?óken? "Did those two catch that fish?"³

¹A DECLARATIVE VERBAL UNIT has no imperative suffix.

²The second person singular subjective pronominal prefix †?in- ‡ is -n immediately following † -uc‡.

³The verbal unit ?óken "catch" contains no pronominal prefix, since a third person plural suffix, mákkoc "those two," has already been specified.

néen ?ikóonu (//?íkon-Su//) potóonuka. "This thing blinds them."

páwin ?úte? (//páwih-Su-n ?úte?//) "Did you see the mountain?"

wééji (//wééji-Su//) ?okáj?ina. "He's going to build a house."

?élaaj kóolakonu (//kóola-kon-Su//) jokúuṭa. "He killed several girls."

If a nominal unit in the objective case immediately precedes a declarative verbal unit with an overt subjective pronominal prefix other than a second person singular subjective pronominal prefix, † -uc† is ∅, e.g.,

hójpu ka?úte. "I saw the chief."

kajówac kowúh (//kówuh-∅//) mocwéenuka. "You two are to take half my land."

kawáj ka?úte. "I saw the horse."

tájh ma?úte. "We saw the man."

?íkkoc ka?úte. "I saw them (dual)."

Otherwise, † -uc† is -ic ^f -ic' after the dual marker -koc and -Suc ^f -Suc' elsewhere, e.g.,

halíihali ?okáaju néenut ṣe néenawan. cáwac (//cáwah-Suc//) pákah númmanumac (//númmanuma-Suc//).¹ "This old man knows how to make all kinds of things. Nets, feather

¹An object follows the verb for emphasis, clarification, or as an afterthought.

things."

hanawóko hebkaáti cáneec (//cane-Suc//). "He

grieves over his sister, a lot."

hinnapuṭic (//hínnah-Spuṭi-Suc//) káṣan.¹ "Just
right, isn't it?"

húṣuc (//húṣ-Suc//) jolúmni kawája. "I gave the
buzzard some food."

jóntakon jolóewac (//jóle-wa-Suc//) hélla kaʔóppo. "I don't go around doctors."

káacuc (//kac-Suc//) jolúmni. "Eat the fish."

kiwac (//kiwa-Suc//) kanic (//kani-Suc//) wajan.
"Give me the arrow."

kiwakonuc (//kiwa-kon-Suc//) kanic (//kani-Suc//)
wajan. "Give me the arrows."

konhújkanʔinaj ʔiṭic (//ʔiṭi-Suc//). "They are
going to feel happy for him."

mákkocic (//mak-koc-ic//) ʔélun. "Look at us
two."

páwic (//páwih-Suc//) ʔélun. "Look at the moun-
tain."

ṣuwáa ʔiṭic (//ʔiṭi-Suc//) kanin ʔáṣkajnenuka.²

¹káṣan is the second person singular imperative of káṣa "to say." hínnapuṭi "just right" is usually a verbal unit.

²Negative imperatives do not contain imperative suffixes. ʔiṭic "him" has the allomorph -Suc because the word kanin intervenes between ʔiṭic and the verbal unit.

"Don't let him get mad at me."

tájuc (//tájh-Suc//) ?élun. "Look at the man."

?alúupan púttukocic (//púttu-koc-ic//). "Listen to the babies (dual)."

Occasionally, there is a compound object with † -uc† after each member of the compound, e.g.,

hanatóokac he hanačakáaka ?áaṭawnuka. "He's making his whistle and rattle talk" (that is, he is blowing his whistle and rattling his rattle), from tóoka "whistle" and čakáaka "rattle"

jolúmníc ka?únu (he) ka?áppic welíkšinen. "Get my mother and father some food."¹

In the second example, † -uc† is in immediate constituency with the phrase ka?únu (he) ka?áppi "my mother and father."

† -uc† occurs with certain words which do not translate into English as objects, e.g.,

?in?óoninšakan nákač hälla ?óoni. "No one has come as far as you," where nákač means "far."

† -uc† often follows verbal units, e.g.,

híccuwnukac (//híccuw-nuka-Suc//) hälla kanéenut.

¹Such compounds often take the comitative case, e.g., ka?áppini ka?unúuni jolúmníc welíkšinen. "Get my father and mother some food."

"I don't know how to make it run," where
 híccuwnuka means "to make something run."

‡ -uc‡ is sometimes in immediate constituency with
 clauses, e.g.,

kani wilíiku ?eeja. "He wants to catch me," where
 ‡ -uc‡ follows the clause kani wílik "he
 catches me."

múu ka?úşşu ka?éeja. "I like to drink milk," where
 ‡ -uc‡ is in immediate constituency with
 the clause múu ka?úşşu "I drink milk"

A somewhat more complicated development obtains in:

kál ma jolúumu menáawu ?éeja şe. "Then he wanted
 to try to eat."

The first instance of ‡ -uc‡, represented as -u, is in
 immediate constituency with the clause ma jólum "he eats."

The next instance of ‡ -uc‡, which is also -u, is in
 immediate constituency with a longer clause which includes
 the first one; namely, ma jolúumu ménaw "he tries to eat."

mákşat mántin menáawu ?éejac menáwnukan níh. "But
 if somebody wants to try it, let him try
 it now."

The first instance of ‡ -uc‡, represented as -u, is in
 immediate constituency with the verbal unit ménaw "he
 tries," and the second instance of ‡ -uc‡, represented
 as -c, occurs in immediate constituency with the clause

mántin menáawu ?éeja "somebody wants to try," which is an object clause of the imperative menáwnukan "let him try."

‡ -uc‡ occurs in immediate constituency with clauses which translate into English as result clauses, e.g.,

mát húujaŋu ?iŋi kon?ámupŋu konwéeŋa miŋi
hénkaŋinukan témmac. "Then they would pay
him with beads so that he could make (this
child) well."

‡ -uc‡, represented as -c, follows the clause miŋi hénkaŋinukan témma "then he can make (this child) well."

hénan hínŋe ?óbu mulúumulu miwwak?inaŋhintec.

"She feels bad because she's going to get
married to the black man."

‡ -uc‡, represented as -c, is in immediate constituency with the clause mulúumulu miwwak?inaŋ "she's going to get married to the black man" plus the relative clause marker -hínŋe.

Occasionally, an attributive phrase or an attributive clause follows a nominal unit. If this unit plus the phrase functions as an object, there is a double occurrence of ‡ -uc‡, once after the nominal unit and once after the attributive phrase, e.g.,

joléeewac mu?ec halíihalin cúup ma. "Everything
is burning up all around us," where

jolćewa means "nearby" and mu?e means "all."
 mákşaṭu konwílik née. wénec kóoca hénkaşinukanic.

"That's where they get it--medicine to
 make people well," where wéne means "med-
 icine," and kóoca hénkaşinukani means "for
 the purpose of making people well."

mi kawelén?ina şáahic katálan témmac. "I'll help
 you as long as I can."

In the last example, † -uc‡ occurs once with the nominal
 unit şáahi "as long as" and once with the clause katálan
 témma "I can stand."

The following sentence illustrates an attributive
 within the attributive phrase:

man túnnanan miṭi kénnec mác ?ecec. "He's going
 to kick one of them somewhere."

There are three occurrences of † -uc‡; one after kéene
 "one," one after má- "that, there," and one after ?eke
 "something." Here, ?ecec is attributive to mác in the
 phrase mác ?ecec "somewhere," which in turn is attributive
 to kéenec "one."

There are a few instances of † -uc‡ in sentences
 which do not contain any overt verbal unit, e.g.,

jomúnnaṭu moc?elájkonuc (//moc-?élaj-kon-Şuc//).

"Be good to your children," where jomún-
 naṭu is the instrumental case of

jomúnnaka "nice."

jóo ?inpaēeluc (//?in-pápel-Suc//). "Here is your paper," where jóo "here" is a particle.¹

§50.5. The allative case suffix † -to‡ is -to when the subjective pronominal prefix of a following verbal unit is -n or -c,² e.g.,

híiton (//híi-to-n//) lákin témmaṣe. "You can dance in the daytime, too."

?ekétton (//?ékeG-to-n//) wéēṭa? "Where are you going?"

?ujée jomímpatoc (//jómi-Npa-to-c//) ?ánwaṭi.

"Let us go towards home."

Otherwise, † -to‡ is everywhere -tO, e.g.,

halíihalin lákte máa kaníito (//káni-tO//).

"Everything was named to me."

helókpat (//hélók-Npa-tO//) wéēṭa. "He went behind (something)."

míit (//míi-tO//) ?adée láktek. "It's too big for you."

After vowels, //-tO// is more frequently [†] /-t/ than

¹This construction varies freely with jóo ?inpápel.

²The second person singular prefix †?in- ‡ is always -n after † -to‡. The first person dual prefix †?ic- ‡ is optionally -c after † -to‡.

/-to/ in all positions. When //-t0// is /-to/ after vowels, final juncture usually follows.

When it occurs in nominal units, the allative case suffix has the meaning "at, in, to, into, during, near, by, on, onto," e.g.,

mán tulet "in there" from tule "inside"

réejto ?onínnuka. "He brought (them) to the King"
from réej "king"

née kawéenukan?ina méa réejpato. "I'm going to
take that to the King."

In the last sentence, both the directional suffix {-mpa} and the locative case suffix appear after réej "king."

şútto "over her eyes" from şút "eyes"

?iřicánnat ?úkan. "Something occurred to him,
something came into his head," where cána
means "head."

wejáat ?utóhhinte "where he fell onto the ground"
from wéja "ground"

káal náamit míi?aje héllan ?úkan témma. "And (he
told) the last one, you can't come in," where
náami means "the last one."

lóklot ?óelařak "fielder in baseball, player in
the field" from lóklo "field"

mákřa nákat ?awéecu ?otóřřan ?áju. "At that point,
there are only four left," where náka

means "extent."

kíik káawit cókteṭu wéeṭa. "The water is coming
down now," where káawi means "down."

máksaṭu níijowat kaʔóppojʔinaj. "That's the way
I'm going to be on this earth," where
jówa means "earth."

ṣijénwejit ʔiṭi konhówwopu. "They put him in jail,"
where ṣijénweji means "jail."

dohínnat "in that spot," where dohínna means "that
spot."

ʔóṭṭatumajto kénne "twenty-one: one on two sticks,"

where ʔóṭṭatumaj means "twenty: two sticks."

kénne lúpput ʔoṭóṭṭa rejáal "one dollar and fifty
cents: four bits on one dollar," where
lúppu means "dollar."

The allative case occurs after certain nominal units
which designate a specific time or a specific interval of
time, e.g.,

ʔáwwet káṣṣat ṣe ʔinʔuṭéewelak. "Tomorrow I'll
see you at this time again," where ʔáwwe
means "tomorrow" and káṣṣa means "this
time."

ʔoṭóṭṭahit "after four days" from ʔoṭóṭṭahi "four
days"

híiton lákin témma ṣe. "You can dance in the day-

time, too," where *hii* means "day."

šémmit ?uméet híin táke. "The sun was shining yesterday evening," where *šémmit* means "yesterday" and *?úme* means "evening."

Duration of time is expressed by *láawali* "then, until, while" plus *t* -*toŋ*, e.g.,

mákšatu cókte cókten láawalit. "He was coming, just like that" or, more literally, "That's the way he was coming while he was coming."
jotóolan láawalit mélen. "It keeps on breaking until it's all gone."

láawalit ?ekáal macakúu koncáni. "And then they tie the brush."

In the first two examples *láawali* was preceded by a nominal unit in the possessive case, the stem of which is usually a verbal theme, e.g., *cókte* "to come along (suf.*)" and *jotóola* "to be breaking (iter. med. pas.)."

Nominal units referring to time may occur with the appositive case, especially if their temporal designation is not specific, e.g.,

nii?awe híin táke. "The sun was shining this morning."

?úme ?úupa. "It was raining last night."

mu?échi péwlut kawéeta. "I go to town every day," where *mu?échi* means "every day."

ʔáwwentala kaʔússu. "I drink in the morning."

deléeka ʔóorat ʔáwwe mawéeta. "At three o'clock
in the morning we went."

In the last sentence, the allative case occurs after ʔóora "o'clock," and the appositive case follows ʔáwwe "morning."

śáahi ʔúnniput deléeka ʔotóttahit ʔóni weno
ʔóttaŋse. "After a long time, maybe three
or four days, it is said, three or four
more men come."

Here, the appositive case occurs with śáahi "a long time" and the allative case is found in immediate constituency with the phrase deléeka ʔotóttahi "three or four days."

When ʔ -toʔ is in immediate constituency with a clause plus the relative clause marker -hinte, it carries the meaning "where," e.g.,

hokli neʔotótta cánnac ʔekétton hoojehintet. "Go
wherever you put those four heads."¹

konlemájʔinajhintepat kénnetajh konhíja. "They
are going to send one man to where they
invite (people)."²

¹ ʔ -toʔ follows the clause neʔotótta cánnac ʔekétton hooje "you put those four heads somewhere" plus the relative clause marker -hinte.

² ʔ -toʔ follows the clause konlemájʔinaj "they're going to invite people" plus the relative clause marker -hinte plus the directional suffix ʔ -Npaʔ.

mu[?]éelakihto konlakíhhintet kojáa[?]ak [?]óppoj. "At
all the dances which they dance there has
to be a singer."

In the last sentence, the relative clause konlakíhhinte
"which they dance" is attributive to the nominal unit
mu[?]éelakih "all the dances," and there is a double occur-
rence of ‡ -to‡, first after the nominal unit, then after
its attributive clause.

When ‡ -to‡ is in immediate constituency with a
clause other than a relative clause, it has the meaning
"when, if, since, after," e.g.,

men ka[?]álu kon[?]a[?]áawasi[?]to. "I just hear (about it)
when they talk (about it)," where ‡ -to‡ is
in immediate constituency with kon[?]a[?]áawasi
"they talk."

mák[?]set [?]eméene kénne kanéenutto. "Well, it's all
right, since I know one (song)," where
‡ -to‡ is in immediate constituency with
the clause kénne kanéenut "I know one."

háali máac henáani şukúhto. "Maybe he's there
yet, still alive," where ‡ -to‡ is in
immediate constituency with háali máac
henáani şukuh "he's there yet, still
alive," which in this case constitutes
the rest of the sentence.

The last example has no dependent clause.

ʔ -toʔ occurs after clauses which translate into English as potential if-clauses or as contrary-to-fact if-clauses, e.g.,

kani káttenʔinato nít kani monweléetu monwéeʔanʔina.

"If he is going to kill me, you fellows will come over and help me," where ʔ -toʔ follows the clause kani káttenʔina "he is going to kill me."

canéc kani konliláwnet máa kanéenutʔuʔa. "If they had told me more, I would know that," where ʔ -toʔ is in immediate constituency with the clause canéc kani konliláwne "they tell me more."

330.6. The locative case suffix is -m in all cases thus far recorded, but the corpus contains no instance of this case following a consonant. It means "where, near, on," and usually gives a less specific designation of the locality than the allative suffix, e.g., kenéewam "on one side" v.s. kenéewat "in a corner (one particular place)," as illustrated by the sentences:

kenéewam hóppa. "It made a hole in one side."

ʔekál mawíllen líilet kenéewat ʔóʔʔa ʔáanim
konhóoje. "Now in the corner of that
pile of meal they place two leaves."

Other sentences illustrating the occurrence of the locative case suffix are:

máac numáawam móla. "She piled that in a different place," where núma means "different."

réej húukewam tálah. "He's standing in front of the King," where húuke means "before."

mól níiṣam "on this side of the Sulphur Banks," where níi means "this."

Thus far the locative suffix has been found only after the locational nominal suffixes -ṣa and -wa, and has not occurred in immediate constituency with clauses or phrases.

330.7. The ablative case suffix, † -muḷ, is -mu immediately before the second person singular subjective pronominal prefix,¹ and -mU elsewhere. It means "out of, from, away from," either from a concrete place, a point in time, or a situation.² Illustrative sentences now follow:

hélla mámun táken témma muhínti. "You can't get out of that (hole), you know," where má- means "that."

¹This prefix is -n immediately following † -muḷ.

²This last usage occurs in the speech of James Knight and may be a loan shift from English.

káatun mám táke. "The cat came out of there."

kawúlto ?aje ?óoniŋu konwéeŋa weno cánen ?ekémmu.

"They come in the night time, a lot of them from someplace," where ?ékeG- means "someplace."

níihintem dóompato "from now on," or more literally, "from this place to that place," where níihinte means "this place."

pawíhmu ka?óoni. "I come from the mountain," where páwih means "mountain."

tájhmu kawéeŋa. "I walked away from the man," where tájh means "man."

ne péedron ŋe ?áaŋawu néenuthinteŋu máahintem táke. "Since this Pedro knew how to talk (cleverly), he got out of it (an unpleasant situation)," where máahinte means "it, that."

néen kilácmu hójot. "This started from a long time ago," where kilac means "long ago."

mántin máakhintem hénkaŋit jómtan hínti láktupoto lakiŋ kon?áaŋawu konwéeŋa. "When somebody gets over being sick, when the doctor wishes then they ask for a dance," where máakhinte means "the state of being sick."

† -mu† can also be in immediate constituency with clauses, e.g.,

ʔekál mawentáanam ʔelúhintem weno ʔekáal men
hanaʔáppimpat híccuw. "From the window
where she was watching, it is said, she
then ran to her father," where -m is in
immediate constituency with the clause
ʔélu "she was watching"¹ plus the relative
clause marker -hinte.

This clause is attributive to wentáana "window," and there is a double occurrence of † -mu†, first after wentáana, then after the attributive clause.

330.8. The instrumental case suffix † -tu† is -su after máa "that," máG- "that," néG- "this," and ʔékeG- "something."

When † -tu† follows a sequence which usually functions as a nominal stem, it often means "through," "with," "by means of," or "from," e.g.,

tumájju ʔiʔi kapakáaʔi. "I hit him with a stick,"
where túmaj means "stick."

kiʔénʔu ʔokájku. "It was made from elderberry
wood," where kiʔen means "elderberry."

mát húujaʔu ʔiʔi konʔáamupʔu konwéeta. "Then they

¹ʔélu "she was watching" is both a verbal unit and a clause.

pay him with the beads," where húuja means "beads."

kalíilawhinte hunáa mon?uťénnina monśúťtu. "What I am describing, you will see yourselves with your own eyes," where śút means "eyes." ?oťáaťu ?icwéeťan?ina ma máa. "We'll both go together," where ?óťa- means "two."

jokókśuťakťu kanin lákat. "You called me a liar," where jokókśuťak means "liar."

ma?áaťawťu níimpat támal káśan. "In our language this way is north, isn't it?" where ma?áaťaw means "our language."

hella ?iťi?áaťawśakaťu ka?áaťaw témma. "I can't talk like him," or more literally, "I can't talk like his talking," where ?iťi?áaťawśaka means "like his talking."

hana?éelakonťu weno húu. "He escaped, it is said, through (the help of) his pets," where hana?éelakon means "his pets."

katájhťu ma née. "I'm getting to be a man, now," where tájh means "man."

?ékeśśu (//?ékeG-ťu//) "just barely" from ?ékeG- "somewhere"

kučújkocťu ?itulúj weno. "He was going around and around the two little ones, it is said,"

where *kučújkoc* means "the two little ones."
neʔóṭṭaṭu mán hójot témaa. "You can start it with
 those two (stories)," where *ʔóṭṭa* means
 "two."

he kóocako ʔaje men hanacánnatu ma wílik. "But
 the Indians just get them (songs) with
 their heads (learn songs by ear)," where
cánná means "head" or "heads."

ʔekal mákṣaṭu mahéenan weno mahijóelu tokáaṭi
híntikaṣaṭu. "Then the boy, it is said,
 ran against that piece of iron somehow,"
 where *híntikaṣa* means "somehow."

ʔiṭiʔáaṭawṭu ʔáaṭawto ma ʔálu. "He heard him
 when he was speaking his language," where
ʔiṭiʔáaṭaw means "his language."

kawájṭu kaʔóoni. "I came by horseback," where
kéwaj means "horse."

Expressions which translate into English as adverbs
 are formed by adding *ṭ -ṭuṭ* to adjectives, e.g.,

pówwoloṭu konṣúkukh. "They're sitting around."

ʔeméneṭu kanic wájan. "Give (it) to me the
 right way," where *ʔeméne* means "right."

ṣupákṭu ṭútkāṭi "to wind too hard," where *ṣupak*
 means "hard."

jomúnnakaṭu mocʔelájkonuc. "Be good to your

children," where *jomúnnaka* means "good."

ʔijáḥtu. "I wish I could too."

In the last two examples, there is no overt verb. *ʔíjah* "I wish" is generally a particle.

When *ʔ -tuʔ* follows a verbal stem, it frequently has a continuative meaning, especially when followed by *wéeta* "to go" or *cókte* "to come," e.g.,

ʔemén̄tu wéeta. "He's still going, he's going on and on," where *ʔém̄en* means "to be just like."

néejowan ʃelípnakaʔu cókte. "This world is getting to be dangerous," where *ʃelípnaka* means "to be dangerous."

néejowan ʃelípnakaʔu wéeta. "This world is something getting bad."¹

tahál̄tu ʔóppoʃ. "He goes around working," where *táhal* means "to work."

máan kúč̣či joléeʔu cáam cókte. "That (disease) is pretty nearly all gone," or more literally, "That (disease) is getting a little close to dying out," where *jóle* means "to be close."

ʔ -tuʔ is often in immediate constituency with

¹Contrast this with the preceding sentence.

clauses, in which case it usually has a durative connotation, e.g.,

kawéetatu kawéeta. "I'm always going," where -tu follows the clause kawéeta "I'm going."

In such cases, a pronominal prefix, identical with the prefix of the main verb, occurs optionally before the verbal unit plus † -tu, e.g.,

hunáa lakih konʔokájtu konwéeta f hunáa lákih
ʔokájtu konwéeta. "They just make the
dance up themselves," where ʔokaj means
"to make up."

There is disagreement as to which variant is preferable. Occasionally, there is a pronominal prefix before the verbal unit and none before the main verb, e.g.,

cakáttun táwlik konhawúhtu wéeta. "They used to
buy blackbird wings," where háwuh means
"to buy."

Clauses within clauses are illustrated by the following examples:

hunán ʔikonu pállaʔu kontakéetu konwéeta. "When
they're born, they're full of diseases,"
or more literally, "Diseases fill them
when they're born."

The first instance of † -tu occurs in immediate constituency with the clause hunán ʔikonu pálla "diseases fill

them," The second instance of $\{ -\text{tu} \}$ occurs in immediate constituency with the complex clause $\text{hunán } ?\text{ikonu pálla} \text{tu kontáke}$ "they come out with diseases filling them," where táke means "to come out."

$\{ -\text{tu} \}$ can occur in immediate constituency with a dependent clause even when the verbal unit of the main clause is not wéeta or cókte , e.g.,

$\text{mák} \text{sa} \text{tu konhínte wajíkwa } ?\text{a} \text{táawa} \text{si} \text{tu wajík kojá} \text{tu}.$

"That's the way they did it, some of them talking and some of them singing."

Here, the first instance of $\{ -\text{tu} \}$ occurs after $\text{mák} \text{sa}$ "that way," the second in immediate constituency with the clause $\text{wajíkwa } ?\text{a} \text{táawa} \text{si}$ "some of them talked," and the third in immediate constituency with the clause wajík kója "some of them sang." $\{ -\text{tu} \}$ has a durative meaning in the second and third instances.

$\text{hénan } ?\text{obúu} \text{tu nócca}.$ "He feels sorry and cries," or more literally, "His breath is bad and he cries," where $-\text{tu}$ follows the clause $\text{hénan } ?\text{óbu}$ "his breath is bad."

$\text{mat wéeta } ?\text{é} \text{ja} \text{tu } ?\text{á} \text{a} \text{tawka} \text{ti}.$ "He talks as if he might want to go over there, where $-\text{tu}$ occurs after the clause $\text{mat wéeta } ?\text{é} \text{ja}$ "he wants to go there."

In this case, $-\text{tu}$ expresses manner rather than duration,

even though it is in immediate constituency with a clause.

‡ -tu‡ can also be in immediate constituency with a relative clause, e.g.,

mi konʔéjahinte‡u "because they want you," where
-tu is in immediate constituency with the
clause me konʔéja "they want you" plus the
relative clause marker -hinte.

330.9. ‡ -ni‡ is -i after the plural marker -kon
and -ni elsewhere. It is roughly translated as "with, along
with," e.g.,

káacni konʔelákte. "They are playing with the
fish," where káac means "fish."

kaʔáppini kawícaj. "I am walking with my father,"
where kaʔáppi means "my father."

naʔutél weno káacu jólum hanaʔójjja kóocani. "That
white fellow, it is said, ate fish with
his Indian friend," where ʔójjja means
"friend."

ʔi‡ílini kaʔóppoj. "I went around with him," where
ʔíti means "him."

háali máac henáani şukúhto. "Maybe he's there
yet, still alive," or more literally,
"Maybe he's still there with his breath,"
where hēna means "breath."

ʔi‡iʔójjja kélsini kochíccuw weno. "They (dual)

were running, (he) with his friend Kelsey,"
 where ?iʔiʔójjja means "his friend," and
 kélse means "Kelsey."

kélsini is in the comitative case, but ?iʔiʔójjja is in
 the appositive case.

-ni often occurs after both members of phrases which
 translate into English as compound subjects, compound
 objects, or even compound modifiers, e.g.,

kaʔunúuni kaʔáppini háaliko nít kocşúkuh. "My
 mother and my father are still here," where
 kaʔúnu means "my mother" and kaʔáppi means
 "my father."

míini kaníini ?icʔáaʔaw. "You and I are talking,"
 where míi means "you," and káni- means "I."
 kaʔunúuni kaʔáppini kaʔúʔe. "I see my mother and
 father."

In this sentence, the phrase whose members contain -ni
 are translated into English as a compound object.

kaʔáppini kaʔunúuni kúččic jolúnnic welíkşin.

"Get my mother and father some food," where
 jolúnni means "food," and welíkşin means
 "to get."

There is an alternative translation in Lake Miwok for this
 English sentence; namely, jolúnnic kaʔúnu (he) kaʔáppic
 welíkşinen. Here, ʔ -ucʔ, the objective case suffix, is

in immediate constituency with the phrase kaʔúnu (he) kaʔáppi, and the comitative suffix does not appear at all.

mám kaʔáppini kaʔunúuni kocwéeji. "That is my father and mother's house," where mám means "that is," and wéeji means "house."

In this sentence the phrase kaʔáppini kaʔunúuni translates into English as a compound possessor, namely as "my father and mother's."

ʔawáaʔawani ceʔáawni ʔupúkkusi. "brown and white spotted," where ʔawáaʔawa means "brown," and ceʔáaw means "white."

3.10.10. The vocative case, ʔ -Vʔ, is -V after the following forms:

cáco- "grandchild"
háma "grandmother"
pápa "grandfather"
wóko "older sister"
ʔápi- "father"¹
ʔáta- "older brother"
ʔela- "younger sibling"
ʔúnu "mother"

Elsewhere, ʔ -Vʔ is -Ø.² The vocative of "grandchild"

¹Forms followed by hyphens are special allomorphs which occur only before ʔ -Vʔ.

²Only one morpheme, ʔélaʔ "child," has a special allomorph (ʔées) before a zero representation of ʔ -Vʔ. This term of address is used largely in addressing one's adult children.

may be either cácco or cacóo; that is to say, either cácco plus -Ø or cáco- plus -V. Other morphemes have a single vocative form.

The use of the vocative can be illustrated by a few examples:

ʔunúu ʔujée. "Mother, come here," where ʔúnu
means "mother."

cacóo cacóo cacóo! kajóok ma! "Grandchild,
grandchild, grandchild! I'm dead!"

cácco cácco! kanic hájpance! "Grandchild, grand-
child! Wait for me!"¹

351. The array of case suffixes which have just been discussed can best be exemplified by some illustrative paradigms. Five stem types are included, one ending in a vowel, one ending in -h, one ending in a consonant other than -h, one ending in a cluster (tájh, the only one of its type), and pronouns.

¹Note the two forms of the vocative for cácco "grand-child" in this and the preceding example.

VOCALIC

app.	ʔúnu "mother"	ʔálwa "tree"
subj.	ʔúnun	ʔálwan
poss.	ʔúnun	ʔálwan
obj.	ʔúnu, ʔúnuc	ʔálwa, ʔálwac
all.	ʔúnut, ʔunúuto	ʔálwat, ʔálwato
loc.		
abl.	ʔúnum	ʔálwam
instr.	ʔunúuʔu	ʔálwaʔu
com.	ʔunúuni	ʔálwani
voc.	ʔunúu	

app.	kenéewa "one side"
subj.	
poss.	
obj.	
all.	kenéewat "in a corner"
loc.	kenéewam "on one side"
abl.	
instr.	
com.	
voc.	

	...h	...jh
app.	kúkuh "flea"	tájh "man"
subj.	kúkun, kukúhnu	táj, tájhnu
poss.	kúkun	táj
obj.	kúkuh, kúkuc	tájh, táju, tájuc
all.	kukúhto	tájhto
loc.		
abl.	kukúhmu	tájhmu
instr.	kukúḥtu	tájḥtu
com.	kukúhni	tájhni
voc.	kúkuh	tájh

	...c ^{-h}
app.	túmaj "stick"
subj.	túmaj, tumájnu
poss.	túmaj
obj.	túmaj, tumájju, tumájuc
all.	tumájto
loc.	
abl.	tumájmu
instr.	tumáj̣tu
com.	tumájni
voc.	

Pronouns

singular

app.	kánni "I"	née, néem "this"
subj.	kánni	néen
poss.	kanín	néen
obj.	kánni, kani, kánnic, kanic	née, néec
all.	kanít	
loc.		
abl.		
instr.		néşşu ¹
com.	kaníini	
voc.		

dual

plural

app.	mákkoc "those two"	?íkko "they" ²
subj.	mákkoc, mákkocnu	?íkkon
poss.	mákkoc	?íkkon
obj.	mákkoc, mákkoci, mákkocic	?íkkon, ?ikóonu, ?ikonu, ?ikonuc
all.	mákkoccto	
loc.		
abl.	mákkocmu	
instr.	mákkocçu	
com.	mákkocni	?ikóoni
voc.		

¹This form is based on the stem né-.

²The forms given are based on three different forms: ?íkkon, ?íkon, and ?íkon.

400 VERBS

410. Subjective pronominal prefixes immediately precede verbal themes. They are optional and usually absent when there is an imperative suffix, e.g., *híccuwmi* "you run." Otherwise, they constitute the only overt indication of person and number in the verbal unit. These prefixes are given in the following chart:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
First person inclusive	ka-, -k, k- ¹	ʔoc-, ʔic-, -c ¹	ma-, ʔim-
First person exclusive		ʔic-, -c ¹	
Second person	ʔin-, -n	moc-	mon-
Third person	ʔi-	koc-	kon-
Third person reflexive	hana-	hanakoc-	hanakon-
Indefinite	ʔan-	ʔan-	ʔan-

The prefixes of this series closely resemble those of the possessive series, a situation which can lead to some ambiguity, e.g., *kahójpu* can mean either "my chief" or "I am a chief." The principal differences between these two series are in the third person singular and

¹The shortened alternates for the first person singular and dual occur optionally in the speech of James Knight when he is speaking rapidly.

the presence of certain shortened alternates of the other prefixes.

The allomorph -k of the first person singular forms a phonological unit with an immediately preceding word ending in a vowel, or with a following word, e.g.,

péwluk ?enlá?in?inaməʃe. "I'm going to see the town again."

mákkon kuʃée miʃi "when I see them"

The allomorph -c of the first person dual always forms a phonological unit with the preceding word. This is a rare allomorph, of optional occurrence after a word which ends in a vowel, e.g.,

mákkən tómmac wílik níi ?aje. "That way we were able to get him anyway."

In normal speech the second person singular subjective pronominal prefix {?in-} is -n sentence medially after vowels and ?in- elsewhere, e.g.,

?iʃin ?úʃe? "Did you see him?"

hájun ?úʃe? "Did you see the dog?"

In such cases, -n forms a phonological unit with the preceding word, and consequently will be written with it. In slow, deliberate speech {?in-} is sometimes ?in- following a vowel if the preceding word is not an independent pronoun.

?ac- is an indefinite pronominal prefix with no

implication of number.¹ It generally translates as "one, someone, people in general," e.g.,

holóomajuc hélla ?anjólum. "They (Indian people) don't eat rattlesnakes."

hínti?u ?anwénnan?aka. "It looks as if someone has rubbed something here."

jomúnnaka?u ?an?ukúhto ?obúu wace. "It's no good for them (someone) to be living well."

?im- is a rare alternate form of the first person plural, e.g.,

ma?óoroc hélla mat hóoje man ?ánwa?it ?imhíja muhínti. "If he doesn't put that gold there and comes back, we win, you see."²

As far as can be determined, there is no difference in meaning between ma- and ?im-.

420. Semelfactive stems.

A semelfactive stem may be identical with the verbal root or derived from it by consonantal augmentation or vocalic reduction. Since corresponding iterative stems

¹?in- is sometimes used by James Knight in an indefinite sense, as in kóocakon wáttaton ?óppojto "if you (meaning anyone) go among the people." This usage is possibly a loan shift from English.

²This is the only recorded instance of ?im-. It occurred in the speech of James Knight.

are derived from verbal roots by a number of processes, there is not always a neat correspondence between classes of semelfactive stems and classes of iterative stems.

There will be a separate discussion of each class and subclass, followed by a list of the semelfactive stems in that class and their verbal roots.

421. Class I semelfactive verbal stems are identical with their roots. cája "to nod," for example, is both a verbal root and a semelfactive stem. This class is subdivided according to the thematic suffixes which follow the stem.

421.1. Class I. A semelfactive verbal stems take no semelfactive suffix.

Class 1. A. 1 semelfactive verbal stems take no basal suffix. They are of the following canons:

cV(V)c-

cV(V)c(c)V-

cV(V)cvc-

cVc(c)vc-

cVvcvcv-

cVccvcv-

cvcVvcv-

Since there are two Spanish loan words in this class,¹ it

¹ mélil "to measure" from Spanish medir "to measure" and mónton "to stack" from Spanish monton "pile."

is still partially open.

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>English</u>
cáam	to fade away
cákal	to sift
cániḥ	to tie
//cápa-Spu// ¹	to request
cáṭe	to lie down
cémaj	to order, send for
cókte	to come along
cóla	to soak
//cówa-ṭi//	to fear
//cówaj-nuka//	to move
cúniḥ	to move something
cúummi	to smile
cúup	to burn
cújal	to be cramped, crippled
háajap	to yell
hácah	to stand (said of an animal or an object)
háli	to think, plan
háwuh	to buy

¹Verbal roots and stems which always precede a post-thematic suffix will be cited morphophonemically, with a hyphen between the stem and the suffix.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>English</u>
hénuh	to request, ask
hétup	to cover
héwa	to spread out
híina	to give away
híja	to send
híja	to win, beat
hójot, hójut	to start
hól, hóol	to fall down
hóllloh	to lean against
hówo	to sit
húna	to warm
húna	to be solitary
húunih	to tell, show, think errone- ously
jéalak	to squeal
jéek	to be spoiled (said of potatoes)
jók'ap	to hang someone
//júk'ku-Spu//	to hang something up
jóok	to die, be dead
//júkku-Spu//	to get a hold on something
káaj	to dry up
káti	to string (a bead)
kéew	to run away

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>English</u>
kéw ² il	to be sticking out (said of a person's ribs)
kóom	to get burned
kóʃi	to play handball
kúna	to vomit
kúnuh	to defecate
kúuh	to be rotten
kúčči, kúcci	to be small
lákāt	to call
lánuk	to wade across
//líku-ʦi//	to pass
lílaw-	to tell someone something
//lílu-ʦi//	to fly
lókol	to get dry limbs
lúku	to borrow
láwaw	to gulp
máak	to be sick
málik	to put out (a light)
máʦa	to bite
méej	to be tired
mékuh	to sit (said of a bug), to lie on the belly
mélih	to grow

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>English</u>
mélil	to measure
mónaw, mínaw	to try
métak	to think, remember
//mina-ʔi//, //ména-ʔi//	to hit, guess someone correctly (in the hand game)
//mókku-pa//	to pounce on something
móla	to pile (wood)
mónton	to stack (wood)
mówen	to trap
múla	to hit once (with a stick)
múluj	to fall down, tumble
múlut	to eat breakfast
níik	to settle
nóca ¹	to cry
nówik	to break
nówwu-	to be broken
núum	to drown
páatal	to wrap
//páka-ʔi//	to hit
pállə	to fill, be full
pólej	to float down

¹It is uncertain whether this is the semelfactive or the iterative stem.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>English</u>
//póttu-Spu//	to pile up
púna	to dip
//p ^h úku-Ṭi//	to rise (bread)
//pém̐mu-Spu//	to stick something on
//púcca-Ṭi//, //pucca-Ṭi//	to blow fast
ṣáawuṭe	to have
//ṣéttu-Ṭi//	to dodge
ṣíka	to fill, charge (batteries)
ṣíṭak	to drill
ṣóla	to hide something
ṣúcuk	to leak
ṣúlih	to shed, moult, peel off
táam	to heal
tákah	to lie on the back
tálah	to stand (said of a person)
táli	to wake up
télup	to roll
//ténu-Ṭi//	to raise fur or feathers
téwe	to weave a basket
tíil	to not reach
//tíku-Ṭi//	to jump
tóla	to throw
tóon	to be cooked, done

Verbal Root or
Semelfactive Stem

English

tóon	to get a splinter or a thorn
//túmu-ṭi//	to go for wood
//tákkú-Spu//	to patch once
túlip	to shine, glisten
wája	to give
wákut	to rob
wéetja	to go
//wákka-Spu//	to place across
wéle	to help
wénum	to choose
wicaj	to walk
wílik, wélik	to get
wólah	to be hollow
//wóle-ṭi//	to leach
wóoma	to cheat, fool
//wóotlu-Spu//	to be curled up
wótal	to bend things over
//wúna-ṭi//	to run (pus)
?áah	to be full, sated
?áatav	to talk
?ájaw	to gather
?áliw	to miss the mark
?álu	to hear, perceive

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>English</u>
//ʔéccu-Spu//	to turn something over on a spit
ʔeméene	to be good
ʔísal	to fry
ʔítaj	to roast
ʔócoh	to urinate
ʔókaj	to make
ʔóhaḥ	to hunt, fish
ʔóoni	to come
ʔúkan	to enter
ʔúkuc	to dream
ʔúṣṣu	to drink
ʔúteh	to fall
ʔúuj	to be withered

Class I. A. 2 semelfactive verbal stems take the medio-passive basal suffix -elG.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔémm-, ʔémʔ-	ʔémmel, ʔémʔel	to be sticking into something

Class I. A. 3 semelfactive verbal stems are of the canon CṼ(V)C- and take the intransitive basal suffix -ʔi.
Class I. A. 3 semelfactive stems are often associated with

Class I. K iterative themes, e.g.,

p^húmʔi "to arch the back (cat)"

p^húmʔituma "to arch the back fast and repeatedly"

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ćúj-	ćújʔi	to squint; be dim
jóʔ-	jóʔʔi	to point; hand over
p ^h úm-	p ^h úmʔi	to arch the back (cat)
p ^h úum-	p ^h úumʔi	to be humped (back)
tól-	tólʔi	to cock the ears
tóol-	tóolʔi	to be cocked (ears)

421.2. Class I. B semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix -Mʔi. This class can be subdivided on the basis of basal suffixes.

Class I. B. 1 semelfactive verbal stems take the basal suffix -ak "swift, careless action." They are of the canon Cʔ(V)C- and CʔCʔ-.

Class I. B. 1 semelfactive themes are frequently associated with Class I. A. 1 iterative themes, e.g.,

ćídkaʔi "to squirt once"

ćídak "to squirt intermittently"

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
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cól-	cólkaʔi ¹	to have diarrhea
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¹/cólkaʔi/ is //cól-ak-Mʔi//. The other items have a similar morphophonemic representation.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cóol-	cóolkaṭi	to dip, soak
cú(u)l-	cú(u)lkaṭi	to slide down once
c'éec-	c'éeckkaṭi	to rake one pile
c'íd-	c'ídkkaṭi	to squirt once
c'ít-	c'ítkaṭi	to wink once
c'úd-	c'údkkaṭi	to rip or split once
c'úm-	c'úmkaṭi	to suck once, slowly
c'úum-	c'úumkaṭi	to suck once, fast
déł-	délkaṭi	to bend something out of joint
háp-	hápkkaṭi	to be split
héen-	héenkaṭi	to be better; breathe
hém-	hémkaṭi	to dig one thing out
hén-	hénkaṭi	to be well; to breathe once, gasp
jéeb-	jéebkaṭi	to slide down in one slide, cave in
jé(e)c-	jé(e)ckkaṭi	to come off
jé(e)p-	jé(e)pkkaṭi	to flake off
jól'?	jólkaṭi	to rip off
jól-	jólkaṭi	to protrude
jóot-	jóotkaṭi	to break a long object in two
káaw-	káawkaṭi	to cut something

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
káw-	káwkaṭi	to cut something fast
k ^h íiṭ-, kíiṭ-, kíiṣ-	k ^h íiṭkaṭi, kíiṭkaṭi, kíiṣkaṭi	to rub, massage once
kól-	kólkaṭi	to knock something off or down
k ^h óob-	k ^h óobkaṭi	to puncture the flesh
kíic-	kíickaṭi	to make one splash
lét-	létkaṭi	to cut a piece off
lém?-	lémkaṭi	to flash once
líd-	lídkaṭi	to rub against once
líid-	líidkaṭi	to rub, press against once
láh-	láhkaṭi	to be skinned, blistered
léet-	léetkaṭi	to scoop once
lée?-	lée?kaṭi	to cough up phlegm once
líib-	líibkaṭi	to slip down
líit-	líitkaṭi	to peel off
lít-	lítkaṭi	to peel off fast
lót-	lótkaṭi	to scratch or pinch once
lúb-	lúbkaṭi	to take a sip
lúub-	lúubkaṭi	to take a little taste
núj-	nújkaṭi	to stop up
pác-	páckaṭi	to wring out one thing

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
pél-	pélkaṭi	to blink once
píiḷ-	píiḷkaṭi	to slide off, slip out of joint
píḷ-	píḷkaṭi	to slide off
pít-	pítkaṭi	to tighten one thing
p ^h iic'-	p ^h iic'kaṭi	to crush one thing
p ^h it-, pít-, p ^h iṭ'-, píṭ'-	p ^h itkaṭi, pítkaṭi, p ^h iṭ'kaṭi, píṭ'kaṭi	to press down once
p ^h ó(o)b-	p ^h o(o)bkaṭi	to cut something off
p'óc-	p'ockaṭi	to cut off fast
p'ój-	p'ojkaṭi	to fall down, chop off
p'óoc-	p'ockaṭi	to cut one piece
pút-	pútkaṭi	to kiss once
şín-	şínkaṭi	to blow the nose once
şól-	şólkaṭi	to sharpen
şóol-	şóolkaṭi	to sharpen, touch up a little
şoon-	şoonkaṭi	to wipe something off
şút-	şútkaṭi	to chop something off
şúut-	şúutkaṭi	to suck, inhale once
tíc-	tíckaṭi	to chatter once (squirrel)
túp-	túpkaṭi	to snap something

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
túup-	túupkaʔi	to be broken in two
tút-	tútkaʔi	to twist something around once
túʔ-	túʔkaʔi	to catch fire
túc-	túckaʔi	to drip once
tʰéd-, té(c)d-	tʰédkaʔi, té(e)dkʰaʔi	to pull off, fall down (a branch)
tʰéed-	tʰéedkaʔi	to pull down (one branch) slowly
wáɬ-	wáɬkaʔi	to split open
wéen-	wéenkaʔi	to rub something
wóc-	wóckaʔi	to scrape once
wóoc-	wóockaʔi	to scratch once
wóop-	wóopkaʔi	to scoop once
wóot-	wóotkaʔi	to bend over
wón-	wópkaʔi	to nod once
wót-	wótkʰaʔi	to bend by itself (one thing)
ʔéɬ-	ʔéɬkaʔi	to come off (one thing)
ʔéɬ-	ʔóɬkaʔi	to fall down (one thing)
ʔóol-	ʔóolkaʔi	to dip (oars)
ʔót-	ʔótkʰaʔi	to butcher fast

Class I. 3. 2 semelfactive verbal stems take the

basal suffix -uk "slow, deliberate action." They are of the canons C $\acute{V}$ V-, C $\acute{V}$ (V)C-, and C $\acute{V}$ C?-.

Class I. B. 2 semelfactive themes are often associated with Class I. A. 2 iterative themes, e.g.,

hátkuṭi "to burst one thing"

hátuk "to burst several things"

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
čáa-	čáakuṭi ¹	to make a small split
čád-	čádkuṭi	to scratch once
číi-	číikuṭi	to make a small split
čúd-	čúdkuṭi	to tear a little
déł-	déłkuṭi	to break, twist something out of joint
háp-	hápkuṭi	to split or crack something
hát-	hátkuṭi	to burst something
hóm-	hómkuṭi	to pull something out
jép-	jépkuṭi	to break something off
jól?-	jólkuṭi	to tear something
jót-	jótkuṭi	to pick (fruit), pull down
júl-	júlkuṭi	to lift things up and down, to exercise
kól-	kólkuṭi	to pull off, hull

¹/čáakuṭi/ is //čáu-uk-Mṭi//. The other themes have a similar morphophonemic representation.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
k ^h úb-	k ^h úbkuṭi	to break off
lét-	létkuṭi	to turn back (the eyelid)
±íb-	±íbkuṭi	to roll down (the sleeves)
±íit-	±íitkuṭi	to clean slowly
±ít-	±ítkuṭi	to take off (bark, skin)
±ót-	±ótkuṭi	to pinch, pick at
pí±-	pí±kuṭi	to twist out of joint
pól-	pólkuṭi	to flood something
pút-	pútkuṭi	to cut the belly open
p ^h íç-	p ^h íçkuṭi	to squeeze something
p ^h ó(o)b-, pó(o)b-	p ^h ó(o)bkuṭi, pó(o)bkuṭi	to cut something
póc-	póckuṭi	to cut something off slowly
pój-	pójkuṭi	to cut down
şút-	şútkuṭi	to chop off
túp-	túpkuṭi	to break something in two
tú?-	tú?kuṭi	to spark something
t ^h éd-, téd-, téed-	t ^h édkuṭi, tédkuṭi, téedkuṭi	to pull down (a branch)
tí?-	tí?kuṭi	to chip something off
wá±-	wá±kuṭi	to split something
wéş-	wéşkuṭi	to chip something

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
wíp-	wípkuṭi	to unravel one stitch
wót-	wótkuṭi	to bend something
wúp-	wúpkuṭi	to raise something
ʔát-	ʔátkuṭi	to cut something open
ʔéṭ-	ʔéṭkuṭi	to chop, take wood off
ʔóc-	ʔóckuṭi	to open a shell
ʔóṭ-	ʔóṭkuṭi	to take off, hull

Class I. B. 3 semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix -Nṭi with no basal suffix. The canonical forms of these stems are Cṽ(V)CV(C)-, CṽCCV-, and CVCVCṽV- (one instance).

Class I. B. 3 semelfactive themes sometimes form sets with Class I. A. 3 iterative themes, e.g.,

wíipaṭi "to swing something once"

wíipa "to swing something repeatedly"

Certain other Class I. B. 3 semelfactive themes form sets with Class IV iterative themes, e.g.,

cajáaṭi "to shake the head once"

cájja "to shake the head several times"

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
báp ^h a-	bap ^h áaʔi ¹	to club once
cáawel-	cáawleʔi	to wrap up quickly
cája-	cajáaʔi	to shake the head once
céʔs-	ceʔáaʔi	to knock one thing down
cópa-	copáaʔi	to break something up
cówa-	cowáaʔi	to be afraid (one person)
čáaka-	čáakaʔi	to split
číika-	číikaʔi	to split open
dápa-	dapáaʔi	to slam
déelew-	déelweʔi	to glide (buzzard)
hébka-, hékba-	hebkáaʔi, hekbáaʔi	to mourn
hé(e)wel-	hé(e)wlaʔi	to stir once
híša-	hišáaʔi	to shake something out
híwa-	hiwáaʔi	to shake or pull something
húca-	hucáaʔi	to cough once
jéca-	jecáaʔi	to crush one thing
jéda-	jedáaʔi	to chip off one thing
kápa-	kapáaʔi	to chip something
káwuc-	káwcuʔi	to be medium frozen

¹/bap^háaʔi/ is //báp^ha-ʔi//. The other themes have a similar morphophonemic representation.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
kéla-	keláaʔi	to chip off a piece
kóda-	kodáaʔi	to knock once on something
kóla-	koláaʔi	to knock something off
kóta-	kotáaʔi	to chop something
kúša-	kušáaʔi	to glance off something
k ^h ába-	k ^h abáaʔi	to hit the head once
k ^h óba-	k ^h obáaʔi	to gash, split
k ^h óca-, kóca-	k ^h ocáaʔi, kocáaʔi	to poke something
k ^h úba-, kúba-	k ^h ubáaʔi, kubáaʔi	to smash one thing
kíca-	kicáaʔi	to splash once, scatter once
kóma-	komáaʔi	to stir once
láataj-	láatjaʔi	to crawl quickly
láca-	lacáaʔi	to knock something down
lákum-	lákmuʔi	to swallow
láwut-, láwuʔ-	láwtuʔi, láwuʔi	to sweep once
létaw-	letwaʔi	to flame up once
lída-	lidáaʔi	to rub against
lója-	lojáaʔi	to rub once, fast
lójaw-	lójwaʔi	to rub once
lúpa-	lupáaʔi	to sneeze once

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
lu ^o pum-	lu ^o mu ^o ṭi	to dive once
ṭa ^o ko-	ṭa ^o kó ^o ṭi	to blister from heat
ṭe ^o ka-	ṭe ^o ká ^o ṭi	to cough up and spit out phlegm
ṭe ^o ṭa-	ṭe ^o ṭá ^o ṭi	to throw one thing
ṭi ^o ka-	ṭi ^o ká ^o ṭi	to slicken once
ṭo ^o da-	ṭo ^o dá ^o ṭi	to pick at one's nose
ṭa ^o pa-	ṭa ^o pá ^o ṭi	to lock
mo ^o le-	mo ^o lé ^o ṭi	to pour once
pá ^o tu-	pá ^o ṭlu ^o ṭi	to weave, form rings
pí ^o da-	pí ^o dá ^o ṭi	to guess right once
pí ^o na-	pí ^o ná ^o ṭi	to crack something
p ^h í ^o ca-	p ^h í ^o cá ^o ṭi	to crush one thing
p ^h í ^o caw-	p ^h í ^o cwá ^o ṭi	to crush one thing fast
p ^h ó ^o ba-, pó ^o ba-	p ^h ó ^o bá ^o ṭi, pó ^o bá ^o ṭi	to chop something up
pé(e)cá ^o j-	pé(e)cjá ^o ṭi	to exert oneself
pó ^o ca-, pó ^o ca-, pó ^o ca-	pó ^o cá ^o ṭi, pó ^o cá ^o ṭi, pó ^o cá ^o ṭi	to cut something off
pó ^o ma-	pó ^o má ^o ṭi	to puff once
pú ^o cca-, pú ^o cca	pú ^o cca ^o ṭi pú ^o cca ^o ṭi	to blow out with one quick blow

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
púuca-	púucaṭi	to blow once (wind)
şéna-	şenáaṭi	to cough out something
şípa-	şipáaṭi	to punch with the elbow, jerk with the hand
şíta-	şitáaṭi	to smear something
şóca-	şocáaṭi	to mash once
şóma-	şomáaṭi	to punch
şóowuc-	şóowcuṭi	to be frozen
tákum-	tákmuṭi	to run after
téka-	tekáaṭi	to take (a slab) off
tépa-	tepáaṭi	to mash one finger
típum-	típmuṭi	to be cold (object or weather)
tíwa-	tiwáaṭi	to scatter by hitting once
túna-	tunáaṭi	to stamp once
tútal-	tútláaṭi	to roll up
túulaj-	túuljaṭi	to go around something
túup ^h il-, túupil-	túup ^h liṭi, túupliṭi	to spin once
t ^h óka-, tóka-	t ^h okáaṭi, tokáaṭi	to hit, bump once
táka-	takáaṭi	to slap once
tápa-	tapáaṭi	to snap, click quickly
t ^h éda-	t ^h edáaṭi	to break off

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔíika-	ʔíikaʔi	to be chipped off
ʔíika-	ʔíkáaʔi	to break something
wíipa-	wíipaʔi	to swing something once
wólaj-	wóljaʔi	to beckon once
wú'ca-, wú'ca-	wu'cáaʔi, wu'cáaʔi	to switch
ʔá(a)liw-	ʔá(a)lwiʔi	to miss the mark once
ʔíisal-	ʔíislaʔi	to fry quickly
ʔijacáa-	ʔijacáaʔi	a bump
ʔókaj-	ʔókjaʔi	to make something fast
ʔúbu-	ʔubúuʔi	to leave, let

Class I. B. 4 semelfactive verbal stems are of the canon C'V(V)C- and C'VC?-. They take the medio-passive basal suffix -ʔe-.

Class I. B. 4 semelfactive themes are often associated with Class I. D. 2 iterative themes, e.g.,

jébtəʔi "to break off and slide down, cave in"

jebéela "to come down in slides"

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
bák-	bákʂeti ¹	to belch
cák-	cákʂeti	to split open by itself
cál-	cálʂeti	to regain consciousness or control of oneself
čík-	číkʂeti	to chip off by itself
čúd-	čúdʂeti	to be torn a little
dól-	dólʂeti	to warp, be out of joint
háp-	hápʂeti	to split open
hát-	hátʂeti	to burst, explode
jéb-	jébʂeti	to break off, cave in
jép-	jépʂeti	to flake off
jól ² -	jólʂeti	to be torn
jól-	jólʂeti	to sag
jóot-	tóotʂeti	to snap in two
jót-	jótʂeti	to break in two
júl-	júlʂeti	to rise
kól-	kólʂeti	to come off slowly
k ^h óob-	k ^h óobʂeti	to break out and leave a scar
k ^h úb-	k ^h úbʂeti	to be cracked

¹/bákʂeti/ is //bák-ʂe-Mʈi//. The other themes have a similar morphophonemic representation.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
léet'-	léetʃeʔi	a few little pieces ¹
léʔ-	léʔʃeʔi	a little piece
léet-	léetʃeʔi	to droop
lék-	lékʃeʔi	to be loose (phlegm)
léit-	léitʃeʔi	to peel off by itself
lít-	lítʃeʔi	to come off easily
mál-	málʃeʔi	to pass out
pít-	pítʃeʔi	to become tight
pól-	pólʃeʔi	to be flooded
póp-	pópʃeʔi	a little piece of wood
pút-	pútʃeʔi	to burst open (belly)
púut-	púutʃeʔi	to burst open (several bellies)
p ^h ób-	p ^h óbʃeʔi	to break off by itself; a block of wood
póc-	pócʃeʔi	to be cut off
pój-	pójʃeʔi	to fall down
téd-	tédʃeʔi	to fall down (branch)
túk-	túkʃeʔi	to spark
túk-	túkʃeʔi	stump

¹In this instance the verbal root léet'- means "to cut off," and the medio-passive has a resultant nominal meaning.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
túp-	túpşeti	to break in two by itself
t ^h áw-, táw-	t ^h áwşeti, táwşeti	to clot, form one lump
túp-	túpşeti	a short piece
tík-	tíkşeti	to be chipped
wáı-	wáışeti	to be split open
wéş-	wéşşeti	to chip off by itself
wıp-	wıpşeti	to come undone
wóot-	wóotşeti	to be bent (three or four objects)
wót-	wótşeti	to bend over
wúp-	wúpşeti	to get up
?át-	?átşeti	to split open
?éı-	?éışeti	to fly off (chip of wood)
?óc-	?ócşeti	to split open
?óı-	?óışeti	to come off

Class I. B. 5 semelfactive stems are of the canon CVC- and take the medio-passive suffix -elG.

Class I. B. 5 semelfactive themes are sometimes associated with Class I. A. 4 iterative themes, e.g.,

şítletı "to tumble over once"

şítel "to be tumbling over and over"

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cúk-	cúkleti ¹	to choke because of swallow- ing the wrong way
číb-	číbleti	to spring (cat)
péc-	pácleți	to crackle once
póp-	pópleți	to bounce once
póʔ-	póʔleti	to bounce once
púuc-	púucleti	to roll over once
șít-	șítleti	to tumble over once
wéek-	wéekleti	to turn once (path)

421.3. Class I. C semelfactive verbal stems are of the canons CŮ(V)C- and CŮCC-, and they take the semelfactive suffix -en without a basal suffix.

Class I. C semelfactive themes are usually associated with Class I. E iterative themes, e.g.,

cétten "to step on something"

cetúuța "to be running over"

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cétt-	cétten	to step on something
jú(u)l-	jú(u)len	to burn off

¹/cúkleti/ is //cúk-elG-Mti//.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
kátt-	káttén	to kill something
lál-	lálén	to touch something
mél-	mélén	to finish
múʔ-	múʔén	to quit
túj-	tújen	to rest, alight
túl-	túlen	to build
túm-	túmen	to be easy
túw-	túwen	to shoot once
wót-	wóten-	to cramp
ʔácc-	ʔáccén	to step on something
ʔók-	ʔóken	to catch something

421.4. Class I. D semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix {-V-}. Class I. D semelfactive themes are always followed by the post-thematic causative suffix {-nuka}, which is -nka after {-V-}.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme plus {-nuka}</u>	<u>English</u>
cícc-	cíccinka ¹	to choke over a large object
húu-	húunka	to save someone

¹/cíccinka/ is //cícc-V-nka//.

421.5. Class I. E semelfactive verbal stems are of the canon $\acute{C}\acute{V}C-$ and take the semelfactive suffix $-ee\dot{\tau}i$ without a basal suffix.

Class I. E semelfactive themes are usually associated with Class I. G iterative themes, e.g.,

$mok\acute{e}\dot{\tau}i$ "to chase out"

$m\acute{o}kih$ "to chase several people out"

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
$k\acute{a}p-$	$kap\acute{e}\dot{\tau}i$	to throw away
$k\acute{e}^{\circ}-$	$ke^{\circ}\acute{e}\dot{\tau}i$	to scrape dirt into a pile
$k\acute{o}^{\circ}-$	$ko^{\circ}\acute{e}\dot{\tau}i$	to push something over
$m\acute{o}k-$	$mok\acute{e}\dot{\tau}i$	to chase out
$\acute{t}\acute{u}l-$	$\acute{t}\acute{u}l\acute{e}\dot{\tau}i$	to pour a small amount of something

421.6. Class I. F semelfactive verbal stems are of the canon $\acute{C}\acute{V}C\acute{V}C-$ and take the semelfactive suffix $-N-$ without a basal suffix. Class I. F themes always occur before the post-thematic verbal suffix $-pa$ "intensive or directed action."

Class I. F semelfactive themes form sets with iterative themes which contain no iterative suffix but are also found immediately before the suffix $-pa$, e.g.,

$l\acute{e}tjopa$ "to lick, lap once"

letójpá "to lap"

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
létoj-	létjopa ¹	to lick once, lap once
ʔócuş-	ʔócşupa	to spray something (dog)

421.7. Class I. G semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix -Mpo.

Class I. G. 1 semelfactive verbal stems are of the canon CVC- and take the basal suffix -ak "swift, careless action." This class contains two members.

One class I. G. 1 semelfactive theme, cólkapo "to dip something once," forms a set with the Class I. J iterative theme colákpo "to dip something several times," which contains the iterative suffix -po.

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cól-	cólkapo ²	to dip something once
núj-	nújkapo	to stop up one thing, stuff something, hold something down

¹/létjopa/ is //létoj-M-pa//.

²/cólkapo/ is //cól-ak-Mpo//.

Class I. G. 2 semelfactive verbal stems take no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ménaw-	ménwapo ¹	to practice
nénut-	néntupo	to know, realize
ʔókaj	ʔókjapo ²	to develop

421.8. Class I. H semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix -e.

Class I. H. 1 semelfactive verbal stems take no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal Root or</u> <u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
hó(o)j-	hó(o)je	to put away
hóɬ-	hóɬe	to be loose
ták-	táke	to come up or out
télʔew-	télʔewe	to be flat; plate
wánuk-	wanúuke	to take something off
ʔút-	ʔúte	to see
ʔúun-	ʔúune	to put in

¹/ménwapo/ is //ménaw-Mpo//.

²This is ʔókjapu in the speech of James Knight.

Class I. U. 2 semelfactive verbal stems take the medio-passive basal suffix--elG.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cújʔ-	cújʔele ¹	to be skinny
p ^h úmʔ-	p ^h úmʔele	to be humpbacked

421.9. Class I. I semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix -nGe without a basal suffix.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Stem</u>	<u>Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
jókko-	jókkone ²	to be hanging up, to droop, to hang over
jóko-	jokónne	to be hanging

422. Class II semelfactive verbal stems are derived from their roots by gemination of the second consonant and reduction of the first vowel if it is long.

422.1. Class II. A semelfactive stems take no thematic suffixes and are always followed by the causative suffix -Spu. Their roots are of the canon CVCV(h).

Class II. A semelfactive themes are usually associated

¹/cújʔele/ is //cújʔ-elG-e//.

²/jókkone/ is //jókkko-nGe//.)

with Class I. A. 3 iterative themes, which are also found before -Spu, e.g.,

háccapu "to stop one thing"

hacáapu "to stop several things"

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme plus</u>	
		<u>-Spu</u>	
cáte	to lie ¹	cáttepu	to lay
hácah	to come to a stop	háccapu ²	to stop one thing
hówo	to sit	hówwopu	to seat
tálah	to stand	tállapu	to put something up

422.2. Class II. B semelfactive verbal stems take the semelfactive suffix {-V-} and always occur before the causative suffix {-nuka}, here /-nka/. Their roots are of the canon CVC-.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme plus</u>	
		<u>{-nuka}</u>	
cúup	to burn	cúppunka ³	to burn quickly
póop	to soak	pópponka	to soak up

423. Class III semelfactive verbal stems are derived from their verbal roots through reduction in vowel length. They take the semelfactive suffix {-V-} and are followed

¹The English is given for these roots, since they all occur in isolation.

²/háccapu/ is //háccah-spu//.

³/cúppunka/ is //cúpp-V-nka//.

by the causative suffix {-nuka}, here /-nka/. Their roots are of the canon C'VVC-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Semelfactive</u> <u>Theme plus</u> <u>{-nuka}</u>	<u>English</u>
cám	to die off	camánka ¹	to destroy
hóol	to fall (tree)	holónka	to fell a tree
kóom	to scorch	komónka	to be scorched
tíil	to not reach	tilínka	to be behind
tóon	to be ripe, done	tonónka	to be done, to cock
tóon	to get stuck by by something	tonónka	to stick people

430. Iterative Stems.

Iterative stems are derived from verbal roots by a variety of processes. These stems can be divided into classes according to their process of stem formation, and they can be further subdivided according to the thematic suffixes, if any, with which they occur.

431. Class I iterative verbal stems are identical with the verbal roots. The overt difference between Class I iterative themes and the corresponding semelfactive themes resides in the thematic suffix.

¹/camánka/ is //cám-V-nka//.

431.1. Class I.A iterative verbal stems take no iterative suffix.

Class I.A.1 iterative stems take the basal suffix -ak- "quick, careless action." They are of the canons C[́]V(V)C- and C[́]VC[?]-. Class I.A.1 iterative themes are often associated with Class I.B.1 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
ćéec- (ćéec [́] kaṭi) ¹	to rake one pile	ćéecak	to rake up several piles
ćíd- (ćíd [́] kaṭi)	to squirt once	ćídak	to squirt inter- mittently
ćít- (ćít [́] kaṭi)	to wink once	ćítak	to wink several times
ćúm- (ćúm [́] kaṭi)	to suck slowly	ćúmak	to suck
ćúum- (ćúum [́] kaṭi)	to suck fast once	ćúumak	to suck fast
héen- (héen [́] kaṭi)	to be alive, breathing	héenak	to be breathing
hén- (hén [́] kaṭi)	to be well; to breathe once	hénak	to be breathing; to be kind
jól [?] - (jól [́] kaṭi)	to rip off	jól [?] ak	to tear up

¹The semelfactive theme which forms a set with the iterative theme is enclosed in parentheses beneath the verbal root. The English translates the semelfactive theme.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
k ^h íit-, kíit- (k ^h íitkaʔi, kíitkaʔi)	to rub once	k ^h íitak, kíitak	to massage
léet̚-		léetak	
(léet̚kaʔi)	to cut off a little piece		to cut off several small pieces
lémʔ-		lémʔak	
(lémkaʔi)	to light up		to twinkle
líid-		líidak	
(líidkaʔi)	to rub against		to rub against someone (said of several people)
ɬéet-		ɬéetak	
(ɬéetkaʔi)	to scoop out		to scrape off
ɬéeʔ-		ɬéeʔak	
(ɬéeʔkaʔi)	to cough up phlegm		to cough up phlegm inter- mittently
ɬíib-		ɬíibak	
(ɬíibkaʔi)	to slip something down		to slip several things down
ɬíit-		ɬíitak	
(ɬíitkaʔi)	to peel off, scrape off		to clean off several things, scrape off
ɬít-		ɬítak	
(ɬítkaʔi)	to peel off, scrape off		to scrape fast
ɬúb-		//ɬúbak-ka//	
(ɬúbkaʔi)	to sip		to sip inter- mittently
ɬúub-		ɬúubak	
(ɬúubkaʔi)	to take a small sip		to suck out

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
pác-		pácak	to rinse things
(páckaṭi)	to wring out, squeeze		out, keep squeezing
pél?-		pél'ak	to keep on
(pélkaṭi)	to blink the eyes once		blinking
pít-		pítak	to tighten
(pítkaṭi)	to tighten		several things
p ^h íc-		p ^h í'cak ¹	to crush things
			fast
p ^h íic-, píic-		p ^h íi'cac, píicak	to crush several
(p ^h íi'ckaṭi, píickaṭi)	to crush		things
p ^h ít-, p ^h it-		p ^h í'ṭak, p ^h itak	to press things
(p ^h í'ṭkaṭi, p ^h itkaṭi)	to press		
pút-		pútak	to kiss several
(pútkāṭi)	to kiss once		times
şín-		şínak	to blow one's
(şínkaṭi)	to blow one's nose		nose continu- ously
şóon-		şóonak	to wipe things
(şóonkaṭi)	to wipe off		
şúut-		şúutak	to keep inhal-
(şúutkaṭi)	to suck, inhale		ing

¹Absence of a semelfactive theme indicates a defective set.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
tíc- (tíckaṭi)	to chatter once (ground squirrel)	tícak	to be chatter- ing
tút- (tútkṭi)	to twist once	tútak	to twist, wind
túc- (túckaṭi)	to drip once	túcak	to be dripping
t ^h éd- (t ^h édkaṭi)	to pull off, come off (branch)	t ^h édak	to pull branches off
wóoc- (wóockṭi)	to scratch once	wóocak	to scratch
wóop- (wóopkaṭi)	to scoop out	wóopak	to scoop things out
wóot- (wóotṭkaṭi)	to bend over	wóotak	to bend several things
wót- (wótṭkaṭi)		wótak	to bend several things
wóp- (wópkṭi)	to nod once	wópak	to nod slowly
?ót- (?ótkaṭi)	to cut off, butcher fast	?ótak	to butcher, lance

Class I.A.2 iterative verbal stems take the basal suffix -uk "slow, careful action." They are of the canons CṼ(V)C- and CṼC?-. Their themes are often associated with

Class I.B.2 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
'cáa-, 'cáa?- (cáakuṭi)	to split something open	'cáaʔuk	to split several things open
'cúd- (cúdkuṭi)	to rip, tear off a piece	'cúduk	to take little pieces off
déɬ- (déɬkuṭi)	to break something off, twist out of joint	déɬuk	to break off things, pull out of joint
háp- (hápkuṭi)	to split in two	hápuk	to split into several pieces
hát- (hátkuṭi)	to burst	hátuk	to break several things
hóm- (hómkuṭi)	to pull out, pluck	hómuk	to pluck, pull out several things
jé- (jépkuṭi)	to break or slice off a piece	jépuk	to break pieces off
jót- (jótkuṭi)	to pull down, pick (fruit)	jótuk	to pick (fruit)
júl- (júlkuṭi)	to lift	júluk	to lift up and down
kól- (kólkuṭi)	to take something off	kóluk	to pull several things off

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
k ^h úb- (k ^h úbkuʦi)	to break	k ^h úbuk	to break several things
lét- (létkuʦi)	to turn back (the eyelid)	létuk	to turn back people's eyelids
ʔíb- (ʔíbkúʦi)	to roll something down or up	ʔíbuk	to slide several things down
ʔíit- (ʔíitkuʦi)	to clean off slowly	ʔíituk	to scrape slowly
ʔít- (ʔítkuʦi)	to peel something off, scald off	ʔítuk	to skin several things, scrape fast
ʔót- (ʔótkuʦi)	to pinch once	ʔótuk	to pinch several times
píʔ- (píʔkuʦi)	to twist out of joint	píʔuk	to twist several things out of joint
pól- (pólkuʦi)	to flood something	póluk	to flood things one at a time
pút- (pútkuʦi)	to cut open the stomach	pútuk	to cut open sever- al stomachs
p ^h íʔ- (p ^h íʔkuʦi)	to squeeze	p ^h íʔuk	to squeeze sever- al things
p ^h ób- (p ^h óbkuʦi)	to cut in half	p ^h óbuk	to cut into short pieces

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
póc- (póckuṭi)	to cut off slowly	pócuk	to cut things off, prune
pój-, pójʔ- (pójkuṭi)	to cut off	pójuk, pójʔuk	to cut several things off or down
túp- (túpkuṭi)	to break in two	túpuk	to break in two
túʔ- (túʔkuṭi)	to spark something	túʔuk	to spark something several times
tʰéd-, téd- (tʰédkuṭi, tédkuṭi)	to pull down (a branch)	tʰéduk, téduk	to pull off (small branches)
tʃíʔ- (tʃíʔkuṭi)	to chip off	tʃíʔuk	to keep on chipping
wáɬ- (wáɬkuṭi)	to split something off	wáɬuk	to split something to crumbs
wéɬ-, wéʃ- (wéʃkuṭi)	to chip off	wéɬuk, wéʃuk	to keep on chipping off
wíp- (wípkuṭi)	to unravel a stitch	wípuk	to unravel something
wúp- (wúpkuṭi)	to raise	wúpuk	to raise several things
ʔát- (ʔátkuṭi)	to cut and spread open	ʔátuk	to spread open several things

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔéɬ- (ʔéɬkuʔi)	to chop off in big slabs	ʔéɬuk	to chop off in small slabs
ʔóc- (ʔóckuʔi)	to open a shell	ʔócuk	to hull
ʔóɬ- (ʔóɬkuʔi)	to take the skin off, open in half	ʔóɬuk	to hull

Class I.A.3 iterative verbal stems take no basal suffix. Consequently, a Class I.A.3 iterative theme is identical with its verbal root, and the overt difference between it and the corresponding semelfactive theme lies in the presence of a semelfactive suffix in the latter. Class I.A.3 iterative stems are of the canons $C\acute{V}(V)CVC-$. Their themes are usually associated with Class I.B.3 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cáawel- (cáawleʔi)	to wrap quickly	cáawel	to wrap care- fully
ʔáaka- (ʔáakaʔi)	to be split open; to rip	ʔáaka	to tear to pieces
ʔíika- (ʔíikaʔi)	to split open; to tear off	ʔíika	to slice, to rip up

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
hácah //háccah-Spu//	to come to a stop to stop something in motion	//hácah-Spu//	to stop several things in mo- tion
hówo //hówo-Spu//	to sit to seat	//hówo-Spu//	to set things out
létoj-		létoj	to keep on lick- ing
lójaw- (lójwaṭi)	to rub once with the hands	lójaw	to rub with the hands
lúpum- (lúpnuṭi)	to dive once	lúpum	to be diving
péecaj- (péecjaṭi)	to exert oneself	péecaj	to exert oneself a long time
tálah //tállah-Spu//	to stand, stand up to put something up	//tálah-Spu//	to put several things up
wíipa- (wíipaṭi)	to swing something once	wíipa	to swing some- thing, wag, wave
wólaj- (wóljaṭi)	to beckon	wólaj	to beckon, wave on
?áaliw- (?áalwiṭi)	to miss the mark	?áaliw	to miss the mark repeatedly
?íisal (?íislaṭi)	to fry quickly	?íisal	to fry several things
?óolak- (?óolkaṭi)	to dip the oars once	?óolak	to row

Class I.A.4 iterative verbal stems take the medio-passive basal suffix -elG. They are of the canon CVC- and their themes are associated with Class I.B.5 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
čib- (čibleŋi)	to spring (cat)	čibel	to spring
póʔ- (póʔleŋi)	to bounce once	póʔel	to bounce several times
šít- (šítleŋi)	to tumble over once	šítel	to be tumbling over

431.2. Class I.B iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -Mŋa.

Class I.B.1 iterative verbal stems take no basal suffix. Their themes are associated with Class I.A.1 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u> ¹	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cókte ¹	to come along	cókteŋa	to come (said of many people coming often)
wílik	to get hold	wíliŋa	to catch things, select

¹Verbal roots cited without hyphens are identical with semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔóoni	to come	ʔóoniṭa	to come in a group

Class I.B. 2 iterative verbal stems take the basal suffix -VV- "medio-passive action." They are of the canon CVC-, and their themes are associated with Class I.B.4 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
kól- (kólṭeṭi)	to come off in one piece	koḷóoṭa	to fall off (several pieces)
ʔéḷ- (ʔéḷṭeṭi)	to fly off (one chip)	ʔeḷééṭa	several chips

431.3. Class I.C iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -Ṣṭe with no basal suffix. Their themes are associated with Class I.A.1 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cúumai	to smile once	cúummiṭe	to smile several times
tálah	to stand	taláaṭe	to be standing around
ʔúuli	to pout	ʔúuliṭe	to be pouting

431.4 Class I.D iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -a.

Class I.D.1 iterative verbal stems take no basal suffix. They are of the canons C'VVC-, C'VC?-, and C'VCCVC- (one instance).

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
jóot-	jóota ¹	to break into short pieces
káaw-	káawa	to cut with a knife
kéw'il-	kéw'ila	to be sticking out (several people's ribs)
p ^h iic'-	p ^h iica	to crush completely
p ^h óob-	p ^h óoba	to chop up
p'óoc-, p'óoc'-	p'óoca, p'óoca	to saw off, cut down
p'ój?-	p'ój'a	to cut things off
p'óm?-	p'óm'a	to puff, suck
túup-	túupa	to break to pieces
t ^h éed-	t ^h éeda	to break off (branches)

Class I.D.2 iterative verbal stems take the medio-passive basal suffix -VVl-. They are of the canon C'VC- and their themes are usually associated with Class I.B.4 semelfactive themes.

¹These iterative themes usually do not form sets with specific semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
háp- (hápseti)	to split open	hapáala ¹	to be cracking into little pieces
hát- (hátseti)	to burst	hataáala	to sizzle (grease), shoot off (gun)
jéb- (jébteṭi)	to break off, cave in (bank)	jebéela	to come down in slides
jép- (jépseti)	to flake off	jepéela	to fall apart
jót- (jótseti)	to snap in two	jotóola	to break into small pieces
k ^h úb- (k ^h úbteṭi)	to be cracked	k ^h ubúula	to be cracked (several things)
lét- (létseti)	a small piece	letéela	several little pieces
nów-		nowóola	to break into short pieces
p ^h ób-, pób- (p ^h óbteṭi)	to fall off (branch)	p ^h obóola, pobóola	to split into short pieces (branch)
túp- (túpseti)	to break in two (wire)	tupúula	to fall to pieces (wire), to break (several wires)

¹/hapáala/ is //háp-VVl-a//.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
t ^h áw-, táw- (t ^h áwʔeʔi, táwʔeʔi)	to clot, form one lump	t ^h awáala, tawáala	to be clotted, lumpy
ʔík- (ʔíkʔeʔi)	to chip off, to be chipped	ʔíkíila	to come off (several chips), to be chipped in several places
ʔát- (ʔátʔeʔi)	to come open	ʔatáala	to crack open, be cracked
ʔúʔ-		ʔuʔúula	chips

Class I.D.3 iterative verbal stems take the medio-passive basal suffix -elG.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
jók-		jokélla ¹	to be hanging (several things)
pótt-		póttela	several piles
ʔémm-, ʔémʔ- (ʔémmel, ʔémʔel)	to stick into something	ʔémmela, ʔémʔela	to stick into something (several objects)

431.5. Class I.E iterative verbal stems are of the canon CVC- and take the iterative suffix -uUʔa with no basal suffix. Class I.E iterative themes are usually

¹/jokélla/ is //jók-elG-a//.

associated with Class I.C semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
hól	to fall (tree)	holúuṭa	to fall down (several trees)
júl- (júlen)	to burn	julúuṭa	to burn several times
lál- (lálen)	to touch	lalúuṭa	to feel around
túl- (túlen)	to build one thing	tulúuṭa	to build several things
túw- (túwen)	to shoot once; guess someone in the hand game	tuwúuṭa	to shoot several times; guess correctly (several people)
ʔók- (ʔóken)	to catch	ʔokúuṭa	to catch a lot of game

431.6. Class I.F iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -Mtuka.

Class I.F.1 iterative verbal stems are of the canon CVC- and take the medio-passive basal suffix -ṣe-.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
bák- (bákṣeṭi)	to belch once	bákṣetuka ¹	to belch (one person at a time)
táp- (tápáaṭi)	to snap quickly	tápṣetuka	to snap, click

¹/bákṣetuka/ is //bák-ṣe-Mtuka//.

Class I.F.2 iterative verbal stems take no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal Root or Semelfactive Theme</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔúlíp	to shine	ʔúlpituka ¹	to shine forth

431.7. Class I.G iterative verbal stems are of the canon CVC- and take the iterative suffix -ih with no basal suffix. Class I.G iterative themes are associated with Class I.E semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
kéʔ- (keʔéeti)	to scrape dirt	kéʔih	to push several piles to one side, to push one pile a little at a time
kóʔ- (koʔéeti)	to push, push up	kóʔih	to push up several things
mók- (mokéeti)	to chase out	mókih	to chase several people out
ʔúl- (ʔuléeti)	to pour out	ʔúlih	to pour (several people)
wít-, wét- (witéeti, wetéeti)	to open	wítih, wétih	to open several things

¹/ʔúlpituka/ is //ʔúlíp-Mtuka//.

431.8. Class I.H iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -*ṭeṭa* with no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
móleh-	moléhṭeṭa	to tip over

431.9. Class I.I iterative stems are of the canon CVCV(C)- and CVC- (one instance). They take an iterative suffix which consists of the weak form of the verbal root. They take no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʼúm-		ʼúmak	to suck
(ʼúmkaṭi)	to suck slowly		
lójo-		lojóolojo	to rub something back and forth with the hands
lúku	to borrow	lukúuluku	to go around borrowing
ʼáwaw	to gulp	ʼawáwʼawaw	to slurp slowly
wéle	to help	weléewe	to take care of someone
wólah	to be hollow, a hollow	woláhwolah	to have several hollows

431.10. Class I.J iterative verbal stems are of the canon CVC-. They take the iterative suffix -po and the basal suffix -ak "swift, careless action." Class I.J iterative themes are associated with Class I.G.1 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cól-		colákpo	to dip something
(cólkapo)	to dip once		several times

431.11. Class I.K iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -tuma and the intransitive basal suffix -ʔi. Their roots are of the canon CṼ(V)C-. Class I.K iterative verbal themes often form sets with Class I.A.3 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
jóʔ-		jóʔʔituma	to point; hand
(jóʔʔi)	to point; hand over		over several things
p ^h úm-		p ^h úmʔituma	to arch the back
(p ^h úmʔi)	to arch the back (cat)		fast and repeatedly
p ^h úum-		p ^h úumʔituma	to arch the back
(p ^h úumʔi)	to be humped (back)		slowly
tól-		tólʔituma	to cock the ears
(tólʔi)	to cock the ears		repeatedly
tóol-		tóolʔituma	to cock the ears
(tóolʔi)	to have the ears cocked		repeatedly

431.12. Class I.L iterative stems take the iterative suffix -uʔe with no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canon CVCVC-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
látaĵ	to crawl slowly	latáaĵuĵe	to crawl back and forth, go around
lónak-		lonáakuĵe	to growl, snore
wícaĵ	to walk	wicáaĵuĵe	to be walking, going around
ʔólak-		ʔoláakuĵe	to growl (bears)

432. Class II iterative verbal stems are derived from verbal roots by lengthening of the first vowel and reduction in the length of the second consonant if it is geminate.

432.1. Class II.A iterative verbal stems take no iterative suffix.

Class II.A.1 iterative verbal stems take no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canon CVCV(C)-, and their themes are usually associated with Class I.A semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cákal	to sift in one shake	cáakal	to sift in batches
cániĥ	to tie, string (a bow)	cániĥ	to tie
cémaĵ	to tell, order, send for	cémaĵ	to send several people for some- thing

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cúnih	to move some- thing	cúunih	to move several things
ćújal	to be cramped	ćúujal	to be cramped (several people)
háwuh	to buy	háawuh	to buy, one at a time
hénuh	to ask	héenuh	to ask several things
hétup	to cover someone	héeťup	to cover several people
héwa	to spread out, hang up	héewa	to spread out several things
hójot, hojut	to start	hóojot, hóojut	to start, one by one
jókáp	to hang someone	jóókáp	to hang several people
káťi	to string (one bead)	káaťi	to string (beads)
kóle	to wear	kóole	to wear
kóna	to bake in the ashes	kóona	to bake several things
kóŝi	to play the hand game	kóoŝi	to play the hand game and change off
kúna	to throw up once	kúuna	to puke
kúnuh	to defecate	kúunuh	to defecate repeat- edly, have diarrhea
kica- (kicáaťi)	to splash, scatter once	//kíica-paťi// to fall all around	

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
lákát	to call, name, baptize	láakát	to baptize people one at a time
lánup	to wade	lāanup	to wade (several people)
lójaw- (lójwaṭi)	to rub once with the hands	lóojaw	to be rubbing the hands
lókol	to go for man- zanita	lóokol	to go repeatedly for manzanita
málik	to put out a light	máalik	to put out lights (said of several people)
mélil	to measure	méclil	to measure (said of several people)
ménaw	to try, try out	méenaw	to try out
métak	to remember	méetak	to remember several things
móla	to pile wood	móola	to pile wood here and there
mónton	to stack	móonton	to pile into small piles
mówen	to trap	móowen	to trap repeatedly
múluj	to fall down	múuluju	to tumble repeatedly
múlut	to eat break- fast	múulut	to eat breakfast, one person at a time
nówwu- //hówwu-kU//	to be broken	//hóowu-kU//	to break off
póloj	to float down	póolój	to float (several objects)

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
púcca-,púcca- //púcca-Ŧi, pucca-Ŧi//	to blow fast	púuca, púuca //púuca-Ŧi//	to blow (wind) to blow through
//šétu-Ŧi//	to duck, dodge	//šéetu-Ŧi//	to dodge several times
šika	to fill	šlika	to fill several things
šitak	to drill	šliitak	to drill several things
šóla	to hide some-thing	šóola	to hide things one at a time
šúcuk	to leak (house)	šúucuk	to leak in several places (house)
šúlih	to shed, peel off	šúulih	to shed, be peeled off
télup	to roll some-thing	téelup	to roll several things
téwe	to weave (a basket)	téewe	to weave (several baskets)
ŧúlip	to shine, glisten	ŧúulip	to shine, glisten
wákut	to rob	wáakut	to rob several people
wénum	to choose	wéenum	to choose several things
wóle- //wóle-Ŧi//	to go and leach	wóole //wóole-Ŧi//	to leach, soak to leach (several people)
wótal	to bend things over fast	wóotal	to bend things over slowly
ʔáliw	to miss the mark, guess wrong, skip	ʔáaliw	to miss the mark repeatedly

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔálu	to hear, feel, taste	ʔáalu	to keep on tasting things
ʔísal	to fry	ʔíisal	to fry several things
ʔítaj	to roast	ʔíitaj	to roast several things
ʔócoh	to urinate once	ʔócoh	to urinate several times
ʔókaj	to make	ʔóokag	to keep on making something
ʔónah	to hunt, fish	ʔóonah	to be hunting
ʔúkuc	to dream once	ʔúkuc	to dream
ʔúşşu	to drink	ʔúuşu	to drink all the time

Class II.A.2 iterative verbal stems take the basal suffix -uk "slow, deliberate action." There is one verbal stem in this class, and its root is of the canon CVC-. Its theme is associated with a Class I.B.2 semelfactive there.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔád- (ʔádkuʔi)	to scratch (barbed wire)	ʔáaduk	to scratch in several places

Class II.A.3 iterative verbal stems take the basal suffix -ak "quick, careless action." Their roots are of

the canon CVC-, and their themes are associated with Class I.B.1 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
pác-		páacak	to wring out several things
(páckaṭi)	to wring out one thing		
şút-		şúutak	to chop several things off
(şútkṭi)	to chop off		

432.2. Class II.B iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -Mṭa with no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cókte	to come along	cóokteṭa	to come by one at a time
táli	to wake up	táeliṭa	to wake up several times
wánuk-		wáankuṭa	to pick out several things
(wanúuke)	to take something off		

432.3. Class II.C iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -uUṭa with no basal suffix. There are two stems in this class, both of them derived from roots of the canon CVC-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ták-		táakuṭa	to come out in a bunch
(táke)	to come out, up		

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
túj-		túujuṭa	to alight, one group
(tújen)	to rest		at a time

432.4. Class II.D iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -a with no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
now-		nóowa	to break several
			things

433. Class III iterative verbal stems are derived from verbal roots by reduction to the canon $C_1\acute{V}C_2-$.

433.1. Class III.A iterative verbal stems occur with the iterative suffix -uUṭa and with no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canons $C\acute{V}VC-$, $C\acute{V}CC-$, and $C\acute{V}CCV$ (one instance), and their themes are usually associated with Class I.A.1 semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
cáam	to fade away, wear out	camúuṭa	to be worn out
cétt-		cetúuta	to run over several
(cétten)	to step on, run over		things
cúup	to burn, get burned	cupúuṭa	to be all burned

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
hóol	to fall down (tree)	holúuṭa	to fall down (several trees)
jéek	to be spoiled (potatoes)	jekúuṭa	to get spoiled, one by one
jóok	to die	jokúuṭa	to be dying (several people)
káaj	to dry up	kajúuṭa	to dry up, one at a time
kátt- (kátten)	to kill	katúuṭa	to slaughter
kéew	to run away, dodge	kewúuṭa	to run away several times
kóom	to scorch, get scorched	komúuṭa	to scorch (said of several people)
kúuh	to be rotten (meat)	kuhúuṭa	to be rotten (several things)
máak	to be sick, faint	makúuṭa	to get sick on and off
méej	to be tired	mejúuṭa	to get tired (several people)
níik	to settle (mud)	nikúuṭa	to be settling in different places
núum	to drown	numúuṭa	to drown (several people)
pálla	to fill, be full	palúuṭa	to be all full (several barrels)
táam	to heal	tamúuṭa	to heal (several sores)
tíil	to not reach	tilúuṭa	to not reach (several things)

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
tóon	to be cooked, doen, ripe	tonúuṭa	to get ripe, one by one
tóon	to get stuck by something	tonúuṭa	to get stuck by several things
ʔáah	to be sated	ʔahúuṭa	to get sated (several people)
ʔácc- (ʔáccen)	to step on one thing	ʔacúuṭa	to step on several things
ʔúuj	to be withered	ʔujúuṭa	to get withered (several things)

435.2. Class III.B iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -ṭeṭa without a basal suffix. Their roots are of the canons C'V(V)CV- and C'VVC-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
híina	to give, share	hínṭeṭa	to give things away
hóoj- (hóoje)	to put away	hójṭeṭa	to put several things away
tóla	to throw	tólṭeṭa	to throw, chip in
wóma	to fool, cheat	wómṭeṭa	to be fooling, cheat several times
ʔóoni	to come	ʔónṭeṭa	to come one by one
ʔúun- (ʔúune)	to put in	ʔúnṭeṭa	to put several things in
wája	to give, share	wájṭeṭa	to give things one at a time, share things with several people

433.3. Class III.C iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix *-ṭiṭa* without a basal suffix. Their roots are of the canons *CVCV-* and *CVCVCV-* (one instance).

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>híja</i>	to send (a person or a thing)	<i>híjṭiṭa</i>	to send people one at a time, keep sending people
<i>híja</i>	to win, beat someone	<i>híjṭiṭa</i>	to win all the time, beat people several times
<i>húunih</i>	to show	<i>húnṭiṭa</i>	to show several things
<i>ʔúbu-</i> (<i>ʔubúṭi</i>)	to leave, leave something	<i>ʔúbṭiṭa</i>	to leave things, one at a time; or to leave a place, one person at a time

433.4. Class III.D iterative stems take the iterative suffix *-ih*. There is one stem in this class, and it is derived from a verbal root whose canon is *CVCV-*.

<u>Verbal Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>móle-</i> (<i>móléṭi</i>)	to pour	<i>mólih</i>	to pour into several cans

433.5. Class III.E iterative verbal stems take no iterative suffix, but they take the basal suffix *-ak* "quick, careless action." Their roots are of the canon *CVC-*, and their themes are associated with Class I.B.1

semelfactive themes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cól- (cólkaṭi) to soak, dip once		cólak	to be dipping
ṭéé'- (ṭéé'kaṭi) to cough phlegm up		ṭé'ak	to cough up and spit out

433.6. Class III.F iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -a and the medio-passive basal suffix -elG.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
wéék'- (wéék'leṭi) to turn once (path)		wék'ella ¹	to have several turns

433.7. Class III.G iterative stems take the iterative suffix -VV-, and their themes are always followed by the causative suffix {-nuka}, here -nuka.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cúp (cúppunka) to burn quickly	to burn	cúpúnuka ²	to burn things one by one

¹/wék'ella/ is //wék'-elG-a//.

²/cúpúnuka/ is //cúp-VV-nuka//.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme plus</u> <u>t-nukaʃ</u>	<u>English</u>
hóol (holónka)	to fall down (tree) to fell a tree	holóonuka	to fell several trees
kóom (komónka)	to scorch to be scorched, burn someone	komóonuka	to scorch several things

434. Class IV iterative stems are derived from verbal roots by gemination of C_2 and reduction of V_1 if it is long.

434.1. Class IV.A iterative verbal stems take no iterative suffix.

Class IV.A.1 iterative verbal stems take no basal suffix. Their verbal roots are of the canons $C\acute{V}(V)CV-$, $C\acute{V}CVC$, and $C\acute{V}VCVCV$ (one instance).

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cóla	to soak	cólla	to wash
báp ^h a- (bap ^h áaʃi)	to club	bápp ^h a	to club repeatedly
cája- (cajáaʃi)	to shake the head	cájja	to shake the head repeatedly
cápa- // cápa-Spu//	to beg	//cáppa-Spu//	to beg for several things
cáte	to lie (road)	cátte	to lie (several roads)

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
céʔa- (ceʔáaʔi)	to knock down	céʔʔa	to knock things down
cópa- (copáaʔi)	to break up, smash up	cóppa	to smash several things
cówa- //cówa-ʔi//	to fear	//cówwa-ʔi//	to be afraid (said of several people)
číika- (číikaʔi)	to split open	číikka	to split into small pieces
dápa- (dapáaʔi)	to slam	dáppa	to slam
hácah	to be standing (animal, thing)	háccah	to stand, be stand- ing
hiwa- (hiwáaʔi)	to shake or pull once	hiwwa	to shake, pump, rock
hóloh	to lean	hólloh	to be leaning against something
húca- (hucáaʔi)	to cough	húcca	to cough repeatedly
jéca- (jecáaʔi)	to crush, mash	jécca	to crush fast, mash with a rock
jéda- (jedáaʔi)	to break off, chip	jéd-da	to chip off several things
kápa- (kapáaʔi)	to chip once	káppa	to chip (flint)
kéla- (keláaʔi)	to chip off bark	kélla	to chip off bark all around

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
kóla-		kól̥la	to pull or knock things off
(kołáaṭi)	to pull or knock something off		
kóta-		kótta	to keep on chopping
(kotáaṭi)	to chop once		
kúṣa-		kúṣṣa	to glance off several things
(kuṣáaṭi)	to glance off		
k ^h ába-		k ^h ábba-	to hit the head repeatedly
(k ^h abáaṭi)	to hit the head		
k ^h óca-, kóca-		k ^h óc̣ca,	to pierce several things
(k ^h oc̣áaṭi,	to poke, pierce	kóc̣ca	
koč̣áaṭi)			
k ^h úba-, kúba-		k ^h úbba,	to smash several things
(k ^h ubáaṭi,	to smash	kúbba	
kubáaṭi)			
kíca-		kíc̣ca	to be splashing; to scatter around
(kic̣áaṭi)	to splash; scatter once		
kóma-		kóṃma	to be stirring, splashing
(komáaṭi)	to stir once, splash once		
láca-		lác̣ca	to knock several people down
(lac̣áaṭi)	to knock someone down		
lída-		líḍda	to rub against, iron
(lidáaṭi)	to rub once against something		
lúpa-		lúppa	to be sneezing
(lupáaṭi)	to sneeze once		

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>'heme</u>	
líku-		//líkku-ʔi//	to pass (said of several people)
//líku-ʔi//	to pass		
lílaw-		//líllaw-ne//	to tell what one knows
//lílaw-ne//	to tell		
lílu-		//líllu-ʔi//	to fly, one by one
//lílu-ʔi//	to fly		
lója-		lójja	to rub, wash
(lojʃaʔi)	to rub once, wash		
léka-		lékka	to keep on coughing up phlegm
(lekéaʔi)	to cough up phlegm		
léta-		létta	to throw several things
(tetéaʔi)	to throw		
líka-		líkka	to slicken
(líkáaʔi)	to move back and forth once		
léda-		lódda	to pick at one's nose
(lodéaʔi)	to pick at one's nose		
mékuh	to lie down, face down	mékkuh	to lie down
mína-, ména-		//mínna-ʔi//	to hit a target (several people)
//mína-ʔi, ména-ʔi//	to hit a target		
múle	to hit once, strike	múlla	to spank, whip

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Themes</u>	<u>English</u>
nóca	to cry several times ¹	nócca	to be crying
páka-		pákka	to hit repeatedly
//páka-Ŧi//	to pelt once	//pákka-Ŧi//	to pelt repeatedly
pína-		pínna	to crack several things
(pináaŦi)	to crack (an acorn)		
p ^h íca-		p ^h íccá	to crush several things
(p ^h íccáaŦi)	to crush		
p ^h óba-, póba-		p ^h óbba,	to chop up
(p ^h óbáaŦi,	to chop off,	póbba	
póbáaŦi)	cut off		
p ^h úku-		//p ^h úkku-Ŧi//	to keep rising
//p ^h úku-Ŧi//	to rise (bread)		
póca-, póca-		pócca,	to chop off, chop down
(póccáaŦi,	to chop off,	pocca	
póccáaŦi)	cut off		
póma-		pómma	to puff, suck
(pomáaŦi)	to puff once		
şáawuŦe	to have, get	şáawuŦe	to have, keep
şéna-		şénna	to keep on trying to cough something out
(şenáaŦi)	to cough some- thing out		
şíka	to fill	şíkka	to put several things in

¹It is uncertain which of these is the semelfactive theme.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
şıpa- (şıpáaṭi)	to punch with the elbow; to jerk someone's hand	şıppa	to punch with the elbow; to jerk someone's hand repeatedly
şıta- (şıtáaṭi)	to smear	şıtta	to smear several things
şoca- (şocáaṭi)	to mash once	şocca	to mash, pound up, grind
şoma- (şomáaṭi)	to punch	//şómma-Mmṭi//	to box
tákah	to lie on one's back	tákkah	to lie on their backs (several people)
tálah	to stand, to stand up	tállah	to be standing (sev- eral objects); to stand up, one by one
téka- (tekáaṭi)	to take a slab off	tékka	to knock slabs off
ténu- //ténu-ṭi//	to raise fur or feathers	//ténnu-ṭi//	to raise fur or feathers repeatedly
tíku- //tíku-ṭi//	to jump	//tíkku-ṭi//	to be jumping
tíwa- (tiwáaṭi)	to scatter by hitting once	tíwwa	to scatter

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
túmu-		túmmu	to haul wood nearby
//túmu-ʦi//	to go after wood	//túmmu-ʦi//	to haul wood from a distance
túna-		túnna	to kick repeatedly
(tunáaʦi)	to kick once with the heel		
t ^h óká-		t ^h ókka	to bump several times
(t ^h ókáaʦi)	to bump		
táka-		tákka	to slap several times
(takáaʦi)	to slap		
t ^h éda-		t ^h édda	to break off quickly (several small twigs)
(t ^h edáaʦi)	to break off (a small branch)		
tíka-		tíkka	to break things up
(tíkkaʦi)	to break		
wúčá-		wúčča	to switch someone several times
(wučáaʦi)	to switch some- one once		

Class IV.A.2 iterative verbal stems take the basal suffix -ak "swift, careless action." Their roots are of the canon CVC-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
póc-		póccak	to trim slowly
(póckaʦi)	to cut off fast		

434.2. Class IV.B iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -a with no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canon C[́](V)C-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
čák- (čákšeyi)	to split open	//čákka-paṭi//	to be ripped in several places
čúd- (čúdkaṭi)	to rip off a piece	//čúdda-paṭi//	to have several small rips
háp- (háпкаṭi)	to be split	háppa	to split into sever- al pieces
hém- (hémkaṭi)	to dig out	hémma	to be digging
jéeb- (jéebkaṭi)	to slide down, cave in	jébba	to break off a bank
jóot- (jóotkaṭi)	to break a rope- like object	jóтта	to pull or cut a rope-like object to pieces
núj- (nújkaṭi)	to stop up	nújje	to stop up (a large hole)
šít-		šítta	to sprinkle by hand
šól- (šólkaṭi)	to sharpen	šólla	to sharpen, grind
wáł- (wáłkaṭi)	to split open by itself	wálla	to split something to pieces
wip-		wíppa	to unravel by itself

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
wóc-		wócca	to scrape clean, shave, plane
(wóckaṭi)	to scrape once, scratch once		
ʔát-		ʔátta	to cut open, oper- ate
ʔóḷ-		ʔóḷḷ	to fall down, let down (several things)
(ʔoḷkaṭi)	to fall down, let down		

434.3. Class IV.C iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -Sṭe with no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
hówo	to sit, sit down	hówwoṭe	to be sitting around, sit down every day

434.4. Class IV.D iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -uUṭa with no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
lál-		lálluṭa	to touch, feel around
(lálén)	to touch		

434.5. Class IV.E iterative verbal stems take an iterative suffix which is the weak form of the verbal root. They take no basal suffix.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
húna	to be solitary	húnnahuna	one by one; dif- ferent kinds

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
núma	to be different	númmanuma	paraphernalia

434.6. Class IV.F iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -u with no basal suffix. The resultant iterative themes are always followed by the passive suffix -kU.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
hát- (hátkuṭi)	to burst	//hátu-kU// ¹	to explode
túp- (túpkuṭi)	to break in two	//túpp-u-kU//	to be broken off

435. Class V iterative verbal stems are derived from verbal roots by gemination of the second consonant and loss of final -V(C). Their roots are of the canon CVCV(C)-. They take no basal suffix.

435.1. Class V.A iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -u.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
láwut- (láwtuṭi)	to sweep once	láwwu	to sweep
málik	to put out a light	mállu	to put out several lights

¹//hátu-kU// is /hátkuṭi/.

435.2. Class V.B iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -uUṭa.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
máṭa	to bite	máṭṭuṭa	to bite repeatedly

436. Class VI iterative stems are derived from verbal roots through reduction of the first vowel. They take the iterative suffix -uṭe with no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canon CVCVC-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
háajap	to shout	hajáapuṭe	to shout several times
húujak	to whistle with the mouth	hajáakuṭe	to be whistling
jáalak	to squeal, yell	jaláakuṭe	to cry loud and fast
láataj- (láatjaṭi)	to crawl quickly	latáajuṭe	to crawl back and forth, go around

437. Class VII iterative verbal stems are formed by lengthening of the vowel in the first syllable and loss of final -V(C). They take no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canon CVCV(C)-, and their themes are associated with Class I.A.1 semelfactive themes.

437.1. Class VII.A iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -ṭeṭa.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
pūna	to dip (water)	pūunṭeṭa	to dip a lot of water
tóla	to throw	tóolṭeṭa	to throw several things out
wóma	to fool someone	wóomṭeṭa	to fool someone several times

437.2. Class VII.B iterative verbal stems take the iterative suffix -uṭa.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔúkan	to enter	ʔúukuṭa	to go in, one at a time

438. Class VIII iterative verbal stems are derived from verbal roots by loss of gemination of the second consonant. Their roots are of the canon CṼCCV- and their themes always occur before the causative suffix -Spu or the directed action suffix -pa. Class VIII iterative themes form sets with Class I.A.1 semelfactive themes which also precede -Spu or -pa.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
jókku- //jókku-Spu//	to hang something up	//jóku-Spu//	to hang several things up
júku //júku-Spu//	to get a hold of something	//júku-Spu//	to be twitching, jerking
to twitch, jerk			

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
mókku- //mókku-pa//	to pounce on something	//móku-pa//	to pounce on several things
móllu- //móllu-pa//	to cover one thing	//mólu-pa//	to cover several things
póttu- //póttu-Spu//	to pile something up	//pótu-Spu//	to put something into several piles
pémmu- //pémmu-Spu//	to stick something (gum) somewhere	//pému-Spu//	to stick several things onto something
tákku- //tákku-Spu//	to patch once	//táku-Spu//	to patch several things
wékka- //wékka-Spu//	to place something across	//wéka-Spu//	to put several things across
ʔéccu- //ʔéccu-Spu//	to turn something over on a spit	//ʔéccu-Spu//	to turn several things over on a spit

439. Each of the remaining iterative verbal stems falls into a separate class.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
hówo	to sit, sit down	hówoh	to sit, sit down (several people)
húna	to warm	húnhun	to be warm

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Iterative</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
kúčči, kúcci	to be small	kučúuj, kučúuj, kúcu-j- kucúuj	to be small (several people)
pótt-		póttola	to come out in piles
pút- (pútšeṭi)	to burst open (bloated animal)	púutšeṭi	to burst open (sev- eral bloated animals)
tútal- (tútlāṭi)	to roll up	tú(u)tul	to roll out, be rolled up
ṭélʔew- (ṭélʔewe)	to be flat; plate	ṭeléwtelew	to be flat; plates
wéeṭa	to go	wéwṭiṭa	to go all the time, one person at a time
ʔáaṭaw	to talk	ʔá(a)ṣwani	to be talking
ʔeméene	to be good	ʔeménne-	to be good (several things)

44C. Repetitive Stems.

A repetitive verbal stem always takes the repetitive suffix -Vṣi and usually takes a basal suffix, e.g.,

cájcajaṣi "to shake the head uncontrollably"

(said of an older person) from the verbal
root cája- plus the basal suffix -C₁VC₂
"slow action"

Repetitive stems can be divided into classes by their process of derivation from the verbal root, and they can be further subdivided according to the basal suffix, if any, which occurs between the stem and the repetitive suffix.

441. Class I repetitive stems are formed from verbal roots by the reduction of these roots, if necessary, to the form C_1VC_2- .

441.1. Class I.A repetitive verbal stems are derived from roots of the canons $CVC-$, $CVC^?-$, $CVCV(C)-$, and $CVCCV-$ (one instance). These stems take the basal suffix $-C_1VC_2-$, which means "slow action" when a Class I.A repetitive stem contrasts with a Class I.B repetitive stem, e.g.,

ɬápɬapaʃi "to flap slowly"

ɬapáapaʃi "to flap fast"

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
bók-		bíkbokoʃi ¹	to boil, bubble
bót-		bótbotoʃi	to foam and pop
búh-		búhbuhuʃi	to puff (smoke)

¹/bókbokoʃi/ is //bók- C_1VC_2 -Vʃi//.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cája- (cajáaṭi)	to shake the head once ¹	cájcajaṣi	to be shaking the head uncontrollably
ćó?-		ćó?ćo?oṣi	to whine
ćúm- (ćúmkaṭi)	to suck slowly	ćúmćumuṣi	to be sucking
háka-		hákhakaṣi	to pant
hém- (hémkaṭi)	to dig out one thing	hémhemeṣi	to dig up around, dig things out
húk-		húkhukuṣi	to sniff around
kóma- (komáaṭi)	to stir once; splash once	kómkomoṣi	to churn; splash around
lém?- (lémkaṭi)	to light up once	lémlemeṣi	to blink slowly (light), twinkle
łáp-		łáplapaṣi	to flap slowly
ław- (ławaw)	to gulp	ławławawaṣi	to slurp fast
máš-		mášmaṣaṣi	to be biting at some- thing
pél?- (pélkaṭi)	to blink one's eyes once	pélpeleṣi	to keep on blinking one's eyes

¹ Semelfactive themes are listed in parentheses under the verbal roots. Where no semelfactive appears, the set is defective.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
púucli ¹	to be ticklish	púcpucuşi	to be itching
tóp-		tóptopoşi	to be knocking on something
típ-		típtipişi	to flop like a fish out of water
ták-		táktaşaşi	to be clicking (typewriter keys)
tík-		tíktikişi	to tick (clock)
(tíkşeti)	to click once		
wóp-		wópwopoşi	to be nodding uncontrollably, to nod fast
(wópkaşi)	to nod once		
ʔóʔ-		ʔóʔoʔoşi	to be stuttering
ʔút-, ʔuť-		ʔútʔutuşi, ʔuťʔuťuşi	to sob

441.2. Class I.B repetitive verbal stems are derived from roots of the canons CVC(V)-, CVCʔ-, CVCVC- (one instance), CVCVCV- (one instance), and CVCV- (one instance). These stems take the basal suffix -VVC₂-, which means "quick action" when a Class I.B repetitive stem contrasts with a Class I.A repetitive stem.

¹Verbal roots which are identical with their semelfactive themes will be cited without a following hyphen.

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
cája-		cacáajaşi ¹	to shake the head
(cajáaşi)	to shake the head once		quickly and repeatedly
cid-		cidíidişi	to rattle (rattlesnake)
cít-		cítíitişi	to squeak (mouse), to rattle (rattlesnake)
cób-		cóbóoboşi	to be leaking, to run (water)
dól-		dolóoloşi	to gargle
hén-		henéeneşi	to be nervous ²
(hénkaşi)	to breathe once		
hól-		holóoloşi	to make the sound of bees in a swarm
hól-		holóoloşi	to make a scurrying noise (rat)
húm-		humúumuşi	to murmur
hún-		hunúunuşi	to buzz (bee)
kóm-		kómóomoşi	to be making
(komáaşi)	to stir once; splash once		
lócok	to do	locóokokoşi	to be moving around straightening things up

¹/cajáajaşi/ is //cáj-VVC₂-Vşi//.

²This set is questionable on semantic grounds.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
lémʔ- (lémkaʔi)	to light up once	lemʔéemeʃi ¹	to go on and off fast (light), twinkle
ɬáp-		ɬapáapaʃi	to flap fast
pélʔ- (pélkaʔi)	to blink one's eyes once	pelʔéeleʃi ²	to be blinking one's eyes fast
ʃékjo	to whisper	ʃekéekéʃi	to whisper
ʃít-		ʃitíitiʃi	to be sprinkling (rain)
ʃoláa	to flow	ʃolóoloʃi	to roar (river)
ʃún-		ʃunúunuʃi	sound of someone hidden whispering
túk- (túkʃeʔi)	to spark	tukúukuʃi	to blaze up
túl-		tulúuluʃi	to be clear
túna- (tunáaʔi)	to kick once	tunúunuʃi	to kick something around
wíle	to fan hot air	wilfiliʃi	to breeze (wind)
ʔút-, ʔúʔ-		ʔutúutuʃi, ʔuʔúuʔuʃi	to sob fast

441.3. Class I.C repetitive stems take the basal suffix -VVtVt-. Their roots are of the canons CṼ(V)C-

¹This form has the alternate lemʔéemeʃi.

²This form has the alternate pelʔéeleʃi.

and CVCV-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cúul-		culúututuşi ¹	to slide and fall down, to slide down something
(cúulkaşi)	to slide and fall down		
ák-		ákáatataşi	to be dripping (rain)
íd		ídíititişi	to gush forth, be squirting
(ídkaşi)	to squirt once		
kíca-		kicíititişi	to be sprinkling (water), to gush; to sow
(kícaşi)	to splash; to scatter once		

441.4. Class I.D repetitive verbal stems take the basal suffix -VVl-.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
deʔílla	to have a turn	deʔéeleşi ²	to be crooked
jutul-		jutulúuluşi ³	to be shaky
póp-		popóoloşi	to be rolling (said of a ball)
(pópłeşi)	to bounce once		
wíp-		wípíilişi	to unroll (thread from a spool)
(wípkuşi)	to unravel one stitch, unwind thread once around from a spool		

¹/culúututuşi/ is //cúl-VVtVt-Vşi//.

²/deʔéeleşi/ is //déʔ-VVl-Vşi//.

³This theme is derived from the weak root jutul-.

441.5. Class I.E repetitive verbal stems take the basal suffix $-VC_2C_2-$.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
lúmu	hole	lumúmmuşi ¹	to have holes
ʔukúnni	to spot	ʔukúkkuşi ²	to be spotted all over

441.6. Each of the remaining repetitive verbal stems takes a different basal suffix.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
pác- (pácel)	to crackle once; talk loud	pacáacaşaşi ³	to crackle, be talking loud
şoon- (şoonkaşi)	to wipe some- thing off	şonáakakaşi ⁴	to wipe something off quickly
túulaj- (túuljaşi)	to go around something once	tulúujuşi ⁵	to circle something repeatedly

¹/lumúmmuşi/ is //lúm- VC_2C_2 -Vşi//.

²This form has the variant ʔupúkkuşi.

³/pacáacaşaşi/ is //pác- $VVC_2V\text{ʔ}$ -Vşi//.

⁴/şonáakakaşi/ is //şón-aakak-Vşi//. Historically, this theme was probably derived from the iterative theme şoonak "to wipe."

⁵/tulúujuşi/ is //túl- VVj -Vşi//. Historically, this theme was based on túulaj- with vowel harmony.

442. Class II repetitive stems are formed from verbal roots by the reduction of these roots, if necessary, to the form $C_1\acute{V}_1C_2V_2C_3-$.

442.1. Class II.A repetitive verbal stems take no basal suffix. Their roots are of the canons $C\acute{V}(V)CVC-$ and $C\acute{V}CCVCV$ (one instance).

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
cówaj-		cowáajasi ¹	to move around
//cówaj-nuka//	to move		
čákal	to be cracked	čakáalaši	to be cracking apart
hópol-		hopóološi	to roll like a watermelon
lálaj	to feel around	laláajasi	to work around, to move things around
lílilaw	to tell	liláawaši	to tell what one knows
péeloj	to fix	pelóojoši	to fix things up
póloj	to float down (a creek)	polóojoši	to float slowly down
p ^h úkkuju, púkkuju, púkkuju	to have a pot-belly	p ^h ukúujuši, pukúujuši, pukúujuši	to be running around with a potbelly
túupil-		tupíiliši	to whirl, swing around
(túupliṭi)	to turn around once		
wícit-		wičíitiši	to have a convulsion

¹/cowáajasi/ is //cówaj-Vši//.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
ʔáaʔaw	to talk	ʔaʔáawaʃi	to talk on and on
ʔájaw	to gather, get	ʔajáawaʃi	to gather several things

442.2. Class II.B stems take the basal suffix $-VC_3-$.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
čákal	to be cracked	čakáalalaʃi ¹	to be cracking apart
jútud-		jutúududuʃi	to quiver, be shaking
luwwúud-, luwwúd-		luwwúududuʃi, luwwúduduʃi	to shiver from the cold

443. The remaining repetitive themes constitute separate classes.

<u>Verbal</u> <u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u> <u>Theme</u>	<u>English</u>
kowóolod-		kowóolodoʃi ²	to growl (stomach)
lál- (lálén)	to touch	lállalaʃi ³	to feel around inside something

¹/čakáalalaʃi/ is //čákal- VC_3 -Vʃi//.

²/kowóolodoʃi/ is //kowóolod-Vʃi//.

³/lállalaʃi/ is //lál- C_2 -Vʃi//. Historically, lállalaʃi was derived from the iterative stem láll- in lálluʔa "to touch, feel around."

<u>Verbal</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Repetitive</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Root</u>		<u>Theme</u>	
púuc'- (púuc'leṭi)	to roll over once	pućéeleṣi ¹	to be rolling around
ʔijaćáa- (ʔijaćáaṭi)	bump	ʔijaćáaćaṣi ²	to be bumpy

450. Post-thematic Verbal Suffixes.

Post-thematic verbal suffixes follow verbal themes. Certain of these have never been found with other post-thematic suffixes, e.g.,

-ṭa "accidental action" in nowíkṭa "to break something accidentally" from nówik "to break"

In other cases, two or more post-thematic suffixes may occur after the same verbal theme, in which case their relative order is usually rigidly determined for any one sequence, but may vary from sequence to sequence, e.g.,

//ʔúkan-nuka-po// = /ʔukánnukapo/ "to stick oneself" from ʔúkan "to go in" plus the causative suffix -nuka plus the reflexive suffix -ṣo

//hújka-Skṣu-po-nuka// = /hújkakṣuponuka/ "to make

¹/pućéeleṣi/ is //puć-éel-Vṣi//. Historically, this form contains a variant of the medio-passive suffix -elG.

²/ʔijaćáaćaṣi/ is //ʔijaćáa-C₃V-Vṣi//.

oneself happy" from hújka "to be happy"
 plus the transitivizing suffix -Skşu plus
 the reflexive suffix -po plus the causative
 suffix -nuka

Extremely long sequences do occur, though rarely. The
 longest ever elicited contained five post-thematic suf-
 fixes:

//ʔiʔi ka-létoj-M-pa-ʦi-po-nuka-SNʔina// =

/ʔiʔi kalétjopaşiponukanʔina/ "I'm going
 to make him go outside and lick himself"¹
 from ʔiʔi "him" and ka- "I" plus létoj "to
 lick" plus the semelfactive suffix -M-
 plus the directed action suffix -pa plus
 the reflexive suffix -po plus the causative
 suffix -nuka plus the future tense marker
 {-nʔinajʃ}

The post-thematic suffixes will be discussed in alpha-
 betical order. A description of their relative order will
 follow.

450.1 {-akʃ}, best translated as "to possess," is -kak

¹My informant remarked, however, that one would hardly
 ever say this.

after múu "breast,"¹ and as -Sak elsewhere.² †-ak‡ is a verbalizing suffix most frequently found after nominal roots, nominal compounds, or nominal themes, e.g.,

//jómi-Sak// = /jómik/ "to live" from jómi
"village, place"

//jómu-nGaka-Sak// = /jomúnnakak/ "to experience
beauty" from jómu "to laugh" plus the
indirect causative suffix -nGaka³

//teléeka-ʔaje-Sak// = /teléekaʔajek/ "to have
three sticks" from teléeka "three" plus
-ʔaje "stick"

Further examples follow:

<u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Root + †-ak‡</u>	<u>English</u>
cók	bank	cókkak	to have banks
čálaj	bug	čaléajak	to have bugs
háli	plan	hálik	to be efficient
-hela	not (weak form)	-helak	to be without
		ʔalókhelak	to be deaf: "to be with- out ears"
hella	not	hállak	to not have

¹There was some hesitation concerning the allomorph of †-ak‡ after roots of the canon CVV-.

²Monosyllabic roots ending in stops or affricates have the allomorph C₁VC₂C₂- before †-ak‡; míw "husband" has the allomorph míww- before †-ak‡, and tli "claw" has the allomorph tíkk- before †-ak‡.

³jomúnnaka means "to be beautiful" or "beauty."

<u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Root + {-ak}</u>	<u>English</u>
héna	breath, spirit	hénak	to be good-hearted
húk	nose	húkkak	to have a nose
káa	door	káak	to have doors
káac	fish	káccak	to have fish
káaj	sea shell	káajak	to have sea shells
káal	clover	káalak	to have clover
kájaw	tobacco	kajáawak	to have tobacco
kíik	water	kíkkak	to be juicy
kúkuh	flea	kúkuk	to have fleas
kút	teeth	kúttak, e.g., kúttak pódwaj	to be fanged, e.g., rattlesnake: "fanged snake"
kúpum	finger	kupúumak	to have fingers
lakte	name	laktek	to have a name
lúppe	mouth, barrel of a gun	lúppek, e.g., ʔóttá lúppek múttani	barreled, e.g., double-barreled shot- gun: "two-barreled spreader"
málak	design	maláakak	something with a design
míiw	husband	míwwak	to be married to a man
múk	trail	múkkak	to have trails
múu	breast	múukak	to have breasts
pódwaj	snake	pódwajak	to have snakes
şúle	baby	şúlek	to be pregnant
şút	eye	şúttak	to have eyes
tájh	man	tájak	to have men

<u>Root</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Root + t-akɿ</u>	<u>English</u>
téma	enemy, opponent	témak	to be against, play against
tíi	claw	tíkkak	to have claws
ʔélaɿ	child	ʔeláajak	to have a baby
ʔójjá	friend	ʔójjak	to make friends
ʔútu	beard	ʔútuk	bearded

450.2. -co is a second person plural suffix found only after the imperative suffix t-miɿ, q.v.

450.3. -coc is a second person dual suffix found only after the imperative suffix t-miɿ, q.v.

450.4. -eeja is a rare intransitive suffix, e.g.,
//pól-eeja// = /poléeja/ "to float in still
water

//wót-eeja// = /wotéeja/ "to be easy to bend,
to bend back and forth, to wobble"

450.5. -ja has a vague resultant meaning, difficult to formulate. So far it has been found only in the following:

k^hábbaja "to be bald" from the iterative verbal
theme k^hábba "to bump one's head repeatedly"
ʔináaja "to approach, get close" from ʔínaj "to
reach"

450.6. -ja, another post-thematic suffix homonymous

with the preceding one, is an interrogative suffix which translates as "shall" or "should" in the sense of requesting a correct course of action. -ja occurs only in verbal units which contain the first person pronominal prefix ka-. Usually -ja is found after verbal themes, e.g.,

kaʔupúhja? "Shall I take a bath?" from ʔúpuh
"to bathe"

Occasionally, -ja follows sequences which usually function as nominal themes, e.g.,

kahíntikaşaja? "What shall I do?" from híntikaş
"how," which consists of hínti "what?"
plus -kaş "this kind of"

A few illustrative sentences now follow:

hínti kahínteja? "What should I do?"

híntikaşu kaʔokájja? "How do you want me to
make it?"

kahíccuwja? "Shall I run?"

ʔálwa kaʔéttuja ʔaje nít kahíntikaşaja? "Should
I climb this tree, or what should I do?"

450.7. -ko is a rare suffix denoting quality, e.g.,

//lák-ko// = /lákko/ "to be thirsty"¹

//ʔéec-ko// = /ʔéeco/ "to be sleepy" from

ʔéec "to sleep"

¹Cf. lákmuʔi "to swallow."

450.8. -ku is a passive suffix, e.g.,

//káwík-ku// = /kawíkku/ "to be cut, circum-
cised" from káwík "to cut"

//káwul-ku// = /kawúlku/ "to get dark on some-
one" from káwul "to be dark"

//líilaw-ku// = /líilawku/ "to be told," as in
mákṣaṭu nenúunin líilawku. "That's the
way this story is told."

//pákka-ku// = /pákkaku/ "to be nailed up" from
the iterative theme pákka "to hammer"

//pínna-ku-waja// = /pínnakuwaja/ "cracked acorns"

//túw-en-ku// = /tuwénku/ "to get shot once" from
the semelfactive theme túwen "to shoot
once"

//wítte-ku// = /wítteku/ "to be closed" in
ʔiṭṣút wítteku. "His eyes are closed."

//wúč̣a-Nṭi-ku// = /wuč̣áaṣiku/ "to get switched
once" from the semelfactive theme wuč̣áaṭi
"to switch once"

//wúč̣č̣a-ku// = /wuč̣č̣aku/ "to get switched" from
the iterative theme wuč̣č̣a "to switch
repeatedly"

//ʔujée-ku// = /ʔujéeku/ "to be passed over" from
ʔujée "come in," e.g., ʔujéeku mikajépkuṭi.
"Give me that; I'll break it for you";

literally, "If that is passed, I'll break it for you."

An active construction is generally preferred to a passive one, e.g.,

ʔiʔi kontúwen. "They shot him."

450.9. -ma is a rare suffix denoting invisibility or action from a distance, e.g.,

//ʔáaʔaw-ma// = /ʔáaʔawma/ "to speak over the telephone" from ʔáaʔaw "to speak"

//ʔálu-ma// = /ʔalúuma/ "to overhear" from ʔálu "to hear"

. //ʔálu-pa-ma// = /ʔalúupama/ "to eavesdrop" from ʔalúupa "to listen"

//ʔélu-ma// = /ʔelúuma/ "to look at something from a distance" from ʔélu "to look at something"

450.10. ʔ-miʔ is -n after vowels and -mi ʔ -min after consonants, with -mi being the preferred alternate. It is a second person singular imperative suffix.¹ Examples now follow:

¹Historically, -n is probably related to the second person singular subjective allomorph -n (see 310), and -mi is the second person singular objective pronoun added as a suffix. -min is doubtless a combination of the two.

//híccuw-mi ʔ híccuw-min// = /híccuwmi ʔ
híccuwmin/ "Run."

//ʔélu-n// = /ʔélun/ "Look."

A pronominal prefix does not occur in a verbal unit containing ʔ-miʔ except for emphasis, e.g.,

//ʔin-híccuw-mi// = /ʔinhíccuwmi/ "You run."

In second person dual and plural imperatives, -coc "dual" and -co "plural" occur respectively after ʔ-miʔ, e.g.,

//híccuw-mi-coc ʔ híccuw-min-coc// = /híccuwmicoc
ʔ híccuwmincoc/ "Run, you two."

//ʔélu-n-coc// = /ʔelúncoc/ "Look, you two."

//híccuw-mi-co ʔ híccuw-min-co// = /híccuwmico
ʔ híccuwminco/ "Run, you all."

//ʔélu-n-co// = /ʔelúnco/ "Look, you all."

450.11. -ne is a benefactive suffix, e.g.,

//híccuw-ne// = /híccuwne/ "to run for someone,"
e.g., ʔiʔi kahíccuwnenʔinaj. "I'm going
to run for him."

//lílaw-ne// = /líláwne/ "to tell someone some-
thing" from lílaw- "to tell"

//tútal-Mʔi-ne// = /tútlaʃine/ "to roll something
for someone," e.g., kajáawuc kanic
tútlaʃinen. "Roll me a cigarette."

//ʔáʂkaʝ-ne// = /ʔáʂkajne/ "to get angry at
someone"

//ʔóniG-nuka-ne// = /ʔonínnukane/ "to bring some-
thing for someone" from ʔóniG- "to come"
plus the causative suffix {-nukaʝ}.¹

450.12. {-nukaʝ} is -nka after the semelfactive
suffix {-V-ʝ} and -nuka elsewhere. It is a causative suf-
fix, "to tell someone to do something or to cause some-
thing to be done," e.g.,

//cúpp-V-nka// = /cúppunka/ "to burn something"
from the semelfactive stem cúpp- "to burn"
plus the semelfactive suffix -V-

//cúp-VV-nuka// = /cupúunuka/ "to burn things
one by one" from the iterative stem cúp-
"to burn" plus the iterative suffix -VV-

//cúʔul-nuka// = /cuʔúluka/ "to dry something"
from cúʔul "to be dry"

//jólum-nuka// = /jolúmuka/ "to feed" from jólum
"to eat"

//jómu-nGaka-nuka// = /jomúnnakanuka/ "to make
something pretty, smoothe something" from
jomúnnaka "to be pretty, nice" (See -nGaka.)

¹ʔonínnuka "to bring" is a fossilized construction
which is treated as a verbal theme. The normal order of
these suffixes is -ne-nuka.

- //júkku-nuka// = /júkkunuka/ "to drag something"
 from júkku "to jerk," e.g., ?iṭi konjúk-
 kunuka. "They let (them) drag him."
- //ṣáka-nuka// = /ṣakáanuka/ "to fulfil" from
 ṣáka "to be full"
- //tóka-Mṭi-nuka// = /tokáaṣinuka/ "to bump" from
 tóka- "to hit" plus the semelfactive suf-
 fix -Mṭi, e.g., kawáj katokáaṣinuka. "I
 bumped into a horse (with an automobile)."
- //ʔáaṭaw-nuka// = /ʔáaṭawnuka/ "to play" from
 ʔáaṭaw "to talk," e.g., tampóol konʔáaṭaw-
 nuka. "The band is playing"; literally,
 "They are playing the band."
- //ʔóniG-nuka// = /ʔonínnuka/ "to bring" from
 ʔóniG- "to come"
- //ʔóniG-nuka-nuka// = /ʔonínnukanuka/ "to tell
 someone to bring something," with a double
 occurrence of the causative suffix¹
- //ʔúkan-nuka-po// = /ʔukánnukapo/ "to stick one-
 self" from ʔúkan "to go in" and the reflex-
 ive suffix -po
- //ʔúṣṣu-nuka// = /ʔúṣṣunuka/ "to water something"
 from ʔúṣṣu "to drink"

¹Cf. footnote on p. 221.

//ʔúteh-nuka// = /ʔutéhnuka/ "to drop something"
from ʔúteh "to fall"

//ʔúteG-nuka// = /ʔuténuka/ "to let someone see
something, to reveal something" from
ʔúteG- "to see"

450.13. {-nʔenaj} = -SNʔena(j) is a rare inchoative
suffix,¹ e.g.,

//máak-SNʔena(j)// = /máakʔena(j)/ "to get sick"
from máak "to be sick"

//jóok-SNʔena(j)// = /jóokʔena(j)/ "to be on the
point of death" from jóok "to die"

450.14. The future tense marker {-nʔinaj} is -SNʔina(j)
f -SNa(n). These are free variants, except that the
commonest is -SNʔina, and -SNa(n) occurs only in rapid
speech.

{-ʔinaj} is used for any action subsequent to the
time of discourse, e.g.,

mamán welíkʔina (/wélik-SNʔina/). "That's the
one you're going to get."

man túnnanan (/túnna-SNan/) miṭi kénneć mác
ʔekeć. "He was going to kick in one of
the heads somewhere."

¹Cf. the common inchoative suffix -tGuma.

şémmit ?úupən?ina (//?úupa-SN?ina//) ?aje ka
húunih. "Yesterday, I thought it was
going to rain."

†-n?inaj† sometimes has an inchoative meaning,¹ e.g.,
//lilu-†i-SN?ina// = /lilúu†in?ina/ "He's about
to fly."

†-n?inaj† is also a future tense interrogative suffix
used with persons other than the first person/singular
to translate
"shall" or "should" in the sense of requesting a correct
course of action, e.g.,

hínti hínten?inaj (//hínte-SN?inaj//) ?ekal?
"What should he do?"

péwlut ?icwée†ana (//?ic-wée†a-SNa//)? "Shall
we go to town?"

†-n?inaj† can also indicate future knowledge of past
action, e.g.,

mákşat ma?o†ó††a cáнна ?u†ée miti henúu ma
kátten?ina (//kátt-en-SN?ina//) muhínti.
"If he finds these four heads, then he
really did kill him," i.e., the speaker
will know that the person in question had
actually killed the many-headed monster.

¹Cf. the inchoative suffix †-n?enaj†.

450.15. -nGaka is an indirect causative suffix,¹
e.g.,

//jólum-nGaka-po// = /jólúmnakapo/ "to let some-
one eat one up" from jólum "to eat" and
-po "reflexive suffix," e.g., kanic hella
mi kajólúmnakapon?ina. "I'm not going to
let you eat me up."

//jómu-nGaka// = /jomúnnaka/ "to be pretty,
pleasant, nice" from jómu "to laugh"

//şélip-nGaka// = /şelípnaka/ "to be dangerous"

//?úkan-nGaka-po// = /?ukánnakapo/ "to set" (said
of the sun) from ?úkan "to go in" and -po
"reflexive suffix"

//?úteG-nGaka// = /?uţénnaka/ "to be visible"
from ?úteG- "to see"

//?úteG-nGaka-po// = /?uţénnakapo/ "to show one-
self"

Sometimes -nGaka is found after roots of unique
occurrence, e.g.,

//hólih-nGaka// = /holíhnaka/ "to be difficult"

450.16. -pa is a suffix of limited occurrence mean-
ing "directed or intensive action," e.g.,

¹James Knight often uses -nuka instead of -nGaka.

hétwipa "to poison"¹

henúhpa "to believe, trust; to concentrate" from

hénuh "to ask questions"

húkɬupa "to smell at something" from húkɬu "to
smell something"

létjopa "to lick one thing" from létoj- "to lick"
plus the semelfactive suffix -K-

letóɟpa "to lick things" from the iterative theme
létoj "to keep on licking"

mókkupa "to pounce on one thing"

mokúupa "to pounce on several things"

móllepa "to douse something"²

móllupa "to cover up one thing"

molúupa "to cover up several things"

ʔalúupa "to listen" from ʔálu "to hear"

ʔálwipa "to be tangled" from ʔáliw "to miss the
mark" plus the semelfactive suffix -K-

ʔócɬupa "to spray one thing"

ʔocóhpa "to spray several things" from ʔócoh "to
urinate"

¹Where the verbal theme is not defined, it has no separate occurrence.

²Cf. moléetɬi "to pour once."

450.17. -paṭi is an intensive adjectival suffix of limited occurrence, e.g.,

čákkapaṭi "to be ripped in several places"¹

čúddapaṭi "to have several small rips"²

ténnapaṭi "to be mussed, tangled up" (hair)

tútlapaṭi "to be wrapped up" from tútal- "to

roll up" plus the semelfactive suffix -M-

ʔálwipaṭi "to be all tangled up" from ʔáliw "to

miss the mark" plus the semelfactive

suffix -M-

ʔéskopaṭi "to oversleep, be sound asleep" from

ʔésko "to be sleepy"

450.18. -po is a reflexive suffix,³ e.g.,

//hóoj-e-po// = /hóojepo/ "to save for oneself"

from the semelfactive theme hóoje "to put"

//lílaw-po// = /líláwpo/ "to tell something about

oneself, to claim," e.g., šémmit keṭútʔina

líláwpo. "He said he was going to quit

yesterday." ʔijómta líláwpo. "He claims

he's a doctor."

¹Cf. //čák-še-Mṭi// = /čákšeṭi/ "to be torn."

²Cf. //čúd-ak-Mṭi// = /čúdkaṭi/ "to rip."

³James Knight often uses -pu instead of -po.

//wánuk-e-po// = /wanúukepo/ "to take something off" from the semelfactive theme wanúuke "to take off," e.g., máac wanúukepon!
"Take that off!"

//weléeṭe-Skṣu-po-n// = /weléeṭekṣupon/ "Look out!" from weléeṭe "to look at" plus the transitivizing suffix -Skṣu plus -po plus the imperative suffix -n

//ʔáaṭaw-po// = /ʔáaṭawpo/ "to speak for oneself," e.g., hunáa ʔáaṭawpon. "Speak for yourself."

//ʔújja-po// = /ʔújjapo/ "to pick one's teeth" from ʔújja "to pick at"

//ʔúkan-nuka-po// = /ʔukánnukapo/ "to stick oneself, as with a needle" from ʔúkan "to go in" plus the causative suffix -nuka

//ʔúkan-nGaka-po// = /ʔukónnakapo/ "to set" (said of the sun) from ʔúkan "to go in" plus the indirect causative suffix -nGaka

//ʔúṭeG-po// = /ʔuṭéppo/ "to find for oneself, discover" from ʔúṭeG "to see"

-po is sometimes found after roots of unique occurrence, e.g.,

//lómma-po// = /lómmapo/ "to masturbate"

450.19. -tGuma is an inchoative suffix,¹ e.g.,

//cáne-tGuma// = /canéttuma/ "to increase" from
cáne "many"

//hélle-Sak-tGuma// = /hélaktuma/ "to disappear"
from hélak "to be without"²

//káac-tGuma// = /káactuma/ "to turn into a fish"

//káccu-tGuma// = /káccutuma/ "to harden" from
káccu "to be hard"

//núma-tGuma// = /numáttuma/ "to change" from
núma "to be different"

//ʔáde-tajh-tGuma// = /ʔadéetajhtuma/ "to get to
be a big man" from ʔáde "to be big" plus
-tajh "man"

//ʔéēja-tGuma// = /ʔéejatuma/ "to become sexually
excited" from ʔéēja "to like, love"

//ʔóbu-tGuma// = /ʔobúttuma/ "to spoil" from
ʔóbu "to be bad"

450.20. -ʔa is a rare suffix usually denoting
accidental action, e.g.,

//cáad-uk-ʔa// = /cáadukʔa/ "to catch someone"
(said of barbed wire) from cáaduk "to
scratch in several places"

¹Cf. the inchoative suffix {-ʔenaj}.

²hélak "to be without" is from hélle "no, nothing"
plus {-ak}.

//nówik-ṭa// = /nowikṭa/ "to break something
accidentally" from nówik "to break"

//wócca-ṭa// = /wóccaṭa/ "to plane something once"
from wócca "to scrape, shave, plane"

//wóoca-ṭa// = /wóocaṭa/ "to be scratched" from
wóoca "to scratch with the fingernails"

450.21. ṭ-ṭiṭ is -ṣi after wílik "to get." Else-
where, ṭ-ṭiṭ is -ṭi. ṭ-ṭiṭ is an andative suffix, indi-
cating movement on the part of the subject.

//káampu-ak-ṭi// = /káampukṭi/ "to go camping"
from káampuk "to camp"

//líku-ṭi// = /kikúuṭi/ "to pass a place" (said
of one person)¹

//wílik-ṣi// = /wilíkṣi/ "to go and get something"
from wílik "to get"

//ʔéec-ṭi// = /ʔéecṭi/ "to go to bed and sleep"

//ʔók-en-ṭi// = /ʔokénṭi/ "to go after someone"
from ʔóken "to catch"

//ʔúpuh-ṭi// = /ʔupúhṭi/ "to go swimming" from
ʔúpuh "to bathe"

//ʔúṣṣu-ṭi// = /ʔúṣṣuṭi/ "to go get water" from
ʔúṣṣu "to drink"

¹This is an example of ṭ-ṭiṭ following a root of
unique occurrence.

450.22. -wa is a rare suffix occurring in verbal themes denoting certain human states, e.g.,

//hún-wa// = /húnwa/ "to ache," e.g., hanalúuma húnwa. "His back aches"; literally, "He aches his back." Cf. húna "to hurt, be sharp."

//tíiṣ-wa// = /tíiṣwa/ "to be cold" (said of a person). Cf. típmuṭi "to be cold" (said of the weather or a thing).

//ʔéet-wa// = /ʔéetwa/ "to be hot" (said of a person). Cf. ʔéetaw "to be hot" (said of the weather or a thing).

450.23. -we is an adjectival suffix of unique occurrence, e.g.,

//híccuw-we// = /híccuwwe/ "to be fast" from híccuw "to run"

450.24. -welak expresses hope or possibility,¹ e.g.,

hélle matujéewelak. "Let's not take a rest."

kahájun ʔekée wéetawelak. "I hope my dogs go somewhere else."

máahintet kapáatal ṣukúuhinten koláaṭiwelak..

"You might knock off the scabs there."

¹Cf. the benefactive nominal suffix -welak.

nihóppam katakéewelak. "I wish I could get out
of this hole."

450.25. -Nmṭi is a reciprocal suffix, e.g.,

//wákut-Nmṭi// = /wáktumṭi/ "to scramble after
something, like dogs after food" from
wákut "to be stingy"

//ʔóppoj-Nmṭi// = /ʔóppjomṭi/ "to go around each
other" from ʔóppoj "to go around"

//ʔúbu-Mṭi-Nmṭi// = /ʔubúuṣimṭi/ "to separate"
(said of a man and wife) from ʔubúuṭi "to
leave"

//ʔúun-e-Nmṭi// = /ʔúunemṭi/ "to bet each other"
from ʔúune "to put, place"

Sometimes -Nmṭi is found after a root of unique
occurrence, e.g.,

//hápo-Nmṭi// = /hapómṭi/ "to play handball"

//hónna-Nmṭi// = /hónnamṭi/ "to have sexual inter-
course"

//lámta-Nmṭi// = /lámtamṭi/ "to wage war"

//líkka-Nmṭi// = /líkkamṭi/ "to have a contest"

//ʔálwu-Nmṭi// = /ʔálwumṭi/ "to fight"

450.26. -Skṣu is a transitivizing suffix which
usually occurs before the reciprocal suffix -Nmṭi or the
reflexive suffix -po, e.g.,

- //héenuh-Skşu-Mmṭi// = /héenukşumṭi/ "to ask each other" from héenuh "to ask a question"
- //hújka-Skşu-po// = /hújkakşupo/ "to have a good time" from hujka "to be glad"
- //jólci-Skşu-po// = /jólciakşupo/ "to pity oneself" from jólci "to feel sorry"
- //ʔójja-Skşu-Mmṭi// = /ʔójjakşumṭi/ "to be friends, to go around together; to mate" from ʔójja "friend"
- //ʔóoni-Skşu-Mmṭi// = /ʔónikşumṭi/ "to come together" from ʔóoni "to come"¹
- //ʔúune-Skşu-Mmṭi// = /ʔúunekşumṭi/ "to bet each other" from ʔúune "to place"

450.27. -Snika is a rare suffix denoting gradual intransitive action, e.g.,

- //háccah-Snika// = /háccanika/ "to come to a stop" (said of people walking or horse-back riders) from háccah "to stop" (intransitive)
- //tállah-Snika// = /tállanika/ "to rise up, like a dead person or a spirit" from tállah "to stand"

¹John Knight says this should be ʔónimṭi.

//tújje-Snika// = /tújjenika/ "to rest" from
tújje- "to rest"¹

450.28. -Spu is a non-productive causative suffix with the meaning "to cause something to happen, to tell someone to do something,"² e.g.,

//cápa-Spu// = /capáapu/ "to ask for something"³

//cáppa-Spu// = /cáppapu/ "to ask for several things"

//cátteh-Spu// = /cáttepu/ "to lay" from cátteh
"to lie"

//háccah-Spu// = /háccapu/ "to tell someone to stop" from háccah "to stop"

//hója-Spu// = /hojáapu/ "to haul," e.g., jolém
tumáajuc hojáapun. "Haul that wood from close by."

//hówo-Spu// = /howóopu/ "to put, station someone" from hówo "to sit"

//hówwo-Spu// = /hówwopu/ "to put, station someone" from hówwo- "to sit"

//jóku-Spu// = /jokúupu/ "to hang things"

¹John Knight says the correct form is túje "to rest."

²Cf. -nuka, a productive causative suffix.

³Where the verbal theme is not defined, it has no separate occurrence.

//jók^hku-Spu// = /jók^hkupu/ "to hang something"

//pót^htu-Spu// = /pót^htupu/ "to pile up something"

//pót^htu-Spu// = /pot^húpu/ "to pile up a lot of
piles"

//tál^hah-Spu// = /tal^hápu/ "to stand up several
things" from tál^hah "to stand"

//táll^hah-Spu// = /táll^hapu/ "to stand something
up" from táll^hah "to stand"

//ʔéccu-Spu// = /ʔéccupu/ "to turn something over
once on a spit"

//ʔécu-Spu// = /ʔecúpu/ "to turn something over
and over on a spit"

//ʔúune-Spu// = /ʔúunepu/ "to put something on"
from ʔúune "to put"

450.29. -Spuṭi is an intensifying suffix, e.g.,

//hínnah-Spuṭi// = /hínnapuṭi/ "to be just right"
from hínnah "spot, right place"

//jók^h-Ṣe-Spuṭi// = /jók^hṣepuṭi/ "t. grab onto some-
thing" from jók^h- "to hang" plus the medio-
passive suffix -Ṣe-

//tóppa-Spuṭi// = /tóppapuṭi/ "to be too late for
something" from tóppa "afterwards"

//ʔáajuh-Spuṭi// = /ʔáajupuṭi/ "to gather together"
from ʔáajuh "to be left"

450.30. -Stukše is a suffix of unique occurrence which apparently denotes movement, e.g.,

//tálah-Stukše// = /taláatukše/ "to stand up"
from tálah "to stand"

451. Order of post-thematic verbal suffixes.

451.1. The future tense marker {-nʔi} and the imperative suffix {-mi} (plus any dual or plural marker) follow all other suffixes, and they never occur together.

451.2. The following suffixes have not been found with any other post-thematic suffixes:

-ja "Shall I?"

-ma "invisibility"

-ʔa "accidental action"

451.3. All other post-thematic suffixes and sequences of post-thematic suffixes, except those containing the imperative suffix {-mi}, may occur before the future tense marker {-nʔinaj}, e.g.,

//ka-tálah-Stukše-SNʔina// = /kataláatukšenʔina/

"I'm going to stand up."

//koc-kátt-en-ku-SNʔina// = /kockáttenkunʔina/

"They (dual) are going to get killed."

//ʔiʔi-ka-létoj-M-pa-ʔi-po-nuka-SNʔinaj// =

/ʔiʔikaletjopaʃiponukanʔinaj/ "I'm going
to make him go outside and

lick himself."¹

451.4. The following suffixes, and all sequences ending in them, may precede the imperative suffix {-mi}:
 -ne
 {-nuka}
 -pa
 -po
 {-ti}
 -Stukse

Examples now follow:

//háju-Suc létoj-nGaka-po-n// = /háju letójnaka-pon/ "Let the dog lick himself."

//káni-Suc tútal-Mti-ne-n// = /kanic tútlaşinen/ "Roll it (a cigarette) for me."

//lóklo-Suc ?úşşu-nuka-n// = /lókloc ?úşşunukan/ "Water the garden."

//taláh-Stukse-n// = /taláatukşen/ "Stand up."

//?álu-pa-n// = /?alúupan/ "Listen."

451.5. The following are the recorded sequences involving post-thematic suffixes other than the future tense marker {-n?inaj} and the imperative suffix {-mi}:

¹See page 213.

-ko-Spaṭi

-ne	
-nGaka	
ṭ-nʔenajṭ	ṭ-nukaṭ
-tGuma	
-paṭi	
-Spu	

-nGaka-po

-pa-ṭṭiṭ-ṭnukaṭ-po, or any two of these suffixes
in sequence¹

-Skṣu

-po
-Mmṭi

 -nuka, or any two of these suffixes
occupying two positions in sequence except
-po-nuka

Examples now follow:

//ʔéc-ko-paṭi// = /ʔéckopaṭi/ "to be sleepy, to
be in a sound sleep" from ʔéc- "to sleep"
plus -ko

//ʔáṣkaj-ne-nuka// = /ʔáṣkajnenuka/ "to let some-
one get mad at someone else" from ʔáṣkaj

¹The sequence -pa-ṭṭiṭ-ṭnukaṭ-po varies freely with
-pa-ṭṭiṭ-po-ṭnukaṭ.

"to get angry" plus the benefactive suffix
-ne plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

//ʔúkan-nuka-po// = /ʔukánnukapo/ "to stick one-
self" (as with a needle) from ʔúkan "to
go in" plus the causative suffix {-nuka}
plus the reflexive suffix -po

//jómu-nGaka-nuka// = /jomúnnakanuka/ "to make
something pretty, to smoothe something"
from jómu "to laugh" plus the indirect
causative suffix -nGaka plus the causative
suffix {-nuka}

//ʔúkan-nGaka-po// = /ʔukánnakapo/ "to set" (said
of the sun) from ʔúkan "to go in" plus the
indirect causative suffix -nGaka plus the
reflexive suffix -po

//ʔálu-pa-ma// = /ʔalúupama/ "to eavesdrop" from
ʔálu "to hear" plus the intensive suffix
-pa¹ plus the suffix of invisibility -ma

//ʔálu-pa-nuka// = /ʔalúupanuka/ "to tell someone
to listen" from ʔálu "to hear" plus the
intensive suffix -pa plus the causative
suffix {-nuka}

¹ʔalúupa is translated as "to listen."

//létoĵ-M-pa-nuka-po// = /létjopanukapo/ "to make someone (such as a dog) lick himself once" from létoĵ "to lick, lap" plus the semelfactive suffix -M- plus the intensive suffix -p. as the causative suffix {-nuka} plus the reflexive suffix -po

//létoĵ-M-pa-po// = /létjopapo/ "to lick oneself once"

//ʔálu-pa-Ŧi// = /ʔalúupaŦi/ "to go outside and listen" from ʔálu "to hear" plus the intensive suffix -pa plus the andative suffix {-Ŧi}

//létoĵ-M-pa-Ŧi-po// = /létjopaŝipo/ "to go outside and lick oneself"

//létoĵ-M-pa-Ŧi-po-nuka ^f létoĵ-M-pa-Ŧi-nuka-po//
= /létjopaŝiponuka ^f létjopaŝinukapo/ "to let someone go outside and lick himself"

//ʔáde-tGuma-nuka// = /ʔadéttumanuka/ "to make something big" from ʔáde "to be big" plus the inchoative suffix -tGuma plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

//máak-SNʔenaj-nuka// = /máakʔenajnuka/ "to make someone sick" from máak "to be sick" plus the inchoative suffix {-nʔenaj} plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

//ʔálwu-Mmṭi-nuka// = /ʔálwumṣinuka/ "to make people fight each other" from ʔálwumṭi "to fight each other" (with the reciprocal suffix -Mmṭi) plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

//jólci-Skṣu-po// = /jólciḱṣupo/ "to pity oneself" from jólci "to feel sorry" plus the transitive suffix -Skṣu plus the reflexive suffix -po

//hújka-Skṣu-po-nuka// = /hújkakṣuponuka/ "to make oneself happy" from hújka "to be happy" plus the transitive suffix -Skṣu plus the reflexive suffix -po¹ plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

//wóoca-Skṣu-Mmṭi// = /wóocakṣumṭi/ "to scratch each other" from the iterative stem wóoca "to scratch repeatedly" plus the transitive suffix -Skṣu plus the reciprocal suffix -Mmṭi

//wóoca-Skṣu-Mmṭi-nuka// = /wóocakṣumṭinuka/ "to make people scratch each other"

//ténna-paṭi-nuka// = /ténnapaṭinuka/ "to muss (a person's hair)" from ténnapaṭi "to be

¹hújkakṣupo is "to be glad."

mussed" (with the intensifying suffix
 -paʔi) plus the causative suffix -nuka
 //tákku-Spu-ku// = /tákkupuku/ "to be patched"
 from tákkupu "to patch" (with the causa-
 tive suffix -Spu) plus the passive suffix
 -ku

//tákku-pu-nuka// = /tákkupunuka/ "to have some-
 thing patched" from tákkupu "to patch"
 plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

//páka-ʔi-nuka// = /pakáaʃinuka/ "to tell someone
 to pelt something once" from pakáaʔi "to
 pelt once" (with the andative suffix {-ʔi}
 plus the causative suffix {-nuka}

460. A schematic representation of the verbal unit
 now follows:

Verbal unit

Verbal theme

thematic suffixes

subjective pronominal prefix	verbal root or verbal stem	thematic suffixes		
		basal suffix	aspectual suffix	post- thematic suffixes

500 EXCLAMATIONS, PARTICLES, AND SYNTAX

510. Exclamations.

Exclamations take no suffixes, do not form compounds, and are separated from the rest of the discourse by junctural and intonational criteria. They are rarely in immediate constituency with words of other form classes. Some exclamations occur alone; others are found only in exclamatory phrases. A list now follows:

cokóo kóo	sound of a quail
fjúuu	Scat !
háah, háah	(1) What? (2) What !
há(a)j, héej	What? (response of someone hailed)
háccih	No !
haháa	exclamation of approval
hanáh ¹ ?aje ¹	Wait a minute !
hée	no
hehéh	exclamation of emphasis
hélle	No !
híi ² u	sound of mule or donkey
hów hów	exclamation of invocation
jóo	Here !

¹James Knight sometimes uses hanáaj, hanáaja.

k'AAAAA	Bah !
kóol kol kol kol	the noise Coyote makes as he is running
kúule	sound of a bear
kínkin kínkin	sound of a chipmunk
kússi	My !
láwwuh	I don't want to !
léep, léeeep	sound of large mythical game animal
pssssss	sound of a chicken hawk flying
soow	Scat !
tenúutenu	part of an invocation
t ^h ánananana	sound of Coyote coming angrily
t ^h ánananana	
t ^h ónonononononono	sound of thunder or Coyote running
t ^h óololololololo	sound of a large animal falling
t ^h úuuuu	Scat !
tél tél	part of a chant
té té tét	sound of a certain insect
wáj(h)	exclamation of emphasis or regret
waʔáak, waʔáat, waʔáat	sound of a frog
wék wék wék wék	sound of Bullet Hawk's wings
wičap, wiča, wičap	sound of a robin
ʔáaj	Ouch !
ʔadíij	Ouch !
ʔéeco	Come on !

ʔém ʔém ʔém ʔém ¹	exclamation of Coyote falling
ʔíŋŋa	Not yet !
ʔáaj ʔóow	Oh, yeah?
ʔóow(h)	(1) All right. (2) a cheer
ʔúŋe	(1) You see? (2) Look here.
ʔúuj hújh	a dance signal

520. Particles.

Particles are a class of words which do not take suffixes but enter into immediate constituency with other items in the sentence. They may be stressed or unstressed, and certain particles have both stressed and unstressed alternates. Simple particles are monomorphemic, and compound particles consist of two morphemes, the first of which belongs to another form class and the second of which is a particle. Particles form a closed class.

521. Some clauses have introductory particles. They occur clause initially.

he	"and, or"
húna	"so that; with the result that"
jóo	"here is"
jóoŋuwe,	"I wish"
jóo ŋúwe ²	

¹James Knight says ʔép ʔép hép hép hép hép.

²Particle phrases which function as single particles will be included in the lists.

júu	"let me"
mahíntal	"why, how come"
mákşajok	"for just that purpose"
mákşak ¹	"then"
mákşak ²	"but, but then"
miṭi	"and"
şowáa, şuwáa ³	"don't" (negative command particle)
wée	"all right"
ʔáaj(h), ʔaj(h)	"well, now; then; now"
ʔaj ʔúuh ⁴	"yes"
ʔak	"but, contrast"
ʔíjah	"I hope, I wish"
ʔunu	"but"
ʔúu(h)	"yes; well . . ."

Examples now follow:

jóo ʔinpápel. "Here is your paper."

mác tukéeṭin hunáa héllan páatal. "Spit on it
(poison oak) so that you won't get
sores."

mahíntal tawhal? "Why is he working?"

¹James Knight often says mákşak.

²James Knight sometimes says mákşun.

³James Knight often says şowa, şuwa.

⁴James Knight sometimes says ʔajúu.

miṭi ʔekáal máa konjolúmtu konwéeṭa. "And then

. . . they would eat it."

ṣowáa káñin lóock. "Don't bother me."¹

wée ʔicwéeṭa. "All right, let's go."

ʔíjah ʔánwe ti kani húunine he. "I wish he would
tell a story for me tomorrow."

522. Temporal particles usually occur at the beginning of clauses, immediately after any introductory particles, or at the end of clauses, before any clause markers.

há(a)li (ko)	"still, yet"
hójot, hojot	"quite a while ago"
húke, huke	"a while ago"
jóllejole	"often"
káṣa	"still"
keláckelac, kiláckilac	"long, long ago"
máahuke	"a while ago"
máate	"soon, until"
maháli	"still"
née	"now"
níh	"now"
niháli ko	"still"

¹The negative imperative particle occurs with a declarative verb.

ʔeká(a)l, ká(a)l, "now, then, at that time"
 ʔekal¹

Examples now follow:

cúmcum háali. "It's still bitter."
 háali máa konlákih. "They're still dancing it."
 hojót ʔiʔi kaʔúʔe. "I saw him quite a while ago."
 miʔi ʔekáal konhéwwa. "And then they dig it up."

523. Preverbal particles precede verbal units.

húna "for oneself, by oneself, separately."
 ʂoláa "slowly"

Examples now follow:

kaleróos ʂoláa híccuw. "My watch is slow."
 ʔujée miʔi hunán ʔálu. "Come and taste it your-
 self."

524. Post-verbal particles follow verbal units.

he(h) "possibility, mistaken certainty,
 desire"
 kóne(h), "I don't know."
 kone(h)
 láktek "too much"
 man "without"
 wáce, wace "probability, opinion of speaker"
 ʔak² "appearance or emphasis"

¹James Knight often says ʔaká(a)l, ʔakal.

²Cf. the introductory particle ʔak "but."

ʔáwwe(h), ʔáwe	"I think; maybe"
ʔéé	"why, how come"
ʔúʔa, ʔuʔa	"ought; almost"

Examples now follow:

čóowte wace.	"That must have tasted good."
hélle ʔéec man kawééʔa.	"I went without sleeping."
híin hícúwwe láktek.	"Time goes too fast."
hinúu ʔiʔóoni he.	"I was sure he'd come."
káʃʃa ʔahólʔi ʔak.	"It seems as if I don't understand this."
kó . . a ʔáaʔawʔu ʔikonun ʔáʃwani ʔúʔa máa.	"You ought to talk to them in Lake Miwok."
ʔinʔeméene ʔáwweh.	"I think you're well."

525. Emphatic particles occur after the verb and follow any post-verbal particles.

máa(h), máh, ma	"emphasis"
muhínti	"you know?"
múu	"emphasis or certainty"
ʃíi	meaning undetermined

Examples now follow:

hélle mántin cáket ʔedáakpat ʔíʃʃiʃa ʔóonin témma	
muhínti.	"There's no one that can get there fast, you know."
máan hínti láktek kone ʃíi.	"I wonder what his name is, you think?"

ʂulúulum ʔak múu. "Gee, that's thin."

teléeka lánup máa níh. "Three of them are lost
now."

ʔoléenawa wáce máh. "That must have been Coyote."

526. Clause markers occur clause finally, following everything except quotative particles.

cupi "condition contrary to fact"

miʔi¹ "when, if"

Examples now follow:

mákʂaʔunu kawólsan ʔadéejolet cupi...lúppuc mát
kaʔúune. "If my pockets were a little bigger . . . I would have put a lot of money
in them."

néen ʔojáh miʔi malíilewan ʔalíwnukan témma. "If
you're timid about this, you might make
more mistakes than that."

pínna konmelén miʔi ʔekal hégwa. "When they
finish cracking them, then they dig a hole."

527. Quotative particles often occur utterance finally, but they may be found in other positions.

kaʂa direct quotative particle

kaʂa weno direct quotative particle plus

¹Cf. the introductory particle miʔi "and."

narrative quotative particle

wéno, weno narrative quotative particle: "it is said"

Examples now follow:

kaṣuwéh kaṣa. "I said, 'I wish.'"

ṣuwáa ṣe mákṣaṭu kanímpaton ?áaṭaw cácco kaṣa weno. "'Don't talk like that to me again, Grandson," she said, 'it is said.'

?ekáal ?itoláa weno. "['Then he threw it, 'it is said.'

miṭṭi se wéno rée suluk kon?úunepu miṭṭi weno kelac. "'And again, 'it is said, 'whenever they put the skin on, 'it is said.'"

528. Special statements can be made about certain other particles.

528.1. kaṭi "you know; just like" is in immediate constituency with a preceding unit, e.g.,

mat wéeṭa ?éejaṭu ?áaṭaw kaṭi. "He talks as if he might want to go over there."

puṭán kaṭi ?edáakṭu wéeṭa. "You know, where the grass is tall."

528.2. ?éeh "just like" is in immediate constituency with a following unit, e.g.,

?éeh kánni "just like me"

528.3. he "and, or" and miṭi "and" sometimes connect coordinate nominal constructions, e.g.,

jolúnnic kaʔúnu he kaʔappic welíkşinen. "Get my
mother and father some food."

529. Other particles are of relatively unrestricted distribution.

hélle, hela	"not"
hélle ʔóoki	"not so much, not so many"
kaṭu	"thus"
keláa, kiláa, kela kela	"already"
máaşe, máşşe	"because of that"
maṭu	"just as if; like"
men	"just; certainly, but (German sondern)"
níşe	"here again"
şáahiko	"as long as"
şéwi, şewi, şe	"also, too; again"
ti	hortative particle
ʔaje	"however; just; to resume . . ."
ʔawéecu, ʔawecu	"just; to the extent that; all"
ʔéje	"just"
ʔíşşa	"still, anyway, even if, just"
ʔíşşişa	"quickly, always"

Examples now follow:

kahúuk púcpucuſi men ǂ kahúuk men púcpucuſi.

"My nose is just itching; that's all."

numáa pódwaj ʒe "a different kind of snake"

ʒuwáa ʒe makʒaʒu kanímpaton ʔáaʒaw. "Don't speak
like that to me again."

ʔijáh ti. "I hope so."

ʔijah ʔáwwe ti kani húunine he. "I wish he would
tell a story for me tomorrow."

530. Syntax.

531. The basic syntactic units are the syntactic affix and the word, excluding any syntactic affix. The SYNTACTIC AFFIX is in immediate constituency with a phrase or a clause, e.g., the allative case suffix {-to} in

kani káttenʔ inato "if he is going to kill me"

Syntactic affixes are {-m} "appositive case," {-nu} "subjective case," {-uc} "objective case," {-to} "allative case," {-mu} "ablative case," and {-ʒu} "instrumental case" (330).

532. A NOMINAL PHRASE is an immediate constituent construction composed of two or more nouns, e.g.,

jolúmic kaʔúnu (he) kaʔappic welíkʒinen. "Get
my mother and father some food."

in which {-uc} "objective case" is in immediate constituency with the phrase ka'únu (he) ka'áppi "my mother and my father."

A VERBAL PHRASE is an immediate constituency construction composed of two or more verbs, e.g.,

hélla mahenúu kóoca "we're not really Indians" in which the subjective pronominal prefix ma- "we" is in immediate constituency with the phrase henúu kóoca "to be real Indians."

533. A CLAUSE is an immediate constituent construction containing a verbal unit, e.g.,

//kani kátt-en-?ina// = /kani kátten?ina/ "they're going to kill me"

//kon-lémaj// = /konlémaj/ "they're calling"

533.1. A RELATIVE CLAUSE is followed by an inflected form of hinte ^f -hinte "that, which," -hinte being the commoner alternate, e.g.,

halíihali konlocókhinten {-hinte-nu} ?omáaŋu
ŋúkuh. "Everything they do requires
fasting."

hénan hinte...?óbu; mulúumulu míwwak?inajhintec
{-hinte-uc}. "She feels . . . bad (her
spirit is that way . . . bad) because
she's going to marry the black man."

hokii neʔotóʔtan cánnac ʔékétton hóojehintet
 {-hinte-toʔ}. "Go wherever you put those
 four heads."

kalíilaw kanéenut hintec {hinte-ucʔ}. "I'm tell-
 ing what I know."

konlemájhintekon {-hinte-ko-SNʔ} wantéera "the
 flagpole of those whom they invited"

533.2. A NOMINAL CLAUSE is followed by a case suf-
 fix, e.g.,

ʔictáwhal makóoca katúuʔa {-mʔ}.
 our work those people killing appositive case
 "That's our job, killing people."

ʔictáwhal makóoca katúuʔan {-nuʔ}.
 our work those people killing subjective case¹

kani wilíiku {wílik-ucʔ} ʔéjeja.
 me catch obj. case he wants

"He wants to catch me."

hunás lákih ʔokájʔu {ʔókaj-ʔuʔ} konwéeta.
 themselves dance make instr. case they go

"They would make the dance up by themselves."

533.3. A TEMPORAL CLAUSE is followed by miʔi "when,
 after," or by cupi "if" (condition contrary to fact), e.g.,
 mákʂaʔunu kawólsan ʔadéjejolet cupi "if my pockets
 were a little bigger"

¹The subjective case is used by James Knight.

máa wanúuke miṭi "when he took it out"

533.4. An INDEPENDENT CLAUSE is not followed by any clause marker.

534. An UTTERANCE is a maximum immediate constituency unit. A SENTENCE is a sequence between the onset of speech and the first instance of final juncture or between any two successive instances of final juncture (110).

Sentences do not always coincide with utterances, e.g.,

kénneṣa máat kaʔóoni ʔáwweh. konlakihto. "I
came there one time. When they were dancing."

534.1. A MAJOR UTTERANCE contains a verbal unit; a MINOR UTTERANCE does not. The latter may consist of exclamations, or nominal units or nominal phrases in isolation, e.g.,

fjúuu! "Scat!"

kánni. "Me."

kaʔúnu he kaʔáppi. "My mother and my father."

535. Word order is quite free. A schematic representation of the commonest sentence type now follows:

introductory particle	(temporal) (particle)	noun subject	unit in ¹ oblique case	noun object
preverbal particle	verbal unit	post-verbal particle	emphatic particle	(temporal) (particle) quotative particle

¹These units may be nominal units, nominal phrases, or relative clauses. If two or more occur, their relative order is free.

The commonest clause type is identical with the commonest sentence type except that a temporal clause has a clause marker after any temporal particle and before any quotative particle, and a relative clause has no particles following the verb.

535.1. A nominal construction following the verbal unit usually expresses emphasis, clarification, or afterthought, e.g.,

máa kon'áamuptu konwéeṣa riikukonnu. "They would
pay him; the rich people, that is."

miṭi 'ekal máṣṣu cíppa kon'ókaj wajáa cíppac.

"And then they made bread with that, acorn
bread."

535.2. Other variations from the common order do not seem to signal specific shifts in meaning, e.g.,

néec 'álwam konwílik $\tilde{\text{f}}$ 'álwam née konwílik. "They
got this from the tree."

600 ANALYZED TEXT

GATHERING AND FIXING ACORNS

(1) kelac wajáa konlimáaʔi miʔi káampukʔiʔu
long ago acorns they go seek when go camping

konwéeʔa.
they do habitually.

(2) ʔedákto. (3) kénne semáanu
far away. one week

he ʔóʔʔa semáanu máʔ konʂukúhʔu konwéeʔa.
or two weeks there they stay they do habitually.

(4) mahíntet kénne ʔóʔʔa deléeka koméenawat máʔ
at that place one two three months there

konʂukúhʔu konwéeʔat ʔekal wajáa konjupín
they stay they do habitually then acorns they get

miʔi konʔánwaʔiʔu konwéeʔa. (5) wénoh.
enough when they go back they do habitually. tney say.

(6) kal jomít ʔoninnuka miʔi ʔekal maa konpínna.
then home bring when then that they crack.

(7) pínna konmelén miʔi ʔekal hēwwa.
cracking they finish when then dig.

(8) ʔiʔicuʔúlto ʔekal maa konʔúʔuk. (9) miʔi
its dryness at then that they pound. and

ʔekal máʂʂu cíppa konʔókaj wajáa cíppac.
then with that bread they make acorn bread.

(10) ʔúlki konʔókaj. (11) miʔi ʔekáal maa
acorn mush they make. and then that

konjolúm̃tu konwéẽta mák̃sãtu koñsúk̃uh.
they eat they do habitually that's the way they live.

(12) wénoh. (13) mĩti ʔekáal wajáa konpínna
I guess. and then acorns they crack

konmelén mĩti ʔekáal máa konmelén mĩti ʔekál
they finish when then that they finish when then

ʃe konpínnãtu konwéẽta. (14) mĩti ʔekáal
again they crack they do habitually. and then

ʃe máa koncũtúl mĩti máa konʔũtúk̃tu
again that they dry when that they pound up

konwéẽta. (15) mĩti ʔekáal ʔũtúk̃
they do habitually. and then pounding up

konmuʔén konwóolẽtĩtu konwéẽta. (16) wóole
they finish they go leach they do habitually. leach

konmuʔén mĩti ʔekáal ʔúlki konʔokáj̃tu
they finish when then acorn mush they make

konwéẽta. (17) mĩti ʃe ʔekáal kon . . .
they do habitually. and again then they . . .

máakonnu . . . kusnéerut mĩti ʔekál konjolúm̃tu
those ones . . . cook when then they eat

konwéẽta. (18) kãsa kaʔálu.
they do habitually. that's the way I hear.

(19) mák̃saʔunu hélla máa kaʔú̃te. (20) kahúukec.
but not that I see. before my
time.

(21) níʔʔaje hälla mántin mákşa lócok.
 now not someone that way does.

(22) ʔawéecu máh.
 all (emphatic).

(1) When they went looking for acorns long ago, they used to go camping. (2) Far off. (3) They used to stay there two or three weeks. (4) After they had been staying in that place one, two, or three months, then when they got enough acorns, they would go back. (5) That's waht I heard. (6) When they brought them home, then they cracked them. (7) After they finished crack- ing them, then they spread them out. (8) When it was dry, then they pounded it up. (9) And then they made bread with that, acorn bread. (10) They made acorn mush. (11) And then they would eat that; that's the way they lived. (12) I guess. (13) And then, when they finished cracking acorns; then when they finished that, then they would crack some more. (14) And then when they dried them, they would pound them up again. (15) Then after they finished pounding them, they would go leach them. (16) After they finished leaching them, then they would make acron mush. (17) And then they . . . those ones . . . when they had cooked it, then they would eat it. (18) That's the way I heard it. (19) But I didn't see

it. (20) It was before my time. (21) Now, however, no one does that sort of thing. (22) That's all.

(1) The particle *kelac* "long ago" is the only overt marker of past time.

wajáa is wája "acorns" with optional morphophonemic stress shift across the word boundary. Plurality is rarely indicated for inanimate nouns. There is, however, a zero representation of the objective case morpheme {-uc}, since the object, *wája*, immediately precedes the verbal unit in a declarative sentence.

//kon-líma-ṭi// = /konlimáaṭi/ "they went seeking," a verbal unit composed of the subjective pronominal prefix *kon-* "they" plus the verbal root *líma* "to seek" plus the post-thematic andative suffix {-ṭi} with obligatory morphophonemic stress shift across the morpheme boundary.

miṭi "when" is a dependent clause marker which is in immediate constituency with *kelac wajáa konlimáaṭi* "they went looking for acorns long ago."

The preceding sequence illustrates a common word order within clauses: object, verbal unit, and clause marker if it is a dependent clause. The position of *kelac* is free.

//kámpu-kU-ṭi-ṭu// = kámpukṭiṭu/ "by means of going

camping" from kámpu- "country"¹ plus the passive suffix -kU plus the andative suffix {ɬiɬ} plus the instrumental suffix {-tuɬ}. This is a nominal unit in the instrumental case derived from the verbal unit kámpukɬi "to go camping."

//kon-wéetɬa// = /konwéetɬa/ "they do habitually: they go."

Repeated or customary action is expressed by the instrumental case of the verbal unit plus wéetɬa (with an optional subjective pronominal prefix).

(2) //ʔédak-t0// = /ʔedákto/ "far off" from ʔédak "far" plus the allative case suffix {-toɬ}. This nominal unit and the preceding sentence comprise an utterance. ʔedákto "far off" follows the verb as an afterthought.

(3) kénne "one, to be one" is an adjective. It is a verbal unit, in this case a root, which has no pronominal prefix and which precedes the noun with which it is in immediate constituency.

semáanu "week"² is a noun in the appositive case denoting duration of time.

kénne semáanu "one week" is a nominal phrase.

he "or, and" is a connective particle which usually joins coordinate constructions.

¹From Spanish campo "country" (not city).

²From Spanish semana "week"?

ʔóʔʔa "two, to be two"

The second instance of *semáanu* "week" is also in the appositive case.

//má-tO// = /mát/ "there" from má- "that" plus the allative case suffix {-to}.

//kon-ʂúkúh-ʔu// = /konʂukúhʔu/ "by means of their staying." This is another instance of a verbal unit plus the instrumental case occurring before *wéeʔa* "to go" to indicate habitual action.

(4) //ma-hínte-tO// = /mahíntet/ "at that place" from the compound ma- "that" plus *hínte* "place" followed by the allative suffix {-to}.

kénne ʔóʔʔa *deléeka* "one, two, or three" is a series of adjectives.

//kóme-nawa-tO// = /koméénawat/ from *koméénawa*¹ "month" plus the allative case suffix {-to}. The appositive case appears to vary freely with the allative case in nouns expressing duration of time.

The sequence *mát konʂukúhʔu konwéeʔa* "they would stay there" has been discussed above.

The allative suffix {-to} (here -t) "when, after" is in immediate constituency with the clause *mahíntet kénne*

¹*koméénawa* "month, moon" is a fossilized compound from *kóme-*, an archaic word for "moon," plus *-nawa* "old man."

ʔóʔʔa deléeka koméenawat mát konʂukúhʔu konwéeʔa "they would stay there at that place one, two, or three months." The new clause can be translated as follows: "after they had been staying there at that place one, two, or three months."

ʔekal "then" is a common connective particle in narratives.

ʔekal wajáa konjupíh miʔi "then when they got enough acorns" is another dependent clause marked by miʔi "when," with two instances of optional morphophonemic stress shift across word boundaries.

//kon-ʔánwa-ʔi-ʔu kon-wéeʔa// = /konʔánwaʔiʔu kon-wéeʔa/ "they would go back." ʔánwa- is a verbal root found only before the andative suffix {-ʔiʔ}.

(5) wénoh "they say; that's what I heard" is one variant of the narrative quotative particle, commonly used when the speaker has not witnessed what he is relating.

(6) kal "then" is a variant form of the common connective particle.

//jómi-tó ʔóniG-nuka// = /jomíit ʔonínnuka/ "(they) bring home" with optional morphophonemic stress shift across the word boundary. This is a rare case in which //CVCVC C...// is /CVCVVC C.../ instead of /CVCVC C.../.

ʔóniG- "to come" occurs only with the causative suffix -nuka.

//ʔekal máa konpínna// = /ʔekal máa konpínna/ "then they crack them." máa "he, she, it, them, that, those" is the third person pronoun for a previously mentioned antecedent.

(7) /héwwa/ "they dig." The pronominal prefix may be omitted when there is no ambiguity in the context.

(8) //ʔiʔi-cúʔul-t0// = /ʔiʔicúʔúlto/ "when it is dry" from ʔiʔi "its" plus cúʔul "to be dry, state of being dry" plus the allative case suffix {-toʔ}. This is a nominal unit in the allative case, expressing place or time.

ʔekal máa konʔúʔuk "then they grind that." máa has a previously mentioned antecedent, ʔiʔi.

(9) miʔi ʔekal "and then." In sentence initial position, miʔi is "and."

//má-ʂʂu// = /máʂʂu/ "with that" from ma- "that" plus -ʂʂu, an allomorph of the instrumental case {-ʔuʔ} found only after a few pronouns.

//cíp̄pa kon-ʔókaj wája cíp̄pa-Suc// = /cíp̄pa konʔókaj wajáa cíp̄pac/ "they make bread, acorn bread." The objective case is overtly represented after the second instance of cíp̄pa "bread," which follows the verb. Normal word order is object, verbal unit. The object follows the verb as an afterthought or for clarification.

(11) ʔekáal "then" is another variant of the connective particle.

(12) wénoh "I guess, that's what they say" is another instance of the quotative particle.

(13) The clause wajáa konpínna "they crack acorns" is the object of the verbal unit konmélen "they finish." This clause is also the antecedent of the pronoun máa in the following clause.

ʔékal, with stress, is another variant of the connective particle.

The position of the particle ʔe "again" is free (see sentence 17).

(15) //kon-wóole-ʔi-ʔu// = /konwóoleʔiʔu/ "by means of going to leach" from kon- "they" plus wóole "to leach" (iterative stem) plus the andative suffix {-ʔi} plus the instrumental case suffix {-ʔu}.

(16) //ʔúlki kon-ʔókaj-ʔu// = /ʔúlki konʔokájʔu/ "by means of their making acorn mush." ʔúlki "acorn mush" is the object of ʔokaj "make," which in turn is part of the nominal unit konʔokájʔu "by means of their making."

(17) miʔi ʔe ʔekáal kon . . . máakonnu . . . "and then they again . . . those ones . . ." is an incomplete utterance. kon- "they, their" is a pronominal prefix. //máa-kon-nU// = máakonnu "those ones" from máa "third person pronoun, antecedent previously mentioned" plus the plural marker -kon- plus -nU, an allomorph of the subjective case after nouns following the verb. The usual

word order is subject, verb. The subject, like the object, follows the verb as an afterthought or for clarification. *máakonnu* apparently is the subject of a verb in the preceding sentence.

//*kusnéeru-t0 miṭi*// = /*kusnéerut miṭi*/ "when they had cooked it" from *kusnéeru* "to cook"¹ plus the allative case suffix *-t0* "at, in, to, when, after" plus *miṭi* "when."

(18) *kaṣa* "that's the way" is a particle.

(19) *mákṣaʔunu* "but, but then" is a complex particle from *mákṣa* "that way" plus *ʔunu* "but."

There is no overt antecedent to *máa* "that."

(20) //*ka-húuke-uc*// = /*kahúukec*/ "before my time," literally, "my before" from the first person possessive pronominal prefix *ka-* plus *húuke* "before" plus *-uc*, an allomorph of the objective case which occurs after verbs.

(21) *níʔʔaje* "now" is a compound particle from *níʔ-* "here" plus *ʔaje* "however." *níʔ-* "here" is a variant of unique occurrence.

//*mánti-Sn*// = /*mántin*/ from *mánti* "someone" plus *-Sn*, an allomorph of the subjective case after nouns preceding the verb.

mántin mákṣa lócok "someone does that" illustrates the normal word order: subject, object, verb.

¹*kusnéeru* "to cook, a cook" is from Spanish *cocinero* "a cook."

(22) The particle 'awéecu "that's all" plus the emphatic particle máh commonly closes a narrative.